

NOSTALGIA AND THE EAST IN THE ARABIC AND
HEBREW POETRY OF ISLAMIC SPAIN

Anan Habeeb

Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures
Indiana University

April 2015

Accepted by the Faculty of Indiana University, in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Doctoral Committee

Suzanne Stetkevych, PhD, Chair

Stephen Katz, PhD [NELC]

John Walbridge, PhD [NELC]

David Hertz, PhD [COMPLIT]

Date of dissertation defense: November 21, 2014

Copyright © 2015

Anan Habeeb

This dissertation is dedicated to:

- My mom, Widād, the best mom on Earth. There is nothing that I can say, but love you, Widdo.
- My oldest sister, Imān, I give a special thanks ḥabībti for your love and support. Thank you for always being there.
- My siblings, Ihāb, Iḥsān and ʿItāb, for your special love!
- The second generation of my family, all of my nieces and nephews, Haytham, Grace, Sabīl, Hadīl, George, Izīs and Samā, thank you for the inspiration that you all have provided to me.
- My friend, Dawūd Amsis, it was a joke, but it turned into reality. Thank you for bearing the brunt of my temper.
- The person who made life in Indiana possible, Rajā Ḥananiyya, Abū Ṭāriq. Man! You have no idea how much I appreciate your presence.
- Rula Abū Khaḍra-Ḥanaiyya, for your kindness, hospitality and delicious food.
- Eyal Ṭamīr with whom I have shared all of the pain and joy of Bloomington, Indiana.
- The best brothers and doctors in Bloomington, Indiana, Fadī and Suheil Ḥaddād, and their families for their kindness and generosity.
- My old friends who decided to stay in touch regardless of time and distance: Faraj Yāsīn, Marwān Ḥanna, Māhir Wākīm, Rabīʿ Shḥade, Nabīl Asadī, and Murād Rshed.
- My aunt Mariam who left before this mission was accomplished. What a shame khālti that you are no longer with us. I remember your deep love and concern every single moment. May your soul rest in peace.
- My dad, Munīr Farīd Ḥabīb, who left before his time, whose appreciation for higher education was unmeasurable and whose love to me was likewise. Please be happy, dad, and rest in peace. I did it for you.

- Those who left while I was a little boy playing football in the neighborhood: To my maternal and paternal grandmothers and grandfathers: Sitti Nazīra, Sīdi ‘Īsā, Sīdi Farīd and Sitti Anīsi, I still remember you.

- And last, but not least, this dissertation is dedicated to my wonderful wife Janette and our three sons: Amīn, Ghadī and Ward. Your existence has made my life easier and you have helped me fulfill my mission. I love you all.

Acknowledgements

I am thankful to my academic adviser, Professor Suzanne Stetkevych, for her advice, suggestions and insightful comments as well as the effort she has placed into this dissertation and her patience in regard to reading thorough the research and helping me revise the poem translations. I am also thankful for her great love of the Arabic language and its literature. This dissertation would not have been completed without her and I feel very lucky that she supervised this work.

My thanks and deep appreciation go to Professor Stephen Katz whose door was always open when I needed an ear, when nostalgia and homesickness overcame me. Thank you for helping me overcome the “Indiana Exile” and achieve this goal of completing the dissertation. Thank you for introducing me to the Hebrew literature of the Middle Ages and the Hebrew literature of the Enlightenment era in an interesting manner. Thank you for reading my dissertation and giving me your insightful comments.

I am also in awe of Professor David Hertz, who introduced me to Marcel Proust in a fantastic and interesting way. To him, I send a special thank. I would also like to thank him for reading my dissertation as well as for his important notes and remarks during my defense. He has my deepest respect and gratitude.

I am also grateful to Professor John Walbridge for reading my work and discussing it with me during my defense.

Last, but not least, I am grateful to the Amideast – Fulbright organization for its generosity and faith in me and for granting me such a prestigious scholarship.

A Note on Translation

All translations from the Arabic and Hebrew are mine except where otherwise noted.

A Note on Transliteration

I have followed the IJMES (*International Journal of Middle East Studies*) transliteration system in my transliteration of Arabic words and the system of Ohio State University given in *Hebrew Annual Review* for Hebrew words.

Anan Habeeb

NOSTALGIA AND THE EAST IN THE ARABIC AND HEBREW POETRY OF ISLAMIC SPAIN

This Ph.D. dissertation focuses on the nostalgic feelings of the Andalusian Arabs and Jews toward the East and on the role that eastern poetic conventions played in the literary composition of al-Andalus.

The first chapter introduces a quick survey of nostalgia among Arabs from the pre-Islamic era up to the modern era and shows how political and social instability incited this phenomenon among Arabs in general.

Chapter two introduces a lexicon of nostalgia by gathering the terms and vocabulary in Arabic and Hebrew that are often used in emotional, nostalgic poetry focused on the poet's roots and past.

Chapter three focuses on selected terms from the previous chapter (five types of plants and four eastern rivers) and examines how these terms were used in al-Andalus to show direct nostalgia for the East or indirect nostalgia by relying on and employing the eastern poetic conventions. Chapter three also examines how the eastern poetic masterpiece “the *mu‘allaqa*” of Imri’ al-Qays functioned as inspirational poetry to many Andalusian poets, what indicates the strong literary bonds between al-Andalus and the East.

Chapter four discusses the impact of the Islamic religion on the increasing religious and geographical nostalgia for the East in al-Andalus. Sufi poetry and poetry praising the Prophet Muḥammad (*madīḥ nabawī*) were discussed in this chapter to shed light on this phenomenon.

Chapter five focuses on *rithā' al-mudun* (the elegy for the fallen cities of al-Andalus) and argues that, even when the Andalusian poet intended to express sorrow and pain over the loss of the Andalusian cities, he almost always referred to the East and the eastern poetic convention of the *nasīb* to convey his feelings.

Chapter six focuses on the non-religious nostalgia of some Jewish Andalusian poets for Jerusalem, in particular, and the Land of Israel, in general. In this chapter, I argue that the insults aimed at Jews and Judaism increased these poets' feelings of not belonging and, as a result, increased the nostalgia for personal redemption among the Jews, in general, and in Shmu'el Hanagid and Yehuda Halevi, in particular.

Suzanne Stetkevych, PhD, Chair

Stephen Katz, PhD [NELC]

John Walbridge, PhD [NELC]

David Hertz, PhD [COMPLIT]

Table of contents

Introduction	1-3
Chapter 1 – Incentives for Nostalgia among Arabs	4-43
Incentives for Nostalgia among Arabs	4
Nostalgia in al-Andalus – The factors	29
1. Political instability	36
2. Social Situation	38
3. Cultural background	39
4. The religious factor	40
5. Literary and poetic reasons	40
Chapter 2 – Lexicon of Nostalgia	44-75
Part one - Lexicon of Arabic nostalgia in charts	49
Chart 1: Geographical place names – based on the ten odes of <i>al-mu‘allaqāt</i>	49
Chart 2: Nostalgia for places with religious associations	57
Chart 3: Other eastern towns, regions and places	62
Chart 4: The main rivers of the East	64
Chart 5: Plants of nostalgia	65
Chart 6: Important people and dynasties of the East	66
Chart 7: Winds of nostalgia	68
Chart 8: Vocabulary of <i>nasīb</i>	69
Part two - Lexicon of Hebrew Nostalgia for Zion	73

**Chapter 3 – Botanic, Geographic and Cultural Nostalgia for the East
and Eastern Poetic Conventions in al-Andalus 76-175**

A. Botanic Nostalgia 76-111

A1. Al-Bān – Moringa Paregrina \ Willow	83
A2. Al-Shīḥ (Artemisia)	91
A3. Al-‘Arār - Pulicaria Arabica (Ox-Eye)	96
A4. Al-Bashām - Elder (Commpihona Gileadensis)	99
A5. Al-Rand or al-Ghār (Laurier)	104

B. Geographical Nostalgia for the East in al-Andalus: Rivers 111-131

The Rivers of the East as a Means of Nostalgia in al-Andalus	111
B.1. Tigris	115
B.2. The Euphrates	119
B.3. The Nile	126
B.4. Baradā	128

**C. The Impact of the Eastern Places and Poetry on the Andalusian
Poetry: the *Mu‘allaqa* of Imru’ al-Qays as a Model 131-175**

Siqt al-Liwā	137
Ḥawmal	144
Dārij	146
Al-‘Udhayb	147
Taymā’	152
Thabīr	155
Dārat Juljul	157
Thahlān	160
Al-Qalīb	163
Wajra	165

Chapter 4 – *Madīh Nabawī* in al-Andalus through Remembering the *Hijāzi* Places and through the Eastern Poetic *Nasīb* and Convention 176-217

4.A. <i>Madīh Nabawī</i> in al-Andalus through Remembering the <i>Hijāzi</i> Places and through the Eastern Poetic <i>Nasīb</i> and Conventions	176
4.B. Sufism and Eastern Poetic Conventions and Nostalgia in al-Andalus: Ibn ‘Arabī and al-Shushtarī as examples	191
4.B.1. Sufism and symbolism	193
4.B.2. Ibn ‘Arabī and <i>Tarjumān al-Ashwāq</i>	196
4.B.3. Sufism in al-Shushtarī	209

Chapter 5 – The East in al-Andalusian Elegy: Andalusian Elegies for the Fallen of Andalusian Dynasties and Elegies for the Fallen Cities (*rithā’ al-mudun*) 218-245

5.A. The Eastern Impact on Andalusian Poetry for Fallen Cities	218-225
1. Ibn Shuhayd’s elegy for Cordova	219
2. The Elegy of Valencia by an Unknown Poet	223
3. Ibn Khafāja elegizing Valencia	226
5.B. The Fall of Rulers and States	228-245
Ibn ‘Abdūn and <i>Al-Bashāma</i> Poem	233

Chapter 6 – The Influence of the Andalusian Religious Debate and the Eastern Poetic Conventions on the Andalusian Hebrew Poetry 246-288

Religious Debate as a Stimulus and Catalyst of Nostalgia for the East among Andalusian Jews: Yehuda Halevi and Shmu’el Hanagid as Models	244-256
Shmuel Hanagid	257-273
1. Youssef! Take your pen	258
2. And the sight of Rabbi David on his chair	262

3. Shake yourself free	263
4. I feel sorry and my heart is in flames	265
5. My heart is hot within me	268
Yehuda Halevi	273-288
1. My heart is in the east	278
Another reading of the poem in the light of the influence of Arabic poetics	281
2. On the Way to Jerusalem	282
Summary and Conclusions	289-296
Bibliography	297-314
Anan Habeeb's Curriculum Vitae	

Introduction

For hundreds of years, and especially during the 13th century C.E., Arabic and Hebrew literature has been filled with poems of exiled and displaced poets who praised and expressed deep nostalgia for al-Andalus (Islamic Spain). One of the best examples of this type of nostalgic poetry is what later became known as *rithā' al-mudun* (the elegy for fallen cities) in which exiled Arab and Jewish scholars and poets [such as 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Shuhayd al-Andalusī (d. 1003), Ibn 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī (d. 1064), Shmu'el Hanagid or Abū Ishāq Ismā'īl Ibn al-Naghrīla—as he was best known in al-Andalus—(d. ca. 1056), Shlomo Ibn Gabirol (d. 1058) and many other poets who either migrated eastward or were displaced from the cities of al-Andalus], utilized the conventions of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic elegy for lost loved ones to mourn the lost cities of al-Andalus and weep over the beautiful days and memories that they had made within these cities.

One has to wonder, however, whether the opposite phenomenon existed among the residents of al-Andalus. In other words, did the Andalusian Arabs and Jews in the 8th to 15th centuries look with nostalgia toward the Arab East? Did the attachment to the East among the Andalusians (if it existed at all) become evident only during crises or did it occur throughout the time when al-Andalus flourished?

Many of the poems, poetic anthologies and literary works, such as *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma fī al-'Ulfa wa-al-'Ullāf* by Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī and *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb fī Ghušn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb* by Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Maqqarī (d. 1631), testify to this phenomenon of longing for al-Andalus in Andalusian literature. However, except for a few short chapters in some books,

such as Ross Brann's *The Compunctious Poet*¹ and *Power in the Portrayal*,² Jaroslav Stetkevych's *Zephyrs of Najd*,³ Esperanza Alfonso's *Renewing the Past and Reconfiguring Jewish Culture*,⁴ Jonathan Decker's *Iberian Jewish Literature*,⁵ Raymond P. Scheindlin's *Song of the Distant Dove: Judah Halevi's Pilgrimage*⁶ and Alexander Elinson's *Looking Back at al-Andalus*,⁷ the topic of Andalusian nostalgia for the Arab East has not been a subject of sustained literary critical examination.

This study will distinguish itself from earlier studies by focusing on Andalusian poetry of attachment and nostalgia for the East, rather than the diasporic poetry of nostalgia for al-Andalus. It will attempt to shed light on the social, cultural, religious, political and historical factors that led to this phenomenon, including the cultural, political and religious preeminence of the East for both Judaism and Islam and the concomitant authority and prestige of the language and literature of the Arab and Judaic East.

I intend also to explore the longing for the East, not only among Arab poets of al-Andalus, but also from two of the most important dominant Jewish poets in al-Andalus during the Jewish Golden Age, Shmu'el Hanagid and Yehuda Halevi (d. 1141), whose nostalgia was directed mainly toward Zion or Jerusalem as a part of the eastern world.

¹ Ross Brann, *The Compunctious Poet, Cultural Ambiguity and Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1990), 119-139.

² Ross Brann, *Power in the Portrayal: Representations of Jews and Muslims in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Islamic Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 54-90, 119-139.

³ Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd: the Poetics of Nostalgia in the Classical Arabic Nasīb* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 50-134.

⁴ Esperanza Alfonso, "The Uses of Exile in Poetic Discourse: Some Examples from Medieval Hebrew Literature," in *Renewing the Past, Reconfiguring Jewish Culture from al-Andalus to the Haskalah*, ed. Ross Brann and Adam Sutcliffe (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 31-46.

⁵ Jonathan Decker, *Iberian Jewish Literature: Between al-Andalus and Christian Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 19-72.

⁶ Raymond Scheindlin, *The Song of the Distant Dove: Judah Halevi's Pilgrimage*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 11-70.

⁷ Alexander Elinson, *Looking Back at al-Andalus: The Poetics of Loss and Nostalgia in Medieval Arabic and Hebrew Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 1-154.

The study will focus on the phenomenon of nostalgia in terms of categories such as religious longing (toward Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem), political longing, sentimental longing (scenery and geography, the eastern Breeze of Najd that brings the fragrance and memory of the beloved) and linguistic and poetic longing for the eastern authentic poetic model. It will also focus on the literary impact of the East on al-Andalus in general and especially in regard to eastern poetic conventions and techniques and the eastern place-names and how such motifs affected and played a central role in designing Andalusian poetry, its form and language and the way it was used metaphorically and metonymically to express many of these aspects at once.

Chapter 1

Incentives for Nostalgia among Arabs

Nostalgia is from the Greek *nostos*, to return home, and *algia*, a painful condition—thus, a painful yearning to return home. Coined by the Swiss physician Johannes Hofer in the late seventeenth century, the term was meant to designate familiar, if not especially frequent, condition of extreme homesickness among Swiss mercenaries fighting far from their native land and in the legions of one or another European despot. The symptoms of those so afflicted were said by Hofer and other learned physicians of the time to be despondency, melancholia, lability of emotion, including profound bouts of weeping, anorexia, a generalized “wasting away,” and, not infrequently, attempts at suicide.¹

The term “nostalgia” has gone through many changes since the 17th century. After excluding the primitive medical neuropsychological analysis conducted by Hofer in order to arrive at the literary meaning of nostalgia, one finds that it refers to memories of the irretrievable past, including those focused on a lost and remote homeland, youth, happiness, health, dignity and respect (socially and politically), home and family, love, places and landscapes (when mentioned both emotionally or neutrally), weather and climate, agriculture (fruit bearing and non-fruit bearing trees and plants), classics (music, poetry, art and prose) and language. Therefore, nostalgia “signifies something more than mere memory of the past and something less than the diseased state of mind it once referred to.”²

After the destruction of the First Temple in 586 B.C.E., the longing to return to Zion began with the exile of the Jewish people to Babylon. “By the waters of Babylon, there we sat down and wept when we remembered Zion.”³ After the second destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E., the beginning of the Diaspora and almost 2,000 years of exile, Jewish nostalgia for Zion has never been quenched. Generations of Jews who had never seen the Promised Land at all

¹ Fred Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday* (New York: The Free Press, 1979), 1-2.

² *Ibid.*, 7.

³ “The Official King James Bible Online, Psalms, 137:1,” King James Bible Online, accessed September 18, 2012, http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/1611_Exodus-15-17. (Henceforth, all citations from the Bible will be from this electronic source).

refused to “forget,” and one could hear them everywhere greeting each other on Passover eves by: “Next year in Jerusalem.”

In his book *On Collective Memory*, Halbwachs distinguished between two kinds of memory: historical and autobiographical memory. He claimed that historical memory is easier to preserve simply because it is the type of memory usually celebrated periodically and kept alive through commemorations and festive reenactments. It reaches the social actor usually through written and other types of records, such as photography. The autobiographical memory, on the other hand, is the memory of events that we have personally experienced. These types of memories tend to fade with time unless periodically reinforced through contact with those individuals with whom one shared experiences.⁴

The Jewish experience, based on Halbwachs’ historical memory, shows how nostalgia lives inside people for two thousand years without the individuals having ever seen or having met directly the object or place for which they are yearning. The situation with the classical Arabic *qasīda* is not exactly the same as the one described above, since, in many cases, some Arab poets were also nostalgic for places of which they had heard, but had never lived in, but on the other hand, other poets described their own experiences or autobiographical memories. Either way, classical Arab poets unwittingly created an archetype for many generations to come that was used by poets who felt compelled to mention and be nostalgic for places that they had or had not been to and never experienced.⁵

⁴ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 23-24.

⁵ The earliest Arabic *qasā'id* (poems) known involved convention and did not express a personal experience. The opening line of ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād’s (d. 601) *mu‘allaqa*, which is considered to be one of the earliest Arabic poetic texts to have survived, proves this assumption. In the first line, ‘Antara complains about the fact that the generation of the poets that came before his generation did not leave the new generation any free poetic meanings or theme to write about:

Have the poets left in the garment a place for a patch to be patched by me;
and did you know the abode of your beloved after reflection?

هل غادر الشعراء من متردم أم هل عرفت الدار بعد توهم!؟

Past and memory, two major components of nostalgia, were the subject of several literary critical works. Trigg, for example, argues that past and memory are inseparable, and that the man is identified more with his history and past than with his present. Trigg also claims that displacement plays a major role in inciting memory and nostalgia:

In the absence of memory, the present is determined by the exterior mode of divisibility and anticipation. In coming to recognize the historic self as a surrogate self, we view it as being inferior, existing only so that it can pass into memory. Likewise, because time and experience can only be experienced in a past tense, a double bind occurs. As temporal continuity proceeds toward a finite closure, only by engaging in that closure can be experienced be gained. Similarly, as time passes, our losses are measurable, their resonance felt. The desire, melancholy and object, rob us of the thing we desire in the first place. . . In this way, the experience of temporal-experience suffers from delayed recognition. The incongruity of memory is necessary. Objects from the past reappear once we are displaced, spatially and temporarily, from the native habitat of those objects. Broadly, the passing of time becomes noticeable the more we are startled by the ruins of memory.⁶

The most famous line in Arabic poetry, which is nostalgic per excellence, is the first line of Imru' al-Qays' *mu'allaqa*:

Halt, two friends, and we will weep for the memory of one beloved
and an abode at Siq̄ al-Liwā, between al-Dakhūl then Ḥawmal.⁷

قفا نبيك من ذكرى حبيب ومنزل بسقط اللوى بين الدخول فحومل⁸

It is nostalgic for three things: love, home and place. It is nostalgic because it shows how “startled [and sad the poet is] by the ruins of [the] memory.” This line and what follows in the opening passage of the poem formed a nostalgic model (later called the *nasīb*) to be followed

The English translation is from “Sacred-Texts Islam website,” accessed March 5, 2015, http://www.sacred-texts.com/isl/hanged/hanged2.htm#fr_2, while the Arabic line is from: ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād, *Dīwān ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād*, ed. Muḥammad Sa‘īd Mūlūy (Bayrūt: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1970), 111.

⁶ Dylan Trigg, *The Aesthetics of Decay: Nothingness, Nostalgia and the Absence of Reason* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2006), 36-37.

⁷ Translation is from Suzanne Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak: Pre-Islamic Poetry and the Poetics of Ritual* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 249. (Henceforth, all English translations of poetic lines from Imru' al-Qays' *mu'allaqa* will be taken from this source).

⁸ Imru' al-Qays, *Dīwān Imri' al-Qays*, ed. Muṣṭafā ‘Abd al-Shāfi, 2nd ed. 2 vols. (al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma‘ārif bi-Miṣr, 1964), 2.

for hundreds of years to come. This model was alternately imitated by many generations of poets and was also ignored by poets at their own peril.⁹

The best explanation for why this model has sustained for many generations is that it spoke to the core of the human emotions and feelings. The nostalgic style of the *nasīb* became almost an official or statutory convention when the Abbasid poet Abū Nuwās (d. 813), who had repeatedly mocked the convention of the *nasīb* and those who used it, was forced by the authorities to mention the abodes and open some of his poems in a traditional tone. As a result, the same Abū Nuwās who wrote once:

The wretch went to question the trace [of a ruined encampment],
while I went to ask about the town's tavern,

رَاخَ الشَّقِيَّ عَلَى رِنْعِ يَسَائِلِهِ وَرُحْتُ أَسْأَلُ عَنْ خَمَارَةِ الْبَلَدِ¹⁰

also wrote:

An official master ordered me to describe the ruined abodes,
and I cannot disobey his order.

دَعَانِي إِلَى وَصْفِ الطَّلُولِ مَسَلَّطٌ يَضِيقُ ذِرَاعِي أَنْ أَجَوِّزَ لَهُ أَمْرًا¹¹

The short poem written by Maysūn bint Baḥdal (d. around 700), the wife of Caliph Mu'āwiya Ibn Abī Sufyān (d. 680), is a good example of such *nasīb* and nostalgic feelings. Maysūn, who had to leave the simple nomadic life of the desert and travelled to join her new husband in Damascus,¹² wrote nostalgically:

I swear that a house that the wind blows through
is dearer to me than a high palace,

⁹ Jaroslav Stetkevych writes about this line and the next eight lines. He categorizes them under the elegiac *nasīb*: "Thus, Imru' al-Qays will easily begin a poem with an elegiac *nasīb* (vv. 1-9) of *diyār* (abodes) and *aṭlāl* (ruins) and plunge into the intoxicating of reverie of recollection of the tribe's departing maidens, only to change abruptly to a celebration of his travel hardened she-camel in a shorter, but clearly defined *raḥīl* (vv. 10-14). See: Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 12.

¹⁰ Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān Abī Nuwās al-Ḥasan Ibn Hānī' al-Ḥakmī*, ed. Ewald Wagner, 4 vols. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Wiesbaden GMBH, 1988), 3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 153.

¹² Al-Ḥarīrī wrote that when Maysūn bint Baḥdal married Mu'āwiya and moved with him from the desert to al-Shām, she used to yearn greatly for her people [family, friends and neighbors] and her place of origin (*masqaṭ ra'sihā*). Al-Qāsim Ibn 'Alī Al-Ḥarīrī, *Durrat al-Ghawwāṣ ft 'Awhām al-Khawās*, ed. 'Arfān Maṭrajī (Bayrūt: Mu'assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1998), 49.

And wearing a camel-hair made cloak while my eye is happy
is dearer to me than wearing a gauzy red cloth,

And that eating a scrap of bread from my own house
is dearer to me than eating a whole loaf,

And that the sound of the winds from all directions \ deep wide wadis
is dearer to me than the sound of the tambours,

And that a barking dog that keeps strangers away from me
is dearer to me than a domestic cat,

.....

And that a skinny young son of my paternal cousins
is dearer to me than a strong muscular foreigner,

The coarseness of my life in the desert is more desirable
to me than the gentle soft life.

I do not want any place but my homeland,
and that noble homeland is enough for me.

لبيئٌ تخفق الارياح فيه أحب الي من قصر منيفِ

ولبسُ عباءة وتقر عيني أحب الي من لبس الشفوفِ

وأكلُ كُسَيْرَة من كِسْر بيتي أحب الي من أكل الرغيفِ

وأصواتُ الرياح بكل فج أحب الي من نقر الدفوفِ

وكلبٌ ينبح الطراقَ دوني أحب الي من قطِّ ألوفِ

.....

وخرقٌ من بني عمي نحيفٌ أحب الي من عِلجِ عليفِ

خشونة عيشتي في البدو أشهى إلى نفسي من العيش الظريف

فما أبغي سوى وطني بديلاً فحسبي ذاك من وطن شريف¹³

The Arab poet expressed the idea of anxiety and uncertainty about the future by seeking refuge in the past, as the past is the only thing that he possesses when both the present and future hold many worries and troubles. Most Arabs in pre-Islamic times were Bedouin, constantly migrating from one place to another. Although Bedouins used to have historical tribal grounds and migratory patterns, it can be assumed that this instability created a sense of foreignness and alienation for any Arab who left his campsite or whose beloved one migrated with her tribe and left him behind. Such an Arab or a Bedouin would always keep seeking his origin or his former place of stable emotions. Giacomo Leopardi writes:

He who travels much has this advantage over others—that the things he remembers soon become remote, so that in a short time they acquire the vague and poetical quality which is only given to other things by time. He who has not traveled at all has this disadvantage—that all his memories are of things present somewhere, since the places with which all his memories are concerned are present.¹⁴

Losing her former place of life where she got used to live, and leaving behind all her relatives and early experiences were the main factors of Maysūn bint Baḥdal's creativity. In this spirit, Laurence Lerner brings Hanna Segal's claim from his and Melanie Klein's essay "A Psychoanalytic Contribution to Aesthetics" that the "feeling of loss is at the centre of artistic creation."¹⁵

¹³ Ibid. The last two lines are not in al-Ḥarīrī's book, but can be found in Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Yaḥyā al-Waṭwāṭ, *Ghurar al-Khaṣā'ish al-Wāḍiḥa wa-'Urar al-Naqā'id al-Fāḍiḥa*, ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2008), 46.

¹⁴ Citation is from: Trigg, *The Aesthetics of Decay*, 35.

¹⁵ Laurence Lerner, *The Uses of Nostalgia: Studies in Pastoral Poetry* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1972), 55. For further readings about nostalgia and memory see the following studies: Malcolm Chase and Christopher Shaw, *The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989); Stephen Cheeke, *Bayron and Place: History, translation, Nostalgia* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Linda Marilyn Austin, *Nostalgia in Transition, 1780-1917* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007); Judith Broome, *Fictive Domain: Body, Landscape and Nostalgia, 1717-1770* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007).

The Arab philologist Abū ‘Uthmān ‘Amr Ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 869) devoted a treatise to the yearning for one’s homeland. About this feeling of loyalty toward the homeland, he writes:

I heard a king saying that he left his country to another opulent and fertile land, and that both the Arab tribes and the strong foreigners submitted to his authority.... But every time he heard anyone mentioning the name of his homeland he became very nostalgic, like a she-camel that longs for her water-places.¹⁶

In his book *Adab al-Ghurabā’* (The Literature of the Foreigners), Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 967), a well-known scholar from the 10th century, gathered many stories and poems written by foreigners who discussed their homesickness. Their memories were inflamed and even if they knew that their “exile” was temporary and that one day they would return, they wept and cried bitterly because of their remoteness from home. Abū al-Faraj wrote in *Adab al-Ghurabā’* that he once read the following nostalgic line written on the wall of a mosque:

May God water the days of togetherness by His rain,
and may He return all the strangers to their homelands.

سقى الله أيامَ التواصلِ غيئُهُ وردّ إلى الأوطان كل غريب¹⁷

In the Arabic poetic tradition, every place distant from the land from which the Arab acquired his early habits and memories is a place of exile. No matter how many close friends an Arab makes in a foreign place, he remains alien and lonely. Here is how an anonymous Arab poet describes his homesickness when he was living away from the Iraqi Arab city of al-Baṣra:

You have no companion to relieve your loneliness,
nor anyone to console you when you cry

So suffer from love alone,
because you are alone facing it.

¹⁶ ‘Amr Ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasā’il al-Jāḥiẓ*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, 4 vols. (al-Qāhira: Maṭba‘at al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, 1965), 2: 383-384.

¹⁷ Abū al-Faraj Al-Iṣfahānī, *Adab al-Ghurabā’*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munjid (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-Jadīd, 1972), 34.

I am tired of staying long in Jurjān,¹⁸
when my home and origin is in al-Baṣra.¹⁹

There [in al-Baṣra] I have many true brothers,
raised for me by true fathers.

They are lamps amidst the night, if they are illuminated,
they remove the black darkness.

If a disaster befalls people,
no one remains behind, neither a youngster nor an old man

Whose bestowal is hoped,
and whose good is expected, and do not give.

فما لك من وحشة مؤنسٍ وما لك عند البكا مسعدُ
فقداس الهوى وتفرد به فأنت الوحيد به المفردُ
مللت بجرجان طول الثوى وبالبصرة الدار والموالدُ
وكم لي بها من أخٍ أصيدٍ نماء لمجد أبٍ أصيدُ
مصايبُ ليل إذا أشرقتُ يفرجُ عنه الدجى الأسودُ
إذا الناس غمتهم أزمنة فلم يبق كهلاً ولا أمردُ
يؤمل أو يرتجى رفدهُ يعود بخيرٍ ولا يرفدُ²⁰

However, while the change and instability were harsh and bitter for Arabs who left their tribes or towns and moved to other tribes or towns in Arab lands and lived among other Arabs, and perhaps practiced the same religion, the Arabs of al-Andalus who left the Arab East to live permanently in a distant land with a different culture must have felt it more intensely. Such immigrants had to deal with a hostile environment, strange language, different culture and different dominant religion. All of these factors must have deepened the feelings of foreignness,

¹⁸ A famous city between Ṭabaristān and Khurāsān in northern Iran. See: Yāqūt Ibn ‘Abdullāh al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, ed. Farīd ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Jundī, 5 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr, 1990), 2:119.

¹⁹ Al-Baṣra is a major city in Iraq.

²⁰ Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad al-Marzūqī, *Al-Azmina wa-al-Amkina* (Ḥaydar Abād- al-Hind: Majlis Dā’rat al-Ma‘ārif, 1913), 234.

alienation and expatriation among them, which would lead some of them to reverse direction and head eastward again to flee foreignness and other hardships.²¹

In addition, people in the Arab and Islamic East, are rooted, often by name, to their places of origin. In many cases, the names and attributions of famous Arab scholars and even ordinary people are used to show how important roots are for Arabs and people from the East. For example, Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 923), the famous physician, mathematician and philosopher, is not attributed to mathematics or philosophy, but rather to Rayy, the Persian city where he was born. Similarly, Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 1007), who travelled throughout the East and West and gathered fabulous anecdotes that were later registered in his *Maqāmāt* book,²² remained known as a man from Hamadhān, a small town in the northwest portion of Persia. Other famous scholars are also known by the name of the city they were born in such as al-Ṭabarī (from Ṭabaristān), al-Makkī (from Mecca) and al-Baghdādī (from Baghdad). The family names or titles of many ordinary and noble individuals, such as Ḥalabī, Miṣrī, Talḥamī, Ṣafadī, Dimashqī, al-Andalusī, al-Rundī and al-Gharnāṭī, were used as attributions to Ḥalab /Aleppo, Miṣr /Egypt, Bayta Laḥm /Bethlehem, Ṣafad /Zefat, Dimashq /Damascus, al-Andalus, Runda and Gharnāṭa/ Granada, respectively and used to show the important role that geographical origin played in identity and identification.

²¹ Muḥammad Fawzī Raḥīl counts eight factors that influenced the immigration of the Andalusians, especially scholars, to Egypt between the 13th and 16th centuries: 1) the ease of overland passage between the two countries through al-Qayrawān for trade matters; 2) the growing pressure of the Spanish on the Muslims in al-Andalus; 3) the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina (Some of the Andalusian pilgrims returned to al-Andalus, while others, such as Abū Sallāma al-Bayāsī al-Gharnāṭī (d. 1303), who simply loved to live in the East, decided to stay in Egypt . Others, such as Abū ' Abd Allāh Ibn al-Shāmī al-Andalusī (d. 1315) chose to stay in al-Ḥijāz); 4) seeking education (Abū ' Abd Allāh Ibn Mālik (d. 1273), the author of *Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, is one of these individuals); 5) family and political problems; 6) the success of the Mamlūks in Egypt in regard to blocking the Crusaders and Mongols in Syria and Iraq; 7) the resurrection of the Abbasid caliphate after the defeat of the Mongols; 8) the encouragement of education by the Mamlūks in Egypt.

Some of these factors occurred before the establishment of the Mamlūk rule in Egypt during which the stream of Andalusian emigrants to the East was ceaseless. See: "Al-Andalus website," accessed September 18, 2012, <http://www.alandalus.com/vb/archive/index.php/t-4700.html>.

²² He left Hamadhān around the year 990 and moved to the court of al-Ṣāhib Ibn ' Abbād in al-Rayy and Hirāt. Then, he went to Jurjān before moving to Naysābūr. See: Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt*, ed. Aḥmad Arna' ūt and Turkī Muṣṭafā, 29 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth, 2000), 6: 221.

The book *Al-Manāzil wa-al-Diyār* by ʿUsāma Ibn Munqidh (d. 1188), an anthology of earlier poetry, mostly Abbasid, by poets who lamented the loss of their abodes, among them Ibn Munqidh himself, is another example for how deeply Arabs are attached to their origins. The book is a poetic anthology composed on the occasion of the earthquake that struck Syria in 1157. The poets included in this large anthology and their poems not only mourn their lost properties and belongings, but also the destruction of the city, community, milieu and environs. They wept over their remoteness from the scenery and living far away from their family and friends. They also wrote about the pain experienced by others in a manner that expresses the social bonds and solidarity among the people of the city. Ibn Munqidh wrote about the reason behind composing the book:

What made me gather this book is the destruction that hit my country and my homeland . . . so their yards became deserted after nights of joy—as if they were not rich yesterday—and their buildings collapsed and vanished, and their people died, and so their populated places became ruined abodes, while pleasure turned into repentance and care. And I stood to watch the ruins after the earthquake hit them, when they were the first land whose soil my skin touched. But, I could not recognize my house or the houses of my father, brothers, paternal uncles, paternal cousins and my family, so I got scared and confused asking the help of Allah to protect me from his major test and disaster . . . And the calamity got even greater until there were no more tears left . . . And the events of time were not confined to destroying the dwellings without the perdition of the dwellers; on the contrary, their death was quicker than the blink of an eye. Then the disasters continued rapidly since that time and on, so I found comfort in collecting this book that I made it [a model] in crying over the homes and the beloved.²³

Although Ibn Munqidh lived in the medieval period, the reader of his poems in *Al-Manāzil wa-al-Diyār* will notice that he still uses the classical *nasīb* in his poetic laments. “Usāma Ibn Munqidh not only compiled an anthology of a poetic archetype, but also wrote some of the most thoughtful and delicate verses of that anthology. His own poetic tradition is still that of the Bedouin *nasīb*.”²⁴

²³ ʿUsāma Ibn Munqidh, *Al-Manāzil wa-al-Diyār*, ed. Muṣṭafā Ḥjāzī, 2nd ed. (al-Qāhira: Dār Akhbār al-Yawm, 1992), 3-4.

²⁴ Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 52.

This phenomenon of tracking ancient poetic conventions does not belong only to ancient or medieval times and is also not an outcome of ancient naming or appellation traditions. Instead, it has something to do with the present where many Arabs are refusing attempts to uproot them from their places of origin and remain nostalgic and faithful to their roots, even in death. The Palestinian writer, Ḥusayn Yāsīn (b. 1943), writes about his journey to a Palestinian cemetery in the Syrian-Palestinian refugee camp of al-Yarmūk:

There, at the Martyrs' Cemetery in the Yarmūk Refugee Camp, the corpse of 'Alī al-Kharbūsh [who opposed the Israeli regime during the 1960's and was killed later by the Israeli forces] and his companion Mifliḥ Sālīm repose, clutched by the soil of Syria. When you visit these graves, you find all the towns and villages of Palestine. Usually, the name of the deceased and two numbers indicating the year of birth and the year of death are written on the gravestone, but here—and it is a specific Palestinian case par excellence—the name of the origin town or village are always attendant. This one is from al-Khālṣah, and another is from Krād al-Baqqāra, Krād al-Ghannāmi, al-Wazīriyyi, al-Ja'ūni, Ṣafad, Qadīta. . . He who had forgotten the names of the Palestinian villages, here, the refugees' graves will remind him of them. There are over ten thousand tombs, and at the beginning, you see the tomb in a green cage where 'Alī al-Kharbūsh from 'Arrābit al-Baṭṭūf [which is also Yāsīn's own village] "lives".²⁵

Time stands powerless when confronted by the Arab's or Palestinian's memory regarding his or her childhood or homeland. Yāsīn's memory is the collective memory of the people and nation. Here, as the case is with many other texts about patriotic nostalgia, historical and autobiographical memory are integrated in a manner that combines the lyric, which usually deals with personal and with public or collective concern as well. Halbwachs discusses this idea: "While the collective memory endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember."²⁶

Another example of Arab nostalgia for the past and for the land of origin from the modern era can be found in the autobiography of Hishām Sharābī. Sharābī (d. 2005), a well-known sociologist who lived for over 40 years in the West before writing his autobiography

²⁵ Ḥusayn Yāsīn, *Maṣābīḥ al-Dujā* ('Akkā: Dār al-Aswār, 2006), 164.

²⁶ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 22.

and who garnered an international reputation due to his many publications in English and his professorship at Georgetown University, remained faithful to and deeply nostalgic for the East, in general, and, in particular, for Palestine and the cities in which he lived before leaving Palestine in 1949. His autobiography is an excellent example of the way in which an Arab preserves his past and, more specifically, his roots and origins:

In the year 1949, I left my homeland [Palestine], but I actually did not emigrate. Emigration means uprooting and starting a new life. But I was not uprooted from my homeland nor did I start a new life in another homeland. My roots remained implanted in a land from which I was far away.

Until this day I still feel like a foreigner in this country [America] where I have spent most of my life. In every morning during the summer and fall, I sit on the balcony and look at our tiny garden. I smell the fragrance of the roses that my wife planted as I asked. I close my eyes and imagine that I smell the fragrance of the roses of Acre. And when I pick the leaves of the green *za'tar* (thyme), which was also planted for me by my wife, and rub it between my fingers and smell its odor, I feel that I am on the mountains of Lebanon, by Sūq al-Gharb and 'Aleh. And when my wife serves the grapes of the end of the season, I remember the taste of the golden grapes of Ramallah that used to be served for us at the beginning of every fall when we went back to the Friends School. And in the summer, on the seashore of Virginia, everything that besets me, the sea water, the sand of the beach and the far horizon that is saturated with the sea odor, turns into images and feelings that remind me of Jaffa, Acre and Beirut. The reality, which I lived here for more than forty years, remains incapable of possessing me. I am exactly like a passenger whose heart is filled with nostalgia from the very moment the shore of his homeland disappears from his sight and who lives a life determined by the present and by passing things. His suitcases remain always ready, waiting for the moment of the return.²⁷

Sharābī, like many other immigrants in America, was not the only one to feel and express his alienation and foreignness during an American “exile.” In his introduction, Lewis Coser, the translator and editor of *On Collective Memory* by Maurice Halbwachs, writes, in the same spirit, about the barriers between him as an immigrant from Germany and typical native-born Americans. He bitterly describes his personal experience:

Permit me to start this section on a personal note. I came to this country as an immigrant shortly before Pearl Harbor. It did not take me long to establish friendships, or at least contacts, with young

²⁷ Hishām Sharābī, *Ṣuwar al-Mādī* (Bayrūt: Dār Nilsun, 1993), 21-21.

people of roughly my own age. But I felt for a long time that there was something in my relations with native Americans that blocked full communication, and that there was a kind of impassible barrier between us. It was only after I remembered Halbwach's work on memory, which I had read at the Sorbonne, that I was able to put a finger on the reason for this mild estrangement between us. I then realized that they and I did not share enough collective memories. The memory of major sports events shared by my friends was not part of my memory. I had not worshiped particular famous baseball players with them. I was confused when I noticed that American football was something very different from the European variety, so that I had no way of participating in their football lore. They talked about common experiences in high school that made little sense to me. They often gossiped about early girlfriends and their amorous conquests in high school days. They were not particularly history-minded, yet I often found it hard to follow when some historical reference cropped up in conversation. In summary, much of what I had experienced until my twenties made but little sense to my new friends, and, reciprocally, I could not make much sense, lacking points of repair, when talking to American age-mates, and classmates at Columbia. I was excluded from their collective memory and they were excluded from mine.²⁸

Nostalgia, hence, is an emotion shared by humans everywhere, but, in the case of Arabs and their perpetual yearning for their roots, origins and places of birth, and their loathing of foreignness and expatriation, it is much more than an ordinary feeling; it is something that is deeply and culturally ingrained in them.²⁹

It should be mentioned that the Iraqi poetic revolutionary movement of the mid- 20th century *Ḥarakat al-Ḥadātha* (the modernist movement) that first introduced the free verse (*al-shi' r al-ḥurr*) to the Arab reader, and whose most obvious characteristics were rejection of the fixed rhyme and meter of the classical ode, the use of Biblical symbols, ancient myths, and obscurity of style, remained faithful to Imru' al-Qays and eminently nostalgic in spite of its efforts to free itself from the conventions of the classical ode.

²⁸ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 21.

²⁹ Living in exile is considered to be a total waste. See, for example, the line of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī (d. 1165):

I wish I knew where my grave would be,
my life has been wasted in exile.

ليت شعري أين قبري لقد ضاع في الغربة عمري

See: al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt*, 1: 38.

Although it was written in a new form that contradicts and challenges the conventional shape of the Arabic classical ode, the poem *Al-Bāb Taqra 'uhu al-Riyāḥ* (The Wind is Knocking at the Door) by Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb (d. 1964), one of the three most important pioneers of the *Ḥadātha* literary movement next to 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī (d. 1999) and Nāzik al-Malā'ika (d. 2007), illustrates this idea. Alone, and hospitalized in England, al-Sayyāb wrote this touching poem in which he wished that the hand of his mother were the one that knocked at the door instead of the wind. At the same time, he expressed his nostalgia for his homeland, Iraq, and for the palm trees that are characteristic of the Iraqi landscape:

Nothing knocked the door in the deep night except the wind.
Your hand did not knock the door.
Where is your hand when the way is so distant?
There are seas between us, cities and deserts of darkness.
The wind carries the echo of her kisses to me like a fire
That spreads from one palm tree to another and shines in the clouds.

.....

Where are you? Do you hear
The cries of my heart, slaughtered by nostalgia for Iraq?

البَابُ مَا قَرَعَتْهُ غَيْرُ الرِّيحِ فِي اللَّيْلِ الْعَمِيقِ،

البَابُ مَا قَرَعَتْهُ كَفُّكَ.

أَيْنَ كَفُّكَ وَالطَّرِيقُ

نَاءٍ؟ بِحَارٍ بَيْنَنَا، مُدُنٌ، صَحَارَى مِنْ ظَلَامٍ

الريح تحمل لي صدى القبلات منها كالحريق

من نخلة يعدو إلى أخرى ويزهو في الغمام

...

أين أنت؟ أسمعني

صرخات قلبي وهو يذبخه الحنين إلى العراق؟³⁰

³⁰ Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb, *Shanāshīl Ibnat al-Jalabī wa-Iqbāl* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Ṭalī'a, 1967), 26, 28.

Therefore, in spite of the efforts to change the Arabic ode in modern times, especially by the *Ḥadātha* movement, the theme of remembering the past, the nostalgia for loved ones, abodes, hometowns and homelands -- which were so recurrent and rooted in the classical Arabic culture -- is still popular in modern Arabic free-verse poetry.

The poem *Gharīb* (A Stranger) by the Syrian poet ‘Umar al-Farrā (b. 1937) is another excellent example of this trend, but perhaps shows it using a different aspect. Al-Farrā wrote a poem in which he described his feeling of alienation in his own society. His alienation was not physical, but rather psychological. Although he did not write according to the traditional monometer and monorhyme, in his poem he used many words reminiscent of the lexicon of the classical ode. Here are four stanzas from his poem that show how the Arabic lexical and thematic heritage shaped his artistic creation:

As a stranger, I pass through this world
Neither the children
Nor the flowers know me!
Nor those who I used to know
Nor the lady I would love
And whose picture I drew one day with the tears of the heart.

.....

And one day, our neighborhood will say:
“A stranger passed by; the dogs barked at him... and his features disappeared
and we do not know whether he was alive or dead.”
I pass through this world as a stranger
Oh, how agonizing it is for man to live as a stranger among his own loved ones!

.....

I wish pure spiritual love would carry me
To our beautiful desert
To a melody, to a song
To a camel, to a howdah
To the Artemisia’s blooms, to the Matrimony vine
To the Qaysūm bush, to the Ḥarmal flower
To a gazelle we startle but is not startled
To a Bedouin girl who has forgotten the night breeze that shamelessly ruffled her hair,
And whose velvet dress is brocaded by the full-moon light, who, too, caresses her
shamelessly!

...

Woe unto me that I forgot my desert!
And woe unto me that I forgot my things!
And that I forgot my names and came to your civilization!
So excuse me, gentlemen!

Your civilization resembles the horror of a slaughterhouse
Your civilization is like a knife that is sharpened on the neck of love
Your civilization, if thirsty, will drink its children's blood
Your civilization searches for its lilies only to hack them with the scythe.

غريبًا أعبّر الدنيا
فلا الأطفال تعرفني
ولا الأزهارُ تعرفني
ولا من كنت أعرفهم
ولا من كنت أعشقها
وفي يومٍ من الأيامِ
كنتُ رسمتُ صورتها بدمع القلب

...

وفي يوم من الأيام سوف تقول حارتنا:
"غريبٌ مرٌّ تنبُحُه كلابُ الحيّ... واندثرت معالمُه
ولا ندري أحيًا كان أم ميتًا"

غريبًا أعبّر الدنيا
وما أقسى على الإنسان أن يحيا غريبًا بين أحبائه

...

فمن لي بالهوى العذريّ يحملني...

إلى صحرائنا الخلوّة

إلى لحنٍ إلى غنوة

إلى جملٍ إلى هودج

لزهر الشيخ والعوسج

إلى القيوم والحرمل

إلى ظبي نُجَّلهُ فلا يجفّن

إلى بدوية نسيت نسيم الليل يعبث في ضفيرتها ولا يخجل..

وضوء البدر طرز ثوبها المخمل.. هو الثاني يداعبها ولا يخجل

...

فيا ويحي فكيف نسيت صحرائي

ويا ويلي فكيف نسيت أشيائي

وكيف نسيت أسمائي وجئت إلى حضارتكم..

وعذراً أيها السادة..

حضارتكم تشابه رهبة المسلخ

حضارتكم كسكين على عنق الهوى تُجَلِّخ

حضارتكم إذا عطشت، دماء صغارها تنهل..

حضارتكم تفتش عن زنابقها وترمي فوقها منجل...³¹

In this poem, the poet tells the story of how he tried to escape from the primitive life of the desert by moving to the city in search of modern urban life, but later, and after consecutive disappointments, gave up the idea of finding a long-awaited ideal life in the city. Instead, he discovers that his final refuge cannot be found anywhere, but in the desert where his roots are deeply planted in the ground. The neighborhood, desert, beauty of the Bedouin girl, desert plants and landscape are all reminiscent of originality and authenticity, whereas the way he

³¹ “Arab adab,” accessed September 4, 2012, <http://www.arabadab.net/poem.php?class=1&poet=16&poem=7263>

describes the horror of modern urban life shows how important he believes origins to be to him, in particular, and to Arabs in general. Regardless of how different his poetic form is from the classical conventions of rhyme and meter, his sentiments are precisely those of Maysūn bint Baḥdal longing for the Bedouin desert life from the caliphal court of 8th century Damascus.

Along with this formal reflection on classical poetry, the subject matter and theme of *Gharīb* are very conventional in that the poet rejects his present and longs for a past that can never return. This should not be surprising, since, as the Arab poet and critic Adūnīs once remarked, modern poetry is not really rebelling against the classical, but rather drawing back to it.³²

No matter how modern the Arab poet is or how much he has benefitted from modernity, in the end, he must go back to his ancestral poetry to find refuge. In al-Farrā's poem, the speaker, who seemingly sought change in the beginning and left the desert for the city, felt alienated and rejected not only by his new urban surroundings, but also by his old community (e.g., the dogs barked at him, the children and his beloved did not recognize him). In spite of this alienation and confusion, he desired to return to the past, to his roots, to his homeland and, more precisely, to the desert. Yet, the mixing of the neutral and possessive (*kilāb al-ḥayy* vs. *ḥāratunā*; i.e., the dogs of the neighborhood vs. our neighborhood) expresses his anxiety over being exiled, both in his new neighborhood in the city and in his old neighborhood in the desert when he decides to return. For, by the time that that happens and when he really returns, he has acquired new “odd” features and attitudes that do not fit the “old” or the desert. Moreover, new buffers and barriers exist between him and his old society. In spite of all of these issues, the poet, whose nostalgia is for the irretrievable past, decided affirmatively and assertively that his natural place was where his roots and past existed.

³² ‘Alī Aḥmad Sa‘īd Adūnīs, *al-Shi‘riyya al-‘Arabiyya* (Bayrūt: Dār al-‘Ādāb, 1985), 87.

The poem stresses both psychological and physical alienation. First, the poet discussed the foreignness that he felt within his own society, which caused him to leave. Then, after he left, he stated that he felt like he was more than a foreigner; he felt like he had been exiled. He worried that he would not be accepted back into his old society if he decided to return or that he would not longer accept his old society after being away for so long. In the end, he decided that living in the desert was better for him than living in the city. As such, he returned to the desert to face whatever fate awaited him.

The most important aspect of this poem is the ambiguous estrangement and alienation of al-Farrā. Regardless of whether this estrangement and alienation was caused by physical or psychological estrangement, it found expression through the motifs of classical Arabic poetry.³³ This feeling of instability and anxiety is characteristic of `Umar al-Farrā and, maybe, all other poets. They seem to be anxious outsiders who feel that they do not belong anywhere. They also feel as if they live an eternal journey (if not a real journey, then a poetic or psychological one) on which they travel in order to seek a better place to live and an ideal life. Jaroslav Stetkevych discusses this phenomenon of solitude and comradeship of solitude among poets, especially in love poetry:

As the Biblical hills were traversed by roaming bands of prophets, as the hills of early Christian Ireland were swarming with marauding saints and sorcerer-poets, as the desert of Sinai had always been irresistible to those who sought some form of escape or salvation, so also the lovers as poets had forever wondered about their own landscapes in their own poetic ways, imagining the world either as cosmic solitude or as a sympathetically vibrating community of other lovers.³⁴

Arab poets, who wrote about physical alienation, have always lived with a sense of psychological alienation as well due to foreignness from their own culture. They thought and spoke differently and mentally set themselves apart from ordinary people. Due to this strange

³³ Such motifs will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter.

³⁴ Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 77.

practice, people in old Arabia thought that all poets were either mad or possessed and that a genie helped them to improvise and compose poetry.³⁵

The uniqueness and distinction of the modern poet is most clearly expressed in a short stanza from *The Processions (al-Mawākib)*, a poem by the Lebanese poet Gibran Khalil Gibran (d. 1931). Gibran talks about how dreamers struggle, lead lonely lives and are always discarded by their traditional societies. They look forward, while their fellows look to the past. Gibran stated that the dreamer is a strange, but strong man and a distant prophet:

So if you see the brother of dreams
away from his own people, discarded and despised,

Then you must know that he is the prophet, and that the curtain of the morrow
conceals him
from people who are still wearing the dress of the past

And that he is the stranger from this world and from its dwellers,
and that he is the one who tells the truth regardless of what other people say

And that he is strong even though he shows some lenience,
and that he is distant whether people come close to him or go away.

فإن رأيت أخوا الأحلام منفردًا عن قومه وهو منبوءٌ ومحتقِرٌ

فهو النبي وبرد الغد يحجبه عن أمةٍ برداء الأمس تأتزرُ

وهو الغريب عن الدنيا وساكنها وهو المجاهرُ لام الناس أو عذروا

وهو الشديد وإن أبدى ملاينةً وهو البعيدُ تدانى الناس أم هجروا³⁶

³⁵ It should be mentioned here that the word “mad” in Arabic, *majnūn*, and the word for “genie,” *jinnī*, are both derived from the same Arabic root: J.N.N. which mostly refers to hidden or concealed objects. This connection underlies the Arab belief that a *majnūn* person must be haunted and possessed. See: Muḥammad Ibn Makram Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 15 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir, 1955-1956), 13: 95. Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī also told stories about genies who helped famous poets write and improvise poetry, such as the story about Kuthayyir ‘Azza (d.723) in which he was riding on his camel and then met a traveler who asked him to improvise poetry. Kuthayyir asked who the man was and he said: “I am your genie friend.” The genie recited some poetry and then Kuthayyir managed to improvise (for the first time). See: Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Al-Aghānī* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr li-al-Ṭibā‘a wa-al-Nashr, nd), 9: 32 It is also believed that some of the poets’ genies carried known names, such as the genie of al-Farazdaq, whose name was ‘Amr; the genie of al-A‘shā, whose name was Miṣḥal; and the genie of Bashshār, whose name was Shanqanāq. See: Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd Ibn ‘Amr al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī‘ al-Abrār wa-Fuṣūṣ al-Akḥbār*, ed. ‘Abd al-Majīd Diāb and others, 4 vols. (al-Qāhira: al-Hay‘a al-‘Āmma lil-Kitāb, 1992), 1: 222

³⁶ Gibran Khalil Gibran, *al-Mawākib*, ed. Nāzik Sāba Yārid (al-Qāhira: Dār al-‘Arab lil-Bustānī, 1986), 36-39.

The main difference between the alienation of classical and modern Arabic poetry is that the modern alienation is often imagined or constructed, whereas both physical and psychological alienation exist in classical poetry. In *Gharīb*, the exile or alienation that the poet experiences is psychological, rather than physical. The poet's emotional exile is expressed in the same language in which the classical poets described their physical exile: by referring to the plants and animals of the desert³⁷ and to the night and darkness.³⁸ This intertextual allusion is created in order to evoke a psychological exile that finds its roots in the classical ode and in the classical exile.

Modern poets use the classical poetic idiom of (physical) exile metaphorically, which reveals that classical poets used images of physical separation and distance metaphorically and metonymically in order to convey psychological estrangement and alienation. The modern poet created his own exile and reproduced the same feelings as those ancient Arabs who wept over the ruined abodes of the departing beloved in order to find an excuse to complain and create the poetic atmosphere from which his inspiration was derived. In this case, the past and all of its childhood memories have been replaced by debris and ruins. It seems, therefore, that a real or imaginary exile is necessary for the modern poet and an integral aspect of the poet's maturity. Maḥmūd Darwīsh (d. 2008), one of the most important Palestinian poets, described this exact process of creating self-exile in his collection *Sarīr al-Gharība* (The Bed of the Foreign Woman). He even states that he likes his exile because it helps him to write and create:

Nothing is left of me except you, and nothing is left of you
 Except a stranger caressing the thigh of his strange one: O
 Stranger! What shall we make of what is left for us
 Of quiet... and a siesta between two myths?

³⁷ The plants as a main motif in expressing nostalgia for the East in al-Andalus are discussed in Chapter Three.

³⁸ For example, the poet Bishr Ibn al-Mu'tamir (d. 825) referred to the plant of Ḥarmal when he left his homeland and his beloved:

And on the summits of the Ḥarmal she still had a shadow,
 if departure boiled and burned.

وفي ذرى الحرمل ظل لها إذا غلا واحتدم الهجرُ

See: Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr Ibn 'Uthmān al-Jāhiz, *al-Ḥayawān*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, 7 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Jīl, 1996), 6: 289.

And nothing carries us: neither the road nor home.
Was this road the same from the very beginning,
Or was it that our dreams found a horse among the Mongols'
Horses on the hill and traded us off?
And what shall we do?
What
Shall we do
Without
Exile.³⁹

لم يبقَ سواك، ولم يبقَ منك
سوايَ غريباً يُمَسِّدُ فخذَ غريبته: يا
غريبه! ماذا سنصنع في ما تبغى لنا
من هُدوءٍ... وقيلولةٍ بين أسطورتين؟
ولا شيء يحملنا: لا الطريق ولا البيت.
هل كان هذا الطريق كما هو منذ البداية،
أم أن أحلامنا وجدّت فرساً من خيول
المعول على التلّ فأستبدلتنا؟

وماذا سنفعل؟

ماذا

سنفعل

من

دون

منفى؟⁴⁰

³⁹ Translated by Yair Huri, "Who Am I Without Exile? On Maḥmūd Darwīsh's Later Poetics of Exile," *Digest of Middle East Studies* 15 (2006): 58-59.

⁴⁰ See the original Arabic poem on "Darwīsh's website," accessed September 19, 2012, <http://www.darwish.ps/dpoem-237.html>

It is worth mentioning that the graphic form of the poem looks like a tree, which usually symbolizes the homeland, roots and origin. Darwīsh clarified that the experience of "exile" is what motivates the poet's sense of creativity. Unlike Darwīsh, whose exile was compulsory, Umar al-Farrā imagined his own exile⁴¹ in order to give himself an impetus for his own writing.⁴²

However, this exile is complicated because it is an exile of time. The poet, as defined by Gibran, appeared to seek modernity and have a desire to flee primitive life, in general. In al-Farrā's *Gharīb*, the speaker escaped the traditional ideas of his people and, as a result, nobody recognized him, not even the dogs. However, he soon regretted joining the urban life and yearned for his former dwellings in the desert and for the modesty of that desert, accusing the city life of being cruel and thankless. He romanticized the desert in a language reminiscent of classical poetry and which has a specifically Bedouin flavor.

At the beginning of the poem, he sought pure love and then expressed his longing for the desert, which is a clear symbol of his roots. Then, he mentioned other elements associated with the desert panorama and the poetic tradition: the camel, howdah, special plants, antelope and braided hair of the beautiful Bedouin girl.

This explicit declaration of total loyalty to his roots brought al-Farrā, in the last stanza, to make a complete break from the "modern" world, where he sorrowfully declared the pain of his exile from his soil and desert, the land of generosity and origins, and decried living as a refugee in the adulterated urban environment instead of settling deep in the desert where he

⁴¹ When the poet was asked whether he had ever traveled to America or Europe to recite his poetry for Arab immigrants there, he answered that he dislikes the idea of traveling outside the Arab world and that he had been invited to poetry recitation ceremonies all over the Arab world, except for Egypt, Yemen and Sudan. See: "Muntadayāt Ḥiṭṭīn," accessed September 19, 2012, <http://www.hutteensc.com/forum/t7013.html>.

⁴² In his book, *Literature and Exile*, Bevan postulated that: "Both theorists and exiles themselves—of whatever kind—have long debated whether the experience is predominantly one that invigorates or mutilates. For some, undoubtedly, the sense of release, of critical distance, of renewed identity, of fusion or shock of cultures and even of languages, is interpreted as productive; generating a proposition whose originality of vision must almost necessarily derive from the transgressing and transcending of frontiers." Cited in: Huri, "Who am I without Exile," 57.

belonged and where his origin lies.⁴³ He implied that the word “civilization” had been wrongfully attributed to urbanism.⁴⁴

Like Gibran, who could neither go back to the old ways nor bring his people to the same level of his thinking and intelligence, al-Farrā also felt a double alienation and a double conflict between preserving his desert-like traditions and, at the same time, moving forward. This “stateless” state of the modern poet made him feel as if he didn’t belong anywhere: he found it difficult to leave his homeland because wherever he went, he felt rootless. He also couldn’t stay because his people refused any kind of change -- even a positive one.

Linda Hutcheon refers to some earlier scholars to try explaining this sense of undefined state of sadness among the modern writers and men of pen:

Nostalgia was no longer simply a yearning to return home. As early as 1798, Immanuel Kant had noted that people who did return home were usually disappointed because, in fact, they did not want to return to a *place*, but to a *time*, a time of youth. Time, unlike space, cannot be returned to--ever; time is irreversible. And nostalgia becomes the reaction to that sad fact. As one critic has succinctly put this change: "Odysseus longs for home; Proust is in search of lost time."⁴⁵

⁴³ I will mention a single example that can shed light on the historical debate of preferring the desert over the town and vice versa: Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih al-Andalusī mentioned the following story about this debate between the desert dwellers and city folk: “Khālid Ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī harangued the gathered people saying: ‘Oh desert folk! How tough your town is, and how strict your life is; you never pray on Fridays, and never sit with scholars.’” Then suddenly an ugly man stood up, and said: “All you have mentioned about how tough our land is, how rough our life is, and how bad our food is, all that is correct, but you city folk have three faults that are worse than everything you have mentioned. Khālid said to him: And what are those? He replied: You destroy people’s houses, desecrate graves, and have sex with men. He [Khālid] replied: May God make ugly both your face and what you’ve just said.”

خطب خالد بن عبد الله القسري فقال يا أهل البادية ما أخصن بلدكم وأغلظ معاشكم وأجفَى أخلاقكم لا تشهدون جمعة ولا تجالسون عالماً. فقام إليه رجل منهم دميم فقال أما ما ذكرت من خشونة بلدنا وغلظ طعامنا فهو كذلك ولكنكم معشر أهل الحضر فيكم ثلاث خصال هي شر من كل ما ذكرت، قال له خالد: وما هي؟ قال: نتقبون الدور وتنبشون القبور وتكحون الذكور قال قبحك الله وقبح ما جئت به.

See: Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih al-Andalusī, *Kitāb al-‘Iqd al-Farī*, ed. Muḥammad al-Tūnjī (Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir, 2001), 2, 490.

⁴⁴ As in English, where the word “civilization” is related to the Latin root *civis*, or “city dwellers,” the word “civilization” in Arabic, “*ḥaḍāra*,” is derived from the word *ḥaḍar*, which means “urban dwellers.” In this way, Arabic attributes civilization to the city or to its settled dwellers and, indirectly, considers the desert and its Bedouin inhabitants as backward. The Arab concept of *tamaddun* (modernity) is also derived from *madīna* (a city or town) and taken from Europe at the time of the *nahḍah* (i.e., the Arab enlightenment era of the early 19th century). It connects urban life with modernization.

⁴⁵ Linda Hutcheon, accessed November 16, 2014, <http://www.library.utoronto.ca/utel/criticism/hutchinp.html>

Like many other modern poets, ‘Umar al-Farrā’s attitude remains unclear throughout his poem. He continually moved from one situation of uncertainty to another. The line: “how agonizing it is to live as a stranger among your own people,” indicates that he must be living with his friends and family in the desert (because desert for him means home, family, friends and community). However, later, it seems that he was living in the city, especially when he states at the beginning of the fifth stanza:

Woe unto me that I forgot my desert!
And woe unto me that I forgot my names!
And that I forgot my things and came to your civilization!

This uninterrupted feeling of apprehension, psychological instability and lack of identity are the most important characteristics of the modern poet who finds himself stuck between the old and the new: the origins and restrictions of the classical on one hand and the triteness and liberty of the modern on the other hand. The poet remains lost, uncertain about his fate and his role in the world, but, at the same time, nostalgic for the past and for what no longer exists. To put it in another way, nostalgia, as I mentioned before, is the yearning for a past in which the poet or his ancestors once lived, but which no longer exists. Jaroslav Stetkevych simply and shortly expresses this idea in his discussion of the *nasīb* in the classical Arabic ode:

Thus, in its own first act—the *nasīb*—the “drama” of the classical Arabic *qaṣīdah* [ode] introduces us to what must once have been a state of “communal harmony” as presupposed by the mythopoetic structure, that initial state of harmony or blissfulness no longer exists but is only a nostalgic memory or a meditation. The *qaṣīdah* through its *nasīb* section conveys the sense of loss of that premythopoetic—that is, mythical—backdrop of a time of fulfillment that seemed to have stood still.⁴⁶

Therefore, exile, alienation, their inevitable consequences and the multidimensional nostalgia for family, relatives, friends, bonhomie, homeland, neighborhood, beloved and early

⁴⁶ Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 39.

sweet memories became a poetic necessity and a basic impulse that has helped poets in composing poetry.

In spite of the harshness of remoteness and exile, it became a sort of a poetic necessity in the modern period, when poets who had to go through a compulsory exile declared attachment to their exile or create an imaginary psychological exile from which they derived their tools for creative writing.

The above examples are perhaps too few to illustrate the Arabs' nostalgia for their past and their first home, village, town, city and love. Abū Tammām (d. 843), the well-known and prolific Abbasid poet, expressed this idea of nostalgia for the past and early first sweet memories and love in a concise and compelling manner in two lines when he wrote:

Move your heart wherever you wish with love,
love will never be but for the first beloved.

A man may get used to many houses,
but his yearning will always be for his first home.

نَقَلْ فُؤادَكَ حَيْثُ شئتَ مِنَ الهوى ما الحُبُّ إِلاَّ لِلحبيبِ الأَولِ

كَمَ مَنزَلٍ فِي الأَرْضِ يَألفُهُ الفَتى وَحَنيئُهُ أَبدًا لِأَولِ مَنزَلٍ⁴⁷

Nostalgia in al-Andalus – The Factors

The migration of Arabs from the East especially from al-Ḥijāz and other deserted lands to al-Andalus was accompanied by much fascination by the landscape of al-Andalus, including its green mountains and plentiful water. In addition, both the pretty Spanish women of al-Andalus⁴⁸ and the man-made attractions later built by Muslims, such as new cities, palaces,

⁴⁷ Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī, *Akḥbār Abī Tammām*, ed. Khalīl 'Asākir, Muḥammad Gharrām and Naẓīr al-Hindī (al-Qāhira: Al-Hay'at al-'Āmma li-Quṣūr al-Thaqāfa, n.d.), 263.

⁴⁸ The first Islamic attack in al-Andalus (ca. 710) was led by Ṭarīf Ibn Mālik, a Berber soldier sent at the command of Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr. The outcome of this attack was a victory for the Muslims who gained much booty and pillage. When Mūsā and his friends saw the captured women, they swore that they had never before seen such beautiful women. See: 'Adnān Darwīsh and Muḥammad al-Maṣrī, *Al-Andalus min Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* (Dimashq: Manshūrāt Wizārat al-Thaqāfa, 1990), 107-108.

bridges and gardens, added much to its natural beauty. Al-Andalus was described by Andalusian poets, therefore, as an earthly paradise. Its beauty and wealth amazed the Arab newcomers and incited their poetic imagination. As a result, endless poems were written to describe this new and enchanting natural and man-made beauty. Below are some examples.

Ibrāhīm Ibn Abī al-Faṭḥ Ibn Khafāja al-Andalusī (d. 1138), who is categorized by critics as the best Andalusian poet in regard to describing nature, and who was dubbed Ṣanawbarī al-Andalus (The Ṣanawbarī of al-Andalus) after Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣanawbarī (d. 945), the famous and celebrated eastern nature poet from the Abbasid era, drew an analogy between al-Andalus and paradise:

Oh people of al-Andalus! What good things you have!
Water, shade, rivers and trees!

The immortal paradise is not but in your land,
and if I could choose, I would choose this one.

Do not think that in the future you will enter Hellfire,
for the Fire cannot be entered after Heaven.

يا أهل أندلس لله دركم ماء وظل وأنهار وأشجار
ما جنة الخلد إلا في دياركم ولو تخيرت هذي كنت أختار
لا تحسبوا في غد تدخلوا سقرًا فليس تُدخَلُ بعد الجنة النار⁴⁹

Ibn Safar al-Muraynī (d. 1169) described al-Andalus in this way:

In the land of al-Andalus there are so many delights,
and there, joys never depart from the heart.

Its rivers are silver; its soil is musk;
its garden is a jewel; and its pebbles are gemstones.

And its air has a softness that softens even the heart
of the hard-hearted man, who never shows love.

⁴⁹ Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb fī Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās, 7 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir, 1968), 1: 116.

في أرض أندلس تلتذُّ نعاءً ولا يفارق فيها القلب سراءً
 أنهارها فضة والمسك تربتها والخز روضتها والدرّ حصباءً
 وللهواء بها لطف يرق بـ مَنْ لا يرق وتبدو منه أهواء⁵⁰

The second line above reminds us of the *ḥadīth* (a saying that is ascribed to Prophet Muḥammad) in which Muḥammad describes paradise to his followers:

A brick of silver and a brick of gold, its mortar is musk and its gravel is pearls and rubies, its soil is saffron. He who enters it gets rich and is not impoverished, and becomes immortal and never dies. His clothes do not wear out and his youth does not decline.⁵¹

Abū ‘Āmir al-Sulamī wrote in his book *Durar al-Qalā`id wa-Ghurar al-Fawā`id*:

Al-Andalus is Syrian with regard to its odor and air, Yemenite with regard to its mildness, Indian with regard to its beautiful perfume, Ahwāzian with regard to its plentiful taxation; Chinese with regard to its pearled metals and Edenic with regard to the advantages of its coastlines. It has a lot of important remains that belongs to the Greeks, the people of wisdom and the carriers of philosophy.⁵²

It was also said by some scholars that Christians were deprived of the celestial paradise [Eden] so God gave them an earthly paradise, which is an orchard between Andalusia and Constantinople connected by the Mediterranean.⁵³

Hundreds of pages could be written about how fascinated and charmed the Arabs were by al-Andalus and how quickly they began to establish roots in the new land to such an extent that many of them abandoned their old cognomens and attributed themselves (or were attributed by others) to the new country. New family names or titles were derived from

⁵⁰ Ibid, 1: 227

⁵¹ Muḥammad ibn ‘Īsā al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, 3 vols. (al-Riyāḍ: Maktab al-Tarbiya al-‘Arabī li-Duwal al-Khalīj, 1988), 2: 311.

لبنة من فضة ولبنة من ذهب، وملاطها المسك، وحصباؤها اللؤلؤ والياقوت، وتربتها الزعفران، من دخلها ينعم ولا يبأس ويخلد ولا يموت، لا تبلى ثيابهم ولا يفنى شبابهم.

⁵² Darwīsh and al-Miṣrī, *Al-Andalus*, 51.

الأندلس شامية في طبيعتها وهوائها، يمانية في اعتدالها واستوائها، هندية في عطرها وذكاتها، أهوازية في عظم جبايتها، صينية في جواهر معادنها، عدننية في منافع سواحلها، فيها آثار عظيمة لليونانيين أهل الحكمة وحاملي الفلسفة.

See more about what other scholars wrote about the good and beauty of Andalusia on pages 51-54 of this book (Darwīsh and al-Miṣrī, *Al-Andalus*).

⁵³ Ibid., 64.

Andalusian cities, such as: al-Andalusī, al-Rundī (the man from Ronda), al-Ishbīlī (the man from Seville, which is called Ishbīlya in Arabic), al-Ṭulayṭulī (the man from Toledo or Ṭulayṭila in Arabic). In addition, many of the elegies written by Andalusian poets, who lamented the loss of cities that they had to leave because of incessant wars, are the best testimonies to how much the Arabs became attached to al-Andalus. This genre of lamentation over the abandoned or destroyed cities of al-Andalus, later known as *rithā' al-mudun*, intensified in al-Andalus,⁵⁴ although it was not an Andalusian invention.⁵⁵

Many poets, such as ‘Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm al-Zāhirī al-Andalusī, Ibn Khafāja, ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Shuhayd al-Qurṭubī and Abū al-Muṭrif Aḥmad Ibn ‘Umayra (d. 1258), mentioned Andalusian cities in their elegies in a manner reminiscent of the classical eastern *nasīb* stanzas of traditional odes. Ibn Ḥazm opened his elegiac ode about Cordoba with:

Peace upon a house that we abandoned and was left behind,
empty of its people, laid bare and deserted.

سلامٌ على دار رحلنا وغودرت خلاءً من الأهلين موحشةً قفراً⁵⁶

Ibn Shuhayd also lamented Cordoba:

At the ruined abode none of our loved remain to inform us,
so whom shall we ask about their condition?

Do not ask anyone but departure;
it will tell you whether they went to the mountains or to the vales.

⁵⁴ See in this respect: Ibrāhīm al-Sinjilāwī, “The Lament for Fallen Cities: A Study of the Development of the Elegiac Genre in Classical Arabic Poetry,” (PhD Diss., University of Chicago, 1983); Mustafā Bin Mayaba, “Arabic and Hebrew Poetry of the Fallen Cities of Islamic Spain towards a Critical Classification,” (PhD Diss., Indiana University, 2012); Shāhir al-Kafāwīyn, *Al-Shi‘r al-‘Arabī fī Rithā’ al-Mudun wa-al-Amṣār ḥattā Nihāyat Suqūṭ al-Andalus* (Makka: Jāmi‘at Umm al-Qurā, 1984); ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Zayyāt, *Rithā’ al-Mudun fī al-Shi‘r al-Andalusī* (Binghāzī: Manshūrāt Jāmi‘at Qaryūnus, 1990); ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥusayn Muḥammad, *Rithā’ al-Mudun wa-al-Mamālik al-Zā‘ila fī al-Shi‘r al-‘Arabī ḥattā Suqūṭ Gharnāṭah* (al-Qāhira: Maṭba‘at al-Jabalāwī, 1983).

⁵⁵ Before the genre of lamenting the fallen cities in al-Andalus became widespread, Arab poets of the East lamented Eastern cities. For example, al-Warrāq lamented the city of Baghdad during the disorder that prevailed there because of the clash between al-Amīn and al-Ma‘mūn in 812. Ibn al-Rūmī lamented the city of al-Baṣra during the uprising of the Zanj in 890. Baghdad was lamented again during the invasion of the Tatars in 1161. See: Yūsuf ‘Id, *Aṣwāt al-Hazīma fī al-Shi‘r al-Andalusī* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr al-Lubnānī, 1993). 98-99.

⁵⁶ Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma fī al-‘ulfa wa-al-‘ullāf*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās, 2nd ed. (Bayrūt: Al-Mu‘assasa al-‘Arabiyya lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Nashr, 1987), 312.

ما في الطلول من الأحبة مخبر من الذي عن حالها نستخبر

لا تسألن سوى الفراق ينيبك عنهم أنجدوا أو أغوروا⁵⁷

In another poem, Ibn ʿUmayra lamented the city of Valencia and the way the city denied him after the departure of its Arab and Muslim residents:

Lessen your blame of me or blame me more,
what you are blaming me about is not a little bit,

Only an ardent lover, whose tears
do not stop pouring when his sighs rise,

Keeps yearning, but his yearning is in vain
for places once known but whose favor now is denied.

أقلوا ملامي أو فقولوا وأكثروا ملومكم عما به ليس يقصر

وهل غير صب ما تني عبراته إذا صعَدتْ أنفاسُهُ تتحدَّرُ

يحن وما يجدي عليه حنينه إلى أربعٍ معروفها مُتَّكِرٌ⁵⁸

These poets and others focused on one city in their lamenting odes, but a poem written by Abu al-Baqāʾ al-Rundī (d. 1285), which is—in my opinion—the most touching poem that was ever since written to convey the grief over the loss of al-Andalus, lamented for many cities of al-Andalus. Al-Rundī opened with a preaching ascetic tone to remind people that the fate of all good days is nothing but total illusion. This opening came as a prelude to the main purpose of the poem (*bayt al-qaṣīd*) in which the poet elegized all of al-Andalus as one entity, specifying his speech only on a few cities which are Valencia, Murcia, Xàtiva, Jaén, Córdoba and Seville after most of al-Andalus had fallen into the hands of the Christians:

For every complete thing there is a diminution,
so let man not be deceived by good times.

Things, as I have witnessed, change all the time:
he who was pleased once is displeased another time

⁵⁷ Abū ʿĀmir Aḥmad Ibn Shuhayd al-Andalusī, *Dīwān Ibn Shuhayd al-Andalusī wa-Rasāʾilih*, ed. Muḥyi al-Dīn Dīb. Ṣaydā (Ṣaydā: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣriyya, 1997), 76.

⁵⁸ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-Ṭīb*, 4: 493.

And this world does not keep anyone immortal,
and it never remains as it is.

So ask Valencia what is the situation in Murcia,
and where is Xàtiva and where is Jaén

And where is Cordoba, the house of the sciences,
where many scholars gained fame and high repute.

And where is Seville and all it contains for delightful outings,
and where is its pure out-flowing river.

The [Muslims] the followers of Abram cry with sorrow,
exactly as the lover cries over the separation from his beloved,

Over places that are empty of Islam,
and became deserted then [re]constructed by infidelity

Where the mosques became churches,
without anything but bells and crosses.

That calamity made men forget what went before,
but it will never be forgotten over time.

لكل شيء إذا ما تم نقصانُ فلا يُعزُّ بطيب العيش إنسانُ
هي الأمور كما شاهدتها دولٌ من سره زمن ساءتُه أزمانُ
وهذه الدار لا تُبقي على أحد ولا يدوم على حالٍ لها شأنُ
فأسأل بلنسية ما شأنُ مُرسيةً وأين شاطبة أم أين جيانُ
وأين (قُرطبة) دارُ العلوم فكم من عالمٍ قد سما فيها له شأنُ
وأين حمصٌ وما تحويه من نزهٍ ونهرها العذبُ فياضٌ وملائنُ
تبكي الحنفية البيضاء من أسفٍ كما بكى لفرق الإلف هيمانُ
على ديار من الإسلام خالية قد أقفرت ولها بالكفر عُمرانُ
حيث المساجد قد صارت كنائس ما فيهنَّ إلا نواقيسٌ وصلبانُ

تلك المصيبة أنست ما تقدمها وما لها من طول الدهر نسيان⁵⁹

One must wonder why, if al-Andalus was such an amazing place, its people felt such nostalgia for the East. This topic is discussed below.

Throughout its long history, al-Andalus was hit by calamities and disasters. This continuous unrest caused the creation of touching poems in praise of al-Andalus. These poems mentioned its charm and mourned the poet's remoteness from it, which caused, at the same time, a reverse wave of yearning and nostalgia for the East. During such days of hardship, a man might remember his sweet past, which is the explanation for the creation of such a broad genre of nostalgia for the East in Andalusian poetry. While al-Andalus appeared plagued by instability, the East, despite its troubles, seemed to be the lost paradise of stability in the eyes of weary Andalusian poets during that period.

Oh you, who ride the horses with slender waists,
as if they were eagles amidst the race

And carry the slender sharp Indian swords,
as if they were fire amidst the darkness of the dust

And settle in peace beyond the sea,
having strength and majesty in your homelands

Have you heard any news from the people of al-Andalus,
since the riders brought the news by night?

يا راكبين عتاق الخيل ضامرةً كأنها في مجال السبق عقبانُ

وحاملين سيوف الهند مرهفةً كأنها في ظلام النقع نيرانُ

وراعتين وراء البحر في دعةٍ لهم بأوطانهم عزٌّ وسلطانُ

أعدكم نبأ من أهل أندلسٍ فقد سرى بحديثِ القوم زُكبانُ؟⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maqqarī al-Tilimsānī, *Azhār al-Riyād fī Akhbār al-Qāḍī 'Īyād*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī and 'Abd al-Ḥafīz Shalabī, 3 vols. (al-Qāhira: Maṭba'at Lajnat al-Ta'līf wa-al-Tarjama wa-al-Nashr, 1942), 1: 47.

⁶⁰ Al-Tilimsānī, *Azhār al-Riyād*. 1: 49.

It is hard to locate poetry containing nostalgic tones for al-Andalus during the days of peace and stability in al-Andalus. The nostalgia for the East is broader than the nostalgia for al-Andalus or *rithā' al-mudun*, which is why the nostalgia for the East covers both the stable and unstable periods of Arabic and Hebrew literary existence in al-Andalus. This statement holds true because the East was not only a geographic entity for the Andalusians, but also the conceptual locus of an accumulation of poetic conventions, culture and religion.

In spite of the large number of poems and prose works that discuss the tolerant society and beautiful landscape of al-Andalus,⁶¹ enough persecution and unrest existed to make the poets complain of their bad luck, poverty, displacement and alienation, which, all together, led both poets and scholars to express their nostalgia for the past when, at least as they imagined, they and their ancestors had a better life.

There are five major factors for Andalusian attachment and nostalgia for the East:

1. Political instability

What distinguishes the political situation I am approaching here from the one that led to deportation and displacement of people from one city in al-Andalus to another, is that all sorts of unrest, even when they did not cause any deportation, enhanced the feeling of anxiety

⁶¹ Ṣalāḥ Jarrār refers to a number of classical books about al-Andalus, such as *Al-Mughrib fī Hulā al-Maghrib* by Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, *Al-Durr al-Munazzam fī Mawlid al-Nabī al-Mu'azzam* by Abū al-Qāsim al-'Azfī, *Al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rab wa-al-Jāmi'an Fatāwā Ifriqiyya wa-al-Andalus* by Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥyā al-Wansharīsī, to prove the phenomenon of tolerance in al-Andalus. Jarrār, who focuses mainly on religious tolerance, wrote that Christians and Jews were permanently employed in the government and that more than once they reached high governmental ranks, such as ministers. In addition, Muslims were religiously tolerant toward non-Muslims. In this context, Jarrār wrote about three Christian holidays: Christmas, Pentecost and Maundy Thursday and the way that Muslims in al-Andalus celebrated these holidays with the Christians to the extent that they became Andalusian national holidays. During these holidays, Muslims made sweets, exchanged gifts and cleaned their houses; the rulers organized horse races; and wealthy patrons opened the gates of their palaces to receive congratulations from the public and poets who wrote festive poems to celebrate these holidays. In addition, the Islamic Andalusian navy used to perform maritime games and families used to gather together exactly as they would do for Islamic holidays, such as *'Īd al-Fiṭr* and *'Īd al-Aḏḥā*. Jarrār attributed such tolerance to several factors, including mixed marriages between Christians and Muslims and the commercial relationships between al-Andalus and the rest of Christian Europe. In addition, in order to keep the Christians content and away from the idea of revolting, the Muslims of al-Andalus tried to satisfy them by respecting their faith and protecting their churches and cathedrals. See: "Majallat al-Tasāmuḥ," accessed September 21, 2012, <http://www.altasamoh.net/Article.asp?Id=8>.

and, as a result, the nostalgic feelings for the East and the desire to go back to a more stable place.

The nostalgia of the Andalusians in the early stages was directed to the marvelous nature of al-Andalus, to its cities, to the beautiful comforting companionship and to the pertinence to the roots, whereas, in later eras, they would turn to al-Ḥijāz, to the desert, to the Artemisia, the Pulicaria Arabica and to the Moringa Peregrina of Najd, to the past and to the future at the same time.⁶²

One may add, in this respect, the intolerance toward non-Muslims, non-Arabs and Arab Muslims when non-Arab (Berber) rulers, such as the Murābiṭūn (Almoravids) and Muwaḥḥidūn (Almohads), took over al-Andalus (1086 – 1146 and 1146 – 1269 respectively).

The history of the Islamic state in Spain is mostly a story of chaos with short periods of stability, prosperity and peace. Soon after the Arab and Islamic conquests beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, quarrels emerged between the Arabs and Berbers and between the Qaysīs and Kalbīs (southern and northern Arabs)⁶³ in addition to the unceasing struggle with the neighboring Christians from whom the land of al-Andalus was taken and, later, among the different Arab and non-Arab Islamic religious groups.

The consequences often were that one state became many mini-states (*tā'ifa*, pl. *tawā'if*) that fought against each other, while allying with the Christians against the Muslims. An example for how unstable the situation in al-Andalus was can be seen in that during the relatively stable period of the rule of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil, the founder of al-Andalus, he had to deal with at least 25 uprisings against his regime, which lasted almost 32 years (757–788).⁶⁴

Brockelmann mentioned two other reasons for the instability in al-Andalus during the reign of the Umayyad dynasty there. The first is that the Arabs of the south [al-Yamāniyyah]

⁶² Fāṭima Ṭaḥṭah, *Al-Ghurba wa-al-Ḥanīn fi al-Ṣhi'r al-Andalusī* (al-Ribāt: Maṭba'at Jami'at Muḥammad al-Khāmis, 1993), 237.

⁶³ Carl Brockelmann, *Tārīkh al-Shu'ūb al-Islāmiyya*, trans. Munīr al-Ba'labakkī and Nabīh Fāris, 5th ed. (Bayrūt: Dār al-'Ilm lil-Malāyīn, 1968), 290.

⁶⁴ Ṭāriq al-Suwaydān, *Tārīkh al-Andalus al-Muṣawwar* (al-Ṣafāt: Dār al-Ibdā' al-Fikrī, 2005), 99-116.

and the Berbers unceasingly opposed the Umayyad regime and attacked it whenever it was possible.⁶⁵ The second is the lack of readiness among the Arab aristocracy to submit to the new regime of the Umayyads and the refusal of new Muslims (al-Muwalladūn) in North Africa (al-Maghrib) to submit to the Arab Muslim political authority.⁶⁶

2. Social situation

Many of the people in al-Andalus, including poets, were very poor and needed the support of the ruling classes, while the authorities enjoyed luxurious lives that mainly found expression in construction projects (i.e., new cities, palaces, gardens, forts and bridges) to aggrandize themselves and compete with Baghdad, the rival Islamic state.⁶⁷ Such projects relied not only on the plundered wealth of fallen Andalusian colonies occupied by Muslims, but also on a high rate of taxation collected from the populace, which increasingly worsened the situation.⁶⁸

The tyranny of some of the rulers of al-Andalus is a main reason that the poets in al-Andalus sought refuge in the East. In his book, *Al-Fitan wa-al-Nakabāt al-Khāṣṣa wa-’Āthāruhā fi al-Shi’r al-Andalusī*, Fāḍil Wālī gathered the tragic stories of 33 poets who were badly tortured, beaten, imprisoned, lashed and executed for no reason, for trivial reasons or merely due to a misunderstanding.⁶⁹

⁶⁵Brockelmann, *Tārīkh*, 292.

⁶⁶Ibid., 293.

⁶⁷ Such competition was sometimes positive: “Andalusian competition with the people of the East [*ahl al-Mashriq*] was one of the factors that encouraged the literary composition in al-Andalus during the Umayyad principedom period, since the Umayyad principedom in al-Andalus was the antipode of the Abbasid state in various aspects, including the cultural or the literary field.” See: Ṣalāḥ Jarrār, *Qirā’āt fi al-Shi’r al-Andalusī* (‘Ammān: Dār al-Masīra lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī’ wa-al-Ṭibā’a, 2007), 19.

⁶⁸ Stetkevych wrote about another type of competition between al-Andalus, represented by the capital city of Cordoba, and its Umayyad Marwānid rulers on one hand, and the ‘Abbāsids in Baghdad and the Faṭimids in North Africa and, later, in Egypt on the other hand. Since each of these entities proclaimed caliphal rights for themselves and badly needed to prove such a right and legitimacy, and in order to do so, they used poets and poetry—especially panegyric poems—to compete with the other two caliphates. This reason was the main reason for encouraging poetry and poets and holding annual, or more frequent, poetic ceremonies, especially during religious holidays or right after military victories. See: Suzanne Stetkevych, *The Poetics of Islamic Legitimacy: Myth, Gender, and Ceremony in the Classical Arabic Ode* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 241-282.

