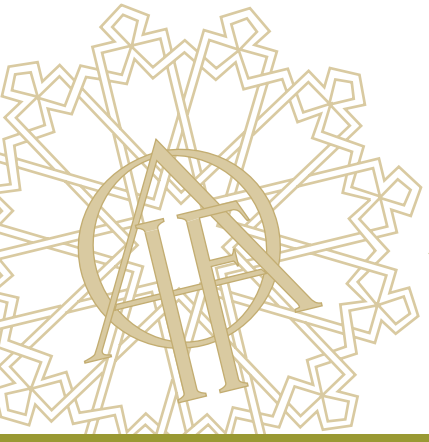
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Adam Talib

A New Source for the Poetry of Ibn Maṭrūḥ (1196-1251)

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ADAM TALIB*

A New Source for the Poetry of Ibn Maṭrūḥ (1196-1251)

◆ ABSTRACT

This article discusses the oldest surviving manuscript of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān*, which was not used to prepare any of the four printed editions of this work. The article also presents a number of challenging literary-historical issues in Ibn Maṭrūḥ's oeuvre in the hopes of outlining the complexities of his poetic career and identifying future avenues for research.

Keywords: Ibn Maṭrūḥ, Ayyubid poetry, manuscripts, textual criticism, Arabic poetry, Crusades.

◆ RÉSUMÉ

Cet article étudie le plus ancien manuscrit existant du *Dīwān* d'Ibn Maṭrūḥ, qui n'a été utilisé dans aucune des quatre éditions imprimées de ce recueil. Il soulève aussi plusieurs questions historico-littéraires qui apparaissent dans l'œuvre d'Ibn Maṭrūḥ, afin de souligner la complexité de sa carrière poétique et d'ouvrir la voie à de nouvelles recherches sur le sujet.

Mots-clés : Ibn Maṭrūḥ, poésie ayyubide, manuscrits, critique textuelle, poésie arabe, croisades.

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Perhaps owing to their political careers, the Egyptian poet Ǧamāl al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. ʿĪsā b. Maṭrūḥ (592-649/1196-1251) and his close friend and compatriot Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr (581-656/1186-1258) have received considerably more attention than other Arabic poets active in the period from 1200 to 1800.[1] Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr has the distinction of being the first Arabic poet to have had his complete works translated into English and Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* has been published four times in the past century and a half; three times in the past thirty years.[2] This state of affairs runs counter to the widely acknowledged scholarly disregard for Arabic literature produced during the period 1200-1800. It is regrettable, however, that in the case of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's poetry this exceptional attention has not achieved much. Indeed it is typical of the field of pre-modern Arabic literature that subsequent editions of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* have not built on previous efforts and have failed to make use of the oldest manuscript source of the *Dīwān*.[3] It is perhaps due to the preceding that they have not made much of an impact on our understanding of 13th-century Arabic poetry.

Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* was first printed in Constantinople at al-Ǧawāʾib Press on 15 Raǧab 1298/13 June 1881 in an edition prepared by the in-house editor (*muṣaḥḥiḥ*) Yūsuf al-Nabhānī.[4] It was printed at the end of the *Dīwān* of ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf (d. before 193/809) and included a long excerpt from Ibn Ḫallikān's (d. 681/1282) *Wafayāt al-aʿyān wa-anbāʾ abnāʾ al-zamān* recounting the poet's life.[5] This edition of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* is 54 pages long and contains 106 poems by him, a total of 818 verses. There is no mention of the source-text(s) used to create this *editio princeps*, but it was almost certainly one or both of the two manuscripts of the *Dīwān* available in Istanbul libraries.[6] The *Dīwān* of Ibn Maṭrūḥ is preserved in the following Mss, the oldest of which (SOAS Arabic Ms 13248) is the subject of this article.

1. I would like to thank the journal's anonymous peer reviewers and Geert Jan van Gelder for their incisive comments and corrections. I would also like to thank Nicolas Michel and Sylvie Denoix for supporting this special issue and Monica Balda-Tillier for inviting me to co-edit it with her. I am grateful to the librarians at the School of Oriental and African Studies (London), The American University in Cairo, Institut dominicain d'études orientales (Cairo), and Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin where I undertook research for this article. I would also like to thank Adam Gacek and Elias Muhanna for their help with an inquiry about the donor of the SOAS Ms.

2. The edition and translation of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr's poetry was undertaken by Edward Henry Palmer (1840-1882), the Cambridge Arabist who was killed during a secret mission to Egypt during the ʿUrābī rebellion. It was published in 1876-1877. Information about Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* is given below and in the bibliography.

3. In addition to the manuscript that is the subject of this article, the editors failed to make use of ʿUmar Wafīq Ṣābir's 1994 MA Thesis.

4. See Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, al-Nabhānī (ed.), p. 218. On the publishing house established by Aḥmad Fāris al-Šidyāq (1804-1887), see Alwan, 1977 and Roper, 2007. Yūsuf al-Nabhānī (1849-1932) was a Palestinian scholar of Islam, judge, and prolific author and poet.

5. The title of the omnibus is *Dīwān Abī al-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf wa-fī āḫirihi Dīwān Ǧamāl al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Maṭrūḥ al-Miṣrī*. The relevant section in Ibn Ḫallikān's biographical dictionary can be found on pages 219-224 of the *Dīwān* or in Ibn Ḫallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, VI, pp. 258-266; *Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary*, IV, pp. 144-151. See also, on the poet, Talib, 2016; Rikabi, 1968; Brockelmann, *GAL*, 1898-1942 [repr. 1943-1949], vol. 1, p. 263, Suppl. 1, p. 465; Kaḥḥāla, 1957, vol. 13, p. 217-218.

6. This issue is discussed by ʿAwaḍ Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ in the introduction to his edition of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān*.

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Manuscripts of the Dīwān

SOAS Arabic Ms 13248 [Symbol: SOAS]

82 poems over 27 folios. A total of 577 verses.[7] The poems in this Ms are indexed to the four printed editions in the concordance that is appended to this article. This Ms—the oldest surviving recension of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān*—is a 15th-century copy and shares a codex with the *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Nabīh (d. 619/1222).[8] The Ms is not dated but the copyist ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī—known as Ibn Šams—died in 856/1452. The codex was donated to SOAS by one E.J. Portal on 31 August 1921.[9]

Köprülü (Istanbul) Ms 1266 [Symbol: K]

29 folios. This Ms of the *Dīwān* begins with SOAS 1. In his 1911 description of the Köprülü collection of Arabic manuscripts, Otto Rescher wrote that the manuscript is not dated and "barely more than two hundred years old", but ʿAwaḍ Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ reports that it was written at the end of Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1012/1603 and was copied by one ʿImrān b. Muḥammad al-Maġribī.[10] Al-Ṣāliḥ's dating is corroborated by the more recent catalogue of Köprülü manuscripts, though this only records that the Ms was copied in the 10th/17th century.[11] The Ms is part of the Fazıl Ahmed Paşa collection.

Baghdad Awqāf Ms 490 [Symbol: Baghdad]

Copied in 1044/1634 by Ramaḍān b. Mūsā al-ʿUṭayfī (1019-1095/1610-1684).[12] According to Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, this Ms of the *Dīwān* follows the same ordering of Mss K and V (see below).[13] The *Dīwān* is part of a collection (*maǧmūʿ*), which also includes the *Dīwān*s of al-Šābb al-Ẓarīf (661/1263-688/1289), Ibn al-Nabīh (d. 619/1222), Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥāǧirī (d. 622/1225), and Manǧak (d. 1080/1669).[14]

7. See Gacek, 1981, no. 58.
8. See Gacek, 1981, no. 59.
9. Personal communication with SOAS library staff. Prof. Elias Muhanna put me in touch with Prof. Adam Gacek who had no additional information about the identity of this donor.
10. Rescher, 1911, pp. 174-175, no. 16; Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, al-Ṣāliḥ (ed.), p. 252.
11. Şeşen et al., 1986, vol. 2, p. 44.
12. On al-ʿUṭayfī, see al-Munaǧǧid, Wild (eds.), 1979.
13. Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, Naṣṣār (ed.), p. 25.
14. See Ṭalas, 1953, pp. 319-320.

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British Library Ms OR 3853 [Symbol: BriLib$_1$]

42 poems over 15 folios.[15] The poems in this copy of the *Dīwān* are arranged alphabetically by rhyme-letter. Copied in Radāʿ al-ʿArš (Yemen) in 1088/1677. This version of the *Dīwān* begins, like Ms Rylands (see below), with Amīn 26 (see discussion of this poem and its disputed authorship below). It ends with a *dūbayt* poem (Amīn Rub.2).

