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THE ARABIC QAṢĪDA
ITS ORIGIN, CHARACTERISTICS AND DEVELOPMENT
TO THE END OF THE Umayyād PERIOD

By

Inad Gh. Ismail

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts in the University
of Durham for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

June, 1963.

School of Oriental Studies
Elvet Hill
Durham.

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FOREWORD

My interest in writing this thesis goes back to the days when I was a student in the University of Baghdad when I was somewhat puzzled by the opinions of some modern scholars who deemed the Arabic Qaṣīda a fabrication of the Islamic Transmitters and not a Jāhīlīya product of the desert as had always been traditionally held. I have had a love for Arabic poetry since childhood, and have used poetry as the main source whenever possible in this study. The object of this thesis is to determine the merits of the Qaṣīda as an artistic ideal in Arabic literature, attempting always to portray the setting of the Qaṣīda in its desert environment with all its vicissitudes. The task before me has not been an easy one for it has led me into fields previously unknown to me, namely viewing the place of the Arabic Qaṣīda in its Semitic literary environment. I have not attempted to determine whether or not the Qaṣīda was the work of the Rūwāt, but have followed the traditional view quoting wherever possible from pre-Islamic sources.

The Qaṣīda, the offspring of the barren desert of Arabia, was the poetical ideal of the Bedouin and is to this day the greatest pillar in Arabic literature. Born between the naked sand dunes in that unstable, nomadic environment, it is indeed puzzling that such a stage of poetic perfection could have been reached. It will forever leave in the mind of the reader not only the greatest admiration but also profound bewilderment as to its origins. Lost in the minds of tribal tent-dwellers,

who had not yet learned the meaning of settled and civilised communities, the origins of this poetry must lie in an instinctive characteristic of the race. The Arabs, who were the last to leave the desert environment (and even some have remained to this day), are of Semitic origin. Was poetry then a natural gift of the Semites? Did the Babylonians, the Hebrews, the Syrians and the Ethiopians produce poetry? Is there any connection between the literatures of the Semitic peoples producing Semitic characteristics? An attempt has been made in this thesis to answer these questions and also to determine the place of the Arabic Qaṣīda in Semitic literature. The latter study did indeed throw light upon the origins of the Qaṣīda, and, while one cannot be absolutely sure as to the precise development of a poetry in its primitive stages, a suggestion has been made as to the development of the Qaṣīda from a single line to what are known as the Mu‘allaqāt, the most famous odes in Arabic literature. These Seven Odes have received much popularity and have even been determined the ideal of Arabic poetry. How did this come about? Is their literary value worthy of their publicity? Why are they called the Mu‘allaqāt? An attempt has been made to answer these questions and also to compare the Qaṣīda to the Pindaric Odes of Victory and to Homeric compositions.

I have studied the mechanical unity of the Qaṣīda, its metre and rhyme together with the influence of music and song (ghinā') upon its formation and development and its poetic

diction and linguistic features. As for the artistic development of its themes, I have tried to emphasise their originality and influence upon both the Islamic and Umayyād poets together with the new themes which emerged as a result of the new environment created by the Islamic Conquests. The independence of some themes, such as wine and love, came at the end of the Umayyād period and were more fully developed in 'Abbāsīd times. The position of the Qaṣīda amongst the critics and the Rūwāt has been discussed with a view to the validity of their opinions in Arabic literary criticism.

I should like to acknowledge the kindness of many who have helped me in this thesis. First of all I should like to thank my supervisor, J.A. Haywood, Esq., B. Mus., M.A., most sincerely for his constant encouragement and valuable suggestions. I gratefully acknowledge the kindness of my tutor, Dr. K. Kuhn, who helped me in the translation of certain texts from German into English. To Mr. and Mrs. R.L. Hill I am indebted for their kindness in translating certain texts from Italian into English. I must acknowledge Professor T.W. Thacker for his ready encouragement. It is my duty to thank Professor E. Ullendorff of the University of Manchester for kindly answering my questions about Ethiopic literature. I should like to express my thanks to the staff of both the Main University Library and to the Oriental Section in the School of Oriental Studies. Finally, I should like gratefully to thank my wife for her sincere encouragement, help and patience.

I.G. Ismail.

NOTES

1- Transliteration of Arabic :

hamza

not shown , when initial, otherwise, '

ب b	ظ z
ت t	ع 'e
ث th	غ gh
ج j	ف f
ح h	ق q
خ kh	ك k
د d	ل l
ذ dh	م m
ر r	ن n
ز z	ه h
س s	و w } (consonant)
ش sh	ي y }
ص s	
ض d	
ط t	

2- Vowels :

Short damma ُ u

fatha َ a

kasra ِ i

Long. ُو ū

َا ā

ِـ i

Diphthongs:

او au or aw

اي ai or ay

3- The Shadda [̣] is expressed by repeating the letter.

4- The definite article - [َ]ال- is expressed without any assimilation of Sun - Letters ' [َ]الْحُرُوفُ الشَّمْسِيَّةُ
For example the name [َ]النَّابِغَةُ , the letter N is one of the Sun-Letters and according to Arabic pronunciation should be transliterated as ' an-Nābig^ha ' , but in this thesis the definite article is expressed fully , to show the exact letters in the Arabic word in its written shape rather than its pronunciation. Therefore, the latter name will be transliterated as ' al-Nābig^ha ' unless the word occurs in a quotation.

" Poetry is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge; the Poet .. is the rock of defence for human nature; an upholder and preserver, carrying everywhere with him relationship and love. In spite of difference of soil and climate, of language and manners, of laws and customs: in spite of things silently gone out of mind, and things violently destroyed; the Poet binds together by passion and knowledge the vast empire of human society, as it is spread over the whole earth, and over all time Poetry is the first and last of all knowledge - it is as immortal as the heart of man. "

(Wordsworth: Preface to "Lyrical Ballads",
2nd. Ed., p.124, Lines 435-448)

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND TO THE CLASSICAL AGE

In the bare, sandy desert of Arabia, between the naked sand-dunes, thirsty for water and unprotected from the cruel wind, under the scorching sun by day and the bitter cold of the star-studded sky by night, in this barren wilderness, amid this death in life was born the Arabic Qaṣīda. It was an offspring of the desert. She had mothered it, nursed it, and directed its thoughts and images. The qaṣīda itself had painted such a vivid picture of its cradle that it became the poetical ideal of the Bedouin himself, the record of his glory, and the home of his memories.

The passionate love of freedom and individuality of the Bedouin is truly reflected in his qaṣīda. "The Arab was a great lover of poetry from time immemorial, and poetry had been his chief spiritual staple for many centuries."⁽¹⁾

The latent connexion between history and literature, which is often described as the reflective mirror of life, is like the indissoluble relation of the external action to the inner motive. Life in ancient Arabia tells of a history and literature of individuals rather than that of groups and communities. It illustrates the individual's violent struggle

(1) M. Waxman, A History of Jewish Literature, (From the Close of the Bible to our own days), New York, 1938, 2nd. Ed., Vol. 1, p.159.

with his geographical environment. Man is a product of the earth's surface. The earth has fed him, set him tasks, directed his thoughts, and confronted him with difficulties.⁽²⁾

History without literature is "a dry chronicle of the past life of a people."⁽³⁾ Thus poetry became the living history of the Arabs of the Jāhiliya,⁽⁴⁾ manifesting their intellectual life and reflecting their passions and traditional ideology. Poetry was the tribal method of recording history.⁽⁵⁾ The qasīda is the principal source of knowledge of pagan Arabs' conditions, social institutions and tribal history, because the composer of the qasīda himself was "the story-teller, the theologian, the historian, and the natural philosopher of society."⁽⁶⁾ He himself was both the mouth-piece of his tribe's glorious deeds and the hero of his own individuality.

Man, throughout written history, has reacted to his immediate environment and the literature of every nation is a direct reflection of many interactions and various inter-courses. Poetry reflects these human activities; it is the

(2) E.C. Semple, Influences of Geographic Environment, London, 1911, p.1.

(3) M. Waxman, op.cit., p.xv.

(4) Jāhiliya is the term given by Islamic scholars to describe the conditions under which the Arabs lived during the two centuries (i.e. circa 5th and 6th centuries A.D.) prior to the advent of Islam. Literally the word "Jāhiliya" means "the time of Ignorance," and is used to designate that pre-Islamic period in Arab history.

(5) D.S. Margoliouth, Lectures on Arabic Historians, Calcutta, 1930, p.59.

(6) W.J. Courthope, Life in Poetry: Law in Taste, Twoseries of Lectures delivered in Oxford 1895-1900, London, 1901, p.83.

art which produces "pleasure for the imagination by imitating human actions, thoughts, and passions, in metrical language."⁽⁷⁾ Arabic poetry in pagan Arabia was indebted to the desert for its existence. That sandy ocean had created its subject and coloured its themes. Both the Bedouin and his qasīda were slaves of the desert.

The earliest known Arabic qasīdas belong to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., that is less than two centuries before the advent of Islām. Since the poet is so greatly influenced by his surroundings and since any information sought concerning pre-Islamic Arabia must be gleaned from the qasīda itself, it is, therefore, necessary to consider the main aspects of the pagan Arab's environment.

Means of Livelihood

The annual curses of Bedouin life are famine, drought, and the jealousy of blood; this made the Arab in general blood-thirsty, self-magnifying, and an exhibitor of courage and prowess even in the time of adversity.⁽⁸⁾ This harsh, depressing atmosphere of the desert aggravated his individual characteristics. It forced him to live in isolation with his family; he wrangled with his neighbours over the scanty water supply and meagre pastures, both essential to his very existence.

(7) W.J. Courthope, op.cit, p.42.

(8) R. Blachère, Histoire de la Littérature Arabe, Paris, 1952, p.24. Translated into Arabic by Ibrāhīm Keilānī, Damascus, 1956, p.37.

It stamped his livelihood with hyperbole and the constant necessity of mobility. These two influences are apparent in the ethical side of his nature. He himself knew the purpose of neither goodness nor wickedness. He was aggressive in his enmity and faithful in his friendship. He loathed (and still loathes) settled life. His basis of life was at best precarious, and thus he considered agriculture with contempt and aversion. "Agriculture," said Ibn Khaldūn, "is a way of making a living for weak people and Bedouins in search of subsistence."⁽⁹⁾ But there were a few cultivated spots amid that dry, naked desert of Arabia, and, where found, they rose like "islands out of the sandy ocean."⁽¹⁰⁾ The nomads abandoned industry: the reason given by Ibn Khaldūn for this is that the Arabs were more firmly rooted in desert life and more remote from sedentary civilization."⁽¹¹⁾ The Bedouin believed that pasturing, trading, hunting and raiding were necessities but essentially actions of a mobile community. His true inclination was to condemn land and its produce, to glorify the camel and to magnify the horse."⁽¹²⁾ The nomad himself was economically a herdsman, politically a conqueror, and chronically a fighter."⁽¹³⁾ This environment obliged him to become a familiar with want.

(9) Ibn Khaldūn, al-Muqaddīma, 2nd Ed., Beirut, 1886, Chapter V, Section 8, Book One, p.344.

(10) E. Gibbon, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, London, 1896, Vol. I, p.306.

(11) Ibn Khaldūn, al-Muqaddīma, Chapter V, Section XXI, Book One, p.353.

(12) R. Blachère, op.cit., p.19.

(13) E.C. Semple, op.cit., p.493.

Drought, dearth, and the vicissitudes of fate occupy a great part of his life. From his birth he had to learn how to fight famine. The desert, although a place of hardship and starvation, to him became familiar and accustomed. These hard conditions and bad habitats were "the result of necessity that destined these conditions for the Arabs."⁽¹⁴⁾ The monotony of their life was broken only by the ardent pleasures of years of plenty, the biting misery of years of famine, and by success or failure in their raids on one another or on the settled communities on the fringes of the desert. The universal social conditions destroyed (every) possibility of settled life, but at any rate this precluded the drudgery of regular routine.

The arid plains permitted no accumulation of productive wealth beyond increasing flocks and herds, and limited even their growth by the food supply of scanty, scattered pasturage. Nevertheless, this wealth was not guaranteed or lasting because a pest among his herds, diminished pasturage, or failing wells would sooner or later bring him face to face with famine, and again drive him to robbery and pillage. But the desert had planted the seeds of courage and patience in his character together with "the stiffnecked pride of the freeman."⁽¹⁵⁾ Courage, bravery and prowess became his ideal. Fortitude, in fact, became a character quality of his, and

(14) Ibn Khaldūn, Muqaddima, p.113.

(15) E.C. Semple, op. cit. p.810.

courage his nature and like that of the ancient Greek the latter was "dependent upon excitement and vanishing quickly before depression and delay."⁽¹⁶⁾

The economic life of pagan Arabia was both dry and meagre. The camel and the booty of raiding were the sole capital of the Arab. He himself was "the parasite of the camel,"⁽¹⁷⁾ and the camel to him was like "the reindeer to the Laplander,"⁽¹⁸⁾ an invaluable gift of Allāh.⁽¹⁹⁾ It was his constant companion, "his alter-ego, his foster parent."⁽²⁰⁾ "The Arab," wrote Doughty, "is shepherd and cattle-breeder, his own butcher, and lying at night with his beasts about him. But the long fasts, which he annually endures, purge the body and lend to the mind a swift detachment from the things of sense."⁽²¹⁾

Social Life and Organizations

The barren environment of the desert established no

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- (16) R.A. Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs, Cambridge, 1956, p.82 (Quoted from: Rev. J.P. Mahaffy, Social Life in Greece, 5th Ed., London, 1883, p.21)
 - (17) P.K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, 5th Ed., London, 1953, p.22. (Quoted from: Sprenger, In Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, XLV (1891), p.361, L.13).
 - (18) W.A. Clouston, Arabian Poetry for English Readers, Glasgow, 1881, p.XXV - Introduction.
 - (19) The Qūr'ān, 16.(5-8)
 - (20) P.K. Hitti, op.cit., p.21.
 - (21) G.A. Smith, The Early Poetry of Israel in its Physical and Social Origins, London, 1907, p.32. (Quoted from: C.M. Doughty, Arabia Deserta, i, pp. 56, 400, 467, ii, 336, 378).

government in the sense of national unity based on the duties and rights of its citizens. The struggle for existence in Arabia focused around water and pasturage. These strifes destroyed the feeling of national unity, and encouraged an incurable 'particularism'.⁽²²⁾ Each tribe deemed itself self-sufficient, and considered all other tribes as its legitimate victims for murder, pillage, and plunder.⁽²³⁾ The Arabs of the Jāhiliya were not community-minded, but there existed more or less different social classes exhibiting the human communities that mankind has passed through during a long period of history. Therefore, pre-Islāmic civilization, if the term civilization is applicable here, was apparently subjective to varying cultures; it had no historical stamp or face or specific characteristic to influence other civilizations and produce intercourse. The Arabs, throughout the Peninsula, were divided into numerous local tribes. The tribe itself consisted of a few families living together in a restricted area, migrating from one place to another, and, in its gathering, lay the seed of its power. The common factor which united these families to constitute a particular tribe was due completely to the physical fact of blood. This blood is "the tribal bond," said Professor Robertson Smith, "which knits men of the same group together

(22) J. Hell, The Arab Civilization, Translated from the German by: S. Khuda Bakhsh, Lahore, June, 1943, p.11.

(23) Ibid., p.11.

and gives them common duties and responsibilities from which no member of the group can withdraw."⁽²⁴⁾ Thus the tribe itself was not a political organisation, but a unity of al-‘aṣabiya,⁽²⁵⁾ which is the group feeling depending on blood relationship and purity of lineage. It leads to affection for family and blood relatives. No harm ought to befall them nor any destruction come upon them. Only tribes held together by the ‘aṣabiya could live in the desert.

This blood relationship played an important role in the life of that pastoral community, because it was the spirit of the clan and the feeling of solidarity and the duty to uphold and promote the interests of the tribe with all one's strength. The whole law of the pagan Arabs was the law of the ‘aṣabiya⁽²⁶⁾ itself which moulded together and painted their habits and customs. That law was a law of 'war, blood-feud, blood-wit, and booty.'

Every tribe was a "republic"⁽²⁷⁾ governed by public

(24) W.R. Smith, Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, London, 1907, p.27.

(25) Al-‘aṣabiya signifies the tribal solidarity with its clannishness, racial beliefs, and the blood of kinship; it obliged the Bedouin to aid and support his tribe with zeal and loyalty against the common danger.

(26) The influence of al-‘aṣabiya is strong enough to make a husband give up his wife. This is reported by Hitti from: Kitāb al-Kāmil, by al-Mūbarrad, Ed. Professor W. Wright, Leipzig, 1864, p.229, L.3: on p.27.

(27) Sir William Muir, The Life of Mahomet, New Ed., London, 1877, p.XIX (Introduction).

opinion. The opinion of the aggregate tribes, who chanced for a time to act together became the sovereign law. This temporary aggregation of tribes has been described as " a commonwealth without a ruler." (28) Leadership of the tribe was always undertaken by its chief men, who derived their authority from noble blood or the 'aṣabiya, noble character, wealth, wisdom, and experience. The tribe was the community which safeguarded the interests of all those who belonged to it. There were in the Bedouin tribes many houses which were familiar with leadership and honour, and the people in them strongly influenced the tribe. The Shāikh, or head of the tribe was 'a mediator and a peace-maker' (29) rather than a ruler, but sometimes the solidarity and the responsibility of the whole tribe obliged the leaders to exercise some sort of 'police-supervision.' (30)

The Bedouin was a born democrat; he met his Shāikh on an equal footing, because the society in which he lived levelled everything down. But the genuine Arab was thoroughly

(28) I. Lichtenstädter, *Women in the Aiyām al-ʿArab*, Prize Publication Fund Vol. XIV, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1935, p.66: it is the statement of Wellhausen who so called the form of political life of the Arab Bedouins.

(29) R. Landau, *Islam and the Arabs*, London, 1958, p.14.

(30) *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, London, 1913, Vol. I, p.375-376.

