Throughout the last two centuries, Hebrew metrics was studied by leading linguists and specialists in medieval Hebrew poetry. Nowadays, it has disappeared from the academic discussion such that it is sometimes even difficult to find scansions or the name of the meter in new editions of poems. This book aims to rectify this gap, helping readers to understand the metric structure of this poetry in order to facilitate the work of editing and cataloguing those samples still in manuscript form for future editors.

Martínez Delgado presents his view of Andalusi Hebrew metrics, as encountered in medieval manuals of Arabic and Hebrew metrics and scattered notes in the works of Andalusi Hebrew philologists. Whilst twentieth-century scholars spoke about the adaptation of Arabic metrics to Hebrew, he instead approaches these compositions by Andalusi Jews (10th-13th c.) as Arabic metrics written in Hebrew, thus emphasising how Hebrew poetry of the Andalusi Jews can help us to understand the general evolution of Arabic strophic poetry, and its experimental evolution, which is quite unlike classical and strophic Arabic poetry.

This method respects the Hebrew vowel system, and does not necessitate alteration of word morphology, leaving the guttural letters quiescent (unless required by metrical license); nor does it necessitate guesses about metres that are not in the classical catalogue. Although the author has not found each and every classical metre from Andalusi Hebrew poetry included in this manual, they are all catalogued, either in case someone finds them in future or because they help us to comprehend the metrical structures that are characteristic of strophic poetry. As such, this monograph will be of great interest to scholars of Hebrew metrics.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO
ANDALUSI HEBREW
METRICS
An Introduction to Andalusi Hebrew Metrics

José Martínez Delgado
For my friend and colleague,
Professor María José Cano Pérez, ‘Quita’,
on the occasion of her 70th birthday
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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in this book:

a. after
c. circa
pl. plural
r. reigned

In in-text citations of edited collections of poetry, the number given after the comma is the poem number, rather than the page number; a verse number may follow after a full stop, e.g., Brody 1935, 31.1 = Brody 1935, poem 31, verse 1. The works to which this applies are as follows: Brody 1894; 1935; 1936; Brody and Albrecht 1906; Brody and Schirmann 1974; David 1982; Jarden 1975; 1982; 1984; 1992; Mirsky 1961; Pagis 1967; Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1988; 1998.
It is not the aim of this book to make any great changes to the scholarly landscape, but rather to present my personal view of Andalusi Hebrew metrics, as I have found the technique described in medieval manuals of Arabic and Hebrew metrics and in scattered notes in the works of Andalusi Hebrew philologists. Throughout the twentieth century, scholars spoke about the adaptation of Arabic metrics to Hebrew; however, I now prefer to approach these compositions written by Andalusi Jews (10th–13th century) as Arabic metrics written in Hebrew. In doing so, I am not diminishing Andalusi Hebrew poetry or negating it as a distinct genre—quite the contrary. The greatness of the Hebrew poetry of the Andalusi Jews lies, on the one hand, in the help it provides in understanding the evolution of Arabic strophic poetry in general and, on the other, in how the poetry, especially the religious works, was able to evolve experimentally, quite unlike what is found in classical and strophic Arabic poetry.

The model that I propose is based on the primary contributions made to this topic over the course of the twentieth century by the most important scholars in the field, whose accurate and exquisite editions have allowed me to apply this form of scansion almost without having to make any alterations to their readings at all. This model has the advantage of fully respecting the Hebrew vowel system, since it is not necessary to alter the morphology of any words or leave the guttural letters quiescent, except when required by metrical licence, which will be indicated; neither is it necessary to make guesses about metres that are not in...
the classical catalogue. This form of scansion has helped me to begin to understand and describe both classical-style compositions and strophic works from Alandalus, as well as the other hybrid or intermediate patterns that appear to be typical of Hebrew poetry.

It goes without saying that I have not found, and hence have not included in this manual, examples from Andalusi Hebrew poetry of each and every classical metre. Nevertheless, I catalogue them all (using a smaller font size when I have not found examples of the sequences), either because someone else may find them in my wake or because they help us to comprehend the metrical structures that are characteristic of strophic poetry. It is quite possible that I have erred in the scansion of a certain poem, in which case I hope to be forgiven, but the genius of the authors and the state of some the editions have not made it easy for me. The same applies to the translations of the examples, which slowed me down significantly—even though they were not necessary, because it is not the content that is important here—and there are many specialists who have known and will know how to translate these verses and poems much better than I.

When I first began to study the science of medieval Arabic metrics (‘ilm al’arūd) from the perspective of my Western education, the feeling that came over me was that everything that I had been told bore no resemblance whatsoever to the picture reflected in the medieval treatises. Slowly I came to understand that, at least in the case of Andalusi Hebrew poetry, as many as four different models were involved (Martínez Delgado 2017, 17–
32; 2020): the original or indigenous model, characteristic of the Arab world, which I describe in these pages; the Romance or reduced model (*yated-tênuʿa*), typical of Christian regions;\(^2\) the European model, an adaptation of that used in classical Greek, crafted during the Enlightenment (see Cano Pérez 1987, 31–38); and the Israeli model, a mixture of the other three, devised by David Yellin (1939; 1940, 44–53) based on the first codifications of Judah Halevi’s metrics by Heinrich Brody (1895). My bewilderment when I had to apply the modern theoretical descriptions of Arabic metrics by Carl Caspari and William Wright (1995, Part fourth: Prosody) to the scansion of medieval poems was, without a doubt, a consequence of the supremacy of the European model devised by William Jones (1777), which reduced the ‘*arūḍ* to a mere adaptation of Greek metrics, over the original, indigenous model.

This led me to reconsider the original Arabic model, beginning first with some basic descriptions written in Morocco. Particularly notable among these is the manual by ʿAtīq (1987), used in many Moroccan universities for the study of this discipline. Another extremely interesting text, written by Álvarez Sanz y Tubau (1919), dates back to the time of the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco. These works gave me direct access to the most renowned medieval treatises, penned by Ibn ʿAbdrabbihi (Amin 1948), Ibn Činnī (Farhūd 1972), Attabrizī (ʿAbdallāh 1966), Arrabaʾī (Badrān 2000), and the like. The fortuitous finding of fragmentary...\(^2\) The first allusions to this model are found in the writings of the Andalusi Jews who settled in Provence after the Almohad conquest of 1146.
ments of a book of Hebrew metrics in the Cairo Genizah (Martínez Delgado 2017) and the contributions made to the study of Arabic metrics by Professors Muḥammad ben Othman (2004) and Federico Corriente (1997) did the rest.

Even so, my feeling of unease and helplessness did not abate. Either a history of this discipline and its medieval literature does not exist, or I have never found it.12 Neither has the first known manual of the ʿarūḍ, attributed to its inventor, the noted linguist Alḥalil ibn Aḥmad Alfarāhīdī (718–786), been preserved. In fact, the oldest known systematic description of this Eastern science was written in Cordoba by Ibn ʿAbdrabbihi (860–940), being included in his famous Kitāb alʿiqd alfarīd under the heading Second Gem: On the Art of Metrics and Rhyme (Amīn et al. 1948, V:424–518), which puts a century and almost 7,000 kilometres between this work and the original by Alḥalil. The fact is that the science of the ʿarūḍ found it difficult to carve out its own space as a discipline within the complex network of language sciences that already existed in the Middle Ages. The aforementioned second gem by Ibn ʿAbdrabbihi, a fascicle included in a repertoire of adab, was the first step. Only later did the study of the subject reach maturity in the form of independent treatises that were substantial enough even to be broken down into separate discussions of metrics and rhyme. To some extent, the ʿarūḍ

12 The most complete description of the Arabic metrical system to date is that by Frolov 2000, but it does not include even a brief description of the medieval history of this art, or the main authors on the subject and their works.
was an indispensable science in this context, since the composition of poetry as conceived of in the circles of power at the time depended on it.

The science of the ʿarūḍ is complex; much work on this topic remains to be done, and there is still no synthesis that summarises both its origins and the main theories developed during the medieval period. The broad and extensive literature in which these theories are found is still largely unpublished and uncatalogued. The case of Alandalus serves as an illustration. A superficial search through the monumental reference work, Biblioteca de al-Andalus, in the encyclopaedia of Andalusi culture (Lirola Delgado and Puerta Vílchez 2004–2013) finds approximately 50 medieval authors who wrote monographs dedicated to the ʿarūḍ, more than enough to provide some idea of the situation. Of this entire roster, however, only four treatises have been published (two by the same author) and another three manuscripts are known (two held in the El Escorial library); all the others are believed to be lost. Moreover, except in the case of ʿAbbās ibn Fīrānās, whose treatise is also thought to be lost, most of these works were written during the protracted period that began with the alfītna albarbariyya (1009–1031) and ended with the surrender of Granada in 1492. These works are known thanks to the secondary sources that cite them, which, in most cases, indicate that they served as the author’s teaching materials. Therefore, it seems that from the early eleventh century, at least in Alandalus, metrics became sufficiently important and well developed to be an independent discipline, associated with a plethora of authors
and teachers in both Arabic and Hebrew—a science whose mysteries captured the attention of not only Muslims, but also Jews and Christians, as this book will show.

In addition to the general lack of academic literature on the history of the ʿarūḍ, I must note another difficulty. When I began to read the medieval treatises, I discovered that, as with all the sciences, not every author shared the same criteria when it came to addressing basic questions, such as the minimum number of units required to form a foot, the number of feet, and even the number of metres that had to be included in a catalogue of metres.

As is well known, metrical feet are made up of basic units, or elementary prosodic units (EPU), to use the terminology of Dimitri Frolov (see Frolov 2000, 314–18; Sánchez Sancha 1984–1985). All the manuals agree about the existence of two of these—sabab and watid—but not all include the units known as fāṣila. Regarding the number of feet, some manuals speak of eight and others of ten; some even argue that Alḥalil originally only established six. Something similar occurs with the number of metres, with some manuals including only the original 15 codified by Alḥalil and others also the one introduced by his disciple Alḥafṣ. Not included, as a rule, are the metres derived a posteriori (muhmal) by theoreticians of the ʿarūḍ that complete the sequences of the classical metrical circles.

Based on this experience—and with all these remaining doubts—I now present a new catalogue for the study of Andalusi Hebrew metrics. This method attempts to recover and understand this important art, which has disappeared, even from some of the
most recent editions of Andalusi Hebrew poetry. I would like to emphasise that it is not my intention to change how we approach the study of Andalusi Hebrew poetry, but only to help us better understand the metrical structure of this poetry, in order to facilitate for future editors the work of editing and cataloguing the samples that are still in manuscript form; I gave up the fight to bring this topic back to the classroom even before I began.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.0. The Origins of the ʿarūḍ and its Study in Alandalus

For the Arabs, the ʿarūḍ is the science that distinguishes good verses from bad, and identifies what modifications and irregularities affect them. It is a metrical system, codified, according to tradition, by the renowned grammarian from Basra, Alḥalil ibn Aḥmad Alfarāhīdī (718–791). While some authors see this codification as the result of a divine concession or intervention that followed Alḥalil’s pilgrimage to Mecca (ʿAbbās 1968–1972, II:244), others argue that it was the blows on the cauldrons at the souk that helped him to mark the rhythms (Farraḡ 1968, 95–96); others, that he let himself be carried away by his affection and respect for contemporary poets who used metres that were strange to the Arabs (Alhāšimī 2006, 11); and yet others, that it was a coincidental discovery resulting from living alongside singers in Mecca (Yaʿqūb 1991, 337).

Of these four versions, the prevailing legend in the Islamic literary tradition of the ninth, tenth, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries was the one that related that, during his pilgrimage to Mecca, Alḥalil prayed to God to grant him the discovery of a new science never before developed by anyone and, upon returning home, he codified the ʿarūḍ (see, e.g., ʿAbbās 1968–1972, II:244). The oldest account of the discovery of the ʿarūḍ that I have found, meanwhile, is transmitted by the Abbasid Prince Ibn Almuʿtazz.
It fell to (Alḥalil) to invent and codify the ‘arūḍ and establish its metres for poetry. The reason was that, one day, when he was passing by a workshop of fullers in Basra, he heard a different sound between the blows and he reflected on this science, saying “no one has developed a theory about this or is going to beat me to it”, and thus he designed the ‘arūḍ with those sounds that were coming out of the hands of people.\(^7\)

Old as this account may be, however, it is a legend, and one with a foundational conceit as pretentious as the one that attributes the agreement that governed coexistence with non-Muslim believers (ahl aḏḏimma) to ʿUmar ibn Alḥatāb, the second Orthodox caliph (r. 634–644; see Cohen 1999). Furthermore, I think that the case of Alḥalil involves an adaptation of a legend that originally referred to the eminent Greek mathematician Pythagoras of Samos (569–475 BCE), to whom the theory of the music of the spheres was attributed; Alḥalil, of course, also distributed the metres in five circles. Iamblichus (245–325), the disciple of Porphyry (233–305), said this about Pythagoras (Taylor 2020, chapter 26):

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\(^7\) This text is also transmitted by Yāqūt in his Muʿḡam alʾudabāʾ (‘Abbās 1993, I:1269). Of the versions of this legend that I know of, the oldest are by two Iraqis: the one translated here and another by Almarzubānī (909–993), included indirectly by Ḥāfīẓ Alyağmūrī in his Kitāb nūr alqabas almuḥtār min almuqtabas (Sellheim 1964, 58).
Intently considering once, and reasoning with himself, whether it would be possible to devise a certain instrumental assistance to the hearing, which should be firm and unerrng, such as the sight obtains through the compass and the rule, or, by Jupiter, through a dioptric instrument; or such as the touch obtains through the balance, or the contrivance of measures; thus considering, as he was walking near a brazier’s shop, he heard from a certain divine casualty the hammers beating out a piece of iron on an anvil, and producing sounds that accorded with each other, one combination only excepted. But he recognized in those sounds, the diapason, the diapente, and the diatessaron, harmony. He saw, however, that the sound which was between the diatessaron and the diapente was itself by itself dissonant, yet, nevertheless, gave completion to that which was the greater sound amongst them.

In any event, all the traditions agree in attributing to Alḥalīl the codification of the art of Arabic metrics as a science, dividing it into five circles from which 15 metres are obtained. Alḥalīl himself wrote his conclusions in a work given up as lost today, generically entitled Kitāb alʿarūḍ. Later, Alalusfa ṣ Alawsaṭ, one of his followers, added one other metre, known as mutadārak, in his work Kitāb alʿarūḍ lilʿAlḥfaṣ (Baḥrāwī 2007?).

These metres are the specific measures to which a poet conforms his creation, and are called bahr (pl. buhūr), or ‘sea’. To each of them, one can apply modifications (ʿilāl) and produce variants known as wazn (pl. awzān), or measures. The metres are formed by a succession of feet, some with eight (four feet in each hemistich) and others with six (three feet in each hemistich). The relationships between the different sequences formed in this way govern the arrangement of the five circles established by Alḥalīl,
as explained below. The classical system attributes 15 metres to Alḥalīl, which are considered canonical and must always appear in the manuals—ṭawīl, madīd, basīṭ, wāfir, kāmil, haṣāq, raḡaz, ramal, sarīʿ, munsariḥ, ḥafīf, muḍārīʿ, muqṭāḍab, muẓṭat, and muṭaqaṣīb—although new sequences were immediately derived that were compatible with the spheres attributed to Alḥalīl.

Alḥalīl’s work was introduced to Alandalus by the Ronda native Abbās ibn Firnās (810–887), who is famous today for creating a contraption that allowed him to fly over the city of Cordoba. Ibn Firnās had access to a copy of Alḥalīl’s treatise in the library at the Alcázar of Cordoba during the reign of ʿAbdarrāḥmān II (r. 822–852). According to the chroniclers of the Umayyad house, Ibn Firnās himself adapted the metrics to Andalusi ears (Makkī and Corriente 2001, 138):

A certain trader brought the book Almiṭāl min alʿarūḍ (The Model of Metrics) by Alḥalīl ibn Aḥmad, which ended up in the hands of ʿAbdarrāḥmān ibn Aḥakam, although it was not clear to him and he did not understand it, just like his companions. The eunuch Abulfaraḡ, one of his foremost servants, told me that the book was thrown out of the Alcázar, as entertainment for the slave girls, to the point that they said to one another: “Would that God had given you the wisdom of the man who filled his book with mafāʿīl and mafāʿīl!”; when Ibn Firnās found out about this, he wrote to the emir, asking him to leave it with him, which he did. Skilfully studying it, he deciphered the key, using it to grasp the essence of the metrics and said, with his excellent vision, “This book indicates that there is an earlier one that explains it”, and the emir ʿAbdarrāḥmān sent for its complement to be found in the East. They brought him Kitāb alfuruṣ (The Book of Tapestries), with which
‘Abbās completed his study, and he opened it up to the people, being the first to learn metrics in Alandalus, something that had not happened before, and so the emir awarded him 300 dinars and some garments.

Instruction in metrics based on the new codification produced by Ibn Firnās was an immediate, convincing success. It even triumphed in Christian intellectual circles, where it was identified as a clear sign of Mozarabism, as reported by Paul Albar of Cordoba (c. 860–861; Delgado León 1996, 184 for the original and 185 for the translation):

Is it not true that all the young Christians, brilliant in presence, eloquent, distinguished in their gestures and attire, outstanding in the wisdom of the gentiles, notable for their knowledge of the Arabic language, so eagerly care for the books of the Chaldeans, they read them with such attentiveness, discuss them with such ardour, collecting them with such zeal, they disseminate them with a language that is steady and profuse, ignoring by contrast the exquisite-ness of the language of the Church and rejecting as vile the sources that flow from Paradise. What grief! The Christians are ignorant of their own law and the Latins do not understand their own language, such that in the entire Christian community one can scarcely find one out of every 1,000 men who can write a letter to his brother in correct Latin, but find innumerable multitudes who are capable of explaining the verbal bombast of the Arabs, to the point that, more erudite in metrics than these people themselves and with more sublime beauty, they adorn the end of their phrases with a shortened letter, according to the demands of expression characteristic of the Arabic language, which closes all its stressed vowels with a rhythmic or even metrical comma, which suits all the letters of the alphabet,
using various expressions, and many variants are reduced to the same or a similar ending.

The first manual of metrics written in Alandalus—and one of the oldest in Arabic literature—was composed in prose and verse by the Cordovan poet Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdrabbihi (860–940), who included it in his acclaimed encyclopaedia ʿIqd alfarīd (The Unique Necklace), under the heading Second Gem: On the Art of Metrics and Rhyme (Amīn et al. 1948, V:424–518). This metrical model was first put to the test in the Hebrew language in Cordoba by Dunaš ben Labraṭ (c. 920–c. 960; Brody 1937, 117–26) and there is evidence that it was being used at least as early as 958. This date comes from the information included by Ben Labraṭ in his panegyric to Ḥasday ben Šapruṭ, in which he describes the arrival of a Christian embassy in Cordoba in 958. This poem takes musammat murabbaʿ form, in mustaṭīl metre modified with tašʿīṯ (מַפַאעִילֻן פַאעִל), with reš rhyme (Sáenz-Badillos 1980, 2):

בָּבִי גְּבִיר גִבּוֹר / מֶלֶך הַבְּלָם / לִשְׁבוֹת וּמֵאָס / וּמָשִׁיך הַשּׁוֹטָה / זְּקֵנַתוֹ טוֹטָה / אֲשֶר הָיְּתָה עֹטָה / מַעֲמָרִים / בַּפֶלֶך / לְעָם הֵם / לְכָל מְלָכָה / כַּגְּבָרִים / בְּּכֹח חַכְּמוֹתָו / וּמָעוֹז עָרְּמָוָו / וְרַב תַחְּבְּלָתָו / בַּחֲלָק מַאֲמָרִים

‘A strong lord, a king / brought like a vagrant / leaning on a walking stick / to an enemy town and he dragged the savage / his grandmother Toda / who was covered / regally like the lords with the force of his wisdom / and the power of his prudence / and his great arts / and the sweetness of his words.’

Currently, within the field of Arabic literary criticism, it is understood that this type of composition, known as a musammat and
used in the earliest examples of Andalusi Hebrew poetry, first appeared in Iraq in the eighth century, as a result of breaking up the monotony of the qasida by introducing or using a literary device called sammaṭāt. This device consisted of creating established sequences of two (musammaṭ muṭallaṭ), three (musammaṭ murabbaʿ), or four (musammaṭ muḥammās) internal rhymes (in segments called aḡsān) within verses that also continued to preserve the original rhyme (in segments called asmāṭ); in other words, the classical monorhythmic sequence of aaaaa... became bb(bb)a cc(cc)a dd(dd)a and so on. It is believed that, starting in the tenth century, musammaṭ verses in Alandalus may have produced the strophes [aa] bbba ccca... of the zajal and [a] bbbaa cccaa... of the muwaṣṣāḥ (Corriente 1997, 23–27). The main fly in the ointment with this theory is the absence of any examples of Arabic musammaṭ in Alandalus from this period, which may be due to any number of reasons: the compositions may have been of inferior quality; they may have been rejected by local, highly puristic anthologies; or they may have been quickly superseded by a new genre (Corriente 1997, 80–81).

In contrast to the scarcity of Arabic specimens, the evidence for the use of Arabic metrics in medieval Hebrew poetry written in the Iberian Peninsula is quite rich. In fact, the first examples of Andalusi Hebrew poetry scanned with Arabic metrics—written by Dunaš ben Labraṭ in Cordoba around 958, as discussed above—adopt the musammaṭ murabbaʿ (bbba ccca ddda...) form. These are two compositions enshrined as all-time classics in Hebrew literature. The first, ‘Know, my heart, wisdom’—part of which was quoted above—was written in honour of the famous
Jewish patron and doctor to Caliph ʿAbdarraḥmān III (929–961), Ḥasday ibn Šapuṭ, while the second, even more famous work, ‘He says: don’t sleep, drink old wine’, was a bacchic poem recited at a gathering (muḡālis) in the presence of Ḥasday ibn Šapuṭ. The use of this type of internal caesura was not unknown in the synagogal poetry being written in Palestine from the sixth century, if not earlier (Fleischer 1988), and also appears in the composition that introduces the letter of complaint sent from Mēnaḥem ben Saruq to Ibn Šapuṭ (Schirmann 1954, I:8–10).

As will be discussed in greater detail below, in the case of the classical Hebrew poets (10th–12th centuries), it is easy to find examples that do not fit into the strict discipline of the Arabic metrical art. These variations can affect both the measure of the metre (wazn) and its modifications (ziḥāf and ʿilāl), and are largely—at least in religious poetry—the result of the insertion of biblical citations into the body of the poem. They are found in an array of works that are not consonant with either the classical or the strophic framework but, in a show of metrical ambiguity (muštabih), make use of strange metrical and strophic games that have led their editors to see no metre at all and understand them to be an isosyllabic metrical variant (ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ / ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ), representative of poets who rejected Arabic metrics (Fleischer 1980). Nothing could be further from the truth; these compositions were inspired by the ʿarūḍ, and may be innovations, experiments, or even, in some cases, simply bad verses.

18 Today it is known that this composition formed part of a larger panegyric; see Elizur 2010.
Arab poets in Alandalus had, in the early tenth century, or perhaps even earlier, already devised a new type of formula known as the ḥarĝa (pl. ḥaraḡāt), a final refrain that closed and governed the structure of a muwaššāḥ poem. The muwaššāḥ genre (pl. muwaššahāt) originated in Alandalus in the tenth century and did not stop evolving until it reached its literary maturity in the eleventh to twelfth centuries. Poems of this genre are generally made up of five strophes or verses written in classical Arabic, the last of which finishes with the ḥarğa, which can be found in dialectal Arabic, classical Arabic, Hebrew, or Romance. It did not take the Jewish poets long to start using the ḥarğa, along with other strophic devices like musammat form, in their own compositions, both in Arabic and in Hebrew (Stern 1974).

Most muwaššaḥ poems are made up of a prelude (maṭla‘) and five verses. They are considered ‘complete’ (tāmm) when they have a prelude, but ‘bald’ (aqrā’) when they do not. Each verse is divided into two sections: the ‘round’ (dawr) and the ‘refrain’ (qufl). Each section, in turn, is divided into segments (ḡuṣ’, pl. aḡzā‘): the segments of the rounds (ḡuṣn, pl. aḡṣān) have a variable rhyme, while the segments of the refrains (ṣimṭ, pl. asmāṭ) preserve their rhyme throughout the composition. When a segment (either ḡuṣn or ṣimṭ) has one stich, it is ‘single’ (muşṭṭar), and when it has two stichs, it is ‘double’ (muṣdawiḡ). Two stichs with a single final rhyme are ‘plain’ (mufrad), whereas, when they have at least one internal rhyme, they are ‘compound’ (muḍaffar). If all the segments of a section have only the same final rhyme, they are called ‘simple’ (sādīḡ), but if they have internal rhymes as well, they are considered ‘adorned’ (muraṣṣa‘). The verses can
be formed purely according to the poet’s chosen metre, in which case they are called ‘stripped’ (muğarrad), but they can also be subject to metrical extensions that consist of suffixes (muďayyal), prefixes (mar-ūs), infixes (mafrūq), or prefixes and infixes at the same time (muğannah; Ghazi 1979, 11).

The number of segments in the verses varies from poem to poem. The most common options are five segments (muḫammas) or four (murabba‘), although there may be as many as six (musaddas), seven (musabba‘), or eight (muṯamman). Moreover, the ġuṣn and simṯ do not necessarily have to be symmetrical in the syllabic computation (mutawāfit); at times, one simṯ can be double while the other is single, in which case it is said that the refrain is ‘lame’ (aʿraḡ; Corriente 1997, 26–27).

There has been much debate about the origin of these extremely complex compositions. The history of the ḥaraḡāt, and their relationship to the muwaššaḥāt, as well as the zajals, is long and controversial (for a complete summary, see Corriente 1997, 90–101). The last major theory, the ‘bridging hypothesis’, was formulated by Federico Corriente (1982), and later updated by the author himself (1986) in reaction to various objections, put forth primarily by Gregor Schoeler (1983) and Alan Jones (1981–1982). Very briefly (for the complete exposition, see Corriente 1997), this hypothesis holds that the ḥaraḡāt had a popular origin, dating back to the dawn of the tenth century, in the form of zajals. These were oral works that used Andalusi Arabic and whose metre was based on a popular local adaptation of the classical ʿarūḍ, imported from the East during the reign of ʿAbdar-raḥmān II (822–852) and adapted to Andalusi Arabic by Ibn
Firnās; on this adaptation, see the curious episode in the Alcázar of Cordoba mentioned above. It is even possible that the ḥaraḡāt are remains of zajals—their best verses—that were then inserted at the end of a new Andalusi strophic structure, called ‘muwaššah’ when its register was classical and ‘zajal’ when its register was dialectal. It seems that the structure and metrics of the ḥaraḡāt, as they have been passed down (see the latest edition of Diwān Ibn Quzmān Alqurṭubī in Corriente 2013), were updated and standardised during the Almoravid period, as their linguistic register was a much better fit in the Almoravid court than it had been under the previous regimes. The famous Andalusi anthologist and theoretician of the era, Ibn Bassām (Santarem, 1058–1147), described the genre of the muwaššah and its evolution as follows (following the edition by ʿAbbās 1978, I:468–69):

These metres (awzān) are quite often used by the Andalusis in love poems (alğazal) and erotic poetry (annasib), and when heard, they break the best guarded chests, if not the heart. The first to use the metres of these muwaššahāt in our land and to devise the form, as far as I understand, was Muḥammad ben Mahmūd of Cabra, the blind. He made them with hemistichs from the verses (ʿalā aṣṭāri lʾašʿāri), although most of them with impossible metres that are not used (ʿalā laʾāriḍi lmuhamalati ḡayri lmustaʾmalati), using dialectal and foreign words, which he called the ‘centre’ (almarkaz), and from this, he composed the muwaššah, without giving it an internal rhyme (taḍmīn) or rounds (walā aḡsān).34 It is said that ʿAbdarrabbihi, the author of

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34 Monroe (1985–1986, 134) explains why he translates this as ‘not even in the rounds’, an interpretation that I do not agree with, and the explanation of which does not convince me.
Kitāb alʿiqd, pioneered this type of muwaššahāt in our ranks. Later Yūsuf ben Hārūn Arramādī appeared, and he was the first to increase the internal rhyme in the centres, making every caesura that he had fixed exclusively in the centre rhyme. The poets of his generation, like Mukarram ben Saʿīd and both sons of Abūlḥasan, followed this trend. Then, this ʿUbāda appeared and devised plaiting (attadfīr), which consists of maintaining the positions of the caesuras in the rounds and giving them an internal rhyme, just as Arramādī maintained the position of the caesuras in the centre. The metres of these muwaššahāt are beyond the aim of this compendium, since most do not follow the metrical forms (aʿārīḍ) of Arabic poetry.