Veliyüddin Efendi (Beyazit State Library, Istanbul) Ms 3208 [Symbol: V]

Like the 1881 al-Nabhānī edition, this recension shares a codex with the *Dīwān* of ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf, which precedes it.[16] According to Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, this recension follows the order of Ms K and was copied in 1122/1710.[17]

John Rylands (Manchester) Ms 464 [476] [Symbol: Rylands]

37 poems over 18 folios. The poems in this copy of the *Dīwān* are arranged alphabetically by rhyme-letter. The Ms is not dated, but Mingana suggests the copy was made *ca*.1720. It begins—like Ms BriLib$_1$—with Amīn 26 (see discussion of this poem and its disputed authorship below). It ends with al-Nabhānī 78 (see discussion of this poem below).[18]

Ḥaram Library (Mecca) Ms [Symbol: Mecca]

143 Poems. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār is the only editor to have used this Ms. He describes it briefly in the introduction to his edition but does not give a shelfmark.[19] According to him, the end of the Ms was missing from the copy he used. This Ms of the *Dīwān* begins with SOAS 1 and ends with SOAS 26. The Ms contains no information about the copyist or date or location of copying, but Naṣṣār records a reader's note dated 1089/1678.[20]

Berlin Ms Sprenger 1127-1 [Symbol: Berlin$_1$]

This Ms and Ms Berlin$_2$ (see below) share a single codex and 66 folios between them. Ms Sprenger 1127-1 falls on ff. 1, 2, 7-24, and 53-66. This Ms begins with al-Nabhānī 62 followed by al-Nabhānī 75; it ends with Amīn 88. It was copied by al-Darwīš Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Harīrī al-Ḥalabī around 1750 according to Ahlwardt.[21]

15. See Rieu, 1871, no. 1073-1 and Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, al-Ṣāliḥ (ed.), p. 259.
16. See *Defter-i Kütüphane-i Veliyüddin*, 1304/1886, p. 283.
17. See Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, Naṣṣār (ed.), p. 25.
18. See Mingana, 1934, pp. 772-773.
19. See Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, Naṣṣār (ed.), p. 28.
20. The Ms is not catalogued in either Muṭīʿ al-Raḥmān, ʿĪd, 2006-2007, or al-Muʿallimī, 1996.
21. Ahlwardt, 1887-1899, vol. 7, no. 7754.

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Berlin Ms Sprenger 1127-3 [Symbol: Berlin$_2$]

This Ms of the *Dīwān* shares a codex with the previous Ms.[22] Ms Sprenger 1127-3 falls on ff. 25-29, 41-52. It includes a unique introduction by the anonymous compiler of the collection.[23] The collection begins with Amīn 98 and ends with Amīn 93.

Ẓāhiriyya Library (Damascus) Ms 9982-tāʾ [Symbol: Damascus]

41 poems over 15 folios. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār is the only editor to have used this Ms.[24] It follows an order similar to the one found in Mss Rylands and BriLib$_1$.[25] The Ms is not dated but Naṣṣār records a reader's mark dated 1283/1866. It begins with SOAS 9 and ends with al-Nabhānī 103. It is unlikely that it ends with Naṣṣār 208 as Naṣṣār has it in his edition. This poem, attributed elsewhere to Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī (320-357/932-968), is rather part of the anthology that follows on from the *Dīwān* of Ibn Maṭrūḥ in this codex. Naṣṣār says that a copy of this Ms is available at the Juma Almajid Center for Culture and Heritage (Dubai); one of two copies of Mss of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* available at that library.

British Library Ms ADD 7580 Rich [Symbol: BriLib$_2$]

An anonymous poetry anthology containing a single poem of 12 verses by Ibn Maṭrūḥ (al-Nabhānī 75).[26] Ibn Maṭrūḥ's poetry is cited in numerous pre-modern anthologies so al-Ṣāliḥ's use of this particular Ms anthology in his edition cannot be regarded as systematic.

Printed Editions of the *Dīwān*

The *Dīwān* has been published a total of four times in editions based on one or more of the above manuscripts, except for the oldest manuscript (Ms SOAS) which has never been used. A concordance of these editions and Ms SOAS is appended to this article. NB: throughout this article, I refer to Ibn Maṭrūḥ's poems by their left-most position in the concordance table found in the appendix.

Yūsuf al-Nabhānī (ed.), Constantinople, 1298/1881

106 poems; a total of 818 verses.

22. See Ahlwardt, 1887-1899, vol. 7, no. 7755.
23. See Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, Amīn (ed.), pp. 63-64.
24. See Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, Naṣṣār (ed.), pp. 27-28.
25. See Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, Naṣṣār (ed.), p. 27.
26. See Rieu, 1846, no. 630-2; and also Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, al-Ṣāliḥ (ed.), p. 273.

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Ǧawda Amīn (ed.), Cairo, 1989

Based on al-Nabhānī edition and Mss K, BriLib$_1$, Berlin$_1$, Berlin$_2$. 232 poems divided into four sections: the *Dīwān*, a section of seven *rubāʿiyyāt* (scil. *dūbayt* poems), and two supplements of poems found in other sources: one of poems attributed exclusively to Ibn Maṭrūḥ (*mulḥaq* 1) and one of poems attributed to him as well as others (*mulḥaq* 2). In the concordance these appendices are coded as Rub, M1, and M2 respectively. A few poems are unique to this edition. A total of 1768 verses.[27]

ʿAwaḍ al-Ṣāliḥ (ed.), Benghazi, 1995

Based on al-Nabhānī edition and Mss K, BriLib$_1$, Rylands, Berlin$_1$, and BriLib$_2$. 185 poems, including some unique to this edition. A total of 1376 verses.

Ḥusayn Naṣṣār (ed.), Cairo, 2009

Based on al-Nabhānī edition and Mss K, V, Baghdad, BriLib$_1$, Damascus, and Mecca; Ms Rylands was consulted but not used. 261 poems, including all of those in the al-Nabhānī edition and some unique to this edition. A total of 1998 verses.

It is regrettable that these scholars spent a great deal of time and energy going over old ground while at the same time failing to incorporate the oldest source of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* in their editions. SOAS Arabic Ms 13248 does not contain any poems not extant in the printed editions of the *Dīwān*, but the order of poems it preserves is unique, it offers many textual variants, and indeed the selection of the poems in the manuscript itself is important evidence for the reception of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's literary production. It is worth noting, too, that Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* is appended to the *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Nabīh (d. 619/1222) in Ms SOAS. The copy of Ibn al-Nabīh's *Dīwān* preserved in the Ms codex was copied in 848/1444 and it is likely that the *Dīwān* of Ibn Maṭrūḥ was copied around the same time.[28] The colophon of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* is not dated but it states that the copy was made by one ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī—known as Ibn Šams—a copyist at al-Madrasa al-Ǧamāliyya (Aleppo) who died in 856/1452.[29] The bundling of these two *Dīwān*s by two Ayyubid-era, 7th/13th-century Egyptian poets into a single codex betokens an indigenous literary history based on chronology, geography, and genre that was the direct forerunner of our orientalist literary history, which has sidelined the careers and legacies of poets like Ibn al-Nabīh and Ibn Maṭrūḥ. These poets remain important in Arabic-language scholarship because they are associated with a particular historical narrative that continues to be politically relevant for Arab scholars (especially Egyptians), but they are remembered for their political careers as much as their poetry.

27. This edition is mentioned in Claude Gilliot's 1991 round-up of editions (pp. 361-362).
28. Gacek, 1981, no. 59.
29. See SOAS Arabic Ms 13248, f. 92b, and Gacek, 1981, no. 58.

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The clearest example of this trend is the attention devoted to a poem—purportedly by Ibn Maṭrūḥ—on the occasion of Louis IX's defeat at the Battle of Fariskur on 3 Muḥarram 648/7 April 1250 and his subsequent imprisonment.[30] The poem is given in all four of the printed editions of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* but it does not occur in the oldest recension (Ms SOAS) so I refer to it here as al-Nabhānī 11. The poem was well known in the pre-modern period and while it is not found in Ms SOAS it is found in many other near-contemporary and later sources, including several of the Mss used to prepare the printed editions of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān*.[31] Nevertheless, we cannot be certain of the poem's authenticity without further investigation. This is no impediment, however, to the poem's popularity, which continues to this day: the first two words of the poem *"qul li-l-Faransīs"* turns up more than 200,000 hits on Google and the poem itself was even featured in a sermon on the virtues of Egypt (*faḍā'il Miṣr*) by the extremist Saudi cleric Muḥammad al-ʿArīfī broadcast on the Murīd al-Ǧanna satellite television channel on 22 December 2012.[32]

وقال عندما كسر ملك المعظَّم الفرنسيس واعتقله بدار فخر الدين بن لقمان
وقـيَّده بقيد من ذهب ووكَّل به خادمًا يسمَّى صَبيحًا: [من السريع]

[١] قُلْ للفَرَنْسيسِ إذا جئتَهُ مقالَ صِـدْقٍ من قَـؤولٍ فصيحْ
[٢] آجَـرَكَ ٱللّٰه عَلى ما مَضى من قتلِ عُبَّادِ يسوعَ ٱلمَسيحْ
[٣] قد جئتَ مِصراً تبْتَغي أخْذَها تَحْسُبُ أنَّ ٱلزَّمرَ يا طَبْلُ ريحْ
[٤] فساقَكَ ٱلحَيْنُ إلى أدهَمَ ضاقَ بِهِ عَنْ ناظِرَيْكَ ٱلفَسيحْ
[٥] رحتَ وأصْحابُكَ أوْدَعْتَهُمْ بِقُبْحِ أفْعالِكَ بَطْنَ ٱلضَّريحْ
[٦] خمسونَ ألفًا لا يُرى مِنْهُمُ إلَّا قتيلٍ أوأسـيـرٍ جَـريـحْ
[٧] فَـــرَدَّكَ ٱلـلّٰـه إلـى مِثْلِها لعلَّ عيسى منكُمُ يَسْتَريحْ
[٨] إنْ كانَ باباكُمْ بِذا راضـيًا فـرُبَّ غِشٍّ قَدْ أتى مِنْ نَصيحْ
[٩] فـاْتَّـخِـذوهُ كـاهِـنًـا إنَّـهُ أنْصحُ مِنْ شِقٍّ لَكُمْ أو سَطيحْ
[١٠] وَقُلْ لَهُمْ إنْ أضْمَروا عَوْدَةً لأخْـذِ ثـأْرٍ أو لِقَصْدٍ صَحيحْ
[١١] دارُ ٱبْنِ لُقْمانَ عَلَى عَهْدِها والقَيْدُ باقٍ والطَواشي صَبيحْ

30. Louis IX (1214-1270) participated in the seventh crusade and died at the beginning of the eighth. He was canonized by Pope Boniface VIII in 1297.

