THE MAQĀMAH AS PROSIMETRUM:

A COMPARATIVE INVESTIGATION

OF ITS ORIGIN, FORM AND FUNCTION

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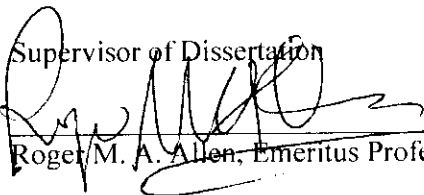in

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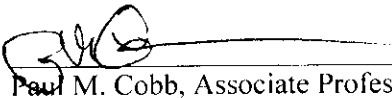Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

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ABSTRACT

THE *MAQĀMAH* AS PROSIMETRUM: A COMPARATIVE INVESTIGATION OF ITS ORIGIN, FORM AND FUNCTION

Ailin Qian

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This study investigates the prosimetric style of a renowned contribution to Arabic narrative, the *Maqāmāt* of Badīʿ al-zamān al-Hamadhānī (358-398/969-1008). Al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt* corpus contains fifty-two short tales that are centered on the words and deeds of a fictitious beggar hero. They are also characterized by a consistent alternation of rhymed prose (*sajʿ*) and poetry. These two distinct features of the *maqāmah* genre were faithfully imitated by al-Hamadhānī's successors in the following millennium.

The origins of the *maqāmah* genre have sparked heated debates among scholars of Arabic literature. Its longevity and versatility also await an explanation. This comprehensive and comparative analysis of the *Maqāmāt*'s prose (both rhymed and plain)

ii

and poetry can provide new angles through which to consider these issues. By introducing the transfer of function/form, we argue that the prosimetric style could have been affected by the functions that the hero inherited from pre-Islamic soothsayers, who were famed for their linguistic virtuosity in both modes of expression. Analogues from the ancient Chinese, Indian, and Greek literary traditions not only suggest the *maqāmah*'s intrinsic performability but also highlight the role of admonishers, i.e., heirs of soothsayers/shamans and performers of prosimetra in these literary traditions. The *maqāmah*'s homage to previous Arabic genres such as annals, anecdotes, and mimes, and its impact on so-called modern drama and fiction can both be interpreted by reference to the continuity of generations of admonishers. A detailed analysis of the *maqāmah*'s final section (envoi), episode proper, and opening formula illustrates the uniqueness of its prosimetric style which links the Arabic genre's genesis to possible Indo-Iranian and Greek inspirations.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction

Aim of the study

This study investigates the phenomemon of prosimetrum in a unique Arabic narrative genre, the *maqāmah*. As the name implies,[1] prosimetrum is "a text composed in alternating segments of prose and verse."[2] All ages have provided us with various prosimetra: the Latin Menippean satire, the Chinese *fu* 賦, the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra*, the Arabic *A 1001 Nights*, the French *Aucassin et Nicolette*, just to name a few. However, not many monographs or studies have been devoted to this literary phenomenon. The classical Graeco-Latin and Chinese prosimetra probably offer two of the more promising cases for study. Menippean satire, characterized by a style called *spoudaiogéloion* ("serio-comical"), is credited with being one of the "authentic predecessors of the novel."[3] Sinologists have discussed the Dunhuang transformation texts (*bianwen* 變文),[4] the *huaben* 話本 (vernacular story),[5] the *tanci* 彈詞 (strum lyrics),[6] etc. In regard to the Arabic literary tradition, before the appearance of Wolfhart Heinrichs's and Dwight Reynolds's articles in 1997,[7] "it is strange to see and embarrassing to admit that the number [of scholarly studies] is almost nil."[8] Such a paucity holds for other literary traditions as well, and comparative studies of prosimetra across different traditions are even fewer.

What can explain the prevalence of prosimetrum in world literature? How can

such a form be a host to so many different genres? Do those different genres share functional features in addition to their overt formal similarities? By analyzing the prosimetric style of a renowned contribution to Arabic narrative, the *Maqāmāt* of Badīʿ al-zamān al-Hamadhānī (358-398/969-1008), our project seeks to be an initial step in addressing such questions.

The extant fifty-two Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* (sg. *maqāmah*; "assembly" or "session") are characterized by the alternation of rhymed prose (*sajʿ*) and poetry, and the adventures of a fictitious hero—an eloquent beggar named Abū al-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī. As the result of a comprehensive analysis of the *Maqāmāt*'s[9] prose and poetry, we wish to argue that these two characteristics are related to each other: the prosimetric style could have been determined by the functions that al-Iskandarī inherited from pre-Islamic soothsayers, who were famed for their linguistic virtuosity in both modes of expression.

An important aspect of our project is a comparison of the *maqāmah* with similar genres in the Chinese and Indian literary traditions. At certain points parallels from ancient Greek drama will also be drawn. The comparability of different prosimetric genres is very likely derived from the universality of certain aspects of ritual performance, comprising firstly a question-and-answer divination, and secondly a devotional hymn. Alongside analyses of individual texts and examples of genres, considered in their social and political context, we will highlight the role of admonishers, i.e., performers of prosimetra, in these traditions. Such admonishers can include soothsayers, shamans, prophets, poets, preachers, annalists, jesters, actors, dramatists, and even writers of fiction.

2

Very often we find their admonitions mixed with satire, social criticism, or a touch of frustration. Al-Hamadhānī's creation of the beggar hero, who usually exits the scene with a short satirical poetry, can be explained by this inherited mission of admonishers. Guided by the transfer of the admonishing function and prosimetric form in certain genres, we are able not only to provide a new perspective on the *maqāmah*'s genesis but also, on another level, to understand its longevity and versatility. Before embarking on our discussion of the *Maqāmāt* however, we need to clarify several terms pertaining to the methodology of this study.

An Introduction on Terminology

Prose and poetry

A dichotomy between prose and poetry seems to have existed in most, if not all, literary traditions. It is, for example, clearly expressed by the Arab literary critic Ibn Rashīq (d. *c*. 463/1070-1): "The speech of the Bedouin is of two kinds—'strung' and 'scattered'" (*wa kalām al-ʿArab nawʿān: manẓūm wa manthūr*).[10] This use of the terms "strung" (*manẓūm*; "poetry") and "scattered" (*manthūr*; "prose") links the analysis of modes of human expression to the stringing of pearls. According to Ibn Rashīq, all discourse was at first "scattered." The value of spoken expressions became enhanced when they were joined to each other and became easier to memorize.

For traditions such as those of classical Greek, Latin and Sanskrit, poetry is

metrical writing, i.e., consisting of verse per se. To be more exact, it belongs to a subdivision termed quantitative verse which "measures the length of time required to pronounce syllables, regardless of their stress."[11] In speaking of the terms "measure" and "quantitative," we can quote the dialogue between Socrates (*c*. 470-399 B.C.E.) and Strepsiades in Aristophanes's (*c*. 450-388 B.C.E.) *The Clouds*:

> SOCRATES. Come now; what do you now wish to learn first of those things in none of which you have ever been instructed? Tell me. About measures, or rhythms, or verses?
> STREPISIADES. I should prefer to learn about measures; for it is but lately I was cheated out of two choenices by a meal-huckster.[12]

The word "meter" is derived from the Greek *metron* which originally means "a measure or standard." The Arab scholar, Qudāmah ibn Jaʿfar (d. *c*. 337/948), states that "poetry is a metrically rhythmic and rhymed discourse expressing an idea" (*innahu qawl mawzūn muqaffan yadullu ʿalā maʿnā*).[13] The Arabic term used in Qudāmah's definition, "*mawzūn*" ("weighed"; derived from *wazn*, "weight"), is an exact counterpart of "metrical." Judged from the fifteen poetic meters recorded by al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad (d. *c*. 170/786), classical Arabic poetry is most effectively analyzed as an example of quantitative verse.[14] Moreover, "the rhyme was the most essential part of the verse (*al-qāfiyah raʾs al-bayt*)."[15]

In some cases poetry and prose are hardly distinguishable. The Indian poet, Daṇḍin (fl. late 6th and early 7th centuries C.E.), for example, divides *kāvya* (poetry), the highly artificial style used by Indian poets, into *gadya* (prose), *padya* (verse) and *miśra*

4

(mixed).[16] For him versification is not an essential ingredient of poetry. On the other

hand, prose itself may also be "rhythmic, patterned, and poetically structured,"[17] or even

rhymed, as is the case with Arabic *saj ʿ* (usually translated as "rhymed prose"). The usage

of *saj ʿ* as a style can be traced back to pre-Islamic soothsaying and also to the Qurʾān.

Some Arabists suggest a common point of origin for *saj ʿ* and the pre-Islamic *rajaz*

meter,[18] reminding us of the unclear divide between prose and poetry. As we shall see

later, *saj ʿ* was to develop into an elaborate mode of writing/speech from the 4th/10th

century onward, duly adopted by al-Hamadhānī in his *Maqāmāt*.

Forms and functions

"When a formal differentiation is associated with a functional differentiation, a

genre results."[19] Genre is "a type of literary work characterized by a particular form,

style, or purpose."[20] Speaking of genres, we cannot ignore the Western tripartite division

of epic, drama, and lyric. It is interesting that this so-called traditional division did not

come into being until the 16th century.[21] As a matter of fact, the Greek tradition had

initially preferred a natural classification of genres, just like the other literary traditions

which will be discussed here. A few examples of Greek poetic genres are given in the

first chapter of the *Poetics*:

> Epic poetry and Tragedy, as also Comedy, Dithyrambic poetry, and most flute-playing
> and lyre-playing, are all, viewed as a whole, modes of imitation.[22]

For Aristotle (384-322 B.C.E.), those poetic genres are all regarded as modes of imitation

and are differentiated by "their means, their objects and their manner."[23] His first criterion is comparable to the classical Sanskrit differentiation between *śrāvyakāvya* (poetry to be listened to) and *dṛśyakāvya* (poetry to be seen).[24] His third criterion, i.e., "the manner in which each kind of object is represented,"[25] might well have been derived from Plato's (d. 348/347 B.C.E.) *Republic* (394c):

> …that poetry and mythology are, in some cases, wholly imitative—instances of this are supplied by tragedy and comedy; there is likewise the opposite style, in which the poet is the only speaker—of this the dithyramb affords the best example; and the combination of both is found in epic, and in several other styles of poetry.[26]

Apart from the epic, the drama, and the dithyramb, there were other poetic genres categorized by distinct meters or different purposes during the Attic age:[27] iambic, or satirical poetry, was written in iambic meter; elegiac poetry, the elegiac couplet, the epitaph and epigram, were "all classed together because composed in the same meter";[28] choral or melic poetry was sung by a chorus; the paean, the encomium, the epinikion and the epithalamium, were sung at the occasions of triumph and celebration; and the dirge, the hymn, etc.[29]

This mélange of Greek genres closely resembles the Chinese classification displayed in Xiao Tong's 蕭統 (501-531 C.E.) *Wen xuan* 文選 (Selections of Refined Literature). Xiao Tong was the crown prince of Liang dynasty (502-557 C.E.). He listed altogether thirty-seven generic categories including rhapsody (*fu* 賦), lyric poetry (*shi* 詩), elegy (*sao* 騷), eulogy (*song* 頌), encomium (*zan* 贊), proclamation (*xi* 檄), dirge

(*lei* 誄), lament (*ai* 哀), admonition (*zhen* 箴), preface (*xu* 序), letter (*shu* 書), treatise (*lun* 論), condolence (*diaowen* 弔文), etc.[30] The yardstick used in his categorization accords with the definition of genre mentioned above; most of those Chinese genres are characterized either by form (*fu* is rhymed prose and *shi* is poetry proper) or by purpose (such as *song*, *zan*, *zhen*, etc).

When we examine Qudāmah ibn Jaʿfar's *Naqd al-shiʿr* (Poetic Criticism), there is also a clear classification of a poem by purpose or theme (sg. *gharaḍ*, pl. *aghrāḍ*): panegyric (*madḥ*), lampoon (*hijāʾ*), elegy (*rithāʾ*), description (*waṣf*), love poetry (*nasīb*), etc. Some of the terms in this classification seem similar to their counterparts in the Greek and Chinese traditions. When Qudāmah's contemporary, Mattā ibn Yūnus (d. 328/940), translated Aristotle's *Poetics* from Syriac, he rendered "tragedy" as *madīḥ* and "comedy" as *hijāʾ*. Later scholars have vehemently criticized his choice of terminology as "surprising misunderstandings."[31] However, we should not overlook Mattā's efforts aimed at reconciling cultural differences by equating the familiar with the unfamiliar. We will provide more justification for his rendering at a later point.[32]

In this comparative study of prosimetrum therefore, the choice of generic terms requires a cautious approach, in that every literary tradition has its own system of terminology and genre-classification. Nowadays both Arab and Western scholars describe the Arabic *maqāmah* as "a prose genre," whereas the *fu*, one of the *maqāmah*'s counterparts in the Chinese tradition, has been ascribed by Liu Xie 劉勰 (*c.* 465-520 C.E.) as belonging to the category of *wen* 文 (rhymed writing; "poetry") as opposed to

bi 筆 (unrhymed writing; "prose").[33] Similarly *campū*, the corresponding genre in the Sanskrit tradition, has been regarded as a form of *kāvya* and its writers as poets. In fact, the text of an Arabic *maqāmah* is no less elaborate or poetic than a piece of *fu* or *campū*, and the similarities of their styles will be one of our focuses in this study.

Genre translation

Some of those genres mentioned above have now become extremely rare (e.g., dithyramb), or have gradually lost their original meaning (e.g., paean). Like organisms which can never remain frozen in time, genres are generated[34] and rejuvenated, and then die or are transformed. The literary critic-historian is able to determine the identification of a work, i.e., to which genre it belongs, "until the genre itself changes, or splits, or falls to pieces and is replaced as new original talents make new demands of it."[35] In the 1970s, Patrick Hanan introduced "genre translation" in his study of the Chinese short story:

> …that is, the transfer of material from one genre to another, whether the genres belong to
> storytelling, fiction, or drama. The process could go on repeatedly, from genre to genre
> and then back again.[36]

"Material" here denotes "the identifiable subject matter of a text regardless of its order and form."[37] Generally speaking, if the material of a new genre is also found in other sources, then it will help to suggest the origins of the newcomer. In an ongoing discussion of the genesis of the *maqāmah* genre in Arabic for example, Beeston,[38] Mattock,[39] and Hämeen-Anttila[40] have drawn our attention to the predecessors of some *maqāmāt* in

earlier anecdote collections. Their most convincing argument is the striking affinity of the material used in both al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt* and such earlier versions.

We briefly mentioned the *campū* genre at the end of the last section. The most quoted definition of *campū* was given by Daṇḍin in the *Kāvyādarśa* (Mirror of Poetry):

> miśrāṇi nāṭakādīni teṣām anyatra vistaraḥ
> gadyapadyamayī kācic campūr ity abhidhīyate[41]

> There are mixtures such as the drama and their detailed description is (found) elsewhere
> a composition consisting of prose and verse is called *campū*.[42]

Both drama and *campū* are placed in the category of *miśra* (mixed), drama being *dṛśyakāvya* and *campū śrāvyakāvya*. The origins of *campū* have aroused a good deal of controversy among Indologists.[43] In this study we prefer to trace its origins to a period almost 2000 years ago within a Buddhist context.[44] Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* (The Garland of Birth-stories) is just an earlier example of the *campū* genre:

> Sûra took his thirty-four holy legends from the old and traditional store of Gâtaka-tales.
> Almost all of them have been identified with corresponding ones in other collections,
> both of Northern and Southern Buddhism.[45]

Both *jātaka* and *jātakamālā* are categories of genres. *Jātaka* are stories about the previous births (*jāti*) of the Buddha. They are "at least as old as the compilation of the Buddhist Canon at the Council of Vesâli, about 377 B.C."[46] Altogether there are about 550 *jātaka* stories in the Pali Canon.[47] Since Āryaśūra "must have lived before 424 A.D.,"[48] there existed a time gap of about eight centuries between the compilation of *Jātaka* and the Āryaśūra's composition of *Jātakamālā*. Āryaśūra "does not pretend to tell stories new or

unknown to his readers."[49] In the preface to the thirty-four Sanskrit legends, he "declares his strict conformity with scripture and tradition."[50] At the same time, his good taste has been recognized, in that he passes over minor details and hideous descriptions that are still extant in the Pali *Jātaka*.

"Books always speak of other books, and every story tells a story that has already been told."[51] For Hans Robert Jauss, the medieval reception of texts is different from "the modern sensibility which thinks of tradition as written, authorship as single, the text as an autonomous work";[52] "rather, intertextuality is constitutive, in the sense that the reader must negate the character of the individual text as a work in order to enjoy the charm of an already ongoing game with known rules and still unknown surprises."[53] People in medieval times were minimally concerned about the authorship of a work. As a contrast, literary historians nowadays will regularly delve into biographic data and carry out careful textual analyses.

Style-breaking

Although a good literary work which uses recycled materials has merits of its own, the practice of "genre translation" seems to be in some way associated with plagiarism, which was a common phenomenon in medieval literatures. For instance, in *al-ʿUmdah,* Ibn Rashīq devotes an entire chapter to plagiarism. According to him, no poet can claim to be entirely free of plagiarism in his composition.[54] He identifies three types of plagiarist:

10

One of the modern talents (*baʿḍ al-ḥudhdhāq min al-mutaʾakhkhirīn*) said: Whoever takes (*akhadha*) a poetic concept (*maʿnā*) along with its wording (*bi lafẓihi*)…is a thief (*sāriq*); if he changes part of its wording, he is a "skinner" (*sālikh*); but if he transforms some of the concept in order to hide it (*li yakhfiyahu*) or totally change its form (*qalabahu ʿan wajhihi*), this is a sign of his skill (*dalīl hadhqihi*).[55]

Ibn Rashīq uses the term "stealing" (*sariqāt*) to express his disapproval of plagiarism, while also providing ways of discriminating different levels of it. In any case, a copyist of wording (*lafẓ*) is regarded as a stupid thief. However a transformation of the poetic concept or a clever novelty of form is "a sign of his skill."

The mid-Tang littérateur, Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824 C.E.), advocates in his compositions of both poetry and prose the so-called *poti* 破體 ("style-breaking"), a term that implies mixing the styles of other genres or breaking the usual style of a genre. Although "the doctrine of generic purity" has been respected by some as an aesthetic criterion[56] (or *zunti* 尊體, "style-respecting" in the Chinese criticism), *poti* has been applied widely by world littérateurs in their pursuit of literary novelty. Style-breaking is closely related to the discussion of plagiarism in classical Arabic literary criticism. Ibn Rashīq's predecessor, Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. *c*. 399/1009), lists three means of concealing theft (*ikhfāʾ al-sarq*):

(a) presentation in prose of a *maʿnā* taken from poetry; (b) presentation in poetry of a *maʿnā* taken from prose; and (c) use of a borrowed *maʿnā* to different purposes, e.g., in a eulogy instead of descriptive passage.[57]

The first two means are known, respectively, as *ḥall* ("untying a knot"/prosification) and *ʿaqd*/*naẓm* ("making a knot"/versification). In a subsequent chapter[58] we will discuss in

11

detail al-Hamadhānī's practice of prosification and versification in the *Maqāmāt*.

Finally we want to propose a wider definition of "genre translation" based on the above discussion of "concealing theft." Hanan's theory basically focuses on the transfer of material in targeted genres. In order to show originality and mark the "differentiation in quality," this transfer of material (or *maʿnā*) is inevitably accompanied by a change in modes of speech (versification or prosification) or mixing the styles/forms of other genres. A genre is the combination of a formal differentiation and a functional differentiation. If the form of Genre A is now transferred to Genre B, it is very likely that the function of Genre B will then partly resemble that of Genre A. Therefore, we propose to expand Hanan's theory to include the transfer of form/function. We will return to this point in Chapter II, where we try to relate the *Maqāmāt*'s use of *sajʿ* to al-Iskandarī's divinatory functions inherited from pre-Islamic soothsayers.

In the following chapter we will introduce the author al-Hamadhānī and his *Maqāmāt*.

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[1] It consists of two roots, the Latin *prosa* and the Latinized Greek *metrum* (from the Greek *metron* which means "meter"). For a short history of the term "prosimetrum", see Jan Ziolkowski, "The Prosimetrum in the Classical Tradition," in *Prosimetrum: Cross-cultural Perspectives on Narrative in Prose and Verse*, eds. Joseph Harris and Karl Reichl (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997), 45-65, esp. 45-48.

[2] T. V. F. Brogan, "Prosimetrum," in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, eds. Alex Preminger and T. V. F. Brogan (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1993, online version). To limit the scope of this study, we shall mainly look into prosimetrum in a more restricted sense, in elite belletristic literature.

[3] M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: four essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 20-21.

[4] Victor H. Mair, *Tun-Huang Popular Narratives* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983), and Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts: A Study of the Buddhist Contribution to the Rise of Vernacular Fiction and Drama in China* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University: Distributed by Harvard UP, 1989).

[5] Patrick Hanan, *The Chinese Vernacular Story* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1981). *Huaben* literally means "script for narrating." Hanan holds that the majority of *huaben* texts were intended for private reading, see ibid., 28-30.

[6] Pen-yeh Tsao 曹本冶, *The Music of Su-chou 'T'an-tz'u'* (Hong Kong: The Chinese UP, 1988).

[7] Wolfhart Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres in Classical Arabic Literature," in *Prosimetrum*, 249-76. Dwight F. Reynolds, "Prosimetrum in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Arabic Literature," in *Prosimetrum*, 277-94.

[8] Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres," 249.

[9] In the following text, the *Maqāmāt* (italicized, capitalized, and led by the definite article) stand for al-Hamadhānī's collection of *maqāmāt*.

[10] Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī, *Al-ʿUmdah fī maḥāsin al-shiʿr wa adabihi wa naqdihi* (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-ʿAṣrīyah, 2001), 1:12; translation consulted from Vincente Cantarino, *Arabic Poetics in the Golden Age* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), 141.

[11] "Metre," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, academic edition, online version.

[12] *The Comedies of Aristophanes*, trans. W. J. Hickie (London: H.G. Bohn, 1853), 1:143. A choenix is "a dry measure of ancient Greece, variously estimated at one quart, and 1½ pints imperial measure," see "choenix, *n.*," in *Oxford English Dictionary*, online version (hereafter cited as *OED*).

[13] Qudāmah ibn Jaʿfar, *Naqd al-shʿr* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1979), 17; Cantarino, *Arabic Poetics*, 120 (with change of "meaning" into "idea").

[14] See the meter schemes in W. Stoetzer, "Prosody (ʿarūḍ)," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, eds. Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (London: Routledge, 1998), 619-22, esp. 621.

[15] George Makdisi, *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1990), 131, 194. Rhyme is not totally unknown in Homer (*Iliad* 2.87-88, 9.236-38), Aristophanes (*Clouds* 709-15; *Wasps* 133-35) or Virgil (*Aeneid* 1.625-26, 2.124-25). We may even regard *yamaka* (paronomasia) as a sign of internal rhyme in Sanskrit. However, the use of rhyming (especially end rhymes) in the classical Greek, Latin and Sanskrit poems is definitely not as consistent as in Arabic.

[16] Daṇḍin, *Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa, Chapter I*, trans. and ed. Rampada Bhattacharya (Calcutta: Sanskrit Book Depot, 1974), 24.

[17] Karl Reichl and Joseph Harris, "Introduction," in *Prosimetrum*, 1-16 (quotation from 7).

[18] Toufic Fahd, W. P. Heinrichs, and A. Ben Abdesselem, "Sadjʿ," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed, eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs (Leiden: Brill, online version) (hereafter cited as *EI²*); also see John N. Mattock, "The Early History of the *Maqāma*," in *Journal of Arabic Literature* 15 (1984): 1-18, esp. 6.

[19] Kristin Hanson and Paul Kiparsky, "The Nature of Verse and its Consequences for the Mixed Form," in *Prosimetrum*, 17-44 (quotation from 20).

[20] See "genre" and "gender (*n.*, *v.*)," in *OED*, online version.

[21] Frederick Garber, G. N. G. O., T. V. F. Brogan, "Genre," in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*.

[22] Aristotle, *The Works of Aristotle* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, c1952), 2:681.

[23] Ibid., 2:682.

[24] Madabushi Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), i. "Rhythm alone, without harmony, is the means in the dancer's imitation.…There is further an art which imitates by language alone, without harmony, in prose or in verse.…" See Aristotle, *Works*, 2:681.

[25] Aristotle, *Works*, 2:682.

[26] Plato, *The Dialogues of Plato* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, c1952), 329.

[27] Garber et al., "Genre".

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] *Wen xuan, or, Selections of refined literature*, trans. David R. Knechtges (Taipei: SMC Publishing, Inc., 1982-), 1:21-22 (hereafter cited as *Wen xuan*). Also see James R. Hightower, "The *Wen Hsüan* and Genre Theory," in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20: 512-33.

[31] Jaroslaus Tkatsch, *Die arabische Übersetzung der Poetik des Aristoteles und die Gundlage der Kritik des griechischen Textes* (Vienna; Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky A. G., 1928), 1:132.

[32] See the section "*You*" of Chapter II.

[33] *Wen xuan*, 1: 17; Liu Xie 劉勰, *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍, trans. Vincent Yu-chung Shih (Hongkong: The Chinese UP, 1983), 444-45.

[34] See "genre" and "gender (*n.*, *v.*)," in *OED*.

[35] Cyril Birch, "Introduction," in *Studies in Chinese Literary Genres*, ed. Cyril Birch (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 1-7 (quotation from 1).

[36] Victor H. Mair, "The Prosimetric Form in the Chinese Literary Tradition," in *Prosimetrum*, 365-85 (quotation from 373). Hanan's theory looks similar to "literary genetics" which was proposed by Henry Wells in *New Poets from Old*, see René Wellek and Austin Warren, *Theory of Literature* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, c1956), 225.

[37] Hanan, *The Chinese Vernacular Story*, 19.

[38] A. F. L. Beeston, "The Genesis of the *Maqāmāt* Genre," in *Journal of Arabic Literature* 2 (1971): 1-12. In this article, Beeston compares the *maqāmah* to "The Weaver's Story" found in Abū ʿAlī al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī's (329-384/940-994) anecdote collection *al-Faraj baʿda al-shiddah* (Relief after Adversity). The weaver, who turns out to be an eloquent scribe (a weaver of words instead of cloth), bears a strong resemblance to the beggar al-Iskandarī.

[39] J. N. Mattock, "The Early History of the *Maqāma*."

[40] J. Hämeen-Anttila, "The *Maqāma* of the Lion," in *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures* 1, no. 2 (1998): 141-52.

[41] Daṇḍin, *Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa,* 50.

[42] The tentative translation is mine, after consulting the translation in Daṇḍin, *Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa*, 54, and the chart in Siegfried Lienhard, *A History of Classical Poetry: Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984), 47.

[43] Scholars such as Siegfried Lienhard (*A History of Classical Poetry*, 267) define it in a narrow sense: for him the earliest *campū* is dated to the beginning of the 10th century. However we prefer to view *campū* in a broader context.

[44] Haribhaṭṭa, *Haribhaṭṭa in Nepal: ten legends from his Jātakamālā and the anonymous Śākyasiṃhajātaka*, ed. Michael Hahn (Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies, 2007), 40.

[45] Āryaśūra, *The Jātakamālā*: *Garland of birth-stories of Āryaśūra*, trans. J. S. Speyer (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971), xxv.

[46] Ibid., xv.

[47] Ibid., xvi.

[48] Ibid., xxviii.

[49] Ibid., xxv.

[50] Ibid., xxv, 1.

[51] Umberto Eco, *Postscript to the Name of the Rose*, trans. William Weaver (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch, 1983), 20.

[52] Tony Davenport, *Medieval Narrative: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), 3. Also see Hans Robert Jauss and Timothy Bahti, "The Alterity and Modernity of Medieval Literature," in *New Literary History* 10, no. 2 (1979): 181-229, esp. 188.

[53] Jauss and Bahti, "Alterity and Modernity," 189.

[54] Ibn Rashīq, *al-ʿUmdah*, 2:282.

[55] Ibid. Translation quoted from Cantarino, *Arabic Poetics*, 57 (with change). Coincidently, the Chinese monk-poet Jiao Ran 皎然 (*c*. 730-799 C.E.) listed three kinds of plagiarism (*tou* 偷) in his book *Shishi* 詩式 (Poetic Structure). Among Arabic literary critics, Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. *c*. 1009) was the first one who discussed plagiarism and distinguished the *sāriq* and the *sālikh*. See Gustav E. von Grunebaum, "The Concept of Plagiarism in Arabic Theory," in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 3, no. 4 (1944): 234-53, esp. 237. In that article, von Grunebaum also compares the basic views on plagiarism in classical Greek and Arabic traditions.

[56] Wellek and Warren, *Theory of Literature*, 225.

[57] Von Grunebaum, "The Concept of Plagiarism," 237.

[58] See the section "The lion" in Chapter III.

I   Al-Hamadhānī and his *Maqāmāt*

Hamadhān

Although "there is still much scholarly debate concerning the origins of the genre,"[1] the *maqāmah*'s beginning is often associated with Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Hamadhānī, dubbed "the wonder of the age" (Badīʿ al-zamān). At some point towards the end of the 4th/10th century, al-Hamadhānī began to compose a collection of fictional narratives. They are called the *Maqāmāt* after which the genre took its name.

Our author was born around 358/969[2] in Hamadhān (Hamadān), a city in the northwest of modern Iran. He once wrote in one of his letters (sg. *risālah*, pl. *rasāʾil*): "My name is Aḥmad and Hamadhān is my birthplace. Taghlib is my source and Muḍar my lineage."[3] Although these two lines had been regarded as proof of al-Hamadhānī's Arab blood, we cannot overlook the possibility that Hamadhān's deep Iranian roots[4] had played a role in our author's education. The 1903 Cairo edition of al-Hamadhānī's *Dīwān* (anthology of poetry) includes three poems which were "a translation of the Persian meaning" (*tarjamat maʿnā fārisī*).[5] It also contains a poem in which al-Hamadhānī panegyrizes Maḥmūd of Ghaznah (r. 388-421/998-1030) and compares him to Frēdōn, the legendary king of Iran.[6] The editors apparently consider al-Hamadhānī as an Iranian master of Arabic language.[7] As is the case with regard to the question of al-Hamadhānī's mother tongue, it is hard to speculate on the reasons for their comment regardless of

al-Hamadhānī's own claim in the *Rasāʾil*. Instead we prefer to follow the example of Muṣṭafā al-Shakʿah who clearly points out that the Iranian influence to be found in his poetic writing is the anticipatable consequence of his education and growth in an Iranian environment.[8] We ask our readers to keep this in mind for we will argue in the end of this study that al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt* collection may have included some residue of Iranian Buddhism.

Rayy

The 4th/10th century marks both the literary renaissance and political rise of the Iranians. It is the century when Firdawsī (d. 411/1020), at the court of Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, composed the great epic *Shāhnāmah* that established the foundations of New Persian. It also witnessed a huge decentralization process in the Arabic-Islamic world. Baghdad was still the seat of the Abbasid caliphs (132-656/750-1258), but their authority was subordinated to that of the Iranian Būyids who had entered Baghdad in the year 334/945.[9]

The Būyids or Buwayhids were originally *condottieri* from the highlands of Gīlān (northwest Iran). First in the Iranian plateau, then in Iraq, the Shīʿī Būyid dynasty (320-454/932-1062) marked the "Iranian intermezzo"[10] together with the Sāmānid dynasty (204-395/819-1005) of Khurāsān and Transoxania and the Ṣaffārid dynasty (247-393/861-1003) of Sijistān. In spite of such political turbulence (or even as a consequence of it), a cultural revival occurred, with a number of provincial rulers and

viziers offering patronage. "Hamadhān, Rayy, and Shīrāz, previously overshadowed by Baghdad, became cultural magnets in the tenth century."[11] One thing that needs to be noted is that the Būyids, as opposed to the Sāmānids to the northeast or the Ṣaffārids to the southeast, covered "a strongly arabicised area."[12] This may help to explain why al-Hamadhānī's extant works do not show "any more Persian influence than other late 10th-century literature written in Iraq and Iran in general."[13]

In the year 380/990, al-Hamadhānī left his hometown and arrived at the court of the Būyid vizier al-Ṣāḥib ibn ʿAbbād (d. 385/995) in Rayy.[14] His literary salons (sg. *majlis*, pl. *majālis*, meaning "place of sitting; session; assembly") had attracted figures like the prosaists Abū Bakr al-Khwārizimī (323-83/934-93) and Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023), the critic al-Qāḍī al-Jurjānī (d. 391/1001), the philosopher Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), and the *jawwālah* (globe-trotter) Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī.[15]

According to his biography, al-Hamadhānī had already exhausted the knowledge of his teacher, the lexicographer (*lughawī*) Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004), before he went off to Rayy.[16] However, no matter how well the young man was prepared, his stay did not last very long, probably only for a few months.[17] After all, the salon of the great vizier was full of established scholars, and it was, no doubt, difficult or impossible for Ibn ʿAbbād to attach much importance to the newcomer. Nevertheless, even such a short stay may well have provided him with a taste of "the general atmosphere in the court."[18] At a later stage Ibn ʿAbbād's interest in lowlife figures[19] and his ardor for the very ornate *sajʿ* were to give al-Hamadhānī inspirations for the *Maqāmāt*.

17

Nishapur

Our author then headed for Jurjān (or Gorgan), the modern capital of Golestan province in Iran. There he resided for a year or so, in close relationship with an elite Shāfiʿī family.[20] It would appear that the Shāfiʿī al-Hamadhānī[21] was better treated here than at the court of Ibn ʿAbbād, the Shīʿī and Muʿtazilī[22] vizier. Before long, he decided to move on to Nishapur to meet the great stylist Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī.[23]

It was in the year 382/992 that our author arrived at Nishapur. But the journey was not at all a smooth one.[24] As a matter of fact, highway robbery appears several times as a theme in al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*. In the *Maqāmah of Jurjān* (*al-Maqāmah al-Jurjānīyah*), for example, the hero al-Iskandarī complains that the hardship of the journey has made him so poor that he has become "barer than the palm of the hand" (*anqā min al-rāḥah*),[25] a phrase that is also to be found in one of al-Hamadhānī's letters.[26] As travel became a requirement in the quest for knowledge and fame, scholars like al-Hamadhānī had to learn to accept whatever mishaps might occur on the way, and to be prepared for abrupt changes in personal fortune or political power. We read in the preface to Abū ʿAlī al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī's (329-384/940-994) anecdote collection *al-Faraj baʿda al-shiddah* (Relief after Adversity) that:

> I have seen the children of this world, [whose fortune is] being changed between welfare and evil, between benefit and harm. In the time of easiness, nothing has been more useful for them than to thank and praise. While in the time of trial, nothing was more beneficial than to forbear and pray.[27]

The hardships of travel probably brought al-Hamadhānī a sense of relief in his new abode. It was in Nishapur that he showed his literary talents.[28] Al-Hamadhānī is said to have dictated four hundred *maqāmāt*, which he ascribed (*naḥala*) to Abū al-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī, on beggary and other themes.[29] It was also in Nishapur that, at least according to his own version to be found in the *Rasāʾil*,[30] he won a debate against al-Khwārizmī, after a series of occasions involving correspondence, competition, debate, and contention (*mukātabāt wa mubāhāt wa munāẓarāt wa munāḍalāt*).[31] When al-Khwārizmī died in the year 383/993, "the space was vacated for al-Hamadhānī, and he was involved in favorable situations and many journeys" in Khurāsān, Sijistān and Ghaznah until he settled down in Herat.[32]

As opposed to the *Maqāmāt*'s hero who travels profusely in the Islamic east, al-Hamadhānī probably only traveled east from his hometown. It was in Herat that he "spent the last ten or more years of his life."[33] There he married the daughter of a local noble[34] and enjoyed a well-endowed and pleasant life until his death in 398/1008. [35]

Four hundred *maqāmāt*

As we just said, al-Hamadhānī began to compose the *maqāmāt* "after his arrival in Nishapur but before his debate with al-Khwārizmī."[36] When people study the history of the *Maqāmāt*, they often quote one letter in which al-Hamadhānī criticized a poem of al-Khwārizmī. This letter is marked by an angry tone since al-Hamadhānī was informed that al-Khwārizmī had belittled his *Maqāmāt*:

19

But I would not have revealed these secrets, torn aside these veils, and pointed out his shame (*ʿār*) and defect (*ʿawār*), were it not for reports reaching me of his objections to what I have dictated (*fī mā amlaynā*), and his ready criticism of what I have recited (*fī mā rawaynā*), of the *maqāmāt* of al-Iskandarī, saying that this is all I can do and the most I can achieve. If this worthy man were more just, he would test his own talents on five *maqāmāt*, or ten lying fictions (*muftarayāt*)[37]…but if his effort was unsuccessful and his limitations became apparent, he would then acknowledge that someone who can dictate four hundred *maqāmāt* on beggary (*man amlā min maqāmāt al-kudyah arbaʿamiʾat maqāmah*), no two of them alike in either wording or concept, while he is himself incapable of producing even a tenth of them, has every right to expose his faults![38]

The number four hundred,[39] which must have excluded the six pieces praising Khalaf ibn Aḥmad of Sijistān, does not conform with the numbers to be found in any known *Maqāmāt* manuscripts.[40] However, what interests us most is that al-Hamadhānī seemed to have dictated four hundred pieces from a specific branch of a known genre (*maqāmāt al-kudyah*). All of which leads to the question as to what the term *maqāmah*[41] meant exactly when our author composed his *Maqāmāt*?

In a line by Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā (d. *c*. 607 C.E.) which was quoted by al-Hamadhānī in the *Maqāmah of Jurjān*, *maqāmāt* is used in parallel with *andiyah* (sg. *nadī*, "tribal council"):

wa fīhim maqāmātun ḥisānun wujūhuhum
   wa andiyatun yantābuhā ʾl-qawlu waʾl-fiʿlū

And among those whose faces are fair, there are *maqāmāt*
   and councils that are followed by words and deeds.[42]

In fact the plural *maqāmāt* is common to two nouns, *maqām* and *maqāmah*. Carl Brockelmann notes that both are derived from the radical *q-w-m* (to rise, to stand in order

to perform an action) and can indicate "scene of warlike actions" in classical poetry.[43]

According to the above line of Zuhayr, a *maqām* is the occasion where a speaker boasts of heroic actions of his tribe. Here *maqām* is used in conjunction with *nadī*,[44] which also means "an assembly."[45] We suggest that, as *maqām* emphasizes the tribal exploits, *nadī* implies the terse and fervent verbal contest[46] that forms the core of the speakers' presentations. Edward Lane quotes an anonymous verse to explain the meaning of *nadī*:

> *atā ʾl-nadīya fa lā yuqarrabu majlisī*
> *wa aqūdu liʾl-sharafi ʾl-rafīʿi ḥimārī*

> I come to the assembly, and my sitting-place is not made near [to the chief person or persons],
> and I lead to the high elevated place my ass.[47]

The above line vividly describes the audience's enthusiasm for such tribal gatherings. A *majlis*, understood as literary salon around al-Hamadhānī's time,[48] might originally mean a seat and therefore emphasizes the posture of council attendees.

During the 3rd/9th century, that is, before al-Hamadhānī and Ibn Durayd's (223-321/837-933) time,[49] *maqāmāt* may still be interpreted as discourses of military actions. However their connotation was extended to "edifying addresses delivered before a distinguished audience."[50] For example, Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/899) arranges in his *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* (Jewels of Information) a chapter entitled "the *maqāmāt* of the ascetics in front of the caliphs and the kings" (*Maqāmāt al-zuhhād ʿinda al-khulafāʾ waʾl-mulūk*),[51] in which he reproduces ten pious homilies designated by the singular *maqām*.[52] The first *maqām* in the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, that of the homily of Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAbd

21

al-Jalīl in front of the Abbasid caliph al-Mahdī (r. 158-69/775-85), begins as follows:

> *qāma wa qāla: innahu lammā sahula ʿalaynā mā tawaʿʿara ʿalā ghayrinā min al-wuṣūl ilayka, qumnā maqāma al-adāʾ ʿanhum wa ʿan rasūl al-lāh ṣallā al-lāh ʿalayhi wa sallama bi iẓhār mā fī aʿnāqinā min farīḍat al-amr wa ʾl-nahy…*
>
> He [Ṣāliḥ] stood up and said: when it became easy for us but hard for others to reach you [al-Mahdī], we stood up to convey from them and from the Prophet of Allah (peace and blessings be upon him) the manifestation of the divine ordinance of command and prohibition that are upon our necks…[53]

It is noteworthy that the phrase "*qāma wa qāla*" appears three times in those ten *maqām*s. When speaking of the word *maqāmah*, al-Shakʿah cites *wa li-kulli maqāmah maqālah* (every situation has its own [level of] language) from al-Khwārizmī's *Rasāʾil*.[54] Interestingly, al-Hamadhānī uses *wa li-kulli maqām maqāl* in the *Maqāmah of Jāḥiẓ* (*al-Maqāmah al-Jāḥiẓīyah*). His contemporary Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī also quotes *li-kulli maqām maqāl* in explaining *balāghah* (eloquence).[55] For al-ʿAskarī, people should not use the words of a female servant (*kalām al-amah*) in addressing a noble, or those of subjects (*kalām al-sūqah*) to a king. Such behavior only shows their "ignorance of [appropriate] situations" (*jahl bi ʾl-maqāmāt*).[56]

Based on all the above information, two remarks may be made here. Firstly, if *maqāmah* and *maqām* were used interchangeably in the time of al-Hamadhānī, then our author might well be using *maqāmah* to designate pious homily as well.[57] Secondly, since al-ʿAskarī's definition of eloquence is harmony between *maqāl*(*ah*) and *maqām*(*ah*), then it can be inferred that al-Hamadhānī probably did not want *maqāmah* to denote anything but pious speeches made by ascetics or other preachers. His hero, al-Iskandarī,

22

is an itinerant trickster who frequently changes identity. Therefore his *maqāmāt* should be seen as a collection of proper *maqālāt* spoken in any situation. Moreover, some episodes do not focus on the eloquence of al-Iskandarī but illustrate his picaresque adventures, which echoes or even parodies "heroic actions," i.e., the original meaning of *maqām*(*ah*). For his great successor, Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī (446-516/1054-1122), al-Hamadhānī had created (*abdaʿa*)[58] a new genre with its own form and function.

Imlāʾ vs. *inshāʾ*

Besides the "four hundred *maqāmāt*" there are other things worthy of our attention in al-Hamadhānī's letter. Firstly, he claims that no two *maqāmāt* are alike in either wording or concept. But his statement is clearly incompatible with our impression of the extant pieces.[59] Secondly, al-Hamadhānī twice uses the verb *amlā* (to dictate) in his letter. *Imlāʾ* (pl. *amālī*, "dictation"), which is the verbal noun of *amlā*, was actually an important genre from "as early as the eighth century."[60]

With this in mind, what then are the characteristics of an *imlāʾ*-dictation? We will begin by quoting al-Qālī's (d. 356/967) introduction to his *Amālī*:

> Seeing that knowledge is the most precious merchandise, I knew for certain that setting out in search of it would be the best kind of commerce. I therefore left my homeland to *hear* knowledge transmitted, and I clung to the scholars in order to understand it. Then I busied myself in *collecting* it, and worked my intelligence in *memorizing* it, until I had gathered the most significant part of it…I then dictated this book from memory on Thursdays, in Cordova, in the Mosque of the Blessed Shining City, *az-Zahrāʾ*…[61]

The italicized words highlight the process of making an anthology of dictations. Before

dictating the anthology in Cordoba, al-Qālī had undertaken a long process of listening, producing written versions, memorizing, and selecting. The *Amālī* might have gone through several revisions and additions before it took its final shape and thus bore the stamp of al-Qālī and his amanuenses.[62]

In his article on the extant manuscripts of al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*, D. S. Richards points out that while "Ḥarīrī gave us an unequivocal statement of the size of his output when he wrote in his own introduction 'I have composed….fifty *maqāma*s'," "the position with Hamadhānī is less clear."[63] However, if we posit the notion that al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt* were intended to be a collection of *amālī* rather than a prefaced book, the aforementioned discrepancies between his statement in the *Rasāʾil* and the actual pieces to be found in today's *Maqāmāt* version can be explained.

At this point we need to note that the standard version of fifty-one *maqāmāt* was edited and expurgated by Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1323/1905) in 1889.[64] As the most popular and studied version of the *maqāmāt*, it will be depended upon heavily in this study. In the margins of al-Hamadhānī's *Rasāʾil* (published in 1928), there is also an unexpurgated version of the *Maqāmāt* which contains fifty-two stories.[65]

In contrast to al-Hamadhānī, al-Ḥarīrī in the preface to his fifty *Maqāmāt* uses the verb *anshaʾa* (to compose) three times and its derived noun *inshāʾ* once. If in al-Hamadhānī's time the *maqāmah* was still being "dictated," it is clear that al-Ḥarīrī "composed" his in written form. For instance, the *Maqāmah of the Spotted* (*al-Maqāmah al-Raqṭāʾ*) by al-Ḥarīrī contains a long letter where every other grapheme has a dot on

it;[66] this kind of linguistic virtuosity surely requires an exclusively visual reception.

What cultural developments occurred during this century-long gap between al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī, resulting in this compositional difference? Firstly, Shawkat Toorawa suggests in his work on Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (204-80/819-93) that the shift from "predominately oral to combinations of oral and written" could be dated to the 3rd/9th century.[67] Secondly, "the watershed," as Jonathan Bloom states in *Paper Before Print*, "seems to have been crossed by the twelfth century, when the general availability of paper allowed early patterns of oral transmission of authority and knowledge to be altered."[68] Therefore, the transition from *imlāʾ* to *inshāʾ* in the field of *maqāmah* compositions, which may have occurred in late 10th and early 11th centuries, echoes the larger shift from an orality-dominated to a literacy-dominated Arabo-Islamic culture.

Riwāyah and *ḥikāyah*

In the same letter al-Hamadhānī uses the verb *rawā* (to convey water; to recite; to transmit) alongside *amlā*. Stefan Leder has the following to say about the application of its verbal noun, *riwāyah*:

> In classical Arabic the noun *riwāya* mostly applies to the technical meaning of transmission of poems, narratives, *ḥadīth*s and also applies to the authorised transmission of books. *Riwāya* may sometimes appear synonymous with *ḥikāya*, and is used in classical Persian in the sense of a *ḥadīth*; in modern Arabic usage it has become an equivalent of "story, novel, play".[69]

Rawā was first used in the transmission of pre- and early Islamic poetry; the active

participle *rāwī* (reciter and transmitter)[70] was used to designate the bard who had memorized the works of the poet and was sent to other places to perform the recitation.[71] His function was of course more than a "recorder"; he was to be seen as an apprentice poet.[72] Later, the denotation of *rāwī* was to cover the transmitters of narrative anecdotes (sg. *khabar*, pl. *akhbār*) and reports (*ḥadīth*). Quoting again from al-Ḥarīrī's preface to his *Maqāmāt*:

> *wa ʿazā ilā Abī al-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī nashāʾatahā wa ilā ʿĪsā ibn Hishām riwāyatahā wa kilāhumā majhūl lā yuʿrafu wa nakira lā tataʿarrafu*
>
> He [al-Hamadhānī] had referred the origination (of the *Maqāmāt*) to Abūʾl Fatḥ of Alexandria and the transmission to ʿĪsa, son of Hishām.—Both of them are persons obscure, not known; vague, not to be recognized.[73]

With the word *riwāyah*, the relationship between al-Iskandarī and ʿĪsā ibn Hishām is comparable to that between the poet and the bard.[74] *Riwāyah* also suggests an audience scene. Almost every Hamadhānian *maqāmah* begins with the opening formula (*isnād*, "a chain of transmitters"): ʿĪsā ibn Hishām related to us and said (*ḥaddathanā ʿĪsā bnu Hishāmin qāla*).

In al-Hamadhānī's time or slightly later, there appeared a prosimetric fiction entitled *Ḥikāyat Abī al-Qāsim*.[75] Hämeen-Anttila points out that the *Ḥikāyah* contains several passages which are found verbatim in al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt*, especially those connected with beggars.[76] In the preface the author, Abū al-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, quotes the famous passage from al-Jāḥiẓ's (d. 255/868-9) *Kitāb al-bayān waʾl-tabyīn* (Book of Clarity and Clear Expression), summarized by Charles Pellat as follows:

…there existed imitators (*ḥākiya*) able…not only to copy the mannerisms, gestures, the voice and the habits of speech of the different ethnic groups which formed the population of the empire, and more particularly of the capital, but also to reproduce with the most exact fidelity the demeanour and bearing of various types of people, the blind for example, and finally to imitate the calls of wild and domestic animals.[77]

Al-Hamadhānī's chameleonic hero al-Iskandarī, who can mimic the blind and pretend to be monkey-trainer, barber, preacher, or mountebank, is indeed comparable to such a *ḥākiyah* (the intensive form of *ḥākī*).[78] In fact, the term "mimesis" was translated as *ḥikāyah* by Mattā ibn Yūnus in his Arabic version of Aristotle's *Poetics*.[79] Scholars have pointed out that the medieval Arabs were probably familiar with Greek drama.[80] As for al-Azdī, he seems to have had well-developed ideas concerning length, language, and closure for a *ḥikāyah*:

> *wa idhā qaddamtu hādhihi al-jumlah fa aqūlu hādhihi ḥikāyah muqaddarah ʿalā aḥwāl yawm wāḥid min awwalihi ilā ākhirihi aw laylah kadhālika wa innamā yumkinu istīfāʾuhā wa istighrāquhā fī mithl hādhihi al-muddah…wa maʿa qawl aḥad al-bulaghāʾ milḥ al-nādirah fī laḥnihā wa ḥalāwatuhā fī qaṣr matnihā wa ḥarāratuhā ḥusnu munqaṭiʿihā…*

> If I presented this proposition, then I would say that it is a form of mimesis whose length should be limited to around a single day, from beginning to end, or likewise [around a single] night, so that the entire work can be preformed and reach its ending within such a space of time… An eloquent person has said that the flavor of a literary anecdote (*nādirah*) lies in its colloquial language, its sweetness in the brevity of its text, and its heat in the elegant ending…[81]

According to this statement, a *ḥikāyah* is not only to be kept "within a single circuit of the sun,"[82] but also performed in "(a single) night"[83] since the night-conversation (*samar* or *sāmir*) was perhaps more suited to some hot regions in the Islamic world.[84] It is clear that

both *riwāyah* and *ḥikāyah* are related to a dialogue situation of a session.[85] Likewise, the Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* are heavily depended upon dialogue.[86] Al-Azdī's statement also notes the stark constrast of standard and colloquial languages to be found in a literary work. At a later point,[87] we will see that prose and poetry in the Hamadhānian *maqāmah* belong to different language levels, and the readers could relish such a work when going from one medium to another.

Al-Jāḥiẓ criticized

As we noted in the preceding section, pre-Islamic poetry was mostly handed down orally from poet to bard. There is no need for us to repeat the legends about the seven or ten most prized *qaṣīdah*s (polythematic long poems), the so-called *Muʿallaqāt* (The Suspended Ones). Probably from the middle of the 8th century C.E. Arabs began to collect and canonize a corpus of pre- and early Islamic poetry. Poetry was even called for the first time, by the critic Ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī (d. 231/845), the archive of the Arabs (*Dīwān al-ʿArab*).[88]

Dīwān is a loan-word from Persian (**dipi-bān*, "guardian of the documents") and is also connected with the Neo-Persian word *dibīr* (scribe).[89] From the time of the second Caliph, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 23/644), to the era of the Būyid dynasty, the word *dīwān* had also been used to designate "department" in the ever-growing administrative apparatus.[90] The gradual transition from orality to literacy, coupled with such a significant development in bureaucratic prose-writing (*inshāʾ dīwānī*) and the class of

scribes (sg. *kātib*, pl. *kuttāb*), led to an emerging situation in which prose came to rival poetry.

The art of Arabic prose writing was said to have begun with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (d. 132/750) and to have ended with Ibn al-ʿAmīd (d. 360/970).[91] It is probably no coincidence that both of them were (or once were) chancery secretaries (*kātib rasāʾil*). There were also writers who were "free and independent of the government,"[92] including al-Khwārizmī and al-Hamadhānī.[93] Anīs al-Maqdisī divides styles of composition (*al-asālīb al-inshāʾiyah*) "from the time of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd till today" into three main categories:

> 1. The parallel style (*al-uslūb al-mutawāzin*) which is coupled (*muzdawij*) but not rhymed—it comprises the epistolary works of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, al-Jāḥiẓ and others like them.
> 2. The rhymed style (*al-uslūb al-musajjaʿ*)—comprising the bureaucratic (*dīwānīyah*) and literary (*adabīyah*) epistolographies, the *maqāmāt*, etc.
> 3. The unrestricted/free style (*al-uslūb al-muṭlaq*)—the primary prose style in scientific, historic and sociological works of the past, and the common style of composition in modern times.[94]

The category of scribe often overlaps with the category of *adīb* (pl. *udabāʾ*, "littérateur")[95] in classical Islam. According to George Makdisi, the training of an *adīb* included fields like grammar, poetry, eloquence, oratory, epistolary art, history, and moral philosophy. We should note that most *udabāʾ* were Muslims, and thus would also have been familiar with the Qurʾān, Ḥadīth, and even Islamic law (*fiqh*).[96] Based on a reading of the extant works of Ibn Fāris,[97] al-Hamadhānī's teacher was certainly such a versatile

adīb. Al-Hamadhānī himself, in mastering these different subjects, was equally proficient in both prose and poetry:

> He would adorn (*yuwashshiḥu*) his unique *qaṣīdah* with his noble *risālah*, then read the prose from the poetry and recite the poetry from the prose. Given many rhymes, he would connect them with elegant lines. Requested [to produce] an abstruse and difficult [piece] of prose, he would extemporize it more quickly than a blink of eye, [more rapidly than the time needed for] the saliva to be swallowed or breath to be stopped.[98]

For him, poetry and prose have never been innate opponents of each other. His hero al-Iskandarī is made to speak frankly in the *Maqāmah of Jāḥiẓ*:

> Verily Jāḥiẓ limps in one department of rhetoric and halts in the other. Now the eloquent man is he whose poetry does not detract from his prose and whose prose is not ashamed of his verse.[99]

Al-Jāḥiẓ, the greatest polymath and prosaist in the 3rd/9th century,[100] was one of the representatives of the parallel style mentioned above by al-Maqdisī. Making al-Jāḥiẓ the target of this literary criticism was probably not a random choice for al-Hamadhānī.[101] In that *Maqāmah*, al-Iskandarī states that "every age has its al-Jāḥiẓ" and opposes granting the prosaist great prestige simply because he had established his status in former times.

Al-Hamadhānī believes that poetry and prose were the two elements in rhetoric. Replicating his own proficiency in both, the eloquent person (*al-balīgh*) needs to be simultaneously a good prosaist and poet. Judged according to such a standard, al-Jāḥiẓ "limps" in that he does not have "a single fine poem" that people choose to remember; and he "halts" since "he is tied to the simple language he uses and avoids difficult

words."[102] Al-Jāḥiẓ was renowned for his "easy but hard to imitate" prose-writing (*al-sahl al-mumtaniʿ*). The so-called *badīʿ* (innovative) movement (since 2nd/8th century) that had first decorated poetry with a larger repertoire of literary tropes—such as paronomasia (*tajnīs*) and antithesis (*ṭibāq*)—also spread its influence to prose writing by al-Hamadhānī's time. Therefore the clear-cut style of al-Jāḥiẓ was regarded by stylists in the 4th/10th century as being too simple.

Guided by his faith in the new style, al-Hamadhānī deliberately mixed *sajʿ* with poetry in the *Maqāmāt*, which were also a much more consistent example of prosimetrum than his *Rasāʾil* or the anecdotes whose plots he used in the *Maqāmāt*. He probably did not expect that one day his *Rasāʾil* would come to be described as an "easy but hard to imitate" work.[103] His *Maqāmāt* were likewise eclipsed by the more ornate and flowery works of al-Ḥarīrī; it was not until 1889 that the collection was first edited and annotated. "Every age has its al-Jāḥiẓ," as the expression has it; the standards of language and style are continually and inevitably changing.

Ayyām al-ʿArab

In a study of early Arabic oration, Tahera Qutbuddin asserts that both *risālah* and *maqāmah* were largely influenced by the form, themes, and style of *khuṭbah* (oration).[104] Indeed the *maqāmāt* were listed together with *khuṭab* (pl. of *khuṭbah*) in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi's (d. 328/940) *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* (The Unique Necklace).[105] In al-Jāḥiẓ's *Kitāb al-bukhalāʾ* (Book of Misers), there is a passage that is quoted by both Prendergast and

al-Shakʿah:

> *wa jalasa waʾl-qawm ʿArab wa kānū yufīḍūna fī al-ḥadīth wa yadhkurūna min al-shuʿarāʾ al-shāhid waʾl-mathal wa min al-khabar al-ayyām waʾl-maqāmāt.*

> He [the *kātib* ʿAbd al-Nūr] sat down (*jalasa*). The company were Arabs who were engaged in conversation (*ḥadīth*), citing evidentiary verses (*shāhid*) and proverbs (*mathal*) from the poets, as well as the (battle) days and *maqāmāt* from the anecdotes (*khabar*).[106]

Here we have a sampling of the non-*sajʿ* but beautifully paralleled prose of al-Jāḥiẓ. In this particular quotation and context, different kinds of poetry and prose were brought together in a conversation (*ḥadīth*) among Arabs. Here we need to bear in mind the previous discussion of the *riwāyah* and *ḥikāyah*, Arabic prosimetrum seems to be bolstered by oral performance and often suggests the dialogue situation of a session. The *maqāmāt* were clearly labeled by Ibn Qutaybah as a kind of prose-speech,[107] but they could not have been "pure" prose, since it is normal to find examples of poetry (*shāhid*, *mathal* or *taḍmīn*[108]) in other prose genres such as anecdotes, orations, letters, and especially the *Ayyām al-ʿArab*.

  Ayyām al-ʿArab "is the name that Arabic literature applies to the combat, skirmishes, and even wars that Arab tribes fought amongst themselves in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times."[109] Each "day" (*yawm*) is like an episode, which is usually named after the fighting location or the main characters in the story. In the above passage, al-Jāḥiẓ places both the *maqāmāt* and *ayyām* within the category of *khabar*,[110] a genre that is usually made up of an *isnād* (a chain of transmitters) and *matn* (the text proper).

32

Ayyām stories "are our best candidates for epic literature among the Arabs before Islam," to quote Heinrichs.[111] They were transmitted orally as historical traditions for generations before being collected by lexicographers like Abū ʿUbaydah (d. 209/824-5), al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (d. 170/786) and al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828) who were also famous compilers of poetry and proverbs. Generally speaking, the *ayyām* narratives were composed in "not intentionally artful"[112] prose that is interspersed with verses. In regard to their poetry, Heinrichs quotes a study carried out by Werner Caskel in 1930:

> He noticed: (1) that the poetical tradition pertaining to a certain battle-day, i.e., the corpus of poems making reference to the events, is usually grouped together at the end of the story; (2) that other, usually shorter, poems occur *within* the narrative as improvisations of participants in the events; (3) that some of the latter can be proven to be forged; and (4) that on the whole the prose narrative was not, as Carl Brockelmann had suggested, an elaboration on some of the poetical references and thus secondary, but had enough of its own life to be considered a tradition in its own right independent of the poetry. In some cases he is, however, willing to accept the proposition that the prose narrative was extracted from the poetry.[113]

In that article, Heinrichs deliberately focuses on an *ayyām* narrative entitled *Akhbār ʿUbayd ibn Sharyah al-Jurhumī* which exhibits minimum "scholarly intervention" and "followed the natural procedure of an *ayyām* performance closely."[114] *Akhbār ʿUbayd* begins with "a little frame-story" in which the first Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiyah (r. 41-60/661-680) is shown during his later years to be fond of night-conversations (*musāmarah*) and listening to the stories of the ancients (*aḥādīth man maḍā*).[115] Thus ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ (d. *c.* 42/663) recommends ʿUbayd to him, and the latter "proceeds to give his account of South Arabian history, with Muʿāwiya interrupting him to ask

33

questions at certain points, mostly at the end of story-units."[116]

Both *Ḥikāyat Abī al-Qāsim*[117] and *Akhbār ʿUbayd* can be placed in the context of night-conversations; their adaptors may have intentionally simulated the original performance environment when "literaricizing the whole setting of an *ayyām* performance including audience interaction."[118] For our study on the prosimetric style of the *Maqāmāt*, it is Caskel's first point, i.e., evidentiary verses (*shāhid*) are normally located at the end of a story-unit, that most attracts our attention. If this characteristic is also evident in a less "scholarly-intervened" story such as *Akhbār ʿUbayd*, the adaptors' loyalty to real-life performance could indicate that ending a narrative with poetry was an integral part of the *ayyām* genre.

The inner form

Up to this point we have introduced the original meaning of *maqām*(*ah*), and its connections with previous Arabic genres such as *riwāyah*, *ḥikāyah*, and *ayyām*. We also emphasized the importance of the audience scene for these earlier Arabic prosimetra. The *Maqāmāt* collection of al-Hamadhānī is a work extolling the art of speech (*maqālah*). In Chapter IV we will show that the core of the Hamadhānian *maqāmah* is dialogue, and al-Hamadhānī, by using techniques such as *isnād* and framing, simulated some kind of public presentation. Al-Hamadhānī's efforts to preserve the characteristics of oral performance in his *maqāmāt* played a great role in creating their prosimetric style. In the next two sections, we are going to discuss two important features of al-Hamadhānī's

maqāmah which made for a brand new genre in the end of the 4th/10th century.

René Wellek and Austin Warren have distinguished "outer form" (specific meter or structure) and "inner form" (attitude, tone, purpose) of a certain genre:

> The ostensible basis may be one or the other (e.g., "pastoral" and "satire" for the inner form; dipodic verse and Pindaric ode for the outer); but the critical problem will then be to find the other dimension, to complete the diagram.[119]

Wellek and Warren continue by stating that "our conception of genre should lean to the formalistic side,"[120] implying thereby that much more attention has been paid to "inner form" rather than "outer form." The tripartite division of epic, drama, and lyric, for example, is based on the criterion of the former. However, any study of a genre will not be complete without a balanced investigation of both forms.

In our discussion of al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt* thus far, two conspicuous features may correspond to the aforementioned concepts of "inner form" and "outer form," or to the genre's functional and formal differentiations.[121] The first involves al-Hamadhānī in the creation of two imaginary characters: the hero Abū al-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī and the narrator ʿĪsā ibn Hishām. Each *maqāmah* is an independent episode prefaced by a similar *isnād* –"ʿĪsā ibn Hishām related to us and said." Al-Hamadhānī's use of unknown yet unified characters sets the *Maqāmāt* apart from previous anecdotal works like *Ayyām al-ʿArab* and *al-Faraj baʿda al-shiddah*. The *Maqāmāt* were clearly not intended as a record of the author's own experience,[122] whereas al-Azdī clearly states in his preface to *Ḥikāyah* that "this is an imitation of a Baghdadian whom I used to be closely associated

with for a period of time."[123] Wadād al-Qāḍī comments that "al-Hamadhānī founded the

maqāmah genre, thereby introducing into classical Arabic literature the first work of pure

fiction narrated on the tongues of human beings, not on those of animals."[124] Apart from

just one exception, i.e., the *Maqāmah of Iblīs* (*al-Maqāmah al-Iblīsīyah*) whose hero is

Iblis the devil,[125] al-Hamadhānī's use of human characters also differentiates his

narratives from animal stories and fables which "were perhaps the most influential early

fictitious genre in Arabic literature."[126]

Hämeen-Anttila has schematized the structure of a typical *maqāmah* into "*isnād*,"

"general introduction," "link," "episode proper," "recognition scene," "envoi," and

"finale."[127] The travel theme is very prominent in the *maqāmāt*; twenty of them are

named after Islamic cities such as Jurjān, Baghdād, and Sijistān. ʿĪsā is very likely a

traveling merchant[128] who has money and time. After the initial *isnād*, he tells the

audience that for a certain reason "I was in such-and-such a city" or "I traveled from here

to there"; this constitutes the "general introduction." That is followed by a transitional

formula, like "one day, when I…" (*fa baynanā anā yawman*), "and so on till…" (*wa

halumma jarran ilā an*), leading to the "episode proper." Then through the eyes of ʿĪsā

we are introduced to an anonymous trickster who shows remarkable erudition and

eloquence, and always succeeds "in swindling money out of the gullible narrator."[129]

Al-Iskandarī is a master of disguise, quite comparable to a *ḥākiyah*. He may be in

turn a blind man, a monkey-trainer, a hoary preacher, or a well-mannered youth.[130] In the

Maqāmah of Jurjān, we find him chanting:

36

> Now at Āmid and then at Ras al-ʿAyn
>> and sometimes at Mayyafāriqīn.
> One night in Syria and then at Ahwāz
>> is my camel, and another night in ʿIrāq.[131]

Some scholars have argued that the *Maqāmāt* have close connections with the emergence of the picaresque novel.[132] Some *maqāmāt* do focus on al-Iskandarī's adventures, which seem to be a parody of the original meaning of the genre's name ("heroic actions"). In many other *maqāmāt* we never actually encounter al-Iskandarī on his travels; these seemingly frequent travels are only narrated by the trickster himself.[133] Nevertheless, al-Iskandarī's frequent travels help him retain his anonymity; he probably does not expect to encounter ʿĪsā who has become very familiar with his ways. At the end of the *Maqāmah of Bukhārā* (*al-Maqāmah al-Bukhārīyah*), we read:

> I followed him, until privacy revealed his face and lo! it was our Shaikh Abū al-Fatḥ
> al-Iskandarī, and behold the fawn was his child. I said:
> ʿAbū al-Fatḥ, thou hast grown old and the boy grown up;
>> what of the word of greeting and of converse?'
> He answered:--
> ʿA stranger am I when the road doth contain us,
>> A friend when the tents do enclose us.'
> By this I knew he was averse to conversing with me, so I left him and went away.[134]

It is al-Iskandarī's unmatched eloquence that attracts ʿĪsā's curiosity and leads us to the recognition scene, in which ʿĪsā inquires about al-Iskandarī's identity, his reason for coming to the place in question, and more often than not, to reproach al-Iskandarī for the trickery he has displayed during the episode. Aristotle has told us that a complex plot involves "sudden plot change" (*peripeteia*) or "recognition" (*anagnorisis*), or both.[135]

Since the recognition scene occurs in more than half of the Hamadhānian *maqāmāt*,[136] the audience may well have recognized the trickster earlier than ʿĪsā himself; while the chameleon-like trickster always devises new tricks in each episode, producing, for the sake of the audience, "still unknown surprises" within the context of "known rules."[137]

In answering ʿĪsā's questions, al-Iskandarī then chants an envoi poem, either as an indicator of his identity or also an apologia for his misbehaviors. In many of the Hamadhānian *maqāmāt*, an envoi marks the end of the story, but occasionally the envoi is followed by a "finale,"[138] where ʿĪsā and al-Iskandarī are described as departing.

The outer form

The second conspicuous feature of the *Maqāmāt* is that most of them are written in a style that involves an alternation between *sajʿ* and poetry.[139] The usage of *sajʿ* as a style can be traced back to pre-Islamic soothsaying and also to the Qurʾān. It was after the 4th/10th century that it became the popular style for the bureaucratic and literary epistolographies.[140] Al-Hamadhānī appears to have been following this trend in adopting the very rhetorical and ornate *sajʿ* style. At the same time, poetry is embedded in the majority of al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt*: besides discussing the merits of poets (in which famous Arabic poems are quoted), quite a few *maqāmāt* contain verses chanted by the hero al-Iskandarī at the request of his audience, and are prefaced by the same catchphrases (e.g., *qāla*, "he said") that lead his *sajʿ*-speech.

In contrast with previous studies devoted to the *Maqāmāt*'s structure, narrative

techniques, and the rhyme and rhythm of *saj ʿ*, the prosimetric style has not drawn much attention from scholars. Both Beeston and Mattock noted the mixture of poetry and prose (plain prose, in many cases) in a few earlier anecdote collections, but, since their focus was on the similarity of content between the *Maqāmāt* and earlier sources,[141] they did not explain why al-Hamadhānī also used the prosimetric style, and how different his style is from the previous ones. Julia Ashtiany Bray's study[142] does consider matters of style, in that she illustrates the combination of *saj ʿ* and plain prose in the *Maqāmah of Ṣaymarah* (*al-Maqāmah al-Ṣaymarīyah*). Her discussion does not include any mention of poetry, probably because the *Maqāmah* in question is devoid of poems. Hämeen-Anttila concludes in an article that the *maqāmah* genre is new in three aspects: "the frequent but not regular use of *saj ʿ*; the use of openly fictive characters; and the knitting together of several episodes."[143] Again there is no discussion of the use of prosimetrum.

Those studies seem unanimously to lack an interest in the poetry found in the *Maqāmāt*. It is true that the verses, especially the envois of the *maqāmāt*, do not seem as sophisticated and refined as the *saj ʿ*, or as Arabic courtly poetry. However we wonder why al-Hamadhānī would decide to place ornate *saj ʿ* and "doggerel" side by side?

Al-Hamadhānī was a connoisseur of poetry; Al-Shakʿah even regards him as "a glorious poet" (*shā ʿir majīd*) when he composes panegyrics.[144] With the phrase "*milḥ al-nādirah fī laḥnihā*" in mind, we may perhaps find an excuse for his insistence on using doggerel verse.[145] We notice that al-Hamadhānī only uses "*qāla*" or "*yaqūlu*" to introduce al-Iskandarī's "doggerel" verse, reserving the more formal "*anshada*" for the

poem put in the mouth of Dhū al-Rummah (d. 117/735-6)[146] and another attributed to Abū Nuwās (d. *c*. 198/813).[147] This intentional differentiation may account for the apparent fact that al-Hamadhānī deliberately vulgarizes the poetry he allots to al-Iskandarī.

Heinrichs has drawn our attention to the evidentiary verses located at the end of the *ayyām* stories. In that context it is very interesting to find that al-Hamadhānī also likes to conclude his *maqāmāt* with an envoi, a feature that "was later taken over by al-Ḥarīrī and became one of the intrinsic hallmarks of the *maqāmah* genre. Although a detailed discussion is to be found in Chapter IV, it is important for us to note at this point that there are three kinds of envois in the *Maqāmāt*: the refutatory envois for the legends focused on the words of al-Iskandarī, the commentarial ones for the more picaresque pieces, and panegyrical ones dedicated to donors. Both the refutatory and panegyrical envois are dialogic, functioning as al-Iskandarī's response to ʿĪsā. The commentarial envoi appears in tales such as the *Maqāmah of Baghdad* (*al-Maqāmah al-Baghdādīyah*) where the acting hero ʿĪsā has to "pronounce a few exit lines" even though he has "no audience for his envoi."[148] The commentarial envois represent the lessons that the audience is supposed to gain from the story, therefore bearing a resemblance to the evidentiary verses, as well as to maxims in the moral works like *Pañcatantra*.[149]

Prosimetra compared

According to my research thus far, Heinrichs's "Prosimetrical Genres in Classical

Arabic Literature" is the only study that has touched on the *maqāmah*'s prosimetric style. This paucity of scholarly interest underlines Wellek and Warren's concern about the "outer form." In his article, Heinrichs explicitly says that his focus is on poetry; as a result, there is no discussion of the function of *sajʿ* in the *maqāmah*. Not only that, but his discussion of the *maqāmah* is based on al-Hamadhānī's renowned successor al-Ḥarīrī, whose works are more stylistically uniform and display a greater concern with linguistic virtuosity. Our reason for selecting al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt* is that the seemingly disorganized arrangement of the stories, as well as their unbalanced prosimetric style, suggests a stronger connection with oral performance, thus providing more information regarding the genesis of the *maqāmah* genre.

Within the comparative cultural dimension, it is well known that prosimetrum has been frequently used in other literary traditions. One possible reason for this phenomenon, as Dwight Reynolds notes, is that prosimetrum is "closely tied to some form of oral tradition."[150] Bearing in mind the *Maqāmāt*'s characteristics, we propose to add the Chinese *fu*, Chinese *bianwen/huaben*, Greek Old Comedy, and the Sanskrit *campū* to this discussion.

Chinese *fu*, whose history can be traced back to 4th-3rd centuries B.C.E., is as unique in East Asia as Arabic *sajʿ* is in the Near East. A comparison between the two will be provided in Chapter II ("Rhymed prose"), illustrating the stylistic features of rhymed prose, its connections with wizardry and divination, and the possible reason for its usage in particular genres. Such comparisons may help in the determination as to why *sajʿ* was

adopted for the *maqāmah* genre and how it affected the content of the narrative. Moreover, Chapter II will draw attention to al-Iskandarī's connections with pre-Islamic soothsayers. Since *saj*ʿ and *rajaz*-poetry are two modes of expression that are most characterstic of them, Chapter III entitled "Poetry" will begin with a survey of the *rajaz* meter in the *Maqāmāt*. After reexamining the favorite poetic meters and themes of al-Iskandarī, we are to discover more traces of his inheritance from soothsayers.

Several Chinese Arabists have noticed the stylistic similarity between the *maqāmah* and the *huaben* in the Song (960-1279 C.E.) and Yuan (1279-1368 C.E.) dynasties (although none of them have explored the issue in detail). Especially at the end of each *huaben*, there is a small piece of poetry as a didactic conclusion to the whole story, a phenomenon that seems very similar to the envoi in the *Maqāmāt*. *Huaben* itself is believed to have emerged from the transformation texts (*bianwen*) of the Tang (618-907 C.E.) and Five Dynasties (907-960 C.E.). As Victor H. Mair notes, these transformation texts "deal with both religious (mostly Buddhist) and secular themes and represent the earliest known examples of the alternating prose-verse (*chantefable*, prosimetric) narrative style in China."[151] Indeed, the prosimetric style used in either *bianwen* or *huaben* is very likely imported from India, where it had been widely used for a long time. For example, Buddhist texts such as *Jātaka*, *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu*, and the *Lotus Sūtra* are all prosimetric. However, we would not wish to suggest that the *maqāmah*'s envoi, like the final poem in the *bianwen/huaben*, is the result of direct influence from Indian sources. Even within the Chinese tradition, we should bear in mind

42

that many *fu*s have a verse section at the end called a *luan* 亂.[152] In the above-mentioned

Ayyām al-ʿArab, the placement of poems at the end of a narrative is a distinct feature,

thus raising the question as to whether these earlier works constitute a precedent to

features found in the *Maqāmāt*. Therefore in Chapter IV ("Prosimetra"), we shall

differentiate three main types (refutatory, commentarial, and panegyrical) of envois in the

Maqāmāt. By introducing the debate (*agon*), interlude (*parabasis*), and hypermeter

(*pnigos*) of Greek Old Comedy, as well as the dialogue-envois of Chinese *fu*s and the

maxims of *Pañcatantra*, we attempt to provide parallels for each type and argue for

al-Hamadhānī's originality in creating his trademark envois.

We have already touched on the Indian *campū* genre.[153] Its early development in

the Buddhist context, its so-called "florescence" from the 10th century onwards and its

continued usage till the 19th and 20th centuries can all be studied alongside the *maqāmah*.