(31)
aristocratic as well as democratic. He looked upon himself as the embodiment of the consummate pattern of creation⁽³²⁾ and his sense of personal dignity was so strong that he was naturally against every form of authority.⁽³³⁾ He was, in fact, a 'cynical materialist,', wrangling always with other clans. His ambition was to satisfy his hunger and want. His realism taught him to struggle to live for the present, so he was reluctant to remember his past life except for a few memories concerning his individual actions and dubious of the future. Therefore one might say that he was permitted to look behind, but only with a rapid glance to help him to drive forward.

Robbery became so integrated in his nomadic personality and character that it became "his fine art."⁽³⁴⁾ This made him a revolutionary figure. The lack of a central authority inspired him to be thus, and simultaneously made him freedom-loving and jealous. Life was indeed a struggle for existence, resulting only in the survival of the fittest; the weak and the coward could not possibly live. He must at all times display strength and unlimited power, otherwise he would become the

(31) Th. Nöldeke, Sketches from Eastern History, Translated into English by: J.S. Black, London and Edinburgh, 1892, p.12.

(32) P.K. Hitti, op.cit., p.28.

(33) De Lacy O'Leary, Arabia before Muhammad, London, 1927, p.20.

(34) Rev. S.M. Zwemer, Arabia: The Cradle of Islam, 2nd Ed., New York, 1900, p.264.

victim of the stronger. Al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī illustrated this bellicose characteristic and its effect upon the nomadic community in the following line:

"Wolves rush upon he who has no dogs,
But dread the den of the fierce one." (35)

The Arab may be described as fiery-tempered: a single word against his dignity and honour, which is the basis of his morality, would excite his anger and kindle his belligerent instinct, as is illustrated in the following line of Sa'ad

b. Nāshīb al-Māzinī:

"With the sword will I wash my shame away,
Let God's doom bring on me what it may! (36)

A general council was formed from the heads of families or the chiefs of clans to deal with tribal problems, and to this council all discussions concerning war and peace were referred. This type of constitution enables one to regard the tribal community as democratic. This term 'democracy' may be

- (35) Muhammad Ibn Sallām al-Jumahī, *Tabaqāt Fuhūl al-Shu'arā*, Edited with commentary by: M.M. Shākir, Cairo, 1952, p.47. See also, A. Ahlwardt, *The Divans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, London, 1870, p.175, and L. Cheikho, *Kitāb Shu'arā al-Nasrāniya*, Beirut, 1924, Part V, p.729.

تَعُدُّ الذُّبَابَ عَلَى سَدِّ كَلَابِ لَهْ وَتَقْبِي مَرْيَضَ الشَّيْخِ الْحَارِثِي

- (36) This is the translation given by Professor R.A. Nicholson of the following line:

لَا تُغْلِبُ عَنِّي الصَّارِبَ بِالسَّيْفِ جَالِبًا عَلَى قَضَاءِ اللَّهِ مَا لَمْ يَجَالِبَا

This line together with the following lines are quoted from: Abū Tammām, *Dīwān al-Hamāsa*, Commentary of al-Tibrizī, Cairo (Būlāq), 1296, A.H., Vol. I, p.35, 36, 37.

إِذَا هُمْ لَمْ تَرُدَّ عِزِّهِمْ هَمَّ وَلَمْ يَأْتِ مَا يَأْتِي مِنَ الذُّبَابِ صَائِبًا
إِذَا هُمْ أَلْقَوْا نَبِيَّهُ غَنِيَّةَ عَزْمَةٍ وَكَلَبَتْ عَنْ ذِكْرِ الصَّوَابِ جَانِبًا
وَلَمْ يَسْتَرْيِ أَيْتَهُ غَيْرَتُهُمْ وَلَمْ يَرْضَ إِلَّا مَا تَمَّ الشَّيْفُ صَاهِبًا

applied if it means "un instinct social d'équilibre démocratique qui tient lieu d'institutions politiques".⁽³⁷⁾

The Bedouin was, above all, an egotistic individualist;⁽³⁸⁾ he was extremely proud of his freedom. He considered himself an equal of all members of his tribe in origin, rights and duties. Two strong currents influenced him, that of individualism, which later reached the level of selfishness, and that of the feeling of loyalty to his tribe, which was rooted in his personality and character and which sometimes drove him to sacrifice his own life. That tribal community of the Jāhiliya represents an anarchy alleviated by a more or less influential oligarchy of chiefs of families, clans and tribes. Thus tribal individualism was not a disrupted political entity,⁽³⁹⁾ but was accompanied by tribal fidelity, which became a power in facing danger. This community feeling eventually compelled him to integrate his own individuality with loyalty to his tribe. Therefore, this assimilation gave new blood to the tribe, and thus the panegyric poetry among the amateur poets of the Jāhiliya was regarded as a 'national duty' and a moral obligation.

(37) R. Blachère, op. cit. p.21.

(38) C. Brockelmann, History of Islamic Peoples. London, 1952, p.4.

(39) Dr. S.A. Al-'Alī, Lectures on History of the Arabs, Baghdad, 1955, Vol. I, p.132.

Poets were, in fact, the journalists of their day, never tired of singing the praises of *diyāfa*, (hospitality), which with *hamāsa* (fortitude and enthusiasm) and *murū'a* (manliness), is considered one of the supreme virtues of the race. (40) This social contract between the individual Bedouin and his tribe was built merely upon a sentimental basis:

"They ask not their kinsman for witness
When he cries for help in times of distress". (41)

Such a principle formed his honour, which required that a man should remain loyal to his people through thick and thin.

"I am of *Ghazīyya*: if she be in error, then I will err;
And if *Ghazīyya* be guided, I go right with her!" (42)

The *Najda* (succour) had entered the mind and spirit of the Bedouin, and it became an essential part of his social structure. He quickly responded to any call for help from whichever direction required:

"If asked for help, they would never question the asker,
No matter for which battle it might be sought nor
from which direction requested". (43)

(40) P.K. Hitti, op. cit., p.25 (quoted from: I. Goldziher, *Muhammadanische Studien*, Part I (Halle, 1889), p.13).

(41) Abū Tammām, *Diwān al-Hamāsa*, Commentary of al-Tibrīzī, Cairo (Cairo), 1296 A.H., Vol. I, p.9.
لَدَيْهِمْ أَلْفٌ مِنْهُمْ خَبِيرٌ
لَدَيْهِمْ أَلْفٌ مِنْهُمْ خَبِيرٌ

(42) This is the translation rendered by Professor R.A. Nicholson of the following line which may be found in *Jamharat Ash'ar al-'Arab*, by al-Qurashī, Cairo, 1926 (Dūrayd b. al-Simma, p.225, v.5:
وَهَلْ أَدْرَاكَ مِنْ غَرَبَةٍ إِنْ غَوَتْ غَوَيْتَ وَإِنْ تَرَكْتَ غَرَبَةً أَتَيْتَ

(43) *Diwān al-Hamāsa*, Vol. I, P. 64:

إِذَا تَسْعَدُوا لَمْ يَأْلُوا مِنْ دَعَائِهِمْ لَيْسَ بِهَرَبٍ أَمْ لَا بِيَّ مَكَانٍ

The friend brought up in his tents was more to him than his children. Therefore, Najda was a speedy action; it needed no delay but urgent response.

"The morning call for help we do promptly answer by the immediate despatch of a swift army". (44)

This consciousness of race led to a new trend. The belief that the Arabs were superior to other nations and that any tribe outside of their racial zone was inferior to them. To the Arab his nation was the most noble of all nations (*afkhar al-umam*, أَفْخَرُ الْأُمَمِ (45) and *ashraf al-Nās*, أَشْرَفُ النَّاسِ (46). They considered themselves the best people (*Khair al-Nās*, خَيْرُ النَّاسِ) as is illustrated in the following line:

"We are sons of noble stock, who deem it our destiny to become kings". (47)

In this racial attitude with its sense of superiority lies

(44) *Dīwān al-Hamāsa*, Vol. III, p.102.

وَجَيْبُ دَاعِيَةِ الصَّاحِ جَائِبٌ عَنِ الرُّؤُوبِ لِنُغُومِ الشَّيْبِ
(45) P.K. Hitti, op. cit., p.28.

(46) *al-Tibrizī*, *Sharh al-Qasā'id al-'Ashr*, ed. by: C.J. Lyall, Calcutta, 1894, (Mu'allāqa of 'Amr ibn Kulthūm, p.115, 116, line 42. *Al-Tibrizī* interpreted this phrase "Hūdayya'n-Nāsi", هُدَايَا النَّاسِ in the following line:

هَدَايَا النَّاسِ كُلُّهُمْ جَمِيعًا مَقَاعَةً يَسِيرُونَ عَنْ بَيْنِنَا
as "the more noble of people".

"صَفَاهُ نَحْنُ أَشْرَفُ النَّاسِ يَقَالُ: أَنَا هُدَايَاكَ فِي لَيْلٍ أَيْ مَوَدَّةٍ".

(47) *Dīwān al-Hamāsa*, Vol. I, p.130.

وَحَدَّ جُومَارِ السَّابِ مَلَرَتْ لَتَقْبِضَ رَدْنِ مَمْلَكَةٍ قَصْرًا

the keynote of boasting and songs of glory in the Jāhīliya history. Tribal feuds, revenge and war-blood between different tribes and clans (also encouraged and incidentally flourished this feeling of racial superiority), because each group was a unit and opposed to all the other clans. The belief in the unity and superiority of the race gave birth to many traditions and customs which subsequently organised the relationships between the social classes inside the tribe. Within the social structure of the tribe itself there were three main classes: firstly al-Ṣurahā' (الضَّرْحَاءُ, the free born members), secondly al-'Abīd (العبيد, the slaves), and thirdly al-Mawālī (الموالي, the clients). Free members, in the language of the tribe, were those who had pure blood which linked and knitted all of them together under one tent. They were representatives of a true 'aṣabīya, and alone formed the 'aristocratic' class inside the tribe. They themselves were the actual leaders of the tribe, and upon their pure lineage and 'aṣabīya depended their leadership. The Ṣurahā' were, therefore, very conscientious in keeping their 'blood' always pure and from both sides of kinship (father and mother) as is illustrated in this line:

"Banū Fāliḡ are my people, among them was my father born;
And my maternal uncle, the most hospitable, is of the
clan of Fātīk". (48)

(48) Al-Sukkarī, Kitāb Sharḡ Ash'ār al-Hudḡaliyn, Ed. with annotations by: J.C.L. Kosegarten, London, 1854, Vol. I, p.121.

بَنُو فَالِجٍ قَوْمِي وَهُمْ وَلَدُوا أَبِي وَهَالِي نَمَالُ الضَّفِيرِ مِنْ آلِ مَاتِلِ

As for the slave class, it was formed from two sources: that of Arab and non-Arab. The former consisted of those who had been captured in the raids between the Arabic tribes themselves. Whatever may have been the cause of warfare, the purpose of the conqueror among them was to gain as much booty as possible and to bring home the defeated men and women at the end of the raiding. These captives eventually became his slaves. In the poetry of al-Jāhīlīya one can trace the influence of such operations by finding these terms: al-'abd, al-'abīd, al-'ubdān, al-ama, al-imā' and al-sibā. (49) The non-Arab source consisted of those slaves who were brought into the desert from vicinal countries of the Arabian Peninsula. As the relations between tribes were dependent on war enmity, the procuring of captives both male and female was a main object of every expedition, and it is evident in this state of perpetual war that weakness reduced the woman to a condition of an eternal abandoned, to brutality. (50) Stories of female captives are narrated in Kitāb al-Aghānī and al-Naqā'id; the most recurring expressions therein are

"لَا خَيْرَ مِنْ نِسَاءٍ وَاسْمَاقُوا نِسَاءً" (51)

(49) Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, Hidāyat al-Murīd fi Shirā' al-'adīd, in Part IV of Nawādir al-Makḥḥūṭāt, ed. with notes and commentary by: A.S. Hārūn, Cairo, 1954, 1st ed., p.337. See also Lichtenstädter, op. cit., p.20, 21.

(50) H. Lammens, Le Berceau de L'Islam, Rome, 1914, Vol. I, p.280.

(51) Abū 'l-Faraj al-'Iṣfahānī, Kitāb al-Aghānī, Cairo (Būlāq), 1285 A.H. Vol. XI p.172 and ed. of Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, Vol XI, p.55 and al-Mubarrad, the Kāmil, ed. by W. Wright, Leipzig, 1864, p.278.

(52) "فَاكْتَسَتْ أَمْوَالَهُمْ وَجَوَانَهُمْ جَايَا... فَخَرَّبَهُ مِنْ أَصْبَابِ أَسَارِهِ" and

Under such harsh conditions women naturally became subjective to the immoral actions of the victorious males, as happened in the story of Banū Shaybān, when Bahrā' had raided and captured their women. Banū Shaybān were criticised when their women were later returned to their own tribe in a state of pregnancy. (53)

The Bedouin had learned from his environment that, if he were to poison the honour of his rival, he would have to capture his women. It sometimes happened that all the women of a settlement were surprised in their men's absence, (54) as took place on the Day of Judūd between Shaybān and Banū Tamīm. Therefore, the protection of their women and children became a chief point of strategy, and created a strong feeling in the Arabs' character to protect their Za'īna (الطعينة, woman travelling in litter). This protective feeling became an essential part of Arabic heroship. Poets of The Jāhiliya responded to these stimuli and recorded these actions in words which flew across the desert faster than arrows, and came home to the hearts and bosoms of all who heard them, such as ,

نَا سِ الطَّعِينَةِ (the day of al-Za'īna), (55) يَوْمِ الطَّعِينَةِ

(52) The Naqā'id of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, ed. by: A.S. Bevan, Leiden, 1905, Vol. I, p.13.

(53) Al-Aghāni, Vol. XI, p.172.

مَاتَ بَهْرَارٌ أَعْلَى عَلَى سَيْفِهِ نَاحِدَةً مِنْهُنَّ نِسَاءً وَرَدَّوهُنَّ تَعْرِيمَ وَهَدَّ بَأْسَهُنَّ رَدُّنَ حَبَالِي فَقَالَ: ظَلَمْتُ عَنْ الْعَصَا بِأَرْصَا وَتَبَانِ وَفِي الْقَطِطَةِ حَمْرُ

(54) W.R. Smith, op. cit. p.295. The Naqā'id, Vol. I, p.145.

(55) Abū 'Alī al-Qāfi, Kitāb al-Amālī, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, Cairo, 1926, 2nd ed., Vol. II, p.270.

Fāris al-Za'īna, (the horseman, the 'protector' of the woman in a litter)⁽⁵⁶⁾ as is described by Durayd b. al-Simma:

"أَنَا مِنَ الطَّعِينَةِ قَدْ حَمَاهَا وَقَتَلَ مَرَاكِمَ" (57)

(I am the horseman, the guard of al-Za'īna, who has protected her and slain your riders.)

Another term is, حامي الطعينة Hāmī al-Za'īna (the protector of al-Za'īna)⁽⁵⁸⁾ as Durayd himself said:

"I have never seen or heard about one like he such a gallant and protector of the Za'īna, never to be slain."⁽⁵⁹⁾

The victorious tribe often sold the defeated captives (male and female), as happened in the dispute between Banū Lihyān and Banū Khunā'a, where, if the former captured one person from the latter, they would sell him.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Za'īd b. Hāritha, the client of the Prophet Muḥammad, was sold in 'Ukāz by Banū al-Qaīn b. Jasr when they raided his mother's clan (Banu Ma'n), and Ḥakīm b. Hizām had bought him for his aunt Khadīja b. Khuwa'ilīd. She gave Za'īd as a present to the Prophet Muḥammad, who emancipated and adopted him.⁽⁶¹⁾ The mother of 'Amr b. al-'Ās

(56) Ibid., Vol. II, p.271.

(57) Ibid., Vol. II, p.271.

(58) Ibid., Vol. II, p.271.

(59) Ibid., Vol. II, p.271.

(60) Al-Sukkarī, Sharḥ Ash'ar al-Hudhalīyīn, ed. by: J.G.L. Kosegarten, London, 1854, Vol. I, p.100, and Part III of Diwan al-Hudhalīyīn, ed. of Dār al-Kutūb al-Miṣriya, Cairo, 1950, p.70. It is related in this way:

"فَرَدَا أَصَابَتُهُ بَنُو كَيْسَانَ مِنْ خِطَاةٍ أَصَابَتْ بَنِي لُحَيْمٍ، وَارْدًا أَصَابَتُهُ بَنُو خِطَاةٍ أَصَابَتْ بَنِي كَيْسَانَ قَتَلُوهُ"

(61) Ibn al-Athīr, Usd al-Ghāba fī Marīfat al-Sahāba, Cairo, 1285 A.H., Vol. II, p.224.

was from Banū 'Atra ; she was also sold in 'Ūkāz, bought by 'Abdullāh b. Jud'ān and given to al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il whom she married. (62)

Captives and prisoners were sold at Mecca; this is illustrated in the case of Banū Khunā'a, when they captured Rabī' from Banū Sa'd b. Bakr "and sold him in Mecca", (63) Concerning Rabī' himself as a chief of his clan, Ma'qil b. Khuwa'ilid said:

"Verily you have been bought, and have become a slave at Mecca, where you eat decayed bones". (64)

Therefore, the selling of captives (male and female) was very popular among the Arabic tribes of The Jāhīliya, and the Diwān of the Hudhail poets shows us, as Professor Robertson Smith pointed out, that there was a regular slave trade in Mecca, (65) supplied by the wars that went on among the surrounding tribes, and there were also centres of the export slave trade at al-Madina, Ta'imā, and Khaibar. (66) The significance of the

(62) Ibn al-Athīr, Uṣd al-Ghāba fī Ma'rīfat al-Ṣahāba, Cairo, 1286, A.H., Vol. IV, 1286, p.115-116.

(63) Sharḥ Ash'ār al-Hudhaliyyīn, ed. by: J.C. Kosegarten, Vol. I, p.116.

(64) Ibid., p.117, line 5.