Monroe (1985–1986) studies this passage in depth and includes all the translations into Western languages made since the nineteenth century.

The model that I propose for scanning Andalusi Hebrew poetry has also served to inform my analyses of the process through which Hebrew muwaššahāt were composed. The scansion suggests that the composition begins with the ḥarḡa, whose sequence encrypts all or some variants and modifications (awzān) of one metre (baḥr) as its author decides, challenging the poet to identify them and reproduce them throughout a complex strophic composition, usually inlaid with all sorts of internal rhymes. In other words, the poet must recognise the metre encoded in the ḥarḡa, and play with it and its variants from the beginning of the poem to the end. This explains why there is no fixed pattern to which the metrical sequences of these poems adhere, since they are all formed independently on the basis of a particular ḥarḡa.
On these premises, I will analyse the metres of a number of different Hebrew muwaššahāt, to try to shed light on their unpredictable metrical structures, which always depend on the genius of the author of the harğa.

2.0. Metrical Orthography

Metrical orthography takes account solely and exclusively of what is said, whether or not that pronunciation is reflected in how the words are written using conventional orthography. The main characteristics of metrical orthography are as follows.

A letter with dageš hazaq counts as two letters, the first qui-escent and the second vocalised, for example, zayin in חָזִיק → חִזְּזַיק or nun in קְטַנָה → קְטַנְּנָה.

The seven kings, or plene vowels, when found in open syllables, are taken to include a weak quiescent letter, for example an alef, as in נַעַר → נַאעַר, or in קְטַנָה → קְטַנְּנָה. The same occurs with ח, which, for metrical purposes, is חָלֶה, and likewise also פִיָה → פִיָא.

This is actually the same phenomenon that affects waw and yod in the matter of plene or defective spelling, as in חָאָס, which, for metrical purposes, will always be חָאָס; holem is placed above the consonant that it vocalises, and not over the waw, which is only a lengthening letter. The same occurs with שָנִים, which is always measured as שָנִים.

On the other hand, these three weak letters do not count in closed syllables, meaning that דָוִד and דָוִד are, for metrical purposes, דָאוִד; שָמָיִם → שָאמָאיִם. An exception to this rule, however, is that there are some situations where the
rhyme requires the presence of a quiescent letter before the con-
sonant that finishes the verse (ridf).

In the case of furtive patah, an alef is inserted before the vowel; for example, רוּאַח is in this case.

Open syllables are only found in the cases of mobile Šewa’, compound Šewa’, and Shureq: for example, in דבש, אשר, and שגיא, as well as in גב, ב, and ק. According to some grammarians, when either of these two types of Šewa’ appears in the middle of a word pre-
ceded by another open syllable, both can be counted as open syllables if required by the metre, for example, ייעוד or מפשש (Alah-
mad Alkhalaf and Martínez Delgado 2018, 96–106). If, on the other hand, the metre requires that this sequence of open syllables be broken, ḡē’aya is used, for example, י甯דו → י النبي. Gē’aya is also used when the metre requires that a quiescent Šewa’ be mobile, for example, כאתבו → כתוב.

The scansion confirms that this rule is not applied in the case of Ḥatef qames, and therefore, for example, ותואר is, for met-
rical purposes, ותוואר. Likewise, in practice, I have not always been able to identify the measure known as ḥāsila ṣugrā—a se-
quence of three vocalised letters followed by a quiescent, on which see further below—and, therefore, forms like יבשת are usu-
ally correspond to the measure יבש, and not to יבשת, as ar-
gued by Ibn Ġanāḥ (Martínez Delgado forthcoming).

Originally, the Arabic metrical system indicated that a con-
sonant was vocalised using the symbol o and that it was quiescent using |. However, because of the similarity between o and the sign that indicates the quiescent in Arabic (ṣukūn ب), at present these symbols are used the other way round. For example, רבש
→ o|| and יַעֲמֹד → o|||. The sequences produced by this first scan-sion identify the metrical feet, since, in their own way and con-text, these symbols are equivalent to ˘ (|) and ¯ (o|) in Greek and Latin poetry.

3.0. Metrical Syllables

Metrical syllables are the minimum units from which metrical feet can be put together. Not all classical manuals agree about their number and quantity. While all authors recognise four basic syllables (two sabab and two watid), others add two more (fāṣila ṣuğrā and fāṣila kubrā).

3.1. Sabab

Sabab (traditionally known as tēnuʿa in Hebrew) has two recognised types:

*Sabab ḥafīf:* made up of two letters, the first vocalised and the second quiescent (o|), as in א, י, פ, ש.

*Sabab ṭaqīl:* made up of two vocalised letters (||). Not all authors agree about the existence of this metrical syllable in Hebrew, as, unlike the previous type, it never appears free standing, but rather always as one of a combination of two units, like the first two syllables of וַאֲנִי, כַּאֲשֶר and מַעֲלֵה (in all cases sabab ṭaqīl + sabab ḥafīf → o|||).

3.2. Watid

Watid (traditionally known as yated in Hebrew) has two recognised types:
Watid maǧmūʿ: made up of three letters, two vocalised and one quiescent (o||), as in שֶׁמֶר, אֶבֶד, and בֶּלֶשׁ.

Watid mafrūq: made up of three letters, two vocalised separated by one quiescent (|o|). There is no consensus between grammarians about the significance of this syllable, as it only appears in Hebrew in two circumstances (see Martínez Delgado 2017, 51–53 for edition and 83–84 for translation). The first of these is apocopated imperatives and imperfects of verbs whose third radical is weak, in either the paʿal, of the יִבְּך type, or the hifʿil, of the יִשְׁמ type. In both cases, the existence of watid mafrūq depends on whether or not the author makes the final šeʾaʾ sound, avoiding the double consonance: yabkā and hašqā, respectively. The second circumstance is in segolate nouns whose third radical is weak, of the בֶַכֶה type, where the stress on the first radical creates a weak letter and, as a result, the final heʾ does not count for metrical purposes, producing בֶּאכֶ.

3.3. Fāṣila

Fāṣila is considered by many authors to be really combinations of the above units. Not all Hebrew grammarians agree about recognising fāṣila units, and likewise, many manuals of medieval Arabic metrics do not include them. Those authors that do include them, like Ibn Ğanāḥ (Alahmad Alkhalaf and Martínez Delgado 2018, 96–106), recognise two types:

Fāṣila şuğrā: three vocalised letters followed by a quiescent (o||||); לֶצְחָ וָאֵשֶׁר would be examples of this type.
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_Fāsilā kubrā_: four vocalised letters followed by a quiescent (o|||); would be, according to Ibn Ğanāḥ, examples of this type.  

4.0. Metrical Feet

Metrical syllables join together to form the feet that are combined to create verses. Depending on the school, between eight and ten feet are recognised: two are made up of five letters, and the others, regardless of whether there are six or eight of them, are made up of seven letters. To provide an abstract representation of these feet, the ḫal paradigm is used for both morphological analysis and scansion in Arabic.

The feet with five letters are:

- פטלון, which is made up of _watid maǧmūʿ_ (פַע/ο||) + _sabab hafif_ (לֻן/ο), e.g., יְּהוּדָה = יְּהֻדוּה
- פַאעִלֻן, which is made up of _sabab hafif_ (פַא/ο|) + _watid maŋmūʿ_ (עִל/ο||), e.g., עַיְדָא = עַיְדָא

39 As a sampler: “in _הלַַֽשַחֲת_ four vowels occur, one is _ḥāṭef pataḥ_ under _ḥet_ and I already showed you that the initial _šēwaʿ_ is mobile, for which reason the _lamed_ in _הלַַֽשַחֲת_ is mobile. In _הלַַֽשַחֲת_ (Gen. 5.12), three vowels occur, one of them being _ḥāṭef pataḥ_. In _הלַַֽשַחֲת_ (Gen. 2.3), three vowels occur, one of them being _ḥāṭef pataḥ_ and this occurs with great frequency in Hebrew. Examples of this type in words that are not healthy because they have geminates are like _וּיְּסֻכֻֻ֣ה צֶאֱלִֻּ֣ים צִַֽלֲל֑ו_ (Job 40.22), in _וֹצִַֽלֲל֑_ three vowels occur, one of them being _ḥāṭef pataḥ_. The same for _קִַֽלֲל֖ת יוֹתָָ֥ם_ (Neh. 12.36), _רוֹלֲל֑_ (Zech. 11.3 [sic]) and _רַלֲל֑_ (Judg. 9.57). In _וּיְַּֽמַשְּשֻו_ (Job 5.14) four vowels occur, one an initial vowel that vocalises with the _pataḥ_ under _yod_ and _ḥāṭef pataḥ_ under _shin_” (Alahmad Alkhalaf and Martínez Delgado 2018, 96–106).
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The feet with seven letters are:

תאמהילן, which is made up of ותאמד מקומ יסיבת, תבונתא, which is made up of ותאמד חסף (تسجيل/0||) + ותאמד חסף (חסף/0|), e.g., בתונתן = יסיבתתבונתא.

The feet are traditionally divided into the categories of fundamental and derived feet. The four fundamental or basic feet are those that begin with ותאמד: תאמָהילן, תאמָהילן, תוכָהילן, and, according to the maximalists, תוכָהילן. The six remaining feet that begin with ותאמד are derivations of the first group.

Some schools add two more feet:

יתאמהילן, which is made up of ותאמד מקומ יסיבת, תבונתא, which is made up of ותאמד חסף (تسجيل/0||) + ותאמד חסף (חסף/0|) + ותאמד חסף (חסף/0|) + ותאמד חסף (חסף/0|), e.g., הרחבתב = הרחבתב.
5.0. The Verse

The verse (bayt) is made up of a series of feet, and closes with a rhyme that must be repeated throughout the entire composition. Complete verses can have eight or six feet, depending on the type of metre. They are divided into two identical hemistichs; the first is called ṣadr and the second ‘aḡz:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{桧}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} & | \text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} \\
\text{‘aḡz} & | \text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} \\
\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} & | \text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} \\
\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} & | \text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}
\end{align*}
\]

The last foot of the first hemistich, or ṣadr, is known as ‘arūd, and the last foot of the second hemistich, or ‘aḡz, is called darb. Although the first hemistich is called delet and the second soger in the Hebrew tradition, it is possible that the earliest authors who coined this terminology were really referring to ‘arūd and darb respectively (see Qimḥi 1546, 59v). The feet that precede the ‘arūd and darb are called ḥašw, or ‘filling’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} & | \text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} \\
\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} & | \text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} \\
\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} & | \text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} \\
\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} & | \text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} \\
\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} & | \text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} \\
\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} & | \text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} \\
\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} & | \text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} \\
\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} & | \text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} \\
\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫} & | \text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}\text{樫}
\end{align*}
\]

A composition that consists of an isolated verse is known as yatīm. The following example (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 268) uses wāfir metre and nun rhyme.
‘Was the darkness not so wonderful with all of you / that the blacks were as whites.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

A composition with two verses is called nutfa. The following example (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 190) uses ṭawīl metre and reš rhyme.

‘Will I always live in a tent like a Bedouin? Will I have my abode under canvas my whole life? The steppe and Fate make me forget / my patio in my city: where are the friends from my patio?’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

When the composition has between three and six verses, it is known as qit’a. The following example (Mirsky 1961, 1) uses wāfir metre and dalet rhyme.

‘When love awakens me, I skip about / like a fawn to gaze at the eyes of the beauty.
I enter and her mother is there in front of her / her father, her sister and her aunt.'
I gaze at her and I turn / as if I were not her companion, her friend. 
I am afraid of them and because of her my heart / is like the heart of a woman who has lost her only child.’ (Isaac ibn Khalfun)

Any composition that has more than seven verses becomes a *qasida*.

A verse that preserves all its full feet is called *tāmm*, or complete. The following example (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 167.1) uses *basiṭ* metre and *kaf* rhyme.

‘I wander like a wayfarer around a hill of incense and I hold my cheeks fast to the print of your steps.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

A verse that preserves all its feet with modifications is called *wāfī*, or faithful. The following example (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 4) uses *tawil* metre and *peʾ* rhyme.

‘Who is she who like the dawn rises and comes out / she shines like the light of the sun, pure, so very beautiful.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

A verse that eliminates the final foot from both hemistichs is called *maḡzūr*, or partial. The following example (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 156.1) uses *basiṭ* metre and *dalet* rhyme.
‘Awaken at dawn and gaze at the cover of the sky with fine inlaid silver and gold.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

A verse that eliminates a complete hemistich is called maštūr, or split. The following example (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 220.1) uses sari metre and reš rhyme.

מֻסְּתַפְּעִלֻן מֻסְּתַפְּעִלֻן מַפְּעֻולֻן
תֵדַע בְּּנִי צוּר יְּצָרָך נוֹרָא

‘You must know, my child, that the Rock, your Creator, is terrible’. (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

A verse that eliminates four feet and preserves only two—or four, depending on the metre—is called manhūk, or weak. The following example (Jarden 1984, 155) uses mutadārak metre and heʾ rhyme.

פַאעִל פַאעִל פַאעִל פַאעִל
עֵינַי מֵרֹב בֶּכִי כָהו

‘My eyes, from so much crying, have become blind.’
(Solomon ibn Gabirol)

A verse that consists of a single foot is known as mudawwar, or round.

When the poet makes the ʿarūḍ and ʿarb rhyme in both hemistichs at the beginning of the poem—in other words, both of these feet share the same rhyme and foot type—and then the metre adopts the expected form beginning with the second verse, this rhythm is known as taṣrīʿ. The following example (Brody 1894, II:75) uses raḡaz metre and šade rhyme.
When the poet makes the first two hemistichs rhyme without the ‘ʿarūḍ adopting the foot type of the darb, this produces a rhythm very common amongst the Hebrew poets, which is called muwaffā. The following example (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 140.1) uses rağaz metre and nun rhyme.

‘Do not believe, my heart, in contemporaries / after betraying the companion I believed trustworthy.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

When the poet creates internal rhymes within the verse, but maintains the final rhyme throughout the poem, this is called musammat, as discussed above. The following example (Schirmann 1954, I:34) uses mustaṭil metre and lamed rhyme.
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‘He says: do not sleep / drink old wine / there are privets with lilies / and myrrh with aloe.’ (Dunaš ben Labrat)

6.0. Modifications

6.1. Ziḥāf

The filling (ḥašw) feet undergo modifications (ziḥāf) that specifically affect the sabab. According to Ibn ʿAbdrabbihi (Amīn et al. 1948, 426), these modifications only affect the second, fourth, fifth, and seventh letters of the feet.

The modification never affects any component of the watid, instead specifically affecting the sabab. Moreover, in the feet, it only affects the second, fourth, fifth and seventh letters. If you want to know the position of the modification in the feet, look at each of the eight feet that I have named for you; if you see that the foot begins with watid, the modification will be in the fifth and seventh, but if you see that the watid is at the end of the foot, the modification will be in the second and fourth; if the watid is in the middle of the foot, then the second and seventh will be modified.

These modifications are found in isolated instances within the composition, rather than being replicated throughout. Each metre allows its own modifications.

According to the very minimalist Andalusi school, there are two modifications: one consists of eliminating the second letter from the sabab ḥafīf (o → |), and the other of leaving the second
letter of the *sabab* *taqīl* quiescent (|| → o|), or sometimes eliminating it (o| → |). As mentioned in the extract of Ibn ʿAbdrabbihi quoted above, the position of the modification depends on the position of the *watid*: when the foot begins with *watid* (that is, פַעֻולֻן, מַפַעִילֻן, מַפַאַלַתֻן), the modification affects the fifth and seventh letters of the foot; when the *watid* is in the intermediate position (פַאעִלַאתֻן and, according to the maximalists, מַפַאַלַתֻן, מַפַאַלַאתֻן), the modification affects the second and seventh letters of the foot; and when the *watid* is in the final position (פַאעִלֻן, מַסְתַפְּעִלֻן, מַסְתַפְּעִלַאתֻן, and מַפַאַלַאתֻן, מַפַאַלַאתֻן), the modification affects the second and fourth letters of the foot.

In the following sections, after each example, the metres in which the modification in question can occur are given in brackets. Metres in which a particular modification does not occur according to the classical catalogue, but does sometimes occur in practice, are marked with an asterisk (*).

### 6.1.1. Second Consonant

The modification introduced in the second consonant of the foot can be of three types:

#### ḫabn: the second consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent.

- פַעֻולֻן → פַעִלֻן (madid, basît)
- מַפַאַלַתֻן → מַפַאַלַאתֻן = מַפַאַלַאתֻן (basît, raḡaz, sariʾ, mun-sariḥ, ḥafîf, muṭṭat)
- מַפַאַלַאתֻן → מַפַאַלַאתֻן = מַפַאַלַאתֻן (munsariḥ, muqtaḍab)
- מַפַאַלַאתֻן → מַפַאַלַאתֻן (madid, ramal, ḥafîf, muṭṭat)

#### ʾidmār: the second vocalised consonant remains quiescent.
6.1.2. Fourth Consonant

Only one modification is introduced in the fourth consonant of the foot:

-lived: the fourth consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent.

\[
\text{מָסְתַפְּעִלֻן} \rightarrow \text{מָסְתַפְּעִלֻן} = \text{מָסְתַעִלֻן} (\text{kāmil})
\]

6.1.3. Fifth Consonant

The modification introduced in the fifth consonant can be of three types:

- qabḍ: the fifth consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent.

\[
\text{מָסְתַפְּעִלֻן} \rightarrow \text{מָסְתַפְּעִלֻן} = \text{מָסְתַעִלַן} (\text{basīṭ, raḡaz, sariʿ, mun-sariḥ})
\]

- ʿash: the vocalised fifth consonant remains quiescent.

\[
\text{מָסְתַעִלַן} \rightarrow \text{מָסְתַעִלְּתֻן} = \text{מָסְתַעִלְּתֻן} (\text{wāfir})
\]

- ʿaql: the fifth consonant is eliminated when it is vocalised.

\[
\text{מָסְתַעִלְּתֻן} \rightarrow \text{מָסְתַעִלְּתֻן} = \text{מָסְתַעִלְּתֻן} (\text{wāfir})
\]

6.1.4. Seventh Consonant

Only one modification is introduced in the seventh consonant:
1. Introduction

\( kaff: \) the seventh consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent.

\( \text{מַפַאעִילֻן → מַפַאעִיל} \) (\( tawîl, \ hazağ, \ muḍârî \))

\( \text{פאעִלַאתֻן → פַעִלַאתֻ} \) (\( \text{madid, ramal, hafîf, muĝtât} \))

\( \text{מטחפתל → מִטחפתל} \) (\( \text{hafîf, muĝtât} \))

6.1.5. Dual Modifications

In addition to the aforementioned modifications, the following dual modifications can be introduced:

\( \text{ḥabl:} \) the second consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent (\( \text{ḥabn} \)) and the fourth consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent (\( \text{ṭayy} \)).

\( \text{פשעלת → פַעִלַת = פַעִלַת} \) (\( \text{basîṭ, raǧaz, sari' munsariḥ} \))

\( \text{פשעלת → פַעִלַת = פַעִלַת} \) (\( \text{munsariḥ} \))

\( \text{ḥazl:} \) the second vocalised consonant remains quiescent (\( \text{idmâr} \)) and the fourth consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent (\( \text{ṭayy} \)).

\( \text{פאעִלַאת → מַפַאעִיל} \) (\( \text{kâmil} \))

\( \text{naqṣ:} \) the fifth consonant remains quiescent (\( \text{‘aṣb} \)) and the seventh consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent (\( \text{kaff} \)).

\( \text{מפָאעִיל→ מַפָאעִיל = מַפָאעִיל} \) (\( \text{wâfar} \))

\( \text{šakl:} \) the second consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent (\( \text{ḥabn} \)) and the seventh consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent (\( \text{kaff} \)).

\( \text{פשעלת → פַעִלַת} \) (\( \text{madid, ramal, hafîf} \))
מֻסְּתַפְּעִילֻן → מֻתַפְּעִילֻן → מֻתַפְּעִילָן = מַפַאעִילֻן (hafif)

חָרָם: the first letter of the first foot is eliminated from each hemistich (har) and the fifth consonant is eliminated when it is quiescent (qabḍ).

פַעֻולֻן → שֵׁל → עֻולֻן → עֻולֻ = (tawil, mutaqārib)

6.2. ʿilāl

The feet that occupy the position corresponding to the ʿarūḍ and ʿarūb undergo specific modifications (ʿilāl) that must be preserved throughout the entire poem. These modifications produce the variants (awzān) of each metre (baḥr):

חַפַפ: at the end of the foot, the sabab ḫafif is eliminated.

פַעֻולֻן → מַפַאעִילֻן = (tawil, hazaq)
פַאעִלַאתֻן → מַפַאעִלַא = (madid, ramal, ḫafif)
פַאעִלַאתֻן → מַפַאעִל = (mutaqārib)

קָטַף: at the end of the foot, the sabab ḫafif and the preceding vowel are eliminated.

פַעֻולֻן → מַפַאעִילֻן = (wāfir)

קָסַר: in a foot ending in sabab, the final quiescent consonant is eliminated, and the vocalised consonant that precedes it is left quiescent.

פַעֻולֻן → מַפַאעִילֻן = (mutaqārib)
פַאעִלַאתֻן → מַפַאעִלַא = (madid, ramal, ḫafif)

קָטף: in a foot ending in watid, the final quiescent consonant is eliminated, and the vocalised consonant that precedes it is left quiescent.
1. Introduction

1.1. Foot Consonants

- **Pāʿūlūn** = פַּאעִלū → פַּאעִל (basīt, *ḥafīf, mutadārak)
- **Mūstāʿpūlūn** = מֻסְּתַפְּעִלū → מֻסְּתַפְּעִל (raḡaz, munsarih)
- **Mūṯāʿpūlūn** = מֻתַפַּאעִלū → מַפְּעֻולū (kāmil)

**batr**: at the end of the foot, the sabab ḥafīf is eliminated (ḥadīf) and then the final quiescent consonant is eliminated, and the final vocalised consonant is left quiescent (qaf).

- **Pāʿūlūn** = פַּאעִלū → פַּאעִל (madīd, *ramal)
- **Pūfūn** = פֶּעū → פֶּע (mutaqārib)

**ḥadd**: the watid maḡmūʿ is eliminated from the end of the foot.

- **Mūsāṭūlūn** = מֻסְּתַפְּעִלū → מֻסְּתַפְּעִל (kāmil, *basīt)

**ṣalm**: the watid mafrāq is eliminated from the end of the foot.

- **Mūṯāʿpūlūn** = מֻתַפַּאעִלū → מַפְּעֻולū (sarih)

**waqf**: the seventh vocalised consonant is left quiescent.

- **Mūṯāʿpūlūn** = מֻתַפַּאעִלū → מַפְּעֻולū (sarih, munsarih)

**kašf**: the seventh vocalised consonant is eliminated.

- **Mūṯāʿpūlūn** = מֻתַפַּאעִלū → מַפְּעֻולū (sarih, munsarih, *raḡaz)

6.3. Additions and Reductions

Regardless of the position that it occupies within the poem, a foot can receive any of the following additions and reductions:

- **tadyīl**: a quiescent consonant is added to the end of a foot that ends with watid.

  - **Pāʿūlūn** = פַּאעִלū → מַפְּעֻולū (mutadārak)
  - **Mūstāʿpūlūn** = מֻסְּתַפְּעִלū → מַפְּעֻולū (basīt)
  - **Mūṯāʿpūlūn** = מֻתַפַּאעִלū → מַפְּעֻולū (kāmil)
tasbiḥ: a quiescent consonant is added to the end of a foot that ends with sabab.

פַאעִלַאת = פַאעִלַה = פַאעִלַהוּ (ramal)

tarfīl: two consonants, the first vocalised and the second quiescent, are added to the end of a foot that ends with watid.

מסְתַפְּעִלֻהוּ = מַסְתַפְּעִלַהוּ + מַסְתַפְּעִלַהוּ = מַסְתַפְּעִלַהוּ וּפוּ = מַסְתַפְּעִלַהוּ וּפוּ = מַסְתַפְּעִלַהוּ (kāmil)

משַפְעִלַאת = מֶשפַעִלַאת + מֶשפַעִלַאת = מֶשפַעִלַאת (kāmil)

harm: the first letter of the first foot is eliminated from each hemistich.

פַאעִלַהוּ = פַאעִלַה = פַאעִלַהוּ (tawil)

משַפְעִלַהוּ = מֶשפַעִלַהוּ = מֶשפַעִלַהוּ (hazaǧ)

This last modification is known as ʿalm when it is applied to the foot פַאעִלַהוּ in mutaqārib metre (→ פַאעִלַהוּ), and ʿatīr/ʿitīr when it is applied to an instance of the foot מֶשפַעִלַהוּ that has been previously affected by qabḍ in hazaǧ or muḍāriʿ metre (→ מֶשפַעִלַהוּ → מֶשפַעִלַהוּ.

harm: the first letter of the first foot is eliminated from each hemistich.

pēʿal → pēʿal = pēʿal (mustaṭil)

This last modification is known as ʿalm when it is applied to the foot פַאעִלַהוּ in mutaqārib metre (→ פַאעִלַהוּ), and ʿatīr/ʿitīr when it is applied to an instance of the foot מֶשפַעִלַהוּ that has been previously affected by qabḍ in hazaǧ or muḍāriʿ metre (→ מֶשפַעִלַהוּ → מֶשפַעִלַהוּ.

harm: the first letter of the first foot is eliminated from each hemistich.

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harm: the first letter of the first foot is eliminated from each hemistich.

pēʿal → pēʿal = pēʿal (mustaṭil)

This last modification is known as ʿalm when it is applied to the foot פַאעִלַהוּ in mutaqārib metre (→ פַאעִלַהוּ), and ʿatīr/ʿitīr when it is applied to an instance of the foot מֶفشַעִלַהוּ that has been previously affected by qabḍ in hazaǧ or muḍāriʿ metre (→ מֶفشַעִלַהוּ → מֶفشַעִלַהוּ.

harm: the first letter of the first foot is eliminated from each hemistich.

pēʿal → pēʿal = pēʿal (mustaṭil)

This last modification is known as ʿalm when it is applied to the foot פַאעִלַהוּ in mutaqārib metre (→ פַאעִלַהוּ), and ʿatīr/ʿitīr when it is applied to an instance of the foot מֶفشַעִלַהוּ that has been previously affected by qabḍ in hazaǧ or muḍāriʿ metre (→ מֶفشַעִלַהוּ → מֶفشַעִלַהוּ.

harm: the first letter of the first foot is eliminated from each hemistich.

pēʿal → pēʿal = pēʿal (mustaṭil)

This last modification is known as ʿalm when it is applied to the foot פַאעִלַהוּ in mutaqārib metre (→ פַאעִלַהוּ), and ʿatīr/ʿitīr when it is applied to an instance of the foot מֶفشַעִלַהוּ that has been previously affected by qabḍ in hazaḥ or muḍāriʿ metre (→ מֶفشַעִלַהוּ → מֶفشַעִלַהוּ.

harm: the first letter of the first foot is eliminated from each hemistich.

pēʿal → pēʿal = pēʿal (mustaṭil)

This last modification is known as ʿalm when it is applied to the foot פַאעִלַהוּ in mutaqārib metre (→ פַאעִלַהוּ), and ʿatīr/ʿitīr when it is applied to an instance of the foot מֶفشַעִלַהוּ that has been previously affected by qabḍ in hazaḥ or muḍāriʿ metre (→ מֶفشַעִלַהוּ → מֶفشַעִלַהוּ.

harm: the first letter of the first foot is eliminated from each hemistich.

pēʿal → pēʿal = pēʿal (mustaṭil)

This last modification is known as ʿalm when it is applied to the foot פַאעִלַהוּ in mutaqārib metre (→ פַאעִלַהוּ), and ʿatīr/ʿitīr when it is applied to an instance of the foot מֶفشַעִלַהוּ that has been previously affected by qabḍ in hazaḥ or muḍāriʿ metre (→ מֶفشַעִלַהוּ → מֶفشַעִלַהוּ.

harm: the first letter of the first foot is eliminated from each hemistich.

pēʿal → pēʿal = pēʿal (mustaṭil)

This last modification is known as ʿalm when it is applied to the foot פַאעִלַהוּ in mutaqārib metre (→ פַאעִלַהוּ), and ʿatīr/ʿitīr when it is applied to an instance of the foot מֶفشַעִלַהוּ that has been previously affected by qabḍ in hazaḥ or muḍāriʿ metre (→ מֶفشַעִלַהוּ → מֶفشַעִלַהוּ.
and occurs in the *muğṭat*, *muqtaḍab*, *muḍāriʿ*, and *mutadārak* metres.