Another emphasis of Chapter IV is to compare the opening formula of the *Maqāmāt* to

that of the Buddhist *Jātaka* and *Jātakamālā*. In fact, the opening formula, the

prose-poetry sequence, and the envoi were adopted and adapted by compilers of all of the

three Asian literary traditions in order to group episodes into collections.

One unavoidable problem within the comparative dimension of the current

discussion is that the prosimetric genres (*maqāmah*, *fu*, *bianwen/huaben*, *campū*) are

hierarchical with regard to the question of language. Each tradition has both elite and

popular prosimetra. Within the Arabic tradition, the *Maqāmāt* are composed in an

elevated style, in contrast, for example, with that of *A 1001 Nights*. Within the Chinese

tradition, *fu* usually requires a much larger vocabulary to understand, not like the more popular *bianwen/huaben*. But sometimes the dividing line is not very clear, since a high literary form like *fu* can also be used in popular circles.

Communications among different peoples in the past were clearly substantial and cultural interchange has remained a phenomenon without borders. At the same time, standards of language and style change across time and place, a fact that may help to explain why a prosimetrum like the *Maqāmāt* may occupy a distinct place in the context of its counterparts within the Chinese, Indian, and Greek traditions.

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[1] Roger M.A. Allen, *The Arabic Literary Heritage: the Development of Its Genres and Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), 268. Also see Anīs al-Maqdisī, *Taṭawwur al-asālīb al-nathrīyah fī al-adab al-ʿarabī* (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1968), 360-68.

[2] It is said that he was born in the thirteenth of the Second Jumādā in 358 A.H. See Yāqūt b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rūmī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd Rifāʿī (Cairo: Maṭbūʿāt dār al-māmūn, 1936-38), 2:162-63.

[3] Badīʿ al-zamān al-Hamadhānī, *Rasāʾil Abī al-Faḍl Badīʿ al-zamān* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿah Hindīyah, 1928), 4. Both Taghlib and Muḍar are famous tribal names in Northern Arabia.

[4] Hamadhān has an extremely long history. "This name has been interpreted as an Iranian word **hangmata* '(place of) gathering', but an Elamite form **hal. mata. na* 'land of the Medes', might suggest another etymology." See Richard N. Frye, "Hamadhān (Hamadān)," in *EI²*. Hamadhān later became the Achaemenian summer capital and one of the residences of the Parthian kings; it remained an important trading city during the Sasanian dynasty.

[5] Al-Hamadhānī, *Dīwān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Raḍwān and Muḥammad Shukrī Afandī al-Makkī (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-mawsūʿāt, 1903), 11, 56, 80.

[6] Al-Hamadhānī, *Dīwān*, 78-9.

[7] Ibid., 2. Hämeen-Anttila also labels him as "one of the last great Iranian masters of Arabic language," see *Maqama: a History of a Genre* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 32.

[8] Muṣṭafā al-Shakʿah, *Badīʿ al-zamān al-Hamadhānī: Rāʾid al-qiṣṣah al-ʿarabīyah wa ʾl-maqālah al-ṣaḥafīyah* (Cairo: al-Dār al-miṣrīyah al-lubnānīyah, 2003), 433-34. Al-Shakʿah suggests that al-Hamadhānī's Arab ancestors could have intermarried with Iranians, see ibid., 156.

[9] During this century three Abbasid caliphs, al-Qāhir (d. 339/950), al-Muttaqī (d. 357/968), and al-Mustakfī (d. 338/949), were blinded and deposed. Al-Qāhir was subsequently seen begging for bread on the streets of Baghdad, being "an object-lesson in the fragility of worldly power." C. E. Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld: the Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), 1: 16-17.

[10] Claude Cahen, "Buwayhids or Būyids," in *EI²*.

[11] Joel L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam. The Cultural Revival during the Buyid Age*, second revised edition (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 53.

[12] Cahen, "Buwayhids or Būyids."

[13] Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: a History of a Genre*, 19.

[14] ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-ṣāwī, 1934), 4:241. Ibn ʿAbbād's former mentor, Abū al-Faḍl ibn al-ʿAmīd (d. 360/970), and the latter's son, Abū al-Fatḥ (d. *c*. 366/977) were already dead. Ibn ʿAbbād was then the most powerful vizier for the Būyid amīr Fakhr al-Dawlah (r. 373-387/977-983).

[15] For the life and works of Abū Dulaf, see Bosworth, *Underworld*, 1: 48-79.

[16] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, 4:241.

[17] The short stay could be the result of the different religious attitudes of al-Hamadhānī and the vizier. Everett Rowson shows that al-Hamadhānī, probably a Shāfiʿī or even Ashʿarite, was against the Muʿtazilites in general. He once lampooned Ibn ʿAbbād's Muʿtazilism in a poem. See Rowson, "Religion and Politics in the Career of Badīʿ al-Zamān

44

al-Hamadhānī," in *JAOS* 107, No.4 (1987): 653-73.

[18] Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: a History of a Genre*, 20.

[19] For a short description of Ibn ʿAbbād's interest in pornography and the pornographer Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (d. 391/1001), see Bosworth, *Underworld*, 1: 63-65. Bosworth ascribes the interest in lowlife to "the progress of urbanization in the Islamic land," see ibid., 65.

[20] Rowson, "Religion and Politics," 654-56. Also see al-Shakʿah, *Badīʿ al-zamān al-Hamadhānī*, 18 and Wadād al-Qāḍī, "Badīʿ az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī and His Social and Political Vision," in *Literary Heritage of Classical Islam: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of James A. Bellamy* (Princeton, NJ: the Darwin Press, 1993), 197-223, esp. 199.

[21] Rowson, "Religion and Politics," 653.

[22] Charles Pellat, "Al-Ṣāḥib ibn ʿAbbād," in *ʿAbbasid Belles-lettres* (*The Cambridge history of Arabic literature*), eds. Julia Ashtiany, T. M. Johnstone, J. D. Lathan, R. B. Serjeant and G. Rex Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990), 96-111, esp. 102.

[23] Rowson, "Religion and Politics," 658.

[24] In a letter he wrote back to his Jurjān patron, he blamed fate (*adhummu al-dahr*) for being robbed by highwaymen: "when I entered Nishapur, there were no ornaments save skin, no cloak but 'crust'" (*wa anā dākhil naysābūr wa lā ḥilyata illā al-jildah wa lā burdata illā al-qishrah*). See al-Hamadhānī, *Rasāʾil*, 68. Also see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, 2:189 (*wa innamā al-libās jildah wa al-zīy bal al-qishrah*).

[25] *The Maqāmāt of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī*, trans. W. J. Prendergast (London: Curzon Press, 1973), 54 (hereafter cited as Prendergast); *Maqāmāt Abī al-Faḍl Badīʿ al-zamān al-Hamadhānī*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbduh (Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1973), 48 (hereafter cited as ʿAbduh).

[26] Al-Hamadhānī, *Rasāʾil*, 19. These personal experiences clearly left traces to be found in his fiction, since there are quite a few cross-references between the *Rasāʾil* and the *Maqāmāt*. See Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: a History of a Genre*, 120.

[27] Abū ʿAlī al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī, *al-Faraj baʿda al-shiddah* (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmīya, 1997), 7. The translation is mine.

[28] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, 4:241.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Al-Hamadhānī, *Rasāʾil*, 17-57.

[31] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, 4:242. Yāqūt, al-Maqdisī and Rowson all point out that al-Hamadhānī could have been used by al-Khwārizmī's opponents in order to undermine the great stylist's authority in Nishapur.

[32] Ibid. Al-Thaʿālibī does not provide dates of his later journeys, but both Wadād al-Qāḍī and Hämeen-Anttila have tried to offer a chronological sketch with information collected from the *Rasāʾil*. See Al-Qāḍī, "His Social and Political Vision," 200-1; Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: a History of a Genre*, 28-33. Here however we prefer to follow the more conservative view of Rowson: "it is impossible, and hardly necessary, to trace these travels in sequence." See Rowson, "Religion and Politics," 670-71. Rowson also identifies some of his later patrons from the *Rasāʾil* and *Dīwān*, see "Religion and Politics," 671-73.

[33] Al-Qāḍī, "His Social and Political Vision," 201.

[34] Al-Qāḍī says that al-Hamadhānī had married in Hamadhān and had at least three children, a girl and two boys. See ibid., 199.

[35] The title of al-Hamadhānī's last letter gives the date of his death: Friday the eleventh of the First Jumādā. See al-Hamadhānī, *Rasāʾil*, 179.

[36] Rowson, "Religion and Politics," 669, n. 84.

[37] Hämeen-Anttila points out the resemblance of the sentence to some Qurʾānic verses (2:23, 10:38 and 11:13); "one cannot help but identify al-Khwārizmī with the unbelievers of the Prophet's time." See Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: a History of a Genre*, 27, n. 36.

[38] Rowson, "Religion and Politics," 669, with three added transliterations and a minor change (from "form or content" to "wording or concept"). Also see al-Hamadhānī, *Rasāʾil*, 236-37.

[39] As Rowson concludes in his note to the translation, al-Thaʿālibī's account in the *Yatīmat al-dahr* accords with the mention of "four hundred *maqāmāt*" in this letter. Al-Hamadhānī also mentioned the four hundred *maqāmāt* in a letter to the son of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baghawī, see al-Hamadhānī, *Rasāʾil*, 315.

[40] See D. S. Richards, "The Maqāmāt of al-Hamadhānī: General Remarks and a Consideration of the Manuscripts," in *Journal of Arabic Literature* 22 (1991):89-99.

[41] W. J. Prendergast provided a fairly detailed evolution of the word *maqāmah* up to al-Hamadhānī's time. See Prendergast, 11-14. Also see Régis Blachère, *Analecta* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1975), 61-7.

[42] ʿAbduh, 47; Prendergast, 53. The English translation is quoted with some change.

[43] C. Brockelmann and Ch. Pellat, "Maḳāma," in *EI*².

[44] As attested in Q 19:73.

[45] Edward William Lane and Stanley Lane-Poole, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1863-), Book I, pt. 8, 3030.

[46] The third form of the radical *n-d-w*, *nādā*, means "to summon; to vie in glory with." See J. G. Hava, *Arabic English*

Dictionary for Advanced Learners (New Delhi: Goodword Books, 2002), 760.

[47] Lane, *Lexicon*, Book I, pt. 4, 1537.

[48] Cf. Ibn ʿAbbād's *majlis* mentioned in the section "Rayy" in this chapter.

[49] About Ibn Durayd and his possible impact on al-Hamadhānī, see Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: a History of a Genre*, 64-73.

[50] Brockelmann and Pellat, "Maḵāma."

[51] Ibn Qutaybah, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* (Cairo: al-Muʾassasah al-Miṣrīyah al-ʿāmmah liʾl-taʾlīf waʾl-tarjamah waʾl-ṭibāʿah waʾl-nashr, 1964), 2: 333-43.

[52] Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d. 328/940) followed him in arranging a chapter called "the *maqāmāt* of the slaves in front of the caliphs" (*Maqāmat al-ʿubbād ʿinda al-khulafāʾ*) in *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* (The Unique Necklace). See Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: a History of a Genre*, 74.

[53] Ibn Qutaybah, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, 2:333. The translation is mine.

[54] Al-Shakʿah, *Badīʿ al-zamān al-Hamadhānī*, 293.

[55] See Mohamed-Salah Omri, "'There is a Jāḥiẓ for Every Age': narrative construction and intertexuality in al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*," in *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures* 1, no. 1(1998): 31-46.

[56] Abū Hilāl al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd Allāh al-ʿAskarī, *Kitāb al-ṣināʿatayn: al-kitābah waʾl-shiʿr* (Beirut: Dār al-fikr al-ʿArabī, 1971), 33.

[57] For example, at the end of the *Maqāmah of the Exhortation* (*al-Maqāmah al-Waʿẓīyah*), the narrator ʿĪsā is invited to wait till the end of the *maqāmah*, i.e., the long exhortation made by al-Iskandarī.

[58] *The Assemblies of al Ḥarīrī*, translated from the Arabic, with an introduction, and notes, historical and grammatical by Thomas Chenery (London: Williams and Norgate, 1867-98), 1:105. Also see *Maqāmāt al-Charīrī* (Beirut,1873), 13.

[59] For example, the *Maqāmah of the Yellow* (*al-Maqāmah al-Ṣufrīyah*) looks extremely similar to the *Maqāmah of Balkh* (*al-Maqāmah al-Balkhīyah*), and the passage led by "*wafd al-layl wa barīduhu*" in the *Maqāmah of the Najim* (*al-Maqāmah al-Nājimīyah*) also finds a counterpart in the *Maqāmah of Kūfah* (*al-Maqāmah al-Kūfīyah*).

[60] Makdisi, *The Rise of Humanism*, 326.

[61] Ibid., 326-27.

[62] For another example of a book that grew out of dictation, see Adam Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, trans. Salahuddin Khuda Bukhsh and D. S. Margoliouth (New York: AMS Press, 1975), 179.

[63] Richards, "Manuscripts," 92.

[64] ʿAbduh omitted the following passages: "the complete 26th *Maqāma Shāmiyya* (333 words); one anecdote from the end of the 31th *Maqāma Ruṣāfiyya* (328 words); and verses 8-13 from the first poem in the 19th *Maqāma Sāsāniyya* (35 words)." See Tamás Iványi, "On Rhyming Endings and Symmetric Phrases in Al-hamadhānī's Maqāmāt," in *Tradition and Modernity in Arabic Language and Literature*, ed. J. R. Smart (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996), 210-28 (quotation from p. 225, n. 1).

[65] In Fārūq Saʿd's edition of the *Maqāmāt* (Beirut: Dār al-āfāq al-jadīdah, 1982), the number is also 52. However, the content is partially expurgated by the editor. It is noteworthy that the numbers of the *maqāmāt* in these versions are close to fifty. What is more, there are at least five Ottoman manuscripts containing exactly fifty *maqāmāt*. Richards has correctly pointed out that "the sum of fifty *maqāma*s found in the Ottoman Mss. is the result of efforts…to bring Hamadhānī's *oeuvre* up to the size of Ḥarīrī's." See Richards, "Manuscripts," 94, 98.

[66] See *Maqāmāt al-Charīrī*, 261-65. Also see Allen, *Heritage*, 272.

[67] Shawkat M. Toorawa, *Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr and Arabic Writerly Culture* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 9.

[68] Jonathan M. Bloom, *Paper Before Print* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2001), 123.

[69] Stefan Leder, "Riwāya," in *EI²*.

[70] It has an intensive form *rāwiyah* which means "copious transmitter."

[71] Renate Jacobi, "Rāwī," in *EI²*.

[72] Michael Zwettler, *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry: Its Character and Implications* (Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1978), 84-88. Both Zwettler and James Monroe ("Oral Composition in Pre-Islamic Poetry," in *Journal of Arabic Literature* 3 [1972]: 1-53) proposed to use the Parry-Lord theory (see Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1960]) in examing the training of oral poet. Also see Steven C. Caton, *"Peaks of Yemen I summon": Poetry as Cultural Practice in a North Yemeni Tribe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

[73] *Maqāmāt al-Charīrī*, 13; *The Assemblies of al Ḥarīrī*, 1:105 (the translation is slightly changed).

[74] Abd El-Fattah Kilito, "Le genre 'Séance': une introduction," in *Studia Islamica*, no. 43 (1976): 25-51, esp. 38.

[75] Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: a History of a Genre*, 85.

[76] Ibid. Before him, Shmuel Moreh had noted that *Ḥikāyah* "incorporates dialogue material which is attested as early as the reign of al-Mutawakkil (d. 247/861) and which is also found in the *Maqāma Dīnāriyya* of al-Hamadhānī (d. 1007), in the *Nathr al-Durr* of al-Ābī (d. 421/1030) and in a shadow play by Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 710/1310-11)." See Shmuel Moreh, *Live Theatre and Dramatic Literature in the Medieval Arabic World* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1992), 98.

[77] Charles Pellat, "Ḥikāya," in *EI²*. Also see Abū al-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Abulḵâsim: ein bagdâder Sittenbild*, ed. Adam Mez (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1902), 1-2.

[78] Since these imitations of the *ḥākiyah* were quite close to theatrical performances, scholars like Shmuel Moreh have regarded the *maqāmah* as a dramatic performance. For his description of *ḥikāyah* in the medieval times and its relationship with literaray genres like *maqāmah* and *risālah*, see Moreh, *Live* Theatre, 87-122.

[79] Tkatsch, *Übersetzung*, 1:220.

[80] For a summary of the *maqāmah*'s connection with Greek mimes, see Bosworth, *Underworld*, 1: 96-8.

[81] Al-Azdī, *Abulḳâsim*, 2. The translation is mine.

[82] Aristotle, *Works*, 2:683. Mattā renders as "*taḥta dāʾirah wāḥidah shamsīyah*," see Tkatsch, *Übersetzung*, 1:230.

[83] As the Platonic *Symposium*, al-Azdī's *Ḥikāyah* takes place in an evening banquet.

[84] In 1960s, the *sāmir* was identified by Yūsuf Idrīs as an indigenous theatrical medium. See Allen, *Heritage*, 317.

[85] Both *ḥikāyah* and *riwāyah* mean "story, narrative" in Modern Standard Arabic.

[86] This point is to be discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

[87] See the section "The outer form" of this chapter.

[88] Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres," 249.

[89] Ibid., 250-51. While the application of riwāyah spreaded from poetry to prose, *dīwān*, formerly the sole province of Iranian prose-works, came to denote collections of poetry or traditions in Arabic. See G. H. A. Juynboll, "Tadwīn," in *EI*[2].

[90] A. A. Duri, "Dīwān," in *EI*[2].

[91] ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Yaḥyā al-Kātib was the secretary of the Umayyad caliphs. Ibn al-ʿAmīd, the Būyid vizier and former mentor of al-Ṣāḥib ibn al-ʿAbbād, had long been regarded as the pioneer in directing the prose style "towards a greater emphasis on embellishment and elaboration, availing itself of the artifices of *sajʿ*, the tropes of *badīʿ*, and citations of poetry and proverbs." See Allen, *Heritage*, 241.

[92] Al-Shakʿah, *Badīʿ al-zamān al-Hamadhānī*, 74.

[93] Ibid., 78.

[94] Al-Maqdisī, *Taṭawwur*, 6 (my translation).

[95] *Adīb* is the one who is well-versed in the study of *adab*, which is rendered as "humanism" by Makdisi. *Adab* is used today to designate literature proper, thus we encountered the feminine ajective *adabīyah* (literary) in Anīs al-Maqdisī's division of the styles of composition.

[96] Al-Qalqashandī has a list of the requisite knowledge of the scribes in his *maqāmah* entitled *al-Kawākib al-durrīyah fī al-manāqib al-Badrīyah* (The Shining Stars concerning the Excellences of Badr al-Dīn). It is also to be noted that the fictional narrator of this *maqāmah* is called al-Nāthir b. Naẓẓām ('Prose-writer son of Poet'), implying that a scribe should be qualified in both prose and poetry. See C.E. Bosworth, "A *Maqāma* on Secretaryship: al-Qalqashandī's *al-Kawākib al-Durriyya fī ʾl-Manāqib al-Badriyya*," in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 27 (1964): 291-98 (quotation from pp. 293, 295-97).

[97] H. Fleisch, "Ibn Fāris, Abu ʾḤusayn Aḥmad b. Fāris b. Zakariyyāʾ b. Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb, al-Shāfiʿī, later (in Rayy) al-Mālikī, al-Lughawī," in *EI*[2].

[98] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, 4:240 (my translation). In spite of a degree of exaggeration in this passage, we nevertheless obtain a picture of al-Hamadhānī's talents in extemporizing prose and poetry, and his familiarity of prosification (*ḥall*) and versification (*naẓm*).

[99] Prendergast, 72.

[100] See James Montgomery, "Al-Jahiz (circa 776-868 or 869)," in *Arabic Literary Culture, 500-925*. eds. Michael Cooperson and Shawkat M. Toorawa (Detroit: Gale, 2005), 231-42.

[101] The vizier Ibn al-ʿAmīd was nicknamed the second al-Jāḥiẓ "for he used to question everyone whom he examined for state-service regarding his views on Baghdad and Jahiz." See Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, 239.

[102] Prendergast, 72; ʿAbduh, 75-76.

[103] *Kashf al-maʿānī waʾl-bayān ʿan Rasāʾil Badīʿ al-Zamān*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab, 2nd ed (Beirut: al-Maṭbaʿah al-kāthūlīkīyah, 1921), 1.

[104] Tahera Qutbuddin, "*Khutba*: The Evolution of Early Arabic Oration," in *Classical Arabic Humanities in their Own Terms: Festschrift for Wolfhart Heinrichs on his 65th Birthday*, eds. Beatrice Gruendler and Michael Cooperson (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2008), 176-273.

[105] There were "books of *maqāmāt* and orations" (*kutub al-maqāmāt waʾl-khuṭab*) which "could amplify your diction and lengthen your pen" (*mā yattasiʿu bihi manṭiquka wa yaṭūlu bihi qalamuka*). See al-Maqdisī, *Taṭawwur*, 361. There is a project now to translate all the volumes of this work. The first two volumes have been published. See Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *The Unique Necklace*, translated by Issa J. Boullata, reviewed by Roger M.A. Allen (vol.1) and Terri DeYoung (vol.2), 2 vols (Reading, UK: Garnet, 2006-2009).

[106] Prendergast, 13. Both the diacritical marks and English translation are slightly changed.

[107] In *Kitāb al-shiʿr waʾl-shuʿarāʾ* (Book of Poetry and Poets), Ibn Qutayba lists the *maqāmāt*, together with the *rasāʾil* and *jawābāt* (reply letters), as a kind of prose-speech (*al-kalām al-manthūr*). See al-Maqdisī, *Taṭawwur*, 361.

[108] *Taḍmīn* could mean quotation, enjambment and implication, see G. J. H. van Gelder, "*Taḍmīn*," in *EI*[2]. In the *risālah* style, its meaning is mostly "quotation", i.e., "interweaving famous verses or parts of them within prose". See Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: a History of a Genre*, 52.

47

[109] Alan Jones, "Ayyām al-ʿArab," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 3rd ed, eds. G. Krämer, D. Matringe, J. Nawas and E. Rowson (Leiden: Brill, online version) (hereafter cited as *EI³*).

[110] Here *khabar* is translated as "anecdote," however it can also mean traditions that go back to the Prophet, and "a piece of information of a historical, biographical or even anecdotal nature." See A. J. Wensinck, "Khabar," in *EI²*. One reason that Brockelmann interprets the *maqāmāt* as "acts of heroism" in his *EI* article is that they were mentioned together with the *Ayyām al-ʿArab* in the above-cited passage.

[111] Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres," 254.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Ibid., 255, 261.

[115] Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-Tījān fī mulūk Ḥimyar* (Ṣanʿāʾ: Markaz al-dirāsāt waʾl-abḥāth al-yamanīya, 1979 (?)), 325.

[116] Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres," 257.

[117] In the beginning of the *Ḥikāyah*, there is a quotation of Ibn al-Ḥajjāj's verse *yā sayyidī wa ḥadīthī kulluhu samarun / ifragh li-tasmaʿa minnī dhālika ʾl-samarā* (O my master, all of my talk is night-conversation. Be free of work so as to hear from me that night-conversation). See al-Azdī, *Abulḳâsim*, 3.

[118] Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres," 261.

[119] Wellek and Warren, *Theory of Literature*, 221.

[120] Ibid., 223.

[121] See the section "Forms and functions" in the Introduction.

[122] As we mentioned before, al-Hamadhānī's personal experiences might have been reflected in both his *Rasāʾil* and the *Maqāmāt*. However, it is dangerous for a literary historian to make an inverse hypothesis, i.e., to regard the *Maqāmāt* as the record of al-Hamadhānī's life.

[123] *Inna hādhihi ḥikāyah ʿan rajul baghdādī kuntu uʿāshiruhu burhatan min al-dahr*. See Al-Azdī, *Abulḳâsim*, 1. It is interesting that Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī's (1858-1930) *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā ibn Hishām* is also dubbed "*Fatrah min al-zaman*" (A Period of Time).

[124] Al-Qāḍī, "His Social and Political Vision," 197.

[125] Technically, Iblīs (and al-Shayṭān) can mean a fallen angel or a jinn (genie) in Islamic tradition.

[126] Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: a History of a Genre*, 90.

[127] Ibid., 45-46. Not all of the *maqāmāt* have a complete set of these parts. Also see Kilito, "Le genre 'Séance'," 48.

[128] In the *Maqāmah of Balkh*, ʿĪsā tells us that "Trade in cotton stuffs took me to Balkh." See Prendergast, 32.

[129] Devin Stewart, "The *Maqāma*," in *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*, 145-58 (quotation from 145).

[130] We read in *Ḥikāyat Abī al-Qāsim* that Abū al-Qāsim "acquired the manners of actors and monkey-trainers and used to learn the arts of the astrologers and jugglers." See Al-Azdī, *Abulḳâsim*, 4; Moreh, *Live Theatre*, 97 (translation adapted).

[131] Prendergast, 54.

[132] Angel González Palencia, *Historia de la literature arábigo-española* (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1928), 120.

[133] Jareer Abu-Haidar has pointed out this major point of difference from the picaresque novels, adding that "He seems to move from one city of the Islamic world to another in the interval or intermission, so to speak, between two *Maqāma*s, and the setting of the *Maqāma* is unimportant if one does not say altogether trivial." See Jareer Abu-Haidar, "*Maqāmāt* Literature and the Picaresque Novel," in *Journal of Arabic Literature* 5 (1974): 1-10, esp. 3-4.

[134] Prendergast, 78.

[135] Aristotle, *Works*, 2:686.

[136] It became a more common feature in al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*. See Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: a History of a Genre*, 50.

[137] Jauss and Bahti, "Alterity and Modernity," 189.

[138] Such as the *Maqāmah of Iraq* (*al-Maqāmah al-ʿIrāqīyah*) and the *Maqāmah of Wine* (*al-Maqāmah al-Khamrīyah*).

[139] This prosimetric style is not an even one; some *maqāmāt* use plain prose or are completely devoid of poetry.

[140] Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, 241.

[141] See the section "Genre translation" in the Introduction. This point is to be treated in more detail in the section "The lion" of Chapter III.

[142] Julia Ashtiany Bray, "*Isnād*s and Models of Heroes: Abū Zubayd al-Ṭāʾī, Tanūkhī's sundered lovers and Abū ʾl-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymarī," in *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures* 1, no. 1(1998): 7-30, esp. 21.

[143] Hämeen-Anttila, "The *Maqāma* of the Lion," 147.

[144] Al-Shakʿah, *Badīʿ al-zamān al-Hamadhānī*, 431.

[145] Although James Monroe labels the poetry of al-Iskandarī as "mediocre," he also regards al-Hamadhānī "an inordinately skillful portrayer of character, for his true purpose was to create for his readers the amusing figure of a pretentious poetaster rather than that of a gifted poet." See James Monroe, *The Art of Badīʿ az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī as Picaresque Narrative* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1983), 29.

[146] It appears in the *Maqāmah of Ghaylan* (*al-Maqāmah al-Ghaylānīyah*) and is believed to be forged by al-Hamadhānī. See Prendergast, 48, n. 4.

[147] It appears in in the *Maqāmah of Iblīs*. For a discussion of the misattribution of this poem, see Hämeen-Anttila,

Maqama: a History of a Genre, 53.

[148] Hämeen-Anttila, Maqama: a History of a Genre, 51.

[149] Ibid., 53.

[150] Reynolds, "Prosimetrum in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Arabic Literature," 293.

[151] Mair, *Tun-Huang Popular Narratives*, 1. According to a narrow definition provided by him, Victor Mair lists seven transformation texts which are preserved in twenty manuscripts in Dunhuang. *T'ang Transformation Texts*, 14-27.

[152] Although *luan* is usually interpreted as "disorder," it also means the coda of movement in ancient Chinese music.

[153] See the section "Genre translation" in the Introduction.

II   Rhymed Prose

Overview

Chapter II explores in a comparative context the phenomenon of *sajʿ* in the *Maqāmāt*. Firstly, we provide a short survey of the forms and theories of end-rhymes in literary traditions such as those of Arabic, Chinese, and English. Secondly, we focus primarily on the traces of *kāhin*s (pre-Islamic soothsayers) that are scattered in the *Maqāmāt* in order to show why al-Hamadhānī employed *sajʿ* to narrate stories about a beggar. We suggest that it is precisely because al-Iskandarī inherits the divinatory functions of the *kāhin*s (compared with examples drawn from the Hebrew Bible, Greek drama and philosophy) that he is able to adopt their rhyming style. An exploration of the link between the *kāhin*s and the protagonist emphasizes the role that divination played in the forming of rhymed speech. Therefore the third part of this chapter traces the beginnings of the Chinese *fu* and talks about its connection with wizardry and rituals. The third part also discusses ancient Chinese annalists and court jesters and explores the role that admonishment and admonishers played in genres of rhymed speech. In the first chapter we digressed in order to talk about the *ḥikāyah* and *Ayyām al-ʿArab*, and, in the same vein, we make use of the Chinese counterparts of "epic" (annalist=*ayyām* teller) and "drama" (jester=*ḥākī*) in order to reveal the *maqāmah* genre's intrinsic associations with

two genres that Arabic literature has been constantly accused of lacking.

Rhyme

Sonic repetition

At the end of Chapter I, we stated our intention to compare the Arabic phenomenon of *sajʿ* with the Chinese *fu*, two famous examples of rhymed prose. This chapter will focus on the formal comparability of Arabic *sajʿ* and Chinese *fu*, as well as their similar origins, practitioners, and fields of application. The introduction of *fu* to our study will emphasize the universal relationship between eloquence and admonishers. Therefore we understand that al-Hamadhānī did not randomly employ *sajʿ* to narrate stories about al-Iskandarī whose divinatory functions can be detected from the text of the *Maqāmāt*.

In this section (titled "Rhyme") we provide a short survey of the forms and theories of rhymes in these literary traditions. Once we finish the preparatory work that highlights the comparability between Arabic and Chinese poetry and rhymed prose, it will be easy for our readers to appreciate the poetic examples culled from these traditions.

Many of our readers might be skeptical about the comparability of syllabic Arabic with dominantly morphosyllabic Chinese, or between the synthetic former and the analytic latter. However "it is a simple linguistic fact that the number of sounds available

in any language is limited, and its many words must therefore be combinations of only a few sounds."[1] The search for sonic repetition, as well as rhythmic (or tonal) fluctuation, seems to constitute an important branch of linguistic virtuosity.

Rhyme is etymologically associated with Medieval Latin *rhythmus*.[2] Similar to rhythm, rhyme is a kind of sound harmony and is ultimately related to the temporal nature of a composition. To quote J. M. Lotman, rhyme is created at the intersection of positional (rhythmic) and euphonic (sonic) equivalences in the poetic line.[3] Although rhyme is "the most mysterious of all iterative sound-patterns" and "not indigenous" to any known "Indo-European or Indo-Hittite language,"[4] it has been developed widely in world languages, especially in Chinese, Arabic, French, Irish, Occitan and English.[5]

In a syllabic language like English where the structure of a syllable may be schematized as CVC (initial consonant or consonant cluster + medial vowel or diphthong + final consonant or cluster), rhyme can take shapes such as alliteration (C̲ V C),[6] assonance (C V̲ C), consonance (C V C̲), reverse rhyme (C̲ V̲ C), frame rhyme (C̲ V C̲), rich rhyme (C̲ V̲ C̲) and end-rhyme (C V̲ C̲).[7] End-rhyme is "agreement in the terminal sounds of two or more words or metrical lines."[8] Since end-rhyme is almost exclusively used in both the Arabic and Chinese traditions, we shall mainly look into rhymes in this last sense. At the same time, we do not wish to imply that end-rhyme is the best or most difficult[9] sonic effect to achieve among all types of rhyming. The alliteration[10] displayed throughout *Piers Plowman* indicates the diversity of rhyming in Middle English, even

52

though we are more familiar with the heroic couplet[11] which William Langland's (*c*. 1330-*c*. 1400) contemporary Geoffrey Chaucer (*c*. 1342/43-1400) developed in the *Canterbury Tales*. When a language still produces distinctive case endings or conjugational suffixes, alliteration (not end-rhyme) may serve as an ideal candidate for accomplishing sonic repetition.

Three examples

Previously we noted that classical Arabic verse is quantitative,[12] i.e., "based on the distinction between short syllables (consonant + short vowel) and long syllables (consonant + long vowel, or: consonant + short vowel + consonant)."[13] A poetic line (sg. *bayt*, pl. *abyāt*) in the classical *qaṣīdah* form consists of two hemistiches (*miṣrāʿ*, "one leaf of a door") that are separated by a caesura. The number of syllables in each line can, depending on the meter, range from sixteen (*hazaj*) to thirty (*kāmil*).[14] At first sight, an Arabic *bayt* is very similar to a couplet (*lian* 聯)[15] in the Chinese *jintishi* 近體詩 (lit. "modern-style poetry"),[16] or a Sanskrit line as seen in Daṇḍin's definition of the *campū* genre.[17]

As "companion of the meter" (*sharīkat al-wazn*),[18] rhyme was regarded by Arabs as the most essential part of a line. The Arabic word for rhyme, *qāfiyah*, shares the verbal root (*q-f-w*) with *qafā* which means "back of the neck."[19] According to al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad, rhyme denotes that which is between the last letter of the line and the first

quiescent letter before it, plus the movent letter before that quiescent letter.[20] This

seemingly complicated definition can be illustrated with the following example. At the

end of the *Maqāmah of Sāsān* (*al-Maqāmah al-Sāsānīyah*), the trickster al-Iskandarī[21] is

recognized by ʿĪsā ibn Hishām. He then improvises an apologia envoi:

> *Hādhā ʾl-zamānu mashūmū*
> *kamā tarāhu ghashūmū*
> *al-ḥamqu fīhi malīḥun*
> *waʾl-ʿaqlu ʿaybun wa lūmū*
> *waʾl-mālu ṭayfun wa lākin*
> *ḥawla ʾl-liʾāmi yaḥūmū*[22]

> This age is ill-starred,
> and, as thou seest, oppressive;
> In it stupidity is estimable
> and intelligence a defect and a reproach,
> And wealth is a nocturnal visitant but
> it hovers only over the ignoble.[23]

We can detect the repetition of the rhyme "-*ūmū*" in all of the even-numbered hemistiches,

as well as in the first hemistich of the first line. Al-Hamadhānī thus follows the traditional

monorhymed *shiʿr* which has a rhyming pattern of *aa ba ca* etc. Because the last syllable

of a line is always analyzed as being long,[24] a rhyme must end with a long syllable.

An Arabic rhyme can be the combination of six letters and five vowels. In the

above example -*ūmū*, the rhyming consonant (*rawī*) is *mīm*; the letter following the *rawī*

(*waṣl* or *ṣilah*) is *wāw*; the letter preceding the *rawī* (*ridf*) is also *wāw*; the vowel of the

rawī (*majrā*) is *ḍammah*; the vowel of the letter preceding the *ridf* (*ḥadhw*) is also

54

ḍammah.[25] Obviously the most important component of a rhyme is *rawī*[26] which is generally the final radical of the final word in a poetic line. *Rawī* is both necessary and sufficient for the existence of the rhyme. A minimal rhyme would consist of *rawī* alone.[27] It is also self-evident that a rhyme normally will not exceed the length of the last word in a line.[28] Otherwise, it would be rich rhyme, not end-rhyme.

Like its cognate *riwāyah*, *rawī* is related to the transmission of poetry.[29] Especially in an oral poetic tradition, *rawī* was applied to represent the title of the whole poem. For instance, al-Shanfarā is most famed for his *Lāmīyat al-ʿArab*, i.e., the *Arabian Ode in "L."*[30] In fact, anthologies of classical Arab poets were often organized according to rhyme-letters. What is more, a large percentage of medieval Arabic dictionaries are actually rhyme-dictionaries, "arranging roots primarily under the final radical, then the first and any intermediate radicals."[31]

Rhyme books 韻書 were also popular in China since ancient times. The first extant one is called *Qieyun* 切韻,[32] composed by Lu Fayan 陸法言 in the year 601 C.E. All the rhyme books in the *Qieyun* tradition[33] were first divided into tone groups.[34] Then each tone group "is subdivided into rhymes which are conventionally identified by their first entry."[35] For example, the word 東 (*dong* < *tuwng*)[36] leads the first rhyme group of the even-tone (*pingsheng* 平聲) section which contains words with the two Middle Chinese[37] finals *-uwng* and *-juwng*.

A final (*yunmu* 韻母) can comprise three parts: the medial (*jieyin* 介音), the

main vowel (*yunfu* 韻腹) and the coda (*yunwei* 韻尾). The main vowel and the coda (not always available) are sometimes grouped together as the rhyme.[38] In the above example *-juwng*, *-j-* is the medial,[39] *-uw-* the main vowel and *-ng* the coda. A Chinese rhyme is different from an Arabic *qāfiyah*. The latter should at least contain the rhyming consonant (*rawī*), while the minimal form of the former would consist of the main vowel which can be as short as the sound *æ*.[40]

There are two elements that make rhyme books important. Firstly, Chinese is a dominantly morphosyllabic language, so that it is not always possible to identify the rhyme from the script. Secondly, people composed the so-called modern-style poetry from the Tang era onwards. The modern-style poetry has a stricter requirement of tonal pattern (*pingze*[41] 平仄, lit. "even and deflected tones"), rhyme scheme (*xieyun* 叶韻), and parallelism (*duizhang* 對仗) as compared with *gutishi* 古體詩 (ancient-style poetry). As a probable equivalent to the short/long alternation[42] in a quantitative verse, the even/deflected tonal pattern was introduced into Chinese prosody before the Sui dynasty (581-618 C.E.). The even tones are regarded as being light and long, and the deflected ones as heavy and short. Normally the rhyme in the modern-style poetry should be taken from the even-tone section, just as in the Arabic system a rhyme often ends with a long syllable.[43]

The Chinese example we provide here is selected from the anthology of the Zen-monk and poet Hanshan 寒山 (lit. "Cold Mountain"), who was thought to have

lived in the 8th to 9th centuries.[44] It is interesting to note that the poem contains a theme

very similar to that of al-Hamadhānī:

極目兮長望 (*wang < mjang*)，白雲四茫茫 (*mang < mang*)！
鴟鴉飽腲腇，鸞鳳飢徬徨 (*huang < hwang*)；
駿馬放石磧，蹇驢能至堂 (*tang < dang*)；
天高不可問，鷦鷯在滄浪 (*lang < lang*)！

Straining its eyes it scans the horizon
   clouds obscure the four quarters
Owl and crows are fed and relaxed
   the phoenix is hungry and anxious
Fine steeds are grazed on the *gobi*
   lame donkeys allowed at court
Heaven is too high to hear
   a tailorbird on the waves[45]

Both Hanshan and al-Hamadhānī question the arbitrariness and fickleness of Fortune, just

as Boethius (*c*. 480-524 C.E.) complains in the *Consolation of Philosophy*[46]: why do the

innocent suffer and the wicked prosper? We can note that both poems utilize the antithetic

parallelism (stupidity vs. intelligence; crows vs. phoenix; fine steeds vs. lame donkeys) in

accentuating their unpretentious satirical tone. The rhyming pattern in this Chinese

example is also *aa ba ca* etc.[47]

    Our third example is taken from the *Canterbury Tales*. Although the main body of

this work is written in heroic couplets (*aa bb cc* etc),[48] Chaucer also uses rhyme royal

(*ababbcc*) in the *Second Nun's Tale*, and tries tail-rhyme[49] in the *Tale of Sir Thopas*

which is followed by the *Tale of Melibee* in prose. In the *Tale of Sir Thopas*, Chaucer

imitates and parodies the "narrative motifs, metre, rhyme and characteristic vocabulary"[50]

of medieval popular romances. He "allows himself licences with rhyme which depart

from his normal practice,"[51] such as the suppression of final -e on words which normally

carry it[52] and the employment of line-fillers. Here is the beginning stanza of the story:

> Listeth, lordes, in good entent,
> And I wol telle verrayment
>   Of myrthe and of solas,
> Al of a knyght was fair and gent
> In bataille and in tourneyment,
>   His name was Sire Thopas.[53]

The rhyme scheme in this stanza is *aabaab*. It is noticeable that *entent* (without final -e)

in the first line rhymes with the line-filler *verrayment* (cf. Fr. *vraiment*)[54] of the second

line. The tail-rhyme stanza is no doubt more complicated than the heroic couplet.

Easier rhyme?

Harold Whitehall distinguishes several periods of rhyme in English poetry. As

compared with "fore-stressed Old English," in which "rhyme was relatively difficult and

occurs only sparsely," Middle English gave rise to an easier and more flexible rhyme.[55]

Yet even a master like Chaucer, as we have seen in the previous example, has to use tags

such as "verrayment" and "I gesse" in his more complicated stanzas.[56] After the Great

Vowel Shift[57] considerably multiplied rhyming possibilities in Early Modern English (*c.*

1500-1750), the eighteenth century witnessed the victory of the pronunciation of the

middle class and rhyme again became difficult. Whitehall's statement naturally leads us to ask: If rhyme could rise and fall according to changes in lexicon and pronunciation, was it intrinsically easier to rhyme in some languages than in others?

An early efflorescence of Chinese rhyme is attested in the *Shi jing* 詩經 (Classic of Songs) which is an anthology dated to the Zhou dynasty (*c*. 1045-256 B.C.E.).[58] Different from the modern-style poetry, poems in the *Shi jing* are normally quadrisyllabic, strophic, multirhymed and without regular tonal patterns. Most of their rhymes can still be distinguished and appreciated by a modern Chinese speaker. The secret behind this three thousand years of rhyming tradition lies in the fact that Chinese characters are pronounced as monosyllables, which are naturally easy to rhyme. Besides, Chinese is an analytic language, thus lacking case endings or conjugational suffixes. This fact also makes end-rhymes meaningful in Chinese. Like the Arabic *rawī* which is usually the radical of a word, the Chinese end-rhyme is an inseparable part of the character—it is the combination of the main vowel and the coda of that monosyllable. Last but not least, the existence of diglossia[59] in Chinese (just as in Arabic) had limited the changes in the standard speech in which most of the poems were composed.

The extant early examples of Arabic poetry (e.g., the *Muʿallaqāt* and the verses in the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*[60]) display a fairly mature and regulated form of versification.[61] The end-rhymes were there and are still manifest to this day. Since *rawī* is usually a consonant whose pronunciation is relatively stable, rhyming in Arabic is not easily affected by

accidents like a "vowel shift." What is more, the *majrā*-vowel of the *rawī* would normally be elongated by the *waṣl*-letter. It is because of poetic license (*li-ḍarūrat al-shiʿr*) that the last word of a line does not strictly follow the rules of conjugation or declension as it would in a non-poetic composition.

There are other factors that could have widened the path for end-rhymes in Arabic. Generally speaking, every Arabic word can be schematized into a root which comprises at least three radicals. For example, the often quoted root *k-t-b* can yield quite a few combinations: *kataba* (he wrote), *kutiba* (it was written), *kitāb* (book), *kātib* (scribe; writer), *maktab* (desk; office), *maktūb* (written). This phenomenon is called *ishtiqāq*, i.e., "derivation" or literally "adoptive brotherhood."[62] It is to be noted that the last radical of the root, after various morphological changes, is still the ending consonant in those *ishtiqāq* words. Thus it is relatively easy to search for words with the same *rawī*.

Under some circumstances, the vowels (*alif, wāw, yāʾ*) and morphological consonants (*tāʾ, kāf, nūn, mīm, hāʾ*) can also function as *rawī*.[63] For instance, *yāʾ al-nisbah* can be counted as *rawī* if not accented. With the knowledge that the *nisbah* (*nominum relativum*) formation of abstract nouns fosters a huge register of Arabic words with the same *-īyah* ending, we would not be surprised to see more possibilities of rhyming by employing the above principle.[64]

The preceding three sections explored the basic forms and theories of end-rhymes in the Arabic, Chinese, and English traditions. End-rhymes are more likely to appear

60

where there is less confinement of conjugation or declension. The poetic examples

selected from these traditions just showed the comparability of end-rhymes. Our next step

is to discuss the circumstances under which the Arabic and Chinese rhymed prose came

into being, as well as their usual practitioners. Such a discussion will shed light upon

al-Hamadhānī's adaptation of *saj* ʿ for the *Maqāmāt*, and his characterization of the

eloquent, itinerant, and frustrated hero al-Iskandarī.

Saj ʿ

The *kāhin*

Anīs al-Maqdisī notes that in the late *Jāhilīyah* period,[65] the rhymed style (*uslūb*

musajjaʿ) had been quite à la mode among religious circles.[66] Similar to the blurred

origins of Arabic end-rhymes, the beginning of *saj* ʿ is mostly unknown except its

frequent association with the *kāhin* (pl. *kuhhān*), i.e., the diviner of pagan Arabia.

Medieval Arab philologists traced the word *saj* ʿ back to "an imitation of the

repeated, jerky and monotonous cooing of a pigeon or dove, or the drawn-out and

monotonous moaning of a camel."[67] As for the etymology of *saj* ʿ, there exists a Hebrew

root *sh-g-* ʿ which is probably connected with the Akkadian *šegû*[68] meaning "to be wild,

rage."[69] In the Hebrew Bible, we come across its cognates like "raging," "mad,"[70] and

"to behave like a madman."[71] It is also used "contemptuously and mockingly of the

prophets."[72]

As for the *kāhin*, it shares an identical origin with the biblical Hebrew *kohen*: both denoting guardians of oracles in a sanctuary.[73] Later their functions diverged: the *kāhin* gradually lost his connection with the sanctuary, and sank to the level of a mere diviner; while the *kohen* acquired fuller sacrifice functions.[74] With the advent of Islam, the *kāhin*'s position deteriorated into "a seer, the organ (mostly) of a jinn, rarely of a god."[75]

The implication of the word *kāhin* seems to be pretty close to that of *mantis*, the "seer" in Ancient Greece.[76] Plato states that no man, when in his wits, attains *mantic skills* [*mantikē*] that are *inspired* [*entheos*] and *true* [*alēthēs*] (*Timaeus*, 71).[77] He goes on to note (*Timaeus*, 72):

> And for this reason it is customary to appoint the lineage of *declarers* [*prophētēs* pl.] to be *judges* [*kritēs* pl.] over the *inspired* [*entheos* pl.] *mantic utterances* [*manteia* pl.]. Some persons call them *seers* [*mantis* pl.], being blind to the fact that they [=the *prophētēs* pl.] are only the expositors of *riddles* [*ainigmos* pl.] and visions, and are not to be called *seers* [*mantis* pl.] at all, but only *declarers* [*prophētēs* pl.] of *what the seers say* [*manteuomena*].[78]

It is clear from this statement that the *mantis* is the intermediary between the source of inspiration and the *prophētēs*, who put the inspired message (e.g., riddles and visions) into poetic form.[79] Surely an Arabic *kāhin* assumes the functions of both Greek *mantis* and *prophētēs*.[80] When asked for an oracle, the *kāhin* would appear to have entered into a trance or seem "demented by some distemper or possession."[81] Then he would not only speak from that altered mental state, but also organize the inspired message into short,

cryptic, rhymed utterance, i.e., *saj*ʿ. People believed that he was inspired by a jinn, since only jinns were able to coin those magical formulae and put them into cabalistic *saj*ʿ form.[82] In the eyes of beholders, it is hard to tell the difference between "being inspired by a jinn" and "being possessed by a jinn (*majnūn*)," in which case the *kāhin* might even look like a mad person making mysterious utterances.

Un fol

The kinship of madness and prophetic knowledge is a recurrent theme in literature. In Chapter 37 of the third book of Rabelais's *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, Pantagruel suggests that his companion Panurge consult a madman (*fol*), for it is said that a madman can teach a scholar.[83] In comparison to the "*saige mondain*," the true sage who is not only wise but can presage by divine inspiration, "is one who forgets himself, discards his own personality, rids his senses of all earthly affection, purges his spirit of all human care, neglects everything."[84] Pantagruel adds that these qualities are commonly attributed to madness (*Ce que vulguairement est imputé à follie*).[85]

The preceding statement may help explain why in al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmah of the Asylum* (*al-Maqāmah al-Māristānīyah*) ʿĪsā ibn Hishām and Abū Dāʾūd, a 2nd/8th century Muʿtazilī theologian (*mutakallim*), visited the asylum in Basrah one day. Like Pantagruel, they might initially be seeking knowledge or hoping for some kind of consultation. However what they do not expect is to encounter a madman (*majnūn*) who

gives a long anti-Muʿtazilī speech in *sajʿ*. The eloquence and pungency of his speech completely dumbfound the visitors:

> *wa taqūlūna khuyyira fa ʾkhtāra. wa kallā fa inna ʾl-mukhtār(a) lā yabʿaju baṭnah(u) wa lā yafqaʾu ʿaynah(u) wa lā yarmī min ḥāliqin ibnah(u).*

> Ye say man has been given free choice and so he chooses. Never! For the free agent would not rip open his stomach, nor pluck out his eyes, nor hurl his son from a crag.[86]

This is a blow aimed directly at the Muʿtazilī doctrine of Free Will (*ikhtiyār*).[87] The madman's *sajʿ*, though not very complicated, contrasts with the *maqāmah*'s beginning that is in plain prose.[88] The above example also illustrates the primary difference between the rhyming scheme of *sajʿ* and that of poetry. Whereas classical Arabic poetry is often monorhymed, the *qāfiyah* of *sajʿ* "changes after every few (usually two to four) rhyme members."[89]

Certainly the madman's role is clandestinely assumed by al-Hamadhānī's habitual rogue, Abū al-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī. On another occasion,[90] he dresses up like a mad barber (*ḥajjām*, lit. "cupper") and tests ʿĪsā ibn Hishām's patience by giving a bizarre and almost meaningless *sajʿ* speech mixed with plain prose. Thus al-Hamadhānī deliberately groups semantically irrelevant rhyme members in his speech, and creates a humorous effect:

> *wa laqad ḥaḍartu fī shahri ramaḍana jāmiʿahā wa qad ushʿilat fīhi ʾl-maṣābīḥ(u)[91] wa uqīmati ʾl-tarāwīḥ(u) fa mā shaʿarnā illā bi maddi ʾl-nīl(i) wa qad atā ʿalā tilka ʾl-qanādīl(i)*

> I was present there (Qum) in its cathedral mosque in the month of Ramadan when the lamps had been lit and the *tarāwīḥ* prayers[92] were inaugurated, but, before we knew it,

64

the Nile rose and came and extinguished those lights.…[93]

ʿĪsā ibn Hishām is "bewildered at his fluency with his malaprop[94] loquacity" (*fa baqītu mutaḥayyaran min bayānih(i) fī hadhayānih(i)*).[95] He is then told that the barber "babbles the whole day, as you observe, but behind him there are many virtues (*wa warāʾahu faḍl kathīr*)."[96] In the *Maqāmah of Poesie* (*al-Maqāmah al-Qarīḍīyah*),[97] ʿĪsā ibn Hishām also calls al-Iskandarī "*fāḍil*"[98] for the latter boasts an astonishing knowledge of poetry and poets. But here, by "many virtues" (*faḍl kathīr*), al-Hamadhānī must have been referring to the barber's confirmation of the notion that "ability precedes action" (*al-istiṭāʿah qabla al-fiʿl*), which is the Ashʿarite opinion against the doctrine of Free Will.[99] The anti-Muʿtazilī tone that is so evident in the *Maqāmah of the Asylum* is also sensed here.

The setting inside the asylum and the madness (*junūnuhu*) of the anti-Muʿtazilī speakers were very likely invoked by al-Hamadhānī as modes of camouflage against possible accusations from the partisans of the Muʿtazilah.[100] At the same time, al-Iskandarī's "madness" and eloquence suggest a resemblance to the functions of the *kāhin*. What is more, he seems to be familiar with augury, a trait that is characteristic of those pre-Islamic soothsayers.

Divinatory functions

In the following subsections, we continue to argue that al-Iskandarī bear traces of

pre-Islamic soothsayers. The various names of soothsayers provide a picture of their divinatory functions. These names also lead us to explore the text of the *Maqāmāt*: al-Iskandarī has served as augur, sung satire against his opponent, delivered long prayers, produced and solved riddles, and acted as medicine man. Indeed the beggar hero can be regarded as their heir. Therefore it was not at random that al-Hamadhānī employed *saj*ʿ, one of their trademark styles, to narrate stories about a beggar.

Toufic Fahd has confirmed "the oracular, mantic and augural role of the *kāhin*" by listing the various names that designated the exercise of his divinatory functions.[101] There are names like *ʿarrāf* (diviner), *ʿāʾif* (augur),[102] *zājir* (augur),[103] *qāʾif* (physiognomist),[104] *nāshid* (the singer of poetry) and "several other secondary designations for particular occasions, such as *ḥakam* (arbitrator on the occasion of a *munāfara*[105]), *khaṭīb* (spokesman and messenger), *shāʿir* (incantator and inciter to battle), *ṭabīb* (medicine man), *khabīr* (valuer)."[106]

In the aforementioned *Maqāmah of the Asylum*, the "madman" al-Iskandarī greets the visitors with a very professional formula: "If the augury bird is right, ye are strangers" (*in taṣduq al-ṭayr fa antum ghurabāʾ*).[107] In the following speech, he describes the Muʿtazilīs as "Magians of this community" (*majūs hādhihi al-ummah*)[108] and uses the verb *taṭayyara* (to augur) twice to describe their refusals of the Qurʾān and the "torture of the tomb" (*ʿadhāb al-qabr*) respectively.[109] Thus we read:

66

*yā aʿdāʾa ʾl-kitābi waʾl-ḥadīthi bimā taṭayyar**ūn(a)**? a biʾl-lāhi wa āyātihi wa rasūlihi tastahziʾ**ūn(a)**?*

Ye enemies of the Book and the Tradition! By what do ye perform augury? Do ye mock Allāh and his signs and his Apostle?[110]

In the *Maqāmah of Balkh* (*al-Maqāmah al-Balkhīyah*), al-Iskandarī's familiarity with augury makes a good impression upon ʿĪsā ibn Hishām. When he learns that the cotton merchant ʿĪsā intends to go on a journey, he immediately chants a line as follows:

*ṣabāḥu ʾl-lāhi lā ṣubḥu ʾnṭ**ilāqī***
   *wa ṭayru ʾl-waṣli lā ṭayru ʾl-f**irāqī***[111]

May it be a morn divine and not a morn of departure,
   the bird auguring union, and not separation.[112]

This line sounds like a magic spell for safe travel.[113] Al-Iskandarī's verse must sound favorable to ʿĪsā ibn Hishām who ends up giving the beggar a dinar for his eloquence and the good fortune that he foretells.[114]

Traces of the *kāhin* are scattered in other *maqāmāt* as well. Al-Iskandarī is seen lingering at the devil's valley in the *Maqāmah of Iblīs*.[115] He is described as wearing the turban (*ʿamāmah*) of the devil, a reference through which al-Hamadhānī hints at the beggar's connection with the supernatural beings which are possible sources of his insight and eloquence. These references demonstrate that the functions of pre-Islamic *kāhin*s have contributed to the character of al-Iskandarī (and even that of ʿĪsā ibn Hishām[116]). These functions may well have prompted the employment of *sajʿ* and poetry

in the *Maqāmāt*. The pair of divinatory function and prosimetric form would serve as evidence for our suggestion of a "transfer of form/function" to be found in the Introduction.

The other names of the *kāhin* are also useful for our discussion of the prosimetric style. For instance, *khaṭīb* recalls *maqām* ("pious homily") and the similarity of *maqāmah* and *khuṭbah*. As for the term *nāshid*, its root *n-sh-d* initially means "to seek after a stray beast" or "to give information of something lost."[117] In the *Maqāmah of Iblīs*, the devil does show ʿĪsā ibn Hishām the way to his camels. Another name of the *kāhin*, the *shāʿir*, is known to be related to lampoons (*hijāʾ*) chanted at battlefield.[118] The metaphor that links lampoon poetry to the quiver of arrows is attested in ʿĪsā ibn Hishām's self boasting in the *Maqāmah of Iraq* (*al-Maqāmah al-ʿIraqīyah*):

> *wa taṣaffaḥtu dawāwīna ʾl-shuʿarāʾi ḥattā ẓanantunī lam ubqi fī ʾl-qawsi minzaʿa ẓafarin.*
>
> I had turned over the pages of the *dīwān*s of the poets until I thought to myself I had not left in my quiver a victorious shaft.[119]

What ʿĪsā ibn Hishām implies here is possibly an imagined *munāẓarah* (literary debate) between himself and poets, other than a combat of real arrows and swords. However the magic of words can dispel the army, as we read in the Chinese story entitled the *Memoir of the Capture of Ji Bu* (捉季布傳文),[120] and can cause great harm to the opponent without shedding blood.[121] Al-Hamadhānī uses a formula twice to depict the loser in

such a combat of speech:

wa innī la arā fīhi inkisāran ḥattā iftaraqnā.

…and verily I perceived in him [Dhū al-Rummah] humiliation until we parted.[122]

wa innī la aʿrifu fī Abī Dāʾūda inkisāran ḥattā aradnā ʾl-iftirāqa.

…and verily I was conscious of humiliation in Abū Dāʾūd until we desired to separate.[123]

The first example is found in the *Maqāmah of Ghaylan*, when al-Farazdaq (d. 110/728 or 112/730)[124] finds no need to respond to Dhū al-Rummah's lampoon. The second example appears in the *Maqāmah of the Asylum* after al-Iskandarī pugnaciously calls his visitors "the dross of the corrupt (*khabath al-khabīth*)."[125] Therefore, it would appear that poetry and *saj* are equally effective in besting the opponent. At a later point,[126] we will discuss in detail the importance of the debate theme to the *maqāmah* genre.

Although the next chapter will focus on poetry, it seems necessary to say a few words about the Arabic *rajaz* meter here. Scholars have suggested a similar origin for both *saj* and *rajaz*.[127] Fahd, who is fond of using roots to trace the origins of ancient cults, calls our attention to the root *r-j-z* (and its double *r-j-s*) that had designated both the divine rage and trance of the *kāhin*.[128] Since *saj* and *rajaz* were customary styles of expression used by the *kāhin*, it does not surprise us that *rajaz* appears side by side with *saj* fourteen times in the whole Hamadhānian *Maqāmāt*.

The *Encyclopedia of Islam* lists the uses of *saj* in "astrometeorological sayings"

and "descriptions of clouds and rain" as "outside *kahāna* before Islam."[129] We would like

to propose that the prediction of rain or climate change could be connected with sacrifice

and divination, which are important not only for a sedentary culture but also for

migratory Bedouins.[130] The great Abbasid poet al-Mutanabbī (303-354/915-965), "he

who pretends to be a prophet," was reported to have been able to control the rain while

living with the Bedouins in his youth.[131] In the second episode of the *Maqāmah of Moṣul*

(*al-Maqāmah al-Mawṣilīyah*),[132] al-Iskandarī alleges that he can divert the flood from a

village by means of a prayer, on the condition that the villagers sacrifice a yellow heifer

(*baqarah ṣafrāʾ*) in the water[133] and marry him to a young virgin (*jāriyah ʿadhrāʾ*).[134]

What is more, it is probably not a mere coincidence that Ibn Durayd's *Kitāb waṣf*

al-maṭar waʾl-saḥāb (Book of the Description of Rain and Cloud), which displays an

ample use of *sajʿ*, includes quite a few sections that resemble the *maqāmāt*.

The staff

The quotation from *Timaeus* 72 in our section "The *kāhin*" suggests that poetry

(or rhymed prose) is related to prophecy and inspiration. We need to add that *aoidos*

("singer"), the term by which Hesiod (fl. *c*. 700 B.C.) presents himself, "had remained in

the sacral realm of prophecy" after *poiētēs* entered the secular realm of poetry.[135] *Aoidoi*

like Hesiod and Homer (fl. 9th or 8th century B.C.E.?) had always invoked the divine

inspiration of the Muses before singing. Such opening formulae are not exclusive to the

Greek *aoidoi*. Benediction to Śiva, the Naṭarāja (King of Dance/Drama), is attested in the

beginning of the Sanskrit drama *Śakuntalā*.[136] Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* begins with the

Maṃgala-śloka (benediction-verse) devoted to the Goddess Sarasvatī.[137] Likewise in

many of the *maqāmāt*, our rogue al-Iskandarī opens his *sajʿ*-speech by praying to Allāh:

> *fa rafaʿa ʿaqīratahu wa qāla: al-lahumma yā mubdiʾa ʾl-ashyāʾi wa muʿīdahā wa*
> *muḥyiya ʾl-ʿiẓāmi wa mubīdahā wa khāliqa ʾl-miṣbāḥi wa mudīrah(u) wa fāliqa ʾl-iṣbāḥi*
> *wa munīrah(u) ….*
>
> He raised his voice and said: 'O God who createth things and causeth them to return
> again, the quickener of bones and the destroyer of them, the Creator of the sun and who
> causeth it to revolve; the Maker of the dawn to appear and its Illuminator.…'[138]

In the beginning of the *Theogony*, Hesiod confirms that the Muses breathed a

god-inspired voice into his mouth (*l.* 33).[139] They also gave him a staff (*skēptron*) "as a

symbol of his sacral authority to proclaim the absolute truth."[140] Rhapsody, which

usually denotes a part of an epic poem,[141] is thought to be derived from *rhaptein* (to

stitch) plus *oide* (song). Some musicologists have preferred to trace rhapsody to the

Greek *rhapdos* (rod, staff), for "the rhapsodists were wandering reciters who carried a

long staff."[142]

There is a Greek proverb that says "[e]ven beggar (*ptōchos*) with beggar vies;

singer competes with singer" (*Works and Days*, *l.* 26).[143] The juxtaposition of beggar and

singer provides a linkage to the fact that our rogue al-Iskandarī appears in three *maqāmāt*

as a beggar holding a staff.[144] A staff may serve as Hesiod's symbol of divine inspiration;

it is also used as a percussion instrument[145] in the *Maqāmah of the Blind* (*al-Maqāmah al-Makfūfiyah*), where ʿĪsā ibn Hishām describes to us such a blind beggar:

> *wa sharraḥtu ʾl-ṭarfa minhu ilā ḥuzuqqatin kaʾl-quranbā aʿmā makf**ūf(in)** fī shamlati ṣ**ūf(in)** yadūru kaʾl-khudhr**ūf(i)** mutabarnisan bi aṭwala minhu muʿtamidan ʿalā ʿaṣan fīhā jalājilu yakhbitu ʾl-arḍa bihā ʿalā īqāʿin ghan**ij(in)** bi laḥnin haz**ij(in)** wa ṣawtin shajj(in) min ṣadrin ḥar**ij(in)***.[146]

> I passed my eye over him and I found him to be a person short and portly like a beetle, blind, and wrapped up in a woolen blanket, whirling round like a top, wearing a burnous too long for him, and supporting himself with a staff to which were attached a number of tiny bells. With this he was beating the ground with a rhythmical sound, while with plaintive air and pathetic voice proceeding from a straightened breast.…[147]

What ʿĪsā ibn Hishām describes here is clearly a whole set of pre-chanting or pre-singing performance situations. The beggar taps the ground in order to attract and gather people around him. He may also use the same process to ponder over the topic and improvise the verses that would sound most favorable to his audience.[148]

As illustrated by the transliteration, al-Hamadhānī uses two sets of rhymes in picturing the beggar's appearance and performance respectively. To contrast with the first set, which is marked by the rhyme *-ūf(in)* and a pattern made with nearly all long syllables, in the second set al-Hamadhānī adopts the rhyme *-ij(in)* and repeats the rhythm (X -- -- U --) in almost every colon.[149] Although the frequency of short syllables mimics the beggar's shortness of breath, the humorous touch of the first rhyming set[150] warns us not to take his sadness too seriously. The poems he sings after the prologue are in the *rajaz* meter, thus echoing the rhythm of the second rhyming set—it being the only meter

that permits three consecutive short syllables.[151]

The veil and the ochre

If madness represents the state of receiving divine inspiration, then blindness, at
least seen in the legend of Teiresias, could also be a trait endowed by god.[152] Since the
beginning of human history blindness was closely associated with domains such as poetry,
prophecy, divination, storytelling, singing, etc. Jorge Luis Borges reassures us that "being
blind has its advantages."[153] Homer, Rūdakī (d. 329/940-1), Abū al-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī,
al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī (d. 525/1130-1),[154] Sūrdās (d. 1563), the blind presenters of *fu*[155] in
pre-Qin times, and the blind singers of *taozhen* 陶真 since the Song era, would be
merely a few in a long list of blind artists. Even our protagonist al-Iskandarī also pretends
to be blind in the above cited *maqāmah*.[156]

One of the epithets of the *kāhin* is *Dhū al-khimār*, namely the possessor of the
veiling. It is said that they had a custom of covering themselves at the time of their
visions.[157] *The Clouds* records an interesting parody on the initiation (*ll*. 237-62) when
Socrates matriculates Strepsiades into his school. Socrates first dredges the old man with
some powder.[158] He then prays to the Clouds while Strepsiades veils himself for the fear
that it will shortly rain.[159] In the end, both of them have the vision of the goddesses and
Strepsiades requests them to turn him into "the best of Greeks in speaking by a hundred
stadia."[160] Obviously the procedure of veiling, although being distorted in Aristophanes's

parody, is a necessary step before one should have visions.

As a matter of fact, al-Hamadhānī mentions in the *Maqāmah of the Date* (*al-Maqāmah al-Azādhīyah*) a beggar "who had modestly covered his face with a veil."[161] In the *Maqāmah of Sāsān*, there is a more detailed description:

> *fa bayna anā yawman ʿalā bābi dārī idh ṭalaʿa ʿalayya min banī sāsāna katībatun qad laffū ruʾ**ūsahum** wa ṭalaw bi'l-maghrati lab**ūsahum** wa taʾabbaṭa kullu wāḥidin minhum ḥajaran yaduqqu bihi ṣadrahu.*

> Now one day when I was at the door of my house there suddenly appeared before me a troop of the sons of Sāsān. They had muffled up their faces, and besmeared their clothes with red ochre while each of them had tucked under his armpit a stone with which he beats his breast.[162]

In both *maqāmāt*, ʿĪsā ibn Hishām finds out the identity of al-Iskandarī when he lowers (*amāṭa*) the veil. Veiling, as well as smearing the body (face, hands, forearms, clothes)[163] with red ochre, must have been a usual practice among the Banū Sāsān, the notorious denizens of the medieval underworld. Bosworth explains that their use of ochre was to "give an appearance of madness," and they beat themselves with stone in order to "convey an impression of self-mortification."[164]

Visions and dreams

Our previous discussion does not establish a solid linkage between al-Iskandarī's veiling and vision. Nevertheless, we find him declaring in the *Maqāmah of Isfahan* (*al-Maqāmah al-Iṣfahānīyah*) that he had a vision of the Prophet Muḥammad in a dream.

74

Macrobius, the commentator on Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*, tells us that dreams can be divided into five types. Among them there are three that might "communicate some significant truth or foretell future events: the *somnium* (an enigmatic dream needing interpretation), the *visio* (a prophetic vision), and the *oraculum* (in which an authoritative figure appeared to give advice)."[165]

As both a *mantis* and a *prophētēs*, al-Iskandarī surely receives and describes visions. He vividly portrays his pleasant and fantastic dream as follows:

> *raʾaytuhu ṣallā ʾl-lāhu ʿalayhi wa sallama fī ʾl-man**ām(i)** kaʾl-shamsi taḥta ʾl-gham**ām(i)** waʾl-badri layla al-tam**ām(i)**, yasīru waʾl-nujūmu tatb**aʿuh(u)** wa yasḥabu ʾl-dhayla waʾl-malāʾikatu tarf**aʿuh(u)**.*

> I saw the Prophet in a dream!—May God send His blessings upon him—like the sun beneath the clouds, and the moon at the full. He was walking, the stars following him; he was trailing his skirts and the angels held them up.[166]

Al-Iskandarī constructs here a kind of ethereal peace by mobilizing images like the sun, clouds, full moon, stars, and angels. Al-Iskandarī's dream clearly belongs to the *oraculum*. Who can be more authoritative than the Prophet, who shines in glory and walks like a celestial monarch? Such a pompous opening aims to make the audience believe the following message:

> *thumma ʿallamanī duʿāʾan awṣānī an uʿallima dhālika ummatahu. fa katabtuhu ʿalā hādhihi ʾl-awrāqi bi khalūqin wa mis**k(in)** wa zaʿfarānin wa suk**k(in)**. fa man ʾstawhabahu minnī wahab**tuh(u)** wa man radda ʿalayya thamana al-qirṭāsi akhadh**tuh(u)**.*

> Then he taught me a prayer and admonished me to teach it to his people. So I wrote it

down on these slips of paper with the perfumes of Khalūq, musk, saffron and socc, and whoever asks for a copy as a gift, I will present it to him, but whosoever hands me back the cost of paper I will accept it.[167]

Authorized by the vision, the slips of paper are sure to bring good fortune to the reciters. The vision's association with *laylat al-qadr*, which "is better than a thousand months,"[168] leaves an especially auspicious mark on the prayer itself. Although the decision to follow what the Prophet commanded (*awṣā*) should not be materially rewarded, al-Iskandarī tells the audience that those slips have been pretreated with precious perfumes (whose names rhyme), thus turning them into an actual sample of luxury.

The authority of writing and speech is what al-Hamadhānī tries to establish throughout his elaborate *maqāmāt*, even though one of their primary topics and contexts is that of *kudyah* (begging) and the central character is depicted as belonging to many despicable professions.[169] In this particular *maqāmah*, al-Hamadhānī dexterously transfers the authority of the Prophet to al-Iskandarī's prayer, though its actual content remains unknown to us. In another context we learn of al-Hamadhānī's complaint about the uselessness of *adab* (polite letters) in everyday life.[170] In the fictitious world constructed by our author, al-Iskandarī is definitely justified in keeping the dirhems he earns as the reward for his *adab*.[171]

Visions are depicted as being very important for people who live by means of speech. Ezekiel condemns those who have prophesied without having had a vision (Ezek. 13:3).[172] Indeed, his model of prophetic vision had been imitated or parodied by

76

medieval Jewish writers like Judah al-Ḥarizi (1165-1225), the author of the Hebrew *maqāmah—Book of Taḥkemoni*.[173] The use of vision is also to be found in the aforementioned *Piers Plowman* and *Consolation of Philosophy*. Reliance on the use of vision as a literary device, or trope, became as common a practice for medieval authors as for their remote counterparts in ages past.

Riddles

In the beginning of Ezek. 17, the prophet is ordered to say a riddle (*ḥud ḥidah*) and speak a proverb (*umshol mashal*) unto the house of Israel. *Mashal*, the cognate of the Arabic *mathal*, has a wider meaning than that of a simple proverb. It may also be an allegory, a parable, a simile, etc. As for *ḥidah*, it is used in 1 Kings 10:1 where the Queen of Sheba came to Solomon in order to test him with riddles (*va tavo le-nasoto be-ḥidot*).[174] The latter's talent at solving riddles, together with his extravagant lifestyle and the burnt-offering he offers at the temple, causes the queen great astonishment.

Mashal and *ḥidah* are mentioned together in Ezekiel, as both of them need to be expounded and commented upon. Plato informs us that it is the *prophētēs* who were responsible for expositing riddles and visions. In the following verses (Ezek. 17:3-10), we are told that the prophet complies with the divine call and provides the allegory of the eagles in the biblical "high style."[175] James Kugel comments as follows:

Within the biblical orbit, figurative language, bold imagery, and the like were conceived

77

to belong specifically to the world of "song" (*šîr*) or "proverb" (*māšāl* or *ḥîdāh*), and it is certainly of significance that prophets sometimes invoked these genres in introducing their oracles. "Let me sing for my beloved a love song concerning his vineyard," Isaiah says in introducing a famous parable concerning the fate of his people (Isa. 5); later on in the same book, the prophet's words of consolation take up a well-worn introductory trope known to us from the Psalter, "Sing to the Lord a new song, his praise from the end of the earth!" (Isa. 42:10).[176]

In quite a few beginning sections of the Psalter, we encounter terms concerning instruments or tunes used in the chanting. Both King David and his son Solomon probably still functioned like priest-kings or philosopher-kings, skilled in singing songs, offering sacrifices, and solving riddles. It is known that there existed special cantillation systems for biblical books (*Ketuvim*). We will return to the connection between music and poetry at a later point.

When the *kātib* ʿAbd al-Nūr sat down with the Bedouins, he listened to them citing proverbs/parables (*al-mathal*).[177] A *mathal* is also semantically akin to an exemplum, and we know that Chaucer's Pardoner is especially fond of relating exempla. Unlike his English counterpart, al-Iskandarī seems to enjoy coining riddles. In the *Maqāmah of Balkh*, he initially entertains ʿĪsā ibn Hishām with the augural verse, and then relates a riddle in *sajʿ*:

> *fa qāla idhā arjaʿaka ʾl-lāhu sāliman min hādhā ʾl-ṭarīq(i) faʾstaṣḥib lī ʿadūwan fī burdati ṣadīq(in) min nijāri ʾl-ṣufr(i) yadʿū ilā ʾl-kufr(i) wa yarquṣu ʿalā ʾl-ẓufr(i) ka dārati ʾl-ʿayn(i) yaḥuṭṭu thiqala ʾl-dayn(i) wa yunāfiqu bi wajhayn(i).*
>
> He said, 'If God bring thee back in safety from this road, bring with thee for me an enemy in the guise of a friend, in golden vein that invites to infidelity, spins on the finger,

round as the disc of the sun, that lightens the burden of debt and plays the role of the two-faced.'[178]

He is perhaps too ashamed to directly beg for dinars. But more likely, he is anxious to please ʿĪsā ibn Hishām once again with his linguistic skills. Al-Hamadhānī seems to be fond of this riddle; a slightly different version is used in the *Maqāmah of the Yellow*.[179]

As defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a riddle is "a question or statement intentionally worded in a dark or puzzling manner," something that needs to be propounded metaphorically or allegorically "in order that it may be guessed or answered."[180] The poser of riddles needs to provide all kinds of clues for the answerer. In the above quotation, six aspects of the dinar are divided into two sets of rhyming members. Of course al-Iskandarī wants ʿĪsā ibn Hishām to find the solution by offering many suggestions, without which he probably will not earn the dinar.

Mention of riddles is also found in the *maqāmāt* of literary criticism, where al-Iskandarī provides very challenging poetic examples of riddles set in *sajʿ*.[181] Al-Hamadhānī does not attach all the solutions to the riddles in the text. Some of them have been provided by commentators, while others require inductive reasoning on the part of the interested reader. In fact al-Ḥarīrī has put it quite straightforwardly in the preface to his set of *maqāmāt*: he studded his *Maqāmāt* with "Arab proverbs" (*al-amthāl al-ʿarabīyah*), "grammatical riddles" (*al-aḥājī al-naḥwīyah*) and "lexical quibbles" (*al-fatāwā al-lughawīyah*).[182] In view of the fact that his *Maqāmāt* were memorized and

emulated and "had remained a yardstick of literary education well into the eighteenth century,"[183] these riddles on "serious" subjects must have been regarded as one of the virtues (sg. *faḍl*) of the *maqāmah* genre.