فَالَيْكَ قَدْ شَرِيتَ مَعْدَنَ عَبْدًا بَلَّغَهُ حَيْثُ تَرْتَمِ الْعِظَامُ

(65) W.R. Smith, op. cit., p.89.

(66) Ibid., p.295.

female side of this type of trade and its operation must have been to increase the scarcity of women, especially in the weaker tribes.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Tribes in Iraq and Syria often sold their captives in Mecca, for instance, Kalb bought Ṣuḥaīb b. Sinān from the Romans, who raided his clan in al-Mawsil and captured him while he was a young boy. Kalb then brought Ṣuḥaīb to Mecca where he was purchased by 'Abdūllāh b. Jud'ān.⁽⁶⁸⁾

With regard to the non-Arab source of slaves, it consisted of those who were brought to the Arabian Peninsula from neighbouring territories. Slave traders used to bring all those foreign slaves to Mecca or other trading places and to sell them in the slave markets on special occasions.⁽⁶⁹⁾ The Arabs of The Jāhīliya did not regard the slave trade as an inhuman occupation, but considered it an ordinary profession leading to the same end of gaining booty and money as other trades. The Quraīsh used to trade with slaves as they did with other goods.⁽⁷⁰⁾

The third class of the tribe was al-Mawālī (the clients). It was formed from free men and free Arabs of other kins,

(67) Ibid., p.295 (quoted from Wellhausen, *Moh. in Med.*, p.221).

(68) Ibn Qūṭaiba, *al-Ma'ārif*, ed. with notes by: M.I. al-Ṣāwī, Cairo, 1934, 1st ed., p.114.

(69) J. Zaydān, *Ta'rikh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī*, Cairo, 1947, 5th ed., Vol. IV, p.21.

(70) Ibid., Vol. IV, p.21.

living under the protection of the tribe or of its chief or some other influential man. Therefore the origin of this class was free men and former slaves. The free men were those who had taken refuge with the tribe or a certain member of that tribe. They were, in fact, Khula'ā (outlaws) who usually sought the protection of another tribe which was seldom refused, and sometimes were called al-Hulafā (the allies), but very often the covenant made the outlaw the son of his protector and gave him all the rights and duties of a tribe's man.⁽⁷¹⁾ The slaves were those who had been set free by their masters from the yoke of slavery and stayed loyal to their masters.

The eternal conflict between the tribes of the Jāhīliya were due more or less to poverty and hunger. Eating the lizard and field-rats (jerboa) was a clear sign of the dire poverty which the Bedouins used to face in their barren environment. Infanticide of their female children was another sign of poverty; the Qur'ān says: "slay not your children for fear of poverty".⁽⁷²⁾ Fear of hunger and starvation, calamity and poverty created different complexes, the most familiar of which was inferiority complex. Both created a

(71) W.R. Smith, op. cit., p.53-54.

(72) The Qur'ān, Sūrat al- Isrā', 31.33:

”وَلَا تَقْتُلُوا أَوْلَادَكُمْ خَشْيَةَ إِمْرَءٍ ؕ هُوَ رِزْقُهُمْ وَإِيَّاكُمْ
إِنَّ قَتْلَهُمْ كَانَ فِطْرًا كَبِيرًا .“

new class in the Bedouin community, which was called al-Ṣaʿālīk (Sing. A Ṣuʿlūk) or vagabonds and brigands; for example, Qaīs b. al-Ḥaddādīya,⁽⁷³⁾ al-Shanfarā, ʿUrwa b. al-Ward⁽⁷⁴⁾ and Taʿbbata Sharran. Al-Ṣaʿālīk themselves followed these principles of raiding and brigandage; Taʿbbata Sharran said:

"Whenever you require me while I am still alive,
you will find me at the top with the leader." (75)

Raiding, brigandage, capturing and robbery were not only means of wealth in the eyes of al-Ṣaʿālīk, but also means of hospitality and generosity, as is illustrated by ʿUrwa b. al-Ward, the leader of this union (al-Ṣaʿālīk) or 'co-operative society'⁽⁷⁶⁾ in the following line:

"(77) دَعَيْتِي أَطُوفُ فِي الْبُحْرِ لَعَلِّي أَفِيدُ غَيْرِي مِنْهُ لَدَى الْحَوِّ مَحْمِلُ

Al-Ṣaʿālīk were formed from three classes: firstly al-Khulāʿa' al-Shuḥdhadh, الخلاء البتاد, (outlaws apart from their abode and tribe) who were expelled by their own tribes to the extent that no common link remained with which to join

(73) Al-Aghānī, Vol. XIII, p.2.

(74) Al-Aghānī, Vol. III, p.73, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, Cairo, 1929, 1st ed. See also, Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān al-ʿArab, Dār Ṣādir, Beirut, 1956, Vol. X, p.455-456.

(75) Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān al- Arab, Vol. XI, pp.286, 287, 422, 423.

(76) W. ʿArafat, A Critical Introduction to the Study of the Poems ascribed to Ḥassān Ibn Thābit, Ph.D. Thesis, S.O.A.S., London University, 1954, p.537.

(77) ʿUrwa Ibn al-Ward, Diwān, the Commentary of Ibn al-Sikkīt, one of the "Majmūʿ Khamsat Dawāwīn", by: Abū Bakr ʿAsīm b. Ayūb al-Baṭalyaūsī, Cairo, 1293 A.H., p.106. See also Théodor Nöldeke, Gedichte des ʿUrwa Ibn al-Ward, Gottingen, 1863, p.16 and Diwān al-Ḥamāsa, Vol. III, p.96 and L. Cheikho, Shuʿarā' al-Nasrānīya, Beirut, 1925, Part VI, p. 916, line 1.

them again together. In other words, there was no 'social contact' between themselves and their own tribes. This anti-socialism was, in fact, due to individual misbehaviour⁽⁷⁸⁾ and the nature of pillage and brigandage which, very often, led to bitter disappointment and made revenge among the tribes inevitable. In solving such problems, the actual tribes of al-Ṣaʿālīk used to break the social link with the offenders, as happened to Ḥājiz al-Azdī and Qaīs b. al-Haddādiya.⁽⁷⁹⁾

The second class was al-Aghrība, ^{الْأَغْرِبَة} (Ravens or Mullattoes whose mothers were negresses and whose fathers did not recognise them as their legal children, because their blood was not pure Arabic and because their mothers were slaves.⁽⁸⁰⁾ For instance, Ta'abbata Sharran,⁽⁸¹⁾ al-Shanfara,⁽⁸²⁾ al-Sulaik b. Sulaka,⁽⁸³⁾ 'Antara of 'Abs,⁽⁸⁴⁾ and Khifāf b.

(78) Al-Aghānī, Vol. VIII, p.52 and Vol. XIX, p.75.

(79) Al-Aghānī, Vol. XIII, p.2.

(80) Al-Aghānī, Vol. VII, p.149.

(81) Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, al-Mūẓhir, Cairo, N.D., Vol. II, p.269.

(82) Ibid., Vol. II, p.269.

(83) Ibn Qūṭaiba, al-Shiʿr wa'l-Shuʿarā, ed. with notes by: A.M. Shākir, Cairo, 1364 A.H., Vol. I, pp.324-325 and al-Aghānī, Vol. VII, p.150 and al-Suyūṭī, al-Mūẓhir, Vol. II, p.269.

‘UmaIr. (85)

This 'colour-bar' policy in such a community created a strong inferiority complex among those Ravens. This complex was based upon a collection of ideas due to previous experiences and had for the individual a large emotional value. Therefore, this compelled the Aghriba of the Jāhiliya to boast of their black colour. The Diwān of ‘Antara of ‘Abs is a good example of this attitude. They regarded their colour as their 'pure lineage',⁽⁸⁶⁾ which that community of discrimination considered lacking in them. Sometimes, they considered their colour like that of a white Arab⁽⁸⁷⁾ in the sense of achieving noble deeds and various virtues.

The third class comprised the rebellious poor, who became robbers as a result of the meagre economic conditions of the

(85) Al-Aghānī, Vol. VII, p.150 and al-Sūyūṭī, al-Mūẓhir, Vol. II, p.269.

(86) ‘Antara of ‘Abs, Diwān, Dār Sādir, Beirut, 1958, p.92, v. 5 and L. Cheikhō, Shū‘arā’ al-Naṣrāniya, Part VI, p.818, line 13:

لَكُنْ يَصْبُوا وادي فحول نَبِّ، يَوْمَ النَّارِ، إِذَا مَا مَاتَ النَّبِّ

and v. 8, p.172 (Cheikhō, Part VI, p.848, line 11):

وَأَنْ يَصْبُوا وَا رَأْفَ كَيْفَ بِهِ فَالْتَدْرِي نَرُهُ تَوْبٌ مِنَ الصَّدَفِ

(87) ‘Antara, Diwān, p.146, line 7 and Cheikhō, Part VI, p.838, line 8:

وادي بياض حبه سُدَّ سَمَائِي وَفَعَلِي عَلَى النَّاسِ نَرُهُ وَفَعَرِ

desert. The head of this class was 'Ūrwa Ibn al-Ward and the Ṣa'ālīk of Hudhail.

It is possible, therefore, to describe al-Ṣa'ālīk as a social class which had lost its "social adjustment".⁽⁸⁸⁾ This was a natural reflection upon their environment which had built among them strong impulses against their society. These impulses of conflict and misbehaviour encouraged them to unite themselves under a co-operative and conflictive society. Eventually, they lost both faith and sense in the tribal 'aṣabiya which was considered as the essential brick in the social structure of that community. They believed in their own 'aṣabiya, which has been described as a 'sect 'aṣabiya,⁽⁸⁹⁾ ('aṣabiya madhhabīya). The basic principle of this 'aṣabiya was to live only by means of the sword and to have nothing to hope for.⁽⁹⁰⁾ Therefore, they played the role of "mercenary soldiers"⁽⁹¹⁾ in disputes between different tribes, and, because they were valiant in their fighting, some chiefs, who were desirous of bringing a decisive blow to their

(88) Y. Khalīf, al-Shu'arā' al-Ṣa'ālīk, Cairo, 1959, p.56.

(89) Ibid., p.114.

(90) H. Lammens, Le Berceau de l'Islam, Vol. I, p.193.

(91) Y. Khalīf, op. cit., p.116.

adversaries - used to prefer them in their fighting.⁽⁹²⁾ This life of al-Ṣaʿālīk can be regarded as typical life of the Jāhīliya society, which believed in raiding (razzia) as an essential basis of its structure. Raiding, the primitive occupation of al-Ṣaʿālīk, was, in fact, a primitive form of the struggle for existence, and eventually became their 'national sport'.⁽⁹³⁾

The poetry of al-Ṣaʿālīk is a true picture of their individual personalities, and might be considered the origin of political poetry in Arabic Literature. It illustrated vividly the revolution against aristocratic tribes, who believed in racial discrimination, from one side and it illustrated the conflict against those harsh conditions of the desert, which put them face to face with starvation, poverty and calamity, from another side.

In regard to the foreign policy of the tribe, it was based upon competition, enmity and revenge, which was described by Sir Charles J. Lyall as "the master-passion of the Arabs".⁽⁹⁴⁾ This revenge (al-tha'r , الثأر) was almost a physical necessity, which, if not obeyed, would deprive its subject of

(92) H. Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, p.193.

(93) W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford, 1953, p.17.

(94) Sir Charles J. Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry*, London, 1885, p.xxiv.

sleep, appetite and health. It was a 'veritable religion' (95) with all its hard consequences. In its prosecution the Arab was conscious of "a burning fever, the medicine for which was the blood of his foe". (96) If there were a form of peace, it would have been primitive and short-lasting, because their belief in revenge was based upon ideology and psychology as Zufār b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī illustrated in the following line:

"The pasture will grow on grounds where on
the dung of animals has fallen,
but the violent anger of beating hearts
will remain unchanged". (97)

Activities of vendetta and the sense of honour created in the Arab character a tendency to outboasting and bragging, which "reminds us", says Professor Blachère, "of Homeric heroes". (98) Their life, therefore, was 'coloured by blood'. This life, which knew neither peace nor stability, obliged them to contract treaties of alliance between different tribes. These treaties led them to stand together against their enemy. Such contracts and obligations formed a kind of union which might endure for a considerable time. This union was built either on economic needs or on the ideal of protecting weak tribes against invaders and plunderers. It happened that some

(95) H. Lammens, *Islam Beliefs and Institutions*, London, 1926, p.9.

(96) Sir Charles J. Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p.xxiv.

(97) al-Buḥturī, al-Ḥamāsa, ed. with notes and commentary by: Kamāl Mustafā, 1st ed., Cairo, 1929, p.17.

(98) R. Blachère, *op. cit.*, p.25.

tribes had united even though different in lineage and kinship. The latter was due undoubtedly to drought, calamity and wars against powerful tribes.⁽⁹⁹⁾ The Arabs of the Jāhīliya who sought for glory used to claim descent from the most noble tribe and used to make contracts with the most powerful of them.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ To strengthen this sort of alliance (Ḥilf pl. Ahlāf) between tribes, oaths were sworn over the blood of sacrifices to their gods and idols. The blood was to symbolise the actual blood of their kinship. Therefore, marriages were arranged with a view to obtaining powerful alliances,⁽¹⁰¹⁾ and the woman herself played the part of a mediator and of links between tribes.⁽¹⁰²⁾ As previously mentioned the Arabs were equally proud of their noble lineage both on their mother's and father's side.⁽¹⁰³⁾

In such a pastoral society, which believed in 'aṣabiya as its religion and in blood as its symbol of unity, women were regarded not as slaves and chattels but as equals and

(99) R. Blachère, op. cit., p.9.

(100) Al-Nuwaīrī, Nihāyat al- arab fi Funūn al-'adab, ed. of Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya, Cairo, 1924, Vol. II, Chapter IV, p.283.

(101) I. Lichtenstädter, op. cit., p.11.

(102) Ibid., p.13.

(103) W.R. Smith, op. cit., p.29 and I. Lichtenstädter, op. cit., p.7. See also, al-Aghānī, Vol. XXI, p.134, ed. by: R.E. Brunnow, Leyden, E.J. Brill, 1888. Al-Shanfarā said:

أَنَا أَبْنُو خَيْلِ الْحِجْرِ نَبِيًّا وَمَنْصِبًا وَأَنَا أَبْنُو الدَّهْرِ لَوْ تَعْرِفُونِي

companions. They entered into that open community and shared men their responsibilities. They even showed hospitality to their husband's friends.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Therefore, the free woman, who was often called Umm al-Banīn⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ (mother of sons), occupied an admirable social status,⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ and in many cases women selected their males for themselves instead of having to accept the choice made for them by their guardians⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ and even had the right to divorce their husbands.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ The woman, as a human symbol of love and beauty in every nation, had inspired the poet of the Jāhiliyya to sing and the warrior to

(104) Sir Charles J. Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p.xxxi.

(105) *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, London, 1934, Vol. IV, p.1012.

(106) The question of whether the female was the main principle of Arabic kinship or not, was discussed in detail by Professor Robertson Smith in his valuable book, "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia". He reached to the conclusion that "kinship through the mother alone was originally the universal rule of Arabia, and that kinship through males sprang up in polyandrous groups of kinsmen which brought in wives from outside but desired to keep the children of these alien women to themselves". (Chap. V, p.178). Professor Smith also mentioned in Chapter I, pp.31-32 the opinion of Theodor Nöldeke concerning the same subject but in another way "collective terms in Arabic are constantly feminine and Arabic grammar treats all tribal unities as such. Names like Tamīm, Taghlib, etc., whether feminine in form or not take feminine verbs and referred to by feminine pronouns singular. According to Nöldeke this grammatical rule is the sufficient explanation of feminine eponyma, the grammatical personification of a tribe as feminine being enough to lead people ultimately to think of an ancestress eponyma".

(107) Sir Charles J. Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p.xxxi.

(108) *Al-Aghānī*, Vol. XVI, p.106.

fight. The Arab, thus, had in their womankind the material of a high romance, and upon it they built their ideal of chivalry.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The principle of Arabic chivalry led them to concentrate their efforts in facing danger together in order to protect their women, and thus preventing them from being subject to captivity by their adversaries, as 'Amr b. Kulthūm said:

"Upon our tracks follow fair, noble ladies
that we take care shall not leave us, nor be insulted, ...
They provender our horses, saying, 'You are not
our husbands, if you do not protect us'.
If we defend them not, may we survive not
nor live on for anything after them!" (110)

The tribe did not leave their women unprotected in camp, even if there was no immediate danger of war, because the possibility of capture reduced the social status of women to that of chattels, and girls might be carried off in war to become the wives or concubines of enemies⁽¹¹¹⁾ and the captor might sell

(109) The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia, translated from the original Arabic by: Lady Ann Blunt and W.S. Blunt, London, 1903, p.xiii (Introduction).

(110) Al-Tibrīzī, *Sharḥ al-Qaṣā'id al-'Ashr*, ed. C.J. Lyall, Calcutta, 1894, (Mu'allāqa of 'Amr b. Kulthūm, p.122, line 83 and p.123, lines 88, 89). The above translation is rendered by Professor A.J. Arberry in his book, "The Seven Odes", London, 1957, pp.208, 209 of the following lines:

عَلَى آثَارِنَا نَحْنُ كِرَامٌ	نَحَارُ أَنْ تَفَارِقَهُ أَدْرَهُونَا ...
لَقَدْ هَبَّادَنَا وَلَقَدْ نَلَمْنَا	لَعَلَّنَا إِذَا لَمْ تَمْنَعُونَا
إِذَا لَمْ تَحْمَرْنَا مَرَلَقِينَا	بَشْرٍ لَعَدَّهِنَّ وَلَدَ حِينَا

(111) R. Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, being the 2nd.ed. of the *Sociology of Islam*, Cambridge, 1957, Chapter II, p.92.

them one day as mere chattels in the slave-markets of Mecca and al-Madina. Thus the necessity to defend their womenfolk and the thought that the women might be watching the battle from a distance, inspired the Arabs with courage and bravery; even their enemies had to take this factor into account.⁽¹¹²⁾ The ambition of the ordinary Bedouin was to get the women of his adversaries into his power, and eventually they would become his slaves. He himself exercised complete authority over them. Seldom did it happen that a woman who had been taken prisoner was killed.⁽¹¹³⁾ They used to marry their slave girls, and, if they bore their masters a child, they used to call each one Umm al-Walad and the children received their freedom when expressly recognised by their father.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

The inhuman and savage custom of burying female infants alive (the Wa'd) in such a community wherein there was no stability appears to have been a reaction against the frequent famines with which Arabia is afflicted through lack of rain

(112) I. Lichtenstädter, op. cit., p.39.

