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The Drug *Zajals* in Ibrāhīm al-Mi‘mār’s *Dīwān*

Unlike the Mamluk *muwashshahah*, which Sulāfah ‘Abd Allāh treated in her recent monograph,¹ neither Mamluk *zajals* nor the Eastern *zajal* tradition as a whole have been studied to date, and only a few published studies on individual *zajals* exist. Madeleine Voegeli wrote about an Egyptian ballad monger’s *zajal* by al-Nāyib from around the eleventh/seventeenth century.² Otfried Weintritt elaborated on a *zajal* by the Cairene al-Ḥammāmī (“the bathkeeper”; d. 712/1312), which describes the decline of his bath.³ Margaret Larkin’s article dealt with a model *zajal* by the Egyptian poet al-Ghubārī (active during the second half of the fourteenth century).⁴ Heikki Palva studied an Egyptian *zajal* of the eighth/fourteenth century “in dispraise of women,” written in Hebrew characters.⁵ Thomas Bauer examined Ibrāhīm al-Mi‘mār’s *zajal* on the river Nile,⁶ which is one of a dozen *zajals* that are the subject of the current article. More recently, Hinrich Biesterfeldt produced an article on al-Mi‘mār’s *zajal* on beer, which is also a central focus of this study.⁷ All the *zajals* discussed in this article are included in an edition of Ibrāhīm al-Mi‘mār’s *dīwān* that Thomas Bauer, Anke Osigus, and I are currently preparing.

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¹ Sulāfah ‘Abd Allāh, *Binā’ al-Uslūb fī al-Muwashshahāt al-Mamlūkiyah* (Homs, 2009).

² Madeleine Voegeli, “*Manṣūbat Ṣafā L-‘aiš*—Ein volkstümliches, ägyptisch-arabisches zaḡal aus dem 17. Jahrhundert,” *Asiatische Studien: Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft* 50 (1996): 463–478.

³ Otfried Weintritt, “An-Nāṣir al-Ḥammāmī (gest. 712/1312): Dichter und Bademeister in Kairo,” in *Alltagsleben und materielle Kultur in der arabischen Sprache und Literatur: Festschrift für Heinz Grotzfeld zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Thomas Bauer and Ulrike Stehli-Werbeck (Wiesbaden, 2005), 381–90.

⁴ Margaret Larkin, “The Dust of the Master: A Mamlūk-era Zajal by Khalaf al-Ghubārī,” *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 2 (2007): 11–29.

⁵ Heikki Palva, “An Egyptian-Arabic Zajal from the Fourteenth (?) Century,” *Studia Orientalia* 101 (2007): 197–217.

⁶ Thomas Bauer, “Das Nilzaḡal des Ibrāhīm al-Mi‘mār: Ein Lied zur Feier des Nilschwellenfestes,” in *Alltagsleben und materielle Kultur in der arabischen Sprache und Literatur*, ed. Bauer and Stehli-Werbeck, 69–88.

⁷ Hinrich Biesterfeldt, “Mizr fi Miṣr: Ein Preisgedicht auf das Bier aus dem Kairo des 14. Jahrhunderts,” in *Differenz und Dynamik: Festschrift für Heinz Halm zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Hinrich Biesterfeldt and Verena Klemm (Würzburg, 2012), 383–98.



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Ibrāhīm al-Mi‘mār (d. 749/1348) is one of the most famous poets of the Mamluk era. His *dīwān* was “so popular in the Mamluk period that Ibn Taghrībirdī did not dare to quote much of it, since it was known to everybody anyway.”⁸ Almost all the information we have about him goes back to al-Ṣafadī’s *A‘yān al-‘Aṣr* and *Al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt*.⁹ As the name al-Mi‘mār indicates, he was an architect or master-builder. Some of his epigrams actually contain construction terminology, which, as examples of the (by then very fashionable) device of *tawriyah* (i.e., double entendre), imply two meanings: the obvious technical one and a non-technical, often frivolous one. Mostly the last word of these epigrams is loaded with the *tawriyah*, which at the same time constitutes the point of the poem. The following epigram, number 66 in our typescript of al-Mi‘mār’s *dīwān*, is a good example of this technique:

li-llāhi ḥajjārūn bi-alḥāzih / qad taraka al-ahyā’a amwātā
kam qultu min ‘ishqī lah laytanī / kuntu li-dhā al-ḥajjāri nahḥātā

[God, what a stonecutter, who with his glances turns the living into dead
 How often my passion made me say: I wish I could be his chiseler]

Al-Mi‘mār was a member of a fairly educated middle class in Cairo and wrote from that perspective. Some of his poems give voice to grievances and exposing social inequities.¹⁰ He wrote about millers, merchants, weavers, cotton manufacturers, and cotton carders, to name a few. We can assume that al-Mi‘mār’s main source of income was not related to his work as a poet. He made his living as a master-builder and was not dependent on rewards from rich or powerful persons. His *dīwān* gives ample evidence of this fact, as panegyric poetry is largely absent. Neither do we find there any summons to his audience to reward him for his poetry, such as is seen in the anonymous ballad-monger’s *zajal* studied by Voegeli or in al-Ghubārī’s poem, which seems to have been commissioned or sponsored by a number of shopkeepers.¹¹ This does not mean that al-Mi‘mār did not promote himself and his work; al-Ṣafadī mentions that he received an epigrammatic poem as a welcome present from al-Mi‘mār. We can only guess what would have hap-

⁸ Thomas Bauer, “Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005): 118.

⁹ For details on his life, see Thomas Bauer, “Ibrāhīm al-Mi‘mār: Ein dichtender Handwerker aus Ägyptens Mamlukenzeit,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 152 (2002): 63–93. Bauer wrote another article on al-Mi‘mār, which deals with the only *maqāmah* of his that has come down to us: idem, “Die Leiden eines ägyptischen Müllers: Die Mühlen-Maqāme des Ibrāhīm al-Mi‘mār (st. 749/1348),” in *Ägypten-Münster: Kulturwissenschaftliche Studien zu Ägypten, dem Vorderen Orient und verwandten Gebieten*, ed. Anke I. Blöbaum et. al. (Wiesbaden, 2003), 1–16.

¹⁰ See for example Thomas Bauer, “Nilzağal,” and idem, “Mühlen-Maqāme.”

¹¹ Voegeli, “*Manṣubat*,” 471; Larkin, “Al-Ghubārī,” 22.



pened if al-Mi‘mār had not addressed this epigram to him.¹² For a poet from the Mamluk period, whether from the elite of society or not, poetry did not return enough reward to sustain a decent living: Even the highbrow poet Ibn Nubātah often complained about his poverty, though this may not have been meant literally but rather as an example of the topos of the poverty-stricken poet.¹³ A good illustration of the dilemma faced by non-elite poets is the case of Yaḥyá al-Jazzār (d. 679/1281) who, though he tried to survive as a poet by writing loads of panegyric poetry, was forced to return to his job as a butcher. He is reported to have said that as a poet he had to run after the dogs, but he was better off as a butcher with the dogs running after him.¹⁴

Although al-Mi‘mār’s poems brim with graphic descriptions of sex, carousing, sexual innuendo, dissolute behavior, winebibbing, and hashish use, al-Ṣafadī describes him as an ascetic man who led a modest lifestyle and avoided the powerful figures of his time. He lived in Bāb al-Lūq, a quarter where, according to al-Maqrīzī, jugglers, snake charmers, wrestlers, and other members of the lower class of society lived. This quarter was also known for various sorts of debauchery: when Qu ādār (d. 730/1329) became governor of Cairo in 724/1324, he confiscated large amounts of hashish in Bāb al-Lūq, and had it burned at Bāb Zuwaylah where, at the same time, large quantities of confiscated wine were also destroyed.¹⁵ The latter gate is portrayed in three poems by al-Mi‘mār, where he describes it as notoriously drunk and inciting the envy of passers-by.

Al-Ṣafadī calls al-Mi‘mār an *‘ammī zariḥ*, “a refined man from the common folk,” with no specific training as an *‘ālim* and no proficiency in grammar or writing *fushá* poems full of *lahn*, a mixture of sub-standard and standard Arabic. On the other hand, al-Ṣafadī explicitly praises al-Mi‘mār’s dialectal poetry, saying that he shows his real genius in this field. Interestingly, al-Ṣafadī refrains from quoting any of these poems, which may be the result of the incompatibility of this originally oral poetry with the standards of professionalism within the group of *udabā’* at that time.¹⁶ Also, colloquial Arabic has always been the preferred means of communication through all layers of society. It is, however, decidedly informal, which may, in the eyes of anthologists and *udabā’*, have made it unsuitable for reproduction in written form.

¹² Bauer, “Al-Mi‘mār,” 69.

¹³ Thomas Bauer, “Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī (686–768/1287–1366): Life and Works: Part I: The Life of Ibn Nubātah,” *MSR* 12, no. 1 (2008): 30; and idem, “Misunderstandings,” 126–27.

¹⁴ Bauer, “Misunderstandings,” 120.

¹⁵ Bauer, “Al-Mi‘mār,” 69.

¹⁶ Bauer, “Al-Mi‘mār,” 70–71.



His Dīwān

According to the edition currently being prepared, al-Mi‘mār’s *dīwān* consists of five hundred four epigrammatic poems, one laudatory *qaṣīdah*, thirty-two *mawwāls*, one *muwashshah*, twelve *zajals*, and one *maqāmah*. The epigrammatic poems are mostly two-verse compositions, though some have three, some four, and a very few five or more verses. The longest has twelve verses. The thematic range of his poems runs the gamut from poems on love, wine, hashish, sex (often using the terminology of certain trades and crafts), to poems about certain persons (most satirical, very few laudatory), to poems about Egypt and Cairo, pests, and other subjects related to his time and environment. We find in his *dīwān* only one laudatory *qaṣīdah*, counting eighteen verses, which he wrote for the secretary ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī (d. 769/1368). The *qaṣīdah* is followed by a comment by his contemporary, the poet Shams al-Dīn b. al-Ṣā’igh (d. 725/1325): “He (al-Mi‘mār) made this although he does not have any ‘*arabīyah* (good Arabic).” Al-Mi‘mār replied: “How could a donkey get himself a cart [also ‘*arabīyah*]?” and improvised the following verses:

yaqūlūna hādhā mā lahū ‘arabīyah / wa-lasnā narāhu li-al-nuḥāti yujārī
fa-qultu lahum min ayna lī ‘arabīyah / wa-mā fuztu fī al-dunyā bi-ḥaqqi
himārī

[They say: “He has no ‘*arabīyah*, we don’t see him frequent the grammarians.”

I told them: “How should I get a cart, when I haven’t even obtained the money for a donkey in this world?”]

With regard to language, the ordering of the different poems is revealing. After the alphabetically-ordered epigrammatic poems in formal Arabic, we find *mawwāls* in dialect, which are in turn followed by a *muwashshah* in formal Arabic, or what can be called al-Mi‘mār’s formal Arabic, as it is mixed with colloquialisms. Consequently, it seems that it was not felt necessary to divide the *dīwān* according to his use of formal and informal Arabic. Perhaps the reason for placing the *mawwāl* after the epigrammatic poems is the length of the *mawwāl*, which closely approximates that of the shorter poems in the alphabetical section. The juxtaposition of the *muwashshah* with the *zajal* that comes directly after it may be due to the affinity between the two genres.

