

*Nūbat Ramal al-Māya* in Cultural Context

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 بِأَتَوَاتِبِ أَرْزُقْهَا ۞ عَلَيْكَ بِأَتَوَاتِبِ ۞  
 ۞ أَفَادِمِ الْعَمَلِ ۞ وَفَلَعِ الْتَوَزُّدِ ۞  
 ۞ حَقَّ بَصْدُ عَنِ رَأْسِ ۞ يَلُو يَهْمُ أَحْمَدُ ۞  
**وَمِنْهُ أَيْضًا شُغْلٌ**  
 تَأْتِيهِ الرِّيحُ وَوَرْدُ الرِّيحِ ۞ يُوْحِيهِ عَمَّ الرِّيحِ ۞  
 بِتَأْفُوقِهِ تَفْجِدُ لِي تَزْدِي ۞ إِذَا صَحَّ عَمَّ نَهْ ۞  
 وَارْتَفَلُوذُ لَتَرْتَحِي ۞ وَمِنْ نَحْسِهِ لَوْ نَهْرًا ۞  
**وَمِنْهُ أَيْضًا زَجَلٌ**  
 أَنْتَ تَزِيدُ مَعْنَا ۞ وَأَنْفَ تَزِيدُ عَشْفَا ۞  
 نَعَشُو قَرْمَمًا ۞ عَلِيٌّ دِيكَ التَّرْفَا ۞  
 نَحْسُكَ زَعْفَا ۞ وَمَنْ يَلُومُ يَهْفَا ۞  
 تَسْفِي وَيَتَعَدَّى ۞ إِتَمَّ حَيْبًا صَمًا ۞  
 وَالْأَشْكُورُ عَجَلٌ ۞ تَأْتِيهِ أَيْضًا شُغْرًا ۞  
**وَمِنْهُ أَيْضًا شُغْلٌ**

A page from Nūbat Ramal al-Māya in the Dāwūdīyya #144 manuscript.

# *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya* in Cultural Context

*The Pen, the Voice, the Text*

By

Carl Davila



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*For Rosa, and for my father*





# Contents

Preface	XV
Acknowledgements	XIX
List of Figures and Tables	XX
On Transliteration	XXI
Sigla	XXIII

## PART I

### *Text and Context*

<b>1 Introduction: Al-Āla in Moroccan History and Society</b>	<b>3</b>
1 The Structure of the Tradition	4
2 Personal and Institutional Relations: A Brief History of the Tradition	7
<b>2 Toward a Sociolinguistics of the Text</b>	<b>12</b>
1 The Canon and the Textual Turn	12
2 The Value Theory of Tradition: Social, Economic and Linguistic Value in Al-Āla	14
3 A Theoretical Issue: The Pen as Integrative Tool	18
4 A Sociolinguistics of the Text	21
<b>3 Al-Āla as a Literary Phenomenon</b>	<b>23</b>
1 The Canon	23
2 <i>Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik</i>	23
2.1 <i>Manuscripts</i>	25
2.2 <i>Its Problematic Origins</i>	26
2.3 <i>Structure and Contents</i>	43
2.4 <i>Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik and the Modern Canon</i>	50
2.5 <i>Al-Ḥā'ik and Al-Jāmi'ī</i>	55
3 The Al-Jāmi'ī Corpus	57
3.1 <i>Manuscripts</i>	58
3.2 <i>Structure and Contents</i>	59
3.3 <i>Mizān ad-Darj and the Al-Jāmi'ī Corpus</i>	68
4 <i>Barwala</i> and the Modern Canon	73
4.1 <i>Linguistic Notes on the Word, Barwala</i>	73
4.2 <i>Structural, Linguistic and Metrical Considerations</i>	74
4.3 <i>Barwala Text and Manuscript</i>	77
5 Concluding Thoughts on the Modern al-Āla Canon	78

- 4 Mixed Orality: The Impact of the Voice on the Pen 80**
- 1 Text-As-Written, Text-As-Performed 83
    - 1.1 *Performed Texts that Differ Substantially from their Written Versions* 84
    - 1.2 *Augmentation and Alteration of the Written Text in Performance* 87
      - 1.2a *The Uses of Tarāṭīn* 88
      - 1.2b *Repetition and Division of Verbal Expressions* 90
      - 1.2c *Syllables and the Rhythmic System* 90
  - 2 Traces of Orality in the Written Corpus 93
    - 2.1 *Reduction of Texts in Composition* 93
    - 2.2 *Text Variations in Different Parts of the Tradition* 96
    - 2.3 *Orthographic Variants that Signal Orality* 99
    - 2.4 *Poetic Intertextuality* 101
  - 3 Performance Options and Written Text 104
  - 4 Themes and Contextualized Meaning 107
  - 5 Linguistic Registers in Al-Āla 112
    - 5.1 *The Significance of Linguistic Registers in Al-Āla* 113
    - 5.2 *Linguistic Registers: Tawšīḥ and Zajal* 116
    - 5.3 *Linguistic Registers: Barwala* 118
    - 5.4 *Linguistic Register as an Analytical Tool for Al-Āla* 121
  - 6 Linguistic Value in Al-Āla: Some Concluding Thoughts 121

## PART 2

### *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya: Text, Translation and Commentary*

#### Introduction: General Comments 129

#### 1. *Mizān al-Basīṭ* 145

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>1 خاتم الرسل الكرام المنتقى 147</p> <p>or أحمد الهادي الرسول المحبب 147</p> <p>2 عليك يا رسول الله أركى تحية 151</p> <p>3 صلوا يا عباد جملة على أشرف الورى 153</p> | <p>4 رب ليل ظفرت بالبدر 157</p> <p>5 يا رسول الله يا بدري 161</p> <p>6 عروس يوم القيامة 163</p> <p>7 تاج الكرام 167</p> <p>8 يا بديع الحسن يا خير الأنام 171</p> |
|---|--|

- 9 ذكري وأورادي 175
- 10 ألا صلوا قياما وعودا 179
- 11 يامعشر الفقرا 183
- 12 صلوا على الهادي 187
- 13 وخير من تأتي ملوك الورى 189
- 14 ماراحتي 191
- 15 بادرو سلم على أنوار روضته 193
- 16 هو النبي المعظم 195
- 17 في رضى وامتنان 199
- 18 ريح الخزام 203
- 19 ماللموله 207
- 20 يا أهل طيبة لي في ربعكم قمر 211
- 21 صلى عليك إله العرش ما 213 سمعت 215
- 22 يامصطفى من قبل نشأة آدم 215
- 23 غرامي مجدد 217
- 24 يا عاشقين 221
- 25 شد الحمول واعزم 225
- 26 يامجد يا جوهرة عقدي 227
- 27 سيد الرسل عشقته ياكرام 231
- 28 محخير مخلوق سما خلقا 235
- 29 في حالة البعد ورحي كنت 237 أرسلها

## II. *Mīzān al-Qā'im wa-nisf* 239

- 1 بالله يا حادي النياق 241
- 2 يا رسول الله يا بحر الوفا 245
- 3 بنورك أوضحت الهدى لمن 249 اهتدى
- 4 ياترى بالله ياترى 253
- 5 إن قيل زرتم بما رجعتم 257
- 6 محمد قد جل قدرا 261
- 7 عشقت القمر 265
- 8 لولاك ما همت وجدا 269
- 9 لا جمال إلا جماله العجيب 273
- 10 صلوا على شمس النبوة والضحي 277
- 11 كل الشرف حازه الرسول 279
- 12 يا عاشقين 283
- 13 قف بالركاب فهذا الربع 287 والدار
- 14 سعد الذي زار الحبيب 289

III. *Mizān al-Btāyihī* 291

- 1 أو أجل ما or المصطفى المختار 1
- يذكر 293
- 2 نبي ياله من نبي 297
- 3 يا مصطفي يا مجد 301
- 4 قلبي هائم 303
- 5 أحمد لولاك ما طلعت على 307
- 6 شمر يار أخي الذبول 309
- 7 الفلك فيك يدور 313
- 8 بالله يا حادي 317
- 9 ياسيد الرسل المكين مكانه 321
- 10 لذبالنبي محمد كهف لورى 323
- 11 محمد ذولمرايا 325
- 12 سقاني من هويت خمرا 329
- 13 ما خاب قط صابر 333
- الأمر كله لله or 333
- 14 زارني بدري 337
- 15 كل من يهوى ولا يهوى 341
- الرسول 341
- 16 يازين الخلائق 343
- 17 سألت ربي بخير هادي 345
- 18 إذا كان حسابك يا صاح 349

IV. *Mizān ad-Darj* 351

- 1 قد طال شوقي للنبي محمد 353
- 2 صلى عليك الله يا خير الورى 355
- 3 ميرالجب أخرج 359
- 4 لله يازوار قبر محمد 363
- 5 لا شاهدت نحتاج 367
- 6 مالاحت لنا الأنوار 371
- 7 فيه خلعت عذارى 373
- واطرحته به
- 8 مدح الرسول يفي للقلب 375
- إكدار
- 9 يارسول الإله إني محبك 379
- 10 طال شوقي لمقامك يا 383
- الهادي
- 11 يارسول الإله إني نزيل 387
- 12 يانجي الإله في حضرة 391
- القدس
- 13 نحن في حضرة الرسول X 395
- جلوس
- 14 يارسول الله يا خير الأنام 399
- 15 زدني بفرط الحب فيك تحيرا 401

- 15 ياربة الخال يا ذات الجمال ويا 403
- 16 ولقد خلوت مع الحبيب وبدينا 405
- 17 هوى ذات الخال 409
- 18 أي عقل يبقى بأرض قباء 413
- 19 قمر من فوق غصن نقا 415
- 20 في رضى وامتنان 417
- 21 أمن هواه سكن قلبي 419
- 22 محمد خير مخلوق مما خلقا 423
- 23 أفضل الخلق أحسن الناس خلقا 425
- 24 كل بيت أنت ساكنه 427

v. *Mizān al-Quddām* 429

- 1 خاتم الرسل الكرام المنتهي 13  
أحمد الهادي الرسول المجتبا or 431
- 2 والذي لو وزن الخلق به 435
- 3 من يعشق محمد 439
- 4 في حالة البعد روحي كنت 473  
أرسلها 443
- 5 صلى الله على الهاشمي المجدطه 445
- 6 تشفع إلى المولى بجاه محمد 449
- 7 ما كزني واعتمادي 451
- 8 أصلي صلاة تملأ الأرض 485  
والسما 455
- 9 بنورك أوضحت الهدى لمن 487  
اهتدى 459
- 10 الله عظم قدر جاه محمد 461
- 11 صل ياربي بالدوام على الهاد . . . 495  
ي 463
- 12 لما نظرت إلى أنواره سطعت 467
- 13 صبرنا على الهجران حتى دنا 469  
الوصل
- 14 يا أهل بيت رسول الله 475  
حبيكم 473
- 15 قالوا غدا تأتي ديار الحمي 479
- 16 أهيل الحمي بالجود والفضل 483  
والنسك
- 17 هو الذي اختاره الباري 485  
وأرسله 483
- 18 العدل فيكم سادتي ماذا يفيد 487
- 19 أرسل نخبة الوري محمدا 489
- 20 سجان من أرسله رحمة 491
- 21 إذا ذكر السباق بدأ وعودة 493
- 22 كل الشرف حازو الرسول 495
- 23 يا عاشقين لقد دهاني 499
- 24 متى أراسر الوجود 503
- 25 يا خير الأنام

507	مدح النبي فيه فائدة 26	533	الله يفعل ما يشاء 33
511	من جي في خير الوري 27	535	ما يزيد غير قبك 34
515	النور للعرش يصعد 28	541	يا رسول الله إنا 35
519	نمدح محمد سيد أهل السما 29 والأرض	545	صلوا على الهادي 36
523	قلبي عاشق في سيد الأبرار 30	549	رونق هذه العشية 37
527	يا مستى بالأسمي 31	553	أيها الرسول 38
531	ومن ذلك الوادي تعطرت يا 32 صبا	555	ومن تكن برسول الله نصرته 39

Supplement 1: Poetic Imagery and Themes in Ramal al-Māya 558

Supplement 2: The Poets of Ramal al-Māya 578

Appendix 1: A Glossary of Arabic Technical Terms 590

Appendix 2: A Summary of the Ṭubū‘ 595

Appendix 3: A Summary of Published Editions of the Modern Canon  
and Known Manuscripts of Kunnāš al-Ḥā’ik and the al-Jāmi‘ī  
Corpus 596

Appendix 4: Correspondence Tables 600

Bibliography 605

Index of Subjects 611

Index of Ṣan‘a Types in Ramal al-Māya 617

فهرست التوافي 618

## Preface

Textual studies of the Andalusi poetic heritage seem to be somewhat out of fashion at the moment. While it does appear that general interest in the cultural legacy of al-Andalus is on the rise, scholarly concern with the strophic poetry of al-Andalus seems to have spent itself over the past three decades on textual and structural issues, exhausting much of the spirit of enquiry that was first generated a century ago by Martin Hartmann's observation that some medieval Andalusi poets liked to spice up their songs by ending them occasionally with a bit of non-Arabic wordplay.<sup>1</sup>

Academics do not usually like to talk publically about *vogue* and *fashion* in our fields: we are serious about what we do and do not like to think of ourselves as driven about by any winds other than our own intellectual curiosity. This is, of course, wishful thinking: a good idea is a good idea, and if a number of people start chasing that idea, that does not necessarily say much about it or them, other than that they might be onto something interesting.

A case in point: in addition to two conferences in the early 2000s on the *muwaššah* that emphasized music and performance, several books have recently been published or are in various stages of preparation, all of which focus on "Andalusian music" in its various cultural dimensions, so that if there is a new full moon rising, it is a musical one that shines now and draws the gaze of both scholars and the public at large.

So it is with some trepidation that I set this book before you. My earlier book, *Al-Āla: History, Society and Text*, is perhaps more in line with the prevailing interest in the cultural and musical aspects of the Andalusian heritage. There was a little something there for everyone, I suppose: social history, performance issues, social theory, even a few diagrams and photographs. This book, however, dives headlong into text: manuscript traditions, textual variations, alterations of text in performance, linguistic registers and so on. I do think, though, that even if some parts of this volume are rather technical, still an underlying point here—that there is a way of looking at text that leads us back to the people and situations that use it—should resonate in a general way with the prevailing interest in the poetic-musical heritage of al-Andalus. Song, as I have emphasized elsewhere, is oral and therefore performative. Much of the power of al-Āla derives from the immediacy of the moment of that performance, and not just because it is lovely to listen to music, but also because we always do so in a manner that is socially and culturally meaningful. It has value, in much the same way that reading and displaying knowledge of a poem have value (though the actual values involved are rather different, of course).

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<sup>1</sup> *Das arabische Strophengedicht* (1897).

So it is worth taking a moment to look in detail at the anthologies that have come to define and also represent this *aṣīl* (“authentic”) art form in Morocco, and I do so using the *nūba Ramal al-Māya* as the main test case. If the *ṣanʿa*-as-written is not quite the same as the *ṣanʿa*-as-sung, and yet the two survive together within the boundaries of this tradition with nary a peep of complaint nor any attempt to actually reconcile them, that is meaningful. It has value for those involved, too, and therefore deserves some discussion.

The chief topic of this book, however, and its *raison d'être*, is the *nūba Ramal al-Māya*, one of the eleven grand ensembles that comprise the Moroccan Andalusian music tradition. As the *nūba* usually presented first in printed anthologies, and as by far the most widely recognized *nūba* in the Moroccan repertoire, it seemed like a natural place to begin to untangle the threads of oral and literary processes that have informed this tradition throughout its history. But *Ramal al-Māya* has other important features that also make it an apt and interesting case study for a project like this. First, it is one of the largest of the *nūbāt* in the number of texts—the modern anthologies contain all together 125 songs of varying lengths. This *nūba* thus provides ample material for examining the various components (structural, linguistic, cultural-historical and thematic) of the tradition as a whole.

Moreover, its focus on a religious theme promised to make tracing its textual histories, sources and thematics somewhat less daunting: The literature on Arab-Islamic religious poetry is robust, with the major thematic territory well mapped, and most of the poetic sources already well documented and available in reliable editions. Quite apart from the usual suspects in religious and mystical poetry—Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Ibn Zuhr, al-Būṣīrī, et al.—religious poetry is also perhaps the best-documented genre in Moroccan literature, as well.

As it turned out, however, the thematics of *Ramal al-Māya* proved to be quite a bit more complicated (and interesting) than I expected. Just as religious poetry from at least the 3rd/9th century on absorbed and recast a number of pre-existing worldly themes, so too has the poetry of *Ramal al-Māya* come to reflect a range of classical and post-classical poetic genres, especially love and praise poetry. In a sense, then, *Ramal al-Māya* could be characterized as embracing a swath of classical Arabic poetic themes and images—from far beyond the boundaries of al-Andalus, in fact—and integrating them in a distinctively North African way that nevertheless captures something of the spirit of al-Andalus. This has meant drawing upon a much larger body of literature in order to explain this complex intermixing of themes and imagery in a well-informed way. All this and *muwašṣaḥāt* (or at least, *muwšṣaḥ*-like poetry), too! But it was through the study of the larger tradition’s historical and cultural contexts that I came to examining the complex relationship between the pen

and the voice that *Ramal al-Māya* also embodies. So even though this book was conceived as a critical edition of the textual canon of this *nūba*, these contexts deserve some discussion because such an understanding of this corpus of texts contributes to a fuller scholarly understanding of the larger tradition as it is found in Morocco today.

Part I therefore provides an overview of the social, performative and literary contexts that surround and inform the tradition as a whole and *Ramal al-Māya* in particular. It begins with a brief summary of the structure and history of this poetic-musical tradition in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 follows with some discussion of the conceptual frameworks that I have used to analyze the place of this tradition in its cultural-historical context, especially the idea that all traditions, especially poetic and musical ones, have social foundations that define and are defined by the values they invoke. This leads to a discussion of mixed orality and the social foundations and functions of written materials, which I refer to as the sociolinguistics of the text.

Chapter 3 details the manuscript traditions that lie behind the modern print anthologies that comprise what I call the textual canon of Al-Āla. It explores the history of the texts themselves and the relationship between the manuscript traditions and the printed anthologies that today define the tradition. In the process it puts forward an argument regarding the development of the repertoire in its manuscript form and reconstructs the history behind the consolidation of the tradition.

Chapter 4 then rounds out Part I with a careful analysis of the complex relationship between written and performed text within the boundaries of the Moroccan Andalusian music. Arguing for the centrality of oral processes lying behind the contemporary textual canon, this chapter lays out evidence for oral processes preserved in the modern anthologies, thus underscoring in a different way the significance of orality in this otherwise literate tradition.

Part II is a comprehensive edition of all the texts performed today by Āla musicians in *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya*, with English translations and commentary. Assembled and collated from all the modern anthologies, with reference to the more important manuscripts, this critical edition includes comparison of significant variants; metrical, prosodic and orthographic analysis; and notes on major themes found in the texts. I hope it will serve as a reference work for those interested in post-classical Arabic poetics, *muwašṣahāt*, and especially those involved in the emerging field of Andalusian music studies. Leaving aside the complex social-textual considerations put forward in Part I, there is a good deal that is attractive—even beautiful—in this *nūba*. I hope that, notwithstanding the critical apparatus, I have managed to capture some of that, as well.



## Acknowledgements

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# List of Figures and Tables

## Figures

- 1 Leiden as source for the other three manuscripts in its group 28
- 2 All four manuscripts as descended from the “original *Kunnāš*” 29
- 3 Bennīs and London 29
- 4 D144 as beginning of the “al-Ḥā’ik process” 37
- 5 Oral-textual streams in the “al-Ḥā’ik process” 41
- 6 al-Qā’im wa-Niṣf #6 compared across versions 65
- 7 *Ana qad ‘ayā ṣabrī* in MW and D144 84
- 8 al-Jāmi’ī manuscript versions of *Ana qad ‘ayā ṣabrī* 86
- 9 Bṭāyhī #7 as found in IJ 95
- 10 Three printed versions of *Yā mudir...* from Darj al-Iṣbahān 97
- 11 *Šajānī qumārī* in MW 99

## Tables

- 1 Arrangement of *nūbāt* in eight *Kunnāš* manuscripts 27
- 2 Arrangement of *nūbāt* in four printed anthologies 53
- 3 Examples of *ṣanā’i*-as-sung 88

### Supplement

1a: *Images and Themes in Translation* 559

1b: *Key Themes and Images in the Arabic* 570

### Appendix

4.1: *Correspondence of ṣan’a texts in Ramal al-Māya between Dāwūdīyya 144 and Wazzānī/Valderrama* 602

4.2: *Correspondence of ṣan’a texts in Ramal al-Māya among Dāwūdīyya 144, Wazzānī/Valderrama and the modern canon (IM/IJ/MW)* 603

4.3: *Correspondence of ṣan’a texts in Ramal al-Māya among Wazzānī/Valderrama, Belmalīḥ/Piro/R1327 and the modern canon* 604

# On Transliteration

I have used the following transliteration system for Arabic text:

## Consonants

ﺀ = ء medial or final hamza  
(initial *hamza* and *waṣla* are not transliterated)

b = ب	z = ز	f = ف
t = ت	s = س	q = ق
ṭ = ث	š = ش	k = ك
j = ج	ṣ = ص	l = ل
ḥ = ح	ḍ = ض	m = م
ḫ = خ	ṭ = ط	n = ن
d = د	ẓ = ظ	h = ه
ḏ = ذ	‘ = ع	w = و
r = ر	ġ = غ	y = ي

(final) -a, or -at in construct = َ

āh = َاه (in plurals of nouns with defective third radical, as: *wāšīn*, pl. *wuṣāh*)

## Vowels

Short vowels are rendered by their nearest English equivalents: a, i and u.

Long vowels are rendered: َ = ā, ِ = ī and ُ = ū

Diphthongs: aw and ay

Grammatical inflection is not transliterated, except as needed for clarity or for the demands of prosody, where appropriate. In order to reflect more accurately the metrical and prosodic qualities of the poetry dealt with here, *tašdīd* in the

definite article is indicated by doubling of the appropriate consonant, with hyphenation. Prepositional prefixes and the definite article are connected to nouns with / - /, but *hamzat al-waṣl* is not transcribed when elided. Thus, the opening *āya* of the Qurʾān, if it were poetry, would be rendered:

*bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm*

#### Proper names

For Arab authors, historical figures and other individuals bearing formal titles, I have preferred in general to render their names in their classical Arabic form, except where conventions already exist in English (for example, Ibn Khaldun but then ‘Abd al-Karīm ar-Rāyis). I have avoided Latinized renderings of notable figures from the Middle Ages (Ibn Bājja, not Avempace) and abbreviated *ibn* in construct when rendering full Arabic names, except where the person is commonly known by a *nasab*, thus: Abū Bakr b. Yaḥyā aṣ-Ṣāyig Ibn Bājja. In a number of cases, Moroccan names have contracted the *nasab*, which now appears in print in contracted form with altered vowels (even sometimes thus in Arabic script). I have retained most of these: Benmūsā, Bennūna, etc. Hamza is conserved in formal Arabic renderings, except in cases where it is lost in a particular usage (usually Moroccan, but sometimes francophone, thus: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥā’ik, but Jawq al-Ḥāyik al-Tetuani). Note also that francophone renderings of vowels in some proper names have been retained in cases where clarity seemed to me to call for it, as for example Jawq al-Ḥāyik al-Tetuani. In some cases, the francophone spelling of a name is common in Morocco, in which case I have adopted it (e.g.: Mohamed Briouel). For other Moroccan individuals, I have used either the francophone or the formal Arabic spelling, depending upon how I was introduced to him or her (thus: Omar and Mehdi Chaachou, but Sīda Ḥāsna Dāwūd). In cases where I cite works by an Arab author in both Arabic and a European language, I have used the Arabic version of the name but included the foreign version in brackets: Bennūna (Bennouna), Malik.

## Sigla

Throughout this book, the three most important modern anthologies of al-Āla are referred to as follows:

- IM “Ibn Maṣṣūr” (‘Abd al-Laṭīf Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr: *Majmū‘ azjāl wa-tawṣīḥ wa-aṣ‘ār al-mūsīqā al-andalusīyya al-maġribīyya al-ma‘rūf bi-l-Ḥā’ik*, 1977)
- IJ “Ibn Jallūn” (al-Ḥājj Idrīs b. Jallūn at-Tuwaymī: *at-Turāt al-arabī al-maġribī fī l-mūsīqā: musta‘malāt nūbāt aṭ-ṭarab al-andalusī al-maġribī: šī‘r, tawṣīḥ, azjāl, barāwil — dirāsa wa-tansīq wa-taṣṣīḥ Kunnaš al-Ḥā’ik*, 1979)
- MW “Min Waḥy” (‘Abd al-Karīm ar-Rāyis: *Min waḥy ar-rabāb*, 1982)

In addition,

D144 manuscript #144 at the Ḥizāna Dāwūdiyya in Tetouan

HST my earlier book, *al-Āla: History, Society and Text* (Reichert Verlag, 2013)

Where reference is made to specific examples drawn from *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya*, *ṣan‘a* numbers refer to those used in Part II (except in instances where a particular anthology is mentioned, in which case a page number will usually accompany it). So, for example, a reference to “Bṭāyḥī #5” means the fifth *ṣan‘a* in *Mizān al-Bṭāyḥī* in Part II.



**PART 1**

*Text and Context*





## Introduction: Al-Āla in Moroccan History and Society

The courtly musical heritage of al-Andalus has dwelt in North Africa for at least the last five centuries, since the end of the Muslim kingdom of Granada, and probably for longer than that. In the process it has undergone a profound transformation in its social and economic bases. Where once poets and composers wrote songs for an educated Andalusī elite, now the same poems—or at least, poems constructed in much the same way—are woven into songs that echo from the doorways of music shops in the Fez Medina and are performed live for both the educated class and the general public in festivals and outdoor concerts. Where once master musicians crafted their songs and taught them via rote memorization to selected students who one day would perform with them in the palaces of the aristocracy, and eventually replace them as masters in their own right, now the descendant of that art form is taught by the same methods to young children and adults from many walks of life in government-run conservatories, far removed from the salons of the wealthy. Once primarily the province of the wealthy and the powerful, now it is regarded as a kind of national classical music in Morocco, a cultural artifact linking the nation to the glory that was al-Andalus. As such it has come to dwell in a set of modern-looking institutions that make it available and comprehensible to a much larger audience than ever in its history, but that in fact retain certain cultural features of the ancient musical form.

And yet, even though for centuries a complex interweaving of cultural forms linked to a long-honored literary heritage on one hand, and to orality on the other, has served to bind the tradition to its social base, the very effort on the part of its doyens to preserve and perpetuate it has itself constrained the tradition, undermining the relationship between master and student in unforeseen ways, and limiting the possibilities for innovation and renewal that in fact are crucial to the survival of any tradition. For tradition is always rooted in the social, cultural and economic frames within which it serves as a meaningful reference to the past. When conditions change, when the past takes on new meanings, tradition must also transform in some way. Otherwise, it becomes a museum piece, a curiosity to be admired perhaps, but not taken seriously as having meaning and relevance in the present.

In *Al-Āla: History, Society and Text*, I approached the tradition in light of this realization, viewing the tradition through the lenses of two of David Graeber's

(2006) three domains of value: the social and the economic. The aim was to recast the standard history of al-Āla in terms of the institutions that framed the tradition historically, the better to understand its social foundations in the present. This renarration of the history showed the tradition to be characterized by support from an evolving set of formal and informal institutions. These institutions themselves have persisted in a complex relationship to both oral and literary processes of transmission, a trait I defined as mixed orality. This mixed-oral character has been preserved, even as the audience and social institutions that support the tradition have broadened and evolved. What follows is a very brief overview of the main points of that other work, presented here as background for the argument in the introductory chapters of the present work, which extends the analysis of this *aṣīl* (“authentic”) poetic-musical tradition to the third of Graeber’s domains of value, the linguistic.

## 1 The Structure of the Tradition

Al-Āla, the Moroccan Andalusian music, is one of two related musical genres known in Morocco today. The word *āla* means “instrument”, and it is used to distinguish this tradition from as-Samā‘ wa l-Madiḥ, which makes use of very similar melodic, rhythmic and textual materials, but is focused specifically on religious themes and is generally performed a capella by ensembles of members of religious brotherhoods (*zawāyā*). Although the two clearly have some shared history,<sup>1</sup> they are today regarded as more or less separate traditions, each with its own repertoire and performance practices.

Al-Āla comprises some 700 *ṣanā’i’* (s. *ṣan’a*), songs, as well as a number of instrumental interludes known as *tūṣīya* (pl. *tawāṣī*) and preludes (*buḡya*, pl. *buḡayāt*). These compositions are typically performed by either a small ensemble of four to eight musicians, called a *farqa* (> Ar. *firqā*, “group”), or an orchestra of up to 20 members, called a *jawq*. Instrumentation traditionally includes the *ūd* (Arabic lute), violin, and *rabāb* (a boat-shaped, bowed rebec with two strings and a leather face). These melodic instruments are usually supported by one or two percussionists playing the *ṭār*, a small, round frame drum with cymbals mounted in the rim. At some point, probably in the 19th century, the *kamānja* violin was added to the ensemble. In the late 20th century, other strings began to be added: viola, cello and upright bass, as well as the vase-shaped Middle Eastern drum (*darbūka*). Other recent additions to the *jawq* include *qānūn* (Middle Eastern lap zither) and piano, and even occasionally woodwinds. Usually, the musicians also sing, though some *ajwāq* have come to make use of a small chorus.

<sup>1</sup> On which see the relevant sections of HST, as well as Guettat, 2000.

Altogether, there are perhaps a dozen or so major *ajwāq* focused on the major cities of the north of the country, Fez, Tetuan, Meknes, Tangier, Rabat and Casablanca. The leader of the *jawq* is known as the *raʿīs* (“chief, master”). Most *ruʿasāʾ* are accomplished instrumentalists who have memorized large portions of the repertoire, but a few have studied with one of the leading figures of the previous generation and are recognized for their deeper knowledge of the tradition. Such a master may be called a *muʿallim* (“teacher”) and be highly respected as an exemplar of the tradition itself.

The repertoire is arranged in eleven grand suites known as *nūbāt* (s. *nūba*), each based upon a melodic mode known as a *ṭabʿ*. There are 25 *ṭubūʿ* in all, as some *nūbāt* have *ṣanāʾiʿ* composed in other *ṭubūʿ*. Anthologies of the song texts commonly arrange the 11 *nūbāt* in the following order:

<i>Ramal al-Māya</i>	(includes 3 other <i>ṭubūʿ</i> )
<i>al-Iṣbahān</i>	(includes 1 other <i>ṭabʿ</i> )
<i>al-Māya</i>	
<i>Raṣd ad-Dīl</i>	(includes 1 other <i>ṭabʿ</i> )
<i>al-Istiḥlāl</i>	(includes 1 other <i>ṭabʿ</i> )
<i>ar-Raṣd</i>	(includes 3 other <i>ṭubūʿ</i> )
<i>Ġarībat al-Ḥuṣayn</i>	(includes 2 other <i>ṭubūʿ</i> )
<i>al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr</i>	(includes 2 other <i>ṭubūʿ</i> )
<i>al-Ḥijāz al-Mašriqī</i>	
<i>al-Uṣṣāq</i>	(includes 2 other <i>ṭubūʿ</i> )

At one time, at least in theory, a whole *nūba* was a viable performance option. However, nowadays, only one movement from a *nūba* is typically performed at a time. Most of the *nūbāt* contain five movements, or *mayāzīn* (s. *mīzān*), each *mīzān* being based upon one rhythmic mode (*īqāʿ*). The five *mayāzīn* in their usual order are: *al-baṣīṭ*, *al-qāʾim wa-niṣf*, *al-bṭāyḥī*, *ad-darj*<sup>2</sup> and *al-quddām*. Two of the *nūbāt*, *ar-Raṣd* and *al-Ḥijāz al-Mašriqī*, have no *mīzān al-qāʾim wa-niṣf*, and there are also two *mayāzīn* of more recent composition that do not belong to any *nūba*: *al-Quddām al-Jadīd* and *Quddām Bawākīr al-Māya*.

A *mīzān* performance typically passes through three stages (*marāḥil*, s. *marḥala*) of increasing tempo: *al-muwassaʿ*, *al-qanṭara*, and *al-inṣirāf*. Each of these stages commonly begins with a passage performed without tempo. *Al-muwassaʿ* begins with *buġya*, a melody played without tempo that outlines the mode and accustoms the ear to its musical possibilities. This is usually

2 As discussed in Chapter 3 below, *mīzān ad-darj* and its associated rhythm have had a somewhat ambiguous relationship to the *nūba* historically. It does not appear to have entered the manuscript tradition before 1902, nor the printed anthologies until the late 1970s.

followed by *tūšiya* (at tempo) and perhaps *inšād* (an unmeasured vocal solo improvised around the *ṭabʿ*), which then give way to the first *ṣanāʿīʿ* of the *mīzān*, performed at a slow and stately tempo. The transition to the slightly faster *al-qanṭara* is often marked by either *inšād* or *bayṭayn* (another type of improvised vocal solo, also out of time). Likewise, *al-qanṭara* may end with another unmeasured vocal solo that sets the stage for *al-inširāf*, which features the most lively tempo of the performance. This structure of increasing tempos juxtaposed with interludes performed out of time, leading to a climax of lively songs at the end, is intended to produce a state known as *ṭarab* (“extasy”) in the listener. Hence one alternate name for the tradition is *aṭ-ṭarab al-andalusī*, which may be roughly translated as “the Andalusian musical extasy”.

The *ṣanāʿīʿ* themselves comprise four types of poem. Some are composed of two to four lines of monorhymed verse that conform to one of the classical poetic meters. As such, they resemble a *qitʿa* or “morsel” of classical *qarīd* verse like those found, for example, in anthologies of classical songs like the *Kitāb al-Aḡānī* or Ibn Bassām’s *aḍ-Ḍaḥīra fī maḥāsīn ahl al-jazīra*.

A much larger number of *ṣanāʿīʿ* are labeled either *tawšīḥ* or *zajal*, and resemble in form and language the two Andalusī strophic forms, the *muwaššah* and the *zajal*: they have rhyme schemes that alternate between a *ḡuṣn* of three or four lines rhyming together and a *qufl* of two lines that rhyme differently. Like the *muwaššah*, the *tawšīḥ* is composed (theoretically) in classical Arabic, while the *zajal* is composed (in theory) in Andalusī colloquial Arabic. There are important differences, however, between these two song types and their Andalusī poetic analogues. One is that, while the Andalusī strophic poems typically had five or more strophes, none of these songs has more than three, the norm being one. Another important difference is that, while in their heyday the *muwaššah* and the *zajal* were structurally similar but distinct in having a different number of lines in the *qufl*, in the Āla corpus of songs they are structurally indistinguishable.

The fourth song type, the *barwala*, is a strophic form that clearly derives from North Africa, having been composed in Moroccan colloquial Arabic. Unlike the *tawšīḥ* and *zajal*, the *barwala* has no fixed strophic structure; rhyme schemes and metrical patterns vary considerably.

Several significant issues revolve around the language used in these *ṣanāʿīʿ* types, which will be taken up in the chapters that follow in Part I.

Finally, many *ṣanāʿīʿ* in the tradition contain composed passages of nonsense syllables, called *tarāṭīn*, integrated into the melody. *Tarāṭīn* usually take a form like *ha-na-na...* or *ya la la la...*, but in a few cases these “nonsense” passages approximate actual Arabic words (the lexical meaning is rarely connected with the rest of the text). Although not all *ṣanāʿīʿ* have these passages, they

are common enough to be regarded as stereotypical of the tradition and part of its general aesthetic ethos. Virtually any point in the poetic-musical phrase may have such passages—even between syllables of one word—and some are long enough to comprise in effect entire strophes or refrains unto themselves. The complex relationship between these *tarāṭīn* passages and the poetic and musical contexts in which they are found are another subject dealt with in the present work.

## 2 Personal and Institutional Relations: A Brief History of the Tradition<sup>3</sup>

The Moroccan Andalusian music tradition is held to have originated in ninth-century al-Andalus, with the arrival in Cordoba of the semi-legendary Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Nāfi‘, better known as Ziryāb. Ziryāb (d. 243/857) arrived in al-Andalus in search of patronage after having first left the Abbasid court in Baghdad and then been expelled from the Aghlabid court of Ziyādat Allāh I in Qayrawān (r. 816-837). His story and that of the other founding-father figure of Andalusian courtly music, the philosopher and poet-composer Ibn Bājja (d. 533/1139), illustrate the two central institutions that shaped the production of courtly music in al-Andalus: patronage and the ownership of highly-trained female slave musicians. The oldest sources for the biographies of both men indicate clearly not only that patronage by a wealthy member of the aristocracy was essential for their careers, but that both men owned and trained these “artiste slaves” in the musical arts, and that they relied upon them for help with composition and performance before their respective patrons. Thus these two social-economic institutions operated together as part of a culturally informed economic system that shaped the way elite music was produced and performed in the glory days of al-Andalus.

Crucial to understanding these early phases of the Andalusian musical culture is the fact that these institutions were saturated with personal relationships. Unlike modern formal institutions like banks and recording companies, patronage and “artiste slavery” were founded upon personal relationships in which oral transmission, teaching and performance of the musical (and poetic) arts were matched by intimate relationships between patron and client and between master and slave. These relationships in turn were saturated with the face-to-face interactions summoned by oral communication.

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3 This section relies upon the history as recounted in HST. The reader seeking more detail on these matters is referred to Chapters 1-4 in that book.

The gradual decay of Islamic rule in al-Andalus, and the corresponding conquest by the Christian states, led to waves of migrants leaving Iberia and moving to North Africa. Many of these migrants clustered together in cities in the north of Morocco—Fez, Tetuan, Rabat, Tangier—forming communities that came to have significant social influence as power groups. In the three centuries between the fall of Granada in 1492 and the appearance of the most important early anthologist of al-Āla, al-Ḥā'ik, the audience for the courtly musical tradition expanded beyond the Andalusī elite to reach middling folk in the immigrant communities. Although there is little direct evidence of this process, the emergence of these communities as influential ethnic components in cities like Fez and Tetuan is indisputable, and in Fez especially there seems to have been a social nexus within this Andalusī ethnic community that connected religious piety and ethnic identity with an interest in music. The Andalusian poetic-musical heritage probably served these communities as a marker of identity and communal pride as it was performed in public and private celebrations—whether in weddings and private parties, or as part of the rituals of another institution, the *zāwīya* religious brotherhood. Not coincidentally, these same brotherhoods in Fez and elsewhere also functioned as social spaces for networks that were central to the Andalusī ethnic/communal identity.

Alongside patronage, the *zāwīya* served the tradition as another informal institution that helped to perpetuate the musical genre in this middle period. Like patronage, the *zāwīya* involved its members in personal relationships whose intimacy was in part a function of their being carried on in face-to-face oral interactions. By the middle of the 18th century, then, the music had come to reach a much broader audience in Morocco than ever before. Despite the evident economic impoverishment of the local regimes, which could not afford to lavish patronage upon musicians to the extent that the elite of al-Andalus had, and in the face of repeated environmental and economic crises that wracked Morocco throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, still the Andalusian music tradition survived and even grew, adding at least one new *nūba* to the repertoire (*al-Istihlāl*) in the early 1700s and seeing the gradual incorporation of the North African *barwala* as an “authentic” element.

Thus the arrival of the most important anthologist of the tradition, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥā'ik (d. after 1788), far from rescuing a dying tradition from oblivion (as is commonly believed) helped to define the boundaries of a still-thriving musical genre by enshrining in written form what he himself had memorized of the poetry associated with the musical modes he described as “Andalusī”. Since its apparent date of composition (perhaps around 1788) al-Ḥā'ik's *Kunnāš* has come to symbolize the tradition itself, operating as both an

icon of the tradition's connection to the Andalusī poetic heritage, and as an ur-text helping to define what is considered authentic material for performance. Al-Ḥā'ik's anthology was a watershed for al-Āla. By committing the tradition to writing, al-Ḥā'ik set it on a path that has led both to its enshrinement as an art form worthy of preservation, and to the establishment of a modern conservatory system for preserving it—thus enabling a further expansion of the tradition's audience outside Andalusī ethnic communities.

The modern era of al-Āla began with al-Ḥā'ik, but it received a significant impetus from the second important anthologist, Muḥammad al-Jāmi'ī (d. 1885?). Not only did al-Jāmi'ī produce a collection of *ṣanā'ī'* that complements the *Kunnāš* in preserving a few songs, versions of songs, and performance units not found in the earlier work, but he also helped to establish the first teaching institution for the music, in the Medina of Fez. Although this early conservatory probably was only a facility where master teachers could conduct classes in essentially the same way they had for generations in their homes, it nevertheless laid conceptual foundations for the modern conservatory system that professionalized the teaching faculty and further standardized the repertoire of al-Āla in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The al-Ḥā'ik and al-Jāmi'ī anthologies, by virtue of their wide acceptance as *aṣīl*, and their stability as written documents, thus made possible the large-scale teaching institutions that have helped to establish al-Āla as a national heritage accessible to nearly anyone with an interest in it.

The modern National Conservatory of Music and Dance was created during the French Protectorate era, under the auspices of Alexis Chottin. As a scholar attached to the Protectorate government, he was charged with the task of studying and preserving Moroccan traditional music. His *laboratoire de musique marocaine* in Rabat became a meeting place for masters of al-Āla from across the country, and led directly to the establishment of the National Conservatory system with branches in all the main cities of Morocco. With the help of more recent master musicians like Mohamed Briouel and his late master 'Abd al-Krīm ar-Rāyis, the National Conservatory has become one of the pillars of the Andalusian music tradition in the modern era. Every year, dozens of students of all ages take lessons in al-Āla at the five major branches of the Conservatory in Fez, Tetuan, Tangier, Rabat and Casablanca, following a curriculum developed by ar-Rāyis primarily from the *Kunnāš* repertoire taught by the age-old method of rote memorization by oral repetition.

Yet this apparent success in extending access to the tradition has come at a cost: the tradition's music and poetry are quite complex, and actual performance opportunities are limited, and so the majority of the students maintain only a very superficial interest in the tradition. Moreover, by emphasizing a

standardized curriculum, professionalizing the relationship between student and teacher, and inserting itself between them as the guarantor of the curriculum and the teacher's income, the conservatory system has actually undercut the social relations that once animated the tradition. The result has been a tradition that is more widely recognized (and perhaps appreciated) than ever. Yet the emphasis placed upon a standard curriculum, founded upon modern printed anthologies and held by a cadre of established masters, has completely bounded the "authentic" repertoire, and so the options for its creative expansion seem ever more remote.

The most advanced training of *Āla* performers still takes place in the presence of a master musician, either at the higher levels of the conservatory classes (which are usually conducted one-on-one), or in an orchestra (*jawq*) centered upon a *mu'allim*. In either case, the more refined aspects of the repertoire—including the most difficult *ṣanā'i'* and nuances of style—are taught by the classical method of rote memorization with minimal reference to printed texts. Indeed, what printed texts do exist are inadequate as teaching materials because they represent the tradition as poetry without any of the textual alterations brought about by the musical composition.

All the major orchestras—of which there are about ten nationwide—are sponsored in one way or another by organizations known as *jam'īyyāt*, or music-lovers' associations. These associations arrange concerts (*ḥafalāt*) and festivals (*mahrajānāt*) featuring the major orchestras, supported by member subscriptions, donations, and in some circumstances by partial funding through the national Ministry of Cultural Affairs. Together, the conservatory system, the *jam'īyyāt* and the Ministry of Cultural Affairs comprise the modern institutional system that has replaced the old system of informal institutions centered on aristocratic patronage and makes the tradition available as an element of Moroccan public culture.

These institutions are "modern" in that they represent important departures from the informal social-economic institutions of the early and middle periods of the tradition's history. A hallmark of formal institutions in the modern world is that they rely upon standardization of relationships and impersonalization of economic arrangements. These are necessary for the efficiency which formal institutions strive for. Thus, gone are the personal economic relationships of patronage and artiste slavery founded largely upon intimate, face-to-face contact. They have been replaced by commodified social relationships that are based upon highly formalized economic exchange and (usually written) arrangements—whether between the *jam'īyya* or Ministry (acting in the place formerly occupied by the patron) and the audience, or between these institutions and the *jawq* and its members (acting as the client), or between the conservatory on one hand and the student or the teacher on the other.

As already noted, however, despite this clear drift in the institutional system toward the impersonal and the formal, significant elements of older personal social relationships persist, embodied in the oral channel of communication that was characteristic of the early and middle periods, which places participants in the tradition in face-to-face interactions. This power of personal oral communication has survived especially in the system that trains musicians—the conservatory and the teaching *jawq*—because these types of relationship bear social value in ways that will be explored in Chapter 2.

This very brief and schematic overview leaves us in a position to explore a set of linguistic issues that close examination of the modern anthologies of al-Āla and the manuscript traditions that lie behind them bring to the fore. The following chapters argue that the actual contents of the tradition are not the texts as found in the various anthologies, but the *ṣanāʿi*-as-sung. What, then, is the relationship between the two? How does performing the *ṣanʿa* transform the text? Conversely, can we discover traces in the printed anthologies that reveal the oral underpinnings of the tradition? And given all of this, how do the different contexts of literary rendering and oral performance help to generate meaning—linguistic value, both in the present and in reference to the past—within the boundaries of the tradition? Such questions inform the chapters that follow in Part I.

## Toward a Sociolinguistics of the Text

### 1 The Canon and the Textual Turn

The three print anthologies compiled by ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Ibn Maṣṣūr (1977, IM), al-Ḥājj Idrīs Ibn Jallūn (1979, IJ), and ‘Abd al-Krīm ar-Rāyīs (1982, MW), today constitute the textual canon of al-Āla. That is to say, they embody the texts that experts and aficionados consider *aṣīl*, or authentic to be performed within the boundaries of the tradition. The first two, IM and IJ, carry a great deal of weight amongst participants in the tradition because they present themselves as studies/redactions of the tradition’s ostensible urtext, *Kunnāš al-Ḥā’ik*, while also including material that is now performed as *mizān ad-darj*. MW supplements these two with *ṣanā’i’* and versions of *ṣanā’i’* collected by al-Jāmi’ī at the end of the 19th century. Apart from a very few isolated examples, all the texts performed today are found in one or more of these print anthologies. (The exceptions are occasional *ṣanā’i’* allegedly “discovered” by contemporary performers, with melodies typically attributed to their masters—likely a cover for their own creative efforts—and nearly always traceable to one of the manuscript versions of the *Kunnāš*.)

The idea of canon I am working with here is something of a shorthand expression that has little to do with the rich debate that has transpired concerning canon-formation in the context of the Western literary tradition. The chief aspect of that discussion that touches upon this very limited concept of canon has to do with the relations of power inherent in the process of defining what is canonical. The common element is the significance of teaching and teaching institutions in the establishment of canonical status, as John Guillory (1993) has emphasized. But the circumstances are quite different: whereas Guillory emphasizes the Western literary canon as a product of the teaching of literature in the academy, the canonicity of al-Āla texts derives from a living, mixed-oral tradition preserved by experts who have learned the tradition at the hands of masters of an earlier generation. The authority of the former has been challenged from both outside and within an academy divided by the culture-war politics of the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries; the authority of the latter is not contested at all within the boundaries of the tradition. Rather the main challenge has been a growing tendency for some younger Moroccans today to view the entire Āla tradition as fundamentally irrelevant to their lives, a threat to the social foundations of the tradition itself, not merely to its contents.

But with respect to this textual canon, it is not just the written “capture” of an oral text that makes it canonical, but rather a complex series of cultural events and conditions that render the text inviolable in some sense and establish it as a reference point for future renditions of the tradition. The example of the oral traces in these texts, most notable in the various *barwala* songs discussed below, shows that this point has been reached by the printed versions of the *Kunnāš*: Although they vary considerably amongst the three canonical anthologies, the fact of the acceptance of the *barwala* as *ašil* and its inclusion with the other song types shows that the printed tradition has the “power” to signify canonicity to texts that actually had nothing at all to do with the *Kunnāš*. It is the association of the printed books with the *Kunnāš* that does this, not merely their having been rendered in writing by a noted figure in the tradition.

These anthologies represent the culmination of a prolonged process by which the texts of the tradition were committed to writing. However, as Chapter 3 below will demonstrate, the process was not merely one of collecting material that was being performed and writing it down. On the contrary, inconsistencies in the manuscript traditions that lie behind the modern canon point to the existence of more than one body of texts that have gradually converged to produce the canon. The manuscripts that appear to be the earliest attempts at a comprehensive anthology are only poorly represented in the modern canon, and in the two intervening centuries, a number of other manuscripts appeared, which are related to the first but clearly distinct in structure and content. These textual repositories contain some of the *šanāʿi* found in the first manuscript, but also other material not found there. All these manuscripts are identified as *Kunnāš al-Ḥāʿik*, despite the diversity of their contents, but where this “newer” material originated cannot be determined with the available evidence. It is safe to say, however, that as with the tradition as a whole prior to the creation of the earliest anthologies, all these *šanāʿi* must have circulated for some time as oral or quasi-oral tradition—very likely among diverse communities of Āla performers and aficionados—before emerging into the manuscripts we have today. As a further complication, although two of the modern anthologies, IM and IJ, identify themselves with the *Kunnāš*, in fact their contents represent even the most recent of the manuscripts only incompletely.

About a century after the first *Kunnāš* manuscript, another textual stream appeared in manuscript form attributed to an otherwise undocumented *faqih*, Muḥammad al-Jāmiʿī. The al-Jāmiʿī collection is distinct from the *Kunnāš* in being smaller, and in containing some new material but also different versions of *šanāʿi* found in the *Kunnāš*. This corpus of songs, although not nearly as famous as the *Kunnāš*, has nevertheless influenced the formation of the modern canon significantly and accounts for some of the differences between it and the *Kunnāš* manuscripts.

Far from being a matter of the copying of one anthology from another, material derived from oral sources thus played a very significant role in the process by which the modern textual canon came into being. I have discussed elsewhere (Davila, 2013) the significance of oral processes more generally within this otherwise literate tradition. For most of its history, the social institutions that supported the tradition were based upon the personal relationships inherent in oral communication. And even today, oral processes play a very significant role in teaching the tradition at all levels. Yet the literary dimension, with its essentially impersonal character, has played an important part, as well. In my previous book I used the term “mixed-oral” to describe al-Āla, by which I meant that oral and literary processes of transmission have survived within the tradition by playing complementary roles, because both channels of communication are and have been regarded as socially meaningful, albeit in different ways.

The social significance of these oral and literary processes as they relate to the texts themselves is the subject of this chapter. HST put forward a value theory of tradition with which I sought to explain mixed orality in light of the social and economic arrangements that have surrounded the tradition throughout its history. However, the same theory can be used to explain mixed orality through the linguistic characteristics of the tradition, as well. This chapter, then, revisits the value theory of tradition to outline its uses in dealing with the role that orality has played in the formation of the literary version of *Ramal al-Māya*.

## 2      **The Value Theory of Tradition: Social, Economic and Linguistic Value in al-Āla**

David Graeber, in his book *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Dreams*, argues that economic, social and linguistic concepts of value are all facets of one cultural phenomenon: the assigning of importance to particular actions in social context. Just as a social value, such as prestige, depends upon the individual acting within certain norms that are considered important (and owning and displaying certain objects that are similarly regarded as important in the society at large), so too economic value (as opposed to *monetary cost*) depends upon the social significance placed upon owning material objects and the web of exchanges that centers on them and which they represent. Likewise, linguistic value (i.e. the meaning of a word) also derives, not merely from a list of not-this definitions (as de Saussure would have it), but from the array of social contexts in which a word is used (that is, from *parole* not *langue*, to use de Saussure’s terminology).

To Graeber's discussion of linguistic value we might add that, while meaning as such is indeed socially constructed, one important factor that shapes this construction is the context within which a given utterance is encountered, which is true whether we are dealing with oral or written communication. In English, for example, the word *chair* primarily refers to a piece of furniture that one sits upon. But it may also refer to a person who is responsible for supervising the activities of a group of people, as in *chair of the meeting* or *chair of the department*. Which sense of the word *chair* is intended can only be determined from the context in which the word is used, and that context is perforce social, in one way or another. If this is true for English, it is even more characteristic of Arabic, a language in which many words have several domains of meaning—some of them even contradictory—and which therefore relies even more emphatically upon context for the generation of precise meaning.

When dealing with poetic texts, as we are in this book, the context in which an utterance is encountered takes on added significance. Poetry can be challenging enough to interpret, since it frequently relies upon cultural references that can be opaque, to say the least, to the uninitiated. In addition to this, there are a number of the images found in *Ramal al-Māya* texts whose full cultural import can only be appreciated when heard in the larger context of the *nūba* itself.<sup>1</sup> Thus the interpretation and appreciation of poetry itself is a socially constructed, socially valued activity, which further highlights the relevance of Graeber's insights into value.

Combining Graeber's unified concept of value with a socially-oriented definition of tradition provides a useful way of analyzing al-Āla's social, economic and linguistic foundations. David Gross (1992) defined tradition as a set of behaviors and prescriptive norms that carries prestige and links participants to the past. Emphasizing the social conditions that underpin tradition, Gross points out that every tradition depends upon the "totality of social relations" within which it operates.<sup>2</sup> As those social conditions change, elements of the tradition must also change or be adapted to the new circumstances by acquiring new social meanings. If enough elements of a tradition prove to be too inflexible to be adapted, the tradition will eventually die out: people will cease to practice it. This analysis of tradition shows that it embodies value in Graeber's sense: Gross' definition implies that people find enacting particular behaviors within the prescriptive norms of the tradition important for any number of social reasons, including the fact that these behaviors connect them with the past.

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1 For an example of how this is so, see Davila (2012b).

2 p. 6

Thus the value theory of tradition: traditions are valued because they represent a repertoire of behaviors that are regarded as important and meaningful for the ways in which they link participants to a shared sense of connection with their past. This “value load” may manifest as social, economic or linguistic value, or any combination these. The social and economic values associated with al-Āla, detailed in HST, are intimately bound up with its mixed-oral character. Participants in the tradition have preserved much of its oral-traditional character because they regard the personal qualities it fosters as important. Even the impersonality inherent in the modern institutions that have come to dominate the preservation and presentation of the tradition has not superseded the value placed upon the intimate relationships that orality facilitates. At the same time, al-Āla’s mixed-oral character means that its literary dimension also is valued for the ways that aficionados regard it as socially important.

Keep in mind here that the literary dimension of al-Āla represents the actual performed tradition only very poorly. The anthologies present only the texts, without the melodies (however some manuscripts do contain simple musical indications, such as the number of rounds through the rhythmic cycle). In addition to the *tarāṭīn* described in Chapter 1, *ṣanāʿīʿ* very often contain repetitions of words and phrases, as well as breaks in lines (and even in the middle of words), all of which follow the logic of the melody rather than that of the text. None of these complications are found in the anthologies. Rather they represent the tradition as poems, using the standard format for poetry in Classical Arabic: lines of verse divided into two hemistiches (although in some strophic *ṣanāʿīʿ* these are broken into shorter segments as well). An analogy to the English-speaking world might be if a book of Christmas songs were to present “Deck the Halls” without the nonsense syllables *fa la la la la la la la*:

*Deck the halls with boughs of holly.*  
*’Tis the season to be jolly.*  
*Don we now our gay apparel.*  
*Troll the ancient yuletide carol.*

There is no question that this captures the lexical content of the song, but certainly not the festive spirit invoked while singing it. More importantly, it is of little help in actually singing the song. In such a situation, one would need someone who already knows the way the song is sung to derive it from the printed text—oral transmission, in other words.

Unlike songbooks in many other musical genres, the anthologies of the Āla repertoire do not attempt to present the song texts in a form that will help the reader sing along with the music. This is very significant for understanding the

socially meaningful aspect of the written texts, since it leads us to recognizing their function as iconic representations of the tradition. Whatever other value the anthologies embody, their format and presentation link al-Āla to the grand tradition of Arabic poetry, that most prestigious of literary forms in the language. This reinforces the *aṣīl* character of the tradition in the minds of its aficionados. There simply is no comparable convention in Classical Arabic letters for representing songs as such. Therefore, including all the line breaks, repetitions, and *tarāṭīn* would undermine the perception of authenticity that attaches to al-Āla itself.

At the same time, the anthologies fulfill their iconic function without interfering with the socially-valued oral dimension: as with the example above, the *ṣanʿa*-as-sung can only be derived from the text with the help of someone who already knows the tradition well. Yet this is not regarded as a defect or shortcoming in the tradition: aficionados generally seem to recognize that the literary dimension serves purposes distinct from the tradition's oral quality. This imbrication of oral and literary dimensions is simply the way it has come down to them. The actual contents of the Āla tradition are the *ṣanāʿi*-as-sung, for which their literary expression is only an imperfect representation, yet that discontinuity serves the tradition well enough and in fact is valued.

If this mixed orality seems at first glance surprising, perhaps it is because the experience of Western societies generally has been that writing and literacy has come to be more highly valued socially and economically (and legally!), so that literacy has largely displaced orality in many domains (such as the teaching of music, or the awarding of prizes for books of poetry but not for oral renditions). By contrast, in much of the Arabic-speaking world the personal, intimate relationships embodied in oral transmission have tended to be highly valued in the face of the totalizing, almost transcendent power of the written word. Thus this "value theory of tradition" helps to explain the persistence of oral processes of transmission within the Āla tradition, despite and alongside of the existence of written versions of the *ṣanāʿi*: both modes are valued, but for different and complementary reasons.

Oral transmission, and especially the rote-memorization-by-oral-repetition method of teaching al-Āla, is valued because it facilitates the refinement of *aṣīl* performance practice and even more, because it tends to perpetuate the highly valued personal relationships which have historically animated the tradition, both in its patronized performance aspect, and in the area of teaching and preservation of the music itself.

Conversely, the specific form and limitations of the written version of the tradition—the modern songbooks and the manuscript anthologies that lie behind them—also can be explained by the value theory of tradition. By representing

the *ṣanāʿi* as poetry and ignoring the plethora of breaks, repetitions and *tarāṭīn* that are fundamental to accurate performance, the anthologies preserve the most valued aspect of the written word in this case: its power to connect these songs to the grand tradition of Arabic letters generally, and to the high point of Andalusī poetic culture in particular. This value (prestige, in a word) is enacted by owning and displaying these anthologies, and by becoming conversant in the material they contain. In addition, to be able to read and display knowledge of these anthologies, and even more, to be able to derive the performed version of the *ṣanʿa* from its incomplete rendering in the song book, all this marks one as erudite and a lover of the rich cultural heritage that al-Āla represents.

Although the discussion of written text in this book at times brackets off the socially meaningful dimensions of orality for the sake of clarity, this is an artificial separation. The reason for the alterations of text that Chapter 4 brings to light is in fact the *coexistence of voice and pen* within the confines of the tradition. Indeed, this coexistence is grounded upon the valued uses of the text in both its oral and literary forms. That the oral form carries social significance is obvious; learning, rehearsing and performing songs are all deeply imbued with social characteristics. Yet, a book of *ṣanʿa* texts is likewise a socially significant object whose uses and potential go far beyond the apparently individual act of reading. Only in light of this can the “impacts” of the voice on the products of the pen documented in Chapter 4 be seen as having value.

### 3 A Theoretical Issue: The Pen as Integrative Tool

In *History, Society and Text*, I characterized the modern Moroccan Andalusian music as a mixed-oral tradition in which oral processes of transmission and performance coexist with a canon of written texts that serves to define its boundaries. Orality and literacy, being culturally-informed skills and socially-situated practices, serve the tradition in different ways, binding participants within the Moroccan cultural landscape by eliciting distinct kinds of meaningful action. The oral dimensions of the tradition function in two ways. The transmission process involves face-to-face interactions that embody personal connections and intimate, shared experiences of direct participation in the tradition and the cultural heritage it represents. The activities surrounding learning and teaching the tradition thus are valued because they bring a lofty cultural heritage into a milieu where it can be embodied as intimate, shared experiences. Performance, the activities of playing the music and attending concerts, allows the larger community to partake of a similar shared experience of the cultural heritage, albeit on a somewhat less personal and more expansive level.

In contrast, the written aspect of the tradition establishes a connection between the Moroccan cultural heritage and that of al-Andalus specifically, and the golden age of Arabic letters generally. To own an anthology of the poetry, to display it, read it and become conversant with the tradition-as-poetry, gives one what has come to be known in the West as *cultural capital* (Bourdieu, 1973): it marks one as erudite and knowledgeable, and as having a sensibility and affection for the refinements of the language. Through participation in the tradition in this way one earns respect, though the experience is in some ways more individual and detached from the intimate, personal qualities associated with the oral facets of the tradition.

HST focused primarily on explaining the persistence of orality because it seems to violate the expectation, based upon the history of literacy in the West, that once the written word has taken hold, oral processes will be rendered secondary at best, or even left behind entirely. The almost aggressively self-confident gestures of the pen seem naturally authoritative to members of societies that deploy literacy and literate discourses extensively and that place a great deal of value in the pen's ability to produce stable and totalizing texts. In general, societies like our own have come to draw a firm distinction between reading and reciting, between the private experience of literature and the public experience of lecture, even though this was not always the case even in Western Europe.<sup>3</sup>

Such an orientation tends to obscure the power exercised by the voice in shaping the products of the pen. Yet the particular system of mixed orality functioning within al-Āla utilizes literacy with specific limitations that illustrate well its socially-defined character. Orality survives in al-Āla in part because the value system it embodies overlaps minimally with that which attaches to the literate aspect of the tradition, despite the fact demonstrated in the materials that follow that the former is deeply implicated in the form and contents of the latter.

A significant characteristic of the pen in al-Āla is the way the tradition deploys its product as an icon of the tradition as a whole. The written version

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3 Jesse Gellrich (1995) has shown that the emergence of literacy in medieval Europe was not a clear break from the predominantly oral character of the past. Rather, orality provided the cultural forms and the norms of power relations upon which the authority of the pen was socially constructed. The modern hegemony of literacy was thus a later development, conditioned by historical circumstances specific to European cultures. John Miles Foley's work on the metonymic character of oral tradition (1995) also undermines the idea that literacy represents a clean break with the cultural forms of orality, as do the case studies of non-Western societies documented by Ruth Finnegan (1988), and others.

of al-Āla is only marginally useful for the purposes to which one might put a precise representation of the *ṣanāʿi*ʿ-*as-sung*. It cannot replace a master's knowledge of the tradition. But the anthologies, and especially *Kunnāš al-Ḥāʾik*, serve quite well as iconic representation. Not only do they suggest the "poetic spirit" of the tradition, by doing so, they import a value system that neither the *ṣanāʿi*ʿ-*as-sung* nor a hypothetical, accurate representation of the *ṣanāʿi*ʿ-*as-sung* could. The pen thus serves al-Āla by producing a material point of reference for participants in the tradition, and even more, by providing a generalized iconic representation that can stand for the tradition as a whole, including its performed dimensions.

How is this possible? How could an imprecise, literary rendering of an essentially oral phenomenon come to stand in for that phenomenon in a socially meaningful way?

The answer to this question depends upon recognizing writing as something other than a representation of speech. Roy Harris, in *Rethinking Writing* (2000), argues for an integrational view of writing, by which he means that writing is best understood through the ways in which particular instances of writing serve to "articulate the integration of one form of verbal activity with another, or verbal activities with non-verbal activities." (211) In other words, the significance of writing lies as much in its power to represent an enmeshing of communication with context as it does in its apparent ability to represent speech. Starting with the assumption that all forms of communication are context-dependent, Harris argues for a semiology of writing that is free of an assumed, fundamental dependence of writing upon speech.

The relations between speech and writing, from an integrational perspective, are construed in a quite different way. First, because an integrational semiology recognizes that *there are forms and features of writing which have nothing to do with speech at all*. Second, because in those cases where speech is one of the activities that is integrationally relevant, its connexions with writing can take a variety of different forms, depending on the circumstances of the case and on the other activities involved. (81 [emphasis added])

Harris' integrational semiology of writing thus may include non-spoken, and even non-verbal forms of communication within the domains of meaning available to the written word. Harris suggests the example of a stop sign, discarded on a trash heap. In its usual context, the word stop on the sign is read as something like *stop your vehicle here and then proceed* when the intersection is clear. While lying on the trash heap, the content and form of the stop sign have

not changed at all, but it may “have” a host of new meanings, some of them very far removed from the sign’s “original purpose.” In short, the meaning of the written word stop is not complete without the context. The sign’s meaning depends not only upon its contents or form, nor even upon some original intention on the part of the “author,” but equally upon the context in which it is encountered. What is important in Harris’ view is how the written word serves to integrate the communicative act into the context; and to this we may add that that communicative act *must be value laden by virtue of its being written*, since the only meaningful context for a communication is a social one.

Harris’ integrational approach complements the value theory of tradition by showing that the context upon which the meaning of a written text depends need not be limited to the overt act of communication itself, but can also include the social-cultural “meanings” (that is, the values) evoked in the presentation. In the same way that a hazy photograph of a stop sign discarded on a trash heap, when framed and presented in a gallery, might be “read” as a statement about the environment, the *ṣanāʿī*ʿ of al-Āla, when cast in print as poems can become symbolic representations of the sung tradition by virtue of their broad similarity to the *ṣanāʿī*ʿ-*as-sung* and their presentation as the tradition itself. The *aṣīl* connotations of poetry and the format of the presentation become elements of the context that extend the significance of the *ṣanāʿī*ʿ beyond what appears on the page, despite and because of the imprecise way that they actually represent the tradition. These texts would not exist in this form without the performed tradition, but the tradition itself would lack a significant dimension of its social value without them.

This iconic movement of the written text, from simple representation of speech to complex signifier of tradition, is implied in much of the discussion that follows in Chapters 3 and 4. It explains the importance of the written representations to the tradition as a whole by suggesting a mechanism for the back-and-forth movement of signification between written text and valued social frame, in which incomplete written text comes to stand for performed text, and performed text comes to “dwell in” written text. The iconic potential of *Kunnāš al-Ḥāʾik* (and the modern anthologies based in part upon it) derives from the way that particular version of the poetry serves to integrate the communicative act of performance into an already-valued traditional communication-format: poetry preserved in writing.

#### 4 A Sociolinguistics of the Text

Viewed more broadly, I am proposing here what might be called a sociolinguistics of the text, by which I mean a study of the written word that emphasizes

the relationship between its linguistic contents or characteristics and its social-cultural positions and functions. These positions and functions may include intertextual relationships, but also interpersonal relationships as well as personal relationships with the text itself. Such a sociolinguistic enterprise would be allied with, but to my mind distinct from, philology as traditionally conceived. Whereas traditional philology sought out the roots and shifting meanings of words over time, and thus contributed substantially to other disciplines like history (without ever becoming established as a discipline of its own), a sociolinguistics of text would not explore only what words mean, but also how written language informs and is informed by its social-cultural operations.

It would likely have strong similarities to reader-response theory, in that it focuses upon how text is used in particular circumstances, rather than seeking some kind of transcendent meaning inherent in it. But in contrast, a sociolinguistics of text would emphasize that the text begins its social life through an author creating “something that means something” already bearing a value-load (or value-potential), without which it simply would not have been created. This value-load will be shaped to some degree by form and contents, since over time these tend to shape the linguistic value of a given text in consistent ways across different communities of the text. But more significant to this approach would be the importance attaching to the text’s many interactions with readers and other texts within the contexts in which it is encountered. This action-oriented approach seems to me more productive than delving into mental processes or some abstract conception of “culture”. Because the linguistic value of the text—defined as both significance and signification—is use-dependent, communities of the text provide *contexts* that enhance, reframe and augment the value-load attaching to the uses of the text.

The present work is concerned with the social characteristics of orality and literacy and how they have shaped the form and linguistic characteristics of the text. Implicit in the following two chapters is the view that the social importance attaching to the textual corpus (and therefore, its meaning) is always already implicated within intertextual relationships that include the performed text and context. The modern canon, as described in Chapter 3, could not exist apart from its valued status; for this reason, it functions within the tradition as a unified whole, despite its evident discontinuities. In the case of al-Āla, intertextuality is meaningless without the value load the corpus itself bears.

## Al-Āla as a Literary Phenomenon

### 1 The Canon

Three printed anthologies define the canon of al-Āla texts as performed today: IM, IJ and MW. Together, these works represent the modern embodiment of the two manuscript anthologies, *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik* and the corpus of *ṣanā'ī'* collected by al-Jāmi'i. However, the process by which the essentially oral materials that lie behind them came to be committed to writing is not completely understood, and the manuscript evidence available to date is far from comprehensive. This chapter examines these modern texts and the manuscript traditions from which they sprang with the aim of characterizing the relationships among them and what they may reveal of the processes which formed them.

The intertextual relationships among the three anthologies will be taken up more comprehensively in Chapter 4, where their complex and often problematic relationships to the oral dimensions of the tradition will be dealt with, as well. The present chapter opens the search for traces of orality in the written canon embodied in these three anthologies by describing in some detail the two historical anthologies of al-Āla that lie at the root of the printed canon and have helped to define its boundaries. Let us begin with the first and more important of the two, *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*.

### 2 *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*

The texts of the Moroccan Andalusian music were first committed to writing in the early 18th century by Muḥammad al-Bū'aṣāmī. His anthology, *Īqād aš-šumū' li-ladḍat al-masmū' bi-naḡamāt aṭ-ṭubū'*, has survived only in fragmentary form, which preserves most of the author's introduction and portions of just six *nūbāt* (*al-Iṣbahān*, *al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr*, *al-Ḥijāz al-Mašriqī*, *al-Uššāq*, *al-Māya and ar-Raṣd*).<sup>1</sup> It does, however, make reference to the four *mayāzīn* recognized at the time, as well as the *ṭubū'* today held to be authentically Andalusī. It is unclear now why this work was not as widely known as the *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*, but it certainly did not achieve the same degree of fame: it is today cited only by specialists in the tradition. It is, however, the earliest known example of an attempt to collect what was performed in the *nūba* tradition in written form. As such, it would seem to have set (or reflected) the convention of presenting

<sup>1</sup> 1995 edition by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Jalīl.

these texts in the form of poetry in the classical style, conventions which al-Ḥā'ik followed half a century later. (It is not known whether al-Ḥā'ik was aware of al-Bū'āṣāmī's work: no version of *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik* mentions him.)

The more important anthology by far was completed near the end of the 18th century by the anthologist, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥā'ik at-Tiṭwānī al-Andalusī (in some manuscripts, al-Fāsī, as well). His *Kunnāš* ("handbook") serves today as the key reference work for all subsequent comprehensive collections in the tradition. It captures what the anthologist himself had collected of the *ṣanā'ī'* performed in *nūbāt* using the 25 *ṭubū'* held by al-Ḥā'ik to have originated in al-Andalus. Little is known today about the anthologist, other than his name and a few clues in his anthology about his purpose in creating the work.<sup>2</sup> Fernando Valderrama Martínez has conducted the most thorough research into the author's biography, but found no information on al-Ḥā'ik among leading families of Tetuan, al-Ḥā'ik's purported home town. From the appellation "al-Fāsī" added to his name in some sources, Valderrama Martínez suggests that the anthologist probably compiled his work while living in Fez, but his family may have originated in a village near Tetuan.<sup>3</sup>

That the *Kunnāš* eventually had an important impact upon the tradition is clear. Perhaps not at first but certainly over time, it came to be regarded as the defining written record of al-Āla. Musicians and aficionados alike now treat it as a kind of essential textual moment, identifying the Andalusian musical heritage of Morocco as an art form worthy of conscientious preservation. The very act of compiling the *nūba* tradition and organizing it on the written page as a teaching manual made this idea possible and initiated a process that contributed to the music's present status as the classical music of Morocco.

Valderrama Martínez (1953, 1954) also was responsible for the first serious study of the *Kunnāš* as a document, describing the anthology's basic structure and characterizing its contents, based upon two manuscripts he found in Morocco. Other data on *Kunnāš* manuscripts may be found in Amnon Shiloah's *The Theory of Music in Arabic Writings* (1979), which refers to three incomplete manuscripts located in European archives (nos. 066, 067 and 297). A third scholar, Manuela Cortés García (1995, 1996, 2003), who studied with Valderrama Martínez, has also written on the *Kunnāš*. Finally, Malik Bennūna has conducted extensive research on the poetry of al-Āla and provides a wealth of historical and literary data on the *Kunnāš* in his introduction and in footnotes in his 1999 edition of manuscript #144 at the Ḥizāna Dāwūdiyya archive in Tetuan.

<sup>2</sup> See HST, Chapter 3 §2.

<sup>3</sup> 1954, pp. 33-34.

Cortés García, having searched the various copies of the *Kunnāš* for clues about its author, came to the conclusion that al-Ḥā'ik was a well-educated man, versed in Qur'an and law, as well as poetry and music, and that he produced the *Kunnāš* from both oral and written sources, combining what had not yet been lost among the Andalusian community in Morocco with material he supplied from Moroccan authors, "respondiendo al gusto de la época." (1996, p. 89) (She does not indicate exactly what led her to conclude that al-Ḥā'ik was responsible for introducing Moroccan material into the *nūba* tradition).

### 2.1 Manuscripts

The manuscript tradition behind the modern canon has been the subject of some discussion, but little effort has been made to work out the relationships among the various extant copies of *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*. A coherent stemma has yet to be constructed, but as I have not had the opportunity to examine all the available manuscripts, such an endeavor lies outside the reach of the present work. This section introduces a number of the better-known *Kunnāš* manuscripts. Section 2.2 puts forward some observations based upon data found in the most detailed discussions of the *Kunnāš* manuscripts (Shiloah, 1979; Bennūna, 1999; and Cortés García, 1996 and 2003) and upon my own study of two *Kunnāš* photocopies I have in hand. Within these limits, a careful look at the documents suggests interesting questions and possibilities.

*Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik* exists today in an unknown number of manuscript copies of various provenances scattered around Morocco and Europe. Some of these documents undoubtedly were produced as library pieces intended for the bookshelf of some erudite aficionado of the Andalusian musical-poetic heritage, because they were executed in a decorative hand with ornate verse and hemistich markers. Others probably served mainly as reference volumes for *ru'asā'* and other musicians, for they include marginalia presenting additional *ṣanā'i'*, alternative verses and annotations on the music. Cortés García mentions some 21 manuscripts identified as "*Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*" though she selects only six as belonging to "la familia al-Ḥā'ik."<sup>4</sup> The following list comprises eight of the most commonly cited *Kunnāš* manuscripts.

- 1 *Bennīs*—Ms. owned by the *wazīr* 'Abd ar-Raḥmān *Bennīs* (copy donated to Bennūna for use in his 1999 edition: see p. 17); dated by Bennūna 1881
- 2 D144—Ms. #144 from the collection of the late Tetuani historian, Muḥammad Dāwūd, now deposited at his private library, al-Ḥizāna

4 For a complete list of manuscripts mentioned in the literature, see Appendix 3. Members of Cortés García's "familia al-Ḥā'ik" are marked here with a superscript f.

- ad-Dāwūdiyya in Tetuan (subject of Bennūna edition, 1999); dated 1202/1788
- 3 *Leiden*—Leiden Universiteits Bibliotheek Or. 14100 (Shiloah # 066; Bennūna, p. 17); undated
  - 4 *London*—British Museum, London Or. 13235 (Shiloah #067); undated
  - 5 *Raysūnī*—Ms. in the library of the ar-Raysūnī family of Chefchaouen (copy donated to Bennūna for use in his 1999 edition: see pp. 17, 19 fn.); no date indicated by Bennūna
  - 6 *Raqīwaq*<sup>f</sup>—Ms. owned by al-Ḥājj ‘Abd as-Salām ar-Raqīwaq of Tanger (copy donated to Bennūna for use in his 1999 edition, see p. 17); copied 1325/1907. (This MS. was published as a facsimile edition of 1000 copies in 1981 by Jam‘iyyat Hawāt al-Mūsīqā al-Andalusiyya.)
  - 7 *Valderrama*<sup>f</sup>—Copy of a ms. executed in 1350/1931 for Fernando Valderrama Martínez by as-Sayyid Muḥammad Bū‘asal (original now lost, facsimile of copy published in 2003)
  - 8 *Wazzānī*—Copy of a ms. given to Sīdī Muḥammad ar-Raysūnī by al-‘Arabī al-Wazzānī that includes the *Kunnāš* attached to an anthology of poetry associated with the *zawāyā* (photocopy made available to me by Sī Mehdi Chaachou); undated.

These manuscripts have certain basic features in common. Each is an assemblage of *ṣanā’i’* organized into *ṭab*<sup>c</sup>-based *nūbāt*, each features four *mayāzīn* (*al-basīṭ*, *al-qā’im wa-niṣf*, *al-bṭāyḥī* and *al-quddām*), and each identifies itself with the anthologist, al-Ḥā’ik. All of them contain a mixture of songs labeled *tawṣīḥ*, *zajal* or *ṣuġl*,<sup>5</sup> and each has at least part of the anthologist’s *muqaddima*. In these ways, they clearly are related to one another. Yet these eight manuscripts also show puzzling variations in structure that raise significant questions about the relationships among them.

## 2.2 *Its Problematic Origins*

Of the 21 manuscripts mentioned by Cortés García (1995) only *Valderrama*’s and *Raqīwaq*’s structures are immediately available for scrutiny (both having been published in facsimile form). Among the others, charts in Shiloah and Bennūna present the basic structures of *Leiden*, *London*, *Raysūnī*, *Bennūn* and D144; and I have at my disposal a photocopy of *Wazzānī*. The picture that

5 See the Glossary: the term *ṣuġl* has a different meaning in the *Kunnāš* manuscripts than it does in the modern canon and in contemporary usage among musicians. Where once it meant a non-strophic, monorhymed *ṣan’ā*, today it refers to any *ṣan’ā*, whether strophic or not, that has *tarāṭīn*.

emerges from even a superficial comparison of these manuscripts shows that the manuscript tradition behind the modern canon is far from simple. Some “al-Ḥā’ik” manuscripts contain *nūbāt* not recognized in the modern canon, and even contain multiple versions of individual *nūbāt*. Table 1 compares these various structures with one another.

TABLE 1 *Arrangement of nūbāt in eight Kunnāš manuscripts (based in part upon Shiloah, 1979, and Bennūna, 1999)*

	Leiden, Raqīwaq, Wazzānī, Valderrama	Bennīs, London	Raysūnī	D144
1	<i>Ramal al-Māya</i>	<i>ar-Rašd</i>	<i>al-Ḥusayn</i>	<i>al-Istihlāl</i> (1)
2	<i>al-Išbahān</i>	<i>al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr</i>	<i>al-Išbahān</i> (1)	<i>al-Istihlāl</i> (2)
3	<i>al-Māya</i>	<i>‘Irāq al-‘Ajam</i>	<i>ar-Rašd</i>	<i>‘Irāq al-‘Arab</i>
4	<i>Rašd ad-Dīl</i>	<i>Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn</i>	<i>‘Irāq al-‘Ajam</i>	<i>al-Māya</i>
5	<i>al-Istihlāl</i>	<i>al-Māya</i>	<i>Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn</i>	<i>al-Ḥusayn</i>
6	<i>ar-Rašd</i>	<i>al-‘Uššāq</i>	<i>al-Māya</i>	<i>Ramal al-Māya</i>
7	<i>Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn</i>	<i>Rašd ad-Dīl</i>	<i>al-‘Uššāq</i>	<i>al-Išbahān</i>
8	<i>al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr</i>	<i>al-Istihlāl</i>	<i>Rašd ad-Dīl</i>	<i>al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr</i>
9	<i>al-Ḥijāz al-Mašriqī</i>	<i>Ramal al-Māya</i>	<i>al-Istihlāl</i>	<i>ar-Rašd</i>
10	<i>‘Irāq al-‘Ajam</i>	<i>al-Išbahān</i>	<i>Ramal al-Māya</i>	<i>Rašd ad-Dīl</i>
11	<i>al-‘Uššāq</i>	<i>al-Ḥijāz al-Mašriqī</i>	<i>al-Išbahān</i> (2)	<i>al-Ḥijāz al-Mašriqī</i>
12			<i>al-Ḥijāz al-Mašriqī</i>	<i>aš-Šikā</i>
13				<i>Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn</i>
14				[ <i>al-‘Uššāq?</i> ]

The first thing to notice in this table is that only four of the eight manuscripts (those in the first column) have all eleven contemporary *nūbāt*, and only those *nūbāt*, in the order in which they are usually arranged nowadays. Structurally speaking, these four manuscripts embody the al-Ḥā’ik canon as it is recognized today. Given that they differ markedly from the other manuscripts in the table, it is logical to conclude that these four—*Leiden*, *Raqīwaq*, *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*—are related to one another in some fashion. The similarities amongst them suggest origins in a common ancestor manuscript, but this

cannot be determined without careful study of their *ṣanʿa* texts: It may be that all four—and the others in Cortés García’s “familia al-Ḥāʾik”—derived more or less independently from oral traditions in diverse locations around Morocco.

*Wazzānī* and *Leiden* are not dated, but we know that *Raqīwaq* and *Valderrama* are 20<sup>th</sup>-century copies of older manuscripts.<sup>6</sup> *Raqīwaq* and *Valderrama* may have been copied much later than the other two, though this is not absolutely certain: it may be that all four are very late copies. *Wazzānī* is obviously not the “original *Kunnāš*” because it is part of a document that includes non-*Kunnāš* material. In principle, *Leiden* could be the (direct or indirect) source for the others—either the “original *Kunnāš*” or, more likely, a copy descended from a lost original. But it is equally possible that all four are descendants of a lost fifth manuscript and/or that any one could be a source for one or more of the others. Even with a careful comparison of the specific *ṣanāʿi* and details of the *muqaddima* each contains, it may be impossible to say which is true. Figures 1 and 2 represent these possible relationships in graphic form.

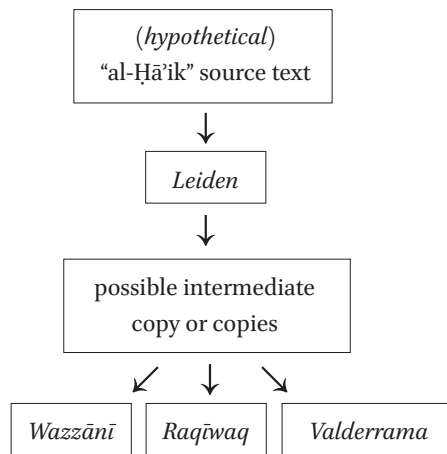


FIGURE 1 *Leiden as source for the other three manuscripts in its group, descended from an “original al-Ḥāʾik”.*

6 If there was a date in the original, Valderrama’s copyist did not record it.

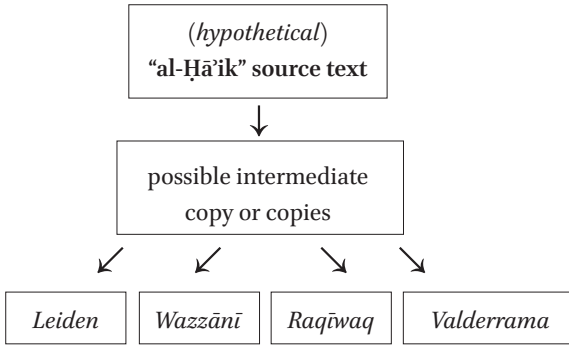


FIGURE 2 All four manuscripts as descended from the “original *Kunnāš*”.

Of the four remaining manuscripts in the sample, only two—*Bennīs* and *London*—contain all the contemporary *nūbāt*, though not in the modern order. It appears that these two copies are related as well, either one as source for the other, or else via a third copy as their common source. *Bennūna* believed that *London* is a copy of *Bennīs* (Figure 3).<sup>7</sup> Clearly, these two manuscripts bear some relationship to the first four, since they contain the same *nūbāt* but differ only in the order. Failing a detailed study of their contents, it is reasonable to suppose that they represent a variant on the now-standard order, either as a corruption of the “standard al-Ḥā’ik,” or as an alternative arrangement that was, at one time, also considered acceptable. The origin of the arrangement found in *Bennīs* and *London*, how it acquired the label *Kunnāš al-Ḥā’ik*, and how it eventually gave way to the modern arrangement, remain open questions.

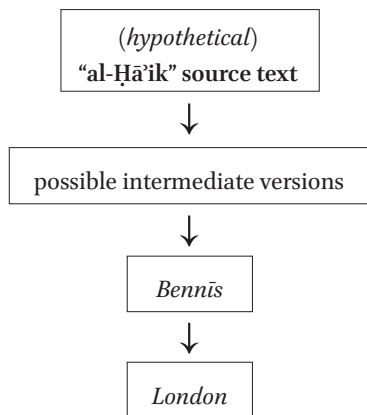


FIGURE 3 *Bennīs* and *London*

<sup>7</sup> Interview, 10/14/2005.

It could be that the modern order was indeed laid down by al-Ḥā'ik in an original *Kunnāš*, but that for a time his name was borrowed for any compilation of the *nūba* tradition, until the original version in some manner finally acquired enough authority to supplant all later contenders. On the other hand, it could be that any number of equally valid arrangements circulated in various parts of Morocco in the last two decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and that what is recognized today as standard was an outgrowth of other arrangements such as those in the second, third and fourth columns of Table 1. This second possibility calls into question the idea of a single “*Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*” as canonical urtext and stretches the anthologizing project over a much wider time and space than the standard narrative allows. For example, the absence of clear dates for so many of the *Kunnāš* manuscripts discussed here, and close examination of the al-Jāmi'ī manuscripts, suggest that the modern written order of *nūbāt* did not come into full acceptance until well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>8</sup> What seems evident from this simple comparison at the level of structure is that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥā'ik should be seen as something other than the mastermind of a unique reformulation of the Andalusian corpus; rather he may have been an eponymous figure who initiated (or perhaps merely participated in) a complex process that resulted at some later point in the modern canon attributed to him.

Data from the other columns in the table may bear on this question. The remaining two manuscripts—*Raysūnī* and D144—depart even further from those in the first column, in three ways:

They contain *nūbāt* not found in the modern canon  
(*Raysūnī*: *al-Ḥusayn*; D144: *Irāq al-'Arab*, *al-Ḥusayn* and *aṣ-Ṣīka*).

They lack *nūbāt* that are found in the modern canon  
(*Raysūnī*: *al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr*; D144: *Irāq al-'Ajam* and *al-'Uššāq*<sup>9</sup>).

8 See §3.2 below.

9 Bennūna points out (1999 p. 15) that the Dāwūdiyya #144 MS. *muqaddima* makes reference to “*al-Ġarība*,” which Bennūna argues refers to *Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn*, though this *nūba* is not found in the MS. Considering that pages have been lost from the document in more than one place, and that the MS. has been bound in a somewhat disordered fashion, it is not unreasonable to suppose that *Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn* was present in the manuscript at one time. Bennūna also argues that the manuscript probably also contained *al-'Uššāq*, even though it makes no reference to this *nūba*, because a selection from *al-'Uššāq* appears in al-Bū'aṣāmī's earlier work, which predates Dāwūdiyya #144 by about half a century (see HST, Chapter 3 §1.4). This argument is plausible, but it would be more convincing if the *Kunnāš* actually referred to al-Bū'aṣāmī's work.

They contain more than one *nūba* based upon a single *ṭabʿ*  
(*Raysūnī*: *al-Iṣbahān* 1 and 2; D144: *al-Istihlāl* 1 and 2<sup>10</sup>).

A possible explanation for the non-canonical *nūbāt* in *Raysūnī* and D144 could lie in the fact that several of the modern *nūbāt* incorporate *ṣanāʿīʿ* composed in other *ṭubūʿ* than the primary one that the *nūba* is named for.<sup>11</sup> Interestingly, the *ṭubūʿ* *al-ḥusayn*, *ʿirāq al-ʿarab* and *as-sīka/aṣ-ṣīka*<sup>12</sup> are all found in al-Āla today, so it would appear at first glance that the old *nūbāt* have been lost, but that some elements of them have simply been preserved and incorporated into modern *nūbāt*. However the process cannot have been as simple as this.

The modern *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya* contains several *ṣanāʿīʿ* in the *ṭabʿ al-ḥusayn*, and a survey of D144 shows that thirteen *ṣanāʿīʿ* found there in *Nūbat al-Ḥusayn* are indeed found in *Ramal al-Māya* today:

*Aḥmadu l-Hādī r-Rasūl*...—Mīzān al-Basīṭ #1 and Mīzān al-Quddām #2

(Bennūna #219, p. 270).

*Ṣallū yā ʿibād dāʿim*...—Basīṭ #3 (Bennūna #222, p. 272).

*Rīḥa l-ḥuzām*...—Basīṭ #18 (Bennūna #226, p. 274).

*Mā li-l-muwallah*...—Basīṭ #19 (Bennūna #157 p. 278).

*Yā Muṣṭafā min qabli naṣʿati ādam*—Basīṭ #22 (Bennūna #232, p. 280).

*Law lāka mā himtu*...—Qāʿim wa-Niṣf #8 (Bennūna #190: p. 282).

*Ṣallū ʿalā ṣamsi n-nubuwwati*...—Qāʿim wa-Niṣf #10 (Bennūna # 238 p. 285).

*Uṣallī ṣalātan tamlaʿu l-arḍa wa-s-samā* —Quddām #8 (Bennūna # 217 p. 268).

*Qālū fadā naʿtī diyāra l-ḥimā*...—Quddām #15 (Bennūna # 259 p. 297).

*Qalbī ʿāṣiqun fī sayyidi l-abrāri*...—Quddām #30 (Bennūna # 270 p. 303).

*Wa-min dālīka l-wādi*...—Quddām #32 (Bennūna #263 p. 299).

*Allāhu yaḥʿal mā yaṣāʿ*—Quddām #33 (Bennūna #273 p. 305).

*Wa-man takun bi-Rasūli llāhi*—Quddām #39 (Bennūna #271 p. 304)

Curiously, most of these apparent holdovers from *al-Ḥusayn* are now performed in either *ṭabʿ ramal al-māya* or *inqilāb ar-ramal*, not *al-ḥusayn*. (The

10 Bennūna hypothesizes (1999 p. 15) that the author of Dāwūdiyya #144 “intended” *Nūbat ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam* with what Bennūna has labeled “*al-Istihlāl* 2.” I do not find much textual connection between Bennūna’s *al-Istihlāl* 2 and the modern *ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam*. Only two *ṣanāʿīʿ* in the former are found in the latter, both in Mīzān al-Basīṭ: *al-ʿUdu qad tarannam* (Bennūna #46 p. 156, IJ p. 295/IM p. 251/MW p. 309) and *Qad fatantu min muqal* (Bennūna #55 p. 162, IJ p. 295/IM p. 251).

11 See Appendix 2: Summary of *Ṭubūʿ*.

12 This *ṭabʿ* (and its corresponding *nūba*) are spelled differently in different places, even within one work, such as Bennūna’s: sometimes with س, sometimes with ص. For simplicity’s sake, I shall stick to the latter.

scales of these three *ṭubūʿ* are interrelated: they all feature no accidentals ascending, with B<sup>b</sup> descending. *Ramal al-māya* and *al-ḥusayn* both share melodic emphasis on A and D, with the former beginning on D and the latter on A, but *al-ḥusayn* places additional emphasis on F, as well. *Inqilāb ar-ramal* is distinct from the other two in emphasizing only C and A. In any case, the tonality of the melody would be clear to an experienced performer or listener, in much the same way that a melody in C-major is distinguishable from one in A-minor, even though the two scales share the same notes. Although some confusion amongst the three *ṭubūʿ* is at least conceivable in individual cases, it is unlikely that so many melodies would be reattributed amongst three distinct *ṭubūʿ* in this way by contemporary experts, especially given the strong emphasis participants place upon respect for the largely oral tradition that lies behind these manuscripts. In this situation, where musical notation is lacking for most of the history, one is compelled to rely upon the attributions of experts from the time.)

The only exception, *Aḥmadu l-Hādī r-Rasūl*, a very famous and widely known *ṣanʿa* in *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya*, is performed today in *ṭabʿ al-ḥusayn*, which makes it the only strong candidate for a melody that derives from the old *Nūbat al-Ḥusayn*. Of these thirteen *ṣanāʿiʿ*, five (numbers 1, 5, 7, 12 and 13) are found in *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*, written in the margins of the corresponding *mayāzīn*, with indication that they were performed in *ṭabʿ al-ḥusayn*. The original texts of four of these five *ṣanāʿiʿ* (in *ṭabʿ al-ḥusayn*, as indicated by *Nūbat al-Ḥusayn* in D144 and by the *Wazzānī/Valderrama* marginalia) were therefore “lost” from the manuscript tradition (as we find it today) at some point in time after D144, but later “recovered” from oral tradition and inserted into *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* before their full incorporation into the canon as represented by IM/IJ/MW. What is more, the attribution to *ṭabʿ al-ḥusayn*, as well as the insertions as marginalia, together suggest that the original exemplars from which the existing manuscripts are descended predate the formation of the modern canon of al-Āla texts.

The process, implied by the presence of *ṭabʿ al-ḥusayn* in *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya*, by which elements of an otherwise lost *Nūbat al-Ḥusayn* were incorporated into the modern *Ramal al-Māya* is therefore not completely clear, but it further suggests the diverse oral traditions that lie behind the modern anthologies. If we assume that D144 is the earliest exemplar (for reasons that will be made clear below), was everything lost at some point after D144 except what has survived in *Ramal al-Māya*? If so, why are some of these texts performed today, but in other *ṭubūʿ*? (It is unlikely that these and other *ṣanāʿiʿ* from *al-Ḥusayn* now performed in *ramal al-māya* were simply transposed into the new *ṭabʿ*: there would be no obvious reason to do so, since other *ṣanāʿiʿ* in *Ramal al-Māya* not found in D144 are performed in *al-ḥusayn*, as well.) Or was the text

of *al-Ḥusayn* (at least some of it represented in D<sub>144</sub>, and perhaps other texts in other, undiscovered manuscript versions of *al-Ḥusayn*) merely a vector for the incorporation of the texts of these songs into (or from) other, later branches of the manuscript tradition, the melodies from the D<sub>144</sub> branch of the tradition having been lost (with one probable exception) and melodies from other branches having been inserted instead (again: after the source manuscript[s] for *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* but before the modern canon)? The latter is the more likely possibility, and it is interesting because it underscores once again the complex relationship between oral and written processes in the tradition (in this case, the imperfect written version of an oral presentation either contributing to the re-incorporation of the text into the tradition in a new oral version, or the survival of an “alternative” version in oral form that then becomes part of the main stream of the manuscript tradition, even if performed in a different *ṭabʿ*). It also suggests the possibility that musicians in the 19<sup>th</sup> century did not shy away from composing new melodies and incorporating them into al-Āla.<sup>13</sup>

A similar and equally interesting case could be made for *Nūbat ʿIrāq al-ʿarab* and *Nūbat aṣ-Ṣīka*. *ʿIrāq al-ʿarab* is one of the *ṭubūʿ* used in the modern *Nūbat al-Istihlāl*, and I do find five *ṣanāʿiʿ* that are shared between the old *Nūbat ʿIrāq al-ʿarab* as represented in D<sub>144</sub> and the modern *Nūbat al-Istihlāl* (as represented in IJ/IM/MW). However, at least one of them, *Anta tazīd maʿnā*, appears in *Nūbat aṣ-Ṣīka* in D<sub>144</sub>, as well. *Ṭabʿ aṣ-ṣīka* is used today in both *Nūbat al-Istihlāl* and *Raṣd ad-Dīl*, but I find only two *ṣanāʿiʿ* (one of them being *Anta tazīd maʿnā*) have survived from the old *nūba*, both in *al-Istihlāl* and neither in *Raṣd ad-Dīl*. In other words, only one *ṣanʿa* text that is unique to *Nūbat aṣ-Ṣīka* in D<sub>144</sub> has survived. Thus *Nūbat al-Istihlāl* as found in the modern canon seems to have been the only receptacle for material from *Nūbat aṣ-Ṣīka* (as presented in D<sub>144</sub>), and that only in a very limited way. The evidence of D<sub>144</sub> (the only one of the eight manuscripts that contains this *nūba*) suggests that either the compositions in *ṭabʿ aṣ-ṣīka* found in the modern *Nūbat Raṣd ad-Dīl* are more recent compositions, and therefore probably dating from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, or else they derive from material that was circulating in “al-Ḥāʾik’s time” but for some reason did not find its way into the written canon until much later. As with *Nūbat al-Ḥusayn*, the situation clearly is more complex than simply incorporating *ṣanāʿiʿ* from one lost *nūba* into a surviving *nūba*.

All of this illustrates the complex historical relationship between oral and literary processes within al-Āla. The thoroughgoing similarities amongst the “familia al-Ḥāʾik” manuscripts, on the one hand, strongly suggest that they

13 If this was the case, this second point shatters the notion put forward by Chottin and García Barriuso that “the door of composition” was somehow closed after the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

derive at least from a single, coherent branch of the tradition—so coherent in fact that the copyists (or compilers) of these manuscripts did so preserving not only the texts but their order, as well—that incorporated more than one *ṭabʿ* into some of the *nūbāt*. In contrast, D<sub>144</sub> mentions 25 *ṭubūʿ* combined into 12 *nūbāt* (or 13, depending upon how one counts al-Istihlāl),<sup>14</sup> but it presents some of the “secondary” *ṭubūʿ* in the modern tradition as entire *nūbāt* that preserve examples of texts found elsewhere in the modern tradition.<sup>15</sup> The surviving manuscript traditions behind *Kunnāš al-Ḥāʾik* have brought together by a variety of processes diverse performed-modal settings for texts that today appear as a single, canonical mixed-oral tradition.

Perhaps most important of all, relatively few of the *ṣanāʾiʿ* found in the modern canon are represented in D<sub>144</sub>. The overlap between the two corpuses is significant, but far from complete. I can think of only two possible reasons for this. Either D<sub>144</sub> represents a very early stage in the development of the “original *Kunnāš al-Ḥāʾik*,” in which case a great deal of material from “al-Ḥāʾik’s time” has been lost and a great deal of other material (probably *ṣanāʾiʿ* that al-Ḥāʾik missed, but possibly some new compositions, or both) has found its way into the canon since; or else D<sub>144</sub> has little or no relationship to the “original al-Ḥāʾik,” in which case we must find some other way to explain how a manuscript so far removed from the modern canon could still bear the name *Kunnāš al-Ḥāʾik*. In either case, the incorporation of elements from lost *nūbāt*, present in old manuscripts like D<sub>144</sub> but no longer represented in the canon, cannot completely explain the relationships between the various manuscripts and the modern canon. The intertextual connections, such as they are, clearly have been conditioned by a number of factors, including the creative processes of composition, the existence of diverse but parallel oral and/or manuscript traditions intersecting under the rubric *Kunnāš al-Ḥāʾik*, and even the demands of performance.<sup>16</sup>

It may be significant that a large proportion of the crossover material noted above appears as marginalia in *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*; and at the same time, quite a few *ṣanāʾiʿ* in *ṭabʿ al-ḥusayn* can be found in the main body of *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya* in these manuscripts, few of which connect directly

14 However, the manuscript is incomplete and may well have originally contained other *nūbāt*.

15 Since we do not find today “secondary” *ṭubūʿ* that function as “primary” *ṭubūʿ* in other *nūbāt*, it is tempting to assume more or less the same for the branch of the tradition represented by D<sub>144</sub>.

16 More on this third point in Chapter 4.

to *Nūbat al-Ḥusayn* in D144.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, many of the *ṣanāʿiʿ* in *ṭabʿ al-ḥusayn* that *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* share with D144 are marginalia, additions to the latter two manuscripts from a parallel source outside them and alongside the (apparently earlier!) incorporation of *ṭabʿ al-ḥusayn* into *Ramal al-Māya*. It would seem that the process started with the main-body texts of *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* (which overlap to some degree with D144) and to which were added notations of other *ṣanāʿiʿ* borrowed from D144. These marginal texts do not appear at all in *Raqīwaq*, which has no marginalia and which follows the main body of *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* nearly perfectly. This points to a second *nūba* text-stream alongside that found in D144, which also contributed to *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*, and which provided much of the material in *al-ḥusayn* now performed as part of *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya*. In addition, it shows that the now-standard arrangement of *nūbāt* (embodied in *Leiden*, *Raqīwaq*, *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*) attributed today to “al-Ḥāʿik” had already incorporated material from *ṭabʿ* (and *nūbat*?) *al-ḥusayn* before the impact of this second stream was felt on the written canon (or perhaps, before this second stream was annotated with material from D144). Thus the formation of the written canon was a gradual process that included more stages and much more material than that recognized by the standard narrative, which focuses exclusively upon al-Ḥāʿik and al-Jāmiʿ.

It is tempting to surmise that this second body of *ṣanāʿiʿ* in *ṭabʿ al-ḥusayn* derived in some way from the Madīḥ/Samāʿ tradition in the *zawāyā*, since the material that has been incorporated into the modern *Ramal al-Māya* involves praise of the Prophet Muḥammad. Most of the marginal additions to *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* are described as *madḥ*, that is, prophetic praise. However, prophetic *madḥ* does not appear to dominate either *Ramal al-Māya* or *al-Ḥusayn* in D144, certainly not to the extent that that theme dominates *Ramal al-Māya* today. Complicating the matter further are references to Allāh and the Prophet in not a few *ṣanāʿiʿ* throughout other *nūbāt* in D144, a situation similar to what we find in the modern canon. More precisely, the imagery and language of these two suites in D144 do treat the Prophet (and related religious themes), but little more than do other *nūbāt* in D144. This does not exclude the possibility that D144 was informed in a significant way by material performed in the *zawāyā*, but only that it is very difficult to determine this. Apart from the occasional poems attributed to mystics like al-Būṣīrī (e.g.: *Wa-man takun bi-rasūli llāhi...*, *Bennūna* #272, p. 304) or aš-Šuštārī (e.g.: *Huwa huwa Muḥammad al-muḥtār*, *Bennūna* #261, p. 298), the mystico-religious content of *al-Ḥusayn* or *Ramal*

17 *Ramal al-Māya* is also found in D144, a portion of which has survived as *Ramal al-Māya* in *Wazzānī/Valderrama*.

*al-Māya* would depend to a large extent upon the audience's interpreting the otherwise worldly imagery as religious or mystical, a recognized practice among the Sufis, but difficult to establish from the texts alone. (In contrast, the modern *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya* cannot be mistaken for anything but prophetic praise, since most of the poetry in the corpus references the Prophet, either by name or by one of his epithets: *Rasūl Allāh*, *an-Nabī*, *Ṭāhā*, *al-Muḥtār*, *al-Hādī*, *al-Muṣṭafā*, etc. Although the modern *Ramal al-Māya* does contain *ṣanā'i'* that make no obvious reference to the Prophet, most of them poems about love, their juxtaposition with the many examples which speak in clearly religious imagery encourages the listener to interpret them in religious terms.<sup>18</sup>)

D144 is often spoken of by Moroccan scholars as the "original" *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*. This is based primarily on the colophon, which contains the following statement:

نجز هذا الديوان المبارك السعيد، الجامع المفيد، على يد جامعه سامعه الله بمحض فضله، آمين

This felicitous, blessed *dīwān*, comprehensive and beneficial, was completed at the hand of its collector, may Allāh lavish him with His pure grace, *amen*. (Bennūna, 1999, p. 519)

This, and the date that follows (1202 [1788]) would seem to place this manuscript at the very birth of the modern *al-Āla*. At any rate it agrees substantially with dates suggested by García Barriuso and Valderrama (and the date put forward by Chottin in 1939).

If these indications in D144 are authentic, in one sense the picture becomes a little clearer, for at least it yields a date and a basic urtext for the origins of the manuscript tradition. Although it complicates the simple notion of *al-Ḥā'ik* as founding father of the modern canon, it nevertheless suggests a smoother, more linear trajectory for the manuscript tradition than if we were to place any of the other manuscripts (or their sources) as predecessors to, or contemporaries of, D144: the saga of *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik* thus probably begins with D144 in 1788, passes through a period wherein the poetic contents and the arrangement of *nūbāt* are fluid and dependent upon a variety of local customs, and ends with the cluster of *Leiden*, *Raqīwaq*, *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*. Figure 4 illustrates this possible trajectory.

