Throwing Down the Verbal Gauntlet, The Arabic Invective of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq

2024375 [Jorgensen] 001-Prelims-proof-01 [version 20241108 date 20241108 15:37] page -2

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Ву

Cory Jorgensen



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Cover illustration: Lithograph; Camel fight; one of a group of six folios, late nineteenth century, Iran, Arthur please check cover illustration info M. Sackler Collection.

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at https://catalog.loc.gov LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN ISBN 978-90-04-71625-4 (hardback) ISBN 978-90-04-71626-1 (e-book) DOI 10.1163/9789004716261

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To Kristen

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All the world's a stage SHAKESPEARE AS You Like It

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Preface

1 Beginnings

As a doctoral student in classical Arabic literature at the University of Texas at Austin, I made a decision that I did not realize at the time would still be affecting my research more than a decade later. That decision was to write my dissertation about two eighth-century Arab poets, Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, whose poetry forms the genesis for this book.

Jarīr and al-Farazdaq (both d. circa 728 CE)¹ are among the best known of the Umayyad-era (661–750 CE) poets, and are in fact generally known by speakers of Arabic today. I found this out for myself near the beginning of my research, when I was living in Cairo on a fellowship from the Center for Arabic Study Abroad. At a party I attended for fellows from the center one evening, I struck up a conversation with an Egyptian about my research. As soon as I mentioned the names Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, he began quoting some of their most famous lines. Despite the apparent fame of this duo-leaving aside my anecdotal encounter, Egyptian school children are required to read works by the pair²—the scholarship on them is far less copious than it is on their Abbasidera (750-1258 CE) counterparts. Ali Hussein informs us that, "No studies have been devoted to *naqā'id* poetry in the Umayyad era in European languages, except for the entry by G.J.H. van Gelder in the Encyclopaedia of Islam as well as the brief, but profound, sub-chapter written by Salma Jayyusi on this issue."3 Hussein made this point almost fifteen years ago, and since that time few new studies have appeared.⁴

¹ According to the Encyclopaedia of Islam, Jarīr died in 110 AH (728/729 CE), "or a little later." See A. Schaade and H. Gätje, "Djarīr," in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leienderlining changed to macrops below, correct? den: Brill), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_2009. Al-Farazdaq, according to the same source, "died ... about 110/728 or 112/730." R. Blachère, "al-Farazdak," in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam _SIM_2275.

² As will be seen below, much of their poetry contains graphically explicit material which would be unsuitable for school children, who read severely expurgated editions of these poems.

 ³ Ali Ahmad Hussein, "The Formative Age of naqā'id Poetry: Abū 'Ubayda's Naqā'id Jarīr wa-'l-Farazdaq," Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam 34 (2008): 499.

⁴ Ali Ahmad Hussein wrote a follow-up article three years later: "The Rise and Decline of Naqā'id Poetry," Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam 38 (201). In addition to this, Geert Jan van Gelder has dealt with Jarīr and al-Farazdaq in his excellent book chapter, "Sexual Violence in Verse: The Case of Ji'thin, al-Farazdaq's Sister," in Violence in Islamic Thought:

The scholarship that does consider Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *naqā'i*, poetry often omits important artistic issues, focusing instead on more trivial and banal matters. Early Eurocentric Orientalist scholars often focused on the minutiae of Arabic poetry; in other words, they considered it hardly worth noting at all, at least in terms of its literary merits, thus sounding a would-be death knell to any scholar attempting to apply a philological hermeneutics, to study it as poetry qua poetry.⁵ Jaroslav Stetkevych, discussing the critical reception and study of Arabic poetry by these early Arabists says, "Later philologists [i.e., those after Wilhelm Ahlwardt, d. 1909] ... deny all Arabic poetry the quality of art."⁶ He ends the paragraph with the following statement, which although made in 1980, sadly still holds enough truth to be salient today: "As becomes embarrass-ingly apparent, no critical progress has been made in one century of literary Orientalism. Rather the reverse is true."⁷

And so it was in a turn from banalism that I embarked on a dissertation that would eventually study the *naqā'id* poetry of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq not only as poetry, but as a skillfully crafted performance for an audience. That spirit of investigating Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id*⁸ as lyrical poetry, begun during my dissertation research, permeates the pages of this book.

Х

From the Qur`ān to the Mongols, ed. Robert Gleave and István T. Kristó-Nagy (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015); and Raymond Farrin has also written about the issue in *Abundance from the Desert: Classical Arabic Poetry* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011). Most recently, Mohammed Bakhouch has published a monograph, *La rivalité d'honneur ou la fabrique de l'altérité: Les joutes satiriques entre Ğarīr et al-Aḥtal* (Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 2018), which deals with the *naqā'id*. This book, however, focuses not on Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, but on Jarīr and al-Akhṭal (d. 710), who together with the former two, "is considered one of the three most illustrious political poets of the Umayyad period." See Tilman Seidensticker, "al-Akhṭal," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, ed. Kate Fleet et al. (Leiden: Brill), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_SIM_0198.

^{5 &}quot;Recent study on the *qaşīda* can be said to respond to the triple accusation of pre-Islamic Arabic poetry by early orientalists: they perceived it to be molecular in structure, stereotyped in its imagery, and lacking introspection and individual emotion." Beatrice Gruendler, *Medieval Arabic Praise Poetry: Ibn al-Rūmī and the Patron's Redemption* (London: Routledge, 2010), 14.

⁶ Jaroslav Stetkevych, "Arabic Poetry and Assorted Poetics," in *Islamic Studies: A Tradition and Its Problems*, ed. Malcolm Kerr (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1980), 115.

⁷ Stetkevych, "Arabic Poetry," 115.

⁸ Throughout this monograph I distinguish between the term *naqā`id* with a lower-case *n* and *Naqā`id*, upper case. The former refers to any poem or set of poems in this poetic genre, while the latter means specifically the *Naqā`id* of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq.

2 Manuscripts

In the Asian and African Studies reading room of the British Library sits a manuscript that was produced nearly a millennium ago.⁹ It is just over eight inches long and approximately five and three-quarter inches wide, about the size of a novel. One glance reveals that it is not a new book, but the layman might be hard pressed to guess just how old it is. It most resembles a tattered notebook of sorts (in Arabic), with an embossed, red cover, perhaps of leather. This "modern" binding, which must by now be at least one hundred years old, has started to detach on one side, so that the red spine of the book flaps back and forth as you flip through it. The original folios have rough edges and occasional tears, several of which have been patched up with clear tape. These folios have been attached to backing paper to fill in any gaps and trimmed to a uniform size, then sewn together into a codex.¹⁰ The manuscript was in this state, apparently, at the time Anthony Bevan took possession of it, probably at the beginning of the 1890s.¹¹ This nine-hundred-year-old manuscript has sat in this room at the British Library since it opened its new location at St. Pancras in 1997. Before that time it was located less than a mile away in the British Museum, where during the first decade of the twentieth century, Bevan sat poring over the beautifully hand-written script to produce his three-volume work, The Naķā'id of Jarīr and al-Farazdaķ.

Bevan was not the only scholar working on *naqā'id* poetry at the turn of the last century. In 1922, Anṭūn Ṣāliḥānī published an edition of the *Naqā'id* of Jarīr and al-Akhṭal, incorrectly listing Abū Tammām as the compiler.¹² In addition to this, Sezgin mentions a book of *naqā'id* between Jarīr and 'Umar b. Laja'.¹³ In 1998, Khalīl 'Imrān al-Manṣūr produced an edition of the *Naqā'id* of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq that is substantially the same as Bevan's version.¹⁴ In choosing to focus on Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, I omit al-Akhṭal, who is often considered the

^{9 &}quot;According to Rieu, this MS is probably of the 12th century of the Christian era." Anthony Ashley Bevan, ed., *The Naķā'iḍ of Jarīr and al-Farazdaķ*, 3 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1905–1912), 1:xii.

¹⁰ I assume that the original manuscript leaves were glued to newer paper at some point in time, although the bond between manuscript leaf and paper is so seamless that it is difficult to tell exactly how they were attached.

¹¹ Bevan says, "Some time after his [i.e., Professor William Wright's, who had worked on the manuscript previous to Bevan] death, which took place in 1889, these copies were entrusted to me." Bevan, *The Naķāʾiḍ*, 1:v.

¹² See Anțūn Șāliḥānī, *Naqāʾiḍ Jarīr wa-l-Akhțal* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1922).

¹³ Fuat Sezgin, Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums, vol. 2, Poesie bis ca. 430 H. (Leiden: Brill, 1975).

¹⁴ Al-Manşūr's edition, however, lacks the volume of indices and appendices that Bevan

third member of the Umayyad "triumvirate" of poets. This is historically consistent with Abū 'Ubayda's (d. 823) compilation *Kitāb al-Naqā'iḍ: naqā'iḍ Jarīr wa-l-Farazdaq* ("The Book of Flytings: The Flytings of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq"),¹⁵ which serves as the primary source of poems cited in this book. His collection focuses on the *naqā'iḍ* poems of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, together with several other interlocutors, including al-Akhțal.

In his Kitāb al-Naqā'id, Abū 'Ubayda arranged the poems into what scholars assume is roughly chronological order, due to a large number of interlinear notations concerning events the poems in question refer to, as well as a number of historical allusions in the poetry itself.¹⁶ Bevan compiled his edition of Abū 'Ubayda's work from three manuscripts dating from the twelfth, thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, and issued the work in three volumes between the years 1905 and 1912. The first two volumes consist of a printing of the poems in bold, numbered by line, with interlinear commentary (mostly from Abū 'Ubayda, but including later interlineations from various manuscripts) which consists of glosses (in Arabic) of rare and idiomatic usage in addition to historical notations that add context to the poems. The third volume comprises an index of poems arranged according to rhyme and meter, "parallel and illustrative passages from other works,"17 an excellent cross reference, an index of personal and tribal names, an index of place names, and a glossary of rare and idiomatic usage throughout the Naqā'id. There is also an index of Persian words and phrases and a list of additions and corrections. Bevan provides no English translation, and the only translation I am aware of is a 1974 edition by Arthur Wormhoudt,¹⁸ which is riddled with inaccurate or non-idiomatic renderings.

I had spent the intervening years since the time I began working on my dissertation looking only at published editions of this work, and questions began to arise in my mind. I knew that published editions sometimes hid details that only physical manuscripts could reveal. Such details as page size and material, ink color, folded page corners, shifting styles of penmanship that might indicate multiple scribes, and other physical traces that can be found on manu-

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includes. See Khalīl 'Imrān al-Manṣūr, ed. *Kitāb al-Naqā'iḍ: naqā'iḍ Jarīr wa-l-Farazdaq*, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1998).

¹⁵ This corpus consists of over one hundred poems, mostly *naqā'id* between Jarīr and al-Farazdaq.

¹⁶ See Bevan, *The Naķāʾiḍ*, 1:xvi–xix.

¹⁷ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 3:viii.

¹⁸ Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, The Naqaith of Jarīr and al Farazdaq, Translated from the Text of Anthony Ashley Bevan, trans. Arthur Wormhoudt (Oskaloosa, IA: William Penn College, 1974).

scripts are not typically conveyed in printed editions.¹⁹ Even more critically, marginal notes that can reveal important clues about a manuscript's reception and history are sometimes left out, and other editorial decisions are made that affect the interpretation of the printed edition.

In July of 2014, I went to London with funding from George Washington University to see for myself the manuscript Bevan had looked at one hundred years earlier to compile his edition. As I sat in a carrel in the Asian and African Studies reading room at the British Library, one situated adjacent to the front desk where the librarian is able to keep an eye on patrons who have taken out an ancient manuscript, I was at last able to see and handle in person the document that had had such an effect on my academic studies for so many years.

The first thing that stuck out to me were the colors. The pages all seemed to be written in black ink. However, as I started flipping through the manuscript, I saw flashes of red, lines done in red ink that indicated the beginning of a new poem, and which usually said something like, "And then Jarir answered ...," or, "And then al-Farazdaq said ...," and so forth, with the remaining lines of poetry returning to black ink once more.²⁰ The pages did not look new, but some were in better condition than others. They were aged, gray more than tan, perhaps what one would expect from paper that is nearly one thousand years old. There were many instances of stains and ink blots as well as other deformities. Several pages had been ripped in two and either taped or glued back together at some point, and several small holes and even smaller pin holes appear at various places in the manuscript. There are also near the end of the document two non-ancient "restorations" where it appears that part of a page went missing, and so a rectangular piece of paper, approximately one-fifth of the page in size, was attached, with the writing continued (in a later hand) so as to preserve the meaning of the text. I noticed at the top of each folio on the left-hand side penciled-in numbers, which I soon realized were folio numbers inserted by a

20 There is one instance of a straight line of red ink that looks like it is crossing out half a line of poetry. It may not have been intentional, but may instead be a simple scribal error or something of the like.

¹⁹ Samer Ali discusses this problem: "As a physical artifact, each manuscript provides clues that often tell a story, and I have endeavored to foreground those stories by gauging the ways the book has been bound, supplemented, and rebound, interpreting marginal notes, noting shifts in script style or ink color, and observing the many strategies that manuscript owners employed to personalize and customize tradition." Samer M. Ali, *Arabic Literary Salons in the Islamic Middle Ages: Poetry, Public Performance, and the Presentation of the Past* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 8.

previous scholar, likely to facilitate work on the manuscript. The more I looked, the more I was convinced that travelling over 3,500 miles to see this document had not been in vain.

"Oriental 3758," the shelfmark that identifies the manuscript, contains many marginal notes that were likely written some time after the manuscript itself, but probably not during the modern period, since the style is similar, though written in a different hand and usually in different ink to that of the main content of the manuscript. Some of these notes are included in Bevan's print version, but others are left out, without any system that I could discern. Even more problematic, some of the passages from the manuscript seem to have been misinterpreted and printed incorrectly in the printed edition, leading not only to a misunderstanding of the meaning of the poem at hand, but also altering the poetic meter.²¹

My encounter with these manuscripts increased my enthusiasm for my research topic, but more important, made me realize the fragility of history. These manuscripts were preserved and passed down to future generations; others were not. Even still, sorting out variant readings, interpreting marginal notes, and creating a publishable version of the poems is only the first step. Once we know what the poets were saying, the challenge remains to interpret their larger meaning. In the case of the manuscript I went to London to study, I wanted to see if I could discover the impact these poems had at the time the poets performed them, during the first century after the Prophet Muhammad's death.

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For an example of this, see Chapter 3, footnote 39.

Acknowledgments

In 2010, my then Ph.D. supervisor, Samer Ali, suggested to me Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id* as a possible thesis topic, and went on to see me through the long process of research, writing, revising, and defending my dissertation, and for that I owe him my utmost gratitude. Also instrumental in guiding me through the beginnings of this research were the other members of my committee, whom I wish to acknowledge and thank. In particular, Kristen Brustad and Mahmoud Al-Batal, together with Samer Ali, not only helped me with my dissertation, but through their courses, mentorship, letters of recommendation, and advice, have helped shape me into the scholar I am today.

In the intervening years since beginning work on this topic, I have made numerous conference presentations on different aspects of Jarīr, al-Farazdaq, and the *Naqāʾiḍ*. Many times at these conferences, such venerated scholars in the field as Suzanne Stetkevych and the late Jaroslav Stetkevych have given me helpful feedback and advice on one aspect of my research or another. I thank them for this, and also for the dinners they generously paid for after conference panels.

The Journal of Arabic Literature has published an article that forms the basis of Chapter 1, and I would like to thank them, together with Editor-in-Chief, Muhsin al-Musawi, for granting me permission to republish a revised version of it here.

In 2011, I received a Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowship to travel to Egypt to complete work on my dissertation. Since that time, I have traveled to the United Kingdom several times to conduct archival research at the British Library in London and the Bodleian Library in Oxford, to France twice to research manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg, and to Germany to research the archives of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, all with assistance from grants made possible by George Washington University.

In recent years, as I have revisited my old translations of the *Naqā`id* and translated additional passages, I have relied on help from scholars in the field. Among these is Ali Hussein of the University of Haifa, whose translation help has improved the quality of the poetic passages found in this book. I would like to thank him for this and for his two excellent articles on Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, which have greatly aided my research. My good friend and colleague, Ebtissam Oraby, has given up countless hours, sometimes at a moment's notice, to read and ponder with me many of the passages from the *Naqā`id* that I cite in the book. My highest thanks go to her for this. I would also like to thank

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

my colleagues in the Department of Classical and Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at The George Washington University for supporting my research efforts, and especially Eric Cline, who offered invaluable advice at several stages of the process.

The unsung heroes of any project as time consuming as a full-length monograph are the people one counts on for support day in and day out. My children, Emily and Eric, and my wife, Kristen, have sustained me through the many years of research and writing with understanding, kind words, and patience when mine wears thin. I thank them most of all.

XVI

Introduction

I left your mother bending over, Jarīr, 87 It's as if she's a well-worn path!

وتَرَكْتُ أَمَّكَ يَا جَرِيرُ كَأَنَّهَا لِلنَّاسِ بَارِكَةً طَرِيقٌ مُعْمَلُ¹

Naqā'id and "The Naqā'id" 1

One of the distinguishing features of naqā'id poetry, including Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's Naqā'id, is its use of hijā', a genre of Arabic poetry often translated as "satire." This term does not, however, comprehensively describe the type of poetry the poets were composing. Van Gelder explains:

One term, $hij\bar{a}$, commonly translated as 'satire', is hardly sufficient to cover a wide range, from the lofty, moralistic and serious to the coarse, amoral, immoral, obscene and flippant; from fun and wit to insipidity and dullness; from objectivity and distance to anger and emotion; from subtlety and obliqueness to bluntness and blatancy. Obviously, 'satire' is an inadequate translation in many cases: 'invective', 'lampoon', 'abuse' and related words are often more exact.²

The *hijā*' poetry included in Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id* is probably best viewed as "invective," "lampoon," "abuse," and the like, as suggested by van Gelder, rather than as "satire." The term naqā'id itself describes a class of poetry that dictates specific rules.³ Derived from the verb *nāqaḍa*, which means "to

¹ Al-Farazdaq addressing Jarīr in Poem 39. Bevan, The Naķā'id, 1:205.

G.J.H. van Gelder, The Bad and the Ugly: Attitudes towards Invective Poetry ($Hij\bar{a}^{2}$) in Classical Arabic Literature (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 1.

The English-language genre with which $naq\bar{a}'id$ are most closely associated, and which is, in 3 fact, the closest approximation of a translation of the term *naqā'id* into English, is "flytings." These are defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as "poetical invective; originally, a kind of contest practised by the Scottish poets of the 16th c., in which two persons assailed each

contradict," but also connotes "destroying," "demolishing," and "tearing down,"⁴ $naq\bar{a}$ 'id or $mun\bar{a}qadat$ are "a form of poetic duelling in which tribal or personal insults are exchanged in poems, usually coming in pairs, employing the same metre and rhyme."⁵ The topics $naq\bar{a}$ 'id poetry employs range from arguments arising from everyday affairs to the insulting of one's opponent and members of his tribe. The latter are especially prevalent in the $Naq\bar{a}$ 'id of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, who deploy a hyperbolic variety of lampoon throughout their poetry. $Naq\bar{a}$ 'id can take a variety of forms, from simple and short, to the lengthy tripartite qasida, the latter of which is the most common form employed by Jarīr and al-Farazdaq.

The poetic form of *naqā'id* arose in and among the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula during the pre-Islamic era (pre-610 CE). The time, place, and peoples of the land all had their influence on the form. Large parts of this peninsula are desert: rock and sand as far as the eye can see, few plants, fewer still animals, and little indication of water. This place is home to the oryx, the sand gazelle, the ibex and more. In the centuries predating the Prophet Muhammad's meteoric rise to a coveted place in the annals of world history, nomadic tribes wandered the deserts of the Arabian Peninsula in search of precious resources, exploiting their camels' ability to travel days without water in their unforgiving environment, traveling from oasis to oasis, eking out an existence. At times, as a last resort if it came to it, these desert peoples would milk their camel, slaughter it, eat the meat, and drink its blood.

Arabic poetry was born among these extremities, and from here it took its character, the harsh environment reflected in the poetry. This character has remained largely present in *naqā'iḍ* poetry throughout the ages, but as the pre-Islamic period gave way to the Islamic era in the early seventh century, the context that the poetry was performed in began to shift. Among the changes that occurred was a trend towards urbanization and development during the Umayyad era. As Paul Wheatley says, "At the beginning of the seventh century relatively little urban development existed in the Ḥijāz,"⁶ the region along the west coast of the Arabian Peninsula. This would change over time as Arabian nomads began to inhabit settled locations, where they began

other alternately with tirades of abusive verse." *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "flyting," http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/71711?redirectedFrom=flyting#eid.

⁴ *"Nāqaḍa*" is a Form III verb. The meanings relating to "destroying," "demolishing" and "tearing down" come from the related Form I verb, *naqaḍa*.

⁵ G.J.H. van Gelder, "Nakā'id," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam Online*, 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_5768.

⁶ Paul Wheatley, *The Places Where Men Pray Together: Cities in Islamic Lands: Seventh through the Tenth Centuries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 32.

to interact with a larger and more diverse group of people. Again, Wheatley says, "By the time of Muhammad new functional units were beginning to appear in Makkan society side by side with the so-called clans, namely clusters of prosperous merchants, together with their dependents, including clients."⁷ These pre-urbanizational changes began to cause tribal relationships to shift. A nomadic tribesman who had had little contact with anyone outside of the extended family, now surrounded by peoples of different tribes, began to form new relationships and new bonds that were not based solely on blood ties.

Migration into newly formed cities during the Arab conquests brought about changes in how many people approached old customs, rituals and aesthetic systems. In addition to shifts in tribal relationships, there began to develop an Islamic ethos that valued ideas over blood ties. Wheatley attributes this to the teachings of Muhammad, which, he says, "increasingly emphasized the importance of the community of Muslim converts versus the bloodline of [tribe] and [clan]."8 This meant that a person's concept of identity began to be pulled in different directions. In a nomadic tribe, loyalties were limited to one's own relatives. Identity in such a setting was based almost exclusively upon one's relationships and interactions with his or her own family members. With the advent of the new Islamic community, blood ties began to give way to extra-familial associations as the individual began to see him or herself as part of the larger, unrelated group. As Marshall Hodgson says, "[As] urban rule expanded[,] [n]ew luxuries were discovered ... traders sought out more distant sources of supply, and armies followed them to impose a more secure authority" with the result that "[the] peoples, among whom Islam was to develop, were increasingly linked together."9 These changes in social orientation were reflected in many different aspects of people's lives, among which was poetry performance.

Arab poets of the pagan era performed lampoon poetry to attack other tribes they competed with for resources and prestige. The aims of this poetry included dishonoring another's tribe and bolstering the repuation of one's own. As tribal relations began to shift in the first Islamic century, and people began to identify more and more with the Islamic community, and "as the individual began to act more freely in his own private interest," Hodgson explains, "tribal expec-

⁷ Wheatley, The Places Where Men Pray Together, 18.

⁸ Wheatley, The Places Where Men Pray Together, 25.

⁹ Marshall G.S. Hodgson, The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization, Vol. 1, The Classical Age of Islam (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 110.

tations came to fit less well."¹⁰ We will explore a manifestation of this in Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'iḍ* in Chapter 1.

Jarīr and al-Farazdaq had to work around certain prejudices that had always existed about poetry,¹¹ and especially about lampoon poetry.¹² Although this prejudice had existed before, it was perhaps exacerbated with the coming of Islam, especially as regards *hijā*', which with its propensity to arouse the passions of participants, was disapproved of because of fear of disrupting the fragile ties the new Islamic community had brought.¹³ Poets, Jarīr and al-Farazdaq included, were careful not to disrupt these ties (usually!), and refrained from performing on occasion or sometimes modified their performances in some way.¹⁴ In other cases, there were formal restrictions laid upon them by the state, such as the Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's ban on *hijā*', which was particularly devastating for Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's brand of poetry. Badawi explains:

In the early history of Islam $hij\bar{a}$ ' (satire) seemed to suffer. Al-Ḥuṭay'a complained of the disastrous effect of the policy of the Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb upon poets: by forbidding satire 'Umar made it difficult for poets to earn a living through eulogizing patrons and attacking their enemies.¹⁵

Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, living a generation after 'Umar had enacted his policies, were still seeing the effects of these policies, and sometimes had to work around them. Writing later in the Abbasid era, Ibn al-Rūmī poetizes about *hijā*':

¹¹ See, for example, Sūrat al-Shuʿarā' ('The Poets'), Q. 26: 224–226, which says: "وَالَشْعُرَاءَ يَتَبِعُهُمْ يَقُولُونَ مَا لَا يَفْعَلُونَ." "(And the poets—[only] the deviators follow them. Do you not see that in every valley they roam, and that they say what they do not do?", Şaheeh International).

12 Van Gelder explains how terms surrounding these prejudices evolved. He says, "Before and during Islamic times many existing prejudices against poetry, and *hijā*' in particular, derive from identical motives, most of them inspired by feeling of pride, disdain, dignity, decency—in short, the motives of a shame culture. After the coming of Islam the surviving prejudices were dubbed religious since everything fitting in with Islam was appropriated as Islamic." Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 14.

- 13 "Apparently," van Gelder notes, "what is objectionable in *hijā*, is, above all, the danger of stirring up unnecessary strife and the severing of bonds newly joined by Islam." Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 29.
- 14 Hussein notes an instance in which al-Farazdaq chose to perform a poem in a cemetery rather than at Mirbad market, apparently because he had been harassed by the governor for performing *naqā'id* poetry. See Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 332–333.
- 15 M.M. Badawi, "From Primary to Secondary Qașīdas: Thoughts on the Development of Classical Arabic Poetry," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 11 (1980): 5.

¹⁰ Hodgson, The Venture of Islam, 167.

Not because of panegyrics, but for fear of *hajw*¹⁶ do we receive presents from caliphs.¹⁷

This verse demonstrates both the power of $hij\bar{a}$, fear of it, apparently, induced caliphs to give poets gifts—and a possible reason $hij\bar{a}$; poets could be dissuaded from performing.

Jarir and al-Farazdaq were contemporaries, both having been born in the mid-seventh century CE. Both also belonged to various branches of the Banū Tamīm tribe, and both were well regarded in their time.¹⁸ Al-Farazdaq was born into a Bedouin tribe, but grew up in the Iraqi city of Basra.¹⁹ His life was colorful and proved rich in material for his opponents to lampoon him with, as he spent much of it dealing with Nawar, one of his many wives, some of whom "seem to have been on bad terms with him."20 Feisty and able to hold her own with the famous poet, Nawār prodded her older husband to divorce her, which he finally did, later regretting it.²¹ Less is known of Jarīr's early life, but he grew up in the deserts of the Najd on the Arabian Peninsula. Jarir came from a family not unfamiliar with poetry, as his father "seems to have been a poet."²² Despite this, when he first entered the poetic fray (with Ghassān b. Dhuhayl), he is portrayed as having been young and unaccustomed to poetic performance. Hussein says, "His family prevented him [from composing a poem condemning Ghassān] because they saw him only as a beginner while Ghassān was considered an expert."23 Jarīr, like al-Farazdaq, had less than an entirely idyllic family life. In his case, his beloved wife died, and he mourned her in poetry, composing a eulogy for her. This did not stop his opponent (al-Farazdaq) from using his grief as a source of lampoon.24

Although both Jarīr and al-Farazdaq had roots in the Arabian Peninsula, each eventually made his way to the city of Basra, where the poets would

¹⁶ *Hajw* is equivalent to $hij\bar{a}$ ².

¹⁷ Quoted by van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 116.

¹⁸ Jayyusi says, "Along with al-Akhtal [sic] and Jarīr, [al-Farazdaq] was regarded as one of the foremost poets of the Umayyad period." Salma K. Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," in Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period, ed. A.F.L. Beeston et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 401.

¹⁹ Mahmood Ibrahim describes the city as "a busy port where merchants prospered and where commerce played a crucial role." Mahmood Ibrahim, *Merchant Capital and Islam* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 119.

²⁰ Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 403.

²¹ See Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 403.

²² Hussein, "The Formative Age," 501.

²³ Hussein, "The Formative Age," 502.

²⁴ See Poem 93, lines 83–85, pp. 52–53.

engage in a decades-long "feud" consisting of an ongoing *naqā'id* competition between each other, with occasional other interlocutors.²⁵ Whereas Jarir got his start in poetry relatively late in life as an inexperienced shepherd who challenged an expert poet from a rival clan who had been "reciting invective poetry against his people,"²⁶ al-Farazdaq's talent as a poet was established early: "[He] seems very soon to have made himself known in his tribe by laudatory and epigrammatic compositions in the Bedouin style."²⁷ Al-Farazdaq, by all accounts the more conventionally trained poet, seems not to have wanted to lampoon Jarīr at all. "Al-Farazdag composed his first poem," Hussein notes, "... in order to try and convince Jarīr not to engage him in a poetic battle."28 This tactic obviously did not work, as the poets became famous for their protracted series of naqā'id poems.

Jarīr was celebrated for his outstanding poetic ability, and is, according to Schaade, "one of the greatest Islamic-Arabic poets of all time."²⁹ Al-Farazdaq was also renowned as an accomplished and prolific poet, with poems in a number of styles. Although each is known for various genres of works such as praise poems (*madīh*) and elegy (*marthiva*), the predominant type of poetry that made them famous-and that any native speaker of Arabic is likely to think of upon hearing their names—is the *naqā'id* contests that were marked by invective and hyperbole, and that showcased the performance skills of the poets within the framework of non-violent tribal conflict.³⁰

- 26 Hussein, "The Formative Age," 503.
- Blachère, "al-Farazdak." 27
- Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 306. 28
- 29

The contest is said to have lasted forty years. This, however, should probably not be taken 25 literally, since the number forty is a famous topos. Cf. the War of al-Basūs, the Israelites' wanderings in the desert and Jesus' forty-day fast. It is nevertheless not unlikely that the contest lasted for several decades.

Schaade and Gätje, "Djarīr." Inderlining changed to macrons below, correct? Although Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's poetry was non-violent, it was not always tranquil. Brus-30 tad says, "Jarīr, al-Farazdaq, and other poets specializing in satire and invective poetry must have caused many public disturbances with their bawdy and caustic poetry. A line from one of Jarīr's long retorts to al-Akhțal, dated 691, addresses the Zubayrid governor of Basra, who is said to have destroyed the houses of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq in punishment for their derisive exchanges at Mirbad." Kristen Brustad, "Jarir," in Dictionary of Literary Biography, Vol. 311, Arabic Literary Culture, 500-925, ed. Michael Cooperson and Shawkat M. Toorawa (Farmington Hills, MI: Thomson Gale, 2005), 245. Brustad also notes the occurrence of indirect violence, or near violence, over the pair's poetry: "Abu al-Faraj al-Isbahani reports in Kitab al-aghani (Book of Songs) that, during the campaign against rebel Kharijites in the 690s, al-Muhallab's soldiers almost came to blows over the question of who was the better poet" (247). Even here, though, the focus of the near fistfight is poetic superiority, not tribal honor. Van Gelder says, "Only rarely are poets officially pun-

Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *naqā'iḍ* contests were not the first of their kind; these types of competitions had existed in the pre-Islamic era, where they served the important function of determining the fates of clans and tribes. Taking the form of poetic battles, they pitted competing poets from opposing tribes, and sometimes served as a prelude to tribal warfare. Nor did *naqā'iḍ* end with Jarīr and al-Farazdaq in the Umayyad era; just as these contests had pre-Islamic precedents, so too did they persist into the Abbasid period.

It may not be hyperbole to say that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's poetic dueling was unique. Together with that of al-Akhṭal, who also jousted verbally with Jarīr, it was the most famous example of its kind during the Umayyad era, and perhaps among all eras before and after the coming of Islam. We may even say that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq "broke" the genre—Hoorelbeke hints at as much when, in the conclusion to his article, he says "Jarīr and al-Farazdaq [will] have no worthy successors."³¹ Nevertheless, to intimate that this genre of poetry died with the two great lampoonists of the Umayyad era would be to deny the great Abbasid satirists who came after the famous pair.

The status of lampoon poetry in the Abbasid era probably had as much to do with the time period itself as it did with individual poets. The Umayyad era saw the development of relationships not based solely on blood ties, and the Abbasid age took this a step further. Personal relationships, and especially the relationship a poet had with a patron—well known and well-to-do poets on a par with Jarīr and al-Farazdaq would almost certainly have had patrons—became crucial. With the increase in importance of these relationships and ties, a patron's expectations began to influence poetic production.³² Gruendler goes so far as to say that "Ultimately … the poet owed his patron loyalty [even] against his own personal preferences."³³ This meant that lampoon poetry no longer involved the same kind of personal rivalry between poets that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq had engaged in, but rather it was a genre that had acquired a number of influences—and influencers—pulling it in several different directions. Ironically, this makes Abbasid-era lampoon in some

ished for *hijā*'. Jarīr and his opponent 'Umar lbn Laja' were both flogged and exposed in public at the order of al-Walīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik 'who had a pious nature (*yata'allah fī nafsih*)' and said, 'Must you two slander (*taqdhifān*) chaste women?!" 'Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 31.

^{31 &}quot;Ğarīr et al-Farazdaq n'auront pas de dignes successeurs." Mathias Hoorelbeke, "La joute satirique au début de l'époque abbasside (132/750–197/813): Un espace poétique autonome?," Arabica 66 (2019): 620.

³² See Hoorelbeke, "La joute satirique," 609–610.

³³ Gruendler, Medieval Arabic Praise Poetry, 9.

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ways a closer analogue to its pre-Islamic counterpart than to the Umayyad-era *naqā`id* of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq.

2 Performance

Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's poetry has come down to us in the form of manuscripts that have been handed down and copied over the centuries, and moved from place to place, until they at last find themselves in the hands of scholars who study them and laymen who read them. But this is not the way these poems were meant to be consumed when they were first composed. The *Naqā'id* were originally meant to be performed for an audience, and although we cannot be sure how the poets composed these poems, there is some evidence that they recorded them before delivering them, or at least that they did this sometimes.³⁴ In other cases, they may have composed a poem, especially if it was in answer to a lampoon that had just been delivered against them, extemporaneously. Whatever the particular method of a certain poem, these poems were meant to be recited and performed, and studying them with that in mind will help us arrive at a better understanding of them.

Assuming an oral performance, there must have been an audience to receive the poems that were being recited, to react to them, and to form a part of a performer-audience relationship. The importance of this relationship cannot be overemphasized. To the degree that a poet is performing for an audience, whether spontaneous or not, that poet will be affected by the actions, reactions and sometimes even interactions of members of the audience. The relationships between poets and their audiences had been present since pre-Islamic times, but the dynamics of these relationships were evolving as the Umayyads took power and a new Islamic dynasty dawned.

The Islamic era was witness to a changing landscape, as the nomadic tribes of Arabia encountered the rising Islamic empire. In Arabia's cities especially, social and demographic changes began to be reflected in the culture as traditional tribal ties were accompanied by other markers of affiliation, such as one's

³⁴ It is also possible that poets sometimes composed their poems at their leisure, i.e., not spontaneously, but without recording them. Hussein gives an account that presents Jarīr doing this, noting another account that slightly contradicts the first: "The present version of the account shows that although Jarīr composed his poem at home, he did not write it down. It presents him sitting calmly in his room, thinking but not speaking, and composing the poem in his mind. However, this information is contradicted by another version of the account according to which Jarīr dictated his *naqīda* in his chamber to a *rāwiya* (transmitter) of his called al-Ḥusayn." Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 326.

position and influence in the community. In a tribe, one is born, lives, and dies surrounded by other members of the tribe. These persons form a great deal of one's social circle. It is in this sort of an environment that one cultivates the ties that become stronger than all others. There was very little likelihood that one would abandon the familial ties of the tribe to form strong ties with those not of one's own tribe. As Bamyeh says, "The law of cohesiveness of the nomadic tribe, *'asabiyyah*, developed around the idea of *nasab*. It entailed unquestioning loyalty to descendants of the same blood line."³⁵ That loyalty never vanished, but in the cities that were becoming ever more important in the Arabian Peninsula, it could become strained by the social stratification that urban living brought. Some nomads now found themselves living in a more cosmpolitan environment, and began to prize more highly their own personal interests.

These cultural changes affected how an audience might have reacted to poets reciting tribally-based poetry. Whereas in pre-Islamic *naqā'id* performances, the audience might have reacted to a poet's performance based largely on their tribal affiliation, Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's audience would have likely received the duo's performances differently because of the context of their time. They might have felt freer to support one or the other of the two poets based on personal interests rather than strictly along tribal lines. Jarīr and al-Farazdaq were aware of this dynamic and played to an audience that favored them based on skill.

To understand an Umayyad-era performance, therefore, including one of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id* performances, it is vital to understand the poetaudience relationship, to investigate how they interacted with one another, and to explore what each side gained from these interactions. One way to do this is by studying other comparable modern performances, and comparing them to Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id* performances. The following chapter, makes such a comparison by taking up the modern genre of rap battles known as "the Dozens."

³⁵ Mohammed Bamyeh, *The Social Origins of Islam: Mind, Economy, Discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 44.

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The Performance: Jarīr, al-Farazdaq, and the *Naqā'iḍ*

"Your mother wears combat boots."1

. . .

"You [pair of] bathroom slippers!"²

•••

1 Performance Aspects of the *Naqā'id*

In pre-Islamic (pre-seventh century CE) Arabia, when a dispute arose between rival tribes, each would select its best poet and this duo would engage in a battle of words. The winner of the performance would settle the dispute, though sometimes it might provoke an actual battle between the two tribes. These poetic contests, called *naqā'id*, continued through the advent of Islam and into the Umayyad era. They could set in motion events that affected the whole tribe, or just certain individuals within it, but in either case, dire consequences often followed.³

Simon J. Bronner, "A Re-Examination of Dozens among White American Adolescents," Western Folklore 37 (1978), 123.

^{2 &}quot;Ya shibshib hammam!" Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, "Mud-Slinging Egyptian Style," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 30 (1993): 190. Exclamation marks are mine.

³ Stressing the combative nature of this early *hijā*' poetry (see definition below), of which *naqā'id* are a variety, Pellat says, "In all the circumstances of war and peace, reactions to *hidjā*' were generally violent; when occasion offered, the victims sometimes went so far as to cut out the tongue of the slanderer and to kill him; in other cases, the insults provoked armed conflicts." Charles Pellat, "Hidjā'," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0284. Pellat defines *hidjā*' as an "Arabic term often translated by 'satire', but more precisely denoting a curse, an invective diatribe or insult in verse, an insulting poem"

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Naqā'id performances take the form of proposition and response. The lead poet, after praising his tribe's good qualities and lampooning those of his opponent's, ends his performance, whereupon his opponent replies with a poem of praise and blame in the same meter and with the same end rhyme.⁴ These poems were performed before a live audience, and (as mentioned in the Introduction) this performance aspect is as important to an understanding of the *naqā'id* as is the form, the meter, or the topics the poets take up.

Jarīr and al-Farazdaq are among the most famous of the Umayyad-era poets, and their protracted *naqā'iḍ* battle is well-known by scholars and educated Arabic speakers alike.⁵ If so, why spend the rest of this book talking about them? Why a study devoted particularly to this well-known genre, which on the surface may seem interesting only for its tawdriness? My aim is not to embark on a thorough investigation of the entire corpus of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'iḍ*, nor is it to rehash or refute existing literary studies on the *naqā'iḍ* and similar poetic idioms. Instead, in this chapter I look at a few selected passages from the *Naqā'iḍ* to shed light on how Jarīr and al-Farazdaq created their *naqā'iḍ* performance. These passages allow us to observe how Jarīr and al-Farazdaq crafted their poetry. They reveal the poets making decisions about how, when, where and to whom to perform their poems, and demonstrate the importance of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's audience to that performance. We are left with a picture of the duo interacting with their audience to mold a performance based on the dual legs of poetic skill and audience needs.

To my knowledge, this study contains the largest selection of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's $naq\bar{a}'id$ poetry translated into English with commentary. It must at the least represent the largest quantity of the duo's "scabrous" verses, as Jayyusi terms them,⁶ gathered together and discussed in one place. There may be several reasons for this. The Umayyad period is notoriously less well studied than the Abbasid era, but perhaps more importantly, the subject matter of the *Naqā'id* would have been taboo during its own time in any other setting than the poetic context it was performed in, and that prohibition continues to a degree in some circles today. These poems are not the sort of thing one discusses in polite society.

⁴ G.J.H. van Gelder, "Naqā'id," in Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature, Vol. 2, ed. Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (London: Routledge, 1998), 578.

⁵ Anecdotally, there have been several social occasions where I have mentioned my topic of study, the *Naqā'id*, to a native Arabic speaker, which has led to a conversation about how he or she studied Jarīr and al-Farazdaq in school. Often, these non-specialists even remember some long-ago memorized lines.

⁶ She says this of Jarīr's poetry in two places. See Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 405, 411.

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The very hesitancy that may induce some to pass this material over, only makes the need for a scholarly investigation more urgent. I, like van Gelder, do not believe that "obscenities should be shunned in scholarly works."⁷ Although some of the themes that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq touch upon in their corpus may well offend some sensibilities, still these are poems that have stood the test of time, and that were preserved through a manuscript tradition that withstood the Islamic era. Pious (one would assume) scribes copied these poems down.

It is in this light that when the poets relate sexually explicit acts, I do not censor their words, but translate them in a way that carries the full force of the meaning. This means that if a poet mentions an anatomical part of the body using an offensive term, I do not translate it in a technical or clinical way, but instead select an English term with a similarly offensive connotation. Another topic that bears mentioning is the poets' nonchalant usage of racial epithets and slurs. Jarīr in particular often describes al-Farazdaq as the descendant of a slave (which is not true), and delights in calling him "black" and "lowly" and in mocking his "ignoble" birth. In these cases as well, I render a faithful translation. Perhaps most disturbing of all, the poets frequently describe scenes of graphic sexual violence, including rape, in great detail.

Discussing these topics is a sensitive issue, and I hope that my renderings are received in the spirit in which they are given: as my best attempt to faithfully represent a corpus of poetry that has been deemed worthy by dint of its survival over the centuries of our attention and study.

1.1 The Poets and Their Audience

Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, as other lampoon poets before and after them, performed the *Naqā'id* to defend their reputation, and that of their tribes—albeit less so than their predecessors in the pre-Islamic era—and to display their poetic talent. In order to do this, they tailored their poetry to their particular, Umayyad-era audience. This resulted in a number of hyperbolic themes meant to destroy the reputation of their opponent while simultaneously showcasing their individual skill. Particularly for Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, who had an ongoing dispute that expressed itself in *naqā'id* poetry over an extended period of time, it was important to tailor this poetry to the audience, from performance to performance to prevent it from becoming worn out, trite or boring to those they were performing for. Jarīr and al-Farazdaq did what was necessary to prevent this: this meant that from time to time they switched

⁷ Van Gelder, "Sexual Violence in Verse," 189.

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or embellished the subject of their poetry, they innovated new material when appropriate, and they added "extra elements" to their performances that would appeal to their audience members and satisfy the latter's needs. Sometimes they did this by varying certain recurring themes or motifs, and other times they did it by changing the details of a particular story. And if they performed the same poem multiple times, as Ali Hussein suggests they did,⁸ presumably in front of an audience composed of at least some of the same people, this variation would have been key to making each performance stand out.

Performance-oriented poetic idioms are characterized by input by poets and feedback from an audience. Jarīr and al-Farazdaq crafted poetry based on the needs of their audience; they knew and understood the make-up of the audience, and the most effective ways to convey their poetry to them. To understand how they did this, we also need to understand the performance context, which includes, (1) aspects of the poets' interactions with their audience, including specific examples of how they tailored their performances for them, and also some of the logistics of the performance and, (2) the mechanics of how their poetry was circulated and transmitted.

The composition of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's audience would have reflected the cosmopolitan society of Umayyad-era Basra, which in addition to local inhabitants would have included "travelers and tribes passing through or moving into the city."⁹ This would have been an audience that would not necessarily agree or sympathize with a poet strictly because that poet was a member of his tribe. Now, the poet would have found himself in some kind of middle ground between the tribal representative of the pre-Islamic period, and the court professional that would emerge in the Abbasid era a century later. At this point in time, he was not only a member of, and representative for, the tribal community, but also an individual performer reciting poetry to defend his reputation.¹⁰

^{8 &}quot;Both poets," he says, "usually used to prepare their *naqīdas* in advance, and presented them more than once." Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 341.

⁹ Brustad, "Jarir."

Gruendler says, "Then, [i.e., during the pre-Islamic period] the poets had shared and defended the collective political stance of their audiences. They were the spokesmen of their tribes ... The poet celebrating *muruwwa* did not restrict himself to setting in verse what he had personally experienced; rather he portrayed a shared heroic ideal. The Umayyad period with its vast socio-political changes brought forth little *madīh*, which was to resurface in force only in the Abbasid period. At that stage, the collective identification between poet and audience was no longer a given." Gruendler, *Medieval Arabic Praise Poetry*, 10.

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No longer bound by their status as members of a particular tribe or clan, Jarīr and al-Farazdaq had the ability to project themselves through their poetry, to perform as individuals and create a—highly skilled—poetic persona for their patrons (their audience), who may not have had the same political views as them, and who may have been from a different social milieu. An audience that may not have been closely connected in terms of clan and tribe resulted in spectators who were frequently divided according to preference for a particular poet rather than along strict tribal or clan lines. This audience composition is critical to an understanding of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *naqā'id*.

The way Jarīr and al-Farazdaq navigated this new type of audience successfully—and the long preservation and commentary on their poetry speaks to their success—was to tailor their poetry to their particular audience, to make it accessible, perhaps humorous, bitingly sarcastic and witty. It must have contained at least some of these elements to attract and hold an audience, and to build a reputation that made people want to return again and again to see them perform.

How did the audience receive the *naqā'id* performances that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq presented? How did Jarīr and al-Farazdaq deliver them? What were the circumstances of these performances? Although Jarīr and al-Farazdaq performed at various venues and before different audiences over the course of their career, one of their most frequented venues was the Mirbad market in Basra, "a market outside of town which formed the oldest commercial centre of the town."¹¹ This is where Jarīr and al-Farazdaq came to recite. According to Hussein, they were "located in the same place, apparently in a certain circle (*halaqa*), in al-Mirbad."¹² Hussein goes on to say that "both poets stood facing each other surrounded by their audience, each reciting (or re-reciting) his *naqīda* while the other listened."¹³ This gives us an idea of how Jarīr and al-Farazdaq recited their poems (at least on some occasions): multiple times, and to an audience who had surrounded them for that purpose.¹⁴ We may be able to

¹¹ Pellat, "Hidjā'," Pellat adds that the economic activity "had very quickly made necessary underlining changed to macrons below, correct? the construction, on the fringes of the market, of shops and workshops."

¹² Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 309.

¹³ Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 309. This description closely parallels modern Dozens performances, which "usually involved two players facing each other while an audience ranging from one to ten individuals laughed and shouted encouragement." Bronner, "A Re-Examination," 121. It should be noted that Bronner specifically studied Dozens among Caucasians, and not African Americans, who are more commonly associated with the genre.

¹⁴ This is not the only method the duo used to deliver their poetry. Hussein, speaking of a poem Jarīr composed against al-Rāʿī, describes the following scenario: "Another impor-

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gain a better understanding of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's performances by comparing the poets to modern performing artists, who perform their acts repeatedly for various audiences.¹⁵ This comparison will give us insight into how Jarīr and al-Farazdaq likely performed their poetry: a highly skilled pair producing over time a performance tailored to their particular audience.

1.2 The Transmission and Circulation of the Naqā'id

Although we may not be able to point to a single "typical" mode of transmission of Arabic poetry, it is possible to name some elements that were likely often present in the transmission of classical Arabic poems, and to explain how these elements were similar to and different from the transmission of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *naqā'iḍ*. One nearly ubiquitous element found in transmitting classical Arabic poetry is the $r\bar{a}w\bar{\iota}$ —the transmitter—who listened to a poem, recorded it (whether on paper or by memorization only), and then delivered it, which usually meant reciting it for someone else. While poetic transmission in the Umayyad era and throughout early pre-Islamic and Islamic history usually involved a $r\bar{a}w\bar{\iota}$,¹⁶ during Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's later life (i.e., the mid-eighth century CE), it appears that any traveler could be enlisted

tant point that may be derived from the account is the specific place in al-Mirbad where the *naqīd*as used to be recited. The account gives the impression that Jarīr met al-Rāʿī in a certain place in al-Mirbad which he frequented. However, another version of the poem supplies more details about this location. It is a *finā*' of al-Rāʿī in which he was seated on that morning. The word *finā*' indicates a yard, normally said to be in front of a house. It is not known whether this yard was connected to a certain house. If it was not, then one may assume that the poet normally had a yard in al-Mirbad where he used to sit and present his poetry. If it really was connected to a house, then we may assume that al-Rāʿī possessed a house in al-Mirbad with a yard in which he used to sit. This would then show that this *naqīd*a by Jarīr was not presented in a particular place, which was used only for reciting the *naqāʾid*, but was presented near the house of the rival poet. Here, it may be assumed that the audience gathered round the two poets to hear their poems." Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 327.

¹⁵ This is not a purely hypothetical assumption. Speaking of a certain poem, which Hussein identifies as #33 of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id* (see Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 308), he says, "It is probable that Jarīr, after being freed [i.e., from prison for having recited the poem in question], recited the whole *naqīda* in its new expanded version at another time, or perhaps several times, in al-Mirbad. If this was the case, then it is possible that the poets used to make certain changes, adding some verses, to the original version of their *naqā'id*." (309).

^{16 &}quot;In the Djāhiliyya [q.v.]," Jacobi says, "poets used to have one or more *rāwīs*, who learned ^{Bunderlining} changed to macrons below, correct? their verses by heart, recited them in public, especially at the annual fairs, where poetic contests took place, and transmitted them to the next generation." Renate Jacobi, "Rāwī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill), http://dx.doi.org/ 10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_6259.