(113) I. Lichtenstädter, op. cit., p.35 and The Naqā'id of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, ed. by: A.A. Bevan, Leiden, 1905, Vol. I, pp.97-98. The story runs as follows:

"وما به ذلك اليوم يوم ذي حسي، ويرغم بعض بني فزارة
انه حذيفة يومئذ ما به أصحابه بني عيس بما ضربت الشريد
الشامية أم قيس فقتلا وما به في المال."

(114) The Encyclopaedia of Islam, London, 1934, Vol. IV, p.1012.

and an attempt to preserve their sense of honour, because of the fear of the possibility of disgrace and the loss of prestige in having one of their own flesh and blood married to a stranger or ill-used by him. Besides this, however, it seems that, as a result of a form of psychological pessimism, female infants were buried alive if they were born with blue eyes, slight blemishes of the skin such as freckles or moles, or any physical deformity.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ It has also been suggested that this custom was instituted because wars had tended to an excess of females over males.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ It is interesting to note here that the Greeks in the earlier ages are thought to have destroyed their female offspring.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

Maybe this cruel practice was sometimes substituted for that of abandoning their children to the vicissitudes of the desert in the hope that someone might find and bring them up for it is likely that the word al-Laḡīṭa (^{الغريبة}) means "an illegitimate female child" in the following line

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- (115) A.R.A. Al-Suḥaīlī, al-Raḡd al-Ūnuf, commentary on al-Sīra al-Nabawīya by Ibn Hishām, Cairo, 1914, Vol. I, p.148.
- (116) Rev. S.M. Zwemer, op. cit., p.161, being the suggestion of Professor Wälken.
- (117) W.A. Clouston, op. cit., p.xxviii. Clouston also mentioned that the Arabs of the Jāhiliya sacrificed their female children to their idols as did some of the neighbouring nations. This statement lacks historical evidence, and it seems that such a practice would have been contrary to the Bedouin's turn of mind. See p.49 of this thesis.

which would support this possibility:

«لَوَكُنْتُ مِنْ مَارِنٍ لَمْ تَسْبَحْ إِيَّايَ جِوَالِقِيَّةٌ مِنْ زُهَلٍ بِشَيْبَانَا» (118)

Al-Tibrīzī interpreted this word al-Laḡīṭa in the former line as follows:

«اللقطة وأصله من التقطت الشيء إذا وجدته مطروحاً
فأخذته وليس لقطاً حتى تأخذه وهو ما دام على الأرض
سجوداً لأنه يصيرهم أن أقهرهم تحت أقدمة التقطت فربيت ...
وقيل اللقطة هربنا منه وليس بشتم» (119)

Among the tribe of Tamīm were a few chiefs who disliked Wa'd and they saved the lives of many female children by buying⁽¹²⁰⁾ them from their fathers. The name of Sa'sa'a b. Nājiya, grandfather of al-Farazdaq was celebrated for his noble acts of this sort. He was called صَحْرَى الْمَوْدَاتِ (the saviour of the infanticidal female children - Muḥyy al-Maw'ūdāt).⁽¹²¹⁾

(118) *Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa*, Vol. I, p.5.

(119) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.6.

(120) W.R. Smith, *op. cit.*, p.292.

(121) Al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān*, ed. with notes and commentary by: A.I. al-Ṣāwī, 1st ed., Cairo, 1936, Vol. II, p.477,

v. 1,2:
 أَبِي أَحَدِ الْقَشِيهِ ضَعْفَعَةُ الَّذِي مِنْ تَحْلِفِ الْجَوَارِي وَالْجَمِّ بِمُطَرِّ
 أَجَاءَ نَبَاتِ الْوَأْدَيْنِ وَمَنْ يَجْرُ عَلَى الْفَقْرِ يَعْلَمُ أَنَّهُ غَيْرُ مُخْصَرِّ

Vol. II, p.517, v. 3:

رَبَّنَا الَّذِي أَهْلُ الْوُسَيْدِ وَغَالِبُ وَغَمْرُ وَمِنَّا حَاجِبُ وَالْقَارِعُ

Foreign Culture and its impact upon the pagan Arab mind.

Each community in the history of mankind may be regarded as a human being. Provision for that human being is always culture. Different cultures and various trends of knowledge have played an important rôle in the life of human communities throughout history. Infiltration of new ideas is apparent in the pastoral community of Arabia, because the ability to assimilate other cultures, when the opportunity presented itself, is well marked among the children of the desert.⁽¹²²⁾ There are many means which helped to carry legacies of different nations into Arabia. The chief of these were commercial intercourse, religion and wars. This was due partly to the fact that Arabia was crossed by caravans which kept the Arabs in steady contact with neighbouring territories, and from them a certain measure of culture seems to have penetrated into Arabia. These lands, and especially Iraq and Syria where there were many Arabic merchants,⁽¹²³⁾ are in reality no more than a by-product of the process of contact and transmission between the nomad zone and that of settled cultures. There were at the same time Persian traders, who

(122) P.K. Hitti, op. cit., p.28.

(123) Al-Ṭabarī, *Tar'rīkh al-Ūmam wa'l-Mulūk*, Cairo, 1326 A.H., 1st ed., Vol. I, p.291.

lived side by side with the Arabs, and Banū 'Ijl, who were settled in Bahrayn, became completely Persianised.⁽¹²⁴⁾

Mecca and al-Madina, the islands in a sea of desert, formed the heart of Arabia. Their inhabitants always maintained close economic relations with the nomads.

Mecca at that time was a commercial republic ruled by a merchant oligarchy, and has been described as the Venice⁽¹²⁵⁾ of Arabia. Mecca owed its status as the economic hub of North Arabia no less to its geographical position on the caravan routes than to its function as a religious centre, for the pilgrimage to Mecca was not simply a religious occasion but also a great commercial one. The Meccans themselves were a commercially minded and comparatively progressive folk.⁽¹²⁶⁾ The ambition of the ordinary Bedouin of the Jāhiliya was to pay at least one short visit to Mecca, if not to al-Madina, because of the renown of the markets situated near Mecca, such as 'Ukāz, Dhū'l-Majāz and Badr,⁽¹²⁷⁾ which have been described as the ports of the desert.

(124) U.M. Daudpota, *The Influence of Arabic Poetry on the Development of Persian Poetry*, Bombay, 1934, pp.163, 164 (quoted from: *Islamisme et Parsisme*, I. Goldziher, p.23).

(125) Dr. A.M. al-Hawfi, op. cit., p.54 (no reference to his information).

(126) D.G. Hogarth, *A History of Arabia*, Oxford, 1922, p.14 and B. Lewis, *The Arabs in History*, Grey Arrow ed., London, 1938, p.35.

(127) Al-Tabarī, *Ta'rikh al-Umam wa'l-Mulūk*, Vol. II, p.276.

Trade fairs were the "theatre of public and international trials of strength and skill".⁽¹²⁸⁾ To these markets, such as 'Ukāz which was once called 'the Arabic Olympia',⁽¹²⁹⁾ the poets resorted and placed their poetic talents before the public for their judgment and award, which was always regarded as decisive.⁽¹³⁰⁾ The Arabs of the Jāhiliyya used to frequent these markets from all corners⁽¹³¹⁾ of the Peninsula. In them they learned and discussed different matters and topics; they amused themselves hearing poetry recited and even carried out revenge. Some Arabs used to commit unjust deeds here, and were, therefore, called "al-Muḥillūn",⁽¹³²⁾ while another group opposed to the latter called themselves al-Dhāda al-Muḥrimūn"⁽¹³³⁾ (those who were against bad deeds and committing injustice).

(128) W.G. Palgrave, *Essays on Eastern Questions*, London, 1872, p.339.

(129) E. Deutsch, *Literary Remains*, London, 1874, p.450.

(130) The Seven Poems, translated from the Arabic by: Capt. F.E. Johnson, with an introduction by Shāikh Faizullabhai, Bombay, 1893, p.IX. See also, J. Hell, *The Arab Civilization*, p.14 and *Ta'rīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, ed. by: M. Th. Houtsma, Leyden, E.J. Brill, 1883, Vol. I, p.304. The story of al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī, who was the first literary critic in 'Ukāz, concerning the poetical position of those markets and trade fairs is well known. See for details al-Aghānī, Vol. XI, p.6, ed. of Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo, 1938.

(131) Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Kitāb al-Imtā' wa'l-Mū'ānasa*, ed. with notes by Ahmad Amīn and A. al-Zayn, Cairo, 1939, Vol. I, pp.83, 84, 85. See also Abū al-'Abbās Ahmad al-Qalqashandī, *Sūbh al-A'ṣhā*, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo, 1922, Vol. I, pp.410, 411.

(132) *Al-Ya'qūbī*, *Ta'rīkh*, Vol. I, p.314.

(133) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p.314.

These commercial interactions and intercourses between the Arabs and the neighbouring countries (Persia, South Arabia, Ethiopia and Syria) carried with them many Persian, Greek and Abyssinian words.⁽¹³⁴⁾ These foreign words, in the course of time, became part and parcel of the Arabic Language. By the time of the Prophet Muḥammad, they had come to be regarded as Arabic, and later some of them even passed into the Qur'ān itself and were gradually spread over the whole Peninsula. Al-Suyūṭī pointed out that there are many foreign words, i.e. Persian, Greek and Abyssinian, in the Qur'ān, and he called them "the arabicised words".⁽¹³⁵⁾ These words came to the Arabs through the medium of pilgrims, caravans and traders of Ethiopia, Yemen, Syria, Palestine and Persia, and were 'Arabicized' in the desert with slight alteration and adaptation to suit their own language.

The struggles and disputes between the two great Empires (Roman and Persian) gave birth to two principalities: the Ghassānids in Syria and the Lakhmites in Hira. Those two

(134) Al-Jāhīz, al-Bayān wa'l-Tabyīn, ed. with notes and commentary by: H. al-Sandūbī, Cairo, 1947, 3rd ed., Vol. I, p.37. See also, Aḥmad Amīn, Fajr al-Islām, Cairo, 1945, 5th ed., pp.16, 25, 28 and R. Bell, Introduction to the Qūr'ān, Edinburgh, 1958, p.16 and U.M. Daudpota, op. cit., pp.164, 165, 166, 167, 168 and R. Blachère, op. cit., pp.50, 51.

(135) Al-Suyūṭī, al-Itqān fi 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān, Cairo, 1368 A.H., Vol. I, pp.137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142. I. Goldziher, A Short History of Arabic Literature translated and enlarged by: J. De Semoggi, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1957, p.8.

states were, in fact, the vassals of the two great empires which employed them for controlling the Arab tribes.⁽¹³⁶⁾ The Arabs, with their "natural gift for intrigue", tried to play off one power against the other and thus produced many subdivisions and cross currents.⁽¹³⁷⁾ They were "military buffer states", always ready to collide even when they were not urged on by the suzerain powers behind them.⁽¹³⁸⁾ The two great Empires used the Princes of those two principalities as tools for their political interests in the struggle for glory between them. Therefore, the Emperors of Rome, as well as the Kings of Persia, tried to gain them to their side, and this led them to give the Princes of both principalities great names and titles; Justinian, for example, in 529 A.D. designated al-Hārith V of Ghassān 'patricius' and 'phylarch' and entrusted him with supreme authority over all the Arabs in Northern Syria.⁽¹³⁹⁾ Therefore, the Lakhmites in al-Hīra and the Ghassanids in Syria, became two rival courts of Northern Arabia; from them the poets of the Jāhiliyya indirectly obtained their knowledge of the world outside, and here the Arabic qaṣīda served for the 'courtly poetry',⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ which painted those two

(136) I. Goldziher. A Short History of Arabic Literature, translated and enlarged by: J. De Semoggi, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1957, p.8.

(137) De Lacy O'Leary, op. cit., p.17.

(138) R.A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.33.

(139) C. Brockelmann, op. cit., p.7.

(140) I. Goldziher, op. cit., p.8.

principalities, and in particular al-Ḥīra, in rich colours.

Al-Ḥīra was established on the Euphrates in Iraq in the time of King Sābūr I (circa 240 A.D.),⁽¹⁴¹⁾ and, from that date, it became the home of Persian culture sheltering under the Iranian influence a more refined type of civilization under the "quickenning impulse of Hellenistic culture".⁽¹⁴³⁾ The question of whether the civilization of the Ghassānids was "far superior to that of the Lakhmites, ... because of their half-barbarian character",⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ as Professor Nicholson pointed out, or vice versa, did not affect the fact that both the Lakhmites and the Ghassānids played the rôle of transmitters and vassals of two different cultures and civilizations in the history of North Arabia in particular and of the whole peninsula in general. A brief glance at the poetry of al-Nābigha, 'Abīd b. al-Abras, Tarafa, Ḥassān b. Thābit, and al-A'shā, "the professional troubador, who sums up in himself the elements of culture then current in Arabia",⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ would support the attitude that both cultures and civilizations were regarded as one civilization with different schools of thought and understanding.

The Arabs who were inhabitants of both principalities were thought to have been more civilized and cultured than

(141) A. Amīn, Fajr al-Islām, p.16.

(142) I. Goldziher, op. cit., p.8.

(143) R.A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.54.

(144) Ibid., p.54.

(145) H.A.R. Gibb, Arabic Literature; an Introduction, London, 1926, p.22.

those of the rest of the Peninsula as a whole. This is due to the fact that the Princes of both principalities tried to adapt and develop such civilization with slight modifications, and, finally, they assimilated and adopted all these cultures as their own.

Al-Ḥīra in the sixth century A.D., as a result of the powerful spreading of the Lakhmites themselves became a 'gathering-point' of Aramaic and Iranian thoughts and culture. in the Arabic environment, and appeared to be like a "metropole intellectuelle"⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ from whence poetry radiated to all parts of Arabia. The traders of al-Ḥīra, both Arabs and non-Arabs, were, in fact, the torch-bearers of such culture, and carried with them not only the rich-stuffs and wines, but also some of the ideas and customs prevailing there and the latter played an innermost rôle in colouring and enlarging the mind of Arabs. Among the inhabitants of al-Ḥīra were many Arabs who were well-acquainted with the Persian language. It is related that 'Adī b. Zaīd was one of the Abrawīz's interpreters, and his father Zaīd was a poet, orator and reader of both Arabic and Persian texts.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ The Arabs of al-Ḥīra were also familiar with both Greek Literature and philosophy, which dated from

(146) R. Blachère, op. cit., p.50. Al-Ṣūlī, Adab al-Kuttāb, Vol. I, p.30.

(147) 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Umar al-Baghdādī, Khizānat al-Adab, Cairo, 1348 A.H., Vol. I, p.345. See also, A. Amīn, Fajr, al-Islām, pp.17, 18.

the time of Hurmūz I⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ when the Persian Empire established a few colonies. The latter were formed when Roman and Greek captives during the wars which endured for centuries between Rome and Ctesiphon. Among those captives were people who had been educated in Greek culture, and some of them were even superior to the Persians in art, architecture and medicine. Therefore, they held a considerable philosophic and scientific status. Some of the educated captives went to al-Hīra, and it was believed that they themselves might have been the preachers of Christianity there.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾

The movement of Greek culture had begun in the sixth century A.D., during the reign of Nushirwān, according to Professor Brown^p, who thought that "the beginnings of the Ṣūfī doctrines, as of so many others, may in reality go back beyond the Muhammadan to the Sāsānian times".⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ The question, therefore, of whether the origin of the Ṣūfī movement as a philosophical trend had begun before or after Islam, did not affect the fact that those educated captives, who lived in al-Hīra, had carried with them their culture, and their influence upon the Arabs there is obviously apparent in the use of various words, which were derived from both Greek and Latin origins. For example, the word " قِرطَاس (qirtās) "

(148) A. Amīn, op. cit., p.18.

(149) Ibid., p.18.

(150) E.G. Browne, A Literary History of Persia, London, 1919, Vol. I, p.168.

which is derived from the Greek word "chartes" meaning "a leaf or a sheet of papyrus",⁽¹⁵¹⁾ the word "فردوس", which is derived from the Greek word "Paradeisos",⁽¹⁵²⁾ the word "سجل",⁽¹⁵³⁾ which is derived from the Greek word "Sigilion", and the word "سراط", which is derived from the Latin word "strata".⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ This religio-linguistic influence is clearly apparent in the *Diwān* of 'Abīd b. al-Abras, who was a permanent friend of al-Mundhir b. Mā'al-Samā' (505-554 A.D.), one of the kings of al-Hira.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾

Al-Hira was the home of a mixture of both Hellenistic and Persian cultures, while Syria was the centre of Hellenistic culture only.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ The cultural movement had begun in Syria

(151) R. Bell, op. cit., p.16.

(152) R. Blachère, op. cit., p.51 (Arabic Translation, p.63).

(153) Ibid., p.51 (Arabic Translation, p.63).

(154) Ibid., p.51, (Arabic Translation, p.63).

(155) C. Nallino, *Ta'rīkh al-ādāb al-'Arabīya*, Lectures delivered at Cairo University, 1910-1911, ed. by: Maryam Nallino, Cairo, 1954, pp.66, 67.

