# ORIGINALITY IN IMITATION: TWO $M U^{`} \bar{A} R A D P A S$ BY IBN DARRĀJ AL-QASṬALLĪ 

ORIGINALIDAD EN LA IMITACIÓN: DOS MU‘ĀRAḌAS DE IBN DARRĀ $\hat{Y}$ AL-QASṬALLĪ

Beatrice Gruendler<br>Yale University

The essay explores the range and function of the emulation ( $т и$ 'ārada) in al-Andalus, taking as examples two odes of Ibn Darrāj al-Qastallī (d. 421/1030), dedicated to his first patron al-Hājib al-Manṣūr and his last patron al-Mundhir b. Yahyā̄ of Saragossa. The first is modeled on an ode of Abū Nuwās and a declared poetic contest, the second a silent overwriting of al-Mutanabbī's ode on the battle of al-Hadath, summoning it as "the vocabulary of a second higher power" to invert a celebration of military victory into one of a wedding feast. The ode acted as an ideological strategy to defend the patron's peaceful diplomacy with Saragossa's two Christian neighbors in order to form a coalition against a third Christian party, and it responded to criticism by some Muslim contemporaries. Both emulations show the considerable freedom Ibn Darrāj took in developing the themes of his subtexts.

Key words: Mu'āraḍa; Qașīda; Ode; Madīḥ; Panegyric; Plagiarism; Sariqa; Borrowing; Akhdh; Imitation; Creativity; Literary Genre; Ibn Darrāj; Abū Nuwās; al-Mutanabbī; al-Hājib al-Manṣūr; al-Mundhir b. Yaḥyā al-Tujībī; Marriage; Figure of the wife.

Este artículo analiza las variedades y la función de la imitación literaria ( $m u$ 'áraḍa) en al-Andalus a partir de dos poemas que Ibn Darrāŷ al-Qastallī (m. 421/1030) dedicó a sus mecenas al-Ḥāŷib al-Manṣūr y al-Mundir b. Yahyà. El primero de ellos imita un poema de Abū Nuwās, en competición poética explícita con el mismo. El segundo es una imitación no reconocida como tal del poema de al-Mutanabbī sobre la batalla de al-Ḥadat, que se invoca como "vocabulario de un segundo poder más elevado" para convertir la celebración de una victoria militar en la de una boda. Al-Qasṭallī utilizó este segundo poema como estrategia ideológica para defender la diplomacia pacífica que su mecenas mantenía con dos vecinos cristianos de Zaragoza con los que formaba una coalición contra una tercera facción cristiana. Con él respondía a la crítica de la que esta política era objeto entre ciertos musulmanes. Ambas imitaciones muestran la considerable libertad que Ibn Darrāŷ se tomó a la hora de desarrollar los temas presentes en sus sub-textos.
Palabras clave: Mu'āraḍa; qasīda; oda; madīh; panegírico; plagio; sariqa; préstamo; ajd; imitación; creatividad; género literario; Ibn Darrāŷ; Abū Nuwās; al-Mutanabbī; al-Hāŷib al-Manṣūr; al-Mundir b. Yaḥyà al-Tuŷībī; matrimonio; figura de la esposa.

In our times, imitation is most often seen as something negative, as a loss of self. In his tellingly titled The Anxiety of Influence, Harold Bloom cites a particularly emphatic case of an author's rejecting any obligation to his predecessors, "While of course, I come down from
the past, the past is my own and not something marked Coleridge [or] Wordsworth, etc. I know of no one who has been particularly important to me..." ${ }^{1}$

In Renaissance Europe, however, forms such as the imitatio (or aemulatio) gave room for a form of originality. Such works affiliated themselves openly to masterpieces from antiquity as an act of homage. Here the discontinuity created by the gap of a millennium and the sense of distance felt by Renaissance writers, so argues Thomas Greene, provided space for self-expression. In his fourfold classification of imitations, Greene regards as particularly successful those that reflect on the imitative act (heuristic imitation) or engage critically with their subtext (dialectal imitation). Influence here becomes a creative factor. ${ }^{2}$ This is not only true for literature but also painting. To name but one example, Titian (d. ca. 1576) had painted the Rape of Europa in 1562 for Philip II of Spain. Seventy years later Peter Paul Rubens (d. 1640) met with Philip IV of Spain as an ambassador promoting peace for his native Netherlands with Spain. Deeply impressed by Titian's work, he copied more than thirty of his paintings, among them the Rape of Europa as well as modeling his portrait of the Earl of Arundel (1630), on Titian's portrait of the Duke Francesco Maria Della Rovere (1537). The English Earl was not at all displeased with being the subject of an emulated portrait, but to the contrary felt flattered by the double affiliation with the illustrious condottiere and Titian. ${ }^{3}$

In the pre-modern Arabo-Persian culture, literature also thrived on the ongoing debate with its past. Modes of imitation, or the reference to a specific text, in modern parlance direct intertextuality, fell in pre-modern Arabic poetics under the two headings of plagiarism (or borrowing) and emulation. Small discrete references to models limited to a single verse or a short passage, were labeled sariqa "theft" or, more neutrally, akhdh "borrowing." Instances of this were collected from the earliest phases of Arabic literature, then systematized by the literary critic al-‘Askarī (d. ca. 395/1005), and finally received

[^0]a solidified terminology in scholastic rhetoric ('ilm al-balāgha), beginning with al-Qazwīnī (d. 739/1338). The bulk of the discussion revolved around not just any literary motifs, but those that were neither commonplace nor rare, falling between these two extremes. A sophisticated system arose, in which the kind of transformation dictated the aesthetic evaluation of the result. A borrowed motif was considered not blameworthy, for instance, if it included a change to a different context, i.e., another poetic genre, if it was combined with a different motif (talfiq), or if it showed a changed formulation or added rhetorical twist. The Andalusian critic Ḥāzim al-Qarṭājannī (d. 684/1285) classified the relative success of such an endeavor in relation to the original on three levels, respectively, as istiḥqāq, ishtirāk, inhițāt "greater claim," "equal participation," "falling short." ${ }^{4}$ Only a restricted portion of borrowings, those that showed little change or innovation, were considered blameworthy. Borrowing ideally germinated creativity.

Another form of theoretical engagement with borrowings were collections of the sariqāt of particular poets, mostly from the Abbasid period, such as Abū Nuwās (d. ca. 198/813), Abū Tammām (d. 232/845), and al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965), the last poet receiving six monographs on this subject. These consisted rather in establishing micro-histories on the re-use of discrete motifs than in trying to attach blame to the poets for doing so.