As seen in the riddle of the dinar, rhymes are more regularly and densely used in the Hamadhānian riddles than, for example, in the madman's speech in the *Maqāmah of Asylum*. In the following example taken from the *Maqāmah of the Spindle* (*al-Maqāmah al-Mighzalīyah*), we witness a quite sophisticated construction of rhymes:

> *ayyada ʾl-lāhu ʾl-shaykha! dakhala hādhā ʾl-fatā dāranā fa akhadha qabaja sunnār(in) bi-raʾsihi duwār(un), bi-wasṭihi zunnār(un), wa falakun dawwār(un), rakhīmu ʾl-ṣawti in ṣarra, sarīʿu ʾl-karri in farra, ṭawīlu ʾl-dhayli in jarra, naḥīfu ʾl-munaṭṭaq(i), ḍaʿīfu ʾl-muqarṭaq(i), fī qadri ʾl-ḥarar(i). muqīmun bi-ʾl-ḥaḍar(i), lā yakhlū min ʾl-safar(i). in ūdiʿa shayan radda, wa in kullifa sayran jadda, wa in ajarra ḥablan madda. hunāka ʿaẓmun wa khashab(un), wa fīhi mālun wa nashab(un), wa qablun wa baʿd(un).*

> "May God strengthen the Shaikh! This youth entered our house and seized a kitten with vertigo in its head, with the sacred cord and a whirling sphere around its middle. Gentle of voice, if it cries; quick to return, if it flees; long of skirt, if it pulls; slender of waist, weak of chest, of the size of a plump sheep. Staying in the town, yet not abandoning travel. If it be given a thing, it returns it. If it be tasked with a journey, it goes energetically, and, if it is made to draw the rope, it lengthens it. There it is, bone and wood. It contains property, immoveable and moveable, a past and a future.[184]

Al-Hamadhānī skillfully employs several devices to avoid the tightness and monotony caused by rhyme-density. Firstly, the regular alternations between rhymes made of nouns (*-ār*, *-ar*, *-ashab*) and those of verbs (*-arra*, *-adda*) are quite amazing. It is also obvious that every colon of the same rhyming group tends to follow the same rhythm.[185] Secondly, in the synonymous couplet "*naḥīfu ʾl-munaṭṭaq(i), ḍaʿīfu ʾl-muqarṭaq(i)*," he

inlays another pair of rhymes (-*īfu*) besides the normal end-rhymes. Thirdly, he links this

couplet with the synthetic one "*muqīmun bi ʾl-ḥaḍar(i), lā yakhlū min ʾl-safar(i)*" by

bestowing the rhyme -*ar* to "*fī qadri ʾl-ḥarar(i)*," thus deviating from the usual alliance

of semantic and sonic repetitions. Lastly, when we expect the appearance of -*ashab* in the

end, al-Hamadhānī surprisingly gives us a rhyme-free couplet.

Munāẓarah

Riddles expect an answer. Therefore they are by nature dialogic. Both question

and answer can be expanded into long speeches of *saj ʿ*, or poetry, or simply plain prose.

Thus it is natural to see a prosimetric text of riddles. In the above quotation, both the

rhyme-density and the rhythmic uniformity inside the rhyming group confirm the

closeness of some Hamadhānian *saj ʿ* paragraphs to *waṣf* (description) poems.[186] In that

maqāmah, the *saj ʿ* riddle is followed by another one composed in the *rajaz* meter. The

second riddle is also heavily rhymed; the rhyme appears in every two or three words and

changes every two or four lines.[187] Thus rhyming schemes in the two riddles are

somewhat similar to each other.

A riddle could easily be recast into a debate (*munāẓarah*).[188] In al-Iskandarī's

absence, ʿĪsā ibn Hishām mediates between the two suitors who present their cases in the

above-mentioned riddles. He succeeds in arbitrating their dispute by solving the two

riddles: "Give him back the comb in order that he may return to thee the spindle."[189]

ʿĪsā's function, as proved by the greetings of both suitors—"may God strengthen the Shaikh" (*ayyada ʾl-lāh ʾl-shaykh*),[190] is as a judge. We have mentioned in the section "Divinatory functions" that *ḥakam* is exactly one of the *kāhin*'s titles.

The *Maqāmah of the Spindle* bears strong resemblance to the Chinese story *Liang xiaoer bian ri* 兩小兒辯日 (Two Lads Debated over the Sun) in *Lie zi* 列子.[191] The suitors of the *maqāmah* are "two young men (*fatayān*)," and their arbiter, ʿĪsā ibn Hishām, is said to be "wide of fame and abundant of reputation."[192] In the Chinese story, it is Confucius (d. 479 B.C.E.) judging between two small children who are debating, in semi-rhymed prose, the sun's nearness or distance at different times of the day. In the Chinese context the character *bian* 辯 (to dispute, to debate) is combined with a *yan* 言 (speech; word) and double *xin*s 辛 (instrument of punishment; pungent). Thus *bian* could be depicting the debate of two parties in a lawsuit. Double *xin*s also reflect the sharpness of speech, something that we have already noted in our discussion of the *hijāʾ* (lampoon), be it poetry or rhymed prose.[193]

Sajʿ's connection with legal debates has long been known. In the famous *ḥadīth* of the fetus,[194] after the Prophet (nicknamed the *ḥakam*) had determined that blood money should be paid for both the mother and the fetus in her womb, the accused could not help speaking *sajʿ* in front of him. The Prophet, whose attitude towards pagan soothsaying greatly confined the development of *sajʿ* in the following two centuries, immediately forbade him to speak like a *kāhin*. We could infer that in a pre-Islamic legal debate both

suitors would give formal speeches, using the same kind of rhetoric as *kāhin*s did.

We should keep in mind that the debate we encounter in the *Maqāmāt* is different from the aforementioned real-life legal debate. The Arabic *munāẓarah* genre came into being during the late 8th-early 9th centuries, probably under the influence of *kalām* (theology), *falsafah* (Hellenizing philosophy), and *badīʿ* (innovative) style.[195] The medium of debate literature can be prose or verse or both.[196] Arabic debate poems such as the one between coffee and tea and that of rose versus narcissus have merited scholarly attention.[197] These works, with their mixture of poetic genres like *waṣf, fakhr* (boast),[198] and *hijāʾ*, were à la mode among both elite and popular circles. Around and after al-Hamadhānī's time, it was also a fashion to write debates in *sajʿ*, mostly in the genre of *risālah*.[199] For instance, al-Hamadhānī's *Rasāʾil* give an account of the *munāẓarah*s between him and al-Khwārizmī. The popularity of the debate-theme in literature reflects the intellectual life from the 3rd/9th century onward. In that connection we can note that most of the literary debates took place in salons (*majlis*) and in the presence of a dignitary as *ḥakam*.

In a recent article,[200] Victor Mair draws our attention to the debate of birds, a theme which appeared in medieval Eurasian literary works like Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls,* Farīd al-Dīn al-ʿAṭṭār's (586/1190) *Manṭiq al-ṭayr* (Conference of the Birds) and the Tibetan *Bya chos rin cheng ʾphreng ba* (The Dharma among the Birds, a Precious Garland). The Sufi *Manṭiq al-ṭayr* is also called *Maqāmāt al-ṭuyūr* (The *Maqām*s of Birds)

83

by later generations.[201] Although the Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* look quite different from

Sufi *maqām*s, they all rely upon the debate to construct their own ideals of excellent

speech (*maqāl(ah)*). Indeed the debate theme, as well as that of the riddle, was one major

inspiration for al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*. The flexible forms used in order to reflect these

themes also to some extent influenced the prosimetric style of the *Maqāmāt*.

Fu

The sources

In the previous eight sections we have argued the following balance of function and

form: since al-Iskandarī inherits the divinatory functions of pre-Islamic soothsayers, it is

very appropriate for al-Hamadhānī to employ the *sajʿ* style in the *Maqāmāt*. When we

look at another great example of rhymed prose, i.e., the Chinese *fu*, we are perhaps able

to detect a similar transfer of form/function. We will select several representative

practitioners of the Chinese *fu* and compare them to al-Iskandarī.

Guo Weisen 郭維森 argues that in pre-Han times, *cifu* 辭賦 (the synonym of

fu) was primarily used in lawsuits (*susong* 訴訟), diplomacy (*pinwen* 聘問), sacrifices

and prayers (*jizhu* 祭祝). It was also related to *chengxiang* 成相 songs and riddles

(*yinyu* 隱語).[202] In regard to some of these functional aspects, as well as the formal

characteristic of being in rhymed prose, *fu*'s similarity to *sajʿ* is quite evident.

The name of *cifu* reveals two sources for Chinese rhymed prose: *ci* of the *Chu ci* 楚辭[203] and *fu* of the *Shi jing*. *Chu ci* is usually translated as *Songs of Chu* or *Elegies of Chu*, which stands for the group of poems written by Qu Yuan (*c*. 339-278 B.C.E.) and his followers. Because of the prominent place of Qu Yuan's *Li sao* 離騷 (Encountering Sorrow), we find both Liu Xie and Xiao Tong, the two Chinese literary critics, using *sao* to name the genre whose best representative is the *Chu ci* anthology.[204] Unlike the strophic *Shi jing* style,[205] the *sao* genre does not have a fixed form. David Hawkes has identified two basic categories for its meters;[206] A is lyrical and B sounds "epic" or "elegiac." In some Category B poems, the lyrical measures of Category A would make an appearance in the *luan* or envoi. Thus the *sao* genre can be described as prosimetric,[207] on the grounds that there is no better term to delineate the mixture of meters and that of their different functions in a piece of poetry. *Maoshi xu* 毛詩序 (The Great Preface to Mao's Edition of the *Shi jing*) might shed some light upon this kind of mixture:

> 詩者，志之所之也。在心為志，發言為詩。情動於中，而形於言；言之不足，故嗟歎之；嗟歎之不足，故詠歌之；詠歌之不足，不知手之舞之，足之蹈之也。

> Poetry is the extension of thought. What is thought in the heart becomes a poem when words issue forth. When emotions stir one within, they take shape in his words. When his words are insufficient, then he exclaims and sighs; when exclamations and sighs are insufficient, he chants and sings; when chant and song are insufficient, without thinking, he automatically gestures with his hands and stamps his feet.[208]

The process of gliding from one meter (of speaking) to another (of sighing or singing) was seen to be in tune with different needs of the poet's emotion. The *Preface* also draws

our attention to primitive Chinese sung-poetry (*shengshi* 聲詩) which mixed lyrics, music and dance, [209] and can thus be regarded as a genuinely synthetic performance-genre, very likely connected with sacrificial rituals. Here we can note that Qu Yuan, an aristocrat and minister to the Chu kings, was twice exiled becaused of his unpopular political views. Since wizardry and superstition were prevalent in the Chu culture, the poetry that he composed during his periods of exile seems to have absorbed many folk shamanistic elements. [210]

In an earlier section, we pointed out a possible relationship between Socrates and the priestly function. [211] In fact, Aristophanes's play, *The Clouds*, contains a mixture of the spoken iambic trimeters of the *prologos*, the chanted anapaestic tetrameters, and the grave dactylic rhythm of ancient song in the *parodos*. The Greek voice "rises from the monotone of chant to the many tones of true song." [212] At the conclusion of Qu Yuan's *Chou si* 抽思 (The Outpouring of Sad Thoughts), similarly, we hear *shao ge* 少歌 ("little song"), *chang* 倡 ("singing"), and *luan*. [213] This kind of meter-change might ultimately have been decided as part of the drama/opera performance. [214]

The second source of *cifu* is *fu*. While nowadays it can denote rhymed prose as a whole, *fu* was defined by the Confucian school as one of the six principles dominating the composition of *Shi jing*. [215] Scholars have traced it etymologically to taxation (*fulian* 賦 斂), hence it gained the sense of "enumeration" that was later rendered as "[an exhaustive] narration." If Chinese rhymed prose acquired musicality and imagination by

86

means of *Chu ci*, it also inherited from *Shi jing* a very lively descriptive nature.

Throughout most of the Han dynasty (202 B.C.E.-220 C.E.), "there were no clear delineations between *sao* and *fu*."[216] Both *sao* and *fu* could be transformations (*bian* 變) of *shi*. This connection is preserved not only in the rhythms of the two later forms, but also from time to time in their arrangement of a poetic envoi (*luan*). Early *sao*-style *fu*s like Song Yu's 宋玉[217] *Gaotang fu* 高唐賦 (*Fu* on the Gaotang Shrine) or *Shennü fu* 神女賦 (*Fu* on the Goddess of Wu Mountain) are not lacking in description, but it is not until Mei Cheng 枚乘 (d. *c*. 140 B.C.E.) composed his *Qi fa* 七發 (Seven Stimuli)[218] that the hyperbolic and even imaginative description of objects (*tiwu* 體物) became a prominent characteristic of Han *fu*,[219] which was to become the dominant court genre in the reign of Emperor Wu 漢武帝 (141-87 B.C.E.). It is noteworthy that all three pieces contain an unrhymed introductory prose section before moving to the real *fu*-narrative. What is more, they all adopted the dialogue form that Xunzi 荀子 (*c*. 313-238 B.C.E.) had used in his *Treatise of Fu* (*Fu pian* 賦篇).

The needle

The *Treatise of Fu* is one of the thirty-two treatises left by the Confucian philosopher Xunzi. It comprises five rhymed riddles dealing with abstract themes such as ritual principles (*li* 禮) and wisdom (*zhi* 知), as well as actual objects like clouds (*yun* 雲), silkworms (*chan* 蠶), and needles (*zhen* 箴).

Each example of Xunzi's riddles utilizes the dialogue form. After the inferior (official/student) sets up a riddle in mostly quadrisyllabic couplets, his superior (king/gentlemen/*wu tai* 五泰[220]) answers him in an equally descriptive manner but using different meters.[221] The questions not only have a formulaic beginning like "Here is a thing" (有物於此), but also usually end in a polite manner like: "Your servant stupidly does not recognize it and presumes to ask Your Majesty about it." Then the answers will start with the formula "said (the superior)." Like the qualified authorities cited in Arabic *munāẓarah*s, those superiors immediately find out the answers. In order to show their mastery of perfect speech, all of them give their own descriptions of the objects, cast as a series of questions led by "Is it not" (此夫) and ended with either "All this winds up in one thing" (請歸之) or "This refers to" (夫是之謂). From this we can infer that rhymed riddles were a highly formulaic genre around Xunzi's time—the Warring States Period when numerous philosophers and diplomats vied with each other in speech, writing and strategy. Xunzi's riddle of the needles may be used as an example:

有物於此，生於山阜，處於室堂 (*tang < *dang*)。無知無巧，善治衣裳 (*chang < *djang*)。不盜不竊，穿窬而行 (*xing < *grang*)。日夜合離，以成文章 (*zhang < *tjang*)。以能合從，又善連衡 (*heng < *grang*)。下覆百姓，上飾帝王 (*wang < *wjang*)。功業甚博，不見賢良 (*liang < *ljang*)。時用則存，不用則亡 (*wang < *mjang*)。臣愚不識，敢請之王 (*wang < *wjang*)。[222]

Here is a thing:
Born in hills and mountains,
It dwells in palaces and pavilions.
Lacking knowledge and without skills,
It is accomplished at sewing every kind of clothing.

88

It does not rob nor does it steal,

Yet it moves by making tunnels and holes.

From dawn to dusk it joins together what is separate

In order to complete designs and patterns.

Using it one is capable of joining together the Vertical

And being expert in connecting the Horizontal.

Below it provides coverings for the Hundred Clans;

Above it provides adornment for Di Ancestors and kings.

Its achievements and works are very far-reaching,

But it does not make known its own worth and virtue.

If on suitable occasions you employ it, it will remain;

But if it is not used, it will disappear.

Your servant stupidly not recognizing it,

Presumes to inquire of Your Majesty about it.[223]

Its meter and rhyme (-*ang*) are completely regular. Moreover, the first four sentences look quite close to the Arabic riddle of the spindle.[224] It may appear strange that Xunzi should compose riddles to accompany his more serious works. John Knoblock prefers to regard the hidden theme of the five riddles as "the qualification of the gentleman, and in particular of Xunzi himself, to hold office."[225] In the second half of the riddle, there are phrases like *zongheng* 縱橫[226] and *xianliang* 賢良 (worth and virtue), with the help of which Xunzi deliberately allows his riddle to be interpreted allusively and allegorically.

The Han *fu* writer Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 B.C.E-18 C.E.) once regretted writing ornate *fu*s since they encourage (*quan* 勸) [luxury and immoderate way of life] a hundred times and criticize by indirection (*feng* 諷) only once. For him, they are similar to the unrestrained and extravagant music of Zheng 鄭 and Wei 衛 that plays *ya* 雅 (elegant) tunes only in the end.[227] The entertainment provided by riddles and proverbs,

89

the enjoyment engendered by the ornate rhymed prose and playful music are all overt. Just as the genre of *Fürstenspiegel* (mirror for princes) is usually found amusing even by small children, the entertainment is no doubt the exoteric aspect of such a composition. A wise ruler or reader will naturally discover the "sentence" of the text,[228] i.e., the esoteric meaning designed for the initiated few.[229] After all, direct exhortation and criticism are not always appreciated, let alone when they are directed from an inferior person to a superior whose temper is ever changing and never predictable. When *fu* was adopted as the predominant court genre of Han, plays on words were to become more and more an essential part of its poetic technique.[230] In the riddle of Xunzi already cited, the pun of the needle (*zhen* 針) and admonition (*zhen* 箴)[231] fosters the curious alliance of probing and criticism. Admonition can function as cure for social problems in the same way that bloodletting or acupuncture[232] may do for human diseases. At the conclusion of the question section, the official reminds the king that he needs from time to time to employ social criticism, or else "it will disappear" (不用則亡), thus causing harm to his ruling.

Immediately after the *fu* on the needles, the *Treatise* contains three coda poems[233] "lamenting the current 'upside-down' world,"[234] the same theme as expounded by both al-Iskandarī and Cold Mountain.[235] If it is a custom for musicians of Zheng and Wei to play *ya* tunes at the conclusion, Xunzi also deems it natural to end these playful riddles with a satirical coda. The coda seemed to be Xunzi's employment of the "needle," so that his addressee[236] may have listened to this less indirect criticism and "realized exactly

how it was intended."[237] Description (*tiwu*) and expression (*yanqing* 言情, "articulating the emotion") are two facets of a *fu* composition. A descriptive *fu* also has the potential to invoke either praise or satire. In fact, when al-Hamadhānī used the image of the moth in both the *Maqāmah of Iblīs* and the *Maqāmah of Nishapur*,[238] he must have been fully aware of the similar potential of *saj ʿ*.

Ritual and description

Bearing in mind our previous discussion of *saj ʿ* and its relationship to the *kāhin*, it is not surprising to find themes like ritual principles, wisdom, cloud, and *wu tai*'s divination in Xunzi's riddles. Ritual was central to Xunzi's thought.[239] He had an additional *Discourse on Ritual Principles* (禮論篇) in which the need to cultivate oneself by obeying various ritual rules is emphasized. *Li* (ritual) could stand for "the highest sense of morality, duty, and social order as well as the most minor rules of good manners, the minutiae of polite forms."[240] At the time of the Zhou dynasty (*c*. 1045-256 B.C.E.) such a "polite" person would show great respect for his superiors by obeying the strict social order. He would also supplicate and give thanks to spirits and ghosts through sacrifices and offerings. Besides, official positions like dream diviners (*zhanmeng* 占夢) and major sacrificial priests (*dazhu* 大祝) were all to be found at the ministry of rites.[241] In this way, some of the Shang (*c*. 1766-1046 B.C.E.) wizardry and mysticism was no doubt included and converted into the learning of rituals, which in turn constituted one

branch of the Confucian curriculum.[242]

In the *Book of Zhou li* 周禮 (Ritual of Zhou), there is a passage describing the carving of different birds and insects on the wooden frame of ritual bells.[243] The linguistic precision and orderly enumeration which were later displayed in many *fu* writings were probably decided by the administrative and ritualistic requirements of the Zhou dynasty. For example, *Zhou li* lists the name *gumeng* 瞽矇 as blind musicians who participated in ritual ceremonies.[244] One commentator notes that he who has no lens is called *gu* 瞽, he who has a lens but no eyesight is called *meng* 矇, and he who has no pupils is called *sou* 瞍.[245] Al-Tanūkhī's "weaver," the unemployed *kātib*, also tells his future patron that "As for the two soldiers with the same names, a person with a split in the upper lip is called *aʿlam*, but if it is in the lower lip *aflaḥ*."[246] In the Abbasid *dīwān*s which were highly divided and hierarchical, an ideal *kātib* had to be familiar with all the various departments, master their jargons and difficult vocabularies, and exhibit great linguistic precision in both his speech and writing. Similarly, ancient Chinese scholars of ritual "enjoyed great prestige for their exhaustive knowledge of the arcana of ceremonies."[247] In this sense, the *Book of Zhou li* looks very much like a work composed by the *kātib*s who were the practitioners and developers of *adab*.

The abovementioned passage of *Zhou li* has been compared to Han Yu's *Huaji* 畫記 (Record on Painting),[248] whose highly concise and ornament-free style received mixed critical reviews in Song times. As a great stylist and prosaist, Han Yu seems to

break (*po*) the usual prose style of his time. On closer examination however, he was actually following (*zun*) the style that had been established since the beginning of Chinese literature.[249] Although the *Huaji* was not put in ornate or rhymed prose, its concise style has no negative effect on the descriptive vividness. In about seventy characters, Han Yu took twenty-nine snapshots of different horses. Coincidently, one of al-Hamadhānī's most excellent descriptions is also dedicated to the horse:

> *huwa ṭawīlu ʾl-udhnayn(i) qalīlu ʾl-ithnayn(i) wāsiʿu ʾl-marāth(i) layyinu ʾl-thalāth(i) ghalīẓu ʾl-akruʿ(i) ghāmiḍu ʾl-arbaʿ(i) shadīdu ʾl-nafas(i) laṭīfū ʾl-khams(i) ḍayyiqu ʾl-qalt(i) raqīqu ʾl-sitt(i) ḥadīdu ʾl-samʿ(i) ghalīẓu ʾl-sabʿ(i) daqīqu ʾl-lisān(i) ʿarīḍu ʾl-thamān(i) madīdu ʾl-ḍilʿ(i) qaṣīru ʾl-tisʿ(i) wāsiʿu ʾl-shajr(i) baʿīdu ʾl-ʿashr(i)*

> He is long in both ears, scanty of two, spacious in the rectum, soft of three, thick in the shank, depressed of four, strong-winded, fine of five, narrow in the gullet, thin of six, sharp of hearing, thick of seven, fine of tongue, broad of eight, long in the ribs, short of nine, wide of jaw, remote of ten.[250]

Al-Iskandarī gives a close-up view of a single horse in a manner akin to setting riddles. But we do not sense any substantial difference between his account and that of Han Yu,[251] who remarked at the end of the *Huaji* that the record was made before he sent the scroll back to its original copier/owner. His *Record* must have reminded him from time to time of those vivid sketches that he once possessed.[252]

The *chengxiang*

Besides the *Treatise of Fu*, Xunzi composed a piece of *chengxiang* 成相 which

is noted for its rhymed stanza form. Ban Gu's (32-92 C.E.) *Yiwen zhi* 藝文志 (Treatise on Literature), a *Fihrist*-like catalogue of books,[253] lists eleven pieces of *chengxiang* under the category of *zafu* 雜賦 (miscellaneous *fu*).[254] Some scholars ascribe *chengxiang* to the domain of popular literature.[255] For example, Knoblock renders it as "Working Songs."[256] The following is his translation of Xunzi's first stanza:

請成相 (*xiang* < **sjang*)，世之殃 (*yang* < **ʔjang*)，愚闇愚闇墮賢良 (*liang* < **ljang*)。
人主無賢 (*xian* < **gin*)，如瞽無相，何倀倀 (*chang* < **thjang*)！

Let me sing a working song!
The ruination of our generation:
stupid and benighted, stupid and benighted, bringing into naught the worthy and virtuous,
these rulers of men who have no worthies
are like the blind without their staff.
How aimlessly they wonder about![257]

Chengxiang is interpreted as the beating of *xiang*, which was probably the wooden staff held by a blind person (*gu*). Yao Xiao'ou 姚小鷗 suggests that the *chengxiang* was not originally a vernacular genre since its rhymes perfectly accord with the standard of *yayan* 雅言 (polite speech).[258] He prefers to see it as a descendent of the official *guqu* 瞽曲, the singing of blind musicians with a prelude consisting of percussion instruments. According to *Zhou li*, the ministry of rites of spring 春官宗伯 should have 300 blind musicians[259] under the supervision of the music masters 師 (*shi*). A blind musician's responsibilities included the recitation of poems and imperial genealogies while plucking *qin* 琴[260] and *se* 瑟[261] as accompaniment (諷誦詩，世奠繫，鼓琴瑟).[262] The *Guo yu*

94

國語[263] records that, when King Li of Zhou 周厲王 (d. 828 B.C.E.) forbade people's right of speech, his minister Zhao Gong 召公 exhorted him to hold courts where:

> 使公卿至於列士獻詩，瞽獻曲，史獻書，師箴，瞍賦，矇誦，百工諫，庶人傳語，近臣盡規，親戚補察，瞽史教誨，耆艾修之，而後王斟酌焉。[264]

> the ministers and officials present [the king] with poetry, the *gu*s with songs, the [exterior] annalists with historical documents, the [minor] music masters with admonition, the *sou*s with *fu*, the *meng*s with chanting, the various workmen[265] with remonstrance, the plebs with [admonitory] speech, his intimate servants with regulations, his relatives with scrutiny, the *gu*s (major music masters) and the [major] annalists with edification, the elders with readjustment. Then the king ponders and weighs [their suggestions].[266]

In order to maintain a healthy governmental system based on both consensus and royal authority, the monarch should encourage the free airing of views and listen to opinions conveyed via many media, be it poetry, songs, rhymed prose, or history lessons.

The *Book of Historical Documents* (*Shu jing*) contains a report[267] that a king of the Xia dynasty (*c*. 2070-1600 B.C.E.) would send a herald (*qiu* 遒), who carries with him a staff with bells, to both collect *feng* poetry (airs) from people[268] and convey the king's orders to the public. What interests us is the same usage of staff and bells as that found in the *Maqāmah of the Blind*, in which al-Iskandarī seems to have combined some of the functions of both the blind musician (*gu*) and herald (*qiu*).

Let us now return to the *chengxiang* poem, the extant text of which contains fifty-six stanzas. Each stanza can be divided into "five verses of 3 + 3 + 7 + 4 + 7 characters,"[269] with a rhyming pattern of *aaaba*. If Xunzi is indeed imitating blind

musicians, then his work may well have also inherited the admonitory aspect of their compositions. Unlike Zhao Gong who exhorted his king in a direct way, Xunzi did not hold a high position, in addition to which he lived in an age just before a king was going to name himself *huangdi* 皇帝 (emperor),[270] two epithets associated with ancestors and heavenly gods. That may help to explain why he seems to have deliberately made his admonitions sound trivial and jestful. Analogously, al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt* on *kudyah* could well have functioned like the pious homily of Ṣāliḥ,[271] although the satirical flavor was much more intense in the former than the latter.

Here we have to mention again *Akhbār ʿUbayd*,[272] whose frame-story tells us that the caliph Muʿāwiyah liked to listen to stories of the ancients in his later years. ʿUbayd may have made use of night-conversations held in the royal court to give the genealogy of the South Arabian kings, using poetic closures to depict their feats and failures. Bear in mind the above discussion of the Chinese annalists and blind musicians, the admonitory function of an *ayyām* teller is obvious. When the *maqāmah* absorbs traits from previous genres such as the *ayyām*, it may have inherited both its admonitory function and prosimetric form.

Frustration of a *guji*

Admonition is authoritative counsel against wrong practices.[273] It emphasizes the evil state of the age and provides advice so that people will not commit acts of folly. It

actually can be related to other genres. In the poetry of al-Iskandarī, Cold Mountain,

Boethius, Qu Yuan, and Xunzi we have seen lamentations on the upside-down world.

There are also many examples of the so-called "frustration" *fu* that are virtually

indistinguishable from such poems.[274] When an exhorter becomes too pessimistic to

provide a solution that is valid in this world, his work gains a sense of detachment like

that of a piece of *zuhdīyah* (ascetic) poetry, or may even reveal a libertine, Epicurean way

of thinking which can be attested in many poems recited by al-Iskandarī.[275]

While Xunzi uses the forms of riddles and *chengxiang* to accommodate his

political criticisms, there exists a group of licensed practitioners who enjoyed much more

freedom of speech in the court than others. These are the court jesters, like Will Somers

(d. 1560) of King Henry VIII, the Fool in *King Lear*, and Dongfang Shuo 東方朔

(154-93 B.C.E.) at the time of Emperor Wu of Han.[276]

At the beginning of *Biographies of the Humorists* (*Guji liezhuan* 滑稽列傳)[277]

the historian Sima Qian 司馬遷 (*c*. 145-*c*. 87 B.C.E.) explains why he has organized a

complete chapter on humorists: with [their] indirect allusions that nevertheless hit their

mark, they are able to point to solutions of knotty problems (談言微中，亦可以解紛).[278]

In the same paragraph, Sima Qian cites from Confucius the government-reforming

functions of every branch of *liu yi* 六藝 (Six Arts).[279] Although the "problem-solving"

function of humorous speech was meant to be inferior to those of Six Arts, it does not

imply that some Chinese humorists were not familiar with the traditional *jing* studies; in

fact, they were well trained in other areas as well. For instance, the courtier and jester

Dongfang Shuo was not only a great scholar, *fu* writer, and naturalist, but also a diviner

and self-acclaimed fencer and military strategist.[280] Nevertheless, as he complains in the

Da ke nan 答客難 (Answer to a Visitor's Objections) which is a "frustration" *fu* in

dialogue form,[281] he did not live in an age when feudal lords would compete with each

other to attract talented gentlemen to their service. Instead, it was an era in which:

> 遵天之道，順地之理，物無不得其所 (*suo* < **s(k)rjaʔ*)。故綏之則安，動之則苦 (*ku* < **khaʔ*)；尊之則為將 (*jiang* < **tsjangs*)，卑之則為虜 (*lu* < **C-raʔ*)；抗之則在青雲之上 (*shang* < **djangs*)，抑之則在深淵之下 (*xia* < **graʔ*)；用之則為虎 (*hu* < **xaʔ* (?))，不用則為鼠 (*shu* < **hjaʔ*)；雖欲盡節效情，安知前後？

> Our ruler honors the Way of Heaven, abides by the principles of earth, and there is nothing that does not find its proper place. Should he choose to leave men in peace, they will rest easy; should he move against them, they will be troubled. Should he honor them, they may be his generals; should he degrade them, they will become slaves. Raised up, they may soar above the blue clouds; thrust down, they will find themselves beneath the deepest springs. Chosen for office, they turn into tigers; unchosen, they remain mice. So, although one might strive to exert the utmost fidelity and put forth the greatest effort, how can he tell what the future may hold?[282]

The use of parallelism and quatrisyllablic lines does not differ a great deal from that of

Xunzi's riddles. In fact Dongfang Shuo was known as a master of rhymed riddles and

"guess-what's-under-it" (*shefu* 射覆),[283] a game similar to the one that the Queen of

Sheba invited King Solomon to play.[284] His ability to compose rhymed descriptions is

also represented in the above-cited paragraph which compares the earthly ruler to an

awe-inspiring and almost divine figure.[285]

According to the biographer Ban Gu, Emperor Wu always listened to Dongfang's exhortations. Dongfang probably had more freedom of speech than Xunzi, while the great Confucian scholar certainly commanded a higher social status than his. Sima Qian once complained that historians and astrologers were similar to diviners and sacrificial priests, a status that resulted his being kept as one of the *chang you* 倡優 (singers and actors) by Emperor Wu and not respected by the common people.[286] Emperor Wu was the first monarch to adopt Confucianism as the state philosophy; from that we may imagine that topics such as divination and astrology came to be regarded as heterodox, although the emperor still actively used them in calendar-making or guessing games. The fate of the *kāhin*s after the advent of Islam probably was similar to that of Chinese diviners and astrologers after the adoption of Confucianism.

Some imprints of these frustrated scholars are to be found in the *Maqāmāt* as well. In the *Maqāmah of Sijistan* (*al-Maqāmah al-Sijistānīyah*), al-Iskandarī acts as a mountebank selling nostrums to the audience, but he first presents a lengthy rhymed piece of self-praise[287] in order to prove the efficiency of his medicine:

> *salū ʾl-mulūka wa khazāʾinahā wa-ʾl-aghlāqa wa maʿādinahā wa-ʾl-umūra wa bawāṭinahā wa-ʾl-ʿulūma wa mawāṭinahā wa-ʾl-khuṭūba wa maghāliqahā wa-ʾl-ḥurūba wa maḍāʾiqahā man ʾl-ladhī akhadha mukhtazanahā wa lam yuʾaddi thamanahā wa man ʾl-ladhī malaka mafātīḥahā wa ʿarafa maṣāliḥahā anā wallāhi faʿaltu dhālika….*

> Ask of kings and their treasures, precious stones and their mines, affairs and their inwardness, sciences and their centres, weighty matters and their obscurities, wars and their difficult situations. Who has seized their hoards without paying the price? Who has got possessions of their keys and known the way to victory? By Heavens! it is I who have

achieved all that….[288]

This quoted passage does read very much like an enhanced version of Dongfang Shuo's self-recommendation letter to the emperor.[289] "Chosen for office, they turn into tigers; unchosen, they remain mice." The erudition and capability of intellectuals can never challenge the whim of monarchs; especially in an era when personal fortune and political power were exposed to abrupt changes. The ability of those unchosen "mice" is unquestionable. In the *Maqāmah of the Quest* (*al-Maqāmah al-Maṭlabīyah*), a group of elite youth believe that al-Iskandarī is going to guide them to two enormous treasures. In such a context, it may well not be a coincidence that Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī, the court jester of al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād and a possible prototype of al-Iskandarī, was also a famed mineralogist.[290] Thus we can be sure that al-Iskandarī's success in that *maqāmah* is partly based on people's trust of those frustrated but knowledgable wanderers, whose signature eloquence does not seem to be affected by their status as either a tiger or mouse.

The eccentric

Dongfang Shuo never left the emperor, and yet at court he regarded himself as a recluse, and there are stories telling about his crazy behavior. Once, for example, he cut off a portion of meat without waiting for the imperial command and put it inside the breast of his robe. What is more, he squandered all his salary on beautiful women and replaced his wife every year.[291] His biography in the *Han shu* is an enlarged version of

what we read in Zhu Shaosun's appendix to the *Biographies of the Humorists*.[292] Grouping together anecdotes concerning the same hero is a usual practice of historians, traditionists, storytellers, fictionists, dramatists, etc.; as long as there is an audience that wishes to learn more about the hero's life, the series of anecdotes tend to accumulate by adopting and adapting materials from external sources. Partly because of the random accumulation of materials, the anecdotes do not necessarily follow a chronological order. However the "recycling" of materials, together with the possible anachronisms caused by it, did not seem to have impeded the medieval reception of texts. Here we want to remind our readers that the Hamadhānian *Maqāmāt* are a series narratives about the words and deeds of the beggar hero al-Iskandarī. In Chapter IV, we will also draw attention to the stylistic similarity between the *maqāmah* and the Indian genre of biography (*ākhyāyikā*).

Our investigation of the development of *sajʿ* has led us to observe the intrinsic connection of al-Iskandarī with the *kāhin*. After examining the anecdotes of some *fu* writers and poets, we find that Dongfang Shuo is never alone as a "recluse." Shu Xi 束皙 (d. *c*. 304) who composed the *Bing fu* 餅賦 (*Fu* on Pastries)[293] is said to have successfully summoned rain after praying for three days.[294] Li Bo 李白 (701-762), the great Tang poet, was a *fu* writer, lyricist, swordman, and Daoist. His contempt for etiquette and dignitaries is best revealed in the anecdote in which the drunk poet asked the powerful eunuch Gao Lishi 高力士 to take off his boots when the emperor asked him to compose poetry. When the prosaist Han Yu was demoted to Chao Zhou 潮州, an

area in which people were being plagued by crocodiles, he offered the river a goat and a pig, together with his *Address to the Crocodiles* (祭鱷魚文).

Anecdotes such as these might easily fit into the *maqāmāt* about al-Iskandarī. In a surprising uniformity, these eccentric figures seemed to be born with a talent for eloquence and an enormous knowledge of unorthodox sciences. Not restrained by social norms, they usually long for a free mode of thought and are unconcerned about the niceties of etiquette. Only sensible people such as Pantagruel and ʿĪsā ibn Hishām are able to appreciate their virtue (*faḍl*) in spite of their apparent eccentricity. In the *Maqāmah of Jāḥiẓ* the table manners of al-Iskandarī are described in an amusing way:

> *wa maʿanā ʿalā ʾl-ṭaʿāmi rajulun tusāfiru yaduhu ʿalā ʾl-khiwān(i) wa tasfiru bayna ʾl-alwān(i) wa taʾkhudhu wujūha ʾl-raghfān(i) wa tafqaʾu ʿuyūna ʾl-jifān(i) wa tarʿā arḍa ʾl-jīrān(i)….wa huwa maʿa dhālika sākitun lā yanbisu bi ḥarfin.*

> Now with us at the feast was a man whose hand wandered over the table playing the rôle of an ambassador between the viands of various hues, seizing the choicest of the cakes and plucking out the centres of the dishes, pasturing on his neighbour's territory….And withal he was silent and spoke not a word.[295]

After this particular "silence," al-Iskandarī proceeds to present excellent comments on al-Jāḥiẓ that we have expounded in Chapter I. Al-Hamadhānī understands the importance of contrast between outer madness and the inner sagacity. When Dongfang Shuo is called a madman by his colleagues, Emperor Wu declares: if Shuo was without these blemishes, which one of you could compete with him?

Al-Hamadhānī shows a very similar tolerant attitude to his hero towards the end

of *Maqāmah of Ṣaymarah*. This piece is unlike the typical Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* in that it is devoid of poetry and characterized by an uneven use of rhymed prose. The narrator and the hero are the same Abū al-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymarī (213-75/828-88), the court jester of the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil (206-247/822-861) and also a renowned *faqīh*, astrologer, oneiromancer, poet, and belle-lettrist.[296] The plot of the *maqāmah* closely resembles that of *Timon of Athens*. The bankrupt al-Ṣaymarī has been deserted by all his so-called friends. He finds himself in a desperate situation: as "a madman escaped from a cell, or an ass going around the enclosure."[297] Later when he has accumulated a good deal of property, he returns to Baghdad and punishes his faithless friends by shaving off their beards. When the vizier al-Qāsim ibn ʿUbaydallāh[298] hears about his revenge, he laughs heartily. "Then he sent me a splendid robe of honour, led to me a horse with a carriage and forwarded to me fifty thousand dirhems as a mark of his admiration of my action."[299]

Having now introduced Dongfang Shuo to our discussion, we can observe the close resemblance to al-Ṣaymarī and al-Iskandarī. Dongfang became frustrated when the emperor would not treat him as a "tiger." When al-Ṣaymarī discovers the cruelty of "friendship," he becomes desperate. What might have happened to al-Iskandarī before we encounter him as a poor wanderer? He is always frustrated about Time (*dahr*) whose fickle nature is comparable to that of the ruler. Neither does he believe in friendship or company—or he would not be chanting the couplet in the end of the *Maqāmah of*

103

Bukhārā. As a panegyric always embellishes the truth and hides unsavory elements, the happy ending of the *Maqāmah of Nājim* is nothing but a dream that al-Hamadhānī has coined for such frustrated recluses.[300]

You

To some extent Dongfang Shuo's biographies are comparable to the Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* that present us with episodes of al-Iskandarī's life. The previous two sections have emphasized Dongfang's eloquence, erudition, frustration, "madness," and eccentricity, while frequently referring to our hero al-Iskandarī who is also an admonisher proficient in rhymed speech. In the following section, we shall continue exploring the figure of Dongfang and discuss the role duodrama plays in both Dongfang's biography and some Hamadhānian *maqāmāt*.

Beatrice Otto suggests that the best Chinese counterpart of jester is *you* 優,[301] which might now be translated as "actor" in both Chinese and Japanese. Two of the three humorists in Sima Qian's original text are precisely termed *you*: 優孟 You Meng (Meng the Actor) and 優旃 You Zhan (Zhan the Actor). You Meng was also a musician, and You Zhan a singer (倡 *chang*). Judged from Sima Qian's complaint (倡優畜之), the functions of *chang* and *you* in ancient China might well have overlapped to some extent.

You's performance might consist of either monodrama or a form that depended upon dialogues. In the *Biographies of the Humorists*, a *you* would pose a riddle or speak a

proverb to the ruler, who in turn played the supporting role. In the biography of Dongfang Shuo, we find him sometimes collaborating with Guo Sheren 郭舍人 (Guo the Courtier)[302] to entertain Emperor Wu.

If Xunzi's riddles aim at serious admonitions, those of Dongfang and Guo are of a more humorous nature. In these hilarious and farcical speech-duels, Dongfang is always the winner and well paid by the emperor. Guo the Courtier, like our narrator ʿĪsā ibn Hishām, never manages to best his adversary in regard to eloquence or wit. Once he is not convinced by Dongfang's success in *shefu*, and says:

> 臣願令朔復射，朔中之，臣榜百 (*bai* < **prak*)，不能中，臣賜帛 (*bo* < **brak*)。
>
> I would like to have Shuo guess again. If he guesses correctly, I am willing to accept a hundred blows of the cane; but if he fails, I am to be given all the presents of silk![303]

It is not hard to guess that in the end Guo was indeed beaten by the official in charge of *chang*s (*chang jian* 倡監).[304] The word "hundred" (百) could have been used by Guo to rhyme with "silk" (帛). Surely Guo would not have named a hundred if he had known the way things would end. We can also observe the process of beating the minor player who is less clever at the conclusion of the *Maqāmah of Baghdad*. We have noted in Chapter I that al-Iskandarī was absent in that piece. As in the duodramas of *you*, it is enough to have ʿĪsā ibn Hishām and the simpleton in order to entertain the audience.[305]

This kind of slapstick duodrama was to find a counterpart in the *canjun xi* 參軍 戲 (adjutant plays).[306] Said to have originated in the first half of the fourth century at the

latest,[307] the *canjun xi* flourished in the Tang and Song dynasties and usually included the ridicule or even beating of a disgraced minor official (*canjun*) by *canghu* 蒼鶻 ("black falcon").[308]

The rewards given for *you* also demand some note here. Abū al-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymarī once questioned his friend Abū al-ʿIbar Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (d. 250/859) as to why he used his talent for composing humorous and even silly verse. The latter answered:

> Do you desire that I find no market for my poetry while you find a ready market for yours? You too are an intelligent poet and a Mutakallim, so why have you renounced learning and erudition (*al-ʿilm*) and turned to composing nearly 30 treatises on silly themes (*fī al-raqāʿah*)? Tell me. If reason and rationality (*al-ʿaql*) were in much demand and its market brisk, do you think you would have been given precedence over al-Buḥturī...You were given the prize and he was denied his. You were shown favour and he was sent away in shame.[309]

What Abū al-ʿIbar (lit. "father of the lessons") refers to here is al-Ṣaymarī's victory in his *munāẓarah* with Abū ʿUbāda Walīd ibn ʿUbayd al-Buḥturī (206-284/821-897), the great court poet and student of Abū Tammām (*c*. 188-231/804-845). The judge of their *munāẓarah* was the caliph al-Mutawakkil, at whose instigation al-Ṣaymarī "improvised an obscene satire on al-Buḥturī in the same rhyme and meter as the poem the latter had just addressed to the caliph."[310] Al-Ṣaymarī was then rewarded the same amount of dirhams as the poet.

"The jester is often associated with the poet."[311] Both seem to have depended

exclusively on their patron, entertaining the monarch in order to be compensated materially. In this regard, they are not that different from beggars or wandering *ḥākī*s whose major donors were the bourgeois or common people. In the case of the *munāẓarah* between al-Buḥturī and al-Ṣaymarī, the former is the producer of eulogy (*madīḥ*) while the latter provides the lampoon (*hijāʾ*). The judge's preference, as Abū al-ʿIbar's remark clearly shows, was definitely the burlesque and obscene *hijāʾ*. Therefore al-Buḥturī was doomed to be ranked second.[312] When Mattā ibn Yūnus (d. 328/940) translated "comedy" as *hijāʾ*, he was perhaps thinking of satirical farces such as these and the blurred borderline between poet and jester. What we can be sure of is that al-Buḥturī did not appreciate being treated as a jester. In that sense he resembles Sima Qian, who laments the declining status of traditional historians/astrologers. From Sima Qian's comment we can infer the growing prevalence of *chang you* in both elite and popular circles. Jesters like Dongfang, al-Ṣaymarī, and Abū Dulaf were well versed in the art of rhyme, and their broad range of knowledge also suggests a functional similarity between them and the shamans/*kāhin*s. Within the context of this study, the popularity of jesters may have even facilitated the production of prosimetra, works either composed by them or for them.

The stranger's travelogue

Al-Buḥturī returned to Syria without leave from the caliph, bemoaning that

"learning has vanished and *adab* has perished."[313] In the *Maqāmah of Ṣaymarah*, al-Ṣaymarī who was betrayed by friends also left Baghdad and traveled widely in the Islamic world.[314] Since it seemed now to be the case that traditional *adab* and learning could no longer bring profit to their bearers, al-Ṣaymarī began to equip himself with:

> *al-nawādir(i) waʾl-akhbār(i) waʾl-asmār(i) waʾl-fawāʾidi waʾl-āthār(i) wa ashʿāri ʾl-mutaṭarrifīn(a) wa sukhfi al-mulhīn(a) wa asmāri ʾl-mutayyamīn(a) wa aḥkāmi ʾl-mutafalsifīn(a) wa ḥiyali ʾl-mushaʿwidhīn(a) wa nawāmīsi ʾl-mutamakhriqīn(a) wa nawādiri ʾl-munādimīn(a) wa rizqi ʾl-munajjimīn(a) wa luṭfi ʾl-mutaṭabbibīn(a) wa kiyādi ʾl-mukhannathīn(a) wa dakhmasati ʾl-jarābiza(ti) wa shayṭanati ʾl-abālisa(ti)….*[315]

> rare sayings, anecdotes and night-conversations, witticisms and traditions, poems of the humourists, the silly verses of the buffoons, the night-conversations of the lovesick, the wisdom of the pseudo-philosophers, the tricks of the conjurors, the artifices of the artful, the rare sayings of boon companions, the fraud of the astrologers, the finesse of quacks, the deception of the actors, the guile of the cheats, the devilry of the fiends….[316]

The various branches of knowledge that al-Ṣaymarī's lowlife teachers mastered definitely overlapped with those of the *kāhin*s. His list brings our attention to Socrates's comment that emphasized the custom common among such figures of praying for divine inspiration. [317] Poets, philosophers, singers, storytellers, quacks, astrologers, and soothsayers could look exactly like beggars and strangers. Al-Ṣaymarī had to travel widely to gain the sort of profitable knowledge and to become mature and invulnerable in order to bring changes to his life.[318] The globe-trotting Abū Dulaf may have accumulated knowledge of minerals through travels. His experience with beggars and their tricks led to the composition of the pamphlet-like *al-Qaṣīdah al-Sāsānīyah*.[319] For various reasons,

people voluntarily went on temporal or permanent journeys, and they would often record fresh experiences and unexpected happenings on the road.

In some sense, the *Maqāmāt* can be read not only as al-Iskandarī's biography, but also as ʿĪsā ibn Hishām's travelogue. The *Maqāmah of the Lion*, the *Maqāmah of al-Fazārah*, and the *Maqāmah of the Amulet* (*al-Maqāmah al-Ḥirzīyah*) contain descriptions of travels by land and sea. In many other cases, ʿĪsā ibn Hishām simply tells us that he came to such and such place.[320] This kind of accumulation of placenames is attested as early as in the *Muʿallaqāt* where the pre-Islamic poet would tell us that "Here in the desert between al-Dakhūl and Ḥawmal, and between Tūḍiḥ and al-Miqrāt.…" Likewise, Qu Yuan favored a pattern to convey the passage of time and space in his *Li sao*.[321]

Sometimes, the status of stranger can be occasioned by banishment and relegation. Both Qu Yuan and Ovid were forced to leave the capital city and wander in remote territory. Both composed travelogues (*Li sao* and *Tristia*) during their exiles. Their exilic poetry reads more like elegies, full of nostalgia for the homeland and good times in the past.[322] Al-Iskandarī, the "invisible" traveler[323] in the *Maqāmāt*, at one point tells ʿĪsā ibn Hishām that he has been:

> *wafdu ʾl-layli wa barīduhu wa fallu ʾl-jūʿi wa ṭarīduhu wa ḥurrun qādahu ʾl-ḍurr(u) waʾl-zamanu ʾl-murr(u)…wa gharībun ūqidat ʾl-nāru ʿalā safarihi wa nabaḥa ʾl-ʿawwāʾu ʿalā atharihi….fa niḍwuhu ṭalīḥ(un) wa ʿayshuhu tabrīḥ(un) wa min dūni farkhayhi mahāmahun fīḥ(un).*

> The envoy of night and its messenger, the defeated and hunted of hunger, a well-bred personage in the leash of misfortune and bad times…an exile after whose departure the fire of banishment was kindled, in whose wake the howling dogs have barked….His jaded camel is fatigue; his pleasure is affliction, and between him and his two chicks is a vast desert.[324]

Whether or not this travelogue of al-Iskandarī is true, it is part of his stock in trade to arouse the benefactor's sympathy, so that the latter will compensate him for the pain of exile. Al-Iskandarī often admits in the recognition scene that he is a voluntary traveler and is addicted to playing tricks on people in different places. As compared with Ovid who did not give up the hope of returning to Rome, al-Iskandarī is a total pessimist who abandons himself to exile and vice.

As for Qu Yuan, we are not sure whether his *Li sao* was meant to be read by the king. In quest of the wise ruler, the pessimist poet describes many an imaginary flight "through the celestial realm of gods, goddesses, and other supernatural creatures."[325] Since his search fails every time, he finally hints that he is going to throw himself in the river, which is his way out of this world's frustrations.

As one of the *fu*'s subgenres, *jixing fu* 紀行賦 (*fu*s on recounting travel) is no doubt derived from Qu Yuan's travelogue. The motivation for such travels, as we read Liu Xin's *Suichu fu* 遂初賦 (*Fu* on Fulfilling My Original Resolve), Ban Biao's 班彪 (3 C.E.-54 C.E.)[326] *Beizheng fu* 北征賦 (*Fu* on Northward Journey), and Ban Zhao's 班昭 (d. *c.* 117 C.E.) *Dongzheng fu* 東征賦 (*Fu* on Eastward Journey), was the relocation of poets. David Knechtges comments that the poetic travelogues provide the earliest

"examples of a poet who clearly situates himself in a particular time and place, and who directly speaks in his own voice."[327] Here we should quote the opening passage of *Dongzheng fu* as an illustration:

惟永初之有七 (*qi* < *tshjit*)兮，余随子乎東征 (*zheng* < *tjeng*)。時孟春之吉日 (*ri* < *njit*)兮，撰良辰而將行 (*xing* < *grang*)。乃舉趾而升輿兮，夕予宿乎偃師 (*shi* < *srjij*)。遂去故而就新兮，志悵恨而懷悲 (*bei* < *prjij*)！[328]

It is the seventh year of Yongyuan,[329]
And I follow my son on an eastward journey.
The time is an auspicious day of spring;
We choose a propitious hour for our departure.
Then, I stride forth to mount the carriage;
At dusk we lodge at Yanshi.
Then, leaving the old, we advance toward the new;
My heart, sorrowful and sad, is full of care.[330]

The meter of this *fu* is clearly derived from the Category B of the *Chu ci*.[331] It is known that the son of the poetress and historian Ban Zhao had been appointed chief of Changyuan,[332] and so she accompanied him on the eastward journey that started from the capital Luoyang. Probably for this reason, Ban Zhao confirms that the departure took place at a propitious hour (*liangchen* 良辰) on an auspicious day (*jiri* 吉日).[333] In the following text, Ban Zhao relies heavily on allusions from the Confucian classics like *Shi jing* and *Analects*. She acts very much like the Zhou annalist or the Arab *ayyām*-narrator who is to "offer advice to her son on his official career."[334]

As a parallel, we can cite the openning of al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmah of Qazwīn* which is the only *maqāmah* with a particular date:

ghazartu ʾl-thaghra bi-Qazwīn(a) sanata khamsin wa sabʿīn(a) fīman ghazāhu fa mā ajaznā ḥaznan illā habaṭnā baṭnan ḥattā waqafa ʾl-masīru binā ʿalā baʿḍi qurāhā.

In the year A.H. 75 I took part in a raid, on the frontier of Qazwīn, with those who raided it. We crossed not a rugged upland, but we also descended into a valley, until our march brought us to one of the villages.[335]

When ʿĪsā ibn Hishām travels to Qazwīn, he meets a beggar who turns out to be al-Iskandarī. In this *maqāmah*, the latter alleges that he is a Byzantine Christian convert to Islam and wishes to pray for the Muslim raiders and offer them help. Both his poem and *sajʿ* speech include many allusions to the Qurʾān.

At least in this *maqāmah*, the placename is not "trivial"[336] for the advancement of the plot; indeed we would suggest that it is specifically due to the particular place and time in which ʿĪsā ibn Hishām is situated. Before the recognition scene, ʿĪsā ibn Hishām and al-Iskandarī seem to have divided the function of Ban Zhao in the *Dongzheng fu*; the former is the traveler while the latter acts as an admonisher. The coda of *Dongzheng fu* may intensify the pieces of advice that are given in the main text, but al-Iskandarī's envoi teaches ʿĪsā ibn Hishām how to change identity as Time changes.

This section on "travelogue" also marks the end of our comparison of the Chinese *fu* with the *maqāmah* genre. The representative practitioners of Chinese *fu*, with their eloquence, admonition, frustration, eccentricity, and deep knowledge of both orthodox and unorthodox sciences, do look similar to our hero al-Iskandarī, the inheritor of pre-Islamic soothsayers and master of divinely-inspired eloquence. Both the Chinese *fu*

and the Arabic *saj'* were derived from primitive religions and have unbroken links with ritual/divinatory functions. In the section "The sources" that opens this lengthy discussion of "*Fu*," we have seen that the Chinese rhymed prose was developed after absorbing two poetic styles, those of the descriptive *Shi jing* and the expressive *Chu ci*. Likewise, the Arabic *saj'* is closely related to the ancient poetic meter named *rajaz*. Al-Hamadhānī used in his *Maqāmāt* the rhymed style (*al-uslūb al-musajja'*), which is known to have the same repertoire of literary tropes (such as paronomasia and antithesis) with which the so-called *badī'* (innovative) movement had first decorated the classical Arabic poetry since the 2nd/8th century. This section on "travelogue" also showed that both the Hamadhānian *maqāmah* and a piece of Chinese *fu* would arrange a routine description of the passage of time and space which is characteristic of previous poetry. Our study of the prosimetric style analyzes not only the independent *saj'* and poetry in the *Maqāmāt*, but also, with a comparative point of view, reveals such intrinsic connection between the two modes of expressions.

Conclusion

As we approach the end of this chapter, we need to note that only a few points from the enormous collection of Chinese *fu* have been selected to compare with the Hamadhānian *Maqāmāt*. Our discussions of the origins of both Arabic and Chinese rhymed prose, their practitioners, the functional and stylistic transfers accompanying the

genre translation, can shed further light on al-Hamadhānī's adaptation of the *saj ʿ*.

Even as a competent *adīb*, al-Hamadhānī did not create a genre *ex nihilo*. What he wished this genre to convey is partly associated with his use of a mature style that was popular in his own time. It is because of this maturity and density of *saj ʿ* that we find shadows of other literary genres within the sphere of the *maqāmah*. The comparison with the Chinese *fu* serves to confirm the *maqāmah* genre's connections with pre-Islamic soothsaying, *ayyām* storytelling and *ḥikāyah* mimesis. Our discussion of *you* performance has further stressed the importance of ʿĪsā ibn Hishām for the character-building of al-Iskandarī. As a judge in a dispute, answerer of a riddle, undertaker of the invisible travels of al-Iskandarī, ʿĪsā ibn Hishām's role is inseparable from the content of the *maqāmah*.

At this point it is clear that our exploration of the *Maqāmāt*'s prosimetric style is closely associated with the discussion of the various practitioners of both prose and poetry (the *adīb*, the *kāhin*, the philosopher, the annalist, the jester, etc.) in different ancient and medieval traditions. In the next chapter, we will stay in the comparative frame and discuss the poetry to be found in the *Maqāmāt*.

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[1] T. V. F. Brogan, "Rhyme," in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, online version.
[2] "Rhyme, *n.*" in *OED*.
[3] J. M. Lotman, *The Structure of the Artistic Text*, trans. Ronald Vroon (Ann Arbor: Dept. of Slavic Languages and Literature, University of Michigan, c1977), 119. Quoted from Brogan, "Rhyme."
[4] Harold Whitehall, "Rhyme: Sources and Diffusion," in *Ibadan* 25 (1968): 21-26 (quotation from 21).
[5] Brogan, "Rhyme."
[6] The underlined letter stands for the repeated consonant or vowel.
[7] Brogan, "Rhyme."
[8] "Rhyme, *n.*" in *OED*.
[9] *Yamaka*, the internal rhyme in Sanskrit prosody, can display a much more complicated sonic pattern than end-rhyme.

See Edwin Gerow, *A Glossary of Indian Figures of Speech* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), 233-36.

[10] It is "commonly suggested" that alliteration is a distinctive feature of Anglo-Saxon literature. It was revived in the fourteenth century after disappearing with the Norman Conquest. See *Early Middle English Verse and Prose*, eds. J. A. Bennett and G. V. Smithers (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1968), xvii. *Piers Plowman* is written in the so-called "alliterative long line." Generally speaking, such verse contains in a line "at least four major stressed syllables," three of which "begin with the same sound." After the fifteenth century, the form of alliterative long line was superseded by the heroic couplet and became a lost tradition. See William Langland, *Piers Plowman*, eds. Elizabeth Robertson and Stephen H. A. Shepherd (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006), xi, xxi.

[11] Rhyming iambic pentameter.

[12] See the section "Prose and poetry" in the Introduction.

[13] Stoetzer, "Prosody," 619.

[14] Strictly speaking (as categorized by al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ [d. 215/830 or 221/836] and Ismaʿīl ibn Ḥammād al-Jawharī [d. 393/1003 or later]), the *hazaj* meter mentioned above belongs to the *majzūʾ* ("shortened by one foot each hemistich") group. In the *mashṭūr* ("halved") or *manhūk* ("emaciated") meters, a verse is made up not of couplets but of single lines. Therefore the minimal number of syllables in a poetic line will be seven (*manhūk al-munsariḥ*, "the emaciated *munsariḥ*").

[15] A *lian* contains two *ju*s 句 (line, sentence).

[16] *Jintishi* includes *lüshi* 律詩 (lit. "regulated verse") and *jueju* 絕句 (lit. "the cut verse"). *Lüshi* usually comprises eight lines or four couplets. Parallelism is required between the lines of the second and third couplets. While *jueju* is a quatrain and equals to the first half of a *lüshi*. Parallelism is not required in *jueju*. If a piece of *lüshi* exceeds eight lines, it is called *pailü* 排律. All forms of *jintishi* are monorhymed and can be either five-character or seven-character.

[17] The most frequently used meter of classical Sanskrit poetry is *śloka* or *anuṣṭubh*. A *śloka* stanza has two verses (hemistichs). Each verse has sixteen long (*guru*) or short (*laghu*) syllables with the following pattern: X X X X | U -- -- X || X X X X | U -- U X || (U is short syllable, -- is long, X is either or "anceps" in the terminology of Greek and Latin meter). A long syllable is one that contains a long vowel or a diphthong, or a short vowel followed by more than one consonant. Other syllables are short ones. Therefore, Daṇḍin's *śloka*-stanza "*miśrāṇi nāṭakādīni teṣām anyatra vistaraḥ | gadyapadyamayī kācic campūr ity abhidhīyate ||*" can be scanned as -- -- U -- | U -- -- U || -- -- U -- | U -- U U || -- U -- U | U -- -- -- || U -- -- U | U -- U -- ||.

[18] Ibn Rashīq, *al-ʿUmdah*, 1:135.

[19] Hava, *Dictionary*, 621.

[20] *Al-qāfiyah min ākhir ḥarf fī al-bayt ilā awwal sākin yalīhi min qibalihi maʿa ḥarkat al-ḥarf al-ladhī qabla al-sākin*. See Ibn Rashīq, *al-ʿUmdah*, 1:135. The translation is adopted from Rina Drory, *Models and Contacts: Arabic Literature and its Impact on Medieval Jewish Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 82.

[21] In this episode, al-Iskandarī disguises himself as the head of Banū Sāsān. Banū Sāsān, literally "the children of Sāsān," is "the blanket designation in mediaeval Islamic literature for the practitioners of begging, swindling, confidence tricks, the displaying of disfiguring diseases, mutilated limbs, etc." See C. E. Bosworth, "Sāsān, Banū," in *EI²*. Also see Bosworth, *Underworld*.

[22] ʿAbduh, 95. The meter is *mujtathth* which belongs to the type of *mutawātir* rhyme marked with two long ending syllables. It has a pattern like: X -- U -- | X U -- -- || X -- U -- | X U -- -- || See Stoetzer, "Prosody," 619, 621. We can scan the first line of the envoi as: -- -- U -- | U U -- -- || U -- U -- | U U -- -- ||.

[23] Prendergast, 83.

[24] See the meter schemes in Stoetzer, "Prosody," 621.

[25] The letters that are absent in this example are *khurūj* (one of the letters *alif*, *wāw*, *yāʾ* that succeeds a movent *waṣl* *hāʾ*), *taʾsīs* (the letter *alif* indicating the long vowel ā in the second syllable before the *rawī*) and *dakhīl* (the letter between the *taʾsīs* and the *rawī*). The absent vowels are *nafādh* (the vowel of the *hāʾ* when there is a *khurūj* following it), *tawjīh* (the vowel of the short syllable before the *rawī*) and *rass* (the vowel of the letter before the *taʾsīs*). See Drory, *Models and Contacts*, 86-88.

[26] It is the only consonant, while all the other components—*taʾsīs*, *ridf*, *waṣl* (if not followed by a *khurūj*)—are signs indicating long vowels. See Drory, *Models and Contacts*, 95.

[27] Ibid., 65.

[28] The *Luzūmīyāt*, which is short for *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* ("Observing rules that are not prescribed"), is a *dīwān* of over 1500 poems. Its author, Abū ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1057), took the challenge of adopting at least another radical before the *rawī* to form a longer rhyme. Even in such a *dīwān*, al-Maʿarrī rarely deviates from his maximum norm of three consonants (including morphological consonants like *hāʾ*, *tāʾ*, *kāf*, *nūn* and *mīm*) per rhyme. See ibid., 74-76.

[29] Both of them are originally related to water and irrigation. A discussion of *riwāyah* is found in the section "*Riwāyah* and *ḥikāyah*" in Chapter I.

[30] For a translation of Arab's "highest ideal of heroic hardness and virile strength" (Charles J. Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry* [New York: Columbia UP, 1930], 82), see Michael Sells, *Desert Tracings* (Middletown: Wesleyan UP, 1989), 21-31.

[31] See J.A. Haywood, D. N. MacKenzie and J. Eckmann, "Ḳāmūs," in *EI²*. "The first major work to use this system" is

al-Ṣiḥāḥ compiled by the lexicographer Ismāʿīl ibn Ḥammād al-Jawharī, a contemporary of al-Hamadhānī. See ibid.

[32] The title literally means "cutting rhymes" which refers to the Chinese spelling method of *fanqie* 反切 (translated by Bernhard Karlgren as "turning and cutting"). This method is thought to have originated during the second century C.E. and "possibly influenced by knowledge of Indian phonology." See William Hubbard Baxter, *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), 33.

[33] Such as *Tangyun* 唐韻 and *Guangyun* 廣韻.

[34] They are the groups of *pingsheng* 平聲 ("even tone"), *shangsheng* 上聲 ("rising" or "up tone"), *qusheng* 去聲 ("departing tone"), and *rusheng* 入聲 ("entering tone"). Ibid., 33-34.

[35] Ibid., 34.

[36] The first transliteration is *pinyin*, the second one is its Middle Chinese reconstruction according to Baxter.

[37] As a notion contrast to Old Chinese and Modern Chinese, Middle Chinese (hereafter abbreviated as MC) can refer to the Chinese language used during the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420 C.E.-589 C.E.), and the Sui (581-618 C.E.) and Tang (618-907 C.E.) Dynasties.

[38] Ibid., 6-7.

[39] Similar to the coda, the medial is absent in some finals (e.g., the final *-uwng*).

[40] See ibid., 766.

[41] What is not *pingsheng*, i.e., *shangsheng*, *qusheng* and *rushing*, is considered a *ze* 仄 (deflected tone).

[42] Cf. the alternation of *laghu* (lit. "light"; "young") and *guru* (lit. "heavy"; "old") in Sanskrit poetry. About the possible impact of Sanskirt prosody to the Chinese *jintishi*, see Victor H. Mair and Tsu-Lin Mei, "The Sanskrit Origins of Recent Style Prosody," in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 51, no. 2 (1991): 375-470.

[43] It can either be the elongated pausal form (e.g., the aformentioned rhyme *-ūmū* where the vowel of the *rawī* is elongated by the *waṣl*) or the truncated form (e.g., the rhymes *-as* [with a voweless *rawī sīn*] and *-mah* [with a voweless *waṣl hāʾ*] to be found in ʿAbduh, 37). The truncated one was the only pausal form used in *sajʿ*. See Dmitry Frolov, "The Place of *Rajaz* in the History of Arabic Verse," in *Journal of Arabic Literature* 28, no. 3 (1997): 242-90, esp. 265.

[44] The date of this mysterious poet has remained a controversial question. The translator Red Pine opines that "he would have been born around 730" and died around 850. See Hanshan, *The Collected Songs of Cold Mountain*, trans. Red Pine (Port Townsend, WA: Copper Canyon Press, 2000), 13.

[45] Ibid., 78-79. The poem pays attention to the rhyme and parallelism requirements of *lüshi*. However, it does not strictly observe the *pingze*. For example, we scanned five consecutive *ze* sounds in 駿馬放石磧 (Fine steeds are grazed on the *gobi*). We would note that Qu Yuan 屈原 (*c*. 339-278 B.C.E.) had used the theme several times in his poems. See the *luan* of *She jiang* 涉江 ("Crossing the River"), in *Chu ci ji zhu* 楚辭集註, ed. Zhu Xi 朱熹 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1953), 76a-76b; and David Hawkes, *The Songs of the South* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), 161.

[46] Boethius, *The Theological Tractates; The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand (London: William Heinemann, 1918), 154-59 (Liber I, Metrum V).

[47] The end-rhymes *wang* 望, *mang* 茫, *huang* 徨, *tang* 堂 and *lang* 浪 either belong to the *Yang* 陽 rhyme (containing words with the MC finals *-jang* and *-jwang*) or the *Tang* 唐 rhyme (containing words with the MC finals *-ang* and *-wang*). In the *Qieyun* these two rhyme groups are placed in adjacent positions, "reflecting the fact that all of these finals normally rhyme with each other freely in poetry of the time." See Baxter, *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*, 34.

[48] It is similar to the rhyming couplet (*muzdawij*) which came into being in the Abbasid times, possibly under Iranian influences. "By restricting the constraint imposed by the rhyme, it became possible to compose narrative, historical or didactic poems of some length." See Manfred Ullmann and Wolfhart Heinrichs, "Radjaz," in *EI²*. In many of the so-called new *yuefu* 樂府 (Music Bureau of Han dynasty) poems by Bo Juyi 白居易 (772 C.E.-846 C.E.), the usage of rhyming couplet is very evident, see *Fu Rong Ren* 縛戎人 whose English translation is found in Arthur Waley, *Translations from the Chinese* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1941), 174-77.

[49] "By tail-rhyme romances are meant romances composed in stanzas of twelve lines divided into four groups of three, each group containing, as a rule, a couplet with four accents to the line, and a concluding line, a 'tail,' with three accents. The four couplets, in most of the poems, have different rhymes, while the tail-lines rhyming with one another organize the stanza into a whole." See A. McI. Trounce, "The English Tail-rhyme Romances," in *Medium Ævum* 1, no. 2 (1932): 87-108 (quotation from 87). The *Tale of Sir Thopas* adopts a stanza-form of "only six lines, rhyming aabaab or aabccb." See Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, ed. Jill Mann (London: Penguin Books, 2005), 993.

[50] Chaucer, *Tales*, 991.

[51] Ibid., 992.

[52] The reverse also occurs, i.e., the adding of final *-e* to words which would not normally carry it. Actually in the *Ormulum* which was about 150 years earlier than *CT*, "forms with and without *-e* were used indifferently in words belonging to the same grammatical category." Final *-e* was totally discarded after *c*. 1400. See *Early Middle English Verse and Prose*, xxix, xxxi.

[53] VII: 712-717, see Chaucer, *Tales*, 501. Actually the rhyme scheme Chaucer applies in the tale is quite similar to

musammaṭ and *muwashshaḥ* poetry which had been popular in Medieval Spain. Cf. Otto Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 24-33; Gregor Schoeler, "Muwashshaḥ" and Gregor Schoeler and Munibur Rahman, "Musammaṭ," in *EI²*.

[54] For other Chaucerian examples, see *Early Middle English Verse and Prose*, li.

[55] Whitehall, "Rhyme: Sources and Diffusion," 26. Old English (Anglo-Saxon) is the language spoken and written in England before 1100; Middle English is the vernacular spoken and written in England from about 1100 to about 1500. See "Old English language" and "Middle English language," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, academic edition, online version.

[56] Whitehall, "Rhyme: Sources and Diffusion," 26.

[57] The change affects the long and stressed vowels. Some Middle English vowels, like /e:/ (as in "see") and /æ:/ (as in "east") were gradually combined into one vowel, i.e., /i:/ in Modern English.

[58] The script of *Shi jing* and, to some extent, its text have been reworked towards the end of the first millienium B.C.E., see William Baxter, "Zhōu and Hàn Phonology in the Shījīng," in *Studies in the Historical Phonology of Asian Languages*, edited by William G. Boltz and Michael C. Shapiro (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co., 1991), 1-34.

[59] Diglossia is "the coexistence of two varieties of the same language throughout a speech community. Often, one form is the literary or prestige dialect, and the other is a common dialect spoken by most of the population." See "diglossia," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, academic edition, online version.

[60] It is a collection of 126 old-Arabic poems made by the Kufan philologist al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī.

[61] Because of both the scarcity of written evidence and the prevalence of orality in pre- and early Islamic literatures, it is hard "to trace with any certainty either the early development or diffusions" of the Arabic end-rhyme. See Whitehall, "Rhyme: Sources and Diffusion," 22.

[62] More specifically, it is called *al-ishtiqāq al-ṣaghīr* (the simple or small derivation). For a categorization of *ishtiqāq*, see Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Modern Arabic Literary Language: Lexical and Stylistic Developments* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown UP, 2006), 7.

[63] For the qualification of *rawī*, see ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī, *Kitāb al-qawāfī* (Beirut: Dār al-irshād liʾl-ṭibāʿa waʾl-nashr waʾl-tawzīʿ, 1970), 75-82. The English translation is in Drory, *Models and Contacts*, 96-97.

[64] In fact, al-ʿAjjāj (d. *c*. 91/710) once composed a 200-line *rajaz* poem (*urjūzah*) with the same *-īyū* rhyme. See Ullmann et al., "Radjaz."

[65] Muslims use the term *Jāhilīyah* ("Age of Ignorance [of the divine truth]") to refer to the historical period before the advent of Islam, i.e., the paganism of Arabia.

[66] Al-Maqdisī, *Taṭawwur*, 13.

[67] Toufic Fahd, Wolfhart Heinrichs and A. Ben Abdesselem, "Sadjʿ," in *EI²*. Fahd was quoting from *Tāj al-ʿarūs*.

[68] *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, eds. J. A. Brinkman et al. (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1992), 17: 259-60.

[69] Ludwig Köhler, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 1415 (hereafter cited as *HALOT*).

[70] See Dt 28:34.

[71] See 1Sam. 21:16.

[72] *HALOT*, 1415.

[73] About the *kāhin*'s function as guardian, see Toufic Fahd, *La Divination Arabe* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), 107-12.

[74] Francis Brown, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2006), 462 (hereafter cited as *BDB*). Toufic Fahd explains why the *kāhin* is better translated as diviner than priest. The predominance of nomadism not only assigned the function of sacrifice to tribal leaders but "prevented the establishment of an official form of worship and fixed places of worship," thus weakened the *kāhin*'s role as a sacrificer. See Toufic Fahd, "Kāhin," in *EI²*.

[75] *BDB*, 993.

[76] *Mantis* and *maniā* are connected by the same root **men-*, thus both can stand for "one who is in a special [that is, marked or differentiated] mental state." Gregory Nagy, "Ancient Greek Poetry, Prophecy and Concepts of Theory," in *Poetry and Prophecy: the Beginnings of a Literary Tradition*, ed. James L. Kugel (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1990), 56-64 (quotation from 60).

[77] Ibid. Nagy's translation is quoted and adapted from Benjamin Jowett's version, to be found in Plato, *Dialogues*, 467. Unlike Jowett, Nagy does not term the seers "prophets," nor what the seers say "prophecy."

[78] Nagy, "Ancient Greek Poetry, Prophecy and Concepts of Theory," 60. Nagy only gives the singular and norminal form of the Greek word.

[79] Ibid., 61.

[80] Nagy remarks that the seer Teiresias of Greek myth is also the "*prophētēs* of Zeus," reflecting an earlier and undifferentiated stage. We are also reminded of Aaron, the first Kohen Gadol (Great Priest), who was supposed to be the tongue of the Prophet Moses, the less eloquent seer.

[81] Plato, *Dialogues*, 467.

[82] Although most of the Qurʾānic verses are in fact *sajʿ* (see Devin Stewart, "Sajʿ in the Qurʾān: prosody and structure," in *Journal of Arabic Literature* 21 [1990]: 101-39), discussion of the style of Qurʾān became a taboo subject

following the advent of Islam. The majority of Muslims believe that there is no divination after the Prophecy (*lā kihānata baʿda al-nubūwah*). Fortunately, the Qurʾān does not prohibit the speaking of jinns, therefore, as we shall see in the following discussion, these supernatural beings were frequently associated with prodigious intelligence, eloquence, and repartee.

[83] "*J'ay souvent ouy en proverbe vulguaire qu'un fol enseigne bien un saige.*" See François Rabelais (d. 1553), *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1962), 1:558. Pantagruel emphasizes that the roles of fool (Sot) or jester (Badin) always went to the most experienced actors in a company. Interestingly, Feste in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* is also described as "wise enough to play the fool."

[84] *The Five Books of Gargantua and Pantagruel*, trans. Jacques Le Clercq (New York: The Modern Library, 1944), 431. For the French text, see Rabelais, *Oeuvres complètes*, 1:558.