In Mamluk times, the *muwashshah* was often used for laudatory purposes. Al-Mi‘mār follows this traditional approach in his only *muwashshah*, which begins with a love theme (stanzas 1–2) and continues with a description of nature showing a *takhalluṣ* in stanza four. Stanzas five to eight praise an unnamed *sayyid* on the occasion of the *‘īd al-fiṭr*, the feast of fast-breaking at the end of the month of



Ramaḍān, which makes this a typical piece of occasional poetry. The *muwashshah*, however, does not end with a *kharjah*, but with an ego-passage where al-Mi‘mār gives an account of how he wrote the poem. Its length—eight stanzas—is quite atypical for a *muwashshah*; even Mamluk *muwashshahs* normally do not exceed five or six stanzas at most. Like his laudatory *qaṣīdah*, al-Mi‘mār’s *muwashshah* is characterized by an elegant but unadorned formal Arabic.

His Zajals

In order to get a general overview of the main themes that are dealt with in al-Mi‘mār’s *zajals*, let us have a look at the order of the poems in the *dīwān*:

1. laudatory
2. satire against “the hoarder,” symbol for greed (*zajal* of the Nile)
3. lament by a man who cannot satisfy his lovers
4. wine
5. beer
6. hashish
7. hashish
8. lament by an unhappy bride over her husband
9. lament by a girl unwilling to marry
10. lament by a man who cannot satisfy his lovers
11. defamatory
12. fragment on a sex and hashish fiend

Two of these *zajals* were created to commemorate a particular occasion, such as the plenitude of the Nile in the Nile *zajal* and the feast of Ramaḍān in the laudatory *zajal*. Most of al-Mi‘mār’s *zajals* recount a story or tie together incoherent episodes that make up a loosely connected story. As a general rule the *zajal* starts off with a statement such as “A tiny amount of green hashish is much better than two thousand red ones” and then passes on to the narrative. There are, however, examples of a more coherent organization of the narrative parts within a *zajal*: the self-ironical *zajal* on the deplorable fate of a man who has four young lovers (no. 3) is so organized, with a *maṭla‘* introducing the poem and giving basic information about the subject of the *zajal*. In the first stanza he describes his mishap in more detail, mentioning how difficult it is for an old man to have four lovers in one year (the coincidence of four lovers and the four seasons of the year may be fortuitous or intended by the author). The next stanza recapitulates his life as a soldier and a homosexually active man. The next four *dawrs* are dedicated to four amorous adventures, each featuring one of his four lovers.



Although I did not explicitly list the *zajals* on wine, hashish, and beer as “laments” like the other *zajals*, this does not mean that they are not essentially laments or complaints as well. The protagonist does not obtain the drugs he craves and spends all his time and energy on the quest for the coveted intoxicants and other objects of desire associated with the drug. Al-Mi‘mār’s self-mocking laments with sexual themes (numbers 3 and 10) belong to the *ayrīyāt* genre, as they express, in coarse and comical language, the woes of sexual disappointment, soreness of the penis, impotence, or mere exhaustion. In this respect it has to be mentioned here that the creation of *mujūn* poetry was not a domain of the lower or middle classes. Instead, many a religious scholar or judge took delight in producing this type of poetry.¹⁷ In the *zajals* that contain praise and direct or open criticism (or lampooning) the narrative element is far less present because these poems describe or enumerate the qualities of the persons being praised or criticized.

Al-Mi‘mār’s *zajals* only rarely include figures and structural elements of *ghazal* poetry. One notices the absence of any praise for the Prophet and laudatory passages at the end of the *zajals*. Likewise, al-Mi‘mār must have been used to the fact that people were inclined to listen to his poems, because there are no phrases demanding the attention of the audience at the beginning, a common feature in other *zajals* from this and later periods. One quality almost all al-Mi‘mār’s *zajals* share is that they take up the main theme right away or name the subject matter explicitly in the first half verse of the *maṭla‘*, ensuring that his audience knows from the start what a *zajal* will be about. In most cases the first words identify the theme of the poem. Following is a list of the first half-verses of the *zajals*:

1. *li-sayyidī fī kulli ‘id hanan jadīd* (laudatory *zajal* mentioning his “sayyid”)
2. *nīlnā awfā wa-zāda bi-ḥamdillāh* (“word-keeping” and plenitude of the Nile)
3. *fī hawā ṣibyān danīt* (“emaciation” because of the love for boys)
4. *mana‘ūnā mā al-‘inab* (“wine has been prohibited”)
5. *mā nashrab al-mizr al-‘ajīb* (“let us drink the wonderful beer”)
6. *mithqāl ḥashīsh min dhī al-khadrā* (“one *mithqāl* of the green hashish type”)
7. *na’ayt anā ‘an al-ḥashīsh* (“I turned away from the hashish”)
8. *māl zawjī yazkhum wa-lī uffū* (husband making his wife unhappy)
9. *yā ummī anā fī al-ḥurrīyah* (“O mother, I am free”)
10. *mā anā illā fī shiddah min ‘ilqī* (“I am distressed because of my lover”)
11. *Aḥmad Sumayk ibn al-Jazzār* (name of the mocked person)
12. *rayt fī al-Ribāt shayṭān* (“I saw a devil in Rabat”)¹⁸

¹⁷ Bauer, “Al-Mi‘mār,” 74, and E. K. Rowson, s.v. *mujūn*, in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, ed. Julie Scott Eisinger and Paul Starkey (London, 1998), 2:546–48.

¹⁸ I try to transliterate the *zajals* written in vernacular as they occur in the Arabic manuscript. While I refrain from interpreting the pronunciation of some sounds which most probably were



With the exception of number 9, where the daughter informs her mother that she is free and does not want to marry, the verses leave no doubt what each *zajal* will be about.

As for the language of the *zajals*, al-Mi‘mār makes ample use of the Egyptian vernacular of the time. As we do not have an autograph of al-Mi‘mār’s *dīwān*, the linguistic discussion of the vernacular used is not as profitable as the discussion that Vrolijk undertook for his edition of Ibn Sudūn’s *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*.¹⁹ The manuscripts of al-Mi‘mār are not as illustrative of the author’s *lahn*, or vernacular-shaping and transliteration, as is Ibn Sudūn’s autograph. Nonetheless it can be assumed generally that basic morphological elements remain intact and reveal the author’s vernacular. We find colloquial expressions even in epigrams written in more or less standard language. For example, in 448 we have the words *dā jinn*, which would be correctly spelled *dhā junn* or *dhā jinn* (“this one gone crazy”). The copyist of the *dīwān* explains it in the following way:

*arāda bi-qawlihi wa-dā jinn wa-dhā wa-maḍā ‘alā lughat ahli Miṣr idh
yakhla‘ūna al-dhāl dālan wa-arāda bi-qawlihi junnah ya‘nī al-junūn*

[“Saying *wa-dā jinn* he means *wa-dhā* (“and this one”), doing this he speaks in the manner of the Egyptians who replace the letter *dhāl* with the letter *dāl*; *junnah* in his text means craziness.”]

It is highly probable that the free choice between vernacular and standard forms made it easier for al-Mi‘mār to conform with the meter he chose for his poems; in some cases the poet may have wanted to use a colloquial form (for example, *lannū* instead of the standard form *li-annahū*, “because he”) because it fit the meter more easily.

Zajal or Bullayq

In his book *Al-Āṭil al-Ḥālī wa-al-Murakhkhaṣ al-Ghālī*, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī divided the *zajal* genre into four types. According to his categorization, whatever contains love poetry, bacchic, or floral poetry is called *zajal* (proper); that which contains jesting, dissolute behavior, and joking is called *bullayq*; that which contains *hijā’* and defamation is called *qarqī*; and that which contains pious admonitions

pronounced differently, such as the Egyptian *gīm* for written *jīm*, I try to conform to requirements that the meter imposes, such as the vernacular two-syllable *lannū* instead of the standard four-syllable *li-annahū*.

¹⁹ Arnoud Vrolijk, *Bringing a Laugh to a Scowling Face: A Study and Critical Edition of the “Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-Mudḥik al-‘Abūs” by ‘Alī Ibn Sudūn al-Baṣbuḡāwī* (Leiden, 1998), 137–59.



and wisdom is called *mukaffir*.²⁰ Margaret Larkin has demonstrated that these definitions by al-Ḥillī and others were inconsistently applied, and can therefore only be considered as tentative attempts at a categorization of *zajals*.²¹

Still, it is useful to further investigate the question of categorization and typology, as al-Ḥillī cites some examples in his work. The *bullayqs* are very interesting with respect to al-Mi‘mār’s *zajals*. Al-Ḥillī mentions that there are *bullayqs* in the manner of the Egyptians and *bullayqs* in the manner of the Baghdadis. The examples he gives are both on sex and dissolute behavior. The *zajal* that al-Ḥillī cites as an example of the Egyptian type is a lighthearted piece that contains “graphic reference to body parts and their demands.”²² It is written in a humorous tone, which is partly the result of an unleashed self-mockery and the burlesque twists and turns that the story takes. The Baghdadi model *zajal*, in contrast, recounts the tragic experience of a father who rebukes his wayward daughter for prostituting herself and contains neither a self-mocking attitude nor explicit language.

As can be inferred from the list of the subjects above, there can be no doubt that most of al-Mi‘mār’s *zajals* (numbers 3–10 and 12) fit al-Ḥillī’s *bullayq* category, as they are related to dissolute behavior, joking, and jesting. Regarding the distinction between Egyptian and Baghdadi-style *zajals*, we can also clearly identify al-Mi‘mār’s *zajals* as the Egyptian type. They are all self-mocking laments with graphic descriptions of actual sexual acts written in a cheerful tone and recounting peripatetic episodes in the life of the narrator. One example of this, in *zajal* number 6, may suffice here: the narrator describes having sex with a boy from the Maghreb. The boy turns his back and bends down to allow the narrator to penetrate him, which he does “two thousand times” (*‘addayt ‘alayhi alfayn jarrā*, see stanza 16, line 169²³). After a while the boy gets sore and protests against his tormentor (stanza 17, lines 170–72):

dār qallī mā ‘indak ḥinnā
yā ibn al-zablah qūm ‘annā
nādaytu ašbir lī sunnā
dakhīlak āwald al-ḥurrā

[He turned and said to me: Don’t you have any pity?

²⁰ Margaret Larkin, “Popular Poetry in the Post-Classical Period,” in *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*, ed. Roger Allen and D. S. Richards (Cambridge, 2006), 205.

²¹ *Ibid.*, n. 45.

²² *Ibid.*, 206–7.

²³ A full critical edition of all four drug *zajals* can be found at the end of this article. Line numbers here refer to the continuous line numbering that spans all four poems.



Oh, you son of a bitch,²⁴ get off f me!
 I cried out to him: Hold out a little more, let me finish,
 I beg you, O son of a freeborn woman!]

Only two of al-Mi‘mār’s *zajals* are not outright comical or graphically obscene: the laudatory one (number 1) and the truly satirical, not self-ironic one (number 11) against his contemporary, Aḥmad Sumayk, an *adīb* to whom al-Mi‘mār dedicated another four shorter defamatory poems. This *zajal* may be regarded as a *qarqī* by al-Hillī’s definition. In contrast, all the other *bullayqs* are marked by a self-ironic slant and are satirical only in this sense, so they cannot be categorized as *qarqīs*. Apart from that, it is worth mentioning that the laudatory poem on the occasion of the feast of Ramaḍān (number 1) is designated as a *bullayq* (*wa-qāla fī fann al-bullayq*), though it shows no sign of humorous intent unless one considers the comparisons in the poem purely as comical hyperbole; among other examples, al-Mi‘mār rates the praised person more knowledgeable in grammar than al-Sibawayh. However, the general tone does not support this interpretation. Also strange is the designation as *muwashshah* given to a poem (number 2, a lament about sexually demanding boys) that is—linguistically, formally, and thematically—clearly a *bullayq*.