⁶⁹ The story of the poet Abu al-Makhshī ‘Āsim Ibn Zayd is one of these tragic stories. Ibn Zayd, who used to write panegyric poems for Sulaymān Ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil, once wrote a line that was misinterpreted by Hishām, Sulaymān’s brother, who thought that the poet was mocking him for the fact that he squinted. As a result,

3. Cultural background

Arabs' classical literary works show the high esteem in which they hold their origins or places of birth. These feelings do not necessarily predict or herald general feelings to the large geographical political entity, but, rather, to the early landscape, to the mountain or nearby river, to the small window showing the beautiful neighbors' girl and, mainly, (and maybe especially) to the neighborhood. This is why some people say that "the Arab may leave the neighborhood, but the neighborhood will never leave the Arab." Such a feeling always keeps the "coals of nostalgia" burning inside Arabs wherever they go. Hence, during the stable days of al-Andalus, Andalusian poets never gave up their nostalgia for the East and their or their ancestors' birth places or *masqaṭ al-ras*. The poets did not forget to describe their feeling of connection to the eastern homeland, as shown by Ibn 'Umayrah al-Makhzūnī al-Andalusī (d. 1258):

Oh heart that is wounded by passion,
do you have to show your obvious love?

He yearns for Najd but, the course of nights banned
him from going back to Najd.

ألا أيها القلب المضرّج بالوجد أما لك من بادي الصباية من بُدّ

يحن إلى نجدٍ وهيهات حرّمت صروف الليالي أن يعود إلى نجد⁷⁰

Another indication of how highly Andalusian Arabs valued their eastern places of origin can be seen in the way that they named Andalusian cities after eastern cities. When Cordoba became highly populated, the patron, Abū al-Khaṭṭār Ḥusām Ibn Ḍarrār al-Kalbī, who was sent to al-Andalus by the ruler of North Africa, Ḥanzalah Ibn Ṣafwān, in 742, dispersed its people to other towns, so that he could settle the people of Damascus in Ilbera because it looked like Damascus. He then named it Dimashq. He settled the people of Ḥimṣ in Seville and named

Hishām invited Ibn Zayd to his palace, and Ibn Zayd thought that Hishām was going to reward him or ask him to write a poem for him, but instead, Hishām cut out Ibn Zayd's tongue and lanced his eyes. See: Fāḍil Fathī Muḥammad Wālī, *Al-Fitan wa-al-Nakabāt al-Khāṣṣa wa-'Atharuhā fī al-Shi'r al-Andalusī* (al-Riyāḍ: Dār al-Andalus lil-Tawzī' wa-al-Nashr, 1996), 24-33.

⁷⁰ 'Īd, *Aṣwāt al-Hazīma*, 30.

it Ḥimṣ, the people of Qinnasrīn in Jaen and named it Qinnasrīn; the people of Urdunn (Jordan) in Rayya and Malaga and named them Urdunn, the people of Filasṭīn (Palestine) in Medina-Sidonia -- which is Jerez de la Frontera -- and named it Filasṭīn; and the people of Miṣr (Egypt) in Tudmīr and named it Miṣr.⁷¹

The incident mentioned above carries, in my opinion, a different logic and can be explained by a political factor: the embodiment of historical memory for political claims. The renaming of Andalusian cities after Syrian cities appears to be a Cordoban Umayyad political ploy to buttress their political ideology and agenda in order to show that they were the legitimate heirs and continuers of the Umayyad Caliphate of Damascus.

It is worth mentioning that the strength of this faithful feeling toward the *masqaṭ ra's* (the place of origin) remained notable during the reconquest wars and even when Andalusians did not have to leave al-Andalus to go to the East or the Maghrib. It also remained notable when they had to leave one city of al-Andalus to go to another one. During such a time, they remained nostalgic for their city of origin or their small homeland and felt alienated in the other.⁷²

4. The religious factor

In this case, it is Mecca, Medina and al-Ḥijāz for Muslim poets; Jerusalem and the Holy Land for Jewish Andalusian poets. The people of al-Andalus were religiously and spiritually connected to the East because of its holiness and sacred places especially the pilgrimage sites.

5. Literary and poetic reasons

This lies in the Andalusian privileging of the poetry of the East as the pure poetic well-spring; and the model and measure of Arabic poetry. This attitude reveals how inferior

⁷¹ Darwīsh and al-Miṣrī, *al-Andalus*. 147.

⁷² Fawzī Sa'īd 'Īsā, *Al-Shi'r al-Andalusī fī 'Aṣr al-Muwahhidīn* (al-Iskandariyya: Dār al-Ma'rifa al-Jāmi'iyya, 1991), 164. 'Īsā names two poets who are most identified with this phenomenon: Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Sa'īd al-Anṣārī (d. 1105) and Muḥammad Ibn Ghālib al-Raffā' al-Ruṣāfī al-Balansī (d. 1177).

Andalusian poets and scholars felt with respect to the eastern poets. Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī (d. 1067) criticized the way that Andalusian poets idolized the East:

...However, the people of this horizon [al-Andalus] refused but to follow the people of the East, and to return to their news the way the *ḥadīth* goes back to Qutādah. Even if a crow cawed in those horizons [the East], or if flies whizzed in the far side of Iraq and al-Shām, they would kneel to this as if it were an idol, and repeat that [as if it were] a sophisticated book [Koran].⁷³

It is worth mentioning that the official annual religious celebrations held by the Cordoban Umayyads during their reign in al-Andalus (756- ca. 1031), which included ceremonies in which poetry, especially panegyric odes praising the patron, was recited, resulted from more than mere religious or ceremonial incentives. Instead, they were used to present lavish praise to the Andalusian Umayyads, which suggest feelings of anxiety and inferiority and backwardness on the part of those western Ummayyads toward the East and its rulers. Such ceremonies showed the strong will of the Umayyad rulers of al-Andalus to bridge the literary and cultural gap between al-Andalus and the East. Stetkevych argued that one effect of the long and detailed description of the ceremony of *‘Īd al-Fiṭr* (Festival of Breaking the Fast) at the court of al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir in the year 974 by historian Abū Marwān Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 1076) in his book *al-Muqtabas fī Akhbār Balad al-Andalus* was:

To create a rhythmic sense of the perpetuity or continuity of the Cordovian Umayyad dynasty. The association of the dynasty with Islamic custom has the effect of projecting it at once backward and forward in time. The ceremony purports to reenact ordinary Islamic practice as established by the Prophet Muḥammad, thereby, creating the illusion of the original and uninterrupted Islamic legitimacy of the Umayyad house.⁷⁴

All of this indirectly means that the Umayyad rulers felt that their legitimacy was questionable and, therefore, they needed to take cyclical and permanent steps to assure their legitimacy.

⁷³ Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī, *Al-Dhakhīrah fī Maḥāsīn Ahl al-Jazīrah*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās, 8 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Thaqāfā, 1997), 1: 12.

⁷⁴ Stetkevych, *The Poetics of Islamic Legitimacy*, 242-245.

It is worth mentioning that the Andalusians used to name the poets of al-Andalus whose styles were close to the styles of eastern poets by their (the easterners) names or titles. For example, Ḥamdūna Bint Ziyād al-Mu'addib was called Khansā' al-Maghrib, Ibn Zaydūn was called Buḥturī al-Maghrib and—as earlier mentioned—Ibn Khafāja was called Ṣanawbarī al-Andalus.⁷⁵

The literary attachment of the Andalusians toward the East can also be seen in how they traced the anecdotes of the people from the East in their literary works, referred to eastern landscapes and were charmed by the breezes of the East, such as the breeze of the Ṣabā (*rīḥ al-Ṣabā*), and places where the most touching love stories of ancient Arabs took place. Such places and their romantic flavor, especially Najd, made Andalusian poets and lovers mention them whether they felt the joy and ecstasy of falling in love or distress caused by a failing love. In addition, Andalusian poets unceasingly traced the steps of ancient Arab lovers from the East, such as Majnūn Laylā Qays Ibn al-Mulawwah (d. 687) and Jamīl Buthayna Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mu'ammār (d. 701). These famous lovers and their beloved ones, Laylā and Buthayna, respectively, became the prototypes for all lovers in al-Andalus and their names were directly and indirectly used to refer to all lovers and beloveds within and outside of al-Andalus.

Before I end this chapter, this is the place to note that nostalgia to which I am referring in this study can be categorized into several types: 1) Actual nostalgia for the East by people who had themselves left the East; 2) cultural nostalgia for the East and imitation of its poetic conventions (maybe even without much actual nostalgia). It is the sort of nostalgia that is related to the East as the Arab-Islamic cultural homeland and the source and measure (*miqyās*) of the literary work. Through this, the Andalusī feelings of dependency, inferiority and

⁷⁵ Henry Pierce, *Al-Shi'r al-Andalusī fī 'Aṣr al-Ṭawā'if, Malāmiḥuhu al-'Āmma wa-Mawḍū'ātuḥu al-Ra'isiyya wa-Qīmatuḥu al-Tawfiqiyya*, trans. al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad Makkī (al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1988), 42. The eastern poets that are mentioned in the quote are: Tumāḍir Bint 'Amr al-Khansā' (d. 644) who was known by her elegiacs over her brothers, Ṣakhr and Mu'āwiya, al-Walīd Ibn 'Ubayd al-Buḥturī (d. 897) and Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣanawbarī (d. 945) who wrote marvelous poems about nature.

competition appear;⁷⁶ 3) expressing nostalgia, that is not for the East, but is nevertheless expressed in the eastern *nasībīc* idiom, which inevitably includes the eastern place-names (that is, as though “Najd” is a metaphor for any place that any Andalusian longs for); 4) *madīḥ nabawī* and some of the Hebrew poetry: spiritual nostalgia and longing for the sacred religious places of Mecca and Medina or Jerusalem and places associated with them/or associated with the Prophet; 5) Islamic Sufi nostalgia as expressed in Sufi poetry, or “metaphorical” nostalgia, especially the use of eastern pilgrimage-route (Hijāzī) place-names and Islamic religious place-names, not out of nostalgia for geographical or physical places but as the Sufi terms for mystical states or stations on the way to Union with the Beloved/Divine; and finally, 6) *rithā al-mudun*, which does not has nostalgia for the East or for eastern place-names, but nostalgia for al-Andalus while employing many eastern poetic techniques.

In the rest of this study I intend to show that both types of nostalgia for the East exist in the Andalusian poetry: The direct nostalgia and the indirect hoddenn one. Whenever it is indirect, we will still see that the poets of al-Andalus depended and relied on many eastern poetic techniques and figures to express their attachment to the East.

⁷⁶ I intend to pursue and extend this matter of al-Andalus competing with the East while depending on it, at the same time, on another occasion.

Chapter 2

The Lexicon of Nostalgia

It is clear that the Arabic poetry created in al-Andalus was not created in a vacuum and, instead, built upon and took its major formal structures and thematic subjects from the rich poetic heritage of the East. The central focus of the classical Arabic ode is to gather the components of nostalgia into the first section, which is called the *nasīb*. Since the major aim (*gharaḍ*) of the *qaṣīda* varies from ode to another, the *nasīb* remains the common theme among almost all classical odes.

As such, one must ask: what is *nasīb*? The *nasīb* is the point in the ode where the poet inserts his emotions and the memories of his departed loved ones who have left him with nothing, but his sweet and bitter memories. Those memories never vanish or fade with time, but, rather, once sparked by the sight of a now ruined campsite, come back with greater intensity each time they are recalled. The poet's memories are usually associated with the names of places (e.g., Bedouin encampments, villages, rivers, valleys, mountains, creeks) that remind the poet of his past and youth before time destroyed everything. In addition to the places and place-names, one should not forget that the *nasīb* involves other motifs associated with the poet's memory and past, such as different types of plants that grow where the beloved's tribe once dwelt or the winds that blow from a specific memory site.

Jaroslav Stetkevych thoroughly discussed this topic in Chapter 3 of his book, *The Zephyrs of Najd*. In the first part of the chapter "When Toponymy Becomes Poetry," Stetkevych states:

In the Arabic poem, and particularly in the *nasīb*, there are never-ending recurrences of certain words which have come to be regarded as key elements of the Arabic poetic lexicon. These words are

names: names of mountains, dunes, rivers, wells, stretches of desert, tribal grounds, and regions.¹

This chapter will present many of such place-names as well as examples of their poetic employments.

Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā (d. 609) for instance, stood astonished 20 years after last seeing his beloved Umm Awfā. However, even after all this time, he remains faithful to her memory and imagines that the caravan that took her away can still be seen:

Why does not that black abandoned place of Umm Awfā
at Ḥawmānat al-Darrāj and al-Mutathallim talk and recognize me?

Her house at al-Raqmatayn seems
like a tattoo on the wrist blood-vessel

.....

I stood there after twenty years
but I could hardly recognize the house

.....

Look my friend! Do you see the women who are sitting in howdahs
on the backs of the camels on the highland above Jurthum spring?

أمن أم أوفى دمنة لم تكلم بحومانة الدراج فالمتثلّم

ودار لها بالرقمتين كأنها مراجيع وشم في نوادر معصم

...

وقفْتُ بها بعدَ عشرينَ حجّةً فلأياً عرفْتُ الدارَ بعدَ توهم

...

تَبَصَّرَ خَلِيلِي هَلْ تَرَى مِنْ ظَعَائِنِ تَحْمَلَنَّ بِالْعَلْيَاءِ مِنْ فَوْقِ جُرْثُمِ²

¹ Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 103.

² Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘*, 133, 135.

In some poems by Zuhayr, the beloved is given names besides Umm Awfā, such as Fāṭima, Asmā', Salmā or Laylā³. The same can be said about poems by other classical poets, such as Imru' al-Qays, as well as many Islamic poets. This indicates that the memory of a real or conventionalized beloved coupled with the places in which the real or imagined events took place constitute the core of the Arabic poetic longing and nostalgia, or simply the Arabic *nasīb*. It is also the first spark and the internal excuse to open with the poem.

In the following pages, I establish a lexicon of nostalgia based on classical Arabic poetry and vocabulary common to these poems, as well as conventional poetic similes, metaphors and techniques employed by the classical poet to express his emotions of yearning and nostalgia. In the following chapters, I will show that the Andalusian poets chose to employ this eastern lexicon in order to express their cultural, literary, historic and religious nostalgia for the East, and that rather than creating their own Andalusian lexicon based on their new environment, they chose to use the same culturally established eastern lexicon to express nostalgia for al-Andalus itself. In addition, I will show that, sometimes, the same lexicon was also employed in al-Andalus to maintain the classical poetic convention without any intention of expressing nostalgia.

³ See for example the following lines from several of Zuhayr's poems:
Al-Jiwā', Yumn, al-Qawādīm and al-Ḥisā'
became empty of the tribe of Fāṭima

Asmā' cut her new ropes

after there used to be relationship and brotherhood between us

It is the house of Salmā and she is my neighbor,

and I think she did not keep her word to meet with me

Did you recognize the abodes of Laylā

that can be seen at Dhū Huruḍ?

عفت من آل فاطمة الجواء فِيمَنْ فِالْقَوَادِمُ فَالْحَسَاءُ

صرمت جديد حبالها أسماء ولقد يكون تواصل وإخاء

دار لسلمى هم لك جيرة وأخال أن قد أخلفتني موعدى

أمن آل ليلى عرفت الطلولا بذى حُرُصٍ مائلاّتٍ مُثولا

See: Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā, *Dīwān Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā*, ed. Ḥamdu Ṭammās, 2nd ed. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 2005), 122, 192, 201, 229.

Since it would be nearly impossible to trace all of the places mentioned in eastern classical Arabic poetry, I have chosen to focus on the 10 most important Arabic pre-Islamic odes *al-mu‘allaqāt al-‘Ashr* and the places that appear within them as the study sample in order to analyze nostalgia and poetic convention. In addition, in section C of Chapter 3, I will show that one of these famous odes, the one by Imru‘ al-Qays, constituted—not only through the places it included but by itself—a subject for nostalgia in al-Andalus.

This chapter will be divided into two parts:

Part one: The lexicon of Arab nostalgia, *nasīb* and poetic conventions in eight charts as follows:

1. The first chart will contain an alphabetical list of the places that are listed in the ten *mu‘allaqāt*. Through this chart, cultural, literary and emotional nostalgia for the East in al-Andalus as well as the poetic dependence of al-Andalus on the East will be shown.
2. The second chart will include the places discussed in religious poetry, especially Sufi poetry and devotional poetry praising the Prophet Muḥammad, known as *madīḥ nabawī*. Such Sufi and *madīḥ nabawī* poetry contains places, such as Mecca, Ṭayba, Minā and Zamzam which are well-known for being associated with pilgrimage route as well as early Islam, the places where Prophet Muḥammad was born and where he preached and fought for the sake of Islam.

It is worth mentioning that poets sometimes deviated from these specific places and yearned for other places nearby. In this Arabic use of metonymy, the poet not only yearns for the beloved and her dwellings, but also for everything close by, such as other dwellings and people. The following line by the Abbasid poet ‘Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf (d. 808) illustrates and explicates the poetic use of metonymy:

Oh those who live at the sides of the Tigris,
I love you all because my beloved lives there.

أيا ساكني أكناف دجلة كلكمُ إلى القلب من أجل الحبيبِ حبيب⁴

3. The third chart will introduce other places considered to be part of the core of eastern civilization, such as towns and cities established in the Islamic era by new Arab Muslim rulers or gained special importance due to their central role in the new Islamic administrative system, which constituted an additional source of nostalgia in al-Andalus.

4. As small water sources, such as wells, springs and creeks were included in the first chart, the fourth chart covers the most important water resources of the East: the rivers. Later on in this study, I will examine the referral of the Andalusian poet to these rivers, and if he preferred to employ these rivers rather than the rivers of al-Andalus in order to convey nostalgia and other poetic ideas, such as wealth, strength, opulence and stability.

5. The fifth chart is dedicated to the eastern plants utilized by eastern poets to express love and nostalgia for the irrecoverable past. These flowers and plants were adopted by poets in later times to express the same emotions and ideas. In my study, I will focus on five of these plants and examine whether the Andalusian poets substituted other plants and flowers that grow in al-Andalus for these plants in order to express *nasīb*, love and nostalgia or whether they remained faithful to the eastern plants and model in their poems.

6. The sixth chart introduces some of the names of the celebrated figures in popular, religious or literary eastern culture, such as kings, poets and names immortalized in popular or literary anecdotes or proverbs. In addition, the chart contains the names of individuals not forgotten in al-Andalus, especially during hardships when the poets of al-Andalus referred to the tragic fate of famous figures from the East in order to console themselves for their own calamities. The

⁴ Dawūd Ibn al-Anṭāqī al-Ḍarīr, *Tazyīn al-Aswāq bi-Tafṣīl al-'Ushshāq*, ed. Muḥammad al-Tūnjī, 2 vols. (Bayrūt: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1993), 2: 292.

poem *al-Bashāma bi-Aṭwāq al-Ḥamāma* by ‘Abd al-Majīd Ibn ‘Abdūn al-Yābirī al-Andalusī (d. 1135), in which he elegizes al-Mutawakkil ‘Umar Ibn al-Aṭṭas (d. ca. 1071), the ruler of Baṭalyaws (Badajoz), and his two sons, al-‘Abbās and al-Faḍl, is the best poem by which to show how Andalusians referred to these names. This poem will be discussed in Chapter 5 of this study.

7. The seventh chart contains the names of the winds of the East.

8. The eighth chart contains other vocabulary items and verbs that are common in and associated with the classical *nasīb*.

Part two: Lexicon of Hebrew nostalgia.

This section introduces some of the terms and places that Jewish poets of al-Andalus used to express their nostalgia for the Land of Israel, in general, and for Jerusalem, in particular—a part of the East that Arab poets rarely mention.

Part one - Lexicon of Arabic nostalgia in charts

Chart 1. Geographical place names – based on the ten odes of *al-mu‘allaqāt*⁵:

Abān	The name of a mountain that is actually two mountains. The first mountain is the white Abān located to the east of al-Ḥājir. It belongs to the tribes of Fazāra and ‘Abs and is also called Akra. The second mountain is the black Abān, which belongs to the tribe of Fazāra alone. The mountains are two miles apart. ⁶ Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā said: Look my friend! Do you see the travelling women in the howdahs ridden on the camels at the curve of the wadi [a dry river valley except for rain seasons] on Abān?
------	--

⁵ The ten *mu‘allaqāt* are only used to count and name the places used when expressing nostalgia and/or *nasīb* in pre-Islamic poetry. However, it is important to mention that not all of the poetic examples in the charts below will be taken from the *mu‘allaqāt* as I intend to show that using such places and motifs was a wide-spread poetic tradition in the East, in general, and in the pre-Islamic era, in particular. The *mu‘allaqāt* collections that helped me locating these names are: Aḥmad al-Shanqīṭī, *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-‘Ashr wa-‘Akhbār Shu‘arā’ihā* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Andalus, 1970); al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘* (Bayrūt: Manshūrāt Dār al-Ḥayāt, n.d.).

⁶ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 1: 62.

	تَيَّنَ خَلِيْلِي هَلْ تَرَى مِنْ ظَعَائِنٍ بِمُنْعَرَجِ الْوَادِي فُوَيْقَ أَبَانِ ⁷
Al-‘Alyā’	A general term used for the tops of mountains. ⁸ Al-Ḥārith Ibn Ḥilliza (d. 570) said: And at the end, Hind lit the fire in your eyes, and this fire sparked on the tops of the mountains وَبِعَيْنَيْكَ أَوْقَدْتَ هِنْدُ النَّارَ أَخِيْرًا تُلْوِي بِهَا الْعَلْيَاءُ ⁹
Al-‘Aqīq	Al-‘Aqīq is a gulch in al-Ḥijāz. Ibn al-Athīr said that it is a holy wadi in Medina. ¹⁰ ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād (d. 601) said: Between the ‘Aqīq and Burqat Thahmad, there is a ruined abode that belongs to ‘Abla and that I can recognize. بَيْنَ الْعَقِيقِ وَبَيْنَ بُرْقَةَ تَهْمَدٍ طَلَّلَ لِعَبْلَةَ مُسْتَهْلُ الْمَعَهْدِ ¹¹ According to Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, al-‘Aqīq is a general term used for every outflow channel (مسيل) created by the rain. The number of the <i>a‘iqqa</i> (plural of ‘aqīq) varies [four according to al-Aṣma‘ī (d. 831) and seven according to al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ (d. 1149)]. From these <i>a‘iqqa</i> are ‘Aqīq ‘Ariḍ of al-Yamāma, which is called ‘Aqīq Tamra, and the ‘Aqīq of Medina. Poets frequently referred to al-‘Aqīq without necessarily stating which of the <i>a‘iqqa</i> they mean. ¹²
Al-Dhanūb	The name of a specific place. ¹³ Bishr Ibn Abī Khāzim (d. 601) said: As it is after we used to know it, between the Dhanūb while my determination is strong... كَأَنَّهَا بَعْدَ عَهْدِ الْعَاهِدِينَ بِهَا بَيْنَ الذُّنُوبِ وَحَزْمِي وَاهْبُ صَحْفُ ¹⁴
Al-Ḥayyārīn	Originally, Ḥawārayn, this word is the name of a town in Bahrain or the name of two villages there. ¹⁵ Al-Ḥārith Ibn Ḥilliza said: And he is the master and the witness about the day, of al-Ḥayyārīn when the fight was strong وَهُوَ الرَّبُّ وَالشَّهِيْدُ عَلَى يَوْمِ الْحَيَارِيْنَ وَالْبَلَاءِ بَلَاءُ ¹⁶
Al-Ḥisā’	A water spring that belongs to the tribe of Fazāra and lies between Rubdha and Nukhal. ¹⁷

⁷ Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā, *Dīwān Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā*, 291.

⁸ Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Fāris ibn Zakariyya, *Maqāyīs al-Lughā*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Ḥārūn, 2nd ed. 6 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Jīl, 1999), 4: 114.

⁹ Al-Ḥārith Ibn Ḥilliza al-Yashkurī, *Dīwān al-Ḥārith Ibn Ḥilliza*, ed. Marwān al-‘Atīyya (Dimashq: Dār al-Ḥijra, 1994), 9.

¹⁰ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 10: 255.

¹¹ ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād, *Dīwān*, 151.

¹² Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 4: 139. It is worth mentioning that Jaroslav Stetkevych wrote about al-‘Aqīq in his book *The Zephyrs of Najd* and claimed that the Andalusians did not necessarily refer to the same al-‘Aqīq as eastern poets. See: Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 113-114.

¹³ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 3: 8.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 2: 253.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2: 315.

¹⁶ Al-Ḥārith Ibn Ḥilliza, *Dīwān*, 12.

¹⁷ Yāqūt al-Ḥamqawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 2: 257.

	Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā said: Aljiwā' became empty of the tribe of Fāṭima, likewise Yumun, al-Qawādim and al-Ḥisā'. عفا من آل فاطمة الجواء فِيمَنْ فَالْقَوَادِمُ فَالْحِسَاءُ ¹⁸
Al-Jabalān	The two mountains that belong to the tribe of Ṭay': Mount Salmā and Mount Aja'. ¹⁹ 'Antara Ibn Shaddād said: 'Abla! Ask the two mountains about us, and about what the strangers faced from us. سلي يا عبلة الجبالين عتا وما لاقت بنو الأعجام مئا ²⁰
Al-Jiwā'	The name of a place in the Ṣammān, a village close to al-Yamāma, or the name of a wadi that belongs to the tribe of 'Abs or Asad. ²¹ Jābir Ibn Ḥunayy al-Taghlibī (d. 564) said: And she dwelt there in the summer then remembered her fate between al-Jiwā' and 'Ayham أقامت بها بالصيف ثم تذكرت مصايرها بين الجواء فعيهم ²²
Al-Khalṣā'	A town or land in the desert under which a water spring can be found. ²³ Al-Ḥārith Ibn Ḥilliza said: After a long time that she had lived at Burqat Shammā', her dwellings became close to al-Khalṣā'. بعد عهد لها ببرقة شماء فآدنى ديارها الخالصاء ²⁴
Al-Khaṭṭ	A piece of Land in Bahrain and 'Umān that is famous for sharpening spears. Also, the name of a mountain in Mecca that is one of two mountains called al-Akhshadān. It is also the name of a place full of palm trees in al-Yamāma. ²⁵ The poet al-A'shā (d. 628) said: A sword that was made in India hit and killed him, or a straight spear that was made in al-Khaṭṭ. أصابه هندواني فأقصده أو ذابل من رماح الخط معتدل ²⁶
Al-Liwā	A sandy place between Mecca and al-Baṣra, the end of the sandy places or the proper name of a place that poets referred to often until it became confused with the common noun, [al-Liwā hence] is one of the wadis of the tribe of Salīm. <i>Yawm al-Liwā</i> , [the day or the battle

¹⁸ Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā, *Dīwān Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā*, 122.

¹⁹ Yāqūt al-Ḥamqawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 2: 102.

²⁰ 'Antara Ibn Shaddād, *Dīwān 'Antara Ibn Shaddād*, 136.

²¹ Yāqūt al-Ḥamqawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 2: 174.

²² 'Abd al-Qādir Ibn 'Umar al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab wa-Lubb Lubāb Lisān al-'Arab*, ed. Imīl Badī' al-Ya'qūb and Muḥammad Nabil Ṭarīfī, 11 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1998), 11: 32.

²³ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 2: 382

²⁴ Al-Ḥārith Ibn Ḥilliza, *Dīwān*, 9.

²⁵ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 2: 378.

²⁶ Maymūn ibn Qays al-A'shā, *Dīwān al-A'shā*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn (Al-Iskandariyya: Dār al-Ādāb, 1950), 111.

	<p>of al-Liwā] on the other hand, is the name of a battle that took place between <i>Banū</i> [the tribe of] Tha‘laba and <i>Banū Yarbū</i>.²⁷</p> <p>‘Antara Ibn Shaddād said:</p> <p>And they said the meeting is tomorrow at the curve of al-Liwā, what a long time for the lover till tomorrow</p> <p>قَالُوا لِلِقَاءِ غَدًا بِمُنْعَرَجِ اللَّوِيِّ وَأَطْوَلِ شَوْقِ الْمُسْتَهَامِ إِلَى غَدٍ²⁸</p>
Al-Mujaymir	<p>The name of a mountain at the heights of Mabhal.²⁹</p> <p>Imru’ al-Qays said in his <i>mu‘allaqa</i>:</p> <p>As if the peaks of Mount Mujaymir’s crest at morning ringed in the torrent’s dross were the whorl of a spindle³⁰</p> <p>كَأَنَّ ذُرَى رَأْسِ الْمُجَيْمِرِ غُدْوَةٌ مِنْ السَّيْلِ وَالْغُتَاءِ فَلَاكَةٌ مِغْزَلٍ³¹</p>
Al-Mutathallam	<p>A place in the land of al-Ṣammān or a mountain in the land of the tribe of Murra.³²</p> <p>Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā said:</p> <p>Why does not that black abandoned place of Umm Awfā at Ḥawmānat al-Darrāj and al-Mutathallim talk and recognize me?</p> <p>أَمَّنْ أُمَّ أَوْفَى دَمْنَةً لَمْ تَكَلِّمْ بِحَوْمَانَةِ الدَّرَاجِ فَالْمُتَثَلِّمِ³³</p>
Al-Qalīb	<p>A water spring that belongs to the tribe of Rabī‘a, a mountain that belongs to the tribe of ‘Āmir or a water spring in Najd that belongs to the tribe of Asad. It is believed that al-Qalīb (not Qulayb) is another name of the mountain called al-Shurba.³⁴</p> <p>Aws Ibn Ḥajar (d. 620), the poet of Tamīm tribe in the pre-Islamic era, said:</p> <p>I did not scare that the love that is between us disappear on the hill of the Qalīb, al-Raqiyy and ‘Ayham</p> <p>وَمَا خِفْتُ أَنْ تَبْلَى النَّصِيحَةَ بَيْنَنَا بِهَضْبِ الْقَلِيبِ فَالرَّقِيَّيِّ فَعِيهِمْ³⁵</p>
Al-Qutṭabiyyāt	<p>The name of a mountain.³⁶</p> <p>‘Abīd Ibn al-Abrāṣ (d. 598) said:</p> <p>Malḥūb has deserted from its people likewise are al-Qutṭabiyyāt, al-Dhunūb Rākis, Thu‘aylabāt Dhāt Firqayn, al-Qalīb ‘Arda and the back side of Ḥibr</p> <p>أَفْقَرَ مِنْ أَهْلِهِ مَلْحُوبٌ فَالْقُطَّبِيَّاتِ فَالدَّنُوبِ</p>

²⁷ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 1: 66, 5: 23.

²⁸ ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād, *Dīwān ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād*, 151.

²⁹ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 5: 59.

³⁰ Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak*, 257.

³¹ Imru’ al-Qays, *Dīwān Imri’ al-Qays bi-Sharḥ Abī Sa‘īd al-Sukkarī*, ed. Anwar ‘Iayyān and Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Shawābka (al-‘Ayn: Markaz Zāyid lil-Turāth wa-al-Tārīkh, 2000), 40.

³² Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 5: 53.

³³ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘*, 133.

³⁴ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 4: 394.

³⁵ Aws Ibn Ḥajar, *Dīwān Aws Ibn Ḥajar*, Muḥammad Yūsūf Nijm, 3rd ed. (Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir, 1979), 117.

³⁶ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 4: 371.

	فَرَائِسُ فَتَعْلِيَّاتٍ فَذَاتُ فِرْقَيْنِ فَالْقَلَيْبُ فَعَرْدَةٌ فَفَقَا حَبْرٍ لَيْسَ بِهَا مِنْهُمْ عَرِيبٌ ³⁷
Al-Raqmatān	It is a name used for multiple places: one place is close to Medina, one place is close to Basra, two places are in the land of the tribe of Asad and one place is on the shore of Falj in the land of the tribe of Ḥanzala. ³⁸ Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā said: And her house at al—Raqmatayn is like the new tattoo on the wrist veins وَدَارٌ لَهَا بِالرَّقَمَتَيْنِ كَأَنَّهَا مَرَاجِعُ وَشَمٍ فِي نَوَاشِرٍ مِعْصَمٍ ³⁹
Al-Ṣafāḥ	A place between Ḥunayn and Mecca. ⁴⁰ Al-Ḥārith Ibn Ḥilliza said: After a long stay that she spent at Burqat Shammā’ and at al-Khalṣā’ which is the closest place to ours Then at Muḥayyāt, al-Ṣafāḥ, the high place of Dhū Fitāq, ‘Ādhib and al-Wafā’ بَعْدَ عَهْدٍ لَهَا بِبُرْقَةِ شَمَّا ء فَأَدْنَى دِيَارِهَا الْخَلْصَاءُ فَمَحْيَاةٌ فَالْصَفَا حُ فَأَعْلَى ذِي فَتَاقٍ فَعَاذِبٌ فَالْوَفَاءُ ⁴¹
Al-‘Udhayb	A water spring or creek between al-Qādisiyya and al-Mughītha that belongs to the tribe of Tamīm. Al-‘Udhayb is also a water spring in the desert in Egypt as well as a place in Basra. ⁴² Imru’ al-Qays said: Between Dārij and al-‘Udhayb I sat with my companions to watch the storm how was distant the object of my gaze! ⁴³ قَعَدْتُ لَهُ وَصُحْبَتِي بَيْنَ ضَارِحٍ وَبَيْنَ الْعُدَيْبِ بَعْدَمَا مُتَأَمَّلِي ⁴⁴
Al-Yamāma	A well-known district on the east side of al-Ḥijāz, whose main city is Ḥajr al-Yamāma. ⁴⁵ ‘Amr Ibn Kulthūm (d. 584) said: And al-Yamāma appeared on a highland as if it were unsheathed swords in the hands فَأَعْرَضَتْ الْيَمَامَةُ وَاشْمَخَرَتْ كَأَسْيَافٍ بِأَيْدِي مُصَلِّتِنَا ⁴⁶
‘Ādhib	The name of a wadi or mountain close to Rahbā. ⁴⁷ For a poetic example, see al-Ṣifāḥ above.

³⁷ *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, 2nd ed. (Abū Zabī: al-Majma‘ al-Thaqāfī, 2001), ‘Abīd Ibn al-Abras.

³⁸ Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā Ibn ‘Uthmān al-Ḥāzimī al-Hamadhānī, *Al-Amākin, Mā Uttufiqa Lafzuhu wa-Iftaraqa Musammāhu*, ed. Ḥamad al-Jāsir (al-Riyād: Dār al-Yamāma, 1987), 475.

³⁹ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘*, 133.

⁴⁰ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 3: 412.

⁴¹ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘*, 263.

⁴² Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 4: 92.

⁴³ Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak*, 256.

⁴⁴ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘*, 75.

⁴⁵ Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 12: 648.

⁴⁶ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘*, 206.

⁴⁷ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 4: 65.

Burqat Thahmad	A solid land that belongs to the tribe of Dārim. ⁴⁸ Ṭarafa Ibn al-‘Abd (d. 564) said: The ruins Khawla left on the mottled flatlands of Thahmad appear and fade, like the trace of a tattoo on the back of a hand ⁴⁹ <i>لِحَوْلَةِ أَطْلَالٍ بِبُرْقَةٍ تَهْمَدِ تَلُوخُ كَبَاقِي الْوَشْمِ فِي ظَاهِرِ الْيَدِ</i> ⁵⁰
Burqat Shammā’	The name of a hill in the land of the tribe of Dariyya. ⁵¹ For a poetic example, see al-Ṣifāḥ above.
Dārat Juljul	The name of a place in Najd that belongs to the tribe of al-Ḍabāb. ⁵² Imru’ al-Qays said: Did you not have many a fine day from them and best of all the day at Dārat Juljul? ⁵³ <i>أَلَا رَبِّ يَوْمَ لَكَ مِنْهُنَّ صَالِحٌ وَلَا سَيِّمًا يَوْمَ بَدَارَةِ جُلْجُلٍ</i> ⁵⁴
Dārij	A soft salty place overlooking Bāriq, which is close to al-Kūfa. It is also the name of a sweet water spring next to which palm trees grow that belongs to the tribe of Asad. ⁵⁵ For a poetic example, see al-‘Udhayb above.
Dhāt Farqayn	A hill between Basra and Kūfa that belongs to the tribe of Asad. ⁵⁶ For a poetic example, see al-Quṭṭabiyāt above.
Dimashq	Damascus. ‘Amr Ibn Kulthūm said: And I have drunk a glass [of wine] in Baalbek and another one in Damascus and Qāṣirīn <i>وَكَأْسٍ قَدْ شَرِبْتُ بِبَعْلَبَكٍ وَأُخْرَى فِي دِمَشْقٍ وَقَاصِرِينَا</i> ⁵⁷
Ḥawmal	<i>Ḥawmala</i> as a verb means ‘to carry the water,’ while <i>ḥawmal</i> as a gerund means ‘the black clouds that are full of water.’ As such, it can be assumed that the place that Imru’ al-Qays mentioned is a spring or well, but no scholar has determined where this place is located. ⁵⁸ For a poetic example, see al-Dakhūl above.
Ḥawmānat al-Darrāj	A water spring located between Baṣra and Mecca. ⁵⁹ For a poetic example, see al-Mutathallam above.
Ḥibr	The name of a wadi. ⁶⁰ For a poetic example, see al-Quṭṭabiyāt above.
Khazāzā	The name of a mountain on which Arabs used to set fire after battles. ⁶¹

⁴⁸ Ibid., 1: 392.

⁴⁹ Translation by: Michael A. Sells, “The Mu‘allaqa of Tarafa,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 17 (1986): 24.

⁵⁰ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘*, 91.

⁵¹ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 3: 360.

⁵² Ibid., 2: 150.

⁵³ Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak*, 250.

⁵⁴ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘*, 34.

⁵⁵ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 3: 450.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 4: 255.

⁵⁷ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘*, 200.

⁵⁸ Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā al-Zubaydī, *Tāj al-‘alāfi Jawāhir al-Qāmūs* (n.p.: Dār al-Ḥidāya, n.d), 28: 354, 356.

⁵⁹ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 2: 325.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 2: 212.

⁶¹ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 5: 346.

	<p>‘Amr Ibn Kulthūm said: And the next day when the fire of war was set at Khazāzā, we helped more than other helpers.</p> <p>وَنَحْنُ غَدَاةٌ أَوْقَدَ فِي خَزَايَ رَفَدْنَا فَوْقَ رِفْدِ الرَّافِدِيْنَا⁶²</p>
Malhūb	<p>The name of a place or water spring that belongs to the tribe of Asad Ibn Khuzayma.⁶³ For a poetic example, see al-Qutṭabiyāt above.</p>
Najd	<p>The land between Syria, Iraq, al-Yamāma and Ḥijāz. It is the most fertile land in the Arab world.⁶⁴ Najd is also one of the places that Arab poets referred to the most. Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā said: A long way separated us from Najd and its residents those that the dust and the little water also sent away.</p> <p>هَيْهَاتَ هَيْهَاتَ مِنْ نَجْدٍ وَسَاكِنِهِ مَنْ قَدْ أَتَى دُونَهُ الْبَغْتَاءُ وَالْتَمَدُ⁶⁵</p>
Rākis	<p>The name of a wadi.⁶⁶ For a poetic example, see al-Qutṭabiyāt above.</p>
Raḍwā	<p>A mountain in Medina.⁶⁷ Ḥassān Ibn Thābit (d. 673), who acquired the title the Poet of the Messenger (Prophet Muḥammad) said: If the weight of Raḍwā is compared to our leaders’ forbearance our forbearance would overcome Raḍwā and Yalamlam.</p> <p>وَلَوْ وُزِنَتْ رَضْوَى بِجِلْمِ سِرَاتِنَا لَمَالَ بَرَضْوَى جِلْمُنَا وَيَلْمَلَمُ⁶⁸</p>
Rijām	<p>The name of a red mountain in ‘Umān or the name of a series of hills there.⁶⁹ Labīd Ibn Rabī‘a (d. 661) said: The abode became completely empty at Minā when mountains Ghawl and Rijām became deserted.</p> <p>عَفَّتِ الدِّيَارُ مَحَلُّهَا فَمَقَامُهَا بِمَنْى تَأَبَّدَ غَوْلُهَا فَرَجَامُهَا⁷⁰</p>
Tadmur	<p>Palmyra. Tadmur is a famous city in the desert of Syria. The buildings of this city are built on marble pillars. Some people claimed that genies built these buildings for Sulaymān Ibn Dawūd [King Solomon].⁷¹ Al-Nābigha al-Dhubaynī (d. 605) said: And control the Jinn; I allowed them to build Palmyra with wide stones and pillars</p> <p>وَحَيِّسِ الْجِنَّ إِنِّي قَدْ أَدْنْتُ لَهُمْ يَبْنُونَ تَدْمَرَ بِالصُّفَاحِ وَالْعَمَدِ⁷²</p>

⁶² Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘*, 217.

⁶³ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 5: 191.

⁶⁴ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘*, 7.

⁶⁵ Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā, *Dīwān Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā*, 224.

⁶⁶ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 3: 16.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 3: 53.

⁶⁸ Ḥassān Ibn Thābit, *Dīwān Ḥassān Ibn Thābit*, ed. Walid ‘Arafāt (Bayrūt: Dār al-Ṣādir, 2006), 287.

⁶⁹ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 2: 325.

⁷⁰ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘*, 158.

⁷¹ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 2: 17.

⁷² Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘*, 297.

Taymā'	<p>A small town (<i>bulayd</i>) on the outskirts of al-Shām, between al-Shām and Wādī al-Qurā, on the route of the pilgrimage from Damascus. This term is also used for al-Ablaq al-Fard, which is the fort of the Jew al-Samaw' al Ibn 'Ādiyyā' that overlooks on it. This is why it was called Taymā' of the Jew.</p> <p>Ibn al-Azharī said: The one who is madly in love (<i>mutayyam</i>) loses his way (<i>muḍallal</i>), and this is why the desert is called <i>taymā'</i>, because people get lost there.⁷³</p> <p>Imru' al-Qays said: In Taymā' it did not leave a single palm trunk standing, or a single castle but those built in stone.⁷⁴</p> <p style="text-align: center;">وَتِيْمَاءٌ لَمْ يَتْرُكْ بِهَا جِذَعَ نَخْلَةٍ وَلَا أُطْمَأَ إِلَّا مَشِيداً بَجَنْدَلٍ⁷⁵</p>
Thabīr	<p>A mountain in Mecca.⁷⁶</p> <p>Imru' al-Qays said: As if Mount Thabīr in the foremost of its rains were a tribal chieftain wrapped in a striped cloak⁷⁷</p> <p style="text-align: center;">كَأَنَّ ثَبِيرًا فِي أَفَانِينِ وَدِقِهِ كَبِيرُ أَنْاسٍ فِي بَجَادٍ مُرْمَلٍ⁷⁸</p>
Thahlān	<p>A huge mountain in al-'Āliya, which is in the land of the tribe of Namīr. Damkh, al-'Araj, Yadhbul and Thahlān belong to the same crista [of al-'Alyā'] in Najd.⁷⁹</p> <p>Al-Hārith Ibn Ḥilliza said: And we fled them to the highland of Thahlān because we were chasing them and stabbing them in the thigh vein.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">وَحَمَلْنَاهُمْ عَلَى حَزْمِ ثَهْلَا نِ شِلَالاً وَدُمِّي الْأَنْسَاءِ⁸⁰</p>
Thu'aylabāt	<p>A place name.⁸¹</p> <p>For a poetic example, see al-Quṭṭabiyyāt above.</p>
Tūḍiḥ	<p>Tūḍiḥ is a white dune among the red dunes in the desert close to al-Yamāma. It is said that Tūḍiḥ is one agricultural village out of the many in Qarqarā that does not have any palm trees.</p> <p>Al-Sukkarī said: An ancient sheikh was asked about the water of the Arabs, and if Tūḍiḥ that Imru' al-Qays mentioned has been found? He said: I swear by God that I came in a dark night and stood on its [supposed] land, but it has not been found yet.⁸²</p> <p>Imru' al-Qays said: Then Tūḍiḥ, then al-Miqrāt, whose trace was not effaced by the two wind weaving over it from south and north⁸³</p>

⁷³ Ibid., 2: 67.

⁷⁴ Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak*, 257.

⁷⁵ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab'*, 77.

⁷⁶ Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, 4: 100.

⁷⁷ Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak*, 257.

⁷⁸ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab'*, 78.

⁷⁹ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 2: 88.

⁸⁰ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab'*, 277.

⁸¹ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 2: 79.

⁸² Ibid., 2: 59.

⁸³ Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak*, 249.

	فَتَوْضِحَ فَالْمِقْرَةَ لَمْ يَعْفُ رَسْمُهَا لِمَا نَسَجَتْهَا مِنْ جَنُوبٍ وَشَمَالٍ ⁸⁴
Wajra	An empty place inhabited by wild animals. It is located between Mecca and Basra, forty miles from Mecca. ⁸⁵ Imru' al-Qays said: Now hiding, now baring a cheek long and wide, she guards herself with the glance of a wild doe at Wajra with fawn. ⁸⁶
	تَصُدُّ وَتُبْدِي عَن أُسَيْلٍ وَتَتَّقِي بِنَاطِرَةٍ مِنْ وَحْشٍ وَجَرَّةٍ مُطْفَلٍ ⁸⁷

Chart 2. Nostalgia for places with religious associations

The chart below will shed light on places with direct and indirect relationships to the Islamic religious places of the East. Both direct (e.g., Mecca and Medina) and indirect (e.g., 'Ālij and Bāriq) places are used, especially, in Sufi and *madīḥ nabawī* poetry of al-Andalus to try to gain spiritual closeness to those remote and sacred places, to the Prophet, to the Divine and to the spirit of pure Islam.

In the chart below, I will present several lines of eastern Islamic poetry and pre-Islamic ones in order to illustrate the poetic use of such places. It is important to note though that any pre-Islamic poetry used in the chart below will be devoid of any Islamic religious connotations. As such, these places are categorized under the religious category because of their closeness to the holy places of Islam in the East and because using them for their religious meaning increased in al-Andalus.

It is important to note also that referring to the Ḥijāzī place-names and expressing deep attachment and yearning for them was first used in the East by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 1015) and his follower Mihyār al-Daylamī (d. 1037).⁸⁸

'Ālij	This name is the name of the well-known sands in the desert close to the two mountains of the tribe of the Ṭayyi' [Salmā and Aja']. ⁸⁹ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī adds that, according to 'Ubayd Allāh al-Sukūnī, 'Ālij is a
-------	--

⁸⁴ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab'*, 30.

⁸⁵ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 5: 362.

⁸⁶ Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak*, 252.

⁸⁷ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab'*, 51.

⁸⁸ See more about that on chapter 4.

⁸⁹ Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-Lughā*, ed. Muḥammad 'Awaḍ Mir'ib, 15 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 2001), 1: 239.

	<p>sandy land with no water connected to al-Tha‘labiyya on the way to Mecca.⁹⁰</p> <p>‘Anara Ibn Shaddād said: And fly, you will probably see in the land of al-Ḥijāz some travelers on camels on ‘Ālij or Na‘mān [a wadi between Mecca and al-Ṭā’if]⁹¹</p> <p>وَطِرْ لَعْلِكَ فِي أَرْضِ الْحِجَازِ تَرَى رَكْبًا عَلَى عَالِجٍ أَوْ دُونَ نَعْمَانَ⁹²</p>
Al-‘Alam	<p>A mountain at the east side of Ḥājir that is [also] called Abān where many palm trees grow and that includes a wadi.⁹³</p>
‘Arafāt	<p>‘Arafāt and ‘Arafa are names for the same place, which is on the side of a mountain that overlooks ‘Arana. Several opinions exist as to why it is called ‘Arafa (a verb in Arabic that means knew or understood). The first opinion is because the Angel Gabriel met Abram (Avaraham/Ibrāhīm) there and taught him the <i>manāsik</i> (i.e., the rules of pilgrimage) and he understood what he was taught. Another opinion claims Adam knew Eve for the first time there after they left Paradise. Al-Bashārī said that ‘Arafa is a village with farms and nice houses that belong to the people of Mecca. He claimed that they stay there during the day of ‘Arafa (a day associated with the Islamic pilgrimage rite).⁹⁴</p> <p>‘Umar Ibn Abī Rabī‘a (d. 711), an Umayyad poet known for his permissive poetry, said: A gazelle hunted my heart today while he was coming from ‘Arafāt He was among some swaying gazelles and my heart was heading to the <i>jamarāt</i> [the stones that are used to stone the devil during the Islamic pilgrimage rite].</p> <p>صَادَ قَلْبِي الْيَوْمَ ظَبْيِي مُقْبِلًا مِنْ عَرَافَاتِ فِي ظَبَاءٍ تَنْهَادِي عَامِدًا لِلْجَمَرَاتِ⁹⁵</p>
Al-Bayt al-‘Atīq	<p>It is another name of the Kaaba.</p> <p>Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣanawbarī wrote wondering why have not the pilgrims returned from their pilgrimage journey yet: Have you become the neighbors of al-Bayt al-‘Atīq? May your stay be remembered forever.</p> <p>أَجَاوَرْتُمْ الْبَيْتَ الْعَتِيقَ فَحَبِّدَا جَوَارِكُمْ الْبَاقِي إِلَى آخِرِ الدَّهْرِ⁹⁶</p>
Bāriq	<p>A water resource between al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra. It is also the name of a mountain in Tihāma in Yemen, a mountain in Yamāma and a river at the entrance to the Garden of Eden.⁹⁷</p> <p>The famous Umayyad Poet, Jarīr Ibn ‘Aṭīyya (d. 728) said:</p>

⁹⁰ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 4: 70.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 5: 293.

⁹² ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād, *Dīwān ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād*, 136.

⁹³ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 4: 147.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 4: 104.

⁹⁵ ‘Umar Ibn Abī Rabī‘a, *Dīwān ‘Umar Ibn Abī Rabī‘a al-Makhzūmī al-Qurashī*, ed. Muḥammad al-Anānī (al-Qāhira: Dār al-Sa‘āda, 1911), 91.

⁹⁶ *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, al-Ṣanawbarī.

⁹⁷ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 1: 319, 320.

	The dowry of the generous ladies arrive on horses while for Bāriq's ladies there is no dowry. تُوتِي الْكِرَامُ مُهَوْرَهْنَ سِيَاقَةً وَنِسَاءُ بَارِقَ مَا لَهُنَّ مُهَوْرٌ ⁹⁸
Dhū Salam	A wadi that descends to the land of the tribe of al-Bakkā' between al-Baṣra and Mecca. ⁹⁹ Jamīl Buthayna said: O heart! Neither my life at Dhū Salam nor the time that has passed there will return يَا قَلْبُ وَيْحَكَ مَا عَيْشِي بِذِي سَلَمٍ وَلَا الزَّمَانُ الَّذِي قَدَ مَرَّ مُرْتَجِعٌ ¹⁰⁰
Hājir	The name of a high river or house on the road to Mecca, a place close to Zabīd, a place in Jīza in Egypt or the house of the pilgrim in the desert. ¹⁰¹ Bashshār Ibn Burd (d. 783) said: Hājir and Dhunāb have been destroyed after Salmā's departure, and the tent-trenches of Aḥmād Ḥawḍā, are in ruins. عَفَا بَعْدَ سَلْمَى حَاجِرٌ فَذُنَابٌ فَأَحْمَادُ حَوْضَى نُؤِيْهِنَّ يَبَابٌ ¹⁰²
Al-Ḥaṭīm	This place is located in Mecca close to al-Ḥajar al-Aswad (i.e., The Black Stone). Abū Manṣūr said that the stone of Mecca was called al-Ḥaṭīm. ¹⁰³ Al-Farazdaq (d. 728) said: I swear to those who are stretching their arms [to pray] between al-Ḥaṭīm and the two basins of Zamzam. إِنِّي حَلَفْتُ بِرَافِعِينَ أَكْفَهُمْ بَيْنَ الْحَطِيمِ وَبَيْنَ حَوْضِي زَمَزَمٌ ¹⁰⁴
Kāzima	A place on the road between Baḥrayn and al-Baṣra. ¹⁰⁵ Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī (d. 1269) wrote: وَكَمْ تَعْبِرُ عَنِ سَلْعٍ وَكَاطِمَةٍ وَعَنْ زُرُودٍ وَجِيرَانٍ بِذِي سَلَمٍ ¹⁰⁶
La'la'	The name of place or mountain where a battle took place. It is also believed that La'la' is a water spring in the desert or a house between al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa. ¹⁰⁷ Al-A'shā said: What a night I spent in La'la' as a stranger who feared captivity. فِيَا لَيْلَةً لِي فِي لَعَلَعٍ كَطُوفِ الْغَرِيبِ يَخَافُ الْإِسَارَا ¹⁰⁸

⁹⁸ Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥā al-Balādhirī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār and Riyāḍ Ziriklī (Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr, 1996), 6: 315.

⁹⁹ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 3: 240.

¹⁰⁰ Jamīl Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Udharī, *Dīwān Jamīl Buthayna* (Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir, n.d), 77.

¹⁰¹ Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā al-Zubaydī, *Tāj al-'Arūs fī Jawāhir al-Qāmūs*, 38 vols. (Binghāzī: Dār Lībyā lil-Tawzī' wa-al-Nashr, 1966), 10: 540.

¹⁰² Bashshār Ibn Burd, *Dīwān Bashshār Ibn Burd* (al-Jazā'ir: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa al-Jazā'iriyya, 2007), 124.

¹⁰³ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 2:373.

¹⁰⁴ *Al-Mawsū'a al-Shi'riyya*, al-Farazdaq.

¹⁰⁵ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 4: 431

¹⁰⁶ Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī, *Dīwān Abī al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī*, ed. Muḥammad al-'Adlūnī al-Idrīsī and Sa'īd Abū al-Fayyūḍ (al-Dār al-Bayḍā': Dār al-Thaqāfa lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 2008), 65.

¹⁰⁷ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 5: 18.

¹⁰⁸ Al-A'shā, *Dīwān al-A'shā*, 101.

al-Marwa	<p>The name of a mountain in Mecca.¹⁰⁹ It is of high religious importance because pilgrims walk between this mountain and al-Ṣafā during the pilgrimage.</p> <p>Miḥyār al-Daylamī (d. 1037) said: As long as that al-Marwa is the sister of al-Ṣafā and as long as the House [the Kaaba] is between people who touch it and circling it.</p> <p>مَا دَامَتِ الْمَرْوَةَ أَخْتًا لِلصَّفَا وَالْبَيْتُ بَيْنَ مَاسِحٍ وَدَائِرٍ¹¹⁰</p>
Minā	<p>Two narrow mountain trails close to Mecca where the rite of throwing stones at the devil takes place during the Day of Sacrifice of the Islamic rite of pilgrimage.¹¹¹</p> <p>Kaʿb Ibn Zuhayr (d. 646) said: When we did everything that we wanted to do on Minā and when all those who wanted to touch the Rukun [one of four corners of the Kaʿba] did so. . .</p> <p>فَلَمَّا قَضَيْنَا مِنْ مَنَى كُلَّ حَاجَةٍ وَمَسَحَ رُكْنَ الْبَيْتِ مَنْ هُوَ مَاسِحٌ¹¹²</p>
al-Muḥaṣṣab	<p>A place between Mecca and Minā where stones are thrown during the Islamic pilgrimage. It is closer to Minā than Mecca.¹¹³</p> <p>Imruʿ al-Qays said: What a pleasure for the eyes of that person who saw that separation which is farther than the separation of al-Muḥaṣṣab.</p> <p>وَلِلَّهِ عَيْنَا مَنْ رَأَى مِنْ تَفَرُّقٍ أَشْتَى وَأَنَايَ مِنْ فُرَاقِ الْمُحْصَبِ¹¹⁴</p>
Rāma	<p>This place is a mountainous village overlooking Hebron where Adam, the first man, Abram and Joseph are buried or a place between Basra and Mecca.¹¹⁵</p> <p>Bishr Ibn Abī Khāzim said: Rāma and its sand have become empty of Sulaymā and the remoteness and its narrow mountain trails took her away.</p> <p>عَفَّتْ مِنْ سُلَيْمَى رَامَةً فَكَثِيبُهَا وَشَطَّتْ بِهَا عَنكَ النَّوَى وَشَعُوبُهَا¹¹⁶</p>
Salʿ	<p>Salʿ is a mountain next to the market of Medina. It is also the name of a fortress at Wādī Mūsā close to Jerusalem.¹¹⁷</p> <p>Ḥassān Ibn Thābit said: To whom is this house and to whom are these ruined abodes that are between Salʿ and Abraq al-ʿAzzāf?</p>

¹⁰⁹ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, 5: 116.

¹¹⁰ Miḥyār Ibn Marzawayh Abū al-Ḥasan al-Daylamī, *Dīwān Miḥyār al-Daylamī*, ed. Aḥmad Nasīm (Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Kutub al-Muṣriyya, 1925), 2:66.

¹¹¹ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, 5: 198.

¹¹² Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān Kaʿb Ibn Zuhayr*, ed. Darwīsh al-Juwaydī (Ṣaydā: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣriyya, 1996), 33.

¹¹³ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, 5: 62

¹¹⁴ Imruʿ al-Qays, *Dīwān Imruʿ al-Qays*, 54.

¹¹⁵ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, 2: 212, 3: 18

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 2: 248.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 3: 236, 237.

	لَمِنِ الدَّارِ وَالرُّسُومِ الْعَوَافِي بَيْنَ سَلْعٍ وَأَبْرَقِ الْعَرَافِ ¹¹⁸
Al-Şafā	The name of a high place on the mountain of Abū Qabīs. Only a wadi separates al-Şafā and al-Masjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca. ¹¹⁹ Jamīl Buthayna remembers Buthayna, his beloved, close to al-Şafā: I remembered you between al-Şafā and the two Marwas in a different way, when the people were walking [during the pilgrimage rites] and hurrying. وَبَيْنَ الصَّفَا وَالْمَرَوْتَيْنِ ذَكَرْتُكُمْ بِمُخْتَلَفٍ وَالنَّاسُ سَاعٍ وَمَوْجِفٌ ¹²⁰
Ṭayba\Yathrib	These are other names for Medina where the Prophet Muḥammad is buried. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī said that it is called Ṭayba, which means fragrant in Arabic, because of its aromatic soil. Yāqūt brings the following lines for ‘Ubayd Allāh Ibn al-Ruqīyyāt (d. 704), who used to write love poetry about three ladies, each of whom was called Ruqayya, and from here his epithet is derived: His light appeared from the palms of Yathrib and al-Ḥarra until [Wadi] Iḍam lighted for us God watered the valleys of Ṭayba from you and al-Rawḥā’, [the mountains of] al-Akhshabayn and the Ḥaram [the mosque of Medina in this case] لَا حَ سَنَاهُ مِنْ نَخْلِ يَثْرِبَ فَالْ حَرَّةَ حَتَّى أَضَا لَنَا إِضْمًا أَسْقَى بِهِ اللَّهُ بَطْنَ طَيْبَةَ فَال رَوْحَاءِ فَالْأَحْشَيْنِ فَالْحَرَمَا ¹²¹
Umm al-Qurā	This name is another name for Mecca where the Prophet Muḥammad was born. It is also called al-Balad al-Amīn (i.e., the safe city). Abū al-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī (d. 1057) said: I see that Umm al-Qurā was left behind and the ants of Mecca left their villages أَرَى أُمَّ الْقُرَى خُصَّتْ بِهَجْرٍ وَسَارَتْ نَمْلٌ مَكَّةَ عَنْ قِرَاهَا ¹²²
Zamzam	“The famous well [near the Kaaba]. It is thought that it was called Zamzam because of its plenty water . . . It is also believed that it was called this way because Ḥājar, Ismā‘īl’s mother, drank from its water when it spurted. ¹²³ Al-Şanawbarī wrote: I sacrifice myself for those between Zamzam and al-Ḥajar who departed, then death overtook them, unaware. بنفسي نفوس بين زمزم والحجر تولت فوافها الردى وهي لا تدري ¹²⁴
Zarūd	Some sands between al-Tha‘labiyya and al-Khuzaymiyya on the pilgrims’ way from al-Kūfa. . . And <i>Yawm Zarūd</i> [Literally means the day of Zarūd, while the actual meaning is the Battle of Zarūd] is one

¹¹⁸ Ḥassān Ibn Thābit, *Dīwān Ḥassān Ibn Thābit* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Şādir, 2006), 185.

¹¹⁹ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 3: 411.

¹²⁰ Jamīl Buthayna, *Dīwān Jamīl Buthayna*, ed. Buṭrus al-Bustānī (Bayrūt: Dār Şādir, n.d.), 82.

¹²¹ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 4: 53, 54.

¹²² Abū al-‘Alā’ Aḥmad Ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Ma‘arrī, *Dīwān Abī al-‘Alā’ Aḥmad Ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Ma‘arrī*, ed. ‘Alī al-Miṣrī (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī’, 1998), 1790.

¹²³ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 3: 147.

¹²⁴ *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, al-Şanawbarī.

	of the famous Arabs' battles between the tribe of Taghlib and the tribe of Yarbū'. ¹²⁵ For a poetic example, see Kāzima above.
--	---

Chart 3. Other eastern towns, regions and places

‘Abqar	‘Abqar is a country where jinn live. A proverb exists that says: As if they were the genies of ‘Abqar (<i>ka’annahum jinnu ‘Abqar</i>). Some say that this land is located in Yemen, while others say that it is a mountain on the Arab Peninsula (Jazīrat al-‘Arab) where clothes used to be made. Still others say that it is a land close to Yamāma. ¹²⁶ Al-‘Abbās Ibn Mirdās (639) said: On them knowing knights their dwellings like the jinn of ‘Abqar. عَلَيْهَا فَوَارِسُ مَخْبُورَةٌ كَجِنَّ مَسَاكِنُهَا عَبَقَرٌ ¹²⁷
‘Adan	This name is another name for Aden in Yemen. Al-A‘shā said: I travelled between Baniqayyā and Aden and my travel and walking among foreigners has lasted long. قَدْ طُفْتُ مَا بَيْنَ بَانِقِيَا إِلَى عَدَنٍ وَطَالَ فِي الْعُجْمِ تِرْحَالِي وَتَسْيَارِي ¹²⁸
Al-Bašra	This place is also known as Basra, which is a city located in the south of Iraq. Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 896) said: I feel sorry for you Basra my sorrow is like fire. لَهْفَ نَفْسِي عَلَيْكَ أَيُّهَا الْبَصْرُ رُةً لَهْفًا كَمَثَلِ لَفْحِ الضَّرَامِ ¹²⁹
Al-Ḥijāz	The mountain that separates the Valley of Tihāma and Najd. ¹³⁰ ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād said: O the wind of al-Ḥijāz! For the sake of he who created you return the salute and greet who greeted you. رِيحَ الْحِجَازِ بِحَقِّ مَنْ أَنْشَأَكَ رُدِّي السَّلَامَ وَحَيِّي مَنْ حَيَّاكَ ¹³¹
Al-‘Irāq (Irāq),	Another name for Iraq. ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād said: Did ‘Ubayla know what horror I am facing in the land of Iraq? تَرَى عَلِمْتَ عُبَيْلَةُ مَا أَلَاقِي مِنَ الْأَهْوَالِ فِي أَرْضِ الْعِرَاقِ ¹³²
Al-Kūfa	It is a main city in Iraq located to the west of the Euphrates.

¹²⁵ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 3: 139.

¹²⁶ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 4: 79.

¹²⁷ Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ed. ‘Alī Muhanna and Samīr Jābir, 24 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr li-al-Ṭibā‘a wa-al-Nashr, n.d.), 18: 99.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 6: 249.

¹²⁹ Al-Mawsū‘ al-Shi‘riyya, Ibn al-Rūmī.

¹³⁰ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 2: 218.

¹³¹ ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād, *Dīwān ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād*, 156.

¹³² Ibid., 156.

	<p>Muslim Ibn al-Walīd, also known as Ṣarī‘ al-Ghawānī, (d. 823) said: O man who lives and having fun in al-Kūfa! I have not sung to another beloved rather than you. يا ساكِنَ الكوفةِ اللاهي بِلَدَّتِهِ ما مالَ بي عن حبيبِ غَيْرِكَ الطَّربِ¹³³</p>
Al-Shām	<p>Another name for Syria. ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād said: Ask the entire places of al-Shām about us, and the kings’ knights and those of the Caesars. سَلُوا عَنَّا دِيَارَ الشَّامِ طُرًّا وَفُرسَانَ المُلُوكِ القَيْصَرِيَّةِ¹³⁴</p>
Al-Yaman	<p>Yemen. ‘Umar Ibn Abī Rabī‘a said: For God’s sake tell him without a blame what did you seek in staying long in Yemen? بِاللهِ قولي لَهُ في غَيْرِ مَعْتَبَةٍ ماذا أَرَدتَ بِطولِ المَكثِ في اليَمَنِ¹³⁵</p>
Baghdād\Baghdn\ Baghdādh	<p>Another names for Baghdad. Bakr Ibn al-Naṭṭāh al-Ḥanafī (d. 807) said: May God water the city of Baghdad and its dwellers with His rainy clouds! سَقَى اللهُ بَغدادَ مِنْ بِلَدَةٍ وَساكِنَ بَغدادِ صَوْبَ المَطَرِ¹³⁶ Ibn al-Rūmī said: I yearn for Baghdadh while the deserts are between us the way the bottom of the heart becomes warm because of losing somebody. أحْنُ إلى بَغدادِ والبَيْدُ دونها حنينَ عَميدِ القلبِ حَزَّانَ فاقِدِ¹³⁷</p>
Saba’	<p>Another name for Sheba, which is a region in Yemen which main city is Ma’rib. This region was struck by a flood that forced its population to leave, hence, the Arab saying <i>dhahaba al-qawmu aydī Saba’</i>, which means the people have separated.¹³⁸ Ḥassān Ibn Thābit said: Was there a glory like theirs in Sheba? They were very respectful people with pure deeds. وَفِي سَبَأٍ هَلْ كانَ عَزٌّ كَعِزِّهِمْ لَهِم حَسَبٌ مَحْضٌ ألبابُ وَجوهُرُ¹³⁹</p>
Ṣan‘ā’	<p>A city in Yemen. ‘Anān al-Nāṭifiyya (d. 841) said: She is like the embroidered of the Yemenit clothes that the merchants brought from Ṣan‘ā’. فهي كالوَشِي مِنَ ثيابِ يَمَنِ جَلَبَتها التِجارُ من صنِعاِ¹⁴⁰</p>

¹³³ *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, Ṣarī‘ al-Ghawānī.

¹³⁴ ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād, *Dīwān ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād*, 154.

¹³⁵ ‘Umar Ibn Abī Rabī‘a, *Dīwān*, 532.

¹³⁶ Al-Iṣbahānī, *Al-Aghānī*, 19: 124.

¹³⁷ ‘Alī Ibn al-‘Abbās Ibn al-Rūmī, *Dīwān Ibn al-Rūmī*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥasan Basaj, 3rd ed. (Bayrūt: Dar al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2002), 1633.

¹³⁸ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 3: 181.

¹³⁹ *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, Ḥassān Ibn Thābit.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, ‘Anān al-Nāṭifiyya

Tihāma	A low land between al-Ḥijāz and Yemen. ¹⁴¹ Al-Ḥuṭay'a (d. 665) said: I remembered Hind behind Tihāma while Wadī al-Qurā is separating between you and me. تَذَكَّرْتُ هِنْدًا مِنْ وَرَاءِ تِهَامَةٍ وَوَادِي الْقُرَى بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَكَ مُنْصِفٌ ¹⁴²
Yabrīn	Yabrīn is a village with many palm trees and sweet water springs. It is located close to al-Aḥsā' in Bahrain. It is also a huge sandy place “whose edges cannot be reached” in Yamāma or the name of a village on the outskirts of Aleppo. ¹⁴³ Jarīr said: We came to ask you for a favor from the sand of Yabrīn, surely the good deeds are requested. إِنَّا أَتَيْنَاكَ نَرْجُو مِنْكَ نَافِلَةً مِنْ رَمْلِ يَبْرِينَ إِنَّ الْخَيْرَ مَطْلُوبٌ ¹⁴⁴

Chart 4. The main rivers of the East

Baradā	It is the river of Damascus which flows from its mountains and divides it from Ghūṭa before heading to the sea. It is a river that is called in Persian Bahradān. ¹⁴⁵ Al-Buḥturī said: Good life is at the cold night of Dārayyā and the wine is the one that we mix with water of Baradā. العَيْشُ فِي لَيْلٍ دَارِيًا إِذَا بَرَدَا وَالرَّاحُ نَمْرُجُهَا بِالْمَاءِ مِنْ بَرَدِي ¹⁴⁶
Al-Furāt	The Euphrates. One of the two main rivers of Iraq. It is close to the Tigris river and is also known as Fālādhruḥ. ¹⁴⁷ 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn al-Ruqiyyāt said: I remembered you when the Euphrates flooded in our land and when the seas of al-Raqqatayn flooded. ذَكَرْتُكَ إِذْ فَاضَ الْفُرَاتُ بِأَرْضِنَا وَجَاشَ بِأَعْلَى الرَّقَّتَيْنِ بِحَارُهَا ¹⁴⁸
The Nile	The river of Egypt. Al-Farazdaq said: Do not you see that the water of the Nile has dried and that generosity died after Ibn Laylā and his deeds?

¹⁴¹ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab'*, 7.

¹⁴² Muḥammad Ibn al-Mubārak Ibn Maymūn, *Muntahā al-Ṭalab min Ash'ār al-'Arab*, ed. Muḥammad Nabīl al-Ṭarīfī, 9 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir, 1999), 8: 375.

¹⁴³ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 1: 72, 5: 427.

¹⁴⁴ Jarīr Ibn 'Aṭīyya al-Khaṭfī, *Dīwān Jarīr*, ed. Nu'mān Muḥammad Amīn Ṭāha, 3rd ed. (Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma'ārif, n.d.), 33.

¹⁴⁵ Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī, *Al-Rawḍ al-Mi'tār fī Khabar al-'Aqṭār: Mu'jam Jughrāfī ma' Masrad 'Amm*, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās (Bayrūt: Maktabat Lubnān, 1975), 89.

¹⁴⁶ Al-Walīd Ibn 'Ubayd al-Ṭā'ī al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān al-Buḥturī*, ed. Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣayrafī, 3rd ed. (Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1963), 45.

¹⁴⁷ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 4: 241.

¹⁴⁸ Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥasam al-Shāfī'ī, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq wa-Dhikr Faḍlihā wa-Tasmiyat Man Ḥallahā min al-Afāḍil*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-'Umarī (Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr, 1995), 27: 272.

	أَلَمْ تَرَ أَنَّ النِّيلَ نَصَّبَ مَأْوُهُ وَمَاتَ النَّدى بَعْدَ إِبْنِ لَيْلى وَفَاعِلُهُ ¹⁴⁹
Dijla	The Tigris River, which is the river of Baghdad. The Arabic definite article should not be attached to it. ¹⁵⁰ Jarīr said: There was grace in the rivers of Dijla And increasing prestige for the Caliph's luck لَقَدْ كَانَ فِي أَنْهَارِ بَجَلَةَ نِعْمَةً وَحُظُوءُهُ جَدِّ لِلْخَلِيفَةِ صَاعِدٍ ¹⁵¹

Chart 5. Plants of nostalgia

al-Bān / Moringa Peregrina / Willow	This bush is a very soft tree that grows mainly in Ḥijāz and Yemen, but also in Egypt. ¹⁵² 'Antara Ibn Shaddād said: O willow breezes! For God's sake tell 'Ubayla where my camel caravan is. فَيَا نَسَمَاتِ الْبَانِ بِاللَّهِ حَبْرِي عُبَيْلَةَ عَنْ رَحْلِي بِأَيِّ الْمَوَاضِعِ ¹⁵³
Al-Shīḥ / Artemisia	A bush that grows in the city of al-Kūfa with another plant that is called al-Qayṣūm (Achilia), but, apparently, it is the sort of a plant that grows on the sides of valleys. ¹⁵⁴ Al-Buḥturī said: They dwelled in the crocus land and left a land full of Artemisia and Achilia نَزَلُوا بِأَرْضِ الزَّعْفَرَانِ وَغَادَرُوا أَرْضاً تَرُبُّ الشَّيْخَ وَالْقَيْصُومَا ¹⁵⁵
Al-'Arār / Pulicaria Arabica / Ox-eye	Al-'Arār is a yellow plant with an aromatic odor which grows in Syria. ¹⁵⁶ Abū Ḥayya al-Numayrī (d. 800) said: I smelled the fresh 'Arār slowly and the blossoms of the chrysanthemum in the soft dew شَمِمْتَ الْعَرَارِ الْغَضِّ عَبَّ هَمِيمَةً وَنُورَ الْأَقَاحِي فِي النَّدى الْمَتَرَقِرِ ¹⁵⁷
Al-Bashām / Elder / Comppihona Gileadensis	An fragrant tree that grows in al-Ḥijāz and al-Shām. ¹⁵⁸ Jarīr said: May God water the elder tree and every land in the Ghawrayn [the two valleys] that brings forth the elder tree.

¹⁴⁹ *Al-Mawsū'a al-Shi'riyya*, al-Farazdaq.

¹⁵⁰ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 2: 440.

¹⁵¹ Jarīr, *Dīwān*, 168.

¹⁵² Aḥmad 'Abd al-Wahhāb, al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, ed. Muḥammad Qumayḥa and others (Bayrūt: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2004), 12: 45.

¹⁵³ 'Antara Ibn Shaddād, *Dīwān 'Antara Ibn Shaddād*, 165.

¹⁵⁴ Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafājī, *Rayḥānat al-Albā wa-Zahrat al-Ḥayāt al-Dunyā* (Islām Abād: Maṭba'at 'Alī Jawdat, 1856), 8.

¹⁵⁵ *Al-Mawsū'a al-Shi'riyya*, al-Buḥturī.

¹⁵⁶ 'Abdullāh Ibn Muslim ibn Qutayba al-Dīnawārī, *Kitāb al-Ma'ānī al-Kabīr fī Abyāt al-Ma'ānī*, 3 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1984), 1: 125.

¹⁵⁷ *Al-Mawsū'a al-Shi'riyya*, Abū Ḥayya al-Numayrī.

¹⁵⁸ "Ta'ab Qalbī," accessed April, 19, 2013, <http://forum.te3p.com/616783.html>

	سَقَى اللهُ البَشَامَ وَكُلَّ أَرْضٍ مِنَ العُورِينَ أَنْبَتَتِ البِشَامَا ¹⁵⁹
Al-Rand or al-Ghār / Laurier	An aromatic tree that grows in the desert. It is likely that Arabs call every fragrant tree branch a Rand. ¹⁶⁰ ‘Antara Ibn Shadād said: Nothing caused my heart such a yearning except for a bird that mourned on a moist branch of laurier. وَمَا شَاقَ قَلْبِي فِي الدُّجَى غَيْرُ طَائِرٍ يَتَوَخَّ عَلَى غُصْنِ رَطِيبٍ مِنَ الرِّندِ ¹⁶¹

Chart 6. Important people and dynasties from the East

Imru’ al-Qays (d. 544)	He was a <i>jāhilī</i> poet and one of the writers of the <i>Mu‘allaqāt</i> . Ghaylān Ibn ‘Uqba, Dhū al-Rumma (d. 735) said: The origin of Imru’ al-Qays is from some people whose pork and wine are religiously permitted for them. وَلَكِنَّمَا أَصْلُ إِمْرِي الْقَيْسِ مَعَشَرٌ يَجِلُّ لَهُمْ لَحْمُ الْخَنَازِيرِ وَالْخَمْرُ ¹⁶²
Ḥātim al-Ṭā’ī (d. 577)	A poet who was famous because of his generosity. Al-Farazdaq said: O Abū Ḥātim! Even Ḥātim [al-Ṭā’ī] was not more generous than you during hardships. أَبَا حَاتِمٍ مَا حَاتِمٌ فِي زَمَانِهِ بِأَفْضَلٍ جُوداً مِنْكَ عِنْدَ الْعِظَائِمِ ¹⁶³
Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī (d. 965)	One of the most important and influential Arab poets. He was born in al-Kūfa and lived in Syria. He praised some of Syria’s rulers and important figures, especially the Prince of Aleppo Sayf al-Dawla al-Ḥamdānī (d. 967). Many poets were jealous of him due to his fame and intelligence. Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (d. 1001) said: O cloud of slapping! Pour on the neck of al-Mutanabbī. . . يَا دِيمَةَ الصَّفْعِ صُبِّي عَلَى قَفَا الْمُتَنَبِّيِّ . . . ¹⁶⁴ It is worth mentioning that, after his death, al-Mutanabbī was greatly admired among poets and critics, especially in al-Andalus.
Abū al-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī (d. 1057)	He was known as the “philosophical” poet from Syria. ‘Abd al-Muḥsin Ibn Ghalbūn al-Ṣūrī (d. 1028) said: Al-Ma‘arrī was saved from ignominy, enormity and news. نَجَا المَعْرِيُّ مِنَ العَارِ وَمِنْ شِنَاعَاتٍ وَأَخْبَارِ ¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁹ Jarīr Ibn ‘Atīyya al-Khaṭfī, *Dīwān Jarīr* (Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, n.d.), 542.

¹⁶⁰ ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Muslim Ibn Qutayba, *Adab al-Kātib*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (al-Qāhira: Maṭba‘at al-Sa‘āda, 1963), 79.

¹⁶¹ ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād, *Dīwān ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād*, 151.

¹⁶² Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī, *Al-‘Umda fī Maḥāsīn al-Shi‘r wa-Ādābihi*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, 2 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Jīl, 1981), 2:76.

¹⁶³ *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, al-Farazdaq.

¹⁶⁴ al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt*, 12: 206.

¹⁶⁵ *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, Ibn Ghalbūn al-Ṣūrī.

Kisrā	<p>The title of any ruler of the Sasanian Persian Empire. ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād said: I do not desire the properties of Kisrā if the face of the beloved disappears from my sight. وَمَلِكُ كِسْرَى لَا أَشْتَهِيهِ إِذَا مَا غَابَ وَجْهُ الْحَبِيبِ عَن نَّظْرِي¹⁶⁶</p>
Āl Sāsān	<p>C.E. Bosworth argues that the term Sāsān or Sāsānī is related to low people such as a tricksters and beggar: “the blanket designation in mediaeval Islamic literature for the practitioners of begging, swindling, confidence tricks, the displaying of disfiguring diseases, mutilated limbs, etc., so that <i>sāsānī</i> has often become a general term in both Arabic and Persian for “beggar, trickster”. In spite of that, Bosworth writes that the term Sāsān or <i>Banū Sāsān</i> is still ambiguous and not totally clear, and that scholars connect it sometimes to a Persian dynasty or a nomadic Kurd’s one: The origin of the name <i>Banū Sāsān</i> is shrouded in mystery. . . One oft-repeated story found in the sources, from the time of the Persian author and translator from Pahlavi into Arabic, Ibn al-Mukaffa’ [q.v.], is that <i>Sāsān</i> was the son of the legendary Persian emperor of the Kayānid line, Bahman b. Isfandiyār, but was displaced from the succession to his father, hence took to a wandering live amongst, as some sources state, the nomadic Kurds (a people notorious in mediaeval Islamic times for banditry and violent ways of behaviour). Other stories hold that the Persians as a nation took to mendicancy after the Arab conquest of the 1st/7th century, and aroused pity and commiseration by claiming to be scions of the dispossessed Sāsānid royal house.¹⁶⁷ In spite of that, I personally think that the majority of the classical Arab poets meant the Persians when they referred to <i>Banū Sāsān</i>. Al-Buḥturī said: I try to forget bad luck and grief because of a place from which the family of Sāsān has disappeared. أَتَسَلَّى عَنِ الْحُظُوظِ وَأَسَى لِمَحَلٍّ مِنْ آلِ سَاسَانَ دَرَسِ¹⁶⁸</p>
‘Ād and Thamūd	<p>Two ancient Arab tribes believed to be extinct. They are mentioned in the Koran as people who disobeyed and disbelieved several messengers sent by God to preach to them and lead them to the right path. As a result, they were annihilated by the might of God. See, for example: Has there not reached you the news of those before you - the people of Noah and ‘Aad and Thamud and those after them? No one knows them but Allah. Their messengers brought them clear proof, but they returned their hands to their mouths and said, "Indeed, we disbelieve in that with</p>

¹⁶⁶ ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād, *Dīwān ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād*, 165.

¹⁶⁷ Bosworth, C.E.. "Sāsān." *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2015. Reference. Indiana University Bloomington. 09 March 2015 <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/sa-sa-n-SIM_6660>

¹⁶⁸ al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, 73.

	<p>which you have been sent, and indeed we are, about that to which you invite us, in disquieting doubt."</p> <p>أَلَمْ يَأْتِكُمْ نَبَأُ الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِكُمْ قَوْمِ نُوحٍ وَعَادٍ وَثَمُودَ وَالَّذِينَ مِنْ بَعْدِهِمْ لَا يَعْلَمُهُمْ إِلَّا اللَّهُ جَاءَتْهُمْ رُسُلُهُمْ بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ فَرَدُّوا أَيْدِيَهُمْ فِي أَفْوَاهِهِمْ وَقَالُوا إِنَّا كَفَرْنَا بِمَا أُرْسِلْتُمْ بِهِ وَإِنَّا لَفِي شَكٍّ مِمَّا تَدْعُونَنَا إِلَيْهِ مُرِيبٍ.¹⁶⁹</p> <p>‘Ād and Thamūd are frequently mentioned in the classical Arabic poetic corpus. For example, Labīd Ibn Rabī‘a al-‘Āmirī (d. 661) said: And Iram and ‘Ād tried His [God’s] anger, and after that also Thamūd did the same.</p> <p>وَلَقَدْ بَلَّتْ إِرْمَ وَعَادٌ كَيْدَهُ وَلَقَدْ بَلَّتَهُ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ ثَمُودُ¹⁷⁰</p>
eastern Arab Muslim rulers and Caliphs	See chapter below on the ode <i>al-Bashāma</i> by Ibn ‘Abdūn.

Chart 7. Winds of nostalgia

Al-Dabūr	<p>A wind that blows from the west to the east.¹⁷¹</p> <p>Al-Hārith Ibn ‘Abbād (d. 550) wrote about a ruined abode: The Ṣabā turned it upside-down, so it became a plain the Dabūr blew on it and it turned to be very thin.</p> <p>زَعَزَعَتْهُ الصَّبَا فَأَدْرَجَ سَهْلًا ثُمَّ هَاجَتْ لَهُ الدَّبُورُ نَحِيلًا¹⁷²</p>
al-Janūb or al-Nu‘āmā	<p>A wind that blows from the south to the north.¹⁷³</p> <p>Hadaba Ibn Kharsham (d. 574) said: I wish the winds were forced to serve us when they go and return So the north wind (al-Shamāl) would tell us [about our loved ones] and the south wind would tell our family about us.</p> <p>أَلَا لَيْتَ الرِّيَّاحَ مَسَخَّرَاتٍ لِحَاجَتِنَا تَبَاكُرُ أَوْ تَوُوبٍ فَتُبَلِّغُنَا الشَّمَالَ إِذَا أَتَتْنَا وَتُبَلِّغُ أَهْلَنَا عَنَّا الْجَنُوبُ¹⁷⁴</p>
Al-Ṣabā or <i>rīḥ al-‘ushshāq</i> “the lovers’ wind”	<p>A wind that blows from the east to the west. It is called the wind of the lovers because of its softness.¹⁷⁵</p> <p>‘Antara Ibn Shaddād said: If the wind of al-Ṣabā blows in the evening, it heals a sick heart by its blowing.</p>

¹⁶⁹ Koran, *Ibrāhīm*, 9 (14: 9). This citation and all next Koranic citations in both Arabic and English translation are taken from the Koran website: www.quran.com.

¹⁷⁰ Labīd Ibn Rabī‘a al-‘Āmirī, *Dīwān Labīd Ibn Rabī‘a al-‘Āmirī Sharḥ al-Tūsī*, ed. Ḥamdu Ṭammās (Bayrūt: Dār al-Ma‘rifa, 2004), 18.

¹⁷¹ Al-Marzūqī, *Al-Azmina wa-al-Amkina*, 267-269.

¹⁷² *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, al-Hārith Ibn ‘Abbād.

¹⁷³ Al-Marzūqī, *Al-Azmina wa-al-Amkina*, 267-269.

¹⁷⁴ Abū Kakr Muḥammad Ibn Dāwūd al-Zāhirī, *Al-Zuhara*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarrā’ī, 2nd ed. (‘Ammān: Maktabat al-Manār, 1985), 307.

¹⁷⁵ Al-Marzūqī, *Al-Azmina wa-al-Amkina*, 267-269.

	إِذَا رِيحُ الصَّبَا هَبَّتْ أَصِيلاً شَفَّتْ بِهُبُوبِهَا قَلْباً عَلِيلاً ¹⁷⁶
Al-Shamāl or al-Miḥwa	A wind that blows from the north to the south. ¹⁷⁷ For a poetic example of <i>rīḥ al-Shamāl</i> , see <i>al-Janūb</i> above.

Chart 8. Vocabulary of *nasīb*

Before I present this chart, it is necessary to refer to Jaroslav Stetkevych’s article about the classical Arabic *nasīb*. In this article, “The Seven Words of the *Nasīb*: Towards an Arabic Elegiac Lexicon,” Stetkevych demonstrates that the words *ṭalal* (ruin), *dār* (abode), *nu’y* (trench), *rab’* (vernal encampment), *dimna* (dung), *athāfi* (hearthstones) and *su’āl* (question) are repeatedly used in the *nasīb* of the classical Arabic ode and that the poet refers to such words in order to express longing for the past.¹⁷⁸ Here is what Stetkevych writes in regards to *dār* and the Bedouin sense of melancholy:

The source of all Bedouin poetic melancholy is the awareness of happiness lost—happiness both ancient and remote, for which the abode/*dār* is only a figure, and that other happiness, one that was taken from the poet when the *khalīṭ* (tribal throng) dispersed and in its seasonal centrifugally took away the poet’s beloved as *za’īna*.¹⁷⁹

In addition to the list presented by Stetkevych, the chart below adds some other words (nouns and verbs) that are considered—in my opinion—in the core of the *nasīb* and that are used to indicate nostalgia:

‘ <i>Afā</i>	This word means “became effaced, erased, rased or obliterated . . . came to an end or died.” ¹⁸⁰ Imru’ al-Qays said: Stop here both of you my friends! And let us weep over a memory of a beloved and her gratefulness, and over a collapsed abode whose tracks disappeared a long time ago.
--------------	--

¹⁷⁶ ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād, *Dīwān ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād*, 139.

¹⁷⁷ Al-Marzūqī, *Al-Azmina wa-al-Amkina*, 267-269.

¹⁷⁸ Jaroslav Stetkevych, “The Seven Words of the *Nasīb*: Towards an Arabic Elegiac Lexicon,” in *Reorientations/Arabic and Persian poetry*, ed. Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 58-129.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 62.

¹⁸⁰ Edward Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London: Williams & Norgate Press, 1863), 2092. ‘.F.W.