(156) G. Leff, *Medieval Thought from St. Augustine to Ockham*, Penguin Books Ltd., No. A.424, Middlesex, 1958, p.142. Syria had its famous school of Edessa from the days of St. Ephraim (d.373). It became the chief centre of Hellenistic studies until Nestorian heresies led to the break-up of the school in 489. Yet even in the heyday of the Syrian schools, intellectual interest in Greek did not go much beyond theology. See: H.G. Farmer, *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, William Reeves Bookseller Limited, London, 1929, p.130.

in the sixth century A.D., after Justinian had closed the schools of philosophy at Athens in 529 A.D.,⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ and, as a result, in both Syria and Palestine many schools grew up wherein was taught the philosophy of Aristotle. The Ghassānids, therefore, shared the Lakhmites their activities in transmitting Greek culture to the Arab world.

Hellenistic culture had influenced the interpretation of Christian doctrine as well as that of Judaism. Christianity was born in the East, and from there had penetrated into the Roman Empire, the institute of Greek culture.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ Alexandria was the geographical centre of the assimilation of religion with philosophy. The clergymen and vicars of the Church were philosophers before they became priests at the beginning of the Christian era. They needed logic and philosophy to adduce and persuade the pagans to accept their creed. Therefore, they came very much to rely upon the philosophy of Aristotle and Plato, and, for that reason, many schools of theology were opened and they flourished side by side with those of Greek philosophy, in direct imitation of the Greek Academies. The most famous school of all was that of Alexandria at the beginning of the third century A.D.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ To the influence of Greek philosophy Caetani

(157) G. Leff, op. cit., P. 143.

(158) A. AmIn, op. cit., p.28.

(159) Ibid., p.28.

explained the spread of Islam among the Christians of the Eastern Churches. He considered that Hellenic culture, from a religious point of view, was for the East, with its love of clear and simple concepts, "a misfortune, because it changed the sublime and simple teachings of Christ into a creed bristling with incomprehensible dogmas, full of doubts and uncertainties".⁽¹⁶⁰⁾

Judaism, before Christianity, was influenced by Greek philosophy, and, in fact, carried this philosophy to the Arabian Peninsula. Christianity had entered the Peninsula by way of the Ibadites, who were the Christian Arabs of al-Hira.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ The Ibadites are so named in virtue of their Christianity. They were former slaves who had been freed, and remained clients of the reigning tribes.⁽¹⁶²⁾ The religion and culture of the 'Ibād were conveyed through various channels, one of them being the trading of wine. They were the "schoolmasters of the heathen Arabs".⁽¹⁶³⁾ It is thought that they, themselves 'Ibād', taught the Arabs the form of calligraphy,⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ because some of them knew reading and writing.

(160) T.W. Arnold, The Preaching of Islam, London, 1913, 2nd ed., pp.70-71.

(161) Ibn Dūrayd al-Azdī, Kitāb Jamharat al-Lughā, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1344 A.H., 1st ed., Vol. I, p.245.

(162) C. Huart, Arabic Literature, London, 1903, p.6.

(163) R.A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.39.

(164) U. al-Dusūqī, al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, Cairo, 1951, p.88.

The principalities of al-Ḥira and Syria had shaped the images of the poets of the Jāhiliya and one can easily trace the influence of Persian culture upon them. Al-Muraqqish the Elder compared the long, straight horns of the oryxes to the tall straight caps worn by Persians:

"Nought but the large-eyed wild-kine that pasture therein,
like to Persians stalking abroad in their high-peaked caps".
(165)

While al-Mukhabbal al-Sa'dī described the face of his beloved as soft and white like "the choicest of pearls wherewith the Persians light up the arch of the throne of their King". (166)

It is also interesting to note that the Arabs of the Jāhiliya used Grecian swords and greatly appreciated them as being a sign of courage and fortitude; as 'Āmir al-Muḥāribī said:

"We sent their heads tumbling down on the hard rock,
what time our swords of Grecian steel gathered notches
from blow on blow". (167)

- (165) Al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt, Translated into English by: C.J. Lyall, Oxford, 1918, Vol. II, XLIX, line 4, p.175 and Vol. I (Arabic Text), p.471 and ed. of Shākir and Hārūn, Cairo, 1952, p.229. The above translation is rendered by Sir Charles J. Lyall of the following line:

إِلْدَمِ الصَّيْنِ تَرَعًا بِطَالِفاً سَيْبَةً سَوَا فِي الْكُفْمِ

- (166) Al-Mufaḍḍaliyat, Lyall, Vol. II, XXI, line 13, p.75 and ed. of Shākir and Hārūn, p.115.

كَمَقْبَلَةِ الثَّرَا اسْتَضَاءَ بِطَحْرَابٍ عَرَسَ عَزِيرَهَا الْعُفْمِ

- (167) Al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt, Lyall, Vol. II, XCI, line 10, p.258 and Vol. I, p.627 and ed. of Shākir and Hārūn, p.319. The above being the translation of the following line:

نُزَوِّجُ بِالْقَصْرِ الدَّصَمِ زُؤُسَهُمْ إِذَا الْقَلْعُ الرُّؤْيِ عَطَا سَلَامًا

The effect of relations between the Arabs and the Greeks and Romans can be seen in the similes used by the poet 'Alqama b. 'Abada, who compared the calls of the ostriches to the unintelligible speech of the Roman or the Greek, as in this line:

"He speaks to his mate with a clucking and chirruping noise, like as the Greeks chatter their jargon together in their castle". (168)

While Tarafa compared the strong elbows of his she-camel to the bridge of the Roman in this line:

"Widely spaced are her elbows, as if she strode carrying the two buckets of a sturdy water-carrier; like the bridge of Byzantine, whose builder swore (169) it should be all encased in bricks to be raised up true".

Paganism, Judaism and Christianity in pre-Islamic Arabia.

Religion, in the sense of the belief that there is a supernatural power (or powers) which governs the universe, and

- (168) Al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt, Lyall, Vol. II, CXX, line 28, p.336 and Vol. I, p.807 and ed. of Shākir and Hārūn, p.400. The above being the translation of the following line:

يُوحِي إِلَيْهَا بِإِنْفَاصٍ وَلَقَنَّكَ كَمَا تَرَاهُنَّ فِي أَفْئَادِ الرُّومِ

- (169) A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, London, 1957, p.84, and al-Zawzanī, Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab', Dār Sādir, Beirut, 1958, (Tarafa, Mu'allaga No. II, p.52, lines 1 and 2), and W. Ahlwardt, The Dīwāns of the six ancient Arabic poets, London, 1870, Qaṣīda No. IV, v. 21, 22, p.55. The above translation is rendered by Professor A.J. Arberry of the following lines:

لَهَا مِرْفَقَانِ أَفْئَادِ مَأْثَرِ تَمْرٍ بِلَهْمٍ وَالْحِجُّ تَسْدِدُ
كَفَظَرَةِ الرُّومِ أَقْسَمَ سَبْطِ لَتَنْفَنَ هَمَّاءُ تَادَ لِقَرَمِ

the recognition of God as an object of worship, love and obedience, was almost unknown to the ordinary Bedouin of the desert. Kinsman's blood was to him his true religion. He did not take his religion too seriously, because happiness for him was the harmony of man with nature, that is to say with the conditions of his temporal existence. The religious sentiment which influenced his mind was a form of 'polydaemonism',⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ related to the paganism of the ancient Hebrews and Semites. That belief led the Bedouin to think that he was surrounded by unseen powers which he was unable even to name or to define. This primitive dread of various invisible devils led him to symbolise that fear in the worship of idols which eventually formed his actual religion.

Paganism did not split his entity into body and soul, nor did it divide his life into outer and inner worlds, but it encouraged him to enjoy his individuality distinguishing neither between things of the senses nor things of the soul. Idolatry, therefore, was considered to be the popular religion of pagan Arabia, and such religion lacked priesthood. This paganism was not personal but communal, following the general feeling of the tribe, and from here may be found many idols being worshipped by different tribes to the extent that each tribe had its idol. Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī wrote a valuable book called "Kitāb al-Aṣṇām"

(170) B. Lewis, op. cit., p.30, and R. Blachère, op. cit., p.32.

(i.e. The Book of Idols), which is considered to be unique in its material. Therein he recorded the names of all the idols of the Peninsula and the poetry connected with them. It is interesting to notice that the Arabs of pagan Arabia used to sacrifice sheep to these idols. They used to call these sacrifices "‘atā'ir, sing. ‘atīra", and the place on which they slaughtered and offered them was called an altar ("‘itr"). In this connection Zuhāir b. Abī Sulmā said:

"He moved therefrom and reached a mountain top, (171)
Like a high altar sprinkled with the blood of sacrifice".

The most famous idols were al-Lāt, al-‘Uzzā, Hubal and Manāt.
The heathen Arabs used to swear 'by Allāt', (172) 'by al-‘Uzzā' (173)

(171) Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī, Kitāb al-Aṣṇām, ed. with notes by: Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā, Cairo, 2nd ed., 1924, p.34. Translated into English by: N.A. Faris, (under the name of "The Book of Idols"), Princeton Oriental Studies, Vol. 14, Princeton University Press, 1952, p.29. The above translation is of the following line:

فَرَكَ عَنْهَا وَأَوَّى إِلَى مَرْقَبَةٍ كَنَصِ الْعَرْدِ إِنَّهُ الشُّكُ

(172) Ibn al-Kalbī, Kitāb al-Aṣṇām, p.17 (English Translation, p.15).

(173) Ibid., p.17 (English Translation, p.15).

and even 'by Allāh'.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ All these oaths of the Jāhiliya may be regarded as 'false swearings' without any religious significance, because the Bedouin himself was fundamentally individualist, and his barren environment made him a strong materialist to the extent that, if he swore by one of his gods or even by Allāh (the Supreme God), it was nothing but an artificial swearing in "the hour of need".⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ In illustrating this point one might refer to the fact that the nomadic Arabs of the Jāhiliya did not willingly accept Islam at the beginning and showed little desire and aptitude for understanding religion.⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ Their readiness, if any, to assimilate and digest the religious creed, would not have been whole-hearted, and to this fact the Qur'ān speaks of the Bedouins as follows:

(174) Ibid., p.17 (English Translation, p.15). See also, 'Abīd Ibn al-Abras, Diwān, ed. and translated into English by: Sir Charles J. Lyall, "E.F.W. Gibb Memorial", Vol. XXI, Leyden: E.J. Brill and London, 1913, line 2, Qaṣīda, No. XXIV, p.67 and al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt, ed. Lyall, Oxford, 1921, Vol. I, No. XCI, line 4, p.625 and p.319 of the ed. of Shākir and Hārūn, Cairo, 1952. The following lines contain swearings by these pagan gods and Allāh:

- (i) وَاللَّهِ وَالصَّوْنِ وَمَنْ دَانَ دِيْنَهُ وَاللَّهُ إِلَهَ اللَّهِ مِنْهُنَّ أَكْبَرُ
(ii) هَلَفْتُ بِاللَّهِ إِلَهَ اللَّهِ دُونَ نَعَمٍ، لِمَنْ يَسَارُ وَدَوَعَمُو وَلَصْفَاحِ
(iii) صَمَائِلُهُ شَرِيْدًا خَمْرُكُمْ إِذْ شَرِبْتُمْ عَلَى دَهْنِهِ، وَاللَّهِ، شَرِيْدَةً أَشَامَا

(i) Ibn al-Kalbī, p.17; (ii) 'Abīd Ibn al-Abras, p.67;
(iii) Al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt, Vol. I, p.625.

(175) R.A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.135.

(176) C. Nallino, op. cit., p.95.

"The Bedouins are more stubborn in unbelief and hypocrisy, and apter not to know the bounds of what God has sent down on His Messenger; and God is All-knowing, All-Wise".
(177)

This probably arose from their callousness, cruelty, savageness and isolation which made them unable to observe knowledge⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ and benefit from religious understanding.

Therefore, the Bedouin, whose hard life had made him an individual, often selfish, merciless and cruel, came to realise and recognise the existence of the Prophet Muḥammad and to regard him as a great leader, or even a great king, who was extremely powerful,⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ and whom he could only disadvantageously anger. Thus, in accepting Islām, the Bedouin was behaving as an individual only in the sense that he would benefit by doing so, and his action can, therefore be described as mercenary or that of an opportunist. To support this view it is interesting to cite the story of Banū 'Amir Ibn Ṣaṣa'a, who went together to the Prophet Muḥammad under the leadership of 'Amir b. al-Tūfāil, who is recorded to have had the following conversation with the Prophet Muḥammad:

"'Amir b. al-Tūfāil went to Prophet Muḥammad and said: O, Muḥammad what will you offer me, if I accept Islam? The

(177) The Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Tawba, 97; the above translation being rendered by: Professor A.J. Arberry, The Koran Interpreted, London, 1955, Vol. I, p.218:
"الْبُعْرَابُ أَكْفَرُ وَتَفَاقًا وَأَقْبَدُ الْبَدِ يَعْلَمُوا خَدْرًا
مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ سُلَيْمٍ، وَاللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ حَكِيمٌ"

(178) Al-Zamakhsharī, al-Kashshāf, 2nd ed., Cairo (Būlāq), 1318 A.H., Vol. II, p.45.

prophet replied: for you is that which is for all Muslims and upon you is that which is ~~that which is~~ upon all Muslims. Amir asked: Do you appoint me your successor? The prophet answered: This is not for you and not for your people. He then said: Do you offer me the wilderness and leave the sedentary district for yourself? The prophet replied: No, but I will give you the reins of horses because you are a horseman. Amir exclaimed: are they not for me? I will fill the land against you with horses and men". (180)

Whether or not the word "Allāh" was in existence in pre-Islamic times and was actually used in the Jāhīliya qaṣīda, has given rise to differing opinions among modern scholars. Th. Nöldeke pointed out that the word "Allāh" is extremely common both by itself and in theophorous names, and that the word itself forms "an integral part of various idiomatic phrases which were in constant use among the heathen Arabs".⁽¹⁸¹⁾ Whereas Goldziher, after acknowledging that the word "Allāh" was well known to the Arabs of the Jāhīliya, thought that, although the word was the common God's name of all the Semites, the people had not yet heard of him as being the Judge of the World and Lord of the Day of Judgment.⁽¹⁸²⁾ Tisdale supported this attitude by asserting that the Prophet Muḥammad did not invent the word "Allāh", but found it in use among his fellow countrymen at the time of his call.⁽¹⁸³⁾ Sir Charles Lyall thought that

(180) Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. by: Eduard Sachau, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1921, Vol. I, part 2, p.51. See also, the ed. of Beirut, Dār Ṣādir, 1957, Vol. I, p.310.

(181) Th. Nöldeke, "Arabs (Ancient)", his article in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. by: James Hastings, Edinburgh, 1908, Vol. I, pp.659-673.

(182) I. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p.19.

(183) W.St. Clair Tisdall, *The Original Sources of the Qur'ān*, London, 1905, p.34.

the swearing 'by al-Lāt' had been changed in some cases to 'by Allāh', and wrote: "there is, however, no reasonable doubt that the name of Allāh, the Supreme God, was well known to the Arabs of the Ignorance".⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ Al-Ṭabarī⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ regarded the word "al-Lāt" as the feminine form of the word "Allāh" ending with the letter (t). He gave another example to support his opinion: 'Amrū (masc.) and 'Amra (fem.) and 'Abbās (masc.) and 'Abbāsa (fem.). It seems, however, that al-Ṭabarī himself admitted that the word "Allāh" had existed in the Arabic language long before the word "al-Lāt". Professor Margoliouth, from another side, rejected the authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry by claiming that those poets, such as 'Abīd b. al-Abras, Ṭarafa and 'Antara of 'Abs, who used the word "Allāh" or other Qur'ānic technicalities were "not spokesmen of paganism. They were Moslems in all but in name".⁽¹⁸⁶⁾

Despite these differing points of view, it would appear that the word "Allāh" was in use in pre-Islamic times, and was, in fact, employed in the Jāhiliya qaṣīda. It is a well known historical fact that the name of the father of the Prophet Muḥammad was 'Abdūllāh⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ (i.e. 'Abd Allāh, the servant

(184) Sir Charles J. Lyall, Translations of Ancient Arabian poetry, London, 1885, pp.xxvii, xxviii, xxix (the Introduction) and A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.241.

(185) Al-Ṭabarī, Jāmi' al-Bayān fī Taṣīr al-Qūr'ān, 1st ed., Cairo (Būlāq), 1329 A.H., Vol. XXVII, p.34.

(186) D.S. Margoliouth, The Origin of Arabic Poetry, J.R.A.S., London, 1925, pp.434, 435, 436, 437, 438. A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, pp.229-245.

(187) The full name of the father of the Prophet Muḥammad is 'Abdūllāh Ibn 'Abdūllmūtṭalib.

of God). Now both of Muḥammad's parents are recorded to have died when he was but a young child, and, as it is recorded that the Call did not come to the Prophet until the age of forty years, the naming of his father could not have been influenced by the birth of Islām. This is purely a clear indication that the word "Allāh" was known and was used in pre-Islamic times, although it was not necessarily in frequent use.

It is generally assumed that the Bedouin of the Jāhīliya did not commit his compositions to paper, but rather to memory, and it is well known that the Arab of that time possessed a phenomenal and photographic memory, as is illustrated by the fact that the recitation of the Suras of the Qur'ān by the Prophet Muḥammad were preserved in the memories of his companions and followers.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ It, therefore, appears that the pre-Islamic Qaṣīda had been composed in the pre-Islamic era, but was not committed to paper until Islamic times. It is preserved for us only in the collections made by Islamic scholars, and it is likely that those scholars were "careful to avoid or obliterate as far as possible the traces of their fathers' idolatry",⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ and, in this way, they perhaps added

(188) H.A.R. Gibb, *Muḥammedanism*, 2nd ed., Oxford University Press, London, 1953, p.49 and C. Huart, *op. cit.*, p.35.

(189) W.R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, London, 1927, 3rd ed., p.49.

the word or a few lines containing the word "Allāh" to counteract their guilt of the pagan beliefs of their ancestors, and, simultaneously, they perhaps subtracted a few words or a few lines for the same purpose.

In conclusion, it might be stated that, although the writing down of what is called the pre-Islamic Qaṣīda by the Islamic Grammarians and Transmitters resulted in the inclusion of various phrases containing the word "Allāh" and other Islamic terms, this does not necessarily imply that the word "Allāh" was not included in the original compositions or that the poetry was not actually composed in pre-Islamic times.