18 See Chapter 4 §4, for a discussion of *Ramal al-Māya* as interpretive context. See also Davila (2012b). Supplement 1 in Part II below presents a fairly exhaustive summary of poetic themes and images for quick reference by *mīzān* and *ṣan'a* number.

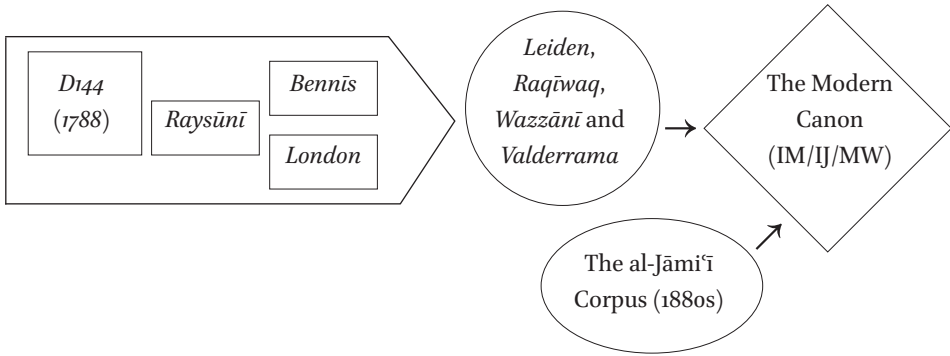


FIGURE 4 *D144 as beginning of the “al-Ḥā’ik process”*

This scenario takes into account the various degrees of distance in the arrangement of *nūbāt* from what is today considered standard (following from *Leiden/Raqīwaq/Wazzānī/Valderrama*) exhibited by the eight manuscripts under consideration, *Raysūnī* being more similar to *D144*, and the *Bennīs-London* cluster being closer to the cluster of *Leiden* et al. and the modern anthologies. Again, exactly how this progression may have taken place (geographical dispersion of the various *nūba* traditions; processes of loss, reformulation and new composition; precise temporal relationships among the manuscripts) is difficult or impossible to determine. Moreover, detailed examination of the actual texts of these and other manuscripts could reveal relationships that upset this simple picture. However, based upon the materials at hand, this chronological arrangement of the *Kunnāš* manuscripts, would seem to be a reasonable deduction at least. (The source text[s] for *Leiden, Raqīwaq, Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* could have been contemporary with any of the intermediate stages in this progression without upsetting the overall picture: like *Raysūnī, Bennīs* and *London*, such a hypothetical text may have been one of several local variants circulating under the rubric *Kunnāš al-Ḥā’ik*.)

Alternatively, placing *Leiden, Raqīwaq, Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* at the beginning of this progression creates other problems. If we accept the date given in *D144* (and we have no reason not to), an “original” *Kunnāš* ancestor of these manuscripts would have to be postulated earlier than 1788. Then an explanation must be found for how that earlier “authentic *Kunnāš*” lent its name to so many divergent manuscript streams (not least *D144*), and how those materials came to be incorporated piecemeal and incompletely into what was to become the standard arrangement “from outside” (as the diverse ways *ṭab‘ al-ḥusayn* is used in *D144, Wazzānī/Valderrama* and IM/IJ/MW clearly show was the case), and finally, how the modern canon can have emerged from this whole process—not favoring one of the more recent divergent versions, but rather the

older “original” arrangement. (A third possibility, that is, that al-Ḥāʾik and the *nūba* arrangement associated with him today fall somewhere in the middle of the process, does not simplify the basic problems of how to explain the relationship between the anthologist and the various arrangements of *nūbāt* associated with his name and how canonical unity emerged from this diversity.) When we view these manuscripts at the level of structure, Ockham’s Razor leads to the conclusion that the scenario in Figure 4 is the most likely case.

It is important to keep in mind the complexity and discontinuities within this manuscript tradition. What I am presenting here as a developmental process should not be construed as arguing for *genetic* relationships amongst the specific documents, which were created by individuals for various purposes (performer reference, library display, etc.). We must assume that they reflect the textual repertoire as it was performed in diverse, specific places and times. It is therefore useful to think of these manuscripts in terms of how they reflect particular Andalusian music communities—sub-traditions, if you will—that participated in the al-Āla tradition but conceived of it as organized somewhat differently. Although a temporal progression is certainly implied here, it should not be assumed to be chronologically too rigorous. What is at issue, ultimately, is the attribution of these various facets of the manuscript tradition to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāʾik.

If D144 is indeed older than *Wazzānī*, *Valderrama* and the other manuscripts bearing the modern arrangement (perhaps even being the original *Kunnāš al-Ḥāʾik*, or a first-generation copy), it would mean that the repertoire recognized today as authentic does not derive entirely from al-Ḥāʾik himself (indeed, perhaps it scarcely derives from him at all!), and that the idea that this anthologist put the tradition on its modern footing is somewhat misleading. Nevertheless, the anthologist al-Ḥāʾik remains a major figure, who because of his fame became associated with collections of *nūba* texts generally, whether they closely followed his own version or not.

A detailed comparison of these manuscripts at the level of individual *ṣanāʿīʿ* tends to support this conclusion, though not unproblematically. Leaving aside for the moment the problem of textual variants, of which there are many among the manuscripts and printed editions, we find that the manuscripts arranged in the modern order contain more *ṣanʿa* texts in *Ramal al-Māya* than D144 does. However, since both *al-Ḥusayn* and the old *Ramal al-Māya* have contributed to the modern *Ramal al-Māya*, a proper comparison would include both the old *nūbāt*. Making this comparison shows that *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* contain fewer *ṣanāʿīʿ* than *Ramal al-Māya* and *al-Ḥusayn* together. Moreover, even if we include the marginal additions to manuscripts like *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*, the overlapping *ṣanāʿīʿ* between them and D144 represent less than half of D144 and only a third of *Wazzānī/Valderrama*. Focusing only upon the texts found

in the main body of *Wazzānī/Valderrama* reduces these correspondences by a third. Table 1 in Appendix 4 presents this data, broken down by *mīzān*. If the comparison is extended to include the modern canon (IM/IJ/MW), the trajectory continues, as is shown in Table 4. Only about a fifth of D144 corresponds with the modern canon, and less than a third of *Wazzānī/Valderrama*. All this data corroborates the model represented in Figure 4. The evolution of *Ramal al-Māya* into the modern version seems to have been characterized by the disappearance of older *ṣanʿa* texts: most of D144 does not appear in later versions of the *Kunnāš*, and then most of the stream represented by *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* has fallen away from the modern canon.

Just as interesting as this process of attrition is the fact that large numbers of other *ṣanāʿīʿ* have emerged within the more recent versions of *Ramal al-Māya*. *Ṣanāʿīʿ* not found in D144 comprise fully two-thirds of *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*. The Totals row in Table 4 also shows that in real numbers, *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* contain more *ṣanʿa* texts than D144, even if we exclude the marginal texts. If we do exclude the marginal texts, the overlap totals only 42 surviving *ṣanāʿīʿ* of 105, or 40%. The disparity is even more pronounced when we look at the modern canon. An even larger percentage of the modern canon has no connection with either D144 or the manuscript tradition represented by *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* (that is, Cortés García's "familia al-Ḥāʿik"). All this data does support in a general way Cortés García's assertion that the modern repertoire has relatively little to do with *Kunnāš al-Ḥāʿik*.

A good example of the complex textual strands that lie behind the modern canon is found in *Ramal al-Māya*. Basīṭ #23 (*Ġarāmī mujaddad*) is labeled *zajal* in IJ but *tawšīḥ* in IM and MW.<sup>19</sup> This *ṣanʿa* (in *ṭabʿ ramal al-māya*) does not appear in either D144, *Wazzānī* or *Valderrama*. Instead we find in *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* a non-*madīḥ* *zajal* (*Dahabu š-šams yašraq, in inqilāb ar-ramal*) that does not appear in either the modern canon or D144; and another *zajal* written in the margin ( *في وزنه مدحا* —“in the same format, as praise [of the Prophet]”) that begins with the first two phrases of Basīṭ #23 (*Ġarāmī mujaddad / fi Ṭāhā l-mumajjad*), but otherwise has an entirely different text and a line arrangement like that of *Dahabu š-šams yašraq* (lines of three segments). This third *ṣanʿa* does not appear in D144, either. In sum, then, we have: 1) no *ṣanʿa* corresponding to Basīṭ #23, whether *zajal*, *tawšīḥ* or *muṭallat* in the oldest manuscript (D144); 2) a non-*madīḥ* *zajal* (in *inqilāb ar-ramal*, not *ramal al-māya*) in two *Kunnāš* manuscripts, which does not appear in the modern canon; 3) a *zajal madīḥan* in the later margins of the manuscripts that begins

19 Actually, this poem is formed more like a *muṭallat* (three-verse strophes with varying end and internal rhymes, each ending in a common rhyme): the *aḡṣān* are shorter than is typical for *zajal* or *muwašṣaḥ* (two verses rather than three).

like Basīṭ #23 in the modern *Ramal al-Māya*, in roughly the same place in the sequence of *ṣanāʿi*, but with mostly different text; and 4) Basīṭ #23, a *madīḥ zajal* or *tawšīḥ* in the modern canon that shows a small but tantalizing resemblance to the marginal *zajal*, yet is performed today in a different *tabʿ*. Are the two *madīḥ* poems related in some fashion? How did they come to be composed with this small similarity, but being otherwise different? Perhaps we see here the multiple *nūba* streams discussed above, two of them apparently drawing from a common store of poetic raw material, but putting it to slightly different uses. This cluster of three *ṣanāʿi* taken together illustrates well the complicated processes of composition and recombination that have formed the modern canon (as well as the sometimes ambiguous boundaries between the strophic forms found in the *Kunnāš*).

The intertextual relationships surrounding Basīṭ #23 also point to a significant factor in the evolution of the *nūba Ramal al-Māya* in particular. Careful study of the texts of the “la familia” manuscripts, as exemplified by *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*, shows that the large majority of the main-body texts are founded upon what are essentially love-poetry themes. None of the texts in the modern version of *Ramal al-Māya* that speak most directly of Muḥammad are found in the main body of these manuscripts. Rather, the indications of *al-madīḥ an-nabawī*, which is the main characteristic of *Ramal al-Māya* today, appear chiefly in marginalia—as is indicated in the background to Basīṭ #23 just discussed. If this really is the case, it has profound implications for the history of the tradition, as discussed in the Introduction and Chapter 3 of HST. It casts doubt upon the largely unsubstantiated claim by Chottin, Guettat and others that the Moroccan composer and Sufi, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Fāsī (d. 1096/1685)—or his nephew, Abū l-Abbās Aḥmad al-Fāsī (1164/1752)<sup>20</sup>—changed the theme of this *nūba* to *al-madīḥ an-nabawī*. If this really did take place, one would expect to find the manuscript versions of this *nūba* to be dominated by praise of the Prophet. This is plainly not the case either for the D144 manuscript or the “familia” manuscripts.<sup>21</sup>

All this implies first that the oral tradition that has one of the al-Fāsīs changing *Ramal al-Māya* to *al-madīḥ an-nabawī* is mistaken in some way, probably in that it applies specifically to the Sufi branch of the *nūba* tradition. Also, since the manuscripts in question do not reflect this change, they must hail from a time *before* the change in the main stream of al-Āla texts/performance practice, and/or from branches of the tradition that did not recognize this change as *aṣīl* within the boundaries of al-Āla. This is particularly significant for the D144 manuscript, which bears a date—1788—at least 35 years, and perhaps

20 HST p. 49 fn 14.

21 See HST p. 49 fn 15.

a century or more *after* this purported change. How is it that this apparent “original *Kunnāš*” does not reflect this change? Indeed, throughout the *Kunnāš* manuscript tradition, this *madīḥ* characteristic of *Ramal al-Māya* appears only in marginalia in some manuscripts, which are obviously later additions to the documents. Clearly, then, the attribution of *al-madīḥ an-nabawī* to *Ramal al-Māya* in the Āla tradition came much later than typically assumed, probably at some point in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, since the al-Jāmi‘ī corpus does reflect this change.

Considering all this evidence together, we can state with confidence that the modern canon as represented by the printed anthologies is not simply a decayed version of *Kunnāš al-Ḥā’ik* that preserves the detritus of a once thriving tradition. On the contrary, the modern canon is the culmination of a process that included both the loss of some older documented material and the addition of previously undocumented material, as well. From the textual evidence reviewed here, we can identify at least four distinct textual traditions flowing together within the larger process that has formed the modern canon, represented in Figure 5. The first is represented by D144, about half of which survived to be preserved in the “familia al-Ḥā’ik” manuscripts. The objects marked “O” in the figure represent other oral streams that contributed the material that comprises more than half of the “familia al-Ḥā’ik” manuscripts. This second stream included two distinct textual traditions: “main body” texts and material added afterwards as marginalia in some (but not all) “familia” manuscripts (some of it common to D144, as well). The fourth stream comprised the material new to the modern tradition, approximately 45% of the total, much of which entered the canon via the al-Jāmi‘ī corpus.

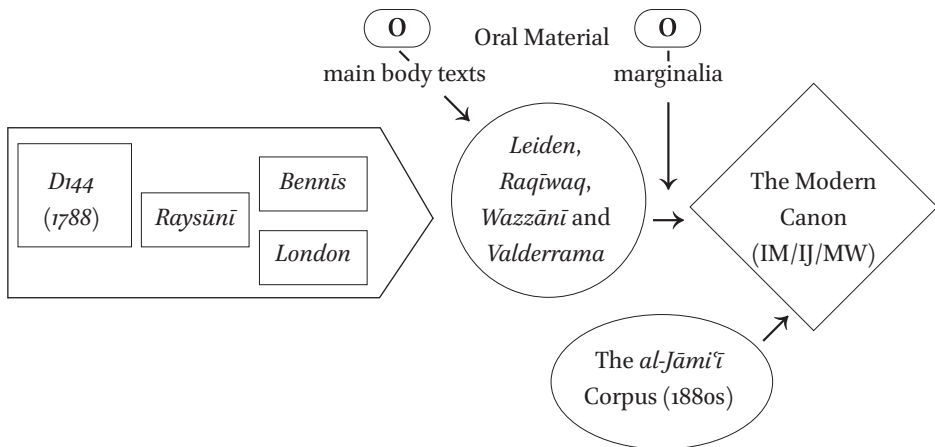


FIGURE 5 Oral-textual streams in the “*al-Ḥā’ik* process”.

In sum, the tale of *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik* is neither as simple nor as completely understood as has been widely assumed among scholars of the tradition. Comparison of the *nūba* arrangement among the various *Kunnāš* manuscripts raises fundamental questions about the origin and development of this foundational text in the Āla tradition. D<sub>144</sub>, in particular, poses a problem for the traditional account of al-Ḥā'ik and his *Kunnāš*, even though scholars tend to assume that it is the “original al-Ḥā'ik”. Even if we assume that the manuscripts in the first column of Table 1 (*Leiden*, *Raqīwaq*, *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*) represent an original, authentic *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*, compiled using the modern order, the remaining manuscripts, and especially D<sub>144</sub>, appear as aberrations, local variations on the anthologizing process. Somehow these other versions (at least one of which almost certainly predates this hypothetical “authentic *Kunnāš*”) became overshadowed by a more robust (i.e.: popular and/or “authentic”) manuscript tradition, which embodied the now-standard arrangement.

Such a scenario certainly is possible. Textual traditions (and musical ones, as well) often are characterized by untidy processes that elude simple schematization. Yet we cannot avoid asking how the versions of the *Kunnāš* represented by these diverse manuscripts came into existence (whether before or after al-Ḥā'ik) and then were attributed to him. How did some of the material in the variant manuscripts come to be incorporated into the “al-Ḥā'ik” canon (often using different *tubū*) if they did in fact come into existence as variations on (or corruptions of?) a quasi-standard model? These questions certainly do not vanish if we assume that D<sub>144</sub> is the foundational manuscript of the *Kunnāš* process, but when we do, the logic of answering them becomes much simpler.

If the anthologist al-Ḥā'ik is viewed as the author of D<sub>144</sub>, we may see him as the eponymous initiator of a process of collection and revision that answered the needs of several generations of musicians and aficionados and culminated in the “familia” manuscripts. It would not be surprising at all if the name of the first important figure to attempt an all-embracing written anthology of the *nūba* tradition in Morocco were to become well known and then attributed to other similar efforts afterwards (much as contemporary Americans consult “Webster” when using a dictionary). If, however, al-Ḥā'ik arrived in the midst of this process, such an attribution appears somewhat less plausible.

Furthermore, we must also account for the apparent loss of material present in manuscripts like D<sub>144</sub>, and the simultaneous emergence of new *ṣanā'ī*, circumstances which seem to suggest dynamic processes of compilation, recension and copying. How do we reconcile this with other evidence, discussed in HST, that the four decades following the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were politically, climactically, environmentally and economically chaotic? Whatever answers are found to these questions lead inexorably back to the social value

attaching to al-Āla in various places and times over the past two centuries, and therefore answering them would cast a great deal of light on the development of the musical tradition in general. An obvious first step would be simply to suggest that the performed tradition historically was rather larger than the material that has survived in manuscript form. Al-Ḥā'ik was living and working in Fez, it is said, but al-Āla was performed as well in other cities in the north of Morocco, including Meknes, Tetuan, Chefchaouen, Tanger and Rabat. It is likely that many later arrivals in the manuscripts had been performed for generations in other regions beyond Fez. Exactly how they came to be included in the modern canon, under the name *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik* cannot be determined at this time.

### 2.3 *Structure and Contents*

The *Kunnāš* starts with an introduction (*muqaddima*) by the anthologist.<sup>22</sup> Various versions exist of this portion of the document, but the most complete begin with a formal salutation of the Prophet Muḥammad and the blessings bestowed by Allāh upon him and the Islamic community. Next, the anthologist tells of his interest in the *nūba* tradition of his time and his reason for undertaking the compilation. Contrary to what is assumed in some secondary works on the subject, the anthologist probably was not motivated by a desire to preserve material that was being lost in his era. Rather, al-Ḥā'ik was responding to a request for a teaching aid for the *nūba* tradition by writing down *ṣanā'ī'* (“توشيحيا وزجلا”) that he had already memorized in his youth at the hands of various experts. Neither does al-Ḥā'ik claim to have originated the *nūba* system, nor to have integrated any “lost” *nūbāt* into the eleven he presents in the *Kunnāš*. He claims only to be presenting in writing what people in his time were already performing: 25 “Andalusi” *tubū'* arranged harmoniously in eleven grand *nūba* suites. Finally, there is no indication in his *muqaddima* that al-Ḥā'ik's project was in any way supported by the state. The only indication of such support comes in the colophon of one manuscript (D144), which is somewhat problematic. In the *muqaddima* the anthologist alludes to someone in his community (بعض الإخوان) who asked him to write his knowledge down, but the D144 colophon refers to a prince of the royal family. The two would seem to be at odds, since a prince-patron would normally have been announced clearly at the beginning. However, because the *muqaddima* of D144 is incomplete (pages have been lost from the manuscript), it is possible that material has

22 The present discussion is based upon the version of the *muqaddima* found in IJ, pp. 33-41. IM presents a somewhat different version based on paraphrases, rather than direct quotations. IJ alludes clearly to having used more than one manuscript in preparing his version.

been lost that shows both individuals playing roles. Nevertheless, if the chronology for the development of the *Kunnāš* proposed above is accepted, some Alawite support of al-Ḥā'ik's project (an idea found in the standard, prevailing narrative of the tradition's history) seems plausible, all the more so if we assume that the Alawite monarchs of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century were as fond of al-Āla as their descendents have been in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>23</sup>

Following the anthologist's invocation, the *muqaddima* is divided into three sections. The first deals with arguments for the lawfulness of listening to music, which was a more-or-less standard feature of scholarly works dealing with music at least since the 3rd/9th century.<sup>24</sup> Various precedents are adduced, beginning with accounts from *ḥadīth* and including arguments from Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 149/767) and Abū Bakr (Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh) b. al-'Arabī (d. 542/1148). The second section concerns the benefits associated with listening to music, including the healing qualities of the voice and the humoral and temporal relationships of the *ṭubū'*.<sup>25</sup> The *muqaddima* concludes with a discussion of the history of music among the Arabs and the musicological connections among the *ṭubū'* (expressed in terms of *šajarat aṭ-ṭubū'*, lit. "the tree of modes"—in some manuscripts rendered as a diagram, as well). The musicological material is summed up near the end of the *muqaddima* by a poem, *Ṭabā'i' u mā fi 'ālamī l-kawnī arba'un* ("The temperaments of things in the world of existence are four"), attributed to "Abd al-Wāḥid al-Wanšarīsī."<sup>26</sup>

The exact date of the *Kunnāš* has been debated for a century. Rafael Mitjana (1906) placed the anthologist in the 15<sup>th</sup> century as a refugee from the fall of Granada, and Henry George Farmer repeated this opinion.<sup>27</sup> Alexis Chottin, the French Protectorate official responsible for preserving native music, originally claimed that al-Ḥā'ik belonged to the reign of Mūlāy Slimān (whose death he erroneously placed in 1792; in fact Mūlāy Slimān's reign *began* in that

23 At the same time, if D144 is not regarded as part of the *Kunnāš* stream (as both Valderama and Cortés García argue), dynastic support of al-Ḥā'ik's project (also suggested by Valderrama, Cortés García and others) loses its only documentary support.

24 See, for example, Shiloah (1997).

25 This material also has a very long history in Arabic letters, having been distilled from Greek sources and committed to writing by Ya'qub al-Kindī (d. 258/873).

26 Probably not the Maliki jurist, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Wanšarīsī (d. 911/1508), as sometimes claimed. Farmer (1933) doubted this attribution, and not without reason, since the jurist regarded music as at best *makrūh* (disliked, but permissible) and at worst *mamnū'* or *muḥarrām* (forbidden). See: al-Wanšarīsī's *Mi'yār al-mu'rib* (Ministry of Awqāf and Islamic Affairs, Kingdom of Morocco, 1981): v. 11, pp. 73-80. Ibn Maṣṣūr (1969, p. 154) identifies this man as 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad al-Wanšarīsī "*ṭumma l-Fāsī*" and gives his date of death as 955/1549. Was he the son of the famous jurist, as his name might suggest?

27 1933, pp. 23-24.

year).<sup>28</sup> Then, some years later both he and García Barriuso gave the date of the compilation as 1786, though neither provided any indication how he arrived at this date.<sup>29</sup> In his pioneering study of the *Kunnāš*, Valderrama (1954) agreed that al-Ḥā'ik belonged to the period before Mūlāy Slīmān, placing the anthologist in the reign of Mūlāy Slīmān's father, Mūlāy Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (r. 1757—1790). Valderrama cited the extensive cultural and diplomatic achievements of Mūlāy Muḥammad as evidence that a project like al-Ḥā'ik's would likely have been encouraged by the atmosphere created by this forward-thinking monarch, whereas the troubled reign of his son would have provided a much more problematic environment for such an undertaking.<sup>30</sup> Probably, Chottin, García Barriuso and Valderrama were relying upon the dated colophon of Dāwūdiyya #144, Ramaḍān, 1202 (June, 1788), which, if taken as authentic, places the *Kunnāš* in the reign of Mūlāy Muḥammad.<sup>31</sup> Valderrama found no other solid evidence for the life or career of al-Ḥā'ik, despite exhaustive searches in archives and among families of that name in Tetuan. (Indeed, the only evidence of al-Ḥā'ik's existence is his name at the beginning of the introduction to the *Kunnāš*.)

Cortés García maintains that al-Ḥā'ik completed his work in 1214/1799–1800, during the reign of the Sulṭān Mūlāy Slīmān (r. 1792–1822), based upon biographical data on al-Ḥā'ik put forward by Muḥammad al-Manūnī and 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Maṣṣūr.<sup>32</sup> This date is close to the one first put forward by Chottin, though it is a little later than Valderrama suggested and contrary to the colophon of Dāwūdiyya #144. With this she implies that much of the manuscript tradition attributed to al-Ḥā'ik and his *Kunnāš* (including, most importantly, Dāwūdiyya #144) does not in fact belong to the anthologist at all.

The basic structural unit of *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik* is the *nūba*. The tradition comprises eleven of these *nūbāt* usually arranged in what we are calling here the standard or authentic order, which (in an ideal sense, anyway) *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik* as it is known today embodies. Leaving aside the problematic *Kunnāš* manuscripts described above, at least seven manuscripts extant today represent this ideal *Kunnāš* structure: *Leiden*, *Raqāwāq*, *Wazzānī*, *Valderrama*, and three

28 1931, p. 10.

29 Chottin (1939), p. 101; García Barriuso, p. 91 n. 39.

30 Valderrama (1954) pp. 33–34.

31 As noted above in §2b, the MS. also claims to have been executed in the anthologist's own hand.

32 Cortés García (1995) pp. 23–24; (1996) p. 88. See: al-Manūnī (1989) v. 2, p. 75; and Ibn Maṣṣūr (1969). Unfortunately, al-Manūnī's and Ibn Maṣṣūr's assertions about al-Ḥā'ik are impossible to verify, as they give no supporting evidence. Possibly, their data derive from oral tradition.

other members of “la familia al-Ḥā’ik”.<sup>33</sup> The *nūba* as represented in these manuscripts is based upon a single *ṭab’*, although several of these *nūbāt* in fact include *ṣanā’i’* in other *ṭubū’*, as well.<sup>34</sup> The manuscripts indicate the *ṭubū’* associated with each *nūba* only at the beginning of the *nūba*. In some cases, such as *Wazzānī*, the *muqaddima* ends with a list of the eleven *nūbāt*, naming all the *ṭubū’* in each. In others, the first *nūba* (*Ramal al-Māya*) and each *nūba* after it begins with a phrase mentioning the eponymous *ṭab’* and any others present in the *nūba*, as, for example:

النوبة الأولى من [ في : or : ] طبع الحسين ورمل المائة وانقلاب الرمل وحمدان

The first *nūba*, in the melodic modes *al-ḥusayn*, *ramal al-māya*, *inqilāb ar-ramal* and *ḥamdān*

In the *Kunnāš*, the beginning of each *mīzān* is indicated by some variation on the phrase *مما يستعمل في بسيط منها* (“what is performed of it in the rhythm *basīṭ*”) and so on in turn through the four *mayāzīn* recognized at the time.<sup>35</sup> In some manuscripts, two verses for *inšād* are included at the beginning of the *nūba*, as well. The first *ṣan’a* follows, labeled by its type, either *tawšīḥ*, *zajal* or *šujl*. Sometimes, the poetic meter (*baḥr*) is indicated, as well. Each subsequent *ṣan’a* is indicated by the phrase *ومنه أيضا* (“and likewise”) and the type of *ṣan’a*. Some manuscripts place a small numeral to the right, indicating the number of *adwār* (“turns” through the melody) in the *ṣan’a*. *Kunnāš* manuscripts often have other musical indications as marginalia, such as the *ṭab’* for each *ṣan’a*. The manuscript may include other marginalia, as well, such as additional verses sung to the same melody or a similar musical arrangement (often indicated by a variation on the phrase *وفي وزنها أيضا*—“and also in the same format”), the poet’s name, indication that *tūšīya* should be performed before or after the *ṣan’a*, indications for *marāḥil al-mīzān*, or other comments. Often, too, we find the *ṣanā’i’* have been numbered. Logic suggests that these marginalia are later additions by owners and users of the original manuscript (i.e.: that they were not part of the “original *Kunnāš*”), though because we often are dealing with a copy one or more generations removed from the original, marginalia usually are written in the same hand as the main body of the text.

The general format for the *Kunnāš al-Ḥā’ik* manuscripts just described predates al-Ḥā’ik. Muḥammad al-Bū’aṣāmī (d. 1151/1738?) used substantially the

33 See Appendix 3.

34 See Appendix 2.

35 For the history of *mīzān ad-darj*, see §3.1 below.

same format and indications in his theoretical discussion of the *ṭubūʿ*, *Īqād aš-šumūʿ*, though he preferred ...غيره (“another...”) to *ومنه أيضا* and used *šīʿ* (“properly-formed poetry”) and often the *baḥr* (poetic meter) to indicate non-strophic *ṣanāʿiʿ*, instead of *šūġl*. Also, al-Būʿaṣāmī frequently used the word *muwašṣaḥa* instead of *tawšīḥ*, apparently using the two terms interchangeably. Nevertheless, the basic organization (*ṣanāʿiʿ* presented as poems arranged by *nūba* and *mīzān*) is the same, and thus dates at least to the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and possibly earlier.

The terms used to describe *ṣanāʿiʿ* in the *Kunnāš* require clarification. The term *šūġl*, as already noted, has come to mean something rather different from its usage in the *Kunnāš*. Al-Ḥāʾik used the word to refer to non-strophic poems based upon a single rhyme scheme and, usually, a single poetic meter (i.e. synonymous with *mawzūn*, *qarīd* or *qaṣīd*). It is thus impossible for a *ṣanʿa* in the *Kunnāš* manuscripts to be both *tawšīḥ* and *šūġl*, or *zajal* and *šūġl*. In the modern canon, however, such a combination of terms is not only possible, it occurs frequently, because *šūġl* today indicates the use of *tarāṭīn* in a *ṣanʿa*, irrespective of whether it is strophic or not. In fact, the old meaning has fallen away completely, so that even Bennūna uses the term *šīʿ* in his indices to refer to *ṣanāʿiʿ* that appear in the body of the D144 text as *šūġl*. However, in each context the use of *šūġl* is consistent, so that no ambiguity results.

More problematic are the terms *tawšīḥ* and *zajal*. The three modern anthologies do not deploy these two terms consistently, nor indeed do the *Kunnāš* manuscripts always agree amongst themselves. For example, the seventh *ṣanʿa* from Basīṭ Ramal al-Māya in both *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*, *Zāranī yawman fa-daʿ*, is described as *tawšīḥ* in D144 (Bennūna #282, p. 313) and *Wazzānī*, but as *zajal* in *Valderrama*. Similarly, the eighth *ṣanʿa* from the same *mīzān* in *Wazzānī* (ninth in *Valderrama*), *ʿAsā ladayk yā rabbata l-qalb* (not found in D144, nor in the modern canon), is referred to as *tawšīḥ* in *Wazzānī* and as *zajal* in *Valderrama*. Several such cases are scattered throughout the three manuscripts. Furthermore, IM, IJ and MW occasionally disagree among themselves in the same fashion, and indeed, each sometimes even contradicts itself when a single poetic text appears in more than one place in the tradition, labeling one *zajal* and the other *tawšīḥ*.

This problem points to the larger issue of determining what distinguishes *tawšīḥ*/*muwašṣaḥ* from *zajal*. In defining these strophic forms, Western scholarship tends to emphasize linguistic register, the two being regarded as structurally similar and distinguished by the latter being rendered in (Andalusi) colloquial Arabic. Stern did observe that, while similar, the two forms are structurally distinct: the *muwašṣaḥ* generally has five strophes, but the *zajal* may be much longer; and the *zajal*'s repeating rhyme section (*qufl*) is only half

as long as that of the *muwaššah*.<sup>36</sup> Of course the *zajal* does not have a *ḥarja* in a different linguistic register, as the *muwaššah* often does. However, while Stern may have been correct on this point as an ideal model, it is also true that this ideal structural distinction does not hold throughout the history of the poetic forms, not even for Ibn Quzmān, the acknowledged master of the *zajal*. Stern himself recognized that Ibn Quzmān constructed *azjāl* on the *muwaššah* pattern (the repeating rhyme being two verses in length), but he argued that these poems are exactly that: *muwaššah*-like *azjāl*.

However scrupulous this distinction may be, holding to this ideal model beyond the era of the flourishing of Andalusī poetry is problematic, because the tendency for the two strophic forms to overlap structurally perforce renders a definition based upon structure alone difficult to sustain. It is not surprising that within the *Āla* tradition (a post-classical, North African phenomenon that has incorporated *muwaššah*- and *zajal*-like poems), the two Andalusī strophic forms tend to blend into one another, defying the ideal rules of structure derived from medieval examples. Moreover a *tawšīḥ* (*muwaššah*-like *šanʿa*) in the *Āla* canon is usually only one or two strophes in length and never has a *ḥarja* whose linguistic features might mark the poem as recognizably a *muwaššah*. In short, a structural distinction between *tawšīḥ* and *zajal* in al-*Āla* very easily vanishes into the eye of the beholder.

The linguistic distinction also runs into problems upon examination. The most widely cited scholar on Andalusī colloquial Arabic, Federico Corriente, has pointed out that this colloquial language varied considerably from era to era and between different authors, so that it becomes necessary to study the characteristics of individual cases on their own before attempting to describe the language as a whole. In short, the use of the colloquial register in Andalusī strophic poetry is very much bound up with the linguistic and social conditions in particular places and times, all the more so for those poets who, like aš-Šuštārī, traveled outside al-Andalus, leaving behind a poetic legacy shaped in part by more than one colloquial linguistic environment. Nevertheless, Corriente argues, Andalusī Arabic, as embodied in the “poetic colloquial” which has survived in *azjāl* and *muwaššahāt* from al-Andalus, represents a single language, a coherent system using more than one linguistic register, rather than a “hybrid” language marked by the intrusion of dialecticisms into an otherwise relatively formal poetic idiom.

En efecto, los autores de cejeles o *muwaššahāt*, al permitirse ocasionales clasicismos o dialectismos, respectivamente, no pretendan dar a su poema un toque clásico o dialectal, ni mezclan lenguas por ignorancia o propósito,

36 aa bbbbaa cccaa etc. (*muwaššah*) vs. aa bbba ccca etc. (*zajal*). 1974, Chapter IV.

sino se desvían de su registro normal, en la mejor tradición de las licencias de la poesía árabe tradicional... (1988, 20-21)

Moreover, and most important for the present discussion, Corriente's study of the *dīwāns* of Ibn Quzmān (the master of the *zajal*) and aš-Šuštārī (to whom are attributed both *muwaššahāt* and *azjāl*) establishes no distinction, whether conceptual, linguistic or formal, between *zajal* and *muwaššah*. Neither proximity or distance from the formal register of language, nor even the use of particular strophic arrangements, are attributed by Corriente to a "popularization of the *muwaššah*" or a "cultification of the *zajal*."<sup>37</sup> Certainly by the time of aš-Šuštārī (d. 667/1269), such distinctions had become much more difficult to sustain than was the case three centuries earlier, when these poetic genres were in their ascendance and their distinctive elements therefore were more clearly marked in concept and usage. This does not mean that time effaced all distinctions between the two genres, but only that the loss or insertion of *i'rāb* (perhaps for metrical reasons), and/or the insertion of dialecticisms or classical expressions (for dramatic effect) in particular cases might render the resulting poem difficult to categorize clearly as either *muwaššah* or *zajal*.

Corriente's perspective helps us understand how the boundaries between *tawšīḥ* and *zajal* in the Āla canon can have become blurred. In some cases, the text of a particular *šan'a* may show characteristics of both genres, so that an anthologist might be led to change the designation he found in a manuscript version, or received orally from his master, thinking he is correcting an erroneous attribution. Or he might not recognize that some apparently colloquial spellings (such as substitution of [ ى ] for [ ئ ]) could fit quite comfortably into the accepted spelling conventions of some relatively formal varieties of middle Arabic, and on the basis of this might incline toward labeling an otherwise *muwaššah*-looking *šan'a* as *zajal*.

We have already seen that al-Ḥā'ik cannot have been the only anthologist who contributed to the *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik* we know today. It is logical to presume therefore that the labels we find in the *Kunnāš* corpus today are by and large traditionally accepted appellations resulting from the interaction of a handful of local usages with the taste and experience of an unknown number of secondary redactors, *ru'asā'* well versed in the tradition who wrote down their own "al-Ḥā'iks" that eventually became consolidated with the *Kunnāš*. A similar process surely must have taken place with the emergence of the al-Jāmi'ī corpus and its inclusion in the modern canon. Consequently, a great deal might depend upon how a particular text was sung in a local stylistic school: it is not difficult to imagine that *i'rāb* might be more emphasized in one school,

37 1988, p. 20.

and virtually absent in another, even though the *šan'a* would be sung with substantially the same melody in both cases. In other words, the vagaries of oral presentation, manifesting as performance practice, might well result in the same text sounding more *zajal*-like or more *tawšīh*-like to the anthologist's ear, and that might ultimately result in a somewhat ambiguous written/printed text (certainly where the modern anthologies are concerned, since they incorporate multiple manuscripts and so are shaped to some extent by choices made by the modern anthologists).

Questions like this will come to the fore in Chapter 4, which deals with the impact of oral processes on the modern canon. Here, one example from *Ramal al-Māya* will suffice to illustrate the point. Bṭāyḥī #1 (*al-Muṣṭafā l-muḥtār / Ajallu mā yudkar*) is formed very much like a later-period *muwaššah*, with lines of three segments bearing internal rhymes and an end rhyme scheme of / (aa) bbbaa /.<sup>38</sup> It is not surprising that IM and MW regard this *šan'a* as *tawšīh*. On the other hand IJ labels it *zajal*, probably from the loss of *i'rāb* from *layl* and *ṣalāh*, and the loss of the first-syllable short vowel from *nhār* (all of which also appear in MW).

#### 2.4 Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik and the Modern Canon

Given the complicated and somewhat ambiguous manuscript tradition that lies behind the anthology known today as *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*, its exact relationship to the modern canon of al-Āla deserves some discussion. The modern printed anthologies of al-Āla, although commonly associated with *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*, are themselves the product of an interweaving of material—from the *Kunnāš* with oral-performed elements (such as performance units—strings of *šanā'i'* commonly performed together), material from the later al-Jāmi'ī corpus, and the modern anthologists' personal knowledge and experience with the tradition as it was performed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Thus in some ways, the modern canon has been informed by processes no less complex than those which produced the *Kunnāš*, although compressed into the half century between Ambīrkū and ar-Rāyis (as compared with the nearly two centuries that lie between D144 and the modern canon).

IM and IJ were not the first attempts to render the *nūba* tradition of al-Āla in print. Ambīrkū al-Makkī produced a print version of *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik* in 1935, but his edition remained incomplete, comprising only six of the eleven *nūbāt*. Two generations later, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan Zwītin produced an edition of the *Kunnāš* (1972) that included all eleven *nūbāt*, though not in the order most

38 The two-line *matla'* does not appear in the versions found in D144, nor in MW or the al-Jāmi'ī corpus.

commonly recognized today. IM and IJ were landmarks, however, because they began with a selection of *Kunnāš* manuscripts as their primary sources but augmented them with *šanā'ī*' and other material probably unknown to al-Ḥā'ik, including most of the material from the al-Jāmi'ī corpus. As a result, they made a more comprehensive compilation of the tradition readily available to a wider audience, most importantly the students and faculty at al-Ma'had al-Waṭani, the National Conservatory. Indeed, a modern institution like al-Ma'had, whose purpose is to systemize and streamline the teaching of the tradition, could not exist with a curriculum founded purely upon oral tradition. IJ and IM, therefore, are used as references and regarded as the source for most of the material taught there.<sup>39</sup>

Although both IJ and IM define themselves in terms of the *Kunnāš* (each alludes to the *Kunnāš* in its title, and each has a version of al-Ḥā'ik's *muqaddima*), neither is simply a printed edition of it. Both contain introductory material on musical performance by the modern compilers; and both add material not found in the *Kunnāš: mizān ad-darj*, as well as *barāwil* in *ad-darj* and *al-quddām*. Moreover, they clearly are based upon different manuscript versions of the *Kunnāš*, because 1) they present somewhat different versions of al-Ḥā'ik's *muqaddima*,<sup>40</sup> 2) the order of *nūbāt* in IM is different from that of IJ, 3) in many cases the order and arrangement of *šanā'ī*' differs between the two, and 4) each contains material that does not appear in the other.<sup>41</sup> In a few cases Ibn Jallūn added material from outside sources, either of his own composition, or additional verses from the same poem underlying an existing *šan'a*.<sup>42</sup> Ibn Maṣṣūr, too, occasionally inserted material he felt to be more appropriate than what he found in the tradition already.<sup>43</sup> In both anthologies, these insertions are indicated as such.

39 I have seen only MW used in actual classroom situations, but this is probably because it is more readily available to students (IJ and IM are currently out of print).

40 The version in IJ appears to be more complete and closer to the original, as revealed by a complete source-edition of the *Kunnāš* being prepared by Malik Bennūna (unpublished MS., interview 3/29/05).

41 The two anthologies also differ in containing variant versions of some *šanā'ī*', and in the fact that IM places *mizān ad-darj* after *al-quddām*. These differences may not derive from the manuscripts, as will be shown later in this chapter.

42 Ibn Jallūn inserted his own verses into Qā'im wa-Niṣf Ramal al-Māya as part of *šan'a* #1 (see the annotation to this *šan'a* in Part II). In Bṭāyḥī #7, a poem by aš-Šuštari, he inserted two lines at the beginning in order to make this *šan'a* that is always performed as *ḥumāsīyya* into a *subā'īyya*. The two lines, which act as a kind of *maṭla'* to the poem, derive from the same poem by aš-Šuštari. See below, Chapter 4 §2.1.

43 For example, see IM p. 58 n. 3.

MW presents itself as a supplement to the printed anthologies IJ and IM, based primarily upon the al-Jāmi'ī corpus.<sup>44</sup> As such, it is rather shorter than either IJ or IM, offering little material not found in them and making no attempt to be a comprehensive rendering of the canon.<sup>45</sup> It is arranged in the standard order, as is IJ and in contrast to IM. In some cases material in MW differs from the same material in IJ and IM, for example, in the arrangement of some performance units. A most striking example from *Ramal al-Māya* is the *ṣan'a* I have labeled Mīzān ad-Darj X (*Naḥnu fi ḥaḍrati r-rasūli julūsun*), which appears as a single *ṣan'a* of 18 lines in MW, but is divided among three *ṣanā'ī* in IJ—Darj nos. 9 (*Yā rasūla l-ilāhi innī muḥibbun*), 11 (*Yā rasūla l-ilāhi innī nazīlu*) and 12 (*Yā najīyya l-ilāhi fi ḥaḍrati l-quḍs*)—with yet another *ṣan'a* interpolated amongst them (#10, *Ṭāla šawqī la-mqāmak yā l-hādī*, found elsewhere in MW and IM, as well). In addition, the first four lines of *ṣan'a* Darj X are unique to MW, while no part of *ṣan'a* X appears in IM.<sup>46</sup> Finally, MW does not include al-Ḥā'ik's *muqaddima* as such, but instead summarizes its material on the *ṭubū'* in brief introductory notes to each *nūba*.

Ambīrkū al-Makkī made the first serious attempt to produce a printed version of the *Kunnāš* with *Majmū'at al-aḡānī al-mūsīqīyya al-andalusīyya al-ma'rūfa bi-l-Ḥā'ik* (1934-35). Using unspecified manuscripts, Ambīrkū completed only six of the *nūbāt*, in the following order: *Ramal al-Māya*, *al-'Uššāq*, *al-Iṣbahān*, *Ġaribat al-Ḥusayn*, *ar-Rašd* and *Rašd ad-Dīl*. The exact relationship of this edition to the manuscript tradition is somewhat ambiguous. A survey of the *ṣanā'ī* he included in *Ramal al-Māya* suggests that Ambīrkū's anthology lies somewhere between the al-Ḥā'ik and al-Jāmi'ī branches of the tradition, because some song texts closely resemble versions found in MW, while others have features in common with IM or with both IM and MW. Ambīrkū used *šuġl* in the modern sense ("*tawšīḥ šuġl*" and "*zajal šuġl*" are found in the text) but did not include *ad-darj* as a separate *mīzān*, which might have indicated that he drew upon manuscripts (or performance practice) influenced by the al-Jāmi'ī corpus. The *muqaddima* is truncated, containing neither the anthologist's personal information, nor most of his extensive material on the *ṭubū'*.

The second *Kunnāš* publication, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan Zwītin's *Majmū'at al-Ḥā'ik li-t-ṭarab al-andalusī* (1972), presented the *nūbāt* in a similar order to that

44 See 'Abd al-Laṭīf Aḥmad Ḥālīš's introduction, pp. 12-14.

45 In all of *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya*, for example, MW contains only four *ṣanā'ī* not found at all in IJ or IM: al-Bṭāyḥī nos. 3 and 10, and ad-Darj nos. 14 and 16.

46 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Benmūsā, perhaps the leading scholar-*rā'īs* in Fez, tells me that more conservative *jawq* leaders regard Darj X as a single *ṣan'a*, but because it is *mawzūn*, a *rā'īs* can easily perform only some lines from it, or break it into separate *ṣanā'ī*' and interpolate other short *ṣanā'ī*' among the parts, as Ibn Jallūn has done in his anthology. In other words, IJ and MW present two different performance options available for this text.

of Ambīrkū's edition, though Zwītin's anthology contains all eleven *nūbāt*: *Ramal al-Māya*, *al-'Uššāq*, *al-Iṣbahān*, *Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn*, *ar-Raṣd*, *Raṣd ad-Dīl*, *al-Ḥijāz al-Mašriqī*, *Irāq al-'Ajam*, *al-Istihlāl*, *al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr* and *al-Māya*.<sup>47</sup> (Table 2 compares the structures of the four printed anthologies.) The order of *ṣanā'ī* in Zwītin's version of *Ramal al-Māya* is similar to that found in *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*, though with some departures. He also used *ṣuġl* in the modern sense. In addition to his own extensive introduction, Zwītin included a longer version of al-Ḥā'ik's *muqaddima*, including the poem on the *ṭubū'* attributed to al-Wanṣarīsī. Unlike Ambīrkū's typeface version, Zwītin's book is executed in a very nice Maghribi hand, giving the work an authentic manuscript-like appearance. Taken together, the Ambīrkū and Zwītin *Kunnāš* editions are of interest for the purpose of comparison with the other printed editions. Yet the arrangement of their *nūbāt* is not what is now considered standard, they do not have *mīzān ad-darj*, and their influence waned with the appearance of IM and IJ, which achieved much wider circulation. More important, perhaps, I have yet to encounter either in use in formal teaching situations, such as in al-Ma'had al-Waṭānī, whereas IM, IJ and MW are all used as reference materials by both students and teachers. In general, Ambīrkū and Zwītin do not really qualify as exemplars of the modern canon.

TABLE 2 Arrangement of *nūbāt* in four printed anthologies

Ambīrkū (1935)	Zwītin (1972) / IM (1977)	IJ (1979) / MW (1982)
<i>Ramal al-Māya</i>	<i>Ramal al-Māya</i>	<i>Ramal al-Māya</i>
<i>al-'Uššāq</i>	<i>al-'Uššāq</i>	<i>al-Iṣbahān</i>
<i>al-Iṣbahān</i>	<i>al-Iṣbahān</i>	<i>al-Māya</i>
<i>Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn</i>	<i>Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn</i>	<i>Raṣd ad-Dīl</i>
<i>ar-Raṣd</i>	<i>ar-Raṣd</i>	<i>al-Istihlāl</i>
<i>Raṣd ad-Dīl</i>	<i>Raṣd ad-Dīl</i>	<i>ar-Raṣd</i>
	<i>al-Ḥijāz al-Mašriqī</i>	<i>Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn</i>
	<i>Irāq al-'Ajam</i>	<i>al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr</i>
	<i>al-Istihlāl</i>	<i>al-Ḥijāz al-Mašriqī</i>
	<i>al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr</i>	<i>Irāq al-'Ajam</i>
	<i>al-Māya</i>	<i>al-'Uššāq</i>

47 Note that this arrangement is not attested in any of the manuscripts examined above, which seems to suggest the existence of yet another stream of *Kunnāš* manuscripts, apart from those already discussed. Both Ambīrkū and Zwītin hailed from Rabat, so it may be that this arrangement was considered traditional there.

The first *Kunnāš* publication to achieve broader circulation (that is, outside the circles of aficionados in the major *jam'yyāt*) was IM, published in 1977. Table 2 shows that its structure is like that of Ambīrkū and Zuwītin, however IM achieved much wider distribution than either of the previous anthologies and found its way into the libraries of not a few *ru'asā'* as well as aficionados in foreign countries. Moreover, it played a role in formulating the curriculum at al-Ma'had al-Waṭanī, which testifies to its importance for the modern tradition. Like Ambīrkū's edition IM is in typeface, not handwritten; but whereas Ambīrkū supplied vowelling in problematic passages, IM has the limitation of not being voweled, which renders the text ambiguous in places, especially where some *azjāl* and *barāwil* are concerned.

Ibn Maṣṣūr included an extensive paraphrase of al-Ḥā'ik's *muqaddima* and a significant number of both *ṣanā'ī'* and performance units that do not appear in other printed versions of the *Kunnāš*. Because the arrangement of *nūbāt* is like that of Ambīrkū and Zwītin, one is led to the conclusion Ibn Maṣṣūr drew upon manuscript sources similar to these earlier editions of the *Kunnāš*. But in addition, at least one of his sources must have contained al-Jāmi'ī material, for IM includes material found in the al-Jāmi'ī manuscripts. Moreover, IM contains *mīzān ad-darj*—placed after *al-quddām*—and *barāwil*, both of which appear to derive from oral sources (see below §3.3 and §4). IM also includes the two “orphan” *mayāzīn*, Quddām Bawākir al-Māya and al-Quddām al-Jadīd, the latter being a recent assemblage of miscellaneous *ṣanā'ī'* from “lost” *nūbāt*. Also, it is evident from Ibn Maṣṣūr's footnotes that he incorporated his own substantial knowledge of the modern performed tradition. Thus, IM is very much a composite work that seeks not merely to present the *Kunnāš* itself (as was the case with Ambīrkū and Zwītin), but to encompass the whole of the tradition as the anthologist knew it, including material performed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century not found in the *Kunnāš*.

The fourth and most recent “al-Ḥā'ik,” IJ (1979), has been the most influential of all the printed editions. Not only has it played an important role in the curriculum of al-Ma'had al-Waṭanī, but it is frequently cited as a reference work by both Moroccan and European authors. Like Zwītin, it is a handwritten text, though not presented as an imitation of an old manuscript (in fact, the hand is uneven and hard to read in places). It contains a complete version of the *muqaddima*, in addition to discussions of the *ṭubū'* and *īqā'āt* with accompanying musical notation. Like IM, IJ includes *mīzān ad-darj* (placed before *al-quddām*) and *barāwil* in *ad-darj* and *al-quddām*, and like IM, IJ includes the two “orphan” *mayāzīn*. IM and IJ each contain *ṣanā'ī'* (and performance units) not found in the other. Where IJ exceeds previous editions is in the richness of material supplied with each *ṣan'a*. Every *ṣan'a* is introduced with the usual

formula, but the anthologist has indicated the *ṭabʿ* and, in many cases, the author of the poem. His comments also define specific performance units and *marāḥil al-mīzān* in some places. These indications alone make IJ an invaluable resource for the historian of the tradition and its texts.

Unfortunately, IJ does have two drawbacks. Like IM, IJ provides no information at all on the sources for its contents. We thus have no way to determine which manuscript traditions individual *ṣanāʿiʿ* may belong to, nor is it always easy to determine to what extent Ibn Jallūn has drawn upon his own considerable knowledge of and experience with the tradition. This presents problems when trying to sort out the relationships between IM and IJ, for example, or between the two of them and the al-Jāmiʿī corpus. In addition, Ibn Jallūn included not a few lines of verse that simply are not performed, whether by augmenting some *ḥumāsīyyāt* to make them *subāʿīyyāt*, or even by inserting verses or whole *ṣanāʿiʿ* of his own invention. Footnotes by both the anthologist and his publisher indicate most of these insertions, but one still must have recourse to an expert in the tradition to sort some of these additions from the active material.

IM and (especially) IJ embody what is considered canonical within the *Kunnāš al-Ḥāʿik* stream today. Ideally, at least, they are modern exemplars of a manuscript tradition extending back some two centuries to the era of an anthologist who attempted to gather what he knew of the tradition and to fix it in written form. The ambiguous and somewhat problematic relationships between the two editions comes as no surprise: it is merely a continuation of similar issues within the old manuscript tradition, as well. Ultimately, these modern anthologies are far more comprehensive than al-Ḥāʿik's was or could have been: they include a great deal of material that was unknown to al-Ḥāʿik himself, and probably incorporate a number of regional variations on the tradition that escaped al-Ḥāʿik's attention.

## 2.5 Al-Ḥāʿik and Al-Jāmiʿī

Based upon data from eight of the best-known manuscripts of *Kunnāš al-Ḥāʿik* we have reconstructed a plausible outline of the historical development of the *Kunnāš*, one that raises significant questions about the role of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāʿik in assembling the anthology that bears his name today. As interesting as such questions are to the text-critical historian, however, they cannot efface the important ideological role al-Ḥāʿik has played and continues to play within the mythos surrounding the modern al-Āla, the value attaching to *Kunnāš al-Ḥāʿik* as an emblem of the tradition. This value can be seen in several aspects of the tradition, including the way that al-Ḥāʿik overshadows the other important anthologist, al-Jāmiʿī. As important as al-Jāmiʿī evidently was

to the survival of al-Āla, like the “Moroccan-ness” of the tradition he remains largely invisible outside the circle of specialists in the tradition.

Cortés García (1995) argues that most of what passes today for the al-Ḥā'ik repertoire in fact derives from the al-Jāmi'ī corpus. This is true, as far as it goes, but the situation is a little more complicated than it would appear at first. IM and IJ do depart significantly from the *Kunnāš* manuscripts we have looked at, often eschewing material found in the body of each *nūba* and incorporating instead a certain amount of marginal material from the manuscripts. This is particularly true in the case of *Ramal al-Māya*, though it may be an artifact of the drift of this *nūba* toward more explicit prophetic praise than is found in the manuscript versions, since much of the marginal material in manuscripts like *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* presents itself specifically as *madīḥ*. In addition, a little less than half of the material now found in the canon cannot be traced to these manuscripts. However, my study of concert programs dating from my sojourns in Morocco, as well as my observations of rehearsals by orchestras from Fez and Tetuan, indicate that the performed repertoire today includes *ṣanā'ī'* and performance units found neither in the al-Jāmi'ī manuscripts I have studied nor in the most authoritative printed version of the al-Jāmi'ī corpus available, MW. It seems clear from this that orchestras still draw from a repertoire of material and performance practices deriving from outside the al-Jāmi'ī corpus.

The modern performed canon differs from the repertoire found in many of the *Kunnāš* manuscripts, but the difference need not be attributed only to the intrusion of the al-Jāmi'ī corpus as a reservoir of *nūba* material “rescued” from oblivion. The *Kunnāš* manuscript tradition is complex; its chronology is far from certain; and the *Kunnāš* as a whole seems to have undergone complicated processes involving loss, recomposition and interpolation that together have produced *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik* as it is recognized today. We know little about what happened to the *nūba* tradition and its manuscripts in the century between D144 and the assembling of the al-Jāmi'ī corpus. While it is true that much of what is performed today in Morocco exists only as marginalia in a number of the *Kunnāš* manuscripts, exactly how this marginal material became canonical and how the corresponding material from the main text became obsolete, remain a mystery. For example, we came to the conclusion in §2b above that recomposition of some *ṣanā'ī'*, once performed in *ṭab' al-ḥusayn* but now performed in *ramal al-māya* and *inqilāb ar-ramal*, probably took place after the source(s) for *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* were created and after the addition of marginal material in these two manuscripts, i.e.: probably in the mid- or late 19<sup>th</sup> century, a period usually thought of as characterized only by loss of material from the tradition.

The discussion that follows offers a rather different perspective on this question, arguing that the al-Jāmiʿī corpus was intended, not to rescue the remains of a decaying textual tradition, but to supplement a still-thriving *Kunnāš* stream. This argument assumes the general conclusion reached earlier in this chapter: that the *Kunnāš* is not the uniform product of one anthologist's efforts, but the result of a prolonged process of recompilation from various oral-textual streams reflected in a diverse manuscript tradition whose surviving exemplars span more than a full century. Rather than assume that the *Kunnāš* began its career as a fully-formed and pristine text that later sank into decay and was rescued by al-Jāmiʿī, it seems to me more plausible to allow for the wonderfully messy and multilinear processes that often accompany the evolution of art forms like *al-Āla*.

Al-Jāmiʿī's contributions to the textual tradition, while apparently less substantial, were nonetheless important for the consolidation and perpetuation of the tradition as a whole. Unlike al-Ḥāʾik, however, we encounter fewer problems when trying to determine precisely what al-Jāmiʿī's contributions actually were. The next section examines exemplars of the manuscript tradition associated with the name of al-Jāmiʿī in order to clarify as well as possible the points of connection and distinction between the two major anthology projects. The following account of the al-Jāmiʿī corpus completes the picture of the modern canon.

### 3 The Al-Jāmiʿī Corpus

Unlike *Kunnāš al-Ḥāʾik*, the manuscripts relating to the al-Jāmiʿī corpus contain no *muqaddima* that might give us clues to the life of its author, the *faqīh* Sīdī Muḥammad b. al-Wazīr as-Sayyid al-ʿArabī b. al-Wazīr as-Sayyid al-Muḥtār al-Jāmiʿī. Modern secondary sources also yield no solid clues on the anthologist. Our chief source of information on al-Jāmiʿī is oral tradition. His career, insofar as it is known in this way, is detailed in Chapter 3 §3 of HST. The corpus that bears his name apparently was compiled in the reign of Sultan Mūlāy al-Ḥasan I, some time around 1303/1885-6, and we can reasonably infer that al-Jāmiʿī intended it as a reference work for teaching the tradition, just as al-Ḥāʾik did.

The chief modern exemplar of the al-Jāmiʿī corpus is the printed volume *Min waḥy ar-rabāb*, assembled by the great musician and *raʾīs*, ʿAbd al-Krīm ar-Rāyīs (1982). Its wide availability (it has been reprinted at least twice) makes it a convenient resource for students in the conservatory, as well as for musicians. For those interested in background information on the *tubūʿ*, MW offers a short narrative summary at the beginning of each *nūba*, drawn from both al-Ḥāʾik and oral tradition, describing each mode associated with the *nūba*, its

author, and its humoral or temporal associations. MW thus fulfills an important function within the modern context. Yet, it has one or two limitations. The text is vowelled inconsistently, and the vocalizations are unreliable in several places, especially when compared with IJ, in which more care seems to have been taken in this regard. Moreover, the anthologist (or his editor) misspelled the names of two poetic meters (مجتّ as “مجتّ” or even “مجتّ”, and هجر as “هجر”), and always uses هجر when رجز is indicated.

### 3.1 Manuscripts

The manuscript tradition behind the al-Jāmiʿī corpus is far less extensive and complex than that of the *Kunnāš*. I have been able to locate only three complete manuscripts, all of them copies made about 20 years after the apparent date of the al-Jāmiʿī's work:

*R1327*—manuscript #1327 (on microfilm) at the Bibliotheque Générale in Rabat; dated 1330 (1912).

*Piro*—al-Jāmiʿī manuscript owned by Aḥmad Piro in Rabat; dated 1329 (1911) but said to be a copy of a manuscript dated 1303/1885-6.

*Belmalīḥ*—al-Jāmiʿī manuscript donated to the Maṭḥaf Dār al-Āla in Casablanca in 2004 by the Belmalīḥ family of Fez; said to have been copied in 1902.

In addition, the Maṭḥaf Dār al-Āla in Casablanca holds two other, incomplete manuscripts, each about one *nūba* in length.

Of these, *R1327* and *Piro* may be closely related: they appear to have been executed on the same kind of paper (watermarks are visible on pages 110 and 114 of the *R1327* microfilm) within a year of each other. *Piro*, however, is more elaborate, having a brief *muqaddima* that contains the poem on the *ṭubūʿ* attributed to al-Wanšarīsī and a drawing of the *šajarat aṭ-ṭubūʿ*. Like *Belmalīḥ*, *R1327* has no introductory material. *Belmalīḥ* was executed by a copyist following different conventions. Whereas *R1327* and *Piro* adhere to the conventions of poetic presentation, following closely the model of the *Kunnāš*, *Belmalīḥ* runs the *šanāʿiʿ* together like a prose text, without placing the verses on separate lines, though the copyist did indicate hemistich/segment breaks with a little white space between words. *Belmalīḥ* also inserts the word *taḡṭīyya* in the middle of strophic poems to indicate the *qufl*.

*Piro* and *Belmalīḥ* have been executed in four colors of ink, each in a very nice Maghribi hand. *R1327* appears to have been written in several ink colors, as well, but it is rather difficult to read in many places, owing to the poor quality of the microfilm image. Many pages are out of focus, overexposed or underexposed. The readable portions, however, are clearly written. Of the

three manuscripts, only *R1327* has marginalia, which include numbers for the *ṣanā'ī* and *mīzān ad-darj* in the margins of *al-bṭāyihī*. These marginal notes are executed in the same hand as the main text, an indication that the manuscript is not an original. (*Piro* does have very occasional corrections written with a blue ball point pen.)

These three manuscripts are more inconsistent orthographically than the *Kunnāš* manuscripts I have examined. For example, each may employ alif for *tā' marbūṭa* at the end of a hemistich, but only occasionally and without any evident pattern. Similarly, each may jump unpredictably between use of *alif* and *alif maqṣūra* to indicate *ā* at the end of a word. *Belmalīḥ* is by far the most inconsistent orthographically. Not only does the manuscript take more liberties of the sort just mentioned, but the copyist also made a number of obvious errors in spelling that went uncorrected. All three manuscripts show occasional signs of simple oral or dialectal intrusions, such as use of *nā*–for *ana*, or the occasional exchange of final *ī* for *i*. Again, *Belmalīḥ* shows more of these features than either *Piro* or *R1327*.

### 3.2 Structure and Contents

These manuscripts are structurally similar to the *Kunnāš* manuscripts in that they are arranged by *nūbāt* and *mayāzīn* that are introduced by similar set phrases. The markers used to designate *ṣanā'ī* differ somewhat from the *Kunnāš*: *ومنه أيضا* is replaced by simply *صنعة*; and *ṣuġl* takes on its modern meaning in the al-Jāmi'ī corpus, since we find *tawṣīḥ ṣuġl* and *zajal ṣuġl* in these manuscripts, as well as a few poems marked simply *ṣan'a*. *R1327* is far less consistent in labeling *ṣanā'ī* than the other two manuscripts, but this may be an illusion created by the fact that the manuscript is available only on black-and-white microfilm. There are faint indications on the image that some *ṣan'a* markers may have been written in blue or some other color that did not transfer well to film. The copyist left little space between *ṣanā'ī* in many places, and so the *ṣan'a* markers often appear wedged into these small gaps, suggesting that they were later additions to the manuscript.

Of particular interest is the arrangement of *nūbāt* in these manuscripts:

*Raṣd* (without *Mīzān al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf*)  
*al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr*  
*Iraq al-'Ajam*  
*Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn*  
*al-Māya*  
*al-'Uṣṣāq*

*Raṣd ad-Dīl*  
*al-Istihlāl*  
*Ramal al-Māya*  
*al-Iṣbahān*  
*al-Ḥijāz al-Mašriqī* (without al-Qā'im wa Niṣf)

(in addition, *R1327* has the “orphan” *mīzān* Bawākir al-Māya, which is not present in the others).

This is the same order as that found in the *Bennīs* and *London Kunnāš* manuscripts (see Table 1). I do not see how this could be coincidental, and so it raises some interesting possibilities. It would seem that al-Jāmi'ī had access to one of these manuscripts (or to the branches of the tradition they represent), and evidently he regarded this arrangement as acceptable, if not authoritative. Does this mean that *Bennīs* (and *London*, which is was copied from it—see Figure 3) represents the authentic tradition as it was recognized in Fez just prior to the 1880s (al-Jāmi'ī's era)? Yet the content of *Bennīs* coincides with that of *Wazzānī*, *Valderrama* and *Raqīwaq*, not with that of the al-Jāmi'ī manuscripts, which indicates that the latter nevertheless represent a distinct repertoire, or perhaps part of the Fez repertoire, that was rendered in writing parallel with or after *Bennīs*.

Another approach to this arrangement of *nūbāt* was expressed by Professor 'Abd as-Salām aš-Šāmī, who said that these manuscripts were assembled by “difficulty of *ṣanā'ī*,” the songs in *ar-Raṣd* being more difficult than those in *al-Ḥijāz al-Mašriqī*.<sup>48</sup> Though this is an interesting idea, one wonders exactly what “difficulty” might mean (in performance, some of the *ṣanā'ī* in *Ramal al-Māya* seem to be just as “difficult” as any in the tradition). On the other hand, the first year's curriculum at al-Ma'had al-Waṭanī does seem to bear this out, because it focuses on the *nūbāt al-Iṣbahān*, *Ramal al-Māya*, *al-Istihlāl* and *Raṣd ad-Dīl*, all of which fall in the “easier” lower half of the list. *Ṣanā'ī* from the “more difficult” upper half of the list are added in the second year.<sup>49</sup>

Whatever the logic behind it, this arrangement, along with that in IM, cast further doubt upon the origin and dissemination of the modern standard order of *nūbāt*, since the al-Jāmi'ī corpus dates to a century later than the earliest versions of *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*. The similarity of the al-Jāmi'ī arrangement to that of *Bennīs* lends credence to the idea that a century after al-Ḥā'ik there still was more than one “authentic” way to arrange *nūbāt* circulating in Morocco.

48 Interview 10/18/2005.

49 See the discussion of the conservatory curriculum in Chapter 4 of HST.

It would appear that, although the modern arrangement derives in some way from the *Kunnāš* manuscript tradition, it did not have much influence upon al-Jāmi'ī in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Nor did it make much difference, apparently, to copyists of the al-Jāmi'ī manuscripts working in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, since they did not “correct” the order of *nūbāt* we find in them. It seems that the *Kunnāš* arrangement represented by *Leiden* and the other manuscripts listed in the first column of Table 1, and later by IJ and MW in the modern canon was not a significant influence on al-Jāmi'ī as he was collecting and organizing his anthology. We may therefore suppose that the now-standard arrangement existed as one option for organizing an anthology of *al-Āla* but was not yet authoritative for all participants in the tradition in al-Jāmi'ī's time.

The questions raised earlier in this chapter as to the role of al-Ḥā'ik in formulating the modern Āla canon now resurface. Did al-Jāmi'ī believe he was collecting the whole tradition as it was performed in his time? If indeed he was saving the tradition from complete loss (in other words, if the *Kunnāš* had become irrelevant because the al-Ḥā'ik version of the tradition had faded out or nearly so), he would have done so in whatever local model was available for an anthology of that type. Yet, why are there now *ṣanā'ī*' performed today, and an arrangement of *nūbāt*, that are not found in the al-Jāmi'ī corpus? Apparently *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik* was still a living part of the tradition (at least in its iconic function), since one version of it (*Bennīs*) influenced the structure of the al-Jāmi'ī corpus, and since it survived al-Jāmi'ī's time till today (though now in a different arrangement from that used by *Bennīs/London* and al-Jāmi'ī). By this line of reasoning, al-Jāmi'ī was producing a kind of supplement to the *Kunnāš*, embodying material that was circulating in his own day. Only later, after the modern arrangement gained wider acceptance, did the al-Jāmi'ī corpus itself get rearranged (by ar-Rāyis) to conform to the now-standard version found in IJ. The structure of the al-Jāmi'ī manuscripts, and their connection to the *Bennīs/London Kunnāš* manuscripts, thus strongly suggest that the current standard order of *nūbāt* was not yet authoritative in al-Jāmi'ī's time, and probably was not so until the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

This conclusion is consonant with the alternative arrangement of *nūbāt* recorded by Ambīrkū in 1935, by Zwītin in 1972, and IM as late as 1977. Otherwise we must conclude that these three modern authors were publishing anthologies using an idiosyncratic arrangement based upon non-canonical manuscripts. This would be perhaps believable for Ambīrkū, who was working only a little later than the copyists for *R1327* and *Piro*, but IM remains a problem. How is it that this particular arrangement of *nūbāt* was published as the *Kunnāš* just two years before Ibn Jallūn published the arrangement now

considered standard? Was it merely Ibn Jallūn's status as an expert in the tradition that won the day for the arrangement he used (found also in *Leiden*, *Raḡīwaq*, *Wazzānī* and *Valderama*)?

Thus the al-Jāmi'ī manuscripts definitively move the standardization of the tradition's organization out of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and therefore support the idea advanced above that *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik* as known today is the product of an extended period of development probably lasting more than a century. Whether we believe that al-Ḥā'ik alone was responsible for the *Kunnāš*, as some have argued, or that the anthologist merely started a process of collecting that went through several distinct, local permutations before becoming authoritative, as has been argued in this chapter, there is little doubt that what is today regarded as *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik* did not achieve its final, authoritative form until relatively recently.

Careful, *ṣan'a*-by-*ṣan'a* study of *Ramal al-Māya* in the al-Jāmi'ī manuscripts shows that their contents are quite distinct from those of the *Kunnāš*. Many *ṣanā'i'* from the *Kunnāš* manuscripts are not found at all in the al-Jāmi'ī manuscripts, or are found only in truncated or altered form. An example of the latter is al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #8 (*Law lāka mā himtu wajdā*), which occurs in *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* (and IJ) as *ḥumāsīyya* (in *ramal al-māya*), but in the al-Jāmi'ī corpus as the *qufl* only.

Bennūna finds this poem in three places in D<sub>144</sub>,<sup>50</sup> but the *qufl* of the modern *ḥumāsīyya* appears only in the version found in *Raṣd ad-Dīl* in that manuscript. This *qufl* is the *ḥarja* from a *muwašṣaḥ* by Ibn al-Ḥabbāz (d. before 776/1375?) (*Yā man 'addā wa-ta'addā*), and had a history of its own before being incorporated into al-Āla.<sup>51</sup> As with D<sub>144</sub>, this text appears in three places within the modern canon,<sup>52</sup> and in the same *mayāzīn* in the three al-Jāmi'ī manuscripts, as well. Curiously, it is the version in *Ramal al-Māya* of the al-Jāmi'ī corpus that is truncated (including the manuscripts and MW), but in inverted fashion: whereas the three versions in D<sub>144</sub> all have the *ḡuṣn*, and the *qufl* appears attached to it in just one case, only the *qufl* of two lines appears in *Ramal al-Māya* of the al-Jāmi'ī corpus (it is the seventh *ṣan'a* of al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf in the three manuscripts, and is found in MW, p. 34), while the full

50 Bennūna (1999) #190: p. 252 (Quddām al-Māya), p. 282 (al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf al-Ḥusayn) and p. 450 (al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf Raṣd ad-Dīl).

51 Ibn al-Ḥabbāz probably was a contemporary of Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb. See the latter's *Jayš at-tawšīḥ*, p. 95.

52 al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf *Ramal al-Māya*, al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf Raṣd ad-Dīl and Bṭayḥī ar-Raṣd—IM: pp. 45, 163, 198; IJ: pp. 48, 107, 171; MW: pp. 34, 121, 195.

*ḥumāsīyya* appears in all three manuscripts in Bṭāyḥī ar-Raṣd and in al-Qāʾim wa-Niṣf Raṣd aḍ-Ḍīl (and in the corresponding places in MW).<sup>53</sup>

The reduction of this *ṣanʿa* is unusually complicated, but instructive. The *Ramal al-Māya* version in the al-Jāmiʿī corpus may once have included the *ḡuṣn*, like the versions in IM and IJ. *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* indicate the *ṣanʿa* was a *ḥumāsīyya* performed in *ramal al-māya*, not *al-ḥusayn*. The *al-ḥusayn* text (deriving from D144) probably was recognized as traditional, but at some point a new melody was composed in *ramal al-māya* (as it is sung, today), perhaps because the *al-ḥusayn* melody was lost.<sup>54</sup> At the same time, the surviving Raṣd aḍ-Ḍīl version (as found in D144, *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*) was recognized as having an ending more appropriate to *madīḥ*, so that was incorporated into the reconstituted *ramal al-māya* version as it appears in *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*, and in the modern canon. In this scenario, the *ḡuṣn* of this recomposed *ḥumāsīyya* in *Ramal al-Māya* (*Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*) bearing a *ḡazal* theme had again lapsed by the time al-Jāmiʿī assembled his anthology, only the *madīḥ* portion (the *qufl*) remaining in use. Whatever circumstances produced this *ṣanʿa* in its present form in the al-Jāmiʿī corpus, the survival in *Ramal al-Māya* of the most *madīḥ*-like portion of the original *ṣanʿa* is not at all surprising.

Similarly, the first *ṣanʿa* of Basīṭ al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr in the al-Jāmiʿī manuscripts (unlabelled as to type) has the following text:

بِمَنْ تَجَكَّى	أَهْلًا وَسَهْلًا
Welcome to him	who unjustly blames
عُصْنٌ يُتَّقَى	بَدْرٌ تَجَكَّى
a full moon appears	a branch bends

These segments (or hemistiches, depending upon how they are laid out on the page) comprise the first *ṣanʿa* of the *mīzān* in MW (p. 243, *zajal šuḡl*). However, the second *ṣanʿa* of this *mīzān* in *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*, the *ḥumāsīyya al-ʿIṣq minnī ʿarafa maʿī...* (*Valderrama*: *zajal*; *Wazzānī*: *tawšīḥ*), has a *ḡuṣn* that includes these four segments that appear in the al-Jāmiʿī corpus arranged as two lines of two hemistiches. So, the first *ṣanʿa* in this *mīzān* from the al-Jāmiʿī

53 A fourth, partial al-Jāmiʿī MS. deposited at the Maṭḥaf Dār al-Āla in Casablanca, containing only *Nūbat ar-Raṣd*, has this *ṣanʿa* as a *ḥumāsīyya*, as well.

54 As noted earlier in this chapter, this *ṣanʿa* from *al-Ḥusayn* probably was not simply transposed into the new *ṭabʿ*, since *ṣanāʿī* in *al-ḥusayn* are still performed in *Ramal al-Māya*. Again we see that the incorporation of the old *al-Ḥusayn* from manuscripts like D144 was not a simple importation of some *ṣanāʿī* into a new setting.

corpus is a remnant of two lines from the *ġuṣn* of a *zajal/tawšīh* in a similar position in the same *mīzān* in al-Ḥā'ik. This case illustrates both the absence of *Kunnāš* material from the al-Jāmi'ī corpus (the first *šan'a* of this *mīzān* in *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*), and the reduction of material from the *Kunnāš* in al-Jāmi'ī (the entire *ḥumāsīyya al-'Išq minnī ʔaraḥa ma'ī...* to just four segments/hemistiches from the *ġuṣn*). Further examples like these recur throughout the al-Jāmi'ī corpus.

Although MW mirrors the al-Jāmi'ī manuscripts closely in many places (for example, there is a one-to-one correspondence in *Mīzān al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf Ramal al-Māya* between MW and the manuscripts, except for a slightly different order of *šanā'i'*, and a few minor textual variations), not all the material in MW appears in the manuscripts. Most notable is the material that most clearly distinguishes the modern canon from the *Kunnāš*: *mīzān ad-darj*, which comprises 24 *šanā'i'* in *Ramal al-Māya*. MW includes seven *šanā'i'* in *Darj Ramal al-Māya*. *R1327* contains this *mīzān*, written into the margins of *mīzān al-bṭāyḥī*, and *Belmalīḥ* contains a kind of appendix that brings together all the *darj mayāzīn* (except *Darj al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr* and *Darj Raṣd ad-Dīl*). However, *Darj Ramal al-Māya* in *R1327* contains just two texts (*Darj* #14 and #3), and *Belmalīḥ* contains only those two plus a third (*Darj* #5), and *Piro* contains no indication of *mīzān ad-darj* at all. Thus *ad-darj* in the modern canon (including MW as well as the more comprehensive IM and IJ) is much more extensive than in the al-Jāmi'ī manuscripts (and of course, it does not appear at all in the *Kunnāš*).

The three al-Jāmi'ī manuscripts are virtually identical in the number and order of *šanā'i'* they contain, but there are quite a few textual and orthographic/spelling variants standing between them. On the whole from these indications, it appears that *Piro* and *R1327* are somewhat closer to one another than either is to *Belmalīḥ*, which contains quite a few orthographic and lexical alterations. However, the three of them share enough features with MW, as against IM and IJ, that it is evident that like MW they belong to an oral textual stream distinct from that of either IM or IJ. One extreme example of text variation among the various versions should illustrate the point. Figure 6 shows five versions of the *šan'a* al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #6 (*Muḥammadun qad jalla qadrā*), beginning with the versions in the three al-Jāmi'ī manuscripts, then the one found in MW, and finally the version in IM/IJ (IM includes one lexical variant). Variations from the IM/IJ canon are underlined; the figure [ — ] indicates a phrase or segment present in the canon that is missing from the al-Jāmi'ī version.

The first thing one notices about the manuscript versions is that the line segments/hemistiches are rearranged, and some are missing from each manuscript version, which completely fractures the rhyme scheme of the poem, a phenomenon widespread in these manuscripts but virtually unknown in the *Kunnāš* manuscripts I have studied.

	<b>Belmalīh</b>	
<i>Muḥammad qad jalla qadran</i> <i>jāhu l-mufaḍḍal</i> <i>wa-huwa qaṣḍī wa-l-marām</i> <i>al-Hāšimī ni' ma l-humām</i> <i>fī l-ḥašri yašfa'</i> <i>a'ṭāhu rabbu l-jāh l-jamīlā</i>	<i>bayna l-warā</i> ===== <i>huwa suhwī dunyā wa-uḥrā</i> <i>wa-hwa l-mu'ammal man fāq l-anām ṭurrā</i> <i>al-badru l-akmalu [taḡṭiya]</i> <i>ṣāḥibu l-wašīla</i> ===== <i>wa-hwa l-mušaḥḥā'</i>	
	<b>Pīro</b>	
<i>Muḥammad qad jalla qadrā</i> <i>jāhu l-mufaḍḍal</i> <i>wa-hwa qaṣḍī wa-l-marām</i> <i>man fāqa l-anām ṭurrān</i> <i>al-badru l-akmal</i> <i>fī ḥašri yašfa'</i> <i>a'ṭāhu rabbī l-jāhi l-jamīlā</i>	<i>bayna l-warā ṭūla d-dawām</i> <i>huwa su'li dunyā wa-uḥrā</i> <i>wa-hwa l-mu'ammal</i> <i>al-Hāšimī ni' ma l-humām</i> <i>al-badru l-akmal</i> <i>ṣāḥibu l-wašīla</i> ===== <i>wa-hwa l-mušaḥḥā'</i>	
	<b>R1327</b>	
<i>Muḥammad qad jalla qadran</i> <i>jāhu l-mufaḍḍal</i> <i>wa-huwa qaṣḍī wa-l-marām</i> <i>man fāqa l-anām ṭurrā</i> <i>al-badru l-akmal</i> <i>fī ḥašri yašfa'</i> <i>wa-hwaš-šafi'</i> =====	<i>bayna l-warā ṭūla d-dawām</i> <i>huwa su'li dunyā wa-uḥrā</i> <i>wa-hwa l-mu'ammal</i> <i>al-Hāšimī ni' ma l-humām</i> <i>al-badru l-akmal</i> <i>ṣāḥibu l-wašīla</i> <i>a'ṭāhu rabbī l-jāhi l-jamīlā</i>	
	<b>MW</b>	
<i>Muḥammad qad jalla qadrā</i> <i>man fāqa l-anām ṭurrā</i> <i>huwa su'li dunyā wa-uḥrā</i> <i>fī ḥašri yašfa'</i> <i>wa-hwa š-šafi'</i>	<i>al-Hāšimī ni' ma l-imām</i> <i>al-'arabī ni' ma l-humām</i> <i>wa-hwa qaṣḍī wa-hwa l-marām</i> <i>ṣāḥibu l-wašīla</i> <i>a'ṭāhu rabbī ṣūratān jamīla</i>	<i>jāhuhu l-mufaḍḍal</i> <i>al-badru l-akmal</i> <i>wa-hwa mu'ammal</i>
	<b>IM/IJ</b>	
<i>Muḥammad qad jalla qadrā</i> <i>man fāqa l-anām ṭurrā</i> <i>huwa su'li dunyā wa-uḥrā</i> <i>fī ḥašri yašfa'</i> <i>wa-hwa š-šafi'</i>	<i>bayna l-warā ṭūla d-dawām</i> <i>al-Hāšimī ni' ma l-imām</i> <i>wa-hwa qaṣḍī wa-hwa l-marām</i> <i>ṣāḥibu l-wašīla</i> <i>a'ṭāhu rabbī ṣūratān jamīla</i>	

FIGURE 6 *al-Qā'im wa-Nisf* #6 compared across versions.

Beyond that peculiarity, it is clear from this comparison that these al-Jāmi‘ī manuscripts are more similar to each other than to any other part of the canon. They all reverse the second and third lines found in the canon, for example. All three give *jāhu* for *jāhuhu* in the third segment/hemistich; all drop *-hwa* from the fifth segment/hemistich and give *ni‘ma l-humām* (“how magnanimous!”) for *ni‘ma l-imām* (“what a wonderful *imām*!”) in the eighth. All three also drop one segment of the last three, though *R1327* differs in this regard from *Piro* and *Belmalīh*. Two variants in *Belmalīh* distinguish it from *Piro* and *R1327*, however: the loss of a phrase from the second segment/hemistich and the lexical change from *su‘lī* (سُوئِي “my request”) to *sulwī* (سَلْوِي “my comfort”).<sup>55</sup>

MW lies closer to the canon than the manuscripts, because it does not invert the second and third lines, echoes more of the lexical and orthographic features of IM/IJ, and includes all three final segments. The presence of *l-‘arabī* is unique to MW, and in general it is difficult to conclude that the version in MW is connected to that of the manuscripts in question, save by the presence of *l-humām* (used in a different segment, however). The MW version may represent a partial effort by ar-Rāyis to “clean up” the manuscript versions of this *ṣan‘a*. Unless another manuscript comes to light that approximates the MW version more closely, we can only hypothesize.

This is only one, rather extreme example. Most of the *ṣanā‘ī* in these manuscripts show only one or two variations from the printed versions, often merely orthographic in nature or unsurprising uses of cognate forms. For example, in the fourth *ṣan‘a* of Qā‘īm wa-Niṣf Ramal al-Māya as found in the manuscripts (*Yā turā bi-llāh yā turā...*, Qā‘īm wa-Niṣf #4), *Belmalīh* gives مَنْ وُلُوعٍ وَفِكْرَةٍ ( “from yearning and thought”) in the eighth hemistich, while *Piro* and *R1327* read مَنْ وُلُوعِي وَفِكْرِي ( “from my yearning and my thinking”), and the canon has مَنْ وُلُوعِي وَفِكْرِي.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, *Piro* and *R1327* give يَا مُنَايَا (like MW) for يَا مُنَايَا in the ninth hemistich.

Sometimes, however, interesting text variants do appear. In the fifth and sixth hemistiches of the same *ṣan‘a*, the three manuscripts give:

فِي التُّرَابِ وَنَقُولُ عَجِبْتُ

*I smear my gray hair*

وَمُرْمَعٌ شَكِيَّتِي

*in the dust, and say, “How wonderful!”*

55 The latter shift is a copyist error with a hyper-correction: the copyist inadvertently moved the *waw kursīyya* after the *lām*, then converted it to a full consonant because the expression سَلْوِي makes no sense semantically or orthographically, but سُوئِي does.

56 On *walū‘* vs. *wulū‘*: the former is modern usage; Kazimirski alone offers both spellings. Corriente (2002) cites only the latter as Andalusī usage.

while MW presents:

وَقَوْلٌ عَجِيبٌ	وَمُرْعُ شَيْبَتِي فِي التُّرَابِ
<i>I smear my gray hair in the dust</i>	<i>saying, "Wonderful."</i>

but IM gives:

وَأَقُولُ صَاحِبِ الْقَضِيبِ	أَمْرُ خَدِي فِي التُّرَابِ
<i>I smear my cheek in the dust</i>	<i>and I say, "(He) possesses the staff (of authority)."</i>

and IJ:

فِي التُّرَابِ قَائِلًا أَجِبْ	وَأَعْفِرْ وَجْهَتِي
<i>I rub my cheek</i>	<i>in the dust, saying, "Answer!"</i>

Obviously all these variations cannot have arisen from simple spelling or lexical shifts. The use of the first-person plural to indicate the singular mirrors both Andalusī and Moroccan colloquial usage, but is also occasionally found in classical poetry, as well. (IM is consistent in giving the singular throughout the *ṣanʿū*, while MW and the manuscripts hold to the plural. IJ begins with the plural but adopts the singular for this line.) We will examine similar examples in Chapter 4, which deals in part with intertextual relationships between the *Kunnāš* and al-Jāmiʿī manuscript traditions and how they can reveal the traces of oral processes within the modern written dimension of al-Āla. Here it is sufficient to point out how this case and others like it place MW squarely between a relatively coherent al-Jāmiʿī manuscript corpus on one hand, and the modern printed canon on the other. At the same time, the discontinuities that do exist between MW and the manuscripts considered here do not correspond consistently with the *Kunnāš* canon as embodied in IM/IJ. They therefore suggest that, as with *Kunnāš al-Ḥāʾik*, the al-Jāmiʿī corpus comprises more than one oral/manuscript tradition that have been incorporated collectively into the modern canon.

Other evidence can be adduced to illustrate the relationships existing between these manuscripts and the canon. The three manuscripts correspond very closely to the modern canon, much more so than to the *Kunnāš* manuscripts, but they are even more similar to MW. Table 3 in Appendix 4 presents a comparison of *Ramal al-Māya* among the *Kunnāš* manuscripts (as represented by *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*), the al-Jāmiʿī corpus (as represented by *Belmalīḥ*, *Pīro* and *R1327*), and the modern canon. It shows that not only is the al-Jāmiʿī corpus much smaller in real numbers ( $n = 88$ , including *Mizān ad-Darj*) than the *Kunnāš* ( $n = 192$ ), but the overlap between them ( $n = 37$ ) represents a much smaller proportion of either (42% and 19%, respectively) than does the overlap

between the al-Jāmi'ī corpus and the modern canon (n = 76, 61% and 86%, respectively). Furthermore, in all five *mayāzīn* there are only eight *ṣanā'ī'* in the al-Jāmi'ī manuscripts not found at all in the modern canon,<sup>57</sup> so that the canon has absorbed virtually all the al-Jāmi'ī manuscript material (n = 80, 91%), which itself represents nearly two-thirds of the modern canon.

The correspondence between the manuscripts and MW is even closer. It is not, however, distributed evenly across all the *mayāzīn*. In Basīṭ Ramal al-Māya, the manuscripts leave out the very same *ṣanā'ī'* of the canon as does MW (numbers 1, 2, 5, 12, 18 and 19), but one manuscript, *Piro*, contains an extra *ṣan'a* not found here in either MW or the other manuscripts: Basīṭ #29. (Interestingly, this *ṣan'a* is found only in IM within the printed canon.) Al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf corresponds exactly between MW and the manuscripts, just as it does for the manuscripts and the canon as a whole: 14 out of 14 *ṣanā'ī'*. In al-Bṭāyḥī, however, MW contains all the *ṣanā'ī'* missing from the manuscripts. Particularly interesting in al-Bṭāyḥī is the fact that all the manuscripts do contain one *ṣan'a* now performed in Darj: #10 (*Tāla šawqī li-mqāmak*, the second *ṣan'a* in this *mīzān* in the manuscripts). It is the only such *ṣan'a* present in the manuscripts, and it may reflect the fact that *īqā' ad-darj* historically was used in *mīzān al-bṭāyḥī*. It therefore may represent evidence that *mīzān ad-darj* entered the tradition by some means other than the al-Jāmi'ī corpus. Finally, MW leaves out six of the ten *ṣanā'ī'* from al-Quddām also missing in the manuscripts (numbers 11, 20, 21, 23, 31 and 38), but includes the remaining four (1, 5, 15 and 18). The manuscripts also contain several *ṣanā'ī'* from al-Basīṭ, and one from al-Quddām (number 22) that MW does not have in these *mayāzīn*.

All the data laid out thus far demonstrate that the al-Jāmi'ī corpus is indeed closer in its contents to the modern canon than to the *Kunnāš*, and in particular, closer to MW than to the other members of the printed canon. And the data are consonant with Cortés García's suggestion that the contemporary performed tradition is mostly derived from al-Jāmi'ī.

### 3.3 Mīzān ad-Darj and the Al-Jāmi'ī Corpus

The most striking point of departure between the modern printed canon and the al-Jāmi'ī manuscripts is the relative abundance of *ṣanā'ī'* in *mīzān ad-darj* in the canon, particularly in *Ramal al-Māya*. Altogether, the printed antholo-

57 Table 3 shows that the manuscripts contain 12 more *ṣanā'ī'* than the total shown as overlapping (when compared *mīzān-by-mīzān*) however al-Quddām in the manuscripts contains three *ṣanā'ī'* from al-Basīṭ (numbers 15, 20 and 21); and *al-Bṭāyḥī* in all three manuscripts contains *ad-Darj* #10, thus leaving only eight *ṣanā'ī'* in the manuscripts unaccounted for.

gies offer 24 *ṣanāʿi* in Darj Ramal al-Māya, but the al-Jāmiʿī manuscripts only three, all of them being marginal additions to a main text that otherwise lacks *mīzān ad-darj*. One particularly surprising absence from the al-Jāmiʿī manuscripts is the best-known *ṣanʿa* in this *mīzān*, *Qad ṭāla šawqī li-n-nabī Muḥammadi* (Darj #1). Because of its fame, the absence of this *ṣanʿa* from the al-Jāmiʿī manuscripts, taken together with the very small number of *ṣanāʿi* in *ad-darj* in the manuscripts, strongly suggest that the incorporation of *ad-darj* as a separate *mīzān* in the modern canon was not a simple process of adding a previously coherent collection of *ṣanāʿi*. As with the incorporation of the old *Nūbat al-Ḥusayn* into the modern *Kunnāš*, the interpolation of *mīzān ad-darj* into the *nūba* probably was influenced by several factors, including performance practice and oral transmission.

The material that has become consolidated as *mīzān al-darj* probably was performed long before its appearance in the 20<sup>th</sup> century anthologies. Chottin (1939) regarded this *īqāʿ* as one of the classical Andalusian rhythmic modes and noted the existence of the *mīzān* in the performed corpus. This information probably came from performances and/or oral informants, since he would not have found this *mīzān* in *Kunnāš al-Ḥāʾik*, his principal textual source. It is evident that *ad-darj* was performed in the Spanish Protectorate zone at this time, as well, since García Barriuso (1940) commented on it. Both García Barriuso and Muḥammad al-Fāsī (1962, pp. 83-84) indicated that this rhythm was originally performed within *mīzān al-bṭāyḥī* (al-Fāsī defines the name *ad-darj* as deriving from the verb *daraja*, in the sense of “to include or incorporate”).

There are two ideas about the incorporation of *īqāʿ ad-darj* into the tradition as a separate *mīzān*. Al-Fāsī’s comments imply that the *īqāʿ* occurred as a kind of subset or variation on *al-bṭāyḥī* (both rhythms are counted in 8 in the *muwassaʿ* phase of the *mīzān*). From this point of view, *īqāʿ ad-darj* was not entirely alien to the *nūba* tradition, and therefore *mīzān ad-darj* might represent an extension or modification of the use of this *īqāʿ*, not an intrusion from outside. One problem with this is that I do not find a single *ṣanʿa* in the *Kunnāš* manuscripts in *Ramal al-Māya* (or its associated *nūba*, *al-Ḥusayn*) that is now performed in Darj Ramal al-Māya. As noted above, one *ṣanʿa* from Bṭāyḥī Ramal al-Māya in the al-Jāmiʿī manuscripts is now performed in *Mīzān ad-Darj*. This shows a connection, but not a convincing indication of how *mīzān ad-darj* may have developed. (Of course, *Ramal al-Māya* may be atypical in this regard for some reason; it is possible that *mīzān al-bṭāyḥī* in other *nūbāt* in the *Kunnāš* manuscripts contains material now performed in *mīzān ad-darj*.)

Just as important as the fact that the modern canon has more material in Darj Ramal al-Māya is that with one exception these *ṣanāʿi* are unique to this *mīzān*. That is, they show little sign of having been moved or copied from

Mīzān al-Bṭāyḥī, which might be expected, given that *īqāʿ ad-darj* was once performed as part of Mīzān al-Bṭāyḥī. On the contrary, if we assume that the various manuscript anthologies accurately reflect the performed repertoire at particular times, it does not appear that *īqāʿ ad-darj* as used in al-Bṭāyḥī was a vector for the incorporation of *ṣanāʿīʿ* into a recently-fashioned Mīzān ad-Darj. If this is true, it is surprising, since it means that, with respect to most of the *ṣanāʿīʿ* now performed in Darj Ramal al-Māya, a) they did not enter the tradition via the al-Jāmiʿī corpus, b) nor did they take the “shortest route” into the new *mīzān* (i.e.: as performance units directly from al-Bṭāyḥī), and so c) they came from another source entirely. So al-Fāsī’s implied theory does not offer a complete explanation for the appearance of *ad-darj* in the modern canon.

It is possible that the *ṣanāʿīʿ* that originally were performed in *īqāʿ ad-darj* were only “informally” regarded and performed as part of *īqāʿ al-bṭāyḥī*. This would explain their virtual absence from the manuscript tradition: they were not considered “authentic” until *ad-darj* was formalized into a proper *mīzān*. This would not explain where the existing *ṣanāʿīʿ* in *mīzān ad-darj* came from. A promising view on this emerged from my discussions with Sī Ahmed Piro. According to Piro, *mīzān ad-darj* was performed for a very long time in the *zawāyā* before it was incorporated into the standard structure of the *nūba*.<sup>58</sup> It appears therefore that, like the *madīḥ* material in the margins of *Valderrama* and *Wazzānī* that came to dominate *Ramal al-Māya* after these two manuscripts were created, *mīzān ad-darj* emerged into the canon at least partly from a corpus of *ṣanāʿīʿ* performed in the *zawāyā* using the Andalusian *ṭubūʿ*. In other words, we see in *ad-darj* evidence that the music of the religious brotherhoods exerted some influence on the development of al-Āla. There is support for this idea in a manuscript that associates itself with the al-Jāmiʿī corpus.

Manuscript #D1031 2762 at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Rabat is listed in the library catalog as *Muntaḥabāt nūbāt mūsīqīyya* (“Selections of musical *nūbāt*”). It is undated but has a *muqaddima* claiming that it is based upon al-Jāmiʿī’s collection, which it dates as 1303/1886. This *muqaddima* paraphrases much of al-Ḥāʾik’s, though with several examples of non-standard or even Moroccan grammar and spelling that are uncharacteristic of the *Kunnāš*. Moreover, many of the poems (even some *tawšīḥ* and *qarīd* poems) have clusters of unvowelled consonants (marked explicitly with *sukūn*!) and other features characteristic of Moroccan speech. For example, the manuscript frequently uses *waw bi-fatḥ* and a prosthetic *alif* before a verb whose first consonant has *sukūn* (e.g.: وَأَشَاهِد “I see” in the fourth hemistich of the 13<sup>th</sup> *ṣanʿa* of Quddām Ramal al-Māya in this manuscript, Quddām #30). *Fatḥa* for *kasra* on the second radical is also

58 Interview, 6/17/04. Benmūsā also indicated that *īqāʿ ad-darj* was known in the tradition before al-Jāmiʿī, and that the *mīzān* was performed in the *zawāyā* in al-Ḥāʾik’s time.

indicated in the active participle of form I of this verb: شاهد for شاهد. These orthographic peculiarities, which obtain for both *zajal* and *tawših* texts, suggest that it was assembled largely from memory, and that the anthologist was relying upon his own sense of pronunciation in rendering the poems on the page (and apparently aware that he was “hearing” the *šan’a* in non-standard Arabic!).

Although the nine individual *nūbāt* in the manuscript appear not to have lost pages, each contains only a small selection of *šan’ā’i*, and the *nūbāt* are arranged in an idiosyncratic order—*al-Iṣbahān*, *al-Ḥijāz al-Mašriqī*, *Ramal al-Māya*, *al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr*, *ar-Raṣd*, *Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn*, *al-Māya*, *Raṣd ad-Dīl*, and *al-Istihlāl*. All this data taken together (along with an apparent confusion in terminology between *tab’* and *nūba*) seem to indicate that the author of this manuscript either did not aspire to being comprehensive, or else was not particularly well versed in the tradition. Likewise, he was either trying to be faithful to the *šan’a*-as-sung, or else not particularly skilled with the formal language. This manuscript probably has little to do with the al-Jāmi’ī manuscript tradition as such. It obviously postdates al-Jāmi’ī, most likely having been assembled for use in a *zāwiya* around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>59</sup> (One somewhat interesting detail is that this manuscript gives an actual date for the al-Jāmi’ī corpus: 1303/1886. There is little else in the manuscript to indicate whether this date is reliable.)

This manuscript matters here because it includes *mīzān ad-darj*, integrated into seven of the *nūbāt* between *al-bṭāyḥī* and *al-quddām*. Furthermore, according to the *mīzān* headings in the text, ad-Darj combines with al-Bṭāyḥī in *ar-Raṣd* (only one *šan’a* in Bṭāyḥī ar-Raṣd is included) and *al-Istihlāl* (there being no *šan’ā’i* in Bṭāyḥī *al-Istihlāl*); and in *al-Iṣbahān* and *Raṣd ad-Dīl* it precedes al-Bṭāyḥī. The relationship of ad-Darj to the *nūba* in this manuscript appears to be fluid and thus distinct from the *Kunnāš* manuscripts (where *ad-darj* is not found at all), the al-Jāmi’ī corpus (where it is a later addition), and the modern canon (where it is integral to and a standard part of the *nūba*). The curious relationship between *mīzān ad-darj* and the *nūba* in D1031 is further underscored by a passage on the first page of the manuscript’s *muqaddima* referring to:

ثلاثة مائة وستة وستون طبعا كلها بموازينها الرابع وتواشيها وادراجها

...three hundred sixty-six *ṭubū’*, each one with its four *mayāzīn*, its *tawāšī* and *adrāj*.

59 Professor Bennūna agrees that this MS. probably originated with the Sufi facet of the Andalusian musical heritage. Interview, 3/29/2005.

The word *adrāj*, plural of *darj*, probably refers here to multiple *ṣanāʿi*. Yet this passage confuses categories by putting *ad-darj* (whether as a *mīzān* or, more likely, as a song type characterized by this *īqāʿ*) *mīzān* and *tūṣiya* on a par with one another. Could this mean that the author of the manuscript somehow regarded this rhythm or movement as transferable from one *mīzān* to another? Or did *ad-darj* have some kind of symbolic significance or associations that distinguished it from the other *īqāʿāt* and *mayāzīn*? Perhaps a study of the *Samāʿ*/*Madīh* musical form and its role in the *zawāyā* will ultimately explain this point.

Such an unusual and problematic manuscript justifies no sweeping conclusions, but its organization and attitude towards *ad-darj* documents a transitional context between a time when *īqāʿ ad-darj* was part of *mīzān bṭāyḥī*, and the present, in which this rhythm has its own movement in the *nūba* falling between *al-bṭāyḥī* and *al-quddām*.

Evidence of another kind supports such an interpretation. I own copies of two live recordings from the early 1980s of *Jawq* al-Briḥī, under the direction of ʿAbd al-Karīm ar-Rāyīs. In the first of these, the *jawq* performs *Qāʾim wa-Niṣf Ramal al-Māya* for approximately 47 minutes, then *mawwāl* for about a minute and a half. Then the *jawq* resumes with *Mīzān ad-Darj*, performing three *ṣanāʿi* before the recording ends. In the other recording, the *jawq* begins *Bṭāyḥī Ramal al-Māya*, inserts more than 20 minutes of *Darj*, and then returns to *Bṭāyḥī* for the rest of the recording. These recordings show that even as late as the 1980s, a *jawq* from the conservative stylistic school of Fez could insert *Mīzān ad-Darj* into performances in places other than between *al-Bṭāyḥī* and *al-Quddām*. This reinforces the idea that this *īqāʿ* and *mīzān* (or at least, the *ṣanāʿi* associated with them) once occupied a distinctive place in the performance ethos of *al-Āla*.

Clearly the emergence of *ad-darj* as a distinct *mīzān* was not a smooth process, and the written versions played only a minor part. The differences among the *al-Jāmiʿ* manuscript versions of *ad-darj*, as well as their differences with respect to *MW* and the rest of the canon, reveal that the adoption of *ad-darj* as an authentic *mīzān* was not uniform across Morocco. In addition, the placement of *mīzān ad-darj* in various sources also suggests divergent notions of acceptable performance practice, even as late as the 1970s. Chottin placed *mīzān al-darj* after *mīzān al-quddām* in the organization of the *nūba* (1939, 111), as does *IM* (1977). Likewise, the late Tetuani historian Muḥammad Dāwūd hand wrote *Mīzān al-Darj* after *al-Quddām* in his copy of *Ambīrkū*'s partial edition of the *Kunnāš*.<sup>60</sup> Thus, like the modern arrangement of *nūbāt*, the consolidation

60 Manuscript #146 at the Dāwūdiyya library in Tetuan.

of *mīzān ad-darj* and its placement within the *nūba* structure were very late developments, perhaps only arriving in their current form in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

#### 4 *Barwala* and the Modern Canon

Like *mīzān ad-darj*, the *barwala* strophic poem distinguishes the modern performed tradition from that represented by the *Kunnāš*. Since no *ṣanāʿīʿ* of this type are to be found in either the *Kunnāš* or al-Jāmiʿī manuscript streams, the date the *barwala* entered the written dimension of al-Āla cannot be determined with any certainty. Nevertheless, this type of *ṣanʿa* represents a significant element in *mīzān ad-darj*, and *al-quddām* as well, and so its relationship to the modern canon deserves a few comments.

##### 4.1 *Linguistic Notes on the Word, Barwala*

According to Jonathan Glasser of the College of William and Mary, *barwal* is a word from textile production in Tlemcen. Indeed, Reinhard Dozy's supplement to the *Arabic-English Lexicon* contains this quote in its entry بَرْوَال :

Quand ils reunissent ces laines en suint, les marchands les battent pour en faire tomber le fumier qui emporte alors des morceaux cotonneux; on lave ces morceaux et l'on en retire la laine brisée dite *barroual*." Godard: *Description et histoire du Maroc* (Paris, 1860), v. 1 p. 210.

How might a word with roots like this have come to be associated with a song form? Glasser speculates that it came from the association of musicians with the artisan class. Musicians had "day jobs" in various industries, including textiles.<sup>61</sup> Experts in al-Āla such as ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Benmūsā have no derivation for the word, other than its signifying a *ṣanʿa* in unsophisticated, colloquial language.

D1031 contains several *ṣanāʿīʿ* labeled بَرْوَالَة, which is the diminutive of *barwala* in which the diphthong reduces to a long vowel in typical Moroccan fashion: *buraywala* → *brīwala* ("a small *barwala*,"), which is in keeping with the *ṣanāʿīʿ* so labeled in this manuscript because they are mostly short, single-strophe

61 In his forthcoming book, Glasser cites *Les Industries indigenes de l'Algerie. Le travail de la laine a Tlemcen* (1913) by A. Bel and P. Ricard, Algiers: Jourdan. *Barwala* is a much more important term with an entirely different meaning in the Algerian and Tunisian Andalusian music traditions. See Guettat (2000).

poems that stand in contrast to the much longer odes usually found under the rubric *barwala* in the canon.<sup>62</sup>

#### 4.2 *Structural, Linguistic and Metrical Considerations*

Malik Bennūna saw no important distinction between *barwala* and *zajal* in the Āla tradition, other than that the former is composed in Moroccan colloquial and the latter in Andalusī colloquial Arabic.<sup>63</sup> This is a difficult view to sustain, given the marked structural differences between them. As discussed above, the Andalusī strophic forms in al-Āla usually combine a *ḡuṣn* of three to five lines with a *qufl* of two (sometimes one) line. Many, but by no means all, also have a *maṭlaʿ* of one or two lines bearing the same rhyme scheme as the *qufl*:

(.....a)  
 (.....a)  
 .....b  
 .....b  
 .....b  
 .....a  
 (.....a)

*Barāwil* in *Ramal al-Māya*, though they vary considerably in structure, typically have lines of common end rhyme grouped in threes or fours:

.....a	or	.....a
.....a		.....a
.....a		.....a
.....b		.....a
.....b		.....b
.....b		.....b
.....c		.....b
.....c		.....b
.....c		.....c (etc.)

But many other formats are possible, including for example three-line units with a repeating rhyme, as in the case of Quddām #5, which rhymes thus:

62 Ironically, one of the most important contemporary exemplars of the tradition is Mohamed Briouel, whose name is a Moroccan rendering of the diminutive of *barwal*.