Form and meter

Al-Mi‘mār’s *bullayqs* are not short, in contrast to what Sallām suggests as a definition of *bullayqs*. It is not clear, however, if he meant the total length of the *bullayqs* or the fact that some consist of half verses and some of full verses (see below).²⁵ Al-Mi‘mār’s *zajals* range from 5 to 31 stanzas in total length. The meters that al-Mi‘mār used most for his *zajals* are *rajaz* (five times) and *khafīf* (twice). *Mujtathth* and *madīd* each occur once. In this respect mention has to be made of the peculiarity that not all the *zajals* have a recognizable meter (numbers 9, 10, and 11 are mostly long syllables) or that the meter is not respected throughout the poem (as in 3, 6, and 12).

The following table lists the number of stanzas in each *zajal*, the meter used (meters in quotation marks are irregular examples just mentioned), and the rhyme scheme of the stanzas including the *maṭla‘*. The rhyme scheme is almost always *aa bbba*. Only in poems 2, 3, and 12 do we find the scheme *aa bbbaa*, with two verses at the end of the stanza.

²⁴ The term or name *Ibn al-Zablah* is unknown to me, but seems to be a more or less vulgar insult like the English one I thought appropriate under these circumstances.

²⁵ Cf. Larkin, “Popular,” 205, n. 45.



<i>zajal</i>		stanzas	meter	rhyme scheme
1	laudatory	31	<i>rajaz</i>	a a bbba
2	satirical (Nile)	5	<i>khafif</i>	a a bbba a
3	lament	6	“ <i>madid</i> ”	a a bbba a
4	wine	21	<i>khafif</i>	a a bbba
5	beer	14	<i>rajaz</i>	a a bbba
6	hashish	22	“ <i>rajaz</i> ”	a a bbba
7	hashish	9	<i>rajaz</i>	a a bbba
8	lament	13	<i>mujtathth</i>	a a bbba
9	lament	13	l ong syl	a a bbba
10	lament	18	l ong syl	a a bbba
11	defamatory	6	l ong syl	a a bbba
12	fragment		“ <i>rajaz</i> ”	a a bbba a

As we know, the closing verse of every stanza is half the length of the *maṭlaʿ*, but in al-Miʿmār’s *zajal* we have an interesting feature of the use of meter within the stanza structure. Namely, with respect to formal features it is possible to further break down al-Miʿmār’s *zajals* into three main groups:

Group one: Full verse, non-alternating feet, aa bbbaa (2, 3, and 12)

Group two: Half verse, non-alternating feet, aa bbba (1, 5, 7, 9, and 11)

Group three: Half verse, alternating feet, aa bbba (4, 6, 8, and 10)

Group One consists of *zajals* that have a *maṭlaʿ* with two full verses (i.e., every verse comprises two half verses) and equally the four verses of the stanza contain full verses. As an example we may cite the *maṭlaʿ* of the hoarder (number 2, Nile-*zajal*).

nīlnā awfā wa-zād bi-ḥamdi llāh dhā al-ziyādah ḥadīthuhā qad shāʿ
fariḥū n-nās wa-ʿabbasa al-khazzān baqā wajhū dhirāʿ wa-qamḥū bāʿ

[The Nile kept its word and reached plenitude by the grace of God
The news of this plenitude spread
The people rejoiced and the hoarder scowled
His face got as long as one cubit and his grain one fathom (and his grain got sold)]



Group two includes *zajals* with half verses. The *maṭla‘* and all the verses of the stanza consist of half verses that each contain two metrical feet (what I call non-alternating feet). The structure is as follows:

– – ◡ –/– – – –//
 – – ◡ –/– – – –//
 – – ◡ –/– – – –//
 – – ◡ –/– – – –//

As an example we may cite *zajal* number 6 (*maṭla‘* + first half of first stanza, lines 121–23):

mithqāl ḥashīsh min dhī al-khaḍrā aḥsan huwa min alfayn ḥamrā
sukru al-muḥammaṣ huwa al-mu‘lam
*aṭyab min al-khamrah wa-aslam*²⁶

[One *mithqāl* of the green hashish type
 is better than 2,000 red ones (or of gold)
 The intoxication of the toasted one is heard about
 better than wine and healthier]

We see that the *zajal* consists of half verses, not full verses with a double verse *maṭla‘* as in the first group. Every half-verse contains two metrical feet. For example, *mithqāl ḥashīsh* is the first foot (– – ◡ –) and *min dhī al-khaḍrā* (– – – –) the second, and so on. Group three differs from the second in the way that the meter within the half verses alternates between one and two feet. Let us look at the metrical structure of *zajal* number 5, on beer (*maṭla‘* + first stanza, lines 90–92):

– – ◡ –/– – ◡ –//
 – – ◡ –//
 – – ◡ –/– – ◡ –//
 – – ◡ –//
 – – ◡ –/– – ◡ –//
 – – ◡ –//

mā nashrab al-mizr al-‘ajīb min ghayr tujīb
ṭibṭāb yaṭīb bih ‘ishnā bih ṭibt anā aysh dhā al-tawānī qum binā
minnū naṭīb

[Let us drink the wonderful beer
 but don’t bring
 the Sudanese type. Beer lets us enjoy our life]

²⁶ The arrangement of the verses imitates the arrangement of the verses in the manuscript of the *dīwān*.



I enjoy my life with it
 What are you waiting for, come on
 and let us enjoy it!]

We notice that the first half verse of the *maṭlaʿ* (*mā nashrab al-mizr al-ʿajīb*) contains two metrical feet (– – ʾ –/– – ʾ –) whereas the second half verse (*min ghayr tujīb*) contains only one (– – ʾ –). This pattern persists throughout the whole *zajal*, and imparts a peculiar sing-song character, making it easier to memorize and probably also easier to sing the poem. In some *zajals* another interesting feature can be observed: the first metrical foot of the two-foot verses sometimes ends with the common rhyme. In the example above (*ṭibtāb yaṭīb bih ʿishnā*) *ṭibtāb yaṭīb* is half of the half verse, accounts for exactly one metrical foot (– – ʾ –), and ends with the common rhyme (*-īb*). Thus the unit of two metrical feet in one half verse is broken into two parts. Using this technique, al-Miʿmār even further diversifies the rhythmic pattern of the poem beyond the alternating pattern of two-foot and one-foot half verses.

The Drug *Bullayqs*

There is no doubt that al-Miʿmār liked to include wine, hashish, and beer as the subjects of his poems, but he did not use these motifs only to add additional licentiousness: he also dedicated four entire *bullayqs* to praising these drugs. These four *bullayqs* are grouped together in the section on *zajals* beginning with the wine *bullayq*, followed by the *bullayq* on beer and ending with two on hashish. Because the *bullayq* praising beer (*mizr*) is the first of its kind known in Arabic literature, it merits special attention and was therefore the subject of the above-mentioned study by Hinrich Biesterfeldt. Perhaps because it is the intoxicant associated most closely with the lower strata of society, beer has never been portrayed in as refined a fashion as wine or hashish.²⁷ See, for example, this poem by the *adīb* Abū al-Khayr al-ʿAqqād:²⁸

*tarā al-zayyāh yahwā kulla ḥulwin*²⁹
wa-ʿabd al-mizr fī dhull wa-shaynī

[You can observe the hashish-eater loving everything sweet
 while the slave of beer is humble and despised]

²⁷ Hashish was often referred to as the drug of the Sufis: see Franz Rosenthal, *The Herb* (Leiden, 1971), 13.

²⁸ Cited from the manuscript of Abū al-Tūqah Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Badrī al-Dimashqī's (847–94/1443–89) *Rāḥat al-Arwāḥ*, in Rosenthal, *Herb*, 28, and *ibid.*, n. 2.

²⁹ There is a strong correlation between the consumption of sweets and hashish; see Rosenthal, *Herb*, 14.



Hashish became very popular in poetry from the eleventh century on. Rosenthal says that in the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries all poets would have written some poems on hashish, though many of these must have been suppressed.³⁰ Could the same be true for beer? There is no way to know. Very little non-canonical Arabic poetry has survived that does not stem from literate poets with more than a modicum of education. It is a common feature of all drug *bullayqs* that they focus on the pleasures that are derived from or associated with its consumption (see the first stanza of the beer *bullayq* above, lines 90–92, or the following verse from the first hashish *bullayq*, (stanza 2, verse 1, lines 125–27): *mā ladhhdha ʿishī ḥīna naskar*, “How delightful is life when I get high.” The second hashish *bullayq* presents a picture that is apparently the exact opposite of the other drug *bullayqs*, as the narrator acrimoniously renounces the use of hashish because it ruined his physical and mental health, his reputation, and his economic situation (*maṭlaʿ* and stanza 1, lines 190–92):

naʾayt anā ʿan al-ḥashīsh / mahmā naʿīsh
aḥiss rūḥī tanṭafī / wa-takhtafī / wa-ʿaqlī yatkhabbal wa-fī
udhnī ṭashīsh

[I forswear hashish / as long as I may live
 I feel how my soul extinguishes / and disappears / how my mind gets
 dumb and in
 my ears there is this humming sound]

:(Stanza 3, lines 195–96)

ākul wa-lā aʿrif shibaʿ / baṭnī ttasaʿ / wa-fnayt fulūsī wa-al-qiṭaʿ
wa-lā baqīsh

[I eat and eat / my belly swells / I frittered away my money, even the
 coins
 and nothing is left]

Admonitions only make him get up and walk a little, until he takes his next dose and falls into a slumber of oblivion (stanza 4, lines 197–98):

lammā tusabbīnī afīq / wa-amshī al-ṭarīq / ablaʿhā arqud mā astafīq
mimmā aṭīsh

[When you scold me I get up / and walk off / o take her (a morsel)
 and lie down without waking up // from the slumber I fell into]

³⁰ Ibid., 5.



Beer appears in some older texts, as in the *Risālat al-Ghufrān* by al-Maʿarrī, where he describes it flowing in his description of paradise.³¹ Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 709/1311) mentions it together with wine and hashish in some of his *qaṣīdahs*, where victims of the prohibition of these drugs lament their fate (*qaṣīdahs* 69 and 71).³² In his shadow-play *Tayf al-Khayāl*, Ibn Dāniyāl has a character in the play compose an elegiac poem on the occasion of Iblīs' death. Returning to Cairo after a long absence, the character discovers that Sultan Baybars I has banned prostitution and alcoholic drinks, including beer. He describes broken mugs and scattered grain mash (used in brewing beer), which means for him that Iblīs has died and inspires him to compose an elegy.³³

In his beer *bullayq*, al-Mīmār gives details about different types of beer, its color and consistency, its effects on body and soul, brewing styles, beer storage, and beer consumption. We have already seen that he does not like the Sudanese type known as *ṭibtāb* (stanza 1, verse 1, line 91). For example:

(Stanza 2, verses 1–2, line 93):

rayt fī tujīb mizr saʿīd / abyad jadīd

[I saw in Tujīb a happy beer / white and fresh]

(Stanza 5, verse 1, line 99):

aḥmar yuḥākī li al-dhahab / idh insakab

[Red, it resembles gold / when it is poured]

(Stanza 6, verses 1–2, line 101):

wa-lū ʿuwayn li-ajli al-ṭaḥīn / wa-li-al-ʿajīn

[It has a little eye because of the ground grain / and the mash]³⁴

(Stanza 7, verses 1–2, line 103):

idh ṭalaʿ mizrī wa-fār / iṭʿamnī fār

[When it rises and froths / (even) a mouse satiates me]

³¹ Cf. Biesterfeldt, "Mizr," 385.

³² Li Guo, "The Devil's Advocate: Ibn Dāniyāl's Art of Parody in His *Qaṣīdah* No. 71," in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 180, 184, n. 16.