2. THE CATALOGUE OF CLASSICAL METRES

1.0. Ṭawīl

This metre has the longest sequence of feet. According to the classical system, it is not used in its mağzū', maṣṭūr, or manhūk forms. Its tāmm, or complete, form is as follows (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 23.3):

This metre has three types of ḍarb and one type of ʿarūḍ.

1.1 First ḏarb

The first ḏarb is without modification (מפאעילן), and its ʿarūḍ is modified with qabḍ (מפאעילן → מפאעילן):

I have not found this form amongst the classical poets. However, contrary to the classical prescription, ṭawīl metre can be found in the mağzū' form, dispensing with one foot, and with a complete ḏarb and identical ʿarūḍ (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 45.1–2):
All you sons and custodians of the Torah / you must reveal its secrets
Since the people are in the dark / in the land and you are as their lamp.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

1.2. Second Ḏarb

The second ḏarb is modified with qabīl (مقاس 나타), and its ʿarūḍ is identical (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 191.2):

‘With all his heart he loves you while your heart is like stone / and every mouth speaks to you while you remain silent.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

There is also a different form of this ḏarb used in the complete form of ṭawīl metre, which is not included in the classical catalogue; it is further modified with waqṣ (مقاس 나타) and has an identical ʿarūḍ (Brody and Albrecht 1906, 89.1; Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 197.1–2):

‘Asleep in the lap of infancy, when you lie down / you must know that youth like a wick is consumed.’ (Judah Halevi)
1.3. Third Ğarb

The third ġarb is modified with hadf (מפאעיל), and its ‘arūḍ with qabḍ (מפאעיל; Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 188.1):

פַעֻולֻן מַפַאעִילֻן פַעֻולֻן פַעֻולֻן
לְּנוֹדָך בְּּקִרְּבִי אוּר וְּגוּפִי בְּּתוֹך יְּאוֹר
בְּּשָטְּפוֹ וּמִי יוּכַל נְֹּשֹא אוּר וְּזָרֶם

‘Your absence inflames my heart and my body sinks into a river / that spills over, who can withstand fire and current.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

This ġarb modified with hadf (מפאעיל) can also appear with an identically modified ‘arūḍ (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 170.1; 171.1):

פַעֻולֻן מַפַאעִילֻן פַעֻולֻן פַעֻולֻן
הלְּכִיתֶךָ החָטִים שְּנוּנִים בְּּבָבוֹת
עֲלֵי קַשְּּׁתוֹת עֹשֶׂה הַתוֹרָה לָבּוֹת

‘Are you tensing the sharpened arrows of your pupils / in the bows of your eyelids to shoot at hearts?’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

פַעֻולֻן מַפַאעִילֻן פַעֻולֻן פַעֻולֻן
אֲנִי אַרְּאֲךָ עֹפֶר וְּיָדִיב לְּבָבָך בְּּעֵינָיו כְּעֵינֶיךָ לְּבָבִי מְּדִיבוֹת

‘I shall show you a fawn that will melt your heart / with its eyes, just as your eyes melted my heart.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)
This sequence also appears in the *mağzū* form of *tawil* metre (Jarden 1982, 849.1):

\[
\text{פַעֻולֻן מַפַאעִילֻן פַעֻולֻן}
\]
\[
\text{מְצַדֵּק לְּלֹא נוֹדָע מְּהוֹלָל}
\]
\[
\text{וְּכוֹסֶה עֲלֵי בָּרִי בְּּשֶמָא}
\]

‘One just man, unknown, is worthy of praise / and conceals the certain in the doubtful.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

*Tawil* metre also appears in the *mašṭūr* form, its *darb* modified with *harm* (פַעֻולֻן → פַּעְוֻל); because the *mašṭūr* form eliminates an entire hemistich, the *darb* in this form is, at the same time, the ‘*arūḍ* (Sáenz-Badillos and Targaron 1988, 13.1–2):

\[
\text{פַעֻולֻן מַפַאעִילֻן פַעֻולֻן פַּּעְוֻל}
\]
\[
\text{אֲהַלֵל אֲשֶר אֵין לוֹ דְּמוּת וּתְּמוּנָה}
\]
\[
\text{פַעֻולֻן מַפַאעִילֻן פַעֻולֻן פַּּעְוֻל}
\]
\[
\text{לְמַעַן פְּעֻלָתוֹ אֲשֶר נֶאְּמָנָה}
\]

‘I will praise Him who has neither image nor figure
Because His works are faithful.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Ha-

agid)

### 1.4. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The most common modifications to the filling feet in *tawil* metre are *qabḍ*, *kaff*, and *harm*. In many verses, the final quiescent consonant of a filling foot is eliminated. As mentioned above, when this is the fifth consonant, the modification is called *qabḍ* (פַעֻולֻן → פַעֻולֻן), and when it is the seventh, it is called *kaff* (מַפַאעִילֻן → מַפַאעִילֻן). This is a very common change (Brody 1935, 234.19; Jarden 1992, 229.1):
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‘Just as the eastern corner distances itself from the western edge / the thoughts of a man distance themselves from the power of those thoughts.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

‘This God does to the man who boasts of his vigour by reason of the lushness of his hair and the beauty of his figure.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

A qabḍ and a kaff can be applied in the same verse (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 159.1):

‘You do not answer me although I cry out without ceasing? For whom do you mistreat your servant? For whom?’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

The ḥarm modification, where the first letter of the first foot of each hemistich is eliminated (פַעֻולֻן → פַאעִלֻן), also occurs in tawil metre (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 60.1-2):

‘To the noble rabbi Nissim, a letter with grievances and rebukes / a friend with his friend sends
This is the second and last time I address him / perhaps he will respond to the two together.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)
The same modification can appear in *maḡzuṭ* verse (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 194.1):

 jewish שִימָה יְּמִינְּךָ עַל צְּלָעַי תָשִיב אֱלֵי צַלְּעִי לְּבָבוֹ

‘Put your right hand on my ribs / return its heart to my chest.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

This modification can appear in the first hemistich of the poem only, as in this *musammaṭ* (Mirsky 1961, 72.2):

�ִשְׂתָו בִּדְוֹ מְטָרָיו וּבִרְבִיבָיו וּבְעֵט בְּּרָקָיו הַמְּאִירִים וְּכַף עָבָיו מִכְתָב עֲלֵי גַן מִתְּכֵלֶת וְאַרְּגָמָן לֹא נִתְּכְּנוּ כָהֵם לְחֹשֵב בְּּמַחְּשָבָיו לָכֵן בְּעֵת חָמְּדָה אֲדָמָה פְּנֵי שַחַק רָקְּמָה עֲלֵי בַדֵי עֲרוּגוֹת כְּכֹכָבָיו

‘My strength left me and I took myself for dead / my sin haunted me, my sorrow and my regret.’ (Isaac ben Khalfun)

However, it can also remain fixed throughout the entire composition (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 189.1):

כְתַב סְתָו בִּדְוֹ מְטָרָיו וּבִרְבִיבָיו וּבְעֵט בְּּרָקָיו הַמְּאִירִים וְּכַף עָבָיו מִכְתָב עֲלֵי גַן מִתְּכֵלֶת וְאַרְּגָמָן לֹא נִתְּכְּנוּ כָהֵם לְחֹשֵב בְּּמַחְּשָבָיו לָכֵן בְּעֵת חָמְּדָה אֲדָמָה פְּנֵי שַחַק רָקְּמָה עֲלֵי בַדֵי עֲרוּגוֹת כְּכֹכָבָיו

‘Autumn has written with the ink of its rains and downpours / and with the quill of its luminous rays and the palm of its clouds a composition over the garden of lapis lazuli and purple / it would not have arranged them thus if it had been designed for when the Earth yearns for the face of the sky / it embroiders on the fabric of the flowerbeds like its stars.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)
This modification can even appear in the variant of the first *darb* that follows *mağzū* form, which, as discussed above, does appear in Hebrew poetry, despite not being included in the classical catalogue (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 127.1):

\[\text{פַאעִלֻן} \quad \text{מַפַאעִילֻן} \quad \text{מַפַאעִילֻן} \quad \text{פַאעִלֻן} \quad \text{אֶל} \quad \text{יְמֵה} \quad \text{כָל} \quad \text{הוּמִּים} \quad \text{כֹּכֶם} \]

‘All the epochs, since ancient times, / reach out their hands to your epoch.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

The double modification of *tarm*, i.e., *harm + qabḍ* (*כָל בַּעֲלֵי הַשִּׁיר חָרְּדוּ לְעֻמָותו* אַף יַעֲטוּ בְּשֶׁת כֻּלָּם וְּגַם חֶרְּפָה קְעֻלָּם מִיְּמֵי קֶדֶם נָתְּנוּ יְּדֵיהֶם אֶל זְּמַנֶךָ).

2.0. *Madīd*

The rhythm of this metre can sound cumbersome to Arab ears, and the poets generally avoided it. This metre is not usually used in its classical form in Hebrew either. Nevertheless, theoreticians
2. The Catalogue of Classical Metres

could always force the metre and scan model verses in their complete form (Martínez Delgado 2017, 87):

‘What are you doing with fools; go with those give you intelligent / advice, learn their acts and become wise.’
(Anonymous)

When madīd metre does appear in Arabic, the last foot of each hemistich is usually lost (maǧzūʾ):

This metre has five classes of ḍarb and three classes of ‘arūd.

2.1. First ḍarb

The first ḍarb is without modification, and its ‘arūd is identical (Neubauer 1965, 16):

‘How to quench the waters of my tears around me / how, if the eyes of the roe are fighting me.’ (Saadia ibn Danan)

The ‘arūd of the first ḍarb (פַאעִלַאת) may be modified with šakl (→ פַעִלַאת); this also affects the first foot of the verse:
2.2. Second Ḍarb

The second ḍarb is modified with qaṣr (פַאעִלַאתֻן → פַאעִלַאן), and its ‘arūd with ḥadīf (פַאעִלַאתֻן → פַאעִלַאן). The rhyming consonant is quiescent and preceded by a lengthening letter (ridf).

2.3. Third Ḍarb

The third ḍarb is modified with ḥadīf (פַאעִלַאתֻן → פַאעִלֻן), and its ‘arūd is identical (Martínez Delgado 2017, 88):

פַאעִלַאתֻן פַאעִלֻן פַאעִלֻן
פַאעִלַאתֻן פַאעִלֻן פַאעִלֻן

‘Of the two roes I am going to love the roe / that turns, then he will be my friend.’ (Anonymous)

2.4. Fourth Ḍarb

The fourth ḍarb is modified with baṭr (פַאעִלַאתֻן → פַאעִל), and its ‘arūd with ḥadīf (פַאעִלַאתֻן → פַאעִלַאן):

פַאעִלַאתֻן פַאעִל פַאעִל
פַאעִלַאתֻן פַאעִל פַאעִל

The ‘arūd of this ḍarb (פַאעִל) may be modified by ḥabn in combination with ḥadīf (פַאעִל → פַאעִלֻן → פַאעִלַאן):

Contrary to the classical system, this metre sometimes appears with an ‘arūd affected by baṭr (פַאעִל → פַאעִלַאן) and an identical ḍarb (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 158b.1):
'The glass contains wonders, it conceals mysteries / in it as if they were signs and signals.' (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

2.5. Fifth Ḍarb

The fifth ḏarb is modified with ḥabn and ḥadf (פַעִלַאתֻן → פַאעִלַאתֻן), and its ʿarūḍ is identical:

פַעִלַאתֻן פַאעִלַאתֻן פַאעִלַאתֻן פַעִלַאתֻן פַאעִלַאתֻן פַּאעִלְּלַאַנְּן

In manhūk verse, the ʿarūḍ of the fifth ḏarb (פַעִלַאתֻן) may be modified with ḥadf only (פַאעִלַאתֻן → פַאעִלְלַאַנְּן):

פַעִלַאתֻן פַאעִלַאתֻן פַאעִלַאתֻן פַאעִלַאתֻן פַאעִלַאתֻן פַאעִלַאתֻן פַאעִלַאן

2.6. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in madīd metre (Yahalom 2001, 78; Martínez Delgado 2017, 88):

<code>ḥabn</code>: פַעִלַאתֻן → פַאעִלַאתֻן

פַעִלַאתֻן פַאעִלַאתֻן פַאעִלַאתֻן פַאעִלַאתֻן

תהד לב וּכְרִיבָמּ לְלַרְחָא שֶם אֱלֹהֶיךָ וְּעִמְּדִי לְּפָנָיו

‘Join forces with your heart, with it approach the fear / the name of your God and stay before Him.’ (Elazar ben Jacob)

<code>ḥabn</code>: פַאעִלַאן

פַאעִלַאן פַאעִלַאן פַאעִלַאן פַאעִלַאן פַאעִלַאן פַאעִלַאן

סוּר וְּאַל תֵט אַחֲרֵי רֹדְפָם וֶאֱמֶת עֵזְבַים

‘Step away and do not go after those who pursue / evil, in pursuing it they abandon truth.’ (Anonymous)

<code>kaff</code>: פַאעִלַאן

<code>šakl</code>: פַאעִלַאן (rare)
An Introduction to Andalusi Hebrew Metrics

3.0. Basìt

According to some manuals, the complete form of this metre is never used in Arabic, and the metre usually only appears in manhūk verse:

In Hebrew, however, its complete form can appear (Sáenz-Badillo and Targarona 1998, 167.1):

This metre has six types of darb and three types of ‘arūd.

3.1. First Darb

The first darb is modified with habn (פַעִלֻן → פָעִלֻן), and its ‘arūd is identical:

3.2. Second Darb

The second darb is modified with qat‘ (פָעִלֻן → פָעִל), and its ‘arūd with habn (פָעִלֻן → פָעִלֻן). The rhyme must be preceded by a lengthening letter (ridf):
Hebrew poets often use this second *darb* modified with *qaṭʿ* (פַּאעִלֻן), but keep its *ʿarūd* complete. Again, the rhyme must be preceded by a lengthening letter (Jarden 1984, 224:2; Brody 1935, 134.2):

‘Just stop arguing and if you truly seek justice / look at and contemplate her beauty before you argue with me.’
(Solomon ibn Gabirol)

‘(Time) entertains with vacuous affairs and we are delighted without / understanding how quickly it puts us in our place with one mighty blow.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

The same pattern may appear in *taṣrīʿ* rhythm (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 198.1–2):

‘Dove on the myrtle shoot, what do you lament / perhaps you are alone without your beloved like me

Burning in my heart is a blazing fire and I would give up

/ if it were not for the tears that help me I would burn.’
(Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)
An Introduction to Andalusi Hebrew Metrics

Similarly, the Hebrew poets use this second ḏarb modified with qatʿ (פעָלִיל) with an identical ʿarūd. Again, the rhyme must be preceded by a lengthening letter (Brody 1935, 200:1):

מֻסְּתַפְּעִלַאן פַּעִלַאן מֻסְּתַפְּעִלַאן פַּעִלַאן מַפְּעֻולַאן
ולָלָלָל יִיְּמִיׇי נְמַקְּקַו מַה עַרְּבוּ לִי יְּמֵי חֶבְרָה וּמָתָקוּ לִיוָֽלָלָל אֱשֶר בְּרוּ כַצֵּל וְרָחָקוּ

‘How the days go by with companions and they are sweet
/ save because they pass like a shadow and drift away.’
(Moses ibn Ezra)

3.3. Third ḏarb

The third ḏarb, found in maḡzū’ verse, is modified with tadyil (מסתפיעלאו → מסתפיעלאו), and its ʿarūd is complete:

מֻסְּתַפְּעִלַאן פַּעִלַאן מֻסְּתַפְּעִלַאן פַּעִלַאן מֻסְּתַפְּעִלַאן

The third ḏarb can also accept the following modifications:

ֵתַֽיְּיָ: מֻסְּתַפְּעִלַאן → מַפְּעֻולַאן
ֵהָבַּל: מֻסְּתַפְּעִלַאן → מַפְּעֻולַאן

3.4. Fourth ḏarb

The fourth ḏarb, found in maḡzū’ verse, is complete, and its ʿarūd is identical:

מֻסְּתַפְּעִלַאן פַּעִלַאן מֻסְּתַפְּעִלַאן פַּעִלַאן מֻסְּתַפְּעִלַאן

3.5. Fifth ḏarb

The fifth ḏarb, found in maḡzū’ verse, is modified with qaṭʿ (מסתפיעלאו → מסתפיעלאו), and its ʿarūd is complete (Yahalom 2001, 84):

אַכְּהָ אֶכָּה מַמְּכֹּת תִּפְּרִי וִיהוּ מֻסְּתַפְּעִלַאן פַּעִלַאן פַּעִלַאן פַּעִלַאן נְגֵרָה

UvO ZJxL sXw9
‘How can I hide my sin from You if / Sheol and even
Zebul are set before You.’ (Elazar ben Jacob)

This ḏarb modified with qatʿ (מַסְתַּפְּעִלֻן → מַסְתַּפְּעִלֻן) can also be used
with an identical ‘arūd (Yahalom 2001, 84, 86):

כפר鋆ייתשהтяжתי
ишьם>{$\text{כפר earthly チェア}}

‘Pardon my guilt, forget my sin / and wipe clean my
faults with the water of my tears.’ (Elazar ben Jacob)

3.6. Sixth ḏarb

The sixth ḏarb, found in maḡzū’ verse, is modified with ḥabn and
qatʿ (מַסְתַּפְּעִלֻן → מַסְתַּפְּעִלֻן), and its ‘arūd is identical; this
form is known as muḥallaʿ (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998,
156.1):

כומתבשתירושירישתשקטיככסףופגּוּדיה

‘Awaken at dawn and gaze at the cover of the / sky with
fine inlaid silver and gold.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

Another form of the sixth ḏarb found in maḡzū’ verse is modified
with ḥadd and ḥabn (מַסְתַּפְּעִלֻן → מַסְתַּפְּעִלֻן), and its ‘arūd with
ḥabn and qatʿ (מַסְתַּפְּעִלֻן → מַסְתַּפְּעִלֻן):

Alternatively, the ‘arūd of this ḏarb may be modified with ḥadd
and ḥabn, like the ḏarb itself:
3.8. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in basīṭ metre (Jarden 1984, 224.4; Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 12.2):

**ḥabn:** פעלּל → פַעַל

מי יינתה חוחך אתי בהברת וּיִרְבּו מַחְשָׁבְתּוּ

‘Who should agree to have mercy upon me with her company and be/fore dying at the hands of separation return to resuscitate me.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

**ṭayy:** מָסְתַפְעִלֻן → מְפָעַל

זָמַם אֲגָג לַעֲשוֹת שֵׂם לַעֲמָלֵק וְּיַד עַל כֵּס כְּמוֹ שֵׁם חֲבֵרוֹ אֶת שְּמוֹ מָחַקְה

‘Agag planned to bequeath fame upon Amalek and a monument / over the throne, like the fame of his friend, its fame was wiped clean.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

**ḥabn:** פַעַל → מָסְתַפְעִלֻן

**ḥabl:** פַעַל → מָסְתַפְעִלֻן (rare)

4.0. Wāfir

In both Arabic and Hebrew, all the filling feet of this metre are usually modified with ʿašb (מַפָעַלִין → מַפָעַלִין), and other modifications are also applied to this form.

This metre has three forms of ʿdarb and two of ʿarūd.
4.1. First Ḍarb

The first ḏarb is modified with qatf (مُفَضَّلًا → مُفَضَّلًا), and its ʿarūḍ is identical. The filling feet are modified with ʿaṣb (مُفَضَّلًا → مُفَضَّلًا; Brody 1935, 35.1):

מַפַאעִלֻן מַפַאעִלֻן פַעֻולֻן מַפַאעִלֻן מַפַאעִלֻן פַעֻולֻן מַפַאעִילֻן מַפַאעִילֻן

‘Drink, my friend, and give me drink until / the sorrow in my heart drowns with the glass.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

Nevertheless, some of the feet may appear in their complete form (Pagis 1967, 4.1):

לְהַלֶלְּךָ בְּכָל שַחֲרִי וְנִשְפִי לְשׁוֹנִי יִדְרְשָה תָמִיד וְגַם פִי

‘Praise be, whenever I get up or go to sleep, / my tongue will always search and my mouth as well.’ (Levi ibn Altabban)

The first ḏarb also occurs in maǧzūʿ verse:

This first ḏarb may be affected by the qaṣr modification (مُفَضَّلًا → مُفَضَّلًا):

4.2. Second Ḍarb

The second ḏarb, found in maḏzūʿ verse, is complete, and its ʿarūḍ is identical:
4.3. Third Ḍərb

The third ḏərb, found in maḡzuʾ verse, is modified with ‘aṣb (מַפַאעִלַתֻן → מַפַאעִילֻן), and its ‘arūḍ is complete:

Although this is rare, the third ḏərb can also appear in the complete form of the metre:

4.4. Modifications to All the Feet

The following modifications may affect the feet in ḃạfir metre (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 35.2; Brody 1894, III:67.1).

‘aṣb: מַפַאעִלַתֻן → מַפַאעִילֻן (very common)
‘aql: מַפַאעִלַתֻן → מַפַאעִילֻן (in both ḏərb and ‘arūḍ)
naqs: מַפַאעִלַתֻן → מַפַאעִילֻן (rare)

 khôشعוש יבảהבה דל חולה
ברג ענע דלי בתכדים

‘Make them swear for the love of the poor and the weak / who for a moment submitted themselves unto me for mercy.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

The following very rare modifications may also occur:

‘ādb: מַפַאעִלַתֻן → מַפַאעִילֻן
qasım: מַפַאעִלַתֻן → מַפַאעִילֻן
‘aqs: מַפַאעִלַתֻן → מַפַאעִילֻן
ğamm: מַפַאעִלַתֻן → מַפַאעִילֻן

Both qasım and ‘aqs are found in the following example:
‘Dove, how can you think that I am your enemy / if I love you with a love that is eternal.’ (Judah Halevi)

If the original ‘ʿarūḍ is modified with ‘aql so as to become مَفَاشِعُ، the original form must appear at least once in the poem, to avoid confusion with the hazaġ metre.

5.0. Kāmil

More often than not in Hebrew, all the feet of this metre are modified with ʿidmār (مَفَاشِعُ → مَسْتَفَاشَيْلَ) to produce a form called kāmil muḍmar. In this case, the original form (مَفَاشِعُ) must appear in the poem at least once, so that the metre is not confused with raĝaz.

This metre has nine types of ḏarb and three types of ʿarūḍ.

5.1. First ḏarb

The first ḏarb is complete, and its ʿarūḍ is identical:

The following example (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 161.1) uses kāmil muḍmar form, displaying the original form of the foot, مَفَاشِعُ, at the beginning of the verse:

‘Gentle companion of the roe, will you free the captive from the dungeon? / send him the perfume from your clothes as a gift.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)
5.2. Second Ḍarb

The second ḏarb is modified with qaṭ (מֻתַפַאעִלֻן → מֻתַפַאעִלֻן), and its ‘arūḍ is complete. The rhyme must be preceded by a lengthening letter (ridf):

The second ḏarb can accept the idmār modification (מֻתַפַאעִלֻן → מֻתַפַאעִלֻן; Brody 1935, 112.9):

‘Ask ye: will some light shine in our darkness when / the dawns of our nights continue to sink?’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

The following example of the second ḏarb (Brody 1935, 20.1–2) uses tašrīᶜ rhythm:

‘I have gone grey but not so the ripples of time / and the days of absence have become centuries
After consuming her, pleasure for the mother / developed into separation, and the children of lechery broke loose.’
(Moses ibn Ezra)

5.3. Third Ḍarb

The third ḏarb is modified with hadd and idmār (מֻתַפַאעִלֻן → מֻתַפַאעִלֻן) and its ‘arūḍ is complete:
5.4. Fourth Darb

The fourth darb is modified with hadd (פועל → מתפloquent), and its ‘arūd is identical:

5.5. Fifth Darb

The fifth darb is modified with hadd and idmār (מתפloquent → מתפloquent פועל), and its ‘arūd with hadd (מתפloquent פועל):

In Hebrew, this darb modified with hadd and idmār (מתפloquent פועל) can appear with an identical ‘arūd, possibly taking advantage of the permitted defects in the rhyme, for which see below (Brody 1935, 2; Brody 1894, I:2.1):

‘Time returned to its course and no one / will deceive and all children will honour their father
No more will they worry except for the scourge of / separation and this is what each one desires for the other.’
(Moses ibn Ezra)

‘Where is the Glory of God and His fear / if not in the hand of Aaron who I called.’ (Judah Halevi)

When the sequence מתפloquent פועל does not contain the original form of the foot anywhere in the entire qasida, it may instead be the fourth darb of the sarī metre with an identical
ʻarūḍ; this is, however, not documented in the classical system, without more changes to its filling feet than hazl (see, e.g., Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 44).

5.6. Sixth ḫarb

The sixth ḫarb, found in maḡzūr verse, is modified with tarfil (מתפעל → מתפעל), and its ʻarūḍ is complete:

This pattern may also occur in mašṭūr verse:

The sixth ḫarb in maḡzūr verse may be modified by idmār (מתפעל → מתפעל):

The sixth ḫarb in maḡzūr verse can also accept hazl and tarfil (מתפעל → מתפעל → מתפעל):

The sixth ḫarb may appear modified in accordance with kāmil mudmar form (מתפעל → מתפעל; Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 222.1):

‘I look for the friends who were born / with me, in the same generation, and they are no longer here.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

The following example of the sixth ḫarb in kāmil mudmar form (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 118.1–2) uses taṣrīʿ rhythm:
'Give up, my heart, your longing / for I must always comply with your request
And elaborate a covenant with the lovers of / intelligence
and do not break your alliance.' (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

The same example displays the original form of the foot in the fifth verse:

‘Love the glory of wisdom but do not / love the glory of the luxury of your garb.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

The sixth darb may even appear in a tāmm, or complete, verse, with an identical ‘arūd, as in the following example (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 53.4), which uses kāmil muḍmar form; the original form of the foot appears in the second hemistich of the fourth verse:

‘I suffer, due to the absence of my beloved, I shall scold him if he returns / with hidden love and visible reproach.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

In maṣṭūr verse, the idmār and tadyil modifications (כְּחַמַּסּתַעִלַאן → מַסַּתַעִלַאן) are permitted:
5.7. Seventh Ḍarb

The seventh ḏarb, found in mağzūr verse, is modified with tadyil (מַפַּאעְּלִן → מַפַּאעְּלַאן), and its ‘arūd is complete. The rhyme must be preceded by a lengthening letter (ridf):

The seventh ḏarb in mağzūr verse can accept the tadyil modification in combination with idmār (מַפַּאעְּלִן → מַפַּאעְּלַאן):

The waqs modification (מַפַּאעְּלִן → מַפַּאעְּלַאן) is likewise permitted in combination with tadyil in mağzūr verse:

The ḥazl modification (מַפַּאעְּלִן → מַפַּאעְּלַאן) is also permitted in these circumstances:

5.8. Eighth Ḍarb

The eighth ḏarb, found in mağzūr verse, is complete, and its ‘arūd is identical:

The eighth ḏarb and its ‘arūd can accept the idmār modification (מַפַּאעְּלִן → מַפַּאעְּלַאן) in mağzūr verse (Sáenz-Badillos and Targaron 1998, 142.4):

‘Say “open your mouth” to all / that is troubled and all men who are dejected.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)
In this example, the poet complies with the rule that, if the other feet undergo the same modification, the original form of the foot must appear somewhere in the poem, so that the metre is not confused with rağaz.