[85] In fact, these attributions could fit well Chinese hermits like Jie Yu 接與 and Sang Hu 桑扈, as well as mysterious monks like Cold Mountain, Wang "the Brahmacārin" 王梵志 and Crazy Ji (Daoji 道濟), who were noted for their madness and eccentricity, and were highly popular among the Chinese people.

[86] ʿAbduh, 122-23; Prendergast, 101. The *qāfiyah* is represented in bold letters. The letter inside the parentheses stands for the part of *qāfiyah* (*khurūj* in this case) that is usually not pronounced in the recitation of *sajʿ*.

[87] L. Gardet, "Ikhtiyār," in *EI²*. Kilito regards al-Iskandarī as "a dialectician detained in an asylum," and his discourse in this *maqāmah* "a coherent refutation of the principles of a theological school." See Abd El-Fattah Kilito, *Les Séances: récits et codes culturels chez Hamadhānī et Harīrī* (Paris: Sindbad, 1983), 51. The English is quoted from Philip Kennedy, "The *Maqāmāt* as a Nexus of Interests: Reflections on Abdelfattah Kilito's *Les Séances*," in Julia Bray ed., *Writing and Representation in Medieval Islam: Muslim Horizons* (London: Routledge, 2006), 153-214 (quotation from 178).

[88] A discussion of the *maqāmah*'s prologues is to be found in the section "Thus have I heard" in Chapter IV.

[89] Drory, *Models and Contacts*, 105.

[90] The *Maqāmah of Ḥulwān* (*al-Maqāmah al-Ḥulwānīyah*).

[91] The transliteration *ā* is actually the combination of *rass* and *taʾsīs*.

[92] See A. J. Wensinck, "Tarāwīḥ (a.)," in *EI²*.

[93] ʿAbduh, 173-74; Prendergast, 133.

[94] The English term malapropism (cf. Fr. *mal à propos*, "ill-suited") comes from a character named Mrs. Malaprop in Richard Brinsley Sheridan's (d. 1816) play *The Rivals* (1775).

[95] Prendergast, 134; ʿAbduh, 174. We would like to point out that the word *hadhayān* (sometimes together with *khurāfah*, namely "fable" or "myth") was often used by Maimonides (1138-1204) to refer to the pseudo-science "that is not based on the evidence of the senses or on rational argument." "The appearance of this tag is an indication that the book or books so labeled contain lengthy incoherent babbling (*hadhayān ṭawīl*), like the talk of a person afflicted with madness or hallucinations." See Sarah Stroumsa, *Maimonides in His World: Portrait of a Mediterranean Thinker* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2009), 138-52 (quotation from 141, 145).

[96] Prendergast, 135 (with change); ʿAbduh, 175.

[97] *Qarīḍ* is a synonym of *shiʿr* which comprises the *qaṣīdah*s and *qiṭʿah*s (fragments). It "would add the idea of cutting into the living flesh of words, a material which resists and does not let itself be easily manipulated." See A. Arazi, S. Moreh, J. T. P. de Bruijn, J. A. Haywood, M. Hiskett, "Shiʿr," in *EI²*.

[98] ʿAbduh, 6. Prendergast translates it as "learned one," see Prendergast, 27.

[99] Prendergast, 134, n. 5.

[100] Al-Hamadhānī's patron in Rayy, the powerful Būyid vizier Ibn ʿAbbād, was both Shīʿī and Muʿtazilī. Therefore it is easy to understand the reason behind the barber's madness.

[101] Fahd, "Kāhin."

[102] The verb ʿāfa means "to augur from the flight of (birds)," see Hava, *Dictionary*, 513.

[103] The verb *zajara* means "to scare a bird away for drawing auguries," see ibid., 284.

[104] Toufic Fahd, "Ḳiyāfa," in *EI²*.

[105] *Munāfarah* means a dispute. It is the synonym of *munāẓarah*.

[106] See Fahd, "Kāhin."

[107] Prendergast, 100; ʿAbduh, 121.

[108] Prendergast, 100; ʿAbduh, 121.

[109] "Because of their uncompromising interpretation of God's unity (*tawḥīd*) as expressed in Q 27:26, Q 112, etc., the Muʿtazilīs were strictly opposed to the admission of anything co-eternal with God." For example, they insisted on the "createdness of the Qurʾān." See Sabine Schmidtke, "Muʿtazila," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2009), online version.

[110] Prendergast, 101 (translation adapted); ʿAbduh, 124. Rhyming with morphological suffix alone is one of *sajʿ*'s deviations from the classical rule. This kind of sound-poor *qāfiyah*s "appear side by side with" sound-rich ones in the *maqāmah* genre. See Drory, *Models and Contacts*, 114.

[111] ʿAbduh, 15. The meter is *wāfir* and is schematized as U -- -- -- | U -- -- -- | U -- -- ‖ U -- -- -- | U -- -- -- | U -- -- ‖.

[112] Prendergast, 33, with a little change.

[113] Muḥammad ʿAbduh briefly explains in his annotation how augury was practiced in the era of the *Jāhilīyah*. If you

118

scared (*in zajartahu*) the bird and it went away to your right and chirped, that meant a good omen. On the other hand, it would be an evil omen if the bird flew to your left side. See ʿAbduh, 15, n. 8.

[114] Augury is hinted in Aristophanes's *The Birds*, see *The Comedies of Aristophanes*, 1: 334-35. Pushpodbhava, one of Daṇḍin's ten princes, also resorts to augury to foretell the reunion with Rajavahana. See Daṇḍin, *Dandin's Dasha-kumara-charita*; *The Ten Princes*, trans. Arthur W. Ryder (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1960, c1927), 39, 42, 43.

[115] This *Maqāmah* is very craftily composed. See Philip Kennedy, "Some Demon Muse: Structure and Allusion in Al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāma Iblīsiyya*," in *Middle Eastern Literatures* 2, No. 1 (1999):115-35.

[116] For example, ʿĪsā ibn Hishām acts as judge in the *Maqāmah of the Spindle* (*al-Maqāmah al-Mighzalīyah*).

[117] See Hava, *Dictionary*, 769.

[118] See Arazi et al., "Shiʿr" and Ullmann et al., "Radjaz."

[119] Prendergast, 113; ʿAbduh, 142.

[120] Preserved among the Dunhuang manuscripts of popular literature, it is a monorhymed narrative poem comprising 320 lines. See Xiang Chu 項楚, *Dunhuang bianwen xuanzhu* 敦煌變文選註 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1989), 139-90. The first part depicts how Ji Bu succeeded in dispelling the forces of Liu Bang 劉邦 by the Chinese equivalent of a *hijāʾ* (臣罵漢王三五口，不施弓弩遣抽軍, see ibid., 139).

[121] In the *Xijing fu* 西京賦 (Fu on Western Metropolis), Zhang Heng 張衡 (78-139 C.E.) describes a group of itinerant persuaders and disputants (遊麗，辯論之士). "Whatever they liked grew down and feathers; whatever the detested grew wounds and ulcers" (所好生毛羽，所惡生創痏). See *Liu chen zhu Wen xuan* 六臣註文選 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1987), 44-62 (quotation from 52); *Wen xuan*, 1: 180-241 (quotation from 205).

[122] Prendergast, 50; ʿAbduh, 42.

[123] Prendergast, 102; ʿAbduh, 125.

[124] Al-Farazdaq, Jarīr (d. *c.* 110/728-9) and al-Akhṭal (d. *c.* 92/710) were extremely famous for the *naqāʾiḍ* or flytings among themselves. See G. J. H. van Gelder, "Naḳāʾiḍ," in *EI*². Nabia Abbott's *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri: III. Language and Literature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972) mentions their flytings several times.

[125] Prendergast, 102; ʿAbduh, 124.

[126] See the sections "*Munāẓarah*" and "*You*" in this chapter, "The dinar" in Chapter III, "*Agon*" and "Duet and solo" in Chapter IV.

[127] See the end of the section "Prose and poetry" in the Introduction.

[128] Fahd, *La Divination Arabe*, 154. The applications of *rajaz* in pre-Islamic times are noted in battlefield lampoon, urging camels and casting spells, functions that accord with those of the *shāʿir* mentioned above. See Ullmann et al., "Radjaz."

[129] Fahd et al., "Sadjʿ."

[130] Qutbuddin also mentions the oration-cum-prayer carried out in times of drought (*istisqāʾ*) and eclipses (*kusūf*), see Qutbuddin, "*Khutba*," 198-99.

[131] Wolfhart Heinrichs, "The Meaning of *Mutanabbī*," in *Poetry and Prophecy*, 120-39 (the report is translated in the Appendix, 137-39).

[132] Its first episode relates how al-Iskandarī and ʿĪsā ibn Hishām pretended to bring back a dead man to life by means of amulets—a practice seems very similar to that of the witch doctors (it echoes the *kāhin*'s name *ṭabīb*). Al-Hamadhānī's account was no doubt a satirical one. Both episodes can be read as parody on the *kāhin*'s witchcrafts; al-Iskandarī also scoffs the stupidity of the people in the envoi poem.

[133] Apparently as an offering for river deities. The sacrifice of heifer is an allusion to Qurʾān 2:67-73.

[134] Prendergast, 87; ʿAbduh, 102. This proposal reminds us, in the Chinese tradition, of witches in the Warring States period (476-221 B.C.E.) who used to "marry" (i.e., to sacrifice/drown) young virgins to the god of the Yellow River 河伯. It is mentioned in the story of Ximen Bao 西門豹 in *Guji liezhuan* 滑稽列傳 (Biographies of the Humorists) of *Shi ji* 史記, which is the masterpiece of the historian Sima Qian 司馬遷 (*c.* 145-*c.*87 B.C.E.).

[135] Nagy, "Ancient Greek Poetry, Prophecy and Concepts of Theory," 57.

[136] Kālidāsa (fl. 5th century C.E.), *Śakoontalá; or, The Lost Ring*, trans. Monier Monier-Williams (London: George Routledge and Son, Ltd., 1898), xxxi, 1. Kālidāsa ends his play with another prayer as well. See ibid., 207, n. 1.

[137] *Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa*, xiv, 1, 4.

[138] ʿAbduh, 44; Prendergast, 51-52. This prayer appears in the *Maqāmah of Adharbayjān* (*al-Maqāmah al-Adharbayjānīyah*). The series of the vocatives is a vivid reminder of some of the Meccan *sūrah*s in the Qurʾān. We should also mention that almost all premodern Arabic literary works begin with some kind of prayer to the Deity.

[139] Hesiod, *Theogony and Works and Days*, trans. Catherine Schlegel and Henry Weinfield (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 24.

[140] Nagy, "Ancient Greek Poetry, Prophecy and Concepts of Theory," 56.

[141] See "rhapsody, *n.*," in *OED*. A rhapsody in music is also a one-movement piece.

[142] *Modern Music and Musicians*, ed. Louis Charles Elson et al. (New York: The University Society, 1918), 10: 570.

[143] Hesiod, *Theogony and Works and Days*, 58. The ancient Greek singer can be compared to the Arab *qāṣṣ* (popular preacher) as Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) is reported to have said "the most mendacious of men are the *quṣṣāṣ* (pl. of *qāṣṣ*) and the beggars." There is even a proverb "a *qāṣṣ* loves not another *qāṣṣ*." See Charles Pellat, "Ḳāṣṣ," in *EI*².

[144] For example, al-Iskandarī carries a walking-stick in the aforementioned *Maqāmah of Adharbayjān*.

[145] Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī's (d. *c*. 750/1349) *al-Qaṣīdah al-Sāsānīyah* (v. 24) mentions the use of sticks and tambourines at the time of recitation. "And on how many forays for extracting money have I recited poetry from the back of a camel, declaiming in a loud voice, whilst my companions shake tambourines and beat sticks in time to the verse!" See Bosworth, *Underworld*, 2:296.

[146] ʿAbduh, 78-79. "Rhyming a geminated consonant with a single one" (*ghanij(in)* /*hazij(in)* /*shajj(in)* /*ḥarij(in)*) is permitted in *sajʿ* and archaic *rajaz*. See Frolov, "The Place of *Rajaz*," 265.

[147] Prendergast, 74.

[148] The tiny bells (sg. *juljul*; pl. *jalājil*) attached to the staff accentuate the rhythm of the beats. His tapping may function in the same way as the formulaic tunes which lead the vocal prelude (*kaipian* 開篇) in the Chinese *tanci*. The use of bells and the improvisational nature of his "raps" remind us of the Chinese *shulaibao* 數來寶, which was originally performed by wandering beggars. *Shulaibao* can be performed as solo or by two persons. The fast, rhymed oral performance is usually accompanied with the beating of bamboo castanets, cow hipbones (each attached with thirteen bells), etc.

[149] Maḥmūd al-Masʿadī has worked on the rhythms (*īqāʿ*) of *sajʿ* in al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt*, see Mahmoud Messadi, *Essai sur le rythme dans la prose rimée en arabe* (Tunis: Abdelkerim Ben Abdallah, 1981). According to him (20, 55), a Hamadhānian colon would most frequently comprise six to nine syllables, and the essential rhythm is schematized as U -- U --, which is exactly the iambic dipody. In fact, the rhythm X -- -- U -- reminds us of the dochmius (U -- -- U --) in Greek comedy. See John Williams White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1912.), 206. White holds that the the dochmius "is in origin an iambic tripody" for it is chiefly associated with iambic rhythm in both Greek tragedy and comedy. Ibid., 297 (§§ 627-29).

[150] The reciter may also become breathless after reading such a combination of long syllables. One of the faults in composing the Chinese modern-style poetry is called *san lian ping* 三連平 (the sequence of three even-tone sounds in the end of a line), which should be avoided for it causes difficulty in articulation and breaks the balance of short and long sounds.

[151] His first *rajaz*-poem contains more short syllables than the second. We have even noted one occurrence of three consecutive short syllables in the end of a foot (*yā qawmu hal bay**nakumu** min ḥurrī*, scanned as -- -- U -- | -- U U U | -- -- -- ‖). It somewhat reminds us of *san lian ze* 三連仄 (the sequence of three deflected-tone sounds in the end of a line) which in Chinese verse is regarded as being a fault. Dmitry Frolov informs that the pattern of *faʿilatun* (U U U --), or the five-*ḥarf* segment (*al-fāṣilah al-kubrā*), is considered "a grave metrical defect" by the theory of ʿArūḍ (classical Arabic metrics), "and *faʿilatun* does not occur in rhyming clausulas of any ʿArūḍ meter, including professional *urjūza*." See Frolov, "The Place of *Rajaz*," 264, 269.

[152] The Greek prophet is said to have be blinded by Athena. She then granted him acute hearing, thus including the ability to practice augury in light of birdsong.

[153] Jorge Luis Borges, *Seven Nights*, trans. Eliot Weinberger (New York: New Directions Pub. Corp., 1984), 114.

[154] He was one of the great *muwashshaḥ*-poets of Muslim Spain. The name means "the blind [bard] of Tudela." We will discuss the genre of *muwashshaḥ* in the sections "The dimeter" in Chapter III and "*Kharjah*" in Chapter IV.

[155] Liu Xie, 88-89. It is put as *gufu* 瞽賦 or *soufu* 瞍賦.

[156] As mentioned in the section "*Riwāyah* and *ḥikāyah*" in Chapter I, a *ḥākiyah* can mimic the blind. The beggar who feigns blindness is called *isṭīl* in Abū Dulaf's *al-Qaṣīdah al-Sāsānīyah* (v. 51). See Bosworth, *Underworld*, 1: 39, 2: 196.

[157] Fahd et al., "Sadjʿ."

[158] "All this is a close parody on the rite of purification as practiced by itinerant superstition-peddlers on ignorant dupes." See Aristophanes, *Clouds*, ed. Lewis Leaming Forman (New York: American Book co., c1915), 109.

[159] Strepsiades's fear accords with our previous proposal of the *kāhin*'s involvement in "astrometeorological sayings" and "descriptions of clouds and rain." It is known that one of Socrates's teachers was the female seer Diotima of Mantinea. Then it would not surprise us that the Clouds later call him "O priest of most subtle trifles." See *The Comedies of Aristophanes*, 1:133. Socrates's prayer, which is in anapaestic tetrameter, beautifully pictures the august goddesses in different shapes at four directions of the world. This prayer will make a nice comparison to some of Qu Yuan's poems. Cf. David Hawkes, "The Quest of the Goddess," in *Asia Major*, n.s.v. 13 (1967): 71-94.

[160] See *The Comedies of Aristophanes*, 1:136.

[161] Prendergast, 31.

[162] ʿAbduh, 92; Prendergast, 81-82.

[163] See Abū Dulaf's *al-Qaṣīdah al-Sāsānīyah* (v. 59): "who dyes his hands and face with red ochre and declaims poetry in public," quoted from Bosworth, *Underworld*, 2:198.

[164] Ibid., 1:100.

[165] Davenport, *Medieval Narrative*, 194. Davenport was quoting from *Chaucer: Sources and Backgrounds*, ed. Robert P. Miller (New York: Oxford UP, 1977), 49-52.

[166] ʿAbduh, 53-54; Prendergast, 58.

[167] ʿAbduh, 54; Prendergast, 58.

[168] ʿAbdullah Yūsuf ʿAlī, *The Meaning of the Holy Qurʾān* (Beltsville, Maryland: Amana Publications, 2003c), 1676.

[169] Such as the monkey trainer (The *Maqāmah of the Ape* [*al-Maqāmah al-Qidīyah*]), the barber (The *Maqāmah of Ḥulwān*), and the mountebank (The *Maqāmah of Sijistan* [*al-Maqāmah al-Sijistānīyah*]).

[170] See Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, 31-32.

[171] In one of the Sanskrit *Jātakamālā*s by Āryaśūra, the prince Sutasoma saved himself by preaching four *gāthā*s to the cannibalistic Kalmāshapāda. Interestingly, the prince had previously leant those *gāthā*s from a Brahmin and paid him one thousand pieces of gold for each.

[172] Alan Cooper, "Imagining Prophecy," in *Poetry and Prophecy*, 26-44 (quotation from 34).

[173] Al-Ḥarizi is also famed for being the Hebrew translator of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*. In medieval Hebrew literature, "a quasi-prophetic revelation" became a conventional mode of framing in various *maqāmāt* and related rhymed narratives. "At the outset the author would describe, for example, how he had been commanded by an angel or a heavenly voice to write his book." See Dan Pagis, "Poet as Prophet in Medieval Hebrew," in ibid., 140-50 (quotation from 143).

[174] *Midrash Mishle* (*Proverbs*) contains a version of the Queen's riddles. See Jacob Lassner, *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba: Boundaries of Gender and Culture in Postbiblical Judaism and Medieval Islam* (Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 1993), 161-62. The queen's ability to coin riddles is also said to be inherited from her *jinn*-mother.

[175] James Kugel, "Poets and Prophets: An Overview," in *Poetry and Prophecy*, 1-25 (quotation from 5).

[176] Ibid., 7.

[177] See the beginning of the section "*Ayyām al-ʿArab*" in Chapter I.

[178] ʿAbduh, 16; Prendergast, 33-34.

[179] We need to observe that the devil poses a riddle for ʿĪsā ibn Hishām in the *Maqāmah of Iblīs*. See Prendergast, 141; ʿAbduh, 183-84. In this relatively long riddle, the devil compares the flame in a lamp to the effect of moths (*sūs*) on clothes. The same metaphor is used in the *Maqāmah of Nishapur* (*al-Maqāmah al-Naysābūrīyah*) where al-Iskandarī satirically likens a judge (*qāḍī*) to a moth that attacks orphans' woolen garments. See Prendergast, 150; ʿAbduh, 199.

[180] "Riddle, *n.*[1]," in *OED*.

[181] See the *Maqāmah of Iraq* and the *Maqāmah of Poetry* (*al-Maqāmah al-Shiʿrīyah*). The practice of presenting large number of questions is found in Chinese literary works like Qu Yuan's *Tian wen* 天問 ("Heavenly Questions") and a piece of Dunhuang popular *fu* named *Kongzi Xiang Tuo xiangwen shu* 孔子項託相問書 (The Book of the Debate between Confucius and Xiang Tuo). For *Tian wen*, see *Chu ci ji zhu*, 47a-68a; *The Songs of the South*, 122-51. Also see Victor Mair's introductory note to his translation in Mair ed., *The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature* (New York: Columbia UP, 1994), 371-73. For *Kongzi Xiang Tuo xiangwen shu*, see Fu Junlian 伏俊璉, *Su qing ya yun: Dunhuang fu xuan xi* 俗情雅韻——敦煌賦選析 (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 2000), 144-55. Arthur Waley gives an abridged English translation in *Ballads and Stories from Tun-huang: An Anthology* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1960), 89-96.

[182] *The Assemblies of al Harīrī*, 1:106 (translation adapted after consulting Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, 151, 157).

[183] Allen, *Heritage*, 72.

[184] ʿAbduh, 164-65; Prendergast, 128-29.

[185] In our discussion of "The staff," we have already mentioned this phenomenon in the *Maqāmah of the Blind*.

[186] Rina Drory draws our attention to the maximal sound similarity displayed in the *maqāmah*'s rhyming scheme. It is not only more than what early *sajʿ* demanded, but close to that of *waṣf* poems. See Drory, *Models and Contacts*, 114.

[187] This *rajaz*-poem is to be discussed in the section "The dimeter" of Chapter III.

[188] For collection of studies on debate poems in the Near Eastern traditions, see *Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the Ancient and Mediaeval Near East: Forms and Types of Literary Debates in Semitic and Related Literatures*, eds. G. J. Reinink and H. L. J. Vanstiphout (Leuven: Department Oriëntalistiek, 1991).

[189] Prendergast, 129.

[190] In one story of the *Ḥibbur yafeh*, the 11th-century Jewish version of *al-Faraj baʿda al-shiddah*, a woman seeks the king's judgment by beginning her speech with a similar formula: "May God prolongs the king's life!" See Nissim ben Jacob ibn Shāhīn, *An Elegant Composition concerning Relief after Adversity*, trans. William M. Brinner (New Haven: Yale UP, 1977), 173.

[191] *The Book of Lieh-tzu: a Classic of the Tao*, trans. A. C. Graham (New York: Columbia UP, 1990), 104-5. The dating of *Lie zi* is a controversial subject. Loosely categorized as a Daoist anthology of stories, it is thought to include materials ranging from 300 B.C.E. to 300 C.E. See Rania Huntington, "The Supernatural," in *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, ed. Victor H. Mair (New York: Columbia UP, 2001), 110-31 (quotation from 117). Also cf. A. C. Graham, "The Date and Composition of Liehtzyy," in *Asia Major*, vol. 8/2 (1960): 139-98.

[192] Prendergast, 128.

[193] See the section "Divinatory functions" above. Unlike the successful arbitration of ʿĪsā ibn Hishām, Confucius becomes dumbfounded after hearing the case.

[194] See al-Maqdisī, *Taṭawwur*, 13. This piece is often quoted to prove the connection of *sajʿ* with *kāhin*.

[195] J. N. Mattock, "The Arabic Tradition: Origin and Development," in *Dispute Poems and Dialogues*, 153-63, esp. 155.

[196] Ibid., 154.

[197] Wolfhart Heinrichs, "Rose versus Narcissus. Observations on an Arabic Literary Debate," in *Dispute Poems and Dialogues*, 179-98; Geert Jan van Gelder, "Arabic Debates of Jest and Earnest," in ibid., 199-211. Also see Clive Holes, "The Dispute of Coffee and Tea: A Debate-Poem from the Gulf," in *Tradition and Modernity in Arabic Language and Literature*, ed. J. R. Smart (Surrey: Curzon, 1996), 302-15.

[198] "It is probable that the pre-Islamic *mufākharah* (boasting of the merits of one's tribe to the detriment of another), and the large element of *fakhr* (self-glorification) to be found in early Arabic poetry in general, played its part in the development of the *munāẓarah*." See Mattock, "The Arabic Tradition," 154.

[199] Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, "The Essay and Debate," in *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*, 134-44 (quotation from 141). This again points to the blurred boundaries between the *risālah* and *maqāmah*.

[200] *Huaxue* 華學, ed. Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), vol. 9-10, 1091-106.

[201] Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: a History of a Genre*, 66.

[202] Guo Weisen 郭維森 and Xu Jie 許結, *Zhongguo cifu fazhan shi* 中國辭賦發展史 (Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996), 6-8, 84-86.

[203] The character *ci* 辭, which is used in phrases like *xiuci* 脩辭 (rhetoric; lit. "refined *ci*"), contains a *xin* and could originally be connected with lawsuit. Cf. the abovementioned character *bian* 辯. Chu 楚 is the name of an ancient southern kingdom (770-223 B.C.E.) located in the central valley of the Yangtze River.

[204] See the section "Forms and functions" in the Introduction.

[205] "The typical song line of *Shi jing* is one of four equally accented syllables." The stanza, with is usually rhyming quatrains, has the same *tum tum tum tum* beat throughout the four lines. See *The Songs of the South*, 40.

[206] Category A is prosodically similar to *Shi jing*, while the Category B poems (e.g., the *Li sao*) "are almost wholly written in long, flowing lines suitable for recitation." The long line of the Category B has the pattern *tum tum tum ti tum tum xi*: *tum tum tum ti tum tum*. *Xi* is the refrain-word or breath particle and *ti* represents the unstressed syllable (compared to the stressed *tum*). See ibid., 41. We may add that the Category B meters could be compared to the elegiac couplet (the dactylic hexameter plus the hemiepes [half-epic]) that Ovid used in his *Tristia* and *Heroides*. The aforementioned poem in *Consolation of Philosophy* (Liber I, Metrum V) also uses the elegiac couplet.

[207] Christopher Leigh Connery, "Sao, Fu, Parallel Prose, and Related Genres," in *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, 223-47 (quotation from 223).

[208] *Shisan jing zhushu: Maoshi zhengyi* 十三經註疏·毛詩正義 (Beijing: Peking UP, 1999), 1:6-8. This preface was made by the commentator Mao Heng 毛亨, whose exact date of birth is unclear. It is said that Mao Heng had studied *Shi jing* with Xunzi 荀子 (d. 238 B.C.E.). For the English translation of this preface, see Jeffrey Riegel, "*Shih-ching* Poetry and Didacticism in Ancient Chinese Literature," in *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, 97-109 (quotation from 108). Also see Dore J. Levy, "Literary Theory and Criticism," in ibid., 916-39, esp. 919-20.

[209] Guo and Xu, *Zhongguo cifu fazhan shi*, 11.

[210] For example the aforementioned *Tian wen* 天問, which is "a shamanistic (?) catechism consisting of questions about cosmological, astronomical, mythological and historical matters" (*The Songs of the South*, 38), reminds us of the Zoroastrian *Gāthā*s, see Helmut Humbach, *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra and the Other Old Avestan Texts* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1991), 1:120ff.

[211] See n. 159 above.

[212] Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 68.

[213] *Chu ci ji zhu*, 80a-83b; *The Songs of the South*, 166-69, 187-88. These codas and their modes of rendering shall be treated in detail in the section "*Luan*" in Chapter IV.

[214] Heinrichs also compares the *maqāmah* genre to opera: "to see the rhymed-prose speeches as recitative, and the 'unnecessary' poems as arias. Some of the poems are, of course, clearly described as songs." See Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres," 270.

[215] The six principles are divided into two categories: 風 *feng* (airs), 雅 *ya* (odes) and 頌 *song* (hymns) "mark distinctions of genre among the poems," while *fu*, 比 *bi* (comparison or simile) and 興 *xing* (affective image) "are techniques whereby the artist organizes language to create certain effects." See Levy, "Literary Theory and Criticism," 920-21.

[216] Connery, "Sao, Fu, Parallel Prose, and Related Genres," 224.

[217] Song Yu's date is unknown to us. He is said to be the student of Qu Yuan.

[218] *Mei Cherng's "Seven stimuli" and Wang Bor's "Pavilion of King Terng": Chinese poems for princes*, trans. Victor H. Mair (Lewiston: E. Mellen Press, 1988), 1-99.

[219] As compared with the expressive nature (*yanqing* 言情) of *Chu ci*.

[220] *Wu tai* or the Five Great Ones were the answerers of the riddle of the silkworm. Whether they are interpreted as shamans or the Five Di Ancestors, it is clear that they functioned as diviners (五泰占之曰). Therefore the superior figures in the *Treatise of Fu* can easily be compared with arbiters in the pre-Islamic context.

[221] See John Knoblock, *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1988-1994), 3:190 (hereafter cited as Knoblock).

[222] *Xunzi ji jie* 荀子集解, ed. Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 479. The Old Chinese pronunciations (led by the symbol *) provided in this study are reconstructed after consulting Baxter's *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*, and *Xin jiao hu zhu song ben Guangyun* 新校互註宋本廣韻, ed. Yu Naiyong 余廼永 (Xianggang: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, c1993).

[223] Knoblock, 3: 200-2, 358-59.

[224] We will not quote the king's answer in full, but it is to be noted that both its rhyme and meter change after a few colons. A change of style is supposed to break the monotony and demarcate the answer from the question.

[225] Ibid., 3:189.

[226] "This is an allusion to the attempt by political thinkers of the day to create the Vertical Alliance between Han, Wei, Zhao, and Chu, with Yan and Qi sometimes included, to block the advance of Qin and the rival Horizontal Axis between Qin and Qi, which would divide the world into two spheres of influences." See ibid., 3: 358-59, n. 19.

[227] Ban Gu 班固, *Han shu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1962), 2609 (《漢書·司馬相如傳贊》："揚雄以為靡麗之賦，勸百而風一，猶騁鄭衛之聲，曲終而奏雅，不已戲乎！") Also see Wang Rongbao 汪榮寶, *Fayan yi shu* 法言義疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1987), 45-49.

[228] *Chaucer: Sources and Backgrounds*, 42.

[229] For the same reason al-Ḥarīrī believes that sensible people will rank his *Maqāmāt* "in the order of useful writings, and class them with the fables that relate to brutes and lifeless objects." See *The Assemblies of al Harīrī*, 1:107.

[230] Knoblock, 3:191.

[231] In the Introduction, we have mentioned the admonition genre listed in the *Wenxuan*.

[232] Bloodletting or acupuncture by means of a stone needle (*bian* 砭) was indistinguishable from our more familiar idea of acupuncture with a metal needle (針).

[233] *Xunzi ji jie*, 480-84.

[234] Knoblock, 3:192.

[235] See the section "Three examples" above.

[236] The last coda poem was thought to be dedicated to the Lord of Chunshen 春申君 (d. 238 B.C.E.), Xunzi's patron.

[237] Knoblock, 3:191.

[238] See n. 179 above.

[239] Knoblock, 1:45.

[240] Knoblock, 3:49. Loosely speaking, the concept of *li* is very close to that of *adab*. Thus today we can use *limao* 禮貌 (the countenance of *li*) to translate *muʾaddab* (someone who possesses *adab*, who is cultivated), the Arabic word for "courteous."

[241] They look extremely similar to some of the divinatory functions of the *kāhin*s. Ancient Chinese divination and sacrifice were also closely connected with rhymed speech. For example, Qu Yuan's *Zhao hun* 招魂 (Summons of the Soul), a poem of the Category-A meter, is supposed to be the speech of Wu Yang 巫陽 who was the Master of Dreams and acted as a soul-summoner in that poem.

[242] It is called *liu jing* 六經 (Six Classics; lit. "Six Warps") which comprises the *Historical Documents* (*Shu jing* 書經), the *Shi jing*, the *Changes* (*Yi jing* 易經), the *Music* (*Yue jing* 樂經, not extant), the *Rituals*, and the *Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋 or the *Spring and Autumn Annals*). See Knoblock, 1: 42-49.

[243] *Zhouli zhengyi* 周禮正義, ed. Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1987), 3374-85. Also see *Le Tcheou-li: ou, Rites des Tcheou*, trans. Édouard C. Biot (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1851), 2: 540-41.

[244] *Le Tcheou-li*, 2: 53-54.

[245] *Zhouli zhengyi*, 1269 (《周禮·春官宗伯·瞽矇》鄭玄注："鄭司農雲：'無目眹謂之瞽，有目眹而無見謂之矇，有目無眸子謂之瞍。'")

[246] See Beeston, "The Genesis," 6-7. Also see n. 38 of the Introduction.

[247] Knoblock, 3:114.

[248] Zhou Zhenfu, *Zhou Zhenfu Wenji* 周振甫文集 (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 1999), 6:292.

[249] Han Yu was one of the initiators of the "Classical Prose Movement" 古文運動 in mid-Tang, which opposed to the prevalence of parallel prose since the Six Dynasties (220 C.E. -589 C.E.). The parallel prose inherited many of the ornament of Han *fu*. As for Han Yu's dichotomy of *poti* and *zunti*, see the section "Style-breaking" in the Introduction.

[250] ʿAbduh, 152-53; Prendergast, 120. Horses were important for human civilizations, especially for military uses. Al-Tanūkhī mentioned that the *kātib* in the army department needs to know "the good points of horses." See Beeston, "The Genesis," 4. *Zhou li* also allots several chapters on positions connected with horse breeding. In the beginning of the Mahābhāratic story *Nala and Damayantī*, we are told that King Nala was well-versed in (the knowledge of) horse. Horses also left their traces in the names of ancient Iranians like Kavi Vištāspa (Wištāsp) who was Zoroaster's great patron, and Pourušaspa, the father of the prophet. See Humbach, *Gāthās*, 1:9. In the *prologos* of *The Clouds*, Strepsiades recounts how he and his wife decided to name their son Pheidippides, which means "thrifty-horse." The horse al-Iskandarī praises here is said to belong to the great Ḥamdānian *amīr* Sayf al-Dawla (303-356/916-967). The prince Sayf al-Dawla was not only a brutal and successful ruler, but also a poet and philologist. He was most famed for

his patronage of the philosopher Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) and the poet al-Mutannabī.

251 In *Rui he tu juan* 瑞鶴圖卷 (Scroll of Auspicious Cranes) dated 1112 (second year of the Zhenghe 政和 Era), Emperor Zhao Ji 趙佶 (1082-1135 C.E.) painted twenty cranes. Two of them were standing on the roof, while the others were flying above in different positions. From his colophon it is known that only two cranes were "real," thus the other eighteen images are depicting the motions of the two animals. Likewise, Edgar Degas' (1834-1917) "Dancers in Green and Yellow" (Guggenheim, New York) could be interpreted as five different poses of the same dancer.

252 If a connection can be established between description (*waṣf*) and sketch, then we probably can understand why many illustrated manuscripts of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* are extant to this day. Among them there is one made by Yaḥyā ibn Maḥmūd al-Wāsiṭī in 634/1237. The manuscript is now kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, coded arabe 5874 (168 folios, 37*28 centimeters). See Oleg Grabar, "The 1237 manuscript of the *Maqamat of Hariri*," in *Al-Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrīyah*, illustrated by Y. Al-Wasiti, facsimile ed. (London: Touch@rt, c2003), 7-17.

253 The *Fihrist* ("The Index"), composed by the Shīʿī bookseller (*warrāq*) Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn al-Nadīm (d. *c.* 385/995), "is intended to be an index of all books written in Arabic." According to the larger edition of this work, there are ten discourses (*maqālāt*) or chapters which deal with books on both Islamic and non-Islamic subjects. See J. W. Fück, "Ibn al-Nadīm, Abu ʾl-Faradj Muḥammad b. Abī Yaʿḳūb Isḥāḳ al-Warrāḳ al-Baghdādī," in *EI²*.

254 *Han shu*, 1701-84, esp. 1753. *Yiwen zhi* is said to be a verbatim copy of Liu Xin's 劉歆 (d. 23 C.E.) *Qi lue* 七略 (Seven Summaries).

255 Guo and Xu, *Zhongguo cifu fazhan shi*, 85.

256 Knoblock, 3:169-88.

257 *Xunzi ji jie*, 457; Knoblock, 3:172 (we changed "assistant" to "staff").

258 Yao Xiao'ou 姚小鷗, "Chengxiang zaci kao 成相雜辭考," in *Wenyi yanjiu* 文藝研究, 2000, Vol. 1, 88-99 (quotation from 97).

259 *Le Tcheou-li*, 1:405.

260 It is a five- or seven-stringed plucked instrument.

261 It is a twenty-five-stringed plucked instrument, somewhat similar to the zither.

262 *Zhouli zhengyi*, 1865; *Le Tcheou-li*, 2:54.

263 The book is said to be written by the blind historian Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 (556-451 B.C.E.), who was also famous for *Zuo zhuan* 左傳, his commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

264 *Guo yu ji jie* 國語集解, compiled by Xu Yuangao 徐元誥 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 2002), 11-12.

265 It is also interpreted by one commentator as musicians, see ibid., 11.

266 We translated this passage after consulting the Chinese commentaries included in *Guo yu ji jie*.

267 *Sacred Books of China: the Texts of Confucianism. Part I: The Shû King; The Religious Portions of the Shih King; The Hsiâo King*, trans. James Legge (Oxford: The Claridon Press, 1879), 82. For the Chinese text, see *Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義, commented by Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (Beijing: Peking UP, 1999), 182-83.

268 Liu Xin suggests in his letter to Yang Xiong that this kind of practice continued into the Qin dynasty (221-207 B.C.E.). These heralds and envoys were in search of "expressions of various eras 代語, children's ditties 童謠, songs 歌, and skits 戲." For an English translation of the letter, see David Knechtges, "The Liu Xin/Yang Xiong Correspondence on the *Fang Yan*," in *Monumenta Serica* 33 (Sankt Augustin, 1977-78), 309-25 (quotation from 312).

269 Knoblock, 3:171.

270 Namely Qin Shihuang 秦始皇 (259-210 B.C.E.), the founder of the Qin dynasty.

271 Ibn Qutaybah, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, 2:333. See the section "Four hundred *maqāmāt*" in Chapter I.

272 See the section "*Ayyām al-ʿArab*" in Chapter I.

273 See "admonish, *v*.," in *OED*.

274 Knoblock, 3:192.

275 Both libertine and ascetic aspects are central to the characterization of the *maqāmah* genre's heroes. Al-Ḥarīrī's rogue, Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī, repented and became a Sufi in the end of his *Maqāmāt*. The mixture of two extremeities is also shown in stories about the Arab poet Abū al-ʿAtāhiyah (130-212/748-828) and the Chinese poet Li Bo (701-762).

276 For a comparative study of jesters, see Beatrice K. Otto, *Fools are Everywhere: the Court Jester around the World* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 2001).

277 Sima Qian, *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1959), 3197-214. Sima Qian's successor Zhu Shaosun 褚少孫 added biographies of six humorists to that chapter. The story of Ximen Bao mentioned in the section "Divinatory functions" (n. 134 above) is one of Zhu's additions, see ibid., 3211-13.

278 Ibid., 3197.

279 *Liu yi* denotes the Zhou aristocratic education of rituals, music, archery, charioteering, writing, and arithmetic (*li* 禮, *yue* 樂, *she* 射, *yu* 馭, *shu* 書, *shu* 數).

280 *Han shu*, 2841-42. For an English translation, see *Courtier and Commoner in Ancient China: Selections from the "History of the Former Han" by Pan Ku*, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia UP, 1974), 79-80.

281 *Han shu*, 2864-68; *Courtier and Commoner*, 96-100.

282 *Han shu*, 2865; *Courtier and Commoner*, 98.

[283] *Han shu*, 2843; *Courtier and Commoner*, 81.

[284] Lassner, *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba*, 195-96.

[285] Unlike Boethius who needed Lady Philosophy's comfort, writers of "frustration" *fu* such as Dongfang Shuo, Jia Yi 賈誼 (200-168 B.C.E.), Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179-104 B.C.E.), and Sima Qian consoled themselves (*zi guang* 自廣) by including examples of supurb rhetoric within their rhymed prose.

[286] "文史星曆近乎卜祝之間，固主上所戲弄，倡優畜之，流俗之所輕也。" See *Han shu*, 2732. In fact, he was castrated by the same emperor who did not accept his intercession for a defeated general and was angered by his exhortation.

[287] The *Maqāmah of the Nājim* (*al-Maqāmah al-Nājimīyah*), which is a panegeric *maqāmah* to Khalaf ibn Aḥmad, contains a shorter version of self-praise. Note that Khalaf was actually the ruler of Sijistān.

[288] ʿAbduh, 20-21; Prendergast, 36 (with change of "springs" into "jewels").

[289] *Courtier and Commoner*, 79-80.

[290] V. Minorsky, "Abū Dulaf, Misʿar b. Muhalhil al-Khazradjī al-Yanbuʿī," in *EI²*. Also see Bosworth, *Underworld*, 1: 52-53.

[291] We may recall here many of ʿĪsā's censures of al-Iskandarī when the latter acts like a monkey-trainer, a blind, the head of Banū Sāsān, etc. In following the succession of *maqāmāt*, al-Iskandarī may well have had a wife in Samarra (the *Maqāmah of Poesie*), spent all his money on *khaḍrat al-dimnah* ("the greenness of a dungheap," i.e., a beautiful woman of base stock) (the *Maqāmah of Shiraz* [*al-Maqāmah al-Shīrāzīyah*]), and married the virgin as a condition to appease the flood (the *Maqāmah of Moṣul*).

[292] The tenth century *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (The Extensive Records of the Taiping Era) has listed him as one of the immortals and gathered some of his supernatural anecdotes that are not extant in the historical biographies. See *Taiping guangji*, comps. Li Fang 李昉 et al.(Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1961), 39-41.

[293] *Li dai fu hui* 歷代賦彙, ed. Chen Yuanlong 陳元龍 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1987), 416. As with the critics of the *Maqāmāt*, Shu Xi's contemporaries found the subtle humor of the *Bing fu* quite vulgar. For a more detailed introduction of Shu Xi and his *Bing fu*, see David Knechtges, "A Literary Feast: Food in Early Chinese Literature," in *JAOS* 106, No.1 (1986): 49-63, esp. 58-62. Food is one of al-Hamadhānī's favorite topics throughout the *Maqāmāt*. In the *Maqāmah of Fresh Butter* (*al-Maqāmah al-Nahīdīyah*), there is a very enticing description of *khubz*-bread that can be compared to Shu Xi's *Pastries*. See Prendergast, 136-37; ʿAbduh, 177-79.

[294] For Shu Xi's life, see Fang Xuanling 房玄齡, *Jin shu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1974), 1427-34, esp. 1427.

[295] ʿAbduh, 74; Prendergast, 71.

[296] Charles Pellat, "Abū ʾl-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymarī, Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī ʾl-Mughīra b. Māhān (213-75/828-88)," in *EI²*.

[297] Prendergast, 159.

[298] Prendergast pointed out the anachronism of this *maqāmah* for the vizier could not have lived in al-Ṣaymarī's time.

[299] Ibid., 163.

[300] Prendergast, 147-48.

[301] Otto, *Fools are Everywhere*, 1.

[302] Guo Sheren is one of the *guji*s listed by Zhu Shaosun, and indeed he was also a *chang* "who enjoyed great favor with the emperor for his never-ending fund of waggery." See *Han shu*, 2844-45; *Courtier and Commoner*, 81.

[303] *Han shu*, 2844-45; *Courtier and Commoner*, 81.

[304] It also proves the importance of action (*ke* 科) besides the spoken part (*bai* 白) in *you*'s performance.

[305] In the typical *maqāmāt*, ʿĪsā is the credulous whom al-Iskandarī often fools. But al-Hamadhānī's cast was flexible. Thus in the *Maqāmah of the Maḍirah* (*al-Maqāmah al-Maḍīrīyah*), al-Iskandarī became the victom of the garrulous merchant. Also in the *Maqāmah of Armenia* (*al-Maqāmah al-Armīnīyah*), both ʿĪsā and al-Iskandarī were deceived by a village boy. After all, there has to be winner(s) and loser(s) at the end of a Hamadhānian *maqāmah*.

[306] Ren Na, *Tang xinong* 唐戲弄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1984), 323-416, 820-48.

[307] Ren Na proposed that this kind of drama already extisted in Eastern Han (25 C.E.-220 C.E.) at the lastest, although the name "*canjun xi*" was used during the reign of Shi Le 石勒 (274-333 C.E.) who was Emperor Ming of Late Zhao 後趙 (319 C.E.-351 C.E.). See ibid., 824.

[308] A major difference between the *Maqāmāt* and the *canjun xi* is that it is the adjunct that plays the leading role, and he can frequently change his identity. See ibid., 413. Surely we can think of another similar duo, namely Karagöz ("black eye") and Hacivat. These are the two main characters in Turkish shadow plays. Similar to the relationship of al-Iskandarī and ʿĪsā, Karagöz always gets the better of the gullible Hacivat. See Metin And, *Karagöz: Turkish Shadow Theatre* (Ankara: Dost Yayınları, 1975). The greatest virtue of the sketches of Karagöz "was their adaptability to local circumstances so that they could serve as effective means of political and social criticism." See Allen, *Heritage*, 321. Similarly, Ren Na regarded political criticism as the soul of *canjun xi*. See Ren, *Tang xinong*, 325.

[309] Robert C. McKinney, *The Case of Rhyme versus Reason: Ibn al-Rūmī and His Poetics in Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 140. He quoted from al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 23:198.

[310] McKinney, *Case of Rhyme*, 139-40, n. 28.

[311] Otto, *Fools are Everywhere*, 13.

[312] Al-Sharīshī, the commentator on al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*, quotes from Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī saying that al-Buḥturī "was versed in every kind of poetry, except satire." See *The Assemblies of al Harīrī*, 1:292.

[313] McKinney, *Case of Rhyme*, 140, n. 29. McKinney quotes from al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Buḥturī*, 89; *al-Aghānī*, 21:53.

[314] For the problem of sources in this *maqāmah*, see Bray, "*Isnād*s and Models of Heroes."

[315] ʿAbduh, 212. Unlike the even parallelism, rhyming in this paragraph depends greatly upon the morphological consonant *nūn*.

[316] Prendergast, 160 (with some changes). Moreh discusses the *mukhanathth* in *Live Theatre*, 25-27.

[317] After Strepsiades has a vision of the Clouds, Socrates informs him that they "feed very many sophists, Thurian soothsayers, practisers of medicine, lazy-longhaired-onyx-ring-wearers, and song-twisters for the cyclic dances, and meteorological quacks," for "such men celebrate them in verse." See *The Comedies of Aristophanes*, 1:131.

[318] He "roamed over deserts and wastes, seeking warmth at the fire and taking shelter with the ass." See Prendergast, 160.

[319] The *Maqāmah of Ruṣāfah* (*al-Maqāmah al-Ruṣāfīyah*) also contains a long list of thieves and their artifices.

[320] "Separation once hurled me hither and thither until I reached the utmost confines of Jurjān" or "I was at Isfahan intending to go to Rayy and so I alighted in the city as alights the fleeting shade." See Prendergast, 26, 55-56.

[321] *Chu ci ji zhu*, 18a, 27b; *The Songs of the South*, 73, 77.

[322] *Tristia* emphasizes from the outset the pain and suffering of being a stranger (Book 1, 2.1-110). Ovid's description of the storm at sea (especially 2.19-22, see Ovid, *Sorrow of an Exile: Tristia*, trans. A. D. Melville [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992], 5) would make an interesting analogy with the *Maqāmah of the Amulet*: "Now when the sea had got the ascendency over us, and the night enveloped us, there overwhelmed us a cloud raining in torrents and marshalling mountains of mist with a wind which sent the waves along in pairs and the rain in hosts." See Prendergast, 98.

[323] See the section "The inner form" in Chapter I.

[324] ʿAbduh, 26-27; Prendergast, 39.

[325] David Knechtges, "Poetic travelogue in the Han *fu*," in *Transactions of the Second International Conference on Sinology* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1989), 127-52 (quotation from 127).

[326] He was the father of the historians Ban Gu and Ban Zhao (also known as Cao Dagu 曹大家).

[327] Ibid., 152.

[328] *Liu chen zhu Wen xuan*, 185.

[329] The manuscript reads the seventh year of Yongchu 永初 (i.e., 113 C.E.). For a discussion on why it could be a mistake for Yongyuan 永元, see *Wen xuan*, 2:172 (note of *ll*. 1-2)

[330] Ibid., 2: 172-73.

[331] Many of the *jixing fu*s, including this piece, have a concluding *luan* which applies lyrical meters of Category A.

[332] The Changyuan 長垣 prefecture is in northeast of Luoyang. For Ban Zhao's itinerary, see *Wen xuan*, 2:172.

[333] This is an allusion to the first song of *Jiu ge* 九歌 (Nine Songs) song-cycle, in which Qu Yuan chants "on a lucky day with an auspicious name" (吉日兮辰良). *Chu ci ji zhu*, 30b; *The Songs of the South*, 102. Similarly, the augur al-Iskandarī would make sure there were good omens before ʿĪsā went on his journey (the *Maqāmah of Balkh*).

[334] *Wen xuan*, 2:173. Similarly in the *Maqāmah of Advice* (*al-Maqāmah al-Waṣīyah*), a supposed aged al-Iskandarī gives an admonition that is full of vulgar proverbs when he "equipped his son for commerce." See Prendergast, 153-55; ʿAbduh, 204-6. We also find that Kanwa prepares a long compendium "of every wife's duty" when he bids farewell to his daughter Śakuntalā. See *Śakoontalá; or, The Lost Ring*, 102.

[335] ʿAbduh, 86; Prendergast, 78 (for a discussion of the year A.H. 75, see n. 3 on the same page).

[336] Abu-Haidar, "*Maqāmāt* Literature and the Picaresque Novel," 4.

III Poetry

Overview

As we mentioned in Chapter I, the Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* have two conspicuous features: the creation of two imaginary characters and an alternation between *sajʿ* and poetry. Chapter II explored the relationship of the choice of *sajʿ* to al-Iskandarī's divinatory functions. The introduction of Chinese rhymed prose, which is noted to have an origin in primitive religion, provided comparative evidence to assist in our understanding of certain features of Arabic *sajʿ* (as examples, its descriptive nature and themes of riddle and debate) and located several Chinese counterparts of our frustrated, eccentric, and satirical hero al-Iskandarī.

Both Arabic and Chinese rhymed prose reveal a close relationship with poetry in their formative phases. Prose and poetry are nowadays separated as being two distinct modes of expression. However we should admit, especially after comparing the two famous exemplary traditions of rhymed prose, that the two modes have many more connections than has generally been acknowledged. For instance, the Arabic debate theme provides the context for discourses of both *sajʿ* and poetry. In al-Hamadhānī's definition, an eloquent person is able to switch freely from one mode to another. Since examples of the *maqāmah* genre did not appear until the 4th/10th century, its prose must

have absorbed many poetic tropes and themes, and an individual *maqāmah* could even display functional properties similar to those of classical *qaṣīdah* poetry.

The fifty-two Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* have 119 poetic segments which employ twelve different meters altogether. Among these the *rajaz* and the other iambic Khalīlian meters occupy an extremely important position.[1] What is more, the iambic meters provide a perfect linkage to al-Hamadhānī's *sajʿ*-rhythm. According to a study made by Maḥmūd al-Masʿadī,[2] a Hamadhānian *sajʿ*-colon would most frequently comprise six to nine syllables, and the essential rhythm is schematized as U -- U --, which is exactly the iambic dipody. In this chapter, we will first discuss the basic forms and functions of *rajaz* meter.

Generally speaking, the quantity of poetry found in the *Maqāmāt* is less than that of *sajʿ* and plain prose combined.[3] Poems in a typical *maqāmah* are mostly constructed as speeches made by al-Iskandarī. Besides the envoi, the episode proper often contains verses pronounced by the protagonist accompanying his *sajʿ*-speech. These verses have been labeled as "doggerel"[4] although most of them are put into the mouth of the same eloquent beggar. The jump from ornate *sajʿ* to "doggerel" is an intriguing phenomenon. But their apparent difference in aesthetic value should not lead to an unbalanced exploration of the *Maqāmāt*'s prose and poetry. In this chapter we will argue that the "doggerel" can reveal as much information as *sajʿ* in regard to the genesis of the *maqāmah* genre. When reexamining the favorite poetic meters of al-Iskandarī, we will

128

discover more traces of his inheritance from pre-Islamic *kāhin*s. The function of the sudden switches to poetry between two paragraphs of *saj'* will be discussed.[5] We will also draw attention to the flexible forms (both *saj'* and verse) of the poetic themes of hunting, drinking, eating, and asceticism as found in the *Maqāmāt*. The presence of such themes in the *Maqāmāt* may be a collective echo of the polythematic features of *qaṣīdah* poetry.

The *rājiz*

Eleven syllables

Our discussion will begin with a survey of the *rajaz* meter in the *Maqāmāt*. In the following three sections, we will introduce two basic forms of this meter and relate it to several divinatory functions.

Saj' and *rajaz*[6] can both characterize the speeches of pre-Islamic *kāhin*s.[7] They are often thought to stand for two primitive forms of Arabic literary expression, with rhyming being their common "markedness." As a technical term in prosody, *rajaz* indicates an Arabic meter that is different from those of classical Arabic poetry (*qarīḍ*):

> Whereas in other metres the lines of verse consist of two symmetrical half-lines, separated by a caesura, the line of verse of the *radjaz* is in one part only and has no caesura. In general, the *radjaz* lines are only half as long as the lines of other metres. The basic element is the dipody which consists of four syllables. The first and second syllables can be long or short, but the third one must be short and the fourth one long. Three such dipodies form a trimeter, which is by far the most widely used form of the

radjaz poem…. Next to the trimeter there is a less frequent dimeter….[8]

Similar to an iambic trimeter[9] (X -- U -- | X -- U -- | X -- U -- ‖) in Ancient Greek dramas, a trimeter-*rajaz* line is divided into three dipodies (X X U -- | X X U -- | X X U -- ‖). Its twelve syllables are equal to about four to three words; therefore "every fourth or fifth word must be a rhyme word."[10] Later the *rajaz* poem can also be composed as a distich, which in fact eases the rhyming. According to al-Jawharī (d. 393/1003 or later), the Bedouin (*al-ʿArab*) divided their poetry into four types: *tāmm* ("complete"), *majzūʾ* ("shortened by one foot per hemistich"), *mashṭūr* ("halved"), and *manhūk* ("emaciated").[11] *Rajaz* is the only meter that has forms in all of the four divisions, and they are *al-rajaz al-tāmm* (the acatalectic form has 24 syllables per line), *majzūʾ al-rajaz* (16 s/l), *mashṭūr al-rajaz* (12 s/l), and *manhūk al-rajaz* (8 s/l).[12]

Out of the 119 poetic segments in the *Maqāmāt*, fourteen adapt the *rajaz* meter. The dimeter appears only once, i.e., in the *Maqāmah of the Spindle*.[13] The other *urjūzah*s are either constructed in *mashṭūr al-rajaz* (the trimeter line) or *al-rajaz al-tāmm* (the trimeter distich).[14] For example, the first poem in the *Maqāmah of the Blind* adopts the trimeter line. To be exact, it is of the catalectic form (X X U -- | X X U -- | X -- -- ‖) for the second syllable in the third dipody is long and the third (short) syllable is missing:[15]

> *yā qawmu qad athqala daynī ẓahrī*
> *wa ṭālabatnī ṭallatī biʾl-mahrī*
> *aṣbaḥtu min baʿdi ghinan wa wafrī*
> *sākina qafrin wa ḥalīfa faqrī*

yā qawmu hal baynakumu min ḥurrī
yuʿīnunī ʿalā ṣurūfi ʾl-dahrī
yā qawmu qad ʿīla li-faqrī ṣabrī
wa-ʾnkashafat ʿannī dhuyūlu ʾl-sitrī....

O people, my debt weighs down my back,
And my wife demands her dowry,
After abundance and plenty, I have become
A dweller in a barren land and an ally of penury.
O people, is there a generous man among ye,
Who will aid me against the vicissitudes of time?
O people, because of my poverty my patience is exhausted,
While now no flowing robes my state conceal....[16]

There is a natural caesura between two neighboring lines of the catalectic form. The incomplete third dipody seems to be well attuned to the great distress which prevents the beggar from articulating long, uninterrupted sentences. Most importantly, this poem is presented as the lyric of the blind singer who is beating the ground with his staff.[17] The *Maqāmah of Qazwīn* (*al-Maqāmah al-Qazwīnīyah*) provides a parallel poem which is not sung, but recited "to the beat of the drum (*ʿalā īqāʿ al-ṭubūl*)":

adʿū ilā ʾl-lāhi fa hal min mujīb
  ilā dharan raḥbin wa marʿan khaṣīb
wa jannatin ʿāliyatin mā tanī
  quṭūfuhā dāniyatan mā taghīb....

I pray to God, is there an answerer?
  To a spacious shelter and luxuriant pasture.
To a lofty garden the fruits whereof cease not to be
  Near to gather and never vanish from sight....[18]

The meter of this poem is *sarīʿ* (X X U -- | -- X U -- | -- U -- ||), which is another

131

Arabic iambic meter in Wright's definition.[19] Each hemistich of its *bayt*s has eleven syllables arranged in a pattern quite similar to those of a catalectic trimeter-*rajaz* line.[20]

The eleven syllables of these meters, as well as the usage of staff and drum, bring us back to the discussion of the Chinese genre of *chengxiang* to be found in Chapter II. The strophic Chinese *chengxiang*, which was a Chu folk genre and adapted by Xunzi to carry out his political admonishment, is noted for the use of a staff (*xiang*).[21] As we mentioned in Chapter II, the last two verses of each stanza have exactly eleven (4+7) syllables or characters. We cannot be sure whether this similarity results from the use of percussion instruments as accompaniment, or from a common source of inspiration. The strophic form of *chengxiang*, the use of eleven syllables, and the geographic position of the Chu kingdom in south China all invite us to take a quick look at the Zoroastrian Gāθās. In the Uštavaitī Gāθā (Yasna 43-46) and Spəṇta.mainyū Gāθā (Yasna 47-50), there are stanzas made up of four or five verses of 4+7 syllables.[22] The meter of these Avestan liturgical hymns is in its turn related to the Vedic *triṣṭubh* and *jagatī* meters, which have four *pāda*s (lit. "foot") of eleven and twelve syllables respectively.[23] "It is now a commonplace of Comparative Metric that the primitive poetic forms in Aryan speech were a dimeter of eight and a trimeter of eleven or twelve syllables."[24] As we will see in the following two sections, the dimeter- and trimeter-*rajaz* lines could also form the basis of a variety of meters in *urjūzah* and *qaṣīdah* poetry.

The dinar

The "blind" singer al-Iskandarī is probably not as interested as we are in the counterparts of the catalectic trimeter *rajaz*. Nevertheless, he makes use of the pattern to construct a very persuasive request for money. Hearing the sad lamentation concerning his poverty and loneliness, ʿĪsā ibn Hishām is greatly touched and gives him a dinar. The overjoyed al-Iskandarī, forgetting that he is not supposed to "see" the gift, improvises the next *rajaz* poem which is both a description of the gold coin and a eulogy of its donor:

> *yā ḥusnahā fāqiʿatun ṣafrāʾū*
> *mamshūqatun manqūshatun qawrāʾū*
> *yakādu an yaqṭura minhā ʾl-māʾū*
> *qad athmarathā himmatun ʿalyāʾū....*
>
> What beauty is here and how intensely yellow.
> Light, stamped and round,
> Water almost drops from her luster,
> A noble mind hath produced her....[25]

Even with the relatively few examples to be found in the text of the *Maqāmāt* we get a feel for the versatility of the *rajaz* meter.[26] It is said that in pre-Islamic times *rajaz* was often improvised and "comprised only three to five verses."[27] It is "the metre for tunes," sung during rhythmical activities such as the urging on of camels, drawing water, dancing, and incantation.[28] The battlefield was still another typical situation for the recitation of *rajaz*. Comprising self-praise (*fakhr*) and lampoon (*hijāʾ*), the verses were thought to have magic power to intimidate the enemy.[29] In the beginning of the

Maqāmah of al-Aswad (*al-Maqāmah al-Aswadīyah*), ʿĪsā ibn Hishām encounters a

Bedouin boy who is reciting a poem. When he doubts the latter's ability to versify so well,

the boy immediately retorts in *rajaz*:

> *innī wa in kuntu ṣaghīra ʾl-si**nnī***
> *wa kāna fī ʾl-ʿayni nubūwun ʿa**nnī***
> *fa inna shayṭānī amīru ʾl-ji**nnī***
> *yadhhabu bī fī ʾl-shiʿri kulla fa**nnī***
> *ḥattā yarudda ʿāriḍa ʾl-taẓa**nnī***
> *fa-ʾmḍi ʿalā rislika wa-ʾghrub ʿa**nnī***

> And verily though I be young
> And the eye distain me,
> My demon is the chief of the Jinn
> And he takes me through all the range of the poetic art,
> Until he drives away what doubt may occur.
> Therefore go at thine ease and depart from me.[30]

The boy boasts that his *shayṭān* (devil) is the chief of the jinn who will not and need not

plagiarize.[31] If the work of a Bedouin boy represents a pristine state of versification, then

al-Hamadhānī's choice of the meter may be seen as a reflection of the close relationship

commonly believed to exist between jinn and *rajaz*.[32]

The *Maqāmāt* have thus restated the ancient belief that the linguistic charms of

both *sajʿ* and *rajaz* are empowered by supernatural inspiration. It is important to mention

here that, by the time of al-Hamadhānī, not only *sajʿ* but *rajaz* had witnessed a revival,

very likely as a result of a process of learning from and competition with *qarīḍ* poetry. An

earlier developer of the *rajaz* meter is al-Aghlab al-ʿIjlī (d. 21/642), who is said to have

been the first poet to break the confines of "three to five verses" and compose longer *urjūzah*s.[33] In the 4th/10th century, the poet Kushājim (d. *c*. 350/961) produced numerous descriptive (*waṣf*) poems in *rajaz*; "He thus asserted the rights of the *radjaz* in a field which otherwise is dominated by other metres."[34] If al-Iskandarī is the heir to pre-Islamic *kāhin*s, he is also adopting, in the 4th/10th century, a more complicated and rhetorically developed version of their utterances in order to match the older functions.

The similarity between *saj'* and *rajaz* can be explored in another field: satirical descriptions. As is well known, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, the editor of the *maqāmāt*, omitted the *Maqāmah of Shām* because of its obscene content. This *maqāmah* is a *saj'*-debate between al-Iskandarī and his two wives. Both the husband and his first wife compose very indecent lampoons of his/her opposing party's physical defects. The aforementioned poet, al-ʿIjlī, has an *urjūzah* about the wedding night of the pseudo-prophets, Musaylimah and Sajāḥ.[35] Firstly the corpulence of Musaylimah is sarcastically described,[36] then the poet fabricates an erotic dialogue between the couple which is divided by "conventional expressions such as *ḳultu ... ḳālat*."[37] Such poems surely have a long history. They are attested in the Indian vedas[38] and the Chinese *Shi jing*,[39] being related to sacrificial rites and wedding ceremonies respectively. While al-ʿIjlī's *urjūzah* seems to follow such a universal tradition, al-Hamadhānī's flyting in order to settle a divorce case is indeed a parody of the verse of consummation.[40]

135

The dimeter

The significant role played by poetry (especially *rajaz*) in the Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* should now be clear. In some legends, the alternation between *saj* and poetry is partly determined by the flexible forms of such themes as riddle and debate. The *Maqāmah of the Spindle* is an excellent example of mixing the two themes with the two forms, as its *saj*-riddle is immediately followed by another one put in the dimeter-*rajaz*:

> *murahhafin sinānuhū*
> *mudhallaqin asnānuhū*
> *awlāduhu aʿwānuhū*
> *tafrīqu shamlin shānuhū*
> *muwāthibun li ṣāḥibih*
> *muʿallaqun bi shāribih*
> *mushtabiku ʾl-anyābī*
> *fī ʾl-shībi waʾl-shabābī*
> *ḥulwun malīḥu ʾl-shaklī*
> *ḍāwin zahīdu ʾl-aklī*
> *rāmin kathīru ʾl-nablī*
> *ḥawfa ʾl-liḥā waʾl-sablī*

> Pointed is his spearhead, sharp are his teeth,
> His progeny are his helpers, dissolving union is his business.
> He assails his master, clinging to his moustache;
> Inserting his fangs into old and young.
> Agreeable, of goodly shape, slim, abstemious.
> A shooter, with shafts abundant, around the beard and the moustache.[41]

Clearly the dimeter-*rajaz* line is an especially short meter. The first and second groups of six verses in this poem are of acatalectic (8 s/l) and catalectic (7 s/l) forms respectively, and the rhyme has to appear every two or three words.

In al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*, *rajaz* lines are very often to be read semantically as distiches. But this poem is the only multirhymed piece and sounds closer to rhyming couplets than *qarīḍ*-distiches. M. Ullmann notes that the dimeter is used less frequently than the trimeter, and it is probably the difficulty in rhyming that leads al-Hamadhānī to change the rhyme every two or four lines, thus making the rhyming scheme of this poem reminiscent of that of the preceding *sajʿ*-riddle. When an *urjūzah* becomes longer and is applied to the treatment of narrative, or historical, scientific, and didactic topics, "the principle according to which one and the same rhyme is obligatory for the entire poem is abandoned." [42] This results in the appearance of multirhymed varieties: *urjūzah muzdawijah* (rhyming couplet in the *rajaz* meter), *urjūzah muthallathah* (triplet), *urjūzah mukhammasah* (cinquain) or even *urjūzah muʿashsharah* (ten line stanza).[43] It is in the *muzdawij* form that Abān al-Lāḥiqī (d. *c*. 200/815) chose to versify the famous collection of fables, *Kalīlah wa Dimnah*.[44]

At this moment, it is suggestive that different poetic forms such as the monorhymed distich (*qaṣīdah*), the rhyming couplet (*muzdawij*), and the strophe (*musammaṭ*[45] and its possible Andalusian offshoots, *muwashshaḥ*[46] and *zajal*[47]) can be related to each other. Our guiding principle in this issue is the *rajaz* meter, whose convertibility into distich and couplet has been just discussed. M. Bencheneb notes that there is also a kind of *rajaz*-strophe called *muzdawijāt*: "they consist of strophes of five hemistichs in which the first four hemistichs rhyme together and the fifth ones have a

common rhyme."[48]

The discussion of the *rajaz* can shed some light on meter variations in other litearary traditions. In Chapter II, we presented three poetic examples from the Arabic, Chinese, and English traditions.[49] The third example is the first stanza of Chaucer's *Tale of Sir Thopas*, whose tail-rhyme is metrically different from al-Iskandarī's *mujtathth*-distich and Cold Mountain's seven-character distich. A tail-rhyme stanza has "twelve lines divided into four groups of three, each group containing, as a rule, a couplet with four accents to the line, and a concluding line, a 'tail,' with three accents."[50] Thus each stanza has 4*(4+4+3) accents,[51] while Chaucer's parody of the tail-rhyme measure, as seen in the opening verses of the *Tale of Sir Thopas*, has 2*(4+4+3) accents. It is known that the heroic couplet in the main body of the *Canterbury Tales* has ten iambic feet (5+5) and is often thought to be connected with the Alexandrine (12 syllables per line) or iambic hexameter. When we bear in mind the variations of the *rajaz* meter, it does not seem totally impossible to relate the tail-rhyme stanza to the heroic couplet.[52]

If we can consider a line of twelve syllables as a basic unit in prosody, the dividability of the number twelve (with the interplay of rhymes and tones in some cases) is able to generate a variety of meters in quite a few literary traditions.[53] Having roughly 8 and 12 syllables per line respectively, the Categories A and B meters in the Chinese *Chu ci* are indeed comparable to the Arabic dimeter- and trimeter-*rajaz* measures. The Category A meter either has equally accented 8 syllables, or consists of 7 accented

syllables and an unaccented 8th one. The Category B meter often has the pattern *tum tum tum ti tum tum xi*: *tum tum tum ti tum tum*. If we exclude the breath particle *xi*, this meter becomes the combination of 10 accented and 2 unaccented syllables.[54] *Rajaz*'s variants can indeed reveal for us the common ground of the rhyming couplets (Category B) in *Li sao*[55] and the multirhymed descriptions (Category A) in *Zhao hun*.

As we mentioned in the end of the section "Eleven syllables," "the primitive poetic forms in Aryan speech were a dimeter of eight and a trimeter of eleven or twelve syllables." Both the Arabic and Chinese poetic traditions seem to have been developed from a similar pair of dimeter/trimeter, except that both traditions had applied rhyme to accompany such rhythms. Moreover, some universal divinatory functions are glued to the primitive Arabic and Chinese poetic forms. With this in mind, the apparent similarity of Xunzi's quatrisyllabic *Needle*[56] to al-Hamadhānī's dimeter *Comb* in both content and style is not surprising.

The lion

After the above introduction of the *rajaz* meter, we now turn to a discussion of poetic themes to be found in the *Maqāmāt*. Some of these themes are closely related to the *rajaz*, others may reveal the divinatory functions of our hero al-Iskandarī. Most importantly, the *saj'* part often echoes al-Hamadhānī's exploration of these poetic themes. Such theme-sharing leads to a semantically congruent prosimetric style of the *Maqāmāt*.

In this section (titled "The lion") we will introduce the poetic theme of hunting (*ṭardīyāt*). The Arabic sub-genre of hunt poetry, which initially constituted one theme in the pre-Islamic *qaṣīdah*, was later identified as "a separate category of topic-based poem during the Islamic period."[57] We arrange this section right after our general discussion of the *rajaz* meter because the majority of the full-fledged hunting poems are indeed *urjūzah*s.[58] For example, Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī (320-357/932-968), the cousin of Sayf al-Dawlah (d. 356/967), composed a hunting *muzdawij* of 137 lines.[59] Hunting poems often have a beginning that resembles the travel section (*raḥīl*)[60] of pre-Islamic *qaṣīdah*. Sometimes they simply start with *anʿatu kalban*,[61] the hunter's description of his faithful hound. Hunting animals, trained birds of prey, and their quarry are among the favorite subjects of Arabic hunt poetry, whose ecphrastic nature again suggests a kinship between *rajaz* and *sajʿ*.[62] As with the debate and riddle, the hunting theme has a flexible form which is clearly shown in two very interesting and elaborate *maqāmāt*, the *Lion* and the *Bishr*.

In the first episode of the former,[63] ʿĪsā ibn Hishām recounts how he and his traveling companions encountered and killed a lion. Al-Hamadhānī's *sajʿ* description of the lion, which is divided into three parts, is one of the most picturesque *waṣf*s in the *Maqāmāt*, but we also need to point out that it is very likely related to an anecdote located in *Kitāb al-maḥāsin waʾl-aḍdād* (Book of the Merits and the Opposites) which "was current in its present form during the first half of the 9th century A.D."[64]

Al-Hamadhānī first creates a very frightening atmosphere by depicting the horses that sense the lion's approach. As the company takes up arms,

*fa idhā ʾl-sabuʿu fī farwati ʾl-mawti qad ṭalaʿa min gh**ābih(i)** muntafikhan fī ih**ābih(i)** kāshiran ʿan any**ābih(i)** bi-ṭar**fin** qad muliʾa ṣala**fan** wa an**fin** qad ḥushiya ana**fan** wa ṣadrin lā yabruḥuhu ʾl-qal**b(u)** wa lā yaskunuhu ʾl-ruʿ**b(u)**.*

lo! There appeared a lion, in the garb of doom,[65] ascending from his lair, with inflated skin, showing his teeth, with an eye full of arrogance, a nose distended with pride, and a breast from which courage never departed and wherein terror never dwelt.[66]

This description gives a terrifying portrait of the lion, employing parallelism, end and internal rhymes, and juxtaposition of cognates (*anf* "nose" and *anaf* "pride"). Between this example and another one that illustrates men's fighting with the beast, al-Hamadhānī embeds a line to provide a snapshot of a youth who advances to meet the lion:

*akhḍaru ʾl-jildati fī bayti ʾl-ʿ**arab**
    yamlaʾu ʾl-dalwa ilā ʿaqdi ʾl-k**arab***

Tawny of skin of the family that comprises the nobility of the Arabs,
    Who fills his bucket full to the knot of the rope that ties the middle of the cross-bars.[67]

According to commentaries, the *bayt* is made of two separate half-lines by al-Faḍl ibn ʿAbbās al-Lahabī (al-Farazdaq's contemporary).[68] Such quotations of well-known verses, as well as basing the narrative on earlier work(s), are a means of easing the reception process for the audience. There is no need to provide here a lengthy description which would not only undermine the leading role of the lion, but also imply a much less vivid human-animal conflict than what we find in the third *sajʿ* description. The switch to

141

poetry serves to eliminate any monotony that could be caused by three continuous *sajʿ*-descriptions. At the end of the first episode, al-Hamadhānī also introduces a further line of poetry[69] when the company buries the dead friend after the bloody combat.

In the aforementioned example, the narrator does not give any hint of switching to and from the verse. In the *Maqāmāt*, this kind of a sudden switch to poetry often represents "an excess of emotions,"[70] and, as displayed in the example quoted above, aims at a fuller description of its object. These verses are not examples of direct speech introduced by the formulaic "*qāla*" or "*anshada*." They constitute a part of the narrative, but can often be deleted (except in two cases[71]) without negatively affecting the content. In this regard, they cannot be categorized as *taḍmīn* (enjambment), a stylistic feature that weaves verses into the syntax of the surrounding prose.[72] This technique of sudden switch clearly shows a functional similarity to *tamaththul* (quotation of a poetic parallel) which "is the preponderant mode of existence for poems in the *Arabian Nights*,"[73] except that poems in the *Nights* are often preceded by catchphrases such as *kamā qāla fīhi baʿḍu wāṣifīhi* (as one describer has said concerning it) and *kataba lisānu ḥālinā yaqūlu* (the voice of our situation recorded as follows).[74]

Al-Hamadhānī's archetype for the first episode, namely the anecdote in *Kitāb al-maḥāsin waʾl-aḍdād*, has a structure that recalls *Akhbār ʿUbayd*. It starts with the caliph ʿUthmān's request to the storyteller (an Arab Christian poet named Abū Zubayd al-Ṭāʾī): "I hear that you describe lions well,"[75] and ends with a poem depicting the lion

for the second time.[76] Whether we can regard this concluding *waṣf*-poem as an example

of *tamaththul* or the versification (*ʿaqd*) of the preceding *sajʿ*, it is clear that it functions

quite differently from the evidentiary verses (*shāhid*) that usually conclude an *ayyām* tale.

Taking into account the functional changes of poetry to be found in the *ayyām* accounts,

the pseudohistorical anecdote, and the *maqāmah*, we suggest that, if the anecdote in *Kitāb*

al-maḥāsin waʾl-aḍdād marks the first step[77] in the modification of an *ayyām* archetype,

then the *Maqāmah of the Lion* applies other narrative techniques in order to further that

transformation.[78] Hämeen-Anttila holds that the *Lion* is an early *maqāmah*, one of his

reasons being that "the spirit of the maqama is narrative but not (yet?) fully

picaresque."[79] The use of static poetry (as opposed to action poems) in the first episode

could confirm this narrative spirit and its connection with earlier Arabic prosimetra (both

ayyām accounts and anecdotes).