³³ Cf. James T. Monroe and Mark F. Pettigrew, "The Decline of Courtly Patronage and the Appearance of New Genres in Arabic Literature: The Case of the *Zajal*, the *Maqāma*, and the Shadow Play," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 34, nos. 1–2 (2003): 144.

³⁴ It is not clear what is meant by the little eye. Perhaps he means bubbles that are produced during the fermentation process of the mash.



Although he describes beer, some of al-Mi‘mār’s expressions seem to pertain to wine culture, such as *qum dīrhā*, “get up and let it turn” (stanza 8, verse 1, line 105) for Standard Arabic *qūm adīrhā*. The consumption of beer is also associated with sweets or sugar. In this respect it resembles hashish (stanza 8, verse 3, line 105):

yaḥlū lanā ma‘ sukkarah

[With sugar it is sweet to our tongue]

Beer, like hashish, is depicted as sexually liberating. On the day of union between narrator and lover, beer has the following effect (stanza 10, verses 1–2, line 109):

yaṭīb ma‘ū khal‘a l-‘idhār / bilā istitār

[with it one will enjoy letting go of any restraints / candidly]

While the description of drugs and their effects is important in the beer and hashish *bullayqs*, al-Mi‘mār did not include such descriptions in his *bullayq* on wine, which revolves around the quest to find it after its prohibition. Maybe he assumed that praise of wine had lost some of its appeal, or that the theme had been sufficiently exhausted by poets before him. Beer, on the other hand, had never been the subject of longer descriptions or praise so he may have wanted to make up for it and create something new and funny that would fall on fertile ground with a lower or middle class audience who consumed beer regularly. As we will see, however, he still preferred wine over any other drug.

As a matter of fact, in his *bullayqs* al-Mi‘mār constantly compares beer or hashish with wine when they are mentioned together. This occurs twice in the beer *bullayq* and once in the first *bullayq* on hashish:

Beer *bullayq* (stanza 4, verses 1–2, line 97):

dhā mizr yunsīka al-khamr / idhā ikhtamar

[This beer makes you forget the wine / when it is fermented]

Beer *bullayq* (stanza 5, verses 3–4, lines 99–100):

ishrab wa-qul aysh mā al-‘inab / aw mā al-zabīb

[Drink, and say: forget about wine / or *nabīdh*]

Hashish *bullayq* number 1, (stanza 1, verses 1–2, lines 122–23):

sukru al-muḥammaṣ huwa al-mu‘lam / aṭyab min al-khamrah wa-aslam



[The intoxication of the toasted one is heard about / better than wine
and healthier]

In all the instances of such comparisons it seems as if al-Mi‘mār purposely sets up a moot competition between the two inferior intoxicants and wine to give the victory to the one that is the focus of the poem, as if it were merely an exercise of original composition. In one poem, beer may be the focus and is praised as the best intoxicant; in the next, hashish receives the same amount of praise. However, no matter which drug is being praised wine is always the ideal against which the other drugs are measured. Note also that comparison of or competition between intoxicants (especially hashish and wine) was a *topos* used widely by poets before al-Mi‘mār. See, for example, several seventh/thirteenth-century poems by al-Is‘irdī (619–56/1222–58) mentioned by Rosenthal.³⁵

Plot, Themes, and Structural Units in the Drug *Bullayqs*

One of the common features of many *bullayqs* in al-Mi‘mār’s *dīwān* is that they tell a story or tie together narrative episodes that may not seem to fit together well. As we have seen, the backdrop of any *bullayq* story is a lament or complaint about difficulties the narrator has faced. The drug *bullayqs* are no exception to this rule. It is even possible to narrow down and define more precisely the common themes and structural units of the drug *bullayqs*.

The wine poem begins with the fact that wine is prohibited and winebibbers are deprived and sad, as even the wine filter wails (stanzas 1–4, lines 3–19). Consequently, the narrator goes on a quest for wine, accompanied by a friend. They pass by Qalyūb, a city in lower Egypt (also mentioned in the first hashish poem), where they cannot find even a drop of wine. They continue to a monastery (stanzas 5–8, lines 20–35), where they cajole the priest into giving them some wine in return for a present. What the priest brings is totally undrinkable (stanzas 9–14, lines 36–59). Resigning themselves to their fate, they call off the quest and return home (stanza 15, lines 60–63). On the way (stanzas 16–17, lines 64–71) they try their luck with a beer seller but get only some sort of liquid dough. They know that only wine will make them happy. Stanza 18 (lines 72–75) employs the erotic imagery that is common to all drug *bullayqs*:

wa-lā nahwā illā al-sharāb al-qadīm /
wa-mu‘ayshiq jadīd yakun lī nadīm

[I only love old wine / and a new sweet lover as companion]

³⁵ Rosenthal, *Herb*, 6.



Pedophilic fantasies follow (stanza 19, lines 76–79) when the narrator says that he yearns for sex with boys not older than seven years (*wa-murādī min al-ṣighār atfāl / ... Ibn sab‘ah yaḥmil ibn sab‘in*). This is followed by a declaration of repentance that does not seem to be a model of great sincerity (stanza 20, lines 80–83), not only because it comes after drooling over boys in the preceding stanza, but also because the tone of the stanza does not feel sincere; he repents at the age of seventy, when he no longer has the financial or physical means to satisfy his lust. Recall that he even had to beg for wine in the preceding stanzas.

*illā annī qad athqalatnī al-dhunūb
mā baqayt naḥtamīl li-kuthr al-‘uyūb
wa-mā ‘ād lī awfaq siwā an natūb
yā ilāhī uktubnī min al-tāyibīn*

[But sins made me carry a heavy burden
I cannot bear them anymore, so many are my wrongdoings
It is best for me now to repent
O God, please put me down with the repenters]

The *bullayq* ends with the chronogram of his repentance: *warrakhū billāhi taw-bata al-Mi‘mār*, “By God, mark the date of al-Mi‘mār’s repentance” (stanza 21, lines 84–87). The wine *bullayq* has by far the most coherent story line of al-Mi‘mār’s drug *bullayqs*. Episodes are linked together in a chronological and conclusive way until the narrative chain of events is severed at the end of the quest and through the erotic section, when the thoughts, fantasies, and declarations of the narrator take over.

The beer *bullayq* also begins with a quest. This time the narrator calls out to his companion and urges him to procure beer from Tujīb (stanzas 1–3, lines 90–96). This time, however, the quest ends here and the narrator goes on to characterize the qualities of different types of beer and their effects on the human organism in the following stanzas (stanzas 4–8, lines 97–106; see also above). He still addresses the same friend with various prompts and orders, such as *qūm dīrhā*, “Get up and have it turn round” (line 105), and *iskar wa-ṣiḥ*, “Get drunk and shout” (line 107), but there is no succession of events or episodes that could be considered a viable story. Stanza 6 (lines 101–2) contains a critical remark against the fault-finder, a certain *Najīb* who is a *hajīn* (vile man), which contrasts nicely with the meaning of his name (the noble). Stanzas 9 and 10 (lines 107–10) describe how well beer and dissoluteness complement each other. Again, we find a reference to detractors, although this time no name is given: *wa-man ya‘īb fi‘lī jahār / khallī ya‘īb*, “and if somebody finds fault with me openly / let him do so” (stanza 10, verses 3–4, lines 109–10). The *faqīh* Abd al-Salām may criticize him; however, the narrator is not a



shaykh, nor an imam, nor a preacher (stanza 11, lines 111–12). What the detractors say is gibberish to him (stanza 12, lines 113–14). He eventually (stanza 13, lines 115–16) invalidates what he has said in the poem by producing an *iqtibās* of the verses from the Surah al-Shu‘arā’ (“the Poets”), verse 226: *wa-annahum yaqūlūna mā lā yaf‘alūna*. In the second half of the stanza he praises himself for his excellent poetry and asserts that only the sharp-witted can penetrate it. Al-Mi‘mār terminates his apology with the following remarks (stanza 14, lines 117–18):

*wa-lū kalām law tunṣifūh
kan tūṣifūh
azunnuhum mā ya‘rifūh
lannū gharīb*

[He has the gift of speech, if you did justice to him
you would praise him
but I think you don’t know him
because he is a stranger (to you).]

The notion of the stranger or the outcast who is not understood by his fellow countrymen reoccurs in the first hashish *bullayq* (line 136).

At this point, it is useful to return to the identity of the narrator. Al-Mi‘mār leaves no doubt that he himself is talking in his poems. We have seen that he gives his name in the chronogram of his wine *bullayq* above. In the beer *bullayq* he asserts with the help of the Quranic verses that he is merely a poet who may say many things without really having done any of it. This may well be true, if we trust his biography as presented by al-Ṣafadī, who describes him as leading a modest life. Al-Mi‘mār is intent on producing the image of the licentious, self-indulgent man (and woman, as in *bullayq* number 8), whose only aim is the satisfaction of his desires. Around this figure, al-Mi‘mār creates stories intended to inspire and excite his audience, despite the fact that his real life may not have conformed to what he wrote. In the beer *bullayq*, he openly refers to this stark contrast. On the other hand, it is very probable that his audience was well aware that not only the stories and episodes, but also the desires and convictions, in al-Mi‘mār’s poems may have been imaginary; this does not mean, of course, that these stories would have any less power to excite them.

Very much like the beer *bullayq*, the first hashish *bullayq* praises the qualities of hashish. Compared to wine it is much better and healthier (stanza 1, lines 121–24). In contrast to the beer *bullayq*, however, al-Mi‘mār does not address himself to an imagined interlocutor here. He declares his intention to ignore the baleful detractors who want to mar his enjoyable life (stanza 2, lines 125–27). At the same time he does not want to be known as a hashish eater, something that his red eyes



nevertheless betray (stanza 3, lines 128–30). His quest for hashish begins (stanza 4, verse 3, line 133):

*wa-qumtu namshī li-al-munyā
sarayt li-Qalyūb ma‘ Shubrā*

[I set out and walked to fulfill my wish
passing through Shubrā I went to Qalyūb]³⁶

He includes a flashback (stanzas 4–7, lines 134–45), where he explains that all his life he has been a lazy bum, who neglected work and cared only for his pleasures. When his father scolded and insulted him, he defended himself by saying that his father must let him be because he needs only a little morsel to eat and a scrap of cloth. Why tire himself and be unhappy when there is so little time until he descends into the grave (*‘alaysh dhā nat‘ab aw nashqā / qablamā nanzil fī al-ḥufrā*; lines 144–45)? Again, as in the other drug *bullayqs*, an erotic part follows the episode of the quest (stanzas 8–11, lines 146–57). It opens with a lyric verse on the boys of Egypt, who are more handsome than Iraqis (stanza 8, lines 146–47):

*wādī Miṣr wādī ghizlān
fīhi al-milāḥ ajnās wa-alwān*

[The valley of Egypt is a valley of gazelles
Handsome boys are there of every sort and every hue]

This generic erotic section, which does not specify an individual beloved, is followed by a short passage on a little boy (stanzas 12–14, lines 158–65) and a long narrative about a misadventure with a boy from the Maghreb, with graphic descriptions of the sexual act (stanzas 15–20, lines 166–81; see above). When he is done with the boy, he gives him a pouch full of coins. At the end of the poem (stanzas 21–22, lines 182–87) al-Mi‘mār serves the listener a rather sluggish and funny repentance similar to the one in the wine *bullayq*. An excerpt follows (stanza 22, lines 185–87):

*yā Allah bi-jāh sayyid ‘Adnān
aghfir dhanūbī yā Raḥmān
wa-nzur lī yā Ṣaḥb al-Iḥsān
nazrah yakūn fīhā jabrā*

[O God, by the dignity of the great Adnan
forgive my sins, O Merciful
and look at me, O Beneficent One
with a look that that has some force in it (that sets me right)]

³⁶ Shubrā is a northern district of Cairo, Qalyūb is a town further north.



