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

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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 Divān 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 Divān have not built on previous efforts and have failed to make use of the oldest manuscript source of the Divān.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 Divān 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 Divān of ʿAbbās b. al-ʾAḥnaf (d. before 193/809) and included a long excerpt from Ibn ᴴʰᵃˡliḵān’s (d. 681/1282) Wafayāt al-aʿyān wa-anbāʾ al-zamān recounting the poet’s life.⁵ This edition of Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s Divān 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 Divān available in Istanbul libraries.⁶ The Divān 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 ‘Urābī rebellion. It was published in 1876-1877. Information about Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s Divān 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, Divān, 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 Diwān Abī al-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās b. al-ʾAḥnaf wa-šīʾ āḥirihī Diwān Ǧamāl al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Maṭrūḥ al-Miṣrī. The relevant section in Ibn ᴴʰᵃˡliḵān’s biographical dictionary can be found on pages 219-224 of the Divān or in Ibn ᴴʰᵃˡliḵān, 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; Kahḥāla, 1957, vol. 13, p. 217-218. 6. This issue is discussed by ʿAwaḍ Muḥammad al-Šāliḥ in the introduction to his edition of Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s Divān.
Manuscripts of the Dīwān

**SOAS Arabic Ms 13248 [Symbol: SOAS]**

82 poems over 27 folios. A total of 577 verses. 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). 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.

**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-Mağribī. 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. 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). According to Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, this Ms of the Dīwān follows the same ordering of Mss K and V (see below). The Dīwān is part of a collection (maǧmūʿ), which also includes the Dīwāns of al-Šābb al-Zarīf (661/1263-688/1289), Ibn al-Nabīh (d. 619/1222), Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥāǧīrī (d. 622/1225), and Manḡak (d. 1080/1669).

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7. See Gacek, 1981, no. 58.
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.
11. Şeşen et al., 1986, vol. 2, p. 44.
British Library Ms OR 3853 [Symbol: BriLib₁]

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

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

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

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

37 poems over 18 folios. The poems in this copy of the Diwān 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,—with Amin 26 (see discussion of this poem and its disputed authorship below). It ends with al-Nabhānī 78 (see discussion of this poem below).

Haram 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. According to him, the end of the Ms was missing from the copy he used. This Ms of the Diwān 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.

Berlin Ms Sprenger 1127-1 [Symbol: Berlin₁]

This Ms and Ms Berlin₂ (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 Amin 88. It was copied by al-Darwīš Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Harīrī al-Ḥalabī around 1750 according to Ahlwardt.

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

This Ms of the Diwān 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 Amin 98 and ends with Amin 93.

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

41 poems over 15 folios. Husayn 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.$^{25}$ 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 Diwān 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 Diwān 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 Diwān

The Diwān 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.

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26. See Rieu, 1846, no. 630-2; and also Ibn Maṭrūḥ, Diwān, al-Ṣāliḥ (ed.), p. 273.
Ğawda Aţmîn (ed.), Cairo, 1989

Based on al-Nabhâni edition and Mss K, BriLib1, Berlin1, Berlin2. 232 poems divided into four sections: the Diwân, a section of seven rubâ‘îyyât (scil. dâbâyî poems), and two supplements of poems found in other sources: one of poems attributed exclusively to Ibn Maṭrûḥ (mulḥâq 1) and one of poems attributed to him as well as others (mulḥâq 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


Based on al-Nabhâni edition and Mss K, BriLib1, Rylands, Berlin1, and BriLib2. 185 poems, including some unique to this edition. A total of 1376 verses.