It is probably a coincidence that the other *maqāmah* which contains a description

of the lion is also a non-typical[80] piece—the *Bishr*.[81] As a matter of fact, the

aforementioned *Kitāb al-maḥāsin waʾl-aḍdād* provides many parallels to the *Maqāmah of*

Bishr as well.[82] The *Bishr* is a *mulḥah* ("witty tale, anecdote") appended to the 51

maqāmāt in the 1928 edition of al-Hamadhānī's *Rasāʾil*.[83] Although introduced by the

familiar opening phrase "ʿĪsā ibn Hishām related to us and said,"[84] this *maqāmah* is

recounted in the third person, and some of its plots have been compared by James

Monroe to the Arabic folk epic (sg. *sīrah*, pl. *siyar*).[85] The protagonist Bishr was a

pre-Islamic vagabond (*ṣuʿlūk*). He once married a beauty, but the latter advised him to propose to his cousin, the more beautiful Fāṭimah. After he has killed two terrible beasts (the lion Dādh and the serpent Shujāʿ), Bishr's proposal is accepted by his uncle. Soon he meets an anonymous youth who easily defeats him and goes on to tell him that he is his son by the woman introduced at the beginning of the story. Bishr then marries his cousin to his son and swears (*ḥalafa*) "never to ride a noble steed or wed a fair lady."[86]

An obvious feature of the *Maqāmah of Bishr* is the large amount of iambic-metered poetry that it contains. Except for the long *wāfir*-poem[87] on lion-hunting, the other six are all *urjūzah*s: three dialogues, a *tamaththul*, an action poem in monologue, and a proverb in monologue. In a word, the *Maqāmah of Bishr* seems like the script of a storyteller who can mimic the female voice in the dialogue, recite both *tamaththul* and proverb, and probably even sing the 24-line hunting poem after informing the audience that it was a letter to Fāṭimah written on Bishr's shirt in lion's blood.

This long *wāfir*-metered poem is a condensed version of the *Maqāmah of the Lion*'s first episode,[88] but, we might suggest, presents a lively picture of lion-hunting, blending poetic themes (sg. *gharaḍ*) such as *fakhr*, *waṣf*, and *rithāʾ* and simulating one dialogue between Bishr and the colt, and another between him and the lion. At the end of the poem for example, we read words of condolence to the dead lion:

> *fa lā tajzaʿ fa qad lāqayta ḥurran*
> *yuḥādhiru an yuʿāba fa mutta ḥurrā*

144

fa in taku qad qutilta fa laysa ʿāran
  *fa qad lāqayta dhā ṭarafayni ḥur**rā***

But grieve not, for thou didst meet an ingenuous one
  who is careful not to be blamed, therefore, thou hast died honourably.
For, if thou art slain, there is no disgrace,
  for thou didst meet one freeborn on both sides.[89]

With its heroic traits and compassion for animals, this poem follows the pre-Islamic *ṣuʿlūk* tradition[90] and is absolutely distinct from the courtly hunting poem of Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī. It has also been pointed out that al-Hamadhānī quotes lines from this poem, "using them metaphorically to describe his encounter with Abū Bakr" in his account of their debate.[91]

Indeed, the inclusion of the *Bishr* in the *Maqāmāt* serves to confirm the stylistic richness of al-Hamadhānī's prosimetric tales. The copious use of the *rajaz* meter and poetic dialogues may also show this *maqāmah*'s connection to the *ayyām* genre.[92] A recent study by Thomas Bauer has refuted that the hunting poetry "loses its importance as a genre and passes into relative obscurity" in the late 4th/10th century.[93] The *Maqāmah of Bishr* uses the iambic meters to interpret the hunting theme, very likely paying homage to the long-standing relationship between this theme and the speeches of the pre-Islamic *kāhin*s.

The wine song

The hunt, besides its relationship to food supply, royal authority, and military

training, had ritual significance for human societies. A ritual has a beginning and an end, and should follow certain steps to ensure its efficacy. In an Arabic hunting poem, the hunt is very likely to be followed by drinking and eating.[94] Therefore our next two sections are devoted to the other two enjoyments respectively. We will firstly explore the flexible forms of these two themes. Secondly, we will argue that the *Maqāmāt*'s inclusion of them once again betrays al-Hamadhānī's ideal of a polythematic structure.

After the revelation of the Qurʾān 5:90, drinking wine became taboo, implying that such practice "was current among all classes in pre-Islamic Arabia."[95] Even so, wine-drinking continued in Islamic times,[96] and was especially popular among the elites who were often uninterested in making their behavior conform to a strict interpretation of Islamic law. Poets such as al-Ḥārithah ibn Badr al-Ghudānī (d. 64/684) and Abū Nuwās openly disregarded the prohibition on the consumption of wine.[97] Interestingly, the descriptions of heavenly drinks in the Qurʾān (Q 76:5-6, 17-8; 83:25-8) seem to be echoed in some of the sensuous lines to be found in *khamrīyāt* (wine poetry), another free-standing subgenre of classical Arabic poetry.

Al-Hamadhānī is of course familiar with both pre-Islamic and Islamic Bacchic lines. In the *Maqāmah of Iblīs*, he forges a wine poem of 11 lines[98] in Abū Nuwās' name. The *Maqāmāt* also contain quite a few references to drinking parties,[99] as, for example, at the beginning of the *Maqāmah of Jāḥiẓ*:

wa qawmin qad akhadhū ʾl-waqta bayna āsin makhḍūd(in) wa wardin manḍūd(in), wa
dannin mafṣūd(in) wa nāyin wa ʿūd(in) fa ṣirnā ilayhim wa ṣārū ilaynā

…and we found ourselves among a company who were passing their time amid bunches
of myrtle twigs, and bouquets of roses, broached wine vats and the sound of the flute and
the lute. We approached them and they advanced to receive us.[100]

Although al-Hamadhānī's sketch is crafted in *sajʿ*, it resonates with the "not very detailed
references to wine-parties" that are "common in pre-Islamic poetry."[101] In the *Maqāmah
of Wine* (*al-Maqāmah al-Khamrīyah*), we find an excellent description of the color, taste,
and fragrance of the beverage:

khamrun ka-rīqī fī ʾl-ʿudhūbati waʾl-ladhādhati waʾl-ḥalāwah
tadharu ʾl-ḥalīma wa mā ʿalayhi li-ḥilmihi adnā ṭulāwah[102]
ka annamā ʾʿtaṣarahā min khaddī ajdādu jaddī wa sarbalūhā mina ʾl-qāri bi-mithli hajrī
wa ṣaddī wadīʿatu ʾl-duhūr(i) wa khabīʾatu jaybi ʾl-surūr(i) wa mā zālat tatawārathuhā
ʾl-akhyār(u) wa yaʾkhudhu minhā ʾl-laylu waʾl-nahār(u) ḥattā lam yabqa illā araj(un)
wa shuʿāʿ(un) wa wahaj(un) ladhdhāʿ(un) rayḥānatu ʾl-nafs(i) wa ḍarratu ʾl-shams(i)
fatātu ʾl-baraq(i) ʿajūzu ʾl-malaq(i) ka ʾl-lahabi fī ʾl-ʿurūq(i) wa ka bardi ʾl-nasīmi fī
ʾl-ḥulūq(i) miṣbāḥu ʾl-fikr(i) wa tiryāqu sammi ʾl-dahr(i) bi-mithlihā ʿuzziza ʾl-maytu fa
ʾntashara wa dūwiya ʾl-akmahu fa abṣara

Wine, in sweetness, deliciousness and pleasantness, like the dew of my mouth,
It leaves the clement one without the smallest quantity of the grace of his clemency.
It is as if my grandfather's ancestors had pressed it from my cheek and coated it with
pitch like unto my separation and aversion; the trust of the ages, the hidden thing in the
bosom of happiness. The righteous have not ceased to inherit it and the nights and the
days to take away from it, until nought remaineth save aroma, rays, and a pungent
flavour. It is the sweet basil of the soul, the fellow-spouse of the sun, the damsel of the
lightning, a coaxing old dame. It is like the heat in the veins and the coolness of the
gentle breeze in the throats, the illumination of thought and the antidote to the poison of
the sage. With the like of it the dead is strengthened and raised to life again, and the one
born blind is treated so that he sees.[103]

In this delightful description, the modern commentator Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd

147

al-Ḥamīd located sixteen references to poems that were composed either earlier or after al-Hamadhānī.[104] The images such as the rosy cheek, sweet basil (*rayḥān*), and the flame in the veins invite readers to make a direct association with famous Bacchic lines. Regarding the magical effects of wine, Abū Nuwās comments:

> Wine is called *mudām* ["perpetual"], so drink it perpetually;
> Take goblet after goblet: it will turn the old man into a boy.[105]

The last rhyming couplet of the quoted *sajʿ*-passage seems to be based on this declaration. Such an exaggeration also recalls a similar one to be found in the *Maqāmah of Poesie* when al-Iskandarī boasts that his speech can "cause the deaf to hear and draw down the white-footed goats from their mountain haunts (*yusmiʿu ʾl-ṣumm(a) wa yunzilu ʾl-ʿuṣm(a)*)."[106]

Before considering the functional link between wine and speech, we should observe that the quoted description may have been the lyrics of a song. As seen in the above-mentioned passage from the *Maqāmah of Jāḥiẓ*, "broached wine vats" are immediately followed by "the flute (*nāy*) and the lute (*ʿūd*)." A fourth century Chinese littérateur and official, who was also a famous toper, holds that the human voice is better than the sound of *si* 丝 (string instrument) or *zhu* 竹 (bamboo flute) for its closeness to nature.[107] In the *Maqāmah of Wine*, ʿĪsā ibn Hishām and his boon-companions are greeted by the proprietress of the tavern: "when her glances killed, her words made one alive again (*idhā qatalat alḥāẓuhā aḥyat alfāẓuhā*)." According to the narrative,[108] the

supposed lyrics are cited by the proprietress when ʿĪsā ibn Hishām inquires about the quality of her wine.[109] With her "glances and words," she surely qualifies as a singing girl (sg. *qaynah*, pl. *qiyān*[110]), whose countenance and voice have exactly the same magic of the wine. However when the description ends, the company asks: "By thy father, this is the stray! And who is the minstrel (*muṭrib*) at thy court?"[111] It is at that moment that the vintner introduces al-Iskandarī to them.

Our previous discussion of al-Iskandarī's staff has put him in parallel with the Greek *aoidos* and the Chinese blind singer (*gu*).[112] In the recognition scene of the *Maqāmah of Damascus* (*al-Maqāmah al-Dimashqīyah*) by al-Ḥarīrī, the rogue hero Abū Zayd is not merely seen in a tavern plucking the lute,[113] but also singing a strophic *musammaṭ* poem in the *mutaqārib* meter.[114] The rhyming scheme (*aaab cccb…*) of the *musammaṭ*[115] is similar to that of the tail-rhyme used in the *Sir Thopas*. Just as Chaucer imitates and parodies the meter and rhyme of medieval popular romances in the *Sir Thopas*,[116] al-Ḥarīrī may use these stanzas to reproduce the singing of a *muṭrib*.

The word *muṭrib* can mean both musician and singer.[117] The quoted description in the *Maqāmah of Wine* may be performed by the female vintner to the musical accompaniment of al-Iskandarī. It seems more possible to us that, once the vintner has chanted the two lines of poetry, it is al-Iskandarī who finishes the rest of the song, thus betraying his trademark eloquence.

The female vintner introduces al-Iskandarī as an old man whom she has met in the

149

monastery (*dayr*) of Mirbad on Sunday.[118] Moreh has drawn our attention to the semi-theatrical character of the *Shaʿānīn* feast (Palm Sunday) and the debate-like Syriac dialogue poems in Oriental churches.[119] As ancient Greek drama is thought to be derived from the cult of Dionysus, it is natural that monasteries, where the production and consumption of wine were allowed, are connected with quasi-theatrical performances in the Muslim world.

There is much evidence to indicate that wine serves as inspiration for eloquent speech. The Chinese poet Li Bo is said to have composed a hundred poems after drinking a *dou* 斗[120] of wine. Chaucer's Pardoner wishes to recount the tale while drinking ale (*CT*, VI, *ll*. 327-328).[121] In al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmah of Damascus*, Abū Zayd chants his song in the tavern of ʿĀnah.[122] Likewise, this song of al-Iskandarī is made for wine and by wine. Since drink is said to be able to revive the dead and cure blindness, the eloquence displayed in an inspired composition can surely make the deaf hear again. It is in the *Maqāmah of Wine* that elements like poetry, *sajʿ*, song, voice, and music are united together under the theme of wine.

In the eyes of ʿĪsā ibn Hishām, al-Iskandarī's profession of singer is no less despicable than that of barber.[123] It is known that names of famous singers, jesters, court companions, historians, and genealogists are all listed in the third chapter of Ibn al-Nadīm's famous *Fihrist*.[124] We recall here the previous mention of the historian Sima Qian's complaint of being kept as one of the *chang you* 倡優 (singers and actors) by

Emperor Wu.[125] The ability to sing and play musical instruments was extolled and regarded as one prominent feature of the biblical prophets.[126] Chinese blind singers who recited poems and imperial genealogies were inseparable from the process of carrying out certain Zhou rituals. Unfortunately, as its masters became employed entertainers rather than leaders or admonishers of ancient communities, music gradually lost its divine connotations.[127] In the eyes of ʿĪsā ibn Hishām, al-Iskandarī is able to maintain a balance, criticizing drinking in the daytime[128] while praising wine at night. In this regard, he sounds more eccentric than Abū Nuwās who "begs his companion, 'Sing to me, Sulayman, and give me wine to drink; serve me a goblet to distract me from the muezzin's call'."[129] In response to his criticism, al-Iskandarī explains:

> *sāʿatan alzamu miḥrāban wa ukhrā bayta ḥānī*
> *wa kādhā yafʿalu man yaʿqilu fī hādhā ʾl-zamānī*

> At one time I cleave to the prayer niche, at another to the location of the wine-shop.
> And thus acts whoever is wise in this time.[130]

With music and wine our frustrated hero is able to find some temporary peace of mind, forgetting "the holding back of subsistence from men of his ilk."[131] It is possible that, as long as religious teachings and wine songs can stir emotions among people and earn coins for their performers, they do not differ much in the eyes of al-Iskandarī. It is also possible that they were originally united under a somewhat primitive form of religious drama, and our rogue hero is one of the inheritors of the tradition.

Guest and host

This section will focus on the dialogic form of the food theme found in the *Maqāmāt*. In his *Of Dishes and Discourse*, Geert Jan van Gelder argues for the existence of Arabic gastronomic poetry as a minor poetic genre.[132] Among his quotations, there is Kushājim's *waṣf* of the *jūdhābah*-sweet and Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī's (d. 224/839) *muzdawij*-recipe for *narjisīyah* ("narcissus dish").[133] The ability to describe food or even cook dainties[134] could be one of the signs of the inheritors of pre-Islamic *kāhin*s. In a previous note to Shu Xi's *Bing fu* (Fu on Pastries),[135] we briefly touched on the theme of food in some *maqāmāt*. Browsing through al-Hamadhānī's verbal descriptions of food (either in *sajʿ* or poetry), we find that they are usually cast in an unbalanced dialogue between a loquacious addresser and one or more silent addressees. Although these descriptions can nourish the imagination in the same way as stilllife paintings do,[136] they are at the same time able to provoke the internal audience and create humorous narrative effects in the *maqāmāt* in question.

In the *Maqāmah of Sāsān*, for example, al-Iskandarī chants "a litany of *urīdu* ("I want") sentences concerning different foodstuffs,"[137] which is known to have been borrowed by al-Hamadhānī from an earlier source:

> *urīdu minka raghīfā*
> *yaʿlū khuwānan naẓīfā*
> *urīdu milḥan jarīshān*
> *urīdu baqlan qaṭīfā*

urīdu laḥman gharīḍan
  urīdu khallan thaqīfā
urīdu jadyan raḍīʿan
  urīdu sakhlan kharūfā
urīdu māʾan bi-thaljin
  yaghshā ināʾan ṭarīfā
urīdu danna mudāmin
  aqūmu ʿanhu nazīfā….
yā ḥabbadhā anā ḍayfan
  lakum wa anta muḍīfā
raḍītu minka bi hādhā
  wa lam urid an aḥīfā

I desire from thee a white cake upon a clean table.
I desire coarse salt, I want plucked greens.
I desire fresh meat, I want some sour vinegar.
I desire a sucking kid, I want a young ram.
I desire water with ice, filled in a rare vessel.
I desire a vat of wine from which I may get up drunk….
O what an excellent guest am I! and what a charming host art thou!
I will be content with this from thee, and I do not wish to impose.[138]

The meter of the poem is *mujtathth* whose "swinging lilt"[139] is considered appropriate

for the enumeration of names of food and other pleasures. Hearing it, ʿĪsā ibn Hishām

gives al-Iskandarī a silver coin and promises to entertain him with all the enjoyments that

he requests. Because its penultimate verse reads *yā ḥabbadhā anā ḍayfan / lakum wa*

anta muḍīfan (O what an excellent guest am I! and what a charming host art thou!),

Hämeen-Anttila considers that the possibility of the adoption of a preexisting poem does

not quite fit the plot of this *maqāmah*.[140] However, when greeted by the Banū Sāsān, ʿĪsā

ibn Hishām is described as being at the door of his house (*ʿalā bāb dārī*).[141] On other

occasions, he has displayed the appropriate manners of hosts in front of poor and hungry

153

strangers.[142] In ancient Indian literature, the usual behavior in the reception of guests includes preparing water, Madhuparka (mainly composed of honey and curd), and even a cow.[143] Demanding guests such as the itinerant priest (*prātaritvan*) are frequently mentioned.[144] In al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmah*, ʿĪsā's response to the *urīdu*-requests provides a strong parallel to the good-tempered Indian host who tries to satisfy his guests with a series of *dadāni* (I give).[145]

This poem in the *Maqāmah of Sāsān* praises the Bedouin virtue of hospitality. Narrated again in the *Maqāmah of the Famine*, it constitutes a part of a *sajʿ*-description that is used to satirize a stingy host. If the poem comes from an earlier source, then its appearance in both *maqāmāt* serves as good examples of *ikhfāʾ al-sarq* (concealing theft), a concept elaborated by al-Hamadhānī's contemporary, Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī.[146]

The *Maqāmah of the Famine* takes place "in Baghdad in a famine year,"[147] when ʿĪsā ibn Hishām comes across "a youth with a lisp in his tongue and a space between his front teeth (*fatan dhū luthghatin bi-lisānih(i) wa falajin bi-asnānih(i)*)."[148] The very same front teeth (*thanāyāhu*)[149] appear at the conclusion of the *Maqāmah of Poesie*: when ʿĪsā ibn Hishām recognizes the rogue-hero by this particular mark, the former pronounces a Qurʾānic verse (Q 26:18):

a lam nurabbika fīnā walīdan wa labithta fīnā min ʿumrika sinīna?

Did we not rear thee as a child and didst thou not pass years of thy life with us?[150]

Since in the Qurʾān the question is directed to Moses by the Pharaoh, al-Hamadhānī may deliberately intend that his hero should be taken as the prophet in both *maqāmāt*. The youth in the *Maqāmah of the Famine* greets ʿĪsā with the words: "What is thy affair (*mā khaṭbuka*)," which is the exact text of Moses's question to the pseudo-prophet Sāmirī (Q 20:95). The "lisp in his tongue" also echoes Moses's speech impediment: in the same *sūrah* (Q 20:27), Moses prays to Allāh to remove the block from his tongue.

This mirror image of the youth and Moses is interesting. In the following text from the *Maqāmah of the Famine*, the youth fabricates a tripartite description of a banquet in front of the extremely hungry ʿĪsā:

> *fa mā taqūlu fī raghīf(in) ʿalā khuwānin naẓīf(in) wa baqlin qaṭīf(in) ilā khallin thaqīf(in) wa lawnin laṭīf(in) ilā khardalin ḥirrīf(in) wa shiwāʾin ṣafīf(in) ilā milḥin khafīf(in)….adhāka aḥabbu ilayka am awsāṭun maḥshūwa(tun) wa akwābun mamlūʾa(tun) wa anqālun muʿaddada(tun) wa furushun munaḍḍada(tun) wa anhārun mujawwada(tun) wa muṭribun mujīd(un) lahu mina ʾl-ghazāli ʿaynun wajīd(un) fa in lam turid hādhā wa lā dhāka fa mā qawluka fī laḥmin ṭarīy(in) wa samakin nahrīy(in) wa bādhinjānin maqlīy(in) wa rāḥin quṭrubbulīy(in) wa tuffāḥin jannīy(in) wa maḍjaʿin waṭīy(in) ʿalā makānin ʿalīy(in) ḥidhāʾa nahrin jarrār(in) wa ḥawḍin tharthār(in) wa jannatin dhāti anhār(in).*

> What sayest thou to a white cake on a clean table, picked herbs with very sour vinegar, fine date-wine with pungent mustard, roast meat ranged on a skewer with a little salt….Is that preferable to thee, or a large company, full cups, variety of dessert, spread carpets, brilliant lights, and a skilful minstrel with the eye and neck of a gazelle? If thou desirest neither this nor that, what is thy verdict regarding fresh meat, river fish, fried brinjal, the wine of Quṭrubbul, picked apples, a soft bed on a lofty place, opposite a rapid river, a gushing fountain, and a garden with streams in it?[151]

This banquet, which sounds much more resplendent than that one depicted in the

Maqāmah of Jāḥiẓ, is yet another location where a charming *muṭrib* appears. The youth's description is structured as a crescendo, starting with the prosified (*ḥall*, "dissolved") verses in the *Maqāmah of Sāsān* and rising through a climactic simile to the heavenly banquet. Spread carpets, full cups, a soft bed in a lofty mansion, these are well-known images associated with the Qurʾānic heaven. The addresser's identity as a youth (*fatan/ghulām*) also leaves a hint of his similarity to the immortal servants in the Garden of Paradise (Q 76:19).

When the youth has completed his description, ʿĪsā ibn Hishām exclaims: "I am the slave of all three (*anā ʿabd al-thalāthah*)!"[152] At this point, the audience must have understood that the enjoyments offered by his host are too lofty to be real: al-Iskandarī not merely looks like the prophet Moses, but also fascinates ʿĪsā with many Qurʾānic references. He is indeed a heavenly servant who nourishes ʿĪsā with his eloquence, something that can both revive desire and "grip their palate."[153]

The structure of the *Maqāmah of the Famine* is reflected in the one entitled *Fresh Butter*, which consists of a tripartite dialogue between a Bedouin host and his "guests who have tasted nothing for three nights."[154] Unlike the usually very hospitable Bedouin, the host coughs (*tanaḥnaḥa*)[155] and starts describing his extremely luxurious dates, bread, and roasted kid. This *maqāmah* "is remarkable for recondite words and technical terms"[156] and its description somewhat resembles the provision of recipes. There is a very similar Bedouin discussion of food recorded in the *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Book of Songs)

156

by Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (284-356/897-967).[157] Al-Hamadhānī may have adapted the anecdote, which "is not adorned with the *sajʿ*, assonances and parallelisms so often found in sayings ascribed to the ancient Bedouins."[158] He also divided it into parts and used it as another interesting piece of mockery aimed at both stingy hosts and ignorant guests who should have noticed the cough in the very outset.

The other *maqāmah* named for food, the *Maqāmah of the Maḍīrah* (*al-Maqāmah al-Maḍīrīyah*), follows the same narrative configuration.[159] We are told that a certain Baghdad merchant invites al-Iskandarī to a *maḍīrah*-lunch.[160] Once their host-guest relationship has been established, the merchant bores al-Iskandarī with his never-ending boasts about his house, wife, table, basin, slave, or even lavatory.[161] If the *Maqāmah of the Famine* is marked by its Qurʾānic associations and the *Maqāmah of Fresh Butter* by the typical Bedouin eloquence, then the *Maqāmah of the Maḍīrah* can be read as one about mores, for its discussion of middle-class values, together with its satirical touch, closely resembles Petronius's (d. 66 C.E.) *Cena Trimalchionis*.[162]

The loquacious merchant makes the *Maḍīrah* the longest Hamadhānian *maqāmah* in ʿAbduh's edition. Its employment of exhaustive *sajʿ*, dialogic form, and the covering of themes beyond that of food (although it remains the most significant one) also suggest a similarity to Mei Cheng's *Seven Stimuli*.[163] Mei Cheng's development of the food theme, as one of the seven enjoyments, was aimed at curing an overindulged prince. The *Seven Stimuli* can be traced back to the *Zhao hun* and the *Da zhao* (The Great

Summons),[164] where a display of food names was used by Chu shamans to lure back departed souls. The food described in the highly idealized Chu homeland is comparable to that in the Qurʾānic Garden. In both the Chinese and Arabic traditions, these images about food became immortal by means of people's recollection of the theme's religious functions. When heavenly pleasures were secularized and enjoyed by rulers, aristocrats, and even merchants, they still seem to have inspired rhymed compositions for different purposes. For example, the poet Ibn al-Rūmī's (221-283/836-896) panegyric of his hosts is introduced by ten verses describing delicacies.[165]

It has been the aim of this short survey of the *maqāmah*'s resort to the food theme to illustrate al-Hamadhānī's talent in switching from poetry to *sajʿ*, and creating different versions of almost identical subjects. Readers may also have become aware of "the charm of an already ongoing game with known rules and still unknown surprises."[166] The dialogic form, as we will elaborate in the next chapter, is connected with debate and plays an important role in the existence of envoi in the *Maqāmāt*.

Grey hairs

This section deals with the poetic theme of asceticism in the *Maqāmāt* and its importance to the characterization of the beggar al-Iskandarī. Up to this point, we have discussed the themes of hunting, wine-drinking, music, food, and their contributions to the prosimetric style of the *Maqāmāt*. As important sub-genres of classical Arabic poetry,

they echo al-Iskandarī's divinatory functions and can easily be cast into rhymed prose. In the section "The *rājiz*," we talked about the kinship between *sajʿ* and *rajaz*, and suggested the *rajaz* meter's parenthood of the monorhymed distich, the rhyming couplet, and the strophe. Therefore al-Hamadhānī's resort to the *rajaz* meter and his development of relevant poetic themes agree with the *Maqāmāt*'s *sajʿ* part that has, in Chapter II, revealed many traces of al-Iskandarī's inheritance from pre-Islamic soothsayers. We also noted several times the functional similarities between the *maqāmah* and *qaṣīdah*. Al-Hamadhānī very likely focuses on a single theme in one *maqāmah*. However a group of *maqāmāt* could collectively provide the kind of entertainment that the audiences were known to find in a polythematic *qaṣīdah*.

In Chapter II, we emphasized the role played by the admonisher in genres of rhymed speech. Therefore we include here a section on the poetic theme of asceticism which best reflects al-Iskandarī's admonishing function. It is known that one of al-Iskandarī's favorite disguises is as a popular preacher (*wāʿiẓ*). He has a loud voice that manages to weaken his chest and produce feebleness in his spine (as in the *Maqāmah of the Date*). For al-Hamadhānī this is a characteristic shared with loud-voiced poets (*al-jahīr al-kalām*) such as Dhū al-Rummah (in the *Maqāmah of Ghaylan*). Similar to the Indian *prātaritvan*s who are both strangers and priests,[167] al-Iskandarī has made many profitable journeys by peddling clerical services. In the *Maqāmah of Adharbayjān*, we find him deliver a benediction-like prayer to Allāh[168] before soliciting aid in the face of

exile. In the *Maqāmah of Isfahan*, he recounts the *oraculum* in order to sell slips of prayer.[169] He appears with a naked boy in the *Maqāmah of Bukhārā*; while he is giving a sermon on the dangers of heedlessness, the boy chants a panegyric that begins with a description of the ring donated by ʿĪsā ibn Hishām.

It is during the period of political turbulence in the 4th/10th century that al-Hamadhānī composed many *maqāmāt* on the combined theme of beggary/asceticism. According to Jonathan Berkey's study, many popular preachers and storytellers in Mamluk Egypt and Syria were peripatetics. There are two themes popular with them and their "always new and different"[170] audiences: the first is "poverty (*al-faqr*) and a renunciation of worldly goods and powers," and the second involves "death, judgment, and salvation."[171] Bearing in mind al-Iskandarī's other lucrative divinatory skills, we may class him as a practitioner of popular religiosity in medieval Islam. Chaucer's Pardoner, who may represent the English popular preacher of the 14th century, has a routine very similar to that of al-Iskandarī: he delivers speeches as loudly as a bell, shows off fake relics in glasses, sells nostrums to farmers and herders, and preaches many a moral tale.[172]

However in the *Maqāmah of the Exhortation* (*al-Maqāmah al-Waʿẓīyah*), the one that is named precisely for preaching (*waʿẓ*), al-Iskandarī is not seeking coins. Furthermore, the anonymous bier-bearer in the *Maqāmah of Ahwaz* (*al-Maqāmah al-Ahwāzīyah*) delivers a long sermon on mortality in front of ʿĪsā and his

boon-companions and then declares that he has no need of "the goods of this world."[173]

This "non-profit" piety on the part of the bier-bearer leads ʿAbduh to doubt his

connection with al-Iskandarī.[174] However, even if most Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* have

warned us not to take his ornate speeches too seriously, we can be sure that this is indeed

our chameleon-like hero (or at least his double).

When a frustrated hero becomes too pessimistic, he may resort to both the wine

poetry (*khamrīyāt*) and ascetic poetry (*zuhdīyāt*).[175] The Abbasid poet Abū al-ʿAtāhiyah

(130-212/748-828), whose 320-verse *urjūzah muzdawijah* is regarded as "a forerunner of

the didactic poem in Arabic,"[176] had composed many libertine verses (love-songs and

drinking-songs) in his early years.[177] Abū Zayd's "sincere repentance" and "pure and

unremitting devotion"[178] at the end of the Ḥarīrian *Maqāmāt* suggests that at some point

the picaresque hero would need to contemplate such a retirement. After all, there are

enemies that nobody can overcome. In the Chinese tradition Dongfang Shuo stopped

being a comedian just before he died. He admonished Emperor Wu, providing the latter

with serious suggestions.[179] In al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmah of Ahwaz* the menace of death

is, no doubt, represented in the image of bier; and the bearer's voice invites two allusions

to the Resurrection.[180] The other public enemy is old age. In the introduction to the

Maqāmah of Kūfah, the narrator ʿĪsā ibn Hishām recounts how he prepares for the *ḥajj*

"when the day brightened my night (when my hair turned grey)."[181]

The *Maqāmah of the Exhortation* consists of two sermons.[182] The first one is in

161

sajʿ and full of Qurʾānic evocations. The second contains nine *ṭawīl*-metered fragments which "are separated by short comments in prose."[183] After al-Iskandarī finishes the sermons, ʿĪsā ibn Hishām at first fails to recognize him for the latter's hoariness (*shayb*). Then his old companion chants the envoi in the *mutaqārib*-meter:

> *nadhīrun wa lākinnahu sākitū*
> > *wa ḍayfun wa lākinnahu shāmitū*
> *wa ishkhāṣu mawtin wa lākinnahu*
> > *ilā an ushayyiʿahu thābitū*

> A warner, but a silent one,
> > And a guest, but a gloating one,
> The messenger of death, but
> > Verily he will stay on till I accompany him.[184]

In the first sermon of the *Maqāmah of the Exhortation*, al-Iskandarī urges the audience not to cling to the impermanent world, but to make ready for the hereafter. This conventional *zuhd*-theme is enhanced in the second homily, where the hero restates that Death has destroyed many great nations and kings. The mention of grey hair in the envoi "underlines the burden of his sermon"[185] and also demands another reading of al-Iskandarī's double in the *Maqāmah of Ahwaz*. If grey hair is indeed the silent warner, the man with a staff in his right hand and a bier on his shoulder seems to be a loud and clear admonisher sent by Death himself.

Grey hairs are related to ascetic poetry in other traditions as well. In one of the *Jātaka* stories,[186] the sight of a single grey hair fills a righteous and mighty king named

Makhādeva with deep emotion. He not only gives up the throne, but decides to follow the ascetic's path ever after. When his ministers inquire as to the reason for his renunciation of the throne, the king holds the grey hair and recites a *śloka*:

> *Uttamaṁgaruhā mayhaṁ ime jātā vayoharā*
> *pātubhūtā devadūtā, pabbajjāsamayo mamā 'ti.*

> Lo, these grey hairs that on my head appear
>   Are Death's own messengers that come to rob
> My life. 'Tis time I turned from worldly things,
>   And in the hermit's path sought saving peace.[187]

It is noteworthy that this *Makhādeva-Jātaka* is dubbed *Devadūta-Jātaka*,[188] the *devadūta* (pl. *devadūtā*), or Yama's messenger,[189] being the Pali counterpart of the Arabic *ishkhāṣ mawt* that appears in the *Maqāmah of the Exhortation*.[190] Although the Pali poem is in *śloka* (4*8 syllables) and the Arabic one in *mutaqārib* (4*11 syllables), both of them are concise but resolute statements of the need for renunciation evoked by grey hair.

Andras Hamori informs us that the image of grey hair was used as early as in Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAbd al-Quddūs's (d. 167/783) *Naṣīḥah* (sincere advice), a long poem that blends "*zuhd* with maxims of general piety and practical wisdom,"[191] in which the poet "conventionally spurned by a lady on account of his grey hair, resolves that it is time to give up the world."[192] Similarly in the *Makhādeva-Jātaka*, the king is informed by his barber of the existence of a grey hair. The Arabic ascetic poetry "is most profoundly rooted in the Qurʾān," but it also has many precursors in pre-Islamic times. The verse of

the Arab Christian poet ʿAdī ibn Zayd (d. *c.* 600 C.E.), for example, recalls "the rhetorical tradition of the homilies of the Eastern Church."[193] The strategic location of Arabia and the vast territories of the Islamic empires contribute to Arabic literature's role as a melting pot for many ideas, themes, and styles. Ascetic poetry, as an Arab preacher's stock in trade, surely welcomes cross-cultural transfer. This may account for the comparison of grey hair with the death's messenger to be found in both the *Maqāmah of the Exhortation* and the *Makhādeva-Jātaka*.

In C. B. Cowell's preface to the edition of the *Jātaka* stories he mentions that:

> Some of the birth-stories are evidently Buddhistic and entirely depend for their point on some custom or idea peculiar to Buddhism; but many are pieces of folk-lore which have floated about the world for ages as the stray waifs of literature and are liable everywhere to be appropriated by any casual claimant.[194]

We should add that the vast hoard of *Jātaka* stories resulted from the Buddhistic absorption of pre-existing motifs and themes. It is probably not mere coincidence that a *jātaka* story is a model for Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*.[195] The *exemplum* of the popular preacher seems to be a ready vehicle for interesting, wildly imagined, or even blasphemous stories. This may partly explain why the "two important figures in the early history of the *zuhdiyyah*—Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Quddūs and Abū ʾl-ʿAtāhiyah—were suspected of tainted religious beliefs."[196] When people adopt universal themes, such as the *ubi sunt* motif, the image of grey hair, and *Radix malorum est Cupiditas*,[197] it becomes more likely that foreign notions, representative beliefs of other religions, or

164

even a particular prosimetric style may make their way into their compositions, generating thereby something that is distinctive from their own literary tradition. Therefore the next chapter will discuss, in the context of Chinese Buddhist preaching, the prose-poetry sequence to be found in the second sermon of the *Exhortation*.

For now, we would like to draw attention to al-Iskandarī's comment on knowledge (*ʿilm*) and scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) inserted between the first and second sermons. At first sight, this passage does not seem to follow the *zuhd*-motif:

> *a lā wa inna ʾl-ʿilma aḥsanu ʿalā ʿillātih(i) waʾl-jahla aqbaḥu ʿalā ḥālātih(i) wa innakum ashqā man aẓallathu ʾl-samāʾ(u) in shaqiya bikumu ʾl-ʿulamāʾ(u)….waʾl-nāsu rajulāni ʿālimun yarʿā wa mutaʿallimun yasʿā waʾl-bāqūna hāmilu naʿām(in) wa rātiʿu anʿām(in) waylu ʿālin umira min sāfilih(i) wa ʿālimi shayʾin min jāhilih(i)*

> Verily knowledge, whatever its failings, is good, and ignorance is bad under all conditions. Ye are surely the most wretched overshadowed by the heavens if, through you, the learned are in distress….Men are divided into two classes, the observant scholar and the striving student, as for the rest, they are abandoned ostriches and beasts pasturing at pleasure. Woe to him of high degree commanded by one beneath him, and woe to the knower of something who is ruled by one ignorant of it![198]

The last sentence bears a strong resemblance to the frustration verse or rhymed prose mentioned in Chapter II. Why does al-Hamadhānī allow the hoary preacher to insert such a warning or complaint? Although al-Hamadhānī was belittled for his *maqāmāt* on beggary, he had in fact equipped his hero with extremely erudite speeches and allowed him to express many emotions characteristic of littérateurs. Al-Iskandarī's frustration is often heard in the envois to the *maqāmāt*. His "ravings" (*hadhayān*)[199] are invoked to

poke fun at the Muʿtazilīs in the Būyid court. There is even a direct satire on a hypocrite judge in the *Maqāmah of Nishapur*.[200] For al-Hamadhānī many religious leaders are neither knowers (*ʿālim*) nor models. The voice of the author stands out in the *Maqāmah of the Exhortation*, even though it is sandwiched between the homilies of a possibly sincere preacher. It would seem that this is the message that al-Hamadhānī really wants us to hear and thereby to be duly admonished.

Conclusion

Al-Hamadhānī's collection of *Maqāmāt* is comprehensive in its inclusion of many pre-existing themes and styles, which are naturally grouped together through the creation of the character of Abū al-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī. Al-Hamadhānī deliberately selects rhymed utterances that would be most characteristic of his rogue hero. The functions that al-Iskandarī inherits from the pre-Islamic soothsayers play an important role in the crafting of the prosimetric style.

In this chapter we first suggested the need for a deeper understanding of the *rajaz* meter which appears fourteen times in the *Maqāmāt*. Since *sajʿ* and *rajaz* can be traced back to a common point of origin, it is much easier to understand why they should both serve as vehicles for common themes such as riddles, debates, hunting, and food. Frolov holds that Arabic verse was developed "from *sajʿ* via *rajaz* to *Qaṣīd*."[201] The peculiar flexibility of trimeter- and dimeter-*rajaz* measures indicates that the *rajaz* may well have

been one of the ancestors of the system of meters that was to be codified by al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad. When *urjūzah*s (*rajaz* poems) become longer, multirhymed varieties also appeared. Thus we have suggested that the monorhymed distich (*qaṣīdah*), the rhyming couplet (*muzdawij*), and the strophe (*musammaṭ*, *muwashshaḥ*, and *zajal*) are all connected to each other, and thus the successor of the pre-Islamic soothsayers would surely be able to use these various poetic forms in his speeches.

Secondly the collection of *Maqāmāt* enhances the ancient belief that the linguistic charms of both *sajʿ* and *rajaz* are empowered by supernatural inspiration. During the initial phases of many a literary tradition, poets (e.g., Homer, Hesiod, Ezekiel, and Qu Yuan) are shown to have shared the faculties of prophets. The Prophet Muḥammad is known to have disliked being called a poet or a *kāhin*. The linkage of poetry and prophecy seems to have continued in Islamic times, even when poets concentrated on their role as panegyrists and their *urjūzah*s and *qaṣīdah*s were compensated with silver and gold. At least in popular circles, the power of their eloquence was venerated, as can be seen in the early life of al-Mutanabbī, the poet whose nickname means "the pseudo-prophet."[202] For al-Hamadhānī, masters of poetry can be of any age and any walk of life. A young Bedouin is able to recite poems that do not "accord with his powers of improvisation."[203] This also accounts for ʿĪsā ibn Hishām's admiration for al-Iskandarī's poetry in despite of his frequently despicable circumstsances.

Thirdly, the discussion of al-Iskandarī's role as singer and preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) in the

Maqāmāt serves to emphasize his function as admonisher. The verses, whether they involve religious teachings or wine songs, do not differ all that much in the eyes of our frustrated hero. Even so, we should avoid simply categorizing him as a hypocritical practitioner of popular religiosity. Intead the comment on knowledge and scholars inserted into the *Maqāmah of the Exhortation* may give us a better idea of al-Hamadhānī's motivations in creating such a character. Al-Iskandarī is to be construed as the tongue for other inheritors of the pre-Islamic *kāhin*s: performers of *ayyām* narratives, *ḥākī*s, anecdote composers, etc. Al-Hamadhānī himself is also a frustrated admonisher of society; from time to time his voice can be heard in the envois. Although these envois may remind us of Yang Xiong's sardonic remark that ornate *fu*s encourage a hundred times but criticize by indirection only once,[204] they are indeed the pinpricks that al-Hamadhānī used to stimulate his audience and reveal his social commitment almost a thousand years earlier than the Arab writers of the *iltizām* (commitment) movement in the mid-20th century.

Since many a prosimetrum has such an envoi section, in the next chapter we will begin our survey of the *Maqāmāt*'s concluding poem, to see whether it functions similarly to the *luan* in the Chinese *fu*, or to the *śloka*-maxim in the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra*, or perhaps to some other literary equivalent.

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[1] The twelve meters are: *ṭawīl* (30 poetic segments), *rajaz* (14), *kāmil* (13), *mujtathth* (12), *basīṭ* (11), *wāfir* (10), *ramal* (9), *mutaqārib* (9), *khafīf* (5), *hazaj* (2), *sarīʿ* (2), and *munsariḥ* (1). For Wright, the *rajaz*, *sarīʿ*, *kāmil*, and *wāfir* meters are four iambic Khalīlian meters. See C. P. Caspari, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, trans. and ed. W. Wright (London: Williams and Norgate, 1859-62), 2: 262-64. As we will argue in the section "The *mujtathth* meter" in Chapter

IV, the *mujtathth* and *khafīf* meters are also related to the *rajaz*.

[2] See chap. 2, n. 149.

[3] According to the unexpurgated version contained in the margins of the 1928 *Rasāʾil*, six out of fifty-two *maqāmāt* are devoid of poetry. They are the *Sijistan*, *Maḍīrah* (*al-Maqāmah al-Maḍīrīyah*), *Fresh Butter*, *Advice*, *Ṣaymarah*, and *Dinar* (*al-Maqāmah al-Dīnārīyah*) *maqāmāt*. The rest forty-six *maqāmāt* share the 119 poems. One of the *maqāmāt* on literary criticism, the *Maqāmah of Iraq*, has most poems (19 pieces). The longest poem (24 lines) appears in the *Maqāmah of Bishr*.

[4] See the section "The outer form" in Chapter I.

[5] Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres," 270. The suddenness lies in the fact that the narrator does not give any hint of switching (e.g., without *qāla* or *anshada*) to and from such verses.

[6] Etymologically speaking, *rajaz* is connected with a certain camel disease which causes "a convulsive motion in the hind leg or the thighs." See Edward William Lane and Stanley Lane-Poole, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1863-93), Book I, pt.3, 1036-37 (quotation from 1036). "In that case, there might be an allusion to the iambic, monotonous and pounding rhythm of these poems." See Ullmann et al., "Raḏjaz."

[7] See the sections "Prose and poetry" in the Introduction and "Divinatory functions" in Chapter II.

[8] See Ullmann et al., "Raḏjaz." For a discussion of the relation of *rajaz* to *shiʿr*, see Frolov, "The Place of *Rajaz*," esp. 258-61.

[9] "The word iambos is held by some to have meant originally 'derision', with particular reference to the public skits and scurrilous songs which formed part of the feasts of Demeter and Dionysus." See J. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (New York: Roy Publishers, 1950), 68.

[10] Ullmann et al., "Raḏjaz."

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid. Also see ʾEbû Naṣr ʾÎsmâʾîl b. Ḥammâd el-Cevherî (al-Jawharī), *Kitâbuʾl-ḳavâfî* (*Kitāb al-qawāfī*), ed. Kenan Demirayak (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi yayını, 1995), 1.

[13] We have mentioned the two riddles of the *Maqāmah of the Spindle* in Chapter II. A detailed discussion of the dimeter-*rajaz* riddle is to be found in the next section.

[14] The trimeter distich appears only once in the *Maqāmah of Baṣrah* (*al-Maqāmah al-Baṣrīyah*).

[15] Ullmann et al., "Raḏjaz."

[16] ʿAbduh, 79; Prendergast, 74.

[17] See the section "The staff" in Chapter II.

[18] ʿAbduh, 87; Prendergast, 79 (with minor change).

[19] See Caspari and Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 2: 262-63. Also see n. 1 above.

[20] Dmitry Frolov repeatedly mentions the similarity of *rajaz* and *sarīʿ*, see Frolov, "The Place of *Rajaz*," esp. 274-78.

[21] See the section "The *chengxiang*" in Chapter II.

[22] Humbach, *Gāthās*, 1:4-5, 151-86. The "hendekasyllabic verse" of Pahlavi poetry also draws the attention of Gustave E. von Grunebaum who considers it "the precursor of the (Arabic and Persian) *mutaqârib*." See Von Grunebaum, "On the Origin and Early Development of Arabic *Muzdawij* Poetry," in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 3, No. 1 (1944):9-13 (quotation from 13). "The term 'Pahlavi' denotes the Middle Persian language derived from Old Persian, the language of the province of Persis (today Fārs) in southwestern Iran. It was spoken during the long period between the third century BCE up to the eighth or ninth century CE." Most of the extant Pahlavi works "were written or compiled after the Muslim conquest." See Maria Macuch, "Pahlavi Literature," in *The Literature of Pre-Islamic Iran*: *Companion Volume I to A History of Persian Literature*, eds. R. E. Emmerick and M. Macuch (London: Taurus, 2009), 116-96 (quotation from 116-17).

[23] Edward Washburn Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India: Its Character and Origin* (New York: C. Scribner, 1901), 192.

[24] See White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy*, 286 (§ 600).

[25] ʿAbduh, 80; Prendergast, 75.

[26] Frolov discusses different poetic functions of the archaic *rajaz* meter in "The Place of *Rajaz*," 248-56.

[27] Ullmann et al., "Raḏjaz."

[28] Ibid.

[29] This reminds us again of Ji Bu's 季布 story, see the section "Divanatory functions" in Chapter II.

[30] ʿAbduh, 139; Prendergast, 111 (with minor change).

[31] See Muḥammad Muḥyī al-dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, *Sharḥ Maqāmāt Badīʿ al-zamān al-Hamadhānī* (Beirut: Dār kutub al-ʿilmīyah, 1979), 181-82, n. 7.

[32] The beginning of the *Maqāmah of al-Aswad* also reminds us of the beginning of the *Kongzi Xiang Tuo xiang wen shu*. In both stories, the senior speaker (Confucius or ʿĪsā ibn Hishām) cannot compete with the junior speaker in eloquence.

[33] Ullmann et al., "Raḏjaz."

[34] Ibid. Also see Alma Giese, *Waṣf bei Kušāğim* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1981).

[35] Ullmann et al., "Raḏjaz." For the Arabic text, see Ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī, *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. M. M. Shākir (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-madanī, 1974), 739-42. The wedding, as an important ritual for all the people, is closely connected with literary genres. For example, Roman poets (e.g., Statius and Claudian) composed written wedding songs

(epithalamia) in hexameter. Also, the Dunhuang manuscripts of popular literature have preserved a dialogue-song between the bride's party and that of the groom. See Waley, *Ballads*, 189-201.

[36] Al-Jumaḥī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 740-41. Al-ʿIjlī's version is much more fanciful than the historian al-Balādhurī's description of Musaylimah. See al-Balādhurī, *Liber expugnationis regionum* [*Kitāb Futūḥ al-buldān*], ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1863-66), 90.

[37] Ullmann et al., "Radjaz." The usage of quotation is also attested in later works such as ʿUmar ibn Abī Rabīʿah's (d. *c*. 93/712) unrestrained *ghazal*s. For an example of ʿUmar's flirtatious conversations, see Allen, *Heritage*, 175-76.

[38] We would like to mention a kind of lewd Vedic dialogue hymn (in the *anuṣṭubh*-meter) between a king's wives and priests that is used after the sacrifice of horse in the Aśvamedha rituals. On the Mahāvrata (The Great Vow) Day, which is at the end of the yearlong Gavāmayana (Progress of the Cows) ritual and coincides with the winter solstice, a similar bawdy dialogue between a whore (*puṃścalī/puṃścalū*) and a student (*brahmacārin*) is delivered and followed by their copulation. Therefore both Vedic rituals have combined (bawdy) dialogues and sex. See Stephanie W. Jamison, *Sacrificed Wife/Sacrificer's Wife: Women, Ritual, and Hospitality in Ancient India* (New York: Oxford UP, 1996), 65-72, 96-98. Also see Michael Witzel, "Saramā and the Paṇis: Origins of Prosimetric Exchange in Archaic India," in *Prosimetrum*, 387-409, esp. 398-400.

[39] We would like to point out that there are two pieces of linked-verse (*lianju shi* 聯句詩) in the "airs" of the Chinese *Shi jing* that record the conversation between husband and wife. Phrases such as "said the woman" (*nü yue* 女曰) and "said the man" (*shi yue* 士曰) are also conventional and give a very lively tone. Unlike the obscene content of al-ʿIjlī's *urjūzah*, women in the two Chinese poems encourage their husbands to get up early when the rooster chirps. For the Chinese text, see Cheng Junying 程俊英 and Jiang Jianyuan 蔣見元, *Shi jing zhu xi* 詩經註析 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1991), 235-38 (鄭風·女曰鷄鳴), 263-65 (齊風·鷄鳴).

[40] Readers can compare al-Hamadhānī's flytings to Enkidu's curse of the harlot and Gilgamesh's refusal of Ishtar's proposal. See Jeffrey H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 170-73, 174-76, 206-9.

[41] ʿAbduh, 165-66; Prendergast, 129.

[42] Ullmann et al., "Radjaz."

[43] Ibid.

[44] This version is lost. But there are two later Arabic versifications of *Kalīlah wa Dimnah*. See C. Brockelmann, "Kalīla Wa-dimna," in *EI²*.

[45] Arabic *musammaṭāt* already existed in the 2ⁿᵈ/8ᵗʰ century. Abū Nuwās (d. 200/815) has a *basīṭ*-metered wine-poem "which can be read both as a *qaṣīdah* written in regular monorhyme and as a strophic poem with recurring rhyme (*musammaṭah*) on the pattern *aaaa bbba ccca*, etc." See G. Schoeler, "Bashshār b. Burd, Abū ʾl-ʿAtāhiyah and Abū Nuwās," in *ʿAbbasid Belles-lettres*, 275-99 (quotation from 299).

[46] The *muwashshaḥ* is said to have developed in Muslim Spain towards the end of the 3ʳᵈ/9ᵗʰ century. The rhyme schemes of two simple types of *muwashshaḥ* are *ab ccc ab ddd ab*, etc. and *aaa bb ccc bb*, etc. See Schoeler, "Muwashshaḥ." The Ayyubid poet, Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (550-608/1155-1211), wrote a treatise about the structure and prosody of this genre, see *Dār al-ṭirāz fī ʿamal al-muwashshaḥāt*, ed. Jawdat al-Rikābī (Damascus: Dār al-fikr, 1980).

[47] The *zajal* is also said to have originated in Muslim Spain during the 5ᵗʰ/11ᵗʰ century, "under the influence of a specific type of *musammaṭ*." The most famous zajalist is Ibn Quzmān (d. 555/1160). A typical rhyme structure of the *zajal* is *aa bbb a*, *ccc a*, etc. See G. Schoeler and W. Stoetzer, "Zadjal (a.)," in *EI²*.

[48] M. Bencheneb, "Muzdawidj," in *EI²*.

[49] See the section "Three examples" in Chapter II.

[50] Trounce, "The English Tail-rhyme Romances," 87.

[51] Trounce informs us that the English tail-rhyme romances have an average length of 2000 lines. "They constitute one of the three broad streams of poetical narrative literature of the fourteenth century in England," the other two are represented by works of Chaucer and Langland respectively. See ibid.

[52] For the purposes of analysis it would not be very difficult to convert each group of the tail-rhyme stanza (11 accents) into a heroic couplet (10 accents).

[53] For example, the heroic couplet is comparable to the Persian *mathnawī*s which usually have eleven (or rarely, ten) syllables in a line. See J. T. P. de Bruijn, B. Flemming, and Munibur Rahman, "Mathnawī," in *EI²*.

[54] Hawkes has suggested that the long line of the Category B "looks as if it might have been deliberately created by putting two Song-style lines together." See *The Songs of the South*, 41. However, it would appear that their relationship can be better explained via using dimeter and trimeter.

[55] It also explains why the Category B meter looks like the Latin elegiac couplet, see chap. 2, n. 206.

[56] See the section "The needle" of Chapter II.

[57] Allen, *Heritage*, 197.

[58] "From our first exponent, Abū ʾl-Najm al-ʿIjlī, who died before 132/750, right through into the late fourth/tenth century the *rajaz* metre is closely associated with the *ṭardiyyāt*." Sometimes the poets also used the *qarīḍ*-meters and "those most commonly found are *mutaqārib*, *ṭawīl* and *sarīʿ*." See G. Rex Smith, "Hunting Poetry," in *ʿAbbasid Belles-lettres*, 167-84 (quotation from 174).

⁵⁹ For a translation and analysis of this poem, see James E. Montgomery, "Abū Firās's Veneric *Urjūzah Muzdawijah*," in *Middle Eastern Literatures* 2, No. 1 (1999): 61-74. This poem is special for "the generic mingling of the *Ṭardiyyah* with unrelated poetic types." It also inspired poets like Kushājim to pen long *ṭardīyāt*. See ibid., 69.

⁶⁰ The *raḥīl* is often connected with *waṣf jamal* (the description of camel). For Renate Jacobi, "the *raḥīl* originally formed a theme of *fakhr*," See Renate Jacobi, "Raḥīl," in *EI²*.

⁶¹ Just as the two examples from Abū Nuwās's *Dīwān*, see Smith, "Hunting Poetry," 178.

⁶² Al-Iskandarī's *sajʿ*-description of Sayf al-Dawlah's horse, which we quoted in the section "Ritual and description" of Chapter II, can be regarded as an offshoot of the hunt poetry.

⁶³ The *Maqāmah of the Lion* is perhaps one of the most studied Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* in recent decades. It contains an introduction and three episodes—a structure unlike that of a typical *maqāmah*. Because of the marginal role of al-Iskandarī, the lack of *anagnorisis* in the end, and the sources of its episodes in earlier anecdotal literature, the present text has been suggested to be an early piece. See Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, 105.

⁶⁴ Mattock, "The Early History of the *Maqāma*," 1-2, 11-18 (quotation from 2). About the probable impact of al-Bayhaqī's *Kitāb al-maḥāsin wa'l-masāwī* to this work, see I. Gériès, "al-Maḥāsin wa-'l-Masāwī," in *EI²*.

⁶⁵ "The garb of doom" can be regarded as the author's homage to the poet, Abū Dhuʾayb (d. *c*. 28/649), who once compared doom (*manīyah*) to a lion. See *Sharḥ Maqāmāt Badīʿ al-zamān al-Hamadhānī*, 37, n. 3.

⁶⁶ ʿAbduh, 31; Prendergast, 41.

⁶⁷ ʿAbduh, 31; Prendergast, 42. The meter is *ramal* with a pattern of X U -- -- | X U -- -- | X U -- || X U -- -- | X U -- -- | X U -- ||.

⁶⁸ Prendergast, 42, n. 1; *Sharḥ Maqāmāt Badīʿ al-zamān al-Hamadhānī*, 38, n. 1. The image of a full bucket is connected with strength and bravery. Edward Lane quotes a *kāmil*-metered line as follows: *idh arsalūnī māṭiḥan bi-dilāʾihim / fa malaʾtuhā ʿalaqan ilā asbālihā* ("[When they sent me drawing with their buckets, and I filled them with blood to their brims]: he says, they sent me seeking to execute their blood-revenges, and I slew many"). See *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, Book I, pt.4, 1301-2.

⁶⁹ Hämeen-Anttila considers this verse also to be a quotation, see Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, 427, n. 10. We will return to these two added lines in the section "Dozens and scores" in Chapter IV.

⁷⁰ Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres," 270. Heinrichs mentions this "strange poetic phenomenon" at the end of his analysis of the poetic modes in al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*. Heinrichs gives five instances of this "rudimentary" technique from al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* and three from al-Hamadhānī's (Prendergast, 42 [al-Lahabī's line], 43 [Imruʾ al-Qays's (d. *c*. 550 C.E.) description of horse, see Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, 53, n. 31], 71 [a line describing a house, in the *Maqāmah of Jāḥiẓ*]). See ibid., 270, nn. 37, 38. We wish to explain some traits of this mode of poetry within the context of al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*, which actually contain twelve more instances (even though the line by Imruʾ al-Qays should not be counted as an example of this technique: it forms part of the *sajʿ*-description of the Turkic slave and therefore belongs to the *taḍmīn*-category). They are the ending poem of the first episode of the *Maqāmah of the Lion*, the first poem in the *Maqāmah of Adharbayjān* (*al-Maqāmah al-Adharbayjānīyah*), all five poems in the *Maqāmah of Jurjān* (*al-Maqāmah al-Jurjānīyah*), all three poems in the *Maqāmah of Baṣrah*, the first poem of the *Maqāmah of the Nājim*, and the envoi in the *Maqāmah of Kings* (*al-Maqāmah al-Mulūkīyah*), see Prendergast, 42, 51, 53-55, 65-66, 146, 174; ʿAbduh, 32, 44, 47-50, 64-66, 192, 230.

⁷¹ The first case is the first poem in the *Maqāmah of Adharbayjān*. It describes the happiness that ʿĪsā ibn Hishām finds in Adharbayjān, see Prendergast, 51; ʿAbduh, 44. Since it is introduced by "And when I reached it," its deletion would certainly affect the content of the text. Also, this poem is a quotation from a wine poem (*khamrīyah*) of Abū Nuwās, see Drory, *Models and Contacts*, 53-54. The second case is the second poem in the *Maqāmah of Baṣrah*, see Prendergast, 66; ʿAbduh, 65. It seems that both cases can be considered as variants of *taḍmīn*.

⁷² See Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, 52. The aforementioned line by Imruʾ al-Qays appears three times as *taḍmīn* in the whole *Maqāmāt*, see Prendergast, 43, 59, 119; ʿAbduh, 33, 55, 151. Instances of *taḍmīn* can also be found in the third *waṣf* of the first episode of the *Maqāmah of the Lion* ("he fell on his hands and face," Prendergast, 42; also see *Sharḥ Maqāmāt Badīʿ al-zamān al-Hamadhānī*, 38, n. 3), and in the end of the *Maqāmah of the Maḍīrah* ("Now ye men of Hamadhān am I unjust in this?" Prendergast, 97; see *Sharḥ Maqāmāt Badīʿ al-zamān al-Hamadhānī*, 143, n. 5, and Monroe, *Picaresque Narrative*, 158, n. 19).

⁷³ Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres," 270.

⁷⁴ The two Arabic phrases are quoted from the abstract of "Modes of Existence of Poetry in the *Arabian Nights*" which was presented by Heinrichs at the 219th meeting of AOS (Albuquerque, March 14, 2009). Heinrichs presented several individual cases of *tamaththul*, as well as their introductory formulae in his article "The Function(s) of Poetry in the *Arabian Nights*," in *O ye Gentlemen: Arabic Studies on Science and Literary Culture in Honour of Remke Kruk*, edited by Arnoud Vrolijk and Jan P. Hogendijk (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 353-62, esp. 359-62.

⁷⁵ Mattock, "The Early History of the *Maqāma*," 11.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 13. Compare the ending poem in *Kongzi Xiang Tuo xiangwen shu*, see Fu, *Su qing ya yun*, 146-47.

⁷⁷ With its *sajʿ*-narrative and non-*shāhid* ending poem.

⁷⁸ Especially by applying different modes of existence of poetry.

⁷⁹ Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, 105.

⁸⁰ For the structure of a typical Hamadhānian *maqāmah*, see the section "The inner form" in Chapter I.

[81] Hämeen-Anttila examines two earlier studies of this *maqāmah*, namely, those by Monroe (*Picaresque Narrative*, 31-36) and Katia Zakharia ("Al-Maqāma al-Bišriyya. Une épopée mystique," in *Arabica* 37 [1990]: 251-90), in "The Author and His Sources: An Analysis of al-Maqāma al-Bishrīya," in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 88 (1998): 143-64, esp. 143-44.

[82] Hämeen-Anttila, "The Author and His Sources," 146-49.

[83] Hämeen-Anttila analyses two anecdotes about begging Bedouins in the *Mulaḥ* and concludes that they are "intimately connected with the maqamas" and have "all the main features of the episode of many comic or beggar maqamas." They only lack "the formal beginning and ending with the technical features used in them." See Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, 77-80 (quotation from 80).

[84] Both Zakharia and Hämeen-Anttila note that "the text is introduced by *ḥaddathanā al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Fārsīnī* instead of the normal formula" in the Constantinople 1298 edition. See Hämeen-Anttila, "The Author and His Sources," 144.

[85] Monroe, *Picaresque Narrative*, 31-36.

[86] Prendergast, 190. Since the second episode of the *Maqāmah of the Lion* describes how the group is cheated and menaced by a Turkic slave boy, we detect several common factors between the *Lion* and the *Bishr maqāmāt*: the killing of the beast and the menace represented by a youth.

[87] It is scanned as U -- UU -- | U -- UU -- | U -- -- || U -- UU -- | U -- UU -- | U -- -- ||.

[88] Prendergast, 187-89.

[89] ʿAbduh, 256; Prendergast, 189.

[90] The treatment of animals as companions or even as members of his clan is a particular feature of *ṣuʿlūk* poetry, as seen, for example, in al-Shanfarā's famous *Lāmīyat al-ʿArab*.

[91] The fact that the lion poem is quoted in the *Rasāʾil* assures Hämeen-Anttila of al-Hamadhānī's authorship of this *maqāmah* of "anomaly." "The poem later found its way into anthologies, as if Bishr had been an historical person." See Hämeen-Anttila, "The Author and His Sources," 145, 152-53.

[92] Cf. "The Day of Shiʿb Jabala," in Ilse Lichtenstadter, *Introduction to Classical Arabic Literature: with Selections from Representative Works in English Translation* (New York: Twayne Publishers, c1974), 160-71. The serpent *Shujāʿ* is used in that *ayyām* to compare the restlessness of Banū ʿĀmir, see ibid., 166.

[93] Thomas Bauer, "The Dawādār's Hunting Party. A Mamluk *muzdawija ṭardiyya*, probably by Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh," in O *ye Gentlemen*, edited by Vrolijk and Hogendijk, 291-312. The quotation is from Smith, "Hunting Poetry," 184.

[94] Montgomery, "Abū Firās's Veneric *Urjūzah Muzdawijah*," 68. In Zhang Heng's *Xijing fu*, a description of feast is arranged immediately after that of a royal hunt. See *Liu chen zhu Wen xuan*, 54-57; *Wen xuan*, 1: 212-25.

[95] F. Harb, "Wine poetry (*khamriyyāt*)," in *ʿAbbasid Belles-lettres*, 219-34 (quotation from 219).

[96] "Zoroastrians, like Jews and Christians, were allowed to make wine, and Christian monasteries, which turned remote spots into oases of fruit trees and vines, were favourite resorts for pleasure parties, and their names are frequently encountered in poetry." See Harb, "Wine poetry (*khamriyyāt*)," 228.

[97] Ibid., 223, 230. For an exploration of the wine poetry from the pre-Islamic times to the acme that is represented by Abū Nuwās's works, see Philip Kennedy's *Wine Song in Classical Arabic Poetry: Abū Nuwās and the Literary Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

[98] Prendergast, 139-40.

[99] Ibid., 59 (the *Maqāmah of Ahwaz*), 71 (the *Maqāmah of Jāḥiẓ*), 82 (the *Maqāmah of Sāsān*), 103 (the *Maqāmah of the Famine*), 156 (the *Maqāmah of Ṣaymarah*).

[100] ʿAbduh, 73-74; Prendergast, 71.

[101] Harb, "Wine poetry (*khamriyyāt*)," 221.

[102] The meter is a variant of the *kāmil*: it can be scanned as UU -- U -- | UU -- U -- || UU -- U -- | UU -- U --| -- ||. See the scheme of *kāmil*-6 in Stoetzer, "Prosody," 621.

[103] ʿAbduh, 242-43; Prendergast, 180-81 (we changed "fragrance of the soul" into "sweet basil of the soul").

[104] *Sharḥ Maqāmāt Badīʿ al-zamān al-Hamadhānī*, 427-32.

[105] Harb, "Wine poetry (*khamriyyāt*)," 231. Harb quotes the verse from al-Raqīq al-Nadīm, *Quṭb al-surūr fī awṣāf al-khumūr*, ed. Aḥmad al-Jundī (Damascus, 1969), 559.

[106] Prendergast, 27; ʿAbduh, 6.

[107] Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫, *Shi shuo xin yu jian shu* 世說新語箋疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1983), 399.

[108] Note the use of first person possessive in the description, namely *rīqī* (my saliva), *khaddī* (my cheek), *ajdādu jaddī* (my grandfather's ancestors), *hajrī wa ṣaddī* (my separation and aversion).

[109] We are reminded here of al-Aʿshā's narrative wine poetry which includes elements such as the poet's bargain with the wine-seller, and a description of the wine and the serving-boy. See Harb, "Wine poetry (*khamriyyāt*)," 222.

[110] Charles Pellat gives a snapshot of al-Jāḥiẓ's *Kitāb al-qiyān* (The Book of Singing Girls) in "Al-Jāḥiẓ," in *ʿAbbasid Belles-lettres*, 78-95, esp. 91. For a complete translation of this *risālah*, see Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *The Epistle on Singing-Girls of Jāḥiẓ*, ed. with translation and commentary by A. F. L. Beeston (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1980). Among the ten *maqāmāt* of Ibn Nāqiyah (d. 485/1092), there is also a piece named *Wine* in which a *qaynah* (singing-girl) plays tricks on the rogue hero al-Yashkurī. See Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*,

139; Kennedy, "Nexus of Interests," 170.

[111] Prendergast, 181; ʿAbduh, 243.

[112] Philip Kennedy quotes an anecdote from *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Book of Songs) which suggests that Iblis was the musical muse of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 188/804), the Abbasid musician *par excellence*, See Kennedy, "Some Demon Muse," 128. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī "was the first musician to train white slave-girls in the art of singing." It is also said that he "remained all his life addicted to wine." See J. W. Fück, "Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, Abū Isḥāḳ," in *EI²*.

[113] *The Assemblies of al Harīrī*, 1:173; *Maqāmāt al-Charīrī*, 119. Also see the illustration in *Al-Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrīyah*, illustrated by Y. Al-Wasiti, facsimile ed., 36a. The illustration is used on the cover of Philip Kennedy's *Wine Song in Classical Arabic Poetry*.

[114] *The Assemblies of al Harīrī*, 1:173-74; *Maqāmāt al-Charīrī*, 119-22. The *musammaṭ*s are used in another three Ḥarīrian *maqāmāt* (1st [*mutaqārib*], 11th [U -- -- X | U -- -- ||, a variant of *hazaj*?], 50th [dimeter-*rajaz*]), see *The Assemblies of al Harīrī*, 1: 111-12, 165-67, 2: 183-85; *Maqāmāt al-Charīrī*, 23-24, 106-11, 558-62.

[115] See n. 45 above.

[116] Some Arabists regard *muṭrib* as the etymology of the term "troubadour," a suggestion that finds support in the fact that "[t]he earliest Provençal Troubadour, William of Aquitaine (d. 1127)," "uses stanzaic forms that closely resemble the *muwashshaḥ*." See Schoeler, "Muwashshaḥ."

[117] Hava, *Dictionary*, 429. It is based on the notion of *ṭarab* as "heightened emotion" (for good or bad).

[118] See Prendergast, 181; ʿAbduh, 243. The Mirbad and its recreation ground (*muntahaz*) are mentioned in the *Maqāmah of Baṣrah* (Prendergast, 65; ʿAbduh, 63). The Mirbad market was "once a famous camel mart and flourishing suburb three miles from Baṣra in the direction of the desert. Here poets and orators contested for superiority as they were wont to do at the fair of ʿUkaz, a practice which gave rise to so much literary emulation that the city became famous for its learning." See Prendergast, 65, n. 1.

[119] See Moreh, *Live Theatre*, 11-12. For a discussion of the Palm Sunday (*Yawm al-Shaʿānīn* or *Yawm al-Sabāsib*), see Irfan Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995-), Vol.2, pt.2 (2009), 112-13. For the debate poems in the Syriac tradition, see Sebastian Brock, "Syriac Dispute Poems: The Various Types," in *Dispute Poems and Dialogues*, 109-19. According to the *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 which was composed in 547 C.E., some Buddhist temples of Luoyang hosted female singers and dancers, see Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之, *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 洛陽伽藍記校釋, ed. Zhou Zumo (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1963), 57-59; Yi-t'ung Wang, *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1984), 50-52. Some large Buddhist temples of Chang'an 長安, the capital of Tang, also hosted many oral performers and jugglers, see Hu Shiying 胡士瑩, *Huaben xiaoshuo gailun* 話本小說概論 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1980), 24.

[120] A *dou* equals to about 1900cc in Qin times (221-207 B.C.E.). See *The Grand Scribe's Records* (English translation of *Shi ji*), ed. William H. Nienhauser (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2006), Vol. V.1, xxxvi.

[121] Chaucer, *Tales*, 450.

[122] ʿĀnah is an Iraqi town on the right bank of the Euphrates. Al-Ḥarīrī's choice of the town for Abū Zayd's wine song is not made randomly. Both Imruʾ al-Qays and his contemporary ʿAlqamah ibn ʿAbadah left poems praising its old, strong wine. See Harb, "Wine poetry (*khamriyyāt*)," 220, and *The Assemblies of al Harīrī*, 1:374.

[123] Prendergast, 181.

[124] *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm: A Tenth-century Survey of Muslim Culture*, trans. Bayard Dodge (New York: Columbia UP, 1970), 1:192-342.

[125] See the section "Frustration of a *guji*" in Chapter II.

[126] See the section "Riddles" of Chapter II.

[127] Though there is the Abbasid prince Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī (d. 224/839) who was also a famed singer, cook, and poet, we also recall his grandfather, the caliph al-Manṣūr's (d. 158/775) unsophisticated taste in music. See Hilary Kilpatrick, *Making the Great Book of Songs: Compilation and the Author's Craft in Abû l-Faraj al-Iṣbahânî's* Kitâb al-aghânî (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 246.

[128] The first half of the *Maqāmah of Wine* recounts how ʿĪsā ibn Hishām and his boon-companions are scolded by al-Iskandarī who pretends to be a very pious preacher in a mosque.

[129] Harb, "Wine poetry (*khamriyyāt*)," 230.

[130] ʿAbduh, 245; Prendergast, 183 (we changed "niche" into "prayer niche"). The poem is put in dimeter *ramal* with the pattern X U -- -- | X U -- -- || X U -- -- | X U -- -- ||.

[131] Prendergast, 183.

[132] Geert Jan van Gelder, *Of Dishes and Discourse: Classical Arabic Literary Representations of Food* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000), 59.

[133] Ibid., 59-60, 64-65.

[134] Kushājim serves as the poet and cook to Sayf al-Dawlah. The Abbasid prince Ibrahīm ibn al-Mahdī was also a famed poet, musician, and cook, see n. 127 above.

[135] See chap. 2, n. 293.

[136] The oldest preserved Arabic cookery-book is Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq's *Kitāb al-ṭabīkh*, which was written in the second half of the tenth century. It contains more than seventy poems, the majority of which are ecphrastic poems

"quoted in the appropriate sections and very often concluding a chapter." They are "perhaps the equivalent of the luscious colour photographs of modern cookery-books." See Van Gelder, *Of Dishes and Discourse*, 63, 66.

[137] Abū al-Muṭahhar al-Azdī's *Ḥikāyat Abī al-Qāsim* contains an identical poem. See Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, "Al-Hamaḏānī and the Early History of the Maqāma," in *Philosophy and Arts in the Islamic World*, eds. Urbain Vermeullen and Daniel de Smet (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 1998), 87: 83-96 (quotation from 85).

[138] ʿAbduh, 93-94; Prendergast, 82. As is the case with the other two poems in the *Maqāmah of Sāsān*, this one is in the *mujtathth* meter. See chap. 2, n. 22.

[139] Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Annemarie Schimmel, *Make a Shield from Wisdom: Selected Verses from Nāṣir-i Khusraw's Dīvān* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 13.

[140] Hämeen-Anttila, "Al-Hamaḏānī and the Early History of the Maqāma," 86-87.

[141] Prendergast, 81; ʿAbduh, 92. Also see the quotation in the section "The veil and the ochre" of Chapter II.

[142] See the *Maqāmah of Kūfah* and the *Maqāmah of the Nājim*.

[143] Jamison, *Sacrificed Wife/Sacrificer's Wife*, 157-58.

[144] Ibid., 185-86. "If a guest departed unhonoured from a house, his sins were to be transferred to the householder, and all the merits of the householder were to be transferred to him." See *Śakoontalá; or, The Lost Ring*, 212 (n. 25). According to the play, Śakuntalā's suffering was indeed caused by her neglect of guest reception.

[145] Jamison, *Sacrificed Wife/Sacrificer's Wife*, 197 (*Mahābhārata* XIII. 94).

[146] See the section "Style-breaking" in the Introduction.

[147] Prendergast, 103.

[148] Prendergast, 103; ʿAbduh, 127.

[149] Prendergast, 30; ʿAbduh, 9.

[150] ʿAbduh, 9; Prendergast, 30.

[151] Prendergast, 103-4; ʿAbduh, 127-29.

[152] Professor Lowry reminds me that this could be some kind of pun on Christianity and the Trinity.

[153] Prendergast, 104.

[154] Ibid., 135.

[155] In the end of the *Maqāmah of Iblīs*, al-Iskandarī chants a poem to praise ʿĪsā's generosity: He scratched not his beard, he wiped not his nose and he did not cough (*mā ḥakka liḥyatahu wa lā masakha ʾl-makhāṭa wa lā tanaḥnaḥ*). See Prendergast, 142; ʿAbduh, 185. The *Maqāmah of the Dinar* also mocks such a coughing host: "O coughing of the host, when the bread is broken (*yā tanaḥnaḥa ʾl-muḍīf(i) idhā kusira ʾl-raghīf(u))*!" See Prendergast, 165; ʿAbduh, 219.

[156] Prendergast, 138, n. 2.

[157] Van Gelder, *Of Dishes and Discourse*, 28-29.

[158] Ibid., 29.

[159] It is perhaps one of the most studied Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* in recent years. See Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: a History of a Genre*, 106-14, esp. 107, n. 26; Monroe, *Picaresque Narrative*, 145-60; Fedwa Malti-Douglas, "*Maqāmāt* and *adab*: 'al-Maqāma al-Maḍīriyya' of al-Hamadhānī," in *JAOS* 105, No. 2 (1985): 247-58; Bray, "*Isnād*s and Models of Heroes," 19-20; Van Gelder, *Of Dishes and Discourse*, 49-51. Malti-Douglas introduces the dichotomy of *bakhīl* (stingy) and *ṭufaylī* (party-crasher) to analyze the structure of this *maqāmah*.

[160] "*Maḍīra* is a dish of meat cooked in sour milk, sometimes with fresh milk added, and with spices thrown in to enhance the flavour." See ed(s), "Maḍīra," in *EI²*.

[161] Monroe points out that "the boorish merchant has actually followed a strictly logical if grotesque sequence." See Monroe, *Picaresque Narrative*, 152-55.

[162] Petronius Arbiter, *The Satyricon, and the Fragments*, ed. and tr. J. P Sullivan (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965), 45-88. Also see Roger M. A. Allen, *A Period of Time: A Study and Translation of* Ḥadīth ʿĪsā ibn Hishām *by Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī* (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1992), 16.

