

**AN ANDALUSIAN MUWASHSHAḤ AND ITS MU‘ĀRADĀT:
“NASĪMU L-RAUDI FĀḤ”**

Karin Almladh [Royal Library, Stockholm]

The anonymous *muwashshaḥ Nasīmu l-rauḍi fāḥ* is one of the most pleasant poems in the genre. When it was composed we do not know, only that it was included in the biggest collection of *muwashshaḥāt*, *‘Uddat al-jalīs*, from the 14th century. For reasons discussed below, it may be possible that it dates from the first half of the 12th century. Another version of the poem was composed at the latest in the first half of the 13th century and is available in collections of *muwashshaḥāt* as sung in the North African tradition. In the present paper the two versions of the poem are discussed, as well as its two medieval *mu‘āradāt*, one by Yehudah ha-Levi (d. 1141) and one by the Andalusī (or North African) mystic Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Jūdhāmī (first half of the 13th century). The focus of the discussion is the relationship between the poems.

***Nasīmu l-rauḍi fāḥ* by Anonymous**

Form: *tāmm*, five strophes

Rhyme scheme: AB cccab dddab *etc.*

Rhyme in the *asmāt*: -āḥ, -bu

Metre: *mustafīl*¹

Genre: *khamriyya/ghazal*

Text: Ibn Bishrī, 1992, 25-6 (= poem 16)

The gentle breeze of the garden is fragrant, so arise and let us drink!

Arise, boy! Let the cup pass around! The dreadful darkness is gone, and the
camphor of the morning is given us!

Join the mixed wine with the water of the mouth – the secret with joy is nothing
but a cup of wine and sweet saliva.

Against time, which has passed – greetings of approval, a fate, which is
demanding – jars, which are taken as a spoil, and a lute, which is played.

Turn to Love, and agree with me – but have you not been passionately in love? –
then wander around in the stony watercourses, stones, which do not turn green.

Leave me awake – my love is gone – I shall call upon the Almighty:

“Oh Lord! These beauties have tormented my heart!”

We have here a wine-poem much in the spirit of Abū Nuwās. The first three strophes epitomise wine-poetry. In the fourth strophe it is as if the poet teases those who have not experienced love, while in the fifth and final strophe, the introduction to the *kharja*, the poem turns into a poem of elegiac love, which is epitomised in the *kharja*. This, in its turn, is introduced as a prayer to the Almighty.

***Nasīmu l-raudi fāḥ* in the North African tradition**

Nasīmu l-raudi fāḥ in the North African tradition is available in a number of printed versions from the 20th century. For reasons discussed in the context of the poem by Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh (below) it is obvious that this version of the poem is medieval, since it can be traced to at least as early as the first half of the 13th century. Despite variants it is obvious that the editions present but slightly different versions of one and the same poem. The text as edited by Muḥammad ‘Enānī in 1982 is thus based on at least three printed texts. Here we might also note that a slightly different version is found in the collection edited by Edmond Yāfil in 1904.²

Form: *tāmm*, five strophes

Rhyme scheme: ABAB cccab AB dddabAB *etc.*

Rhyme in the *asmāʾ*: -āḥ, -bū (Yāfil), -āḥ, -bū (‘Enānī)

Metre: *mustafīl*

Superscription: *baṭīḥ huseyn* (Yāfil)³

Genre: *khamriyya/ghazal*

Text: Yāfil, 1904, 71-2, ‘Enānī, 1982, 131-2 (= poem 50)

The gentle breeze of the garden is fragrant, so arise and let us drink, *but he who loves the beauties, his heart they have tormented!*

Wake up, boy! Let the cup pass around! The wing of darkness has brightened, and the camphor of the morning they have brought us, *but he who loves the beauties, his heart they have tormented!*

Sweet is the mixed wine with the water of the mouth – the secret with joy is nothing but cups and wine and sweet saliva, *but he who loves the beauties, his heart they have tormented!*

One who is noble, whose eyelids are blackened, passes around the cup with wine. You can see the morning as it is lighted up – the morning light is blazing swords, *but he who loves the beauties, his heart they have tormented!*

You can see these cheeks where roses are budding, and the eyelids are closed, and the shameless glances take away my reason; *he who loves the beauties, his heart they have tormented!*

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So arise! Pass around the cups, wine, which enlivens the spirits! These young shoots, this camomile, they have trimmed for us, *but he who loves the beauties, his heart they have tormented!*

Pass around the cup of joy in the garden of fulfilment! Do away with harshness!