As in many epigrammatic poems, al-Mi‘mār includes a *tawriyah* at the end of the last verse, whose obvious meaning refers to the force of God (cf. one of God’s epithets: *al-ḡabbār*) and whose hidden meaning refers to putting the narrator back on a righteous path.

A comparison of the structure of the three drug *bullayqs* yields four basic parts common to all of them:

1. praise (of the drug)
2. quest
3. erotic part
4. repentance / apology + ego-passage (beer *zajal*)

The second hashish *bullayq*, however, does not conform to the above structure because it is conceived as a counterpoint to the *bullayqs* that praise drugs; in contrast to these, it centers on the sufferings that result from hashish addiction (see above). Nevertheless, in this *bullayq* al-Mi‘mār again inserts a short erotic passage near the end of the poem (line 205):

wa-ayya ṭiflin aḡsurū
qaṣḡdī aḡburū
in kān furayj mā waffarū

[Any child I see
 will become my target
 when there is no pussy around]

Other Poems on Drugs in al-Mi‘mār’s Dīwān

Drugs are also a favorite subject in al-Mi‘mār’s shorter epigrammatic poems. Although he undertook to write a praise *bullayq* on beer and lift its reputation, beer is the least common subject in his epigrammatic poems. In these, wine is a subject thirty times, hashish ten times (twice in connection with wine, once with beer), and beer only three times (once in connection with hashish, twice with wine). In other words, he mentions wine three times as often as hashish and ten times as often as beer. It is worth noting that hashish or beer are often mentioned together with wine, which is another indication that wine was the point of reference for the other two drugs.

Wine is by far al-Mi‘mār’s favorite drug. The thematic reach of these poems ranges from the usual call to drink wine and condemnation of the fault-finders (epigrammatic poems numbers 15, 64, 557) to financial issues where he declares grape wine to be too expensive and recommends date wine instead (number 31). Wine is shown to be an important component of health and well-being. In one



instance a doctor prescribes pure date wine to fend off a patient’s distress (number 32); in another wine is used against choking (number 273); in winter it warms together with a barbecue (number 88); and when spring comes the body requires wine and sex (number 580). Love and sex are very often mentioned in connection with wine (numbers 130, 142, 145, 252, 270, 457, 509, 569). In contrast to the majority of his poems, where the lover is a boy, he composed one poem that mentions wine in connection with a woman, Salmá (number 518). Prohibition of wine is another favorite topic (numbers 216, 261, 271, 437, 487, 526). Failed repentance is the main theme of poem 292, where the protagonist swore to repent a thousand times, only to break his oaths again and again.

Al-Mi‘mār wrote a longer poem (eleven verses; number 271 in the edition) that seems to have been the template for his second hashish *bullayq*. He makes use of the same rhyme consonant as the common rhyme of his *bullayq* (-*ish*). Apart from this formal similarity, he uses the same expressions and verse elements, as, for example, the image of the narrator who spent more money than there are grains of sand in the ‘Arīsh desert (see the last verse of the second hashish *bullayq*, line 208). However, in contrast to the *bullayq*, the narrator in the poem neither condemns hashish nor foreswears its use. On the contrary, he says life is worth living only with hashish; he blames the fault-finders, ignores what they say and indulges in erotic fantasies. From the latter point of view, it therefore more closely resembles the first hashish *bullayq*. The other poems on hashish take up the common *topoi* related to hashish and its consumption. One (number 267) contains a call to eat hashish, here *al-muḥammaṣ* (“the toasted one”) and *al-kibāsh* (“the ram”), which shall procure drunkenness and stupor. In another (number 241) hashish and passionate love are associated, as the narrator loves a hashish eater whose physical and physiognomic features resemble those of hashish. The narrator’s heart is toasted (*muḥammaṣ*) which is at the same time the name of a type of hashish. In number 530 hashish and anal sex are related to each other as the poet recommends that the reader sift the hashish and purge it of clay, then chew it while lying on his bed; if he gets sexually excited he should not have anything other than anal intercourse.³⁷ In poem 291, al-Mi‘mār mentions mixing hashish and date wine, which makes the protagonist crazy and quarrelsome. Most of these poems are epigrammatic, containing two verses. As in many other poems of this type, al-Mi‘mār uses the device of *tawriyah* at the end of the last verse, which also contains the point. In poem number 25, for example, the narrator asks a man who is addicted to hashish if he has no fear of the plague (*kub-bah*, “plague boil”) that kills everyone: “Woe unto you! Don’t you fear this grain [hashish pill] (*ḥabbah*)? He replied: ‘Let me live eating this plague boil [hashish pellet] (*kubbah*).’”

³⁷ Cf. Rosenthal, *Herb*, 83.



Another typical feature of al-Mi'mār's epigrammatic poems is the use of *tawjih*,³⁸ the elements of which often refer to the sphere of a certain trade or craft. In poem 336, we hear about a hashish addict and copyist of whom the narrator is particularly fond:

wa-nāsikh qalbuhū mu'allaq (ta'liq)
bi-al-mubzir al-akhḍar al-muwarraq (waraq)
ra'ayt fī thawbihī riqā'an (ruq'ah)
'alimtu tamzīqahu muḥaqqaq (muḥaqqaq)

[That copyist whose heart is attached to
the green, seedy and leafy one
I noticed patches on his garment
I knew beyond doubt that it will be torn]

Unfortunately, the English translation can only render the non-technical meaning of the words, which in a technical sense are related to calligraphic styles (*ta'liq*, *ruq'ah*, *muḥaqqaq*) or writing in general (*waraq*, leaf).

Let us finally turn to the epigrammatic poems that mention beer. As in the example of the hashish poem above, one beer poem seems to have been the template on which the beer *bullayq* has been created:

qum wa-ghtanimhā mizratan
tughnīka 'an bint al-dinān
ṭibtāba ṣarf bi-qawlihā
fa-nhaḍ wa-da' 'anka al-tawānī

[Get up and grab a beer
it will make wine (the daughter of the earthen wine jugs) dispensable
for you
just avoid the Sudanese type
so get up and shake off our idleness]

The closeness of this poem to the beer *bullayq* is striking. As in the *bullayq* the narrator addresses a friend, telling him to get up and search for beer. The Sudanese type *ṭibtāb* is again not preferable (see stanzas 1–2 of the *bullayq*, lines 90–94). The sentence *fa-nhaḍ wa-da' 'anka al-tawānī* changes to *wa-nhaḍ wa-da' 'anka al-kasal* where *al-kasal* (laziness, indolence) in the third stanza (line 95) of the *bullayq* replaces *al-tawānī* (idleness, limpness). *Tughnīka 'an bint al-dinān* corresponds to *dhā mizr yunsīka l-khamr* (“this beer will make you forget the wine”) in stanza 4 (line 97).

³⁸ Cf. Larkin, “Popular,” 212.



In poem 541 the narrator tells of how he and his boyfriend emptied jugs of Sudanese beer and ate purses full of hashish. In poem 455, people ask the narrator why he does not drink his beer from a glass container. He answers that not every jinn enters a bottle, which is also a direct reference to wine.

Conclusion

Ibrāhīm al-Mi‘mār wrote about the dissolute life in Cairo, but his own lifestyle (which al-Ṣafadī calls modest) may not have conformed to the imagery in his poems. His *zajals* are for the most part *bullayqs*, according to al-Ḥillī’s definition, because they brim with coarse, graphic language and are meant to be funny and entertaining. The self-mocking narrator of the *bullayqs* suffers from his inability to fulfill his physical needs and desires, which are mostly related to drugs and sex. In many cases, drugs are catalysts that arouse sexual desires. The drug *bullayqs* are examples of how drugs are strongly related to sex and sexual fantasies. Typically, the *bullayq* begins with the narrator departing on a quest to find his favorite drug and praising its qualities. These two parts are followed by an erotic section which is presented either as mere fantasy or as reminiscence of an amorous misadventure with a boy. The ends of the *bullayqs* are marked either by the reluctant repentance of the narrator or by an apology, as in the *bullayq* on beer. Al-Mi‘mār paid great attention to the metrical structure of his *zajals*. Some are constituted of verses whose lengths alternate between one and two feet, creating a wavelike melody when the poem is recited.

Although al-Mi‘mār is the first poet to compose a *bullayq* praising the qualities of beer, his other poems show clearly that he prefers wine over beer and hashish. With this in mind, the *bullayqs* on beer and hashish seem intended to demonstrate the poet’s literary originality, and amuse a lower class audience familiar with beer-drinking and hashish-eating.

Appendix

The following four drug *zajals* are taken from the edition of al-Mi‘mār’s *dīwān* currently in preparation at the University of Münster under the supervision of Thomas Bauer. The sigla in the critical apparatus refer to the following manuscripts:

س	= Escorial, árabe 463, fols. 78b–85b
ف	= Istanbul, Fatih 3793
ت	= Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Qawmiyah, Taymūr, shi‘r 673
د	= Dublin, Chester Beatty 5483
هـ	= Tehran ,Kitābkhānah-yi Milli
ل	= London ,British Library 8054



[٥٣٥]

وَقَالَ أَيضًا [من الخفيف؛ س، ف، ت، د، ه، ل]

3 مَعُونَا مَا الْعَيْبُ يَا سَّيْنُ اللَّهُ يَكْفِي لَا يَمْنَعُونَا التَّيْنُ

6 بِاللَّهِ فُلِّي إِذَا مُنِعْنَا الرِّاحَ
وَحُرْمَنَا مِنَ الْوُجُوهِ الْمَلَاخِ
يَيْشُ بِقَيْنَا نَسْتَجْلِبِ الْأَفْرَاخَ
وَالخَلِيعَ كَيْفَ تَرَاهُ يَعِيشُ مَسْكِينُ

9 وَعَلَى مَا الْعَيْبُ بَكَ الرَّأُوقُ
وَالشَّمْعُ صَاذَ بَعَبْرَتُوا مَخْنُوقُ
/ وَالْوَتْرَبَاتُ مِنَ الْغُرُوبِ لِلشُّرُوقِ
مَنْ أَنْيَنُوا تَسْمَعُ لَوْ فِي اللَّيْلِ حَنِينُ

78b

12 وَلَقَدْ هَلَانُوا حَضْرَةَ الْمُحَضَّرِ
وَتَلَوْنَ ذَا الزَّهْرُ وَأَتَغَبَّرَ
وَبَعِظُوا رِيحَانَنَا أَنْتَهَرَّرَ
15 وَعَلَى وَجْهِهِمْ صَلَبَ الْيَاسَمِينِ

وَالتَّدَامَى عَادَ جَمْعُهُمْ فِي شَتَاتِ
حَزَنُوا كَنْ مَاتَ لَهُمْ أَمْوَاتِ
هَذَا قَاعِدُ يَيْكِي عَلَى مَا فَاتِ
18 وَذَا يَيْكِي وَهَذَا الْآخِرُ حَزِينِ

وَلِي صَاحِبِ زَمَانٍ مَعُونًا كَانَ نَطِيبِ
جَانِي قَلِي مُشْتَقُّ أَنَا يَا أَدِيبِ
لِشُرَيْبِهِ لَوْ أَنَّهَا مِنْ زَيْبِ
/ أَرَى قَلْبِي يَزْتَاخُ لِهَذَا الْحِينِ