63 Interview, 3/29/2005.

.....a  
 .....b  
 .....c  
 .....a  
 .....b  
 .....c  
 .....a  
 .....b  
 .....c (repeated seven times).

As with *azjāl* and *tawāšīh*, many *barāwil* exhibit elaborate internal rhymes, with lines being divided into three or more rhyming segments. A good example is the *barwala* Quddām #11, which has the rhyme scheme:

.....a	.....b	
.....a	.....b	
.....a	.....b	
.....a	.....b	
.....c	.....c	.....d
.....c	.....c	.....d
.....c	.....c	.....d

Darj #21 rhymes in this pattern:

.....a	.....a	.....a
.....b	.....b	
.....c	.....d	
.....c	.....d	
.....c	.....d	
.....e	.....e	.....e
.....f	.....f	
.....c	.....d	
.....c	.....d	
.....c	.....d	

A strophe like this bears some resemblance to some of the more elaborated strophes found in later *azjāl* and *tawāšīh*, if one is willing to allow a *qufl* of three lines (or no *qufl* at all), rather than the usual one or two. These similarities

probably contribute to Bennūna's view that the *barwala* is, in essence, a kind of *zajal*.

As these examples show, however, *barāwil* exhibit much more structural variability than *azjāl*, particularly *azjāl* as they are found in al-Āla, which for reasons having partly to do with musical composition are predominantly *ḥumāsiyyāt* of the stereotypical forms

.....b	and	.....a
.....b		.....b
.....b		.....b
.....a		.....b
.....a		.....a

and *subā'īyyāt* of the form

.....a  
 .....a  
 .....b  
 .....b  
 .....b  
 .....a  
 .....a

There have been no studies of the metrical characteristics of *barāwil*, but even a simple attempt to analyze those found in *Ramal al-Māya* in terms of the classical metrical system of long/closed syllables and short/open syllables quickly runs aground. The transcription of these mainly oral poems into Arabic characters is very inconsistent, and Moroccan pronunciation routinely drops short vowels—especially in the first syllable—so that it can be difficult to determine which vocalizations if any have been omitted from the printed text. Sorting out the vocalizations requires a native speaker of the Moroccan dialect, unlike the case with classically-formed poetry in which the metrical patterns may imply vowels that have been left out of the text, or even with many Andalusī strophic poems, where classical meters or at least some approximation of classical metrical feet can be discerned.

The *barwala*, as colloquial verse, obeys particular morphological rules, some of which violate the assumptions of the classical meters. How would a phrase like *غَيْرَ السَّقَامِ أَفْئَانِي* (*gīr s-sqām fnānī*—Darj #3) be scanned? Even inserting *i'rāb* (which may or may not be pronounced in fact) does not help the consonant clusters that typify Moroccan pronunciation resolve into recognizable metrical units. So even when one can rely upon the transcription as it appears on

the page, many *barwala* verses scan as strings of long/closed syllables, with too few short syllables to evoke one of the classical meters. *Barāwil* are sung poems whose rhythmic structure depends upon patterns of stress deriving in part from the musical arrangement and in part from the cadences of colloquial speech. Traditional forms of metrical analysis, especially when divorced from the music, are completely inadequate.<sup>64</sup>

#### 4.3 *Barwala Text and Manuscript*

The *zāwiya* anthology D1031 discussed in §3 offers the only manuscript examples of *barāwil* I have been able to uncover. It features several specimens of *barāwil* in *Ramal al-Māya*, some in ad-Darj and some in al-Quddām, which illustrate the use of this song form prior to the era of printed anthologies. The *barwala* probably entered the Āla repertoire much earlier, perhaps even in the 19th century, and perhaps not in every local version of the tradition. This innovation was probably occasional at first and only became universal over time. Being of Moroccan origins, it may not have been considered appropriate for inclusion in written anthologies of “Andalusian” music. Certainly the problems inherent in rendering Moroccan pronunciations in Arabic orthography would have militated against writing *barāwil* in a formal text, as would the apparent textual flexibility of these poems deriving from their oral origins.<sup>65</sup>

The *barwala*'s significance to the tradition's history lies in the evidence it presents of North African contributions to the “Andalusian” music of Morocco. This can be seen in both structural and linguistic aspects of this song form. Detailed discussion of these characteristics of the *barwala* follows in Chapter 4. Of interest here is the almost total silence of the various manuscript branches with respect to the *barwala*. Much like *mizān ad-darj*, the *barwala* appears to have survived orally for some time within the larger Andalusian heritage that also includes the Samāʿ/Madiḥ tradition, before winning acceptance in written versions of al-Āla.

64 The Andalusī strophic forms also frequently bear a problematic relationship with classical poetic meters, a feature noted for the *muwašṣaḥ* as early as Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulḳ's (d. 608/1211) *Dār at-ṭirāz*, which attributes it to reliance on musical rhythms in the composition of the song text. A number of the strophic texts in *Ramal al-Māya* exhibit this feature, as well. See Part II for examples.

65 The Moroccan and Andalusī colloquial languages do share some features (such as /n-/ for the first person singular imperfect). Furthermore, the poetic use of these dialects—especially in *Ramal al-Māya*—tends to drive both of them toward a more formal register of usage. This point will be taken up in Chapter 4.

## 5 Concluding Thoughts on the Modern al-Āla Canon

The evidence presented in this chapter shows that the modern written texts of al-Āla emerged from a complex process of development involving *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*, the al-Jāmi'ī corpus and a good deal of orally-preserved material. Each of these sources has its problematic aspects. The *Kunnāš* manuscript tradition is very diverse, and with one exception, the few dates that can be established for these manuscripts fall much later than the apparent lifetime of the anthologist himself. I have presented an hypothesis for the development of *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*, based upon the structure of the manuscripts, one that may explain some aspects of the manuscript tradition, but which does not answer all the questions surrounding it. Similarly, the al-Jāmi'ī corpus in its printed form (MW) incorporates more material than the available manuscript exemplars, which suggests that informal notes and other quasi-oral sources perhaps formed from the beginning a significant part of the al-Jāmi'ī corpus.

The material that most obviously distinguishes the modern written canon from that of al-Ḥā'ik, *mizān ad-darj* and the *barwala*, seems to have entered the written repertoire very late. No documentary evidence of either facet of al-Āla predates 1902 (viz. the obviously later addendum to *Belmalīh*). It appears that they existed first as orally-preserved material that was performed alongside the written tradition and entered the written canon only with the advent of comprehensive printed anthologies in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. By its nature, the history behind orally-preserved material is very difficult to pin down, for it relies upon inferences that must be drawn at best from very recent written versions, and at worst from orally-preserved and presented material that may itself be local and idiosyncratic in any number of ways.

It was partly in the hope of limiting the scope of such problems that I have focused exclusively upon the printed canon and the manuscript tradition here, with only minimal reference to the orally-preserved aspects of the tradition. Yet such aspects do still exist. More than one *ra'īs* has commented to me on the number of “unknown” *ṣanā'ī'* he has preserved in his memory, unknown in the sense of no longer being commonly performed and/or perhaps not represented in print. No doubt, many of these unknown *ṣanā'ī'* comprise melodies that once accompanied texts that are already present in some version of the *Kunnāš*. In such cases a comparison between the *ṣan'a*-as-sung and the archaic written version might reveal the effects of oral transmission and oral presentation. In addition, some of these “unknown” *ṣanā'ī'* may contain texts from outside the generally accepted canon that is based upon al-Ḥā'ik and al-Jāmi'ī. Collection and analysis of these examples might cast some light on poorly understood aspects of the tradition's history, such as the role played by the *Madīh/Ṣamā'* tradition in the formation of the modern canon.

Alongside all of this lies another, secondary corpus of al-Āla texts: concert programs, which frequently present the texts of the *ṣanāʿiʿ* performed. Concert programs dating back at least to the 1950s may be found in private libraries in northern Morocco. To be sure, most of the material in these programs falls well within the confines of the modern canon. Yet they still can provide interesting clues to performance practice. For example, my own perusal of these, and more recent programs I have collected, reveals that elements within the *Kunnāš* tradition and distinct from the al-Jāmiʿ corpus have been performed throughout much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This is particularly clear with respect to performance units, which is one area where the al-Ḥāʾik and al-Jāmiʿ aspects of the canon differ.

The modern printed canon of *al-Āla* has been fashioned out of this complicated set of written and oral sources. At no stage in this prolonged process did the manuscripts encompass all of the tradition: the repertoire as embodied in the manuscripts was frequently augmented and “refreshed” with material deriving from oral sources that, from the point of view of the written record, seemingly appeared out of nowhere. Far from representing the entire repertoire from the outset, *Kunnāš al-Ḥāʾik* in all its variants only ever captured a portion of what was actually performed. Only in the most recent period, since the 1970s, has a collection of printed anthologies appeared that could be called canonical in the sense that together they could be said to define the practical boundaries of the tradition. (Even so, no one of these actually does this by itself, and the periodic “discovery” of “lost” *ṣanāʿiʿ* by contemporary performers suggests that the modern anthologies do not tell the whole tale.)

Having devoted this chapter to describing the written exemplars of this tradition and their history, we are now ready to explore these texts in detail. The next chapter investigates the sociolinguistic aspects of the modern printed canon reflected in the oral processes that surround and shape this corpus.

## Mixed Orality: The Impact of the Voice on the Pen

David Graeber (2001) outlines three domains as significant facets of value: the social, the economic and the linguistic.<sup>1</sup> Examining value within the modern history and circumstances of al-Āla illustrates that shifts in valued social arrangements are naturally implied in economic changes. In the case of al-Āla, the government has embarked upon an effort to institutionalize the tradition by investing a conservatory system with responsibility for teaching it and producing a cadre of trained performers who are certified as having mastered a significant portion of it. But this also created a rupture in longstanding systems of both economic and social value embodied in oral processes of transmission.<sup>2</sup> Such an institutional project relies upon the written dimension of the tradition and the stabilizing power of the written word. Writing gives text and its structures a permanence that allows for accurate repetition, which in turn makes it possible to standardize—to reduce the activities of the institution to a fixed and uniform set of repertoires. Such stability in turn depends in part upon the distance that writing places between the reader and the source of the text (the author or, in the case of al-Āla, the performed repertoire). This distance furthermore gives the institution room to insert itself between student and master. The persistence of oral processes within the institutions created to preserve al-Āla can be seen as both an effort on the part of the tradition's doyens to conserve traditional teaching methods along with the tradition, and on the other hand, a way for them to contest the value-space created by the new kind of emphasis placed upon written text by asserting the *aṣīl* character of orality. In this way, the value loads that oral and written texts bear reflect, not a firmly state-driven process of modernization as has been the case with the Tunisian Ma'lūf Andalusian genre (Davis, 2004), but a more decentralized one in which experts in the tradition have played important roles in shaping the discourses of authenticity and collective memory. (Davila, 2012a)

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1 Graeber's argument implies, of course, that all domains of value are fundamentally social. Nevertheless, because we are accustomed to regarding economics as a category unto itself and attaching a special status to it, we generally find it useful to speak of economic value as distinct from values expressed in ways that are to us more obviously social.

2 For more on this, see HST, especially Chapter 4, and also Davila, 2012a.

The present chapter now turns from these features of the written text, and the iconic uses that they make possible, to deal more directly with the other domain in Graeber's typology, linguistic value. Broadly speaking, linguistic value concerns the meanings assigned to words. These meanings are generated through the use of words in particular contexts by particular groups of people. This is true whether the words are spoken or written, but it does not mean that the "meanings assigned" are necessarily the same or of the same type in each case. A person standing on a street corner shouting "Stop!" is not likely to be interpreted in exactly the same way as a stop sign. Because both speech and writing depend upon context for their generation and interpretation, and because each is enmeshed within a distinct kind of social context, the meanings (whether lexical or contextual) attaching to a particular utterance can differ markedly, depending on whether it is spoken or written. When stated this way, this proposition seems obvious, but because we so often assume a natural correspondence between writing and speech we tend to overlook the different ways they embody contextualized meaning.

The written dimension of al-Āla, as a definable corpus, is deployed by participants in the tradition as an icon of the tradition as a whole. This is possible because of two factors: the written word, and especially the poetic written word, already bears a certain value load in Arabic-speaking society; and writing itself is not merely the freezing of speech upon the page, but an integrative process of communication whose value load depends upon the context in which the communication is encountered (and to a lesser extent that in which it was created), just as the spoken word does. We will now move beyond the iconic function of the al-Āla texts to examine the sociolinguistics of the text, aspects of the sociolinguistic phenomena that surround this corpus. Here we are less concerned with the denotative meanings of the text than with the ways in which the written texts of al-Āla, through the integrative function of writing, index their own complex relationship with the oral processes that helped to form them.

Chapter 3 described the canon of written texts that help to define the contents of al-Āla, and outlined the complex and multilinear history of this corpus. The basic assumption within that discussion was that each manuscript available for study today represents the performed tradition of a particular time. Thus far we have taken for granted that al-Jāmi'ī and al-Ḥā'ik (and the other, unnamed compilers whose work has come to be attributed to al-Ḥā'ik) sought to capture the actual repertoire of their day. This assumption was necessary in order to construct an intelligible argument about the relationships among these manuscript streams. If the written text bore little or no relationship to the performed tradition, we would find little basis for uncovering

an historical trajectory encoded in the structure and contents of the various written versions.

However, the discussion also made clear that none of these manuscripts (nor indeed the modern printed canon) is an entirely faithful rendering of the performed tradition: the conventions used in these anthologies (arrangement in rhyming lines of two or more segments, identified by type of song/poetic structure) increase the distance between the written and the sung text by reducing the complex nuances of song to the orthographically simpler (and more highly valued) structures of poetry. This distance extends further in many of the *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik* manuscripts when marginalia indicate a sung text by giving only the first few words of the *ṣan'a*, usually followed by an expression like *إلح* (*ilā āḥiri*, “etc.”) or *وقد تقدم* (roughly, “given above”).<sup>3</sup> These conventions assume that the reader is already familiar with the text indicated. They also imply that there is no difference at all between the earlier text presented by the anthologist and the one referenced for use in the new context by the marginal note, nor indeed between that referenced by the marginal note and that understood by the reader. We will discover in §2 below that, if the modern tradition is any indication, the reliability of such assumptions is questionable. Of particular interest is the conceptual slippage that occurs when an (incomplete) text-representation of one *ṣan'a* is evoked in shorthand in order to indicate a different, similarly imperfect representation of another *ṣan'a*. It suggests that the written version of the tradition has been considered secondary to the performed tradition, a supplement or annotation that is not itself expected to be completely accurate.

Conventions like these rely upon the integrative capacity of writing, which disengages it from the voice and thereby allows the written word to signify much more than the denotative meaning. The fit between the spoken and the written renditions of al-Āla, between *ṣan'a*-as-sung and *ṣan'a*-as-written, is much looser than for poetry or prose text. In this way the Āla anthologies, by integrating the acts of singing and reading, require the performed tradition in order to be completely understood. These texts therefore imply a great deal more than appears on the page, in both their denotations and in the thematic-interpretive frames which they may index (as discussed in §4). Moreover, because these written words represent in a distinctive way the integration of a musically performed communication (having characteristics never found on the page) with the act of reading, they are capable of encoding within

3 Sometimes, a manuscript will even use this device in the case of a main-body text that has already appeared in an earlier *mizān*. For example, see in Bennūna's edition of *Dāwūdiyya* 144 (1999) the renderings of *ṣan'a* #3 on page 191, #28 on page 207, and #42 on p. 211.

themselves traces of the oral processes which surround and inform them, in contrast to collections of Arabic poetry as such, which are expected to reflect the poems precisely as they might be spoken.

These are the fundamental insights that will be explored in the present chapter, touching on several features of the written texts of *al-Āla* that lie at the intersection of the voice and the pen. These include the traces of oral processes that may be found within the written text, the role of oral context in shaping the meaning of the text, and the deployment of various linguistic registers and their representation in the written text. We shall begin, however, by discussing in some detail the pragmatic relationship that exists between the *ṣanʿa*-as-written and the *ṣanʿa*-as-sung.

### 1 Text-As-Written, Text-As-Performed

Because the verbal dimension of *al-Āla* appears on the page as poetry, abstracted from its performed context, it is tempting to assume that the written text is in some way primary within the boundaries of the tradition. This is chiefly because members of literate societies tend to naturalize the written word, privileging it wherever possible over the spoken. The relative permanence of writing when compared to speech creates an illusion of finality and authority that literate folk find difficult to contest. Written language thus tends to become the model against which the spoken version of a given text is measured.

Yet the written corpus of *al-Āla* is in no way the basis from which the performed tradition is derived. On the contrary the source (the author in a sense) is the performance, which is primary and provides the model that the written text is meant to evoke. This is not a case of written text intended to capture or embody the spoken word. Rather, the spoken/performed text in a sense dwells within the written version. A participant in the *Āla* tradition must be able to derive the performance from the written text, even though what appears on the page bears only a very general resemblance to what must be sung.

A sense of the distance that the *Āla* musician must traverse from the written to the performed text can be gleaned from looking at certain details of the tradition. In a few cases, the *ṣanʿa*-as-sung departs substantially from the version found on the page. More generally, every *ṣanʿa*-as-sung places the written text in a particular relationship to a melodic line and the musical rhythm that animates it, and the impact of this juxtaposition can reshape the text in a number of ways. Therefore after a brief discussion of *ṣanāʿi*-as-sung that differ from their written counterparts, we will turn to larger factors in the relationship of the performed tradition to the written one.

### 1.1 Performed Texts that Differ Substantially from their Written Versions

An unknown number of *ṣanāʿi*-as-sung depart in significant, meaningful ways from the corresponding written texts, which illustrates well the dynamic aspect of the interplay of orality and literacy in al-Āla. It is virtually impossible to enumerate them without a thorough, *ṣanʿa*-by-*ṣanʿa* study with an expert in the tradition. I have not encountered any examples of this phenomenon in *Ramal al-Māya*, but as it happens, the very first *ṣanʿa* that I learned in the tradition, *Ana qad ʿayā ṣabrī* has precisely this characteristic. The text of this “*tawṣīḥ zajal*” may be found on page 202 of MW, in *mīzān* Quddām al-Raṣd (top of Figure 7). This *ṣanʿa* does not appear in IJ, but IM cites it in a footnote on page 167, noting cryptically that it is “circulating now.”

#### صنعة توشيح زجل — توشية

أَنَا قَدْ عَيَا صَبْرِي	وَجِسْمِي فَنَى
وَأَنْتَ يَا مَنَى قَلْبِي	عَايَشُ فِي الْهَنَا
لِقَاضِي الْهَوَى نَشْكِي	يَحْكُمُ بَيْنَنَا
يَشْهَدُ الْعِبَادُ جُمْلَهُ	فِي الْحَاضِرِ وَالْبَادِ
عَلَى مَنْ ظَلَمَ فِينَا	وَرَضَى بِالْبِعَادِ

ومنه أيضا زجل<sup>1337</sup>

صنعة/405

- |    |                            |                                    |
|----|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. | أَنَا قَدْ عَيَا صَبْرِي   | وَجِسْمِي فَنَى                    |
| 2. | وَأَنْتَ يَا مَنَى قَلْبِي | عَنِّي فِي هَنَا                   |
| 3. | لِقَاضِي الْهَوَى نَشْكِي  | يَحْكُمُ بَيْنَنَا <sup>1338</sup> |
| 4. | يَشْهَدُوا الْعِبَادُ      | عَلَى مَنْ ظَلَمَ                  |
|    |                            | وَارَضَ الْبِعَادُ <sup>1339</sup> |

FIGURE 7 Ana qad ʿayā ṣabrī in MW and D144

The MW version in translation:

<i>My patience has worn thin</i>	<i>and my body has withered away</i>
<i>While you, the desire of my heart</i>	<i>live well in good health</i>
<i>To the Judge of Love I appeal</i>	<i>to judge between us</i>
<i>All the people bear witness together</i>	<i>in the town and the country</i>
<i>Against one who has done wrong to us</i>	<i>and is content with the distance (between us)</i>

The text of this *tawšīḥ zajal* differs in performance in that the fourth line is always sung this way:

يَشْهَدُ الْعِبَادُ جُمْلَهُ  
عَلَى مَنْ ظَلَمَ ظَلَمَ

*All the people bear witness together*  
*against one who did wrong, did wrong*

The reason for this change is not obvious from the printed text itself. (It does not significantly affect the poetic meter, it disrupts the rhyme scheme, and does not add anything new to the semantic meaning of the poem.)

A clue to this puzzle may be found in the manuscript versions of this *ṣanʿa*. The earliest version is found in the Bennūna edition of D144 (bottom of Figure 7, Bennūna #405, Quddām al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr, p. 396), but formed differently, with the *qufl* as a single line of three segments. It appears also in the same format and *mīzān* in *Wazzānī* (though not in *Valderrama*, nor in *Raqīwaq*). The modern *ḥumāsīyya* has a melodic structure of / aaaba /, that is, the fourth line is the *taḡtiya*, sung to a melody distinct from the first three and the last. (The phrase *عَلَى مَنْ ظَلَمَ ظَلَمَ* falls in the *taḡtiya* using melody “b”). Neither of these two written versions contains all the material of this *ṣanʿa* as it is performed. But the *qufl* in the *Kunnāš* manuscript version contains most of the *ṣanʿa* as it is currently sung, though not precisely in the same form (it leaves out repetition of the phrase *عَلَى مَنْ ظَلَمَ ظَلَمَ* using the “a” melody at the beginning of line 5), and most important, the layout on the page does not reflect the melodic structure as clearly as does the modern printed version. The *ṣanʿa*-as-sung therefore lies between these two versions: its text matches more closely the older version, but its melodic structure is reflected in the modern one.

Fittingly, the last piece of the puzzle comes from the al-Jāmiʿī corpus. *Ana qad ʿayā ṣabrī* appears in all the al-Jāmiʿī manuscripts: the three discussed in Chapter 3, as well as a partial manuscript containing only *Nūbat ar-Raṣd* deposited at the Museum of Andalusian Music. Figure 8 presents, on the left, the *Belmalīḥ* manuscript version and on the right, that of the partial manuscript.

In all four al-Jāmi'ī cases, this *ṣan'ā* appears in Quddām ar-Raṣd, just as it does in MW. Moreover, although laid out on the page like the version in MW (closely reflecting the modern melodic structure), the al-Jāmi'ī manuscript version contains the text as it is sung today, (including repetition of the phrase *علي من ظلم ظلم*) not that rendered in MW! The *ṣan'ā*-as-sung therefore appears to be an orally-preserved rendition that was captured in writing as early as 1788, which seems to have been reshaped on the page to resemble more closely the sung version.

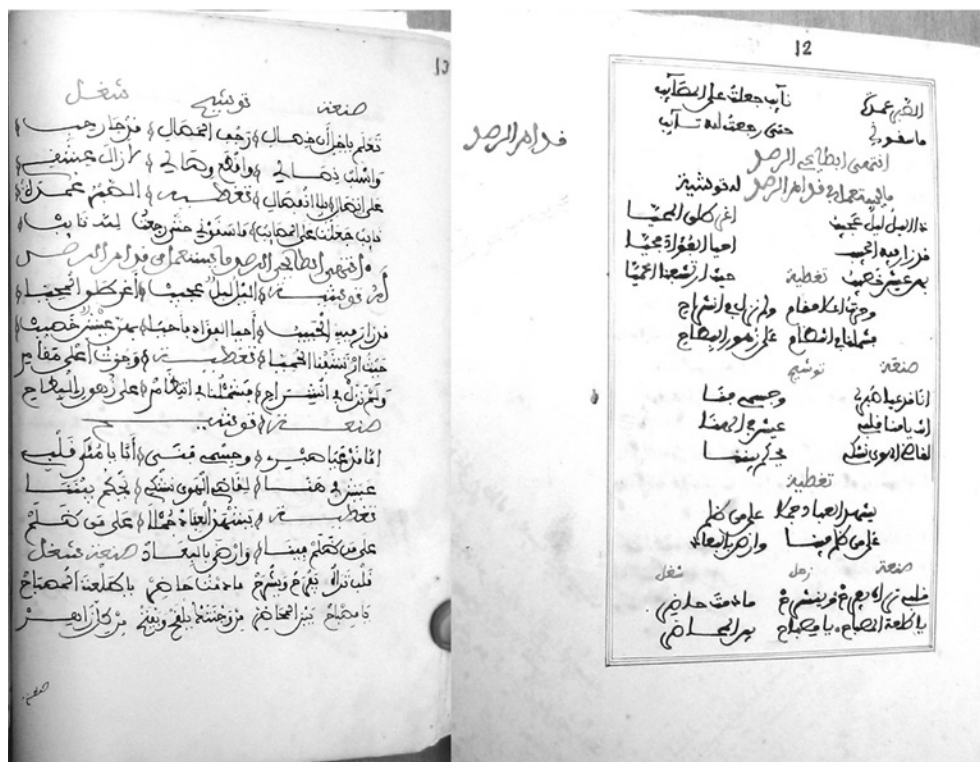


FIGURE 8 al-Jāmi'ī manuscript versions of *Ana qad 'ayā ṣabrī*. The *ṣan'ā* begins on line 11 in the Belmalih manuscript on the left below the large “*ṣan'ā tawṣīh*” heading, and on line 11 of the Museum of Andalusian Music manuscript on the right.

In the process of this revision and adaptation to the modern canon, a slightly different poem (which may never have been sung in this form) came to be transmitted and placed in one of the anthologies, perhaps merely because it was found in a poetic *dīwān* that is now lost. Variations of this kind might be more common than my study of *Ramal al-Māya* indicates, but obviously they cannot be uncovered from the printed text alone. Nevertheless this example illustrates well the complex interplay of oral and written processes that have formed the modern Moroccan Andalusian music.

### 1.2 *Augmentation and Alteration of the Written Text in Performance*

A much more common, in fact universal, way in which the *ṣanʿa*-as-sung differs from the written version stems from the way that performance demands changes in the text and its pronunciation. That the parameters of the musical setting can alter the text as written is not surprising, of course. The central argument of this book stands upon the idea that writing is much more than a representation of speech. However it is worthwhile to consider some of the specific ways that the *ṣanʿa*-as-written in fact *reduces* the contents of the tradition to a simplified and socially valued form. The online resource presents a selection of eleven *ṣanāʿ* of various formats as a convenient reference for the discussion that follows; Figure 8 summarizes their basic characteristics. These *ṣanāʿ* provide at least one sample of each type of text (*mawzūn*, *tawšīḥ*, *zajal* and *barwala*; *ṣuġl* and non-*ṣuġl*), with all five *mayāzīn* represented: Example 1 *Ṣallū yā ʿibād dāʿim ʿalā ašrafi l-warā* (Basīṭ #3) is a *mawzūn ṣuġl* text in the poetic meter *ṭawīl*; example 2 *Rubba laylin zaḥirtu bi-l-badri* (Basīṭ #4) is a *tawšīḥ ṣuġl*; example 3 *Yā ʿāšiqīn* (Basīṭ #24) is a *zajal* (or *tawšīḥ*, according to IM and MW) *ṣuġl*; example 4 *Ġarāmī mujaddad* (Basīṭ #23) is also *zajal* (or *tawšīḥ*, according to IM and MW) but not *ṣuġl*; example 5 is the same basic text as example 3 *Yā ʿāšiqīn*, but taken from *Mīzān Qāʿim wa-Niṣf* (#12), and is also a *zajal* (or *tawšīḥ*, according to IM and MW), but not *ṣuġl* in this case; example 6 *Ajallu mā yudkar* (Bṭāyhi #1) is a *zajal* (or *tawšīḥ*, according to IM and MW) and *ṣuġl*; example 7 *Luḍ bi-n-nabī Muḥammadīn kaḥfi l-warā* (Bṭāyhi #10) is *mawzūn* in *kāmil* and *ṣuġl*; example 8 *Qad ṭāla šawqī li-n-nabī Muḥammadi* (Darj #1) is *mawzūn* in *kāmil* and not *ṣuġl*; example 9 *Naḥnu fi ḥaḍrati r-rasūl julūsun* (Darj x) is also *mawzūn*, in *ḥafīf*, and not *ṣuġl*; example 10 *Ṭāl šawqī la-mqāmak yā hādī* (Darj #10) is *barwala ṣuġl*; and example 11 *Madḥu n-nabī fihi fāʿida* (Quddām #26) is *tawšīḥ* and not *ṣuġl*. Taken together, these *ṣanāʿ* represent a cross-section of the categories and rhythmic possibilities present in *Ramal al-Māya*.

TABLE 3 *Examples of ṣanā'ī'-as-sung*

Example	Ṣan'a	Mīzān	Ṣan'a	Šuġl	Type of ṣan'a
1	<i>Šallū yā 'ibād...</i>	Basīṭ	<i>mawzūn</i>	✓	<i>mašġūl</i> within the line
2	<i>Rubba laylīn...</i>	Basīṭ	<i>ṭawšīḥ</i>	✓	<i>mašġūl</i> within the line
3	<i>Yā 'āšiqīn...</i>	Basīṭ	<i>zajal/ṭawšīḥ</i>	✓	<i>mašġūl</i> within the line
4	<i>Ġarāmī mujaddad...</i>	Basīṭ	<i>zajal/ṭawšīḥ</i>	—	—
5	<i>Yā 'āšiqīn...</i>	Qā'im wa-Niṣf	<i>zajal/ṭawšīḥ</i>	✓	—
6	<i>Ajallu mā yuḍkar</i>	Bṭāyhī	<i>zajal/ṭawšīḥ</i>	✓	<i>mašġūl</i> within the line and between two lines
7	<i>Luḍ bi-n-nabī...</i>	Bṭāyhī	<i>mawzūn</i>	✓	<i>mašġūl</i> within the line and between two lines
8	<i>Qad ṭāla šawqī...</i>	Darj	<i>mawzūn</i>	—	—
9	<i>Naḥnu fī ḥaḍrati..</i>	Darj	<i>mawzūn</i>	—	—
10	<i>Ṭā šawqī...</i>	Darj	<i>barwala</i>	✓	<i>mašġūl</i> within the line and before it
11	<i>Madḥu n-nabī...</i>	Quddām	<i>ṭawšīḥ</i>	—	—

### 1.2a The Uses of *Tarāṭīn*

The most striking difference between the *ṣan'a*-as-written and the *ṣan'a*-as-sung is the presence in many *ṣanā'ī'* of *tarāṭīn*, a quality referred to nowadays as *šuġl* (“a work (of art)”).<sup>4</sup> The *ṣanā'ī'* in the sample were chosen to present

4 The phenomenon of nonsense syllables in the singing of *muwaššahāt* was remarked upon in *Dār at-ṭirāz* by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, who regarded it as a device that allowed the text to fill out the melody (ed. Jawdat al-Rikābī, Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1977, p. 50). There would, of course, have been more specifically stylistic considerations involved as well: Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk seems

both *šuġl* and non-*šuġl* *šanā'ī*<sup>5</sup> in each category. About half (6 of 11) of the *šan'a* examples are *šuġl*, but this is somewhat out of proportion to the tradition as a whole, because *šanā'ī* with *tarāṭīn* are the majority by far, amounting to perhaps 70% of all *šanā'ī* in the modern tradition.<sup>6</sup>

*Tarāṭīn* may function in several different ways as performative elements within a *šuġl*. In most cases, *tarāṭīn* appear enmeshed within the poetic line, a function I am calling here *mašġūl* (“*šuġl*-ed”) within the line. These can be as simple as a few syllables like *hā nā nā* inserted between the hemistiches of #7 *Luḍ bi-n-nabī...*, or *yā yā sabīl* and *a yā sīdī sīdī* in #10 *Ṭāl šawqī...* Or *mašġūl* within the line can be as complex as extended passages that break up the poetic text. For example #1 *Šallū yā 'ibād...* features passages of *hā nā nā*, *ṭīri ṭāy* and *yā lā lā*. Similar passages run through the many verses in #7. The *hā nā nā* and *yā lā lā* passages that saturate the first hemistich of #2 *Rubba laylīn...* are a particularly complex example. *Tarāṭīn* can also introduce a line of poetry (“before the line”), as with the *tarāṭīn* phrase *hā nā nā* that introduces each verse in example #10. Many *šanā'ī* have very substantial passages of *tarāṭīn*, that become in effect miniature strophes or movements unto themselves. These may fall between two lines of verse (*mašġūl* between two lines), as with the five bars of *hā nā nā...* that fall at the end of the selection in #2) or be enmeshed between phrases of poetic text (*mašġūl* within the line, as with the phrases of *hā nā nā* that dominate the *'ajuz* of the same *šan'a*).

(Note that although I have translated *tarāṭīn* as “nonsense syllables,” like jazz-style scat singing not all these syllables are without lexical meaning. The words *sabīl* and *sīdī* appear in the *tarāṭīn* associated with the *barwala* #10 *Ṭāl šawqī...* Moroccans commonly use *sabīl*, meaning “way, path or road” in the expression *fī sabīl Allāh* (“in the Way of Allāh”), which could be freely translated as “out of the kindness of (one’s) heart.” *Sīdī* is an honorific, roughly corresponding to “Mr.” or “sir,” though it can also indicate that the person so addressed is a *ṣayyid*, a descendent of the Prophet Muḥammad. Examples 1 *Šallū yā 'ibād...* and 7 *Luḍ bi-n-nabī...* both contain the *tarāṭīn* expression *ṭīri ṭāy*. *Ṭīr* could be heard as the Moroccan word for “bird,” and *ṭāy* as *ṭayy*, “hiding.” Indeed, I have even heard Āla musicians express a similar opinion on these syllables. However, to reach for some denotative sense for such expressions would be a mistake. They are expressive, illocutionary utterances only. Like the phrase *yā laylī* heard widely

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to regard their presence as distinguishing *muwaššahāt* from songs based upon classical verse. (Reynolds, 2006)

5 I know of no *barāwīl* without *tarāṭīn*.

6 Curiously, in *Ramal al-Māya* Mizān ad-Darj has the lowest concentration of *šuġl* *šanā'ī*: 7 of 24 (29%). Mizān al-Bṭāyḥī has the highest, with 16 of 18 (89%).

in Egyptian popular song, such “word-like” *tarāṭīn* are not meant to indicate anything beyond their own use. Their “meaning” is entirely contained in the act of performing them.)

### 1.2b Repetition and Division of Verbal Expressions

The sung repertoire also departs from the written version in the way it repeats and divides verbal expressions. Example #5 *Yā ʿāšiqīn* repeats the *ṣadr* of each of the first three lines three times each, before going on to the *ʿajuz*. Example #7 *Luḍ bi-n-nabī...* repeats the *ṣadr* twice and the *ʿajuz* twice with *tarāṭīn*, and then the whole structure once again, before repeating the *ʿajuz* yet again intermixed with *tarāṭīn*, thus repeating the *ṣadr* a total of four times and the *ʿajuz* five times for each verse of poetry. Sentences may be divided between words, as in #6 *Ajallu mā yuḍkar*, where the first two of the three segments that make up the poetic line are each broken in the middle by *tarāṭīn* between words; and in #1 *Ṣallū yā ʿibād...*, where the hemistich is broken into shorter segments that are repeated. Even individual words are sometimes broken and the parts repeated, as in #6, where the name of the Prophet is sung: *Muḥammadu ... ḥammadu*. Example #2 *Rubba laylin...* splits each of the words *rubba*, *laylin* and *ḡafirtu* in two and repeats the first part; and the word *l-bādri* is broken, with the second part repeated. (Note that this breaking of individual words may not respect the formal boundaries between syllables: *ru... rubba*, instead of *rub... rubba*; and *badri dri...*)

Proof that all of the departures from the written text discussed thus far are artistic licenses of the composer, and not general rules of composition for the entire tradition, comes from the opposite case of a poetic text sung unaltered by any of them, as examples 4, 8 and 9 show. In all three cases, the melody carries the poetic text without recourse to repetitions, divisions or *tarāṭīn*.

### 1.2c Syllables and the Rhythmic System

In addition to the textual manipulations already mentioned, which concern phrasing aimed primarily at augmenting the text to fit a melody, the pronunciation of individual text items may be altered in several ways by their relationship to the rhythmic system within which they are sung. Words may be truncated in order to fit a particular space in the rhythm. In line three of #11 *Madḡu n-nabī...* we find the phrase *masaka š-šubbāka*. The second word of this phrase, *aš-šubbāka*, contains two closed syllables (*aš-* and *šub*), a long vowel (*bā*) and an open syllable (*ka*), all four of which are sung in the brief span of one rhythmic pulse and a half. As a result, the second syllable is completely elided: *aš-bāka*. (Of course this elision is not reflected at all in the written version of this *šanʿa*.) Similar elision of syllables (especially of first-syllable short

vowels) may be found throughout most *barāwil*, since this practice fits well with a similar feature of Moroccan spoken Arabic. (Notice the reduction of *yā šafīr* to *ya-šfīr* in the ninth and nineteenth bars of #10 *Ṭāl šawqī...*, and similarly the reduction of *yawmi z-zihām* to *yawmi-zhām* in the eleventh and twenty-first bars.)

In addition, long vowels are not always pronounced long when sung. A long vowel in the text may fall on a weak pulse within the rhythm, so that it becomes reduced to the value of a short vowel, as with the syllable *lū* at the beginning of #1 *Šallū yā 'ibād...* (Notice that the word is repeated beginning at the end of the eighth bar, where both *šal* and *lū* fall on accented pulses and are sung as long syllables.) In the same *šan'a*, the syllable *dā* (of *dā'im*) at the end of the fourth and eleventh bars is similarly shortened; and likewise the syllable *rā* (of *ġarāmī*) at the end of the second line of #3 *Yā 'āšiqīn*, and several other syllables throughout these examples. Apart from being reduced in the length it is held within the melody, a long vowel may be rendered as a short-sounding one. This is especially common with the particle *fī*, whose vowel functions in many places as a short /i/, just as when preceding the definite article (viz. *fī l-kitāb* → *fī l-kitāb*). In the same way, the word *rīq* becomes /riq/ at the beginning of the second line of #11 *Madħu n-nabī...*, probably because it has been placed on an unstressed beat.

Closed syllables can suffer a similar fate, being demoted from weight-bearing long syllables to unstressed, unaccented ones in performance, as with the syllable *dīl* at the end of the fifth bar of #4 *Ġarāmī mujaddad, muħ* (> *muħtār*) at the end of the seventh and eighth bars of #6 *Ajallu mā yuḍkar*, and others. Conversely, an open syllable bearing only a short vowel can be held as long or longer than a long one, thereby acquiring added weight, as with the syllable *za* (> *zafīr*) at the beginning of the third bar of #2 *Rubba laylīn...*, the particle *wa* in the second and third bars of the second half of the same example, the syllable *i* (> *ilā*) in the fifth bar of *Naħnu fī ḥaḍrati...*, and others.

Musical accent does not correspond perfectly with syllabic length or stress either, since accented beats can sometimes correspond with unstressed syllables (or unstressed parts of syllables). For example, the third accented pulse of the third bar of #1 *Šallū yā 'ibād...* corresponds with the relatively weak end and closing consonant /\_d/ of the syllable *bād*. Once again, this phenomenon appears in several places in these examples.

Nevertheless, despite such deviations from the metrical and phonetic rules of formal Arabic poetic expression, which are found throughout these examples, closed syllables and long vowels generally correspond with stressed beats and are usually held to their full relative value. And by the same token, weak pulses are commonly reserved for short, open syllables or the weak closing

consonants of closed syllables. The exceptions noted above are just that: departures, as much from the usual rules in melodic composition as from those of verbal-poetic expression. Were this not the case—were we to find most long syllables sung short and unaccented, and most short syllables accented or sung long—the resulting verbal expression would sound quite awkward at least, and would perhaps be unrecognizable as Arabic in many places. Thus, although musical composition in al-Āla certainly may take considerable liberties with written text when adapting it to a melody (liberties that do not always jibe with the usual poetic licenses), there are limits which cannot be exceeded without rendering the text incomprehensible. The middle ground we find here, the *ṣanʿa*-as-sung, represents a negotiation (probably completely unconscious) among three sets of rules: those of Arabic/poetic expression, those of comprehensible speech (whether poetic or not), and those governing musical composition.<sup>7</sup>

The foregoing is not intended as an exhaustive study of the musical-metrical relationships that shape the way the written texts fit with the sung repertoire. Rather the aim here is merely to illustrate the distance that lies between the two, and to give some sense of the degree of expertise that would be needed to *derive* the *ṣanʿa*-as-sung from the text as found in an anthology. Of course, a true expert in the tradition will have committed the text to memory already—repetitions, breaks and *tarāṭīn* together as a complete whole—through the oral-rota memorization technique described in HST that is the standard teaching method in al-Maʿhad al-Waṭānī and in the fine-tuning of performance practice in professional *jawq* situations.<sup>8</sup> A singer looking at the written text surely does not extrapolate from that text to derive the *ṣanʿa*-as-sung. Rather, he or she uses what is found on the page as mnemonic device, in order to retrieve the *ṣanʿa*-as-sung and perhaps to remind him- or herself of larger structural details, such as the order of verses, specific rhyming words and so on.

7 Such transformations of text in sung performance are of course far from unique to al-Āla, even if many of the specifics are conditioned by the stylistic features of this tradition. One is hard pressed to find any song-genre in the Arabic-speaking world, whether “classical” or colloquial, that is not shaped by these considerations. Even the great Umm Kulthoum, renowned for her splendid diction, was not immune to the occasional elision of a syllable for the sake of the melody.

8 On which, see HST, Chapter 4.

## 2 Traces of Orality in the Written Corpus

The evidence in Chapter 3 revealed that some of the poetry in the modern canon could not be accounted for by the manuscripts. At each stage in the process, beginning with the earliest Kunnāš manuscripts and ending with the modern canon, some *šanāʿi* fell away from the written corpus and others were inserted from sources outside the known manuscript traditions. Of course, we cannot know whether any of these *šanāʿi* were to be found in manuscript collections that either have not survived or have not yet been discovered. Alternate manuscript anthologies, were they to be found, might shed some light on the origins of the material that entered the Āla stream at later points in the process.

Yet the primary sources of the Āla texts were not written but orally performed and transmitted materials. More precisely, whatever written documents may have provided poetic raw materials for various composers (poets' *dawāwīn*, thematic collections of *muwaššahāt* or *azjāl*, encyclopedic works like the *Aġānī*, etc.), the vector for the selection of these raw materials, for their arrangement, enhancement or reduction, was the performed tradition. Thus the demands of oral presentation and the processes associated with oral transmission have been central to the formation and propagation of the written texts that now comprise the modern canon.

If we examine the modern anthologies carefully, it is possible to find traces in the Āla texts of the oral processes that have formed them. These traces may be found both in the form of the texts themselves, and in their contents, as well. In the former case, the written texts vary in specific ways that strongly suggest that the demands of composition for oral presentation have played a role in shaping the versions we find in the written corpus. These are the subject of the present section. Section 4 explores the use of *šanʿa* texts in specific performance contexts that feed back upon the meaningful content, allowing some images and expressions to take on meanings beyond those inherent in the text, as when imagery borrowed from classical love poetry evokes the Prophet Muḥammad in *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya*.

### 2.1 *Reduction of Texts in Composition*

One of the chief ways that the demands of oral presentation have shaped the poetry of al-Āla has been through reduction of a source text to fit the parameters of the performed tradition.<sup>9</sup> We can see this most clearly in poems known

9 Selecting small portions of a larger poem for use in a song is a very old practice in the Arabic-speaking world. It is amply attested, for example, in the *Kitāb al-Aġānī*, but everywhere songs and singing performances are dealt with in classical Arabic literature.

to derive from old Andalusi poets: *muwaššahāt* and *azjāl* that have been altered in the *šan'a*-composition process. Although Andalusi *muwaššahāt* commonly had several strophes, rarely do we find any *šan'a* in al-Āla of more than two strophes, the norm being only one. For example, the *šan'a* Basīṭ #1 (the same text being found as Quddām #1) has been identified by Bennūna (1999, p. 270) as being the fourth *dawr* of a *muwaššah* by Ibn Sa'īd al-Miknāsī (d. 870/1465 or 872/1467).<sup>10</sup> Curiously, this poem appears as a *subā'īyya* in Basīṭ Ramal al-Māya only in IJ. IM and MW place it as the first *šan'a* in Quddām Ramal al-Māya, MW presenting it as a *ḥumāsīyya* (i.e.: without the two-line *maṭla'*).

Similarly, Basīṭ #19 is the *maṭla'* and first *dawr* of *muwaššah* by the famous Sevillan poet, Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Zuhr (al-Ḥafīd) (d. 595/1198-99).<sup>11</sup> This *šan'a* appears in *Ramal al-Māya* only in IM and Ambirkū's edition, though the text has been used in other *nūbāt* since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, at least, since it appears in D144.<sup>12</sup> In addition, the *maṭla'* of this poem also appears in D144 as a separate *šan'a* in Basīṭ al-Istihlāl #2 (Bennūna #52, p. 160) and in IM (Bṭāyḥī ar-Raṣd, p. 160). Performing this two-line version seems to have been one of two performance options for this text in Bṭāyḥī ar-Raṣd, as IJ and MW both present the full *subā'īyya* in that *mīzān*.

Thus reduction of an existing text to fit the performance practice of al-Āla (i.e.: in general, limiting *šanā'i'* to one *dawr* or two to four lines of *mawzūn* verse) amounted to an editing process by which the composer chose only the verses or strophe that suited him, and sometimes did not even respect the formal structure of the source poem. A similar example drawn from *Ramal al-Māya*, Bṭāyḥī #7, shows that *šanā'i'* in the Āla repertoire need not follow the internal structural boundaries of the original as found in the *dīwān* of the author. Figure 9 shows this *šan'a* as presented in IJ.

10 See *Ithāf i'lām an-nās bi-jamāl aḥbār ḥādīrat Miknās* by Mūlāy 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ibn Zaydān

11 #22 in Fawzī Sa'd 'Īsā's *Ibn Zuhr (al-Ḥafīd) waššāḥ al-Andalus* (1983).

12 See Bennūna (1999), #157, pp. 233, 278 and 417. This text appears in several other *mayāzīn* in the various modern anthologies: IJ—Qā'im wa-Niṣf ar-Raṣd (p. 159), Bṭāyḥī ar-Raṣd (p. 168) and Bṭāyḥī Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn (p. 199); IM—Bṭāyḥī ar-Raṣd (p. 160) and Bṭāyḥī Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn (p. 129); and MW—Bṭāyḥī ar-Raṣd (p. 191) and Bṭāyḥī Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn (p. 225). See also the annotation to this *šan'a* in Part II.

**الصنعة السادسة . توشيح . متدارك . شغل . رمل المائة للششتوري**

ي	فِي حَيُّونٍ تَسْرِي	وَتَلُوْحُ لَكَ صَوْرٍ	بي 2
:	فِي سَمَاكَ الدَّرِّي	الَّتِي تَنْتَبِهُ أَنْ ظَهَرَ	لا 8
:	وَيُجِيبُهُ وَيَلْمِخُ	أَفْلاكَ فِيكَ يَدُورُ	: :
:	فِيكَ تَغِيْبُ وَتَطْلُعُ	الشَّمْسُ وَالْبَدْوُ	: :
:	الَّتِي فِيكَ أَجْمَعُ	اقْرَأْ مَعْنَى السُّطُورِ	: :
:	مَنْ سَطُورِكَ وَأَدْرِي	لَا تَعَادِرْ سَطْرَ	بي 2
:	الَّذِي فِيكَ يَسْرِي	أَشْهُهُ مَعْنَى الْقَمَرِ	لا 8

FIGURE 9 *Bṭāyhi* #7 as found in IJ.

<i>Forms appear to you</i>	<i>in eyes that wander the night</i>
<i>Turn (to him), if he appears</i>	<i>in your shining sky.</i>
<i>The celestial sphere turns for you</i>	<i>and illuminates and shines.</i>
<i>The suns and full moons</i>	<i>because of you set and rise.</i>
<i>Read the meaning of the lines</i>	<i>which I compose about you.</i>
<i>Do not leave out a single one</i>	<i>of the lines (about you), for I know.</i>
<i>What is the meaning of the moon</i>	<i>which wanders the night for you?</i>

This is part of a *zajal* by the Andalusī poet and mystic Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh an-Numayrī aš-Šuštārī (d. 667/1269). This version of the *šan’a* comprises the second *dawr* of the poem, but in fact it actually begins with the *qufl* of the previous *dawr*.<sup>13</sup> In other words, what was intended by the poet to be formally connected to the first strophe is here presented as prelude to the second. This *šan’a* appears in all three canonical anthologies, but as a *subā’iyya* only in IJ. Benmūsā informs me that, although this text is no longer sung as a *subā’iyya*, such a performance is not impossible, since the *maṭla’* simply would use the melody of the *qufl*.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, Benmūsā himself has used this *subā’iyya* as an example in academic discussion. This *šan’a* as a *ḥumāsīyya* represents a reduction of the original *zajal* to one *dawr* (*ḡuṣn* and *qufl*), and as a *subā’iyya* it

13 Zajal #38, *Ṣaḥḥa ‘indī l-ḥabar*, in Naššār’s edition of *Dīwān aš-Šuštārī*, p. 165.

14 Interview, 1/2/2006. This text also appears as a *ḥumāsīyya* in Baṣīṭ al-Iṣbahān in all three anthologies: IM p. 95, IJ p. 64 and MW p. 56.

represents a reduction which responds to the performance practices of al-Āla but disregards the formal parameters of the source text.

These and other similar examples show that, at least within al-Āla, the demands of musical composition and presentation at times have carried more weight than formal or semantic characteristics of the poetry. Composers of these *ṣanāʿiʿ* probably made use of written materials, but the form of the *ṣanʿa* as we find it today has been conditioned by the requirements of oral presentation. Given that these reductions have not been shaped randomly but according to the expectations of Āla performance, liberties like these taken with an established text need not be viewed merely as indifference on the part of the composer or performer to details of the source text, but instead as serving a practical function, as well: oral performance in the specific musico-poetic context of al-Āla.

## 2.2 *Text Variations in Different Parts of the Tradition*

Another indication of mixed oral influences on the strophic poetry in al-Āla is the persistence of different versions of the same poem in different parts of the tradition. Several *ṣanāʿiʿ* appear at least twice in the repertoire, and many of them show differences in structure, spelling or vocalization among the different versions. Most of these variations are in keeping with common poetic licenses, such as rendering *tāʾ marbūṭa* as *fatha* at the end of a hemistich in one version but not in the other. Some may have come about in the process of assembling and editing the modern edition, as seems to have happened with many of the text variations found in MW, where orthography and vowelings are problematic in many cases. Most variations between similar texts used in different parts of the tradition are trivial, but some of them are interesting.

We saw in the example of Basīṭ #1/Quddām #1 that a *ṣanʿa* may have a two-line *maṭlaʿ* in one anthology but not another. But a *ṣanʿa* that appears in more than one *mīzān* in the tradition may vary in this way, even within the same anthology. The *ṣanʿa Bākir ilā šādinin* is found with *maṭlaʿ* in two places in each of the three canonical anthologies (*mīzān* Basīṭ al-Māya and *mīzān* Qāʾim wa-Niṣf al-ʿUššāq) and *aqraʿ* (“bald,” meaning without *maṭlaʿ*) as the *ḥumāsīyya Yā sāḥi kam dā arāka sāḥi* in *mīzān* Qāʾim wa-Niṣf ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam in all three anthologies.<sup>15</sup> As with the *zajal* by aš-Šuštārī described above, the related texts of these *ṣanāʿiʿ* have been shaped in each case according to the performance context.

15 See, respectively: MW pp. 82, 340, 312; IJ pp. 81, 321, 297; IM pp. 71, 353, 253.

Figure 10 illustrates a different kind of textual variation. It presents the three printed versions of the *ṣan'a*, *Yā mudīr...* from *mīzān* Darj al-*Iṣbahān*: the top image is from MW, the middle from IJ and the bottom from IM.<sup>16</sup> We see three rather different versions of the first line: MW (from al-*Jāmi'ī*) addresses the cup bearer in the plural, while IJ and IM (al-*Hā'ik*) gives the singular; IM adds a cup (كاس) for serving up the intoxicating power (الحِمْيَا). In the third line, IJ and IM offer night images: a shining star (نَجْمِ الْمُضِيَّةِ) or a star of the Pleiades (نَجْمِ الشُّرَيَّا); but MW turns to daylight with the shining sun (شَمْسِ الْمُضِيَّةِ) instead. The variations in this example probably cannot be attributed simply to differences between the al-*Hā'ik* and al-*Jāmi'ī* corpuses, since IM alone presents a cup in line one, and MW shares the verbal noun طلعة ("rising, ascent") with IJ, against IM's ضياء (or perhaps ضِيَاء, as sometimes rendered; in either case: for ضياء, "glow, light") in line three.

صنعة — توشيح		
يَا مُدِيرِي الْحَمِيَا	قُولُو لِي بُشْرِي هَيَّا	عَلَى خَلْعِ الْعِدَاذِ
النُّجُومِ مَعَ الثَّرِيَا	كُلُّهُمْ شَهْدُوا عَلَيَا	فِي هَوَاكُ يَا قَمَر
سَيِّدِي وَاعْظِفْ عَلَيَا	يَا طَلَعَةَ شَمْسِ الْمُضِيَا	يَا هَلَالُ بَيْنَ الْبَشْرِ
يَا مُدِيرِ الْحَمِيَا	قُلْ لِي بُشْرِي هَيَّا	عَلَى خَلْعِ الْعِدَاذِ
النُّجُومِ مَعَ الثَّرِيَا	كُلُّهُمْ شَهْدُوا عَلَيَا	فِي هَوَاكُ يَا قَمَر
سَيِّدِي وَاعْظِفْ عَلَيَا	يَا طَلَعَةَ نَجْمِ الثَّرِيَا	يَا هَلَالُ بَيْنَ الْبَشْرِ
صنعة توشيح مجزو الرمل دون القفل		
يا مدير كاس الحميا	فقل لي بشري هنيا	على خلع العذار
النجوم مع الثريا	كلهم شهدو عليا	بهواك يا قمر
سيدي واعظف عليا	يا ضيا نجم الثريا	يا هلال البشر

FIGURE 10 Three printed versions of *Yā mudīr...* from *Darj al-Iṣbahān*

Several variant readings of one *ṣan'a* may survive in more than one place within the Moroccan *Āla* corpus. There are even cases of textual variations of the same text within the same anthology, some of them small, others affecting

16 p. 76, p. 79, and p. 111, respectively.

meaning. *Yā mudīr...* (Figure 10) also appears in *Quddām Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn* in all three canonical anthologies. Only in IM are both occurrences of this text identical. In both IJ and MW, small but curious differences appear between the two versions, and some of the variants fall in the second segment of the third line, the same segment that varies the most among the three versions in *Darj al-Iṣbahān*. MW and IJ agree in *Quddām Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn* on *يَا طَلَعَةَ* *نَجْمِ الشَّرِيَا* (“O rising of the Pleiades”), which neither presents in the other version. IJ also gives *عَلِيَّ* for *عَلِيَّ* in the first segment of this line in *Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn*, which is not attested anywhere else; and MW features *qul* for *qūlū* in the *Darj al-Iṣbahān* version, agreeing finally with the other two anthologies in this regard.

If we turn to manuscript versions of this text, we find that D144 presents yet another version of this segment: *يَا ضِيَا شَمْسِ الْمَضِيَا* (“O light of the illuminated sun”)—sharing features with IM and MW. Similar versions and variations of this segment may be found in *Zwītin*<sup>17</sup> and *Raqīwaq*.<sup>18</sup> (This text is not found in *Wazzānī* or *Valderrama*, further complicating the picture.) It is risky to infer from these versions that a single written source text existed at some point, except perhaps that D144 probably would lie closest to it chronologically (since it is the oldest of the manuscripts). The relative stability of the rest of the poem suggests some kind of literate intervention into the process, but could all these variations have come about as a result of changes taking place solely within a single chain of written transmission? Possibly, but this does not seem likely, especially when we consider that some of these variations appear even within one and the same anthology. It is more probable that most or all of these variations in the written versions of this text came about primarily through small differences in local renditions that gradually found their way first into manuscript and then into printed versions of the *Āla* corpus. That so many of these variations have survived in what are different versions of essentially the same text attests to the value placed upon authenticity as marked by faithfulness to the received tradition—both oral and written: authors/compiler of the anthologies, both manuscript and printed, have tended to retain variant versions of such texts as they are performed, rather than try to “fix” them.

Figure 11 shows the three occurrences of the *sanʿa Ṣajānī qumārī* in MW.<sup>19</sup> In the last line of the third version, *مَنْ يَهُوِي الْمَلِاحِ* has become *مَنْ يَهُوِي الْمَلِاحِ*. Note that the change not only represents a small semantic shift, but it alters both the meter and the rhyme scheme, thus forcing the *qufl* here to be

17 pp. 54 and 67.

18 p. 27 only.

19 Top: Qāʾim wa-Niṣf al-Istihlāl p. 158; middle: *Darj al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr* p. 268; bottom: Qāʾim wa-Niṣf ʿIrāq al-ʿAjām p. 314.

rendered in pausal form if the pattern is to be preserved. Numerous similar examples could be adduced.

### صنعة شغل — توشيح

شَجَانِي قُمَارِي	كَأَمَّ الْحَسَنُ
وَطَابَتْ خُمَارِي	وَطَارَ الْوَسَنُ
خَلَعْتُ عِذَارِي	وَذَاكَ حَسَن
فَأَيُّ جُنَاحٍ	عَلَى مَنْ عَشِقُ

### صنعة توشيح

شَجَانِي قُمَارِي	كَأَمَّ الْحَسَنُ
وَطَابَتْ خُمَارِي	وَطَارَ الْوَسَنُ
خَلَعْتُ عِذَارِي	فِي ذَاكَ الْحَسَنُ
فَأَيُّ جُنَاحٍ	عَلَى مَنْ عَشِقُ
مُحِبُّ الْمِلَاحِ	حَاشَا يُحْتَرَقُ

### صنعة توشيح

شَجَانِي قُمَارِي	كَأَمَّ الْحَسَنُ
وَطَابَ خُمَارِي	وَطَارَ الْوَسَنُ
خَلَعْتُ عِذَارِي	فِي ذَاكَ الْحَسَنُ
فَأَيُّ جُنَاحٍ	عَلَى مَنْ عَشِقُ
مَنْ يَهْوَى الْمِلَاحِ	حَاشَا يُحْتَرَقُ

FIGURE 11 Šajānī qumārī in MW.

### 2.3 Orthographic Variants that Signal Orality

The modern canon also preserves traces of orality in the form of lexical items spelled as they are pronounced in Moroccan colloquial Arabic. Figure 10 shows one example: in the first segment of the second line in the version from MW, the noun ثُرَيَّا (“Pleiades”) is spelled ثُرَيَّا (phonetic shift from /θ/ to /t/

very typical of Moroccan *dārija*). Occasionally, IJ and IM also present shifts of this kind toward Moroccan colloquial pronunciation in otherwise Classical or Andalusī Arabic verses, though they seem to be more common in MW than in the other two modern anthologies; Ibn Jallūn and Ibn Maṣṣūr were more careful in following formal Arabic orthography and pronunciation.<sup>20</sup> A striking exception in the case of IM is the expression *مَالُهُ / مَالَهُ / مَالُو* (“it has no/ there is none”) in the second hemistich of both Qā’im wa-Niṣf #11 and Quddām #22 (both *tawšīh*), in the IM versions only. The only reasonable explanation for such eruptions of Moroccan pronunciation into these texts is that they reflect the rendering of these *ṣanā’i’* on the page based upon memorized versions of the oral-performed repertoire, rather than written versions.

One variety of *ṣanā’a* by its nature reflects a similar influence of oral processes on the tradition’s texts: the *barwala*. As was shown in Chapter 3 §4, the *barwala* appears to have been incorporated into the tradition mainly from oral sources, probably because its colloquial language was not considered fit to be preserved by the written word. These poems, though they are written in a poetic register that tempers their colloquial characteristics, still contain a number of patently colloquial expressions, such as *إِلَيَّ* (“one who”—Quddām #11),<sup>21</sup> *بِسْمِيَّات* (“in the names of”—Quddām #5), and *غَيْرٌ* (“just...”—Darj #3 and #5). The language of these *ṣanā’i’* as it is rendered in the modern anthologies attests to their oral origins, though later in this chapter we will come to see how they represent, not a pure colloquial register, but a colloquial poetic one. (Similarly, the preservation of Andalusī colloquial expression in the poems of al-Āla does not directly reflect oral processes affecting the formation of the corpus.)

The actual variations in these diverse examples offer no great insights for the current discussion, since the three songbooks draw from different manuscripts and an unknown number of informal document resources. What matters is that these different readings coexist. A recurring theme in scholarly discussions on literacy and orality is the idea that literacy makes possible a more analytical and reflective relationship to language. Because of this, literate transmission, especially in print, tends to iron out heterogeneities in text: successive written renditions of a text tend to bring to light problematic passages and variant readings that eventually get reconciled with one another. This is less frequently so in the case of so-called “traditional texts” (which usually

20 This feature of MW extends even to *ṣanā’i’* descriptions. For example, the anthologist (or perhaps his editor) renders the poetic meter *المجتث* sometimes as *المجثث* (e.g. Basīṭ #4, p. 25 of MW) and sometimes as *المجثت* (e.g. Bṭāyḥī #11, p. 38), a confusion that reflects the same phonetic shift in spoken Moroccan Arabic as above with *ثَرَا*.

21 Incidentally, this construction is not unknown in Egyptian poetry, and perhaps other dialects, as well.

means “oral tradition”) when they are committed to writing. Slippage survives; irregularities sometimes persist because they touch upon some valued aspect of the text or of the social-cultural context in which it is used.

This last point is precisely the case with al-Āla, whose written texts are meant to represent the tradition for iconic and secondary referential purposes. The Āla canon thus shows at least one characteristic of “oral-traditional” texts: the survival of text variants like those mentioned above suggests that preserving them serves some dimension of the tradition which is more highly valued than the uniformity and consistency that often evolves through print literacy. That value has to do, of course, with the nature of an *aṣīl* performance, which is faithful to the *ṣanʿa*-as-sung. Although the written representation is imprecise in the sense of not matching the oral one in every detail, still it carries value as a representation capturing enough of what is considered essential in performance to speak unequivocally as the tradition. Where variants and oral eruptions have already been preserved, these tend to benefit from resistance to change. Just as with an *aṣīl* performance, variations and departures from formal Arabic in the printed versions are not regarded as imperfections but as valued evidence of authentic Andalusī heritage. Again we see that the literary content of al-Āla is not simply the text, but rather the text within its (perceived-as-historically) *performed context*, and that the oral and written aspects of the tradition are socially situated in contrasting ways and evoke different value sets.

#### 2.4 Poetic Intertextuality

One of the characteristic features of the Āla corpus is repetition of a given poetic image or specific phrase in several places. This feature is most pronounced, of course, in those *nūbāt* that are clearly focused upon a single theme. In *al-Māya*, for example, the expression شمس العشيّة (“the evening sun”) and variations on it like شمس الغروب (“the westering sun”) appear in fifteen or more *ṣanāʿiʿ*, in most cases at or near the beginning of the *ṣanʿa*. This comes as no surprise. In the course of a hundred or so songs of which the majority contain some reference to sunset, repetition of this kind is to be expected. It is largely a function of the lexical possibilities of the language. Similarly, in *Ramal al-Māya* references to the Prophet Muḥammad and his various attributes appear everywhere, and since one of his principal roles in Islamic religious and mystical discourses is as an intercessor (*ṣāfiʿ*) with Allāh for his community on the Day of Judgment, this word and others from the same root (*ṣāfiʿ*, *ṣifāʿa*) are found in many *ṣanāʿiʿ* in this *nūba*.

Yet there are some repetitions that do not result from either lexical or thematic limits, but from deliberate choices: poetic borrowings and modular phrases. Poetic borrowing involves multiple uses of particular hemistiches

and even whole verses in different settings. They appear to be more than mere occasional interpolations of familiar phrases and collocations, but instead descend to the level of composition itself, being carefully interwoven into the structure of the poem. Because we have almost no information on either composers or the circumstances of composition for the vast majority of *ṣanāʿi* in al-Āla, it is difficult to speculate about the processes surrounding the incorporation of much of the poetic material in the tradition. This repertoire may have depended in part upon poems preserved in informal notes kept by composers, or in partial anthologies. But much of the raw textual material from which *ṣanāʿi* were assembled may have been held as well in memorized form among musician-composers who were familiar with large portions of the *nūba* tradition and were steeped in its lyrical-poetic aesthetic.

One complex example will illustrate the point: al-Qāʾim wa-Niṣf #4 (*Yā turā bi-llāh yā turā*). The last three hemistiches of this *ṣanʿa* in the MW version (and in the IJ version, with some alterations) are virtually identical with passages from another *ṣanʿa*, *Anta ahlā mina l-munā* (a *tawšīḥ ṣuġl* in Qāʾim wa-Niṣf al-Iṣbahān).<sup>22</sup> Here is the text of this second *ṣanʿa*, with the hemistiches in question in red:

وَمِنَ الْمَاءِ أَعْذَبُ	أَنْتَ أَحْلَى مِنَ الْمُنَى
طَابَ لِلنَّفْسِ أَطْيَبُ	أَنْتَ مِنْ كُلِّ طَيِّبٍ
عَنْ حَدِيثِكَ وَيُحِبُّ	مَا تَرَى الْقَلْبَ يَلْتَفِتُ
مِنْ وَلَوْ عِي وَفَكْرِي	قَدْ مَضَى الْعُمُرُ وَاسْتَوَى
إِلَّا وَصَلَكَ يَا بُعَيْتِي	يَا مُنَانِي مَا لِي دَوَا

*You sweeter than desire*

*and sweeter than sweet water*

*You are better than every good thing*

*which is pleasing to the soul*

*You do not see (my) heart turn*

*from your speech and be pleased [by another]*

*That time of (my) life has passed*

*my longing and my thought have become stable*

*O my desires, I have no remedy*

*but encountering you, you who are my goal*

<sup>22</sup> MW p. 61. This text also appears in Bṭāyḥī Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn, MW: *muqtaḍab ṣuġl*, p. 227.

Notice that the red hemistiches that link these two texts can only be read here as *jazal*, a love song that celebrates the theme of constancy. However, in the *Ramal al-Māya* version, they become a cry of longing for a moment (the after-life?) when the lover will be reunited, not with an object of physical-emotional ardor, but with the spiritual presence of the Prophet Muḥammad. The complexity of these hemistiches, their integration into the rhetorical structure of both poems, and the implied change of gender of the addressee suggest that the passages in question are intentional incorporations from pre-existing poetic material that were selected for use by the two composers.

That Qā'im wa-Niṣf #4 is a composite of this sort becomes even more obvious in the way it echoes another *ṣan'a* from *Ramal al-Māya*, Darj #1 (*Qad ṭāla ṣawqī li-n-nabī...*). Compare the imagery in the third line of the former with the 'ajuz of the third line in the latter. In both cases, the persona of the poem is visiting the Prophet's tomb in Medina and pressing his cheek to it. The precise phrasing differs slightly between the two, though MW and IM use the same verb in each case (مرغ, versus عفر in IJ), making the echo even more resonant. Tellingly, the three manuscript versions of Qā'im wa-Niṣf #4 (in *Piro*, *Belmalīh* and *R1327*: this *ṣan'a* is one of the few that derives exclusively from the al-Jāmi'i corpus) all use مرغ as well, so that the version in IJ appears to be anomalous in this regard. Finally, Qā'im wa-Niṣf #4 actually contains the phrase *ṭāla ṣawqī*, which is also a direct echo of Darj #1.

Qā'im wa-Niṣf #4 thus contains two formulations of motifs that link it directly to two other, quite diverse *ṣanā'i'* in the tradition. We cannot be sure, of course, whether this *ṣan'a* represents a later borrowing of parts of the other two, or whether perhaps any of these quoted elements predates all three *ṣanā'i'*, merely surviving today in three secondary uses. It may be significant that one of these three poems, Darj #1, does not appear in any manuscript I have examined, nor in IM, even though it is nowadays widely recognized and frequently performed. As argued in Chapter 3, *mizān ad-darj* derives from orally-preserved material, much of it almost certainly used exclusively in the religious brotherhoods long before incorporation of the *mizān*. It may be that Qā'im wa-Niṣf #4 was composed relatively late, and specifically for *Ramal al-Māya*, using at least some poetic elements that had circulated for some time in the *zawāyā*. This conclusion is supported by one other connection: Darj #10 begins with the phrase طال سوقي, the same phrase that appears in Qā'im wa-Niṣf #4 and at the beginning of Darj #1. Darj #10 appears only in the al-Jāmi'i manuscripts (in Bṭāyḥī *Ramal al-Māya*),<sup>23</sup> so it may be a later composition, as well, perhaps also drawing upon phraseology circulating in the brotherhoods.

23 See Chapter 3 §3.3 on the historical relationship between *mizān ad-darj* and *mizān al-bṭāyḥī*.

The significance of the complex intertextual web surrounding these four *ṣanāʿi* is that at least some of the poems from unknown poets in al-Āla are composite texts. Their precise origins and mode of composition remain obscure, and will remain so unless more evidence comes to light. But given the intermingling of oral and literary processes within the tradition we cannot exclude the possibility that they were assembled by borrowing components of pre-existing poems that were preserved in memorized form and transmitted orally. This state of affairs may well have continued for a long time before the final incorporation of these four *ṣanāʿi* into the modern anthologies.<sup>24</sup>

### 3 Performance Options and Written Text

Yet another way that the written corpus preserves traces of oral processes can be observed in the diverse versions of a given text that have survived in both printed and manuscript sources. There we find modular phrases reverberating throughout the different versions. When reading through the poems preserved in the Āla anthologies, we occasionally come across short phrases that reappear in several distinct locations. Unlike the poetic borrowings just described, which are substantial in length and integrated into the semantic structure of the poem, modular phrases have the appearance of serving more like interchangeable parts. Perhaps some examples were inserted during the process of *ṣanʿa* composition, drawn from the poetic repertoire of the *nūba* that embodied what was customarily sung and provided raw materials for assembling new compositions. In other cases, modular phrases may actually have been employed inadvertently when a phrase was forgotten in the moment of performance and another called upon to fill the bill. The expression طَالَ شَوْقِي mentioned in the last section may be one example of such a modular phrase, though there is no other evidence that this particular phrase has been pressed into service in this way.

A better example is the variant phrase مَنْ يَهْوَى الْمِلَاحِ mentioned in §2.2 above in connection with the *ṣanʿa Šajānī qumārī*, as found in Qāʾim wa-Niṣf ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam in MW. Virtually the same phrase occurs in *Ramal al-Māya* as the

24 There are clear echoes here of the idea of oral formulaic composition elaborated by Milman Parry and Albert Lord for the Homeric and Serbian oral epic corpuses, although we should be chary about making too close an analogy. Although performance clearly has influenced the form and content of the tradition, al-Āla is not a genre of epic poetry that evolved through generations of improvised oral performances, but an art music form whose songs certainly were composed prior to performance. But see also the summation of the work of James Monroe and Michael Zwettler in HST Chapter 8 §2.3.

beginning of the last line of Qā'im wa-Niṣf #1: ... *مَنْ يَهُوَى مَكْلِيحَ / المِلاح* (and in this *ṣan'a* in the *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* marginalia); and this latter phrase also appears at the beginning of a *ṣan'a* in the margin of the eighth *ṣan'a* of Bṭāyḥī Ramal al-Māya in *Wazzānī*. So this element has been used in at least three distinct locations in the tradition. How did this phrase find its way into one version of *Ṣajānī qumārī*, but not the others?

Exactly when and how this change might have taken place is an especially difficult question to answer because this text has a rather complicated history. The three versions in Figure 11 are from MW, but the earliest appearance of this *ṣan'a* is in D144 (Bennūna #435), where it is found in three different *mayāzīn*: Qā'im wa-Niṣf ar-Raṣd, Qā'im wa-Niṣf al-Ḥijāz al-Maṣriqī and Qā'im wa-Niṣf aṣ-Ṣika. These versions have *مَنْ يَهُوَى المِلاح* at the beginning of the last line. Among the later Kunnāš manuscripts, this text does not appear in *Wazzānī* or *Valderrama*, but it is found in *Raqīwaq* (Quddām al-Māya and Qā'im wa-Niṣf Ġaribat al-Ḥusayn) with the variant phrase found in MW, *مَنْ يَهُوَى المِلاح*. Zuwītīn's version of the Kunnāš has this text in Qā'im wa-Niṣf al-Istihlāl (*مَنْ يَهُوَى المِلاح*) and Qā'im wa-Niṣf 'Irāq al-'Ajam (*مَنْ يَهُوَى المِلاح*). IJ gives *مَنْ يَهُوَى المِلاح* in the same three locations as in MW. IM has the text only in Qā'im wa-Niṣf al-Istihlāl and Qā'im wa-Niṣf 'Irāq al-'Ajam, both with *مَنْ يَهُوَى المِلاح*. Among the al-Jāmi'ī manuscripts, the *ṣan'a* appears only in R1327 in Qā'im wa-Niṣf al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr, with *مَنْ يَهُوَى المِلاح*. This complicated set of instances shows that the text has not belonged to a consistent set of *mayāzīn* since its earliest uses: although the rhythm has nearly always been *al-qā'im wa-niṣf*,<sup>25</sup> it has appeared in seven different *nūbāt* (not counting *aṣ-Ṣika* in D144, which may have contributed *ṣanā'i'* to *Ġaribat al-Ḥusayn*).

The simplest explanation for this state of affairs is to view all the different variations on this text and their *mīzān* settings (eleven combinations altogether) as performance options that were realized in various local settings. The earliest option (*مَنْ يَهُوَى المِلاح*), the only one used in D144) reflects the tradition that al-Ḥā'ik learned and wrote down, and therefore exemplifies late eighteenth-century Tetuan, since this was his home town and probably where he received his earliest instruction in the *nūba* tradition. *Raqīwaq*, being unique in placing the text in *al-Māya* and *Ġaribat al-Ḥusayn*, and departing textually by using *مَنْ يَهُوَى المِلاح*, therefore represents a different performance tradition, written down later than D144 but perhaps performed contemporaneously with it. Zwītīn is somewhat distinct from both D144 and *Raqīwaq*, reflecting two different performance options: one with *ب* (like D144) and the other with *من*

25 Except for one appearance in Quddām al-Māya; but *al-quddām* and *al-qā'im wa-niṣf* are triple meters, which may explain the connection.

(not attested elsewhere). This represents a third performance tradition that recognized variant readings for two instances of this text. The version that dominates the modern canon, *مِحْبُ الْمَلِاحِ* (found exclusively in IM and IJ, and in two of the three instances in MW) embodies yet a fourth performance option that is not attested in any of the manuscripts, but may derive from a misreading of *مِحْبِ*, since the rasm in a Maghribi hand might look very similar. A final option, that realized by MW (using *...مِحْبُ* and *...مِنْ يَهُوَى* in two different places) may be related in some way to that of *Raqīwaq* (perhaps via the al-Jāmi'i corpus), since it allows the same reading of the hemistich (though in only one version of three, and in a different *mīzān*).

The idea of performance options captures well the circumstances that surround complicated sets of relationships, like those connected to *Šajānī qumārī*, that show substantial variations when used in different *mīzān* settings. It has several merits. First, it emphasizes the primacy of the performed tradition over the written one and thereby suggests a mechanism for how a text like this can have retained a multivocal character: text variants depend less upon careful transcription from one copy of a manuscript to another than upon what was considered an acceptable rendition in a given locale at a given historical moment. Because al-Āla today is the amalgamation of more than one *nūba* stream, multiple distinct versions of individual *šanā'i'* texts are not only possible, but they are to be expected. Second, this approach highlights the role of social context in conditioning the history of the text, since it defines the text as more than an abstracted, written rendition. It becomes a micro-tradition that is socially situated and culturally informed with a character that is analogous to the larger performed tradition. In this view, each surviving instance of a variant reading potentially represents both a locally valid option for performing that text and the end result of a subtle negotiation over what is or could be considered *aṣīl* in each *mīzān* setting. Such informal negotiations have been, I believe, very important in forming the corpus we find today; and of course, they probably took place entirely in the domain of oral tradition.

Finally, viewing webs of textual variations like these as indicating performance options points back to the question of value. It focuses on the tradition as an assemblage of socially meaningful communicative acts. The written text does not simply reference a collection of signifiers, nor does it only stand in for a particular utterance, but in addition it also indexes a given speech act. We go now beyond the text as socially meaningful iconic representation to dealing with linguistic value by implicating it more specifically within the social frame. The case of the unstable hemistich in *Šajānī qumārī* illustrates well how referential meaning sits side-by-side with other meanings that are context dependent. The two surviving variants—*مِحْبُ الْمَلِاحِ* and *مِنْ يَهُوَى الْمَلِاحِ*—are

semantically equivalent; there is little basis for distinguishing between them in Saussurian terms. What determines their use is not semantic meaning alone,<sup>26</sup> but equally the ways in which the alternative options index (or at least, sustain) authenticity of performance, traditions of suitable lexical repertoires, and other similar considerations that are socially meaningful and therefore value-laden.

#### 4 Themes and Contextualized Meaning

Another phenomenon that points toward evidence of the role orality has played in shaping the *Āla* corpus may be found in the presence in some *nūbāt* of a specific theme running through the poetry. *Nūbat al-Māya* is one well-known example, in which all but a handful of the *ṣanāʿīʿ* contain images of sunset. This *nūba* is the clearest case among all the *nūbāt* of thematic unity in the poetry that also corresponds with the therapeutic attributes of the musical mode, *al-māya* traditionally being associated with sunset. *Ramal al-Māya* also shows an overarching thematic unity, which usually is described as praise of the Prophet Muḥammad (*madīḥ*). In fact, this *nūba* might be described more accurately as embodying a religious theme, which does emphasize *madīḥ*, but which also includes invocations of Allāh and expressions of mystical experience that do not necessarily relate to the Prophet. This religious theme operates only on the level of semantic meaning, since none of the four *ṭubūʿ* found in *Ramal al-Māya* carries any particular religious significance. Crucial to understanding the thematic character of *Ramal al-Māya* is recognizing how the texts of many *ṣanāʿīʿ* employ images and figures (drawn from love poetry especially) to evoke the Prophet. In some cases, only the overarching thematic structure of the *nūba* itself makes this evocation possible.<sup>27</sup>

The thematic unity of the modern *Ramal al-Māya* is held to have originated prior to al-Ḥāʾik. The Moroccan scholar Muḥammad al-Fāṣī attributes it to Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Fāṣī (d. 1164/1752). However, it is difficult to accept this oral tradition at face value, since in D144 neither *Ramal al-Māya* nor *al-Ḥusayn* shows the degree of focus on the Prophet that the modern version of this *nūba* does. Even a cursory glance through the poems in Part II shows how thoroughly

26 Nor indeed prosodic or metrical considerations: Since *مُحِبُّ الْمَلَاَح* and *مَنْ يَهْوَى الْمَلَاَحَ* differ in Arabic metrical form, the presence of the latter represents a shift away from a classical Arabic meter (*al-mutaqārib* in this case) towards one based upon syllabic stress. Moreover, the latter version's demand that *المِلاَح* be marked as *manṣūb* disrupts the internal rhyme scheme.

27 For detailed discussions of these two characteristics, see Davila (2012b and 2014).

this theme now permeates the *nūba*. Of the 125 *ṣanāʿiʿ* in the three canonical anthologies, at least 100 (>80%) refer directly to the Prophet, either by name (Muḥammad, Aḥmad or Ibn ʿAbd Allāh) or by one of his attributes (the Prophet, the Messenger, the Chosen One, the Guide, the Intercessor, et al.). The tables in Supplements 1a and 1b map out clearly how widely these terms and images are distributed across the five *mayāzīn*. In contrast, Bennūna reckons as *madīḥ* only 54 *ṣanāʿiʿ* total in D<sub>144</sub>, and of those only 16 appear in either *Ramal al-Māya* or *al-Ḥusayn* (12% of the 139 texts in these two *nūbāt*). Most of the *madīḥ* texts counted by Bennūna lie scattered in the other *nūbāt*.<sup>28</sup>

The remaining 20% of *ṣanāʿiʿ* in the modern *Ramal al-Māya* that do not make direct reference to the Prophet are interesting for the various ways their subject matter and language relate to the larger themes of the *nūba*. Some invoke the Prophet indirectly. A very good example is the *ṣanʿa* Basīṭ #29/Quddām #4 (*Fī ḥālātī l-buʿdi...*), which comprises two verses attributed to the famous Iraqi Sufi Aḥmad ar-Rifāʿī (d. 578/1182). It refers to an event that is supposed to have taken place when ar-Rifāʿī visited the Prophet’s tomb in Medina, accompanied by another great Sufi figure, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166). It is said that on this occasion the Prophet extended his hand from the tomb for ar-Rifāʿī to kiss. However, neither the Prophet’s name nor any of his attributes appears in the two lines of verse, so this *ṣanʿa* invokes him without actually mentioning him. (It is likely, however, that an audience of Sufi initiates would understand the reference at once.)

Other *ṣanāʿiʿ* in *Ramal al-Māya* evoke the Prophet via allusion to places or people in his life. Qāʾīm wa-Niṣf #4 (*Yā turā bi-llāh yā turā ...*) mentions “the house and the sanctuary” (the Kaʿba and the Ḥarām in Mecca), so that the beloved in the second line must refer to Muḥammad. Yet apart from these references, the imagery in this poem derives from *ğazal*: the yearning meditations of the lover and the idea of love as a sickness that is only remedied by the appearance of the beloved, in this case implying the Prophet Muḥammad. Darj #17 (*Hawā dāta l-ḥāl...*) is especially interesting in this regard because references to Zamzam and Mt. Arafat clearly indicate that the setting is Mecca, and the Prophet himself (Aḥmad) is mentioned, as well. Yet some of the love-imagery at the beginning of the poem is expressed in the feminine (حُبِّهَا, رِضَاهَا, شِدِّهَا), personifying the Kaʿba as the beloved. In this case the linkage of *ğazal* and prophetic *madīḥ* works in the other direction: the direct references to Mecca and the Prophet allow us to read the opening imagery metaphorically.

In some cases the connection to the Prophet is even less explicit than in Qāʾīm wa-Niṣf #4, and yet still unambiguous. A case in point is Basīṭ #13 (*Wa-ḥayri man tāti...*). These two lines from the Egyptian mystic Aḥmad

28 See the index of *madīḥ* texts in Bennūna (1999), pp. 561-563.

al-Ḥaḍrāwī cannot be understood as referring to anyone else but Muḥammad, even if taken out of their *nūba* context: only the Prophet would be blessed by Allāh in the ways mentioned in the text, and in addition the poem makes oblique reference to letters the Prophet sent to foreign kings. Similarly, in Islamic discourses, only the Prophet could be considered the “best of mortals,” as in Basīṭ #10 (*A-lā ṣallū qiyāman wa-qu‘ūdan*).

This use of the language of love poetry for religious themes has a long history. Annemarie Schimmel finds that, although *qaṣā'id* were composed in praise of the Prophet during his lifetime, prophetic praise did not come into its own as a genre until the early 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century, incorporating the language of earlier rhymed-prose panegyrics for descriptions of the Prophet’s personal and spiritual qualities.<sup>29</sup> Mystical poetry, on the other hand, emerged in the late 2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> centuries, first with the use of existing poems as instruction materials among Sufis, and later through poems by mystics employing themes borrowed from the ‘Uḍrī *ġazal* expression of an all-consuming love in which the lover alternates between the bliss of union and the despair of separation.<sup>30</sup> It is here that the imagery and rhetorical figures of love poetry began to be extended to religious themes that laid the foundation for the theme of the modern *Ramal al-Māya*. Significantly, both these streams reached their full flowering in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century, as evidenced by the mystic poets Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235), Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 637/1240) and aš-Šuštārī (d. 667/1269), and the great panegyrist of the Prophet, Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd al-Būṣīrī (d. ca. 697/1298). Many of the *ṣanā’i* that make direct reference to the Prophet also deploy such love imagery. A common rhetorical device is to link him with an image long associated with both *madīḥ* and *ġazal*, the full moon. The object of praise (whether beloved or hero) as a shining object in the sky is a very old theme in Arabic poetry<sup>31</sup> that reached full expression with the *muḥḍaṭ* poets of Abbasid times, as for example Abū Nuwās (d. 198/814), who made extensive use of sun and moon imagery in this way.<sup>32</sup>

Thus Basīṭ numbers 5, 7, 8, 20 and 24 all describe Muḥammad in terms of the moon, and similar examples are found in the other four *mayāzīn* as well. It is this convention of presenting Muḥammad as the full moon that allows the first segment of Bṭāyḥī #14 to evoke him. Without this thematic convention

29 1985, p. 181. Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych (2010), however, discusses the panegyric on the Prophet as an extension of the old Arab panegyric *qaṣīda*, though with influences from later Shiite odes to the Prophet’s family and from Sufi devotional poetry that she argues encouraged a greater sense of lyricism, which reached a peak with al-Būṣīrī’s *Mantle Ode*.

30 Sperl (1996) pp. 67-68.

31 See Bauer (1998) pp. 218-219.

32 See Bauer’s catalog of these in Abū Nuwās’ poetry, pp. 212-213, 218-227.

this poem, which is rich in mystical imagery, could well be understood as referring to a mystical state that has nothing to do with Muḥammad.

Another device is the image of the *bān*-tree (moringa), classically used to describe the physique of the beloved, which in *Ramal al-Māya* becomes a trope for the Prophet's upright bearing. This image appears in three *ṣanā'ī'*, Basīṭ #18 (*Rīḥu l-ḥizām*), Quddām #32 (*Wa min dālīka-l-wādī ta'aṭṭarta yā ṣabā*) and Quddām #34 (*Mā nurīd ḡayr qurbak*). Basīṭ #18 is interesting in this regard because it contains both the moon and the *bān*-tree in a context that does not mention Muḥammad by name or attribute, and so the larger sense of the *ṣan'a* could evoke Allāh just as easily as it does the Prophet. Yet the invocation of the full moon in the context of *Ramal al-Māya* summons him nonetheless. On the other hand, Quddām #32 uses the *bān*-tree image but makes no direct or indirect reference to Muḥammad or Allāh at all. Instead we find reference to "the story of the *bān*-tree", the perfumed east wind (the messenger of the beloved in 'Uḏrī *ḡazal*) and a city. Only Quddām #34 among these *ṣanā'ī'* mentions the Prophet by name or attribute. In the other two cases, reference to the Prophet Muḥammad can only be inferred because other *ṣanā'ī'* combine this metaphor with direct references to him.

This latter example points to the importance of the performance context in conditioning the meaning understood from the imagery in *Ramal al-Māya*. The *nūba* contains a few *ṣanā'ī'* that, were they removed from this particular context, would not refer to the Prophet at all. Some, such as Quddām #13 (*Ṣabirmā 'alā-l-hijrāni ḥattā danā-l-waṣlu*), Quddām #32 and Qā'im wa-Niṣf #8 (*Law lāka mā himtu wajdā*), deploy classical devices from love poetry without even a hint that the real subject is the Prophet Muḥammad. Qā'im wa-Niṣf #8 especially would seem to contain images antithetical to Prophetic praise or longing: the beloved slays the persona of the poem with false accusation (really, more like coquettish banter), and withdraws his or her love in the manner so often evoked in *ḡazal* poetry. Would the Prophet of Islam behave in such a way toward a believer longing to see him? Likewise with Darj #14 (*Zidnī bi-farṭi l-ḥubbi fika taḥayyuran*), two lines that could be mystical in intent, but not necessarily so if taken from their *Ramal al-Māya* setting. Two other cases, the related *barāwil* Darj #3 (*Mīru l-ḥubbi aḥraj*) and #5 (*Lā ṣāhadtu naḥtāj*), employ erotic imagery to evoke a deep love of the Prophet, without explicitly tying it to him. Another interesting text in this regard is Quddām #37 (*Rawn-aqa hādīhi l-ʿašīyya*). The first half of this *ṣan'a* by itself is common to all the sources, leading to the conclusion that Ibn Jallūn added the second strophe in order to more clearly focus this *ṣan'a* as *madīḥ*. And we can see why: the first strophe contains sunset imagery bereft of any obvious mystical or Prophetic references. This text seems far more appropriate to *al-Māya*, and indeed it did

belong to *al-Māya* before al-Ḥā'ik, as evidenced by its presence in that *nūba* in al-Bū'āṣāmī's *Īqād aš-šumū'* (p. 133). One wonders how this text arrived in the modern *Ramal al-Māya*, but Ibn Jallūn's addition shows clearly that only the context of this particular *nūba* marks this strophe as *madīḥ*.

*Ramal al-Māya* also contains several *šanā'i'* by mystical poets that make oblique reference to the Prophet, often in the figure of the (full) moon. These are among the most beautiful and complex poems in the Āla corpus, but their presence in *Ramal al-Māya* signifies a mystical-devotional aspect of the *nūba*. Bṭāyḥī contains a series of poems attributed to aš-Šuštārī, and two of them deal with the persona's relationship to an unnamed, beloved presence, which could be a visitation from the Prophet, but might as easily be read as a divine visitation. Numbers 7 (*Wa-talūḥu laka šuwar*) and 14 (*Zārani badrī*) make reference to the moon (*badr*), which other poems in the *nūba* connect explicitly with the Prophet. In this way, these two *šanā'i'* use the context of the *nūba* to imply the Prophet without naming him, but the mystical, sometimes paradoxical imagery in these *šanā'i'* (e.g. #14, line 3: "duality" becoming concealed in "unity" at dawn) goes beyond *madīḥ*.

The same is true with Darj #6 (*Mā lāḥat lanā l-anwār*) as well, which evokes a shining face, a blessing of water and a captivating presence without any explicit references to the Prophet. Similarly, Basīṭ #19 (*Mā li-l-muwallah...*, from a *muwašṣaḥ* by Ibn Zuhr al-Iṣbīlī, who died in 595/1198-99) vividly describes mystical intoxication and longing for a beloved evoked by perfumes and natural imagery without any direct allusion that would introduce the Prophet into the scene. Yet another example is Darj #18 (*Ayyu 'aqlin yabqā ...*) by Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥalabī (d. 1120/1708), which is rich in mystical imagery but contains no specific indications at all of the Prophet (nor of Allāh, either). On the other hand, Basīṭ #4 (*Rubba laylin...*, part of a *muwašṣaḥ* by Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb) uses imagery borrowed from *ġazal*—the watcher (*ar-raqīb*) and union (*šaml*)—to describe a session of mystics but also invokes the Prophet by incorporating the full moon. Poems like these invoke the practices and tropes of mysticism and the religious brotherhoods, but they depend upon the larger context of the *nūba* to tie their meanings specifically to the Prophet.

The use of imagery borrowed from love poetry in its various phases illustrates well the degree to which interpretation of Āla texts (and consequently the composition of the corpus itself) can be shaped by performed context. Taken by themselves, abstracted from the performer-audience encounter, such images belong to poetic conventions that were elaborated within the mystical and praise poetry genres between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, but they depend upon integration within *Ramal al-Māya*'s thematic structure to realize their full semantic potential to index the Prophet. Moreover because the content of

al-Āla is first and foremost *ṣanāʿī*-as-sung, that integration has been conditioned fundamentally by the demands of oral performance, the encounter between performer and audience, whose conventions determine not only the format, time and circumstances of presentation, but also the precise verbal-semantic context in which the audience is presented with these images so that they may be read as belonging to the *madīh* tradition. Individually, some of these images wander far from the aim of praising the Prophet; others will be understood in mystical terms because of the conventions they embody or the fantastical imagery they contain.<sup>33</sup> What ties them all firmly to the Prophet is their being encountered in a performance context which presents an unbroken succession of *ṣanāʿī*, most of which do directly refer to Muḥammad, emphatically establishing an aural/oral context for interpreting the other, more ambiguous images.<sup>34</sup> Oral presentation thus is crucial not only to the form of the *ṣanʿa* settings for these images, but also to their interpretation within the rhetorical-semantic frame of *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya*.

## 5 Linguistic Registers in Al-Āla

One of the more interesting ways that oral processes have left their mark on the written version of *al-Āla* is the diversity of poetic idioms that the literary aspect of *al-Āla* preserves. Chapter 3 §2.3 discussed the various *ṣanʿa* formats and included the observation that the terminology commonly used to describe and classify these formats was not adequate to the task, or at least not used consistently enough by participants in the tradition to allow a rigorous set of categories to emerge from it. It is not unusual at all to find a *ṣanʿa* labeled *tawšīh* in one of the canonical anthologies but *zajal* one or more of the others. Moreover, the three anthologies do not follow a predictable pattern in agreeing or disagreeing on the various types of *ṣanāʿī*. The attentive reader may have noticed this phenomenon in §1.2 above, in the paragraph enumerating the *ṣanʿa* examples: 3, 4, 5 and 6 are described differently among the three canonical anthologies. Still more, sometimes a strophic *ṣanʿa* that is labeled *tawšīh* or *zajal* in one anthology is identified only by poetic meter in another. For example Basīṭ #9 (*Dikrī wa-awrādī*) is labeled *tawšīh* in IJ and MW, but *šuḡl muḍārī* in

33 See the summary of themes and images in *Ramal al-Māya* in Supplement 1.

34 As a parallel example we might note the presence in *Ramal al-Māya* of a poetic theme I call “tribal ethos”. Supplement 1a shows that this is not as numerically pervasive as *ḡazal* imagery, but it is interesting for the degree to which some instances rely upon performed context for the generation of meaning. See the discussion of Quddām #15 in the Introduction to Part II.

IM (a designation that indicates poetic meter and performance practice but could apply to almost any type of *ṣanʿa*). Likewise Basīṭ #11 (*Yā mašāra l-fuqrā*) is labeled *zajal* by IJ but *šujl muḍāriʿ* by IM and MW. The same holds true for multiple occurrences of a particular text in different parts of the tradition: *ṣanʿa* texts can change labels between *nūbāt* or even between *mayāzīn* within the same *nūba*. *Anta aḥlā mina l-munā*, mentioned earlier in connection with poetic borrowing, is a good example, being labeled variously as *tawšīḥ* (MW, in Qāʾim wa-Niṣf al-Iṣbahān), *zajal* (IJ in Qāʾim wa-Niṣf al-Iṣbahān), *šujl muqtaḍib* (IJ and MW, in Bṭāyḥī Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn) or *tawšīḥ majzū al-ḥafīf* (IM, in both locations).

I have avoided making judgments about the use of these labels in specific cases. When speaking of particular texts, it is convenient to identify them as they are identified within the canon, and there is some value in respecting the categories as used within the tradition. Nevertheless some account should be taken of the problematic boundaries among the varieties of strophic poems in the tradition, which can illuminate the complexities of linguistic expression and variation that characterize the Āla tradition. Collectively, the varieties of linguistic variation found in al-Āla encompass a range of linguistic registers and suggest the complex, value-laden processes that have governed the interface between orality and literacy in al-Āla.

### 5.1 *The Significance of Linguistic Registers in Al-Āla*

Register can be defined as:

a variety of language or a level of usage, as determined by degree of formality and choice of vocabulary, pronunciation, and syntax, according to the communicative purpose, social context, and social status of the user.<sup>35</sup>

The idea of a linguistic register implicates social realities in the communicative act, making a fundamental connection between culturally-defined, context-driven communicative acts and the deployment of varieties of linguistic expression. In the background of this definition, unstated but necessarily entailed in it, are the various ways in which communicative acts are assigned importance within the social context. Put another way, the concept of linguistic register offers a way to talk about the relationship of linguistic value in the narrowest sense of lexical meaning to the larger view of value as meaning assigned to action, because in the end it is the valued character of particular varieties of language that summon their deployment through assessment of

35 New Oxford American Dictionary, online edition, v. 1.0.1. Apple Computer, Inc., 2005.

a given situation and the language appropriate for use in it. This approach is equally useful whether one deals with spoken or written language. Since both are culturally-implicated forms, linguistic register may reflect the value content inherent in either.

One aspect of the *muwaššah* and *zajal* that has preoccupied Western scholarship is the fact that these poetic genres preserve nonstandard idioms: colloquial Andalusī Arabic in the *zajal* and the *ḥarja* of the *muwaššah*, or sometimes fragments of Romance expressions or Hebrew verses in the *ḥarja*. Not only do these strophic poems incorporate these other registers of language (whereas classical Arabic *qarīd* resisted intrusions of nonstandard expression), but these poems even preserve these idioms in writing, revealing in a striking way the significance of linguistic register to the medieval Arab-Andalusī poetic enterprise.

Al-Āla has inherited this legacy of multiple linguistic registers, and indeed, has expanded upon it. Being one of the chief contexts in which Andalusī-style strophic poetry is kept alive and current as an element in public culture, its survival shows that value can attach to deploying diverse linguistic registers within a single poetic-musical tradition, even when the value content of the tradition shifts over time, as has happened with al-Āla. Looking at this phenomenon in a slightly different way, we might go so far as to say that al-Āla preserves evidence of the linguistic options available to erudite composers and musicians in Morocco over the past four or five centuries, the era in which most if not all the *ṣanāʿī* presently in use probably were composed.

Significantly, all the registers dealt with here are self-consciously poetic idioms. The formal register found in most *qarīd* and in some *muwaššah* poems in the corpus differs from that found in Arabic prose works, and even from rhymed prose (*sajʿ*). The distinction is not to be found only in the prosody: syntax is formed so as to allow rhyme and meter to emerge; imagery and semantic content frequently draw upon conventions that derive specifically from usage marked as “poetic”; and thematic and rhetorical import often are based not upon a necessarily clear and unambiguous set of semantic referents, but upon oblique or indirect references and associations between a thing indicated and a thing implied.

In the same way, neither the Andalusī colloquial nor the Moroccan *dārīja* found in the Āla corpus represent the way people actually speak outside the poetic context. These registers, too, are dependent upon conventions and modes of expression that signal the text as poetic and not conversational. This is important because even some scholars have tended to assign the *zajal* and the *barwala* unambiguously to “colloquial” without observing the evident distance between what people say in cafes and at home and what poets and musicians create.

The poetic-performed content of al-Āla represents an amalgamation of song forms, each of which has a considerable history behind it. The Andalusic forms emerged about a millennium ago, and the *mawzūn* or *qarīd* form is even older. The diverse origins of these poetic texts raise the question of what brought about the melding of these registers we find in the tradition today. The development of the tradition has a culturally-informed history of its own, but the tradition's maintenance today depends less upon the historical conditions that surround particular *ṣanʿa* types than upon the value enacted by their performance. Thus there is good reason to discuss the Āla corpus synchronically as a whole, received tradition that speaks in a multivocal way to its audience. Such an approach allows us to recognize the tradition as a socially-situated phenomenon, specific to its present context in Morocco. A discussion of the linguistic registers in al-Āla points toward a more subtle understanding of the mixed-oral character of the tradition, and therefore harmonizes with the emphasis on orality and literacy that we have employed to describe al-Āla as a poetic-musical tradition.

Non-formal or colloquial poetic expression in al-Āla may manifest as systematic use of lexical items or grammatical structures in non-standard ways, especially in *barāwil*. Far more significant is the loss of grammatical markers (*iʿrāb*) or the presence of such rhyme-oriented features as conversion of short *fatha* or *tāʾ marbūta* to *alif* at the end of a hemistich. In a few places, we find non-standard lexical items or pronunciation reflected in the orthography; once again this is most common in *barāwil*, but is not limited to this song form (e.g. the expression *مَائِلُو* in Quddām #22 *Kullu š-šarafi hāzū r-rasūl*). Non-standard usages and structures are probably more likely to originate from the point of composition, since lexical-semantic considerations are most significant then. The other features may erupt in performance, even in the midst of highly formal poetry, usually as an “accent” that drops first-syllable short vowels or alters consonants in a particular way, but also more generally as a mode of poetic-musical expression that encourages the dropping of final vowels even when metrical considerations in the poetry would make them significant, and that governs the mapping of the poetic text onto the musical rhythm by means of the melody.<sup>36</sup>

The transfer of such oral-colloquial elements within poetic-musical performance to the written page has been conditioned by a variety of factors, including the sensibility of the anthologist, his perception of the level of formality intended in the *ṣanʿa*, his knowledge of and facility with the rules of formal

36 Such features are not, of course, unique to al-Āla, but obtain for vernacular sung poetry from across the Arabic-speaking world. Some examples may be heard on the online resource and were discussed in §1.2 of this chapter.

poetic expression, the availability of collections of Andalusī strophic poetry and the imperative to represent the texts of al-Āla as poetry, and above all, perhaps, how the anthologist “hears” the *ṣanʿa*-as-sung. From this complicated cluster of conditions emerged the Moroccan Andalusian *tawšīḥ*, *zajal* and *bar-wala*.<sup>37</sup>

## 5.2 Linguistic Registers: *Tawšīḥ* and *Zajal*

A comprehensive study of the linguistic features of these two genres within al-Āla lies beyond the scope of this work. The point here is to provide examples that illustrate the range of linguistic possibilities that dwell within these two terms, and to point out some of the areas in which they overlap or share characteristics. One useful way to describe these linguistic possibilities is by degrees of constraint by the rules of prosody, a method which allows for some flexibility in taking account of what is in fact a continuum of linguistic usages, rather than a set of fixed and well-defined categories. This is the approach taken in Part II when analyzing the *ṣanāʿi* in *Ramal al-Māya*.

A reasonable place to begin would be with the first *ṣanʿa* of Mīzān al-Quddām (Quddām #1, *Ḥātīmu r-rusli l-karīmu l-muntami*), Quddām #2 (*Wa-llaḍī law wuzina l-ḥalqu bihi*) and Basīṭ #4 (*Rubba laylin ḡafirtu bi-l-badri*). These three represent Andalusian strophic poetry in *al-Āla* at its most linguistically formal. Given the degree of constraint by the rules of formal language and poetics, and the structure of the rhyme scheme / [aa] bbbaa/, it is difficult to see the first two as anything other than *tawšīḥ* (in the sense of being constructed like a *muwašṣaḥ*). And indeed, the first of the two is labeled as such in the two anthologies where it appears in this *mīzān*, IM and MW. The same text exactly is found as Basīṭ #1—in IJ only—but labeled by its meter (*baḥr*), *ar-ramal*, a clear indication of degree of constraint. Quddām #2 is identified only as *ar-ramal*, as well. Though Basīṭ #4 is constructed more like a model *zajal*, with a repeating rhyme of only one line, /abbb/, its linguistic register is the most constrained of the three by the rules of prosody. It is not surprising that this *ṣanʿa* is labeled *tawšīḥ* by all sources.

A slightly less formal register may be found in Quddām #25 (*Yā ḥayra l-anām*). This *ṣanʿa*, labeled *tawšīḥ* in all three canonical anthologies, bears a number of non-*fašīḥ* characteristics, including loss of the vowel from the second person masculine possessive pronoun (عَشَقْتُكَ , حُبُّكَ), of *iʿrāb* from دَائِمٌ and نَوْمٌ, and of final vowels from the verbs أَمْنَعُ and عَمَّرُ. Also IJ vocalizes مُؤَلِّي for

37 The *mawzūn* poetry tends to be consistent in adhering to the constraints of properly formed poetry. There are exceptions, but most conform to traditionally accepted poetic licenses.

مَوْلَى , in keeping with Moroccan pronunciation. Nevertheless, some *i'rāb* are preserved here, so the overall diction is still somewhat constrained.

Still less constrained is Basīṭ #27 (*Sayyida r-rusli 'ašiqtuḥu yā kirām*) as found in IJ (the MW rendition is slightly different, with some lexical differences and fewer colloquial features). The *juṣn* of this version shows a final pronoun suffix vowel that, if dropped, fits the meter better (عَشَقْتُهُ). In addition final vowels are lost from the imperfect (شَعَفَنِي، أَمَدَحُهُ), and the final vowel is lost from فيه as well. More surprising is the rendering of بِالْجِهَارِ as بِنَهَارِ, which appears to be an eruption of colloquial Moroccan pronunciation into the text.<sup>38</sup> This kind of feature must derive from an orally-oriented source, most likely the anthologist's memory of the *ṣan'a*-as-sung. Curiously, despite this Ibn Jallūn (alone among the three anthologists) identifies this *ṣan'a* simply by poetic meter regardless of its strophic structure and colloquial features.