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to transmit a poem to another poet, whether he was acquainted with the transmitter's profession or not.¹⁷

One way Jarir and al-Farazdaq's poetry circulated, therefore, was through transmitters, both professional *rāwīs* and novice bystanders whom the poets employed. Another way Jarir and al-Farazdaq circulated their poetry was by performing it themselves in person at Mirbad, and this was the venue that is most associated with their performances of the Nagā'id.¹⁸ Jarīr and al-Farazdaq did not begin their careers reciting poetry against each other, although their *nagā'id* contests have come to epitomize their poetic output. Both also composed other types of poetry besides flytings, and each formed (poetic) relationships and rivalries with other poets, and performed in various locations and before a range of different audiences. Still, the Naqā'id have come to define Jarir and al-Farazdaq—especially when thought of as Jarir and al-Farazdaq together, and not as individual poets—and they form the subject matter of this book. Although Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's naqā'id output includes poems directed at other interlocutors, I concentrate specifically on the naqā'id Jarīr and al-Farazdaq performed against each other, chiefly at Mirbad, because this series of well-known and well-preserved poems, which spanned decades, serves as a backdrop against which we may observe the self-oriented style of performance Jarīr and al-Farazdaq skillfully tailored to their audience.

But what kind of an audience did Jarīr and al-Farazdaq perform for? We saw above that their cosmopolitan audience may not have been composed primarily of members or supporters of one of their clans—if it had, this would have created a kind of naturally "partisan" audience that was keenly focused on the message of the poem as it related to the defense of the tribe or clan (and a complementary offensive against the rival tribe or clan). In order to counter this and to perform for an audience as heavily invested in their performances as a pre-Islamic audience might have been, Jarīr and al-Farazdaq created their own type of "partisanship" by tailoring their poetry to their audience, drawing them in with hyperbolic lampoon, focusing on subjects the audience cared about and making them feel invested in the contest.

¹⁷ Hussein explains that this happened between Jarīr and al-Farazdaq during the latter part of their career. The poets happened to be living in different places while simultaneously carrying on a *naqā'id* battle. "The transmission of the *naqīdas*," he says, "was made very simply. Any traveller—not necessarily a professional *rāwī*—could be asked by the two poets to deliver their *naqīdas*." Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 351.

¹⁸ This is not where Jarīr and al-Farazdaq got their start performing poetry. Jarīr used to recite naqā'id poetry against his early opponents (not al-Farazdaq at this point) in his hometown of al-Yamāma (see Hussein, "The Formative Age," 507–508.

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In such a performance context, Jarīr and al-Farazdaq showcased their poetic skill within an idiom rooted in the values of the pre-Islamic era. What I mean by "skill," an illusory term when anyone tries to apply it to any kind or art (and Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, as we will see, were nothing if not performance artists), is an ability to hold an audience's attention. There were several ways the poets did this, but the key was an ability to adapt to the performance situation at hand, which includes a certain sense a performer has that tells him or her that it is time to switch routines, time to end the current joke and pursue a different one, and time to dial up the sarcasm, invective or insults. And it is also the ability to make whatever performance the poet gives memorable, to give an audience something they take with them to tell their friends and neighbors about. Finally, it is that ineffable *je ne sais quoi* that sends them back the next time for more.

We find parallels to Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's lampoon performances, tailored to audience needs, in other traditions, both ancient and modern (lampoon poetry is not unique to Arabia, nor is it confined to the pre-modern era!). In early twentieth-century Egypt, a form of poetic dueling known as *afya*¹⁹ was popular. This tradition was especially prevalent in coffee shops, where men displayed their wit by verbally battling one another in back-and-forth exchanges of short, formulaic phrases²⁰ that consisted of "cutting taunts and insults [and used] double entendres and plays on words."²¹ The spectators declared the winners of these coffee-shop linguistic battles,²² but the genre was not limited to these public spaces. Egyptian comedians also performed and recorded *afya*.²³ The following is an example of one routine:

Person 1: Your purse! Person 2: What about it? Person 1: It's prohibited from spending.

Person 1: There are lice on your head! Person 2: What about it? Person 1: They're living there.

¹⁹ This is a transliteration of the word $q\bar{a}fiya$, which in Egyptian Arabic is pronounced with a *hamza* replacing the initial $q\bar{a}f$. In formal Arabic the term refers to the rhyme scheme found in the Arabic $qas\bar{i}da$.

²⁰ Devin Stewart calls it "punning repartee." See Devin J. Stewart, "Impoliteness Formulae: The Cognate Curse in Egyptian Arabic," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 42 (1997).

²¹ Ziad Fahmy, Ordinary Egyptians: Creating the Modern Nation through Popular Culture (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 70.

²² Fahmy, Ordinary Egyptians, 70.

²³ See Fahmy, Ordinary Egyptians, 70–71.

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Person 1: Your head! Person 2: What about it? Person 1: It's accustomed to drooping.

Person 1: What's on your head! Person 2: What about it? Person 1: It's a shoe.

Person 1: Your mustache has grown! Person 2: What about it? Person 1: You've added a billy goat's mustache to it.

Person 1: You are diseased! Person 2: What about it? Person 1: It's obvious.

Person 1: You are ignorant! Person 2: What about it? Person 1: Beyond a doubt.

يقول أحدهم: كيسك! فيقول الآخر مثلاً: اشمعنى فيقول الأول: ممنوع من الصرف، والقمل في رأسك! اشمعنى! ساكن، راسك! اشمعنى! مبنية على الكسر، اللي على رأسك! اشمعنى! جزمة، شنبك مضاف! اشمعنى! وشنب التيس مضاف إليه، المرض عليك! اشمعنى! ظاهر، أنت في الجهل! اشمعنى! مركب ...²⁴

In this routine, each punchline Person 1 makes has a double meaning, or rather, the primary meaning that is obvious from the context of the joke, could also be construed as a grammatical term. The first punchline is a play on the double meaning of *mamnū*^c *min al-şarf*, which means "prohibited from spending" in the context of the second person's purse. In arabic grammar, the phrase means "prohibited from inflecting," i.e., into full grammatical case endings. The second joke hinges on the word *sākin*, which can mean "living,"

²⁴ Haytham al-Hāj ʿAlī, "al-Qāfiyya al-Mişriyya ... al-fann al-sākhir wa-ibdāʿ al-lugha," al-Yawm al-Sābiʿ, March 22, 2024, https://www.youm7.com/story/2024/3/22/%D8%A7%D9 %84%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%81%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%84%D9%85%D8 %B5%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9 %84%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%AE%D8%B1-%D9%88%D8%A5%D8%A8%D8%AF%D 8%A7%D8%B9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%84%D8%BA%D8%A9/6519821.

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as the speaker implies the lice are doing on his partner's head, or "motionless," which in the context of Arabic grammar means "vowelless." The jokester then moves on to the physical appearance of his partner, pointing out his drooping head. The key word here is *kasr*, which has the primary meaning of "breaking," but can also mean "to lower," which I have interpreted as "drooping," and is closely related to the word for "defeat" (kasra). Grammatically, mabniyya 'alā al-kasr ("accustomed to drooping") refers to nouns and adjectives whose ending is frozen into an "i" (kasra) ending, meaning that they cannot show declension using other end vowels. Next comes a joke about a shoe on the second person's head. "Shoe" here, jazma, is also a grammatical term that indicates that there is no vowel over the final consonant of a verb, marking the jussive mood. The jokester next moves on to physical features, telling the object of his jokes that he has added a billy goat's mustache (to his own mustache). Basically, the victim of the joke is being likened to a billy goat, a *tīs*, which is an offensive insult in Arabic. The phrase "added to it," mudāf ilayhi, is a grammatical concept that refers to the second term of the construct phrase. In the following joke, the interlocutor tells his companion that the disease upon him is "obvious" (*zāhir*). In a grammatical sense, this word means "substantive," or simply, "noun." In the final bit of the routine, the victim of the joke is claimed to be "ignorant beyond a doubt." A more literal translation of murakkab would be "fixed," meaning "firmly set." In other words, the person is so firmly set in his ignorance that there is no doubt he will remain so. Murakkab is also a grammatical term that means "compound," and refers to compound nominals. Each joke in this routine contains both humorous and at times insulting material, which probably would have made the coffee-shop audience laugh at the insults and smile at the witty double meanings.

Men were not the sole practitioners of biting verbal witticisms in Egypt. Another example of invective that was popular in the last century, and continues today, is a genre called *radh*. Dominated by women,²⁵ a *radh* performance involved not only invective and witty lines exchanged between two competitors, but additionally included physical elements. Marsot explains how such a competition would proceed. The woman wishing to initiate a verbal bat-

²⁵ Although Hinds and Badawi suggests that men may have sometimes participated, much like the elegy (*rithā*') of earlier times, this genre was the domain of women. Their dictionary entry defines *radaḥ* (the verbal form) as follows: "To indulge in a vulgar slanging match (usually of women)." See the entry on *radaḥ* in Martin Hinds and El-Said Badawi, *Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic: Arabic-English* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1986).

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tle removes her *milāya laff*, a "black wrap worn by women in public,"²⁶ "and spreads it on the ground as a sign that she has removed, discarded all her modesty and reserve."²⁷ There then proceeds a back-and-forth verbal contest consisting of set insults intermingled with improvised lines. Gestures, often lewd, accompany the repartee.²⁸ It is important to note, however, that not all women participated in *radh* performances. It was seen as a domain of the lower class, who lived less private lives than the middle and upper classes, and who were less shy about "airing their dirty laundry."²⁹ Marsot gives examples of several popular *radh* phrases with translations:

1. 2.	Ya dun ya dun ya asfal ma yakun	you low, you despicable you lowest of the low
 6.	ya a'r al-kanaka	you bottom of a coffee maker
 8.	ya limama	you garbage
 12.	ya shibshib hammam	you bathroom slippers. ³⁰

Examples of lampoon poetry are not limited to the Arab world; they are as varied as the satire of the Roman poet Juvenal (late first to early second century CE);³¹ the Maltese subgenre of *ghana* (folk singing) called *spirtu pront*, in which "the singer improvises on a common narrated theme, in response to the 'mocking,' or an issue brought up by another singer";³² the flytings of the sixteenth-century Scottish poets Dunbar and Kennedy; and American rapping duels, of which the contest known as the "Dozens" is among the best known. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the Dozens as "a game or ritualized exchange of verbal insults, usu. about the family (esp. the mother) of

²⁶ Hinds and Badawi, Dictionary, s.v. "milāya."

²⁷ Marsot, "Mud-Slinging Egyptian Style," 189.

²⁸ See Marsot, "Mud-Slinging Egyptian Style," 189–190.

²⁹ Marsot notes that these working class women were not engaging in *rad*^{*h*} battles in public per se, since for them, the entire street or alley (*hāra*) was part of their private space. See Marsot, "Mud-Slinging Egyptian Style," 192.

³⁰ Marsot, "Mud-Slinging Egyptian Style," 190.

³¹ Juvenal's birth (esp.) and death dates are unreliable. Poteat summarizes scholars' estimate of his birth date as "from 27 to 72 (CE)." See Hubert McNeill Poteat, "De Vita Iuvenalis," *Studies in Philology* 19 (1922): 416.

³² John Chircop, "Oral Tradition and Historical Source: The Maltese Ghannejja," *Oral History* 21 (1993): 63.

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one's opponent or opponents."³³ As such, the Dozens serves as an apt analogy to help elucidate some of the performative aspects of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id*.

The Dozens parallels Umayyad-era *naqā'iḍ* in terms of content and context: both genres feature the lampooning of one's opponent and his family members with hyperbolic invective, and both adopt a performance context that centers on the performer and allows him³⁴ to showcase his skill through the medium of lampoon poetry. These characteristics will be useful in analyzing passages of the *Naqā'iḍ* that exhibit Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's hyperbolic lampoon poetry and show how the poets tailored it to their audience.

In the following section we look at some of these passages, which are arranged by topic and theme. In some instances this consists of one long passage from a poem by one of the poets followed by a single passage from his opponent's counter-poem; at other times, several short passages (either from the same poem or from a variety of poems) represent the theme. Interspersed among the *Naqā'iḍ* are passages from the Dozens that help elucidate the function of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's invective. These passages, together with examples and analysis taken from the Dozens, demonstrate how Jarīr and al-Farazdaq skillfully tailored their performance to their audience to defend their reputation.

2 Naqā'id Passages

2.1 Ji'thin, al-Farazdaq's Sister

One of the most frequent topics Jarīr deploys against al-Farazdaq throughout the *Naqāʾid*, and indeed one of the themes that defines him as a poet, especially with regard to his rivalry with al-Farazdaq, is his repeated lampooning

Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed., s.v. "dozen," http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/57340 ?rskey=SZNnUz&result=1#eid6217898. The Urban Dictionary (online) gives a more detailed explanation of what the Dozens entails: "Playing the dozens is an African-American custom in which two competitors—usually males—go head to head in a competition of comedic trash talk. They take turns 'cracking on,' or insulting, one another, their adversary's mother, or other family member until one of them has no comeback." Deeceevoice, "The Dozens," in Urban Dictionary. Posted September 25, 2004, http://www.urbandictiona ry.com/define.php?term=dozens.

³⁴ The majority of Dozens passages I have studied are attributed to males, although Dollard notes that it is "played by boys and girls." See John Dollard, "The Dozens: Dialectic of Insult," in *Mother Wit from the Laughing Barrel: Readings in the Interpretation of Afro-American Folklore*, ed. Alan Dundes (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 279.

of the latter's sister, Ji'thin, which centers on her alleged rape. The Ji'thin trope arose, apparently, from a recorded incident, whether factual or not, when a relative of a woman al-Farazdaq had touched and kissed sneaked into al-Farazdaq's camp and waited for Ji'thin; when she came out of her tent, he "assaulted" her, which in this case seems to have consisted of grabbing her by the waist and leg and dragging her some distance.³⁵ Jarir did not hesitate to use the story as a pretext to lampoon his opponent persistently over the course of their decades-long contest. He "exploited it," van Gelder says, "repeatedly in many of his lampooning poems ... grossly blowing up the incident by graphically depicting a gang rape in obscene detail, while accusing the victim's brother of being scandalously remiss in rescuing her."36 Though Jarir was criticized for repeatedly incorporating the same three themes into his naqā'id poems,³⁷ still, he promoted them so relentlessly, and embellished them so hyperbolicallyincluding his "exploitation" of Ji'thin, as van Gelder terms it—that in the end, they were bound to stick in the minds of his audience. One instance of this routine occurs in the ending lines of Poem 101.

This poem begins in what might seem a surprising way to modern readers. Jarīr does not open the poem with a vivid $hij\bar{a}$ ' section excoriating al-Farazdaq for standing by while his sister was begin raped, nor does he start with an introduction of themes related to the topic. The first section of the poem, in fact, has nothing to do with either Ji'thin or al-Farazdaq, and does not even consist of $hij\bar{a}$ ' poetry. It is instead a passage of *nasīb* poetry in which Jarīr pines for a woman named Zaynab, among other things. Poem 101 is not unusual in this regard. Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'i*d belong to the genre of poetry known as *qaşīdas*, which often combined several, diverse genres within one poem, and which since pre-Islamic times had conventionally started with a section of *nasīb* poetry.³⁸

In lines 1 through 25, Jarīr recites themes common to *nasīb* poetry, including unrequited love, in this case of a certain Zaynab. He also includes another theme that is typically found in the opening section of *qasida* poetry: separation, which is often represented by the traces (atlal) of an abonded campsite. Jarīr opens the poem with this theme, describing people departing (bara

³⁵ Van Gelder, "Sexual Violence," 175.

³⁶ Van Gelder, "Sexual Violence," 176.

³⁷ The themes, according to Abū 'Ubayda, were, "(the matter of) al-Zubayr (the case of) Ji'thin, and the (fact that he calls him the descendant of a) *qayn* 'blacksmith.'" See van Gelder, "Sexual Violence," 186.

³⁸ For a discussion of the propensity of classical Arabic poetry to mix disparate genres within the same poem, see G.J.H. van Gelder, "Genres in Collision: *Nasīb* and *Hijā*," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 21 (1990): 14–25.

l-khalīţu) and bidding farewell (*fa-waddaʿū*) in the first line, and in line 3 referring to "Zaynab's camp" (*dāri Zaynaba*), his object of affection in this section. After the opening love section, but before launching the lampoon against Ji'thin—one of two *hijā*' sections in the poem—Jarīr deploys seven lines of boasting of his prowess in battle in a genre of poetry called *fakhr* ("boasting" or "self-praise"). Line 33 introduces the poet's first *hijā*' section, which lasts thirty lines and lampoons al-Farazdaq and his tribe, the Mujāshi'. Jarīr also touches on a theme he will return to again and again throught the *Naqāʾiḍ*: that of al-Farazdaq's supposedly having been a blacksmith, a topic discussed in detail later in the chapter. Lines 63 through 71 consist of a second *fakhr* passage embedded within the *hijā*' section agasint al-Farazdaq.

In the last segment of the poem, Jarīr introducs five lines of praise $(mad\bar{n}h)$ poetry for Sa'd, a tribe of the Tamīm that he names as an ally, followed by a final three-line passage lampooning al-Farazdaq and his ancestors. Directly preceding these final verses of the poem, we find a passage of forty-three lines (72–114) comprising a second *hijā*'section, in which Jarīr covers a number of themes that he often deploys in his exchanges with al-Farazdaq, including a scathing passage eviscerating his opponent with vicious lampoons centered on his sister, Ji'thin. He says:

100	Your treachery in the lowlands of Tihāma was not hidden,
	Nor was the dragging of Ji'thin, nor the horrendous description of
	it. ³⁹
101	Al-Farazdaq's sister by his father and mother,
	Spent the night, riding high and fast.
102	Surely the cowards knew that their daughter
	Was being ridden ⁴⁰ like a wide road.
103	Why were you not angry with the Muqāʻis chiefs ⁴¹
	For hastening your disgrace?
104	I understand that Ji'thin fended them off with her ass,
	Since no Mujāshiʿī could be found to defend her.
105	Shame on you! How could you praise Minqar when they stuck it
	Between her thighs, and sent her limping!

³⁹ Lit., "the horrendous thing that was heard."

⁴⁰ Just as "ridden" can be a euphemism for sexual intercourse in English, so too can *waţi'a* ("to tread on") mean "to have sexual intercourse."

⁴¹ This word can mean either "tribal chief" or "stallion." I have rendered it "chiefs" here, although I think it would also be possible to translate it as "beasts" to emphasize the beastly behavior of the men of Muqā'is alluded to here.

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106	She spent the night with every crooked, hot necked, ⁴²
	Stout ⁴³ man of Muqāʿis as they put it between her legs.
107	If only Ji'thin had stayed in her mother's bedchamber,
	When she was traveling all around the country ⁴⁴ and being laid! ⁴⁵
108	When Ibn Murra was running away like an untamable horse, al-
	Farazdaq asked,
	How can life ⁴⁶ go on when all of this has happened to you?
108*47	They found when Ji'thin's ass got going ⁴⁸ that it was
	Just like a hole that hyenas take shelter in.
108**	They demolished your hole after you informed them
	That not even a finger would be able to pass through it. ⁴⁹
109	The maiden of Mujāshi ⁽⁵⁰ was dragged among the Minqar men—
	No doubt about it—just as a waterskin is dragged.
110	Al-Farazdaq cried when the blood ran over her ass;
	Cursed be the tears of his eyes! ⁵¹

- 43 Lit., "having protuberant ribs."
- 44 Lit., "when the country was circulating her."
- 45 *Şara'a* means "to fell," i.e., "to lay down." As it is used it the passive voice here, "to be laid (down)" is an appropriate translation, and a fortuitous one that also matches the English slang.
- 46 Bevan's edition records this word as *hayāwatu*, which is not attested to my knowledge. Although I have copied the text exactly as Bevan has it, I interpret it as the much more likely *hayātu*, which is also the form found in al-Manşūr's edition. See al-Manşūr, *Kitāb al-Naqā'id*, 2:298.
- 48 The verb is *qabqaba*, and means, "to emit a sound." Van Gelder has cleverly translated this word into English with the onomatopoetic "plop-plopped." Not wishing to copy his brilliance, I have chosen to instead use "got going," to give the sense of her buttocks in motion, perhaps making sounds, during intercourse.
- ⁴⁹ "أي قلت إني بكر" ("i.e., you said, 'I am a virgin'"). Bevan, *The Naķāʾiḍ*, 2:979. 50 I.e., Ji thín.
- 51 "Eye" (*'ayn*) is in the singular here, but I have rendered it plural to better match the English idiom.

The phrase is $h\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ '*l*-*qafā*, and it has several possible interpretations. $H\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ usually means "protector," and *qafa* refers to the "nape of the neck." Thus, one could render the phrase, "one who protects the back of his neck." However, that does not seem to be the sense of the words in a line describing Ji'thin's defilers. Whereas the root *h*-*m*-*y* connotes protection, the root *h*-*m*-*w* has to do with heating—although the seemingly related *hummā* (fever) is from a different root (*h*-*m*-*m*). Since the active participle $h\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ could theoretically be derived from either root (no such derivation is attested for the root *h*-*m*-*w* that I am aware of), there is a chance that it could carry the meaning of "heat" rather than of "protection." At any rate, van Gelder translates the phrase here as "hot necked" and I have followed suit. See van Gelder, "Sexual Violence," 180.

- You kindled your fire and were lit up by shame,
 Khashākhish and al-Ajra⁵² are among the witnesses.
- Woe to Ji'thin! You were humiliated when you met Muqā'is, And what a pussy⁵³ you were humiliated by!

⁵² Khashākhish and al-Ajra' are place names.

⁵³ Lane defines shakr as, "The vulva, or pudendum, of a woman: (Ş, M, Mşb, K:) or the flesh thereof." Edward William Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1968), s.v. "shakr." https://www.ejtaal.net/. However, the commentary on this line says, ""النَّتُوْنُ ("'shakr' means 'jimā'"). Bevan, The Naķā'id, 2:980. Lane gives the following definition for the word, jimā': "He lay with his wife." Arabic-English Lexicon, by Lane, s.v. "jāma'a." This hemistich may, therefore, more literally be translated, "And what a laying you were humiliated by!" However, this translation misses the full impact of the line, and so I have rendered it more freely.

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امة قال الفَرَزْدَقُ وابَّنُ مُرَّةَ جَاحُ
حَيْفَ الحَيْوةُ وفيكِ هٰذا أَجْمَعُ
أَحْدُوا لِحِعْنَ حَيْنَ قَبْقَبَتِ ٱسْتُهَا
مَثْلَ الوَجَارِ أَوَى إِلَيْهِ الأَضْبُعُ
أَلَّا تَكَادُ تَجَوزُ فِيهِ الإِصْبَعُ
أَلَّا تَكَادُ تَجَوزُ فِيهِ الإَصْبَعُ
أَوَّ قُدْتَ فَتَاةُ مُحاسَعٍ فَى مِنْقَرٍ
أَوَ قَدْتَ نَارَكَ فَاسْتَضَأَنَّ بِخِزْيَةً
أَوْ قَدْتَ نَارَكَ فَاسْتَضَأَتُ بِخِزْيَةً
أَوْ قَدْتَ نَارَكَ فَاسْتَضَأَعً وَالاً عَلَى اللَّحْرَعُ

54 Bevan, *The Nakā'id*, 2:978–980. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from the Arabic are my own. I have approached these translations as literally as possible while still retaining an idiomatic English. I maintain tenses of verbs and person and number of adjectives unless an obvious idiomatic difference exists between the Arabic and the English. There are times, however, when a slightly less literal translation offers a better, more idiomatic result. In such cases I have not hesitated to alter the translation accordingly. Van Gelder has also translated these lines, in "Sexual Violence," 179–180, as:

Your treachery in the lowland of Tihāma is not hidden, nor is the dragging of Ji'thin and the horrible report. Al-Farazdaq's sister, daughter of his father and mother, spent the night going along in a fast gallop. The cowards surely knew that their girl was being trodden upon like a main road. Will you not be angry with the heroes of Muqā'is, when they hurried to bring humiliation upon you? I have been told that Ji'thin defended herself against them with her arse, since she did not find anyone from Mujāshi' to defend her. Did you praise, damn you, Minqar for clinging to her thighs and for letting her go with a limp? She spent the night with all those distorted, (?) hot-necked (?),

thick-ribbed men of Muqāʿis, being kicked in the arse.

In these lines, Jarīr explicitly attacks al-Farazdag's honor in connection with Ji'thin's supposed rape. The main thrust of this passage is to hold al-Farazdaq and his tribe accountable for doing nothing to prevent Ji'thin's honor from being impugned during the alleged incident. Jarir directs his invective against several persons in these fifteen lines, alternately addressing al-Farazdaq, members of his tribe, and Ji'thin herself, and at times narrating in the third person the events that led to her "disgrace." The first three lines (100-102) outline the circumstances of the event. Jarir then transitions to members of al-Farazdaq's tribe in the following three lines (103–105), shaming them for having allowed their relative to be so abused. The poet sprinkles these lines with imagery that paints the Mujāshiʿ men as cowards, remiss in their duty, introducing this theme in line 100 with the claim that "[the tribe's] treachery (*ghadrukum*) ... was not hidden." In line 102, he becomes more explicit with his word choice, calling the Mujāshi^c men "cowards" (*nakhabāt*), and following this up in the next line (103) by pointing out their disgrace ($haw\bar{a}n$), a word that also carries connotations of weakness and contemptibility.

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Beginning in line 104 and continuing through line 107, Jarīr elaborates on Jiʿthinʾs rape at the hands of the Banū Minqar.⁵⁵ He paints a graphic picture of the sexual conquest of Jiʿthin with the help of obscene descriptions of sexual acts she (was forced to) engage(d) in, together with vivid descriptions of her anatomy. In line 102 (from the previous section), the poet depicts Jiʿthin being "ridden, like a wide road" (*wuțiʾat kamā wuțiʾa l-țarīqu l-mahyaʿu*), implying that her attackers "rode" her repeatedly such that she became "widened" from the

Ah, if only Jiʿthin were in her mother's room,

when she was made to go round the country, thrown down!

Al-Farazdaq said, when Ibn Murra was a restive horse,

^{&#}x27;How can one live when all this has happened to you!'

They found that Ji'thin, when her arse plop-plopped,

had something like a hole in which hyenas shelter.

They wrecked your hyena hole, while before (as you told them)

a finger could hardly enter it.

The girl of Mujāshi' was dragged among the men of Minqar,

⁻it cannot be disputed—like a water-skin is dragged.

Al-Farazdaq wept, with the blood on her arse—

a curse on those tearful eyes!

You lit your fire and cast light on your own shame;

Khashākhish and al-Ajra' are among the witnesses.

May Jiʿthin perish, when you met Muqāʿis,

humbly; and for what a mating were you humbled!

^{55 &}quot;A subdivision of the clan 'Ubaid b. al-Hārith b. 'Amr." Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 3:229.

experience.⁵⁶ Jarīr continues the imagery in line 104 with a depiction of Ji'thin "fending off [her assailants] with her ass" ($d\bar{a}fa'athum \ bi-stih\bar{a}$). In the following line (105), Jarīr creates an image of the Minqarī men's penises moving back and forth between her thighs ($alzaq\bar{u}\ bi-l-h\bar{a}riqayni$),⁵⁷ and concludes the line by giving her a limp (tazla'u)⁵⁸ as a result. After describing some physical characteristics of the Muqā'is men, Jarīr drills down on the graphic sexual imagery in line 106, saying that the latter "put it between her legs" (tuksa'u).⁵⁹ In line 107, Jarīr employs another word for the sexual act, depicting Ji'thin being "laid" (fatusra'u).⁶⁰

Lines 108 through 110⁶¹ continue with depictions of Ji^cthin's rape and additional allegations of al-Farazdaq's remissness in failing to prevent it. In line 108, Jarīr portrays al-Farazdaq lamenting over Ji'thin's fate: "How can life go on?" (kayfa l-hayāwatu), he asks himself, after Ibn Murra and the others had so defiled his sister. This is followed by three lines (108*, 108**, and 109) of graphic representations of the Minqarī men's defilement of Ji'thin. The first two lines of the passage crudely refer to the latter's looseness, describing her vagina in line 108* as a "hole that hyenas take shelter in" (al-wajāri awā ilayhi l-adbu'u) and suggesting in the following line (108**) that Ji^cthin had lied about her virginity; she claimed that her vagina was so small, "not even a finger would be able to pass through it" (allā takādu tajūzu fīhi l-isba'u). In line 109, Jarīr compares al-Farazdaq's sister's being "dragged among the Minqar men" (jurrat ... fi Min*garin*) to a "waterskin [that] is dragged" (*vujarru l-mīka'u*), painting an explicit picture of her gang rape at the hands of the men of Mingar. The next line (110) returns to al-Farazdaq's grief over the incident, indicting him for his inaction. Jarīr first shows al-Farazdaq "cr[ying] when the blood ran over her ass" (*yabkī* ... wa-l-dimā'u 'alā stihā) and follows this in the second hemistich by cursing "the tears of his eyes" (*ghurūba ʿaynin*). The passage concludes with two verses excoriating al-Farazdaq and his sister, with a graphic phrase at the end that combines Jarīr's invective message with his characteristically sexually explicit

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⁵⁶ At other times Jarīr calls her "wide" (ruhab), reinforcing the image.

⁵⁷ The commentary gives a more precise definition: "الحارِقَة عَصَبَةٌ متَصلة بالوَرك" ("The '*hāriqa*' is a sinew connected to the hip bone"). Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:978.

⁵⁸ Lit., "she limps."

⁵⁹ The verb kasa'a literally means, "to put between the legs," and is used, e.g., of a dog's tail. It can also mean, "to strike the buttocks." See J.G. Hava, *Al-Faraid Arabic-English Dictionary* (Beirut: Dar el-Mashreq, 1982), s.v. "kasa'a." Here, Ji'thin is the subject of the passive verb that literally translates, "it was put between her legs," or, "she was struck on the buttocks."

⁶⁰ See this chapter, footnote 45 for an explanation of the meaning of the word *tuṣra'u*.

⁶¹ Please note that there are five verses in all, including the two additional verses labelled " 108^{**} and " 108^{**} ."

humor. The poet addresses line 111 to al-Farazdaq, denouncing him for the shame (*khizya*) he brought upon himself and his tribe by his inaction. In line 112 he turns to Ji'thin briefly to decry her—"Woe to Ji'thin!" (*tabban li-Ji'thina*)— before returning to al-Farazdaq's disgrace, reminding him of his "humiliat[ion] when [he] met Muqā'is" (*idh laqīta Muqā'isan* | *mutakhashshi'an*), and ending the line in his signature style with a crude reference to Ji'thin's "pussy" (*shakr*).

Jarīr returns to the theme of Ji'thin's rape in Poem 53, saying:

- 32 Are you forgetting Zubayr and the people of 'Awf? And Ji'thin after A'yan and Rabāb?
- 33 Didn't you see that Ji'thin, among Sa'd's men,Got the nickname "Wide-Open" after she had been penetrated?
- She shivered as he passed her knees,And shook his cock at her, which disappeared into her.
- You see a leprous spot where her labia come together,
 Like the hair on Farazdaq's chin when it is gray.⁶²

أَتَنْسَوْنَ الزَّبَيْرَ ورَهْطَ عَوْفٍ 32 ، مَثْنَ بَعْدَ أَعَيْنَ وِالرَّبَابِا 33 34

هُ الْقُنْ مَنْ جُمَا فَجَارًا

62 Van Gelder ("Sexual Violence," 181) translates this as follows: Are you forgetting al-Zubayr and the men of 'Awf, and Ji'thin after A'yan and al-Rabāb? Did you not see Ji'thin among the men of Sa'd, called 'the broad' after her virginity? She waggled (wriggled, wiggled?) her rump when he went beyond her knees and shook towards her a mighty dong, which subsequently disappeared. [van Gelder has an extra line here not found in Bevan's edition of the Naķā'iḍ] One can see a white leprous spot where her labia are joined, like the tuft of hair on al-Farazdaq's lower lip when it is grey.

63 Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:439–440.

Jarīr opens this section by reminding his opponent (and his audience) of some of the key players against whom he will deploy a litany of abuses.⁶⁴ These two lines represent the basic "story" Jarīr tells about Ji'thin: she was ravished, not entirely unwillingly, by a member of another tribe. Her vulgar nickname, "Wide-Open," is a detail Jarīr adds to suggest Ji'thin's complicity in the affair. The graphic details he offers in line 34—of Sa'd penetrating Ji'thin—leave an impression of her as a commodity to be used and discarded. The last line in this passage is one of Jarīr's most famous;⁶⁵ not only does he describe in detail a sensitive area of Ji'thin's anatomy, but he compares that feature to one on al-Farazdaq's face, allowing his audience to imagine the anatomical parts of both al-Farazdaq and Ji'thin he mentions coming together, creating a mental image of brother and sister engaged in the act of cunnilingus.

The beginning of line 33 is almost ironic given the common introductory phrase, "*a-lam tara* ...," "Don't you see ...?," followed by the beginning of Jarīr's lampoon on Ji'thin's sexual excesses. Line 35, famously grotesque, begins similarly with *tarā*, "you see," using the same word and almost the same phrase as the opening two lines before, thus tying together the first and last line of this lampoon against Ji'thin with a common structure.

Why did Jarīr choose to repeat this trope,⁶⁶ which was based on an onlytangentially-related incident, over, and over again? According to van Gelder, "the most popular way of vilifying a man in Arab society was, and still is, to impugn the sexual mores of his female relatives, preferably his mother or sisters," which, he says, "impl[ies] that the man is unable to control them and preserve his honour."⁶⁷ It must be true that Jarīr was attacking al-Farazdaq's honor to preserve his own—this is what *naqā'id* contests had always been about but with Jarīr and al-Farazdaq there is more to it than that. Their audience must have come to hear these performances expecting some hyperbolic, and probably at times sexually-themed, lampoons. That Jarīr and al-Farazdaq gave them

⁶⁴ A'yan and Rabāb were both descendants of Mujāhsi', whom al-Farazdaq's clan was named after. The latter was "mentioned contemptuously by Jarīr" (Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 3:11). 'Awf, among other things, is known for having "fled at the battle of al-Waķīt" (Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 181). Zubayr is said to have died because of "the poor treatment he had received from al-Farazdaq's tribe" (Pieter Smoor, "al-Farazdaq's Reception by Contemporaries and Later Generations," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 20 [1989]: 117).

⁶⁵ Van Gelder notes authors (critics and anthologists) who hold this line up as a "wonderful comparison," an example of a beautifully crafted line of poetry whose subject is among the vilest and ugliest possible. Van Gelder, "Sexual Violence," 181–182.

⁶⁶ Van Gelder says that Jarīr mentions the Ji'thin incident in thirty separate poems. Van Gelder, "Sexual Violence," 177.

⁶⁷ Van Gelder, "Sexual Violence," 176.

what they wanted, expected, and came to hear shows how they were tailoring the *naqā'id* genre to their own audience. In this case Jarīr's routine about Ji'thin operates as a proxy that targets al-Farazdaq's honor while it entertains the audience. In van Gelder's words, "He wants to amuse others."⁶⁸ Jarīr does this by taking one particular, otherwise fairly banal, incident and exaggerating and exploiting it to use against his opponent by portraying him in the worst possible light. The end result is lampoon based in truth, but so greatly exaggerated as to render it nearly unrecognizable.

The Dozens provides insight into how Jarīr's lampoon performance against Ji'thin may have operated. They contain similarly socially-unacceptable themes.⁶⁹ Jarīr portrays al-Farazdaq's sister throughout the *Naqā'iḍ* as a whore, with the goal of humiliating her, which would in turn humiliate al-Farazdaq by implication. Doing so successfully while entertaining an audience would reveal Jarīr as the "winner" of the contest. The following example from the Dozens illustrates poets competing for a "win" using a similar poetic theme: degrading one another's mothers: "I f----d your mother in a horse and wagon. She said, 'Scuse me, mister, my p---y's draggin.'"⁷⁰ And also:

I saw your mother last night, She was an awful old soul. I stuck my d--k in her hole. She said, "Gimme some more."⁷¹

As well as,

I hate to talk about your mother, She's a good old soul. She's got a ten-ton p---y And a rubber a-----e. She got hair on her p---y

⁶⁸ Van Gelder, "Sexual Violence," 182.

^{69 &}quot;Sex themes," Dollard says, "are by far the most common [i.e., in the Dozens]." Dollard, "The Dozens," 281. He also says, "The themes about which joking is allowed seem to be those most condemned by our social order in other contexts. Allegations are made that the person addressed by the speaker has committed incest, or that the speaker has taken liberties with the mother or sister of the one addressed; accusations of passive homosexuality are made, it is suggested that the cleanliness taboos have been broken, cowardice is alleged, [etc.]." (279).

⁷⁰ Roger D. Abrahams, "Playing the Dozens," Journal of American Folklore 75 (1962): 216.

⁷¹ Abrahams, "Playing the Dozens," 217.

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That sweep the floor. She got knobs on her titties That open the door.⁷²

And finally,

I saw your mother last night, She was a hell of a sight. I threw her in the grass. I stuck my d--k in her ass. I said, "Ooh, bop-a-doo." Then she said, "How do you do?"⁷³

These passages from the Dozens, which parallel in hyperbolic and sexual content the invective lampoons of the *Naqā'iḍ*, suggest how we may interpret the latter. The power of this kind of poetic performance lies not in its truth—these insults represent obvious exaggerations—but in its invective force. The aim of this type of poetry is not to narrate a faithful account of the individual or individuals being lampooned but to entertain the audience with hyperbolic invective. Had Jarīr's repeated lampoons against Ji'thin been meant as serious or truthful accusations, they could have potentially landed Jarīr in legal trouble, if tribal members had interpreted his verses literally, for instance.⁷⁴ An effective poem or performance for Jarīr and al-Farazdaq was one in which the audience was entertained at the expense of the performer's opponent—in this case, al-Farazdaq's sister, Ji'thin. We can view these lampoons, therefore, as a vehicle to both entertain the audience with descriptions of Ji'thin's vileness and sexual sins, and also convince them of Jarīr's poetic skill. As such, the whole story of Ji'thin becomes a poetic conceit.⁷⁵

⁷² Abrahams, "Playing the Dozens," 210.

⁷³ Abrahams, "Playing the Dozens," 218.

⁷⁴ It might have been possible to take the poet to court for defamation, *qadhf*. Van Gelder says that, "Jarīr is not guilty of *qadhf*" in Ji'thin's case. "The men described as rapists, how-ever," he continues, "especially Ibn Murra who is mentioned by name, could have taken the poet to court. It is unlikely that they ever contemplated this; in the tribal environment and ethos, matters of honour and shame were far more important than matters of sin and guilt." Van Gelder, "Sexual Violence," 188.

⁷⁵ We can draw an analogy between Jarīr's use of Ji'thin as a literary motif and Abū Tammām's treatment of the traditional *nasīb* section in one of his poems. Fakhreddine points out, "We sense from the very opening hemistich that Abū Tammām is aware that he is using the scene of the ruined campsite as a literary motif. He is not concerned in the

Although Jarīr's verses almost certainly did create a discourse that would have brought actual shame on Ji'thin, this was probably not Jarīr's ultimate goal. Rather, his lampooning of her was meant to shame al-Farazdaq and to create in the minds of his audience a caricature-like image of al-Farazdaq's sister. The effect this might have had on a member of Jarīr's audience would be to make the poem memorable, to make its words live in the minds and on the tongues of the audience, and to display the performer's poetic skills at the expense of his opponent's sister.⁷⁶

The reputation Jarir built on the back of al-Farazdag's sister may have come at a cost. It is possible he felt some remorse in subjecting Ji'thin to such vile accusations, using her as proxy in his poetic battle with her brother. "Perhaps," van Gelder says, "even Jarīr had qualms, in his ripe age, if one gives credence to the report that 'he asked his Lord for forgiveness for what he had said about her (viz., Ji'thin) and the lies he had told about her.'"77 As befits the medium, Jarīr almost certainly did not intend his lampoons against Ji'thin as an actual description of her character, and it is unlikely that al-Farazdaq took them as such. At least, if al-Farazdaq did take exception to Jarīr's lampooning of his sister, he never directly refuted the lampoons as far as I can tell; I have not been able to find one instance of him doing so in the *Naqā'id*. Al-Farazdaq's tactic was to counter Jarīr's skillfully presented lampoons with invective of his own. The point was to imbed a certain image in the minds of the audience—in this case, the idea that Ji'thin is a whore—to the point where this narrative takes on a life of its own. This way, people remember Jarīr's catchy insults, and when they think of Ji'thin they immediately associate her with his skillful lampoons. After many public repetitions, the story of Ji'thin became rooted in the public mind to the point where it may have been difficult to separate truth from fiction.

least bit with making this seem like a 'real' place." Huda J. Fakhreddine, *Metapoesis in the Arabic Tradition: From Modernists to Muḥdathūn* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 69. She cites Abū Tammām's abstract treatment of the *nasīb* section in comparison to Imru' al-Qays's more concrete concern with actual traces (*atlāl*). This works as an analogy between Jarīr and other *naqā'id* performers, for example during the pre-Islamic era, who might have been more invested in the actual person or tribe they were lampooning. These earlier poets did want to ruin someone's reputation even as they were boosting that of their own tribe. For Jarīr, though, ruining Ji'thin's reputation is a byproduct of his main goal: skillfully defending his own.

⁷⁶ Abrahams describes the Dozens as a contest of public humiliation that allows for the release of aggression, while simultaneously building verbal skills. Abrahams, "Playing the Dozens," 215. Bronner, speaking of Dozens performers, says, "A good player is considered one who is verbally quick as well as creative." Bronner, "A Re-Examination," 121.

⁷⁷ Van Gelder, "Sexual Violence," 190.

Al-Farazdaq's task upon hearing Jarīr's poem (53 above) was to match the latter's invective with invective of his own, to hyperbolize to counter his opponent's hyperbole and to find a subject to lampoon him with that was proportional to Jarīr's own lampoon against him—all of this with the goal of performing a poem that would entertain the audience and convince them that he, and not Jarīr, was the superior poet. The *naqā'id* genre Jarīr and al-Farazdaq practiced did not require poets to directly refute the substance of the opponent's poem; al-Farazdaq was not obligated to make an impassioned defense of his sister. In fact, given a dyad of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *naqā'id* poems, it is not always an easy task to discern which motifs in one refute themes put forth in those of the other.⁷⁸ In some cases it would be possible to mismatch Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *naqā'id* poems, if one were relying on themes alone, since the poets were less often refuting each other substantively and topically than they were deploying certain modes of attack or particular lampoon motifs. Fakhreddine explains:

Most of the correlation between the rival poems in the *naqā'iḍ* remains mainly thematic. The competing poets strive to outdo each other by responding and rebutting each other's ideas or even challenging each other on a personal level through parody and insults. Even when one poet boasts of being a better poet than his rival, the reference to poetry remains thematic.⁷⁹

These poems, therefore, were a vehicle of performance that, while constituting attacks on an opponent and his tribe and eliciting an obligatory response, primarily gave the poets a means to communicate and interact with their audience. It is not surprising, therefore, that rather than a full-throated defense of Ji'thin and a refutation of Jarīr's outlandish claims, al-Farazdaq's response to Poem 53 includes a lampoon of the women of Jarīr's clan, the Kulayb, which he employs to defend his own performance reputation and display his skill.

We can find a useful analogy to Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's style of non-refuting lampoon dyads in the Dozens. These poems, like *naqā'id* poetry, are designed

[&]quot;In most cases," Hussein says, "it is difficult to show exactly which motifs of one *naqīda* are counterparts of those in the other *naqīda*. Even when this is possible, it is very difficult to prove exactly which are the refuting motifs and which are the refuted since both verses fulfill both functions at once." Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 334.

⁷⁹ Fakhreddine, *Metapoesis in the Arabic Tradition*, 164–165. Although Fakhreddine is speaking of *naqā'id* broadly here, she goes on to use an example from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id* to illustrate the point.

to elicit an in-kind response to their invective rather than a refutation. For example, when the common theme of lampooning an opponent's mother is delivered, the one being lampooned does not take this as an imperative to refute the substance of the lampoon by elaborating on the good traits of his own mother. Rather, he will answer with a similarly comical lampoon against his opponent's mother. When in a certain Dozens routine analyzed by Simon Bronner⁸⁰ the performer implies that his opponent lives in a garbage can, the appropriate response would not be to deny this and defend his actual home, but rather to fulfill the expectations of the performance by returning insult for insult, lampoon for lampoon.⁸¹ This is the approach al-Farazdaq takes in Poem 54 which, mixing gore and sex, portrays the capture of the Kulayb women by a hostile clan, the Banū Jusham.

- The women captives of Banū Jusham b. Bakr,
 He⁸² divided when he returned.
- 56 He said to all of his followers, "Take possession Of the big-lipped,⁸³ spread-legged women and put them in your saddle!"
- 57 Women, on the Day of Irāb,Let their husbands rush to the mountain paths.
- 58 Their menstrual blood whooshes as it gushes out Over their heels. You would think it was henna.
- 59 They stuck out their slave-girl breasts for them And their hands, from which they obtained milk.
- 60 They strike the backs of their saddles, mounted behind, and you can hear

Peeps coming from underneath.84

^{80 &}quot;I went to your house, but the garbage man already emptied it." Bronner, "A Re-Examination," 124.

⁸¹ Speaking of the "great Omayyad poets," i.e., Jarīr, al-Farazdaq, and al-Akhțal, van Gelder says, "Since everyone recognizes the grosser accusations as obviously untrue one would show one's ignorance of the rules of the game if one were to accuse the poet of *qadhf* [defamation]." Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 33–34.

⁸² He is al-Hudhayl, called Abū Hassān, who, with men of his clan, attacked Yarbū', Jarīr's clan, a subgroup of the tribe of Kulayb, on the Day of Irāb. See Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:451n. For the Day of Irāb, see Samīr al-Qutb, *Ansāb al-'Arab* (Beirut: Maktabat Dār al-Bayān, n.d.), 278.

^{83 &}quot;Lip" here refers to the vulva.

^{84 &}quot;Saddles" is a rendering of the Arabic, awākhir, whose primary meaning is "last," but is perhaps here, "back," as in the backs of their heads. However, the commentary on this line explains that awākhir "means the backs of the saddles ... which the rider leans on" ("قال الأواخريريد أواخر الرّحال وآخرة الرّحل التي يستند اليها الرّاكب"), Bevan, The Nakā'id, 1:476.

61 Miserable indeed are they when they reach them in the morning; they call

After the women of the tribe, who ride behind their captors.⁸⁵

- As you watched, the camels were driven away, 62 With the women, naked and starving.
- 63 If your spears had been long, You would have been jealous when the women flung off their clothing.

عواني في بني جشم بن بكر 55 إذْ بَلَغَ الا 56 اك الوقيم 57 58 59 60 ن عداة⁸⁶ تدعي 61 الركاما ی ترتدف تنظرون إلى المطايا 62 ل بهن أغراءً سغابا

Likewise, I have translated $dugh\bar{\mu}b$ as "peeps." The commentary says this word means "the sound of a rabbit" ("بوت الأرني"). Infon-matching parent stop-matching parenthesis Lit., "The women of the tribe are called for; they ride behind the riders."

⁸⁵

Although the Bevan edition seems to have 'adāta here, ghadāta, which is found in al-86 Manșūr's edition, makes much more sense, and I have translated the line accordingly. See al-Manșūr, Kitāb al-Naqā'id, 1:342.

63 فلَوْ كانَتْ رِماحُكُرُ طِوالاً لَغِرْتُمْ حِينَ أَلْقَيْنَ الثِيّاباً⁸⁷

Instead of a defense of Ji'thin, here we find a passage focused on Jarīr's female relatives that serves as a vehicle for al-Farazdaq to entertain his audience and to demonstrate his performance skill. He does so by lampooning his opponent's relatives in proportion to the lampoon Jarīr had aimed at al-Farazdag's sister. Line 56 answers Jarir's epithet for Ji'thin by lampooning the Kulayb women with the same word: ruhāb, "spread-legged." In Jarīr's poem, Sa'd, "shook his cock at [Ji'thin]," which penetrated her. In response to this crowning act of manliness, al-Farazdaq depicts the unmanliness of the cowardly Kulayb men, who fled—leaving their wives behind to be violated. The contrast between the mettle of the two tribes loosely connects the two poems. More importantly, al-Farazdaq introduces the flight of the Kulayb men to accentuate the cowardice of his opponent's tribe, which also reflects poorly on his opponent. This works in two ways. First, the act of calling his opponent's tribe "cowards" scores a point for al-Farazdaq in the *naqā'id* contest of mudslinging and reputation bashing. But it also works on a second level. By slandering the name of Jarīr's tribe, al-Farazdaq also defames the former's honor for not defending his tribe—i.e., poetically—which calls his performance reputation into question. (Of course, at a later time it will be possible for Jarir to recover from this either by defending his tribe, or vastly more likely in the *naqā'id* contests, by demeaning al-Farazdaq's tribe through lampoons of his own). The net effect is that al-Farazdaq adds to the old target of tribal honor that of the poet's honor. His response, therefore, is a literary one designed to defend his own performance reputation.

Beginning in line 58 al-Farazdaq deploys a graphic lampoon on the uncleanliness of the Yarbū^c women. He describes blood pouring over their heels using the word *ḥiyāḍ*, which refers to the flowing of menstrual blood.⁸⁸ In line 60, the "peeps" that emanate from their behinds add a raunchy detail that would have been humorous to an audience. This, combined with the "flow of blood" from line 58, emphasizes the uncleanliness of Jarīr's women.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:476–477.

 ^{88 &}quot;The blood of menstruation." Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, s.v. "hīḍa," directed from "hiyāḍ."

