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HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG · WIESBADEN

‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Naṣr al Shayzarī

**RAWḌAT AL QULŪB WA-NUZHAT  
AL-MUḤIBB WAL-MAḤBŪB**

Edition initiated by  
David Semah  
completed and brought to press by  
George J. Kanazi

2003  
HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG · WIESBADEN

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## A Word from the Editor

Dear readers,

It was a great pleasure for me to receive a second book from my colleague Professor Dr. George J. Kanazi, whose research on *The Umayyad Poet-Rebel 'Ubaydullāh Ibn al-Hurr al-Ju'fī* was published as volume VI of this series.

This second book is based on a manuscript written by Shayzarī in the twelfth century and is titled *Rawḍat al-Qulūb wa-Nuzhat al-Muḥibb wal-Maḥbūb*. It is of great interest to the history of Arabic medieval literature and culture, as it deals with the important issue of love and lovers throughout a long period of time. The edition of this manuscript was started by the late Prof. Dr. David Semah who passed away before being able to complete this undertaking. Prof. Kanazi completed the work, wrote the introduction to the book and brought the final product to the press. The work as a whole reflects the serious and scholarly efforts which made it possible to present it to you as volume VIII of the *Codici Arabici Antiqui*.

I am sure you will learn and benefit much from this new and interesting volume.

Heidelberg, February 2003

The Editor  
Raif Georges Khoury

## Transliteration

|      |   |                |    |   |                |
|------|---|----------------|----|---|----------------|
| أ، ء | = | ' , a          | ض  | = | ḍ              |
| آ    | = | ā (long vowel) | ط  | = | ṭ              |
| ب    | = | b              | ظ  | = | ẓ              |
| ت    | = | t              | ع  | = | ʿ              |
| ث    | = | th             | غ  | = | gh             |
| ج    | = | j              | ف  | = | f              |
| ح    | = | ḥ              | ق  | = | q              |
| خ    | = | kh             | ك  | = | k              |
| د    | = | d              | ل  | = | l              |
| ذ    | = | dh             | م  | = | m              |
| ر    | = | r              | ن  | = | n              |
| ز    | = | z              | هـ | = | h              |
| س    | = | s              | و  | = | w              |
| ش    | = | sh             | ي  | = | ī (long vowel) |
| ص    | = | ṣ              | و  | = | ū (long vowel) |

## *Rawḍat al-Qulūb wa-Nuzhat al-Muḥibb wal-Maḥbūb*

by

‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Naṣr al-Shayzarī

*Rawḍat al-Qulūb wa-Nuzhat al-Muḥibb wal-Maḥbūb* is one of many books concerned with love and love literature of the Arabs. Its author, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Naṣr al-Shayzarī, lived during the sixth century A.H., twelfth century A.D. Prior to that time several books on the subject were written, and Shayzarī undoubtedly made good use of them. Some of these books have come down to us in full or in fragments, while others did not survive and we know their titles only.

The works written before Shayzarī that have survived, so far as I know, are the following:

1. An *urjūza* on love by the poet Abān al-Lāḥiqī who died around 200\815. In his *Kitāb al-Awrāq*, Ṣūlī quoted 108 lines from it, leaving out an unknown number of lines. This *urjūza* is important because its author died half a century before Jāḥiẓ. The late D. Semah discussed this point and reached the conclusion that “it can be considered the earliest example that has come down to us from love literature.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> D. Semah: “Urjūzat Abān al-Lūḥiqī fī al-ḥubb;” *al-Karmil*, no. 3, 1982; p. 82.