The eighth ḏarb in maǧzūʾ verse may be modified with waqs (מאָתַפַאעִלֻן → מַפַאעִלֻן):

The ḥazl modification (מאָתַפַאעִלֻן → מַפַאעִלֻן) is also permitted:

5.9. Ninth ḏarb

The ninth ḏarb, found in maǧzūʾ verse, is modified with qaṭʿ (jsonpחַלַאָתָן → מַפַאעִלֻן), and its ʿarūḍ is complete.

The use of this pattern is unusual.

5.10. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in kāmil metre (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 118.3):

*idmār:* מַסְחְפַּעִלֻן → מַסְחְפַּעִלֻן

*waqs:* מַסְחְפַּעִלֻן → מַסְחְפַּעִלֻן

*ḥazl:* מַסְחְפַּעִלֻן → מַסְחְפַּעִלֻן

‘If they confuse you do not go too far astray / except to understand your desire.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)
6.0. *Hazag*

This metre is most commonly used in *mağzū* form. It has two types of *darb* and one type of *ʿarūd*.

6.1. First *Darb*

The first *darb* is complete, and its *ʿarūd* is identical (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 5.1; Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 76.1):

‘Samuel, Ben Labraṭ has died / you stayed on his nest.’

(Solomon ibn Gabirol)

‘Listen, oh prince, from whom all princes / get their name and title.’

(Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

6.2. Second *Darb*

The second *darb* is modified with *ḥañf* (*פַעֻולֻן* → *מַפַאעֵילֻן*), and its *ʿarūd* is complete:

The *ʿarūd* (*מַפַאעֵילֻן*) can accept the *kaff* modification (*מַפַאעֵילֻן* → *מַפַאעֵילֻן*), but the *darb* cannot:
6.3. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in *hazağ* metre (Brody 1935, 108):

**kaff:** מַפַאעִילֻן → מַפַאעִילֻ

Their friendships we shall see like a ray or / in the world like a dream
Those who when they have something to eat / assuredly proclaim peace.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

**qabd:** מַפַאעִילֻן → מַפַאעִילֻן

**ḫarm:** מַפַאעִילֻן → מַפַאעִילֻן

**ḥarb:** מַפַאעִילֻן → מַפַאעִילֻן

**šitr:** מַפַאעִילֻן → מַפַאעִילֻן

7.0. Rağaz

This metre has five types of *darb* and four types of *ʿarūd*.

7.1. First Ḍarb

The first *darb* is complete, and its *ʿarūd* is identical (Brody 1935, 120.1–2):
The day that the caravans of separation were yoked / sparked in my soul what they had not planned
They left my heart in captivity, I do not know / if they will punish it in anger or take pity on it.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

7.2. Second Ḥārāb

The second ḥārāb is modified with qaṭʿ (מֻסְּתַפְּעִלֻן → מַפְּעֻולֻן), and its ‘arūd is complete. The rhyme must be preceded by a lengthening letter (ridf; Brody and Schirmann 1974, 16.1):

‘Surely, my acquaintance, you have deserted me so often / that I have dubbed you Sir Desertion.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

The following example of the second ḥārāb (Brody 1894, I:1.1–3) uses taṣrīʿ rhythm in the first two verses:

‘Mouths did not previously fill with laughter / until, thanks to you hearts, swelled with pride
Rhymes appeared without being called by thought / they emerged from my mouth without being invited just like that. They did not resist entering the halter of the metre of the poem, they simply heard your name and arrived.’ (Judah Halevi)

The second ḏarb can also appear with an identical ‘arūd (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 127):

מֻסְּתַפְּעִלֻן מֻסְּתַפְּעִלֻן מֻסְּתַפְּעִלֻן
תַּחְבֶּרֶת לָמְרֻדוֹק לָאֵי תְּנָתֶה
ishf הַלְּיִלַי שְׁנִיִּים תַּמָּחֵת

‘Oust the one who reveals the secrets of the friends of the / group, far away, and then you will rest
Spill the blood of his teeth in the mouth of the fool if / he sheds the blood of an apple with his teeth.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

The second ḏarb can accept the habn modification (מַפְּעֻולֻן → פַעֻולֻן). This is called makbūl:

מֻסְּתַפְּעִלֻן מֻסְּתַפְּעִלֻן מֻסְּתַפְּעִלֻן

7.3. Third Đarb

The third ḏarb, found in maţūr verse, is complete, and its ‘arūd is identical:

מֻסְּתַפְּעִלֻן מֻסְּתַפְּעִלֻן

7.4. Fourth Đarb

The fourth ḏarb, found in maštūr verse, is complete, and, because maštūr verse eliminates an entire hemistich, is at the same time the ‘arūd of the verse:
7.5. Fifth Ḍarb

The fifth ḍarb, found in manhūk verse, is complete, and its ‘arūd is identical:

7.6. Other Forms

The verse may be reduced to only one foot:

7.7. Modifications to All the Feet

The ḥabn modification (מַפַאעִלֻן) is permitted in all the feet (ḥašw, ‘arūd, and ḍarb):

The ṭayy modification (מַפְתַעִלַן) is permitted in all the feet (ḥašw, ‘arūd, and ḍarb), anywhere in the poem (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 140.1; 219.1; 212.3):

‘Do not believe, my heart, in contemporaries / after betraying the companion I believed trustworthy.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

‘My beloved, in whose eyes my heart has taken ill / how have you been able to enslave me being my redeemer.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)
‘How much mourning your heart will hold, / how many tears you will shed.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

The following example (Brody 1894, II:75), which uses taṣrīʿ rhythm, features several instances of the tāyy modification:

I run to true life’s fountain / for that reason I scorn that which is vain and empty
I only wish to glimpse the face of my King / He and nobody else I fear and venerate
If only I could see Him in my dreams! / I would sleep an eternal sleep without awakening
If ever I saw His face in my heart / my eyes would no longer want to look outwards.’ (Judah Halevi)

The tāyy modification may not appear until the very end of the poem (Pagis 1967, 2):
‘Why my soul do you writhe in blood / if you tremble so
due to your transgressions
You spill your heart like water before / the Highest one
and how long will you remain estranged because of the pain
It is called separation, morning and evening you must re-
sound / the whole soul, Yah, praise my praise.’ (Levi ibn
Altabban)

Equally, it may appear in the first verse (Sáenz-Badillos and Tar-
garona 1998, 147.1–2):

‘You look beautiful like the sun in its splendour / lovely
like the moonlit firmament
How pleasant and delightful what was given to you /
may you forever preserve your beauty.’ (Samuel ibn
Nagrela Hanagid)

It may appear in the second verse with tašrīʻ rhythm (Brody 1935,
143.1–3):

‘When the tents of my dearest are taken down along with my soul / how is it that they load their mules with my hope
My longing and joy with the company of my beloveds / depart overnight with no intention of making camp
I suffer for those like me who prefer to weep silently / and on a day of sorrow find support in silence.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

The ḥabl dual modification (משתנים → פַעִלַאתֻן) is also permitted in raḡaz metre.

Another possibility in this metre is that the poet can make the ‘arūḍ and ḏarb in each verse rhyme independently; this type of composition is called raḡaz muzdūḏ. Not all theoreticians are agreed in recognising this kind of rhyme use.

8.0. Ramal

This metre has six types of ḏarb and two types of ‘arūḍ.

8.1. First ḏarb

The first ḏarb is complete, and its ‘arūḍ modified with ḥadf (פַאעִלַאתֻן → פַאעִלֻן):

8.2. Second ḏarb

The second ḏarb is modified with qaṣr (פַאעִלַאן → פַאעִלַאתֻן), and its ‘arūḍ with ḥadf (פַאעִלֻן → פַאעִלַאתֻן):
8.3. Third Ḩarb

The third Ḩarb is modified with ḥadīf (הפַאעִלַאתֻן), and its ‘arūḍ is identical (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 143):

Friends drink to you to the bottom / of the glass and you leave half
Go drink like them and if someone reproaches you / tell him: take a dinar and get out of here.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

8.4. Fourth Ḩarb

The fourth Ḩarb, found in maḏzū’ verse, is modified with taṣbiḥ (הפַאעִלַאתַאן), and its ‘arūḍ is complete:

The fourth Ḩarb can accept the ḥabn modification (הפַאעִלַאתַאן):

8.5. Fifth Ḩarb

The fifth Ḩarb, found in maḏzū’ verse, is complete, and its ‘arūḍ is identical (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 157.1; Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 79.1–2):
‘Get lost with those who say that / time ends and runs out.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

‘There is a scorching fire within my heart / of grief due to the separation from my friends
I am sated whenever I speak / of them until the dawn of absences.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

8.6. Sixth ḏarb

The sixth ḏarb, found in maḡzūr verse, is modified with ḥadīf (פַאעִלַאתֻן → פַעִלַאתֻן), and its ʿarūḏ is complete:

This ḏarb may appear in taṣrīʿ rhythm:

8.7. Modifications to All the Feet

The ḥabn modification (פַעִלַאתֻן → פַעִלַאתֻן) is permitted in all the feet (ḥašw, ʿarūḏ, and ḏarb):

The following example (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 157.4–5) includes two instances of this modification:

‘Why do you heed / its risings and settings?’
Sneer at all that and marvel / at Yekutiel who was perfect.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

The kaff modification (פַאעִלַאתֻן → פַאעִלַאן) is also permitted in all the feet (ḥašw, ʿarūḍ, and ḏarb):

The šakl modification (פַאעִלַאתֻן → פַעִלַאתֻ) is, again, permitted in all the feet (ḥašw, ʿarūḍ, and ḏarb):

The following sequences of modifications are permitted:

9.0. Sarī¢

The complete form of this metre is not used. It has six classes of ḏarb and four classes of ʿarūḍ.

9.1. First ḏarb

The first ḏarb is modified with ṭayy and waqf (פַאעִלַאתֻת → פַאעִלַא), and its ʿarūḍ with ṭayy and kašf (פַאעִלַאתֻת → פַאעִלַא),

A type of ḏarb that has only been modified with ṭayy (פַאעִלַאתֻת) and, since the last vowel of the watid mafrūq is in the position of the rhyme, counts it as long (פַאעִלַאתֻת), seems to fit in this group (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 133.1):
‘Take the glass from the roe and tell him: Take / the bottle, run to the cask, fill it and bring it.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

9.2. Second Ḍarb

The second ḏarb is modified with tayy and kašf (מַפְּעֻלַאתֻ → פַאעִלֻן), and its ‘arūḍ is identical (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 199.1–2):

‘Behold some birdies over there who have come together / to sing on the branches without having been taught How can you listen to their voices dispersed around the fields of walnuts / without drinking or laughing?’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

9.3. Third Ḍarb

The third ḏarb is modified with salm (פַאעִלֻן → פַעִלֻן), and its ‘arūḍ with tayy and kašf (מַפְּעֻלַאתֻ → מַפְּעֻלַאתֻ):

9.4. Fourth Ḍarb

The fourth ḏarb is modified with habl and kašf (מַפְּעֻלַאתֻ → פַעִלֻן), and its ‘arūḍ is identical:
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The fourth ḍarb can accept the ʿsalm modification (Masāṭalawah → ʿayāṣ):  

The poet can take advantage of a manoeuvre allowed by the rhyme (taḥrid; see below on defects in the rhyme) to play with the reader, who cannot know whether the poet is using this last variant of the fourth ḍarb, or the third ḍarb, because it is possible for the ʿarūḍ of the verse to be read in accordance with either pattern, depending on whether or not pauses are introduced to adjust the metre (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 221):

בְּּזֵה זְּמָן בּוֹגֵד וְּאַל תַאֲמִין
בְּּשַחֲקוֹ לָך אוֹ בְּעֵת يִבְּכֶה
לְּבַעֲבוּר כִּי יוֹם יְּהִי מַעֲלֶה
בְּּטוֹב אֲשֶּר יָמִיר זְּמָן רָע בְּּטוֹב
בְּּטַח וְּאִם יִתְּמַהֲמַהּ חַכֵה

‘Spurn the traitor time and do not trust it / when it laughs at you or when it cries  
Because one day it will cover / your wound with a salve  
and another it will injure you  
In the Good that makes a bad time good / trust, and even though He takes a while, wait.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Ha-nagid)

The ʿarūḍ in the last verse (ʿarūḍ ʿayāṣ) can only be read as the ʿarūḍ of the third ḍarb, not that of the fourth. This confirms that the ʿarūḍs of the previous verses, ʿaṭemī ʿayāṣ and ʿaṭemī ʿalami, must be read in the same way. Taking into account that the feet that open the hemistichs are all variously modified with ḥabn (Masāṭalawah) and ḥabl (Masāṭalawah), the complete scansion of the verses is as follows:

מַפַאעִלֻן מֻסְּתַפְּעִלֻן פַאעִלֻן
פַעִלַתֻן מֻסְּתַפְּעִלֻן פַאעִל
9.5. Fifth Ḍarb

The fifth ḏarb, found in maṣṭūr verse, is modified with waqf (משטחון → משטחון), and, because maṣṭūr verse eliminates an entire hemistich, it is at the same time the ‘arūḍ of the verse:

The fifth ḏarb can accept the ḥabn modification (משטחון → משטחון):

9.6. Sixth Ḍarb

The sixth ḏarb, found in maṣṭūr verse, is modified with kašf (משטחון → משטחון), and, again, is at the same time the ‘arūḍ (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 220.1):

‘You must know, my child, that the Rock, your Creator, is terrible.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

The sixth ḏarb can accept the ḥabn modification (משטחון → משטחון):

9.7. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in sarīʿ metre:

ḥabn: מפשעה → משפשעה
tayy: מפשעה → משפשעה
ḥabl: משפשעה → משפשעה
10.0. Munsariḥ

The use of this metre in its complete form is rare. It has four classes of ḏarb and three classes of ‘arūḏ.

10.1. First ḏarb

The first ḏarb is modified with ṭayy (מסתעך → מפורך), and its ‘arūḏ is complete (or identical, which is preferable):

10.2. Second ḏarb

The second ḏarb is modified with qat (מסעך → מפורך), and its ‘arūḏ with ṭayy (מסעך → מפורך). The rhyme must be preceded by a lengthening letter (ridf):

10.3. Third ḏarb

The third ḏarb, found in manhūk verse, is modified with waqf (מסעך → מפורך) and, because manhūk verse preserves only two feet of a verse, it is at the same time the ‘arūḏ. The rhyme must be preceded by a lengthening letter (ridf):

The third ḏarb can accept the ḥabn modification (מסעך → מפורך):
10.4. Fourth Ḍarb

The fourth ḍarb, found in manhūk verse, is modified with kašf (مقابلة) and, again, is at the same time the ʿarūḍ:

I have also identified this ḍarb in maḏzūr verse, with an identical ʿarūḍ (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 228.1–2):

‘The fat of my body decreases / while the sorrow in my heart grows
during the afternoon prayer / and, in my solitude, I cut myself off.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

10.5. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in mun-sariḥ metre:

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<td>מושעל מוסע ה pige</td>
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</table>

11.0. Ḥafīf

This metre has five classes of ḍarb and three classes of ʿarūḍ.
11.1. First Ḥarb

The first ḥarb is complete, and its ‘arūḏ is identical (Sáenz Badillos and Targarona 1998, 174.1):

The following example uses the first ḥarb and has filling feet modified with ḥabn:

‘Please tell the noble princess / who grew up amongst cassia and amber.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

The first ḥarb can accept the tašʿīt modification (פַאעִלַאתֻן → מַפְעֻולֻן):

It is also found used with an ‘arūḏ modified in the same way (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 140.1):

‘The eyes of the roe that serves me dupe me, / the heart of his lords hunts with no net.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

It can accept the ḥabn modification (פַאעִלַאתֻן → מַפְעֻולֻן):

11.2. Second ḫarb

The second ḫarb is modified with ḥadf (פאםליין → פאסלה), and its ʿarūḍ is complete:

11.3. Third ḫarb

The third ḫarb is modified with ḥadf (פאםליין → פאסלה), and its ʿarūḍ is identical:

The third ḫarb and its ʿarūḍ can accept the ḥabn modification (פאםליין → פאםליין):

The third ḫarb can also be modified with qaṭ (פאםליין → פאםליין):

11.4. Fourth ḫarb

The fourth ḫarb, found in maḫzūʿ verse, is complete, and its ʿarūḍ is identical:

This ḫarb in maḫzūʿ verse can accept ḥabn (פאםליין → פאסלה), in which case, its ʿarūḍ is identically modified (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 184.1–2):

‘Fire of absence for the departure of fri/ends my bones
mourn
When I see the chicks of ost/ riches destroying the abodes.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

11.5. Fifth Ḍarb

The fifth ḍarb, found in maḡzūʿ verse, is modified by ḥabn and qaṣr ( meisjes → مِسْتَفِعَة الْحَرْث → مَسْتَفِعَة الْحَرْث), and its ‘arūḍ is complete:

It may occur with taṣrīʿ rhythm:

11.6. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in ḥafif metre (Pagis 1967, 9):

\[
\text{ḥabn: } \text{פָּעַלַאתָה} \rightarrow \text{פָּעַלַאתָה} \quad \text{ḥabn: } \text{מַמְשָׁתָה} \rightarrow \text{מַמְשָׁתָה}
\]

‘I will not praise You in the darkness because You are / the light on my path and in You is my support and sustenance
My zeal for Your Law is my rest / I remember Your mercy and my weariness is forgotten
Transgressors waste away and fall in the snare of the darkness / but I alone have Your word, a lamp for my feet.’ (Levi ibn Altabban)
2. The Catalogue of Classical Metres

12.0. *Muḍāri*[^1]

This metre is usually used in its *maḏzūr* form. *Maʿṣūla* is considered a *watid* mafrūq (*faʿilāt*), followed by two *sabab ḥafīf* (*faʿilāt*).

12.1. First Ḍarb

The first ḏarb, found in *maḏzūr* verse, is complete, and its ʿarūḍ is identical:

The *kaff* modification can be applied to the ʿarūḍ (*faʿilāt*):

12.2. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in *muḍāri*[^1] metre:

- *qabḍ*: *faṣṣūla* → *faṣṣūla*
- *kaff*: *faṣṣūla* → *faṣṣūla*
- *šitr*: *faṣṣūla* → *faṣṣūla*
- *ḥarb*: *faṣṣūla* → *faṣṣūla*

In particular, ḥazm is quite common:
13.0. Muqtaḍab

This metre is only rarely used. It is usually used in its maḏzū’ form.

13.1. First Ḍarb

The first ḏarb, found in maḏzū’ verse, is modified with ṭayy (מַפְּעֻולַאתֻ → מַפַאעִילֻן), and its ḍarūḍ is identical:

13.2. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in muqtaḍab metre:

- ḥabn: מַפְּעֻולַאתֻ → מַפַעִילֻן
- ṭayy: מַפְּעֻולַאתֻ → פַאעִלַאתֻן

As in muḍāriʿ metre, ḥazm is quite common:

14.0. Muḥṭat

This metre is only rarely used. It is usually used in its maḏzū’ form.
14.1. First Ḍarb

The first ḏarb, found in maḡzūʾ verse, is complete, and its ‘arūd is identical (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 111.1–2; Jarden 1992, 60:1):

משתמשות ופאעלאתון
ברב הוליח לישון
נתקב קר אירונין
מאבקל צת בלשוןינו
יהו lecken ס😉חרר
מברב כאבי ואוהי
איאיאל אב ביסחרור

‘My throat is hoarse from shouting / my tongue has got stuck to the roof of my mouth
My heart is alarmed / at the scale of my grief and my sorrow.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

משתמשות ופאעלאתון
השפ שלבך בו

‘When sorrow reaches you / it leaves a scar on your heart.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

This ḏarb can accept the taš’īt modification (מַפַאעִילֻן פַאעִלַאתֻן):

משתמשות ופאעלאתון
משתמשות ופאעלאתון

14.2. Modifications to All the Feet

The ḥabn modification (פַאעִלַאתֻן פַאעִלַאתֻן) is permitted in any foot:

משתמשות ופאעלאתון
משתמשות ופאעלאתון

The kaff modification (פָטְלַאתֻן פָטְלַאתֻן) is also permitted in any foot:
The šakl modification (פָּעַלָה → פֶּעָלָה and מַפַּעִלֻ → מַפַּעִל) is permitted, but never in both different types of foot within the same verse (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 110.4):

מַפַּעִּל פֶּעַלָה מַפַּעַלָה מַפַּעַלָה מַפַּעַלָה בְּכַשֶּׁר כְּמָה אֲיַחֵל

‘How long will I wait? How long / will my anger burn like a fire?’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

The ħazm modification can add up to two syllables to the beginning of the verse.

15.0. Mutaqārib

פֶּעַלָה פֶּעַלָה פֶּעַלָה פֶּעַלָה פֶּעַלָה פֶּעַלָה פֶּעַלָה

This metre has six types of darb and two types of ʿarūd.

15.1. First Ḍarb

The first darb is complete, and its ʿarūd is identical (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 98.1–2):

פֶּעַלָה פֶּעַלָה פֶּעַלָה נַשְׁמֵאָת מָרְחֵמִים חֵי אֲחָת גְּבִירָה נַשְׁמֵאָת מָרְחֵמִים חֵי אֲחָת גְּבִירָה

חַשְׁבּוֹת יִלְּאָז הֲכָל שְׁחָקִים צְפִּירָה חַשְׁבּוֹת יִלְּאָז הֲכָל שְׁחָקִים צְפִּירָה

חָשִּׁב עַל הָרָעִים מַכְּפֹּקֵם עִדֵּי בַּגִּיאָת מַכְּפֹּקֵם עִדֵּי בַּגִּיאָת

‘Like the sun on high so are you lady / although in the mouth of all men you are small
You rose and your place moved away until they began to think / that perching above the skies you were the morning star.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)
The ‘arūḍ of the first ḏarb can accept the ḥadf modification (פַעֻולֻן → פַעֻלי):

15.2. Second ḏarb

The second ḏarb is modified with qaṣr (פַעֻלי → פַעֻלו), and its ‘arūḍ is complete. The rhyme must be preceded by a long vowel (ridf):

15.3. Third ḏarb

The third ḏarb is modified with hadf (פַעֻלו → פַעֻלי), and its ‘arūḍ is complete:

15.4. Fourth ḏarb

The fourth ḏarb is modified with batr (פַעֻלי → פַע), and its ‘arūḍ is complete:

15.5. Fifth ḏarb

The fifth ḏarb, found in maḡzūr verse, is modified with ḥadf (פַעֻלי → פַעלי), and its ‘arūḍ is identical:

15.6. Sixth ḏarb

The sixth ḏarb, found in maḡzūr verse, is modified with batr (פַעלי → פַע), and its ‘arūḍ with hadf:
This ḍarb can be used with taṣrīʿ rhythm:

15.7. Modifications to the Filling Feet

The following modifications may affect the filling feet in mu-taqārib metre (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 199.3–4; Brody 1935, 13.1, from ‘anaq chapter IX):

 mexico → פועל

HasColumnTypem: פועל → פועל

‘My heart said: how is it that by divine will / it was created and not by its own will and declaration.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)
3. THE FIVE CIRCLES AND THE DERIVATIVE METRES

Tradition holds that Alḥalīl divided the 15 metres into five circles, using the associative criterion of the similarity between some of the metres in the relative positions of their sabab and watid syllables. However, he did not exhaust all the possibilities inherent in this system, and soon poets and theoreticians began to derive additional metres that the theory of the metrical spheres had the potential to accommodate as correct forms. The forms codified by Alḥalīl (mustaʿmal) were considered proper and current, while the innovated forms (muhmal) were considered made-up and inappropriate, although, as seen below, some of them were widely accepted and successful, even amongst the Hebrew poets.

1.0. The First Circle

The first circle is called muḥtalaf. The metres included in this circle are always made up of two asymmetrical feet (one with five letters and the other with seven), with each foot being repeated twice per hemistich. It therefore includes the classical metres ʿawîl (פַעֻולֻן מַפַאעִילֻן × 2 in each hemistich), madīd (פַאעִלַאתֻן פַאעִלֻן × 2 in each hemistich), and basīṭ (פֹּסְתִלְעַן פֹּסְתִלְעַן × 2 in each hemistich).

According to tradition, this circle is termed muḥtalaf ‘different’ because its metres are made up of feet with both five and
seven letters. The three metres in this circle are arranged according to the position of the watid in the first foot. The sequence begins with ֶֶָ, a metre that begins with watid (שָׁעִי). ֶֶָ is followed by madīd, whose first foot would begin in the position of the sabab of the first foot of ֶֶָ (לֻן), while its watid (עִי) would coincide with the second foot of ֶֶָ (מַפַא). Finally, basīṭ places its first watid (עִי) in the position occupied by the watid of the third foot of ֶֶָ (פַעֻו).

Later, theoreticians realised that, if the sequence of the feet in ֶֶָ metre was reversed, the result fit perfectly in the circle between madīd and basīṭ, and that it also began with watid—in other words, mustaṣṭīl, a metre that they called mustaṣṭīl. The same occurred after basīṭ in the circle, where the inverted version of madīd fit perfectly—in other words, mustaṣṭīl, a metre termed mumtadd. No metre was derived in this way from basīṭ, because its inverted sequence is the same as madīd.

The completed circle is configured as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>מַפַא</td>
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<td>לֻן</td>
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<td>עִי</td>
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<td>עִי</td>
<td>מַפַא</td>
<td>עִי</td>
<td>מַפַא</td>
<td>עִי</td>
<td>מַפַא</td>
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<tr>
<td>פַעֻו</td>
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<td>פַעֻו</td>
<td>לֻן</td>
<td>פַעֻו</td>
<td>לֻן</td>
<td>פַעֻו</td>
<td>לֻן</td>
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<tr>
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<td>פַעֻו</td>
<td>עִלֻן</td>
<td>פַעֻו</td>
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<td>פַעֻו</td>
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<tr>
<td>עִלַא</td>
<td>פַעֻו</td>
<td>עִלַא</td>
<td>פַעֻו</td>
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<td>לֻן</td>
<td>מַפַא</td>
<td>לֻן</td>
<td>מַפַא</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**2.0. The Second Circle**

The second circle is called maʿutalaf, or ‘harmonious’, and is made up of two symmetrical hemistichs that repeat the same foot three times. It includes the classical metres wāfir (מֻפַאעַלַתֻן × 3 in each hemistich) and kāmil (מֻתַפַאעִלֻן × 3 in each hemistich). It
was named for its structure: seven-letter feet that repeat. Its metres are arranged according to the position of the watid in the first foot. Once again, there was a realisation that another form could be included in this sphere by placing the watid in the centre of the foot, in other words פַּאעִילֻך, and this is called mutawafir, or alternatively, muʿtamad:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>תַּ הַל</td>
<td>וַא</td>
<td>בַּ הַל</td>
<td>וַא</td>
<td>wafir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>וַ א</td>
<td>בַ ה</td>
<td>וַ א</td>
<td>בַ ה</td>
<td>kāmil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>בַ ה</td>
<td>וַ א</td>
<td>בַ ה</td>
<td>וַ א</td>
<td>mutawafir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.0. The Third Circle

The third circle is called mugiatan, or ‘imported’. It is made up of two symmetrical hemistichs that repeat the same foot three times. It includes the classical metres hazaġ (מַפַּעִילֻן × 3 in each hemistich), raġaz (מָסְּתַפְּעִילֻן × 3 in each hemistich), and ramal (פַּאעִילֻן × 3 in each hemistich). Its name is due to the fact that it has ‘imported’ the feet from the first circle (מַפַּעִילֻן from tawil, מָסְּתַפְּעִילֻן from madid, and מַפַּעִילֻן from basit). Its metres are arranged first according to the position of the watid, and subsequently according to the position of their syllables in relation to the hazaġ foot.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>בַ ה</td>
<td>וַ א</td>
<td>בַ ה</td>
<td>וַ א</td>
<td>hazaġ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>וַ א</td>
<td>בַ ה</td>
<td>וַ א</td>
<td>בַ ה</td>
<td>raġaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>בַ ה</td>
<td>וַ א</td>
<td>בַ ה</td>
<td>וַ א</td>
<td>ramal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.0. The Fourth Circle

The fourth circle is known as muštabah. It is made up of a set of three feet, two of one type and one of another, that repeats in each hemistich. It includes the classical metres sarī (מֻסְתַּפְּעִלֻן מַפַּאעִילֻן מַפַּאעִילֻן × 1 in each hemistich), munsarih (מֻסְתַּפְּעִלֻן מַפַּאעִילֻן מַפַּאעִילֻן × 1 in each hemistich), hafif (מַפַּאעִילֻן פַּאעִלַאתֻן מֻסְתַּפְּעִלֻן × 1 in each hemistich), muḏari (מַפַּאעִילֻן פַּאעִלַאתֻן פַּאעִלַאתֻן × 1 in each hemistich), muqtadaḥab (מַפַּאעִילֻן מַפַּאעִילֻן מַפַּאעִילֻן × 1 in each hemistich), and muṯitat (מַפַּאעִילֻן מַפַּאעִילֻן מַפַּאעִילֻן × 1 in each hemistich). The word muštabah has a double meaning in Arabic; in this context, some say that it means ‘similar’, because the metres of this circle are made up of seven-letter feet that repeat symmetrically, while others prefer to understand it as ‘ambiguous’, because of the confusion between watid maḏmu and watid mafruq in some of its metres. Moreover, the arrangement of the fourth circle does not follow the pattern established by the previous circles, according to which the first metre should be muḏari, as the metre that begins with watid. Rather, since the complete form of muḏari metre is never used, the circle is arranged around sarī. Once again, new sequences (muḥmal) are produced, until the nine points of the circle are completed. The innovated metres are mutaḥid (also known as garib), munsarid (also known as qarib), and muṭṭarid (also known as mušākil):
5.0. The Fifth Circle

The last and fifth circle is muttafaq, or ‘agreed’, so called because it is made up of the same foot repeated eight times. The only classical metre it includes is mutaqārib (פַעֻולֻן × 4 in each hemistich). Some manuals add the mutadārak metre (פַאעִלֻן × 4 in each hemistich), the one added by Alḫalī’s follower Alḥafash Alawsat, when it is included together with the ḫalilian metres:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>לֻן</td>
<td>תַפְּעִ</td>
<td>מַפְּ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>וָס</td>
<td>וָס</td>
<td>וָס</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.0. The Derivative Metres

Of the new variants (muhmal), the classical Hebrew poets (10th–12th centuries) had a preference—almost a passion—for two of them. The first of these was mutadārak (פַאעִלֻן × 4 in each hemistich), the first new metre formulated based on the classical catalogue. However, they often employed it in its modified form
An Introduction to Andalusi Hebrew Metrics

 résult (פַאע × 4 in each hemistich). This metre is quite common in Hebrew, where it is traditionally known as mišqal hatĕnuʿot; it is also used in Arabic, where it is known as daff annafūs or fiṭr almīzāb.