⁸⁹ The line may also be more loosely interpreted in the following way. If the women are menstruating, and therefore not pregnant, it could suggest a lack of virility on the part of the men. In line 60 the "peeps" that emanate from their behinds, beyond the humor, may suggest a violent penetration that has loosened the women's vaginas, or even more graph-

The phrase *la-bi*'s, "miserable indeed," introduces line 61. This is a formula found in classical Arabic poetry and frequently in the Qur'an, and when al-Farazdaq deploys it here, he is perhaps invoking some of the authority and gravitas that recalling that sacred book brings. The allusion here is subtle, not overt, but effective when used in combination with the conquered women of Jarīr's tribe, the "miserable ones."⁹⁰ He goes on in the next three lines to describe these women. In line 62 he portrays them as naked and starving. In the same line he employs the second person plural, wa-antum, thereby including Jarīr's tribe, the Yarbū^c, in his address, suggesting that they collectively suffered their women to be captured on the Day of Irab. More vividly, the sudden switch al-Farazdaq makes from the third person (discussing the women) to the second (speaking to Jarir and his tribe) works as a dramatic poetic device (apostrophe), directing the audience's attention to the point he is making.⁹¹ This "you" that al-Farazdaq suddenly invokes—and it is the first word of the line—must have grabbed the audience's attention by virtue of its vocative nature: "You!" the audience members hear, and for a split second their brains register the command as a direct address to them. "Us?" they think, if only momentarily-but that is long enough for al-Farazdaq's poetic device to do its job: to effectively attract their attention, which is now on the poet for whatever else he has to say.

Al-Farazdaq leaves some of his strongest invective for line 63. The first hemistich is the protasis of a conditional sentence, "If your spears had been

يَدْعُو لَمَن ضَرُهُ أَقْرَبُ مِن نَفْعِهِ" "To give just one example, from the Qur'an, at Q. 22:13: يَدْعُو لَمَن ضَرُهُ أَقْرَبُ مِن نَفْعِهِ" To give just one example, from the Qur'an, at Q. 22:13: يَدْعُو لَمَنْ صَرُهُ أَقْرَبُ مِن نَفْعِهِ "Le invokes one whose harm is closer than his benefit—how wretched the protector and how wretched the associate," Saheeh International). I have chosen to use "miserable" over "wretched" for this line. Either translation is valid.

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ically, their anuses. If we construe this with the "flow of blood" ($hiy\bar{a}d$) from line 58, it is possible to interpret their bleeding as a suggestion of a violent rape by the Banū Jusham tribe. It is indicative of al-Farazdaq's skill that he is able to loosely imply this secondary, sexualized imagery, without stating it outright. It is also possible that a reason al-Farazdaq treads so lightly over this subject is that even in the male-dominated patriarchy of the era, where sexualization of women was commonplace, he was still sensitive enough to the needs of his audience that he did not want to alienate any women who might have been listening. "Women," Hussein notes, "used to attend the *naqīdas* presentations in al-Mirbad." Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 309.

⁹¹ Gruendler explains one way the device can work. "In Ibn al-Rūmī's encomia, the switch of grammatical person becomes a device of the largest scope; it constitutes an integral part of his dramaturgy: a switch of person opens and closes a single dramatic scene, and during an ongoing scene, the first and second person indicate the dramatis personae present in a dialogue, as opposed to the third person who, representing an absent figure, is spoken about, conjured up, criticized, or vainly implored." Gruendler, *Medieval Arabic Praise Poetry*, 33.

long," which he follows with the apodosis in the second hemistich: "You would have been jealous when the women flung off their clothing." In other words, if the Yarbūʻ had been brave enough—the long spears representing their military might—they would not have held back but would have jealously guarded their honor and done something about it by counterattacking. A more metaphorical —and ribald—meaning is possible: if we take "spears" as a metaphor for "penises," then al-Farazdaq is suggesting that the Yarbūʻ men are deficient sexually, passively watching as their wives strip for the Banū Jusham. The layered meanings and sexually charged invective lampoon demonstrate al-Farazdaq's skill at crafting a response equal to or surpassing Jarīr's in derisive hyperbole.

Al-Farazdaq's rejoinder takes the place of an actual defense of his sister, which is standard practice in the $naq\bar{a}'id$: displaying skill in performance is equally as important as, or even more important than, addressing an issue like that of Ji'thin's honor.⁹² The Dozens is once again instructive. Its practitioners similarly create retorts that often do not correspond directly to the opponent's challenge, but instead refer to the performer or the performance itself. As in the $Naq\bar{a}'id$, Dozens responses are usually hyperbolic, often sexual, and almost always taunting. We find examples of this in the following Dozens lampoons taken from Bronner's list of "Your Mother is Like ..." insults:

Your mother's like a fan, turn her on, she blows ... Your mother's like a birthday cake, everyone gets a piece ... Your mother's like eggs, she gets laid all over ... Your mother's like a cup of coffee: hot, black, and ready to be creamed ... Your mother's like a bus, guys getting on and off all night.⁹³

These insults are meant as a provocation (or a response to a provocation) delivered to entertain an audience while simultaneously tearing down an opponent via insults to his mother. They do not for the most part represent actual grievances one performer has with another. Van Gelder explains how this works in the $Naq\bar{a}\dot{i}d$: Jarīr does not merely want to vent his anger or infuriate and humiliate his opponent, he wants to amuse others. Many of his $naq\bar{a}\dot{i}d$ contain grotesque and far-fetched comparisons that were obviously intended to make his audience laugh.⁹⁴ Taking van Gelder's analysis a step further, I propose that

⁹² In the *Naqā'id*, Jarīr and al-Farazdaq almost never respond by defending their tribe, their mother, or whomever or whatever the opponent has lampooned. Instead, the poets answer each other with corresponding lampoons of the other's clan, mother, and so forth.

⁹³ Bronner, "A Re-Examination," 123.

⁹⁴ Van Gelder, "Sexual Violence," 182.

not only does Jarīr want to amuse his audience, but he also wants to impress upon their minds that he—and not his opponent—is the superior performer.

Jarīr returns to the theme of Ji'thin again in Poem 92, and once more al-Farazdaq responds with hyperbolic invective of his own (Poem 93) without explicitly answering Jarīr's charges or defending his (own) sister. This dyad, with poems containing elements of *nasīb*, *hijā*', and *fakhr*, is an exemplar of the medium, and it allows the poets to demonstrate their skill by lampooning their opponent, his mother, and other family members with clever, often humorous, and, almost always in cases where Ji'thin is the subject, sexually charged lampoon.

Poem 92 follows the typical qasida structure, except that the opening nasib section is replaced with an elegy $(rith\bar{a}')$ for the poet's wife. Jarīr next addresses his rival, transitioning with a comparison of the latter's mother to his own recently deceased wife, and going on to lampoon him over 82 lines on themes ranging from his supposed blacksmith heritage, to the matter of his sister Ji'thin's rape, to alleged homosexual acts committed by his tribe. At one point he attacks him simply for being a bad poet. Jarīr ends the poem with a *fakhr* section, taking one last stab at al-Farazdaq's "blacksmith" heritage in the final line. In the middle of the long $hij\bar{a}$ ' section, he says,

- 47 They crossed Dhū al-Ḥamāț with Ji'thin in a rush, And fled to Khashākhish in stages.⁹⁵
- 48 She met Ṣuḥār, of the Banū Sinān, among them, A humpback (i.e., "camel") as hard as Ṣuḥār is.⁹⁶
- 49 She was penetrated by his distended Muqāʻisī dick, And blood, gushing out of her ass, poured forth.

قَطَعوا بِجِعْيْنَ ذَا الْجَمَاطِ تَقَحُّماً وإلى خَشَاخِشَ جَرْيُها أَطُوارُ

95 The commentary explains that *atwāru* means *hāl ba'da hāl*, which I have rendered as "in stages." See Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:855. Please note, Bevan has an additional line here (47^{*}).
 o6 The sense of this line is not entirely clear The first word of the second hemistich is

⁹⁶ The sense of this line is not entirely clear. The first word of the second hemistich is *hadiban*, which means either "hunchbacked" or "friendly," but the glossary contains the secondary reading of *khadiban*, which Lane renders as "cutting" or "sharp," (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. "*khadib*") but which the commentary says means *muta'azziman*, "haughty," "proud." The edition I use has *hadiban* and the commentary explains that it means "their horses." Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:855. I have chosen to translate it as "humpback," which is close to the meaning of hunchbacked but could also mean a camel, something one could ride like a horse.

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48 لَقِيَتْ صُحَارَ بَنى سِنانَ فَيْهِم حَدِباً كَأَعْصَلِ ما يَكُون صُحَارُ 49 طُعِنَتْ بِأَيْرِ مُقَاعِسِيٍّ مُخْلِج فأُصِيبَ عِرْقُ عِجَانِها النَّعَارُ⁹⁷

When Ji'thin arrives at the camp of the Banū Sinān (against her will), she finds Suhār "hadiban." The root of this word has two basic meanings: "arched" or "protuberant," and also "friendly" or "affectionate."98 The audience, hearing this, will have taken in both meanings simultaneously, not certain exactly how to read the word for the split second before they hear the rest of the hemistich, which continues with a description of Suhār. At this point in the performance, the audience might wonder what direction Jarir is taking this story about Ji'thin and Suhār, especially since it seems that he is depicting the latter as "friendly." Since he is talking about Ji'thin, they know it will eventually turn bad for her. But after that split second ambiguity, the audience hears the rest of the line: that the *hadiban*, which it now seems clear should be translated "[the] hunchback," is "as hard as Suhār," meaning that the hunchback (a camel) is as stiff as Suhār['s penis].⁹⁹ In a single line Jarīr has taken his audience through a story with a surprising twist of events, but concluding in the following line with the material they expected and likely came to hear: Ji'thin being violently raped. In this case, the rape involves a swollen (mukhlijin) penis, once again playing with the theme Jarir had started with his use of hadiban. What is more, this violation of Ji'thin draws blood, and from her rear end, no less!

Why does Jarīr depict Ji'thin in such a sexually humiliating way? What is his object in returning time and again to this well-worn motif? The reason is likely not either because Ji'thin deserves this, i.e., that she was actually guilty of the things Jarīr implicates her in, or because Jarīr harbors a specific grudge against al-Farazdaq's sister. It is debatable whether he even harbors a grudge against al-Farazdaq himself, but that is a story for a later chapter. What Jarīr is trying to do by humiliating Ji'thin, beyond displaying his poetic mastery by milking this theme to the last drop, is to also, and by extension, humiliate al-Farazdaq—Jarīr's real target in lampooning Ji'thin. And the reason he wants—he *needs*—to do this is to defend himself against al-Farazdaq's performance (in this case

⁹⁷ Bevan, The Naķā'id, 2:855-856.

⁹⁸ See footnote 96 above.

⁹⁹ It should be noted that this interpretation relies on Bevan's choice to use the manuscript containing the word *hadiban* and not *khadiban*. Even still, other interpretations are possible; this is the one I consider most likely.

he is pre-empting it, since Poem 92 is the first in the dyad)¹⁰⁰ reputation, which is what the entire prolonged contest between these two poets is about: building and maintaining a (performance) reputation.

We can peel back one more layer of meaning in this poem. This routine introduces a motif of dominance: Ji'thin is forcefully entered and penetrated to such a degree that it brings blood. The level of violation Ji'thin suffers at the hands of Ṣuḥār is analogous to the level of poetic violation Jarīr deploys against al-Farazdaq, using the latter's sister as proxy. We may read the attack on Ji'thin and her sexual humiliation as a subtle allusion to al-Farazdaq's forced submission to and humiliation by Jarīr in terms of poetic performance.

Al-Farazdaq's response (Poem 93) once again neither explicitly defends $\underline{Ii}_{hyphenation \, correct?}^{i}$ thin nor refutes Jarīr's lampoon. Instead, it contains several sexually oriented passages that match Jarīr's in graphic hyperbole, just as in Poem 54. The poem contains both lampoon and boasting, but is structured differently than Jarīr's poem. The introduction consist of a traditional *nasīb* section instead of an elegy (*rithā*'), and the *fakhr* section is inserted between two *hijā*' sections, the second of which is an extended lampoon of Jarīr's deceased wife. Al-Farazdaq says:

- 83 The clitoris of every short black woman confronts her old man, As if its tongue is a bird's beak.
- 84 The slave girl of both hands¹⁰¹ whose forefathers were low class, Is black where her necklace hangs.
- 85 She would perfume herself with farts, and noPerfume seller ever brought a sweet smell into a room of hers.

This does not necessarily mean that the entirety of Jarīr's poem came first. Hussein has demonstrated that these poems were at least sometimes composed in stages. Speaking of another poem (51) he points out that al-Farazdaq "refers to some motifs mentioned in the counter-*naqīda* of Jarīr which was written after the composition of al-Farazdaq's poem." Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 344. In the case of Poem 51 Hussein believes that the original did not mention Jarīr at all, nor was it intended to be a lampoon poem, but that al-Farazdaq repurposed it (see 344–345). This leaves open the possibility that these poems were not necessarily composed in linear fashion, but that the composition was more like a fluid process in which poets re-performed poems, adding and deleting lines, motifs and themes as necessary to reflect the progression of the contest at hand.

¹⁰¹ The commentary tells us that this means that "their hands are slave-girl hands, split from work and toil upon them" ("ايديهنّ ايدى الإِماءِ مُشَقَّقَةٌ من المُفِينة والعَمَل بِها"), Bevan, *The Naķāʾiḍ*, 2:878.

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Here, Jarir and al-Farazdaq's naqā'id battle has reached what we might consider a nadir. Al-Farazdaq insults the dead, a possibly unexpected, and certainly jarring, effect that captures the attention of the audience. It did not likely offend or shock them, though. Sexually graphic and highly personalized, ad hominem lampoons were a standard feature of Umayyad-era naqā'id poetry. Jarīr was accused of using his poetic talents for "humanly inferior purposes,"¹⁰³ but to call al-Farazdaq's poetry inferior because of its subject matter would be to judge him by our own standards and not those of his day. "By the standards of his own time and environment," says Van Gelder, speaking here about Jarīr, "his coarseness, in a genre that demanded occasional or even repeated coarseness, was wholly appropriate."¹⁰⁴ Al-Farazdaq's poetic virtuosity serves to draw his audience into the performance, and to keep them engaged by hyperbolic lampoon. Al-Farazdaq fails to respond to Jarīr's supposed insult of Ji'thin with a defense of his sister—a ritual violation—and instead responds to the poetic challenge issued by Jarīr, taking as his subject the latter's deceased wife, whom Jarīr had elegized in his own poem. Al-Farazdaq continues with equally coarse invective, calling Jarīr's wife a slave. In line 84 he says she is "black where her necklace hangs." This is a reference to her slave status, and indicates that she has been toiling without being properly covered, her neck and chest bare and open to the elements, which has tanned her (already dark) skin.¹⁰⁵ He follows with another graphic, coarse, and by all accounts humorous line of invective in a lampoon that depicts Jarīr's wife's flatulence, which he describes as her eau de toilette of choice. Both the topic he selects (lampooning the dead) and the manner in which he deploys it showcase his skill at grabbing his audience's attention,

القلادة وإثما نسبهن الى العمل والمهنة ي non-matching parenthesis Bevan, The Naka id, 2:879.

¹⁰² Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:878–879.

¹⁰³ Van Gelder, "Sexual Violence," 190.

¹⁰⁴ Van Gelder, "Sexual Violence," 190.

¹⁰⁵ The commentary explains that the blackness al-Farazdaq mentions indicates slave status: "And they are black, rough black where their collar hangs—referring to the place of the necklace—which linked them with toil and service, and condemned them for it" وهن"

which in turn protects his reputation as a lampoon performer. He more than matches Jarīr's hyperbolic lampoon of his sister with his sexually charged (the clitoris of an old lady), grotesque (perfumed with farts), and shocking (lampoon in place of eulogy) response.

These sexual, hyperbolic, ritual-violating lampoons give us an idea of what their performance purpose was if we look at them as they were performed and spread during and after Jarir and al-Farazdaq's time. One important factor is that the poems were not only or always performed whole or thought of as intact units. Van Gelder says that soon after their first performance or performances of these poems, "outstanding lines and short passages were singled out and quoted,"106 and that "this happened not only in later times but during the life of the poets themselves."¹⁰⁷ He adds that "they do not seem to have minded this fragmentation of their poems."108 We can think of it this way: if Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's primary aim in reciting a certain lampoon poem was to destroy their opponent in the moment and to detail the bad deeds of the each other's tribe, then they would probably take a keen interest that their poems be preserved intact so as not to muddle the message against their opponent. Hearing fragments of this same poem recited by others, out of context, perhaps losing sight of who exactly was being lampooned or what the specific points of the diatribe against that person and his tribe entailed, might indeed frustrate the poets, because the poem's whole purpose would be lost in those decontextualized fragments. On the other hand, if the aim of the poets was not really to attack their opponent's tribe on a specific issue so much as it was to boost the attacker's reputation by producing a compelling, decisively humiliating poem that included some memorable lines—lines the poets actually intended the audience to remember, not so much to remind them of how low or vile the lampooned opponent (or opponent's tribe) was, but in fact to remind them of the moment of performance when they had heard that particular verse recitedif this was the poets' aim, then hearing fragments of their poems recited in the street, so far from being objectionable, must have been the entire point of the performance in the first place.

The two dyads we just reviewed follow the standard *naqā'id* pattern of lampoon and response, a pattern which Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *naqā'id* also follow, and which suggests that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq adhered to certain rules in their performances. Many aspects of this pattern are mirrored by the Dozens, as we have seen in some of the examples above. The Dozens is only one

¹⁰⁶ Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 37.

¹⁰⁷ Van Gelder, The Bad and the Ugly, 37.

¹⁰⁸ Van Gelder, The Bad and the Ugly, 37.

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among many examples I could have used, but besides paralleling the performative features of the *Naqāʾiḍ* in a number of ways, it is appropriate for its modernity and relatability, and not least of all, because its characteristics have been extensively documented and because examples of it are abundant.

The mechanics of Dozens performances give us insight into how the rules of performance I mentioned above may have operated in the Nagā'id. Research indicates that the Dozens can and sometimes does end in fights, but this happens only rarely, when one of the participants begins to take the contest literally and loses his cool. Ayoub says that "the unwritten rules [i.e., of the Dozens] discourage physical combat,"¹⁰⁹ and Abrahams makes the point that it is fairly rare that insults "proceed until ... one hits the other,"110 which indicates that non-violence is the norm in the Dozens just as it is in Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id.*¹¹¹ When this standard is violated, a breakdown of the ritual results; then, sport becomes fight. This accords with Huizinga's conception of "play." He says, "All play has its rules ... as soon as the rules are transgressed the whole play-world collapses. The game is over."112 Drawing on Huizinga, Lefever asserts that "where the contest exceeds the rules of the game or when the 'playworld' becomes the 'real-world,' the Dozens eventuates in fisticuffs and physical fighting."¹¹³ Nor is violence an uncommon phenomenon in the *naqā'id* genre (although not in Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's naqā'id), which is not surprising given its invective content intended to prod the opponent to ever-increasing levels of violent speech acts, which sometimes transcend speech to become, simply acts; as van Gelder notes, "Speech ... is an act too; of all speech acts, hijā' comes perhaps closest to a physical act."114

There is a correlation between the Dozens's and the *naqā'iḍ*'s non-violent performances, what Huizinga calls "play." The content of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's decades-long contest favors a "play-world" interpretation of their *naqā'iḍ* along the lines Lefever has outlined, since over a time period extending several

¹⁰⁹ Millicent R. Ayoub and Stephen A. Barnett, "Ritualized Verbal Insult in White High School Culture," *Journal of American Folklore* 78 (1965): 340.

¹¹⁰ Abrahams, "Playing the Dozens," 210.

¹¹¹ This is in contrast to earlier *naqā`id* battles which very often did involve a level of violence (see this chapter, footnote 3) absent in Umayyad-era *naqā`id*, of which the *Naqā`id* of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq serve as an exemplar.

¹¹² Johan H. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (London: Routledge, 2000), 11.

Harry G. Lefever, "Playing the Dozens': A Mechanism for Social Control," *Phylon* 42 (1981):
 82.

¹¹⁴ Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 34–35.

decades Jarīr and al-Farazdaq lampooned each other continuously on various topics without ever seeming to clearly settle any particular dispute; rather, the poets repeatedly tried to outdo each other in their performances to defend their performance reputation.¹¹⁵

2.2 Homosexuality

Of course Ji'thin is not the only trope which Jarīr lampoons his longtime opponent with. Sometimes instead of portraying the sexually indecent behavior among the female relatives—sometimes mothers—of his opponent and clan, he deploys another sexually oriented theme in the $naq\bar{a}'id$: that of homosexual behavior and allusions to it. The following short selections contain examples. In Poem 53, Jarīr says:

Jandal, what do the Banū Numayr say,When they put their dick in your father's ass?

7 أَجَنْدَلُ ما تَقُولُ بَنو ثُمَيْر إذا ما الإيْرُ في اسْتِ أَبِيكَ غابا¹¹⁶

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In another poem, Poem 92, he says:

- 8_9 al-Muhammal witnessed that the Mujāshi'ī army Sucked dicks after they ate the *khazīr*¹¹⁷ and howled.
- 90 They looked at you and they turned their heads, Like hyenas look when struck by dizziness.
- 91 Do not let yourselves be surpassed¹¹⁸ [by anyone] in sucking your own dicks!

Your talkative father ordered that.

¹¹⁵ Van Gelder explains how this constant reputation-bashing rivalry worked between Jarīr and al-Farazdaq: "As for invective, some of the accusations are so grossly and grotesquely exaggerated, especially the obscenities, that nobody among the public is likely to take them seriously. One might think that this would undermine belief in any accusations that do in fact contain elements of truth; but the object of invective is to humiliate the victim and to convince the public, not of the truth of the accusations, but of the humiliating potential of the poem." Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 33.

¹¹⁶ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:446. Lit., "When their dick is hidden in your father's ass?"

¹¹⁷ A stew-like dish.

¹¹⁸ The commentary gives *tazma'ūna* as a variant reading for *tughlabunna*. This would render the first hemistich, "You do not thirst when sucking your own dicks!".

- ⁹² The 'Iqāl tribe cast lots over the camel, al-Duhaym,
 After they fucked al-Duhaym. May they¹¹⁹ be disgraced!¹²⁰
- 93 And al-Ba'ith cried over al-Duhaym, and groaned a camel groan. al-Ba'ith's father had a young camel from al-Duhaym.¹²¹
- And when Mujāshi'ī wanted something bad,¹²²
 He fucked al-Duhaym, but his ass lagged behind.¹²³
- Al-Farazdaq, al-Baʿīth, his mother, and al-Farazdaq's father,
 Were all tied up together. May the foursome be disgraced!¹²⁴

بد المهما أن جيش مجاشع 89 بوا الأيورَ عَلَى الخَزير فخاروا إ إِلَيْكَ وِقَدْ تَقَلَّبَ هِامُهُمْ 90 ٤١ ن عاً آرتضاع 91 ذاك أيه عقال 92 ث عل الدهم 93 اراد مجاش 94 نَكَحَ الدَّهَمْ وفي ٱسْتِه ٱستيخارُ

¹¹⁹ I.e., the ones who had cast lots (*al-aysāru*).

¹²⁰ Lit., "May they be made ugly" (*fa-qubbiha*)!

¹²¹ In other words, al-Baʿīth's father impregnated the camel, al-Duhaym, who gave birth to a young camel.

¹²² Sawa can either mean "a disgraceful act," or, according to Lane, "the external portion of the organs of generation ... of a man, and of a woman." Lane Arabic-English Lexicon, s.v. "sawa". I have translated it here as "something bad," but the hemistich could equally well be rendered, "And when Mujāshiʿī wanted pussy."

¹²³ Lit., "there was a delay in his buttocks." Perhaps this suggests that he has a large posterior which lags behind the rest of his body during intercourse. At any rate, it was almost certainly a funny line to Jarīr's audience.

¹²⁴ See this chapter, footnote 120.

95 قُرِنَ الفَرَزْدَقُ والبَعيثُ وأَمَّهُ وأَبو الفَرَزْدَقِ قُبَّحَ الإِسْتارُ¹²⁵

Both poems exhibit hyperbolic and explicit language. Jarīr does not shy away from the word avr ("penis") or ist ("buttocks"), words which he deploys frequently throughout the corpus. In Poem 92 he hammers home the theme of al-Farazdaq's clan's penis sucking, mentioning that phrase twice before moving on to a charge of bestiality involving al-Farazdaq's fellow tribe member and frequent interlocutor in the Nagā'id, al-Ba'īth. Jarīr's charges of passive homosexuality, fellatio, and bestiality in these lines exemplify the overtly sexual hyperbole the poets use to attack the reputation of their opponent. In the first example (Poem 53) Jarīr takes aim not at al-Farazdaq, but at al-Rāʿī and his family, targeting the latter's son here with a hyperbolic lampoon.¹²⁶ In the second (Poem 92) Jarīr again skillfully and hyperbolically lampoons al-Farazdag with sexually graphic material that portrays al-Farazdaq's clan as submissive, passively fulfilling the sexual desires of others. The hyperbole Jarir deploys here demonstrates his skill in lampooning his opponent, which strengthens the idea in his audience's minds, directly stated in other passages, that he is the superior performer. We find similar homosexually-themed hyperbole in the Dozens, deployed there too to demonstrate the skill of the performer. For example, Bronner mentions the following instances: "Your brother's like a store, he takes meat in the back;"127 "I stuck up for you. Your roommate told me vou were a frigid homosexual. But I told him vou weren't;"128 "You didn't get no round mouth from sucking on door-knobs."129 Abrahams lists three verses based on the theme of a male relative's engaging in homosexual behavior. The first two follow the same template, and the third is closely related:

¹²⁵ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:862.

Al-Rāʿī was a poet who had quarreled with Jarīr, who consequently satirized him and his son, Jandal. See Bevan, *The Nakāʾiḍ*, 3:11. Al-Rāʿī belonged to the tribe of Banū Numayr, which was satirized by Jarīr and eulogized by al-Farazdaq. See Bevan, *The Nakāʾiḍ*, 3:236. The poem came about as a consequence of a poem al-Rāʿī had had recited against Jarīr, in which he claimed that al-Farazdaq had bested the poet (i.e., Jarīr) in a lampooning match. Poem 53 is Jarīr's response to al-Rāʿī, in which he lampoons not only the latter and his son Jandal but also al-Farazdaq. See Bevan, *The Nakāʾiḍ*, 1:427–432.

¹²⁷ Bronner, "A Re-Examination," 124.

¹²⁸ Bronner, "A Re-Examination," 125.

¹²⁹ Bronner, "A Re-Examination," 126.

Least my father ain't pregnant in the stomach.

Least my father ain't pregnant in the nose, expecting boogies.... Least my brother ain't no store, stand on the counter tempting everybody.¹³⁰

No matter which poetic idiom, Dozens or *naqā'id*, the aim is to show the audience who is the superior poet.

In Poem 64 Jarīr reduces the coarseness even as he displays his domination of al-Farazdaq in an allusion to homosexuality. Sexual dominance becomes a metaphor here for poetic dominance.

- I put on my armor, but al-Farazdaq was a [mere] plaything:
 He had on hobby-horse reins and bells.¹³¹
- 63 Prepare with the ornaments perfume, becauseJarīr is your husband and you are his lawful wives!

سْتُ أداتي والفَرَزْدَقُ لْعُبَةُ 62 بَرِّ مَ الْحَارُ وَرَوْعَ : عَلَيْهِ وِشاحًا كُرَّج وجَلاجِلُهُ أَعِدُوا مَعَ الحَلَى الْمَلابَ فِإِنَّمَا جَرِيرُ لَكُمْ بَعْلُ وَأَنْتُمْ حَلائِلُهُ¹³² 63

Jarīr begins by drawing attention to al-Farazdaq's ridiculous clothing, which highlights his low-class status. Hussein says that Jarīr's comparison here to "the

I have put on my arms while al-Farazdaq is a laughing-stock// dressed in the two ornamented belts and bells of a kurrah Prepare perfume with the ornaments;

¹³⁰ Abrahams, "Playing the Dozens," 219.

¹³¹ Lane, referencing this verse specifically, calls *kurraj* a "hobby-horse," and the *jalājil* its "bells." Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. "kurraj." Hussein says, "The *kurraj* isa [*sic*] wooden stick shaped like a horse; the dancers, who wore women's robes, mounted them and performed several dances." Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 336n. Bevan in his glossary translates *kurraj* as "a kind of doll." Bevan, *The Nakā'id*, 3:536." "Hobby-horse" is almost certainly the best translation, and is what I use here. For a discussion of the use of the term *kurraj* in medieval Arab culture, see Shmuel Moreh, *Live Theatre and Dramatic Literature in the Medieval Arab World* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 21–43, who has also translated these lines (p. 29) as:

Jarīr is your husband and you are his wives.

¹³² Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:650.

kurraj actor or dancer ... show[s] that he is not a noble."¹³³ This description of al-Farazdaq dressed as a dancer, a "plaything," as Jarīr calls him, sets up the next line, in which he calls himself his "husband" (ba'l).¹³⁴ Taken together, these lines imply Jarir's dominance over the submissive al-Farazdaq. The lampoon in this couplet about al-Farazdaq goes beyond mere dominance though; Jarir deploys a lampoon here that conveys different meanings and *double entendres* with regard to multiple words. If we read al-Farazdaq's appellation of "plaything" as a sexual term, then Jarir could be implying that he is a pathic. Furthermore, Jarīr portravs himself dominating al-Farazdaq, which we may read, sexually, as Jarir's inserting himself into the position of a pedicator in homosexual intercourse. Furthermore, in line 63 Jarīr addresses al-Farazdaq and the rest of his tribe as "wives," calling himself the "husband," a sign not only of his dominance, but also of his manliness—we might say muruwwa—which in turn points to his poetic dominance, that ability to lampoon his opponent in a humiliating way that shows not only al-Farazdaq but also the audience that Jarir is the superior poetic.

Thus, when Jarīr calls al-Farazdaq a "plaything," it is to humiliate him and to show his own dominance. In addition to this, in the commentary on Poem 63, line 61 (see p. 91), Abū 'Ubayda reports that "Jarīr stood at Mirbad and he was wearing a complete suit of armor ... [and] al-Farazdaq wore silk brocade (*thiyāb washy*) and a bracelet (*siwār*)."¹³⁵ According to this account, therefore, they faced one another at Mirbad wearing the same type of clothing Jarīr describes in these lines, though perhaps the commentator was extrapolating literally from the text of the poem. Salient to our discussion is the portrayal of dominance Abū 'Ubayda highlights, suggested by the disparity in dress between Jarīr's armor and al-Farazdaq's womanly clothing.

2.3 The "Blacksmith" Theme

Another trope that figures prominently in the *Naqāʾiḍ* is a routine based on al-Farazdaq's supposedly having been a blacksmith. The story arose because al-Farazdaq's grandfather, Ṣaʿṣaʿa, did in fact own a blacksmith slave¹³⁶ by the name of Jubayr, "[whom] Jarīr claimed to have had intercourse with Laylā [al-

¹³³ Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 336.

¹³⁴ Hussein says that the previous line "leads Jarīr to ask al-Farazdaq's clan to perfume him and to prepare him to be a bride. The husband," he adds, "is clearly Jarīr himself." Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 336.

¹³⁶ In Arabic, the word "blacksmith" (*qayn*) can also mean "slave."

Farazdaq's grandmother], on account of which Jarīr traced al-Farazdaq's father Ghālib's ancestry back to that blacksmith."¹³⁷ In Poem 76, Jarīr says,

8 We found Jubayr, Ghālib's father, Distantly related to Ma'bad.¹³⁸

This theme generates invective power by virtue of the status of blacksmiths in Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's society; as Jayyusi notes, they were of the lower classes. She says, "The fact that al-Farazdaq's grandfather had had slaves who worked as blacksmiths was used by Jarīr as an excuse to call al-Farazdaq's noble family 'a family of blacksmiths,' a low caste in Arabia."¹⁴⁰ The absurdity of this juxtaposition would have been enough to draw a laugh. That Jarīr pursued it so mercilessly undoubtedly annoyed al-Farazdaq, while it simultaneously made the audience smile.

A number of examples of this routine from the *Naqā'iḍ* illustrate techniques Jarīr uses to display his performative skill. The first comes from Poem 92, sections of which we have studied above in connection with Jarīr's Ji'thin trope. In the lines below Jarīr deploys the blacksmith routine to lampoon al-Farazdaq for his personal grooming habits, insinuating that they result from his alleged occupation.

³¹ Hadrā' rejected the blacksmiths and their stench—
 Rejection prevents a noble person from being wronged—¹⁴¹
 ³² When she saw iron rust on his skin.

His color was gray, and his fingers were short.

Al-Farazdaq said, "Mend our bellows!"She replied, "But how can the bellows be repaired?"

8

وجدنا جبيرا أبا غالب بَعيدَ القَرابَة مِنْ مَعْبَدُ¹³⁹

¹³⁷ "فادّعى جرير أن جبيراً اتصل بليلى وواقعها, فنسب جرير غالبًا أبا الفرزدق إلى ذلك القين". Khalīl 'Abd Sālim al-Rufū', "al-Farazdaq qaynan fī shi'r Jarīr: dirāsa fī maşdar al-şūra wa-ta'şīl dalālātihā,"*Mu'ta lil-buḥūth wa-l-dirāsāt* 19 (2004), 58.

¹³⁸ A descendant of the Dārim, called Abū l-Qaʿqāʿ. See Bevan, *The Naķāʾiḍ*, 3:222.

¹³⁹ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:799.

¹⁴⁰ Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 411.

¹⁴¹ In other words, a noble person rejects bad persons (such as blacksmiths) in order to keep from being wronged (by them).

Mend your belongings! My grandfather was Khālid; Yours was a blacksmith: Nizār did not bear you.

In the first line, Hadrā' rejects blacksmiths and Jarīr uses the plural for the first time in this poem after having used "blacksmith" in the singular three times. The abrupt switch from singular to plural is possibly a poetic device similar to *iltifāt* ("redirection"), which poets typically employ to capture an audience's attention.¹⁴³ Once Jarīr has it, the audience realizes that al-Farazdaq is the intended reference: he is the blacksmith that Hadrā' had rejected.

"Bad smell" (line 31), "dirty skin" (line 32), "short fingers" (line 32), and a command to Ḥadrā' (al-Farazdaq's wife) to repair the bellows (line 33): these are among the motifs Jarīr uses to chip away at al-Farazdaq's reputation, which in turn shows him to be a competent performer, and which defends his own reputation. Each of these insults carries significance above and beyond the lampoon it appears to be at face value, and shows Jarīr skillfully tailoring his performance to the needs and demands of his audience. To wit, the surface-level meanings of these lampoons are enough to humiliate al-Farazdaq, but audience members who were paying attention—and perhaps these were the types who regularly attended $naq\bar{a}'id$ performances—would have gotten even more out of Jarīr's poem by reading between the lines. For example, the stench $(r\bar{\iota}h)$ that Jarīr attributes to al-Farazdaq reminds the audience that al-Farazdaq's supposed occupation as a blacksmith causes him to sweat constantly as he toils by the fire. The rust (*şada'*) on al-Farazdaq's skin hints at a menial, low-class occupa-

¹⁴² Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:852–853.

¹⁴³ After this line, instances of the singular (*qayn*) vs. the plural (*quyūn*) even out; by the end of the poem, each term will have been used eight times.

tion; Jarīr is reminding the audience of al-Farazdaq's disreputable occupation, as well as his lack of personal grooming. Short fingers imply unsuitability for the menial occupation of blacksmithing, but could also hint at sexual inadequacy, another dig at the women of al-Farazdaq's clan, and especially at al-Farazdaq's wife, whom Jarīr had introduced in the previous verse. She, Jarīr indicates, having married below her class, refuses to stoop to do the will of a lowly blacksmith as might be expected of an obedient wife. Instead, she rejects his order, resisting the command al-Farazdaq gives her—to mend the bellows—because to do so would bring her down to his level. The line reinforces the idea of al-Farazdaq's lowliness, both by mentioning his occupation and by contrasting him with his high-born wife.

In the next line Jarīr orders al-Farazdaq to mend his belongings, both recalling to mind the command to his wife and assigning him, al-Farazdaq, menial tasks that Jarīr implies he is suited to. By doing so, he shows the audience that although al-Farazdaq is not able to command his wife, he (Jarīr) is able to command his opponent. Jarīr then asserts his own distinguished pedigree as a descendant of Khālid,¹⁴⁴ and reminds al-Farazdaq in a reputation-smashing line that he (al-Farazdaq) is not descended from Nizār, the ancestor of two prominent tribes.¹⁴⁵

Later in Poem 92, Jarīr again deploys the blacksmith trope:

Layla preferred the blacksmiths and their stench;But there is no good in the blacksmiths' rust.

60 وتَخَيَّرَتْ لَيْلَى القُيونَ وريحَهُمْ ما كانَ في صَدَإِ القُيونِ خِيارُ¹⁴⁶

Again we can assume that in saying "blacksmiths" in the plural Jarīr is in fact referring to al-Farazdaq. Here, according with common practice in *naqā'iḍ* poetry, Jarīr insults one of al-Farazdaq's female relatives, his grandmother Laylā, contrasting her approval of blacksmiths—she "preferred" (*takhayyarat*) them—and, by extension, her approval of al-Farazdaq, with Ḥadrā's (al-Farazdaq's wife's) disapproval both of blacksmiths in general and of al-Farazdaq in particular—she "rejected" (*ankarat*) them. In saying that al-Farazdaq's grandmother "preferred" blacksmiths, Jarīr once again hints at the theme of al-

^{144 &}quot;An ancestor of Bisțām b. Kais b. Masʿūd." Bevan, The Naķāʾid, 3:101.

¹⁴⁵ These are Rabīʿa and Muḍar.

¹⁴⁶ Bevan, The Naķā'id, 2:858.

إِنْ تَفْرَكْكَ عِلْجَةُ آلَ زَيْدِ ويُعُوِزْكَ المُرَقَّقُ والصَّنابُ فقِدْماً كانَ عَيْشُ أَبَيكَ مُرّ

بما تَعيشُ به الكلابُ¹⁴⁹

2

Farazdaq's father having descended from the blacksmith slave that she "preferred." Once again Jarīr mentions *şada*' (rust), a word he deploys to paint al-Farazdaq as a dirty, low-class blacksmith.

Whereas Jarīr frequently lampooned al-Farazdaq with the blacksmith theme, al-Farazdaq sometimes abused Jarīr in verse for the latter's poverty. In one example, the entirety of Poem 86, he says:

- If that sturdy Zaydi woman¹⁴⁷ hates you, And if you lack even bread and mustard,¹⁴⁸
- 2 Just think: In the old days, your father's life was bitter; He used to live just like a dog!

The poem is short and to the point, but filled with humorous references. Al-Farazdaq starts by insulting Jarīr's wife, calling her *'iljah*, "sturdy," "bulky," which also carries the connotation, "unbeliever," in addition to meaning, "ass" or "donkey." He follows this up with a reference to Jarīr's poverty: he even lacks the means to buy bread and mustard. Finally, al-Farazdaq insults his opponent's father, a typical device in both the *Naqā'iḍ* and the Dozens, and a fitting counterpoint to Jarīr's own lampooning of al-Farazdaq's father for being a blacksmith. This creates not only an entertaining lampoon, but one that carries the same force as Jarīr's lampoons, even though it is not strictly thematically related to them.

In Poem 53, a poem by Jarīr discussed earlier with reference to the topic of Ji'thin, the poet also deploys the blacksmith trope in defense of his performance reputation. He says:

47 The blacksmith and cowards met grief.You may see his tears dripping, pouring out.

149 Bevan, The Naķā'id, 2:840.

¹⁴⁷ I.e., Jarīr's wife.

¹⁴⁸ Muraqqaq is "A cake of bread [made thin and] wide, or broad," Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, s.v. "muraqqaq;" while şināb is "A sauce made of mustard ... and raisins," s.v. "şināb."

47 ولاقى القَيْنُ والنَّخباتُ غَمَّاً تَرَى لِوُكوفِ عَبْرَتِهِ انْصِبابا¹⁵⁰

This line stands out among Jarīr's other blacksmith-themed verses for the words relating to water contained in the second hemistich. Water imagery is a common theme in Arabic poetry, and Jarīr deploys it as a background here, against which he depicts the blacksmith, a favorite invective device, and the cowardly al-Farazdaq weeping, another common invective trope.¹⁵¹ Fully three quarters of the words in the second hemistich of line 47 relate to water and tear imagery: "dripping" (*wukūf*), "tear" (*'abra*), and "pouring out" (*inṣibāb*). These images complement each other, but by including the trope of weeping, Jarīr introduces elements that recall classical Arabic elegy (*rithā'*),¹⁵² a poetic genre that is associated with women—thus emphasizing, both subtly and overtly, al-Farazdaq's cowardliness/womanliness and therefore inferiority. The imagery Jarīr conjures up in the line leaves us imagining al-Farazdaq sorrowing over the loss of the lampoon contest.

In Poem 64, Jarīr takes aim at al-Farazdaq's lowly heritage by invoking his blacksmith origins once again, saying:

If you, lowly son of a smith, desire to reach our glory,Head for the mountain of Hadan and see if you can move it.

68 فإِنْ كُنْتَ يا ابْنَ القَيْنِ رائِمَ عِنِّ نا فُرُمْ حَضَناً فَانْظُرْ مَتَى أَنْتَ ناقِلُهُ¹⁵³

Jarīr here challenges al-Farazdaq to a contest. The implication of this challenge is that al-Farazdaq might just as well try to move a mountain as attempt to attain to Jarīr's glory: either is an impossible task.¹⁵⁴ There is further significance

¹⁵⁰ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:442.

¹⁵¹ Roger Allen says, "While water—its presence or absence—was a very practical aspect of life within the desert existence of the earliest poets, it has been a potent image for the modern poet as well." Roger Allen, *An Introduction to Arabic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 8, confirming the power of water imagery in classical poetry.

¹⁵² References to weeping and water imagery are common in classical Arabic elegy. Speaking of the function of tears in elegy, Stetkevych references "the lachrymal expression that so often opens such poems (viz., elegy)." Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak: Pre-Islamic Poetry and the Poetics of Ritual* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 179.

¹⁵³ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:651.

¹⁵⁴ He goes on to say this in subsequent lines. Hussein notes that he claims "al-Farazdaq will

to the place name Jarīr mentions in this line, Ḥaḍan. Ḥaḍan is a mountain that borders the Najd on the western side, and when one reaches it (i.e., by heading east from the Hijaz), he is said to have reached Najd, the homeland of Jarīr's clan, the Kulayb.¹⁵⁵ Jarīr's lampoon places al-Farazdaq's reputation far below his own glory and that of his tribe, and with his reference to his homeland, it reads as an implicit invitation to a lampooning contest. The fact that Jarīr is able to convey such multivalent meaning in one line begins to suggest how skillfully these poets approached the task of defending their reputations through *naqā'id* lampooning contests.

Just as Jarīr's Blacksmith-themed lampoons include personal insults against al-Farazdaq, so too does the Dozens feature examples of ad hominem attacks aimed at one's opponent. "Standard Sounds," Ayoub says, "refer to [the opponent's] physical appearance."¹⁵⁶ He goes on to give examples:

You look like 500 miles of bad road. You look like my dog and I don't even have one Your face looks like a forest fire that's been stamped out with a shovel. You smell like ten tons of get-back.¹⁵⁷

Bronner also provides a list of "personal insults," including the following:

"Does your face hurt? It's killing me ... You're so ugly, you couldn't get laid in a whorehouse with a fistful of twenty dollar bills ... Yesterday I stuck up for you. A guy said you weren't fit to live with pigs. I said you were ... I used to wear clothes like you, then my father got a job ... You're so ugly that when you were born, the doctor slapped your mother."¹⁵⁸

To these, Abrahams adds the witty couplet,

Fee, fie, fo, fum, Your mother's a bum.¹⁵⁹

never be able to make his clan nobler, or at least possess the same nobility as his own clan." Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 337.

¹⁵⁵ "أَنْجُدُ مَنْ رأَى حَضَناً" ("He who has seen Ḥaḍan has reached Najd"). Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-Arab* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1955–1956), s.v. "ḥaḍan."

¹⁵⁶ Ayoub and Barnett, "Ritualized Verbal Insult," 339. The term "Sounding" is synonymous with "playing the Dozens" and a "Sound" is one instance of that play. See also 338.

¹⁵⁷ Ayoub and Barnett, "Ritualized Verbal Insult," 339.

¹⁵⁸ Bronner, "A Re-Examination," 125.

¹⁵⁹ Abrahams, "Playing the Dozens," 218.

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While the details of personal insults in both the Dozens and the $Naq\bar{a}\dot{i}d$ differ, the effect is similar: to entertain the audience with humorous and often withering barbs directed against an opponent.

2.4 "Extra" Elements

If defending their reputations was Jarīr and al-Farazdag's goal, we may ask, "How did they do it?" The answer is, by attracting and maintaining the audience's attention; and once they had their attention, they had to keep it. They did this in various ways: the use of special phrases, vocal intonations, visual aids, as well as anything else that might make the audience take note of them, and keep their eyes (and ears) on them until the performance was over. The poets had to take control of the performance, to put the audience under their spell. In fact, the meaning of the Arabic word for "lampoon", hijā', was originally something close to "casting a spell."¹⁶⁰ Once the audience was under their spell, they had to keep them there, or run the risk of losing their attention. If that happened, the contest would be lost. For Jarir and al-Farazdaq, therefore, it did not really matter who had the more valid claim against the other, whose verses were closer to the "truth," or even whose lampoons could make the opponent the angriest. All of these can contribute to a poet's success, but in the end, the poet is performing for the audience, and they are judging him. There is an interaction, a give and take, and if the audience likes what the poet is doing, they will keep him performing, and that will keep them coming back to hear him.

The importance of the audience to Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's performance, therefore, was paramount, and it is crucial to point out how much attention the performers paid to their audience and how much effort they invested in creating an experience for them. In Poem 64, Jarīr mocked al-Farazdaq for the clothing he was wearing.¹⁶¹ Although a performer's dress may have nothing to do with the quality of his poetry, it can communicate a non-verbal message to his audience, earning his poetry a better reception, and creating a certain persona around him. It is not difficult to envision how this same phenomenon works in modern performances. Consider whether the rock band KISS would even be recognizable to audiences without their face paint and costumes, and

¹⁶⁰ Van Gelder summarizes Ignaz Goldziher's view of the word's origins: "Hija', in his view," Change apostrophe to hamza? van Gelder says, "began as a form of magical warfare, a curse or imprecation, uttered by someone who maintained particularly good contacts with 'higher' or supernatural beings (a *jinnī* or *shaytān*), in order, not merely to threat [*sic*] and to humiliate, but actually to harm the opponents." Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 4.

¹⁶¹ See Poem 64, line 62, above. See also this chapter, footnote 135.

if they did come out onstage in street clothes, whether the audience would feel that they had received the full experience, or had even attended a "real" KISS concert.

Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's performances would have included similar elements, without which their audience would have felt "robbed" of a full, authentic experience. Hussein discusses the duo's practice of combining poetry with "extra elements." Speaking of Poem 64, he says, "[Jarīr] wore a shield, took up a weapon ... and went to al-Mirbad where he started composing and reciting his naqīda to his audience. Al-Farazdaq in turn put on some expensive clothes of a variegated kind (*thiyāb washy*), and also wore a bracelet."¹⁶² He goes on to explain Moreh's assumption (in his book on Arabic theater) that this represented "the vestige of a dramatic ritual that attempts to communicate with the world of the ancestors,"163 but then offers another possible interpretation: "Without reference to this particular account," he says, "Alī al-Jundī offers a different interpretation: poets, from pre-Islamic times onwards, used to change their clothes and sometimes their hairstyle, while reciting their poems as a means of attracting an audience and keep [sic.] them attentive during the recitation."164 Al-Jundi's hypothesis that poets used to change clothing and hair styles to attract an audience throughout the performance, strikes me not only as believable, but as an undoubtedly indispensable component of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's performances. When we envision the Naqā'id as a contest between two poets for the audience's attention, nothing could make more sense than to add a visually attractive component like wearing eye-catching clothes.

It is important to say here that even though an old text that has been handed down through the ages will not tell us how the audience reacted,¹⁶⁵ still we can use various means to reconstruct what that must have looked like.¹⁶⁶ We saw

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¹⁶² Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 332.

¹⁶³ Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 332.

¹⁶⁴ Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 332.

^{165 &}quot;Of course one cannot retrieve from a transmitted text the actual response of the audience during its performance," Gruendler says. Gruendler, *Medieval Arabic Praise Poetry*, 150.

¹⁶⁶ Samer Ali addresses the problem of reconstructing a performance "without the benefit of direct observation or live recordings." Ali, *Arabic Literary Salons*, 7. "It is possible, however," he adds, "with the appropriate methods, to interpret the available sources with an eye for (these) performance issues." The methods Ali uses include reading manuscript texts "as transcripts of *mujālasāt* (literary salons) or as mnemonic devices for learning one's lines," which, he continues, "serve the purpose of illustrating ... audience expectations, a performer's training, norms of performance and reception, audience-performer interaction, text adjustment in performance, and even composition in performance."

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above that compilers of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'iḍ* (mainly Abū 'Ubayda in this case) have left us clues to measures the poets took to create a reaction from the audience. If we look at sources outside of the text itself, we begin to get a picture of what a *naqā'iḍ* performance by Jarīr and al-Farazdaq must have looked like, including how the audience might have reacted. A useful starting point is to compare the rhythms and "rules" of a performance in a modern poetic genre that we can analyze, such as the Dozens, to the *Naqā'iḍ*.