Other features indicating reduced constraint relate to the rendering of the first-person imperfect. When preceded by *wa-*, the formally plural *na-* often loses its vowel. Basīṭ #24 shows this in the fourth line: وَنَقُولُ (MW: وَنَقُولُوا) for وَنَقُولُ. The intended meaning here is *I say*, not *we say*: the rest of the poem is rendered in the first-person singular. The cause of this construction—not an unusual feature of both Andalusī and Moroccan poetic register, which echoes the colloquial first-person singular prefix of Andalusī Arabic but easily masquerades as the classical Arabic plural—is the presence of *wa-*, which complicates pronunciation. Keeping the *hamza* of the *faṣiḥ* first-person singular in this context is unlikely (وَأَقُولُ) because it would naturally reduce in performance to one of two inapt constructions (the awkward وَاقُولُ *wā-qūl*, or else وَقُولُ, which lacks a person-marker and would therefore drift toward sounding like the imperative وَقُلْ). Inserting ن gives the construction both a person-marker that is recognizable as signaling I and also a more fluid movement with the voice.

Not unusual, as well, is the use of either لُو (as found in MW and to some extent in IM) or the metrically equivalent لُهُ (in IJ) for لُهُ after the verb قَالَ, as in this same hemistich. The phonetic shift represented by لُهُ → لُو is common in *barwala* (i.e.: typically a Moroccan dialecticism) but is also attested in a few *azjāl*. (Precisely the same construction is found, for example, in *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* in Basīṭ Ramal al-Māya, in the 24<sup>th</sup> *ṣan'a* of this *mīzān*.)

A final example, representing a further step away from constrained verse in *al-Āla*, is Qā'im wa-Niṣf #11. Although this *ṣan'a* exhibits several unconstrained features, all three anthologists identify it simply by its poetic meter (“هجز:” though in fact this poem is in رجز). The departures from constrained diction begin in the first hemistich, where الشكرَف has lost its *i'rāb* (-i), and we find

38 Corriente's *Dictionary* does not show this kind of reduction for Andalusī Arabic.

حَازَهُ (“he possesses it”) has become either حَامِرُهُ (IJ) or جَاوُو (IM and MW). شَيْئَةً in the ‘*ajuz* also has lost its *i’rāb* (-*un*), and likewise يَلُومَنِي in the third line. IJ gives مَا لَهُ for مَا لَهُ (“there is no one”); but IM has مَا يَلُو— as noted earlier a construction not attested by Corriente, but rather a colloquial contraction based upon the anthologist’s orally-informed “hearing” of the *ṣan‘a*.

Taken together, the varieties of unconstrained verse we find in *Ramal al-Māya*, and in the *Āla* corpus as a whole, certainly are marked to varying degrees as non-standard. Yet the distance between the linguistic registers apparent in *tawāšīḥ* and *azjāl* and that of the *qarīd* texts is fairly limited. We find few of the grammatical characteristics noted for Andalusī Arabic by Corriente (1977); the most common difference seems to be how consistently *i’rāb* is used in non-rhyme positions. This can be explained by the fact that the colloquial elements found in *al-Āla* are part of a poetic idiom, which retains the syntactic flexibility and allusive semiotic patterning that distinguish poetry from prose, and just as important, strives to speak in an uncommon, beautiful way. Even though it draws from expressive modes somewhat removed from the constraints of grammar and prosody, this particular version of “Andalusī Arabic” seeks to emulate its more constrained classical cousin through mimicking its elevated sense of articulation and rhetorical sophistication. In addition in *Ramal al-Māya* specifically (and in many other *ṣanā’i’* scattered throughout the tradition that refer to the Prophet), this poetic register encounters rhetorical language derived from religious discourses and symbolism. It therefore draws much of its lexicon and stock of images from a relatively limited repertoire, and thus cannot avoid imitating many aspects of the more *faṣīḥ* register of language in these areas.

### 5.3 Linguistic Registers: Barwala

The received wisdom on the *barwala* is that this type of *ṣan‘a* uses Moroccan colloquial Arabic. This would seem to imply that *barāwil* reflect in some degree the language as it is spoken by Moroccans. However, the linguistic evidence offered by the *barwala* on this point is mixed. The chief complication lies in the fact that a number of the dialectal features found in *barāwil* are also found in Andalusī colloquial Arabic exemplified in *azjāl* (and in some *tawāšīḥ*). For example a number of *barāwil* (Darj #3 is one example) reduce هُ (“to him” or “he has”) to هُ (IJ version) or هُو (as found in both the MW and manuscript versions<sup>39</sup>). As noted in the last section, both of these orthographic conventions are found in *azjāl* and *tawāšīḥ*. By way of comparison, note Bṭāyḥī #13, a *tawāšīḥ* found in all three canonical anthologies. Some versions represent this *ṣan‘a*

39 This *barwala* is found in the appendix to *Belmalīḥ*.

using the same shift: the line rendered in IJ as *وَمَنْ لَأَلَهُ نَاصِر* being rendered as *وَمَنْ لَأَلُو نَاصِر* in the *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* manuscripts and as *وَمَنْ لَيْسَ لُو نَاصِر* in MW.

In a similar shift, Bṭāyḥī #14, as represented in *Valderrama*, gives *حُبُّهُ* for *حُبُّهُ* or *حُبُّهُ* in the first line of the *ḡuṣn*. This *ṣan'a* comes from a *zajal* by aš-Šuštārī, and Naššār's edition of *Dīwān aš-Šuštārī* gives this same rendering.<sup>40</sup> We should note, however, that this *zajal* derives from North African manuscripts of the great Sufi's poems. Although Naššār considers its attribution to aš-Šuštārī to be open to question, the text in any case derives from a non-Andalusi linguistic environment. It would seem that, as with the question of *zajal* versus *tawših*, linguistic evidence alone does not provide a completely firm ground for defining the *barwala*.<sup>41</sup> This ambiguity lies behind comments made to me by Malik Bennūna, to the effect that the *barwala* is essentially *zajal*. Bennūna sees virtually no distinction on a linguistic level between the two song forms.

Complicating this picture is the fact that when one looks objectively at *barāwil* it is not difficult to discern more than one linguistic register in play in many of these poems. I have encountered native speakers of Moroccan colloquial Arabic who insisted that certain passages in *barāwil* were classical Arabic (at least, as rendered on the page). Apart from one or two renderings that reflect certain Moroccan habits of speech (such as dropping a short vowel in the first syllable of a word, as in Mḥammad for Muḥammad, or *mīr* for *amīr*), many verses of a *ṣan'a* like Quddām #11 are indistinguishable from formal Arabic, especially when presented as unvocalized text, as is the case in IM.

This issue is perhaps magnified to some extent in *Ramal al-Māya*, where the larger theme of the *nūba* leads to deployment of religious phrases that not surprisingly depend on a more formal register of speech, and therefore appear more constrained when viewed on the page, even if pronunciation might not sound like it. Specifically Moroccan lexical items or usages intrude only rarely, as in Quddām #5 (بِحَالِهِ = "like him, his equal" in line one), so that the chief manifestations of a less constrained, colloquial register in this *barwala* are the occasional loss of first-syllable short vowels (e.g. سَلُوك for سَلُوك in line three, مَنَاهَا for مَنَاهَا in line 5, دَجِي for دَجِي in line 9, and several others), the reduction of diphthongs to long vowels (e.g. لِيل for لِيل in line 9), and contractions like رَاخْتِي for رَاخْتِي and مَالْتِي for مَالْتِي.

The colloquial nature of the *barwala* is a bit more pronounced in other *nūbāt*, where they are not constrained by the elevated thematic of *Ramal*

40 p. 356

41 At least insofar as the orthographic representation is concerned; the *ṣan'a*-as-sung is perhaps another question altogether.

*al-Māya*, and where Moroccan lexical items and constructions therefore appear somewhat more frequently. Nevertheless it is evident throughout the corpus that, like the *zajal/tawšīḥ*, this song form in al-Āla is not merely an intrusion of common speech into the tradition. Rather, the *barwala* represents a poetic register of colloquial Moroccan that incorporates elements from more constrained, classical Arabic poetry as such and therefore lies between that and the mother tongue of households and shops. Striving for eloquence, not utility, the *barwala* conforms to linguistic norms and poetic conventions that distinguish it from everyday language (rhyme being the most obvious of these).

On the other hand, it is inaccurate to insist on too close an analogy between the *barwala* and the *zajal*, as tempting as such a comparison might be. The two types of song arose from different linguistic environments with different social and cultural histories. The *barwala* is a sung-poetic form that would benefit greatly from study and appreciation on its own merits, but as noted in Chapter 3 §3, it still carries some of the stigma that attaches to colloquial language generally, so that even North African scholars have tended to overlook it. We await a scholar with the interest and dedication to linguistic detail in the *barwala* that Corriente and others have brought to the Andalusī strophic forms.

Perhaps not surprisingly, given its oral origins, the *barwala* shows more variability among different versions within the canonical anthologies. When the various versions of a given *barwala* are compared, it becomes apparent that the oral processes of preservation behind these poems lie much closer in time to the printed version than is true for the other types of *ṣanāʿī* in the tradition. The effort to reproduce these orally-preserved poems on the printed page has led to a great deal of irregularity in them, some of which appears to reflect the problem of representing the spoken language of Morocco using the conventions of poetry. A good example is Darj #3, in which the textual differences between IJ and MW are largely the result of different spelling approximations used by the two anthologists: *مَيْرُ* (IJ) vs. *مَيْرَ* (MW) [the vowel here is /ə/], *حَرَّةُ* (IJ) vs. *حَرُو* (MW) [reduction of the pronominal suffix *-hu*, as described above], *لِي* (IJ) vs. *لِي اَعْلِيلَ* (MW) [the latter even inserts a prosthetic *alif* before 'lil!], and *بَعْرَامَةُ* (IJ) vs. *بَعْرَامَةٌ* [again, the problem of rendering the schwa in Arabic morphology]. Similar divergences in text do appear occasionally in *azjāl* and *tawāšīḥ* in the anthologies, but they usually have some identifiable textual or lexical basis. With the *barwala* it is evident that these changes have to do not with differences in a source text, but with the problem of rendering the pronunciation of a purely oral form of the language in formal script.

It is possible, even likely, that the *barwala* as it is found in al-Āla today shares a strong linguistic affinity with the poetic forms found in al-Malḥūn, the Moroccan colloquial ballad tradition. Clearly the *barwala* represents a relatively

recent interpolation of oral-colloquial material into the canon, though whether under the influence of the religious brotherhoods (as may have been the case with *mīzān ad-darj*), or merely as a practical recognition in print of actual performance practice, is difficult to determine. Probably both considerations played a role.

#### 5.4 *Linguistic Register as an Analytical Tool for Al-Āla*

The concept of linguistic register, as applied to the texts of *Ramal al-Māya*, is meant to provide a scheme that can help distinguish various language varieties operating in the corpus, without recourse to problematic Arabic terms that are not used consistently, and therefore are impossible to distinguish in practical terms and tend to import aspects of linguistic ideology and valuation into the discussion by focusing attention on allegedly fixed categories of language. For example, *tawšīḥ*, as used in al-Āla, cannot be adequately defined because the term does not signify any specific set of formal or linguistic characteristics that are not found in *azjāl*, nor even a relative frequency of particular usages (There are *azjāl* that appear to be more constrained than some *tawšīḥ*. This is true both for the modern printed canon and for the manuscript traditions that lie behind it.) Formal definitions defined by Stern and others falter when confronted with the post-classical language used in both *tawšīḥ* and *azjāl*. As Corriente has suggested, the two varieties of strophic poetry over time became difficult to distinguish, except perhaps in terms of the number of colloquialisms employed. Similar problems arise with the supposedly “colloquial Moroccan” *barwala*, as we have seen.

In the corpus of Āla texts, we find a continuum of linguistic usages, few of which are constrained completely by the rules of formal language, and none of which falls completely within the colloquial register, if by colloquial we mean “informal language as it is spoken.” At the same time, neither would it help to reduce all these language varieties under one rubric, such as *koiné*, because no single term can meaningfully encompass the range of linguistic registers found in the tradition.

## 6 Linguistic Value in Al-Āla: Some Concluding Thoughts

The Moroccan Andalusian music has inherited the multivocality of the Andalusī poetic legacy, but its integration as a coherent expressive form was a uniquely North African project that drew upon (and blended) the available linguistic possibilities in a specifically North African manner. An instructive comparison can be made between the modern *nūba* and that described by Aḥmad at-Tifāšī (d. 650/1253). At-Tifāšī, writing in Tunisia but describing the

performance practice in al-Andalus of his day, described a *nawba* that consisted of a *našīd*, a *ṣawt*, a *muwaššah* and then a *zajal*.<sup>42</sup> The first two were non-strophic, *mawzūn* poems in formal Arabic (the former having an instrumental prelude), and the latter two were, of course strophic. Whereas this 13th-century Andalusī *nūba* was based upon song types arranged in a specific order, moving from formal Arabic, to the possibility of colloquial expression at the end of the *muwaššah*, to Andalusī colloquial Arabic in the *zajal*, the Moroccan *nūba* freely mixes songs in these registers and adds others in Moroccan colloquial verse, relying upon suite structure, rhythm and changes in tempo to create a sense of progression. Thus the performed, musical dimension of the tradition has served as one vehicle for integrating the various linguistic registers. The affective, expressive power of music and the collective, interpersonal experience of musical performance enable the crossing of boundaries and the blending of categories. Music's pliability within accepted norms opens up temporal-emotional spaces for the deployment of multiple linguistic registers that might not be possible otherwise.

In their review article, "Poetics and Performance as Critical Perspectives on Language and Social Life" (1990) Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs argue that oral performance is particularly susceptible to being reframed in new contexts that may not have been anticipated by the original performer, a process they call *recontextualization*. They suggest several aspects of this phenomenon that call the attention of the ethnographer and linguistic anthropologist, including the role that authority plays (whether conceived as inborn or acquired) in the reframing of the text. Recontextualization can involve *emergent structure* (76), by which they mean that texts both shape and are shaped by the contexts in which they are used. Such transformations may take place at the level of ideology, wherein the new context affects meaning, but also at the formal level, where the new context can affect speech styles and even grammar and syntax.

Bauman's and Briggs' notion of emergent structure may explain how the act of Āla performance has allowed the complex interaction of registers we see today to evolve within the tradition. At-Tifāšī's 13<sup>th</sup>-century *nūba* combined registers in a progression that nevertheless maintained a temporal distinction between them: the more formal register always preceded the non-formal, which began only in the *ḥarja* at the end of the *muwaššah* (a structured departure into colloquial language that was anticipated and indeed signaled by the genre itself) and then continued uninterrupted in the *zajal*. At some point in

42 The reference is found in Chapter 11 of *al-Mut'at al-asmā' fi 'ilm al-samā'* (p. 114 in al-Ṭanjī's 1968 edition). See also the discussion in HST, Introduction §4.

the development of the Andalusí musical heritage (possibly in North Africa, though this cannot yet be proven) it became possible to mix and recombine the registers of language available to the performer because the act of performing them in new contexts raised the possibility of reframing them.

The primacy of the oral-performed over the literary made this recontextualization possible, in part because the actual processes involved were socially-situated and therefore value-laden.<sup>43</sup> The point at which this intermingling in performance became possible was also when the value content of the performance had changed. The key element of this recontextualization and recombination probably lay in the altered social basis of the tradition among Andalusí migrant communities in North Africa. Once the musical tradition had been removed from its original, exclusively elite context and began to circulate among a wider audience as a marker of Andalusí identity and heritage, the way was open for the linguistic registers to commingle in ways that probably would not have been considered appropriate before.<sup>44</sup> If this is true, it means that the Moroccan *nūba* was a North African innovation not only in its modal-rhythmic structure, but also in the way it allows linguistic registers to combine and be recombined playfully and creatively. The *Āla* tradition became a vehicle for all the linguistic possibilities available to musicians and composers in the North African cultural milieu.

The foregoing in turn suggests a role for linguistic ideology in the formation of the modern Moroccan *nūba*.<sup>45</sup> Beliefs about the nature of language and the significance attaching to the deployment of different registers are inescapable facets of language use, and these are most readily observed when language forms come into contact. The interface among language forms within a community—how particular forms are evaluated, combined and deployed—is always shaped by the meaningful contexts of usage as much as (sometimes even more than) by the semantic-referential content of the communication. In the case of the linguistic varieties available to the composer and performer

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43 A similar phenomenon may have lain behind the emergence of mixed-register *muwaššahāt* in 10<sup>th</sup>-century al-Andalus. This notion, which emphasizes the oral aspect of the *muwaššah*, could bear upon the debate over the musical origins of this poetic genre: performance (whether musical or otherwise) made the mixing of registers characteristic of the *muwaššah* possible.

44 On the changing social conditions of *al-Āla* in North Africa, see HST Chapter 3.

45 The notion of linguistic ideology has generated a sizable literature in linguistics and linguistic anthropology. Kathryn A. Woolard's introductory essay to the anthology *Language Ideologies: Theory and Practice* (1998) provides an excellent overview of this scholarship. Important works on the subject that have informed the present discussion include Silverstein (1979, 1985), Woolard (1985), Heath (1989) and Spitulnik (1998).

of al-Āla, the creative mixing of registers performed today could only have become possible when the ideological content of the colloquial register(s) became valued enough (that is, when performance of the colloquial register became socially important enough) that the colloquial could be assimilated into a new social context that embraced both formal and colloquial in a new value system that assigned importance to performing them together, creatively, without the movement between them creating dissonance. This may have begun before the final severing of cultural ties to Iberia at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but it could only have attained full realization within a cultural context that attached significant value to the *aṣīl* character of the Andalusī colloquial, so that its deployment in song was raised to a level comparable with that of the highly valued formal register of elite poetic-musical performance.<sup>46</sup>

The *barwala* probably circulated among musicians of the *nūba* tradition in the era of al-Ḥā'ik at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and it may even have been performed as part of the *nūba* at that time. Oral tradition today maintains that it was performed that way in the *zawāyā*, at least. However, as a Moroccan song form composed in a less-constrained linguistic register, its performance probably did not carry enough value to render it fit for inclusion in the written anthologies, part of whose purpose was to encapsulate what was considered *aṣīl* at the time: those *ṣanā'ī'* that were held to be associated with al-Andalus. It was only when performing them became valued enough to be considered *aṣīl* that they finally found their way into written anthologies in the 20<sup>th</sup> century with the addenda/marginalia associated with *R1327* and *Belmalīḥ*. Because they are later additions to these manuscripts, we really cannot say exactly when the *barāwil* (and *mīzān ad-darj*) were added. *R1327* was copied in 1912, and *Belmalīḥ* is held to have been copied around 1902. The *barwala* (and *darj*) additions probably entered some years or even decades later, since *Piro* (1911) does not have them. *Ambīrkū* did not see fit to print them in 1935; nor did *Zwītin* in 1972. Only in the late 1970s did these *ṣanā'ī'* finally appear in print. Although they had been part of the larger Āla performance for perhaps two centuries, they only acquired value enough to be fully incorporated into the written canon in the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A moment of change had arrived in the value system surrounding al-Āla in which all the linguistic registers of the *ṣanā'ī'*-as-sung had come to be valued as *aṣīl*, so that including the

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46 This was also when non-Arabic insertions in the *zajal* became de-valued: although the audience at first may have included a few people who understood Romance, over time this component of the audience shrank, and including it in the linguistic mix would only amplify feelings of loss and separation which the Andalusī refugees especially no doubt already experienced.

*barwala* in the written facet of the tradition did not detract from the value-load the written canon bears.

The foregoing study of linguistic value within the corpus of *Āla* texts brings the discussion of value, the voice and the pen full circle. In addition to their iconic function as emblems of the Moroccan Andalusian music, the canonical anthologies also embody linguistic characteristics that engage in specific ways with the social meanings attaching to the tradition. Not only does the *Āla* corpus preserve traces of the oral processes that conditioned its creation (and still surround its use), but the written texts also represent the integration of these oral processes of performance and transmission into the cultural and historical value system that surrounds and pervades the tradition. The traces of orality found in them reveal the socially informed characteristics of literacy and the written text, and thereby allow us to see that the intimate link between spoken and written language is not merely that writing somehow “freezes” speech on the page. Rather the *Āla* texts show us that the voice and the pen implicate and compliment one another within the tradition and function thereby as an integrated cultural system that should be understood for its value-laden characteristics. We cannot appreciate the economic, historical and social-cultural dimensions of this poetic-musical tradition unless we also recognize the complex, valued web of mixed orality that underlies it.



PART 2

Nūbat Ramal al-Māya

*Text, Translation and Commentary*





## Introduction: General Comments

This anthology embraces all the *ṣanāʿiʿ* of *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya* found in the three print anthologies: *Majmūʿ azjāl wa-tawāšīḥ wa-ašʿār al-mūsīqā l-andalusiyya al-maġribiyya al-maʿrūf bi-l-Ḥāʾik* by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibn Maṣṣūr (IM), *Al-turāth al-ʿarabī al-maġribī fī l-mūsīqā: mustaʿmalāt nawbāt aṭ-ṭarab al-andalusī l-maġribī: šīʿ, tawšīḥ, azjāl, barāwil—dirāsa wa-tansīq wa-tašḥīḥ Kunnāš al-Ḥāʾik* by Idrīs Ibn Jallūn (IJ) and *Mīn waḥy ar-rabāb* by ʿAbd al-Karīm ar-Rāyis (MW). For the sake of completeness, those *ṣanāʿiʿ* that appear in the earlier print anthologies by Ambīrkū and Zwītin are noted, as well as those that appear in the Dāwūdiyya (D144) manuscript. In many places, the annotations refer to versions of these texts that appear in the al-Jāmiʿī manuscripts consulted for this book, as well.

Although in form this work resembles a critical edition, it is distinct in conception and purpose. Rather than attempting to arrive at definitive versions of the “original” texts, the goal here is, first and foremost, to collate and document as thoroughly as possible all the texts understood as associated with this *nūba* today. In addition, through carefully comparing the variations found in the print and manuscript versions, it presents evidence for the complex interactions between oral and literary processes that have formed the textual canon. A third purpose is to document the poetic themes and imagery that characterize this *nūba* and offer them in a form useful for students and scholars. These poetic elements are discussed in this Introduction, individual cases are noted in the annotations, and summary charts are provided in Supplement 1 to help in finding specific examples. Finally, a second supplement provides information on the poets who contributed verses to *Ramal al-Māya*.

There is, of course, an underlying contradiction inherent in this. As I have discussed elsewhere, the true contents of al-Āla are the *ṣanāʿiʿ*-as-sung, not the literary texts provided here.<sup>1</sup> What, then, is actually being documented? The answer to this question is not simple. Fundamental to the argument in the study that forms the first part of this book is the idea that this tradition is both an oral and a literary one, and that each of these aspects serves a distinct social-cultural purpose. One role of the literary representation, I argue, is and historically has been to provide practical boundaries for the tradition, whether embodied in an informal version of the *Kunnāš al-Ḥāʾik* used by a *muʿallim* in training his students, or in a printed edition disseminated to the general public. Even if a given *ṣanʿa* was only available to the student orally

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1 See Davila, 2013, especially Chapters 5 and 8.

from the *mu'allim's* memory, its traditional association with the *Kunnāš* gave it authenticity. So if this book is intended as a statement of the contemporary contents of *Ramal al-Māya*, it is with the understanding that it embraces a number of oral-textual streams and a prolonged process of development that produced the modern printed anthologies. Many texts have fallen out of use over time, and others have been incorporated into the canon, as well. In general, most scholars and most aficionados will recognize most or all of these texts as authentic to the tradition.

Since it was necessary to have some sort of organization, I have chosen to begin with IJ as the exemplar against which the other anthologies are compared. This is because of IJ's more thorough vocalization and, in general, the greater care Ibn Jallūn seems to have taken with the texts.<sup>2</sup> Thus this anthology uses the sequence of *ṣanā'ī'* found in IJ as the basic structure. It also agrees, broadly, with the sequence of *ṣanā'ī'* found in most of the *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik* manuscripts. When a *ṣan'a* appears in more than one print anthology, the page numbers for all instances are given. The basic form of the *ṣan'a* is that given by IJ, with variations among the other anthologies noted.

In addition to the numerical sequence of each text in the *mizān*, the *maṭla'* to each *ṣan'a* is provided, to help in comparing this anthology to more traditional Moroccan sources. When a *ṣan'a* appears as a *subā'īyya* in one instance and as a *ḥumāsiyya* in another, the *maṭla'* of the *subā'īyya* is given first, followed by that of the *ḥumāsiyya*.

The order of *ṣanā'ī'* follows closely that of IJ, though there are a few *ṣanā'ī'* that appear in IM or MW but not IJ. These are inserted roughly where they appear in these two anthologies. Where substantially the same text appears in different *mayāzīn*, the locations are cross-referenced, with annotations and significant text variations noted, as appropriate. In cases where a text is found in D144, its number and page in Malik Bennūna's 1999 edition of this manuscript are given.

In general, the texts and translations wherever possible begin with IJ as primary reference, with variations among the three anthologies presented in the annotations. *Ṣanā'ī'* found in IM alone (which is unvocalized) are not vocalized here, unless the same text appears in D144, in which case that vocalization has been consulted. For *barāwil* generally, vocalizations follow as closely as possible what is found in the anthologies, though readers familiar with Moroccan *dārija* may notice in some places that the vocalizations drift toward a more formal, constrained register of language less typical of vernacular poetry.

2 Even if he at times inserted verses and strophes that he admits were not typically found in his sources, he invariably notes these additions and gives his reason for the addition (further evidence of the quasi-oral foundations of the literary tradition).

In most cases scansion is provided, but sometimes—where traditional metrical analysis is superfluous, as with *barāwil* and some *tawāšīḥ* and *azjāl*—only one or two lines are presented as example. The scansion symbols are based upon the system used in William Wright’s *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* and are read left-to-right:

- indicates a “long” (CV) or “closed” (CvC) syllable
- ∪ indicates an “open” (Cv) syllable
- ∩ indicates two open syllables that function like a closed syllable for metrical purposes
- ⊖ indicates a final short vowel, typically at the end of a hemistich, that functions like a long one.

In several cases where a classical meter is attributed by the anthologist, I have placed elements that depart significantly from the meter in parentheses.

Following each translation, an annotation provides further information on the texts that will be of interest to the specialist in classical Arabic poetics. Where a poet is associated with a text, biographical information and sources for this person may be found in Supplement 2, which has its own bibliography attached. References cited in the annotations may be found there.

### Concerning Themes and Images

Aficionados describe *Ramal al-Māya* as devoted to *al-madīḥ an-nabawī*, praise of the Prophet Muḥammad. And it is true that the great majority of the texts do refer to him in one way or another, whether directly through his name or one of his attribute-names, or indirectly by referring to objects, places or events associated with him. However, careful study of the images found in the *nūba* shows that it embodies a range of religious themes that embrace various genres of poetry beyond *madīḥ* as such. Indeed, much as Arabic-Islamic religious poetry generally, whether mystical or otherwise, borrowed freely from the existing repertoire of poetic themes and imagery virtually from its inception, so too can *Ramal al-Māya* be seen as a repository of themes and imagery from classical Arabic poetry—not all of them directly connected to *madīḥ* by any means—that have been thrust together in interesting ways here under the rubric of *al-madīḥ an-nabawī*.

In fact, *Ramal al-Māya* presents aficionados with a repertoire of poems that preserve, not simply the literary legacy of al-Andalus, but a part of the richness of the larger Arabic poetic stream. This *nūba* distills two major genres of Arabic religious poetry, panegyric (*madīḥ*) and mysticism, which in turn find expression through specific images drawn most notably from love poetry

(*ġazal*). Taken individually, a number of these images may strike the reader as curiously ambiguous. Some even seem to fly in the face of what one expects from praise of the Prophet, as such. But taken as a whole, the images and themes running through *Ramal al-Māya* prove themselves both consistent and intriguing, and it is precisely this context of the whole that tends to resolve these ambiguities for the aficionado. The general feeling one derives from this poetic corpus is one of pious reverence mixed with longing for a vision of the Prophet Muḥammad and hope for his intercession on the Day of Judgment. This overall tone is enriched by the seeker's ardent passion and more than a touch of mystical contemplation, at times tending toward the fantastical.

Obviously, a touchstone for the development of the thematics of *Ramal al-Māya* is the archetype for poems in praise of the Prophet, *al-Kawākib addurriyya fi madḥ ḥayr al-barrīyya*, better known today as the *Qaṣīdat al-burda*, the Mantle Ode of Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Būṣīrī (d. ca. 694/1294). One can scarcely speak of a genre of *al-madiḥ an-nabawī* without this monumental work, which has so dramatically influenced pious reverence for Muḥammad ever since. And to be sure, al-Būṣīrī contributes at least one verse to the very last *ṣan'a* in the *nūba*, Quddām #39. Yet this comparative absence of al-Būṣīrī himself from this corpus is telling: there is little in *Ramal al-Māya* of a didactic or overtly theological nature. Unlike the Mantle Ode, this *nūba* does not speak at length of the sins of the soul, the need for repentance, or the dangers of the world of the senses. These ideas are here, certainly, but there is almost no effort to exhort the believer to do or believe anything about them.

Rather, the focus is on the personal experience of the believer. If we ignore for a moment the obvious diversity of sources and styles within this corpus, and instead try to think of the *nūba* as a coherent whole, we hear the voice of a believer at times troubled by his spiritual weaknesses, but more interested in tempering himself—with the help of his beloved Prophet—than with preaching to others. His main appeal is to the Prophet himself, and to the believer to take advantage of the spiritual support available to the one who praises and blesses Muḥammad. At times his thoughts turn in an almost nostalgic direction as he speaks in the terms of the ancient Arab ethos of generosity and even evokes images that recall the *raḥīl* section of the old Arab *qaṣīda*. At other times, he dives into the sea of Sufism, projecting exotic images of initiatory meaning that scarcely have anything to do with the Prophet at all. But again and again he returns to panegyric in extolling the virtues of the Prophet, and to the language of love to express his longing for the Prophet's presence. Although he is troubled by his mistakes, his ardor for the beauty and wisdom of the Prophet give him hope.

Nevertheless this corpus of texts is diverse. It speaks with many voices and does so using a range of poetic forms, genres and themes. It can be useful

therefore to draw attention to some of the key images and themes that pervade the *nūba* and give it its distinctive character. A table cross-referencing these will be found in Supplement 1a following *Mizān al-Quddām*. Supplement 1b presents a table noting the locations of specific Arabic terms to aid readers wanting to examine the thematic contents of this corpus at the level of lexical/linguistic analysis.

A handful of *ṣanāʿiʿ* present images of a sanctuary or refuge accompanied by reference to an unnamed patron-like figure or someone to whom homage is due, a clear evocation of the pre-Islamic Arab tribal ethos of patronage (often with little direct reference to the Prophet). Some clearly identify the sanctuary as either the Prophet's tomb in Medina or al-Ḥarām aš-Šarīf in Mecca, as in the anonymous poem *Basīṭ* #25, which names the Prophet and mentions the well of Zamzam and the precincts of the Ka'ba. But *Quddām* #18, also anonymous, makes no reference to the Prophet. *Quddām* #15 is a particularly interesting example because it derives from a *qiṭʿa* (an occasional poem) said to have been recited by the renowned poet and grammarian Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī as-Saḥāwī (d. Damascus 643/1245) on his deathbed. The Ḥarām aš-Šarīf might be inferred in the two-line *Ramal al-Māya* version, based upon several well-known *aḥādīth*, which state that there is no *ḥimā*, except for Allāh and His Messenger (although in fact in that context the word refers to a place of pasturage reserved for the leader of the group, not to a sanctuary as understood in this case). However, adding the remaining two lines of the *qiṭʿa* (as reported in *Wafayāt al-ayān wa-anbā abnā al-zamān of Ibn Khallikān*—see the annotation for specific reference) steers the poem further afield:

*They said, 'Tomorrow we arrive at the houses of the sanctuary  
and the party of riders will alight in their place.  
'And each one who spent the night in longing for them  
will awaken delighted with the sight of them.'*  
*I said, 'I have erred, so what am I do to?  
How can I face them?'*  
*They said, 'Is pardon not their responsibility,  
Especially when (a servant) begs them?'*

Who are the “they” longed for in this poem, who are prepared to offer pardon for errors? The Arabic pronoun *hum* refers specifically to people (not, for example, the houses themselves perhaps construed metonymically). The only answer is that “they” are the denizens (plural) of the sanctuary, and so neither Muḥammad nor Allāh can be meant. Even more: in what sense are the inhabitants of the Ḥarām aš-Šarīf responsible for pardoning? Possibly as-Saḥāwī means here that “my errors/sins” are none of their business, that

their responsibility is to ignore the pilgrim's sins and just provide the expected hospitality. In any case this text originated as a poetic evocation of the ancient tribal ethos of *ʿird* ("honor, dignity") that obliged tribal elders to show generosity (*karam*) and give protection to those who sought it from them. Certainly the audience will hear a reference to Mecca (and therefore the Prophet) in the two lines that comprise this *ṣanʿa*, but the images themselves, stripped of context, reference a religious theme only problematically—it is the context in which they are encountered (for example, as-Sahāwī lying on his deathbed, or in the midst of a series of songs that repeatedly reference the Prophet) that removes the ambiguity, allowing the audience to attach more "proximal" meanings (if you will) to texts that may derive from the larger performance context of the moment. Only the editing of the text and its insertion into the context of the *nūba* (that is, the *ṣanāʿī*-as-sung) allow these two lines to be understood as referencing the Prophet Muḥammad.

Most of the 125 *ṣanāʿī* in the *nūba* do evoke the Prophet himself in one way or another, usually directly by using his name or (more commonly) one of his various attribute-names. A good example is Basīṭ #1 in IJ (also Quddām #1 in IM and MW), which does not use the name, Muḥammad, but does include four of his most common attribute-names (the Seal of the Messengers, Aḥmad, the Guide and the Messenger). The seventh line of this very well-known *ṣanʿa*

*They are suns and full moons in the sky  
while mankind are their stars in the dark before dawn*

echoes a significant theme in the *nūba*: comparing the object of praise to an astronomical object. However here the praise is directed at the Prophet's lineage (which is very much in keeping with a major theme of the *Qaṣīdat al-burda*). This line, and also the *qufl* from Basīṭ #6

*From his love he poured forth for me  
a cup when I was ill.  
When it was firmly established in my heart  
I quenched the burning thirst with it.*

illustrate well the confluence in *Ramal al-Māya* of *madīḥ* with other classical poetic genres. The poet of Basīṭ #6 has woven *ḡazal* imagery and reference to *ḥamrīyya* into this panegyric. Such images are found in both mystical and panegyric verse, but *ḥamrīyya* here in the context of *al-madīḥ an-nabawī* is interesting, as it is completely unknown in al-Būṣīrī's *Burda*.

The *nūba* also contains a number of images, and even entire *ṣanāʿī*, drawn from Sufi mystical themes that on their face, without a larger poetic context,

have little or nothing to do specifically with the Prophet himself. Sufi poets frequently used a wide range of images and themes, ranging from *ġazal* to *ḥamriyya* and beyond. Much of this poetry associated with *Ramal al-Māya* presents fantastical or supernatural imagery, such as several poems attributed to the great Andalusī mystic, aš-Šuštārī. Bṭāyḥī #7 is full of celestial images of clearly initiatory significance: the sun, the full moon, the dawn, the universe itself:

*The celestial sphere turns because of you  
and illuminates and shines.  
The suns and full moons  
because of you set and rise*

The meaning of these images is less important here than their presence and the *absence* of the Prophet. Indeed the last line of Bṭāyḥī #14, also attributed to aš-Šuštārī

*Mention to me  
the name of one who brings life to mortal remains*

obviously must refer to Allāh and not to Muḥammad. A number of other examples appear throughout the *nūba*.

In absolute numbers, by far the most common images in *Ramal al-Māya* have been borrowed from love poetry. Certain *ġazal* images in fact pervade the *nūba*, sometimes in association with other genres, especially mystic/Sufi verse (which historically came later and incorporated already-existing imagery from *ġazal* and other genres). And in a few cases, they are central to linking many of these texts to the Prophet. A good example is the anonymous *ṣanʿa* Quddām #32:

*From that valley I perfumed myself, O east wind.  
I see each yearning one long for the great city.  
Repeat the words of the bān-tree, indeed his words  
pass my hearing sweetly, causing rapture.*

In classical *ġazal* verse, the east wind was the bearer of news of the beloved. In *Ramal al-Māya* this idea retains its basic significance of evoking the beloved, but this particular example shows that the connection to the Prophet must be inferred in some cases. The love-poet saw the *bān* tree as comely, a figure of the physique of the beloved, but here the tree *becomes* the beloved, speaking words that enrapture the lover—a mixing of images worthy of the *muḥdaṭ* poets of 9<sup>th</sup>-century Baghdad. As with the east wind, this image is well understood as

a thematic of love; the Prophet being the beloved must be assumed here, as that is not explicit. This text thus illustrates one way that classical Arabic love poetry has been distilled in *Ramal al-Māya*.

A more curious and interesting example of love-poetic convention evoked in *Ramal al-Māya* may be found in al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #8. The third line of this strophic poem presents a *ḡazal*-derived theme that would be strange indeed, if applied to the Prophet:

*O you who slay me with (false) accusation  
put an end to your flight.*

This image of the beloved repeatedly wounding the lover with accusations is a well-known theme in classical *ḡazal* verse, but to apply it to Muḥammad as seems to be the case here transforms the Prophet of Islam from a benevolent, longed-for intercessor on behalf of the believer into an almost coquettish figure tormenting the believer with lies. This *ṣan'a* text is a composite, the anonymous composer having borrowed the *qufl* from a poem by the Andalusī poet, Ibn al-Ḥabbāz (d. before 776/1375?) but taken the *ḡuṣn* from an unknown source. One wonders how a text like this has survived in a suite of songs ostensibly devoted to praise of the Prophet Muḥammad.

Other significant themes deriving in one way or another from *ḡazal* verse may be found in *ṣanā'i'* like Basīṭ #4, Basīṭ #26 and al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #7. One of these key themes, astronomical images, has already been mentioned in connection with Sufī verse, but the idea is much older than the earliest mystical verse. In this regard, the noted Arabist Jaroslav Stetkevych (1993, 142-167) outlines what he calls a "cosmic pastoral space" in the early Arab poetic evocation of the sky and the objects in it. Various bright objects in the sky, like the Pleiades or Spica, appear in the pre- and early-Islamic Bedouin odes as vehicles for expressing the poet's longing and/or elegiac feelings toward his distant beloved, his passing the night in lonely surroundings, and so on.

Naturally the sun and moon, the predominant astronomical objects, have always played a special role in the poet's craft. Lichtenstädter (1932) finds such images in the *nasīb* sections of the oldest Arab *qaṣīda* odes, in which the poet ruminated on his lost beloved, and of course such images found their way into *qaṣā'id* devoted to love and amorous conquest. Bauer (1998, 218-219) maintains that comparing the beauty of the face with either the sun or moon is one of the most common poetic images across the Islamic world, and he also points out that it is not confined to description of the beloved. Rather a shining face was commonly also a sign of high birth and noble character in a hero or prince in the panegyric *qaṣīda*.

Astronomical objects, especially the sun and moon, later came to serve panegyrists in a more lyrical fashion at the hands of court poets during the Umayyad period (39-133/660-750). At the same time, the political marginalization of the holy cities of Arabia by the Umayyad state resulted in an absence of political ambition and less interest in panegyric praise-poems directed to powerful patrons there. Hamori (1990, 204) maintains that in this environment, love-poetry as such, without the multi-thematic structure of the *qaṣīda*, came into its own; and the Umayyad court poets appropriated this emergent *ġazal* genre.

However, it was mainly with the appearance of “courtly” love poetry under the Abbasids, most prominently at the hands of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf (d. ca. 193/808), that *ġazal* became fully independent of its roots in the *qaṣīda*, even if some of the most creative expressions of it came from the pens of men who in fact made careers out of serving up generous helpings of colorful praise to their patrons. Abū Tammām (d. 229/845) and al-Buḥturī (d. 283/897), and especially Abū Nuwās (d. 198/814), made extensive use of comparisons with sun and moon in their efforts to evoke a heightened, almost hyperbolic sense of amorousness. (See for example Bauer’s extensive catalogue of Abū Nuwās’ solar and lunar references, especially pp. 212-213 and 218-227.)

By comparison, mystical verse was a relative latecomer as a genre that took up the *nasīb-ġazal* thematics; the early examples of mystical uses of poetic idiom date mainly to the early Abbasid era, and those that have survived usually reflect the *ġazal* themes typical of the period. Homerin (1994) argues that, except for al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922), whose output was extraordinary in its size and originality, the early Sufis of the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> centuries produced few original poems, but rather tended to appropriate images and themes from existing poems as exemplars. Love, especially, suited the mystics well as a metaphor for conveying their experience, and so Homerin finds a number of mystic poets from the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> centuries speaking the poetic language of love, though at times turning it to their own devices through boldly abstruse and convoluted rhetorical structures facilitated by the nature of poetic diction.

Thus, we find two streams of astronomical images appearing in the early classical Islamic period in the Arab Middle East. On one hand these images were used in praise either of the beloved or a patron, and in mystical verse on the other. To these we may add *al-madīḥ an-nabawī*, which developed its own lyrical qualities rather later. Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych’s analysis (2010) treats the praise poem devoted to the Prophet clearly as an extension of the panegyric *qaṣīda* that dates to pre-Islamic times, but the actual steps leading from Kaʿb Ibn Zuhayr’s (d. 23/645) *Bānat Suād*, the original “mantle ode” in

praise of and supplication to Muḥammad, to al-Būṣīrī in the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century are not well documented. Indeed, she is unable to identify literary sources for much of the latter poem, apart from the Qurʾān (Stetkevych 2010, 99).

Following in the footsteps of scholars like Zakī Mubārak and Maḥmūd ‘Alī Makkī, she sees the genre as being stimulated in part by the Shiite tradition of poetry in praise of the Prophet’s family, which she says provided “poetic precedents for the themes and motifs of medieval *madīḥ nabawī*, but also the elements of otherworldly supplication and intercession, and the heightened emotive tone that characterize the medieval genre.” (Stetkevych 2010, 72) She also maintains that Sufi devotional poetry played a role in encouraging a more lyrical expression of devotion to the Prophet, reflecting an increased emphasis on personal piety and devotion in the classical Islamic era.<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, she mentions the Christian conquest of al-Andalus as a significant stimulus in the Islamic west for poems that both praise the Prophet and plead for divine intervention against the infidel. Such poems are largely political in theme and have left no mark at all upon *Ramal al-Māya* as we find it today. This is not surprising, after all, because the contemporary Andalusian music tradition in Morocco belongs as much to North Africa in spirit and content as to al-Andalus. Even ethnic Andalusī families in places like Tetouan and Fez, who provided the initial social foundation for this tradition in North Africa, would eventually have lost interest in appeals to Allāh for help in defeating the Christian enemy: dwelling upon this theme would only have reminded them of their defeat and expulsion, of the fact that such help was not forthcoming.

Ultimately, al-Būṣīrī’s *Qaṣīdat al-burda* became the most important model for all later poetic expressions of fealty to and love of Muḥammad. Repeatedly commented upon, borrowed from, copied, and used in ritual fashion, the *Burda* combines reflection, repentance, praise and supplication into an emotionally powerful expression of pious devotion. Without question, then, the *Burda* exerted an important formative influence on the texts that have found their way into the *Ramal al-Māya* poetic corpus. And with regard specifically to the *ḡazal*-related theme of astronomical imagery, lines 52-55 of the *Burda* in fact provide a model for perhaps the most significant theme in the corpus: use of various astronomical objects by way of evoking the Prophet’s beauty and superiority to all others of mankind.

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3 One might also see influence specifically from the so-called “Sunni revival” of the 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries, which may have encouraged more specifically Sunni-oriented expressions of devotion. For a good summation of this period, see Berkey 2003, chapter 20.

*Each miracle that other noble messengers have brought  
 Has reached them only through his light.  
 He is a bountiful sun; the others are its stars  
 Whose lights appear to mankind (only) at night.  
 Honored with the form of a prophet graced with noble nature,  
 In beauty wrapped, distinguished by his face.  
 Like a flower in complexion, the full moon in nobility  
 The sea in magnanimity, in intentions, beyond time. 55*

Sun, moon, light – these are all images found in many places in the *Ramal al-Māya* corpus, as in the trio of *ṣanāʿī* mentioned earlier, which present these images in typical ways. *Basīṭ* #26, attributed to Abū Madyan, a Sufi poet and religious scholar born near Seville who lived most of his life in North Africa and the Middle East, ties the moon-image directly to Muḥammad. The Prophet is named, and his beauty (especially that of his face) is the moon, or moon-like, in lines 1 and 5:

*O Muḥammad, O jewel of my necklace,  
 O full moon  
 ...  
 Then I saw your full-moon face  
 when the veil was lifted.*

Repeated associations of the Prophet with the moon like these have the effect of rendering the moon as an emblem of the Prophet himself, so that for the audience a direct mention of the Prophet is scarcely needed.<sup>4</sup>

Such is the case with *al-Qāʾim wa-Niṣf* #7, an anonymous text that links the full moon directly to a figure that cannot be anyone but the Prophet, for the person described is the “of the purest Arab stock” (*min azkā muḍar*, line 1) and the “purest of mankind” (*azkā l-bashar*, line 2). But the moon image is of particular interest also because it is linked here with light in lines 4 and 5:

*He is the beauty of full moons  
 intercessor on the Day of Resurrection  
 One who has light  
 surpassing all light.*

See the annotation to *Basīṭ* #9 regarding the Light of Muḥammad.

4 See especially the work of John Miles Foley (1995) on traditional referentiality. For a fuller exposition of this argument see Davila 2013, Chapter 7, and 2012b.

Other *ṣanāʿiʿ* make use of the moon image metonymically, understood in the context of *Ramal al-Māya* as referring to the Prophet, even if the immediate context of the poem does not point directly there. Basīṭ #4 is a good example of this. The text was composed by the famous Andalusī literatus and political figure, Lisān ad-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb (d. 776/1375). It is a well-constrained poem that is nonetheless formed like a classic *zajal* (a bbb a) and presents a moment from a Sufi mystical gathering. Line 1 puts forward a curious image:

*Many a night I attained the full moon  
while the stars of the sky did not know.*

What does it mean? Clearly, this text bears initiatory significance and yet, it does echo line 53 in al-Būṣīrī's ode. This would resonate with the more erudite aficionados in the audience; perhaps it even is what the composer intended. In any case, when performed alongside other *ṣanāʿiʿ* that link the moon to Muḥammad, the effect is to evoke him for the listener as the full moon and render the stars as figures of mankind.

When considered as a whole, moon-images are by far the most important in *Ramal al-Māya*. They appear in all types of *ṣanāʿiʿ* (strophic and non-strophic; classical, "Andalusī colloquial" and Moroccan *dārija*) and in all five *mayāzīn*. Even some *barwala* poems, such as Darj #5, cast the beloved's presence or beauty in terms of the moon. Viz. line 2:

*He is the moon in the dark  
my master, there is no remedy for loving him.*

This line also brings out one final image that may be noted here as lying at the nexus of *ḡazal*, *al-madiḥ an-nabawī* and Sufi initiatory experience in *Ramal al-Māya*: the lover wasting away from lovesickness.

The lover suffering from the pangs of love is likewise a very ancient theme in Arabic poetry. The Bedouin bards used it, but it really came into its own with the 'Udhri love poets of late Umayyad and Abbasid times, who threw all caution to the wind in presenting the experience of love as a "cherished disaster" (Hamori 1990, 205) for the lover who seeks union but remains nevertheless at a distance from the beloved. He aches; he wastes away; he pleads with the beloved to bestow one glance, one word, which even if given, only make his suffering worse. The Umayyad and especially the Abbasid poets made ample and colorful use of this theme; the Sufis adopted it also as an extension of the love-metaphor to describe the state of the mystic in his separation from the divine. (Lings 1990) Many of the texts of *Ramal al-Māya* deploy it, as

well. The second and third lines of *Basīt* #26 weave the love-sickness together with wine-drinking, indicating the intoxication of love once again, both common devices among the Sufis:

*Love has stirred up my passion  
and love-pangs killed me.  
You made me drunk upon my intoxication  
from the delicious drink.*

These are the more important poetic images and themes that are found in *Ramal al-Māya*, and taken together they illustrate the fact that this *nūba* carries much more religious import than simply *al-madīḥ an-nabawī*. That genre shares the stage with Sufi mystical verse, and both borrow liberally from *ḥamriyya*, *madīḥ*, *ḡazal* and other themes in ways that mirror very well the historical cross-fertilization of images and themes that is characteristic of Arabic poetry of the middle ages generally.

### Constraint

Given the problematic nature of the labels *zajal* and *tawšīḥ* noted in Chapter 4 §5, I have found it worthwhile to consider the extent to which the formalities of grammar, prosody and (to a lesser extent) orthography—especially those most characteristic of poetic expression—have constrained the language in these texts. These strophic texts exhibit a range of linguistic registers that do not fit neatly into a binary schema of “formal” (or “classical”) vs. colloquial Arabic. Texts labelled *tawšīḥ*, which in principle should indicate a “classical” register of language, frequently show grammatical and/or prosodic and/or diction features that otherwise would signal a more colloquial style of language to the listener. In some cases, such *tawšīḥ* texts appear less “formal” than some others labelled *zajal*.

Rather than attempting to contrive a strict set of criteria for categorization—at best a Pyrrhic effort, impossible at worst—I have opted merely to take note of the most obvious departures from constraint. Broadly speaking these involve, first of all, loss of final short vowels from nouns and verbs (except at the end of a hemistich, i.e., where it most obviously serves a prosodic purpose such as preserving the meter, which of course is an important type of constraint upon poetic language), especially when the result is an expression stereotypically marked as colloquial (such as the “throwing back” of the final vowel of a pronominal suffix, as *يُحِبُّكَ* for *يُحِبُّكَ*, or *لَهُ* or even *لُو* for *لَهُ*). Other examples include loss of short vowels in unaccented syllables (e.g. *نَجْهَار*).

for *بجھار*), conversion of diphthongs into long vowels (as *شَفِيْتُ* for *شَفِيْبُ*), use of some version of the first-person plural to indicate the singular (especially when the short vowel is lost in construction, as *واقول* for *واقول*), and the intrusion of lexical items marked as colloquial, such as *مايلو*, or *مير* for *امير*.

Of course, the varying rhyme scheme of the strophic forms is a given, and therefore it has little to do with the issue of constraint as such. However, throughout, *tarsi* (whether as first-hemistich end rhyme, or the result of the division of the line into three or more segments) is treated as contributing to a sense of poetic constraint, as it is an elaboration on the fundamental requirements of poetry as such that constrains the language and often shapes the orthography of the text.

My comments on these issues of constraint are generally reserved for the “Andalusi” strophic forms, as it is chiefly the shifting boundary between *zajal* and *tawših* that is at issue. Typically, the short *qarīd* texts that appear in this corpus are very well constrained, in line with their composition in very formal Arabic. Likewise, the Moroccan *barwala* is understood as colloquial, and where they are found vocalized (in IJ and MW) this reflects a very unconstrained register of language. I have therefore not felt the need to comment in this regard for these texts except in exceptional cases. In a similar vein, metrical considerations, as such, do not figure into this discussion, since the metrical system(s) of the Andalusi strophic forms have been shown to be problematic in many cases and the subject of much scholarly discussion.

## The Annotations

The annotations to the *ṣanāʿi* given below cover a number of topics that are discussed in detail in the introductory chapters. Their chief purpose is to provide the reader with analysis of each text within the boundaries of the larger thesis of this book: that the written dimension of al-Āla serves an important sociolinguistic function parallel with the *ṣanāʿi*-as-sung, while also preserving evidence of the tradition’s mixed-oral character.

The main textual variants amongst the three printed anthologies are also noted, as are significant departures from the most important manuscript versions—D144 and the al-Jāmiʿi manuscripts. In one or two places where it seems instructive to do so, a comprehensive exposition of all versions of a text in the various anthologies and manuscripts is provided.

The annotations also contain occasional elucidations on historical, geographic and literary references, imagery, and thematic elements meant to complement the material found in the Supplements.

Where IJ provides a *ṭabʿ* for the *ṣanʿa*, this is mentioned, as well.

## Translation Resources

The following works have been consulted in preparing these translations:

William Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon*; Reinhart Dozy's *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*; A. de Biberstein Kazimirski's *Dictionnaire arabe-français*; Hans Wehr's *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*; Federico Corriente's *Dictionary of Andalusī Arabic, Gramática, métrica y texto del cancionero hispanoárabe de Aban Quzmán (Reflejo de la situación lingüística de al-Andalus tras concluir el periodo de las Taifas)* and *Poesía estrófica (cejeles y/o muwaššahāt) atribuida al místico granadino aš-Šuštari*; Richard S. Harrell's *Dictionary of Moroccan Arabic*; and Moha Ennaji's *Grammar of Moroccan Arabic*. In addition, I have benefited in the more difficult and obscure passages from the insights of my Moroccan informants, including Professor Mohamed Ezzahraouy and Professor 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Benmūsā, as well as careful reading and comments by Beatrice Gruendler, Dwight Reynolds and Hilary Kilpatrick.



## *I. Mīzān al-Basīṭ*


∴

البيسط ١

من بحر الرمل - شغل

طَاهِرُ الْأَصْلِ زَيْكُ النَّفْسِ  
بِكَلَامِ اللَّهِ رُوحُ الْقُدْسِ  
ذَوْحَةُ الْمَجْدِ وَيُنْبَعُ الشَّرْفِ  
وَعَطَايَا وَسَجَايَا وَسَكْفِ  
وَهُوَ فِي الْأَبْنَاءِ أَرْكَاهُمْ خَلْفِ  
لَا يَسِي الْمَجْدُ أَسْنَى مَلْبَسِ  
وَالْوَرَى أَنْجُمُهَا فِي الْفَلَسِ

خَاتِمُ الرُّسُلِ الْكِرَامِ الْمُشْتَمَى  
خَيْرٌ مَنْ وَافِيَ إِلَيْهِ كَرَمَا  
أَحْمَدُ الْهَادِي الرُّسُولِ الْمُجْتَبَا  
الْكَرِيمِ الْأَصْلِ أُمًّا وَأَبَا  
هُوَ فِي الْأَبَاءِ أَعْلَى نَسَبَا  
ابْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ تَجَلُّ الْكُرْمَا  
هُمْ شُمُوسٌ وَبُدُورٌ فِي سَمَا

Basīṭ #1 — أحمد الهادي الرسول المجتبا or: خاتم الرسل الكرام المنتقى 

also

Quddām 1

IJ # 1, p. 42

Bennūna # 219, p. 270 (Basīṭ al-Ḥusayn)

**Poet:** Ibn Saʿīd al-Miknāsī

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 — — — — | — — — — | — — || — — — — | — — — — | — — — —  
 — — — — | — — — — | — — || — — — — | — — — — | — — — —  
 — — — — | — — — — | — — || — — — — | — — — — | — — — —

The Seal of the Messengers of noble descent,  
   pure of origin, pure of soul.  
 The best one to whom the spirit of holiness  
   brought the Word of Allāh, as a blessing.  
 Aḥmad, the Guide, the Chosen, the Messenger,  
   the tree of majesty, the well-spring of honor.  
 Noble by birth [lit: stem or root], (by both) mother and father,  
   by (divine) gift and nature and forebears.  
 He is of the highest descent with regard to fathers,  
   and regarding offspring, the purest progeny.  
 The son of ‘Abd Allāh, scion of the noble ones,  
   clothed in majesty, the most radiant garment.  
 They are suns and full moons in the sky,  
   and mankind are their stars in the dark before dawn.

### Annotation

This *ṣanʿa* is very well constrained by the rules of grammar and prosody, though with loss of *iʿrāb* at the ends of the *ḡuṣn* lines, and the reduction of *الأصلي* to *الأصل* in two places with resulting loss of *iʿrāb*, all acceptable poetic licenses.

الْمُنْتَبِي here is somewhat of a solecism (الْمُنْتَبِي being more correct; see Quddām #1), but it preserves the internal rhyme. The degree of constraint is on the other hand somewhat enhanced by the presence of *tarsī* in the face of the expected shifting rhyme scheme. The rules of *arūd* are violated only by two feet at the end of line 6.

One small spelling/pronunciation lapse: يُنْبِوع for يَنْبُوع, which is unique to IJ. The *maṭla* here appears only in IJ and IM (Quddām #1); neither MW nor D144 has it. *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* both have this as a *subā'īyya* written into the margins of Basīṭ, in *ṭab' al-ḥusayn*. These two mss. begin Basīṭ Ramal al-Māya with a *ṣan'a* not found in the modern canon, which begins *Hal darā zabya l-ḥamā an qad ḥamā...* (in *ṭab' ramal al-māya*).

Notable themes: Reference here to a number of common names/attributes found throughout *Ramal al-Māya* (The Guide, The Chosen Messenger, etc.), as well as to the Prophet's noble ancestry symbolized by trees and wells. See Annotation to Bṭāyḥī #4 concerning the Seal of the Messengers/Prophets.

The astronomical imagery in line 7 hearkens back to the *nasīb* sections of pre-Islamic *qaṣā'id*, in which the beloved or the object of praise might be portrayed as a shining object in the sky. But it is most immediately an echo of al-Būṣīrī's *Qaṣīdat al-burda*, line 53:

فَإِنَّهُ شَمْسٌ فَضَّلَ هُمْ كَوَاكِبُهَا      يُظْهِرَنَّ أَنْوَارَهَا لِلنَّاسِ فِي ظُلْمٍ

*He is a bountiful sun; the others are its stars*

*Whose lights appear to mankind at night.*

*They* in this line refers to the other prophets and messengers. Whereas for al-Būṣīrī, the other prophets reflect the light of Muḥammad to mankind in the dark, in this *ṣan'a* it is mankind in the dark that reflects the light of the Prophet and his forebears together (both the stars and the planets shone by reflecting the light of the sun in medieval cosmology).

IJ attributes this text to Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Sa'īd, the famous poet and anthologist, author of *al-Muḡrib fī ḥulā al-Maḡrib* (d. in Tunis, 685/1286). This is certainly an error. These verses are found in *Ithāf al-'ālam an-nās* (v. 1, p. 314), the fourth dawr of a *muwašṣaḥ* by Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Sa'īd al-Miknāsī (d. 872/1467).

IJ gives the *ṭab'* as *al-ḥusayn*.



البسيط ٢  
الطويل - شغل

وآلك والأصحاب يا خير من حبا  
ققل يا رسول الله للعبد مرحبا

عليك يا رسول الله أركى تحية  
عبيدك بالباب المعظم واقف

Basīṭ #2 — عليك يا رسول الله أزيكى تحية

IM # 1 p. 37

∪-- | ∪--- | ∪-- | ∪-∪ || ∪-∪ | ∪--- | ∪-- | ∪--- |  
 ∪-∪ | ∪--- | ∪-∪ | ∪-∪ || ∪-- | ∪--- | ∪-- | ∪-∪-

Upon you, O Messenger of Allāh, sincerest greetings,  
 and upon your family and the Companions, O best of those who are loved.  
 Your humble servant is standing by the glorious door,  
 so say “Welcome!” to the servant, O Messenger of Allāh.

### Annotation

This *ṣanʿa* is unique to IM among all the anthologies and manuscripts. Given that the text in IM is not vocalized, these otherwise *mawzūn* verses must depart from grammatical constraint by dropping the final fathā from عليك in order to fit the meter الطويل properly. In other respects, this anonymous poem is well constrained.

Notable themes: The Prophet here is evoked as beloved, along with his family and the first generation of his followers, the Companions. The door here is unique in *Ramal al-Māya*, referring perhaps either to the world of the Unseen or to the Afterlife.

البسيط ٣  
الطويل - شغل

صَلُّوا يَا عِبَادَ جُمَلَةٍ عَلَى أَشْرَفِ الْوَرَى  
مَهْمَا تَقْرَبُوا الرِّوَضَةَ يَاتِنَا مُبَشِّرًا  
وَارْضُوا عَنِ الْعَشْرَةِ الْأَكْرَمِينَ الْبَرَّةِ  
نَسِيمٌ مِنَ الْأَحْبَابِ مِسْكَاً وَعَنْبَرَةً

Basīṭ #3 — صَلُّوا يَا عِبَادَ جَمَلَةً عَلَى أَشْرَفِ الْوَرَى ٥

IJ # 2 p. 42

MW # 1 p. 25

Bennūna # 222 p. 272 (Basīṭ al-Ḥusayn)

Zwītin #1 p. 13

Ambīrkū #1 p. 7

(---) | (v---v) | v--- | v---v || (---v) | (---v) | (---v) | (---vv)  
 (---) | (v---v) | v--- | (---v---) || v--- | v---v | v--- | v---v

Bless ye all together, O ye people, the most noble of mortals.

And be content with the pious, noble ten.

Whenever we approach the Garden, a breeze from the dear ones

comes to us as a bearer of good news like musk and amber.

### Annotation

Only the ‘ajuz of line 2 in either IJ or MW comfortably fits the attributed meter (فَعِيلَانِ مَفَاعِيلَيْنِ). In addition to loss of *i‘rāb* in one place, the somewhat ragged العَشْرَةُ الْأَكْرَمِينَ الْبَرَّةَ (mixing human and non-human plurals), and the anomalous construction نَقَرَبُوا together lend this *ṣan‘a* a rather unconstrained character on the page. The use of *tarsī‘* ameliorates this somewhat.

Line 1 according to MW, Ambīrkū and Zwītin (which is more commonly sung, in the author’s experience) does not fit the meter much more comfortably:

صَلُّوا يَا عِبَادَ دَائِمًا عَلَى أَشْرَفِ الْوَرَى      وَارْضُوا عَنِ الْعَشْرِ الْكِرَامِ الْبَرِّرَا

*Bless ye always, O ye people, the most noble of mortals.*

*And be content with the pious, noble ten.*

(---) | v---v | v--- | v---v || (---v) | (---v) | (---v) | (v---)

IM places this in a footnote to his first *ṣan‘a* in Basīṭ Ramal al-Māya.

Notable themes: That news of the beloved is carried on the wind is a theme found in classical *ghazal* verse. Although the Prophet is not mentioned by name, he is clearly referenced here as the “most noble of men”.

The “noble ten” (usually referred to as العشرة المبشرة بالجنة) refers to the Companions of the Prophet named in two *aḥādīth*, related in the *Sunan* of at-Tirmidī (#3647), the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd (Book 40, #4632) and the *Sunan* of Ibn Mājah. They were promised Paradise during their lifetimes: the four Rashidun caliphs (given in order of their service as such), Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubayd Allāh (d. 36/657), az-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām (d. 36/657), ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf (d. ca. 33/652), Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqās (d. 52/674), Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ (d. 18/640), and Sa‘īd b. Zayd (d. 51/673).

Ij gives the *ṭab‘* as *inqilāb ar-ramal*.



البيسط ء

توشيح (MW: شغل مجتث)

رُبَّ لَيْلٍ ظَفِرْتُ بِالْبَدْرِ وَنُجُومُ السَّمَاءِ لَمْ تَدْرِ

حَفِظَ اللَّهُ لَيْلَنَا وَرَعَا

أَيَّ شَمَلٍ لَنَا قَدْ اجْتَمَعَ

عَقَلَ الدَّهْرُ وَالرَّقِيبُ مَعَا

لَيْتَ نَهَرَ النَّهَارِ لَمْ يَجْرِ حَكَمَ اللَّهُ لَنَا عَلَى الْفَجْرِ

Basīṭ #4 — رب ليل ظفرت بالبدر — 🎧

IJ #3 p. 42

IM # 2 p. 37

MW #3 p. 25

Bennūna #274 pp. 307 (Basīṭ Ramal al-Māya), 331 (Quddām Ramal al-Māya)

Zwītin #2 p. 13

Ambīrkū #2 p. 7

**Poet:** Lisān ad-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb/Abū l-Ḥasan aš-Šuštārī

- - - | - - - | - - -      - - - | - - - | - - -  
           - - - | - - - | - - -  
           - - - | - - - | - - -  
           - - - | - - - | - - -  
 - - - | - - - | - - -      - - - | - - - | - - -

Many a night I attained the full moon

while the stars of the sky did not know.

May Allāh preserve this night of ours and watch over.

Whatever union of ours it has brought together,

Let the time disregard it, and the watcher, too.

If only the flow of daylight did not happen.

May Allāh judge in our favor against the dawn.

### Annotation

The meter is a variation on *al-ḥafīf*, as noted by Bennūna, with occasional lapses and the final foot of each hemistich reduced to two or three syllables. Constructed like a model *zajal* but identified as *tawšīḥ*, this strophic poem of course features a shifting rhyme scheme, but in other respects, the text is highly constrained, making use of *tarsī* in *maṭlaʿ* and *qufl*, and showing no departures from grammar or standard poetic licenses.

Ambīrkū gives لي for لنا and يَدْر for تَدْر.

These verses are the *maṭlaʿ* and first *ġuṣn* (lines 1-5) of *muwaššah* #1 in the 1969 edition of *Dīwān Lisān ad-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb as-Salmānī*, v. 2, p. 783. The *ʿajuz* of the third line in the *Dīwān* reads: أَيُّ شَيْءٍ مِنْهُوَ جَمَعَا (“whatever union of love [it has] brought together”). Bennūna notes that the *maṭlaʿ* is borrowed from the *ḥarja* of a *muwaššah* by aš-Šuštārī (*Dīwān aš-Šuštārī*, #36, pp. 159-161), itself borrowed from a poem by Ibn Zaydūn (Corriente, 1988).

Notable themes: Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb (d. 776/1375) adapts the “watcher”, the desire to prolong the night, and the beloved as astronomical object (here, the full moon)—by his day all longstanding themes in *ġazal* poetry — to a mystical love theme, set in the context of a gathering of Sufi mystics. While the Prophet himself is not mentioned, the moon is a standard symbol for him in *Ramal al-Māya*. (On contextualized meaning, see Chapter 4 §4.)

Ibn Jallūn notes: “Due to the lack of fittingness of this selection to *madīḥ*, I set in its place the appropriateness of *Yā rasūlu llāhi yā badrī*.”

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*. This same text appears in this *mīzān* in *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*, but said to be performed in *al-ḥusayn*. It also appears in Basīṭ ‘Irāq al-ʿAjām (IJ p. 292; IM p. 249; MW p. 307).



البيط ه  
توشيح - شغل

يا رسول الله يا بَدْرِي      يا عَظِيمَ الجاهِ والقَدْرِ  
من مُحْيَاكَ البَدْرُ قد سَطَعَا  
من شَيا الوَداعِ ذَظَلَعَا  
أَجَلِ الشَّمْسِ في الضُّمَى شُوعَا  
لَيْتَ حُكْمَ العِبادِ لَمْ يَجْرِ      طالَ لَيْلي متى أرى جَفرِي

Basīṭ #5 — يا رسول الله يابدرى

IJ # 4 p. 42

- 0 - - 0 - - | - 0 - - 0 - - | - 0 - - 0 - - | - 0 - - 0 - - | =  
                   - 0 - - 0 - - | - 0 - - 0 - - | 0 - -  
                   - 0 - - 0 - - | 0 - - 0 - - | 0 - -  
                   - 0 - - 0 - - | 0 - - 0 - - | 0 - -  
 - 0 - - 0 - - | 0 - - 0 - - | - 0 - - 0 - - | 0 - - 0 - - | - -

O Messenger of Allāh, O my full moon.

O supreme in honor and rank.

The full moon shone from your face.

When it rose from the Hills of Wadāʿ,

It put the sun to shame in the light, like rays (at dawn).

If only, the Judgement of Men did not happen!

“Let my night endure,” whenever I see my dawn.

### Annotation

The meter resembles الخفيف. In other respects, the text is fully constrained by grammatical and orthographic rules, by accepted poetic licenses, and by the use of *tarsī* in the *matlaʿ* and *qufl*. This degree of constraint makes the label *tawšīh* more plausible, even though the poem is constructed like a model *zajal*.

Line 3: ثنايا الوداع: Taniyyat al-Wadāʿ = a hill outside Medina where it was customary to bid farewell (وداع) to pilgrims departing for Mecca.

Notable themes: The object of praise (Muḥammad) as full moon outshining the sun, and prolonging the night of (mystical) love, both echo classical poetic themes. Here the Muḥammad-moon rises over a specific locale near Medina—a geographical link to the life of the poem's subject—in this case even outshining the dawn (and preferred to the dawn, which brings the poet's night of mystical union to a close). On references to the Light of Muḥammad, see Annotation to Basīṭ #9.

Given Ibn Jallūn's note to the previous *ṣanʿa*, and the fact that this text seems to be unique to IJ, one suspects that this text arrived from an outside source—perhaps the Samāʿ wa-Madīḥ tradition of the *zawāyā*—rather like the marginalia found in some *Kunnāš al-Hāʾik* manuscripts.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.

البيسط ٦

مجتث - شغل

عَرُوسُ يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ      مِفْتَاحُ بَابِ الْفَلَاحِ

مَنْ ظَلَلَتْهُ الْعِمَامَةُ      تَقِيهِ حَرَّ الضَّوَّاحِي

مُجَدِّدُ الْكِرَامَةِ      وَالْمُعْجَزَاتِ الصِّحَاحِ

مِنْ حُبِّهِ قَدِ سَقَانِي      كَأَسَاؤُكَ تُعَلِيلا

لَمَّا اسْتَقَرَّ بِصَدْرِي      شَفَيْتُ مِنْهُ الْعَلِيلا



Notable themes: The Day of Judgment is presented here as a wedding, with the Prophet as the bridegroom—the honored male at the center of the ceremony. He also figures here as the *sāqin*, the wine-pourer figure common in *ḥamriyya* verse and a link to the mystical “wine” of the Sufi experience. حَوْضَه in IM refers to a pool of water which the believers will be given to drink from on the Day of Judgment, related to al-Kawṭar, the Fountain of Abundance. The clouds refer to an incident recounted in the *Sīra* of Ibn Iṣḥāq/Ibn Hišām in which as a child Muḥammad joined a caravan which was observed by the Christian monk Bahīra to have a cloud following it, shading the young boy from the sun.



البيسط ٧

زجل موشح - شغل (IM and MW: توشيح)

تأجُّ الكرامِ مَنْ جاءَ بالدِّينِ  
ماحي الظلامِ للرُّشدِ يَهْدِينِي  
خَيْرُ البَشَرِ فداضاً نُورُهُ  
يَعْلُو القَمَرَ قَدِّمَ مَشْهُورُهُ  
مَنْ قَدِ نَصَرَ الدِّينَ تَسِيرُهُ  
بَكَدُّ التَّمَامِ بِوَصْلِهِ يُحِينِي  
شافي السَّقامِ مِنْ حَوْضِهِ يَسْقِينِي

Basīṭ #7 — خير البشر or تاج الكرام

IJ # 6 p. 43

IM # 4 p. 38

MW # 4 p. 26

Zwītin #4 p. 13

Ambīrkū #4 p. 8

-- -- -- | | -- -- -- --  
 -- -- -- | | -- -- -- --  
     -- -- -- | | -- -- -- --  
     -- -- -- | | -- -- -- --  
     -- -- -- | | -- -- -- --  
 -- -- -- | | -- -- -- --  
 -- -- -- | | -- -- -- --

The crown of the noble ones,	the one who brought the religion.
Effacer of the darkness,	he leads me to guidance.
The best of mankind,	his light illuminates.
The moon rises up.	Its fame has become widespread.
One whose smoothing the path	has helped religion.
The full moon,	encountering him revives me.
Healer of illness,	he pours for me (to drink) from his pool

### Annotation

A *ḥumāsīyya* in IM, Ambīrkū and Zwītin.

IM third line: لقد أضأ نوره; the fourth line: مدعم مشهوره [*strengthening his fame*];  
and the sixth line: الوصل يحيني.

MW sixth line: بوصله يحيني .

Ambīrkū and Zwītin give a different *quft*:

بَدْرُ التَّمَامِ      قَدْ هَبَّجَ السَّبْجَانِي  
 يَقْضِي هَيَامَ      لِلْعَاشِقِ الْفَانِي

*The full moon*

*has aroused my emotions*

*The one whose self is consumed*

*achieves the burning love of the lover.*

Ambīrkū further gives the contemporary *qufl* in a footnote and notes that it is more appropriate to *madīh*.

IJ provides *īrāb* for the final syllable of the *ṣadr* in the *maṭlaʿ* (which MW does not). This is odd, because it disrupts both the *tarsīʿ* rhyme scheme and pushes the meter away from the first hemistiches in the rest of the *ṣanʿa*, even in the *qufl*. Of course, IM and MW are grammatically/orthographically accurate with *مُحِبِّي* for IJ's *مُحِبِّي*. In other respects, the text is well constrained by traditional grammatical rules and licenses. All this, and the format of the text (having a two-line *maṭlaʿ* and *qufl*) make IJ's attribution of "*zajal muwašṣaḥ*" at least somewhat understandable.

Notable themes: Muḥammad as full moon, and bearing light, are common images in this corpus, as is the Prophet as *sāqin*, the wine-pourer of classical *ḥamriyya* poetry, here the "wine" being the mystical waters of the Hereafter. Likewise, the Prophet's intercession and guidance, and his being the best of mankind, also appear elsewhere; the Prophet as healer is not as common in this *nūba* (see Supplement 1).

For more on the Light of Muḥammad, see Annotation to Basīṭ #9.

Line 7: *حوضه* = a pool of water from which the believers will be given drink by the Prophet on the Day of Judgment.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.



البيسط ٨

توشيح - شغل (MW: زجل) (IM: رمل)

يا بَدِيعَ الحُسْنِ يا خَيْرَ الأَنامِ  
يا جَمِيلَ الوَجْهِ يا بَدْرَ التَّمَامِ  
يا سَفِيعَ الخَلْقِ في يَوْمِ الرِّحامِ  
كُنْ مُجِيرِي مالِي سِوَاكَ يا مَجْدَ  
إِنِّي داخِلُ حِمَاكَ يا مُحَمَّدَ

Basīṭ #8 — يا بديع الحسن يا خير الأنام

IJ # 7 p. 43

IM # 8 p. 38

MW # 7 pp. 26-27

Zwītin #7 p. 14

Ambīrkū #7 p. 9

- - - - | - - - - | - - - -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - - -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - - -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - - -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - - -

O remarkable beauty, O best of mankind.

O beautiful face, O full moon.

O intercessor for mankind on the Day of Gathering.

Be my protector, (for) I have no other,

O glorified one!

I am entering your sanctuary,

O Muḥammad.

### Annotation

Line 5 in MW: أنا في حماك  
يا مولاي محمد  
*I am in your sanctuary, O my master, Muḥammad*

IM *qufl*: كن يجيري مالي سواك  
يا محمد إنني داخل في حماك  
يا مجد

The last line in Zwītin: انا داخل في حماك يا محمد

Ambīrkū gives جميل for جليل.

Apart from the formatting of the text (which is unusual, even for one of the Andalusī strophic poems) and some problematic metrical feet, this text is relatively well constrained by the usual grammatical rules and licenses, a quality that is enhanced by *tarsī* in the *qufl*.

Notable themes: Mentioned by name, the Prophet is presented as the full moon, as well as protector of the faithful and intercessor on their behalf. The image of the Prophet's sanctuary, meaning either the Ḥarām aš-Šarīf precincts of the Ka'aba, or perhaps his tomb in Medina, is an echo of the old Arab tribal

ethos, in which the tribesman sought refuge with his kin patron-protectors. In this and other *ṣanāʿiʿ*, the holy site replaces the tribal home. The listener may infer this as deriving from several well-known *aḥādīṭ*, which show the Prophet declaring Mecca to be a refuge for the believer—although the term used here (حِجْمَى or حِجْمَا in construct) is not used in these *aḥādīṭ* but in others to refer to pasturage reserved for the use of the Prophet himself.

The Prophet's career appears here as a complex negotiation between the norms of the tribal ethos and his own vision of a religious allegiance that was to transcend tribal identity. This theme, which is revisited in *ṣanāʿiʿ* such as Basīṭ #25, al-Qāʿim wa-Niṣf #2 and #13, and Darj #2, shows that this ancient ethos still resonated for the anonymous poets or poet/composers who composed the elements of this *nūba* centuries later (whether in al-Andalus or North Africa, or perhaps both) and their audiences, if only as a familiar topos that invoked ancient Arab tradition. See the Annotations to Basīṭ #25 and al-Qāʿim wa-Niṣf #2, which develop this theme in other ways.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.



البسيط ٩

توشیح - شغل (IM: شغل المضارع)

ذِكْرِي وَأُورَادِي فِي مَنَبِعِ الْأَسْرَارِ

مُحَمَّدُ الْهَادِي الْمُصْطَفَى الْمُخْتَارَ

رَسُولُنَا الْبَادِي السَّاطِعُ الْأَنْوَارَ

غَرَامِي مَا أَحْلَاهُ وَغَبَّتِي الصَّدَقَا

صَلُّوْا عَلَيَّ شَوْقَا صَلُّوْا عَلَيَّ الْهَادِي

## Basīṭ #9 — ذكري وأورادي

IJ #8 p. 43

IM #6 p. 38

MW #5 p. 26

Zwītin #5 pp. 13-14

Ambīrkū #5 p. 9

**Poet:** Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥalabī/Abū l-Ḥasan aš-Šuštārī

---◡--- | --- || ---◡--- | ---  
 ◡---◡ | --- || ---◡--- | ---  
 ◡---◡ | --- || ---◡--- | ---  
     ◡---- | --- || ◡---◡--- | ---  
     ---◡--- | --- || ---◡--- | ---

My remembrance and my devotions  
 Muḥammad, the Guide,  
 Our manifest Messenger,  
     My love-pangs, how sweet it is —  
     Bless the Guide,

are for the wellspring of secrets.  
 the Chosen One, the Select.  
 shining brilliantly with light.  
     my sincere felicity.  
     bless him, longingly.

**Annotation**

This *ṣan‘a*, like the other *tawšīḥ* texts preceding it, is well constrained by the accepted grammatical rules and licenses. The varying rhyme scheme of this strophe is to be expected, but *أحلاه* breaks up the *tarsi* rhyme scheme, militating somewhat against the sense of constrained formality.

Ambīrkū reverses the *‘ajuz* of lines 2 and 3.

This *ṣan‘a* shares its last line with Basīṭ #11, in the same meter and also attributed to al-Ḥalabī, but called there *زجل*. I have not been able to locate either text in an outside source, but it is possible that they represent two strophes from the same poem. But notice that these two *ṣanā‘i* share this with line 1 of Basīṭ #12, which comes from a poem attributed to aš-Šuštārī (*Dīwān* p. 438, but likely not authored by him, according Naššār). How does one explain this convergence? If the attribution to al-Ḥalabī is correct, did he himself borrow the line from pseudo-aš-Šuštārī, whether directly or indirectly (aš-Šuštārī having died some four and a half centuries before al-Ḥalabī)? This seems less likely, as it

would be a rare example of strophic poetry in this tradition whose *qufl* actually repeats text (and not just the rhyme scheme; at least one of aš-Šuštārī's *azjāl* does this). The original song may have had a bona fide refrain (i.e., repetition of both melody and text) in such a case. More likely, the attribution to al-Ḥalabī is due to other lines in the two *ṣanāʿiʿ*—or perhaps is specious altogether. Perhaps this line is a modular element taken from aš-Šuštārī and pressed into service in these other two texts by one or more anonymous composers.

Notable themes: The idea of the “secret” or inner reality connects directly to ideas found in Sufi literature, as do the ideas of love-pangs and longing, in a different way. The Light of Muḥammad is a common theme in *al-madīḥ an-nabawī*, proceeding from al-Būšīrī's Mantle Ode, and before that, from Qurʾān 4:174, with the mystical philosophy of illumination arising from the famous Verse of Light (24:35) also in play, as well.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.



البيسط ١٠  
شغل من بحر الوافر

أَلَا صَلُّوا قِيَامًا وَقُعودًا  
عَلَى خَيْرِ الْوَرَى يَا عَاشِقِينَ  
أَلَا إِنَّ الصَّلَاةَ عَلَى الْمُجَدِّدِ  
بِهَا تُمَحَّى خَطَايَا الْمُذْنِبِينَ

Basīṭ #10 — ألا صلوا قياما وقعودا

IJ #9 p. 43

IM #6 p. 38

MW #6 p. 26

Zwītin #6 p. 14

Ambīrkū #6 p. 9

**Poet:** Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥalabī

ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ || ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ  
 ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ || ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ

Give blessing indeed, standing and sitting

for the best of mortals, O ye who love.

Indeed, the lapses of sinners are effaced

by prayer for the exalted one!

#### Annotation

The second bayt:

MW:

ألا إن الصلاة على الهادي المجدد      تُحَى بها خطايا المذنبين  
*Indeed, the lapses of sinners are effaced    by prayer for the exalted guide!*

IM:

ألا إن الصلاة عليه دوما      بها تحى خطايا المذنبين  
*Indeed, the lapses of sinners are effaced    by prayer for him perpetually!*

Ambīrkū:

ألا إن الصلاة على محمد      بها تحى خطايا المذنبين  
*Indeed, the lapses of sinners are effaced    by prayer for Muḥammad!*

Zwītin:

إن الصلاة على الهادي المجدد      تحى بها خطايا المذنبين  
*Indeed, the lapses of sinners are effaced    by prayer for the exalted guide!*

Zwītin also rejects ٱ throughout.

The textual variants across all the print anthologies strongly suggest the significance of oral processes in the history of the preservation of this text.

Metrical and grammatical constraints are well respected in this *ṣanʿa*.

Notable themes: Muḥammad is the best of mankind, the Guide prayer for whom erases sins; the seeker is described as a lover and calling down blessings on him. All are common topoi of *Ramal al-Māya*.



البيسط ١١

رجل شغل (MW and IM): شغل من بحر المضارع

يَا مَعْشَرَ الْفُقَرَاءِ يَا سَادَتِي قَوْمُوا

تَقْتَمِ الذِّكْرَى عِزًّا وَعَظْمُوا

مُحَمَّدَ الْبَشْرَى صَلُّوا وَسَلِّمُوا

يَا صَاحِبِي صَلِّ عَلَى الْخَيْرِ الْخَلْقَا

صَلُّوا عَلَيْهِ شَوْقَا

Basīṭ #11 — يا معشر الفقرا

IJ #10 pp. 43-44

IM #8 p. 39

MW #8 p. 27

Zwītin #8 p. 14

Ambīrkū #8 pp. 9-10

**Poet:** Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥalabī/Abu l-Ḥasan aš-Šuštārī

-- ◡ -- | -- || -- ◡ -- | --  
 -- ◡ -- | -- || -- ◡ -- | ◡ --  
 ◡ -- ◡ -- | -- || -- ◡ -- | --  
 -- ◡ -- | -- ◡ || ◡ -- ◡ -- | --  
 -- ◡ -- | -- || -- ◡ -- | ◡ --

O company of pious ascetics,	O my good sirs, stand.
We seize (this moment of) remembrance	strongly, so extol
Muḥammad, the glad tidings,	bless (him) and wish peace (upon him)
My friend, bless	the best of creation.
Bless the guide.	Bless him, longingly.

### Annotation

Zwītin gives *تستغنم* for *تغتنم*, and *على خير الخلقا* for *على سيد الخلقا*.

Ambīrkū gives *تغتنموا* for *تغتنم*.

L 1: *الفقرا* loses a short vowel and final hamza (الْفُقَرَاء) for the sake of pronunciation and the meter.

This *ṣanʿa* is a good example of one IJ labels as *zajal*, but whose language remains relatively well constrained by the religious register in which it operates. Indeed, the only obvious gesture at a more unconstrained register of colloquial Arabic is the loss of the medial short vowel in *الفقرا* mentioned above (the loss of the final hamza is not unusual in classical verse). In contrast, *عليه*, which might be expected to lose its final vowel, does not.

Concerning authorship, see the annotation for Basīṭ #9.

Notable themes: The Sufi circle, in a moment of *dīkr* invocation—not of Allāh in this case but of the Prophet Muḥammad, who appears here in name, but also as good news, the Guide and the object of blessing.

Ij gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.



البيسط ١٢

زجل - شغل

صَلُّوا عَلَيْهِ شَوْقًا

المُصْطَفَى حَقًّا

من حَوْضِهِ نُسْقَى

في شِدَّةِ الضِّيقِ

يا شافعَ الخلقِ

صَلُّوا عَلَى الهادي

عِزِّي وَإِرْشَادِي

هو غَايَةُ مُرَادِي

يَوْمَ يَكُونُ النَّاسُ

وَيُنَادُوا يَا أَحْمَدَ

Basīṭ #12 — صلوات على الهادي

and

Quddām #36

IJ # 11 p. 44

Bennūna # 14 p. 275 (Basīṭ al-Ḥusayn), p. 287 (Qā'im wa-niṣf al-Ḥusayn), p. 305 (Quddām al-Ḥusayn)

**Poet:** Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥalabī / Abū l-Ḥasan aš-Šuštārī

-- ◡ -- | -- || -- ◡ -- | ◡ --  
 -- ◡ -- | -- || -- ◡ -- | --  
 ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ -- || -- ◡ ◡ | --  
 -- ◡ -- | -- ◡ || -- ◡ -- | --  
 ◡ ◡ -- | -- || -- ◡ -- | --

Bless the Guide.

My strength, and my guidance.

He is the aim of my desire.

On the day when the people

And "O Aḥmad!" is called out.

Bless him longingly.

Truly, the Chosen One.

From his pool we are poured.

will be in the strong grip of adversity.

O intercessor for mankind!

**Annotation**

D144 gives مرادي for مرادي, and يوماً for يومًا, and الضيقا for العرقا. (On عرقا, see the Annotation to al-Quddām #36.)

Bennūna attributes the poem to al-Ḥalabī (p. 136 n. 342), but also attributes the first two lines to a non-strophic poem by aš-Šuštārī (see annotation to Basīṭ #9).

The rhyme scheme is not typical of poetic *azjāl*, with all five lines rhyming together and the *ḡuṣn* distinguished by *tarsī*, rather than end rhyme. Line 3 alters the metrical pattern, such as it is, and there are inconsistent feet thereafter. In other respects, however, this *ṣan'ā* is well constrained by the rules of poetic expression.

Notable themes: The Prophet is named as Aḥmad, evoked as Guide, the Chosen One, intercessor for mankind on Judgment Day, and as "Highly Praised" (Aḥmad), becomes the object of love and longing. The pool is the sacred water that believers will drink from on the Day of Judgment.

IJ gives the *ṭab'* as *ramal al-māya*.

البيسط ١٣  
السريع - شغل

لِيَايِهِ بِالذُّلِّ وَالْاِنْكِسَارِ  
نُسَيْمَةُ الصُّبْحِ وَعَنَى الْهَزَارِ

وَحَيْرٍ مِنْ تَاتِي مُلُوكُ الْوَرَى  
صَلَّى عَلَيْهِ اللَّهُ مَا هَيْمَتْ



البيسط ١٤

توشيح - شعل (MW: زجل - شغل)

إِلَّا لِقَا الْأَحْبَابِ	مَارَاحَتِي
الوَاقِفُونَ بِالْبَابِ	هَمَّ سَادَتِي
عَيْشِي بِهِمْ قَد طَابَ	أَجْبَتِي
وَيَجْمَعُ شَمْلِي	عَيْشِي يَطِيبُ
خُلُوةً مَعَ خِيَالِي	إِذَا نَصِيبُ

Basīṭ #14 — ماراحتي

IJ # 13 p. 44

IM # 14 p. 40

MW # 10 p. 27

Ambīrkū #13 pp. 11-12

Poet: al-Buraī (Ibn Jallūn) / aš-Šuštari (Ibn Maṣṣūr)

--◡-- || --◡-- | --  
 --◡-- || --◡-- | ◡--  
 ◡--◡-- || --◡-- | --  
 --◡-- || ◡--◡-- | --  
 ◡--◡-- || --◡--◡ | ◡--

No peace have I	except meeting the dear ones.
They are my masters,	those standing by the door.
My dear ones,	my life has grown sweet because of them.
My life is better,	and my affair has become (well) ordered.
There is fortune	in seclusion with my sincere friend(s).

### Annotation

Line 5: MW gives *خُلُوَّةٌ* and *جِي* (“my love”) for *خِلِي*; IJ gives *خُلُوَّةٌ*, which is not attested in any lexicon. This loss of a final vowel from *يَجْمَعُ* may be the one departure from constraint that leads MW (and Ambīrkū) to call this text a *zajal*. The only other such departure is the rhyme scheme, which is here more typical of a model *muwaššah* than a *zajal*.

This text does not appear in either *Dīwān aš-Šuštari* or *Šarḥ dīwān al-Buraī*.

Notable themes: “Seclusion” here refers to the practice of private gatherings in the Sufi *zāwiya*. The connection to *al-madiḥ an-nabawī* here is tenuous at best. The “masters” might be stretched to refer to the prophets, though the context pretty clearly indicates that they are the seeker’s spiritual masters, the so-called “Friends of God”.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *al-ḥamdān*.

البيسط ١٥

شغل من بحر البسيط

قَبْلَ الْمَمَاتِ فَلَا تَشْغَلْكَ أَعْدَارُ  
أَوْ لَمْ تَزُرْهُ فَكَيْفَ الشَّوْقَ زَوَارُ

بَادِرٍ وَسَلِّمْ عَلَى أَنْوَارِ رَوْضَتِهِ  
إِنْ لَمْ تُعَلِّينِ شَاهُ الْعَيْنِ يَا أَسْفَا

Basīṭ #15 — بادر وسلم على أنوار روضته

IJ #14 p. 44

IM #15 p. 41

MW #11 p. 28

Zwītin #14 p. 15

Ambīrkū #14 p. 12

Poet: Sīdī Aḥmad al-ʿArūsī al-Maḡribī

---◡--- | ---◡--- | ---◡--- | ◡◡◡= || ---◡--- | ◡◡--- | ---◡--- | ---◡  
 ---◡--- | ---◡--- | ---◡--- | ◡◡--- || ---◡--- | ◡◡--- | ---◡--- | ---◡

Hasten to greet the blossoms of His garden

before death, and let not excuses distract you.

If the eye did not see His abundance, O regret,

or did not visit Him, then longing indeed is a (frequent) guest.

#### Annotation

رَأَاهُ here for رَأَاهُ, a poetic license to preserve the meter, as allowed within the constraints of classical verse. In other respects, grammatical and prosodic, the text generally represents the more highly constrained end of the continuum.

Ambīrkū (footnote, p. 12): “These verses belong to Sīdī Aḥmad al-ʿArūsī al-Maḡribī, as Sīdī Yūsuf an-Nabahānī established in his collection, but with some alteration [لكن بتغيير].”

Al-ʿArūsī’s poetry does not appear in the al-Ḥā’ik manuscripts, including D144.

Line one here appears in Ayyūbī (p. 73) and in an-Nabahānī (v.2 pp. 171-172), though the ‘ajuz is different:

بَادِرْ وَسَلِّمْ عَلَى أَنْوَارِ رَوْضَتِهِ      الْعَزْمُ سَيْفٌ فَلَا تَشْغَلْكَ أَعْدَارُ

... *determined effort is a sword, so let not excuses distract you.*

Notable themes: The saintly personages presented as the blossoms (literally lights, though the former is the more logical) of Paradise do not necessarily include the Prophet, although that might well be understood in performance context.

البيسط ١٦  
الهزج - شغل

المجتبى نعمة الإمام	هو النبي المعظم
من خص من بين الأنام	الأذع المكرم
كدارة على التمام	من وجهه المنعم
صلى عليه رب العباد	من قد أتانا بالفلاح
وحن شوقاً للمراد	ماناح طير في اللقاح

Basīṭ #16 — هو النبي المعظم

also:

Quddām #24

IJ #15 p. 44

IM #10 p. 39

MW #12 p. 28

Zwītin #10 p. 14

Ambīrkū #10 p. 10

٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ( ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ ) || ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠  
 ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ || ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠  
 ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ || ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠  
 ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ || ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ( ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ )  
 ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ || ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠

He is the glorified Prophet,

the Chosen One—what a perfect *imām*!

The black-eyed, the revered

one who was singled out from mankind.

One whose perfect face

is like a halo round the full (moon).

One who has brought us success,

may the Lord of mankind bless him

As long as a bird weeps in the foliage

and yearns longingly for the object of desire.

### Annotation

Zwītin and Ambīrkū: منْ حُصَّ مِنْ بَيْنِ الْأَنَامِ for منْ حُصَّ مَا بَيْنَ الْأَنَامِ .

This is not the classical meter *المهزج*, but *الرجز*. The basis of *المهزج* is: مَفَاعِيلُنْ , whereas *الرجز* is: مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ or مَفَاعِلُنْ (with مُفْعِلُنْ and مُفْتَعِلُنْ possible in places). This altered terminology is endemic throughout the printed anthologies, which suggests that *الرجز* is simply called *المهزج* in *al-Āla*. I have not found a Moroccan expert who can explain this, either theoretically or historically.

IJ's vowelling here disrupts the meter in the first and eighth hemistiches. MW's vowellings (عَلَيْهِ and النَّبِيِّ) fix the meter (though they may or may not more closely reflect the *ṣan'ā*-as-sung). However, these represent departures from the more constrained register IJ is obviously reaching for. Thus the problematic nature of this text leads to a negotiation between competing demands

of prosody, reflecting parallel competing value loads inherent in the oral vs. literary uses of the text. The two anthologists who vocalize the text have resolved this problem differently, reflecting their different assumptions about the uses of their anthologies—Ibn Jallūn clearly striving for a more *dīwān*-like, iconic representation; ar-Rāyis aiming at a more practical, performance-oriented handbook.

Note also the strophic nature of the text, which is not identified as either *zajal* or *tawšīh* (but nevertheless represents a significant departure from classical structural constraints) and the use of *tarsī* in each line, which varies with the end-rhyme scheme and evokes a more highly constrained, poetic register.

Notable themes: The beauty of the Prophet's face is once again compared to the appearance of the moon in the night sky, though with details rarely found in the corpus. He is identified as the Chosen One, one of his more common epithets in *Ramal al-Māya*. Also we again find the temporal condition *as long as* tied to a natural event: the bird singing in the foliage, which echoes a theme found in *Nūbat al-Māya*, where the same bird appears as the harbinger of sunset in the context of a meditation on the approach of death.

IJ gives the *tab'* as *ramal al-māya*.



المتدارك - شغل (MW): توشيح - شغل ; IM: توشيح - المتدارك)

وَسُمُّو الْقَدْرَ	فِي رِضَى وَامْتِنَانٍ
بِاللَّوْمِ وَالْفَخْرِ	شَأْنَهُ خَيْرُ شَأْنٍ
هَاجَ شَوْقَ الْعَبْدِ	لِلنَّبِيِّ الرَّسُولِ
مَنْ شَكَا بِالْبُعْدِ	رَبِّي قَرِيبَ وُصُولِ
يُدِينِنِي مِنْ قَصْدِي	عَلَّ رِيحَ الْقَبُولِ
فِي هَوَى مِنْ نَذْرِي	جَارَ عَلَيَّ الزَّمَانِ
وَجَعَلَتْهُ فِرْيَ	صُمْتُ عَنْهُ أَوْانِ

Basīṭ #17 — في رضى وامتنان

also

Darj #20

IJ #15 pp. 44-45

IM #11 p. 39

MW #13 p. 28

Zwītin #11 p. 15

Ambīrkū #11 p. 11

Poet: aš-Šuštārī (melody by Sīdī ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Zākūr)

- - - | - - - || - - - | - - -  
 - - - | - - - || - - - | - - -  
 - - - | - - - || - - - | - - -  
 ( - - - ) | - - - || - - - | - - -  
 - - - | - - - || ( - - - | - - - )  
 ( - - - ) | - - - || - - - | ( - - - )  
 - - - | - - - || - - - | ( - - - )

In contentment and favor  
 His character is the best,  
 The longing of the servant  
 My Lord, bring (his) arrival close  
 Perhaps the east wind  
 Time in love of one whom we know  
 I fasted from him for a time

and lofty rank,  
 with (its) banner and glory.  
 for the Prophet, the Messenger stirs  
 to one who laments the distance.  
 brings me close to my aim.  
 oppressed me.  
 and made him my fast-breaking.

### Annotation

IM gives مع عُلُوِّ الْقَدْرِ (“with lofty rank”) in the ‘ajuz of line 1, as in Darj #20 also.

Both Zwītin and Ambīrkū present this as a *ḥumāsīyya*. Both give جعلت فطري . جعلته فطري .

This is the 6<sup>th</sup> dawr of the *muwaššah Qabla kawni z-zamān*, which is found in *Dīwān aš-Šuštārī*, #30, pp. 145-147. The *Dīwān* contains the following variants: Line 3 ‘ajuz: زَادَ سَوْقُ الْعَبْدِ (“the longing of the servant increases”); line 6 ‘ajuz: من تَدْرِي (“one whom you know”).

In terms of grammar and orthography, this *san’a* is relatively constrained (with one accepted license—conversion of ʾ to ʰ), though the complete

suppression of *i'rab* for an indefinite accusative of time (أَوَانٌ, rather than أَوَانٌ, for أَوَانٌ) has somewhat the flavor of the conversational, even if the metrical and rhyming requirement is apparent. Moreover, as perhaps should be expected for any text labelled توشیح المتدارك, there are several significant departures from المتدارك (whose basis is فاعلن). This text is mirrored in Darj #20, which is found only in IM. That rendering is rather more orally marked. The clearly possessive رَبِّي here is rendered رب in unvocalized form there, indicating a reduction of ي to *kasra* that suggests the anthologist (or some earlier manuscript version) working from the *ṣan'ā*-as-sung.

Notable themes: Here the east wind, rather than being the bearer of tidings, bears the lover to the beloved (Muḥammad). He is named as both Messenger and Prophet, and of course is longed after and credited with the favor of Allāh, high rank and noble character. The image of fasting is not common in *Ramal al-Māya*.



رِيحُ الخُزَامِ	إِنْ جُرَّتْ بِالْبَانِ
أَقْرَأَ السَّلَامَ	مِنِّي لِلسَّاطَانِ
حَيِّ الدِّيَارِ	وَمَنْ يَهَا سَاكِنِ
وَعَجُّ مِرَارِ	وَهَيْجِ السَّاكِنِ
طَبِي النِّقَارِ	بِمُهْجَتِي سَاكِنِ
بَدْرُ التَّمَامِ	قَدْ هَيْجَ أَشْجَانِي
يَقْضِي هَيَامَ	لِلْعَاشِقِ الْفَانِي

## Basīṭ #18 — ريح الخزام

IM # 12 p. 40

Bennūna # 226 p. 274 (Basīṭ al-Ḥusayn)

- - - - || - - - - | - -  
 - - - - || ( - - - - ) | - -  
   - - - - || - - - - | - -  
   - - - - || - - - - | - -  
   - - - - || - - - - | - -  
 - - - - || ( - - - - ) | - -  
 - - - - || - - - - | - -

The scent of the desert violet  
Recite the greeting

Salute the abodes  
Turn away many times  
The timorous gazelle

The full moon  
He decrees a burning thirst

when you pass by the *bān* tree,  
from me to the king.

and whoever lives in them.  
and arouse those in repose.  
dwells in my heart's blood.

has aroused sorrows in me.  
for the lover who is wasting away.

## Annotation

IM also places this text as a *ḥumāsīyya* in Bṭāyḥī al-Māya, pp. 361-362. This *ṣanʿa* appears as a *ḥumāsīyya* in Bṭāyḥī al-Istihlāl I in D144, as well.

Bennūna gives several variant readings in Basīṭ al-Ḥusayn:

Line 2: مَنِّي عَلَى السُّلْطَانِ  
Recite the greeting

إِقْرَأِ السَّلَامَ  
from me **upon** the king.

Line 3: حَيِّ الدِّيَارِ

Line 7: المَتِيَّةُ الفَائِي  
He decrees **burning** thirst

يَقْضِي السِّبَامَ  
for the **thrall** who is wasting away

الخِزَامِ here is a reduction and colloquialization of الخِزَامِيُّ noted by Lane in his Lexicon. Other departures from constraint include the meter (problematic as often as not for the Andalusī strophic *ṣanāʿiʿ*) and مِرَارٌ, which has a rather informal quality, having dropped not only the *tanwīn* but the accusative marker altogether. Otherwise, the text remains rather more constrained than some

others in the corpus, and the use of *tarsī* that varies along with the end rhyme enhances the sense of poetic diction inherent in the text.

Notable themes: The gazelle, the *bān* tree and the lover wasting away, full of sorrows and/or thirsting for the beloved, come right out of the *ḡazal* poetry of the classical period. As elsewhere, the Prophet is referenced only through the image of the full moon.

This text is found in *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*.



البيسط ١٩  
توشيح - شغل

مَا لِلْمَوْلَىٰ      مِنْ سُكْرِهِ لَا يُفِيقُ      يَا لَهُ سَكْرَانُ  
مِنْ غَيْرِ خَمَرٍ      أَنَا الْكَيْبُ الْمَشُوقُ      يَتَدَبُّ الْأَوْطَانَ  
هَلْ تُسْتَعَادُ      أَيَا مُنَا يَا خَلِيجُ      وَ لِيَا لِيْنَا  
إِذْ يُسْتَفَادُ      مِنَ النَّسِيرِ الْأَرْبِجِ      مِسْكُ دَارِينَا  
أَوْ هَلْ يَكَادُ      حُسْنَ الْمَكَانِ الْبَهِيحِ      أَنْ يُجَيِّنَا  
رَوْضُ أَظْلَهُ      دَوْحٌ عَلَيْهِ أَيْتُ      مُورِقُ الْأَفْنَانِ  
وَالْمَاءُ يَجْرِي      وَعَائِمٌ وَعَدْرِيقُ      مِنْ جَنَى الرِّيحَانِ

Basīṭ #19 — مالموله

IM #13 p. 40

Bennūna #157 pp. 278–279 (Basīṭ al-Ḥusayn)

Ambīrkū #12 p. 11

**Poet:** Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Zuhr al-Iṣbīlī

---○--- || ---○○○--- || ---○○---  
 ---○○--- || ○---○○--- || ---○---  
     ---○○○ || ---○○--- || ○○○---  
     ---○○○ || ○---○○--- || ---○○---  
     ---○○○ || ---○○--- || ---○○---  
 ---○○○○ || ---○○○○ || ---○○---  
 ---○○--- || ---○○○○ || ---○○---

What is the matter with the crazy man?

He recovers not from his drunkenness.

O, what a drunkard!

From something other than wine

I am dejected (with) longing

which laments the homeland.

Can our days in al-Ḥalīj and our nights be brought back  
 When the musk of Dārīnā is received from the scented breeze?  
 Or does the beauty of the joyful place nearly revive us?

A garden, which is cast in shade

by tall, comely trees

with leafy branches.

And water flows,

with a swimmer and one immersed

among the fruit of the fragrant plants

**Annotation**

الخليج was a park or greenspace in Seville during the Islamic era.

دارينا = Dārīnā, on the eastern shore of Arabia, known as a port for perfumes and musk.

These verses form the *maṭlaʿ* and first *dawr* of Ibn Zuhr's *muwašṣaḥ* #22 in ʿĪsā (p. 192), and they are an extremely popular text in al-Āla, being found as *subāʿiyya* in IJ, Basīṭ ar-Raṣd (p. 168); in MW, Bṭāyḥī ar-Raṣd (p. 191); and in D144 Qāʾim wa-niṣf al-Māya (p. 233) and Bṭāyḥī ar-Raṣd (p. 417). The *maṭlaʿ* is also found separately in D144, #52 in Basīṭ al-Istihlāl II (p. 160); and in IM, Bṭāyḥī ar-Raṣd (p. 160). And it is found as a *ḥumāsīyya* in IJ, Qāʾim wa-niṣf ar-Raṣd (p. 159) and Bṭāyḥī Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn (p. 199); and as just the first two lines of the *guṣn* in Bṭāyḥī Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn in MW (p. 225).

Variants: IM in *Ramal al-Māya* is very close to the version found in Fawzi ʿĪsā's *Ibn Zuhr (al-Ḥafīd) wuṣṣāḥ al-Andalus*; the only different item is also a variant ʿĪsā finds in one of his sources.