The second metre widely used in Hebrew—the metre used in the first known Hebrew compositions, in fact—is mustaṭîl (מפאעה פמאעה פמאעה פמאעה), both in its complete form and modified with tašʿīṯ (מפאעה פמאע).  

7.0. Mutadārak

This metre has four classes of darb and two classes of ʿarūd.

7.1. First Ąarb

The first darb is complete, with an identical ʿarūd:

However, the use of the first darb in its complete form is rare. Usually, when this type of verse appears in Hebrew, it has all its feet modified with qaṭʿ (מפאעה → פמאע), producing a sequence known in the Hebrew language as mišqal hatĕnuʿot—although the original foot may make an appearance (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 215.1):

‘Joy, come; sadness, go away / and anguish of my heart, move away from me.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)
7.2. Second Ḍarb

The second ḏarb, found in maḡzū’ verse, is complete, with identical ‘arūḍ:

7.3. Third Ḍarb

The third ḏarb, found in maḡzū’ verse, is modified with ḥəvn and tarfil (פַאעִל → פַאעִל), and its ‘arūḍ is complete:

The third ḏarb may appear in tasrīʿ rhythm:

7.4. Fourth Ḍarb

The fourth ḏarb is modified with tadyīl (פַאעִל → פַאעִל), and its ‘arūḍ is complete. The rhyme must be preceded by a lengthening letter (ridf):

7.5. Manhūk Verse

Mutadārak metre can also be used in manhūk verse:

This type of verse may appear with all its feet modified with qaṭʿ (פַאעִל → פַאעִל; Brody and Schirmann 1974, 155):

‘My eyes have shut down from so much crying.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)
It may also appear with its \textit{darb} and ‘\textit{arūd} both modified with \textit{tadyil} (פאעילן \rightarrow פַּאעִילָן):

\begin{verbatim}
פאעיל פַּאעִיל פַּאעִיל פַּאעִיל פַּאעִיל פַּאעִיל פַּאעִיל פַּאעִיל
\end{verbatim}

7.6. Modifications to All the Feet

The \textit{habn} modification (פשilden \rightarrow פַּאעִילן) may affect any of the feet. If it is applied to all the feet, this produces a metre known as \textit{ḥabb}:

\begin{verbatim}
פאעיל פַּאעִיל פַּאעִיל פַּאעִיל פַּאעִיל פַּאעִיל פַּאעִיל פַּאעִיל
אֵם כָּגָר אָל שָׁעְרֵי פִּלוּל שָׁעְרֵי דִּמְעָה לֹא נִנְּעָלוּ
\end{verbatim}

‘Although God closes the doors of prayer / the doors of tears are not sealed.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

As mentioned above, the \textit{qatʿ} modification (פאעולה \rightarrow פַּאעִיל) may also be applied to all the feet, in which case, it produces a metre known in Arabic as \textit{daff annafūs} or \textit{fiṭr almīzāb}, also called \textit{muḥdat}, \textit{muḥtaraʿ}, \textit{qarīb mutadārif}, or \textit{šaqīq}:

\begin{verbatim}
פאעולה פַּאעִיל פַּאעִיל פַּאעִיל פַּאעִיל פַּאעִיל פַּאעִיל פַּאעִיל פַּאעִיל
בְּּיַד אֵל אָנָה תִפְּנֶה וְּאֵין לָך לִבְּרֹח מִדִינָיו
\end{verbatim}

‘In the hands of God you are, wherever you go / you cannot flee from His decrees.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)
8.0. Mustaṭīl

Some authors call this metre wasīṭ. In Hebrew, it is usually catalogued as a variety of tawīl (arok), and it is even called the metre of Dunaš (mišqal Dunaš). It is usually used in musammat form in Hebrew. I have found it used on one occasion without internal rhymes, but in mašṭūr verse, with the second foot of every verse modified with tašʿīt (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 31.1):

‘Help my soul, my love, and take me in Your palm
Because You are to the heart what the spoon is to the hand.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

9.0. Mutaṭ’id

This metre is also known as garīb. I have found it with its ḍarb and ‘arūḍ modified with ‘aqīl (mafṣatūn → mafṣhatūn)––or perhaps qaṭ‘, if the feet are understood as ʿaqlīshūn––and using ḥabn (mafṣatūn → mafṣatūn) in some filling feet (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 179):
‘As I judge them do not judge them / enquire properly
and judge them like Solomon
It returns swiftly, the sleep to their eyes, / and I sleeplessly for them
My heart turned aside, it ran after them / because whoever guides them compels my anger
Ask after my health, since whoever is beloved / by his friend, returns and asks after him
The eye of he who loves them has become clouded because they are not here / blessed the eye who looks upon them once more.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

### 10.0. Other Derivative Metres

I have not found the following variants (*muhmal*) in use by Hebrew poets, with a few exceptions in strophic poetry:

*mumtadd* (→ *madid*)
3. The Five Circles and the Derivative Metres

mutawafir or muʿtamad (→ wāfir)

muṭṭarid or mušākil

dū bayit

salisa
4. RHyme

Although views on the subject differ amongst theoreticians, rhyme (qifāya) may be defined as the group of consonants and vowels that closes a verse. The rhyme begins with the first of the group of letters that is repeated at the end of the rhyming verses. This letter can occupy either of the following positions: between two quiescent letters, whether lengthening letters or not, like he’ in לְלָמֶב, וּמֻצְהָב, וְרָהַב, וְיָהָב, וְאָהַב, וְזָהָב, and לְלָהַב (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 41), or lamed in נִמְלְלֵים, נְלֵילָה, נְלִלָת, נְלֵי, נְלֵי, and הֲלָה (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 62); or at the end of the verse, being quiescent, like het in מָנוֹחַ, לְנֹֽדֶח, לְרֹֽחַ, and לְפָּסָח (Brody 1935, 67).

1.0. The Components of Rhyme

Rhyme has two basic components: consonants and vowels.

1.1. Consonants

The consonants in a rhyme are as follows.

1.1.1. Rawā

This is the letter that ends the verse and repeats throughout the composition. It is used to define the composition and arrange the collection of poems (dīwān). It cannot be a lengthening letter (או’י) or a final he’ (א).

The rhyme in the following qasida (rağaz metre) is in nun, and it should be noted that the poem uses muwaffā form, since
the two hemistichs of the first verse also rhyme (Brody 1935, 143.1–3):

אִם אָהֳלֵי דוֹדַי בְּּנַפְּשִי
מִיָּה לָיִם יְעוֹשֵׁה אֲלֵי
יִרְחָל עִלָּה חֶסֶךְ בְּדִמְעָה
בּוֹזֵם גָּאֹלִים אֶל הַגְּזֵר

‘When the tents of my dearest are taken down along with my soul / how is it that they load their mules with my hope
My longing and joy with the company of my beloveds / depart overnight with no intention of making camp
I suffer for those like me who prefer to weep silently / and on a day of sorrow find support in silence.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

The rhyme in the following qasida is in consonantal alef and, again, the first verse is muwaffā (Brody 1894, I:1.1–3):

לֹא מִתְּמוֹל פִיוֹת שְׁחוֹק נִמְלָ
אֶל וַחֲרוֹזִים לֹא קְרָאָם רַעְּיוֹן
לֹא נִמְּנְּעוּ מִבֹּא בְּרֶסֶן מִשְּקְּלֵי
לֹא שָמְּעוּ שְׂמֵךְ בֵּאָב

‘Mouths did not fill with laughter before / until thanks to you hearts swelled with pride
Rhymes appeared without being called by thought / they emerged from my mouth without being invited just like that
They did not resist entering the halter of the metre of the / poem, they simply heard your name and arrived.’ (Judah Halevi)
1.1.2. *Waṣl*

This is a lengthening letter that follows *rawā*, by which the vowel of *rawā* is lengthened. It can be a lengthening letter (אוא'א) or a final *he* (*ה*).

Looking again at the example above whose *rawā* is *nun*, its *waṣl* is *waw*. The scansion of the rhyming words would be ישבה, ישתנה, וָאַבָּה (Brody 1935, 143.1–3):

אִם אַלּ לֹא יִנְשֶׁאְ בְּדַדְיָא בְּנַפְּשִי צָעַנ וּאֵיכַ הַכַּפַּלוּת בֶּןְךָ עָנָא
שָׂבַרָה תָּשֶׁמֶתָה תָּבַרְתָּ אִבָּהָ מִשְׁלַי יִשְׁעַה יָאַח לַאִירָהָ
צֵרַלַל עָלְּלָה תָּשָׂקָה בְּרָמָה יָבָשָׂ בַּעֲדָ הָרָמָה שָׂעַנָּא

1.1.3. *Ḫurūǧ*

This is a vocalised lengthening letter that follows a vocalised *he* *waṣl*. In Hebrew, this is never reflected in writing, but must be counted in the scansion, in the pattern of פִּיהָ → פִּיהָא. The following *muwaffā* verse (*kāmil* metre) provides an example (Brody 1894, I:110.1):

יוֹנָה תְּכַנֵּן עַל אֲמִירֶיהָ יֵמָר לְּבָבִי לַאֲמָרֵיהָ

‘The dove makes its nest in her treetops / my heart becomes bitter with her cooing.’ (Judah Halevi)

1.1.4. *Ridf*

This is a lengthening or weak letter that precedes *rawā*, for example, the *waw* that precedes *taw* in the following example (*tawil* metre; Brody 1935, 234.1–2):

בָּשָׁנָא אֵלָא אֵשֶר אָמַר ווֹ לָאָוָרוֹתִיוּ זֶהָ בָּלָי מְוָרָה זָמַרְתָּ לֶמַּמָּרָה
ותַלְּחֵלָל בָּלָי זָוָרָה זָמַרְתָּ לֶמַּמָּרָה

Above is a translation of a verse from the *Talmud* (Judah Halevi).
‘In the name of God who spoke and His words are charged with power / He ordered without instructor and without opponent to His commandments He performed and did everything His soul saw fit / He began without help and He completed his actions.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

A yod can precede reš, as in the following example (mutaqārib metre; Brody and Schirmann 1974, 98.1–2):

כְּשֶמֶש מְרוֹמִים הֲכִי אַתְּ גְּבִי רָה وְּאִתְּ בְּּפִי כָל אֲנָשִׁים צְּעי רָה וְּעָלִית וְּרָחַק מְּקוֹמֵך עֲדֵי כִּי חֲשָבוּך עֲלֵי רֹאשֶׁחָקִים צְּעי רָה

‘Like the sun on high so are you lady / although in the mouth of all men you are small You rose and your place moved away until they began to think / that perching above the skies you were the morning star.’ (Solomon ibn Gabirol)

1.1.5. Taʾsis

This letter is always alef. There is a vocalised letter between it and rawā. In Hebrew this alef is not reflected in writing, but it is counted in the scansion. In the following example (basīṭ metre), ככ is to be read as פאנין (Sáenz-Badillos and Targaron 1998, 167.1):

אָשוּט כְּהֵלֶך עֲלֵי גִבְּעָת לְבֹנָה וְּאַדְּ־בִּיק אֶת לְחָיַי אֱלֵי מִדְּרַך הֲלִיכָיְּכִי

‘I wander like a wayfarer around a hill of incense and I hold my cheeks fast to the print of your steps.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)
1.1.6. *Dahīl*

This is a vocalised letter placed between *ta’sīs* and *rawā*. In the previous example, it would be the *yod* vocalised with mobile *šēwa’* that occupies the position of ‘*ayin* in the foot (*כֶּבֶר* → *כֶּבֶר* = *מַעְשֵׁן*).

1.1.7. Letters that Can Be *Rawā* or *Waṣl*

If the letter that precedes *alef* is not repeated in the different occurrences of the rhyme, *alef* is *rawā*. In this case the composition is called a *qasida maqṣūra*. An example of this was given above (Brody 1894, I:1.1–3):

徂 прин бех тзук лебож йош

בқор бех йоз йоз йоз

השיט אָדַל שְָמוּאָל בֲּאו

If, on the contrary, the preceding letter does repeat, then *alef* is *waṣl*, bearing in mind that in Hebrew, final *alef* and *he’* are identical. The following example (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 143) uses *ramal* metre:

яхדידים ישתיהו לֶקָּפָה מַקְפֶּה

כוס לֶקָזֹה אֵאָתָה מַחְטֵה

סב שָֽזְמֵהֲה בֵּֽכּוֹמ לְּרֵי בִּֽי

‘Friends drink to you to the bottom / of the glass and you leave half

Go drink like them and if someone reproaches you / tell him: take a dinar and get out of here.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

The same rule applies to *yod* as to *alef*. However, in the case of *nisba* (a *yod* of relationship or attribution), if it is doubled, it is
4. Rhyme

rawā, but if it is not, it is wasl. In the following nutfa (wāfir metre), it is rawā (Brody 1935, 85):

אֱנוֹש יִרְּאֶה בְּעֵין לִבּוֹ אֱמוּנָה בְּּלִי יֹלְּדָיו וְּהִשִּּׁג מַאֲוַי
ומָי יִדְּעֶךָל אֶזְּכֵל אֱמֹ הָוָא בְּּנָמָה

‘The person who sees faith with all his heart / without his ancestors will cede to his passions
And who knows if he is lucid or slow-witted / and if he will live or die in life.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

Heʾ is rawā if it is preceded by a quiescent letter. It is also rawā when it is dotted with mappiq and preceded by a vowel, as in this description of a candle (kāmil metre; Brody 1935, 83):

והּ חוֹלַת אֲהָבִים לַַֽיְּלָה בָּכֹה תִבְּכֶה וְּדִמְּעָתָה עֲלֵי לֶחְּיָ
תשַׁחְק פְּנֵי הַיוַֹֽשְּבִים לַרְּנִין אוֹתָם וְּאֵש יֹאכַל שְּאֵר גִוְּיָה

‘The lovesick one passes the night / crying and her tears fall over her cheek
She smiles at those seated for their / enjoyment while the fire consumes the rest of her body
She seems sick but if someone moves her head, / she bears witness, as if she were cured of her sickness.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

The heʾ of a feminine ending, when the previous letter is repeated in the different occurrences of the rhyme, is wasl; only otherwise can it be rawā. I have only found it as wasl.

Final kaf in the second person can only be rawā if it is preceded by a lengthening letter and the previous letter does not repeat in the different occurrences. I have only found it as wasl, for example (wāfir metre; Brody 1894, III:67.1):

והּ אֲהָבִים מִי אֲבִיתּךְ הוֹלָא אֲהָבַת עֲלָלָא אַבְּכֵית
'Dove, how can you think that I am your enemy / if I love you with a love that is eternal.' (Judah Halevi)

Weak and lengthening letters (ה"א) cannot be rawâ unless they occur in the circumstances described above.

Masculine (ם) and feminine (ת) plural morphemes cannot be rawâ, except when the preceding letter does not repeat.

1.2. Vowels

The vowels in a rhyme are as follows.

1.2.1. Mağrâ

This is the vowel of rawâ, for example, the šureq in צMana and טMana in the following muwaffâ verse (rağaz metre; Brody 1935, 143.1):

אִם אָהֳלֵי דוֹדַי בְּּנַפְּשִי צָעֲנֻו אֵיכָה בְּתוֹחַלְּתִי בְּעִירָם טָעֲנו

1.2.2. Naffâd

This is the vowel of a he’ wašl that follows rawâ, like qames in the following muwaffâ verse (kāmil metre; Brody 1894, I:110.1):

יוֹנָה תְּקַנֵן עַל אֲמִירֶיה יֵמַר לְּבָבִי לַאֲמָרֵיה

1.2.3. Ḥadw

This is the vowel that precedes ridf, for example, the holem that precedes waw in the following example (tawîl metre; Brody 1935, 234.1):

בָּשָׁם אֶל אָשֶׁר אֶמֶר וְהָעֹז לְּאִמְּרוֹתָיו וְצִוָּה בְּּלִי מוֹרֶה וּמוֹרֶה לְּמִצְֹּּותָיו
1.2.4. *Išbāʿ*

This is the vowel of *dāḥil*, for example, the mobile *šēwaʿ* of *yod* in the following example (*basīṭ* metre; Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 167.1):

אָשוּט כְּהֵלֶך עֲלֵי גִבְּעַת לְּבוֹנָה וְאַדְּ־בִּיק אֶת לְּחָיַי
אֱלֵי מִדְּרַך הֲלִיכָיְּכִי

1.2.5. *Ras*

This is the vowel that precedes *alef taʿsīs*. It is always /a/; in the previous example it is the *qameṣ* in הֲלִיכָיְּכִי.

1.2.6. *Tawḡīḥ*

This is the vowel that precedes *rawā* when it is quiescent, like the furtive *pataḥ* in נְוֵח in the following example (Brody 1935, 64.1), which uses *kāmil* metre with *taṣrīʿ* rhythm:

אַבְּקַת בְּשָמִים מַעֲשֵה רוֹקֵחַ אוֹ מִפְּפַת אָח מָר דְּרוֹר נוֹפֵחַ

‘Is the perfumed dust the work of a druggist / or are myrrh grains being exhaled by the lip of the brazier?’
(Moses ibn Ezra)

2.0. Types of Rhyme

There are two types of rhyme: *mutlaqa*, with vocalised *rawā*, and *muqayyada*, with quiescent *rawā*. Both types have recognised variants.

2.1. Variants of *Mutlaqa*

*mutlaqa muʿasasa*: *rawā* is vocalised and *alef taʿsīs* repeats throughout the composition.
**muṭlaqa muʿasasa** followed by *heʾ*: *rawā* is vocalised and *alef taʿsīs* repeats throughout the composition, which closes with *heʾ*.

*muṭlaqa murādafa*: *rawā* is vocalised and *ridf* repeats throughout the composition.

*muṭlaqa muḡarrada*, or ‘naked’: *rawā* is vocalised and neither *taʿsīs* nor *ridf* repeats throughout the composition.

### 2.2. Variants of Muqayyada

*muqayyada muʿasasa*: *rawā* is quiescent and *alef taʿsīs* repeats throughout the composition.

*muqayyada murādafa*: *rawā* is quiescent and *ridf* repeats throughout the composition.

*muqayyada muḡarrada*, or ‘naked’: *rawā* is quiescent and neither *taʿsīs* nor *ridf* repeats throughout the composition.

### 3.0. Defects in the Rhymes

The following defects may affect the rhymes:

#### ikfāʾ: *rawā* is replaced by a consonant with the same articulation point.

#### igāza: *rawā* is replaced by a corresponding consonant in the alphabet.

#### iqwāʾ: a *rawā* vowel (*mağrā*) that alternates between /u/ and /i/ in the same qasida is changed.
iṣrāf: a rawā vowel (mağrā) that alternates between /a/ and /u/ in the same qasida is changed.

iṭāː: the word that carries the rhyme is repeated, retaining its form and meaning, throughout the qasida.

taḍmīn: the rhyme connects syntactically with the first stich of the following verse. It is considered bad practice if the rhyme does not finish a phrase, but as long as the phrase is complete upon completion of the rhyme, it is permitted for the sentence to continue into the following verse.

sinād: rhyme defect due to vowel alternation, several types of which are recognised:

sinād arridf: one verse has lengthening before the rhyme (ridf) and the following one does not.

sinād attaʾsīs: one verse has alef taʾsīs and the following one does not.

sinād ališbāː: the vowel of the consonant ḏaḥīl changes throughout the composition.

sinād alḥaḍw: the vowel that precedes ridf changes; the change can be between /a/ and /i/ or between /a/ and /u/.

sinād attawğīh: vocalisation of quiescent rawā (muqay-yada).

taḥrid: in one part of the qasida, one ḍarb is used, and in another part, a different ḍarb from the same metre.

iqʿād: in one part of the qasida, one ‘arūḍ is used, and in another part, a different ‘arūḍ from the same metre. This phenomenon only occurs in the kāmil metre.
5. STROPHIC POETRY

1.0. Musammaṭ

In the ṭawil and mutaqārib metres, the use of muṣammaṭ form is fairly common. However, of all the metres, the one most preferred by the Hebrew poets for inlaid internal caesuras was mus-taṭṭil. In fact, the first known compositions use this formula, but modified with tašʿīt, and this sequence first used by Dunaš ben Labraṭ was imitated by the four great poets of the Golden Age (Sáenz-Badillos 1982, 1):


‘Know, my heart, wisdom, / intelligence and reason, / watch over the pathways of prudence / listen to instruction.’ (Dunaš ben Labraṭ)

Still, this sequence can recover the complete forms of its feet when the poet considers it necessary (Brody 1935, 56.1):

 cüm "לְּיוֹצֵר הַיְּצוּרִים / וּמֵבִין מַעֲשֵיהֶם / וְהָלָלוֹת וּזְּמִירִים / לְּיוֹצֵר הַיְּצוּרִים / וּמֵבִין מַעֲשֵיהֶם / וְהָלָלוֹת וּזְּמִירִים / לְּיוֹצֵר הַיְּצוּרִים / וּמֵבִין מַעֲשֵיהֶם.

‘The book begins / prayers and canticles / to the Creator of creatures / and Whoever understands their acts.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)
It is not difficult to find cases of *musammaṭ muṭallaṭ* that use this modified sequence (Brody 1935, 161.1):

![Hebrew text]

‘Time will convene its witnesses / to see the acts of their hands / what they have committed.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

The following composition (Brody 1935, 223.1–2) is an example of *musammaṭ murabbaṭ* in *mutaqārib* metre (*aaaa, bbba, etc.*):

![Hebrew text]

‘To you, raised / in the bosom of the faithful, / people of ideas, / sharp like a bolt

Lords of the aljamas / pedestals of praise / radiating splendours / that shame any light.’ (Moses ibn Ezra)

The use of *musammaṭ* form in practice can go slightly beyond the classical rules, with the poet applying *ḥarm* in either foot of a hemistich, rather than exclusively in the first foot, as the classical system prescribes. This is perhaps due to the influence of the caesuras, which seem to have broken the verse up into independent segments that ended up becoming strophes of *muwaššaḥ*. In the following example (Mirsky 1961, 72.1), this freer use of *ḥarm* is something that the poet practises in the first segment and repeats
throughout the composition (muṣammaṭ murabbaʿ in ʿawil metre: bbba, ccca, etc.):

‘My exile has become prolonged / with my poverty and misery / but here I am, my strength / to you I reveal my complaint.’ (Isaac ben Khalfun)

Thus, the poet goes on to use the ḥarm modification whenever he deems it necessary, in any position, including in the former ‘arūd (Mirsky 1961, 72.5):

‘My shame goes in my punishment / like death I have been forgotten / upon abandoning my family / my brothers and the house of my father.’ (Isaac ben Khalfun)

The following composition, in mutaqārib metre (Brody 1894, II:176), repeats the same kind of technique as found in the previous example. The use of modifications is free: for instance, the ẓalm modification (ziḥāf) is applied not only to the filling feet (ḥašw), as is usual in mutaqārib metre, but also to the ḥarb and ‘arūd. Ḥazm—a modification not typically used in mutaqārib metre—is also freely applied at the beginning of the second verse to a filling foot that has been affected by ḥadf, a modification characteristic of the ‘arūd and ḥarb (ʿilāl):

‘An Introduction to Andalusi Hebrew Metrics
‘Whoever decides and executes / is in the highest Heavens / and over the faraway sea / His justice shines
Man is not the master of his route / rather it is by His rules / his molten image is a lie / and he endeavours in vain.’ (Judah Halevi)

2.0. Muwaššaḥ

2.1. Samuel ibn Nagrela (Cordoba 993–Granada 1056)

The following muwaššaḥ (Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona 1998, 202), with prelude (tāmmn), has six verses of five segments, i.e., muḥammās form. The segments consist of three aḡsān and two asmāt, each of one stich (muṣṭṭar), without internal rhymes (sādiq). The poem’s ḥarqa is in Arabic.

The poem uses madīd metre (muḡarrad) in manhūk verse, the darb being modified with ḥadf (ꦥสถานี anus →sans =). According to the classical rules, in manhūk verse, ḥadf can also be applied to the same foot a second time (杵 anus →sans =), which is, moreover, the model proposed by the ḥarğa. The filling foot can be modified with ḥabn (杵 anus →sans =). The poem’s metrical structure is as follows: ḥaṣw darb, i.e.,sans =. I follow Corriente’s reading (1997, 197).

\[
\text{Restore the text here.}
\]
The fire of passion has been lit / in me, how can I contain myself?
I am consumed by a love / that ensconced itself by my side / it attacked me like the Sabaeans | it ignited fervently / and rent my heart.
My tears, upon spilling one day, / revealed the secret of my heart. / What will you say to the beloved? | There is no reason for my tears / how can I prove my innocence?
Tell them in my name / my pleading words: / Give yourself no rest, no! | Give a heart that suffers apart / the friendship that has broken!
Console me, console me, / my bowels groan, / from intense pains | sleep has left me / it has escaped, it has gone.
Broken hearts / call out, they embrace, / they urge my heart | to embrace: let us embrace, / let us join together, let us kiss each other!
A song, my beloved, sings / [...] / with a love song he responds: | LOVERS, EMBRACE EACH OTHER, / MY GOD, DO NOT SEPARATE.’

2.2. Solomon ibn Gabirol (Malaga 1021–Valencia 1058)

The following muwaṣṣah (Jarden 1975, 24), with prelude (tāmm), has five verses of four segments, i.e., murabbaʿ form. The segments are three ağşān and one simṭ, each of two stichs (muzuḍawīḍ), with internal rhymes (muraṣṣaʿ), in both the ḏarb of the rounds (dawr) and that of the refrains (qufl). The poem’s harḡa is in Arabic.

The poem uses basīṭ metre (muḡarrad) in manhūk verse, with two types of ḏarb, both modified with qatʿ (פאעִל → פַּאעִלְּן) and (משתלְעַל → מַפְּעֻולְּן). The filling foot (משתלְעַל) does not undergo any modifications throughout the composition.