Besides paganism as a form of religion, Judaism and Christianity stood out in Arabia as challengers⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ to that ancient idolatry. Both Judaism and Christianity were brought into Arabia by the vigorous trading of Abyssinian slaves and by commercial relations with the neighbouring states. The states of Ghassān in Syria and of the Lakhmites in al-Ḥīra were considered to be the home of many Christian sects, such as the Nestorians, the Monophysites (Jacobites) and the Malkites or State Church,⁽¹⁹¹⁾ and fostered a tincture of Aramaic and

(190) H. St. J.B. Philby, The Background of Islam, Egypt, Alexandria, 1947, p.12.

(191) A. Guillaume, Islam, London, 1956, 2nd ed., p.14 and De Lacy O'Leary, op. cit., p.141-142.

Hellenic culture.(192) From those two states the Judo-Christian ideas had percolated into the desert, and, in particular, by means of the 'Ibāds of al-Hīra, who used to trade in wine and used to hold many trade fairs for that purpose in the desert. Thus, it was in the wine shops that the Gospel had been made known to the uncultured minds which had begun to awaken to intellectual life.(193)

Christianity in Najd was then known only among the wine-traders of al-Hīra and Syria. They were in reality unofficial missionaries.(194) The Christian Bishops and hermits(195) together with the wine-traders used to discuss with the Arabs such subjects dealing with Christian doctrine as the Day of Resurrection, the Day of Judgment, Heaven and Hell in the famous trade fairs and markets near Mecca and al-Madina. It is recorded that Muḥammad, before his Call, had heard the Sermon of Quss b. Sā'ida al-Iyādī in 'Ukāz(196) and it is thought that the latter

(192) B. Lewis, op. cit., p.32.

(193) C. Huart, Une Nouvelle Source du Qorān, Journal Asiatique, Dixieme Serie, Tome IV, Paris, 1904, p.131.

(194) R. Blachère, op. cit., p.57 (Arabic Translation, p.69).

(195) Brockelmann suggested that the desert had been the shelter of many expelled Christian sects. See C. Brockelmann, op. cit., pp.9-10.

(196) Al-Aghānī, Vol. XIV, pp.41-42, and Qudāma b. Ja'far, Naqd al-Nathr, ed. with notes by: Dr. Tāhā Hūsain and A.H. al-'Ibādī, Cairo, 1940, pp.98-99 (the full sermon of Quss b. Sā'ida al-Iyādī).

was a Christian. Also, it is related by al-Iṣfahānī⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ that al-A'ṣhā was regarded as a Qadarī (Fatalist) as is illustrated in the following line:

"God created life as He liked and according to His choice, then He attributed faithfulness and righteousness exclusively to Himself, and put blame upon man".

This idea of Fatalism in the above line is related by his Rāwiya, Yahyā b. Mattā, who was, in fact, a Christian Ibadite and who recorded that al-A'ṣhā had taken such an idea either from al-'Ibād⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ of al-Hīra, who sold him wine, or from the Bishops of Najrān.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾

Among the Arabs of the Jāhiliya, therefore, there were Christian poets, such as Ūmayya b. Abī al-Ṣalt, who was more or less a devout Christian and a learned man. He mentioned in his poetry stories of the Prophets and used strange words which the Arabs of his time did not understand. He used to obtain his information, it is recorded, from the Old Testament and the Book

(197) Al-Aghānī, Vol. VIII, p.79 and Vol. X, p.143 and al-A'ṣhā, Dīwān, ed. with notes and commentary by: M.M. Ḥusain, Cairo, 1950, p.233, Qaṣida No. 35, line 2. See also the edition of al-A'ṣhā, Dīwān, by: R. Geyer, E.J.W. Gibb Memorial, New Series, No. VI, London, 1928, p.155 and L. Cheikhō, Shū'arā' al-Naṣrāniya, Part III, p.364. The above translation is of the following line:

إِنَّمَا خَلَقَ اللَّهُ بِالْوَقْدِ وَالْقَدْرِ وَالْمَقْدَرِ الرَّجُلَ

(198) Al-Aghānī, Vol. VIII, p.79.

(199) Al-Aghānī, Vol. X, p.143.

of the Christians. (200) His poems together with those of the other pre-Islamic Christian poet, 'Adī b. Zaīd of al-Ḥīra, who was a Christian from a Christian house, (201) reflect to a considerable extent the Christian doctrine in the form in which it was adopted by the Arabs. Both of these poets through their learning and genius held a great influence over the people. (202)

All these factors reacted together to attract the mind of the Arabs, and encouraged some of them who were pagans to abandon their idolatry, such as Waraqa b. Nawfal, who even refused to eat the meat of the 'atā'ir (the idol sacrifices) and who devoted his time to read the religious Books of the Christians and Jews, and eventually became a Christian. (203) Another example is that of Zaīd b. 'Amir b. Nūfaīl, who during the Jāhiliya days had turned to the worship of God and renounced that of al-'Uzzā and of other idols. (204) Therefore, some of the Arabic tribes under such influences had become

(200) Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', Vol. I, p.429 and Ibn Sallām al-Jumahī, Tabaqāt Fuḥūl al-Shu'arā'; ed. with notes by M.M. Shākir, Cairo, 1952; p.220 and al-Baghdādī, Khizānat al-adab, Vol. I, p.230 and al-Aghānī, Vol. IV, pp.121, 122, 123 ed. Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya, and al-Aghānī, Vol. III, p.187 (ed. Būlāq).

(201) Al-Aghānī, Vol. II, p.18 (Būlāq).

(202) M.A. 'Azzām, A critical study of the poetry content of the Sīra of Ibn Hishām, Ph.D. thesis, S.O.A.S., London University, 1953, p.82.

(203) Al-Aghānī, Vol. III, pp.119, 120, 121 (ed. of Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya).

(204) Al-Aghānī, Vol. III, p.123, ed. Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya and Ibn al-Kalbī, Kitāb al-Asnām, pp.21, 22 (English translation, p.19).

() Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', p.230.

Christian, such as Banū Taghlib from Rabi'a, Ghassān, (205)
 Banū Asad from Quraish, Tay', (206) Madhij, Bahrā' and Tanūkh. (207)
 Banū Taghlib and other Christian tribes remained loyal to their
 creed even after Islam, and Muḥammad himself entered into
 treaties with several Christian tribes, promising them his
 protection and guaranteeing them the free exercise of their
 religion. (208) Also, it is reported that 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb
 had doubled the poll-tax on the Christian tribe, Banū Taghlib, (209)
 saying "they are a body of Arabs too proud to pay poll-tax, but
 severe in warfare". (210)

As for Judaism, it was rooted in the Arabian soil long
 before Christianity. It is true that a great number of Jews
 had fled from Yemen and the banks of the Euphrates, (211) and
 had finally settled in the district of al-Hijāz. (212) It is

(205) Ibn Qutaiba, al-Ma'ārif, p.266.

(206) Al-Ma'idānī, Majma' al-Amthāl, Cairo, 1352 A.H., Vol. I, p.75.

(207) Al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'rikh, Vol. I, pp.298, 299.

(208) T.W. Arnold, op. cit., pp.47, 48.

(209) R. Levy, op. cit., p.3, and Abū Yūsuf, Kitāb al-Kharāj, Cairo, 1352 A.H., pp.120, 121, (2nd ed.) and al-Balādhūrī, Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān, Cairo, 1901, 1st ed., p.189 and the ed. of M.J. De Goeje, Leyden, E.J. Brill, 1866, p.181 and English translation by: P.K. Hitti, under "The Origins of the Islamic States", New York, 1916, Vol. I, p.284.

(210) Al-Balādhūrī, Futūḥ al-Buldān, p.189 and ed. of De Goeje, p.181 and Hitti, p.284.

(211) D.G. Hogarth, op. cit., p.6.

(212) Dr. A.M. al-Hawfi, al-Mar'a fi'l-Shi'r al-jāhili, p.5, (quoted from: De Perceval, l'Histoire des Arabes, p.642).

thought that some of these migrants had been 'Arabised' before they had left their homes.⁽²¹³⁾ In al-Ḥijāz the Jews built forts and castles, invested money⁽²¹⁴⁾ and cultivated the land.⁽²¹⁵⁾ In the course of time they established many colonies,⁽²¹⁶⁾ such as Khaibar,⁽²¹⁷⁾ Fadak⁽²¹⁸⁾ and Tabūk.⁽²¹⁹⁾ In Yathrib used to live the most noble and most wealthy of all Jews in Arabia.⁽²²⁰⁾ The Prophet Muḥammad made a covenant with the Jews of Yathrib⁽²²¹⁾ on his arrival at al-Madina.

Living amongst the Jews of al-Ḥijāz were many Arabic tribes.⁽²²²⁾ The reason given for this close contact is that the Jews were skilful in industry and clever in investing money,

(213) D. G. Hogarth, op. cit., p.6.

(214) Al-Aghānī, Vol. XIX, pp.94, 96.

(215) Al-Aghānī, Vol. XIX, p.94.

(216) Al-Balādhūrī, Futūh al-Buldān, Cairo Ed., p.23 and De Goeje Ed., p.17.

(217) Ibid., p.29 and De Goeje, p.23.

(218) Ibid., p.36 and De Goeje, p.29.

(219) Ibid., p.66 and De Goeje, p.59.

(220) Al-Aghānī, Vol. XIX, p.95.

(221) Al-Balādhūrī, Futūh, p.23 and De Goeje, p.17 and Hitti, p.33. See also, Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi, Maghāzī Rasūl Allāh, 1st ed., Cairo, 1947, p.138.

(222) A. M. al-Hafī, al-Mar'ah, p.7 (quoted from De Perceval, l'Histoire des Arabes, p.646).

for example Banū Qaynūqā' were goldsmiths.⁽²²³⁾ The Arabs at that time used to visit the Jewish markets in the north of al-Ḥijāz and to buy their productions. At the same time, the Jews used to hold their trade fairs in Arabic markets. The Arabic caravans used to pass through the Jewish colonies along the trade routes between al-Ḥijāz and al-Yaman on one side and between al-Ḥijāz and Syria on the other side.

This commercial co-operation and social intercourse between the Jews and the Arabs gave birth to various religious discussions and arguments, and eventually formed the channel through which the Jewish doctrine was passed on to influence the Arabic mind. Therefore, some of the Arabic tribes adopted the Jewish religion,⁽²²⁴⁾ such as Banū Kināna, Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b, Kinda⁽²²⁵⁾ and Banū al-Nadīk⁽²²⁶⁾ Some of al-'Aws and al-Khazraj were converted to Judaism after they had migrated from Yemen and lived side by side with the Jews of al-Ḥijāz.⁽²²⁷⁾ The Jews, who used to speak Arabic as their mother tongue,⁽²²⁸⁾ also influenced the Arabic language by introducing new words and religious terms, which were unknown

(223) Al-Wāqidī, Maghāzī, p.138.

(224) Al-Bakrī, Mu'jam, ed. with notes by: M. al-Saqqā, Cairo, 1945, 1st ed., Vol. I, p.29.

(225) Ibn Qutaiba, al-Ma'ārif, p.266.

(226) Al-Ya'qūbī, Tārīkh, Vol. II, p.49.

(227) Ibid., Vol. I, pp.298, 299.

(228) C. Brockelmann, op. cit., p.9.

to the Arabs of the Jāhiliya. Such terms were Jahannām, Shaitān, Iblīs and Raḥmān. (229)

Ibn Sallām devoted a special class for the Jewish poets, and called it (Ṭabaqāt Shu‘arā’ al-Yahūd). He appreciated that there were good examples of poetry amongst the Jews of al-Madīna and its surrounding district. (230)

In conclusion, the society of the Jāhiliya may be said to be symbolised by the Qaṣīda. This community was a developing one. Many cultures prevailing in the immediate vicinity and more distant surrounding countries had come to tint the native culture of the Bedouin, whose mind was thus vaccinated with knowledge of the outside world. Nevertheless, pagan beliefs ruled his thought and action together with the ideal of the blood of kinship with all its vices and virtues, for the stubborn Bedouin would not readily renounce his heathen ideas, unless, by doing so, he could receive some sort of material gain. The one record of his life is the Qaṣīda: it glorified and magnified his thoughts, deeds and ideals, and was, in fact, his chief link with his ancestors and the past, and the only channel through which he might convey his reflections of sorrow and strife, of yearning and of adventure to posterity and the future. Thus "ancient poetry may be defined

(229) A. Amīn, op. cit., p.25 and Th. Nöldeke, Sketches from Eastern History, p.44.

(230) Ibn Sallām, Ṭabaqāt Fuḥūl al-Shu‘arā’, pp.235-248.

as an illustrative criticism of pre-Islamic life and thought".⁽²³¹⁾
It is as wild and monotonous as the yellow seas of its solitudes;
it is daring, noble, tender and true".⁽²³²⁾

So far, we have considered the Arabs and their neighbours in the pre-Islamic period only. But it must not be forgotten that these Arabs were of Semitic origin. We would therefore expect to find in them general characteristics found also in other Semitic peoples who came before them, as well as specific characteristics of their own. We might expect these general characteristics to extend to the field of literature. The earlier Semites did, in fact, produce poetry - for example, in the Old Testament - which offers fruitful comparisons with the Arab qaṣīda. In the next chapter, we will discuss this, in order to ascertain to what extent the qaṣīda represents a common Semitic tradition.

(231) R.A. Nicholson, op. cit., pp.78-79.

(232) E. Deutsch, op. cit., p.454.

CHAPTER II

THE SEMITIC ELEMENTS IN THE ARABIC QASĪDA

"From the Mediterranean Sea to the Euphrates and from Mesopotamia southward into Arabia there reigned, as is well known, a single language. So Syrians, Babylonians, Hebrews and Arabs were one people. The (Hamitic) Phoenicians also spoke this language, which I would call Semitic."

A. L. Schlözer
Von den Chaldäern, p.161.

(Translated by S. Moscati, The Semites in Ancient History, Cardiff, 1959, p.15).

A form of poetical composition can be found in the early literature of all Semitic peoples, but more especially in Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic literatures. We shall attempt a comparative study of Semitic poetry including the Arabic qasīda, trying to determine the general characteristics. This may help to throw light upon the origin of the Arabic qasīda itself.

The word "Semite" is used generally to denote the group of peoples known as the Babylonians and Assyrians, the Aramaeans, the Hebrews, the Phoenicians, the Arabs and the Ethiopians. The term "Semitic" was first used in 1781 by A. L. Schlözer in his work, 'Von den Chaldäern.' He therein drew attention to a fact, which had been known for some time, that a group of languages spoken in the Near East - Hebrew,

Aramaic, Babylonian and Arabic - are closely related to one another and he considered Syrians, Babylonians, Hebrews and Arabs to have been one people.⁽¹⁾ Schlözer took this name (Semites) from the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis, which named these peoples as the descendants of Shem, the eldest son of Noah.⁽²⁾ Professor S. Moscati, however, has disagreed with Schlözer in considering that Syrians, Babylonians, Hebrews and Arabs were one people on the ground that people and language are two things which are connected but not identical; it is possible, he mentioned, for one people to impose its language upon another people of completely different origin. He went on to conclude that a true and complete unity of the Semites can only be found within the Arabian desert and in nomadic conditions of life.⁽³⁾

There are different theories extant concerning the original homeland of the Semites and the cradle of their civilization. One theory held is that the Semites had migrated from the great central tableland of Asia, and that Mesopotamia and Babylonia were the oldest centre of Semitic civilization.⁽⁴⁾ Another

(1) S. Moscati, *The Semites in Ancient History*, Cardiff, 1959, p. 15, 16. Moscati considers this book to be a conclusion to his previous works.

(2) Genesis, Chapter 10, v. 1:-
"Now these are the generations of the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth: and unto them were sons born after the flood."

(3) S. Moscati, op. cit., pp. 16, 31.

(4) W. Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Cambridge, 1890, pp. 4, 5. This theory is held by Von Kremer, I. Guidi and Hommel.

theory, which is more acceptable, is that Arabia was the original homeland of the Semites from whence they migrated into Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt.⁽⁵⁾ Schrader claimed that Arabia was the cradle of the Semitic civilization.⁽⁶⁾ Caetani later developed Schrader's theory giving as the cause of the migrations the progressive drying-up of Arabia.⁽⁷⁾ Supporting this view Professor W. F. Albright maintained that the domestication of the camel, which is indispensable for the life of the nomads of the inner desert, is not documented earlier than the twelfth century B.C.⁽⁸⁾

In reality, the Semites came into history precisely when the process of the breaking-up of the Semites as a people took place. The Semites are "that people which, at the beginning of the historical era is to be found dwelling in the Arabian desert in homogeneous, linguistic, social and racial conditions."⁽⁹⁾

(5) W. Wright, op.cit., pp. 5, 7, 8, 9. This theory is held by Sayce, Sprenger, Schrader, De Goeje and Professor W. Wright.

(6) S. Moscati, op. cit., p.33.

(7) Ibid., pp. 33, 34.

(8) Ibid., pp. 35, 59. It is noted that in the Mari Archives, which supply an ample documentation of the living conditions of the Bedouin, the camel is entirely absent from the texts. However, Moscati considers that the desert has not changed substantially from the beginning of history down to our own day and he thinks that the reason for the migratory movement is to be sought in the natural attraction exercised by the more fertile lands. He considers the bedouin to have been semi-nomads living on the outskirts of the desert.

(9) S. Moscati, op. cit., p.42.