79a

24 فَقَضَدْنَا مُنِيهِهِ إِلَى شُبرِي



- مَا لَقِينَاش رُخْنَا طَنَانِ الْأُخْرَى
وَفِي قَلْبِي سُبُوبٌ قَالُوا وَلَا قَطْرَاهُ
دُرْنَا مِنْ مَرْصَفِهِ إِلَى شِيْبِيْنُ 27
- وَصَعَدْنَا قَبْلِي ذِكِّ الْبُلْدَانِ
وَبَشْنَا طَمَّوْهُ لَدَيْرِ شَعْرَانِ
مَا أَمَرَ الطَّرِيقَ إِلَى حُلْوَانِ
أُخْرَبَ اللَّهُ طُرًّا عَلَى التَّيْبِيْنِ 30
- وَتَعَبْنَا مِمَّا نُجِدُّ السَّيْرِ
وَلَا صَبْنَا فِي ذَا السَّفَرِ مِنْ حَيْرِ
جُنْنَا عِنْدَ الْمَسَا لَوَحْدِ الدَّيْرِ
قُمْْنَا نَزَعَتْ لِلشَّيْخِ أَبُو مَرْتِيْنِ 33
- 79b / وَنُقِلَ لَوْ يَا بُونَا قَدْ جِيْنُكَ 36
عَسَى جَرَّهُ نَجِيَاتِ زَهَابِيْنِكَ
وَيُمِيْتِكَ رَبِّي عَلَى دِيْنِكَ
وَأَنَا نَدْرِي أَنُّو أَحْسَسُ الدِّيْنِ 39
- إِلَّا نَضَحَاكَ عَلَيْهِ وَتَهَزَّرَ
حَاتِي لَا يُنْكِرُوا وَيَتَحَزَّرُ
وَوَهَبْنَا مِنْ بَيْنَنَا مَيِّزُ
وَبَقِيْنَا نُحَاطِبُوا بِاللِّيْنِ 42
- فَدَخَلَ غَابَ زَمَانٌ وَمَحْنَا وَقُوفُ
وَأَنْتَ تَدْرِي كَيْفَ وَفَقَّةَ الْمَلْهُوفُ
وَأَنَا نَدْعِي ذَاكَ الدَّعَا الْمُؤْصُوفُ
إِنُّو يَفْتَحُ وَآخِي يَقُولُ آمِيْنِ 45
- بَعْدَ سَاعَةٍ إِلَّا وَهُوَ قَدْ رَدُّ 48



80a

/ جَا يَقُولُ مِنْ خَوْفُوا بَصْرَكُمْ حَدُ
وَنَصِيبُ مِنْ وَرَاهُ شُوَيْحُ يَزْعَدُ
مَعُو جَرَّهَ وَهُوَ يَصِيحُ يَا أَشْبِينُ 51

دُرْتُ وَأَخْبِرُكَ مَا لَقِيتُ عِنْدِي
عَيْرَ هَذَا وَأَطْنُهَا دُرْدِي
قُمْتُ نَمْدُ مِنْ الْفَرْخِ يَدِّي
وَنَقُولُ لَوْ مِنْ الظَّمَا أَرْوِينُ 54

خَذْتُ نَسْكَبَ مِنْهَا فِي قَتِينِهِ
صَبْتُهَا مِثْلِي زَفْتَهُ مَسْكِينِهِ
سَوْدَا دُرْدِي مَلَانِهِ لِلطَّيْنِهِ
قُلْتُ مَعْمَارُ ذِي نَحْسِهِ هِيَ لِلطَّيْنِ 57

وَرَجَعْنَا أَيُّشَ رَجَعَةَ الْمَكْسُورِ
قُلْتُ كَيْفَ الْعَمَلُ فَقَلِي نَدُورُ
/ فِي الْمُقِينَاتِ وَتَفْتِنِعُ بِالْمَزُورِ
وَلَا نَرْجِعُ مِنْ ذَا السَّفَرِ خَائِبِينَ 60

80b

حِينَ قَطَعْنَا الْأَيَّاسَ مِنَ الْحَمَّازِ
جِينَا نَسَعَى لَوَاشِنِ الْمَرَّازِ
إِسْقِنِي مَا عَجِينُ فَقُلْتُ فُشَارُ
فَمَاذَا الْكَعْكَ أَضْلًا مِنْ ذَا الْعَجِينِ 63

وَأَنَا مَا لِي غَيْهِ سِوَى ابْنِ الْكُرُومِ
وَالشَّرَابِ الْمَعْتَقِ الْمَعْلُومِ
تَنْبَعُوا لَوْ يَصِيرُ فِي أَقْصَى الرُّومِ
وَلَوْ أَنِّي نَدَخُلُ لِنَسْطُنْطِينِ 66

وَلَا نَهَى سِوَى إِلَّا الشَّرَابِ الْقَدِيمِ 69



81a وَمُعِيشَتُكَ جَدِيدٌ يَكُنْ لِي نَدِيمٌ
نُفِيقَ الْمَالِ عَلَيَّشْ نُسَمِّي عَدِيمٌ
/ وَأَنَا مُمَكِّنٌ فِي غَايَةِ التَّمَكِينِ 75

وَمُرَادِي مِنَ الصَّغَارِ أَطْفَالُ
أَيْشْ نَقُولُ لَكَ غِزْلَانَ وَإِلَّا جَمَالُ
وَلَقَدْ رَيْتُ فِي ذِي الصَّغَارِ احْتِمَالُ
إِبْنِ سَبْعَةَ يَحْمِلُ ابْنِ سَبْعِينَ 78

إِلَّا إِنِّي قَدْ اثْقَلْتَنِي الذُّنُوبُ
مَا بَقِيَتْ نَحْتَمِلُ لِكَثْرِ الْعُيُوبِ
وَمَا عَادَ لِي أَوْفَقٌ سِوَى أَنْ نَتُوبُ
يَا إِلَهِي اكْتُبْ لِي مِنَ التَّايِبِينَ 81

وَرَّخُوا بِاللَّهِ تَوَنَّةَ الْمَعْمَارِ
وَاكْتُبُواهَا سِنِينَ مَعَ أَعْمَارِ
فُولُوا مِنْ هَجْرَةِ النَّبِيِّ الْمُخْتَارِ
سَبْعُمِائَةَ سَنَةٍ حَمْسَ وَأَرْبَعِينَ 84

[٥٣٦]

81b / وَقَالَ أَيضًا [من الرجز؛ س، ف، ت، د، ه، ل]
مَا نَشْرَبُ الْمِزْرَ الْعَجِيبَ 90
مِنْ غَيْرِ تُجِيبَ

طِبْطَابِ يَطِيبُ بِهِ عَيْشَنَا بِبِيهِ طِبْتُ أَنَا أَيْشُ دَالْتَوَانِي قُمْ بِنَا
مُتُّو نَطِيبُ

93 رَيْتُ فِي تُجِيبِ مِزْرٍ سَعِيدِ أَبْيَضُ جَدِيدِ وَذِي تُجِيبِ مَا هِيَ بَعِيدِ
ذِي إِلَّا قَرِيبِ

إِنْ رِدَّتْ مِزْرَةَ الْعَسَلِ رُوحَ عَنَّا سَلِّ وَانْهَضْ وَدَعْ عَنكَ الْكَسَلِ



	وَاعْكُوسْ تَصِيبُ	96
	ذَا مِزْرٍ يُسِيكُ الْحَمْرُ إِذَا اخْتَمَمَ زُرْ حَسَّتِي تَغِيْبُ	
	أَحْمَرُ يُجَاكِي لِلذَّهَبِ إِذَا انْسَكَبُ أَوْ مَا الزَّبِيْبُ	99
82a	وَلَوْ عُوِين لَأَجَلَ الطَّحِينُ / وَأَسْمُو نَجِيْبُ	102
	إِذَا طَلَعُ مِزْرِي وَفَارُ إِطْعَمْنِي فَارُ إِنْزَحْ وَجِيْبُ	
	قُمْ دِيرَهَا مُسْتَقْطِرَهُ مِــــنَ الدَّرَةِ فِي بَيْتِ قَضِيْبُ	105
	اسْكُرْ وَصِيْحَ دَامَ الشُّرُورِ أَيُّشْ ذِي الْمِزُورِ يَوْمَ الْحِيْبُ	108
	يَطِيْبُ مَعُو خَلَعَ الْعِدَارُ بِــــلَا أَسْتِتَارُ خَلِيْبُهُ يَعْـيْبُ	
	كَيْفَ نَا الْفَقِيْهِ عَبْدَ السَّلَامِ أَيُّشْ ذَا الْكَلَامِ أَبْنُ الْخَطِيْبُ	111
	لَا تَعْتَبُوا الْمِعْمَارَ فَذَا عِنْدِي هَذَا فَعْلُ الْأَدِيْبُ	114
82b	لِكِنْ جِيْلُ عَلَى الْمَعَانِي قَدْ حَصَلَ لُبُّو اللَّيْبُ	



117 وَلَوْ كَلَامَ لَوْ تَنْصِفُوهُ كَانَ تُوَصِّفُوهُ أَظُنُّهُمْ مَا يَعْرِفُوهُ
لَأَتُّو عَرَبًا

[٥٣٧]

120 وَقَالَ أَيضًا [س، ف، ت، د، ه، ل] مَثَقَالٌ حَشِيشٌ مِنْ ذِي الْخَضْرَاءِ أَحْسَنُ هُوَ مِنَ الْفَيْنِ حَمْرًا

123 سَكْرُ الْمَحْمُضِ هُوَ الْمَعْلَمُ
أَطْيَبُ مِنَ الْحَمْرَةِ وَأَسْلَمُ

أَيْشٌ قَالُوا عَنِّي ابْنُ الدَّيْلَمِ حَتَّى تَشَاكِلَ ذِي الْخَمْرِ

126 مَا لَدَّ عَيْشِي جِينِ نَسْكَرٍ
بِذِي الزُّبَيْرِ وَأَتَحْنَكِرُ
وَإِي مَن يَلْمَنِي فِي الْأَخْضَرِ قَصْدُ وَيُتَوَّرُ فِي الصَّفْرَا