Yet a further approach to direct literary influence was the discussion of emulations of entire poems ( $\quad$ и ' $\bar{a} r a d a$ ); in poetry this meant formally the response to a given model in the same rhyme and meter. This spurred little theoretical attention (as the larger structure of poems seldom entered the purview of critics) with the notable exception of 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078), who defined mu'āraḍa as a stylistic imitation of a model passage with the goal of outdoing it. He demanded from an imitation that it furnish more than a replacement by synonyms or a simple reproduction. ${ }^{5}$ In lieu of the scarce discussions by critics, Paul Losensky, in his study of Safavid-Moghul emu-

[^1]lations, finds clues in the etymology of the numerous terms for emulation (istiqbāl, javāb gū $\bar{\imath}$, tatabbu', iqtidā', etc.). ${ }^{6}$

But the lack of theoretical engagement is balanced by poets' practical performance of this form of diachronic dialogue within the Arabic literary tradition. While agendas and creative range of such emulations remain to be assessed, the present essay attempts to contribute but a small vignette to this large and as yet uncharted territory. Emulations, it seems, enjoyed particular popularity in the outskirts of the Arabo-Persian world, namely in Iran, Moghul India, and Spain. For Iran and India (where Safavid and Moghul poets were very active in this respect), Losensky demonstrates that the project of the emulation and the model's author and incipit were explicitly announced and became a theme of discussion. This act of direct dialogue with earlier works was performed variously as an act of homage or bravura, an unconscious reflex, a patron's commission, or a test or demonstration of an aspiring poet in a court majlis.

In the al-Andalus of the waning Cordoban Caliphate (fifth/eleventh century), emulation and plagiarism formed a major focus of critical endeavor. Iḥsān 'Abbās identifies the regulation of sariqa as one of the five major issues in Andalusian poetics. Others were a defensiveness towards the East and a certain moralistic stance. Ibn Shuhayd (d. 426/1035) devoted the entire third part of his Treatise on Familiar Spirits to the subject in order to clear himself of the charge of plagiarism. ${ }^{7}$ In courtly circles, there was a striking frequency of plagiarism accusations (sariqa/intihāl), even if frequently made for reasons of self-advancement or artistic competition. They were leveled by poets as well as critics and usually reported as part of literary anecdotes. Among the victims next to Ibn Shuhayd, are the Eastern adīb Ṣā‘id al-Baghdādī (d. 417/1026) and al-Manṣūr's official poet and secretary Ibn Darrāj al-Qastallī (d. 421/1030). ${ }^{8}$ As such these oc-

[^2]casions might be relegated to the realm of fiction. But poetic responses and vindications, such as the ones by Ibn Darräj and Ibn Shuhayd vouch for the events' historicity. ${ }^{9}$ The literary business at the court of al-Ḥājib al-Manṣūr (r. 368-92/978-1002) was highly regulated as can be seen from the number of poetic institutions, such as the di$w \bar{a} n$ al-shu 'ara $\bar{a}$ ', the register of official poets and their stipends, and the șähib al-inzāl, the official charged with housing visiting poets. ${ }^{10} \mathrm{~A}$ brilliant military leader and administrator, al-Manṣūr, a model patron extensively versed in poetry, would put newly arrived poets to test and personally preside over the exams. These consisted of improvisations or emulations of a given model. ${ }^{11}$ Exams were also requested from poets under suspicion of plagiary. The mu'ārada, in short, was seen as a true test of a poet's mettle. Ibn Shuhayd in his lost H $\bar{a} n \bar{u} u$ ' 'Aț̦ $\bar{a} r$ cites as proof of the superiority of al-Raḥmān b. Abī 1-Fahd over another poet, 'Ubāda b. Mā' al-Samā' (d. 421/1030) whom the critics of the dīwān al-shu 'arā' had preferred, that "there was no poem before or after Islam that he had not emulated ('ärada) or parodied (nāqada)." ${ }^{12}$ But poets also performed emulation by choice. I will focus here on the most illustrious poet of al-Manṣūr's time, whom literary contemporaries and successors saw as the one best representing the mannerist style then favored, and who enjoyed an immediate Eastern reception: al-Tha‘ālibī (d. 429/1038) places him on par with al-Mutanabbī. ${ }^{13}$ Ibn Darrāj produced numerous emu-

[^3]lations, though he was by no means unique in this. ${ }^{14}$ His first offering to al-Manṣūr in 382/992 (Dīwān, n. ${ }^{\circ}$ 3) and the triumphal follow-up ode (Diwān, n. ${ }^{\circ}$ 100) to the exam in which he exonerated himself from plagiary were both emulations of models by his fellow courtier, the Eastern Șā‘id al-Baghdādī. ${ }^{15}$ Other odes he fashioned on older Eastern models, such as Abū Nuwās (Dīwān, n. ${ }^{\circ}$ 78, first example below). His most frequent model however was al-Mutanabbī, providing the template for his ode celebrating the "Āmirid clients Mubārak and Muzaffar of Valencia (Dīwān, n. ${ }^{\circ} 35$ ), the one marking his arrival at al-Mundhir b. Yaḥyā al-Tujībī of Saragossa (Dīwān, n. ${ }^{\circ}$ 39) and his panegyric of this ruler for arranging a marriage contract between his two neighbors, the counts of Castile and Barcelone, based on al-Mutanabbi's ode on the battle of al-Hadath (Dīwān, n. ${ }^{\circ}$ 44, second example below). Ibn Darrāj, known as a poetic genius in his own right and credited for his expertise in badí ${ }^{\prime}$ and virtuosity in motifs, can be expected to realize whatever potential an emulation offered. Two examples, based on odes by Abū Nuwās and al-Mutanabbī, will be considered to answer the question of how Ibn Darrāj developed his models and where he placed the focus of his creativity.

Abū Nuwās was popular in the East; his poetry became the subject of emulations by Ibn Shuhayd, Ibn Ṣāra al-Shantarīnī, Abū Tammām b. Rabāḥ al-Ḥajjām and others. ${ }^{16}$ When al-Manṣūr, however, requested an emulation of Abū Nuwās from Ṣā‘id al-Baghdādī, who usually excelled in improvisation, he asked to be excused first in prose and then in verse:

> I shy away, Your Eminence, from improvising speech on it.
> He who cannot be matched upon reflection, how could he be matched ex tempore?