I am used to ease, so why do we not come near? But he who loves the beauties, his heart they have tormented!

Already even a cursory glance reveals a *structural* difference between this poem and the previous one. Namely that the *matla'* has two lines, the second of which returns as a refrain throughout the poem. This is a feature which is documented in the strophic poems by the mystic Al-Shushtarī from the first half of the 13th century, just as it is found in a number of manuscripts with Hebrew poems.⁴ The refrain is furthermore related to the *kharja* of the first poem. The rhyme-words are thus identical, and the second half is a variant of the second half of the *kharja* of the first poem. Apart from that, the first two strophes of this poem and the previous poem are more or less identical, but from the third strophe onwards this poem presents a new text.

In this version of the poem, the *sāqī* has a much more prominent place than in the first poem, as the description of his beauty occupies no less than two strophes. After that, the poem returns to the revels in the garden, which is also the focus of the last strophe, including the *kharja*. Still the existence of the refrain makes the theme of elegiac love ever present in the poem, and so it is this theme, which closes the poem.

This is not the place to discuss the textual variants. It is, however, of interest for the discussion of the poem by Yehudah ha-Levi to note that the second half of the first line offers a number of variants. Thus it runs *fa-qum nashrabu*, *fa-qūmū nashrabū* as well as *fa-qum nashrabū* while the text in the first poem, *fa-qūmū nashrabu*, is not recorded in the variants recorded here.

The mu'araḍāt of Nasīmu l-rauḍi fāḥ

***Penē ādōm we-ṣaḥ* by Yehudah ha-Levi**

Form: *tāmm*, seven strophes

Rhyme scheme: AB cccab dddab *etc*

Rhyme in the *asmāṭ*: -āḥl/-aḥ -bū

Metre *mustafīl*

Genre: *khamriyya/ghazal*

Text: Yehudah Halevi, (1901-1909) 1971, 169-71, Yehudah Halevi, 1994, 96, 98.

Translation: Yehudah Halevi, 1994, 97, 99.

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A white and ruddy face ⁵ has ravished my heart! ⁶

The blame upon a gazelle who has made me prisoner! Cruelly he rules over me,
and he is not moved by entreaties by a friend whose heart is scorched.

How can I be consoled when he consoles himself by killing me? What is my
hope when my feet have been trapped?

Is my illness to disappear? He who is absent is my redeemer! My heart he has
made scorched, ⁷ his eyes like a fire has pierced my heart.

By drinking wine in his mouth among ⁸ doves and swallows, dropping dew –
they are like amethysts and crystal!

“The winter is past, ⁹ time for love has come! Arise, my love, sit down! Kill your
sadness by cups, which are pleasant!

Fate has been transformed into a faithful friend, and the dew from its clouds is
like manna; to a lover who is tortured they are generous in their crying!”

Before a host of lovers I respond with a tormented heart:

“The gentle breeze of the garden is fragrant, so arise and let us drink!”

It may be said that this poem opens where the first poem closes. In the first four strophes elegiac love is thus the focus. The poet, infatuated with the gazelle (who may be identical with the *sāqī*), complains of the cruelty of the gazelle. There we also have the poet's internal dialogue where homoerotic overtones are obvious. So another voice is heard, perhaps that of the gazelle / *sāqī*, who invites the poet to drinking in the garden. This invitation the poet reciprocates by quoting the word of the model as his own *kharja*.

But which poem was the model of this poem? Its structure follows the structure of our first poem. It is also obvious that Yehudah ha-Levi picked the *matla'* of that same poem, using it as the *kharja* for his own poem. The last *ghuṣn* of the present poem furthermore recalls the *kharja* of the first poem as well as the refrain of the second poem. The editor of the first poem has, however, already observed that the text of the *kharja* here is not identical with the *matla'* of the poem in *Uddat al-jalīs*. In accordance with what one should expect, the second half of its *matla'* is *fa-qūmū nashrabu*, while we have here a Maghribi form, *fa-qūmū nashrabū*.¹⁰ This may suggest that Yehudah ha-Levi had before him the second poem, where this form is one of variants of the *matla'*. There is another feature, which may speak in favour of the second poem as the immediate model. Central in the present poem is the poet's infatuation with the gazelle, who may be identical with the *sāqī*. While the *sāqī* plays a very restricted role in the first poem, he is a

central figure in the second poem. If so, it would be possible to trace the second poem to the first half of the 12th century. Another possibility, however, which also must be considered, is that Yehudah ha-Levi simply manipulated the *matla'* of the first poem to fit the conventions of a *kharja*, i.e. that it should be in *lahn*. He was undoubtedly competent to do this.