31. The poem can be found in various forms (in chronological order) in: al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, VII, pp. 384-385; al-Yūnīnī, *Ḏayl*, II, p. 212; Abū al-Fidā', *al-Muḫtaṣar*, III, p. 142; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, I, p. 232; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, X, p. 315; Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Tāriḫ*, V, p. 418; al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ*, VIII, p. 38 (cf. n. 1); al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, I, pp. 30-31; Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuǧūm*, VI, pp. 369-370; *al-Manhal*, III, p. 441; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, II, p. 37.

32. See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wno_06cY7UQ>.

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1. Tell the Frenchman when you see him,
   Sincerely, from a loquacious and eloquent man,
2. May God reimburse you for what has passed:
   the deaths of the worshippers of Jesus Christ (*Yasūʿ al-masīḥ*).[33]
3. You came to Egypt, wanting to seize her;
   You thought that the [sound of] pipes blowing was just the wind, you drum!
4. But then death drove you toward a black steed
   And the open spaces before your eyes became narrowed.
5. You left after you deposited your companions
   —because of your despicable behavior—in the bottom of their crypts.
6. Fifty thousand, none of them can be seen
   who aren't dead or wounded, taken prisoner.
7. May God bring you another day like that one,
   Perhaps then Jesus (*ʿĪsā*) will be relieved of you.
8. If all that has taken place pleases your Pope;
   How often has perfidy hidden behind advice?
9. Then take him for your soothsayer
   for his advice is more sage than that of Šiqq or Saṭīḥ.[34]
10. And tell them, if they harbor a desire to return,
    to take their revenge or even for a purpose sound,
11. That Ibn Luqmān's house still stands where it did,[35]
    and the shackles are here, and so is the eunuch Ṣabīḥ.

Sectarian feeling can also be detected in another poem from Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān*; one we might call an invective (*hiǧāʾ*) epigram. In this poem (SOAS 55), Ibn Maṭrūḥ derides the people of Damascus for taking Saturday as a leisure day, calling it a Jewish tradition (*sunnat al-yahūd*).[36]

وقال يهجو أهل دمشق: [من مخلّع البسيط]

[١] تَخِذْتُمُ ٱلسَّبْتَ يومَ عِيدٍ وهـــذه سُـــنَّـــةُ ٱلـيَـهـودِ

[٢] وكـانَ يكفيكُمُ ضَـلالًا شـربُـكُـمُ ٱلـمـاءِ مـن يزيدِ

33. There are two forms of the name Jesus in Arabic: *Yasūʿ* (Syr. *Yeshūʿ*, Heb. *Yeshuaʿ*) and the Quranic ʿĪsā. Ibn Maṭrūḥ calls the Christian crusaders "worshippers of Jesus Christ" (*ʿubbādi Yasūʿa l-masīḥ*) in line 2 using the form of Jesus' name used by Arabic-speaking Christians, whereas in line 7, when he utters a wish that the crusaders be defeated once more, he uses the Quranic form of Jesus' name.

34. Šiqq and Saṭīḥ: two legendary diviners of the pre-Islamic period (See Carra de Vaux, Fahd, 1996 and Levi Della Vida, Fahd, 1995).

35. According to al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*, VIII, p. 38, Louis IX was imprisoned in the house in which the head of the chancery (*ṣāḥib dīwān al-inšāʾ*) Faḫr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Luqmān would stay when he traveled to Mansoura. The building survives.

36. See Rippin, 1994.

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1. You've decided Saturdays should be a day of rest,
   although that's a Jewish habit.
2. Isn't it impious enough that you
   drink water from [the river] Yazīd.

The last hemistich of this epigram hinges on a double entendre (*tawriya*) in which the tributary of the Baradā river is deliberately confused with the ruler who ordered it to be dug, the caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (d. 683), who is reviled by many Muslims as the villain of the Battle of Karbalāʾ.

Disputed *dāliyya* (Amīn 26)

Two of the Mss (Rylands and BriLib$_1$) used to compile the printed editions of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* begin with a poem that is elsewhere said to have been written by Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (d. 608/1211).[37] A marginal comment in Ms Rylands itself corroborates this attribution.[38] The poem is also found in Ms Damascus according to Naṣṣār who reports that the order of poems in Mss Rylands, BriLib$_1$, and Damascus is similar and unlike that of the other Mss he consulted. According to Amīn, Ms BriLib$_1$ only contains Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *ġazal* poetry and can thus be contrasted with Ms SOAS, which includes more of his *madīḥ* output.[39] In addition to making use of Ms SOAS, one hopes that the next editor of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* will be able to establish the different recension traditions represented by the extant *Dīwān* Mss. In the *Dīwān* of Ibn Maṭrūḥ, this poem (Amīn 26) survives as a ten-line erotic poem (*ġazal*), but in the *Dīwān* of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk these verses are part of a much longer (46 vv.) praise poem (*madīḥ*) for the judge Ǧamāl al-Dīn Asʿad b. al-Ǧalīs. *Dīwān* editors determine their own strategies for dealing with material whose authorship is disputed and this poem is a lens through which we can see each of the three modern editors' approaches to the problem.

Al-Ṣāliḥ discusses the disputed attribution of the poem, determines that the poem was not written by Ibn Maṭrūḥ, and decides not to include it in his edition of the *Dīwān* for that reason.[40] Naṣṣār and Amīn, on the other hand, both include the poem in their edition, but it is only Naṣṣār who acknowledges the poem's disputed attribution in a footnote. Scholarly opinion on the poem's authorship may differ, but there is literary historical value in documenting the poem as it occurs in some of the Mss of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* that have come down to us. Elsewhere I have proposed treating poems like these as poems in parallel in order to cope with situations in which positivist tendencies in literary history encourage us to flatten the complexity and disorder

37. Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, *Dīwān*, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq (ed.), 1958; repr. 1975, pp. 206-211; *Dīwān*, Naṣr (ed.), 1969, II, pp. 86-88. The first line of this poem is an oft-cited example of *iktifāʾ* ("truncation").
38. Mingana, 1934, p. 773; Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, al-Ṣāliḥ (ed.), p. 262.
39. See Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, Naṣṣār (ed.), p. 27; *Dīwān*, Amīn (ed.), p. 56.
40. Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, al-Ṣāliḥ (ed.), p. 263. He does, however, include another poem attributed to both Ibn Maṭrūḥ and Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (Amīn 98).

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that surround literary creation, transmission, and reproduction.[41] I find it vital and germane to record and make sense of the fact that for some anthologists, *Dīwān*-compilers, scribes, and readers in the centuries following Ibn Maṭrūḥ and Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's deaths, a poem by one could have been plausibly attributed to the other. I find it equally thought-provoking that a ten-line *ġazal* poem can exist both on its own as well as within a 46-line *madīḥ* poem.

In the interest of brevity, I do not reproduce and translate the 46-line *madīḥ* poem attributed to Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, rather only the ten-line ġazal poem attributed to Ibn Maṭrūḥ. However for purposes of comparison, I have numbered the verses as they correspond to the 46-line *madīḥ* poem found in Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's *Dīwān*.