In the Dozens, the role of the audience is intertwined with that of the performers; it is often an audience member who instigates a contest. Chimezie says, "The role of the onlookers or the audience is to spur the contestants to more disparaging and incensing invectives, thus keeping the game interesting and exciting."¹⁶⁷ A passage from *Kitāb al-Aghānī* ("The Book of Songs"), a tenthcentury compilation of poems, songs, stories, and more, contains clues about how Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's audience may have received their poetry and interacted with them, in a way similar to the role of the audience Chimezie describes for the Dozens. In this passage we are told that al-Farazdaq is approached by a group of people:

And when al-Farazdaq approached Mecca the people craned their necks to see him, and he came to the house of the Banū 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, and they asked him to recite \dots ¹⁶⁸

Though lacking a direct quotation of what "the people" said, we are told that they encouraged him to recite (*fa-stanshadūhu*). This shows direct audience involvement in al-Farazdaq's performance. In this instance the people were simply requesting a *performance*, not necessarily asking him to defend their tribe against another. The passage, with its depiction of the audience "cran[ing] their necks" and "ask[ing] him to recite," indicates the performer's reputation for reciting poetry. That the audience was so eager for him to perform suggests al-Farazdaq's draw and ability to entertain. As for al-Farazdaq him-

¹⁶⁷ Amuzie Chimezie, "The Dozens: An African-Heritage Theory," *Journal of Black Studies* 6 (1976): 403. A contest may start, for example, with an insult such as the following: "You going to take shit from that faggot?" Or: "Oh, oh! He told you about your maw. I would not take that if I was you. Go ahead and tell him something back" (Chimezie, "The Dozens," 403, quoting Dollard).

¹⁶⁸ . فلمّا قدِم الفرزدق مكّة اشرأبَّ النّاس إليه، ونزل على بني عبد الله ابن الزُّبير، فاستنشدوه ..." l-Faraj al-Işfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 25 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 2008), 21:201.

self, he was here clearly displaying this skill as much in defense of his own reputation as that of his tribe.

We can glean other clues about Jarir and al-Farazdaq's performance from studying some of the conventions of Dozens performances. In any performance there are boundaries that define how it should proceed. By applying the following description of certain Dozens conventions to the Naqā'id, we can gain insights into how the latter may have operated. It is important to note that in most languages the poetic idiom differs considerably from colloquial language. This is true also of the language of the Dozens, which, Abrahams notes, is "different from the everyday language of the contestants."¹⁶⁹ He continues: "Such linguistic (or paralinguistic) elements as changes in pitch, stress, and sometimes syntax provide the signals of contest."170 The most prominent linguistic features, according to Abrahams, are "(1) the reliance upon formulaic patterns, (2) the use of rhyme within these patterns, and (3) the change of speech rhythms from natural ones to ones that conform to the demands of the formula."171 This insight into the mechanics of Dozens composition and performance helps us to envision elements that were likely present in Jarir and al-Farazdaq's naqā'id performances as well. Number (2), above, is an empirical element of *naqā'id* performances, as the rules of the Arabic *qasīda* prescribe a certain end rhyme (*qāfiya*).¹⁷² We find evidence also that performers at Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's primary performance venue, the Mirbad market in Basra, would raise their voices above the level of regular speech. Kitāb al-Aghānī suggests this in a description of Mirbad as a place where people would go and "raise [their] voice as loud as [they] could."¹⁷³ Jarīr and al-Farazdaq likely did this as well, to signal a performance of their Naqā'id. In addition to raising their voices, they may have indicated a performance through the type of paralinguistic elements, formulaic patterns, use of rhyme, and change of speech rhythms that Abrahams notes.

In addition to these paralinguistic elements there are also "extra" linguistic elements poets incorporate into their performances to signal to the audience. In the following passage about the performance practices of the Abbasid-era court poet, Beatrice Gruendler describes some of the extra-linguistic elements a poet's performance might include:

¹⁶⁹ Abrahams, "Playing the Dozens," 211.

¹⁷⁰ Abrahams, "Playing the Dozens," 211.

¹⁷¹ Abrahams, "Playing the Dozens," 211.

¹⁷² See this chapter, footnote 4.

¹⁷³ "You come to al-Mirbad ... and then you call out at "("You come to al-Mirbad ... and then you call out at the top of your voices"). Al-Işfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 3:40.

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He variously engaged with the different constituents of his momentary audience. First a praise $qas\bar{i}da$ was received by the audience at large whom a poet involved, for example, with indirect language or patterns of anticipation and resolution. Second a praise poet entertained, before the audience, a personal relationship or friendship with an individual addressee. Every performance or recitation of a praise poem thus addressed itself to a bipartite public: the court or literary circle and the patron, the expectations of each being not only directed toward the poet, but also toward each other.¹⁷⁴

The Abbasid-era poet, therefore, balanced his performance between the patron and the audience. We can imagine that he put into his poem "extra elements" to signal to the latter. These might include veiled criticism of the praised (the patron) or even a subtle demand of him. No matter the topic, these elements would have been couched in sufficiently ambiguous language so as not to distract either the audience or the patron (too much) and reveal the poem to be subversive and not in accordance with the unstated rules of the genre. We can imagine a similar situation in the Umayyad-era poetry of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq. Though their explicit message centered on lampooning their opponent and his tribe, the unstated subtle "extra" linguistic element that was almost always present was a signal to the audience of their individual poetic skill.

2.5 Hyperbole

As important a role as the "extra" elements played in Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's performance, the main attraction was the invective lampoon itself. There are a number of examples where the invective holds the audience captive with its humorous hyperbole, while simultaneously performing the primary function of $naq\bar{a}\ddot{i}d$ poetry, humiliating the opponent. The end result is that the performer creates a poem that his audience is willing, perhaps even eager, to listen to, and that also defends his reputation as a performer. Al-Farazdaq, in an example of this, says about Jarīr in Poem 63: **O**riginal annotation: internal reference on p. 74 just before fn 135 is to this point.

61 He farted and shook off his armor, but I am not one To take off my armor, as an armored fighter, to fight him.

أَفَاخَ وَأَلْقَى الدِّرْعَ عَنْهُ وَلَمْ أَكُنْ لِأُلْقِيَ دِرْعِي مِنْ كَمِي أُقَاتِلُهُ¹⁷⁵ 61

¹⁷⁴ Gruendler, Medieval Arabic Praise Poetry, 26.

¹⁷⁵ Bevan, The Naķā'id, 2:624.

This line is, among other things, al-Farazdaq's payback for Jarīr's lampooning him for wearing ridiculous clothing (see Poem 64, line 62 above). Hussein says, "In response to Jarīr's mocking remarks about his garments, al-Farazdaq mocks him for wearing a shield."¹⁷⁶ The poetry is comedic hyperbole on its surface, especially al-Farazdaq's line about "farting off one's armor," which would have attracted his audience's attention, and drawn them in to his performance. Beyond this obvious message, the couplet contains another, more subtle, but potentially even more damaging meaning. The literal meaning is that Jarīr loses his armor, which suggests that a physical fight has taken place, and that al-Farazdaq has won that fight. The symbolic meaning, on the other hand, involves the fight for poetic supremacy. It is as if al-Farazdaq is warning Jarīr that, without armor, he will not be able to face al-Farazdaq in a lampooning contest.

The Dozens, in addition to its frequent "mother-themed" passages, also sometimes contains hyperbolic verses aimed at the opponent. An example cited by William Labov, "—Ricky got shot with his own fart,"¹⁷⁷ as in Jarīr's line above, references flatulence in a humorously hyperbolic way. Bronner includes several such passages as well: "I went to your house—you need two sticks to get in there, one to hold up the roof and one to frighten off the alligators,"¹⁷⁸ and, "In your house the rats are so big, the mice have to carry switchblades."¹⁷⁹

In a passage from Poem 93 that is perhaps less hyperbolic than the one above, we still find evidence of lampoons that can be interpreted both as the ad hominem invective they are on the surface but also, more symbolically, as a defense of poetic reputation:

25 You are the bottom of every vile stream: For every flood-stream there flows a bottom.

أَنْتُمْ قَرَارَةُ كُلَّ مَدْفَع سَوْءَة ولِكُلَّ دافِعَة تَسَيلُ قَرَارُ¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 337. Although Poem 63 is considered earlier than Poem 64 (since Poem 64 is Jarīr's response to al-Farazdaq's Poem 63), Hussein argues that the two poems were composed in segments over a period of time, and that sections of each poem respond to certain sections of the other (see pp. 331–339).

¹⁷⁷ William Labov, "Rules for Ritual Insults," in *Rappin' and Stylin' Out: Communication in Urban Black America*, comp. Thomas Kochman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 285.

¹⁷⁸ Bronner, "A Re-Examination," 125.

¹⁷⁹ Bronner, "A Re-Examination," 125.

¹⁸⁰ Bevan, The Naķā'id, 2:870.

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In this lambaste al-Farazdaq calls Jarīr, in effect, a cesspool. There is an additional meaning here: al-Farazdaq's calling Jarīr "*qarār*," the "resting place" for the water, or "bottom" of the pool, two times, emphasizes this word, and suggests to the audience that "bottom" here might indicate that he is beneath al-Farazdaq in a more metaphorical sense—that he is the "bottom" of the pair in terms of skill, or in other words, the inferior poet. The use of the plural "you" intensifies the insult by lowering Jarīr's entire clan to his level.

Returning to Poem 53, which we have studied previously for its examples of tropes on al-Farazdaq's sister Ji'thin, al-Rā'ī and his clan's homosexual behavior, and al-Farazdaq's blacksmith heritage, we come to one of Jarīr's simple yet effective lampoon tropes: the notion that al-Farazdaq was a slave, or was associated with slaves. Jarīr bases his attacks on al-Farazdaq's grandfather's supposed ownership of slaves, who (as mentioned above) were also blacksmiths. In Poem 53, Jarīr lampoons both al-Farazdaq and al-Rā'ī, as well as the latter's tribe, the Banū Numayr. In one section, after lampooning al-Farazdaq, Jarīr turns to al-Rā'ī's tribe, saying,

- You are slaves of the Banū Sulaym;
 Pieces of a multi-colored coat seem as clothing to you.
- 82 I drove the slave of Banū Numayr out,

And I was obliged to increase them in suspiciousness.

81 فإنتُكُرُ قطينُ بَنى سُلَيْم تُرَى بُرْقُ العَبَاءِ لَكُرْ ثِيَابًا 82 إذاً لَنَفَيْتُ عَبْدَ بَنى نُمَيَر 82 إذاً لَنَفَيْتُ عَبْدَ بَنى نُمَيَر 83 أَنْ أَزْيدَهُمُ ارْتِيَابًا 84 وعَلَى أَنْ أَزْيدَهُمُ ارْتِيابًا 85 ما المعالية (attriantion of the states and the states and the states and the states are almost more effective because of the simplicity; uttering two different words for "slave" in as many lines (*qatīn*, '*abd*) drives home his point about the Banū Numayr's inferiority even as he adds the detail of tattered clothing (*burq al-ʿabāʾ*). Including the slave theme in a poem where he also lampoons al-Farazdaq for his blacksmith heritage associates the latter with slaves, something Jarīr often does explicitly. The end result is a couplet of hyperbole that shows his audience al-Farazdaq's (associates') inferiority and by the same token Jarīr's own superiority—as a performer.

¹⁸¹ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:446.

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2.6 Self-Vaunting

Up until this point our focus has been examples of passages from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id* that are hyperbolic and that are tailored to attract and retain the attention of their audience. These passages have been on a variety of themes, but each one reveals Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's skillful defense of their performance reputation. In the following passages, one each from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, we find not indirect or implied references to poetic superiority, but rather, a direct reference in each passage either to the performer's poetic skill or to his opponent's lack thereof, both of which constitute a defense of poetic reputation. In Poem 53 Jarīr says:

You will know one (viz., al-Farazdaq) whose father would become a blacksmith,

And one whose poems are known to be plagiarized.

This line leaves nothing to the imagination: It is a direct statement that al-Farazdaq is a plagiarizer, not a skilled poet. Al-Farazdaq responds to the accusation in Poem 49, saying:

7 You will not attain my generosity with your father's vileness, Nor my extraordinary verses with your plagiarized poems.

سَتَعْلَمُ مَنْ يَصِيرُ أَبِوهُ قَيْنَا ومَنْ عُرِفَتْ قَصَائِدُهُ اجْتِلابِا¹⁸²

Here Al-Farazdaq moves from insinuation and intimation to an explicit declaration of poetic skill, claiming for himself the honor of being the better poet. The *naqā'id* match is thus portrayed here as a contest over literary supremacy. Al-Farazdaq refers to it as a contest of words (as opposed to deeds), and presents himself as the superior poet and performer through his use of language. In the second half of the line he uses the term *awābid*, "extraordinary verses," to refer to his own poetry, and chooses the phrase *tanaḥḥuli l-ash'ār* to

¹⁸² Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:434.

¹⁸³ Bevan, The Naķā'id, 1:325.

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refer to Jarīr's poetry—which is to say, "plagiarized verses," those he has taken from others, presumably because he is incapable of creating his own.¹⁸⁴ This is al-Farazdaq's victory line, a summation of his relationship to and supremacy over his opponent, Jarīr.

Although Dozens verses are not particularly famous for their inclusion of self-vaunting—most commonly, Dozens Sounds are directed *against* an opponent, and not *for* a performer—instances of this variety of Sounds can be found in some Dozens performances. In a section containing a collection of texts, each labeled according to subject, Bronner gives the following three examples under the heading, "Other Provocations." All three follow a similar template:

- 5a.¹⁸⁵ I could rank you out so low you could play sea-hunt in my spit. [C]¹⁸⁶
- 5b. I could rank you out so low you could walk under a pregnant ant. [C, B]¹⁸⁷
- 5c. I could rank you out so low you would have to reach up to touch whale shit. [C]¹⁸⁸

To these, under the heading labeled "Routines," he includes the following:

2.b X: Got a match?
 Y: Me and Superman. [G, C, B, O]¹⁸⁹

How deep Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's personal rivalry went we have no way to say; we do know that they tailored their poetry to their particular audience to show them who the winner of the contest was. One of the best indications of how Jarīr and al-Farazdaq saw each other as opponents and viewed their lampoons against each other is the fact that they used to present the same poem on multiple occasions. This could rule out several possible interpretations of the

¹⁸⁴ Lane, using this line to define the term *awābid*, renders it as follows: "Ye will not attain to my nobility with the ignobleness of your father, nor to my extraordinary verses by arrogating to yourselves the verses of other men." Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. "*Ābida*."

¹⁸⁵ The numbers and letters indicate respectively order in the list under a subject heading (number) and variations on a type of "Sound" (letter).

¹⁸⁶ Letters indicate cities where Bronner observed the verses being performed. "C" stands for Clifton, New Jersey. See Bronner, "A Re-Examination," 123.

^{187 &}quot;B" stands for Brooklyn (New York). See Bronner, "A Re-Examination," 123.

¹⁸⁸ Bronner, "A Re-Examination," 126.

¹⁸⁹ Bronner, "A Re-Examination," 126. "G" stands for Greenville, Mississippi, and "O" stands for either Otsego, or Cooperstown, New York (n.b., the author does not indicate where Otsego is located). See Bronner, "A Re-Examination," 123.

function of the Nagā'id. If the poets reperformed the same poems, or versions of them, multiple times, which Hussein says they did, ¹⁹⁰ that suggests they were not composed to resolve a specific conflict, but rather to accomplish a certain goal. The poets were constantly trying to defend their reputation by denigrating their opponent and his tribe. The specific content of a poem would matter less in this interpretation than a poem's effect, its power to move the audience and convince them of the superiority of the performer. Van Gelder says that "in *hijā*", more than in any other mode, the poet is concerned with the effect of his poem."¹⁹¹ This interpretation allows us to view the poems as a tool in the poets' arsenal to be deployed against their opponent in order to bolster their own reputation. Jarīr and al-Farazdaq avoided at all costs a boring performance and feared an inattentive audience. So, they put on silly clothes when they needed to, they ratcheted up the invective, whether sexual or otherwise, they employed the "extra elements" that would keep the audience's attention, and they tailored their performance to the audience in any way that was necessary to defend their reputation.

Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, therefore, did not have to convince the audience of the truth of their claims, but only of the power of their words. They had to persuade their audience not through an appeal to logic,¹⁹² but through an appeal to emotion.¹⁹³ This sometimes created innocent victims, like al-Farazdaq's sister Ji'thin, and if not done properly had the potential to harm rather than boost the poet's reputation.¹⁹⁴ In the end, Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id* lampoons did become a destructive force nothing could withstand. Wielding this force, Jarīr and al-Farazdaq were able to demolish their opponents (mainly each other), simultaneously destroying their adversary's reputation while building their

¹⁹⁰ See this chapter, footnote 8.

¹⁹¹ Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 2.

¹⁹² Cf. Aristotle's "logos" proof, which leads an audience to an argument through reason.

¹⁹³ Cf. Aristotle's "pathos" proof, which leads an audience to an argument through an appeal to their emotions.

Jarīr, for example, was accused of poetic "destruction," in contrast to his opponent's poetic "building." Van Gelder, quoting 'Abd al Malik's son Maslama, says, "al-Farazdaq builds and Jarīr destroys … and nothing arises from ruins," which is thought to be meant as a slight against Jarīr, and an indication that his artistry was inferior to al-Farazdaq's. But van Gelder offers an alternate interpretation, saying it could indicate not that Jarīr created nothing—"*wa-laysa yaqūm maʿ al-kharāb shay*" [which] Nabia Abbott translates … as 'and nothing arises from ruins'"—but that his poetry was more powerful because he was the destroyer. "It is possible, however," van Gelder says, "that the words may be interpreted as 'and nothing can withstand destruction', amounting to an acknowledgment of the effective superiority of *hijā*' rather than of the moral superiority of panegyric." Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 35–36.

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own. This interpretation also helps explain the duo's decades-long engagement with each other. Just as the one had ripped down the other's reputation, the latter replied in turn, and the former had to work once again to build up his own—by ripping down his opponent's. And so on goes the cycle. If their lampoon had not been so effective, their longstanding poetic feud might have come to a close much sooner.

The Stage: Mirbad Market

1 Introduction

In the pre-Islamic era $hij\bar{a}$, poetry performed the specific function of settling tribal conflicts.¹ Poets, representing their respective tribes or clans, would perform a linguistic battle, which sometimes "took the place of, or formed the preliminaries for, a fracas or battle."² The winner of this contest determined the superiority of his clan or tribe and gained concomitant benefits; the loser paid the consequences. During the Umayyad era this same hijā' poetry, specifically *nagā'id*, continued to be performed, but now it was not always confined to performance among and by tribes. In this chapter we look at one particular performance venue that Jarir and al-Farazdaq frequently performed hijā' in the form of the naqā'id at: the Mirbad market.

Physically Mirbad was not exceptional. Located on the outskirts of Basra it consisted of a collection of markets of various specializations. It is important to our purposes because in addition to a marketplace, it served as "a meeting place for literati and others."³ In this capacity it became a place where Jarīr and al-Farazdaq could perform in front of a diverse audience who comingled with one other in the Mirbad market. According to *Kitāb al-Aghānī* it was a place that one could go to raise his voice as loud as he possibly could.⁴

Jarīr and al-Farazdaq also met at Mirbad to "raise their voices" against each other, not (strictly) to settle a tribal dispute, but to gain influence over their audience. Mirbad provided the poets the venue to do this, and acted as a stage for their brand of entertaining⁵ lampoon.⁶ The concept of Mirbad as a stage is

Pre-Islamic hijā' was so tied to conflicts between tribes that Ibn Sallām claims "Poetry was 1 abundant only in regard to wars between the clans." Pellat, "Hidjā'."

Van Gelder, "Nakā'id." 2

Wheatley, The Places Where Men Pray Together, 244. 3

You come to al-Mirbad when you reach") "لتأتيانَّ المربَد إذا قدمتُما البصرة، ثم لتُناديانَّ بأعلى أصواتكما" Basra, and then you call out at the top of your voices"). Abū l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, Kitāb al-Aghānī, 3:40.

According to Salma Jayyusi, "The numerous tensions at work on the Arab tribes settled in the 5 towns of Iraq created a need for catharsis. This need expressed itself through a love of sensationalism and an eagerness for entertainment." Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 409. Jarīr and al-Farazdaq filled this need.

⁶ It is important to note that Mirbad was not Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's sole performance venue. At times it seems that the poets were forced to choose other venues because of pressure from

central to the themes of this chapter and essential to an understanding of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's performance of the *Naqā'iḍ*. Waṣīfī has visualized the Mirbad in a similar way. He says, "Mirbad ... transformed into what resembled a great stage."⁷ Dayf calls it "a great stage, the stage of Mirbad, to which the population of Basra would gather to observe the game of *naqā'iḍ*,"⁸ and Brustad describes it as "a kind of literary market [where] resident as well as visiting poets with enough status each occupied their own assembly or platform from which they participated in and partook of public declamations and challenges."⁹ This function is attested to in an anecdotal example from *Kitāb al-Aghānī* which says, "You sit there while this man, al-'Ajjāj, lampoons us at Mirbad while all the time people are gathering around him?!"¹⁰

The Mirbad market, and the city of Basra itself, provided Jarīr and al-Farazdaq with a venue that had not readily been available to poets during the pre-Islamic era. Although fairs such as 'Ukāẓ were sometime poetic venues,¹¹ Mirbad's advantage was that it provided Jarīr and al-Farazdaq with a constant audience for their performances. This audience was diverse. It was made up not only of residents of Basra, but of outsiders as well, including "travelers and tribes passing through or moving into the city."¹² Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, according to Charles Pellat, had a place of their own, where they could perform their poetry. "Each poet or orator who was well-known had a special reserved place around which a regular group of hearers formed an atten-

authorities not to perform lampoon poetry. Ali Hussein notes one such case. "It may be that these incidents [i.e., the governor having harassed the poets] induced both poets not to recite their *naqīdas* in the same place. The cemetery was chosen by al-Farazdaq because he was apparently too scared to remain in al-Mirbad ... This information gives the impression that if the governor had not harassed al-Farazdaq, then both poets might have been able to meet in al-Mirbad in order to compose and present their *naqīdas*." Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 333.

⁷ "إذ حوّلا المربَد والكُنَاسة إلى ما يُشْبه مَسرَحين كبيرين". Abd al-Rahmān Muhammad al-Waşīfi, al-Naqā'id fi l-shi'r al-Jāhilī (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ādāb, 2003), 191.

⁸ . تهذا المسرح الكبير مسرح المرْبَد الذي يتجمَّع فيه سكان البصرة للفُرْجَة على لُعُبة النقائض. Shawqī Dayf, *al-Tatawwur wa-l-tajdīd fī l-sht'r al-Umawī* (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1965), 186.

⁹ Brustad, "Jarir."

¹⁰ "أنت جالسٌ وهذا العجاج يهجونا بالمربد قد اجتمع عليه الناس؟!" Abū l-Faraj al-Işfahānī, *Kitāb* al-Aghānī, 10:122.

¹¹ 'Ukāẓ "was held in the month of Dhu 'l-Kaʿda," and was a place "where the Arabic lit-^{munderlining changed to macrons below, correct?} erary *koine* received some development, where contests, literary and other, were held, and where covenants and contracts were struck." Irfan Shahîd, "'Ukāẓ," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912 _islam_SIM_7689.

¹² Brustad, "Jarir," 245.

tive circle."¹³ Kitāb al-Aghānī reports an instance of this: "Dhū al-Rumma [a poet] recites at Mirbad with the people gathered around him."¹⁴ The people too gathered around Jarir and al-Farazdaq to witness their lampoon performance.

Style and Content of the Naqā'id 2

In pre-Islamic times *naqā'id* poetry often centered on a contest between two individuals usually from different clans or tribes. This contest frequently decided a conflict between the parties involved. These contests focused on the outcome, since victory would bring honor and often also actual benefits while defeat would bring disgrace and frequently material loss. The function of <u>na-</u> nation correct? $q\bar{a}$ 'id poetry at Mirbad in the Umayyad period, however, rarely decided tribal disputes in such a dramatic fashion. Pellat asserts, "It is a fact that the Mirbad was rarely the theatre for fights between different tribes or factions of Basra, and the confrontations which are mentioned do not seem to have been bloody."¹⁵ The discourse of Jarir and al-Farazdaq's naqā'id suggests that their poetry was not a continuation of the tribal wars of pre-Islamic times (Ayyām al-'Arab),¹⁶ but was rather a newly evolving genre, more comedic and entertaining in Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's hands than it had been in the pre-Islamic period.

Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's Naqā'id was both a continuation of pre-Islamic naenation correct? $q\bar{a}$ *id* poetry and an adaptation of that same poetry to a new context. Tribal honor was still at stake to a certain degree, especially at the beginning of the poets' careers, but tribal honor was not always the emphasis. For Jarir and al-Farazdaq the aspect of honoring and shaming of clans and tribes did not always bring the consequences to the tribe that pre-Islamic *naqā'id* had. This resulted in a similar form with a changed function. Dayf likens Jarir and al-Farazdaq's naqā'id performances to literary debates.¹⁷ The sparring found in such debates

Charles Pellat, "al-Mirbad," in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: 13 Brill), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_5218. See also Chapter 4, footnote 79.

¹⁴ ". Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, Kitāb al-Aghānī, 18:19. "ذو الرَّمَة ينشد بالمرَّبَد والنَّاسُ مجتمعون إليه" Pellat, "al-Mirbad." 15

Hussein points out that at the beginning of Jarīr's career, or we might better say "pre-16 career," his poetry did align with the pre-Islamic style of lampoon: "During this preliminary stage in the Umayyad period, the naqā'id was still a continuation of the traditional naqā'id poetry known in the pre-Islamic period." Hussein, "The Formative Age," 502.

⁻The naqā'iḍ of Jarīr and al*) "كانت نقائض جرير والفرزدق تأخذ شكل مناظرات أدبية كبيرة" 17 Farazdaq took the form of great literary debates"). Dayf, al-Tatawwur wa-l-tajdīd, 203.

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is very like the poets' ongoing attempt to best each other in order to attract their audience and gain influence over them.

The new function Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *naqā'iḍ* served was accompanied by a change in style represented by an increase in hyperbole (often sexual) largely absent in pre-Islamic lampoon poetry. Waṣīfī informs us that "The vituperation that occurred between [Jarīr and al-Farazdaq] was unknown to the pre-Islamic *naqā'iḍ* poets."¹⁸ As lampoon became less "serious"¹⁹ in its effect it appears to have become more personally insulting. Jayyusi says of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq that "they cross the frontiers of satire into pornographic fantasies that arrive at absurdity."²⁰ Far from engaging al-Farazdaq's clan in battle, however, Jarīr's hyperbolic vituperativeness was meant for the entertaining effect it had upon his audience, which according to Jayyusi, "must have been well received by Umayyad audiences."²¹

Selections of the following dyad from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id* provide an example of the heightened level of invective and misogynistic hyperbole the poets deployed in their poetry. In Poem 47 al-Farazdaq begins by extolling the virtues of his own clan, the Mujāshi', in comparison with Jarīr's clan of Kulayb. In line 20 he launches a lampoon against the women of Jarīr's clan. In lines 24 through 26 al-Farazdaq disparages the Kulayb women's sexual habits, saying,

- 24 They howl in the blackness of night,Like their dogs, when they hump behind the houses.
- 25 They extend their legs away from the hated vaginas,²² Long of lip²³ and wide of side.
- ²⁶ Their clitorises come in contact with the penises, as if they were Camel legs or donkey cocks.
- 18 "السِّباب الذي تم بين الفحول الثلاثة لم يعرفه المتناقضون في الجاهلية". Al-Waṣīfi, *al-Naqā'id fī l-shi'r al-Jāhilī*, 190.

¹⁹ See Chapter 4, footnote 55.

²⁰ Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 412.

²¹ Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 412. This crossing of frontiers seems to have been a natural step to take. Van Gelder says, "The Themes of *muğūn* ("ribaldry, bawdiness, obscenity") overlap with those of invective as well as erotic verse." G.J.H. van Gelder, "Dubious Genres: On Some Poems by Abū Nuwās," *Arabica* 44 (1997): 271–272. Most of these themes are present in Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id*.

^{22 &}quot;Vaginas" (*furūj*) is supplied here as the noun that *mafrūka* ("hated") modifies, according to the commentary: "ای عن فروج مفروک" ("i.e., away from the hated vaginas"). Bevan, *The Naķāid*, 1:279. The commentary adds that "their husbands hated them because of their shamefulness" ("بغروک" يبغضان و جهالعب ما"). ∎non-matching parenthesis

²³ Rufugh are lit. "The parts around the interval around the jet of period of the organs of generation,] ... of a woman ..." Lane Arabic-English Lexicon, s.v. "rafgh."

24 يعوين مُخْتَلَط الظَّلام كما عوت
 خَلْفَ البُيوت كلابُها لعظال
 25 يَرْفَعْنَ أَرْجُلُهُنَّ عَنْ مَفْرَوكَة
 مُقِّ الرُّفوغ رَحيبَة الأَجْوال
 26 تَلْقَى الأُيور بُظُورُهُنَّ كَأَنَّها
 26 عَصَبُ الفَراسِنِ أَوْ أُيورُ بِغالِ²⁴

A striking feature in this selection is its misogynistic hyperbole. Al-Farazdaq wastes no time in describing in excruciating detail just how depraved the Kulayb women are. In line 24 he compares the women of Jarīr's clan to humping dogs. Beyond the surface-level invective that alone would have been extremely insulting to Jarīr, the word "*kilāb*" ("dogs") would have caught the attention of the audience because it sounds similar to "Kulayb," the name of Jarīr's clan. This bit of word play acts as a precursor to the even more graphic description of the women's vaginas, which al-Farazdaq depicts as being so large that they are like penises. The allusion is one of the female seeking the male sexually, a role reversal which emasculates the Kulayb men at the same time that it denigrates their women.

After a traditional *nasīb* section (absent in al-Farazdaq's poem) Jarīr begins his rejoinder, Poem 48, similarly with praise for his own clan (Kulayb) and mockery of al-Farazdaq's.²⁵ In lines 53 and 54 he says,

53 She²⁶ rose early in the morning, wheeling her cart.²⁷ Her saddle, trimming²⁸ her clitoris,

²⁴ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:279.

²⁵ Jarīr composes a number of scathing passages in this poem against the Mujāshi' women, in addition to lampooning al-Farazdaq for being a mere blacksmith. In lines 14 and 17 Jarīr refers to al-Farazdaq's bellows (*kīr*), and in lines 26 and 59 to smiths (*quyūn*), which, according to Jayyusi, was "a low caste in Arabia." Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 411.

²⁶ I.e., Qufayra, great-grandmother of al-Farazdaq, who had been mentioned in the previous line.

²⁷ Abū ʿUbayda's commentary clarifies the meaning of *muʿajjilatan*: اى تأتى اهلها باللبن على "" "أى تأتى اهلها باللبن على ("i.e., she brings her family milk on a cart [*ʿajala*]"). Bevan, *The Naķāʾid*, 1:321.

²⁸ the commentary explains: "وقوله يُشَرْشُرُ يقطع بَظْرَها لرُكوبها هذا البعيرَ الازبَّ" ("The word *yusharshiru* means, 'it cuts her clitoris as she rides this hairy camel'"). Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:321.

Wounded²⁹ the hairy slow one.³⁰

May the god curse the sons of Khadāf³¹ and women, 54 Whose stew has become like a disease!³²

In lines 56 and 57 Jarīr directs another obscene lampoon toward the women of al-Farazdaq's clan. He says,

- Sukayna³⁴ rose up for the stallions, and Hutāt's daughter 56 Chose not to rise for *Sūrat al-Anfāl*. (Bevan 1: 322)
- Sukayna wishes that the mosque of her people, 57 Had, as its columns, mule cocks.

ن معجلة يشرشه

g

a

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For this meaning of *alaḥḥa*, I reference Lane, who says, *"It* (a saddle of the kind called قَتَبَ 29 L, K, and a horse's saddle, L) wounded the back." Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, رحل s.v. "alahha."

I.e., the camel. 30

She was "represented by Jarīr as the ancestress of the Banū Mujāshi'." Bevan, The Naķā'id, 31 3:103.

³² Aḥqāl is a disease that takes hold") "والأُحْقال داءً يأخذ في اسفل البطن فيسترخى لذلك البطنُ" in the bottom of the stomach, which causes the stomach to droop"). Bevan, The Nakā'id, 1:321.

Bevan, The Nakā'id, 1:321. 33

Al-Farazdaq's paternal aunt. 34

Jarīr displays Sukayna's lack of piety by juxtaposing her actions in two different situations: she rises out of respect for stallions, but refuses to rise for a Quranic recitation. In addition to this primary emphasis (i.e., on Sukayna's faith), Jarīr includes a sexual element by playing on the idea of rising up for something (here, horses), a motion frequently made out of respect³⁶ (such as when attendees rise for the entrance of royalty, or in modern times when the audience rises at the entrance of the judge). Instead of respect here, however, Jarīr hints at a sexual meaning with Sukayna rising literally to the horses, whose height would necessitate her doing so in order to have intercourse with them. Jarīr continues the sexually-charged lampoon juxtaposed with religious elements in line 57 where he implies that Sukayna uses her people's mosque (or wishes to use it) for her sexual gratification, and not for any religious purpose.

The selected passages from these two poems represent the hyperbolic misogyny Jarīr and al-Farazdaq infused the *naqā'iḍ* with. This kind of hyperbolic misogyny highlights the changing character of *naqā'iḍ* poetry in the Umayyad era.

3 "Emergence" of Social Structure

Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's new, bawdier, and hyperbolically misogynistic lampoon that the atmosphere of Mirbad's stage encouraged and supported was able to capture the audience's attention. This in turn allowed Jarīr and al-Farazdaq to obtain a measure of control over them. They were successful in this to the degree that they were able to gauge their audience's interest and respond appropriately. For this to occur there must be a certain willingness on the part of the audience to submit themselves to the poets' performance, or else the poets have no opportunity to gain this kind of influence. Drawing on Bauman's concept of the "emergent quality of performance," we can observe the social structures that emerged as a result of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *naqā'id* performances.

³⁵ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:322.

³⁶ This is especially true when the preposition *li*- is used. See the subentry "To rise for honouring a. o.," in Hava, *Al-Faraid Arabic-English Dictionary*, s.v. "qāma."

Bauman identifies three emergent structures: emergence of text, emergence of event and emergence of social structure. Our focus for the *Naqā'iḍ* is on the last of the three, but a description of the first two will help clarify Bauman's overall concept. "The emergent quality of performance," as Bauman defines it, "resides in the interplay between communicative resources, individual competence, and the goals of the participants, within the context of particular situations."³⁷ The key to their success hinges on whether the poets present what the audience wants and expects or fail to do this. Using Albert Lord's study of Serbo-Croatian oral poetry as an example of emergent performances, Bauman explains that "the singer [or poet] competes for the attention of his audience with other factors that may engage them," and that the performer's skill "is a factor in how strongly he can attract and hold the attention of the audience, how sensitively he can adapt to their mood, and how elaborate he can make his song if conditions allow."³⁸

Textual emergence, as Bauman conceives of it, refers to adjustments in the text in response to audience demands. In the poetry Lord studied the emergent quality manifests itself extemporaneously during oral performance. Other contexts may call for a fixed text. "The point," Bauman says, "is that completely novel and completely fixed texts represent the poles of an ideal continuum, and that between the poles lies the range of emergent text structures to be found in empirical performance."³⁹ The success with which a poet adapts a text for his audience is based upon his skill and sensitivity to their wants and needs. Oral composition did not, for the most part, factor into Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *naqā'id* composition, especially not during the later stages when the poets performed at Mirbad market. There is some evidence, however, that the very earliest work of the pair was composed orally. "[A certain] report," Hussein says, "gives the impression that Jarīr composed the verses as soon as he arrived at Ghassān's place without any previous preparation. It is thus likely," Hussein continues, "that the *naqā'id* at this preliminary stage⁴⁰ were composed oral-

40 It is difficult to nail down exact or sometimes even approximate dates, but Hussein gives a range of dates when he thinks Jarīr's *naqā'iḍ* against Ghassān occurred. "One might also

³⁷ Richard Bauman, Verbal Art as Performance (Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1977; repr. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland, 1984), 38.

³⁸ Bauman, Verbal Art, 39. Lord used as a case study bards of the former Yugoslavia, who would adjust their songs according to the mood and attentiveness of the audience. He says, "The instability of the audience requires a marked degree of concentration on the part of the singer in order that he may sing at all; it also tests to the utmost his dramatic ability and his narrative skill in keeping the audience as attentive as possible." Albert Bates Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 16.

³⁹ Bauman, Verbal Art, 40.

ly."⁴¹ It is not difficult to imagine the pair starting out in the way Hussein describes, and as their fame and reputation (and with it, their audience) grew, beginning to take more care to pre-compose verses for their increasingly so-phisticated and cosmopolitan audience.

Whereas textual emergence describes changes in the content of a performance, the emergence of event, according to Bauman, refers to "the emergent structure of the performance event itself. The ground rules for performance ... shift and fluctuate in terms of what [the participants] bring to the event and the way it proceeds once under way."⁴² In other words, the performance event emerges on the spot, slightly different each time, in accordance with the circumstances of the participants.

The third and final type of emergence Bauman describes is the emergence of social structure. This category refers to the ability of a skilled performer to use his verbal art in order to alter the relations of power between himself and his audience. In order for this to obtain the audience must yield to the seductive power of the poet's performance. To the extent that the audience becomes "caught up in [the performer's] display,"⁴³ they surrender a measure of control to him, which allows him to exert influence over them. Bauman has explained how this occurs. "[The performer] emerges from the performance encounters in a different social position vis-à-vis the [audience] ... from the one he occupied before he began to perform, and the change is a consequence of his performance [skill] in those encounters."⁴⁴ To help explain this phenomenon, Bauman quotes a passage from Dick Gregory's autobiography, in which the latter recounts his experiences at an early age as a performer who was able, through his skill, to leverage his influence over the audience and raise his status among them.

I got picked on a lot around the neighborhood I guess that's when I first began to learn about humor, the power of a joke

assume that [Jarīr's] first $naq\bar{a}$ 'id against Ghassān were not composed after 64/683–684 ... which means that Jarīr was about 36 years old when he engaged in $naq\bar{a}$ 'id poetry." Hussein, "The Formative Age," 503.

⁴¹ Hussein, "The Formative Age," 509.

⁴² Bauman, *Verbal Art*, 41.

⁴³ Bauman, Verbal Art, 16.

⁴⁴ Bauman, Verbal Art, 44–45. Samer Ali summarizes. "As Bauman notes, performers gained influence by virtue of their skill and wielded their power onstage to subvert power relations—a phenomenon that often rendered them feared and admired." Ali, Arabic Literary Salons, 29.

At first ... I'd just get mad and run home and cry when the kids started. And then, I don't know just when, I started to figure it out. They were going to laugh anyway, but if I made the jokes they'd laugh *with* me instead of at me. I'd get the kids off my back, on my side. So I'd come off that porch talking about myself

Before they could get going, I'd knock it out first, fast, knock out those jokes so they wouldn't have time to set and climb all over me And they started to come over and listen to me, they'd see me coming and crowd around me on the corner

Everything began to change then The kids began to expect to hear funny things from me, and after a while I could say anything I wanted. I got a reputation as a funny man. And then I started to turn the jokes on them.⁴⁵

A good performer can turn a hostile audience into a submissive one, into an audience that the performer can control. "Performers of verbal art," Ali says, "were both admired and feared for their capacity to stimulate the emotional participation of their audiences and thereby influence the emergence of new relations of power and privilege."⁴⁶ The "new relations of power" Ali mentions and "turning the jokes on [the audience]" in the case of Gregory represent the end product of a performer's successful attempt to win the audience's attention and gain influence over them, and then to leverage that influence to elevate their own status. It was this kind of influence that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq exerted over their audience during their *naqā'id* performances.

In order to understand the new dynamic that emerged from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's performance at Mirbad it is useful to investigate the differences in the circumstances of performance that existed between pre-Islamic *naqā'id* and that of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq. As mentioned above⁴⁷ Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *naqā'id* performance began as a continuation of pre-Islamic *naqā'id* contests, but developed into something different. In making a distinction between the earlier period and Jarīr and al-Farazdaq I want to draw out noticeable trends to elucidate some of the aspects of the latter's poetry that make it an interesting development in Arabic lampoon poetry.

Pre-Islamic lampoon poetry often served the pragmatic function of defending tribal honor and attacking that of their opponents. For Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, however, attacking a rival became a means to an end. Although both the

⁴⁵ Bauman, Verbal Art, 44.

⁴⁶ Ali, *Literary Salons*, 123.

⁴⁷ See this chapter, footnote 16.

content and form of their poetry closely followed that of their pre-Islamic counterparts, their performances were often playful and entertaining and rarely decided contests between clans or tribes. Beyond a change in context and reference, though, there were actual textual changes that occurred in the *Naqāʾiḍ*. Jarīr, for instance, was cruder than pre-Islamic lampoon poets. Ali Hussein references Ibn Bassām's "statement that Jarīr was one of the poets who invented impolite *hijā*."⁴⁸ Jarīr's crudeness may have been meant as much to entertain his audience as to incite a tribal battle.

In order for lampoon poetry to decide the fate of battles between tribes, as it had in the pre-Islamic era, it must be delivered and perceived as an actual attack. Although Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's $naq\bar{a}'id$ might have included many pre-Islamic elements having to do with tribal honor, personal vilification and the like, the focus was to entertain the audience. Jayyusi describes this kind of satire "based on untruth," as she says, as "a kind of comical lampoon."⁴⁹ This contrasts with much of pre-Islamic $naq\bar{a}'id$ which far from being comical could at times be deadly serious. Containing language of boasting, tribal pride and martial themes that often mention swords, horses and fighting, pre-Islamic $naq\bar{a}'id$ is set within the context of war. While the themes are similar to those in Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's $naq\bar{a}'id$, the latter performed their poetry in the context of a contest and not of a war. Their protracted lampoon battle focused less on settling tribal disputes and more on providing an entertaining performance for their audience.

Hyperbole, misogyny and highly sexualized poetry were among Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's trademarks throughout the *Naqā'iḍ*, which distinguished it from pre-Islamic *naqā'iḍ* poetry. The dyad comprising Poems 51 and 52 contains a number of illustrative examples of this.⁵⁰ In the opening poem, number 51, al-Farazdaq launches an attack on Jarīr and on the tribe of Qays, whom Jarīr often defended.⁵¹ In lines 92 through 96 al-Farazdaq says,

92 I swear, if Qays gives Jarīr its penis to suck, And gives him counterfeit money,

⁴⁸ Hussein, "The Formative Age," 509.

⁴⁹ Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 411.

⁵⁰ For a more thorough treatment of the circumstances of this dyad, see the discussion in Chapter 4.

⁵¹ It is not known why Jarīr defended this tribe, but according to Jayyusi it gave al-Farazdaq ammunition for his lampoon against his opponent. She says, "The enigma of [Jarīr's] support for the tribe of Qays, which was not his own, induced al-Farazdaq to accuse him of taking bribes from them." Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 411. For more on the background of this poem see Chapter 4, footnotes 37 and 41.

- 93 How many pussies from Qays 'Aylān
- Have the Arāqim⁵² spears abandoned!⁵³—And sloppy⁵⁴ pussies at that!
 Among them⁵⁵ is the bride of Ibn Hubāb,
- Whose⁵⁶ severed limbs the enormous, limping hyenas⁵⁷ hurled about. Time after time the Christians⁵⁸ force Qays's daughters
- ⁹⁵ Time after time the Christians⁵⁸ force Qays's daughter
 To their knees, long and wide pussies exposed.⁵⁹
- 96 And when his⁶⁰ Christian manliness disappeared into her⁶¹ Muslim virtue,⁶²

She cried out as if at Hajj on top of his huge cock.



⁵² The Arāqim are a subset of "certain clans of the Taghlib." Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 3:52.

54 I have translated *qabqāb* as "sloppy pussies" to give the sense of the noise they make as they are being penetrated. An anecdote from *Lisān al-'Arab* clarifies: "An *A'rab* [i.e., a Bedouin] recited about a slave girl named La'sā': 'O La'sā', you of the *qabqāb* vagina.' When he was asked about the meaning of *al-qabqāb* he said, 'It means "wide, and very wet if a man penetrates it with his penis."" Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. "*qabqāb*." The Arabic reads as follows:

- 55 I.e., the women whom the Arāqim warriors had raped.
- 56 I.e., Ibn al-Ḥubāb.
- 57 The "enormous hyenas" refer to the Arāqim warriors.
- 58 The Arāqim warriors are Christians.
- 59 See this chapter, footnote 23 for a literal translation of *muqqi l-rufūghi*.
- 60 I.e., an Arāqim warrior's.
- 61 I.e., one of the Qays women's.
- ⁶² The commentary explains: "نَصْرانَيْهُ ذَكَرُهُ إِنَّهُ هُ مُسْلَبَةَ وَذَلكَ نَصْرانِيَّ" ("His 'Christian' is his penis. That is, she is Muslim and he is Christian"). Bevan, *Thé Naķā'id*, 1:378.

⁵³ I.e., after they had finished with them.

96 إِذا غابَ نَصْرانَيْهُ فِي حَنِيفِها أَهَلَتْ بِحَجِّ فَوْقَ ظَهْرِ العُجَارِمِ⁸

The imagery that al-Farazdaq creates in these verses is that of the Qays tribe, men as well as women, being defeated, and he does so in a number of clever ways. First, Qays is defeated militarily by the Arāqim warriors, who are Christians. He mentions spears in line 93, a Qays warrior being torn limb from limb in line 94 and the triumph of the Christians (Arāqim) over the Muslims (Qays) in line 96. Military defeat is not the sole subject of these lines though, and may not even be the main subject, because al-Farazdaq skillfully weaves humiliating sexually charged lampoons aimed at the Qays women in with lampoons detailing the men's defeat. The spears of line 93 abandon the Qays women's sloppy and noisy vaginas, and this after al-Farazdaq describes the Qays men sucking their opponent Jarir's penis in the previous line. Verse 94, in which Ibn al-Hubāb (a Qaysī) gets torn apart by the Arāqim, al-Farazdaq also says that his bride is among the Qays women being raped (by the Arāqim spears). Line 95 is another rape scene with the Arāqim Christians bending the Qays women over their knees again and again. Once more al-Farazdaq describes the women's large, and presumably ugly, vaginas. The final line of this selection is among the most skillfully crafted of the poem, in which al-Farazdaq portrays the Arāqim Christians' defeat of the Muslim Qays tribe, but does so using sexual references. In this line an Arāqim Christian is raping a Qaysī (Muslim) woman, his "Christian" enters her "Muslim." On top of this, the Qaysi is apparently enjoying the rape: "she cried out, as if at Hajj." The word "cry out" (ahalla) describes the cry Hajj-goers make as they approach the Holy City, riding their camels. Al-Farazdaq uses this same word for the Qaysī woman who is riding the Christian warrior's penis in a perfect blend of military defeat, religious dominance and sexual humiliation. That she cries out in pleasure suggests perhaps that both the Qays women are potentially whores and that their men may be impotentsince the women seem eager to be raped. Line 93 adds supporting evidence for this thesis as al-Farazdaq mentions that the spears glide smoothly (*tallaqat*) in and out of their presumably loose vaginas. The spears of course play double duty both as military weapons and as a representation of the Arāqim men's penises.

Al-Farazdaq in this selection is overtly humiliating both the men and women of Qays. At the same time he may be commenting on the tensions between the new religion of Islam and the established religion of Christianity. The last

⁶³ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:378.

half of the same line presents the audience with the spectacle of the ravished woman shouting as if at Hajj over the gigantic penis of her defiler. The mix of the holy with the obscene serves as a metaphor of the times, with its clashes of changing social and cultural norms.

In his retort to al-Farazdaq, Jarīr counters with sexual references mixed with religious themes. In line 11 of Poem 52 he launches a personal attack on al-Farazdaq saying,

There was no Muslim neighbor of al-Farazdaq's, Who could stay safe from a monkey on a sleepless night.⁶⁴

> 11 وما كانَ جارُ للفَرزَدَقِ مُسْلِمُ لِيأْمَنَ قَرِداً لَيْلُهُ غَيْرُ نائِم⁶⁵

There are two important points we may infer from Jarīr's verse. First, the allusion to al-Farazdaq as a monkey is an implication of adultery. Second, Jarīr seems to emphasize that Muslim neighbors in particular (and not, for instance, Christians) were particularly at risk at being defiled by al-Farazdaq. The point is that al-Farazdaq attacks Muslims, and is therefore not loyal and is not himself a good Muslim. Jarīr lampoons al-Farazdaq again in lines 21 and 22, saying,

- 21 You hold them blameless for Ji'thin's bride price,⁶⁶ After she brought you her trimmed⁶⁷ and swollen clitoris.
- 22 She yells in the middle of the night, "People of Mujāshi'," After they had stripped the skin from her rear end with their giant manliness.

⁶⁴ I.e., none of al-Farazdaq's neighbor's were safe from the former's sexual excesses on a night when he could not sleep. According to Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. "qird," a monkey was known as "the most incontinent of animals." The commentary in Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:396, explains: "قوله ليأُمَنَ قَرْدًا يرميه بالزّناء والعربُ تقول هو أَزْنَى من قرْد فرماه بالفُجور" ("When he says, '[to] keep safe from a monkey,' he accuses him of adultery, and the Árabs say, 'He is more adulterous than a monkey,' and so he charges him with debauchery").

⁶⁵ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:396.

⁶⁶ "The woman's *'uqr* is the price the man is compelled to pay at her circumcision after he has deflowered her"). Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:398.

⁶⁷ "بمسلوخ البظارة اى ما بقى من البَظْر بعد القَطْع" (*"bi-maslūkhi l-buzārati*, that is, what remains of her clitoris after it is cut"). Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:398.

21 تُبَرِّجُهُمْ مِنْ عُقْرِ جِعْثِنَ بَعْدَ ما أَتَّكَ بِمَسْلوخِ البُظارَةِ وارِمِ 22 تُنادِى بِنِصْفِ اللَّيْلِ يَالَ مُجَاشِحٍ وقَدْ قَشَرُوا جِلْدَ اسْبِها بالعُجارِمِ⁶⁸

In these lines Jarīr is answering al-Farazdaq's lampoon on the women of Qays from lines 95 and 96 of Poem 51, returning sexual tit for tat. More than that, by claiming that al-Farazdaq holds his sister's violators blameless, Jarīr questions his loyalty to his family and to his tribe, shaming him for his dishonorable behavior,⁶⁹ while simultaneously entertaining the audience with hyperbolic lampoon.