Ibn Bassām (d. 542/1147) credits this as a rare candor from a poet who routinely claimed knowledge he did not possess: "Ṣā‘id, despite his recurring lies, incorrigible disrespectfulness and bad manners,

[^4]took the part of kindness and cleared out of the well-trodden path. Do you not see him confess his despair at following in the footsteps of Abū Nuwās?" ${ }^{17}$ But al-Manṣūr did not let him off the hook and Ṣā‘id was forced to deliver an attempt the next day. Ibn Bassām surmises that the Great Chamberlain wanted to embarrass the poet in the vein of al-Mutanabbī’s lines:

> With luminous Sayf al-Dawla I have reached a height from which I illuminate what lies between West and East.
> When he wants to tug on the beard of a fool, he shows him my tracks [lit.: my dust] and says "Match [him]." 18

The same test (after others) was given to Ibn Darrāj who lived up to the task with what Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) describes as a qasīda balïgha. ${ }^{19}$ The original poem was a panegyric dedicated to al-Rashīd's tax collector in Egypt, al-Khaṣīb b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-‘Ajamī. It consists of 40 verses of țawīl rhyming in $-\bar{u} / i r u$. ${ }^{20}$ The emulation extends the same prosody to 65 verses. Ibn Darrāj remains within the same genre, a panegyric ode for the Chamberlain al-Manṣūr with its major constituents, a morning of separation motif featuring a female character, a rahill episode, praise of the recipient, and the poet's voicing his request at the end. ${ }^{21}$ Like Abū Nuwās, Ibn Darrāj uses the debate with the female character as a transition to the journey towards the praised one. But even within this framework, the poet makes large semantic and structural shifts. The female character is his wife, not an inaccessible beloved, and he introduces the character of an infant son. The wife receives a larger structural role in that the journey is described to her, soliciting her (imagined) approval, whereas Abū Nuwās inserts the journey in the middle of the praise section to show his zeal and exertion in reaching the mamdūh.

[^5]The longer emulation (in 65 verses) reuses nearly half of the model's rhyme words (17). Some of these are left in their original context: mujīr (Abū Nuwās 34/Ibn Darrāj 32) ${ }^{22}$ and sarīr (36/48) both refering to the patron, budūr (38/33) to his ancestors, and shakūr (40/57) and jadīr (39/29) both to the poet, though in the last example, Ibn Darrāj makes the wife pronounce him worthy of his patron, while Abū Nuwās had so declared himself. Yamūr (8/17) in both odes describes the journey, but Abū Nuwās applies it to the melting frost, Ibn Darrāj to the undulating mirage in the desert heat.

More frequently Ibn Darrāj transfers the rhyme word to a new agent. Abū Nuwās describes the caliph as expert (khabir, 19/11) of the patron's qualities, and Ibn Darrāj his infant son as expert in touching people's souls, particularly that of his departing father. Amir (9/22a), used for Abū Nuwās's patron, is applied by Ibn Darrāj to himself as a figurative ruler of the desert and his sword. Ghayūr (1a/16), Abū Nuwās's epithet for the beloved's protective father becomes Ibn Darrāj's description of his own zeal for doing the opposite, to wit, abandoning his wife:

> Even if she bids me farewell as a jealous [husband] (ghayūran), I am zealous (ghayūru) in my resolve to cause her pain.

A most inventive transfer is $d$ damīr (5/63); with Abū Nuwās it is his knowledge of people's hidden thoughts, while Ibn Darräj employs its grammatical meaning in an analogy illustrating the service he can provide for his patron.

These alterations in the detail are magnified at the structural level, as Ibn Darrāj uses Abū Nuwās's ode as a template for a cohesive dramatic scenery. The poet foregrounds his family and the hardship of pursuing his career far from them by depicting the rahall as an event imagined in the poet's mind through which he hopes to mollify his wife and gain her blessing for his dangerous quest. The poet withstands another test of his resolve in the person of his wailing infant son. Abū Nuwās's dialogue with an inaccessible beloved is comparably short and does not occupy the entire strophe: the poet's bids his beloved a sober farewell (1-4), boasts of his perspicacity in an inde-

[^6]pendent comparison with a female eagle (5-9) and then returns to his beloved, answering her query why he must go to Egypt by arguing that he does it for her sake as much as for the recipient's grandeur (10-14). This forms the takhallus.

1. Neighbor of our two houses (sc. abode and clan), your father is jealous, and what little one asks for is difficult.
2. If you are neither friend nor spouse [to me], curtains will never cease to veil you from me.
3. You are dwelling with a people between whom [and my people] there is no mutual visiting nor encounter before [the Day of] Resurrection.
4. I am not beholden to love as a predicament nor does every power rule over me...
5. She from whose house my mount took off says: "Hard for us to see you go."
6. Is there no quest for wealth before Egypt?

Certainly, the means of wealth are numerous.
12. I said to her, while her quick [tears] rose and ran down, blended perfume flowing within them,
13. "Let me make many [women] jealous of you with a [profitable] journey to a land where al-Khaṣib rules."
14. If our mounts do not visit the land of al-Khaṣịb, which man shall they visit then?

Ibn Darrāj develops the dialogue into a dramatic skeleton for the whole strophe: In the opening dialogue he implores his wife to let him go, depicting the bad effects of staying and the good augury of traveling (1-5) and further entreats her to let him brave dangers that will ultimately lead to his and her safety and prosperity (6-8). A narrative episode depicts him as resisting his pleading wife and crying infant son and following his ambition (9-15). With an imagined journey the poet virtually justifies himself for leaving his wife, admitting marital jealousy but choosing hardship over injustice. In two conditional clauses (spanning 17-21 and 23-30) he resolves the apparent contradiction by stating that if only his spouse could see him, she would support his decision (16-21).