[من الطويل]

[١] دَنَوْتُ وقد أبدى ٱلكَرى منه ما أبدى — فقبّلتُهُ في ٱلـخـدِّ تسعينَ أو إحدى

[٢] وأبصرتُ في خدَّيهِ ماءً وخُضْرَةً — فما أعْـذَبَ ٱلمَرْعَى وما أعْـذَبَ ٱلوَردا

[٧] أقــولُ لـنـاهٍ قـد أشــارَ بِـتَـرْكِـهِ — لقد زِدْتَـنـي فيما أشــرتَ بـه رُشـدا

[٣] تلهَّب ماءُ ٱلخدِّ أو سالَ جَمْرُهُ — فيا جَمْرُ ما أذْكَـى ويا مـاءُ ما أنْـدَى

[٨] فهلّا نهَيْتَ ٱلثَّغرَ أن يُعْذِبَ ٱللَّمَى — وهـلّا أمَـرْتَ ٱلـصَّـدْرَ أن يكْتُمَ ٱلنَّهْدا

[٤] يـلـومُ عليه مَـنْ يَهيمُ بِـدونِـهِ — ومَنْ كانَ يهوَى ٱلصَّابَ لم يَعرِفْ الشَّهْدا

[٩] بِنَفْسِيَ مَنْ لو جادَ لي بِوِصالِهِ — فلا أنْعَمَتْ نُعْمَى ولا أسْعَدَتْ سُعْدَى

[٥] وما كلُّ معسولِ ٱللَّمَى يَجْلُبُ ٱلهَوَى — وما كلُّ مصقولِ ٱلطُّلَّى يَسْلُبُ ٱلرُّشْدا

[١٣] وفي ٱلقلبِ نارٌ للخليلِ تَوَقَّدَتْ — ومـا ذُقْـتُ منها لا سلامًا ولا بَـرْدا

[٢٠] ورَبعُ ٱلّذي أهواهُ يَرْوي شرابُهُ الـ — ـعُطاشَ ويَشْفي تَرْبُهُ ٱلأعْيُنَ ٱلرُّمْدا

1. I drew near when sleep had revealed what it was going to reveal of him
   and then I kissed him ninety times or one-and—[42]
2. I could see the surface of his cheek was moist and verdant:
   O pasture so sweet! O rose so delightful!
7. To one who tells me I should leave him, I say:
   "By pointing a finger, you've only guided me toward him."
3. The water of his cheek blazed, or [perhaps] its glowing embers flowed,
   O embers so sweet-smelling! O water so dew-like!

41. Talib, 2013. This is not exactly the same situation as that described by Paul Zumthor's notion of mouvance, or Bernard Cerquiglini's variance, though it is of course related to and derivative of these. See also the discussion of Naṣṣār 81 and Naṣṣār 212 below.

42. This line displays truncation (*iktifāʾ*) and the reader is expected to supply the implied continuation "one-and[-ninety times]" (*iḥdā* [*wa-tisʿīn*]).

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8. Won't you stop your mouth from sweetening your lips?
And won't you order your chest to suppress your sighs?
4. Those who love inferior others blame those who love him:
for the lovers of colocynth know nothing of honey.
9. I'd give my life for one who, if he were to grant me a meeting,
May I never enjoy happiness again after that!
5. Not every sweet-lipped one succeeds in attracting adoration,
And not every smooth-necked one can rob men of their wits.
13. Fire blazes in my heart for this friend (*al-ḫalīl*)
But I haven't tasted its comfort or its cold (*lā salāman wa-lā bardā*).[43]
20. Where the one I love lives, the waters
quench the thirsty and the soil cures sore eyes.

Insofar as conflicted attributions are puzzles for editors to tease out and reconcile as best they can, this poem is a particularly rich example of the challenge of parallel poetry in Arabic. Even if we concede, *prima facie* for the purpose of analysis, that the author of the verses is Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, we cannot conclude that Ibn Maṭrūḥ or those who composed and copied his *Dīwān* did not reassemble Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's *madīḥ* verses into the *ġazal* poem reproduced and translated here. It is implausible that such an intervention would have gone unremarked upon by Ibn Maṭrūḥ's contemporaries, especially in the hothouse atmosphere of Arabic literary circles in which plagiarism was a grave, if common, accusation. Nevertheless even if we are inclined to grant Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk the status of author—tendentious though it may be—we cannot rule out the possibility that Ibn Maṭrūḥ was responsible for this pastiche, if it is indeed a pastiche. I do not want to suggest that Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk repurposed verses originally authored by Ibn Maṭrūḥ, but simply to point to the critical interstice between what we suppose and what the literary historical material reflects. Beyond the question of authorship, such a confused attribution also furnishes us with important information about the reception of these two poets in the tradition and their affinity as artists.

Textual Histories

Elsewhere in the Mss of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān*, we encounter another instance of poems in parallel; this time, a rather more typical case of what Bernard Cerquiglini has called variance.[44] Al-Nabhānī 81 is a 4-line *ġazal* poem (recorded in Mss K, V, Berlin$_I$, Baghdad, and Mecca), which Ibn Maṭrūḥ is said to have sent to one Muẓaffar al-Dīn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Miṣrī. Another poem (Amīn 113, 6 vv.)—which appears in Mss Rylands, BriLib$_I$, and Damascus, and shares the same

43. This line references the story of Ibrāhīm, also known as Ḫalīl Allāh or the Friend of God, and his salvation from the fire: Quran, XXI, *al-Anbiyāʾ*, 69: *qulnā yā nāru kūnī bardan wa-salāman ʿalā Ibrāhīm* ("'Be cool to Ibrāhīm and do him no harm, O fire', We ordered").
44. Cerquiglini, 1989.

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metre (*basīṭ*) and rhyme-letter (*lām*) as al-Nabhānī 81—can be read alongside it in parallel.[45] To facilitate this parallel reading, I will reproduce the text and translations of both poems side-by-side.

al-Nabhānī 81

[١] أَلـيَّـةً بِـقُـدودِ ٱلـهَـيْـفِ مَـيَّـلَـهـا
سُـكْـرُ ٱلـشَّـبـابِ فَما تخلو مِـنَ ٱلثَّمَلِ
[٢] وبـالـعُـيـونِ ٱلـتـي فـي طَـرْفِـهـا مَـرَضٌ
وبـالـخُـدودِ إذا ٱحْـمـرّتْ مِـنَ ٱلخَجَلِ
[٣] وبـالـنُـحـورِ إذا زانـتْ قـلائِـدُهـا
وبـالـثُّـغـورِ إذا أوْمَـتْ إلـى ٱلـقُـبَـلِ
[٤] لـم ألـقَ مُـذْ بِـنْـتُ عـنْـكُـمْ مـا أُسَـرُّ بِـهِ
وليس لي بعدَكُمْ في ٱلـعَـيْـشِ مِـنْ أمَـلِ

Amīn 113

[١] أَلـيَّـةً بِـفُـتـورِ ٱلأعْـيُـنِ ٱلـنُّـجُـلِ
وبـالـخُـدودِ إذا ٱحـمـرّتْ مِـنَ ٱلـخَـجَـلِ
[٢] وبـالـقُـدودِ إذا مـا هـزَّهـا هَـيَـفٌ
وبـالـثـغـورِ إذا أوْمَـتْ إلـى ٱلـقُـبَـلِ
[٣] لأنـتِ عِندي عَلَى ما فيكِ من صَلَفٍ
أحْلَى مِـنَ ٱلأمـنِ عِندَ ٱلخائفِ ٱلوَجِلِ[46]
[٤] أحـبـابَـنـا لا ومـا بَـيْـنـي وبَـيْـنَـكُـمُ
مِـنَ ٱلـوِدادِ ومـا ودّي بِـمُـنْـتَـقِـلِ
[٥] لَـئِـنْ ظَـفِـرْتُ بِـلُـقْـيـاكُـمْ وفُـزْتُ بِـهِ
ما ٱسْـتَـشْـرَفَـتْ بَعْدَها نَفْسي إلـى أمَـلِ
[٦] إنْ قَـدَّرَ ٱلـلَّـهُ أنْ أحْـظَـى بِـزَوْرَتِـكُـمْ
وَهَـبْـتُـكُـم كُـلَّ مـا ألـقـاهُ مِـنْ أجَـلِ

al-Nabhānī 81

1. [I] swear by slender bodies, swayed
by youth's intoxication, not wholly sober,
2. And by eyes in whose corners lies illness
and by blushing cheeks,
3. and by a neck adorned with necklaces
and by lips leaning in for a kiss
4. Since leaving you, not a single thing has
given me pleasure,
and life holds no hope for me now that
you're gone.

Amīn 113

1. [I] swear by large, languid eyes,
and by blushing cheeks,
2. and by a body swayed by slenderness,
and by lips leaning in for a kiss,
3. For all that you boast, you're still
dearer to me than security to a coward
4. My dears, I swear by the love we share—
and mine is not a shifting love—that
5. If I should have the pleasure of seeing you,
My soul won't look forward to anything
else after that.
6. If God should will that I have the plea-
sure of seeing you,
I'd give you all the life I've got.

45. This poem appears in Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, al-Ṣāliḥ (ed.), no. 119 (five lines).
46. Ms Rylands records a variant of this hemistich (cited in Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, Naṣṣār (ed.), p. 171n):
aḥlā min an-nawmi baʿda s-suhdi fi l-muqalī [Dearer than rest after sleepless nights to the eye]

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Ms SOAS also helps to clear up a dispute between the editors about an exchange of poems between Ibn Maṭrūḥ and Muhaḏḏab al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḫiyamī (d. 642/1245).[47] It is stated in Ms SOAS that Ibn al-Ḫiyamī sent the following poem to Ibn Maṭrūḥ when the latter was working in *dīwān al-mawārīṯ*, i.e. the probate office or office responsible for inheritances:[48]

وكتب إليه الشيخ مهذّب الدين ٱبن الخيمي أيام كان على ديوان المواريث:

[من الطويل]

[١] لِمِهْيارِ مِصْرٍ أُسْجِلَ ٱلفَضْلَ عِندَنا وأبْطَلْتُ الدَّعْوى لِمِهْيارِ فارِسِ

[٢] فبينَهُما في ٱلنَّظْمِ والنَّثرِ إنْ هما شَبَرْتَهُما ما بينَ ماشٍ وفارِسِ

[٣] فَتىً نَظَرَ ٱلسُّلطانُ فيهِ مَخايِلَ (م) ٱلدّرايةِ والديوانِ نَظْرَةَ فارِسِ

[٤] فولاهُ أموالَ ٱلمواريثِ حاميًا بِهِ سَرْبَها من كلّ أفزعِ فارِسِ

[٥] كأنَّ بْنَ مطروحٍ أقام ٱبنَ أحمدَ وأحياهُ مِنْ بعْدِ ٱلبِلاءِ ٱبنَ فارِسِ

[٦] فكلُّ أميرٍ في ٱلبَلاغةِ عِنْدَهُ غُلامٌ فلا تَبْعَثْ سِواهُ بفارِسِ

بعد البلاء | في المخطوطة: «بعد البلاد» وفي نسخ مطبوعة أخرى «البلى».