	قفا نبيك من ذكرى حبيب وعرفانٍ ورسم عفت آياته منذ أزمان ¹⁸¹
<i>Al-dār</i>	A place of abode which comprises a building or buildings, or a court, or a space in which is no building. ¹⁸² Also the same is the word <i>al-diyār</i> which is one of <i>al-dār</i> 's many plural forms. In addition to <i>al-manāzil</i> (houses), <i>al-ḥimā</i> (the neighborhood or the defended and protected area of the tribe). Poets might directly address the house of the beloved, her houses or her neighborhood. Al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī said: Oh the house of Mayya which is located at the heights of al-Sanad, you became empty a long time ago. يا دار مية بالعلياء فالسندِ أقوت وطال عليها سالفُ الزمن ¹⁸³
<i>Al-rab</i> '	This word means close friends, people and relatives or as a general term for a tribe. Also, it means an abode or a spring encampment. It is often used in conjunction with <i>al-marābi</i> ' , which is the place where the kin people or relatives dwell, especially during the spring time. Lane puts it this way: "A place where people remain, abide, dwell in the season called ربيع [rabī']". ¹⁸⁴ Imru' al-Qays said: Good morning keen people! Tell me the true story of the convoy if you do not mind, and be true! ألا انعم صباحًا أيها الربيع وانطقي وحدّث حديث الركب إن شئت واصدق ¹⁸⁵
<i>Al-rakb</i>	This word means the travelers on camels and she-camels. It "signifies riders upon camels; or owners of camels on a journey, or travelers upon camels consisting of ten or more. [A]nd sometimes it signifies riders upon horses." ¹⁸⁶ The <i>Ṣu' lūk</i> poet Ta'abbata Sharran (d. 540) said: Wherever they (the stars) went, the travelers on camels and she-camels followed, and if they do not show up, the people will not know where to go. بها الركب أيما يمّم الركب يمّموا وإن لم تلح فالقوم بالسير جهل ¹⁸⁷
<i>Al-ṭalal</i>	This word means a ruined abode or remnants left after the departure of the people. Its plural is <i>aṭlāl</i> . Lane writes that <i>ṭalal</i> is a "portion still standing of the remains of a dwelling or house." ¹⁸⁸ 'Antara Ibn Shaddād said: Whose shabby ruined abode is that which is at Wadi of al-Raml, and which tracks has been erased by the wind of the north?

¹⁸¹ Imru' al-Qays, *Dīwān Imru' al-Qays*, 80.

¹⁸² Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 931. D.W.R.

¹⁸³ Al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī, *Dīwān al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī Riwayāt al-Aṣma' min Nuskhāt al-A'lam al-Shantamarrī*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 2nd ed. (Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma'ārif, n.d.), 8.

¹⁸⁴ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1016. R.B. '.

¹⁸⁵ Imru' al-Qays, *Dīwān Imru' al-Qays*, 119.

¹⁸⁶ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1144. R.K.B.

¹⁸⁷ Ta'abbata Sharran, *Dīwān Thābit Ibn Jābir*, ed. 'Alī Dhū al-Faqqār Shākir, 2nd ed. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1999), 160.

¹⁸⁸ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1863. T.L.L.

	لمن طلل بوادي الرمل بالي محت آثاره ريح الشمال ¹⁸⁹
<i>Aqfara/ aqwā</i>	<i>Aqfara</i> means to become deserted, while <i>aqwā</i> means to become empty. Lane defines the two verbs as follows: <i>Aqfara</i> the place is “the place became vacant, or void; dextitude of herbage od pasturage, and water, and of human beings.” While <i>aqwā</i> “أقوت الدار” <i>aqwat al-Dār</i> : the house became empty, vacant, or unoccupied.” ¹⁹⁰ Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā said: Whose ruin is that which is used to be stable at Rāma, it has become empty and all its old traces have disappeared. لَمَنْ طَلَّلَ بِرَامَةَ لَا يَرِيْمُ عَفَا وَخَلَا لَهُ حُفْبٌ قَدِيْمٌ ¹⁹¹
<i>Tāq/ Ishtāq/ Ḥann</i>	Each of these words means to miss or yearn for. ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād said: I yearn for these houses every time I see a bird singing on a boscage. أَحِنُّ إِلَى تِلْكَ الْمَنَازِلِ كُلِّمَا غَدَا طَائِرٌ فِي أَيْكَةٍ يَتَرْتَمُ ¹⁹²
<i>Bāna/ al-Bayn</i>	<i>Bāna</i> means to go far away, while <i>al-Bayn</i> is the gerund form and it means remoteness. Lane writes that <i>bāna</i> is became separated, severed, disunited, or cut off from the thing.” While <i>al-Bayn</i> is the “separation or disunion of companions or friends or lovers.” ¹⁹³ ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād said: I cried because of the separating remoteness although I was patient on stinging spears. I wish you knew that! بَكَيْتُ مِنَ الْبَيْنِ الْمُشْتِ وَأَنْتِي صَبَوْرٌ عَلَى طَعْنِ الْقَنَا لَوْ عَلِمْتُمْ ¹⁹⁴
<i>Daras/ dāris</i>	<i>Daras</i> means effaced, while <i>dāris</i> (as an active participant) means a worn-out trace. Lane attributes <i>daras</i> to the wind, saying that <i>درسته</i> [<i>darasathu al-rīhu</i>] means that: “The wind or winds effaced, erased rased, or obliterated it by repeatedly passing over it.” ¹⁹⁵ Imru’ al-Qays said: Surely my cure is tears poured forth; then, at a worn-out trace is there a place for comfort? ¹⁹⁶ وإن شفائي عبرة مهراقة فهل عند رسم دارس من معول ¹⁹⁷
<i>Dimna</i>	<i>Dimna</i> means what is left behind after a tribe leaves, especially ashes, black excrement from the livestock and dung. Lane explains that <i>dimna</i> is “a trace or traces of a house or an abode, and the traces of men in a place where they have sojourned, and a place which they have blackened; where they have left marks of the dung of cattle. [It is] a place near to a house or an abode.” ¹⁹⁸

¹⁸⁹ ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād, *Dīwān ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād*, 139.

¹⁹⁰ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 2550. Q.F.R., 2997. Q.W.Y.

¹⁹¹ Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā, *Dīwān Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā*, 147.

¹⁹² ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād, *Dīwān ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād*, 136.

¹⁹³ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 285, 287. B.Y.N.

¹⁹⁴ ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād, *Dīwān ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād*, 136.

¹⁹⁵ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 870. D.R.S.

¹⁹⁶ Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak*, 250.

¹⁹⁷ Imru’ al-Qays, *Dīwān Imru’ al-Qays*, 30.

¹⁹⁸ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 916. D.M.N.

	<p>Al-Nābigha al-Dhubaynī said: Stop by and greet the black remnant (<i>dimna</i>) of Nu‘m’s house, exactly like you greet the remote things and stones. عَوَجُوا فَحَيَّوْا لِئَعْمَ دِمْنَةَ الدَّارِ مَاذَا تُحَيِّوْنَ مِنْ نُؤْيٍ وَأَحْجَارٍ¹⁹⁹</p>
<i>Qif</i> / <i>‘uj</i> / <i>ta’ammal</i>	<p><i>Qif</i> means to stand or stop. <i>‘Uj</i> means to turn. <i>Ta’ammal</i> means to contemplate. As imperative verbs, these words help poets share their pain and memories with others. Imru’ al-Qays said: Turn on the changed ruined abode because, we weep over the abodes as Ibn Khidhām did. عَوْجَا عَلَى الطَّلَلِ الْمَحِيلِ لِأَنَّنا نَبْكِي الدِّيَارَ كَمَا بَكَى ابْنُ خِدَامٍ²⁰⁰ The first line of Imru’ al-Qays’s <i>mu‘allaqa</i> that has been presented above twice already gives an example for the verb <i>qif</i> while the line below is an example of <i>ta’ammal</i> as well as <i>za’n</i>.</p>
<i>za’n</i> / <i>za’īna</i> / <i>za’ā’in</i>	<p><i>Zā’in</i> means walking or traveling in the desert. <i>Za’īna</i>, and its plural of <i>za’ā’in</i>, mean the howdah or the lady on the howdah carried by camels. Lane writes that <i>za’an</i> means: “He journeyed, went away, departed or removed . . . [especially] to seek after herbage or . . . water, or he removed from water to water, or from one country or trace of land, to another.” <i>Za’īn</i>, however is “the woman’s camel vehicle whether there be in it a woman or not . . . or a woman whether in the هودج [hawdah] or elsewhere.”²⁰¹ ‘Abīd Ibn al-Abras said: Look my friend! Do you see Yemenite howdahs that walk in the morning and in the evening? تَأَمَّلْ خَلِيلِي هَلْ تَرَى مِنْ طَعَائِنٍ يَمَانِيَّةٍ قَدْ تَعْتَدِي وَتَرُوحُ؟²⁰²</p>
Names of the poet’s beloved, such as Laylā, Salmā, Hind, Mayy, Rabāb and Da’d	<p>Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā said: The valley of Sāq has become deserted and empty of the family of Laylā, and likewise are the sandy hills of al-‘Ajāliz and al-Qaṣīm. عَفَا مِنْ آلِ لَيْلَى بَطْنُ سَاقٍ فَأَكْتَبَةُ الْعَجَالِيزِ فَالْقَصِيمِ²⁰³</p>
<i>Rasm</i>	<p><i>Rasm</i> means “a mark, an impression, a sign, a trace, a vestige, or a relic or remain.”²⁰⁴ Ṭarafa Ibn al-‘Abd said: Do you recognize the empty collapsed house which is deserted and looks like the eyelids of the Yemenite who puts on colored clothes?</p>

¹⁹⁹ Al-Nābigha al-Dhubaynī, *Dīwān al-Nābigha al-Dhubaynī*, 256.

²⁰⁰ Imru’ al-Qays, *Dīwān Imru’ al-Qays*, 94.

²⁰¹ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1911. Z.‘N.

²⁰² Muḥammad Ibn al-Mubārak Ibn Maymūn, *Muntahā al-Ṭalab min Ash‘ār al-‘Arab* (Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir, 1999), 2: 189.

²⁰³ Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā, *Dīwān Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā*, 148.

²⁰⁴ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1085. R.S.M.

	أُتَعْرِفُ رَسْمَ الدَّارِ قَفْرًا مَنَازِلُهُ كَجَفْنِ الِيمَانِي زَخْرَفِ الوَشِيِّ مَائِلُهُ؟ ²⁰⁵
Referring to or mentioning the wind or winds (without naming a particular wind)	‘Antara Ibn Shaddād said: Oh the wind of Hījāz! For the sake of your creator, reply the greeting and greet the one who greeted you! رِيحَ الحِجَازِ بِحَقِّ مَنْ أَنشَاكَ رُدِّي السَّلَامَ وَحَيِّ مَنْ حَيَّاكَ ²⁰⁶
<i>al-warqā’/ wurq/ wuruq</i>	This word is used to refer to a grieving dove, which, in turn, incites memory and love. Al-Buḥturī said: I do not carry the memory with me when I remember her even if a dove sang in the dark night. وَلَا أَصْحَبُ الذِّكْرَى إِذَا مَا ذَكَرْتُهَا وَلَوْ هَنَّقَتْ وَرَقَاءَ وَاللَّيْلُ أَوْرَقُ ²⁰⁷
Mentioning the lightning (<i>barq</i>)	Especially to convey anxiety, insomnia and sleeplessness due to grief and expecting some dreams to come true. Labīd Ibn Rabī’a said: My friend! Do you notice the lightning that I am observing in the evening through white clouds? صَاحِ تَرَى بَرْقًا بَيْتُ أَرْقُبُهُ ذَاتَ العِشَاءِ فِي عَمَائِمِ عُرِّي ²⁰⁸

Part Two - Lexicon of Hebrew Nostalgia for Zion

The chart below presents some terms that Jewish poets frequently used in order to express their strong bonds to the Holy Land as well as their nostalgia for Jerusalem and other sacred places. The terms are mainly religious, but were employed in the Hebrew poetry of al-Andalus, both for secular and religious reasons. They will be further elaborated upon in the last chapter of this study.

Yirūshalayim, Zion, Ari’el, Kodish Yisra’el, Ḥaptziva, ‘Īr Yihūd, ‘Īr Homiyyah,	These all are other names for Jerusalem. ²⁰⁹ Yehuda Halevi said: Their soul must not be happy those who say it is [Zion] guilty,
---	--

²⁰⁵ Ṭarafa Ibn al-‘Abd, *Dīwān Ṭarafa Ibn al-‘Abd: Sharḥ al-A‘lam al-Shantamarri*, ed. Dariyya al-Khaṭīb and Luṭfī al-Ṣaqqāl, 2nd ed. (Al-Baḥrayn-Bayrūt: Dār al-Thaqāfa wa-al-Funūn al-Mu’assasa al-‘Arabiyya, 2000), 119.

²⁰⁶ ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād, *Dīwān ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād*, 156.

²⁰⁷ Abū al-Qāsim Ḥasan Ibn Bishr al-Āmidī, *Al-Muwāzana bayn Shi’r Abī Tammām wa-al-Buḥturī*, ed. Aḥmad Ṣaqr and ‘Abd Allāh Ḥamad Muḥārib, 4th ed. (al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma’ārif-Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1992), 99.

²⁰⁸ ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Bakrī al-Andalusī, *Mu‘jam mā Istu‘jim min Asmā’ al-Bilād wa-al-Mawāḍi‘*, ed. Muṣṭfā al-Ṣaqqā, 3rd ed. 4 vols. (Bayrūt: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1982), 2: 628

²⁰⁹ The following website introduces 70 Hebrew names for Jerusalem. Many of these names were mentioned in Andalusian Hebrew poetry. See: “Hadracha,” accessed September 29, 2013, <http://www.hadracha.org/he/vw.asp?id=2923>.

Kiryat Ḥanā, Yifeh Nof	<p>Zion, there are my heart and my eyes.</p> <p>אל תעלוז נפשם האומרים תאשם ציון, והנה שם לבי ושם עיני²¹⁰</p>
Dvīr	<p>The interior of the Temple of King Solomon, which is considered to be a holy place because it is believed to be where the Ark of the Covenant was kept.</p> <p>Yehuda Halevi wrote: A light thing would it seem to me to leave all the good things of Spain – seeing how precious in mine eyes to behold the Dust of the desolate sanctuary.²¹¹</p> <p>יִקַּל בְּעֵינַי עֲזֹב כָּל טוֹב סְפָרַד, כְּמוֹ יִקַּר בְּעֵינַי רְאוֹת עִפְרוֹת דְּבִיר נִחְרָב²¹²</p>
Marom Tzion, ‘Izrā, Marom Dokhān	<p>The Temple.</p> <p>Shmu’el Hanagid said: And if I or my son just could sing some songs for the Lord at the Temple, ואם יטב בפי, או פי בני, על מרום דוכן דבר זמרה ושירים²¹³</p>
Yisra’ il, Yihudā	<p>A general term for Jews or the people of Israel.</p> <p>Shlomo Ibn Gabirol said: Is it your voice, the best of Ariel? Be pleased and happy the virgion of Israel. הקולך זה הקול, גולת אריאל? עלזי וצהלי בתולת ישראל²¹⁴</p>
<i>Galūt</i>	<p>The Diaspora.</p> <p>Shlomo Ibn Gabirol said: Would not you cry—the people of my Diaspora! Would not you cry over the city of the Lord? הלא תבכו, בני גלות המוֹנִי הלא תבכו לציון עיר אדוֹנֵי²¹⁵</p>
Isaiah, Jeremiah, David, Moses, Solomon and other Biblical prophets	<p>The prophets and kings of Israel.</p> <p>Yehuda Halevi wrote: Have we either in the East or in the West a place of hope wherein we may trust, Except the Land that is full of gates, toward which the gates of Heaven are open—</p>

²¹⁰ Tel Aviv University, *Perushei Franz Rosenzweig li-Tish'im va-Hamisha mi-Sherei Rabi Yehuda Halevi* (Jerusalem: Magnis, 2011), 299.

²¹¹ Translated by: Heinrich Brody, *Selected Poems of Jehuda Halevi: On the Sea 2* (New York: Arno Press, 1973), 2.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 2.

²¹³ Tel-Aviv University, *Shmu'el Hanagid: Selected Poems*, ed. Tova Rosen (Tel-Aviv: Ḥayim Rūven Press, 2008), 46.

²¹⁴ Tel Aviv University, *Ibn Gabirol: Selected Poems*, ed. Yisrael Levīn (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), 219.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 83.

	<p>Like Mount Sinai and Carmel and Bethel, and the houses of the <u>prophets</u>, the envoys.²¹⁶ היש לנו במזרח או במערב מקום תקווה נהי עליו בטוחים אבל ארץ אשר מלאה שערים לנגנם שערי-שחק פתוחים בהר סיני והכרמל ובית-אל ובתי הנביאים השלוחים²¹⁷</p>
<p>Mitzpe, Bazak, ‘Emek Ha’elah, Giv’on, Gāy Tzafta, Ḥatzatzon Tamar, Dotan, Gāy Hamelaḥ, Bor Malkiyyah, Yr’on, Migdal El, Makatz, Beit Ḥagan, Moreshet, Lūd, Rimon, Ma’on, Snae (a name of a bush that grows in the Land of Israel), Sinai, Yam Sūf (Red Sea) and ‘Aṭarot²¹⁸</p>	<p>These all are names of different cities and parts of the Biblical Land of Israel. Yehuda Halevi wrote: Peace be to thee, Mount Abarim!²¹⁹ Peace be to thee on every side If thou knowest him not, ask thou of the Red Sea which was rent apart; And ask of the Bush [Snae] and ask of the Mount— ask of Sinai—they shall return answer unto thee: . . .²²⁰ . . . שלום לך, הר העברים שלום לך מכל עברים אם לא ידעתהו, שאל ים-סוף אשר נגזר לגזרים, ושאל סנה, ושאל להר סיני ישיבוך אומרים: . . .</p>

In the next chapter, I will provide an argument showing that the East did not leave the Andalusians, despite the fact that the Andalusians left the East.

²¹⁶ Translation and original Hebrew text are both from: Brody, *Selected Poems of Jehuda Halevi*, 15.

²¹⁷ Tel Aviv University, *Yehuda Halevi: Selected poems*, ed. Yisrael Levīn (Tel Aviv: The Aviv University Press, 2007), 266.

²¹⁸ While discussing some of Sa’adyā Ga’on’s poems, Yosef Tobi wrote that some of these places belong to the time of the First Temple and that they were mentioned mainly in religious liturgical poetry. He also stated that these places came to represent the Land of Israel in general. See: Yosef Tobi, “Eretz Yisra’ il vi-ha-Nuseh ha-Li’umī ba-Shirāh ha-ivrit mi-Sa’adyāh Ga’ūn vi-‘ad Shmu’el Hanagid,” in *Shalem*, 2009, 49, 50.

²¹⁹ A name of a mountain at the eastside of the Jordan river where Moses was ordered to watch the Holy Land from. See: “Kotar,” accessed September 11, 2014,

<http://www.kotar.co.il/kotarapp/index/Chapter.aspx?nBookID=96099491&nTocEntryID=96107840>

²²⁰ Translation and original Hebrew text are both from: Brody, *Selected Poems of Jehuda Halevi*, 8.

Chapter 3

Botanic, Geographic and Cultural Nostalgia for the East and Eastern Poetic Conventions in al-Andalus

A. Botanic Nostalgia

Before beginning my discussion, I need to note that many of the poetic examples presented within this chapter can be easily categorized under the eastern poetic term of the *nasīb*. This means that the poetic examples below mostly comply with the earlier eastern poetic model and does not hold nostalgic feelings for the East solely by themselves.

Despite the differences discussed in Chapter 1 between the Andalusian landscape and that of the East, especially the landscape of the Arab Peninsula, there is still much in common between the two areas, especially regarding the Levant. Hence, it might be difficult to write about botanic nostalgia or for the East among the dwellers of al-Andalus because of the similarities between *bilād al-Shām* (the land of Greater Syria) and al-Andalus regarding climate and vegetation.

The Lebanese poet prince Shakīb Arslān (d. 1946) wrote about such similarities when he mentioned the European proverb: If you cross the Pyrenees, you will find yourself in Africa. Arslān also wrote about the similarities between Spain and Syria when he described his journey to al-Andalus while heading to al-Andalus from France:

As a matter of fact, there is not much exaggeration in this saying [i.e., the proverb mentioned above]. Regarding to trees, stones, soil and water, the Iberian Peninsula, which is separated from Europe by the mountains of the Pyrenees, is more like Northern Africa and western Asia [than to any other place]. I experienced this feeling myself right after my entrance to Spain, taking the road from France, from the north. From the very beginning when I passed the borders between France [and Spain], I felt as if I were walking on the coast of Syria, my homeland. Wherever I looked I saw the trees of fig, olive, carob, pine, nopal and all sorts of trees and forest plants that I

know in my homeland. In addition to that, [there are] the color of the soil and the flowing of the brooks while the canes and the sweet rush are touching it, the yearning of the norias that are not allowed to water from the brooks and other things which make you think that you are indeed on the Syrian coast. It was not mere accident, but rather this similarity between the two lands that led the Syrian Arabs to dwell in al-Andalus more than in any other land, because the person likes to be in a country that resembles his homeland (*masqat ra 'sihi*) if he must dwell in a foreign land.¹

In spite of these similarities, there is still something missing that feels different, and al-Andalus was still an alien land for its Arab settlers. The well-known story of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Dākhil, the founder of the Arab Umayyad dynasty in al-Andalus, is perhaps the best illustration of what I term “botanic” nostalgia for the East. Al-Dākhil stood overwhelmed when he saw, for the first time at the Ruṣāfa Palace,² a palm tree, as it was transplanted, like him, from its native land in the East. Moved by this sight, al-Dākhil wrote the following touching nostalgic piece:

A palm tree set for us upon the pavement in the Western Land, [al-Andalus]
remote from the Land of the Palm [Syria and Iraq].

I said, [You are] like me in estrangement, remoteness
and long separation from children and family;

You have grown on a land where you are a stranger,
you and I are similar in our alienation and separation.³

تبدت لنا وسط الرصافة نخلة تتأدت بأرض الغرب عن بلد النخل

فقلت شبيهي في التغرب والنوى وطول التناهي عن بني وعن أهلي

نشأت بأرض أنت فيها غريبة فمثلك في الإقصاء والمنتأى مثلي⁴

¹ Shakīb Arslān, *Al-Ḥulal al-Sundusiyya fi al-Akhbār wa-al-Āthār al-'Andalusiyya*, 3 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1991), 1: 24.

² This Ruṣāfa should be differentiated from the city of al-Ruṣāfa, which is a high city close to Cordoba built by Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Dākhil and named after the Eastern city of al-Ruṣāfa, which was built by his father's (al-Dākhil) paternal grandfather, Caliph Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, as appreciation to his grandfather and in sweet memory of the East, where the roots of both Hishām and al-Dākhil are.

³ Translation is by Jonathan Decker, “A Myrtle in the Forest: Landscape and Nostalgia in Andalusian Hebrew Poetry,” *Prooftexts* 24 (2004): 139.

⁴ Muḥammad Ibn 'Ab Allāh Ibn al-Abbār, *Kitāb al-Ḥulla al-Siyarā'*, ed. Ḥusayn Mu'nis, 2 vols. (al-Qāhira: al-Sharika al-'Arabiyya lil-Nashr, 1963), 1: 37.

Al-Dākhil continues, alluding to the political situation that led him to al-Andalus:

Oh palm tree! You are a foreigner like me
in the West and far from your roots.

So cry! But will a sad and speechless palm tree
that is planted in the earth ever cry?

If [the palm tree] could cry, it would cry
over the water of the Euphrates and the origin of the palm.

But it was amazed, and I was amazed
at the hatred of *Banū* al-‘Abbās to me because of my [Umayyad] family.

يا نخل أنت غريبة مثلي في الغرب نائية عن الأصل
فابكي، وهل تبكي مكبسة عجماء لم تطبع على خبل؟
لو أنها تبكي إذا لبكت ماء الفرات ومنبت النخل
لكنها ذهلت، وأذهلني بغضي بني العباس عن أهلي⁵

The palm tree is, therefore, not a mere tree, but a symbol of the East and of the roots of the poet.⁶ Al-Dākhil, as other Umayyads and immigrants, may have not only longed for the East as a geographic region, but also for the loss of the eastern Umayyad Empire.

In his article about *Al-Munyāt* (the gardens) in al-Andalus, Muḥammad Ḥamām claimed that most historians agreed that the main reason why al-Dākhil imported eastern features was to taunt his Abbasid enemies and rivals, and to prove to them that he could build in al-Andalus a magnificent state and civilization that could compete with and even exceed the glory of Baghdad. Ḥamām claims that the best term to describe al-Ruṣāfa was not a palace or *qaṣr*, but, rather, a *munya*, which means a beautiful artificial garden. The term also means “an object of desire” (pl. *munyāt* or *manayāt*). Ḥamām wrote that al-Dākhil also named Ruṣāfa

⁵ Ibid., 1: 37-38. The previous lines are also attributed to ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn ‘Umar Ibn Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam, but Ibn al-Abbār considers their attribution to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil more likely.

⁶ ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Alī Ibn Thaḳfān, *Kitāb al-Riyād, Buḥūth wa-Dirāsāt Andalusīyya* (al-Riyād: Mu’assasat al-Yamāma al-Ṣaḥāfiyya, 2000), 90.

after the garden of Ruṣāfa in Damascus, which was “the *munya* of Hishām;” his paternal grandfather; and because *munyāt* were very popular in al-Andalus. Ḥamām mentioned other *munyāt* in al-Andalus, such as *Munyat* of al-Nasr, *Munyat* al-Nā‘ūra and *Munyat* Antali.⁷

The palm tree and its evocation of Syria was a moving sight for the uprooted al-Dākhil and other early Arab pioneers nostalgic for their homeland.

Syria is remembered mainly through the vegetation of its landscape; the palm is a symbol both of the author's place of origin and of his present estrangement. The lone sapling marked the initiation of a process of re-creating the lost culture of Syria and making a new cosmopolitan home for the Umayyad refugees.⁸

Al-Maqqarī began his book, *Nafh al-Ṭīb*, in which he gathered many of the Andalusian literary works and historical events and which is considered the richest and most reliable anthology about al-Andalus, by trying to describe the stages that led him to his decision to compose that particular piece of work. From the very beginning, and in a tone of sorrow and excuse, as if he were justifying his steps, he confessed that he was obliged to leave his homeland, Tilimsān in North Africa, and head to Egypt in the year 1618:

When the Lord whose slaves neither have the ability to oppose His decrees nor to deviate from His will, whether they liked to do so or not, decreed my journey from my country and moving me from the place of both my original ancient inherited wealth and that which I myself had earned in the far West (*al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā*), the place of complete beauty—had not the merchants of discord sold it security at a loss. . .⁹

With the pain that this feeling caused, al-Maqqarī recited some segments of verse about his nostalgia for his homeland, beloved, family, friends and all components of this memory and pain:

⁷ “Al-Tārīkh al-‘Arabī,” accessed September 22, 2012, http://www.attarikh-alarabi.ma/html/adad17partie4.htm#_ftn4.

⁸ Decter, “A Myrtle,” 139.

⁹ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-Ṭīb*, 1: 13.

إنه لما قضى الملك الذي ليس لعبده في أحكامه تعقّب أو ردّ، ولا محيّد عمّا شاءه سواءً كره ذلك المرء أو ردّ، برحلتني من بلادي، ونقلتني عن محل طارفي وتلادي، بقطر المغرب الأقصى، الذي تمت محاسنه لولا أن سمسرة الفتن سامت بضائع أمنه نقصاً...

My youth was soft there [in my homeland],
and all my life was like spring,
But a betraying time that is fond of separating everyone,
separated between us.

به كان الشبابُ اللدنُ غصًّا ودهري كلُّهُ زمنُ الربيع
ففرَّقَ بيننا زمنٌ حوونٌ له شغفٌ بتقريبِ الجميع¹⁰

According to al-Maqqarī, the emigrant who has to leave his loved ones behind is pitiable, deserves God’s protection and deserves the sympathy of all, even of the plants:

I will never forget their times, how can I, when
both the Laurier [al-Rand] and the Moringa Peregrina [al-Bān] commiserated with
me for my remoteness from them?

عهدهم لست أنساها وكيف وقد رثى لبيني عنها الرند والبان؟¹¹

Apparently, al-Maqqarī, who had experienced separation and estrangement and, as such, was very sensitive to others’ homesickness, was aware of the influence of the homeland’s plants on the exiled emigrant. Al-Maqqarī, who was cited above as yearning for Tilimsān, expressed this awareness almost from the very beginning of the fifth chapter of the second part of *Nafh al-Ṭīb*, when he conveys the strong relationship between the Andalusians and the East with regard to plants and vegetation. In this chapter, al-Maqqarī writes about poets, scholars and notables who left al-Andalus and headed to the East, but the way al-Maqqarī has chosen to refer to the East in the title of the chapter is the most important part here. Al-Maqqarī titled the chapter as follows: “Some of those who left Andalusia to the eastern countries that are full of the scent of the Pulicaria Arabica and the Elder” (*Ba‘du man raḥala mina al-Andalusiyyīna ilā bilādi al-mashriqi al-zākiyat al-‘Arāri wa-al-Bashāmi*).¹²

¹⁰ Ibid, 1: 14.

¹¹ Ibid., 1: 16.

¹² Ibid., 2: 5.

Just as the eastern poets borrowed historical and traditional names of beloved ladies (e.g., Asmā', Hind, Laylā, Salmā, Sa'dā, Umāma, Lubnā, Mayya, Su'ād, Da'd and Rabāb) and their dwellings (e.g., Burqat Shammā', al-Liwā, Birāq Khabt, Saqt al-Kathīb, 'As'as, etc...) from the East to allude to their loved ones or convey ambiguous romantic or erotic feelings,¹³ Andalusian poets followed in the footsteps of ancient Arabs when they referred to eastern places, flowers and bushes in their poems. It should be noted, however, that referring to the names of eastern flowers, bushes and geographical places in Andalusian poetry could be interpreted sometimes as a mere conventional poetic practice that the Andalusian poetic lexicon borrowed from the eastern poetic tradition, but, other times, could be interpreted as a direct means by which to convey the nostalgia of the Andalusians and probably also that of the people of al-Maghrib for the East.

Jaroslav Stetkevych focused on the post-*jāhilī* Arab poets who imitated the classical *jāhilī* eastern poets. From Stetkevych, one realizes that the distant desert as well as its flora, fauna and atmosphere -- an important component of the East -- is always attendant in al-

¹³ For example, Ibn al-Abbār al-Andalusī opens one of his poems as follows:

I am craving for her pledge but will the pledge ever be fulfilled,
and has not Asmā' become bored because of her default?

Ibn 'Abd Rabbih al-Andalusī mentions Hind to allude to his beloved:

My heart sought Hind,
and people like Hind hit others' hearts.

Ibn Khafāja wrote:

And if you come at the abodes of Laylā which is in al-Liwā,
ask the fragment winds about her and you will be answered.

Ibn Ḥamdīs (d. 1133) wrote:

O the house of Salmā, if you had replied the greeting,
the sorrow would not have overtaken the lover

إلى وعدها أصبو وهل يُنجزُ الوعدُ وما سئمتُ أسماء من خلفها بعدُ؟

إلى هند صبا قلبي وهند مثلها يُصبي

وإذا غشيت ديار ليلي باللوى فاسأل رياح الطيب عنها تخبر

يا دار سلمى لو رددت السلام ما همّ فيك الحزنُ بالمستهام

See respectively: Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Abbār al-Quḍā'ī al-Andalusī, *Dīwān Ibn al-Abbār al-Andalusī*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Harrās (al-Mamlaka al-Maghribiyya: Wizārat al-Awqāf wa-al-Shu'ūn al-Islāmiyya, 1999), 157. Abū 'Amar Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Rabbih al-Andalusī, *Dīwān Ibn 'Abd Rabbih*, ed. Muḥammad al-Tūnjī (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1993), 50. Ibn Bassām, *Al-Dhakhīra*, 6: 599. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn Abī Bakr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥamdīs al-Azdī al-Ṣiqillī, *Dīwān Ibn Ḥamdīs*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir, 1960), 564.

Andalus: “the old ruinous abodes, and indeed the entire desert turn into stylized landscape through which only poets roam. Such a desert exists only in mind.”¹⁴ In addition, Stetkevych gives additional importance to the classical *nasīb*, or to what he calls “the elegiac yearning,” when conveying different feelings, emotions and symbols through a long period of Arabic poetry from the *jāhiliyya* through the Middle Ages and al-Andalus. “The symbolic dimension that allowed such intimations . . . had its beginning in the poem, and the poem had its beginning in the *nasīb*, and the *nasīb* had its beginning in very ancient yearning.”¹⁵ Some may argue, therefore, that this lessens my hypothesis about the nostalgia for the East in al-Andalus since referring to eastern poetic and lexical terms and vocabulary was a poetic convention that poets followed everywhere. My argument, however, is that the nostalgia for the East in al-Andalus -- as I wrote in the first chapter -- persists at different levels and exhibits variants grounded in the specific cultural, historical, religious and political experience of al-Andalus. It is certainly true that every time a poet in al-Andalus mentions al-Liwā or al-‘Aqīq, he is not necessarily and directly nostalgic for these places, but my argument here is that adhering specifically to this lexicon shows and indicates a kind of nostalgia that, if not a direct nostalgia, then necessarily an indirect veiled of cultural nostalgia that cannot tear itself away from its eastern roots and whose basis can be found in the culture of the East, its poetics, heritage, religion and history.¹⁶

Before I discuss the implications of my thesis, it is necessary to indicate that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to completely separate the various components of nostalgia or

¹⁴ Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 75-76.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 102.

¹⁶ Ibn Thaqfān claimed that the basis of the desert-like literature in al-Andalus can be found in the nostalgia of the Arabs of al-Andalus for their roots in the East. Ibn Thaqfān cites the following line (that includes also a clear Arabic poetic convention of referring to Najd and addressing it because of being a symbol or a synecdoche for all the long-awaited places to which poets in general seek) to strengthen his hypothesis:

And although I left Najd and its people,
our time in Najd will never be blameworthy

فإن كنت قد فارقته نجداً وأهلهُ فما عهدُ نجدٍ عندنا بدمعٍ

Ibn Thaqfān, *Kitāb al-Riyāḍ*, 89.

eastern poetic conventions in the selected poetic examples. In other words, it is difficult to find a poetic line that isolates a single element of nostalgia that is not influenced by another element. Therefore, while the study might focus on botanic nostalgia for the East, other elements, such as geographical places or elements from the *nasīb*, might be strong and frequently attendant, which indicates that the language of nostalgia, like that of the *nasīb*, overlaps and is repeatedly used in both the classical ode and the Andalusian one.

In the remainder of this subchapter, I will attempt to trace the nostalgic feelings of the Andalusians toward the East as well as the way in which they followed the poetic model of the classical eastern poets by referring to five types of eastern fragrant flowers and bushes: 1) al-Bān (*Moringa Peregrina*), 2) al-Shīḥ (*Artemisia*), 3) al-‘Arār (*Pulicaria Arabica*), 4) al-Bashām (Elder) and 5) al-Rand (*Laurier*). These plants were very popular in pre- and early Islamic poetry, in which poets employed them to express romantic or erotic longing as their fragrance reminded them of their beloved ones. The Andalusians also utilized them for the same erotic-nostalgic purpose. However, they also used them, on other occasions, to express nostalgia and longing for the desert of the East and their ancestral and cultural of eastern origins.

A.1. Al-Bān – *Moringa Peregrina* \ Willow:

The people of Yemen called it the al-Shū¹⁷. Some people believe that the name [al-Bān] is derived from the meaning of remoteness [*bāna* in Arabic is a verb that means went far way], while others believe that it is derived from eloquence [*bayān*, which means eloquence in Arabic].¹⁸

¹⁷ Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Durayd, *Jamharat al-Lughā*, ed. Ramzī Munīr Ba‘labakkī, 3 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-‘Ilm lil-Malāyīn, 1987), 2: 1028.

¹⁸ Al-Marzūqī, *Al-Azmina wa-al-Amkina*. 271.

The following three lines show how Arabs connected al-Bān to remoteness (*bayn*). In the following example, the poet plays on the roots of the root B.Y.N (*jinās* = paronomasia) and the root gh-r-b which means to be strange, foreign (*gharīb*), and also means a crow (*ghurāb*):

And the Bān [Moringa Peregrina] means that Sulaymā went far away,
and in the West there is foreignness without closeness.

فكان البانُ أن بانَتْ سُلَيْمَى وفي الغرب اغترابٌ غيرُ دان¹⁹

And he said: the [word] “crow” comes from estrangement and remoteness,
and in the Bān there is remoteness from a beloved that you are consorting.

فقال: غرابٌ لاغترابٍ من النوى وبالبانِ بينٌ من حبيبٍ تعاشره²⁰

And in the cries of the crow there is estrangement,
while in the Bān there is remoteness that is after closeness.

وفي نعبات الغراب اغتراب وفي البانِ بينٌ بعيد التذاني²¹

The Bān is a very soft bush “and he said: a crow cried on a branch of a Bān tree, but the Bān is too weak to hold a crow.”²² Due to its softness therefore, the Bān was often utilized poetically in the romantic or amorous realm and, sometimes, poets even wrote humorous pieces about debates between the Bān tree and other plants in which each one celebrates its beauty in a narcissistic tone, while trying to denigrate the other species. In the following piece, an unknown poet presents a debate between the Bān and the Narcissus:

¹⁹ See: Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Al-Tadhkara al-Ḥamdūniyya*, ed. Iḥsān' Abbās, 9 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār ṣādir, 1996), 8: 15.

²⁰ Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Alī al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-Ādāb wa-Thamar al-Albāb*, ed. Yūsuf' Alī al-Ṭawīl, 2 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1997), 1: 428.

²¹ Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Al-'Iqd*, 2: 147.

²² Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Al-Tadhkara al-Ḥamdūniyya*, 2: 298. See also: al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-Ādāb wa-Thamar al-Albāb*, ed. Yūsuf' Alī al-Ṭawīl, 4 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1997), 3: 166. The author (al-Ḥuṣrī) writes here about the beauty of women and cites an ancient saying that describes a delicate woman as: “And the branch of the Bān is shaking under her clothes:” *وغصن البان يهتز تحت ثيابها*. Another source for the smoothness of the Bān in the Arab literary heritage is what al-Jawālīqī wrote in his commentary on a poem by al-Haytham Ibn al-Rabī': “... and the Bān is the sort of a tree that the smooth youth was likened to, and it is specifically the Bān because its sticks are the best among all other sticks in regard to length and straightness” *والبان شجر شُبَّة به الشباب الناعم وخص*. See: Mawhūb Aḥmad al-Jawālīqī, *Sharḥ Adab al-Kātib* (al-Qāhira: Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1931), 126.

The branch of the Bān stretched its tails,
and in the morning shook them in pride and spread its fragrance

And said: who is like me in the garden,
especially that the waists of the pretty ones are attributed to me?

The narcissus stared in a mocking manner, and said:
is what you have just said serious or you are kidding?

You are stupid with your height, and you are easily broken
and an enemy with your ugly claims.

The Bān said to him: Do not bring shame upon yourself,
your eyes are not but rude ones!

نَفَسَ غصن البان أذنا به واهترَّ عند الصبَّح عجبًا وفاح

وقال من في الروض مثلي وقد تُعزِّي إليَّ قُدودُ الملاح

فحدَّقَ النرجس يهزا به وقال حقًّا قلته أو مزاح

بل أنت بالطول تحامقت يا مقصوف عدوًّا بالدعاوى القباح

قال له البان: أما تستحي ما هذه إلا عيونٌ وقاح²³

The origin of the Bān was thought to be al-Ḥijāz and Yemen:

... And its origins are in Yanbu' in the land of al-Ḥijāz, in the land of 'Umān and in Yemen ... some of its [species] grow in the land of Egypt, some are brought from the land of al-Sharāt and from a place close to al-Qā', and some grow on the shore of Lake al-Muntanā between Zaghar and Jericho; however, the one with the highest quality is the Yemeni and the Ḥizāzi.²⁴

As I will show shortly, the geographical origin of the Bān is the reason for using it to express nostalgia for Najd, the eastern wind of al-Ṣabā, and for the East in general in al-Andalus. Nevertheless, the analogy between the Bān and remembering loved places sometimes led to its use as a general trope for nostalgia for home, friendship and social life and, at the same time, as a literary escape from estrangement. The following lines from the Baghdadi poet

²³ Muḥammad Ibn Shākir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Katbī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad Ibn Ya'ūd Allāh and 'Ādil Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mawjūd, 2 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2000), 1: 247. See also the jealousy of other trees from the Bān as described in 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn Ghānim al-Maqdisī, *Kashf al-Asrār fī Ḥikam al-Ṭuyūr wal-Azhār*, ed. 'Alā' 'Abd al-Wahhāb Muḥammad (al-Qāhira: Dār al-Faḍīla, 1995), 54-55.

²⁴ Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 12: 45.

Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Sukkara al-Hāshimī (d. 995) is a clear example of this usage:

May a land that we stayed at
close to Ṭabaristān not be made holy!

It is not Khurāsān but
it is close to the land of Khurāsān

May Jurjān and he who lives in Jurjān
not be watered from the drops of rain!

They are people who make the stranger who lives among them
die out of longing for the Bān.

لا قُدِّسَتْ أَرْضٌ أَقْمَنَا بِهَا قَرِيبَةً مِنْ طَبْرِسْتَانَ
لَيْسَتْ خِرَاسَانَ وَلَكِنِهَا تَقْرِبُ مِنْ أَرْضِ خِرَاسَانَ
لَا سُقِّيَتْ جِرْجَانُ مِنْ وَابِلٍ قَطْرًا وَلَا سَاكِنِ جِرْجَانَ
قَوْمٌ إِذَا حَلَّ غَرِيبٌ بِهِمْ مَاتَ مِنَ الشُّوقِ إِلَى الْبَانَ²⁵

The most common use of the Bān in both Andalusian and eastern Arabic poetry is the romantic one, especially as poets often create a simile between the tender straight smooth branch of the Bān and the slender waist of the beloved woman.²⁶ However, the nostalgic duality

²⁵ ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Muḥammad al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr fī Shu‘arā’ Ahl al-‘Aṣr*, ed. Mufīd Muḥammad Qumayḥa, 5 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1983), 3: 20.

²⁶ Ka‘b Ibn Zuhayr (d. 646) wrote:

And she is slender like a branch of the Bān tree,
you will get scared because of her beauty and fragrance.

Qays Ibn Dhurayḥ (d. 687) wrote:

She has a bottom that shakes when she walks,
and a slender waist like the branch of the Bān tree.

Majnūn Laylā wrote:

And her figure shakes under her clothes,
the way the branch of the Bān and the wet bough shake.

Ibn al-Abbār wrote:

Nothing has blemished her but the ruthlessness of her heart,
despite the fact that she is like the branch of the Bān in softness.

Ibn Zaydūn (d. 1070) wrote:

I saw the sun shining from a veil,
and the branch of Bān is trying to tear a kerchief.

وَإِذَا هِيَ كَغَصْنِ الْبَانَ خَفَاقَةَ الْحَشَى يَرُوعُكَ مِنْهَا حَسَنُ دَلِّ وَطِيِّهَا
لَهَا كَفَلٌ يَرْتَجُّ مِنْهَا إِذَا مَشَتْ وَمَتْنٌ كَغَصْنِ الْبَانَ مَضْطَمَّرِ الْخَصْرِ

of the Bān, Najd, as a representative of al-Ḥihāz; the main origin of the Bān as mentioned above, is another use that cannot be disregarded here:

Ibn al-Zaqqāq al-Balansī (d. 1134) wrote in this regard:

Leave me and let me remember Najd, I hope I will not be able to hold my sword's
case

if I did not step on its soil erectly!

O the Bān of the wadi, is it not enough grieving for us
that we seek no other place except that of the Bān of the wadi?

ذِرْنِي وَنَجْدًا لَا حَمَلْتُ نِجَادِي إِنْ لَمْ أَخْطُ صَعِيدَهُ بِصَعَادِ

يَا بَانَةَ الْوَادِي كَفَى حَزْنًا بِنَا أَلَا نَطَارِحُ غَيْرَ بَانَةَ الْوَادِي²⁷

This leads us to the wide nostalgic use of the Bān tree by the Andalusians to seek refuge, origin and deep roots in the soil of the East and, possibly, to also remember authentic eastern Arab dynasties. In the following lines, another kind of wind, the wind of the Nu‘āmā, (another name for the southern al-Janūb wind that blows from the south to the north) joins the “ceremony”:

Oh my two companions from Qays Ibn ‘Aylān!
Let my convoys stop by her mountain places,

.....

Because the odor of the wind of the Nu‘āmā spread out
as if the peace of Sulaymā were in its breezes

And Taymā’ is a house for the yearning heart,
so turn to greet its Salam trees,

ويَهْتَزُّ مِنْ تَحْتِ الثِّيَابِ قَوَامِهَا كَمَا اهْتَزَّتْ غِصْنُ الْبَانِ وَالْفَنَنِ النَّضْرُ
مَا عَابَهَا إِلَّا قِسَاوَةَ قَلْبِهَا مَعَ أَنَّهَا لَيْتًا كَغِصْنِ الْبَانِ
رَأَيْتُ الشَّمْسَ تَطْلُعُ مِنْ نِقَابِ وَغِصْنُ الْبَانِ يَرْفُلُ فِي وَشَاحِ

See respectively: al-‘Askarī, *Dīwān Ka‘b Ibn Zuhayr*, 25; Qays Ibn Dhurayḥ, *Dīwān Qays Ibn Dhurayḥ*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Maṣṭawī (Bayrūt: Dār al-Ma‘rifa, 2003), 79; Qays Ibn al-Mulawwah, *Dīwān Majnūn Laylā*, ed. Yūsuf Farḥāt (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1997), 83; Ibn al-Abbār, *Dīwān*, 309; Aḥmad Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Zaydūn, *Dīwān Ibn Zaydūn*, ed. Karam al-Bustānī (Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir, 1975), 49.

²⁷ ‘Alī Ibn ‘Aṭīyya abū al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Zaqqāq al-Lakhmī al-Balanasī, *Dīwān Ibn al-Zaqqāq*, ed. ‘Afīfa Maḥmūd Dīwānī (Bayrūt: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1964), 61, 62.

And if you help the one who handed his heart to patience,
he will stop to have a rest at the end of the night by the coppice of the Bān inside its
grove.

خَلِيلِي مِنْ قَيْسِ بْنِ عِيْلَانَ خَلِيًّا رَكَابِي تَعْرَجُ نَحْوَ مَنْعِرَجَاتِهَا

...

فَقَدْ عَبَقَتْ رِيحُ النِّعَامِي كَأَنَّمَا سَلَامٌ سُلَيْمِي رَاحَ فِي نَفْحَاتِهَا

وَتِيْمَاءٌ لِلْقَلْبِ الْمَتِيْمِ مَنْزِلٌ فَعُوجًا بِتَسْلِيمٍ عَلَى سَلْمَاتِهَا

وَإِنْ تُسْعِدَا مِنْ أَسْلَمَ الصَّبْرِ قَلْبَهُ يِعْرَسُ بَدْوَحَ الْبَانِ مِنْ عَرَصَاتِهَا²⁸

Some poets seized the opportunity to mention the Bān as an excuse to mention other eastern places in a nostalgic tone. It is very important to remember that what dictates this tone is sometimes the ancient poetic convention of the *nasīb* and not necessary a direct yearning for the East or the mentioned eastern places:

Stop the light-nude camels and ask their owners
where they went in the night; to the arid land²⁹ or to the Bān?

.....

And where did they go? Did their camels and she-camels kneel on the knoll of
Tihāma
or on the sands of Na‘mān³⁰

.....

And if they urged on the camels in the evening
did the leader bend their rein to the narrow road of Bawwān³¹?

²⁸ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥaddād, *Dīwān Ibn al-Ḥaddād*, ed. Yūsif ‘Alī al-Ṭawīl (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1990), 161-163.

²⁹ This translation is the translation that I proposed for the noun *jaz‘* according to *Lisān al-‘Arab* (a sandy place with no plants or a place with no trees); however, a search on the internet showed that *al-Jaz‘* is a region in ‘Umān. See: Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 8: 48; “al-Muntadā al-Tarbawī,” accessed September 24, 2012, <http://forum.moe.gov.om/~moeoman/vb/showthread.php?t=258261>.

³⁰ Na‘mān is the name of a citadel that belongs to the tribe of Zubayd, a citadel on Mount Waṣṣāb in Yemen and a town in al-Hijāz. Nu‘mān, on the other hand, is Ma‘arrat al-Nu‘mān in Syria. See: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 5: 294.

³¹ A name of a cleft between two mountains in the land of Fāris (Southern Iran), which is around 13.7 miles long (4 *farāsikh*). It is covered with dense trees and orchards that prevent sun rays from reaching the land. See: Abū al-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī, *Sharḥ Dīwān Abī al-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī: Mu‘jam al-Ḥamad*, ed. ‘Abd al-Majīd Diyāb, 2nd ed. 4 vols. (Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1992), 4: 337.

And did they get married in the monastery of ‘Abdūn (Dayr ‘Abdūn)³² or walk during the night toward the monastery of Najrān (Dayr Najrān)³³ led by their monks?

قف العيسَ واسألَ ربّهم أين مضوا أللجزع ساروا مدلجين أم البان؟

...

وأين استقلوا هل بهضب تهامة أناخوا المطايا أم على كئيب نعمان؟

...

وإذا زجروها بالعشي فهل ثنى أزمّتها الحادي إلى شغب بوان؟

وهل عرسوا في دير عبدون أم سروا يؤمّ بهم رهبانهم دير نجران؟³⁴

It is clear that the Bān by itself, or in the line where it appears, probably does not indicate direct nostalgia for the East or for the original land of the Bān, but, instead creates an atmosphere of yearning and passion in general and, when surrounded by other supporting elements and motifs from the eastern nostalgic lexicon, it does convey a passion and yearning for the East.³⁵ The presence of the Bān in the poem compels the presence of other nostalgic

³² It is a monastery in Surra Man Ra’ā (Sāmarrā’, the Iraqi town on the Tigris bank) close to al-Muṭayra. It was named after a Christian man named ‘Abdūn Ibn Mukhlid who used to stay there for long periods. See: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu’jam al-Buldān*, 2: 521.

³³ It is the name of a monastery in Yemen built by the family/ tribe of ‘Abd al-Mudān Ibn al-Dayyān (*Banū* ‘Abd al-Mudān Ibn al-Dayyān). It was built on a high land in a cubic shape like the Qa’ba. The people of the tribe of Khath‘am used to pilgrimage to that monastery. See: *Ibid.*, 2: 538.

³⁴ Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Khālid Ibn Muḥammad al-Nāṣirī, *Al-‘Istiṣā li-Akḥbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā*, ed. Ja’far al-Nāṣirī and Muḥammad al-Nāṣirī, 7 vols. (al-Dār ayḍā’: Dār al-Kitāb, 1997), 5: 158.

³⁵ The following two lines written by ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Muḥammad al-Qaysī (d. 1491) shed light on the poetic nostalgic atmosphere that the Bān created and spread regardless of the East, love or places in general. Within these two lines, the poet yearned for Abū al-Ḥasan al-Rundī, apparently, one of his clever and righteous students. Yet, the Bān and the wind of Ṣabā prevailed, while Najd and other eastern places were substituted by al-Rundī, the bright student:

If the stick of the Bān was turned by al-Ṣabā,
and the bird of amiability sang [literally: described and revealed] on the branch of the Laurier,
My yearning incites me, and love attracts me
to the most righteous student Abū al-Ḥasan al-Rundī.

إذا قضيب البان مالت به الصبا وأفصح طير الأئس في غصن الرند
يهيجني شوقي ويجذبني الهوى إلى الطالب الأزكى أبي الحسن الرندي

See: *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Qaysī.

motifs, which together create an atmosphere of nostalgia. What remains is only to connect the different parts of these motifs to feel this attachment to the East and the "lost garden."

In the below conventional poem and, in these chosen lines of an ode by Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 1374) that include praise for Prophet Muḥammad (*madīḥ nabawī*) and like all *madīḥ nabawī* poetry has as a central theme longing for the places associated with the Prophet Muḥammad such as Mecca, Medina and others on the pilgrimage trail, the connection between the poet and the eastern places is clear:

[The lightning] lighted from the side of Najd, so it reminded me of Najd,
and it excited my blooded yearning and the sadness.

.....

On the low lands of these countries, where the water gathers, we lived the youth,
and it is very difficult after that time to get used to another time.

If the breeze blew on its yards,
it would take with it the Bān, the Artimesia and the Laurier.

There are many relationships in its flower-picking
that germinates passion if its land is excited.

.....

I have no helper but God to save me from raving at the names of Najd and Ḥājir,
and from alluding to my love by mentioning the names of Da'd and Su'dā.

تألق نجدياً فأذكرني نجدا وهاج لي الشوق المبرح والوجدا

.....

بلاد عهدنا في قراراتها الصبا يقل لذاك العهد أن يؤلف العهدا

إذا ما النسيم اعتل في عرصاتها تناول فيها البان والشيخ والرندا

فكم في مجاني وزدها من علاقةٍ إذا ما استثيرت أرضها أنبتت وجدا

لي الله كم أهذي بنجد وحاجر وأكّني بدعد في غرامي أو سُعدى³⁶

It is notable that the Bān and other eastern flora that will be dealt with later are a means of recovery from nostalgia for the East in al-Andalus, especially for the places of the Prophet Muḥammad, and especially trees at the entrances of Medina:

And the smooth sick [breeze] blew while trying to recover by it [by the garden that is close to Medina];

here the medication was the Bān, the Artemisia and the Laurier.

وهب العليل اللدن مستشفياً بها فكان الدواء البان والشيح والرندا³⁷

A.2. Al-Shīḥ (Artemisia)

Al-Hamadānī includes the Shīḥ among the 69 herbs and plants that grow in the Najd region.³⁸ Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih associated the Shīḥ with both the people of Najd and the people of Tihāma,³⁹ whereas some other classical scholars ascribed it to al-Ḥijāz, in general, while mentioning the Ḥijāzī wind of al-Shīḥ.⁴⁰ In other texts, we read that al-Shīḥ grows in the city

³⁶ Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Dīwān Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Salmānī*, ed. Muḥammad Miftāḥ, 2 vols. (al-Dār al-Bayḍā’: Dār al-Thaqāfa lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī’, 1989), 1: 346-347.

³⁷ Lisān al-Dīn, *Dīwān*, 1:355.

³⁸ Ibn al-Ḥā’ik al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad al-Hamadānī, *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-‘Arab*, ed. Muḥammad Ibn ‘Alī al-Akwa‘ al-Ḥawwālī (Ṣan‘ā’: Dār al-Nashr, 1990), 270-271.

³⁹ Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Al-‘Iqd*, 5: 227.

⁴⁰ See, for example: Abū al-Faraj ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Mudhish*, ed. Marwān Qabbānī, 2nd ed. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1985), 376. “Hey you! If the face of your she-camel is toward the desert of the visit, then she must be acquainted with the breeze of Najd. Stop her on the road when the breeze of the Shīḥ is blowing from the side of al-Ḥijāz, and if you need more water during your journey, then fill your canteen with tears.” In addition to that quotation, many references mention the story of the pre-Islamic Lakhmid King al-Nu‘mān Ibn al-Mundhir (d. 609) who murdered Bal‘ā’ Ibn Qays’s brother. As a result, Bal‘ā’ attacked the mercantile caravans of al-Nu‘mān that would head twice a year to the market of ‘Ukāz. Al-Nu‘mān, who felt intimidated, asked the people at his congregation: “who can lead this donkey safely [to ‘Ukāz]”? A skinny man called al-Barrāḍ offered himself; however, another person called al-Raḥḥāl ‘Urwa Ibn ‘Utba Ibn Ja’far Ibn Kilāb mocked al-Barrāḍ’s skinny body and his poor munitions. As a result, he was deputed by al-Nu‘mān for the mission. The rest of the story is less important, but what is important is the way in which al-Raḥḥāl addressed al-Barrāḍ and asked him, scornfully, if he was serious about his capabilities to carry out the mission: “Are you the one to lead this to the people of the Shīḥ and the Qayṣūm [i.e., Najd and its surroundings]?” See: Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Al-Munammaq fī Akhbār Quraysh* (Bayrūt: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1985), 164-168; Abū Maṣṣūr ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Muḥammad al-Tha‘ālibī, *Thimār al-Qulūb fī al-Muḍāf wa-al-Mansūb*, ed. Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ, 2 vols. (Dimashq: Dār al-Bashā’ir, 1994), 235-237; Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Maydānī, *Majma‘ al-Amthāl*, ed. ‘Abd al-Majīd

of al-Kūfa with another plant called al-Qayṣūm (Achilia),⁴¹ but, apparently, it [the Shīḥ] is the sort of a plant that grows on the sides of the valleys "... And not every high land is a knoll (*najd*), and not in every wadi do the Artemisia and the Laurier grow."⁴²

Al-Shīḥ is attached to nostalgia in general:

The closeness of sickness and the remoteness of family and homeland,
both bequeathed sickness to my body,

My she-camel yearned in love to the mountains of snow,
though she does not have a way to the water-places by the hard soil of al-Shīḥ.

قرب السقام وبعد الأهل والوطن هما هما أورثاني السقم في بدني

حنّت هوى لجمال الثلج راحلتي وما لها ببارق الشيخ من عطن⁴³

To be more specific and to focus on al-Andalus, it can be said that the Andalusian poetic corpus of the Shīḥ is not as popular as that of the Bān. However, we can find a lot of nostalgia for the desert and the East where the Shīḥ is poetically attendant, especially nostalgia for al-Ḥijāz and the days of youth. The following verses from a wine poem by Abū al-‘Abbās al-‘Azfī (d. 1307) remind us of Abū Nuwās’ attempts to dismiss conventions and, thereby, confirm them. The lines, thus, indicate that the Shīḥ was widely used to express nostalgia for the East during al-‘Azfī’s time:

What do I have to do with the ruined abodes, and why should I ask a silent object
there,
and why should I cry aloud in wide deserts?

I am so busy with wine and basil
that I cannot deal with being optimistic or pessimistic about bird's flight.

And I fall in love with the flowers of the cheeks and their myrtle,
not with the ‘Arār of the desert [Pulicaria Arabica] or the Shīḥ.

Qaṭāmish, 2 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayā, 1961-1962), 2: 47-48; Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 15: 325-327.

⁴¹ Al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī‘ al-Abrār*, 1: 149.

⁴² Al-Khafājī, *Rayḥānat al-Albā*, 8.

⁴³ ‘Alī Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Bākhirī, *Dumyat al-Qaṣr wa-‘Uṣrat Ahl al-‘aṣr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Tūnjī, 3 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Jīl, 1993), 1: 205-206.

ما لي وللأطلال أسأل صامتاً منها وأعول في مهامه فيح
 في الراح والريحان شغل شاغل لي عن عيافة بارح وسنيح
 وأهيم في ورد الخدود وآسها لا في عرار في الفلاة وشيخ⁴⁴

The last line above shows that the poetic convention was to use the Shīḥ to express yearning and nostalgia, and that remembering the Shīḥ in al-Andalus and mentioning it in a nostalgic tone to express yearning for the East and for the desert of Arabs was a convention, which the poet, following the conceit of Abū Nuwās, pretended to discard.

In addition, the Shīḥ was also a means by which to remember one's youth:

I have a nectar [to cure me of] the vicissitudes of the nights,
 that restores to the Shīḥ the tranquility of youth.

عندي لأحداث الليالي رحيقٌ ترد في الشيخ ارتياح الشباب⁴⁵

The poetic corpus that links the Shīḥ to the desert (which can be assumed to be the desert of al-Ḥijāz) is much wider and more diverse than its connection to youth. Ibn Sāra al-Andalusī (d. 1123) said:

Oh my friend! If you are for me or with me,
 go back to the garden and let us relax.

Greet the dune of sand, the sand of home,
 and stand up and greet La'la',

And descend to the Shīḥ at their wadi,
 and smell the grass of that empty land

يا صاحبي إن كنت لي أو معي فعد إلى الروض نرتع

حيّ كتيب الرمل رملي الحمى وقف سلّم على لعلع

⁴⁴ *Al-Mawsū'a al-Shi'riyya*, Abū al-'Abbās al-'Azfi.

⁴⁵ Ibrāhīm Ibn Sahl al-Isrā'īlī al-Andalusī, *Dīwān Ibn Sahl al-Andalusī*, ed. Yusrī 'Abd al-Ghanī 'Abd Allāh, 3rd ed. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2003), 263.

وانزل على الشيخ بواديهم واشمم عشيبي البلد البلقع⁴⁶

The opening of a *madīḥ nabawī* (praise poem to the Prophet) by Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb provides another example of attributing the Shīḥ to the desert of al-Ḥijāz and yearningly addressing it:

Did you notice in the gusts of wind
a breath that enhances the pains of love?

They sent you a greeting from the Shīḥ of al-Ḥijāz [so big],
that the wide mountain roads are small if compared to it.

For the sake of God, tell me how are the fires of love
between a wind in the desert and Shīḥ!

هل كنت تعلم في هبوب الريح نفساً يوجب لاعج التبريح؟
أهدتكَ من شيخ الحجاز تحية غاضت لها عرض الفجاج الفيح
بالله قل لي كيف نيران الهوى ما بين ريح بالفلاة وشيخ!⁴⁷

Exactly like the common *nasīb* words that refer to the *jāhilyya* era, such as *rasm*, *ṭalal*, *diyār*, *diman* and *daras* (respectively, the remnant, the ruined abode, the places of living, the remnants of the people and their animal droppings, and disappeared), the Shīḥ in the Andalusian poetry and its correlative and frequent companion, the Qaysūm, are also from the original plants that refer to the East and hint to the ancient times of Arabic poetry:

Whose are those tents that appear by the Ṭulūḥ trees,⁴⁸
and spread out a scent of Qaysūm and Shīḥ?

لمن خيمٌ تلوح بذئ طلوح توضع نشر قيصوم وشيخ?⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, Ibn Sāra al-Andalusī.

⁴⁷ Lisān al-Dīn, *Dīwān*, 1: 241.

⁴⁸ Al-Ṭalḥ is a Ḥijāzī tree that grows on the sides of the wadis. See: ‘Alī Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Sayyidih, *Al-Muḥkam wa-al-Muḥīṭ al-A‘zam*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Hindāwī, 10 vols. (Bayrūt: Dar al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2000), 3: 241.

⁴⁹ *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, al-‘Afīf al-Tilimsānī.

It seems that the Shīḥ is strongly attached to the desert, which takes priority over its attachment to the East, and this desert-like literature in al-Andalus [still] reflects the remoteness of the Arab from his eastern homeland and also demonstrates his yearning and nostalgia for the East and for the eastern places. The following line, which was cited earlier, is a good example of this:

And although I left Najd and its people,
our time in Najd will never be blameworthy

فإن كنت قد فارقت نجدًا وأهلَهُ فما عهد نجدٍ عندنا بذميم⁵⁰

The Shīḥ, therefore, is one of many eastern marks that prove the dependence of the Andalusians on the East or as Ibn Thaqfān put it:

It is a means by which they referred to the desert and to the eastern places. Through the Shīḥ they described the journey the way the eastern Bedouin poets did. The heart of the Andalusian, hence, whether that of the one who seeks to go on pilgrimage or that of the one who is fond of the thought of the East, is connected to that piece of land.⁵¹

According to Ibn Thaqfān, the impact of the desert and all of the vocabulary derived from it in the Andalusian poetics are shown by “words like *al-diyār*, *al-rubūʿ* . . . and *al-mafāwiz* . . . and we notice words such as al-Shīḥ, al-Rand, al-Bānʿ al-ʿArār and the creeks.” In addition, he writes that the impact of the desert and many topics that are associated with it -- such as mentioning the ruined abodes, the journey, the yearning, the pride of oneself and of the country, referring to common places in the East and describing what such places and times cause to the poet -- became very clear in the Andalusian ode.⁵²

A.3. Al-ʿArār - Pulicaria Arabica (Ox-Eye)

⁵⁰ Ibn Thaqfān, *Kitāb al-Riyāḍ*, 89.

⁵¹ Ibid, 104.

⁵² See: Ibid., 107-108, 115.

Al-‘Arār (ox-eye) is a yellow plant flower that has a pleasant odor.⁵³ It is called the condiment of the ground (*bahār al-barr*).⁵⁴ Sometimes, it is attributed to al-Shām:

“I grew up on the land of al-Shām, and I smelled that ‘Arār and the Elder (al-Bashām).”⁵⁵

She visits every other while the land of al-Shām which is the most fertile abode
where the ‘Arār got close in peace to its Hawadhān [an aromatic plant with red and
yellow blooms].

ترتاد أرض الشام أخصب منزل حيث العرار صفا إلى حوزانه⁵⁶

While, other times, it is attributed to Najd:

Enjoy the smell of the ‘Arār of Najd,
because there will be no more ‘Arār after the nightfall.

تمتع من شميم عرار نجد فما بعد العشية من عرار⁵⁷

Seemingly, the ‘Arār, like the motif of the yearning she-camel, became a direct motif of nostalgia for the East in al-Andalus. The Arab proverb says: “I will not come to you as long as the old she-camels yearn” (*Lā ātika mā ḥannat al-nību*) that is, I will never come.⁵⁸ The following famous line written by the Abbasid poet Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 896) in his touching ode in which he laments the loss of his middle son also uses the same proverbial expression and uses its particle “*mā*” (*mā al-daymūma* = as long as):

⁵³ Al-Dīnawarī, *Kitāb al-Ma‘ānī al-Kabīr*, 1: 125.

⁵⁴ Ibn Qutayba, *Adab al-Kātib*, 78.

⁵⁵ Muḥammad Amīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-Muḥibbī, *Nafḥat al-Rayḥāna wa-Rashḥat Ṭilā‘ al-Ḥāna*, ed. Aḥmad ‘Ināya, 6 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2005), 2: 110.

نشأت بأراضي الشام، وشممت ذلك العرار والبشام.

Al-Muḥibbī titled the first chapter of his six volume series with the following phrase: Mentioning the merits of the poets of al-Shām and its townships... May God keep it/them full of the fragrance of ‘Arār and Bashām.

في ذكر محاسن شعراء دمشق الشام ونواحيها... لا زالت طيبة العرار والبشام

See: *Ibid*, 24.

⁵⁶ The line is by Abū al-Ma‘ālī Darwīsh Muḥammad al-Ṭālūy from Damascus (d. 1605). See: Al-Khafājī, *Rayḥānat al-Albā*, 38

⁵⁷ The line is attributed to both Majnūn Laylā and al-Ṣumma al-Qushayrī (d. 713). See: Al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī, *Al-Īdāh fī ‘Ulūm al-Balāgha*, ed. al-Shaykh Yahīj Ghazzāwī, 4th ed. (Bayrūt: Dār Iḥyā‘ al-‘Ulūm, 1998), 360.

⁵⁸ Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām al-Harawī al-Baghdādī, *Al-Amthāl*, ed. ‘Abd al-Majīd Qaṭāamish (Dimashq: Dār al-Ma‘mūn, 1980), 380.

And even if I enjoy the presence of my two sons after his passing,
I will remember him as long as the old she-camel yearns in Najd.

وَإِنِّي وَإِنْ مَتَّعْتَ بَابْنِي بَعْدَهُ لَذَاكَرَهُ مَا حَنَّتِ النَّيْبُ فِي نَجْدٍ⁵⁹

Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Judhāmī (lived in the last era of the almohads in al-Andalus) replaced the old she-camel with the ‘Arār while retaining the rhetorical effect of *mā al-daymūma*:

So, a greeting upon him from a distant house,
as long as a Rosa rubiginosa is growing and the ‘Arār is spreading out of its odor.

فَعَلِيهِ مِنْ نَائِي الدِّيَارِ تَحِيَّةٌ مَا نَمَّ نَسْرِينٌ وَفَاحَ عَرَارُ⁶⁰

No matter the origin of the ‘Arār, the ‘Arār, in the Andalusian poetic corpus is almost always associated with a nostalgic sense for the East, if not in the same line where it appears, then in the surrounding lines. The ‘Arār, hence, evokes nostalgic feelings for its surroundings. For example, the line above by Abū al-Ma‘ālī Darwīsh Muḥammad al-Ṭālūy that appears in *Rayḥānat al-Albā* and links the ‘Arār to the Ḥawadhān also links the ‘Arār to al-Shām. At the same time, if one scrolls through the poem, one will notice that the ‘Arār and nostalgia for the East are not a matter of a specific line, but rather an atmosphere that pervades the entire poem. The poem opens as follows:

Al-‘Aqīq was mentioned so his eyelids cried,
and he was overcome with passion for its residents.

And he smelled the wind of the Ṣabā,
so he became an ally of passion for his homelands.

ذَكَرَ الْعَقِيقُ فَسَالَ فِي أَجْفَانِهِ فَاشْتَفَهُ وَجَدَّ إِلَى سَكَانِهِ

وَاشْتَمَّ فِي رِيحِ الصَّبَا فَصَبَا حَلِيفَ جَوَى إِلَى أَوْطَانِهِ⁶¹

⁵⁹ Ibn al-Rūmī, *Dīwān*, 1317.

⁶⁰ Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Judhaymī, *Dīwān Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Judhaymī* (al-Qāhira: Dār al-Amīn, 1999), 86.

⁶¹ Al-Khafājī, *Rayḥānat al-Albā*, 38.

This atmosphere proves that the lexical items associated with the nostalgia of the *nasīb* intermix to create an atmosphere of nostalgia and that these lexical components are taken in their entirety from the eastern Arabic ode and the eastern botanic and geographical lexicon. At the same time, this vocabulary or lexicon is used in al-Andalus to yearn for that East and to try to compensate the Andalusians for the loss of the East. It may also be used by the Andalusians to compensate themselves for the loss of an idealized past or, at least, for the instability and unrest of al-Andalus, or as Ṭāha Ḥusayn put it when he tried to explain the reason for the mass of nostalgia for the past among Bedouin ‘*Udhrī*’ poets: “their complaint being aimed at the present conditions and their idealizing in the past, presumably before Islam, when life was better or when those new expectations did not exist.”⁶² The past, remoteness and separation are what supply the poetry with its lexical-nostalgic repository. Poetry itself, therefore, is a speech written in the present time to mourn the past. “If poetic time at the vertex of the curve thus seems to take us out of the past into its realm of the present, that realm is nevertheless irredeemably swallowed up by the ultimate-and-original reality of loss, whose realm is the past.”⁶³

The following segment of a poem by Ibn Khafāja shows how the poet utilized the *nasīb* to involve the ‘Arār (in the fourth line) with a series of eastern places and motifs, such as the name of the famous Ḥimyar tribe, al-Liwā and Wādī al-Ghaḍā to search for poetic refuge in the soil of the East:

And I said when I was yearning deeply for the place
of smelling the ‘Arār and the cold of the Ṣabā,

Oh my two friends from Ḥimyar! Tell
an old man about the nights of youth!

And quench -- by mentioning love -- the thirst
in the chest of a generous man who enjoyed love so much!

⁶² Ṭāha Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīth al-Arabi ‘ā’*, 3 vols. (al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma‘ārif bi-Miṣr, 1954), 1: 216-218.

⁶³ Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 25.

.....

And yearned for the sound of a dove on a branch of Bān
whose voice was more eloquent than an orator,

So it [the sound of the dove] reminded us of a night at al-Liwā
and a pleasant time of youth,

And the easy flowing water in Wadi al-Ghaḍā,
and a spring camp at the neighborhood with a lot of herbage.

وقلت وقد شاقني ملتقى شميم العرار وبرد الصبا
خليبي من حمير حدثا أبا شيبه عن ليالي الصبا
وبلا بذكر الهوى غلة بصدرك كرم صبا ما صبا

...

وحنّ هديلاً على بانه تصدى خطيباً بها أخطبا

فأذكرنا ليلةً باللوى وعهداً بعصر الصبا أطربا

وماءً بوادي الغضى سلسلاً ومرتبغاً بالحمى مُعشبا⁶⁴

A.4. Al-Bashām - Elder (Commpihona Gileadensis)

Al-Bashām is a species of tree that grows in al-Ḥijāz and al-Shām, and like other flowers and fragrant plants, the Bashām is also used to express amorous feelings and hint at past love experiences and stories without clearly or directly mentioning the name of the beloved. Instead, it is used to allude to a beloved as in this line by the Umayyad poet Jarīr:

Does Sulaymā forget when she bade us farewell
with a bough of Bashām? May the Bashām be watered!

أتذكر إذ تودعنا سليمي بفرع بشام سقي البشام⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Ibrāhīm Ibn Abī al-Faṭḥ Ibn Khaḍja, *Dīwān Ibn Khaḍja* (Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir, 1961), 48-49.

⁶⁵ Usāma Ibn Munqidh, *Al-Badī' fī Naqd al-Shi'r*, ed. Aḥmad Aḥmad Badwī and Ḥāmid 'Abd al-Majīd, 2 vols. (al-Qāhira: Maṭba'at Muṣṭafā Abī al-Ḥalabī, 1960), 200.

It can be assumed that the “bough of Bashām” is to mean that the beloved is actually waiving to him with a bough, or else, the poet is likening her little slender arm to a bough. Al-Imām al-Rāfi‘ī (d. 1226) draws the attention to another explanation of this line when he writes that “*far* ‘ Bashām,” which I have translated to “a bough of Bashām,” is nothing but a “twig” used as a toothpick. Sulayma, hence, bade the poet farewell with a tiny toothpick to avoid the eyes of busybodies (*ashārat bi-siwākihā khawfa al-ruqabā*).⁶⁶ Both al-Jāhiz and Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Irbilī affirm this use of al-Bshām: “And Abū al-Wajīh said: The toothsticks are made of Bashām. . .”⁶⁷ and “the Bashām: fragrant trees from which people make toothpicks.”⁶⁸

Finally, this line by the Hijāzī Umayyad poet Jamīl Ibn Ma‘mar (d. 701) is also a good proof of such a use:

From a mouth and from a sunset
from which the Bashāmic toothpicks watered the musk.

بثغر قد سقين المسك منه مساويك البشام ومن غروب⁶⁹

Probably the most beautiful Andalusian poetic piece in which the Bashām is mentioned not necessarily to yearn for the East, but rather as a remembrance and keepsake of the past and youth, is written by Abū Ishāq al-Khafājī (d. 1139), the vizier of the city of Shuqar. According to the story, al-Khafājī, then an old man, fell asleep and dreamt that he was actually awake. In his quasi-dream, he began to examine his life and regret his scurrilousness and bad deeds, which he felt had probably enraged God. He also remembered his lost youth and friends who had died and left him alone. The poet cries and his tears pour down like rain (*wa-dam’uhu*

⁶⁶ Al-Imām al-Rāfi‘ī, *Al-Tadwīn fī Akhbār Qazwīn*, 4 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1987), 2: 217.

⁶⁷ ‘Amr Ibn Baḥr al-Jāhiz, *Al-Bayān wa-al-Tabyīn*, ed. Fawzī ‘Aṭwī (Bayrūt: Dār Ṣa‘b, n.d.), 442.

⁶⁸ ‘Alī Ibn ‘Īsā Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Irbilī, *Al-Tadhkara al-Fakhriyya*, ed. Ḥātim Ṣāliḥ al-Dāmin (Dimashq: Dār ashā’ir lil-Ṭibā‘a wa-al-Nashr, 2004), 59. البشام: شجر طيب الريح يُشتاك به. See also: Abū al-Faṭḥ ‘Uthmān Ibn Jinnī, *Al-Mubhij fī Asmā’ Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥamāsa*, ed. Marwān al-‘Aṭiyya and Shaykh al-Rāshid (Dimashq-Bayrūt: Dār al-Ḥijra, 1988), 80.

⁶⁹ Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq al-Washshā’, *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* (Leiden: Brill, 1884), 144. See also: Jamīl Ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Udhārī, *Dīwān Jamīl Buthayna*, ed. Buṭrus al-Bustānī (Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), 22.

yubārī ṣawba al-muzni fī inṣībābihi). When he wakes up, he composes a poem, in which he first addresses the clouds:

Oh clouds! Compete with my tears,
and oh doves! Compete with my sorrow!

I am now sixty years old, and these years called me from behind.
“Will there be any more [life to live] in front of you?”

[When I was young] all my needs were fulfilled,
and my milk used to be wine,

And when the morning rose in the lowland of Ḥuzwā,
it did not know us; but the night recognized who we were.

And al-Shām used to be the place of my pleasure,
but what did the Bashām do without us?

Oh prime of youth! Will there ever be a meeting
that can quench my burning thirst?

And oh shade of youth wet with dew!
Peace on the shadows of your white tree!

ألا ساجِلْ دموعي يا غمامُ وطارِخني بشجوك يا حمامُ

فقد وفيتُّها ستين حولاً ونادتني ورائي: هل أمامُ

وكنت من لباناتي لبيني هناك ومن مرضعي المدامُ

يُطالعنا الصباح ببطن حُرُوي فيُنكرنا ويعرفنا الظلام

وكان به البشام مراح أنسي فماذا بعدنا فعل البشامُ

فيا شرخَ الشباب ألا لقاءً يُبيلُ به على برجِ أوامُ

ويا ظلَّ الشباب وكنت تندي على أفياءِ سرْحَتِكَ السلامُ⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Ibn Duḥayy al-Kalbī, *Al-Muṭrib min Ash‘ār Ahl al-Maghrib*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Aybārī, Ḥāmid ‘Abd al-Majīd and Aḥmad Aḥmad Badawī (Bayrūt: Dār al-‘Ilm lil-Malāyīn, 1955), 117.

At first glance, the entire piece seems to be about the poet's youth, but both Ḥuzwā, which is the name of a place in the desert⁷¹ – most likely a sandy valley⁷² – in the East, and the Bashām are the only two concrete remnants of the poet's youth. Together, the Bashām and Ḥuzwā constitute a clear indication of the convention of longing for the past and for the desert of the East. What is important here is that al-Khafājī, who has now grown old, is not seeking religious celestial paradise as other elderly poets usually do, but, instead, is seeking a terrestrial paradise and he does not believe that he can find such a place except in the East, with its eastern plants and the eastern desert, water places and valleys. Therefore, the important thing about this poem is that his (lost) youth is identified with the (lost, absent) East.

To end this sub-chapter, I would like to present another poetic example that sheds light on the Andalusian use of the Bashām to express nostalgia for another unique part of the East. This time the context of *rithā'* *Āl al-Bayt* (the elegy for the family of the Prophet Muḥammad), in particular for the Prophet's grandson al-Ḥussayn and his family, who were massacred at Karbalā' in the year 680 by the Umayyad army sent by Caliph Yazīd Ibn Mu'āwiya (d. 683) and commanded by 'Umar Ibn Sa'd. Ibn Khafāja utilized the Bashām in addition to other eastern place-names in order to achieve the appropriate atmosphere of elegy. The Bashām, Salmā, the Euphrates, Mount al-Shimām, al-Ghamīm, al-Liwā, Wadī al-Ghaḍā, La'la' and 'Ālij combined are the best indication for such a nostalgia and perpetual attachment to that part of the East that played a leading role in the Shiite ideology and faith, and to the family of the Prophet Muḥammad⁷³ in Ibn Khafāja and, probably, in the other Andalusian poets:

⁷¹ Al-Qāsim Ismā'īl Ibn 'Abbād al-Ṭalqānī, *Al-Muḥīt fī al-Luḡha*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn, 10 vols. (Bayrūt: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1994), 3: 169.

⁷² This line by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Dumayna (d. 747) is the best proof that Ḥuzwā is a valley:

Go down [both of you] to the water of Ḥuzwā and water your two tired camels!
While the keeper of the water of Ḥuzwā is gone.

رَدَا مَاءَ حُرُوزِي فَانْشَبَا نَضُوتَيْكُمَا عَلَى حِينِ يُخْلِي مَاءَ حُرُوزِي رَقِيبَهَا

See: 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Dumayna, *Dīwān Ibn al-Dumayna*, ed. Aḥmad Rātīb Naffākh (al-Qāhira: Maktabat Dār al-'Arabiyya, 1959), 207.

⁷³ See more about this in the *madīḥ nabawī* chapter bellow.

The passing days alighted between Salmā and the spring abode
have gone.

.....

I swear by the nights that I spent wakeful at al-Ghamīm⁷⁴
for those with sick eyelids,

.....

So may the breeze of the wind help the flow of my tears
in places between al-Liwā and the tents!

And may it turn aside to the sandy stony places at the Wadi of Dhū al-Ghaḍā,⁷⁵
and may it shake instead of me the hand of every bough of Bashām!

.....

So, o the fragrance of wind that came from the hollow of La‘la⁷⁶
bringing to the gathering people the favor of restfulness

Of what happened between us in the circled sands of ‘Ālij,⁷⁷
and at the meeting point of the trees of al-Arṭā⁷⁸ on the foot of Shimām⁷⁹

تحلت بين سلمى ومريع سواف أيام سلفن كرام

.....

ورب ليال بالغميم أرقتها لمرضى جفون بالفرات نيام

.....

فليت نسيم الريح رقرق أدمعي خلال ديار باللوى وخيام

وعاج على أجراء وادٍ بذى الغضا فصافح عني فرع كل بشام

⁷⁴ A name of a place between Mecca and al-Madina. See: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 4: 214.

⁷⁵ A wadi to the south of Najd. See: “Muntadayāt qabīlat Subay‘ al-Ghalbā’,” accessed September 25, 2012, <http://www.sobe3.com/vb/showthread.php?t=25882>.

⁷⁶ In addition to what *Lisān al-‘Arab* presented for La‘la’, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī—as mentioned above in the second chapter—introduced two other meanings for what La‘la’ might be: “It is a water spring in the desert, and some say it is a dwelling between al-Başra and al-Kūfa.” I, personally, prefer to use the first meaning (i.e., a water spring or a wadi because low places are the most suitable for the word *baṭn* (belly), *baṭn al-wādī* (the belly of the valley)). Ibn Khafāja said: *baṭn La‘la’* as if he wanted to say *baṭn al-wādī*. See: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 5: 18.

⁷⁷ ‘Ālij is Well-known sands in the desert close to the two mountains of the tribe of Ṭayyi’. See: al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-Lughā*, 1: 239. See also: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 1: 470.

⁷⁸ A (tree) with long veins that go deep in the wet sandy ground and when it is uprooted, it looks red and full of water. See: al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-Lughā*, 1: 150.

⁷⁹ It is derived from al-Shamām, which is the height and a name of a mountain that belongs to the tribe of Bāhila. See: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 3: 361.

.....

فيا عرف ريحٍ عاجٍ عن بطنٍ لعلِّجٍ يجر على الأنداء فضل زمام
بما بيننا بالحِقْفِ من رملٍ عالِجٍ وفي ملتقى الأَرْضِ بسفحِ شِمامٍ⁸⁰

A.5. Al-Rand or al-Ghār (Laurier)

The Rand is an aromatic tree in the desert and some people sometimes call every branch a Rand.⁸¹ Most likely, it [the Rand] is a synonym for al-Ghār.⁸² Usually, the Rand is accompanied by the soft wind because such a meeting produces a fragrant perfume that is carried far distances.⁸³

To try to show the nostalgic and *nasībīc* importance of the Rand in the Arab West, I have chosen the *nūniyya* (poem rhymed in the letter *nūn*) of the Tunisian Maghribi poet Sheikh Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, who lived in al-Shām for a while. Al-Maqqarī

⁸⁰ Ibn Khafāja, *Dīwān*, 258-259.

⁸¹ Ibn Qutayba, *Adab al-Kātib*, 79.

⁸² In a critical approach to two lines by al-Shihāb Maḥmūd about the two trees that grew next to the graves of ‘Urwa Ibn Ḥizām and his beloved ‘Afrā’, Dāwūd al-Anṭākī wrote that these two lines include repetition (*tikrār*), which, in Arabic rhetoric, is considered to be a flaw, since al-Rand and al-Ghār are synonyms.

Oh beautiful lady! If you suddenly remember
those curved sand-dunes where the Rand and the Ghār are
Embrace them instead of the sad lover since there is no
blame for embracing branches.

بالله يا سرحة الوادي إذا خطررت تلك المعاطف حيث الرند والغار
فعانقهم عن الصبِّ الكئيبِ فما على معانقة الأغصان إنكارُ

See: al-Anṭāqī, *Tazyīn al-Aswāq*, 1: 196.

⁸³ When he described the intelligence of al-Imām Muḥammad Ibn al-Qāsim from Yemen, al-Muḥibbī wrote the following: “And he had an intuition that brings back fire to the spark and a good policy that people applaud for the way they applaud for the wind on al-Rand.” To give another example, in the conclusion of the book, al-Muḥibbī cites a poem that contains many proverbs in which the following line appears:

The aroma of the Rand spread by the breeze,
and the origin of the sparking stone is the holes of the sparking stick.

يأرج بالنسيم عرف الرند والقدح أصلٌ في ثقب الرند

Also, Ibn al-Zaqqāq al-Balansī mentioned the odor of the Rand when the wind goes past it:

And its breeze is moister and more fragrant than the Ṣabā of
Najd and the fragrance of its ‘Arār and Rand.

ونسيمه أندى وأعطر من صبا نجد ونشر عراره أو رنده

See: Al-Muḥibbī, *Nafḥat al-Rayḥāna*, 4: 58, 6: 214. See also: Ibn al-Zaqqāq, *Dīwān*. The opening of the poem appears in the *Dīwān*; however, the specific line I am referring to above does not occur there. Instead, I have taken it from the computerized *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*.

compared Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām to himself since both of them left their homelands, but never forgot them. The important point here is that the poem is written as a panegyric for the kings of the Maghribi Ḥafṣid dynasty (*Āl Ḥafṣ*) and, throughout the poem, the poet expresses his longing for al-Maghrib, his homeland. However, the way the poet describes the beauty of the West or al-Maghrib through eastern poetic components, especially the breeze of Najd that serves as an “airmail” that carries the poet’s yearning for the Maghrib, shows how prestigious the East is to the poet and how essential its poetic convention are to evoking feelings of poetic nostalgia in general. As I will show in chapter 5 about the elegies for al-Andalus, the East includes the entire components and completely comprises the “raw materials” of nostalgia, so that even when the poet is nostalgic for another part of the Arab or wide Islamic state rather than the East, the East itself and its lexicon of nostalgia remains the best means by which to express a poet’s’ nostalgia in general:

Ask the Najdi lightning cloud about my eyelids
and about the burning fires of my heart,

And ask only the Ṣabā about my soft yearnings
and about my sadness and extreme longing for you.

.....

God only knows how fragrant the breeze of al-Ṣabā is
in the morning when it goes past the Rand and the Bān

And walks slowly the way the sun walks, and starts
moving at a measured pace from east to west,

After it stopped in al-Shām like someone carrying
vesicles of the deer’s musk from Khurāsān

.....

And I adjured her [the Najdi breeze of the Ṣabā] saying: for God’s sake,
send greetings to my loved ones and to my neighbors.

سلوا البارق النجدي عن سحب أجباني وعمّا بقلبي من لواعج نيران

ولا تسألوا غير الصبا عن صبابتي وشدة أشواقِي إليكم وأشجاني

.....
فله ما أذكى شذا نسمة الصبا صباخًا إذا مرّت على الرند والبان
وسارت مسير الشمس وهنًا فأصبحت من الشرق نحو الغرب تجري بحسبان
وقد وقفت بالشام وقفة حاملٍ نوافج مسك من ظباء خراسان
.....