Line 1 in MW and IJ (Bṭāyḥī ar-Raṣd):

مَا لِي مُوَلِّهِ      مِنْ حَيْرَتِي لَا أُفِيقُ      وَهَلْ سَكْرَانُ

*How is it that I am crazy  
and do not recover from my bewilderment  
a passion intoxicated?*

None of these variants appears in the sources ʿĪsā cites; IM is the same (given that both are unvocalized), but D144:

مَا لِي مُوَلِّهِ      مِنْ حَيْرَتِي لَا أُفِيقُ      وَهَلْ سَكْرَانُ

Line 2 in MW, IJ and Ambirkū:

مِنْ غَيْرِ خَمْرٍ      أَنَا الْكَيْبُ الْمَشُوقُ      غَرِيبُ الْأَوْطَانِ

*From some thing other than wine  
I am dejected with longing  
a stranger to the homeland*

ʿĪsā: يَا الْكَيْبُ الْمَشُوقُ

*O, what a longing, dejected one!*

Again, IM is closer to the *dīwān*, and none of the variants in MW or IJ is found in ʿĪsā's sources. D144:

مِنْ غَيْرِ خَمْرٍ      أَنَا الْكَيْبُ الْمَشُوقُ      نَتَدَبُّ الْأَوْطَانِ

*I lament...*

Line 4: IJ gives: **أَوْ يُسْتَفَادُ**, which ʿĪsā finds in Ibn Khaldun.  
MW, Ambīrkū and D144: **وَيُسْتَفَادُ**

Line 5: IJ: **وَأَنْ يَكَادُ**; ʿĪsā, Ambīrkū and D144: **وَأَذْيَكَادُ**  
MW: **يُحْيِينَا**

Line 6: IJ: **أَضَلَّهُ** (a misprint or copyist error?); ʿĪsā gives: **نهر** (but does find **روض** in one of his sources); MW: **مُورِقُ الْأَفِينَانِ** (“verdant”); IJ: **مُرَوِّقُ الْأَفْنَانِ** (“splendor”); Ambīrkū and D144: **مُورِقُ فَيِّنَانِ** (“bursting into leaf, luxuriant”)

Line 7: MW: **وَعَائِمٍ** for **عَائِمٍ**; Ambīrkū: **عائِم**; and IJ: **مِنْ حَجِّي الرِّيحَانِ** “from gathering the fragrant plants.”

This *ṣanʿa*, with its tri-segmented lines, makes extensive use of *tarsī*, which enhances the sense of poetic formality or constraint, even though the first segments of the *maṭlaʿ* and *qufl* do not rhyme completely. Grammatically, the text is almost fully constrained in its use of *īrāb* (though inconsistently for segment ends, due to rhyme and metrical considerations). The meter, such as it is, is based upon the number of syllables in each segment (5 - 7 - 5) but it is very consistent throughout and probably links to stress deriving from the melody. Thus this *muwašṣaḥ* by one of the masters of the Andalusī genre retains a high level of constraint within the boundaries of the poetic register.

Notable themes: The intoxicated mystic is known elsewhere in *Ramal al-Māya*, as are images of gardens. Here we also find rare references to places outside of the Hijaz, one in Seville and the other in Arabia. The latter provides occasion for evoking indirectly the breeze bearing news of the beloved, though hardly to be understood in quite the same way here, and certainly not as necessarily indicating the Prophet. Indeed, there is little in this *ṣanʿa* that links it to the more common themes and images usually evoked in *Ramal al-Māya*, apart from its general mystical tone and the vague evocation of a beloved companion.

This text is found in *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* with substantial variations.

البيسط ٢٠  
البيسط - شغل

يَا أَهْلَ طَيْبَةِ لِي فِي رَبِّعِكُمْ مَهْرٌ  
يَا خَيْرَةَ الرَّسْلِ يَا أَعْلَى الْوَرَى شَرْفًا  
وَأَسْعَلْتَنِي ذُنُوبٌ عِنْدَكَ مُؤَلِّمَةً  
فَكُنْ شَفِيعِي لِمَا قَدَّمْتُ مِنْ زَلَلٍ  
بِرِّ عَطُوفٍ لِنَفْعِ الْخَيْرِ أَمَارٌ  
قَدْ أَثْقَلَتْ ظَهْرِي آثَامٌ وَأَوْزَارٌ  
أَخَافُ تُحْرِقُنِي مِنْ أَجْلِهَا النَّارُ  
وَمِنْ خَطَايَا فَإِنَّ الرَّبَّ غَفَّارٌ

Basīṭ #20 — يا أهل طيبة لي في ربعكم قر

IJ #17 p. 45

MW #14 pp. 28-29

Zwītin #15 p. 15.

Ambīrkū #15, p. 12

Poet: Sīdī Aḥmad al-'Arūsī al-Mağribī

-- -- | -- -- | -- -- | -- -- || -- -- | -- -- | -- -- | -- --  
 -- -- | -- -- | -- -- | -- -- || -- -- | -- -- | -- -- | -- --  
 -- -- | -- -- | -- -- | -- -- || -- -- | -- -- | -- -- | -- --  
 -- -- | -- -- | -- -- | -- -- || -- -- | -- -- | -- -- | -- --

O ye people of Mecca, there is a moon for me in your locale,  
                                 righteous, sympathetic, urging the doing of good.  
 O choicest of messengers, O highest of mankind in honor,  
                                 sins and burdens have weighed heavy on my back.  
 Distressing misdeeds distract me from you.  
                                 I fear the Fire will burn me because of them.  
 So be my intercessor for missteps I committed before  
                                 and lapses, for indeed the Lord is oft-forgiving.

### Annotation

Line 1: Ṭayba (indefinite and diptotic) = the Prophet's city, ie: Mecca

These lines are said to be from the same *qaṣīda* as #15 above, though these verses are not found in either an-Nabahānī or Ayyūbī. As such, it represents a similarly high level of constraint by the rules of grammar, prosody and poetic diction.

Zwītin and Ambīrkū reverse lines 2 and 3

Notable themes: The Prophet as the moon, as most honorable/noble, righteous and sympathetic of mankind, and as intercessor on behalf of the believer worried over his sins.

البيط ٢١  
البيط - شغل

صَلِّ عَلَيْكَ إِلَهَ الْعَرْشِ مَا سَجَعَتْ  
وَأَلِّكَ وَعَلَى أَصْحَابِكَ السُّعْدَا  
وُزُقُ وَمَا انْتَشَرَتْ فِي الرَّوْضِ أَزْهَارُ  
مَالِحَ نَجْمٍ وَمَا انْهَكَلَ مِذْرَارُ

Basīṭ #21 — صلى عليك إله العرش ما سبجت

IJ #18 p. 45

IM #17 p. 41

MW #15 p. 29

Zwītin #16 pp. 15-16

Ambīrkū #16 p. 12

**Poet:** Sīdī Aḥmad al-ʿArūsī al-Maḡribī

--- | --- | --- | --- || --- | --- | --- | ---  
 --- | --- | --- | --- || --- | --- | --- | ---

May the god of the Throne bless you as long as  
 gray doves weep and blossoms spread in the Garden.  
 And your family, and your fortunate Companions  
 as long as a star shines, as long as heavy rain pours down.

#### Annotation

Line 1, IJ: سَبَجَتْ (?) for سَبَّجَتْ.

IM and Ambīrkū give: line 1, نَفَّحَتْ (“give scent”) for أَنْشَرَتْ; line 2, نَجْمُ الدَّجَى (“the stars of the night”); IM gives وَالكَ الْفَرْزِ (“your excellent (?) family”).

The line 2 in Zwītin is rather difficult to read and somewhat confused. It appears to read:

وآله في [؟] وعلى أصحابه السُّعدا ملاح نجمٌ وما انهطل [؟] مدرار

*And his family [?] and upon his [?] Companions  
 as long as a star shines and as long as heavy rain flows.*

See Annotation to Basīṭ #15—as with #20 above, this text exhibits similar levels of constraint by the rules of grammar, prosody and diction. First line only appears in an-Nabahānī and Ayyūbī.

Notable themes: A common topos in this *nūba* is the temporal extension (often using مَا الدَّيْمُومَةَ) of some blessing for the duration of a natural phenomenon, suggesting in effect that it continue until the end of the world. Two sets of two are mentioned here. Blessing is also brought down on the Prophet’s Companions and family, as well.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as ḥamdān.

البيسط ٢٢  
الكامل - شغل

وَالكُونُ لَمْ تَفْتَحْ لَهُ الْاغلاقُ  
أشاعلي أَخلاقك الخلاقُ

يا مُصْطَفَى من قَبْلِ نَشأةِ آدَمَ  
أَيُّومُ مُخْلوقُ شَاءَكَ بَعْدَما

Basīṭ #22 — يا مصطفي من قبل نشأة آدم

IJ #19 p. 45

IM #18 p. 41

MW #16 p. 29

Bennna #232 p. 280

Zwītin #17 p. 16

Ambīrkū #17 p. 13

**Poet:** Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb

--- | --- | --- || --- | --- | ---  
 --- | --- | --- || --- | --- | ---

O Chosen One from before the creation of Adam,  
 when the locks to existence were not (yet) opened,  
 Let creatures long to praise you after  
 the Creator praised your noble qualities.

#### Annotation

*Dīwān*, #645 v. 2, pp. 714-715.

See also: *Nafḥ at-ṭīb* (1988), v. 5, p. 167.; and *Durrat al-hijāl* v. 2, p. 274.

Zwītin begins first line: يا مصطفي.

In addition to sound metrical structure and absence of grammatical or diction features stereotypically marked dialectal, the use of *tarsīʿ* adds to the formal tone of this fully constrained text.

Notable themes: The Chosen One (المختار or المصطفى) is a common attribute of Muḥammad in *Ramal al-Māya*, here coming from before creation—the locks on creation being unique in this *nūba*. The Prophet's noble qualities and worthiness of praise are also mentioned. The praise from the Creator here is, of course, an echo of the Prophet's own name.


غَرَاجِي مُجَدِّدَ      فِي طَهَ الْمُجَدِّدِ  
ذِي الْحُسْنِ الْمُوَحَّدِ      وَالسَّعْدِ الْمُؤَبَّدِ  
وَالْفَخْرِ الْمُخَلَّدِ      هِيَ مُحَمَّدُ النَّبِيِّ

ذُو الْقَدْرِ الرَّفِيعِ      وَالشَّكْلِ الْبَدِيعِ  
وَالكَهْفِ الْمَنِيعِ      وَالصَّنْدَرِ الْوَسِيعِ  
الْمَهَادِي الشَّفِيعِ      هِيَ مُحَمَّدُ النَّبِيِّ

ذُو الْقَدْرِ الْقَوِيمِ      وَالْوَجْهِ الْوَسِيمِ  
وَالخَالِقِ الْعَظِيمِ      وَالْمَجْدِ الْفَخِيمِ  
الْمَهَادِي الْكَرِيمِ      هِيَ مُحَمَّدُ النَّبِيِّ

ذُو الْخَدِّ الْمَوْرَدِ      وَالشَّفْرِ الْمُنْدَدِ  
وَالنُّورِ الْمَوْقَدِ      وَالْمَجَاهِ الْمُسْرَمَدِ  
وَالنُّطْقِ الْمَجْرَدِ      هِيَ مُحَمَّدُ النَّبِيِّ

مَنْ يَهْوَى مُحَمَّدَ      يُمِسي غَنِي مُؤَيَّدَ  
مَنْ يَعشَقُ مُحَمَّدَ      يَهِنَا عَيْشُهُ وَيُجَدِّدُ  
كَيْفَ يَشُدُّ وَيُسَيِّدُ      فِي مُحَمَّدِ النَّبِيِّ

Basīṭ #23 — غرامي مجدد 

IJ # 20 pp. 45-46

IM # 19 pp. 41-42

MW # 17 p. 29

Zwītin #18 p. 16

Ambīrkū #18 p. 13

1

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 ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

My love is renewed  
 Possessing singular beauty  
 And longlasting glory

for Ṭāhā, the lauded.  
 and everlasting good fortune  
 he is Muḥammad, the Prophet

Possessing elevated rank  
 And inviolable Cave  
 The Guide, the Intercessor

and rare and marvelous form  
 and broad breast  
 he is Muḥammad, the Prophet

Possessing upright stature  
 And exalted character  
 The Noble Guide

and beautiful face  
 and imposing grandeur  
 he is Muḥammad, the Prophet

Possessing rosy cheeks  
 And kindling light  
 And pure speech

wide-open eye  
 and eternal glory  
 he is Muḥammad, the Prophet

One who loves Muḥammad	comes into richness and sustenance
One ardent for Muḥammad	his life becomes enjoyable and praiseworthy
How does he seek and sing	about Muḥammad, the Prophet?

### Annotation

MW, IM, Zwītin and Ambīrkū have only strophes 1, 2 and 5; all read ذُو for ذِي at the beginning of strophe 2.

Strophe 5 in MW:

يُمْسِي هَانِي مُؤَيِّدٌ	مَنْ يَعْشَقُ مُحَمَّدٌ
<i>becomes happy, supported</i>	
يَهْنَأُ عَيْشُهُ وَيَرَعُدُّ	مَنْ يَهْوِي مُحَمَّدٌ
<i>his life becomes wholesome and pleasant</i>	
فِي مُحَمَّدِ النَّبِيِّ	كَيْفَ يَشْدُو وَيُنْشِدُ
	<i>how does he sing and recite</i>

From strophe 5 in IM: يَهْنَأُ عَيْشًا وَيَرَعُدُّ (“he becomes happy with his life, and satisfied”)

فِي مُحَمَّدِ النَّبِيِّ	حِينَ يَشْدُو وَيُنْشِدُ
<i>when he calls out and sings</i>	

Zwītin and Ambīrkū reverse the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> segments in the middle of strophe 2; and drop ه from عَيْشُهُ in the final strophe. Ambīrkū also gives يَهْوِي for يَعْشَقُ in the final strophe, as well.


This poem bears a distant similarity with a *zajal* or a *muwašṣaḥ*, but in fact it takes the form known as المثلث, that is, built upon 3-line strophes with the third rhyming in common, a form often used for didactic purposes in classical literature. And in fact, the text being generally inflected within the bounds of poetic licenses, and lacking many features stereotypically marked as dialectal, there are few indications of the kind of less-constrained language that would be typical of a *zajal*—save the loss of several final vowels in the *muḍāri‘* in the last two lines—hence the attribution of *tawšīḥ* in all but IJ. However, the metrical system is as unconstrained as many strophic poems in this corpus.

Line 1: Ṭāhā = the title of the 20<sup>th</sup> *sūra* of the Qur’ān, deriving from the two mystical letters طه that begin it; here, though, an epithet of either the Prophet or of Allāh, according to the Moroccan Sufi Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mahdī Ibn ‘Ajība al-Ḥasanī (b. 1160 or 1161/1746-7 d. 1224/1809) in his *tafsīr; al-Baḥr al-madīd*. It signifies, in one version, “purity” by itself; and in another, ط stands for الطاهر (“the Pure One”) and ه for الهادي (“the Guide”)—both epithets of the Prophet, but also (and perhaps originally, since they are in the Qur’ān) of Allāh. For a discussion of the symbol of light in strophe 4, see Annotation to Basīṭ #9.

Ij gives the *ṭab’* as *ramal al-māya*.

رجل - شغل (MW and IM: توشيح - شغل)

يا عاشقين	خَيْرَ الأَنامِ
طَهَّ الأَمِينِ	هَكِجَّ عَرامِي
في كُلِّ حينَ	أُرْسِلَ سَلامي
ونُقولُ لَهُ	يا خَيْرَ الأَنامِ
يا مَن سَبي	عَقَلِي وبالي
مَتى أراكَ	تِلْكَ آمالي

Basīṭ #24 — يا عاشقين 

also

Qā'im-wa-Niṣf #12

IJ #21 p. 46

IM #20 p. 42

MW #18 pp. 29-30

Bennūna #291 p. 318

Zwītin #19 p. 16

Ambīrkū #19 p. 16

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 - - - - || - - - - | -  
 - - - - || - - - - -

O lovers of  
 Ṭāhā the trustworthy  
 In every moment  
 And I say to him,  
 O you who captivated  
 When will I see you?"

the best of mankind,  
 stirred my love.  
 I send my greeting,  
 "O best of mankind  
 my mind and my sense  
 Such are my hopes.

### Annotation

Identified variously as *zajal* and *tawšīḥ*, this *ṣanʿa* is unusual in being a *sudāsīyya*: the *ǧuṣn* is four lines long instead of three. Apart from metrical considerations (which in any case are generally problematic among the Andalusī strophic forms in *al-Āla*), less-constrained/non-standard features of this *ṣanʿa* include: /na-/ as marker of first person singular imperfect (وتَقُولُ لَهُ) —known from Andalusī colloquial, as well as some varieties of relatively constrained post-classical verse—and loss of first-syllable short vowel common in Moroccan pronunciation, though not typical of Andalusī Arabic (see: Corriente, 1980); لَهُ → لَهُ (attested in Corriente, 2000); and loss of final vowels in perf. and imperf. verbs (هَيَّجَ، تَقُولُ، أَرْسَلُ).

MW version:

خَيْرَ الْأَنَامِ	يَاعَاشِقِينَ
هَيْجَ غَرَامِي	طَهَ الْأَمِينِ
نُرْسِلَ سَلَامِي	فِي كُلِّ حِينٍ
يَا مَنْ سَبَى عَقْلِي وَبَالِي	وَتَقُولُوا يَا خَيْرَ الْأَنَامِ
تِلْكَ آمَالِي	مَتَى أَرَاكَ

Note that this arrangement disturbs the rhyme scheme but has the virtue of following the melodic structure: aaaba.

Further dialectal features in this version: *وَتَقُولُوا*, as above, the long final /ū/ being an echo of Andalusī/Moroccan dialectal reduction *لَهُ* → *لُهْ* → *لُو*. Also, further loss of final vowel - *أَرَاكَ*

IM:

بَدْرَ التَّمَامِ	يَاعَاشِقِينَ
هَيْجَ غَرَامِي	طَهَ الْأَمِينِ
نُرْسِلَ سَلَامِي	فِي كُلِّ حِينٍ
يَا بِنَ الْأَمَاجِدِ الْكَرَامِ	وَنَقُولُ يَا خَيْرَ الْأَنَامِ
أَنْتَ مَرَامِي	طَوَّلَ السَّنِينَ

... the full moon

...

<i>And I say, O best of mankind</i>	<i>O scion of the noble honored ones</i>
<i>(For) years long</i>	<i>you are my desire</i>

Zwītin:

يَاعَاشِقِينَ	خَيْرَ الْأَنَامِ	طَهَ الْأَمِينِ	هَيْجَ غَرَامِي
فِي كُلِّ حِينٍ	نُرْسِلَ سَلَامِي	وَنَقُولُ يَا خَيْرَ الْأَنَامِ	يَا مَنْ سَبَى
عَقْلِي وَبَالِي	أَمَتِي تَرَى	تِلْكَ آمَالِي	

Ambīrkū's text is almost identical to Zwītin (though arranged on the page as MW), but gives *الاماكن* in place of *آمالی*, which completely breaks with the rhyme scheme.

Notable themes: On Ṭāhā, see Annotation to Basīṭ #23. The basic theme here, the love of the seeker for the Prophet (evoked here only as the "best of mankind"), his preoccupation with him, and his desire to be with him, are all common topoi in *Ramal al-Māya*.

Found in Wazzanī and Valderrama.

IJ gives the *ṭab'* as *al-ḥusayn*.

توشيح - شغل (MW: من بحر مضارع شغل; IM: شغل توشيح مضارع)

يا حادي الرِّبَانِ	شَدَّ الحُمُولَ واعْرَمَ
يا أَيُّها الإنسانُ	من قَبْلِ أنْ تَتَدَمَّ
وكَهْبَةِ الرَّحْمَنِ	أما تَرى زَمَزَمَ
واطْوِيها بالتَّقريبِ	فَدَفَدَ في ذِي الأَقْفارِ
مُحَمَّدِ العَرَبِيِّ	إرْحَلْ إلى المُخْتارِ

Basīṭ #25 — شد الحمول واعزم

IJ # 22 p. 46

IM # 21 p. 42

MW # 19 p. 30

Zwītin #20 p. 16

Ambīrkū #20 p. 14

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Tie the saddle bags and decide,	O camel caravan leader,
Before you regret,	O man.
Don't you see Zamzam	and the Ka'ba of the Merciful?
Flee in these wastelands	and fold them up in nearness.
Travel to the Chosen One,	Muḥammad, the Arab.

#### Annotation

MW: شدَّ الحُمُولُ واعزَمَ يا حاديَّ الرِّبَكانِ

and فَدَفَدَ في تِلْكَ القِفارِ واظْهوها بالقربِ

Several features of this version of the text represent departures from constraint, including loss of some *irāb* (الحُمُولُ), non-standard rendering of the imperative (اظْهوها, فَدَفَدَ, شَدَّ), and even loss of a medial vowel (العربي for العريبي). (The vocalizations in MW are somewhat closer to standard constraints.) Ambīrkū has the correct imperatives: اظْهوها and شَدَّ. Moreover, the text cannot be scanned as مفاعِلن فاعِلاتن (المضارع).

Notable themes: The image of the camel caravan (including images of travel itself, the mounted riders, and arrival at the tribal encampment—here presented as the *haram* in Mecca) hearkens back to the *qaṣīda* of the ancient poetic tradition. See the Annotations for Basīṭ #8 and al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #2. For a more problematic example, see al-Qā'im wa-Nif #13. The Prophet here is invoked through one of his more common attributes, the Chosen One.

IJ gives the *tab'* as *ramal al-māya*.

منهوك الرمل (MW: توشيح ; IM: توشيح - منهوك الخفيف)

يا هلال التمام	يا محمد يا جوهرة عقدي
وأفناي الغرام	الحبة قد هيئت وجدي
من لذيذ الشراب	أنت أسكرتني على سكري
فقهمت الخطاب	مُخاطبتني كما نذري
عند رفع الحجاب	ثم شاهدت وجهك البدي
وبلغت المرام	نلت سؤي ومتهى قصدي
تاج الرسل الكرام	قد شغفت بدرة المجد

Basīṭ #26 — يا محمد يا جوهرة عنقدي

IJ #23 p. 46

IM #22 p. 42

MW #20 p. 30

Bennūna #330 p. 343

Zwīṭin #21 p. 17

Ambīrkū #21 p. 14

Poet: Abū Madyan al-Ġawṭ

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 - - - - | - - - - | - - || - - - - | - -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - || - - - - | - -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - || - - - - | - -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - || - - - - | - -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - || - - - - | - -  
 (- - - -) | - - - - | - - || (- - - -) | - -

O Muḥammad, O jewel of my necklace,	O full moon.
Love has stirred up my ardor,	and love-pangs ruin me.
You made me drunk upon my drunkenness	from the delightful drink.
Then you addressed me in the way we know,	and I understood the speech.
Then I saw your full-Moon face	when the veil was lifted.
I attained my desire, and my ultimate goal	and I reached what I desire.
I am madly in love with the pearl of majesty	the crown of the noble prophets.

### Annotation

IM is correct: فاعلانٌ مُستَفْعِلُن = الخفيف

MW: وفأني for وأفأني in line 2.

Abū Madyan is responsible for several *qaṣā'id*, but none of the verses published by Cornell (1996) is found in this *ṣan'a*, which is strophic in form.

Apart from two instances of lost *i'rāb* (جوهرة and محمد) and three metrically problematic feet, this text is relatively well constrained by *arūḍ* and grammar (leaving aside the varying rhyme scheme of this strophic poem). The presence of *tarsī'* further enhances the constrained quality of the language. (رُسُل as a plural of رَسُول, though it may seem at first glance to be a convenient solecism

or dialectalism, is in fact classical, attested in the *Ṣihāḥ* of al-Jawharī—d. 398/1008.)

Notable themes: This *ṣanʿa* brings together images from almost the whole repertoire of genres that appear as *madīḥ* in *Ramal al-Māya*. From classical *ḡazal*, we have the lover dying of the pains of love; from mystical verse we find spiritual intoxication and the secret language of mystical communion, as well as the idea of the veil that hides the seeker from the Reality; and from *madīḥ* we have the Prophet once again compared (twice) to the full moon, as well as the metaphor of the crown (symbolizing the pinnacle, zenith or highest aspect). Two unusual images—for *Ramal al-Māya*, anyway—compare the Prophet to jewelry.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.



مشطور الرمل (MW and IM: توشيح)

سَيِّدَ الرُّسُلِ عَشِيقَتُهُ يَا كِرَامَ  
وَسَعَفَنِي حُبُّهُ وَالْعَقْلُ هَامَ  
سَكَنَ القَلْبُ لِمَنْ يَهْوَى وِرَامَ  
أَفَنِي فِيهِ مَحَبَّةٌ وَلَا أُرْوَى  
مَا سَبَانِي فِي المِلَاحِ إِلَّا الرُّسُولَ  
وَاسْتَقَامَ سَعْدِي  
وَبَدَا وَجْدِي  
ذَاكَ هُوَ قُصْدِي  
أَمْدَحُهُ بِجَهَارَ  
النَّبِيِّ المُخْتَارَ

Basīṭ #27 — سيد الرسل عشقته ياكرام

IJ #24 pp. 46-47

IM #23 pp. 42-43

MW #21 pp. 30-31

Zwītin #22 p. 17

Ambīrkū #22 pp. 14-15

- - - - | - - - - || - - - - | - -  
 - - - - | ( - - - - ) | - - - - || - - - - | -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - - - || ( - - - - ) | - -  
 ( - - - - ) | - - - - | - - - - || ( - - - - )  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - - - || - - - - | -

I became enamored of the master of the prophets, O noble ones,  
and my happiness was firmly established.

Love of him filled me with ardent passion, and my reason was confounded,  
and my passion became apparent.

The heart of one who loves, and craves (love) is quiet.  
That is my aim.

I pass away in him, lovingly, and I do not cease  
praising him publicly.

The Messenger alone among beauties captivates me,  
the chosen Prophet.

### Annotation

This *ṣanʿa*, while constructed from language clearly marked as “poetic” (with obviously constrained characteristics like meter, rhyme and *tarsīʿ*), nevertheless departs from constraint in several significant ways. Several metrical feet fall outside the foundation of *ramal* (مُتَفَاعِلٌ or فَاعِلَاتُنْ), all the more so because in line 1 the scansion works better if the final vowels on عَشِقْتُهُ and وَاسْتَقَامَ are dropped, which represent further departures from the constraints of classical verse. Other non-standard affects include: > شَعَفَنِي > شَعَفَنِي > فِيهِ > فِيهِ and > أَمَدَحَهُ بِجِهَارٍ > أَمَدَحَهُ بِجِهَارٍ (a combination of lost اعراب from the verb, plus Moroccan dialectal loss of the short vowel from the preposition ب and loss of first-syllable short vowel).

MW:

Line 3    وطارَ القلبُ لِمَن يَهْوَى ورامَ  
*My heart flew to one who loves, and craved (love)*

Line 4    أَفنى في حَبَّتِهِ ولا أزلُ أمدَحُهُ بالإجهارِ  
*I pass away in his love...*

Ambīrkū line 1: عشقتَه for عشقت; and line 4 ṣadr: وفناني حبه ولا ازول. Note that Ambīrkū marks the sukūn on بجهارِ, as well.

Notable themes: The lover not only loves, he loves so intensely that, on one hand he achieves a certain happiness, but also his thinking is confused and he experiences “passing away” as he aspires to a calm state of mind. All this shows the confluence of the *ġazal* and mystical genres well attested in Sufi poetry, put to use in this case ostensibly for *al-madiḥ an-nabawī*. Muḥammad himself is evoked through his common attributes of the Prophet, the Messenger and the Chosen One.

Ij gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.



البيسط ٢٨

البيسط - شغل

مُجِدَّ خَيْرِ مَخْلُوقِ سَمَا خُلِقَا      وَسَادَ خَلْقًا فَنَ فِي الخَلْقِ يَحْكِيهِ  
مِن قَبْلِ نَشْأَتِهِ الرَّحْمَانُ شَرَفَهُ      وَبِالشَّفَاعَةِ يَوْمَ العَرَضِ يَرْضِيهِ

Basīṭ #28 — محمد خير مخلوق سما خلقا

IJ #25 p. 47

MW #22 p. 31

Ambīrkū #23 p. 15

Poet: Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb

- - - - | - - - | - - - - | - - - - || - - - - | - - - | - - - - | - - -  
 - - - - | - - - | - - - - | - - - - || - - - - | - - - | - - - - | - - -

Muḥammad is the best of creatures, born with high character.

and he became the master over mankind, so the people relate stories of him  
 Before the Merciful brought him into being, He honored him,  
 and he pleases Him by interceding on the Day of Manifesting.

#### Annotation

يوم الأرض: the Day of Manifesting (the Resurrection, when all that is hidden will be made manifest).

MW and Ambīrkū: وَالشَّفَاعَةَ يَوْمَ الْحَشْرِ يُرْضِيهِ  
 [the Day of Congregation]

This *ṣanʿa* is thoroughly constrained, including well-formed meter and the use of *tarsīʿ*, which adds to the sense of an elevated register of language.

Notable themes: That the Prophet is superior to the rest of mankind in character is a common *madūḥ* theme of *Ramal al-Māya*, as are the ideas that he is the intercessor with Allāh on behalf of his community on the Day of Judgement. That he existed in some sense and was blessed by the Divine before the actual creation is less common in the corpus, but is found in one or two other *ṣanāʿiʿ*.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.

البيسط ٢٩

شغل - البسيط

تُقْبَلُ الْأَرْضَ عَنِّي وَهِيَ نَائِبَتِي  
فَأَمْدُدْ يَمِينَكَ كَيْ تُحْطَى بِهَا سَفْتِي

فِي حَالَةِ الْبُعْدِ رُوحِي كُنْتُ أُرْسِلُهَا  
وَهَذِهِ نُوبَةُ الْأَشْبَاحِ قَدْ حَضَرَتْ

Basīṭ #29 — في حالة البعد روجي كنت أرسلها

also

Quddām #4

IM # 24 p. 43

Poet: aš-Šayḥ al-ʿĀrif aš-Šarīf ar-Rifāʿī

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In the state of separation, I was sending my spirit  
 to kiss the Earth for me, as my representative.  
 This is the chance for apparitions that appear,  
 so extend your right hand, that you favor my lip with it.

### Annotation

Although IM does not vocalize this version of the text, metrical considerations make clear that it should be vocalized as here, and that therefore the text is fully constrained by grammar, orthography and prosody.

These verses appear in the book *al-Burhān al-muʿayyad*, attributed to the poet (1971, p. 15).

Notable themes: Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Abū l-ʿAbbās ar-Rifāʿī (d. 577/1182) is said to have visited the Prophet's tomb in Medina, and the Prophet extended his hand for Aḥmad to kiss, a miracle allegedly witnessed by ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166).

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.



## *II. Mīzān al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf*

∴

القائم ونصف ١

رجل - شغل

بِاللَّهِ يَا حَادِيَ النِّيَاقِ

إِنَّ جُرَّتَ الْعِرَاقِ

قَلُّ عِنْدَ التَّلَاقِ

وَقَصْدِي نَزَعْبُ

يَا أَبْنَ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ

وَيَبْلُغُ مَطْلَبُ

الْمِلَاحُ يَشْكِرُ

جِئْتِكَ دَخِيلُ

مَنْ يَهْوَى مِيلِحُ

al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #1 — بالله يا حادي النياق

IJ #1 p. 47

IM #1 p. 43

MW #1 p. 32

Zwītin #1 p. 17

Ambīrkū #1 p. 16

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By Allāh, O camel driver

If you pass through Iraq

Say at the encounter:

“I came to you a foreigner

O Ibn ‘Abd Allāh

and I desire my aim.”

He who loves one

of the beautiful ones is open, content

and something wished for comes (to him).

### Annotation

The following two lines were added as a *maṭla‘* by Ibn Jallūn in his anthology, making this a *ṣan‘a subā‘iyya*; none of the other printed anthologies has these verses.

جئتُكَ سائلٌ      يا خَيْرَ خَلْقِ اللَّهِ      وأنا المُذنبُ  
 مَنْ يَقْصِدُ مَدِيحَ      المِلاحِ يَسْتَرِحُ      وَيَبْلُغُ مَأْرَبُ

*I came to you, asking*

*O best of the creations of Allāh*

*though I am a sinner*

*He who strives to praise  
 the beautiful ones is at peace,  
 and something wished for comes (to him).*

Several departures from constrained, formal verse: single line segments in the *guṣn*; no metrical pattern in the *guṣn* (though an inkling of one in the *qufl*); transfer of final short vowel of pronoun suffix onto the verb (جئتُكَ from جئتُكَ) (MW presents جيتُكَ, with additional loss of root hamza); loss of *i'rāb* from الملاح > الملاح and يتلغ > يتلغ; and loss of final radical from التلاق < التلاقي.

Notable themes: The conceit of the camel caravan crossing the desert occurs in several *ṣanā'i'* in *Ramal al-Māya* (though what Iraq has to do with the Prophet is not clear). Here the Prophet is mentioned by his *laqab*, and it is implied that he satisfies the wishes of those who seek him.

This text is found in the margins of both *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*.

IJ gives the *ṭab'* as *ramal al-māya*.



القائم ونصف ٢

شغل من بحر الرمل (Bennūna): توشيح من بحر الرمل

يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ يَا بَحْرَ الْوَفَا      يَا شَفِيعَ الْمُهْتَدِي وَالْمُعْتَدِي  
إِنِّي قَد كُنْتُ عَبْدًا مُشْرِفًا      وَذُنُوبِي مَالَهَا مِنْ عَدَدِ  
فِي دِي لَا تَخْلُونَا مِنْكُمْ وَكُنِّي      بِي دِي اسْتَمْسَاكُهَا بِالْأَحْمَدِ  
كُنْ مُجِيرِي لَا تَوَاخِذْنِي بِمَا      قَدْ جَنَيْتُ مِنْ قَبِيحِ الدَّنَسِ  
فَكِرَامِ الْعَرَبِ تَحِيَّ كَرَمًا      مُسْتَجِيرِيهَا مُطِيعًا أَوْ مُسِي

al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #2 — يا رسول الله يا بحر الوفا

IJ #2 p. 47

IM #2 p. 44

MW #2 p. 32

Bennūna #294 p. 319-320

Zwītin #2 p. 17

Ambīrkū #2 p. 16

**Poet:** Ibn Sa'īd al-Miknāsī

- - - - | - - - - | - - - - || - - - - | - - - - | - - - -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - - - || - - - - | - - - - | - - - -  
 - - - - | ( - - - - ) | - - - - || - - - - | - - - - | - - - -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - - - || - - - - | - - - - | - - - -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - - - || - - - - | - - - - | - - - -

O Messenger of Allāh, O sea of fulfillment.

O Intercessor for the rightly-guided and the transgressor.

I have been an intemperate person,  
and my sins are without number.

My hand is not empty of you, and it is enough  
for my hand to adhere to the Highly Praised.

Be my rescuer, do not blame me  
for the ugly impurity which I have brought about.

For the noble Arabs shelter generously  
those who ask them for help, whether obedient, or wrongdoing.

### Annotation

Line 3: MW gives in the *ṣadr* لم تَخلُ (“was not empty”), which fits the meter more properly:

[- - - -] for [- - - -]

Ambīrkū gives باحمد for بالاحمد in the 'ajuz of line 3. The *qufl* in Ambīrkū:

كنجيري لا تواخذني بما      خضت فيه من قبيح الدنس  
 for which I tremble  
 فكرام العرب تحي كرما      مستجير احسنا جا اومسي

*one seeking help (whether) he comes doing good or ill.*

Bennūna notes (p. 319 n. 1049) that this is the 7th *dawr* from the *muwašṣaḥ* “Yā ‘arīb al-ḥayy...” by Ibn Sa‘īd al-Miknāsī. However, I do not find this text in the sources for him. This text also appears in Basīṭ ‘Irāq al-‘Ajam (IJ p. 293, MW p. 307).

While clearly strophic in format (and therefore bearing a varying rhyme scheme), this *ṣan‘a* is highly constrained in other respects, including the use of *tarsī* (and allowing for accepted licenses, such as the loss of the *hamza* from الوفاء, and even though تَوَاخَذُنِي loses its *ḍamma* due to metrical considerations).

Notable themes: The Prophet is here referred to with two of his spiritual attributes: شفيع, the intercessor, and أحمد, highly praised. Interestingly, here he is credited with interceding even for the sinful—and the poet/persona confesses his sins freely. Elsewhere in this corpus, the latter title sometimes stands alone, acting as an actual name alongside Muḥammad; the former never does.

The final line contains an echo of the the ancient Arab tribal code of *‘ird*, a kind of noble generosity that included the ideals of firm action and willingness to aid those in need (*karam*), combined with a certain detached reserve.<sup>1</sup> The poem thus draws upon a very old theme reaching back into the Jāhiliyya, with the Prophet here in the role of tribal protector transformed into the spiritual protector of humanity.

IJ gives the *ṭab‘* as *ramal al-māya*.

1 The classic work on the subject is Bichr Farès' *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam* (1932), but see also the entries for *‘ird* and *šaraf* in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*.



القائد ونصف ٣

الطويل - شغل

بِنُورِكَ أَوْصَحَّتِ الْهُدَى لِمَنِ اهْتَدَى  
عَلَيْكَ سَلَامُ اللَّهِ يَا عَلَّمَ الْهُدَى  
مَقَامُكَ مَحْمُودٌ وَأَنْتَ مُحَمَّدٌ  
وَرَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ الْحَمْدُ سَمَّاكَ أَحْمَدًا

al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #3 — بنورك أوضحت الهدى لمن اهتدى

also

al-Quddām #9

IJ #3 p. 47

IM #3 p. 44

MW #3 p. 32

Zwītin #3 p. 18

Ambīrkū #3 p. 16

**Poet:** Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Rašīd al-Baġdādī al-Watarī

٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠  
 ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠  
 ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠  
 ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠

By your light, you make guidance clear to one who is rightly-guided.  
 May the peace of Allāh be upon you, O lodestar [or: banner] of guidance.  
 Your station is praised, and you are Muḥammad.  
 and the praised, supreme Lord named you Aḥmad.

### Annotation

Ibn Jallūn attributes these lines to al-Baġdādī al-Watarī, however, I do not find them in other sources. This text, with a more traditional arrangement of the lines, appears as Mīzān al-Quddām #9.

This text is fully inflected, and the meter is correctly formed, however each line comprises only one *ṣaṭr*. Combining them in the traditional way would produce two lines rhyming on *dā* (as Zwītin and Ambīrku do), but they are arranged as separate lines on the page because this mirrors the melodic structure: aaba. So in fact, only the unconventional presentation in print leads this *ṣan'a* away from the constraints of classical prosody.

Notable themes: Note the *tajnis* here, in which two of the Prophet's names deriving from the verb *حمد* are treated as both names and attributes: Muḥammad (= "praiseworthy" or "highly praised") and Aḥmad (= "most praised"). On the Light of Muḥammad see Annotation to Basīṭ #9. In addition, there is the very interesting word *عَلَم*, which originally meant a track or a mountain used as a guide in the desert, but also came to mean either a banner around which men

rallied or a guide-star. Either of the later meanings is possible here, but the latter would be more in line with the recurring theme in *Ramal al-Māya* of comparing the Prophet to a shining celestial object, especially given the reference to the Light of Muḥammad in line 1.

Ij gives the *ṭab'* as *ramal al-māya*.



القائم ونصف ٤

المقتدب - شغل (MW: زجل - شغل)

يَا تُرَى بِاللَّهِ يَا تُرَى  
هَلْ يَلِي فِي اللَّقَائِصِيبِ  
تَرْمُقُ الْبَيْتَ وَالْحَرَامَ  
وَسُئِلَ عَلَى الْحَكِيْبِ  
وَأُعْفِرُ وَجَنَّتِي  
فِي التُّرَابِ قَائِلًا أَجِبْ

طَالَ شَوْقِي إِلَى مَنِيَّ  
مِنْ وَلُوعِي وَفِكْرَتِي  
يَا مَنَّا يَا مَالِي دَوَا  
إِلَّا وَصَلَكَ يَا بُغْيَتِي

al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #4 — يا ترى بالله يا ترى

IJ #4 pp. 47-48

IM #4 p. 45

MW #4 p. 33

Zwītin #4 p. 18

Ambīrkū #4 p. 17

- - - - | - - - - || - - - - - - - -  
 - - - - | - - - - || - - - - | - - - -  
 - - - - | - - - - || - - - - - - - -  
 - - - - | - - - - || - - - - - - - -  
 - - - - | - - - - || - - - - - - - -  
 - - - - | - - - - || - - - - | - - - -

What do you think, by Allāh, tell me!

We observe the House and the Sanctuary

I rub my cheek

My longing for what I desire grows long

O my desire, I have no remedy

Is an allotted meeting near?

and greet the beloved

in the dust saying, "Answer!"

from my craving and thinking

but encountering you, O my goal!

### Annotation

This is not the meter *المقتدب*, which is rare, and whose basis is (فاعِلُنْ مَفَاعِلَتُنْ), but rather the more common *الخفيف*, whose basis is فاعِلَانُ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ. In terms of grammar and prosody, this text is somewhat constrained, though with loss or conversion of *īrāb* on some words (التراب، قانلاً، قانلاً، وُسُلِمَ), and the loss of two final hamzas (اللِّقا and دَوَا—the former somewhat more problematic from the point of view of grammatical constraint because it masks the case; the latter clearly a common poetic license). These probably are the reasons why MW describes this *ṣan'a* as *zajal*.

MW version:

كَمْ لِي فِي اللِّقَا نَصِيبِ	يَا تُرَى بِاللَّهِ يَا تُرَى
وَسُلِّمَ عَلَيَّ الْحَبِيبِ	تَرْمُقُ الْبَيْتَ وَالْحَكْرَمَ
وَنُقُولَ مَجْجِيبِ	وَمُرْعُ وَجَّتِي فِي التُّرَابِ

مِنْ وُلُوعِي وَفِكْرِي      طَالَ شَوْقِي إِلَى مَنِيَّ  
إِلَّا وَصَلَكْ يَا بُعَيْتِي      يَا مُنَايَ مَا لِي دَوَا

*That do you think, by Allāh, tell me!*  
*We observe the House and the Sanctuary*  
*I rub my cheek in the dust*  
*My longing for a desire grows long*  
*O my desires, I have no remedy*

*How much is my lot for meeting?*  
*and greet the beloved*  
*and say, "Wonderful."*  
*from my craving and thinking*  
*but encountering you, O my goal!*

Zwītin is close to MW, but with some variation and one orthographic departure:

يَا تُرَى بِاللَّهِ يَا تُرَى      كَمْ يَلِي فِي اللَّقَانِصِيبِ      نَقَّشُ الْعَيْتِ وَالْحَرَامِ      وَنَسْلَمُ عَلَى الْحَيْبِ  
*We see... How close is a chance for meeting?*  
وَمُرْغُ شَيْبَتِي      فِي التَّرَابِ وَنَقُولُ عَجِيبِ      طَالَ شَوْقِي إِلَى مَنِيَّ      مِنْ وُلُوعِي وَفِكْرِي  
*I rub my gray hair*  
يَا مُنَايَ مَا لِي دَوَا      إِلَّا وَصَلَكْ يَا بُعَيْتِي

Ambīrkū is similar to both Zwītin and MW, but with the following variants: نقَّشُ; and شَيْبَتِي for شَيْبِي; and نَقُولُ قَوْلًا عَجِيبِ in 'ajuz of line 3; and مُنَايَ; and يَلِي in *ṣadr* of line 5.

Note that the last three hemistiches in the MW version (and in the IJ version, with some alterations) are identical with passages from *Anta ahlā mina l-munā* (Qā'im wa-Niṣf al-Iṣbahān [MW: *tawšīḥ šuġl*, p. 61] and Bṭāyḥī Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn [MW: *muqtaḍab šuġl*, p. 227]), which can only be read as a love song! Also, the imagery and phraseology in the third and fourth lines is very reminiscent of *Qad ṭāla šawqī li-n-nabī...* (Darj #1). Here it seems we have at least two sets of "modular" imagery/phrasing that have served some anonymous poet-composer(s) well. This illustrates as well the confluence of *ġazal* and *madīḥ* genres in *Raḡmal al-Māya*—topics discussed in Chapter 4.

Line 4 وُلُوع (IJ) vs. وُلُوع (MW): the former is modern usage. Kazimirski alone of the modern lexicographers offers both vowelings. Corriente (2002) cites only the latter as Andalusī usage.

Line 4 also contains a *tajnīs* on مَنِيَّ: both الْمَنَى, a place in Mecca associated with the Ḥajj rites, and مَنَى ("fate, destiny"), as well as an echo of مُنَايَا in the next line.

Similarly, in line 3 التُّرَابُ certainly means “dust,” and the first association here is with the image from *ghazal* poetry of the lover rubbing his cheek in the dust out of longing for the beloved. However, a cognate word, تُرْبَةٌ means a plot of land where a person is buried, i.e.: a tomb (and in fact this word has entered Turkish as *türbe*, with exactly this meaning). This echoes with the imagery of the Ḥajj rites, as well—suggesting “rubbing my cheek in the dust on the tomb”, i.e., of the Prophet, especially when we look at the use of this imagery in Darj #1, where الشُّرَابُ becomes تُرْبُهُ, with much the same phrasing.

Notable themes: Images of the Ḥajj, including visting the Prophet’s tomb in Medina, along with the longing of the seeker/lover for his beloved.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.

القائم ونصف هـ

البيسط (MW: شغل)

يَا أَكْرَمَ الْخَلْقِ مَا أَقُولُ  
أَفَادَنَا نِعْمَةَ الْوُصُولِ  
يَبْدُلِ كُلِّ الْمُنَى وَالسُّوْلِ  
يَا سَعْدَ مَنْ خَاطَبَ الرَّسُولِ  
قُمْ وَاعْتَنِرْ نُرْهَةَ الشُّرُوقِ  
وَاجْتَمِعْ الْفِرْعُ وَالْأُصُولِ  
إِنْ قِيلَ زُرْتُمْ بِمَا رَجَعْتُمْ  
قُولُوا رَأَيْنَا الْحَيِّبَ حَقًّا  
وَأَقْبَلَ الْمُصْطَفَى عَلَيْنَا  
رَدَّ السَّلَامَ عَلَيْنَا جَهْرًا  
وَقَالَ أَهْلًا بِوَفْدِ رِيٍّ  
قُولُوا رَجَعْنَا بِكُلِّ خَيْرٍ

al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #5 — إن قيل زرتم بما رجعتم

IJ #5 p. 48

IM #8 p. 46

MW #5 p. 33

Zwītin #6 p. 18

Ambīrkū #7 p. 18 (first and last lines only)

Poet: IM, IJ: "The first two lines are by Mūlāy 'Alī aš-Šarīf"

--- -- | --- -- | --- -- || --- -- | --- -- | --- --  
 --- -- | --- -- | --- -- || --- -- | --- -- | --- --  
 --- -- | --- -- | --- -- || --- -- | --- -- | --- --  
 --- -- | --- -- | --- -- || --- -- | --- -- | --- --  
 --- -- | --- -- | --- -- || --- -- | --- -- | --- --  
 --- -- | --- -- | --- -- || --- -- | --- -- | --- --

If it were said: You visited (the Prophet's tomb), with what did you return?

O most generous of mankind, what shall I say?

Say: We saw the beloved, truly.

He granted us the grace of encounter.

The Chosen One turned to us

offering every desire and request.

He returned our greeting publicly.

O happiness of him who addressed the Messenger!

And he said, "Welcome the coming of my Lord.

Stand and seize the joy of Revelation."

Say: We return (from our visit) with every good thing,

and the branch and the roots join together.

### Annotation

This poem, according to a footnote in IM, was recited by Mūlāy 'Alī aš-Šarīf (brother of the Alawite sultan Mūlāy Ismā'īl, d. 1138/1727). According to Ambīrkū, it was the first and last lines of this *ṣan'ā* only. Bennūna maintains it belongs to the Sufi Sīdī Aḥmad al-Badawī (b. in Fez but d. in Egypt 675/1276). These verses are indeed used in the repertoire of the Šāḍuliyya Sufi order, and may be found in *Dīwān qaṣā'id aš-Šāḍuliyya*, #7 p. 58.

Notable themes: The Prophet named as both Messenger (الرسول) and Chosen One (المصطفى); and the visiting of the Prophet's tomb, and his appearance to the seeker. Note also the image of root and branch, referring to the believers-as-branches coming from the Prophet-root, but perhaps also a *tajnīs* on jurisprudence (أصول الفقه), meaning its theoretical bases—deriving from the Prophet via Qur'ān, *hadīth*, etc.—as opposed to الفروع/الفرع, the ramifications, i.e., the practical application, whether in law or in the person of the seeker).

Ij gives the *ṭab'* as *ramal al-māya*.



القائم ونصف ٦

توشيح (IM: شغل توشيح صدره ووسطه هرج)

مُجَدِّدٌ جَلَّ قَدْرًا      بَيْنَ الْوَرَى طُولَ الدَّوَامِ      جَاهُهُ الْمَفْضَلُ  
مَنْ فاقَ الْأَنَامَ طَرًّا      الْهَاشِمِي نَعَمَ الْإِمَامَ      الْبَدْرُ الْأَكْبَلُ  
هُوَ سُؤْيِي دُنْيَا وَأُخْرَى      وَهُوَ قَصْدِي وَهُوَ الْمَرَامُ      وَهُوَ الْمُؤَمَّلُ

فِي الْحَشْرِ يَشْفَعُ      صَاحِبُ الْوَسِيلَةِ  
وَهُوَ الشَّفِيعُ وَهُوَ الْمُشَفَّعُ      أَعْطَاهُ رَبِّي صُورَةً جَمِيلَةً

## al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #6 — محمد قد جل قدرا

IJ #6 p. 48

IM #5 p. 45

MW #6 p. 33

Zwītin #5 p. 18

Ambīrkū #5 p. 17

ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ |  
 ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ |  
 ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ |  
           | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ |  
           | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ | ــــــــــــــــ |

Muhammad is sublime in stature

among mankind. For the duration of time,  
his rank is preferred.

One who surpasses mankind altogether,  
the Hāšimī, how excellent an imām,  
the most perfect full moon.

He is my request, in this world and the other.  
He is my aim, and he is the goal,  
and he is the one hoped for.

On the [Day of] Congregation, he will intercede,  
the master of mediation.

He is the intercessor; his intercession is accepted.  
My Lord gave him a beautiful form.

**Annotation**

Variations in MW: segment 2 *نعم الإمام* and segment 5 *العربي نعم الهمام* (“the Arab, how magnanimous”).

IM: Line 1 substitutes *جاه* for *جاهه*, and line 3 *مقصودي* for *قصدي*.

Zwītin: segment 2 like MW; *جاه* for *جاهه*; segment 5: *الهاشمي نعم الهمام*; segment 11: *وهو الشفيع المشفع اعطاه*; segment 12: *رَبِّ صُورَةٍ جَمِيلَةٍ*.

Ambīrkū: segments 2 and 5 like MW; *جاه* like IM; segment 12: *اعطاه ربي الجاه الجميلا*.

The poem uses *tarsī* extensively in both *ḡuṣn* and *qufl*, and it is well constrained by the rules of grammar and poetic licenses (albeit that it has a strophic rhyme scheme and that the *ḡuṣn* is composed of triple-segmented lines). However in terms of prosody, the text generally escapes metrical classification. It cannot be, as IM suggests, *الهزج* ( *مفاعيلن* ); rather, at best some passages answer to *الرجز* ( *مستقعلن* ), though not consistently by any means. (This confusion of *الرجز* for *الهزج* is endemic in the al-Āla anthologies.)

Notable themes: The Prophet surpasses the rest of mankind in every respect, not just in his spiritual rank, but in his full-moon-like majesty and beautiful outward form. He is sought after, and is here known by two of his many epithets: the Hāšimite (an unusual reference to his ancestry) and the more common Intercessor on the Day of Judgment.

IJ gives the *ṭab'* as *ramal al-māya*.



القائم ونصف ٧

توشیح - شغل (MW: روجل)

عَشِقْتُ الْقَمَرَ      مِنْ أَرْكَى مُضَرَ      وَلَسْتُ مَلُومٌ      عَلَيَّ مَا أَرُومٌ  
هُوَ أَرْكَى الْبَشَرَ      وَخَيْرُ الْخِيَارِ      وَبِحُرِّ الْعُلُومِ      وَمُحِيَّ الْهُمُومِ  
كَرِيمِ السَّيَرِ      عَظِيمِ الْأَثَرِ      الْحَقِّ بِالْقُدُومِ      وَمُحِيَّ مَرُوسِ  
هُوَ زَيْنُ الْبُدُورِ      شَفِيعٌ فِي النَّشُورِ  
وَمَنْ لَهُ نُورٌ      سَمَا كُلُّ نُورٍ      إِمَامُ الْمُتَّقِينَ      وَخَيْرُ الْعَالَمِينَ

## al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #7 — عشقت القمر

IJ #7 p. 48

IM #6 p. 45

MW #7 p. 34

Ambīrkū #6 p. 17

ـــــــــــــــــ ـــــــــــــــــ ـــــــــــــــــ ـــــــــــــــــ  
 ـــــــــــــــــ ـــــــــــــــــ ـــــــــــــــــ ـــــــــــــــــ  
 ـــــــــــــــــ ـــــــــــــــــ ـــــــــــــــــ ـــــــــــــــــ  
 ـــــــــــــــــ ـــــــــــــــــ ـــــــــــــــــ ـــــــــــــــــ

I fell in love with the moon from the purest Arab stock.  
 And I am not to blame for what I desire.  
 He is the purest of mankind and the best of the best,  
 and the ocean of knowledge and the reliever of sorrows  
 Noble in life, of supreme effect,  
 reviver of the signs of truth by (his) arrival.  
 He is the beauty of full moons, intercessor on the Day of Resurrection.  
 One who has light surpassing all light,  
*imām* of the godfearing and the best of the worlds.

**Annotation:**

Variations in MW:

Line 1: وَلَسْتُ بِمَكْلُومٍ عَلَى مَا أَرُومُ  
 Line 2: وَمُجَيِّبِ الْهُمُومِ (“remover”)  
 Line 3: وَمُحْيِي رُسُومِ

This latter variant is of course correct according to the root of the word.

Ambīrkū shares the variants in MW, with the addition of segment 6: خَيْرُ الْخَيْرِ (“the best of the best”).

This poem makes extensive use of *tarsī*, the IJ version being laid out as here with four segments to the line to emphasize this. MW, in contrast, presents it with just two hemistiches, more in line with the classical format. It does not have a classical meter, but most segments are based on one metrical unit of five syllables: ـــــــــــــــــ | (with | ـــــــــــــــــ | and | ـــــــــــــــــ | as alternatives), except that some segments (especially the ends of lines 2, 3 and 5) add an extra syllable: | ـــــــــــــــــ ـــــــــــــــــ | . In other respects, the text is very well constrained.

Notable themes: As elsewhere in the corpus, the Prophet-beloved is a full moon, this time of pure Arab heritage, and the Intercessor on the Day of Judgment. Here again he is the perfect prayer-leader and the best of creation, and he bears a light that is linked to the divinity through the Qur'ān (see Annotation to Basīṭ #9).

IJ gives the *ṭab'* as *ramal al-māya*.



القائد ونصف ٨

”المجثت“ - شغل (MW): ”المجثت“

لَوْلَاكَ مَا هَمُّتُ وَجَدَا      وَلَا تَعَشَّقْتُ نَجْدَا

وَلَا مَكَرَرْتُ بِرَبِّعٍ      إِلَّا جَعَلْتُكَ قَصْدَا

يَا قَاتِلِي بِالْتَّحِي      اجْعَلْ لِمَجْرِكَ حَدَا

نَذَرْتُ يَا صَاحَّ عَهْدَا      صِيَامَ شَهْرٍ وَعَشْرِي

يَوْمَ أَرَاكَ يَا حَيِّي      مَا بَيْنَ سَحْرِي وَنَحْرِي

al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #8 — لولاك ما همت وجدا

IJ # 8 p. 48

IM # 7 p. 45

MW # 8 p. 34

Bennūna # 190 pp. 252, 282, 450

Poet: *qufl* from Ibn al-Ḥabbāz

— — — — | — — — — || — — — — | — — — —  
 — — — — | — — — — || — — — — | — — — —  
 — — — — | — — — — || — — — — | — — — —  
 — — — — | — — — — || — — — — | — — — —  
 — — — — | — — — — || — — — — | — — — —

But for you, I would not love, passionately,	nor would I be enamored of <i>najd</i> .
Nor would I pass through any land	without making you (my) aim
O you who slay me with (false) accusation,	put an end to your flight.
I vowed, O my friend, an oath	to fast a month and ten days
On the day I see you, O my beloved	on my breast.

### Annotation

IJ gives نَدَّرْتُ for نَدَّرْتُ in line 4—a misprint or perhaps a colloquial “hearing” of the text.

IM gives only the first two lines; MW gives only the *qufl*. Bennūna finds the *qufl* here is the *ḥarja* from a *muwašṣaḥ* (*Yā man ‘addā wa-ta‘addā*) by Ibn al-Ḥabbāz (See: *Jayš at-tawšīḥ*, p. 95).

This *ṣan‘a* (*tawšīḥ*) appears in al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf Ramal al-Māya in *Wazzānī* (the 10th *ṣan‘a*, pp. 84-85), and in *Valderrama* (*šugl* p. 29). Curious that this poem—a composit, and clearly not mono-rhymed—should be called *šugl*, as it is in *Valderrama*, since in the *Kunnāš* manuscripts this term is otherwise reserved for *qarīḍ* poems. The various sections of this poem seem to have found a complex path into their present locations in *Ramal al-Māya*. On the complex intertextual relationships behind this *ṣan‘a*, see Chapter 3 §3.2.

Apart from the expected varying rhyme scheme of this strophic poem, the text is in other respects well constrained by the rules of grammar, orthography and prosody.

Notable themes: In another context, there would be little in this *ṣan'ā* to connect it to *al-madīḥ an-nabawī*—it is *ǧazal*, first and last. Indeed, it is hard to imagine the Beloved here being the Prophet, since he levels accusations at the persona, and in the context of *ǧazal* verse, these accusations would typically be read as false! See the discussion of contextualized meaning in Chapter 4 §4 and of this *ṣan'ā* in Davila (2012b). Here we find also an interesting twist on the longing-theme: the persona vows to fast after he sees the beloved.

Najd: I have left it untranslated here, as its meaning in this context is multifaceted. Possibly it is a reference from 'Uḍrī love poetry: When the poet Jamīl broke down at the Ka'ba, it was because of a breeze from the Najd—the direction of Buṭayna—which lies to the east of the Ḥijāz, where Mecca is located. Yet *najd* more generally refers to a highland of rough, desert terrain. Given the context of traveling inherent in the second line, one could just as easily read it as something like “badlands”. As with other aspects of this text, the context in which it is encountered (*Ramal al-Māya*) encourages us to imagine the traveler journeying across Najd toward Mecca, only the hope of finding his beloved Prophet making the barren Najd attractive.

A month and ten days: The idea of 40 days has several resonances in Islamic tradition. Among other things, a fertilized ovum is said in a number of *aḥādīṭ* to develop in 40-day stages, and several *aḥādīṭ* also indicate that the Qur'ān should be recited in 40-day cycles. But the most obvious resonance here is that the Prophet is said to have fasted for 40 days in the cave of Ḥīra before the first verses of the Qur'ān were revealed to him (just as Jesus is said to have fasted 40 days in the desert and Moses spent 40 days on Mt. Sinai conversing with God). Ibn Ḥabbāz's *qufl* thus brings the only hint of religious implication (however indirect) to this otherwise quite worldly poem.

“On my breast”: This is a free translation of a phrase that literally means “between my lung and my neck”.

Ij gives the *ṭab'* as *ramal al-māya*.



مشطور الرمل (IM, Ambīrkū and Zwītin) توشیح

لا جَمَالَ إِلا جَمَالُهُ العَجِيبُ  
من غَرامِهِ يا عِبادَ دَمْعِي سَكِيبُ  
بَتَّعِي زُورَهُ إِليهِ عن قَرِيبُ  
شَوْقُهُ كَلَّفَنِي نَعْرَ لَ عَزُوبُ  
نُزْهَةً العُشاقِ  
تَجَرِّي من أَحْداقِ  
إِنِّي مُشْتاقُ  
فيهِ تَهِيحُ الأَفْكارُ  
التَّجِي المُخْتارُ  
ما سَباني في المِلاحِ إِلا الرُّسُولُ



Notable themes: Longing for the Prophet, identified as المختار, and his beauty, and the desire to “visit him”—meaning his tomb. Weeping, composing poems of love, thoughts in turmoil—all common tropes of *ġazal* verse.

Ij gives the *ṭab'* as *ramal al-māya*.



القائم ونصف ١٠

الكامل - شغل

صَلُّوا عَلَى الْبَدْرِ الْمُنِيرِ السَّاجِعِ  
حَتَّى تَطِيبَ مُهْجَتِي وَمَسَامِعِي

صَلُّوا عَلَى شَمْسِ النُّبُوَّةِ وَالضُّحَى  
صَلُّوا عَلَيْهِ وَأَكْرُوا مِنْ ذِكْرِهِ

al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #10 — صلوا على شمس النبوة والضحى 🎧

IJ #10 p. 49

IM #10 p. 46

MW #10 p. 34

Zwītin #8 p. 19

Ambīrkū #9 p. 19

Bennūna #238 p. 285

---|---|---||---|---|---  
 ---|---|---||---|---|---

Bless the sun of prophecy and the morning (light).

Bless the full moon, illuminating and brilliant.

Bless him and remember him frequently,

until my blood and my ears are comforted.

#### Annotation

This *ṣan'a* is fully constrained, *qariḍ* verse.

Zwītin: alters only the last word: *مَسَامِعِي* for *مَسَامِع*.

Ambīrkū gives *القمر* for *البدر*.

Notable themes: The Prophet becomes here, not only the full moon, as elsewhere, but also the morning sun. Blessing him has spiritual benefits expressed in quasi-physical symbolism. See Annotation to Basīṭ #9 on the significance of light.

IJ gives the *ṭab'* as *inqilāb ar-ramal*.

القائد ونصف ١١

”هجز“ - شغل

كُلُّ الشَّرَفِ حَارَةٌ الرَّسُولِ      مَالُهُ شَبِيهٌ فِي ذَا البَشَرِ  
مِنْ حُبِّهِ عَقْلِي يَجُولُ      فِي طَيْبَةٍ بَيْنَ الدِّيَارِ  
دَعْنِي يَا صَاحِبَ نَصُوقِ      مَنْ ذَا يَلُومُنِي فِي القَمَرِ  
إِنَّ هَبَّ لِي مِنْهُ رِيَّاحُ      أَرْدَادُ شَوْقٍ لِمُرَادِ  
لَوْ صَابَ يَا قَوْمِي جَنَاحُ      لَطَارَ عِنْدَهُ الفُؤَادِ

al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #11 — كل الشرف حازه الرسول

also:

Quddām #22

IJ #11 p. 49

IM #11 p. 46-47

MW #11 p. 35

Bennūna #15 p. 137

Zwītin #9 p. 19

Ambīrkū #11 p. 19

-- ˘ ˘ | -- ˘ ˘ || -- ˘ ˘ | -- ˘ ˘ --  
 -- ˘ ˘ ˘ | -- ˘ ˘ -- || -- ˘ ˘ ˘ | -- ˘ ˘ --  
 (---) | ˘ ˘ ˘ -- || -- ˘ ˘ -- | -- ˘ ˘ --  
 -- ˘ ˘ | -- ˘ ˘ -- || -- ˘ ˘ -- | -- ˘ ˘ --  
 -- ˘ ˘ | -- ˘ ˘ -- || ˘ ˘ ˘ -- | ˘ ˘ ˘ --

The Messenger has all honor.

None compares with this human being.

From love of him, my mind wanders

among the abodes in Ṭayba.

Leave me, my friend; by his (power) I master

the one who would blame me regarding the moon.

If winds blow from him in my direction,

I increase (even more) in longing for the one I desire.

O my people, if it found a wing,

surely my heart (would) fly to him.

### Annotation

This is the classical meter *الرجز* (مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ), though in the first hemistich of the third *bayt*, the first foot has no short syllables.

Ṭayba = Mecca, the city of the Prophet.

Variants:

MW: حَارُو for حَارُو; and مَالَهُ for مَالَهُ; and فِي طَيْبَةٍ; and يَا صَاحِبَهُ; and مَنْ صَابَ.

IM: حازو for حازة; and مايلو for ماله / ماله; and the last line in IM:

فهل إليه من معاد	لكني مقصوص الجناح
But I am shorn of wings	so is there any returning to him?

Zwītin: حاز for حازة; and لو for له; third segment: في حبه عقلي تجول; sixth segment: لو صاب من صاب; eighth segment: يزداد شوقي للمراد; and من جا يلومني في القمر.

Ambīrkū: حاز; and مايلو for ماله in line 1; جا من in line 3; and زداد for ازداد; and the final line: من صاب يا قوم له جناح وطار عنده الفؤاد.

The text makes thorough use of *tarsī*, but departures from constrained verse include loss of *īrāb* (يَلُومُنِي، سَبِيه، شَكَرَف), “throw back” of vowel from pronominal suffix onto perfect verb (حازة < حازة) and use of /na-/ as first-person singular (نَصُول). The relative soundness of the metrical structure shows that these are not accidental but inherent in the text itself. IM and MW show other departures into informal registers, such as further alteration of حازو > حازو, and مايلو for ماله.

Notable themes: Aside from the Prophet’s honor and his incomparable nature, the idea that he inspires an imaginary vision of Mecca is unusual in this corpus, as is the image of the heart with wings. The Prophet as the moon and the winds bearing news of the beloved are both more common and hearken back to the *ḡazal* genre, as does the idea of being blamed for the sake of the beloved. Ṭayba (Mecca) makes a second appearance in the corpus (see Basīṭ #20).


IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.



القائم ونصف ١٢

رجل (IM and MW: توشيح - شغل)

يَا عَاشِقِينَ	خَيْرَ الْأَنَامِ
طَهَّ الْأَمِينِ	هَيَّجَ عَرَامِي
فِي كُلِّ حِينٍ	أُرْسِلَ سَلَامِي
وَتَقُولُ لَهُ	يَا خَيْرَ الْأَنَامِ
يَا مَنْ سَبَى	عَقْلِي وَبَالِي
مَتَى أَرَاكَ	تَلِكَ آمَالِي

al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #12 — يا عاشقين 

also

Basīt #24

IJ # 12 p. 49

IM # 12 p. 47

MW # 12 p. 35

Bennūna # 291 p. 319

- - - - || - - - - | =  
 - - - - || - - - - | -  
 - - - - || - - - - | -  
 ~ - - - || - - - - ~ =  
 - - - - || - - - - | -  
 - - - - || - - - - | -

O lovers of  
 Ṭāhā the trustworthy  
 In every moment  
 And I say to him,  
 O you who captivated  
 When will I see you?"

the best of mankind,  
 stirred my love.  
 I send my greeting,  
 "O best of mankind  
 my mind and my sense  
 Such are my hopes.

### Annotation

IJ adds a footnote to the last line: "The original [ الاصل ] used was متى أرى تلك [ "When I saw these places" ]. And in the same format [ وفي وزنها ] ...". He then appends the following text to the *ṣan'a* given above:

مِنْ شِدَّةِ الْأُمُورِ	الْحَادِي صَاحِ
لِلْمُصْطَفَى زُورِ	لَوْ صَبَتْ جُنَاحِ
وَدَّ مَعِي تَقُورِ	تَمَّ نَرَّ تَا حِ
وَنَدَّ عَنَّا سِي	لَوْ صَبَتْ نَعْرَمِ
فِيهِ تَبْلَغُ سَا سِي	وَمَاءَ زَمْرَمِ

The cameldriver is a friend	in the hardship of my affairs.
If wings blew (on the east wind)	to the Chosen One, I would visit.
Certainly I am eager (to do it)	and my tears gush forth.
If they are childish [?], I am determined	and my people have low manners
I approach the water of Zamzam.	Guide me!

On Ṭāhā, see Annotation to Basīṭ #23 above.

See also Annotation to Basīṭ #24. The MW and IM versions here in al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf show the same variants from IJ as in Basīṭ #24.



القائم ونصف ١٣

البسيط - شغل

لَا حَتَّ عَلَيْنَا مِنَ الْأَحْجَابِ أَنْوَارُ  
فَأَنْزَلَ لَقَدْ نَلَّتْ مَا تَهْوَى وَتَحْتَارُ

قَفَّ بِالرِّكَابِ فَهَذَا الرَّبِيعُ وَالذَّارُ  
بُشْرَاكَ بُشْرَاكَ قَدْ لَاحَتْ قِبَابُهُمْ

قف بالركاب فهذا الربع والدار — al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #13

IJ #13 p. 49

IM #13 p. 47

MW #13 p. 35

Ambīrkū #12 p. 19-20

Poet: Sīdī Aḥmad al-'Arūsī or al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ

--- | --- | --- | --- || --- | --- | --- | ---  
 --- | --- | --- | --- || --- | --- | --- | ---

Halt the camel, for this is the (home) land and the abode.

Lights shine on us from (the) loved ones.

Glad tidings! Glad tidings! Their domes shone out.

Set down here: indeed you have obtained what you desire and choose.

### Annotation

*Basīṭ*, with all four final feet reduced to two syllables. The text is fully constrained in most other respects, though the construction *فَهَذَا الرَّبْعُ وَالِدَارُ* is somewhat less than *faṣīḥ* for the meaning.

Ambīrkū: لقد فقد .

Notable themes: The image of the camel caravan arriving at the tribal sanctuary, here rendered with no clear linkage to the Prophet, Mecca or Medina. For a contrasting example, see *Basīṭ* #25 (سَدَّ الْحُمُولُ وَاعْرَمَ) and its Annotation.

IJ attributes this text either to Sīdī Aḥmad al-'Arūsī or to al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ. However, I have not found these verses in sources for either man.

القائم ونصف ١٤

توشيح (MW: توشيح - شغل; IM: شغل توشيح منهوك الوافر )

سَعَدَ الَّذِي زَارَ الْحَبِيبَ      وَطَافَ وَلِيِّ

وَصَارَ يَحْدُو بِالْبَجِيبِ      شَوْقًا وَحُبًّا

وَمَقْصَدُهُ لَيْسَ يَحِيبُ      وَيَنَالُ قُرْبًا

وَيَنَالُ كُلَّمَا قَصَدَ      عَلَى اخْتِيَارِهِ

وَيُقْبَلُ الْحَجْرَ الْأَسْوَدَ      وَيَرِي جِمَارَهُ



Notable themes: Various images of the Ḥajj are presented here: traveling in a camel caravan to Mecca, calling out *labbayk Allāhumma!* (“Here I am at your service, Allāh!”), *ṭawwāf* (circumambulation), kissing the black stone of the Ka‘ba, and the stoning of the Devils in the Valley of Minā (*al-jimār* are the pebbles thrown at the three *jamarāt* pillars in Minā near the end of the Ḥajj rites, so called because they themselves were once made of piles of stones). Here, however, the Beloved cannot be the Prophet, but Allāh. It is difficult to see how even performed context could possibly militate against that.

Line 4 here also echoes Qur’ān 53:3:

﴿وَأَنْ لَّيْسَ لِلْإِنْسَانِ إِلَّا مَا سَعَى﴾

“And that there is nothing for man, except what he strives for.”

### *III. Mīzān al-Bṭāyḥī*

∴

زجل شغل (MW): توشيح شغل; IM: شغل توشيح، مضارع بين القفل)

المُصْطَفَى الْمُخْتَارَ      مِنْ خَيْرَةِ الْبَشَرِ      وَهُوَ فِي الْجَمِيعِ  
كَالدُّرِّ فِي الْأَجْرَارِ      مِنْ سُلَالَةِ الْأَبْرَارِ      جَاهُهُ رَفِيعٌ  
أَجَلٌ مَا يُدَكَّرُ      مُحَمَّدُ الْمُخْتَارِ      مُعْجَى الْكُرْبِ  
صَلُّوا يَا حُضَارَ      فِي كُلِّ لَيْلٍ وَنَهَارِ      بِإِحْسَابِ  
قَدِّصَحِّ فِي الْأَخْبَارِ      أَنَّ الصَّلَاحَ يُغْفَرُ      بِهَا الْأَعْدَابِ  
يَا صَاحِبَ الْمَغْفَارِ      وَالْحَوْضِ وَالْكَوْثَرِ      كُنْ لِي سَفِيعٌ  
فِي مَوْقِفِ الْمَحْشَرِ      جِرْنِي مِنْ عَذَابِ النَّارِ      إِنِّي وَلِيعٌ

Bṭāyḥī #1 — المصطفى المختار or: أجل ما يذكر 

IJ #1 p. 50

IM #1 p. 48

MW #1 p. 36

Bennūna #300 p. 323

Zwītin #1 p. 19

Ambīrkū #1 p. 21

— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — —
— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — —
— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — —
— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — —
— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — —
— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — —
— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — —

al-Muṣṭafā, the Chosen,

the best of mankind,

among the whole (of mankind).

Like a pearl among stones,

a scion of the righteous,

his rank is uplifted.

The most sublime who is mentioned,

Muḥammad, the Chosen,

reliever of sorrows

Bless (him), all who are present

every night and day

without reckoning.

It was true in the accounts

that by purity, punishment

is remitted.

O Master of the Means of Pardon,

the pool and the Fount of Abundance,

be intercessor for me.

In the Place of Congregation

protect me from the punishment of the Fire,

for truly, I love (you).

### Annotation

Two footnotes in IJ: 1) “The first two lines are from a composition which IJ put together to make a *subāʿiyya*. The melody is like that of the sixth and seventh lines.” [This is perhaps belied by the two lines also being present in IM.]; 2) “It usually happens that this *zajal* is interpolated between these lines.”

يَا شَفِيعَ الْأُمَّةِ فِي يَوْمِ الرَّحَامِ	طَالَ شَوْقِي لِمَقَامِكَ بِالْهَادِي
عَلَيْكَ يَا مُحَمَّدٌ مِنْ رَبِّنَا السَّلَامِ	يَا مُبَجِّعِنَا فِي الْأُخْرَى وَهَادِي

*My longing for your station with the Guide, has lasted*  
*O intercessor for the community on the Day of Gathering.*  
*O you who are our deliverer and a guide in the Hereafter,*  
*Peace from our Lord upon you, O Muḥammad.*

(In fact, these lines are from Darj #10, a *barwala*—an indication of the historical relationship between *mīzān ad-darj* and *mīzān bṭāyḥī*. See Chapter 3 §3.2.)

This *ṣanʿa* displays a curious mixture of constrained and unconstrained features. The metrics are very problematic, and there is some loss of *iʿrāb* and final vowels in non-rhyming positions (الصَّلَاحُ، لَيْلٌ، جَاهُهُ), and yet the text also shows *tarsī* across all line segments—a feature that signals an artful and more constrained register of language.

MW has a *ḥumāsīyya*, and shows some minor variations in choice of cognate words. D144 also rejects these first two lines, as do the three al-Jāmiʿī manuscripts. Their presence in IM suggests a level of common influences between the two anthologists, and by implication, between the branches of the tradition that they would seem to represent.

IM variants:

Line 1, second segment: من خيرة الأختيار = “the best of the best”

Line 3, third segment: زكبي الأنساب = “pure of ancestry”

Line 4, first segment: صلوا أيا حضار

Line 5, second and third segments: أن الصلاح يكثر بها الثواب = “...that by purity, reward increases”

Line 7, second segment: قتي عذاب النار = “preserve me intact...”

Zwītin and Ambīrkū present only the *guṣn*, with some interesting similarities and differences.

Zwītin:

مَجِي الكُوب	محمد المختار	أجل ما يذكر
بلا حساب	في كل ليل ونهار	صلوا أيا حضار
بها العذاب	عند الصلاة يُغفر	قد صح في الأخبار

*by prayer punishment is remitted*

Ambīrkū:

مَجِي الكُوب	محمد المختار	أجل ما يذكر
بلا حساب	في كل ليل ونهار	صلوا أيا حضار
بها الذنوب	عند الصلاة يُغفر	قد صح في الأخبار

*by the prayer sins are remitted*

Notable themes: Name-attributes for Muḥammad here include the two versions of the Chosen One (المختار and المصطفى) and the Intercessor. As the best of all mankind, he excels as a pearl surpasses common stones, and he is the master of spiritual rewards on the Day of Judgment: protection from punishment, the means of forgiveness, the pool (of spiritual water that the righteous will drink from) and the Fountain of Abundance in Paradise (see: Qurʾān *sūra* 108).

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as “*inqilāb al-māya*” (?).

البطايحي ٢  
توشيح شغل

يَبِي يَا لَهُ مِنْ يَبِي  
هُوَ حَيِّ وَهُوَ مَطْلَبِي  
مِنْ شَرْقٍ إِلَى مَغْرَبٍ  
عِنْدَ اللَّهِ مَا أَعْظُمُهُ  
مُبَارَكٌ بَدِيعُ الصِّفَاتِ  
وَهُوَ الشَّفِيعُ فِي الْعُصَاتِ  
الَّذِي بِنُورِهِ أَضَاءَتْ  
وَفِي الْخَلْقِ مَا أَكْرَمُهُ  
وَحَشْفُ الرِّضِيعِ كَلِمَةٌ  
لَهُ أَنْشَقَ بَدْرُ النَّمَامِ

Bṭāyḥī #2 — نبي ياله من نبي

IJ #2 p. 50

IM #2 p. 48

MW #2 p. 36

Zwītin #3 p. 20

Ambīrkū #3 p. 21

Poet: Abū 'Antara

--- | ◡ ◡ - | --- || --- | --- | -  
 ◡ ◡ - | (- ◡ ◡ ◡ - ◡ -) || ◡ ◡ - | --- | ◡ -  
 --- | ◡ --- | ◡ - || --- | ◡ ◡ ◡ | ---  
 --- | ◡ ◡ - | ◡ - || --- | --- | ◡ -  
 --- | --- | ◡ - || --- | --- | ◡ -

\* Metrically, this is similar to *mutaqārib*, (فَعُولُنْ فَعُولُنْ) with a few defective feet.

A prophet, what an excellent one,      blessed and of marvelous qualities!  
 He is my Ḥajj and my request,          and the intercessor for the disobedient.  
 From east to west                              the world shines with his light  
     How great he is in Allāh's view,      and among men, how noble!  
     For him the full moon bursts open,  
   and he speaks with the voice of a tender child.

### Annotation

Loss of *i'rāb* in three places in lines 1 and 2 (الشفيع، مبارك، نبي), as well as several “throwback” vowels from pronouns in the *qufl* (كَلِمَةٌ، أَكْرَمَةٌ، أَعْظَمَةٌ) amount to fairly significant departures from constrained verse, but most occur to preserve the meter. At the same time, *tarsī* represents a further aspect of constraint.

Both MW and IM give مِيلِح for بَدِيْع . Line 3, IM gives مِنَ الْمَشْرِقِ الْمَغْرِبِ .

Zwītin gives مِيلِح for بَدِيْع ; drops pronominal suffix from أكرم and كلم ; and drops the hamza from اَضَات .

Ambīrkū gives مَلِيحٌ for بَدِيعٌ ; and مطليبي for مذهبي ; gives مشرق for شرق ; drops the *hamza* from اَضْطَات ; gives السما (“the sky”) for التمام ; and drops pronominal suffixes in the *qufl*.

Notable themes: The Prophet’s excellent qualities and attributes are the core themes of *Ramal al-Māya*, which inspire love in the faithful and a desire to be with him. Here they manifest specifically as the familiar Intercessor, as his nobility among mankind, and as an image of the Ḥajj itself. On the symbolism of Muḥammad’s light, see Annotation to Basīṭ #9. Also in this *ṣanʿa*, the Prophet is not the full moon itself, but rather the moon itself bursts forth or splits open for him (see Annotation to Quddām #28); and he speaks gently.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.



البطايحي ٣

شغل

ارْفِقْ بِعَبْدِ هَوَاكَ

وراحتي في لفاك

يَا مُصْطَفَى يَا مُجْتَدَّ

حُبَّكَ فِي قَلْبِي مُؤَبَّدٌ

Bṭāyḥī #3 — يا مصطفي يا مجيد

MW # 3 p. 36

--- - | - - - - || --- - | - - - -  
 --- - | - - - - || - - - - | - - - -

O Chosen One, O Glorified One                      treat kindly a servant who loves you.  
 Loving you is permanently in my heart, and my repose is in meeting you.

### Annotation

المجيد, though al-Rāyis simply labels the song *ṣan'a*. The first foot of the second *bayt* is defective. Otherwise, only the loss of one vowel from a pronominal suffix (حُبَّكَ) departs from fully constrained verse, and *tarsī* adds an additional degree of constraint.

This is one of the very few texts in *Ramal al-Māya* unique to MW amongst the printed anthologies.

Notable themes: The ongoing theme of love of the Prophet and desire to meet him is expressed with two of his name/attributes: the Chosen and the Glorified.

البطايحي ء  
توشيح - شغل

قَلْبِي هَاشِمٌ      فِي المُصْطَفَى دَائِمٌ  
أَحْمَدُ المُصْطَفَى      مِنْ خَيْرِ عَدَنَانِ  
فَاتِحُ الحَيْرِ      مِنْ قَبْلِ الأَكْوَانِ  
خَاتِمُ الرُّسُلِ      مِنْ قَبْلِ الأَزْمَانِ  
خَيْرُ هَاشِمٍ      أَحْمَدُ أَبُو القَاسِمِ

Bṭāyḥī #4 — قلبي هائم

IJ #3 p. 50

IM #3 p. 48

MW #4 p. 37

Zwītin #4 p. 20

Ambīrkū #4 p. 22

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   - - - - -            - - - - -  
   - - - - -            - - - - -  
   - - - - -            - - - - -  
   - - - - -            - - - - -  
   - - - - -            - - - - -

My heart is mad with love,            always, for the Chosen One.  
   Aḥmad, the Chosen One            among the best of the (tribe of) 'Adnān.  
   Opener of what is good            from before existence.  
   Seal of the Messengers            from before time.  
 The best of the tribe of Hāšim            Aḥmad Abū l-Qāsim

### Annotation

Though not composed in one of the classical meters, this text does have a metrical pattern using units based upon numbers of syllables, with one exception in the second line:

4 --- 6  
 (6) -- 6  
 5 -- 6  
 5 -- 6  
 4 --- 6

In addition, short syllables generally fall in similar places in corresponding hemistiches.

*Tarsī* is found here only in the *maṭla'* and *qufl*. Grammatically and orthographically, this text is well constrained and deserving of the label *tawšīḥ*, even though formed like a classical *zajal*, with a single-line *maṭla'* and *qufl*.

Line 2, *ṣadr* in IM: الهادي المصطفى.

Ambīrkū substitutes ي for the hamza throughout; and الهادي for المصطفى in line 2.

Notable themes: Love-madness here is akin to that found in *ġazal* and mystical verse, with the beloved Prophet named with one of his customary attributes (the Chosen One), plus the Opener (a title usually reserved for Allāh!) and the Seal of the Messengers (→ خاتم النبيين, Qurʾān 33:40), and with his family relationships emphasized, which is rather ironic, given the text of Qurʾān 33:40:

﴿ مَا كَانَ مُحَمَّدٌ أَبَا أَحَدٍ مِّنْ رِّجَالِكُمْ وَلَكِن رَّسُولَ اللَّهِ وَخَاتَمَ النَّبِيِّينَ ... ﴾

*“Muḥammad is not the father of any of your men, but rather the Messenger of Allāh and the Seal of the Prophets ...”*

Also two references here to Muḥammad’s existence before the creation, an idea that is not stated in the Qurʾān, but is found in several widely-accepted *aḥādīth*.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *inqilāb ar-ramal*.



البطايحي ه  
من بحر الكامل - شغل

أُفُقُ السَّمَاءِ أَهْلَةٌ وَبُدُورُ  
دَارَتِ فَلَيْسَ عَلَى سِوَاكَ تَدُورُ

أَمْحَمَّدٌ لَوْلَاكَ مَا طَلَعَتْ عَلَى  
وَإِذَا شَمُسُ الْحُسْنِ فِي فَلَكِ الْهَوَى

Bṭāyḥī #5 — أحمد لولاك ما طلعت على

IJ #4 p. 51

IM #4 p. 49

MW #5 p. 37

Ambīrkū #5 p. 22

˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘  
 ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘

O Muḥammad, were it not for you crescent moons  
 and full moons would not rise on the sky's horizon.  
 And if beautiful suns orbit in the sphere of love,  
 it is not for any other that they turn.

### Annotation

These two verses represent one extreme of the degrees of constraint operating within the *Ramal al-Māya* corpus, that of well-formed (that is, fully-constrained) *qarīḍ* verse, here even making use of *tarsiʿ*. Moreover, this degree of constraint is also quite stable across all the anthologies in which this text appears.

Notable themes: Muḥammad here is the cause of astronomical phenomena, especially the various phases of the moon, but here also including the idea of the celestial spheres, borrowed first in classical Islamic sciences from Greek astronomy, but then integrated into the poetic cosmology as well.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.

البطايحي ٦

توشيح شغل (MW: زجل شغل)

شَمِّرْ يَا رَاخِي الذُّيُولُ      أَهْلُ الْعَرَمِ قَدْ شَمَّرُوا  
وَلَعَلَّعَ بِصَوْتِكَ وَقُلْ      وَبُحَّ بِالْهَوَىٰ وَاشْهَرُوا  
وَعَمَّرَ بِحُبِّ الرَّسُولِ      قَلْبِكَ مِثْلَمَا عَمَّرُوا  
سِرَّ الْحُبِّ لَا تَكْتُمُهُ      جَمِيعُ الْوَرَى يَعْلَمُهُ  
مَنْ لَا يَرَحْمُهُ الْأَنَامُ      إِلَهُ السَّمَاءِ يَرَحْمُهُ



Ambīrkū has an entirely different *qufl*:

محو كل ما اجرموا	اهل الرشد لوعلموا
لام على المصطفى سلموا	حين وقفوا في باب الس

*If those of integrity know  
When they stop at the Door*

*it effaces all their wrongdoing.  
of Peace, they greet the Chosen One*

[The following verses are not found in IM or MW, but Ibn Jallūn has inserted them, verses he considers appropriate, according to a footnote, whether they are actually performed or not.]

سُحَيْرَةٌ كَمَا حَمَلُوا	تَرَعْرَعُ جَمَالُ الْحَجِيجِ
مَا تَقْوَى الْقُلُوبِ تَحْمَلُوا	وَاللُّوْقُ تَسْمَعُ صَبِيحِ
مَيْلِحٌ كَمَا يَمْعَلُوا	وَالْعُشَاقُ بِحَالِي تَهْيِجِ
وَنَارَ الْغَرَامِ أَضْرَمُوا	فِي وادي التقي خِيمُوا
وَزَادَ التَّقَى قَدَمُوا	وَهَجَرُوا وَالذِّيدُ الْمَكَامِ

*The camels of the pilgrims are in motion  
as if they bear a little bit of daybreak.  
You hear the cries to the camels  
which hearts cannot not bear.  
Lovers in my state are in turmoil  
and produce beauty in speech. (?)  
They pitch their tents in the Vale of Purity,  
and they light the fire of love.  
They flee delicious sleep  
and put first the provision of piety.*

The original lines are much more constrained than those IJ has added, including just two lost final vowels (السَّمَاءُ، قَلْبِكَ). In contrast, Ibn Jallūn's added lines show loss or alteration of *i'rāb* on several nouns (العشاق، القلوب، الغرام، كلما) and verbs (تَرَعْرَعُ، تَسْمَعُ).

Another formal consideration is the use of *tarsi'*.

Notable themes:

Gloss: Trailing the hem (here, literally, “one who lets down the hems”) classically symbolizes wealth and even opulent languor. So the meaning is something like “O you apathetic people, get ready.” The verb شَمَّرَ, “to lift, roll up, tuck up” puns on this, being used in the expression شَمَّرَ عَنِ السَّاعِدِ, meaning “to roll up the sleeve”, but exactly analogous to the English expression, “to roll up one’s sleeves and get to work”.

The theme of exhortation to fill oneself with love the Prophet and to seek his presence here is presented as admonition to the complacent and concludes with two lines that put sacred love and divine mercy in social perspective: the former is an “open secret” and the latter is always available.

Ij gives the *ṭabʿ* as *al-ḥusayn*.

البطايحي ٧

زجل شغل (IM: شغل متدارك)

وَيُضِيءُ وَيَلْعَقُ	الْفَلَكَ فِيكَ يَدُورُ
فِيكَ تَغِيْبُ وَتَطْلَعُ	وَالشَّمْسُ وَالْبُدُورُ
الَّتِي فِيكَ أَجْمَعُ	إِقْرَأْ مَعْنَى السُّطُورُ
مِنْ سُّطُورِكَ وَأَذْرِي	لَا تُغَادِرْ سَطْرَ
الَّذِي فِيكَ يَسْرِي	أَشْ هُوَ مَعْنَى الْقَمَرِ

Bṭāyḥī #7 — الفلك فيك يدور

IJ #6 p. 51

IM #5 p. 49

MW #8 p. 38

Bennūna #334 p. 346-347

Zwītin #5 p. 20

Ambīrkū #7 p. 23

**Poet:** Abū l-Ḥasan aš-Šuštārī

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- - -   - - -	- - -   - - -
- - -   - - -	- - -   - - -
- - -   - - -	- - -   - - -
- - -   - - -	- - -   - - -

The celestial sphere turns for you	and illuminates and shines.
The suns and full moons	because of you set and rise.
Read the meaning of the lines	which I compose about you.
Do not leave out a single one	of the lines about you, for I know.
What is the meaning of the moon	which wanders the night for you?

### Annotation

The meter is close to *mutadārik* but not perfect; perhaps some indication of syllable number (3) as metrical principle, especially in the *ḡuṣn*.

The following two lines were added by Ibn Jallūn to make the poem *subā'īyya*, however, they are not found in other anthologies, and Benmūsā indicated that in any case they are never performed:

فِي عِيُونِ تَسْرِي فِي سَمَاكَ الدَّرِي	وَتَلُوحُ لَكَ صُورٌ إِنِّي ظَهَرَ
---	---------------------------------------

*Forms appear to you  
Turn (to him), if he appears*

*in eyes that wander the night.  
in your shining sky.*

This *šan'a* derives from *zajal* #38—*Šāḥḥa 'indī l-ḥabar*—in Naššār's *Dīwān aš-Šuštārī*, p. 165. The selection here comprises the second *dawr* of the poem (the two-line *matla'* added by IJ is in fact the *qufl* from the previous *dawr*). Corriente (1988 pp. 74-75, 240-241) presents the same *zajal* with some variations. Both Corriente and Naššār point out that several manuscripts of poetry belonging (or attributed) to aš-Šuštārī exist; Corriente's version is based upon a different set of manuscripts than Naššār's edition of the *Dīwān*.

As one of a handful of *azjāl* identifiable from a well-studied *dīwān*, this text is particularly instructive of various factors shaping the Āla corpus, representing as it does a negotiation among rules of prosody, degrees of constrained expression, and musical composition/performance. It contains many features defined by Corriente (1988) as “dialectal”, including loss of *i'rāb* from imperfect verbs (تُعَادِرُ, تَغَيَّبُ, يُضِيءُ) and nouns (الْفَلَكَ, الشَّمْسُ), and loss or “throw back” of final vowels from pronominal suffixes (مِنْ سَطُورِكَ, فِيكَ). These are combined with other constructions that fit comfortably within the constraints of *faṣīḥ* verse as a creative option that presumably facilitate expression and performance while signalling that the text is poetry and not everyday speech. See Chapter 4 §5.1. For a similar example (also attributed to aš-Šuštārī) see Bṭāyḥī #14.

MW pushes this text toward more constrained, *faṣīḥ* expression by supplying some (but not all) missing final vowels and *i'rāb* (مِنْ سَطُورِكَ, فِيكَ). The *ajuz* of line 4 in MW:

مِنْ سَطُورِكَ وَادِرٍ  
of the lines about you, and know

Zwītin drops the *hamza* from يضيئ; gives فاقرا at the beginning of line 3; and like MW gives the imperative وادِر at the end of line 4.

Ambīrkū drops فيك from line 1; drops و from the beginning of line 2; gives the imperative at the end of line 4; and gives أشهو at the beginning of line 5.

The poem makes full use of *tarsī'*.

This *šan'a* is found also in Basīṭ al-Iṣbahān: IM p. 95; IJ p. 64; MW p. 56.

Notable themes: This poem, being attributed to one of the Andalusī masters of mystic verse, is alive with fantastical astronomical images that are not used elsewhere in the *nūba* in quite this way. Here, as elsewhere, we do find the sun and full moon, but they now exist in a causal relationship with the object of adoration, rather than signifying the Prophet as such. The full moon

is particularly significant here, as it wanders about due to the seeker. Hence if the *you* for whom the universe moves here is the Prophet, the moon cannot be a figure of him. Abstracted from the *nūba* context, who but an initiate can say what this means? However in the context of the *Āla* corpus, and especially in its performed context, the moon in this *ṣanʿa* would be understood as the Prophet (see Chapter 4 §4 and Davila 2012b). The cosmology of celestial spheres does appear elsewhere in the tradition (see BṭāyḤī #5), as does the image of lines written about the Beloved, perhaps an echo of the Qurʾānic notion that the individual believer's fate and deeds are inscribed in a divine book (BṭāyḤī #12, also attributed to aš-Šuštārī).

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.

زجل شغل (IM: شغل توشیح صدره ووسطعه مضارع)

تَعَهَّدِ	إِنْ جُرَّتْ بِالْوَادِي	بِاللَّهِ يَا حَادِي
مُحَمَّدِ	رَسُولِنَا الْبَادِي	رَبِّعَ النَّبِيِّ الْهَادِي
الْأَسْعَدِ	وَمُشْرِفِ الْتَادِي	شَافِي ظَمًا الصَّادِي
وَالْحُسَامِ	بِالْآيَةِ وَبُرْهَانِ	يَانَا سَيْحِ الْأَذْيَانِ
أَنْتَ الْإِمَامِ	وَالْحُسْنِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ	يَا صَاحِبَ السُّلْطَانِ

## Bṭāyḥī #8 — بِاللَّهِ يَا حَادِي

IJ #7 p. 51

IM #7 p. 49

MW #6 p. 37

Zwītin #7 p. 21

Ambīrkū #8 p. 23

— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — —
— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — —
— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — —
— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — —
— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — —

By Allāh, O cameleer

if you pass the *wādī*,

take heed

The abode of the Prophet, the Guide,

our manifest Messenger,

Muḥammad,

Quenching the thirst of the parched,

overseeing the most fortunate

assembly.

O abrogator of (previous) religions

by means of signs and proof

and the sword.

O holder of dominion

and beauty and beneficence,

you are the *imām*.**Annotation**

MW and IM: both exchange الأَسْعَدِ and مُحَمَّدٍ in lines 2 and 3; both give الجُودِ (“generosity, liberality”) for الحَسَنِ in line 5. IJ gives صَمًا—either a misprint or possibly a colloquialism—in line 3 for ظَمًا (from ظَمَاء = “thirst”). IM also exchanges مشرف ومشرفنا in lines 2 and 3, and gives بِالْآيَةِ for بِالْآيِ in line 4.

Zwītin drops بٍ from الوادي; reverses the 2nd and 3rd segments in lines two and three; gives باسعادي; gives بالايات والبرهان as middle segment of line 4; and gives الجود for الحسن.

Ambīrkū gives من واد for بالوادي; reverses the 2nd and 3rd segments in lines two and three; and gives بالاياء والبرهان as middle segment of line 4.

*Tarsi* is used extensively here, across all line segments.

Notable themes: The camel caravan appears in several *ṣanāʿiʿ*, here as conceit for introducing the Prophet through his home (in Medina, presumably). He is presented as the Guide and Imām, quencher of spiritual thirst, and, uniquely here, the abrogator of false religion.

Ij gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.



البطايحي ٩  
كامل شغل

يَا سَيِّدَ الرُّسُلِ الْمَكِينِ مَكَانُهُ  
يَا مَنْ نَسَى أَحْمَدًا وَمُحَمَّدًا  
وَمُقَدَّمًا وَهُوَ الْأَخْبَرُ زَمَانُهُ  
يَا هَادِيًا لِلرُّشْدِ وَهُوَ خِتَامُهُ

Bṭāyḥī #9 — ياسيد الرسل المكين مكانه

IJ #8 p. 52

IM #8 p. 50

Zwītin #8 p. 21

Ambīrkū #9 p. 23

Poet: Ibn Abī Saʿīd Yaḥluftan al-Fazāzī l-Andalusī

--- | --- | --- || --- | --- | ---  
 --- | --- | --- || --- | --- | ---

O established master of the messengers, whose place  
 is put first, though his era is the last.

O one named Aḥmad and Muḥammad,  
 O Guide to good conduct, while he is its seal.

#### Annotation

This is one of only a tiny handful of *ṣanāʿiʿ* that IJ and IM have in common to the exclusion of MW.

The first verse is found in al-Ḥarāma, *Ātar...*, p. 37.

Notable themes: The idea of the Prophet being the last of the divinely-inspired guides for humanity is, of course, Qurʾānic in origin (33:40).

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.

البطايحي ١٠  
من بحر كامل شغل

فِي مُدْلِهِم مِّنَ الْأُمُورِ الْمُرْجَفَةِ  
صَلَّى عَلَيْهِ اللَّهُ مَا نَطَقَتْ شَكَمَةٌ

لُدُّ بِالنَّبِيِّ مُحَمَّدٍ كَهْفِ لَوْرَى  
فَهُوَ الْغِيَاثُ وَعَيْزُهُ لَا يُرْتَجَى

Bṭāyḥī #10 — لذبانبي محمد كهف لورى 

MW # 9 p. 38

--- | --- | --- || --- | --- | ---  
 --- | --- | --- || --- | --- | ---

Take refuge with the Prophet Muḥammad, the retreat of mankind  
 in the gloom, from convulsive affairs.  
 For he is the rescue, and none other is hoped for.  
 May Allāh bless him as long as lips speak.

### Annotation

This is one of the few *ṣanāʿī* in the canon found only in MW (and not, incidentally, in the al-Jāmiʿī manuscripts).

Formal considerations: Use of *tarsī* in combination with well-formed meter and no departures from *faṣīḥ* expression make this one of the most highly constrained of the *ṣanāʿī* in *Ramal al-Māya*.

Notable themes: The Prophet, alone, is the refuge from the affairs of the world. As elsewhere, we find blessings heaped upon Muḥammad for a long duration marked by the adverbial use of ما .

البطايحي ١١  
شغل من بحر المجتث

مُحَمَّدٌ ذُو الْمَزَايَا  
وَسِرُّهُ الْمُسَامِي  
يَعْلَمُ هَذَا خَيْرٌ  
يَا قَلْبِي بِاللَّهِ فَاغْمِدْ  
وَلَا تَمَلْ لِسِوَاهُ  
أَصْلُ الْوُجُودِ وَنُورُهُ  
فَالْكُلُّ مِنْهُ ظُهُورُهُ  
فَاضَتْ عَلَيْهِ بِحُورُهُ  
وَاقْطَعْ عِلَاقَ غَيْرِهِ  
وَعُمِّ فِي أَبْحُرِ ذِكْرِهِ



Not found in the poet's *Dīwān*.

Notable themes: Not only is the Prophet virtuous, but his existence is essential for the existence of the creation, a theme related to that of the Prophet as the cause of existence in Bṭāyḥī #5. On the symbolism of Muḥammad's light, see the Annotation to Basīṭ #9. In the *qufl* we find something of a contradiction of the larger theme of prophetic praise in *Ramal al-Māyā*: how does one seek for, long for, desire (and so on) the Prophet, and yet rely upon Allāh and "cut off connection to anyone else"? One suspects, therefore, that this is a composit text whose *ḡuṣn* and *qufl* derive from different sources.

IJ gives the *ṭab'* as al-ḥusayn.



سَقَانِي مَن هَوَيْتُ حَمْرًا  
وَأُظْلَعِنِي عَلَى الْحَصْرَةِ  
وَقَالَ لِي كُنْ لَبِيبٌ وَقِرَا  
وَكُتَيْتِي إِلَيْكَ مَعَكَ تُرْسِلُ  
فَدَعَهُ يُجْرُ وَأَنَا نَحْمِلُ  
بِهَا اللَّهُ قَدَرَفَعَ شَانِي  
مَا لَهَا فِي الْوُجُودِ ثَانِي  
سُطُورَكَ وَافْهَمَ أَوْرَانِي  
وَفَرَّقَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا تَجْمَعُ  
وَاللَّصْبَرَ الْجَمِيلَ تَزْجِعُ

Bṭāyḥī #12 — سقاني من هويت خمرا

IJ #10 p. 52

IM #10 p. 50

MW #11 p. 38-39

Zwītin #10 p. 21

Ambīrkū #11 p. 24

**Poet:** Abū l-Ḥasan aš-Šuštārī

٠ --- | ٠ --- || ٠ --- | ٠ ---  
 ٠ --- | ٠ --- || - ٠ --- | ٠ ---  
 ٠ --- | ٠ --- || ٠ --- | (---)  
 ٠ --- | - ٠ --- | - || ٠ --- | - ٠ --- | -  
 ٠ --- | (- ٠ ٠ ٠) | - - || ٠ --- | ٠ ---

The one whom I love pours out wine for me.

With it, Allāh has elevated my state.

He reveals to me the Presence,

for which there is no other in the existence.

He says to me, “Be wise!” and “Recite

your lines and understand My forms.

“And My Books (revealed) to you I send down with you,

distribute afterward what they gather together.”

Let Him depart, and I will bear it

and return to beautiful patience.

**Annotation**

Several non-standard renderings place this amongst the least constrained *ṣanāʿi* in *Ramal al Māya*: (هَوَيْتُ >) هَوَيْتُ، (أَطْلَعَنِي >) أَطْلَعَنِي، (لَيْبِيًا >) لَيْبِيًا، (قَالَ >) قَالَ، (أَنَا نَحْمِلُ). However, the use of *tarsi* mitigates this somewhat.

IJ gives تُرْسَلُ (“sent down”) and بَعْدَهَا (“after them”) for مَا بَعْدَ ; and adds *kasra* to الجَمِيلِ, further disrupting the already problematic meter, which otherwise works quite well in the *ḡuṣn* (ironically, thanks to a number of the non-standard renderings).

Zwītin and Ambīrkū give الحَضْرَةَ for الحَضْرَةَ. Ambīrkū also drops من from the *ʿajuz* of line 4 and ف from the beginning of line 5.

Notable themes: The wine-pourer, a staple of *ḥamriyya* verse and of Sufi mystical poetry (the wine symbolizing here the mystic's intoxication with the Divine presence), must be the Prophet in this case—at least, he would seem to be the most logical figure in the context of *Ramal al-Māya*. Line 3 echoes Bṭāyḥī #7, also attributed to aš-Šuštārī, but this text is not found in Naššār's version of the poet's *Dīwān*. (Incidentally, perhaps, the expression “اقراسطورك” is also an adage in Morocco meaning “pay attention to what is happening and what you are doing”.)

IJ gives the *ṭab'* as *ramal al-māya*.



البطايحي ١٣

توشيح شغل

ماخاب قَطُّ صابِرٌ      يا سَعَدَ مَنْ صَبَرَ  
وَمَنْ لالَهُ ناصِرٌ      فَبِاللَّهِ يَنْتَصِرُ  
الأمْرُ كُلُّهُ لِلَّهِ      فِي الْأَوَّلِ وَفِي الْأَخِيرِ  
وَمَنْ عَقَدَ يَحْلَهُ      قَادِرٌ وَنِعْمَ الْقَادِرُ  
دَبَّابٌ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ      تَجْمَعُ الْمَقَادِيرُ  
جَرَّتِ الْمَقَادِيرُ      بِحُكْمِ الْقَدِيرِ  
وَمَنْ لالَهُ ناصِرٌ      فَبِاللَّهِ يَنْتَصِرُ

Bṭāyḥī #13 — الأمر كله لله or: ما خاب قط صابر

IJ #11 p. 52

IM #11 p. 50

MW #12 p. 39

Zwītin #11 p. 21

Ambīrkū #12 p. 24-25

**Poet:** Abū l-Ḥasan aš-Šuštārī

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— — — — —	— — — — —
— — — — —	— — — — —
— — — — —	— — — — —
— — — — —	— — — — —
— — — — —	— — — — —
— — — — —	— — — — —
— — — — —	— — — — —
— — — — —	— — — — —

The patient one is never disappointed,  
And one who has no helper,  
The whole affair belongs to Allāh  
One who binds, loosens.  
So it is, if Allāh wills it:  
The destinies take their course  
And one who has no helper,

O fortunate one who has patience.  
by Allāh, He comes to his aid.  
in the beginning and the end.  
How excellent is the Mighty One!  
the fates bring us together.  
by the rule of the Mighty One.  
by Allāh, He comes to his aid.