2. The epistles of al-Jāhiz (160-255\776-896) on the subject, which are: *Kitāb al-Qiyān*, *Mufākharat al-Jawārī wal-Ghilmān*, *Risālat al-'Ishq wal-Nisā'* and *Tafḍīl al-Baṭn 'alā al-Zahr*.<sup>2</sup>
3. *Kitāb al-Zahra* of Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī al-Zāhirī (255-297\868-910). Louis Nykl with the assistance of Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān published a good part of it in 1351\1932 under the title *al-Nisf al-Awwal min Kitāb al-Zahra*; then in 1985 Michello Vollaro published the rest of the book, which contains panegyric poems that do not come under the main topic of love literature. A complete edition of the whole text was prepared by Ibrāhīm al-Sāmmarrā'ī and published in Jordan in 1985.<sup>3</sup>
4. *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Washshā' (246-325\ 860-936). It was first edited by Rudolph Bruno and published in Leiden in 1937.<sup>4</sup>
5. *I'tilāl al-Qulūb* of Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Kharā'ī (d. in 327\938). It was known through two mss. in Istanbul and Cairo.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Rasā'il al-Jāhiz*; ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn; Cairo 1364\1984; *Kitāb al-Qiyān* vol. 2, pp. 139-182; *Mufākharat al-Jawārī wal-Ghilmān* 2: 87- 137; *What survived from Kitāb al-Nisā'*; vol. 3, pp. 139-159; From his book on *Tafḍīl al-Baṭn 'alā al-Zahr*; 4: 155-166. See also: Tāhā al-Ḥajirī: *al-Jāhiz, wa-Āthāruhu*; Dār al-Ma'ārif bi-Miṣr 1952; pp. 436-443.

<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd: *al-Nisf al-Awwal min Kitāb al-Zahra*; ed. Louis Nykl and Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān; Beirut 1351\1932. Abū Bakr Muḥ. b. Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī: *Kitāb al-Zahra*, Parte Seconda, Edizione Critica a cum di Michelle Vollaro (Capitoli LI-LV). Supplemento 11.45 agli ANNALI vol. 45, 1985, fasc. 4. Napoli 1985.

<sup>4</sup> الزهرة لأبي بكر محمد بن داود الأصبهاني؛ تحقيق وتقديم إبراهيم السامرائي؛ مكتبة المنار، الزرقاء الأردن ١٤٠٦ / ١٩٨٥.  
*Kitāb al-Muwashshā* of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Washshā'; ed. R. Bruno; Leiden 1307. Another edition of the same text was published in Beirut in 1324 by Dār 'Ālam al-Kutub under the title *al-Zarf wal-Zurafā'*.

<sup>5</sup> It was recently edited by Gharīd al-Shaykh and published in Beirut in 1421\2001. For details see Lois Anita Giffen: *Theory of Profane Love Among the Arabs: The Developments of a genre*; University of London Press Ltd. pp. 15-16, 76-78. Giffen's book was translated into Arabic by Najm 'Abdulla Muṣṭafā under the heading *Naẓariyyat al-'Ishq 'Ind al-'Arab-Dirāsa Tārīkhiyya*, and was published in Sūsa, Tunis (in 1985?). It is a hasty translation full of inaccuracies.

6. *Kitāb al-Muḥibb wal-Maḥbūb wal-Mashmūm wal-Mashrūb* by the famous poet Aḥmad al-Raffā' (d. 362\972). It was edited by Miṣbāh Ghalāwanjī and Mājid Ḥasan al-Dhahabī, and printed in four volumes.<sup>6</sup>
7. *Kitāb al-Maṣūn fī Sirr al-Hawā al-Maknūn* by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuṣarī (d. after 413\ 1022), the author of *Zahr al-Ādāb*. It was published in Cairo in 1989.<sup>7</sup>
8. *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma fī al-Ulfa wal-Ullāf* by Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī (383-456\993-1064). It was published several times.
9. *Maṣāri' al-'Ushshāq* by Ja'far ibn Aḥmad al-Sarrāj (417-500\1026-1106). It was published several times.
10. *Dhamm al-Hawā* by Ibn al-Jawzī (510-597\1116-1200), a contemporary of Shayzarī. This book was published first in Cairo in 1381\1962, edited by Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāḥid.

In addition to these books written before the time of Shayzarī and surveyed by Lois Giffen in her book *Profane Love Among the Arabs*, one can add the following:

1. The *Kitāb 'Aṭf al-Alif al-Ma'lūf 'alā al-Lām al-Ma'ṭūf*, by 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Daylamī (fourth century A. H.). The book was edited and translated into French by Vadet.<sup>8</sup>
2. Several books that have not survived but whose names we know, such as the writings of Muḥammad ibn al-Marzubān (d. 309\921). He wrote (a) *Kitāb al-Mutayyamīn*, from which Mughulṭāi quoted in his *al-Wāḍiḥ al-*

<sup>6</sup> Sarī ibn Aḥmad al-Raffā': *Kitāb al-Muḥibb wal-Maḥbūb wal-Mashmūm wal-Mashrūb*; ed. Miṣbāh Ghalāwanjī and Mājid Ḥasan al-Dhahabī; Majma' al-Lugha al-'Arabiyya, Damascus 1406-1407\ 1986-1987.