وناشدتها بالله ألا تفضلت بتبليغ أحبابي السلام وجيراني⁸⁴

It is clear that the word *al-gharb* (the West) is used to indicate that the poet's nostalgia is directed to the West, but, as stated above, the poet turns to the eastern elements—plants, winds, place-names to express this sort of reverse nostalgia.

I would like to introduce additional poems that enhance the connection between the Rand and the East in al-Andalus. In a traditional tripartite ode [i.e., *nasīb*, *riḥla* (journey) and praise], Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn al-Abbār al-Andansī (d. 1260) wrote the following praise poem⁸⁵ which first section is thoroughly dedicated to the *nasīb* – as usual, especially lines: 2, 7, 17 and 18:

And I fell in love with a wadi that grows the Sidr and the Ghaḍā,⁸⁶
just to forget a garden that grows the Rand and the cypress,
.....

⁸⁴ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-Ṭīb*, 5: 29-30.

⁸⁵ Although line 43 of the poem states that Yahyā al-Murtaḍā, the editor of the *dīwān*, notes that the praise is both for Abū Zakariyyā’ and his crown prince Abū Yaḥyā, and does not give further details about these two people, he writes that the poem was written to celebrate the new year of 641\642 H (1242\1243 A.D.) See: Ibn al-Abbār, *Dīwān*, 434.

⁸⁶ Sidr is the name of a tree that is also called Nabq. According to *al-ḥadīth*: “He who cuts a tree of Sidr God puts his head in fire.” Ibn al-Athīr said that the meaning is the trees of the Sudūr of Mecca because it is a sanctuary. It was also said that the meaning is the Sudūr of Medina, the taboo of cutting it down is to keep it as a friendly and shadowing place for those who want to migrate to it [to Medina]. Al-Ghaḍā is a species of tree and the type of a plant that grows in the sand, while *ahl* al-Ghaḍā [the people of al-Ghaḍā] are the people of Najd. See: Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 3: 354-355, 15: 128-129.

And I fell in love with an Arab girl whose house is the desert.

She spends the summer in Najd and the winter at Ḥuzwā [or spends the summer time on the high places, and the winter times she spends in the wadis]

.....

May God water the sides of the 'Udhayb and Bāriq,
and may His heavy rain water every place!

Places whose [good] times I wish would return,
but how can that happen when my beloved is too far away to ever visit.

وهمت بواد ينبت السدر والغضى سُلوًا لروض ينبت الرندا والسروا

...

وعُلقتُ بأعرابية دارها الفلا تصيف على نجدٍ وتشتو على حزوى

...

سقى الغيث أكناف العذيب وبارق وروى بهامي صوبه حيثما أروى

معاهد أهوى أن تكّر عهودها وأتى وقد شطّ المزارُ بمنّ أهوى⁸⁷

This intensification of eastern motifs in Ibn al-Abbār is the best illustration of how the East remained poetically and psychologically rooted in the minds of the distant Andalusian Arabs, even 600 years after the first conquest of al-Andalus by Ṭāriq Ibn Ziyād. Ibn al-Abbār, the poet, historian and scholar from Valencia, who had to leave his hometown as the result of the Reconquista, did not adopt a Valencian landscape in his *nasīb*, despite his intense longing for Valencia. Instead, he remained faithful to the old eastern model. The East in al-Andalus, hence, became part of a poetic “sanctuary.” Just as Christian or Jewish believers who have never been to the Holy Land, but can still recite and locate by reading the Bible Beit Sāḥūr, Tabgha and Kfar Nahum (not to say Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Hebron) more successfully than local people, the Andalusian poets managed to trace the footsteps of eastern Arabs and their

⁸⁷ Ibn al-Abbār, *Dīwān*, 434.

geographic landscapes and poetic conventions without visiting the East, simply by reading the classical poetry of the East, which came to be their “Bible.”

No matter the topic of an Andalusian ode (e.g., panegyric, love, personal or national elegy, *madīḥ nabawī*, etc...), it is rare that such an ode would neglect the old *nasīb* and the vocabulary derived from the desert of the East, which is full of yearning for the past and the origins of the Arab, Arabic poetry and eloquence. Jaroslav Stetkevych wrote that employing some of the Bedouin poetic motifs inspired by the desert and the *nasīb* in later times was inevitable: “After its pre-Islamic classicism, Arabic poetry was at a loss for an alternative, culturally integrated mode of aesthetic vision which could be called style and which would express the progression of time and change the sensitivity.”⁸⁸

In another panegyric ode, written for Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā and in a meta-poetic tone, Ibn al-Abbār tried to provide excuses for an old man (probably himself) who blamed him for writing the *nasīb* and love poems after the age of 50, something that elderly people supposed not to do, but surprisingly, that man—according to the poet—never gave up remembering the memories of the past and the sweet times of love. In line 12 of the poem, he wrote that the man found happiness in the pains of old love. In the next line and line 15, the traditional mode of the *nasīb* and true nostalgia for the East appear:

I wish for Najd and those past days in it,
during which we would take delight in its fragrance.

.....

And for the wind of the Ṣabā when it carries the scent of its Rand
and its ‘Arār that enhances my passion for it [Najd?].

يا حبذا نجد وسالف عهده فيها استفدنا طيبها من طيبه

...

⁸⁸ Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 77.

وصبًا تحمّل من تَضَوّع رنّدهِ وعراره ما زاد في وصبي به⁸⁹

The combination of Najd, al-Ṣabā, al-Liwā, al-‘Udhayb, Bāriq and al-Rand constitute another testimony to the nostalgia for the East in Ibn Zamrak (d. 1392). And confirms my thesis at the beginning of this chapter that the name of a single flower or plant may not be enough to fully convey nostalgia for the East; instead, other components are needed to draw a complete image. In the following poem, Ibn Zamrak expressed the eternal nostalgia presented by Arab poets for the eastern landscapes by using the poetic device of *ḥusn al-takhalluṣ* (i.e., a nice smooth transition from one theme to another in the same poem). He also states that he has nostalgia for camels (line 7) and for the howdah or the compartment of the beloved (line 8), thereby achieving an elegant transition from the elegiac *nasīb* to the explicitly erotic section of the poem:

Ask the rainy lightning of the two mountains of Najd,
if it smiled to make my eyelids cry from passion!

It rained generously on my land of al-Liwā, may al-Liwā be blessed!
and may the rain of the clouds keep pouring there after my departure!

Oh you who are leading and hurrying the caravan of emaciated camels!
Let them descend to Najd while they are hungry and thirsty!

And do not inhale their breath with the Ṣabā,
for the exhalation of yearning from those like them is contagious.

.....

If the camels yearned for the water that is close to the shadow of the Bān and the
Rand
between the al-‘Udhayb and Bāriq

The full moon of the women's quarters are the only thing that made me yearn
when they appear like soft shaking branches in the day of al-Nafr.

سلوا البارقَ النجدي من علمي نجد تبسم فاستبكي جفوني من الوجد

أجاد ربوعي باللوى بورك اللوى وسخّ به صوبُ الغمائم من بعدي

⁸⁹ Ibn al-Abbār, *Dīwān*, 82.

ويا زاجري الأظعان وهي ضوامر دعوها ترد هيمًا عطاشًا على نجد
ولا تتشقوا الأنفاس منها مع الصِّبا فإن زفير الشوق من مثلها يعدي

.....

لئن شاقها بين العذيب وبارقٍ مياه بفيء الظل للبان والرند
فما شاقني إلا بدور خدورها وقد لُحْن يوم النفر في قضبٍ ملدٍ⁹⁰

As the poem above shows, many other poems that carry nostalgic and *naṣībīc* tones mix Najd and the wind of Ṣabā, which are apparently indispensable motifs of yearning and for remembering good times. Jaroslav Stetkevych paid attention to this poetic phenomenon as it occurred in Arabic when he compared Najd and ancient Greek Arcadia as well as when he compared the two winds that blow on each district. According to Stetkevych, the Ṣabā and the Zephyr, which blows from west to east, share the same characteristics of bringing fertility as well as pastoral nostalgia. Stetkevych refers to Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nuwayrī (d. 1332), who mentioned another merit of the Ṣabā: “God never sent a prophet but with the Ṣabā.” In addition, Muḥammad—according to the Nuwayrī—was supported by the eastern wind. Al-Ṣabā, in contrast to the Sumūm or the Dabūr, which blows from south or west from which the tribe of ‘Ād was annihilated, is also known for its softness and ability to disperse and fertilize the seeds carried by the windy clouds. Al-Ṣabā is also the main means of carrying fragrant messages from the beloved. The Ṣabā is employed poetically as a wind that carries promise and love, brings good news and incites remembrance. In addition, the Ṣabā, which is also called *al-rīḥ al-‘ulwiyya* (the upper wind – after the highland of Najd), was also employed in al-Andalus almost to

⁹⁰ Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Zamrak, *Dīwān Ibn Zamrak al-Andalusī*, ed. Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Nayfar (Bayrūt: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1997), 380.

indicate the same meanings of those used in the East, especially in regard to the wind that carries greetings between lovers as in Ibn Zaydūn al-Andalusī's *nūniyya*:

Oh the wind of Ṣabā! Send our regard
to the one that resurrects us if he greets!

ويا نسيم الصبا بلغ تحيتنا من لو على البعد حيا كان يحيينا⁹¹

B. Geographical Nostalgia for the East in al-Andalus: Rivers

The Rivers of the East as a Means of Nostalgia in al-Andalus

The Andalusians did not turn [refer] to the new environment however; instead, their way was extremely nostalgic for the East in science, literature and poetry. And their concern was not directed to writing and composing, but first they invested effort to acquire the culture of those from the East, since their ethics, emotions and feelings were eastern at all levels.⁹²

Although Budayr Mitwallī Ḥamīd refers in this citation to the era of early rulers of Muslim Spain (*ʿaṣr al-wulāt*), we soon realize that this situation was also the situation of eras to come, since the stream of Andalusian scholars to visit the East to seek the religious and linguistic sciences never stopped.⁹³

Al-Andalus was rich in water, but, in spite of the many rivers that crossed its land,⁹⁴ and although the Andalusians admired a lot their new nature, Arabic poetic and prose texts that

⁹¹ Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 260-265.

⁹² Budayr Mitwallī Ḥamīd, *Qaḍāyā Andalusīyya* (al-Qāhira: Dār al-Maʿrifa, 1964), 8.

⁹³ Ibid, 35.

⁹⁴ Dr. Aḥmad Haykal mentions some of the rivers of al-Andalus:

Several rivers stream in al-Andalus; the most important one is the river of al-Wādī al-Kabīr that the Spanish still call by this Arabic name till today but with some nuance and say: Jwād al-Kabīr "Guadalquivir." This river waters the majority of the lands of the southern plain, and crosses the great two cities of Cordoba and Seville then pours westward into the Atlantic Ocean. Then at the north side of al-Wādī al-Kabīr, there is the river of Wādī Yāna, and the Spanish call it by its Arabic name, and say Jwādayāna "Guadaiana." And after that to the north there is the river of al-Tājuh, and the Spanish call al-Tākhu "El Tajo" and it passes through the middle of the highland and the great city of Toledo . . . And after all these rivers, there is

praised these Andalusian water-sources are rare. Instead, the Andalusian poet remained faithful to the origin, to the eastern Arab rivers and springs.

It seems that the only Andalusian poet to mention the rivers of al-Andalus was Ḥāzīm al-Qarṭājannī (d. 1285) in his 1006-line *urjūza*,⁹⁵ which can be categorized under a didactic poetry aimed to familiarizing the reader with scientific and literary disciplines.⁹⁶ In this *Urjūza* (lines 932- 936), al-Qarṭājannī intends to tell and teach about the historical and military events of al-Andalus, as well as about its nature and geography. However, his nostalgic and emotional tone sometimes overwhelms the didactic tone. Here, al-Qarṭājannī bitterly mentions al-Nahr al-Abyaḍ, al-Nahr al-Kabīr, Shuqar, Anna (Yānu), Tājuh and Ibruh saying that all of these wadis and rivers wept because of what happened in al-Andalus after the Spanish took over the peninsula (line 941):

So its rivers cried with passionate tears
because of a man whose thirst was not quenched.

So the passion of al-Nahr al-Abyaḍ causes crying
with all large and flowing tears,

at the north side the river of Duwayruh which is called by Arabs sometimes by al-Wādī al-Jūfī and that the Spanish call Duwiro “Duero” and like all former ones it descends to the west and pours in the Atlantic Ocean.

Haykal continues with the rivers that head to the East and pour into the Mediterranean: 1) the river of Ibruh “Ebro” on whose bank the city of Saragoza is located; 2) al-Wādī al-Abyaḍ “Guadalaviar” on the north side of the city of Valencia; 3) the river of Shuqr “Khūkar” where the island of Shuqr, which inspired many Andalusian poets, is located; and 4) the river of Shaqūra “Sijura,” which penetrates the city of Murcia. See: Aḥmad Haykal, *Al-Adab al-Andalusī min al-Faṭḥ ḥattā Suqūt al-Khilāfa* (al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma’ār al-Maārif, 1982), 8-10. It is worth mentioning that al-Maqqarī’s note contradicts what Haykal wrote. Al-Maqqarī wrote that, in al-Andalus, there is no other wadi that is called by an Arabic name, but al-Wādī al-Kabīr. However, Haykal wrote: “And from the eastern rivers there is also al-Wādī al-Abyaḍ whose name developed on the tongues of the Spanish to jwādalabiār (Guadalaviar),” which means that the origin name of this river is Arabic, not Spanish. See: Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-Ṭīb*, 1: 458; Haykal, *Al-Adab al-Andalusī*, 9.

⁹⁵ A poem that is written according to the *rajaz* meter, which constitutes the foot of *mustaf’ilun* repeated three times in each of the two hemistichs of the classical ode lines. This meter is one of the easiest meters to use. As such, critics consider a person who writes poems in this meter to be a *rajjāz*, not a poet. Sometimes, the critics call this meter “the donkey of the poets.” The ease and flexibility of this meter explains the ability of some poets who followed the *rajaz* meter to write long didactic odes.

⁹⁶ This type of poetry was popular before and during in al-Qarṭājannī’s time. The long *urjūza* of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Ṣūfī (d. 986) was intended to teach astronomy, while *Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik’s* (d. 1273) *urjūza* was written to teach Arabic grammar. These poems are examples of long poems written in the *rajaz* meter. See also the *urjūza* of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih al-Andalusī in which he discussed several historical matters and placed Mu’āwiya Ibn Abī Sufyān as the fourth Caliph instead of ‘Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib. See: Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih al-Andalusī, *Al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, 4: 460-483.

And his brother al-Nahr al-Kabīr cried aloud
because he could not bear for a thirsty man not to be quenched,

And Shuqr almost ran dry
when the messenger of the blond [Spanish] was infuriated in every bare land,

And Wadi Yānu that is located at the west moaned
while its west side was full of flowing tears,

And the two wadis of al-Thaghr al-Munīf; Tājuh and Ibruh
both of them complained.

Al-Qurṭajannī likened the rivers above and the other kingdoms of al-Andalus to an
expensive necklace torn apart in the hands of the “infidel” Spanish who cheapened it.

It became scattered in the hands of the enemies,
and infidelity cheapened all that once was precious. .

فقد بكت أنهارها بدمع هامٍ من الوجد لهامٍ ما ارتوى
فالنهر الأبيض يُبكي شجوهُ بكلِّ دمعٍ مستفيضٍ ما رقا
وقد بكى النهر المبيرُ صنوهُ إذ لم يُطقُ يُروى صدى هامٍ زقا
وكادَ سُفّرُ أن يغيضَ عندما غيظَ بعيث الشُّفّرِ في كل عرى
وأنّ وادي أتةٍ في غربهِ وغربهُ ملآنٌ من دمع جرى
وواديا الثغر المنيفِ تاجُهُ وإبرُهُ كلاهما قد اشتكى
...

أضحت على أيدي العدا منتورة وأرخص الإشراك منها ما غلا⁹⁷

The Andalusian poetic corpus apparently lacks further examples of such Andalusian water sources. One seeking other poetic examples for Andalusian rivers and wadis would have to wait another six centuries until the Lebanese poet Shakīb Arslān, who greatly admired al-Andalus, wrote his poem about its magnificent nature and beauty. In this poem, he attributes

⁹⁷ *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, Ḥāzim al-Qurṭajannī. The poem is not found in the poet’s *dīwān*. The *dīwān*, however, included other poems by Ḥāzim to which I will refer later.

the fall of al-Andalus to the quarrel between the Arab Qaysis and Yamanis and to the conflict between the Arabs and Berbers (lines: 24, 25, 87, and 88). In this poem, Arslān twice mentions al-Wādī al-Kabīr (lines: 82, 89):

And [the city of] al-Zāhira of al-Manṣūr is undoubtedly a Paradise
that is connected to al-Wādī al-Kabīr by Kawthar.⁹⁸

.....

Visit at the bank of al-Wādī al-Kabīr and make a tour there,
and turn aside at the long vaulted bridge.

وزاهرة المنصور لا شك جنة تمد من الوادي الكبير بكوثر

.....

وزر ضفة الوادي الكبير وسح بها وعرج على الجسر الطويل المقنطر⁹⁹

Poets have always used water sources (such as rivers, creeks and seas) to express might and generosity, but the absence of Andalusian rivers in Andalusian poetry during almost 800 years, and the fact that the Andalusian poet did not substitute Andalusian rivers for the famous eastern ones, refutes the claims that nostalgia for the East among Andalusian poets and scholars, and, with it, the adherence to eastern conventions in al-Andalus prevailed mainly during the early Arab period in al-Andalus, but not later. As this subchapter shows, the Nile, Baradā, the Tigris, the Euphrates and other eastern rivers and creeks remained the means by which the Andalusian poet expressed generosity, opulence, might and, of course, nostalgia.

⁹⁸ In the Islamic faith, al-Kawthar is the name of a river that is believed to be in Paradise. “Indeed, We have granted you, [O Muhammad], al-Kawthar.” *Koran, Al-Kawthar*, 1. (108: 1). Also, in the *ḥadīth*, al-Kawthar is “a river in Paradise whose two banks are gold that flows over rubies and pearls. Its soil smells better than musk. Its water is sweeter than honey and whiter than snow.” See: ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Shayba al-‘Absī, *Muṣannaḥ Ibn Abī Shayba fī al-Aḥādīth wa-al-‘Āthār*, ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥūt, 7 vols. (Bayrūt: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1988), 7: 455 (*ḥadīth* number 34098). However, in this context, the Kawthar must be a small water tunnel used to connect between the city of al-Zāhira and the river of al-Wādī al-Kabīr.

⁹⁹ *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, Shakīb Arslān. The poem is not in the *dīwān* of the poet.

In the following pages, I will demonstrate the attachment of the Andalusian poet to the East through his references to four famous eastern rivers. This attachment can sometimes express direct and clear nostalgia for the East, while, other times, it shows the unbreakable dependence of Andalusian poetry on eastern poetic models and convention.

B.1. Tigris

The Tigris, or Dijla, is a famous Iraqi river that is 1,850 km long that starts in the Taurus Mountains of eastern Turkey about 25 km southeast of the city of Elazig and about 30 km from the headwaters of the Euphrates. Muḥammad Ibn Mas‘ūd Ibn Ṭayyib Ibn Faraj Ibn Abī al-Khiṣāl, who was born in the village of Farghalīṭ and lived in Cordoba and Granada (d. 1146), wrote:

And the Tigris came between us,
so he became al-Ghumayṣā’¹⁰⁰ and I became al-‘Abūr.

واعترضت دجلة ما بيننا كان الغميصاء وكنت العبور¹⁰¹

This line is an excellent example of the prestigious rank that the Tigris River acquired in the eyes of this Andalusian poet, in particular, and Andalusians in general. Essential to understanding Ibn Abī al-Khiṣāl’s line and simile is the old eastern Arab astrological myth of the two stars of Sirius that are called in Arabic al-Shi‘rā al-Shāmiyya and al-Shi‘rā al-Yamāniyya. The myth of the two stars of al-Shi‘rās tells that they both were living together in peace in the northern sky, but, for some reason, al-Yamāniyya left al-Shāmiyya alone and crossed the galaxy. Due to this, al-Shi‘rā al-Yamāniyya has been called al-Shi‘rā al-‘Abūr (the transitory). Al-Shi‘rā al-Shāmiyya, on the other hand, became lonely and cried bitterly until

¹⁰⁰ One of two stars of al-Shi‘rā that is called, in English, Sirius. Al-Ghumayṣā’ appeared in the north sky and was also called al-Shi‘rā al-Shāmiyya, while the other one, al-Shi‘rā al-‘Abūr, appeared in the southern sky and was called al-Shi‘rā al-Yamāniyya. See: Amīn Fahd al-Ma‘lūf, *Al-Mu‘jam al-Falakī* (al-Qāhira: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1935), 88, 97-98.

¹⁰¹ *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, Ibn abī al-Khiṣāl.

she became one-eyed because of her separation from her sister al-Shi‘rā al-‘Abūr. This is the reason, according to the myth, that its light is dim compared to al-‘Abūr.¹⁰²

This myth was employed in the East several times both poetically and in prose. According to the scholar al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1143), Arabs used this myth proverbially to express quarrels, disagreements and separation between good friends or kinsmen: “What happened between the two brothers from al-Khalṣā’¹⁰³ is [like] what happened between the two Shi‘rās; al-‘Abūr and al-Ghumayṣā’.”¹⁰⁴ While the Syrian poet Abū al-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī said:

Every man you see is either a slain man or
a prisoner who is being prepared for death.

The people crossed the bridge in front of me,
but I stayed behind and refused to cross.

May Allah, the creator of nations, made al-Shi‘rā al-Ghumayṣā’
and al-Shi‘rā al-‘Abūr feel disgrace.

ما ترى في الزمان إلا قتيلًا أو أسيرًا لحتفه مصبورا

عبر الناس فوق جسرٍ أمامي وتخلفت لا أريد عبورا

أشعر الله خالق الأمم الشعـ رى الغميصاء ذلة والعبورا¹⁰⁵

The eastern astrological and poetic influence and impact are both noticeable in the line of Ibn Abī al-Khiṣāl above. The poet, who is aware of the old myth, utilized the myth to express

¹⁰² See: Al-Maydānī, *Majma‘ al-Amthāl*, 2: 407; Abū al-Qāsim Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥādrāt al-‘Udabā’ wa-Muḥāwarāt al-Shu‘arā’ wal-Bulaghā’*, ed. ‘Umar al-Ṭabbā’, 2 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Qalam, 1999), 2: 565. It is worth mentioning that Arabs also call al-Shi‘rā al-Shāmiyya by the name of al-Shi‘rā al-Ghumayṣā’, which means one-eyed. See: Yahyā ‘Abd al-Amīr Shāmī, *Al-Nujūm fī al-Shi‘r al-‘Arabī al-Qadīm* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīda, 1982), 79-81.

¹⁰³ According to Yāqūt, al-Khalṣā’ was a famous place in the desert that includes a water spring, or a water resource, that the tribe of ‘Abāda owned. See: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 2: 382.

¹⁰⁴ Abū al-Qāsim al-Khawārizmī al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-Balāgha* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr, 1979), 456.

قد يحدث بين الأخوين من الخلاء ما وقع بين الشعريين العبور والغميصاء

¹⁰⁵ Abū al-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī, *Dīwān Luzūm Mā lā Yalzam mi-Mmā Yasbiq Ḥarf al-Rawī*, ed. Kamāl al-Yāzījī, 2 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Jīl, 1992), 1: 427. See also: ‘Anān Munīr Ḥabīb, “Al-Nujūm fī al-Shi‘r al-‘Abbāsī wa-al-Fāṭimī,” (Master’s Thesis, Jāmi‘at Ḥaifā, 2007), 33, 83, 143, 105.

the might of the Tigris to describe the uncrossable long distance between himself and his friend or beloved (conventionally referred to with masculine singular form). At the same time, both the myth and the Tigris indicate the irrevocable emotional distance or alienation between himself and his friend or beloved. It seems that none of the Andalusian rivers could convey this idea at all.

In one panegyric ode by ‘Abd al-Jabbār Ibn Ḥamdīs (d. 1133), who wrote many poems in praising al-Mu‘tamid Ibn ‘Abbād, the third and final ruler of the ‘Abbādid dynasty in al-Andalus (d. 1095), he focused on the generosity of the patron in order to enhance his chances of gaining a substantial reward for his poem:

And the bestowal came as silver and gold,
and the laudation came written and revised quickly.

As if the high sides of the Tigris’ water overflowed,
and as if the secrets of Wadi ‘Abqar were revealed.

وَأَتَى الْعَطَاءَ مَفْضُضًا وَمَذْهَبًا وَأَتَى الثَّنَاءَ مَسْتَهَمًا وَمَحْبَرًا
فَكَأَنَّمَا زَخْرَتْ غَوَارِبُ دَجَلَةٍ وَكَأَنَّمَا نُثِرَتْ وَشَائِعَ عِبْقَرًا¹⁰⁶

The long-awaited generosity, hence, cannot be compared to anything but the awesome bounty of the flooding Tigris and the poet’s magnificent verse is comparable to nothing, but the trees that surround ‘Abqar as these trees contain hidden poetic secrets that only the jinni who lives in the valley of ‘Abqar (“Valley of Genius”) knows.¹⁰⁷

In another panegyric ode, the same poet expressed the hospitality of the patron:

Many come to ask favors from him, so even the Tigris was not enough
to water the large number of people who eat at his table.

¹⁰⁶ Ibn Ḥamdīs, *Dīwān*, 235.

¹⁰⁷ For more information on the relationship between jinn and poetry in Arab history, see the story of Kuthayyir ‘Azza mentioned in al-Iṣfahānī, *Al-Aghānī*, 9: 32. See also *Al-Muḥīṭ fī al-Lughā*, 2: 212. (‘Abqar is a place in the desert full of genies. In the proverb: As if they were the genies of ‘Abqar) كَأَنَّهُمْ جِنُّ عِبْقَرِ

كثيرُ وفودِ القصدِ لم تكفِ دجلةٌ بساحتيه للاكليين شراباً¹⁰⁸

The final example of the importance of the Tigris in Andalusian poetry can be found in the following five-lines from a panegyric poem written for al-Mutawakkil Ibn al-Aftas (d. 1094), the forth and last ruler of the al-Aftas dynasty over the city of Baṭalyaws (Badajoz). The poem is by ‘Abd al-Majīd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abdūn al-Fahrī (d. 1135), and he opens with the *nasīb* where Dijla and other eastern place-names and motifs are used to express the generosity of al-Mutawakkil and his great regime. Of course, nothing will be able to convey this meaning like the East and its good:

A smile came to you with the crack of dawn,
and the darkness scowled,

Since the night is declared dead by the call to dawn prayer (‘*adhān*),
when the bird, singing on a willow tree, sings in the dawn.

And the tears of the night’s dew create eyes,
with which a speckled snake gazes from the water of Dijla.

O my two friends who live between al-Ṣarāt¹⁰⁹ and Dijla
and who have good and hard luck! Bid farewell to your bond.¹¹⁰

.....

And here I am sending you from my thoughts a luxuriant garden [a poem],
that will be recited in both Najd and Tihama.

وَأفَاكٍ مِنْ فَلَاقِ الصَّبَاحِ تَبَسُّمٌ وَأَنْجَابٍ مِنْ غَسَقِ الظَّلامِ تَجَهُمٌ
وَاللَّيْلِ يُنْعَى بِالْأَذَانِ وَقَدْ شَدَا بِالْفَجْرِ طَيْرُ البَانَةِ الْمُتَرَتِّمٌ
وَدُمُوعٌ طَلَّ اللَّيْلُ تَخْلُقُ أَعْيُنَا يَرْنُو بِهَا مِنْ مَاءِ دِجْلَةَ أَرْقَمٌ
يَا صَاحِبِي بَيْنَ الصَّرَاةِ وَدِجْلَةَ وَدَعَا العَلَاقَةَ مُسْعِدٌ وَمُتَنِّمٌ

¹⁰⁸ Ibn Ḥamdīs, *al-Dīwān*, 56.

¹⁰⁹ The names of the two rivers in Baghdad: Al-Ṣarāt al-Kubrā and al-Ṣarāt al-Ṣuḡhrā. See: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 3: 399.

¹¹⁰ The second hemistich of this line refers to the two verbal statements of the first line, so the three verbs that are combined with the *wa* and the conjunctions are *wāfāk*, *injāb* and *da‘ā*. In this case, *mus‘ad* and *mutayyam* are substitute (*badal taḥṣīlī*) for the sentence subject.

...

وَالْيَاكَ مِنْ بِنْتِ الضَّمِيرِ حَدِيقَةً غَنَاءَ تُتَجَدُّ بِالرُّوَاةِ وَتُتَهُمُ¹¹¹

Dijla, which is repeated twice in this poem, is coupled with other eastern places (i.e., al-Šarāt, Tihāma and Najd) in order to demonstrate how the East continued to live deep inside Ibn ‘Abdūn and, perhaps, in all Andalusian poets and scholars.

B.2. The Euphrates – al-Furāt

The Euphrates is the other great river in Iraq. Thanks to it and the Tigris, Iraq was given the title of *Bilād al-Rāfidayn* or *Bilād mā bayn al-Nahrayn*, which means the land between the two rivers, i.e., Mesopotamia (from ancient Greek). The Euphrates is more famous than the Tigris. As such, the two rivers are called “al-Furātān” (i.e., the two Furāts and not “al-Dijlatān” or the two Dijlās),¹¹² and this perhaps explains why al-Furāt is used more frequently than the Tigris in the Andalusian poetic corpus.

In a short, soulful piece in which ‘Alī al-Ḥuṣrī al-Qayrawānī (d. 1095) complains of the remoteness of his beloved, the poet ends as follows:

O Euphrates of the homeland! Who can bring some of your water to cool my heart,
for there is a wall of spears and swords between you and me?

The thirsting heart remains burning until you quench it
with your union, for the jealous man has no pity.

فِرَاتِ الحَمَى مِنْ لِي بِتَبْرِيدِكَ الحِشَا وَدُونِكَ سَوْرٌ مِنْ قَنَا وَسِيُوفٍ

¹¹¹ Ibn ‘Abdūn. *Dīwān ‘Abd al-Majīd Ibn ‘Abdūn al-Yāburī: Al-Shi’r wa-al-Nathr ma’ Dirāsa li-Adabihi*, ed. Salīm al-Tanīr (Dimashq: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1988), 178, 180.

¹¹² Al-Farazdaq (d. 728) said:

A white lady, whose house is between the two Furāts,
has a high prestigious seat where even the hottest part of the day is cool.

حَوَارِيَّةٌ بَيْنَ الْفِرَاتَيْنِ دَارُهَا لَهَا مَقْعَدٌ عَالٍ بِرُودٍ هَوَاجِرُهُ

See: Abū Firās Humām Ibn Ghālib al-Farazdaq, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Farazdaq*, ed. Sūzān ‘Akārī (Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, 2003), 149.

The fact that al-Qayrawānī lived in both al-Qayrawān in the Maghrib and al-Andalus did not help the rivers of these two regions find a place in this ode and, as it is clear here, the Euphrates remained the authentic poetic source and refuge of cooling and quenching the thirsting hearts.

This orientation is also found in Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusī's (d. 973) description of the whale. Ibn Hānī' intended to exaggerate in order to show the size of the whale and did not find anything more useful for this purpose than the waters of the Euphrates and Noah's Ark:

And neither the waters of the Euphrates are enough to quench his thirst
nor is Noah's Ark, even is loaded with food, is enough to feed him.

فليس ترويه أمواه الفرات ولا يقوته فلك نوح وهو مشحون¹¹⁴

The Euphrates is also a means by which Andalusian poets expressed their inner nostalgic feelings, as the following short, panegyric ode by Umayya al-Dānī (d. 1134) testifies. Al-Dānī opened the poem, aimed at praising al-Ḥasan Ibn Yaḥyā, the last king of al-Ṣinhājiyyīn (d. 1170), with a *nasīb* that contains sorrow over the loss of youth and the inability to attract beautiful women. As usual, the poet's loved ones depart and he cries, but, in this case, he chooses to cry over the bank of the Euphrates! Rather than merely being a ritual or poetic convention that necessitates or predestines that poets open with the *nasīb* and include the names of eastern places, I propose here that Andalusian poets felt inferior because they missed the chance to experience the East and, hence, remained nostalgic both for the place and experience. They, maybe, resented and were jealous of the fame of some great eastern poets, such as Abū Nuwās, Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī and al-Mutanabbī, who were more or less their main models.

¹¹³ *Al-Mawsū'a al-Shi'riyya*, 'Alī al-Ḥuṣrī al-Qayrawānī.

¹¹⁴ Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusī, *Dīwān Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusī*, ed. 'Umar Fārūq al-Ṭabbā' (Bayrūt: Dār al-Arqam Ibn Abī al-Arqam lil-Ṭibā'a wa-al-Nashr, 1998), 317.

The Euphrates, therefore, and perhaps some other main eastern water sources, but certainly not any of the rivers of al-Andalus, is what motivates both the spiritual and psychological nostalgia of the Andalusian poet for the good days of his youth and childish love adventures, and nostalgia for the places from which he had to be displaced forever:

Will time resurrect what died of me,
or will it return what has passed of my youth?

If a man becomes fifty years old,
his branch of youth withers and dies.

The riders say: here is Hind's house.
Is their saying "here" of any use?

I cried on the [banks of] the Euphrates when they left,
till people thought that the Euphrates was made of my tears.

أُخِيي الدهرُ مني ما أماتا ويُرجعُ من شبابي ما أفاتا؟

وما بلغ الفتى الخمسين إلا ذوى غصن الصِّبا منه فماتا

يقول الركب هاتا دار هند فهل يُجدي مقال الركب هاتا

بكيت على الفرات غداة شطوا فظن الناس من دمعي الفراتا¹¹⁵

Finally, Qamar al-Ishbīliyya (d. 910), the female slave of Ibrāhīm Ibn Ḥajjāj al-Lakhmī, who felt estrangement in al-Andalus after having lived for years in Baghdad, wrote in a nostalgic tone remembering her childhood and her Iraqi origin:

Ah for her Baghdad, her Iraq,
and her gazelles and the charm in her eyes,

And her walking along the Euphrates,
with faces whose new moons appear on their collars.

Swaggering in luxury as if,
the platonic love is one of their virtues.

¹¹⁵ Umayya Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dānī, *Dīwān al-Ḥakīm abī al-Ṣalt Umayya Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dānī*, ed. Muḥammad al-Marzūqī (Tūnis: Dār Bū Salāma lil-Ṭibā'a wa-al-Nashr, 1979), 64-65.

I sacrifice myself for them, for the beauties of time
take their shine from their luminous faces.

أهًا على بغدادها وعراقها وظبائها والسحر في أحداقها
ومجالها عند الفرات بأوجه تبدو أهلتها على أطواقها
متبخترات في النعيم كأنما خلق الهوى العذريُّ من أخلاقها
نفسى الفداء لها فأبي محاسن في الدهر تشرق من سنا إشراقها¹¹⁶

By mixing herself and the gazelles together by using the third person feminine singular “*hā*,” the plural third person for nonhumans, she gives this short poem great beauty. It is unclear whether these eastern gazelles are really gazelles or merely a symbol of the beautiful women of the East with whom Qamar would play and stroll by the Euphrates in the past. The reader cannot determine to whom exactly this pronoun of “*hā*” refers, but, either way, the poet reflects the emotional “hold” that the East had on Andalusian poets: they were not free from the memory; on the contrary, they were bound in the chains of memory, which is the bridge that connects the poets of al-Andalus to their predestined poetic spring and actual poetic past.

Moreover, the Euphrates sometimes carried religious or sacred connotations, even when the main purpose of the poem was not religious. Consider, for example, the following lines from a panegyric poem by Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb to a generous person called Abū Ḥasan:

Gather both of you at the shore of the holy Euphrates;
it is the best place to take a nap during the day, to walk at night.

The scent of the tree of heaven will guide you while the sun shines
and the fire of hospitality will invite you in the dark of night.

ألمًا على شط الفرات المقدس فخير مقيل للهدى ومعزّس

¹¹⁶ Al-Maqqarī, *Naḥḥ al-Ṭīb*, 3: 141.

سيهديك عرف الطيب واليوم شامسٌ ونار القرى تدعوك في جنح حندس¹¹⁷

While the poem itself is not religious in intent, the atmosphere of the opening is replete with Islamic religious terms, as if to describe a “paradise on earth.” Words like *al-muqaddas* (the holy), *lil-hudā* (for guidance), *yahdī* (guides), *al-ṭīb* (a tree in paradise) and its derivation of *fu’lā* (i.e., *ṭūbā*, which means celestial happiness) all give the feeling of a sacred text, as if the purpose of the poem were to be religious before the poet decided to launch into a panegyric poem. Intensifying the “majesty” of the Euphrates and its bank is an indication of the high rank of this river in the poet’s eyes, while employing the Euphrates and the above-mentioned opening at the same time are legitimate ways by which to glorify the patron or person being praised and to enhance the chances of the poet to win a decent prize, especially because this is what adds glory and majesty to the praised person.

Marj al-Kuḥl’s poem (d. 1236) about wine and the cup-bearer is another example of using the Euphrates and mixing in a daring way between the sacred on one hand, and the secular and even the sinful on the other in the same poem.

This poem treats two topics that are considered great sins (*kabā’ir*) in Islam. Marj al-Kuḥl, who was from the Andalusian Shuqar Island, used the word *Kawthar*, which, according to Islam, is the name of a river in Paradise, together with the Euphrates:

Turn at the dusty junction of the sandy hill
which is between the Euphrates and the bank of al-Kawthar,
And drink it like a golden wine from the hands of [a cup-bearer]
whose eyes are very black and very white, and whose lips are red and black.

عَرَّجْ بَمَنْعَرَجِ الْكَثِيبِ الْأَعْفَرِ بَيْنَ الْفَرَاتِ وَبَيْنَ شَطِّ الْكَوْثَرِ
وَلتَغْتَبِّقْهَا قَهْوَةً ذَهَبِيَّةً مِنْ رَاحَتِي أَحْوَى الْمَرَاشِفِ أَحْوَرِ

¹¹⁷ Lisān al-Dīn, *Dīwān*, 2: 636.

The poet continues to describe the good times experienced when he and his fellow drinkers used to do whatever they wanted, and when time itself helped them to achieve all their desires. In this section, Marj al-Kuḥl describes the garden (lines 4, 6, 7), but returns to the river (lines 8-13) without specifying which of the two rivers he intends. The poet ends the poem as follows:

A river whose beauty infatuates him who has never fallen in love,
and him who cannot write poetry will be able to write good poems by looking at it.

The face of the sun would not have become yellow
but because of separating from the beauty of that scene.

نهزّ يهيم بحسنه من لم يهم ويجيد فيه الشعر من لم يشعُر

ما اصفرّ وجه الشمس عند غروبها إلا لفرقة حسن ذاك المنظر¹¹⁸

Apparently, the poet here is intentionally comparing or identifying the Earthly paradise of the Euphrates with the heavenly paradise of al-Kawthar. When he asks himself or his addressee to linger between the Euphrates and al-Kawthar, it is as if he were wishing the addressee to enjoy and earn both worlds and both lives, on earth and in heaven. The garden described above is Paradise, while the wine and the alluring boys are respectively the pure sealed untouched wine that only pious people will win in heaven (*al-rahīq al-makhtūm*)¹¹⁹ and the immortal youths of the heavenly garden (*al-wildān al-mukhalladūn*) who, according to several esteemed religious Muslim scholars, such as Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya and Ibn Taymiyya, were created by Allah expressly to serve the dwellers of Paradise.¹²⁰ The charm of

¹¹⁸ Ṣalāḥ Jarār, *Marj al-Kuḥl: Sīratuhu wa-Shu'ruhu* ('Ammān: Dār al-Bashīr, 1993), 119-120.

¹¹⁹ Koran, *Al-Muṭaffafīn*, 25. (83: 25). "They will be given to drink [pure] wine [which was] sealed." يسقون من رحيقٍ مختوم.

¹²⁰ Koran, *Al-Wāqī'a*, 17. (56: 17). "There will circulate among them young boys made eternal." يطوف عليهم ولدانٌ مخلدون A disagreement exists about who those boys might be. Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī claimed that *al-Wildān al-Mukhalladūn* were boys who died before they became adults. See: 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Sa'īd Ibn Ḥazm al-Zāhirī, *Al-Fiṣal fī al-Mīlāl wa-al-'Aḥwā' wa-al-Niḥāl*, 5 vols. (al-Qāhira: Maktabat al-Khānjī, n.d.), 3: 147. And likewise thought 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. But On the other hand, some other scholars and religious people thought that they were the children of infidels, and—as I pointed out above—some even consider the boys to be the

the poem lies in its conflation and confusion of the Earthly forbidden delights with the celestial permitted ones.

Homoerotic poetry has been a part of the classical tradition from the *jāhiliyya* through Abū Nuwās and beyond. It was not limited to *mujūn* (obscene) poetry, but, rather, the wine scene and erotic description of young boys was part of the *nasīb* tradition, even in devotional poetry, such as praise poems to the Prophet. *Ghulāmiyyāt* (erotic descriptions of young boys) poems were considered to be a respectable and desirable poetic genre although it contains—to us—some strange thematic combinations. This style of *al-Ghulāmiyyāt* and mixing the Earthly illicit with the heavenly permitted was also largely popular in al-Andalus due to the freedom of ideas and tolerance that prevailed, especially during the reign of the early Cordoban Caliphs, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir and his son Caliph al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir. They established and stabilized Islamic rule in al-Andalus, but, at the same time, sponsored poets, scholars and scientists and accorded them considerable freedom of thought and expression.¹²¹ Although

creation of Allah to serve the people of heaven. See: “The Islam information website,” accessed May 20, 2013, <http://islamqa.info/ar/ref/43191>.

¹²¹ Aḥmad Haykal wrote about this poetical mix between contradicted topics and the political and poetic freedom when he mentioned a poem by Ismā‘īl al-Khātib in which he praised Caliph al-Nāṣir, while, also opening with homoerotic imagery. Haykal wrote that irregular love *al-shād* was popular among many Andalusians to that extent that it was not confined only to rites of festivity and buffoonery, but reached respectful and serious poetic fields, such as praising the Caliph. The poem opened as follows:

His fingertips became kind when they deliberately touched the scorpion [black curl] on his face
which is between the eye and the ear just to sting a loving heart.

As if his mustache were a shining crescent
on which the most dexterous person drew lines of musk.

Mentioning the Caliph comes five lines after that when the poet says:

Tell the Caliph who is from Umayya, and the one that
between me and his giving, there is no obstacle.

You make people forget who al-Manṣūr and al-Rashīd were,
and you unmasked al-Mahdī and al-Wāthiq

لَطَّقْتُ أَنَامِلُهُ بِعَقْرِبٍ صُدِّغِهِ عمدًا ليلدغ في فؤاد العاشق
وكأنَّ شاربِهِ هلال طالع قد خطَّهُ بالمسك أحنق حانق

...

قل للخليفة من أمية والذي ما دون نواله من عائق
أنسيت من منصورها ورشيدها وفضحت من مهديها والواثق

This freedom of expression almost disappears during the reign of Banū ‘Āmir who fettered poetry, especially philosophical and scientific poetry simply to satisfy scholars and the religious elite. See: Aḥmad Haykal, *al-Adab*

Marj al-Kuḥl did not live during either al-Nāṣir's or al-Mustanṣir's reign, he employed the same poetic techniques of poets who lived in more tolerate political regimes.

Marj al-Kuḥl was not the only one to connect the River al-Kawthar and the Euphrates. In his critical work about nostalgia and *nasīb* in the classical ode, Jaroslav Stetkevych drew a line between the two when he wrote:

We notice that certain river-names in the *qaṣīdah*, such as the Euphrates, experience various degrees of metaphorization. Their abundance of water becomes an expression of generosity, their strong currents an attribute of power, the goodness of their water an echo, both Koranic and pre-Koranic, of al-Kawthar, the stream of Paradise.¹²²

B.3. The Nile

The Nile is one of the most popular rivers in Andalusian poetry. The reason for this popularity might be due to the fact that Egypt fell into the hands of the Fāṭimids (in 969) who had great influence on both North Africa (al-Maghrib) and al-Andalus. Also, many Andalusian and Maghribī scholars travelled to the great centers of learning in Cairo, especially because the city was the center of Islamic political and cultural life during the Mamlūk times.

The rapidly changing political events in al-Andalus led to literary interactions in which Andalusian poets, scholars and rulers were involved in a panegyric relationship where poets praised patrons to win prizes.

Suzanne Stetkevych writes about how rival rulers and dynasties relied upon poets and poetry to demonstrate, argue or even confer their legitimate Islamic rule vis-à-vis their rivals

al-Andalusī, 221. See also what Haykal wrote about encouraging literature by al-Nāṣir and al-Ḥakam on pages 200-230, 286, 289.

¹²² Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 111.

and competitors.¹²³ In such poems, poets would often exploit natural forces and geographical features as similes or metaphors for the might, generosity and great deeds and achievements of the ruler in order to emphasize his legitimacy. The following line by Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb is a good example or this:

And your rank, for me, is like the position of the Nile,
while my position is tinier than a seed if compared to yours.

وقدرُكُ قدرُ النيلِ عندي وإنني لدى قدرِكُ العالِي أدقُّ من الذرِّ¹²⁴

The strength of the Nile appears in a panegyric ode written by Ibn Hāni' al-Andalusī to celebrate Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī's (d. 992), the new ruler of Egypt, conquest the land of the Nile. Ibn Hāni' was known for his support of the Fatimids and wrote many poems praising them. "As a young man in Seville, and Elvira, regions known for their hostility to the Umayyads," he was influenced by Ismā'īliyya (an Islamic denomination) and did not hesitate to publicly reveal his Isma'īli beliefs. However, when these regions came under Umayyad control, "neither Seville nor Elvira could with impunity offer him protection." As a result, Ibn Hani' "was obliged to leave al-Andalus for North Africa especially after the Fatimid success in controlling Morocco."¹²⁵

The poem by Ibn Hāni' shows how the Nile appears to be worthless and unbeneficial if compared to the benefit to that country from giving its rule to the praised patron:

¹²³ See, for example, the 7th chapter of her book *The Poetics of Islamic Legitimacy* in which Stetkevych studied three Andalusian panegyric odes written by al-Muhammad al-Baghdādī, Muḥammad Ibn Shukhayṣ and Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī that were recited in the court of the Umayyad Caliph al-Ḥakam al-Thānī al-Mustanṣir and for the patron Sulaymān Ibn al-Ḥakam Ibn Sulaymān, a great grandson of 'Abd al-Raḥmān the 3rd, on two religious occasions ('Īd al-Fiṭr and 'Īd al-Aḍḥā). Both the poets and rulers were involved in a win-win situation in which the poets gained material wealth from praising the patron, while the patron gained popularity and legitimacy for his regime. See: Stetkevych, *The Poetics of Islamic Legitimacy*, 241-282.

¹²⁴ Lisān al-Dīn, *Dīwān*, 1: 433.

¹²⁵ See: Majd Yāsir al-Mallāḥ, "The Role of Classical Arabic Panegyric Poetry in Court Ceremonial: Al-mutanabbī, Ibn Hāni' al-Andalusī, and Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī," (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2002), 145-146; Majd Yāsir al-Mallāḥ, *In the Shadows of the Master: Al-Mutanabbī's Legacy and the Quest for the Center in Fatimid and Andalusian Poetry* (Berkshire: Berkshire Academic Press, 2012), 35-56.

What harm will it do to Egypt if it gives its rule
to you, and what difference does it make whether the Nile flows or if the low-tide
kills it?

وما ضرَّ مصرًا حين أَلَّتْ قيادَها إِلَيْكَ أمدَ النيلِ أمْ غالهُ جُرُّ¹²⁶

The Nile is not forgotten even in the late days of the Arab presence in al-Andalus. The poet Abū al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Furkūn (d. 1417) from Granada opens his poem by lamenting the death of al-Mun‘im, the ruler of Granada, and, at the same time, in the third line, greeting Yūsuf III, his son and successor, with the *bay‘a* (oath of allegiance). In line nine, he uses the image of the Nile as the source of life and fertility as a metaphor for al-Mun‘im and his descendants’ rule in Granada:

And if the spring of the Nile River has dried up,
this [the new ruler, Yūsuf III] is the Nile that will make the grass grow.

وإن كان وادي النيل جفَّ معينه فهذا هو النيل الذي ينبثُ الكلا¹²⁷

The nostalgic meanings in Andalusian poetry are not expressed through the Nile, especially since the majority of Andalusian poetic examples in which the Nile is mentioned are associated with the same meanings of might and generosity, but again, reference to this river and not other Andalusian rivers is evidence to the high rank of the East in the eyes of the Andalusians.

B.4. Baradā

It is a river that is called Bahradān in Persian. It begins in the mountains of Damascus and crosses to divide it with Ghūṭa before traveling to the sea.¹²⁸ Maybe due to its locality and the fact that it is less effective in regard to its capacity of irrigation (71 km) than the rivers above, I could only find a few poetic examples of this river in the Andalusian poetic corpus.

¹²⁶ Ibn Ḥānī, *Dīwān*, 135.

¹²⁷ Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Furkūn, *Dīwān Ibn Furkūn*, ed. Muḥammad Ibn Sharīfa (al-Ribāt: Akādīmiyyat al-Mamlaka al-Maghribiyya, 1987), 382.

¹²⁸ Al-Ḥimyarī, *Al-Rawḍ al-Mi‘iār*, 89.

Baradā, which runs through the city of Damascus and splits into seven branches (Nahr Yazīd and Nahr Thawra on the left bank, Nahr Mizzāwī, the Dārānī, the Kanawāt, Bānyāsis and Nahr Tharwa on the right bank), is considered to be a creek when compared to the other great rivers of the East.

The Baradā, which irrigates nearly 10,000 hectares of orchards and gardens, has pushed back the desert to a distance of 20 kilometers from the mountains, beyond the celebrated Ghūṭa. As such, the orchards and gardens north of Damascus, the Marj (a plain), is covered by extensive cultivation and from December to June displays a carpet of green meadows.¹²⁹

Ḥāzīm al-Qarṭājannī describes the beauty of the Andalusian city of Murcia as well as its river, palaces and fortresses, such as Qaṣr Ibn Sa‘d and Ḥiṣn al-Faraj:

Its houses cause that people forget Jillaq [Damascus],
and its cold sweet water causes that people forget Baradā.

منازلٌ للحُسنِ تُنسي جُلُقا ونهزها السلسالِ يُنسي بردى¹³⁰

In the section entitled “Poems Describing Damascus,” al-Maqqarī included a touching poem in which al-Muhadhhab Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 1165) implores the North wind to go past the Baradā River if it contains the Rand (laurier) and the scent of the Khuzāmā (lavender), since Baradā may enhance the coldness of this wind while it is blowing:

O the wind of the north, for the sake of God,
if you cover the laurier as a garment,

And carry the perfume of the lavender
to my companion in the morning as scent,

.....

Go past Baradā, perhaps it will
increase the coldness of your blowing.

¹²⁹ "Baradā," Brill Online Reference Works, accessed November 24, 2013.

http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/barada-SIM_1211.

¹³⁰ *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, Ḥāzīm al-Qarṭājannī.

بِاللهِ يَا رِيحَ الشِّمَاءِ لِي إِذَا اشْتَمَلْتِ الرَّندَ بُردًا
وَحَمَلْتِ مِنْ عَرَفِ الخُزَا مِي مَا اغْتَدِي لِلنِّدَا

...

مُرِّي عَلَى بَرْدَى عَسَا هُ يُزِيدُ فِي مَسْرَاكِ بَرْدَا¹³¹

Seeking and yearning for Baradā—and not merely referring to it when remembering sweet memories or addressing the beloved—can be found also in some short poems that al-Maqqarī categorized under the section of “Praising Damascus.” The following poem, which was written by Sayf al-Dīn al-Mishadd (d. 1258), sees him yearning for the flowers and the kinds of fruit of the city:

My heart yearns for the Bān of Jillaq,
and my tears are shed over its rivers.

The Ibn Kallāb almonds¹³² make my senses reel when they are blooming,
and their branches, when they are bearing fruit, stir my passion.

And I yearn for the blooms of quince,
when they appear like scattered dirhams.

Thickets on whose surface water overflows until
they glow with beauty and burst into bloom.

You can see Baradā meandering through them as if it
and its pebbles were a jeweled and polished sword.

فَوَادِي إِلَى بَانَاتِ جِلْقٍ مَائِلٌ وَدَمْعِي عَلَى أَنهَارِهَا يَتَحَدَّرُ
يُرِنِّحُنِي لَوْزِ ابْنِ كَلَّابٍ مُرْهَرًا وَتَهْتَرِّنِي أَغصَانُهُ مَثْمُرُ
وَإِنِّي إِلَى زَهْرِ السَّفَرَجَلِ شَيِّقٌ إِذَا مَا بَدَا مِثْلَ الدَّرَاهِمِ يَنْتَرُ
غِيَاضٌ يَفِيضُ الْمَاءَ فِي عَرصَاتِهَا فَتَزْهَوُ جَمَالًا عِنْدَ ذَاكَ وَتُزْهَرُ

¹³¹ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, 2: 391.

¹³² Apparently, it is a type of almond that grows in the Damascus area.

Regardless of whether mentioning Baradā or other eastern rivers indicates direct nostalgia for the East in the Andalusian poetic corpus or not, the ceaseless referral to such rivers—either as one component of the diverse Arabic poetic *nasībīc* terminology or as a direct or indirect means that the Andalusian poet employed to deliver personal emotions and poetic images—is the best proof that the East remained attendant in the poetic subconscious of many of the poets of al-Andalus.

C. The Impact of Eastern Places and Poetry on the Andalusian Poetry: The *mu‘allaqa* of Imru‘ al-Qays as a Model

Iḥsān ‘Abbās discusses the influential poets of the East in his book on the history of Andalusian literature. ‘Abbās claims that some of the eastern poets, such as Abū al-‘Atāhiya (d. 826), Abū Nuwās, Abū Tammām and Ibn al-Rūmī, affected the poetic rhetorics of some Andalusian poets. For example, when the Andalusian poet employs water and plants’ images and metaphors, he does not necessarily mean that these items belong to the real life. ‘Abbās writes that this was mainly because of Abū Tammām’s influence. Likewise, regarding descriptions of jewelry and precious stones that the Andalusian poets employ, ‘Abbās states that this is mostly because of the influence of the Abbasid Caliph and poet Ibn al-Mu‘tazz (d. 909), who was the best to describe precious stones in the East.¹³⁴ Although ‘Abbās claims that al-Mutanabbī was the least poet that the Andalusians followed during the Umayyads’ reign in al-Andalus¹³⁵ (756 – 1031) because of his sophistication and philosophical wisdom, Mishārī Almūsa writes in his dissertation a complete chapter about the influence of al-Mutanabbī in al-

¹³³ Ibid., 2: 409.

¹³⁴ Iḥsān ‘Abbās, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-Andalusī, ‘Aṣr Siyādat Qurṭuba*, 2nd ed. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1969), 125-126.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 126.

Andalus and provides many examples of Ibn Khafāja imitating the style of Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī. His dissertation shows that also other eastern poets were models for some Andalusian poets, such as Ibn Darrāj al-Qasṭallī (d. 1030), who imitated Abū Nuwās and Ibn al-Ṭalīq and Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb who imitated Abū Tammām and wrote some *mu‘āraḍāt*—which Almusa defines as contrafactions or imitations using the same subject, rhyme and meter of the works of master poets from an earlier era—which followed the models used by the eastern poets.¹³⁶

It is not accurate though to categorize the names of eastern places used by Andalusian poets as mere imitations of the eastern Arabic model.¹³⁷ It is inaccurate also to say that this style matches exactly the *nasīb* mainly because the *nasībic* section of the poem (if it really exists) must open the ode and not come in the middle of it or at the end, as is the case in many of the aforementioned examples. It is correct to say though, that the sense of the East that is felt in the Andalusian poetry is coming—if not from nostalgic imitative motives—from a feeling of inferiority and despondency for not having had the authentic experience of the cradle of pure poetry. It is also correct to say that the poetical and cultural prestige of the East, and the fame and prestige of the eastern poetic masters are what the Andalusians long for and/or are jealous of. Aḥmad Haykal writes about this phenomenon:

Nevertheless, one of the most important characteristics of the Andalusians psychology is the feeling that is almost a component of insufficiency from which the Andalusians suffered because of their situation compared to the easterners. The easterners were in the cradle of the Islamic culture, and their countries are the origin of the Arabic language, and their districts are the place of origin of the literary genres, so everything that is dogmatic or noetic or artistic appears first in the East and the easterners take whatever they wish from it, and only after that does it reach al-Andalus.¹³⁸ This was due

¹³⁶ Mishari Almosa, “The Andalusian Panegyric Mu‘āraḍah Rhetorical Strategy and Speech Act Theory,” (PhD Diss., Indiana University, 2010), 75-121.

¹³⁷ “... And the Andalusians went with their imitation to using the places that the poets of the East use.” See: Ḥamīd, *Qaḍāyā Andalusīyya*, 60.

¹³⁸ Excluding *al-Muwashshahāt*, in spite of the fact that some references claim that the first *muwashshaḥa* was written by the Abbasid poet, Ibn al-Mu‘tazz. See what Aḥmad Haykal wrote to refute this opinion in: Aḥmad Haykal, *Al-Adab al-Andalusī*, 147-148.

to the closeness of the easterners to the origin, and the remoteness of the Andalusians from that origin. Because of this, the Andalusians felt a sort of inferiority to the easterners, and always tried to compensate for this by affirming their superiority in spite of their remoteness, and their precedence in spite of their distance. Because of this one may notice them being formally fanatical in regard to religion . . . while [at the same time] doing some unacceptable things that can easily be considered a violation of the basic rules of the religion.

One may also notice that formally they are very strict in regard to language, where they deal artistically with grammar for example and learn it by heart and compose books about it, and after that, and at the same time, they practice in their daily life a language that is the farthest from the grammar, it is perhaps the farthest from Arabic itself.¹³⁹

But before being affected by the late Umayyad and Abbasid poets, and before they invented new poetic forms (i.e., *zajal* and *muwashshaḥa*), the Arabs of al-Andalus inherited the classical ode of their *jāhili* forefathers with all its conventional themes and motifs. The interesting thing regarding this matter is the way the Andalusians treated this classical ode and its opening section of the *nasīb*.

In this chapter, I will trace some of the classical places¹⁴⁰ in Arabia as they were reflected in the Andalusian poetry. Mentioning and frequent referral to the names of these places indicate—in my opinion—the inclination, dependence and nostalgia of the poets of the Iberian Peninsula for the East and for its cultural and poetic heritage.

Pre-Islamic poetry can be found in a number of classical Arabic literary compendia and poetic anthologies, such as *Al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* written by al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabī (d. 784); *Jamharat Ash‘ār al-‘Arab* written by Abū Zayd al-Qurashī (d. 786); *Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa*, which was collected by Abū Tammām (d. 845); *Al-Shi‘r wa-al-Shu‘arā’* written by Ibn Qutayba al-Dīnawarī (d. 889); *Kitāb al-Aghānī* written by Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 967); and *Mukhtārāt*

¹³⁹ Ibid., 46-47. See also what Haykal wrote about the colloquial dialect of Andalusian Arabs (Ibid., 31-42.) and what he wrote about the Romance dialect, which is a colloquial derivation of Latin (Ibid., 38-39.).

¹⁴⁰ By the term “classical places” I mean the places mentioned in pre-Islamic poetry in general. Some of these places are famous and still exist and called by their ancient names. Others, though they are familiar in the poetic tradition, are less famous and their locations are questionable.

Ibn al-Shajarī written by Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Shajarī (d. 1148). I will not review this enormous corpus of material. Instead, I will focus mainly on the *mu‘allaqa* of Imru’ al-Qays in order to shed light on its importance in al-Andalus especially through referring to some of the places mentioned in it. In addition, I will deal briefly with some other place-names (e.g., towns, villages, mountains, wadis and creeks) that appear in the other nine *mu‘allaqāt*. Through the examination of the use of these pre-Islamic poetic place-names in Andalusian poetry, I will try to discover the poets’ inclination and nostalgia for the East and for its poetic conventions. I will also try to demonstrate, through the Andalusian poets’ direct and indirect references to the *mu‘allaqāt*, how they viewed themselves and their poetry in regard to the eastern classical poetry and heritage. It is important to note though, that some of the poetic lines below will not clearly remind of the *mu‘allaqāt* or their writers, in spite of that, mentioning such poetic lines here will still be very important to prove the indispensable relationship between the Andalusian poets and the East.

The opening prelude (*nasīb*)--whether consisting primarily of the theme of the ruined abode of the lost beloved and her departed tribe (*nasīb ṭalalī*) or the amorous-erotic encounter and description of the beloved herself (*nasīb ghazalī*)--and the journey section (*raḥīl*) are the two parts of the classical ode that include the largest number of place-names. However, as might be expected, it is the place-names of the nostalgic elegiac-toned *nasīb* that are associated in the poetic tradition with the irrevocable past.

Here is a quick review of the geographical places of the *mu‘allaqāt*. This list will serve as the study-sample of this sub-section through which I will demonstrate the nostalgic connotations of the eastern place-names in Andalusian poetry. Some of these place-names were mentioned before in the second chapter “Lexicon of Nostalgia.”

1. Imru’ al-Qays (d. 544)

Saqṭ/Siqṭ al-Liwā, Tūḍiḥ, al-Miqrāt, Ḥawmal, Ḍārij, al-‘Udhayb, Taymā’, Thabīr, al-Mujaymir, Abān, al-Jiwā’ and Dārat Juljul.

2. Ṭarafa Ibn al-‘Abd (d. 564)

Barqat Thahmud, Dad, al-‘Asīb, Dijla and Ḍarghad.

3. Al-Ḥārith Ibn Ḥilliza (d. 570)

Burqat Shammā’, al-Khulaṣā’, al-Muḥayyāt, al-Ṣifāḥ, A‘nāq, Fitāq, ‘Ādhib, al-Wafā’, Riyāḍ al-Qaṭā, Awdiyat al-Sharbab, al-Shu‘batān, al-Iblā’, Khazāzā, al-‘Aqīq, al-Baḥrayn, al-Ṣāqib, al-Ḥisā’, al-‘Alyā’, ‘Uwaṣā’, Thahlān and al-Ḥayyārīn.

4. ‘Amr Ibn Kulthūm (d. 584)

Andarīn, Ba‘labakk, Dimashq, Qāṣirīn, al-Yamāma, Dhī Ṭulūḥ, Najd, Khazāzā and Dhī Arāṭī.

5. ‘Abīd Ibn al-Abraṣ (d. 598)

Malḥūb, al-Quṭbiyyāt, al-Dhunūb, Rākis, Thu‘aylabāt, Dhāt Farqayn, al-Qulayb, ‘Arda and Ḥibr.

6. ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād (d. 601)

Al-Jiwā’, al-Ḥazn, al-Ṣammān, al-Mutalaththam, al-Ghaylam and Qumqum.

7. Al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī (d. 605)

Al-‘Alyā’, al-Sanad, Tadmur, Tūḍiḥ, Makka (Mecca) and Wajra.

8. Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā (d. 609)

Ḥawmānat al-Darrāj, al-Raqmatayn, al-Mutathallim, Jurthum, al-Qinān, al-Sawbān, Wādī al-Rass, al-‘Alyā’ and al-‘Irāq.

9. Al-A‘shā (d. 628)

Al-Hind (India), Darnā or Dartā, Numār or Thumār, Baṭn al-Khāl, al-‘Asjadī, al-Iblā’, al-Ḥabl and al-Khaṭṭ

10. Labīd Ibn Rabī‘a (d. 661)

Minā, Rijām, Rayyān, Tūḍīḥ, Wajra, al-Jabalān (Jabal Ṭayyi’ and Jabal Aja’), al-Qahr, al-Thalabūt and Tibāla.

Although Arabs have lived for eight centuries in al-Andalus away from the Arab East, and although Spain is located almost 3,000 miles away from al-Ḥijāz, al-Shām, Egypt and Mesopotamia, the places named above—as the following pages will show—remained rhapsodically attendant in the Andalusian poet’s conscience and sentiment. This indicates the strong bonds between these Arabs and their real place of origin and between them and the poetic heritage as reflected through the names of these ancient places.

The list in Chapter 2 was useful in forming the lexicon of nostalgia, but although I managed to almost find a parallel poetic example for each of the names of the places that appear there (many were taken from the *mu‘allaqāt*), I do not think that tracking each one of those place-names to support the idea of nostalgia for the East in the Andalusian poetry would prove fruitful, especially because the lexicon of the terms within the *nasīb* is repeated and does not necessarily always convey nostalgia. Therefore, a few carefully selected examples will make a stronger argument.

Not surprisingly, given its celebrity and valuation in the Arab East, the *mu‘allaqa* of Imru’ al-Qays is the most famous and most influential of the *mu‘allaqāt* in general and in al-

Andalus in particular.¹⁴¹ This is clear from the frequency with which place-names that *al-Malik al-Dillil* (the errant king) Imru' al-Qays mentioned in his *mu'allaqa* and in other poems of him are repeatedly mentioned in poems of Andalusian poets.¹⁴²

In spite of the successful Arabization of Andalusian place-names, rivers and mountains by Arabs in al-Andalus (e.g., Shantarīn = Santa Maria; Malaqa = Majorca; Ṭulayṭila = Toledo; and Jibāl al-Birans = the Pyrenees), the eastern place-names remained in use in order to convey the ideas, emotions and images with which they were conventionally associated in the poetic tradition of the Arab East. The water sources that I dealt with in sub-chapter 3B and the eastern mountains and places that were discussed in chapter Two, such as the 'Asīb, Yadhbul, al-'Udhayb, Thabīr, Thahlān, Abān and Dārat Juljul, remained the clearest indication of the influence of the East on Andalusian poetry and, in turn, its reliance on the lexicon and imagery of the eastern poetic corpus.

Siqṭ al-Liwā

Imru' al-Qays opened his *mu'allaqa* by mentioning several place-names:

¹⁴¹ This statement is valid regarding other times and eras as well since many scholars, including some contemporary ones, have compared between this specific *mu'allaqa* and other odes. See, for example, the article by Suzanne Stetkevych in which she argues for the rational structure of the ode based on the theory of the Rite of Passage that was first articulated by van Gennep. Suzanne Stetkevych, "Al-Qaṣīda al-'Arabiyya wa-Ṭuqūs al-'Ubūr," *Majallat Majma' al-Luḡha al-'Arabiyya bi-Dimashq* 60 (1985): 55-85. See also: James E. Montgomery, "Alqama al-Fahl's Contest with Imru' al-Qays: What Happens When a Poet Is Umpired by His Wife?" *Arabica* 44(1) (1997): 144-149; Amidu Sanni, "Did Tarafa Actually Steal from Imru' al-Qays? On Coincidence of Thoughts and Expressions (*tawarud*) in Arabic Literary Theory," *Arabic & Middle Eastern Literature*. 2 (2001): 117-136; Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak*, 241-286.

¹⁴² Such as the word 'Asīb—which is the name of the mountain on which the poet supposedly died and was buried as a result of wearing the poisoned armor that was sent to him by the King of Byzantium (*al-Rūm*) after discovering the poet's nasty story with his daughter. The legend tells that when the poet was dying, he was standing close to a grave of an old lady, whom he addressed by saying:

O our neighbor! The calamities happen sometimes,
but I will dwell here as far as 'Asīb is here.

أجارتنا إن الخطوب تنوب وإني مقيم ما أقام عسيبُ

'Asīb is one example of a place that Imru' al-Qays did not mention in the *mu'allaqa*, but in another poem, and the same time, it occurred frequently in the Andalusian poetic corpus. See the story of Imru' al-Qays and the murder of his father. Ḥujr in Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abī al-Karam al-Shaybānī, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, ed. 'Abd Allāh al-Qāḍī, 2nd ed. 10 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1994), 1: 399-406.

Halt, two friends, and we will weep for the memory of one beloved
and an abode at Siqṭ al-Liwā between al-Dakhūl and Ḥawmal,

Then Ṭūḍih, then al-Miqrāt, whose trace was not effaced
by the two winds weaving over it from south and north.¹⁴³

قفا نبك من ذكرى حبيب ومنزلٍ بسقط اللوى بين الدخول فحوملٍ
فتوضح فالمقراة لم يعف رسمها لما نسجتها من جنوبٍ وشمال¹⁴⁴

I will start with Siqṭ al-Liwā, the first geographical place mentioned in Imru' al-Qays's *mu'allaqa*. Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Judhāmī opened one of his poems with a *nasīb* that led him to express his sorrow due to the remoteness of his loved ones, then, he switched to the religious matter of yearning to the city of Ṭayba where the Prophet Muḥammad is buried. In the fifth line, the poet addressed the residents of the two mountains next to Siqṭ al-Liwā and asked them until when he is going to be hurt by remoteness:

Oh those who live on the two mountains by Siqṭ al-Liwā!
Until when should I be shaken by your distance?

يا ساكني العلمين من سقط اللوى حتى متى بنوى البعاد أزعزع؟¹⁴⁵

We will see later that this is not the only attempt by Andalusian or Maghribi poets, like al-Judhāmī, to directly or indirectly mix the *mu'allaqa* by Imru' al-Qays with religious matters, such as the *madīḥ nabawī*, what indicates that this particular eastern poem was highly appreciated among these “western” poets.

Ibn Ḥamdīs goes through the same sad scenery of the *nasīb* when describing the situation of his beloved when she was leaving during the night. The poet opens with two lines

¹⁴³ Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak*, 249.

¹⁴⁴ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab'*, 29-30.

¹⁴⁵ Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Dīwān*, 70. This type of religious poem yearns for the holy places of Islam and will be dealt with in the fourth chapter of this study, which focuses on *madīḥ nabawī* (i.e., poetry of praising Prophet Muḥammad) and Sufi poetry.

remembering his homeland and loathing his estrangement and alienation. Then, he describes the horse and the journey before he returned to the subject of his beloved. The difference in Ibn Ḥamdīs's poetry is that he, or rather his beloved, goes through more than one station or geographical place of the *mu'allaqa* of Imru' al-Qays. Besides Siqṭ al-Liwā, we find Tūḍiḥ and Ḍārij. Perhaps, the most important thing is that the poet not merely alludes to Imru' al-Qays, but, rather, after mentioning the place-names that were intimately associated with him in the poetic tradition, the poet explicitly refers to him by name in a type of a meta-poetic homage to the poet who immortalized those place-names and their elegiac-erotic associations:

What a sentence of time--nobody knows how it judges
when it forbids our homelands to us and they become prohibited.

The foreignness of remoteness enhanced my estrangement till today,
but all this did not cause me to forget the traces of my homeland since it remained
stuck in me.

.....

Among the dark-eyed beauties [oryx does/women] there is still in my soul
a beautiful lady whose mouth keeps silent out of the utmost fear.

.....

She removed her veil at Tūḍiḥ, [revealing a shiny face] so that its paths
became clear enough to travel in the dark of night.

She passed by Siqṭ al-Liwā and shed tears
that are scattered like unstrung pearls.

And at 'Ayn Ḍārij my robe was soaked
by eyelids whose tears, out of sorrow, had turned to blood.

Amongst these places [where love-vows were once made] Imru' al-Qays
still gives expression to the time of love and translates.

بحكم زمانٍ يا له كيف يحكمُ يُحرِّمُ أوطانًا علينا فنُحرِّمُ
لقد أركبتني غربةً البين غربةً إلى اليوم عن رسمِ الحمى بي ترسُمُ

...

بنفسي من حور المها غادة لها فَمَّ عن شديد الخوف بالصمت ملجَمُ

...

وقد سَفَرْتُ في توضيح فتوضَّحتُ مسالكة للسفر والليل مظلمُ

ومرّت على سِقَطِ اللوى فتساقطتُ دموعٌ عليها دُرّها لا يُنظَمُ

وقد ضَرَجْتُ ثوبي لدى عين ضارجِ عليّ جفونٌ ماؤها بالأسى دمُ

معاهدُ ما زال امرؤ القيس بينها يُعبِّرُ عن عهد الهوى ويُترجمُ¹⁴⁶

It is important to note how Ibn Ḥamdīs followed the intensely rhetorical eastern Abbasid style of *badīʿ* poetry and wove these place-names into the texture of his poem using *tajnīs* (i.e., paronomasia or etymological word-play based on the tri-literal roots): (*Tūḍiḥ*, *fa-tawaddaḥat* \ *Siqṭ al-Liwā*, *fa-tasāqaṭat* \ *ʿAyn Ḍārij*, *ḍarrajat*). The total poetic effect of this style was to evoke two essential eastern poetic elements at once: the familiar and highly emotionally evocative place-names from the *nasīb* of the pre-Islamic Imruʿ al-Qays’s *muʿallaqa* and the very distinctive *badīʿ*-style of the high Abbasid Muḥdathūn (modernists) poets, such as Abū Tammām. In effect, Ibn Ḥamdīs’s poem performed homage to two different periods of eastern poetry.

Al-Rusāfī al-Balansī (d. 1177) also mentioned *Siqṭ al-Liwā* in a poem full of other eastern motifs. The poet opens with the *nasīb*, and as some of the eastern poets do, he alludes to his beloved by the conventional name of Hind, mentioning her along with the desert plant of the Rand (Laurier). Then, in the same *nasībic* part, the poet uses another eastern cultural motif when he alludes to Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī’s celebrated *dīwan*, *Saqṭ al-Zand* (The Spark

¹⁴⁶ Ibn Ḥamdīs, *Dīwān*, 408-410.

on the Fire-stick). Immediately before turning to the *gharaḍ* or the main part of the poem, which praised the minister Abū Ja‘far al-Waqqashī (d. 1178) from Valencia, the poet refers to the tents of his loved ones in Siqṭ al-Liwā and in al-Fard.¹⁴⁷

Hind has alighted at al- Ajra‘ [the sandy plain];
 where the breeze is wet like dew and smells like the fragrance of the Laurier.

.....

A memory that stirs your heart
 like the fire-stick makes sparks.

.....

And their tents, when they were struck are
 Siqṭ al-Liwā and the sand dune of al-Fard .

الأجرع تحتله هند يندى النسيم ويأرجُ الرندُ

...

ذَكَرٌ يَمُرُّ عَلَى الْفَوَادِ كَمَا يُوحِي إِلَيْكَ بِسِقْطِهِ الرُّنْدُ

...

وخيَامُهُمْ أَيَّامَ مَضْرِبِهَا سَقَطُ اللَّوَى وَكَثِيبُهُ الْفَرْدُ¹⁴⁸

The lines above may not closely remind of Imru’ al-Qays’s *mu‘allaqa*, but like many other poems, they definitely introduce another allusion to Imru’ al-Qays himself rather than his *mu‘allaqa*, especially concerning to linking between Siqṭ al-Liwā and the fortress al-Ablaq al-Fard, which is featured in one of the poet’s most interesting anecdotes.

The story tells that in his quest to get Caesar’s assistance to vanquish his father’s murderers, Imru’ al-Qays paid [the Jewish] poet al-

¹⁴⁷ Al-Fard is al-Ablaq al-Fard, which was the palace of al-Samaw’ al Ibn ‘Ādiyyā’, who was known for his trustworthiness. This palace, based on classical references, is located somewhere in the desert of Taymā’. See: Al-Iṣfahānī, *Al-Aghānī*, 22: 122-125; ‘Amr Ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Burṣān wal-‘Urjān wa-al-‘Umyān wal-Ḥūlān*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (Bayrūt: Dār al-Jīl, 1990), 56.

¹⁴⁸ Muḥammad Ibn Ghālib al-Ruṣāfi, *Dīwān al-Ruṣāfi al-Balansī Abī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ghālib*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Bayrūt: Dār al-Shurūq, 1983), 58-59.

Samaw'al [Ibn 'Ādayyā' (d. 560)] a visit at his fort, known al-Ablaq or al-Fard in the desert of Taymā'. At the fort, Imru' al-Qays deposited five coats of mail armor with al-Samaw'al for safekeeping. Al-Samaw'al introduced Imru' al-Qays to the Ghassanid king al-Hārith Ibn Abī Shimmar, who provided Imru' al-Qays with access to Emperor Justinian (r. 527- 565). As Imru' al-Qays's enemy, al-Mundhir Ibn Mā' al-Samā', king of Hīra, heard of this, he sent his agent al-Hārith Ibn Zālim to al-Ablaq to demand the shields. Al-Hārith seized al-Samaw'al's son—who had been out hunting—and threatened al-Samaw'al that he'd put his son to death if he did not produce the shields. As al-Samaw'al refused, as that would be a breach on his part, al-Hārith cut the son in half.¹⁴⁹

Siqṭ al-Liwā is also mentioned in a poem by Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb. The poet opens with the *nasīb*, remembering the good days when he was with his beloved, but surprisingly, or rather expectedly at this point in our discussion, the places where the lovers met were not in al-Andalus, but in the East. In addition, what stirs this sweet-sad memory is either the cooing of a grieving dove or the sparks of the lightning in the sky of the East:

And there stirred my sorrow beautiful lightning-flash
that stirs the sorrow of a heart afflicted with passion.

It revealed during the night in Siqṭ al-Liwā a spark
struck by two fire-sticks amidst the clouds

And it shed a continuous rain on the ruined abode of my loved ones,
until I thought that my eye was showering lavish rain upon it.

ولقد شجاني بارق متأنقٌ يُشجى به صبُّ الفؤادِ عميدُهُ
أورى بجنح الليل في سقَطِ اللوى سِقْطاً وَرَتَ خَلَّ السحابِ زنوده
وهى على طلل الأحبة ديمةً فحسبتُ عيني عند ذاك تجوده¹⁵⁰

In addition to directly mentioning Siqṭ al-Liwā in these three lines, Ibn al-Khaṭīb's poem includes further allusions to Imru' al-Qays's *mu'allaqa* in the accumulation of the

¹⁴⁹ See: 'Abd al-Wahhāb Anṣārī, *Anthology of Arabic poetry* (n.p: Academy of Languages, 2009), 50.

¹⁵⁰ Lisān al-Dīn, *Dīwān*, 1: 291.

vocabulary associated with the rain (i.e., *bāriq*, *awrā*, *al-saḥāb* and *dayma*), that evoked the celebrated storm-scene that concluded Imru' al-Qays's poem:

O friend, do you see the lightning? There is its flash—
like two hands shining in a high-crowned cumulus!

Its flash illumining the sky, or like the sudden flare of a monk's lamp,
when, tilting it, he soaks with oil the tightly twisted wick.

Between Dārij and al-'Udhayb I sat with my companions to watch the storm
how distant was the object of my gaze!

Over Mount Qaṭan, as I read the signs, the right flank of its downpour falls,
over Mount al-Sitār, then Mount Yadhbul, falls the left.

Then in the forenoon it was pouring its water down around Kutayfa,
overturning the lofty kanahbal trees upon their beards.¹⁵¹

أصاح ترى برقاً أريك وميضه كلمع اليدين في حبي مكل

يضيء سناه أو مصابيح راهب أمال السليط بالذبال المفتل

قعدت له وصحبتني بين ضارج وبين العذيب بعد ما متألمي

على قطن بالشيم أيمن صوبه وأيسره على الستار فيذبل

فأضحى يسح الماء حول كتفيه يكب على الأذقان دوح الكنهيل¹⁵²

In an expansion, or *tashṭīr*¹⁵³ of Imru' al-Qays's *mu'allaqa*, Ḥazim al-Qarṭajannī employs the *mu'allaqa* 79 times to produce religious and nostalgic *madīḥ nabawī* ode. In it the poet/ speaker yearns for Ṭayba (Medina), the city in which the Prophet Muhammad was buried; al-Ka'ba and other holy Islamic places associated with the Islamic *hajj* (pilgrimage). What is

¹⁵¹ Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak*, 256.

¹⁵² Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab'*, 54-57.

¹⁵³ *Tashṭīr*, in poetry, means splitting lines of famous odes into two hemistiches and adding to each hemistich another hemistich by the poet to create a new poem that meets the spirit of the original ode. This style was very famous in al-Andalus, especially in relation to praising Prophet Muḥammad or what is known in Arabic as *madīḥ nabawī*. See: "Kitāb al-'Arab," accessed July 10, 2014, <http://forums.arabsbook.com/threads/23181>.

worth mentioning here is the poet's rejection of the *jāhili* tradition of stopping at the beloved's ruined abode. Instead, he chooses to seek the soil of Ṭayba:

Say to your eyes twain, should you visit the noblest of prophets,
halt friends both! Let us weep, recalling a love and a lodging

Descend at Ṭayba; be concerned no more for an abode
by the rim of twisted sands between al-Dakhūl and Ḥawmal.¹⁵⁴

لعينيكَ قل إن زرتَ أفضلَ مرسلٍ قفا نبيك من ذكري حبيبٍ ومنزلٍ

وفي طيبة فانزل ولا تغشَ منزلاً بسقط اللوى بين الدخول فحومل¹⁵⁵

Fāṭima 'Umrānī wrote that Ḥāzīm al-Qarṭājannī invested a lot of time to make sure his poem went in the correct direction of the *madīḥ nabawī* because distracting the reader from the influence and the impact of Imru' al-Qays is very difficult. Besides, the two different themes of the original ode and that of al-Qarṭājannī made it even harder for the latter to set his poem in the right direction. In spite of that, al-Qarṭājannī found it important that his poem be modeled after the *mu'allaqa* of Imru' al-Qays in hope that it would gain the same fame as that of the *mu'allaqa*.¹⁵⁶ It is obvious that the poet wanted to draw a dramatic contrast between the highly erotic worldly poem of Imru' al-Qays and the devotional direction of the *madīḥ nabawī*, and that such contrast made the devotional aspects more effective.

Ḥawmal

¹⁵⁴ Translation is from: Julie Scott Meisami, "Imru' al-Qays Praise the Prophet," *Tradition and Modernity in the Arabic Literature*, ed. Issa J. Boullata and Terri DeYoung (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1997), 226.

¹⁵⁵ Ḥāzīm Ibn Muḥammad al-Qarṭājannī, *Dīwān Ḥāzīm al-Qarṭājannī*, ed. 'Uthmān al-Ka'āk (Bayrūt: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1964), 89. The editor of the *dīwān* introduced this poem by stating that it is among the poet's best poetry and that al-Qarṭājannī included the poem by Imru' al-Qays in order to praise Prophet Muḥammad (al-Muṣṭafā) in the best manner.

¹⁵⁶ Fāṭima 'Umrānī, *Al-Madā'ih al-Nabawiyya ft al-Shi'r al-Andalusī* (al-Qāhira: Mu'assasat al-Mukhtār lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 2011), 194.

The impact of the *mu'allaqa* by Imru' al-Qays in al-Andalus was found in the use of other places that, like Siqṭ al-Liwā, were not associated with actual geographical locations but rather with their poetic “location” in the poem of Imru' al-Qays. Ḥawmal, like al-Dakhūl, was much less popular than Siqṭ al-Liwā and other places in Imru' al-Qays's *mu'allaqa*, and, as such, was hardly mentioned in al-Andalus. 'Alī al-Ḥuṣrī al-Qayrawānī opened his 10 line poem in praise of the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib by mentioning Ḥawmal. He ended it by discussing the mountain of Yadhbul, which occurred in the storm-scene of the *mu'allaqa* by Imru' al-Qays:

I got so thirsty that shedding tears became my only spring,
and I had no other way to drink but from the watering-place of Ḥawmal.

.....

And if time embraced but then oppressed me,
then 'Alī is the best lord and the best refuge.

He is a gallant man; if he decides to do something
he mounts his determination that is as lofty as Mount Raḍwā and Mount Yadhbul.

ظمئت ومنهلّ المدامع منهلي ولا حومَ لي إلا على ورد حوملِ

.....

وإن يك دهري ضمنني ثم ضامني فإن علياً خير مولى وموئل

همامٌ إذا ما همّ بالأمر فامتطى عزيمته ناءت برضوى ويذبل¹⁵⁷

The examples above, especially those that involved the *madīḥ nabawī*, are the best to show the high rank of the *mu'allaqa* by Imru' al-Qays in al-Andalus. Meisami wrote that:

Imru' al-Qays's "*Mu'allaqa*" is arguably the most widely quoted, plagiarized, imitated, parodied-poem in Arabic. The poet himself was often credited with having invented nearly everything of note in ancient poetry, with having composed the most outstanding,

¹⁵⁷ Ibn Bassām, *Al-Dhakhīra*, 7: 260.

never-to-be excelled verse, or the most striking comparison on some topic or other.¹⁵⁸

Ḍārij

Ibn al-Abbār referred to Ḍārij, another place mentioned by Imru' al-Qays,¹⁵⁹ in a *ghazal* ode (love lyric). Most likely referring to himself, he complained about the remoteness of his beloved:

O people who were injured with many others
by the wide beautiful eyes in Ḍārij!

يا لقوم ضرجوا في ضارج بالعيون النجل فيمن ضرجا¹⁶⁰

What draws our attention here is the use of *tajnīs* (paronomasia) (*ḍarrajū*, *Ḍārij*, *ḍurrijā*) and his hints at Ḍārij, which is a water place. Apparently, and as the lines of Ibn Ḥamdīs above show, this was common in such poems that directly referred to Imru' al-Qays or indirectly allude to him or to his poetry.

A final example of the use of Ḍārij as a poetic refuge of nostalgia and attachment for the East in the Andalusian poetic corpus can be found in the following line from Ibn 'Abdūn:

And I left the land of the West and
as if it were for me 'Ālij or Ḍārij or Zamzam.

وتركت أرض الغرب وهي كأنما بي عالج أو ضارج أو زمزم¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Meisami, "Imru' al-Qays Praising the Prophet," 223.

¹⁵⁹ In addition to his *mu'allaqa*, Ḍārij is mentioned in another ode of Imru' al-Qays that some scholars mentioned but I could not find in his *dīwān*, neither that edited by Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Shāfi. 2nd edition nor the one edited by Anwar 'Ulayyān and Muḥammad 'Alī al-Shawābka. The line is:

I went to the spring that is at Ḍārij
where there is a dense shadow and high moss.

تيممْتُ العين التي عند ضارج بفيء عليها الظل عزمضها طامي

See: 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muslim Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, 4 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1982), 1: 143.

¹⁶⁰ Ibn al-Abbār, *Dīwān*, 115.

¹⁶¹ Ibn 'Abdūn. *Dīwān*, 180.

The line above contains reverse nostalgia as it is not nostalgia for the East, but rather nostalgia for the West. However, what really makes this example special and interesting is that the Andalusian poet could not find a better way to express his nostalgia for his western homeland than linking it to the traditional nostalgia for places in the East. In another way, his homeland is important and keen for him just because he felt as if it were 'Ālij, Dārij or Zamzam. In this way, the eastern places acquire a very high rank for the poet.

Al-'Udhayb

As the lines on page 143 show, al-'Udhayb in Imru' al-Qays's *mu'allaqa* occurs in the storm scene. In al-Andalus however, al-'Udhayb is usually paired with Bāriq, which leads me to suggest that the Andalusians were more influenced by Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī than by Imru' al-Qays in regard to mentioning al-'Udhayb in their poems.¹⁶² Usually and probably because Bāriq means a hard ground but it is derived from the root B.R.Q. from which the word *barq* (lightning) comes, when these two places are mentioned, lightning appears.