1. The Mihyār of Egypt has been granted superiority in abundance, in our view,
   and so I've given up making claims for the Mihyār of Persia.[49]
2. The distance between them, when it comes to poetry and prose, is
   like measuring between one who walks and one on horseback.
3. A young man in whom the Sultan could see, like a physiognomist (*fāris*) sees,
   signs of intelligence and [the right bearing for] the *dīwān*.
4. So he put him in charge of the funds of legacies, to protect
   them from leaking at the hands of those frightened by lions.
5. [It's] as though Ibn Maṭrūḥ resurrected al-Ḫalīl b. Aḥmad,
   and brought Ibn Fāris back from the grave.[50]
6. Compared to him every rhetorical master is a mere
   knave (*ġulām*), so don't send [my poem rhyming in] *fāris* to anyone but him!

In his reply to Ibn al-Ḫiyamī, Ibn Maṭrūḥ uses the same metre and rhyme-letter, but he self-consciously does not mimic the recurrent rhyme-word used in the original poem:[51]

47. On this author, see ʿAmr, 2005, and the numerous biographical sources cited there. This poem does not appear there, however. The other two editions of the *Dīwān* (Nāǧī and Zāhid (eds.), 2008; Maḥfūẓ (ed.), 1970) were not available to me.
48. SOAS Arabic Ms 13248, ff. 82b-83a.
49. i.e. Mihyār al-Daylamī (d. 428/1037).
50. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār identifies these as al-Ḫalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791) and Aḥmad b. Fāris al-Lughawī (d. 395/1004): see Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, Naṣṣār (ed.), p. 71n.
51. SOAS Arabic Ms 13248, f. 83a.

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فكتب إليه: [من الطويل]

[١] أباعِثَها مَـلْءَ ٱلمَسامِعِ حِكْمَةً قـوافٍ تُحَلَّى كـالـعَـذارَى ٱلعرائسِ
[٢] شَـوارِدُ عَنْ أذْهـانِ قَـوْمٍ شَـوارِدٍ أوانِـسُ تُـزْري بالحِسانِ ٱلأوانِـسِ
[٣] مُهَذَّبَةٌ جَـاءَتْ لَنا مِـنْ مُهَذَّبٍ تَـذِلُّ لَـهُ كُـلُّ ٱلـقـوافي ٱلـشَّـوامِـسِ
[٤] تَعِزُّ عَلى مَـنْ رامَها غَيْرُ رَبِّها وتَطْغَى فَما تُعْطي قِـيـاداً للامِسِ
[٥] سُـداسـيَّـةٌ لـو قـالَ أنَّـى بسابِعٍ لها ٱبـنُ سليمانٍ أتَـى بَـعْـدَ خامِسِ
[٦] وحاوَلْتُ مِنها ٱلرَّاءَ والسِّينَ فاحْتَمَتْ عَـلَـيَّ بِـحـامٍ ذي ٱقْـتِـدارٍ وحـابِـسِ
[٧] حَمَيْتَ حِماها ثُمَّ أغْلَقْتَ بابَها وحَـصَّـنْـتَ مِنها كُـلَّ بيتٍ بِـفـارِسِ

ملء | في مخطوطة SOAS: مل. قواف | في مخطوطة SOAS: قوافي. الشوامس | في مخطوطة SOAS: الشوامسي. بحام | في مخطوطة SOAS: بخادم. وحصّنت | في مخطوطة SOAS: وخُضْتَ.

1. O Sender, ears have been filled with wisdom by
   rhyming verses adorned like virgin brides.
2. Trendy verses that [befuddle the minds of] a befuddled nation,
   maiden-verses that put beautiful maidens to shame.
3. Refined verses sent to us by a refined man;
   all other modest verses are nought compared to it.
4. For anyone but their owner, they're difficult to ride,
   they disobey, and won't be led by anyone who tries.
5. A six-liner, even if al-Maʿarrī were to say: "Where can one find a seventh [verse]?"
   [It would still have to come after a fifth verse].[52]
6. I gave the *R* and *S* a try, but it locked me out,
   with a powerful protector [between us].
7. You have secured it, locked the gate behind you
   and stationed a horseman at [the door of] every single house/verse.[53]

The printed editions of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* do not agree on the order and authorship of these two poems. Al-Nabhānī and Naṣṣār incorrectly identify the author of the first poem as Ibn Maṭrūḥ and the second as Ibn al-Ḫiyamī; whereas Amīn and al-Ṣāliḥ present the poems with the correct attribution as has now been corroborated by Ms SOAS.

52. Naṣṣār identifies Ibn Sulaymān as Abū ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (see Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, Naṣṣār (ed.), p. 71n).
53. The final hemistich includes a double entendre (*tawriya*) that sums up Ibn Maṭrūḥ's reply: the Arabic word *bayt* means both "dwelling" and "poetic verse" and the horseman (*fāris*) he refers to is the rhyme-word repeated in each verse of Ibn al-Ḫiyamī's poem.

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Poems with recurrent rhyme-words—like Ibn al-Ḫiyamī's poem rhyming in *fāris*—are not entirely uncommon in classical Arabic poetry.[54] In Ibn al-Ḫiyamī's poem, the word *fāris* is repeated at the end of each line, each time meaning something different; a case of *ǧināS tāmm* (perfect paronomasia or antanaclasis).[55] A similar, but significantly different, poem in Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* (al-Nabhānī 78) gives some idea of the experimentation and diversification of literary styles and forms that was taking place in the period.[56] The recurrent rhyme-word in this bold praise poem encompasses a ludic dimension that is often only implied in Arabic court poetry.[57] We cannot know exactly how the poem was performed—if it was indeed performed in front of the sultan as the text suggests—but in order to demonstrate the performative potential of this remarkable poem, I have supplied my own anachronistic and speculative stage directions alongside the translation.[58]

[من الطويل]

[١] تَعَشَّقْتُ بدرًا وجهُهُ مُشرِقٌ كَذا إذا ماسَ خِلْتُ ٱلغُصْنَ مِنْ قدِّهِ كَذا
[٢] لَهُ مُقْلَةٌ كَحْلاءُ نَجْلاءُ إنْ رَنَتْ رَمَتْ أسْهمًا في قلبِ عاشِقِهِ كَذا
[٣] تَبَدَّى فقالَ ٱلنَّاسُ لا بَدرَ غيرُهُ وخرَّ لهُ كلُّ ٱلوَرَى سُجَّدًا كَذا
[٤] أقولُ وقد عاتَبْتُهُ ويمينُهُ على خدِّهِ إذ طالَ مُفْتَكِرًا كَذا
[٥] فَدَتْكَ حياتي يا مُنى ٱلنَّفْسِ هَلْ تُرَى أراكَ ضَجيعي لَيْلَةً آمِنًا كذا
[٦] فقالَ وقد أبدى ٱلتَّبَسُّمَ ضاحِكًا أتَيْتُكَ فٱحْفِلْ بيْ فقلتُ لهُ كذا
[٧] وبتُّ عَلَى طيبِ ٱلعِناقِ مُقَبِّلًا لِفيهِ إلى أنْ مالَ مِنْ سُكْرِهِ كذا
[٨] وقالَ أما تَخْشَى ٱلوُشاةَ وتَتَّقي عيونَ ٱلأعادي والوُشاةُ بنا كذا
[٩] فقلتُ لهُ واللّٰهِ يا غايةَ ٱلمُنَى كَشَفْتُ قِناعي فيكَ بينَ ٱلوَرَى كذا
[١٠] وبُحتُ بسرّي واطَّرَحْتُ عواذِلي فأطرَقَ إذ أوْمى بإصْبَعِهِ كذا
[١١] وقالَ أما أنْذَرْتُكَ ٱلآنَ أنّني أحبُّ ٱكْتِتامَ ٱلأمْرِ قلتُ لهُ كذا
[١٢] ألا يا نسيمَ ٱلرِّيحِ باللهِ بلِّغي سَلامي عَلَى مَنْ صِرْتُ في حُبِّهِ كذا
[١٣] وقولي لهُ ذاكَ ٱلكَئيبُ أملَّني وأهْدَى سلامًا مِنْ تحيَّتِهِ كذا
[١٤] عساهُ إذا وافَتْ تحيّةُ عبدِهِ يُسائِلُ عن حالي بأُنْمُلَةٍ كذا
[١٥] وأقْسِمُ باللّٰهِ ٱلعَظيمِ ووَجْهِهِ ٱلـ ـكريمِ وإلّا مُتُّ مُعْتَقِدًا كذا
[١٦] لَئِنْ صَدَّ عنّي مُعْرِضًا مُتَدلِّلًا وأصْبَحَ حَبْلُ ٱلودِّ ما بيننا كذا
[١٧] تَعَلَّقْتُ بالسُلطانِ أيوبَ سَيِّدًا ومَنْ جودُهُ في ٱلنَّاسِ بينَ ٱلوَرَى كذا

54. See van Gelder, 2012, pp. 240-244.
55. See Cachia, 1998, no. 18.
56. This poem is also attributed to al-Naššābī al-Irbilī (d. 657/1259) in al-ʿInnābī's *Nuzhat al-abṣār*, p. 551. I thank Greet Jan van Gelder for the reference.
57. See Gruendler, 2008.
58. On the use of gestures in poetic performance, see Ibn Rašīq, *al-ʿUmda*, I, pp. 309-310.