<sup>7</sup> Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuṣarī: *Kitāb al-Maṣūn fī Sirr al-Hawā al-Maknūn*; ed. al-Nabawī 'Abd al-Wāḥid Sha'lān; Cairo 1989.

<sup>8</sup> It was published by the French Scientific Institute in Cairo in 1962. The American Joseph Bell prepared a second edition of the text and translated it into English under the title *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam*.

*Mubīn* (p. 40) and Dāwūd al-Anṭākī in his *Tazyyīn al-Aswāq* (I. 53); (b) *Tasrīḥ al-Nāẓir* or *al-Nawāẓir*; (c) *Kitāb al-Nuzha* from which Anṭākī quoted several times; and (d) *Kitāb al-Dhuhūl wal-Nuḥūl* from which Mughulāī quoted in his *al-Wāḍiḥ al-Mubīn* several times and Anṭākī in his *Tazyyīn al-Aswāq* as well.

In addition, Ṣafadī added two other titles in his biography which he wrote about Ibn al-Marzubān: *Kitāb al-Mutayyamīn al-Ma'sūmīn al-Mutabā'idīn* and *Kitāb al-Nisā' wal-Ghazal*.<sup>9</sup>

3. The *Kitāb al-Qiyān* of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, author of *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. The book did not survive, and therefore Jalīl Aṭiyyeh reconstructed it from the various quotations from it in other sources. He published it under the title *Kitāb al-Qiyān*.<sup>10</sup>
4. *Kitāb al-Riyāḍ fī Akhbār al-'Ushshāq* by Muḥammad ibn 'Imrān al-Marzubānī (d. 384/994) from which Ḥalabī quoted in his *Manāzil al-Aḥbāb*.<sup>11</sup>
5. *Kitāb Rustāq al-Ittifāq* by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Anṭākī (d. 399/1009), quoted by Mughulāī in his *al-Wāḍiḥ al-Mubīn*, p. 91.
6. *Bulghat al-Ishfāq fī Dhikr Ayyām al-'Ushshāq* by Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī (d. 456/1063). It was quoted by Anṭākī in his *Tazyyīn al-Aswāq* 1:240.
7. *Maṣāri' al-'Ushshāq fī Shāri' al-Ashwāq* by 'Uzayzī ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Jīlī, known as Shaydhala, (d. 494/1100). It is mentioned in his biographies.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup>

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī: *al-Wāfi bil-Wafayāt*, ed. S. Dedring, Damascus 1953; 3: 43.

<sup>10</sup>

Abū al-Faraj al-Aṣbahānī: *Kitāb al-Qiyān*, ed. Jalīl Aṭiyyeh; Riyad El-Rayyis Books Ltd., London 1989.

<sup>11</sup>

Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Salmān al-Ḥalabī: *Manāzil al-Aḥbāb wa-Manāzih al-Albāb*, ed.

<sup>12</sup>

Muḥammad al-Dībājī, Dār Ṣādir, Beirut 2000.

See for example Ismā'īl al-Baghdādī: *Haduyyat al-'Arifin*, Istanbul 1951; I. 663.