Of great interest is a version of the *kharja* found in a fragment from the Cairo Genizah. There the *kharja* runs: *Nasīmu l-rauḍi fāh fa-qūmū nash-rabū / ḥabībī rawā l-maliḥ anā wa-llāh na'shaquh /* [added by a different hand] *wa-yā rabb al-milāh [...] ...bū*, "The gentle breeze of the garden is fragrant, so arise and let us drink! / My lover gave to drink to a beauty – by God, how I love him! / Oh Lord, the beauties [...]"¹¹ Leaving the middle section out of the discussion here, the introduction of the final line is distinctly reminiscent of the first section of the *kharja* in the first poem discussed here. It may simply be that the glossator identified Yehudah ha-Levi's *kharja* as the introduction of the model, adding a variant of its *kharja* to the present poem.

Alifṭa l-intizāḥ by Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Jūdhāmī

Tawshūh poems, both *muwashshahāt* and *azjāl*, were eventually introduced into the repertoire of the Ṣūfīs, and this may have been effected by the two great Andalusian Ṣūfī poets Ibn al-'Arabī and Al-Shuṣṭarī. Another Ṣūfī poet from the 13th century was Abū 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Jūdhāmī. Not much is known of him. His *diwān* was collected during the rule of the Almohad al-Murtaḍā (d. 1266). This suggests that he was alive in the first half of the 13th century. The *diwān* was recently published. There are 90 monorhymed poems, 19 *murabba'āt* and *mukhammasāt*, and no less than 38 *muwashshahāt*. Most, if not all, of the *muwashshahāt* are poems addressed to the Prophet and all of them are explicitly said to be *min takfīrihi* or described as *mukaffirāt*.¹²

Form: *tāmm*, five strophes

Rhyme scheme: AB cccab dddab *etc.*

Rhyme in the *asmāt*: *-āh, -bu*

Metre: *mustatīl*

Genre: *mukaffir*

Text: Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Jūdhāmī, 1419/1999, 180-1.

You have become used to absence, but why do you not come near?!

For how long this rejection?! You have broken the covenant! With us the ecstasy is strong, and we are the authority – but how veiled you are!¹³

Arise, everyone who has become sorrowful, distressed, far away, driven off, who

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has submitted to sorrows! From us you can seek the accomplishment of your desires.

Pass around the cup of joy in the gardens of fulfilment! Do away with harshness!
The flower of rapture is fragrant, and the place for drinking is delicate.

The veil has become long. Urge on the riders towards those vaulted graves, as a herald,¹⁴ on the authority of my promised one, blames:

“Oh, caravan leader! When you come to the shore,¹⁵ say at the meeting:

‘The gentle breeze of the garden is fragrant, so arise and let us drink!’”

The poem is obviously directed to an addressee who has turned away and who is invited to return. In the poem the poet has inserted the drinking-scene (the third strophe) and the breeze in the garden (the *kharja*) from his model, re-interpreting them after the Šūfī lexicon. For instance the caravan leader is there frequently identified with the Prophet. *Nasīm*, “gentle”, is furthermore a quality attributed to him in poems to his honour, while the garden is used as a metaphor either for Love or for the soul, just as his fragrance is a *topos* in Šūfī poetry.¹⁶ Interpreted in this way, the *kharja* of the new poem is a description of the Prophet in a poem to his honour.