[163] *Mei Cherng's "Seven stimuli" and Wang Bor's "Pavilion of King Terng"*, 1-99.

[164] *Chu ci ji zhu*, 123a-141b; *The Songs of the South*, 219-38.

[165] Van Gelder, *Of Dishes and Discourse*, 60-61.

[166] Jauss and Bahti, "Alterity and Modernity," 189.

[167] Jamison, *Sacrificed Wife/Sacrificer's Wife*, 186.

[168] See the section "The staff" in Chapter II.

[169] See the section "Visions and dreams" in Chapter II.

[170] Jonathan P. Berkey, *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 63.

[171] Ibid., 45-46.

[172] Chaucer, *Tales*, 28-29, 451-56.

[173] Prendergast, 61. The hero of the sixth *maqām* of *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* refuses the big rewards offered by the caliph. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, 2:238.

[174] ʿAbduh, 58, n. 2.

[175] See the beginning of the section "Frustration of a *guji*" in Chapter II.

[176] G. Schoeler, "Bashshār b. Burd, Abū ʾl-ʿAtāhiyah and Abū Nuwās," 289-90.

[177] His adoption of asceticism in his poetry still arouses suspicion. See ibid., 286-87.

[178] *The Assemblies of al Ḥarīrī*, 2:176.

[179] *Shi ji*, 3208.

[180] "So he shouted at us with a shout at which the earth was almost cloven in sunder and the stars were about to fall…" See Prendergast, 59.

[181] See ibid., 38, n. 5.

[182] For an analysis of the two sermons, see Kennedy, "Nexus of Interests," 187-94. The recent paper presented by Irfana Hashmi at the 218th annual meeting of AOS ("Problematizing al-Hamadhānī's Sources in *al-Maqāma al-Waʿẓiyya*") draws our attention to a longer version of the second sermon preserved in Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrīkh Dimashq*.

[183] Kennedy, "Nexus of Interests," 192.

[184] ʿAbduh, 137; Prendergast, 110.

[185] Kennedy, "Nexus of Interests," 194.

[186] *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, ed. C. B. Cowell (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1905), 1: 30-32. For the Pali text, see *The Jātaka: Together with Its Commentary, Being Tales of the Anterior Births of Gotama Buddha*, ed. V. Fausbøll (London: Trübner & CO., 1877), 1: 137-39.

[187] *The Jātaka: Together with Its Commentary*, 1:138; *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, 1:31.

[188] *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, 1:32.

[189] T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede, *The Pali-English Dictionary* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2004), 329-30.

[190] In the chapter on asceticism in his *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Ibn Qutaybah quotes different epithets for hoariness (e.g., *khiṭām al-manīyah*, "nose-reign of death") and poems concerning it. See Ibn Qutaybah, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, 2: 324-27.

[191] Andras Hamori, "Ascetic poetry (*zuhdiyyāt*)," in *ʿAbbasid Belles-lettres*, 265-74 (quotation from 268).

[192] Ibid., 268.

[193] Ibid., 266.

[194] *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, 1:vii.

[195] The *Vedabbha-Jātaka*, see *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, 1: 121-24; *The Jātaka: Together with Its Commentary*, 1: 252-56; Chaucer, *Tales*, 456-73.

[196] Hamori, "Ascetic poetry (*zuhdiyyāt*)," 268. Both Ṣāliḥ and Abū al-ʿAtāhiyah were Persian or of Persian descent. As was the case with the prosaist, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (executed in 139/756), they were accused of practicing Manichaeism (*zandaqah*).

[197] The moral of the *Vedabbha-Jātaka* is "covetousness is the root of ruin" (*The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, 1:123), which is found in 1 Tim. 6:10 and repeated twice in the Pardoner's Prologue. See Chaucer, *Tales*, 451, 454.

[198] ʿAbduh, 131-32; Prendergast, 105.

[199] See chap. 2, n. 95.

[200] Prendergast, 150-51.

[201] Frolov, "The Place of *Rajaz*," 264, 272-73.

[202] See chap. 2, n. 131.

[203] Prendergast, 111.

[204] See the section "The needle" in Chapter II.

IV   Prosimetra

Overview

This chapter provides a comparative discussion of the prose-verse interplay in various prosimetra. In this regard, it is more form-centered than the previous chapters on "Rhymed Prose" or "Poetry" that surveyed the functions of the hero al-Iskandarī within the context of each category. As mentioned in Chapter I, it is the envoi of the *Maqāmāt* that leads us to identify the formal similarities shared by prosimetric genres in the Arabic, Chinese, and Sanskrit literary traditions. In this chapter therefore our discussion will start from the envoi, then move back to the episode proper, and finally to the opening formula of the *Maqāmāt*.

The functions that al-Iskandarī inherits from pre-Islamic soothsayers seem to have been a factor in the coexistence of *saj*ʿ and poetry. They may also have affected performance and therefrom the structure of *maqāmah*. The reconstruction of the performance context of the *maqāmah* needs to involve a careful screening of the available evidence: many verses in the *Maqāmāt*, for example, are simply prefaced by catchphrases such as "*fa qāla*" (so he said). While we will be assessing their modes of performance on the basis of examples drawn from other prosimetra, we must at the same time rejoice in al-Hamadhānī's choice of classical Arabic in his reproduction of ancient

and popular themes. Texts preserved in such a fashion, let alone a collection of fifty-two pieces, must be considered a luxury for researchers into dying or dead prosimetric genres.

The end of the 4th/10th century was an age that witnessed tremendous changes in Arabic literature. The coexistence of orality and literacy may well have played a role in the emergence of the *maqāmah* genre. For al-Hamadhānī's near-contemporaries, these *maqāmāt* may have been recited as individual pieces, and yet they also simulated the kinds of performance that they were accustomed to attending. For example, the *ramal*-type meters which characterize the envois may signal to us that there is a latent performed aspect to the *maqāmah*, and this possibility is suggested by considering the meters and other cadences employed in ancient Greek and Chinese texts. It is probable that the *maqāmah* genre gradually lost its dual performance media[1] as later generations became more infatuated with al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*, the full appreciation of which requires a resort to dictionaries and detailed exegeses.

In this chapter, we will also argue that the overall structure of a Hamadhānian *maqāmah* links this Arabic genre to the Indian genre of *jātakamālā*. The virtues contained in the *maqāmāt* on beggary can be compared to those in the legends about the Buddha's previous births. The term *maqāmah* originally meant boasts of heroic actions. Al-Hamadhānī's arrangement of narratives around the words and deeds of an antihero echoes this ancient meaning of the term. At the same time, the *Maqāmāt*'s prosimetric style highly resembles that of the Indian genre of biography (*ākhyāyikā*). These structural

similarities can be explained if we consider the fact that al-Hamadhānī had traveled to places influenced by Iranian Buddhism.

Envoi

The *mujtathth* meter

An envoi is the concluding portion of a poetical or prose composition. Roughly speaking, forty Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* close with an envoi (or a dialogic envoi). This section will discuss some usual meters of al-Hamadhānī's envois and the importance of meter-choosing to the *Maqāmāt*'s performability.

We have mentioned the *Maqāmah of the Blind* in which al-Iskandarī pretends to be a visionless singer begging for money.[2] At the conclusion of the story, the recognized hero denies that he is Abū Fatḥ (al-Iskandarī's *kunyah*) but leaves a *mujtathth*-metered poem to the the narrator ʿĪsā ibn Hishām:

> *fa qultu*: *anta Abū ʾl-Fatḥ(i)? fa qāla*: *lā*
> *anā Abū Qalamūnin*
>   *fī kulli lawnin ak**ūnū***
> *ikhtar mina ʾl-kasbi dūnan*
>   *fa inna dahraka d**ūnū***
> *zajji ʾl-zamāna bi ḥumqin*
>   *inna ʾl-zamāna zab**ūnū***
> *lā tukdhabanna bi ʿaqlin*
>   *mā ʾl-ʿaqlu illā ʾl-jun**ūnū***

> Said I: "Art thou Abū ʾl-Fatḥ?" He answered: "Nay;
> I am Abū Qalamūn,

In every hue do I appear,
Choose a base calling,
    For base is thy age,
Repel time with folly,
    verily time is a kicking camel.
Never be deceived by reason,
    Madness is the only reason."[3]

Abū Qalamūn is an iridescent cloth woven in Tinnīs, one of five major *ṭirāz*[4] centers in Fatimid Egypt. Here then a weaver of speech (al-Iskandarī) is comparing himself to a piece of woven fabric; indeed we might go on to suggest that our hero fully deserves to be named after such a "fickle" cloth[5] since his "blindness" is merely a mask.

If we regard a *maqāmah* as a robe of honor, its envoi is no doubt the embroidered *ṭirāz* band which is often highlighted by a different color. How did al-Hamadhānī make his envoi stand out from the main episode?

Al-Jawharī, al-Hamadhānī's contemporary, presents a fourfold division of meters in his *Kitāb al-qawāfī* (Book of Rhymes).[6] According to this scheme, thirty-three of al-Hamadhānī's envois belong to the *ramal* or *majzūʾ* ("shortened by one foot per hemistich") type.[7] The so-called *qaṣīd* or *tāmm* ("complete") meters are mainly used in the envois of five out of six panegyrical *maqāmāt*.[8] Also according to al-Jawharī, the *qaṣīd* is for "chanting and singing when mounted" while the *ramal* is characterized by its usage in "social rank disputes, praises and lampoons."[9]

Among the *ramal*-type meters, the *mujtathth* is one of al-Hamadhānī's favorites; it appears in the envois of another seven *maqāmāt*[10] besides the *Blind* and *Sāsān*. As a

matter of fact, all three poems in the *Maqāmah of Sāsān* adapt this meter. We have previously[11] quoted the first poem which is "a litany of *urīdu*-sentences concerning different foodstuffs."[12] The second *mujtathth* poem in the *Maqāmah of Sāsān* is al-Iskandarī's eulogy (*madīḥ*) addressed to a donor; the uncouth speech[13] sounds appropriate for the head of the Banū Sāsān to use when he begs.

At this point we need to pose a question: why does al-Iskandarī choose to include three poems with the same *ramal*-type meter in the *Maqāmah of Sāsān*, while in the *Maqāmah of Jāḥiẓ* we find him first reciting a eulogy in *ṭawīl* to ʿĪsā ibn Hishām, then a *mujtathth*-envoi at the point where the former reveals his identity to the latter?

Al-Hamadhānī does not assign his meters randomly. Once al-Iskandarī has donned his disguise, he often speaks in a flowery *sajʿ* or uses grandiose meters. Only when our protagonist is alone with ʿĪsā does he indulge in indecorous "doggerels." The three *mujtathth* poems in the *Maqāmah of Sāsān* may mean that al-Iskandarī's true identity is as one of the Banū Sāsān, and as a result he has no need to change the meter after ʿĪsā has recognized him. However it would be unthinkable for our hero, who attends a fancy banquet and acts as a literary critic in the *Maqāmah of Jāḥiẓ*, to repay ʿĪsā's bequest with a vulgar praise.

In the early twentieth century, the famous Egyptian poet, Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī (1892-1955) maintained that the meters of *mujtathth* and *khafīf* "have a rhythm resembling that of the language of speech."[14] Indeed the *mujtathth* meter, as well as the

majzūʾ al-khafīf meter (X U -- -- | X -- U -- || X U -- -- | X -- U -- ||), "contains two types of feet, one similar to *ramal* and the other to *rajaz*."[15] The short-long-switching inside *rajaz-* and *ramal*-foot leads to the "swinging lilt"[16] of *mujtathth* (or *majzūʾ al-khafīf*) meter. Likewise, the Greek iambic tetrameter "has a jog-trot swing so vulgar that tragic poets never used it."[17] The combination of iambic tetrameter and iambic trimeter[18] can produce the ballad form in English poetry, of which the airs in *The Beggar's Opera* (1728) are good examples.[19] Here let us suppose that such a meter of "swing lilt" is common to many traditions of comedy,[20] and naturally the question arises as to whether a *mujtathth* poem in a Hamadhānian *maqāmah* is meant to be sung (as the airs of *The Beggar's Opera*) or chanted (as the *agone*s of *The Clouds*).

Agon

Before answering the question left in the end of the last section, let us take a look at the *agon* (contest, debate) which is characteristic of most Ancient Greek comedies. In this section, we will compare the structure of Greek *agon* with that of Arabic *munāẓarah* to be found in the *Maqāmāt*. We will also point out to our readers that the core of the Hamadhānian *maqāmah* is dialogue; most Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* contain debates or quasi-debate dialogues.

As with its Arabic counterpart (*munāẓarah*), a Greek *agon* involves two disputants and a judge.[21] Such a debate begins with a strophe by the chorus, then the

coryphaeus summons the first speaker by using two formulaic lines that "always set the metre for the disputant who follows."[22] After the speech of the first disputant, the chorus offers an antistrophe and summons the second speaker who always has the upper hand. In some cases, the *agon* ends with "a decision or award to the victor."[23]

If we take the first debate (*ll*. 949-1104) in *The Clouds* for example, the "impudent" iambic tetrameter is used by Wrong Logic, whereas Right Logic adopts the anapaestic tetrameter.[24] The grandiloquence of the anapaest suits Right Logic who "sets forth the old-time schooling of the heroes of Marathon."[25] In the second debate (*ll*. 1345-1451), Strepsiades and his son debate with each other in the same iambic tetrameter. Their speeches, with an obvious farcical touch, coincide well with Wrong Logic's propaganda on behalf of "New Education." In a word, the iambic tetrameter used in *The Clouds* marks the satirical aspect of the verse chanted in the debate.[26]

The form of the Greek debate helps us to understand the poetic dialogues in quite a few Hamadhānian *maqāmāt*. For example, the *Maqāmah of Wine* hosts a dialogic envoi between ʿĪsā and the recognized *muṭrib*, al-Iskandarī:

> So I said: 'O Abūʾl-Fatḥ! By heavens, it is as though he who recited these lines had looked upon thee and spoken with thy tongue:--
> 'In times gone by, I had wisdom (ʿaql), religion and uprightness,
> Then praise God! we sold jurisprudence for the craft of the cupper.
> And, if we live but a little longer, God save us.'
> (He/It said:) Then he snorted as snorts the vain, he shouted, he grinned and laughed immoderately and then he said: 'Is it said of the likes of me, is one like me proverbially spoken of?

'Cease from blaming, but what a deceiver thou perceivest me to be!
I am he whom every Tahamite and every Yemenite knows,
I am of every kind of dust, I am of every place.
At one time I cleave to the niche, at another to the location of the wine-shop.
And thus acts whoever is wise (*man yaʿqilu*) in this time.'
Said ʿĪsā ibn Hishām: 'I sought refuge with God from the like of his condition, and I marvelled at the holding back of subsistence from men of his ilk. We enjoyed that week of ours with him and then we departed from him.'[27]

Unlike the two disputants in the Greek debate, ʿĪsā and al-Iskandarī do not have a judge. Neither are their speeches prefaced by songs from the chorus. Al-Hamadhānī's disputants always voluntarily step forward and give their presentations in order. The judge may deliver a verdict at the end of the debate (as in the *Maqāmah of the Spindle*) or refrain from arbitration at all (as in the *Maqāmah of the Dinar*), while the envoi in the *Maqāmah of Wine* is judge-free since al-Iskandarī is unquestionably the more eloquent of the two, and his regular position as the second speaker conforms with the custom that a Greek debate's second disputant is always the winner.

Both poems in the quoted dialogue use the *ramal*-meter. In the first one, ʿĪsā mimics al-Iskandarī's tone in order to satirize the latter's selling wisdom (*ʿaql*) for base crafts. In the second one, our rogue hero maintains that in this age a truly wise man (*man yaʿqilu*) should not stick to one place or one profession. Obviously his last line echoes the first line of ʿĪsā. Thus the two poems are linked both metrically and semantically.

Likewise, their dialogue at the end of the *Maqāmah of Bukhārā* is meant to form a unity.[28] Both ʿĪsā's invitation to conversation and al-Iskandarī's refusal are

mutaqārib-metered.[29] Al-Iskandarī even retains the same rhyme (*-āmū*). As for ʿĪsā, he seems to have anticipated the latter's reply, in that he specifically applies similar rhymes at ends of both hemistichs. Once the leading phrases (*fa qultu* "I said" and *fa qāla* "he said") are omitted, their lines can be nicely pieced together into a quatrain.[30]

The Greek debate, with its constant appearance in ancient Greek comedies and its similarities to the Arabic genre of *munāẓarah*, helps us understand the essence of the *maqāmah*'s dialogic envoi and that of some dialogues (either in verse or *sajʿ*) contained in the episode proper. A Chinese popular *fu* entitled *Yake xinfu wen* 齖齫新婦文 (Text of the Contentious Daughter-in-law),[31] which was copied in Dunhuang in the early 10th century,[32] hosts similar verbal exchanges. The main part of this *fu* describes a daughter-in-law as a counterexample of Confucian filial piety. It is her contentiousness that leads to the speech-contests between her and the mother-in-law, first as dialogues set in rhymed prose, then as the concluding poems after she has requested a divorce:

阿家詩曰：
齖齫新婦甚典硯，直得親情不喜見。
千約萬束不取語，惱得老人腸肚爛。
新婦詩曰：
本性齖齫處處知，阿婆何用事悲悲。
若覓下官行婦禮，更須換却百重皮。

THE MOTHER-IN-LAW.
    The contentious one is so restive
      that she can annoy any relative
   Taming her is mission impossible
      to in-laws she brings much trouble.
THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW.

I am well-known to be contentious

    why is mother-in-law always in distress?

Surely I will obey rules for a woman

    after giving you a hundred-fold vexation.[33]

The daughter-in-law is the eloquent second speaker, rebelling against established etiquette for women (*fu li* 婦禮). The conflict between her and the mother-in-law is irreconcilable; the former is the tradition-breaker and the latter the tradition-keeper.

We suggest that *Yake xinfu wen* arranges such a dialogic envoi by convention. Firstly, a fairly complete story is narrated in the rhymed-prose episode which ends with a revealed moral—daughters-in-law should be carefully chosen.[34] Secondly, the main text does include rhymed-prose dialogues between the quarrelling women. In Chapter II, we noted the prevalence of avian colloquies in medieval Eurasian literatures. A Dunhuang popular text entitled *Yanzi fu* 鷰子賦 (Fu on the Swallow),[35] which recounts the lawsuit between a swallow couple and a sparrow who forcibly seizes their house, also ends with a poetic dialogue. In the first episode of the bipartite text, the swallow couple and the sparrow reach an agreement via the phoenix's arbitration. In the second episode the author adds the figure of swan, which, acting as another judge, criticizes both defendant and plaintiff. The dialogic envoi then takes place between the swan and the reconciled swallow and sparrow.

At first sight, the dialogic envois of *Yanzi fu* and *Yake xinfu wen* can be omitted without doing harm to the content. Since the two Chinese popular *fu*s stick to the rule that

185

a composition must end with a poetic exchange, it is at least possible that they may be trying to mimic certain kind of theatrical performances. Some Tang romances (*chuanqi* 傳奇)[36] contain large quantities of poetic speech and have been compared by Ren Na to scripts of Tang drama.[37] Ren also confirms that various types of drama were favored and indeed flourished during the following, albeit turbulent, Five Dynasties (907-960). Political satires, adjunct plays (*canjun xi*), and monkey shows were among the popular performance modes of that period.[38] These popular *fu*s were reading materials used in schools established by the Guiyi jun 歸義軍, the local warlord government of Dunhuang from 848 to 1036.[39] Considering that many of the *fu*s were copied during the late 9th and early 10th centuries,[40] it is safe to surmise that their styles might have reflected some theatrical characteristics of late Tang and Five Dynasties.

But what kind of performance, one might ask, would demand the dialogic envoi, which is, after all, not a common feature of Dunhuang *fu*s?[41] We suggest that a comedic debate must be vital to such performance, as the Greek comedy is not considered complete without the debate scene. Ending with a face-to-face poetic debate, the above-mentioned Dunhuang *fu*s seem to break from the third-person narration and add dramatic vividness by restating the conflict between main characters. It is very likely that, because of a similar wish to preserve the performed aspect within a fictional narrative, al-Hamadhānī included his envoi in those *maqāmāt* whose episode proper is not based upon debate.

Duet and solo

This section will provide a detailed discussion of the *Maqāmāt*'s dialogic envois. Generally speaking, al-Hamadhānī coined three kinds of envois in the *Maqāmāt*: the usual envois for the legends focused on the words of al-Iskandarī, the commentarial ones for the more picaresque pieces, and the panegyrical ones dedicated to donors. The commentarial envoi will be compared with its Sanskrit counterpart at a later point; this section will focus on the usual envois and panegyrical envois that are based upon dialogue.

The *Maqāmāt* collection of al-Hamadhānī is a work extolling the art of speech (*maqālah*). In that debates or quasi-debate dialogues do exist in the majority of Hamadhānian *maqāmāt*, that serves as our guideline in examining various envoi forms within this collection. Firstly, there are envois related to debate. If the duets in the *Wine* and *Bukhārā maqāmāt* mark an initial stage in the curtailed *agon/munāẓarah*, then al-Hamadhānī's usual envoi, which consists of al-Iskandarī's solo chanted in response to ʿĪsā's question, can be regarded as a further step towards a tailor-made "elegant ending."[42]

The fact that both "duet and solo" can substitute for a debate may help us understand why there are quite a few envoi-free *maqāmāt*. For example, al-Hamadhānī does not include envois at the end of the full-fledged debates found in the *Spindle*, *Dinar*,

or *Shām maqāmāt*.[43]   There is another group of *maqāmāt* that are closely related to debate. In Chapter II, we compared the *Maqāmah of Baghdad* to the Chinese duodrama of *you*. This *maqāmah* is structurally similar to the *Maḍīrah*, *Fresh Butter*, *Famine*, *Advice*, and *Asylum maqāmāt*, in that they are all based on unbalanced dialogues of *sajʿ*. In the *Maqāmah of Advice*, for example, a supposedly aged al-Iskandarī presents a four-part admonition to his son. However the youth, who sits in front of his father throughout the speech, does not utter a word. We should bear in mind that the debate-like format of this group of *maqāmāt* is not undermined by the presence of a reticent or silent addressee;[44] rather, because of its dialogic structure, such a *maqāmah* no longer requires an envoi that is essentially equal to a debate.

The *Baghdad*, *Famine*, and *Asylum maqāmāt* all have closing verses. At the end of the *Maqāmah of Baghdad*, for example, ʿĪsā bursts into two lines as a comment on the trick that he has played on the victim. The commentarial envoi (or rhymed *mathal*), which is not dialogic, will be compared with its Sanskrit counterpart at a later point. As for the *Famine* and *Asylum maqāmāt*, we would suggest that they were composed after a time when al-Hamadhānī had made both the recognition scene and envoi a routine aspect of the narrative logic of his *maqāmāt*.

A solo verse from al-Iskandarī, which is the most common type of envoi for al-Hamadhānī, accompanies the recognition scene in twenty-one *maqāmāt*. According to the unexpurgated version contained in the margins of the 1928 *Rasāʾil*, they are the

Poesie, Date, Balkh, Kūfah, Adharbayjān, Isfahan, Jāḥiẓ, Blind, Qazwīn, Sāsān, Ape, Amulet, Asylum, Famine, Exhortation, Al-Aswad, Iraq, Ḥamdān, Shiraz, Knowledge, and *Quest maqāmāt*.[45] As seen in the envoi of the *Maqāmah of the Blind*, such a solo adapts a *ramal*-type meter and often satirizes the unjust Age. The purpose of including these envois is of course to provide an excuse for the frustrated hero.

We need to comment at this juncture on a special prosimetric envoi related to debate. Dhū al-Rummah gives a lampoon on al-Farazdaq at the conclusion of the *Maqāmah of Ghaylan*. Since the goal of this *maqāmah* is "to discuss those who pardon their enemies out of gentleness and those who forgive them out of contempt,"[46] we find that al-Farazdaq ("when he scorns he degrades"[47]) does not see fit to answer the lampoon at all. Therefore the envoi in this particular case neither involves the duet nor is it the answerer's solo, but rather the questioner's solo.[48] Besides, the *Ghaylan* is one of the eight Hamadhānian *maqāmāt*[49] that have a finale after the envoi: Dhū al-Rummah is described as a loser after the debate, reminding us of the Greek *agon* which sometimes ends with "a decision or award to the victor."[50]

Secondly, envois can consist of dialogues that are not debate-centered. This kind of envoi appears in *maqāmāt* with no recognition scene or whose *anagnorisis* does not lead to *peripeteia*. As examples, the envois of the *Shiraz* and *Ruṣāfah maqāmāt* are constructed as mere question and answer, not as debate. The majority of this type of envois center upon dialogues between a willing donor and a grateful donee. In the third

189

episode of the *Maqāmah of the Lion*, ʿĪsā recognizes al-Iskandarī who is found begging with his children in the market of Ḥimṣ. ʿĪsā wishes to give him some dirhams and therefore repeats his offer in a poem in dimeter-*kāmil* meter.[51] This is the only place in the *Maqāmāt* where the donor's actual question is put into verse. In contrast, the versification of the eloquent beggar is much more common: in the *Yellow* and *Iblīs maqāmāt*, the donees (an anonymous youth in the former and al-Iskandarī in the latter) both address a eulogy[52] to the generous ʿĪsā.

Again we can note that al-Hamadhānī selects the meter for his eulogies with great care. When al-Iskandarī is serving as literary critic (the *Maqāmah of Jāḥiẓ*), his eulogy of ʿĪsā is composed in the *ṭawīl* meter, one of Arabic's favorite meters for *qaṣīd*-poetry. When he dresses up as a fully armed rider and boasts that his poetry is much finer than his prose (the *Maqāmah of al-Fazārah*), it is also the *ṭawīl*-metered eulogy (not his sword) that makes ʿĪsā voluntarily surrender everything he owns. When the potential donor becomes Khalaf ibn Aḥmad, the tenet implicit in the phrase "*li-kulli maqām maqāl*" (every situation has its own [level of] language) causes al-Hamadhānī to end five of the six panegyrical *maqāmāt* (those of *Nājim*, *Khalaf*, *Tamīm*, *Nishapur*, and *Kings*) with a *qaṣīd*-metered eulogy to the Ṣaffārid amīr.

As mentioned in Chapter II, the happy ending to the *Maqāmah of the Nājim* can be viewed as a dream of our frustrated beggar. For ambitious and able men such as al-Nājim, the only satisfactory way out is to seek the rain (generosity) of Khalaf. The

Maqāmah of the Nājim contains two panegyrics to the amīr: the first is constructed as al-Nājim's reply to the rejected patron ʿĪsā, while the second (i.e., the envoi) is the triumphant hero's boast (*fakhr*) delivered in front of his admiring friends.

The *Khalaf* and *Tamīm maqāmāt* place the panegyrical envoi into a different setting. In these two *maqāmāt* ʿĪsā serves as an official in Basrah and the governor of a Syrian province respectively. As with the patron who trusts the unemployed scribe in al-Tanūkhī's weaver-story,[53] ʿĪsā relies upon a talented youth of "excellence" and "wisdom."[54] However the youth complains about ʿĪsā's unqualified patronage, and his *sajʿ*-reprimand ends with a panegyric in which Khalaf is depicted as being the opposite of ʿĪsā. In the *Nishapur* and *Kings maqāmāt*, however, the virtues of Khalaf are detailed by al-Iskandarī in both *sajʿ* and verse. The panegyrical envois in these two *maqāmāt* are designed as the conclusion to al-Iskandarī's instructional reply to the ignorant ʿĪsā. We also need to point out that these five panegyrical envois, although set in dialogues, are essentially akin to a short piece of poetry with which al-Iskandarī ends his *sajʿ*-sermon in the episode proper. As for the envoi in the *Maqāmah of Sāriyah*, i.e., the sixth panegyrical *maqāmah*, it not only is shaped as a non-dialogic commentarial envoi, but also contains a panegyric to the amīr Khalaf ibn Aḥmad.

From this discussion of the dialogic envois it becomes clear that they constitute al-Hamadhānī's major means of conveying satire or eulogy. Roughly speaking, the debate-related envois are mostly satirical while the non-debate ones are mostly

panegyrical. By means of different envois, al-Hamadhānī easily recasts satire (in the *Balkh* and *Kūfah maqāmāt*, for example) into eulogy (the *Yellow* and *Nājim*) even though their main episodes appear similar to each other.[55] When the pre-Islamic poet chants the highly formulaic *qaṣīdah*, he will often open with the routines of the prelude (*nasīb*) and departure (*raḥīl*) before moving on to the main theme (be it *madīḥ*, *hijāʾ*, or *fakhr*) towards the end of the poem.[56] In this sense the *maqāmah*, with different feelings evoked by its envois, is not functioning in a way that is all that different from a *qaṣīdah*.

Luan

This section will tackle the question as to whether the *maqāmah*'s envoi functions as the *luan* in the Chinese *fu*. As we mentioned in the section "Prosimetra compared" of Chapter I, a *luan* is a verse section to be found in the end of many *fu*s. Having earlier introduced the Greek *agon* in order to show that the essence of al-Hamadhānī's usual envoi is a debate, we will now make use of another feature of the Greek comedy, the hypermeter, to compare it with the Chinese *luan*. This short survey of the Chinese *luan* and the Greek hypermeter will reveal to our readers that the comparability of many prosimetric genres is very likely to be derived from the universality of certain aspects of ritual performance, which comprise firstly a question and answer divination, and secondly a devotional hymn. Therefore a piece of Hamadhānian *maqāmah*, as well as the Chinese *fu* and the Greek comedy, indeed shows an interplay of dialogic and undialogic

elements. Such an interplay, when combined with different modes of expression (i.e., plain prose, rhymed prose, and poetry), plays a great role in determining the prosimetric style of the *maqāmah* genre.

According to Zhu Binjie 褚斌傑, the great courtly *fu*s of Han (漢大賦) can be divided into two types. Type A is marked by a debate-centered dialogic form. A *fu* of this type (e.g., the *Seven Stimuli*) has an introduction (plain prose), main episode (rhymed prose), and a finale (plain prose). Type B does not have a dialogic structure, but is made up of an introduction (plain prose), main episode (rhymed prose), and an envoi which is similar to the *luan* of *Chu ci*.[57] For instance, Yang Xiong's *Ganquan fu* 甘泉賦 (*Fu on Sweet Springs Palace*)[58] describes "an imperial procession to a Han touring palace where sacrifices to the supreme Han deity, the Grand Unity, were performed."[59] In contrast to the Category B meter of the main episode, the Category A meter[60] is adopted by Yang Xiong for his *luan*, which can be read as both a blessing and a panegyric addressed to the emperor and kingdom. In the end of the previous section "Duet and solo," we noted that al-Hamadhānī's five panegyrical envois are essentially akin to the closing verse to a *sajʿ*-paragraph. Therefore it is no wonder that this Chinese *luan* would seem functionally similar to the envoi to be found in the panegyrical *maqāmāt* such as the *Maqāmah of Kings*.

For the Han courtly *fu*s there is always a need to break the monotony, whether to change the role (main episode) in Type A or to switch the meter (envoi) in Type B.

193

Therefore the *luan* in Type B courtly *fu*s always stands out from the main episode which is set in rhymed prose. We note a similar change of meter in the debate (*agon*) of ancient Greek comedies. In Aristophanes's *The Clouds*, Right Logic is introduced to the debate by the chorus's strophe (*ll*. 949-958) and his propaganda on behalf of old-time schooling ends with a climactic anapaestic hypermeter (*ll*.1009-1023).[61] In this long verse that is intended to be delivered in a single breath, Right Logic urges Pheidippides, the son of Strepsiades, to receive old-time schooling of the heroes of Marathon.[62] If we consider this verse as a kind of envoi or epilogue,[63] then Right Logic's admonition is indeed comparable to Ban Zhao's advice to her son in the *luan* of *Dongzheng fu*.[64]

At this point we will concern ourselves once more with Qu Yuan's *Chou si* which is characterized by three codas: *shao ge*, *chang*, and *luan*.[65] This is the only poem in the *Chu ci* collection that has more than one envoi. Hawkes tends to read *shao ge* as small chorus and *chang* as virtuoso solo.[66] In Xunzi's *Treatise of Fu*, there are also three coda poems following the five dialogic rhymed riddles. The second coda is called *xiao ge* 小歌 (lit. "small song"), whose name and satirical content are compared by Hawkes to those of the *shao ge*.[67] The editor Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (d. 1917) claims that, since the small song is used to restate the meaning of the first and longer coda (*gui shi* 佹詩, lit. "strange poem"[68]), it seems similar to the *luan* of *Chu ci*.[69]

We are going to present some different opinions about these codas and their modes of rendering very soon. At the moment, the structure of the *Treatise of Fu* suggests

194

that Zhu Binjie's categorization should not be followed too closely. The dialogic and undialogic *fu*s may have been combined originally under an integrated mode of performance. An interplay of dialogic and undialogic elements appears in many prosimetric genres in world literature. Stephanie Jamison notes that in Vedic India two priests would engage in riddling dialogue before the sacrifice during Aśvamedha (horse sacrifice) rituals.[70] We would propose that the Chinese performance, upon which *Treatise of Fu* is based, would similarly comprise firstly a question and answer divination, and secondly a devotional hymn accompanying the sacrifice offered to the besought deity. The comparability of different prosimetric genres that are under discussion in our study is very likely to be derived from the universality of such performances.[71]

Even in Aristophanes's *The Clouds* we can find other traces of such performance to be placed alongside the dialogic debates.[72] At the end of the *prologos*, Socrates mimics the sacrifice of King Athamas,[73] who in Greek mythology had married and divorced a cloud goddess.[74] Therefore it is very probable that Socrates's prayer to the Clouds, with which the *parodos* begins, is made to follow the desired sacrifice. Then the summoned goddesses enter the scene and chant two songs (*ll*. 275-290 and *ll*. 298-313). This alternation between chanted and sung verses is also attested in the two interludes (sg. parabasis, pl. parabases)[75] of *The Clouds*.

It is likely that the Greek interlude was originally an epilogue. For example, *The Clouds* enters the first interlude after the *parodos*, i.e., after the goddesses answer

Socrates's prayer and promise to bestow eloquence on Strepsiades. This first interlude begins with a non-antistrophic song (commation). The coryphaeus then speaks as the poet himself[76] (in first person), and "complains of the defeat of his earlier *Clouds*."[77] This segment is termed the parabasis proper. In Aristophanes's other plays such as the *Acharnians*, *Knights*, *Wasps*, and *Birds*, the parabasis proper would end with the climactic hypermeter (*pnigos*).[78]

Because of its location at the end of divination (cf. *agon*) and devotional hymn (cf. *parodos*), as well as its singing-cum-chanting structure, the Greek interlude may shed some light upon the two sets of coda to be found in Qu Yuan's *Chou si* and Xunzi's *Treatise of Fu*. For example, the *shao ge*, *chang*, and *luan* of the *Chou si* may be seen as corresponding to the commation, parabasis proper, and hypermeter respectively. As for the three codas of the *Treatise of Fu*, the *gui shi* might be regarded as a replication of the main speech, the *xiao ge* as commation, and the *Fu for the Lord of Chunshen*[79] as the parabasis proper.

The *luan*s of the *Chu ci* and Han *fu*s are often put in the first person and thus used to express the personal opinions of poets. As we see in the *Ganquan fu*, *Dongzheng fu*, and *She jiang*, they can be panegyric, didactic, and satiric. Scholars have pointed out that the *luan* of *Zhao hun* also indicates the change of scene,[80] which is definitely one of the functions of the Greek interlude. Could the *luan* be seen as the equivalent of the hypermeter? We mentioned that not every interlude ends with a hypermeter, and the same

196

phenomenon can be seen in the fact that Qu Yuan applies *luan* to just seven of his *Chu ci* poems. On one occasion, the epilogue of a Han *fu* is called *xun* 訊,[81] a term that can be interpreted as meaning "fast" and "high-pitched,"[82] reminding us that the literary meaning of the term *pnigos* is "choker," for it "was to be recited at one breath, leaving the corypheus speechless."[83] If our hypothesis is valid, then the Chinese *luan* may originally have been chanted in the same way as the Greek hypermeter verse in the interlude, even after other parts such as the *shao ge* and *chang* were no longer extant.

We also observe here that the Chinese *luan* can be assigned yet another function in a work with an introduction. The structures of the Type-A and Type-B Han courtly *fu*s indicate that the poet needs to provide both a beginning and an end. The *luan* of Type B thus emerges as being functionally close to the plain-prose finale of Type A. Thus far we have suggested the existence of similarities between the Greek debate and the usual Hamadhānian envoi, and that between the Greek hypermeter and the Chinese *luan*. Might we also surmise that a usual envoi of the *maqāmah* takes on a second function similar to that of a *luan*? As we will demonstrate in detail at a later point, each Hamadhānian *maqāmah* has a prologue.[84] Since an envoi can serve as a conclusion, al-Hamadhānī feels no need to provide a finale for every piece.

The fisherman's song

It is known that the Greek hypermeter can be used in both interlude and debate. In

a like manner, the Chinese *luan* can sometimes display features very similar to al-Hamadhānī's debate-centered usual envoi. In the end of the section "The *mujtathth* meter" above, we left the question as to whether the *maqāmah*'s usual envoi, which is characterized by its *ramal*-type meter and a language level different from that of the *saj*ʿ, is meant to be sung or chanted. In this section we will introduce two Chinese *fu*s whose *luan*s show that folk songs can be included in so-called elite prosimetra, shedding light upon the different language levels of al-Hamadhānī's *saj*ʿ and envoi.

The use of first person in the Greek interlude[85] suggests a connection to the prologue of many dramas: Gay's *Beggar's Opera*, Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā*, and Yūsuf Idrīs's modern play, *Farāfīr* (1964), for example. As with the interlude, the prologue provides a chance for the author to directly address his audience. It is also noteworthy that the parabasis proper may resemble the speech of debate, especially because both can employ hypermeters.

For a poet possessed of originality, undialogic and dialogic speeches are interchangeable. The *Chu ci* collection has two short dialogic pieces: *Bu ju* 卜居 (Divination for a Dwelling) and *Yu fu* 漁父 (The Fisherman).[86] Each "is an anecdote about Qu Yuan of some incident supposed to have taken place during his banishment."[87] The *Bu ju* is constructed as a question and answer divination: the perplexed Qu Yuan goes to the Great Diviner and asks him "which is to be avoided and which to be followed."[88] Because Qu Yuan himself is a well-known diviner and poet, it is out of question for him

to have the leading role in this dialogue or debate. The rhetoric and powerful speech that he employs vividly recalls that of al-Iskandarī in the *Maqāmah of the Asylum*, except that the former, which consists of nine formulaic rhyming couplets of questions, ends with an extra satiric coda.[89]

Wolfhart Heinrichs mentions that al-Ḥarīrī sometimes allots "supererogatory" lines as "a crowning end to a sermon or harangue," and "the sequence prose-poetry is rarely reversed."[90] Such a phenomenon is also common for the Chinese prosimetric genres concerned in our study. In the *Treatise of Fu*, five allegorical riddles are conveyed in the form of divination, followed by three satiric codas. However, *Bu ju*'s divination does not aim at "playing the elegant tunes in the end."[91] It provides the setting for Qu Yuan to sermonize directly against the upside-down society. The function of the Great Diviner here recalls that of ʿĪsā in the *Maqāmah of Nishapur*: both minor figures serve as questioners and help transform a soliloquy into a duodrama. The Great Diviner's acknowledgement of failure also recalls the finale of a typical Hamadhānian *maqāmah*.

In many editions of *Chu ci*, *Bu ju* is immediately followed by *Yu fu*. A fisherman, who is sometimes interpreted as a Daoist recluse, finds the poet wandering along the riverbanks and inquires about the reason for his banishment. When Qu Yuan replies that it is "because all the world is muddy and I alone am clear; because all men are drunk and I alone am sober,"[92] the fisherman responds with an argument that is found in many of al-Iskandarī's envois:

聖人不凝滯於物，而能與世推移 (*yi* < *ʔ(r)jaj*)。世人皆濁，何不淈其泥而揚其波 (*bo* < *paj*)？眾人皆醉，何不餔其糟而歠其醨 (*li* < *C-rjaj*)？何故深思高舉，自令放為 (*wei* < *w(r)jaj*)？

The Wise Man is not chained to material circumstances, but can move as the world moves. If all the world is muddy, why not help them to stir up the mud and beat up the waves? And if all men are drunk, why not sup their dregs and swill their lees? Why get yourself exiled because of your deep thoughts and your fine aspirations?[93]

If the author of *Yu fu* is Qu Yuan himself, we may wonder why he incorporates the fisherman figure as an equally or more eloquent dialogue partner. Does the fisherman's detached attitude represent a plausible way out? Or is the creation of such a rival intended to show the firmness of Qu Yuan's resolution? According to Sima Qian's biography of Qu Yuan, *Yu fu* ends with the poet replying that he would rather cast himself into the river than submit his purity to the dirt.[94] If the *Yu fu* does end here, then we can surmise that its moral is the same as that of the *Bu ju*, and the fisherman, like the Great Diviner, is a loser in the debate. However the *Chu ci* collection goes on to record an extra paragraph:

漁父莞爾而笑，鼓枻而去，乃歌曰："滄浪之水清 (*qing* < *tshjeng*) 兮，可以濯吾纓 (*ying* < *ʔreng*)。滄浪之水濁 (*zhuo* < *drok*) 兮， 可以濯吾足 (*zu* < *tsjok*)。" 遂去不復與言。

The fisherman, with a faint smile, struck his paddle in the water and made off. And as he went he sang:
"When the Cang-lang's waters are clear,
I can wash my hat-strings in them;
When the Cang-lang's waters are muddy,
I can wash my feet in them."
With that he was gone, and did not speak again.[95]

Without the above-quoted paragraph, *Yu fu* is definitely Qu Yuan's "Justification in the

200

Face of Ridicule" and his statement of resolution. But the fisherman's smile reminds us

of our old acquaintance, al-Hamadhānī's al-Iskandarī. At the conclusion of the *Maqāmah*

of Wine, al-Iskandarī snorts, shouts, grins and laughs when ʿĪsā reproaches him for his

base occupations. As seen in the text of the *Yu fu*, Qu Yuan is not an eccentric like the

fisherman. The former cannot understand the latter's flexibility, just as ʿĪsā again and

again criticizes al-Iskandarī for his lifestyle. For the fisherman, it is Qu Yuan's

unchangeable nature that is responsible for his banishment, not the king's blindness. If

the fisherman really is a Daoist and follows the natural way of things, he has no intention

of forcing the poet to accept his values. The two rhyming couplets that he leaves are

marked as a song; when we think of the trio—al-Iskandarī, al-Nājim, and al-Ṣaymarī,[96]

its message is clear. If the waters of Canglang are muddy, the frustrated hero should retire

and wait patiently for them to become clear again.[97] This song of *Yu fu* is also followed

by a finale that, in my view, implies that the fisherman is successful in this debate.

Whether or not the quoted passage was added later by a Daoist-minded editor, the

fisherman's verses show that the envoi can be a real song. Since this envoi's moral and

structure are both similar to those of al-Hamadhānī's usual envois, we are left to wonder

whether al-Iskandarī can also leave the scene with a song. Towards the end of the Eastern

Han period (25 C.E.-220 C.E.), a *fu* writer Zhao Yi 趙壹 ends his *Ci shi ji xie fu* 刺世疾

邪賦 (*Fu* on Satirizing the World and Detesting Its Evils)[98] with an imagined dialogue

between a guest of Qin and a scholar of Lu.[99] The main text of the *fu*, as its name

suggests, involves the author's vehement criticism of the dark politics of his time. Both the guest of Qin and the scholar of Lu are introduced as readers of his critical comments. The former then recites a satiric poem which is followed by the latter's song. If we omit the names of two characters, then both poem and song can be read as codas presented by the poet himself.

Another thing that we can learn from the *Ci shi ji xie fu* is that both poem and song use the same five-character meter. Their language is relatively simple as compared with the main text of the *fu*. The five-character meter is believed to have originated in folk songs of the Han dynasty.[100] As a matter of fact, the song of Canglang is also recorded in the *Book of Mencius* as a boy's ditty.[101] Its scheme (*tum tum ti tum tum xi: tum tum tum tum tum*) seems to be a mixture of the quadrisyllabic *Shi jing* style, the *sao*-style, and the embryonic five-character style. We have noted[102] that the heralds of Zhou and Qin were dispatched by rulers to collect "expressions of various eras 代語, children's ditties 童謠, songs 歌, and skits 戲"[103] from the masses. Citation or forgery of folk songs in anecdotes (*Yu fu*), the *fu* (*Ci shi ji xie fu*), and philosophic works (*Mencius*) may well have accorded with the admonitory function of those heralds. This function also explains the unity in a piece of prosimetrum of the rhetorical main text and the less ornate folk song. This fact can even shed some light upon the different language levels of al-Hamadhānī's *saj'* and envoi. A Hamadhānian envoi usually serves as an outlet for frustration or admonishment; it is chanted by the beggar hero before he exits the scene.

Since a piece of *maqāmah* is constructed as ʿĪsā ibn Hishām's record of al-Iskandarī's words and deeds, ʿĪsā's function is quite comparable to that of a Chinese herald. Therefore a register of language different from that of the *sajʿ* can give to the envoi a sense of objectivity and naturalness.

Qāla

Many verses in the *Maqāmāt* are introduced by the catchphrase *fa qāla* (so he/it said). Some *maqāmāt* are even noted for their so-called "redundant" *qāla*s. This section focuses on the functions of *qāla* and discusses its significance for a text that simulates a performance.

In the first debate of Aristophanes's *The Clouds* Right Logic describes the ancient system of education.[104] The heroes of Marathon were not only trained by the gymnastic-master, but also "should march in good order through the streets to the school"[105] of the kithara-master. The kithara-master taught the students "to learn by rote a song," "raising to a higher pitch the harmony which our fathers transmitted to us."[106]

In Chapter II, we touched on the importance of music for Hebrew prophets and Chinese blind musicians. Ezek. 33:32 depicts the prophet as one "who sings love songs (*shir*) with a beautiful voice and plays well on an instrument (*meṭiv naggen*)." The biblical Hebrew verbal root *n-g-n* means to "touch (strings), play a stringed instrument."[107] Similarly, Chinese blind musicians were supposed to pluck the *qin* and *se*

203

while reciting poems and imperial genealogies, in that they can also be compared to the Greek epic-singers who "accompanied themselves on the kithara."[108]

Playing a stringed instrument was a prerequisite for prophets, annalists, epic-poets, and educators.[109] According to *Zhou li*, the grand director of music was responsible for teaching young aristocrats various forms of musical conversation: to cite a parable (*xing* 興), to admonish by drawing on historic examples (*dao* 道), to recite from memory (*feng* 諷), to recite with tone and rhythm (*song* 誦), to pose a question (*yan* 言), and to answer a question (*yu* 語).[110] These six forms of expression may have originated with a modulated singing voice so that they were clearly defined as "musical." Their performances were very likely accompanied by musical instrument(s). One can imagine that a young aristocrat of Zhou was supposed to master these forms of expression in order to admonish the king and discuss various issues in his political career.

The above translation of the six forms has made use of the commentary of the Eastern Han scholar, Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127 C.E.-200 C.E.), who discriminates between them by designating them as different genres.[111] During the reign of Emperor Wu of Western Han, a lumberer named Zhu Maichen 朱買臣 (d. 115 B.C.E.) was promoted to senior official for being able to recount the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and recite the *Chu ci*.[112] The *Han shu* also records that Zhu used to recite (*song* 誦) books while walking along the road, but his embarrassed wife often forbade him to "sing" (*ge ou* 歌嘔). Such professional recitation probably sounded like singing in the eyes of uneducated layman; if

204

we take the case of the Greek kithara-master into account, then Zhu Maichen's musical recitation of annals and poetry could have been learnt orally and needed a good deal of oral practice. The reason behind Emperor Wu's promotion of Zhu Maichen is probably the same as that behind the caliph Muʿāwiyah's appreciation of ʿUbayd.[113] In both cases the ruler believed that such recitations were crucial to good governance.

At the same time, musical recitations are vulnerable to change and oblivion. This explains why nowadays we have such a small vocabulary for modes of performance (spoken, recited/chanted, sung).[114] Just as Zheng Xuan of the Eastern Han had to resort to genres in order to distinguish forms of expression, James Kugel invokes song and proverb when expounding the biblical high style.[115]

The need to reconstruct the metrical format of a work concerning musical recitations can result in commentaries. According to John Williams White, Aristophanes's original collection of plays contained musical notes, which "were probably soon eliminated from the copies offered for sale by the trade."[116] Around the first century C.E., Heliodorus annotated Aristophanes's works with the diple (double paragraph) in order to indicate the change of mode.[117] For example, when reading the annotated first interlude of *The Birds*, we are led to understand (with our limited vocabulary of modes of performance) that the commation is sung in the Aeolic rhythm, the parabasis proper in the form of recitative in anapaestic tetrameters, and the hypermeter is also recitative in anapaestic hypermeters.[118] Heliodorus also uses the lineola (single paragraph) and the

coronis to introduce a new speaker and to allude to certain facts of the scenic action respectively.[119]

These Greek textual symbols can be compared to the Chinese *yue* 曰, which frequently appears in the texts of the prosimetra concerned in our study. In two of Xunzi's dialogue-riddles, for example, the response is not introduced by naming the superior, but by a mere *yue* (he/it said).[120] Similarly, the epilogue of Qu Yuan's *Bei hui feng* 悲回風 (Grieving at the Eddying Wind) substitutes the usual formula *luan yue* 亂曰 (the *luan* reads) with *yue*.[121] It has been suggested that *yue* is the semeiosis employed to indicate certain paratextual features such as music, singing, speaking, and even dancing.[122]

As a matter of fact, forty-three Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* include the formulaic phrase, "*qāla ʿĪsā bnu Hishām*" or "*qāla*,"[123] which, in the wake of our above discussion of Greek and Chinese symbols, should not be simply translated as "'Īsā ibn Hishām said" or "he/it said." In most cases, the formula denotes the end of an eloquent speech, whether it is couched in verse or ornate *sajʿ*. Using the *Maqāmah of Balkh* as an example, we may note that *qāla ʿĪsā bnu Hishām* appears once at the end of al-Iskandarī's *sajʿ*-riddle concerning the gold coin, and again at the end of the rogue hero's eulogy (*madīḥ*) of ʿĪsā. The phrase "*qāla ʿĪsā bnu Hishām*" does not lead directly to ʿĪsā's reply, but rather to the donor's interior monologue ("Then I knew it was a dinar that he demanded") and then his reaction ("Then I gave him the dinar and said to him…") respectively.[124] It seems clear therefore that "*qāla ʿĪsā bnu Hishām*" functions in a symbolic fashion rather than as a

real action on the narrator's part.

The *Maqāmah of Fresh Butter* has two "redundant" *qāla*s that are put in brackets by ʿAbduh. The first one appears after the plain-prose introduction and before the stingy Bedouin host starts his *sajʿ*-description of the date. In this case therefore, the formula does not end but rather serves as an introduction to an ornate piece of *sajʿ*.[125] A similar phenomenon is found in the Chinese *fu*. As Zhu Binjie informs us, the Han courtly *fu*s often have a plain-prose introduction and a rhymed main episode. Some *fu* writers prefer to insert a "redundant" *qi ci yue* 其辭曰 (its speech goes[126]) in between to mark the switch.[127] In the *Maqāmah of Fresh Butter* it seems that the function of the first *qāla* is analogous to that of *qi ci yue* in a Chinese *fu*.

There are six "redundant" *qāla*s and one *qāla ʿĪsā bnu Hishām* in the *Maqāmah of Wine*. The first *qāla* marks the transition from the general introduction to the specific happening on "one night (*baʿḍ layālī*)."[128] Other *qāla*s appear when the location or time changes, a new character is introduced, or a speech is ended.[129] The frequency of this "redundant" *qāla* in the *Maqāmah of Wine* is very unusual. For example, *qāla* is not required when there is already a *lammā* (when):

> (qāla) wa lammā massatnā ḥālunā tilka daʿatnā dawāʿī ʾl-shaṭāra(ti) ilā ḥāni ʾl-khammāra(ti).
>
> (He/It said:) 'When we felt the effect of that our predicament, mischievous inclinations led us to the inn of the female vintner.[130]

As a counter-example, the *Maqāmah of Adharbayjān* contains a similar transition of location / time which is not introduced by *qāla*:

fa bayna anā yawman fī baʿḍi aswāqihā idh…

Now one day while I was in one of its streets, there suddenly…[131]

In short, the appearance of the "*qāla*" phrase does lead the *Maqāmah of Wine* to stand out from some less "dramatic" *maqāmāt*, although the formula seems to make an editor such as ʿAbduh uneasy.[132] Perhaps the redundant "*qāla*" in the Hamadhānian *Maqāmāt* was originally meant to be used as a symbol. It also seems possible that the longer phrase, "*qāla ʿĪsā bnu Hishām*," had been developed from the shorter *qāla*.[133]

Besides the existence of these "redundant" *qāla*s, the fifty-two Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* found in the margins of the 1928 edition of the *Rasāʾil* make use of symbols of the sun with rays (☼) to distinguish the end of a rhyming colon of *sajʿ*. Asterisks of the same function are found in the 1873 Beirut-edition of the *Maqāmāt al-Charīrī*.[134] We should emphasize here that a *maqāmah* is often vocalized, a feature that the genre shares with the Qurʾān. For a work which is meant to be recited, such symbols served to facilitate understanding and memorization in an age with no punctuation marks. The 1928 edition of the *Rasāʾil* also applies indentation to mark the verses of the *Maqāmāt*.[135] Therefore the Arabic text in this edition clearly distinguishes plain prose (with no sun symbol or indentation), *sajʿ* (with sun symbols), and poetry (with indentation).

208

Kharjah

The *Maqāmāt* include many other instances of the use of "*qāla*" which need to be understood as involving real actions. These *qāla*s (or *qultu*, *qālat*, *qulnā*) can lead indiscriminatingly to direct speeches of plain prose, *saj ʿ*, and poetry. In this section we once again confront the question as to how to interpret the envoi's mode of rendering.

In the Arabic melic genre named *muwashshaḥ*,[136] the final lines (*kharjah*, lit. "exit") often consist of a real or fictitious quotation, introduced by formulae such as "I sang, said; he/she/it sang, said."[137] The prosody of *muwashshaḥ* remains a controversial topic,[138] and the linkage of the *muwashshaḥ*'s meter to Arabic ʿ*arūḍ* system (rather than Andalusian metrical forms) is by no means clear or settled. According to Gregor Schoeler, one adherent of the quantitative theory, the main body of a *muwashshaḥ* is composed in classical Arabic by adapting Khalīlian meters such as *ramal*, *khafīf*, and *mujtathth*, together with "modified <u>Kh</u>alīlian metres and combinations of feet that do not exist in the Classical *ḳaṣīd* poetry in the same way."[139] In contrast, the *kharjah* is mostly put in vernacular Arabic, "or Romance mixed with vernacular Arabic" and "very rarely pure Romance."[140] Ever since Samuel M. Stern discovered the Romance *kharjah*s in 1948,[141] they have been recognized as "the oldest known secular lyrics in any Romance language."[142] Folk songs, whether as the embryo of Chinese five-character poems or of Romance secular lyrics, indeed provide important materials for littérateurs.

We mentioned earlier[143] that the fisherman's song of Qu Yuan is also recorded in the *Mencius*. Likewise, the *kharjah* in Arabic *muwashshaḥāt* can be produced with "recycled" materials.[144] If we regard a whole Hamadhānian *maqāmah* as being analogous to a piece of *muwashshaḥ*, then the envoi may indeed be comparable to the *kharjah* specifically in regard to the trait of repitition. For instance, the envoi of the *Maqāmah of Jāḥiẓ* says:

> *Iskandarīyatu dārī*
>   *law qarra fīhā qarārī*
> *lākinna laylī bi-Najdin*
>   *wa biʾl-Ḥijāzi nahārī*
>
> Alexandria is my home,
>   if but there my resting-place were fixed,
> But my night I pass in Nejd,
>   in Ḥijāz my day.[145]

Both its wording and meter (*mujtathth*) reappear in the *Maqāmah of Knowledge*:

> *Iskandarīyatu dārī*
>   *law qarra fīhā qarārī*
> *lākinna biʾl-Shāmi laylī*
>   *wa biʾl-ʿIrāqi nahārī*
>
> Alexandria is my home,
>   if but in it my resting-place were fixed.
> But my night I pass in Syria,
>   in Iraq my day.[146]

In *Dār al-ṭirāz fī ʿamal al-muwashshaḥāt* (The House of Embroidery concerning the Crafting of *Muwashshaḥāt*), the Ayyubid poet Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (d. 608/1211)

compiles an anthology of 34 Andalusian strophic poems.[147] Ibn Sanāʾ's choice of "*Dār al-ṭirāz*" as the book title links the words *muwashshaḥ* to a piece of ornate fabric,[148] thus echoing our earlier comparison in this chapter of the envoi to the *ṭirāz* band.[149] Besides recyclability there is another feature that the *muwashshaḥ*'s *kharjah* shares with the *maqāmah*'s envoi. We have already noted that five of the panegyrical *maqāmāt* make use of the *qaṣīd*-typed meters for their envois. In a panegyrical *muwashshaḥ*, the usually vernacular *kharjah* would give way to "formal grammatical inflections" whereby the name of the patron is to be mentioned.[150] For example, Ibn al-Labbānah (d. 507/1113) praises the Banū ʿAbbād in the 12th *muwashshaḥ* of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's anthology. The last *bayt* and the *fuṣḥā-kharjah* are as follows:

> *laka ʾl-faḍlu wa innaka min **ālih***
> *raʾā ʾl-kullu bi-kum nayla ām**ālih***
> *famā yakhlū man yunshidu fī ḥ**ālih***
> *banī ʿAbb**ād** bi-kum naḥnu fī aʿy**ād***
> *wa fī aʿr**ās** lā ʿadamtumū li-ʾl-n**ās***

> Nobility is yours and you are from a noble family.
> All see the attainment of favours they hope for through you,
> So there are many who sing in the situation:
>   "Banī ʿAbbād, because of you we are enjoying festivals
>   And weddings. May you live forever for the people's
>   sake!"[151]

In the above example we note the pattern of 4+7 syllables in both the *bayt* and the *kharjah*. Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's anthology contains ten *muwashshaḥāt* that can be ascribed to the poet al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī (the blind man of Tudela),[152] who likes to arrange

corresponding number or pattern of syllables in lines of *bayt* and *qufl*. The dividability of

the number twelve again and again reveals its magic: we encounter the syllabic patterns

of 6+6, 8+4, 8+3, 5+8, 6+7, 5+5+5+5, 12+12.[153] In the first *muwashshaḥ* for example,[154]

a line of *bayt* has 6+6 syllables, while a line of *qufl* has four cola of 6+6+6+6 syllables

with a rhyming pattern of *abab*.[155] However its *kharjah* is as follows:

> *qad raʾaytuka ʿayyān*
> *aysh*[156] *ʿalayka satadrī*
> *sayaṭūlu ʾl-zamān*
> *wa satunsī dhikrī*
>
> "I did see you.
> What's up with you? You know
> Time will pass
> And you will forget me."[157]

The *qad* of the first colon and the *aysh* of the second can be interpreted as redundant

syllables[158] and may have represented grace notes in a piece of music.[159] At this juncture

we need once again to invoke the envoi of the *Maqāmah of the Blind* which is quoted at

the beginning of this chapter: al-Iskandarī's response to ʿĪsā's question is introduced by a

lā which does not count in the scansion, suggesting that the *lā* in question may function

in a manner similar to that of the redundant syllables in a *kharjah*.

According to Schoeler, "the convention of closing a poem with a quotation

existed already long before the origin of the *muwashshaḥ*; numerous wine poems in Abū

Nuwās (all, to be sure, in *ḳaṣīd* form) end with the poet putting the last line or hemistich

into the mouth of a singer or songstress."[160] The verb *akhraja* has already been related to *ḥikāyah*-performances,[161] and its active participle (*mukhrij*) is used in modern standard Arabic for "director" (of film, drama, etc.). When the *muwashshaḥ* made the quotation a fixed element of the *kharjah*, it was in essence reproducing a kind of performance in the mode of melic poetry. A *muwashshaḥ* can be as polythematic as a *qaṣīdah*. The *kharjah*, with its position as the last *qufl*, often serves to emphasize the poem's message.[162] Contrary to the cynical satires of al-Iskandarī in al-Hamadhānī's envois, most *kharjah*s in Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's anthology focus on love or praise. For instance, the previously cited *kharjah* of Ibn al-Labbānah quotes actual people, thus giving a sense of naturalness and facticity to the eulogy of his patrons. By way of contrast, on other occasions quotations are placed into the mouths of animals[163] or even personified battle (*hayjāʾ*).[164] In this regard the panegyric-*washshāḥ* functions like a Chinese herald, except that it is only positive views and opinions culled from the masses that he delivers in his poetry.

The closing quotation also has a long history within the Chinese literary tradition. It can been found in the fisherman's solo or the dialogue of the *Ci shi ji xie fu*, and also applies to some Dunhuang popular *fu*s that may be related to theatrical activities of late Tang and Five Dynasties. In the year 1046 C.E., Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (d. 1052 C.E.) composed his famous prose-work, *Yueyang lou ji* 岳陽樓記 (Record of the Yueyang Pavilion). Its structure is very close to that of the Type-B *fu* (in Zhu Binjie's definition), with the transformation of an envoi into a dialogue. In the next to last sentence, he

imagines an ideal gentleman who says, "One should be the first to worry about his country and people and the last to enjoy himself," thus revealing the moral after a very ornate description of the pavilion. While many of his contemporaries were surprised to read dialogue in a prose-work celebrating the reconstruction of a building, the critic Yin Zhu 尹洙 (d. 1047 C.E.) pointed out that Fan Zhongyan had employed the style of *chuanqi* (*chuanqi ti* 傳奇體).[165] We would add here that the dialogic form is by no means the sole province of the *chuanqi*;[166] Fan Zhongyan may also have been inspired by the codas of the *Treatise of fu* in order to present the thesis.[167] As an aspiring statesman, he changes the satirical tone of Xunzi's codas, but insists on his preference for the interests of his country and people. The fisherman in the Chinese tradition and al-Iskandarī in the Arabic both "move as the world moves" in order to overcome inevitable frustration. In contrast, Fan Zhongyan advises his demoted colleague[168] to abandon completely any thought of personal sorrow or happiness. This is his response to the many ups and downs of one's career.

In this long section entitled "Envoi," we first quoted the theory of al-Jawharī to point out that the *ramal*-type meters which characterize the Hamadhānian envois are especially suitable for carrying out "social-rank disputes." By introducing the debate (*agon*) of ancient Greek comedy, we came to understand that the usual envoi of the *Maqāmāt* may indeed be based upon *munāẓarah*s or quasi-*munāẓarah* dialogues. Furthermore, the comparison of the Hamadhānian envoi with the Andalusian *kharjah*, as

214

well as with the fisherman's song of Qu Yuan, showed the strong musicality and performability of al-Iskandarī's exit lines. Although music had been an important branch of education for admonishers in various traditions, musical recitations are vulnerable to change and oblivion, which is partly proved by our limited vocabulary for modes of rendering. The many "redundant" *qāla*s in the *Maqāmāt*-manuscripts demonstrate that some *maqāmāt* look very similar to the texts that simulate a performance. It is beyond the ability of the readers nowadays to reconstruct the envois' modes of rendering even with the hints of meter-scansion and with symbols such as *qāla* and indentation.

Back and forth

Sermons

Following the above comparative discussion of the *Maqāmāt*'s envoi, we move to the sequences of prose-poetry and poetry-prose in the episode proper. Up to this point, we have discussed al-Hamadhānī's sudden switch from *saj'* to poetry and his closing verse to a *saj'*-sermon.[169] These phenomena often take place in the *maqāmāt* that focus on al-Iskandarī's repartee in front of audiences. In this section named "Back and forth," we will firstly analyze the interesting prose-poetry sequence of the second sermon of the *Maqāmah of the Exhortation* and trace its counterparts in other Arabic prosimetra related to religious homilies. Moreover, this sermon reveals some common features of popular

215

preaching in Arabic and Chinese traditions, and could represent an early stage of prose-poetry alternation coined by al-Hamadhānī. Secondly, we will point out that the sudden switch to poetry in the *Jurjān* and *Baṣrah maqāmāt* could have represented a later stage of alternation. Thirdly, we will provide a new reading of the unique poetry-prose sequence in the *Maqāmah of Qazwīn* by means of a comparison of the Chinese popular lecture (*sujiang*) that was influenced by Buddhism.

A group of Hamadhānian *maqāmāt*, which focus more on the repartee of al-Iskandarī than on his ruses or actions, often take place in locations such as the market, mosque, riverside, or at an assembly or banquet. At the beginning of the *Maqāmah of the Exhortation* we discover that ʿĪsā walks to an open space where a crowd has gathered around a hoary man who is standing there admonishing them. The second part of the preacher's admonition involves a sermon inside a sermon,[170] beginning thus:

> *wa qad samiʿtu anna ʿAlīya bna ʾl-Ḥusayni kāna qāʾiman yaʿiẓu ʾl-nāsa wa yaqūlu:*
> I have heard that ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn was standing admonishing the people and saying:[171]

The semi-*isnād* (*wa qad samiʿtu anna*) transforms this hoary preacher, al-Iskandarī, into a transmitter (*rāwī*) of a report from the Shīʿī imām, ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. *c*. 94/712).[172] The following text, which constitutes two thirds of this *maqāmah*, is made up of nine *zuhd* (asceticism)-fragments with prose-poetry alternation. In the first segment, we read:

> *yā nafsu ḥattāma ilā ʾl-ḥayāti rukūnuki wa ilā ʾl-dunyā wa ʿamāratihā sukūnuki amā*

216

*ᵓᶜtabarti bi-man maḍā min as**lāfiki** wa bi-man wārathu ᵓl-arḍu min ā**lāfiki** wa man fujiᶜti*

*bihi min ikhw**āniki** wa nuqila ilā dāri ᵓl-bilā min aqr**āniki***

fa-hum fī buṭūni ᵓl-arḍi baᶜda ẓuhūrihā

　*maḥasinuhum fīhā bawālin dawāth**irū***

khalat dūruhum minhum wa aqwat ᶜirāṣuhum

　*wa sāqathum naḥwa ᵓl-manāyā ᵓl-maqād**irū***

wa khallaw ᶜani ᵓl-dunyā wa mā jamaᶜū lahā

　*wa ḍammathum taḥta ᵓl-turābi ᵓl-ḥafāᵓ**irū**[173]*

O soul, how long wilt thou rely upon life, and depend upon the world and its building up?
Hast thou not taken warning from those of thy ancestors who have passed away, from those of thy friends whom the earth has covered up, from those of thy brethren whom thou mourn, and from those of thy fellows who have been transported to the house of decay?
In the bowels of the earth are they after having been upon its back.
　Their virtues decaying and forgotten therein.
Their houses are emptied of them and their enclosures are void,
　And the Fates have driven them deathwards.
They have left the world and what they had collected therein,
　And under the earth the pits have embraced them.[174]

ᶜAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn's collection of prayers (*Al-Ṣaḥīfah al-kāmilah al-sajjādīyah*)[175] contains a section entitled "His supplication when someone's Death was Announced to him or when he Remembered Death."[176] It is composed in prose and lacks, as do his other prayers, the prose-poetry alternation to be found in the *Maqāmah of the Exhortation*, leading us to guess that al-Hamadhānī is presenting his readers with a touching sermon of his own creation. Kennedy notes that the nine poetic fragments may form "parts of a single poem"[177] since they employ the same *ṭawīl* meter and *-irū* rhyme. If such is the case, the original poem is evenly divided by *sajᶜ*-passages of similar lengths. What is more, the first line of each stanza depends on the preceding prose, thus suggesting the

syntactic interdependence of poetry and prose.[178]

Besides the *Exhortation*, both the *Jurjān* and *Baṣrah maqāmāt* host a distinct prose-poetry sequence. As opposed to the aforementioned sermon that emphasizes the *zuhd*-theme, the speeches of al-Iskandarī in the *Jurjān* and *Baṣrah maqāmāt* actually form two narratives that explain the reason for his begging in front of the potential donors. The poetic fragments in each of the two *maqāmāt* are independent verses triggered by various emphases found within the *sajʿ* segments. As part of the earlier discussion[179] of the meaning of the term *maqāmah*, we quoted from the first poem in the *Jurjān*. The two lines by Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā are adopted by al-Hamadhānī in order to accentuate al-Iskandarī's self-praise presented in the preceding *sajʿ*-passage.[180] The four poems that follow also seem to result from "an excess of emotions."[181] They break away from the focus of the narrative and describe al-Iskandarī's constant journeying, the praiseworthiness of his former donor, and the sad situation of his child and himself. Al-Iskandarī, through the agency of creator al-Hamadhānī, often selects from his stock of poetry the most picturesque verses and eloquent similes:

> *ʿalā annī khallaftu umma mathwāya wa zughlūlan lī:*
> *ka annahu dumlujun min fiḍḍatin nabahun*
>   *fī malʿabin min ʿadhārā ʾl-ḥayyi mafṣūmū*

> But I have left behind the mother of my abode and my little one:
> As though he were a precious armlet of silver,
>   broken and thrown down on the playground of the maidens of the tribe.[182]

The five poems in the *Maqāmah of Jurjān* may have different content, meter, and rhyme, but they are combined into a coherent and convincing speech which has as its primary goal to loosen the strings of money purses.

In both the *Baṣrah* and *Jurjān maqāmāt*, al-Iskandarī begins his speech with a self-introduction.[183] Even with a similar beginning and prose-poetry sequence, the *Maqāmah of Baṣrah* exhibits quite a few variations, resulting in a poetic impression that differs from that of the *Maqāmah of Jurjān*. In the above quoted poem, the child (*zughlūl*) of al-Iskandarī is likened to a broken and abandoned silver armlet on the playground. By contrast, the first of the three "emotional" poems in the *Maqāmah of Baṣrah* compares the burdensome children (*zaghālīl*) with serpents that hitch a ride with beggars when they travel. What is more, al-Iskandarī proceeds to chant a poem full of high pitched satire that ascribes all his sufferings to social inequality:

> *waʾl-faqru fī zamani ʾl-liʾā*
>   *mi li-kulli dhī karamin ʿal**āmah***
> *raghiba ʾl-kirāmu ilā ʾl-liʾā*
>   *mi wa tilka ashrāṭu ʾl-qiy**āmah***

> And poverty in the day of the mean,
>   Is every noble man's badge.
> The noble incline towards the mean,
>   And this is one of the signs of the last day.[184]

Since the *Maqāmah of Baṣrah* lacks a recognition scene and an envoi, al-Hamadhānī deliberately lets his hero chant such a satirical poem to end the episode proper.

Can we find the prose-poetry sequence in Arabic religious homilies other than the *maqāmāt*? In our discussion of the etymology of *maqāmah*,[185] we have noted ten pious homilies (sg. *maqām*) contained in Ibn Qutaybah's *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*. Among these ten *maqām*s, there is only one with an embedded piece of poetry. It involves Khālid ibn Ṣafwān (d. 135/752) and the Umayyad caliph Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 105-125/724-743).[186] Khālid the companion tells a story about a Persian king who at first was arrogant because of his property but, after being admonished that mundane wealth and power are impermanent things, became a monk. The tale ends with a three-line *khafīf*-metered evidentiary poem (*shāhid*) from the poet ʿAdī ibn Zayd,[187] which, in a very simple style, encapsulates the message of the preceding prose passage.[188]

Such a prose passage accompanied by a piece of evidentiary verse can certainly be linked to the *ayyām* narratives. In this particular case the theme of asceticism also suggests a close similarity to the *A 1001 Nights* tale of *The City of Brass* (*Madīnat al-nuḥās*). In that tale Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr (19-98/640-716 or 717), the Umayyad governor of the province of Ifrīqiyah, finds seven tablets at the city-fortress, six of them engraved with prosimetric admonitions.[189] The theme of lamentation over the fate of once-powerful nations and people (*ubi sunt*) creates a very similiar repetitiveness that we also find in the second sermon of the *Maqāmah of the Exhortation*. In *The City of Brass* each time Shaykh al-Ṣamūdī reads/translates the prose and poetry inscribed on the tablets in ancient Greek, Mūsā weeps (*bakā*)—exactly the same reaction as the Caliph Hishām

upon hearing Khālid's story. In the first Ḥarīrian *maqāmah*, the rogue al-Sarūjī dresses up as a pilgrim and preaches to a weeping crowd,[190] and we can note that his sermon also consists of prose crowned with a piece of *zuhd*-poetry. The fact that Mūsā in *The City of Brass*, Hishām in the *maqām*, and the weeping crowd in the first Ḥarīrian *maqāmah* were all actually enjoying the admonition leads us to suggest its functional similarity with Greek tragedy—since both can accomplish the catharsis of pity and fear.[191]

Sujiang

This section provides a discussion of the Chinese *sujiang* 俗講 (popular lecture), "a religious service that may include various types of liturgical and exegetical texts."[192] We will explore the qualifications of preachers, procedures for carrying out such a popular lecture, and the similar prose-poetry or poetry-prose sequences to reveal the secrets behind the popularity of the aforementioned Arabic admonitions.

The Chinese term *sujiang* first appears in mid-7th century C.E.[193] *Sujiang* can be related to *jing dao* 經導 (sūtra-chanting and exegesis) which are two skills employed by Buddhist monks of the Six Dynasties, aimed at converting the common people.[194] Generally speaking, the Master of *jing* (*jing shi* 經師) would translate and sing the *gāthā* (*ji* 偈, "stanzas") and *strotra* (*zan* 讚, "eulogies"), while the Master of *dao* (*dao shi* 導師) was able to explain the meaning of sūtra, as well as quoting *avadāna*/*nidāna* (*yinyuan* 因緣, "Causation and Occasion") and *upamā* (*piyu* 譬喻, "exemplum").[195] Moreover, a

221

dao shi should ideally be possessed of a loud voice, eloquence, literary talent, and erudition (*sheng bian cai bo* 聲辯才博);[196] his exegesis may well have been prosimetric (*chang shuo* 唱說, "*chante-fable*"). A Buddhist *dao shi*[197] thus puts us in mind of al-Iskandarī, whose ability to deliver many a tailor-made sermon in front of different audiences is similarly highlighted by Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554 C.E.) when he praises the *biantai* 變態 (metamorphosis, transformation) of the *dao shi*.[198] For today's readers of the Hamadhānian *maqāmāt*, the short pieces betray a fairly wide range of interests and focuses (the bawdy *Maqāmah of Shām*, the ascetic *Maqāmah of the Exhortation*, the picaresque *Maqāmah of Moṣul*, the slapstick *Maqāmah of Baghdād*, etc.). The principle of *li-kulli maqām maqāl* and the changeability of the entertainer have provided common ground for medieval Arabic and Chinese popular preaching.