4 Conclusion

Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *naqā'id* presents a shift in emphasis between pre-Islamic and Umayyad lampoon poetry. *Naqā'id* was transitioning from a sometimes deadly poetic form to a medium Jarīr and al-Farazdaq used to, among other things, entertain their audience. The shifting dynamics of the Umayyad era set the stage for a new style of lampoon poetry Jarīr and al-Farazdaq performed to influence their audience. Jayyusi says, "In the Umayyad period [flytings] took on a new social significance which made them a much more important medium of comment."⁷⁰ With Mirbad as a venue Jarīr and al-Farazdaq took advantage of the newly significant lampoon poetry to influence their audience.

There are a number of conditions both performer and audience must meet in order for a new social structure to emerge. The poet must be a consummate performer and the poetry itself should be of the highest quality. He must be entertaining. Jayyusi describes Jarīr, the humorist, thus: "Jarīr believed that satire must be funny, and his satires were faithful to his theory, despite their tendency to be foul-mouthed and scabrous."⁷¹ Most of all, a performer must have a sense of his audience so that he can curtail certain portions of his performance, or add to them as the situation demands. As for the audience, there

⁶⁸ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:398.

⁶⁹ Van Gelder points out that "Arabic poetry ... has always been the chief instrument of distributing honour and dishonour." Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 13.

⁷⁰ Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 410.

⁷¹ Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 411.

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must be a certain willingness on their part to allow the performer a degree of control over them. Bauman explains,

Through his performance, the performer elicits the participative attention and energy of his audience, and to the extent that they value his performance, they will allow themselves to be caught up in it. When this happens, the performer gains a measure of prestige and control over the audience.⁷²

They must also have sufficient interest in—must value—the performance to give the poets their attention, and, if the poets are to continue exerting a measure of control over them, to return for more. If these conditions are met, the audience may allow itself to be drawn in by the seductive power of the poet's performance.

This control that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq enjoyed over their audience came about in part through an attention to detail that supported them in their role as performers. Mirbad market was a stage to their performance. The poets were careful to look the part of the performer when they arrived at the Mirbad market. According to Dayf "the poet dressed in his finest clothing and used his best perfume"⁷³ in preparation for competing in their contest of lampoon. Jayyusi describes what this might have looked like:

Large audiences gathered round the poets, each standing in his corner in al-Mirbad, often especially dressed up for the occasion. The audiences would often break out into peals of laughter, especially when they listened to Jarīr's invective, which was full of mischievous barbs and comical imagery.⁷⁴

This attention to the performance aspect of their poetry would have made a performance at Mirbad with Jarīr and al-Farazdaq appear to be more a night at the theater than a preliminary for battle. Al-Kafrāwī adds further insight into the mood of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's performances, saying that they were "perhaps closer to sports contests than to anything else"⁷⁵ and Waṣīfī terms Umayyad *naqā'id* as contests between poets "who may be friends engaging

⁷² Bauman, Verbal Art, 43–44.

^{. [73] .} Dayf, al-Tatawwur wa-l-tajdīd, 214. "الشاعر كان يَتَزَيَّي بأجمل ثيابه وأعْطَرها" [73]

⁷⁴ Jayyusi, "Umayyad Póetry," 410.

^{75 &}quot;لعله أقرب إلى المباريات الرياضية منه إلى أي شيئ آخر". Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Kafrāwī, Jarīr wa-naqāʾiḍuhu maʿa shuʿarāʾ ʿaṣrihi (Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, 1969), 27.

in *naqā'id* crafted for competition."⁷⁶ As to the importance of performance in front of an audience to Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, al-Nuṣṣ claims that "neither of the two was about to recite a *naqīḍa* at Mirbad unless the people were surrounding him."⁷⁷ "They would come to Mirbad to see what the two poets were doing," Dayf adds, "And they would gather around one of them only to scatter away to listen to his opponent."⁷⁸ While Mirbad provided the stage, Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's preparation and skill gained them influence with their audience.

As a result of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's performance there emerged a social structure that placed the poets in an authoritative position in relation to their audience. To the extent that their audience valued the performance, they surrendered to Jarīr and al-Farazdaq a measure of control.

Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's performance reflects the changing society with the changing role of lampoon poetry within it. Jarīr and al-Farazdaq used the poetry of defending tribal honor and attacking that of their opponent to the delight of an audience who propelled them to the top of the social order by indulging in their poetic craving as they came to Mirbad to hear the pair spar. The fact that they presented a form of potentially deadly serious poetry in a new way reflects the changing conditions that were occurring in their time. It is hard to imagine a pre-Islamic poet who would have taken the abuse Jarīr and al-Farazdaq dished out without retaliation. At the same time, they were at the cutting edge of a new style of hyperbolically comic, sexually-charged lampoon. That their poetry remains popular to this day is a testament to the relevance of their project.

⁷⁶ "بل رُبما يتناقضان كنوع من المنافسة "بل رُبما يتناقضان كنوع من المنافسة" (But perhaps the *naqāid* poets in the Umayyad Age were friends, but they were reciting *naqāid* as a type of artistic competition"). Al-Waşīfi, *al-Naqāid*, 117.

^{77 &}quot;ولا يكاد احدهما يتهياً لانشاد نقيضة له في المربد حتى يتحلّق الناس حوله". Iḥsān al-Nuṣṣ, *al-Aṣabiyya al-qabiliyya wa-atharuhā fī l-shi'r al-Umawī* (Beirut: Dār al-Yaqaza al-ʿArabiyya, 1964), 478.

⁷⁸ فكانت تذهب إلى المربك, لترى ما أحدث كلُّ من الشاعرين ... ويتجمَّعون حول أحد الشاعرين تارة, ⁷⁸ فكانت تذهب إلى المربك, لترى ما أحدث كلُّ من الشاعرين ... ويتجمَّعون حول أحد الشاعرين تارة, ⁷⁸ وينفضُّون عنه إلى خصمه يستمعون إليه تارة ثانية "

The Process: Jarir and al-Farazdaq's "Collusion"

1 Introduction

The story of the *Naqā'iḍ* is the story of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq responding to each other's poetry, often in biting, hyperbolic verses that criticized each other's tribes, their persons and their family members. This back and forth, this challenge and response, lasted for decades, a routine that remained vibrant and entertaining to its audience until the end. What, then of the poets' relationship? How did they relate to each other on a personal level, if at all?

Textual evidence suggests that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq may have shared a congenial relationship, if not an intimate friendship, or at least that is how their relationship is viewed by historians. "Each must have admired the other for his art and resilience in the arena," Jayyusi says.¹ To this she adds, "Several stories are recounted about their mutual affection, and when al-Farazdaq died, Jarīr wrote an elegy for him."² Likewise, al-Nuṣṣ points out that the pair was not the enemies their poems might imply: "And so we see that the enmity between the two poets was not an entrenched tribal animosity, moreover, many reports witness the existence of a mutual affection between the two."³ Although it may be impossible to know the details, the historical evidence does seem to suggest that the duo had a relationship more congenial than what the substance of their poems might imply. What becomes evident upon an investigation of the poetry is that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's concern with pleasing their audience sometimes trumped that of defending their tribe, or even of defeating their opponent. According to Shawqī Dayf:

The basic objective of lampoon had developed into a desire to please the audience, whether the performers were enemies or not. This is what we mean when we say that lampoon became an occupation or a livelihood: the poet wanted to use it to surpass his opponent in front of the audience assembled at Mirbad or at al-Kunāsa. No longer was he concerned

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¹ Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 410.

² Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 410.

⁸ فكذلك نرى ان العداوة بين الشاعرين لم تكن عداوة قبلية مستحكمة, وثمة اخبار كثيرة تشهد بقيام التعاطف 3 فكذلك نرى ان العداوة بين الشاعرين لم تكن عداوة قبلية مستحكمة, وثمة اخبار كثيرة تشهد بقيام التعاطف 3 فكذلك نرى ان الماعرين "

with pleasing his tribe—in fact he may no longer have even been thinking about them—except to consider them part of the audience gathered around him.⁴

To this Badawi adds:

Many of the satirical poems known as $naq\bar{a}id$, the slanging matches in which the Umayyad trio, Jarīr, al-Farazdaq and al-Akhṭal were involved, were motivated not so much by the poet's [*sic*] wish to uphold the honor of their tribes as by a desire to entertain their patrons and their audience at assemblies such as Mirbad by scoring a point against their rival poets, a desire which indeed at times far outweighed considerations of tribal allegiance.⁵

That Badawi says Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's performance was driven by a desire to entertain, emphasizes the point that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq were performing a new, performance-oriented lampoon at Mirbad.

A unique feature of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'iḍ* is the length of their legendary battle, which Jayyusi describes as "the longest dispute in Arabic poetry," undertaken by "the two greatest poets in Iraq."⁶ She goes on to say, "Their *naqā'id*, numbering at least a hundred, were composed over forty years, and ended only with al-Farazdaq's death."⁷ This very length, a considerable period of time even if it was less than the four decades sources report,⁸ is one of the distinguishing factors of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's poetic relationsihp and it has led to the accusation that over the course of several decades the *Naqā'id* did not really develop. Jayyusi calls this "(perhaps) the gravest artistic fault of the *naqā'id*,"⁹ adding, "Characterization was an important element of those satires, but once the original caricatures were established, they remained static."¹⁰ Why did these poems remain "static," as Jayyusi says? Assuming that

- 6 Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 410.
- 7 Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 410.
- 8 See Introduction, footnote 25.
- 9 Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 411.
- 10 Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 411.

⁴ "فالغرض الأساسى من الهجاء تحول إلى الرغبة فى إعجاب الجماهير من الخصوم وغير الخصوم. وهذا معنى 4 ما نقوله من أن الهجاء أصبح حرفة أو مهنة، فالشاعر يريد به أن يتفوق على خصمه عند الجماهير المحتشدة فى المرُبَد أو فى الكناسة، ولم يعد كل همه أن يرضى قبيلته، بل لعل لم يعد يفكر فيها، إلى باعتبارها جزءا فى (Payf, al-Tatawwur wa-l-tajdīd, 180).

⁵ Badawi, "From Primary to Secondary Qaṣīdas," 9.

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the poems should develop over time implies a desire on the part of the poets of accomplishing a particular task. This is, in fact, very often the way pre-Islamic *naqā'id* contests operated: one poet challenged another form a rival tribe, and the outcome of the poetic battle had real consequences for the tribe. In Jarir and al-Farazdaq's Naqā'id, however, there was rarely a substantive outcome. "The contest remained undecided," according to Yāqūt.¹¹ For Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, however, their concern was not, as we have said, necessarily to defend or even to please their tribe. We cannot, therefore, expect each individual *naaāïd* contest to have reached a conclusion similar to what we find in pre-Islamic *naqā'id* battles. Rather, Jarīr and al-Farazdaq performed similar lampoon poetry again and again, but for different people, for new audiences. Their object was not to come to some kind of tribally-based conclusion, but rather was to perform lampoons that would please whoever happened to be their particular audience at the time. "Staticness," therefore, should not be seen as a fault, but rather as a direct result of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's performanceoriented focus.

I propose that Jarir and al-Farazdaq, rather than engaging in the serious poetic battles (or sometimes actual battles) that characterized pre-Islamic lampoon poetry, were focused on the performance itself. And while the conventions of *naqā'id* poetry dictated that competing poets work against each other to win a contest, I argue that Jarir and al-Farazdaq worked together to a degree in order to craft the best possible performance. When I say that the poets "worked together" I do not necessarily mean this strictly speaking. In other words, Jarīr and al-Farazdaq may not have consciously planned out a strategy together, but one way to interpret their unresolved contest is that they consistently made decisions that prolonged the contest. For example, they almost always avoided answering their opponent directly; in other words, they would not respond by defending themselves against their opponent's lampoon. This avoids resolving the issue at stake in the poem, and allows the contest to extend to another series of poems, using the same topics and themes, reworked in different contexts. This is counter to what we typically find in pre-Islamic *naqā'id*, where one poet will present a certain position important to his clan or tribe, and the other will counter with a real argument against that position. This may go back and forth for several poems, but will eventually be resolved. This contrasts, then, with Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's kind of performance, in which the poets avoid resolving the conflict in favor of crafting their performance.

¹¹ Hussein, "The Formative Age," 516.

I deliberately draw on Goffmans' concept of "team collusion" to explain Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's approach to lampoon performance.¹² The conventions of lampoon poetry dictated that competing poets work against each other to win a contest, but Jarīr and al-Farazdaq worked together (rather than strictly against each other) to craft their poetry, allowing direct challenges—to themselves, their tribe, their womenfolk—to go unanswered. They did not usually respond directly to these invective verses, but instead responded with invective of their own, which allowed the same topics to come up again and again (because the poets had not resolved them), hence prolonging their performances over a span of decades and in front of multiple audiences. The effect was a performance that appeared spontaneous and unrehearsed to the audience.

By Goffman's definition "team collusion," consists of "any collusive communication which is carefully conveyed in such a way as to cause no threat to the illusion that is being fostered for the audience."13 Goffman here is speaking of actors on a stage and the ways they sometimes communicate to one another without destroying the illusion of their performance for the audience.¹⁴ His "team collusion" framework helps us understand how Jarir and al-Farazdaq's Naqā'id may have operated. The may not have worked together explicitly-"colluded" as Goffman terms it—but by refraining from answering their opponent directly, and thus resolving the issue at stake which would have concluded the *naqā'id* contest, they left open an opportunity to revisit the same topic at a future date, thus prolonging the *naqā'id* contests on any of a number of topics the poets took up. To use Goffman's terminology again, Jarir and al-Farazdaq created an "illusion" for their audience which consisted of a performance of a *naqā'id* contest, while at the same time removing the crucial component of resolving the issue at stake (atypical, as noted above, of pre-Islamic $naq\bar{a}id$ contests). Their performances may therefore have seemed spontaneous to the audience (this could happen even if the audience knew they were being presented an illusion) while consisting of similar material reworked (or not) and reperformed again and again.

¹² For more on this, see Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959).

¹³ Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*, 177.

¹⁴ This communication can help performers "surreptitiously receive or transmit pertinent information, requests for assistance, and other matters of a kind relevant to the success-ful presentation of a performance." Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*, 177.

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2 Stock Devices

The following section explores a number of the stock devices of attack Jarīr and al-Farazdaq used in the *Naqā'id* so as to leave the performance unresolved, which heightened the suspense and kept the audience coming back for more.

In the analyses that follow, I consider only Poems 34 through 113 (the last of the collection), using somewhere near two-thirds of the corpus, according to Bevan's edition. The rationale for this abridgment is, first, that al-Farazdaq does not even enter the corpus until Poem 31 and does not interact directly with Jarīr until Poem 34. (The poems before this consist of contests between Jarīr and a number of other opponents including Ghassān, Ba'īth, and the Salīț clan.) It is also worth noting that Ali Hussein has written an article in which he considers Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's early *naqā'iḍ* poems up through Poem 32, i.e., up until the point al-Farazdaq begins trading lampoons with Jarīr. This "formative age" of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'iḍ* is, Hussein says, similar in function to tribally motivated pre-Islamic *naqā'iḍ*: "In the Umayyad era, *naqā'iḍ* poetry used to be composed during quarrels between different tribal groups. During this preliminary stage in the Umayyad period, the *naqā'iḍ* was still a continuation of the traditional *naqā'iḍ* poetry known in the pre-Islamic period."¹⁵

2.1 Themes and Composition of the Naqā'id

Jarīr and al-Farazdaq exhibit differences in the way they structure their individual poems. Examples of this include the number and type of sections the poets include in their poems, whether the poets initiate the poetic duel (dyad) or refute it, and the length of the individual poems.

Both Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's $naq\bar{a}'id$ poetry is, with very few exceptions, composed in the style of the classical Arabic $qas\bar{\iota}da$, with some modifications.¹⁶ Traditionally the $qas\bar{\iota}da$ includes three sections: the opening $nas\bar{\iota}b$, in which the abandoned campsite is evoked and the beloved $(hab\bar{\iota}b)$ recalled, the $rah\bar{\iota}l$, or journey, often on camel but not limited to that mode of transportation, and lastly a section consisting of some combination of praise $(mad\bar{\iota}h)$, boasting (fakhr), or as often occurs in Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's poetry, lampoon $(hij\bar{a}')$. Jarīr and al-Farazdaq take a certain amount of liberty with this form, adjusting it to suit the needs of the performance, and each seems to have certain tendencies regarding how closely he follows the classical style. Analysis of the

¹⁵ Hussein, "The Formative Age," 502.

¹⁶ Quite a few short, three- to five-line, poems occur in the first quarter of the corpus. There are thereafter only a small number of short poems, including one one-liner (Poem 80). These are exceptions to the rule.

tripartition of the poems casts light on their respective proclivities.¹⁷ Jarir and al-Farazdaq treat the first two sections of the *qaşīda* (the *nasīb* and *rahīl*), with a degree of flexibility as to whether to include them or not. The *rahīl* is often (although not always) ommitted by both,¹⁸ but Jarir includes the nasib and the rahīl more often than al-Farazdaq.¹⁹ He especially favors opening the qasīda with a *nasīb* section when he is responding to a poem by al-Farazdaq, rather than initiating a contest. Out of the thirty-six sets of poems we are considering (seventy-two individual poems), Jarīr includes twenty-three nasīb sections, representing sixty-four percent of the total, whereas al-Farazdag includes only nine nasībs, twenty-five percent of the total. Nasīb use, or lack thereof, is somewhat of a stylistic choice, and Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's choices on this may tell us something about their modus operandi. It appears that Jarir, by using the camel section (*rahīl*) more frequently, might prefer an "interlude" in a sense, before getting to the business of lampooning his opponent. Al-Farazdaq, on the other hand, may want to capture the audience's attention from the start by getting right at the heart of his invective poetry against Jarīr.²⁰ Neither poet blends their *naqā'id* poems with praise (*madīh*) very often. Only eight poems in the sample contain a *madī*h section, four poems each for Jarir and al-Farazdaq, which represents only eleven percent of the total. The various possible combinations offer different paths the poets might have used to guide their audience to the *hijā*' section that the *Naqā'id* is famous for.

Jarīr seems to have most frequently composed *naqā'id* poems in response to al-Farazdaq's initial attack. "In most cases," Hussein says, "al-Farazdaq was the

¹⁷ For a list of poems, see Appendix 2.

^{18 &}quot;Jacobi's article," Fakhreddine tells us, "traces the changes that occur in the camel-section in the early Islamic period and the Umayyad age and detects a gradual loss of its narrative and descriptive qualities." She continues, "A 'new ode' was coming into existence, one that consists mainly of the *nasīb* and the *madīḥ* sections. The *raḥīl* section is reduced to a motif introducing the praise section." Fakhreddine, *Metapoesis in the Arabic Tradition*, 135. In frequently omitting this section, therefore, Jarīr and al-Farazdaq seem to have been in keeping with their times.

¹⁹ Although Jarīr was known for composing biting lampoons, he was also famous for his love poetry: "Jarīr is the poet remembered for having composed both the sweetest line of love poetry (*aghzal bayt*) and the most mordant line of invective (*ahjá bayt*)." Fakhreddine, *Metapoesis in the Arabic Tradition*, 196.

Aside from any consideration of stylistic choice, the poets may have felt constrained at least on some occasions to include a *nasīb* section: "Apart from all this it must not be forgotten that in many cases the forces of tradition are more relevant that [*sic*] any poetic or rhetorical justifications: poets opened their formal *qaṣīdas* with *nasīb* because that was the way to do it." Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 105.

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one who started composing his *naqīda* and Jarīr was the one who composed the counter-poem to refute his opponent."²¹This is perhaps in keeping with the fact that Jarīr seems to have always been prepared to lampoon his opponent on one of his commonly used themes.

The length of the individual poems within dyads is disparate. In half of the pairs of poems I analyzed (fifty percent, or eighteen out of thirty-six dyads), one poem of the two is at least one-hundred and fifty percent longer than the other. This disparity is occasionally caused by one poet's use of a *nasīb* or *raḥīl* section, or both, while the other leaves these sections out. Sometimes, however, the poem containing the *nasīb* is actually shorter than the poem that omits it. Jarīr's *nasīb*-inclusive poems sometimes fall under this category. Perhaps most important, however, is the possibility that these poems were not composed all at once, but were produced over a period of time, performed and re-performed, with verses added in between various iterations. Hussein, speaking of one particular dyad (Poems 39 and 40), suggests this as a possible modus operandi Jarīr and al-Farazdaq employed to compose their poems. He says:

Al-Farazdaq composes the first part of his poem in advance, then recites it, apparently in al-Mirbad. Jarīr comes to al-Mirbad and listens to al-Farazdaq's recitation. He then takes some time to compose a counter*naqīḍa* in which he refutes the themes and motifs that he was able to remember of his opponent's *naqīḍa*. Some time later, he recites his own poem in al-Mirbad ... After al-Farazdaq listens to Jarīr presenting his counter*-naqīḍa*, he adds more verses to his poem, referring to his rival's counter-poem.²²

This seems to suggest that these poems were a work in progress, that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq worked "together," that is, worked off each other in a kind of indirect cooperation to perform their poems.

Two themes that appear with great frequency throughout the *Naqā'iḍ* are the supposed sexual exploits of al-Farazdaq's sister, Ji'thin, and al-Farazdaq's alleged blacksmith heritage. Both are cases of Jarīr lampooning al-Farazdaq. However, sources seem to contradict the substance of both of these accusations, as Jayyusi explains:

²¹ Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 311. In this article Hussein gives a detailed breakdown of who initiated the dispute in each of Jarir and al-Farazdaq's dyads.

²² Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 323.

Very often they [Umayyad satirists] exploited a rumour, or a slight incident related about their antagonist and his tribe, and enlarged it to grotesque dimensions, giving it a lewd, or at least a degrading, interpretation. Thus the fact that al-Farazdaq's grandfather had had slaves who worked as blacksmiths was used by Jarīr as an excuse to call al-Farazdaq's noble family "a family of blacksmiths", a low caste in Arabia. Ji'thin, al-Farazdaq's sister, known for good character, was the victim of another incident. Al-Farazdaq had accosted a girl from another tribe, which retaliated by sending one of its men, who surprised Ji'thin and touched her shoulder insultingly. Jarīr spent his life describing, in one poem after another, Ji'thin's sensual orgies.²³

In Poems 34 through 113, over half of Jarīr's poems²⁴ involve the theme of Ji'thin's sexual encounters, and seventy-five percent constitute lampoons on al-Farazdaq for being from a clan of blacksmiths. This gives an idea of how frequently certain themes recur throughout the corpus. One result of this repetitiveness was that these particular issues were not resolved, but were rather delayed for future lampoon battles. We can think of these issues as stock tropes the poets could deploy at any given time, thereby allowing them to easily launch an attack or mount a defense. The effect of this was to extend their performances over a long period of time.

2.2 Counter-Example: Poems 77 through 80

In order to understand the degree to which Jarīr and al-Farazdaq "colluded" (using Goffman's term loosely) in the *Naqā'id* by employing oft-used themes and avoiding linear development, it is instructive to cite one example of the very few instances within the corpus in which the poets address and respond to a specific topic in a manner typical of pre-Islamic *naqā'id* poetry, and note how rare such a pattern is for Jarīr and al-Farazdaq. In their thematic orientation the dyads 77/78 and 79/80 very closely resemble what we have labeled as typical of pre-Islamic lampoon types. Though these four poems do not precisely mirror what is most commonly found in pre-Islamic poetry, in that they do not initiate a challenge that is answered directly, they do focus on a specific topic that each poet addresses this one time only, and then never returns to throughout the *Naqā'id*.

The two dyads are short, and revolve around Zīq, father of al-Farazdaq's wife, Hadrā', a Christian. Poem 77, by Jarīr, and its response, al-Farazdaq's Poem 78, Change quotation mark to hamza?

²³ Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 411.

²⁴ Fifty-six percent.

are the longer at nineteen lines each. Jarīr's Poem 79 is only five lines long, and the final poem in the series (no. 80 by al-Farazdaq) consists of only a single line. Jarīr opens the dyad in Poem 77 with a lampoon attacking al-Farazdaq together with Zīq and his family. In Poem 78 al-Farazdaq counters by comparing the brides of his clan to those of Jarīr's, specifically mentioning his bride, Hadrā''s, distinguished lineage.

Poem 79, by Jarīr, is only five lines long:

- ¹ O Zīq, you married your daughter to a blacksmith with a black ass, Woe to you, Zīq, for marrying her to him, Zīq!
- Woe to you, Zīq; it was an unfair act, a cheat,²⁵
 Did the Shaybān youths reject her or was she unmarriageable?²⁶
- 3 Al-Muthannā was not there; he did not witness your secret, Nor was Hawfazān, nor did Mafrūq witness you.
- 4 Where are those who sent Nuʿmān to the outskirts, Or where are the comely sons of Shaybān?
- 5 Many a one said after her marriage:"Her kin were not satisfied, nor was the blacksmith's son beloved."

²⁵ I.e., the marriage of Zīq's daughter to al-Farazdaq.

²⁶ The word *am* in this line suggests an elided question particle *a*. I have supplied the verb "reject her" to fill the lacuna.

²⁷ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:818.

In this poem Jarīr again mocks Zīq for marrying his daughter to a blacksmith. The poet focuses on his unworthiness as a suitor and his utterly low class, so low that Jarīr questions whether Zīq could not find any other suitable suitors: "Was she unmarriageable?" He also makes a point of listing the noble people who did not attend the wedding (lines 3 and 4) to emphasize the secrecy with which Zīq was going about marrying her daughter to this supposedly low-class blacksmith. The last line sums up Jarīr's argument about this marriage, implying that it was a last resort by saying that Zīq's clan was not happy about it (*lā l-şihru rādin*) nor was al-Farazdaq accepted into the family (*wa-lā bnu l-qayni ma'shūqu*). To this al-Farazdaq responds²⁸—in one line (the entirety of Poem 80)—the following:

 If you get tired of carrying your nose, Mount your donkey, and ask Zīq for a daughter to marry!

> ا إِنْ كَانَ أَنْفُكَ قَدْ أَعْيَاكَ مَعْمَلُهُ فارْكَبْ أَتَانَكَ ثُمَّ اخْطُبْ إِلَى زِيقِ²⁹

The theme of $Z\bar{i}q$ is not seriously taken up by Jar $\bar{i}r$ and al-Farazdaq other than in these two brief dyads. This is in contrast to their approach to other familiar topics such as Ji'thin's sexual practices, al-Farazdaq's blacksmith heritage, and other topics the poets perform off of each other again and again. The name $Z\bar{i}q$ occurs seventeen times within poems 77, 78, 79, and 80. Outside of this it is found twice in Poem 82, once in Poem 92, and nowhere else throughout the entire corpus. Compare this with the name Ji'thin, which occurs fifty-six times all throughout the *Naqā'iḍ*. This rare example of an issue-driven lampoon illustrates what happens when Jar $\bar{i}r$ and al-Farazdaq respond to the topics their opponent raises.³⁰ When this occurs, the poetry focuses more on one particular issue and less on an extended performance, similar to how pre-Islamic *naqā'iḍ* often operated. The result is that the contest ends quickly (ends at all!) and brings resolution that is rare in Jar $\bar{i}r$ and al-Farazdaq's lampoon poetry.

28 Following a slightly different version of Poem 79 found in *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, al-Farazdaq is said not to have responded. Al-Işfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 8:63.

²⁹ Bevan, The Naķā'id, 2:819.

³⁰ The only other instances of this I find in Poems 34 through 113 are Poems 83 and 84.

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2.3 Attack and Rebuttal: Poems 71 and 72

Poems 71 and 72 are situated slightly past the midpoint of the corpus (of one hundred and thirteen poems in total), according to Bevan's edition. Bevan follows Abū 'Ubayda's chronological arrangement insofar as it was possible to do so practicably. However, his caveat must be taken into consideration:

When the various manuscript copies of a work differ only in slight details, it is sometimes possible, by means of comparison, to reconstruct the original. But when the manuscripts differ as widely as they do in the present case any such attempt is out of the question.³¹

He adds, "As the order of the Poems differs so widely in the three MSS, it is manifestly illegitimate to assume that any one MS gives us the order which was adopted by Abū 'Ubayda himself."³² Bevan does, however, state that "the first 30 Poems in O [a manuscript from the Bodleian Library] seem to belong to the earlier half of the life of Jarīr."³³

In contrast to Poems 77 through 80, the dyad 71/72 is illustrative of what I have termed the "collusion" that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq practice throughout the corpus by frequently avoiding a direct response to an opponent's challenge. This is not to say that the poems are absolutely dissimilar; the poets do respond to each other thematically in a general way. For example, when al-Farazdaq attacks the women of Jarīr's tribe, the latter answers with lampoons on al-Farazdaq's sister, Ji'thin,³⁴ and nearly all of the topics that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq raise in Poems 71 and 72 are presented in other poems throughout the *Naqā'iḍ*. Two prominent themes of this dyad are the sexual practices of al-Farazdaq's sister, Ji'thin, and al-Farazdaq's alleged blacksmith heritage. The following anal-

³¹ Bevan, The Naķā'id, 1:xiv.

³² Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:xvi.

³³ Bevan, *The Nakā'id*, 1:xvii. This statement aligns with my choice of omitting roughly the first third of the corpus from consideration in my statistics, as these poems were composed before Jarīr and al-Farazdaq had established a (poetic) relationship.

³⁴ Hussein has noted the poets' tendency to answer each other thematically, if somewhat sporadically. Speaking of Poems 39 and 40 he says, "al-Farazdaq also does not treat the motifs and themes in Jarīr's *naqīḍa* according to their original order (but rather treats them arbitrarily to some extent)." Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 323. He posits a possible reason for this. "Although there is no definite answer," he admits, "this may be related in some degree to the way the two *naqīḍas* were transmitted and perhaps even composed." He then suggests that the poets may have received their opponents' poems orally, and therefore had to rely on memory to compose their own poems. This, in turn, could have led to their rearranging the order of the themes and motifs in the response poem.

ysis explores the major topics Jarīr and al-Farazdaq take up in these poems, and sheds light on the overall structure and function of the poems: how one responds to the other, how (well) the poems relate to one another, and the ways in which the poems are left open-ended or unresolved to a certain extent in order to avoid resolution.

This dyad is typical of a great deal of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's production in a number of ways, although it is slightly shorter than average.³⁵ Both poems contain alternating *hijā*' and *fakhr* sections, and Jarīr's features a *nasīb*-like section as well, though al-Farazdaq's does not. The dyad falls within the parameters of what we might consider stylistically "typical" of the duo. Al-Farazdaq begins the opening poem, number 71, by launching straight away into a three-line *hijā*' passage against Jarīr, whom he refers to by the name of his tribe, the Banū Kulayb. He follows this immediately with sixteen lines of *fakhr* about his own ancestors. The poem ends with another *hijā*' segment comprising two topics: the first directed against the Banū Kulayb women (lines 20-30), and the second with a return to lampoons against Jarīr himself (lines 31-35). Al-Farazdaq begins the poem by saying,

- I swear by the Lord of Mecca and by the Mosque, And by the necks of the adorned³⁶ sacrifices,
- 2 That I have adorned the Banū Kulayb coward With adornments on the sides of the neck that will last forever!
- Adornments not of gold, but
 Flesh-burning branding irons from Hell.
- Imagine 'Ațiyya³⁷ meeting
 Colossal camels, their huge heads reaching the skies.
- 5 Proud beasts of the Banū Sufyān, Untamed camels long of throat.
- 6 Imagine their necks, they are proud necks, Soaring over the necks of your people.

37 I.e., Jarīr's father.

The average length of poems 34 through 113 is forty-three lines. Poem 71 is thirty-five lines long, and Poem 72 consists of thirty-six lines.

³⁶ The Arabic root verb for this word is *qallada*, the meaning of which Lane explains as follows: "He hung upon the neck of the camel or cow or bull brought as an offering to Mekkeh for sacrifice something to show that it was such an offering." Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. "*qallada*." Since no such equivalent exists in English I use "adorn" and its derivatives to indicate *qallada* used in this sense.

Having skipped the *nasīb* section, al-Farazdaq opens by swearing to the Lord of Mecca and describing the animal sacrifices that are brought to that holy place. He then segues into the second verse in which he places a wreath around Jarīr's neck. The verb in both verses, used of adorning the sacrificial animals and placing the wreath, is the same (*qallada*) and is usually used of people in the context of conferring on them an office or investing them with authority to rule. Line 3, however, clarifies that the adornments al-Farazdaq is hanging about Jarīr's neck do not symbolize the investiture of power but are rather irons used to burn brands into animals. This in turn hints that the meaning of *qallada* used in line two has more to do with its line-one meaning, i.e., of adorning the necks of the sacrifices, which swiftly turns the imagery from one of honoring Jarīr, i.e., what we would expect this verb to mean when used with a person, to one degrading him to the status of a sacrificial animal.

Al-Farazdaq continues the animal imagery in lines four and five when he likens his people, the Banū Sufyān, to majestic camels, whose necks proudly tower over those of Jarīr's people. This imagery reinforces al-Farazdaq's explicit reference to Jarīr in line two as a coward (*jilf*). That al-Farazdaq begins with an (Islamic) oath only adds to the compelling nature of this opening section: the audience wants to know why he is swearing. They find out it is a prelude

³⁸ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:768–769.

to the lampooning of Jarīr's clan. They might have expected Jarīr to return a similar oath at the beginning of his response, but if they did, they were to be disappointed, since Jarīr simply responds with a lampoon of al-Farazdaq in Poem 72. The oath in the first line is significant if only because Jarīr accuses al-Farazdaq of Christian affinities at various points throughout the corpus. It is as if al-Farazdaq were here preempting any such attack on the perception he gives the audience of his religious devotion. Jarīr, however, does not bring this topic up in his response, but instead characteristically uses stock devices of his own against his opponent.

Lines 20 through 30 consist of a parody on the women of Jarīr's clan, the Banū Kulayb:

- 20 You became so nervous that you lampooned the Banū Numayr, And you left your mother's ass open to the archers.
- 21 Observe me and your mother when I shoot At her ass crack with piercing arrows!
- ²² The women of Banū Kulayb spend the evening On their haunches, at the mouths of their wine skins.

20 جَزِعْتَ إِلَى هِجَاءِ بَنَى نُمَيَّرِ وخَلَيَّتَ اسْتَ أُمِّكَ لِلرُّمَّاتِ 21 فأَبْصِرْنى وأُمَّكَ حِينَ أَرْمِى مَشَّقَ⁹⁵ عِجانها بالنّاقراتِ 22 وتُمْسِى نَسُوَةٌ لِبَنى كُلَيْبَ بِأَفْواهِ الأَزِقَّةِ مُقْعِياتِ⁴⁰

In these lines al-Farazdaq dramatizes his superior lampooning skills: Jarīr, he says, had made the mistake of lampooning the Banū Numayr, and because of this now has to face lampoons from al-Farazdaq. By introducing the act of lampooning as a topic of his lampoon, al-Farazdaq is deliberately drawing attention to the performative aspect of the poetry. He reinforces this point with the vivid

³⁹ I am translating this word as if it were vowelled *mashaqqa* rather than *mashshaqa*, which is the vowelling contained in a manuscript stored at the British Library, one of several manuscripts Bevan consulted in making his edition. See MS Or. 3758, *Sharḥ naqāʾiḍ Jarīr wa-l-Farazdaq*, British Library, twelfth century, folio 108^r.

⁴⁰ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:772–773.

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imagery of his taking aim at Jarīr's mother's wide-open legs, which we can read as a metaphor for his poetic skill: He, as a poet, is taking aim at the poet, Jarir, treating Jarīr's mother as proxy for his opponent, whom Jarīr has left open (khallayta) to al-Farazdaq's skillful barbs. When al-Farazdaq says the women of Banū Kulayb spend the evening "sitting on their haunches," mugʻiyāt, it can be read as a play on the name of Jarīr's clan, because as the *sharh* explains, *mug'ivāt* means "sitting on their buttocks as a dog squats,"⁴¹ which is appropriate here because Jarīr's clan are the Banū Kulayb, the "little dog" clan. Three lines later al-Farazdaq becomes more sexually explicit in his lampoon of the women of Jarīr's clan. He says:

- They sell their pussies for any price, 25 As if they were selling at the market: Take what you want, and give me the price!
- Imagine their clitorises, when they are forced to kneel, 26 Prostrate on the ground.

Al-Farazdaq's lampoon reaches a sexual climax (so to speak) in these lines, with a two-pronged attack on the women of Jarīr's clan. First, he accentuates their looseness (they "sell their pussies"), and then he emphasizes how undesirable these women are by describing their genitalia in terms not usually used of women, but of animals. He says their clitorises are made to kneel (unikhat), a verb typically used of camels. He goes on to describe the women "prostrate" (mukhawwiyāt).43 The image here is a snapshot of the Kulayb women from behind: They are kneeling in a subservient, sexual position, and al-Farazdaq directs his audience to "imagine their clitorises" (takhālu buzūrahunna)—a pornographic scene! By describing the Kulayb women's promiscuity, <u>a</u>l-Farazdaq is crafting a humorous performance. This type of misogynistic sexual

يَبِعْنَ فُرُوجَهُنَّ بِكُلِّ فَلْسٍ كَبَيْعِ السُّوقِ خُدْ مَنّى وِهَاتِ تَخَالُ بُظورَهُنَّ إِذا أَنِيَخَتْ

عَلَى دُكَبَاتِهِنَّ مُخَوِّ بِاتِ⁴²

"قال والمُقْعِي القاعد على استه كما يُقْعى الكَلْبُ. Bevan, The Naķā'id, 2:773. Bevan, The Naķā'id, 2:773. 41

⁴²

Lane defines this verb as follows: "He made his belly to be separated by some interval from 43 the ground, in lying upon his breast." Arabic-English Lexicon, by Lane, s.v. "khawā."

poetry is known as $muj\bar{u}n$, and has been described as "the art of referring to the most indecent things, speaking about them in such a lighthearted way that one approaches them with a sort of loose humour."⁴⁴ This is a good example of the phenomenon: the very lightheartedness and humor that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq employed in the $Naq\bar{a}id$ enabled them to address otherwise taboo topics. Jarīr and al-Farazdaq deploy misogynistic lampoon as a tool to bring the already scathing tone of $naq\bar{a}id$ poetry to a new level that shocks the audience while it entertains them. There is something in the taboo topic of sex itself that becomes a comedic element in their poetry.

In the last five lines of Poem 71, al-Farazdaq turns to a direct lampoon of Jarīr, first satirizing his clan, and afterwards asserting his own poetic supremacy:

- Why don't you consider Banū Kulayb,
 When you are seeking out others for their memorable acts?
- And your boasting, Jarīr—you being a slave
 To someone other than your father—is one of the greatest sins.
- 33 You will suffer in vain, Jarīr!
 The poems have gone to the *rāwīs*.
- How can you bring back the ones⁴⁵ that are in 'Umān,
 And the ones already well known in the mountains of Egypt?
- 35 I beat you, with eye-gouging verses, captivating verses, Verses of binding, and with striking swords.⁴⁶

فما لَكَ لا تَعُدَّ بَنى كُلَيْبِ وتَذْبَ⁴⁷ غَيْرَهُمْ بِالمَأْثُرَاتِ ونَفْرُكَ يا جَرِيرُ وأَنْتَ عَبْدُ 32 لَغَيْرِ أَبِيكَ إِحْدِي المُنْكَرَات

44 Abdelwahab Bouhdiba, *Sexuality in Islam*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Saqi Books, 1998), 127.

45 I.e., the poems.

⁴⁶ For the meaning of *khāfiqāt* in this sense, see Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. "*khafq*." He states: "خُفْتُ signifies The *striking*, or *slapping*, (JK, Ṣ, Ķ,) a thing ... *He struck him slightly*, [or as to make a slight sound,] with a sword."

⁴⁷ I have copied Bevan's edition in using the subjunctive mood (*tanduba*), although grammatically, the indicative mood (*tandubu*) makes more sense. In Bevan's notes for this line, he shows that the L manuscript (from the British Museum Library, now in the British Library) uses the indicative.

33 تَعَنَّى يا جَريرُ لِغَيْرِ شَىْءٍ وقَدْ ذَهَبَ القَصائِدُ للرُّواتِ 34 فَكَيْفَ تَرُدُّ ما بِعُمانَ مِنْها 45 غَلَبْتُكَ بِالمُفَقِّئِ والمُعَنَّى وبَيْتِ الْحُتَبِي والخافِقَاتِ⁴⁸

Al-Farazdaq's lampoon in this poem focuses more on the process of performance than on its content. In line 33 al-Farazdaq says that the poems have gone to the $r\bar{a}w\bar{i}s$, i.e., the "reciter[s] and transmitter[s] of poetry,"⁴⁹ and in the last line he claims that he has beaten Jarīr with captivating, eye-gouging verses. So, in these lines al-Farazdaq actually announces that he is the superior poet, a fact he had shown earlier with his poetic skill by lampooning Jarīr by proxy through the women of his clan, including his mother. This announcement draws attention to the performance itself, and seems to value the act of performance above all.

The sort of invective contained within these lines is what the *Naqā'id* is particularly known for, and although it may sound crass and distasteful to our ears, it must not have to Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's contemporaries. Bouhdiba puts this kind of hyperbolic lampoon in cultural context with a description of some particularly course *mujūn* material written by high-status Islamic officials. He says, "The western or westernized reader is often shocked by so many obscenities so apparently unworthy of a respectable faqih and a grave minister."⁵⁰ Since it is presented in the context of comedy, though, it is acceptable. Jayyusi personally thinks this type of lampoon "lacks humour, but," she says, "it must have been well received by Umayyad audiences."⁵¹ Whether or not the audience found it humorous, they must have found it compelling, as Jarīr and al-Farazdaq returned to it again and again throughout their performances.

The structure of Jarīr's Poem 72 differs noticeably from that of al-Farazdaq's Poem 71, in that it opens with a short *nasīb*-like section, in which the poet's wife, Umāma, features as the beloved (lines 1–10). It then transitions abruptly to nine lines of *hijā*' lampooning al-Farazdaq for his supposed blacksmith her-

⁴⁸ Bevan, The Naķā'id, 2:774.

⁴⁹ Jacobi, "Rāwī."

⁵⁰ Bouhdiba, Sexuality in Islam, 129.

⁵¹ Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 412.

itage and his tribe's betrayal of Zubayr. At this point in the poem, Jarīr inserts three lines of *fakhr*. Although there is no transition from one section to the other, Jarīr does connect the two passages with the name of his clan, Yarbū', which after referencing in line 18, he boasts about in these three lines (19–21) for their bravery in battle. Line 22 to the end of the poem returns to Jarīr's lampooning of al-Farazdaq on various themes, most prominently that of his sister Ji'thin's rape.

Jarīr's *nasīb*esque opening of Poem 72 is not fully conventional since it makes no mention of an abandoned site, and since the beloved is not a lost love but is instead his wife. In line 9, Jarīr seems to acknowledge—in a small way al-Farazdaq by mentioning two of the names (al-Aqāri' and al-Ḥutāt) that al-Farazdaq had included in his list of ancestors at the beginning of Poem 71.⁵² The allusion ties the two poems together while still leaving the issues unresolved. The names come in the same position (line 9) in both poems.

9 When the doves, the doves of Najd,⁵³ were moved with grief, They announced the death of the neighbor of al-Aqāri^{'54} and al-Hutāt.

¹⁰ When the night stirred up a sad echo, They want mountfully even him until they di

They wept mournfully over him until they died.

9 إذا طَرِبَ الْحَمَامُ حَمامُ نَجْد نَعَى جارَ الأَقارِعِ والحُتاتِ 10 إذا ما اللَّيْلُ هاجَ صَدًى حَزيناً بَكَى جَزَعاً عَلَيْهِ إِلَى المَماتِ⁵⁵

In the following eight lines Jarīr launches into one of his most commonly used lampoons of al-Farazdaq, that of the latter's being a blacksmith. During this section Jarīr also levels the charge of cowardice against al-Farazdaq (line 18), and goes on to showcase his own and his clan's superiority in battle:

Does Laylā's blacksmith boast of the black man, And of the patched bellows and the anvil?

⁵² Line 9 of al-Farazdaq's poem says: "وانَّكَ واجدُّ دونى صَعودًا | جَراثيمَ الأَقَارِعِ والحُتَّات "You will find between me and you a difficulty: | The gathering of al-Aqāri and al-Hutāt"). Bevan, *The Naķāid*, 2:770. In other words, al-Farazdaq has more prominent ancestors than Jarīr.

⁵³ Jarīr was born in Najd.

⁵⁴ I.e., Zubayr. See Bevan, *The Naķāʾiḍ*, 2:775.

⁵⁵ Bevan, The Naķā'id, 2:775-776.

- 12 And your mother, Qufayra,⁵⁶ raised you In a camp of vileness among rotting plants.
- 13 You deceived Zubayr and betrayed him; Tuhayya should not hope for steadfastness!⁵⁷
- He who is fierce did not fear me;What of my fierceness should Tuhayya hope for?
- ¹⁵ When the noble members of the tribe witness my deeds, they provide for me;

If I request something of them, they keep to my bidding.

- 16 It happened that the Banū Qufayra came to me With a blacksmith addicted to the striking of anvils.
- ¹⁷ I left the blacksmith more obedient than a tractable eunuch: Compliant in his nose ring.
- 18 Is it from the two blacksmiths and cowardly women, You hope for high eloquence for Yarbū'?

⁵⁶ Qufayra was al-Farazdaq's great-grandmother.

⁵⁷ Zubayr had sought protection from al-Farazdaq's tribe, but they betrayed him, and he subsequently died. See Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:80. Jarīr says that Ṭuhayya, therefore, "should not hope for steadfastness," i.e., he should not harbor any hopes that al-Farazdaq (or his tribe) will be reliable.

⁵⁸ I am reading علاة here for علات.

17 تَرَكْتُ القَيْنَ أَطْوَعَ مِنْ خَصِيٍّ ذَلول فى خزامَتِهِ مُؤَاتِ 18 أَبِالقَيْنَيْنِ وَالنَّخَبَاتِ تَرْجو لِيَرْبوعٍ شَقَاشِقَ بِاذِخاتِ⁵⁹

Line 11 starts with Jarīr asking whether Laylā's blacksmith, i.e., her lover and al-Farazdaq's grandfather, boasts of the black man, i.e., in his son, al-Farazdaq's father.⁶⁰ He continues the theme of dirtiness and filth in the following line, saying that al-Farazdaq was raised "among rotting plants" (*fī dimani l-nabāti*). He then mentions Zubayr, a point of probable embarrassment to al-Farazdaq and his tribe, since al-Farazdaq's tribe was known for having betrayed him.⁶¹ In line 14 Jarīr contrasts al-Farazdaq's (tribe's) treachery with his own, and by implication also his tribe's, reliability. Ṭuhayya, who, Jarīr warned, "should not hope for steadfastness" from al-Farazdaq, need not concern himself with fierceness from Jarīr. In the last three lines of the passage Jarīr returns to blacksmith insults, comparing al-Farazdaq in line 17 to a eunuch submissive in a nose ring, which presents the audience with imagery of Jarīr leading al-Farazdaq around like a camel.

Following another brief section of boasting, Jarīr begins his oft-repeated theme of al-Farazdaq's sister Ji'thin's sexual exploits, starting in line 25:

25 You forgot about Ji'thin's payment⁶² and you curled up.⁶³ Woe to you for boasting about it!⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Bevan, The Naķā'id, 2:776–777.

⁶⁰ It is also possible to interpret *qayn Laylā* to refer to Layla's son, i.e., al-Farazdaq's father. In this case it would be the father boasting of al-Farazdaq himself. Either reading has a similarly invective effect against al-Farazdaq's family, and their allegedly scandalous history. "Black" (*muḥammam*) refers both to al-Farazdaq's family's dirtiness from their blacksmith occupation, and also to the blackness of their skin they supposedly inherited from the slave that Laylā took as a lover.

⁶¹ Abū 'Ubayda mentions "يومَ غَدْر كم بالزَّيْر " ("the day of your [i.e., al-Farazdaq and his tribe's] betrayal of al-Zubayr"). Bevan, *The Nakā'id*, 1:179.

⁶² Lane defines the word "payment" ('uqr) as "What is given to a female slave who has been ravished, like a dowry in the like case to a free woman." Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, s.v. "'uqr."

⁶³ Al-Farazdaq and his tribe "curled up" (*iḥtabaytum*) rather than demanding payment from Ji'thin's ravishers.

⁶⁴ I.e., about curling up and doing nothing.

- 26 Her knees bled from repeated genuflection:She was bending over, though not praying.
- 27 She spent the night getting her two lips penetrated, In the manner of the Turks playing ball.⁶⁵
- 28 The Minqarī put it in her, so she settled down On his penis⁶⁶ as the night became dark.
- She cries out to Ghālib and the Banū 'Iqāl.
 "You disgraced your people in the assemblies!"⁶⁷
- We found the Banū 'Iqāl women Humiliated, targets for archers.
- 31 Captivating women,⁶⁸ they are viler than asses, More shameless than idolatrous women,
- 32 More shameless than an 'Iqāl woman whose uncovered parts are black;⁶⁹

She⁷⁰ deals with anyone who draws near: Take her and give me something in return!