The poem’s metrical structure is as follows: ḏarb ḏarb / ḥašw ḏarb ḏarb, i.e., מַפְּעֻולְּן פַּאעִלְּן / מַפְּעֻולְּן פַּאעִלְּן. I follow Corriente’s reading (1997, 176).
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הסיד וא ספור / חסド חמה אמר גמר
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הוא יצקים השרי אמצ אושר מוג לא קומר
‘What affects you, that you walk in bitterness, / my beloved, if I have red wine? 

Its appearance changes in the glass in seven colours. / It looks weak, but it is like a lion cub when it enters your bowels. / It stutters, but with its colour it mocks the sages of Egypt. | It has not changed its cask, / hence, oh gazelle, its aroma has not grown weak.

When it is awakened from its hiding place from its jug, a joyful flame is stoked. / For it I would give my life as ransom for the fire that enflames the sorrows of the heart. / The heart of the poor one, after having drunk it, becomes stronger than he who takes a city. | With it you will rejoice / while God preserves your spirit.

In the days of the prince, he was chosen by God from amongst all the peoples; / radiantly shines his reign seven times, like the light of the seven days. / God has distin-
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guished his house so that it will be, before Him, an eternal abode. | He is compassionate, and if He says / that He will show mercy, He will promptly keep his word. He is Isaac, the prince, a jug in which wine is never wanting, / but it is a wine of prudent science so as to give life to all men. / Only he has been recruited by God to be the captain; | with his sword he sunders / all the haughty ones who have boasted of their people. The entire land before him, with a voice of joy, gladdens. / The forever consecrated, on account of joy annul their vows, / and like drunks, their voices rise, calling for wine: | Drunkard, hey, you rascal / where is the road to the innkeeper’s house?"

2.3. Moses ibn Ġiqatila (Cordoba c. 1000–Zaragoza c. 1060)

The following muwaṣṣṣaḥ (Brody 1936, 3), with prelude (tāmm), has four verses of four segments, i.e., murabbāʾ form. The segments are three aḡsān, each of one stich (mušṭṭar), and one qufl aʿrāḡ (called ‘lame’ due to the loss of its filling foot), without internal rhymes (sāḏīğ). The poem’s ḥarrga is in Hebrew.

The poem uses kāmil metre (muḡarrad) in manhūk verse, its ḏarb being modified with ḥazl and tarfil (םועטיללווטלנלו). The ḏarb can alternatively appear modified with waqs and tarfil (םועטיללווטלנלו), or with idmār and tarfil (םועטיללווטלנלו). The filling foot can be modified with idmār (םועטיללווטלנלו → מועטיללווטלנלו), and augmented with ḥazl and tarfil (םועטיללווטלנלו → מועטיללווטלנלו → מועטיללווטלנלו), or with idmār and tarfil (םועטיללווטלנלו → מועטיללווטלנלו → מועטיללווטלנלו).

The poem’s metrical structure is as follows: hašw ḏarb (+ ḏarb in refrains), i.e., מועטיללווטלנלו מועטיללווטלנלו מועטיללווטלנלו / מועטיללווטלנלו.
The works of God are sought / in the congregation of the holy.
With His puff he clears the Heavens, / like a burnished mirror and resistant rock, / hope of the remotest parts and far-off seas. | His compassion with all souls / is renewed every day.
The Lord is stunningly strong, perfect knowledge, / with no parallel nor form, / unfathomable are His wonders
and qualities. | Master craftsmen are struck dumb / and the skilled charmers.
His Glory is sung by a multitude of Seraphim / all together, in the hundreds and thousands / unconditionally faithful | for they do not tire like humans, / who are weak.
Against them, the cherubim, raised on high / in His name forcefully and fearfully / only they proffer truth and integrity | WITHOUT BEHAVING LIKE PEOPLE, / WHO TURN TO SORCERESSES.’

2.4. Moses ibn Ezra (Granada c. 1055–Estella a. 1138)
The following muwaşšaḥ (Brody 1936, 249), with prelude (tāmm), has five verses of five segments, i.e., muḥammas form. The segments are three aḡsān and two asmāṭ, each of one stich (mušṭṭar), without internal rhymes (sādiq). The poem’s ḥarğa is in Hebrew.

The poem uses basīṭ metre (muğarrad) in mağzū’ verse, its ʿarb being modified with ḥabn (כַּאֶשֶר לְּבָבִי). The filling feet can be modified with tayy (כַּאֶשֶר לְּבָבִי) and with ḥabn (כַּאֶשֶר לְּבָבִי). The poet plays with the reader in the prelude (כַּאֶשֶר לְּבָבִי) and at the beginning of the fourth strophe (כַּאֶשֶר לְּבָבִי), confusing him with the scansion by forcing him to make the gutturals quiescent, so that the metre is not confused with kāmil (כַּאֶשֶר לְּבָבִי). In the first simṭ of the second qūfī, the guttural in (כַּאֶשֶר לְּבָבִי) must also be quiescent to meet the demands of the metre.

The poem’s metrical structure is as follows: ḥašw ḥašw ʿarb, i.e., כַּאֶשֶר לְּבָבִי.
The desire of my heart and my eyes / is a fawn by my side and a glass at my right hand.
Many are my censors, but I do not listen to them / come, oh roe! and I will crush them / Destiny consumes them,
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death grazes on them! | Come, oh roe! Rise up and cure me / with the nectar of your lips, satiate me. Why do they make my heart giddy, why? / If it is on account of sin and my fault, / I err due to your beauty, the Lord is there. | Heed not the words of my rebuker, / he is an obstinate one, come and try me! He let himself be seduced, and we went to his mother’s house, / he leaned his shoulder against the yoke of my burden; / night and day alone, I with him, | I relieved him of his clothing, and he undressed me; / I sucked his lips, and he sucked mine. When my heart was snatched through his eyes, / he found the yoke of my fault cumbersome, / he devised rebukes, his wrath was inflamed, | he yelled enraged: that’s enough, leave me! / Do not push me, do not mislead me! Do not consume me with your anger, oh roe!, / astonish me with your love, my friend, astonish me, / kiss your beloved and fulfil his wish: | IF YOU WANT TO GIVE LIFE, GIVE ME LIFE, / IF YOU WANT TO KILL, GIVE ME DEATH.’

2.5. Joseph ibn Saddik (Cordoba c. 1075–Zaragoza 1141)

The following muwaṣṣaḥ (David 1982, 1), with prelude (tāmm), has five verses of five segments, i.e., muḥammas form. The segments are three aḡṣān and two asmāṭ, each of two stichs (muẓdawiǧ), with internal rhymes (murassā). The poem’s ḥarğa is in Arabic.

The poem uses basīṭ metre (muḡarrad) in manhūk verse, its ḏarb being modified with qaṭ‘ (נסע זע → נבע). However, in the second simṭ of the last qufl before the ḥarğa, it seems to have been modified with ḥabn (נסע → נסע). The filling foot can be modified with tayy (נסע → נסע). In the first segment of the
harqa, the filling foot has been modified with habn (mashtef). The poem’s metrical structure is as follows: hašw ḏarb / hašw ḏarb + hašw, i.e., hašw ḏarb + hašw. I follow Corriente’s reading (1997, 206).

The poem’s metrical structure is as follows: hašw ḏarb / hašw ḏarb + hašw, i.e., hašw ḏarb + hašw. I follow Corriente’s reading (1997, 206).

The poem’s metrical structure is as follows: hašw ḏarb / hašw ḏarb + hašw, i.e., hašw ḏarb + hašw. I follow Corriente’s reading (1997, 206).
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Mussaf Masekhet

Mussaf Mussaf

A Psalm of David.

A psalm of David.

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A psalm of David.
‘My sleep, Oh! was stolen from me. / The sparrow in my tent, Oh! flew away. / My tears, Oh! spill. / My fawn, Oh! disappeared. Who will save me?

Music, stretch your fingers out / so that your flute will rouse sweet harmony; / although silent, it will send out / clear sounds, as if it were your voice, it will sing. / Press (chords) of three and four (notes) / with your left hand on the mouth of your lyre. | Save the songs on your lips, / so that the sound does not cease from the mouth of the instrument / at times it intensifies / and other times it subsides, and not from weakness.

With it all pain is forgotten; / with it anger passes; it holds sway over / all joy and cheering. / No doubt a nobleman from the town skilfully built / it, like a thigh / attached to the foot, with a cypress branch. | Like a baby at the breast, / it says: “Yes, Jubal is my maker”. / It gladdens the mourning heart, / which groans under the yoke of exile, and me as well.

Come near and do not go away, / and in the shade of the abode of the fawn come protect yourself. / Move your hand and press the chords; / make beautiful melodies brilliantly, / like the fingers of the prince Isaac / who with the writing quill captures the moments. | How light and noble / is his quill! With the speed of a wheel it glides over golden fields, it drinks from the fountain of / its splendour until it shines as the well drinks.
The quill, like a dart, sharpens its point; / with its mouth it shuts the mouth of the powerful; / it places words on the plate of the scale / that rise on it as bound by law. / Its slide is light like that of an eagle; / its message is like rain for those who clamour for it. | Adorn yourself with greatness, / because you have crowned the pinnacle of beauty without / an edit, and be proud, / because your name is a jewel on a splendid throat.

Power singled you out / to set foot in the loftiness of his chariot; for you he wished / wisdom, when you called / for her, everything hidden in her heart was revealed to you. / Not like the love of a gazelle who, / when the lover spoke to her, responded in vain: | “MY BELOVED LEAVES / WHEN HE HAS HARDLY SAT DOWN: WHAT PATIENCE AM I GOING TO HAVE? / I MUST ENDURE SO MUCH, / BUT WHAT IS THERE TO DO FOR A PERSON WHO HAS FALLEN IN LOVE”.

2.6. Judah Halevi (Tudela c. 1075–Alexandria 1141)

The following muwaššaḥ (Brody 1894, I:111), with prelude (tāmm), has five verses of five segments, i.e., muhammas form. The segments are three aḡsān and two asmāṭ, each of one stich (mušaṭṭar), without internal rhymes (sāḏiḡ). The poem’s ḫarḡa is in Romance.

The poem uses basīṭ metre (muḡarrad) in maḡzū’ verse, its ḏarb being modified with qaṭ’ (מספקל → מסתפקל). Both filling feet can be modified with ḥabn (פсалטיק → מסתפקל ומסתפקל). The poem’s metrical structure is as follows: ḥašw ḥašw ḏarb, i.e., מסתפקל פแสนל מסתפקל. I follow Corriente’s reading (1997, 283).
5. Strophic Poetry

שלום בנבר בשתייה נגל
והוא י🐫ופק את הדה
שואלמקה בראשה רוח
ולימה ממשהו חדהל

לב בפגו לאפר היפוך
כשתוחד בברד ישוק
וכאמ שעלה באברל ישוק

כי מפורחי בנפש חזה
קרות ללבב כמות חזה

כ WHATSOEVER בבריר מששו
כי בג אני מביך לא שהה
דע את הלאות בתהו

 hatırla
 bais התים-cat שרשך קלח / Dud כי בפועיש יידך חל

כارية והפועש המשך
כי דתי נפשי חל

זוד גנוזה הלכותOfWork / זוד בקראה חלות אורן / זו אוכרנהזו ערן

כי ערני אא לארים כל / אחוגי אחלים לפין גמל

לה אלישת מתות במיוחד / אחורי אשר הנטאות עוזר / חלד החקים באלה

אמר
בש שרבוט לא לול / לךון מאורן ולא יהול

שה גנוזה לא לול / לךון מאורן ולא יהול

כارية והפועש המשך
כיאה אפור בלויח
כיאורי
בגיא לפשכיה אתי שבאתל / בב אלי כרינן פראל.
‘Greetings to the man whose joy was exiled / there is no one to console him, Oh! there is not.
The departure of Joseph turned my heart in a furnace / but the dispossession of Judah runs through my bowels / and the pain of the third brother increases my sorrow | for their griefs hang from my soul, / my heart is pierced, just like theirs.
Moses, my lord, for you I would give my soul; / neither must I silence my cry / for in a harsh vision misfortune reached me: | when like an eagle it flew lightly, it did not back down / until it consumed my soul that loves you.
The first has already been renounced by the hearts, / the image of the second I only see in dreams; / one I remember and the other escapes me. | How high can my eyes lift up? / It is there that God reveals Himself to me.
Woe unto the beloved man buried in the dust, / he held amongst the celestial bodies! / Their favours ceased, as if they contained | generous rains, and stopped flowing / when they saw that his lights were not shining.
The song of the separated brother is in my heart, it calls; / it sings like the maiden whose heart is restless, / because it is ready, but her beloved is not coming: | PASSOVER IS BUT A FAST WITHOUT HIM / HOW MY HEART BURNS FOR HIM.’

3.0. Muʿāraḍa

This literary device was common amongst the Andalusi Hebrew poets. One poet would dedicate or send a composition to another, and the recipient had to reproduce the metre and rhyme of the original composition in his response. In the case of a muwaššaḥ, the entire metrical and rhythmic structure had to be imitated, using the same ḥarģa.
The following examples are a pair of compositions that follow this technique. The first (David 1982, 8) is by Joseph ibn Saddik, and the second (Brody 1894, I:93) is the corresponding response by Judah Halevi, who took advantage of the opportunity to make technical improvements, and dedicated it to Moses ibn Ezra.

Both are examples of a bald muwaššaḥ (aqraʿ), with five verses of six segments, i.e., musaddas form. The segments are four ağsān and two asmāʾ. The rounds (dawr) have one stich (mušatṭar) and the refrains (qufl) have two (muzdawiḥ), in addition to being thoroughly inlaid (murassāḥ) with all sorts of internal rhymes. The ḥarğa is in Arabic.

The poems use sarīʿ metre (μuğarrad) in tāmm verse, the ḏarb being modified with šalm (Masāl). The ‘arūḍ may be modified either with tayy and kašf (Masāl), or with ḥabl and kašf (Masāl), since, according to the classical rules, this type of ḏarb can accept either variant. The filling foot can be modified with ḥabn (Masāl) or with ṭayy (Masāl).

The poems’ metrical structure is as follows: hašw ‘arūḍ ḏarb in the rounds, i.e.,, Masāl Masāl Masāl Masāl, and hašw hašw hašw ‘arūḍ ḏarb in the refrains, i.e.,, Masāl Masāl Masāl Masāl Masāl Masāl Masāl Masāl. I follow Corriente’s reading (1997, 157).

/ Masāl Masāl Masāl Masāl Masāl Masāl Masāl Masāl
/ Masāl Masāl Masāl Masāl

للماشبوة ولأتيه / نود أهوبين أوقفها / أشرف كحيل مبكرى / أولي
فتوح أفرى
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משתפעים / מתחפשים / פסלי פסטיל /ับ בכסף /ברihar כסף /לสย פשת /זרז אויר
משתפעים / מתחפשים / פסלי פסטיל /
מצוד יחידי
משתפעים / מתחפשים / פסלי פסטיל / לרפא אובל /רפיי כביד
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הבה אסבה אשת המש /בי נשאה בבליל ויסף /נברד לכל מהמד אסף /أفراد שכ
עזורי בקשת
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бро בבליל /צורף פליל /עדק כליל /על חות הלי
משתפעים / מתחפשים / פסלי פסטיל
וד מהל /אישא שלל /למי חווים /למי חדים
משתפעים פשטיל פסטיל / מתחפשים פסטיל פסטיל / מתחפשים פסטיל פסטיל

⨯perc №1졌егן 쉽
משתפעים / מתחפשים / פסלי פסטיל
עוף בבליל /ﺶמק בבליל /דית באנגל /יווה חדית
משתפעים / מתחפשים / פסלי פסטיל
משתפעים פשטיל פסטיל / מתחפשים פסטיל פסטיל
מיטים לשאול /Άνοι /_leaf / pellet
משתפעים פשטיל פסטיל / מתחפשים פסטיל פסטיל / מתחפשים פסטיל פסטיל

סוב אדהל מון ביטון /ז髪 ב髪 כחתיו /אלו קול בקHQ צו /הלות בּּומלה
⨯perc №1졌егן 쉽
משתפעים / מתחפשים / פסלי פסטיל
מואד בוהול /אוש בע בוהול /תרפה יוהול /כל בעי מדיה
משתפעים / מתחפשים / פסלי פסטיל
משתפעים פשטיל פסטיל / מתחפשים פסטיל פסטיל
יהושוובהל /יווש בוהול /עופי צו /לד במרבדי
The night thinking, I am going to awaken the heart / remembering the departure of my loved ones / I would writhe with the pain of a new mother / if I did not recognize their faces. | The Bear and Canopus / in a fruitless dispute / over a false prophet / argues against me. / My affliction corrodes / my heart without / fail, certainly / my physician is my jug.

I am going to extinguish the fire of passion. / It invades me on account of Joseph. / Esteemed by all who collect delicacies. / A substantial crop, pouch of silver | cleaned, in crucibles / purified, judge of / unabridged justice / amongst all those who I regard highly. / Pure in action / I will intone, spoils of / blessing, praise / for him throughout my life.

Since the days of old his ancestors have been convened / most are astonishing testimonies / who loaded [the Ark of the Covenant] on shoulders / they find them in their heart. | Merry fawn, / rotating sun, / religion is with him, the tendril / of mercy and majesty adorns him. / Redeem the unjust / ask whatever you please / I will grant it and / my virtue will never desert you.

His tent is better than an inner courtyard. / Fate during his life is like a bridegroom. / God has granted him the
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gift of the word / so that in wisdom he will be an imposing | and limitless sea. / Now a great house / increases the harvest of / all my fruit trees / the beloved fully lives / with the community of / my people, he screams with joy, / he passes the night where my necklace lies.
Wisdom has its loves / with a cantabile poem it gives witness / so that his friend is satisfied / he sent him an emissary pleading: | FOR GOD’S SAKE, MESSENGER, / SHOW THE FRIEND / HOW TO ARRIVE / SO THAT HE CAN SLEEP WITH ME! / BEHIND THE CURTAINS / I WILL GIVE HIM MY HAIR / DESPITE THE TORMENT [IT CAUSES ME] / AND I WILL ADD MY BREAST.’

לְּמֻסְתַּפְּעִלֻן פַּאעִל פַּאעִל פַּאעִל / מֻסְתַּפְּעִלֻן פַּאעִל פַּאעִל פַּאעִל / מֻסְתַּפְּעִלֻן פַּאעִל פַּאעִל פַּאעִל

אָתָה גֶּלֶת סְדֵד מִי אַטְּמִין / כֹּס מִשְּמֹאֵל דֶּד מִיֵּין / אֶשְׁר רֶבֶד בְּּד אַל אָסְמִין

רַק אָשַׁמְּאִילָה אָמִית / מְחַמְּפַעִלֻן מָסְתַּפְּעִלֻן פַּאעִל פַּאעִל / מְחַמְּפַעִלֻן מָסְתַּפְּעִלֻן פַּאעִל פַּאעִל

אָמ אָהָרָל שְׁמַקְּה וּּגִלְּעַד רָוָהּ נֶדְי / אֶמ אֶבֶל חְוֵד אֱלִיל בַּשׁוּב בֵּאָבֵל

כָּל בּוֹ יָהֵל

פְּי כָּזוֹ בְּּפָי עָפֹר צָפֶה / יֵינָנִי הַעֲלָה אֲנַל פֹּה / אַי לֵי בָּמוּסְרְךָ מַרְּפֵא / נָא קָט

מְעַט מִנִי הַרְּפֵא / מַפַּאעִל מְסַתַּפְּעִלֻן מְסַתַּפְּעִלֻן מְסַתַּפְּעִלֻן

לְּמֻסְתַּפְּעִלֻן פַּאעִל פַּאעִל פַּאעִל / מְסַתַּפְּעִלֻן פַּאעִל פַּאעִל פַּאעִל / מְסַתַּפְּעִלֻן פַּאעִל פַּאעִל פַּאעִל

פְּי כָּזוֹ בְּּפָי עָפֹר צָפֶה / יֵינָנִי הַעֲלָה אֲנַל פֹּה / אַי לֵי בָּמוּסְרְךָ מַרְּפֵא / נָא קָט

מְעַט מִנִי הַרְּפֵא / מַפַּאעִל מְסַתַּפְּעִלֻן מְסַתַּפְּעִלֻן מְסַתַּפְּעִלֻן

לְּמֻסְתַּפְּעִלֻן פַּאעִל פַּאעִל פַּאעִל / מְסַתַּפְּעִלֻן פַּאעִל פַּאעִל פַּאעִل / מְסַתַּפְּעִלֻן פַּאעִל פַּאעִל פַּאעִל

לְּמֻסְתַּפְּעִלֻן פַּאעִל פַּאעִל פַּאעִל / מְסַתַּפְּעִלֻן פַּאעִל פַּאעִל פַּאעִל / מְסַתַּפְּעִלֻן פַּאעִל פַּאעִל פַּאעִל
‘Discovered the secret, what I am going to hide. / A glass on the left, a lover on the right / Rebuker, stop! I don’t believe in you / I will turn left if you turn right. / If you are used to / joy and happiness, / Eden and Gile'
before me. / I am not going to mourn / for the time being
but / on happiness I will spend / what I have left.
My mouth is a glass in the mouth of a fawn, observe / my
wine and my fruit mouth to mouth. / I do not find help in
your advice. / Please, argue less, give me a break. |
Quack physician / I hear the kettledrum / joyous at the
rhythm of the / wine on the lip of my jug. / The fault-
finder increases / sorrows, stop! / I ask, like a pauper /
for tuberose from my roe
A poem with a soft melody, discover its secret. / My soul,
dedicated to the prince and his honour. / It is a rattle for
the cloak of its splendour. / Renew the embroidered writ-
ing in your hand. / Wholly embroidered / out of gold,
perfection of / the song, the Galilee / of the west adorns
you. / This is the culmination / of the praise / taking as
spoils / my dearest longing.
Wisdom has called Heman, / called Moses, the most faith-
ful of all my close friends, / you are the recipient of the
pleasure of my breast, / with the filament of a crimson lip
like manna. / Biscuit soaked / in honey, the height of /
beauty. The / laces from the edge of my clothing / untie
and discover / a breast raised like a wave / like the
breasts of the concubine / beautiful, and nibble at my
bosom.
By virtue of his love for him / this love poem concludes
with a poem of praise / to pass the night at his breast like
a pouch of myrrh / promise the faithful messenger that: |
FOR GOD’S SAKE, MESSENGER, SHOW THE FRIEND HOW TO AR-
RIVE SO THAT HE CAN SLEEP WITH ME! / BEHIND THE CURTAINS
I WILL GIVE HIM MY HAIR DESPITE THE TORMENT [IT CAUSES ME]
AND I WILL ADD MY BREAST.’
4.0. Ambiguous Metres (Muṣtabih)

At times, especially with strophic compositions, it is difficult to identify the metre. There are many possible reasons for this, ranging from a challenge presented to the reader by the author to the inclusion of biblical citations or improper use of the metre. The following composition by Moses ibn Ezra (Brody 1935, 259) is a clear example of mutadārak modified with qatʿ (מַשְׁאֵלָא פֶּאֶשֶׁא (סֶפְעֶל)) but it contains the occasional mutaqārib foot (פַּעֻולָן). This unexpected element is really the result of the free use of the ḥazm modification, which is here applied without restriction, rather than exclusively at the beginning of the verse, as prescribed by the classical rules.

I follow Corriente’s reading (1997, 233).

חַזַּמ קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל / פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט
כְּאֶבֶר קָעַט בַּעֲרָבָה / אַרְּעַמְּאֶב פַּעִיל בַּעֲרָב
פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט קָעַט / פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט
כְּאָדַב בַּעֲרָב פַּעִיל קָעַט / פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט
פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט קָעַט / פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט
כְּאָדַב בַּעֲרָב פַּעִיל קָעַט / פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט
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כְּאָדַב בַּעֲרָב פַּעִיל קָעַט / פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט
פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט קָעַט / פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט
כְּאָדַב בַּעֲרָב פַּעִיל קָעַט / פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט
פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט קָעַט / פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט
כְּאָדַב בַּעֲרָב פַּעִיל קָעַט / פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט
פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט קָעַט / פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט
כְּאָדַב בַּעֲרָב פַּעִיל קָעַט / פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט
פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט קָעַט / פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט
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פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט קָעַט / פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט
כְּאָדַב בַּעֲרָב פַּעִיל קָעַט / פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט
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כְּאָדַב בַּעֲרָב פַּעִיל קָעַט / פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט
פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט קָעַט / פַּעִיל קָعַט פַּעִיל קָעַט
כְּאָדַב בַּעֲרָב פַּעִיל קָעַט / פַּעִיל קָעַט פַּעִיל קָעַט
פַּעִיל קָעַט קָעַט בַּעֲרָב / פַּעִיל קָעַט בַּעֲרָב
פַּעִיל קָעַט קָעַט בַּעֲרָב / פַּעִיל קָעַט קָעַט בַּעֲרָב
פַּעִיל קָעַט קָעַט בַּעֲרָב / פַּעִיל קָעַט קָעַט בַּעֲרָב
פַּעִיל קָעַט קָעַט בַּעֲרָב / פַּעִיל קָעַט קָעַט בַּעֲרָב
פַּעִיל קָעַט קָעַט בַּעֲרָב / פַּעִיל קָעַט קָעַט בַּעֲרָב
On account of love my hands lose strength, / and because of separation my eyes cry.

From so much love my heart is broken, / but the pain of absence overwhelms me, / and through my eyes a torrent passes, / from the blood of my heart its waters are drawn, / and hence they never quiet.

Tears bathe my bed, / my pains have expanded so, / more so with the departure of Isaac, and the walls of my heart / are covered by sorrows, / that come deep into the core.

Since the day he left, my bliss has been exiled; / as he went away pains overcame me, / fears of death fell upon me, / my bones like a woodworm eaten away, / and burn with the fire of love.

The fawn is attired in precious robes, / he alone is cloaked in gracious beauty; / sweeter is his palate than nectar and honey / the eyes that gaze upon him, / never grow dim from watching.
The day of his separation to God on his behalf / I pray that his steps be firm / and under His wings he is sheltered: | MAY GOD KEEP THE FRIEND WHO LEAVES / PROTECT HIM WHEREVER HE MAY BE.’

This phenomenon is not exclusive to strophic poetry, but can also occur in classical pieces. For example, the following composition (Jarden 1992, 60.1) has two possible scansions:

פַאעִל פַעֻולֻן פַעֻולֻן
משתמעין לו פַאעִלַאתֻן
השם בלバック Denied

‘When sorrow reaches you / it leaves a scar on your heart.’ (Samuel ibn Nagrela Hanagid)

This verse and its analogues can be scanned as the *mağzū‘* form of *mutaqārib* (משתמעין לו פַאעִלַאתֻן → פַאעִל פַעֻולֻן פַעֻולֻן בלкцион), the first foot being modified with *talm* (משתמעין לְּּ פַאעִלַאתֻן → פַעֻולֻן פַעֻולֻן בלключение); or it can be scanned as *muğtat* (משתמעין לו פַאעִלַאתֻן → פַאעִל פַעֻולֻן מֻסְּתַפְּעִ לֻן פַאעִלַאתֻן). However, scanning it as *mutaqārib* involves the use of a *mağzū‘* form that is not used in the classical catalogue, and *muğtat* therefore strikes me as the more suitable option.