Apparently, referring to the place-name al-'Udhayb was a poetic convention in al-Andalus. The second hemistich of the following line by Ibn al-Abbār in which he praises Jaen's ruler Abū 'Alī 'Umar Ibn Abī Mūsa and opens with a wine prelude, following Abū Nuwās technique of evoking the abandoned campsite motif by rejecting it:

I sipped it [a wine] as if it were a sweet mouth,
so I gave up mentioning al-'Udhayb and Bāriq.

رشفت بها مثل الثغور عذوبةً فأقصرت عن ذكر العذيب وبارق¹⁶³

¹⁶² Al-Mutanabbī opened one of his poems in praise of Sayf al-Dawla al-Ḥamdānī (d. 967) with:

I remembered the place which is between al-'Udhayb and Bāriq
Where we dragged our spears and where our horses ran.

تذكرت ما بين العذيب وبارق مجرّ عوالينا ومجرى السوابق

See: Al-Ma'arrī, *Sharḥ Dīwān Abī al-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī*, 3: 455.

¹⁶³ Ibn al-Abbār, *Dīwān*, 478.

The sweetness of the wine is what made the poet stop referring al-‘Udhayb what indicates that such a referral was common among poets. Al-‘Udhayb appears without the place-name Bāriq, but with *bawāriq* (the plural of *barq* = lightning) in the opening line of a poem by Ibn abī al-Khiṣāl:

Flashing lightning at the mountains of al-‘Udhayb appeared high over them in the valley
while they were gathered all together.

سمت لهم بالغور والشملى جامعُ بروق بأعلام العذيب لوامع¹⁶⁴

On the same topic, Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥaddād al-Andalusī (d. 1087), who enjoyed the company of his male beloved and felt it unnecessary to use the *nasīb*, wrote addressing himself to put aside the al-‘Aqīq for being thankless and the al-‘Udhayb that belonged to the errant one (*al-dāll*) (i.e., Imru’ al-Qays, known as the “errant king” (*al-malik al-dillīl*)):

So, leave the ‘Aqīq aside because it is ungrateful,
and put al-‘Udhayb aside since it belongs to the errant one.

فذر العقيق مجانبا لعقوقه وذر العذيب عذيب ذات الضال¹⁶⁵

In other poems, Ibn al-Abbār plays further on the place names ‘Udhayb and Bāriq and compares falling tears and the radiant eyes of his beloved to sweet water (*al-mā’ al-‘adhb*) and lightning (Bāriq). To do so, nothing is better than al-‘Udhayb, which shares the same root with *‘adhb*:

Their shedding of tears and their radiant [faces] came together,
O how close to each other al-‘Udhayb and Bāriq appear!

May the rain water the banks of al-‘Udhayb and Bāriq,
and may it water all places with its deluge everywhere.

¹⁶⁴ *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, Ibn Abī al-Khiṣāl.

¹⁶⁵ Ibn al-Ḥaddād, *Dīwān*, 248.

Much lightning between al-‘Udhayb and Bāriq
seems to be a lighter for my love-spark.

تلاقى انهلال منهما وتهلل فيا قرب ما لاح العذيب وبارق
سقى الغيث أكناف العذيب وبارق وروى بهامي صوبه حيثما أروى
كم بارق بين العذيب وبارق يبدو لزند صبابتي قداحا¹⁶⁶

The other topic associated with al-‘Udhayb in the Andalusian poet is love. For some reason, love cannot be complete or ideal in al-Andalus unless it takes place among the eastern places. This is especially noticeable in the *nasīb*, but one can find emotional lines in which eastern places are mentioned almost in all sections of some Andalusian poems.

This convention draws attention to the fact that the poets of al-Andalus preferred to cling to the East and describe their love stories as if they had taken place in the East or in imaginary places than to use Andalusian places. Did not Cordoba, Seville, Granada and other Andalusian places fit love stories? The answer is yes. However, the pure eastern poetic model apparently defeats logic and reality. Regardless of whether an Andalusian poet intended to tell his own love stories or merely to transfer a conventional topic, such as the amorous subject of the *nasīb* that usually opens the ode, the East remained the main means by which to convey such ideas.

Ibn Furkūn’s line is the best indication of such a unique emotional amorous position of al-‘Udhayb in al-Andalus. Simply, for the poet, love and the beloved are almost useless, worthless, sore and impure if they do not come from al-‘Udhayb, its Bān and Rand:

And her flowers would not be sweet had not
the Bān and the Rand of al-‘Udhayb appeared to her on a dune.

¹⁶⁶ Ibn al-Abbār, *Dīwān*, 407, 435, 124.

وما وردھا عذبٌ إذا لم یین لها علی کثبٍ بانُ العذیبِ ورنده¹⁶⁷

In addition, the following selections from Yaḥyā Ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Bāqī al-Qurṭubī (d. 1145), Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḥubaysh (d. 1287) and Ibn Zamrak, respectively, are also examples of the way al-‘Udhayb (and other eastern places) are used to express love and emotions in al-Andalus:

Do the residents of al-Ghadā know that their remoteness
ignites fire inside a crestfallen submitted heart?

And do the neighbors of al-‘Aqīq [the residents of al-Ḥijāz]
know that the agate in my eyelids melted because of their separation?

And that the stories of al-‘Udhayb are sweeter to me
than fresh sweet water to a thirsty man?

أیعلم سكان الغضى أن بعدهم يشب الغضى في قلب مكتئب عاني

وهل عند جيران العقيق بأني لفرقتهم ذاب العقيق بأجفاني

وأن أحاديث العذیب لمسمعي ألد من العذب الزلال لظمان؟¹⁶⁸

I would sacrifice my father to the sake of a gazelle that my eye flirted with
between al-‘Udhayb and the two shores of Bāriq.

I asked him to visit me in order to cure my pain,
and he promised me and kept his promise.

بأبي غزال غازلته مقلتي بين العذیب وبين شطي بارق

وسألت منه زيارة تشفي الجوى فأجابني منها بوعده صادق¹⁶⁹

On the night in which the full moon slept with me
and the eyes of the meteors gazed at me,

¹⁶⁷ Ibn Furkūn, *Dīwān*, 134.

¹⁶⁸ *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḥubaysh.

¹⁶⁹ *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, Yaḥyā Ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Bāqī al-Qurṭubī.

I drank from a sweet wet mouth
at the abode that lies between al-‘Udhayb and Bāriq

وليلةً بات البدر فيها مضاجعي وباتت عيون الشهب نحوى روانيا
كرعنتُ بها بين العذيب وبارق بمورد ثغر بات بالدار حالياً¹⁷⁰

The Granadan poet Ibn Zamrak expresses his resentment for Andalusī critics blindly preferring poems from the East, “between al-‘Udhayb and Bāriq,” commenting metapoetically in this single line that reached us out of context:

And if it were recited between al-‘Udhayb and Bāriq,
the reciters of the West would say, how lovely the East is!

ولو أنشدت بين العذيب وبارق لقال رواة الغرب يا حبذا الشرق¹⁷¹

The previous line was not in Ibn Zamrak’s *dīwān*, but al-Maqqarī said that it was from a book called *Sharḥ Badī‘iyyat al-Ḥalī* written for the Maghribī grammarian ‘Ubayb al-Tha‘ālībī as an example of good ending of poems (*ḥusn al-khitām*). Al-Maqqarī wrote also that he himself could not figure out what was so good about ending a poem in such a manner. Nevertheless, the poem was recited in al-Maghrib by Ibn Zamrak as a formal official task when he was heading to the Maghribī ruler ‘Abd al-‘Azīz on an Andalusian diplomatic mission. If we read a little bit more in the same section of the *Naḥḥ al-Ṭīb*, we realize that this line was written by Ibn Zamrak to show that the Maghribī critics, not the Andalusian ones, preferred the eloquence of the East over that of the West. Al-Maqqarī conveyed a piece of news from al-Shāḥibī about Ibn Zamrak when the later returned to al-Andalus after a trip to al-Maghrib. At the end of this report, al-Maqqarī wrote: “The Maghribī writers keep the Arabs’ style of [the

¹⁷⁰ Ibn Zamrak, *Dīwān*, 520.

¹⁷¹ Al-Maqqarī, *Naḥḥ al-Ṭīb*, 7: 280.

East] in their poetry and writing, and criticize the style of the modern writers because it is not eloquent.¹⁷²

Finally, nostalgia and revferral to the East are directly expressed through al-‘Udhayb in these two lines from Ibn Furkūn and Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Shibrīn al-Judhāmī from Ceuta (d. 1346), respectively:

Pass by, my two friends, the ruined abodes of al-‘Udhayb since they are
whose suffering has become sweet flowers.

وَمُرًّا بِأَطْلَالِ الْعُدَيْبِ فَإِنَّهَا قُلُوبٌ غَدَا عَدْبُ الْوَرُودِ عَذَابُهَا¹⁷³

Quench my thirst for news of al-‘Udhayb, because I am
sad for the ‘Udhayb, and my sadness cannot be borne with patience.

وَعَلَّلُونِي بِأَخْبَارِ الْعُدَيْبِ فَلِي عَلَى الْعُدَيْبِ أَسَى لِلصَّبْرِ يَنْتَزِعُ¹⁷⁴

It is worth mentioning that al-‘Udhayb is also one of the places recurrent in Sufi poetry, a matter that will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Taymā’

Like other place-names in the *mu‘allaqa* of Imru’ al-Qays, Taymā’ holds a respected place in the Andalusian poetic corpus. But, in contrast to former places where I could point sometimes at a direct tendency between them and the *mu‘allaqa*, Taymā’ in al-Andalus, at first glance, is either neutral or identified with aforementioned eastern lore of the fort of al-Ablaq, which belonged to al-Samaw’al, the Jew famous for his trustworthiness. Deeper contemplation, however, in some poems where Taymā’ is involved and in al-Samaw’al’s story testify that Imru’ al-Qays, who is poetically absent in regard to Taymā’ in al-Andalus, is the main character of the story of al-Samaw’al, although he was absent when the tragic events of the story took

¹⁷² Ibid., 7: 279.

¹⁷³ Ibn Furkūn, *Dīwān*, 339.

¹⁷⁴ *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, Ibn Shibrīn al-Judhāmī.

place.¹⁷⁵ From here, one may assume that Imru' al-Qays is the attendant absent regarding to Taymā' in al-Andalus and is still involved somehow in the matter.

Imru' al-Qays's line in which Taymā' was mentioned is part of the storm scene—that was not a *nasīb*—and perhaps the stone castle alludes to the Fort of al-Ablaq:

In Taymā' it did not leave a single palm trunk standing,
or a single castle but those built of stone.¹⁷⁶

وتيماء لم يترك فيها جذع نخلةٍ ولا أطمًا إلا مشيدًا بجندل¹⁷⁷

Just as the poets played on the root of the name Dārij through *tajnīs* or paronomasia,¹⁷⁸ they often played on the words *taym* (deep love) and Taymā'. They also used Taymā' and the name of the fortress itself, al-Ablaq al-Fard. The following examples shed light on this poetic technique:

Ibn Hāni' al-Andalusī opened one of his poems by mentioning the fort of al-Ablaq:

Yes, this is Taymā' and this is al-Ablaq al-Fard,
so ask the square houses of the lions (*usūd/ usd*) what the tribe of Asad did!

بلى هذه تيماء والأبلق الفردُ فسل أجمات الأسد ما فعل الأسد¹⁷⁹

Without being explicitly mentioned, the accumulation of more than one word that reminds of Imru' al-Qays in the line above (Taymā' which occurred in his *mu'allqa*, al-Ablaq

¹⁷⁵ See the full story of Imru' al-Qays and al-Samaw'al and some lines of al-Samaw'al also in: al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-Amthāl*, 1: 435-436; al-Ḥimyarī, *Al-Rawḍ al-Mi'tār*, 10; Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Maḥāsin wa-al-Masāwi'*, ed. 'Adnān 'Ubayd al-'Alī (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1999), 85; Maḥmūd Ibn 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *Al-Mustaḥṣā fī Amthāl al-'Arab*, 2nd ed. 2 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1987), 1: 435; Al-Waṭwāt, *Ghurar al-Khaṣā'is*, 43-44. Worth mentioning that due to this story in which al-Samaw'al sacrificed his son to keep his dignity and trust, he became a symbol for loyalty and trustworthiness and the phrase "*Awfā min al-Samaw'al*" (i.e., "more trustworthy than al-Samaw'al") was coined for him.

¹⁷⁶ Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak*, 257.

¹⁷⁷ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab'*, 79.

¹⁷⁸ See the line that was mentioned above:

O people who were injured with many others
by the wide beautiful eyes in Dārij!

يا لقوم ضرجوا في ضارج بالعيون النجل فيمن ضرجا

¹⁷⁹ Ibn Hāni', *Dīwān*, 107.

al-Fard which is the name of the fortress of al-Samaw'al who is related to the famous story with the poet, and Asad which is the tribe responsible for killing Ḥujr, Imru' al-Qays's father) is the best proof that he is being alluded to.

Ismā'īl Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qayrawānī, who lived in the twelfth century, did the same in one of his elegies when he described the dead as a fort and as strong as a dam:

Crowned with the virtue of ambition that despises the summits,
when it set its sights upon Taymā' and al-Ablaq al-Fard

مكللة خلقًا طمعًا يزدرى الذرى إذا استشرفت تيماء والأبلق الفرد¹⁸⁰

'Alī Ibn 'Aṭīyya Ibn al-Zaqāq al-Balansī (d. 1134) employed *tajnīs* to play on the place-name of Taymā' and love:

She visited from a distant place an infatuated lover (*mutayyam*)
who lives in al-Raqqmatayn while her dwelling is in Taymā'.

زارت على شحط المزار متيمًا بالرقمتين ودارها تيماء¹⁸¹

Similarly, Ibn Khafāja said:

And my camels yearned because the wind incites love,
so I saw no one in Taymā' who was not infatuated (*mutayyam*).

وحنّت ركابي والهوى يبعث الهوى فلم أر في تيماء إلا متيمًا¹⁸²

Finally, Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Hānī' al-Aṣghar (d. 1160) described the deep love that he felt when the phantom of his beloved visited him:

Her Nu'āmā [the southern wind] visited and her phantom visited [as well],
so Taymā' went mad with love because of both visitors.

¹⁸⁰ *Al-Mawsū'a al-Shi'riyya*, Ismā'īl Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qayrawānī.

¹⁸¹ Ibn al-Zaqāq, *Dīwān*, 1.

¹⁸² Ibn Khafāja, *Dīwān*, 233.

زارت نعامها وزار خيالها فتيممت بكليهما تيماء¹⁸³

Thabīr

Thabīr is mentioned by Imru' al-Qays in the storm scene of his *mu'allaqa* in line 78, right after he mentioned Taymā':

As if Mount Thabīr in the foremost of its rains
were a tribal chieftain wrapped in in a striped cloak.¹⁸⁴

كأن ثبيراً في عرانبين وبليه كبير أناس في بجادٍ مُزَمِّلٍ¹⁸⁵

Thabīr is a mountain in Mecca that Andalusians used to mention both by itself and with other place-names and mountains, such as Najd, Raḍwā, 'Asīb and Thahlān, to express strength, stability and different other feelings toward the East or to fathom and better understand their own souls and emotions.

At the beginning of one panegyric poem, Ibn Khafāja opens the poem by telling others to enjoy life before it is too late. Then, he remembers that he is already an old man, but, in spite of this realization, he states that he is still fond of pretty women and still enjoys the sweet water at Mun'araj al-Liwā, the dense trees, the gust of the wind in the spring, the drowsiness of the spring and the morning when the sun shines and renews the youth that was erased by the night:

What wonderful water is that at Mun'araj al-Liwā,
and how wonderful it is when rain falls on dense shaking trees!

.....

The Pleiades shine as if they were
the fingers of paradise or the highland of Thabīr.

فيا حبذا ماء بمنعرج اللوى وما اهتَزَّ من أيكٍ عليه مطيرُ

¹⁸³ *Al-Mawsū'a al-Shi'riyya*, Ibn Hāni' al-Aṣghar.

¹⁸⁴ Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak*, 257.

¹⁸⁵ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab'*, 78.

.....

وأشرق نجمٌ للثريا كأنه أيادي نعيم أو هضاب ثبير¹⁸⁶

The lines above and many others to come below do not necessarily indicate nostalgia, but rather, the high degree of geographical dependence on the East and the cultural and literary attachment of the Andalusī poets to that East and to its *nasīb*.

In another poem, Ibn Khafāja complains about time and the calamities that it brings. He also discusses how he used to escape the evil of nights by seeking refuge at Thabīr and ‘Asīb, but now has a better refuge with his patron:

I used to seek Thabīr and ‘Asīb
when I wanted to escape the fear and evil of nights.

.....

O king of kings! I have a tongue
that [people] point their fingers at to indicate an orator.

وكنت متى استرئيت من الليالي فزعت إلى ثبير أو عسيب

...

فيا ملك الملوك ولي لسان يُشيرُ به البنان إلى خطيب¹⁸⁷

It is worth mentioning that the intensive use of place-names that Imru’ al-Qays referred to by Andalusian poets is a clear appreciation for the classical poet himself and for his poetic style. Such use shows the unquestionable influence of the eastern poetic style and convention on Andalusian poetry.

¹⁸⁶ Ibn Khafāja, *al-Dīwān*, 143.

¹⁸⁷ Ibn Khafāja, *Dīwān*, 47.

A panegyric ode by Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī is opened with a scene in which the poet sets sail to seek the bounty of the patron. The poet opens directly with the perilous liminal journey (*raḥīl*), now by ships on the stormy seas rather than on a camel through the desert. The crashing waves of the high seas are described as the two mountains, Thabīr and Thahlān, crashing back and forth:

We loaded the ships and they descended toward you
as if they were frightened crows at sunset

On green seas which, when the Ṣabā blows,
Thabīr and Thahlān plunge back and forth in them.

إليك شحنا الفلك تهوي كأنها وقد ذعرت عن مغرب الشمس غربان

على لجج خضرٍ إذا هبت الصبا ترامى بنا فيها تبيزٌ وثهلائ¹⁸⁸

No matter how innovative the poet was or intended to be, the sound of the East, represented by Thabīr, Thahlān, Iraq, Khurāsān, Dhubyān and other motifs that appeared in the poem,¹⁸⁹ remained essential to his poetic expression.

Dārat Juljul

I will end this sub-chapter about the *mu‘allaqa* of Imru‘ al-Qays with a discussion about the place where the poet was involved in an erotic escapade with his paternal cousin and her friends. According to the story, the poet waited at Dārat Juljul for ‘Unayza, his beloved cousin. When that lady appeared accompanied by her female friends, they took off their clothes and entered the pool to bathe. It was then that the daring poet stole the ladies’ clothes and refused

¹⁸⁸ Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī, *Dīwān Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī*, ed. Maḥmūd ‘Alī Makkī (Bayrūt: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1969), 73.

¹⁸⁹ See also line 20 of the same poem:

Iraq welcomed my coming so much,
and Kharāsān pleased me generously.”

فكم رحت أرض العراق بمقدمي وأجزلت البشري علي خراسان

to give them back unless every single girl got out of the pool naked and begged him to give back the clothes. The poet's plan succeeded. To celebrate this victory, he slaughtered his she-camel and treated the girls to a feast.¹⁹⁰

As a result of this incident, the name Dārat Juljul became associated less with a geographical location and more with this erotic escapade and with Imru' al-Qays, the infamous womanizer poet.

In Ḥāzim al-Qarṭājannī's poem that was composed as a praise poem to the Prophet Muḥammad (*madīḥ nabawī*) in the form of a *tashṭīr* of Imru' al-Qays's *mu'allaqa*, Dārat Juljul becomes a byword for worldly delights and youthful folly:

Leave him who was enamored of days that suited him,
and especially a day at Dārat Juljul.¹⁹¹

فدع من لأيام صلحن له صبا ولا سيما يوم بدارة جلجل¹⁹²

As it is clear above, Dārat Juljul is not used to describe a geographical location, but, rather, the locus of the youthful excess embodied in Imru' al-Qays's youthful escapade. The very name Dārat Juljul became synonymous with joyful, uninhibited youthful eroticism and became the antithesis of chastity and purity, in general, and those characteristics embodied by the Prophet and the prophethood, in particular.

Meisami categorizes the line above under what she calls "Admonition and Peroration." She writes about the way in which al-Qarṭājannī relied upon Imru' al-Qays's *mu'allaqa* to praise the Prophet. She also discusses al-Qarṭājannī's style of rejecting worldly life for the sake of spirituality, which "contrast[ed] praise of the Prophet, to which the poet rededicates himself,

¹⁹⁰ See about this incident: Abū Zayd al-Qurashī, *Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab*, ed. 'Umar Fārūq al-Ṭabbā' (Bayrūt, Dār al-Arqam, n.d.), 74-75.

¹⁹¹ Translation is by: Meisami, "Imru' al-Qays Praising the Prophet," 230.

¹⁹² *Al-Mawsū'a al-Shi'riyya*, Ḥāzim al-Qarṭājannī.

with Imru' al-Qays's dedication to carnal passion, explicitly rejecting the latter in praise of the former.”¹⁹³

The same is true for Abū Zayd al-Fāzārī, who was born in Cordoba and died in Marrakesh in 1233. He mentioned Dārat Juljul in an ode of praise to the Prophet Muḥammad, which demonstrated once more how the flagrant erotic escapades of the pre-Islamic womanizer Imru' al-Qays have become encapsulated in the term Dārat Juljul, so that it alludes not merely to that particular poet and his dissolute youth, but to the entire poetry of the *jāhiliyya* and the moral world that it embodies. However celebrating *madīḥ nabawī* poetry by alluding to the *mu'allaqa* by Imru' al-Qays is more beautiful, both poetically and morally. Al-Fāzārī addressed his fellow poets and asked them to stop writing poetry about the events of Dārat Juljul (i.e., worldly or erotic poetry) and, instead, focus on worthier and more beautiful poetry of prophetic praise:

Desist from writing poetry about that day at Dārat Juljul,
and praise the Prophet in details and beautifully

And tell that who likes traveling,
we took on ourselves to praise the best messenger

Since praising the messenger of Allāh is the most confirmed commandment.

دَعِ الْقَوْلَ فِي يَوْمِ بَدَارَةِ جُلْجُلٍ وَمَدِّحِ نَبِيِّ اللَّهِ فَصِيلٍ وَأَجْمَلِ
وَقُلِّ لِلَّذِي يُعْنَى بِحُبِّ التَّنْقِيلِ ضَمَانٌ عَلَيْنَا مَدْحُ أَفْضَلِ مُرْسَلِ
فَمَدِّحُ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ مِنْ أَوْكِدِ الْقَرَضِ¹⁹⁴

In the pages above, I have tried to demonstrate the connection between Andalusian poetry and poetry of the East in regard to the *mu'allaqa* of Imru' al-Qays and the places that

¹⁹³ Meisami, “Imru' al-Qays Praising the Prophet,” 240.

¹⁹⁴ *Al-Mawsū'a al-Shi'riyya*, Abū Zayd al-fāzārī.

were mentioned in it. It is worth mentioning that the Andalusian poetic corpus contains references to many of the place-names that occur in the *mu'allaqāt* and the pre-Islamic poetic corpus generally. In addition, the present examination of the place-names from the *mu'allaqa* of Imru' al-Qays is intended as a foremost representative of this phenomenon.

The results of this discussion show that the places within Imru' al-Qays's *mu'allaqa* sometimes stand alone in Andalusian poetry, while, others are surrounded by the names of other eastern places. Nevertheless, the examples used above show that the identity of Imru' al-Qays himself, his love and his erotic adventures, not only his *mu'allaqa*, either directly or indirectly, strongly impose themselves in certain Andalusian poems.

In the rest of this chapter, I will examine four more place-names from the *mu'allaqāt* that shed light on the way in which the legacy of the East continued to live and breathe inside the Andalusian poet throughout time. The places are: Mount Thahlān from the *mu'allaqa* of al-Ḥārith Ibn Ḥilliza, al-Qalīb from the *mu'allaqa* of 'Abīd Ibn al-Abras, Wajra from both the *mu'allaqa* of Labīd and that of al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī, and Tadmur from the *mu'allaqa* of al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī as well. Such places, exactly like the ones taken from Imru' al-Qays's *mu'allaqa*, occur repeatedly in other pre-Islamic poems, however, the *mu'allaqāt* are the ones chosen here just because they provide us with the most famous poetic examples.

Thahlān

Al-Ḥārith Ibn Ḥilliza mentioned Thahlān almost at the end of his *mu'allaqa*:

And we made them escape to the solid land of Thahlān
by chasing them, and we blooded their thighs' vesels

وَحَمَلْنَاهُمْ عَلَى حَزْمِ ثَهْلَانَ نَ شَلَالًا وَدَمِيَّ الْأَنْسَاءِ¹⁹⁵

Like other eastern mountains, such as ‘Asīb, Yadhbul, al-‘Udhayb, Thabīr and Abān, Thahlān is used not necessarily to express nostalgia but stability, steadiness and might. Ibn Abī al-Khiṣāl used Thahlān to describe the good of a generous noble man and to hope that his goodness remains steady and plentiful:

May the generous man whose goodness refreshes all people
live among us as long as Thahlān and Ḥaḍan!

فَلَيْتَ كَرِيمًا يُنْعِشُ النَّاسَ خَيْرُهُ يُعَمَّرُ فِيْنَا عُمَرَ ثَهْلَانَ أَوْ حَصْنَ¹⁹⁶

Ibn al-Abbār expresses his patience and ability to bear responsibility and hardship by referring to Mount Thahlān, but says that had Thahlān borne what the poet had borne, it would have collapsed under the weight of those calamities:

Had Thalān borne what I borne,
its summits would have collapsed.

لَوْ أَنَّ ثَهْلَانًا تَحْمَلُ بَعْضَ مَا حَمَلْتَهُ خَرَّتْ دُرَى ثَهْلَانَ¹⁹⁷

Ibn al-Zaqāq al-Balansī stressed this idea of pairing between stability, responsibility and Thahlān as in Ibn al-Abbār:

Feet do not stand firm when they meet them [in battle],
even if they are supported by Thahlān.

لَا تَتَثَبَّتُ الْأَقْدَامُ عِنْدَ لِقَائِهِمْ وَلَوْ أَنَّهُمْ حُمِلُوا عَلَى ثَهْلَانَ¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘*, 277.

¹⁹⁶ Abū ‘Abdullāh Ibn abī al-Khiṣāl al-Ghāfiqī al-Andalusī, *Rasā‘il Ibn Abī al-Khiṣāl*, ed. Muḥammad Raḍwān al-Dāya (Dimashq: Dār al-Fikr, 1987), 283. Ḥaḍan is also a name of a high mountain on the borderland of Najd. See: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 2: 271.

¹⁹⁷ Ibn al-Abbār, *Dīwān*, 348.

¹⁹⁸ The line does not exist in the *dīwān*, but could be found in *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, Ibn al-Zaqāq al-Balansī.

Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī describes the enormity of a disaster by saying that if it had struck Mount Thahlān, the mountain would have collapsed:

Had Thahlān been hit by one tenth of it,
the peaks of Thahlān would have collapsed.

لو أن ثهلاًناً أصيب بعشرها لتدكدكت منها ذرى ثهلاًن¹⁹⁹

Close to the previous meaning is what was brought by Ibn Sahl al-Andalusī (d. 1251) in his panegyric ode to Abū al-‘Abbās:

Honoring his trusts is easy for him and is one of his virtues;
does Thahlān feel the weight of a pebble?

حمل الأمانة هيّن في سجيّته وهل يُحسّ حصاةً فيه ثهلاًن²⁰⁰

It is worth mentioning that in the previous line, Ibn Sahl used the rhetoric device *al-tadhyīl*, which means to complete the full meaning of the poetic line in the first hemistich and, in the second hemistich, provide a proverb or an aphorism that supports it. This second hemistich—as the poet put it—indicates the forcefulness and might of Mount Thahlān in the imagination of Ibn Sahl.

I will end this subsection about Thahlān with Abū al-Baqā’ al-Rundī’s masterpiece elegizing al-Andalus:

There is no solace for what happened to the [Iberian] Peninsula,
because of which Uḥud has fallen down and Thahlān has collapsed.

دهى الجزيرة أمرٌ لا عزاء له هوى له أهدّ وانهدّ ثهلاًن²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Ibn Rashīq, *Dīwān*, 210.

²⁰⁰ Ibn Sahl, *Dīwān*, 152.

²⁰¹ Muḥammad Raḍwān al-Dāya, *Abū al-Baqā’ al-Rundī: Shā‘ir Rithā’ al-Andalus* (Bayrūt: Mu’assasat al-Risāla, 1976), 136.

Of course, the aim of al-Rundī was to emphasize the calamity of being deported from al-Andalus as well as to describe it as an unbearable one. In order to do so, like his contemporaries, he chose conventional expressions associated with the names of the eastern mountains of Thahlān and Uḥud,²⁰² instead of Andalusian mountains.

Al-Qalīb

‘Abīd Ibn al-Abraṣ referred to al-Qalīb in the second line of his *mu‘allaqa* by saying that it became empty of its residents as did other places, like Malḥūb, al-Quṭṭabiyyāt, al-Dhanūb, Rākis, al-Thu‘aylibāt and Dhāt Firqayn:

Maḥlūb has become deserted from its people
and likewise are al-Quṭṭabiyyāt, al-Dhanūb,

Rākis, Thu‘aylibāt,
Dhāt Firqayn and al-Qalīb

أَقْرَ مِنْ أَهْلِهِ مَحْلُوبٌ فَالْقُطَّبِيَّاتُ فَالذَّنُوبُ

فَرَاكِسٌ فَتُعَلِيَّاتٌ فَذَاتُ فِرْقَيْنِ فَالْقَلِيبُ²⁰³

These places are rarely used in al-Andalus, except for al-Qalīb, which sounds similar to *qalb* (heart), a very popular and common word in Arabic poetry. Al-Qalīb was used several times in the Andalusian poetry. The following examples will show that al-Qalīb was mainly employed in al-Andalus to indicate an Islamic historical incident, rather than transferring nostalgic feelings for a distant place in the East or meeting the conventional system of the pre-Islamic ode.

²⁰² A red mountain that does not have peaks and is located one mile north of Medina. See: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 1: 109.

²⁰³ *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, ‘Abīd Ibn al-Abraṣ.

In his poem about the capriciousness of time and the lessons that man should learn from it, Ibn ‘Abdūn refers to al-Qalīb when he mentions *Yawm al-Qalīb* (the Day of al-Qalīb) when the Qurashī polytheists (or simply *ahl al-Qalīb* as they are called) were massacred during the Battle of Badr in 624 A.D.:

On the day of al-Qalīb the people of Badr were destroyed,
and the heart of Badr all together went to hell.

يَوْمَ الْقَلِيبِ بَنُو بَدْرٍ فَنَوَّا وَسَعَى قَلِيبُ بَدْرٍ بَمَنْ فِيهِ إِلَى سَقَرٍ²⁰⁴

Al-Mu‘tamid Ibn ‘Abbād (d. 1095) also mentions the Day of al-Qalīb in a battle against Ferdinand, the Spanish king, wishing that the outcome of this battle would be the same as the battle of al-Qalīb, which took place during the war of Badr:²⁰⁵

There must be a quick relief
that brings you strange and amazing things,

A blessed attack
that brings victory.

.....

There must be a day,
similar to the day of al-Qalīb.

لَا بَدَّ مِنْ فَرَجٍ قَرِيبٍ يَأْتِيكَ بِالْعَجَبِ الْعَجِيبِ

غَزُوْ عَلَيْكَ مَبَارِكٌ سَيَعُودُ بِالْفَتْحِ الْقَرِيبِ

...

لَا بَدَّ مِنْ يَوْمٍ يَكُونُ نَ أَحَا لَهُ يَوْمُ الْقَلِيبِ²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ Ibn ‘Abdūn, *Dīwān*, 142.

²⁰⁵ Al-Ḥimyarī, *Al-Rawḍ al-Mi‘ṭār*, 290.

²⁰⁶ Al-Mu‘tamid Ibn ‘Abbād, *Dīwān al-Mu‘tamid Ibn ‘Abbād: Malik Ishbīlyā*, ed. Hāmid ‘Abd al-Majīd and Aḥmad Aḥmad Badawī (al-Qāhira: Maṭba‘at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 2000), 53. It is worth mentioning that the first line of this short poem is omitted in the *dīwān*, but it can be found in: Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Mun‘im al-Ḥimyarī, *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-Andalus Muntakhaba min Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-Mi‘ṭār fī khabar al-Aqtār*, ed. Évariste Levi Provencal, 2nd ed. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Jīl, 1988), 290; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-Ṭīb*, 4: 364.

لَا بَدَّ مِنْ فَرَجٍ قَرِيبٍ يَأْتِيكَ بِالْعَجَبِ الْعَجِيبِ

What is clear here is that *Yawm al-Qalīb*, as a name for the Battle of Badr, was employed in al-Andalus to refer to the miraculous early victory of Muḥammad and the early Muslims in the East when they were vastly outnumbered by the Meccan polytheists. The symbol served the Andalusian poet to describe the bitter struggle of Muslims in Spain against the Christians and as a historical precedent in which they could place their hopes in days of hardship.

Wajra

Wajra is mentioned twice in the *mu‘allaqāt*, once in Labīd and once again in al-Nābigha al-Dhubaynī. Labīd says:

Strung out along the route in groups, like oryx does in Tūḍih,
or Wajran gazelles, white fawns bellow them, soft neck turning.²⁰⁷

وظباء وجرة عطفًا أرامها رُجلاً كأن نعاج توضح فوقها²⁰⁸

And al-Nābigha said:

A wild ox from Wajra with white and black markings on its slender legs and forelegs
can be seen from distance like a single polished sword-blade.

من وحش وجرة موشٍ أكارعه طاوي المصير كسيف الصيقل الفرد²⁰⁹

Like other pre-Islamic places, also Wajra appears often in Andalusian poetry. Referring to five eastern places in a short poem of only 16 lines, Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Judhāmī writes about his yearning for the Prophet Muḥammad (*madīḥ nabawī*) and the holy places of early Islam that are associated with the pilgrimage rites in the form of a *nasīb*, as if he were complaining of remoteness and love and expressing deep nostalgia for distant loved ones:²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ Translation is from: Michael A. Sells, *Desert Tracing: Six Classic Arabian Odes by ‘Alqama, Shanfarā, Labīd, ‘Antara, al-A‘shā and Dhū al-Rumma*, trans. Michael A. Sells (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 36.

²⁰⁸ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘*, 223.

²⁰⁹ Al-Shanqīṭī, *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-‘Ashr*, 205.

²¹⁰ I will discuss *madīḥ nabawī* and nostalgia in the next chapter, Chapter 4.

When lightning flashes in the evening,
it stirs the memory of the lover and the yearning one.

And if a dove coos on a branch of a boscage,
its nostalgia travels with him and grows stronger.

His heart is stirred if someone mentions al-‘Aqīq,
but al-‘Aqīq is very far away from the enamored one.

.....

My companions migrated to the land of Ṭayba,
will there ever be a way for me to get there?

.....

When you arrive at the place where the loved ones sing at al-Liwā,
and if you see their shiny lights,

Ask the people of Wajra who are at their tents?
When will the man who is tired of separation meet his beloved?

Will I ever stand by the sand of Rāma,
So that the yearning souls of the beloved will be cured?

إذا لمعت عند الأصيل بروق تذكر ذو وجدٍ وحنّ مشوق
وإن صدحت ورقّ بصرحة أيكّة فأشواقه تحدو به وتشوق
يهيجها نكرُ العقيق إذا سرى وأين من الصب القصي عقيق

...

ترحل أخداني إلى ارضٍ طيبةً فهل لي إلى ذاك المقام طريقٌ؟

...

إذا جئتم مغنى الأعبة باللوى وفزتم بأنوارٍ لهنّ شروق

سلوا في خيام الحي من أهل وجرية متى يلتقي مضنيّ النوى فيفيقُ

ألا هل بنادي رمل رامةٍ وقفَةً فتشفي نفوسَ للحبيب تتوق؟²¹¹

The selected lines above are a typical *madīḥ nabawī*, especially the third line in which the poet describes the journey of his friends to Ṭayba before stating that he hoped to join them, but did not have the means to do so. This motif is repeated often in this genre, which is shown in the next chapter. It is also typical that the poet of the *madīḥ nabawī* tries to justify himself for not being able to join the pilgrimage caravan to the holy places.²¹²

The last line refers to *al-ḥabīb*, the beloved, that is, the Prophet Muḥammad. The evocatoion of the eastern place-names in this poem was not used merely to follow pre-Islamic poetic convention or the cultural nostalgia for the East, but rather to express spiritual longing and religious devotion now identified with the pilgrimage sites especially with Ṭayba—an Islamic new entity. However, the intensity of eastern places in this poem, such as Wajra, Ṭayba and al-Liwā, together with the use of al-‘Aqīq and Rāma, which were taken from the lexicon of the *nasīb* and adopted in the *madīḥ nabawī*, proves that the poetry of the East was the main source of inspiration for such western poets, and that the eastern *nasīb*ic places were used to express religious feelings. Al-Judhāmī, for example, mostly created a suitable atmosphere for writing by imagining the classical scene of the migrating caravan and then letting his imagination travel back to the places of pure poetry where classical passages of migration were

²¹¹ Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Dīwān*, 30-31.

²¹² See for example, Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-‘Arīf al-Andalusī (d. 1142):

O those who are arriving to the Prophet from [the tribe of] Muḍar!

You visited abodes, while we visited spirits.

We stayed behind because we are excused and because of a fate [that forbided us from going]

And that who stayed because of an excuse is as the one who [indeed] went.

يا واصلين إلى المصطفى من مضرٍ زرتم رسوماً وزرنا نحن أرواحا

إنا أقمنا على عُذرٍ وعن قَدْرِ ومن أقام على عُذرٍ كمن راحا

The five lines of this short poet can be found in: Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt*, 8: 88. See further, below, chapter 4.

written. However, only an individual deeply in love with the East can mix such places in a short poem.²¹³

In the following poem, al-Judhāmī, once again, uses the triad of Wajra, al-‘Aqīq and Ṭayba to express his aversion to the West, where he feels like a pitiful outcast. At the same time, he uses these three names to yearn for Ṭayba, the place of burial of the Prophet Muḥammad:

Whatever I forget, let me not forget him when they left in the darkness,
while the camels’ riders were singing zajal in the wadi of Wajra

O you who migrate taking my heart with you!
I have one wish, and I hope you fulfill my wish,

For the sake of my yearning for the open spaces of al-‘Aqīq,
when you come to the land of al-Munḥanā [Mecca and Medina], alight

There and say: He became an emigrant stranger in the West,
and all the ways are blocked in his face,

His soul yearned for the land of Ṭayba, and his body doubles over [in passion] when it
is
mentioned...

ما أنس لا أنسه إذا أدلجوا سحرًا وللحداة بوادي وجرة زجل
يا راحلين بقلبي والفؤاد معًا لي نحوكم أمل لو صح لي الأمل
بحق شوقي لساحات العقيق إذا ما جئتم أرض دار المنحنى فانزلوا
بها وقولوا غريبًا نازحًا بالغرب أضحى وعنه سدّت السبل
لأرض طيبةً تاقت نفسه فانثى بذكرها ***²¹⁴

²¹³ It is worth mentioning that Sufi poetry, especially by Ibn al-Fāriḍ and Ibn ‘Arabī, utilized the same poetic lexicon as that of al-Judhāmī. This lexicon is also used with almost the same intensiveness. See the next chapter of this study for more information. See also: Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 79-102.

²¹⁴ Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Dīwān Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Judhāmī*, ed. Anwar al-Sanūsī and Muḥammad Zakariyyā ‘Anānī (al-Qāhira: Dār al-Amīn, 1999), 68. The stars above indicate unclear text (as in the *Dīwān*).

Many of the other Andalusian poetic examples that mention Wajra describe it as a place inhabited by wild animals. Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb mentions it in such a fashion in one of his odes in which he praises the Prophet Muḥammad. He opens it in the traditional way, mentioning the neighborhood, al-Ghaḍā; Zamzam (the well close to the Kaaba in Mecca); and al-Ḥaṭīm (an arched wall built to the north of the Kaaba), two unmistakable places in Mecca related to the Islamic pilgrimage rite. The reference to Wajra came as a transitional phase before the direct praise of the Prophet Muḥammad. However, the poet explicitly states that he does not yearn for Wajra or for its wild gazelles (which is probably a symbol for pretty women), which indirectly indicates that this was precisely the convention of the Andalusian poets at that time. In this case, the denial or refusal of doing something is actually an affirmative of what is being denied:

When I miss the shadow and the joy of the tribal precinct,
the blowing of its breeze is enough for me,

And I am satisfied that I have gotten used to it,
since its Zamzam is my tears and its Ḥaṭīm is my body.

Mentioning those who lived at al-Ghaḍā visits my heart,
and this turns it upside down.

.....

No swaying figure at the valley excited my desire,
and no wild gazelles of Wajra stirred my passion.

.....

My yearning for the Prophet Muhammad has emaciated me,
and it costs my heart so much pain.

إذا فاتي ظل الحمى ونعيمه كفاني وحسبي أن يهب نسيمه

ويقنعني أني به متكيف فززمه دمي وجسمي حطيمه

يعود فؤادي ذكر من سكن الغضا فيقعه فوق الغضى ويقيمه

...

وما هاجني بالغور قد مرّح ولا شاقني من وحش وجرة ريمه

...

براني شوقاً للنبي محمدٍ يسومُ فؤادي برحه ما يسومه²¹⁵

It is clear from the examples above that Wajra in Andalusian poetry is mingled and intermixed with *madīḥ nabawī*, but in spite of that, the atmosphere of the abodes and wild desert accompanied with Wajra did not totally disappear from the Andalusian poetry. On the contrary, Wajra led the Andalusian poet to the desert and to its gazelles, plants and departing women ridden on camels.

In the following example, one poet describes the departing women and compares them to gazelles and the fawn of wild oryx what shows the conventional image of Wajra without any indication of *madīḥ nabawī*:

Can the gazelles of the sand be found in all the departing caravans,
or the wild fawns of Wajra inside the howdahs?

When their camels carried beauty away,
and patience departed with them.

I met her at Wadi al-Karā while she was without her jewelry,
and I sent her the pearls of my eye when she appeared.

If she exhales, one can smell the wind of the Ṣabā blowing from her side,
one day she will know that her breath caused me deep love and longing.

And if she drinks from the water of the Euphrates,
she will deny the taste of my tears because of its sweetness.

أفي كل الأظعان غزلانُ رملية أم احتملت فيها جاذرُ وجرة

ولما تولت بالجمال جمالهم تولى جميل الصبر يوم تولت

²¹⁵ Lisān al-Dīn, *Dīwān*, 2: 549.

بوادي الكرى لاقيتها وهي عاطلٌ فأرسلتُ دُرَّ العينِ حينَ تجلَّتِ
 إذا نسَمْتُ ريحُ الصبا في جنبها ستعرف في أنفاسها حرَّ لوعتي
 وإن وردتْ ماءَ الفراتِ فإنَّها ستتكرُّ في سلسالها طعمَ عبْرَتِي²¹⁶

Tadmur

Tadmur (also known as Palmyra) is an old city in Syria believed to be built by King Solomon²¹⁷ or, before Islam, by the genies for King Solomon. Al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī said:

I see no one among people who resembles him,
 and I make no exception from among the tribes—
 Except for Sulaymān, when Allāh said to him:
 take charge of my creatures and restrain them from sin,
 And subdue the Jinn, for I have allowed them
 to build you Tadmur with stone slabs and columns.²¹⁸

ولا أرى فاعلاً في الناس يشبهه ولا أحاشي من الأقسام من أحد
 إلا سليمان، إذ قال الإله له: قم بالبرية فاحدها عن الفند
 وخيس الجنّ إنني قد أذنتُ لهم يبنونَ تدمرَ بالصُّفّاح والعمد²¹⁹

However, the Old Testament is less inspiring in regard to whetting the imagination of the Andalusian poets regarding Tadmur and King Solomon than the Koran. The story of King Solomon in the Koran and in *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (the stories of the prophets) is much more imaginary and fertile, providing poets with more flexibility in regard to the imaginary, especially when it comes to the genies.

²¹⁶ Ibn Bassām, *Al-Dhakhīra*, 4: 801; Ibn Thaqfān, *Kitāb al-Riyāḍ*, 118-119.

²¹⁷ 1 *Kings*, 9:18; 2 *Chronicles* 8:4.

²¹⁸ Translation is from: Stetkevych, *The Poetics of Islamic Legitimacy*, 22.

²¹⁹ Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab'*, 297.

The Koran provides different stories about King Solomon and, in contrast to the Bible where he is considered to only be a king, the Koran ranks him as both a prophet and a king. The Koran also attributes supernatural powers to Solomon \ Sulaymān, such as the ability to control the wind, genies and devils;²²⁰ communicate with birds;²²¹ and command three types of soldiers from among the ranks of genies, humans and birds.²²²

Ibn Sāra al-Andalusī referred to the line of al-Nābigha and perhaps alluded to the Koranic verses regarding the supernatural powers of Solomon when he attributed to his genies the actual mission of building Palmyra:

As if Solomon’s genies built his mouth,
as they built the edifice of Palmyra with stone slabs and pillars

كَأَنَّ جِنَّ سُلَيْمَانَ بَنَوْا فَمَهُ بِنْيَانٍ تَدْمُرُ بِالصَّفَاحِ وَالْعَمَدِ²²³

The building of Palmyra is the subject of the second line of an elegiac poem for al-Muqtadir Ibn Hūd, King of Saragossa (d. 1081), written by ‘Alī al-Ḥuṣrī al-Qayrawānī, the blind poet, who was born in Ṭanja in al-Maghrib and lived in al-Andalus. Al-Qayrawānī refers to historical and religious events in his poem, including the extinction of the people of ‘Ād, of Kisrā and of Caesar to show the enormity of the calamity that time causes. The ode *Al-Bashāma* that I will discuss in Chapter 5 will show that this was a common tactic used in the elegy:

One of the time daughters blasts its first day,
and destroys the buildings of Palmyra.

²²⁰ Koran, *Ṣād*, 36-38. “So We subjected to him the wind blowing by his command, gently, wherever he directed, (36) And [also] the devils [of *jinn*] - every builder and diver (37) And others bound together in shackles. (38)”

فَسَخَّرْنَا لَهُ الرِّيحَ تَجْرِي بِأَمْرِهِ رُخَاءً حَيْثُ أَصَابَ (36) وَالشَّيَاطِينَ كُلَّ بَنَّاءٍ وَغَوَّاصٍ (37) وَأَخْرِينَ مُقْرَّنِينَ فِي الْأَصْفَادِ (38).

²²¹ Koran, *Al-Naml*, 16. “And Solomon inherited David. He said, ‘O people, we have been taught the language of birds, and we have been given from all things. Indeed, this is evident bounty.’”

وَوَرِثَ سُلَيْمَانُ دَاوُودَ ۗ وَقَالَ يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ عَلِّمْنَا مَنطِقَ الطَّيْرِ وَأَوْتِينَا مِنْ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ ۗ إِنَّ هَذَا لَهُوَ الْفَضْلُ الْمُبِينُ

²²² Koran, *Al-Naml*, 17. “And gathered for Solomon were his soldiers of the jinn and men and birds, and they were [marching] in rows.”

وَحُشِرَ لِسُلَيْمَانَ جُنُودُهُ مِنَ الْجِنِّ وَالْإِنْسِ وَالطَّيْرِ فَهُمْ يُوزَعُونَ

²²³ *Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya*, Ibn Sāra al-Andalusī.

And the head of ‘Ād did not listen when he was running like a lion,
and the wishes of Kistrā and those of Caesar had died.

وإحدى بنات الدهر تنسف أحده وتهدم بالتدمير بنيان تدمر
نَبَا نَابُ عَادٍ وَهُوَ كَاللَيْثِ عَادِيًّا وَمَاتَتْ مِنْى كِيسْرَى الْمَلُوكِ وَقَيْصِرٍ²²⁴

After this long journey among eastern nostalgic poetics and after employing the eastern poetic convention in al-Andalus, one feels as if the Andalusian poet had not psychologically or culturally emigrated from the East, but only physically.

Many poets paid attention to this poetic phenomenon in al-Andalus where poets would yearn for places that they had never been to and meta-poetically hint at them²²⁵ in their poems. Abū al-Muṭrif Ibn ‘Umayra was one of those poets who mourned the city of Valencia when it fell in the hands of the Christians (1238) during the wars of the Reconquista. Ibn ‘Umayra referred to al-Liwā and the old fortress of al-Mushaqqār that is believed to be located between Najrān and Baḥrayn or in Baḥrayn itself,²²⁶ two places which he apparently had never been to:

He is bewailing times in al-Mushaqqar and al-Liwā,
but how distant are al-Liwā and al-Mushaqqar!

ويندب عهدًا بالمشقَرِ فاللوى وأين اللوى منه وأين المشقَرِ²²⁷

²²⁴ Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra*, 7: 270.

²²⁵ Being nostalgic for places and a past that a person has never experienced is controversial. Davis alluded to this phenomenon during his repeated attempts at providing a sufficient definition of the term nostalgia:

The past which is the object of nostalgia must in some fashion be a personally experienced past rather than one drawn solely, for example, from chronicles, almanacs, history books, memorial tables, or, for that matter, legend. (Can I be nostalgic for the Ganges, a place I have never seen, or you for the Crusades, a time when you have never lived?).

See: Davis, *Yearning*, 8. On the other hand, Santesso writes that being nostalgic for unfamiliar places is feasible. “Nostalgia today is no longer a synonym for homesickness: we can be nostalgic for homes we never had and states we never experienced.” In the same spirit, and on the same page, Santesso speaks on what Hutcheon said about this topic: “Nostalgia became less a physical than a psychological condition.” See: Aaron Santesso, *A Careful Longing: The Poetics and Problems of Nostalgia* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006), 14.

²²⁶ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 5: 134.

²²⁷ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, 4: 494.

The poet Ṣafwān Ibn Idrīs al-Tujaybī (d. 1202) from Murcia wrote about the convention of mentioning and yearning for Najd, a convention that he himself used even though he had never been to Najd:

God help me! How much I rave about Najd and its people,
while I only imagine I know it from a long time ago.

I have neither nostalgia for Najd nor love,
but they waged war of rhymes over Najd.

لي الله كم أهذي بنجد وأهلها وما لي بها إلا التوهّم من عهد
وما بي إلى نجد نزوع ولا هوى خلا أنهم شنوا القوافي على نجد²²⁸

Apparently, the *nasīb*, in which much of the nostalgic mass of the *qaṣida* is downloaded, is changeable somehow. The trans-Mediterranean echoes of the new *nasīb*, which carries Abū Nuwās's fingerprints and in which he substituted the abodes and ruins of the desert, the rejection of the beloved and the traditional two companions of the classical poet with the sorrow for leaving the modern constructed city, tavern and boon-companions, can also be heard in al-Andalus through the elegiac poetry of the fallen cities and through many platonic and licentious Andalusian odes, which prove that the East, despite the previous uncommon dislike of Ibn Idrīs al-Tujaybī, remained the true poetic and literary thematic spring in al-Andalus.

The development of the basic *nasīb* in this new fashion, however, is significant. Remaining formally, or let us say externally, intact, the *nasīb* has acquired an inner plasticity and metaphoric adaptability to whatever new variations of the elegiac mood the poet's own experience or the convention of the evolving culture may suggest as the new "concrete" reference. Thus, the evocation of the ruins may now point to the urban landscape of Basra, as in the ... *nasīb* by Abū Nuwās. The ruins themselves are fully internalized. The poet does not try to tell us that the city itself lies waste. It is his youth and his happiness in that city which are in ruins.²²⁹

²²⁸ *Al-Mawsū'a al-Shi'riyya*, Ṣafwān Ibn Idrīs al-Tujaybī.

²²⁹ Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 63-64.

The next chapter will shed light on other places in the East that acquired a special importance due to their religious rank and that were addressed or referred to almost in the same way the classical and Andalusian poets referred to the ancient places of the *nasīb*.

Chapter 4

The Islamic Religious Impact as a Catalyst of Nostalgia for the East in al-Andalus: *Madīḥ Nabawī* and Sufism

4. A. *Madīḥ Nabawī* in al-Andalus through Remembering the Ḥijāzī Places and through the Eastern Poetic *Nasīb* and Conventions

Some of the selected lines in the previous chapters displayed, on different occasions, how poets, such as al-Judhāmī, referred to conventional *nasībic* place-names in *madīḥ nabawī* poetry. In this chapter, I will continue tracing such use in al-Andalus and will examine whether the Andalusian *madīḥ nabawī* ode employed other unconventional place-names rarely referred to in the classical ode to express spiritual yearning or mainly referred to the same conventional places.

By focusing on *madīḥ nabawī* poetry that integrates eastern place-names, I will shed light on four repeated motifs that characterize the Andalusian *madīḥ nabawī* ode. These motifs are:

1. Presenting apology and searching for excuses for not being able to visit the holy places, such as the tomb of the Prophet in Medina, Mecca and other paths on the pilgrimage route whether during the pilgrimage rite (*hajj*) or other periods.
2. Keeping the *nasībic* tone in regard to naming and mentioning different place-names rather than using conventional place-names, while keeping other components and vocabulary derived from the conventional *nasīb*.
3. Referring sometimes to the *nasīb* as a “worn out old fashion” that symbolizes worldly desires and asking others or the poet himself to avoid such a style when praising the Prophet.
4. Addressing the Prophet as the intercessor on Judgment Day.

The topics and themes above are usually, by themselves, the subjects of *madīh nabawī* odes, whether in the East or West, but the combination of these points characterizes the western / Andalusian *madīh nabawī* ode, mainly due to the distance between the West and Ḥijāz and because the pilgrimage journey (*ḥajj*) is too difficult.

In her book, *The Mantle Odes*,¹ Suzanne Stetkevych explains the major steps and stages used to develop the *madīh nabawī* ode. To illustrate, she presents three odes within this genre. Stetkevych argues that the discussed odes were the most influential odes of *madīh nabawī*. She calls the three odes The Mantle Odes or *Qaṣa'id al-Burda* (in Arabic, *burda* means a mantle) because the first one is, in practice, related to the Prophet's actual mantle bestowed to the poet Ka'b Ibn Zuhayr (d. 646) by the Prophet himself as a token of admiration of and attachment to its rhetoric and religious style and as an act of forgiveness after the Prophet had sentenced Ka'b Ibn Zuhayr to death for refusing to convert to Islam. In addition, the second and third odes used the former ode as a model and imitated it. Ka'b's ode, which was used as a prototype and used the conventional tripartite model of the classical panegyric ode (*nasīb* = love prelude / *riḥla* = travel or journey / *madīh* = praise), was interpreted by Stetkevych as a supplicatory poem that meets the gift exchange ritual in which the poem was rewarded with the mantle of the Prophet and, as such, bestowed a new life on the poet by the Prophet, who is depicted as controlling death and life. As a result, the combination of the poem, the circumstances in which it was recited and the garment acquired high poetic and religious appreciation throughout ages and created a model for imitation and *mu'āraḍa*.²

The second ode is the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī, which was written in the late 13th century by Muḥammad Ibn Sa'īd al-Būṣīrī during the Mamlūk's reign. The reason why this poem is also called the *burda* is because the paralyzed poet dreamt one night after he composed and

¹ Suzanne Stetkevych, *The Mantle Odes: Arabic Praise Poems to the Prophet Muḥammad* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

² *Ibid.*, vi-vii.

memorized the poem several times that the Prophet bestowed his mantle to him exactly as he had done with Ka‘b Ibn Zuhayr.³ The second chapter of Stetkevych’s book, which is dedicated to the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī, begins with the poetic innovative strategies that took place in the Arabo-Islamic world between the 7th and the 13th centuries (i.e., between the periods of Ka‘b and al-Būṣīrī). According to Stetkevych, a medieval prophetic praise ode, such as that of al-Būṣīrī, can be categorized under what she terms the supplicatory pattern, under which Ka‘b Ibn Zuhayr’s poem falls. In this pattern, the poem is presented to the Prophet or his soul in exchange for the Prophet’s intersection on Judgment Day. In the story of the dream vision, it was also presented in hope that the Prophet would heal the poet of his disability. Stetkevych argues that involving events from the Prophet’s life in a praising ode “serves to promote an ideology of what [she] term[s] Islamic Manifest Destiny [which is] an argument for worldly dominion that serves as an earthy counterpart or complement to the otherworldly concern with Day of Judgment.”⁴

In the third part of her book, Stetkevych discusses *Nahj al-Burda* of Aḥmad Shawqī, the preeminent Egyptian new classical poet, as she calls him. According to Stetkevych’s reading of this poem—which was intended to imitate al-Būṣīrī’s *Burda* and was put in formal form when the poet wrote it to celebrate his patron’s *ḥajj* [the Khedive of Egypt, ‘Abbās Ḥilmī II (d. 1944)]—and according to the commentary of Sheikh Salīm al-Bishrī, the poem demonstrates how Shawqī “has rewoven al-Būṣīrī’s Mantle into a forceful and eloquent plea for the restoration of the Islamic *Ummah* [nation] based on humanistic concepts, which he

³ Al-Ālūsī conveys al-Būṣīrī’s words about the circumstances of composing his *Burda*:

I got the hemiplegia that paralyzed half of my body and thought of composing this poem. I did, and I asked [the Prophet Muḥammad] to intercede for God to heal me. I recited it repeatedly, prayed and begged, then I fell asleep and saw the Prophet passing his holy hand upon my face and throwing a garment on me. All of a sudden I felt vital; I stood up and went out of my house.

Al-Ālūsī, *Al-Ḥubb wa-al-Taṣawwuf*, 112.

⁴ Stetkevych, *The Mantle Odes*, viii.

locates in the Classical Arab-Islamic past.”⁵ This interpretation explains how the ode, according to Stetkevych, functions as a performative literary work and categorized under the gift exchange, supplicatory pattern and speech act theory.

Although the three odes above are considered the best of the *madīḥ nabawī*, none of them fit into my study from a historical or geographic aspect. However, in spite of this issue, the theoretical abstract that Stetkevych presents, especially in the second chapter of her book about the histo-literary period that prevailed between the two first *burdas*, (i.e., Ka‘b Ibn Zuhayr’s *burda* and that of al-Būṣīrī) falls in the core of this paper and presents an important theoretical base for it.

Stetkevych states that the praise odes composed for the Prophet during his lifetime either followed the classical pre-Islamic panegyric tripartite model (such as Ka‘b Ibn Zuhayr’s *Burda*) or pre-Islamic poetry about *Ayyām al-‘Arab* (the Arab pre-Islamic battles), such as short poems that can be found in the books of *Al-Sīra* (the different versions of the Prophet’s biography).⁶ Stetkevych adds that during the reign of the Umayyads and Abbasids, the *madīḥ nabawī* was considered a theme and not a genre. It was used mainly by Shiite poets to praise *Āl al-Bayt* (i.e., the family of the Prophet, especially ‘Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib and his descendants). From here came the idea of otherworldly supplication and intercession, which characterized the medieval genre of the *madīḥ nabawī*.⁷

The *madīḥ nabawī* had to wait a little more until it was considered a poetic genre. This switch happened in al-Andalus and al-Maghrib when many poets, such as al-Judhāmī and Ibn al-Janān, wrote entire odes almost in one poetic theme which is the *madīḥ nabawī*. Ra‘d Naṣīr al-Wā’ilī argues that the reason for the emergence of such poets and this poetic phenomenon

⁵ Ibid., xiv.

⁶ Ibid., 71.

⁷ Ibid., 72.

in al-Andalus is the historical ceaseless struggle between Muslims and Christians in al-Andalus especially after repeated defeats of the Muslims took place, and after they lost almost all the cities and districts of al-Andalus. After all this happened, nothing was left but to seek refuge in religion, in God and in his Messenger. Due to that, the Andalusians referred very frequently to the Prophet and to his grave in order to derive motivation and hope.⁸

In the same spirit as that of al-Wālī, ‘Umrānī writes that these *madā’ih* (i.e., praise works, the plural of *madīh*) increased in al-Andalus beginning in the era of the Petty Kings, when al-Andalus was broken into small mini-states. During that period, Christians from the northern part of al-Andalus became more active in their attempt to reclaim al-Andalus and impose tributes on the Petty Kings that they slavishly paid. This miserable situation led many Andalusian poets to write *madīh nabawī* poetry hoping that al-Andalus would derive strength against its enemies from them. ‘Umrānī adds that the use of this theme increased in the sixth century Hijra (12th-13th centuries) until the *madīh nabawī* became a major theme of Andalusian poetry.⁹ ‘Umrānī also adds that another factor was at least partially responsible for increasing the *madīh nabawī* in both al-Andalus and the East: This factor was the religious polemics between Muslims, Jews and Christians, especially during the Crusades period. The poem *al-Makhrāj wa-al-Mardūd ‘ala al-Naṣārā wa-al-Yahūd* (The Exit and the Answer for the Christians and Jews) written by al-Būṣīrī is a good example for such polemic poetry.¹⁰

Fawzī Sa‘īd ‘Isā wrote about the enthusiasm to create *madīh nabawī* poetry among poets from the era of *al-Muwaḥḥidūn* (1146-1269) and about the most important themes of such *madīh*:

What indicates the growing of *madīh nabawī* during this era is that women took part of it exactly like men... which makes it difficult to

⁸ Abū al-Ḥasan Salām al-Ishbīlī, *Dīwān Abī al-Ḥasan Salām al-Ishbīlī*, ed. Ra‘d Nāṣir al-Wā‘ilī (Ṣan‘ā’: Markaz ‘Abādī lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Nashr, 2002), 25-26.

⁹ ‘Umrānī, *Al-Madā’ih al-Nabawiyya*, 106.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 116-117.

count and follow the poets who dedicated their poetry to *madīḥ nabawī* . . . some wrote to describe the virtues of the Prophet—may the peace and prayers of God be on him—and his miracles, some wrote to express their yearning for visiting his noble place [place of birth, death and living].¹¹

‘Īsā adds that poets also utilized the story of *al-Isrā’ wa-al-Mi‘rāj* (the ascension of Muhammad from the Earth to Heaven)¹² in their *madīḥ nabawī* as well as stories about the birth of the Prophet,¹³ times when he interceded in matters¹⁴ and about asking the blessing of the Prophet’s soul.¹⁵ In addition, poets sometimes opened their *madīḥ nabawī* odes with *nasīb ghazalī* (i.e., amorous preludes) introductions.¹⁶ Such odes were usually long and could reach 200 lines sometimes.¹⁷ Ibn Khabbāza, for example, wrote a *madīḥ nabawī* ode in which he told the story that began with the creation of Adam, encompassed Noah and The Flood and concluded with Prophet Muḥammad and the signs that preceded his coming.¹⁸

However, and in contrast with several comprehensive studies about the *madīḥ nabawī*, I will not be presenting complete *madīḥ nabawī* odes in order to attempt to illustrate that such odes introduce a supplicatory model of submission in which the poet asks for intersection or that they meet the key points of the Speech Act Theory. Instead, I will choose certain sections and scattered lines from different poems that refer to eastern places and mostly engage *nasīb*, and I will then show how these lines refer to the East in a nostalgic tone and how they comply with the eastern classical poetic conventions. To put it another way, I will show that the Andalusī poets employed the eastern *nasībīc* conventions that were used in non-religious poetry to express spiritual longing for the pilgrimage sites and devotion to the Prophet Muḥammad. The odes that I am targeting are usually called *qaṣā’id al-tashawwuq* (i.e., the

¹¹ ‘Īsā, *Al-Shi‘r al-Andalusī fī ‘Aṣr al-Muwahḥidīn*, 196-197.

¹² *Ibid.*, 199.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 200.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 201.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 201.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 198.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 199.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, *Ibid.*

yearning odes). In these odes, poets express their love to the Prophet not directly, but, instead, by expressing yearning for the places that were important in his life, including places where he lived, did battle, preached and died.¹⁹ Some of the place-names often used here are: Ṭayba, Mecca, al-Bayt al-‘Atīq and Zamzam.

The following selected lines are from a poem that Ibn al-Fakhkhār al-Ru‘aynī (d. 1268) from Seville wrote. In this poem, al-Ru‘aynī, a little-known poet, praises the Prophet Muḥammad by expressing his yearning for the places that are most associated with the Prophet and Islam in a style that is remarkably simple, clear and direct:

My longing for al-Bayt al-‘Atīq is so fierce,
and my yearning for Wadi al-‘Aqīq is increasing,

I wish I knew if there was a way to
reach them so the love-sick can enjoy union.

And will the water of Zamzam quench the thirst
that is inflaming my ribcage?

And will I turn aside to the Messenger in Ṭayba,
so my heart will get close to its furthest wish?

And will I ever press my cheek to the grave of Muḥammad
where many cheeks have touched its soil?

So why have I not striven to begin this matter
within what is left from my perishing life?!

حنيني إلى البيت العتيق شديدٌ وشوقي إلى وادي العتيق يزيدُ

فيا ليت شعري هل يُباح إليهما وصولٌ فيحظى بالوصول عميدُ

¹⁹ ‘Umrānī divides the *madīḥ nabawī* ode into three types: *qaṣīdat al-tashawwūq* (i.e., poems of yearning), *al-mūlidiyyāt* (i.e., poems that are composed and recited on the Prophet’s birthday, usually during festivals held especially for this occasion) and *al-badī‘iyyāt* (long odes praising the Prophet Muḥammad according to the *al-basīṭ* meter, in which the rhyme is (mi) *mīm maksūra* and in which each line contains a different type of *badī‘*, a rhetorical device or technique used to improve the ode, such as *jinās* (paronomasia) or *ṭibāq* (antithesis)). See: ‘Umrānī, *Al-Madā‘iḥ al-Nabawiyya*, 127-146.

Stetkevych redefined the *badī‘* as “not merely clothing old ideas in new rhetorical garb; . . . [but] inventing rhetorically complex conceits that delight us by turning conventional commonplaces on their heads.” See: Stetkevych, *The Mantle Odes*, 77.

وهل نافعٌ لي ماءٌ زمزمٌ غُلَّةٌ لها بين أحناء الضلوع وقودٌ
 وهل أنثني نحو الرسول لطيبة فيدنو لقلبي من مناهُ بعيدُ
 وألصق خدي من ضريح محمد بحيث تلاقت في ثراهُ خدودُ
 فما لي لا أسعى إليها مبادراً بقية عمرٍ تنقضي وتبيدُ²⁰

It is clear from the selected lines above that another geographic lexicon has occurred in that the *madīḥ nabawī* had adopted new eastern Islamic geographic places rather than using the conventional *nasībīc* place-names. The last line of this poem is a poetic motif that repeats itself often in *madīḥ nabawī* poems. In that line, the poet hopes that, one day, he will be able to fulfill his desire to visit the holy places of Islam. However, at the end of the line, he asks himself in a reproachful tone: “What am I doing to move things on?” Apparently, he does not feel that he is doing enough. This motif, besides trying to present excuses and justifications for his failure or inability to join the caravan that is heading eastward to al-Ḥijāz, is also frequently repeated in the *madā’iḥ nabawiyya* odes.

Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā Ibn al-‘Arīf (d. 1141) from Almeria also presents excuses as to why he did not join the caravan heading to al-Ḥijāz. In the following lines, he describes his misery at not being able to join the caravan heading toward the Ḥijāzī places that he refers to when talking about about Minā, which is used here as a general term for all Ḥijāzī places instead of a specific mountain. In the last line, Ibn al-‘Arīf tries to justify why he did not do his duty of going with the caravan.

They loaded their camels [to depart] and they fulfilled their desires at Minā
and they all confessed their painful longing.

Their caravans travelled while spreading the odors of
the scent of the members of that delegation.

²⁰ ‘Umrānī, *Al-Madā’iḥ al-Nabawiyya*, 276.

The breeze of the grave of the Muṣṭafā is
a spirit for them, and if they drank of his memory, it will taste like wine.

O those who are arriving to the Mukhtār²¹ from [the tribe of] Muḍar!
You visited abodes, while we visited spirits.

We stayed behind because we are excused and because of a fate [that forbade us from going]
And he who stays behind because of an excuse is the same as who [indeed] goes.

شدوا المطي وقد نالوا المنى بمنى وكلهم بأليم الشوقِ قد باحا
سارت ركائبهم تُتدي روائحها طيباً بما طاب ذاك الوفدُ أشباحا
نسيم قبر النبي المصطفى لهم روحٌ إذا شربوا من ذكره راحا
يا واصلين إلى المختار من مُضَرٍ زرتم جسوماً وزرنا نحن أرواحا
إنا أقمنا على عُذْرٍ وعن قَدَرٍ ومن أقامَ على عُذْرٍ كمن راحا²²

Another example of such an apology can be found in these lines by Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Saʿīd al-Gharnāṭī al-Andalusī (d. 1274):

Oh those who are heading to Yathrib! May you arrive safely!
An annoying time prevented [me from arriving there] and left me behind.

Do you know that I was rushing to travel to some other places
but now when the time came I am paralyzed?

Oh you who blame me because of what I am suffering! The least thing
that I wish is [human] love and insomnia.

You have never experienced what I went through, and hence, you blamed me.
No one excuses the lover but the sad person.

.....

I wish I could kiss his [Muḥammad's] soil
he whose happiness lies in that will be happier.

²¹ Literally means, the “chosen one,” which is another name or title for the Prophet Muḥammad.

²² Abū al-ʿAbbās Shams al-Dīn Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān wa-Anbāʾ Abnāʾ al-Zamān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, 7 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Thaqāfa, n.d), 1: 169. ʿUmrānī, *al-Madāʾih al-Nabawiyya*, 128.

يا سائرين إلى يثرب بلغتمو قد عاقني عنها الزمان الأنكدُ
أعلمتم أن طُرْتُ دون محلها سبقًا وها أنا إذ تدانى مقعدُ
يا عاذلي فيما أكابدُ قلّ في ما أبتغيه صبايةً وتسهدُ
لم تلقَ ما لُقِيْتُهُ فعَدَلْتَنِي لا يعذُرُ المشتاق إلا مُكَمَدُ
.....

يا ليتني بُلِعْتُ لثمَ تُرابِهِ يزدادُ سعدًا من بذلك يسعدُ²³

Many poets, including Ibn al-‘Arīf and Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Sa‘īd, give disability or diseases as the reason they could not make the pilgrimage. These types of poems are pleas for intercession on Judgment Day.

Madā’ih nabawiyya poems in which several Ḥijāzī religious place-names are used can be called *qaṣā’id al-tashawwuq* or *al-Ḥijāziyyāt*. The top two poetic figures in the realm of *al-Ḥijāziyyāt* [i.e., al-Sharīf al-Raḍī and his follower Mihyār al-Daylamī] were not Andalusians, but easterners who left their mark on this genre in al-Andalus. Worth mentioning though, that *madā’ih nabawī* was not in the core of early *Ḥijāziyyāt* of al-Sharīf al-Raḍī and Mihyār al-Daylamī whose *Ḥijāziyyāt* intended to present only pure love and nostalgia for the places of al-Ḥijāz and the pilgrimage, not to the Prophet, however, this theme was later employed by the Andalusī poets to include both nostalgia for these Ḥijāzī places and for the Prophet Muḥammad, the man who lived and preached for Islam in al-Ḥijāz.²⁴

²³ Yūsuf Ibn Ismā‘īl al-Nabhānī, *Al-Majmū‘a al-Nabhāniyya fī al-Madā’ih al-Nabawiyya*, 4 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.), 2: 51-52.

²⁴ The following selected lines of al-Sharīf al-Raḍī illustrate this:

I say to the leaving people:

Are you heading to the Yemenit ‘Aqīq?

Take my seight with you and meet with it the homeland,

Najd, the sand of al-Liwā and the camels

And stop at some houses at a neighborhood in Rāma

and say: He is a disappointed heartbroken person who seeks today a better life

According to ‘Umrānī, Sa‘īd Ibn al-Aḥrash stated in his book *Burdat al-Būṣīrī bi-al-Maghrib wa-al-Andalus* that *Hijāziyyāt* as a genre is related to the poet’s desire to visit the holy places and their abilities to make excuses as to why they cannot go. In general, poets of this genre write in a manner similar to poets describing good days spent with their beloveds and then complaining that the days have passed.²⁵

In addition to creating a new atmosphere in which pure Islamic landscapes and landmarks are evoked, the *madīḥ nabawī* in al-Andalus made use of traditional conventional terms and strategies found in the classical eastern poetic *nasīb* what indicates that the *nasīb* was still indispensable and inevitable also in this genre. The following lines by Muḥammad Ibn Jābir (d. 1378) focus on al-‘Aqīq, the Rand, Najd and al-Ghuwayr:

We rushed and crossed the desert to arrive at your place Messenger of Allah,
and we would have never loved al-‘Aqīq or al-Rand if not for your sake.

And were it not for my yearning to see you with my own eyes,
I would not have yearned for al-Ghuwayr and Najd.

And were it not for my love for that place,
I would not have chosen remoteness from my family and homeland.

إليك رسول الله جبننا الفلا وخدا ولولاك لم نهو العقيق ولا الرندا

I left my medicine behind in Iraq, may you look around, maybe
You find a curing physician for me in Najd!
And tell some neighbors on the Khayf of Minā:
With whom did you substitute me?

أقول لركب رائحين لعلمكم تحلون من بعدي العقيق اليمانيا
خذوا نظرة مني فلاقوا بها الجمى ونجداً وكثبان اللوى والمطايا
ومروا على أبيات حيّ برامةٍ فقولوا: لديغٌ يبتغي اليوم راقيا
عدمثٌ دوائي بالعراق فرما وجدتم بنجدٍ لي طبيباً مُداويا
وقولوا لجيرانٍ على الخيف من منى تراكم من استبدلتم بجواريا؟

See about al-Sharīf al-Raḍī and *al-Hijāziyyāt*: “Dīwān al-‘Arab,” accessed March 1, 2015, <http://www.diwanalarab.com/spip.php?article29049>. See also the lines in Arabic on: Al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Dīwān al-Sharīf al-Raḍī*, ed. ‘Abbās al-Azharī (Bayrūt: al-Maṭba‘a al-Adabiyya, 1890), 1897.

²⁵ ‘Umrānī, *Al-Madā‘ih al-Nabawiyya*, 129.

ولولا اشتياقي لأن أراك بمقلتي لما كنت أشتاق الغُوَيْرَ ولا نجدا
ولولا رجاء القلب من ذلك الحمى لما اخترت عن أهلي وعن وطني بُعْدا²⁶

The Rand and Najd, as pronounced *nasībīc* components, coupled with al-Ghuwayr and al-‘Aqīq, whose religious association is less than the *nasībīc* one, show beyond all doubt that the eastern *nasīb* is part of the *madīḥ nabawī*. In addition, it shows also that it is impossible to poetically express love for the Prophet without using these poetic components. The poet would have not loved and yearned for the al-‘Aqīq, the Rand, al-Ghuwayr and Najd unless he had wanted to praise the Prophet. He declared that his love for the Prophet is the reason for his love for these places and the plant of the Rand.

The *nasībīc* tone is also clear in the following lines by al-Mintshāqrī, which resemble the traditional *nasībīc ghazal* of the classical ode in which the poet appears as an infatuated lover who suffers the pains of love. In this poem however, al-Mintshāqrī is suffering from a yearning for the Prophet and the places that witnessed his life, such as Sal‘ and ‘Ālij:

My land is in Ṭayba while its sky can be seen,
and if it were a land then the beloved²⁷ is sky.

.....

Ask about the hardships I am going through at Sal‘,
and ask also at Qubā’ when Qubā’ appears.

And my heart is hurting at ‘Ālij,
is there [at ‘Ālij] any cure and recovery for myself?

بطيِّبَةً أرضي وتبدو سماؤها وإن تك أرضًا فالحبيبُ سماءُ

²⁶ Al-Nabhānī, *Al-Majmū‘a al-Nabhāniyya*, 2: 41.

²⁷ The beloved, in this case, is the Prophet.

.....

بسلعِ فسلِّ عما أقالسي من الهوى وسلِّ بقباءٍ إذ يلوخُ قباءُ

وفي عالِجٍ مني بقلبي لاعجِّ فهل لي علاجٌ عنده وشفاءٌ؟²⁸

Nevertheless, the *madīḥ nabawī* ode that uses the conventions of the eastern *nasīb* sometimes functions differently than a regular *qasīda* in regard to the role of the *nasīb*. Here, rather than expressing yearning for the Prophet, the *nasīb* in the *madīḥ nabawī* ode is focused on a period of youthful worldly love that must be abandoned and left behind in order to become devoted to the Prophet and to the spiritual concerns of the poet. The *nasībic* flavor identified by Dārat Juljul in al-Fāzārī's poem mentioned earlier can be treated differently here as it can be seen from a negative point-of-view, since it is used to describe love, youth and worldly desire:

Desist writing poetry about that day at Dārat Juljul,
and stick to the praise of the Prophet in detail since it is more beautiful,

And tell those who like traveling,
we took on ourselves to praise the best messenger

Since praising the messenger of Allāh is the surest duty commandment.

دَعِ الْقَوْلَ فِي يَوْمِ بَدَارَةِ جُلْجُلٍ وَمَدَحِ نَبِيِّ اللَّهِ فَصِّلْ وَأَجْمِلْ
وَقُلْ لِلَّذِي يُعْنَى بِحُبِّ التَّنَقُّلِ صَمَانٌ عَلَيْنَا مَدْحُ أَفْضَلِ مُرْسَلِ

فَمَدْحُ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ مِنْ أَوْكَدِ الْفَرَضِ²⁹

As with other Arabic poetic themes, *madīḥ nabawī* emerged in the East, but it was highly developed in al-Andalus. In addition to other pronounced *nasībic* places, the *madīḥ*

²⁸ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-Ṭīb*, 6: 143.

²⁹ *Al-Mawsū'a al-Shi'riyya*, Abū Zayd al-fāzārī.

nabawī poet employed new places related to Islam and the pilgrimage in order to express his religious yearnings.

The next section of this chapter will explain how the *nasīb* and *ghazal* were fully used by the Sufi poets of al-Andalus to not only express longing for the Prophet, but, also, to convey and express yearning for the union with the Divine. “Šūfī poets utilized *ghazal* poetry (love lyric) as a symbolic language through which to convey their passion and devotion for the Divine. Their poetry also focuses on personal mystical experiences which became hierarchic.”³⁰ Nevertheless, even Sufi poets wrote *madīḥ nabawī* odes in a clear, simple, non-symbolic manner.

I choose to present here, as a prelude to the next subject, a final poem of *madīḥ nabawī* written by the Sufi poet Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī (d. 1269), who mostly used the colloquial dialect to praise the Prophet. In this poem, some eastern places and sites, such as Tihāma, Mecca and the Kaaba are mentioned, but the most important aspect of this poem is the way in which the Prophet is depicted as the intercessor. The editor of the al-Shushtarī’s *dīwān* entitled the poem “Mecca and the Grave of the Messenger.” This type of *madīḥ nabawī* was intended to be recited at the grave of the Prophet in order to seek his intercession on Judgment Day—a common feature of the Islamic pilgrimage in the medieval period. The Andalusian composers of the *madīḥ nabawī*, often unable to make the long pilgrimage journey, expressed their longing to do so through poems that were redolent of spiritual nostalgia for the pilgrimage sites and, especially, for the grave of the Prophet. Usually, such poems used to be sent to the holy places with pilgrims who managed to make the pilgrimage trip In the selected lines below, that are

³⁰ Al-Amīn al-Sharīf, “Madīḥ Nabawī in al-Andalus: From Rituals to Politics,” (Ph.D. Diss., Indiana University, 2013), 12.

written in a colloquial dialect, the Prophet appears as the intercessor for the believers at the End of Days:

My heart is aflame
because of my love for al-Muṣṭafā,³¹ the best of all mankind.

His light is lustrous;
he is my master and he is the one who shades us with clouds.

He is the hope of
Rabī‘a and Tihāma.

He is the one who will intercede
for his nation (*umma*) on Judgment Day.

O Kaaba of Allāh,
O my sweet hope, I came to your place as a stranger

With the hope of kissing
your soil and your palm trees.

Mecca is a bride
whose clothes are entirely of silk.

.....

And I think that
my intention is to visit the grave of al-Muṣṭafā.

قلبي مَوْلَعٌ بالمصطفى زين العامة

نورُهُ يَشْعُشَعُ سيدي المظلل بالغمامة

وفيه تطمع ربيعة مع تِهامة

شفيع مشفَع في أمته يوم القيامة

يا كعبةَ الله يا مولتي جيتك دخيل

أمّتي نقبل تلك المساحل والنخيل

مكة عروسة وثيابها كلُّه حريز

³¹ It literally means “the selected one” and it is a title for the Prophet, especially if used with the definite article *al*.

While *madīḥ nabawī* composed by Sufi poets expresses devotion to the Prophet through longing for the pilgrimage sites and the Prophet's grave, in Sufi mystical poetry, in contrast, the longing is not for the actual places, but for the spiritual union with the Divine that the physical union with the lost beloved symbolizes. The next section will shed light on this matter.

4.B. Sufism and Eastern Poetic Conventions and Nostalgia in al-Andalus: Ibn 'Arabī and al-Shushtarī as examples

In this sub-chapter I will try to show the role that the East played in crystallizing Sufi poetry in al-Andalus. But before I start my discussion, it is important—in my opinion—to give some historical background about the term “Islamic Sufism” and how that religious stream integrated in literature and poetry. For this purpose, I will refer to the Encyclopedea of Islam to describe the Motivation behind Sufism, how ascetics pushed forward its early development, the main character of Sufis special relation with God by treating Him as their beloved, how Sufis practice their faith through music and writing love poetry that is full of symbols and finally how Sufism interacted with other secular schools of thought:

whilst the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries brought about a certain secularisation of life and luxury, contrary to the ideals of the original Islamic community, and from which the truly Godfearing person could save himself only by withdrawing from the world. The representatives of the ascetic movement, which strove after giving depth to life and renouncing the world, were often called *nāsik*, pl. *nussāk*, corresponding to the Latin *virī religiosi*.³³ As an outward sign, they wore rough woollen cloth in order to react against

³² Al-Shushtarī, *Dīwān*, 456.

³³ The firm differentiation between Sufism and asceticism was achieved during the eighth century. According to al-Hārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 848), “neglecting life while remembering it is the characteristic of the ascetics, while neglecting and forgetting it is the merit of the Sufis.” See: Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, n.d), 8: 213.

قال حارث المحاسبي: ترك الدنيا مع ذكرها صفة الزاهدين وتركها مع نسيانها صفة العارفين.

the people wearing more luxurious dress, and possibly also in imitation of the dress of Christian monks and ascetics. A fringe group of the movement was called *Ṣūfiyya* in the 2nd/8th century. As opposed to the *religiosi*, antinomian, antisocial and anti-governmental tendencies became noticeable among them. . . The *Ṣūfiyya* tried to achieve a sensitive relation with God. They developed views about the love of God, and for this they could quote Qur'ān V, 54: "He loves them, and they love Him". They also had a means to intensify this relation and to give it an artistic expression by playing music and wordly poetry, in particular love poetry, and by listening to this (*samā'* [q.v.]). For the *Ṣūfiyya*, the beloved who was celebrated in these poems was God, and the love relation described in them was their relation to God. . . Notwithstanding the fact that the *religiosi* in general rejected these practices, the word *Ṣūfi*, which in the 2nd/8th century still had been an expression for a somewhat disreputable fringe group, had been adopted for the entire mystical movement in the course of the 3rd/9th century for reasons which are not clear. . . The *Ṣūfi* was poor (A. *faḳīr*, P. *darwīsh*). He had renounced the world as a *zāhid* (pl. *zuhhād*) and devoted himself to the ardent service of God. . . The *Ṣūfis* strove to procure a coherent foundation of their theory and practice. Their guiding principles were the Qur'ān and Sunna, the "orthodox" custom of the Islamic world which consolidated itself in the 3rd/9th century. The science thus formed was called *'ilm al-bāṭin*, knowledge of the inner self or internal knowledge. They opposed it to the traditional sciences, namely, tradition (*ḥadīth*) and jurisprudence (*fiḳh*), which they designated as knowledge of the perceptible or the perceptible knowledge (*'ilm al-zāhir*). . . If on the one hand *Ṣūfism* was confined in the straightjacket of Islamic theology, it experienced on the other hand enrichment and enlargement by admitting non-Islamic ways of thinking and worldviews, above all those of Classical Antiquity, mainly Neoplatonism, mixed with Aristotelian elements, which had become known to the Islamic world through translations since the beginning of the 3rd/9th century.³⁴

Qays al-Jannābī states that the first scholar to mention Sufism was al-Jāḥiẓ in his book *Al-Bayān wa-al-Tabayīn*, in which he considered ascetics to be hermits.³⁵ He also writes that the first hermits were *al-ṣaḥāba*. Then, their followers, *al-tābi'ūn*, and their followers, all became hermits. Al-Jannābī cites a statement from *Rabī' al-Abrār* that summarizes the meaning of

³⁴ "Taṣawwuf." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2015. Reference. Indiana University Bloomington. 11 March 2015 <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/tas-awwuf-COM_1188>

³⁵ Qays Kāẓim al-Jannābī, *Al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī fī Ittijāhātihi al-Adabiyya* (al-Qāhira: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa al-Dīniyya, 2007), 16.

asceticism: “Life is the store of the devil, do not steal anything from his store lest he comes to ask about you and take you [to hell].”³⁶

Sufi thoughts were strange and uncommon, especially in regard to immanent Koran interpretation (*al-bāṭin*), which led to an inevitable clash between Sufis and the formal religious authorities represented by the scholars (*al-fuqahā'*) who believed in the literal interpretation of the Koran (*al-zāhir*). This situation mostly led to the situation of Sufis going underground. Those who remained in the public eye began to express their feelings, thoughts and faith increasingly mysteriously and symbolically. It is from this period that the Sufi symbol came to life and

The Sufi experience was able by itself to create the tension between Sufism and the mainstream of religious thoughts that the *fuqahā'* supported, especially when the *zāhirī* doctrine [a literally religious doctrine that opposed the *bāṭinī* one] and legislations created a conflict between such a doctrine and the Sufi experience that is built on self-sagacity.³⁷

4.B.1. Sufism and symbolism

This spiritual situation and fear of persecution opened the door to employing symbols in Sufi literature, because of that, it created its own lexicon of terms. Unfortunately, this lexicon, unlike other lexicons, such as the one of the Arabic rhetoric, morphology and syntax, mostly remained unclear to non-Sufi people. “And when some Sufi schools achieved its social role . . . they found it necessary to employ the symbol when they used the same common poetic themes . . . and switched its images into religious ones.”³⁸

The intensification of symbols is what makes the Sufi language and poetry difficult to understand. Al-Th'ālībī (d. 1240), for example, criticized al-Mutanabbī for using “Sufi”

³⁶ Ibid., 19.

³⁷ 'Ādil Kāmil al-Ālūsī, *Al-Ḥubb wa-al-Taṣawwuf 'ind al-'Arab* (Bayrūt: Sharikat al-Maṭbū'āt lil-Tawzī' wal-Nashr, 1999), 52.