1. Let the resolutions of the mistreated one go and enter the high and low expanses of the desert.
2. Perhaps through the pang of distance that pains you, a humble man is ennobled and a prisoner freed.
3. Do you not know that lingering is death, and that the houses of the weak are tombs?
4. Have you not consulted the omen birds about the nocturnal journey, and did they not inform you that when they fly to the right they [bring] happiness?
5. She makes me fear the length of the journey, though [the journey is] an envoi for the hand of the 'Āmirid to be kissed.
6. Let me go to drink the stagnant water of the deserts on the way to where the water of noble deeds is fresh
7. To catch unawares the days on the way to where I have a protector from their treachery.
8. For perilous deserts guarantee to him who braves them that the reward is high.
9. When she approached for the farewell
-her sigh and moan having snatched away my composure-
10. Imploring me in the name of [our] time of love and desire, while a little one, spoken to softly, [is lying] in the crib,
11. Incapable of returning speech, his sound is felt in the [vulnerable] spots of souls that love,
12. Making his home in forbidding hearts, embracing arms and bosoms open for him.
13. So every [woman] with admired décolleté offers it to [him], and every hallowed beauty dotes on him. ${ }^{23}$
14. [Then] I disobeyed the soul's intercessor on his behalf, and evening and morning journey led to the habit of nocturnal travel.
15. The wing of desire transported me,
while her sides were shaking from the fear of separation.
16. Even if she bids me farewell as a jealous [husband], I am zealous in my resolve to hurt her.
17. If she saw me, as the intense heat is scorching me and the thin mirage is undulating,
${ }^{23}$ Literally a woman about whose décolleté someone said, "May I be its ransom" ju'iltu fidāhā, and about whose beauty someone said, "May God preserve it" hayyāhā llähu.
18. Letting the blistering heat of noon-days reign over a freeborn face, when the late afternoon is [still] glowing,
19. Breathing wayward scorching winds, stepping on hard-backed, boiling ground,
20. -For death has many guises in a coward's life, and fear is whistling in a brave man's ear-
21. It would be clear to her that I fear injustice
but I endure the bite of the vicissitudes:
22. [ I am$]$ a ruler over death in the waterless waste, who has no minister, when he is frightened, save for a Mashrafian [sword].
23. If she saw me, nocturnal journey being all my resolve, my faint sound conversing with the jinns of the desert,
24. Crossing the desert blindly in the twilight of darkness, with lions growling in the thicket of bushes,
25. When shining stars hovered, as if they were buxom black-eyed [women] in verdant gardens,
26. And the stars of the [heaven's] pole circled till they appeared to be cups of antelopes someone circulated among them,
27. And the paths of the Milky Way fancied they were, on the jet-black parting of the night, the first white hair,
28. [And if she saw] my gleaming resolve, when darkness was terrifying, after languor had lowered the eyelids of the stars,
29. [Then] she would be convinced that hope obeys my ambition and that I deserve the regard of the 'Āmirid,
30. That I stir up by his mention my ambition, and that I warn the vicissitudes of him.

The ode's reception preserves in particular those innovative parts. Al-Tha'ālibī and Ibn Bassām (and following him Ibn Khallikān) ${ }^{24}$ cite the entire departure scene as the longest among several passages. Ibn Bassām qualifies the description of the infant son in particular as unique, and suppresses the fact that the ode is an emulation. Ibn
${ }^{24}$ Al-Tha‘ālibī (Yatīna, I, pt. 2, 112-4) cites in one long and slightly trimmed passage the verses 3-12, 14-20, 23-7 (vv 26 and 27 in reversed order), 29-30, 33-4, 40-2, 45-8, 50-1 and in a second passage 62-4. Ibn Bassām (Dhakhīra, pt. 1, I, 65-7) cites verses 3, 5-6, 8; 9-20; 27-6, 29; 45-9; 60-4. Ibn Khallikān (Wafayāt, I, 135-9 n. ${ }^{\circ}$ 56) cites 3, 5-6, 8 and 9-29.

Darrāj also enlarges the praise section by lengthening the ancestral madīh (36/33-40) and adding both a religious dimension (the early support for the Prophet by al-Manṣūr's forbears) and a description of his festive audience (43-54). These passages form the basis for al-Shaqundī (d. 629/1231-2), in his Epistle in Defense of al-Andalus, to pronounce this madīh as unmatched in the East. Al-Shaqundī likewise dispenses with the fact of the ode's being an emulation and states that, if the great Heamdānid could have heard it, it would have consoled him over the loss of al-Mutanabbī. ${ }^{25}$ In this first example, the emulation request itself is the occasion for the second poem; it is a poetic act living up to its model. But Ibn Darrāj outdoes it with his greater dramatic intensity and cohesion. The ode by Abū Nuwās was popular among poets and audiences, but Ibn Darrāj's emulation would eclipse its fame and stand on its own in the Andalusian reception.

The second example is an emulation of al-Mutanabbī. This poet had reached fame simultaneously in the East and al-Andalus; Ibn Rashīq (d. 456/1063 or 463/1071) described him as superseding all previous poets. The circulation of his verse is attested by numerous commentaries by Andalusian scholars of the fifth/eleventh century, such as al-Iflilī (d. 441/1049) and Ibn Sīdah (d. 458/1066), both of Murcia, and al-A'lam al-Shantamarī (d. 476/1083) of the Algarve. 26 He was intensely popular among the petty kings; al-Mu'tamid $b$. 'Abbād of Seville (r. 461-84/1069-91) esteemed him highly, and the Aftasid al-Muzaffar of Badajoz (r. 437-60/1045-68) used him as the touchstone for his own poets, "He whose poetry is not like the poetry of al-Mutanabbī shall remain silent" (man lam yakun shi'ruhu ka-shi'ri l-Mutanabbī aw shi'ri l-Ma'arrī fa-l-yaskut). ${ }^{27}$ Sariqāt of al-Mutanabbi's motifs are ubiquitous in Andalusian sources, but whole emulations, which abounded for Abū Nuwās, were rare, for al-Mutanabbī's rhetorical complexity and badī‘ style demanded a consummate expertise. He became the ultimate challenge for emulators. Ibn Bassām reports how Ibn Sharaf al-Qayrawānī (d. 459/1067) boasted to his patron Ma'mūn b. Dhī l-Nūn that he could imitate any

[^7]of the poet's odes, but failed after strenuous efforts. His patron, foreseeing this, had given him as a model the very ode containing the above-cited verses in which al-Mutanabbī mocks potential challengers. Ibn Bassām further reports how Ibn Rashīq tried matching another ode but realizing his failure wisely remained silent. ${ }^{28}$ Ibn Darrāj is unique for his many odes in which he matched his Eastern namesake (see above p. 184). The example treated here derives from the second part of his career, when he found refuge, after eight years of wandering, at the court of the Tujībid al-Mundhir b. Yahyā al-Manṣūr al-‘Āmirī of Saragossa (r. 400-14/1010-23), where he was placed in charge of the Dīwān al-rasā’il and composed for this patron a third of his poetic oeuvre.

Al-Mundhir, who had been much involved (and not always honorably) in the last battles over the crumbling caliphate, proved himself an astute ruler of the region around Saragossa at the Upper Frontier (al-Thaghr). He established good diplomatic relationships with his western neighbor Count (qūmis) Sancho García III of Castile, son of Ferdinand (Count García Fernández, described in admiring terms by the historian Ibn Heayyān, d. 469/1076) and his Eastern neighbor Ramón Borrell III of Barcelona. They shared a common enemy in the person of Sancho García of Navarre who sought to broaden his influence in the North, and who would later take over de facto Castile as the guardian of Sancho's minor heir to the throne.