In this context, the *harm* modification—which, according to the classical rules, can only be applied to the beginning of each hemistich—can in fact appear in any instance of the פַאעִלַאתֻן foot in *tawil* metre, even those that do not come first in their hemistichs. Similarly free use of *harm* occurs in *musammat* form, as discussed above. This use of *harm* can create a new fixed sequence devoid of even the slightest remains of the original foot (Pagis 1967, 1.1–2; Brody 1894, I:20.2):
Having found the source of my life I will dedicate my purpose / before the days return me to the ground
If it were wise, my soul pursues the wind / because it is alone, this would be my earthly reward.’ (Levi ibn Altabban)

‘And a roe in his hand a glass of wine and when he drinks it / it looks to me as if the sun kissed the moon.’ (Judah Halevi)

One of the most famous examples of this free use of the *harm* modification is the poem that Ibn Gabirol dedicated to Samuel ibn Nagrela, in *tawil* metre with *pe’* rhyme (Brody and Schirmann 1974, 4):
Who is she who like the dawn rises and reveals herself? /
She shines like the sun, pure and beautiful.
Noble like the king’s daughter, tender, delicate, / her scent is like burnt myrrh and incense. 
Her cheek is like a rose flushed with blood; / I see her spells although she is not a sorceress. 
She adorns herself with jewels of gold and pearls, / and is covered with sapphire gems. 
Like the crescent moon is the crown above her head, / everything she is, is onyx and jasper. 
If she revealed herself in the distance, I would think / it is a dove leaping and flitting about the field. 
When I saw her, I ran to her, / and upon seeing me she hid her face. 
Where are you going, where? The day is far spent, / look at the world that without light would be like the darkness. 
She moved her lips to answer me, / it was as if honey spilled and dripped over them: 
I rise to see Samuel the seer, / to circle his house. 
Then I responded: Don’t go, no, for / while you live you will not be able to see him, 
for he has died and descended to Sheol; because of his deep affection, / his love for you he became spent and died. 
Go to that Samuel who has set up in our land, / as did the other one in Ramah and Mizpah. 
He studied science, he understood the secret of the arcane. / That which was exiled and scattered he knew how to gather; 
he took its spoils and placed them in his treasuries, / trusting in its gold and silver gems. 
My beloved, my soulmate, you are the balm for pain, / for every illness you are the cure and remedy.
Much have I loved you, there is no end to my love for you. / Here I am, appraise me and my heart, with this, endeavours.
Out of love for you it praises you / with many pure words.
All words tremble before it, / they all blush and cover themselves in shame.’

Finally, the following example (Brody and Albrecht 1906, 5), is a musammat murabba’ that tries to maintain the mustatil metre, but unsuccessfully. At first glance, it seems to be a clear example of bad verse. It is a very early composition, signed in an acrostic by Isaac ibn Kapron (or Qafrūn, Cordoba, 10th century), who inserts and metrically integrates biblical citations here and there, including their scansion in brackets:
I remain afraid of (Deut. 9.19) / the Creator of the heavens / I cannot find words / my lips are mute; Young and dejected / I will benefit from Your favour / like the friendly old man / upright in his ways; I hope for Your mercy / with a firm heart / I will not keep talking / for I am young in years (Job 32.6). I begin my prayer / with the permission of the great and small / Lord! I open my pleading mouth / take pity on me When I beseech You / listen to me, because in You / the poor commit themselves unto You / Lord, eternal Rock! Full of light! from Your abode / do not hide Your eyes / avenge Yourself with Your right hand / God! of Your adversaries. They have destroyed Your Sanctuary / they have dragged me / on my feet they have put / snares and nets (Eccl. 7.26). Our honour is sullied / our heart, ill / because we have no father / we have been orphaned. They distress and humiliate us / they take us to the bonfire / with axes and hammers (Ps. 74.6) / they tear down Your Sanctuary.
In every country / scattered and scorned / they mock us / a shaking of the head amongst the people (Ps. 44.15);
They conspire and lash out / they plough over my sword / night and day / they whisper against me.
Return Your joy to me / and hear my prayer! / God!,
King seated / upon the throne of mercy.’

5.0. Hybrid Compositions

In the field of religious poetry, the Hebrew poets developed hybrid strophic forms in which they combined all the free uses of modifications associated with musammat with some strophic structures that changed in each segment. This technique appears to have been prompted by the insertion of biblical citations that spawned the composition and gave it its theme, as if they were a biblical ḥarqa.

The following example (Brody and Albrecht 1906, 52) is one of the most famous religious poems by any Andalusi Hebrew poet and is in fact still recited to this day. It is a strophic composition by the poet Judah ibn Bilʿam (with an acrostic signature), in hazag maḡzū metre, in which both the two types of darb accepted by this metre (מאשעטן and מאשעטן) are used. The filling feet appear with all the modifications permitted by the classical rules: kaff (מאשעטן → מאשעטן), qabḍ (מאשעטן → מאשעטן), harm (מאשעטן → מאשעטן), harb (מאשעטן → מאשעטן), and šitr (מאשעטן → מאשעטן). The introduction of the biblical passage at the end of the last strophe (pizmon) can produce alterations in the metre. I have not scanned the biblical citations.

In any event, what is important in this case is the strophic structure. The poem is made up of five verses of four segments
whose rhyme appears to be *aaaa bbba ccca ddda eeea*; as can be seen, the first original monorhyme verse gives rise to four others with a *musammat* form. In the second and third verses, furthermore, the poet even seems to be trying out a type of internal rhyme between the first hemistichs.
Upon remembering on my bed / the arrogance of my heart and its sins / I rise and go / to the temple of my Lord and his chambers. / I say when I lift my eyes in prayer to the heavens || *let us now fall into the hands of the Lord, for his mercies are great* (2 Sam. 24.14).

To You, my God, Rock of my strength / my refuge in my anguish. / In You, my trust, my hope / my energy in my exile / To You, all the requests of my heart / and all my desires are presented. / Redeem your servant who yells out from his accusers and enemies soon || *let us now fall into the hands of the Lord, for his mercies are great* (2 Sam. 24.14).
Hear me, Oh Lord, hear me (1 Kgs 18.37) / when I plead from my predicament. / Do not scorn the wretchedness of the wretched / who yells from the fury of anguish. / The peoples know that / Your hand is not short / and he who wrested justice, recognizes and accepts his faults || let us now fall into the hands of the Lord, for his mercies are great (2 Sam. 24.14).

Wherefore doth a living man complain (Lam. 3.39) and affirm, / what he is going to say and justify. / Mud work lacking value, / his body is like fine dust. / What shall be given unto thee (Ps. 120.3), man / if the work is bad or it is just. / Perhaps these are not his words and acts recorded in the count of his days || let us now fall into the hands of the Lord, for his mercies are great (2 Sam. 24.14).

At midnight / your servants arose with their praise. / The purity of the patriarchs, remember them, / and do not look at their bad deeds. / Holy One of Jacob, look at his misery / and do not judge them by their acts. / Exalted be God who makes peace on high || let us now fall into the hands of the Lord, for his mercies are great (2 Sam. 24.14).

Something similar occurs in the poem by Judah Halevi, musammat murmabā' in mutaqārib metre, discussed earlier in the section on musammat (Brody 1894, II:176). The poet describes a storm at sea, closing every strophe (or verse) with Psalm 139.7. This verse may even determine the metre of the poem, since it can be scanned correctly as mutaqārib, with modifications characteristic of the metre, which the poet applies throughout the composition (אָנָֻ֣ה אְֵ֭לֵך מֵרוּחֶ֑ךָ וְְ֝אָָ֗ה מִפָָּ֘נֶָ֥יךָ אֶבְּרַָֽח:). The metre is ambiguous, because it also uses modifications typical of mutadārak, but the predominance of the foot confirms that this is indeed mutaqārib. The filling feet are modified with qabḍ (פָעֻולֻן → פָעֻול) and talm (פָעֻולֻן → פָעֻול).
5. Strophic Poetry

פַאעִל, as in mutaqārib. However, they also appear modified with habn (פַעִלּ), and even, at the end of the poem, with syllables added to the beginning using hazm (פַעִלִון → פַעִלֻן), both modifications that are characteristic of mutadārak. Nevertheless, it does not seem that the high number of פַעִלֻן feet is the result of extending the modified mutadārak foot with hazm (פַעִלִון → פַעִלֻן); rather, this foot marks the poem’s metre.

Altogether, this composition is made up of five large blocks that are structured and rhymed in an unusual and experimental way. Each block begins with a letter of the name of the author (יְּהוּדָה) and each is made up of six verses plus a refrain, or pizmon, which always finishes with the biblical citation (Psalms 139.7). The first strophe maintains the rhyme of the passage in Psalms, i.e., /aaaaaa a/, while the others have their own internal rhyme, only recovering the rhyme of the biblical citation at the end, as if this were musammat, i.e., /bbbbbbaa/, /ccccccaa/, /ddddddeeeeeeaa/:
An Introduction to Andalusi Hebrew Metrics

Ane Ayal Mehrorah Anah Maqdiq' Abirah:

Ane Ayal Mehrorah Anah Maqdiq' Abirah:

Ane Ayal Mehrorah Anah Maqdiq' Abirah:

Ane Ayal Mehrorah Anah Maqdiq' Abirah:
5. Strophic Poetry

A unique form of Hebrew poetry, strophic poetry follows a strict pattern of repetition and variation. Each strophe (or stanza) contains the same number of lines and follows a predetermined meter.

Here is an example of a strophic Hebrew poem:

חֵן הִבְדִי, לְהַגְרוּ רַחֲמֵי אֲדוֹנִי
וֹסַר וְנַעֲשֵׂה לְךָ הַגָּדֹה
וַאֲדֹנִי לָכֶם אַלּוֹ דְּרַשְׁבוּ
וְאֵין קוֹל חֲרָדָה

This poem is composed of strophes that follow a four-line pattern, with each line containing the same number of syllables.

The Hebrew text of this strophic poem is as follows:

פַעוּלֻן פַאעִל
פַאעִל פַעוּלֻן
פַאוּל פַאוּל
לְמָשָׁה אָסֶפֶת
בֶּשֶׂדֶי יִמְי אֵיתָן
פַאוּל פַאוּל
פַאוּל פַאוּל
וְזֶ הַלִּוְּיָתָן
בְּּעַד יָם אֵיתָן
יַקְּדִיש כְּחָתָן
לְּמִשְּתֶה אֲסוּפָיו
פַאוּל פַאוּל
פַאוּל פַאוּל
וְיָד אֻקְּיָנוֹס
תֶּאֱהַב לִכְּנוֹס
וְאָבַד מָנוֹס
וְאֶפֶס מִבְּרָח
אָנָֻ֣ה אְֵ֭לֵך מֵרוּחֶ֑ךָ וְְ֝אָָ֗נָה מִפָָּ֘נֶָ֥יךָ אֶבְּרַָֽח
דַּלוּ עֵינַי
נֶגְּדְּךָ אֲדוֹנִי
וְאֶת תַחֲנוּנַי
שַי אָשִיבָה
אֶחֱרַד לְּעִתַי
וְאֶרְּגַז תַחְּתַי
וְקוֹל בֶּן אֲמִתַי
לְךָ אַקְרִיבָה
בְּּזָכְּרִי יָם סוּף
אֲשֶר לֹא יָסוּף
עָרֵב וְכָסוּף
שִיר אֵיטִיבָה
וְּנוֹרְּּוָֽת יַרְּדֵן
בָּם אֶתְּעַדֵן
וּכְּמוֹ בְּעֵדֶן
לֵב אַרְּחִיבָה
לְמַמְּתִיק מָרָה
וְהוֹפֵך לְּעֶזְּרָה
יוֹם אַף וְּעֶבְּרָה
וְיוֹם מְּרִיבָה
וְּהָעֵינַיִם
לְאֵל שָמַיִם
נוֹתֵן בְּּמַיִם
עַזִּים נְּתִיבָה
חֹם אַדְּמָתוֹ
מֵחַמָתוֹ
וּמִנִשְּמָתוֹ
יִתֵן קָרַח
אָנָֻ֣ה אְֵ֭לֵך מֵרוּחֶ֑ךָ וְְ֝אָָ֗נָה מִפָָּ֘נֶָ֥יךָ אֶבְּרַָֽח
הֵשִיב חֲמָתוֹ
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לַעֲשוֹת שְּלוֹמוֹת
בֵּין הַתְּהוֹמוֹת
וְאֵין קוֹל חֲרָדָה
וְּשָמְּעוּעֲגוּמִיםלְּמַלְּאַךְ רַחֲמֵי אֲדוֹנִי:
חֵן הִבְדִי, לְהַגְרוּ רַחֲמֵי אֲדוֹנִי
וֹסַר וְנַעֲשֵׂה לְךָ הַגָּדֹה
וַאֲדֹנִי לָכֶם אַלּוֹ דְּרַשְׁבוּ
וְאֵין קוֹל חֲרָדָה

The Hebrew text is followed by a translation into English, which maintains the strophic structure and captures the essence of the original poem.
'Whoever decides and executes / is in the highest Heavens / and over the faraway sea / His justice shines. | Man is not the master of his route, / rather it is by His rules, / his molten image is a lie / and he endeavours in vain. | From the well he rises / one day, he hastens to cross / the seas, he is pleased like an athlete / running his race. | His sin twists him; / there are traps along the way; / he asks for a west wind, / and the east wind blows on him. | He knows he will never / with his strengths and his understanding / raise his standard, / nor will he depart, nor follow his path. | He turns to give thanks / with a trembling soul / but out of exhaustion / he screams in a bitter voice: || Whither shall I go from thy spirit? Whither shall I flee from thy presence? (Ps. 139.7) The waves roar / with the turning of wheels; / they are thick and insignificant / on the surface of the sea. | The heavens darken, / the waters redden, / the depths rise up, / their crests mount; | the eddies boil, / the clamour resounds, / with no one to subdue / the fierce din. | The strong weaken, / the waters cleave in two, / half are valleys, / the other half mountains. | The vessel, aching, / goes up and down, / eyes search for / the helmsmen, where are they. | My heart is at peace, / I wait upon the Saviour, / as in the hands of Moses, / Aaron and Miriam.
I invoke my Lord, / I fear for my faults, / that my entreaties will not / be a burden. || Whither shall I go from thy spirit? Whither shall I flee from thy presence? (Ps. 139.7)
The sea grows rough / and intensifies, it creaks / the masts and / the wind splatters its foam. | Their pride is vanquished, / their captain panics, / the mast is sapped / from unfurling the sails. | It boils without fire, / the heart despairs, / while irritated by / the oar of its rowers. | Its pilots falter, / the crew is drained, / its sailors dazed, / the watch blinded. | The boat, like a drunkard / who staggers and sneers / peddles for free / to those who dwell inside. | There is Leviathan, / powerful in the boundless seas / reciting the Kaddish like a bridegroom / to the banquet guests. | The hand of the ocean / wants to bring them in. / No refuge remains / nor escape route. || Whither shall I go from thy spirit? Whither shall I flee from thy presence? (Ps. 139.7)
My eyes blur / before You, Lord / my supplications / like an offering I present. | I fear for my life, / I tremble underfoot. / The cry of the son of Amittai / I offer to You. | Remembering the Red Sea / which is never forgotten, / with pleasure and passion / I write a poem; | the miracles of the Jordan / with them I am satisfied / and as in Eden / I widen my heart | to whoever sweetens the bitterness, / who comes to the aid / on a day of rage and irritation / and the day of the waters of Meribah. | Both eyes / on the God of the Heavens / who opens a way / in the rough waters. | The heat of His Earth / comes from His rage / and with His breath / He gives us ice. || Whither shall I go from thy spirit? Whither shall I flee from thy presence? (Ps. 139.7)
He withdrew his rage / from the son of His slave girl / and his soul / saved from Sheol. | The heights wanted / to make peace / with the abysses / and the terrified
scream ceased. | The jealous waters / He made tallow / the fear dispersed / and the anguish concluded. | The afflicted heard / the angel of mercy, / from on high, / the sound of footfalls. | Thus the good news shall be given / to the people oppressed in captivity / with the hostile hand and castigation / weighing on them. | She who is roughed up and humiliated / is like the vessel, / she will once again hear / a song of thanksgiving. | Go out, daughter of my faithful, / of my tenebrous clouds, / because the glory of the Lord / towers over you. || *Whither shall I go from thy spirit? Whither shall I flee from thy presence?* (Ps. 139.7)’
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**TRANSCRIPTION GUIDE**

**Arabic**

No hyphen is used between the definite article and name.

**Consonants**

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Long Vowels

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Short Vowels

- ḍamma: u
- fatḥa: a
- kasra: i

Hebrew

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Of the bgd kpt set, only the fricatives bkp are distinguished with diacritics.

Vowels

Vowel length is only represented in the case of the simple vocalic šēwaʾ and its compounds.

qameš, pataḥ  a
šere, segol   e
hireq        i
holem        o
šureq, qibbus u
vocalic šēwaʾ ĕ
ḥaṭef pataḥ   ā
ḥaṭef segol  ě
ḥaṭef qameš  ŏ
GLOSSARY

ʿadb: the first letter of the watid is eliminated in the foot מַפַאעִלַתֻן.
ʿağz: last hemistich of the classical verse, traditionally known as soger in Hebrew.
ʿaql: the fifth consonant of the foot is eliminated when it is vocalised.
aqraʿ: ‘bald’—a muwaššaḥ is ‘bald’ when lacks a prelude (maṭlaʿ).
aqṣ: qaṣm + kaff.
aʿraḡ: ‘lame’—one qufl segment of the muwaššaḥ is double, while the other is single.
ʿarūḍ: 1. the science that distinguishes good verses from bad, and identifies what modifications and irregularities affect them.
2. the last foot of the first hemistich (ṣadr) in a classical verse.
ʿaṣb: the vocalised fifth consonant of the foot remains quiescent.

bahr (pl. buḥur): metres (‘seas’), the specific measures to which a poet conforms his creation. The classical system attributes the following 15 metres to Alḫalil: ʿawil, madīd, basīṭ, wāfir, kāmil, ḥazaḡ, raḡaz, ramal, sarīʿ, munsariḥ, ḥafīf, muḍāriʿ, muqtaḍab, muḫtaṭ, and mutaqārib.

basīṭ: classical metre consisting of מֻסְּתַפְּעִלֻן × 2 in each hemistich.

battr: at the end of the foot, the sabab ḥafīf is eliminated (ḥadf), then the final quiescent consonant is eliminated, and the final vocalised consonant is left quiescent (qaṭʿ).

bayt (pl. abyāt): verse, or sequence of feet closing with a rhyme that must be repeated throughout the entire composition.
**Daff annafūs**: variant of mutadārak consisting of פַּעִיל × 4 in each hemistich, also known in Arabic as ﬁṭr almīzāb, muḥdat, muḥtara', qarib mutadārif, or šaqiq, and in Hebrew as mishqal hatēnu‘ot.

**Dāhil**: vocalised letter placed between ta‘is and rawā.

**Dārb**: last foot of the last hemistich (‘ağz) in a classical verse.

**Dawr**: ‘round’—the first section of a muwaṣṣah verse.

**Delet**: šadr.

**Diwān**: collection of poetry by a particular writer.

**Dū bayit**: innovated metre consisting of פַּעִיל × 4 in each hemistich.

**Fāṣila sugunta**: sequence of three vocalised letters followed by a quiescent.

**Fāṣila kubrā**: sequence of four vocalised letters followed by a quiescent.

**Fiṭr almīzāb**: daff annafūs.

**Ḡamm**: ‘ādb + ‘aql.

**Ḡarib**: muta‘?id.

**Ḡuṣn** (pl. aḡsān): segments of the muwaṣṣah rounds (dawr), which have a variable rhyme throughout the composition.

**Ḡuẓ’** (pl. aḡzā’): 1. metrical feet. 2. segments of a muwaṣṣah verse (both ḡuṣn and simt).

**Ḥabb**: variant of mutadārak consisting of פַּעִיל × 4 in each hemistich.

**Ḥabl**: ḡabn + ṭayy.

**Ḥabn**: the second consonant of the foot is eliminated when it is quiescent.

**Ḥadd**: the watid maǧmū‘ is eliminated from the end of the foot.

**Ḥadf**: the sabab ḡafif is eliminated at the end of the foot.
ḥaḍw: the vowel that precedes ridf.

ḥafif: classical metre consisting of פַאעִילֻן \(\times 1\) in each hemistich.

ḥarğa (pl. ḥarağāt): a final refrain that closed and governed the structure of the muwaššah, which can be found in dialectal Arabic, classical Arabic, Hebrew, or Romance.

ḥarb: ḥarm + kaff.

ḥarm: the first letter of the first foot is eliminated from each hemistich.

ḥašw: the ‘filling feet’ that precede the ‘arūḍ and ḏarb in a classical verse.

ḥazaḏ: classical metre consisting of פַאעִילֻן \(\times 3\) per hemistich.

ḥazl: idmār + ṭayy.

ḥazm: one letter—and in some cases even two—are added to the beginning of the verse.

ḥurūǧ: a vocalised lengthening letter that follows a vocalised he’waṣl.

idmār: the second vocalised consonant of the foot remains quiescent.

iġāza: rawā is replaced by a corresponding consonant in the alphabet.

ikfāʾ: rawā is replaced by a consonant with the same articulation point.

ʿilāl: the feet that occupy the position corresponding to the ‘arūḍ and ḏarb undergo specific modifications, which must be preserved throughout the entire poem.
iqʿād: in one part of the qasida, one ʿarūḍ is used, and in another part, a different ʿarūḍ from the same metre (only occurs in the kāmil metre).

iqwāʾ: a rawā vowel (maǧrā) that alternates between /u/ and /i/ in the same qasida is changed.

išbāʾ: the vowel of daḥil.

iṣrāʾ: a rawā vowel (maǧrā) that alternates between /a/ and /u/ in the same qasida is changed.

iṭāʾ: the word that carries the rhyme is repeated, retaining its form and meaning, throughout the qasida.

kāmil: classical metre consisting of מֻתַפַאעִלֻן × 3 per hemistich.

kaff: the seventh consonant of the foot is eliminated when it is quiescent.

kašf: the seventh vocalised consonant of the foot is eliminated.

madīd: classical metre consisting of פַאעִלַאתֻן פַאעִלֻן ×2 in each hemistich.

mafrūq: infixes are added to the verses of a muwaššah as metrical extensions.

maǧrā: the vowel of rawā.

maǧzūʾ: a verse that eliminates the final foot from both hemistichs.

mākbūl: when the ḍarb in raḡaz metre accepts the ḥabn modification.

manhūk: a verse that eliminates four feet and preserves only two, or four, depending on the metre.

marʾūs: prefixes are added to the verses of a muwaššah as metrical extensions.

mašṭūr: a verse that eliminates a complete hemistich.
matla': prelude of a complete (tāmm) muwaṣṣah.

ma’utalaf: second metrical circle or sphere, which includes the classical wāfir and kāmil metres and the innovated mutawafir metre.

mišqal Dunaš: mustaṭil.

mišqal hatĕnu’ot: daff annafūs.

mu’āraḍa: literary device consisting of sending a composition to another writer, who had to reproduce the metre and rhyme of the original composition in his response; in the case of a muwaṣṣah, the recipient had to use the same ḥarğa.

muḍaffar: two stichs of a muwaṣṣah with at least one internal rhyme.

muḍāri': classical metre consisting of לַאתֻן מַפַאעִילֻן × 1 in each hemistich.

mudawwar: a verse that consists of a single foot.

muḍayyal: suffixes are added to the verses of a muwaṣṣah as metrical extensions.

muḍmar: all the feet of kāmil metre are modified with idmār; in this case, the original form of the foot (מַפַאעִילֻן) must appear in the poem at least once, so that the metre is not confused with raḡaz.

mufrad: two stichs of a muwaṣṣah with a single final rhyme.

muǧannaḥ: both prefixes and infixes are added to the verses of a muwaṣṣah as metrical extensions.

muǧarrad: ‘stripped’—the verses of a muwaṣṣah conform to the metre chosen by the poet, without metrical extensions.

muḏtalab: third metrical circle or sphere, which includes the classical hazaḡ, raḡaz, and ramal metres.
**muğtāt**: classical metre consisting of $\text{מֻסְּתַפְּעִּי} \times 1$ in each hemistich.

**muḥalla**: ārūd and šarb are both modified by habn and qaṭ in a maṣzūʿ verse of the basīṭ metre.

**muḥammās**: the verse is divided into five segments.

**muḥdāṭ**: daff annafūs.

**muḥmāl**: metrical forms innovated after Alḥalīl.

**muḥtalāf**: first metrical circle or sphere, which includes the classical ʿtawil, madīd, and basīṭ metres and the innovated mus-taṭīl and mumtadd metres.

**muḥtār**: daff annafūs.

**mumtadd**: innovated metre consisting of $\text{פַּאעִלַאתֻ} \times 2$ in each hemistich.

**munsarīd**: innovated metre consisting of $\text{מַפַּאעִילֻ} \times 1$ in each hemistich, also known as qarīb.

**munsarīḥ**: classical metre consisting of $\text{מַפַּאעִילֻ} \times 1$ in each hemistich.

**muqayyada**: rhyme with quiescent rawā.

**muqayyada muʿasasa**: quiescent rawā that repeats alef taʾsīs throughout the composition.

**muqayyada muḡarrada**: ‘naked’—quiescent rawā that does not repeat either taʾsīs or ridf.

**muqayyada muradafa**: quiescent rawā that repeats the consonant ridf throughout the composition.

**muqṭadāb**: classical metre consisting of $\text{מַפַּאעִילֻ} \times 1$ in each hemistich.

**murabbā**: the verse is divided into four segments.
**Glossary**

- **murassa**: all the segments of a muwaššah verse have internal rhymes.
- **musabba**: the verse is divided into seven segments.
- **musaddas**: the verse is divided into six segments.
- **mušākil**: muṭtarid.
- **musammat**: use of internal rhymes within the verse but maintaining the final rhyme throughout the poem.
- **mušattar**: the segments of a muwaššah (ḡuṣn or simṭ) have one stich.
- **musta‘mal**: metrical forms codified by Alḥalil.
- **muštabah**: fourth metrical circle or sphere, which includes the classical sari, munsariḥ, ḥafīf, muḍāri, muqtaḍab, and muğṭat metres, and the innovated mutaʿid, munsarid, and muṭtarid metres.
- **muštabih**: composition where it is difficult to identify the metre.
- **mustaṭil**: innovated metre consisting of פַּעֻולֻן פַּעֻולֻן מֻסְּתַפְּעִ ×2 in each hemistich, which can be called mišqal Dunaš in Hebrew.
- **mutadārak**: innovated metre consisting of פַּעֻולֻן ×4 in each hemistich.
- **mutaʿid**: innovated metre consisting of פַּעֻולֻן פַּעֻולֻן מֻסְּתַפְּעִ ×1 in each hemistich, also known as ǧarib.
- **muṭallaṭ**: the verse is divided into three segments.
- **muʿtamad**: mutawafir.
- **muṭamman**: the verse is divided into eight segments.
- **mutaqārib**: classical metre consisting of פַּעֻולֻן ×4 in each hemistich.
- **mutawafir**: innovated metre consisting of פַּעֻולֻן ×3 per hemistich, also known as muʿtamad.
**mutawāfit**: ʿuṣn and qufl are symmetrical in the syllabic computation, i.e., both single or both double, as opposed to ʿraḡ.

**muṭlaqa**: rhyme with vocalised rawā.

**muṭlaqa muʿasasa**: vocalised rawā and alef taʿsis repeats throughout the composition; can be closed by heʾ.

**muṭlaqa muḡarrada**: ‘naked’—vocalised rawā that does not repeat either taʿsis or ridf.

**muṭlaqa muradafa**: vocalised rawā and ridf repeats throughout the composition; can be closed by heʾ.

**muttafaq**: fifth metrical circle or sphere, which only includes the classical mutaqārib metre and the innovated mutadārak metre.

**muṭṭarid**: innovated metre consisting of פַאעִילֻן × 1 in each hemistich, also known as mušākil.

**muwaffā**: the first two hemistichs of the poem rhyme, but without the ʿarūḍ adopting the form of the ḍarb.

**muwaššah** (pl. muwaššahāt): literary genre originating in Alandalus; these poems are generally made up of five strophes or verses written in classical Arabic, the last of which finishes with the ḥarḡa.