In his *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, Ibn al-Nadīm gave a long list of lovers whose *akhbār* were collected prior to his time. This list reflects the importance of these *akhbār*. In addition, Mas'ūdī recorded a conversation on 'ishq which took place in the *majlis* of Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, in which eloquent people and philosophers discussed the causes of love, its development and its impact, which shows how important this issue was in the eyes of these people.<sup>13</sup> Ibn Sīnā wrote a *Risāla fī Māhiyyat al-'ishq* in which he examined love, the human soul, and what inclines a lover toward his beloved. He also dealt with the essential differences of the causes of love and its expressions according to the soul and the forces that are active in it.<sup>14</sup> In addition to all the foregoing, one should recall the huge amount of information we get from the general books of *adab* and biographical sources on lovers, male and female singers, wine drinking, and parties for fun. Ibn Qutayba wrote the tenth chapter of his *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl* about women; Abū Tammām devoted the last two chapters of his *al-Ḥamāsa al-Kubrā* and *al-Ḥamāsa al-Ṣuḡhrā* to anecdotes and lampoons of women. Many anthologists followed suit and included in their anthologies passages of sarcastic poetry, ridiculing women and their behavior. All this leads us to the conclusion that by the sixth century A.H./twelfth century A.D., material was abundant for whoever wanted to write on this subject. It was at this time that Shayzarī wrote his *Rawḍat al-Qulūb*, making good use of this material; this was not a landmark in itself, for authors continued to write on the subject and to utilize well what had been written before. So later authors quoted him, and we find excerpts from the *Rawḍat al-Qulūb* in the *al-Wāḍiḥ al-Mubīn* of Mughulāī in seven places, and in the *Kitāb Tazyyīn al-Aswāq* of Dāwūd al-Anṭākī in two places.

<sup>13</sup>

Mas'ūdī: *Murūj al-Dhahab*, Beirut 1385/1965; 3: 371-375.

<sup>14</sup>

Ibn Sīnā: *Risāla fī Māhiyyat al-'ishq*, ed. Ahmad Ātisch; Istanbul 1953.

### **'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Naṣr, Abū Bakr al-Shayzarī**

The author of *Rawḍat al-Qulūb* is Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Naṣr ibn 'Abdullāh al-Shayzarī, from Shayzar in Syria. The late Prof. D. Semah used all available information to write his biography.<sup>15</sup> He pointed out the sources which state that he was a Shīrāzī rather than Shayzarī, but he preferred this second *kunya*. It should be added that Mughulṭāi mentioned him always by this *kunya* except for one case (p. 251). These he states when quoting him: "Shīrāzī in his *Rawḍat al-Qulūb* said...." This *kunya* was also mentioned in his *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ* edited by Krikor Amdja, who did not discuss this point at all.<sup>16</sup>

Actually we have no full account of the life of Shayzarī. We do not know his date of birth, we know nothing about his boyhood and education; yet we know that he was a judge in Tiberias, and the fact that he was a *qāḍī* is mentioned in his *Rawḍat al-Qulūb* where he himself states that he was a *qāḍī* when he visited the city of Ḥamāt in 561\1165 and met a lady from Baghdād called *sitt al-mashāyikh*. He also visited Aleppo in 565\1169 and in 577\1181.

Shayzarī was a physician and poet who quoted some of his poetry in his own books. The exact year of his death is not mentioned; Semah concludes that he died during the last third of the twelfth century (last quarter of the sixth century A. H.).

### **The books of Shayzarī**

In his lifetime Shayzarī wrote seven books. They are:

<sup>15</sup> D. Semah: "Rawḍat al-Qulūb by al-Ṣayzarī; A Twelfth Century Book on Love;" *Arabica* 3, Tome XXIV, 1977, Fascicule 2, pp. 188-191.

<sup>16</sup> *Das Buch der Aufklärung Über die Geheimnisse der Eheschliessung*; 2 Teil; (*Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ min Asrār an-Nikāḥ* des Aṣ-Ṣīrāzī; vorgelegt von Krikor Amdja aus Hassakeh/Syrien; Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg 1976.