³⁸ Ibid., 72-73.

terms.³⁹ Al-Ālūsī writes about the mystery of Sufism: “It is a wide poetry with diverse goals, but all these goals lead at the end to a sea of nostalgia for what is distant and for what neither we nor the Sufis themselves can grasp.”⁴⁰ This intensification also led to the argument that Sufi scholars and poets overload words with meanings that they [the words] usually do not bear. (*yuḥammilūn al-kalimāt mā lā taḥtamil*).

Al-Jannābī categorizes the mystery of Sufi writing as *al-taʿbīr bi-al-ishāra* (i.e., hinting or expressing by signs) and explains that the sign was used when it was impossible for the speaker to say something in words.

. . . It is said hence that Sufism is a sign, and if the sign turns into a phrase it will hide [miss its real meaning]. This means that the sign means the silence and rarity in speech and abandoning revealing secrets to keep the holiness of the concealment . . . in order that the “slave” can contemplate the Lord and connect to Him secretly.⁴¹

The majority of the literature that has focused on the Sufi symbol referred to two points: love and wine. Almost all of the critical works about Sufism suppose that all Sufi symbols, including the two above, refer to the same two main sources: celestial love or the love of the Lord (*al-ḥubb al-ilāhī*) and referring to the Prophet as the beloved of the Lord and, at the same time, the beloved of the Sufi. Either way, the lexicon adopted to express such feelings is the one of *al-ḥubb al-ʿudhrī* (i.e., platonic love). However,

while the platonic lover reveals his thoughts and love, the Sufi hides his celestial love . . . and there is a mix between the language of the celestial love and the Platonic love by employing the persona of the insane . . . madness is connected to pain and lust of love in Sufism because it is a spiritual meeting in which all distances between the mad-man and his beloved vanish. . . This is why Sufis prefer to pretend to be insane in order to be able to hide the love that they have inside.⁴²

³⁹ Ibid., 73.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 75.

⁴¹ Al-Jannābī, *Al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī*, 93-94.

⁴² Ibid., 100-101.

The quote above makes it clear that the Sufi poet addresses his poems to two types of people: 1) the ordinary people with whom he uses ordinary literal language (*al-zāhir*) and the ordinary lexicon of the *nasīb*, which refers mainly to the eastern places in order to express human love and nostalgia, and 2) the Sufi people who are able to decode the symbols of the ordinary language and lexicon in order to grasp the Sufi mystical experience that the poet is trying to convey and which is known by *al-bāṭin*, that is inner, hidden meaning.

Like Ibn ‘Arabī and al-Shushtarī, who are the main poets of this section, many other Sufi poets did this segregation. ‘Umar Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 1235), for example, who was born in Egypt and moved to Mecca, wrote many poems reminiscent of the *nasīb*, but, in fact, express a completely different, now mystical, poetic experience.⁴³

In spite of that, and because the Sufi symbol is not the topic of my study, I will be treating the Sufi terms and symbols, such as *al-Manāzil wa-al-Abwāb* (literally: the houses and the doors),⁴⁴ *al-Khāṭir* (the thought), *al-Dhikr* (the saying), *al-Sirr* (the secret), *al-Riyāḍa* (gymnastic exercises), *al-Futuwwa* (the magnanimity), *al-Fanā’* (dissolution), *al-Wajd* (passionate love accompanied with pain), *al-Shaḥḥ* (delirium due to first unity with the Lord), *al-Tajallī* (transfiguration), *al-Ta’wīl* (exegesis), *al-Ḥurūf* (the letters), *al-Samā’* (listening), *al-*

⁴³ See for example, his poem that is full of nostalgia for different eastern places and plants, and that includes the names of traditional loved ones from which I am citing its opening three lines:

Did lightning from far-off vale,
or did veils light from Layla’s face?
Was the tamarisk aflame, with Salma in its grove,
or was this light the gleam of tear-filled eyes?
The scent of lavender, perhaps or Ḥājir’s balm,
Or in the Mother of Cities ‘Azzah’s languid redolence?

أبرقُ بدا من جانب الغور لامعُ أم ارتفعت عن وجه ليلي البراقعُ
أنارُ الغضا ضاءت وسلمى بذى الغضا أم ابتسمتُ عما حكته المدامعُ
أنشُرُ خُزامى فاح أم عزفُ حاجِرٍ بأُم القُرى أم عطُرُ عرّة ضائعُ

Both the translation and original text are from Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 82, 212. Jaroslav Stetkevych wrote that love was the constant form for Ibn al-Fāriḍ and the permanent state of his soul. However, “it was love as yearning for the remote experience of the desert as pilgrimage, the love of the holy places of his now is recollected, politically conjured mystic states.” Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 80.

⁴⁴ Due to their marginal importance on my particular research topic, all English translations of Sufi terms in this paragraph are literal and made by me without reference to academic works on the subject. The Arabic Sufi terms that I presented however, are all taken from Al-Jannābī, *Al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī*, 45-60.

Ittihād (the union) and *al-Ḥulūl* (the advent), that might exist in some of the poetic examples in the following pages, I will be treating them literally and not symbolically. By doing that, I will avoid any religious misinterpretations and focus on the main topic: How the East, the *nasīb* and other eastern poetic love icons and conventions all together played a leading role in the Sufi poetry of al-Anadus.

In the following paragraphs, I will analyze *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq* by Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī and all other Sufi poems that will appear in this section only as lyrical poems in order to illustrate how they use eastern motifs and *nasīb* to express both Sufi concepts of love for the Creator and the poet’s hope to achieve a union with the Divine, and worldly love as well. Through this, the attachment of Sufism to the East and its nostalgia for it, in general, and the holy places of Islam, in particular, will be clear.

The literal lyric analysis of the Sufi poetic corpus is also important because it would be unfair to deprive the Sufi poets of their human nature and ascribe all their writings about wine and love only to the religious aspect of poetry, especially when we read about amazing love stories of Sufi poets to pretty women or handsome boys (*ghilmān*). The love story between Ibn ‘Arabī and Niẓām, Sheikh Makīn al-Dīn al-Aṣfahānī’s daughter, for example, is well-known,⁴⁵ and the fondness of Ibn al-Fāriḍ for music and singing slaves is also well-known.⁴⁶

4.B.2. Ibn ‘Arabī and *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq*

Although it is believed that Rābi‘a al-‘Adawiyya was the first Sufi poet to write about ordinary love and use the conventional similes of worldly love poetry (*ghazal*) to allude to celestial love,⁴⁷ the most appropriate example for this direction in the present study is the

⁴⁵ Al-Ālūsī, *Al-Ḥubb wa-al-Taṣawwuf*, 88.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 81.

mīmiyya (a poem that ends with the letter M) by Andalusian Sufi poet Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī’s:⁴⁸

All the standing ruins of an abode that I seek,
and the houses or places that used to be inhabited by their owners that I mention,
all of that,

And likewise the clouds if I said that they cried
or the roses if I said that they smiled,

Or the lightning or the thunder or the eastern winds of the Ṣabā,
or the southern winds or the northern ones,

Or the radiant women with firm breasts,
or the suns or the ivory statues,

(All these are) a holy celestial description
that proves that one like me is an infinite pre-existence.

So do not take serious its external shape (*ẓāhiruhā*)
but seek the deep meaning (*al-bāṭin*) in order to understand.

كل ما أطلبه من طلل أو ربوعٍ أو مغانٍ، كل ما
وكذا السحب إذا قلتُ: بكت وكذا الزهر إذا ما ابتسما
أو بروقٍ أو رعود أو صبا أو رياح أوجنوب أو شما
أو نساء كاعبات تُهد طالعات أو شمس أو دمي
صفةً قدسيّةً علويّةً أعلمت أن لمثلي قدما
فاصرفِ خاطرَ عن ظاهرها واطلبِ الباطنَ حتى تعلم⁴⁹

The heightened symbolism that Sufism imposes on the poetic text led Ibn ‘Arabī to write a commentary in his book *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq* (Interpreter of Desires) in which he tries to interpret what he meant by different symbols . The complicated Sufi symbol was also the

⁴⁸ He was born in Murcia in 1164 and moved to Seville. He visited Syria, Iraq, al-Ḥijāz and Egypt where he was sent to jail because of his Sufi thought. Ibn ‘Arabī moved, in the end, to Damascus where he died. His most famous books are *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, *Muḥāḍarat al-Abrār wa-Musāmarat al-Akhyār* and *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq*. See more about his works and biography in al-Katbī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, 2: 397-401.

⁴⁹ Al-Ālūsī, *Al-Ḥubb wa-al-Taṣawwuf*, 89.

reason for the story about the poet ‘Umar Ibn al-Fāriḍ and one of his friends who sought his permission to write a commentary to his [Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s] poem (*Naẓm al-Sulūk*). The poet asked the man: “How long is that commentary expected to be? “Two volumes,” the man said. Ibn al-Fāriḍ laughed and replied: “If you wish, you can write two volumes to explain each single line of this poem.”⁵⁰ Due to this complication, scholars felt lost when they tried to understand or explain Ibn al-Fāriḍ and other Sufi poets’ poetry. They could not determine whether Hind, Laylā, Su‘ād, Asmā’ and the other names of traditional beautiful girls were meant to be real people or just symbols. Therefore, on the *ẓāhirī* level, the Sufi poems express actual nostalgia for the East and for places where poets like Ibn al-Fāriḍ and Ibn ‘Arabī spent time with their loved ones.

On the surface, Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī wrote his book, *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq*, as a collection of love poems for his beloved Niẓām. However, on a deeper level, or at least as he interprets the book, it is a collection of a pure, celestial love poetry in which the poet seeks a union with the Divine. In other words, Because of Ibn ‘Arabī’s love affair in Mecca, the *ẓāhirī* level of *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq* is actual nostalgia for places in the East—i.e., he claims that he is really longing for the real-life places where he had been with his now lost beloved Niẓām; however, at the Sufi *bāṭinī* level, all the place-names and the whole affair, become metaphorical expressions of a mystical experience.

After being accused of immorality and flirtation, Ibn ‘Arabī admitted that the reason for his commentary on the *Tarjumān* was to refute such worldly interpretations. He also admitted that he wrote his poetry in such a manner in order to attract the readers’ attention because people were used to and even fond of listening to and reading poems in which the traditional eastern places and female names were mentioned:

⁵⁰ Ibid., 84.

... And I explained the love lines that I had written in holy Mecca... by which I meant the celestial knowledge, divine lights, spiritual secrets, mental sciences and dogmatic alerts, and to do so, I took the advantage of love and flirtation (*al-ghazal wa-al-tashbīb*) because people like such phrases. And this way all reasons for listening to it will be accomplished.⁵¹

One should not forget, therefore, that Ibn ‘Arabī might have presented this interpretation just because he was obliged to do so in order to refute accusations of libertinism and immorality.

By writing his interpretation and commentary, Ibn ‘Arabī may have written the last word in explaining the *Tarjumān* as a Sufi work and in a Sufi meaning, but, by no means, did he present the last word concerning its beauty. Therefore, taking into account the direct *zāhiri* meaning of the *Tarjumān* will give it another dimension and further beauty and, in this case, nostalgia for the East as its *nasīb* and poetic conventions were predominant aesthetic features of the book.

It is interesting to see in *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq*, which is a relatively small poetic collection, the extent to which Ibn ‘Arabī relied upon the eastern geographic lexicon. The following chart, which also includes other eastern nostalgic and *nasīb* motifs, such as plants, winds, rivers, creeks and names of traditional loved ones demonstrates that:

	The place name/ the eastern nostalgic motif name	Number of times it is mentioned	Page numbers where it appears (according to edition of Dār Ṣādir, 1966 cited in the footnote above)
1	Hājir	14	22, 65, 73, 83, 109, 112, 127, 128, 135, 143, 173, 184, 194 ⁵²
2	Al-Naqā	7	57, 117, 121, 135, 162, 173, 194

⁵¹ Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī, *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq* (Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir, 1966), 10. It is worth mentioning that this attitude also reflects Ibn Qutayba al-Dīnawārī’s (d. 889) thoughts in his book *al-Shi’r wa-al-Shu‘arā’*. Al-Dīnawārī argues that the *nasīb* played a key role in attracting people’s hearts and evoking others’ wills to listen simply because *tashbīb* or love poetry was close to the soul and clung to the heart. Ibn Qutayba adds that this theme led to the continuation of the ode through its two other themes: the journey and self-praise or praising others. Ibn ‘Arabī followed the same strategy in order to achieve celestial love. See: Ibn Qutayba al-Dīnawārī, *Al-Shi’r wa-al-Shu‘arā’*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, 2nd ed. (Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1958), 75.

⁵² If the total number of the pages is less than the number of times that the nostalgic motif occurs, that means that, on some pages, the name of the same nostalgic motif appears more than once.

3	La‘la‘	6	20, 101, 110, 117, 121, 193
4	Minā	6	20, 32, 41, 109, 148, 193
5	Najd	6	28, 136, 143 ⁵³ , 147, 148, 189
6	Rāma	6	33, 79, 85, 173, 175, 194
7	al-Aḏā	4	139, 142, 179, 194
8	al-Muḥaṣṣab	4	20, 21, 32, 41
9	Sal‘	4	70, 143, 173, 175
10	Zarūd	4	72, 83, 89, 184
11	al-‘Aqīq	3	95,97
12	al-Ghaḏā	3	109, 171, 194
13	al-Liwā	3	119, 148, 195
14	Baghdad	3	150, 187, 197
15	Bāriq	3	112, 179, 194
16	Ṭayba	3	97, 150, 193
17	Tihāma	3	28, 136, 143
18	Zamzam	3	20, 23, 33
19	‘Ālij	2	50, 195
20	Thahmad	2	90, 112
21	Dijla	1	187
22	Iḏam	1	196
23	al-Bān	11	88, 101, 109, 156, 170, 171, 173, 194, 196, 197
24	al-Shīḥ	2	132, 196
25	al-Ṣabā \ rīḥ al-ṣabā	10	65, 72, 109, 121, 132, 142, 169
26	Names of traditional beloveds		Da‘d, Rabāb, Zaynab, Hind, Salmā, Lubnā, Laylā, Mayy, ‘Anān
27	Names of traditional tribes and people from the East		Qays, Ghaylān, Dhū al-Qarnayn, Banū al-Zawrā’

Due to the full Sufi interpretation of the *Tarjumān* by Ibn ‘Arabī himself, one feels constrained when dealing with its mystical meanings simply because the poet leaves no means for critics to do so. However, the obsession with religious Sufi interpretation has left open the field of literary interpretation of the poetic texts, an aspect that critics have largely neglected.

⁵³ On pages 136 and 143, the referral to Najd came respectively in the form of the verb (*anjada*), which means ascended, and in the form of the active participle (*munjid*), which means the ascendant. The same is true for Tihāma. On the same two pages, the place name of Tihāma came as a verb (*athama*, which means descended) and as an active particle (*muthim*, which means the descendant or the one who is going down the street). These two meanings or derivations came from the fact that Najd is a highland and Tihāma is a coastal low area. In poetry, these two words often are used together: *anjada wa-athama* or *munjidun wa-muthimun*.

Therefore, and as Jaroslav Stetkevych did with Ibn al-Fāriḍ,⁵⁴ I will deal with the following selected poems that shed light on the deep connection between Ibn ʿArabī and the East as if they were totally devoid of Sufi connotations.⁵⁵

O my two companions, stop at the dune and turn
to Laʿlaʿ, and seek the water of Yalamlam,⁵⁶

For there is the one that you know and those who own
my feast, my pilgrimage, my ʿumra⁵⁷ and my house,

So I do not forget that day at the Muḥaṣṣab of Minā,
and those at the upper al-Manḥar⁵⁸ [slaughtering place] and those at Zamzam!

Their Muḥaṣṣab is my heart that is dedicated to them to throw their coals at,
their slaughtering place is my soul and my blood is for them to drink from.

O leader of the camels! If you come to Ḥājir
stop them for a while and greet them,

And call the red domed tents that are next to the sacred precinct
[and deliver] the salute of an eager man who misses them greatly.

And if they greet back, send the salute with the Ṣabā;
and if they keep silent, then save the greeting and keep going

To the ʿĪsā River where their caravans have stopped
and where the white tents are next to the river's mouth,

And call Daʿd, Rabāb, Zaynab
Hind, Salmā then Lubnā and Zamzam.

خَلِيلِيَّ عَوْجًا بِالكَثِيبِ وَعَرَجًا عَلِي لَعْلَعٍ، واطلب مياه يللم
فإنَّ بها من قد علمت، ومن لهم صيامي وحجِّي واعتماري ومنزلي
فلا أنس يومًا بالمحصَّب من منى وبالمنحر الأعلى أمورًا وزمزم

⁵⁴ See: Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 79-102.

⁵⁵ To exclude the celestial love that will be interchangeable with the regular human love.

⁵⁶ It is one mountain among the mountains of Tihāma. See: Yaqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, 1: 246.

⁵⁷ The ʿUmra (i.e., lesser pilgrimage) occurs when one visits the holy places of Islam (Mecca and Medina) anytime during the year, except for the days of the *hajj*, which is the official religious Islamic pilgrimage rite.

⁵⁸ A small mountain close to Minā. It is also called al-Ghabghab. See: Yaqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, 4: 185.

مُحْصَبُهُمْ قَلْبِي لِرَمِي جَمَارِهِمْ وَمَنْحَرُهُمْ نَفْسِي وَمَشْرِئُهُمْ دَمِي
 يَا حَادِي الْأَجْمَالِ إِنْ جِئْتَ حَاجِرًا فَقِفْ بِالْمَطَايَا سَاعَةً ثُمَّ سَلِّمْ
 وَنَادِ الْقَبَابَ الْحُمْرَ مِنْ جَانِبِ الْحَمَى تَحِيَّةَ مَشْتَاقِي إِلَيْكُمْ مُتَيِّمٍ
 فَإِنْ سَلَّمُوا فَاهْدِ السَّلَامَ مَعَ الصَّبَا وَإِنْ سَكْتُوا فَارْحَلْ بِهَا وَتَقَدَّمِ
 إِلَى نَهْرِ عَيْسَى حَيْثُ حَلَّتْ رِكَابُهُمْ، وَحَيْثُ الْخِيَامُ الْبَيْضُ مِنْ جَانِبِ الْفَمِ
 وَنَادِ بَدْعِدِ وَالرِّيَابِ وَزَيْنِبِ وَهَنْدِ وَسَلْمَى ثُمَّ لَبْنَى وَزَمْزَمِ⁵⁹

It is obvious that the interpretation and translation above are far from what Ibn ‘Arabī meant, since the addressees, according to him, were not the two traditional companions of the poet. He states that the addressees were Ibn ‘Arabī’s faith and mind. The same can be said about other well-known eastern motifs that Ibn ‘Arabī claims he intended solely as Sufi symbols, such as La‘la‘, which is a place of yearning and astonishment, and Hājir, which means the mind. However, regardless of the spiritual and religious Sufi meanings that Ibn ‘Arabī ascribed to his poems, his dependence upon the eastern poetic vocabulary to express his ideas was so conspicuous that it showed the spiritual connection between him and the East. As such, it can be shown that the East is the main inspiring spring of Ibn ‘Arabī’s eloquence and poetic abilities.

It is clear in the poem above that the place-names are not those names often used in the classical ode or classical *nasīb*. However, Ibn ‘Arabī still depends upon eastern models and poetic conventions even though he was conveying non-conventional ideas. As such, I will not exclude the regular literal *ẓāhirī* dimension in the poem above and in Ibn ‘Arabī’s poetry, in

⁵⁹ Ibn ‘Arabī, *Turjumān al-Ashwāq*, 24-20

general. From this point on, I will argue that there is an evident poetic meaning as well as a hidden Sufi meaning in Ibn 'Arabī's poems.

The poem is full of vocabulary derived from the East and written in the style of the classical ode, although some places, such as, La'la', Yalamlam, al-Muḥaṣṣab, Ḥājir and Zamzam, and some words, such as *al-jimār*, *ṣiyām*, *hajj* and *i'timār* are more often identified with the terminology of the Islamic pilgrimage rite and route rather than with the classical *nasīb*. However, the names of the women, sending salutes and addressing his two friends testify that Ibn 'Arabī was referring to the East and depended upon it to deliver both worldly and celestial love, which is, according to his interpretation, the love of the divine, with which he wants to join.

Here is another poem that functions exactly as the one above:

O my two companions go to the dwellings,
and seek Najd and that mountain,

And go down to the water which is at the tents of the Liwā,
and enjoy the shade of the Dāl and the Salam trees,

And if you come at the valley of Minā,
where my heart lives,

Send on my behalf the greetings of love to
everyone who dwells or greets there.

يا خليلي ألمّا بالحمى واطلبا نجدًا وذاك العلما
وردا ماءً بخيمات اللوى واستظلا ضالها والسما
فإذا ما جئتما وادي منى فالذي قلبي به قد خيما
أبلغا عني تحيات الهوى كل من حل به أو سلّما⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Ibn 'Arabī, *Turjumān al-Ashwāq*, 148.

What is clear in these lines is that Ibn ‘Arabī is using vocabulary within the spirit of nostalgia and the *nasīb* (i.e., addressing the two companions, descending toward the water spring, mentioning some of the eastern places and sending regards to loved ones) to incite the reader's suspense and interest. Ibn ‘Arabī, seemingly an expert of the poetic taste of Arabs, knew that mentioning the abodes and mythical places of old Arabs was really what Arabs want to hear. As such, he utilized his knowledge to transfer his Sufi ideas and thoughts through these poetic motifs. Yet, if Ibn ‘Arabī had not written a Sufi interpretation for this collection, one could say that he almost exceeded his contemporaries and forefathers in regards to employing *nasīb*. In spite of the fact that all of these places and quasi-classical motifs had—according to Ibn ‘Arabī—Sufi meanings (*khalīlayya* = my brain and my faith, *al-ḥimā* = the celestial protection, Najd = the Najdic knowledge, al-Liwā = the celestial sympathy, the *ḍāll* = the Sufi method of the people of al-Ḥīra, the *salam* = from *al-salāma*, which is getting rid of being handcuffed by anything, and wādī Minā = the place of throwing the stone, which is the place of the groups), the *zāhirī* meaning of these lines, whether the nostalgic romantic or the regular religious one, which focuses on yearning for the places of early Islam, should not be disregarded.

The same intensification of using eastern places is noticed when Ḥājir is combined with other motifs, such as the wind of al-Ṣabā, Rāma, Minā, Sal‘ and the traditional names of the beloved girls. The following selected lines show how all of these components combine to create the *nasībīc* atmosphere and flavor of the classical eastern ode:

The wind of Ṣabā informs [us] of time of youth
at Ḥājir or Minā or Qubā.

ريحُ صبا يخبُرُ عن عصر صبا بـحـاجِرٍ أو بـمَنَى أو بـقُبَا⁶¹

⁶¹ Ibid., 109.

She sought Rāma and became full of emotions because of the ṣabā
and closed her legs at Ḥājir.

رمت رامة وصبت بالصبا وحجرت الحجر بالحاجر⁶²

It is also notable that he uses Ḥājir in a romantic tone with other nostalgic vocabulary, such as the bush of the Bān, girls' names and with other place-names, while using the conjunctive article *wa*.

May love become infertile if I do not die of sorrow
at Ḥājir or Sal' or Ajiyād.

لا در در الهوى إن لم أمت كمدًا بحاجر أو بسلعٍ أو بأجیاد⁶³

And recite the speech of Hind, Lubnā,
Sulaymā, Zaynab and 'Anān,

Then tell me more about the grazing-places of the gazelles
at Ḥājir and Zarūd.

وانكرا لي حديث هندٍ ولبنى
وسليمى وزينبٍ وعنان
ثم زيذا من حاجر وزرودٍ
خبرًا عن مراتع الغزلان⁶⁴

Our meeting is at the Jaz' which is between [the two] al-Abraqān,
so stop the caravan at this spring,

And leave behind and do not call
O Ḥājir, O Bāriq, O Thahmad

بالجزع بين الأبرقين الموعدُ
فأنخ ركائبنا فهذا الموردُ

لا تطلبنّ ولا تنادي بعده
يا حاجرٌ يا بارقٌ يا ثمهدُ⁶⁵

The outskirts of Sal' and Ḥājir remember me
and they remember my situation during youth and old age.

⁶² Ibid., 194.

⁶³ Ibid., 70.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 82-83.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 112.

تذكرني أكنافَ سلعٍ وحاجرٍ وتذكرُ لي حالَ الشبية والشرخ⁶⁶

The Bedouin migratory caravan motif is added to the former components in the following lines:

O the leader of the convoy at Sal'! Turn
and stop at the bush of Bān at the Mudarraġ,

And call them kindly and with feeling:
O our masters! Do you have any mitigating solution?

In Rāma between al-Naqā and Hājir
there is a slave girl inside a howdah.

What a beautiful infant, whose front hair
lights for the sudden visitor as a lamp at night!

يا حادي العيس بسلعٍ عرّج وقف على البانة بالمدرج
ونادهم مستعطفاً مستلطفاً يا سادتي هل عندكم من فرج
برامةٍ بين النقا وحاجرٍ جارية مقصورة في هودج
يا حسنها من طفلة غرتها تضيئ للطارقٍ مثل السرج⁶⁷

The lines above, whether expressing personal longing and nostalgia for his love relationship in Mecca or whether express his spiritual longing for the divine Beloved, rely fully on the Arabs' poetic conventions, and show that Ibn 'Arabī, as many Arabs in the East and West, considered these places to be their real places of origin and the authentic places of their spiritual pilgrimage.

Sells writes that according to one of the prefaces of the *Tarjumān*, Ibn 'Arabī suggested that the poems were depictions of his *hajj*. Sells argues that this is true since many of the

⁶⁶ Ibid., 143.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 173.

stations of the journey (*manāzil*) depicted in the poems, such as Minā, the stoning place and others, are real sites that are related to the Isamic pilgrimage rite. However, at the same time,

most of the stations . . . are far more linked to the idealized topography of the classical Arabic love poetry tradition: *Dhāt al-Ghaḍā* (tamarisk grove), a central site of remembrance of the beloved within the Majnūn Laylā tradition; *Ḥājir* (the Nabatae ruins of Madā'in Šāliḥ that served as reminders to the Bedouin poet of what fate does to all civilizations, and all loves); the *ḍāl* tree (a species of lote tree) that was for the poets the locus of elegiac vision, enveloped with memories of the *locus amoenus*, the place of union with the beloved, just as the *sidr* (another species of lote tree) is enveloped with a prophetic light in vision of Maḥammad.⁶⁸

The final poem that I will refer to is entitled *Munā niltuhā bi-minā* (Wishes that I fulfilled at Minā). In order to express some Sufi thoughts in this 15 line poem, Ibn 'Arabī refers 14 times to the following eastern places, mountains, water springs, bushes and one palace: Ṭayba, 'Arafāt, Minā, La'la', Rāma, Ḥājir, Bāriq, Miyāh al-Ghaḍā, Bān al-Naqā, Dhū Salam, a-Liwā, 'Ālij and al-Khawarnaq. In my opinion, the reason why such places do not only incite nostalgia, but also Sufi feelings, is the intensity of poetic feelings that they acquired throughout time. In this poem, Ibn 'Arabī uses the *tajnīs* (paranomasia) to play on all the place-names; and to catch his readers' attention, he writes in a traditional poetic diction:

I fulfilled many desires at Minā, I wish
this situation would continue forever.

At La'la' I fell in love with the one who
shows you the light of the white moon,

She sought Rāma and became full of emotions because of the ṣabā
and her heart heartened at Ḥājir,

And observed the lightning at Bāriq
that is faster than a blink of an idea,

.....

⁶⁸ Michael A. Sells, "Longing, Belonging, and Pilgrimage in Ibn 'Arabī's Interpreter of Desires (Tarjumān al-Ashwāq)," in *Languages of Power in Islamic Spain*, ed. Ross Brann (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1997), 179-180.

And went away at Bān al-Naqā and selected
priceless hidden pearls.

مُنَى بِمُنَى نلتها ليتها تدوم إلى الزمن الآخر
تولعتُ في لعلٍ بالتي تريك سنا القمر الزاهر
رمتُ رامةً وصبتُ بالصبا وحجرتُ الحجرَ بالحاجرِ
وشامتُ بريقًا على بارقٍ بأسرع من خطرةِ الخاطرِ
...

وبانتُ ببان النقا فانتعتُ لآلى مكنونةِ الفاخر⁶⁹

Despite the clear *nasībīc* style of the former lines, and despite the warm nostalgic feelings and memories that they evoke, “these names are also the poet’s travel stations along one road, the road of pilgrimage to Mecca.”⁷⁰ Jaroslav Stetkevych states that La‘la’, as a repeated Sufi symbol, “can mean glimmer or mirage. It comes to signify a mystic state of bewilderment and perplexity, but also of infatuation (*tawallu*’), of which we later learn that, as incandescence it is also a state of mystic passion.”⁷¹

Whatever Ibn ‘Arabī’s nostalgia might be for (i.e., for unity with the Lord or for Nizām), he found in the eastern places and eastern *nasīb* the best means by which he could transfer his nostalgic feelings.

Even when Ibn ‘Arabī attempts to present a different *bāṭinī* meaning, he remains imprisoned inside the traditional and conventional meanings of the words in Arabic as they were first utilized by the classical poet. We notice, for example, that even if he does not mean a real beloved when mentioning the names of traditional women to whom poets often referred,

⁶⁹ Ibid., 193-194.

⁷⁰ Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 88.

⁷¹ Ibid., 93-94.

these women remain the source of beauty, lust, desire, inspiration and union in his poetry. Such words are literally grasped in the traditional poetry, where the poet means a desire for a union with the beloved. However, Ibn ‘Arabī and Sufī poets, in general, mostly utilize such love lexicon and expressions of the desire to be physical with a beloved in order to express their desires for unity with the Lord or the Divine. According to Khālīd Bilqāsīm, “the obsession with love-union (*hājis al-waṣl*) in Al-Shaykh al-Akbar [Ibn ‘Arabī] is concerned with explaining the universe and the Koran,”⁷² and this is of course, a completely different sort of love and desire.

When Ibn Arabī wants to express his all-consuming desire and longing for another worldly love union with the Divine, the most powerful expressions that he has at his disposal are the classical eastern poetics of nostalgia, including its lexicon, motifs, place-names, trees and winds.

4.B.3. Sufism in al-Shushtarī

The same phenomenon of employing the nostalgic lexicon of the eastern poetry of the classical *nasīb* is found in the poetry of another Sufī poet from al-Andalus, al-Shushtarī. ‘Alī Ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Shushtarī (d. 1269) was born to a wealthy family in the Andalusian village of Shushtar around 1213. It is believed that his father was the governor of some of the districts in that area. Al-Shushtarī’s life can be divided into three stages: during the first stage (1213-1248), he lived a life of luxury. At the age of 30, he began working as a bagman and quickly noticed the poverty of the people around him. As a result, he abandoned his former life and began seeking a different goal for his life. He travelled to the far West (*al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā*) to the cities of Miknās and Fās in order to search for a way to get close to God. However, this

⁷² Khālīd Bilqāsīm, *Al-Kitāba wa-al-Taṣawwuf ‘ind Ibn ‘Arabī* (al-Dār al-Bayḍā’: Dār Tubqāl lil-Nashr, 2000), 28.

journey was not his only journey as he also moved to the city of Bijāya (today, in Algeria) where he came to know the Sufi *ṭarīqa* (method) of al-Suhrawardī (d. 1234). After that, he familiarized himself with another philosophic theoretic Sufi *ṭarīqa* that was established by Shu‘ayb Ibn al-Ḥusayn Abū Madyan al-Ghawth (d. 1197). He found himself highly affected and attached to this method. The second stage of his life began in 1248 when he met Ibn Sab‘īn (d. 1269). He was affected by Ibn Sab‘īn and his faith in a complete and absolute unity between God and his creatures. The third stage of his life occurred when he traveled to Egypt, where he was exposed to al-Shādhiliyya, the moderate Sunni Sufi *ṭarīqa* of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 1258), which limited itself to the Koran and the *Sunna*. Nevertheless, al-Shushtarī established, in Egypt, his own Sufi method, which many *murīdūn* (faithful Sufi followers) later followed.⁷³

Those individuals who read the poetic collection (*dīwān*) of al-Shushtarī will notice that he made less use of the traditional lexical nostalgic vocabulary than Ibn ‘Arabī, but still did not completely abandon this lexicon, especially in the first and last chapters of the *dīwān*.

In one of his short poems, he explains his early Sufi experience in regard to searching for *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*.⁷⁴ He expresses such knowledge through the symbol of a glass of aged

⁷³ Al-Shushtarī, *Dīwān*, 11-16.

⁷⁴ A term that is associated with Ibn ‘Arabī and believed to be coined by him although he never mentioned it. It literally means “the unity of existence” and indicates that Sufi poets sought God in all the creatures. Here is some information about the term from the Encyclopedia of Islam:

. . . *waḥdat al-wudjūd* “the oneness of being” or “the unity of existence”, a term that by his day was identified with the position of Ibn al-‘Arabī. . . The various attempts by scholars to explain *waḥdat al-wudjūd* by employing labels such as “pantheism” or “esoteric monism” succumb to the same assumption and fail to clarify what exactly was at issue in the texts. In fact, *waḥdat al-wudjūd* was more an emblem than a doctrine, and if Ibn al-‘Arabī was considered its founder, this simply indicates that his writings mark Sūfism’s massive entry into the theoretical discussions of *wudjūd* that before him had been the almost exclusive preserve of the philosophers and the *mutakallimūn*. . . In the earliest instances, it means *waḥdat al-wudjūd al-ḥaqq*, “the oneness of the real *wudjūd*”, and indicates the self-evident fact that God’s *wudjūd* is the one and only true *wudjūd*. Gradually, it comes to designate a distinctive perspective on the whole of reality, though interpretations of what this perspective implies can disagree sharply. The expression itself is not used by Ibn al-‘Arabī, even though his name eventually became associated with it.

wine that neither grew in the ground nor was watered by the sky.⁷⁵ He ends the poem by addressing the people of Najd and begging them not to disappoint him.

I was watered the glass of love a long time ago
neither from my land nor from my sky.

.....

O those who are worthy of gratitude!
If you do not reward me then what a miserable man I will become!

I exclude you, the people of Najd,
from those who disappoint me.

سُقَيْتُ كَأْسَ الْهَوَى قَدِيمًا مِنْ غَيْرِ أَرْضِي وَلَا سَمَائِي

.....

يَا مَنْ هُمُو لِلْجَمِيلِ أَهْلٌ إِنْ لَمْ يَمْنُوا فَيَا شَقَائِي

حَاشَاكُمْ يَا أَهْلَ نَجْدٍ أَنْ تَقْطَعُوا مِنْكُمْ رَجَائِي⁷⁶

From the lines above, one notices that Najd remains present in the poet's consciousness even through the main topic of the poem (wine or celestial wine, which indicates Sufi knowledge) is far from what Najd traditionally indicated in the Arabic poetic corpus or the Arabs' consciousness (i.e., love and nostalgia or simply *nasīb*). What is worth mentioning here is the abrupt way in which the poet uses Najd and the way that he imposed it upon the poem without any introductions, as if it were something that must be used, or otherwise, the poem would not be complete.

See: Chittick, W.C.. "Wahdat al-Shuhūd." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2015. Reference. Indiana University Bloomington. 27 March 2015 <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/wah-dat-al-s-h-uhu-d-SIM_7819>

⁷⁵ Al-Shushtarī, *Dīwān*, 28.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

It is also interesting to bring here what Muḥammad al-‘Adlūnī wrote about this term in regards to al-Shushtarī. According to al-‘Adlūnī, the reason that al-Shushtarī and other Muslim Sufis adopted the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* was to bridge the gap between God and man after the traditional Muslim sheikhs widened this gap and created two separated universes or existences: the must and eternal one (God), and the optional perishable one (the universe). This theory or school of thought created a sort of superiority and inferiority and ratified the duality of the universe. Therefore, we notice that those poets who adopted the way of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* utilized their entire religious and philosophical knowledge to override this negative relationship between God (*al-ḥaqq* = the truth) and mankind (*al-khalq* = the creatures), which was determined and confirmed by the official religion. The goal of Islamic western Sufism, hence, was to challenge the narrow-minded Sunni understanding of God’s unity (*al-tawḥīd*) and connect between the highest (God) and the lowest (man). This connection and new unity between God and man can only be reached by *al-‘Ārif* (the Sufi knower). The same can be said about the Sufis’ rejection of the prevailing social order, which segregated the ruler from the rest of the community and legalized social and economic injustice.⁷⁷

Najd and other Ḥijāzī places with Islamic connotations were utilized to express Sufi thought in other poems by al-Shushtarī. The following short poem ascribed also to Ibn Sab‘īn addresses such places with an apparent nostalgic tone.

For how long will you be irresolute between the two Shu‘bāns⁷⁸ and the ‘Alam?
The matter is clearer than fire at the top of a mountain.

And how many times do you pass across Sal‘, Kādhima,
Zarūd, and some neighbors at Dhū Salam?

⁷⁷ Muḥammad al-‘Addūlī al-Idrīsī, *Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī wa-Falsafatuhu al-Ṣūfīyya* (al-Dār al-Bayḍā’: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 2005), 172-174.

⁷⁸ Two creeks in the middle of two foothills that belong to the tribe of Abū Bakr Ibn Kilāb or two creeks on the left side of al-Mardama, which belong to the tribe of Rabī‘a Ibn ‘Abdallāh. These creeks are also called Muraykha and al-Mamhā. Al-Mardama is a black mountain that belongs to the tribe of Mālik. See: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 3: 346; 2: 430.

You kept asking about Najd although you are in Najd
and about Tihāma! It is what an accused person does.

There is a live person in the neighborhood whom you can ask about Laylā,
though your question is worthless,

Because she is satisfied with whatever you say about her;
whether you say this by words or by silence.

كَمْ ذَا تَمَوَّهُ بِالشَّعْبَيْنِ وَالْعِلْمِ الْأَمْرُ أَوْضَحُ مِنْ نَارٍ عَلَى عِلْمِ
وَكَمْ تَعْبِرُ عَنْ سَلْعٍ وَكَاطِمَةٍ وَعَنْ زُرُودٍ وَجِيرَانٍ بَدِيٍّ سَلَمِ
ظَلَلْتُ تَسْأَلُ عَنْ نَجْدٍ وَأَنْتِ بِهَا وَعَنْ تَهَامَةٍ هَذَا فَعَلُ مَتَّهَمِ
فِي الْحَيِّ حَيٍّ سِوَى لَيْلَى فَتَسْأَلُهُ عَنْهَا، سَأَلْتُكَ وَهَمَّ جَرٌّ لِلْعَدَمِ
حَدَّثْتُ بِمَا شِئْتُ عَنْهَا فَهِيَ رَاضِيَةٌ بِالْحَالَتَيْنِ مَعًا وَالصَّمْتُ وَالْكَلْمُ⁷⁹

Both Sufism and *madīḥ nabawī* poetry adopted a new eastern geographical lexicon derived from the Islamic sites associated with the Islamic pilgrimage rite. When I excluded Najd and Tihāma in the above poem, I realized that al-Shushtarī was not an exception and that many of his sites, such as al-‘Alam, Sal‘, Kāzima and dhū Salam, fell in this category because they had a significant Islamic importance. The next poem shows the deep touching nostalgic tone of the poet for the Ḥijāzī places through mixing between Sufism and *madīḥ nabawī*:

The camel caravan has a yearning that made it travel through the night
when the caller of drowsiness called its eyelids.

Loose the reins and follow them [the camels]
to know the Najdic places the way others knew them.

Urge on the caravan! Sal‘ has appeared for us;
and dismount at the right side of the path of Wadī al-Qurā,

And smell that soil when you come there,
if you do so, you will find it sweet like musk

And if you arrive at al-‘Aqīq say to them:
the lover’s heart at the tents is in suffering.

⁷⁹ Al-Shushtarī, *Dīwān*, 65.

Embrace their abandoned houses if you do not find them there
and be satisfied with that, since sometimes sand substitutes for water.

O the people of Rāma! How much I desire to join you!
I would sell my life for its sake, if anyone would buy it!

للعيس شوقٌ قادها نحو السرى لما دعى أجدانها داعي الكرى
أرخ الأزمّة واتبعها إنها تدري الحمى النجديّ مع من درى
حَتَّ الركاب فقد بدتْ سلْعُ لنا وانزل يمين الشَّعبِ من وادي القُرى
واشتمَّ ذاك الترابِ إذ ما جئتُه تلفيه عند الشَّمِّ مسكًا أذفرا
فإذا وصلتْ إلى العقيقِ فقل لهم: قلبُ المتيمِّ في الخيامِ قد انبرى
عانقْ مغانيهْمُ إذا لم تلقَهُم واقنَعْ فقد يجزي عن الماء الثرى
يا أهل رامةٍ كم أروم وصالكم وأبيع فيه العمر لوما يُشترى⁸⁰

In the long series of eastern *nasībīc* and religious motifs that appear in the lines above, we notice the adherence to al-‘Aqīq, another place that Sufis frequently used. Al-‘Aqīq, or rather the river al-‘Aqīq, is a place whose very existence is questionable, although some scholars believe that it is a real river located close to Medina. The frequency with which this place-name is repeated in Arabic poetry, in general, and Sufi poetry, in particular, is quite striking. Jaroslav Stetkevych writes that even if it were a real river or a creek next to Medina, it should not have attracted so much attention, especially due to its small size. Yet,

In both the East and the West, old and not-so-old Arabic poetry has clung to the ‘Aqīq as one of its most permanent motifs. And that is what it is; a motif, not merely a name or a metaphor that has to be constructed in each new poetic instance. As a motif, it is part of the poetic idea embodied in that peculiarly suggestive landscape that may be called pastoral, idyllic, or, in an archetypal way, a vestige of man’s dream of the earth when it was good. It is a metaphor of sweetness, joy and garden surroundings, too, and it is a poetic convention.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Ibid., 48.

⁸¹ Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 112.

The reference to the East as a complete undivided entity in al-Shushtarī comes in a short poem about the Sufi travelling toward knowledge and dissolution (*fanā`*) in God, while leaving everything else behind. In the following poem, al-Shushtarī alludes to the Koran, specifically verse 17: 46.⁸² Then, he produces an aphorism about how love makes the lover like a blind man before declaring that the East is where his heart dwells:

O blamer! Pity
on the one who is melted by love!

.....

As there is a trouble in his ears,
so do not bother lest you tire yourself,

For love blinds
and deafens us, I say: indeed.

Every time you say my heart dwells in the West
in fact, it is dwelling in the East.

أيها اللائم رفقا بالذي قد ذاب عشقا

.....

إن في أذنيه وقرا فانتد لأن لا تشقى

حبنا للشيء يُعمي ويصم، قلت: حقا

كلما تقول حل غربا ففؤادي حل شرقا⁸³

Sometimes, the same new geographic terminology that is identified with *nasīb*, Sufism and *madīḥ nabawī* (i.e., Islamic and pre-Islamic place-names) is used in an opposite orientation in al-Shushtarī. To put it another way, the same place-names that are used in order to get close

⁸² Koran, *Al-Isrā`*, 46. (17: 46). “And We have placed over their hearts coverings, lest they understand it, and in their ears deafness. And when you mention your Lord alone in the Qur'an, they turn back in aversion.” وَجَعَلْنَا عَلَى قُلُوبِهِمْ أَكِنَّةً أَنْ يَفْقَهُوهُ وَفِي آذَانِهِمْ وَقْرًا ۖ وَإِذَا ذُكِرْتِ رَبِّكَ فِي الْقُرْآنِ وَجُدُّهُ وَلَوْ أَنَّ آذَانَهُمْ نَفُورًا.

⁸³ Al-Shushtarī, *Dīwān*, 55.

to the Prophet or the Divine turn out to be an object that one should draw away from. These places apparently constitute a metonymy for worldly things (including worldly poetry) that the Sufi should leave behind in their pursuit of the truth (God). This style sounds like that of Abū Nuwās when he asked his addressee to give up the *nasīb* and the style of the forefathers in regard to composing poetry. However, when Abū Nuwās preached abandoning the *nasīb* for the sake of wine, al-Shushtarī demanded abandoning *nasīb* for the sake of concentrating on and contemplating religious Sufi matters.

O forgetter! Leave off the sand of ‘Ālij
and Najd and do not mourn the trees of the Arāk and Khamṭ

And seek the Truth [God] to win His reward
because he who seeks the giver [God] will definitely be given.

فيا ساهياً دع عنك رملة عالجٍ ونجدٍ ولا تتدب أراكاً ولا خمطاً
وكن قاصداً للحق تحظ بنيله ومن قصد الوهاب لا شك أن يُعطى⁸⁴

The previous lines resemble the following lines about al-Shushtarī’s love of God. Both of these poems testify that the East, with all its components, is living and beating inside the poet even when he is asking others to ignore and forget it. Through these lines, al-Shushtarī appears to be a poet who belongs to the East. From the way that al-Shushtarī employs the East geographically, religiously and spiritually, he sounds as if he was born and grown up in the East and as someone who did not leave the East at all. In the lines below, the efforts invested by the poet to convince himself and his addressees to abandon their yearning for and attachment to the East and its beauty as embodied by its pretty girls and beautiful landscapes show how much he himself and his addressees are attracted to the charm of the East:

O my sight, for the sake of God, do not look
at the tall slender one who looks like a fresh branch.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 52.

What are the herd, the Bān-tree, La‘la‘,
the blue-black-eyed women and the gazelle of ‘Āmir (Laylā al-‘Āmiriyya) for?

My heart, leave off the illusion of immortality,
and keep away from the caravan that is heading to Ḥājir!

The beauty of those who you named is transitory;
what need has a rational person for evanescent things?

Rather he should seek the one
with whose radiant beauty mankind has fallen in love.

لا تلتقت بالله يا ناظري لأهيف كالغصن الناظر
ما السرب والبان وما لعلع ما الخيف ما ظبي بني عامر
يا قلب واصرف عنك وهم البقا وخل عن سرب حمى حاجر
جمال من سميتته دائر ما حاجة العاقل بالدائر
وإنما مطلبه في الذي هام الوري في حسنه الباهر⁸⁵

In conclusion, western Sufi poetry would have never existed without the East. The East constituted a cornerstone for that type of poetry and its lexical terminology. It was upon this lexicon that the western Sufi poet built his religious faith and philosophical thought.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 47.

Chapter 5

The East in the Andalusian Elegy

Andalusian Elegies for the Fallen of Andalusian Dynasties and Elegies for the Fallen Cities (*Rithā' al-Mudun*)

5.A. The Eastern Impact on Andalusian Poetry for Fallen Cities

Linking the elegies of the fallen cities of al-Andalus and the eastern *nasīb* is easily grasped through careful reading of such elegies. Jaroslav Stetkevych, for example, refers in this regard to the ode of 'Amāra al-Makhzūmī that was written to elegize the fall of Valencia and in which he mentions Najd and Jabal al-Rayyān.¹ Stetkevych claims that al-Makhzūmī referred to these places to provide credibility and truthfulness to his ode and bestow upon it the elegiac tone of a lost paradise.² He adds that the *nasīb* mentioned place-names that evoked feelings of loss and nostalgia and, therefore, elicited an elegiac mood: "For the most part, due precisely to the need for a tone-setting elegiac validation, the landscape of the *nasīb*, or of the *nasīb*-related verse, expands around names of places which are symbolic denotations only."³

The East, therefore, is considered to be the psychological refuge of the man of al-Andalus and also constitutes an actual refuge as can be seen in the following lines written by Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭālī in which he praises Khayrān al-Ṣaqlabī (d. 1028), the ruler of Almeria. In this poem, Iraq and Khurāsān seem to embody the East or, at least, to be a prototype of the East as one large entity:

If the land of the Maghrib, which is my refuge, sank,
and if neighbors and friends denied me,

¹ A mountain in the land of Banū 'Āmir. It is also the name of a mountain in the land of Ṭay'. See: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 3: 110.

² Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 106.

³ *Ibid.*, 107.

The land of Iraq oftentimes welcomed my coming
and Khurāsān greeted me warmly.

فإن غرَبْتُ أرضَ المغربِ موثلي وأنكرني فيها خليطٌ وخلانُ
فكم رحَبْتُ أرضَ العراقِ بمقدمي وأجزلت البشري عليَّ خُراسانُ⁴

Referring to the East, standing in front of the ruined abodes and utilizing this topic in the Andalusian ode accompanied with a description of the journey and the yearning were not an issue of only one short era of the Andalusian poetry but something that lasted almost throughout the entire history of al-Andalus. According to Ibn Thaqfān, this thematic combination in the ode shows a true loyalty to the eastern poetic model and not to a mere mimicry.

Our evidence for this is that the eighth century Hijra [the 14th century] witnessed a literary lull in the East, while poetry in al-Andalus [in the same period] had witnessed a great progress . . . And through this progress, poets continued to refer to the [eastern] abodes and to open their odes with conventional openings.⁵

In the three poems discussed below, in which I will present a clear image for the fallen cities poetry in al-Andalus, I argue that although the Andalusians relied upon eastern motifs and place-names to express their yearning for al-Andalus and their sorrow over losing its cities, no clear evidence of nostalgia for the East exists in their expressions. Rather, they (the Andalusian poets) used eastern motifs to express nostalgia in general and nostalgia for their own western cities and dwellings in al-Andalus in particular.

1. Ibn Shuhayd's elegy for Cordoba

1. At the ruined abode none of our loved ones remain to inform us,
so whom shall we ask about their condition?
2. Do not ask anyone but departure;
it will tell you whether they went to the mountains or to the vales.

⁴ Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī, *Dīwān*, 102.

⁵ Ibn Thaqfān, *Kitāb al-Riyāḍ*, 122.

3. Time has aggrieved them, so they dispersed
in all directions, and most of them have perished.
4. Disasters struck their dwellings,
and hit them, so they and their dwellings have changed [utterly].
5. So let time leave light at their courtyards,
a light which nearly illumines men's hearts.
6. No tears are enough for a city like Cordoba,
not even the crying of those who weep with bursting tears.
-
7. O paradise on which the wind of separation has blown and on its people,
so it was destroyed together with its people!
-
8. Your courtyards were Mecca for the fortunate;
you are the refuge where the frightened are given succor.
-
9. May the Euphrates and the Tigris pour generously upon your yards,
and likewise the Nile and Kawthar!
10. And may you be watered with the water of life and by a cloud
from which nature blooms.
11. What a shame for a house with whose people I lived,
while gazelles were playing in its foyers.
-
12. When there used to be one word
for its prince [the Caliph] who would be the only one to deliver orders.

1. ما في الطلول من الأحبة مخبرٌ فمن الذي عن حالها نستخبرُ؟

2. لا تسألن سوى الفراقِ فإنه يُنبئكِ عنهم أنجدوا أم أغوروا

3. جار الزمان عليهم فتفرقوا في كلِّ ناحيةٍ، وبأدِّ الأكنزِ

4. جرَّت الخُطوبُ على محلِّ ديارهم وعليهم، فتغيَّرت وتغيَّروا

5. فدع الزمانَ يصوغُ في عرصاتِهِم نوراً تكادُ له القلوبُ تنورُ

6. لَمَثَلِ فُرْطُبَةَ يَقِلُّ بُكَاءُ مَنْ يَبْكِي بِعَيْنِ دَمْعِهَا مُتَفَجِّرُ

.....

7. يَا جَنَّةَ عَصَفْتَ بِهَا وَبِأَهْلِهَا رِيحُ النُّوَى، فَتَدَمَّرَتْ وَتَدَمَّرُوا

.....

8. كَانَتْ عِرَاصُكَ لِلْمَيْمِ مَكَّةً يَاوِي إِلَيْهَا الْخَائِفُونَ فَيُنْصَرُوا

.....

9. جَادَ الْفُرَاتُ بِسَاحَتَيْكَ وَدَجَلُهُ وَالنَّيْلُ جَادَ بِهَا، وَجَادَ الْكُوْتَرُ

10. وَسُقِيَتْ مِنْ مَاءِ الْحَيَاةِ غَمَامَةً تَحْيَا بِهَا مِنْكَ الرِّيَاضُ وَتُزْهِرُ

11. أَسْفَى عَلَى دَارِ عَهْدْتِ زُبُوعَهَا وَظَبَاؤَهَا بِفَنَائِهَا تَتَبَخَّرُ

12. أَيَّامَ كَانَ الْأَمْرُ فِيهَا وَاحِدًا لِأَمِيرِهَا وَأَمِيرٍ مِنْ يَتَأَمَّرُ⁶

Cordoba was one of the first Andalusian cities to be elegized as a result of the *fitna* (the civil war that ended the Umayyad Caliphate in al-Andalus in 1031).⁷ At that time, the standard topics of the *rithā' al-mudun* ode had not yet been determined. However, later, such topics included asking the Muslim leaders from the other side of the strait (al-Maghrib or *Barr al-Udwa*) for help, presenting the Muslim-Christian struggle in a dreary tone, talking about the transformation of mosques into churches, calling for *jihād*, praying for the retrieval of the glory of the city in cases where the devastated cities were destroyed by Christians rather than

⁶ Al-Zayyāt, *Rithā' al-Mudun*, 657-658.

⁷ Al-Zayyāt writes that Ibn Ḥazm, not Ibn Shuhayd, was the first poet to elegize Cordoba, while Barbastro was the first city to be elegized as a result of its falling into the hands of the Christians. See: *Ibid.*, 97-98.

by other fellow Muslims (the latter being the case for Ibn Shuhayd's elegy for Cordoba), wishing the city to be watered and to cool down by the blessed rain (*al-suqyā*) and asking for forgiveness for not doing enough to prevent the calamity.⁸ Ibn Shuhayd opens his ode with five lines about the general feeling of loss. Then, he describes the situation faced by Cordoba and its residents before it was captured and destroyed as a result of the continuous wars between the Arab Muslims and Berber Muslims that lasted over 60 years (between 398-460 H \ 1008-1068 A.D.).

Ibn Shuhayd's elegy to Cordoba fits, for the most part, the standard topics of the *rithā'* *al-mudun* elegy ode and, being one of the earliest poets to write in such a tone, his ode even constitutes a model to be followed by other poets in generations to come.

The opening of the poem is similar to other ordinary openings of early pre-Islamic poetry in that it refers to ruined abodes and presents in a splendid way an atmosphere of pain and loss. The means used by Ibn Shuhayd for this purpose come mainly from using vocabulary derived from the eastern *nasībīc* lexicon.⁹ Words such as *al-ṭulūl* (the ruined abodes) in line 1, *al-furāq* and *anjadū* (the separation, ascended)¹⁰ in line 2, *al-zamān*, *tafarrāqū* and *bāda* (time, scattered, died out) in line 3, *al-khuṭūb* and *diyārihim* (the disasters, their houses) line 4, *al-zamān* (time, fate) and *'araṣātuhum* (their yards) line 5, and *rīḥ al-nawā* (the wind separation)

⁸ Ibid., 599-605. Al-Zayyāt claims that poets who elegized fallen Andalusian cities did not refer to all of these topics in every single poem and that they did not use a certain order when presenting such topics.

⁹ Although it was considered a poetic blemish, to mix love and elegy, many Andalusian poets who elegized al-Andalus, or some parts of it, followed the model of opening with the *nasīb* and weeping over ruined abodes. Among those poets, al-Zayyāt mentions Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suhaylī in his elegy for the Andalusian city of Suhayl (d. 1185), Ibn Abī al-Khiṣāl in his elegy for Cordoba and Abū Ishāq al-Albīrī (d. 1067) in his elegy for Albīra (Elviria). Al-Zayyāt adds that Hāzīm al-Qarṭājannī claimed he opposed such a mix, but, nevertheless, used it at length in his 1006 line ode, in which he elegized al-Andalus and asked for the help of the ruler of Tunisia. See: Al-Zayyāt, *Rithā' al-Mudun*, 587-591.

¹⁰ As Najd is a highland, Arabs derived a verb from that name, *anjad*, which means ascended. It is worth mentioning that such a derivation is very scarce in Arabic where verbs are usually derived from the gerunds, not from proper nouns.

in line 7 reveals that Ibn Shuhayd is employing the East and its elegiac *nasībīc* lexicon to express nostalgia for the West and the lost city of Cordoba.

In the other part of the poem, or at least the other part of the lines that I have selected above, the reader notices a direct connection to the East occurs where Ibn Shuhayd refers to eastern places with regard to Cordoba and the good that he wishes for it. First, Cordoba used to be like Mecca; it was a sanctuary where fighting was forbidden and where anyone seeking refuge must have been granted protection. Ironically, Cordoba no longer embodied this role and the poet's emphasis on the contrast between Cordoba's glorious past and its miserable present conveys the enormity of the calamity. The same is done in line 7 above (18 in the original text) where he describes Cordoba as a paradise over which the wind of separation has passed, leaving its buildings and people destroyed.

When I read this poem, I expected the poet to refer to Syria and its landscape over other parts of the East because Ibn Shuhayd was seeking the thriving days of the Umayyad Caliphate in al-Andalus, whose origins lie in Syria (line 12 above). However, Ibn Shuhayd instead, presents the East as the land of dreams. Ibn Shuhayd hopes that, one day, the *suqyā* and resurrection of Cordoba and its gardens will be accomplished. His call to use water from the two main Iraqi rivers (the Euphrates and Tigris), the Nile in Egypt and the celestial river of al-Kawthar show that he believes this can only be accomplished through the highest intervention.

2. The Elegy of Valencia by an Unknown Poet

While Ibn Shuhayd complained about and elegized the destruction of Cordoba due to internal struggles among Muslims, other poets elegized cities that fell into the hands of Christians. Such cities, according to al-Zayyāt, were more frequently elegized than those cities

that fell to fellow Muslims. These poems contained themes that other poems did not, especially concerning religion.¹¹

The following poem, which is anonymous in the classical sources,¹² presents the struggle between the Christians and Muslims over al-Andalus or, at least, over Valencia that fell in 1238. The poet illustrates this struggle by referring to religious symbols and terminology.

The *nasīb* remains a dominant component in the poem:

What's wrong with your tears, and why does their flood not cease?
What is wrong with your heart, why does it not calm down?

Is it because of a yearning in my heart for one who departed,
and whose camels went away and whose dwellings became so distant?

Or is it because youth whose homelands are scattered
after closeness and whose desires have come to naught?

Or is it because of a time that has brought a huge calamity
of which no one has ever seen?

.....

And regarding Valencia, it became an abode for an infidel
whose infidelity defiled its soil.

.....

That country was not but paradise
for the beauty, and its rivers used to stream beneath.

.....

Its night used to shine with guidance [Islam]
and now, its day has been darkened by delusion [Christianity].

ما بال دمعك لا يني مدراره أم ما لقلبك لا يقر قراره؟

أللوعة بين الضلوع لظاعنٍ سارت ركائبه وشطت داره؟

أم للشباب تقادفت أوطانه بعد الدنو وأخفت أوطاره؟

¹¹ Al-Zayyāt, *Rithā' al-Mudun*, 88-89.

¹² See: *Ibid.*, 683.

أم للزمانِ أتى بخطبٍ فادِحٍ من مثلِ حادثَةٍ خلت أعصارُه؟

.....

أما بلنسية فمثنوى كافرٍ حفت به في عقرها كفّاره

.....

ما كان ذاك المصرِ إلا جنةً للحُسنِ تجري تحته أنهاره

.....

قد كان يُشرقُ بالهدايةِ ليُلهُ والآنَ أظلمَ بالضلالِ نهاره¹³

This short poem and the selected lines above include another aspect that the former poem did not, that is the struggle between the Muslims and Spanish Christians. Generally, in such poems about cities that fell in the hands of the Christians, the poet refers to Christians and Christianity using derogatory epithets about infidels and infidelity or delusions, while Muslims are described as believers and Islam is juxtaposed with guidance (lines 5 and 7 above). Such poems (not this one particularly) include also the poet's urging the rulers of al-Maghrib to help against the Spanish (*jihād*), a description of the mosques that the Christians turned into churches and an attribution of the cause of the defeats that Muslims suffered to their remoteness from *al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm* (the straight path of Islam).

However, what catches one's attention in the opening lines of the poem above is the poet's pretense that he does not know the cause of his sorrow. This rhetorical device is termed in Arabic *tajāhul al-ʿarīf* (feigned ignorance) and is found frequently in the eastern classical

¹³ Ibid., 682-683.

ode where it is employed to express sorrow, grief and hopelessness. The eastern *nasībīc* lexicon also figures prominently in the four opening lines. Such vocabulary (*dam`uk* = your tears, *zā`in* = the one departing the campsite in a camel caravan, *rakā`ib* = riding camels, *dāruh* = his house, *al-zamān* = time, *khaṭb* = disaster) is used here not to describe a real or imaginary beloved of the poet who is departing with her tribe, but is, rather, a prelude for expressing the feelings of devastation at losing the city of Valencia.

Andalusian poets found the use of *nasībīc* elements especially effective for conveying the devastation of Andalusian cities. Other Andalusian poets, such as Ibn Khafāja, followed suit in using the motif of the *aṭlāl* (ruined abodes) and other traditional *nasībīc* elements to express sorrow over the loss of Valencia. The following poem shows this:

3. Ibn Khafāja elegizing Valencia:

O abode! The gazelles have ruined your yard,
and death and fire have erased your beauty,

So that if someone keeps looking at your sides
he will reflect and weep a long time.

It is a land whose people disasters have struck,
and the fates have brought destruction upon it.

The hand of time has written on its courtyards:
“You are no longer you nor are the abodes the abodes.”

عانت بساحتك الظبا يا دارُ ومحا محاسنكِ البلى والنارُ

فإذا تردّد في جنابك ناظرٌ طال اعتبارٌ فيك واستعبارٌ

أرضٌ تقادفت الخُطوبُ بأهلها وتمخّصت بخرابها الأقدارُ

كتبت يدُ الحدثانِ في عرّصاتها لا أنتِ أنتِ ولا الديارُ ديارُ¹⁴

¹⁴ Ibid., 674.

Scholars have not been able to determine whether this poem, which was written right after the burning of Valencia in 1102, originally contained only four lines or whether it was a long poem from which only these four lines, that seemingly open it, have survived. Either way, the lines testify to the Andalusian poet's reliance on eastern *nasībīc* conventions to convey his emotions of loss.

It is important to point here that the last line of the poem above contains a *taḍmīn* (quotation) from Abū Tammām's famous line, which opens one of his panegyric odes dedicated to the military leader Abū Sa'īd al-Thaghūrī, and can be considered another channel of the eastern poetic impact on al-Andalus:

You are not you; nor the abodes are the abodes,
Love has faded and the desires have disappeared.

لَا أَنْتَ أَنْتَ وَلَا الدِّيَارُ دِيَارُ خَفَّ الْهَوَى وَتَوَلَّتِ الْأُوطَارُ¹⁵

In addition, one must note that the extension of the *nasībīc* laments, which had apparently been intended to express intimate personal loss to express the devastation of entire cities, is notable and significant in al-Andalus.

Thus, the eastern *nasībīc* expression of loss and nostalgia continued to be used in Andalusian poetry, even when that poetry referred to al-Andalus itself and the misery and pain it suffered as a result of centuries of civil wars and ceaseless attacks by the Christians, as well as due to the loss of Muslim cities and, eventually, all of al-Andalus to the Spanish Reconquista.

¹⁵ Al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī, *Sharḥ Dīwān Abī Tammām*, ed. Rājī al-Asmar, 2nd ed. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1994), 317. Miguel Angel Vazquez noted that the Spanish poet Federico Garcia Lorca (d. 1936) was also affected by the line written by Abū Tammām and cited above; however, he regarded it as unlikely that Lorca knew Abū Tammām's line directly, rather, Vazquez believed that it was Ibn Khafāja who impacted Lorca because of the high interest that Lorca acquired for Andalusian poetry. See: Miguel Angel Vazquez, "Poetic Pilgrimages: From Baghdad to Andalucia, Abū Tammām's Lā Anta Anta wa-lā al-Diyāru Diyāru," *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 34: 2 (2003): 124-125.

5.B. The Fall of Rulers and States

In al-Andalus, as in the East, the destruction and devastation caused by wars led poets to write moving poems in which they conveyed their feelings of sorrow and loss, not only over an imagined nostalgic past, as one finds in the *nasīb*, but also over actual contemporary events. In this sub-chapter, I will discuss the way in which Andalusian poets employed the eastern conventions of *ubi sunt* and place-names in their elegies of ruined cities and the defeated kings of al-Andalus. I will focus on the way in which Andalusian poets had recourse to the East, both in historical examples and poetic conventions, to express their own hardships, loss and sorrow. In addition, I will show how the eastern heritage constitutes a means of comfort and consolation for those who were suffering in Andalusia.

As a prelude, I choose to open with some lines from al-Rundī's poem in which he laments al-Andalus, which was also mentioned in the first chapter. Below are several lines of the poem translated by James Monroe:

Where are [the buildings] Shaddad raised in Iram,
and where [the empire] the Sassanians ruled in Persia?

Where is the gold Qarun once possessed;
where are 'Ād and Shaddad and Qahtan?

.....

Fate turned against Darius as well as his slayer,
and as for Chosroes, no vaulted palace offered him protection.¹⁶

وَأَيْنَ مَا شَادَهُ شَدَادُ فِي إِرَمٍ وَأَيْنَ مَا سَاسَهُ فِي الْفُرسِ سَاسَانُ

وَأَيْنَ مَا حَازَهُ قَارُونُ مِنْ ذَهَبٍ وَأَيْنَ عَادٌ وَشَدَادٌ وَقَحْطَانُ

¹⁶ The translation is by James Monroe and titled: "Lament for the Fall of Seville (1267)." See: "Islamic Philosophy," accessed August 7, 2014, http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ip/abubaqa.htm#_ftn6.

.....

دَارَ الزَّمَانُ عَلَى دَارَا وَقَاتِلِهِ وَأَمَّا كِسْرَى فَمَا آوَاهُ إِيوَانُ¹⁷

In the lines above, Abū al-Baqā' al-Rundī refers to several eastern figures and places: Shaddād, who was a king of the legendary people of 'Ād of Hadramaut and who built a city called "Many-Columned Iram;" the Persians and their ruler from the Sāsān dynasty; Qārūn, the Jewish rich vizier under the Pharaoh mentioned in Koran 28: 76;¹⁸ the extinct Arab tribe of 'Ād; Qaḥṭān who is believed to be the ancestor of all Arabs; Dārā, who was the last king of the first Persian kings' dynasty; Dārā's killer who is Alexander the Great; Kisrā, which is the title of all Persian kings; and Kisrā's palace, *al-Īyān*.¹⁹ Al-Rundī did this in order to try to console himself and those like him, who were suffering and grieving due to loss and displacement. Al-Rundī was displaced from Runda and, like other Andalusians, suffered the loss of al-Andalus. Therefore, al-Rundī was trying to convey one idea through these lines: Where are they and their glory now? He is concerned because if these important figures and places died and disappeared as if they have never been, then why should anyone feel sorrow over his personal loss or over al-Andalus' loss when everything is fated to eventually disappear!?

It is necessary to note that the material of elegizing extinct rulers and dynasties that I am presenting here is not an Andalusian invention at all. On the contrary, it is another eastern poetic genre called *rithā' al-mamālik wa-al-mulūk* (lamenting of kingdoms and kings), which presents the death of people as an inevitable fate. In spite of that, the way in which the Andalusian poet takes advantage of the historical events that took place in the East and of the eastern poetic

¹⁷ Al-Tilimsānī, *Azhār al-Riyād*, 1: 47.

¹⁸ Koran, al-Qaṣās, 76 (28:76): "Indeed, Qarun was from the people of Moses, but he tyrannized them. And We gave him of treasures whose keys would burden a band of strong men; thereupon his people said to him, "Do not exult. Indeed, Allah does not like the exultant."

إِنَّ قَارُونَ كَانَ مِنْ قَوْمِ مُوسَى فَبَغَى عَلَيْهِمْ وَآتَيْنَاهُ مِنَ الْكُنُوزِ مَا إِنَّ مَفَاتِحَهُ لَتَنُوءُ بِالْعُصْبَةِ أُولِي الْقُوَّةِ إِذْ قَالَ لَهُ قَوْمُهُ لَا تَفْرَحْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ الْفَرِحِينَ.

¹⁹ While discussing the poem of *Al-Bashāma*, historical explanation for the figures and places mentioned in this paragraph and more will be presented by referring to: Abū Marwān 'Abd Allāh Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Wazīr al-Kātib fī al-Adab wa-al-Marātib*, ed. Maḥmūd Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (al-Riyād: N.P., 1991).

convention to preach, console, teach a lesson or deliver a message is the important thing in this chapter.

The theme above is categorized under what scholars call *rithā' al-mamālik* (elegy for kingdoms). 'Abd Allāh al-Zayyāt cited Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī claiming in his book *al-Umda fi Maḥāsini al-Shi'r wa-Ādābih* that *rithā' al-mamālik* was a popular trend in Andalusian elegy. He pointed out that poets, such as Ḥāzīm al-Qurṭājannī, Ibn al-Labbāna al-Dānī (d. 1113), Ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad, Ibn Ḥamdīs,²⁰ Ibn 'Umayra and Abū Ja'far al-Waqshī, wrote poems in this spirit.²¹

In addition, al-Zayyāt distinguished four kinds of Arabic poetic elegy, which are not directed toward a deceased individual: 1) *Rithā' al-mudun* (elegy for the fallen cities), 2) *Rithā' al-mamālik* (elegy for the fallen kingdoms), 3) *Rithā' al-Aṭlāl* (elegy for abandoned abodes and ruins) and 4) *Rithā' al-āthār* (elegy for the remnants of urban landmarks). According to al-Zayyāt, scholars mixed between *rithā' al-mudun* and *rithā' al-mamālik* in spite of the fact that they are two different genres. Al-Zayyāt, refutes the fact that there is anything that can be called *rithā' al-mamālik* in the Andalusian poetry, and that *rithā' al-mamālik*—as the case is with *Al-Bashāma* of Ibn 'Abdūn—is an elegy for important people “who are kings.”²²

I disagree with al-Zayy because, first, many of the people mentioned in *Al-Bashāma*—as the study will show shortly—and in other, similar odes were not kings, but simply important people, such as fighters, soldiers, warriors and leaders. Second, many kings were elegized because it was the poets' way of elegizing the loss of the atmosphere that encircled them and the destruction that happened in their kingdoms which have directly and negatively affected

²⁰ The three poets (Ibn al-Labbāna, Ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad and Ibn Ḥamdīs) wrote elegies on Banū 'Abbād, the rulers of Seville.

²¹ See: Al-Zayyāt, *Rithā' al-Mudun*, 90-91, 595-596, 613-614.

²² This is exactly how al-Zayyāt maintains: فهو ليس رثاء للممالك وإنما هو رثاء للأشخاص غير أنهم ملوك See: Ibid., 90.

them (the poets) themselves and their livelihood. To put it another way, the poets were actually elegizing themselves and their hard luck through elegizing the loss of the glory of these kings their kingdoms and civilizations.

The most successful comparison made by al-Zayyāt focuses on the similarities between *rithā' al-mudun* and the *rithā'* of both *al-āthār*²³ and *al-aṭlāl*. Here, al-Zayyāt claims that the differences between the *rithā' al-aṭlāl* and *rithā' al-āthār* existed because the first elegizes ruins and ancient abodes, mostly in the desert, while the second elegizes urban landmarks, such as gardens, palaces and bridges. In addition, according to al-Zayyāt, *rithā' al-āthār* conveys public pain and loss, while the *rithā' al-aṭlāl* is a lyrical and personal poetry that expresses the sorrow and pain felt by the poet himself.²⁴

While both the *rithā' al-aṭlāl* and *rithā' al-āthār* focus on places destroyed and abandoned long ago, the elegies for the fallen cities (*rithā' al-mudun*) are mostly about cities that have fallen recently. The other cardinal difference between the *rithā' al-mudun* and *rithā' al-aṭlāl* is that the latter usually has a prefatory theme that leads the poet to other subjects or themes of the ode, such as self-praise, panegyric or lampoon, which are considered to be the main subjects of the poem (*bayt al-qaṣīd / al-gharaḍ*), while in *rithā' al-mudun* odes, the *rithā' al-mudun* itself is the main theme of the poem, and is not a prefatory or preparatory subject.²⁵

As previously stated, this ubi sunt motif is conventional and commonplace in Arabic elegy, and one might find its origins in the Arabic poetry of the East as well as in poetry of other nations. For example, it can be found in the eastern poetry written by Maymūn Ibn Qays al-A'shā (d. 628):

²³ Al-Zayyāt considered the poem by the Abbasid poet al-Buḥturī (d. 897) about *Īwān Kisrā* (the palace of Kisrā, the Persian ruler) to be a good illustration of *rithā' al-āthār*. See: Ibid., 106.

²⁴ Ibid., 107.

²⁵ Ibid., 108.

You won't be immortal, even if you live a long time,
just as before, even Sāsān and Mūriq²⁶ were not made immortal,

Nor Kisrā the Shah, whose might brought him
whatever he desired: Aged wine and zanbaq,

Nor 'Ādiyā', the Jew: His wealth could not prevent his death,
nor could his mighty fortress al-Ablaq in the deserts of Taymā,

.....

Nor King al-Nu'mān, when I met him,
in his life of ease, dispensing gifts to those who he favored.²⁷

فما أنت وإن دامت عليك بخالدٍ كما لم يُخلدْ قبلُ ساسا ومورقُ

وكسرى شهنشاها الذي سار مُلكه له ما اشتهى راح عتيق وزنيقُ

ولا عاديا لم يمنع الموت ماله ورد بتيماء اليهودي أبلقُ

.....

ولا الملك النعمان يومَ لقيته بإمته يُعطي القوط ويأفوق²⁸

It is also found in Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī when he wrote an ubi sunt poem to describe
what fate had caused to some important grammarians and important people:

The two Akhfashs were hit by a disaster
that sent back the two A'shas without discussion,

And the nights caused the death of al-Māzinī
by a fire scintillation of those of the time disasters,

And al-Jurmī was punished by what he did,
and many times success is behind death.

²⁶ One of the kings of the Byzantine Empire. See: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 5: 221.

²⁷ Translation is from: Hamad al-Ajmi, "Pre-Islamic Poetry and Speech Act Theory: Al-A'shā, Bishr Ibn Abī Khāzim and al-Ḥujayja," (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2012), 50, 51.

²⁸ Al-A'shā, *Dīwān al-A'shā al-Kabīr Maymūn Ibn Qays*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn (al-Iskandariyya: Maktabat al-Ādāb, 1950), 269.

أصاب الأخفشين بصيرَ خطبٍ أعاد الأعشيين بلا حوار

وغيل المازني من الليالي بزند من خطوب الدهر واري

وللجرمي ما اجترمت يداؤه وحسبك من فلاح أبو بوار²⁹

Al-Akhfashūn is the name for eleven famous Arabic grammarians, while, according to of *Al-Luzūmiyyāt*, it is al-Akhfashayn and not al-Akhfashūn, which means the two Akhfashes, who are al-Akhfash al-Akbar (Senior Akhfash) and al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar (Junior Akhfash), two famous grammarians.³⁰ Al-Mazinī, on the other hand, is a famous eastern linguistic and grammarian,³¹ while al-Jurmī is one of the Muslim *imams*.³² It is clear that such a poem shows that the East preceded the West in this genre.³³

Ibn ‘Abdūn and *Al-Bashāma* Poem

How exactly do the *rithā’ al-mudun* and *rithā’ al-aṭlāl* interact in the Andalusian ode to create an atmosphere of nostalgia for the East or, at least, to remind readers of its glory? The poem called *Al-Bashāma bi-Aṭwāq al-Ḥamāma* by minister ‘Abd al-Majīd Ibn ‘Abdūn al-Yābirī al-Andalusī (d. 1135), in which he elegized a dynasty of rulers rather than a fallen city, will serve to answer the question above and show how the East constituted a reliable historical,

²⁹ Ibn Bassām, *Al-Dhakhīra*, 4: 727.

³⁰ See: Muṣṭafā Ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Quṣṭanṭīnī al-Rūmī al-Ḥanafī, *Kashf al-Zunūn ‘an Asāmī al-Kutub wa-al-Funūn* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1992), 1: 424; Abū al-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī, *Luzūm Mā lā Yalzam*, 2 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir, 1961), 1: 564.

³¹ Al-Ma‘arrī, *Luzūm Mā lā Yalzam*, 1: 564.

³² Ibid., Ibid.

³³ In *al-Dhakhīra*, Ibn Bassām discussed the poem of *Al-Bashāma* that I will discuss shortly. He wrote that many poets before Ibn ‘Abdūn, the author of *Al-Bashāma*, and many after him wrote in his style (i.e., wrote poems elegizing important people and kingdoms). Right after his comment, Ibn Bassām used three short poems by al-Ma‘arrī to illustrate his point. The lines above are also mentioned in this commentary. See: Ibn Bassām, *Al-Dhakhīra*, 4: 727.

religious and literary spring from which the Andalusian poet derived his poetic inspiration and thematic reference.

Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Majīd Ibn ‘Abdūn al-Fahrī al-Yābirī al-Andalusī was from Yābira, a city in the west of al-Andalus, now part of Portugal. His administrative talent attracted the attention of al-Mutawakkil ‘Umar Ibn al-Aḥṣan, the ruler of Baṭalyaws (Badajoz), who appointed him to be his minister and scribe. However, when Almoravids conquered Badajoz in 1094 and killed ‘Umar al-Mutawakkil and his two sons, al-‘Abbās and al-Faḍl, Ibn ‘Abdūn wrote the poem *Al-Bashāma bi-Aṭwāq al-Ḥamāma*³⁴ to elegize them and mourn his bad luck for losing their generosity and all the good that they bestowed upon him.³⁵

Ibn ‘Abdūn relied upon many historical examples, mainly from the East, to express the simple idea that nothing is eternal or stable, that betrayer time turns everything upside-down and that the wise man is the one who learns from the lessons of history. In addition, and as we will soon notice, Ibn ‘Abdūn’s poem was intended to comfort people during their time of loss and show them how their pain was bearable compared to the pain of others.

As is the case with al-Rundī, who wrote with sorrow about the disasters of al-Andalus, in general, and about his own calamity of being displaced from his city of Runda as a result of the wars against the Christians, Ibn ‘Abdūn also transfers his agony and tries to comfort himself by remembering and reminding others that nothing remains as it is.

The two main differences between the ode of al-Rundī and that of Ibn ‘Abdūn are as follows:

³⁴ Maḥmūd Ḥasan al-Shaybānī noted that more than one version of the title of the ode exists. Therefore, the ode is often called *Al-Bashāma bi-Aṭwāq al-Ḥamāma*. This name refers to al-Bashām, the fragrant tree (Elder) that I wrote about in chapter three. The poem is also called *Al-‘Abdūniyya*, after Ibn ‘Abdūn. Other times, it is merely called *Al-Bassāma*. See: Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Wazīr al-Kātib*, 14.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

The first is the incentive behind the psychological situation of the two poets. While the Christian conquest of Runda led al-Rundī to weep over al-Andalus as an entire entity, Ibn ‘Abdūn's sorrow and grief resulted from the ending of the regime of al-Mutawakkil ‘Umar Ibn al-Aḫṭas and his two sons, al-Faḍl and al-‘Abbās, by the Almoravids in 1094, was the main factor behind writing *Al-Bashāma*. Second, Al-Rundī mostly referred to Andalusian place-names when expressing agony and sorrow over al-Andalus, whereas Ibn ‘Abdūn completely employed the East to convey almost the same idea.

This poem is considered a literary-historic document, especially because within its lines, it refers 70 times to people from the East and to grievous historical incidents that took place in the East, whose occurrences he ascribes to time or fate or to the nights (*al-layālī*), as he puts it in line six.³⁶ These 70 references can be divided as follows: 56 references to important historical figures, such as Caliphs, generals, warriors, poets and tribal leaders; 13 times to tribes and peoples such as the Persians, Turks, Khazars and extinct pre-Islamic peoples, such as ‘Ād. Ibn ‘Abdūn refers only once to a specific Islamic battle, that is, the Battle of Badr. All of these references occur within 39 consecutive lines between lines 10-48.

In spite of the fact that al-Andalus, as a geographic, political and historical entity, went through so much good and unrest from which man can gain wisdom and learn a lesson, the important thing to point out is that almost all of the historical events that Ibn ‘Abdūn referred to belong to the East and its literary, historical and poetic traditions.

Al-Shaybānī, the editor of Ibn Badrūn's exegetic book, tried to count the kingdoms, rulers and tribes that Ibn ‘Abdūn referred to in his ode as examples of obliteration. It is such

³⁶ It is worth mentioning that the number of the lines varies from 75 in Ibn Badrūn to 77 in the poet's *dīwān*. Ibn Badrūn explained only 42 lines of the poem, probably because he died before completing the job. Salīm al-Tanīr, the editor of Ibn ‘Abdūn's *dīwān*, claimed that, among those 42 lines, 28 were about wasted kingdoms and about kings and rulers who died or were killed in tragic consequences. I will show below that in the entire poem, the number of such lines is actually 39. See: Ibn ‘Abdūn, *Dīwān*, 139-152; Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Wazīr al-Kātib*, 9, 15.

obliteration from which one should learn the lesson that nothing remains as it is and that it is only a matter of time before things change to please some people and enrage others. However, the list that al-Shaybānī presented remains lacking although it does include the Persians and Greeks; Dārā and Alexander the Great; the extinct Arab tribes of Ṭasm, ‘Ād, Jurhum and Jadīs; the Yemenites; the tribe of Muḍar and its masters, including the Kulayb and al-Muhalhil; the leaders of Yemen, including Imru’ al-Qays and his father; ‘Adī Ibn Zayd and his role in the Dāḥis wa-al-Ghabrā’ war; Yazdajard, the last king of the Persians who fled and gave up the crown when the Arabs, under Sa’d Ibn Abī Waqqās, took over Persia as a result of the Qādisiyya battle; the great battle of Badr and the names of many of the Muslim leaders who died during that battle; many of the Muslim leaders throughout Islam’s long history, including ‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī; the catastrophe of the Barmakids; the disaster of the Umayyads; the state of the Abbasids and its rulers, including al-Saffāḥ, al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī, al-Rashīd, al-Amīn, al-Ma’mūn, al-Musta‘īn, al-Mu‘tazz and al-Mutawakkil; and the story of the murdering of Caliph al-Mu‘tamid and his two sons. Al-Shaybanī added that Ibn ‘Abdūn did not keep these incidents and individuals in a chronological order.³⁷

Thematically, the poem is divided into five parts:

1. Lines 1-9 are an introductory section in which the poet explains that time is changeable and unstable.
2. Lines 10-48 explain how time had destroyed states, kingdoms, kings and individuals.
3. Lines 49-67 elegize the ruling family of Banū al-Afṭas and present their virtues.
4. In lines 68-71, Ibn ‘Abdūn expresses his bad luck.

³⁷ See: Ibid., 15.

5. In lines 72-75, Ibn ‘Abdūn wonders who might take over for ‘Umar Ibn al-Afṭas and his two sons.³⁸

The reputation of *Al-Bashāma* is derived from Ibn ‘Abdūn’s knowledge of the history and events of the East, but my goal in discussing this poem is neither historical nor political, but rather literary and psychological. Ibn ‘Abdūn—like other eastern poets did before him in their elegies—is trying to comfort himself and his audience for his personal loss by arguing that actually this is simply the way that life is: it is instable and keeps changing everyday.

Therefore, the elegiac voice of the poem is full of references of ruling dynasties and individuals from the East who lost their crowns because of the betrayal of time. The following selected lines from the ode shed light on how eastern models and precedents, whether explicitly poetic or generally historical, shaped the poet’s perception and expression of his own contemporary Andalusian loss.

Time turns concrete things into remnants,
so why should Man cry over shadows and dead people?

.....

What happened to the nights?—May God save us from stumbling
because of the nights—and may the hand of changeable fate betray them!!

الدَّهْرُ يُفْجِعُ بَعْدَ الْعَيْنِ بِالْأَثَرِ فَمَا الْبُكَاءُ عَلَى الْأَشْبَاحِ وَالصُّورِ

.....

مَا لِلَّيَالِي أَقَالَ اللَّهُ عَثْرَتَنَا مِنْ اللَّيَالِي وَخَانَتَهَا يَدُ الْغَيْرِ³⁹

After cursing the nights and the vagaries of fate, Ibn ‘Abdūn attributes the incidents in the following lines to *al-layālī* (the nights). In other words, the poet is cursing “the nights,”

³⁸ Ibid., 9-10.

³⁹ Ibid., 37, 38.

which is a general term or metaphor for time or fate or, rather, for the betrayal of time in regard to bringing calamities to people.

They [the nights] murdered Dārā, and cut the edge of his killer's sword,
after he had been a famous man who killed many kings⁴⁰

And they took back from the dynasty of Sāsān what they gave
and left nothing to the dynasty of Yūnān; not even a single remnant⁴¹

And they brought a disaster on Ṭasm [like they brought before on Jadīs, Ṭasm's
sister] and they brought on
‘Ād and Jurhum lack of might⁴²

هَوَتْ بِدَارَا وَقَلَّتْ غَرْبَ قَاتِلِهِ وَكَانَ عَضْباً عَلَى الْأَمْلَاكِ ذَا أَثَرِ

وَاسْتَرْجَعَتْ مِنْ بَنِي سَاسَانَ مَا وَهَبَتْ وَلَمْ تَدْعَ لِبَنِي يُونَانَ مِنْ أَثَرِ

وَأَلْحَقَتْ أُخْتَهَا طَسْماً وَعَادَ عَلَى عَادٍ وَجُرْهُمٍ مِنْهَا نَاقِضِ الْمِرْرِ⁴³

The lines above show how Ibn ‘Abdūn used eastern poetic commonplaces to describe how fate destroys all things. The dependence on the East in this ode seems ceaseless and continuous. In addition, and throughout the poem, he reiterates the main idea, that nothing stays the same and everything changes. He uses the downfall of other kingdoms to show that this

⁴⁰ Dārā was the last king of the first Persian kings' dynasty. He was killed by Alexander the Great around 333 B.C. However, Ibn Badrūn provided different versions of his death. See further details about Dārā's dynasty, his murder/death and more about Alexander the Great and his role in ending the sovereignty of the Persians in: *Ibid.*, 39-50.

⁴¹ The Sasanians are the other dynasty of the Persian kings. They are named after Sāsān Ibn Bābak, who was their first king. From this dynasty, there were 30 kings. Their last king, who was killed in 653 A.D. during the reign of ‘Uthmān Ibn ‘Affān, was Yazdagard Ibn Shahrāyār. Kīsrā Anū Shirwān, the famous Persian emperor related to some stories of Arabic classical literature, is one member of this dynasty. The dynasty of Yūnān, on the other hand, is the Greek dynasty whose first king was Philip, while Cleopatra, who committed suicide in 30 B.C. by letting a snake bit her to avoid falling into the hands of Augustus Caesar, was the last queen of the dynasty. Among the famous kings of this dynasty, according to Ibn Bardūn, are Alexander the Great and Ptolemy, the astronomer. See: *Ibid.*, 50-70.

⁴² Jadīs is what Ibn ‘Abdūn meant by Ṭasm's sister. Ṭasm, ‘Ād, Jurhum and Jadīs are all extinct Arab tribes of the pre-Islamic era. Jadīs and Ṭasm lived in al-Yamāma and their king was ‘Amalūq, who was very oppressive and used to sleep with all of the virgin brides of his kingdom before their grooms could. It is believed that his oppression led to the tragic end for him and his people. See more about the history and stories of these Arabs and the reasons and wars that led to their downfalls in: *Ibid.*, 70-86.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 39, 50, 70.

fate was not only the fate of Banū al-Aftas, but also the fate of all other ruling kings and dynasties, so those who love Banū al-Aftas should not grieve since this fate is the inevitable destiny of all kings, states and nations.