In 1016 or early 1017 under the auspices of al-Mundhir, Sancho of Castile travelled to Saragossa to meet Ramón Borrell of Barcelona to sign a contract of marriage (musāhara) between their children, which is celebrated by Ibn Darrāj in an ode (Dīwān, n. ${ }^{\circ} 43$ ). The couple, Sancha of Castile and Berenguer of Barcelone, were both under twelve years of age at the time and the bride's father died within a year. A second ode, to be discussed below, celebrates the moment at which the Castilian princess arrives from the north-western border in Saragossa to meet the Catalan delegation and to be conducted by al-Mundhir to the north-eastern border to meet her groom (Dīwān, n. ${ }^{\circ} 44$ ). ${ }^{29}$

[^8]The ode's model is al-Mutanabbī's celebration of the reconquest in 343/954 by his patron Sayf al-Dawla of the border fortress of al-Hadath at the northern Arabo-Byzantine frontier. ${ }^{30}$ It extols the Muslim victory and describes in graphic detail the death and destruction wrought among the Byzantine army. No surviving anecdote mentions the fact of the emulation, which has been identified by the Dīwān's editor Maḥmūd 'Alī Makkī. ${ }^{31}$ The prosody of a tawīl rhyming in -imu is frequent and in itself insufficient to establish a direct reference, but the high incidence of repeated rhyme words points to a conscious affiliation to the Eastern classic. Nearly three quarters (34) of al-Mutanabbī’s 46 rhyme words are re-used in the 111 verses long emulation. Particularly telling is a cluster of rare rhyme words that is kept together in the emulation (matā 'im 30/42, șalädim 31/43, arāqim 32/41 and 37). Likewise indicative is the reuse of specific images, for instance, the evocation of the enemy's foreign languages (taräjim 19/75). In both odes, a vanquished leader who escapes barely with his life is described as taking it as his booty (ghānim 38/76), and the winning action of the mamd $\bar{u} h$ is cast in the grammatical vocabulary of verbal apocopation (jawāzim 13/77). It is a fourth image, however, that offers the key to why Ibn Darrāj selected this particular ode, to wit, al-Mutanabbī's use of the wedding image for the routed Byzantines:
29. You scattered them across the entire [fortress hill of] Uhaydib, like dirhams are scattered over a bride ('arūs).

Ibn Darrāj finds here the core of his theme but flips image and reality, portraying the wedding conversely as a military victory:
61. They [sc. the Muslim swords] became grooms (a'rās) and brides ('arā’is) for them, having yesterday spread death and burial among them.

243-51 (including a partial translation of ode n. ${ }^{\circ} 43$, ibidem, 246-7); Makkī, M.'A., "La España cristiana en el Dīwān de Ibn Darrāŷ," Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, 30 (1963-4), 63-104, esp. 88-93 (with a partial translation of the ode n. ${ }^{\circ} 44$, ibid., 91). For the full text, see Appendix 4.
${ }^{30}$ Ory, S., "al-Hadath," EI, New Ed., III, 19-20. Al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, III, 419-26, n. ${ }^{\circ}$ 226. See Appendix 4.
${ }^{31}$ Ibn Darrāj, Dīwān, 64.
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The historian Ibn Heayyān reports that the monarch's actions in serving the interest of Christian kings did not go without criticism. He defends al-Mundhir's politics of peace-keeping as a shrewd strategy to outmanoeuvre a third, more powerful party, namely, the king of Navarre, Sancho García (r. 1000-1035), who had raised territorial claims and become a force to reckon with. Ibn Ḥayyān does not fail to mention that God prevented the two Christian rulers from ultimately benefiting from their alliance, as they both died soon afterwards, followed by the death of the still young groom. ${ }^{32}$ Ibn Darrāj seems to have preempted (or reacted to) exactly this sort of criticism. He gives it a voice within the qasīda as the resistance of the personified swords, whom al-Mundhir forces to accept and concede that peace is the greater victory. Finally Ibn Darräj makes the swords the very protectors of the wedding's celebration.

The relevant passage in the praise part of the ode is structured as follows: generosity and bravery compete over the patron and share him on alternate days (48-51). On a day of generosity al-Mundhir grants peace and convinces the recalcitrant swords that mercy is beneficial to the kingdom and the greater victory (52-8). The swords are then praised as concluding the wedding (59-62), and al-Mundhir as building the edifice of the marriage contract (63-8). This isolates the common enemy Sancho García of Navarre (69-73), whose previous defeat by al-Mundhir is evoked (74-8). The translation shows Ibn Darräj's mastery in compelling the swords to participate in the peaceful ceremony and reinterpreting the adorning of the bride as a military conquest.
49. For they [sc. generosity and gifts] competed over you with white Indian [blades] in glorious deeds; competing behooves whoever is close to you.
50. If a witness for your true bravery challenges them [sc. generosity and gifts], the judge of your just rule, declares them lawful practice,
51. With a day for war and a day for generosity, none was apportioned too little, nor did a divider cheat.
52. On the day of generosity you were called to peace from enmity and granted it, and the tapered swords were spited,
53. Keeping the beloved companion from distant exile -that "companion" being none but war and battles.

[^9]54. You had habituated them to feed on predators, and they feared, when missing these on alternate days, that cattle would claim them.
55. You imposed on them the food of the wolves, and they were angered by a wolf howling in the darkness, fasting.
56. You made them covet the soul of Ibn Shanj (Sancho García), so beyond him they allowed peace with whomever you conclude it.
57. Though some mercy is killing and plundering, and no resolute [man] would reject the profit of war to the realm,
58. The one killed by the sword is food for the wolf, and the one killed by mercy is a servant to the kingdom.
59. Oh, how excellent are bolts of lightning [sc. swords] that do not cease to strike unbelief, and from which a rain of peace pours down.
60. Yesterday they severed necks, today ties of kinship and sacred [bonds] are joined by them.
61. They became grooms and brides for them, having yesterday spread among them death and burial.
62. Through the contract of an edifice you raised, and that none on earth but you tears down.
63. Firanja [Barcelona] is its top, Qashțillu [Castile] its base, and your peace its corner stones and pillars.
64. You gave to the crown of the kingdom the crown of a queen in marriage, and mighty kings glance yearningly at the double crown.
65. You crowned her [sc. the queen] beyond diadems and peaks with fluttering [banners] tracked by aging eagles.
66. You adorned her after bracelets and bangles with a finery whose pearls are shafts [of spears] and severing [swords].
67. You anointed her by the perfume of your mention in the world with twice of what [incense-bearing] caravans offer her.
68. You have lined the horizons of the desert for her wedding feast with cavalries protecting that which stringers [of pearls] place around her neck.
69. [These are] hopes (munan) that harbor for Ibn Shanj a death (maniyya) in which a suffocating spirit gargles parting...