Hûsâyn Naṣṣâr (ed.), Cairo, 2009

Based on al-Nabhâni edition and Mss K, V, Baghdad, BriLib1, Damascus, and Mecca; Ms Rylands was consulted but not used. 261 poems, including all of those in the al-Nabhâni 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 Maṭrûḥ’s Diwân in their editions. SOAS Arabic Ms 13248 does not contain any poems not extant in the printed editions of the Diwân, 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 Maṭrûḥ’s literary production. It is worth noting, too, that Ibn Maṭrûḥ’s Diwân is appended to the Diwân of Ibn al-Nabîh (d. 619/1222) in Ms SOAS. The copy of Ibn al-Nabîh’s Diwân preserved in the Ms codex was copied in 848/1444 and it is likely that the Diwân of Ibn Maṭrûḥ was copied around the same time.28 The colophon of Ibn Maṭrûḥ’s Diwân is not dated but it states that the copy was made by one ‘Ala’ al-Dîn al-Halabî—known as Ibn Sams—a copyist at al-Madrasa al-Ǧamāliyya (Aleppo) who died in 856/1452.29 The bundling of these two Diwâns 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-Nabîh and Ibn Maṭrûḥ. 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).
29. See SOAS Arabic Ms 13248, f. 92b, and Gacek, 1981, no. 58.
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. The poem is given in all four of the printed editions of Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s Diwān 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 Diwān. 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 Muhammad al-ʿArīfī broadcast on the Murīd al-Ǧanna satellite television channel on 22 December 2012.

وقال عندما كسر ملك المعظَّم الفرنسيس واعتقله بدار فخر الدين بن لقمان من السريع:

وقـيَّده بقيد من ذهب ووكَّل به خادمًا يسمَّى صَبيحًا

١ قُلْ للفَرَنْسيسِ إذا جئتَهُ

٢ آَجِرْكَ عَلَى ما ضَعْتَ

٣ فَدَجَّدَ مِصراً تَبِيَّنَ أَفْخَذْهَا

٤ فِسَاقَكَ أَلْخَيْنُ إِلَى أَدْهَمٍ

٥ رَحَّتَ وَأَصَابَتَكَ أَوْعَظُهُمُ

٦ إِلاً قَتِلَ أَوْ عَسْرِ جَرِيحٍ

٧ لَعَلَّ عَيْنِي مَكْتُومُ ﻋَيْسِي

٨ قَرَاءَتَكَ ﺍِلَّهٌ إِلَى مِثْلِهَا

٩ ﻓُرَبَّ غُيَّ قَدْ أَنَى مِنْ صَصِيحٍ

١٠ ﻓَأَذْحَوَهُ كَاهِنًا إِلَّا ﻓَأَذْحَوَهُ

١١ لَخَصُبَ تَأْسِي أو لِقَصَدِ صَصِيحٍ

١٢ وَقَلْ لَهُمْ إِنَّ أَضْمَرُوا عَضْدَةٌ

١٣ ﻓَا ﯽ وكَذَّبُوا ﺍِلَّهٌ ﺍِلَّا ﻓَا ﯽ وكَذَّبُوا

١٤ لَأَرَأَى لَغَامًا ﻋَلَى عَيْنِهَا

١٥ ﺍِلَّيْكَ ﻓَقْرُبَ ﺍِلَّيْكَ ﻓَقْرُبَ

١٦ ﻓَأَذْحَوَهُ كَاهِنًا إِلَّا ﻓَأَذْحَوَهُ

١٧ إِنْ كَانَ بِكَاءُمُ ﺍِلَّيْكَ رَايِبًا

١٨ ﻓَأَذْحَوَهُ كَاهِنًا إِلَّا ﻓَأَذْحَوَهُ

١٩ ﻓَأَذْحَوَهُ كَاهِنًا إِلَّا ﻓَأَذْحَوَهُ

٢٠ ﻓَأَذْحَوَهُ كَاهِنًا إِلَّا ﻓَأَذْحَوَهُ
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).
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 (hiǧāˀ) 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 السَّبْتَ يومَ عِيدٍ  
وهذه سُـنَّـةُ الـيَـهـودِ  
٢] وكَانَ يكْفِيُكُمُ ضَـلاً  
شَرَبُكُمُ الـمَـاءِ مِن يِزْدٌ  

33. There are two forms of the name Jesus in Arabic: Yasūʿ (Syr. Yesḥūʿ, 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, Subḥ al-aʿšā, VIII, p. 38, Louis IX was imprisoned in the house in which  
the head of the chancery (ṣāḥib dīwān al-inšāʾ) Faḥr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Luqmān would stay when he traveled  
to Mansoura. The building survives.
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 ḏāliyya (Amīn 26)**