And they tore apart Sheba completely,
so no one of its people could find any of their friends anymore.⁴⁴

And they judged Kulayb and hurt
Muhalhil very quickly.⁴⁵

And they neither healed the errant [king: Imru' al-Qays]
nor deterred the tribe of Asad from killing their king Ḥujr.⁴⁶

And they dazed the people of Dhubyān and their brothers,
Qays, and kept the people of Badr thirsty at the river,⁴⁷

And continued with their damage to 'Adiyy in Iraq through
his son, the one with the red eyes and hair,⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Sheba is the name of a tribe whose dwellings were in Ma'rib in Yemen. The poet alluded to the Koranic verse: "But [insolently] they said, 'Our Lord, lengthen the distance between our journeys,' and wronged themselves, so We made them narrations and dispersed them in all directions/utterly. Indeed in that there are signs for everyone patient and grateful." فَقَالُوا رَبَّنَا بَاعِدْ بَيْنَ أَسْفَارِنَا وَظَلَمُوا أَنْفُسَهُمْ فَجَعَلْنَا لَهُمْ أَصْحَابِيَهُمْ وَمَزَقْنَا لَهُمْ كُلَّ مُمْزَقٍ إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَآيَاتٍ لِّكُلِّ صَبَّارٍ شَكُورٍ Koran, *Saba*, 19. (34: 19). See: Yūsūf 'Īd, *Al-Shi'r al-Andalusī wa-Ṣadā al-Nakbāt* (Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 2002), 93.

⁴⁵ Kulayb Ibn Rabī'a was killed by Jassās Ibn Murra because of the slaughtering of the she-camel al-Sarāb that belonged to al-Basūs, Jassas's neighbor. As a result, the war of Al-Basūs between the tribes of Taghlib and Bakr broke out and lasted for 40 years. Muhalhil, on the other hand, is Kulayb's brother who fought against Bakr to avenge his brother's blood. See: Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Wazīr al-Kātib*, 107-116.

⁴⁶ The stray or errant (*al-dillīl*) is the epithet of the poet Imru' al-Qays. Asad is the tribe responsible for killing King Ḥujr, Imru' al-Qays's father. See: *Ibid.*, 117-118.

⁴⁷ Dhubyān and 'Abs are two Arab tribes that fought each other for 40 years in the war of Dāḥis wa-al-Ghabrā' because of a horse-race between two horses: Dāḥis, the horse that belonged to Qays Ibn Zuhayr al-'Absī, and al-Ghabrā', which belonged to Ḥamal Ibn Badr al-Dhubyānī. The reference to the people of Badr, or *Banū Badr* who remained thirsty by the river, is a hint to the story of blockading and attacking Ḥamal Ibn Badr and his two brothers, Ḥudhayfa and Mālik, and killing Ḥudhayfa close to a water place. See: *Ibid.*, 119-125.

⁴⁸ 'Udayy Ibn Zayd Ibn Ayyūb was the Arabic translator of the Persian ruler Kistrā Barwīz and the one who had him appoint al-Nu'mān Ibn al-Mundhir as the ruler of al-Ḥīra despite the fact that he (al-Nu'mān) was the ugliest among all of his brothers. 'Udayy was sent to jail and killed later in Irāq by al-Nu'mān because he thought 'Udayy is betraying him. However, 'Udayy's son, Zayd Ibn 'Udayy, groveled before Kistrā Barwīz in order to be appointed to a high rank position like that of his dad and managed to do so. In order to avenge his father's blood, Zayd started telling Kistrā about how beautiful the women of al-Nu'mān's family are, and as a result, Kistrā sent Zayd to ask for the hand of al-Nu'mān's sister or daughter. Al-Nu'mān who disliked the idea because it is not preferable, in his opinion, that Arabs get married to 'Ajams (non-Arabs), asked Zayd to present a polite acceptable excuse for Kistrā why he does not want to give his daughter/ sister to Kistrā as wives. Instead of keeping his word, Zayd seized the opportunity, did not give good excuses for al-Nu'mān, but on the contrary, he told Kistrā very bad things about al-Nu'mān and why he does not want to give his daughter/sister to Kistrā as wives. Eventually, Zayd's labellious accusations led to the captivity of al-Nu'mān by Kistrā and later caused of his death under the feet of the elephants in a famous story that took place in the year 570 A.D which is also known by the name '*Ām al-Fīl*' (the elephant year) after this incident. (Although some believe that this story and '*Ām al-Fīl*' were in 568 A.D. or 569 A.D.). The meaning of the line is that time, or rather the betraying nights, continued damaging al-Nu'mān (the one with the red eyes and hair) after they had already damaged 'Udayy Ibn Zayd by al-Nu'mān, and all this was caused by Zayd, 'Udayy's son. See: *Ibid.*, 125-128.

.....

And they dyed ‘Uthmān’s grey hair with blood, and stepped
to al-Zubayr and were not ashamed [to kill] ‘Umar.⁴⁹

And they did not keep the friendship of Abū al-Yaqzān
and did not support him except with diluted milk in a small cup.⁵⁰

.....

I wish that when they redeemed ‘Amr by Khārija
they had also redeemed ‘Alī by someone else of mankind!⁵¹

.....

And they subdued Abū Anas
when the spears of Zufar did not help to protect him from death.⁵²

And they put Ibn Ziyād, who killed al-Ḥusayn, to death, but he was not
equal to his soul, no matter he died or overcame⁵³

.....

And they helped al-Walīd Ibn Yazīd and
did not keep the Caliphate between the wine cup and the *watar*.⁵⁴

.....

And the swords of al-Saffāḥ became not far
from the head of Marwān and his libertine supporters.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ This line refers to the stories focused on the killing of the third Caliph, ‘Uthmān Ibn ‘Affān, by Kināna Ibn Bishr during the big *fitna* (civil war) in Islam; the killing of al-Zubayr Ibn al-‘Awwām, a relative of the Prophet Muḥammad, by ‘Amr Ibn Ḥarmūz in Wādī al-Sibā’ right before the Battle of al-Jamal; and the killing of ‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the second Caliph, by Abū Lu’lu’a al-Naṣrānī. See: Ibid., 129-146.

⁵⁰ Abū al-Yaqzān is ‘Ammār Ibn Yāsir, who was killed by Mu‘Awiya’s supporters during the Battle of Ṣiffīn. It is said that before he died, he asked for water to drink, but was given diluted milk instead. He said: “The Prophet told me that the milk is the last thing that I am going to drink before I die. He drank and died immediately after that.” Ibid., 146.

⁵¹ It was the intention of ‘Amr Ibn al-‘Āṣ to kill al-Khawārij, but, by mistake, he killed a man from the tribe of Sahn Ibn ‘Amr Ibn Haṣīṣ called Khārija. See: Ibid., 154-155.

⁵² Ibn ‘Abdūn referred to the Battle of Marj Rāhiṭ between Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam and al-Ḍaḥḥāk Ibn Qays al-Fahrī, who supported and nominated ‘Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr to become the Caliph. The army of al-Ḍaḥḥāk was about 60,000 strong soldiers, but was defeated by the army of Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam. One of the enthusiastic supporters of al-Ḍaḥḥāk in Marj Rāhiṭ was Zufar Ibn al-Ḥārith, but he fled during the battle, leaving al-Ḍaḥḥāk alone to his fate. See: Ibid., 166-167.

⁵³ Ibn Ziyād is ‘Ubayd Allāh Ibn Ziyād, the leader of Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam’s army, who supported the Umayyads and sent ‘Amr Ibn Sa’d to kill al-Ḥusayn Ibn ‘Alī. Ibn Ziyād was killed by Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar al-Nakh‘ī, the leader of the army of al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī. See: Ibid., 168-169.

⁵⁴ Al-Walīd Ibn Yazīd, the 11th Umayyad Caliph, was a profligate whose irreverence hastened the end of the reign of the Umayyads in the East. The last word of the line “*al-watar*” (inter alia) means a stringed musical instrument and indicates his recklessness since music and singing were connected to a careless life, especially of wealthy people who spent much time with slave singing girls. Alternately, the story tells that he tore the book of the Koran using a crossbow (*watar*), which is an indication of his impiety. Al-Walīd was killed by an angry crowd because of his licentious lifestyle. See more about his death and carelessness in: Ibid., 183-188.

⁵⁵ Al-Saffāḥ is ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abbās, the first Abbasid Caliph, and Marwān is Marwān Ibn Muḥammad, the last of the Umayyad Caliphs.

.....

And they breached the covenant of al-Amīn and hurried to
Ja‘far by his son and the perfidious slaves.⁵⁶

.....

What a loss for kindness and what a loss for generosity even if they survived,
and what a shame for heaven and earth for the loss of ‘Umar.

May a rain-cloud water the soil of al-Faḍl and al-‘Abbās
and ascribe generosity to them not to the rain.⁵⁷

وَمَرَّقَتْ سَبَأً فِي كُلِّ قَاصِيَةٍ فَمَا التَّقَى رَائِحٌ مِنْهُمْ بِمُبْتَكِرِ

وَأَنْفَذَتْ فِي كَلْبِ حُكْمَهَا وَرَمَتْ مُهْلَهلاً بَيْنَ سَمْعِ الْأَرْضِ وَالْبَصْرِ

وَلَمْ تَزِدْ عَلَى الصَّلِيلِ صِحَّتَهُ وَلَا تَنْتِ أَسَدًا عَنْ رَبِّهَا حُجْرِ

وَدَوَّخَتْ آلَ ذُبْيَانَ وَإِخْوَتَهُمْ عَبَساً وَغَصَّتْ بَنِي بَدْرِ عَلَى النَّهْرِ

وَأَلْحَقَتْ بِعَدِيِّ بِالْعِرَاقِ عَلَى يَدِ ابْنِهِ أَحْمَرَ الْعَيْنَيْنِ وَالشَّعْرِ

.....

وَحَضَّبَتْ شَيْبَ عُثْمَانَ دَمًا وَحَطَّتْ إِلَى الزُّبَيْرِ وَلَمْ تَسْتَحِ مِنْ عُمْرِ

وَلَا رَعَتْ لِأَبِي الْيَقْظَانَ صُحْبَتَهُ وَلَمْ تُزَوِّدْهُ إِلَّا الصَّبِيحَ فِي الْعُمْرِ

.....

وَأَلَيْتَهَا إِذْ فَدَّتْ عَمراً بِخَارِجَةٍ فَدَّتْ عَلِيًّا بِمَنْ شَاءَتْ مِنَ الْبَشْرِ

⁵⁶ The first hemistich alludes to the *fitna* or civil war between the two brothers al-Amīn and al-Ma‘mūn. The second hemistich alludes to the killing of the Abbasid Caliph Ja‘far al-Mutawakkil. See: ‘Īd, *Al-Shi‘r al-Andalusī wa-Ṣadā al-Nakbāt*, 96.

⁵⁷ ‘Umar Ibn al-Aḥṣan was the leader of the Banū al-Aḥṣan and the ruler of Badajoz (Baṭalyaws), while al-Faḍl and al-‘Abbās were his sons.

.....

وَعَمَّمَتْ بِالرَدَى فَوَدَى⁵⁸ أَبِي أَنَسٍ وَلَمْ تَرُدَّ الرَدَى عَنْهُ قَنَا زُفْرِ

وَأَرَدْتَ ابْنَ زِيَادٍ بِالْحُسَيْنِ فَلَمْ يَبُوءَ بِشَيْءٍ لَهُ قَدْ طَاحَ أَوْ ظُفْرِ

.....

وَأَظْفَرْتَ بِالْوَلِيدِ بْنِ الْيَزِيدِ وَلَمْ تُبِقِ الْخِلَافَةَ بَيْنَ الْكَأْسِ وَالْوَتْرِ

.....

وَلَمْ تَعُدْ فُضْبُ السَّفَاحِ نَائِيَةً عَنْ رَأْسِ مَرَوَانَ أَوْ أَشْيَاعِهِ الْفُجْرِ

.....

وَأَخْفَرْتَ فِي الْأَمِينِ الْعَهْدَ وَإِنْتَدَبْتَ لِحَجَعْرِ بِابْنِهِ وَالْأَعْبُدِ الْعُدْرِ

.....

ويح السماح وويح الجود لو سلما وحسرة الدين والدنيا على عُمرِ

سَقَّتْ ثَرَى الْفَضْلِ وَالْعَبَّاسِ هَامِيَةً تُعْزَى إِلَيْهِمْ سَمَاحاً لَا إِلَى الْمَطْرِ⁵⁹

The last line above contains the eastern elegiac convention of *al-suqyā* (watering), which usually occurs at the very end of the elegy and in which the poet prays for the grave of the deceased to be watered by the rain. *Al-Bashāma* is full of many other eastern poetic

⁵⁸ *Al-fawd* is the lock of hair behind the ears, while *al-fawdān*, or the two *fawds*, are the two sides of the head. However, as is clear above, I could not find a way to include *al-Fawdān* in the translation of the line, since Ibn ‘Abdūn intended to allude to *al-Ḍaḥḥāk* himself when he used the word. See: Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, 3: 340.

⁵⁹ See the entire ode: Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Wazīr al-Kātib*, 258-261.

conventions that I have not referred to, but it is clear, as I mentioned before, that such a trend of mentioning annihilated tribes and important people of the East, such as kings and poets, was neither invented by Ibn ‘Abdūn nor was it a new Andalusian genre. On the contrary, its origins are deeply rooted in the soil of the East. The Andalusian poets, therefore, polished and utilized such techniques and poetic themes to vocalize their personal pain and the pain experienced by the public. Here are two other examples from the Andalusian poetic corpus that illustrate this point and with which I conclude.

Al-A‘mā al-Tuṭaylī (d. 1131) wrote the following to complain about the ceaseless changing time:

[O my two friends] Start telling me about this and that \ John Doe,
maybe I will find someone who survived time.

And about some states that appeared but their people
perished, while the calamities of time are not perishable.

And about the two Pyramids of Egypt this evening, did they enjoy
youth or they are old?!

خذا حدثاني عن فل وفلان لعلّي أرى باق على الحدثانِ
وعن دول جسن الديار، وأهلها فننّين، وصرف الدهر ليس بفانِ
وعن هرمي مصر الغداة، أمّتعا بشرخ الشباب أم هما هرمانِ

Ibn al-Ḥaddād wrote in the same spirit:

The Oryxes of Sheba fell in love with me,
so does Muḍar know who Sheba put to death?

As if Slomon were my heart, his hoopoe
were my sight, Balqīs [Queen of Sheba] were Lubnā and love were the piece of
news.

وقد هوت بهوى نفسي مها سبياً فهل درت مضرٌ من تُمِيثُ سبياً؟

كأنّ قلبي سليمان، وهددهه لحظي، وبلقيس لبني، والهوى النبأ⁶⁰

The figures referred to in such western ubi sunt poems are usually an indispensable part of the Arab western poet intellectual life, especially because the cultural and geographical space of the East is rooted in them. Such figures apparently played an integral part in the literary life of al-Andalus, especially during hardships.

Despite the fact that the stream of Ibn ‘Abdūn’s poem lacks any type of historical or chronological order, it still provides an excellent example for historical incidents that took place in the East. The cited lines above are but a few among many that hint at that and because of this intensiveness and conglomeration of symbols and history, the poem necessitated a separate book, written by Ibn Badrūn, to provide historical exegesis and interpretations of its meanings.

‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākishī, the Maghribi historian (d. 1250), wrote about *Al-Bashāma* that “its influence on hearts is like the influence of wine, so it cannot be outdone or even matched. Because of that, its parallels are few and many people point at it [say it is important and beautiful].”⁶¹

The poem was written in the late 11th century, more than 350 years after the first Arab Muslim stepped onto Iberian soil. In spite of that issue, Ibn ‘Abdūn sounds fully engaged with the eastern tradition, poetic conventions and historical events, and he employes all that to

⁶⁰ See respectively: Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām al-Jarwī, *Al-Ḥamāsa al-Maghribiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Raḍwān al-Dāya, 2 vols. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu‘āṣir, 1991), 2: 890; Ibn al-Ḥaddād, *Dīwān*, 109.

⁶¹ ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākishī, *Al-Mu‘jib fī Talkhīṣ Akhbār al-Maghrib min ladun Faṭḥ al-Andalus ilā Ākhir ‘Aṣr al-Muwaḥḥidīn* (al-Qāhira: Maṭba‘at al-Istiḳāma, 1948), 75-76.

أزرت على الشّعر وزادت على البحّر، وفعلت في الألباب فغل الخمر فجلت عن أن تُسامى وأنفث من أن تُضاهى، فقلّ لها النظير وكثُر إليها المشير.

convey the tragedy of *banū* al-Afṭas. Apparently, Ibn ‘Abdūn’s high appreciation of the East made him consider that East as an open book from which people should learn wisdom and eloquence, and by that, they will find a way to ease and comfort themselves for their loss.

Finally, and away from nostalgia, it is worth mentioning that *Al-Bashāma*, on the contrary to other earlier Islamic *ubi sunt* poems from both the Umayyad and Abbasid eras, presents something new, especially when earlier Islamic *ubi sunt* poems considered that ancient empires had all perished because they disobeyed God, and that Islam was the true religion and that the Islamic *umma* (nation) was the fulfilment of divine destiny to prosper and expand, however, it would seem that for *Al-Bashāma*, all these Islamic dynasties are also as flawed and fated as the misguided empires of old.

Chapter 6

The Influence of the Andalusian Religious Debate and the Eastern Poetic Conventions on the Andalusian Hebrew Poetry

Religious Debate as a Stimulus and Catalyst of Nostalgia for the East among Andalusian Jews: Shmu'el Hanagid and Yehuda Halevi as Models

Before the 11th century, Hebrew poetry was largely limited to religious subjects and imitated Biblical verses in their form and shape, especially the books of Psalms and the Song of Songs. The same poetry was sometimes adopted by synagogues and sung exactly as other excerpts from Biblical texts. However, due to Arabic and Arab influences on Jewish poets of Andalusia, some changes in form and theme in Hebrew poetry in the 11th century occurred that made it more secular than before. As a result, a new form of Hebrew poetry emerged when Jewish poets from Spain wrote secular Hebrew poetry,¹ which closely observed Arabic poetic models in prosody, theme and form. Although Hebrew secular poetry in al-Andalus was deeply dependent upon Arabic, it was, nevertheless, quite distinctive in the manner in which it retained Jerusalem as a place of spiritual (and later actual) refuge.

Dunash ben Labrat (d. 990), who was born in Fes in Morocco, but then moved to Cordoba, was the first Andalusian Jewish commentator, poet and grammarian of the Golden Age in Spain to adopt the Arabic prosody in Hebrew poetry in al-Andalus.

The achievements of Arabic linguistic science—the theoretical understanding of structure and linguistic processes won by Arabic grammar and *fiqh al-lughah*—made possible the rebirth of the Hebrew language. At the hands of Dunash ben Labrat, in the

¹ The term “secular Hebrew poetry” in regard to nonreligious medieval Hebrew poetry was, several times, used by Scheindlin. For example, here is what he wrote about the influence of Arabic poetry on Hebrew one: “This new synagogue poetry came into being thanks to the influence of Arabic literary culture on Hebrew poets and the Jewish tradition. Arabic secular poetry and Hebrew secular poetry, its offspring, provided the formal materials for the new Hebrew liturgical poetry.” Raymond P. Scheindlin. *The Gazelle: Medieval Hebrew Poems on God, Israel and the Soul* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 18. The Hebrew term for secular poetry though is *shirat hol*.

Cordoban circle of Abū Yūsuf Ḥasday ben Shaprūṭ (915-70), Arabic prosody became Hebraicized and a new Hebrew poetry was born.²

It is important to explain that what I am considering secular Hebrew poetry (*shirat ḥol*) and what Jaroslav Stetkevych called “a new Hebrew poetry” are that Andalusian Hebrew poetry that adopted the Arabic Islamic and pre-Islamic *qaṣīda* style (prosody and meter rules, mono-rhyme, themes—especially individual lyric themes) no matter whether this poetry directly referred to the Bible or only alluded to some of its verses indirectly [what is usually called *shere Zion* (poems for Zion)] or even if it does not refer to the Bible at all. This adoption of the Arabic poetic technique together with the new language are exactly what differs this new secular Hebrew poetry from the religious Hebrew poetry (*pioth*) that prevailed before the 10th century. Hebrew religious liturgical poetry continued to exist after the 10th century but it lost its domination.³

In times of both peace and unrest, Andalusian Jews, like other minorities, had to deal with accusations of heresy, sometimes directed at them by important official Muslim figures. Such attacks, which also occurred in the pre-Andalusian period—as I will show shortly—had a major effect on the growing nostalgia for the Holy Land among the Jewish population of al-Andalus.

In his book *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam*, Wasserstrom shed light on the heresy and infidelity that had been attributed to Jews:

An interesting sidelight on the ad hominem proposition was the sustained and often ingenious efforts by Muslim scholars to derive “Islamic” heresies from what were represented as actual Jewish figures, who were then equipped with the rudiments of a biography. It would be difficult to find a Muslim heresy that was not at one time or another traced back to Jewish originator. Thus, to cite only a few, the ghulat deification of ‘Alī was assigned to ‘Abd Allah Ibn Saba’;

² Jaroslav Stetkevych, “The Confluence of Arabic and Hebrew Literature,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32 (1973): 216-217.

³ See: Dan Pagis, *Shirat ha-Ḥol vi-Torat ha-Shīr li-Moshe Ibn ‘Izrā u-Vneh Doro* (Jerusalem: Bialik institute, 1970), 22-24.

the origination of Isma' ilism, was ascribed to Maymun al-Qaddah; the Fatimids were said to have been further inspired by Ya'qub Ibn Killis; the idea of the "Created Qur'an" was ascribed to Labid; and heretic Jahm b. Safwan was said to have been taught by Aban b. Maymun, who was taught by Talut b. A'sam, "the Jew who bewitched Muhammad."⁴

Much has been written about the Muslim-Jewish coexistence in Cordoba, Granada and other parts of al-Andalus in different historical periods, so it is not strange to read Hebrew poems written by Andalusian Jewish poets who cried over the ruined cities of al-Andalus, exactly just as the Arab poets did in *rithā' al-mudun*. These Jewish poets lamented the loss of the Arab Muslim rule in some parts of al-Andalus, the loss of "good" Arab neighbors who were replaced by "bad" Christian ones, and the deportations that occurred as a result of both; the wars between Muslims and the wars of the Reconquista.

Worth mentioning in this regard is the poem by Moshe Ibn Ezra (d. ca. 1140) in which he yearns for his home-city of Granada and for his family and friends who remained there after he had to leave in 1095 as a result of the Almoravid religious persecution and imposition of Islam on religious minorities, including Jews:

I rush from one city to another and set up my tents
where my people stupidly scattered.

.....

How come that Man compares the voice of a lion
to the voice of barking dogs who are judged to keep barking?

.....

After the sublime people of the West [the Arabs], how will I enjoy
sleeping and how will my heart find relaxation?

.....

May my right hand forget me if I forget, and if
I do not enjoy seeing their faces!

מעיר לעיר ארוץ – ואמצא אהלי / כסל ידי עם מתחזי מתחזי

.....

⁴ Steven M. Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995), 157-158.

איך שאגת ארזיה ידמה האנוש / אל קול פלבים חרצו לנבח?

.....

אחר אצילי מערב איך תערב / שנה ואיך ימצא לכבי נוח?

.....

תשפח ימיני, אם שכחתימו ואם / בלתי פניהם אתאכה לשמה!⁵

‘Abd Allāh Ṭarabayh, who studied the interactions between the Arabic and Hebrew poetry in al-Andalus, refers to the last three lines of the poem above to show nostalgia for Granada in Ibn Ezra, but I believe that the ones that I chose better indicate such nostalgia.⁶ Ṭarabayh, who supports his opinion using an article written by Yosif Tobi, claims that the Jewish Andalusian poets, who were astonished by the Andalusian nature, had also elegized the destruction of the Andalusian cities and the destruction of their population, especially the Jewish communities. They expressed nostalgia for these cities and their people, and a deep desire to return to them. In addition, they found an analogy for such nostalgia in nostalgia for Zion and elegy for the destroyed Temple. Ṭarabayh claims that the Jewish poets of al-Andalus conveyed such feelings by hinting at Biblical prophecies about the Diaspora, especially those prophecies in the Book of Isaiah. In such elegies, these poets asked for revenge on those who caused the destruction and dispersal of the population of the Andalusian cities. In their elegies—excluding those of Yehuda Halevi—it sounded as if they did not have any homes, but those Andalusian cities.⁷

⁵ See: “Bne Yehuda,” accessed September 22, 2013, http://benyehuda.org/ibnezra_m/xol_0666.html

⁶ See: ‘Abd Allāh Ṭarabayh, “Sogat ha-Za‘akāh li-Gi’ulāh (Istiṣrākḥ\ Istighātha) ba-Shirāh ha-‘Aravit vi-ha-‘Ivrīt bi-Sfarad ba-Mi’ot ha 11 vi-ha 12,” *Ben ‘Ever la-‘Arav: Contacts between Arabic Literature and Jewish Literature in the Middle Ages and Modern Times*, ed. Yosef Tobi (Bāqa al-Gharbiyya: Al-Qāsimī Academic Center for the Comparative Study of Jewish and Arabic Culture, 2012), 5: 103.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 97, 103. Ṭarabayh’s analysis reminds of what I discussed in the previous chapter about the way Arabs relied on the East to elegize al-Andalus.

Jaroslav Stetkevych, refers to another poem by Moshe Ibn Ezra as one representative of Andalusian Hebrew poems that weep over al-Andalus or over a part of it, which in this case, is the city of Lucena in southern Spain. This poem can easily be included in the poetic genre of *rithā' al-mudun* and can be compared to Avraham Ibn Ezra's (d. 1164) *Aha yarad 'aleh Sfarād ra' min ha-shamayim* (*Oh Sefarad! A calamity descended on you from heaven*) and the famous poem by Abū al-Baqā' al-Rundī in which he elegized al-Andalus in general.⁸

Brann Ross writes that this poem by Ibn Ezra is similar to al-Rundī's one in that it deals with collective deportation, dispossession, exile and the fate of religious communities in Spain. However, in addition, the poem *Oh Sefarad! A calamity descended on you from heaven* was one of the earliest poems to deal with collective chases by a Jewish poet who employed the liturgical motifs of the Jewish Rabbis—in which they used to lament the Diaspora of the Jews—to express the experience of being exiled out of al-Andalus. In addition, Ibn Ezra, according to Brann, described in this poem an atmosphere similar to that found in *The Book of Lamentation* in which a lonely character observes the ruins of an entire city and the expropriation of its people.⁹

Esperanza Alfonso writes about two types of exile that people experience: a personal exile and the communal collective exile. In regard to the collective exile and the way it was reflected in the poems of Moshe Ibn Ezra, he writes:

I indicated in the introduction that the second dimension of the term *galūt* alluded to the exodus of groups of population, which is caused by social and political crises. Moses Ibn Ezra's experience of exile (1055-1138) epitomizes this second category. The exile he describes in his secular poems mirrors the current collective experience of the displacement of the Jewish communities toward the Christian area of the Iberian Peninsula as a result of the arrival of the North African dynasty of the Almoravids in 1086.¹⁰

⁸ See: Stetkevych, "The Confluence," 217.

⁹ See: Reuven Tzūr and Tova Rosen, *Sefer Yisrael Levīn: Kovetz Maḥkarīm ba-Sifrūt ha-'Ivrūt li-Duroteḥā* (Jerusalem: Grāfīt, 1994), 46-51.

¹⁰ Alfonso, "Uses of Exile," 40.

Alfonso emphasized the uniqueness of the Jews and the way they coped with this exile:

The distinctiveness or difference of the Jewish community with respect to the societies, with which it was in contact, employs the idea of exile and are in a process of continuous renegotiation. The idea of exile selectively adapts itself to the circumstances: Ibn Khalfūn and Ibn Gabirol construct the identity of the group in religious terms and thus they use the opposition Jew/ gentile as a paradigm of otherness. Moses Ibn Ezra, who constructs communal identity in cultural terms, does not make use of the opposition between Jews and gentiles and identifies himself with the Arab-Andalusi community. Halevi, in contrast, and practically during the same period, reinforces the terms of religious identity in such a way that his secular poems insist on that opposition found commonly in liturgical poetry. The relationship between majority and minority is, thus, mediated and transformed by the concept of exile.¹¹

In spite of this tolerant approach of Moshe Ibn Ezra and other Andalusian Jewish poets, the coexistence between Muslims and Jews in al-Andalus was not always ideal, especially in regard to religious debate between the Jewish minority and ruling Muslim majority.

Al-Zayyāt, for example, refers to *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib fī Akhbār al-Andalus wa-al-Maghrib* by Ibn ‘Adhārā al-Marrākishī (d. around 1295) to try to explain why Muslim tolerance toward *Ahl al-Dhimma* (Christians and Jews) had not been always a good idea, especially when these minorities abused such tolerance and used it sometimes against Muslims. Some of the utterances and citations that I will present below shed light, in my opinion, on the hostile and derogatory attitudes of Muslims toward Jews in al-Andalus. For example, al-Zayyāt showed via *Al-Bayān al-Mu’jib* that the Almohad Caliph Abū Yusuf Ya‘qūb al-Manṣūr, who ruled between 1160 and 1199, ordered the Jews to wear a uniform that differentiated them from the Muslims because they were not trustworthy.¹²

Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī’s book *Al-Fiṣal fī al-Milal wa-al-Niḥal* and its argument is another model that proves that the coexistence between Muslims and Jews in al-Andalus was not necessarily perfect. Ibn Ḥazm made a point to define as heretics, infidels and unbelievers

¹¹ Ibid., 46.

¹² Al-Zayyāt, *Rithā’ al-Mudun*, 52.

Christians and Christianity, Jews and Judaism, and all other Muslim non-Sunni denominations, including al-Shī‘a, al-Khawārij, al-Mu‘tazila and al-Murji’a.¹³ However, anyone who reads Ibn Ḥazm’s book soon realizes that the insulting language that he directed toward the Jews and Christians was far stronger and more insulting than the language he used to criticize other Muslims or Islamic denominations.

Here are some examples of the language that Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī used against the Jews and Judaism in his book:

1. “In the book that the Jews call *Torah* and in the rest of their books and in the four books of the Gospel, one realizes the distortion and alteration that they include and realize that they [these books] are not what Allāh—be His name praised—sent down.”¹⁴
2. Another claim that Ibn Ḥazm made was related to the story of Jacobs’ Blessing: “And it is their news that Jacob’s blessing was stolen and taken by deceit and malice. Heaven forbid that prophets—peace be upon them—do such things. And I swear by my life that this is the way of the Jews since you never meet one of them who is not malicious and mendacious, except rarely.”¹⁵
3. Ibn Ḥazm also referred to the verse: “That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them as wives, of all which they chose,”¹⁶ considering only the literal meaning of the term “sons of God,” and ignoring that this expression means masculine human beings in general, Ibn Ḥazm interprets the verse as a taboo sexual relationship between the divine and humans. As a result, he criticized the Bible: “This is stupidity—may God keep you away from it—and it is a great lie that he made

¹³ Due to his racist and fanatical ideas, it is not strange that some Muslim scholars disagreed with Ibn Ḥazm and that al-Mu‘taḍid Ibn ‘Abbād (d. 1069), the ruler of Seville, exiled him from his city and ordered him to burn his works. See: Darwīsh and al-Miṣrī, *Al-Andalus*. 431.

¹⁴ Ibn Ḥazm, *Al-Fiṣal fī al-Milal*, 1: 108.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1: 93.

¹⁶ Genesis, 6: 2.

children for God that make love with the daughters of Adam, and this is an association that God is far away from.”¹⁷

This quick review shows Ibn Ḥazm’s intolerance toward Jews and Judaism, which led Brann, who studied *Al-Fiṣal*, to summarize Ibn Ḥazm’s criticism of Judaism via three aspects:

1. The *Torah*’s “unreliable transmission” (*tawātur*), textual corruption and alteration (*tahrīf/tabdīl*) going back to Ezra, the scribe’s initial forgery in postexilic times.
2. The *Torah*’s abrogation (*naskh*) by the perfect divine dispensation revealed to Prophet Muḥammad.
3. The Hebrew Bible’s manifest anticipation (*a’lām*) of the Prophet [Muḥammad].¹⁸

Brann also writes that Ibn Ḥazm transferred his attack from the Judaic faith to those individuals who believe in the faith. In order to prove that, Brann quotes another section of the book, which is very similar to the previous quote about Jacobs’ Blessing.: “They, both the ancient and the contemporary, are altogether the worst liars. Though I have encountered many of them, I have never seen among them a seeker of truth, except two men only.”¹⁹ Brann does not stop here, but also quotes from the book of *Al-Tabyīn* by ‘Abdullāh Ibn Bulujjīn to show that some Muslims did not miss a chance to disgrace Jews, and that insulting and swearing at Jews were commonplace during that period of the Middle Ages:

Furthermore, don’t the Jews say that they are Saturnians? There is no doubt about this. Don’t you see they adopt Saturday as their holiday, which is Saturn’s day, and that their character conforms with what Saturn stands for, namely miserliness, dirt, wickedness, cunning and deceit?²⁰

¹⁷ Ibn Ḥazm, *Al-Fiṣal*, 1: 97.

¹⁸ Brann, *Power in the Portrayal*, 56. Brann wrote that Muslim scholars mainly relied, in this respect, upon the Koran and, especially, verses: 2:73, 2:91, 7:157.

¹⁹ Brann, *Power in the Portrayal*, 58.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, *Ibid.*

Brann continues to shed light on anti-Jewish utterances and writings of polymath Muslims to prove that insulting Jews during the Middle Ages and up through the end of the 14th century by Arabs, Musta‘rib and Muwallad Muslims was ordinary, common conduct until it almost became a literary genre. According to Brann, the famous Muslim historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) wrote the following to explain why Jews are untrustworthy people:

[They fell] under tyranny and learned through it the meaning of injustice . . . One may look at the Jews and the bad character they have acquired, such that they are described in every region and period as having the quality of *khurj*, which according to well-known technical terminology means “insincerity and trickery”.²¹

To add fuel to the fire, Ibn Ḥazm was not merely a marginal scholar, but, rather, he and his father—as recorded in their biographies—were very powerful and influential figures in Andalusian politics and its administration. He was a vizier in Valencia up to 1118, then in Cordoba in 1121 and finally between 1127 and 1131 served as a vizier under the last Caliph of the Umayyad dynasty in Cordoba, Hishām al-Mu‘tadd bi-al-Allāh. Below is what al-Ziriklī wrote about Ibn Ḥazm:

‘Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Sa‘īd Ibn Ḥazm al-Zāhirī, Abū Muḥammad, is the scholar [philologist] of al-Andalus during his era, and one of the *imams* of Islam [well known religious men with a school of thought of their own]. There were many people in al-Andalus who followed his school of thought [denomination], whose name was al-Ḥazmiyya [after him]. He was born in Cordoba, and both his father and he himself were prime ministers who managed the kingdom, but his [Ibn Ḥazm’s] interest was in writing books and studying, so he was a first rank *ḥadīth* scholar, philologist and jurist whose judgments were based on the Koran and *al-Sunna*, and he drew away from personal interpretation. He criticized many of the scholars and religious people till they felt hatred for him, and they all tried to refute his opinions, warned their rulers from his *fitna*, and ordered ordinary people to stay away from him.²²

In spite of the fact that the Jewish communities in the East and in Jerusalem in particular were suffering persecution from the Crusaders between the 12th and the 13th centuries, I argue

²¹ Ibid., 59.

²² Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *Al-A‘lām: Qāmūs Tarājīm li-Ashhar al-Rijāl wa-al-Nisā’ min al-‘Arab wal-Musta‘ribīn wa-al-Mustashriqīn*, 2nd ed. 8 volumes (Bayrūt: D al-‘Ilm lil-Malāyīn, 1984), 5: 59.

here that racist utterances like the ones described above and the instable political situation in al-Andalus led the Andalusian Jews, who lived in constant danger of displacement, especially during the era of Almoravids, to develop a high degree of nostalgia for the Holy Land, not only as their spiritual refuge but also as an actual physical one. This nostalgia is especially noticeable in the expansion of the longing for the Holy Land from a subject of liturgical poetry to a subject of secular poetry. Alfonso writes about the transition of the theme of exile from a liturgical to a secular poetic subject:

It goes without dispute that the idea of national-historical exile, the separation of the Jewish people from their homeland, appears overwhelmingly in liturgical poetry that was written to be part of synagogue services. This poetry has had a long and well documented history since late antiquity. Nevertheless . . . allusions to this collective exile also occur in the secular poetry written in al-Andalus. This phenomenon has been interpreted as a consequence of the original and personal voice of the poets and also as a rejection of the intolerable political and social situation they went through. Shmuel Hanagid and Judah Halevi are frequently cited in connection with this occurrence.²³

Scheidlin wrote about the need of Jews, in general, and Yehuda Halevi, in particular, to find a place that would protect them more from religious accusations than physical attacks:

But beyond the objection on the grounds of literary coherence, the political interpretation seems contradicted by the exceptive clause that it introduces, which, literally translated, reads: “have we place of hope in which we can be secure except a land that is full of gates [Jerusalem], toward which the gates of heaven are open?” This clause makes clear that the security of which Halevi is speaking is not security from attack but certainly of religious convictions.²⁴

One thing I feel necessary to note here before moving to poems’ analysis, is that I do not think Jews or Christians of al-Andalus in the Middle Ages were more tolerant or less critical toward other religions compared to Muslims. Yet, I think that the Jewish silence and lack of a religious counterattack from their side—what could have muted or refuted derogatory

²³Alfonso, “Uses of Exile,” 34.

²⁴Raymond P. Scheindlin, *The Song of the Distant Dove: Judah Halevi’s Pilgrimage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 198.

accusations such those of Ibn Ḥazm—happened because they did not have a militant force that could protect them from physical attacks and from religious accusations and derogatoriness in al-Andalus. On the other hand, both Muslims and Christians of al-Andalus possessed enormous militant forces that were able successfully (sometimes) to protect them from physical or verbal violence. The history of al-Andalus is full of Christians fighting against Muslims, attacking them, reconquering “their” cities, destroying their mosques or turning them to into churches, killing them and capturing their women and children to avenge the dignity of their religion and lost land or simply to satisfy their desire for revenge. And vice versa of course, the exact same thing can be said about Muslims fighting against Christians. However, the situation of the Andalusian Jews was different since they had to keep their insults to themselves as they had no means by which to defend themselves or their religion. It is this reason, I argue, why they found it necessary to transfer such resentment and grievance through literature that yearns for Zion and through poetry that expresses nostalgia for the Holy Land.

Within the rest of this chapter, I will present and discuss seven poems: five by Shmu’el Hanagid who is best known among Arabs by the name Sulaymān Ibn al-Naghrīla and who served as a minister for the Berber rulers of Granada from the Zīrid Dynasty, and two other written by the Andalusian Jewish poet Yehuda Halevi or Abū al-Ḥasan al-Lāwī (as he is called in Arabic). These poems do not only show the poets’ great love for the Holy Land, but also reflect the political situation that led to the composition of such poems. Such a political situation caused sometimes to dramatic decisions taken by Jews such as the one of Halevi who ended up emigrating back to Zion. Through these poems, Jerusalem, as well as other parts of the Holy Land or the Biblical land of Israel, will appear as another inseparable part of the East for which Jewish poets of al-Andalus sought and yearned.

A. Shmu'el Hanagid

Shmu'el Hanagid was one of those Andalusian Jewish poet to carry his nostalgia for Zion out of the walls of the synagogue and transfer the liturgical poetic lexicon into a secular one. Hanagid was born in Cordoba in 993 and had to leave his home-city to travel to Granada in 1013 when Cordoba was destroyed by the Berbers who brought the Umayyad Caliphate in al-Andalus to its end. In Granada, Hanagid served as a vizier of defense for Ḥabbūs and his son Bādīs, the two rulers of the Zīrid dynasty. In his secular poems, the theme of nostalgia for the Land of Israel is heavily stressed, especially in his militant poems in which he relies often on Biblical sources and refers to his enemies by the names of the traditional Biblical enemies of Israel, such as Amalek, whose offsprings—according to the Bible—were the first to fight against the Jews after they left Egypt; Og (King of Bashan); Sihon, who refused to let the Israelites pass through his country—according the Book of Exodus; and Philistines especially when he refers to the Berbers who caused a lot of troubles in al-Andalus during his lifetime. In his poems, Hanagid stresses the matter of the salvation of the Jewish people and that of the return to Zion.²⁵

The love of Zion, hence, leaked out of the synagogue and stopped being mere hymns or liturgical poetry. Instead, it trickled toward secular militant poetry written and recited on the battle-field. This trend, especially for Hanagid, just emphasized the deep passion that he acquired for Zion.

The poem *Zkhor Libbī bi-Ṭov Zaken* (My Heart! Remember the Good of an Old Man) reflects the idea above. The poem was written during a war against the Berbers, in which the victory of Hanagid was secured. According to his son, Joseph (Youssef), who put together his

²⁵ Tobi, “Eretz Yisra' il vi-ha-Nuseh ha-Li'umī”, 49-50.

poems in one collection (*diwān*), Hanagid wrote the poem, sent it to him and asked him to write it in his own handwriting before sending it to the Rabbi of Jerusalem.²⁶

The circumstances of writing and “publishing” it are quite phenomenal; the poet is writing amidst the ruins and flames and sending his work to Jerusalem for a blessing. No doubt, this decision indicates the strong bonds between Hanagid, who lives and fights in the West, and the Holy Land in the East. Such bonds and connections refused to be cut or fade out with time, and the blessing that comes from Jerusalem seems to be more important than the victory itself:

1. Youssef! Take your pen!

Youssef! Take your pen and immediately
write a plain message,

And write widely and at length about the way God blessed
completely my steps in my war.

.....

And send the omen to every loving person who lacks any sins
and a good neighbor who lives in sweet Zion.

יהוסף קח לך עטך וישר באגרת חלקה הכתיבה

והרחיב כאשר הרחיב אולהיי במלחמתי צעדי אות ותיבה

.....

ובשר הכל נשוא עון ואוהב ושכן טוב הציון האהובה.²⁷

This poem, like many others written amidst the battle-field, indicates the contribution of Hanagid, not only in the literary field, but also in the military and political events in Granada during his lifetime. However, the repeated wars that Hanagid fought in, and the many victories

²⁶ David Solomon Sassoon, *Diwan of Shemuel Hannaghid* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), 57.

²⁷ Sassoon, *Diwan of Shemuel Hannaghid*, 68.

that he accomplished and whose fruits were enjoyed mainly by the Muslims of Granada, apparently, did not save him from anti-Jewish slurs.

Ibn Bassām's opinion concerning a panegyric poem that the poet Abū Aḥmad 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Khayra al-Munfatil al-Qurṭubī dedicated for Hanagid, who was known for encouraging literature and rewarding poets, is good enough to show that even Hanagid was not immune from anti-Jewish slurs. Al-Munfatil's poem, that included nine lines in praising Hanagid and the Jews, did not apparently please Ibn Bassām:

Those people of whom Moses is one,
say what you will in their praise, you will never reach a tenth [of their due].

They have a lot of signs upon earth,
and they have much good among the people.

.....

I won life and I hope, because of you,
to win also the afterlife.

ومن يكُ موسى منهم ثم صنوه فقل فيهم ما شئت لن تبلغ العُشرا

فكم لهم في الأرض من آية تُرى وكم لهم في الناس من نعمة تترى

.....

وقد فُزْتُ بالدنيا ونلتُ بك المنى وأطمع أن ألقى بك الفوز بالأخرى²⁸

Ibn Bassām wrote about al-Munfatil and his poem:

In this poem, he exaggerated a lot, and we reject all that . . . May God make that trend ugly and banish such a thought that he is relying on. I do not know what is stranger for me from that guilty and mistaken man: is it that he preferred that fool Jew over the prophets and the messengers or that he asked that Jew to help him in matters of life and death? May God bring him to his place but not let him in Paradise, except under his care.²⁹

²⁸ Ibn Bassām, *Al-Dhakhīra*, 2: 765.

²⁹ Ibid. Ibid.

Pierce explains other lines that Ibn Bassām wrote about the Jews and Hanagid, whom he described as the one-eyed man or a one-eyed Antichrist:

The Jews controlled the women,
and they got lost with the mules and the saddles,
And the state of the scoundrels was established amidst us,
and those who are ruling us turn to be infidel non-Arabs,
So tell this one-eyed fake Antichrist:
Your days are numbered if you decide to go out!

تَحَكَّمَتِ الْيَهُودُ عَلَى الْفُرُوجِ وَتَاهَتُ بِالْبِغَالِ وَالسَّرُوجِ
وَقَامَتِ دَوْلَةُ الْأَنْدَالِ فِيْنَا وَصَارَ الْحَكْمُ فِيْنَا لِلْعُلُوجِ
فَقُلْ لِلْأَعْوَرِ الدَّجَالِ هَذَا زَمَانُكَ إِنْ عَزَمْتَ عَلَى الْخُرُوجِ³⁰

Maybe Hanagid lived to hear and read what Ibn Bassām wrote about him, but he never had the chance to read or hear some of the bad opinions of other Muslim scholars about him and about Jews in general. For example, al-Zayyāt mentions that Ibn ‘Adhārā al-Marrākishī wrote in *Al-Bayān al-Mughrab* about the political aspirations of Hanagid: “the salacious soul of this accursed Jew consulted him . . . to establish a state for the Jews.”³¹ Also, Pierce writes that even the copist of the Parisian manuscript of Ibn Bassām’s *Al-Dhakhīra* wrote next to the seventh line of al-Munfatil’s poem that three of its nine-lines were cited above: “I ask the protection of God from the pokes of the devils.”³²

وله في هذه القصيدة من الغلو في القول ما نبرأ منه إلى ذي القوة والحوال . . . فقبح الله هذا مكسباً وأبعد من مذهبه مذهباً تعلق به سبباً فما أدري من أي شؤون هذا المدل بذنبه المجترئ على ربه أعجب، ألتفضيل هذا اليهودي المأفون على الأنبياء والمرسلين أم خلعه إليه الدنيا والدين؟ حشره الله تحت لوانه ولا أدخله الجنة إلا بفضل اعتنائه.

³⁰ Pierce, *Al-Shi‘r al-Andalusī fī ‘Aṣr al-Ṭawā’if*, 245. See also: Ibn Bassām, *Al-Dhakhīra*, 4: 562.

³¹ Al-Zayyāt, *Rithā’ al-Mudun*, 47.

إلى أن حدثته نفسه الفاجرة بأشياء . . . وذلك أن هذا اللعين طلب أن يقيم لليهود دولة.

³² Pierce, *Al-Shi‘r al-Andalusī fī ‘Aṣr al-Ṭawā’if*, 245.

أعوذ بالله من غمزات الشياطين.

Without denying the tolerance of Andalusian Arab Muslims toward minorities, which had proved itself many times in al-Andalus,³³ and without ignoring the fact that Arabic and Hebrew languages and cultures cooperated with each other in al-Andalus and other places in the East,³⁴ one who reads such utterances, and that who adds to them some other Koranic verses that describe the Jews as apes,³⁵ will no longer be able to ignore the difficulties of the Jews who lived under the Muslim rule in al-Andalus and will no longer be able to disregard the fact that cursing Jews had become a common trend in al-Andalus during that time.³⁶

The incorporation of the factors mentioned above with the fact that Hanagid was a religious man whose religion bound him tight to Zion and the Land of Israel, made him express and convey such a relationship often, both in his religious poems and in his secular non-religious ones (*shirāt ḥol*). In some of these poems, he creates a feeling as if he encourages and pushes for immigration to the Holy Land or simply to make *‘Aliyyāh*. The following lines from a panegyric poem that Hanagid wrote in 1041 and directed to Rabbi David, the son of Rabbi

³³ Yisrael Levīn wrote about the improvement that occurred in the Jews’ situation because of the Muslim conquest of Iberia. He mainly compared the situation of the Jews under the regime of the Visigoth Christians, who oppressed them, and their situation among the Muslims in al-Andalus who usually treated them well and allowed them to integrate their culture into society. See: Tel-Aviv University, *Shmu’el Hanagid: Selected Poems*, ed. Tova Rosen (Tel-Aviv: Hayīm Rūven Press, 2008), 10-11. In addition, Yūsuf Farḥāt wrote that the Jews took part in the Arab Muslim conquest and supported the Arabs in order to get rid of the Christian religious persecution. See: Yūsuf Shukrī Farḥāt, *Ghirnāṭa fī Zill Banī al-Aḥmar: Dirāsa Ḥaḍāriyyā* (Bayrūt: Al-Mu’assasa al-Jāmi’iyya lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Nashr, 1982), 114.

³⁴ Raymond P. Scheindlin writes that “living as a tolerated minority in the Muslim world, the Jews absorbed as much of the dominant culture as they could. . . Thus, Arabic poetry had a profound effect on Hebrew literature and related literary activities.” See: Scheindlin, *The Gazelle*, 10-11.

³⁵ Koran, *Al-Baqara*, 65. (2: 65) “And you had already known about those who transgressed among you concerning the Sabbath, and We said to them, ‘Be apes, despised.’”

وَلَقَدْ عَلِمْتُمُ الذِّينَ اعْتَدُوا مِنْكُمْ فِي السَّبْتِ فَلَمَّا لَّهُمْ كُوفُوا قِرْدَةً خَاسِيِينَ

Koran, *Al-Mā’ida*, 60. (5: 60) "Say, Shall I inform you of [what is] worse than that as penalty from Allah? [It is that of] those whom Allah has cursed and with whom He became angry and made of them apes and pigs and slaves of Taghut. Those are worse in position and further astray from the sound way.”

قُلْ هَلْ أَنْبَيْتُمْ بِشَرِّ مِنْ ذَلِكَ مُتُوبَةً عِنْدَ اللَّهِ ۚ مَنْ لَعَنَهُ اللَّهُ وَعَصَىٰ عَلَيْهِ وَجَعَلَ مِنْهُمْ الْقِرْدَةَ وَالْخَنَازِيرَ وَعَبَدَ الطَّاغُوتَ ۗ أُولَٰئِكَ شَرٌّ مَكَانًا وَأَضَلُّ عَن سَوَاءِ السَّبِيلِ

Koran, *Al-A’rāf*, 166. (7: 166) "So when they were insolent about that which they had been forbidden. We said to them, ‘Be apes, despised.’”

فَلَمَّا عَتَوْا عَنْ مَا نُهُوا عَنْهُ قُلْنَا لَهُمْ كُوفُوا قِرْدَةً خَاسِيِينَ

³⁶ See: Pierce, *Al-Shi’r al-Andalusī fī ‘Aṣr al-Tawā’if*, 220.

Hizkiyāh, the Chief Rabbi of the Jewish community of Babylon are a good example of this attitude:

2. And the sight of Rabbi David

And the sight of Rabbi David on his chair
is like the sun that lights the edges of the land,

He turns the complicated questions of the Bible into a valley
and a plain land when he steps on its highlands.

Why should you dwell in the end of the planet
while your soul is bored?

.....

Please immigrate now to Zion, the laurel of all
countries, and judge in its fines!

And be certain, David, that you have a community that at its
Holy of Holies there is a king from the dynasty of King David with a crown.

ומראה רבי דוד עלי כנו כשמש אשר יאיר אפסיה

כאלו קשי תורה כמו בקעה ומישור בעת ידרוך רכסיה

עלי מה תהי שוכן בסוף ארץ ונפשך תשווה ממאוסיה

.....

עלה נא אלי ציון תהלת כל ארצות, ודון דיני קנסיה

ודע כי לך דוד, ישיבה תוך דבירה כבן דוד בכסיה³⁷

In addition to the clear declaration and appeal of Hanagid to Rabbi David to immigrate to the Holy Land, which would have been considered very pioneering and daring idea at that time, the lines above and many others in the poem reflect the dependence of Hanagid on the

³⁷ Sassoon, *Diwan of Shemuel Hannaghid*, 36.

Bible. Vocabulary, such as *Dvīr* (the interior sanctuary in the Jewish tabernacle and temple where the Ark of the Covenant was kept), *kenasehā* (the judiciary questions that may not be dealt with, but in the Holy Land), *Bin Davīd* (a king from the dynasty of King David), and several other lines or semi-lines that allude to verses from the Bible, such as the second line that, according to Tova Rosen,³⁸ hints at Isaiah 40: 4 (“Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low”) neatly stress the idea that Medieval Hebrew poetry and the Bible are correlative and inseparable.

One more thing about the love of Zion in Hanagid, as reflected through the few lines above or, specifically, through line number three, is that Hanagid refers to every land other than the Land of Israel as *sof eretz* (the brink of the world). In line three, he asks Rabbi David in a tone of a reproof why he still lives so far away.

The poem *Hitna ‘arī* (Shake Yourself Free of) is another poem by Hanagid that carries even a more daring tone. Here, Hanagid identifies himself with Zion and his soul with Jerusalem, asking them to give up the miserable situation they have been through for so long (exile and Diaspora for the poet and Jews, in general, and occupation and imprisonment for the city of Jerusalem and the Land of Israel). Ending such a misery and bringing the long-awaited redemption and salvation will never happen unless both the man and the stone are rebuilt and reunited again in Zion. This identification is conveyed from the very beginning because the reader finds it very hard to determine who is exactly the addressee of *hitna ‘arī* is. Is it the soul of the poet or the city of Jerusalem?!

3. Shake yourself free

Shake yourself free, shake yourself free!
And be apprised that the day of redemption is nigh!

³⁸ Tel-Aviv University, *Shmu’el Hanagid*, 125.

Your mourning time is ended and your anguish
has been removed, healing now exists for you.

Rise up, you who are tossed about and reeling
and repay those who have made you stagger.

Now he is visible who in a vision it was foretold
that like a lion he shall stand.

Zion, like a withered tree
will henceforth give fruit.

They will be abashed who once put you to shame
and no longer will call you: "The rebellious people."³⁹

הַתְּנַעֲרִי, הַתְּנַעֲרִי וּבְיוֹם פְּדוּת הַתְּבַשְׂרִי

שִׁלְמוּ יָמֵי אַבְלָךְ וְסָר צֶלְךָ, וְנִמְצָא לְךָ צָרִי

קוּמִי, שְׂכוּרָה סְעֵרָה וּמִשְׁכְּרִיךְ שְׂכָרִי

צִיּוֹן אֲשֶׁר הִיתָה לְעֵץ יִבֶּשׂ תְּהִי עוֹשֵׂה פְרִי

בוֹשׁוּ מִשִּׁישִׁיךְ, וְעוֹד לֹא יִקְרָאוּ לְךָ עַם מְרִי⁴⁰

The imperative entreaty with which the poet opens the poem is a clear and direct request to rebel and move things on to improve the situation. Hanagid directed toward an earthly change that is made by man; a change that is to improve the spiritual and the physical situation of the people and the land.

The poem *bi-Libbī Ḥom li-Mifkad Ni 'ūrīm* (I am nostalgic for the youth that has gone) is a poem parallel with the famous poem by Yehuda Halevi *Libbī ba-Mizrah* (my heart is in the East) that I will discuss shortly. Both poems focus on the deep yearning and respect that

³⁹ Translated by: Leo J. Weinberger, *Jewish Prince in Moslem Spain: Selected Poems of Samuel Ibn Naghrela* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1973), 91-92.

⁴⁰ Sassoon, *Diwan of Shemuel Hannaghid*, 105.

both poets acquired for the city of Jerusalem and the Holy Land. They also show the way that the poets underestimate the Diaspora and the way they saw the situation of the scattered Jews.

4. I feel sorry and my heart is in flames

I feel sorry and my heart is in flames because the youth of the people of Israel has gone,
and because of the banishment of Yehūdā, [my heart] is in a big fire.

And I am a defiled dead man because I live away from Zion.
I am as death or as one who is shaken by the angel of death by his grave.

Will the expelled ever return,
and will there be sad day for those who enrage God and get away from Him?

.....

And if I or my son could only
sing some songs for the Lord at the Temple,

And if I could see the People of Israel like clouds
and like doves that rush swiftly to Zion,

I swear to God not to quit dreaming
of the Return to Zion till my last day.

And I will never say to myself: I am an important man and my place
in this generation is among kings and respected figures,

And no one will ever seduce me by saying:
Oh my God! You are a respected man,

What will the salvation of Joseph bring you,
and what will you gain from the Return to Zion?

Standing at the Temple is better for my soul
and more beautiful than being a king who controls some creatures,

And [it is also better] than eating delicious filling food dipped in oil from an
impure land that tastes like bitter wine.

Build, Lord the glory of the Temple, and raise
precious Zion and sons of Zion.

בלבי חום למפקד הנעורים ועל הגלת יהודה - אור ואורים

ועל שכני טמא מת חוץ לציון כמות , או כמו חבוט קברים

היתכן היות שובה לסורה ויום רגז למרגיזים וסורים

.....

ואם יטב בפּי, או פי בני, על מרום דוכן דבר זמרה ושירים

ואם אראה בני אל חי כעבים וכיונים אלי ציון מהירים

בחיי גואלי חי! עוד אקו, עד אשר לא חי אהיה, קבוץ פזורים

ולא אומר: אני אדיר והדור מקומי בין מלכים והדורים

ויצר לא יפתני באומרו: "אלוהים את ונכבד מגברים"

ומה תוסיף בבוא ישע ליוסף ומה תקבוץ בהקבוץ פזורים?

עמידה בעזרה טוב לנפשי ויפה ממלך על כל יצורים

ומשתה משמנים באדמה טמאה – לי כמו משתה שמרים

בנה ביקר מרום ציון והרם בני ציון וציון, היקרים.⁴¹

The poem above is an excellent example of a poem that contains almost all of characteristics of a Hebrew non-religious poem that seeks Zion and a return to it; it refers several times (lines 2, 5, 12) to the city of Jerusalem, which constitutes a synecdoche for the Holy Land in general. It also refers to the Temple by different names and titles (*Marom Dukhān* line 4, *Izrā* line 10, *Marom Tzion* line 12). The poem expresses the poet's aversion to exile (lines 2, 10, 11) and his hope for a return to Zion (lines 6, 9, 12). In addition, in this poem, as in others, the dependence upon or allusion to the Bible as a repeated poetic technique and use

⁴¹ Sassoon, *Diwan of Shemuel Hannaghid*, 88-89.

of its language, rhetoric and metaphors is clear. Below are some examples that Tova Rosen gave.

1. The youth of Israel in line 1 alludes to Jeremiah 2: 2: “Go and cry in the ears of Jerusalem, saying, Thus saith the LORD; I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown.”
2. The Banishment of Yehūdā in line 1 alludes to Jeremiah 13: 19: “The cities of the south shall be shut up, and none shall open them: Judah shall be carried away captive all of it, it shall be wholly carried away captive.”
3. The hoped return of the expelled alludes to Isaiah 30: 15: “For thus saith the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel; In returning and rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength: and ye would not.”
4. The salvation for Joseph in line 9 is an analogy to Zechariah 10: 6: “And I will strengthen the house of Judah, and I will save the house of Joseph, and I will bring them again to place them; for I have mercy upon them: and they shall be as though I had not cast them off: for I am the LORD their God, and will hear them.”

And the list continues...⁴²

The Andalusian secular non-religious Hebrew poetry that was mainly affected by the Arabic poetic style and themes is reflected also in other poems by Hanagid, especially those poems in which he refers to other parts of the Holy Land, rather than Jerusalem, in order to express longing for and affiliation with the Land of Israel, in general, or merely because referring to such place-names had become a tradition that bestowed a taste of holiness, respect,

⁴² See: Tel-Aviv University, *Shmu'el Hanagid*, 45-46.

spirituality and nostalgia, exactly as was the case with Arabic traditional poetry in the late *nasīb* and Sufi poetry. The following lines shed light on this phenomenon as presented by Hanagid.

5. My heart is hot within me

My heart is hot within me and my eyes are tearing for I long for
Ḥamat and Mephā'at,⁴³

And to see the assembly from Siryon⁴⁴ moving and resting as they
bring with songs to Moriah⁴⁵ bundles of spikenard.

Even the caravan of Lebanon on Ariel with a voice of melody
scattering crumbs of myrrh and cassia like a sower,

In the days when the young lads of Zion will be at home, like the
bright and shining sun on garden beds of spices.

.....

I yearn for the prince's daughter who, in the nut-garden placed her
fawn by a lily to be gathered and planted.

Behold the roaring lions who occupy it and prevent her from
entering therein.

She was ruined by the hands of strangers who stripped the open
flowers, the wreaths and the knobs from the city in the beautiful region,

On seeing on with heart's eye my Holy of Holies a devastated heap
and the foundation stone⁴⁶ swallowed up among the rocks.

.....

⁴³ Ḥamat is a place in the Land of Israel that is mentioned in Joshua 13: 5: "And the land of the Giblites, and all Lebanon, toward the sunrising, from Baalgad under mount Hermon unto the entering into Hamath." Whereas Mephā'at is mentioned in Joshua 13: 18: "And Jahazah, and Kedemoth, and Mephaath."

⁴⁴ A Sidonian name for Mount Hermon. See: "Bible Hub," accessed September 12, 2013, <http://biblesuite.com/hebrew/8303.htm>.

⁴⁵ It is the name given to the mountain range in the Sacrifice of Isaac story, according to the Book of Genesis 22: 2. "And He said: Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, even Isaac, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of." It is also the place at which Solomon built the Temple according to 2 Chronicles 3:1. "Then Solomon began to build the house of the LORD at Jerusalem in mount Moriah, where the LORD appeared unto David his father; in the place that David had prepared in the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite."

⁴⁶ The foundation stone is believed to be a stone at the Holy of Holies where the Ark of the Covenant was placed.

O God! Will you forever raise up the daughter of Edom who dwells above the stars while Zion's daughter lies sunken in the depth of the sea?⁴⁷

לבבי בקרבי חם ועיני מדמעת למען אני נכסף לחמת ומפעת

ולראות עדת שריון מביאה למוריה בשירים צרורות נרד חונה ונוסעת

וארחות לבנון על אריאל בקול זמרה תפזר כתיתי מר וקדה כזורעת

ימי נערי ציון בציון כשמש על ערוגות בשמיה מהילה ומופעת

.....

ואתאו לבת נדיב בגנת אגוז שמה עפרים עלי שושן ללקט ולטעת

והנה אריות ישאגו, מנעוה אזי מעבור אותה ומבוא לגעת⁴⁸

הרוסת ידי זרים אשר חלצו מקיר יפי נוף פטורי ציץ ולויות ומקלעת

בשורי בעין לבי דבירי מעי מפל ואבן שתיה בין אבנים מבלעת

.....

אלוהים, העד תעלה בת אדום, תדור עלי עוש, ובת ציון בלב ים משוקעת⁴⁹

These selected lines were taken from another poem that Hangid wrote during a war (the war against Yadair 2nd), but in contrast to traditional Arabic poems of *ḥamāsa* (poems about

⁴⁷ Translated by: Weinberger, *Jewish Prince in Moslem Spain*, 54.

⁴⁸ The line in Weinberger is with the word שם (there):

והנה אריות ישאגו שם, מנעוה אזי מעבר אותה ומבוא ומגעת.

See: Weinberger, *Jewish Prince in Moslem Spain*, 56.

⁴⁹ Sassoon, *Diwan of Shemuel Hannaghid*, 77.

wars that mainly focused on the battle and the might and courage of the poet, and included, sometimes, some love poetry—as in ‘Antara Ibn Shaddād’s *mu‘allaqa*), Hanagid opened and ended with magnificent elegiac nostalgic lines for Zion in which he conveyed his agony for the situation in Jerusalem (Yifeh Nof—which is another name or title for Jerusalem), the devastated Temple (Dvīr, Evin Shtiyāh) and the situation of the People of Israel who lived in misery and in social, religious and economic deterioration because of the Diaspora.

While the theme and focus of this poem distinguish it from the Arabic ode, the style is still a unifying factor; first, because the opening line reminds us of the tradition of the classical Arab poets to open their odes with a *muṣarra‘* line, in which both hemistichs rhyme. Here, Hanagid ended the first hemistich with *midamā‘at* and the second with ‘o-Mefā‘at. The second and more important reason for similarity with the Arabic ode is that Hanagid refers to some marginal places, such as Ḥamat, Siryon and Mefā‘at⁵⁰ that do not necessarily exist in the core of the Jewish faith or at the center of the Jewish nostalgic lexicon. This trend, in my opinion, is related to the influence of Arab poetry on Hebrew poetry in al-Andalus and reminds of the *nasīb* trend used by the Arabs to refer to some scattered marginal places in the East and the Arab Peninsula to deliver nostalgia and attempt to find a spiritual refuge among the far places related to their roots. In addition, I propose that some Islamic Sufi poetry impact is somehow involved here, especially when such poetry did not necessarily target the major holy places of Islam (Medina and Mecca) but also the less central places around Medina and Mecca, mainly those on the pilgrimage route, the situation in Hanagid is likewise though the places he mentions are marginal but not on the way to Jerusalem.

Yosef Tobi provides another interpretation for such writing as this by Hanagid that is not related to the influence of the Arabs. He explains that such a referral to marginal place-

⁵⁰ Mefā‘at, for example, was mentioned only once in the Bible in the aforementioned Biblical verse, Joshua 13:18.

names is considered synecdoche in that it gather and represent the entire Land of Israel and did not cut or divide it into smaller pieces for which Hanagid or the Jews, in general, yearned individually. Such writing—according to Tobi—was apparently the result of the direct impact of Sa‘adyā Ga’on, the Babylonian Rabbi who died in 942 and who used to employ such a technique in his *piūts* (poesy, hymns, liturgy) in which he complained about the small number of the Jews and about their situation in the Diaspora, which he would describe as a bereaved woman. In one of Ga’on’s liturgies, *Tihom ha-Shoṭef ‘al Rashī Tzāfa* (an abyss that washes my head is floating), that was usually recited in the *shaḥarīt* of the Yom Kippur (a prayer that is recited in the dawn of the Yom Kippur), Ga’on referred to not less than ten places from the First Temple or Solomon’s Temple era (Mitzpe, Bazak, ‘Emek Ha’elā, Giv’on, Gāyy Tzafta, Ḥatzatzon Tamār, Tzarfat, Dotān, Gāyy Ḥamelah and Bor Malkiyya). As mentioned previously, Tobi claims that these Biblical references to times prior to the time of the Second Temple were used to represent a yearning for the entire Land of Israel, in general.⁵¹

To conclude, I believe that many of the poems in which Zion is mentioned by Hanagid belong to the genre of elegy, but, in this case, it is not the common elegy for dead people, but an elegy for the poet himself for being so far away from the Land of Israel; an elegy for the Jewish people, whose fate is to live scattered and diffused; and certainly an elegy for Zion, which remained bereaved for its missing sons and daughters and remained alone with its ruined Temple. Such elegy, which ‘Abdalla Ṭarabayh called the national elegy,⁵² and whose themes, range from expressing pain and sorrow about the devastation of the people and the stone, complaining about the *galūt* (the Diaspora) to asking and seeking salvation for the nation

⁵¹ Tobi, “Eretz Yisra’ il vi-ha-Nuseh ha-Li’umī,” 42.

⁵² Ṭarabayh, “Sogat ha-Za‘akāh li-Gi’ulāh,” 97.

and for the Return of Zion, covers most of this poetry which is called *shere Tzion* (poetry for Zion).

Shere Tzion, some of which I discussed above, share two major common themes with Andalusian Arabic and traditional Arabic poetry. First, many times both types of poetry place the blame for the collapse of al-Andalus and its cities as well as the displacement of its residents, (in the case of the Arabic Andalusian poetry), and the Diaspora of the Jews and the devastation of the Temple, (in the case of Hebrew Andalusian poetry), on the Arabs and Jews, respectively, mainly because of a lack of faith or because they moved too far away from the core of their faith and religion.⁵³ These are poetries of displacement and exile.⁵⁴ Second, both poetries refer to places in the East that evoke spiritual and religious aspirations. What is worth mentioning is that referring to such places in both Arabic and Hebrew poetries is potentially achieved in two ways: in Arabic poetry of al-Andalus it is achieved by seeking al-Ḥijāz, while in the East it is achieved poetically either via the traditional *nasībīc* means or via the religious means fulfilled mainly by the *madīḥ nabawī* or Sufi poetry. Likewise, the Hebrew poetry of al-Andalus that seeks Jerusalem and the Land of Israel—which are inseparable parts of the East—does this either via the *piyūt* (the liturgical poetry that is recited in synagogues), which I disregard in this paper, or via nonreligious secular poetry that rely on Biblical allusions to convey nostalgia for Zion.⁵⁵ Other times, it incorporates, in addition to the nostalgic lines for Zion, other themes, such as love, wine, friendship and war. Halevi's poems, which I am going

⁵³ This is also inferred from what Brann wrote about when he compared al-Rundī's poem and the poem *Oh Sefarad! A Calamity Descended on You from Heaven* by Abraham Ibn Ezra. Brann wrote that, in both poems, one feels that the poets intend to convey the idea that the exile was, but a temporary situation aimed to purify, refine and bring both the Jews and the Arabs to repentance because of their sins. See: Reuven Tzūr and Tova Rosen, *Sefer Yisrael Levīn*, 53, 58.

⁵⁴ Tarabayh, "Sogat ha-Za' akāh li-Gi' ulāh," 105.

⁵⁵ Aviva Doron writes that the Hebrew language had refreshed the collective memory among Andalusian Jews, especially due to repeated use and allusion to the Bible; hence, the Hebrew language had protected and kept the Andalusian Jews more than the Andalusian Jews had protected the Hebrew language. See: Aviva Doron, "ha-Shirā ha-'Ivrīt bi-Sfarād ki-Biṭūy li-Zihūt 'Atzmīt o-Liftihāt Tarbuyot," *Alon la-Morae li-Safrūt*, (1992), 13: 32.

to discuss next, are examples of the first type of *shere Tzion*, while Hanagid's poems, some of which I discussed above, are examples of the other type, especially due to their militant tone.

B. Yehuda Halevi

Yehuda Halevi lived during the golden age of the Jewish existence in al-Andalus in the 11th and 12th centuries. This period was the most fruitful literary period of the Jewish existence in al-Andalus, especially because, in addition to Halevi, many other important Jewish poets lived in al-Andalus, such as Shmu'el Hanagid, Shlomo Ibn Gabirol, Moshe Ibn Ezra and Avraham Ibn Ezra.

Halevi was born in Toledo around 1075 and was very active in the court of Alfonso the 6th, especially because he was a physician. In addition, he was a poet and a philosopher who—as with other Jews in al-Andalus—was highly affected by the political situation around him, especially the Reconquista wars between the Spanish Christians and Muslims in which the Jews suffered from much persecution, largely because each side would accuse them of helping the other. In addition, the First Crusade to the Holy Land in 1099, which resulted in Christians massacring the Jews who lived in the lands and territories that the Crusaders captured, the Almoravid conquest of part of al-Andalus and their attempt to forcefully Islamize Jews, negatively affected the Jews in al-Andalus and led later to a massive Jewish flight from there, a flight that included Halevi's family.⁵⁶

Some poems and literary works, such as the book *ha-Kurāzī*,⁵⁷ were written to refute the fanatic writings against Jews, but, out of caution, these books remained allusive and

⁵⁶ The Almoravids . . . “disapproved strongly of the subservience of their co-religionists to Christians, and particularly opposed the payment of tributes (*parias*) to non-Muslims, which was prohibited by Islamic law (the *Shari'ah*). They were appalled at the positions of authority enjoyed by Christians and Jews in Andalusian society. Attitudes hardened, hostility increased and persecution became widespread, obliging many Christians and Jews to emigrate to the Christian north.” See: “Spain Then and Now,” accessed August 12, 2014, http://www.spainthenandnow.com/spanish-history/11th-c-al-andalus-almoravids/default_146.aspx.

⁵⁷ See information provided later in this chapter.

indirect. I suppose that this made Andalusian Jews or, at least some of them, feel discomfort and seek spiritual and poetic refuge (or a physical one—as in Halevi) in the Holy Land instead of subjecting themselves to the abuse.

The aforementioned insulting discourse of Ibn Ḥazm and others irked Halevi, so he tried to refute it and defend his religion and people. He did this by three means:

1. He wrote a book in Judeo-Arabic entitled *al-Ḥujjah wa-al-Burhān fī al-Dhawdi ‘an al-Dīn al-Muhān*⁵⁸ (The Argument and the Proof for Defending the Insulted Religion). This book was later called, in Hebrew, *ha-Kuzārī* because it was structured as a dialogue between the poet’s persona ha-Ḥaver and the king of the Khazars.

Yousef Yahalom wrote that this book reflects the suffering of Israel—as a collective name of the Jews or the people of Israel—in exile.⁵⁹ In this book, Halevi defended the Jewish people and their right to the land of Israel and the Jewish faith.

Ha-Kuzārī tells the story of the king of the Khazars, a district where the Turkic people lived in eastern Europe close to the Caspian Sea. The king repeatedly dreams that two representatives, a Christian from Byzantium and a Muslim Arab, try to persuade him to convert to their religions. Apparently, the king decides not do anything regarding the dreams, but when his army minister dreams the same dream, the king, astonished and confused, starts seeking answers. Excluding the Jewish rabbi at the beginning, the king decides to consult a philosopher, a Christian clergyman and a Muslim sheikh, but when none of these individuals is able to

⁵⁸ This translation was the translation that I suggested first for the Hebrew name of the book: ספר תשובות לטענות נגד הדת המושפלת. However, just recently, the book was re-edited into Modern Standard Arabic instead of Judeo-Arabic by Nabīh Bashīr. The editor suggested the following Arabic title for the book: *Al-Kitāb al-Khazarī: Kitāb al-Radd wa-al-Dalīl fī al-Dīn al-Dhalīl*. (The Book of the Khazarī: The Book of the Answer and the Proof in the Insulted Religion). See: Nabīh Bashīr, *Al-Kitāb al-Khazarī: Kitāb al-Radd wa-al-Dalīl fī al-Dīn al-Dhalīl* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Jamal, 2012).

⁵⁹ Yosef Yahalom, “Ginze Linengrad vi-Ḥeker Sherato shil R. Yehuda Halevi,” *Pa ‘amīm, Riv ‘on li-Ḥeker Kihelot Yisra’il ba-Mizrah*, 46-47 (1991): 54-55. Or see: “Tel Aviv University,” accessed September 29, 2012, http://jic.tau.ac.il/moreshet/_repositoryTL15/1100336.pdf.

provide him with answers. It is then that he realizes that the Christian clergyman and Muslim sheikh made several Jewish references during the consultations. Therefore, the king decides to contact a Jewish rabbi to help him solve the mystery and, surprisingly, the king is convinced by what the rabbi tells him. Then, the king and all of the people of Khazar convert to Judaism.⁶⁰

Sholamit Eletzur says that, besides the attempt to defend the Jewish faith, this book is considered an arena for showing Halevi's linguistic and poetic knowledge, both in Hebrew and Arabic. The book also includes some critical opinions on poetry, especially when Halevi declared that the Biblical poetic style is preferable to the new style that came from Arabic. The new style of Hebrew poetry, as Halevi argued, should be abandoned because it is a type of sin. *Ha-Kuzārī* is considered, as Eletzur maintains, a proof of an early national awareness in Halevi since he explicitly criticized the Jewish people for the Diaspora and their decision to sit calmly without doing anything to change their situation or end this Diaspora.⁶¹ Likewise, Yisra'el Rozenson commented on the geographical location to which *ha-Kuzarī* alluded, claiming that it was not an accident. "The plot starts in the distant land of Kuzār which it is doubtful that there are many people who know where it is, but . . . It ends in the land of Israel... And at the end of the book, the will of the poet in immigrating to the Land of Israel is stressed."⁶²

On the other hand, some scholars disagree with the early national "Zionist" characterization of Halevi as if he proclaimed or incited all Jews to leave the Diaspora and return to Zion. Scheindlin, for example and unlike other scholars,⁶³ claimed that *ha-Kuzārī* and

⁶⁰ See: "yishivat har 'Itzyun," accessed September 19, 2013, <http://etzion.vbm-torah.org/vbm/archive/kuzari/01intro.php>

⁶¹ Sulamit Eletzur, *Shirat ha-Ḥol ha-'Ivrūt bi-Sfarād ha-Muslimūt*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: ha-'Universiṭa ha-Ptuḥā, 2004), 1: 107-109.

⁶² See the article by Yisra'el Rozenson: "Libo ba-Mizrah! Eretz Yisra'el bi-Yitzerat R. Yehuda Halevi – bi-Sefir ha-Kuzārī 'u-bi-Shirato." Published in: "Misrād hatarbūt," accessed October 6, 2012, <http://www.education.gov.il/tochniyot/limudim/sifrut/asi13014.htm>.

⁶³ See, for example, Aharon Ben Or, *Toldot ha-Sifrut ha-'Ivrūt beme ha-Benayim: 'im Antologya o-Bi'urīm*, 4th ed. 2 vols. (Tel Aviv: Yizra'el, 1955), 1: 60. Ben Or assumed that Halevi was the first Zionist ever because he believed in actual work and endeavors to fulfil salvation rather than waiting on the mercy of heaven.

other poetic works by Halevi expressed his desire of only a personal redemption, not a collective one:

As for the conclusion of the *Kuzari*, which is also sometimes cited as evidence of Halevi's messianic summons: while the book ends . . . with thoughts of national redemption, nowhere does the book proclaim that the messianic era is at hand, nowhere in the book does Halevi issue a call for a return to Zion, and nowhere in the book does Halevi have his Rabbi recommend that the king of the Khazars abandon his kingdom and depart with him for the Land of Israel. The end of the *Kuzari* does look forward to the ultimate redemption but not as an immediate expectation and certainly not as a call to action.⁶⁴

Scheidlin also adds the:

The back-and-forth fortunes of Christians and Muslims in Iberia made it hard for Jews to assess where they would be best off. Some have even maintained that it was the deterioration of the status of the Jews in Halevi's time that led him to believe that the best course was to head for their original homeland, which, though not particularly hospitable or even safe, was at least, in some sense, the Jews' natural place. But it is hard to imagine [Scheidlin adds] that Halevi thought of his pilgrimage as a particular course that would enhance his people's immediate physical security.⁶⁵

2. Although many reasons existed for Halevi to remain in Andalusia, he decided to move to the Holy Land in 1140.⁶⁶ The poet was deeply conflicted about the move because of his deep love and affection for his daughter and grandson who remained in al-Andalus. In the end, he left al-Andalus, but not before writing a poem in which he mentions his grandson, who was named after him:

Fruit of my loins, child of my delight -
Ah! How should Jehudah forget Jehudah?⁶⁷

פְּרִי מְעֵי וְיִלָּד שְׁעֵשׂוּעֵי, וְאֵיךְ יִשְׁכַּח יְהוּדָה אֶת יְהוּדָה?⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Scheindlin, *The Song of the Distant Dove*, 61.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁶⁶ A recent study revealed that an educated wealthy Egyptian Jewish merchant called Halfon Ibn Nataniel Halevi was the one to finance Yehuda Halevi's pilgrimage journey to the Holy Land. See: Yosef Yahalom, "Adam ha-Rotze la-'Alot la-Āretz Yikhtov Divre Shīr shi-Ka'ele," *Ha'arets*, August 16, 2013, 2 (Tarbūt vi-Sifrūt section).

⁶⁷ Translated by: Brody, *Selected Poems of Jehuda Halevi*, 23.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

Halevi preferred the sacred over the secular and went on a pilgrimage journey from which he never returned. He sailed from Spain to Palestine making many stops in different cities on the way. Many times, he was asked to stay by the Jewish communities within these cities, but he refused. Instead, he continued on to the Holy Land, his final destination. While on his journey, he wrote, at sea, more than a thousand poems on the theme of longing for Zion.

So we can trace his steps from Spain to Alexandria, the Jews everywhere giving him a friendly reception, and strongly but vainly urging him to remain with them and to discontinue his perilous pilgrimage. Further we hear of his passing up the Nile and visiting the community at Cairo and Damietta, and he is known to have touched Tyre and Damascus. But after his arrival in Palestine, definite reports fade into rumors. Tradition tells us that he was ridden down and slain by an Arab when at last he reached his goal and was singing his great Song to Zion by the ruins he had longed to see.⁶⁹

Decter writes that Halevi's pilgrimage can easily be related to and explained by the Rite of Passage Theory:

For Halevi, estrangement at sea—symbolized by the boat (...)—was only a stage, albeit one of great significance, of a journey that began in al-Andalus and would terminate in Jerusalem. Halevi writes from the liminal point of estrangement between the stability of al-Andalus and the spiritual destination of Jerusalem. Like other stages of liminality that have been described by anthropologists and scholars of religion, this one is marked by the initiate's separation from familiar surroundings and a heightened sense of danger. The stage is a test that the pilgrim must endure before completing the ritual.⁷⁰

For this dissertation, it is important to understand how Halevi and others found relief through poetry in regard to expressing their nostalgia for the Holy Land, while attempting to escape their bitter reality in al-Andalus in a way that showed some “national” awareness and reflected another trend in Hebrew poetry of that time. About this and about employing the Bible in the Hebrew poetry of the Golden Age, Brann writes:

⁶⁹ Ibid., xv-xvi. Scheindlin sounds hesitant concerning the circumstances of Halevi's death and regarding his place of burial, “Did Halevi fulfill his dream of reaching the Land of Israel, dying there, and mingling his body with its soil? There is no concrete evidence one way or another.” Scheindlin, *The Song of the Distant Dove*, 150.

⁷⁰ Decter, *Iberian Jewish Literature*, 63-64.

Fully to understand the Golden Age poetry requires that we reassess the significance of its reliance on the Bible as a source of poetic creativity. Hebrew poetry was conceived as a linguistic and literary means of promoting Jewish cultural nationalism in al-Andalus. Its prosody and style imitated Arabic poetics and poetry, but its chosen language of expression was emphatically Biblical Hebrew.⁷¹

3. The third means that Halevi used to cope with oppression was to write nostalgic poetry in which he dreamt of his return to Zion. Eventually, he decided that he was not satisfied with simply writing poetry, and left on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Since poetry is the main subject of this study, below are two poems by Halevi in which he expresses his nostalgia for Zion.

1. My Heart is in the East

My heart is in the East, and I in the utter-most West!
How can I find savour in food? How shall it be sweet to me?

How shall I render my vows and my bonds, while yet
Zion lieth beneath the fetter of Edom, and I in Arab chains?

A light thing would it seem to me to leave all the good things of Spain –
seeing how precious in mine eyes to behold the Dust of the desolate sanctuary.⁷²

לְבִי בְּמִזְרַח וְאֲנִי בְּסוֹף מַעֲרָב אֵיךְ אֶטְעֶמָה אֵת אֲשֶׁר אֶכֶל וְאֵיךְ יַעֲרֹב

אֵיכָה אֲשַׁלֵּם נְדָרַי וְאֶסְרֵי, בְּעוֹד צִיּוֹן בְּחֶבֶל אֲדוֹם וְאֲנִי בְּכַבֵּל עֲרָב

יִקַּל בְּעֵינַי עֲזוֹב כֹּל טוֹב סְפָרַד, כְּמוֹ יִקַּר בְּעֵינַי רְאוֹת עִפְרוֹת דְּבִיר נְחָרֵב⁷³

Despite the fact that the first line reminds us of a line written by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih al-Andalusī,⁷⁴ and that it has the feeling of a loan-translation, the nostalgia for the East, as both a geographic and spiritual entity, remains unquestionable.

⁷¹ Brann, *The Compunctious Poet*, 24.

⁷² Translated by: Brody, *Selected poems of Jehuda Halevi*, 2.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷⁴ Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih al-Andalusī wrote:

The body is in one country while the soul is in another,
what an estrangement for the soul, and what a foreignness for the body!

الجسم في بلد والروح في بلد يا وَحْشَةَ الروح بل يا غربة الجسد

The East, for Halevi, is a source of inspiration. He yearns for the East, in spite of the fact that he is stuck in the West, which is empty of spirit and holiness. Much of what was mentioned in this chapter is powerfully condensed in this three-line poem; the poet is confused between his yearning for the ruined Zion and abandoning the good things of Spain (i.e., its natural beauty and bounty and his daughter and grandchild fall under this category). However, in the second line, he admits that Spain, in spite of all its good and wealth, is still a place where the Jews are insulted and oppressed and, as if this injustice was not enough, Jerusalem is held captive by the Christians. The poet's love for Zion appears in the last line when he writes that all the good of Spain is worthless if compared to the soil of the destroyed stones of the Temple.

It is worth mentioning here that the poem, in spite of its brevity, includes many hints or connotations to Biblical text. As many other scholars wrote and been cited before in this study, also Scheindlin writes about employing Biblical allusions in Hebrew Andalusian poetry:

Biblical quotations and allusion remain, however, an important stylistic feature of this poetry. Since Hebrew was learned mostly by memorizing the Bible, the poet could count on the learned in his audience being able to recognize allusions and to recall the Biblical context of any word.⁷⁵

Here are some examples: the comparison between the West and East in the first hemistich of the first line alludes to the Book of Psalms 103:12;⁷⁶ the first hemistich of the second line, which discusses making the oaths, alludes to Psalms 22:25;⁷⁷ and the last line alludes to Psalms 28:2.⁷⁸

Fulfilling the vows means returning to the Holy Land and practicing a true religious life there. Who dared to think this way during the days of Halevi, but Halevi himself? The Muslims'

See: Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Dīwān*, 74.

⁷⁵ Scheindlin. *The Gazelle*, 20.

⁷⁶ As far as the East is from the West, so far hath he removed our transgressions from us.

⁷⁷ My praise shall be on thee in the great congregation: I will pay my vows before them that fear him.

⁷⁸ Hear the voice of my supplications, when I cry unto thee, when I lift up my hands toward thy holy oracle.

“binding” of the Jews in the West; the Christians’ control of the Holy Land in the East and the Jewish belief that only the Messiah can return the Jews to the Holy Land, all prevented the Jews from thinking of going back to Zion. For Halevi, however, all of the wealth and good of Spain were worthless compared to the dust of the destroyed Temple. The value and longing for a lost and destroyed abode over a prosperous inhabited one (which is similar to the nostalgia of the Arab poet for the *aṭlāl* or ruined campsites) emphasizes the high rank of Jerusalem for the poet and for all Jews around the world.

Therefore, the poet decided that he could not enjoy life in al-Andalus as long as there was separation between his body and soul. His body was dead in al-Andalus because of its remoteness from the soul and the distance from the Holy Land. In order to resurrect the dead, there must be unification between the body and soul, which could never happen unless the body was taken back to Jerusalem.