Moscatti considers that the notion of Semites coincides in substance with that of the bedouin of the Arabian desert. They alone represent the ethnic type which is nearest in characteristics and conditions to that of the ancient Semites. The Arabs of the pre-Islamic era have preserved more faithfully than any other people the ancient Semitic conditions just as they preserved with so little change the material conditions of desert life. (10)

From about the third millenium B.C. the Semitic movements of migration began from the Arabian desert towards the fertile lands in the north. The constant passage, sometimes peaceful and sometimes warlike, of the Bedouins into the agricultural regions, resulted in their being taken up into different ethnical groups, (11) which in the course of time established dynasties in the area that has been well described as a 'Fertile Crescent.' These Semitic shepherds were the first nomads to come into close contact with the early civilizations of the land of two rivers. They came as traders, raiders, and finally as conquerors. It is interesting to note that the Semites who successfully conquered Egypt and set up a line of Pharoahs, the Hyksos, never assimilated themselves with the Egyptians who regarded them as foreigners and barbarians, whereas the Semites in Mesopotamia assimilated themselves with the Sumerians and thus gave birth to the Babylonian and Assyrian Empires, which were Semitic in

(10) S. Moscati, Ancient Semitic Civilizations, p.39.

(11) S. Moscati, The Semites in Ancient History, p.42.

their language and literature.

The Semites seem to form one unit not only by their being geographically assembled within one area and by speaking languages of one linguistic family but also by sharing the one cultural and historical origin. The culture of every nation is, in fact, an intellectual reflection of the purpose of the life of man as seen in the immediate environment. Literature, as a speaking picture of people's thoughts and feelings, forms an important part of every culture. It is universally observed that the earliest form of literature is poetry.

The Semites composed, in their early history, poetry which is described as 'subjective.' The individual observations of the natural objects are another feature of Semitic poetry. The only unity that the Semitic poet can realize is in fact a unity of feeling and purpose. "His eyes refuse to see what his heart cannot assimilate," wrote Professor R. Smith.⁽¹²⁾ Since lyric poetry is the expression of the poet's own feelings and impulses in all their varied phases, then Semitic poetry is almost lyrical. The lyric is the earliest species of poetry. In primitive times lyric recitation was accompanied not only by music but by dancing and by the clapping of hands.⁽¹³⁾ It is probable that among all races the later forms of poetry were gradually developed from a lyrical germ. It is evident that

(12) W. R. Smith, Lectures and Essays, Ed. by J. S. Black & G. Chrystal, London, 1912, p.431.

(13) J. A. Bewer, The Literature of the Old Testament, Revised Ed., New York, 1933, p.1 and W. R. Smith, op. cit., p.439.

the character of lyric poetry may vary widely according to the subject matter, and according to circumstances and the mood of the poet himself.

Epic poetry does not occupy a high position in Semitic literature as a whole, except in Babylonian and Assyrian literatures where we meet with the Epic of Creation and the Epic of Gilgamesh. No trace of epic poetry appears in Hebrew literature.⁽¹⁴⁾ Since the Old Testament is in the main a systematic prose history of the Hebrews, chronologically arranged and edited with a view to religious instruction and since the versified chronicle or epic like the Iliad of Homer is more of a poem and less of a history, we would look to the former for a record of facts and to the latter as a 'Song of History'.⁽¹⁵⁾ greatly influenced by the poet's sense of beauty which had over-⁽¹⁶⁾powered in numberless elusive ways the honest spirit of chronicle. The primary object in the composition of the Old Testament is to narrate history in the form of a chronicle. Such composition would necessarily require a prose form to ensure that a precise record was preserved for future generations. Although in the Old Testament there are evident traces of poetry, it has never reached the stage that poetry has conquered prose, and, therefore, the historical value has been preserved. On the other

(14) W. R. Smith, op. cit., p.447.

(15) G. Murray, The Rise of the Greek Epic, 2nd Ed., Oxford, 1911, p.192.

(16) Ibid., p.192.

hand, the art of epic composition requires various technicalities and necessities concerning the metre, rhyme and other poetical principles. Such an art would naturally oblige the composer to be diverted from the actual theme, to add details of a secondary subject or to make reference to myths and legends for the purpose of satisfying the poetical requirements. Hence the epic will stray from the historical unity of the theme which would have been related exactly, if not perfectly, had such a subject been written in prose, because the latter genre is not subjected to the rigid rules of poetry.

"Poetry is the handmaid of Theology,"⁽¹⁷⁾ wrote Professor Robertson. The greatest Semitic contribution to human culture is religion. The conception of the oneness of God is the basic doctrine of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, all of which came into being in a small area of the Semitic region, and were professed and practised by Semitic believers before they set out to conquer the world. Religious poetry flourished and reached its zenith among the Semites. The majority of this poetry is lyric and not narrative, because the Semites produced very little epic and dramatic poetry in comparison with their lyric poetry. However, among the Syrians St. Ephraem did compose a few poems in the epic and narrative styles, though it is very likely that he imitated the Greeks in such composition.⁽¹⁸⁾

(17) J. Robertson, *The Poetry and the Religion of the Psalms*, Edinburgh and London, 1898, p.152.

(18) W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, London, 1894, p.20. See also J. Zaydan, *Ta'rīkh ādāb al-Lughā al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo, 1936, Vol. I, pp. 50, 51.

Very little religious poetry is to be found among the pagan Arabs of the Jāhiliyya. However, as it is known that each Arabic tribe of the Jāhiliyya had its own god or gods, there is a possibility that these Arabs might have composed odes and dedicated them to their gods or goddesses, such as to Hubal, al-Lāt and al-‘Uzzā. Such odes would have been lost because they were not committed to paper and because the transmitters of the Islamic era, on the other hand, would not have collected them as they were against the principles of the new faith. They collected only those odes which are concerned with love, prowess, praise, elegy and satire, but even so there are slight suggestions of religious poetry to be found in the biographies of some of the Jāhiliyya poets, such as Umayya b. Abī al-Ṣalt.⁽¹⁹⁾ Arabic poetry is almost entirely devoid of hope or imagination of a life beyond the grave. The only traces which existed in Arabia before Prophet Muḥammad have reasonably been attributed to the impact of Jewish and Christian ideas on the Arab mind of the Jāhiliyya.⁽²⁰⁾

The Arabic qaṣīda as an offspring of the desert is indebted to its environment for its poetical images. This desert had been the original homeland of the Semitic race, and each group of Semites, prior to its migration from the desert, had shared the hazards of nomadic life. Generation after generation when

(19) See: al-Jāhiz, al-Ḥayawān, ed. Sāsī, Cairo, 1906, Vol. II, p. 117, and Vol. IV, p.45. (religious attitudes of Umayya b. Abī al-Ṣalt and ‘Adī b. Zaid al-‘Ibādī).

(20) G. A. Smith, op. cit., p.38.

they infiltrated into the more fertile lands, they were taken up into different ethnical groups forming segregated communities and adopting various characteristics according to their environments. Such contrasts of environment influenced their poetry to the extent that specific characteristics can be noticed as a result of the environment as well as general inherent characteristics, which formed an artistic common factor among all Semitic literatures. We shall, therefore, make a brief survey of the factors and impulses which influenced this poetry.

From the Sumerians who produced the first great civilisation in Mesopotamia, the later Babylonians took over their system of writing, much of their religion, and some of their literature which was modified and integrated into new compositions by the Babylonian poets.⁽²¹⁾ Politically the Sumerians gave way to the Semites. Outside the Sumerian centres a Semitic culture was more free to develop. The earliest form of Babylonian literature shows, as specialist scholars have observed, a maturity which indicates a long period of literary development. It has been suggested that the beginnings must certainly go back to the old Agade Dynasty period, circa 2300 B.C., if not earlier.⁽²²⁾ Song and music are in fact the genre of poetry which flourished under the priestly activities generation after generation.

(21) Encyclopaedia of Literature, Ed. by: J. T. Shipley, New York, 1946, Vol. I, p.1.

(22) W. G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature, Oxford, 1960, p.8.

These priests were themselves the first to compose poetry, which was designed for the purpose of chanting and recitation at the annual feasts and religious festivals. The style and subject of the poetry were determined by religion. Babylonian poetry was religious at a time when literature as a whole was looked upon as a gift of the gods and was set apart for their service.⁽²³⁾ The literary legacy of Babylonia is epic poetry which is vividly illustrated in the Gilgamesh Epic, 'the Babylonian Odyssey',⁽²⁴⁾ and the Epic of Creation, both of which may well be described as the forerunners of epic genre in world literature. This poetry is quite highly developed in respect to imagery and diction. Lyrical poetry, which was later highly developed by the Semites, was exclusively religious in Babylonia, but it has a high degree of aesthetic excellence in hymns to deities, prayers and psalms of penitence.⁽²⁵⁾ All Babylonian poetry which has come down to us is anonymous, and is, in fact, the work of a class and not that of individuals. It is "the flower of uncounted generations of priestly activity."⁽²⁶⁾

There are many poetical pieces in the historical books of the Old Testament, e.g. The Psalms, Proverbs, Job (The Dialogue), The Song of Songs and Lamentations. The Hebrews had a strong poetical instinct which was influenced by the powerful stimulus

(23) G. S. Goodspeed, A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians, London, 1903, pp. 88, 89.

(24) Ibid., p.89.

(25) T. Eric Peet, A Comparative Study of the Literature of Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia, London, 1929, pp. 84, 97.

(26) G. S. Goodspeed, op.cit., p.90.

in nature. The Psalms exhibit the poetical features found in early Hebrew literature. They represent the "elements and characteristics of the best Hebrew poetry."⁽²⁷⁾ The poetry of the Old Testament is in fact lyrical, but we find a few examples of dramatic poetry as in the Book of Job, which may be termed a dramatic poem and its main parts are constructed in the form of a dialogue.⁽²⁸⁾

Poetry has been conquered by prose in the Book of Judges, which is essentially a chronicle narrated as far as possible in order of time. In comparison with the Book of Judges the epic, for example the Iliad of Homer, is a definite poem composed with artistic elaboration for an artistic end.⁽²⁹⁾ The Hebrew poet was a keen observer of natural phenomena. His poetic instinct "kept him in full sympathy with all that poetry loves to dwell on, and adorned his verse with the unadorned beauties of the choicest lyric."⁽³⁰⁾

The literary spirit of the Syrians lies in their poetry,

(27) J. Robertson, op. cit., p.156.

(28) S. R. Driver, An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, Edinburgh, 1891, p.387.

(29) G. Murray, op. cit., p.191.

The Bible has no verse epic, but it has been suggested by R. G. Moulton (A Literary Study of the Bible, London, 1900, P.230) that the Bible contains illustrations of the 'Mixed Epic,' in which the story is conveyed in prose, but has the power of breaking into verse at suitable points. He gave 'The Story of Balaam' as the grand example.

(30) J. Robertson, op cit., pp.171-172.

and it is to the famous Bardesanes (Bar-Daisan) of Edessa (154-222 A.D.) that the honour of the creation of Syriac poetry must be attributed.⁽³¹⁾ He and his son Harmonius were poets, and were greatly admired and imitated. Even St. Ephraem (300-373 A.D.) could not help admitting their merits while he reviled them.⁽³²⁾ Syriac poetry is purely ecclesiastical; it flourished in the Christian Church through the medium of metrical homilies and hymns. It is not the original creation of a nation which develops itself progressively and possesses a coherent tradition. In fact, it germinated like an offspring of the sacred literature of Palestine on which were grafted the branches of Greek culture. Its interest is mainly historical and ecclesiastical. Hagiography in Syriac literature occupies a place as great as in other Christian literatures.⁽³³⁾ The

(31) R. Duval, *La Littérature Syriac*, 3rd Ed., Paris, 1907, pp.11, 12 and W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, pp.28-29.

(32) W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, pp.28,29. St.Ephraem gave to Bardesanes the credit of inventing the Syriac hymnology in his fifty third homily:

"For these things Bardesanes
Uttered in his writings.-
He composed odes,
And mingled them with music;
He harmonized Psalms,...
He sought to imitate David,
To adorn himself with his beauty
So that he might be praised by the likeness.
He therefore set in order,
Psalms one hundred and fifty.
But he deserted the truth of David,
And only imitated his numbers."

(See Rev. H. Burgess, *Select Metrical Hymns and Homilies of Ephraem Syrus*, Translated from the original Syriac, London, 1853, p.xxx).

(33) R. Duval, *op. cit.*, pp.7. 8.

Syrians as 'pupils of the Greeks' assimilated and reproduced Greek culture adding little or nothing of their own.⁽³⁴⁾ The vulgar tongue of the Syrians was Syriac, but people wrote in Greek. The use of Greek was general and had maintained its position for a long time after the Roman conquest. Greek remained the literary language, notably at Damascus, up to the eighth century A.D. when the Caliph al-Walīd forbade it from the writing of official acts and substituted Arabic in its place.⁽³⁵⁾ The Syrians held the merit of having passed on Greek culture to the Arab world through the medium of the Persian School at Edessa, which was the chief centre of the study of Greek philosophy and literature during the early days of Syriac literature.⁽³⁶⁾

Syriac poetry reached its zenith as far as the art of poetry is concerned between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D. Its decline began in the seventh century when the Arabs conquered the Syrian region under the banner of Islam. Subsequently the Arabic influence upon Syriac literature became obvious.⁽³⁷⁾ It was in the century after the Islamic conquest (633-636 A.D.) when Syriac ceasing to be spoken is no longer the literary language.⁽³⁸⁾ "The more the Arabic language

(34) W. Wright, A Short History of Syriac Literature, p.2.

(35) R. Duval, op. cit., p.7.

(36) W. Wright, A Short History of Syriac Literature, p.61.

(37) G. Hölscher, Syrische Verskunst, Leipzig, 1932, p.6.

(38) R. Duval, op. cit., p.18.

comes into use," wrote Professor Wright, "the more the Syriac wanes and wastes away; the more Muhammedan literature flourishes, the more purely Christian literature pines and dwindles." (39)

Ethiopic literature is divided into two great periods separated from each other by many centuries. The first begins in the fourth or fifth century A.D. and continues to the end of the seventh century. During this period literature flourished in north Abyssinia. The second period is from the end of the thirteenth century A.D. until the eighteenth century. (40)

Ethiopic poetry is mainly lyric and is based on religious themes. The narrative style is almost unknown and no epic poetry is to be found. (41)

Since Christianity was introduced into Abyssinia (circa 330-350 A.D.) (42) the Church had become Greek in character under the influence of Alexandria, where the Greek language, literature, philosophy and logic were taught.

Practically all the translations of the Holy Bible before the thirteenth century were from Greek, and Greek literature was the model of all original works (43) to the extent that Greek culture influenced even the syntax of the written language, but not, however, the vulgar tongue. (44)

(39) W. Wright, A Short History of Syriac Literature, p.140,141.

(40) I. Guidi, Storia Della Letteratura Etiopica, Roma, 1932, p.8.

(41) C. C. Rossini, Grammatica Elementare della Lingua Etiopica, "Della poesia Etiopica," Roma, 1941, p.160.

(42) I. Guidi, op. cit., p.12.

(43) Encyclopaedia of Literature, Vol. I, p.273.

(44) I. Guidi, op. cit., p.12.

Christianity played an important role in colouring the life of the Abyssinians not only as a religion but as an inspiration which created a form of literature that is considered to be the seeds of Ethiopic literature. "With the introduction of Christianity into Ethiopic," says Professor Ullendorff, "the new religion became the focus and expression of all literary creation; it was also the filter through which every facet of thought, old or new, had to pass to be accepted, rejected or modified."⁽⁴⁵⁾ Poetry was cherished by the Abyssinians for the service of religion. A fine poetical production of the seventh and following centuries can be found in the great Service Hymn-books, which were constructed on the model of the Psalms.⁽⁴⁶⁾

Arabic poetry of the Jāhiliya is mainly lyrical. The Arabs, like the other Semites, did not produce epic poetry in comparison with the Greek epic as is symbolized in the Iliad of Homer. However, they cultivated lyrical poetry to a very great extent, as is illustrated in the Arabic qasīda of the Jāhiliya era.

According to Islamic scholars, the Classical Age of the Arabic qasīda began in the first decade of the sixth century A.D. at the time of the War of al-Basūs between the Banū Taghlib and

(45) E. Ullendorff, *Ethiopians; an Introduction to Country and People*, London, 1960, p.137.

(46) A. Dillmann, *Ethiopic Grammar*, Trans. from German into English by: J. A. Crichton, London, 1907, pp. 11, 12.

the tribe of Bakr. Al-Muhalhil b. Rabī'a the Taghlibite, according to tradition, composed the first Arabian Qasīda on the death of his brother, the chieftan Kulaīb, which caused the war to break out. Therefore al-Muhalhil himself created the Arabic Qasīda. It is thought that he was called Muhalhil (47) because he refined the poetry or on account of his having used the expression 'halhaltu' in one of his lines, to denote 'I made an echo'; (48) while Ibn Sallām thought that he was called Muhalhil because the 'halhala' of his poetry is like the 'halhala' of the dress which means 'threadbare.' (49) Nevertheless, the earliest known Arabic Qasīda shows a perfect poetical structure; it has an elaborate system of metre, a sound rhyme and the language used is of a high standard. Undoubtedly,

(47) Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', Vol. I, p. 256, and al-Aghānī, Vol. IV, p. 149 (Ed. Būlāq).

(48) C. Huart, op. cit., p.12.

(49) Ibn Sallām, Tabaqāt, p. 33 and al-Marzūbānī, al-Muwashshah, Cairo, 1943 A.H., p. 74 and al-Marzūbānī, Mu'jam al-Shu'arā', Ed. by A. S. A. Farrāj Cairo, 1960, p.4 and Ibn Duraid, Kitāb al-Ishtiqāq, Vol. I, Ed. by: F. Wustenfeld, Gottingen, 1854, in der Dieterichschen Buchhandlung), p.204.

وَأَتَقَا مَرَّهَيْنِ مِنْ قَوْلِهِمْ تَوْبَةً كَهَلَالِ إِذَا مَا بِهِ رَقِيقًا، وَذَكَرَ النَّصِيبِي
أَنَّهُ إِذَا سَمِعَ مَرَّهَيْنِ لِنَبِيٍّ مَا بِهِ مَرَّهَيْنِ الشَّعْرَ أَيْ تَرَقُّعَهُ وَتَلَوُّهُ تَحْمِيَةً."