The ode's function as an emulation starkly differs from the first example. Ibn Darrāj adduces the al-Hadath ode as a backdrop, suffusing al-Mundhir's peaceful diplomatic action with the concept of military triumph. This might explain why the fact of the emulation -however challenging a feat- was not emphasized. The silent resonance of the heroic model would better serve Ibn Darrāj's agenda. The famous classic of al-Mutanabbī then acted as a subtext helping to stage an occasion where no blood had been spilled as a glorious victory.

Ibn Darrāj's ode (which cannot be given full credit here) does not reduce itself of course to this dimension and provides opportunity for further inventive parts, such as a long nasïb projecting the lover's emotion into a personified lightning bolt (1-9) with a reprise of this image for the swords in the praise section (59) and a long night of love (13-41) that reveals itself at the end as a dream (forming the takhalluṣ). A third feature, in the final section or metastrophe, is the long sea journey of the poet and his family to the patron $(90-102)$ in lieu of a direct request.

In the two examples, Ibn Darrāj chooses two distinct avenues of response to an Eastern classic: the explicit counter-writing of Abū Nuwās as a literary exercise for the sake of professional success and the tacit summoning of "the vocabulary of a second higher power" ${ }^{33}$ to defend a controversial political strategy of his patron. In the first, the subtext is matched, in the second, turned upside down in order to celebrate an opposite set of values in the sense of Greene's dialectical imitation. Emil Homerin has shown a similar depth of field in Ibn al-Fāriḍ's mystical emulations of al-Mutanabbī. ${ }^{34}$ The form of the ти' $\bar{a} r a d a$, as the case has been made, offered poets a dynamic space that has only just begun to be explored.

[^10]
## APPENDIX OF ARABIC TEXTS

1. Ode of Abū Nuwās for al-Khaṣīb (Dīwān, I, 219-26).

| وميسورُ ما يُرْى لديكِ عسيرُ |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| فلا برحتُ دونى عليك ستورُ |  |
| ولا وصل إلآّ آن يكون نشور |  |
| ,لاكلٌ سلطان عَلَّ فديرُ |  |
|  | 5. |
|  | 6.6. |
|  |  |
| من الشمس قرنٌ والضريبُ يورُ | 8. فأوفت عَلَّ علْياء حقّى بدا لها لها |
|  |  |
| عزيزٌ علينا أن نراكِ تسيرُ | 10. تُول التى من بيتها خّّ موكّ |
|  | 11. أما دون هصر للفِّنى متطلّالِّ |
|  | 12. فقلتُ لها واستعهلتها بوادرُ |
|  |  |
| فأيَّ فتى بعد الخصيب تزورُ |  |
| ويلعلم أَنَّ المائرات تدورُ | 15. فتى يشترى خُسنَ الثنإِ بالها |
| ولكن يصير المودُ حيث يصيرّ |  |
| يكلّ أبو هر به ويسرير | 17. فلم تر عينى سؤددا مثل سؤدد |
| خصيبيّة التصميم حين تسورّ |  |
| فأضوا وكلّ فَ الوناق أسيرُ | 19. سورَ لأها |
| لها خطوةّ بين الفناء قصيرُ | 20. إذا قام غّنّه على الساق حِليةّ |
| فإنّ أمير المؤمين خبيرُ |  |
| إلى أن بدا فـ العارضّن قتِّرِ | 22. وما زلتَّ وليه النصيهةَ يافِّ |
|  |  |

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$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { مع الشمس فـ عينَ أُباغَ تنورُ } \\
& \text { وقد هان من ديك الصباح زميرُ } \\
& \text { وهنَّ إلى زَعْن المدخَّن صورُ } \\
& \text { لها عند أهل الغوطتين شُورُ } \\
& \text { ولم يبق من أَجراكنَّ شطورُ } \\
& \text { سَنا صُهـ، للناظرين يُينرُ } \\
& \text { وهنَّ عن البيت المقدّس زورُ }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { سنا الفجر يسرِي ضوؤُ ويُيرُ } \\
& \text { وفى السَّلُ يُزْهَ منبرٌ وسريرُ } \\
& \text { ومن دونِ عَررات النساء غَيورُ } \\
& \text { إذا استؤذنوا يومَ السلام بدورُ } \\
& \text { وأنت با أَمَّكُ منك جديرُ } \\
& \text { وإلّا فإنّّ عانِز وشَكورُ } \\
& \text { 36. زها بالحصيب السيفُ والرمحُ فـ الوغَى } \\
& \text { 37. جوادٌ إذا الأيدى كنفن عن الندى } \\
& \text { 38. له سالٌّ فـ الأجمهين كأنهم } \\
& \text { 39. فإِّنّ جديرٌ إذ بلغُثُك بالغنى }
\end{aligned}
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2. Ode of Ibn Darrāj for al-Manșūr, (Dīwān, n. ${ }^{\circ} 78$ ).

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| بصَبْرِيْ مها |  |
|  | 10. تانِبُّنِ |
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|  | 12. 11. |
|  | 13. 13. |
|  | 14. 13. |
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\begin{aligned}
& \text { 21. بَلَانَ لها أَنِّ مِنَ الضَّيُ جازِّعٌ }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { كواعِبُ في خُضرِ الحَدَائقِ خَورُ } \\
& \text { كَؤُشُ مَهَا والنَ عِّنَّ مُدِيرُ } \\
& \text { عَلَى مَفْرِ المِلِ الهيمِ قَتَّرْ } \\
& \text { وقد غَضَّ أَجَفَنَ النجومٍ فُوْرُ } \\
& \text { وأَنِّ بُطْفِ العامِرِيّ جـيرُ } \\
& \text { وأَيِّيٌ منهُ للخطوبٍ نَيْرُ } \\
& \text { وتَضديِقُ ظَنٌ الراغِيْيَنَ نُورُ } \\
& \text { وليسَ عَلَيْهِ لِلضَّالَلِ مُهِهِرُ } \\
& \text { شُوسّ تَالَالَ في العُلاَ وبُبُورُ }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ويَتَتَضْعِرْنَ الحطبَ وَهْوَ كبرُ } \\
& \text { ولِسَ لَها في العالَّلِينَ نَصْيرُ } \\
& \text { وما النَّسُ إلا عانِّ وكْوُرُ }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { وكلُّ رجاء في سبواكَ غُرْورُ } \\
& \text { تُوالِلكَ منها أَنْمُمْ وحُجُورُ } \\
& \text { حياتَكَ أَعيادٌ لم وسُرورُ } \\
& \text { عن الشمسِس في أُفْقِ الشُروقِ سُتُورُ }
\end{aligned}
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|  | 51. 51. |
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|  | 57. 56. |
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|  | 63. 63. 63. |
|  | 64. 64. |
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3. Ode of al-Mutanabbī for Sayf al-Dawla (Dīwān, III, 419-36, n. ${ }^{\circ} 226$ ).