### Annotation

IM: *ḥumāsiyya*, and presents several text variants:

The *ʿajuz* of line 1 of the *ḡuṣn*: فهو الأول والأخر (“for he is the first and the last”);

the *ṣadr* of *ḡuṣn* line 2: ومن عقده بحله (“and one who ties it...”);

*ḡuṣn* line 3:

تجمعنا فيه المقادير      دبا يوما إن شاء الله

“So it is daily, by the Will of Allāh

the fates bring us together in Him.”;

line 5:

فبالرحمان ينتصر      ومن لا ناصر عنده

by the Merciful

Zwītin (*ḥumāsīyya*) gives الآخر for الاخر; and داب for دبا.

Ambīrkū (also *ḥumāsīyya*) gives قدير and القدير for قادر and القادر; and دابا for دبا; and نصير for ناصر in the last line.

This text has a few departures from constrained expression: loss of *i'rāb* in two places (تَجْمَعُنَا and الأَوَّل) and loss of final vowel in one (عَقَدَ); but *i'rāb* is preserved in most places. MW is somewhat less constrained, with وَمَنْ لَيْسَ لُو نَاصِرًا.

Other formal considerations include use of *tarsī* and the repetition of text in *maṭla'* and *qufl*, strongly suggesting that they function as a true refrain in the original incarnation of this poem.

This text is not found in Naššār's *Dīwān*. It is found in *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*.

Notable themes: This *ṣan'a* does not evoke the Prophet at all, neither metonymically nor through contextualized meaning, as in other cases discussed in Chapter 4 §4. (One might perhaps read Muḥammad into the *ṣadr* of the second and last lines, in line with Qur'ān 5:55 and 9:16, though the opposite might also be adduced from 16:53 et al., as well as the dictum found in al-Buḥārī Chapter 83 #6046, *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwata illā bi-Llāh*.) Overall, the focus is on the overwhelming power of the Divine—His transcendence, ability to bind and unbind, to shape destinies, and even to come to the aid of the believer, a theme somewhat in contrast to the import of other *ṣanā'ī* in *Ramal al-Māya*, which cast the Prophet in the role of helper (albeit as intercessor, etc.). The *'ajuz* of the first line of the *juṣn* echoes Qur'ān 57:3, especially in IM's version, which is a direct quote.

IJ gives the *ṭab'* as *ramal al-māya*.



البطايحي ١٤

زجل شغل (IM: شغل توشيح )

زَارِي بَدْرِي      وَرَسَخَ حُبَّهُ فِي صَدْرِي      يَا أَهْلَ الْحَيِّ  
وَعَلَاقَدْرِي      مُذْ عَرَفْتَهُ صَرْتُ أَدْرِي      لَا يَفْتِنِي شَيْءٌ  
وَبَدَا فَجْرِي      وَانطَوَى شَفْعِي فِي وَتْرِي      يَا لَهُ مِنْ طَيِّبِ

هَسِيَّانِي      وَاطْرَحَانِي فِي الْفَلَاةِ

وَأَذْكُرُ لِي      إِسْمَ مَنْ يُجِي الرُّفَاتِ

Bṭāyḥī #14 — زارني بدري

IJ #12 p. 52-53

IM #12 p. 51

MW #13 p. 39

Zwītin #15 p. 22

Ambīrkū #16 p. 26

Bennūna #309 p. 329

**Poet:** Abū l-Ḥasan aš-Šuštārī

- - - - -      - - - - - - - - -      - - - - -  
 - - - - -      - - - - - - - - -      - - - - -  
 - - - - -      - - - - - - - - -      - - - - -  
   - - - -                      - - - - - - - - -  
   - - -                              - - - - - - - - -

My full moon visited me,

and love of him became rooted in my breast,

O ye people of my town.

And my status rose.

Since I came to know him, I became knowledgeable;

nothing shall escape me.

My dawn appeared

and my duality was enfolded in my singularity

O what a concealment it is!

The two stir me

and cast me in the desert.

Mention to me

the name of one who brings life to mortal remains.

**Annotation**

IM: the last two lines:

واظرحوني في فلاة

*they cast me...*

هكيجوني

*They stir me...*

اسم من يحيى الرفات

واذكروالي

IJ: اذري for نذري, and يحيى for يحيى.

MW: هَيَّيَانِي for هَيَّيَانِي, and اَطْرَحَانِي for اَطْرَحَانِي, and الفَلَاة for الفَلَاة—all essentially orally-derived hypercorrections.

Zwītin gives عَرَفْتَهُ for عَرَفْتَهُ and أدري for أدري; and اذْكُرْ لِي for اذْكُرْ لِي.

Ambīrkū also gives عَرَفْتَهُ for عَرَفْتَهُ and أدري for أدري; and يُفْتِنِي for يُفْتِنِي; and line 4: هَيَّيَانِي واطرحني في فلاة:

This *san'a*, the fifth of a group of five in this *mīzān* attributed to the great Andalusī mystic aš-Šuštārī, derives from the 2<sup>nd</sup> *dawr* and *qufl* from the *muwaššah Ṭābat awqātī*... in Naššār's *Dīwān aš-Šuštārī* (#10, p. 356). Unlike *al-Falak fik yadūr*, this text comes from two manuscripts for which Naššār questions the attribution to aš-Šuštārī. The text in the *Dīwān*:

يا أهيل الحَيِّ	ورسخ جُبُو في صدري	زارني بدري
ما يفتنني شَيِّ	حين عرفتُ صرتُ نَدري	وعرف قدري
يا له من طَيِّ	وانطوى شفعي في وتري	وبدا جفري
	واطرحاني في الفلاة	هَيَّيَانِي
	اسم من بحبي الرفات	واذْكُرْ لِي

(Slightly different variations are also found in Corriente (1988) #10 pp. 155, 306. Corriente's version is based upon a different set of manuscripts from that of Naššār.)

As with Bṭāyḥī #7, this is an excellent case of the convergence of constrained and non-constrained registers of language with the demands of oral presentation inherent in the tradition. Much of this text reads perfectly well as *faṣīḥ* verse, and the trisegmented lines with full expression of *tarsi* mark it strongly as post-classical verse. Departures from constrained verse include loss of vowel in pronominal suffix (عَرَفْتَهُ, حُبُهُ), loss of a final vowel in the perfect (رَسَخَ), mixing of first person singular and plural forms in compound verb (صِرْتُ نَدري in IJ) and loss of first short vowel for vocal harmony (واطرحاني → واطرحاني).

Notable themes: The lover who finds himself appealing to his neighbors for understanding is a *jazal* theme that comes to *Ramal al-Māya* in this case via the Sufi tradition. Like Bṭāyḥī #7, this text is also full of philosophical, initiatory meaning (the confounding of unity and duality), and seems to have little to do

with the Prophet himself (except through his metonym of the moon). The last line clearly refers to Allāh, not Muḥammad.

This ṣan‘a is found in Valderrama.

IJ gives the *ṭab‘* as *ramal al-māya*.

من مشطور الرمل - شغل (IM: توشيح مشطور الرمل شغل)

كَيْفَ يُعْبَأُ بِهِ      كُلُّ مَنْ يَهْوَى وَلَا يَهْوَى الرَّسُولَ  
إِلَّا مِنْ بَابِهِ      هُوَ بَابُ اللَّهِ مَا تَمَّ وَصُولُ  
اللَّهِ أَوْصَى بِهِ      حُبُّهُ فَكَرَضَ عَلَيْنَا لَا يَكْرُؤُ  
أَنْتَ هُوَ حَيِّي      يَا حَيَاةَ الْقَلْبِ يَا قُوتَ النَّفْسِ  
اسْقِ لِي قَلْبِي      لَمْ تَنْزَلْ تَسْقِي الْقُلُوبَ بِالْكُؤُوسِ

Bṭāyḥī #15 — كل من يهوى ولا يهوى الرسول

IJ #13 p. 53

IM #13 p. 51

MW #14 pp. 39-40

Zwītin #13 p. 22

Ambīrkū #14 p. 26

Bennūna #1 p. 125

- - - - | - - - - | - - - - || - - - - | -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - - - || (- - - -) | -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - - - || (- - - -) | -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - - - || - - - - | -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - - - || - - - - | -

Everyone who loves and does not love the Messenger,  
 what importance has he?  
 He is the Door of Allāh: no arrival is possible  
 except by his door.  
 Love of him never ceases to be a duty upon us:  
 Allāh prescribed it.  
 O life of my heart, O nourishment of souls,  
 you are my beloved.  
 You do not cease giving drink to (thirsty) hearts in cups:  
 give to my heart (as well).

### Annotation

Formal considerations: Some semblance of a coherent meter, loss of only one *iʿrāb* vowel (يُعْبَأُ), and use of *tarsīʿ* put this text on the more-constrained end of the *Ramal al-Māya* continuum.

Zwītin gives لم يزول for لا يَزُول; and بالكؤوس for من الكؤوس.

Notable themes: Divinely-prescribed love of Muḥammad gives mankind significance. Here he is presented as the only door to the Divine. The *ḡazal*-like *qufl* echoes references elsewhere in the *nūba* to the Pool and the fountain of Kawthar in Paradise.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.

البطايحي ١٦  
توشيح شغل

يَا زَيْنَ الْخَلَائِقِ  
قَدْ سَيَّتْ عَاشِقٌ  
حَقَّقَتْ الْحَقَائِقُ  
أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ  
لَا تَهْجُرْ مُحِبَّكَ  
يَا عَيْنَ الْحَقِيقَةِ  
بِالنَّفْسِ الرَّقِيقَةِ  
وَكَاثَتْ وَثِيقَةُ  
الْهَادِي الْكَرِيمِ  
فِي يَوْمٍ عَظِيمٍ

Bṭāyḥī #16 — يازين الحلاق

IJ #14 p. 53

IM #14 p. 51

MW #15 p. 40

Zwītin #12 p. 21-22

Ambīrkū #13 p. 26

---○---	---○---
---○---	---○---
---○---	---○---
---○---	---○---
---○---	---○---

O ornament of creatures,  
 You have captured a lover  
 You verified the truths,

O Messenger

Do not abandon one who loves you

O wellspring of truth,  
 with enslaved heart.  
 and they were reliable.

O noble Guide

on a mighty day!

**Annotation**

MW: line 3—حُقَّتْ الْحَقَائِقُ (“The truths were right.”)

Ambīrkū gives حقت for حَقَّتْ.

Formal considerations: Metrically, like many of the *tawšīh* and *zajal* texts of al-Āla, this *sanʿa* is constructed roughly according to the number of syllables in each hemistich, with account taken of stress deriving from the melody. However in other respects, this text is highly constrained: there are no lapses of vowels or other grammatical characteristics that mark it as approaching a less-constrained, informal register. Moreover, the use of *tarsiʿ* adds to the poem’s more constrained, more formally “poetic” quality.

Notable themes: In addition to the common references to the love of the Prophet, his various attributes and role on the Day of Judgment, his beauty is seen here as enhancing all of creation.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.

البطايحي ١٧  
من مخلص البسيط

سَأَلْتُ رَبِّي بِخَيْرٍ هَادِي  
مَنْ كَانَ مِثْلِي بِفَكِيرٍ زَادِ  
فَإِنَّ فَضْلَ الْكَرِيمِ بَادِي  
رَبِّي تَفَضَّلَ عَلَيَّ عَبْدِيكَ  
فَإِنِّي طَالِبٌ لِفَضْلِكَ  
يَجْعَلُ مَوْتِي عَلَى الشَّهَادَةِ  
يَكُونُ فَضْلُ الْكَرِيمِ زَادَهُ  
عَلَى ذَوِي الْيَمْنِ وَالسَّعَادَةِ  
بِرَحْمَتِكَ يَا نِعَمَ الرَّحِيمِ  
يَكُونُ حِصْنِي مِنَ الْجَحِيمِ

Bṭāyḥī #17 — سألت ربي بخير هادي

IJ #15 p. 53

IM #15 p. 51

MW #16 p. 40

Zwītin #14 p. 22

Ambīrkū #15 p. 26-27

٠-٠-٠- | -٠-٠- | ٠-٠-٠- || -٠-٠-٠- | -٠-٠- | ٠-٠-٠-  
 -٠-٠- | -٠-٠- | ٠-٠-٠- || -٠-٠-٠- | -٠-٠- | ٠-٠-٠-  
 ٠-٠-٠- | -٠-٠- | ٠-٠-٠- || ٠-٠-٠- | -٠-٠- | ٠-٠-٠-  
 -٠-٠- | -٠-٠- | ٠-٠-٠- || ٠-٠-٠- | (-٠-٠-) | ٠-٠-  
 ٠-٠-٠- | -٠-٠- | ٠-٠-٠- || -٠-٠-٠- | -٠-٠- | ٠-٠-

I asked my lord by the best of guides

to make my death bear witness (or: martyrdom).

One who, like me, is without provision,

the bounty of the Generous One is his provision.

Indeed the bounty of the Generous One is evident

to those who possess luck and felicity.

O my Lord, you bestow on your humble servant

your mercy, O wonderful Merciful One.

For I am asking for your bounty:

it will be my fortress against hellfire.

### Annotation

IM:

Line 4—واسأح عبيدك (“and pardon your humble servant”) for على عبيدك

Line 5—طالب ما عندك (“asking for what you have”) for طالب لفضلك

MW:

Line 1—هادي for هادي

Line 2—زاد for زاد

Line 3—بادي for بادي

Line 5—الحجيم = misprint for الحجيم

IJ:

Line 1—يَجْعَلُ = misprint for يَجْعَلُ

Line 3—دَوِي = misprint for دَوِي

Zwītin gives باد for بادِي.

Ambīrkū gives الْكَرِيمِ for الرَّحِيمِ; and the ‘*sadr*’ of line 5: فاني طالب ما عندك (“For I am asking for what you have/what is with you”).

Formal considerations: Although the grammar is not perfect (e.g., أَنْ يَجْعَلُ in line 1 would be preferable), this *ṣan‘a* nevertheless tends toward the more constrained end of the spectrum: the two lost final vowels (تَقْضَلُ and بِرَحْمَتِكَ) are not haphazard or “conversational” but rather help to preserve the meter. And as elsewhere, the use of *tarsī‘* further emphasizes the sense of a constrained, consciously “poetic” diction.

Notable themes: The Prophet makes only the barest appearance here, with the suggestion in line 1 of one of his attributes typical of this corpus, the Guide—though that is also in fact one of the traditional 99 Divine Names (الاسماء الحسنی). Otherwise this *ṣan‘a*, like others in this *mīzān*, deals exclusively with Allāh, Who grants the seeker His mercy and bounty, a fitting death, and protection from Hell.

IJ gives the *ṭab‘* as *ramal al-māya*.



إِذَا كَانَ حِسَابُكَ يَا صَاحَّ  
أَبَشَرَ بِالنَّجَا وَالْفَلَاحِ  
الْمَوْلَى عَظِيمِ السَّمَّاحِ  
رَبِّي أَكْرَمُ الْأَكْرَمِينَ  
يُجَاوِزُ عَنِ الْمُذْنِبِينَ  
عَلَى يَدِ رَبِّ كَرِيمٍ  
وَالْفَوْزِ بِدَارِ النَّعِيمِ  
الْبَرِّ الْجَزِيلِ الْوَسِيمِ  
الرَّؤُوفِ بِمَجْمَعِ الْعَصَاتِ  
وَيَعْفُو عَنِ السَّيِّئَاتِ



focus, making clear that the lord and master of the *ḡuṣn* is the Divine, Who forgives sins, etc.

Ij gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.

#### *IV. Mīzān ad-Darj*

∴

الدرج ١  
من بحر الكامل

قد طال سَوِّي لِلنَّبِيِّ مُحَمَّدٍ  
وَلَقَدْ فَنَى صَبْرِي وَزَادَ تَشْوِي  
أَتْرَى أُمْرُغُ وَجَنَّتِي فِي ثَرْبِهِ  
هَذَا النَّبِيُّ الهَاشِمِيُّ الْمُصْطَفَى  
هَذَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صِفْوَةٌ خَلَقَهُ  
فَنَى إِلَى ذَاكَ الْمَقَامِ وَصُولُ  
نَحْوَ الْحَيْبِ وَهَلْ إِلَيْهِ سَبِيلُ  
وَالْوَذُنْ مِنْ فَرِحَ بِهِ وَأَقُولُ  
هَذَا لَهُ كُلُّ الْقُلُوبِ تَمِيلُ  
هَذَا الرَّسُولُ إِلَى الْجَنَانِ دَلِيلُ



الدرج ٢  
الكامل

ماحن مشتاق إلى مشواك  
أرجوانداك وأحتي بحماك  
قلبا مشوقا لا يروم سواك  
والله يعلم أنني أهواك  
كلا ولا خلق الورى لولاك  
والشمس مشرقة بنور سناك

صلى عليك الله يا خير الورى  
يا سيد السادات جئتك قاصدا  
والله يا خير الخلائق إن لي  
وبحق جاهك إنني بك مفرم  
أنت الذي لولاك ما خلق امرؤ  
أنت الذي من حسنك البدر اكتسى

Darj #2 — صلى عليك الله يا خير المورى

IM #1 p. 61

Poet: Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb

--- | --- | --- || --- | --- | ---  
 --- | --- | --- || --- | --- | ---  
 --- | --- | --- || --- | --- | ---  
 --- | --- | --- || --- | --- | ---  
 --- | --- | --- || --- | --- | ---  
 --- | --- | --- || --- | --- | ---

May Allāh bless you, best of mankind.

How one struck by longing yearns for your habitation!

O master of masters, I came directly to you

in hope of your generosity, and I seek protection in your sanctuary.

By Allāh, o best of creations! I have

a heart filled with longing which desires no other than you.

By the right of your rank, truly I am enamored of you,

and Allāh knows that I love you.

You are the one were it not for whom He would not create man

at all, and mankind was not created, were it not for you.

You are the one in whose beauty the full moon dresses

and the sun shines by the light of your brilliance.

### Annotation

As noted in Annotation for Darj #1, performance of *mīzān ad-darj* begins with a poem in the meter *al-kāmil*. This text, also in *al-kāmil*, begins this *mīzān* in IM. Darj #1, *Qad ṭāla šawqī...* is not found in this anthology.

Notable themes: Longing and love for the best of mankind, the one for whose sake mankind was created, whose rank places him above all others—all themes running throughout *Ramal al-Māya*. In addition, this *šanʿa* incorporates the sanctuary theme noted in Basīṭ #8. See the Annotations to that *šanʿa* and others referenced there. Finally, astronomical images—the sun, and especially the moon—figure here as elsewhere in *Ramal al-Māya*, though in this case the resonance is more clearly with *madiḥ* than with *ġazal* verse, because the Prophet/beloved is not himself the sun or moon (indicating his beauty and attractiveness, as is more typical of *ġazal*), but rather these

astronomical objects shine by reflecting his light. On the symbolism of the Light of Muḥammad, see Annotation to Basīṭ #9.

These lines are not found in the poet's *Dīwān*.



مِيرُ الْحُبِّ أَحْرَجَ  
عَلَى طُولِ الدَّاحِ  
دَمْعِي كَالْأَمْوَاجِ  
أَنَا وَجَدِي هَاجِ  
غَيْرُ السَّقَامِ أَفْنَانِي  
وَهُوَ أَهْلُ حَلِّ وَسَطِ أَهْكَانِي  
أَكْتَمْتُ مَا نَفَعَكُمْ مَانِي  
أَمِنْ دَرَى نُشُوفِ بَعْيَانِي  
مُهْجَتِي مِنْ حَرَّةِ النَّارِ تَنْكَوِي  
نَوْمَ جَفْنِي طَائِرٍ مِنْ لَيْعَةِ الْهَوَى  
مَا وَجَدْتُ لِحَالِي رَاحَةً وَلَا ذَوَا  
غَيْرَ عَدْرٍ وَحَالِي مَا بِي أَقْوَى  
وَاللَّيْ هَوِيْتُ مِنْ وَحْشَةِ عَقْلِي طَائِرٍ  
كَمْ لِي عَلِيلٍ بِغَرَامِهِ وَأَنَا صَابِرٍ  
وَوَظْهَرٍ مَا خَفِيْتُ فِي الْحُسْنِ الظَّاهِرِ  
مَقَامُهُ الْمَعْظَمُ تَمْشِي لَهُ زَايِرٍ

Darj #3 — مِيرَالْحَبْ أَحْرَجْ

IJ #2 p. 54

MW #4 pp. 41-42

**Poet:** Sīdī Muḥammad b. ‘Alāl Mūlay al-Quṣūr

---∪---		-∪-----∪-
∪-----		=-----=*
-----		-∪=∪-----∪-
∪-----		-----∪-----
-----		-----∪-----
-----		-∪-∪∪-----∪∪∪-

\*The symbol (=) indicates a consonant cluster of the form CvCC or CvCCC, where the second consonant is not a long-vowel marker (i.e., not أ, و, or ي), an arrangement treated here as CvC for scansion purposes.

The Emir of Love constrains

my soul; it is burnt by the fire from his heat.

Despite the length of the dark,

sleep flies from my eyes from the torment of love.

My tears are like waves.

I find no ease, nor any cure for my condition.

My ardor stirs.

Just make excuse for me: what is in me is too strong.

No sickness kills me,

but one whom I love, I am losing my mind from loneliness.

Love of him has taken up residence in my refuge.

How sick I am from love's pangs, but I am patient.

I conceal what it is to my advantage to conceal,

but what I hide appears in pure [evident] beauty.

Who knows (what) I see with my own eyes?

I go to him as a visitor to his exalted place.

## Annotation

MW version:

مُهَجِّي مِنْ حَرُّو بِالنَّارِ تَنْكَوِي	مِيرَ الْحُبِّ أَخْرَاجِ
نَوْمُ جَفْنِي طَايِرٍ مِنْ لِيَعْتِ الْهَوِي	عَلَى طُولِ الدَّاجِ
مَا وَجَدْتُ لِحَالِي رَاحَةً وَلَا دَوَا	دَمْعِي كَالْأَمْوَاجِ
غَيْرَ عَدْرُوا حَالِي مَا بِي أَقْوِي	أَنَا وَجَدِي هَاجِ
وَاللِّي هَوِيَتْ مِنْ وَحْشَوْ عَقْلِي طَايِرٍ	غَيْرَ السَّقَامِ أَفْنَانِي
كَمْ لِي عِلِيلٌ بَعْرَامُونَ صَابِرٍ	وَهَوَاهُ حَلٌّ وَسَطٌ أَكْهَانِي
وَوَهَّرَ مَا خَفِيَتْ فِي الْحُسْنِ الظَّاهِرِ	أَكْتَمْتُ مَا نَفَعْتُ كِتْمَانِي
الْمَقَامُ الْمَعْظَمُ تَمْشِي لُو زَايِرٍ	أَمِنْ ذَرَى نُشُوفٍ بَعْيَانِي

As *barwala*, this text represents the range of the corpus least constrained by either the classical *‘arūd* or the rules of formal grammar (and orthography!). As noted in Chapter 3 §4, this type of *ṣan‘a* text is, in theory, constructed primarily from Moroccan colloquial expression and reflects typically Moroccan features of pronunciation, though it also embraces features marked as “poetic” (such as rhyme and *tarsī*). In addition, the effort to represent the text on the printed page and the general religious thematic probably have led to a greater degree of constraint vis-à-vis the *ṣan‘a*-as-sung. A further complication to formal considerations of this text, as discussed in Chapter 3, is its relative proximity to the oral processes that lie behind the tradition. The versions that appear in IJ and MW clearly reflect the effects of this proximity: each represents a written approximation of the *ṣan‘a*-as-sung in which orthographic choices have been made according to the anthologist’s ear and aesthetic sense. We see this revealed in numerous ways, including differing representations of *i‘rāb* (e.g.: مِيرَال vs. مِيرَال—the vowel sound intended here is /ə/), selective loss or retention of *i‘rāb* (e.g.: نَوْمٌ vs. نَوْمُ), differing representations of internal vowels (e.g.: أَخْرَجِ vs. أَخْرَاجِ), differing versions of independent and suffixed pronouns (e.g.: وَأَنَا vs. وَأَنَا), differing representations of the vowel in the affixed preposition *bi-*, even by the same anthologist (بِ and بِب—again the intended vowel is /ə/), and even differing representations of consonant sounds (e.g.: لِيَعْتِ vs. لِيَعَّة).

In terms of grammar and prosody, the text shares some linguistic features with the “Andalusi” Arabic typical of azjāl, such as /n-/ to mark first person singular imperfect (نَشُوفُ), loss of numerous final vowels of both verbs and nouns, and conversion of ع to the full consonant ي. Features marked as distinctively Moroccan dialectal include loss of first-syllable short vowels (هُوَيْتُ، السَّقَامُ), shift of /i/ → /a/ in form I active participle (طَاهِرٌ، صَابِرٌ، طَائِرٌ), and reduction of ونا → وَا (line 6 of MW version). Moroccan colloquial expressions include: غَيْرٌ = “just” and وَاللَّيِّ = “one whom,” “there is/are” (neither is attested in Corriente’s Dictionary, though the latter is not unknown in Egyptian colloquial, for example). See also Annotation to Quddām #5.

An abbreviated version of this *ṣanʿa* is found in the manuscript D1031 (see Chapter 3).

This eight-line *ṣanʿa* is constructed of quatrains rhyming aaaa bbbb, with the last line of each strophe serving as a kind of refrain, a fact which is not apparent until one observes that lines 4 and 8 are repeated in Darj #5. Thus the two texts represent one style of performance practice for this text, in this case with Darj #4 inserted in the middle as an interlude (not an uncommon practice, as shown by a similar situation with Darj #9, 11 and 12, and Darj X). See also the Annotations to Darj #4 and Darj #5.

Notable themes: This text stands squarely on the *ḡazal* genre, with no indication that the beloved is, in fact, the Prophet—except perhaps “his exalted place” in the last line—and no links at all to *madīh* as such. The tortured state of the lover longing for the beloved is expressed more vividly here perhaps than anywhere else in the *nūba*, although he does have patience, as well as the presence of mind to restrain his behavior even though something of what is going on inside him appears nevertheless.

Ij gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.

الدرج ٤  
تخليل الكامل

لِلَّهِ يَا زَوَّارَ قَبْرِ مُحَمَّدٍ  
فَلْيُبْلِغِ الْمُخْتَارَ أَلْفَ تَجِيَّةٍ  
مَنْ كَانَ مِنْكُمْ رَائِحًا أَوْ غَادِي  
مَنْ عَاشِقٍ مُتَقَطِّعِ الْأَبْكَادِ

Darj #4 — لله يا زوار قبر محمد

IJ #3 p. 54

Poet: ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm al-Buraī

--- | --- | ~ - ~ || --- | --- | ---  
 --- | --- | ~ - ~ || --- | ~ - ~ | ---

O frequent visitor to Muḥammad’s tomb, one amongst you  
 who is coming or going (in the morning) belongs to Allāh.  
 So let him bring the Chosen One a thousand salutations,  
 from a lover who is tearing his heart apart.

### Annotation

These two lines are found in *Šarḥ Dīwān al-Buraī* (1967, p. 294), though not in the collections of an-Nabahānī or al-Ayyūbī. Variants in the *Dīwān*:

Line 1: بالله

Line 2:

يُبلِّغُ إِلَى الْمُخْتَارِ أَلْفَ مَحَبَّةٍ      مِنْ عَاشِقٍ مُتَقَتِّتِ الْأَكْبَادِ

*He brings to the Chosen One a thousand salutations*

*from a lover who is rending his livers.*

[that is, his heart]

IJ’s comments on the format of Darj #5 suggest that these two lines are performed with the previous and following *ṣanā’i*‘ as an interlude or performance unit that begins and ends with the one *barwala* (divided in this anthology into two) but has these verses inserted in the midst. See Annotation to Darj #5.

Notable themes: The word translated as heart here (الأكباد) means livers. This is a rare holdover in *Ramal al-Māya* from the influence of classical Greek thought on Arab-Islamic physiology: the Greeks believed the liver to be the site of the emotion of love.

Visiting the Prophet’s tomb and the anguish of the seeker are both typical themes of *Ramal al-Māya*. The text represents the Prophet as the Chosen One, also very common in the corpus. This and the following *ṣanā’a* text are unique to IJ, but one can perhaps understand why he has inserted this *ṣanā’a* at this point in the *mīzān*: little of the imagery in either half of the *barwala* represented by

Darj #3 and Darj #5 is directly related to the Prophet. The present text serves to contextualize the passionate *barwala* imagery and thereby frame the beloved specifically as the Prophet.

Ij gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.



الدرج ه  
رجوع للبروله

لا شاهدتُ محتاج  
فهُوَ بَدْرُ الدَّاجِ  
بِحِمَا لَهُ الوَهَّاجِ  
أَنَا وَجَدِي هَاجِ  
دَائِمٌ مِنْ غَرَامَةٍ فَانِي  
وَاللَّيْلِ يَلُومُ مَا شَكَّنِي  
قُولُوا لِلْإِمَامِيِّ يُكْفَانِي  
أَمَّنْ ذَرَى نُشُوفَ بَعْيَانِي  
بَعْدَ حَسْبِي لَهَابِ الْحَبِّ يَلْتَوِي  
مَا لِكِي مِنْ حُبَّةٍ مَا لَهُ دَوَا  
كُلُّ عَاشِقٍ مِثْلِي قَلْبُهُ نَكْوِي  
غَيْرَ عَكْدُرٍ وَاحِلِي مَا بِي أَقْوِي  
وَهُوَ رَاحِي وَوَيْسِي لِلْحَاطِرِ  
حَدِيثُهُ خَرِيفٌ لَوْ كَانَ تَتَكَثَّرُ  
نَهْوِي مَلِيحٌ تَشْرَفُ بِحُسْنِهِ الظَّاهِرِ  
مَقَامُهُ المِعْظَمُ تَمِشِي لَهُ زَايِرِ

## Darj #5 — لا شاهدت نحتاج

IJ #4 p. 54

Poet: Sīdī Muḥammad b. ‘Alāl Mūlay al-Quṣūr?

---◡---		-◡-----◡◡-
-◡---		-----◡◡-----
---◡---		-----◡-----*
◡---		-----◡---
---◡-----		-◡-----
◡◡◡-----◡-		◡=---◡=---

\*The symbol (=) indicates a consonant cluster of the form CvCC or CvCCC, where the second consonant is not a long-vowel marker (i.e., not <sup>ا</sup>أ, <sup>و</sup>و or <sup>ي</sup>ي), an arrangement treated here as CvC for scansion purposes.

I do not see (what) I need

after my body is aflame, bent by love.

He is the (full) moon in the dark,

my master; there is no remedy for him.

With his incandescent beauty

the (poor little) heart of every lover like me burns.

My ardor stirs.

Just make excuse for my state: what is in me is too strong.

Always wasting away from love of him.

His love is my comfort and my close companion in thought

Whoever blames is of no importance (to me).

His talk is just senseless stories, however much it increases.

Say to the one who blames me, it is enough for me

I love a beauty; I am honored by his evident beauty.

Who knows (what) I see with my own eyes?

I go to his exalted place as a visitor.

**Annotation**

This is one of the few items from ad-Darj found in manuscript: *Belmalih* p. 231, though unvocalized and with several variants in the text.

This *barwala* is a continuation of Darj #3, so it presumably was written by the same poet, though IJ does not specifically indicate so. Its formal characteristics mark it likewise as belonging to the least-constrained facet of the corpus, comprising similar departures from grammatical and prosodic rules as Darj #3. See the Annotation to that *ṣanʿa* for discussion of the various linguistic details.

On *barwala* and the significance of contextualized meaning, see Chapter 4 §4, as well as the Annotations to Darj #3 and Darj #4.

Notable themes: This *ṣanʿa* continues with similar images to those of Darj #3 drawn from the *ġazal* genre, though it contains the additional image of the blamer, the third party who casts accusing glances on the lovers. One other image does more clearly connect this text to the thematic core of *Ramal al-Māya*: the full moon, which represents the beloved in *ġazal*, but in this *nūba* is a metonym for the Prophet.



الدرج ٦  
توشيح

ما لاحت لنا الأنوار  
ونبع زلال الما  
وغرس بين الفخل  
من يذكره نسلى  
صلوا يا عباد جملا  
إلا من جين  
وجرى من يمين  
وطعم في حين  
ونعيش في الإيمان  
على من سباني

## Darj #6 — ما لاحت لنا الأنوار

IM #2 pp. 61-62

```

-----∪-----∪ || -----∪-----
∪∪∪∪∪----- || ∪∪-----∪-----
∪∪∪∪-----∪ || ∪∪∪∪-----
-----∪∪----- || ∪∪-----∪∪-----
-----∪----- || ∪-----∪-----

```

No lights shine for us  
 And pure water gushes forth  
 And settles among the date palms  
 One brings him to mind, I am consoled  
 Bless all together, O servants (of God),

but from one face.  
 flowing from a blessing.  
 from whence it is drunk.  
 and I live in peace  
 one who captivated me.

**Annotation**

As with many (perhaps most) of the *ṣanāʿi* labeled *tawšīḥ*, this text exhibits no link to a classical meter. The structural principle in this text, such as it is, relates to the number of syllables in each hemistich (eight in the *ṣadr* and six or seven in the *ʿajuz*), linked to syllabic stress which would depend upon the form of the melody.

Notable themes: On light-symbolism as it relates to the Prophet, see Annotation to Basīṭ #9. Other images of interest include spiritual water (elsewhere represented by the Pool and the Fountain of Abundance in Paradise, but here flowing amongst date trees), exhortation of the believers to bless the Prophet, and the captivation of the seeker with him.

الدرج ٧  
تخليل البسيط

فيه خلعت عذاري واظرحت به  
وابيض وجه غرامي في محبته  
تبارك الله ما أحلى شمائله  
قبول نسكي والمقبول من حج  
واسود وجه ملامي فيه بالبحج  
فكم أماتت وأحيت فيه من حج

Darj #7 — فيه خلعت عذاري واطرحت به

IM #3 p. 62

Poet: Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar Ibn al-Fāriḍ

— ◡ — | ◡ — | — ◡ — | ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ — ◡ — | ◡ ◡ — | — ◡ — | ◡ —  
 — ◡ — | ◡ — | — ◡ — | ◡ ◡ || — ◡ — | ◡ — | — ◡ — | ◡ ◡ ◡  
 ◡ — ◡ — | — ◡ — | — ◡ — | ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ — ◡ — | — ◡ — | — ◡ — | ◡ —

In him have I cast off my restraint, and flung away with it  
 approval of my piety and accepted argumentation.  
 For the face of my ardor has become white in his beloved presence,  
 and the face of blaming me with argumentation has blackened.  
 May Allāh bless the sweetest of his good qualities,  
 for how many inner essences are made to die and live in him?

#### Annotation

Ṣadr of line 2: محبته here is a misprint for محبته.

These verses are found in *Šarḥ Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, al-qaṣīda as-sādīsa*, lines 99-101, p. 375. In the *Dīwān*, the problematic word in line 2 here is محبته. Most likely IM's version is the result of a typographical error.

Notable themes: These three lines from the famous Egyptian Sufi Ibn al-Fāriḍ deploy *ḡazal*-like images that nevertheless stand firmly within the Sufi poetic tradition that uses love as a technical term for the mystical experience. Here, the focus is mostly upon the lover's tribulations (very typical of traditional *ḡazal* verse as such), with the characteristics of the Prophet-beloved invoked only in a very general way in the third line.

الدرج ٨

بروله

مدح الرسول بنجي للقلب إكدار      انطق به سرّ وجهارا  
من مدح بيد يسقيه كوثار      يوم ترى الناس سكارا  
ويكون لو شفيع فيسكن جوار      يشعل من ضياه منارا  
يرضيه ربنا ويزيد      من بعد كل ما يتمنى  
فضل الكريم عمّ عبيد      يجرني أهل الإحسان بحسنى  
صلوا على الرسول وزيد      محمد عريس الجناتا  
يوم يرتقي كل رسول منبار      تجني عليه قوم دارا  
يسعد من كان من صحاب ونصار      ويشر الحق إشارا



Notable themes: Unlike the *barāwil* earlier in this *mīzān*, this text speaks clearly and unequivocally as *al-madīḥ an-nabawī*, using images and phraseology similar to other *ṣanāʿī* in the *nūba*: the Prophet as Messenger and intercessor (but also here as the bridegroom—that is, the honored man—in Paradise), the spiritual waters of Kawṭar, and the Light of Muḥammad (see Annotation to Basīṭ #9). Unusual themes here include evocation of the early community in Medina (the Companions and the Helpers), praise of the Prophet functioning as spiritual healing, rewards from the Divine, and two unusual images of the Day of Judgment: mankind appearing drunk, and the appearance of previous prophets (“messengers” being those who brought sacred scriptures: Moses and Jesus are always included in this group but according to some, so is David by virtue of the Psalms) giving sermons to their respective followers.



الدرج ٩  
الخفيف

يَا رَسُولَ الْإِلَهِ إِنِّي مُحِبُّ لَكَ  
يَا رَسُولَ الْإِلَهِ فِي كُلِّ حِينٍ  
يَا رَسُولَ الْإِلَهِ شَوْقِي عَظِيمٌ  
يَا رَسُولَ الْإِلَهِ جِئْتُكَ أَسْعَى  
وَاللَّهِ شَائِقٌ مُسْتَهَامٌ  
لَكَ مِنِّي تَحِيَّةٌ وَسَلَامٌ  
زَائِدٌ وَالْعَرَامُ فِيكَ غَرَامٌ  
فَقِيدَتْنِي الذُّنُوبُ وَهِيَ عِظَامٌ



Notable themes: Although mention of sins, as such, is relatively rare in *Ramal al-Māya*, the seeker experiencing pangs of love and longing for the Prophet (evoked here as the Messenger) is one of the dominant themes of the *nūba*, as is the seeker's offering greetings and salutations to the Prophet.

Ij gives the *ṭab'* as *ramal al-māya*.




الدرج ١٠

بروله (MW: توشية - شغل)

يَا شَفِيعَ الْأُمَّةِ فِي يَوْمِ الرَّحَامِ  
عَلَيْكَ يَا مُحَمَّدٌ مِنْ رَبِّنَا السَّلَامِ

طَالَ شَوْقِي لِمَقَامِكَ يَا الْهَادِي  
يَا مُنْجِبِينَا فِي أُخْرَى وَهَذِهِ

Darj #10 — طال شوقي لمقامك بالهادي 

IJ #6 p. 55

IM #6 pp. 62-63

MW #2 p. 41

— ◡ ————— || ——— ◡ ——— ◡ —  
 ————— ◡ — || ◡ ◡ ◡ ————— ◡ ◡ —

My longing for your place grows long, O Guide,  
     O intercessor for the community on the Day of the Gathering.  
 O you who rescue us in the next world and this,  
     peace be upon you from our Lord, O Muḥammad.

### Annotation

See also Annotation to Darj #3. A footnote to Bṭāyḥī #1 in IM suggests a different performance unit involving this *ṣanʿa* from that in IJ (see Annotation to Darj #9): according to IM, this *ṣanʿa* (and its associated *tūšīya*?) normally has Bṭāyḥī #1 interpolated between the two lines—a remnant from and indication of a time when *īqāʿ ad-darj* was performed as part of *mīzān al-bṭāyḥī* (see Chapter 3 §3.3).

The language in this *barwala* is similar to Darj #8 in its restrained quality, but as with the other *barāwil* in *Ramal al-Māya*, the formal characteristics of this *ṣanʿa* are nevertheless problematic. Of course, no meter is discernable, but more importantly the text exhibits the usual loss of first-syllable short vowels (شَفِيعَ, مَقَامَكَ) that mark it as “Moroccan dialect”. Loss (or “throw-back”) of various final vowels (طَالَ, لِمَقَامِكَ, طَالَ) also place this *ṣanʿa* on the less-constrained end of the spectrum. Yet none of these features carries throughout the whole text, and on the whole it is rather more constrained than some other *barāwil* (such as Darj #5): the religious language in play here tends to pull the text back from complete abandonment of the constraints of language marked poetic. For example, the name of the Prophet in Morocco in everyday speech would commonly be pronounced مُحَمَّدٌ, though that might not be deemed appropriate in a poetic context.

The problems of orthographic representation found in other *barāwil* are present here, as well. For example, هَذِهِ in its position at the end of the *ṣadr* of the second line, would very likely be pronounced هَدِيدِي, thus rhyming with الهادي in the first line and producing *tarsiʿī*.

MW gives: *وَهْدِي* and *لِقَامِكَ*.

Notable themes: Unlike other *barāwil* in Mīzān ad-Darj, here we find none of the passionate, almost erotic imagery. On the contrary, this text evokes the usual blessing on and longing for the Prophet, represented both in name and as Guide and intercessor on behalf of the believers on the Day of Judgment.



الدرج ١١  
الخفيف

يَا رَسُولَ الْإِلَهِ إِنِّي نَزِيلٌ  
أَنْتُمْ مَقْصِدُ الْفَقِيرِ وَمِنْكُمْ  
وَلَكُمْ حُرْمَةٌ وَجَاهٌ عَظِيمٌ  
لَيْلَةُ الْإِسْرَاءِ أَهْلُ كُلِّ سَمَاءٍ  
وَتَقَدَّمَتْ لِلصَّلَاةِ فَصَلُّوا  
وَنَزِيلُ الْكَرِيمِ لَيْسَ يَدَامُ  
يُعْرِفُ الْجُودَ وَالْوَفَا وَالذَّمَامُ  
وَوَفَاءٌ وَرَفْعَةٌ لَا تُرَامُ  
سَجَدَ الْكُلُّ إِذْ رَأَى وَقَامُ  
كُلُّهُمْ مُقْتَدٍ وَأَنْتَ إِمَامُ



line, one curiosity is the loss of ة from وَبَا in one place and its preservation in another (for the sake of the meter). The only grammatical/orthographic problem is the loss of ل at the end of the fourth line, which actually serves no prosodic purpose other than appearance on the page (It is preserved in an-Nabahānī's version.).

Notable themes: In addition to praise of the Prophet's dignity, generosity and sanctity, and reference to the seeker's desire to be with him, this *ṣanʿa* presents the seeker as a guest to whom is due every courtesy, another oblique reference to *ʿird* (see Annotation to al-Qāʾim wa-Niṣf #2). Also we find reference to the Night Journey of the Prophet, in which he is said to have ascended from the Temple Mount in Jerusalem up through the Seven Heavens, along the way meeting all the previous prophets and messengers and leading them in prayer (referred to in Qurʾān 17:1, but fleshed out in several *aḥādīth* related on the authority of Anas b. Malik).



الدرج ١٢  
الخفيف

يا بَحِيَّ الإِلهِ فِي حَضْرَةِ الْقُدْسِ  
أَنْتَ رُوحَ الْعُيُونِ أَنْتَ الْأَمَانِي  
أَنْتَ يَا سَيِّدَ النَّبِيِّينَ بَحْرٌ  
أَنْتَ لِلْكَلِّ أَوَّلٌ فِي الْمَعَالِي  
كَرِيمٌ لَهُ هُنَاكَ مَقَامٌ  
أَنْتَ رُوحَ الْقُلُوبِ أَنْتَ الْهَمَامُ  
سَمِعَ الْكُلُّ فِي نَدَاكَ وَعَامُوا  
وَكَذَا أَنْتَ لِلْجَمِيعِ خِتَامُ  
كُلَّمَا دَامَ لِلزَّمَانِ دَوَامُ  
يَا إِلَهَ السَّمَاءِ صَلِّ عَلَيهِ

Darj #12 — يانجي الإله في حضرة القدس

IJ #8 p. 55

MW #6 pp. 42-43

Poet: Ibn Mas'ūd al-Yūsī

— — — | — — — | — — — { | — || — — — | — — — | — — — }  
 — — — | — — — | — — — || — — — | — — — | — — —  
 — — — | — — — | — — — || — — — | — — — | — — —  
 — — — | — — — | — — — || — — — | — — — | — — —  
 — — — | — — — | — — — || — — — | — — — | — — —

O intimate friend of the Divine, in the presence of the the Holy  
 is a noble one who has a place there.  
 You are the spirit of the eyes; you are longings;  
 you are the spirit of hearts; you are the magnanimous one.  
 You are a deep sea, O master of the prophets;  
 all of them swim in your bounty, and they thirst.  
 For all of them, you are foremost in noble qualities,  
 and thus you are a seal for them all.  
 O god of heaven, bless him,  
 as long as time persists.

### Annotation

These verses are found in an-Nabahānī, v. 4, p. 119 (lines 1-4) and p. 120 (line 5).

Variants:

Line 1: يانجي الإله في حضرة القدس  
 س كرمًا هناك يقامُ  
*O intimate friend of God, in the presence of the the Holy  
 arisen in nobility there.*

Line 2 'ajuz: أنت المرَامُ ... ("...you are the goal")

Line 3 ṣadr: ... أنت يا أكرم النبيين ("You, O most noble of the prophets...")

As with the other *ṣanā'i*' in this series by al-Yūsī, this text falls well within the bounds of highly-constrained verse. The only inkling of departure from that is the first line, in which the meter appears to break down in both the *ṣadr* and 'ajuz. However, this is merely an artifact of the orthography in the canon that an-Nabahānī's version repairs: the final syllable of the *ṣadr* belongs with the 'ajuz.

Notable themes: Focusing primarily upon the Prophet's various attributes, this *ṣan'a* steers clear of images from love poetry and instead invokes him using images closer to the *madiḥ* genre also familiar to *Ramal al-Māya*: his nobility and magnanimity of character and the longing of the seeker to be with him, as the master of all the prophets, and as the seal of the prophets (on which see Annotation to Bṭāyḥī #4). Also common is the idea of blessing the Prophet throughout the duration of some event, usually a natural phenomenon (like the wind or birds singing), but here time itself.

This *ṣan'a* also offers some images unusual in this corpus, as well, including the Prophet as the "intimate friend" of God and as a "sea"—a traditional topos for the great man that evokes the vastness of his generosity, wisdom, etc. The text even seems to present the Prophet in terms very similar to those applied to Allāh by Sufi mystics: as the "spirit of the eyes" and "spirit of hearts", both reminiscent of the statement attributed to various Sufi teachers that "Whoso knoweth himself knoweth his Lord." Also, there is *ḥadīṭ* #6502 from al-Buḥārī, in which Allāh promises the one who strives to defend the religion:

...and when I love him, I will be his hearing with which he hears,  
 his sight with which he sees, his hands with which he strikes,  
 and his legs with which he walks; and if he asks Me, I will  
 give him; and if he seeks refuge with Me, I will grant him refuge.



نَحْنُ فِي حَضْرَةِ الرَّسُولِ جُلُوسٌ  
 فَلَاكَ فِي الصُّعُودِ قَدْ حَلَّ فِيهِ  
 كَيْفَ لَا تَسْكُبُ الدُّمُوعَ جُفُونِي  
 كَيْفَ لَا تَذْهَلُ الْعُقُولُ وَتَفْنِي  
 يَا رَسُولَ الْإِلَهِ إِنِّي مُحِبٌّ لَكَ  
 يَا رَسُولَ الْإِلَهِ شَوْقِي عَظِيمٌ  
 يَا رَسُولَ الْإِلَهِ جَنَّكَ أَسْعَى  
 يَا رَسُولَ الْإِلَهِ إِنِّي نَزِيلٌ  
 يَا رَسُولَ الْإِلَهِ فِي كُلِّ حِينٍ  
 أَنْتُمْ مَقْصَدُ الْفَقِيرِ وَمِنْكُمْ  
 وَلَكُمْ حُرْمَةٌ وَجَاهٌ عَظِيمٌ  
 لَيْلَةُ الْإِسْرَاءِ أَهْلُ كُلِّ سَمَاءٍ  
 وَتَقَدَّمَتْ لِلصَّلَاةِ فَصَلُّوا  
 يَا نَبِيَّ الْإِلَهِ فِي حَضْرَةِ الْقُدْسِ  
 أَنْتَ رُوحُ الْعِيُونِ أَنْتَ الْأَمَانِي  
 أَنْتَ يَا سَيِّدَ النَّبِيِّينَ بَحْرٌ  
 أَنْتَ لِلْكَوْكَبِ أَوَّلٌ فِي الْمَعَالِي  
 يَا إِلَهَ السَّمَاءِ صَغْلٌ عَلَيْهِ

هَذِهِ يَقْظَةٌ وَإِلَّا مَنَامٌ  
 قَمَرٌ ظَلَلْتَ عَلَيْهِ الْعَمَامُ  
 وَهِيَ مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ تَرَكَ سِجَامُ  
 أَنْفُسُ الْعَاشِقِينَ وَهِيَ كِرَامُ  
 ٥ وَاللَّهِ شَائِقٌ مُسْتَهَامُ  
 زَائِدٌ وَالْعَرَامُ فِيكَ غَرَامُ  
 فَكَيْدَتْنِي الدُّنُوبُ وَهِيَ عِظَامُ  
 وَنَزِيلُ الْكَرِيمِ لَيْسَ يُدَامُ  
 لَكَ مَسِيٌّ نَيْحَةٌ وَسَلَامُ  
 ١٠ يُعْرِفُ الْجُودَ وَالْوَفَا وَالذِّمَامُ  
 وَوَفَاءٌ وَرَفْعَةٌ لَا تُرَامُ  
 سَجَدَ الْكُلُّ إِذْ رَأَى وَقَامُوا  
 كُلُّهُمْ مُقْتَدُونَ وَأَنْتَ إِمَامُ  
 كَرِيمٌ لَهُ هُنَاكَ مَقَامُ  
 ١٥ أَنْتَ رُوحُ الْقُلُوبِ أَنْتَ الْهَمَامُ  
 سَجَّ الْكُلُّ فِي نِدَاكَ وَعَامُوا  
 وَكَذَا أَنْتَ لِلْجَمِيعِ خِتَامُ  
 كُلُّ مَا دَامَ لِلرَّمَايِزِ دَوَامُ

Darj x — نحن في حضرة الرسول جلوس 

MW #6 pp. 42-43

This is the version of *ṣanāʿi*' Darj #9 (lines 5, 9, 6, 7), 11 (lines 8, 10, 11, 12, 13) and 12 (lines 14-18) as presented in MW, with the exception that the first four verses are not found in IJ, and the order of the verses is slightly different.

**Poet:** Ibn Mas'ūd al-Yūsī

We are sitting in the presence of the Messenger,  
     This is wakefulness, otherwise, we sleep.  
 A celestial sphere in ascent has arisen with  
     a moon in it, which clouds cover over.  
 How (can) my eye not pour out tears,  
     since the tears were welling up before it knew you?  
 How can reason not be stupified, and the souls  
     of lovers not become effaced, being noble (themselves)?  
 O Messenger of the Divine, I am in love  
     longing madly for you, by Allāh. 5  
 O Messenger of the Divine, my longing is great  
     and growing, and the love-pangs for you are a (true) love.  
 O Messenger of the Divine, I came to you, striving.  
     Sins bound me, and they are prodigious.  
 O Messenger of the Divine, I am a guest,  
     and the guest of the Generous One is never mistreated.  
 O Messenger of the Divine, at all times  
     you have from me greeting and (blessing of) peace  
 You are the aim of the pious, and from you  
     liberality, fulfillment and alleviation are known. 10  
 For you, sanctity and a great dignity  
     and fulfillment and elevation unlooked-for.  
 The Night's Journey, inhabitants of each heaven,  
     each prostrated when he saw you, and they stood.  
 You stepped forward for the prayer, and they prayed  
     all of them following, while you were an *imām*  
 O intimate friend of God, in the presence of the the Holy  
     is a noble one who has a place there.  
 You are the spirit of the eyes; you are longings;  
     you are the spirit of hearts; you are the magnanimous one. 15

You, O master of the prophets, are a deep sea;  
     all (of them) swim in your bounty, and they thirst.  
 For all of them, you are foremost in nobility,  
     and thus you are a seal for them all.  
 O god of heaven, bless him,  
     as long as the time persists.

### Annotation

All these verses are found in an-Nabahānī, v. 4, pp. 119-120. Line 9 here is line 7 in an-Nabahānī. Variants unique to first four lines (which are not found in IJ):

Line 1: حُضُورٌ for جُلُوسٌ

Line 4: تَقْدِي (“draw near”) for تَقْنِي.

(Other variants as noted for IJ in Darj #9, 11 and 12.)

A few feet have shifted long and short syllables, and some final feet have been shortened, mostly due to the loss of *i’rāb* in this rendering. None of the syllables in question is actually marked with *sukūn*, so one assumes that the vocalizations are implied without actually being printed. Including these missing vowels makes this version of these verses as prosodically sound as those found in IJ.

Notable themes: For lines 5 through 18, see Annotations to Darj #9, 11 and 12. The first four lines, which are unique to MW, establish the setting among a group of seekers (perhaps in some sort of spiritual practice) which has produced a state of presence, a technical term among the Sufis usually reserved for the direct experience of the Divine produced by spiritual exercises. Wakefulness and sleep also are Sufi technical terms referring to levels of spiritual awareness. All this echoes other overt borrowings of Sufi terminology later in this same *ṣan’ā* as well as in Basīṭ #6, 9 14, 23, 27; Bṭāyḥī #12 and Darj #7. The cosmology of celestial spheres appears elsewhere in the *nūba*—most notably in Bṭāyḥī #5 and 7—but here the moon, a typical symbol of the Prophet in *Ramal al-Māya*, is embedded in the sphere but clouded over, perhaps symbolizing his actual removal from the world of the living. Finally we have the suffering and confusion of the seeker (an echo of the lover’s trials found in many places in this *nūba*), whose very soul is effaced (yet another Sufi reference) in the beloved and who is ennobled by virtue of his love.



الدرج ١٣  
الرمل

يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ يَا خَيْرَ الْأَنَامِ  
يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ يَا قُطْبَ النَّهْيِ  
يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ إِنِّي شَائِقٌ  
لِلضَّرِيحِ الْأَنْوَرِ الرَّاهِي الَّذِي  
يَا عَظِيمَ الْقَدْرِ يَا بَدْرَ الشَّمَامِ  
يَا شَفِيعَ الْخَلْقِ فِي يَوْمِ الرَّحَامِ  
لَكَ وَالْحُبُّ شِعَارِي وَالغَرَامُ  
صَمَّ أَعْضَاءَكَ يَا مُجَلِّي الظُّلَامِ

Darj #13 — يا رسول الله يا خير الأنام

IJ #9 p. 55

IM #5 p. 62

- - - | - - - | - - || - - - | - - - | - -  
 - - - | - - - | - - || - - - | - - - | - -  
 - - - | - - - | - - || - - - | - - - | - -  
 - - - | - - - | - - || - - - | - - - | - -

O Messenger of Allāh, O best of mankind,  
     O supreme in destiny, O full moon.  
 O Messenger of Allāh, O pole of wisdom,  
     O intercessor for mankind on the Day of Gathering.  
 O Messenger of Allāh, I am longing  
     for you, and the love and ardor are my distinguishing mark.  
 For the brightest, resplendent tomb, which  
     contains your remains, O remover of darkness.

#### Annotation

This text conforms very well to classical *‘arūd*, the accepted poetic licences, and the rules of grammar and orthography, making it one of the more highly constrained *ṣanā’i* in the *nūba*.

Notable themes: Muḥammad is evoked as Messenger, intercessor, the best of mankind with a high destiny, and full moon—all common themes in the *nūba*. More unusual images include the Prophet as the pole of wisdom, signifying the axis around which the wisdom-universe turns. In addition to these topoi from *madiḥ*, this text also evokes the love and longing of the seeker. On the Light of Muḥammad, see Annotation to Basīṭ #9.

IJ gives the *ṭab*’ as *ramal al-māya*.

الدرج ١٤  
من بحر الكامل

رَذِينِي بِفِرْطِ الْحُبِّ فِيكَ تَجِيئاً  
وَإِذَا سَأَلْتُكَ أَنْ أَرَاكَ حَقِيقَةً  
وَأَرْحَمَ حَشَا بِلَظِي هَوَاكَ تَسْعَرَا  
فَأَسْمَحْ وَلَا تَجْعَلْ جَوَائِي لَنْ تَرَى

Darj #14 — زدني بفرط الحب فيك تحيرا

MW # 3 p. 41

--- | --- | ~--- || --- | ~--- | ~---  
 ~--- | ~--- | ~--- || --- | --- | ---

Exaggerate the welling up of my passionate love for you.

And relieve my insides blazing with the flame of love for you.

And if I ask you to see you in reality,

then allow it, and do not make your reply to me, “You shall not see.”

### Annotation

This is one of the few *ṣanāʿi* in *Ramal al-Māya* found only in MW, and also one of the few Darj *ṣanāʿi* found in manuscript: *Belmalīḥ*, p. 230 (p. 1 of Darj Ramal al-Māya).

In terms of *ʿarūḍ*, grammar and orthography, this is also one of the most completely constrained texts in *Ramal al-Māya*.

Notable themes: The imagery here comes right from *gāzal*—the passion of the lover and his inner suffering because of it, and his plea for a glimpse of the beloved. Little other than context connects this text to *al-madīḥ an-nabawī*, or indeed to a religious theme at all, except perhaps an oblique reference to Sufi terminology: *الحقيقة* (“the Reality”) is held to be one of the Divine Names, as well as the final stage of spiritual development (preceded by *الطريقة* and *الشريعة*).

الدرج ١٥  
تخليل البسيط

حبيبة القلب يا أقصى أمانيه  
مضنى الفؤاد قريح الجفن باكيه  
لعل طيف خيال منك يأتيه

ياربة الخال يا ذات الجمال ويا  
هلا رعيت رعاك الله عهدفتي  
ردى عليه مناما كان يعهده



ولقد خلوتُ مع الحبيب وبيننا  
وأباحتُ طرفي نظرةً أملتُها  
فدهشتُ بينَ جماله وجماله  
نزهةً لحاظك في محاسن وجهه  
سِرُّ أرقُّ من النسيم إذا سرى  
فعدوتُ معروفًا وكنتُ منكراً  
وعدا لسان الشوق عني مخبراً  
تلقى جميع الحسن فيه مصوراً  
وراهُ كأنَّ مَهْلاً مُكَبِّراً  
ولو أنَّ كلَّ الحُسنِ يَكُلُّ صُورَةً



last line does the poet declare the reality of the Divine unity behind the beauty of the (human) beloved, which is merely an image.

One of the few *ṣanāʿiʿ* found only in MW.



الدرج ١٧  
"على وزن ميرالجب أخرج"

هوى ذات الخال  
يا محلا الوصال  
ونشاهد بنجال  
هل ياترى بلماحي  
ومقام الشفيع الماحي  
ينزاح دون ريب وطاحي  
ليها قلبي مال  
سحرت لب الببال  
دركت كل كمال

ضمني وسقاني بواداد حبا  
راحتي فرضاها من بعد صدها  
حرم لي لي تقبل بالجهر تر بها  
لعرفا وير زمزم والحرم نشاهد  
طوبى لمن كان فيه راكم وساجد  
لما نشوف يوم ذات الحسن الراشد  
عمري قط ما نعشق دونها  
خاب سعي لا ساهد حسن زينها  
من أجل أحمد طيبه مرفوع شأنها

Darj #17 — هوى ذات الخال

IM # 8 p. 63

Love of the one who has the beauty mark  
 is within me, and her love pours love for me (to drink).  
 O sweetener of union,  
 my comfort lies in her consent, after her resisting (me).  
 I see with wide-open eyes  
 my night's sanctuary. I kiss the ground (before her) in front of everyone.  
 Is it true I see with my eyes  
 Mt. Arafat, the well of Zamzam, and the Ḥaram?  
 The place of the intercessor who wipes away (faults).  
 One who bows and prostrates in it has success.  
 He departs without doubt or sin.  
 When will I see one day the essence of complete beauty?  
 To her my heart inclines.  
 In my life, I never love any other than her.  
 She charmed the core of my mind.  
 His effort fails, who does not see her beauty.  
 She attains all perfection  
 because of Aḥmad: his goodness is what is exalted in her.

### Annotation

As with Darj #8, this unvocalized text from IM cannot be scanned in a way that reflects the *ṣan'a*-as-sung. On the formal considerations of *barāwil*, see Annotation to Darj #3. IM defines this text as “on the *wazn*” of the earlier *barwala* مِيرُ الْحَبِّ أَحْرَج (Darj #3). As this *ṣan'a* is not composed of quatrains, as is مِيرُ الْحَبِّ, *wazn* here cannot refer to poetic format, as such, but rather to whatever metrical system governs the *barwala*, which appears to be the number of syllables in each hemistich (in this case 5 or 6 in the *ṣadr* and 10-12 in the *'ajuz*), or perhaps to the way the syllables and musical rhythm work together to produce a pattern of stresses. As noted in Chapter 3 §4, there is a great deal of room for literary and musicological scholarship on the Moroccan *barwala*.

Notable themes: This *ṣan'a* follows Darj #15 in IM, which also treats the Ka'ba as a female beauty. Here the imagery is much more oriented toward the genre of *ḥamriyya*, and also more sensual, in keeping with the “colloquial” register of the language. At the same time the seeker in this *ṣan'a* is focused on Mecca, with references to the well of Zamzam, Mt. Arafat and Sanctuary where

the Ka'ba is located. The Prophet himself is also clearly referenced here by name—Aḥmad—and by characteristic (the intercessor), and the poet makes clear that it is his regard for the Prophet that makes the sites in Mecca so dear.



الدرج ١٨  
الخفيف

أي عقل يبقى بأرض قباء  
كلما هبت الصبي من قباء  
فتهتز نخل النفوس اشتياقا  
تتعذى القلوب في أرض سلع  
وسيح الجمال سر التناجي  
بشهود الحبيب أضحى جليا  
كل عقل أضحى به مسييا  
سقت الناشقين كأس الحميا  
وترى رطب الوصال جنيا  
من حبيب القلوب لطفا خفيا  
بشهود الحبيب أضحى جليا

Darj #18 — أي عقل يتي بأرض قباء

IM # 9 p. 63

Poet: Aḥmad al-Ḥalabī

- - - - | - - - - | - - - - || - - - - | - - - - | - - - -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - - - || - - - - | - - - - | - - - -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - - - || - - - - | - - - - | - - - -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - - - || - - - - | - - - - | - - - -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - - - || - - - - | - - - - | - - - -

What reason remains in a wide world?

Each intellect brings to light a captive.

Whenever the east wind stirs from open lands,

it pours a cup of wine for those who smell it.

And then the palm trees of the soul sway longingly,

and you see gathered the succulent dates of union.

Hearts in a fissured, broken land are nourished

as a hidden kindness from the beloved of hearts.

Beauty discloses the whispered secret,

with the vision of the beloved, brought to light conspicuously.

### Annotation

Highly constrained in other respects, the first line nevertheless appears to be short one syllable, and likewise the third line has an anomalous foot at the beginning of each hemistich.

Ibn Maṣṣūr attributes this text to Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥalabī.

Notable themes: The images in this text embrace various mystical topoi arising from both *ḡazal* and *ḥamriyya* genres, such as the lover’s/seeker’s loss of reason in the throes of mystical intoxication/love, the east wind (the traditional bearer of news of the beloved, the news here being the beloved’s intoxicating presence), the concept of *wiṣāl* (union with the beloved, but of course here referring to a spiritual encounter), and the whispered secrets between lovers (سرّ being a technical term among the Sufis relating both to esoteric knowledge and to a stage in the seeker’s development). As with a number of these mystically-oriented texts in *Ramal al-Māya*, there is nothing here that specifically evokes the Prophet, beyond the contextualized meaning of the *san’ā*-as-sung discussed in Chapter 4 §4.

الدرج ١٩  
المديد

قمر من فوق غصن نقا  
هذه الأكوان طلعتة  
يا بريق الغورقف نفسا  
إن تجز يوم ما بذي سلم  
قل لهم يا سعد مغرمكم  
ينجلي سجان من خلقنا  
كل من قد هام فيه رقا  
قد سلبت العقل والحدقا  
قل لهم جودوا ببعض اللقي  
كم يقاسي الدمع والأرقا

Darj #19 — قمر من فوق غصن نقا

IM # 10 p. 64

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡  
 ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡  
 ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡  
 ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡  
 ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

A (full) moon above a tree branch. Purity  
 appears brilliantly, glory be to One Who created.  
 These existant beings are His outward guise.  
 Each one who loves Him ascends.  
 O you who shine in the depths, stop a moment:  
 you have stolen my sense and my glance.  
 If you one day are repaid by one who holds a captive,  
 say to them, “Be generous with someone you meet.”  
 Say to them, “O you who are fortunate in your love,  
 how often does he endure tears and sleeplessness?”

### Annotation

Third of a series of seven *ṣanāʿiʿ* found only in IM, this text, like Darj #18, is highly constrained in most ways. Only the *ṣadr* of line 4 in this unvocalized text presents problems. I have arrived at one solution (passive of *جزأ/بجزو* with a defective conjugation), which is sensible but not very satisfying from a metrical point of view. Other solutions may be possible.

Notable themes: The moon in line 1 is a figure of the Prophet throughout *Ramal al-Māya*, and the Light of Muḥammad is another familiar topos (see Annotation to Basīṭ #9). In other respects, however, the love in this text could as easily be directed toward Allāh as toward the Prophet. The love-imagery is familiar to both *gāzal* and Sufi genres: the beloved as stealer of looks and mental clarity, the suffering of the lover in the absence of the beloved, and so on.

الدرج ٢٠  
توشيح متدارك

مع علو القدر	في رضى وامتنان
باللوى والفخر	شانه خير شان
هاج شوق العبد	للتبى الرسول
من شك بالبعد	رب قرب وصول
يدنينى من قصدي	عل ربح القبول
في هوى من أدري	جار على الزمان
وجعلته فتري	صمت عنه أوان

Darj #20 — في رضى وامتنان

also

Basīṭ #17

IM # 11 p. 64

Poet: Abū l-Ḥasan aš-Šuštārī

- - - | - - - || ~ - - | - - -  
 - - - | - - - || - - - | - - -  
   - - - | - - - || - - - | - - -  
   - - - | - - - || - - - | - - -  
   - - - | - - - || ( - - - | - - - )  
 - - - | - - - || - - - | ( - - - )  
 - - - | ~ - - || ~ - - | ~ - -

In contentment and gratitude

His character is the best,

The longing of the servant

My lord bring near the arrival

Perhaps the east wind

Time in the love of one whom I know

I fasted from him for a time

with lofty rank.

with banner and glory.

for the Prophet, the Messenger stirs

of one who laments the distance

brings me close to my aim.

oppressed me

and made him my fast-breaking

### Annotation

See annotation to Basīṭ #17. As noted there, this version of the text includes one variant ( رِب for رَبِّي in line 4) apparently derived from Ibn Manṣūr or an earlier anthologist “hearing” the long vowel of the possessive as reduced.

أمن هواه سكن قلبي سيد الرسول حبري مدح به ينفجكري

مدحك يا لماحي يحي الأوزار لازلت فامديحك نبغي المزار

شوقي ليس يكفيني باغي زور لمقام العظيم الجاه

ظمئان ليك ترويني يا فارس لعنا يا حبيب الله

بالله كن فاعويني يا عريس القيامة رسول الله

أنت الوجود أنت الموجود أنت القصد أنت المقصود أنت السبب في كل وجود

لولاك ما تكون الجنا والنار ولا سما ولا كوكب سيار

شأين تسوف يا عيني الكون فاح وعبق من طيب شذاه

ضمنت به يقيني ولا وجدت لمن نعشق سواه

بالله كن فاعويني يا عريس القيامة رسول الله

Darj #21 — أمن هواه سكن قلبي

IM # 12 p. 64-65

Poet: Sidī Aḥmad ʿĀšūr ar-Ribāṭī

Oh one whose love calms my heart,

The Master, the Messenger, the love of my Lord,

extoling him relieves my distress.

Extoling you, O Shining One, effaces (burdensome) sins.

I continue in praising you; I want to visit (you).

My longing is not enough,

wanting to visit the place of the glorious, Supreme (one).

Thirsting for you; you bring me water,

O chevalier, (rescuing from) distress, O beloved of Allāh!

By Allāh, come into my sight [lit.: “be in my eyes”].

O bridegroom of (the Day of) Standing, Messenger of Allāh

You are the existence; you are present.

You are the goal; you are the thing sought.

You are the cause in all existence

Were it not for you, there would be neither Garden nor Fire,

nor sky nor wandering planet

Something you see, O my eye:

the existence is fragrant and smells of (his) scent of musk.

I vouch for him, with certainty,

and I have not found any other whom I love.

By Allāh, come into my sight,

O honored one of (the Day of) Standing, Messenger of Allāh

### Annotation

On *barwala*, see Annotation to Darj #3. As with Darj #8, scansion of this unvoiced *ṣanʿa* is superfluous, since the effort to approximate the *ṣanʿa*-as-sung yields strings of long/closed syllables that bear no relationship to the standard Arabic metrical system.

Structurally, this text exemplifies well the great variety of possible forms the *barwala* may take. The poem comprises two wonderfully complex strophes making use of triple line segments, hemistiches of varying lengths, and *tarsī* with the rhyme scheme:

a / a / b	f / f / g
c / c	c / c
d / e	d / e
d / e	d / e
d / e*	d / e*

(\*) indicates that the text of line 5 is repeated, making it a bona fide refrain, a compositional element present in several, but not all, *barāwil* (compare Darj #3 and #5 with #8, #10 and #17) but very rarely in the Andalusī strophic forms.

Notable themes: Also like Darj #8, this *barwala* speaks in rather more elevated tones and imagery than some other *ṣanāʿiʿ* in this genre (compare Darj #3), making direct reference to the Prophet as the Messenger, but also as the beloved of Allāh, the honored one (“bridegroom”) on the Day of Standing (يوم القيامة < القيامة = the Resurrection, Judgment Day—also echoing here Basīṭ #6, as well as Darj #8 where the occasion is Paradise), as the beloved of the seeker who is both beautiful and fragrant and whose remembrance removes sins and brings ease, as a shining figure (on the Light of Muḥammad, see Basīṭ #9), and indeed as the reason or cause for the existence itself. Perhaps the most interesting image in this *ṣanʿa* is Muḥammad as a knight who brings water for the thirsty, which is unique in *Ramal al-Māya*.



الدرج ٢٢  
البيسط المدرج

مجد خير مخلوق سما خلقا  
من قبل نشأته الرحمن شرفه  
وساد خلقا فمن في الخلق يحكي  
وبالشفاعة يوم الحشر يرضيه

Darj #22 — محمد خير مخلوق سما خلقا

IM # 13 p. 65

**Poet:** Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb

٠ - ٠ - ٠ - | - ٠ - ٠ - | - - ٠ - ٠ - | ٠ ٠ - ٠ - || ٠ - ٠ - ٠ - | - ٠ - ٠ - | - - ٠ - ٠ - | -  
 - - ٠ - ٠ - | ٠ ٠ - ٠ - | - - ٠ - ٠ - | ٠ ٠ ٠ - ٠ - || ٠ - ٠ - ٠ - | ٠ ٠ - ٠ - | - - ٠ - ٠ - | - ٠

Muḥammad is the best of created beings, noble in character.

And he leads mankind, so who in mankind is similar?

Before his existence, the Merciful honored him,

and by interceding on the Day of Gathering, he will satisfy Him.

### Annotation

With the exception of the curtailed final feet of the second line, this text is thoroughly constrained by the usual rules of grammar and prosody.

Notable themes: Muḥammad as the best of mankind, his noble character, and his high honor from the beginning of time are all themes running throughout *Ramal al-Māya*.

These lines are not found in his *Dīwān*, nor in *Naḥḥ at-ṭīb*.

الدرج ٢٣  
الخفيف

أفضل الخلق أحسن الناس خلقا  
إن جلا في الدجى هلال جبين  
أنجمل الشمس في الضحى واستعار  
لم يقل قط لا ويبيدي ابتساما  
خصه الله بالشفاعة في الحش

زانه الله ما أشد احتشامه  
وعلى الوجه إن أما ط لثامه  
البدر في الليل نوره وتمامه  
بنعم وهو باذل إنعامه  
روأعلا على الأنام مقامه

Darj #23 — أفضل الخلق أحسن الناس خلقا

IM # 14 p. 65

Poet: Šams ad-Dīn an-Nawājī

— — — | — — — | — — — || — — — | — — — | — — —  
 — — — | — — — | — — — || — — — | — — — | — — —  
 — — — | — — — | — — — || — — — | — — — | — — —  
 — — — | — — — | — — — || — — — | — — — | (— — —)  
 — — — | — — — | — — — || — — — | — — — | — — —

The best of mankind is the most beautiful of people in creation.

Allāh beautified him, which strengthened his life.

If the crescent moon of his forehead shines in the darkness,

and if he draws back its veil (which is) upon his face,

He puts the sun to shame in brilliance, and the moon

adopts his light and his fullness in the night.

He never said “No” (unless) showing a smile

with “Yes,” and giving generously of his kindness.

Allāh specified him to intercede in the Gathering

and elevated his station over mankind.

### Annotation

These verses are found in an-Nabahānī, v. 4, p. 90. Variants:

Line 2: وَعَنِ الْوَجْهِ إِنْ أَمَاطَ لِثَامَةً إِنْ جَلَا فِي الدُّجَى هِلَالٌ جَبِينِ

Formally this *šanʿa* is well-constrained, with only the final foot of line 4 being defective (though there is a slight awkwardness of expression in the *ʿajuz* of line 2, which is much clearer in the version found in an-Nabahānī).

Notable themes: Though he is not named in this *šanʿa*, the Prophet is clearly indicated. The text draws exclusively from *madīḥ* since there is no indication here that the seeker is in love with the Prophet. Rather he simply praises him and notes his remarkable qualities: that he surpasses mankind in beauty, generosity and spiritual station; that he has a light that rivals the sun and moon (on this, see Annotation to Basīṭ #9); and that he will intercede for the believers on the Day of Judgment (يوم الحشر < الحشر = “The Day of the Gathering”).

الدرج ٢٤  
المديد شغل

كُلُّ يَدٍ أَنْتَ سَاكِنُهُ  
وَمَرِيضٍ أَنْتَ عَائِدُهُ  
وَجْهَكَ الْمَحْمُودُ مَجِّئْنَا  
غَيْرُ مُحْتَاجٍ إِلَى السُّجِّ  
قَدَاتَاهُ اللَّهُ بِالْفَكِّجِ  
يَوْمَ تَأْتِي النَّاسَ بِالْحَجِّ





## *V. Mīzān al-Quddām*

∴

القدام ١

توشيح من بحر الرمل - شغل

خَاتِمُ الرُّسُلِ الْكَرَامِ الْمُنْتَمِي طَاهِرُ الْأَصْلِ زَيْكِي النَّفْسِ  
خَيْرٌ مَنْ وَاقَى إِلَيْهِ كَرَمًا لِكَلَامِ اللَّهِ رُوحَ الْقُدْسِ  
أَحْمَدُ الْهَادِي الرُّسُولِ الْمُجْتَبَا دَوْحَةُ الْمَجْدِ وَيَنْبُوعُ الشَّرَفِ  
الْكَرِيمِ الْأَصْلِ أُمًّا وَأَبًا وَعَطَا يَا وَسَّجَا يَا وَسْكَفَ  
هُوَ فِي الْأَبَاءِ أَعْلَى نَسَبًا وَهُوَ فِي الْأَبْنَاءِ أَرْكَاهُمْ خَلْفَ  
ابْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بِجَلِّ الْكَرَمَا لَا بَيْسَانَ الْمَجْدِ أَسْنَى مَكَلْبَسِ  
هَمْ شُمُوسٌ وَبُدُورٌ فِي سَمَا وَالْوَرَى أَنْجَمَهَا فِي الْفَكَلَسِ



Ambīrkū mentions the *maṭlaʿ* of this *ṣanʿa* in a footnote to the following one (which comes first in that anthology), noting that some people begin Mīzān al-Quddām with them.

IM here gives *المنتقى* for *المنتقى*; and MW gives *لا يسين المجد* for *لا يسى المجد*. These variations point to some issues of constraint pertaining to this *ṣanʿa* in its two versions. As indicated in the Annotation to Basīṭ #1, *المنتقى* is grammatically more correct, but disrupts *tarsī* that runs through the rest of the text. I have kept *لا يسين* here from MW, a solecism that better preserves the meter.



القدام ٢

الرمل

والَّذِي لَوْ وُزِنَ الْخَلْقُ بِهِ      رَجَحَ الْخَلْقَ سَنَاةً وَسَنَا  
لَيْسَ يَكْتُمُونَ عَلَامَتِيهِ      مَنْ نَأَى مِنْ كُلِّ قُضْرٍ أَوْ دَنَا  
فَهُوَ فِي الْخَلْقِ هُدًى مِنْ رَبِّهِ      وَهُوَ يَوْمَ الْعَرْضِ مَا عَنَّهُ غِنَى  
كَمْ لَهُ مِنْ آيَةٍ جَلَّتْ فَمَا      جَا حِدٌ غَيْرُ عَيْيِ أَحْرَسِ  
قَدْ تَجَلَّتْ وَاسْتَبَانَتْ مِثْلَمَا      لَاحَ فِي اللَّيْلِ ضِيَاءُ الْقَبَسِ



Line 5 in Ambīrkū: *بأن في الليل ضياء الفس كمنجالت واستبانته مثلما*  
*How much they manifest and appear, just as*  
*the lights of a firebrand are apparent in the night*  
 [ *منجالت* is a misprint for *منجالت* ]

Notable themes: *يوم العرض* = the Day of Manifesting (Resurrection, when all that is hidden will be made manifest). Though he is not named here, nor evoked by any of his usual epithets, this *madīḥ* text clearly refers to the Prophet, he being the one who exceeds all of humanity in manifestations of his high station and who will guide the believers on the Day of Judgment. Line 5 also contains a hint at the symbolism of the Light of Muḥammad (on which, see Annotation to Basīṭ #9)

IJ gives the *tabʿ* as al-ḥusayn.



القدام ٣

توشیح (MW: منهوك المتقارب - شغل)

من يعشوق مُحَمَّدَ  
يُفِرُّ بِالْوُصُولِ  
هِمْ فِيهِ وَجَدَدَ  
وَدَعَ الْعَذُولَ  
عَشْتِي فِيكَ مُؤَبَّدَ  
يَا نَعَمَ الرَّسُولَ  
مَا عَزَّكَ عَلَيَّ  
قَلْبِي لَكَ عَشَقَ  
يَا خَيْرَ الْبَرِيَّةِ  
بُعْدَكَ لَمْ يُطَقْ

Quddām #3 — من يعشق محمد

IJ # 2 p. 56

IM # 2 pp. 52-53

MW # 2 p. 44

Zwītin #2 p. 23

Ambīrkū #2 p. 26

--- | ◡ --- || ◡ --- | ◡ ---  
 --- ◡ | ◡ --- || ◡ ◡ --- | ◡ ---  
 --- | ◡ --- || --- | ◡ ---  
     --- | ◡ --- || --- | ◡ ---  
     --- | ◡ --- || --- | ◡ ---

One who loves Muḥammad	attains encounter (with him).
Yearn for him again and again	and leave the blamer (alone).
My love for you is eternal	O excellent Messenger.
How dear you are to me!	my heart is passionate for you
O best of mankind,	distance from you could not be borne.

### Annotation

MW gives يَفْرُ for يَفْرُ

Zwītin gives عَشِقْ for عاشق in line 4.

Ambīrkū last hemistich: بَعْدَكَ لَا أَطِيقُ (*I cannot bear distance from you*).

منهول = ground down, worn down — referring to the fact that each last foot is shortened. However, classically المتقارب is represented as (فَعُولُنْ فَعُولُنْ فَعُولُنْ فَعُولُنْ), i.e. as quadrameter within each hemistich, with the last foot reduced to ◡ - . Here we have exactly this, though spread across both hemistiches — surely not an accident nevertheless. Eight of these 20 feet depart from المتقارب.

The text shows several other departures from formal poetic register: loss of final vowels from some pronominal suffixes (عَرَاكَ, لَكَ, فِيكَ, بَعْدَكَ), and from the imperfect (يَعَشِقُ > يَفْرُ, يَفْرُ > يَفْرُ). Note that reduction of the long hollow root vowel in the imperfect is not unknown in classical verse, though commonly for the sake of the meter, which would not be affected here. Hence, this *san'a* departs significantly from traditional poetic constraints, though the presence of *tarsī*

mitigates this somewhat.

Notable themes: The Prophet himself is evoked here through his name and his office as the Messenger. Otherwise, this text lies within the *ġazal* genre, with mention of the unbearable longing of the lover/seeker and the figure of the blamer, staples of classical love poetry.

IJ gives the *ṭab'* as *ramal al-māya*.



القدام ٤  
تخليل البسيط

تُقَبِّلُ الْأَرْضَ عَنِّي وَهِيَ نَائِبَتِي  
فَأَمْدُدْ يَمِينَكَ كَيْ تُحَظِيَ بِهَا شَفِيعَتِي

فِي حَالَةِ الْبُعْدِ رُوحي كُنْتُ أَرْسَلُهَا  
وَهَذِهِ نَوْبَةُ الْأَشْبَاحِ قَدْ حَضَرَتْ

Quddām #4 — في حالة البعد روي كنت أرسلها —

also

Basīṭ #29

IJ #3 p. 56

IM #3 p. 53

MW #3 p. 44

Zwīṭin #3 p. 23

Ambīrkū #3 p. 27

Poet: Sīdī Aḥmad ar-Rifāʿī

— — — | — — — | — — — | — — — || — — — | — — — | — — — | — — —  
 — — — | — — — | — — — | — — — || — — — | — — — | — — — | — — —

In the state of separation, I was sending my spirit

to kiss the Earth from me, as my representative.

This is the chance for apparitions that appear,

so extend your right hand, that you favor my lip with it

### Annotation

See Annotation for Basīṭ #29.

IJ alone gives مُخَضِّي for مُخَطِّي, which is probably a spelling error, as it does not make a great deal of sense (يُخَضُّو / حَضًّا = to kindle a fire). Hence the change.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.

القدام ه  
بروله

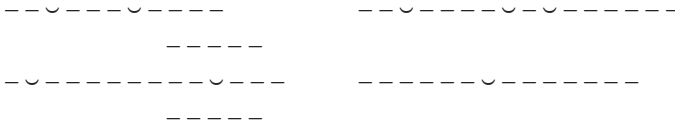
صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَى الْهَاشِمِيِّ الْمُجْتَدِطَةِ      مِنْ لَخَلَقَ اللهُ فِي السَّمَاءِ وَالْأَرْضِ بِحَالِهِ  
أَحْمَدُ مَوْلَى التَّاجِ  
بَسْمِيَّاتِ الرَّحْمَانِ الرَّحِيمِ حُلَّةً تَبْدَاهَا      بِسُلُوكِ الذَّهَبَانِ وَالْجَوْهَرِ تَشْرِيقَ بِجَمَالِهِ  
وَالذَّرُّ الْوَهَّاجِ  
فِي مَدِيحِ الْمُخْتَارِ رَاحَتِي رُوحِي وَمَنَاهَا      دِينِي وَمَذْهَبِي وَمِلَّتِي خَالِصَ نَهْدِيهَا  
فِي مَدَاخِلِ الْمَهَّاجِ  
يَا رَبِّي صَلِّ عَلَى الرَّسُولِ كَمَا تَرْضَاهَا      وَعَلَى آلِهِ مَعَ صَحَابَةٍ دَائِمٍ تُهْدِي لَهُ  
وَعَلَى الْأَرْوَاجِ  
صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ مَا انْتَشَرَتْ الشَّمْسُ بِضِيَاهَا      وَمَا غَسَقَ اذْجَا اللَّيْلِ بَعْدَ الْفَجْرِ أَكْثَالَهُ  
وَكَوَاكِبِ الْأَبْرَاجِ  
عِلْمَ الْيَقِينِ وَالْحَقَائِقِ اذْفَعِ اذْغَطَاهَا      وَصَمَّتْ مَسْأَلَةَ الشَّرِيعَةِ مِنْ \* فَضَلِّ كَمَالَهُ  
وَسَبَّلِ الْمِنْهَاجِ  
يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ صَرَخَتِكَ دَائِمَ نَرَجَاهَا      مَا تَخَيَّرْتُ عَلَيْكَ حَالِي وَأَوْرَاقَ غُصْنِي ذَبَالُو  
عَجَلٌ بِالْفَرَخِ

Quddām #5 — صلى الله على الهاشمي المجتهد

IJ #4 p. 56

IM #4 p. 53

MW #4 p. 45



May Allāh bless the exalted Hashimid, Ṭaha,  
the like of whom Allāh has not created, neither in the heavens nor on the earth  
Aḥmad (who wears) the crown.

With the names of ar-Raḥmān ar-Raḥīm, I begin [to embroider]  
a raiment with golden threads, and the gems radiating with his beauty  
and shining white pearls.

In praising the Chosen One lies my comfort, my spirit and its desire.  
My religion, my (legal) rite and my (religious) community; I devote them to him  
within my inner soul.

My Lord, bless the Messenger (with a blessing) you are pleased with.  
and bless his family, along with his companions, guided always to him,  
and his wives.

May Allāh bless him as long as the sun spreads out its light  
and as long as the darkness of night spreads its kohl-painted (eyes) after the dawn  
and the stars of the constellations.

The knowledge of certainty and the realities, (O Lord) lift up their veils!  
His paths contain the religious law, by the grace of his perfection  
and the ways of the (Sufi) method.

O Messenger of Allāh, I always await your succour:  
My state is not concealed from you, as the leaves of my branch always wither.  
Hasten the deliverance [of the Last Day, from my troubles].

### Annotation

\* I read here من for مَنْ as found in IJ (the only one who includes this strophe),  
which makes more sense in the context. The inconsistency of *barwala* transcriptions  
in the canon makes this a likely correction.

3<sup>rd</sup> strophe: مَلَّتِي > مَلَّتِي = “my community.”

7<sup>th</sup> strophe: ذَبَالَ - ذَابِلَةٌ < ذَبَالَ = “withering away.”

Concerning metrical and other considerations regarding degrees of constraint, see Darj #3 Annotation on *barwala*. In addition to the notes there, here are found several examples of lost /-an/ in accusative expressions, such as دَائِمًا (دَائِمًا in MW) > دائماً).

There are numerous differences, in content and transcription, in this *ṣanʿa* among the three canonical anthologies. Here are the other two versions, with the major differences marked:

IM

صلى الله على الهاشمي المجدطه  
 من لا خلق الله فالسما ولا فالأرض بحاله  
 أحمد مولى التاج  
 بسميا الرحمان الرحيم حلة نبداها  
 بسلوك الذهبان والجوهر تشرق بحمالة  
 والدرالو هاج  
 فديح المختار راحتي وروحي ومنها  
 ديني ومذهبي وملتي خالص نهديها له  
 فداخل المهاج  
 صلى الله عليه ما انتشرت الشمس بضيائها  
 وما غسق الليل وانجى بعد الفجر حكاله  
 وكواكب الأبراج

(5) And bless him as long as the sun spreads out its light  
 and as long as the night is dark and the kohl-painted eyes its rise after daybreak  
 and the stars of the constellations.

MW

صلى الله على الهاشمي المجدطه  
 من لا خلق الله في السما ولا في الأرض بحالو  
 أحمد مولى التاج  
 بسمك يا رحمان الرحيم حلة نبداها  
 ديني ومذهبي وملتي خالص نهديها لو

فِي مَدَاخِلِ الْمَهَاجِ  
 يَارَبِّي صَلَّى عَلَى الرَّسُولِ كَمَا تَرْضَاهَا وَعَلَى الْأَوْمَعِ أَصْحَابُودَائِمٍ تُهْدَى لُو  
 وَعَلَى الْأَزْوَاجِ  
 صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ مَا شَرَقَتْ شَمْسٌ بِضِيَاهَا وَمَا غَسَقَ اللَّيْلُ وَانْفَعَهُ بَعْدَ الْغُرِّ الْأَكْحَالُو  
 وَكَوَاكِبِ الْأَبْرَاجِ

As with Darj #3, the orthographic variations, line rearrangements and content changes in this *ṣanʿa* illustrate well the complicated relationship between the printed and sung text in the *barwala*, which varies much more from anthology to anthology than the other types of *ṣanāʿi*. At least three factors figure into this variation: regional variations within the performed tradition (both text and pronunciation/accent), orthographic difficulties in representing the spoken *dārīja* on the page, and the relatively recent acceptance of *barāwil* as authentic elements of the tradition.

On the 4<sup>th</sup> strophe: see Annotation to al-Quddām #11, below.

Notable themes: As remarked in *Mīzān ad-Darj* above, the various *barāwil* in *Ramal al-Māya* appear to fall into two thematic genres — those in which vivid *ǧazal* imagery predominates, with little or no evoking of the Prophet as such (e.g.: Darj #3 *Mīru l-ḥubbi aḥraǧ*), and those devoted clearly to *madīḥ* as such, with frequent reference to the Prophet (e.g.: Darj #8 *Madḥu r-rasūl yaǧfī li-l-qalbi ikdār*). The present *ṣanʿa* falls into the latter category, with the Prophet evoked in typical fashion through his genealogy, and as Messenger, Chosen One, Aḥmad and Ṭāhā (see Annotation to Basīṭ #23). Here we find also a crown, and the blessings commonly called down upon him, his family and companions, for the sake of his extraordinary qualities and the comfort that it brings. The desire that Allāh bless the Prophet for the duration ( مَا ) of a natural phenomenon is another theme common to *Ramal al-Māya*. More unusual is the juxtaposing of formal religious law with the mystical dimensions of the faith, not merely in the same *ṣanʿa*, but indeed in a single sentence.

Ij gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.

القدام ٦  
الطويل - شغل

تَشْفَعُ إِلَى الْمَوْلَى بِجَاهِ مُحَمَّدٍ  
شَفَاعَتَهُ يَرْجُو الْمَسِيءُ الَّذِي عَصَى  
فَمَا مِثْلُهُ وَاللَّهِ لِلخَلْقِ شَافِعُ  
لَهُ الْفَضْلُ وَالْإِحْسَانُ وَالْجُودُ وَاسِعُ

Quddām #6 — تشفع إلى المولى بجاه محمد

IJ #5 pp. 56-57

IM #5 p. 53

MW #5 p. 45

Zwītin #4 p. 23

Ambīrkū #5 p. 27

⊖ --- | ⊖ --- | ⊖ ⊖ | ⊖ ⊖ ⊖ || ⊖ --- | ⊖ --- | ⊖ --- | ⊖ ⊖ ⊖  
 ⊖ ⊖ | ⊖ --- | ⊖ --- | ⊖ ⊖ ⊖ || ⊖ --- | ⊖ --- | ⊖ --- | ⊖ ⊖ ⊖

Seek intercession with the master with the rank of Muḥammad,  
 for by Allāh, there is no intercessor like him for mankind.  
 The wrongdoer who disobeys hopes for his intercession,  
 Grace and beneficence for him, for the generosity (of Allāh) is wide.

#### Annotation

This is the version in MW. IJ:

فَمَا مِثْلُهُ وَاللَّهِ لِلْحَلِّقِ شَفِيعٌ ...  
 لَهُ الْفَضْلُ وَالْإِحْسَانُ وَالْجُودُ الْوَاسِعُ ...

...and the wide generosity...

Last hemistich in Ambīrkū: لَهُ الْجُودُ وَالْإِحْسَانُ وَالْفَضْلُ الْوَاسِعُ  
 ...and the wide bounty...

This *ṣanʿa* represents a constrained, highly formal aspect of the tradition, being almost perfectly sound in metrics and grammatical construction. Just the necessity to resort to prolonging the *ḍamma* of the masculine pronominal suffix in the middle of the line (a license usually reserved for the end of the hemistich) departs from the constraints of classical *qarīd* poetic form. Note that the version in IJ varies only enough to disrupt the meter in the last foot of each line.

Notable themes: In addition to the common invocation of the Prophet as intercessor for the believer on the Day of Judgment, we find also a *tajnīs* on his name, i.e.: the master with the rank of “Highly Praised”.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *inqilāb ar-ramal*.

IJ: توشیح شغل, MW: مشطور الطویل, IM: المقتضب, Bennūna: زجل

مَا كُنِّي وَعَيْمَادِي	إِلَّا مُحَمَّدَا
وَرَجُو فِي اعْتِقَادِي	شَفَاعَتُهُ عَدَا
عَلَيْكَ هُوَ اعْتِمَادِي	يَا عِلْمَ الْهُدَى
تَوَسَّلُوا بِجَاهِكْ	وَجَانِبِ الرَّسُولِ
يَرْحَمْنَا بِحَقِّكَ	وَيَكْفِينَا يَا كَهُولِ

## Quddām #7 — ماکزري واعتمادي

IJ #6 p. 57

IM #6 p. 54

MW #6 p. 45

Bennūna # 324 p. 337

Zwītin #5 p. 23-24

Ambīrkū #4 p. 27

----- || -----  
 ~----- || ~-----  
 ~----- || ~-----  
 ~----- || ~-----  
 ~----- || ~-----

What is my treasure and support  
 And I hope in my religion  
 My reliance is upon you,  
 We entreat (you) by your rank  
 He shows us mercy by your right

except Muḥammad?  
 for his intercession on the morrow.  
 O lodestar [or: banner] of guidance.  
 and the Messenger besides.  
 and suffices us, O guarantor.

**Annotation**

This *ṣanʿa* is presented as *ḥumāsīyya* in MW, IM, D144, Ambīrkū and Zwītin.  
 The following two lines were added as a *maṭlaʿ* by Ibn Jallūn:

اللَّهُ بِتُ أَحْمَدُ      مُذْهِمْتُ فِي هَوَاكَ  
 يَا مُنِّي يَا أَحْمَدُ      رَفَقًا بِنِ هَوَاكَ

*I spent the night praising Allāh  
 O my desire, O Aḥmad,*

*since I yearned in love of you.  
 show kindness to one who loves you!*

IM gives this for the *ṣadr* of the third line (while giving the above as an alternative in a footnote):

فَأَنْتَ هُوَ مَرَادِي “For you are my desire”

The *qufl* in IM:

توسلت بجاهك      وجانب الرسل  
وصحبك وآلك      واكفني يا كهُول

*I entreat (you) by your rank                      and all the messengers*  
*And your companions and your family        So suffice for me, O guarantor.*

The *qufl* in MW:

تَوَسَّلُوا بِجَاهِك      وَجَمِيعِ الرُّسُلِ  
ارْحَمْنَا بِفَضْلِكَ      وَاهْلُنَا يَا كَفُولِ

*I entreat (you) by your rank                      and all the messengers*  
*Show us mercy with your bounty                and provide for us, O guarantor.*

The last two hemistiches in Zwītin:

ارحمننا برجالك      واهلنا يا كفول  
*Show us mercy with your great men            and provide for us, O guarantor.*

Ambīrkū and D144 have an entirely different *qufl*:

شوقاً الى محمد      نزوركنا  
المصطفى المجد      هو عمدة لنا  
*Longing for Muḥammad                      we visit, one and all.*  
*The Chosen One, the Exalted                he is a support for us.*

Ambīrkū adds the following footnote to this *qufl*:

“Some of the musicians (المطربين) in our time exchange this *taḡṭiya* for another, which is: [the *qufl* as Zwītin presents it]. Choose for yourself what is sweet.”

This does not appear close either to الطويل (فَعُولُنْ مَفَاعِيلُنْ) or to المتقارب (فَعُولُنْ فَعُولُنْ فَعُولُنْ فَعُولُنْ). In addition, each version shows one or more oral/dialectal

features: /na-/ for first person singular and /na- + -ū/ for plural; loss of *i'rāb* vowel before a pronominal suffix (يُرْحَمْنَا). Apart from these departures, the text is otherwise constrained by the rules of poetic expression, with *tarsī* that varies with the end rhyme.

Notable themes: Along with the typical references to the Prophet's high station and the expressions of reliance upon and hope in him for redemption, intercession on the Day of Judgment and protection, there is the image of the guide-star. On this image, see the Annotation to Qā'im wa-Niṣf #3. Also this text features the very unusual epithet *Kafūl*, the Guarantor (of God's mercy, etc.)

IJ gives the *ṭab'* as *ramal al-māya*.

القدام ٨  
الطويل - شغل

أُصَلِّي صَلَاةً تَمَلَأُ الْأَرْضَ وَالسَّمَاءَ  
أَقِيمَ مَقَامًا لَمْ يَقُمْ فِيهِ مُرْسَلٌ  
عَلَى مَنْ لَهُ أَعْلَى الْعُلَى مُتَبَوِّأً  
وَأَمَسَتْ لَهُ حُجُبُ الْجَلَالَةِ تُطَوِّأً

Quddām #8 — أصلي صلاة تملأ الأرض والسما

IJ #7 p. 57

IM #7 p. 54

MW #7 p. 45

Bennūna #217 pp. 268, 331

Zwītin #6 p. 24

Ambīrkū #6 p. 27-28

**Poet:** Majd ad-Dīn al-Baġdādī al-Watarī

٠ - - | ٠ - - - | ٠ - - | ٠ - ٠ - || ٠ - - | ٠ ٠ - - | ٠ - ٠ | ٠ - ٠ ٠  
 ٠ - ٠ | ٠ - - - | ٠ - - | ٠ - ٠ - || ٠ - - | ٠ ٠ - - | ٠ - ٠ | ٠ - ٠ ٠

I pray a prayer that fills the earth and heaven,  
 upon one for whom the highest of high places is (his) abode.  
 He was given a station in which no messenger has stood,  
 and for him the veils of heavenly majesty become thrown down.

### Annotation

In Bennūna's (1999) edition of D144 this text appears in both ancestor-*nūbāt* to the modern *Ramal al-Māya* — Baṣīṭ al-Ḥusayn (p. 268) and Quddām *Ramal al-Māya* (p. 331).

Ambīrkū gives *توطأ* for *تطوأ*.

These verses are found in an-Nabahānī, v. 1, p. 243; with variation in the *ʿajuz* of the second line:

وَأَضْحَمَتْ لَهُ مَجْبُ الْجَلَالِ تُوْطَأُ

and the veils of heavenly majesty were thrown down for him.

Metrically, this *ṣanʿ* is sound, and there are none of the usual departures from fully-constrained language marked as “dialectal”.

Note however that in the *ʿajuz* of the second line, *تُوْطَأُ* in an-Nabahānī's rendering of the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup>-century original has become *تُطَوَأُ* in the modern anthologies of *al-Āla*, a word which is not to be found in any of the lexicons. The closest example is found in Kazimirski's Dictionnaire: طاء = aller et venir or [vi]طاء

renchérir (dite des prix de vivres). If there were a passive (or form IV) of this verb, it might be conjugated close to what is found here, but the hollow radical would call for ي, not و as used here: نُظِّي. Here I have reverted to the verb as found in an-Nabahānī.

The metrical problem this error created (i.e., loss of an open syllable) has been fixed by employing a semantically equivalent feminine form in the previous word, الجلالة. (Ambīrkū included the masculine form of this word, but Muḥammad Dāwūd, the owner of the copy of Ambīrkū's anthology I consulted, "corrected" it by adding ة, presumably to match the *ṣan'ā*-as-sung he was familiar with.) However this problematic word raises a number of interesting questions, given the usual primacy of the *ṣan'ā*-as-sung over the written text in the tradition, because although it appears at first glance to be a simple copyist's error (transposing the first two radicals), it is hard to imagine the two written versions being confused in actual speech — they sound quite different. Likewise, even the written version ought to have caught someone's attention, since the resulting word is defective. How might this change have come about, and how could it have survived?

The earliest rendering of this problematic word appears in D144, dated 1788 (Bennūna did not recognize the problem, or at any rate did not comment on it). Interestingly, other *Kunnāš* manuscripts — such as *Valderrama* and *Bennīs* — do not have the *ṣan'ā* at all, neither in the main body nor in the marginalia. Of the published editions, Zwītin (1972) has the word, vocalized, but Ambīrkū, a generation earlier, has the unvocalized "original" à la an-Nabahānī — it would seem that Ambīrkū recognized that the word is defective and corrected it in his version. In any case, with respect to D144, there are only two possibilities. Either the scribe (apparently al-Ḥā'ik himself, but see Chapter 3 for the questions surrounding this attribution) transposed the radicals by mistake, and later performers (and anthologists) have simply adopted the error; or else it was not a mistake, and such is the way al-Ḥā'ik actually learned the *ṣan'ā*. I incline to the latter explanation, but in the absence of further evidence from that time or earlier (such as another manuscript associated in some way with al-Āla, which has this *nūba* and *ṣan'ā*, unlike al-Bū'āṣāmī, for example), there really is no way to be sure of what exactly was performed at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The survival of this solecism may be attributed to the iconic status of al-Ḥā'ik and his urtext. Even the relatively careful IJ, who was not averse to adding lines to various *ṣanā'ī'*, appears reluctant to alter a text he has received from the tradition. How much more willing would many less-erudite performers and *ru'asā'* then be simply to accept a curiosity like this as perhaps an example of

an obscure poetic license, or even as a *ġarīb*, a rare expression of unknown provenance worthy of preservation for its own sake? After all, “it’s in al-Ḥā’ik”!

Notable themes: Praying for the Prophet, to whom was given the highest possible station, is one of the most common themes of *Ramal al-Māya*; here we have also the marvellous image of majesty rendered as veils being laid open or enfolding the Prophet situated in his high station.

القدام ٩  
الطويل - شغل

بِنُورِكَ أَوْصَحَّتْ الْهُدَى لِمَنِ اهْتَدَى  
عَلَيْكَ سَلَامُ اللَّهِ يَا عِلْمَ الْهُدَى  
مَقَامِكَ مُحَمَّدٌ وَأَنْتَ مُحَمَّدٌ  
وَرَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ مُحَمَّدٌ سَمَّاكَ أَحْمَدًا

Quddām #9 — بنورك أوضحت الهدى لمن اهتدى

also

al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #3

IJ #8 p. 57

IM #11 p. 55

MW #12 p. 46

Zwītin #8 p. 24

Ambīrkū #10 p. 29

**Poet:** al-Baġdādī al-Watarī

٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ || ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠  
 ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ || ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠

By your light you make guidance clear to one who is rightly guided.

May the peace of Allāh be upon you, O lodestar [or: banner] of guidance.

Your station is praised, and you are Muḥammad,

and the praised, supreme Lord named you Aḥmad.

### Annotation

See Annotation to al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #3.

القدام ١٠  
الكامل - شغل

وَأَنَالَهُ فَضْلًا لَدَيْهِ عَظِيمًا      اللَّهُ عَظِيمٌ قَدَرَ جَاهُ مُحَمَّدٍ  
صَلُّوا عَلَيْهِ وَسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا      فِي مُحْكَمِ التَّنْزِيلِ قَالَ لِحَلْقِهِ

Quddām #10 — الله عظيم قدر جاه مجد

IJ #9 p. 57

IM #9 p. 55

MW #10 p. 46

Ambīrkū #13 p. 30

--- | ~--- | ~--- || ~--- | --- | ~---  
 --- | --- | ~--- || --- | ~--- | ---

Allāh exalted the honor of Muḥammad's rank

and gave him abundant grace before Him.

In the unambiguous revelation, he said to his creatures,

“Give blessings on him, and wish him peace abundantly.”

### Annotation

Grammatically and metrically, this *ṣanʿa* is thoroughly constrained by the rules of poetic expression.

Notable themes: “Unambiguous” here (مُحْكَم) refers to Qurʾān 3:7, in which the verses of the Revelation are described as either *المحكمات* (that is, those possessing only one possible meaning within the boundaries of the Arabic language), or *المتشابهات* (i.e., those whose meaning is obscure, or which may have more than one meaning, and thus require interpretation). The *ʿajuz* of line 2 quotes Qurʾān 33:56.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.