Generally speaking, Chinese *sujiang* during the Six Dynasties and Tang took place in temples and were signaled by striking a bell in the morning.[199] Preachers would probably stop at sunset and urge the audience to return the next day. At the beginning of al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmah of Isfahan*, ʿĪsā hears the call-to-prayer and wishes to take advantage of public prayers.[200] It is in this *maqāmah* that al-Iskandarī presents an eloquent speech, winning him dirhams that "poured upon him."[201] Similarly, Tang popular lecturers were great fund-raisers.[202] The issue of a ban on popular preaching in 731 C.E.[203] informs us that many Chinese itinerant monks and nuns preached for the sake of "moneye, wolle, chese, and whete," to cite the confession of Chaucer's Pardoner

222

in his prologue.[204]

Mair translates the passage detailing the steps for carrying out a *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* lecture which were recorded in a Dunhuang manuscript as follows:

> The service, which is conducted chiefly by a Master of the Dharma (*fa-shih* 法師) begins with a recitation of the "Sanskrit" (*fan* 梵). The Bodhisattva is invoked twice and then the "seat-settling [text]" (*ya-tso* 押座) is chanted. Various stages of the sūtra lecture itself are described, including an "ornamentation" (*chuang-yen* 莊嚴, *alaṃkāra*) and the invocation of the Buddha. After the sūtra lecture is finished, the ten "perfections" (*shih po-lo-mi-to* 十波羅蜜多, *pāramitā*) are explained. Hymns praising the Buddha are chanted and vows are made. The Buddha is once again invoked and vows are made to transfer the merit of the service to others, after which the congregation disperses.[205]

Moreover, the master often has a helper, called *du jiang* 都講 (cantor-*ācārya*[206]), who at different points of the lecture is requested by the former to sing aloud a sūtra passage. The dichotomy of *fa shi* and *du jiang* of Tang is comparable to that of *dao shi* and *jing shi* in the Six Dynasties. In many Dunhuang manuscripts on the *Vimalakīrti sūtra*,[207] there are musical notations such as *yin* 吟 (cantillate), *ce* 側 (slant), and *duan* 斷 (break) that mark the verse portions of the texts,[208] and catchphrases such as *bai* 白 (plain prose), *shi* 詩 (poetry), and *jing* 經 (scripture) that differentiate modes and contents.

From the procedures just quoted we learn that before the lecture proper a *fa shi* would compose a seat-settling text (often a song in seven-character meter[209]). He then comes to *hui xiang* 迴向 (transfer of merit, *pariṇāmanā*) and *fa yuan* 發願 (vows) after invocations and exegesis of the sūtra lecture. The *sujiang* left its impact upon many Buddhist and non-Buddhist literary texts found in Dunhuang.[210] The Chinese popular

223

literature thus influenced is not in any way constrained by the rules and can exhibit many variants on the religious form. For example, the seat-settling text of the *po mo bian* 破魔 變 (Destruction of the Demons) consists of two seven-character poems separated by a prose passage.[211] Both its poetry and prose expound upon the same "*ubi sunt*" theme that is to be found in the second sermon of the *Maqāmah of the Exhortation*. The Chinese preacher then gives a long prayer for blessings before moving on to the text proper.

In a word, the text proper of a Chinese popular lecture is preceded by the seat-settling text and the prayer of blessings. Thus we recall the seemingly unusual poetry-prose sequence in the *Maqāmah of Qazwīn*. It is a fact that ʿĪsā often attends al-Iskandarī's lectures as a latecomer. But in the *Qazwīn*, he does not miss the beginning—the beggar plays the drum in order to gather the Muslim raiders around him. Al-Iskandarī first sings a long *sarīʿ*-metered poem that introduces him as a Byzantine Christian convert to Islam. Then in the following *sajʿ*-passage, he repeats the hardships of fleeing from "the enemy's territory" to "the guarded domain of the faith,"[212] and wishes to help the Muslim raiders and pray for them:

> *wa li-kullin minnī sahmāni sahmun udhalliquhu liʾl-liqāʾ(i) wa ākharu ufawwiquhu biʾl-duʿāʾ(i) wa arshuqu bihi abwāba ʾl-samāʾ(i) ʿan qawsi ʾl-ẓalmāʾ(i).*

> For each one from me there will be two arrows, one of which I will sharpen for future recompense, and the other I will notch with prayer and with it from the bow of darkness shoot at the gates of Heaven.[213]

ʿĪsā's narration of the beggar's speech ends here. However it is definitely within the

balīgh's ability to entertain the raiders with the colorful storytelling (*riwāyah*) or mimicry (*ḥikāyah*)[214] as one could infer from a Chinese *sujiang*, such as the text proper of the *Po mo bian*.[215]

Al-Hamadhānī may have used the poetry-prose and prose-poetry sequences to represent different stages of a sermon. The prose-poetry sequence that we encounter more often in the *Maqāmāt* is also a common feature of the Chinese *sujiang*. Mair detects two basic patterns of Dunhuang prosimetric narratives: "In the first pattern, the verse is an integral component of the narrative structure; it helps to carry the story forward." "The second pattern introduces most of the essential narrative content in the prose passages and utilizes the verse chiefly to recapitulate or embellish. Here the verse serves to emphasize certain aspects of the actions or heighten the emotions of the actors."[216] In his analysis of the poetry in the *Akhbār ʿUbayd*, Heinrichs similarly differentiates "action poems" and "commentary poems."[217] The verses in the *Jurjān* and *Baṣrah maqāmāt*, and ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn's sermon seem to fit into the categories of both the second Dunhuang pattern and Heinrichs's "commentary poems" very well.

Sometimes, the second pattern of Dunhuang narratives is marked with a verse-introductory formula.[218] For example, in the *Baxiang bian* 八相變 (Eight Manifestations of the Tathāgata) we find a prose passage that delineates the auspicious signs after the birth of Prince Siddhārtha.[219] The storyteller immediately adds the formula "At that time, what words did he say?" (當爾之時，道何言語) before moving on

225

to two stanzas which not only highlight the signs, but serve as proof of what is told in the preceding prose.[220] We have earlier discussed the dichotomy of *fa shi* and *du jiang*. Could the former be using such a formula to invite the latter to sing the stanzas? Even if the story is narrated by a single performer, the existence of the formula helps break the monotony of one man's speech.

The Chinese formula also calls to mind a specific trait found in the *Akhbār ʿUbayd*. Heinrichs suggests that the *ayyām* genre of narrative "grew out of the dialogue situation of the *samar* (*musāmara*), the evening entertainment or conversation."[221] In the *Akhbār ʿUbayd*, Muʿāwiyah functions not only as the curious audience, but also as the interlocutor who elicits most of the commentary poems, using formulae such as: "Has any poetry been composed about that? (*a-qīla fī dhālika shiʿrun*)" "And ʿUbayd would invariably answer 'Yes' (never: 'Sorry, I don't recall any'), whereupon the caliph would command: 'Let me hear it then!'"[222] On the one hand, the Chinese formula is simpler than the simulated dialogue between Muʿāwiyah and ʿUbayd. On the other, the introductory catchphrases to poetry can be completely omitted as seen in the end of the *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (The Diamond Sūtra), and in al-Iskandarī's sermons in the *Exhortation*, *Jurjān*, and *Baṣrah maqāmāt*. In these texts the borderline between dialogue and narrative is indeed hazy.

The prose-poetry sequence in the *Maqāmah of the Exhortation* seems to be tighter than those of the *Jurjān* and *Baṣrah maqāmāt*. In one of the Chinese *Vimalakīrti sūtra*

226

lectures, a line of sūtra is followed by four couplets, and this alternation can repeat several times.[223] However the full-fledged Dunhuang narratives rarely host such an even and frequent alternation. Sūtras (lit. "thread" or "string") are pithy aphoristic compositions "that could be committed to memory."[224] The text of the Chinese *Vimalakīrti sūtra* (not the sūtra lecture) is mostly in prose and contains a few verses. When Chinese preachers performed it in front of audiences, they might first add verses to the prose, and the prose was later refined in order to maintain an aesthetic balance with the poetry.[225] We suggest that the prose-poetry alternation in some Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* had experienced a similar development, for we detect two stages of alternation in the *Maqāmāt* collection. While the second sermon in the *Maqāmah of the Exhortation* may be seen as representing a supposedly early stage of alternation (as in the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* lecture), the speeches in the *Jurjān* and *Baṣrah maqāmāt*, with their lengthy narrative *saj'*, may belong to a later stage of alternation where the prose and poetry form a dynamic unity: "the poetry cannot really be understood without the prose, and the prose is not considered trustworthy and true without the poetry to corroborate it."[226]

Garland of stories

Thus have I heard

We noted in Chapter I that the word *maqām(ah)* originally meant boasts of heroic

227

actions. It also began to denote religious sermons during the 3rd/9th century. Our previous

section involves the group of Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* that focus on the repartee of

al-Iskandarī. The prose-poetry and poetry-prose sequences to be found in their episode

proper could well have imitated the steps for carrying out a popular lecture. Our beggar

al-Iskandarī is not only the sermonizer, but also the antihero in quite a few picaresque

maqāmāt that describe his ruses and deceitful actions. In this regard, al-Hamadhānī's

interpretation of *maqāmah* has parodied its original meaning as well.

In this section, we will discuss the techniques that al-Hamadhānī uses to string

together the episodes on the words and deeds of al-Iskandarī. One of his tools is the

identical opening *isnād* (a chain of transmitters). All types of Hamadhānian prologues are

based upon the *isnād* plus an introduction or frame. We will compare them to prologues

in the relevant Buddhist literary genres. After employing the Buddhist principle of

"Causation and Occasion" to analyze two double-episode picaresque *maqāmāt*, we will

show that the overall scheme of a typical *maqāmah* is comparable to that of a Pali *jātaka*

(birth story) which is a story with a frame. Furthermore, we will introduce the Sanskrit

Jātakamālā (Garland of Birth Stories), with its glorification of the Mahāyāna Perfections

(*pāramitā*) and the flowery prosimetric description, as a close parallel to the *maqāmah*

genre. Considering the fact that the relevant Buddhist genres all recount the words and

deeds of Gautama Buddha, we will turn to the Indian genre of biography (*ākhyāyikā*) and

compare its way of marking different episodes in a collection (i.e., a deft alternation of

228

prose and poetry) to that of the Hamadhānian *maqāmāt*. Moreover, we will present the Chinese *huaben* as the East Asian narrative genre that was influenced by the Buddhist popular lecture. In the course of our analysis, we will draw attention to some structural and thematic similarities between the Chinese *huaben* and the Arabic *maqāmah*.

Each Hamadhānian *maqāmah* starts with the *isnād*: *ḥaddathanā ʿĪsā bnu Hishāmin qāla* (ʿĪsā ibn Hishām related to us and said).[227] This is a rule followed in the whole collection, even if it appears a little awkward in pieces such as the *Maqāmah of Ṣaymarah*.[228] The *isnād* is the *maqāmah*'s homage to the genres of *khabar* (anecdote) and *ḥadīth* (report).[229] At the same time, the unity of the transmitter of the account (*rāwī*), even if fictitious, could be compared to the Buddhist formula "Thus have I heard" (Skr. *evam mayā śrutam*; Pali. *evaṃ me sutaṃ*) with which many a sūtra commences.

"The Buddhist introductory phrase is traditionally ascribed to Ānanda[230] when he compiled the sūtras at the Council of Rājagṛha."[231] After drawing the parallel Jaina phrase ("It was heard by me, venerable sir, thus taught by the Blessed One"), John Brough suggests that the Buddhist formula is also intended as direct personal testimony.[232] With its power of asseveration, "Thus have I heard" is a very handy tool for grouping together a large corpus of the speeches and deeds of Gautama Buddha.

In the second sermon of the *Maqāmah of the Exhortation*, al-Iskandarī does start to quote ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn by using a phrase (*wa qad samiʿtu anna…*), which closely resembles the Buddhist introductory formula. We do not know whether or not

al-Hamadhānī consciously linked the opening phrase, the prose-poetry sequence, and the speech of a Shīʿī imām into a clearly indicated "*maqāmah*," but it does occur to us that the action of "hearing" emphasizes the speech aspect (*maqāl*) which is vital to the origins of both *maqām*[233] and *maqāmah*.

Moreover, both the Indian and Arabic introductory formulae imply that the speeches they introduce are presented in front of an audience.[234] We have highlighted the importance of dialogic form to the *Maqāmāt*'s *sajʿ*-speech and envoi. Since the typical *isnād* is "ʿĪsā ibn Hishām related to *us* and said," it can be suggested that a group of anonymous listeners ("we") have posed a question beforehand. Although the full formula is abbreviated and only the answer remains, the *isnād* is still an effective means of linking a whole collection of stories.

The mechanism used in the Hamadhānian *isnād* is echoed in the few frames of the *Maqāmāt*. For example, the main episode of the *Maqāmah of the Maḍīrah* is related by al-Iskandarī at the request of the co-banqueters.[235] We also realize that the second *isnād* of the *Maqāmah of Ṣaymarah* ("Said Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, popularly known as Abūʾl-ʿAnbas of Ṣaymarah") is immediately followed by the first part of frame. These two *maqāmāt* sit comfortably within the same frame of reference in that the (first) *isnād* is identical. Whereas the identification of an *isnād* plus frame might seem "redundant," it is actually a very common feature of Buddhist sūtras. A Dunhuang lecture text even distinguishes the three parts of the *Diamond Sūtra* as follows: firstly, *evaṃ me sutaṃ* plus

230

the first part of the frame; secondly, sūtra proper; and thirdly, the second part of frame.[236]

Besides the linkage of dialogue and the introductory phrase derived from it, there is another convenient way whereby a hodgepodge of materials can be bound together. According to Zhu Binjie, the quotation (*yulu ti* 語錄體) stands for the earliest known prose genre of Chinese literature.[237] The *Shu jing*, for instance, records three speeches of King Pangeng 盤庚 (r. *c*. 1401-1374 B.C.E.) who persuaded his people to move the capital with him.[238] Another chapter of the *Shu jing* is based upon a dialogue between Yu 禹 and his minister Gaoyao 皋陶.[239] These chapters are accompanied by uniform abstracts that may have been added by compiler(s) in order to group the speeches and events of various eras. Zhu also notes that some pieces of Confucius's *Analects* begin with an introduction in the third person which briefly informs readers where and why the conversation has taken place.[240] Such an introduction seems to be recorded together with Confucius's speeches, a kind of binding that is comparable to both the introduction in Han courtly *fu*s and the "general introduction" in Hamadhānian *maqāmāt*. For example, at the beginning of the *Maqāmah of the Blind* we read:

> *ḥaddathanā ʿĪsā bnu Hishāmin qāla: kuntu ajtāzu fī baʿḍi bilādi ʾl-ahwāz(i) wa quṣārāya lafẓatun sharūdun aṣīduhā wa kalimatun balīghatun astazīduhā fa addāniya ʾl-sayru ilā ruqʿatin fasīḥatin mina ʾl-balad(i) wa idhā hunāka qawmun mujtamiʿūna…*

> ʿĪsā ibn Hishām related to us and said: I was passing through one of the towns of Ahwaz when my supreme object was to capture a stray word, or add to my store an eloquent expression. My journeying led me to a vast open space of the town where lo! there was a company of people gathered around…[241]

Before demonstrating the eloquence or ruses of the hero, al-Hamadhānī is able to arrange many types of prologues in his *maqāmāt*: firstly the *isnād* plus the first-person, mostly-*sajʿ* introduction (found in the *Blind* and another thirty-five *maqāmāt*[242]); secondly the *isnād* plus the first-person, plain-prose introduction (the *Asylum*, *Exhortation*, *Ḥamdān*, *Spindle*, *Fresh Butter*, *Nājim*, *Knowledge*, *Dinar*, *Yellow*, and *Sāriyah maqāmāt*); thirdly the *isnād* plus the frame (the *Maḍīrah*, *Ghaylan*, *Ruṣāfah*, and *Ṣaymarah maqāmāt*); and fourthly the *isnād* plus the third person, plain-prose introduction (the *Advice* and *Bishr maqāmāt*). Although the last two types cover merely six *maqāmāt*, all of them appear in the two earliest manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt*.[243]

Prologues in the relevant Buddhist literary genres can also take a few forms: "Thus have I heard" plus frame (the *Diamond Sūtra*); a keyword-like quotation, a prose-abstract, and frame (the Pali *Jātaka*); a short prose-abstract, the non-canonical *tad yathānuśrūyate*,[244] and a prosimetric general introduction of the *jātaka* proper (Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*); a motto, *tad yathānuśrūyate*, and the prosimetric introduction (Haribbhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā*). As an example we can examine the prologue of the *Makhādeva-Jātaka*,[245] the Pali *jātaka* about the grey hair:

> "*Lo! these grey hairs*."[246]—This story was told by the Master while at Jetavana about the Great Renunciation, which has already been related in the Nidāna-Kathā.
> On this occasion the Brethren sat praising the Renunciation of the Lord of Wisdom. Entering the Hall of Truth and seating himself on the Buddha-seat, the Master thus addressed the Brethren:—"What is your theme, Brethren, as you sit here in conclave?"
> "It is naught else, sir, than the praise of you own Renunciation."

"Brethren," rejoined the Master, "not only in these latter days has the Tathāgata[247] made a Renunciation; in bygone days too he similarly renounced the world."

The Brethren asked the Blessed One for an explanation of this. The Blessed One made clear what had been concealed from them by re-birth.[248]

The monastery (*vihāra*) of Jetavana where the Buddha spent quite a few rainy seasons and delivered his discourses[249] appears after "Thus have I heard" in the beginnings of many sūtras. We should note that the Buddha is seated in the *jātaka*, as were the Chinese masters of *sujiang*[250] and the Abbasid sermonizers of seated homily when they admonished audiences. However it would appear that the speeches delivered by a seated preacher need not differ much from what he presents while wandering and standing in front of people. It is probably by the same token that the *maqāmah* was used by al-Hamadhānī to include speeches delivered by al-Iskandarī in seated position as well.

The prose-abstract of the *Makhādeva-Jātaka* is supposed to be recounted by the default narrator Ānanda, one of the Brethren in the frame who will act as the barber in the *jātaka* proper. It calls to mind the *vishkambha* (introductory monologue or dialogue) in Sanskrit plays,[251] as if the frame that follows and *jātaka* proper constitute an act in a play named "The Buddha's Life."[252] Following the *jātaka* proper, the second part of the frame reveals the positive result of the Buddha's preaching:

After repeating his statement that he had similarly renounced the world in bygone days, the Master at the end of his lesson preached the Four Truths. Some entered the First Path, some the Second, and some the Third. Having told the two stories, the Master shewed the connexion between them and identified the Birth, by saying:—"In those days Ānanda was the barber, Rāhula the son, and I myself King Makhādeva."[253]

233

The major difference between the frames of the *Makhādeva-Jātaka* and the *Diamond Sūtra* is that the former has an extra cast of characters in the end. Such a cast of characters also appears in the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* (*Xianyu jing* 賢愚經), a Chinese *Jātaka* collection compiled in 445 C.E.[254] A chapter of the *Xianyu jing* retains "Thus have I heard" at the beginning, and proceeds directly to the frame without an abstract. But its prologue is much more complicated than that of the *Diamond Sūtra*: the first half of its frame is often quite detailed and can be read as a story independent of the *jātaka* proper, if not actually eclipsing the latter altogether.[255]

Causation and Occasion

"Causation and Occasion" (*yinyuan*) is the Chinese translation of the Buddhist concept of *avadāna*/*nidāna*, which means a contributory cause or condition. "Causation and Occasion" is also the name of a popular Dunhuang literary genre which is characterized by its framing and cause-and-effect structure. In this section we will use this Buddhist concept in analyzing two double-episode picaresque *maqāmāt*. We will suggest that such a bipartite *maqāmāh* is evolved from a frame story.

In the *Makhādeva-Jātaka*, the Buddha tells of the birth story in order to stress his "Great Renunciation." The *Vedabbha-Jātaka*, which displays a similar narrative logic to Chaucer's the Pardoner's Tale,[256] shows that a disciple has been obstinate "in bygone times also."[257] The *jātaka* genre can thus be seen as the Buddha's tool for eulogy or

satire; like the eloquent persuader in the *Seven Stimuli* or ʿIṣmat in the *Maqāmah of Ghaylan*, the Buddha always voluntarily presents the enframed story as a way of proving the truthfulness of the frame.

The *Xianyu jing*, also named a sūtra of *avadāna*/*nidāna* (*yinyuan*, "Causation and Occasion"), emphasizes the reasons for life's rewards or punishments. For example, the *jātaka* proper of the "Prince Mahāsattva Gives His Body to the Tigress" explains why in the first half of the frame the Buddha saves the two sons of an unknown old woman.[258]

There is an obvious similarity between the *Makhādeva-Jātaka* and the *Maqāmah of Ghaylan*—where the enframed story told by ʿIṣmat is used to provide an example of the statement that al-Farazdaq pardoned his enemy out of contempt. In the case of the *Maqāmah of the Maḍīrah,* the contrasting descriptions of the tasty dish and al-Iskandarī's strange reactions to it, coupled to the puzzled fellow dinner-guests who demand an explanation and then, after listening to al-Iskandarī's explanation, swear never to eat the dish, calls to mind the *jātaka*s in the *Xianyu jing*. The presence of the *maqāmah*'s storyteller (ʿIṣmat and al-Iskandarī) in both the frame and enframed tale also suggests a similarity with the role of the Buddha, whose casting legitimates his experience or witnessing of many events during the *jāti*s (births).

The independence of the *Xianyu jing*'s frames, as well as the "Causation and Occasion," can further shed light to the structure of two Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* that have double episodes: the *Armenia* and *Moṣul*. Both *maqāmāt* begin with ʿĪsā's introduction,

235

in which he tells how he and al-Iskandarī were robbed by "the children of the desert," thus providing, it would seem, an excuse for their subsequent picaresque experiences. The first episode in the *Maqāmah of Armenia* tells how the penniless al-Iskandarī manages to obtain bread and milk by pretending to have contaminated the food. In the second episode, the company travels to another village where a boy voluntarily offers them a large bowl of milk for nothing. It turns out that a mouse has fallen into its container, and so that it has been offered "as alms to travelers."[259] ʿĪsā comments that "this is the reward for what we did yesterday (*hādhā jazāʾu mā biʾl-amsi faʿalnāhu*),"[260] while al-Iskandarī consoles him by reciting a *mujtathth*-metered envoi suggesting that the hardy (*al-shahm*) should be prepared for both good and bad on the road.

Here al-Hamadhānī is able to depict both cause (*mā biʾl-amsi faʿalnāhu*) and result (*jazāʾ*) within such a short narrative; in the end the picaros are offered really contaminated food. There may also be an implicit disapproval of people who no longer remember the Bedouin virtue of hospitality, in that the boy is punished when the angry al-Iskandarī smashes his milk bowl. Here we can note that, within Hanan's definitions, the picaresque Arabic *maqāmāt* can be placed into his category of "lighter satire."[261] Atrocious villains such as the cannibalistic Kalmāshapāda,[262] who are also subject to "Causation and Occasion," do not exist in the *Maqāmāt*.

The two episodes of the *Maqāmah of Moṣul* also portray the ups and downs of a picaresque career. We have noted previously[263] that, in its second episode, al-Iskandarī

236

pretends that he can divert a flood by means of a prayer. After the duo manages to escape the village during a super-long genuflexion in prayer, al-Iskandarī chants a *mujtathth*-envoi as follows:

> *lā yubʿidi ʾl-lāhu mithlī*
> *wa ayna mithliya aynā*
> *liʾl-lāhi ghafulatu qawmin*
> *ghanimtuhā biʾl-huwaynā*
> *iktaltu khayran ʿalayhim*
> *wa kiltu zūran wa maynā*

> May God not put far from Him the likes of me,
> But where is the likes of me, aye where?
> How marvellous was the stupidity of the people,
> Which I took advantage of with ease!
> I received from them the full measure of good,
> While I weighed out to them nought but fraud and falsehood.[264]

Its theme, as seen in ʿĪsā's closing comment of the *Maqāmah of Baghdad*, is a satire on "the stupidity of people." Such a commentarial envoi is directed to the audiences so that they should beware of tricksters. For the same practical reason, al-Hamadhānī portrays various kinds of thieves and their artifices in his *Maqāmah of Ruṣāfah*. Clearly al-Hamadhānī is not creating the picaresque *maqāmāt* in order to praise such a lifestyle. The picaro's success is never guaranteed: in the frist episode of the *Maqāmah of Moṣul*, for example, al-Iskandarī tries to "revive" a dead person, but ends up being soundly thrashed when people realize his "fraud and falsehood."

Generally speaking, a Hamadhānian *maqāmah* does not include more than two

episodes.[265] While "Causation and Occasion" may be guiding principles used by al-Hamadhānī in composing the *Armenia* and *Moṣul maqāmāt*, the two episodes of the farcical *Maqāmah of Ḥulwān* are clustered around a single theme: that of shaving. Failing to get a proper shave in both episodes, the unlucky ʿĪsā becomes frustrated and chants a commentarial envoi, in which he vows never again to shave his head, a vow that is indeed comparable to the *saj*ʿ-vow which concludes the *Maqāmah of the Maḍīrah*.[266] Although both vows (*nadhr*) seem to be trivial, they are lessons that have been painfully gleaned from the episodes in question. In this regard, Arab audiences depicted in the *maqāmāt*[267] are merely acting like the Buddha's disciples who always show their spiritual advancement after listening to a sūtra lecture.

The "Causation and Occasion" structure, the commentarial envois, the vows, and the linkages between episodes may indicate that a double-episode *maqāmah* is evolved from a story with a frame. Hämeen-Anttila divides a typical Hamadhānian *maqāmah* into "*isnād*," "general introduction," "link," "episode proper," "recognition scene," "envoi," and "finale." Naturally there arises the question as to whether the parts before and after the episode proper are also related to a frame. At least, the twin characters, ʿĪsā and al-Iskandarī, assume the same student/teacher relationship as that of Ānanda and Buddha. Except for the episode proper, ʿĪsā is assigned an active role, one that is especially prominent in the prologue (*isnād* plus general introduction). He is also the indispensable first disputant in debates during the recognition scene. Although the finale appears in only

eight typical *maqāmāt*, it is the point at which ʿĪsā expresses his feelings for the hero after witnessing the latter's actions and speeches.[268] Both the recognition scene and finale perform the same function as, respectively, the cast of characters and the result of preaching at the end of a Pali *jātaka*. Within the context of such a comparison it is clear that ʿĪsā's responsibilities are greater than those of Ānanda: al-Iskandarī does not have to reveal his own identity as the Buddha does in the *jātaka*s.

Perfections

This section discusses the "perfections" (*pāramitā*) according to which the Sanskrit *jātakamālā* arranges the episodes. Likewise al-Hamadhānī unites his *Maqāmāt* collection by following the principle of virtues (sg. *faḍl*), which is not hidden within their theme of beggary.

Strictly speaking, the Buddha was still a bodhisattva ("Buddha-to-be") in the *jātaka* proper. The bodhisattva can take the form of a king (*Makhādeva-Jātaka*), a pupil (*Vedabbha-Jātaka*), or even a hare, deer, or ape. Although the Buddha's avatars at many births are different, his actions and speeches, without exception, help audiences to understand truths of the religion.

We have previously introduced Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* (the *Garland of Birth-stories*),[269] which is regarded as a paradigm of *gadyakāvya* (prose-poetry).[270] Āryaśūra's imitator, Haribhaṭṭa, also composed a *Jātakamālā* with thirty-four chapters.[271]

Both *Jātakamālā*s were composed as a glorification of the Mahāyāna Perfections (*pāramitā*), i.e., giving (*dāna*), morality (*śīla*), forbearance (*kṣānti*), striving (*vīrya*), meditation (*dhyāna*), and wisdom (*prajñā*). For instance, Āryaśūra's "Story of the Tigress," mentioned in the aforementioned *Xianyu jing* story, illustrates the perfection of giving.[272] As a matter of fact, Āryaśūra's first decade is solely devoted to giving, the second to morality, and the third to forbearance.[273] However Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā* has a more balanced design for all six perfections.[274]

It is easy to imagine that the Bodhisattva, whose perfections are carefully depicted, is the main character in the *jātakamālā*s. However in the *jātaka*s such as *Vedabbha-Jātaka*, he simply serves as a witness to the event. Besides the language and treatment of details,[275] another difference between the Pali *Jātaka* and the Sanskrit *Jātakamālā* is that the latter displays a fairly standardized, *pāramitā*-concerned formal structure.[276] Normally a *jātakamālā* story begins with an abstract (prose or verse) which indicates a certain perfection of the Bodhisattva. After the non-canonical *tad yathānuśrūyate*, it reaches the general introduction which can be divided into the following subsections: firstly, a "prose depiction of the particular conditions under which the Bodhisattva was born or is living"; and secondly a "set of verses describing his prominent qualities."[277] A phrase (e.g., *atha kadā cid*, "so one day") is used to lead into the main story, a particular description of the Bodhisattva's perfection. Its epilogue, which is similar to the second half of frame in a Pali *jātaka*, admonishes the audiences by

240

once again confirming the perfection.

A similar structure can be identified in the *Maqāmah of the Lion*. From considering this *maqāmah* in conjunction with those just discussed, we may detect some structural similarities between the *maqāmah* and the *jātakamālā* genres. Let us now examine the prologue to the *Maqāmah of the Lion*:

> *ḥaddathanā ʿĪsā bnu Hishāmin qāla: kāna yablughunī min maqāmāti ʾl-Iskandarīyi wa maqālātih(i) mā yaṣghā ilayhi ʾl-nafūr(u) wa yantafiḍu lahu ʾl-ʿuṣfūr(u) wa yurwā lanā min shiʿrih(i) mā yamtaziju bi-ajzāʾi ʾl-nafsi **riqqatan** wa yaghmuḍu ʿan awhāmi ʾl-kahanati **diqqatan** wa anā asʾalu ʾl-lāha baqāʾah(u) ḥattā urzaqa liqāʾah(u) wa ataʿajjaba min quʿūdi himmatihi bi-ḥālatih(i) maʿa ḥusni **ālatih(i)** wa qad ḍaraba ʾl-dahru shuʾūnahu bi-asdādin dūnah(u) wa halumma jarran ilā an ʾttafaqat lī ḥājatun bi-Ḥimṣa….*

> ʿĪsā ibn Hishām related to us and said: There used to reach me of the maqāmāt and sayings of al-Iskandarī such as would arrest the fugitive and agitate the sparrow. Poems of his have been recited to us whose refinement pervades the soul in all its parts, and whose subtlety is hidden from the imaginations of the *kāhin*s. And I pray God to spare him so that I may meet him and marvel at his indifference to his condition in spite of his art and fortune. Fortune had made her benefits remote by placing barriers between him and them and continued to do so till I happened to have some business in Ḥimṣ.[278]

This prologue does not begin with an indication from ʿĪsā that he has arrived at a certain place for a particular reason, but rather with a general introduction depicting al-Iskandarī's eloquence and lack of luck. The phrase "*halumma jarran ilā an* (and so on till)" links the prologue to the first two episodes which depict ʿĪsā's rough journey to the city of Ḥimṣ. At the beginning of the third episode, ʿĪsā finds al-Iskandarī begging with his two children in the open space of its market. When al-Iskandarī chants a poem of

khafīf-meter, ʿĪsā recognizes him. The beggar prefers to receive twenty loaves of bread rather than twenty dirhams from ʿĪsā, so that the latter comments that "there is no device against ill-fatedness."[279] If we link the prologue and third episode to each other, it is obvious that the latter gives a specific example of the beggar's qualities (eloquence and bad luck) which are duly recapitulated in ʿĪsā's conclusion in the third episode. Such a structure does provide a reminder of the aforementioned *jātakamālā* story. In both cases, the qualities of the hero are highlighted in the narrative sequence of generalization-specification-conclusion.

This kind of prologue in the first episode of the *Maqāmah of the Lion*,[280] in which a general introduction of the main character is provided, may have predated the other first-person prologues since the *Lion* is probably one of the earliest in the *Maqāmāt* collection. Later al-Hamadhānī tends to detail ʿĪsā's disposition in the general introduction (e.g., the *Maqāmah of Kūfah*), his quest for eloquent speech (e.g., the *Maqāmah of Balkh*), his travels (e.g., the *Maqāmah of al-Fazārah* [*al-Maqāmah al-Fazārīyah*]), or his purpose in journeying (e.g., the *Maqāmah of Adharbayjān*) after solidifying the recognition scene and the envoi.

In Chapter II we drew attention to the virtues (sg. *faḍl*) of admonishers such as al-Iskandarī, Xunzi, the madman of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, and the performers of the collection of *A 1001 Nights*. It would seem that most societies encourage people to do good (*al-amr bi'l-maʿrūf*) and shun evil (*al-nahy ʿan al-munkar*); it is thus possible to

identify Muslim virtues, even in the context of the lighter satire employed in the *Maqāmāt*, corresponding to the Buddhist perfections.[281]

At this point we will list the virtues found or implied in the *Maqāmāt* in order to explore the possibility that a comparison of these Muslim virtues with the Buddhist perfections may provide evidence of thematic connections between the *maqāmah* and the *jātakamālā*. First of all, the ascetic (*zuhd*) motif of the *Maqāmāt* can be easily related to the Buddhist perfection of morality (*śīla*). Just as *dāna-pāramitā* is vital to the two *Jātakamālā*s, so is generosity (*karam*) another important theme in the Hamadhānian *maqāmāt*. Al-Iskandarī's panegyrics not only depict Khalaf ibn Aḥmad as the ideal donor, but also characterize ʿĪsā himself in the same guise, since, faced with requests, "he scratched not his beard, he wiped not his nose and he did not cough" (as in the *Maqāmah of Iblīs*).[282] On the contrary, the miserly are humorously caricatured in the series of *maqāmāt* on the topic of food (the *Maḍīrah*, *Famine*, and *Fresh Butter maqāmāt*).

Wisdom is another of al-Hamadhānī's favorite themes, one that is closely associated with generosity. Al-Iskandarī's divinatory functions, not to mention his accomplishments in *sajʿ* and poetry, are clearly the very symbols of the hero's wisdom. A typical *maqāmah* often links al-Iskandarī's knowledge to ʿĪsā's generosity, implying that the author's eloquence is only waiting for the donor's reward. In the Buddhist tradition, *dāna* is divided into *āmiṣadāna* (giving of material objects) and *dharmadāna* (giving of the law or teaching),[283] and so, with reference to the anonymous bier-bearer in

243

al-Hamadhānī's *Ahwaz maqāmah* and the hoary preacher in the *Exhortation maqāmah*, we come to realize that both are purveyors of insightful, gratis teaching. Although our rogue hero is not crafted as a donor but rather as either a donee or stingy host, he always begins by satisfying the donor's curiosity about "stray words and eloquent expressions" or else treating the audience to a whole array of depictions of delight.

Because of al-Hamadhānī's own scholarly background, he may decide to embed direct praise of knowledge (*ʿilm*) within al-Iskandarī's preachings. In the *Maqāmah of Knowledge*, for example, al-Iskandarī provides a rhymed manual on the acquisition of knowledge. His exaltation of scholars in both the *Exhortation* and *Quest maqāmāt* also hints at the awkward fact that in al-Hamadhānī's time the pursuit of *adab* (polite letters) did not necessarily lead to material success. The envoi of the *Maqāmah of the Blind* complains about the unclear boundary between reason (*ʿaql*) and folly (*ḥumq*). On many other occasions, al-Iskandarī advises ʿĪsā that in an upside-down age the wise should resort to guile. The rogue's tactic can be compared to the worldly wisdom (*nīti*) which is often cast into *śloka*-maxims in the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra*. However the doctrines of *nīti* are not to be followed by the Bodhisattva, the enlightened being.[284]

Among the *Maqāmāt*, the *Amulet* may be seen as providing a possible correspondence with the Buddhist perfection of forbearance (*kṣānti*).[285] During a horrible nighttime sea-journey, the calm rogue hero sells a number of amulets "whose possessor will not drown."[286] When the ship arrives safely at shore, he chants a *ramal*-metered

envoi to ʿĪsā:

> *wayka lawlā ʾl-ṣabru mā kun*
> > *tu malaʾtu ʾl-kīsa tib**rā***
> *lan yanāla ʾl-majda man ḍā*
> > *qa bimā yaghshāhu ṣad**rā**.…*

> Woe, to thee! were it not for patience I had not
> > filled my purse with gold.
> He will not obtain glory who is impatient
> > at what befalls him.…[287]

The quality of patience is al-Iskandarī's key to gold and glory. The rogue's success and the envoi that he recites advise people to develop a spirit of forebearance (*ṣabr*), something that is more useful than amulets. In fact, quite a few references to ʿĪsā's impatience are to be found in the *Maqāmāt*.[288]

Just as a single *jātakamālā* can extol several perfections,[289] an individual *maqāmah* does not limit itself to one theme. For example, we can roughly detect all six perfections in the *Maqāmah of Ṣaymarah*: the generosity of the newcomer al-Ṣaymarī, the [im]morality of the Baghdad upper class, the forbearance of the bankrupt hero, and his meditation, striving, and wisdom, all of which help him once again to accumulate the wealth he has lost and carry out his revenge.[290] Indeed, the *Maqāmāt* provide their own interpretations of virtues.[291] Although al-Iskandarī is never the perfect man (*al-Insān al-kāmil*), his words and deeds contain morals that do not differ all that much from those found in the Buddhist perfections. These morals are just what an admonisher such as

al-Hamadhānī wants to impart to his audience, even by means of the entertaining *maqāmāt*.

Painter

In his preface to the *Jātakamālā*, Haribhaṭṭa regrets that "the dirt of inadequate praise" has long obscured his speech.[292] He wishes to purify his mind, speech, and achieve "something wholesome" by describing the Buddha's previous incarnations. In this context it is interesting to note that he compares himself to both a painter (*citrakāra*)[293] and "one [who] illuminates a picture-gallery (*citrabhavana*) by the light of a torch."[294] "A preacher of the dharma," with his superb descriptive skills, is able to transfer the "nectar" (benefits) of the *jātaka*s to his thirsty audience. In this section, we will draw a few examples from al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmah of Jāḥiẓ* and Āryaśūra's *Viśvantarajātaka* to show the similar descriptive skills (e.g., the mixture of different meters/modes) used in both the Arabic *maqāmah* and the Sanskrit *jātakamālā*. We will also provide some explanation of the popularity of the *maqāmāt* illustrations, whose vividness matches that of the verbal description.

When Āryaśūra redacts the *Ruru-Jātaka*,[295] he appends at the beginning a long prose depiction of flora and fauna in the forest. With regard to both linguistic precision and orderly enumeration, it can be compared to the passage on carving the wooden frame of ritual bells to be found in the *Zhou li*,[296] and the hoopoe's monody in Aristophanes's

The Birds (*ll*. 227-262).[297] We have already discussed the popularity of the description (*waṣf*) theme in both Arabic *sajʿ* and poetry (especially the *urjūzah*). Poets composing in classical Sanskrit are equally adept at depiction in prose or verse. In "The Story of Viśvantara,"[298] the princess Madrī gives a lovely portrayal of the penance grove to cheer her banished husband:

> Nor do I think the forest-life to be unpleasant at all. Do but consider it well.
> Removed from wicked people, haunted by deer, resounding with the warbling of manifold birds, the penance-groves with their rivulets and trees, both intact, with their grass-plots which have the loveliness of inlaid lapis lazuli floors, are by far more pleasing than our artificial gardens.[299]

The first passage in prose serves as an introduction to the second, a quatrain in the *vasantatilakā* meter (4*14 syllables).[300] After another short link (*api ca deva*),[301] Madrī gives a more detailed description that is developed in four stanzas of *anuṣṭubh* (2*16 syllables) meter and two of *triṣṭubh* (4*11 syllables) meter. Her coherent and eloquent depiction fills the prince "with a great desire to set out for the forest."[302]

When speaking of the play *Śakuntalā*, Monier-Williams comments that the most memorable scene is "the departure of Śakoontalá from the hermitage,"[303] which is followed by Kanwa's advice to his daughter. Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* (The Ten Princes) includes a description of an interesting cockfight in a chapter (*Pramaticarita*) where a beautiful maiden is vividly portrayed.[304] Whether in a didactic *jātakamālā*, a long play, or a novel-like *kathā* (story), description is the Indian poet's stock-in-trade for

attracting the audience and earning fame and glory.

At this point we need to cite from the *Maqāmah of Jāḥiẓ*, since it provides a similarly skillful description. This *maqāmah* takes place at a banquet and demonstrates the "sudden switch to poetry" noted by Heinrichs:

> *fa afḍā bi-nā ʾl-sayru ilā dārin*
> *turikat waʾl-ḥusna taʾkhudhuhū*
>   *tantaqī minhu wa tantakhibū*
> *faʾntaqat minhu ṭarāʾifahū*
>   *waʾstazādat baʿda mā tahabū*
> *qad furisha bisāṭuhā wa busiṭat anmāṭuhā wa mudda simāṭuhā….thumma ʿakafnā ʿalā khiwānin qad muliʾat ḥiyāḍuh(u) wa nawwarat riyāḍuh(u) waʾṣṭaffat jifānuh(u) wa ʾkhtalafat alwānuh(u) fa min ḥālikin bi-izāʾihi nāṣiʿ(un) wa min qānin tilqāʾahu fāqiʿ(un).*

> So we proceeded and reached a house,
> Completed and left alone with beauty
>   from which it selected and chose what it would.
> And it had chosen from it its choicest charms,
>   and requested more to give away.
> whose carpets were spread and whose coverings were unfolded and whose table was laid....Then we clave to a table whose vessels were filled, whose gardens were in flower, and whose dishes were arranged in rows with viands of various hues, opposite a dish of something intensely black was something exceedingly white, and against something very red was arranged something very yellow. [305]

Al-Hamadhānī uses the poem to summarize the house's beauty, then reverts to *sajʿ* to give details of its furniture and ornaments. This kind of summary-detail or poetry-*sajʿ* sequence also appears in the *Maqāmah of Wine*.[306] Although al-Hamadhānī's description does not depend upon the same adroit selection of different meters as Āryaśūra shows in picturing the serene life in the forest, their similarity is undeniable and draws attention to

248

another aspect of the connections between the *maqāmah* and the *jātakamālā*. Each unit of

the quoted description (the house, guests,[307] and table) is introduced in plain prose and

marked with different groups of rhymes, an already familiar technique used by

al-Hamadhānī.[308] In the section "Duet and solo" above, we noted that al-Hamadhānī's

Famine, *Maḍīrah*, *Fresh Butter*, and *Advice maqāmāt* can be read as a series of

unbalanced dialogues. For example, in the *Maqāmah of Fresh Butter*, the main speaker

gives us in order the descriptions of dates, bread, and roasted kid. Each section of his

description begins with the formulaic "what is your opinion, O young men" and ends

with "do you desire it." In that *Jātakamālā* the princess Madrī's description is also

supposed to be an unbalanced dialogue between her and her husband Viśvantara, so

that she uses links such as "*api ca deva* (also, my lord)."

Since the description is often static when compared with the overall flow of the

narrative, the poet is allowed more space in order to display his skill in both prose and

poetry to elaborate on a favorite theme. In the *Maqāmah of Jāḥiẓ*, ʿĪsā does not provide

the usual general introduction but enters the episode proper directly. The quoted segment

of description has to some extent filled the vacuum left by the absence of the travelogue.

Another "sudden switch to poem" at the beginning of the *Maqāmah of Adharbayjān*[309]

suggests that al-Hamadhānī may have intended to insert a depiction of Adharbayjān after

the travelogue and before the link. The three "redundant" *qāla*s at the beginning of the

Maqāmah of Wine[310] may also suggest the possibility of interrupting the narrative flow in

order to furnish some details of drinking (probably in verse).

Sometimes the switch of modes and speakers is mimicked in segments of oral performance within the Arabic tradition (such as the *Nights* and the *muwashshaḥ*). Thus stock phrases such as *qāla fīhi baʿḍu wāṣifīhi* (as one describer has said concerning it)[311] and *famā yakhlū man yunshidu fī ḥālih* (so there are many who sing in the situation)[312] are likely to be found. As mentioned in the earlier section "*Sujiang*," the Chinese popular preacher may have used the formula ("At that time, what words did he say?") to indicate where his assistant should sing the stanzas. The *bian* storytellers of Tang are also known to have employed picture-scrolls in their performances. The verse introductory formula ("Please look at the place where XX [occurs], how does it go?") in the transformation texts indicates that the performers would point to "a specific spot on their paintings when narrating the event it depicts."[313] Modes of musical and pictorial expression can be closely connected with each other in such an oral description.

Let us now examine an important aspect of the *maqāmah* genre, namely that there are many illustrated manuscripts of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*. Richard Ettinghausen notices three major themes of Arab painting in pre-modern ages: the theme of royalty and dominion, the scientific theme, and speech which "represents the Arab theme *par excellence*."[314] As attested in Roman art, the theme of speech is mostly represented in Arab painting by means of gestures. The double finispiece of a 13th-century manuscript of al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik's *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalim* ("Choice Wise

Sayings and Fine Statements," composed in 440/1048-9) shows twelve figures with "fervent expressions, powerful gestures and tense postures,"[315] scenes that might well have been depictions of *munāẓarah* (literary debate). Likewise the early 13th-century illustrated manuscripts of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* and Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's *Kalīlah and Dimnah* portray talking persons and animals, reminding us of the disputants in the Greek debate and performers of the Syriac dialogue poems in Oriental churches.

A Ḥarīrian *Maqāmāt* illustrator such as al-Wāsīṭī might not wish to compete with the author when it came to the vividness of description. His understanding of the genre, which probably involves the combination of *maqālah* and *maqāmah*, demands that the pictures focus on the theme of speech. His preference for a depiction of the audience scene rather than the content of speech also reveals a specific difference between paintings that are to be used as the "simulated context"[316] and those intended for use in the actual oral performance.[317] Ettinghausen assumes that, when a flowering of popular arts (such as shadow plays and puppet theater) occurred in the latter part of the twelfth century, they "may very well have treated subjects related to the *Assemblies* of al-Harîrî;" "in turn, these productions served as inspiration for a large body of manuscript illuminations, especially for the famous *Maqâmât*."[318] As a result, the illustrations can actually accentuate the performability of a work that is otherwise unlikely to be orally performed. The development of the speech theme in the Ḥarīrian *Maqāmāt* illustrations should thus be understood, like "the phrases, devices, and techniques"[319] of the text that

251

simulate different modes involved in performance, as an indication of the *maqāmah* genre's link to a variety of art forms.

Dozens and scores

In this last section of "Garland of stories," we will explore the techniques for integrating short pieces of prosimetric narrative into large collections. Examples will be drawn from the Arabic *maqāmah*, the Sanskrit *campū*, the Chinese *huaben* and chaptered novel. We will argue that a uniform prosimetric style is important to mark the beginning and end of chapters.

With the aid of vivid descriptions in romances, Śakuntalā's innocent girlfriends can immediately tell that the heroine suffers from lovesickness.[320] In the preface to one of his collections of *huaben* (vernacular story),[321] Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (1574-1646 C.E.) tells how a small boy forebears the pain of a finger cut after hearing that Guan Yu 關羽 (d. 220 C.E.), the great hero of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義), was able to drink and play go during arm surgery. Feng is thus arguing for the importance of vernacular stories, whose edifying potential can be roughly compared to that of the Buddhist *avadāna*s.

Hu Shiying 胡士瑩 divides a typical Chinese *huaben* story into six parts: title (*ti mu* 題目), introductory verse (*pian shou* 篇首), explanation of the verse (*ru hua* 入話), prologue story (*tou hui* 頭回), story proper (*zheng hua* 正話), and envoi (*pian wei* 篇

252

尾).[322] The title consists originally of either the name of a main character, or that of an object, or the locale, but it later evolves into a short abstract of seven or eight characters.[323] The prologue story contains one or more independent stories whose contents are complementary or antithetical to the story proper. As for the introductory verse and the commentarial envoi, they are held to be derived from the sūtra lecture's seat-settling text and its seat-dissolving text (*jiezuo wen* 解座文) respectively.[324] According to Hu Shiying, the popular lecture (*sujiang*) of the Tang era was an important source for storytelling (*shuohua* 說話).[325] Therefore a Chinese *huaben*, although the majority of which were intended for private reading,[326] may have mimicking the steps for carrying out a Buddhist lecture. It is thus not surprising that a Chinese *huaben* is structurally similar to the Buddhist *jātaka* and the *jātakamālā*.

As a matter of fact, the *Maqāmāt* contain an Arabic pair equivalent to those of the Chinese prologue story and story proper. Returning yet again to the *Maqāmah of the Lion*, we note that its first and second episodes can be read as an archetype of ʿĪsā's travelogue included in the "general introduction." The three descriptions to be found in the first episode have been introduced previously.[327] After the combat with the fierce lion, the people traveling in the tired and thirsty caravan encounter a young Turkic slave who guides them to a mountain spring. The description of the handsome slave beside the water creates a peaceful and serene mood, only to be shattered by the ensuing bloody scene in which he kills several members of the party with arrows. We find a crescendo of

253

tension in both episodes which, involving a similar dichotomy of prey and predator, carry the moral that treacherous human beings are much more dangerous than animals.

The first two episodes of the *Maqāmah of the Lion*, which respectively tell of the combats with the lion and the Turkic slave, can thus be regarded as equivalent to those of prologue story and story proper. Moreover, the verses in the *Lion maqāmah*'s first episode[328] seem similar to the Chinese *huaben*'s repertoire of poetry, except that the *huaben* often requires catchphrases[329] such as those found in the quotations of poetic parallels (*tamaththul*) in *A 1001 Nights*. We might add that the closing verse of the first episode of the *Lion maqāmah* may be seen as providing a natural division of the two episodes. A distinctive phenomenon of some *huaben*s is that the storyteller/author leaves a seven-character couplet at the end of one section and uses it as spoiler for the next one.[330]

The three episodes of the *Maqāmah of the Lion* may also reflect a conflict faced by al-Hamadhānī during the formative phase of the *maqāmah* genre, one that involves two choices: whether to recount stories with different heroes and plots, or to tell a series of stories grouped around the same character(s). In either case, al-Hamadhānī can utilize both original and recycled materials and transform them, by using a uniform prosimetric style, into chapters of a longer composition. The first choice would result in a work similar to Feng Menglong's *Gujin xiaoshuo*, whose initial success determined that Feng would later compose another two forty-session (*hui* 回) collections. The insistence on the

254

fixed form of a session and a fixed number of sessions, which might be functionally useful for oral performance (the storyteller) or for creating simulated context (the editor/author), obviously does not conform with the generic notion of a novel in the so-called modern sense. It was in late Yuan 元 (1271 C.E.-1368 C.E.) and early Ming eras that such customary loyalty to traditional forms led to the appearance of the full-length vernacular chaptered novel (*zhanghui xiaoshuo* 章回小説).

One famous Ming chaptered novel, the *Journey to the West* (*Xi you ji* 西遊記), is thought to have drawn its inspiration from the *Da Tang Sanzang qujing shihua* 大唐三藏 取經詩話 (Tale Interspersed with Poetry on Tripiṭaka of the Great Tang Dynasty Retrieving the Buddhist Sūtras),[331] which can be dated to the Tang and Five Dynasties.[332] Mair has drawn our attention to the use of *chu* 處 (narrative locus) in 11 out of its 15 extant chapter titles.[333] He further suggests that *chu* and *shi* 時 (time), which are often found in the *bianwen* pre-verse formula, "may refer to the episodes of a narrative pictorially, sculpturally, or verbally represented."[334] The *Shihua* has a regular cast of characters (Tripiṭaka and his disciples), but its chapters do not have the fixed form that is seen in the later *huaben* or chaptered novel. The most distinguishing feature of the *Shihua*, which is pertinent to our discussion of the *Maqāmāt*, is that each of its chapters has an envoi. For instance, the second chapter has a dialogic envoi between the monkey and Tripiṭaka.[335] The eighth chapter even ends with a trio.[336] It is notable that the envois of the *Shihua*, as is the case with those in the Hamadhānian *maqāmāt*, are derived from

dialogues as well as commentaries. For a work that lacks chapter titles or introductory formulae (e.g., *evam mayā śrutam*), the regular appearance of the envoi can be understood as performing the function of dividing markers for chapters.

In many literary traditions, a biography often stands for a large collection of short narratives that focus on the words and deeds of a certain figure. Therefore dividing markers for the chapters of a biographical work are also a desideratum. It is known that Daṇḍin and Rudraṭa (9ᵗʰ century C.E.), probably influenced by Bāṇabhaṭṭa's (7ᵗʰ century C.E.) *Harṣacarita* and *Kādambarī*, revised Bhāmaha's[337] definitions of *ākhyāyikā* (chronicle or biography) and *kathā* (tale), the two branches of the Sanskrit *gadyakāvya*. Sushil Kumar De is thus led to summarize the structure of Bāṇa's first work as follows:

> The *Harṣa-carita* begins with twenty introductory stanzas in the *śloka* or *anuṣṭubh* metre, concluding this preliminary part with a verse in *jagatī*...After this comes the prose story, of which eight *ucchvāsas*[338] remain...With the exception of the first, every *ucchvāsa* begins with a pair of stanzas, which give an indication of what is to follow. The metres of these verses are fairly uniform, consisting generally of *āryā*,[339] with the single exception of a stanza in the *śloka*-metre in Ucchvāsa iii.[340]

The *Harṣacarita* recounts the deeds (*carita*) of the Indian emperor Harṣavardhana (r. 606-647 C.E.), a Mahāyāna Buddhist convert in a Hindu era. It is known that Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā* also includes an *āryā*-metered abstract in the beginning of each chapter.[341] As divine offerings can move from altars to aristocratic tables,[342] it is not surprising that a Buddhist king would be pleased to be described with the kind of tropes and forms found in a *Jātakamālā*. At the same time, the glorification of a great figure's lineage, birth, and

exploits was a deep-rooted Indian tradition, reflected in the epics of *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* and in autobiographies such as the *Bāburnāmah*.

When short episodes were combined into longer compositions that were to be orally performed or inspired, there was always a need to mark the beginning and end of a session. Thus far we have introduced quite a few Buddhist works. The canonical *evaṃ me sutaṃ* ("Thus have I heard") was to be developed into the non-canonical *tad yathānuśrūyate* ("It is traditionally heard as follows") when authors such as Āryaśūra and Haribhaṭṭa composed the Sanskrit *jātakamālā*s which are marked with a unified structure and an ornate style. The *jātakamālā*s of Āryaśūra inherited the prose abstract from Pali *jātaka*s, while the legends of Haribhaṭṭa further converted the introduction into the *āryā*-motto, which is also a feature to be found in the *Harṣacarita*. At the end of the *ucchvāsa*s in the two *jātakamālā*s and the *Harṣacarita*, there are closing lines which functioned as their titles and numbers. For example, we read "Here ends the fourth chapter—entitled The Exposition of The Emperor's Birth—of the Harṣa-Carita composed by Çrī Bāṇa Bhāṭṭa."[343]

In another work named after *carita*, i.e., Aśvaghoṣa's poem *Buddhacarita*, every canto ends with one or two stanzas in a meter distinct from the main body of the text.[344] This is in accord with Daṇḍin's description of the epic in cantos (*sargabandha mahākāvya*).[345] Unfortunately Dharmarakṣa 曇無讖 (d. 433 C.E.), the Chinese translater of the *Buddhacarita*, adapts the five-character meter for all twenty-eight cantos,

257

thereby eliminating the natural closure created by the use of different meters.

After this short survey of the Indian genre *ākhyāyikā*, some connections can be made between the *maqāmah* genre and biography. The term *maqāmāt* was used around al-Hamadhānī's time in Persian literature to "refer to the *Lebenslauf* of notable persons."[346] Our discussion of the Indian genre of biography may also provide some insight into an 11th-century Jewish literary work that is related to the *maqāmah*'s antecedent, the *faraj* genre.[347] The work concerned is the *Ḥibbur yafeh me-hay-Yĕšuʿah* (An Elegant Composition about Deliverance), the Judeo-Arabic version of *al-Faraj baʿda al-shiddah* (Relief after Adversity). It consists of a prologue and thirty-four chapters. William Brinner has indicated that the *Ḥibbur yafeh* is a collection of tales of Biblical and post-Biblical sages. Such a tale is "known as *maʿăśeh* (plural *maʿăśiyyoṯ*), literally "deed," and the collection of tales as *sefer maʿăśiyyoṯ*, "book of deeds, or tales."[348] The thirty-four chapters, the *maʿăśeh*, and the exposition of "Causation and Occasion" to be found in many of its chapters,[349] naturally lead us to suggest that the *Ḥibbur yafeh* and the *jātakamālā* are related in terms of origin,[350] although the former does not focus on the deeds of a single character.

There is another common feature among the several genres discussed in this chapter, i.e., the prologue of modesty. Nissim ben Jacob ibn Shāhīn's prologue to the *Ḥibbur yafeh* is constructed as a reply to his depressed son-in-law. He wishes to encourage him with the Gentile genre of relief after adversity (*faraj*), but he also

modestly acclaims that "I have no skill in this craft nor experience therein."[351] In his

famous preface to the *Maqāmāt*, al-Ḥarīrī not only acknowledges al-Hamadhānī as the

originator of the *maqāmah* genre, but also exaggerates the inimitability of the latter's

style.[352] It is known that the opening stanza of Haribhaṭṭa's introduction to the

Jātakamālā is a praise of the Buddha's exploits.[353] Haribhaṭṭa then shows his great

admiration of the predecessor Āryaśūra, the latter's matchless work, and how the benefits

of extolling the virtues of the Buddha encouraged him to present his own *Jātakamālā*. It

is interesting that all three latecomers (Haribhaṭṭa, Nissim, and al-Ḥarīrī) resorted to such

a stereotyped introduction to their narration of "deeds," whose great benefits are going to

spread not only to audiences but also to the author himself.[354]

Conclusion

More than thirty years ago, Richard Bulliet discussed the Naw Bahār (*nava vihāra*,

i.e., New Buddhist Monastery) place names in modern Iran,[355] of which the two

westernmost ones are situated north of Hamadan. Another four or five are scattered along

the route from Sabzevar and Nishapur to Herat. It is also known that the Būyid vizier

al-Ṣāḥib ibn ʿAbbād once composed a letter "at a place called Naw Bahār a few miles

outside the city of Rayy."[356] Bulliet uses these names as proofs of Iranian Buddhist

heritage and relates it to Khālid b. Barmak's (d. 165/781-782) phenomenal rise to power.

He notes that "old Buddhist monasteries in Iranian territory retained a reputation as

educational centres for centuries after they had lost their purely religious identification."[357] For us, the locations of the Naw Bahārs vividly recall al-Hamadhānī's travels (in quest of education and career) from Hamadan to Herat.[358] As the Arabic *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf* and the Chinese *Baxiang bian* can be shown to have a good deal in common,[359] it may not be surprising to discover structural similarities between the *maqāmah* and the *jātaka/jātakamālā*. In Chapter I we drew particular attention to al-Hamadhānī's competence in Persian. If Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ of the 2nd/8th century translated the Pahlavi *Pañcatantra* into the Arabic *Kalīlah wa Dimnah*,[360] and Miskawayh, al-Hamadhānī's contemporary, translated from the Pahlavi wisdom (*andarz*) literature,[361] it is not unlikely that al-Hamadhānī was able to include some residue of Iranian Buddhism in a new genre of classical Arabic literature.

As we approach the end of this very long chapter, it is necessary to give a short review of our analyses of the envoi, the prose-poetry sequence, and the overall structure of a Hamadhānian *maqāmah*. At the end of the last chapter, we asked whether the *maqāmah*'s envoi functions similarly to the *luan* in the Chinese *fu*, or to the *śloka*-maxim in the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra*, or perhaps to some other literary equivalent. In this chapter we noted that the *Maqāmāt*'s envois can be either dialogic or commentarial. The dialogic envois are further divided into debate-related ones (usual envoi) and non-debate ones (mostly panegyrical envoi). The *maqāmah*'s important theme of literary debate (*munāẓarah*) provides a link to the *agon* (debate) of the Ancient Greek comedy. After

analyzing the structure of Greek *agon* and that of Arabic *munāẓarah* to be found in the *Maqāmāt*, we pointed out that al-Hamadhānī's usual envoi is originally a debate. The *maqāmah*'s finali is also comparable to "a decision or award to the victor" with which ends some Greek *agon*es. The Chinese *luan* is the verse epilogue of many *fu*s. Since it gives a bravura finish to the main episode which is set in a different meter, it is comparable to the *pnigos*-hypermeter of the Greek comedy's interlude. Since five of al-Hamadhānī's six panegyrical envois seem to have evolved from a short piece of poetry with which al-Iskandarī ends his *saj*ʿ-sermon in the episode proper, we suggested that these panegyrical envois are functionally similar to both the Chinese *luan* and the Greek hypermeter.

Another focus in our analysis of the envoi is its mode of performance. Al-Hamadhānī may have dictated (*amlā*) the text of the *maqāmāt*, and the archetypal *maqāmah* from which he created or at least "literarized" the genre may also be linked to different media. A short discussion of the ancient Greek and Chinese system of musical education provides corroboration of our supposition that al-Iskandarī can be identified as a singer in some *maqāmāt*. By introducing the Greek diple and the Chinese *yue*, we may regard the "redundant" *qāla* and *qāla ʿĪsā bnu Hishām* in the *maqāmāt* as markers of mode-changing. Therefore we cannot rule out the possibility that the *maqāmah*'s envois (and some other poems) deliberately simulate songs. The fact that the envoi is a quotation and that its favorite meters (*mujtathth*, *khafīf*, and *ramal*) are echoed in the melic genre of

261

muwashshaḥ that was developed in Muslim Spain towards the end of 3ʳᵈ/9ᵗʰ century further supports such a possibility.

Moving from the envoi to al-Iskandarī's sermons in the episode proper, we drew attention to the theme of asceticism (*zuhd*) and to possible Indo-Iranian antecedents in prose-poetry sequences found in one *maqām* and the tale of *The City of Brass* in *A 1001 Nights*. We then introduced the Chinese *sujiang* of the Six Dynasties and Tang as an example of the assimilation of imported Buddhist techniques in popular lecturing. The seat-settling text of the *Po mo bian* might explain the seemingly unusual poetry-prose sequence to be found in the sermon of the *Maqāmah of Qazwīn*; the formulaic introduction to commentary poems in both the *Baxiang bian* and the *Akhbār ʿUbayd* also provide evidence of the relation between lecture and dialogue. The evidentiary verse (*shāhid*) that appears in the end of an *ayyām* story is comparable to the *śloka*-abstract in a *Pañcatantra* tale, since they recapitulate the message contained in the main narrative. While it is certainly clear that both the *shāhid* and the *śloka*-abstract are different from the *maqāmah*'s usual envoi, even so they might suggest a functional linkage to the vows included at the conclusion of the *Maḍīrah* and *Ḥulwān maqāmāt* and to the commentarial envois in the *Baghdad*, the *Moṣul*, and the *Armenia maqāmāt*.

We have noted the disadvantage involved in using a literary text to preserve an oral performance. In various literary traditions of the East, the text sticks to the reconstruction of the whole set of performance details even in an age when people are

less likely to listen to or observe the story-teller. Their fidelity to the completeness of the structure may account for the longevity of genres such as the Arabic *maqāmah*, the Sanskrit *campū*, and the Chinese *huaben* and chaptered novel. As we have shown in the third part of this chapter, these prosimetric genres have many things in common regarding their overall schemes and descriptive techniques.

The identical opening chain of transmitters (*isnād*) was al-Hamadhānī's tool for marking his *maqāmāt* as a collection, and it also served as the starting point for a comparison of the structure of a *maqāmah* and those of Buddhist genres such as *jātaka* (birth story) and *jātakamālā* (garland of birth stories). The Buddhist concept of "Causation and Occasion" was used in the analysis of both the *Armenia* and *Moṣul maqāmāt*. The perfections (sg. *pāramitā*) that were presented in order as part of the *Jātakamālā*s also guided our search for the "virtues" (sg. *faḍl*) of the *maqāmāt*. When al-Hamadhānī decides to focus on the words and deeds of a single character, his *maqāmah* can be read as a parody of the Islamic Ḥadīth, and it also establishes, in both structural and descriptive aspects, connections with Indian works of biography such as the *Buddhacarita* and *Harṣacarita*.

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[1] Cf. the Indian pair of *śrāvyakāvya* and *dṛśyakāvya* discussed in the section "Genre translation" in the Introduction.
[2] See the section "The staff" in Chapter II and the section "The dinar" in Chapter III.
[3] ʿAbduh, 81; Prendergast, 75.
[4] Although the Persian loanword *ṭirāz* often means "fashion" or "shape" in modern standard Arabic, it was used to specify "'embroidery' or 'decorative work' (*ʿalam*) on a garment or piece of fabric" when the Umayyads took over the *ṭirāz* systems from the Sasanians and the Byzantines. See Yedida K. Stillman, Paula Sanders, and Nasser Rabbat, "Ṭirāz (a., pl. ṭuruz)," in *EI²*. The Islamic imperial workshops (*dār al-ṭirāz*) produced many luxury textiles and robes of honor (*khilʿah*), which usually bore the names of Muslim rulers, blessings, and place-names of origin.
[5] Abū Qalamūn "appears of different hues at different times of the day." See Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*; *Nāṣer-e Khosraw's Book of Travels*, tr. W.M. Thackston (Albany, NY: Bibliotheca Persica, 1986), 38.

[6] See the section "Eleven syllables" in Chapter III.

[7] The *mujtathth* meter appears in 9 envois. Seven other meters share the rest twenty-two *ramal*-type envois: *ramal* (7 envois), *majzūʾ al-kāmil* (6), *khafīf* (3), *mutaqārib* (3), *hazaj* (2), *sarīʿ* (1), *majzūʾ al-basīṭ* (1), and *munsariḥ* (1).

[8] The six panegyrical *maqāmāt* are the *Nājim*, *Khalaf* (*al-Maqāmah al-Khalafīyah*), *Nishapur*, *Kings*, *Sāriyah* (*al-Maqāmah al-Sārīyah*), and *Tamīm* (*al-Maqāmah al-Tamīmīyah*) *maqāmāt*. It is the *Maqāmah of Sāriyah* that adapts the *majzūʾ al-kāmil* in its envoi. Besides the panegyrical *maqāmāt*, there are still two *maqāmāt* that may use *qaṣīd*-type envois: the *Maqāmah of Ruṣāfah* (*ṭawīl*) and the *Maqāmah of the Yellow* (it adapts the *kāmil*-5 meter which seems to straddle the line between the *ramal*-type and *qaṣīd*-type meters).

[9] ʾEbû Naṣr ʾÎsmâʾîl b. Ḥammâd el-Cevherî (al-Jawharī), *Kitâbuʾl-ḳavâfî*, ed. Kenan Demirayak (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi yayını, 1995), 1. Also see Ullmann et al., "Radjaz."

[10] They are the *Isfahan*, *Jāḥiẓ*, *Moṣul*, *Ḥamdān*, *Armenia* (*al-Maqāmah al-Armīnīyah*), *Knowledge* (*al-Maqāmah al-ʿIlmīyah*), and *Poetry maqāmāt*.

[11] See the section "Guest and host" in Chapter III.

[12] Hämeen-Anttila, "Al-Hamaḏānī and the Early History of the Maqāma," 85.

[13] One of its couplet reads: "My tooth desires meat, / Therefore coat it with bread" (*qadi ʾshtahā ʾl-laḥma ḍirsī / faʾjlidhu biʾl-khubzi jaldā*). See Prendergast, 83; ʿAbduh, 94.

[14] Shmuel Moreh, *Modern Arabic Poetry 1800-1970: the Development of Its Forms and Themes under the Influence of Western Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 167. Abū Shādī was the leader of the Apollo school of contemporary Arabic poetry, see ibid., 162.

[15] Ibid., 175. Both the *rajaz* and *ramal* meters are put in the same metric circle by al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad, see G. Weil, G. M. Meredith-Owens, "ʿArūḍ," in *EI²*. We noted the resemblance of Arabic *rajaz*-trimeter and Greek iambic trimeter in the section "Eleven syllables" in Chapter III. The minor ionic dimeter (U U -- -- | U U -- -- ‖) of Greek comedy can also be compared to the *ramal*-dimeter (*majzūʾ al-ramal*). See Caspari and Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 2:262, 267. We get a *ramal*-foot by simply inverting the second and third syllables (interior anaclasis) of a *rajaz*-foot.

[16] Nāṣir-i Khusrawl, *Make a Shield from Wisdom*, 13.

[17] Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 66.

[18] The iambic meters in English poetry is not measured by dipodies, but by podies. Therefore the English iambic trimeter/tetrameter contains three/four iambs. Moreover, the English iamb is not formed with a short syllable and a long one, but an unstressed syllable and a stressed one.

[19] John Gay, *The Beggar's Opera*, ed. Peter Elfed Lewis (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1973). *The Beggar's Opera* satires the underworld of London. "The origin of *The Beggar's Opera* is usually believed to be Swift's suggestion, made in a letter to Pope dated 30 August 1716, that Gay should write 'a Newgate pastoral, among the whores and thieves there.'" See ibid., 1. This Augustan play is divided into three acts and 13+15+17 scenes. Some scenes do not have air while others can have more than one. The most common rhyming scheme of its airs is *ababcdcd*.

[20] It is a fact that the first *mujtathth*-poem of the *Maqāmāh of Sāsān* shares materials with *Ḥikāyat Abī al-Qāsim*.

[21] The chorus acts as the judge in *The Clouds*. In another of Aristophanes's plays, *The Frogs*, it is Dionysus who judges between Euripides and Aeschylus, see *The Comedies of Aristophanes*, trans. W. J. Hickie (London: George Bell and Sons, 1907), 2:573-612.

[22] Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 176.

[23] Ibid., 175.

[24] Socrates employs the chanted anapaestic tetrameter in his prayer to summon the Clouds (*ll*. 263-274). See the section "The sources" in Chapter II.

[25] Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 176.

[26] Ibid., 65-66. Forman suggests that when the disputants chanted verses, the chorus was "probably standing and not dancing." See ibid., 175.

[27] Prendergast, 181-82. The transliterations are added according to ʿAbduh, 244-45. Note that (1) we put "He/It said" in brackets, since its Arabic text (*qāla*) is put in brackets by ʿAbduh; (2) the quotation marks are accordingly modified.

[28] See the section "The inner form" in Chapter I.

[29] ʿAbduh, 85. The *Maqāmah of Iblīs* also hosts poetic conversation represented by Jarīr's *nūnīyah* and ʿĪsā's *sīnīyah*.

[30] This dialogue can be regarded as a *muʿāraḍah* (emulation), see A. Schippers, "Muʿāraḍa," in *EI²*. It also reminds us of not only the *lianju shi* of the Chinese *Shi jing* (see chap. 3, n. 39), but also the same-rhyme poetic exchange which could have been originated in the 5th century C.E. (see Yang, *Qielan ji*, 124-25; Wang, *Buddhist Monasteries*, xiii-xiv, 140-41).

[31] Fu, *Su qing ya yun*, 166-71. The Ming story "Li Cuilian the Sharp-tongued" (*Kuai zui Li Cuilian* 快嘴李翠蓮) features another contentious wife, see "The Shrew: Sharp-Tongued Ts'ui-lien," trans. H. C. Chang, in *The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature*, 872-94.

[32] According to Fu Junlian 伏俊璉, two of its three copies are dated to 921 and 925 respectively. Fu Junlian, "Dunhuang fu jiqi zuozhe xieben zhu wenti 敦煌賦及其作者、寫本諸問題," in *Nanjing shifan daxue wenxueyuan xuebao* 南京師範大學文學院學報, 2003, No. 2, 166-75 (at 174).

[33] Fu, *Su qing ya yun*, 167. The English translation is ours.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., 107-29. There are two versions of *Yanzi fu* in the Dunhuang manuscripts. The version used in our study is Version A (《鷰子賦》甲), which is presumably a very popular composition, in that it has nine copies contained in the Dunhuang manuscripts, some of which date to 867, 923, and 943. See Fu, "Dunhuang fu jiqi zuozhe xieben zhu wenti," 173-74. Version B of *Yanzi fu* (《鷰子賦》乙) has only one copy and is stylistically different from Version A. It starts with a five-character quatrain, and the main text is made of fairly even five-character stanzas. See Fu, *Su qing ya yun*, 130-43. Since the major part of Version B is put in dialogue, it does not include a dialogic envoi as seen in Version A.

[36] *Chuanqi*, or "transmission of the remarkable," was first used by Pei Xing 裴鉶 (d. 880 C.E.) to name his anthology of fiction.

[37] Ren, *Tang xinong*, 1085-96.

[38] Ibid., 181-82. We have mentioned adjunct plays in the section "*You*" of Chapter II.

[39] Yan Tingliang 顏廷亮, "Guanyu *Ershi quan fu* de zuozhe ji xieben niandai wenti 關于《貳師泉賦》的作者及寫本年代問題," in *Gansu shehui kexue* 甘肅社會科學, 1997, No.5, 52-56, esp. 56. Guiyi jun established 25 schools (including public, private, and temple-based ones) that flourished during the second half of 9th to the first half of 10th centuries. Many of the superscriptions and colophons of Dunhuang manuscripts bear the names of their students. See Li Zhengyu 李正宇, "Tang Song shidai de Dunhuang xuexiao 唐宋時代的敦煌學校," in *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究, 1986, No.1, 39-47.

[40] Fu, "Dunhuang fu jiqi zuozhe xieben zhu wenti," 171-75.

[41] The Chinese *bianwen* shows a regular use of versified dialogues and soliloquies (not dialogic envois). In Chapter Two of *T'ang Transformation Texts*, Mair discusses the two groups of *bianwen* texts according to his narrower and wider definitions respectively. He also touches upon cases that represent loose usages of the term *bianwen* and the related genres. One text in the second group ("The Causal Transformation on a Maiden in the Women's Palace of King Bimbisāra [Named] 'Intends to Create Merit' Who Is Reborn in Heaven for Having Given Her Support to a Stūpa" 頻婆沙羅王後宮綵女功德意供養塔生天因緣變) and another text of the related genre called *yuanqi* 緣起 ("The Conditional Origin of the Ugly Girl" 醜女緣起) host the dialogic envois. See *Dunhuang bianwen jiangjingwen yinyuan jijiao* 敦煌變文講經文因緣輯校, comps. Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良, Zhang Yongquan 張涌泉, Huang Zheng 黃徵 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1998), 917-28, 949-89.

[42] See al-Azdī's preface to his *Ḥikāyah*, in the section "*Riwāyah* and *ḥikāyah*" in Chapter I.

[43] See our discussion of the stylistic difference between Versions A and B of *Yanzi fu* (n. 35 above).

[44] Cf. D. S. Margoliouth, "The Discussion between Abū Bishr Mattā and Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī on the Merits of Logic and Grammar," in *JRAS* (1905), 79-129.

[45] Chapter I has noted that the recognition scene is found in more than half of the Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* (the twenty-one *maqāmāt* plus the *Sijistan*, *Lion*, *Ghaylan*, *Jurjān*, *Bukhārā*, *Shām*, *Ruṣāfah*, *Ḥulwān*, *Sāriyah*, and *Wine maqāmāt*). Not all of the recognition scenes are followed by an envoi (the *Jurjān* and *Shām maqāmāt*, for example). Some of them do lead to a piece of poetry which may function as a kind of commentary (the *Sāriyah* and *Ḥulwān maqāmāt*) or the means of revealing the answer to a riddle (the *Maqāmah of Ruṣāfah*).