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Translation	Stage Directions
1. I fell in love with [one as pretty as] a full moon, his face shines like so.	*Frames face with open hands, forming a corona around it*
If he sauntered past, you'd think his body were a branch like so.	*Walks along swaying his body, arm outstretched*
2. When his large, dark eyes gaze happily, they launch arrows at the heart of his lover like so.	*Mimics drawing a bow and shooting an arrow*
3. When he appears, everyone says "There is no moon but he," and they all prostrate themselves before him like so.	*Raises hands on either side of head and lowers them to mimic prostration*
4. After I chastised him, I said to him, as he lay his cheek on his right hand, lost in thought, like so.	*Lays cheek against his right hand*
5. "I'd give my life for you, O you my soul's only desire, tell me: Do you think I'll ever share your bed on a guarded night like so?"	*Places outstretched index fingers side by side*
6. And he answered, wearing a grin, "I'm here with you now so see to me" and I said, "Like so[!]"	*Gives a cheer and grins widely*
7. And I spent a while in the pleasure of his embrace, kissing his mouth until he, in his drunkenness, listed to one side like so.	*Slumps over to one side as if drunk*
8. "Aren't you afraid of the gossips?" he asked, "Don't you want to hide from enemy eyes what with the gossips [surrounding us] like so?"	*Hunches shoulders and cranes neck fearfully to cast a look around*
9. So I said to him, "By God, O object of my dreams, "I've come clean with everyone about my feelings for you, like so."	*Slaps hands together as if getting the dust off of them*
10. "And I've revealed my secret and spurned those who chastise me." He was silent, his eyes downcast, when he made a signal with his finger like so.	*Puts index finger against lips to signal silence*

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11. And said, "Didn't I just warn you? I like to keep things discreet?" So I answered, "Indeed, like so."	*Places finger right index finger over each eye in succession*
12. "O breeze—please God—won't you give my greetings to the one whom I love who has me like so?	*Slumps and wraps arms around body to signal illness and despair*
13. "And tell him that this desperate one put his trust in me to deliver a greeting like so."	*Puts right hand across heart in gesture of greeting*
14. Perhaps if he receives his servant's greeting, he'll ask how I'm doing, with a flick of his finger, like so.	*Flicks fingers of right hand as if to shoo or dismiss*
15. I swear by God and His noble face that I will go to the grave, clinging firmly like so,	*Holds tightly to an imaginary rope as if hanging from it*
16. if he shuns me, turns away from me, teases me, and the bond[s] of affection between us become frayed like so.	*Raises skirt of garment to expose frayed leggings humorously*
17. For I cling to Sultan Ayyūb, my lord, the one, who more than all other men, is generous like so.	*Stretches arms out to encompass the entire court*

Whether or not the poem was performed with such elaborate action, or merely with hand gestures and body language, the poem's ludic tone is obvious even on the page. In the first, erotic (*ġazal*) section of the poem (ll. 1-11), gestures at the ends of lines 3, 5, and at the ends of both hemistichs of the first line illustrate an image or idea mentioned in the line, while the majority of gestures (at the ends of lines 2, 4, 6-11) are specifically associated with a character's speech. In the second and final section of the poem (ll. 12-17) in which the poet pivots from the erotic to the panegyric, the gestures at the ends of lines 13 and 14 are associated with the poet-persona's speech, while the gestures at the ends of line 12, 15-17 illustrate an image or idea in the line. If the poem is read as a monologue with one character, the poet-persona narrating and acting out the parts of lover and beloved, then there is no distinction between the two types of gestures I have identified here. Both types enhance the communicative dimension of the poet-persona's monologue.

The recurrent rhyme-word in this poem and the gestures associated with it can be compared to a similar poem written around the same time, though in a different language and in a different region of the Islamicate world. The Persian poem by Ǧalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (604-672/1207-1273) is a *ġazal* poem not a panegyric poem, but what links the two poems is the rhyme and its gesticulative potential.[59] In Rūmī's poem (*ġazal* no. 1826), a single phrase (called the *radīf*)—*kih hamčunīn* ("like so")—is repeated after the rhyme at the end of each line and at the end of the first hemistich of the first line.[60] In Rūmī's poem, the repeated

59. Arberry, 2009, pp. 233-234, no. 226.
60. See Heinrichs, 1993.

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phrase is most often used as an adverb to modify a series of imperative verbs (ll. 1-7, 9, 11), but it is also occasionally used—as in Ibn Maṭrūḥ's poem—to enhance dialogue or figures expressed in the poem (ll. 8, 10, 12, 14). It is not clear whether either poet knew of the other's work—and I am not suggesting any relationship between these two poems other than coincidence—but it is clear that the 13th-century literary Zeitgeist deserves further exploration.

Paratexts

According to paratextual evidence, a number of poems in Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* are said—according to the headings of the poems themselves—to have been delivered as letters, though this may have been a literary conceit (see SOAS 11, 14, 16-21, 24, 34-36, 38, 41-4, 47-50, 54; al-Nabhānī 10, 18, 29, 81; Naṣṣār 56, 81, 146, 164). Ibn Ḫallikān notes that Ibn Maṭrūḥ and Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr sustained their close friendship by exchanging poems about what was happening in their lives by post.[61] Other headings in Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* indicate the events that occasioned, or purportedly occasioned, the poem's composition and delivery, thus linking the literary texts to contemporary events in the poet's private and professional lives. Ceremonial poems include a poem on the occasion of al-Malik al-Muġīṯ's circumcision (SOAS 10), the capture of Jerusalem in 1239 (al-Nabhānī 13), the construction of a bathhouse (al-Nabhānī 25), and the death of Faḫr al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Muḥammad at the battle of Mansoura on 5 Ḏū al-Qaʿda 647/9 February 1250 (Naṣṣār 131). One five-line poem (al-Nabhānī 9) by Ibn Maṭrūḥ is said to have been written to grace the entrance of a house built by his patron al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (d. 647/1249). Poems inspired by events in Ibn Maṭrūḥ's personal life include a poem on visiting Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262) after going to the bathhouse (SOAS 33), visiting the tomb of al-Šāfiʿī (SOAS 37), visiting the tomb of the Prophet Abraham (Amīn M1.5), a poem to accompany a gift (SOAS 16), and a poem chastizing Ibn Ḫallikān (d. 681/1282) for not visiting (SOAS 36).[62]

Ms SOAS, like the printed editions of the *Dīwān*, records a series of poems that Ibn Maṭrūḥ dictated to his kinsman ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ġiyāṯ al-Qurašī, who was permitted to transmit them as well as the date on which he heard them.[63] These thirteen poems (a total of fifty-five verses) appear to have been composed in Cairo over a period of less than two weeks from 9-20 Raǧab 648/7-18 October 1250 during which Ibn Maṭrūḥ meditated on his own mortality.[64] While contemporary and near-contemporary biographers do not agree on the date of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's death, none of them put his death as early as 648/1250.[65] If we follow Ibn Ḫallikān, who claimed to have been present at his friend's funeral and burial, this sequence

61. Ibn Ḫallikān, *Wafayāt*, VI, p. 263.

62. On the latter, see Ibn Ḫallikān, *Wafayāt*, VI, p. 262, and al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, I, p. 61.

63. These poems are SOAS 60-72.

64. The dates and the location of this activity are recorded in the headings of this poem sequence reproduced in the printed editions as found in some of the Mss of the *Dīwān* as well as in Ms SOAS, ff. 88b-91a.