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|  | 21. 22. |
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|  | 23. |
| :---: | :---: |
| إلى قول قوم أنت بالغيب عالم | 24. 24. |
| توت الحوافي تها والقوادم | 25. 24. |
| وصار إلى اللّبات والنصر قادم | 26. بضّرْبٌ أتى الهاماتِ والنصرُ غائبٌ |
| وحّّ كأنّ السيف للرمح شاتم | 27. حقرتَ الرَّرَيّْيّات حتّى طرحتها |
|  | 28. ومّن طلب النّحَ الجليل فانِّا |
| كا كُّرت فوق العروس الدراهم | 29. 28. |
| وقد كرّتْ حول الوكر المطام | 30. تدوس بك الحيلٌ الووزَ على النُّزى |
| بأقاتها وهى العتاقُ الصّاده |  |
|  |  |
| قفاه على الإقدام للوجه لأم |  |
| وقد عرفتُ رعَّ الليوث الهائم |  |
| وبالصهر هلاكُّ الأمير الغواشم | 35. 36 |
|  | 36. 37. 3 . |
|  | 37. وينهم صوتَ المشرفيّة فيهِ |
| ولكنّ مغنوماً با ما منك غانِّ | 38. يُسَرُ با أعطاكِ لا عن جها |
| ولكتك التوحيدُ للشرك هازم | 39. |
| وتتّخر الدنيا به لا العواصم | 40. |
| فإنكّ مُططيه وإنّ ناظم |  |
| فلا أنا مذموّ ولا أنت نادم |  |
| إذا وقعتّ فـ مسمعِّه الغابْ | 43. على كلّ طلّإِ إلها برجها |
| ولا فيه مرتابٌ ولا منه عاصم |  |
| وراجيك والإسلامِ أنكّ سالك | 45. هنينًا لضرب الهام والجمد والعُلى |
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4. Ode of Ibn Darrāj for al-Mundhir (Dīwān, n. ${ }^{\circ} 44$ ).

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| وقد صَرّحَتْ منه دموعٌ سواهِم |  |
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| ولا الَّهَبْ وجدِي عليه التّهاكِّمٌ | 8. 8. |
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|  | 10. 10 |
| وما إقْتَبَّ |  |
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|  | 15. 16. |
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|  | 18. 17. |
| وغابُمُ لبي بالمكومَةِ غارِمُ |  |
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| رحيوَ مُدَا |  |
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|  | 24. |
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|  | 32. 33. |
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| وفي فِقَّرِ الشَّططانِ منها قواصِّ |  |
|  |  |
| وانْ سَفَرَتُ يُرْبُعُ عنها ودارِمٍ |  |
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|  | 41. 41. |
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| بأَضعافِ ما نُّهِي إِيَّهِ اللُّطاءُمُ | 67. 67. |
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| حُحُوفأ تُصادِي تَفْهُ ونُصادِمُ |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  |  |
| ولِس له من عاصِ الِّلكِ عاصِم | 73. فَلَّسْ لهُ مِنْ 》ناصِر الدّينِّ ناصِرّ |
| وأَحْشَاؤهُ فَّهُ لها ومَغَاغِّ |  |
|  | 75. أقاطِيُّ مِلْء الأَرِّ أَضْواتُ خَيْلها |
|  | 76. يُنإي نُوساً هازَهُنَّ غَنائِّ |
| برَفْفِكَ قد أَوْفَتْ عَلْهِها الجوَاذِمُ |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  | 80. |
|  | 81. ومَنْ أَعْبَبْتٌ فيهِ أَعاظِّهُ يَرْبِ |
|  |  |
| تُصَلّبُ مِنْهُ للؤجوهِ الأَعاجِمْ |  |
| سُسَاِي بها عِنْدَ السُهَا وتُّا | 84. وشِذْتَ بها في الرُومِ والقُوطِ رِفْةً |
|  | 85. وصَرَّتْ هِها أَقْلامُ ضَيْفِكَ صَرَّةٌ |
| ووافَتْ بها هِّ الحِّجِ المَوابِمُ |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  | 89. فَيَحْدُنِي فيككَ الحِرَاقُ وشَامُهُ |
| وما حَّلَتْ مِنْي إِلَيْكَ المَنَابِمُ |  |
|  |  |
| وطَعْمُ اللَّيَالِي ِِنْدَهُنَّ عَلاَقْمُ |  |
| وخُضُتُ بِنَّ الآلَ والآلُ جاحِمُ | 93. قطعتُ بكنَّ الليلَ والليلُ جامِدّ |
| تَحَرَلَكَ من ذِكْراكَ فيها تَهَائمُ |  |
|  | 95. |


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|  | 98. جآجِّ |
| خَحَافِ ومن عَضِفِ الجُوْبِ قوادِمْ |  |
|  | 100. |
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| فغادِ وسارِ وَهوَ للسَّفْرِ لاقِّ |  |
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| وأَنَّ |  |
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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Letter of Oscar Wilde in Bloom, H., The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry, New York and Oxford, 1973, 6.
    ${ }^{2}$ Greene, T.M., The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poems, New Haven and London, 1982, 41-8.
    ${ }^{3}$ Freedberg, D., "Rubens and Titian: Art and Politics", in H. Goldfarb et al., Titian and Rubens: Power, Politics and Style, Boston, 1998, 29-60.

[^1]:    ${ }^{4}$ Heinrichs, W., "Sariqa", EI, New Ed., supplement, 707-10, with extensive further bibliography. Note also the critics' awareness of the accidental confluence of ideas (tawārud).
    ${ }^{5}$ Schippers, A., "Mu'āraḍa", EI, New Ed., VII, 261; Peled, M., "On the Concept of Literary Influence in Classical Arabic Criticism", IOS, XI (1991), 37-46.