[46] Prendergast, 47.

[47] Ibid., 29. The Arabic text is *wa idhā iḥtaqara azrā* (ʿAbduh, 7).

[48] The *Maqāmah of al-Fazārah* ends with a *hazaj*-metered lampoon chanted by ʿĪsā. Following this suggestion concerning the *Maqāmah of Ghaylan*, we can imagine that either the present version is not complete or al-Iskandarī does not bother to answer the lampoon in this case.

[49] They are the *Sijistan*, *Ghaylan*, *Bukhārā*, *Al-Aswad*, *Iraq*, *Nājim*, *Khalaf*, and *Wine maqāmāt*.

[50] Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 175.

[51] The dimeter-*kāmil* of the *Maqāmah of the Lion* is the *kāmil*-8 meter (U̲ U̲ -- U -- | U̲ U̲ -- U -- ‖ U̲ U̲ -- U -- | U̲ U̲ -- U -- ‖), see Stoetzer, "Prosody," 621. To ʿĪsā's surprise, al-Iskandarī only asks for twenty loaves of bread, and the episode ends with the former's sighing (a rhyming *mathal*) over the latter's ill-fate.

[52] They belong to the *kāmil*-5 (U̲ U̲ -- U -- | U̲ U̲ -- U -- | -- -- ‖ U̲ U̲ -- U -- | U̲ U̲ -- U -- | -- -- ‖) and *kāmil*-8 meters respectively. See Stoetzer, "Prosody," 621.

[53] See Beeston, "The Genesis."

[54] Prendergast, 148.

[55] In the section of Chapter I entitled "*Imlāʾ* vs. *inshāʾ*," we mentioned the sharing of material in the two pairs of *maqāmāt*, the *Balkh* and *Yellow*, and the *Kūfah* and *Nājim*.

[56] Renate Jacobi, "The Camel-Section of the Panegyrical Ode," in *Journal of Arabic Literature* 13 (1982): 1-22, esp. 5.

[57] See Zhu Binjie, *Zhongguo gudai wenti gailun* 中國古代文體概論, enlarged ed. (Beijing: Peking UP, 1990), 81-82.

[58] *Wen xuan*, 2: 16-39.

[59] Ibid., 2:1.

[60] For the Category A and B measures in the Chinese literary tradition, see our sections "The sources" in Chapter II and "The dimeter" in Chapter III.

[61] Anapaestic hypermeter "is a tetrameter that has run 'overmeasure' (ὑπὲρ μέτρον) by repeating again and again the

rhythm of the 1st dimeter." See Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 65.

[62] *The Comedies of Aristophanes*, 1:159. The chorus then sings a ten-line antistrophe (*ll*.1024-1033) which not only praises Right Logic's wisdom and eloquence, but also incites Wrong Logic to fight back with "something new." Wrong Logic's advocacy of the "New Education" ends with an iambic hypermeter (*ll*. 1089-1104).

[63] Forman notes that such hypermeter "usually stands as a coda to a series of tetrameters, giving the scene a bravura finish." See Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 66.

[64] *Wen xuan*, 2: 176-79.

[65] *Chu ci ji zhu*, 81b-83a; *The Songs of the South*, 168-69, 187-88. Also see our section "The sources" in Chapter II.

[66] For Hawkes, the *luan* may possibly be sung as well. See *The Songs of the South*, 187.

[67] Ibid.

[68] For a note on *gui*, see Knoblock, 3:359, n. 21.

[69] *Xunzi ji jie*, 482.

[70] Jamison, *Sacrificed Wife/Sacrificer's Wife*, 72-73. We included a more detailed description of the dialogues in Vedic rituals in n. 38 of Chapter III.

[71] These prosimetric genres can be direct or indirect descendants of such proto-genres. As a result, the traces of the proto-genres should be searched in epics, dramas, lyrics, fictions, annals, religious scriptures, etc. For example, the Avesta includes the *Yašt*s, twenty-one hymns devoted to divinities. It also makes use of the dialogic form as shown in the Gāθās (especially Yasna 44) and *Vīdēvdād* (Zoroastrians' law code, which is also a liturgical text to be recited in combination with the *Yasna*). See Almut Hintze, "Avestan Literature," in *The Literature of Pre-Islamic Iran*, 1-71.

[72] The *prologos*, *parodos*, *agon*, and parabasis, together with "a series of farcical scenes" and "a final banquet or wedding," make up the six-part structure of the Greek Old Comedy (*c*. 5th century B.C.E.). See "Old Comedy," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, academic edition, online version. John Williams White notes that the *parodos*, *agon*, and the parabasis were its three "primitive elements." See White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy*, 313 (§ 665).

[73] *The Comedies of Aristophanes*, 1:128.

[74] "Athamas," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, academic edition, online version.

[75] A complete parabasis consists of seven parts: commation, parabasis proper, *pnigos*, strophe, epirrhema, antistrophe, and antepirrhema. "The first three are single parts and were probably all rendered by the first corypheus." "The strophe and antistrophe were sung respectively by the first and second half-choruses." "The epirrhema…probably were rendered in recitative by the leaders of the two half-choruses respectively." See White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy*, 314-15 (§ 668). For a study of Aristophanes's parabases, see Philip Whaley Harsh, "The Position of the Parabasis in the Plays of Aristophanes," in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 65 (1934): 178-97.

[76] Not as the goddess, as happens in the *parodos*.

[77] Harsh, "Parabasis," 182.

[78] Ibid., 181-83. No doubt, such a parabasis proper is structurally very similar to Right Logic's speech.

[79] We use here Knoblock's (3:204) name for the third coda.

[80] Huang Zhenyun 黃震雲 and Sun Juan 孫娟, "'Luan yue' de yuewu gongneng yu shiwen yishu tezheng '亂曰'的樂舞功能與詩文藝術特徵," in *Wenyi yanjiu* 文藝研究 (2006), Vol. 7, 61-70 (quotation from 66).

[81] For Sima Qian's edition of Jia Yi's *Diao Qu Yuan fu* 弔屈原賦 (Fu on Mourning for Qu Yuan), see *Shi ji*, 2492-96.

[82] Huang and Sun, 63.

[83] White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy*, 314-15 (§ 668).

[84] By using "prologue," we intend to subsume both the "*isnād*" and "general introduction."

[85] Take the first interlude of *The Clouds* for example, the coryphaeus speaks in first person in the parabasis proper (*ll*. 518-562), epirrhema (ll. 575-594), and antepirrhema (*ll*. 607-626).

[86] *Chu ci ji zhu*, 107a-110b; *The Songs of the South*, 203-7.

[87] *The Songs of the South*, 203.

[88] That is, how can he put an end to his condition of exile.

[89] The meter of this coda, as in many *luan*s, is of Category A. Hawks's translation of the *Bu ju* misses one rhyming couplet of Qu Yuan's rhetoric speech. We translate it as follows: "Is it better to remove weeds and plough a field strenuously, or to associate with the nobles in order to become famous?" (寧誅鋤草茅以力耕乎將游大人以成名乎)

[90] Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres,"267. The first Ḥarīrian *maqāmah*, the *Ṣanʿāʾ* (*al-Maqāmah al-Ṣanʿānīyah*), records such a prosimetric sermon delivered by al-Sarūjī. See *The Assemblies of al Ḥarīrī*, 1: 109-11; *Maqāmāt al-Charīrī*, 19-22. In al-Hamadhānī's panegyrical *maqāmāt* the heroes also seem to be adept at closing a paragraph of *sajʿ*-speech with verses, see the *Nājim*, *Khalaf*, *Kings*, and *Tamīm maqāmāt*.

[91] See the section "Needle" in Chapter II.

[92] *The Songs of the South*, 206.

[93] *Chu ci ji zhu*, 110a (we have reconstructed the Old Chinese pronunciations after consulting Baxter's *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*); *The Songs of the South*, 204.

[94] *Shi ji*, 2486.

[95] *Chu ci ji zhu*, 110b; *The Songs of the South*, 207.

[96] See the section "The eccentric" in Chapter II.

[97] "Tasselled hat-strings were a badge of official rank. The meaning of the song is that you should seek official employment in good times and retire gracefully when times are troubled." See *The Songs of the South*, 207.

[98] For the text of this *fu*, see Fan Ye 范曄, *Houhan shu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 2630-32 (Zhao Yi's biography is from p. 2628 to p. 2635).

[99] Qin and Lu are place names.

[100] Zhu, *Wenti gailun*, 126.

[101] *The Chinese Classics: The Life and Works of Mencius*, trans. James Legge (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and co., 1875), 240.

[102] See the section "The *chengxiang*" in Chapter II.

[103] Knechtges, "The Liu Xin/Yang Xiong Correspondence on the *Fang Yan*," 312.

[104] *The Comedies of Aristophanes*, 1: 157-58.

[105] Ibid., 1:157.

[106] Ibid.

[107] *BDB*, 618.

[108] See "Kithara," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, academic edition, online version.

[109] The word for teacher in Chinese (*shi* 師) originally means the music masters who supervised blind musicians.

[110] *Zhouli zhengyi*, 1724; *Le Tcheou-li*, 2:28.

[111] The commentary is found in *Zhouli zhengyi*, 1724 (興者，以善物喻善事。道讀曰導。導者，言古以剴今也。倍文曰諷，以聲節之曰誦，發端曰言，荅述曰語。).

[112] *Han shu*, 2791.

[113] See the sections "*Ayyām al-ʿArab*" in Chapter I and "The *chengxiang*" in Chapter II.

[114] White has a four-fold division: melic, recitative, melodramatic, and spoken. See White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy*, 20 (§ 59).

[115] Kugel, "Poets and Prophets: An Overview," 5.

[116] White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy*, 384 (§ 830).

[117] The diple "always marked the beginning of the pnigos and that of the following strophe" in an interlude. See ibid., 391 (§ 852).

[118] Ibid., 441.

[119] A performer would probably not need such markers. "On the other hand, an author who was attempting to duplicate or simulate a performance for a reader would regard them as essential." See Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*, 120-21 (quotation from 121).

[120] Knoblock, 3:196, 198.

[121] *Chu ci ji zhu*, 98a.

[122] Huang and Sun, "'Luan yue' de yuewu gongneng yu shiwen yishu tezheng," 62.

[123] The *Ghaylan*, *Baghdad*, *Al-Fazārah*, *Ape*, *Moṣul*, *Shām*, *Ḥamdān*, *Spindle*, and *Armenia maqāmāt* are all lacking the interpolated "*qāla ʿĪsā bnu Hishām*" or "*qāla*."

[124] Prendergast, 34.

[125] The second *qāla* shows up after the Bedouin's *sajʿ*-description of the bread, when the text once again turns into the plain-prose dialogue between the hungry party and their tempter.

[126] Knechtges renders the phrase as "the piece reads," see *Wenxuan*, 2:17.

[127] See Yang Xiong's *Ganquan fu* and Jia Yi's *Diao Qu Yuan fu*.

[128] Prendergast, 178; ʿAbduh, 239.

[129] In the section "*Agon*" of this chapter, we discussed the dialogic envoi of the *Maqāmah of Wine*. After ʿĪsā's mocking (*hijāʾ*) of al-Iskandarī, there is a bracketed "He/It said" that leads to a description of al-Iskandarī's reaction.

[130] ʿAbduh, 239-40; Prendergast, 178.

[131] ʿAbduh, 44; Prendergast, 51.

[132] The uneven application of "redundant" *qāla* may result from the lack of an authorized version of the *Maqāmāt* from the very beginning. Neither *qāla* nor *qāla ʿĪsā bnu Hishām* is bracketed in the version contained in the 1928 *Rasāʾil*.

[133] ʿAbduh tends to regard the longer formula, which may seem to be as redundant as the shorter one, as an echo of the introductory *isnād* (chain of authority) and thus a vital constituent of the original text. In this way, there is only one bracketed *qāla ʿĪsā bnu Hishām* in the whole edition of his. See ʿAbduh, 44 (*Maqāmah of Kings*); Prendergast, 51.

[134] Al-Wāsiṭī's illustrated manuscript does not have such symbols at the end of rhyming cola.

[135] Indentation is a practice also adopted by Heliodorus, see White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy*, 385-86 (§ 834).

[136] A typical *muwashshaḥ* embeds five stanzas (with separate rhymes) within a structure consisting of six pairs of lines (with a common rhyme). As we noted earlier, the rhyme scheme of a simple *muwashshaḥ* is *ab ccc ab ddd ab...* According to Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, such a stanza is called a *bayt* and a part of the lines a *qufl*. The first *qufl* is called *maṭlaʿ* (introductory lines) and the final one *kharjah*. If a *muwashshaḥ* lacks a *maṭlaʿ*, it is known as "bald" (*aqraʿ*).

[137] Ibn Sanāʾ, *Dār al-ṭirāz*, 42; Schoeler, "Muwashshaḥ." The formulae are contained in the final stanza.

[138] Generally speaking, scholars have regarded the prosody of the *muwashshaḥ* as "stress-syllabic," "quantitative," or something in between ("in the sense that the long quantity of syllables in Classical Arabic prosody is replaced by their

stress"). For Schoeler, the "compromise solution" does not differ much from the quantitative theory. See Schoeler, "Muwa<u>shsh</u>a<u>ḥ</u>."

[139] Schoeler, "Muwa<u>shsh</u>a<u>ḥ</u>."

[140] Ibid. Later *kharjah*s could also be in *fuṣḥā* Arabic.

[141] In an article published in 1948, Stern "had presented 20 Romance *khardja*s that were characteristically culled from Hebrew *muwashshaḥ*s." See ibid.

[142] Linda Fish Compton, *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry and Old Spanish Love Songs* (New York: New York UP, 1976), vii.

[143] See the section "The fisherman's song" in this chapter.

[144] Compton, *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, 7, 130 (n. 5).

[145] ʿAbduh, 77; Prendergast, 73.

[146] ʿAbduh, 203; Prendergast, 153. Al-Hamadhānī is known to have quoted verses of Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī in the envoi of the *Maqāmah of Poesie*, see Bosworth, *Underworld*, 1:79 (n. 111).

[147] One of his *washshāḥ*s (a *muwashshaḥ* poet) is al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī, see chap. 2, n. 154.

[148] Ibn Sanāʾ, *Dār al-ṭirāz*, 51-52.

[149] See the beginning of the section "The *mujtathth* meter" in this chapter.

[150] Ibn Sanāʾ, *Dār al-ṭirāz*, 40-41; Compton, *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, 6.

[151] Ibn Sanāʾ, *Dār al-ṭirāz*, 76; Compton, *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, 21. We changed "So the one who sings does not leave in his former condition" into "So there are many who sing in the situation." The scheme of the final stanza and the *kharjah* is: U -- -- U | U -- U U -- -- -- || U -- -- U | U -- -- U -- -- -- || U -- -- -- | -- -- U U -- -- -- || U -- -- -- | U -- -- U -- -- -- || U -- -- -- | -- U -- U -- -- -- ||.

[152] Nos. 1, 2, 5, 14, 22, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34.

[153] The only exception is no. 32, which has patterns of 6+10, 5+9, and 15+15.

[154] Ibn Sanāʾ, *Dār al-ṭirāz*, 57-58; Compton, *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, 10-11.

[155] Similarly the rhyming patterns of *abab* and *aabb* appear in the majority of the sixty-nine airs to be found in John Gay's *Beggar's Opera*.

[156] For change of *laysa* into *aysh*, see Compton, *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, 131, n. 3.

[157] We have changed "What's wrong with you" into the more colloquial "
What's up with   you."

[158] We mentioned in Chapter II that tags such as "verrayment" and "I gesse" were used by Chaucer in order to ease the rhyming in a stanza. With the knowledge of the redundant syllables in a *muwashshaḥ*, we might suggest that Chaucer could have been imitating performance of medieval English popular romances, rather than running short of rhymes.

[159] Zhu Binjie mentions similar interpolated words or sounds in the performance of the Tang quatrains (*jueju*). See Zhu, *Wenti gailun*, 223-24. Mair also makes use of this point in his argument of the musicality of heptasyllabic verses of the *bianwen*. See Mair, *Tun-Huang Popular Narratives*, 23.

[160] Schoeler, "Muwa<u>shsh</u>a<u>ḥ</u>."

[161] Moreh, *Live Theatre*, 131-36.

[162] Schoeler mentions that *kharjah*s with erotic content can be found even in panegyric *muwashshaḥāt*, see Schoeler, "Muwa<u>shsh</u>a<u>ḥ</u>."

[163] Ibn ʿUbādah's (of late 11th century C.E) celebration of the union of al-Muʿtaṣim of Almería and al-Muʿtaḍid of Seville ends with a doves' song. See Ibn Sanāʾ, *Dār al-ṭirāz*, 95; Compton, *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, 32.

[164] Ibn Sanāʾ, *Dār al-ṭirāz*, 98; Compton, *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, 34.

[165] Ren, *Tang xinong*, 889. Ren Na suggests that *chuanqi* could denote the Tang romance or a kind of theatrical genre known to the Song littérateurs. As a matter of fact, *chuanqi* was used to designate several hundred plays of the "southern style" of the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) times as well. See Cyril Birch, "Chuan-ch'i 傳奇 (romance)," in *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. comp. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1986), 353-56.

[166] Li Yu 李煜 (937-978 C.E.), the last ruler of the Southern Tang (南唐) Kingdom, was a talented writer of *ci* 詞 (a melic poetic genre that was popular in late Tang and Song). His masterpiece entitled *Yumeiren* 虞美人 ("Poppy") actually ends with a dialogue between an anonymous questioner and the poet himself. *Huajian ji* 花間集, the famous *ci*-collection composed around 940 C.E., also contains several examples of closing dialogues or questions.

[167] Especially the *Fu for the Lord of Chunshen*.

[168] The introduction of the *Yueyang lou ji* indicates that Fan Zhongyan composed this article in order to comfort and encourage his friend Teng Zongliang 滕宗諒 (d. 1047 C.E.) who was demoted two years before and was in charge of the rebuilding of the pavilion.

[169] See the sections "The lion" in Chapter III and "The fisherman's song" in this chapter respectively.

[170] For the first sermon of the *Maqāmah of the Exhortation*, see the section "Grey hairs" in Chapter III.

[171] ʿAbduh, 132; Prendergast, 105.

[172] ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn was the fourth imām of the Twelver Shīʿah. His famous *laqab* (nickname) was Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, "ornament of the worshippers."

[173] ʿAbduh, 132. The meter of the poem is *ṭawīl*.

[174] Prendergast, 105-6. We have added the indentation to the original, and also changed "thy brethren who have been smitten" into "thy brethren whom thou mourn" after consulting Kennedy, "Nexus of Interests," 192.

[175] The collection was very popular in the Muslim world. For its text and English translation, see *The Psalms of Islam*, trans. William C. Chittick (London: The Muhammadi Trust of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 1988).

[176] Ibid., 131-32.

[177] Kennedy, "Nexus of Interests," 192.

[178] Ibid., 193.

[179] See the section "Four hundred *maqāmāt*" in Chapter I.

[180] Prendergast, 53; ʿAbduh, 46-47.

[181] Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres," 270.

[182] ʿAbduh, 49; Prendergast, 55.

[183] Prendergast, 53, 65.

[184] ʿAbduh, 66; Prendergast, 66 ("generous" is changed by us into "noble").

[185] See the section "Four hundred *maqāmāt*" in Chapter I.

[186] Ibn Qutaybah, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, 2:341-42.

[187] We have briefly mentioned this Arab Christian poet in the section "Grey hairs" in Chapter III. "His life was spent partly at the Sāsānid court at Ctesiphon (al-Madāʾin), where he was secretary for Arab affairs to Chosroes Parwīz, and partly at the Lakhmid court at al-Ḥīra, where he was a courtier and councillor of al-Nuʿmān III, whom he had helped to the throne." See F. Gabrieli, "ʿAdī b. Zayd," in *EI²*.

[188] Hearing this tale, the Caliph immediately bursts into tears (*bakā*), as does the Persian king in the story itself. The Caliph later asks that Khalīd be rewarded.

[189] Richard F. Burton, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night: A Plain and Literal Translation of the Arabian Nights Entertainments* (The Burton Club, n.d.), 6: 103-7.

[190] *The Assemblies of al Ḥarīrī*, 1:108; *Maqāmāt al-Charīrī*, 18-19.

[191] Aristotle, *Works*, 2:684.

[192] Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*, 149.

[193] Ibid., 148.

[194] Xiang Da 向達, "Tangdai sujiang kao 唐代俗講考," in *Tangdai Chang'an yu xiyu wenming* 唐代長安與西域文明 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001), 286-327, esp. 288, 293.

[195] Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554 C.E.), *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 497-522.

[196] Ibid., 521.

[197] A *dao shi* named Tanguang 曇光 is said to have mastered the five classics, poetry, *fu*, mathematics, and divination before he converted to Buddhism (性意嗜五經詩賦，及算術卜筮，無不貫解。). See ibid., 513.

[198] Ibid., 521. Huijiao lists four different types of audience (monks, kings and nobles, common people, and [uneducated] mountain people). A capable *dao shi* should change both the language and content of his sermon in order to arouse their interests. The similarity between the *dao shi* and al-Iskandarī provides another possible explanation of the coexistence of ornate *sajʿ* and "doggerels" in a *maqāmah*.

[199] Pan Chonggui 潘重規, *Dunhuang bianwenji xinshu* 敦煌變文集新書 (Taibei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1994), 805.

[200] Prendergast (56, n. 3) explains that in Islam public prayer has greater merit than private.

[201] Prendergast, 58.

[202] Xiang, "Tangdai sujiang kao," 293.

[203] Pan Chonggui, "Dunhuang bianwen xinlun 敦煌變文新論," in *Dunhuang bianwenji xinshu*, 1297-1322, esp. 1313-14.

[204] Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, 455.

[205] Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*, 148-49 (the transliteration is of the Wade-Giles Romanization system). The steps to carry out a Buddhist popular lecture service in Tang dynasty has been discussed by Xiang Da. See Xiang, "*Tangdai sujiang kao*," 294-97.

[206] Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*, 31.

[207] See *Dunhuang bianwen jiangjingwen yinyuan jijiao*, 273-492.

[208] Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*, 30.

[209] *Dunhuang bianwen jiangjingwen yinyuan jijiao*, 1051-68.

[210] "It is more in agreement with the chronological and evolutionary development of Chinese popular literature to say that the historical and other non-Buddhist transformation texts were an extension of a religious form into the secular realm than to say that Buddhist priests consciously used secular storytelling as a drawing card for their religious lectures." See Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*, 149.

[211] *Dunhuang bianwen jiangjingwen yinyuan jijiao*, 806-7.

[212] Prendergast, 80.

[213] ʿAbduh, 90; Prendergast, 80-81.

[214] The *qiṣṣa* (story) and the *khawātim* (ending verses) were two parts of a seated homily, as proposed by the famous ʿAbbāsid preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1097). See Qutbuddin, "*Khutba*," 203, n. 122.

[215] It focuses on how Buddha resisted the temptations of the three beautiful daughters of Mara. Their conversation reminds us of the dialogue between a whore and a student on Mahāvrata (The Great Vow) Day. In the *Po mo bian*, "we frequently encounter such tags as 'the damsel' and 'the Buddha' followed by direct discourse (usually in verses), as though this text were meant to serve as the script of a play" (Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*, 26).

[216] Mair, *Tun-huang Popular Narratives*, 7.

[217] Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres," 259.

[218] Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*, 26.

[219] The Muslims were not unfamiliar with the biography of Gautama Buddha. The famous *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf* had provided "the prototype for the Christian legend of Barlaam and Josaphat." See D.M. Lang, "Bilawhar Wa-yūdāsaf," in *EI²*.

[220] *Dunhuang bianwen jiangjingwen yinyuan jijiao*, 641.

[221] Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres," 260.

[222] Ibid., 259.

[223] *Dunhuang bianwen jiangjingwen yinyuan jijiao*, 305-7, 312.

[224] See "Sutra," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, academic edition, online version.

[225] In February 2007 Professor Michael Hahn informed me, with regard to the prose-poetry sequence in Buddhist *campū*s, that "In a first step a few stanzas were inserted in prose texts. Then in a second step their number grew and in a third step the prose became refined."

[226] Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres," 260.

[227] To be exact, there are two variants of the *isnād*: the *Maqāmah of Ghaylan* begins with *ḥaddathanī ʿĪsā bnu Hishāmin qāla* (ʿĪsā ibn Hishām related to **me** and said) and the *Maqāmah of Adharbayjān* with *qāla ʿĪsā bnu Hishāmin* (ʿĪsā ibn Hishām said).

[228] The *Maqāmah of Ṣaymarah* has another *isnād* immediately after the first one.

[229] See the section "*Riwāyah* and *ḥikāyah*" in Chapter I. For James Monroe, the *maqāmah*'s *isnād* parodies the *ḥadīth* form, see Monroe, *Picaresque Narrative*, 21.

[230] He was both first cousin and disciple of Gautama Buddha.

[231] John Brough, "Thus Have I Heard...," in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13, No. 2 (1950): 416-26 (quotation from 424). The Council of Rājagṛha "is said to have taken place during the first rainy season following the Buddha's death." We have mentioned in the Introduction that the *jātaka* stories were canonized during the Council of Vesāli (Vaiśāli), which was the second Buddhist council and took place a little more than a century later. See "Buddhist council," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, academic edition, online version.

[232] Brough, "Thus Have I Heard…," 424.

[233] The second *maqām* in Ibn Qutaybah's *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* (2:333) starts with *baynamā al-Manṣūru yaṭūfu laylan idh samiʿa qāʾilan yaqūlu* (When al-Manṣūr was on a night tour of inspection, he suddenly heard a speaker saying).

[234] In the section "*Sujiang*" above, we pointed out the hazy borderline between dialogue and narrative in the context of religious sermons. Indeed, speech and dialogue are important to a large munber of world epics (as examples, the *Iliad*, *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*), philosophical texts (e.g., Plato's dialogues), religious scriptures (e.g., the Jewish *Gemarah* and the Zoroastrian *rivāyat*), historical and political documents (e.g., the Chinese *Shu jing*), etc.

[235] The *Maqāmah of Ghaylan* begins with a similar frame, except that it lacks the second half of the frame as shown in the end of the *Maqāmah of the Maḍīrah*.

[236] *Dunhuang bianwen jiangjingwen yinyuan jijiao*, 180.

[237] Zhu, *Wenti gailun*, 468. Zhu also points out that the name of *yulu* was not used until the Tang era (471).

[238] *The Shû King; The Religious Portions of the Shih King; The Hsiâo King*, 103-12; *Shangshu zhengyi*, 223-45. Pangeng blends coercion and persuasion into an effective speech that draws heavily on oracles and implications of divine punishment. The stern decisiveness of his tone links them to the famous *khuṭbah*s of the pre-Islamic and Islamic times. For the Arabic *khuṭbah*s, see Qutbuddin, "*Khutba*," 223-67.

[239] *The Shû King; The Religious Portions of the Shih King; The Hsiâo King*, 53-56; *Shangshu zhengyi*, 102-11. Yu was the mythical Chinese king who was to succeed Shun, whom Gaoyao also served.

[240] Zhu, *Wenti gailun*, 470.

[241] ʿAbduh, 78; Prendergast, 73-74.

[242] The *Poesie, Date, Balkh, Sijistan, Kūfah, Lion, Adharbayjān, Jurjān, Isfahan, Ahwaz, Baghdad, Baṣrah, Al-Fazārah, Jāḥiẓ, Bukhārā, Qazwīn, Sāsān, Ape, Moṣul, Amulet, Famine, Shām, Al-Aswad, Iraq, Shiraz, Ḥulwān, Iblīs, Armenia, Khalaf, Nishapur, Poetry, Kings, Tamīm, Wine*, and *Quest maqāmāt*.

[243] Richards, "Manuscripts," 95-96.

[244] It means "It is traditionally heard as follows," see Brough, "Thus Have I Heard…," 426.

[245] We have quoted this *jātaka* in the section "Grey hairs" in Chapter III.

[246] The Pali *jātaka*s do not have the stock phrase "Thus have I heard" to mark the beginning of a story. However we may regard the keyword-like quotations as titles.

[247] Tathāgata is a title of the Buddha when he refers to himself. "The most generally adopted interpretation is 'one who has thus (tatha) gone (gata)' or 'one who has thus (tatha) arrived (agata),' implying that the historical Buddha was only one of many who have in the past and will in the future experience enlightenment and teach others how to achieve it."

See "Tathagata," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, academic edition, online version.

[248] *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, 1:30.

[249] "It is said that in the early years the Buddha and his monks wandered during all seasons, but eventually they adopted the practice of remaining in one place during the rainy season (in northern India, mid-July to mid-October). These shelters evolved into monasteries that were inhabited throughout the year." See "Buddha," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, academic edition, online version.

[250] Xiang, "Tangdai sujiang kao," 294.

[251] *Śakoontalá; or, The Lost Ring*, xxxii. The *vishkambha* is performed by one or more of the dramatis personae.

[252] Around the first century C.E., Aśvaghoṣa composed the Sanskrit *mahākāvya*-style *Buddhacarita* (Acts of the Buddha) which has twenty-eight cantos. There is also an interesting prosimetric Buddhist narrative called *Maitreyasamiti* (Meeting with Maitreya, the future Buddha). The Tocharian A fragments of the *Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka* (The Drama of Meeting with Maitreya) were discovered in 1906. One of its Uighur versions (*Maitrisimit*), with an introduction and twenty-five acts, is dated to the 8th and 9th centuries C.E. See Geng Shimin 耿世民, "Gudai Weiwuer yu fojiao yuanshi juben <Mile huijian ji> (Hami xieben) yanjiu 古代維吾爾語佛教原始劇本《彌勒會見記》（哈密寫本）研究," in *Zhongguo Tujue yu yanjiu lunwen ji* 中國突厥語研究論文集 (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1991), 20-37. Also see Mair, *Painting and Performance* (Honolulu : University of Hawaii Press, 1988), 40-41.

[253] *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, 1:32. The prose-poetry sequence is common in the Buddhist *sūtras*. For example, the *sūtra* proper of the *Diamond Sūtra* simply ends with a stanza. In a Pali *jātaka*, if there is no poetry inside the *jātaka* proper, the second half of its frame contains a conclusion stanza chanted by the Buddha (e.g., the *Vaṇṇupatha-Jātaka*, see ibid., 1:9-11). The lack of poetry in the frame of the *Makhādeva-Jātaka* is in accord with the existence of the king's *śloka*, which we have quoted in the section "Grey hairs" in Chapter III. The Pali *Jātaka* also reminds us of the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra*. Generally speaking, a *Pañcatantra* story has a formal structure as follows: the first half of the frame, consisting of a *śloka*-abstract and the audience's question; then the story proper; then the second half of the frame which either recapitulates the moral in a new proverb or *śloka*-maxim, or else repeats the introductory *śloka*-abstract. For a more detailed introduction of the *Pañcatantra*'s structure, see *Pañcatantra: The Book of India's Folk Wisdom*, trans. Patrick Olivelle (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997), xiv-xvi.

[254] *Xianyu jing* is a collection of *jātaka* stories translated by eight Chinese monks in 445 C.E. For an English translation of its Mongolian version, see *The Sutra of the Wise and the Foolish*, trans. Stanley Frye (Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1981).

[255] For example, see "The Householder Tasila," in *The Sutra of the Wise and the Foolish*, 213-16.

[256] Chaucer, *Tales*, 456-73. Also see the section "Grey hairs" in Chapter III.

[257] *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, 1:121.

[258] *The Sutra of the Wise and the Foolish*, 13.

[259] Prendergast, 144. The second episode bears strong resemblance to "The Miser and the Loaves of Bread" in *A 1001 Nights*, see Burton, 6: 137-38. Professor Joseph Lowry drew my attention to the Islamic *fiqh*-problem of "*idhā waqaʿat al-faʾr fī al-samn* (if a mouse falls into the oil)." It is often held by jurists that you could use the oil for lighting lamps but not eating. Thus the boy's decision to give the milk as alms is a violation of Islamic law.

[260] Prendergast, 144; ʿAbduh, 189.

[261] Hanan, *The Chinese Vernacular Story*, 155.

[262] See chap. 2, n. 171.

[263] See the section "Divinatory functions" in Chapter II.

[264] ʿAbduh, 103; Prendergast, 88.

[265] The exceptions are the *Lion* and the *Bishr*, two *maqāmāt* connected with the tradition of the hunt poem (*ṭardīyah*). Interestingly, these two *maqāmāt* either end with a vow (*Bishr*) or a *mathal* (*Lion*), which can substitute the commentarial envois.

[266] "Long since did Maḍirah sin against the noble and prefer the base to the good (*qadīman janati ʾl-maḍīratu ʿalā ʾl-aḥrār(i) wa qaddamati ʾl-arādhila ʿalā ʾl-akhyār(i)*." See Prendergast, 97; ʿAbduh, 117.

[267] Note that ʿĪsā acts as a minor character in both episodes of the *Maqāmah of Ḥulwān*.

[268] Besides being "a decision or award to the victor," the finale of a typical *maqāmah* works in much the same way as the minor figure's vows in the *Maḍirah* and *Ḥulwān maqāmāt* and his concluding commentaries (whether in verse or prose) in the *Lion*, *Famine* (before al-Iskandarī's envoi), *Fresh Butter*, *Iblīs*, *Poetry*, *Sāriyah*, and *Bishr maqāmāt*.

[269] See the section "Genre translation" in the Introduction.

[270] Biswanath Bhattacharya, "Aryashura," in *The Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature*, ed. Amaresh Datta (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1987-1994), 1: 234-35.

[271] Haribhaṭṭa probably lived in the 5th century C.E. His *Jātakamālā* "can be studied in its entirety only from its Tibetan version" made in the 12th century. Haribhaṭṭa's composition exceeds that of Āryaśūra "by 50 per cent in length." See Hahn, *Haribhaṭṭa in Nepal*, 1, 7-9.

[272] *The Jātakamālā*: Garland of birth-stories of Āryaśūra, 2-8.

[273] For the structure of Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, see Carol Meadows, *Ārya-Śūra's Compendium of the Perfections: Text, Translation, and Analysis of the Pāramitāsamāsa* (Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1986), 14-20; Hahn, *Haribhaṭṭa in*

Nepal, 12-13.

[274] Michael Hahn, "Haribhaṭṭa and the *Mahābhārata*," in *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, Vol. 3(2005), 1-41, esp. 2; idem, *Haribhaṭṭa in Nepal*, 13.

[275] See the section "Genre translation" in the Introduction.

[276] For Haribhaṭṭa's treatment of prologue and epilogue in a *jātakamālā* story, see Hahn, *Haribhaṭṭa in Nepal*, 15-18.

[277] Ibid., 19.

[278] ʿAbduh, 29-30 (with the change of *ijzāʾ* into *ajzāʾ* after consulting *Sharḥ Maqāmāt Badīʿ al-zamān al-Hamadhānī*, 35); Prendergast, 40-41 (with the change of "wizards" into "*kāhin*s").

[279] Prendergast, 46.

[280] The prologue of the *Maqāmah of Shiraz* is a similar case.

[281] In his *Al-Milal waʾl-niḥal*, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153) "gives the list of ten sins enumerated by the Buddhist tradition, and then the list (a little Islamicised) of the ten types of virtuous behaviour which should be acquired." See Guy Monnot, "Sumaniyya," in *EI*[2]. Also see *Livre des religions et des sects*, trans. Daniel Gimaret and Guy Monnot (Paris: Peeters, 1986-1993), 2: 530-33. We have mentioned the ten perfections when discussing the steps for carrying out a *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* lecture (see the section "*Sujiang*" of this chapter). For the expanded list, see "Pāramitā," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, academic edition, online version.

[282] Prendergast, 142.

[283] Meadows, 14-15.

[284] *The Jātakamālā*: *Garland of birth-stories of Āryaśūra*, 250. For Āryaśūra's criticism of *nīti*, see Meadows, 9-10.

[285] Patience (*ṣabr*) is regarded as a virtue (*jamīl*) by Muslims, cf. Qurʾān 12:18, 83. Al-Tanūkhī emphasizes *ṣabr* in his preface to *al-Faraj baʿda al-shiddah*. He also quotes Qurʾān 94 in its first chapter.

[286] Prendergast, 99.

[287] ʿAbduh, 120; Prendergast, 99.

[288] ʿĪsā is advised to be patient during a *maqāmah* performance (the *Exhortation*). His impatience is caricatured in the *Isfahan* and the *Wine Maqāmāt*. It seems that impatience always sticks to the minor figure of the duodrama; al-Iskandarī is also described as being impatient in the *Maqāmah of the Maḍīrah*.

[289] Meadows, 18-19.

[290] Meadows mentions (19) that *dāna*, *śīla*, and *kṣānti* are especially for householders, while *vīrya*, *dhyāna*, and *prajñā* are especially for monks. We note that the first and second triad of perfections are divided by al-Ṣaymarī's departure from home, i.e., his transformation from a householder to a wanderer.

[291] At this point, it also seems necessary to briefly compare the five or six pillars (sg. *rukn*, pl. *arkān*) of Islam to the six Mahāyāna perfections. We could link almsgiving (*zakāt*) to the perfection of giving, and spiritual effort (*jihād*) to that of striving. The profession of faith (*shahādah*), pilgrimage (*ḥajj*), and worship (*ṣalāt*) are frequently mentioned in the *Maqāmāt*. Al-Iskandarī even encourages his son to fast (*ṣawm*) in the *Maqāmah of Advice*.

[292] Hahn suggests that Haribhaṭṭa was a convert to Buddhism. See Hahn, *Haribhaṭṭa in Nepal*, 4-6. In that preface, Haribhaṭṭa also paid homage to his predecessor Āryaśūra, as al-Ḥarīrī did to al-Hamadhānī several centuries later.

[293] Mair discusses the *citrakār*, a group of Bengali painter-begger, in *Painting and Performance*, 87-89.

[294] Hahn, *Haribhaṭṭa in Nepal*, 3-5.

[295] *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, 4: 161-66; *The Jātakamālā*: *Garland of birth-stories of Āryaśūra*, 234-44.

[296] See the section "Ritual and description" in Chapter II.

[297] *The Comedies of Aristophanes*, 1: 315-16.

[298] It is Āryaśūra's adaptation of the *Vessantara-Jātaka*, the last and longest *jātaka* in the Pali Canon. See *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, 6:246-305.

[299] *The Jātakamālā*: *Garland of birth-stories of Āryaśūra*, 79. For the Sanskrit text, see Āryaśūra, *The Jātaka-Mālā or Bodhisattvāvadāna-Mālā*, ed. Hendrik Kern (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1891), 57. A new translation of Madrī's description can be found in Āryaśūra, *Garland of the Buddha's Past Lives*, trans. Justin Meiland (New York: New York UP, JJC Foundation, 2009), 1: 222-23.

[300] The *vasantatilakā* is a fixed syllabic meter. Each verse can be scanned as -- -- U --, U U U, -- U U -- U -- --, see Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, 193.

[301] Kern, 57. It literally means "Also, my lord."

[302] *The Jātakamālā*: *Garland of birth-stories of Āryaśūra*, 80.

[303] *Śakoontalá; or, The Lost Ring*, xxvi-xxvii.

[304] *Dandin's Dasha-kumara-charita*; *The Ten Princes*, 143-56.

[305] ʿAbduh, 73-74; Prendergast, 71.

[306] See the section "The wine song" in Chapter III.

[307] The description of the guests has been quoted in the section "The wine song" of Chapter III.

[308] Cf. the *waṣf* of the beggar's appearance and performance (the *Maqāmah of the Blind*) quoted in Chapter II, and the *waṣf* of feast (the *Maqāmah of the Famine*) in Chapter III. In many Han courtly *fu*s, linkages of plain prose are inserted before each section of rhymed prose. See Zhu, *Wenti gailun*, 82.

[309] Prendergast, 51. Also see the section "*Qāla*" in this chapter.

[310] Prendergast, 178. Also see the section "*Qāla*" in this chapter.

[311] See the section "The lion" in Chapter III.

[312] See the section "*Kharjah*" in this chapter.

[313] Mair, *Tun-huang Popular Narratives*, 5-6 (quotation from 6).

[314] Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (New York: Rizzoli, 1977, c1962), 185.

[315] Ibid., 75, 77-78.

[316] Patrick Hanan, "The Nature of Ling Meng-ch'u's Fiction," in *Chinese Narrative: Critical and Theoretical Essays*, ed. Andrew H. Plaks (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1977), 85-114, esp. 87.

[317] Among the Dunhuang manuscripts, only one picture-scroll has survived (Pelliot Dunhuang manuscript 4524), see Mair, *Tun-huang Popular Narratives*, x.

[318] Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 82-83.

[319] Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*, 120.

[320] *Śakoontalá; or, The Lost Ring*, 61.

[321] Feng Menglong and his associates edited and published between 1620 and 1627 three collections of Chinese vernacular short stories. They are the *Gujin xiaoshuo* 古今小說 or *Yushi mingyan* 喻世明言, *Jingshi tongyan* 警世通言, and *Xingshi hengyan* 醒世恆言. Each collection contains forty stories. They are known collectively as the *San yan* 三言 (Three *yan*). See Patrick Hanan, *The Chinese Short Story: Studies in Dating, Authorship, and Composition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1973), 5.

[322] Hu, *Huaben xiaoshuo gailun*, 133-47.

[323] Ibid., 134. A Song collection of pseudo-*huaben* named *Qingsuo gaoyi* 青瑣高議 (composed around mid-11th century) gives both the short and long titles of a story. Similarly, the index of the 1873 Beirut-edition of *Maqāmāt al-Charīrī* provides a one-sentence abstract after each title.

[324] Hu, *Huaben xiaoshuo gailun*, 35.

[325] Ibid., 21-27.

[326] Hanan, *The Chinese Vernacular Story*, 28-30.

[327] See the section "The lion" in Chapter III.

[328] Prendergast, 42.

[329] Hu, *Huaben xiaoshuo gailun*, 142-43.

[330] Ibid., 143-45. Hu reminds us that such a closing couplet is related to the development of the *huaben*'s title from a short name to a sentence of seven or eight character, and further to a couplet.

[331] *Da Tang Sanzang qujing shihua*; *Qiantanghuyin Jidian chanshi yulu* 大唐三藏取經詩話; 錢塘湖隱濟顛禪師語錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), 1-67. For a complete English translation, see "How Tripiṭaka of the Great Country of T'ang Brought Back Sutras," trans. Charles J. Wivell, in *The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature*, 1181-207.

[332] See Li Shiren 李時人 and Cai Jinghao 蔡鏡浩, "'*Da Tang Sanzang qujing shihua*' chengshu shidai kaobian 《大唐三藏取經詩話》成書時代考辨," in *Xuzhou shifan xueyuan xuebao* 徐州師範學院學報, 1982, Vol.3, 22-30.

[333] Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*, 84. The *Shihua* has seventeen chapters. Both the title and content of the first chapter are not extant, nor is the title of the 8th.

[334] Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*, 84. The Hami manuscript of the Uighur *Maitrisimit* clearly marks the locale in red ink in the beginning of each chapter. The title is also provided in the end of a chapter. See Geng, "Mile huijian ji," 30-32, 34-35.

[335] *Da Tang Sanzang qujing shihua*; *Qiantanghuyin Jidian chanshi yulu*, 2-3.

[336] Ibid., 26.

[337] "The relative priority of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin is still a point highly disputed…we accept the priority of Bhāhama on the premise that he is less concerned with system than Daṇḍin." See Gerow, *Indian Figures of Speech*, 26 (n. 40).

[338] An *ucchvāsa* means "a breathing out" and also "a division of a narrative." See *The Harṣa-carita of Bāṇa*, trans. E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1897), 2, n. 6.

[339] The *āryā* is a stanza of two verses, "each verse containing eight groups of morae, the group of four morae each." An example of its scansion is -- --, U -- U, -- --; U -- U, U U U U, U -- U, U U --, U | -- --, -- U U, -- --; U -- U, U U --, U, -- --, U ||. See Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, 193, 354.

[340] Sushil Kumar De, "The Akhyayika and the Katha in Classical Sanskrit," in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Univeristy of London*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1924): 507-17 (quotation from 509-10).

[341] Hahn, *Haribhaṭṭa in Nepal*, 16, 53-170.

[342] Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 149.

[343] Ibid., 131. That said however, the autograph is not found in the *jātakamālā*s.

[344] Aśvaghoṣa, *The Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, translated and edited by E. H. Johnson. (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1972, c1936). The stanza(s) is followed by a closing line that indicates the title and number of the canto.

[345] *Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa*, 35-36.

[346] Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: a History of a Genre*, 66.

[347] The connection of the *maqāmah* genre to the *faraj* genre has been pointed out by Beeston in 1971. See Introduction, n. 38.

[348] Brinner compares the "deeds" to the Latin *gesta*, see Nissim, *Elegant Composition*, xvi. For the English translation of the Latin work, see *Gesta Romanorum*, trans. Charles Swan and Wynnard Hooper (London: George Bell & Sons, 1906).

[349] See the outline of the contents found in Nissim, *Elegant Composition*, xxviii-xxix.

[350] Arie Schippers once noted that "[t]he Arabic *Faraj* genre is probably of Jewish origin," see Arie Schippers, "Some Remarks on the Women's Stories in the Judeo-Arabic *Al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* by Nissim ibn Shāhīn (990-1062)," in *O ye Gentlemen*, 277-89 (quotation from p. 278, n. 4). However we would suggest that both the Arabic and Jewish genres may have consulted a similar source.

[351] Nissim, *Elegant Composition*, 3.

[352] Hämeen-Anttila notes that an earlier imitation of al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt*, i.e., Abū al-Qāsim ibn Nāqiyā's (410-485/1020-1092) ten pieces, is preceded by a short preface. "The preface also contains, for the first time in the East, the later usual apology for writing non-serious literature and also for using…fictitious characters." See *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, 133-34. However Ibn Nāqiyā "avoids quoting al-Hamadhānī's name in his short *muqaddima*," see Stefan Wild, review of *Maqāmāt Ibn Nāqiyā*, ed. Ḥasan ʿAbbās (Alexandria: al-Dār al-Andalusīya, 1988), in *JAL* 23, No. 1 (1992): 76-78 (quotation from 78).

[353] Āryaśūra praises the Buddha's exploits in all four introductory stanzas of his *Jātakamālā*.

[354] Cf. the Mahāyāna notion of *pariṇāmanā* (transfer of merit) mentioned in the section "*Sujiang*" in this chapter. The introduction of the Hami *Maitrisimit* contains the *pariṇāmanā* written in the name of the patron, see Geng, "Mile huijian ji," 29.

[355] Richard Bulliet, "Naw Bahār and the Survival of Iranian Buddhism," in *Iran* 14 (1976): 140-45.

[356] Ibid., 140.

[357] Ibid., 145.

[358] See the sections "Hamadhān," "Rayy," and "Nishapur" in Chapter I.

[359] See n. 219 above.

[360] Mary Boyce suggests the existence of a dichotomy of foreign written prose and native minstrel-poetry in the Pahlavi literature. Foreign prose narratives were introduced into Pahlavi in late Sasanian period. Among them there is the Hellenistic romance *Wāmiq wa ʿAdhrā*, "coming probably from Syriac"; and from India came "*Kalīla wa Dimna*, the *Tūtī Nāme* and the *Sindbād Nāme*." She further suggests that "the total absence of verse-texts" among the Arabic translations of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and his fellows could reflect the native tradition "in which prose alone was written." See Mary Boyce, "The Parthian *gōsān* and Iranian Minstrel Tradition," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 1/2 (1957): 10-45, esp. 35-36.

[361] See Macuch, "Pahlavi Literature," 164, n. 147. Although we are unable to detail the possible impact of Pahlavi literature to the genesis of our *maqāmah* genre, a glimpse of several Pahlavi titles may be helpful: *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšēr ī Pābagān* ("The Book of the Deeds of Ardashir, Son of Pabag"), *Ayādgār ī Zarērān* ("The Memorial of Zarēr"), *Draxt ī āsōrīg ud buz* ("The Babylonian Tree and the Goat"), and *Mādayān ī J̌ōšt ī Fryān* ("Book of J̌ōšt of the Fryāns").

Conclusion

The *maqāmah* is an Arabic narrative genre that appeared towards the end of the 4th/10th century. Its originator, Badīʿ al-zamān al-Hamadhānī, is alleged to have dictated more than four hundred *maqāmāt*. However the extant manuscripts do not contain more than fifty-two independent narratives about the words and deeds of his beggar hero, Abū al-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī.

The term *maqāmah*, together with its cognate *maqām*, indicates "acts of heroism" in classical Arabic poetry. During the 3rd/9th century, its connotation began to move from "deeds" to "words," focusing on edifying addresses delivered before a distinguished audience. In many a Hamadhānian *maqāmah*, the narrator ʿĪsā ibn Hishām reports his meeting with a disguised al-Iskandarī who sermonizes and begs in public. Thus al-Iskandarī's connections with the medieval beggar (*mukaddī*), storyteller (*qāṣṣ*), and popular preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) have been previously noted.[1] At the same time, al-Hamadhānī did not forget to parody the *maqāmah*'s original meaning: in his collection there are several pieces that describe the itinerant antihero's ruses and deceitful actions and therefore suggest a link to the picaresque novel. What is more, the received corpus includes six panegyrical *maqāmāt* devoted to one of al-Hamadhānī's patrons.

From the very beginning, the *maqāmah* genre has shown a remarkable thematic diversity. Besides the sermon, it covers other genres and sub-genres such as description,

poetry in various forms, travelogue, advice, dialogue, debate, and literary criticism,[2] a list that offers great freedom to al-Hamadhānī's successors in the following millennium. In his study of the prosimetric genres of 19th and 20th century Arabic literature, Dwright Reynolds mentions the *maqāmah* genre alongside the folk epic (*sīrah*) and emphasizes the *maqāmah*'s inspiring power for modern Arabic drama, novels, and short stories.[3]

The versatility and longevity of this unique Arabic narrative genre can be explained by analyzing the prosimetric style that al-Hamadhānī devised for his *Maqāmāt*. Within a comparative context such an analysis can also provide new perspectives for a consideration of the *maqāmah*'s genesis. Al-Hamadhānī did not create the genre ex nihilo. Arabic literature had previously produced prosimetric genres such as historical (*ayyām*) and anecdotal (*akhbār*) narratives. The placement of evidentiary verses (*shāhid*) at the end of an *ayyām* narrative is a feature as distinctive as the *maqāmah*'s envoi. The phenomenon of "genre translation" (transfer of material) has been utilized by scholars of Arabic literature who have tried to locate the predecessors of some Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* in anecdote collections.[4] Furthermore around al-Hamadhānī's time there also appeared a prosimetric mime-script (*Ḥikāyat Abī al-Qāsim*) that shares quite a few passages with the *Maqāmāt*. The *maqāmah*'s similarity to such genres (*ayyām*, *akhbār* and *ḥikāyah*) can be understood on another level. It is known that a genre may emerge whenever a formal differentiation is associated with a functional one. Thus in the Introduction we proposed the transfer of form/function,[5] believing that a combined study

of the *maqāmah*'s form and function can both accentuate its uniqueness and facilitate our

search for continuity among certain genres in the Arabic literary tradition.

The Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* have two major features that roughly correspond to

the genre's formal and functional differentiations: the alternation between rhymed prose

(*sajʿ*) and poetry, and the creation of a fictitious eloquent beggar. *Sajʿ* was the highly

popular mode of literary expression from the 4th/10th century onwards, "especially in the

class of administrative secretaries to which al-Hamadhānī belonged."[6] Al-Hamadhānī's

choice of this highbrow mode of expression in the *Maqāmāt*, as well as this formalistic

trend that was enhanced by his successor al-Ḥarīrī, contributed greatly to the genre's

popularity among educational circles, regardless of its theme of beggary (*kudyah*). *Sajʿ* as

a literary style can be traced back to pre-Islamic soothsayers whose proverbial eloquence

had long been believed to be jinn-inspired. In the opinion of Dmitry Frolov, classical

Arabic verse (*qaṣīd*) was developed from *sajʿ* via the *rajaz* meter,[7] whose primitive

iambic rhythm was another noted specialty of the soothsayers. With these facts in mind,

we focused in Chapter II ("Rhymed Prose") on al-Iskandarī's divinatory functions that

were likely inherited from soothsayers. Therefore it was not at random that al-Hamadhānī

employed *sajʿ*, one of their trademark styles, to narrate stories about a beggar. Rather,

al-Iskandarī's mastery of *sajʿ* echoes his divinatory functions. What is more, we

introduced Chinese rhymed prose (*fu*) into our discussion in order to show that Arabic

sajʿ and Chinese *fu* have similar fields of application (such as description, annals,

duodrama, and travelogue), and many Chinese *fu* writers were eloquent, itinerant, and frustrated admonishers, thus resembling our hero al-Iskandarī. In a word, the versatility of a genre is very likely to be decided by the multi-functions of its practitioners.

An eloquent person (*balīgh*), in al-Hamadhānī's definition, is able freely to switch from one mode of expression to another. In Chapter III ("Poetry") we drew attention to al-Iskandarī's favorite iambic meters, for these "doggerels" can reveal as much information as *sajʿ* does in regard to his connections to soothsayers. Guided by an analysis of the *rajaz* meter, we related the monorhymed distich (*qaṣīdah*), the rhyming couplet (*muzdawij*), and the strophe (*musammaṭ, muwashshaḥ*, and *zajal*) to each other.[8] It is very likely that al-Iskandarī, as the soothsayers' heir, masters all these different poetic forms. The *maqāmah* genre came into being after the so-called *badīʿ* (innovative) movement that, having first decorated poetry with a larger repertoire of literary tropes, spread its influence to prose writing. Thus al-Hamadhānī, who was competent in both modes, adapted many poetic tropes and themes to the *maqāmah*'s prose. The divination-related themes such as riddle and debate are characterized by a flexible form (both *sajʿ* and verse), which partly determined the use of a prosimetric style in some *maqāmāt*. We also identified the poetic themes of hunting, drinking, eating, and asceticism as found in the *Maqāmāt* and argued that al-Hamadhānī's ideal of a polythematic structure results in a functional similarity between the *maqāmah* and *qaṣīdah* genres.

Chapter II highlighted al-Iskandarī's status as an admonisher, whose many comments convey an air of frustration or satire. Arabic literary history witnessed generations of admonishers, including prophets, philosophers, poets, preachers, annalists, scribes, jesters, actors, dramatists, and writers of fiction. These admonishers more or less resemble the pre-Islamic soothsayers who were masters of both modes of expression and performers of multiple functions. The prosimetra these admonishers produced, of which the *Maqāmāt* serve as excellent examples, often retain a divinatory, admonishing or satirical function. The transfer of material found in the *maqāmah*, *ayyām*, *akhbār*, and *ḥikāyah* can easily be understood if we bear in mind the link between admonition and prosimetra. The *maqāmah*'s continuing ability to inspire writers of modern Arabic fiction and drama may also be explained since the practitioners of these Arabic genres can all be included in the above-mentioned list of eloquent admonishers.

Such a link is not found only in Arabic literature. Chapter II located some clearly relevant examples in the Chinese tradition as well. Using the cases of the poet Qu Yuan, the philosopher Xunzi, the annalist Sima Qian, and the court jester Dongfang Shuo, we pointed out that an admonisher serving or ruled by the monarch is less likely to express his opinions as freely as an ancient shaman does.[9] He may use indirect, allegorical or comical criticism, or simply express frustration and pessimism about the age in which he lives. In the section entitled "Aim of the study" we mentioned that Menipean satire has a style called *spoudaiogéloion* ("serio-comical"), one that Mikhail Bakhtin considers an

authentic predecessor of the novel. The Latin tradition also seems to corroborate this general link between admonisher and prosimetra, whose validity in world literature underlies the prosimetra's great popularity in history.

Doors of comparison are now open. Once noted, the prevalence of admonishers and their connection to shamans/soothsayers enabled us to study the *maqāmah*'s style by investigating prosimetric genres of other traditions. The comparability of different prosimetric genres may well be derived from the universality of certain aspects of ritual performance, comprising firstly a question and answer divination, and secondly a devotional hymn.[10] Many of the prosimetra compared in this study show an interplay of dialogic and undialogic elements, and contain a performability rarely changed even under literacy-dominant circumstances. In Chapter I, we touched upon a possible difference between Hamadhānian and Ḥarīrian *Maqāmāt*, i.e., the former could have relied upon an oral mode of presentation (*imlāʾ*), while the latter were written (*inshāʾ*) and their full appreciation requires a resort to dictionaries and exegeses.[11] It is also a fact that the Ḥarīrian *Maqāmāt* inspired many illustrated manuscripts which were used by art historians in analyses of Arab painting. Richard Ettinghausen assumed that these illustrations had drawn inspiration from shadow plays and puppet theater when a flowering of popular arts occurred in the latter part of the twelfth century.[12] It is quite clear that, because of its intrinsic performability, a prosimetric genre such as the *maqāmah* shows direct links to other media.

Prose and verse interact in a prosimetrum containing an apparently "simulated context"[13] of oral storytelling. By analyzing the overall structure of the *maqāmah*, we detected some signs of the proto-performance. As with the *qaṣīdah* genre, the *maqāmah* is noteworthy for its orderly and relatively fixed structure. A typical Hamadhānian *maqāmah* can be schematized into "a chain of transmitters (*isnād*)," "general introduction," "link," "episode proper," "recognition scene," "envoi," and "finale." By comparing selected genres from ancient Greek, Chinese, and Indian literatures, our fourth chapter ("Prosimetra") provided a detailed analysis of the *maqāmah*'s envoi, episode proper, and opening formula. We not only reconstructed the *maqāmah*'s performance context, which may have been affected by al-Iskandarī's divinatory functions, but also linked the Arabic genre's genesis to possible Indo-Iranian and Greek antecedents.

Generally speaking, al-Hamadhānī coined three kinds of envois in the *Maqāmāt*: the usual envois for the narratives focused on the words of al-Iskandarī, the commentarial ones for the more picaresque pieces, and panegyrical ones dedicated to donors. By introducing discussion of the debate (*agon*), interlude (*parabasis*), and hypermeter (*pnigos*) encountered in Greek Old Comedy, we demonstrated that al-Hamadhānī's usual envoi is based upon debate, while the panegyrical envoi, being a non-debate dialogue, seems to have evolved from a speech with a closing coda. Chapters II and III have emphasized the importance of the debate theme to the *Maqāmāt*'s prose and poetry.[14] A typical Hamadhānian *maqāmah* relies upon the debate-centered envoi in order to convey

the comical/satirical message. The finale, which only appears in eight *maqāmāt*, represents the decision or award to the debate-victor, al-Iskandarī. We also notice that the *Maqāmāt* contain several pieces whose episode proper consists of full-fledged debate or an unbalanced dialogue of *sajʿ*. Such *maqāmāt* often involve divination-related themes such as trial, food, and advice. Because of their dialogic structure, this group of *maqāmāt* no longer requires an envoi that is essentially equal to a debate.

As for the commentarial envois, as well as the vows (*nadhr*) included at the conclusion of some *maqāmāt*, they are comparable to both the evidentiary verse that appears in the end of an *ayyām* story and the *śloka*-abstract in a *Pañcatantra* tale. They are not dialogic, but rather express the lessons that the audience is supposed to gain from the story. Neither is the debate theme a necessary element of their host *maqāmāt*.

In the first part of Chapter IV ("Envoi"), we also referred to the diple (double paragraph) of Greek drama and the *yue* of Chinese *fu*, enabling us to consider the "redundant" *qāla* and *qāla ʿĪsā bnu Hishām* in the *Maqāmāt* corpus as markers of mode-change.[15] We pointed out the possibility that the Hamadhānian envois (and some other poems) are intended as lyrics of the hero al-Iskandarī, who in one *maqāmah* is clearly identified as the musician/singer (*muṭrib*).[16] The fact that the Hamadhānian envoi is a quotation, and its favorite meters (*mujtathth*, *khafīf*, and *ramal*) are echoed in the melic *muwashshaḥ* genre that was developed in Muslim Spain towards the end of the 3rd/9th century further supports such a possibility.[17] Two poetic examples cited from the

Chinese tradition provide evidence that folk songs can be included in so-called elite prosimetra.[18] It seems to be a habit of admonishers in both the Arabic and Chinese traditions to collect "expressions of various eras, children's ditties, songs, and skits"[19] from the masses and to convey them to rulers or readers. Thus al-Hamadhānī's practice of ending his *maqāmah* with "doggerels" that contain al-Iskandarī's satirical remarks and stand in stark contrast to the flowery *saj'* of the episode proper has clear antecedents.

In the second part of Chapter IV ("Back and forth"), we discussed the prose-poetry and poetry-prose sequences to be found in the episode proper of four *maqāmāt* that contain the theme of asceticism (*zuhd*) or beggary. We firstly mentioned the prose-poetry sequence to be found in other Arabic prosimetra that are related to religious homilies of possible Indo-Iranian provenance. After introducing the procedures for carrying out a Chinese Buddhist popular lecture (*sujiang*) in the Tang dynasty, we suggested that both sequences can be seen as belonging to a whole presentation of a sermon delivered by al-Iskandarī. Such alternations of prose and poetry are very likely to have been determined originally by ritual requirements. Moreover, the qualifications of Chinese preachers are echoed in al-Iskandarī's loud voice, eloquence, and erudition, as well as his ability to present many a tailor-made discourse to suit the needs of different audiences. Al-Iskandarī's lucrative sermons manage to arouse pity and fear, a feature comparable to the catharsis in Greek tragedy. These sermons form a clear contrast to his light-spirited debates to be found in the usual envoi or episode proper.

283

Al-Hamadhānī, the admonisher behind al-Iskandarī, uses his *maqāmah* to host a wide range of themes that may seem to his readers to be either humorous (*hazl*) or serious (*jidd*). The ability to instruct through entertainment is a mark of *adab* (polite letters).[20] In the whole collection of *Maqāmāt* the narrator ʿĪsā ibn Hishām confirms that there are virtues (sg. *faḍl*) implicit in al-Iskandarī's eloquent speeches; such speeches include the religious sermon, linguistic entertainment, criticism of poetry, advice to youth, and even anti-Muʿtazilah comment etc. As for the picaresque *maqāmāt* in which al-Iskandarī earns his bread by deceitful ruses rather than by words, they still manage to leave in their envois a reminder of tricksters and a criticism of stupid people.

These picaresque *maqāmāt* are often made up of double-episodes, with commentarial envois or vows, and echoing the group of frame *maqāmāt*. In the third part of Chapter IV ("Garland of stories"), we drew attention to the principle of "Causation and Occasion" used in these non-typical *maqāmāt* and the Buddhist *jātaka* (birth story) and *jātakamālā* (garland of birth stories) collections. By comparing the opening formula and other techniques involving the grouping of episodes around the words and deeds of a central figure, we suggested the existence of additional structural similarities between the *maqāmah* and these Buddhist genres. One of these similarities is the abundant use of framing. Besides the particular frame *maqāmah* and the picaresque one, even a more "typical" *maqāmah* can be roughly schematized into "the first half of the frame," "the episode proper," and "the second half of the frame," as also found in a Pali *jātaka*.[21]

Moreover, we compared the representation of virtues and the descriptive skills (e.g., the mixture of different meters/modes) in both the Arabic *maqāmah* and the Sanskrit *jātakamālā*. It is known that the Sanskrit *jātakamālā* arranges the episodes by following a rigorously ordered scheme of the "perfections" (*pāramitā*). Likewise the principle of virtues (sg. *faḍl*) can be regarded as a tool that allows al-Hamadhānī to unite the whole collection of *Maqāmāt*, whose admonitory function is sometimes hidden within the theme of beggary.

In the last section of "Garland of stories," we discussed other methods available to allow small pieces of narrative to be assembled into large collections. We adduced Chinese vernacular stories (*huaben*) in order to compare their structural features with those of a possibly early *maqāmah*. A story may contain two complementary or antithetical episodes divided by a poetic line. Such a verse may act as the title of the second episode when the two episodes become independent stories. We then drew attention to a major difference between the organization of many *huaben* collections and that of the Hamadhānian *Maqāmāt*, i.e., the former recount stories with different heroes and plots, while the latter tell a series of stories grouped around the same character(s). In an earlier section of Chapter IV ("*Agon*"), we selected several Dunhuang popular *fu*s that end with poetic dialogues. Most of these *fu*s were copied during the late 9th and early 10th centuries, which is the same time period as that to which the *Tale Interspersed with Poetry on Tripiṭaka of the Great Tang Dynasty Retrieving the Buddhist Sūtras* (*Da Tang*

Sanzang qujing shihua) can be ascribed. The *Shihua* focuses on an adventurous journey

undertaken by a fixed set of characters. All of its chapters are decorated with envoi. What

is more, the character *chu* ("place") contained in the chapter title "may refer to the

episodes of a narrative pictorially, sculpturally, or verbally represented."[22] It is a fact that

twenty of the 52 extant Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* are named after cities. The obvious theme

of travel that is involved accords with al-Iskandarī's identity as the itinerant admonisher.

His frequent travels also enable us to meet representatives of people from different walks

of medieval Islamic life. However the description of places is rarely attested in these

maqāmāt, and neither does any specific setting seem important to the development of

their plots. Inspired by the function of *chu* in the *Shihua*, we suggest that the place names

in the titles of the *maqāmāt* may have constituted a residual "simulated context" of

performance.

When short pieces of prosimetric narratives are grouped into large collections,

titles, beginning stanzas, and envois can all function as dividing markers for chapters. In

this sense, the *maqāmah* has much in common with the Sanskrit genre called *carita*

(deeds). As we mentioned in the beginning of this conclusion, the original meaning of

maqāmah/*maqām* is "acts of heroism." Besides the Arabic *maqāmah* and the Sanskrit

carita, the emphasis on grouping small narratives within the theme of "deeds" is also

noticeable in the Jewish *maʿăśeh* and the Latin *gesta*.

As we approach the end of this concluding chapter, we would like to restate some

important points identified in this study on the *Maqāmāt*. Firstly, the Hamadhānian

maqāmah has a very unique prosimetric style. In his exploration of Arabic prosimetric

genres, Wolfhart Heinrichs shows the continuity involved in the provision of evidentiary

verses in *ayyām* stories, historical narratives (e.g., the *maghāzī* and *fuṭūḥ*), and technical

literature (e.g., grammar, lexicography, literary criticism, and Qurʾānic exegesis).[23] He

also remarks that "the preponderant mode of existence for poems in the *Arabian

Nights*"[24] is *tamaththul* (quotation of a poetic parallel). The Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* also

contain examples of these "commentary poems," but the most conspicuous form of their

poetry is the usual envoi which belongs to "action poems" and can be broken down into a

dialogue or debate. This kind of envoi also allows the Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* to stand

out from those earlier anecdotal narratives that mix *sajʿ* and poetry.[25] Bearing in mind

our earlier discussion of plagiarism,[26] the *maqāmāh*'s prosimetric style is a good

indication of al-Hamadhānī's literary novelty. To the best of our knowledge, the use of

such prosimetric style in fictional narratives is only otherwise attested in some Dunhuang

popular *fu*s.[27] However the development of Chinese language in the following centuries,

a trend that is marked by the separation of rhymed prose and fiction writing, did not

allow those scattered *fu* pieces to evolve into a lively and independent genre like the

maqāmah. While we have analyzed the *maqāmah* by introducing many prosimetric

genres both inside and outside the Arabic literary tradition and have to some extent

managed to locate its precedents in the Indo-Iranian and Greek traditions and its

analogues in the Chinese and Sanskrit literatures, we should still admit that al-Hamadhānī created a unique prosimetric style which reflects Arabic's particular course of development from the 4th/10th century onward.[28]

Secondly, the versatility of the *maqāmah* genre is very likely adjudicated on the basis of the multiple functions that the beggar hero inherits from pre-Islamic soothsayers. Before al-Hamadhānī's time, writers like al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayhaqī, and Abū Dulaf had talked about rogues and tricksters.[29] It is also suggested that al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād's (an early patron of al-Hamadhānī) interest in lowlife figures stimulated our author to compose the *Maqāmāt*. In the *maqāmah* named "Sāsān," al-Iskandarī does not change the *ramal*-type meter that he uses before and after the anagnorisis. This could imply that his true identity is one of the Banū Sāsān, specialists in begging and swindling during the medieval Islamic era. At the same time, the *maqāmāt* show that he is a very special beggar, someone who time and again amazes us with extraordinary eloquence and divinatory functions. Al-Iskandarī has served as augur, sung satire against his opponent, delivered long prayers, produced and solved riddles, and acted as medicine man; even his doubles (ʿĪsā ibn Hishām and Shaykh Abū Murrah) are able to judge debate and show the way to locate lost camels. It is al-Iskandarī's divinatory functions that lead us to detect his connections with other masters of language who could claim to be heirs of the pre-Islamic soothsayers. Although the Hamadhānian *maqāmāt* center upon the theme of beggary, it is natural to find him (or his doubles) acting in duodramas, singing wine songs

in taverns, criticizing the leading Arab prosaists and poets, describing the physical traits of horses, and chanting hunting poems in *sīrah*-like stories. His satirical comment on the Muʿtazilites, caricature of corrupt *qāḍī*s, and praise of knowledge and ideal patrons also betray the author's own perspective from time to time. As a matter of fact, the theme of beggary is used by al-Hamadhānī as an umbrella to include all these seemingly different but technically related subjects.

Thirdly, the core of the Hamadhānian *maqāmah* is dialogue. Scholars often use "pious harangue" to explain the connotation of *maqām*(*ah*) before al-Hamadhānī composed his legends. A look at the ten *maqāmāt* (sg. *maqām*) contained in the 3rd/9th-century *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*[30] makes it clear that they are built upon the dialogue between an ascetic and an audience, and the latter will repay the former at the end of the sermon. One of al-Iskandarī's favorite disguises is as the popular preacher (*wāʿiẓ*). Although poetry did not play a great role in real-life preaching,[31] al-Hamadhānī applies both "action poems" and "commentary poems" in his hero's sermons. In our analysis of the *maqāmah*'s theme of asceticism,[32] we pointed out the practice of ending a *sajʿ* sermon with a piece of poetry, and that of going back and forth between *sajʿ* and poetry. The episode proper of a typical *maqāmah* may derive from the *maqām*-sermon to which al-Hamadhānī gives a special prosimetric style. Two other constituent elements of the *maqāmah* reflect the importance of dialogue. One is the usual envoi which is a debate made of a *sajʿ*-question and a verse-answer.[33] The other one is the beginning *isnād* which

implies a dialogue situation of a session between the narrator ʿĪsā ibn Hishām and an anonymous audience ("us").[34] In this way, the narrator's existence is vital to the completeness of a *maqāmah* though he never actually appears in the main text of some pieces. The *isnād* and the full-fledged framing in four *maqāmāt*[35] may even indicate the *maqāmah*'s structural similarity with an *ayyām* story, which "grew out of the dialogue situation of the *samar* (*musāmara*), the evening entertainment or conversation."[36] As a matter of fact, we can detect a three-fold effort to preserve the characteristic of public presentation in a Hamadhānian *maqāmah*: al-Iskandarī's sermon, ʿĪsā ibn Hishām's narration, and al-Hamadhānī's dictation of his *maqāmāt*.

Finally, we need to consider another question: should we regard the *maqāmah* as a drama script since we have confirmed its performability and analyzed its prosimetric style by drawing analogues from various performing arts? We have highlighted al-Iskandarī's close ties with actors (sg. *ḥākiyah*) and his being identified as a singer (*muṭrib*) in order to suggest the envoi's mode of rendering.[37] The dialogic trait that is characteristic of the genre also may have led artists to produce illustrations reminiscent of shadow plays and puppet theater. However, following Wolfhart Heinrichs,[38] we do not regard the *maqāmah* itself as a dramatic performance. The genre appears fairly late in Arabic literary history, and thus it naturally absorbs traits from previous genres such as the *ḥikāyah*. That said, the prosimetric *maqāmah* possesses an intrinsic performability that is probably rooted in the universality of certain aspects of ritual performance. If we

limit our reading of the *maqāmah* to that of a dramatic script, we will be unable to

explain its functional and structural similarities to other genres such as the *qaṣīdah*,

ayyām, and *akhbār*. After all, the combination of divinatory functions and prosimetric

style is common to the works of generations of admonishers. The 4th/10th century

witnessed a gradual shift from an orality-dominated to a literacy-dominated

Arabo-Islamic culture. The only clear indication of the *maqāmah* genre's orality is

al-Hamadhānī's alleged dictation of the four hundred legends, possibly to a learned circle.

Because of the genre's very special prosimetric style, it became increasingly suited to

private reading. By al-Ḥarīrī's time it had finally developed into an entertainment for

book-holding readers, with the marks of mode-changing lingering on as "simulated

context."

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[1]   Brockelmann et al., "Maḵāma," in *EI²*.
[2]   Ibid.
[3]   Reynolds, "Prosimetrum in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Arabic Literature," 277, 287, 290.
[4]   See the section "Genre translation" in the Introduction.
[5]   See the section "Style-breaking" in the Introduction.
[6]   Brockelmann et al., "Maḵāma," in *EI²*.
[7]   Frolov, "The Place of *Rajaz*," 264, 272-3.
[8]   See the section "The dimeter" in Chapter III.
[9]   See the section "The *chengxiang*" in Chapter II.
[10]   See the section "*Luan*" in Chapter IV.
[11]   See the section "*Imlāʾ* vs. *inshāʾ*" in Chapter I.
[12]   See the section "Painter" in Chapter IV.
[13]   See chap. 4, n. 316.
[14]   See the sections "*Munāẓarah*" in Chapter II and "The dimeter" in Chapter III.
[15]   See the section "*Qāla*" in Chapter IV.
[16]   See the section "The wine song" in Chapter III.
[17]   See the section "*Kharjah*" in Chapter IV.
[18]   See the sections "The *chengxiang*" in Chapter II and "The fisherman's song" in Chapter IV.
[19]   Knechtges, "The Liu Xin/Yang Xiong Correspondence on the *Fang Yan*," 312.
[20]   Brockelmann et al., "Maḵāma," in *EI²*.
[21]   See the section "Causation and occasion" in Chapter IV.
[22]   Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*, 84.
[23]   Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres," 261-2.
[24]   Ibid., 270-1.
[25]   Mattock, "The Early History of the *Maqāma*," 3.

26 See the section "Style-breaking" in the Introduction.

27 See the section "*Agon*" in Chapter IV.

28 See the section "Al-Jāḥiẓ criticized" in Chapter I.

29 Bosworth, *Underworld*, 1:96.

30 Ibn Qutaybah, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, 2: 333-43.

31 Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres," 267.

32 See the sections "Grey hairs" in Chapter III and "Back and forth" in Chapter IV.

33 His panegyrical envoi is also dialogic, and de facto close to the crowning "action poems" of the episode proper.

34 Therefore even the commentarial envoi can be regarded as al-Iskandarī's address to the anonymous audience.

35 See the section "Thus have I heard" in Chapter IV. The four *maqāmāt* have "redundant" *isnād* as well.

36 Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres," 260.

37 See the sections "*Riwāyah* and *ḥikāyah*" in Chapter I, "*You*" in Chapter II, "The wine song" in Chapter III, and "*Qāla*," "*Kharjah*" in Chapter IV.

38 Heinrichs, "Prosimetrical Genres," 270.

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Index