Two of the Mss (Rylands and BriLib,) 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). A marginal comment in Ms Rylands itself corroborates this attribution. The poem is also found in Ms Damascus according to Naṣṣār who reports that the order of poems in Ms Rylands, BriLib, and Damascus is similar and unlike that of the other Mss he consulted. According to Amīn, Ms BriLib, only contains Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s ġazal poetry and can thus be contrasted with Ms SOAS, which includes more of his madiḥ output. 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 (madiḥ) for the judge Ġamāl al-Dīn Asʿad b. al-Ḡalīs. *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. 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

that surround literary creation, transmission, and reproduction. I find it vital and germane to record and make sense of the fact that for some anthologists, Diwān-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 ḡazal 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 ḡazal 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 Diwān.

[From the original text]

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—
2. I could see the surface of his cheek was moist and verdant: O pasture so sweet! O rose so delightful!
3. To one who tells me I should leave him, I say: “By pointing a finger, you’ve only guided me toward him.”
4. 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).
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 Diwān did not reassemble Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk’s madiḥ 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 Ms of Ibn Maṭrūḥ’s Diwān, 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 Ms K, V, Berlin, 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 Ms Rylands, BriLib, and Damascus, and shares the same

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43. This line references the story of Ibrāhīm, also known as Ḥalīl Allāh or the Friend of God, and his salvation from the fire: Quran, XXI, al-Anbiyāʾ, 69: qulnā yā nāru kūnī bardan wa-salāman ’alā Ibrāhīm (“’Be cool to Ibrāhīm and do him no harm, O fire,’ We ordered”).
44. Cerquiglini, 1989.
metre (basīt) and rhyme-letter (lām) as al-Nabhānī 81—can be read alongside it in parallel.\textsuperscript{45} To facilitate this parallel reading, I will reproduce the text and translations of both poems side-by-side.

\textbf{Amin 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 pleasure of seeing you, I’d give you all the life I’ve got.

\textbf{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.

\textsuperscript{45} This poem appears in Ibn Maṭrūḥ, \textit{Dīwān}, al-Ṣāliḥ (ed.), no. 119 (five lines).

\textsuperscript{46} Ms Rylands records a variant of this hemistich (cited in Ibn Maṭrūḥ, \textit{Dīwān}, Naṣṣār (ed.), p. 171n): 
\textit{ahlā min an-nawmi ba’da s-suhdi fi l-muqalī} \quad [Dearer than rest after sleepless nights to the eye]
Ms SOAS also helps to clear up a dispute between the editors about an exchange of poems between Ibn Maṭrūḥ and Muḥammad al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥiyāmī (d. 642/1245). It is stated in Ms SOAS that Ibn al-Ḥiyāmī sent the following poem to Ibn Maṭrūḥ when the latter was working in diwān al-mawārīṭ, i.e. the probate office or office responsible for inheritances:

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

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.
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.
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-Ḥiyāmī, 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:

Всё ближе в Египетской книге: «После нашей встречи в Египетской книге: написано к нему шейх Мухаммад бин ал-Хиями, когда он работал в dīwān al-mawārīṭ, т. е. суде над наследствами.»

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.
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.
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47. On this author, see ‘Amr, 2005, and the numerous biographical sources cited there. This poem does not appear there, however. The other two editions of the Dīwān (Nāḏī 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.
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].
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.

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.


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.
Poems with recurrent rhyme-words—like Ibn al-Hiyami’s poem rhyming in fāris—are not entirely uncommon in classical Arabic poetry. In Ibn al-Hiyami’s poem, the word fāris is repeated at the end of each line, each time meaning something different; a case of ġinās tāmm (perfect paronomasia or antanaclasis). A similar, but significantly different, poem in Ibn Mattuḥ’s Diwān (al-Nabhānī 78) gives some idea of the experimentation and diversification of literary styles and forms that was taking place in the period. The recurrent rhyme-word in this bold praise poem encompasses a ludic dimension that is often only implied in Arabic court poetry. 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.