83a

129 / اسْمَعْ نُقْلُ لَكَ أَيْشٌ بِيَا
صَارَ لِي فِي ذِي الْعُشْبَةِ عِيَا

كَيْفَ نُخْبِئَا فِي عَيْنِيَا نَخَافُ لِأَحَدٍ بِيَا يَدْرِي

132 نَسَعَى لِذِي الصَّطَالِ عِيَا
وَتَقْتَنِيهَا لِي قِنِيَا

وَقُمْتُ نَمَشِي لِلْمُنِيَا سَرَيْتُ لِقَلِيُوبِ مَعِ شُبْرِي

135 طُولُ عُمْرِي مُنَزَّرَةٌ بَطَالُ
مَا لِي مَعِيشِهِ تَنْعَطَالُ

وَإِي مَن يُقَالِي لَا تَصْطَالُ خَارِجٌ هُوَ يَيْصَرْنِي بَرًّا



- كَمْ قَالِ أَبِي يَا بِنَ الرُّفْتَا
تَرَكَتْ كَيْدِي مُنْقَتَا 138
- لَأَجْلِكَ خَرَجْنَا مِنْ سَبْتَا
كُلُّوا بِنَحْسِكَ يَا عُرَا
نُفُولُ لَوْ مِنْ بَعْضِ أَقْوَالِي
وَاجِبُ تَسْلَمٍ لِي حَالِي / 141
- فَفِي الْخَلَاعَةِ ضَاعَ مَالِي
وَهَذَا عُنْوَانِي فَقُرَا
نُفَعُغُ بِلِقَمِهِ مَعُ خَزَقَا
عَلَيْشِذَا تَنْعَبُ أَوْ نَشَقَا 144
- دَعْنِي نُدَوِّرُ ذِي الشُّقَا
قَبْلَ مَا نَنْزِلُ فِي الْحُفْرَا
وَادِي مِصْرَ وَادِي الْغَمِّ زَلَانُ
فِيهِ الْمِلَاحُ أَجْنَّاسُ وَالْوَانُ 147
- إِيَّاكَ تُفُولُ بَعْدَادَا يَا انْسَانَ
جِي تَبْصَرُ أَلْوَانَ الْبَصْرَا
خَلَّوْنِي مَعَهُمْ مَثْوَحَلُ
وَلَيْسَ نُطِيقُ عَنْهُمْ نَرْحَلُ 150
- نَبْصَرُ مَلِيحُ اسْمَرُ أَكْهَلُ
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2 وَقَالَ أَيضًا] وقال ف ل 3 يَأْسِينُ] يَأْسِنُ س؛ بالسين د ل؛ (والصواب من ف ت ه) | اللَّهُ يَكْفِي] يَاللَّهِ سَلِمَتْ 4 بِاللَّهِ قُلِّي] هَاتِ قَلْبِي د ه ل 5 الْمَلَاخُ] الصَّبَاحُ ت د ه ل 6 بَقَيْنَا] نَبَقَا د ه ل | نَسْتَجْلِبُ] يَسْتَجْلِبُ ل 7 كَيْفُ] (لا ترد في ه) | تَرَاهُ] نَرَاهُ ت 8 وَعَلَى مَا] عَلَى مَاذَا د ه ل 9 وَالشَّمْعُ] وَالشَّمِيعُ ه ل | بَعْرَتُوا] بَعْرَتُوا ف 10 وَالْوَتْرُ بَاثُ] وَالْوَتْرَاتُ ت؛ وَالْوَتْرَاتُ د 11 أُنِينُوا] أُنِينُوا ف | لُو] لُوَا د 12-15 وَلَقَدْ...الْيَاسَمِينُ] (لا ترد هذه الآيات في ه) 12 هَانُوا] اِهَانُوا ف؛ هَانَتْ د ل | حَضْرَةٌ] حَصْرَتْ ت؛ حَضْرُوا ل | الْمُحْضَرُ] الْمُحْضَرُ د 13 الرَّهْزُ الدَّهْرُ ت | وَأَتَغَبَّرُ] وَأَتَغَيَّرُ ف ت د ل 14 وَبَغِيْظُوا] وَبَغِيْظُوا ف؛ بَغِيْظُوا د ل | وَبَغِيْظُوا...أَتَمَّرُوا] (في ت: هذا البيت ذكر قبل البيت السابق) 15 وَجَمُّوا] وَجَمُّوا ف ت | صَلَّبَ] قَدَ (فوق السطر) صَلَّبَ س؛ (والصواب من ف ت د) 16 عَادَ] (لا ترد في ه ل) | جَمَعُهُمْ] جَمَعَهُمْ س؛ جَمَعَهُمْ د ل؛ (والصواب من ف ت ه) 17 حَزَنُوا] حَزَنُوا ف ت 18 هَذَا] ذَا ف؛ هَذَا د؛ هَذَا ه | يَيْكِي] يَنْدُبُ ف 19 يَيْكِي] يَنْدُبُ د ه ل | وَهَذَا] وَذَلِكَ د ه ل 20 مَعُوَاكَ] كَانُ مَعُوَسَ ف؛ كَانُ مَعُوَاكَ ه؛ (والصواب من ت د ل) 21 قَلِي] قَالِي د ه ل | يَا أَدِيْبُ] يَا أَدِيْبُ ت 22 زَيْبُ] رَيْبُ ه 23 أَرَى] أَرَى د ه ل | لِهَذَا] خُصَّ لَهَا ذَا (فوق السطر س)؛ لَهَا ذَاتُ ه ل؛ لَهَا د | الْحَيْنُ] لِحِينُ ت ل 24 مُنِيَّةُ] الْمُنِيَّةُ د ه ل 25 لَقَيْتَاشُ] لَقَيْتَاشُ د ه ل | طَنَانُ] طَنَانُ ف 26 قَطْرَاهُ] قَطْرَاتُ د ه ل 27 مَرْصَفَهُ] مَرْصَفَاتُ د ه ل | شَيْبِينُ] شَيْبِينُ د 28 وَصَعَدْنَا] وَفَصَدْنَا ه | ذَا الْبَلَدَانِ] ذَا الْبَلَدَانِ ت؛ ذَا الْبَلَدَانِ د ل؛ ذِي الْبَلَدَانِ ه 30 الطَّرِيقُ] الطَّرِيقُ ه 31 التَّبِيْبِينُ] التَّبِيْبِينُ س ه؛ التَّبِيْنُ ت؛ التَّبِيْنُ د؛ التَّبِيْبِينُ ل؛ (والصواب من ف) 32 وَتَعَبْنَا] قَدَ تَعَبْنَا د ه ل | السَّيْرُ] الْمَسِيرُ س؛ (والصواب من ف ت د ه ل) 33 ذَا السَّفَرِ] ذَا السَّفَرِ ه؛ ذَا السَّفَرِ د؛ ذَا السَّفَرِ ه 34 الْمَسَا] الْمَسَى ف | لَوْحِدًا] لَوْحِدًا د ل 36 وَقُلُ] وَقَوْلُ ه | لُو] لَهْ ت؛ لُوَا د ه | يَا بُونَا] يَا أَبُونَا ل | جِينَاكُ] جِينَاكُ د ه ل 37 جَرَّهُ] جَرَّاهُ د ه ل | بَحْيَاتُ] بَحْيَاتُ د ه | رَهَابِيْنِكَ] رَهَابِيْنِكَ ف؛ رَهَابِيْنَاكُ د ه ل



38 رَبِّي [ربي هـ | دَيْتَكَ] دنك د؛ دنياك ل 39 وَنَا [وَأَنَا د ل | أُنُو] بَأَنَوَات د ه ل 40 إِلَّا [لَأَنِي د ه ل | نَضْحَكَ... وَتَهَزُّزُ] أَصْحَكَ علمه وعمهزر ه 43 وَبَقِينَا [ورجعنا د ه ل | نَحْطَبُوا] بخاطبوا ه 44 وَنَحْنَا [نحن د ه ل 45 وَأَنْتَ] وَأَنْتُوا ه ل | تَدْرِي [تدروا د ه ل | كَيْفَ] أَيْش د ه ل 46 وَأَنَا [ونا هـ | ندعي] ندعوا د ه ل 47 أُنُو [انوات هـ | يَفْتَحُ] يفسح ه 49 خَوْفُوا [خوفوا ف؛ خوفه ت 50 شُوَيْخُ] شَيْخ ف؛ شوخ د؛ شوخ ه 51 مَعُوا [معوات د ه ل | جَرَّه] جَرَاه | وَهُوَ [(لا ترد في ت) | يَا أَشْبِينَ] يَاشْبِين ت 53 غَيْرُ [إلا د ه ل | وَأَطْنَبْنَا] أَطْنَبَاهَا د؛ أَطْنَبَاهَا ه ل 55 وَقَوْلُ [ونصيح د ه؛ ونصح ل | لَوْ] لَهُ ت؛ لَوْ ه ل | الظَّمَا [الضَّاد 56 حَذْتُ] حَذْتُ د ل؛ حَذْتُ ه 57 مِثْلِي [مثل ه ل | زَفْتُهُ] زَفْتَاهُ ت؛ زَفْتُ د؛ زَفْتُ ه؛ زَفْتُ ل 58 سَوْدًا [سود هـ | مَلَانَهُ] مَلَانَات 59 قُلْتُ [قلت هـ | ذِي] ذِي د هـ | نَحْسَهُ [نحسات؛ نحسه هـ | لِلطَّيْنِ] لِلطَّيْنِ ه 60 وَرَجَعْنَا [فرجعنا د | أَيْشُ] أَش د 61 كَيْفَ [أيش ل | فَقَلِّي] فَقَلَّ لِي ت؛ فَقَالَ لِي د ه ل 63 مِنْ... حَائِيْنِ [من ذا السفره خايين ف | ذَا] دَا ه 65 لَوَاشِيْنِ [لواش ت؛ لواسن د | الْمَزَارُ] الْأَمَزَار ت د ل؛ إِلَّا مَزَار ه 66 إِسْقِي... فَقُلْتُ [اسقي ما معن فعلتوا ه 67 فَمَادَا] مَاذَا ف؛ لَيْسَ ذَات؛ فَمَادَا هـ | أَصْلًا] أَصْل ت | ذَا الْعَجِينِ [دالعجين د؛ دا العجن ه 68 وَأَنَا] وَنَا هـ | مَا... ابْنِ [وانا نهوى ياخذ بنت ت | عِيَّه] عِيَا د 70 نَتَّبَعُوا [تبعوات د ه ل | يَصِيرُ] بَصِير ه؛ يَضِير ل 71 نَدْخُلُ [تدخل د 73 يَكُنْ [يكون د ل 74 نُنْفِقُ] نَفَق هـ | عَلَيْشُ] عَلَى أَيش د ه ل 75 وَأَنَا [ونا هـ | فِي] فِي هـ | التَّمَكِينِ [الممكس ه 76 الصَّعَاظُ] الصَّعَار ه 77 نَقُولُ لَكَ [تقول لك؛ تقول س؛ تقول ف؛ يقولوا د ل؛ يقولوا ه؛ (والصواب من ت) | عَزْلَانُ] عِرْلَان د 78 وَلَقَدْ... ذِي [ولقد في هذا د ل | ذِي] ذَا ف ت ه 79 ابْنِ [ابن د ه ل 81 نَحْتَمِلُ] نَحْتَمِلُ ف؛ أَنَجْمَلُ د؛ أَنَحْمَلُ ه؛ أَنَحْمَلُ ل 82 أَنْ نَتَّوَبُ [أني أتوب ت د ه ل 83 مِنْ] مَعَ ت د ه ل | التَّايِبِينَ [التايدين ف؛ الناس ه 84 وَرَحُوا] وَرَحُوا ف؛ وَارِح ه 85 سَيْنِينَ... عَمَّازُ [بالتبر في الأعمار ت؛ بالتبر طول الأعمار د ل؛ بالمسك طول الأعمار ه 86 قُولُوا] قُولُوا ف ت د ل؛ ثُمَّ فُولُوا هـ | التَّيِّبِ [السي هـ | الْمُخْتَارُ] الْمُخْتَار ف؛ الحِمَار ه 87 سَبْعُمِائَةٍ [سبع مائة ه؛ سبع مائة ل | حَمْسٌ وَأَرْبَعِينَ] خَمْسَةٌ وَأَرْبَعُونَ ه 89 وَقَالَ أَيضًا [وقال رحمه الله ل 90 مِنْ... نُجِيبُ] مِنْ غَيْرِ فِي (تحت السطر) تَجِيب ت؛ غَيْرِ فِي نُجِيب د؛ غَيْرِ فِي حَسْب ه؛ غَيْرِ فِي تَجِيب ل | نُجِيبُ] تَجِيب ف 91 طِبْطَابُ... عَيْشِنَا [طبطاب طاب عيشنا هـ | بِيَه] (لا ترد في ت د ل) | بِيَه [به د ل | أَيْشُ] أَش د | ذَالْتَوَانِي [ذا التواني ف ه 92 مِتُّو] مَنَوَات د ه ل | نَطِيبُ] نَطِيب ه 93 نُجِيبُ [نجيب د ل؛ نجيب هـ | جَدِيدُ] جَدِيد ه؛ جَدِيدُ ل | وَذِي] وَادِي د ه ل | نُجِيبُ] نُجِيب د ه 94 ذِي... قَرِيبُ [الا قريب ت د ه ل 95-96 إِنْ... تَصِيبُ] (لا ترد هذه الأبيات في د) 95 رِدْتُ [رمت ه ل | مِرْزَةَ] مِرْزَةَ هـ | الْعَسَلُ [كالعسل ت ل؛ دالعسل هـ | رُوحُ] رُوح ف؛ قَمْ ه ل 97 إِخْدَرُ [احضر ت؛ واحدر د؛ احدر هـ | نَجْدُ] نَجْدُ ف | مِتُّو] مَنَوَات د ه ل | السَّكْرُ] سَكْر د ه ل 99 لِلذَّهَبِ [الذهب ف؛ ذا الذهب د؛ ذا الذهب ه ل | أَيْشُ] أَش د 100 الزَّبِيبُ [الريب د؛ الرسب ه 101 وَلَوْ] وَلَوْ هـ | عَوِينُ] عَوِيل ت | كَثُوبُ] كَثُوب د ل 102 وَاسْمُو] وَاسْمُوا