1. *al-Nahj al-Masbūk fī Siyāsāt al-Mulūk*: According to Semah this book was translated into Turkish and published in 1257\1841. It was published in Arabic in Cairo in 1326\1908. A new edition by M. A. Damaj appeared in Beirut in 1994.
  2. *Nihāyat al-Rutba fī Ṭalab al-Ḥisba*: Semah mentioned that the Frenchman W. Behrner published his study of the book in *Journal Asiatique*, starting from June 1860, after which it was edited by al-Bāz al-'Arīnī and published in Cairo in 1946.
  3. *al-Īḍāḥ fī Asrār al-Nikāḥ*: Semah mentioned that it was not yet published, and that he read its manuscript to acquire more information about the author. This book consists of two parts. The first discusses the sexual life of males and the second that of females. Shayzarī wrote it as a practicing physician, and his book attests to this. In one case he says of a certain medication: "I have prescribed this to a lady and she did as prescribed, and the result was astonishing" (II. 102). He also quotes popular medical books of his time such as *al-Ṭibb al-Rūḥānī* of Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (II. 102), *Firdaus al-Ḥikma* of 'Alī ibn Rabbān al-Ṭabarī (II. 94), the *Qānūn* of Ibn Sīnā (II. 44, 49, 51, 64, 68), and others.
- I have seen the second volume of this book, which was edited by Krikor Amdja as his Inaugural Dissertation, for his Doctor of Medicine degree at the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg in Germany. The edition of the text was based on two mss. from Gotha, nos. 2040 and 2041, and was printed on a typewriter together with a translation into German. Note that Amdja's main interest was the medical aspect, so he paid little attention to other issues raised by the Arabic text. He did not find it important to know the exact *kunya* of the author, Shīrāzī as he found it on his mss. or Shayzarī as we tend to believe.



It is important to mention that Nuwayrī quoted some information from this book.<sup>17</sup>

4. *Rawḍat al-Qulūb wa-Nuzhat al-Muḥibb wal-Maḥbūb*: This is the book to be introduced here. It will be discussed in some detail later.
5. *Khulāṣat al-Kalām fī Ta'wīl al-Aḥlām*: Semah mentioned that it was translated into French by P. Vattier and published in 1664.
6. *al-Ṭuḥfa wal-Ṭurfa*: Shayzarī himself mentioned it at the beginning of chapter six of his *Rawḍat al-Qulūb* which concentrates on gifts that were exchanged between lovers. He says of it: "About the gifts exchanged by people according to their ranks we have written a special book, which we named *al-Ṭuḥfa wal-Ṭurfa*, where we gathered much information about kings, caliphs, other respected people and *ẓurafā'* as well, and the valuables which they exchanged as gifts. In that book we mentioned what can be considered a gift between lovers, and as things were mentioned there we need not repeat them here." He refers to this book again at the opening of chapter seven, stating that he named in it those gifts from which lovers, *ẓurafā'* and other educated people would draw ill omens. The book seems not to have survived.
7. *al-Ḥadā'iq wal-Thimār fī Nawādir al-Qudāt wal-Bukhalā'*: This is mentioned in the last chapter of *Rawḍat al-Qulūb*. This, as the author says, "is a concise one on spring, flowers, fruits, and with short passages on various things. An exhaustive effort was made in my book titled *al-Ḥadā'iq wal-Thimār*; for that reason I abridged this book and sufficed myself with only ten passages of poetry, of which only few were mentioned in that book.

<sup>17</sup> Aúmad ibn 'abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī: *Nihāyat al-Arab*; Photo-copy from the edition of Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, n. d.; vol. xii, p. 158, 190. Some details on this book and its influence on later authors, mainly on Tifāshī, are found in Manfred Ulmann's book: *Die Medizin im Islam*; Leiden-Köln; E. J. Brill 1970, p. 195-6.

### *Rawḍat al-Qulūb wa-Nuzhat al-Muḥibb wal-Maḥbūb*

This lengthy text is divided into eleven chapters on love and its various levels and manifestations. Like earlier authors Shayzarī quotes abundantly from the poetry on lovers and from what was said about love in its various aspects. It should be stated that Lois Giffen did not mention this book in her study to which we referred earlier.

The author believes that love is an illness that afflicts the brain and which results from seeing and hearing, and as such it can be cured like other illnesses. He quotes what "physicians" and philosophers had to say about it in trying to define *maḥabba* or '*ishq*'. He discusses the levels of love and concludes that they are seven in number. The *istiḥsān*, the good impression that one gets when one sees a beautiful lady. This develops into *mawadda*, which develops into *maḥabba*, love. Love turns into *hawā*, a fierce inclination toward the beloved; next it becomes what is known as '*ishq*' and then comes the *tatayyum*. These six levels are curable, even though this becomes more difficult as the level of love rises higher. When one reaches the seventh level, the *walah*, no remedy can help. Shayzarī does not count *hiyām* among these levels, even though he mentions the word at the opening of chapter two.