- Though you claw at it with your nails of evil,
 Nevertheless, my rock-solid honor⁷¹ refuses to soften for you.
- Isn't al-Zibriqān⁷² the ass most deserving of being shot,When he is exposed to the archers?
- 65 Van Gelder ("Sexual Violence, 183) has translated lines 26 and 27 as follows: ^{non-matching} quotation mark The places where her Knees had been were bloody from her kneeling—but not in ritual prayer. All night her labia were being battered —it was like Turks playing with a ball.
 66 "أمّ القَفَار" Bevan suggests, "[is] perhaps equivalent to عُروكَةُ القَفَارِ (Bevan, *The Nakāʾiḍ*, 3:527),
 - which he notes is an "epith. of the penis" (3:323).
- 67 "You disgraced" here is second person feminine singular, and is addressed to Ji'thin. After calling upon her father and ancestors in the first half of the line, they respond by accusing her of disgracing them.
- 68 *Ghāniya* means "a beautiful young woman." The word has several other connotations, both related to beauty and having to do with marital status. The most salient definition for this context is, a young woman "*such as is sought, or desired, by men,*" or "*such as pleases men, and is pleased by* [youths]." Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon, s.v. "ghānin.*"
- 69 Mujarradun means "those parts of the body which are not covered." Bevan, The Nakā'id, 3:308.
- $_{70}$ $\,$ I.e., the 'Iqāl woman mentioned in the first hemistich of the line.
- ⁷¹ Al-Şafā is used metaphorically here: "والصَّفاة الصَّخرة وانّما ضَربَه مَثلًا للشّرَف" ("al-Şafā means 'rock,' and is given as an example of honor"). Bevan, *The Nakā'id*, 2:778.

⁷² A relative of al-Farazdaq's.

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CHAPTER 3

This is a long passage dedicated to the topic of Ji'thin's sexual depravity, a stock theme that recurs frequently throughout the corpus. This passage opens with Jarīr accusing al-Farazdaq of ignoring ("forgetting about") the payment ('uqr) that he and his tribe are owed for Ji'thin supposedly having been ravished as a slave. In the first half of the line he uses the second person plural form of the verb (*nasītum*), implying al-Farazdaq's entire tribe, but switches to the singular pronominal form (-ka) in the second half, laying the entire blame on

73 Bevan, The Naķā'id, 2:778-779.

al-Farazdaq himself for boasting about them being "curled up" (*al-hubāt*), i.e., about the tribe curling up in a ball and doing nothing while Ji'thin was being raped. In the following line Jarīr places her on her knees, though "not because of praying" (*laysa mina l-ṣalāti*) he says, juxtaposing the religious and the profane and including al-Farazdaq's sister in the latter category. After two more lines of typically graphic descriptions of Ji'thin's sexual misdeeds, Jarīr moves from Ji'thin specifically to the women of al-Farazdaq's tribal ancestry, the Banū 'Iqāl. We find that not only are these women humiliated (*bi-dāri l-dhulli*), but also that they are targets for the archers (*aghrāḍa l-rumāti*). They are more shameless (*amjanu*), he goes on to say, than even a slave girl of someone kicked out of the Banū 'Iqāl!⁷⁴ Jarīr makes a reference to archery once more, in line 34, when he mentions one of al-Farazdaq's relatives, al-Zibriqān, who is "an ass most deserving of being shot" (*aḥaqqa 'ayrin bi-ramyin*).

By launching an attack against Ji'thin, Jarīr answers al-Farazdaq not topically, i.e., not by refuting his lampoon from the previous poem about Jarīr's mother, but by creating his own equally (or more!) explicit sexual lampoons on al-Farazdaq's sister, someone who has parity with the women al-Farazdaq had lampooned. Jarīr's lampoon here, although not answering the substance of al-Farazdaq's poem, much more importantly answers al-Farazdaq's vicarious lampoon on his mother with a vicarious lampoon on the poet's sister.

In al-Farazdaq's opening poem, 71, he had lampooned the women of Jarīr's tribe, and so semantic symmetry would suggest that Jarīr's lampoon of al-Farazdaq's sister, Ji'thin, here is a direct response to al-Farazdaq's attack. A survey of the *Naqā'id*, however, reveals that Jarīr raises the topic of Ji'thin all throughout the *Naqā'id*, and not always in response to an affront on the women of his tribe. Al-Farazdaq, by contrast, almost never seems to respond directly to Jarīr's lampoons of his sister. Rather, both poets reuse familiar attacks and refrain from directly confronting or dispelling those of their opponents.⁷⁵

These two poems display many of the characteristics we discussed at the beginning of this chapter that are indicative of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id* in general. Many of the same tropes and figures recur within these poems just as they do throughout the corpus, nor does this dyad seem to present or resolve a specific dispute or problem. Rather, it represents a vehicle for the poets to craft a performance for their audience.

⁷⁴ See line 32.

⁷⁵ In the last seven lines of Poem 72 Jarir does seem to retaliate more directly to al-Farazdaq's lampoon on the women of his tribe by attacking the women of al-Farazdaq's tribe. Since he does this frequently, however, and not always in response to a like lampoon on the women of Kulayb, this too could be construed as a stock response.

2.4 Jarir and al-Farazdaq's Rapport: Poems 102 and 103

The dyad comprising Poems 102 and 103 provides not only another example of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq lampooning each other, but significantly shows them actually working together for a common cause: to free al-Farazdaq from prison.

Al-Farazdaq's imprisonment came about as a consequence of his having lampooned Khālid al-Qasrī, the governor of Iraq, who took offense and had him incarerated. Poem 102 finds al-Farazdaq lamenting his imprisonment. Jarīr, in response, composes Poem 103, in which he both praises Khālid and pleads for al-Farazdaq's release. Both poems, in addition to their *madīh* for Khālid, also contain hijā' against each other. Several explanations of this seemingly incongruous content are possible. Hussein finds it "hard to understand how Jarīr can denounce the same person whom he attempts to free from jail."⁷⁶ He therefore posits that the poems must have been composed in stages, with Jarir belatedly reacting to invective al-Farazdaq added to his poem after Jarīr had composed his original (non-invective) poem.⁷⁷ If the poems were in fact composed all at once, we could still explain Jarīr's blend of pleas for and invective against al-Farazdaq if the invective were less sincere. In other words, the two poets depended upon each other to deliver poems that each could refute in order to craft a performance for their audience. It would not therefore be incongruous if Jarir simultaneously denounced his rival while attempting to free that same rival in order that their string of performances at Mirbad market not be interrupted by a lengthy imprisonment. In lines 42 through 44 he says:

- How about an ungrateful captive,How about releasing him from the long bite of irons?
- He will return—deviousness is part of his nature—
 Even though he says, "I have made amends, and will not return to my former ways."
- 44 So don't accept Farazdaq's knockoffs;They are counterfeit: every coin grader rejects them.

فهَلْ لَكَ فى عان ولَيْسَ بِشَاكَرِ فُتُطْلِقَهُ مِنْ طولً عَضِّ الحَدَائَدِ يَعودُ وكانَ الخُبْثُ مِنْهُ طَبِيعَةً 43 وإنْ قَالَ إِنِّي مُعْتِبُ غَيْرُ عَائَد

⁷⁶ Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 346.

⁷⁷ Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 346.

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44 فلا تَقْبَلُوا ضَرْبَ الفَرَزْدَقِ إِنَّهُ هُوَ الزَّيْفُ يَنْفِي ضَرْبَهُ كُلُّ نَاقِدِ⁷⁸

Jarīr begins the passage by asking Khālid to release al-Farazdaq, even though the latter will "not thank him" (*wa-laysa bi-shākirin*). He follows this with a warning that al-Farazdaq is a counterfeiter whose money should not be accepted. This passage contains some fairly typical lampoons against al-Farazdaq: he is unreliable, and he is unscrupulous in the marketplace (i.e., with his money), but the line is remarkable because, despite this, Jarīr is actually pleading to Khālid for his release. We may interpret this request as an example of the lengths Jarīr was willing to go to continue his performances with al-Farazdaq. If this was the case, he still notably took care not to appear sympathetic to al-Farazdaq's cause, nor to frame his desire for al-Farazdaq's return as being for the other's benefit, since such an appearance might ruin the adversarial role the pair had honed and refined throughout their performances, and so he couched his request in *hijā*' against al-Farazdaq's character, lampooning the latter even while suing for his release. According to Bevan, al-Farazdaq was not overjoyed to hear the reason for his eventual release from prison:

When [al-Farazdaq] was released he was told, "Ibn al-Khaṭafā [i.e., Jarīr] petitioned the prince on your behalf that he would release you," to which al-Farazdaq replied, "Return me to prison."⁷⁹

Al-Farazdaq's insistence that he be returned to prison was due to the fact that, having been freed, he was now Jarīr's prisoner, since Jarīr was the one who had secured his release.⁸⁰ We also get a glimpse of how Jarīr might have actually felt about his rivalry with al-Farazdaq from a statement he made while asking Khālid for al-Farazdaq's release: "We are only talking nonsense."⁸¹

This commentary also illustrates how Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's audience viewed their rapport as performers. Even if this is not a faithful report of

- ⁸⁰ He says that he is "أَلْأُمُ اسبِرٍ فِي العرب" ("the lowliest prisoner among the Arabs"). Bevan, *The Naķāʾid*, 2:991.
- 81 Lit., "Neither I nor he are saying anything but nonsense" ("ما اقول ولا يقول إلّا الباطِلَ»). Bevan, *The Naķā'iḍ*, 2:985.

⁷⁸ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:990.

the actual circumstances of the incident,⁸² we can still get an insight from the audience's point of view of the aura Jarīr and al-Farazdaq had created around themselves through their lampoon poetry. If their audience had been convinced that these two poets were engaged in a contest to vindicate their respective tribes by damaging each other—in other words if they thought that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's rapport was hateful—a narrative of redemption would be out of place and meaningless. That such a narrative exists shows that the audience viewed Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's rapport as friendly competition, and their *Naqā'i* a contest of lampoon performance rather than a battle of tribal supremacy that might result in violence.⁸³

3 Conclusion

In working together, "colluding" to the degree that each allowed the other to craft an entertaining performance for their audience, Jarīr and al-Farazdaq created a corpus in which the poets not only inveighed against each other and their tribes, but innovated a new idiom of *naqā'id* poetry. Jayyusi identifies a number of innovations in Jarīr's poetry that set him apart from others, commenting that "He composed poetry for popular audiences. Although he was one of the foremost eulogists of the Umayyads, he did more than any other contemporary poet to popularize poetry and make it a successful vehicle of entertainment for the public."⁸⁴ This focus on entertainment and pleasing an audience at times may have even trumped the importance of defeating an opponent in the traditional, pre-Islamic sense, where the consequences were much more serious. Whether or not Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id* would have become as prominent as it did had they followed a more issue-driven, traditional approach is

⁸² Some may even consider this passage a piece of lore that reveals the audience's perception of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's rapport. Suzanne Stetkevych, for example, treats "prose anecdotes as literary lore rather than historical fact." Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, *The Poetics of Islamic Legitimacy: Myth, Gender, and Ceremony in the Classical Arabic Ode* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 2.

⁸³ Al-Waṣīfī informs us: أما النقائض الأموية ... فإنني أعتقد أنها نقائض فنية ، أي تعبر عن صراع فني Al-Waṣīfī informs us: أما النقائض الأموية ... فإنني أعتقد أنها نقائض فنية ، أي تعبر عن صراع مني إن جاز لنا التعبير "(As far as Umayyad naqā'id are concerned, I believe that they are artistic naqā'id; that is, they express an artistic conflict between two poets who perhaps do not have a an [actual] dispute. On the contrary, it is an 'occupational' conflict, one may say"). Al-Waṣīfī, al-Naqā'id, 6.

⁸⁴ Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 409. Hussein also notes Jarīr's pioneering spirit by his incorporation of harsh invective into lampoon poetry. He says, "In many poems by Jarīr, one finds several crude images and sometimes rude expressions." Hussein, "The Formative Age," 508.

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not certain; what is clear is that the poets adopted a method in their *naqā'iḍ* that allowed them to concentrate on performance that did not always resolve a particular issue, a characteristic that had been such a vital part of pre-Islamic *naqā'iḍ*. By not only doing this themselves, but seemingly "allowing" their opponent to continue his performance as well in a kind of "team collusion," Jarīr and al-Farazdaq adapted the pre-Islamic poetic idiom they had inherited to suit their present context, and in the process created a performance-oriented lampoon.

The Goal: Winning Over the Audience

1 Introduction

1.1 Pre-Islamic versus Umayyad naqā'id

Although Jarīr and al-Farazdaq were from the same tribe of Tamīm, they were from different clans which were often at odds with each other.¹ However, as established in previous chapters, when the two poets performed *hijā*' poetry, it was often not to settle a specific conflict that had arisen between their clans, but to wage literary battle for the attention of an audience at Mirbad market.² This audience, as we saw in Chapter 2, was made up of the bustling variety of people who both resided at and traveled through Basra during the eighth century. The poems that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq performed at Mirbad were therefore less "functional" and more "literary."³ This is not to say that the poets did not also perform *naqā'iḍ* to settle conflicts that had arisen between their clans, and between and among other persons from various tribes and clans that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq were allied or in conflict with.⁴ They did. I am also not suggest-

I Jarīr "belonged to the clan of the Banū Kulayb b. Yarbū^c an, [sic] a branch of the Mudarī Tamīm." Schaade and Gätje, "Djarīr." Al-Farazdaq "was descended from the sub-tribe of Mudāshi^c, of the Dārim group of the Tamīm." Blachere, "al-Farazdak."

² Van Gelder, speaking of the life cycle of a particular invective $(hij\bar{a}^2)$ poem, notes its early functional and later literary use. "Each $hij\bar{a}^2$ -poem is embedded in its little bit of history. Its genesis is provoked by words or actions preceding it, and it survives for a shorter or a longer time, usually engendering new words or actions. But this aftermath is of two kinds, at least in the case of all $hij\bar{a}^2$ known to us. By the time the victim has passed away, together with his nearest kin as well as the poet himself, the verses may still be 'repeated again and again' by the diligent lips, and pens, of historians, philologists and lovers of poetry ..." Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 6–7.

^{3 &}quot;Party-strife," van Gelder says, "was one of the motives for collecting or quoting *hijā*" (van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 7). Such *hijā*' is an example of the "functional" poetry I am referencing, which was used to achieve a particular goal, such as settling a tribal dispute. These same poems, however, could become "literary" over time as van Gelder has suggested (see previous footnote). Although van Gelder's distinction between "functional" and "literary" *hijā*' applies to a single poem moving from one function to another, we can see this trend in Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *naqā'id* poetry, which were on the whole more literary and less functional, i.e., instead of settling tribal disputes, they were meant to be presented to their audience as literary works.

⁴ For a detailed account of the beginning of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's lampooning contest, and

ing that we take every poem Jarīr and al-Farazdaq composed and sort it into one of these two categories. We cannot. Rather, it is useful to note the context of a certain poem during a particular performance, and use these concepts of functional and literary categories to better understand the dynamics of performance.

In "functional" *naqā'id* poetry as I have described it here, each poet focuses his performance on vaunting his own tribe and attacking that of his opponent to the gratification of the members of his own tribe who were spectating. These poets had little hope of winning over members of their opponent's tribe, even if opposing tribal members were present at the performance or, more likely, heard it recited later. In the case of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's flytings, however, the poets were vying in the Mirbad marketplace for the attention of the same audience, who were not necessarily from either Jarīr's or al-Farazdaq's tribe (or clan).⁵

The "functional" versus "literary" designation exists to some extent within all *hijā*' poetry, where a poem's performance may have been initially intended to settle a specific dispute. Over time, the poem evolved as others repeated it, and began to view it as a literary creation independent of its original context. In the time of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id*, we can see the poets performing their own work in a manner typical of what van Gelder terms "the 'literary' stage,"⁶ where, rather than being strictly functional, the poets envision their poems as literary works (and they hint at as much in certain passages that explicitly refer to their own poetry)⁷ meant to please an audience as much as, or instead of, intended to settle a dispute. It is not that settling tribal disputes was irrelevant, but in keeping with the new Islamic realignment of allegiances, old tribal ties were loosening in the wake of the new Islamic worldview that envisioned all Muslims as belonging to one tribe, the *umma*.⁸ Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *naqā'id* poetry, therefore, can be seen as more literary in the sense that the functionality of defending one's tribe, while still present in their poetry, did not play as large a

5 See Chapter 1, footnote 9 for a description of the cosmopolitan nature of Umayyad-era Basra.

⁷ For example, in line 7 of Poem 49, al-Farazdaq says: "لَنْ تُدْرِكُوا حَرَم بِلُوْم أَبِيكُمُ | وأَوابِدى بِتَنَحُّل For example, in line 7 of Poem 49, al-Farazdaq says: "لَنْ شُعار"

the animosities that arose among their clans, and of those others which led to Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's lengthy poetic engagement, see Hussein, "The Formative Age," *passim*.

⁶ See this chapter, footnote 2. "The distinction," van Gelder adds, "between the early, predominantly 'functional' stage and the ensuing 'literary' stage is an important one." Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 7.

verses with your plagiarized poems"). Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:325. See also p. 97 above. 8 See Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 253.

factor as it once had. "Satire," Farrin says, "gained in popularity [i.e., during the Umayyad period], especially in the form of scornful exchanges between rival poets."⁹ Perhaps no poets were as scornful or rivals as famous in Arab literary history as Jarīr and al-Farazdaq.

The "winner" of one of Jarir and al-Farazdaq's so-called "scornful" exchanges gained recognition from the audience and a boost to their status. The loser, on the other hand, saw his reputation plummet. The poets were keenly aware that *hijā*' could be as potentially damaging to reputations as *madī*h could be bolstering. Scholars have noted *madih*'s currency;¹⁰ its value to rulers, how they craved and sought it, and at times paid large sums of money for poets to praise them, and often bestowed other types of largesse upon them as well.¹¹ Worse than not receiving praise from a poet was to earn their ire, manifested in the *hijā*, verses they saw fit to inflict upon the unfortunate recipient. Van Gelder relates an anecdote about the pre-Islamic poet Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, who he says, "had a reputation of being ... among the most powerful poets of pre-Islamic hijā."¹² The story goes that the poet, after having been robbed of both a number of his camels and the camel-herder, uttered some lines of invective against the alleged thief, whereupon camels and herder were returned.¹³ The poets themselves were clearly well aware of this power $hij\bar{a}$, had to destroy reputations, and worked to harness it for the destruction of the reputations of their opponent, in the process simultaneously uplifting their own. A damaged reputation could cost the poet his honor, his status, and to some degree his livelihood as a performer.

⁹ Farrin, *Abundance from the Desert*, 115–116.

In an anecdote about a young al-Ṣūlī (d. 947) reciting some lines of poetry for the well-known poet al-Buḥturī (821–897), Samer Ali summarizes the influence of poetry in this situation: "First, poetry is shown to be the currency of social interaction: competition, peer pressure, embarrassment, honor, and self-recovery. They all factor into the value of poetry in society." Ali, *Arabic Literary Salons*, 181.

¹¹ Speaking of Abbasid-era poets, Gruendler notes various ways poets got paid: "Sometimes, coins were showered like rain over the reciting poet, or his mouth filled with jewels ... Other kinds of rewards included settling a poet's debts, awarding him a fief or a lucrative position, such as postmaster or tax-collector, or bestowing robes of honor, mounts, and expensive educated slaves." Gruendler, *Medieval Arabic Praise Poetry*, 49. In the same paragraph, she notes how high a price some patrons were willing to pay, "Such as a Barmakid lavishing the astronomical sum of 100,000 *dirhams* on an anonymous man for a single verse of praise."

¹² Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 16.

¹³ See van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 16: "According to one version of the story, camels and camel-herd were returned after this invective poem. In another version they are returned after an earlier poem which merely threatens with *hijā*'; such threats," van Gelder sums up, "may be as effective as invective itself or even more so."

Aware of this power lampoon had, both to boost their own reputation and destroy that of their opponent, the poets were ever mindful of their audience's reaction to their performances, and managed their image by constantly monitoring the audience, looking for feedback, noticing audience reactions, and taking care both to preserve their own reputation in that audience's eyes, while simultaneously mounting a concerted effort to destroy the reputation of their rival. Outlining the centrality of audience response in the Arabic literary tradition Samer Ali explains that, "Competent performers remained attuned to forms of audience reaction such as smiles, pensive looks, cheers, sighs of Amen, encore requests, foot-stomping, and clapping."¹⁴

To the extent that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq were able to engage the audience, they gained a concomitant ability to exert influence over them, and raise their status in the audience's eyes. This accords with Bauman's premise (here cited by Ali) that "performers gained influence by virtue of their skill and wielded their power onstage to subvert power relations—a phenomenon that often rendered them feared and admired. Thus for professional as well as amateur performers, personal clout rested in the sustained ability to elicit validation."¹⁵ Jarīr and al-Farazdaq "validated" themselves as they lampooned each other and boasted of themselves, all in an effort to increase their "personal clout" and raise their poetic status.

1.2 Audience Reception

The previous three chapters have shown us how Jarīr and al-Farazdaq tailored their performance to an audience, took advantage of their performance venue, and at times worked together to accomplish their goal of engaging the audience. In this chapter we look at the reception of the *Naqā'id* by examining passages from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's poetic corpus, and also at *akhbār*¹⁶ sources that shed light on their performances and the techniques the poets used to gain, and keep, their audience's interest, and how they were able to leverage their influence over the audience to elevate their personal prestige. In the first half of this chapter I analyze passages of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *naqā'id* that illustrate techniques the poets used to gain prestige. In the second half, *akhbār* passages that reference Jarīr and al-Farazdaq are the focus.

¹⁴ Ali, *Literary Salons*, 29.

¹⁵ Ali, *Literary Salons*, 29.

^{16 &}quot;Report[s], piece[s] of information" that normally comprise an *isnād* (i.e., "chain of transmission") and a *matn* (i.e., a report, account, or anecdote about a specific person, topic, or event). A.J. Wensinck, "*Khabar*," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4110.

To understand how Jarir and al-Farazdaq leveraged their influence over their audience, it is critical to investigate their interactions. When a source mentions the circumstances or effects of a particular poem or its performance, there is much information we can glean about how well the poets in that particular situation were able to gauge their audience and how successful they may have been in engaging them. Even the presence (or absence) of a particular poem (or dyad, in the case of most *naqā'id* poetry) in a *dīwān* indicates audience reception to a certain degree: the simple fact that a poem was recorded and handed down through a number of copyists over time indicates that it was at some point (at several different points, usually) considered worthy of recording because, presumably, it was initially received positively by its audience. Although this broad sense of reception can tell us whether a particular poem was well received, my aim is to use these anecdotes to uncover the immediate reception of those who attended Jarir and al-Farazdag's performances and witnessed them first-hand. Only by doing this can we understand Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's influence on their audience.

But how did the poets influence the audience? What were some of the specific methods of performance the poets deployed to engage them? One example of this type of interaction can be found in an account of an occasion when Jarīr asked for a camel before reciting. According to Hussein, he likely did this so that he could "ride it when reciting his poem because it [i.e., the camel] lifts the poet up to an elevated position from which the whole audience can easily see him."¹⁷ Thus in this anecdote is Jarīr directing attention to himself by literally elevating himself above everyone else.¹⁸

The account of this incident also makes it clear that the audience members were not mere bystanders who happened to be present when Jarīr and al-Farazdaq were engaging in a poetic battle, but were an involved part of the performance themselves, whom Jarīr was appealing to. The image of Jarīr mounting a camel to perform brings to mind tactics a modern stage performer might use. A rock concert, for example, entails much more than just music, which could be recorded in a studio without an audience. It might include costumes, stage lights, sometimes even fireworks, all as ancillaries to the music, but all a part of the performance—and it is worth noting that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq are themselves reported to have worn costumes at times, as in Poem 63, where Jarīr is dressed in armor, and al-Farazdaq in "womanly" clothing.¹⁹

¹⁷ Hussein, "The Formative Age," 509.

¹⁸ Hussein says, "The camel may be conceived as a platform." Hussein, "The Formative Age," 509–510.

¹⁹ See pp. 73-74.

The camel anecdote reminds us that medieval works such as Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'iḍ* constitute more than just a written text on a page of a book stored on the shelves of a library. Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's performances were, rather, spectacles that included props, and shouting, jeers, and cheers from the audience.

2 Managing Poetic Image

Jarīr and al-Farazdaq waged their *naqā'id* contest to determine who was the superior poet, and this was often of more concern to them than bringing glory to their clan or defending it against slander, the primary focus of *naqā'id* poetry before their time. The poets undoubtedly did have as part of their objective the defense of their tribe and protection of its good name, but this was not their primary purpose. These poets had no such matters as bodily harm-or worse-at stake, as did their pre-Islamic counterparts on occasion, nor did their audience expect poetic contests to end in an actual battle between clans. What the poets excelled at was skillful creation and performance of comical lampoon poetry, and one main way their excellence was judged was the extent to which they were able to draw their audience in to their performance, and elicit their participative attention and energy. In order to do this successfully, they had to know their audience and adjust their performances to draw them in. As mentioned above, many of their performances were held at Mirbad market in Basra for an audience of bystanders, some of whom did not know the poets, but many of whom would have known at least of their reputation for lambasting each other with stinging lampoons. In this setting, Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's sole goal was not to convince each other of their own superiority, or of that of their tribe, nor were they even trying to convince the audience of this so much as they were trying to convince them of their superiority as poets. Each wanted to get the audience onto his side, among other things, so that the audience would repeat some of their lampoons to friends and acquaintances, thereby further boosting the poets' reputation as performers. We can envision audience members walking away from a Naqā'id performance perhaps remembering some specific lampoons, but more important, having clearly in their mind which poet had "won" the contest. Although Jarīr and al-Farazdaq almost certainly performed *hijā*, at least partly to convince the other of his superiority, their primary concern was to convince the audience by producing a better, more memorable performance.

2.1 Passages from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's Naqā'id

The following passages from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id* constitute a selection of verses that demonstrate the poets' mastery at adapting their performance to the audience in an effort to raise their status. Crucial to this goal is their ability to elicit "the participative energy and attention of [their] audience."²⁰ In order to do this, the poets employed specific tropes. The following discussion will analyze several lines from various poems, arranged thematically to allow for a focus on specific themes that illustrate how the poets deployed invective over the course of their careers to lampoon their opponent and to praise themselves. This methodology accords with the way the poems were likely originally composed and presented: in segments and at various times.²¹ One of these themes, found in many passages throughout the *Naqā'id*, is that of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's standing and status within their tribe. In such passages, the poets manage their image regarding their standing both by elevating their own status within the tribe, and by lowering their opponent's.

Tribal pride had been one of the most important features of pre-Islamic $naq\bar{a}id$ poetry, and indeed a salient part of Arabian identity. Although the coming of Islam changed many aspects of the social order, including an emphasis on the concept of the *umma* as a tribe for all Muslims,²² it was still a mark of prestige to hail from a respected tribe during the Umayyad era, and even beyond.²³ Since Jarīr and al-Farazdaq both hailed from the Tamīm tribe, they exhibited this traditional tribal pride through verses that attempted to show that each was a more prominent member of this important tribe than the other. By doing so, they not only defended "their" tribe, the traditional province of *naqāid* poetry, but simultaneously elevated their own status within that tribe.

In the following three passages Jarīr and al-Farazdaq vaunt themselves and denigrate their opponent to display to their audience their rank within the tribe—since Jarīr and al-Farazdaq were both from the same tribe (but different clans), they sometimes used their mutual affiliation with the Tamīm as a backdrop against which they boasted that they, and they alone, were the legiti-

²⁰ Bauman, Verbal Art, 43.

For more on this topic, see Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," which discusses several hypotheses about Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's Naqā'id composition.

^{22 &}quot;All Muslims were to be as one tribe." Hodgson, Venture of Islam, 253.

^{23 &}quot;Tribalism remained a salient feature of *naqā'id* during the Abbasid period, and ... to the present day." Hussain Mohammed Alqarni, "*Naqā'id* Poetry in the Post-Umayyad Era," *Journal of Abbasid Studies* 4 (2017): 100.

mate representatives of this great and respected tribe. At other times, the poets played off of their different clans, lampooning each other on the basis of some real or imagined deficiency of the other's clan. Whichever route the poets took, the goal was for each to elevate himself over the other.

In the following passages, the poets each make a case for their own prominence within the tribe of Tamīm, and their opponent's corresponding obscurity. The first passage is by al-Farazdaq (Poem 51). He boasts that he is Tamīm's defender and son.

- 99 I protected Tamīm from you, for I am its son And its well-known representative²⁴ at the markets.²⁵
- I am the son of Tamīm and the defender at its back, Whenever the criminal shirks his duty to kinship's bonds.²⁶

99 مَنَعْتُ تَمَيماً مِنْكَ أَنَّى أَنَا ابْنُها وراحلُها المَعْرُوفُ عِنْدَ المَواسِمِ 100 أَنَا ابْنُ تَمَيم والحُامِي وَراءَها إِذا أَسْلَمَ أَلجانِي ذِمارَ الحَارِمِ²⁷

In these lines al-Farazdaq argues that he (alone) represents Tamīm, implying that the glory and prestige that constitute being its son should go to him, and not to Jarīr. In the first half of the first line of this passage (99) al-Farazdaq includes the personal pronoun *anā* directly after *annī*, thereby emphasizing his own identity as a son of the tribe. "*I* am Tamīm's son," he says. The pronoun *anā* is not needed grammatically to convey the line's meaning; rather, al-Farazdaq deploys it here for emphasis that he—and not someone else, viz., Jarīr—is a son of the Tamīm tribe. The device also works as an attention-grabber, using a combination of alliteration and assonance in these back-to-back words, *annī*

I am borrowing the translation of *rāħil* as "representative" from Ali Hussein (see Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 341). Its literal meaning is "traveler." The interlinear commentary for this line adds that al-Farazdaq is also Tamīm's "poet" (*shāʿir*). See Bevan, *The Naķāʾid*, 1:379. The footnotes also reference other manuscripts that contain the variations "man" (*rājil*) and "visitor" (*wāfid*).

²⁵ These are "the annual markets in Arabia. Some," explains Hussein, "were held during the pilgrimage period. Ever since the pre-Islamic period, poets used to visit these *mawāsim* in order to present their poetry." Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 341.

²⁶ This meaning of *maḥram/maḥārim* is according to Bevan. See Bevan, *The Naķāʾiḍ*, 3:330.

²⁷ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:379.

 $an\bar{a}$, to add a euphonic accent to the literal meaning. Both words start with the same vowel-consonant combination (an), both are disyllabic, and both follow a vowel-consonant-vowel pattern.

Not only does al-Farazdaq claim the honor of representing his tribe, but significantly, the setting is the Arabian markets ($maw\bar{a}sim$) where poets traditionally presented their poetry as tribal representatives. This implies that not only is al-Farazdaq's prestige within the tribe greater than Jarīr's, but also that he is the better poet, since he, and not Jarīr, is Tamīm's representative at these poetic festivals. In line 100, al-Farazdaq positions himself as Tamīm's defender even when the criminal "shirks his duty to the bonds of kinship." The "criminal" he alludes to here is, of course, Jarīr, who al-Farazdaq suggests is all too ready to give up the honor of these bonds (maharim). Al-Farazdaq thus promotes himself over Jarīr as Tamīm's legitimate son and defender, claiming the status that such a position carried.

When al-Farazdaq vaunts his status within his tribe, he contrasts it with Jarīr's, who he implies holds a lower status. However, he is not only speaking to Jarīr: al-Farazdaq is also speaking to the audience, or rather, showing them his superior position within his tribe. His self-vaunting, therefore, not only scores him points within the poetic dyad against his opponent but also elevates his prestige in the audience's eyes.

In Poem 53, Jarīr boasts of his own affiliation with Tamīm. This poem is directed at al-Rāʿī and his tribe of Numayr, whom Jarīr often lampooned, and whom al-Farazdaq consistently defended,²⁸ and also against the Mujāshiʿ clan which al-Farazdaq belonged to. The poem also features Jarīr's boasts about his own status within Tamīm.²⁹ Near the end of the poem, as Jarīr is vaunting the heroes of Tamīm, he says,

94 If the Banū Tamīm are angry with you, You consider all men angry.

²⁸ The poem is tripartite, but without a *raḥīl* section. It consists of a *nasīb* (lines 1–12), followed by a *hijū*' section (lines 13–90), and ends with a *fakhr* (lines 91–112).

²⁹ The poem is probably most famous for Line 77, تُغْنَى مَنْ نُمَنَى مَنْ عُمَنَى مَنْ عُمَنَى مَنْ عُمَنَى مَنْ مُعْرَى مَا الطَّرْفَ إِنَّكَ مَنْ عُمَنَى مَنْ عُمَنَى مَنْ عُمَنَى مَنْ مُعْرَى مَا الطَّرْفَ إِنَّكَ مَنْ عُمَنَى مَا المَعْنَى مَا الطَّرْفَ إِنَّكَ مَنْ عُمَنَى مَا الطَّرْفَ إِنَيْنَ مَنْ عُمَنَى الطَّرْفَ إِنَيْنَ مَا اللَّعْنَى مَنْ عُمَنَى مَا اللَّهُ مَنْ الطَّرْفَ العَلَى مَنْ عُمَنَ مَعْنَى العَامَ ("So hang your head, you are from Numayr | you are worthy neither of Ka^cb nor of Kilāb"). Bevan, *The Naķāčid*, 1:46. Al-Rāʿī is said to have died within the year on account of this line. See Reinhard Weipert, "al-Rāʿī," in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_6197. See also Muḥammad Nabīh Ḥijāb, al-Rāʿī al-Numayrī 'Ubayd b. Huṣayn: shāʿir Banī Numayr; 'aṣruhu, ḥayātuhu, shi'ruhu (Cairo: Maktabat Nahḍat Miṣr, 1963), 77.

In this line Jarīr showcases the nobility and grandeur of the Tamīm tribe, which he claims to represent. In saying that al-Rā'ī thought all men were angry with him if Tamīm was, Jarīr displays Tamīm's overawing power and portrays al-Rā'ī quaking at the thought of provoking it. By placing al-Rā'ī (the object of Jarīr's ire in this poem because of his support for al-Farazdaq over himself) in opposition to Tamīm, Jarīr displays Tamīm's power and might: so great a tribe were they, that if they were angry at someone, it was as if the whole world was. This continues the theme of intra-tribal supremacy al-Farazdaq had touched on in Poem 51, in which he attempted to delegitimize Jarīr's connection to Tamīm. In this poem, rather than explicitly stating his connection to Tamīm, he instead shows the audience Tamīm's greatness. He, as part of the tribe, wants to impute some of that greatness to himself.

Poem 54 is al-Farazdaq's response to Jarīr's lampoon of him and al-Rā'ī. He wastes no time responding to Jarīr's boast of his position within Tamīm, attributing himself with the prestige and status within the tribe that Jarīr had also claimed. In the first line of the poem, he claims:

 I am son of the defenders, the Tamīm tribe, When the greatest of calamities overtakes it.

First, al-Farazdaq places Tamīm at the pinnacle of tribal supremacy—his choice of the word '*āşimīn* ("defenders") showcases both the tribe's power and strength in terms of its ability to defend the people, and also their sense of duty for being willing to do so. Against this backdrop, al-Farazdaq presents himself squarely as Tamīm's supreme tribal representative. Just as Jarīr had said earlier that he was Tamīm's son, al-Farazdaq claims that privilege here. His specific word choice when he does so is significant. Al-Farazdaq could have chosen another term to convey the sense of "defender," "representative," or "hero," but by choosing *ibn*, he focuses on the concept of his paternity and his blood rela-

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إِذَا غَضِبَتْ عَلَيْكَ بَنُو تَمْيُمُ حَسَبْتَ النَّاسَ كُلَّهُمُ غُضًابا³⁰

> أَنا ابْنُ العاصِمينَ بَنى تَميم إذا ما أَعْظَمُ الحدثانِ ناًبا³¹

³⁰ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:449.

³¹ Bevan, The Naķā'id, 1:451.

tionship to the Banū Tamīm. The contest for supremacy and pride of place within Tamīm here is pointed, and al-Farazdaq's choice of words raises his status within the tribe while simultaneously raising his prestige with the audience.³²

Another theme Jarir and al-Farazdaq deploy throughout the naqā'id to raise their status is Islam. The Islamic state apparatus provided a source of authority that Jarir and al-Farazdaq drew on as they presented themselves to their audience as authority figures in an Islamic context. This topic appears in the first dyad that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq mobilize against each other (34 and 35)³³ and in several other places throughout the Naqā'id in which each poet presents himself as a devout Muslim, acknowledging—perhaps coyly—the new reality. The following passages are taken from poems in which the poets mention "the Prophet," "Muhammad," or "Islam." In the first example, taken from Jarīr's Poem 35, the poet responds to al-Farazdaq's poem against him, launching into a classically styled tripartite *qaşīda* with an introductory *nasīb* section, followed by a rahīl, leading into a final hijā' section against al-Farazdaq and his Mujāshi' clan.³⁴ The following verses appear in the *nasīb* section of Jarīr's poem, which is characterized by elements typical of the opening section of a qaṣīda: abandoned desert campsites, departing caravans, and the memory of a lost love. The first word of line 13, qifā ("Halt, both!") recalls perhaps the most famous qaşīda of all time, Imru' al-Qays's *mu'allaqa*, which begins with the same word:

Halt, both! Hear the caller's voice, perhaps ...
 He is near, but I did not approach close in opinion.

13 قفا فٱسْمَعا صَوْتَ الْمُنادِى لَعَلَّهُ قَرِيبٌ وما دانَيْتُ بِالظَّنِّ دانِيا³⁵

³² In pre-Islamic times the poet representative of the tribe might have been a literal son (*ibn*) of the tribe, whether literal or adopted, and would have likely competed with a poet from a different tribe. Jarīr and al-Farazdaq are more remote from their tribal ancestry than their pre-Islamic predecessors were, but are making the case for their legitimacy as tribal inheritors in language that evokes their pre-Islamic roots.

³³ The first thirty poems from Jarir and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id* involve Jarir lampooning other interlocutors. Al-Farazdaq does not enter the corpus until Poem 31. Even then, he only composes this poem "to try and convince Jarir not to engage him in a poetic battle." Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 306.

³⁴ Poem 35 consists of 58 lines: *nasīb* (lines 1–27), *raḥīl* (lines 28–39), and combined *fakhr*/ *hijā*' section (lines 40–58), with the last six lines (53–58) directed at al-Farazdaq's clan of Mujāshi'.

³⁵ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:74.

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Two lines later Jarīr's *nasīb* reaches a climactic point with an appeal to God:

I appeal to the throne of God, Muhammad's master, To gather the people or bring them from afar.

> 15 رَغِبْتُ إِلَى ذَى الْعَرْشِ مَوْلَى مُحَمَّدً لِيَجْمَعَ شَعْباً أَوْ يُقَرِّبَ نائِيا³⁶

Jarīr's direct appeal to (the throne of) God could be interpreted as a challenge to the Umayyad state's authority, which Jarīr bypasses. Here he deploys the rhetoric of the newly authoritative Islamic discourse, arrogating some of that authority to himself to elevate his prestige in the eyes of the audience. By sidestepping the Umayyad establishment, Jarīr is promoting his position over that of the state. It is entirely possible that the audacity of this line may have both captivated and perhaps shocked his audience, which in turn may have raised Jarīr's prestige in their eyes.

Poem 51 is a praise poem for the caliph Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, although it is likely that it was not performed in front of him.³⁷ In this poem, it is al-Farazdaq who invokes Islamic authority to elevate his prestige. The poem opens on a scene reminiscent of a classical *nasīb* section, with the lines,

- My mount has a longing in the market³⁸ of Medina, A longing of a bereft woman who desires her young.
- And I wish the market of Medina were,
 By the trenches of Falj or on the shores of Kawāzim.

تَحِنُّ بِزَوْراءِ المَدينَةِ ناقَتى
 حَنينَ عَجول تَبْتَغِي البَوَّ رائِم
 ويا لَيْتَ زَوُّراءَ المَدينَةِ أَصْبَحَتْ
 بِأَحْفارِ فَلْجٍ أَوْ بِسِيفِ الكَواظِم⁹⁹

³⁶ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:74.

³⁷ Hussein posits that this poem was composed in two different stages, that originally al-Farazdaq had composed not a *naqīda*, but only a praise poem for Sulaymān, and only added the *hijā*' ending of the poem later, after Jarīr had responded to his original poem to refute some of its themes. See Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 344–345.

 [&]quot;Zawrā" here is a name for the market of Medina. See Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch,
 6 vols. (Leipzig: Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, 1867), s.v. "zawrā"."

³⁹ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:343.

The poet thus places himself and his camel in Medina, and opens the poem with his camel longing for its young. In the second line that longing is reflected in the poet's own longing for Falj,⁴⁰ where he says he wishes Medina were located. These first lines are clearly redolent of the traditional *nasīb* section of the *qaṣīda* in which the abandoned campsite is recalled with yearning, only here the poet replaces the *dār*, the traditional abandoned campsite, with the market of Medina, and instead of longing for a lost love, the poet's camel longs for its young, and the poet himself longs for his homeland. By equating Medina with the traditional pre-Islamic abandoned campsite, al-Farazdaq perhaps hints at an adaptation of some of the themes of Pre-Islamic poetry in the new Islamic order.

Al-Farazdaq continues the poem with a pair of references to the Prophet, more subtly here than Jarīr had done in Poem 35. The first passage comes from the *madī*h section of the poem, in which al-Farazdaq praises the caliph:⁴¹

With the best two hands of him⁴² who came after Muhammad, And with both the best of Muhammad's two partners, and also him who was wronged while fasting for God.⁴³

Al-Farazdaq mentions Muhammad once more in this poem, also in the *madī*<u>h</u> section, and again in the context of praise for Sulaymān, whom he compares to the Prophet:

بِخَيْرِ يَدَى مَنْ كَانَ بَعْدَ مُحَمَّد وجارَيْهِ والمَظْلومِ لِلَهِ صائِمِ⁴⁴

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⁴⁰ The notes to the poem explain that in wishing that Medina were near Falj or al-Kawāẓim, he wishes that "it would turn into our land of Falj, or al-Kawāẓim." Bevan, *The Naķāʾiḍ*, 1:343.

The poem consists of the following sections. "The first is the love affair at the beginning [NJF 51:1-8], then comes the praise of Sulaymān [NJF 51:9-42], and boasting about the assassination of Qutayba b. Muslim, the governor of Khurāsān who rebelled against the Umayyad caliph [NJF 51:43-83]. The poem ends with a detailed denunciation of Jarīr and the clans that he supports [NJF 51:84-155]." See Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 344.

⁴² I.e., the caliph Sulaymān.

⁴³ Abū 'Ubayda explains in the interlineary commentary that the reference to Muhammad's two partners indicates Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and that "the one who was wronged" refers to 'Uthmān. See Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:45.

⁴⁴ The Naķā'id, 1:345.

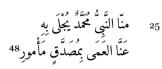
28 You were appointed for the people of the land just and merciful, Healing the marks of piercing wounds.

As God sent the Prophet Muhammad, At a time when men were like beasts.

The first, and straightforward, task these verses accomplish is to praise the caliph Sulaymān, the subject of (this part of) the poem. In doing so, however, al-Farazdaq is accomplishing two additional goals. First, he is displaying his piety by acknowledging the Islamic authority of the caliph. Later in this section, we will see that it is important for al-Farazdaq to do so, as his opponent, Jarīr, occasionally lampoons him for his alleged Christian sympathies. Second, by praising the caliph, he stands to not only gain the latter's attention and possibly favor, but also that of his audience, raising his status in their eyes them by virtue of the high connections to the caliph his poem suggests. If, as Hussein postulates, the poem was not recited in the caliph's presence,⁴⁶ then we may make an even stronger argument that al-Farazdaq's real target in mentioning Sulaymān's piousness and connection to Muhammad was vicarious prestige for himself.

While Poem 51 contains more subtle allusions to Islamic authority by means of references to Muhammad, in Poem 96 al-Farazdaq makes the extraordinary boast that he and the Prophet share a common genealogy.⁴⁷

From us is the Prophet Muhammad with whom,Blindness is removed from us, with a faithful command.



⁴⁵ The Naķāʾiḍ, 1:347.

⁴⁶ See this chapter, footnote 37.

⁴⁷ Poem 96 consists of a short *nasīb* section (lines 1–8) followed by a *hijā*' section (lines 9–86) lampooning Jarīr and others from the clan of Ja'far b. Sa'd b. Zayd of the Tamīm tribe.

⁴⁸ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:13.

Al-Farazdaq's claim to a shared lineage with the Prophet serves to link the poet firmly with Islam, and the intensity of this assertion would perhaps have swayed the audience's view of his prestige. Additionally, the grammatical structure al-Farazdaq uses to express the relationship adds emphasis to its meaning. The line begins with the prepositional phrase *minnā*, making the sentence a fronted predicate (al-khabar al-muqaddam). Fronting minnā by making it the first word of the line foregrounds it and draws attention to it. Not only this, the prepositional phrase itself contains a doubled consonant (shadda) over the *nūn*, lengthening the first syllable and drawing more attention to it. Moreover, a similarly doubled-consonant preposition within a prepositional phrase ('annā, "from us"), which doubles the same letter $(n\bar{u}n)$ and which has a similar meaning, begins the second hemistich of the line. Repeating similar words at the beginning of the line and again at the beginning of the second half-line constitutes a use of the poetic figure of anaphora, albeit subtly. This is not the only time al-Farazdaq employs this literary figure using the word *minnā*; in Poem 66, the first seven lines each start with this preposition.⁴⁹ Al-Farazdaq's claim ties his people to the Prophet, providing a route to prestige both by the boldness of its delivery and the impact of its content.

The previous three poems (35, 51, and 96) witness the poets appealing to their audience's Islamic sensibility, and the passages we have reviewed from each of these poems showcase the poets' own connections to Islamic authority. In the following poem (104),⁵⁰ though, instead of lauding his own piety, Jarīr launches a lampoon against al-Farazdaq for the latter's lack of faithfulness to Islam. This is not the only poem in which Jarīr accuses, or all but accuses, al-Farazdaq of being a closet Christian, but it is one of the most extensive and focused lampoons of this type. Jarīr starts right at the beginning of the *hijā'* section⁵¹ with the following verses:

43 May God make al-Farazdaq ugly,Whenever a suppliant offers up a prayer and glorifies God!

⁴⁹ The first line of Poem 66 begins with the word *minnā*. Lines two through seven begin with wa-minnā.

⁵⁰ This poem may not, strictly speaking, be a *naqīḍa*, since it has no counter poem by al-Farazdaq, at least none that survived. Still, it contains all of the necessary elements of a *hijā*' poem: it lampoons al-Farazdaq, and it is included in the *Naqā'iḍ*. For these reasons, therefore, it is logical to consider it together with the rest of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's corpus. Please note, however, that this poem is not considered in the analyses of dyadic poems in Chapter 3. See Appendix 2.

⁵¹ The poem can be divided into *nasīb* (lines 1–7), *madīḥ* (lines 8–41), and *hijā*' (lines 42–106).

- And you, if you gave al-Farazdaq a dirham,For a Christian woman's religion, he would convert to it.
- 45 May he never—not ever!—approach the two Marwas nor Ṣafā, Nor the sacred and purified mosque of God!

Jarīr dramatizes his opponent's venality by deploying lampooning devices that magnify the relative hierarchies of religion and gender. Framing Islam as the dominant religion, Jarīr insinuates al-Farazdaq's susceptibility to Christian conversion, placing himself above al-Farazdaq just as he places Islam above Christianity. He makes the lampoon more poignant by identifying the new religion as that of a Christian *woman* (*naṣrāniyya*), thus projecting al-Farazdaq not only as an infidel, but also as womanish, and by implication, inferior. In Line 45, Jarīr deploys the long energetic verbal mood (*nūn al-tawkīd*): "Let him not approach" (*fa-lā yaqrabanna*), which adds emphasis to the prohibition, and which I have translated in the above verses as, "May he never—not ever!—approach!" in order to convey the emphatic meaning of this verbal form. Nor would have any of this been lost on Jarīr's audience. After having attracted and held their attention with biting lampoons of his opponent, he depicts the latter as faithless and venal, using speech that lowers his status while simultaneously raising his own.

In another passage from Poem 97, Jarīr intensifies his accusation that al-Farazdaq is not wholly Muslim, nor wholly faithful, but rather that he harbors Christian sympathies:

- 9 For, al-Farazdaq, when he enters a mosque, is filth, And his purity is not pure.
- ¹⁰ For, al-Farazdaq does not heed the sacred, Nor the blood of sacrifice on arms and chest.

⁵² Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:996.

- Al-Farazdaq spent the evening in hobby-horse bells, After little al-Akhțal, as a wife to Jarīr.
- 12 The clan of al-Farazdaq is from Taghlib Christians, Or, he alleges falsely that lying claim.

The first thing that stands out in these four lines is the repeated use of the name "al-Farazdaq," which Jarīr reiterates four times in succession, each time in the same position in the line, as the second word. This has an impact similar to that of anaphora (which it is technically not, since anaphora is characterized by placing the same word or phrase at the beginning of each line). Although slightly more subtle, Jarīr's poetic device here must have had a similar effect: to draw attention to the repeated word, and by doing so, to draw attention to the entire line. With the name "al-Farazdaq" displayed so prominently in these lines, the audience can have no doubt who is faithless, who is un-Islamic, who is filthy, and who is Christian.

Jarīr also takes this occasion to reiterate a line he had used while lampooning al-Farazdaq earlier (Poem 64), by mentioning again the hobby horse (*kurraj*) and bells (*jalājil*) that feminize al-Farazdaq, an effect that is intensified by Jarīr's calling al-Farazdaq his wife (*zawja*). He had used this language in the earlier poem to "defame al-Farazdaq, showing that he is not a noble, but merely a *mukhannath*,"⁵⁴ (i.e., a male dancer who acted like a woman). Whether or not Jarīr is intentionally quoting the earlier poem, he surely had found the device effective and chose to repeat it here.

⁵³ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:936.

⁵⁴ Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 336.