[^2]:    ${ }^{6}$ Losensky, P.E., "'The Allusive Field of Drunkenness': Three Safavid-Moghul Responses to a Lyric by Bābā Fighānī," in S.P. Stetkevych (ed.), Reorientations/Arabic and Persian Poetry, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1994, 227-62.

    7 'Abbās, I., Ta'rikhh al-naqd al-adabī 'inda l-'arab, Beirut, 1981, 473-5, 477-8; Monroe, J.T., "Hispano-Arabic Poetry during the Caliphate of Cordoba," in G.E. v. Grunebaum (ed.), Arabic Poetry: Theory and Development, Wiesbaden, 1973, 125-54, esp. 139-45.
    ${ }^{8}$ Blachère, R., "Un pionnier de la culture arabe orientale en Espagne au X ${ }^{e}$ siècle, Ṣā‘id de Baghdād," Hespéris, 10 (1930), 15-36, esp. 21-3; idem, "La vie et l'oeuvre du poète-épistolier andalou Ibn Darräj al-Qastallī," Hespéris, 17 (1933), 99-121 esp. 101-2; 'Abbās, I., Ta'rīkh al-adab al-Andalusī, Beirut, 1967, 2, 191-213.

[^3]:    ${ }^{9}$ Gruendler, B., "The Qasida," in M.R. Menocal, R. Scheindlin and M. Sells (eds.), The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: The Literature of Al-Andalus, Cambridge, 2000, 211-31, esp. 219-20.
    ${ }^{10}$ Pérès, H., La Poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XIe siècle, Paris, 1937, 72; 'Abbās, Ta'rīkh al-adab al-andalusī, 60; idem, Ta'rīkh al-naqd, 472; Ibn Darrāj al-Qastallī, Abū ‘Umar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, Dīwān; M.'A. Makkī (ed.), Damascus, 1382/1961, repr. 1389/1968, 31.
    ${ }^{11}$ On al-Manșūr, see Ballestín Navarro, X., Al-Mansur y la dawla 'amiriya: Una dinámica de poder y legitimidad en el occidente musulmán medieval, Barcelona, 2004, 133-204; Bariani, L., Almanzor, San Sebastián, 2002, 121-41; Kennedy, H., Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus, London and New York, 1996, 115-22.

    12 'Abbās, Ta'rīkh al-naqd, 477.
    ${ }^{13}$ Al-Tha‘ālibī, Yatīmat al-dahr, M. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (ed.), Beirut, 1366/1947, I, pt. 2, 103, cited by Ibn Bassām, Dhakhirra, M.'A. ‘Azzā̀m et al. (eds.), Cairo, 1364/1945, repr. 1975-79, pt. 1, I, 43-78, esp. 44-5 with further appraisals by the Andalusian historian Ibn Hִayyān and Ibn Shuhayd. Ibn Hazm closes his Epistle on the Merits of al-Andalus, saying Ibn Darrāj alone matched Bashshār, Abū Tammām and al-Mutanabbī combined; al-Maqqarī, Naf̣̣ al-ṭīb, I. ‘Abbās (ed.), Beirut, 1968, III, 178.

[^4]:    ${ }^{14}$ For an example, see Stetkevych, S.P., "The Qasïdah and the Poetics of Ceremony: Three "Ild Panegyrics to the Cordoban Caliphate," in R. Brann (ed.), Languages of Power in Islamic Spain, Bethesda, 1997, 1-48, esp. 28.
    ${ }^{15}$ Ibn Darrāj, Dīwān, 35; al-Maqqarī, Nafh al-ṭīb, IV, 336-8.
    ${ }^{16}$ Pérès, La poésie, 33-4.

[^5]:    ${ }^{17}$ Cf. WKAS II.2, 1121a, 1s. 17-9.
    ${ }^{18}$ Ibn Darrāj, Dīwān, 36-7; Ibn Bassām, Dhakhīra, pt. 4, I, 2-30, esp. 13-4; al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 'A. Diyāb (ed.), Cairo, 1409/1988, III, 305-6, n. ${ }^{\circ}$ 204, 35-6.
    ${ }^{19}$ Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-a 'yān, I. ‘Abbās (ed.), Beirut, 1968-72, I, 135-9, n. ${ }^{\circ} 56$.
    ${ }^{20}$ Abū Nuwās, Dīwān, E. Wagner and G. Schoeler (eds.), Wiesbaden, 1958-2006, I, 219-26. For translated passages, see Wagner, E., Abū Nuwās: Eine Studie zur arabischen Literatur der frühen 'Abbasidenzeit, Wiesbaden, 1965, 72-3, 79, 137, 241 (nasīb), 337, 341 n. For the full text, see Appendix 1.
    ${ }^{21}$ Ibn Darrāj, Dīwān, n. ${ }^{\circ} 78$. See also the translation by Chica Garrido, M. la, Almanzor en los poemas de Ibn Darrā̂̂, Zaragoza, 1979, 69-72. See Appendix 2.

[^6]:    ${ }^{22}$ In the following, the first figure designates Abū Nuwās's ode, the second the ode by Ibn Darrāj respectively.

[^7]:    ${ }^{25}$ Verses cited are 3, 8, 5, 9 (nasī), 32-3, 38, 45-51 (madīh); al-Maqqarī, Naf̣̆ al-titb, III, 195.
    ${ }^{26}$ Pérès, La poésie, 35-6.
    ${ }^{27}$ Ibidem, 33 and 72.

[^8]:    ${ }^{28}$ Ibn Bassām, Dhakhīra, pt. 4, I, 14-5.
    ${ }^{29}$ On the historical circumstances, see Ibn Darrāj, Dīwān, 64; Abū Hayyān, quoted in Ibn Bassām, Dhakhīra, pt. 1, I, 153-5; Viguera, M. J. "La corte tuŷībī de Zaragoza en el Dīwān de Ibn Darrâ̂," in Actas del IV Coloquio Hispano-Tunecino, Madrid, 1983,

[^9]:    ${ }^{32}$ Ibn Bassām, Dhakhīra, pt. 1, I, 153-5.

[^10]:    ${ }^{33}$ Greene, The Light in Troy, 39.
    ${ }^{34}$ Homerin, E., "Mystical Improvisations: Ibn al-Fāriḍ plays al-Mutanabbī," in T. Bauer and A. Neuwirth (eds.), Ghazal as World Literature I: Transformations of a Literary Genre, Wiesbaden, 107-23.