Several features suggest that the second poem (or at least some version of it) was the model of this poem. The *matla'* of this poem is thus clearly modelled upon the *kharja* of that poem: *Aliftu l-inshirāḥ wa-hallā naqrubū / Alifta l-intizāḥ wa-hallā taqrubu*. The last three *aghṣān* of the second poem are furthermore quoted (almost) literally in the *aghṣān* of the third strophe. This means that the second poem was circulating in the first half of the 13th century. For his *kharja*, the poet has chosen the *matla'* of his model. It is thus as if the poet has worked his way from the end of the model to its beginning. Furthermore, the way the *kharja* is introduced is peculiar. It is embedded in an exhortation to the caravan leader, who is enjoined to invite the adept to drinking in the garden by quoting the *matla'* of the model.

It is also worth noting that we have a *kharja* in *fusha*. Provided the *matla'* of the model is faithfully quoted, this implies that the colloquialisms there are due rather to the vicissitudes of transmission than original. This would strengthen the suggestion that the colloquialism in Yehudah ha-Levi's poem is due to his own manipulation of the *matla'* of his model to fit the conventions of a *kharja*.

Nasīmu l-rauḍi fāḥ and its mu'aradāt

The most conspicuous feature is that we have two versions of the model. Above it was argued that the poem in *'Uddat al-jalīs* should be regarded as

the “original” version while the version preserved in the North African tradition is a development of the Andalusian poem. As far as can be seen today, no case like this has been observed among strophic poetry so far, but this is rather due to lack of proper investigations of the texts in the North African tradition. Another case, however, where an Andalusian poem was elaborated in North Africa is the famous *Mā ladhḏha lī sharbu l-rāḥi*. Of this poem there is a North African elaboration beginning *Yalidhḏhu lī sharbu l-rāḥi*, which, however, has a different structure.¹⁷

Mu'arada, was, according to the medieval Arabic critics, when a poet wrote a poem with the same rhyme and metre as a model, often trying to emulate the model.¹⁸ In *tawshīḥ*, another rhetorical figure was frequently added, viz. *taḏmīn*, quoting a line from another poem. *Taḏmīn* is found already in the early Arabic poetry, but it became gradually more popular in *muḥdathūn* poetry, anticipating the later *takhmīs* whereby whole poems were glossed. According to medieval Arabic critics, *taḏmīn* was to be made in the middle or the end of the poem. The quotations were obviously frequently introduced by some intervening line or phrase (*wāsīṭa*). This was a habit which Ibn Rashīq (d. 1071), however, rejected as being superfluous, as (according to him) it undermined the artistic quality of the poem. The highest form of *taḏmīn* was seen by him when the borrowed material was used in a new composition as *ihāla*, “insinuation”, or *ishāra*, “allusion”.¹⁹

The (quasi) quotations of *tawshīḥ* belong here, all the more so as the *kharjas* are normally introduced by some intervening line or phrase, closing with a *verbum dicendi*, which triggers off the *kharja*. In 1986 James T. Monroe was able to demonstrate that the *kharjas* in a substantial number of *muwashshahāt* were actual quotations from earlier poems.²⁰ Likewise a perusal of the superscriptions of the 47 poems by Todros Abulafia (Castile, second half of the 13th century) reveals that he obviously used the *matla'* of his models as his own *kharja* in no less than 20 poems.²¹ It is here of interest to observe that the medieval theorists of *tawshīḥ* suppress this practice in their discussions. For instance Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk makes no mention of this practice in his *Dār al-Tirāz*, although the examples gathered by Monroe show that it was current well before he wrote his treatise.

Of the poems discussed here, Yehudah ha-Levi's poem is more or less a comment upon the *kharja* of the first poem (or the refrain of the second poem, if that was his model), recalling the model by introducing its *matla'* as the *kharja* of the new poem. In this way this poem may be regarded as glossing the model, all the more so since both poems are of the same genre. As for the poem by Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, it has already been noted that its most peculiar formal features are that he quoted the last three *aghṣān* of his model in the third strophe just as he modelled his own *matla'* on the *kharja* of the model. Both features may be understood from the discussion by Ibn Rashīq on *taḏmīn*. The quotation in the third strophe is thus introduced without any

intervening phrase to signal the quotation. As for his *maṭla'*, it may be analysed as *ishāra*, to use the terminology of Ibn Rashīq. The introduction of the *kharja*, finally, follows the conventions of *tawshīh*, introduced as it is by a *verbum dicendi*.