The accusations the poets engaged in to lampoon each other were meant to elevate their prestige in front of an audience, but were the charges serious? Most of them contained an element of truth, but they often also included wild exaggerations.55 "These contests," van Gelder tells us, "have become less serious and more entertaining than in pre-Islamic times."⁵⁶ He goes on to explain that this material technically amounted to false accusation (qadhf), which was a punishable offense, but that *hijā*' poetry "was simply not important enough" for authorities to involve themselves.⁵⁷ What is more important than any legal jeopardy they may have risked is how the poets used their performances to engage the audience. It was less important that the material they used be verifiably true, since they likely did not fear official punishment, but rather, retribution in kind from their opponent's verses. Because the poets' primary goal was to engage their audience, and perhaps because they were less concerned with official retribution for *qadhf* (since, as van Gelder points out, the poetry was "less serious" and probably would not lead to any legal troubles), they were able to indulge in a level of hyperbole that was fitting to the genre. It is also important to recognize that these *naqā'id* operated in a different realm than that of qadhf. To accept the naqā'id as qadhf would mean accepting them at face value. But if we instead accept van Gelder's description of these poems as "less serious and more entertaining," and realize that they were not literal accusations (in most cases), we begin to see how Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's poetry was received, and in what spirit it was given: to entertain and inspire audience reaction.

Poems 102 and 103 are included in Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'iḍ* corpus but are as noteworthy for their praise as for their lampoon passages. In addition to their *hijā*' element, each poem is also—and perhaps primarily—a panegyric.⁵⁸ This dyad illustrates how far the poets were willing to go, or perhaps were compelled to go, to gain the attention of an audience, and in this case, that included the governor of Iraq, Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī.

As mentioned above, al-Farazdaq composed Poem 102 while serving time in jail for lampooning the governor,⁵⁹ and the poem itself was partially an attempt

⁵⁵ Van Gelder notes Ibn Țabațabā's stance on truthfulness in poetry, who he says "rather nostalgically contrasts pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry, where each genre, as he thought, was 'based on truth.'" Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 61. He adds that "Ibn Țabațabā seems to ignore the possibility that the addressee, too, as well as the public, might not care much about the truthfulness of poetry."

⁵⁶ Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 30.

⁵⁷ Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 30.

⁵⁸ Hussein theorizes that the lampoon verses in Jarīr's poem (103) were a later addition to his initial praise poem. See Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 346.

⁵⁹ Abū Ubayda gives four lines of al-Farazdaq's lampoon against Khālid, on account of

to win his freedom. Jarīr's response, Poem 103, also included verses intended to free al-Farazdaq.⁶⁰ We have examined numerous poems throughout this book that show Jarīr and al-Farazdaq leveraging their audience's influence, which to this point has consisted mainly of gatherings at Mirbad market. However, the present dyad was composed not to win over a Mirbad audience, but rather to attract the notice of the governor and secure al-Farazdaq's release. As such, it represents a higher stakes contest than Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's typical *naqā'id* poems since instead of (or in addition to) prestige, al-Farazdaq is composing poetry for his freedom, and interestingly, so is Jarīr. Still, the former was able to employ the techniques he had honed in his lampooning contests with Jarīr to leverage influence over his audience, in this case an audience of one: Khālid— at least as far as the praise (*madīh*) section of the poem is concerned.

In Poem 103, Jarīr had the same aim as al-Farazdaq did in the previous poem discussed here: to obtain his fellow poet's release from prison. Both poems in this dyad contain lampoons (if not, they would not be considered $naq\bar{a}'id$),⁶¹ but are perhaps more interesting for the praise sections that reveal the poets' respective attempts at influencing their gubernatorial audience of one. The following short extracts, one line from each poem, focus on a particular aspect of praise for Khālid: his role as the defender of the Muslim people (*amīr al-mu'minīn*). In Poem 102 al-Farazdaq says,

7 Increase⁶² Khālid with the like of what he has in his right hand,⁶³ And you will find him the best defender of Islam!

which, he says, the governor imprisoned him. See Bevan, *The Naķāʾiḍ*, 2:84. "Al-Farazdaq's *naqīḍa* was composed in jail, where he was sent because of his hostility towards Khālid." Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 345.

فزِدْ خالِداً مِثْلَ الَّذِي فِي يَمينِهِ تَجِدْهُ عِنِ الَإِسْلامِ مِنْ خَيْرِ ذَائِدِ⁶⁴

7

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⁶⁰ Although both poems address Khālid, the governor of Iraq, neither was recited in his court according to Hussein ("The Rise and Decline"), and al-Farazdaq's was composed while he was serving time in prison.

⁶¹ The dyad 102/103 is unique in the *Naqā'iḍ* in that it is the only set of counter-*naqī*, das, i.e., poems which respond to one or the other, in which both poems praise the same person (See Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 342).

⁶² Abū 'Ubayda's notes suggest that this includes an invocation of the divine means: يبا ربِ

[&]quot; ... أين خالداً ... "). See Bevan, The Naķā'id, 2:982.

In other words, "Double his might."

⁶⁴ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:982.

Jarīr says similarly in line 22 of Poem 103,

You protected the frontiers of the Muslims; You did not lose ground. And you are still head, chief, son of a chief.

Each of these examples is compelling in that it shows Jarīr and al-Farazdaq competing for the attention and admiration of Khālid by praising him as a defender $(dh\bar{a}id)^{66}$ and protector $(hamayta, lit., "You protected ...")^{67}$ of Islam. In the context of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's $Naq\bar{a}id$, these poems are unique: in them both poets praise the governor in order to influence him, and each also lampoons his opponent. However, although the circumstances inspiring the poems are different, their function remains consistent to that identified elsewhere in this book. In each case, the poet composes a poem meant to attract the attention of an audience: here, Khālid. After doing so, the poet uses the influence he has won over his audience for his own purposes. In most instances throughout the $Naq\bar{a}id$, this purpose is to convince Khālid to free al-Farazdaq from jail, but despite this the poets also produce poetry that elevates their own personal prestige within these lines.

In 102, al-Farazdaq asks God to increase Khālid's might, and goes on to say that he will be "the best defender of Islam" (*min khayri dhā'idi*). Jarīr likewise deploys a religious—if somewhat more martial—theme, claiming that Khālid protected the frontiers of the Muslims (*ḥamayta thugūra l-muslimīn*). In addition to this, Jarīr includes in this line a literary device designed to attract attention when he says that Khālid is a "chief, son of a chief" (*qā'idan wa-bna qā'idi*). Repetition of the same word—which also makes it a case of alliteration draws attention not only to Khālid, who is the subject of the poetic device, but also to Jarīr as the poem's creator. So, while Jarīr is heaping prestige on the governor, he is amassing prestige of his own through his poetic abilities. The reference in the last half of this passage to a "son of a chief" (*ibna qā'idi*) can also be read as a type of *isnād*, or at least as calling on *isnād* conventions. Here, on the surface level, by emphasizing that not only is Khālid a chief, but

⁶⁵ Bevan, The Naķā'id, 2:988.

⁶⁶ See al-Farazdaq, poem 102, line 7.

⁶⁷ See Jarīr, poem 103, line 22.

his father was also a chief, Jarīr intensifies his praise of the governor by praising his familial stock. Furthermore, *isnād* passages normally function to establish the author's authority, in this case, that of the poet himself. In this way, perhaps slyly, Jarīr inserts a passage that promotes himself while ostensibly (and actually) promoting and praising the subject of the poem.

These passages, in which Jarīr and al-Farazdaq lampooned each other, demonstrate some of the devices and linguistic choices the poets employed to elicit the participative energy and attention of their audience. Al-Farazdaq deploys specific key words that corroborate his claim of genealogical authority to promote his own status: He calls himself the son of Tamīm, and claims direct descent from the Prophet. Jarīr, as if to outdo al-Farazdaq in the arena of selfpromotion, takes the bold step of bypassing the caliph and appealing directly to God. These devices allow the poets to capture their audience's attention and energy, gaining a measure of prestige in return. But how did Jarīr and al-Farazdaq actually conduct a *hijā*' battle? What were some of the ways they drew attention to themselves? What were the circumstances of their performances? To answer these questions, we turn from the text of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id* to texts that comment on them.

3 Gaining Poetic Prestige

To understand the circumstances of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's performance, and how they gained influence with their audience, we turn to sources called *khabar* (pl. *akhbār*). *Akhbār* sources include reports and anecdotes on various topics, but the *akhbār* texts we are interested in contain references to Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's lampoon performances and illustrate the poetry's reception as observed by commentators who recorded certain aspects of these performances. The fact that commentators cited Jarīr and al-Farazdaq illustrates a certain critical mass of audience reception and involvement, without which the particular passages I reference might not have been recorded at all. That they were, and that commentators took the trouble to describe the audience's reaction, constitutes a certain reception in its own right, and amounts to evidence of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's influence. Van Gelder has noted that the reception of *hijā*' poetry "includes the mere quotation of poems in anthologies, or their expurgation (rejection is a form of 'bad' reception)."⁶⁸ Khabar reports help paint a picture of the kind of reception he is referring to here; and their

⁶⁸ Van Gelder, The Bad and the Ugly, 10.

very existence, as he notes, is a form of reception itself. Samer Ali, speaking of the longevity of the classical Arabic *qaṣīda*, which "spanned three continents and fifteen centuries,"⁶⁹ points out that traditional texts and forms survived against all odds⁷⁰ because they were valued by those who handed them down.⁷¹ "Without an analysis of audience reception," he goes on to say, "we are left with a canon detached from the particular needs and choosy sensibilities of those who exercised the privilege of selecting texts for future transmission— or not."⁷² The *khabar* sources, therefore, tell us not only what is reported to have been said, but indeed that by its very existence, this poetry was valued.

The purpose of reviewing *akhbār* sources describing the circumstances of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's performance is to understand how the poets related to their audience in the view of the *akhbār* commentators. They also reveal some of the circumstances of the poets' interactions with their audience. The *akhbār* tell us more than just the words that poets composed; they often tell us also how a certain audience reacted to a performance. Van Gelder notes some excellent—and hilarious—examples of reactions to lampoon poetry. "Short epigrams," he says, "or merely a few words could break someone's reputation if they were taken up by the populace."⁷³ He goes on to name several particularly poignant examples of poets fearing lampoon from people on the street, "especially young children (*sibyān*)." Such was the influence of children, apparantly, that "al-ʿAjjāj insists on their presence during his slanging-match with Abū Nukhayla: 'Leave them; they will decide who wins and will pass it on (*yughal-libūn wa-yuballighūn*).'" Van Gelder goes on to quote several other sources that name poets who feared being lampooned by children.⁷⁴ However, not only

72 Ali, *Literary Salons*, 4.

73 Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 38.

⁶⁹ Ali, Literary Salons, 3–4.

⁷⁰ Ali lists what he calls "dramatic risks posed to the passing on of any tradition through the ages," which he says include, "boredom, apathy, famine, disease, war, or simply other distractions." Ali, *Literary Salons*, 4.

⁷¹ Fakhreddine opens a window into one piece of the story of the *qaşīda*'s longevity. Speaking of the Abbasid period she says, "Abū Tammām and his generation were able to truly revolutionize the *qaşīdah* and its motifs rather than simply abandon them as irrelevant and outdated." Fakhreddine, *Metapoesis in the Arabic Tradition*, 3.

⁷⁴ These include Khālid b. Yazīd, who after "Abū Tammām teaches [the children] some lines on [him] ... becomes mentally deranged when they keep shouting at him 'Stupid Khālid! (yā Khālidu 'l-bārid)' " (van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly*, 38), as well Di'bil, who "pays a thousand dirham (five would have been more than sufficient, according to his friends) to silence a poet of doggerels who had made two obscene lines on him—in vain, for 'they became widely known and the rabble, the lower classes and slaves loudly declaimed them'. Children," van Gelder continues, "forced an administrator in al-Rayy to give up his post by

were lampoons potentially ruinous to the reputations (and nerves, according to van Gelder's sources!) of those whom they were recited against, but they could also build the prestige of those who recited them. Jarīr and al-Farazdaq are a prime example of this.

The following *akhbār* examples comment on various aspects of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's performances and showcase the poets competing for their audience's attention. Each one illustrates a particular aspect of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's interaction with their audience, and elucidates tactics the poets employed to meet their audience's needs and to keep them engaged. These passages reveal Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id* as more than just a battle in a war between the poets' tribes, the traditional function of (especially pre-Islamic) *naqā'id*. These poems were a display of the poets' skill, performed for an audience that played an active role in the performance.

Audience members reacted to particularly clever or biting verses, and it was they who elevated one poet above another through their reaction to the poems. In this way Jarir and al-Farazdaq's Mirbad audience was an active participant in the poets' performance. They interacted with the poets as knowledgeable receptors, as connoisseurs of the genre, at least partly due to the fact that Jarir and al-Farazdaq performed for such an extended period of time, much of it at the same location, so that the poets would not be able to rely constantly on repeat performances of some of their most famous poems. They were reciting for an audience that was familiar with their material, and therefore had to be better, sharper, more honed in their skills. We may draw parallels with Abbasid-era court audiences. "The Abbasid patron," Gruendler points out, "was no longer only an *object* of poetry but an *active* partner and participant. This role of the patron placed him under new obligations. He had to comment as a connoisseur on the poetry he received, acknowledging the technical challenges the poet had braved."75 Jarir and al-Farazdaq's audience did not have to go as far as Gruendler's "Abbasid patron" in their expertise in the poetry that was being performed in front of them, but they did have a role in evaluating that poetry. What is more, the poet-audience relationship was one that developed incrementally: the poets could, over time, expect their audience to be(come) aware of certain turns of phrase and allusions, which the pair deployed in turn to appeal to their increasingly sophisticated audience.

To envision a performance context for Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id*, we can take as an analogy the Abbasid-era poetry gatherings (*mujālasāt*, or "literary

repeating the words from an epigram on an unfortunate incident: 'the fault came from a fart (*mina l-darți jā`a l-ghalaț*).'"

⁷⁵ Gruendler, Medieval Arabic Praise Poetry, 10.

salons"), which Samer Ali has showcased. These salons were a catalyst for verbal performers who, he explains, "were both admired and feared for their capacity to stimulate the emotional participation of their audiences and thereby influence the emergence of new relations of power and privilege."⁷⁶ The following *akhbār* passages demonstrate some of the techniques Jarīr and al-Farazdaq employed to similar effect. Some of the extant *akhbār* sources contain passages that stage and display the conditions under which Jarīr and al-Farazdaq performed, or give details about the poets' audience and how they received their poetry or interacted with the poets.

In order to understand how the *akhbār* writers did this, it is useful to apply Erving Goffman's concept of managing persona in performance, which I adapt to understand Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's poetic techniques. According to Goffman:

The expressiveness of the individual (and therefore his capacity to give impressions) appears to involve two radically different kinds of sign activity: the expression that he *gives*, and the expression that he *gives off*. The first involves verbal symbols or their substitutes which he uses admittedly and solely to convey the information that he and the others are known to attach to these symbols. This is communication in the traditional and narrow sense. The second involves a wide range of action that others can treat as symptomatic of the actor, the expectation being that the action was performed for reasons other than the information conveyed in this way.⁷⁷

Goffman considers non-verbal communication (i.e., actions) as expressions "given off." It is likely that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq "gave off" non-verbal communications before their audience just as Goffman outlines, giving them, for example, winks, nods, and everything else we might expect to accompany a live performance. For the purpose of analyzing these *akhbār* passages, however, I broaden Goffman's model to include depictions of non-verbal communications such as descriptions by the *akhbār* writers of the circumstances of performance that show, or "give off" an impression of how the audience received the performance. This is in addition to the text of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's performances that the *akhbār* writers also record, the "expression given." Using this model the *akhbār* writers create an impression of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's prestige by depicting certain aspects of their performances (the expression "given

⁷⁶ Ali, *Literary Salons*, 123.

⁷⁷ Goffman, The Presentation of Self, 2.

off"), while also presenting the text of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's poems during those performances (the expression "given").

The following passages from *Kitāb al-Aghānī* illustrate how the *akhbār* writers depicted the circumstances of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's performances so as to demonstrate the relationship they had with the audience. By doing so, they "gave off" an impression of the poets' prestige. There are a number of passages that present the audience and their relationship to the poets. In the following example, we learn that the poets had their own spot at the Mirbad market."

It became morning and [Jarīr] knew that the people were sitting in their places at Mirbad, and his spot and the spot of al-Farazdaq were known.⁷⁸

This passage mentions known "spots" for Jarīr and al-Farazdaq at Mirbad, which suggests the poets were established enough to have earned a regular place at the marketplace from which to declaim.⁷⁹ It also suggests that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq had a ready audience whenever they chose to perform. We know from primary sources and the preservation of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's poetry that they were popular, and this line attesting to their reserved spots at the marketplace confirms this by "giving off" an implied impression of their popularity. These were poets who could attract and retain an audience over an extended period of time.

In addition to stating that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq had their own spots at Mirbad, the *khabar* also points out that audience members had their own seats as well. The significance of the availability of regular spots for the audience has relevance to our understanding of Mirbad's function. Mirbad may have been a market, but the fact that there was a space set aside for poetic performances suggests that, at least in Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's time, an important function of Mirbad was as a venue for the public performance of poetry. Accordingly, we might envision Mirbad market as a type of pre-Abbasid era literary salon

"Many poets used to visit the market place, with each poet having a circle (*halaqa*) in which he recited his poetry while surrounded by his audience," says Hussein, adding, "A certain account in *Kitāb al-Aghānī* shows that each *halaqa* had places where the audience used to sit." Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 307.

⁷⁸ "أَصْبِح، حتى إذا عَرف أن الناس قد جلسوا في مجالسهم بالمربد، وكان يعرف مجلسه ومجلس الفرزدق. Abū l-Faraj al-Işfahānī, *Kítāb al-Aghánī*, 8:23. A more literal translation of the second half of this line would be, "... and he knew his spot and the spot of al-Farazdaq." In translating the sentence as I do, I am changing the verb from the active to the passive voice. One could actually render the line to read literally the way I have translated it without altering any of the letters, and by simply changing the short vowels.

(*majlis*).⁸⁰ The *khabar* also says that the people were sitting in *their* seats, not just any seats that happened to be there, but their own seats. It is important to note here that the tendency to attach possessive pronouns to nouns is not as common in Arabic as it is in English. The *khabar* could have said, *al-majālis* (the seats) to convey nearly the identical sense that the English "their seats" carries, but the use of *majālisihim* suggests a focus on ownership of seats, which in turn reveals that they were perceived to be the regular seats of the audience who frequented them. This points to a convention of seating at Mirbad where a regular audience habitually gathered to observe Jarīr and al-Farazdaq act out the spectacle of lampoon performance.

The following *khabar* provides insight into Mirbad as a performance venue. In the previous *khabar* we saw that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq had reserved spots at Mirbad (as did their audience), which demonstrates a certain level of prestige they had as "famous" performers who frequented this venue. In the following *khabar* I want to focus on Mirbad itself: on the fact that it was not only a bustling market, but also a venue that became a stage for Jarīr and al-Farazdaq to lampoon each other on while they simultaneously drew in a crowd from the passing marketgoers. With this in mind, the following example does not deal with Jarīr and al-Farazdaq specifically, but it does portray Mirbad in its role as performance venue.

This is Ru'ba at Mirbad, sitting and making his poetry heard and reciting for the people.⁸¹

This example clearly elucidates what poets did at Mirbad: they recited. It also hints (in accordance with Goffman's expression "given off") that Mirbad was a place where poets could attain influence by "making their poetry heard" to a waiting audience. In this role Mirbad, the venue, served as a catalyst for Jarīr and al-Farazdaq to display their virtuosic performance.

The following *khabar* includes a reference to Mirbad and also mentions al-Farazdaq:

^{80 &}quot;At formal, courtly *majālis* ... guests and performers were expected to keep to their allotted 'seats' (or more commonly cushions) throughout. Positions at the *majlis*, which would often be dictated by the patron–host, were generally allotted according to social rank. Some participants were seated ... while others ... stood throughout." Ali, *Literary Salons*, 16, quoting Dominic Brookshaw, "Palaces, Pavilions, and Pleasure-gardens: The Context and Setting of the Medieval *Majlis*," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6 (2003): 200.

⁸¹ "هذا رؤبةُ بالمرْبَد يجلس فيُسمِع شعرَه و يُنْشِد الناس". Abū l-Faraj al-Işfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 10:120.

Mukātib of the Banū Mingar pitched a tent at the tomb of Ghālib, and the people came to al-Farazdaq and informed him that they had seen a structure at the tomb of Ghālib, his father. Then he⁸² approached al-Farazdaq while at Mirbad and said ...⁸³

The point this *khabar* makes is that "the people" interacted with al-Farazdaq. First, they informed him about a structure they had seen near the tomb of the poet's father, then they approached him while he was at Mirbad. This shows that people knew who al-Farazdaq was, and that presumably they were concerned about events that might affect him, such as when someone pitched a tent at his father's tomb. Such concern indicates that al-Farazdaq must have had a certain amount of cachet. The fact that the reporter mentions that al-Farazdaq is at Mirbad also highlights the market's role as a performance venue.

In another example, a *khabar* report that describes al-Farazdaq being approached by a group of people who ask him to recite, we find evidence not only of Jarir and al-Farazdaq's ability to hold the attention of their audience, but that the reputation they had built for themselves was such that their audience actively sought their attention and asked them to perform:

And when al-Farazdaq approached Mecca the people craned their necks to see him, and he came to the house of the Banū 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, and they asked him to recite ...⁸⁴ Original annotation: internal reference in the endnote that will need to be updated (highlighted)

The fact that the audience came to al-Farazdaq and requested him to recite suggests that his repertoire was well known, and the akhbār reporter seems to have related this episode to emphasize the cachet al-Farazdaq had with his audience, a cachet he had acquired over the years through performances that had captivated his audience such that they subsequently beseeched him to recite for them. A particularly vivid detail is that the people "craned their necks" "(ishra'abba) to see the poet, a description that conjures up the image of a famous performer whom an audience scrambles, straining themselves, to catch a glimpse of, and brings to mind people craning their necks to see modernday celebrities sighted in public. This khabar thus shows that al-Farazdaq had

· ضرب مكاتب لبني مِنْقَر خيمةً على قبر غالب، فقدِم النَّاس على الفرزدق فأخبروه أنَّهم رأوا بناء على 83

". Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 21:279. "... للله ابن النُّرُبير، فاستنشدوه ...". Abū الفرزدق مكّة اشرأبَّ النّاس إليه، ونزل على بني عبد الله ابن الزُّبير، فاستنشدوه ..." I-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 21:201. See also p. 87 above. دوريت المعلى الموردي ال 84

I.e., Mukātib. 82

an attentive audience who were intimately involved in the circumstances surrounding his performance. The physical description of their reaction to al-Farazdaq is a described action that amounts to an "expression given off" that conveys his prestige. Bauman explains that a "performer elicits the participative attention and energy of his audience, and to the extent that they value his performance, they will allow themselves to be caught up in it."⁸⁵ Bauman is here speaking of audience participation during a performance, rather than its preperformance behavior. However, his statement is still helpful in understanding the attention and energy al-Farazdaq must have regularly generated: so much so that the audience became caught up in the mere thought of a performance by this poet!

This *khabar* stands out for another reason. The report places al-Farazdaq at the court of the (disputed) caliph Ibn al-Zubayr. It is not unheard of for al-Farazdaq to have been present at the caliph's court, but it was an honor, and al-Farazdaq would have had to have been invited to perform there.⁸⁶

In another *khabar*, Jarīr is described interacting with an audience, after having recited four lines of poetry:

And it [the poetry] astonished the people, and so they recited it to one other. According to Jābir b. Jandal: "Jarīr said to us, 'Did those lines please you?'"

And they said, "Yes."87

Here Jarīr is shown involving the audience in critiquing his performance. The poet asks the audience directly if they liked the poem, and not insignificantly, the recorder reports that they did. This report presents unambiguous evidence that Jarīr and al-Farazdaq were able to obtain and hold the attention of their audience. In most cases, when trying to understand the reception to a performance that has long since passed the best researchers can do is hypothesize what the reception must have been based on the best available evidence, since no voice recordings, visual images, or anything else that one might normally rely on to portray a performance exists from ancient times. In their absence, we are left to piece together both the performance and the audience's reac-

⁸⁵ Bauman, Verbal Art, 43.

⁸⁶ Speaking of a different caliph ('Abd al-Malik), Hussein speculates, "It is possible that the praise verses [of al-Farazdaq's poem] were intended to secure an invitation to the caliph's court." Hussein, "The Rise and Decline," 343.

⁸⁷ "فأعجبتِ الناسَ وتناشدوها. قال: فحدَّثني جابر بن جَنْدل قال: فقال لنا جريرٌّ: أعجبتُكم هذه الأبياتُ؟ قالوا: "مهم" Abū l-Faraj al-Işfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 8:45.

tion to it by making inferences from the text itself (including clues found in the marginalia) and culling separate *akhbār* sources that comment on performative aspects.⁸⁸ Here, though, we have a text that reports directly on audience reception, and that unambiguously states that the audience received the poetry well; it pleased them, and they recited it to one another. This report also demonstrates the poet's concern with keeping his audience's attention by entertaining them. That they were pleased shows his success. Presumably, if the audience had responded negatively to Jarīr's inquiry, he would have adjusted his performance to win them over.

The preceding *akhbār* passages highlight certain aspects of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's attempts to win over their audience. It is perhaps best to think of this as a continuing process, one that once Jarīr and al-Farazdaq began early in their poetic careers, gained momentum over time, like savings in a bank that compound interest. The poets were not starting each performance afresh with a net sum of zero influence over their audience. They performed for decades and, over that time, proved to an audience—and indeed, the wider world that they were competent and skilled performers. They emerged with a certain amount of control over their audience, in a position to leverage that control to elevate their prestige.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ These include *akhbār* sources that often accompany the text itself and were written down by the compiler, and sometimes by later scribes who copied texts and added their own commentaries. Ali, speaking of Abbasid-era gatherings (*mujālasāt*), notes how researchers might reconstruct pre-modern performances. "It is possible … with the appropriate methods, to interpret the available sources with an eye for … performance issues." Ali, *Literary Salons*, 7. He goes on, "Medieval texts are used in large part as ethnographies that were composed by professional or amateur littérateurs … These sources serve the purpose of illustrating the culture of the *mujālasāt*, audience expectations, a performer's training, norms of performance and reception, audience-performer interaction, text adjustment in performance, and even composition in performance."

Bauman also links audience engagement with the performer's control over the audience and the former's prestige. He says, "When this happens [i.e., when the audience becomes caught up in the performance], the performer gains a measure of prestige and control over the audience—prestige because of the demonstrated competence he has displayed, control because the determination of the flow of the interaction is in his hands." Bauman, *Verbal Art*, 43–44. Although a certain amount of prestige is attained sheerly through the performer's competence, I argue that in Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's case they raised the prestige they had already obtained through their display of competence by the actual lampoon (of their opponent) and praise (of themselves) that form the text of their poems.

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4 Conclusion

We set out to discover the impact Jarir and al-Farazdaq's *naqā'id* poetry had when they performed it for their audience. Certain passages from the Naqā'id show how the poets leveraged their influence with their audience at Mirbad market, and sometimes at other venues. In its most basic state this influence amounted to a likelihood that the audience would revisit a future performance, and therefore enable the poets to continue their performances. However, the publicity that their fame as performers generated sometimes translated into the kind of clout that allowed them to influence a ruler, such as the governor of Iraq, on their behalf. Ali notes the power poets can have in a society. Speaking here of *madih* poetry he says, "The poet exercised a power, recognized by others, to make culture and identity; he reconfigured the community's values, aspirations, anxieties, and ideals by projecting a coveted model of nobility."⁹⁰ Jarīr and al-Farazdaq did perform *madī*h poetry, but they are especially known for the *hijā*' that is found all throughout the *Naqā'id*. In this, they were as influential in their sphere as madih poets were in theirs. Their power resided in their ability to bring an audience over to their side of the argument. In doing so, they focused the attention on themselves, creating in the process of their poetic contests a self-oriented performance.

At times, Jarīr and al-Farazdaq addressed their ongoing *naqā'id* contest in their poetry, and so perhaps it is fitting to leave the last word about their poetic struggle to the poets themselves. In a line from Poem 50, Jarīr asks al-Farazdaq,

What do you think now, little son of Shi'ra?⁹¹
 After all your training, our war has seriously injured you.⁹²

33 أَبْنَى شِعْرَةَ ما ظَنَنْتَ وحَرْبُنا بَعْدَ المِراسِ شَديدَةُ الإِضْرارِ

⁹⁰ Ali, Literary Salons, 86.

⁹¹ Van Gelder notes that Shi'ra is "a woman's nickname," and adds, "As a noun it means 'pubic hair.'" G.J.H. van Gelder, review of *Abundance from the Desert: Classical Arabic Poetry* by Raymond Farrin, *Speculum* 87 (2012): 1191. Phonetically, the word is similar to *shi'r* (poetry), which is perhaps why Raymond Farrin renders *a-bunayya shi'ra* as "O little son of poetry." Farrin, *Abundance from the Desert*, 122. While such a translation is tempting, there is probably no closer relationship between the name Shi'ra and the word *shi'r* as there is in English between "Mona" and "moan."

⁹² Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:341.

Al-Farazdaq opens Poem 66 with a boast of his clan's greatness, in response to Jarīr, who had boasted in Poem 65 of his own clan's military prowess, mocking the lowliness of al-Farazdaq's "blacksmith" clan, in addition to satirizing its women. Al-Farazdaq leaves the traditional *nasīb* section out of his counterpoem and wastes no time refuting Jarīr's claims of tribal superiority, denying the poet's assertions of genealogical importance by emphasizing his own clan's greatness. He does this by listing some of its prominent ancestors in the first seven lines of the poem, emphasizing his noble roots. These seven lines employ anaphora, starting each consecutive line with the same word or phrase to draw attention to the word or phrase that is emphasized, in this case *minnā* ("from us"). Through the use of this literary device, al-Farazdaq conveys the message that his tribe is descended from notable men (and Jarīr's is not).

- From us comes the one who was chosen among men for his generosity, And goodness when the violent winds blew;
- 2 From us comes the one whom the Messenger gave as a gift The prisoners of Tamīm, their eyes full of tears;
- From us comes the one who gives hundreds and buys expensive things,
 Whose merit raises up the one who defends;
- 4 From us comes a speechmaker who speaks without fault, standard bearer,

Lordly when the assemblies turned to him;

5 From us comes one who caused the buried child to live, as well as Ghālib,

And 'Amr, and from us come also Hajib and al-Aqari';

- From us on the morning of fear, come raiding youths,When their hands rose up under their spears;
- From us comes the one who drove horses until their hoofs pained them To Najrān where the camels greeted them in the morning.

1 وَخَيْراً إِذا هَبَّ الرِّياحُ الزَّعازِ وِمِنَّا الَّذِي أَعْطَى الرَّسولُ عَ 2 سُارَى تَميم والعُيونُ دَوامِ ومِنَّا الَّذِي يَعْطِي المَائِينَ ويَشْتَرِي ال 3 غَوالِي ويَعْلُو فَضْلُهُ مَنْ يُدافِعُ

4 5 6 د عل 7

Al-Farazdaq's use of anaphora here draws attention to the subject, and in this case the poet delivers lines that ensure that this poetic device delivers maximum impact. He does this primarily by emphasizing throughout these verses the prominence of various members of his tribe, in each instance a notable person, with an explanation of what he was famous for. In the second line, this person is al-Agra', a descendant of Mujāshi', who Bevan informs us "negotiated with the Prophet,"94 a fact that this verse elaborates on, describing how none other than the Prophet himself gave him "the prisoners of Tamīm" as a gift. In line 4 the person al-Farazdaq chooses to highlight is Shabbah b. 'Iqāl b. Sa'sa'a al-Mujāshiʿī, who "married Jiʿthin, the sister of al-Farazdak," "was celebrated for his eloquence,"95 the quality al-Farazdaq chooses to attribute to him here, and who "appealed to al-Farazdak for help against the Banū Jafar b. Kilāb." Line 5 features al-Farazdaq's grandfather, Şa'şa'a, whose grandson Shabbah was mentioned in the previous line, as well as his father, Ghālib, a frequent target of Jarīr's lampoons. Ṣa'ṣa'a is lauded here for his gallantry in "causing the buried child to live." He was known for this; Bevan mentions that he "prevented the killing of female infants in pre-Islamic times."96 Al-Farazdaq follows up this line by mentioning a number of other prominent members of his tribe: his father, Ghālib, 'Amr b. 'Amr b. 'Udus al-Dārimī, a relative, and also Hājib b.

⁹³ Bevan, The Naķā'id, 2:696–698.

⁹⁴ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 3:59.

⁹⁵ Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 3:134.

⁹⁶ Bevan, *The Nakā'id*, 3:140. This practice, known as *wa'd al-banāt*, which Leemhuis translates as "the disposal by burying alive of newborn daughters" (see F. Leemhuis, "Wa'd al-Banāt," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman et al. [Leiden: Brill], http://dx .doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7795), was common before the time of Muhammad, and "was explicitly forbidden by [him]."

Zurāra b. ʿUdus al-Dārimī, another relative descended, like ʿAmr, from the same grandfather. Ḥājib distinguished himself, according to Bevan, after having been "captured at the Battle of Jabala [by ransoming] himself at great cost."⁹⁷ Last of all, al-Farazdaq lists al-Aqāriʿ, an alternative form of al-Aqraʿ, alluded to in line 2.

Whereas Jarīr had poetized about the "war" he and al-Farazdaq were engaged in in Poem 50 above, the latter concludes his anaphoric introduction of prominent Tamīmī tribal members by issuing his opponent a direct challenge in the very next line:

8 These are my fathers; Bring me their like, Jarīr, When the crowds bring us together!⁹⁸

> 8 أُولْئكَ آباءِى فِجْنِى بِمِنْلِهِمْ إِذا جَمَعَتْنا يا جَرِيرُ الْجَامِـعُ

"Bring me their like," al-Farazdaq says, "when the crowds bring us together," alluding in the second hemistich to the crowds⁹⁹ that will attend them at their next performance. Wherever and whenever that might have been, we can be sure that Jarīr was ready for the challenge, and that there was an audience eager to hear the pair perform.

Those are my fathers; bring me, O Jarīr, [fathers] like them

once the places of assembly gather us together."

⁹⁷ Bevan, The Naķā'id, 3:84.

⁹⁸ Bevan, The Nakā'id, 2:699. Hussein ("The Rise and Decline," 339) has also translated these lines:

⁹⁹ Or "assemblies," lit., "places of assembly."

Number¹	Poet note moved here; not allowed in chap	Opening tertitle cf Brill Style	Meter	End rhyme	Number of lines ²
1	Jarīr	لا تَحسِبَنّي	rajaz	-ilā	10
2	Jarīr	إنَّ سَليطاً	rajaz	-innah	3
3	Jarīr	إنَّ سَليطاً	rajaz	-qī	1
4	Jarīr	إِنَّ السَّليطِيُّ	rajaz	-amuh	3
5	Jarīr	أُنْعَتُ حَصَّاءَ	rajaz	-ūḥā	2
6	Ghassān	لَعَمْرِي لَئِنْ	<u></u> țawīl	-īruhā	4
7	Jarīr	أَلا بَكَرَتْ	<u></u> țawīl	-īruhā	36
8	Abū l-Warqā' ³	إِنَّ الَّذِي	<u></u> țawīl	-īruhā	4
9	Ghassān	مَنْ شاءَ	basīț	-īhā	3
10	Jarīr	إِسْأَلْ سَلِيطاً	basīț	-īhā	3
11	Ghassān	وَجَدَتْ كُلَيْبُ	kāmil	-āmi	9
12	Jarīr	أبنى أديرة	kāmil	-āmi	5
13	Ghassān	آ أيرجو جَريرُ	<i>țawī</i> l	-uhā	1
14	Jarīr	لَقَد وَلَدَتْ	<u></u> țawīl	-uhā	3

Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's Naqā'id Corpus

¹ This appendix lists the poems found in Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's Naqā'id corpus, numbered in accordance with A.A. Bevan's order, which follows a manuscript found the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford. It is, however, doubtful that the poems are in chronological order. "It must be remembered," Bevan states, "that we are here dealing, not with the work of a single author, but with a compilation ... and it is therefore incorrect to speak of an 'original' at all." Bevan, *The Nakā'id*, 1:xiv.

² This is the number of lines according to verse number and does not include in the count additional verses, which Bevan marks with asterisks.

³ Abū l-Warqā' 'Uqba b. Mulayṣ al-Muqalladī.

Number	Poet	Opening	Meter	End rhyme	Number of lines	
15	Ghassān	يُسائِلُني جَنْباءُ		-isi	9	
16	Jarīr	أَلا حَيِّ تَلْقَى السَّليطِيَّ	<u></u> țawīl	-isi	12	
17	Jarīr	تلقى السَّليطِيَّ	basīț	-lu	2	
18	Jarīr	جاءَتْ سَلِيطُ	rajaz	-mu	4	
19	Jarīr	إِنَّ سَلِيطاً	rajaz	-īțu	2	
20	Jarīr	نْبِئْتُ غَسَّانَ	<u></u> tawīl	-āni	3	
21	Jarīr	لَعَمْرِي لَقَدْ	<u></u> tawīl	-muhā	2	
22	Jarīr	أتوعِدُني وَراءَ	wāfir	-īni	6	
23	A'war Banī Nabhān ⁴	قُلْتُ لها	<u></u> tawīl	-īru	3	
24	Jarīr	عَفا ذو حَمامٍ	<u></u> tawīl	-ru	18	
25	Jarīr	ما أَنْتَ	<u></u> tawīl	-ībi	4	
26	Jarīr	طافَ الخيالُ	kāmil	-āmā	12	
27	al-Baʿīth	ألا حَيِّيا	<u></u> tawīl	-mā	16	
28	Jarīr	لِمَنْ طَلَلُ	<u></u> tawīl	-mā	53	
29	al-Baʿīth	أأن أمرَعَتْ	<u></u> tawīl	-uhā	7	
30	Jarīr		<u></u> tawīl	-uhā	41	
31	al-Farazdaq	أَلا ٱسْتَهْزِأَتْ	<u></u> tawīl	-li	26	
32	al-Baʿīth	أُهاجَ عَلَيْكَ	<u></u> tawīl	-li	48	
33	Jarīr	عُوجي عَلَيْنا	<u></u> tawīl	-li	65	
34	al-Farazdaq	أَلَمُ تَر	<u></u> tawīl	-yā	29	
35	Jarīr	أَلا حَيّ	<u></u> tawīl	-yā	58	

^{4 &}quot;The one-eyed man of Nabhān." Bevan says that his real name was Nuʿaym b. Sharīk. Bevan, *The Naķāʾiḍ*, 3:58.

JARĪR AND AL-FARAZDAQ'S NAQĀ'IŅ CORPUS

Number	Poet	Opening	Meter	End rhyme	Number of lines
36	al-Baʿīth	أشاركتني		-uh	3
37	al-Baʿīth	وإِنّى لَأَسْتَبْقيكُمُ أَناجِيَ إِنّى	<u></u> tawīl	-mi	2
38	al-Baʿīth				4
39	al-Farazdaq	إِنَّ الَّذي	kāmil	-lu	104
40	Jarīr	لِمَنِ الدِّيارُ	kāmil	-li	62
41	al-Farazdaq	أَقُولُ لِصاحِبَيَ	wāfir	-ri	25
42	Jarīr	سَمَتْ لی	wāfir	-ri	26
43	Jarīr	أَلا حَيِّ	wāfir	-ārā	37
44	al-Farazdaq	جرّ الْمُخَزِياتِ	wāfir	-ārā	43
45	al-Farazdaq	عَفّى المَنازِلَ	kāmil	-āmi	24
46	Jarīr	سَرَتِ الْهُمومُ	kāmil	-āmi	31
47	al-Farazdaq	لا قَوْمَ	kāmil	-āli	100
48	Jarīr	لِمَنِ الدِّيارُ	kāmil	-āli	70
49	al-Farazdaq	يا أَبْنَ المَراغَةِ	kāmil	-āri	39
50	Jarīr	ما هاجَ	kāmil	-āri	44
51	al-Farazdaq	تَحِنُّ بِزَوْراءِ	<u></u> tawīl	-imi	155
52	Jarīr	ألا حَيِّ	<i>țawīl</i>	-imi	84
53	Jarīr	أَقِلَّى اللَّوْمَ	wāfir	-ābā	112
54	al-Farazdaq	أنا أبن	wāfir	-ābā	70
55	Jarīr	غَداً بٱجْتِماع رَأَى عَبْدُ	<u></u> tawīl	-adā	44
56	al-Farazdaq	رَأَى عَبْدُ	<i>țawī</i> l	-adā	23
57	Jarīr	أَجَدٌ رَواحُ	<u></u> tawīl	-aḥu	65
58	al-Farazdaq	تكاثريوغ	<i>țawīl</i>	-aḥu	11

Number	Poet	Opening	Meter	End rhyme	Number of lines
59	al-Farazdaq	عَرَفْتَ بِأَعْلَى	țawīl	-ruha	93
60	Jarīr	أَزُرْتَ دِيارَ	<u></u> țawīl	-ruha	68
61	al-Farazdaq	عَزَفْتَ بِأَعشاش	<u></u> tawīl	-fu	119
62	Jarīr	أَلا أَيُّها	<i>țawī</i> l		78
63	al-Farazdaq		<u></u> țawīl	-luh	93
64	Jarīr	أَلَمُو تَر		-luh	96
65	Jarīr	ذَكَرْتُ وِصالَ	<i>țawī</i> l	-i'u	70
66	al-Farazdaq	مِنَّا الَّذي	<i>țawī</i> l	-i'u	47
67	Jarīr		<i>țawī</i> l	-li	29
68	al-Farazdaq	أتنسى بنو سعد	<i>țawī</i> l	-li	30
69	al-Farazdaq	ءَتَّ بر ^و ود جرير	<i>țawī</i> l	-imi	44
70	Jarīr	لا خَيْرَ في		-imi	65
71	al-Farazdaq	حلفت برب معاف برب	wāfir	-āti	35
72	Jarīr	ورسو في أروً	wāfir	-āti	36
73	Jarīr	أَلا حَيِّ	<i>țawī</i> l	-riqi	11
74	al-Farazdaq	إِنْ تَكُ	<i>țawī</i> l	-riqi	15
75	al-Farazdaq	عَرَفْتَ المَنازِلَ		-da	43
76	Jarīr	زارَ الفَرَزْدَقُ	mutaqārib	-da	35
77	Jarīr		<i>țawī</i> l	-ibu	19
78	al-Farazdaq	تَقُولُ كُلَيْبُ	<u></u> țawīl	-ibi	19
79	Jarīr	يازِيقُ أَنْكَحْتَ	basīț	-qi	5
80	al-Farazdaq	إِنْ كَانَ	basīț	-qi	1
81	al-Farazdaq	عَجِبْتُ لِحادينا	țawīl	-aʿā	17

JARĪR AND AL-FARAZDAQ'S NAQĀ'IŅ CORPUS

Number	Poet	Opening	Meter	End rhyme	Number of lines
82	Jarīr	أقمنا ورَبَّتنا	țawīl	-aʿā	83
83	Jarīr	إِذا ذَكَرَتْ	<u></u> tawīl	-iḥi	4
84	al-Farazdaq	إِذا ما العَذَارَى	<u></u> tawīl	-iḥi	15
85	Jarīr	تُكَلِّفُنى مَعيشَةَ	wāfir	-ābi	2
86	al-Farazdaq	إِنْ تَفْرَكْكَ	wāfir	-ābu	2
87	al-Farazdaq	لَبْنِ أَمْ	<u></u> tawīl	-aqā	14
88	Jarīr	وغَرَّتْنا أُمامَةُ	wāfir	-lu	2
89	Jarīr	طَرِقَتْ لَمَيْسُ	kāmil	-aqi	23
90	al-Farazdaq	ولقد نهيتُ		-ūru	3
91	Jarīr	سَبَّ الفَرَزْدَقُ	kāmil	-īru	3
92	Jarīr	لَوْلا الحَيَاءُ	kāmil	-āru	115
93	al-Farazdaq	أعرفت بين	kāmil	-āru	90
94	al-Farazdaq	يا أَبْنَ المَراغَةِ	kāmil	-āni	24
95	Jarīr	لِمَنِ الدِّيارُ	kāmil	-āni	92
96	al-Farazdaq	مَحَتِ الدِّيارَ	kāmil	-ūri	85
97	Jarīr	سَقْياً لِبِہْي	kāmil	-īri	42
98	al-Farazdaq	بَنی نَہْشَلٍ		-iri	43
99	Jarīr	لَقُدْ سَرَّنِي	<u></u> tawīl	-iri	14
100	al-Farazdaq	بَيْنْ إِذَا	kāmil	-aʿu	12
101	Jarīr	بانَ الخَلَيطُ	kāmil	-aʿu	122
102	al-Farazdaq	أَلا مَنْ	<u></u> tawīl	-idi	22
103	Jarīr	لَعَلَّ فِرِاقَ		-idi	51
104	Jarīr	به بروم لمِن ربع	<u></u> țawīl	-rā	106

Number	Poet	Opening	Meter	End rhyme	Number of lines
105	al-Farazdaq	أَلَسْتُمْ عَائِجِينَ	wāfir	-āmi	84
106	Jarīr	عَرَفْتُ الدَّارَ	wāfir	-āmi	54
107	al-Farazdaq	إِخالُ الباهِلِيَّ	wāfir	-ābi	16
108	al-Bāhilī ⁵	أَلا حَيّ	wāfir	-ābi	53
109	Jarīr	م ^{و و} رور سأحكمر بين	wāfir	-ādi	3
110	al-Farazdaq	یوٹ یمت بِحبل	<u></u> țawīl	-idi	4
111	Jarīr	أَنَا ٱبْنُ	<u></u> țawīl	-idi	6
112	Jarīr	زارَ القُبورَ	mutaqārib	-rihā	8
113	al-Farazdaq	زارَ القُبورَ	mutaqārib	-rihā	7

5 I.e., ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bāhilī. See Bevan, *The Naķāʾiḍ*, 3:152.

Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's Qașīda Structure

1 Poems by Jarīr¹

1.1 All Poems from $Sample^2$

35,³ 40, 42, 43, 46, 48, 50, 52, 53, 55, 57, 60, 62, 64, 65, 67, 70, 72,⁴ 73, 76, 77, 79, 82, 83, 85, 91, 92, 95, 97, 99, 101, 103, 106, 108, 111, 112

1.2 Poems That Contain a nasīb Section

35, 40, 43, 46, 48, 50, 52, 53, 55, 57, 60, 62, 64, 65, 67, 70, 82, 95, 97, 101, 103, 106, 108

1.3 Poems That Contain a rahīl Section

35, 42, 46, 48, 57, 64, 65, 70

1.4 Poems That Contain a madih Section

55, 60, 101, 103

1.5 Poems That Contain Lampoons against Ji'thin, al-Farazdaq's Sister

40, 43, 48, 50, 52, 53, 55, 62, 67, 72, 76, 82, 89, 92, 95, 101, 104, 106, 108, 111

1.6 Poems That Contain Blacksmith-Themed Lampoons against al-Farazdaq

35, 40, 42, 43, 48, 50, 52, 53, 55, 60, 62, 64, 65, 67, 70, 72, 76, 77, 79, 82, 92, 97, 99, 101, 104, 106, 109

¹ This appendix categorizes individual poems from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqā'id* corpus according to composition and theme, and dyads according to certain length criteria.

² This appendix includes only dyadic poems found between Poems 34 and 113, excluding all non-dyadic poems as well as all of Poems 1 through 33 from analysis.

³ This appendix lists poems by number according to Bevan's edition. For a more complete description of each poem, including opening, meter and end rhyme, please see Appendix 1.

⁴ The beginning of Poem 72 features a short *nasīb*-like section, which nevertheless does not technically qualify as a *nasīb* proper.

2 Poems by al-Farazdaq

2.1 All Poems from Sample

34, 39, 41, 44, 45, 47, 49, 51,⁵ 54, 56, 58, 59, 61, 63, 66, 68, 69, 71, 74, 75, 78, 80, 81, 84, 86, 90, 93, 94, 96, 98, 100, 102, 105, 107, 110, 113

2.2 Poems That Contain a nasib Section

34, 41, 45, 59, 61, 75, 93, 96, 105

2.3 Poems That Contain a rahīl Section

34, 61, 105

2.4 Poems That Contain a madīh Section

51, 94, 102, 105

3 Dyads

3.1 All Dyads from Sample

34/35, 39/40, 41/42, 43/44, 45/46, 47/48, 49/50, 51/52, 53/54, 55/56, 57/58, 59/60, 61/62, 63/64, 65/66, 67/68, 69/70, 71/72, 73/74, 75/76, 77/78, 79/80, 81/82, 83/84, 85/86, 90/91, 92/93, 94/95, 96/97, 98/99, 100/101, 102/103, 105/106, 107/108, 110/111, 112/113

3.2 Dyads in Which One Poem of the Pair Is One-Hundred Fifty Percent Longer, or More, Than the Other

34/35, 39/40, 51/52, 53/54, 55/56, 57/58, 61/62, 79/80, 81/82, 83/84, 94/95, 96/97, 98/99, 100/101, 102/103, 105/106, 107/108, 110/111.

⁵ The beginning of Poem 51 contains a scene reminiscent of a *nasīb* section, but does not contain a *nasīb* proper.

Quoted Passages

Poem 35 by $Jar\bar{u}^1_{\blacksquare \text{note moved here; not allowed in chaptertitle cf Brill Style}$

Line(s) C	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
13 4	1	2. Managing Poetic Image	2.1. Passages from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's <i>Naqā'iḍ</i>	158 Original annotation: internal refere
15 4	1	2. Managing Poetic Image	2.1. Passages from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's <i>Naqā'id</i>	158

Poem 39 by al-Farazdaq

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
87	Introduction	—	_	10

Poem 47 by al-Farazdaq

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
24–26	2	2. Style and Content of the <i>Naqā'iḍ</i>	_	89–90

This appendix lists all passages from Jarir and al-Farazdaq's Naqā'id quoted in the book and 1 gives the chapter, chapter section, chapter subsection and page(s) where they can be found. The appendix lists poems by number (according to Bevan) and author only. For a more complete description of each poem, including opening, meter and end rhyme, please see Appendix 1.