وعلی آل ومن سالکوانهج بالإحسان	صل یاری بالدوام علی الهادی صاحب المزیة
وساق لیا جنود وغرس داخل الاکان	میر الحب سکن فاعضایا وشعل نیران قویا
وترک جسمی سقیم وعقلی دایم ولهان	والنوم نقر عن عینی ودموعی طول المداسخیا
لوکان سطرهما ما یحملها دیوان	کیف نطیق الصبر أنا الی مغروم وقضیتی قضیا
إلا قوت الروح	قلبی مجروح بالدوام ما صبت دوو للسقام
علاج المجرروح	الهادی بدر التمام شفیعنا یوم الزحام
حین سما مشروح	محمد هوتاج الکرام حیاة الله بالسلام
بفضائل ما بلغها نبی فی الأزمان	وتقدم صلی بالجماعا وبلغ من کامل العطیا
نجاه بکلام قدیم فی بساط الأمان	ورضی عنه جل الجلیل ودناه منوعا لم الخفیا
من بعد الخمسین صارت خمسة بالتیان	وفرض خمس أوقات علی هاذه الأمة الزیکا المرضیا

Quddām #11 — صل ياربي بالدوام على الهادي صاحب المزيا

IM #8 pp. 54-55

Bless perpetually, O my Lord, the Guide, the Master of Merit  
 and his family, and anyone who follows a (clear) path doing good.  
 The Emir of Love dwells in my organs, lighting mighty fires,  
 and leads an army against me and plants (himself) within the refuge.  
 Sleep flew from my eye, and tears flowed copiously for a long time.  
 He left my body lean and my mind forever befuddled (by love).  
 How shall I endure patience, I who am struck by love, and my fate is determined.  
 If I wrote it down, no *dōwān* could bear it.  
 My heart is permanently wounded.  
 I find no remedy for the illness  
 except the nourishment of the spirit.  
 The Guide is the full moon,  
 our intercessor on the Day of Gathering,  
 healer of him who is injured.  
 Muḥammad is the crown of the noble ones.  
 May Allāh greet him with peace  
 when the heavens are laid bare.  
 Go forward and pray together with the others, reach him who is perfect in gifts  
 of the bounties, which no prophet attained in time.  
 May the Sublime be pleased with him, and the hidden world come close to him.  
 Salvation by words eternal (comes) with the extending of time.  
 Five times (of prayer) are required of this pure community with which God is pleased  
 after having been fifty, they became five by clear indication.

### Annotation

On issues of linguistic and metrical constraint surrounding *barwala*, see Annotation to Darj #3. As with Darj #8, this text is found only in IM, unvocalized, so that any attempt at vocalization (and therefore scansion) is less likely to represent the *ṣanʿa*-as-sung. In particular, the stereotypical Moroccan loss of first-syllable short vowels is completely invisible here. Nevertheless, some departures from constrained expression are apparent here: a reduction of the masculine pronominal suffix ( *منه* from *مُو* ), expansion of the first-person singular pronominal suffix ( *يا* - *يا* - *ي* ) and reduction of *في* to *ف*. Curiously, one hamza is conserved and not reduced to the consonant corresponding to its *kursī* ( *فضائل* not *فضايل*, a typical dialectal transformation), even though a second one is not conserved ( *دائم* not *دايم* ).

Like other *barāwil* in *Ramal al-Māya*, the structure of this *ṣanʿa* illustrates the great variety of formats possible: here we find a ten-line poem with two rhyming sections based on lines having hemistiches (with *tarsīʿ*) separated by a section rhyming differently, with tripartite lines (and *tarsīʿ*).

Notable themes: The *barāwil* in *Mizān ad-Darj* embody two different, contrasting tendencies. *Ṣanāʿīʿ* such as Darj #3 represent the *ǧazal* genre, being rich in images drawn from love poetry. Others, such as Darj #21, speak in much more elevated tones in the language of *madiḥ* poetry as such. Here in *al-Quddām* we find a text with some of both: the suffering of the lover/seeker for the beloved/Prophet and exhortation to bless the Prophet, evoked via his name, as the Guide and intercessor, and as the full moon. The crown image also is familiar from three other *ṣanāʿīʿ*.



القدام ١٢  
البيسط - شغل

لَمَّا نَظَرْتُ إِلَى أَنْوَارِهِ سَطَعَتْ  
خَوْفًا عَلَى بَصَرِي مِنْ حُسْنِ صُورَتِهِ  
وَضَعْتُ مِنْ خِيفَةٍ كَهَيِّ عَلَى بَصَرِي  
فَلَسْتُ أَنْظُرُهُ إِلَّا عَلَى قَدَرِي

Quddām #12 — لما نظرت إلى أنواره سطعت

IJ #10 p. 57

IM #14 p. 56

MW #13 p. 46

Zwītin #10 p. 24

Ambīrkū #11 p. 30

**Poet:** Ḥassān b. Ṭābit

--- | --- | --- | --- || --- | --- | --- | ---  
 --- | --- | --- | --- || --- | --- | --- | ---

When I looked at his lights they sparkled,  
 I put my hand upon my eye out of fear,  
 Fearing for my eye, from the beauty of his image,  
 for I am looking to him only for my destiny.

#### Annotation

On the authorship of this poem, see Bennūna (1999), *muqaddima* p. 29. These two lines are not found in 'Arafāt's edition of Ibn Ṭābit's *dīwān*.

Zwītin and Ambīrkū: خيفتي for خيفة; and قدر for قدری (with *kasra* implied for the rhyme letter).

The text is well constrained by the conventions of poetic expression, bearing no non-standard features and being metrically sound.

Notable themes: The Prophet's beauty is emphasized here: so bright is his beauty that it inspires fear (perhaps awe is more accurate) in the beholder. However he is not named nor evoked through any of his traditional attributes. On the Light of Muḥammad, see Annotation to Basīṭ #9.

القدام ١٣  
الطويل - شغل

صَبَرْنَا عَلَى الْمَجْرَانِ حَتَّى دَنَا الْوَصْلُ  
وَعَوَّدَنِي مَا كَانَ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَهُ  
وَقَد زَارَ مَنْ نَهَوَاهُ وَانْتَضَمَ الشَّمْلُ  
وَعَاتَبَنِي وَالْعُتْبُ عِنْدَ الْإِقَائِ حَلُّو

Quddām #13 — صبرنا على الهجران حتى دنا الوصل

IJ #11 p. 57

MW #11 p. 46

Bennūna #315 p. 333

Zwītin #12 pp. 24-25

Ambīrkū #9 p. 29

و --- | و --- | و --- | و --- || و --- | و --- | و --- | و ---  
 و --- | و --- | و --- | و --- || و --- | و --- | و --- | و ---

We endured separation, until the encounter drew nigh.

One whom we love he has visited, and the affair was put right.

He accustomed me to [the feeling] between the two of us.

He rebuked me, and censure, when meeting, is sweet.

### Annotation

This *ṣanʿa* is perfectly constrained in the version MW presents. IJ, however, gives صبرنا in line 1, a non-standard rendering of صبرنا.

Zwītin gives يعتبني for عاتبني, with approximately the same meaning.

IJ further indicates that the *ṣanʿa* is *rubāʿiyya* and adds the following two lines (also in *ṭawīl*), because he considers the two lines given not fitting for *madīḥ*:

وَصَمِّحْ لِسَانَ الذِّكْرِ دَابَّاطِيهِ      أَلَا يَا حُبَّ الْمُصْطَفَى زِدْ صَبَابَةً  
 عَلَامَةُ حُبِّ اللَّهِ حُبُّ حَبِيْبِهِ      وَلَا تَعْبَأَنَّ بِالْمُبْطَلِينَ فَإِنَّمَا

و --- | و --- | و --- | و --- || و --- | و --- | و --- | و ---  
 و --- | و --- | و --- | و --- || و --- | و --- | و --- | و ---

*O lover of the Chosen One, increase (your) ardent longing*

*and anoint the tongue of remembrance habitually with his fragrance*

*And do not worry about prattling liars, on the contrary*

*the token of the love of Allāh is the love of His beloved.*

These two lines form a completely different *ṣanʿa* in D144, Quddām al-Ḥusayn (Bennūna #257, p. 296), but are not found in the modern *Ramal al-Māya*. They belong to Abū Bakr b. Šabrīn.

Notable themes: The two original lines belong to the *ġazal* aspect of *madiḥ nabawī* in *Ramal al-Māya*, with nothing to connect the text directly to the Prophet apart from contextualized meaning in performance (see Chapter 4 §4). These verses read rather more like Sufi-style love poetry, with the “encounter” and “visit” corresponding to *الحضرة*, the “presence” of the divine evoked during Sufi rituals. Little wonder, then, that IJ added two lines by Ibn Šabrīn to the *šanʿa* that refer directly to the Prophet as the Chosen One and the Beloved of Allāh.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.



القدام ١٤  
البيسط - شغل

يَا أَهْلَ بَيْتِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ جُبُّكُمْ  
يَكْفِيكُمْ مِنْ عَظِيمِ الْمَجْدِ أَنْتُمْ  
فَرَضَ مِنَ اللَّهِ فِي الْقُرْآنِ أَنْزَلَهُ  
مَنْ أَيْصَلِ عَلَيْكُمْ لَا صَلَاةَ لَهُ

Quddām #14 — يَا أَهْلَ بَيْتِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ حَكِيمٌ

IJ #12 p. 58

IM #10 p. 55

MW #14 p. 47

Ambīrkū #14 p. 30

--- | --- | --- || --- | --- | --- | ---  
 --- | --- | --- || --- | --- | --- | ---

O people of the house of the Messenger of Allāh, loving you  
 is a duty from Allāh in the Qurʾān (which) He sent down.  
 Sufficient for you, from the Supreme in Glory, is (the fact) that  
 one who does not bless you has no blessing.

### Annotation

IM gives يَا آلَ بَيْتِ for يَا أَهْلَ بَيْتِ

This *ṣanʿa* is fully constrained both grammatically and metrically — note the use of extra vowels on the pronominal suffix *-كُمُ / -كُمُ* in three out of four places, an accepted poetic license employed here for metrical purposes. Note also the use of *tarsīʿ*, which adds to the sense of an elevated poetic register.

Notable themes: Here the emphasis is entirely upon the Prophet's family, echoing Qurʾān 11:73 and several *aḥādīṭ* from al-Buḥārī, with no direct engagement with the Prophet himself.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.

القدام ١٥  
السريع - شغل

قَالُوا عَدَا نَأْتِي دِيَارَ الْحَمِي  
وَيَنْزِلُ الرِّكْبُ بِمَعْنَاهُمْ  
وَكُلُّ مَنْ بَاتَ بِشَوْقٍ لَهُمْ  
أَصْبَحَ مَشْرُورًا بِرُؤْيَاهُمْ

Quddām #15 — قالوا غدًا تأتي ديار الحى

IJ #13 p. 58

MW #9 p. 46

Bennūna #259 p. 297

Ambīrkū #8 p. 29

Poet: Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī s-Saḥāwī

--- | --- | --- || --- | --- | ---  
 --- | --- | --- || --- | --- | ---

They said: Tomorrow we arrive at the houses of the sanctuary,  
 and the party of riders will alight in their place.  
 And each one who spent the night in longing for them  
 will awaken delighted with the sight of them.

#### Annotation

MW gives عَدًا for عَدًا, but نَأْتِي for نَأْتِي, in the first hemistich. Apart from this small liberty taken with *tanwīn*, and the final vowel added to هُمْ -, both common poetic licenses, this text is fully constrained by the rules of poetic expression.

Ambīrkū gives نَأْتِي for نَأْتِي, as well.

Bennūna finds these two lines in *Nūbat al-Ḥusayn* in Dāwudiyya #144, but the modern *ṣan‘a* is performed in *ramal al-māya*.

These verses are found in *Wafayāt al-a‘yān* (Iḥsān ‘Abbās, ed., Cairo, 1948), in the article on as-Saḥāwī (#456, v. 3 pp. 340-341). They are part of a *qit‘a* supposedly spoken by as-Saḥāwī on his deathbed (note the variants in the second line):

وَيَنْزِلُ الرَّكْبُ بِمَعْنَاهُمْ	قَالُوا غَدًا تَأْتِي دِيَارَ الْحَيِّ
أَصْبَحَ مَشْرُورًا بَلْقِيَاهُمْ	وَكُلُّ مَنْ كَانَ مُطِيعًا لَهُمْ
بِأَيِّ وَجْهِ أَتَلَقَاهُمْ	قُلْتُ فِلي ذَنْبٌ فَمَا حِيلَتِي
لَا سِيَّاءَ عَمَّا تَرَجَاهُمْ	قَالُوا أَلَيْسَ الْعَفْوُ مِنْ شَانِهِمْ

*They said: Tomorrow we arrive at the houses of the sanctuary  
and the party of riders will alight in their place.*

*And each one who was obedient to them  
awakens delighted with meeting them.*

*I said: I have erred, so what am I to do?  
How can I face them?*

*They said: Is pardon not their responsibility,  
Especially when (a servant) begs them?*

Notable themes: On the image of the camel caravan arriving at the (tribal) sanctuary see the Annotations to Basīṭ #8 and #25. “Sanctuary” here evokes the Ḥaram in Mecca, an image of the Ḥajj, although this could only be understood clearly in the context of the whole *nūba*. See also the discussion of this *ṣanʿa*, its related texts and contextualized meaning in Chapter 4 §4.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.



القدام ١٦  
الطويل - شغل

أَهَيْلَ الْحَيِّ بِالْجُودِ وَالْفَضْلِ وَالنُّسْكِ  
وَيَسْطُوا عَلَى جَمْعِ الْمِلاَحِ بِمُحْسِنِهِ  
لَقَدْ حَلَّ فِي قَلْبِي هَوَى حُبِّ ذِي الْمُلْكِ  
كَبَدْرٍ أَضَاءَ حُسْنُهُ أَجْمَ الْفَلَكَ

Quddām #16 — أهيل الحى بالجود والفضل والنسك

MW #8 p. 46

IJ #14 p. 58

IM #13 p. 55

Zwītin #9 p. 24

Ambīrkū #7 p. 29

ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ || ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ  
 ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ || ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ

Ye dear people of the sanctuary, generous, meritorious and devoted,  
                   the passion of love for one who has dominion has settled in my heart.  
 He overcomes all beauties with his beauty  
                   like a moon whose beauty outshines the stars of the celestial sphere.

#### Annotation

MW:

Line 1: النُّسْكُ for النَّسِكِ, and ذا for ذِي, and المَلِكِ for الْمَلِكِ

Line 2, 'ajuz: ... أَضَا حُسْنًا عَلَى النِّجْمِ ...

IM:

Line 2, *ṣadr*: وَسَطًا عَلَى جَمْعِ الْمَلَّاحِ بِحُسْنِهِ

Zwītin reverses *بالفضل* and *الجود*; gives *ذا* for *ذِي*, and the same line 2 *ṣadr* as IM; and gives the 'ajuz of line 2 as: كَبَدْرٌ أَضَا حُسْنَهُ نِجْمِ الْفَلَكَ

Ambīrkū gives the same line 1 as Zwītin and the same *ṣadr* of line 2. The 'ajuz of line 2:

كَبَدْرٌ أَضَا نِجْمَهُ عَلَى النِّجْمِ الْفَلَكَ

*Like a moon whose star outshines the stars of the celestial sphere.*

As presented by IJ and IM, this *ṣan'a* is fully constrained by the rules and conventions of poetic expression.

Notable themes: As with Quddām #15, this poem refers to the people of a sanctuary, though references to the moon and stars tie this with both the *ghazal*-inspired facet of the tradition and with the celestial references in al-Būṣīrī's *Burda*. Though he is not invoked by name, in context, the moon image

stands for the Prophet, and therefore the sanctuary in Mecca is understood. See the Annotations to Basīṭ #8 and #25, also the discussion of contextualized meaning in Chapter 4 §4.

IJ gives the *ṭab*<sup>6</sup> as *ramal al-māya*.



القدم ١٧  
تخليل البسيط

هو الذي اختاره الباري وأرسله  
إن سار في الرمل لم تجده إلا  
براراً وفارحياً بالمساكين  
وإن على الصخر عاد الصخر كالطين

Quddām #17 — هو الذي اختاره الباري وأرسله

IM #12 p. 55

**Poet:** Lisān ad-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb

و-و-و- | -و-و- | -و-و- | و-و-و- || -و-و- | -و-و- | -و-و- | -و-و-  
 -و-و- | -و-و- | و-و-و- | -و-و- || و-و-و- | -و-و- | -و-و- | -و-و-

It is he whom the Creator chose and sent,  
                                 pious, gentle, merciful to those who are in need.  
 When he travels the sands, you find no footsteps of him,  
                                 and when he passes over the stones, the stones turn to clay.

### Annotation

The *Dīwān* v. 2, #54, pp. 610-613, presents one variant: لم يظهر لم تجد for لم يظهر in line 2.

Notable themes: Muḥammad is not mentioned here, except by implication via his familiar epithet المختار, the Chosen One. The miraculous desert images are unique in the *nūba* and have no obvious parallel in Qurʾān or *ḥadīth*.

القدام ١٨  
الكامل - شغل

العدل فيكم سادتي ماذا يفيد  
أطلب أماناً يا عاذلي زد صبوةً  
كل الذي يطلب أماناً خيراً يجد  
لا يطلب السلوان إلا شهيداً

Quddām #18 — العدل فيكم سادتي ماذا يفيد

IJ #15 p. 58

MW #15 p. 47

Ambīrkū #12 p. 30

--- | --- | --- || --- | --- | (---)  
 --- | (---) | --- || --- | --- | ---

Justice for you, my masters what use is it?

Each one who seeks better security finds (it).

Seek security, O you who blame me; increase in ardent desire;

only a martyr asks for consolation.

### Annotation

MW and unvocalized in Ambīrkū:

مَنْ هُوَ الَّذِي يَطْلُبُ أَمَانَ خَيْرًا يَزِيدُ	الْعَدْلُ فِيكُمْ سَادَتِي مَاذَا يُفِيدُ
لَا يَطْلُبُ السَّلْوَانَ إِلَّا شَهِيدٌ	أَطْلُبُ أَمَانَ يَا عَازِيَّ سَلْوَةً

*Justice for you, my masters what use is it?*

*Who is it who seeks a better security which grows?*

*Seek security, O you who blame me, as solace.*

*Only a martyr asks for consolation.*

Metricaly, this *ṣanʿa* has two feet with extra syllables and one that is clipped. Further departures from constraint include one lost *iʿrāb* vowel and one lost tanwīn (يَطْلُبُ أَمَانَ). The version in MW has two further lost vowels, further metrical problems, and fails to rhyme properly.

Notable themes: This *ṣanʿa* makes no reference, directly or indirectly, to the Prophet at all. Rather it continues in the same vein as the two previous ones, evoking the ancient tribal ethos with reference to tribal elders. One is tempted to conclude, therefore, that this *ṣanʿa* was perhaps a later invention composed to complete/complement the previous *ṣanāʿiʿ* and form a performance unit with them.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.

القدام ١٩  
الرجز - شغل

أَرْسَلَ نُحْبَةَ الْوَرَى مُجَدًّا      لِحَلْفِهِ يُتَقَدُّهُمْ مِنَ الرَّدَا  
فَجَاءَ نَامُبَشَّرًا وَمُنْدِرًا      وَبَلَغَ الْوَحْيَ كَمَا قَدَأْمِرَا



القدام ٢٠  
شغل السريع

سجّان من أرسله رحمة  
من وجهه البدر غدا طالعا  
والله لولا طيب أنفاسه  
ما عرف المسك ولا العنبر  
لكل من يسمع أو يبصر  
والشمس من أطرافه تزهر

Quddām #20 — سجان من أرسله رحمة

IM #15 p. 56

--u- | -uuu | -- || u-- | -uu- | -u  
 --u- | -uu- | -u || --u- | -uuu | -u  
 --u- | -uu- | -uu || -uu- | -uu- | -u

Praise be to One who sent him as a mercy

to each one who hears and is patient.

The full moon rises from his face in the morning,

and the sun shines forth from his glances.

By Allāh, were it not for the fragrance of his breath,

musk and amber (would) not be known.

### Annotation

Though IM does not vocalize the text, when it is vocalized following the proper rules, the metrical pattern turns out to be sound. Therefore, this *ṣanʿa* is well constrained by the rules of proper poetic expression.

Notable themes: The Prophet is a mercy to the believers; this *ṣanʿa* presents him as a sensory experience. The full moon is one of his emblems in *Ramal al-Māya*, as is the light (of the sun or otherwise) that shines from him. On the latter, see the Annotation to *Basīṭ* #9. Musk and amber are scents associated with both *madīh* and Sufi mystical verse; linking them to the Prophet's breath is an unusual and striking image.

القدام ٢١  
شغل الطويل

إذا ذكر السباق بدأ وعودة  
له جمع الله المعالي بأسرها  
فأحمد لم تطلع على مثله الشمس  
فضاهره نور وباطنه قدس

Quddām #21 — إذا ذكر السباق بدأ وعودة

IM #16 p. 56

ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ || ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ  
 ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ || ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ | ـــــــــ

If those who came before are remembered once again,  
 the sun never rose over one like Aḥmad.  
 Allāh gathered for him the most eminent qualities together,  
 so that his manifestation is a light, and his inner essence is holiness.

### Annotation

As with the previous *ṣanʿa*, when this text is properly vocalized, it is shown to be well constrained metrically. Grammatically the text is also fully constrained, though there is an orthographic problem in the *ṣadr* of line 1: the expression “once again” or “anew” is more correctly written *بَدْءًا وَعَوْدَةً*, though there is little doubt that it is sung properly.

Notable themes: The surpassing excellence of the Prophet (mentioned here through his name/attribute of “The Most Praised”) is once again invoked. His holiness and his Light are especially emphasized, drawing from the technical language of the Sufis — *ظاهر* and *باطن*, “outer” and “inner” as anatomical metaphors from *ظهر* (“back”) and *بطن* (“belly”). On the Light of Muḥammad, see Annotation to *Basīṭ* #9.

IM says in a footnote that the “source” (*الأصل*) of this *ṣanʿa* is *Ṣabirnā ʿalā l-hijrān...* (Quddām #13), which he describes as “far from the subject” (*بعيد عن الموضوع*) — an opinion expressed by IJ, as well (see Annotation to Quddām #13).

القدام ٢٢

شغل الهزج

كل الشرف حاز والرسول  
من حبه عقلي يجول  
دعني يا صاح به أصول  
إن هبت لي منه الرياح  
لكني مقصوص جناح  
مايلوشبيه في ذا البشر  
في طيبة بين الديار  
تلومني في ذا القمر  
أزداد شوقا للمراد  
فهل إليه من معاد

Quddām #22 — كل الشرف حازو الرسول

also:

Qā'im wa-Niṣf #11

IM #17 p. 56

Bennūna #15 p. 137

Zwītin #13 p. 25

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 --- | --- || --- | ---  
 (---) | --- || --- | ---  
 (---) | --- || --- | ---  
 (---) | --- || --- | ---

The Messenger has all honor.

None compares with this human being.

Through love of him, my mind wanders

among the abodes in Ṭayba

Leave me, my friend; by him I cry,

you blame me for this moon.

If the winds blow from him in my direction,

I increase (even more) in longing for the one I desire

But I am shorn of wings

so is there any return to him?

### Annotation

Zwītin gives حَارُ for حازو ; and مالو ; and في حبه ; and مصول for اصول ; and من جا من جا ; and يلومني في القمر (Who started blaming me for the moon?). And ازداد for يزداد. And the last line:

لطار عنده الفؤاد	من صاب ايا قومي جناح
<i>One whom wings come down on</i>	<i>the heart flies with him (?)</i>

مائلو : While it is not found in any lexicon, this colloquialism comes from ماله , meaning “there is none/no one.” Properly vocalized, this is the classical meter الرجز , though in the *ṣadr* of the third, fourth and fifth lines, the first foot has no short syllables. Other departures from constraint are mentioned in the Annotation to al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #11.

See also the entry for al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf #11.

القدام ٢٣

توشیح

يا عاشقين لقد دهاني	من بهواه	قلبي سكن فيه الغرام
المصطفى حسنه سباني	متى أراه	محمد خير الأنام
هو منيتي وهو أماني	من برضاه	يراماني من السقام
نعم وصال	عيشي يطيب	بيغيتي نعم الحبيب
خير الوری بدر الکمال	عالي عالاه	من وجهه وجه جميل

## Quddām #23 — يا عاشقين لقد دهاني

IM #19 p. 57

Ambīrkū #17 p. 31

--- | --- | -      --- | --- | ---  
 --- | --- | -      --- | --- | ---  
 --- | --- | -      --- (----) | ---  
     ---      --- | ---  
 --- | ---      --- | ---

O lovers, one has assailed me

by love of whom,

burning ardor dwells in my heart.

Muṣṭafā! His beauty captivated me

when I saw him.

Muḥammad is the best of mankind.

He is my desire and my surety,

who, being content with me,

cures any sickness in me

I attained encounter;

my life is good

with my desired, an excellent beloved!

The best of men, the full moon,

eminent in his high rank, his face is a beautiful face.

**Annotation**

This unvocalized text reflects well the conundrum that lies behind the debate over the intended metrical characteristics of the *muwaššah*: is the meter supposed to approach one of the recognized patterns, or is the stress/musical rhythm the point? If this text is given the vowels logically implied, the meter closely approaches *مستفعلن مستفعلن* (الرجز) with one defective foot indicated, but with several segments having dangling syllables. In addition, several final vowels must be lost (albeit not without precedent in colloquial language) to fit the meter. It is by no means certain, of course, that this meter was intended by either the poet or the anthologist — let alone being an approximation of the *ṣanʿa*-as-sung — but the implied lapses in *iʿrāb* and other final vowels would not be out of character for *tawšīḥ* texts in *Ramal al-Māya*, which generally lie

among the less-constrained *ṣanāʿiʿ* in the tradition. See also the Annotation to Basīṭ #16 on the metrics of oral and literary presentation in these anthologies.

Ambīrkū line 2: *يَمَّتْ نِزَاهُ مُحَمَّدًا خَيْرَ الْإِنَامِ*

Notable themes: The text addresses itself to the “lovers”, by which must be understood the seekers and/or those who love the Prophet Muḥammad, invoked here through his name and his attribute as the Chosen One, but also through some of his emblems and attributes common in *Ramal al-Māya*: the full moon, possessing a beautiful face, being the highest/best of mankind and being the “surety” for the believer (in the afterlife).



زجل الهزج شغل (MW و IM : توشیح الهزج شغل )

مَتَى أَرَأَسِرَ الْوُجُودَ      وَأَنَا مَعَ الصَّحْبِ الْجَمِيعِ  
وَتَقْبَلُ أَيَّامَ السُّعُودَ      وَتَحْظِي بِالسِّرِّ الْبَدِيعِ  
وَتَجْتَنِي تِلْكَ الْوُرُودَ      مَا بَيْنَ زَمَزَمَ وَالْبَقِيعِ  
هَوِّنْ عَلَيْنَا يَا مُجِيبَ      وَلَا تُخَيِّبْ دَعْوَتِي  
بِحَاهِ نَبِيكَ الْحَبِيبِ      اجْعَلْ فِي طَيِّبَةٍ تُرَبِّي

هُوَ التَّجِيُّ الْعَظَمَ      الْمُجْتَبَى نِعَمَ الْإِمَامِ  
الْأَذْعَجَ الْمُكْرَمَ      مَنْ خُصَّ مِنْ بَيْنِ الْأَنَامِ  
مَنْ وَجَّهَهُ الْمُتَمَمَّ      كِدَارَةَ عَلَى التَّمَامِ  
مَنْ قَدَّأَنَا بِالْفَلَاحِ      صَلَّى عَلَيْهِ رَبُّ الْعِبَادِ  
مَا نَاحَ طَيْرٌ فِي اللَّقَاحِ      وَحَنَّ شَوْقًا لِلْمَرَادِ

Quddām #24 — متى أراسر الوجود

also:

Basīṭ #16

IJ #17 p. 58

IM #20 p. 57

MW #16-17 p. 47

Ambīrkū #18 pp. 31-32

٠ ٠ ٠ - | - - ٠ - || ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ - | - - ٠ -  
 ٠ ٠ ٠ - | - - ٠ - || ٠ - - - | - - ٠ -  
 ٠ ٠ ٠ - | - - ٠ - || - - ٠ - | - - ٠ -  
 - - ٠ - | - - ٠ - || ٠ ٠ ٠ - | - - ٠ -  
 (٠ - ٠ - ) | ٠ ٠ ٠ - || ( - - - - ) | ٠ - ٠ -  
  
 ٠ ٠ ٠ - | (٠ - - ) || - - ٠ - | - - ٠ -  
 - - ٠ - | (٠ - ٠ ) || - - ٠ - | - - ٠ -  
 - - ٠ - | (٠ - - ) || ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ( - ٠ - )  
 - - ٠ - | - - ٠ - || - - ٠ - | (٠ - - ٠ - )  
 - - ٠ - | - - ٠ - || ٠ ٠ ٠ - | - - ٠ -

When I see the secret of existence,  
and I am together with all my companions,
And the days of good fortune draw near,  
and we attain the wonderful revelation,
And we gather those roses  
that lie between Zamzam and Baqīʿ,
Then make it easy for us, O Answerer (of prayers)  
and do not disappoint my appeal.
By the rank of your beloved Prophet  
place my tomb in Ṭayba.

He is the glorified Prophet,  
the Chosen One — what a perfect *imām*!
The black-eyed, the revered  
one, who was singled out from mankind.
One whose perfect face  
is like a halo round the full (moon).

One who has brought us success

may the Lord of mankind bless him.

As long as a bird weeps in the foliage

and yearns longingly for the object of desire

### Annotation

On the second strophe, see Annotation to Basīṭ #16.

This is two different *ṣanāʿi* that IJ has placed together (the second half being vowelled slightly differently here than in Basīṭ #16). The two halves clearly do not belong to the same source poem because the two *aqfāl* do not rhyme together. The second half is the same text as Basīṭ #16 and does not appear in IM in this place. MW gives the second half of this *ṣanʿa* as a separate *ṣanʿa*, labeled simply هرج شغل .

بقيع means a wide, spacious area of land that contains trees. بقيق القرد is a burial ground in Medina. البقيق is a synonym for that.

MW gives أرا for أرأ; both IM and MW give صكاي for الصَّكَبِ; MW gives نُقْبَل for عَلَيْنَا and عَلِي for عَلِي.

Ambīrkū gives اصكاي جميع in the *ʿajuz* of line 1.

Notable themes in the first strophe: The poet speaks of his own mortality by evoking the sacred places of Mecca and Medina, and asks that he be buried in Mecca. Muḥammad is present only by virtue of an oath of appeal to his rank as the Prophet.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.



القدام ٢٥

توشیح

يَا خَيْرَ الْأَنَامِ حُبَّكَ سَبَائِي

عَشَقْتُكَ بِالذَّوَامِ عَمَّرَ جَنَائِي

أَمْنَعِي الطَّعَامَ وَالنَّوْمَ جَفَائِي

تَاللَّهِ مَا نَزُولُ دَائِمًا مُجَدِّدًا

فِي مَدْحِ الرَّسُولِ مُوَلَّيًّا مُجَدِّدًا

## Quddām #25 — ياخير الأنام

IJ #18 p. 59

IM #21 p. 57

MW #19 p. 48

Zwītin #16 p. 25

Ambīrkū #19 p. 32

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 ---○---            ---○---  
 ---○---            ---○---  
       ---○---            ---○---  
       ---○---            ---○---

O Best of Mankind,	love of you captivated me.
Love of you constantly	populates my inmost heart.
I refuse myself food,	and sleep fled me.
Allāh! I never cease,	ever starting again
In praise of the Messenger	Mūlay Muḥammad

## Annotation

Variants in MW:

حُبِّكَ سَبَانِي	يَاخَيْرَ الْأَنَامِ	
عَمَّرَ جَكَانِي	عَشَقْتُكَ بِالذَّوَامِ	
وَالتَّوَمَّ جَفَانِي	أَمْنَعِي الطَّعَامِ	<i>Does food refuse me...?</i>
دَائِمَ مُجَدِّدَ	تَاللَّهِ مَا نَرُودُ	
مَوْلَايَ مُحَمَّدَ	فِي مَدْحِ الرَّسُولِ	

IM: Reverses lines 2 and 3; gives *منعني* for *أَمْنَعِي*; gives *أمدح* for *في مدح*.

Zwītin gives *لي امنع* for *أَمْنَعِي*; and *نجدد* for *مُجَدِّدَ*; and *مولاى* for *مَوْلَايَ*.

Ambīrkū gives *منعني* for *أَمْنَعِي*.

Features that depart from standard constraints include: IJ's vocalization of *زُورِلْ*; loss of the vowel from the second person masculine possessive pronoun (*عَشَقْتُكَ* and *حُبُّكَ* — note the vowel “throw back” in MW: *عَشَقْتُكَ*), loss of *i'rāb* from *النَّوْمَ* and *دَائِمٌ*, and of final vowels from the verbs *عَمَّرَ* and *أَمْنَعُ*. The metrical pattern is regular, though not classical, being based upon the number of syllables in each hemistich, as well as a relatively consistent pattern of long and short syllables (neither an unusual feature of the strophic texts in al-Āla). Thorough use of *tarsi'* somewhat mitigates against the sense of lack of constraint in this text.

The first verse bears two phrases that might function as modular elements (see Chapter 4 §3), echoing similar phrases in Basīṭ #24: *يا خير الأنام* and *يا من سبأ* *عقلي*.

Notable themes: Constant praise and tormenting love of the Prophet, regarded as the best of humanity — all are standard themes in *Ramal al-Māya*.

IJ gives the *ṭab'* as *ramal al-māya*.



القدام ٢٦  
توشیح الهزج

مَدْحُ النَّبِيِّ فِيهِ فَائِدَةٌ      مَدْحُ النَّبِيِّ مَا أَحْلَاهُ  
رَيْقُ النَّبِيِّ إِذَا نَزَلَ      جَوْفَ الْعَلِيلِ أَبْرَاهُ  
سَعْدَ الَّذِي مَسَكَ الشُّبَّاكَ بِيَدِيهِ  
إِنْطَقَ وَقَالَ الشَّفَاعَةَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ

Quddām #26 — مدح النبي فيه فائدة — 

IJ #19 p. 59

IM #22 p. 57

MW #20 p. 48

Zwītin #17 pp. 25-26

Ambīrkū #20 p. 32

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There is a benefit in praise of the Prophet.

Praise of the Prophet, how sweet it is!

The saliva of the Prophet, when it descends

inside a sick person, it heals him.

Happy is he who takes hold

of the grillwork with his two hands.

Speak! And he said, “Intercession, O Messenger of Allāh.”

### Annotation

MW: الحَيْبُ for النَّبِيِّ in line 2.

IM:

مدح النبي ما أحلاه	مدح النبي فيه فائدة
جوف العليل أبراه	ريق الحبيب إذا نزل
تمسكت به يداه	سعد الذي شباهه
رجعه ومبتغاه	ونال من خير الوري
وجاهه أعظم جاه	فهو الشفيع المرتبي

...

*He is happy whose two hands  
And acquires from the best of mankind*

*seize his grillwork*

*For he is the hoped-for intercessor  
(المرتبي would be more correct here)*

*his hope and his desire (or: aspiration)  
and his rank the greatest*

Zwītin: حين for إذا in third hemistich.

Ambīrkū: الحبيب for النبي in third hemistich; تمسك for مسك; and انطق for انطق.

Departures from full constraint include loss of one final vowel ( فية ) and one *i'rāb* vowel ( الشفاعة ) (in addition to one other in MW: الحبيب). As with other strophic *ṣanā'i'* in the tradition, the metrics are problematic, though there is some intimation of *al-rjz* in places. In this regard, line 3 in IM is much more accurate metrically than either IJ or MW. Indeed, it is as if the *ṣan'a* as found in IJ and MW, a *rubā'īyya* of a very unusual type, is a truncated version.

Notable themes: In addition to the benefits of praising Muḥammad, reference to drinking the beloved's saliva is a very old *gāzal* image (and an initiatory practice known in some Sufi circles), though here recast as mystical healing, which is unique in *Ramal al-Māya* — as is the reference to taking an oath upon the Prophet's tomb in line 3. Reinhart Dozy has this to say on شُبَاكُ النَّبِيِّ in his *Supplément...*: “le tombeau de Prophète à Médine, qui est entouré d'une grille. «Quand deux Arabes veule faire un serment d'une grande importance, ils entrelacent leurs doigts de la main droite en disant: بِشُبَاكِ النَّبِيِّ, («je le jure) par la grille du Prophète.» Dans leur pensée arrivait malheur à celui qui manquerait à sa parole.» ” (Internal quote: V.A. Daumas: *Le vie arabe et la société musulmane*, Paris: 1869, p. 96). Taking an oath on the tomb of a revered man is a very old custom in the Mediterranean region, attested by Herodotus for the Lybian Nasamones (viz. *The Landmark Herodotus: The Histories*, Robert B. Strassler, ed., Andrea L. Purvis, trans., New York: Pantheon, 2007, p. 353).

IJ gives the *ṭab'* as *ramal al-māya*.



من جُبي في خَيْرِ الوَرَى  
لا حَ البَدْرُ لِمَا سَكِرَى  
كَمْ نَبَقَى بَعِيدَا يَأْتِرَى  
أَهْلُ الرُّشْدِ لَوْ عَاكَمُوا  
حِينَ وَقَفُوا فِي بَابِ السَّلَامِ  
مُحَمَّدَ طَيِّبِ القُلُوبِ  
وَنَجَى جَمِيعِ الكُرُوبِ  
مُقَيَّدَ بَقِيدِ الذُّنُوبِ  
مَحَاكِلَا أَجْرَمُوا  
عَلَى المِصْطَفَى سَأَمُوا

Quddām #27 — من حبي في خير الوری

IJ #20 p. 59

IM #23 p. 58

MW #21 p. 48

Zwītin #18 p. 26

Ambīrkū #21 pp. 32-33

**Poet:** Ibn ‘Antar

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----◡---◡--	◡---◡---◡--
----◡---◡--	◡---◡---◡--
----◡---◡--	◡---◡---◡--
-----◡--	◡-----◡--

My love is the Best of Mankind,

Muḥammad, the Healer of Hearts.

The moon shines when it comes out at night

and relieves all sorrows.

I wonder how long we will remain far away,

bound by the shackles of sins.

People of good sense, if they knew,

they would efface whatever they did wrong.

When they stop at the Gate of Peace,

they call blessings upon the Chosen One.

#### Annotation

Some curious vocalizations in IJ and MW. IJ places *sukūn* on two *muḍāf* nouns, making pronunciation difficult ( طَيِّبَ الْقُلُوبِ and بَابَ السَّلَامِ — though MW gives proper *i'rāb* for both, as above); both drop the *i'rāb* from بَعِيدٌ . Both place *sukūn* on the second radical of the perfect verb وَقَفُوا . IJ gives سَلِمُوا (the imperative) for سَلِمُوا . Metrically, this *ṣan'a* features eight syllables in the hemistich, except that the *'ajuz* is الْمُتَقَارِبِ (فَعُولُنْ فَعُولُنْ فَعُولُنْ) . Finally, *tarsī* adds some complexity, mitigating somewhat the lack of constraint in this text.

Zwītin gives باب for باب in *ṣadr* of line 5.

Notable themes: In addition to the more usual motifs of Muḥammad as the best of mankind and the Chosen One, and his emblem, the moon, several images are rare or unique to the corpus: the Prophet as spiritual physician (indeed the moon itself as a healer!), sin described as bondage, and the Bāb as-Salām (one of the gates to the Prophet's Mosque in Medina).

IJ gives the *ṭab'* as *ramal al-māya*.



النُّورَ لِلْعَرْشِ يَصْعَدُ      فِي الْمَقْعِدِ الْمُقِيمِ  
وَاللَّهِ يَا مُحَمَّدَ      فِي وَجْهِكَ النَّعِيمِ  
سَلَّمَ عَلَيَّ مُحَمَّدًا      فِي مَكَّةَ الْحَجْرِ  
سَعَى إِلَى مُحَمَّدٍ      لَمَّا دَعَا الشَّجَرَ  
وَأَنْشَقَّ يَا مُحَمَّدَ      مِنْ أَجْلِكَ الْقَمَرَ  
يَا سَيِّدًا تَوَحَّدَ      فِي قَدْرِهِ الْعَظِيمِ  
وَاللَّهِ يَا مُحَمَّدَ      فِي وَجْهِكَ النَّعِيمِ

## Quddām #28 — النور للعرش يصعد

IJ #21 p. 59

IM #24 p. 58

MW #22 p. 49

Zwītin #19 p. 26

Ambīrkū #22 p. 33

Poet: Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥalabī

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The Light ascends to the Throne  
 By Allāh, O Muḥammad  
     The Stone in Mecca gave  
     And when he called,  
     And the moon split  
 O master, who is unique  
 By Allāh, O Muḥammad,

into the enduring seat,  
 in your blessed face.  
     the greeting of peace to Muḥammad  
     the tree went to Muḥammad  
     because of you, O Muḥammad  
 in his supreme station.  
 in your blessed face

## Annotation

Line 4: الشَّجَرِ here refers to an episode recounted in *ḥadīth*, in which a date-palm bent down to offer dates to the Prophet.

All versions have the *ḥumāsīyya* in common, but IM gives من أجلك for لأجلك with essentially the same meaning, and a different first line:

لواله السقيم	منك الشفاعة يقصد
<i>Healing comes directly from you</i>	<i>for the ailing lover</i>

MW: *المَقْعِدِ المَقِيمِ* for *مَقْعِدِ عَظِيمٍ*; and the fourth line:

كَمَا سَعَى الشَّجَرِ	وَاسَعَى إِلَى مُحَمَّدٍ
<i>So seek Muḥammad</i>	<i>as the tree sought (him)</i>

MW also gives *لِأَجْلِكَ* for *مِنْ أَجْلِكَ*; and the sixth line:

فِي قَدْرِهِ العَظِيمِ	يَا سَيِّدًا أَنْتَ وَاحِدٌ
<i>O master, you are one (??)</i>	<i>in his supreme station.</i>

Both Ambīrkū and Zwītin give the *ḥumāsīyya*. Zwītin's second line of the *ḡusn*:

كَمَا سَعَى الشَّجَرِ	سَعَى إِلَى مُحَمَّدٍ
<i>Seek Muḥammad</i>	<i>just as the date-palm sought.</i>

Metrically, as with many strophic *ṣanā'i'* in al-Āla, this text is founded on the number of syllables in each hemistich (7 in the *ʿajuz* and 6 in the *ṣadr*), though nearly all of them begin like *الرجز*, that is: *مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ*. Apart from these considerations, the only departures from full constraint by the traditional rules of poetic expression are the loss of *i'rāb* from one noun ( *النُّورُ* ) and a final vowel from a perfect verb ( *سَلَّمَ* ). As is often the case in al-Āla, *tarsī'* also is present, representing an additional aspect of constraint.

Notable themes: The first line of this text echoes several Qur'ānic passages. The symbolism of light originates of course in the famous Verse of Light (24:35 *passim*), but see also the Annotation to Basīṭ #9. The divine Throne ( *العرش* ) appears in several verses, such as 7:54, but more famously as *الكرسي* in 2:255. The *ḡusn* here brings together three miracles attributed to the Prophet by the Qur'ān and *ḥadīṭ*. The Black Stone (of the Ka'ba) speaking derives from a tradition related by Ibn 'Abbās that on the Day of Judgment, the stone will speak up for those who have kissed it — one of the Ḥajj rites and an action said to have been performed by the Prophet. The splitting of the moon derives from Qur'ān 54:1-2, and from several *aḥādīṭ* in al-Buḥārī (Book 56: 830-832) and Muslim (Book 39: Chapter 8). Finally, the theme of the Prophet's beauty or sublime countenance, and his high spiritual station, are central themes in *Ramal al-Māya*.

IJ gives the *ṭab'* as *ramal al-māya*.



رجل (MW: توشیح - شغل : IM: توشیح رجل )

نَمَدَحْ مُحَمَّدَ سَيِّدِ أَهْلِ السَّمَاءِ وَالْأَرْضِ      مَن جَاءَنَا بِالشَّرَائِعِ وَالسُّنَنِ وَالْفَرَضِ  
وَاطْوَى الْأَرْضَ الْبَسِيطَةَ طُولَهَا وَالْعَرْضَ      وَأَقْرَضَ بِسَيْفِهِ مَلَأَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ قَرْضَ

Quddām #29 — نمدح محمد سيد أهل السما والأرض

IJ #22 pp. 59-60

IM #25 p. 58

MW #23 p. 49

Zwītin #20 p. 26

Ambīrkū #23 p. 33

----- || -----  
 ----- || -----

We praise Muḥammad, master of the denizens of Heaven and Earth,  
 One who brought us the laws, authentic practice, and what is obligatory,  
 Crossed the wide world, its length and breadth,  
 And firmly cut off the polytheist communities with his sword.

### Annotation

Each of the three anthologists arranges these lines differently on the page. The arrangement here is that found in IM. IJ presents them as four independent lines without hemistiches.

MW version:

نَمْدَحُ مُحَمَّدَ سَيِّدِ      أَهْلِ السَّمَاءِ وَالْأَرْضِ  
 مَنْ جَاءَنَا بِالشَّرَائِعِ      وَالسُّنَنِ وَالْقَرَضِ  
 وَاطْوَى الْأَرْضَ الْبَسِيطَةَ      طُولَهَا وَالْعَرْضِ  
 وَاقْتَهَرَ بِسَيْفٍ مِلَّالِ الْمُشْرِكِي الْأَرْضِ

*And vanquished with a sword the world's polytheist communities*

Zwītin gives *وَاطْوَا بِأَرْضِ الْبَسِيطَةَ*, which is evidently a spelling error as it leaves out the necessary definite article, and the same final hemistich as MW.

Ambīrkū arranges this *ṣanʿa* as four lines of single segments, rather than two lines of two hemistiches, and gives *طوى* for *وَاطْوَى*; and *بسيفه* for *بسيفه*.

This text appears to have no consistent metrical pattern, neither classical nor syllabic — other than stress and its relationship to the musical component of the composition. More interesting are the orthographics and what they suggest about the *ṣanʿa*-as-sung. We find there two (three, if we include MW's slightly different version) abbreviations of verbs in the perfect tense with prosthetic alifs inserted: *واطوى* > *وطوى* and *واقض* > *وقض* (and in MW: *واقهر* > *وقهر*). These are represented orthographically as similar to the imperative, complete with lost final vowel, but the context makes clear that the simple perfect is intended. These appear to reflect the common Moroccan habit of dropping first-syllable short vowels, but also the influence of musical considerations (see Chapter 4 §1.2). Thus these particular departures from constraint have been conditioned by oral presentation. Loss of several other final vowels further contributes to the less-constrained poetic register of this *ṣanʿa*.

Notable themes: Praise of the Prophet, present here via his name, as master of mankind is a common topos in *Ramal al-Māya*. His role as lawgiver is unusual, especially as it encompasses three related aspects: the law, the sunna from which it derives in great degree, and the obligatory practices which are central to it. Likewise the mention of defeating polytheism by the sword is almost unique in the corpus.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.



القدام ٣٠

توشیح الطویل (MW) : توشیح شغل , IM : توشیح صدره الرجز )

قَلْبِي عَاشِقٌ فِي سَيِّدِ الْأَبْرَارِ وَالنَّوْمُ بَارِي  
الدَّمْعُ مِنْ عَيْنِي كَالْأَمْطَارِ عَلَى خَدِّي جَارِي  
مَتَى كُنْ لَهُ مِنَ الرُّؤَارِ أَرْمِي جِمَارِي

وَأَنْشَاهِدَ مَقَامَ الْهَادِي الْإِمَامِ

وَأَقُولُ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ يَا خَيْرَ الْأَنَامِ

عَلَيْكَ السَّلَامُ

Quddām #30 — قلبي عاشق في سيد الأبرار

IJ #23 p. 60

IM #27 p. 59

MW #24 p. 49

Bennūna #270 p. 303

Zwītin #22 p. 26

Ambīrkū #24 pp. 33-34

--- ∪ --- ∪ --- ∪ || --- ∪ ---  
 --- ∪ --- ∪ --- ∪ || ∪ --- ∪ ---  
 ∪ --- ∪ ∪ --- ∪ || --- ∪ ---  
 --- ∪ --- ∪ ---  
 --- ∪ --- ∪ ---  
 ∪ --- ∪ ---

My heart longs for the master of the pious,

and sleep is exhausting.

Tears from my eye like raindrops

flow upon my cheek.

When I am among those who visit him,

I will throw my stones (at Šayṭān)

And I see the station of the Guide, the Leader

And I say: O Messenger of Allāh, O Best of Mankind

Peace be upon you

### Annotation

الجِمار are the pebbles thrown at the three *jamarāt* pillars (understood as “devils” or شَيْاطِين, hence the translation) in Minā near the end of the Ḥajj rites, so called because they once were made of piles of stones.

Bennūna finds اَمْتٌ نَكْنُ مِنْ الزُّنَّار (!) for *ṣadr* of line 3. (I do not find زُنَّار attested anywhere, not even in Corriente.)

IM and MW give اَرَبِي and اَكْنُ for اَرَبِي and نَكْنُ.

Zwītin gives في الحد جاد ... كما الامطار and اَكْنُ for اَرَبِي; and avoids the colloquial spellings in the *qufl* with نَزَبِي جمار, and نشاهد, and ونقول.

Ambīrkū gives عاشق for عشيق ; and مَيَّت for متى ; and like Zwītin avoids the colloquial spellings in the *qufl*.

Several features place this text nearer the less-constrained end of the spectrum. Although as in many of the *tawšīḥ* texts of *Ramal al-Māya* we find *tarsī*, there is no discernable metrical pattern, also in keeping with many *tawāšīḥ*. In addition, dialectal conjugations of the first person singular ( و + prosthetic | + the ʾ of the plural) in the *qufl*, as well as loss of some final vowels, push the text further in that direction. (The reduction of a medial long vowel, as in نُكُونُ to أَكُنْ mimicking the jussive, is not unknown in classical verse but usually serves to fit the meter — which is obviously not the case here.)

Notable themes: The theme of the suffering of the lover/seeker (sleeplessness, weeping) is a typical borrowing from *ḡazal* and/or Sufi poetry in *Ramal al-Māya*. Here it is juxtaposed with an image of the Ḥajj pilgrimage, and the Prophet himself is invoked via four of his common epithets: the Guide, the Imām/Leader, the Messenger of Allāh and the best of mankind.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ḥamdān*.



القدام ٣١

توشيح مجزوالرمل دون القفل

يا مسي بالأسامي      كلها وهو المنزه      يا ضياء العين  
أنت في كل المرامي      فيك عيني تنزه      يا قر يا زين

Quddām #31 — يامسني بالاسامي

IM #26 pp. 58-59

Poet: ‘Abd al-Ġanī b. Ismā‘īl an-Nābulusī

— — — — | — — — —      — — — — | — — — —      — — — — | —  
— — — — | — — — —      — — — — | — — — —      — — — — | —

O you who are called by all the names, and are pure,      O light of my eye,  
You are in all my wishes. My eye indulges itself in you,      O moon, O beauty.

### Annotation

Neither *Dīwān al-ḥaḡā’iq wa-majmū‘ ar-raqā’iq* (1968) nor *Burj Bābil wa-šaduw al-balābil* contains these two lines.

IM notes that he has replaced here the *tawšīḥ/zajal Huwa yā mudīra l-ḥumayyā* with these two verses, seeing that 1) the words of the original *šan’a* were not appropriate to *madīḥ*, and 2) he wants to preserve these two verses. The “original” *šan’a* (a curiously constructed “*tulātīyya*”) does not appear in either D144 or Ambīrkū, but it does appear in the margins of some of the “familia al-Ḥā’ik” manuscripts and in Zwiṭin (p. 26):

على خَلْعِ العِذارِي النُّجُومِ مع الثُّرايا (؟)	يا مُدِيرَ الحَمِيما قُولُوا يا بُشْرَى مُنايا
سَيِّدِي وَأَعْطِفْ عَلَيَّ يا طَلْعَةَ	كُلُّهُمَّ سَمِلُوا عَلَيَّ في هِواكُم يا قَمَرَ
يا أَهْلالَ من (؟) البُشْرَ	سَمَسَ المُضِيّا

*They say, O master of protection, “O good news of my desire,  
the stars and the Pleiades cast off modesty.”*

*They all assemble for me in loving you, O moon,  
my master, incline to me, O rising (moon)*

*(O) brilliant sun                      O crescent moon of good news.*

If vocalized classically, the *šan’a* in IM is metrically sound, and the tripartite lines are woven together with *tarsī‘*, making this among the most constrained of all the *šanā’i‘* in *Ramal al-Māya*.

Notable themes: The imagery in this *ṣanʿa* echoes a recurring theme in *Ramal al-Māya*, that of the longing lover/seeker and his preoccupation with the beauty of the Prophet. The Prophet himself is only indirectly referenced, through his metonym borrowed from *ġazal* verse, the moon. All of this depends upon contextualized meaning (see Chapter 4 §4).



القدم ٣٢  
الطويل - شغل

ومن ذلك الوادي تَعَطَّرْتُ يا صبا  
أرى كُلَّ مُشْتاقٍ إلى المِصرِ قد صبا  
وَكَرَّرَ حَدِيثَ البانِ إنَّ حَدِيثَهُ  
يَمُرُّ على سَمْعِي لذيذاً ومُطرباً

Quddām #32 — ومن ذلك الوادي تعطرت يا صبا

IJ #24 p. 60

IM #28 p. 59

MW #25 p. 50

Bennūna #263 p. 299

Ambīrkū #25 p. 34

٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ || ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠  
 ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ || ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠

From that valley I perfumed myself, O east wind.

I see each yearning one long for the great city.

Repeat the words of the *bān*-tree, indeed his words

pass my hearing sweetly, causing rapture.

### Annotation

MW gives *تَعَطَّرْتُ* (“you perfumed yourself”) for *تَعَطَّرْتُ*. D144 gives *أَرَى* for *تَرَى* in line 1; *العشاق* for *سَمِعِي*. Zwītin has only the second line.

This *ṣanʿa* is fully constrained by the metrical and grammatical rules and licenses of classical poetic expression.

Notable themes: This poem deploys *ḡazal* imagery (the perfumed east wind - bearer of tidings of the beloved, and the *bān*-tree that symbolizes the beloved’s physique) that could not be understood as referring to the Prophet, except that the *bān*-tree is used in other *ṣanāʿiʿ* that refer more directly to him. Thus “the great city” (المصر) originally a boundary between two places, or else a large city or metropolis) here becomes Medina (where the Prophet is buried, or less likely, Mecca). This underscores the importance of context in shaping the meaning of some *ṣanāʿiʿ* in *Ramal al-Māya*, as discussed in Chapter 4 §4.

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.

زجل - شغل (MW : شغل الهزج , IM : شغل مجزوالكامل )

اللَّهُ يَفْعَلُ مَا يَشَاءُ      اللَّهُ يَحْكُمُ مَا يُرِيدُ  
مَا الْحُكْمُ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ      الْوَاحِدِ الْقَرِيبِ الْمَجِيدِ  
يَعْفُوا لِلَّهِ بِفَضْلِهِ      عَمَّنْ يَشَاءُ مِنَ الْعِيدِ  
وَمَنْ وَقَفَ لِبَابِهِ      يَسْأَلُهُ حَاشَا يَحْتَبِ  
عَسَاهُ أَنْ يَجُودَ لِي      بِزُورَةٍ إِلَى الْحَبِيبِ

## Quddām #33 — الله يفعل ما يشاء

IJ #25 p. 60

IM #29 p. 59

MW #26 p. 50

Bennūna #273 p. 305

Zwītin #15 p. 27

Ambīrkū #26 p. 34

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 --- -- | --- -- || --- -- | --- --  
 --- -- | --- -- || --- -- | --- --  
       --- -- | --- -- || --- -- | --- --  
       --- -- | --- -- || --- -- | --- --

Allāh does what he will.

Rule belongs to the Divine alone,

The Divine forgives, by His favor

Whoever stops by His door

Perhaps He is generous to me

Allāh judges as he likes.

the One, the Singular, the Glorious

whomever he will among mankind.

asks Him lest he be disappointed.

with a visit to the beloved.

**Annotation**IM, Ambīrkū and Zwītin have only the *guṣn* without the *qufl*.

MW, IM and Ambīrkū give يَفْعَلْ for يَحْكُمْ in line 1.

MW, line 4: بِبَابِهِ and لَا for حَاشَا

Ambīrkū gives إِلَّا لِلَّهِ for إِلَّا لِلَّهِ in line two.

Here again, this is الرجز (that is, مستفعلن مستفعلن but sometimes with مفاعلن or مفتعلن as variants), neither المهزج (مفاعيلن مفاعيلن) nor الكامل (مفاعلن متفاعلن). The meter is sound, but that is achieved through the loss of *irāb* from several imperfect verbs and one noun, and the loss of a final vowel from a perfect verb. This *sanʿa* is thus only moderately constrained by the rules of poetic expression.

Notable themes: The text is full of the Divine, but the Prophet appears here only in the very last hemistich, and then only obliquely as the beloved (presumably of Allāh, though given the contextualized meaning of الحبيب in the tradition, it could be the beloved of the seeker).

IJ gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.

توشیح (MW: توشیح - شغل, IM: توشیح المضارع; Bennūna: زجل )

مائُرِيدُ غَيْرَ قُرْبِكَ      فِي الْقُرْبِ وَالْبُعْدِ  
أَحْمَدُ حُبِّكَ      لَمْ يَزَلْ عَن قَصْدِي  
زُيْدُ وَاللَّهِ نَرَاكَ      تَطْفَى نِيرَانِي  
إِنِّي وَاللَّهِ أَهْوَاكَ      يَا ضِيَا الْأَعْيَانِ  
يَا مَكِيلُ يَا مُبَارَكَ      أَنْتَ هُوَ سُلْطَانِي  
يَا مَكِيلُ الْأَسْمَا      يَا قَامَةَ عَصْنِ الْبَانِ  
يَا شَفِيعُ فِي الْأُمَّةِ      بِكَ قَلْبِي وَلَهَانِ

## Quddām #34 — ما زيد غير قربك

IJ #26 p. 60

IM # 30 p. 59

MW #27 p. 50

Bennūna #327 p. 340

Zwītin #16 p. 27

Ambīrkū #27 pp. 34-35

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 - - - - -            - - - - -  
           - - - - -            - - - - -  
           - - - - -            - - - - -  
           - - - - -            - - - - -  
 - - - - -            - - - - -  
 - - - - -            - - - - -

I want only to be close to you,  
 O Muḥammad, loving you  
     I want, by Allāh, to see you  
     By Allāh, I love you,  
     O beautiful, O blessed,  
 O (you of the) beautiful names,  
 O intercessor for the *umma*,

whether near or far.  
 ever remains my aim.  
     so, my fires are extinguished.  
     O light of my eyes.  
     you are my king.  
 O upright one like a bān-tree branch.  
 my heart is besotted by you.

**Annotation**

Line 3, *طَفَنِي* > *تَطْفَنِي* : Corriente (Dictionary...) finds *تَطْفَنِي*, *نَطْفَنِي* and *تَطْفَنِي* (to go out, be extinguished, esp. by sorrow) as Andalusī colloquial in Ibn Quzmān's poetry, and the latter in Ibn 'Āsim's collection of Andalusī proverbs *Amṭāl al-āmma li-l-Andalus*.

The text contains numerous departures from constrained poetic expression: loss of *i'rāb* from several nouns and imperfect verbs, Moroccan dialect pronunciation (*ضِيَاء* > *ضِيَا* and *عَيْر* > *عَيْر*), and the use of a pronoun as copula (*أَنْتَ هُوَ سُلْطَانِي*). The metrical system is based upon the number of syllables in each hemistich (6 or 7), as is common in the strophic *ṣanā'ī* in the tradition. *Tarsī* is present throughout.

Significantly, the *maṭla'* rhyme is not repeated in the *qufl*, indicating that it is a composit text. Furthermore, no two versions are identical, which strongly underlines the role of oral processes (including performance, transmission

and rendering of oral versions in written form) in shaping the printed text. An exposition of variants is presented below.

\* *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik* versions:

Bennūna (D144):

ما نريد غير قُربك      في البُعدِ والقُربِ  
يا محمد حُبك      ما يَزُولُ عن قلبي

*O Muḥammad, loving you continues from my heart.*

أنا والله نهواك      يا ضياء الأَجفاني

... *O light of the eyes*

نريد والله نراك      تنطفي نيراني  
يا مِليح يا مطبوع      أنت هوسُطاني

*O beauty by innate nature*

يا مِليح الأَسما      يا قامة عُصن البان  
يا شفيح في الأَمّا      بك قلبي مُطمأن

... *my heart is put at ease by you.*

IM:

ما نريد غير قُربك      في البعد والقرب  
يا محمد حبك      لن يزول من قصدي

إني والله أهواك      يا ضياء أعياي  
أريد والله رؤيك      تنطفي نيراني

*I want, by Allāh, the sight of you.*

يا مِليح ما أهباك      أنت هوسُطاني

*O beauty, what is more splendid than you?*

يا مِليح الأَسْمَا      يا قامة غصن البان  
يا شفيع في الأَما      أنا بحبك ولهان  
*I am besotted by love of you*

Ambīrkū:

ما نريد غير قربك      في البعد والقرب  
يا محمد حبك      لم يزل عن قلبي  
نريد والله نهواك      يا ضيا الأَجْفان  
إني والله أهواك      يا ضيا أَعْيَانِي  
يا مِليح يا مبرور      ما أنت إلا سُلْطَانِي  
*O beauty, O blessed one what are you but my king?*

يا مِليح الأَسْمَا      يا قامة غصن البان  
يا شفيع في الأَمة      بك قلبي مُضْنَا  
...      *my heart is pining for you.*

Zwītin:

ما نريد غير قُربك في البُعد والقُرب  
إني والله نهواك يا ضيا الأَعْيَان  
يا مِليح يا مبرور أنت هو سُلْطَانِي  
يا شفيع في الأَمة  
أُحْمَدُ حُبَّكَ لَمْ يَزَلْ عَن قَلْبِي  
نُريدُ وَاللهِ وَصَلَّكَ تَتَطَنِّي نِيرَانِي  
يا مِليح الأَسْمَا يا قامة غُصْنِ البان  
بِكَ قَلْبِي مُضْنَا

\* al-jāmi'ī versions:

MW:

ما تُرِيدُ غَيْرَ قُرْبِكَ      فِي الْبُعْدِ وَالقُرْبِ  
 يا مُحَمَّدَ حُبِّكَ      لا يُرْوَلُ عَنْ قَلْبِي  
 تُرِيدُ وَاللَّهِ نِراكَ      تَتَطَفَّي نِرايَني  
 إِنِّي وَاللَّهِ أَهْواكَ      يا ضِيا أَعْياني  
 يا مَلِيحَ يا مَبْرُورَ      أَنْتَ هوسُطاني  
 يا مَلِيحَ الأَسْمَا      يا قامةَ عَصَنِ البانِ  
 يا شَفِيعَ الأُمَّةِ      بِكَ قَلْبِي مُضْنا

R1327: (#27 p. 206, poss. *zajal*)      *Belmalīḥ* (*zajal* no *taḡṭīya* p. 183)

...      عَيْرٌ ...      فِي القُرْبِ وَالْبُعْدِ ...      فِي البُعْدِ وَالقُرْبِ ...  
 ...      لَمْ يَرُلْ عَنْ قَلْبِي ...      لَمْ يَرُلْ عَنْ قَلْبِي ...  
 ...      نَهْواكَ ...      يا ضِيا أَجْفايَني ...      نَهْواكَ يا ضِيا الأَعْيانِ ...  
 ...      نَهْواكَ ...  
 ...      ما أَنْتَ إِلا سُلْطاني ...  
 ...      يا قامةَ عَصَنِ البانِ ...  
 ...      بِكَ قَلْبِ مُضْنا ...

*Piro* (*zajal* pp. 242-243)

ما تُرِيدُ غَيْرَ قُرْبِكَ      فِي القُرْبِ وَالْبُعْدِ  
 يا مُحَمَّدَ حُبِّكَ      لَمْ يَرُلْ عَنْ قَلْبِي  
 إِنِّي وَاللَّهِ نَهْواكَ      يا ضِيا أَجْفايَني

تَطْفِي نِيرَانِي	تُرِيدُ وَاللَّهِ تَرَكَ
مَا أَتَّ إِلسُلْطَانِي	يَا مَكِيلِجْ يَا مَبْرُورْ
يَا قَامَةَ عَصْنِ الْبَانْ	يَا مَكِيلِجْ الْأَسْمَا
بَلَّ قَلْبِي مُضْنِي	يَا شَفِيعْ فِي الْأُمَاتْ
◦ عَلَيْكَ أَرْجَى السَّلَامْ	يَا حَبِيبَنَا يَا مُحَمَّدْ
عَلَيْكَ السَّلَامْ	يَا شَفِيعَنَا يَا مُحَمَّدْ
عَرَّشْ عَنْ طُولِ الدَّمَامْ	يَتَوَالَى مِنَ الْإِلَهِ الْإِلْ

◦ This is the end of the following *ṣan'a* in other manuscripts and editions. *Belmalih* has only the first and third of these three lines; *R1327* and *MW* have a *ḥumāsiyya*.

Notable themes: Despite all the variants associated with this *ṣan'a*, the thematic content is quite stable and familiar to *Ramal al-Māya*. The images come unambiguously from the *ġazal* genre that has contributed so much material to this *nūba*: the longing and suffering of the lover/seeker for the beloved, and in particular, the *bān*-tree image of the beloved's physique. Muḥammad himself is referenced by name and by his familiar attribute as intercessor on behalf of the community on the Day of Judgment.

IJ gives the *ṭab'* as *ramal al-māya*.

القدام ٣٥

توشیح شغل

يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ إِنَّا  
لَنَرِي حُجْرَتَكَ الْحُسْنَآ  
يَا تُرَي نَبْلُغُ الْمُنَى  
وَنَقُولُ اشْفَعْ لَنَا  
يَا حَبِيبِنَا يَا مُحَمَّدَ  
يَا شَفِيعِنَا يَا مُحَمَّدَ  
يَتَوَالَى مِنْ إِلَهِ الْعَرْشِ  
قَد وَفَّقْنَا بِالْمَقَامِ  
يَا بَدْرَ التَّمَامِ  
وَنَرِي بَابَ السَّلَامِ  
يَا سَيِّدَ الرُّسُلِ الْكِرَامِ  
عَلَيْكَ أَرْكِي السَّلَامِ  
عَلَيْكَ أَرْكِي السَّلَامِ  
عَنْ طَوْلِ الدَّوَامِ

Quddām #35 — يارسول الله إنا

IJ #27 p. 61

IM #31 p. 60

MW #28 pp. 50-51

Zwītin #17 p. 27

Ambīrkū #28 p. 35

- - - - | - - - - || - - - - | - - - -  
 - - - - | ( - - - - ) || - - - -  
 - - - - | - - - - || - - - - | - - - -  
 - - - - | - - - - || - - - - | - - - -  
 - - - - - - - - || - - - - | - - - -  
 - - - - - - - - || - - - - | - - - -  
 - - - - | - - - - | - - - - - - - -

O Messenger of Allāh, we have stopped in the (sacred) place  
 So we may see your beautiful chamber, O full moon.  
 Do you think we will reach our desire and see the Gate of Peace,  
 And say: Intercede for us, O master of the noble prophets?  
 O our beloved, O Muḥammad, the purest blessing of peace upon you!  
 O our intercessor, O Muḥammad, the purest blessing of peace upon you!  
 It continues through all eternity from the god of the Throne.

### Annotation

MW omits line 6. Also سُؤْيِي (my wish) for الْمُنَى in line 3.

IM: Line 1 omits إنا , gives لقد . Omits line 3. Line 5: أَحْيِينَا . Likewise line 6: أَشْفِينَا .  
 Line 7 omits طُولِ .

Zwītin: Line 1 omits إنا , gives لقد . Omits line 3. Line 2 becomes line 3, with وزى  
 for لنى . Omits لنا from line 2 (ونقول اشقع) . And أَحْيِينَا for أَحْيِينَا .

Ambīrkū: Line 1 omits إنا , and gives لقد وقتت ; and سُؤْيِي (my wish) for الْمُنَى in line  
 3. *Ṣadr* of line 5: احببنا يا محمد (with this footnote: "In some of the manuscripts is  
 an extension of one line: رش على الدوام الع . يتوالى من الاله الع"). Omits lines 6 and 7.

The meter resembles الرمل (فاعلاتن فاعلاتن), though several hemistiches have an  
 extra syllable and some are short, especially the *ṣadr* of the fourth line, which

is defective in that it does not supply the final vowel for تَقُولُ that would make the imperative اَشْفَعْ pronounceable beyond the confines of Moroccan dialect, in which consonant clusters are common. Thus we find here another reminder that the anthologies of al-Āla lie relatively close to the oral processes that have informed the tradition throughout its history. In other respects, however, this text is well constrained by the rules of poetic expression, including the addition of *tarsi* used throughout the *ṣanʿa*.

Notable themes: The Prophet Muḥammad is named here and evoked through his title as Messenger and his function as intercessor on behalf of the community on the Day of Judgment. He also appears as the full moon, a recurring metonym in *Ramal al-Māya*. Offering blessings upon him is another typical theme in this *nūba*. On the Throne, see Annotation to Quddām #28. The Gate of Peace is one of the entrances to the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina.

Ij gives the *ṭabʿ* as *ramal al-māya*.



توشیح - شغل (IM: توشیح شغل المضارع)

صَلُّوا عَلَيَّ شَوْقًا	صَلُّوا عَلَيَّ الْهَادِي
الْمُصْطَفَىٰ حَقًّا	عَرَمِي وَإِرْشَادِي
مِنْ حَوْضِهِ نُسْقَى	هُوَ غَايَةُ مُرَادِي
فِي سِدَّةِ الضِّيْقَةِ	يَوْمَ يَكُونُ النَّاسُ
يَا شَافِعَ الْخَلْقَةِ	وَيُنَادُوا يَا أَحْمَدَ

Quddām #36 — صلوا على الهادي

also

Basīt #12

IJ #28 p. 61

IM #32 p. 60

MW #29 p. 51

Bennūna #14 p. 136

Zwītin #18 p. 27

Ambīrkū #29 p. 35

**Poet:** Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥalabī /Abū l-Ḥasan aš-Šuštārī

---○--- || ---○---  
 ---○--- || ---○---  
 ○○---○--- || ---○---  
 ---○---○ || ---○---  
 ○○---○--- || ---○---

Bless the Guide.

My strength, and my guidance.

He is the aim of my desire.

On the day when the people

And “O Aḥmad!” is called out.

Bless him longingly.

Truly, the Chosen One.

From his pool we are poured.

will be in the strong grip of adversity.

O intercessor for mankind!

**Annotation**

IJ spells these verses slightly differently between the two instances, using *alif* at the end of all five lines in Mīzān al-Basīt, but using *tā’ marbūṭa* for the last two lines here in al-Quddām.

IM and MW both use *alif* throughout. IM gives غَايَةً for غَايَتِي, and يُعَيِّنُوا (“they yell out”) for يُنَادُوا, and شَافِع for شَفِيع.

Final line in Zwītin: وَيُعَيِّنُوا أَحْمَدًا يَا شَفِيعَ الْخَلْقِ. The verb here is clearly a misspelling of يُعَيِّنُوا.

Ambīrkū gives يُعَيِّنُوا (“they yell out”) for يُنَادُوا, and شَافِع for شَفِيع.

IM, Ambīrkū and D144 give الضَّيِّقَةَ for العَرَقَةَ. The word عَرَقَةٌ is somewhat obscure.

Other words from the same root relate to sweat and sweating, or else to vein or root and by extension heredity or race, stock. Ambīrkū notes that “فلا يظهر لها معنى”, meaning the feminine form of the word. Footnotes in both IM and Ambīrkū refer to a *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet says: *ويلجمهم العرق إجماماً*: “The ‘araq will constrain [lit.: bridle, rein] them completely”. This is from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim (Kitāb al-Janna wa-ṣifat na’imihā wa-ahlihā #62)* wherein al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad related that the Prophet said that on the Day of Judgement:

فيكونُ الناسُ على قدرِ أعمالهم في العرقِ . فمنهم من يكونُ إلى كعبَيْهِ . ومنهم من يكونُ إلى ركبتيهِ .  
ومنهم من يكونُ إلى حقْوِيهِ . ومنهم من يُلْجِمُهُ العرقُ إجماماً .

*The people will be in al-‘araq according to their deeds. Some will be up to their ankles, and others up to their knees. Some will be up to their thighs, and some al-‘araq will constrain completely.*

Perhaps sweat is what is meant here most precisely, but adversity captures the sense of the *ṣan’ā*.

See Annotation for Basīṭ #12, as well.

IJ gives the *ṭab’* as *inqilāb ar-ramal*.



رَوَّنَقَ هَذِهِ الْعَشِيَّةَ      حَائِلٍ  
كَالذَّهَبِ عَلَى الْأَرْضِ      سَائِلٍ  
وَشُعَاعُ الشَّمْسِ غَدَا      مَائِلٍ  
عِنْدَ الْغُرُوبِ      أَرَحْتَ مُجُوبٍ  
عَلَّمْتَنِي كَيْفَ نَعَشَقُ  
مُحَمَّدَ خَيْرِ خَلْقِ اللَّهِ  
الكَرِيمِ رَبَّنَا أَعْطَاهُ  
شَفَاعَتَهُ تَحْفُ مِنْ أَوْلَاهُ  
فِي يَوْمِ الْحَشَرِ      هُوَ ضَوْءُ الْبَشَرِ  
لِلَّذِي سَكَفَتْ لَهُ      شَفَاعَتَهُ



*And the rays of the sun on the earth, slanting  
The sunset ends, lowering the veils*

Ambīrkū gives هذهي for هذه , and حايل and وحايل in line 1; and line 3 thus:

وشعاع (١) الارض مايل

The note has no referent at the bottom of the page, but Mūḥammad Dāwūd wrote الشمس in the margin.

This text is marked by loss of *i'rāb* from several nouns (مُجَدِّ، الذَّهَبُ، العُرُوبُ، et al.) and of one vowel in the perfect (سَلَفَتْ > سَلَفَبَ), as well as conversion of *hamza* to its corresponding *kursī*-consonant (حَائِلٌ > حايلٌ, et al.). Metrically there is no obvious pattern, whether classical or syllabic. Thus this *ṣan'ā* (in any case, clearly a composit text) is among the least constrained in the *nūba*.

Notable themes: IM mentions this *ṣan'ā* (with a few minor spelling changes, such as retention of *hamza*) in a footnote to *Ayyuhā r-rasūl* (Quddām #38). IJ alone gives the verses beginning with مُحَمَّدٌ خَيْرٌ خَلَقَ اللهُ. That strophe is not found in *Ramal al-Māya* in any other anthology, printed or manuscript, so one must presume that IJ added it because of its more overtly *madīḥ* character, to supplement the other, decidedly non-*madīḥ* verses. It may be, as IM suggests in his footnote, that the “original” verses here are a holdover from the period before *Ramal al-Māya* was “changed” (from *ǧazal*, as it would seem) to *madīḥ nabawī*. If so, the *nūba* in that time seems to have had something in common with the modern *Nūbat al-Māya*: images of sunset. The first half of the *ṣan'ā* belongs squarely in the genre of nature poetry, focusing upon the changing light at the time of sunset. Mention of love there seems almost an afterthought. The second half added by IJ clearly is in line with other poetry in this *nūba*: the Prophet is mentioned by name, in his attribute as the “best of mankind”, and in his function as intercessor for the community of Muslims on the Day of Judgment (but see also the Annotation to Quddām #38). On the Light of Muḥammad, see Annotation to Basīṭ #9.



القدام ٣٨  
شغل التوشيح

أيها الرسول الهادي الكريم  
لا تجر محبك في يوم عظيم

Quddām #38 — أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ

IM #33 p. 60

--o--o-- || ----o--  
 ----o-- || ----o--

O ye Messenger,  
 Do not abandon one who loves you

the Guide, the Noble One,  
 on a Mighty Day.

### Annotation

Vocalizing the text according to accepted rules and licenses shows that the metrical pattern, such as it is, is based loosely upon the number of syllables in the hemistich. In other respects, this very short text appears to be fully constrained.

Notable themes: Rather than the far more common praise or expression of love of the Prophet (invoked here through his nobility and as Messenger and Guide), this *ṣanʿa* prays for intercession on the poet's behalf on Judgment Day. IM writes that he has substituted this poem for the sunset-verses in Quddām #36 above, probably for much the same reason that IJ appended the additional verses to that *ṣanʿa*.

القدام ٣٩  
البيسط شغل

وَمَنْ تَكُنْ بِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ نُصْرَتُهُ  
إِنْ تَلَقَهُ الْأُسْدُ فِي آجَامِهَا تَجِمِ  
مَنْ يَعْتَصِمُ بِكَ يَا خَيْرَ الْوَرَى شَرْقًا  
اللَّهُ حَافِظُهُ مِنْ كُلِّ مُنْتَقِمِ

Quddām #39 — ومن تكن برسول الله نصرته

IJ #30 p. 62

IM #34 p. 62

MW #31 p. 51

Zwītin #20 p. 28

Ambīrkū #31 p. 36

Poet: al-Būṣīrī

٠ ٠ ٠ - | ٠ ٠ ٠ - | - - ٠ - | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ || - - ٠ - | - ٠ - | - - ٠ - | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠  
 - - ٠ - | ٠ ٠ ٠ - | - - ٠ - | ٠ ٠ ٠ || - - ٠ - | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠ | - - ٠ - | ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠

One whose aid is the Messenger of Allāh

if lions meet him in their woods, they are astonished.

One who is protected by you, O best of men in honor,

Allāh is his preserver from every punisher.

### Annotation

From the *Burda*, according to IJ and Bennūna, though only the first line is actually found in the that poem — line 135. See: *Dīwān*, p. 437. It is a well-known passage, as it is quoted in al-Ayyūbī, p. 355.

The text “cheats” slightly by losing an *īrāb* vowel from an imperfect verb and reducing a long medial vowel (the latter a fairly standard poetic license, especially in post-classical verse) in order to preserve the meter. There is also the matter of an imperfect verb calling for *ḍamma* rhyming at the end of the line with *kasra* (exchange of these two was not unknown in pre-classical and classical verse, but not highly esteemed). But in other respects, this is well constrained by the conventions of poetic expression — as would be expected from a text attributed to a famous poem like the *Burda*.

Notable themes: This final *ṣanʿa* of *Ramal al-Māya*, fittingly from the author of the epitome of *al-madīḥ an-nabawī*, offers a unique image: that of lions lurking in the woods to trap the unwary believer. While its original context suggested human enemies, in *Ramal al-Māya* (dominated by *ḡazal* and Sufi ideas and largely, though not completely, devoid of bellicose imagery) it would seem rather to evoke human weaknesses or sins. In any case, the believer is protected by the Prophet (as Messenger, the best of men and most honorable),

though the second line (of dubious attribution) makes clear that it is Allāh who does the actual protecting.

IJ gives the *ṭab'* as *ramal al-māya*.

## *Supplements*

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# Supplement 1: Poetic Imagery and Themes in *Ramal al-Māya*

## Supplement 1a: Images and Themes in Translation

The following table summarizes the range of themes and images found in the textual canon of al-Āla. Numbers in the chart refer to *ṣanʿa* numbers within each *mīzān*. Given that the language used in translating specific ideas frequently relies upon the translator's sense and taste, this table references ideas and concepts, rather than specific Arabic terms. For the same reason, no attempt has been made to alphabetize the entries: they are simply grouped into broad areas, within which sub-topics may be discerned. If this system is somewhat arbitrary and at times less than obvious regarding the Arabic, it has the virtue of more accurately reflecting the translations than would assuming one-to-one correlations between the Arabic and the English that do not in fact exist.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <b>1</b> References to the Prophet himself: | <b>7</b> Natural phenomena                                     |
| a his names and attributes                  | <b>8</b> Physical descriptions (whether of the Prophet or not) |
| b his functions as a prophet                | <b>9</b> Geography   |
| c his personal qualities                    | <b>10</b> Travel   |
| d the follower and his relationship to him  | <b>11</b> Celestial phenomena                                  |
| e his family and companions                 | <b>12</b> Love and love-poetry images                          |
| <b>2</b> Reference to God:                  | <b>13</b> Tribal ethos   |
| a names and attributes                      | <b>14</b> Other poetic images and themes                       |
| b His functions or acts                     |  |
| <b>3</b> Reference to text:                 |  |
| a Qurʾān and revelation as such             |  |
| b miracles attributed to the Prophet        |  |
| c images of Heaven and Hell                 |  |
| d Day of Judgement                          |  |
| <b>4</b> Other references to religion       |  |
| <b>5</b> Other prophets and holy men        |  |
| <b>6</b> Mystical references                |  |

	<i>al-Basīṭ</i>	<i>al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf</i>	<i>al-Bṭāyihī</i>	<i>ad-Darj</i>	<i>al-Quddām</i>
(1) References to the Prophet himself					
(1a) Names/attributes					31, 34
Muḥammad	6, 8, 9, 11, 23, 28	3	5, 8, 9, 10, 11	1, 4, 8, 10, 22	3, 6, 9, 11, 19, 23, 27, 28, 34, 35, 37
The Prophet	16, 17, 23, 27	9	2, 8, 10	1, 20	24
The Guide	1, 9, 10 (MW), 11, 12, 23		8, 9, 16, [17]	10	1, 11, 30, 36, 38
– guidance	7, 12	3	9		2, 7, 9, 27, 36
The Messenger	1, 2, 5, 9, 17	5, 9, 11	6, 8, 16	1, 8, 9, 13, 20, 21	1, 3, 5, 7, 12, 22, 25, 26, 30, 35, 38, 39
The Chosen (المختار, المصطفى)	1, 9, 12, 16, 22, 25	5, 9	1, 3, 4	1, 4	1, 5, 23, 24, 27, 36
– chosen by God					17
The Noble	1				1, 37, 38
Highly Praised (احمد)	1, 12	2, 3	4, 9	17	1, 5, 9, 21, 36
Intercessor	12, 20, 23, 28	2, 6, 7	1, 2	8, 10, 13, 17, 22	6, 11, 34, 36
– intercession		6			6, 7, 26, 35, 37
Ṭāhā	23, 24	12			5
The Glorified (المجدد)	1, 8, 23		3		1, 5
Ibn 'Abd Allāh	1	1			1
Abū l-Qāsim			3		
Seal of the Messengers	1		4, 9	12, X	1
Opener			4		
Guarantor (of God's mercy, etc.)					7
Master (سيد, مولى)	27		9	2, 21, X	25, 28, 29, 30, 35
(1b) Functions as a prophet					
Helper					
– of religion	7				

	<i>al-Basīṭ</i>	<i>al-Qā'im wa-Nisf</i>	<i>al-Bṭāyḥū</i>	<i>ad-Darj</i>	<i>al-Quddām</i>
– succour					5, 38, 39
Necessary for creation/ existence			5, 11	2, 21	
Sent by God					17, 19, 37
Warner					19, 20
Bearer of good tidings					19
Law giver/bearer					29
Holding dominion			8		
Urging good deeds	20				
Imām	16	6, 7	8	11, X	24, 30
Banner or lodestar (علم)	17	3		20	7, 9
Abrogator of other religions			8		
– defeater of polytheism					29
<b>(1c) Personal qualities</b>					
“Best of mankind/ creation”	1, 2, 7, 8, 10, 11, 16, 20, 24, 28	6, 7, 11, 12	1	2, 13, 22, 23	1, 3, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 30, 37
Nobility/generosity/ character/honor	1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 17, 22, 23, 28	2, 5, 7, 11	2, 8, 11	2, 7, 11, 12, 20, 22, 23	1, 11, 21, 22, 39
Pious					17, 30
Honored by God	28			22	11, 19
Beloved of God					24
Friend of God				12	
Holiness, sanctity				11	21
Merciful					17
Exalted place/level/rank		3		1, 3, 10, 13, 23	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 23, 24, 28, 30
– in the presence of God				12	
Wisdom/wise				13	
Sinless				17	31
Spirit of the eyes				12	
Spirit of the heart				12	
“Pole”				13	
Strength	12				36
Unique					28

	<i>al-Basīṭ</i>	<i>al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf</i>	<i>al-Bṭāyḥī</i>	<i>ad-Darj</i>	<i>al-Quddām</i>
Footsteps, walking					17
Treasure					7
<b>(1d) The follower and his relationship</b>					
Blessings/prayers/ greetings on Muḥammad	3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 21	10	1	2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, X	5, 8, 10, 24, 27, 28, 30, 34, 35, 36
Followers of					37
Satisfying wishes		1, 7		11	
Sympathetic	20				
Rescuing		2	10	10, 21	5, 19
Support					7
Reliance					7
Contentment, peace		3		6	9, 11, 23
Consolation, solace					18
<b>(1e) Family/companions</b>	2, 3, 21			8	5, 7 [IM], 11, 14
– wives					5
Ancestry	1, 25	6, 7	1, 4	1	1, 5
<b>(2) References to God</b>					
<b>(2a) God's names/attributes</b>					
Allāh	1, 2, 4, 5, 13	3	8, 10, 11, 12, 15	2, 4, 7, 9, 15, 21, 23, 24	1, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 14, 20, 21, 25, 26, 33, 34, 35, 39
– oath (“by Allāh”)		1, 4	8, 13	2, 9, X, 21	6, 25, 28, 34
as judge	4				33
as guide			[17]		
as merciful, compassionate			17	22	5
forgiving			18		33
preserver, deliverer	4				19, 39
mighty, Almighty, etc.			13		33
bringer of life			14		
as generous			17, 18	8	11, 33
Lord, Master	16, 17, 20	3, 5, 6	17, 18	8, 10, 20, 21	2, 5, 9, 24, 37

	<i>al-Basīṭ</i>	<i>al-Qā'im wa-Nisf</i>	<i>al-Bṭāyḥū</i>	<i>ad-Darj</i>	<i>al-Quddām</i>
answerer of prayers					24
One, singular, unique, etc.				16	33
the Divine, god	21		6	9, 11, 12, X	33, 35
sublime					11
supreme					14
<b>(2b) His functions or acts</b>					
abundance from	15				
binds and loosens			13		
Will, fate, etc.			13		11, 12
aid, help			13		
hand of			18		
glory					14
blessing from	1				14, 20, 33
does what He will					33
provision					
– provider			17		
– bounty			17		7 [MW]
first and last, beginning and end			13		
<b>(3) Reference to text</b>					
<b>(3a) Qur'ān and revelation</b>			12		14
– the Cave	23				
– light/daylight	4, 5, 7, 9, 23	3, 7	2, 11	6, 8, 13, 19, 21, 22	2, 9, 12, 21, 28, 31, 34, 37
– Night Journey				11	
– Throne					28, 35
Holy books			12		
– Word/Qur'ān/Message	1, 23				1, 14
– revelation					19
<b>(3b) Miracles</b>	6				
– splitting the moon			2		28
– clouds following	6				
– apparition	29	5			4
– no footsteps in sand					17
– stones to clay					17
– date palm inclines to					28

	<i>al-Basīṭ</i>	<i>al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf</i>	<i>al-Bṭāyḥī</i>	<i>ad-Darj</i>	<i>al-Quddām</i>
Signs, proofs			8	24	2
(3c) Images of Heaven and Hell					
Garden	3, 15			1, 8, 21	
Fountain/pool	6 (IM), 7, 12	1		8	36
Door	2, 6		15		
The Fire	20		1, 17		
(3d) The Day of Judgment, Day of Standing, Day of Gathering, etc.	6, 8, 12, 28	6, 7	1, 8, 16	1, 8, 10, 13, 21, 22, 23, 24	2, 11, 36, 37, 38
(4) Other references to religion					
Death, martyrdom			17		18
The Ḥajj		14	2		30
– الجمار		14			30
Sins and sinners	10	2		9	6, 27
– as weight/burden	20			9	
– as bondage					27
Piety				7, 11	
Prayer, bowing, prostration, الصلاة				17	11
– five					11
– fifty					11
Rite/school (مذهب)					5
Religion (as such)					5, 7
– شريعة					5, 29
– سنة					29
– فرض					29
Satan					30
(5) Other prophets, holy men					7 [MW, IM]
Adam	22				
Muḥammad = master, most noble	26, 27		9	2, 12, 21	11, 35
– having precedence over, temporal or otherwise			9	12	
– on Day of Judgment	12			8	36
– leading assembly of			8	11	

	<i>al-Basīṭ</i>	<i>al-Qā'im wa-Nisf</i>	<i>al-Bṭāyḥū</i>	<i>ad-Darj</i>	<i>al-Quddām</i>
<b>Saints</b>					
– in general	15				
– gathering/assembly	4, 11, 14			X	
<b>(6) Mystical references</b>					
<b>Radiance</b>					
	5			2	
– face	5, 16				23, 24, 28
– clothing	1				1, 5
– glory	23				2
Union, meeting, visiting	4, 15	4, 5, 9, 14	3, 12	3, 4, 5, 7, X, 17, 18	3, 23, 30, 34
Time, eternity, etc.	4, 13, 16, 17, 21	6	4, 10	12, 20, 22	5, 11, 24, 35
Intoxication, elevated state	19, 26		12		32
Mystical separation	29				4
Mystical session					24
Effacement, annihilation				X	
<b>Secret</b>					
	9			18	
– of creation			6, 11		24
– knowledge of			14		
– world					11, 29
– revelation					24
Remembrance, praise	9, 11, 23, 27	3, 10	11	8	9, 20, 25, 26, 29
– benefits the believer					26
– sweetness					26
Duality and singularity			14		
Truth, verity			16		
Inner qualities, essence				7	21
Wakefulness				3, X	
<b>Sleep</b>					
				X	30
Dreams, visions		11		15	22
Spiritual knowledge, certainty					5
Perfection					5
<b>(7) Natural phenomena</b>					
Wind, breeze				16, 18	32

	<i>al-Basīṭ</i>	<i>al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf</i>	<i>al-Bṭāyḥī</i>	<i>ad-Darj</i>	<i>al-Quddām</i>
Fire			1	3, 21	11, 34
Clouds				X	
– as bearer of news	3	11			22
– as bearer of memory	19				
– as natural phenomenon	13				
Birds (singing)	13, 16, 21				24
Flowers, plants	15, 18, 19, 21				
– gardens, verdure	19, 21				
– rose					24
– roots/branches		5			5
– leaves	16				5, 24
Gazelle	18				
Water, sea, swimming	19		11	6, 12, 15	
Rain	21				
Creatures, creation	22		16		2
Trees					
– date palm				6, 18	28
– thicket, jungle					39
The Earth, ground					4, 8, 29
The heavens, sky					8, 11, 29
Lions					39
(8) Physical descriptions					
Beauty, majesty	8, 23	6, 7, 9	8, 16	2, 5, 15, 16, 17, 23	2, 5, 8, 12, 16, 23, 31, 34
– beauty mark				15, 17	
Face	8, 16, 23, 26			6, 16, 23, 24	24, 28
– forehead				23	
– cheek	23	4		1	30
– eyes	16, 23, 24, 26		16	17, 21	5, 11, 12, 24, 30, 31, 34
– - kohl					5
– - glances				16, 19	20
Tongue				16	
Lips	29				4
Saliva					26
Ears		10			32

	<i>al-Basīṭ</i>	<i>al-Qā'im wa-Nisf</i>	<i>al-Bṭāyḥū</i>	<i>ad-Darj</i>	<i>al-Quddām</i>
<i>Bān</i> tree	18				32, 34
Physical form	23	6			
– upright stature	23				
Hand	29		18		4, 12, 26
Breast, chest, torso	23		14		
Heart	6, 18, 27	11	3, 4, 6, 11, 15, 16	1, 2, 5, 8, 15, 17, 18, 21	3, 5, 11, 16, 23, 27, 34
– as inner essence					25
Blood	18	10			5
Liver				4	
Internal organs/limbs					11
Wings		11			22
(9) Geography					
Mecca/Medina/Ṭayba	20	11	8		22, 24, 28
– the Ka'ba/Ḥaram	8, 25	4, 14		2, 15, 17	16
– – the Black Stone		14		15, 17	28
– – Zamzam	25			17	24
– the Prophet's Tomb	29	4, 5, 9		1, 4, 5, 13	35
– – grillwork					26
– – Gate of Peace					27, 35
– Wadā'	5				
– al-Baqī'					24
– Arafat				17	
Iberia					
– al-Ḥalij	19				
Arabia generally		8			
– Dārīna	19				
Iraq		1			
East and west			2		
Valley			8		32
City					32
(10) Travel	18, 25	1, 8, 13, 14	8		15, 17, 35
Distance, separation	17			20	3, 13, 27
Arrival/return	17	7		20	
(11) The Universe, celestial sphere(s)			5, 7	X	16

	<i>al-Basīṭ</i>	<i>al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf</i>	<i>al-Bṭāyḥī</i>	<i>ad-Darj</i>	<i>al-Quddām</i>
Sun	1, 5	10	7	2, 23	1, 5, 20, 21, 37
Moon	1, 4, 5, 7, 16, 18, 20, 26	6, 7, 10, 11	2, 5, 7, 14	2, 5, X, 13, 19, 23	1, 11, 16, 20, 22, 23, 24, 27, 31, 35
Stars and constellations	1, 4, 21	3			1, 5, 9, 16
Planets				21	
Darkness/night	4			3, 17, 23	2, 5, 27
Sunset, evening					37
Dawn, morning	4, 5	10	14		5
(12) Love	23, 24	1, 8, 9, 11, 12	3, 5, 6, 15	7, 9, 13, 14, 17, 21	3, 11, 22, 16, 25, 34, 38
– love-pains	9, 26			3, 5, 9, 14, 15	23
– sweetness	9				
– longing	9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 24, 27	4, 9, 11, 12		1, 2, 9, 10, 13, 20, 16	3, 24, 22, 30, 32, 36
– wasting away from	18, 26, 27				11
– sickness from				3, 5	
– rending body, flesh, etc.				4	
– sleeplessness from				3, 19	11, 25
– confusion, loss of reason from	27	9	4	3, X, 16, 18, 19	11, 34
– lovers	24	12	16	16	23
– secrets/sharing secrets				16, 18	
– desires, craving, aim	12	4, 7		2	5, 18, 23, 31, 34, 35, 36
– rubbing cheek/hair in dust		4		1	
– weeping from		9		3, X, 15, 19	11, 30
– accusations		8			
– inspiring visions		11			
– appeals to friends, neighbors		11	14	7	
– of Prophet required			15		
– captured, enslaved, charmed/enchanted by			16	6, 17	25
– emir of				3	11

	<i>al-Basīṭ</i>	<i>al-Qā'im wa-Nisf</i>	<i>al-Bṭāyḥū</i>	<i>ad-Darj</i>	<i>al-Quddām</i>
The beloved (as such)	2, 10, 27	4, 5, 8, 9	1, 18	1, 15, 16, 18	23, 33
– appeal for visit/seeing				14	34
– the beloved consents				17	
Watcher, blamer	4	11		5, 7	3, 18, 22
(13) Tribal ethos	8, 25	2, 13	18		15
– guest	15			11	
– hospitality, generosity			8 [IM, MW]	2	
– protection, sanctuary				2	15, 16, 18, 39
– justice					18
(14) Other poetic images and themes					
الساق/cup	7		12	18	
– thirst	6, 18		8, 15		
– of love	6		15	17	
“Trail the hem...”			6		
Scents, perfumes	3, 18, 19			21	20, 32
– fragrant breath					20
– amber	3				20
– musk	3, 19			21	20
Refuge/sanctuary	8, 18	2, 13	10, 18	2, 17	11, 23
Tomb/grave					4, 24
King	13, 18				34
Master/servant	2, 14, 17		3, 17	5, 20	18
Lady, mistress				15	
Captive, slave				18, 19	
Patience, forbearance			12, 13	1, 3	11, 20
Physician					27
Healing sickness, sorrows	6, 7	4	1	24	11, 27
Crown	7, 26				5, 11
Wedding/Bridegroom	6			8, 21	
Key	6				
Locks on creation	22				
Well, spring	9		16		
Fasting	17	8		20	
Oath		8			26
Jewels, jewelry	26		1		5
Speech, address	23, 26	5	6	23	26

	<i>al-Basīṭ</i>	<i>al-Qā'im wa-Niṣf</i>	<i>al-Bṭāyḥī</i>	<i>ad-Darj</i>	<i>al-Quddām</i>
– lines (of verse)			12		
– gentle speech, voice			2		
Luck, good fortune			17		24
Fortress			17		
Army					11
Sword			8		29
Restraint				7	
Discussion, argumentation				7	
News/good news	3		1 [IM]	8	19
Striving, effort, goal	12	1, 6, 8, 14		9, 20, 21	36
Kissing the ground				17	
Veil	26			23	5, 8, 37
House		4		24	14
Lamp				24	
Firebrand					2
Community					5, 11, 34
Path, way	7			1	5, 11
Success	6, 16		18, 19		24
Writing					11
Words					11
Fear	20				11, 12
Friend(s), companions					22, 24
Food, eating					25
Gold					37

### Supplement 1b: Key Themes and Images in the Arabic

The following chart provides an index of the more significant lexical items in *Ramal al-Māya*, sorted by *mīzān* and arranged alphabetically first by root and then by actual spelling. Where relevant, entries for nouns and adjectives include instances of both singular and plural forms and in some cases verbs (including derived forms) as well. This list is not exhaustive, but it does offer a broad sample of terms that suggest the thematic range and lexical usages, both formal and colloquial, in the *nūba*.