Shayzarī quotes Galen as saying that '*ishq*' is the product of the soul, which is located in the brain, the heart, and the liver. In the brain there are three chambers at the front, in the middle and at the back. They are the places of imagining, thinking, and remembering, and the lover is constantly imagining his beloved, thinking of him or remembering him. If he is not so occupied he is not a lover; but when he is so he refrains from eating or sleeping, and this reflects on him; and when he meets his beloved these chambers become void of imagining, thinking, and remembering, and he returns to normal.

In the second chapter the author discusses the impact of sight and hearing on lovers. Theoretical discussion in this chapter is meager, for most of it consists of stories and anecdotes about those who fell in love as a result of *istiḥsān*.

The third chapter deals with the eagerness that results from *maḥabba*, saying that keen eagerness for the beloved results from the deeply rooted love in the lover's heart. The author proves this with stories about 'Umar, Majnūn Laylā, Jamīl Buthyna, and others. In the fourth chapter the author discusses *'ishq* which becomes *tatayyum* and then *walah*, and the impact of this process on the lover; he loses any tendency to eat or sleep, his body grows weak, and he starts to hallucinate; and if such lover is melancholy, then he might kill himself intentionally or unintentionally. The author records some stories about lovers who killed themselves, a deed that can be explained by such a development, so Shayzarī believes. It looks somewhat strange that he does not mention at all the *ḥadīth al-'ishq*, attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad who is quoted as saying: "Whoever falls in love and adheres to chastity and keeps his love in secret and then dies, he will die as a martyr." A few scholars considered this saying as expressing great appreciation for lovers, while others saw it as altogether unauthentic.

Shayzarī believes that safety lies in keeping one's love secret, while declared love leads to disappointment. In the fourth chapter he tells of those who kept their love secret and therefore reached their goal. He then speaks of the importance of presenting a gift, for this dispels bashful feelings and proves love. Then he mentions disgusting gifts and states the reason for them. The author also devotes much space to the spurious love of maidservants, *qiyān* or *qaynāt*, and how they exploit naïve lovers to extract money from them. He tells of a personal experience with an educated woman, who looked wise and respectable, but she secretly sent him a letter in verse inviting him to her; he rejected her repeated approaches and would send her his decision in poetry as well.

### *The style of Shayzarī*

We know that Shayzarī was a physician, and in this capacity he wrote his *Kitāb al-Īdāh*. Having a broad education as well, he examined love from the medical viewpoint, as one sees from *Rawḍat al-Qulūb*. Love is seen as a physical illness that can be cured, as we mentioned. In addition, we read some notes about the physical and psychological changes of the lover during the development of the love process from one level to the other.

Still, the theoretical discussion in the book is circumscribed compared with the abundance of stories and anecdotes about lovers and the poetry passages. The theory is not assembled in one section, but is scattered all over. While defining love, Shayzarī does not consider profane love only, but cites definitions of great *ṣūfīs* who speak of Heavenly love. In fact, one finds no clear theory that the author tries to explain and prove through stories and quotations from earlier sources about prominent figures, or through personal experience. Even though he mentions the impact of seeing and hearing on the lover, he has nothing to say about the second look, which many consider crucial for the development of love, and which the lover is responsible for, if the first look is considered innocent. Again, we find no reference to the *ḥadīth al-'ishq* mentioned earlier, nor to the other *ḥadīth* which states that souls are recruited soldiers, and which was mentioned by both Muslim and Bukhārī in their *Ṣaḥīḥs*, and was discussed in the *Kitāb al-Zahra*, *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma*, *Muḥādarāt al-'Udabā'*, and others.

Reading the various anecdotes, one feels that there are groups of them that fall within one general framework of storytelling, with minor changes in details and names of persons. In such a framework details vary, and expressions of deep love are mainly in verse, but the story always has the same ending: the lover asks a permission from his beloved to die, and he dies on the spot; or the two lovers die together and are buried in one grave. Very often we read the same story that happens to different people. Thus Aṣma'ī tells about the two