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APPENDIX 3

Poem 48 by Jarīr

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
53-54	2	2. Style and Content of the <i>Naqā'iḍ</i>	_	91
56-57	2	2. Style and Content of the <i>Naqāʾiḍ</i>	_	92

Poem 49 by al-Farazdaq

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
7	1	2. Naqā'iḍ Passages	2.6. Self-vaunting	81

Poem 50 by Jarīr

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
33	4	4. Conclusion	—	183

Poem 51 by al-Farazdaq

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
1-2	4	2. Managing Poetic Image	2.1. Passages from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's <i>Naqā'iḍ</i>	159–160
14	4	2. Managing Poetic Image	2.1. Passages from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's <i>Naqā'iḍ</i>	160
28–29	4	2. Managing Poetic Image	2.1. Passages from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's <i>Naqā'iḍ</i>	161
92-96	2	3. "Emergence" of Social Structure	_	101-102
99–100	4	2. Managing Poetic Image	2.1. Passages from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's <i>Naqā'iḍ</i>	153-154

QUOTED PASSAGES

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Poem 52 by Jarīr

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
11	2	3. "Emergence" of Social Structure	—	104
21-22	2	3. "Emergence" of Social Structure	_	105

Poem 53 by Jarīr

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
15	1	2. Naqā'iḍ Passages	2.6. Self-vaunting	81
32-35	1	2. <i>Naqā`iḍ</i> Passages	2.1. Ji'thin, al-Farazdaq's Sister	36-37
47	1	2. <i>Naqā'iḍ</i> Passages	2.3. The "Blacksmith" Theme	68
74	1	2. <i>Naqā'iḍ</i> Passages	2.2. Homosexuality	57
81-82	1	2. <i>Naqā'iḍ</i> Passages	2.5. Hyperbole	79-80
94	4	2. Managing Poetic Image	2.1. Passages from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's <i>Naqā'iḍ</i>	155

Poem 54 by al-Farazdaq

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
1	4	2. Managing Poetic Image	2.1. Passages from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's <i>Nagā'id</i>	156
55-63	1	2. Naqā'iḍ Passages	2.1. Jiʿthin, al-Farazdaq's Sister	44-46

Poem 63 by al-Farazdaq

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
61	1	2. <i>Naqā'iḍ</i> Passages	2.5. Hyperbole	77

Poem 64 *by Jarīr*

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
62–63	1	2. Naqā'iḍ Passages	2.2. Homosexuality	61
68	1	2. Naqā'iḍ Passages	2.3. The "Blacksmith" Theme	69

Poem 66 by al-Farazdaq

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
1-7	4	4. Conclusion		184–185
8	4	4. Conclusion		187

Poem 71 by al-Farazdaq

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
1-6	3	2. Stock Devices	2.3. Attack and rebuttal:	124-125
			Poems 71 and 72	
20-22	3	2. Stock Devices	2.3. Attack and rebuttal:	126-127
			Poems 71 and 72	
25-26	3	2. Stock Devices	2.3. Attack and rebuttal:	128
			Poems 71 and 72	
31-35	3	2. Stock Devices	2.3. Attack and rebuttal:	129-130
			Poems 71 and 72	

Poem 72 by Jarīr

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
9-10	3	2. Stock Devices	2.3. Attack and rebuttal: Poems 71 and 72	132
11–18	3	2. Stock Devices	2.3. Attack and rebuttal: Poems 71 and 72	132–134
25-34	3	2. Stock Devices	2.3. Attack and rebuttal: Poems 71 and 72	135-137

QUOTED PASSAGES

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Poem 76 by Jarīr

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
8	1	2. Naqā'iḍ Passages	2.3. The "Blacksmith" Theme	63

Poem 79 by Jarīr

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
1-5	3	2. Stock Devices	2.2. Counter-example: Poems 77 through 80	120-121

Poem 80 by al-Farazdaq

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
1	3	2. Stock Devices	2.2. Counter-example: Poems 77 through 80	122

Poem 86 by al-Farazdaq

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
1-2	1	2. Naqā'iḍ Passages	2.3. The "Blacksmith" Theme	67

Poem 92 by Jarīr

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
31–34	1	2. <i>Naqā'iḍ</i> Passages	2.3. The "Blacksmith" Theme	64–65
47–49	1	2. <i>Naqā'iḍ</i> Passages	2.1. Ji'thin, al-Farazdaq's Sister	50
60	1	2. <i>Naqā'iḍ</i> Passages	2.3. The "Blacksmith" Theme	66
89–95	1	2. <i>Naqā'iḍ</i> Passages	2.2. Homosexuality	58–59

Poem 93 by al-Farazdaq

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Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
25	1	2. <i>Naqā'iḍ</i> Passages	2.5. Hyperbole	78–79
83-85	1	2. <i>Naqā'iḍ</i> Passages	2.1. Ji'thin, al-Farazdaq's Sister	52–53

Poem 96 by al-Farazdaq

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
25	4	2. Managing Poetic Image	2.1. Passages from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's <i>Naqā'iḍ</i>	162

Poem 97 by Jarīr

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
9-12	4	2. Managing Poetic Image	2.1. Passages from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's <i>Naqā'iḍ</i>	165

Poem 101 by Jarīr

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
100-112	1	2. <i>Naqā'iḍ</i> Passages	2.1. Ji'thin, al-Farazdaq's Sister	29-33

Poem 102 by al-Farazdaq

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
7	4	2. Managing Poetic Image	2.1. Passages from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's <i>Naqā'iḍ</i>	169

QUOTED PASSAGES

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Poem 103 by Jarīr

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
22	4	2. Managing Poetic Image	2.1. Passages from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's <i>Naqā'iḍ</i>	169
42-44	3	2. Stock Devices	2.4. Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's Rapport: Poems 102 and 103	140

Poem 104 *by Jarīr*

Line(s)	Chapter	Section	Subsection	Page(s)
43-45	4	2. Managing Poetic Image	2.1. Passages from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's <i>Naqā'iḍ</i>	163–164

Naqā'id Poems

Poem 35 by $Jar\bar{t}r^1_{\blacksquare}$ note moved here; not allowed in chaptertitle of Brill Style

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¹ This appendix lists the full text of all poems from Jarīr and al-Farazdaq's *Naqāʾiḍ* quoted in the book.

NAQĀ'IŅ POEMS

بخير وحلَّى غَمرةً عَنْ فُؤاديا إذا أكْتَحَلّْتْ عَيْنِي بِعَيْنِكَ مَشَّنِي وأَنْ أَكْتُمُ الوَجْدَ الَّذِي لَيْسَ خافِيا وِيَأْمُرُنِي الْعُذَّالُ أَنْ أَغْلُبَ الْهُوَى قَريباً وتَلْقَى خَيْرَهُ مِنْكَ قَاصِيا فيا حُسَرات القَلْبِ في إثْر مَنْ يُرَى عَلَى وَصْلَ لَيْلَى قُوَّةً مِنْ جِبَالِيا تُعَيِّرُني الإخْلافَ لَيْلَى وأَفْضَلَتْ فقُولا لواديها الَّذي نَزَلَتْ بِهِ أُوادي ذي القَيْصوم أَمْرَعْتَ واديا ولا الدَّهْرُ إِلَّا أَنْ تُجَدُّ الأَمانيا فَقَدْ خَفْتُ أَنْ لا تَجْمَعَ الدَّارُ بَيْنَنَا أَلا طَرَقَتْ شَعْثَاءُ وِاللَّيْلُ مُظْلَمُ أَحَمَّ عُمانيّاً وأَشْعَثُ ماضيا بنا البيدُ غَاوَلْنَ الْحُزُومَ الْقَياقيا لَدَى قَطَرِيَّات إذا ما تَغَوَّلَتْ يَحوضُ خُدارِيّاً مِنَ اللَّيْلِ دَاجِيا تَخَطّى إِلَيْنَا مَنْ بَعِيد خَيالُها فحييَّتَ منْ سار تَكَلَّفَ مَوْهِناً مَزاراً عَلَى ذي حاجَة مُتَراخيا بِأَهْلِكَ إِنَّ الزَّاهِرِيَّةَ لَا هيا يَقُولُ لِيَ الأَصْحَابُ هَلْ أَنْتَ لاحقُ وخودٍ تُبارِي الَأَحْبَشِيَّ المُكارِيا لَجْفُتُ وأَصْحابِي عَلَى كُلّ حُرَّة وَأَدْنَيْنَ مِنْ خَلْجِ الْبُرِينَ الذَّفَارِيا تَرامَيْنَ بِالأَجْوِإِذِ فِي كُلِّ صَفْصَف نُزولِيَ بِالمَوْمَاةِ ثُمَّ ٱرْتحاليا إِذَا بَلَّغَتْ رَحْلِي رَجِيعُ أَمَلَّهَا عجالاً بها ما يَنْظُرونَ التَّواليا مُخَفِّقَةً يَهوى عَلَى الْهُولَ رَكْبُها قَذَى عَرَقٍ يَضْحِي بِهِ المَاءُ طافيا تَخَالُ بها مَيْتَ الشِّخاصِ كَأَنَّهُ ويَرْجُوَ مِنْ أَدْنَاهُ لَيْسَ لاقيا يَشُقُ عَلَى ذي الحِلْمِ أَنْ يَتَبَعَ الهَوَى سَرِيعٌ إِذا لَمْ أَرْضَ دارى ٱنْتقاليا وإِنَّى لَعَفُّ الفَقْرِ مُشْتَرَكُ الغِنَى وإِنَّى لَأَسْتَحْيِيكَ وَالْخَرْقُ بَيْنَنَا مِنَ الأَرْضِ أَنْ تَلْقَى أَخاً لِيَ قَالِيا أَبْعَدَ جَريرٍ تُكْرِمونَ المُوالِيا وِقَائِلَةٍ والدَّمْعُ يَحْدُرُ كُلْها فما لَكِ فَيْہِمْ مَنْ مُقَامٍ وَلَا لِيا فحالَكَ إِنَّى مُسْتَمِرٌ لِحَايِا فُرْدّى جمالَ الحَيّ ثُمَّ تَحَمَّلى تعرّضتُ فأستمرَرتَ منْ دون حاجَتي لَيالِي أَرْجو أَنَّ مَالَكَ مَالِيا وإنّى لَمْغُرُورُ أُعَلَّلُ بِالْمَنَى فإِنَّ عَرَضَتْ فإِنَّنِي لا أَبَّا لِيا فأَنْتَ أَبِي ما لَمْ تَكُنْ لِي حَاجَةً قَطَعْتَ القُوَى مِنْ مِحْمَلٍ كَانَ باقِيا بِأَيّ نجاد تَحْمَلُ السَّيْفَ بَعَدَ ما بِأَيِّ سِنانٍ تَطْعُنُ القَوْمَ بَعْدَ ما نَزَعْتَ سناناً منْ قَناتِكَ ماضيا

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وحِرْزاً لِما أَلْجَاْتُمُ مِنْ وَرائِيا وقابِضَ شَرَّ عَنْكُمُ بِشمالِيا وخافا المَناياً أَنْ تَفُوتَكُما بِيا يكونُ مكانَ القَلْبِ مِنْها مكانيا وللسَّيْفُ أَشْوَى وَقْعَةً مِنْ لِسانيا إذا ما جَعَلْتُ السَّيْفَ مِنْ عَنْ شِمالِيا وما زِلْتُ مَحْنَياً عَلَيْهِ وجانيا وما زِلْتُ مَحْنَياً عَلَيْهِ وجانيا وقَيْناً عراقِياً وقَيْناً يمانيا ضباعٌ بِذَى قار تَمَنَّى 1 الأَمانيا ضميتُ بَعْدَ الزَّبَيْرِ الزَّوانيا جُوادٍ فُدَّوا وٱبْسُطوا مِنْ عِنانيا APPENDIX 4

Poem 39 by al-Farazdaq

2 Bevan also gives the alternate form, tumannā. Bevan, The Naķā'id, 1:179.

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و

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3 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *al-agharri*. Bevan, *The Naķāʾiḍ*, 1:188.

و و **وهم** د د

وأخو هَوازنَ والشَّآمِي الأَخْطَلُ خَيْلِي يَقُومُ لَهَا اللَّئِيمُ ٱلأَعْزَلُ مِنْ مالِكَيٌّ عَلَى غُدانَةَ كَلْكُلُ مِثْلُ ٱدِّعاءِ سِوَى أَبِيكَ تَنَقَّلُ وَالْعَبْدُ غَيْرَ أَبِيهِ قَدْ يَتَنَحَّلُ حَتّى تُرَدّ إِلَى عَطِيَّةَ تُعْتَلُ فٱصبِرْ فما لَكَ عَنْ أَبِيكَ مُحَوَّلُ عَبداً إِلَيْهِ كَأَنَّ أَنْفَكَ دُمَّلُ إِلَّا اللَّئِيمَ مِنَ الفُحولَةِ تُفْحُلُ مِنْهَا خَرَجْتَ وَكُنْتَ فِيها تُحْمَلُ وبِها إِلَى قَعْرِ الْمَقَرَّةِ يَضْهَلُ تَعْلُو عَلَى كَمَرِ الْعَبِيدِ وَتَسْفُلُ قَوْلاً يَعُمُّ وتارَةً يَتَنَخَّلُ فٱسأَلْ إِلَى خَبَرى وعَمَّا تَسْأَلُ والعِزُّ يَمْنَعُ حُبُوتِي لا تُحْلَلُ مُقْعَنْسُساً وأَبِيكَ ما يَتَحَوَّلُ مَّمَّا بَنِّي لَكَ والداكَ وأَفْضَلُ وعَلَوْتُ فَوْقَ بَنى كُلَيْبٍ مِنْ عَلُ حَيْثُ الأَتَانُ إِلَى عَمودِكَ تُرْحَلُ مِنْهَا بِفَيكَ مُبِينٌ مُسْتَقْبَلُ لَكِنْ أَبُوكَ وَداقَها لا يَعْجَلُ يَحُدُوا الأَتانَ بِها أَجيرُ مِرْحَلُ يا حِقٌّ أَنْتِ ومَا جَمَعْتِ ٱلْأَسْفَلُ وكذاك صاحِبَةُ الوِداقَ تَجَعْدَلُ وأَخو المُفاضَحَة الَّذَى يَتَبَذَّلُ لِلنَّاسِ بِارِ كَةً طَرِيقٌ مُعْمَلُ

88
$$e^{2}\vec{d}$$
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Poem 47 by al-Farazdaq

4 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *khathura*. Bevan, *The Naķāʾiḍ*, 1:209.

5 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *thalathu*. Bevan, *The Nakā'id*, 1:279.

ثُ يَزولُ كُلَّ مَزالِ

مدَةً عَلَى جَلَّال

مجامِعَ الأَوْصالِ

فَريسَةَ الرِّيبالِ

بِطَيِّ الأُجْبالِ

مُحاسب الأعمال بَقيَّةَ الأَظْلال هلُنا عَلَى الجُهَّالُ

رِغائِبَ الآكالِ

يُوفِي بِشِسْعِ قِبالِ

، ولا <u>بِق</u>ِتالِ

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عَنْكُرْ بِأَلْأُمَ دِقَّةٍ وسِفالِ

بِالسَّفْجِ بَيْنَ مُلْيُحَةٍ وطِحالِ

َ والمُحصناتُ يَجُلُنُ كُلَّ مَجالَ رَقَصَ اللِّقاحِ وهُنَّ غَيْرُ أَوالِ

رَكْضاً بِكُلِّ طُوالَةٍ وطُوالِ

عَبَراتُ أَعْيَٰنِهِنَّ بِالإَسْبِالِ

بَقَيَتْ وَكُنَّ قُبَيْلُ فِي أَشْعَال

ثُقَّةً وكُنَّ رَوافعَ الأَذْيال

بيض الوُجوهِ عَلَى العَدُوِّ ثِقَالِ

صَمَّاءُ تَخْرُجُ مِنْ صُدوعٍ جِبالِ بِمُشَدِّخات لِلرُّءُوسِ عَوالِ بِالمُقْرَباتُ كَأَنَّهُنَّ سَعال

عِقْبانُ يَوْمِ تَغَيَّمُ وَطِلالِ

كَرُّ الطِّرادِ لَواحْقَ الآطَّال

قَصَّعْتَ بَيْنَ حُزونَة ورمال

وتَرَى لَها خُدَداً بِكُلِّ مَجالِ في المجَّد لَيْسَ أَرومُها بَمُزال

والخَيْلُ تَحْتَ عَجَاجِها المُنْجالِ

بالدّارعينَ تَكَدُّسَ الأَوْعال

رُجُعَ الغَذِيِّ كَثيرَةَ الأَنْفَال

ممَّا وَجِينَ كَمَشْيَة الأَطْفَال

وشَرَعْنَ بَيْنَ سَوافلٍ وعَوالِ كَجُدُوعِ خَيْبَرَ أَوْ جُزَوعِ أَوالِ

بَرِداً وتَسْحَقُهُ خَرِيقُ شَمالِ

سُحَٰقٍ مُشَذَّبَةِ الجُدُوعِ طِواَلِ يَوْمُ اللِّقاءِ أَسِنَّةَ الأَبْطالِ

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أقفرن بَعْدَ تَأَنُّسٍ وحِلالِ	لِمَنِ الدِّيارُ رُسومُهُنَّ خَوالِ	1
مَطَرُّ وعاصِفُ نَيْرَج مِغْالِ	عَفَّى المَنازِلَ بَعْدَ مَنْزِلِنا بِها	2
حَنَّتْ إِذا ظَعَنَ الْحُلَيْطُ جِمالى	عادَتْ تُقَاىَ عَلَى هَوايَ وَرُبَّمَا	3
مِن غَيْرِ ما تِرَةٍ وغَيْرِ تَقَالِ	ولَقَدْ أَرَى الْمُتَجاوِرِينَ تَزايَلُوا	4
عِنْدَ الْحِفَاظِ غَلَوْتُ كُلُّ مُغَالِ	إِنَّى إِذَا بَسَطَ الرُّمَاةُ لِغَلْوِهِمْ	5

⁶ Bevan also gives the alternate form, *mush'alati*. Bevan, *The Nakā'id*, 1:292.

⁷ Bevan also gives the alternate form, *'ajulan*. Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:293.

⁸ Bevan also gives the alternate form, *al-amyāli*. Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:293.

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32
$$\vec{u}$$
 \vec{u} \vec{u} <

9 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *li-shiddati*. Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:304.

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10 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *wajāri*. Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:331.

Poem 50 by Jarīr

11 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *sarīʿati*. Bevan, *The Naķāʾiḍ*, 1:333.

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بِحَديثِ جِعْثِنَ مَا تَرَبَّمَ سارى	إِنَّ القَصائِدَ لَنْ يَزَلْنَ سَوائِحًاً	41
وأَبو الفَرَزْدَقِ نافخُ الأَكْيَارِ	لَمَّا بَنَّى الخَطَفَى رَضِيتُ بِمَا بَنَى	42
خَضِلِ الأَنامِلِ واكِفِ المُعْصارِ	وتبيت تشرب عِند كُلِّ مُقَصَّصٍ	43
ديْنُ الْمجَوسِ تَطوفُ حَوْلَ دُوارِ	لا تَفْخَرُنَّ فإِنَّ دينَ مُجاشِعٍ	44

Poem 51 by al-Farazdaq

حَنِينَ عَجولٍ تَبْتَغِي البَوَّ رائِمٍ	تَحِنُّ بِزَوْراءِ المَدينَةِ ناقَتى	1
بِأَحْفارِ فَلْجُ أَوْ بِسِيفِ الْكُواظِمِ	ويًا لَيْتَ زَوْراءَ المَدينَةِ أَصْبَحَتْ	2
إِلَىَّ ٱطِّلَاعَ ٱلنَّفْسِ دُونَ الحَيَازِمِ	وَكُمْ نَامَ عَنَّى بِالمَدِينَةِ لَمُ يُبُلْ	3
وَراءَكِ وٱستَحْيِي بَياضَ اللَّهازِمُ	إِذا جَشَأَتْ نَفْسي أَقُولُ لَهَا ٱرْجِعي	4
عَلَيْكَ مِنَ الأَعْبَاءِ يَوْمَ التَّخاصُمِ	فإِنَّ الَّتي ضِّرَتْكَ لَوْ ذُقْتَ طَعْمَها	5
إِذَا لَمْ تَعَمَّدْ عَاقِداتِ الْعَزائِمِ	ولَسْتَ بِمَأْخودٍ بِلَغْوٍ تَقُولُهُ	6
عُرىً في بُرَى مَخْشُوشَةٍ بِالْخُزَائِمِ	وَلَمَّا أَبُوا إِلَّا الرَّحيلَ وأَعْلَقوا	7
حُشاشَتُهُ بَيْنَ الْمُصَلَّى وواقِمِ	وراحوا بِجُثْماني وأَمْسَكَ قَلْبَهُ	8
تَعاقُبُ أَدْراجِ النُّجومِ العَواتِمِ	أَقُولُ لِمُغْلُوبٍ أَمَاتَ عِظامَهُ	9
وإنْ نَحْنُ فَدَّيْنَاهُ غَيْرَ الْغَمَاغِمِ	إِذَا نَحْنُ نَادَيْنَا أَبَّى أَنْ يُجيبَنَا	10
تَنَاقُلُ نَصِّ الْيَعْمَلاتِ الرُّواسِمِ	سَيْدْنِيكَ مِنْ خَيْرِ الْبَرِيَّةِ فَٱعْتَدِلْ	11
يَداهُ وِمُلْقِى الثِقْلِ عَنْ كُلِّ غارِمِ	إِلَى الْمُؤْمِنِ الفَكَّاكِ كُلَّ مُقَيَّدٍ	12
حَيا كُلِّ شَيْءٍ بِالغُيوثِ السُّواحِمِ	بِكَفَّيْنِ بَيْضاوَيْنِ فِی راحَتَیْہِما	13
وجارَيْهِ وِالمَظْلُومِ لِلَّه صَائِمٍ	بِخَيْرِ يَدَى مَنْ كَانَ بَعْدَ مُمَّدً	14
وأشرَفْنَ أَقْتَارَ الفِجاجِ القَوائِمِ	فلَمّا حَبا وادِي القُرَى مِنْ وَرائِنا	15
بِمُغْرَوْرِقاتٍ كالشِّنانِ الْهَزائِمِ	لَوَى كُلُّ مُشْتَاقٍ مِنَ الْقَوْمِ رَأْسَهُ	16
وكما تُواجِهْها جِبالُ الجَراجِمِ	وأَيْقُنَ أَنَّا لا نُرُدُّ صُدورَها	17
ولَمْ يَنْقُدِ الإِدْلاجُ طَيَّ العَمائِمِ	أَكْنَتُمْ ظَنْنَتُمْ رِحْلَتَى تَنْتَنَى بِكُرْ	18
يُلاذُ بِهِ في الْمُعْضِلاتِ العَظائِمِ	لَبِئْسَ إِذاً حامِي الحَقَيقَةِ والذي	19
عَباءٌ كَسَتْهُ مِنْ فُروجِ الْمَخارِمِ	وماءٍ كَأَنَّ الدِّمْنَ فَوْقَ جَمامِهِ	20

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وَفاءً وهُنَّ الشَّافِياتُ الحَوائِم قُتَيْبَةُ سَعْيَ الأَفْضَلِينَ الأَكَارِم نِداءِي إِذِ ٱلْتَفَتْ رِفاقُ المَواسِم وجُرْدِ شَجِ أَفْواهُها بَالشَّكائم إِلَى الْبَأْسَ بِالْمُسْتَبْسِلِينَ الضَّرَاغِم مَمِيمٌ وَلَمْ تَسْمَعْ بِيَوْمِ ٱبْنِ خازِمِ بِأَسْيافِنا يَصْدَعْنَ هامَ الجَمَاجِمِ ُ وَلا حَرَّ يَوْمٍ مِثْلَ يَوْمِ الأَرَاقِمِ بسنجارَ أَنْضَاءَ السُّيوف الصُّوارِم أُنوفاً ومَرَّتْ طَيْرُها بِالأَشائِم كَأَنَّا ذُرَى الأَطْواد ذاتِ الْحَارِم عَمَدْنَ لَهَا والْهَضْبَ هَضْبَ الْتَهَائَمُ لَها عِنْدَ عالٍ فَوْقَ سَبْعَيْنَ دائِمٍ وطاعَةَ مَهْدِيٍّ شَديدِ النَّقائِم فلا عَطَسَتْ إِلَّا بِأَجْدَعَ رَاغِمٍ طَغا فسَقَيْناهُ بَكَأْسَ أَبْنِ خَازِم قُتَيْبَةَ إِلَّا عَضَّهَا بِالأَبَاهِمِ وإِنْ عُدْتُمُ عُدْنا بِبِيضٍ صَوارِمِ جِهاراً ولَمْ تَغْضَبْ لِيَوْمِ ٱبْنِ خازِمِ إِلَى الشَأْم فَوْقَ الشَّاحِجَاتِ الرَّواسِم مُحَذَّفَةَ الأَذْنابِ جُلْحَ المَقَادِمِ قَديماً وأَوْلَى بِالبُحورِ الخَضارِمِ للايك واوى بابتعور الحصار م إذا بال فيه الوَبُرُ فَوْقَ الْحَراشِمِ بُحورٌ طَمَتْ مِنْ عَبْدِ شَمْسٍ وَهاشِمِ وبَيْنَ تَميمٍ غَيْرُ حَزِّ الحَلَاقِمِ كَأَيَّامٍ عَادٍ بِالنُّحوسِ الأَشَائِمِ

12 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *turā*. Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:385.

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13 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *ghațāmitin*. Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:390.

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APPENDIX 4

14
$$\overline{x}, \overline{x}, \overline{x}, \overline{x}$$
 $\overline{c}, \overline{c}, \overline{c$

هِلالُ الجِزَى وٱسْتَعْجِلوا بِالدَّراهِمِ حُماةً وحَمَّالونَ ثِقْلَ المَغارِمِ لِفَضْلِ المَساعِي وٱبْتِناءِ الْمَكارِم أَخَذْتُ بِفَضْلِ الأَخْثَرِينَ الأَكَارِمِ بَنُوْا لِيَ عَادِيًّا رَفِيعَ الدَّعائِمِ وإنْ شِئْتُ طَوْداً خِنْدِفِيَّ الْمَخَارِمِ وأَرْكَانِ قَيْسٍ نِعْمَ كَهْفُ الْمُرَاجِمِ لِدَفْعِ الأَعادِي أَوْ لِحْمَلِ العَظائِمِ وَلَدْنَ بُحوراً لِلْبُحور الْخَضارِم عَلَى مُرْهِبٍ حامٍ ذِمارَ الْمحارِم ولا رَقَّ غَظْمى لِلضَّروسِ العَواجِمِ وفَضْلَ المَساعِي مُسْفِراً غَيْرَ واجِم بها سَهَّلوا عَنَّى خَبارَ الجَرَاثِمِ مَجَجْنَ دَماً مِنْ طولٍ عَلْكَ الشَّكائِم وعِمْرانَ قادوا عَنْوَةً بَالْخَزَائِم وَلَمْ يَمْنِعِ الجَوْنَيْنِ عَقْدُ الْتَمَائِمُ وعَمْرُوَ بَنَ عَمْرُوٍ إِذْ دَعَوْا يَأَلُّ دَارِمٍ وشَدّاتِ قَيْسٍ يَوْمَ دَيرِ الْجَماجِمِ وشاعَتْ لَهُ أُحَدوثُةٌ في المَواسِمِ ضَرَبْتَ وَلَمْ تَضْرِبْ بِسَيْفِ أَبْنِ ظَالِمِ نَدَاكَ وقالوا مُحْدَثُ غَيْرُ صَارِمِ ولا تَضْرِبونَ البَيْضَ تَحْتَ الغَماغِمِ رَفِيقٌ بِأَخْراتِ الفُؤُوسِ الكَرازِمِ وَيَنْ بِحَوْدَ لَنَا مَا بَيْنَ فَلْجِ وَعَاسِمٍ أَبَاحَتْ لَنَا مَا بَيْنَ فَلْجِ وَعَاسِمٍ بِصُمِّ القَنا والمُقْرَبَاتِ الصَّلَادِمِ وعَبْسُ بِتَجْرِيدِ السَّيوَفِ الصَّوارِمِ

وره روره بر معر

Poem 53 by Jarīr

14 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *al-fawārisa*. Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 1:434.

31
$$\bar{c}$$
 \bar{c} \bar{c} <

غابا

APPENDIX 4

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191

Poem 54 *by al-Farazdaq*

APPENDIX 4

الرُّحابا

حدابا

46
$$e^{\frac{1}{2}\omega}$$
, مَنْ مَلا عُبا كُلْبُهُ $diff a$ $diff a$ <

APPENDIX 4

Poem 63 by al-Farazdaq

فأعباك وأشتدت عكنك أسافله

ولا أَنْتَ عَمَّا قَدْ بَنِّي اللهُ عادلُهُ

تَفَرَّقُ بِالعَصْيَانِ عَنْهُ عَوادْلُهْ

بِأَرْعَنَ مثل الطُّود جَمَّ صَواهلُهُ

منَ الحَيّ أَبْكاراً كراماً عَقائلُهُ

لَها خاطبٌ إلَّا السَّنانُ وعاملُهْ

حمانا إذا ما عاذَ بالسَّيْف حاملُه

منَ المَوْتِ إِنَّ المَوْتَ لا بُدَّ نائلُهُ

إذا دُفٌّ عَبَّاد أَرَنَّتْ حَلاحُكُه

لأَمَّى بَني ماءِ السَّماءِ جَع

أَبُو جَهْضَم تَغْلَى عَلَى مَرَاجِلُهُ

وكُنْتَ ٱبْنَ أُخْت لا تُخافُ غَوائِلُهُ

بها منْكُرُ مُعْطى الجَزيل وفاعلُه

ولا تَنْسَ مْنْ أَصْحَابِنَا مَنْ نُواصْلُهُ

زِياداً فلَمْ تَقْدرْ عَلَى حَبائلُه

وَلَوْ نُشرَتْ عَيْنُ الْقُباعِ وَكَاهلُهُ

مَقامُ كِظَاظ لا تَتِمَّ حَوامِلُهُ لَهَا حَسَبٌ لاَ ٱبْنَ الْمَراغَةِ نَائِلُهُ

إِذا قُرِعَتْ لَمْ تَسْتَطِعْها مَعاوِلُهُ

مِنَ الغِشّ إِلَّا قَدْ أَبانَتْ شَوَاكُلُهْ

كَ فَأَنْظُ كَيْفَ أَنْتَ مُحَاوِلُهُ

كَ بِا أَبْنَ الكَلْبِ هَلْ أَنْتَ نائلُهُ

إذا ما غَدا أَرْبِاقُهُ وحَبِائُلُهُ

ففرّوا به إنَّ الفَرَزْدَقَ آكُلُهْ

ولمر ترج

فرد

ىڭغ

ضَناً فأَنظُر مَتَى أَنْتَ ناقلُهُ

بنجح رس

ائله

APPENDIX 4

حمائله

ا مَنازِلُه

بقّ باطلُه

البُعيد مُناضلُه

أُنْتَ نائلُه

لَى تُناض

التر

ما أُنْتَ آبِلُهُ

اب يُعادلُه

ر پله

حلائله

اغة

لايزايله

Poem 64 by Jarīr

Bevan also gives the alternate form, *fa-ta'lama*. Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:628. 15

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APPENDIX 4

مَروحٍ إِذا ما النِّسْعُ غُرَّزَ فاضلُهْ قَطَعْتُ بِشَجْعَاءِ الْفُؤَادِ نَجِيبَة 33 وقَدْ قَلَّصَتْ عَنْ مَنْزِلْ غَادَرَت بِهِ مِنَ اللَّيْلِ جَوْناً لَمْ تَفَرَّجْ غَياطِلُهُ 34 وأُجْلادَ مَضْعوف كَأَنَّ عظامَهُ عُروقُ الرِّخامَي لَمْ تُشَدَّد مَفاصلُه 35 ويَدْمِي أَظَلَّاها عَلَى كُلّ إذا ٱسْتَعْرَضَتْ مِنْهَا حَزِيزاً تُناقِلُهُ 36 . سَحنا ونَوَرَتِ السُرَى اف وَرْد اللَّوْن بُلْق شَواكُه 37 ُ بُ وَجْهِي للسَّموم ودونَها شَماطيطُ عَرْضِيّ تَطيرُ رَعابِلُهْ 38 وغير القنا مماً تُهزُّ عواملُه لَنَا إِبِلُ لَمْ تَسْتِجِرْ غَيْرَ قَوْمِهَا 39 إِلَى صُلْبٍ أَعْيَارِ تُرِنُّ مَسَاحُلُهُ رَعَتْ مَنْبِتَ الضَّمرانِ مِنْ سَبَلِ المِعَى 40 غُروبَ سماكيّ تَهَلَّلُ وابلُهْ سَقَتْها الثُّرَيّا دِيمَةً وِٱسْتَقَتْ بِها 41 تَرَى لَحَبَيْيَهُ رَبِاباً كَأَنَّهُ غَوادي نَعام يَنْفُضُ الزَّفُّ جافلُهْ 42 ذُبابُ النَّدَى تَغْرِيدُهُ وصَواهلُهُ تُراعى مَطافيلَ المَها ويَروعُها 43 زَلازِلَ أَمْرٍ لَمْ تَرْعُها زَلازَلُهُ إذا حاوَلَ النَّاسُ الشُّؤُونَ وحاذَروا 44 ويَدْفَعُ رُكْنُ الفِزْرِ عَنْها وكَاهلُهْ يُبِيحُ لَهَا عَمَرُوُّ وَحَنْظَلَةُ الْحَمَى 45 ِ إذا نَظَرَ المَكْرُوبُ أَيْنَ مَعاقلُهُ بَنى مالِكِ مَنْ كَانَ لِلْحَيّ مَعْقِلاً 46 أَخاً لَمْ بِكُنْ عِنْدَ الطعانِ يُواكُلُهُ بِذى نَجَبٍ ذُدْنا وواكَلَ مالِكُ 47 تَفُشُّ بَنوَ جَوْخَى الخَزِيرَ وخَيْلُنَا تُشَظّى قلالَ الحَزْن يَوْمَ تُناقلُهُ 48 أَقَمْنا بِما بَيْنَ الشَّرَبَّة والمَلا تَغَنَّى أَبْنَ ذي الجَدَّيْنِ فينا سَلاسلُهُ 49 صُراحاً وجادَ أَبْنَى هُجَيْمَةَ واللهُ وَنَحْنُ صَبَّحْنَا المَوْتَ بِشْراً ورَهْطَهُ 50 أَلا تَسْأَلونَ النَّاسَ مَنْ يُنْهِلُ القَنا ومَنْ يَمْنَعُ الثَّغْرَ الْمَخُوفَ تَلاتلُهُ 51لَنَا كُلُّ مَشْبوب يُرَوَّى بَكَفَّه جَناحا سنان دَيْلَمَى وعاملُهْ 52وفَضْلِ نِجادٍ لَمْ تُقَطَّعْ حَمَائِلُهْ يُقَلَّصُ بِالفَضْلَيْنِ فَضْلِ مُفَاضَةٍ 53 فكانَ لَنا مرْبِاعُهُ ونَوافلُهُ وعَمِّي رَئِيسُ الدَّهْمِ يَوْمَ قُراقِرِ 54 وأُسْلابُ جَبَّار المُلُوك وجامِلُه وكانَ لَنا خَرْجُ مُقَيمٌ عَلَيْهِمُ أَتَهْجونَ يَرْبوعاً وَأَتْرُكُ دَارِماً 55 تَهَدَّمَ أَعْلَى جَفْرِ كُمْ وأَسافلُهُ 55^{*} لَهُ عَثْيَرُ مَمَّا تَثْيَرُ قَنَابِلُهُ ودَهْم كَجْنُّج⁶ اللَّيْل زُرْنا بِه العِدَى 56

16 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *ka-jinḥi*. Bevan, *The Naķāʾiḍ*, 2:648.

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Poem 66 by al-Farazdaq

APPENDIX 4

، نت لهم

Poem 71 by al-Farazdaq

APPENDIX 4

Poem 72 *by Jarīr*

ك الكمات

لترات

3 4

أنا البازى 5 إذا سمعة ربر «يَ 6

وما صبر

لَقَدْ أَخْزَيْتٍ قَوْمَكِ في النُّداتِ تُنادى غالباً وبَني عقال 29 بِدارِ الذَّلَّ أَغْرَاضَ الرُّمَاتِ وأَمْجُنُ مِنْ نِساءٍ مُشْرِكاتِ وجدنا نسوة لبنى عقال 30 غَوانٍ هُنَّ أَخْبَتُ مِنْ حَمير 31 تُبايعُ مَنْ دَنا خُذْها وهاتِ وتأَبَى أَنْ تَلَيَنَ لَكُمْ صَفاتى وسَوْداءِ الْمُجَرَّد منْ عقال 32 وأنتم تنقرون بظفر 33 . بِرَهْيٍ إِذْ تَعَرَّضَ لِلرُّمَاتِ أَلَيْسَ الزَّبْرِقَانُ أَحَقَّ 34 َجِارًكَ أَنْ يَموتَ مِنَ انْحُفَاتِ تَدَلَّى ثُمَّ تَنْهَزُ بِالدَّلَاتِ تضمَّن ما أَضَعْتَ بَنُو قُرْيَعٍ 35 تَدَلَّى بِٱبْنِ مُرَّةَ قَدْ عَلِيهُمُ 36

Poem 76 by Jarīr

1
$$(i)$$
 (i) $($

17 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *al-mujhidi*. Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:800.

APPENDIX 4

لَمْ تَشْهَد

ثِ في المَشْهَدِ

نُرْتَدى

غمد

14
$$ext{ilit}$$
 $ext{ilit}$ $ext{ilit}$

APPENDIX 4

Poem 80 by al-Farazdaq

Poem 86 by al-Farazdaq

Poem 92 by Jarīr

18 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *suwāru*. Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:848.

NAQĀ'IŅ POEMS

19 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *sharqiyyihi*. Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:852.

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20 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *yaḥsibūnaka*. Bevan, *The Naķāʾiḍ*, 2:861.

APPENDIX 4

21 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *wajāru*. Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:863.

Poem 93 by al-Farazdaq

عِذارُ

الأحجارُ

قَر

ار

ف أمرارُ

َ کْثَارُ بُ خَطَّارُ

APPENDIX 4

وبساعديه إسار

إِذْ رَهِجُ الغُبارِ مُثارُ ۔ کرَم ما تَعُدُّ نِزارُ

فوْنَ لدينه الأَخْبِارُ

جُثُوَتَها لَهُنَّ دُوارُ

يْسَ لَهَا عَلَيْكَ خَمَارُ

كَ عنْدَها الإصْهارُ

كَحَ خَيْرُها الأَبْكارُ

دَخَلَ الْقُبورَ يُزارُ حَيْثُ تَمَكَّنَ الْجِفْارُ

ذلكَ تَفْعَلُ الأَخْيَارُ

يدَته لَهُ أَسْتَنْثَارُ لبكائها القُسبارُ

وشتاؤُها هَرّارُ

مَّ ه الأُخْبَارُ

مُوَقّعةُ الظّهور قصارُ

مِنْكَ المَقْدَارُ

APPENDIX 4

22 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *al-luḥā*. Bevan, *The Naķāʾid*, 2:878.

Poem 96 by al-Farazdaq

23 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *ḥajūri*. Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:911.

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APPENDIX 4

Poem 97 by Jarīr

Bevan also gives the alternate form, *nihyi*. Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:935.

APPENDIX 4

Poem 101 by Jarīr

25 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *rakabat*. Bevan, *The Nakā'id*, 2:938.

قَلْباً بَقَرُّ ولا شَراباً بَنْقَعُ

عندي م

الفُؤادُ ولَيْسَ

الشفاء وطاب

أن ذلك يشتري

، بغيرنا يا

رأسي وهو داج

شناءَة لا

حدى

إلا السلام ووكف عين تدمع

ذاذعل

الخبر الديار

اءُ وصَدْغَ قَلَّى يَقْرَعَ

اج وديمة لا تق

برقين وذاك ما لا

مَعاوِلْهُمْ إِذا مَا تَقْرُعُ إِلَّا تَرَكْتُ صَفاهُمُ يَتَصَدَّعَ

عندى مُخالِطُها السِّمامُ المُنْقَ

أو أربعونَ حَدَوْتُهُمْ فَأَسْتَجْمَعُوا فشَكا الهَوانَ إِلَى الْخَصِيِّ الأَجْدَعُ

مودة من يش

بعدى

ولو

ھلا

هل

ونط

والأ

وہ تنبی

بمواعد لاتنف

ٰك المُستودع

فبها

ولأرواد

هذا المث

أفرع

م فالاجرع

واما تربع

الرداء أسترجعوا

NAQĀ'IŅ POEMS

APPENDIX 4

$$57$$
مَنْ كَانَ يَذُكُرُ مَا يُقَالُ ضُحَى عَدَ 58 كَذَبَ الفَرْزَدَقُ إِنَّ قَوْمَى قَبْلَهُمْ 58 مَنْعُوا التُّغُورَ بِعارضِ ذَى كَوْكُم 59 مَنْعُوا التُّغُورَ بِعارضِ ذَى كَوْكُم 50 إِنَّ الفَوارِسَ يَا فَرَزَدَقُ قَدْ حَمَوْا 61 عَنْداً عَمَدْتُ بِعارضٍ ذَى كَوْكُم 62 عَنْداً عَمَدْتُ بِعارضٍ ذَى كَوْكُم 63 عَنْداً عَمَدْتُ بِعارضٍ ذَى كَوْكُم 61 عَنْداً عَمَدْ النَّخْبَاتُ يَوْمَ عَظيمة 63 مَنْ كَانَ يَسْتَلُبُ الْجُبَارِ تَاجَهُمْ 63 مَنَّ كَانَ يَسْتَلُبُ الْجُبَارِ تَاجَهُمْ 64 مَنْ كَانَ يَسْتَلُبُ الْجُبَارِ تَاجَهُمْ 65 مَنْ الفَوارِسُ قَدْ عَلْتَ ورائِسُ 66 مَنَّ الْعَرَابِ بِذَاتَ بَيْ مَعْمَا أَيْنَا 67 وَلَنَا عَلَيْكَ إِذَا الجُباةُ تَفَارَطُوا $68مَنْ عَدْ تَعْدَ وَالْأَعْنَةَ إِنَّانَ $69خَصَبُوا اللَّيْنَةُ وَالاً عَنَةَ إِنَّهُمْ 71 وَانُ عَدَيْ عَمْ مُحُمْ 72 تَلْكَ الْمَكَارِمُ لَمْ يَعْدَ عَمْ مُحُمْ $73مَنْخُرُوقَ أوفَ وَفَى نُحُرُوقَ أَيْنَ مُعْمَا 74 مَاعُرُوقَ أولَ وَلَا يُعَاجَهُ $75وَطِئَ الْجُيارُ بَعْرَا وَلا تُحْافُ عُجَاشَعُ $76وَلَخْ أَنْ الْجُيارُ وَلا يُحْوَا $77وَلُحْ أَنْعَارُ وَلا يُحْرَاقًا وَلَا عُمَاجًا $78مَاجَا أَلْحَارُ وَلا يَحْرُونَ وَلَا عُمَاجًا $78مَاجُولُ وَلا يَحْ وَا وَحْ عَالًا عُمَاجًا $78مَاجَاجُولُ وَلَا يَحْ وَا وَا يَحْ وَحُمَا $78مَاجَاجُ مَاجُولُ مَا يَحْ وَا أُوْجُوا $79مَاجُ أَنْجُوا أُخْجَاجُ$$$$$$$$$$$

APPENDIX 4

83إِنَّ الْمَرْدَدَى قَدْ تَبَيْنَ لَوْمُهُ
$$a_{2}$$
84 a_{2} الحار أبوك فأعلر عله e_{3} 84 a_{2} b_{3} a_{1} 85 e_{1} e_{1} e_{1} 86 e_{1} e_{1} a_{1} 87 e_{1} e_{1} a_{1} 88 e_{1} e_{1} a_{1} 86 e_{1} e_{1} a_{1} 87 e_{1} a_{1} a_{1} 88 e_{1} a_{1} a_{1} 89 a_{1} a_{1} a_{1} 89 a_{1} a_{1} a_{1} 90 a_{1} a_{1} a_{1} 91 a_{2} b_{1} a_{2} 92 a_{1} b_{2} a_{1} 93 a_{1} a_{1} a_{1} 94 b_{1} b_{1} a_{1} 95 a_{1} b_{1} a_{1} 96 e_{1} a_{1} b_{1} 97 a_{2} b_{1} b_{1} 98 a_{1} b_{1} b_{1} 96 e_{1} b_{1} b_{1} 97 b_{2} b_{1} b_{1} 98 a_{1} b_{1} b_{1} 99 e_{1} b_{1} b_{1} 91 b_{1} b_{1} b_{1} 96 e_{1} b_{1} b_{1} 97 b_{2} b_{1} b_{1} 98 a_{1} b_{1} b_{1} 99 e_{1}

Poem 102 by al-Farazdaq

سَ فيها مَنْزَعَ

د وتالدِ

للمناشد

الأباعِدِ

قيدية حام<u>ِد</u>

Poem 103 by Jarīr

1لَعُلَّ فراقَ الحَي للْبَيْنِ عامدىعَشيَّة قارات الرُّحَيْلِ الفَوارِدِ2لَعَمْرُ الغَوانِي مَا جَزَيْنَ صَبَابَتى
$$بِيَنَّ ولا تَحْبَيرَ حَوْكِ القَصائَد3رَأَيْتُ الغَوانِي مَا جَزَيْنَ صَبَابَتى $بِكُسْنِ المُنَى والخَلُفَ عِنْدَ المَواعِد4لَقَدْ طَالَ ما صِدْنَ القُلُوبَ بِأَعْنُالله عَضي المُنَى والخَلُفَ عِنْدَ المَواعِد5وَكَمْ مِنْ صَدِيقَ واصل قَدْ قَطَعْنَهُوأَقْنَ مَنْ مُسْتَحْمَد اللّذِي عابَد6أَيْعَدْ رَأَنْ أَبْدَيْتَ بَعْدَ بَعْدَ عَلَى عَنْدَ القَابِ عَنْدَ اللَّهِ عَنْدَ اللَّهِ عان عابَد7فَا قَدْرُ أَنْ أَبْدَيْتَ بَعْدَ بَعْدَ عَلَيْهُ8وَنَقْنَنَ مَنْ مَسْتَحْمَد اللَّهِ سَاجِد8وَنَقْالَ اللَّي اعْلَى مَنْ حُبَ المَوائِد9فلا تَعْدَرُ أَنْ أَبْدَيْتَ بَعْدَ لَحَلَيْ المَا عَدْ عَلَيْ عَلَى اللَّهِ سَاجِد8وَنَقْالَ اللَّهِ سَاجِد9فلا تَجْعَى ذَكُرَ الذَّابِياتِ عَلَى اللَّهِ عَلَى عَلَيْنَا وهُجْرَانَ المُوائَد9إذا أَنْتَ زُرْتَ الغَانِيَاتِ عَلَى العَصا10إذا أَنْتَ زُرْتَ الغَانِيَاتِ عَلَى العَصا$$$

وأَطْلُبُ أَشْطَانَ الْهُموم الأَباعِدِ طَبِيباً شَفَى أَدْواءَهُمْ مِّثْلَ خَالِدٍ ورأْفَةَ مَهْدِيٍّ إِلَى الحَقِّ قَاصِدِ بِمُسْتَبْصِرٍ فَي الدِّينِ زَيْنِ المَساجِدِ مَواطنُ لَا تُخْزِيه عَنْدَ المَشاهد وأَبْلاًهُ صدْقاً في الأُمور الشَّدائد أَبَى الضَّيْمَ وأَسْتَعْصَى عَلَى كُلِّ قَائِدِ لَهَا بَيْنَ أَنْيَابِ اللَّيوثِ الحَوَارِدِ تَنَفَّسَ مِنْ جَيَّاشَةٍ ذاتِ عانِدِ لَقُوا مِنْكَ حَرْباً حَمْيُها غَيْرُ بارد وإِنْ كَانَ خَوْفٌ كُنْتَ أَحَكَمَ ذائد وَمَا زِلْتَ رَأْساً قَائِداً وٱبْنَ قَائِدِ وشُعْثَ النَّواصِي كالضِّراءِ الطُّوارِدِ ولُقّيتَ صَبْراً وٱحْتِسابَ الْجُاهِدِ لِغَدْرٍ كَفاكَ اللهُ كَيْدَ المكايد يَكُونُونَ لِلْفِرْدَوْسِ أَوَّلَ وارِّدِ وفي اليَمَنِ الأَعْلَى كَرِيمَ المُوالِدِ إِلَى ٱبْنِ نَزارِ كَانَ عَمَّاً ووالِدِ َ وتعمرُ عِنّاً مُستَنيرَ المَوارِدِ بِآبائِكَ الشَّمِّ الطِّوالِ السَّواعِدِ وفی آلِ صَعْبٍ مِنْ خَطيبٍ ووافِدِ ويومَ مَقامِ الهَدْيِ ذاتِ الْقَلائِدِ فأصبَحتَ نوزاً ضَوْءُهُ عَيْرُ خامِدِ يَكَادَ يُوازِي سورُهُ بِالفَراقِدِ فَنَحْمَدُ مَوْلانا وَلِيَّ الْحَامِدِ وحُظْوَةُ جَدٍّ لِلْخَلِيفَةِ صاعِدِ

ت

Poem 104 by Jarīr

ذا الحكمَة المُتَخَيَّرًا

ومُلْكاً مُعَمَّرًا

لديًّا نَبَيًّا مُطَهَّرا

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APPENDIX 4

NAQĀ'IŅ POEMS

26 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *khabarin*. Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:1000.

APPENDIX 4

27 Bevan also gives the alternate form, *mustankiran*. Bevan, *The Naķā'id*, 2:1003.

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 9%85%D8%B5%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%8
 6-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%AE%D8%B1-%D9%88%D8%A5%
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