القديم	الدرج	الاباطيحي	القائم ونصف	البيسط	
١		٤٠٣		١	ابو/ آباء
١			١	١	ابن/ ابناء
٨	١٨				ارض
٣٤		١٤			اسم/ اسماء
١				١	اصل
١١٠٥				٢١٠٢	آل
١١٠٠٩٠٦٠٥٠١	١٥٠٩٠٧٠٤٠٢	١١٠١٠٠٨	٤٠٣٠١	٥٠٤٠٢٠١	الله
٢٥٠٢١٠٢٠٠١٤	٢٤٠٢٣٠٢١	١٥٠١٢			
٣٩٠٣٥٠٣٤٠٣٣٠٢٦					
	X٠١٢٠١١٠٩٠٨	٦		٢١	اله
١				١	آم
٣٤٠١١					امة
٣٠٠٢٤	X٠١١	٨	٧٠٦	١٦	امام
٢٣٠١٨٠١١	٦				امان
١١	٣				امير/ مير
٣٠٠٢٥٠٢٤	٢٣٠١٣	٦	١٢٠٦	٢٤٠١٦٠٨	انام
	٢٣٠٨				ناس/ انسان
٢٩٠٢٧٠١٤	X٠١١٠٨	٦	٥	٢٠	اهل
٢		٨			آية
٣٤٠٣٢				١٨	بان (الشجر)
	X٠١٢		٧٠٢		بحر
٢٠٠١١٠١٦	٢٣٠١٣٠٥٠٢	١٤٠٢	١٠٠٦	٨٠٧٠٥٠٤	بدر
٣٥٠٢٧٠٢٣				٢٦٠١٨٠١٧	
٣٤					مبارك
٥					"بسميات"
٢٢	٨	١	٨٠١١	٧	بشر
			١٣	١١	بشرى
٣٥٠٣٣٠٢٧		١٥		١٤٠١٣٠٦٠٢	باب
١٤	٢٤		٤		بيت
١١٠٥				٢٦٠٧	تاج
	١		٤		تراب/ ترب
٣٥٠٢٤٠١١	٢٣٠١٣	٢		١٦٠٨٠٧	تمام
				٢٦٠١٧	
٢٤٠١٠٧٠٦	٢١٠٢	١	٦	٢٣٠٥	جاه
	٢٣٠٦				جين
١١٠٢	٢٣٠١٩٠١٨	١	٦		جلي
٨	١٦				جلال/ جلالة
١١					جليل
٣٠			١٤		جمار

القديم	الدرج	الاباطيحي	القائم ونصف	البيسط	
	١٨٠١٦٠١٥		٩		جمال
		١٢٠١	٦		جميل / جميلة
	٢١٠٨٠١				جنة
٥				٢٦	جوهر / جوهرة
٢٢٠١٦٠١٤٠١١	١٢٠٥٠٤٠٣	١٥٠١٤٠٦٠٣	١٤٠١١	٢٧٠٦٠٢	حب
٣٤٠٢٧٠٢٥	٢١٠١٧٠١٣				
٣٥٠٣٣	٢١٠١٦٠١٥٠١		١٤٠٨٠٥٠٤		حبيب / حبيبة
٣٨					محب
٣٧٠٨				٢٦	حجاب
٣٢	٥				حديث
			٤		حرام
٣٥٠٢٣٠١٦٠١٢	١٧٠١٦٠٨٠٥٠٣٠٢	٨٠٥		٢٣٠١٩٠٨	حسن / حسنى
	٢٣				احسن
١١٠٦	٨	٨			احسان
٤	١٢٠X	١٢		٢٩	حضر
٣٦	٨٠٢	١٦	٥	١٢	حق
٥	١٤	١٦			حقيقة / حقائق /
					حقايق
٣٣		١٣		٤	حكم
١٠					محكم
٣٦٠٢١٠٩٠٥٠١	١٧	٩٠٤	٣٠٢	١٢٠١	احمد
٢٣٠١٩٠١١٠٩٠٦٠٣	٢٢٠١٠٠٨٠٤٠١	١١٠١٠٠٩٠٨٠٥	٣	١١٠٩٠٨٠٦	محمد
٣٧٠٣٥٠٣٤٠٢٨٠٢٧				٢٨٠٢٣	
٩	٢٤		٣		محمود
١٦٠١٥				٨	حمى
		١		٧٠٦	حوض
				٥	حيا
		١			اخبار
	١٦				مخير
١	X٠١٢	٩٠٤		١	خاتم / ختام
٣٠				٢٣	خد
٣٧٠٢	٢٣٠٢٢٠١٩٠٢			٢٣٠١٢٠١١	خلق
				٢٧٠٢٦	
	٢	١٢			خلاق
				٢٨	مخلوق
				١٤	خلوة
	١٢				خلا
		١٢		١٩	خمر
	١٧٠١٥				خال

القديم	الدرج	الاباطيحي	القائم ونصف	البيسط	
٣٠.٢٧.٢٥.٢٣.٣٠.١	٢٢.٢٠.١٣.٥.٢	١٧.٤.١	١٢.٧	١٧.١٣.٨.٧.١	خير / خيرة
٣٩.٣٧				٢٧.٢٤.٢٠	
		٤	٧		خيار
٥	٤	١		٢٧.٢٥.٩	مختار
١٢				٢٠	خوف / خيفة
٢٣					دجى
١١	X.١٩.٣		٩		دمع / دموع
١				١٩.١	دوح / ادوحة
٢٤.٢٢.١٥	٨	١٨		١٦	دار / ادارة / ديار
٢١	٦	١٤.١١	١٠	٩	ذكر
٢٧	X.٩		٢	٢٠	ذنب
		١٨		١٠	مذنب
		٦			ذيل
٣٧.٥					ذهب / ذهبان
	٥				مذهب
٣٥.٢٧	١٧.١		٤		اثرى / ياثرى
٣٧.٢٤.١١.٩.٥.٢	٢١.٢٠.١٥.٨.١	١٧	٦.٥.٣	١٧.١٦	رب / اربة
				٤	رُب
٧	١٤	١٧.٦			رحم
٥	٢٢			٢٧.٢٥	رحمن
١٧.٥		١٧			رحيم
٠.٢٢.١٩.١٧.٥.٤.١	١٣.١١.٩.٨	٩.٤.٨	١١	٢٦.٢٠.٢.١	رسول / رسل
٣٩.٣٧.٣٥.٣٠.٢٦	X.٢١.٢٠			٢٩.٢٧	
٢٧		٩		٧	رشد
	٨				رضى
١١.٥.٤.١	X.١٢			٢٩.١	روح
		٢			رام
١٣			٦	٢٦	مرام
	١٧			١٤	راحة
				١٩.١٥.٣	روض / اروضة
٢٢	٢٠		١١	١٨.١٧	ريج
٢٦					ريق
١١.١				٢.١	زكى
٢٤	١٧			٢٥	زمرم
١١	X.٢٠.١٢	٩.٤		١٧	زمان
	٢١				سبب
	١				سبيل
٢٥.٢٣	٦	١٦	١٢.٩	٢٧.٢٤	سبى
	١٨				مسي

القديم	الدرج	الاباطيحي	القائم ونصف	البيسط	
٢٤	١٨٠٨	١١٠٦		٩	سّر
١١		١٢٠٧			سطر / سطور
	١٨٠٨	١٢		٧	سقى
	٨			١٩	سكّر / سكران
	٨				سكار
١١	٢١٠٨			٢٧	سكن
٣٤		٨		١٨	سلطان
				١٥	سلم
١١٠٩	X٠٩		١٢٠٣	٢٤	سلام / سلامة
١٨					سلوة / سلوان
١١٠٨٠١	X٠٢١٠١١			٢٨٠١	سماء
٢٩					سنن
٣٥٠٣٠٠٢٩٠٢٨	X٠٢١٠١٢٠٢	٩		٢٧	سيد
٢٩		٨			سيف
٢٨					شجر
٢٩٠٥					شريعة
٢٢	٢٢		١١	٢٠	شرف
				٣	اشرف
	٢	٨	٢		مشرف / مشرفة
٣٥٠٣٤٠١١	١٧٠١٣٠٨	٢٠٩	٧٠٦٠٢	٢٣٠٢٠	شفيح
٣٦٠٦				١٢	شافع
٣٧٠٧٠٦	٢٣٠٢٢				شفاعة
			٦		مشقّع
		٨		٧	شافي
٣٧٠٢١٠٢٠٠٥٠١	٢٣٠٢	٧	١٠	٥٠١	شمس
		١٧			شهادة
١٨					شهيد
٣٦٠٢٤٠٢٢٠١٥	١٧٠١٠٠٩٠١ X٠٢١٠٢٠		١٤٠١١٠٩٠٤	١٧٠١٦٠١٢٠١١	شوق
٣٢	٢		٩		مشتاق
	٢			١٩	مشوق
				١٣	صبح
٢٠٠١٣٠١١	١	١٣٠١٢			صبر
	٣	١٣			صابر
٢٢		١٨	١١٠٧		صاح
١١٠٥		٨٠١	٦	٢١٠١١	صاحب
	٨				صحاب
٣٦٠٢٧٠٢٣	١	٤٠٣٠١	٥	٢٢٠١٢	مصطفى
		١			صلاح

القديم	الدرج	الابطايجي	القائم ونصف	البيسط	
٢٤٠٥	٢	١٠		٢١٠١٦٠١٣٠١٠٣	صلى
١٤٠٨				١٠	صلاة
	٢٠		٨	١٧	صام / صوم / صيام
	٢٣٠١٨		١٠		ضحى
٣١٠٥٠٢	٨				ضياء
٢٧					طيب
٢٥					طعام
٥			١٢	٢٤٠٢٣	طه
٢٤٠٢٢			١١	٢٠	طيبه
٢٤				١٦	طير / طيور
١	٢٠	٣	٢٠١	١٧٠٢٠١	عيد
٢٤	٦		٩	١٦٠٥٠٣	عباد
٣٣	٨			٢	عييد
١٨					عدل
		٤			عدنان
			٢	٢٥	عرب
	٢١٠٨			٦	عروس / عريس
٣٥٠٢٨				٢١	عرش
٣٥٠٢٩					عرض
(IM) ٣٦				(IM) ١٢	عرقه
٢٥٠٣	٢١٠١٧			٢٧٠٢٣	عشق
٣٠٠٢٣	X٠٥٠٤	١٦	١٢	٢٤٠١٨٠١٠	عاشق
٢٢٠١١	١٩٠١٨٠٣		١٢٠١١	٢٧٠٢٤	عقل
	٢		٧		علم
٩٠٧			٣		علم
٢٠				٣	عنبر / عنبرة
٢٣	٦			١٤	عيش
٣١٠٣٠١١	٢١	١٦		٢٦٠٢٤٠٢٣	عين
٢٠٠١٥	١٢				غدا
٢٣	X٠١٣٠٩٠٧٠٥٠٣		١٢٠٩	٢٦٠٢٤٠٢٣٠٩	غرام
٣٤٠٥	١٩				غصن
٥					غطاء
				٢٢	اغلاق
٣٦				١٢	غاية
٣٣					فرد
	٢١				فارس
٢٩٠١٤٠١١	١٧	١٥			فرض

القديم	الدرج	الابطائي	القائم ونصف	البيسط	
			٥		فزع
	٨				فضل
٢٤		١٨		١٦.٦	فلاح
١٦	X	٧.٥			فلك
			٨		قاتل
١٤					قرآن
٣٤	٢٠		١٤	٢٥.١٧	قرب
			٩		قريب
٢٨.١٠			٦	٢٣.١٧.٥	قدر
١٢		١٣			قادر
		١٣			مقادير
٣٤	٢١.٢٠.٢		١٤.٨.٦.١	٢٧.٢٦.١٧	قصد
		X.١١			مقصد
	٢١				مقصود
	١٣				قطب
٢٣.١١.٣	١٥.١٢.٨.٢.١	١٥.١١.٦.٤.٣		٢٧	قلب
٣٤.٣٠.٢٧	X.٢١.١٨.١٧				
	٥				قليب
٢٧.٣١.٢٢	X.١٩	٧	١١.٧	٢٠.٧	قمر
٣٥.٣٠.٩.٨	١٢.١٠.٥.٣.١		٣		مقام
	X.٢٣.٢١.١٧				
٣٨.٣٧	X.١٢.١١.٨	١٨.١٧.١٦	٧		كريم
٣٥.١١.١	X		٢	٢٧.٢٦.٧.١	كرام
				٢٥	كعبة
١٢					كف
١١.١				١	كلام
		١			كوثر
٥	٢١				كوكب
	١٩	٤		٢٢	كون/أكوان
	٢٣				لثام
	٢١.١٧				لماح
٢٧.٢	٦		١٣	٢١	لاح
				٥.٤	ليت
٢	X.٢٣.١٧.١١	١		١٩.٥.٤	ليل
٢٤.٥	X.١٢	١٠		٢١.١٦.١٣	ما/مادام
	٦			١٩	ماء
٣٣					محييد

القديم	الدرج	الابطايجي	القائم ونصف	البيسط	
٥٠١		٣		٢٣٠٨٠١	مجد
٢٧٠٢٥	٢١٠٨				مدح
٥	٢١				مديح
٢٠				١٩٠٣	مسك
٣٢					مصر
			٧		مضر
		١			مغفار
٢٨					مكة
٥					ملة
١٦			٩٠١	٢٧	ملاح
٣٤	٥		١		مليح
				١٣	ملوك
١٦					مُلك
٣٥٠٢٣	X٠١٥٠١٢		٤٠٥		منى / مناية / منية
	١٠				مهج
٢٦٠٢٤٠١١	X٠٢٠٠١٢٠١	١٠٠٨	٩	٢٧٠٢٣٠١٧٠١٦	ني
			٨		نجد
١٦٠١				٢١٠١	نجم / نجوم / انجم
	١٠				منجي
١٩					نخبة
	١٨٠٦				نخل
١				١	نسب
				٣	نسيم
		١٣			ناصر
		١٣			انتصر
٢٤٠٢٣٠٣		١٧٠١٣	٦٠٥	١٦	نعم
٤				٢٩	نوبة
٢٨٠٢١٠١٢٠٩	٢٣٠٦٠٢	١١٠٢	٧٠٣	٢٣٠١٥٠٧	نور
٣٤٠١١	٢١٠٣	١			نار / نيران
	٨				منار
١١	٣				نوم
٩٠٧			٣		هدى
٣٨٠٣٦٠٣٠١١٠١	١٠	١٧٠١٦٠٩٠٨		٢٣٠١٢٠٩٠١	هادي
٥	١	٤	٦		هاشم
	٢٣			٢٦	هلال
	X٠١٢				همام
٢٣٠١٦	٢١٠٢٠٠١٧٠١٤٠٢	٦٠٥٠٣		١٧	هوى
	٥٠٣		٨	٢٧٠٢٦	وجد

القديم	الدرج	الاباطيحي	القائم ونصف	البيسط	
٢٤	٢١	١٢.١١		١٦	وجود
	١		٤		وجنة
٢٨.٢٤	٢٣.١٦			٢٦.٢٣.١٦.٨	وجه
٣٣					واحد
١٩					وحي
٣٢		٨			وادي
٣٩.٢٧.٢٣.١٩	٢	١٠.٦	٦	٢٠.١٣.٣	ورى
١٣			٤	٧	وصل
٣	٢٠.١	١٥	٥		وصول
٢٣	١٨.١٧				وصال
			٤		ولوع
٣٤.١١				١٩	وله / ولهان
٢٥.٦.٥		١٨			مولى / مولى
٢٦		١٨	٢		يد
٣٨.٣٦	٢٤.١٩.١٧.٨	١٦	٨	٢٨.١٢	يوم
٢				٢٨	يوم العرض
	٢١			٦	يوم القيامة
٣٧	٢٣.٢٢	١	٦		يوم الحشر / المحشر
١١	١٣.١٠			٨	يوم الزهام
			٧		(يوم) النشور

## Supplement 2: The Poets of *Ramal al-Māya*

### Biographical Information

1. **Abū ‘Antara** [Bṭāyḥī #2]

2. **Abū Madyan** Šu‘ayb b. al-Ḥusayn al-Andalusī: b. near Seville in 509/1115 or 520/1126, d. at Tlemcen in 594/1197-8. [Basīṭ #26]

Born in al-Andalus, he traveled to Fez and studied religious sciences there. After receiving his *ḥirqa*, or Sufi vocation, in Fez, he traveled to the Middle East, where he studied the philosophy of al-Ġazzālī and may have met ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī in Mecca. Returning to North Africa, he settled in Bougie and died on a journey to Fez. He was nicknamed *al-ġawṭ* (the supreme aid) because of his spiritual accomplishments, and is known for maxims and aphorisms, as well as eight *qaṣā’id* attributed to him. Several of his doctrinal works, as well as his poetry, have been collected in Cornell (1996). He does not appear to have written any strophic poems, and none of the verses in Basīṭ #26 are found in the *qaṣā’id* published by Cornell (1996).

3. **Sīdī Aḥmad al-‘Arūsī** al-Maġribī [Basīṭ #15, 20, 21; possibly Qā’im wa-Niṣf #13]

No precise information is available on this poet’s birth or death. Al-Ayyūbī (2003, p. 73) and IM indicate that he is “*al-madfūn bi-zāwīyat al-ḥumarā’ min bilād al-maġrib al-Aqṣā*” (in Marrakech). Ben‘Abd Allāh (2001, v. 1 p. 108) indicates he was a student of a certain Sīdī Raḥāl al-Badālī (d. 949/1543), which means al-‘Arūsī probably died in the latter half of the 16th century. Some of his poetry may be found in an-Nabahānī (1996, v. 1 p. 387).

4. **Sīdī Aḥmad ‘Āšūr ar-Ribāṭī** [Darj #21]

5. **Sīdī Aḥmad al-Badawī** b. in Fez in 596/1199-1200, but moved to Mecca at a very early age. He lived in Iraq, as well, and d. in Egypt 675/1276. [Qā’im wa-Niṣf #5]

Founder of the Aḥmadiyya Sufi order and a major figure among the Sufis of Egypt. His biography may be found in the *EL2* article on him (v. 1, p. 187), as well as in *an-Nujūm az-zāhira* by Ibn Taġrībīrdī v. 7 p. 218; *Šaḍarāt ad-ḍahab* by Ibn al-‘Imād v. 5 p. 245; and *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara* by as-Suyūṭī v. 1 p. 52.

6. **al-Imām Majd ad-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Rašīd** (b. Abū Bakr al-Wā’iz?) **al-Baġdādī** al-Watarī (d. Baghdad 663/1265) [Qā’im wa-Niṣf #3; Quddām #8, 9]

According to al-Ayyūbī (p. 326) and an-Nabahānī (v. 1 pp. 242-243), he was called al-Watarī (“the Oddist”) because all his *qaṣā’id* were 21 lines in length—an odd number!

7. ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad al-Buraī (d. > 695/1297) [poss. Basīṭ #14; Darj #4]

Al-Ayyūbī (2003, p. 226) gives 803/1402 as the death date for this poet, whom Ibn Jallūn calls al-Burāī. His verses are found in several places in an-Nabahānī (1996) and Kannūn (1960). An-Nabahānī (v. 1 p. 110) calls him al-Imām ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm al-Buraī al-Yamanī. The anonymous editor of his *dīwān* offers the following biographical information:

He is as-Sayyid ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad al-Buraī al-Yamanī, the friend of Allāh and master of those who will meet Allāh (*al-‘arīf bi-llāh wa-sayyid al-wāsilīn ilā Allāh*). He hailed from the Ḥijāz and lived there as a pious, ascetic Sufi. He died near al-Madīna. Scholars agree that he died around the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century of the Hijra.

But if we return to his *dīwān*, we find that he mentions in it al-Jilānī (who died at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century of the Hijra, 581 [1186 CE]), and remonstrates against the poetry of Ibn al-Fārīd (who died in 632 of the Hijra [1233 CE]), and al-Būṣīrī (who died in 695 of the Hijra [1297 CE]), which supports the idea that he died after that. As-Sayyid Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī (d. 1205 of the Hijra [1818 CE]) says in his book, *Tāj al-‘arūs*: Among historians, the poet *al-mufallaq* ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad al-Buraī, the praise-poet of al-Mustafā [the Prophet], who had a high status in his country.

‘Umar Farūḥ in his book, *at-Taṣawwuf fī l-Islām*, considers that al-Buraī was among those who lived in the the 10<sup>th</sup> century, at least.

*Dīwān al-Buraī* is famous, for in Sufism it occupies a high place in this art. It is without doubt a great Sufi literary achievement. In it are *qaṣā’id* praising Allāh the Mighty and Sublime, praising the Prophet, asking for forgiveness, praising the family of the Prophet, expressing longing for Makka and Madīna, and so on. Among his poetry are *qaṣā’id* seeking help from the Messenger, may Allāh bless him and give him peace, poems of admonishment, and various other topics.

The poetry of al-Buraī is distinguished by flawlessness [*salāma*], skill, brilliance [*iṣrāq*], and ease of expression [*suhūla*], and it has circulated among all the levels of the Sufis, for it is poetry deserving of (warm) reception, high esteem and attention.

The *dīwān* is imbued with supplications [*al-ibtihālāt*], entreaties [*at-taḍarru‘āt*], mystic prayers [*al-munājāh*], earnest prayers [or conciliation: *isti‘āf*] and praise of the noble Prophet. And it is replete with fine images, marvellous descriptions and eloquent imagery... (1967, 299-300)

8. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd **al-Būṣīrī** (608/1211-1212—697/1299) [Quddām #39]

Al-Ayyūbī (2003, pp. 353-358) says he was born in the Egyptian village of Dalāṣ and died in Alexandria. His *Qaṣīdat al-burda* is one of three such hymns to the Prophet, and by far the most influential among the *zawāyā* of Morocco, and in the Andalusian music tradition. His *dīwān* has been published, as well as various editions of his *Burda*.

9. Abū Zayd ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Abī Saʿīd Yaḥluftan b. Aḥmad Tanfalīt **al-Fāzāzī** al-Andalusī (550/1155-627/1230) [Bṭāyḥī #9]

Al-Ayyūbī (2003, p. 51) and al-Ḥarāma (1991, pp. 7-15): he was born in Cordoba after 550 AH, and died in Marrakech in 627. He is mentioned in al-Maqqarī's *Nafḥ at-tīb*, as well.

10. aš-Šayḥ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad **al-Ḥaḍrāwī** al-Makkī aš-Šāfiʿī (1252/1836-1327/1909) [Basīt #13]

Al-Ayyūbī (2003, p. 59): He was born in Alexandria and died in Makka, and he was known for *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, history and Sufism. An important source for al-Ḥaḍrāwī is his work *Nafahāt ar-riḍā wa l-qubūl fī faḍā'il al-madīna wa-ziyārat sayyidīnā r-Rasūl* (1999).

11. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy **al-Ḥalabī** (d. 1120/1708) (1) [Basīt #6, 9, 10, 11, 12; Darj #18; Quddām #28, 36]

“Sirāj ad-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥalabī [d. 1120/1708] was, as his *ethnique* indicates, originally from Aleppo. He was born in that city, but passed the greater part of his life in Fez, where he died. Indeed, after having completed his studies in the Orient and followed principally the course of a great scholar of Basra, Muḥammad ar-Rifāʿī, al-Ḥalabī travelled to Morocco and arrived in the capital in 1080/1669-70. There, as he was a Šāfiʿī, he took no part in the discussions of law by the Malikite doctors: but he was revealed as a *littérateur* of the first order. His verses, which he composed in the manner of al-Ḥarīrī, earned him the notoriety and congratulations of the most highly reputed Moroccan scholars. He remained from that time in Fez, without dreaming of returning to his land of birth. He died there (in Fez) in Jumāda II 1120 (August 18 – September 15, 1708) and was buried outside Bāb al-F'tūḥ.

“The work of al-Ḥalabī is, above all, literary and is comprised to a large extent of panegyrics to the Prophet. But this Syrian immigrant is classified among the hagiographers of the country by a work that he consecrated to *manāqib* [“hagiography, praise of a person's good qualities”] of Idrīs II, and which is called *ad-Durr an-nafīs wa-n-nūr al-anīs fī manāqib al-imām Idrīs b. Idrīs*. [lithographed in Fez in 1300 and 1314 AH] This compilation, established following ancient Arabic sources [notice and summary: M. René Basset: *Les manuscrits arabes de deux bibliothèques de Fas* in *Bulletin de Corr. afr.* 1882 p. 366 seq.] forms the complete “gilded legend” of the founder of Fez and of his father. Perhaps al-Ḥalabī devoted himself to this work to mark his attachment to

his adopted homeland, by honoring the personage of the most illustrious of its saints. Perhaps also we must see in *ad-Durr an-naḥḥī* a proof of more of the extension that took, in reaction against the central power, the Idrisite cult at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, a development which, by a deft maneuver, the ‘Alawite sultans themselves participated in later. [It is equally at this time that the expression *al-ḥaḍra al-idrīsīyya* “the Idrīsīd capital” appeared in Moroccan literature and epigraphy, by which one always designated the city of Fez. Cf. A. Bel, *Inscriptions arabes de Fès, Journal asiatique*, 1917-1919, v. 1 Paris. p. 11] In any case, in writing this work, the foreign scholar was sure to earn the kindness of a great number of the *ṣurafā’* of the capital.”

— from E. Levi-Proveçal (1991/1922) *Les historiens des chorfas*. Casablanca: Afrique Orient. pp. 286-287. See also the article on *manāqib* by Charles Pellat in *EL2* v 6, p. 356 (Leiden: Brill, 1991) Other sources for al-Ḥalabī include *Anīs al-muṭrib*, *Iltiqāṭ ad-durar* (v. 2), and *Tārīḥ Tiṭwān* by Muḥammad Dāwūd (1962 edition, v. 3, p. 118).

12. Ḥassān b. Ṭābit b. al-Munḍir b. Harām (b. late 6th or early 7th c. CE, d. around 40/659) [Quddām #12]

A native of Yathrib—Madīna—Ḥassān was its most celebrated poet, enlisted as one of the Prophet’s official poet/propagandists. ‘Arafāt (1982) finds that probably 60-70% of his *dīwān* is falsely attributed to him, which indicates at least his importance in Arabic letters.

13. Sīdī Muḥammad Ibn ‘Alāl Mūlāy al-Quṣūr [Darj #3]

IJ (p. 54 n. 2): “Buried in the al-Quṣūr quarter of Marrakech.”

14. Ibn ‘Antar [Quddām #27]

15. Šaraf ad-Dīn Abī Ḥaḥṣ ‘Umar Abū al-Qāsim al-Miṣrī as-Sa’dī Ibn al-Fāriḍ (Cairo, 576/1181—632/1235) [Darj #7]

This Sufi studied law and *ḥadīṭ* before his conversion to the mystic path, after which he lived mostly as a solitary devotee, first near Cairo, then in the Ḥijāz, and finally in Cairo, where he died. He was the author of a number of shorter poem/songs on spiritual love, as well as *at-Tā’īyya al-kubrā*, a *qaṣīda* of over 700 verses describing the spiritual states of intoxication.

16. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa’īd b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa’īd b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb al-Salmānī (Lisān ad-Dīn Dū Wizāratayn) (b. Loja nr. Granada 713-15/1313, put to death by strangulation in Tlemcen at the end of 776/1375) [Basīṭ #4, 22, 28; Darj #2, 22; Quddām #17]

Vizier, historian, *adīb* and author of numerous *risālāt* and books. Best known as an historian of Granada and author of an anthology, *Jayš at-tawṣīḥ* [see: Stern: *Two anthologies...*, *Arabica* ii (1955) pp. 151-169]. The historian and literatus al-Maqqarī devoted his

extensive study of literary figures of al-Anadaluṣ, *Nafh at-ṭīb*, to Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb, the first half of the work setting the stage for his biography by dealing with other personalities, frequently using Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb as a source.

17. Abū Walīd Yūnus b. ʿĪsā **Ibn al-Ḥabbāz**.

Little is known of this Andalusī poet: even the note on him in Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb's *Jayš at-tawṣīḥ* does not give any real biographical information. His presence in the anthology, though, indicates that he probably died before its author (776/1375), and perhaps was his contemporary. [Qāʾim wa-Niṣf #8]

18. Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan **Ibn Masʿūd al-Yūsī** (1040/1630-31-1102/1691) [Darj #9]

*Naṣr al-maṭānī* devotes 24 pages to this scholar, poet and mystic. According to *Naṣr al-maṭānī* (v. 3 p. 202) he was a teacher of Ibn Zākūr (d. 1120/1708). H. de Castries (1924) gives the above dates for al-Yūsī and says that Mūlāy Ismāʿīl commissioned him to establish the circuit of the 7 (Arab) Saints of Marrakech to counter the 7 (Berber) Saints of Ragraḡa (an early example of ʿAlawite appropriation of maraboutism/sharīfism for state ideological purposes). Other sources for Ibn Masʿūd al-Yūsī include Levi-Provençal (1995/1922), *Chorfas...* pp. 268-272; Kannūn (1960) pp. 285-286, and his poetry in several places; P. Shinhar (1995) and BenʿAbd Allāh (2001), pp. 100-101.

19. Abū Bakr **Ibn Ṣabrīn** (d. 747/1346) [Quddām #13]

His biography is found in: *al-Iḥāṭa* v. 2 p. 239, and he is mentioned in *Nafh at-ṭīb* (Beirut, 1988) v. 5 p. 455, where two lines of verse are cited that do not appear in *Ramal al-Māya*.

20. Abū l-Abbās Aḥmad **Ibn Saʿīd al-Qayjamīsī al-Miknāsī** al-Warziḡī al-Ḥabbāk (d. 870/1465 or 872/1467) [Basīṭ #1; Qāʾim wa-Niṣf #2; Quddām #1, 2]

Sources for Ibn Saʿīd al-Miknāsī include *Durrat al-ḥijāl* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (1970, entry #123 v. 1, p. 89) and *Iḥāf iʿlām an-nās* of Ibn Zaydān (1929/1347, v. 1, p. 313-314). The former gives his death date as 772/1370, which is probably a misprint for 872/1467. The latter gives the dates 804/1402 - 870/1465 or shortly thereafter. He is described as a Sufī, poet and *littérateur* who served at various times as *imām* at the Grand Mosque in Meknes, and at the Qarwayīn and Andalusian mosques in Fez; and he taught at the Būʿināniyya madrasa in Fez.

21. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad **Ibn Zākūr** al-Fāsī al-Maḡribī (>1075/1665?—1120/1708) [composed music for Basīṭ #17]

Originating from a noted family of Fez, Ibn Zākūr was a student of Ibn Masʿūd al-Yūsī. Kannūn (1966) describes him as a *littérateur* and scholar, a poet, grammarian

and one of the most famous of Moroccan authors. Ben'Abd Allāh (v.1 p. 136) has an extensive bibliography. He also appears in *Našr al-maṭānī* (v. 3, pp. 201-204), and in Kannūn (1960, p. 313 and his poetry in several places).

22. Abū Bakr Muḥammad **Ibn Zuhr** al-Išbīlī (al-Ḥafīd) (b. Seville 504/1110-1111, d. 595/1198-99) [Basīṭ #19]

He knew the Qur'ān by heart, was trained in medicine as well as poetry, practiced archery and played chess. Born in Seville, he was called to serve the Almohad Sultan Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr, where he was poisoned by the vizier. See *El2*, v. iii p. 978-979; and *Dīwān* (ḥṣā, 1983).

23. 'Abd al-Ġanī b. Ismā'īl **an-Nābulusī** (1050/1642-1143/1731) [Quddām #31]

A Sufi of Damascus, author of numerous works, commentaries and letters, including a commentary on the poetry of Ibn al-Fāriḍ and a *dīwān*. Published works by him include *Dīwān al-ḥaqā'iq wa-majmū' ar-raqā'iq* (1968) and *Burj Bābil wa-šaduw al-balābil* (Damascus: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1988).

24. Šams ad-Dīn Muḥammad (b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. 'Uṭmān) **an-Nawājī** al-Miṣrī/al-Qāhirī (Cairo, 788/1386 – 859/1455) [Darj #15, 23]

Teacher of *aḥādīṭ*, but with strong Sufi leanings. Wrote panegyrics on high officials and compiled thematic anthologies of poetry for the upper classes of his time, including an encyclopedia on wine, *Ḥalbat al-kumayt*. See article by I. Kratschowsky in *El2* vii pp. 1039-1040. Short biography in an-Nabahānī (v. 1, p. 139).

25. 'Iyād b. Mūsā b. 'Iyād b. 'Amrūn al-Yaḥṣubī as-Sabtī al-Qāḍī (**al-Qāḍī 'Iyād**) (476/1088 – 544/1149) [possibly Qā'im wa-Niṣf #13]

Born in Sebta and trained in al-Andalus, he was an ardent and lifelong defender of Malikism; *qāḍī* of Granada under Tašufīn, and later of Sebta. Ran afoul of the Almohads for his staunch Malikī leanings. Said to have been put to death by Ibn Tūmart, though this is unlikely, since he died some 20 years after the founder of the Almohad movement. See: M. Talbi's article in *El2*, v. iv pp. 289-290. Also: al-Maqqarī at-Tilimsānī (1978).

26. aš-Šayḥ al-'Ārif aš-Šarīf **Aḥmad ar-Rifā'ī** ? Aḥmad b. 'Alī Abū l-'Abbās ar-Rifā'ī ? (b. in the Baṭā'iḥ marshlands of Iraq 500/1106 or 512/1118, d. in the same region 578/1182). [Basīṭ #29; Quddām #4]

A *dīwān* of odes is attributed to this important mystic of Iraq, wherein he claims descent from 'Alī and Fāṭima. [see: *El2* viii pp. 524-525]. Various other works attributed to him or his immediate successors contain his verses, including *al-Burhān al-mu'ayyad*. The two *šanā'ī'* attributed to him have the same two verses.

27. 'Alam ad-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad **as-Saḥāwī** (558/1163-643/1245)  
[Quddām #15]

A *madīḥ* poet of Damascus. According to Ibn Ḥallikān (*Wafayāt al-a'yān* (Cairo, 1948) v. 3 pp. 340-341), he was born in the village of Saḥā in the west of Egypt in 558/1163 and studied *qirā'a*, grammar and linguistics in Egypt with several teachers, supposedly including al-Būṣīrī (who would have been a younger contemporary). Ibn Ḥallikān saw him with a large following in Damascus, where he died. Biographical material on him also may be found in: *Inbāh ar-ruwāh 'alā anbah an-najāh* of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Qiftī (Cairo/Beirut, 1986) v. 2 p. 311; and *Šadarāt aḍ-ḍahab fī aḥbār min ḍahab* of Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥalabī (Beirut, n.d.) v. 5 p. 223.

28. Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Numayrī aš-Šuštārī (d. 667/1269) [poss. Basīṭ #12, 14, 17; Bṭāyḥī #7, 11, 12, 13, 14; Darj #20]

Born near Guadix (Granada), he traveled across North Africa and Egypt, where he was buried. In addition to the article on him in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, there is his *dīwān*, which has been edited and published by Naššār, plus a partial edition/Spanish translation by Corriente (1988).

## Centuries and Regions

(Not present for lack of data: *Abū 'Antara*, *Ibn 'Antar*, *Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Alāl (Mūlay al-Quṣūr)*, *Sīdī Aḥmad 'Āšūr ar-Ribāṭī*.)

Poet	Century	Region		
		al-Andalus	Mağrib	Mašriq
	1 <sup>st</sup> /7 <sup>th</sup>			
Ḥassān b. Tābit (d. around 40/660)		—	—	al-Ḥijāz
	6 <sup>th</sup> /12 <sup>th</sup>			
al-Qāḍī 'Iyād (476/1088 – 544/1149)		d. Granada	b. Sebta	
Ibn Zuhr (544/1149)		Seville	—	—
Aḥmad ar-Rifā'ī (578/1182)		—	—	Iraq
Abū Madyan (594/1197)		b. Seville	Fez, d. Bougie	
	7 <sup>th</sup> /13 <sup>th</sup>			
al-Fāzāzī (627/1230)		b. Cordoba	d. Marrakech	
as-Saḥāwī (643/1245)		—	—	d. Damascus
al-Bağdādī al-Watarī (663/1265)		—	—	Baghdad
aš-Šuštārī (667/1269)		b. Guadix	—	d. Egypt
al-Badawī (675/1276)		b. Fez	—	
al-Būšīrī (697/1299)		—	—	d. Egypt
	8 <sup>th</sup> /14 <sup>th</sup>			
Ibn Šabrīn (d. 747/1346)				
Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb (776/1375)		b. Loja	d. Tlemcen	—
Ibn al-Ḥabbāz (14 <sup>th</sup> c?)		al-Andalus?	—	—
al-Bura'ī (> 695/1297, poss. 803/1401)		—	—	al-Ḥijāz
	9 <sup>th</sup> /15 <sup>th</sup>			
an-Nāwājī (859/1455)		—	—	Egypt
Ibn Sa'īd al-Miknāsī (870/1465 or 872/1467)		—	Meknes/Fez	
	10 <sup>th</sup> /16 <sup>th</sup>			
al-'Arūsī (latter half of 10th/16 <sup>th</sup> c.)		—	Marrakech	—
	11 <sup>th</sup> /17 <sup>th</sup>			
Ibn Mas'ūd al-Yūsī (1102/1691)		—	Marrakech	—

Poet	Century		
	al-Andalus	Mağrib	Mašriq
	11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> /17 <sup>th</sup> -18 <sup>th</sup>		
al-Ḥalabī (1120/1708)	—	d. Fez	b. Aleppo
Ibn Zākūr (1120/1708)	—	Fez	—
an-Nābulusī (1642-1731)	—	—	Damascus
	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> /19 <sup>th</sup> -20 <sup>th</sup>		
al-Ḥadrāwī (1327/1909)	—	—	d. Mecca

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## *Appendices*

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# Appendix 1

## A Glossary of Arabic Technical Terms Used in the Moroccan Andalusian Music Tradition

Names of instruments, and musical and poetic and structural terms are given here according to their current usage in Fez. This glossary is intended to be used as a quick reference. For most nouns, the singular is given, followed by the plural in parentheses. In many cases detailed explanations may be found in the text. Most of these terms come from formal Arabic; expressions from Moroccan colloquial Arabic are marked MA, and the formal Arabic equivalents are given.

*ʿajuz* : The second of the two hemistiches of a line of classically-formed Arabic verse.

*al-Āla* : one of the names for the Andalusian music in Morocco; signifies that the music is played on instruments (*āla*), as distinct from the a cappella *samāʿ* (q.v.).

*barwala* (*barāwil*) : a North African poetic form composed in Moroccan colloquial Arabic, and found chiefly (but not exclusively) in *mīzān ad-darj* (q.v. *mīzān*).

*al-basīṭ* : an *īqāʿ* (q.v.) in duple meter characteristic of the first *mīzān* (q.v.) of the *nūba* (q.v.).

*baytayn* : a vocal interlude, without tempo, in which the singer improvises freely on two lines of verse; may appear at any point in a performance, though it is not obligatory.

*al-bṭayḥī* (MA, > *ibṭāʾihī*) : an *īqāʿ* (q.v.) in triple meter characteristic of the third *mīzān* (q.v.) of the *nūba* (q.v.).

*buġya* (*buġayāt*) : an introductory instrumental passage with a fixed melody that is played without tempo and outlines the primary *ṭabʿ* (q.v.) of a *nūba* (q.v.); each *nūba* thus has its own *buġya*.

*darbūka* : a vase-shaped hand drum from the Middle East.

*ad-darj* : an *īqāʿ* (q.v.) in duple meter characteristic of the fourth *mīzān* (q.v.) of the *nūba* (q.v.).

*dawr* (*adwār*) : 1. a “turn” or repetition of the principal melodic phrase of a *ṣanʿa* (q.v.); 2. a strophe of a *muwašṣaḥ* [ital.] (q.v.) or a *zajal* [ital.] (q.v.).

*farqa* (MA, > *firqa*; pl. *firaq*, *farqāt*) : a small ensemble of between three and seven musicians.

*ğuşn* (*ağşān*) : the main body of a *muwaššah*/*tawših* (q.v.) or *zajal* (q.v.) strophe whose rhyme scheme varies from strophe to strophe.

*hamdān* : one of the three “secondary” *ṭubūʿ* (q.v. *ṭabʿ*) that appear in *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya* (q.v.).

*harja* : in Arab-Andalusi poetry, the closing two lines of the final strophe of a *muwaššah* (q.v.); may be composed in colloquial Arabic, Romance or Hebrew. None of the *muwaššahāt* present in the Moroccan Andalusian music has a non-Arabic *harja*.

*humāsiyya* : a five-line strophic song with varying rhyme schemes.

*al-ḥusayn* : one of the three “secondary” *ṭubūʿ* (q.v. *ṭabʿ*) that appear in *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya* (q.v.); (cap.) a *nūba* (q.v.) based upon this *ṭabʿ* in the Dāwūdiyya 144 manuscript.

*inqilāb al-ramal* : one of the three “secondary” *ṭubūʿ* (q.v. *ṭabʿ*) that appear in *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya*; said to be derived from the *ṭabʿ al-māya*.

*inšād* : a vocal interlude, without tempo, in which the singer elaborates on a fixed melody and text; may appear at any point in a performance, but often used to separate two *marāḥil al-mīzān* (q.v.).

*al-inširāf* : the third and fastest of the three *marāḥil al-mīzān* (q.v.); tradition-

ally the climax of a *mīzān* (q.v.), but nowadays may be performed on its own.

*īqāʿ* (*īqāʿāt*) : a fundamental rhythmic pattern associated with a specific *mīzān* (q.v.); the five *īqāʿāt* used today in Morocco are *al-basīṭ*, *al-qāʿim wa-nisf*, *al-bṭayhī*, *ad-darj* and *al-quddām*; may be in either duple (4 or 8) or triple (3 or 6) meter.

*al-istihlāl* : 1. (cap.) the fifth *nūba* (q.v.) in *al-Āla*, according to the modern order; the *ṭabʿ* (q.v.) associated with this *nūba*.

*jawq* (*ajwāq*) : an orchestra, especially an Andalusian music orchestra, numbering from seven to 20 musicians.

*kamānja* : a violin played resting vertically on the left knee, since the 19<sup>th</sup> century one of the standard instruments in Andalusian music ensembles.

*al-madiḥ* : 1. praise poetry generally, and specifically of the Prophet Muḥammad, concentrated in but not exclusive to *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya* (q.v.); 2. (cap.) an a cappella style of music found among certain Sufi brotherhoods, related modally, rhythmically and textually to *al-Āla* (q.v.); sometimes used synonymously or in conjunction with *as-Samāʿ* (q.v.).

*maṭlaʿ* : 1. the opening line of a poem, used to identify it; 2. more particularly, the first one or two lines of a “complete” *muwaššah* (q.v.) or *zajal* (q.v.) that bears the repeating rhyme.

*marāḥil al-mīzān* (s. *marḥalat al-mīzān*): the three “stages” of a *mīzān* performance—*al-muwassaʿ*, *al-qanṭara* and *al-inṣirāf* (q.v.)—arranged according to increasing tempo.

*mīzān* (*mayāzīn*, MA > *mawāzīn*) : a “movement” within a *nūba* (q.v.), distinguished by and named for one of the *īqāʿāt* (q.v. *īqāʿ*); the five *mayāzīn*, in order, are: *al-Basīṭ*, *al-Qāʿim wa-Niṣf*, *al-Bṭayḥī*, *ad-Darj*, *al-Quddām* (q.v.).

*muʿallim* (pl. *muʿallimūn*) : the highest and most respected level of mastery in the Moroccan Andalusian music: an orchestra leader who teaches the fine points of the tradition, having arrived at a deep knowledge of it under the tutelage of a master from the previous generation.

*muwassaʿ al-mīzān* : the first and slowest of the *marāḥil al-mīzān* (q.v.).

*muwašṣaḥ(a)* (*muwašṣaḥāt*) : a form of Arab-Andalusī poetry, strophic and characterized by a varying rhyme scheme and sometimes a varying metrical pattern; composed in Classical Arabic, but may have a non-Arabic *ḥarja* (q.v.). Sometimes used synonymously with *tawṣīḥ* (q.v.).

*an-našīd* : a movement in the 13<sup>th</sup>-century *nawba* of al-Andalus, according to at-Tifāṣī, comprising an instrumental prelude followed by vocal and instrumental music.

*nūba*, (MA, > *nawba*) (*nūbāt*) : the chief structural form of the Moroccan Andalusian music: a suite of songs and instrumental interludes theoretically characterized by modal and poetic-thematic unity; typically composed of five *mayāzīn* (q.v. *mīzān*), each having a specific rhythmic pattern. There are at present 11 *nūbāt* in the Moroccan Andalusian music tradition: *Ramal al-Māya* (q.v.), *al-Iṣbahān*, *al-Māya*, *Raṣd aḍ-Dīl*, *al-Istihlāl* (q.v.), *ar-Raṣd*, *Ġarībat al-Ḥusayn*, *al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr*, *al-Ḥijāz al-Mašriqī*, *ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam* and *al-Uṣṣāq*.

*al-qāʿim wa-niṣf* : an *īqāʿ* (q.v.) in duple meter characteristic of the second *mīzān* (q.v.) of a *nūba* (q.v.).

*al-qanṭara* : the “bridge,” the second of the three *marāḥil al-mīzān* (q.v.), performed in a moderate tempo.

*qānūn* : a zither of Turkish origin (and usually of Turkish or Egyptian manufacture) having 36 strings; it has become practically a standard instrument in the larger Andalusian ensembles.

*qaṣīda*, *qaṣīd* (*qaṣāʿīd*) : the most highly developed form of Arabic poem, monorhymed and monometric, non-strophic but with a polythematic structure.

*al-quddām* : an *īqāʿ* (q.v.) in duple meter characteristic of the fifth *mīzān* (q.v.) of a *nūba* (q.v.).

*Quddām Bawākir al-Māya* : one of two *muwāyẓīn* (q.v. *mīzān*) that do not belong to a *nūba* (q.v.), recently assembled from “orphan” *ṣanāʿīʿ* (q.v. *ṣanʿa*) whose original *nūbāt* have been lost.

*al-Quddām al-Jadīd* : see *Quddām Bawākir al-Māya*.

*qufl* (*aqfāl*) : the line or lines of a *muwašṣaḥ/tawšīḥ* (q.v.) or *zajal* (q.v.) following the *ḡuṣn* (q.v.) that bear the repeating rhyme.

*rabāb* : a two-stringed, boat-shaped rebec characteristic, even emblematic, of the Moroccan Andalusian music.

*raʿīs* (also MA *rāyīs*) (*ruʿasāʿ*) : the “chief,” or leader, of a *jawq* (q.v.).

*ramal al-māya* : (cap.) the first *nūba* (q.v.) in the modern canonical arrangement, devoted thematically to religion and praise of the Prophet Muḥammad and comprising the *ṭubūʿ* (q.v. *ṭabʿ*) *ramal al-māya*, *inqilāb ar-ramal*, *al-huṣayn* and *ḥamdān*.

*rubāʿīyya* : a four-line strophic song with varying rhyme scheme.

*ṣadr* : the first of the two hemistiches of a classically-formed line of Arabic verse.

*as-Samāʿ* : Sufi music related modally, rhythmically and textually to *al-Āla*, but typically performed a cappella; often used synonymously or in conjunction with *al-Madīḥ* (q.v.).

*ṣanʿa* (*ṣanāʿīʿ* or sometimes *ṣanacāt*): in general 1. a song with both a specific rhythm and melody, as distinct from *tūšīya* and *buḡya* (which are instrumental only), *bayṭayn* (which is vocal, improvised and untimed) and *inšād* (which is untimed but with fixed melody and text); or in the special sense here of 2. any song that is not *ṣuḡl*, *tawšīḥ*, *zajal* or *barwala*.

*ṣawt* : a song; a movement in the 13th-century *nawba* of al-Andalus, according to at-Tīfāšī, comprising vocal and instrumental music without an instrumental prelude.

*subāʿīyya* : a seven-line strophic song with varying rhyme scheme.

*sudāsīyya* : a six-line strophic song with varying rhyme scheme.

*ṣuḡl* (*ašḡāl*) : 1. in *Kunnāš al-Ḥāʾik*: a non-strophic *ṣanʿa* (q.v.); more commonly today, 2. any *ṣanʿa* which contains *taraṭīn* (q.v.).

*ṭabʿ* (*ṭubūʿ*) : a musical mode, analogous to a *maqām* in the Middle East; characterizes a specific *nūba* (q.v.); Moroccan musicians recognize 25 primary and secondary *ṭubūʿ*: *ramal al-māya*, *inqilāb ar-ramal*, *ḥamdān*, *al-huṣayn*, *al-iṣbahān*, *az-zawarkind*, *al-māya*, *raṣd aḍ-dīl*, *as-sīka* [also *aṣ-ṣīka*], *al-istihlāl*, *ʿIrāq al-ʿarab*, *ar-raṣd* [also known as *raʿs al-māya* or *raṣd al-māya*] *al-ḥuṣār*, *al-mazmūm*, *az-zaydān*, *ḡarībat al-huṣayn*, *al-muḥarrara*, *al-ḥijāz al-kabūr*, *al-mašriqī aṣ-ṣaḡūr*, *mujannab aḍ-dīl*, *al-ḥijāz al-*

*mašriqī*, *al-ʿIrāq al-ʿajam*, *al-ʿuṣṣāq*, *ad-dīl*  
and *ramal ad-dīl*

*taġtiya* : the second or alternate melody in a strophic *ṣanʿa*, usually corresponding to the first line of the *qufl* of the text.

*ṭār* : a small frame drum with cymbals embedded in the frame; one of the oldest percussion instruments used in the Andalusian music tradition.

*aṭ-ṭarab al-andalusī* : one of the names for the Andalusian music in Morocco; emphasizes the music's emotional and therapeutic effects.

*tarāṭīn* : (>*raṭana* = to speak gibberish, to speak unintelligibly) nonsense syllables, such as *ha-na-nā* and *ṭāy-ṭiri-rāy*, which are part of the textual and melodic structure of a *šujl* (q.v.); synonymous with the Middle Eastern term, *tarannum*.

*tawšīḥ* (*tawāšīḥ*) : 1. a *ṣanʿa* (q.v.) whose structure resembles a *muwašṣaḥ* (q.v.), usually poly-rhymed and often poly-metric, and composed in Classical Arabic but

without *ḥarja* (q.v.), or 2. a *ṣanʿa* whose text has been assembled from more than one source, typically poly-rhymed and often poly-metric and therefore similar to a *muwašṣaḥ*.

*tūšiya* (*tawāšī*) : an instrumental interlude within the context of a *mīzān* (q.v.); a *tūšiya* always follows *buġya* (q.v.) at the beginning of a *mīzān* performance; other *tawāšī* may be found within the *mīzān*, occasionally even interpolated into the middle of a *ṣanʿa* (q.v.).

*ʿūd* : the Arabic lute; today, the Middle Eastern version with 9 or 10 paired strings is a standard instrument in an Andalusian Music ensemble.

*zajal* (*azjāl*) : 1. a type of Arab-Andalusian poem, similar to the *muwašṣaḥ* (q.v.) (strophic, poly-metric and poly-rhymed), but composed in Andalusian colloquial Arabic and lacking a non-Arabic *ḥarja* (q.v.), 2. a *ṣanʿa* (q.v.) whose text is composed in Andalusian colloquial Arabic and possibly derived from an Andalusian *zajal*.

## Appendix 2

A Summary of *Ṭubūʿ* associated with each *nūba* (following ar-Rāyis, 1982, and Guettat, 2000)

<i>Nūba</i>	<i>Ṭubūʿ</i>	<i>Associations</i>
<i>Ramal al-Māya</i>	<i>ramal al-māya</i> <i>inqilāb ar-ramal</i> <i>ḥamdān</i> <i>al-ḥusayn</i>	midnight
<i>al-Iṣbahān</i>	<i>al-iṣbahān</i> <i>az-zawarkind</i>	nighttime
<i>al-Māya</i>	<i>al-māya</i>	sunset, blood
<i>Raṣd al-Dīl</i>	<i>raṣd aḍ-ḍīl</i> <i>as-sīka / aṣ-ṣīka</i>	midnight
<i>al-Istihlāl</i>	<i>al-istihlāl</i> <i>ʿIrāq al-ʿarab</i>	morning
<i>al-Raṣd</i>	<i>ar-raṣd</i> (aka <i>raʿs al-māya</i> or <i>raṣd al-māya</i> ) <i>al-ḥuṣār</i> <i>al-mazmūm</i> <i>az-zaydān</i>	morning
<i>Ġaribat al-Ḥusayn</i>	<i>ġaribat al-ḥusayn</i> <i>al-muḥarrara</i> <i>as-sīka / aṣ-ṣīka</i>	midday
<i>al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr</i>	<i>al-ḥijāz al-kabīr</i> <i>al-mašriqī aṣ-ṣaġīr</i> <i>muġannab aḍ-ḍīl</i> <i>az-zawarkind</i>	evening
<i>al-Ḥijāz al-Mašriqī</i>	<i>al-ḥijāz al-mašriqī</i>	morning
<i>al-ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam</i>	<i>al-ʿIrāq al-ʿajam</i>	morning
<i>al-ʿUṣṣāq</i>	<i>al-ʿuṣṣāq</i> <i>aḍ-ḍīl</i> <i>ramal aḍ-ḍīl</i>	pre-dawn

## Appendix 3

### A Summary of Published Editions of the Modern Canon and Known Manuscripts of *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik* and the al-Jāmi'ī Corpus

#### A. Published Editions:

- 1) *Majmū'at al-Aġānī al-mūsīqīyya al-andalusīyya al-ma'rūfa bi-l-Ḥā'ik*. (1353/1934-35) Ambīrkū al-Makkī ed. Rabat: al-Maṭba' al-Iqtišādiyya. A partial rendering of the *Kunnāš* covering six *nūbāt* not presented in the modern canonical order. Copies are owned by the Dāwūdiyya Library in Tetuan (cat. #146), and by the Jam'iyya Hawāt al-Mūsīqā al-Andalusīyya al-Maġribīyya in Casablanca.
- 2) *Majmū'at al-Ḥā'ik li-ṭ-ṭarab al-andalusī*. (1972) al-Faqīh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan Zwītin ed. Covers all eleven *nūbāt*, though not presented in the modern canonical order. Photo-reproduction located in Dār al-Rašīd in Casablanca.
- 3) *Majmū' azjāl wa tawāšīḥ wa aš'ār al-mūsīqīyya al-andalusīyya al-maġribīyya (al-ma'rūf bi-l-Ḥā'ik)*. (1397/1977) 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibn Maṣṣūr. Presents all eleven *nūbāt* in the canonical order.
- 4) *At-turāt al-'arabī al-maġribī fi al-mūsīqā : musta'malāt nūbāt aṭ-ṭarab al-andalusī al-maġribī : šī'r, tawāšīḥ, azjāl, barāwil—dirāsa wa-tansīq wa-taṣḥīḥ Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*. (1979). Ḥājj Idrīs Ibn Jallūn Tuwaymī ed. Presents all eleven *nūbāt* in the canonical order.
- 5) *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik* (1981) Limited fascimile edition of 1000 copies of a manuscript owned by al-Ḥājj 'Abd as-Salām ar-Raqīwaq of Tangerang, published by Jam'iyyat Hawāt al-Mūsīqā al-Andalusīyya in Tangerang.
- 6) *Min waḥy al-rabāb* (1982). 'Abd al-Karīm al-Rāyīs ed. The al-Jāmi'ī corpus, supplemented by “notebooks” at the editor's disposal. Presents all eleven *nūbāt* in the canonical order.
- 7) *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*. (1999) Mālik Bennūna ed. Fully annotated edition of the manuscript Dāwūdiyya #144 owned by the Dāwūdiyya Library in Tetuan.
- 8) *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*. (2003) Manuela Cortés García ed. Facsimile of a manuscript copied in 1931 in Tetuan for Fernando Valderrama Martínez, original now lost. Online: [en.calameo.com/read/002149848019a1b9a0ddb](http://en.calameo.com/read/002149848019a1b9a0ddb).

## B. Manuscripts and Their Provenances

(members of Cortés García's "familia *al-Hā'ik*" are marked with a superscript *f*)

- 1) "*Kunnāš*" in the hand of Prof. Muḥammad Bennūna, containing selections of al-Āla and *malḥūn* songs; cited in 1999 edition of *Kunnāš*, p. 25; owned by Malik Bennūna. Undated.
- 2) *al-Hā'ik*—("Raysūnī") Manuscript in the library of the ar-Raysūnī family of Chefchaouen (photocopy donated to Bennūna for use in his 1999 edition: see pp. 17, 19 fn.); no date indicated by Bennūna. Bennūna indicates this is the source for #21 ("*Bennīs*"), below.
- 3)<sup>f</sup> *Kunnāš al-Hā'ik*—("Raḳīwāq") Manuscript owned by al-Ḥājj 'Abd as-Salām ar-Raḳīwāq of Tangerang (copy donated to Bennūna for use in his 1999 edition, see p. 17); copied 1325/1907. Published in 1981 in a facsimile edition of 1000 copies by Jam'iyat Hawāt al-Mūsīqā al-Andalusīyya in Tangerang. (see A #5 above)
- 4) *Muqaddimat al-Hā'ik*—Manuscript #536, Manuscript section, al-Ḥizāna al-Āma, Tetuan, containing only the introduction to the anthology. Undated.
- 5)<sup>f</sup> *Kunnāš al-Hā'ik*—("Valderrama") Copy of a manuscript executed in 1350/1931 for Fernando Valderrama Martínez by as-Sayyid Muḥammad Būcasal (original now lost, facsimile published in 2003; see A #8 above).
- 6)<sup>f</sup> *Kunnāš al-Hā'ik*—Manuscript #10415 in the library of Sīdī 'Abd Allāh Kannūn in Tangerang, donated by al-'Arabī al-Wazzānī (Cortés García 1995, pp. 48/78; 2003 p. 23). Undated.
- 7)<sup>f</sup> *Kunnāš al-Hā'ik*—Manuscript deposited in the library of Sīdī 'Abd Allāh Kannūn in Tangerang, dated 1325/1907; possibly a copy of #3 above (Cortés García 1995, p. 48).
- 8) *Kunnāš al-Hā'ik*—("Wazzānī") Copy of a manuscript given to Sīdī Muḥammad ar-Raysūnī by al-'Arabī al-Wazzānī. Undated. Possibly the same as #6 above.
- 9) *Kunnāš al-Hā'ik*—Recent copy, undated, owned by the Šawdrī family of Tetuan (Cortés García 1995, p. 78).
- 10) *al-Hā'ik*—("Leiden") Leiden Universiteits Bibliotheek Or. 14100, National Library, Leiden, Holland.(Shiloah # 066; Bennūna, p. 17); undated.

- 11) *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*—("London") British Library, London Or. 13235 (Shiloah #067); undated.
- 12)<sup>f</sup> *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*—Manuscript #11292 ج at the Bibliotheque Hassaniyya in Rabat (Cortés García, 1995 pp. 48/77, 2003 p. 22); copied 1353/1935.
- 13) *Kunnāš fī al-mūsīqā al-andalusīyya*—Manuscript #45 ج at the Bibliotheque Générale in Rabat (Cortés García, 2003 p. 23); copied 1329/1911.
- 14) *al-Ḥā'ik fī ṭ-ṭarab al-andalusī*—Manuscript #858 ج at the Bibliotheque Générale in Rabat; a copy also deposited at the Royal Academy in Rabat (#1750/1); undated. (Cortés García, 1995, p. 72).
- 15) *al-Ḥā'ik fī al-mūsīqā*—Manuscript #101 ج at the Bibliotheque Générale in Rabat; date uncertain, but Cortés García speculates 11th century of the Hijra (see the description in 1995 p. 73 n. 148).
- 16) *al-Ḥā'ik fī 'ilm al-mūsīqā*—Manuscript #3376 د at the Bibliotheque Générale in Rabat; undated. Copied by Aḥmad al-Hamiyānī (Cortés García, 1995 p. 73).
- 17)<sup>f</sup> *al-Ḥā'ik*—Manuscript #8 at the Bibliotheque Générale in Rabat; recent but undated copy (Cortés García 1995, p. 77).
- 18) *al-Ḥā'ik fī l-ālāt al-andalusīyya*—Copy of #16 above made by al-Kittānī, deposited at the Royal Academy in Rabat (ms. #1752), dated 1331/1913.
- 19) *al-Ḥā'ik*—Manuscript #1751 at the Royal Academy in Rabat; dated 1404/1983.
- 20) *al-Ḥā'ik*—("Bennīs") Manuscript owned by the *wazīr* 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Bennīs; #4598 at the Royal Academy in Rabat. Copied by Ibn Maṣṣūr (copy donated to Bennūna for use in his 1999 edition: see pp. 17, 25; see also Cortés García 1995, p. 76). Undated. Bennūna indicates that this is a copy of #2 ("*Raysūnī*"), above, though without *muqaddima* and missing two *nūbāt* from the beginning.
- 21)<sup>f</sup> *al-Ḥā'ik*—Manuscript #943, 3 volumes, at the Royal Academy in Rabat; owned by Muḥammad al-Fāsī; copy dated 1907.
- 22) *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*—("D144") Manuscript #144 from the collection of the late Tetuani historian, Muḥammad Dāwūd, now deposited at his private library, al-Ḥizāna ad-Dāwūdiyya in Tetuan (subject of Bennūna edition, 1999); dated 1202/1788.

- 23) *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*—Manuscript #145 from the collection of the late Tetuani historian, Muḥammad Dāwūd, now deposited at his private library, al-Ḥizāna ad-Dāwūdiyya in Tetuan; undated. (Cortés García 1995, p. 75).
- 24) *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*—Manuscript #146, al-Ḥizāna ad-Dāwūdiyya in Tetuan. This is a supplement written out by the late Tetuani historian, Muḥammad Dāwūd, attached to his copy of the Ambīrkū edition (see A #1 above), containing the remaining five *nūbāt* not published by Ambīrkū.
- 25-26) *Kunnāš al-Ḥā'ik*—Manuscripts #147 and 179, al-Ḥizāna ad-Dāwūdiyya in Tetuan. Two copies of the same manuscript; undated; #147 contains 20 pages of *muqaddima* only; #179 in very deteriorated state. (Cortés García 1995, p; 76).
- 27) *Kunnāš al-Jāmi'ī* —(“R1327”) Manuscript #1327 at the Bibliotheque Générale, Rabat; dated 1330/1912.
- 28) *Kunnāš al-Jāmi'ī* —(“Piro”) Manuscript owned by Aḥmad Piro of Rabat; dated 1329/1911.
- 29) *Kunnāš al-Jāmi'ī* —(“Belmalīḥ”) Manuscript owned by Jam'iyyat Hawāt al-Mūsīqā al-Andalusiyya in Casablanca, donated to the Museum of Andalusian Music, Casablanca, by al-Ḥājj Aḥmad Belmalīḥ; undated, but said to have been copied in 1902.
- 30) *Kunnāš al-Jāmi'ī* (a, b)—Two similar partial manuscripts, each containing portions of *Nūbat ar-Rašd*, deposited at the Museum of Andalusian Music, Casablanca.
- 31) *Muntaḥibat nūbāt mūsīqīyya*—Manuscript #D1031 2762 at the Bibliotheque Générale, Rabat; undated but with *muqaddima* making reference to being based upon al-Jāmi'ī's collection dated 1303/1886; contains only a selection of *šanā'ī* from each *nūba*, but includes *mizān ad-darj* and *barāwil*; probably a 20<sup>th</sup>-century anthology.

## Appendix 4

### Tables of Correspondences among D144, *Wazzānī/Valderrama* and the Modern Canon (IM/IJ/MW)

Several details should be kept in mind concerning this data. These tables concern texts only, with no consideration given to settings of particular *ṣanāʿī*, other than *mīzān* placement in the later manuscripts and the modern canon (*ṭabʿ* and performance order are irrelevant here). All D144 texts that appear in other versions of *Ramal al-Māya* are counted, regardless of whether they appear in *Ramal al-Māya* or *al-Ḥusayn* in D144; and calculations are made based upon this total. In addition, I have counted as a “text” only clearly related items: generally speaking, texts of more than one hemistich that fall at the beginning of a *ḡuṣn* or *qufl*.

A number of *ṣanāʿī* now in *Ramal al-Māya* bear only a passing resemblance to earlier texts. For example, the 23rd *ṣanʿa* in *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama*, *Dahaba š-šams yašraq* (a *zajal* in *ṭabʿ inqilāb ar-ramal*) has attached to it a marginal *ṣanʿa* that shares two segments with Basīṭ #23 in the modern canon (*Ġarāmī mujaddad*). The rest of the text, however, is completely different. This does not suffice for the level of correspondance as defined here, and so this *ṣanʿa* is not counted.

A more complicated case is *Allāh bittu Aḥmad*, the 19th *ṣanʿa* from Quddām *Ramal al-Māya* in *Wazzānī/Valderrama* (a *tawšīḥ* in *al-ḥusayn*) along with its marginal counterpart (*Mā kanzī wa-ʿtimādī*), which I have counted as a single *ṣanʿa* corresponding with Quddām #7 and D144 #324, despite their differences. D144, the modern canon, and the marginal text in *Wazzānī/Valderrama* share the same *ḡuṣn*; D144 has a unique *qufl*; and the canon shares its *maṭlaʿ* with the *Wazzānī/Valderrama* main text, and its *qufl* with the marginal text. Thus the four texts are related in some way, but represent only one *ṣanʿa* correspondence as defined here.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, the data summarized here reflect correspondences within the *Ramal al-Māya/al-Ḥusayn* complex only. A few *ṣanāʿī* from these two *nūbāt* in D144 reappear later in other *nūbāt*, and not in *Ramal al-Māya*. An example is the 10th *ṣanʿa* from Basīṭ *Ramal al-Māya* in *Wazzānī/Valderrama*, *Banaḥsaju l-layli tadakkā wa-fāḥ...* (a *tawšīḥ* in *al-ḥusayn*), which also appears in D144

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1 This *ṣanʿa* represents a partial inversion to the problem of incorporation discussed above. It is found in D144 in *Nūbat Ramal al-Māya*, and is performed today in *ṭabʿ ramal al-māya*, but *Wazzānī* and *Valderrama* both indicate it as being performed in *al-ḥusayn*.

(Bennūna #221, pp. 271-272, Basīṭ al-Ḥusayn). However, this text appears in the modern canon in *Quddām al-Ḥijāz al-Kabīr*. Thus, this text counts as a correspondence between D144 and *Wazzānī/Valderrama*, but not between either of these and the modern canon.

Finally, we need to keep in mind as well that the totals in *Wazzānī/Valderrama* used to calculate correspondences with the al-Jāmi‘ī corpus and the modern canon include both the main body of these two manuscripts and the *ṣanā’i’* appearing in marginalia. I have done this both for simplicity’s sake and in order to compare the *Kunnāš* tradition as a whole with the later versions of the textual tradition. Though they represent additions to the basic text of the *Kunnāš*, the marginalia nevertheless carry the same *aṣīl* connotations as those found in the main body of the manuscript text—indeed, many of them have become established as part of the repertoire as presented in the modern canon. In any case, it is now impossible to determine who was responsible for these additions, just as the authorship of the main text is in doubt, as well.

Mizān	# of <i>ṣanāʿī</i> in D144		# of <i>ṣanāʿī</i> in Wāzzānī/Valderrama		# of <i>ṣanāʿī</i> in both		D144 as % of W/V	W/V as % of D144		
	<i>al-Ḥusayn</i>	<i>Ramal al-Māya</i>	Text	Margins	Total	Text			Margins	Total
Basīṭ	21	23	25	24	49	10	5	15	34	32
Qāʾim wa-niṣf	14	9	20	18	38	10	5	15	65	39
Bṭāyḥī	14	15	20	16	36	7	4	11	38	31
Quaddām	20	23	40	29	69	16	8	24	56	35
<b>Totals</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>34</b>

TABLE 1: Correspondence of *ṣanāʿī* texts in Ramal al-Māya between Dawudiyya 144 and Wāzzānī/Valderrama.

	D144 total	Wazzānī/ Valderrama total	IM/IJ/MW total	D144 <i>ṣanāʿī</i> surviving in IM/IJ/MW	W/V <i>ṣanāʿī</i> surviving in IM/IJ/MW	W/V as % of IM/IJ/MW	D144 as % of IM/IJ/MW
			# of texts	%	# of texts	%	
Mizān							
Basīṭ	44	47	29	7	16	30	24
Qāʾim wa-niṣf	23	38	14	5	22	26	36
Bṭāyḥī	29	36	18	4	14	9	22
Quaddām	43	69	39	13	30	23	33
<b>Totals</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>29</b>

TABLE 2: Correspondence of *ṣanāʿī* texts in Ramal al-Māya among Dawūdīyya 144, Wazzānī/Valderrama and the modern canon (IM/IJ/MW)

Mirzān	W/V total	B/P/R <sub>1327</sub> total	# of <i>ṣanāʿī</i> in both W/V and B/P/ R <sub>1327</sub>	B/P/R <sub>1327</sub> as % of W/V	W/V as % of B/P/R <sub>1327</sub>	IM/IJ/MW total	# of <i>ṣanāʿī</i> in both IM/IJ/ MW and B/ P/R <sub>1327</sub>	B/P/R <sub>1327</sub> as % of IM/IJ/ MW	IM/IJ/MW as % of B/P/ R <sub>1327</sub>
Basīf	47	25	11	23	44	29	22	76	88
Qāʾim wa-niṣf	38	14	10	26	71	14	14	100	100
Bāyḥī	36	14	7	19	50	18	8	44	57
Darj	—	3	—	—	—	24	3	13	100
Quaddām	69	32	9	13	28	39	29	74	91
<b>Totals</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>86</b>

TABLE 3: Correspondence of *ṣanʿā* texts in Ramal al-Māya among Wazzāni/Valderrama, Belmalḥ/Piro/R<sub>1327</sub> and the modern canon.

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# Index of Subjects

Note: entries for editors of anthologies (e.g. *Bennūna*, *Ibn Jallūn*) do not include references to the anthologies themselves.

- Abbasids 7, 109, 137, 140  
Abū 'Antara 297, Supplement 2  
Abū Ḥanifa 44  
Abū Madyan 139, 227, Supplement 2  
Abū Nuwās 109 and fn, 137  
Abū Tammām 137  
Alawite monarchy 43-44, 581, 582  
    Mūlāy 'Alī aš-Šarīf 257  
    Mūlāy al-Ḥasan I 57  
    Mūlāy Ismā'īl 257, 582  
    Mūlāy Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh 45  
    Mūlāy Slimān 44, 45  
Ambürkū al-Makkī 50, 52-54, 61, 72, 94, 124, 129, 168, 191, 193, 223, 257, 432, 452, 456, 546  
al-Andalus xv, xvi, 4, 7, 8, 19, 24, 48, 122, 123fn, 131, 138, 578, 583  
al-'Arūsī al-Maġribī, Sīdī Aḥmad 193, 287, Supplement 2  
Arabic language  
    Classical (formal) xvi, xvii, 6, 16, 17, 67, 89fn, 92, 93 and fn, 100, 114, 117-121, 131, 141, 360, 399  
    Andalusi colloquial 6, 47, 48-49, 67, 74, 77fn, 100, 114, 115, 117-119, 121, 122, 124, 140, 221, 218, 222, 254, 341, 361, 452-453, 524, 535  
    Moroccan colloquial (*dārīja*) 6, 59, 67, 70, 73, 74 and fn, 76, 77 and fn, 89, 91, 99-100, 114, 115, 117-121, 122, 124, 130, 140, 221, 222, 231, 360, 361, 383, 447, 463, 487, 520, 535, 542  
    'Āšūr ar-Ribāṭī, Sīdī Aḥmad 419, Supplement 2  
al-Badawī, Sīdī Aḥmad 257, Supplement 2  
al-Baġdādī al-Watarī 249, 455, 459, Supplement 2  
*barwala* 6, 8, 13, 51, 54, 73-78, 87, 89, 91, 100, 110, 114, 115, 117-121, 124-125, 129, 130, 131, 140, 142, 294, 360, 363-364, 368, 375, 376, 383, 407-409, 419-420, 447, 464  
Bauer, Thomas 109fn, 136, 137  
Bauman, Richard 122  
Belmalīḥ manuscript 58-59, 64-67, 78, 85-86, 103, 118fn, 124, 367, 401, 538-539, 599  
Benmūsā, Abdelfattah ('Abd al-Fattāḥ) xix, 52fn, 70fn, 73, 95, 143, 313, 353  
Bennis manuscript 25-27, 29, 37, 41, 60-61, 456, 598  
Bennūna, Malik 24-27, 29, 30fn, 31fn, 47, 51fn, 62 and fn, 71, 74, 76, 82fn, 94, 108, 119, 158, 187, 203, 257, 269, 456, 475, 523, 555, 596, 597, 598  
Bibliothèque Générale 58, 598-599  
Bibliothèque Nationale 70  
Briggs, Charles 122  
Briouel, Mohamed 9, 74fn  
*al-bṭāyḥī* (*mīzān* and *īqā'* generally, excluding *mayāzīn* in specific *nūbāt*) 5, 26, 59, 64  
relationship to *ad-darj* 68-72, 103fn  
al-Bū'āšāmī, Muḥammad 23-24, 30fn, 46-47, 111, 456  
al-Buhturī 137  
al-Bura'ī, 'Abd ar-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad 191, 363, Supplement 2  
the *Burda* 132, 134, 138-139, 148, 176, 479, 555  
al-Būšīrī xvi, 35, 109 and fn, 132, 134, 138, 140, 148, 176, 479, 555, Supplement 2  
canon (of al-Āla) and canonization xvii, 12-14, 18, 23, 25, 26fn, 27, 30-43, 47-50, 52-53, 55-57, 61-64, 66-74, 78-79, 81, 82, 87, 93, 95, 96, 98, 99, 101, 106, 108, 112, 113, 116, 118, 120, 121, 124-125, 129, 130, 148, 323, 391, 445, 446, 558, 600-601  
Casablanca 5, 9, 58, 63fn, 596, 599  
Chaachou, Mehdi xix, 26  
Chottin, Alexis 9, 33fn, 36, 40, 44, 45, 69, 72  
constraint 141-142 (for individual examples and analyses, see specific *ṣan'a* annotations)  
contextualized meaning 81, 110-112, 413

- Cordoba 7, 580, 585  
 Cortés García, Manuela 24-26, 28, 39, 44fn,  
 45 and fn, 56, 68, 596-599
- D1031 2762 manuscript 70-71, 73, 77, 361, 599  
 D144 (Dāwūdiyya ms. #144, excluding specific  
*ṣanāʿī*) 25, 26-27, 30-44, 47, 50, 56, 62,  
 63, 84-85, 94, 98, 105, 107, 108, 129, 130,  
 142, 148, 193, 208, 455, 456, 469, 527, 596,  
 598, 600-601  
*ad-darj* (*mizān* and *iqāʿ* generally, excluding  
*mayāzīn* in specific *nūbāt*) 5 and fn, 12,  
 46fn, 51 and fn, 52, 53, 54, 59, 64, 77, 78,  
 89, 103, 121, 124, 294, 353, 355, 383, 401,  
 447, 464  
 history, relationship to *al-bṭāyḥī* 68-73,  
 103fn  
 Davis, Ruth 80
- Egypt 90, 100fn, 108, 257, 361, 373, 578, 580,  
 584, 585
- “familia al-Ḥāʿik” 25 and fn, 28, 33, 39, 40, 41,  
 42, 46, 527, 597  
*farqa* 4  
 Farmer, Henry George 44 and fn  
 al-Fāsī, Abd al-Rahmān 40  
 al-Fāsī, Abū l-ʿAbbās 40, 107  
 al-Fāsī, Muḥammad 69-70, 107, 598  
 al-Fāzāzī al-Andalusī 321, Supplement 2  
 Fez 3, 5, 8, 9, 24, 43, 52fn, 56, 58, 60, 72, 138,  
 257, 578, 580, 581, 582, 585, 586  
 Finnegan, Ruth 19  
 Foley, John Miles 19fn, 139 fn
- García Barriuso, Patrocínio 33, 36, 45 and  
 fn, 69  
*gazal* 63, 103, 108-111, 112fn, 132, 134-138,  
 140-141, 153, 158, 204, 228, 232, 254,  
 270, 274, 280, 304, 338, 341, 353, 355, 361,  
 368, 373, 401, 403, 405, 413, 415, 440, 447,  
 464, 470, 479, 508, 524, 528, 531, 539,  
 550, 555  
 Glasser, Jonathan 73 and fn  
 Granada 3, 8, 44, 581, 583, 584, 585  
 Graeber, David 3-4, 14-15, 80-81  
 Gross, David 15  
 Gruendler, Beatrice xix
- ḡuṣn* 6, 62, 63, 64, 74, 95, 117, 119, 136, 147,  
 158, 187, 208, 221, 242, 262, 294, 313, 325,  
 326, 329, 333, 334, 349, 350, 516, 533
- ḥadīṭ* 133, 334, 392, 473, 516, 546  
 al-Ḥaḍrāwī, Aḥmad 108-109, 189,  
 Supplement 2  
 al-Ḥāʿik, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn 8-9,  
 24-26, 30, 33-36, 38, 42-47, 49, 51, 55, 57,  
 61-62, 70fn, 81, 105, 124, 456  
 al-Ḥalabī, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy 111,  
 163, 175-176, 179, 183, 187, 413, 515, 545,  
 Supplement 2  
 al-Ḥallāj 137  
 Hamori, Andras 137, 140  
 al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf 108, 133, 171, 225, 409,  
 476  
*ḥarja* 48, 62, 114, 122, 158, 269  
 Harris, Roy 20-21  
 Ḥassān b. Ṭābit 467, Supplement 2  
 Hebrew 114  
 Ḥizāna Dāwūdiyya xix, 24, 25-26, 598, 599  
 Homerin, Emil 137  
*al-ḥusayn, ṭabʿ* 31-32, 34-35, 37, 46, 56, 63,  
 148, 158 223, 311, 326, 436, 595, 600  
*nūba* 27, 30-33, 35, 38, 62fn, 63fn, 69,  
 107-108, 147, 153, 187, 203, 207, 455, 469,  
 475, 600, 601, 602
- Ibn al-Aḥnaf, ʿAbbās 137  
 Ibn ʿAntar 511, Supplement 2  
 Ibn al-ʿArabī, Abū Bakr 44  
 Ibn al-ʿArabī, Muḥyī d-Dīn 109  
 Ibn Bājjā 7  
 Ibn al-Fāriḍ xvi, 109, 373, 579, 582, 583,  
 Supplement 2  
 Ibn al-Ḥabbāz 136, Supplement 2  
 Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb al-Salmānī, Lisān ad-Dīn 62fn,  
 111, 140, 157-158, 215, 235, 355, 423, 483,  
 Supplement 2  
 Ibn Jallūn at-Tuwaymī 12, 51 and fn, 52fn,  
 55, 61-62, 100, 110-111, 117, 129, 130, 158,  
 161, 191, 196, 241, 249, 310, 313, 451, 579,  
 596, 598  
 Ibn Maṣṣūr, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf 12, 44fn, 45, 51, 54,  
 100, 129, 191, 413, 417, 596  
 Ibn Maṣʿūd al-Yūsī 379, 387, 391, 395,  
 582, Supplement 2

- Ibn Šabrīn, Abū Bakr 469, 470,  
Supplement 2
- Ibn Sa'īd al-Miknāsī 94, 147, 148, 245, 246,  
431, 435, Supplement 2
- Ibn Zākūr 199, 582, Supplement 2
- Ibn Zuhayr, Ka'b 137
- Ibn Zuhr al-Išbīlī xvi, 94, 111, 207, 208,  
Supplement 2
- icon, iconic representation 9, 17, 19-21, 61,  
81, 101, 106, 125, 196, 456
- inqilāb ar-ramal* 31-32, 39, 46, 56, 154, 277,  
295, 304, 449, 546, 595, 600
- al-inširāf* 5, 6
- instruments 4-5
- institutions 3-4, 7-11, 12, 14, 16, 51, 80
- integrative perspective 18, 20-21, 81-82
- intertextuality 22, 23, 34, 40, 67, 96-99,  
101-104, 269
- iqā'* 5, 54
- Īqad aš-šumū' li-ladḍat al-masmū' bi-naḡamāt*  
*aṭ-ṭubū'* 23, 47, 111
- i'rāb* 49, 50, 76, 115-118, 147, 153, 168, 200,  
209, 225, 227, 242, 253, 273, 280, 289,  
294, 297, 310, 314, 325, 334, 341, 360, 375,  
396, 453, 485, 495, 504, 508, 511, 516, 533,  
535, 550, 555
- Iraq 108, 241, 242, 566, 578, 583, 585
- Irāq al-'arab* 27, 30, 31, 33, 595
- al-Istihlāl* 5, 8, 27, 31, 33, 34, 53, 60, 71, 94,  
98fn, 105, 203, 208, 595
- al-Jāmi'ī 9, 13, 35, 55-58, 60-61, 63, 81
- al-Jāmi'ī corpus 9, 12, 13, 23, 37, 41, 49, 50, 51,  
52, 54-56, 57-72, 78-79, 85, 97, 103, 106,  
601
- al-Jāmi'ī manuscripts 30, 54, 56, 58-73, 77,  
85-86, 103, 105, 129, 142, 294, 323, 538,  
596, 599
- jawq* 4-5, 10, 11, 52fn, 72, 92
- Jawq al-Bihī 72
- al-Jilānī, 'Abd al-Qadr 108, 237, 578, 579
- the Ka'ba 108, 133, 225, 270, 289, 290, 403,  
409, 410, 516, 566
- Kunnāš al-Hā'ik* 12, 20-21, 23-47, 49-57,  
60-62, 64, 67, 69, 70, 78-79, 82, 97, 107,  
111, 129, 130, 161, 193, 456, 457, 527, 536,  
596-599
- Leiden* (manuscript) 26-29, 35-37, 41, 42, 45,  
61, 62, 597
- Lichtenstädter, Ilse 136
- linguistic ideology 121-123
- linguistic registers xv, 47-49, 77, 100-102,  
112-124, 141, 183, 195, 280, 294, 338, 343,  
349, 375, 409, 439, 520
- definition 113
- and Andalusī Arabic 114, 118
- and Classical Arabic 49, 77fn, 100, 114,  
116, 118, 119, 122, 124, 141, 235, 473
- and Moroccan *dārīja* 114, 118-122
- and *barwala* 118-121, 124-5
- poetic 114-115, 117-121, 196, 209
- religious 118-120, 183
- and value 195
- literacy, literary processes xvi, 4, 13, 17, 18,  
19 and fn, 22, 23, 33, 35, 42, 50, 56-57, 69,  
72, 78-79, 84, 100-101, 113, 115, 125
- and value 80-83
- London* (manuscript) 26-27, 29, 37, 41, 60,  
61, 598
- madīh*, praise poetry xvi, 4, 35-36, 39,  
40-41, 56, 63, 70, 107-112, 131-132, 134,  
136, 137, 140-141, 148, 158, 161, 168, 228,  
235, 254, 326, 353, 355, 361, 388, 392,  
399, 425, 436, 447, 464, 469, 489, 527,  
579, 584
- al-madīh an-nabawī* 40-41, 131-132, 134,  
137-138, 140-141, 176, 191, 232, 270, 376,  
401, 470, 550, 555
- al-Malhūn 120, 597
- al-Ma'lūf 80
- al-Manūnī, Muḡammad 45 and fn
- manuscripts, manuscript traditions xv, xvii,  
5fn, 11-13, 16, 17, 23-30, 32-47, 49-73,  
77-79, 81-82, 85-86, 93, 98, 100, 103-106,  
118-119, 121, 124, 129, 130, 142, 161, 193,  
269, 294, 323, 456, 527, 541, 596-599,  
600-601
- al-Maqqarī 580, 581, 583
- marāḡil al-mūzān* 5, 46, 55
- marginalia 25, 32, 34-35, 38-41, 46, 56, 59,  
64, 69, 70, 82, 105, 124, 137, 148, 161, 242,  
456, 527, 600-601, 602
- mawzūn* (see also *qarīd*) 47, 52fn, 87, 88, 94,  
115, 116fn, 122, 151

- al-Māya (nūba)* 5, 23, 27, 53, 59, 62fn, 71, 96, 101, 105 and fn, 107, 110, 111, 196, 550, 595
- Mecca 108, 133, 134, 161, 172, 211, 225, 254, 270, 279, 280, 287, 290, 409-410, 476, 480, 500, 515, 532, 566, 578, 586
- Medina 103, 108, 133, 161, 171, 237, 255, 287, 318, 353, 376, 500, 512, 531, 542, 566, 579, 581
- Meknes 5, 43, 582, 585
- meter (*baḥr*) 6, 46-47, 58, 76-77, 85, 98, 112-114, 117, 131, 141, 171, 231, 265, 353, 355, 379, 383, 388, 495, 524
- stress or syllabic basis 209, 265, 303, 343, 371, 419, 495, 511, 516, 520, 535, 553
- al-basīṭ* 146, 192-193, 210, 212 234-235, 236-237, 256, 286-287, 344, 346, 372, 402, 422, 442, 466, 472, 482, 554-555
- al-hajaz (al-hazaj in place of ar-rajaz)* 58, 117, 194-195, 260, 278-279, 289, 328-329, 487, 492-493, 495, 498, 500, 506, 516, 522, 532-533
- al-ḥafīf* 157, 161, 226-227, 253, 349, 378-379, 386, 390-391, 394-395, 412-413, 424-425
- al-kāmil* 214, 276, 306, 320, 322, 352, 354-355, 362, 400, 404-405, 460, 484-485, 532-533
- al-madīd* 414-415, 426
- al-muḍārīʿ* 174-175, 182-183, 202-203, 224, 292, 316, 534, 544
- al-mujtatt* 58, 100fn, 156, 162, 268, 301, 324-325
- al-al-muqtadab* 252-253, 450
- al-mutadārik* 198, 312-313, 416
- mutaqārib* 107fn, 297, 309, 438-439
- ar-ramal* 116, 170, 226, 230-231, 244-245, 272-273, 289, 340-341, 398, 430, 434, 432, 526, 541
- as-sarīʿ* 188, 474, 488
- aṭ-ṭawīl* 87, 150-151, 152-153, 248-249, 448-449, 450, 454, 458, 468, 478, 490, 522, 530
- al-wāfir* 178, 288-289;
- Mitjana, Rafael 44
- mixed orality xvii, 4, 14, 17, 19, 80-125
- mizān* 5-6
- modular phrases 101, 104, 176, 254, 504
- muḥḍat* poets 110, 135
- Mūlāy al-Quṣūr, Ibn 'Alāl 359, 367, Supplement 2
- al-muwassaʿ* 5, 69
- muwašṣaḥ* xv, xvi, xvii, 6, 39fn, 47-50, 62, 77fn, 88fn, 89fn, 93-94, 111, 114, 116, 122, 123fn, 148, 158, 163, 168, 191, 199, 208, 209, 218, 246, 269, 338, 495
- an-Nābulusī, 'Abd al-Ġānī 527, Supplement 2
- našīd* 122
- Naššār, 'Alī Sāmī 95, 119, 175, 314, 330, 334, 338, 584
- National Conservatory (al-Maḥad al-Waṭanī) 9-11, 51, 53, 54 57, 60fn, 80, 92
- an-Nawājī, Šams ad-Dīn Muḥammad 403, 425, Supplement 2
- nūba* structure, history, etc. 5, 8, 23, 24-27, 29-31 33-38, 40, 42, 43, 45-47, 50-51, 54, 56, 60-61, 69-70, 71-73, 94, 102, 105-106, 108, 119-120, 122-124
- according to at-Tifāšī 121-122
- orality, oral processes xv, xvii, 3, 4, 14, 16-18, 19, 22, 23, 33, 50, 67, 72, 78-79, 80, 83, 84, 93, 99, 100, 104, 107, 113, 115, 125
- primacy of oral over written 83, 93, 106, 123, 456
- traces of, in texts 11, 13, 23, 67, 83, 93-104, 125
- and value 80-83
- performance xv, 5, 6, 7, 21, 34, 83, 87, 95, 115, 122-123, 196, 314, 375, 535, 600
- performance context 11, 60, 87, 93, 96, 110, 112, 134
- context and meaning 134-136, 139, 193, 470
- performance option 5, 52fn, 94, 104-107
- performance practice 17-18, 40, 50, 52, 56, 69, 72, 79, 85, 87-92, 94, 96, 101, 113, 117, 121, 122, 314, 353, 355, 361, 379, 383
- performance unit 9, 50, 52, 54 55, 56, 70, 79, 363, 485
- and value 18, 110, 112, 115, 122-125
- Piro, Ahmed 58, 70, 599
- Piro* manuscript 58-59, 61, 64-68, 103, 124, 538, 599, 604

- poetic borrowing 101-104, 113
- poetic themes and images (see Supplement 1 to locate specific occurrences in *Ramal al-Māya* and discussions thereof) 107-110, 131-141
- beauty 132, 136, 138, 139, 140
- ġazal* (love poetry) 108-109, 110, 134-136, 141
- mystical poetry 109, 110, 134, 135
- bān* tree 110, 135
- celestial objects 109-110, 134-137
- light 139
- madiḥ* (q.v.)
- nasīb* 136, 137, 148
- moon 63, 95, 109, 110, 111, 134-137, 139, 140
- tribal ethos 112fn, 132-134
- tree branch 63
- wine-drinking (*ḥamrīyya*) 135, 141
- sun 139
- al-Qāḍī 'Iyād 287, Supplement 2
- qaṣīda* 109fn, 132, 136, 137, 211, 225, 581
- qarīd* 6, 47, 70, 114, 115, 118, 142, 269, 277, 307, 449
- al-qanṭara* 5-6
- qufl* 6, 47, 58, 62-63, 74, 75, 85, 95, 98, 134, 136, 157, 161, 167, 168, 171, 206, 209, 242, 246, 262, 269, 270, 289, 297, 298, 303, 310, 314, 325, 326, 334, 338, 341, 349, 452, 523, 524, 533, 535, 600
- al-quddām* (*mizān* and *iqā'* generally, excluding *mayāzīn* in specific *nūbāt*) 5, 26, 51 and fn, 54, 71, 72, 73, 105fn
- Quddām Bawākīr al-Māya 5, 54, 60
- al-Quddām al-Jadīd 5, 54
- R1327* manuscript 58-60, 61, 64-67, 103, 105, 124, 538, 539, 599, 604
- Rabat 5, 8, 9, 43, 53fn, 58, 70, 596, 598, 599
- ar-Raṣd* 5, 23, 27, 52, 53, 59, 63, 71, 85
- Raṣd ad-Dīl* 33, 52, 53, 60, 71
- Raḳīwaq* manuscript 26-29, 35-37, 41-42, 45, 60, 62, 85, 98, 105-106, 597
- ar-Rāyīs, 'Abd al-Krīm 9, 12, 50, 57, 61, 66, 72, 129, 196, 301, 595, 596
- Raysūnī* manuscript 26-27, 30-31, 37, 41, 597, 598
- recontextualization 122-123
- Reynolds, Dwight xix, 89fn
- ar-Rifā'ī, Aḥmad 108, Supplement 2
- Šāḍuliyya Sufi order 257
- as-Šaḥāwī 133-134, Supplement 2
- Šaḥīḥ al-Buḥārī* 334, 392, 473, 516
- Šaḥīḥ Muslim* 516, 546
- saj'* 114
- as-Samā' wa-l-Madiḥ 4, 35, 72, 77, 78, 161
- aš-Šamī, 'Abd as-Salām 60
- šan'a/šanā'i'* (types, structure, etc., except specific examples) 4, 5, 6, 9-11, 13, 23-26, 31, 33, 38-39, 42, 47-50, 51, 54-56, 59, 60-61, 64, 66, 68-70, 72, 73, 82, 88, 89, 102, 106, 112, 115, 129
- "discovered" or "unknown" 12, 78, 79
- šan'a*-as-sung xvi, 11, 16-18, 20-21 50, 71, 78, 82-83, 84, 85-88, 90-92, 94, 96, 101, 112, 116, 117, 119fn, 142, 360, 375, 409, 413, 419, 447, 456, 463, 495, 520
- (primacy over *šan'a*-as-written) 83, 129, 195, 200
- šan'a*-as-written xvi, 16-18, 20-21 28, 33, 38, 39, 46, 78, 82-83, 85-88, 90, 92-97, 100, 104, 113, 117, 118-119, 129-130, 142, 200, 447, 456, 463, 520
- sawt* 122
- Schimmel, Annemarie 109
- Seville (Išbiliyya) 139, 207, 209, 578, 583, 585
- Shiloah, Amnon 24, 25, 26, 44fn, 597, 598
- aš-Sika/as-Sika* 27, 30, 31, 33, 105, 595
- Sira* 164
- sociolinguistics 79, 142
- sociolinguistics of the text xvii, 21-22, 81
- standard historical narrative 30, 35, 44
- Stetkevych, J. 136
- Stetkevych, S.P. 137, 138
- Sufism and mysticism (for specific images and themes see Supplements 1a and 1b)
- xvi, 35, 36, 40, 71fn, 101, 107-112, 131-132, 134-135, 137-141, 158, 161, 164, 168, 176, 184, 191, 209, 219, 228, 232, 257, 304, 314, 330, 338, 373, 392, 396, 401, 405, 413, 445, 447, 470, 489, 491, 508, 555, 578, 579, Supplement 2

- šujl* (except references to specific *šanā'ī'*)  
 26, 46, 47, 52, 53, 87, 88, 89  
 changing meaning of 26fn, 47, 59, 89fn  
*mašjūl* 88-89  
*Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd 154  
*Sunan* of Ibn Mājah 154  
*Sunan* of at-Tirmidī 154  
 aš-Šuštārī, Abū l-Ḥasan 35, 48, 49, 51fn, 95,  
 96, 109, 111, 135, 157-158, 175-176, 183, 187,  
 191, 199, 313-315, 325, 329-330, 333, 337-  
 338, 417, 545, Supplement 2  
*dīwān* 95fn, 119, 191, 199, 158, 314, 338;  
 Syria 580
- tab'* definition and distribution across  
*nūbāt* 5, Appendix 2  
 (excluding specific *ṭubū'*) 6, 23, 24, 26,  
 31-34, 42-44, 46, 52-55, 57-58, 70-71,  
 107, 142  
*šan'a* transfer amongst *ramal al-māya*,  
*al-ḥuṣayn* and *inqilāb ar-ramal* 31-33  
*šan'a* transfer amongst *nūbāt 'Irāq*  
*al-'arab*, *aš-Šika* and *al-Istihlāl* 33  
*taǧtiya* 58, 65, 85, 452, 538  
 Tangier 5, 8, 9  
*ṭarab* 6  
*tawšīh* (excluding specific examples) 6,  
 26, 46, 47, 52, 59, 70-71, 75, 87, 118-120,  
 131, 196, 524  
 problematic label 47-50, 112-116, 119, 121,  
 141-142  
 Tayba 211, 279, 566  
 ten promised the Garden (العشرة المباشرة  
 بالجنة) 154  
 Tetouan 24  
 text variants (excluding specific examples)  
 xv, xvii, 37, 38, 64, 66, 99-101, 106, 142  
 at-Tifāšī, Aḥmad 121, 122  
 tradition, *nūba* tradition, etc. xvi-xvii, 3, 5-11,  
 12-14, 18-21, 23-25, 30, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38,  
 40, 41-43, 45, 48-52, 54-57, 60-62, 68,  
 69, 70, 73, 74 and fn, 77-79, 80-84, 87,  
 89-90, 92-93, 96, 98, 100-106, 112-115, 118,  
 120-121, 123-125  
 value theory of tradition (q.v.)
- 'Uḍrī poets 110, 140  
 Umayyads 137, 140
- Valderrama Martinez, Fernando 24, 26, 36,  
 44fn, 45, 596, 597  
*Valderrama* (manuscript) 26-29, 32-40, 41,  
 42, 45, 47, 53, 56, 60, 62-64, 67, 70, 85,  
 98, 105, 117, 119, 148, 158, 204, 209, 223,  
 242, 269, 334, 339, 456, 597, 600-604  
 value (as such) xv-xvii, 4, 15, 16, 113  
 economic value 4, 14, 16, 17, 80 and fn  
 linguistic value 4, 11, 14-16, 22, 80, 81, 98,  
 101, 106, 113-114, 121-125, 196  
 social value 4, 11, 14, 16-22, 42, 55, 80, 82,  
 87, 98, 101, 106, 114, 115, 123-125, 196  
 value load 16, 21, 22, 80, 81, 107, 113, 123,  
 125  
 value theory of tradition 4, 14-18, 22
- al-Waṣārīsī, 'Abd al-Waḥid 44  
 al-Waṣārīsī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā 44fn  
*Wazzānī* (manuscript) 26-29, 32-40, 42,  
 45-47, 53, 56, 60, 62-64, 67, 70, 85, 98,  
 105, 117, 119, 148, 158, 204, 209, 223, 242,  
 269, 334, 597, 600-604
- zajal* (excluding specific examples) 6, 26,  
 39fn, 46-50, 52, 59, 64, 71, 74, 76  
 problematic label 47-50, 112-116, 119, 120,  
 122, 124fn, 141-142
- Zamzam 108, 133  
*zāwiya* 8, 71, 77, 191  
 Ziryāb, Abū l-Ḥāsan 'Alī b. Nāfī' 7  
 Zwiṭin 50, 52-54, 61, 98, 105, 124 129, 456, 551

## Index of *Ṣanʿa* Types in *Ramal al-Māya*

- 1) *Ṣanāʿi* identified as شغل by at least one of the anthologists (all *barāwil* treated as *mašgūl*)
- Mizān al-Basīṭ #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 28, 29
- Mizān al-Qāʿim wa-niṣf: #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14
- Mizān al-Bṭāyḥī: #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18
- Mizān ad-Darj: #3 (*barwala*), 5 (*barwala*), 8 (*barwala*), 10 (*barwala*), 17 (*barwala*), 21 (*barwala*), 24
- Mizān al-Quddām: #1, 3, 5 (*barwala*), 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 (*barwala*), 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39
- 2) Strophic *ṣanāʿi* identified as توشیح (anthologist in parentheses, where they disagree) by *mizān*.
- Mizān al-Basīṭ #4 (IJ), 5, 7 (IM, MW), 8 (IJ), 9 (IJ), 14 (IJ), 17 (IM, MW), 19, 23 (IM, MW), 24 (IM, MW), 25, 26, 27
- Mizān al-Qāʿim wa-niṣf #6, 7 (IJ), 9 (IM), 12 (IM, MW), 14
- Mizān al-Bṭāyḥī #1 (IM, MW), 2, 4, 6 (IJ), 8 (IM), 12, 13, 14 (IM), 15, 16, 18
- Mizān ad-Darj #6, 10 (MW), 20
- Mizān al-Quddām #1, 3, 7, 23, 24 (IM, MW), 25, 26, 27 (IJ), 28, 29 (IM, MW), 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38
- 3) Strophic *ṣanāʿi* identified as زجل (by anthologist in parentheses, where they disagree) by *mizān*.
- Mizān al-Basīṭ #7 (IJ), 8 (MW), 11 (IJ), 12, 14 (MW), 23 (IJ), 24 (IJ), 29
- Mizān al-Qāʿim wa-niṣf #1, 4 (MW), 7 (MW), 12 (IJ)
- Mizān al-Bṭāyḥī #1 (IJ), 6 (MW), 7, 8 (IJ), 14 (IJ)
- Mizān ad-Darj #—
- Mizān al-Quddām #24 (IJ), 27 (MW), 29 (IJ), 33
- 4) Strophic *ṣanāʿi* not identified as either توشیح or زجل, by *mizān*.
- Mizān al-Basīṭ #1, 6, 16, 17 (IJ)
- Mizān al-Qāʿim wa-niṣf #2, 4 (IJ), 8, 9 (IJ)
- Mizān al-Bṭāyḥī #11, 17
- Mizān ad-Darj #1
- Mizān al-Quddām #2, 22
- 5) Non-strophic (*mawzūn*) *ṣanāʿi*, by *mizān*.
- Mizān al-Basīṭ #2, 3, 10, 13, 15, 20, 21, 22, 28, 29
- Mizān al-Qāʿim wa-niṣf #3, 5, 10, 13
- Mizān al-Bṭāyḥī #3, 5, 9, 10
- Mizān ad-Darj #4, 7, 9, 11, 12, X, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 23, 24
- Mizān al-Quddām #4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 32, 39
- 6) براول, by *mizān*.
- Mizān ad-Darj #3, 5, 8, 10 (IJ), 17, 21
- Mizān al-Quddām #5, 11

## فهرست القوافي

ص	بحر	رقم الصنعة	قوافي الاغصان
190	توشیح / زجل	البسيط ١٤	اب قافية
226	توشیح / الرمل	البسيط ٢٦	اب
296	توشیح	البطايحي ٢	اب
344	البسيط	البطايحي ١٧	اذه
174	توشیح / المضارع	البسيط ٩	از
240	زجل	القائم ونصف ١	اق
272	توشیح / الرمل	القائم ونصف ٩	اق
202	توشیح / مضارع	البسيط ١٨	اكن
170	توشیح / زجل	البسيط ٨	ام
194	الهزج	البسيط ١٦	ام
494	توشیح	القدام ٢٣	ام
498	زجل / توشیح	القدام ٢٤ - دور ٢	ام
540	توشیح	القدام ٣٥	ام
220	زجل / توشیح	البسيط ٢٤	ام
282	زجل / توشیح	القائم ونصف ١٢	ام
224	توشیح / مضارع	البسيط ٢٥	ان
302	توشیح	البطايحي ٤	ان
370	توشیح	الدرج ٦	ان
534	توشیح / مضارع	القدام ٣٤	ان
328	توشیح / هزج	البطايحي ١٢	اني
502	توشیح	القدام ٢٥	اني
506	توشیح / هزج	القدام ٢٦	اه
548	زجل	القدام ٣٧ - دور ٢	اه
548	زجل	القدام ٣٧ - دور ١	ايل
252	زجل / مقتدب	القائم ونصف ٤	ب
292	زجل / توشیح / المضارع	البطايحي ١	ب

288	توشیح	الفائم ونصف ١٤	بَا
340	توشیح /رمل	البطایحي ١٥	بَهْ
162	المجتث	البيسيط ٦	ح
198	توشیح /المتدارك	البيسيط ١٧	دِ
244	توشیح /رمل	القائم ونصف ٢	دِ
316	زجل /توشیح /مضارع	البطایحي ٨	دِ
416	توشیح	الدرج ٢٠	دِ
268	المجتث	القائم ونصف ٨	ندا
450	توشیح /طويل	القدام ٧	ندا
230	توشیح /الرمل	البيسيط ٢٧	ندِي
278	هجز	القائم ونصف ١١	نَرَّ
492	الهزج	القدام ٢٢	نَرَّ
514	توشیح	القدام ٢٨	نَرَّ
416	توشیح	الدرج ٢٠	نِر
518	زجل /توشیح	القدام ٢٩	رَض
166	زجل /توشیح	البيسيط ٧	رُهْ
308	توشیح /زجل	البطایحي ٦	رُو
522	توشیح /طويل	القدام ٣٠	رِي
312	زجل /متدارك	البطایحي ٧	عَ
156	توشیح	البيسيط ٤	عا
160	توشیح	البيسيط ٥	عا
146	الرمل	البيسيط ١	فَ
430	توشیح	القدام ١	فَ
186	زجل	البيسيط ١٢	قا
544	توشیح /مضارع	القدام ٣٦	قا
260	توشیح	القائم ونصف ٦	قَل
182	زجل /المضارع	البيسيط ١١	مُو
434	الرمل	القدام ٢	نا
510	توشیح /زجل	القدام ٢٧	وُب
324	المجتث	البطایحي ١١	وُورَة

352	الكمال	الدرج ١	وُلْ
438	توشیح / مستقارب	القدام ٣	وُلْ
264	توشیح	القائم ونصف ٧	وُمْ
336	زجل / توشیح	البطايحي ١٤	يَ
532	زجل / كامل	القدام ٣٣	يَدْ
332	توشیح	البطايحي ١٣	يَزْ
498	زجل / توشیح	القدام ٢٤ - دور ١	يَغْ
342	توشیح	البطايحي ١٦	يَقَّة
352	الكمال	الدرج ١	يُلْ
348	توشیح	البطايحي ١٨	يَمْ
552	توشیح	القدام ٣٨	يَمْ
370	توشیح	الدرج ٦	يَنْ
526	توشیح دون القفل	القدام ٣١	يَنْ
206	توشیح	البسيط ١٩	يْنَا

## ٢) قوافي الاقفال والمطالع

ص	بحر	رقم الصنعة	قافية
348	توشیح	البطايحي ١٨	اث
336	زجل / توشیح	البطايحي ١٤	ات
194	الهنج	البسيط ١٦	اذ
278	هجز	القائم ونصف ١١	اذ
492	الهنج	القدام ٢٢	اذ
498	زجل / توشیح	القدام ٢٤ - دور ٢	اذ
230	توشیح / الرمل	البسيط ٢٧	از
272	توشیح / الرمل	القائم ونصف ٩	از
288	توشیح	القائم ونصف ١٤	اره
220	زجل / توشیح	البسيط ٢٤	الي
282	زجل / توشیح	القائم ونصف ١٢	الي
226	توشیح / الرمل	البسيط ٢٦	ام
316	زجل / توشیح / مضارع	البطايحي ٨	ام

522	توشیح / طویل	القدام ٣٠	اَم
540	توشیح	القدام ٣٥	اَم
202	توشیح / مضارع	البسيط ١٨	اِن
206	توشیح	البسيط ١٩	اِن
370	توشیح	الدرج ٦	اِن
240	زجل	القائم ونصف ١	بَب
216	توشیح / زجل	البسيط ٢٣	بِي
224	توشیح / مضارع	البسيط ٢٥	بِي
340	توشیح / رمل	البطايجي ١٥	بِي
252	زجل / مقتدب	القائم ونصف ٤	بَيِّ
498	زجل / توشیح	القدام ٢٤ - دور ١	بَيِّ
502	توشیح	القدام ٢٥	ذ
170	توشیح / زجل	البسيط ٨	دَد
534	توشیح / مضارع	القدام ٣٤	د/اَن
332	توشیح	البطايجي ١٣	يَزَّ
156	توشیح	البسيط ٤	ر
160	توشیح	البسيط ٥	ر
198	توشیح / المتدارك	البسيط ١٧	ر
268	المجتث	القائم ونصف ٨	ر
416	توشیح	الدرج ٢٠	ر
548	زجل	القدام ٣٧ - دور ٢	رَ / ثة
324	المجتث	البطايجي ١١	رَه
312	زجل / متدارك	البطايجي ٧	رِي
146	الرمل	اليسط ١	س
244	توشیح / رمل	القائم ونصف ٢	س
430	توشیح	القدام ١	س
434	الرمل	القدام ٢	س
328	توشیح / هزج	البطايجي ١٢	سَع
308	توشیح / زجل	البطايجي ٦	سَعَة
438	توشیح / مقتارب	القدام ٣	سَيِّ

174	توشیح/المضارع	البيسيط ٩	قا
182	زجل/المضارع	البيسيط ١١	قا
186	زجل	البيسيط ١٢	قَة
544	توشیح/مضارع	القدام ٣٦	قَة
190	توشیح/زجل	البيسيط ١٤	لي
302	توشیح	البطايحي ٤	سَم
296	توشیح	البطايحي ٢	سَمَة
510	توشیح/زجل	القدام ٢٧	مُو
506	توشیح/هزج	القدام ٢٦	ه
548	زجل	القدام ٣٧ - دور ١	وُب/ ق
264	توشیح	القائم ونصف ٧	وُز/ين
450	توشیح/طويل	القدام ٧	وُل
532	زجل/الكامل	القدام ٣٣	يب
494	توشیح	القدام ٢٣	يب/ يل
292	زجل/توشیح/المضارع	البطايحي ١	يغ
352	الكامل	الدرج ١	يل
162	المجث	البيسيط ٦	يلا
260	توشیح	القائم ونصف ٦	يلا
342	توشیح	البطايحي ١٦	يم
344	البيسيط	البطايحي ١٧	يم
514	توشیح	القدام ٢١	يم
166	زجل/توشیح	البيسيط ٧	يني

## ٣) قوافي الصنائع الموزونة

ص	بحر	رقم الصنعة	قافية
454	الطويل	القدام ٨	أ
362	الكامل	الدرج ٤	اد
188	السرير	البيسيط ١٣	ار
192	البيسيط	البيسيط ١٥	ار
210	البيسيط	البيسيط ٢٠	ار

212	البيسط	البيسط ٢١	أُر
286	البيسط	القائم ونصف ١٣	أُر
300	شغل	البطايجي ٣	أَك
352	الكامل	الدرج ٢	أَك
398	الرميل	الدرج ١٣	أَم
378	الخفيف	الدرج ٩	أُم
386	الخفيف	الدرج ١١	أُم
390	الخفيف	الدرج ١٢	أُم
394	الخفيف	الدرج X	أُم
320	الكامل	البطايجي ٩	أُمَّة
424	الخفيف	الدرج ٢٣	أُمَّة
150	الطويل	البيسط ٢	با
530	الطويل	القدام ٣٢	با
236	البيسط	البيسط ٢٩	تي
442	البيسط	القدام ٤	تي
372	البيسط	الدرج ٧	ج
426	المديد	الدرج ٢٤	ج
484	الكامل	القدام ١٨	جِد
458	الطويل	القدام ٩	ذَا
486	الرجز	القدام ١٩	دا/را
248	الطويل	القائم ونصف ٣	دَى
488	السرّيع	القدام ٢٠	رُ
400	الكامل	الدرج ١٤	رَا
404	الكامل	الدرج ١٦	رَا
466	البيسط	القدام ١٢	رِي
152	الطويل	البيسط ٣	رَة
490	الطويل	القدام ٢١	سُ
276	الكامل	القائم ونصف ١٠	ع
448	الطويل	القدام ٦	ع
322	الكامل	البطايجي ١٠	عَفَة

414	المديد	الدرج ١٩	قا
478	الطويل	القدام ١٦	كُ
468	الطويل	القدام ١٣	لُ
214	الكامل	البسيط ٢٢	لاثُ
472	البسيط	القدام ١٤	لهُ
474	المرجع	القدام ١٥	مُ
554	البسيط	القدام ٣٩	م
306	الكامل	البطايجي ٥	وُزُ
256	البسيط	القائم ونصف ٥	وُلُ
422	البسيط	الدرج ٢٢	يَّي
412	الخفيف	الدرج ١٨	يا
460	الكامل	القدام ١٠	يما
178	الوافر	البسيط ١٠	يَن
482	البسيط	القدام ١٧	ين
234	البسيط	البسيط ٢٨	يه
402	البسيط	الدرج ١٥	يه

## ٤) قوافي براول

ص	رقم الصنعة	قافية
374	الدرج ٨	ارا/ئى
382	الدرج ١٠	ام
462	القدام ١١	ان/وح
418	الدرج ٢١	بي/ار/اه
444	القدام ٥	لهُ/اج
408	الدرج ١٧	ها/سد
358	الدرج ٣	وى/سز
366	الدرج ٥	وى/سز