The structure of the poem was developed by the principle of gradual hardship; however, the more hardship on the journey, the stronger the poet’s will to leave must be. In the first line, the difficulty was geographic; in the second line, it became political (i.e., the bonds of the Christians and Muslims); and, in the third line, it became psychological when he remembered that he was going to have to leave his constructed populated dwellings for desolate ruined ones. At the end, however, he sounded more decisive than at any time before to leave al-Andalus and travel to his new home where God, the soul and all other forefathers dwell.⁷⁹

Finally, it is important to note that I agree with the aforementioned citation of Scheindlin who wrote that neither Halevi’s poems nor his pilgrimage indicate any national or Zionist intention in that he was attempting through his writings and actions to incite the Jews

⁷⁹ See more about the analysis of the difficulties of Halevi leaving al-Andalus in the word file at “Tichon Yehud,” accessed on September 19, 2013, tichon-yahud.co.il/.../2149-1742013_במזרח%20ליבי.doc

as a collective to follow him to Zion to achieve the “manmade” redemption. I think, though, that this poem and his leaving can be considered as a personal step toward personal relief and personal salvation. Scheindlin put it as follows:

. . . The vow must therefore be a metonymy for the complete religious life that Halevi dreamed of. The train of thought seems to be that since there is no way to live a complete religious life as long as Israel is unredeemed, the speaker has little appetite for life anywhere. Convinced of the inadequacy of conventional religious life and feeling betrayed by philosophy, Halevi sought a solution in the service of God and proximity to the *Shekhina*, which he believed, was possible only on the soil of revelation. But the messianic route to religious fulfillment seemed to be blocked, as the Christians and Muslims domination showed no signs of ending in his lifetime. The spirit needs to be in the Holy Land, but the body is trapped at the other end of the earth.⁸⁰

Another reading of the poem in the light of the influence of Arabic poetics

In addition to the Biblical influence, one may notice an Arabic influence on Halevi's poem above, especially because it is deeply influenced by the Arabic *nasīb* and the closely related *'udhrī ghazal* (platonic love poetry), which is based on the motifs of separation from the beloved and nostalgia for her ruined abodes. In addition, the highly developed thematic motif of the *madīḥ nabawī* in al-Andalus also affected—in my opinion—this poem and, possibly, other poems of Halevi.

First, the *nasībic* influence and the way that Arabs treat their own dwellings and those of their beloved (together with her ruined abodes) are clear in the poem. As it is in the classical Arabic ode where observing the abandoned ruined campsites of the beloved or merely remembering them incites nostalgia on the part of the Arab poet for the past and the union with the beloved, we see the East and Zion as well as the yearning for them play the same role as that of the traditional ruined abode of the Arabs. The analogy is even strengthened when Halevi

⁸⁰ Scheindlin, *The Song of the Distant Dove*, 170.

emphasizes the fact that the long-awaited landmark of Zion, *Dvīr* (The Holy of Holies), is a ruined place, but, in spite of that, is the place for which his soul is yearning.

Second, some scholars argue that the classical eastern Arabic poetry had the major influence on Andalusian Hebrew poetry;⁸¹ however, I propose here that one genre of the Arabic poetry that achieved full development in al-Andalus, rather than in the East, also affected Halevi's poem above and other Hebrew poems of *shere Tzion*. That genre is the *madīḥ nabawī* ode that was discussed in Chapter Four of this study.

As discussed in Chapter Four, many of the *madīḥ nabawī* poems, such as those by Ibn al-Fakhhār al-Ru'aynī and Ibn Mūsā Ibn al-'Arīf, include the poets' apologies and attempts to justify their failures to reach the holy places of Islam in order to pay their religious duties of going on holy sacred pilgrimages. Such justifications include, sometimes, the poets' descriptions of the long journey, their bad health, bad economic situations, bad luck and/or the instable political situation that prevented them from achieving this goal. Likewise, Halevi tried in this poem to describe the reasons why he had not yet traveled to the Holy Land. His excuse included the capture of Zion by the Christians and the capture of the Jews and he himself by the Muslims in al-Andalus.

2. On the Way to Jerusalem – Yehuda Halevi

Beautiful height! O joy! The whole world's gladness! O great King's city, mountain blest!

My soul is yearning unto thee – is yearning from limits of the West.

The torrents heave from depth of mine heart's passion at memory of thine olden state the glory of thee borne away to exile thy dwelling desolate.

⁸¹ Arie Schippers wrote about this influence: "When surveying the total amount of poetry with which we have dealt in this study, we cannot refrain from concluding that the Hebrew Andalusian poets imitated Oriental Arab poets far more than they imitated contemporary local Arabic poetry." See: Arie Schippers, *Spanish Hebrew Poetry and the Arab Literary Tradition: Arabic Themes in Hebrew Andalusian Poetry* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 345.

And who shall grant me, on the wings of eagles to rise and seek thee through the years
until I mingle with thy dust beloved, the waters of my tears?

I seek thee, though thy King be no more in thee, though where the balm hath been of
old-
thy Gilead's balm – be poisonous adders lurking, winged scorpions manifold

Shall I not to thy very stones be tender? Shall I not kiss them verily?
Shall not thine earth upon lips taste sweeter than honey unto me?⁸²

יִפֶּה נוֹף מְשׁוּשׁ תַּבַּל קַרְיָה לְמִלֹּךְ רַב / לֵךְ נִכְסְפָה נַפְשִׁי מִפְּאֵתֵי מַעְרָב

הַמֶּן רַחֲמֵי נִכְמַר כִּי אֶזְכְּרָה קָדָם / כְּבוֹדֶךָ אֲשֶׁר גָּלָה וְנִגְדָה אֲשֶׁר תָּרַב

וּמִי יִתְּנֵנִי עַל פְּנֵי נְשָׁרִים, עַד / אֶרְנֶה בְּדַמְעָתִי עֶפְרַד וַיִּתְּעָרַב

דְּרִשְׁתִּיהּ, וְאִם מִלְכָּךְ אֵין בְּךָ וְאִם בְּמִקוֹם / צָרִי גִלְעָד - נִחַשׁ שָׂרָף וְגַם עֶקְרָב

הֲלֹא אֵת אֶבְנֶיךָ אֶחֱוֹנֵן וְאֶשְׁקֶם / וְטַעַם רִגְבֶיךָ לְפִי מִדְּבַשׁ יַעֲרַב⁸³

In this five-line poem, Halevi apostrophized the Holy City of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, in general. Jerusalem, the city of light, held a very special rank to the poet, as it did to all Jewish believers. Being attributed to Jerusalem is a merit by itself, according to Ellison, who also states that Moshe Ibn Ezra ascribed the Andalusian Jews' sense of superiority to other Jews to three factors: 1) being close to the Arab nobility and originality in composing poetry; 2) adopting Arabs' strategies in writing poetry; and 3) being the offspring of the tribes of Yehuda and Benjamin, who are both from Jerusalem. These Jews were the most skillful Jews in regard to linguistic and religious matters as can be seen in the *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍara wa-al-Madhākhara* by Ibn Ezra.⁸⁴

Halevi intended to show the destruction that occurred in Jerusalem and relate it to the destruction of the nation, whose remoteness from the Holy Land was considered to be an additional destruction. Despite this destruction, Halevi expressed his willingness to leave

⁸² Translated by: Brody, *Selected Poems*, 157-158.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 159.

⁸⁴ Ellison, *Looking Back*, 132.

everything and travel to a ruined house where his soul could be reconstructed. The “East” as a motif is another attempt by Halevi to say that the nation’s place is at the place where the Lord wants the nation to be. The East is a metaphor for the glamorous past of the people, whilst the West symbolizes a loss of dignity and the loss of the nation.

The second line hints at the two destructions that occurred in the years 586 B.C. and 70 A.D. (the destruction of the Temple and that of the people). In the third line, the poet alludes that the long-awaited salvation should be “man-made,” not something that one should wait for or expect to fall from heaven, which means that the Jews should return to the Holy Land themselves and be spiritually and nationally reconstructed there, or, simply, should not wait for the mercy of heaven.

The poet seems very secular and far from the prophecies of the Old Testament; however, in order to find symbols and metaphors, he returns, unwittingly maybe, to the main source of inspiration of the Hebrew poetry in his time, which is the Bible. Brann writes:

The emotional impact of the sacred history and other writings recorded in the Hebrew Bible thus inspired and fertilized the poets’ literary imagination, religious and secular, with the result that Biblical diction, imaginary and motifs were refracted through the thematic material and stylistic convention of Arabic poetry in inventive and surprising ways.⁸⁵

Therefore, once again, we notice that the poem is full of Biblical allusions. Here is a short list of such allusions:

⁸⁵ Brann, *The Compunctious Poet*, 25.

1. The second hemistich of the first line alludes to of Psalms 84:3.⁸⁶ This same line and the closeness and love for Jerusalem that are like love between a mother and her son, allude to both 1 Kings 3:25⁸⁷ and Genesis 43:30.⁸⁸
2. Line two alludes to Psalms 143:5,⁸⁹ in regard to the nostalgia for the past when the people of Israel and the Land of Israel were both prosperous and in a good shape.
3. Line three alludes to Exodus 19:4,⁹⁰ especially because it reminds of the miracle of the great exodus in which the Lord helped his Chosen People leaving Egypt and be rid of slavery. However, the poet seeks quick salvation (on the wings of eagles) and not salvation that may take 40 years.
4. The snake and scorpion in line four allude to Deuteronomy 8:15⁹¹ and hint at the idea that the people of Israel should always keep in contact with the Land of Israel, although both the land and the people live in actual destruction and wilderness.

Unlike other Andalusian Jewish or Arab poets who were forced to leave al-Andalus or some of its cities and communities and yearned for them later from far distances and hostile countries, Halevi remained in al-Andalus, but considered it a place of exile from which he yearned for Zion, his own real homeland. ‘Abd Allāh Ṭarabayh claims that Halevi considered the exile an earthly punishment, and the only means to get rid of his penance was by *‘aliyāh* (immigration of the Jews to Zion). He believed in individual salvation and immigrated to the Holy Land in hope that many others would come after him, but none did.⁹²

⁸⁶ Yea, the sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, *even* thine altars, O LORD of hosts, my King, and my God.

⁸⁷ And the king said, Divide the living child in two, and give half to the one, and half to the other.

⁸⁸ And Joseph made haste; for his bowels did yearn upon his brother: and he sought *where* to weep; and he entered into *his* chamber, and wept there.

⁸⁹ I remember the days of old; I meditate on all thy works; I muse on the work of thy hands.

⁹⁰ Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and *how* I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself.

⁹¹ Who led thee through that great and terrible wilderness, *wherein were* fiery serpents, and scorpions, and drought, where *there was* no water; who brought thee forth water out of the rock of flint;

⁹² Ṭarabayh, “Sogat ha-Za‘akāh li-Gi’ulāh,” 105.

In addition to the “conventional” interpretation of Halevi’s poem, especially the links between some of the lines and Biblical verses, Ṭarabayh’s comment above leads, once again, to my previous connection between *Shere Tzion* and the *madīḥ nabawī* poetry in al-Andalus and, perhaps, also the poetry of *rithā’ al-mudun*. Because the contribution of al-Andalus to these two genres (*madīḥ nabawī* and *rithā’ al-mudun*) is greater than that of the East, I think that referring to them here is indispensable and inevitable.

In regard to the analogy of the *rithā’ al-mudun* poetry, we see that considering the *galūt* or Diaspora as a punishment for the Jewish people, especially because they did not keep the *Torah*, reminds us of the way in which Arabs considered losing their Andalusian cities and being scattered in other Andalusian cities or beyond as a curse from heaven because of the luxurious lives they practiced, the ceaseless wars between their Muslim rulers and their refusal to obey the right way of Islam, especially by abandoning the way of *jihād* (religious war against non-Muslims). Brann stressed this idea when he compared al-Rundī’s poem and a poem by Avraham Ibn Ezra in which he elegized Cordoba. Brann wrote that both al-Rundī and Ibn Ezra ascribed the reason for the calamity that hit their communities to their negligence to obey God. The following lines of al-Rundī, in which he reproaches the Maghribi kings for sitting calmly and doing nothing to help al-Andalus overcome its collapse, illustrate this point:

O you who ride lean, thoroughbred steeds
which seem like eagles in the racecourse;

And you who carry slender, Indian blades
which seem like fires in the darkness caused by the dust cloud [of war],

And you who are living in luxury beyond the sea
enjoying life, you who have strength and power in your homelands,

Have you no news of the people of Andalus,
for riders have carried forth what men have said [about them]?

How often have the weak, who were being killed
and captured while no man stirred, asked our help?

What means this severing of the bonds of Islam on your behalf,
when you, O worshipers of God, are [our] brethren?⁹³

يا رَاكِبِينَ عِتَاقِ الْخَيْلِ ضَامِرَةً كَأَنَّهَا فِي مَجَالِ السَّبِقِ عَقْبَانُ
وَحَامِلِينَ سُيُوفَ الْهِنْدِ مُرَهَفَةً كَأَنَّهَا فِي ظَلَامِ النَّقَعِ نِيرَانُ
وَرَاتِعِينَ وَرَاءَ الْبَحْرِ فِي دَعَا لَهُمْ بِأَوْطَانِهِمْ عِزٌّ وَسُلْطَانُ
أَعِنْدَكُمْ نَبَأٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ أُنْدَلُسِ فَقَدْ سَرَى بِحَدِيثِ الْقَوْمِ رُكْبَانُ
كَمْ يَسْتَعِيثُ بِنَا الْمُسْتَضْعَفُونَ وَهُمْ قَتَلَى وَأَسْرَى فَمَا يَهْتَرُّ إِنْسَانُ
مَاذَا التَّقَاطُعُ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ بَيْنَكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ يَا عِبَادَ اللَّهِ إِخْوَانُ.⁹⁴

I would like to conclude this chapter by saying that the intersection between disobeying the religious laws in both the Hebrew *Shere Tzion* and Arabic *rithā' al-mudun* is alike. In addition, and although yearning for Jerusalem in Hebrew *pioth* (liturgical poetry) is very old compared to the Islamic *madīh nabawī*, I think that the Hebrew secular poetry of *shere Tzion* in al-Andalus is strongly affected by the Andalusian *madīh nabawī*. In regard to Halevi's poem above, Jerusalem, for him, is like Mecca and Medina for the *madīh nabawī* poets, and *Dvīr* resembles the Prophet's grave. Nevertheless, while Jerusalem is destroyed, facing a war and its Holy of Holies is in ruins, Mecca, the Kaaba and Medina are constructed. Yet, the nostalgic sense, the desire to visit Jerusalem and the difficulties undertaken to do so that appear in Halevi's poems resemble the desire of the Andalusian Muslim poets to visit the holy places of Islam and the major difficulties facing them to achieve these goals. Besides, I will argue that, for the Andalusian Jewish poets, some other places in the Holy Land close to Jerusalem or on its

⁹³ "Islamic Philosophy," accessed August 18, 2014, http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ip/abubaqa.htm#_ftn6

⁹⁴ Al-Tilimsānī, *Azhār al-Riyāḍ*, 1: 47.

path (such as those mentioned earlier in Shmu'el Hanagid's poems) are substitutes for places on the route of the Islamic pilgrimage, which were often referred to, especially in the Sufi poetry. Scheindlin writes that "Samuel the Nagid's son felt it necessary to defend his famous father's love poetry by claiming that it was not meant literally but was only an allegory of the Jewish people's love for God, in the tradition of the Biblical Song of Songs."⁹⁵ This beyond doubt reminds us of Ibn 'Arabī's attempts to push the claim that his *Tarjumān* was a poetic love collection, and of his own interpretation that ascribes to his *dīwān* the dimension of the love to the Divine instead.

⁹⁵ Scheindlin, *The Song of the Distant Dove*, 4.

Summary and Conclusions

Through this paper, I have attempted to study the feelings of Andalusian poets toward the East as well as the influence of eastern poets and eastern poetry conventions on Andalusian literary life. **Chapter One** provided an overview of the phenomenon of nostalgia among the Arabs as it was reflected in Arabic poetry, starting with the pre-Islamic period when the migrant nomad Arab poet would yearn for the destroyed and abandoned places where he met with his beloved, who then moved, leaving only traces behind. Then, I discussed this theme during the Middle Ages when the *nasīb* among city dwelling poets became a conventional tradition in which they followed the techniques of classical poetry, even if the poets did not have any beloveds who had left!

The theme of nostalgia and yearning was also common in al-Andalus, where the yearning took a type of patriotic aspect, especially during the Reconquista and the massive waves of deportation that the Arabs experienced. The last period of nostalgic poetry discussed in this chapter was the modern period when the yearning and nostalgia assumed a banal meaning with political and psychological implications. The question of Palestine and the growing phenomenon of leaving one's village, with its desert-like atmosphere, to go to the heartless city and live an urban life was another aspect of yearning and nostalgia in Arabic poetry that this chapter dealt with.

The main conclusion of the Chapter One was that, no matter where an Arab lived, he would always seek his roots in the neighborhood where he acquired his early childhood friends and experiences and where he met his first love. This attachment to one's hometown and his connection to his birthplace is reflected in the following line from Abu Tammām:

A man may get used to many houses,
but his yearning will always be for his first home.

كم منزلٍ في الأرضِ يألُفُهُ الفتى وحينئذُ أبدأُ لأوّلِ منزلٍ

The idea was that an Arab person could live far away from his homeland for many years, but would always yearn for his first home – his homeland. This connection was reflected in the nostalgia presented by the Arab poet to his *masqaṭ al-ra's* (place of birth). For him, *masqaṭ al-ra's* was the dearest place and a source of pride. The Arab was not only connected to the Earth where he was born, but also to the land where his and his forefathers' roots were planted. That tradition was also reflected in the Andalusian poetry.

At the end of the chapter, many reasons for Andalusian literary and psychological dependence on the East are presented. These reasons are categorized under five major categories:

1. Political instability, which mainly concerned the ceaseless wars that al-Andalus experienced throughout its history, including the Reconquista wars.
2. Negative social and economic situations that the people of al-Andalus had to cope with due to bad management and prodigal rulers.
3. Cultural reasons relevant to the aforementioned psychological feelings related to the Arabs and their forefathers' places of origin.
4. Religious factors related to the ceaseless dream of the religious people of al-Andalus to visit the holy places of Islam in the East and go on religious pilgrimages.
5. Literary factors that stemmed from the fact that the Andalusian people were big admirers of eastern poetry and eastern thought, and, as such, tried to imitate it.

Chapter Two introduced a quick discussion of the terms related to nostalgia. The chapter is entitled “Lexicon of Nostalgia” and presents dozens of terms, vocabulary and poetic strategies that have been used to express nostalgia, not only in Arabic poetry, but in Andalusian Hebrew poetry as well. Through the analogy and comparison between classical Arabic poetry

and that of al-Andalus, especially in the provided poetic lines, I came to the conclusion that the Arabs of al-Andalus mostly employed the same nostalgic lexicon of the classical Arab poets and Arabic *nasīb*. I also determined that both Arabic and Hebrew poetries referred to and relied on the names of places in the East that have had much to do with their history, culture and religion. The vocabulary and terms that built the lexicon of nostalgia within this chapter were accompanied and supported by poetic lines from the classical eastern poetic corpus that showed their nostalgic connotations.

Chapter Three was divided into three sections: the first and second displayed some *nasīb* vocabulary that was repeatedly used during the many years before the Arab conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. The Andalusian poets, in many instances, showed great success in employing such nostalgic vocabulary to convey direct nostalgia for the East, show mastery in imitating the eastern poetic model and follow its rhetoric, conventions and techniques. It is possible that some of the Andalusian poets attempted to compete with the poets of the East to show that they were capable of writing poetry similar to eastern poetry as evidence that they still love their original lands in Najd, Ḥijāz and Syria, which were considered their and their ancestors' birthplaces.

The imitation of Andalusian poets of the styles, traditions and conventions of eastern poets was mainly due to their distance-complex and, probably, to their (the Andalusians) inferiority toward them (the easterners). Andalusian poets admired the East and felt proud to emphasize their attachment and belonging to their motherland as well as their ethnic relationship to their original tribes and places, despite the long distance between the East and al-Andalus. The East lived in their memories, despite the passage of time and centuries of their existence in al-Andalus. They also considered eastern poetry to be their model and their perfect cultural and artistic past, and its beauty and artistic development was their source of ideas,

images, language and themes. They did not have to invent new ways of writing poetry as they simply used those ways used among their predecessors.

Andalusian poets also wanted to prove their merit and loyalty to the past by adopting the technical devices and skills of eastern poetry. To this end, the Andalusian poets attempted to compete with the eastern poets. Some even attempted to excel them in order to prove their equality, if not superiority. The East was their source of inspiration, and their probable inferiority toward the East resulted from their strong emotions and love for their tribes, places and common experiences and culture, which they considered to be their real identities. Intellectually, they were not inferior to the eastern poets, but they wanted to show their loyalty to their original homelands by knowing everything about them, and probably felt that they, as poets, were extensions of the East, not separate from it. Therefore, they included the names of the eastern tribes, places, mountains, rivers, valleys and even plants as well as their cultural experiences, traditions and customs in their poetry.

Through their *nasīb* poetry, the Andalusian poets showed expertise in the botanic and geographic aspects of the East so comprehensibly that the poet sounded as if he actually lived in the East. It could be said that the Andalusian poet's soul lived in the East and the East lived in his soul.

The first section of Chapter Three presents, first, the anecdote of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil with a palm tree that reminded him of Syria. Next, it focused on five other eastern desert-like plants and their poetic uses. The repetition of their names represented motifs that brought the East and the odor of the East back to al-Andalus. These plants are: the Bān (Moringa Peregrina), Shīḥ (Artemisia), 'Arār (Pulicaria Arabica), Bashām (Elder) and Rand (Laurier).

The second section of Chapter Three draws a line and compares between al-Andalus and the East by referring to some unquestionable eastern rivers and places in the Andalusian poetry. Famous rivers, such as the Euphrates, Tigris, Nile and Barada were often used in Andalusian poetry. Like in the East, such rivers, and not any of the Andalusian ones, were used in al-Andalus in a metaphorical way to deliver poetic meanings and images of abundance and affluence, and directly express nostalgia for these water sources and their surrounding areas.

The third section of Chapter Three presents another type of nostalgia or dependence of al-Andalus on the East. This dependence is called cultural-poetic dependence and can be seen in many poems from al-Andalus. The poems refer, indirectly or directly, but, with deep respect, to Imru' al-Qays (the poet), *al-Malik al-Dillil* (the stray king) or to his most magnificent and noteworthy poem, *al-mu'allaqa*. It is easy to make the link when tracking the place-names that Imru' al-Qays mentioned in his *mu'allaqa*, such as Siqt al-Liwā, Tūḍiḥ and Yadhbul, and through the way in which Andalusian poets hinted at Imru' al-Qays and his poem. The chapter shows that the poets of al-Andalus sought Imru' al-Qays (the figure, legend and poet) and that the relationship between the far western Arabic poetry in al-Andalus and that of the East refuses to disconnect with time. Many times, the poets of al-Andalus cited the *mu'allaqa* literally without bothering to change a single word from it, especially in the *takhmīs* or *tashḥīr*, which indicates its prestigious rank among the poets of al-Andalus.

This dependence upon and worshipping of the East, show the high appreciation that poets in al-Andalus had toward poets of the East and the eastern model of writing poetry. This feeling of appreciation and “deification” caused some critics to blame many Andalusian poets whose poetic style was close to other eastern styles for “blindly imitation” of the eastern poetic model. Among these poets who also were named after eastern poets was Ibn Khafāja, whose title was Ṣanawbarī al-Andalus; Ḥamdūna Bint Ziyād al-Mu'addib who was known by the name Khansā' al-Maghrib; and Ibn Zaydūn, who was known by the name Buḥturī al-Maghrib.

Due to this affinity, many of the cities of al-Andalus were also named after eastern cities, such as Seville, which was named Ḥumṣ, and Jaen, which was named Qinnasrīn.

Chapter Four was divided into two sections and discussed religious nostalgia toward the East or, more precisely, to the holy places of Islam, especially Mecca, Madina and some other sites located on the Islamic pilgrimage route, among Andalusian poets. This religious aspect was mainly examined by referring to the poetry of the *madīḥ nabawī*, which was the sort of poetry that praises the Prophet Muḥammad, and that of Islamic Sufism.

The **first** section was about the *madīḥ nabawī*, and it showed that this poetic theme was not invented in al-Andalus and that its roots were in the East. However, its progress and highest degree of development were achieved in al-Andalus. The most important characteristic of this poetry in al-Andalus was that it went hand in hand with seeking, not only the Prophet's way, but also the entire atmosphere that evolved his message. Thus, we notice in this genre many references to the places where Prophet Muḥammad lived, preached and fought.

The **second** section focused on Islamic Sufi poetry in al-Andalus and the way that it was related to a growing attachment to the East. Al-Shushtarī and Ibn ‘Arabī were the two poets that I studied in this section. I noticed that al-Shushtarī’s poems about the holy places of Islam were direct, simple and easy-to-understand compared to those poems of Ibn ‘Arabī in his book *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq* whose poems usually included deep hidden secret Sufi symbols that made completely understanding them difficult, if not impossible. However, such poems could be classified as using the *nasīb* due to their repeated references to places in al-Ḥijāz and on the pilgrimage trail. They also borrowed an emotional tone of impossible love as a device to hint at a far celestial beloved one. This aspect necessitated that I, sometimes, put aside symbolic meanings and focus instead on the direct literal meanings of the lines. Many of these lines were related to loving God and his Messenger rather than loving the places themselves. However,

using these places rather than others to deliver such a deep relationship with the Lord was what indicated, in my opinion, the great rank of the East and these places for the Andalusian poets in general.

Chapter Five presented the form in which al-Andalus and the Andalusian poets sought the East through poetry that elegized the fallen cities of al-Andalus as well as the fallen rulers and dynasties of Andalus. The main point here is that poetry about the fallen cities focused mostly on the eastern *nasīb* and referred thoroughly to several eastern places, while the other types of poetry that dealt with elegies for the fallen rulers and dynasties of al-Andalus focused mainly on the historical lessons that one may learn from the fallen dynasties. The poets, especially Ibn ʿAbdūn, concentrated on the fallen dynasties and conquered countries and states in the history of the East, which showed that the East was always present and attendant in the consciousness of the people of al-Andalus.

Chapter Six, which is the last chapter in the study, was divided into two sections or sub-chapters. The **first** section presented the phenomenon of seeking Jerusalem and the Land of Israel by Samuʿel Hanagid and Yehuda Halevi. They were among the few Jewish Andalusian poets who dealt with Jerusalem, in particular, and the Land of Israel, in general, from a secular nonreligious point-of-view, a new Hebrew poetic trend that characterized the Golden Age of the Hebrew literary life in al-Andalus in the Middle Age. I noticed that they mixed their nostalgic poems with secular themes, such as war, peace, wine and love. I also noticed some common uses of poetic techniques in the poetry of both poets, especially when they wrote repeatedly that life in the West or in Exile was worthless when compared to living in the Holy Land and that the food was tasteless and their lives were in vain.

In this section, many racist utterances against the Jews as a people and against Judaism as a religion were mentioned. The section's assumption was that such utterances, which were

often said by educated and important people, enhanced the feeling often discussed by poets that al-Andalus is not the optimal place for Jews. As a result of these utterances, the two poets expressed a growing nostalgia for Zion, which they considered to be their historic and religious place of origin. Nevertheless, such growing nostalgia among these poets did not indicate early national or Zionist feelings aimed at proclaiming collective salvation for the entire population of the Jews of the Diaspora, but, instead, it was a way for personal salvation and religious fulfilment for the poets themselves.

In this section, I managed to draw an analogy between the Arabic *madīḥ nabawī* and Sufism on one hand, and the Andalusian Hebrew poetry on the other; I drew an analogy between the nostalgic secular Hebrew poems for Zion and the *madīḥ nabawī* poetry, when referring to Jerusalem and *Dvīr* in the Hebrew poetry of al-Andalus resembled the referral to Mecca and the grave of the prophet in Medina in the Arabic *madīḥ nabawī*. Another analogy was drawn between referring to marginal places in the Land of Israel especially by Hanagid and the hardship to go there, and the great longing of the Arab Islamic Sufi poets, who described their longing for the holy places of Islam by frequently referring to marginal places on the pilgrimage trail and describing how difficult it would be for them to reach such places.

Bibliography

al-Ālūsī, ʿĀdil Kāmil. *Al-Ḥubb wa-al-Taṣawwuf ʿind al-ʿArab*. Bayrūt: Sharikat al-Maṭbūʿāt lil-Tawzīʿ wal-Nashr, 1999.

al-Āmidī, Abū al-Qāsim Ḥasan Ibn Bishr. *Al-Muwāzana bayn Shiʿr Abū Tammām wa-al-Buḥturī*. Edited by Aḥmad Ṣaqr and ʿAbd Allāh Ḥamad Muḥārib. 4th edition. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Maʿārif-Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1992.

al-Ajmi, Hamad. “Pre-Islamic Poetry and Speech Act Theory: Al-Aʿshā, Bishr Ibn Abī Khāzim and al-Ḥujayja.” PhD diss., Indiana University, 2012.

ʿAbbās, Iḥsān. *Tārīkh al-Adab al-Andalusī, ʿAṣr Siyādat Qurṭuba*. 2nd edition. Bayrūt: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1969.

Abū Nuwās. *Dīwān Abī Nuwās al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḥāniʿ al-Ḥakmī*. Edited by Ewald Wagner. 4 volumes. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Wiesbaden GMBH, 1988.

Adunīs, ʿAlī Aḥmad Saʿīd. *Al-Shiʿriyya al-ʿArabiyya*. Bayrūt: Dār al-ʿĀdāb, 1984.

ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib. *Dīwān ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib*. Yusuf Farḥāt. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 2003.

Anṣārī, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. *Anthology of Arabic poetry*. N.P: Academy of Languages, 2009.

al-Anṭākī, Dāwūd Ibn ʿUmar. *Tazyīn al-Aswāq bi-Tafṣīl al-ʿUshshāq*. Edited by Muḥammad al-Tūnjī. 2 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub, 1993.

ʿAntara Ibn Shaddād. *Dīwān ʿAntara Ibn Shaddād*. Edited by Muḥammad Saʿīd Mūlūy. Bayrūt: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1970.

Arberry, A. J. *The Seven Odes, the First Chapter in Arabic Literature*. London & New York: George Allen & Unwin LTD and the Macmillan Company, n.d.

Arslān, Shakīb. *Al-Ḥulal al-Sundusiyya fī al-Akḥbār wa-al-Āthār al-ʿAndalusiyya*. 3 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1991.

Al-Aʿshā. *Dīwān al-Aʿshā al-Kabīr Maymūn Ibn Qays*. Edited by Muḥammad Ḥusayn. Al-Iskandariyya: Maktabat al-Ādāb, 1950.

al-ʿAskarī, Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan. *Dīwān Kaʿb Ibn Zuhayr*. Edited by Darwīsh al-Juwaydī. Ṣaydā: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣriyya, 1996.

Austin, Linda Marilyn. *Nostalgia in Transition, 1780-1917*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007.

Aws Ibn Ḥajar. *Dīwān Aws Ibn Ḥajar*. Edited by Muḥammad Yūsūf Nijm. 3rd edition. Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir, 1979.

Al-Azharī, Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad. *Tahdhīb al-Lughā*. Edited by Muḥammad ʿAwaḍ Mirʿib. 15 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 2001.

al-Baghdādī, Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām al-Harawī. *Al-Amthāl*. Edited by ʿAbd al-Majīd Qaṭāmish. Dimashq: Dār al-Maʿmūn, 1980.

al-Baghdādī, ʿAbd al-Qādir Ibn ʿUmar. *Khizānat al-Adab wa-Lubb Lubāb Lisān al-ʿArab*. Edited by: Imīl Badīʿ al-Yaʿqb and Muḥamad Nabīl Ṭarīfī. 11 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1998.

al-Baghdādī, al-Khaṭīb. *Tārīkh Baghdād*. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, n.d.

al-Bākhirī, ʿAlī Ibn al-Ḥasan. *Dumyat al-Qaṣr wa-ʿUṣrat Ahl al-ʿaṣr*. Edited by Muḥammad al-Tūnjī, 3 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Jīl, 1993.

al-Bakrī al-Andalusī, ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. *Muʿjam Mā Istuʿjim min Asmāʾ al-Bilād wa-al-Mawāḍiʿ*. Edited by Muṣṭfā al-Saqqā. 3rd edition. 4 volumes. Bayrūt: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1982.

al-Balādhirī, Aḥmad Ibn Yahā. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*. Edited by Suhayl Zakkār and Riyād Ziriklī. 13 vols. Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr, 1996.

al-Barqūqī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*. Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr, 2002.

Bashīr, Nabīh. *Al-Kitāb al-Khazarī: Kitāb al-Radd wa-al-Dalīl fī al-Dīn al-Dhalīl*. Bayrūt: Dār al-Jamal, 2012.

Bashshār Ibn Burd. *Dīwān Bashshār Ibn Burd*. Al-Jazāʿir: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa al-Jazāʿiriyya, 2007.

al-Bayhaqī, Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad. *Al-Maḥāsīn wa-al-Masāwiʿ*. Edited by ʿAdnān ʿUbayd al-ʿAlī. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1999.

Bilqāsim, Khālid. *Al-Kitāba wa-al-Taṣawwuf ʿind Ibn ʿArabī*. Al-Dār al-Bayḍāʾ: Dār Tubqāl li al-Nashr, 2000.

Bin Or, Aharon. *Toldot ha-Sifrūt ha-ʿIvrūt beme ha-Benayim: ʿim Antologiya o-Biʿurīm*. 4th edition. 2 vols. Tel Aviv: Yizraʿel, 1955.

BinMayaba, Mustafa. “Arabic and Hebrew Poetry of the Falling Cities of Islamic Spain towards a Critical Classification.” PhD Diss., Indiana University, 2012.

Brann, Ross. *Power in the Portrayal: Representations of Jews and Muslims in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Islamic Spain*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Brann, Ross. *The Compunctious Poet, Cultural Ambiguity and Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain*. Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1990.

Brockelmann, Carl. *Tārīkh al-Shuʿūb al-Islāmiyya*. Translated by Munīr al-Baʿlabakkī and Nabīh Fāris. 5th edition. Bayrūt: Dār al-ʿIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1968.

Broome, Judith. *Fictive Domain: Body, Landscape and Nostalgia, 1717-1770*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007.

Brody, Heinrich. *Selected Poems of Jehuda Halevi: On the Sea 2*. New York: Arno Press, 1973.

Al-Buḥturī, al-Walīd Ibn ‘Ubayd al-Ṭā’ī. *Dīwān al-Buḥturī*. Edited by Ḥasan Kāmil al-Sayrafī. 5 vols. 3rd edition. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1963.

al-Būṣīrī, Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Sa‘īd. *Burdat al-Madīḥ al-Mubāraka*. Al-Qāhira: Maṭba‘at Sharikat al-Shamarlī, 1900.

Chase, Malcolm and Christopher Shaw. *The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989.

Cheeke, Stephen. *Bayron and Place: History, translation, Nostalgia*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

al-Dānī, Umayya Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. *Dīwān al-Ḥakīm abī al-Ṣalt Umayya Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Dānī*. Edited by Muḥammad al-Marzūqī. Tūnis: Dār Bū Salāma lil-Ṭibā‘a wa-al-Nashr, 1979.

Darnīqa, Muḥammad Aḥmad. *Mu‘jam A‘lām Shu‘arā’ al-Madḥ al-Nabawī*. Bayrūt: Dār wa-Maktabat al-Hilāl, 1996.

Darwīsh, ‘Adnān and Muḥammad al-Maṣrī. *Al-Andalus min Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*. Dimashq: Manshūrāt Wizārat al-Thaqāfa, 1990.

Davis, Fred. *Yearning for Yesterday*. New York: The Free Press, 1979.

al-Dāya, Muḥammad Raḍwān. *Abū al-Baqā’ al-Rundī: Shā‘ir Rithā’ al-Andalus*. Bayrūt: Mu‘assasat al-Risāla, 1976.

al-Daylamī, Miḥyar Ibn Marzawayh Abū al-Ḥasan. *Dīwān Miḥyār al-Daylamī*. Edited by Aḥmad Naṣīm. 2 vols. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Kutub al-Muṣriyya, 1925.

Decter, Jonathan. “A Myrtle in the Forest: Landscape and Nostalgia in Andalusian Hebrew Poetry.” *Prooftexts*, 24, 2 (Spring 2004), 135- 166.

Decter, Jonathan. *Iberian Jewish Literature between al-Andalus and Christian Europe*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press: 2007.

al-Dīnawārī, Ibn Qutayba. *Al-Shi‘r wa-al-Shu‘arā’*. Edited by Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākīr. 2nd edition. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1958.

Doron, Aviva. “ha-Shirā ha-‘Ivrīt bi-Sfarād ki-Biṭūy li-Zihūt ‘Atzmīt o-Liftihāt Tarbuyot.” *Alon la-Morae li-Safrūt*, (1992), 13.

Eletzūr, Shulamīt, *Shirat ha-Ḥol ha-‘Ivrīt bi-Sfarād ha-Muslimūt*. 3 volumes. Tel Aviv: ha-‘Universiṭa ha-Ptuḥā, 2004.

Elinson, Alexander. *Looking Back at al-Andalus: The Poetics of Loss and Nostalgia in Medieval Arabic and Hebrew Literature*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009.

al-Fākhūrī, Ḥannā. *Al-Jadīd fī al-Adab al-‘Arabī wa-Tārīkhihi*. Bayrūt: Makhtabat al-Madrassa, 1957.

al-Farazdaq, Abū Firās Humām Ibn Ghālib. *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Farazdaq*. Edited by Sūzān ‘Akarī Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, 2003.

Farḥāt, Yūsuf Shukrī. *Ghirnāṭa fī Zill Banī al-Aḥmar: Dirāsa Ḥaḍāriyyā*. Bayrūt: Al-Mu’assasa al-Jāmi‘iyya lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Nashr, 1982.

al-Farrā, ‘Umar. *al-A‘māl al-Shi‘riyya al-Kāmila: Shi‘r Badawī*. Baghdād: Dār al-Ḥuriyya, 2001.

Alfonso, Esperanza. “The Uses of Exile in Poetic Discourse: Some Examples from Medieval Hebrew Literature.” in *Renewing the Past, Reconfiguring Jewish Culture from al-Andalus to the Haskalah*. Edited by Ross Brann and Adam Sutcliffe. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

al-Ghāfiqī, Abū ‘Abdullāh Ibn abī al-Khiṣāl al-Andalusī. *Rasā’il Ibn abī al-Khiṣāl*. Edited by Muḥammad Raḍwān al-Dāya. Dimashq: Dār al-Fikr, 1987.

Gibran, Gibran Khali. *Al-Mawākib*. Edited by Nāzik Sāba Yārd. Bayrūt: Mu’assasat Nawfal, 1993.

Ḥabīb, ‘Anān Munīr. “Al-Nujūm fī al-Shi‘r al-‘Abbāsī wa-al-Fāṭimī.” Master's Degree Thesis. Jāmi‘at Ḥaifā, 2007.

al-Hamadhānī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā Ibn ‘Uthmān al-Ḥāzimī. *Al-Amākin, Mā Uttuḥiqā Lafzuhu wa-Iftaraqa Musammāhu*. Edited by Ḥamad al-Jāsir. Al-Riyāḍ: Dār al-Yamāma, 1987.

al-Ḥamawī, Yāqūt Ibn ‘Abd Allāh. *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*. Edited by Farīd ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Jundī. 5 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1990.

al-Hamdānī, Ibn al-Ḥā’ik al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad. *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-‘Arab*. Edited by Muḥammad Ibn ‘Alī al-Akwa‘ al-Ḥawwālī. Ṣan‘ā’: Dār al-Nashr, 1990.

Ḥamīd, Budayr Mitwillī. *Qaḍāyā Andalusīyya*. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma‘rifa, 1964.

al-Ḥarīrī, al-Qāsim Ibn ‘Alī. *Durrat al-Ghawwāṣ fī ‘Awhām al-Khawās*. Edited by ‘Arfān Maṭrajī. Bayrūt: Mu’assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1998.

Al-Ḥarīrī al-Basrī, Muḥammad al-Qāsim Ibn ‘Alī. *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*. Edited by Saḥbān Aḥmad Mruwwa. Bayrūt: Mu’assasat al-Intishār al-‘Arabī, 2012.

al-Ḥārith Ibn Ḥilliza al-Yashlurī. *Dīwān al-Ḥārith Ibn Ḥilliza*. Edited by Marwān al-‘Aṭiyya. Dimashq: Dār al-Ḥijra, 1994.

al-Ḥarīzī, Yehūdā. *Taḥkumūnī*. Edited by Joseph Yahalom and Naoya Katsumata. Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute Press, 2010.

Ḥassān Ibn Thābit. *Dīwān Ḥassān Ibn Thābit*. Edited by Walīd ‘Arafāt. Bayrūt: Dār al-Ṣādir, 2006.

Hawbachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Translated by Lewis Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Haykal, Aḥmad. *Al-Adab al-Andalusī min al-Faṭḥ ḥattā Suqūṭ al-Khilāfa*. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma‘ār al-Ma‘ārif, 1982.

al-Ḥimyarī, Abū ‘Abdullāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Mun‘im. *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-Andalus Muntakhaba min kitāb al-Rawḍ al-Mi‘tār fī khabar al-Aqṭār*. Edited by Évariste Levi Provençal. 2nd edition. Bayrūt: Dār al-Jīl, 1988.

al-Ḥimyarī, Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Mun‘im. *Al-Rawḍ al-Mi‘tār fī Khabar al-’Aqṭār: Mu‘jam Jughrāfī ma‘ Masrad ‘Ām*. Edited by Iḥsān ‘Abbās. Bayrūt: Maktabat Lubnān, 1975.

Huri, Yair. “Who am I without Exile? On Maḥmūd Darwīsh’s Later Poetics of Exile.” *Digest of Middle East Studies*, 2006, 15: 56- 68.

al-Ḥuṣrī, Ibrāhīm Ibn ‘Alī. *Zahr al-Ādāb wa-Thamar al-Albāb*. Edited by Yūsuf ‘Alī al-Ṭawīl. 2 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1997.

Ḥusayn, Ṭāha. *Ḥadīth al-Arbi‘ā’*. 3 volumes. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma‘ārif bi-Miṣr, 1954.

Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih al-Andalusī, Abū ‘Amar Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad. *Dīwān Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih*. Edited by Muḥammad al-Tūnjī. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1993.

Ibn ‘Abd Rubbu, Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Andalusī. *Kitāb al-’Iqd al-Farīd*. Edited by Muḥammad al-Tūnjī. 7 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir, 2001.

Ibn al-Abbār, Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd Allāh. *Kitāb al-Ḥulla al-Siyarā’*. Edited by Ḥusayn Mu‘nis. 2 volumes. al-Qāhira: al-Sharika al-‘Arabiyya lil-Nashr, 1963.

Ibn al-Abbār, Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd Allāh. *Dīwān Ibn al-Abbār al-Andalusī*. Edited by ‘Abd al-Salām Harrās. al-Mamlaka al-Maghribiyya: Wizārat al-Awqāf wa-al-Shu‘ūn al-Islāmiyya, 1999.

Ibn al-Dumayna, ‘Alī Ibn ‘Abd Allāh. *Dīwān Ibn al-Dumayna*. Edited by Aḥmad Rātib Naffākh. al-Qāhira: Maktabat Dār al-‘Arabiyya, 1959.

Ibn Durayd, Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan. *Jamharat al-Lughā*. Edited by: Ramzī Munīr Ba‘labakkī, 3 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-‘Ilm lil-Malāyīn, 1987.

Ibn al-Ḥaddād, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad. *Dīwān Ibn al-Ḥaddād*. Edited by Yūsif ‘Alī al-Ṭawīl. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1990.

Ibn al-Jawzī, Abū al-Faraj ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. *Al-Mudhish*. Edited by Marwān Qabbānī. 2nd edition. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1985.

- Ibn ʿArabī, Muḥyī al-Dīn. *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq*. Bayrūt: Dār Şādir, 1966.
- Ibn al-Rūmī, ʿAlī Ibn al-ʿAbbās. *Dīwān Ibn al-Rūmī*. Edited by Aḥmad Ḥasan Basj. 3rd edition. Bayrūt: Dar al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2002.
- Ibn al-Zaqqāq al-Lakhmī al-Balnasī, ʿAlī Ibn ʿAṭīyya abū al-Ḥasan. *Dīwān Ibn al-Zaqqāq*. Edited by ʿAfīfa Maḥmūd Dīwānī. Bayrūt: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1964.
- Ibn ʿAbdūn ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Yāburī. *Dīwān ʿAbd al-Majīd Ibn ʿAbdūn al-Yāburī: Al-Shiʿr wa-al-Nathr maʿ Dirāsa li-Adabihi*. Edited by Salīm al-Tanīr. Dimashq: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1988.
- Ibn ʿArabī, Muḥyī al-Dīn. *Turjumān al-Ashwāq*. Bayrūt: Dār Şādir, 1966.
- Ibn Badrūn, Abū Marwān ʿAbd Allāh. *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Wazīr al-Kātib fī al-Adab wa-al-Marātib*. Edited by Maḥmūd Ḥasan al-Shaybānī. Al-Riyāḍ: n.p., 1991.
- Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī, Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad. *Dīwān Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī*. Maḥmūd ʿAlī Makkī. Bayrūt: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1969.
- Ibn Duḥayy al-Kalbī. *Al-Muṭrib min Ashʿār Ahl al-Maghrib*. Edited by Ibrāhīm al-Aybārī, Ḥāmid ʿAbd al-Majīd and Aḥmad Aḥmad Badawī. Bayrūt: Dār al-ʿIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1955.
- Ibn Furkūn, Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad. *Dīwān Ibn Furkūn*. Edited by Muḥammad Ibn Sharīfa. Al-Ribāt: Akādīmiyyat al-Mamlaka al-Maghribiyya, 1987.
- Ibn Ḥabīb, Muḥammad. *Al-Munammaq fī Akhbār Quraysh*. Edited by Khurshid Aḥmad Fāriq. Bayrūt: ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1985.
- Ibn Ḥamdīs, ʿAbd al-Jabbār Ibn abī Bakr. *Dīwān Ibn Ḥamdīs*. Edited by Iḥsān ʿAbbās. Bayrūt: DārŞādir, 1960.
- Ibn Ḥamdūn, Bahāʿ al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan. *Al-Tadhkara al-Ḥamdūniyya*. Edited by Iḥsān ʿAbbās. 9 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār şādir, 1996.
- Ibn Ḥānī, Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad al-Andalusī. *Dīwān Ibn Ḥānīʿ al-Andalusī*. Edited by ʿUmar Fārūq al-Ṭabbaʿ. Bayrūt: Dār al-ʿArqam Ibn Abī al-ʿArqam lil-Ṭibāʿa wa-al-Nashr, 1998.
- Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, ʿAlī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Saʿīd al-Zāhirī. *Al-Fiṣal fī al-Milal wa-al-ʿAḥwāʿ wa-al-Niḥal*. 5 volumes. Al-Qāhira: Maktabat al-Khānjī, n.d.
- Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī. *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma fī al-ʿUlfa wa-al-ʿUllāf*. Edited by Iḥsān ʿAbbās. 2nd edition. Bayrūt: Al-Muʿassasa al-ʿArabiyya lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Nashr, 1987.
- Ibn Jinnī, Abū al-Faṭḥ ʿUthmān. *Al-Mubhij fī Asmāʿ Shuʿarāʿ al-Ḥamāsa*. Edited by Marwān al-ʿAṭīyya and Shaykh al-Rāshid. Dimashq - Bayrūt: Dār al-Ḥijra, 1988.
- Ibn Khafāja, Ibrāhīm Ibn Abī al-Faṭḥ. *Dīwān Ibn Khafāja*. Bayrūt: Dār Şādir, 1961.
- Ibn Khillakān, Abū al-ʿAbbās Shams al-Dīn. *Wafayāt al-ʿAʿyān wa-Anbāʿ Abnāʿ al-Zamān*. Edited by Iḥsān ʿAbbās. 7 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Thaqāfa, n.d.

Ibn Manzūr, Muḥammad Ibn Makram. *Lisān al-‘Arab*. 15 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār Şādir, 1955- 1956.

Ibn Ma‘şūm, ‘Alī Ibn Aḥmad. *Sulāfat al-‘Aşr fī Maḥāsin al-Shu‘arā’ fī kulli Maşr*. N.P.: al-Maktaba al-Murtaḍawiyya, 1960.

Ibn Maymūn, Muḥammad Ibn al-Mubārak. *Muntahā al-Ṭalab min Ash‘ār al-‘Arab*. Edited by Muḥammad Nabīl al-Ṭarīfī. 9 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār Şādir, 1999.

Ibn Mungidh, Usāma. *Al-Badī‘ fī Naqd al-Shi‘r*. Edited by Aḥmad Aḥmad Badwaī and Ḥāmid ‘Abd al-Majīd, 2 volumes. al-Qāhira: Maṭba‘at Muşţafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1960.

Ibn Munqidh, ‘Usāma. *Al-Manāzil wa-al-Diyār*. Edited by Muşţafā Ḥjāzī. 2nd edition. al-Qāhira: Dār Akhbār al-Yawm, 1992.

Ibn Qutayba, ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Muslim al-Dīnawarī. *Adab al-Kātib* Edited by Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd. Al-Qāhira: Maṭba‘at al-Sa‘āda, 1963.

Ibn Qutayba, ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Muslim al-Dīnawarī. *Kitāb al-Ma‘ānī al-Kabīr fī Abyāt al-Ma‘ānī*. 3 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1984.

Ibn Qutayba, ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Muslim al-Dīnawarī. *Kitāb ‘Uyūn al-Akhbār*. 4 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1982.

Ibn Sahl, Ibrāhīm al-Isrā‘īlī al-Andalusī. *Dīwān Ibn Sahl al-Andalusī*. Edited by Yusrī ‘Abd al-Ghanī ‘Abd Allāh. 3rd edition. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2003.

Ibn Sayyidih, ‘Alī Ibn Sulaymān. *Al-Muḥkam wa-al-Muḥiṭ al-A‘zam*. Edited by ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Hindāwī. 10 volumes. Bayrūt: Dar al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2000.

Ibn Shayba al-‘Absī, ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad. *Muşannaḥ Ibn abī Shayba fī al-Aḥādīth wa-al-‘Athār*. Edited by Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥūt. 7 volumes. Bayrūt: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1988.

Ibn Shuhayd, Abū ‘Āmir Aḥmad al-Andalusī. *Dīwān Ibn Shuhayd al-Andalusī wa-Rasā’ilih*. Edited by Muḥyi al-Dīn Dīb. Şaydā: al-Maktaba al-‘Aşriyya, 1997.

Ibn Thaḳfān, ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Alī. *Kitāb al-Riyāḍ, Buḥūth wa-Dirāsāt Andalusiyya*. Al-Riyāḍ: Mu‘assasat al-Yamāma al-Şaḥafiyya, 2000.

Ibn Zakariyya, abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Fāris. *Maḳāyīs al-Lugha*. Edited by ‘Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn. 2nd edition. 6 volumess. Bayrūt: Dār al-Jīl, 1999.

Ibn Zamrak, Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf. *Dīwān Ibn Zamrak al-Andalusī*. Edited by Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Nayfar. Bayrūt: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1997.

Ibn Zaydūn, Aḥmad Ibn ‘Abdalla. *Dīwān Ibn Zaydūn*. Edited by Karam al-Bustānī. Bayrūt: Dār Şādir, 1975.

‘Īd, Yūsuf. *Al-Shi‘r al-Andalusī wa-Şadā al-Nakbāt*. Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, 2002.

‘Īd, Yūsuf. *Aşwāt al-Hazīma fī al-Shi‘r al-Andalusī*. Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr al-Lubnānī, 1993.

al-Idrīsī, Muḥammad al-‘Addūlī. *Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī wa-Falsafatuhu al-Şūfiyya*. Al-Dār al-Batḍā’: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 2005.

- Imru' al-Qays. *Dīwān Imri' al-Qays*. Edited by Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Shāfi. 2nd edition. 2 volumes. al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma'ārif bi-Miṣr, 1964.
- Imru' al-Qays. *Dīwān Imri' al-Qays bi-Sharḥ Abī Sa'īd al-Sukkarī*. Edited by Anwar 'Iayyān and Muḥammad 'Alī al-Shawābka. Al-'Ayn: Markaz Zāyid lil-Turāth wa-al-Tārīkh, 2000.
- al-Irbilī, 'Alī Ibn 'Īsā Bahā' al-Dīn. *Al-Tadhkara al-Fakhriyya*. Edited by Ḥātim Ṣāliḥ al-Dāmin. Dimashq: Dār ashā'ir li-al-Ṭibā'a wa-al-Nashr, 2004.
- 'Īsā, Fawzī Sa'īd. *Al-Shi'r al-Andalusī fī 'Aṣr al-Muwaḥḥidīn*. Al-Iskandariyya: Dār al-Ma'rifa al-Jāmi'iyya, 1991.
- al-Iṣbahānī, Abū al-Faraj. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. Edited by 'Alī Muhanna and Samīr Jābir. 24 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr li-al-Ṭibā'a wa-al-Nashr, n.d.
- al-Iṣfahānī, Abū al-Faraj. *'Adab al-Ghurabā'*. Edited by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munjid. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-Jadīd, 1972.
- al-Ishbīlī, Abū al-Ḥasan Salām. *Dīwān Abī al-Ḥasan Salām al-Ishbīlī*. Edited by Ra'd Nāṣir al-Wā'ilī. Ṣan'ā': Markaz 'Abādī lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Nashr, 2002.
- al-jāḥiẓ, Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr Ibn 'Uthmān. *Al-Ḥayawān*. Edited by 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, 7 volumess. Bayrūt: Dār al-Jīl, 1996.
- al-Jāḥiẓ, 'Amr Ibn Baḥr. *Al-Bayān wa-al-Tabyīn*. Edited by Fawzī 'Aṭwī. Bayrūt: Dār Ṣa'b, n.d.
- al-Jāḥiẓ, 'Amr Ibn Baḥr. *Kitāb al-Burṣān wal-'Ujān wa-al-'Umyān wal-Hūlān*. Edited by: 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn. Bayrūt: Dār al-Jīl, 1990.
- al-Jāḥiẓ, 'Amr Ibn Baḥr. *Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ*. Edited by 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn. 4 volumes. al-Qāhira: Maṭba'at al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, 1965.
- al-Jannābī, Qays Kāzim. *Al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī fī Ittijāhātihi al-Adabiyya*. Al-Qāhira: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa al-Dīniyya, 2007.
- Jarīr Ibn 'Aṭiyya al-Khaṭfi. *Dīwān Jarīr*. Edited by Nu'mān Muḥammad Amīn Ṭāha. 3rd edition. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma'ārif, n.d.
- Jarrār, Ṣalāḥ. *Qirā'āt fī al-Shi'r al-Andalusī*. 'Ammān: Dār al-Masīra lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī' wa-al-Ṭibā'a, 2007.
- al-Jarwī, Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd al-Salām. *Al-Ḥamāsa al-Maghribiyya*. Edited by Muḥammad Raḍwān al-Dāya, 2 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu'āṣir, 1991.
- al-Jawālīqī, Mawhūb Aḥmad. *Sharḥ Adab al-Kātib*. al-Qāhira: Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1931.
- al-Judhāmī, Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh. *Dīwān Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Judhāmī*. Edited by Anwar al-Sanūsī and Muḥammad Zakariyyā 'Anānī. al-Qāhira: Dār al-Amīn, 1999.

al-Kafāwīyn, Shāhir. *Al-Shi'r al-'Arabī fī Rithā' al-Mudun wa-al-Amṣār ḥattā Nihāyat suqūṭ al-Andalus*. Mecca: Jāmi'at Umm al-Qurā, 1984.

al-Katbī, Muḥammad Ibn Shākir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*. Edited by 'Alī Muḥammad Ibn Ya'ūd Allāh and 'Ādil Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mawjūd. 2 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2000.

al-Khafājī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Shihāb al-Dīn. *Rayḥānat al-Albā wa-Zahrat al-Ḥayāt al-Dunyā*. Islām Abād: Maṭba'at 'Alī Jawdat, 1856.

al-Khifājī, Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Shihāb al-Dīn. *Rayḥānat al-Albā wa-Zaharat al-Ḥayāt al-Dunyā*. Miṣr: Al-Maṭba'a al-'Āmira, 1888.

Labīd Ibn Rabī'a al-'Āmirī. *Dīwān Labīd Ibn Rabī'a al-'Āmirī Sharḥ al-Ṭūsī*. Edited by Ḥamdu Ṭammās. Bayrūt: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 2004.

Lane, Edward. *Arabic-English Lexicon*. London: Williams & Norgate Press, 1863.

Lerner, Laurence. *The Uses of Nostalgia: Studies in Pastoral Poetry*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1972.

Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb. *Dīwān Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Salmānī*. Edited by Muḥammad Miftāḥ. 2 volumes. al-Dār al-Bayḍā': Dār al-Thaqāfa lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 1989.

al-Ma'arrī. Abū al-'Alā'. *Dīwān Abī al-'Alā' Aḥmad Ibn 'Abdallah al-Ma'arrī*. Edited by 'Alī al-Miṣrī. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 1998.

al-Ma'arrī, Abū al-'Alā'. *Dīwān Luzūm Mā lā Yalzam mi-Mma Yasbiq Ḥarf al-Rawiyy*. Edited by Kamāl al-Yāzījī. 2 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Jīl, 1992.

al-Ma'arrī, Abū al-'Alā'. *Luzūm Mā lā Yalzam*. 2 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir, 1961.

al-Ma'arrī, Abū al-'Alā'. *Sharḥ Dīwān Abī al-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī: Mu'jaz Aḥmad*. Edited by 'Abd al-Majīd Diyāb. 2nd edition. 4 volumes. al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1992.

al-Mallāḥ, Majd Yāsir. *In the Shadows of the Master: Al-Mutanabbī's Legacy and the Quest for the Center in Fatimid and Andalusian Poetry*. Berkshire: Berkshire Academic Press, 2012.

al-Mallāḥ, Majd Yāsir. "The Role of Classical Arabic Panegyric Poetry in Court Ceremonial: Al-mutanabbī, Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusi, and Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṣālī." PhD diss., Indiana University, 2002.

al-Ma'lūf, Amīn Fahd. *Al-Mu'jam al-Falakī*. al-Qāhira: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1935.

al-Maqdisī, 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn Ghānim. *Kashf al-Asrār fī Ḥikam al-Ṭuyūr wal-Azhār*. Edited by 'Alā' 'Abd al-Wahhāb Muḥammad. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Faḍīla, 1995.

Al-Maqqarī, Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad. *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb fī Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb*. Edited by Iḥsān ‘Abbās. 7 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir, 1968.

al-Maqqarī, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī. *Azhār al-Riyāḍ fī Akhbār al-Qāḍī ‘Īyād*. Edited by Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī and ‘Abd al-Ḥafīz Shalabī. 3 volumes. al-Qāhira: Maṭba‘at Lajnat al-Ta’līf wa-al-Tarjama wa-al-Nashr, 1942.

al-Marrākishī, ‘Abd al-Wāḥid. *Al-Mu‘jib fī Talkhīṣ Akhbār al-Maghrib min ladun Faṭḥ al-Andalus ilā ‘Ākhir ‘Aṣr al-Muwahḥidīn*. Al-Qāhira: Maṭba‘at al-Istiḳāma, 1948.

al-Marzūqī, Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad. *Al-Azmina wa-al-Amkina*. Ḥaydar Abād- al-Hind: Majlis Dā‘rat al-Ma‘ārif, 1913.

Al-Mawsū‘a al-Shi‘riyya. (the computerized Encyclopedia of Poetry). 2nd edition. Abū Zabī: al-Majma‘ al-Thaqāfī, 2001.

al-Maydānī, Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad. *Majma‘ al-Amthāl*. Edited by ‘Abd al-Majīd Qaṭāmish, 2 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1961- 1962.

Meisami, Julie Scott. “Imru’ al-Qays praising the Prophet,” *Tradition and Modernity in the Arabic Literature*. Edited by Issa J. Bullata and Terri DeYoung. Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1997. 223- 244.

Almosa, Mishari. “The Andalusian Panegyric Mu‘āraḍah Rhetorical Strategy and Speech Act Theory.” PhD Dissirtation. Indiana University, 2010.

Montgomery, James E. “‘Alqama al-Fahl’s Contest with Imru’ al-Qays: What Happens When a Poet Is Umpired by His Wife?” *Arabica* 44. Number 1 (1997): 144- 149.

Muḥammad, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥusayn. *Rithā’ al-mudun wa-al-mamālik al-zā‘ilah fī al-shi‘r al-‘Arabī ḥattā suqūṭ Gharnāṭah*. Al-Qāhira: Maṭba‘at al-Jablāwī, 1983.

al-Muḥibbī, Muḥammad Amīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh. *Nafḥat al-Rayḥāna wa-Rashḥat Ṭilā’ al-Ḥāna*. Edited by Aḥmad ‘Ināya. 6 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2005.

al-Mu‘tamid Ibn ‘Abbād. *Dīwān al-Mu‘tamid Ibn ‘Abbād: Malik Ishbīlya*. Edited by Ḥāmid ‘Abd al-Majīd and Aḥmad Aḥmad Badawī. al-Qāhira: Maṭba‘at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 2000.

al-Nabhānī, Yūsuf Ibn Ismā‘īl. *Al-Majmū‘a al-Nabhāniyya fī al-Madā‘ih al-Nabawiyya*. 4 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.

Al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī. *Dīwān al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī Riwayāt al-Aṣma‘ī min Nuskhāt al-‘Alam al-Shantamarrī*. Edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. 2nd edition. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, n.d.

al-Nāṣirī, Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Khālīd Ibn Muḥammad. *Al-‘Istiḳṣā li-Akhbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā*. Edited by Ja‘far al-Nāṣirī and Muḥammad al-Nāṣirī. 7 volumes. al-Dār al-Bayḍā’: Dār al-Kitāb, 1997.

al-Nuwayrī, Aḥmad 'Abd al-Wahāb. *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*. Edited by Muḥammad Qumayḥa and others. 33 vols. Bayrūt: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2004.

Pagis, Dan. *Shirāt ha-Ḥol vi-Torat ha-Shūr li-Moshe Ibn 'Izrā u-Vneh Doro*. Jerusalem: Bialik institute, 1970.

Pierce, Henry. *Al-Shi'r al-Andalusī fī 'Aṣr al-Ṭawā'if, Malāmiḥuhu al-'Āmma wa-Mawḍū'ātuḥu al-Ra'isiyya wa-Qīmatuḥu al-Tawfiqiyya*. Translated by al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad Makkī. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1988.

al-Qayrawānī, Ibn Rashīq. *Al-'Umda fī Maḥāsin al-Shi'r wa-Ādābihi*. Edited by Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. 2 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Jīl, 1981.

Qays Ibn al-Mulawwah. *Dīwān Majnūn Laylā*. Edited by Yūsuf Farḥāt. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1997.

Qays Ibn Dhurayḥ. *Dīwān Qays Ibn Dhurayḥ*. Edited by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Maṣṭāwī. Bayrūt: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 2003.

al-Qazwīnī, al-Khaṭīb. *Al-Īdāh fī 'Ulūm al-Balāgha*. Edited by al-Shaykh Yahj Ghazzāwī. 4th edition. Bayrūt: Dār Iḥyā' al-'Ulūm, 1998.

al-Qurashī, Abū Zayd. *Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab*. Edited by 'Umar Fārūq al-Ṭabbā'. Bayrūt, Dār al-Arqam, n.d.

al-Qurṭājannī, Ḥāzim Ibn Muḥammad. *Dīwān Ḥāzim al-Qurṭājannī*. Edited by 'Uthmān al-Ka'āk. Bayrūt: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1964.

al-Quṣṭanṭīnī al-Rūmī al-Ḥanafī, Muṣṭafā Ibn 'Abd Allāh. *Kashf al-Zunūn 'an Asāmī al-Kutub wa-al-Funūn*. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1992.

al-Rāfi'ī, al-Imām. *Al-Tadwīn fī Akhbār Qazwīn*. 4 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1987.

al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, Abū al-Qāsim Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad. *Muḥāḍarāt al-'Udabā' wa-Muḥāwarāt al-Shu'arā' wal-Bulaghā'*. Edited by 'Umar al-Ṭabbā'. 2 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Qalam, 1999.

Rosen, Tova and Reuven Tzūr. *Sefer Yisrael Levīn: Kovetz Maḥkarīm ba-Sifrūt ha-'Ivrīt li-Durotehā*. Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv: Grāfīt, 1994.

al-Ruṣāfi, Muḥammad Ibn Ghālib. *Dīwān al-Ruṣāfi al-Balansī Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ghālib*. Edited by Iḥsān 'Abbās. Bayrūt: Dār al-Shurūq, 1983.

al-Ṣafadī, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. *Al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt*. Edited by Aḥmad Arna'ūṭ and Turkī Muṣṭafā. 29 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth, 2000.

- Ṣalāḥ, Jarār. *Marj al-Kuḥl: Sīratuhu wa-Shu'ruhu*. 'Ammān: Dār al-Bashīr, 1993.
- Sanni, Amidu. "Did Tarafa actually steal from Imru' al-Qays? On coincidence of thoughts and expressions (*tawarud*) in Arabic literary theory." *Arabic & Middle Eastern Literature*. Number 2 (2001): 117- 136.
- Santesso, Aaron. *A Careful Longing: The Poetics and Problems of Nostalgia*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006.
- Sassoon, David Solomon. *Diwan of Shemuel Hannaghid*. London: Oxford University Press, 1934.
- al-Sayyāb, Badr Shākīr. *Dīwān al-Sayyāb*. Bayrūt: Dār al-'Awda, 1971.
- Scheindlin, Raymond. *The Song of the Distant Dove: Judah Halevi's Pilgrimage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Scheindlin, Raymond P. *The Gazelle: Medieval Hebrew Poems on God, Israel and the Soul*. New York, Oford: Oxford University Press, 199.
- Schippers, Arie. *Spanish Hebrew poetry and the Arab literary tradition: Arabic themes in Hebrew Andalusian poetry*. Leiden : E.J. Brill, 1994.
- Al-Sharīf al-Raḍī. *Dīwān al-Sharīf al-Raḍī*. Edited by 'Abbās al-Azharī. Bayrūt: al-Maṭba'a al-Adabiyya, 1890.
- Sells, Michael A. *Desert Tracing: Six Classic Arabian Odes by 'Alqama, Shanfarā, Labīd, 'Antara, al-A'shā and Dhū al-Rumma*. Translated and introduced by Michael A. Sells. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1989.
- Sells, Michael A. "Longing, Belonging, and Pilgrimage in Ibn 'Arabī's *Interpreter of Desires (Tarjumān al-Ashwāq)*." In Ross Brann (ed.). *Languages of Power in Islamic Spain*. Bethesda: CDL Press, 1997.
- Sells, Michael Anthony. "The Mu'allaqa of Tarafa." *Journal of Arabic Literature* 17 (1986): 21- 33.
- al-Shāfī'ī, Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥasam. *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq wa-Dhikr Faḍlihā wa-Tasmiyat Man Ḥallahā min al-Afāḍil*. Edited by Muḥibb al-Dīn al-'Umarī. 70 vols. Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr, 1995.
- Shāmī, Yahyā 'Abd al-Amīr. *Al-Nujūm fī al-Shi'r al-'Arabī al-Qadīm*. Bayrūt: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīda, 1982.
- al-Shanqītī, Aḥmad. *Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt al-'Ashr wa-'Akhbār Shu'arā'ihā*. Bayrūt: Dār al-Andalus, 1970.
- al-Shantanīnī, Ibn Bassām Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī. *Al-Dhakhīrah fī Maḥāsīn Ahl al-Jazīrah*. Edited by Iḥsān 'Abbās. 8 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1997.

- Sharābī, Hishām. *Ṣuwar al-Māḍī*. Bayrūt: Dār Nilsun, 1993.
- al-Sharīf, al-Amīn. “Madīḥ Nabawī in al-Andalus: From Rituals to Politics.” PhD Dissirtation, Indiana University, 2013.
- al-Shaybānī, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn Abī al-Karam. *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*. Edited by ‘Abd Allāh al-Qāḍī. 2nd edition. 10 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1994.
- al-Shushtarī, Abū al-Ḥasan. *Dīwān Abī al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī*. Edited by Muḥammad al-‘Adlūnī al-Idrīsī and Sa‘īd Abū al-Fayyūḍ. Al-Dār al-Bayḍā’: Dār al-Thaqāfa lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī‘, 2008.
- al-Sinjilāwī, Ibrāhīm. “Rithā’ al-Mudun, The Lament for fallen Cities: A Study of the Development of the Elegiac Genre in Classical Arabic Poetry.” PhD Dissertstion. University of Chicago, 1983.
- Stetkevych, Jaroslav. “The confluence of Arabic and Hebrew literature.” *journal of near eastern studies* 32 (1973): 216- 222.
- Stetkevych, Joroslav. *The Zephyrs of Najd: the Poetics of Nostalgia in the Classical Arabic Nasīb*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Stetkevych, Suzanne. “Al-Qaṣīda al-‘Arabiyya wa-Ṭuqūs al-‘Ubūr.” *Majallat Majma‘ al-Lugha al-‘Arabiyya bi-Dimashq*, Number 60 (1985): 55- 85.
- Stetkevych, Suzanne. *The Mantle Odes: Arabic Praise Poems to the Prophet Muḥammad*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010.
- Stetkevych, Suzanne. *The Mute Immortals Speak: Pre-Islamic Poetry and the Poetics of ritual*. Ithaca: Cornell Univeristy Press, 1993.
- Stetkevych, Suzanne. *The Poetics of Islamic Legitimacy: Myth, Gender, and Ceremony in the Classical Arabic Ode*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002.
- al-Sinjilāwī, Ibrāhīm. “The Lament for Fallen Cities: A Study of the Development of the Elegiac Genre in Classical Arabic Poetry.” PhD Diss., University of Chicago, 1983.
- al-Ṣūlī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Yahyā. *Akhbār Abī Tammām*. Edited by Khalīl ‘Asākir, Muḥammad Gharrām and Naẓīr al-Hindī. Al-Qāhira: al-Hay’a al-‘Āmma li-Quṣūr al-Thaqāfa, n.d.
- al-Suwaydān, Ṭāriq. *Tārīkh al-Andalus al-Muṣawwar*. al-Ṣafāt: Dār al-Ibdā‘ al-Fikrī, 2005.
- al-Suyūfī, Muṣṭafā. *Tārīkh al-Adab al-Andalusī*. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Dawliyya lil-Istithmārāt al-Thaqāfiyya, 2008.
- Ta’abbaṭa Sharran. *Dīwān Thābit Ibn Jābir*. Edited by ‘Alī Dhū al-Faqqār Shākīr. 2nd edition. Bayrūt: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1999.
- al-Tabrīzī, al-Khaṭīb. *Sharḥ Dīwān Abī Tammām*. Edited by Rājī al-Asmar. 2nd edition. 2 vols. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1994.

Ṭaḥṭaḥ, Fāṭima. *Al-Ghurba wa-al-Ḥanīn fi al-Šhi'r al-Andalusī*. Al-Ribāt: Maṭba'at Jami'at Muḥammad al-Khāmis, 1993.

al-Ṭalqānī, al-Qāsim Ismā'īl Ibn 'Abbād. *Al-Muḥīṭ fi al-Lugha*, Edited by Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn. 10 volumes. Bayrūt: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1994.

Ṭarabayh, 'Abd Allāh. "Sogat ha-Za'akāh li-Gi'ūlāh (Istiṣrākh\ Istighātha) ba-Shirāh ha-'Aravīt vi-ha-'Ivrīt bi-Sfarad ba-Mi'ot ha 11 vi-ha 12." *Ben 'Ever la-'Arav: Contacts between Arabic Literature and Jewish Literature in the Middle Ages and Modern Times*. Edited by Yosef Tobi. Bāqa al-Gharbiyya: Al-Qāsimī Academic Center for the Comparative Study of Jewish and Arabic Culture, 2012. Vol. 5: 94- 107

Ṭarafa Ibn al-'Abd. *Dīwān Ṭarafa Ibn al-'Abd: Sharḥ al-'Ālam al-Shantamarrī*. Edited by Dariyya al-Khaṭīb and Luṭfī al-Šaqqāl. 2nd edition. Al-Baḥrayn- Bayrūt: Dār al-Thaqāfa wa-al-Funūn- al-Mu'assasa al-'Arabiyya, 2000.

Tel Aviv University. *Perushei Franz Rosenzweig li-Tish'īm va-Ḥamisha mi-Sherei Rabi Yehuda Halevi*. Jerusalem: Magnis, 2011.

Tel Aviv University. *Ibn Gabirol: Selected Poems*. Edited by: Yisrael Levīn. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007.

Tel-Aviv University. *Shmu'el Hanagid: Selected Poems*. Edited by: Tova Rosen. Tel-Aviv: Ḥayīm Rūven Press, 2008.

Tel Aviv University. *Yehuda Halevi: Selected poems*. Edited by Yisrael Levīn. Tel Aviv: The Aviv University Press, 2007.

al-Tha'alibī, 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Muḥammad. *Yatīmat al-Dahr fi Shu'arā' Ahl al-'Aṣr*. Edited by Mufīd Muḥammad Qumayḥa. 5 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1983.

al-Tha'alibī, Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Muḥammad. *Thimār al-Qulūb fi al-Muḍāf wa-al-Mansūb*. Edited by Ibrāhīm Šālīḥ. 2 volumes. Dimashq: Dār al-Bashā'ir, 1994.

al-Tirmidhī, Muḥammad ībn 'Īsā. *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*. 3 volumes. al-Riyāḍ: Maktab al-Tarbiya al-'Arabī li-Duwal al-Khalīj, 1988.

Tobi, Yosef. "Eretz Yisra'il vi-ha-Nuseh ha-Li'umī ba-Shirāh ha-'ivrit mi-Sa'adyāh Ga'ūn vi-'ad Shmū'il Hanagīd." *Shalem*, 2009, 33- 64.

Trigg, Dylan. *The Aesthetics of Decay: Nothingness, Nostalgia and the Absence of Reason*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2006.

al-'Udharī, Jamīl Ibn 'Abd Allāh. *Dīwān Jamīl Buthayna*. Edited by Buṭrus al-Bustānī. Bayrūt: Dār Šādir, n.d.

'Umar Ibn Abī Rabī'a. *Dīwān 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabī'a al-Makhzūmī al-Qurashī*. Edited by Muḥammad al-'Anānī. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Sa'āda, 1911.

'Umrānī, Fāṭima. *Al-Madā'ih al-Nabawiyya fi al-Šhi'r al-Andalusī*. Al-Qāhira: Mu'assasat al-Mukhtār lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 2011.

Vazquez, Miguel Angel. "Poetic Pilgrimages: From Baghdad to Andalucia, Abū Tammām's Lā Anta Anta wa-lā al-Diyāru Diyāru." *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 34: 2 (2003), 122- 137.

Wālī, Fādl Fathī Muḥammad. *Al-Fitan wa-al-Nakabāt al-Khāṣṣa wa- 'Atharuhā fi al-Shi'r al-Andalusī*. Al-Riyād: Dār al-Andalus lil-Tawzī' wa-al-Nashr, 1996.

al-Washshā', Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq. *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*. Leiden: Brill, 1884.

Wasserstrom, Steven M. *Between Muslim and Jew, the Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam*. New Jersey: Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1995.

al-Waṭwāt, Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Yaḥyā. *Ghurar al-Khaṣā'is al-Wāḍiḥa wa- 'Urar al-Naqā'id al-Fāḍiḥa*. Edited by Ibrāim Shams al-Dīn. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al- 'Ilmiyya, 2008.

Weinberger, Leon J. *Jewish Prince in Moslem Spain: Selected Poems of Samuel Ibn Naghrela*. Translation and Notes by Leon J. Weinberger. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1973.

Yahalom, Yosef. "Adam ha-Rotze la- 'Alot la- 'Aretz Yikhtov Divre Shīr shi-Ka'ele." *Ha'arets*, August 16, 2013, 2 (Tarbūt vi-Sifrūt section).

Yahalom, Yosef. "Ginze Linengrad vi- 'Heker Sherato shil R. Yehūda Halevi," *Pa' amīm, Riv'on li- 'Heker Kihelot Yisra'il ba-Mizrah*, 46- 47 (1991): 54- 74.

Yāssīn, Ḥusayn. *Maṣābīḥ al-Dujā*. 'Akkā: Dār al-Aswār, 2006.

al-Zāhirī, Abū Kahr Muḥammad Ibn Dāwūd. *Al-Zuhara*. Edited by Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarrā'ī. 2nd edition. 'Ammān: Maktabat al-Manār, 1985.

Zakī Mubārak, *Al-Muwāzana bayn al-Shu'arā'*. N.p.: Sharikat Maṭba'at Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1973.

al-Zamakhsharī, Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd Ibn 'Umar al-Khawārizmī. *Asās al-Balāgha*. Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr, 1979.

al-Zamakhsharī, Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd Ibn 'Umar al-Khawārizmī. *Rabī' al-Abrār wa-Fuṣūṣ al-Akhhār*. Edited by 'Abd al-Majīd Diāb and others. 4 volumes. al-Qāhira: Dār al-Nashr, 1992.

al-Zamakhsharī, Maḥmūd Ibn 'Umar. *Al-Mustaṣṣā fi Amthāl al- 'Arab*. 2nd edition. 2 volumes. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al- 'Ilmiyya, 1987.

al-Zawzanī, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn. *Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab'*. Bayrūt: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1983.

al-Zawzanī, al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad. *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘*. Bayrūt: Manshūrāt Dār al-Ḥayāt, n.d.

al-Zawzanī, Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad. *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘*. Bayrūt: Maktabat al-Ma‘ārif, 1972.

al-Zayyāt, ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad. *Rithā‘al-Mudun fī al-Shi‘r al-Andalusī*. Bīnghāzī: Manshūrāt Jāmi‘at Qaryūnus, 1990.

al-Ziriklī, Khayr al-Dīn. *Al-A‘lām: Qāmūs Tarājīm li-Ashhar al-Rijāl wa-al-Nisā’ min al-‘Arab wal-Musta‘ribīn wa-al-Mustashriqīn*. 2nd edition. 8 volumes. Bayrūt: D al-‘Ilm lil-Malāyīn, 1984.

al-Zubaydī, Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā. *Tāj al-‘Arūs fī Jawāhir al-Qāmūs*. 38 volumes. Bīnghāzī: Dār Lībyā lil-Tawzī‘ wa-al-Nashr, 1966.

Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā. *Dīwān Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā*. Edited by Ḥamdu Ṭammās. 2nd edition. Bayrūt: Dār al-Ma‘rifa, 2005.

Online sources

“Al-andilus website.” Accessed September 18, 2012.

<http://www.alandilus.com/vb/archive/index.php/t-4700.html>

“Al-Muntadā al-Tarbawī.” Accessed September 24, 2012.

<http://forum.moe.gov.om/~moeoman/vb/showthread.php?t=258261>

“Arab adad.” Accessed September 4, 2012.

<http://www.arabadab.net/poem.php?class=1&poet=16&poem=7263>

“Bible Hub.” Accessed September 12, 2013. <http://biblesuite.com/hebrew/8303.htm>

“Bne Yehuda.” Accessed September 22, 2013.

http://benyehuda.org/ibnezra_m/xol_0666.html

Bosworth, C.E.. "Sāsān." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2015. Reference. Indiana University Bloomington. 09 March 2015

http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/sa-sa-n-SIM_6660

Chittick, W.C.. "Wahdat al-Shuhūd." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. 24 July 2014 <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/wahdat-al-shuhud-SIM_7819>

“Darwīsh’s website.” Accessed September 19, 2012. <http://www.darwish.ps/dpoem-237.html>

“Dīwān al-‘Arab.” Accessed March 1, 2015.
<http://www.diwanalarab.com/spip.php?article29049>

Elisséeff, N.. "Baradā." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2013. Reference. UNIVERSITY OF HAIFA. 24 November 2013
<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/barada-SIM_1211>

“Hadracha.” Accessed September 29, 2013. <http://www.hadracha.org/he/vw.asp?id=2923>

Hutcheon, Linda. Accessed November 16, 2014.
<http://www.library.utoronto.ca/utel/criticism/hutchinp.html>

“Kitāb al-‘Arab.” Accessed July, 10, 2014. <http://forums.arabsbook.com/threads/23181/>

“Koran website.” Accessed May 10, 2014. <http://www.quran.com/>

“Kotar,” accessed September 11, 2014.
<http://www.kotar.co.il/kotarapp/index/Chapter.aspx?nBookID=96099491&nTocEntryID=96107840>

“Misrād hatarbūt.” Accessed October 6, 2012.
http://www.education.gov.il/tochniyot_limudim/sifrut/asi13014.htm

“Muntadayāt Ḥiṭṭīn.” Accessed September 19, 2012.
<http://www.hutteensc.com/forum/t7013.html>.

“Muntadayāt qabīlat Suba‘ al-Ghalbā’.” Accessed September 25, 2012.
<http://www.sobe3.com/vb/showthread.php?t=25882>

“Muslim Philosophy.” Accessed August 7, 2014.
http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ip/abubaqa.htm#_ftn6

“Sacred-Texts Islam website.” Accessed March 5, 2015. http://www.sacred-texts.com/isl/hanged/hanged2.htm#fr_2

“Spain Then and Now.” Accessed August 12, 2014.
http://www.spainthenandnow.com/spanish-history/11th-c-al-andalus-almoravids/default_146.aspx

“Ta‘ab Qalbī.” Accessed April, 19, 2013. <http://forum.te3p.com/616783.html>

“Al-Tārīkh al-‘Arabī.” Accessed September 22, 2012.

http://www.attarikh-alarabi.ma/Html/adad17partie4.htm#_ftn4

"Taṣawwuf." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. UNIVERSITY OF HAIFA. 28 July 2014 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/tasawwuf-COM_1188

"Tel Aviv University." Accessed September 29, 2012.
<http://jic.tau.ac.il/moreshet/repository/TL15/1100336.pdf>

"The Islam information websit.," Accessed May 20, 2013. <http://islamqa.info/ar/ref/43191>

"The Official King James Bible Online." Accessed October 10, 2013.
http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/1611_Exodus-15-17

The Online Tolerance Magazine (*Majallat al-Tasāmuḥ*). Accessed September 21, 2012.
<http://www.altasamoh.net/Article.asp?Id=8>

"Tichon Yehud." Accessed on September 19, 2013. tichon-yahud.co.il/.../2149-1742013_לב%20במזרח.doc

"yishivat har 'Itzyun." Accessed September 19, 2013. <http://etzion.vbm-torah.org/vbm/archive/kuzari/01intro.php>

Curriculum Vitae

Personal Details:

Full Name Anan Moneer Habeeb / ' Anān Munīr Ḥabīb
E-Mail spokenarabic@gmail.com

Education:

- 4/2015 Ph.D., Classical Arabic Literature, Near Eastern Languages and Cultures Department, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.
Dissertation Supervisor: Suzanne Stetkevych.
Dissertation Title: "Nostalgia and the East in the Arabic and Hebrew Poetry of Islamic Spain."
- 2012 Certificate, Arabic News Editing and Correspondence for Radio and Television Course, IBA: The Israeli Broadcasting Authority, Jerusalem, Israel.
- 2007 M.A., Arabic Language and Literature, Haifa University, Haifa, Israel.
Thesis Title: "The Stars in the Abbasid and in the Fatimid Poetry."
- 2007 Certificate, Journalism, Ha'aretz Daily Newspaper, Tel- Aviv, Israel.
- 1999 Teaching Diploma, Teaching Arabic, Haifa University, Haifa, Israel.
- 1998 B.A., Arabic Language and Literature and Political Science, Haifa University, Haifa, Israel.
- 1996 Certificate, Tourism, Travel Agent, The Israeli School of Tourism, Haifa, Israel.
- 1992 Bagrut Diploma, Chemistry and Mathematics, Hanna Mweis High School, Rama Village, Israel.

Teaching Experience:

- 01/2014–06/2014 Instructor of Palestinian Spoken Arabic, Givat Haviva Institute, Givat Haviva, Israel

- 09/2013-08/2014 Instructor of Arabic, St. Elias Episcopal High School, Haifa, Israel
- 10/2012-05/2014 Professor of Arabic, Beit Berl College, Kar Saba, Israel.
- In 2013 and 2014, I taught classes on Andalusian poetry, classical poetry, basic Arabic, P.D.S. (Professional Development Schools) and I also observed my students as they taught Arabic at high schools.
 - In 2012 and 2013, I taught classes in Arabic grammar and classical Arabic poetry.
 - During 2012 and 2013, I also assisted the poetry class in writing their final research paper for their graduate degrees.
- 08/2009-05/2011 Instructor of Arabic and Hebrew, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana
- I taught the following courses: Beginning Arabic I (Arabic 101), Beginning Arabic II (Arabic 102), Intermediate Arabic I (Arabic 201), Intermediate Arabic II (Arabic 202), Beginning Hebrew I (Hebrew 111), Beginning Hebrew II (Hebrew 112), Advanced Arabic I (Arabic 301) and Advanced Arabic II (Arabic 302).
- 09/2005-05/2007 Instructor of Spoken Arabic, Tammūz School, Rama Village, Israel
- 04/2005–05/2005 Instructor of Arabic Language, Mar Elias High School, Ibilleen, Israel
- 09/2000-08/2002 Instructor of Arabic Language and Literature, Carmelite Junior High and High School, Haifa, Israel
- 09/1999-08/2000 Instructor of Arabic Literature, St. John High School, Jish Village, Israel
- 09/1999-08/2000 Instructor of Political Science, Rama Agricultural High School, Rama Village, Israel

Additional Professional Experience:

- 01/2012 – 10/2012 Translator of Arabic, Hebrew and English, Yabrīn Translation Business, Haifa, Israel

- 09/2005 - 05/2007 Founder, Manager and Teacher, Tammūz Spoken Arabic School, Rama Village, Israel
- 11/2004 - 02/2005 Language Editor, Afikim Advertisement Office. Bneh Brak, Israel
- 02/1997–04/1997 Travel Agent, Issta Travel Agency, Haifa, Israel
- 06/1996–10/1996 Travel Agent, Mano Cruise Agency, Haifa, Israel

Research:

- 4/2011 “The religious debate in al-Andalus as a stimulus for growing secular nostalgia for the Holy Land in the Jewish Andalusian poet Yehuda Halevi,” Paper presented at the annual literary workshop for the Near Eastern Languages and Cultures Department of Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Conferences Participation:

- 11/2014 Middle Eastern Studies Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC
- 11/2010 Middle Eastern Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Diego, California

Award:

- 2007-2009 Fulbright (Amideast) Scholarship, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Volunteer Activities:

- 10/2010-05/2011 Arabic Instructor, Saint Ignatius Maronite Catholic Church, Dayton, Ohio
- 01/1997-11/1999 Spokesman, The Rama Village Student Association, Rama Village, Israel

Languages:

- | | | |
|---------|---|--|
| Arabic | – | Mother Tongue and Academic Specialty |
| Hebrew | – | Native |
| English | – | Fluent (speaking, reading and writing) |

German – Basic knowledge
Spanish – Basic knowledge

Memberships:

2014 Middle Eastern Studies Association of North America, Inc.
(MESA), Tucson, Arizona
2014 American Association of Teachers of Arabic, Birmingham,
Alabama
2010 Middle Eastern Studies Association of North America, Inc.
(MESA), Tucson, Arizona

Computer Skills:

Word
Excel