65. There are two accounts of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's retirement from public life: (1) Ibn Ḫallikān records that Ibn Maṭrūḥ retired to his home in Cairo after the death of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ in Šaʿbān 647/November 1249 but (2) Ibn Wāṣil records that he continued to serve the Ayyubid administration at a high level until the

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of poems on impending mortality predate the poet's actual death by nearly a year, and come a year after the death of his one time patron al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ in Šaʿbān 647/November 1249. It appears, according again to Ibn Ḫallikān, that Ibn Maṭrūḥ was depressed and was in danger of losing his sight; this is likely what prompted the poet's meditations on mortality.[66]

Among this sequence, we find a poem that purports to dramatize a conversation between the frightened poet and his fatalist wife (SOAS 71):[67]

[من الطويل]

[١] وقائلةٍ ماذا ٱلتَّخوُّفُ كلُّهُ مِنَ ٱللّٰهِ وَهْوَ ٱلمُنْعِمُ ٱلمُتَفَضِّلُ
[٢] فقلت لها علمي بما قد جَنَيْتُهُ وأنّي عليمٌ حينَ أقْدَمُ أُسْأَلُ
[٣] فقالتْ إذا فَكَّرْتَ في يوم مَوْقِفٍ يهونُ عليكَ ٱلأمْرُ جِدّاً وأسْهَلُ
[٤] فقلت لها أرْشَدْتِ للخَيْرِ كُلِّهِ ولو كنتُ ذا حَزْم لَما كنتُ أجْهَلُ
[٥] ويكفيكَ قولُ ٱلمصطفى وَهْوَ الَّذي بِهِ صارَ في كلِّ الأُمورِ ٱلتَّوَسُّلُ
[٦] وَقَدْ سَأَلوهُ قالَ بَلْ أعْمَلُوا وَفي خَبر قال اعقلوا وَتَوَكَّلُوا

1. When she asked me, "What's with all this worry? Why do you fear
   God, the Most Gracious Benefactor?"
2. "Because I know what I've done," I told her,
   "and I know that when I meet him, I'll be held to account."
3. She said, "If only you'd think of the day you'll stand before God,[68]
   It would all be easier for you to bear."
4. So I said to her, "You've pointed me toward all that is good.
   If I were a more resolute man, I wouldn't have been so ignorant."
5. It is enough simply to remember what the Prophet has said,
   for he is the one who pleads on our behalf in all things,
6. When he was asked, he answered: "Do it." And
   in another report, he said, "Be reasonable and entrust your fate in God."

The last poem in the sequence is a *dūbayt* poem that Ibn Maṭrūḥ is said to have uttered when he was "near death" (*ʿinda wafātihi*), which is followed in Ms SOAS and other Mss by

assassination of al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrān-Šāh in Muḥarram 648/May 1250. See Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, Amīn (ed.), pp. 29-32.

66. Ibn Ḫallikān, *Wafayāt*, VI, p. 262 and al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd*, I, 1, p. 61.

67. I reproduce here the Ms SOAS text of the poem, which differs from the printed editions. NB: the final hemistich is defective.

68. See Quran, VI, *al-Anʿām*, 30.

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another five *dūbayt* poems (six out of seven total *dūbayt* poems attributed to Ibn Maṭrūḥ).[69] Many of the poems in the SOAS Ms are short, of what we might call epigrammatic length:

Poem length	Number of poems	Percentage of total (lines)
40 or more lines long	2	22%
20-39 lines long	5	28%
10-19 lines long	6	13%
5-9 lines long	14	15%
3 or 4 lines long	13	8%
1 or 2 lines long	42	14%

Of the 82 poems in the Ms SOAS, 40 of them are two-liners. This is perhaps typical of a broader trend in poetic composition in the 13th century away from performative set-piece poetry; a trend that would only accelerate in the 14th and 15th centuries. Ibn Maṭrūḥ did of course write and deliver long panegyric poems for the political leaders who were his patrons, but he also wrote a number of shorter poems, including poems written to and for his peers. These short poems spanned several genres: elegy (*riṯāʾ*: see al-Nabhānī 7), panegyric (*madīḥ*: see al-Nabhānī 16), riddle (*luġz*: see SOAS 47-48), erotic (*ġazal*: see SOAS 52-53), and invective (*hiǧāʾ*: see SOAS 55-59), and because of their wit and ease of circulation, they proved irresistible to anthologists.[70] Another example of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's legacy is the emulation of his work by later poets. Al-Šawkānī records in his *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ bi-maḥāsin man baʿd al-qarn al-sābiʿ* that the Yemeni poet Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad (d. *ca*.1080/1669) composed a poem with the same rhyme as Ibn Maṭrūḥ's poem SOAS 5—a panegyric in praise of al-Malik al-Ašraf I (d. 635/1237)—and that it was one of his most outstanding compositions.[71]

The heretofore unused SOAS Ms of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* is unlikely to change radically what we know of the poet's career and output, but it is an important source for understanding the contemporary and near-contemporary reception of the poet's work, and it is indeed crucial for understanding the textual history of the poet's *Dīwān* and its as-yet uninvestigated recensions. It is also a signal example of the rather haphazard treatment of material used for

69. See SOAS 73-78, and also Amīn Rub.2, in the concordance below. On the form itself, see Stoetzer, 1994 and Talib, 2014.

70. The anonymous collector of Ms Berlin$_2$ uses the term *maqāṭīʿ* to describe some of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's poems. See also al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, II, pp. 77-78. For more on *maqāṭīʿ*, see my forthcoming study: *How Do you Say "Epigram" in Arabic?* (Leiden 2016). Ibn Maṭrūḥ is one of the poets cited in the 15th-century anthology *Kitāb našr zahr al-ḥadāʾiq wa-durr al-naẓm al-fāʾiq* (225 ff.) that was recently sold by Bernard Quaritch of London for £7500 on 24 March 2014. This manuscript was later acquired by the special collections library at NYU Abu Dhabi. I would like to thank Nicholas McBurney of Heywood Hill and Virginia Danielson, Nicholas Martin, and Maurice Pomerantz all of NYU Abu Dhabi for their generous and prompt replies to inquiries about this manuscript.

71. Al-Šawkānī, *al-Badr*, p. 65.

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the study of Arabic literary history. Ibn Maṭrūḥ's name and the vague outline of his poetic career is widely known, but this manuscript of his *Dīwān*—like its overlooked and underappreciated contents—has something new to tell us, if we only care to look.

Concordance of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's poetry

This concordance allows readers to trace versions of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's poems (or those attributed to him) across four printed editions as well as the heretofore unknown and oldest recension of Ibn Maṭrūḥ's *Dīwān* (SOAS Arabic Ms 13248).

Key: Nab = al-Nabhānī (ed.), A = Amīn (ed.), Ṣ = al-Ṣāliḥ (ed.), Naṣ = Naṣṣār (ed.), IḤ = poem by Ibn al-Ḥiyamī (discussed above), Rub = *rubāʿiyyāt* section in A, M1 = first *mulḥaq* in A, M2 = second *mulḥaq* in A.

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SOAS	vv.	ff.	Nab	vv.	A	vv.	Ṣ	vv.	Naṣ	vv.	SOAS	vv.	ff.	Nab	vv.	A	vv.	Ṣ	vv.	Naṣ	vv.
1	53	65b-67b	1	55	22	55	1	55	1	55	25	6	83b-84a	79	7	21	9	79	2	79	9
2	8	68a	2	9	118	10	2	10	2	19	26	3	84a	82	3	38	3	82	3	82	3
3	22	68b-69a	3	22	142	22	3	22	3	22	27	4	84a-84b	83	4	31	4	83	4	83	4
4	35	69a-70b	4	35	143	35	4	35	4	35	28	6	84b	59	6	17	6	59	6	59	6
5	39	70b-72a	5	38	90	39	5	39	5	41	29	4	84b-85a	65	4	16	4	65	4	65	4
6	13	72a-72b	6	13	85	16	6	16	6	16	30	5	85a	66	4	150	5	66	5	66	5
7	10	73a	8	10	145	10	8	10	8	10	31	2	85a	12	2	37	2	12	2	12	2
8	17	73b-74a	19	16	80	16	19	16	19	17	32	2	85a	14	2	39	2	14	2	14	2
9	71	74a-77a	20	71	32	73	20	73	20	73	33	2	85b	17	2	133	2	17	2	17	2
10	33	77a-78a	21	33	109	33	21	33	21	33	34	2	85b	23	2	107	2	23	2	23	2
11	32	78b-79a	22	32	33	33	22	33	22	33	35	2	85b	24	2	29	2	24	2	24	2
12	11	79b-80a	47	11	59	12	47	12	47	12	36	2	85b	26	2	78	2	26	2	26	2
13	13	80a-80b	49	27	95	32	49	32	49	31	37	2	85b-86a	28	2	99	2	28	3	28	2
14	4	81a	31	4	132	4	31	4	31	4	38	2	86a	33	2	40	2	33	2	33	2
15	6	81a	32	6	35	6	32	6	32	6	39	1	86a	34	1	75	1	34	1	34	1
16	4	81b	35	4	1	4	35	4	35	4	40	2	86a	37	2	73	2	37	2	37	2
17	5	81b	36	5	128	5	36	5	36	5	41	2	86a	38	2	97	2	38	2	38	2
18	3	81b-82a	39	3	83	3	39	3	39	3	42	2	86b	42	2	30	2	42	2	42	2
19	12	82a-82b	40	12	3	12	40	12	40	12	43	2	86b	43	2	151	2	43	2	43	2
20	4	82b	41	4	71	4	41	4	41	4	44	2	86b	44	2	10	2	44	2	44	2
IḤ	6	82b-83a	45,1	6	…	…	…	…	45,1	6	45	2	86b	50	2	134	2	50	2	50	2
21	7	83a	45,2	7	77	7	45	7	45,2	7	46	2	86b-87a	51	2	116	2	51	2	51	2
22	4	83a-83b	46	4	18	4	46	4	46	4	47	2	87a	52	2	19	2	52	2	52	2
23	6	83b	58	6	122	6	58	6	58	6	48	2	87a	53	2	56	2	53	2	53	2
24	3	83b	55	3	24	3	55	3	55	3	49	2	87a	54	2	84	2	54	2	54	2