ت د هل | حَيْبٌ | حَيْب هـ 103-104 إذا... وَحَيْبٌ [(لا ترد هذه الأبيات في د) 103 مزري] مزروت؛ مزروا هل | قلت | قلت هـ | جيت | حيب ف هـ؛ جب ت؛ حيب ل | مئو | منوات هل | جفاز | خفار ف 104 وَحَيْبٌ | وخب ف؛ وح هـ 105 مِنَ الدَّرَةِ | من ما الدرته د ل | يَحْلُوا | حلوا ف؛ تحلوا ت د هل 106 فِي بَيْتٍ | في بت ف؛ في بيت د؛ في س هـ؛ في سيب ل | قَصِيبٌ | قصيب د؛ فضيب هـ 107 اشكر | واسكر ل | وصيح | واصيح د؛ واصح ل | أيش | أس د | ذي | ذات ل؛ دا د؛ دي هـ | سَعَادَةٌ | سعادت هـ | يَزُورُ | يزور ف؛ زور د؛ ترور هـ 108 يَوْمٌ | خ صح ذاك (في حاشية س)؛ ذاك د هل 109 مَعُو | معوات د هل 111 نَا | يا هـ | أيش | أش د؛ آيس هـ | ذَا الكَلَامِ | ذالكلام د هل | وَلَا | والات د ل 113 عَنِّي | بين د هـ؛ بين ل | هَذَا | هدا ل | نَسُوا | نسوات د هل 115 يَقُولُ | يقول ف ت د هل | حَيْلٌ | خيل د ل 116 لُبُو | لب ت؛ لبوا د ل 117 وَلُو | ولوا ل | تَنْصِفُوهُ | ينصفوه ت د هل | تُوصِفُوهُ | يوصفوه ت د هل 118 لَأْتُو | لانوات د هل 120 وَقَالَ أَيُّضًا | وله بليق د؛ وقال ل 121 ذِي | دا د؛ دي هـ؛ ذال | الحَصْرَا | الحصراد | أَحْسَنُ... حَمْرًا | عندي يساوي ألفين حمرا (في حاشية ت)؛ عندي يساوي ألفي حمرا د هل 122-124 سُكْرٌ... الحَمْرَا | (لا ترد هذه الأبيات في د) 122 المَحْمَصُ | المحمص هـ | هُو المَعْلَمُ | والمعلم هل 123 الحَمْرَةُ | خ العرا (في حاشية س)؛ الحمرا هل | وَأَسْلَمٌ | أو اسلم هـ 124 قَالُوا | قالوا ف؛ قال ت هل | ابن | ابن هـ | تُشَاكِلُ | تشاكل ف ل؛ يشاكل ت هـ | ذِي الحَمْرَا | ذالحمرا ل 125 لَدَّ | لد د 126 بِذِي | بدا د؛ بذال | وَأَحْتَنُكِرُ | خ واحتنر (في حاشية س)؛ واحتنرت د هل 127 وَآي مَن | ومن ت؛ وامن هـ | فَضُدُوا | قصدوا ت د هل | يُتَوَّرُ | يورث ت؛ يتور د ل | فِي لِي ت؛ بي د هل | الصَّفْرَا | الضفرا هـ 128 نَقُلُ لَكَ | نقل لك د؛ نقول لك هـ | أيش | أش د؛ أش هـ 129 صَارَ... غَيًّا | صار في ذي العشبه لي غيا ف | ذِي | دا د؛ دي هـ؛ ذال العُشْبَةِ | الشعبة س؛ العشبا د هل؛ (والصواب من ف ت) | عَيًّا | عيا د 130 لَأَحْدُ | لحدت بيها | بهال 131 لِي | لذا د ل | الصَّطْلَاهُ | السطلاه هـ 135 مَعِيشَهُ | معيشه هـ | تَتَّعَطَّلُ | تتعطل ت؛ تتعطل د ل؛ سعطال هـ 136 وَآي مَن | ومن ت؛ وامن هـ | يَقْلِي | يقل لي ت؛ يقل د؛ نقول لي هـ؛ يقول ل | لَا تَصْطَلُ | لا تصطل د ل | هُو يَبْصُرُنِي | ويبصرني د هل 137 أَبِي | أبي س؛ لي أبي د هل؛ (والصواب من ف ت) | يَابَنَ الرَّفْتَا | يا ابن الرفتا ف؛ يا ابن الرفتا هل 138 مُنْفَتًّا | منفيال 139 لِأَجْلِكَ | لجلك ت؛ حتى د هل | خَرَجْنَا | خرخنا ف بِحَسْرَتِكَ | لأجلك د ل؛ من أجلك هـ | يَا عَرَا | بالعرا ت؛ يا العرا د هل 140 نَقُولُ | نقولوا د؛ نقل لو هـ؛ نقل لوال 142 الحَلَاعَةُ | الخلاعا د هل 143 بَلْقَمَهُ | بدرهم د هل خَرْقًا | خرقا د 144 عَلِيشْ | فليش د ل | ذَا | (لا ترد في د هـ) 145 ذِي | دا د؛ دي هـ؛ ذال قَبْلَ مَا | قبل ا ما ت؛ قبل مر د؛ قبل م هـ؛ قبل أن ل 146 وَآدِي مِصْرَ | لو ريت مصر د هـ؛ لو راي ت مصر ل 147 فِيهِ | فيها د هل | أَجْنَانَسْ | خ احواك (في حاشية س)؛ احواك د هـ؛ احوال ل 148 جِي | تعا د هـ؛ تعالى ل | تَبْصَرُ | ابصر د هل 149 حَلَوْنِي | خلون د | مَتَوَحَّلْ | متزحل



د؛ مترحل هل 150 وُلَيْسَ [فليس ه؛ ولىش ل 151 نَبَصَرَ [تبصر ه | نَزَى [ترى ه
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 160 دَرُو] دروا ف ت د هل | أَهْلُو] أهلوات د هل | يَغْمِيُو] يغميوت | لِي] إلى ت 161 أَشْ [أيش ف ل 163-161 أَش... لِلدَّرَا] (لا ترد هذه الأبيات في د) 161 وَاشْ [وايش ف ت ل | ذَا
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 لِلدَّرَا] للذرا ه 165 وَانَا] ونا ت | مِّن...مَخْنُوقٍ] من السطلا مخنوف ه 166 رَيْتَ] رايت ل
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 170 قَلِي] قال لي هل 171 يَا...الزَّلَّاحِ] خ صحه ايش ذي المصيه (في حاشية س)؛ آش ذا
 لمصيه ه؛ ايش ذالمصيه ل | قَوْمٌ] قم هل 172 نَادَيْتُو] ناديت ف ت؛ ناديتوا هل | آوَلْدُ] آي
 ولده 173 قَلِي] قال لي د هل 175 وَاشْ [وايش ل | ذَا القَاسِي] القاسي س؛ ذالقاسي دل؛
 ذا القاسي ه؛ (والصواب من ف ت) | لُو] لوات هل | السَّخْرَا] الصخرا د هل؛ (تضاف هذه
 الأبيات في حاشية د)؛ آش ذالمصيه والدهما مثلك ما رأيت في الدنيا || يا ابن القطوع ات ماتعيا
 اش من حديد هدالزيرا؛ (وفي ه)؛ آش ذالليه والدهيا مثلك ما ريت في الدنيا || يا ابن القطوع
 ات ماتعيا آش من حديد هي دالزيرا؛ (وفي ل)؛ ايش ذالمصيه والدهيا مثلك ما ريت في ذالدنيا
 || يا ابن القطوع ات ماتعيا ايش من حديد هي دالزيرا 176 مَغْرِي] مغري ه | جَانِي] حابي ه؛
 حاني ل

177 لَا حَالُ] لا حن ت؛ لحل دل؛ لحن ه | آي] خاى (في حاشية س)؛ بي ف ه
 179 مَهْلُوسٌ] خ ملهوس (تحت السطر س)؛ ملهوس ت د هل 180 أَضْمُوا لَأ] أضمو الى ت؛
 أضم إلى د هل 181 وَكَانَ] ودار ه | جَعَلْتُ...الصَّرَّاءِ] دفعت لو ذاك لأ الصراس (في حاشية)؛
 د ه؛ دفعت لو ذاك الصرات ل 182 ذَلَّهُ] دلّه د هل 183 تَقُولُ] تقول د | اش] ايش ف ت
 دل؛ اس ه | ذِي] دا د؛ دي ه؛ ذال 184 وَنَشْكُوا] ونشكو ف؛ ونشكوا ه | لَعَلُّو] لعل ت؛
 لعلوال | يَغْفِرُ] لعصر ه | ذِي] دا د؛ دي ه؛ ذال | العُتْرَا] العترال 187 صَحَبَ] صاحب ل
 نَظَرُهُ] نظرا د هل | جَبْرًا] جبره ف؛ حبرا ه 190 نَأَيْتَ] نايت ت هل؛ تاتب د | مَهْمَا نَعِيشَ] طول ما أعيش ت د هل 191 يَتَخَبَّلُ] يتجبل س ف؛ اخبل ه؛ (والصواب من ت د ل)
 192 أُذْنِي] إذني د 193 أَصْحِي] أصحي د | بُو] أبو س ف؛ أيوب (؟) د ه؛ أيوب ل؛ (والصواب
 من ت) | الحَمَارُ] حمار د؛ جمار هل 194 وَآخِي] أخوت؛ وأخواد هل | العَرِيشَ] العريش ه
 ل؛ (وتضاف في ه)؛ لو أبصرتي حين نسطل هلن تندهل بشهمي حن أمشي حمل أو دب



هيش؛ (وفي ل): لو أبصرتي حين نسطل كان تندهل يشهني حين أمشي حمل أو دب هيش
 196 بقي ش [بيش ف ت د هل 197-198 لَمَّا...أطيش] (لا ترد في د) 197 تُسَيِّنِي [تَسَيِّنِي
 ف؛ سَيِّنِي ه؛ تَسَيِّنِي ل 199 أَقُل] أقول ف د هل | أش [أيش ف ت د هل
 201 وَأَنَا] ونا ت 202 قَدْرُهُ [قدرة د ه 203 تَرَكِبُ] تركب دل | تَجُول [تجول دل | وَتَنَعَّم
 وسغتم ف؛ وِنَعَّم دل؛ وِنَعَّم ه | تَقُول [نقول ه؛ نقول ل 204 كَتَر] كاتر د هل
 205-206 وَأَيُّ...بَرِيش] (لا ترد هذه الايات في س ت) 205 أَبْصُرُوا [أبصروا د هل | أَجْبُرُوا
 اجبروا د هل | وَقُرُوا [وقروا د؛ وفروا هل 206 وَأَنْ] أو د هل 207 نَطْلُبُ [تطلب د؛
 بطلب ه | تَنْتَقِدُ [ينتقد س؛ نيقد ف؛ ننتقد ه؛ (والصواب من ت دل) | ذَا] دا د؛ دي ه | ذَا
 البلد [ذالبلد ل