The religious use of *tawshīh*

Tawshīh had been introduced into the repertoire of Hebrew liturgical poetry in al-Andalus already in the 11th century. Research has revealed that these liturgical poems are quite often *mu'aradāt* of secular poems. This fact was sometimes noted by the medieval collectors of the poets' *dīwān* who added this information in the collection. Compared to this, its introduction into the repertoire of the Ṣūfīs is late. The medieval theorists have very little to say on the religious use of *tawshīh*. In his *Dār al-Ṭirāz*, Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk says thus:

A *muwashshah* that has for its subject the contempt of the world is called by a special name: *mukaffir*. It has as its special feature that its metre and its rhyme follow the pattern of a well-known *muwashshah*, and that it ends with the *kharja* of the latter. All this is done in order to show that it has been composed for the purpose of doing penance for the original *muwashshah*, and of entreating God's forgiveness for its author.²²

Furthermore, this particular type of *tawshīh* has not attracted the attention of modern scholarship. The treatment by S.M. Stern in his 1949 dissertation still remains the most comprehensive treatment of the phenomenon to date.²³ The present poem by Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh fits into the genre *mukaffir* (expiatory) as described by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk as far as its metre and its rhyme are concerned. In a superscription to the poem, it is also described as *min takfīrihi*. As for its *kharja*, however, it follows the pattern discussed above regarding secular poems. On the other hand, it seems to be rather atypical in terms of its theme. This holds true not only in the context of the brief note by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, but also in comparison with the other poems by Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh which Stern studied. Thus, in the transitional strophe in all but one of the poems studied by him, he either expresses a polemical attitude towards profane poetry or asks God's forgiveness for the author of the secular poem cited.²⁴ Further studies are needed here before we can reach a proper understanding of this type of *tawshīh*.

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NOTES

1. So analysed in Corriente, 1998, 138.
2. For further references to the North African tradition, Stern, 1974, 67-72 and Zwartjes, 1997, 305-19 should be consulted.
3. This note obviously refers to the musical performance.

4. The structure of Al-Shushtarī's poems is studied in the survey in Corriente, 1988, 14-17.
5. *Song of Songs* 5:10.
6. *Song of Songs* 4:9.
7. So, following the text in Yehudah Halevi, 1994, 96.
8. So, following the text in Yehudah Halevi, 1994, 98.
9. *Song of Songs* 2:11.
10. For the discussion of this aspect of the *kharja*, see the comment in Ibn Bishrī, 1992, 26 (by A. Jones) as well as the comment in Corriente, 1998, 138.
11. Schirmann, 1965, 341. The text in Monroe & Swiatlo, 1977, 145 should be altered.
12. What is known of Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh is summarised in Stern, 1974, 86-9. See also the introduction to Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Jūdhāmī 1419/1999. *Takfir* and *mukaffir* are discussed below.
13. For the construction, see Corriente, 1977, 195, and Corriente, 1997, *s.v. kam*.
14. Taking *nādin* as a poetical licence for *munādin*. But see also Dozy, *s.v. nadā*.
15. For this sense of *'irāq*, see Lane *s.v.*
16. For the caravan leader as identical with the Prophet in Ṣufī poetry, see Schimmel, (1982) 2001, 130, 207-8; for the garden as a metaphor of Love or the soul, Schimmel, (1982) 2001, 110-11, 144; for *nasīm* as a quality of the Prophet, Schimmel, (1982) 2001, 196; for his fragrance, Schimmel, (1982) 2001, 76, 238. For the place of wine in Ṣufī poetry, Schimmel, (1982), 2001, *passim*.
17. For these poems, see Ibn Bishrī, 1992, 109-10, and Yāfī, 1904, 234-5.
18. For this, see *EI2*, *s.v.*
19. The medieval discussions of quotational *taḍmīn* (including the treatment of Ibn Rashīq) are summed up with full references in Sanni, 1998. See also *EI2*, *s.v. taḍmīn*.
20. Monroe, 1986.
21. Almladh, 1998.
22. Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, 1949, 38, as translated in Stern, 1974, 81. Al-Ḥillī (in Al-Ḥillī, 1956, 11-12) basically repeats the words of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, adding a quotation of a *muwashshah* by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk as an illustration.
23. = Stern, 1974, 81-91. To this should be added the observations by Corriente in his edition of the poems by Al-Shushtarī (= Corriente, 1988).
24. For a brief study of the poems by Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, see Stern, 1974, 87-8.