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SOAS	vv.	ff.	Nab	vv.	A	vv.	Ṣ	vv.	Naṣ	vv.	SOAS	vv.	ff.	Nab	vv.	A	vv.	Ṣ	vv.	Naṣ	vv.
50	2	87a-87b	60	2	44	2	60	2	60	2	67	6	89b-90a	91	7	12	7	91	7	91	7
51	2	87b	61	2	81	2	61	2	61	2	68	4	90a	92	4	15	4	92	4	92	4
52	2	87b	63	2	74	2	63	2	63	2	69	9	90a-90b	93	8	110	9	93	9	93	9
53	2	87b	64	2	123	2	64	2	64	2	70	6	90b	94	6	6	6	94	6	94	6
54	2	87b-88a	80	2	41	2	80	2	80	2	71	6	90b–91a	95	6	104	6	95	6	95	6
55	2	88a	67	2	42	2	67	2	67	2	72	4	91a	96	4	106	4	96	4	96	4
56	4	88a	68	4	36	4	68	4	68	4	73	2	91a	97	2	Rub.5	2	97	2	97	2
57	2	88a	69	2	49	2	69	2	69	2	74	2	91a-91b	98	2	Rub.4	2	98	2	98	2
58	2	88a-88b	70	2	43	2	70	2	70	2	75	2	91b	99	2	Rub.1	2	99	2	99	2
59	2	88b	71	2	108	2	71	2	71	2	76	2	91b	100	2	Rub.3	2	100	2	100	2
60	6	88b-89a	84	6	2	6	84	6	84	6	77	2	91b	101	2	Rub.7	2	101	2	101	2
61	3	89a	85	3	131	3	85	3	85	3	78	2	92a	102	2	Rub.6	2	102	2	102	2
62	2	89a	86	2	79	2	86	2	86	2	79	2	92a	104	2	155	2	103	2	103	2
63	2	89a	87	2	28	2	87	2	87	2	80	2	92a	…	…	141	2	154	2	104	2
64	2	89a-89b	88	2	51	2	88	2	88	2	81	1	92a	105	2	27	2	104	2	105	2
65	2	89b	89	2	5	2	89	2	89	2	82	5	92a	106	5	57	5	105	5	106	5
66	2	89b	90	2	127	2	90	2	90	2											

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Nab	vv.	A	vv.	Ṣ	vv.	Naṣ	vv.	Nab	vv.	A	vv.	Ṣ	vv.	Naṣ	vv.	Nab	vv.	A	vv.	Ṣ	vv.	Naṣ	vv.
7	2	72	2	7	2	7	2	9	5	45	5	9	5	9	5	10	3	55	3	10	3	10	3
11	11	20	11	11	13	11	11	13	3	54	3	13	3	13	3	15	6	34	6	15	6	15	6
16	2	9	2	16	2	16	2	18	4	58	5	18	5	18	5	25	4	63	4	25	4	25	4
27	4	114	4	27	4	27	4	29	6	135	6	29	6	29	6	30	3	11	3	30	3	30	3
48	17	66	20	48	20	48	20	56	11	152	11	56	11	56	11	57	15	144	15	57	15	57	15
62	11	47	11	62	11	62	11	72	14	4	14	72	14	72	14	73	15	146	17	73	17	73	16
74	20	7	20	74	20	74	20	75	11	136	13	75	14	75	15	76	15	65	21	76	21	76	21
77	4	50	4	77	4	77	4	78	17	48	17	78	17	78	17	81	4	115	4	81	4	81	4
103	20	100	18	118	21	216	21																

A	vv.	Ṣ	vv.	Naṣ	vv.	A	vv.	Ṣ	vv.	Naṣ	vv.	A	vv.	Ṣ	vv.	Naṣ	vv.	A	vv.	Ṣ	vv.	Naṣ	vv.
8	16	109	16	111	16	13	4	132	4	114	4	14	13	…	…	115	13	23	9	129	9	119	9
25	17	106	18	127	18	26	10	…	…	125	10	46	2	…	…	134	2	52	7	148	7	145	7
53	8	…	…	147	8	60	14	113	14	139	14	61	5	…	…	141	5	62	5	147	5	135	5
64	2	152	2	138	2	67	10	111	10	151	10	68	7	112	7	152	7	69	7	…	…	149	7
70	7	…	…	150	7	76	27	110	27	159	28	77	7	45	7	…	…	82	8	…	…	166	8
86	2	172	2	169	2	87	9	…	…	176	9	88	2	134	2	178	2	89	13	114	13	172	13
91	7	141	7	194	7	92	7	135	7	185	6	94	2	151	2	184	2	96	7	149	7	186	7
98	20	115	22	195	20	101	17	117	17	218	17	102	11	116	11	219	11	103	6	…	…	205	6
105	10	…	…	199	10	111	8	…	…	206	8	112	6	…	…	214	6	113	6	119	5	212	6
117	4	140	4	222	4	119	8	120	8	240	8	120	19	121	19	231	19	121	6	…	…	230	6
124	7	133	7	223	7	125	9	123	9	224	9	126	13	…	…	239	13	129	17	122	18	234	18
130	8	…	…	238	8	137	8	…	…	245	8	138	20	127	20	243	20	139	12	126	12	242	12
140	6	130	6	241	7	147	10	125	9	250	14	148	5	128	6	…	…	149	7	124	8	251	8
153	12	107	11	255	12	154	7	108	7	258	7	Rub.2	2	131	2	107	2	M1.1	2	…	…	259	2
M1.2	5	155	5	113	5	M1.3	2	158	2	…	…	M1.4	2	159	2	116	2	M1.5	8	160	8	120	7

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A	vv.	Ṣ	vv.	Naṣ	vv.	A	vv.	Ṣ	vv.	Naṣ	vv.	A	vv.	Ṣ	vv.	Naṣ	vv.	A	vv.	Ṣ	vv.	Naṣ	vv.
M1.7	2	164	2	143	2	M1.8	2	163	2	…	…	M1.9	2	165	2	156	2	M1.10	6	166	6	148	6
M1.11	5	167	5	157	5	M1.12	2	178	2	196	2	M1.13	2	168	2	158	2	M1.14	5	169	5	162	5
M1.15	4	171	4	168	4	M1.16	9	173	9	179	9	M1.17	2	174	2	180	2	M1.18	3	175	3	189	3
M1.19	2	176	2	192	2	M1.20	3	177	3	…	…	M1.21	2	182	2	…	…	M1.22	3	181	3	233	3
M1.23	4	185	4	256	4	M2.1	9	…	…	108	9	M2.2	8	…	…	112	8	M2.3	9	…	…	110	9
M2.4	7	…	…	117	7	M2.5	2	…	…	261	2	M2.6	5	…	…	128	5	M2.7	10	139	10	121	10
M2.8	8	…	…	133	8	M2.9	10	…	…	129	10	M2.10	6	…	…	142	6	M2.11	6	…	…	140	6
M2.12	8	…	…	154	8	M2.13	7	…	…	153	7	M2.14	5	…	…	155	6	M2.16	6	…	…	160	6
M2.17	6	…	…	171	6	M2.18	8	…	…	170	8	M2.19	7	…	…	177	7	M2.20	7	…	…	173	7
M2.21	5	150	5	182	5	M2.22	7	…	…	190	7	M2.23	11	142	11	217	11	M2.24	9	…	…	203	9
M2.25	9	…	…	201	9	M2.26	7	…	…	200	7	M2.27	9	…	…	207	9	M2.28	5	…	…	210	5
M2.29	7	137	7	215	7	M2.30	7	138	7	211	7	M2.31	12	…	…	213	12	M2.32	8	…	…	220	8
M2.33	9	…	…	229	9	M2.34	10	…	…	228	10	M2.35	9	…	…	225	9	M2.36	6	…	…	227	6
M2.37	8	…	…	237	8	M2.38	7	…	…	236	7	M2.39	7	…	…	235	7	M2.40	8	…	…	232	8
M2.41	7	…	…	246	7	M2.42	6	…	…	247	6	M2.43	2	153	2	244	2	M2.45	7	136	7	252	7
M2.46	6	…	…	253	7	M2.47	9	…	…	257	9	…	…	162	4	146	4						

A 93, M1.6, M2.15, M2. 44, Ṣ 143-146, 156-157, 161-162, 170, 179-180, 183-184, and Naṣ 109, 118, 122-124, 126, 130-132, 136-137, 144, 161, 163-165, 167, 174-175, 181, 183, 187-188, 191, 193, 197-198, 202, 204, 208-209, 221, 226, 248-249, 254, 260 are unique to their sources.

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