**muzdawiḡ**: the segments of a muwaššah (ʿuṣn or simṭ) have two stichs.

**muzdūḡ**: in raḡaz metre, the poet makes the ʿarūḍ and ḍarb in each verse rhyme independently.

**naffād**: the vowel of a heʾ waṣl that follows rawā.

**naqṣ**: ʿašb + kaff.

**nutfa**: a composition that consists of two verses.

**pizmon**: qufl.
qabḍ: the fifth consonant of the foot is eliminated when it is quiescent.

qarīb: munsarid.
qarīb mutadārif: daff annafūs.

qasida: any composition that consists of more than seven verses.

qaṣm: ‘aḍb + ‘aṣb.

qaṣr: in a foot ending in sabab, the final quiescent consonant is eliminated, and the vocalised consonant that precedes it is left quiescent.

qaṭ‘: in a foot ending in watid, the final quiescent consonant is eliminated, and the vocalised consonant that precedes it is left quiescent.

qaṭf: the sabab ḥafīf and the preceding vowel are eliminated at the end of the foot.

qifāya: rhyme, or group of consonants and vowels that closes a verse.

qiṭ‘a: a short composition consisting of between three and six verses.

qufl (pl. aqfāl): ‘refrain’—the last section of a muwaṣṣah verse.

rağaz: classical metre consisting of מֻסְּתַפְּעִלֻן × 3 per hemistich.

ramal: classical metre consisting of פַאעִלַאתֻן × 3 per hemistich.

ras: the vowel that precedes alef ta‘ṣīs.

rawā: the letter that ends the verse and repeats throughout the composition.

ridf: lengthening or weak letter that precedes rawā.

sabab ḥafīf: sequence of two letters, the first vocalised and the second quiescent, traditionally known as tēnu‘a in Hebrew.

sabab taqīl: sequence of two vocalised letters.
sādiğ: all the segments of a muwaššah verse have the same rhyme.
ṣadr: first hemistich of the classical verse, traditionally known as delet in Hebrew.
šakl: ḫabn + kaff.
salisa: innovated metre consisting of פַאעִילַאן מֻסְתַפְּעִלֻן.
šalm: the watid mafräuq is eliminated from the end of the foot.
sammatāt: see musammat.
šaqiq: daff annafūs.
sariʿ: classical metre consisting of מֻסְתַפְּעִלֻן × 1 in each hemistich.
šatr/ṣṭr: the first letter of the first foot is eliminated from each hemistich, where this first foot is מַפַאעִילַאן and has already been affected by qabḍ (→ מַפַאעִילַאן).
simṭ (pl. asmāṭ): segments of the muwaššah refrains (qufl), which preserve their rhyme throughout the composition.
šinād alḥaḍw: the vowel that precedes ridf changes; the change can be between /a/ and /i/ (iqwāʾ) or between /a/ and /u/ (iṣrāf).
šinād ališbāʿ: the vowel of the consonant daḥil changes throughout the composition.
šinād arridf: one verse has lengthening before the rhyme (ridf) and the following one does not.
šinād attaʾsis: one verse has alef taʾsis and the following one does not.
šinād attawḡīḥ: vocalisation of quiescent rawā (muqayyada).
soger: ‘aḡz.
taʾsis: a quiescent alef separated from rawā by a vocalised letter.
taḍmīn: the rhyme connects syntactically with the first stich of the following verse.

taḍyil: a quiescent consonant is added to the end of a foot that ends with watīd.

taḥrīd: in one part of the qasīda, one ḍarb is used, and in another part, a different ḍarb from the same metre.

ṭalm: the first letter of the first foot [pāʿl] in mutaqārīb metre is eliminated from each hemistich.

tāmm: 1. a verse that preserves all its full feet. 2. a muwaṣṣah with prelude (maṭlaʿ).

tarfīl: two consonants, one vocalised and one quiescent, are added to the end of a foot that ends with watīd.

ṭarm: ḫarm + qabāḍ.

taṣṣīt: the first letter of the watīd is eliminated.

tasbīḡ: a quiescent consonant is added to the end of a foot that ends with sabāb.

taṣrīː: ʿarūḍ and ḍarb rhyme, sharing the same rhyme and foot type, in both hemistichs at the beginning of the poem; later, the metre adopts the expected form, beginning with the second or third verse.

tawǧīh: the vowel that precedes ṭawā when it is quiescent.

tawīl: classical metre consisting of ʿayn ʿalain × 2 in each hemistich.

ṭayy: the fourth consonant of the foot is eliminated when it is quiescent.

tĕnuʿa: sabāb ḥafīf.

wāfī: a verse that preserves all its feet with modifications.

wāfir: classical metre consisting of ʿayn ʿalain × 3 per hemistich.
waqf: the seventh vocalised consonant of the foot is left quiescent.
waqs: the second vocalised consonant of the foot is eliminated.
wasit: mustaṭil.
wasl: a lengthening letter that follows rawā, by which its vowel is lengthened.
watid mafruq: sequence of three letters, two vocalised separated by one quiescent.
watid magmu‘: sequence of three letters, two vocalised and one quiescent, traditionally known as yated in Hebrew.
wazn (pl. awzān): measures or variants of the metres resulting from the application of modifications (‘ilāl).
yated: watid magmu‘.
yatim: a composition that consists of an isolated verse.
ziḥāf: modifications to the filling (ḥašw) feet.
אִם בְּיוֹם קָאֲמִין מַלֵּא וְחֶפְּצוֹ לֹא בָּךְ נֶגְּדִי (ALPHABETICAL
חֲדַל חֲשֻׁפָה רְּאֵה מְבִישִים לְטוּשִים רִיב תֶַֽחֱדוּ נֶאֱמָן יֶעְּגָבוּ שַׁחֲדוּתִּי אֲבִי רַעֲיוֹנִים דְּרוֹר הַפְּלֵא אוֹר יַעֲנֶה בְּעִירָם וְלֹא כְּבָרָק עֵדֶן מִיָּמִין חֲשַׁבְתִּיו זָנוֹחַ לְכָל מְקֹרָאוֹ שְּאוֹל תִשְׁתוּ אַף וְאֵינָם הַצְּבִי עַל שִׁמְחָה לֹא אַהֲרֹן רְּצֹונְּךָ רָאתִיךָ מִפְּאַת וְלֹא מִשְּמֹאל שְׁעֵרֵי דִמְּעָה פֵרוּד אֱמֶת כְּוִיָה מְפִיצִים הוֹלֵךְ בְּיַד נִבְּרָא אֵיכָה הַפְּלֵא קְ אַחַר אוֹ חֶפְּצְךָ בְּשֻׁבוֹ אֲבִי הָרְּגֵנִי אָח תְּהִלוֹת בְּתוֹחַלְּתִי אַף וְאֵינָם הַצְּבִי עַל לֹא אַהֲבָה לַהֲרֹג לְדַעַת בְּגֹד דִמְּעָה פֵרוּד אֱמֶת כְּוִיָה מְפִיצִים הוֹלֵךְ בְּיַד נִבְּרָא אֵיכָה הַפְּלֵא קְ אַחַר אוֹ חֶפְּצְךָ בְּשֻׁבוֹ אֲבִי הָרְּגֵנִי אָח תְּהִלוֹת בְּתוֹחַלְּתִי אַף וְאֵינָם הַצְּבִי עַל לֹא אַהֲבָה לַהֲרֹג לְדַעַת בְּגֹד דִמְּעָה פֵרוּד אֱמֶת כְּוִיָה מְפִיצִים הוֹלֵךְ בְּיַד נִבְּרָא אֵיכָה הַפְּלֵא קְ אַחַר אוֹ חֶפְּצְךָ בְּשֻׁבוֹ אֲבִי הָרְּגֵנִי אָח תְּהִלוֹת בְּתוֹחַלְּתִי אַף וְאֵינָם הַצְּבִי עַל לֹא אַהֲבָה לַהֲרֹג לְדַעַת בְּגֹד דִמְּעָה פֵרוּד אֱמֶת כְּוִיָה מְפִיצִים הוֹלֵךְ בְּיַד נִבְּרָא אֵיכָה הַפְּלֵא קְ אַחַר אוֹ חֶפְּצְךָ בְּשֻׁבוֹ אֲבִי הָרְּגֵנִי אָח תְּהִלוֹת בְּתוֹחַלְּתִי אַף וְאֵינָם הַצְּבִי עַל LERS
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וב נעלופ רכבה כנשר כל לחה הכנה מצור לושארלאה בצה בצל ליב כלכל
יפי בול דימחהתלך על צוז מחטש חלול
הישיב חתופו במב אנקא את נשקתו משאפים פדה ורשו מחזורות למשוחר
בי תוחמותו יאש קול מחזר ומימי נגאו הקפים הקלאוא דיתא לאז בקפת
ועמשי ענופים למלאך להמוים יא אנקא קלמתה חכ פלושת ביבי ימרסי
ויו דר המחנק עד בבלת יגש ענייה וחתמה יאנו חמשת ענייה יומם לודדה אהי
בת אומג מאמל עניי ביבר יזעל זרח addressed אתןạch אנקא הפך אבר Thames:
החבשך לך תזים שנועם בבכבות עליך נשוחת עפשת ווחות לכבות

לא בא רביה ואמיך לרגשת אסתר ואותיך וודידי

ואבה חכמתו ואלא תמאובך כד_predsיה כפוחת

ואומר לא תшедш אתה יindow כפר עט שושן מים עץ אקלים

ואם עשותך אלא חלך אלה יא באת בתוחך לא חכית צופה

ואמר פרתך פך שבו כל איש צעגת

embrance על תנגחוק תכר吲צמה תשעת עיני זחר תשובת

ולשתית בוחקתיך תוכחת נשקחת יצובי וישפרסהו יאוחי ובית אבר

והם נפשם בשיגים ואוב קראו שלום

השшибים באהבח 다 וחללו גこれを לעלם עלך חפסך

וזי מבחרת מצים יפתעי אוירץ יפמי פכת קעצך שמחה לקרבה סרגל תלאות

תburgh יפלרש ק الأولى מיח בכי בל הצלחת בגעת התיבות שבשה ב苴פי דור

משוליי יפטים כפלים וטורמים אףלגלגל גזים קמי יחיה כשלו יוצאת וחזרת בל

וזיימך ש本钱 כתפיו הכניל בני им איה יקיש בחוק להשלתח אפודי וא

אקונון ואתיות ללבך אברד קמע ואוסף מבחר אלה מקום מרחה או הגה מייניד אבדך:

יקורך פאת מורת ליד מעורר והיחק מאיז מתשברות איי מוהות השבבתים

קורות באוותיך זכרו ולא תファー ודיכח

ולא ייד צומח חמוד הגרילה עליך עליך ועליך פי נפשו בך דעון

מזאוביית בך שרי יודותך ירבח בכר צוחיא לא עליינו שפה

אני וד הימצלא אתיויס זאוש יייתו ואאס לות בטיח

 GSLWWL אזיו הייתקו ישתח נלאוしたこと יושבחו תבשיבר

ונרים תבז זכיות בזים ז決ItemType גזימי יאש ילא שאר י륨ה אי

ונילו חמש מלקדך יкрат כי הדשגב עלילו ישאר שקמה אפקרה

תעמל ייבת הקדך כי ישתחב עלילו ירתח שקמה חסורה

פותח يعدת בלאו שאורו אחת דפהPelשה יהלילו כמו יפה כל ירות מתחליה

ועבר בודיק כינוי ובישותהו אראה ימות שפה נשך כרילה

ישפש בפר ביור כימי משני אוסיש פעל שיני כמי חפוף
וַתִּשְּפְּכִי לִבֵּךְ כְּמוּ מַיִם פְּנֵי עֶלְיוֹן וְדָעָה אֱלֹהִים שִׁמְךָ, וְתַעֲנוּג שָדַיִךְ בְּכָלָהוֹתָם עַל כֹּל יָמָיו. אֲנִי לָכְכִּי שָׁפֵתָהוּ שׁוֹפָתָּהוּ, וְנָתַתָּהוּ בְּכַלֶּךְ; בְּכַלֶּךְ נָתַתָּהוּ בְּכַלֶּךְ גָּסִיסה שָׁפָתָהוּ, שָׁפָתָהוּ בְּכַלֶּךְ; שָׁפָתָהוּ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ, שָׁפָתָהוּ בְּכַלֶּךְ. שָׁפָתָהוּ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ, שָׁפָתָהוּ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ, שָׁפָתָהוּ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ; שָׁפָתָהוּ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ; שָׁפָתָהוּ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ; שָׁפָתָהוּ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּךְ בְּכַלֶּ�
אני אהלך צעקו נלעג ללב יעמוד פקד ל劳务派遣 ואם יזרח שמר ואפו כגבור תוך בבחו נאמר מתוות תארו אני יגונים לא קול יצמם יזם אלוהים שרפני כי ובירת אלוהים ידך אלוהיך יאהביך סרח צבי לגרי עוד ומכאובי נמר מתוות תארו ואל לנד ומערבי ואביו נ🏷ים מיקוד לעבר ידע כי צדקו ידידיך י제도 אהליך נביא כמי יתן עין ת詳ה נבינה מיקוד בו יאש אNickname איש תישביו יאתה אירון לה[colon]אמד קי מתוות תארו בני עין כהָת שכרו שכרו י좀ו ייחוד יחידי יה שכרו י.raises לכרובים מרッツ לכל אלות על כל זבח לא יתFileNotFoundException: Scanned Verses (Alphabetical Order) 173
An Introduction to Andalusi Hebrew Metrics

כִּי מַמְּרֹרָיו בְּנַפְּשִׁי נִתְּלוּ קִירוֹת לְבָבִי כְּמוֹ הָמוֹשְׁנַתִּים מָזִיְתֵהּ בְּלִבָּם. כִּי גְּבִירָה וְאִם בְּפִי כָּל אֲנָשִׁים צְּעִירָה כָתַב סְּתָו בִּדְּיוֹ מְּטָרָיו וּבִרְּבִיבָיו וּבְּעֵט בְּּרָקָיו הַמְּאִירִים וְכַף עָבָיו לֹא אֲהַלֵּךְ בְּּמַַֽחֲשַכִים וְאַתָה אָוַּר נְּתִיבִי וּבָךְ מְּנָתִי וְחַבְּלִי לֹא יִדְּאֲגוּ לָעַד לְבַד מִשֹּׁד פֵרוּד וְזֶה לָזֶה מְּאֹד יִתְּאָב לֹא כְּמִשְּפָטִי תְּדִינוּן עָלֵימוֹ חַפְּשוּ הֵיטֵב וְדִינוּם כִשְּלֹمֹה לֹא מִתְּמוֹל פִיוֹת שְחוֹק נִמְּלָאוּ עַד כִּי בְּךָ יְוֵסֵף לְבָבוֹת גָאוּ לֹא נִמְּנְּעוּ מִבֹּא בְרֶסֶן מִשְּקְּלֵי הַשִּׁיר אֲבָל שָמְּעוּ שְּמָך וָבָאוּ לִבְּּבַעְנוּ בְּעֵינֵי צְבִי לִשְּרֵת לֵב אֲדוֹנָיו יָצְד בְּּלֹא מִכְּמֹרֶת לִבִּי בְּשִ בְּיָה נַָֽשְּאוּ לֹא אֵַֽדְּעָה אִם יִסְּרוּ אוֹתוֹ בְּאַף אִם רִחֲמוּ לִבִּי כְּתַנוּר לְפֵרוּד יוֹסֵף גַם שֹד יְּהוּדָה כְּבֵדִי שִסֵף וּכְּאֵב שלִישִם בְּאֶבְּלִי יֹסֵף כִּי מַמְּרֹרָיו בְּנַפְּשִׁי נִתְּלוּ קִירוֹת לְבָבִי כְּמוֹ הָמוֹשְׁנַתִּים מָזִיְתֵהּ בְּלִבָּם.
לך אליל, [1]ưויר היל שומש ובוצרה בך שבר וקחדת אלוהי ביגלאך בך כל השם
לך ותך בך אתך והדך בך עשה מידי וקחדת פזלד הצוק בך יריבים
קריפי
לך אלפים כי חומך כלך ויסרכך
לך כל שומש שועל בזרה שומש יצפה וך ברך והרוכב
לך בן חמדת כי כל חמדת בה בתו בך אוהב
לך חידות בתו שומש על𫛦 שומש מὒך חידות
לך ניווןЛЬביהם אס חם טעם בך ואס החמה
לך בשין אץ בקיחים אפרש (אחש חדרתי
לך שפלות אשר אסנה
לך דוד כורך יאור לעבוש ויאוש ישים ושך שאר ורומ
לך כי את לבל כומ חקך
לך חמר כי אימת ארץונה על גן乙烯 אימ כרוקות
לך ארצה פיין כולם כישם בך אימ איש א.dispose
לך ארצה שומש ארורה הגנה עלובה ליה ויה ביצת פוקת
לך שר רבי גסם כותר ויטהנה מקהIÓN דידר עם דידר משלה
לךافية דוד חפרתון הפרת עני תבכעה
מאבחבה כי חנגר שיר אוהב כך ממדור לћי חנקת הצורר מִי יריב
קשוע לברcherche רמות כל לћייל בך אברשל ויביט נריי בך אלחניא נפשיה
ללאה עליל אלופאלוס פות נודי
מאא אבוחתי נ罘 כי צורח בנפוף שלל חפה ושושא מני ועל לבל בעמוא יער
בגלו שמש כורי דח ואני כי והר מתור מני פזל יצפור שאל שאל่อน ואלים ירבד
תופי
מאסוי כל כי עתומה על יזהריאל אשאר חם
מדבר מומר ביאי חיל עדימו ושעשע לבל
מל שומר מומר燚ו איש עתום נמי לך אלוי כי קים לוכליס ואורה
An Introduction to Andalusi Hebrew

מְיָאָם יַאִיר מְוַנֵּר לַעֲבָדִים צִיּוֹר וְלָעַר יְהוָּה יַשִּׁיר נְתַנָּה לַעֲבָדִים אֲדוֹנֵי נְתַנָּה לַעֲבָדִים לְעָבְדִים לְעָבְדִים

כְּלִי שָלֹש וְּתָמִים לֵבָב תִכְּלֶינָה

מַה־יִתֵּן מִפִּי מִדַּם אֱמֶת כָעָש יֶחְּדַל

כֵּן תְּרִיבֵנִי אָזַל מְּדֻבָּר עַצְּמוֹתַי עָבָר בְּּמִסְּפַר

אֲהָה גְּוִיָּתוֹ תְּחַיֵּנִי טֶרֶם בְּּמַחְּשָבָיו נַחַל דָבָר מְּאֹד מִמְתְּקוֹמֲמִים עָלַי

הַנְּדוֹד אֲהָה אֵל בְּּשֶמֵא עַָֽבְּרוּ חֹמֶר כְּאוֹר נֶחְשָׁב וּבְּרוֹאוֹתַי וְּאֵימִים דָּל

יַבַּע יִזַל לְּחֹשֵׁב מְּאֹד עַלֵי עֲלָם נִתְּכְּנוּ בָּרִי מְּהוֹלָל נְבָלֶיךָ לֹא

אֲבָל הַנְּדוֹד אֲהָה אֵל מִיּוֹעֲצִים מֵאֵין מַה־יִתֵּןこん מַה־יִתֵּן מִי לִשְּמוֹ יִגְּדָל לַעֲלוֹתָם וְנִשְּקָפָה עֵינְּךָ וְּכָהֵם לִבִּי לַעֲלוֹתָם וְּנִשְּקָפָה עֵינְּךָ צַל וָאֱלַף מָוֶת חַמָה אֲבָל מֵאָהֳלִי קְדוֹשִים

אַל לֶכְּתָם בִּימִינְּךָ יֵהְיָה בְּחֶבְּרָה מְרוֹמִים וְלֹא מְהוֹלָל נְבָלֶיךָ לֹא

וְּכְּאֵב נִשְּבָּר לֶכְּי־רַבִּים רַחֲמִיו לְּרֶגַע לְּבָבִי וְּכְּאֵב נִשְּבָּר לֶכְּי־רַבִּים רַחֲמִיו

לֹא מֵאָהֳלִי קְדוֹשִים

לֹא מֵאָהֳלִי קְדוֹשִים

לֹא מֵאָהֳלִי קְדוֹשִים

לֹא מֵאָהֳלִי קְדוֹשִים

לֹא מֵאָהֳלִי קְדוֹשִים
ונגועו כל יום ו العلي נשרים العلي וחהלות לילתו ו על יום

המונינ תחמו כי끼י חמה על נאטיב ענפים וזרעיה רוחה וזהה עם סלקה

גהר בקאריו ורגון דביקረ פלועה

פוש פורתות ביבלי ממשה כיredi מקבי לא אשחתו עד כי החלורת בחיה

לא כשעו צים גופש כל עד כי בפשע ירדיו לכל

הפה והקמה דלי בית עם ו אלעל سبيل אל סוכם לילה ועוני ימי בהם אפשות

בברד רימישנים אוניקו שפתה ו incontri

סל שבת Gü כים וירד בכ ישים אם הל קח ת יזון

سور ואל טוי בחרתי עני בריס מן 알아знания

בלור פמש אוניקו אונשנים על כל

עני מבר כוכב קוה

על כל חחי שאיך אקווה הלהי קובר כי אםatriאוראה

על rampant ביה תורתיו והופשטי לילתו בא 하는ו

עברית כי הנני בקאריו ומכרה אאל בין בננה עני צעך שהברה צער וזרה בענים כי

יד לא תтверי ומשה מונדה והתמדה על תלמוד חפירות וברוח בלני

עפר מרי כי ילב או פאר התוכ להצל חעש משה ח襲ו עניים ואתה החרינה

מד الرحאם לכי לא תכהנה

בארה תשתיב הלוב נבצע כי אלי לו אב חוה וחומם

פי יכס כי פשר יציק ויגבר פעהל אלי של כי לא קמוס מפרים אש קט מעשין

חופה הפור עליל אונם שהלת רע על שיל ר יכדר מדריב עליב מקואוב עחד

交流合作 כדו מחבר נזר

לאמרת אנקחב כי לזר ארבעה פาะ כלפ שבלא בקיら כי לכלתוכי אל לברב בתקפה

זער אני נקראה תקפה כי ארצה כמרך כייאו ישירורד תmisión

ציריל עלות השכימ בכר_increaseיבובים ובימים אפיין חלוף

קארש תורביו ואותו השכימ לזרלי יזיבור מפורדים וחימה

וحكمو בשרו וויש✈ תימ שיק בפשק און קבורה

אם מעבר זו אמבר אל קוה בקבר רזיי אל כלום הזבהים.
קרבה יואל הוריק ובצלא עפר בוא להסס ביד נפפה הוריק ייר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התאבל עפר והיה ירי הסר באיב שפר התأمل עפל ולא שק ובי האותי יהויהם שובל
שָחַבְנָהוּ בַּעֲבוּר אֵין לַעֲנֻגָה וְרַכָה דָת עַד אֲשֶׁר תִּהְיֶה מְלָכִים מְדַכָּה שִימָה יְּמִינְּךָ עַל צְּלָעַי תָשִיב אֱלֵי צַלְּעִי לְּבָבוֹ שִֹמְּחָה בּוֹ אֵלֶּי תוּגָה צֵאִי וּשְּאוֹן לִבִּי מֶנִי הָשַע שְּשַֽנְּךָ לִי הָשֵב וְשַוְּעָתִי הָקְּשֵב אֵל מֶלֶך יֹשֵב עַל כִּסֵא רַחֲמִים מְאהוֹת לָבֵן וְמְקַחְמֵד עֵינִי עֹפֶר לְצִדִי וְכֹס בִּימִינִי תַדְעֵ בַּנִי כָּֽוֶר יַעֲרָה גוֹזָה כְּמוֹרִים חֲזָוָה וְמְזִים לְיַשְּמַר הָגִיאוֹר וּמְבִין מַעֲשֵיהֶם תַּדְעֵ בַּנִי אָשֶׁר קֹדְם מְשַׁאֲר פָּרְדִי דָּיִד אוּד שְׁפָּתֵיהֶם אֵשׁ לְהַשִּׁב יָוֵשׁ בֶּנֵי עָלִי וְהוֹפָכָה נְבוֹת בַּמַּגֵּן הַרְּנִין אוֹתָם וְאֵשׁ יֹאכַל שְׁאֵר גוֹיָהּ תְּחַל וְאִם יָגֹז אֱנֹשׁ רֹאשָׁהּ תָעִיד הֲכִי מֵהֶחֳלִי חִיָה וְתַעְּדֶה עֲדִי זָהָב וּמִין בָּדֹלָחִים וּבְכָל יְּכָר אֶבֶן סַפִּיר מְעֻלָּפָה תִּשְּחַק פְּנֵי הַיוַֹֽשְּבִים לַרְּנִין אֲפִלּוּ כָּאִלּוֹת וּמַטִּיפָה תַעְּדֶה עֲדִי זָהָב וּמִינֵי בְדֹלָחִים וּבְכָל יְּכָר אֶבֶן סַפִּיר מְעֻלָּפָה תַעְּדֶה עֲדִי זָהָב וּמִינֵי בְדֹלָחִים וּבְכָל יְּכָר אֶבֶן סַפִּיר מְעֻלָּפָה תַעְּדֶה עֲדִי זָהָב וּמִינֵי בְדֹלָחִים וּבְכָל יְּכָר אֶבֶן סַפִּיר מְעֻלָּפָה תַעְּדֶה עֲדִי זָהָב וּמִינֵי בְדֹלָחִים וּבְכָל יְּכָר אֶבֶן סַפִּיר מְעֻלָּפָה תַעְּדֶה עֲדִי זָהָב וּמִינֵי בְדֹלָחִים וּבְכָל יְּכָר אֶבֶן סַפִּיר מְעֻלָּפָה תַעְּדֶה עֲדִי זָהָב וּמִינֵי בְדֹלָחִים וּבְכָל יְּכָר אֶבֶן סַפִּיר מְעֻלָּפָה תַעְּדֶה עֲדִי זָהָב וּמִינֵי בְדֹלָחִים וּבְכָל יְּכָר אֶבֶן סַפִּיר מְעֻלָּפָה תַעְּדֶה עֲדִי זָהָב וּמִינֵי בְדֹלָחִים וּבְכָל יְּכָר אֶבֶן סַפִּير מְעֻלָּפָה תַעְּדֶה עֲדִי זָהָב וּמִינֵי בְדֹלָחִים וּבְכָל יְּכָר אֶבֶן סַפִּיר מְעֻלָּפָה תַעְּדֶה עֲדִי זָהָב וּמִינֵי בְדֹלָחִים וּבְכָל יְּכָר אֶבֶן סַפִּיר מְעֻלָּפָה תַעְּדֶה עֲדִי זָהָב וּמִינֵי בְדֹלָחִים וּבְכָל יְּכָר אֶבֶן סַפִּיר מְעֻלָּפָה תַעְּדֶה עֲדִי זָהָב וּמִינֵי בְדֹלָחִים וּבְכָל יְּכָר אֶבֶן סַפִּיר מְעֻלָּפָה
# NAMES OF THE METRES
## IN THE HEBREW TRADITIONS

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<th>Circle</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Israeli Hebrew</th>
<th>Ibn Danān</th>
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An Introduction to Andalusi Hebrew Metrics
José Martínez Delgado

Throughout the last two centuries, Hebrew metrics was studied by leading linguists and specialists in medieval Hebrew poetry. Nowadays, it has disappeared from the academic discussion such that it is sometimes even difficult to find scansion or the name of the meter in new editions of poems. This book aims to rectify this gap, helping readers to understand the metric structure of this poetry in order to facilitate the work of editing and cataloguing those samples still in manuscript form for future editors.

Martínez Delgado presents his view of Andalusi Hebrew metrics, as encountered in medieval manuals of Arabic and Hebrew metrics and scattered notes in the works of Andalusi Hebrew philologists. Whilst twentieth-century scholars spoke about the adaptation of Arabic metrics to Hebrew, he instead approaches these compositions by Andalusi Jews (10th-13th c.) as Arabic metrics written in Hebrew, thus emphasising how Hebrew poetry of the Andalusi Jews can help us to understand the general evolution of Arabic strophic poetry, and its experimental evolution, which is quite unlike classical and strophic Arabic poetry.

This method respects the Hebrew vowel system, and does not necessitate alteration of word morphology, leaving the guttural letters quiescent (unless required by metrical license); nor does it necessitate guesses about metres that are not in the classical catalogue. Although the author has not found each and every classical metre from Andalusi Hebrew poetry included in this manual, they are all catalogued, either in case someone finds them in future or because they help us to comprehend the metrical structures that are characteristic of strophic poetry. As such, this monograph will be of great interest to scholars of Hebrew metrics.

As with all Open Book publications, this entire book is available to read for free on the publisher’s website. Printed and digital editions, together with supplementary digital material, can also be found at www.openbookpublishers.com

Cover image: Fragment from the Cairo Genizah on Hebrew metrics, held in the Taylor Schechter collection (T-S AR. 31.232), Cambridge University Library.
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