[From the text]

إذا ماس خلت الغضن من قدومك كذا 
[1] تَعَشَّقْتُ بدرًا وجهُهُ مُشرِقٌ كَذا 
[2] له مَقَة لِمحلاء أُنْجَلَاءٌ إذ رَنَتْ 
[3] تَبَرَّى فقالَ آتَيْتُكَ ما بَدُرُّ غيرُهُ 
[4] أقولُ وَقَد عانِئَتْ وَيِمِئَتْ 
[5] ارَّاك ضَجِيجٌ لِيلةً آتِيْتُكَ كَذا 
[6] فقالَ وَأَبديَ البَشْمُ ضَاحِكًا 
[7] وَبَلْ لَعَلَّ طِبِّ آتَيْتُكَ ضَاحِكًا 
[8] فقالَ آتَيْتُكَ ما بَدُرُّ غيرُهُ 
[9] فقلتُ له وَالطِّلْكُ باَغاية أَسْمَى 
[10] وَبُحَّ بَسِيرٌ وَأَطْرَحَتْ عواذِلي 
[11] وقالَ أَنْذَرْتُكَ أَنْ نَحْوَيْتُكَ.^{11} 
[12] أَحْبَبُ اكْتِتَامَ الامْرِ قَلْتُ لَهُ كَذا 
[13] لا يَا نسيمَ الريحِ باللهِ بلِّغي 
[14] وَأُهِدْي سامًّا مِن تَحِيَّاتِهِ كَذا 
[15] ويُسَائِلُ عن حَالةٍ بَالْمَلِّيَّةُ كَذا 

54. See van Gelder, 2012, pp. 240-244.
56. This poem is also attributed to al-Naššābī al-Irbili (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.
Translation

1. I fell in love with [one as pretty as] a full moon, his face shines like so.
   If he sauntered past, you’d think his body were a branch like so.

2. When his large, dark eyes gaze happily, they launch arrows at the heart of his lover like so.

3. When he appears, everyone says “There is no moon but he,” and they all prostrate themselves before him like so.

4. After I chastised him, I said to him, as he lay his cheek on his right hand, lost in thought, like so.

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?”

6. And he answered, wearing a grin, “I’m here with you now so see to me” and I said, “Like so[!]”

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.

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?”

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.”

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.

Stage Directions

Frames face with open hands, forming a corona around it

Walks along swaying his body, arm outstretched

Mimics drawing a bow and shooting an arrow

Raises hands on either side of head and lowers them to mimic prostration

Lays cheek against his right hand

Places outstretched index fingers side by side

Gives a cheer and grins widely

Slumps over to one side as if drunk

Hunches shoulders and cranes neck fearfully to cast a look around

Slaps hands together as if getting the dust off of them

Puts index finger against lips to signal silence
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 (gayal) 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 Ġalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (604-672/1207-1273) is a gayal poem not a panegyric poem, but what links the two poems is the rhyme and its gesticulative potential. In Rūmī’s poem (gayal no. 1826), a single phrase (called the radif)—kih hamčunin (“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. In Rūmī’s poem, the repeated

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60. See Heinrichs, 1993.
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, 37, 41-4, 47-50, 54; al-Nabhānī 10, 18, 29, 81; Naṣṣār 56, 81, 146, 164). Ibn Ḥallikān 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-Muḡīṯ’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 Ḥallikān (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 Raḡab 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 Ḥallikān, who claimed to have been present at his friend’s funeral and burial, this sequence

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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 Ḥallikān records that Ibn Maṭrūḥ retired to his home in Cairo after the death of al-Malik al-Šāliḥ in Saʿbān 647/November 1249 but (2) Ibn Wāṣil records that he continued to serve the Ayyubid administration at a high level until the
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 Ša‘bān 647/November 1249.

It appears, according again to Ibn Hallikān, 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

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 dībayt 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-Muʿāẓẓam Tūrān-Šāh in Muḥarram 648/May 1250. See Ibn Maṭrūḥ, Diwān, Amīn (ed.), pp. 29-32.

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 Qurān, VI, al-Anʿām, 30.
another five ḏūbayt poems (six out of seven total ḏūbayt poems attributed to Ibn Maṭrūḥ).

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

70. The anonymous collector of Ms Berlin2 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 nāṣr 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.

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).

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