Ibn Sallām cited the following line of al-Nābigha al-Dhubyanī to support his interpretation of the meaning of Muhalhil:

أَتَاكَ يَقُولُ كَهَلَالِ النَّسَبِ مَا ذَبَّ، وَلَمْ يَأْتِ بِالْحَمْدِ الَّذِي هُوَ صَاحِبُ

See also: Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī, 'Umda, Cairo, 1907, Vol. I, p.54 and Ibn Jinnī, al-Mubhij fī Tafsīr asmā', Shu'arā' Dīwān al-Hamāsa, ed. al-Qudsī, Damascus, 1348 A.H. p.43.

this indicates that the Arabic Qaṣīda was preceded by a long period of development in the art of poetry.

What are the general characteristics of Semitic Poetry? And to what extent does the Arabic Qaṣīda represent a common Semitic tradition? To answer these questions we must now analyse the verse-form produced by each Semitic group.

In Babylonian poetry the individual line is the basic unit. Each line may be separated into two half-lines divided by a well marked 'caesura,' each containing a fixed number of stressed accents.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The lines group themselves into strophes containing most commonly two pairs of lines uniting a form of "quatrain," or a stanza of four lines. Each line contains a complete sentence and each strophe a complete unit of thought.⁽⁵¹⁾ Therefore the "quatrain" itself might be considered as a verse-form in Babylonian poetry, but, even so, the unity of the line remained the basic form of Babylonian poetical structure. But in Hebrew a poem is called 'Mizmor' in reference to the verse and numbers; it means a short composition cut and divided into distinct parts. This resembles the meaning of the Arabic verb 'Zamara,' meaning he collected or tied-up, therefore rendered smaller and contained within less space; it also means to sing. According to the diction and sentiments a Hebrew poem is called 'Mashal,' which R. Lowth took to be "the word properly

(50) T. E. Peet, op. cit., p.54. See also L. W. King, The Seven Tablets of Creation, London, 1902, Vol. I, p.cxii and A. Heidel, The Babylonian Genesis, Chicago, 1942, p.7.

(51) T. E. Peet, op. cit., p.54 and A. Heidel, op. cit., p.7.

expressive of the poetical style.⁽⁵²⁾ Both 'Mizmor' and 'Mashal' were formed from lines of approximately the same length. They were combined into groups of two, three or four lines, constituting verses which relied rather upon the sense than upon the sound for their structure.⁽⁵³⁾ Usually the couplet of two lines is the fundamental and predominant form of Hebrew verse since the structure of the couplet was built upon parallelism which required such form as we shall see later. However, Hebrew verse does not consist uniformly of two lines; the addition of a third line is apt to occur, to introduce an element of irregularity.⁽⁵⁴⁾

(52) R. Lowth, Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, Translated from Latin by: G. Gregory, London, 1847, pp.49,50.

(53) T. H. Robinson, Hebrew Poetic Form, pp.128-149, in Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, Congress Volume, Copenhagen, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1953, p.141.

(54) S. R. Driver, An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, Edinburgh, 1891, p.340.
From a Greek word meaning "a turning" the first stanza of a pair was called a strophe, its answering stanza an anti-strophe. The Hebrew strophe is a development of parallelism. That which parallelism is to the ear in the structure of the verse, that the strophe is to the mind in the arrangement of the whole poem, The Hebrews have strophes of three to eight verses, which link themselves to one another in a certain manner by parallel lines, because the metrical rhythms of the antistrophe reproduced those of the corresponding strophe line by line. The ancient Hebrew poet was fond of bringing the strophe or poem to a close with an impressive line of climax or summary statement. The power of the refrain was also known, as was the effective grouping into strophes. It is interesting to note that a Greek ode was performed by a body of singers whose evolutions as they sang a stanza carried them from the altar towards the right: then turning round they performed an answering stanza, repeating their movements until its close brought them to the altar from which they had started. Then a stanza would take them to the

(Continuation of footnote on page 81)

In Syriac poetry metrical homilies which are called 'Madrashé' and hymns 'Mémrá' constitute the verse-form. Both follow a regular foot and are composed of verses of the same metre, but the metrical homilies follow the narrative and epic style⁽⁵⁵⁾ while the hymns follow the lyric style. These homilies and hymns are formed of individual lines constituting strophes. The longest strophe comprises fourteen lines, whereas the shortest only four lines. The vast majority of strophes are equally divided, but there are examples extant of strophes unequally divided without any principle being apparent for such an arrangement. The longer strophes were chanted by the first choir, while the shorter strophes formed the refrain and the part of the second choir. The refrain is composed of a doxology. It comes back without change after each principal strophe. It was chanted on the same tune as that of other strophes of the hymn. The tunes vary following the gathered kinds of hymns, of which the strophes were formed of similar metres.⁽⁵⁶⁾

In Ethiopic the nearest to metric versification is the Qenē, which is comparable to the Hebrew Qinah. The 'qenē' in Ethiopic

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left of the altar, and its answering stanza would bring them back to the starting point: and of such pairs of stanzas an ode was normally made up.

(See R. G. Moulton, op.cit., pp.50,51 and E. G. King, Early Religious Poetry of the Hebrews, Cambridge, 1911, p.103.

(55) R. Duval, op.cit., p.13.

(56) Ibid., pp.14,16.

means 'singing';⁽⁵⁷⁾ in Hebrew the word 'qinah' means an elegy, it was also called 'Nehi' by the Hebrews themselves. Both of these words signify sorrow or lamentation.⁽⁵⁸⁾ In Arabic the word 'Qaīna' (pl. Qīyān) means a singing girl. In all these languages, however, it seems that the word has a musical sense. The qenē is a short composition to be sung during religious functions as part of the liturgy of the church; it has a strict metre and a uniform rhyme. This qenē sometimes alludes to contemporary episodes either openly or in secret, in praising leaders and kings or satirising rivals. The recitation of the qenē was frequently accompanied by a musical instrument which was in use in the church.⁽⁵⁹⁾ There is no qasīda type of verse in any of the Ethiopic languages, in fact generally metre is a fairly modern development in these languages and is still not very well developed.⁽⁶⁰⁾ The qenē might, therefore, be considered as the only poetical form extant in Ethiopic literature. It has been suggested that the qenē is the genre of Ethiopic poetry.⁽⁶¹⁾

(57) Dr. Murād Kāmil, The Qenē; A genre of Ethiopic poetry, pp.77-105 in the Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Fouad I Univ., Cairo, Vol. X, Part I, 1948, p.77.

(58) G. B. Gray, The Forms of Hebrew Poetry, London, 1915, p.89. See also, R. Lowth, op.cit., p.251.

(59) C. C. Rossini, op.cit., p.163 and E. Ullendorff, op.cit., p.173 and M. Kamil, op.cit., p.77.

(60) This information was given by Professor E. Ullendorff in a personal letter.

(61) M. Kāmil, op.cit., p.77.

The Ethiopians distinguish thirteen types of qenē according to the length and number of lines, the musical style in which they are sung, the participation or non-participation

The 'Qaṣīda' (Ode) is the verse-form of Arabic poetry. It usually contains more than ten lines of one quantitative metre and one intentioned rhyme. A poem of less than ten lines is called 'Qit'a' (a Fragment), which is often merely a portion of a Qaṣīda detached from its context. The basic unit of the Arabic Qaṣīda is the line 'Baīt, pl. Abyāt: lit. house or tent' which is divided into two complete hemistichs 'Miṣrā', pl. Maṣārī' meaning 'one half of a folding-door.' The first hemistich is called 'the Breast, al-Ṣadr' while the second half is called 'the Rump, al-'Ajuz'.

In Semitic poetry the individual line is of great importance and is, in fact, the basic unit in the structure of each verse. The verse-form is fundamentally a combination of a number of individual lines which constitute the poetry peculiar to each Semitic group of peoples, namely the Babylonian quatrain, the Hebrew couplet, the Syriac strope, the Ethiopic

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of musical instruments, and the religious function in which the author sings them. The most common type of qenē is the 'Gubā'e qanā' (Qanā meeting), which is formed from two lines with one rhyme and sung without musical accompaniment on Wednesdays and Fridays. Four types of qenē are formed individually from two lines; three types are formed from three lines; one type, the 'Kebr ye'eti' (the dignity of this), is formed from four lines; two types are formed from five lines; the 'Shellāsē' (the Trinity) is formed from six lines; the 'Etāna mogar' (the putting of incense) is formed from either seven lines forming one unit or eleven lines, each with one rhyme; the last type of qenē is formed from eight or nine lines.

(See for further details: C. C. Rossini, op.cit., p.163 and M. Kāmil, op.cit., pp.80-99.)

genē and the Arabic qasīda. Each line is usually divided into two parts which stand in some relation to each other, such as by way of repetition or antithesis. The two parts may vary in length, but in the Arabic qasīda they are equal.

We have now completed our survey of Semitic verse-form, having noted that the individual line, which is divided by a caesura into two parts, is a Semitic characteristic. However, we should attempt an analysis of the nature of the line itself in Semitic poetry. The poetical features are parallelism, rhythm or metre, rhyme and repetition. This may enable us to determine further general Semitic characteristics; to what extent this individual line represents a common Semitic tradition; and whether the Arabic Qasīda may be termed a true representation of Semitic poetical composition.

"Parallelism," wrote Professor Gray, "is broadly speaking incompatible with anything but 'stopped-line' poetry."⁽⁶²⁾

R. Lowth was the first scholar to have referred to the main poetical feature of the Old Testament as 'parallelismus membrorum' or parallelism, which is directly dependent on "the harmonious undulation of the thought, line answering to line, not in a mere equilibrium of sound, but in a balance or parallelism of sense."⁽⁶³⁾ It has also been called 'sinn rhythmus,' for the parallel members are related to each other

(62) G. B. Gray, op.cit., p.127.

(63) W. R. Smith, The Poetry of the Old Testament, pp.435, 436.

as rhythmical protasis and apodosis.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Therefore, the simplest form of parallelism required that every unit in the first member of a verse should be exactly balanced by a unit in the second member. The second line or member is either repeating or in some other way reinforcing or completing the thought and satisfying the expectation raised by the first.⁽⁶⁵⁾ The poet in the second line is, therefore, following a line of thought parallel to that of the first line, though he may not repeat the actual words of that line. Parallelism is an important canon of Hebrew poetry, although "not the sole principle by which its form is determined."⁽⁶⁶⁾ The Hebrew poets "did not consider themselves bound by parallelism to such an extent as not to set it aside when the thought required it."⁽⁶⁷⁾ Parallelism continued into the second century A.D. to be a fundamental feature and form of Hebrew poetry.⁽⁶⁸⁾ It also occurred in most other Semitic poetries, although it was not developed to the great extent as seen in Hebrew poetry, for parallelism is the poetic legacy of the Hebrews.

There exist in Hebrew poetry four types of parallelism.

(64) The Jewish Encyclopaedia, New York and London, 1905, Vol. IX, p.521.

(65) T. H. Robinson, The Poetry of the Old Testament, London, 1947, pp.21,26.

(66) S. R. Driver, op.cit., p.340.

(67) W. O. E. Oesterley, Ancient Hebrew Poems, London, 1938, p.4 (quoted from Ley, Leitfaden der Hebräischen Metrik, 1887, p.10).

(68) G. B. Gray, op.cit., p.23.

Firstly, 'Synonymous Parallelism',⁽⁶⁹⁾ which is a correspondence in idea between the two lines of the couplet:

Psalm 94, v.16.

"Who will rise up for me against evil-doers;

Who will take his stand for me against workers of wickedness?"

Secondly, 'Antithetic Parallelism:',⁽⁷⁰⁾

Psalm 1, v.6.

"For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous;

But the way of the wicked shall perish."

Thirdly, 'Synthetic or Constructive Parallelism',⁽⁷¹⁾ which is

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- (69) The re-echoing of thought of the first line in the second line of the couplet produces, as Professor Driver, said, "an effect which is at once grateful to the ear and satisfying to the mind." (S. R. Driver, op.cit., p.340). This type of parallelism is the most frequent in Hebrew poetry, Sometimes the second line expresses a thought not indeed identical with that of the first, but parallel and similar to it:

Joshua 10, v.12.

"Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon,

And thou, Moon, upon the valley of Aijalon."

- (70) This type of parallelism is carried out by contrast of the terms of the second line with those of the first. It is most frequent in gnomic or wisdom poetry, where, from the nature of the subject-matter, antithetic truths are often contrasted. (S. R. Driver, op.cit. p.341 and C. F. Burney, The Poetry of Our Lord, Oxford, 1925, p.20).

- (71) R. Lowth described it as "word does not answer to word, and sentence to sentence, as equivalent or opposite, but there is a correspondence and equality between different propositions in respect of the shape and turn of the whole sentence and of the constructive parts." (C. F. Burney, op. cit., p.21, quoted from R. Lowth, Introduction to Isaiah, a new translation, 1778, p.xxi).

"A comparison, a reason, a consequence, or motive, often constitutes one of the lines in a synthetic parallelism." (S. R. Driver, op.cit., p.341.)

merely of form and does not extend to the thought at all as is illustrated in the following example:

Psalm 3, v.4.

"I did call upon Yahweh with my voice,
And he heard me out of his holy hill."

Fourthly, 'Climactic Parallelism',⁽⁷²⁾ which is sometimes called 'ascending rhythm.' In this form of parallelism the first line is itself incomplete and the second line takes up words from it and completes them:

(72) S. R. Driver, op.cit., p.341.

It is called the 'tautological parallelism' in which the same words are exactly or almost exactly repeated. But if one or more words of the first line are taken up, like an echo or the canon in music, in the second line, the parallelism in such form is called 'the palillogical parallelism.' (J. A. Bewer, *The Literature of the Old Testament*, Revised Ed., New York, 1933, p.344 and *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, Vol. IX, p.521).

As for Professor Gray, he distinguished two forms of parallelism according to the number and the unity of the terms in each line of Hebrew verse. Firstly, 'Complete parallelism' when every single term in one line is parallel to a term in the other, or when at least every term or group of terms in one line is paralleled by a corresponding term or group of terms in the other. Secondly, 'Incomplete parallelism' exists when only some of the terms express something which is stated once only in the two lines. This form of parallelism is far more frequent than the first one. Both admit of many varieties. Such variations are attended by varying the position of the corresponding terms in the two lines, or by using in the second line two or more terms, which, taken together, are parallel to separate terms of the other combination. (G. B. Gray, *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, London, 1915, pp.59,60,64,65,69,72,74.)

Psalm 29, v.1.

"Give unto the Lord, O ye sons of the mighty,
Give unto the Lord glory and strength."

As for Canaanite poetry, it is closely akin to Hebrew poetry not only in language but also in technique. Ugaritic literature is closer to the poetry rather than to the prose of the Old Testament linguistically as well as in form and content. The essential feature of Canaanite poetry is parallelism.⁽⁷³⁾

In Babylonian poetry the unity of each couplet was built upon the succession of balanced phrases which is a form of parallelism, in which the second line is frequently contrasting, echoing and supplementing the first. Thus three forms of parallelism are extant.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Firstly, 'antithetic parallelism' as is illustrated in the first couplet of the Epic of Creation (Enuma elish):

Tablet 1, v.1-2.

"When in the height heaven was not named,
And the earth beneath did not yet bear a name."⁽⁷⁵⁾

Secondly, the 'echoing or synonymous parallelism:"

(73) C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Grammar, Roma, 1940, pp.79,88,89, and W. F. Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine, Penguin Books, Al99, Middlesex, 1960, pp.231,232, and Rev. J. Gray, The Legacy of Canaan, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1957, pp.210,211 and Encyclopaedia of Literature, Vol. I, p.119.

(74) G. S. Goodspeed, op.cit., p.89, and L. W. King, op.cit., p.cxxii, and A. Heidel, op.cit., p.6 and T. Bāqir and B. Francis, "The Babylonian Story of Creation," in Sumer, Vol. V, No. 1, Baghdad, January, 1949, p.2.

(75) L. W. King, op.cit., p.3.

Tablet 1, v.25-26.

"Apsu diminished not their clamor, (76)
Also Tiamat acquiesced (in it)."

Thirdly, the 'supplement or synthetic parallelism':

Tablet 1, v.33-34.

"So they went and before Tiamat they lay down, (77)
They consulted on a plan with regard to the gods (their sons)."

Syriac and Ethiopic poetry were both fostered by the Christian Church and are mainly ecclesiastical in nature. Parallelism has not been regarded as a distinctive feature in either.

In the Arabic Qasīda the four types of parallelism as seen in Hebrew poetry can also be found. Firstly, 'synonymous parallelism' as is illustrated in the following line:

"They reward the wicked deeds of the wicked with forgiveness, (78)
And they meet the evil deeds of the evil with kindness."

Secondly, "antithetic parallelism" which is in frequent use in the Arabic Qasīda:

"The poor man does not know the time of his richness,
And the rich man does not know the time of his poverty." (79)

It is interesting to note that this form of parallelism has its equivalent in the Tibāq of Arabic rhetoric, which al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī, (d. 791 A.D) al-Aṣma'ī, (d. about 830 A.D.)

(76) A. Heidel, op.cit., p.6.

(77) L. W. King, op.cit., p.7.

(78) Abū Tammām, Dīwān al-Hamāsa, Vol. I, p.10.

(79) al-Qurashī, Jamharat ash'ār al-'Arab, p.255.

and Ibn al-Mu'tazz (861-908 A.D.) defined as 'to mention a thing and its opposite, e.g. day and night, white and black,'⁽⁸⁰⁾ that is to say antithesis. Thirdly, 'constructive parallelism': "Fate has deemed it my lot to bring me down⁽⁸¹⁾
From eminent rank to low estate."

Fourthly, 'climactic parallelism':

"With wariness, his companion did he travel and wherever he
There wariness his companion halted with him."⁽⁸²⁾ halted

This type of parallelism is rarely found in the Arabic Qaṣīda. However, frequently used is a variation of this form of parallelism called 'Radd al-'Ajuz'alā al-Ṣadr' (returning the rump to the breast). The latter is either found in the form of repeating the last word of the first hemistich at the end of the second or repeating the first word of the first hemistich at the end of the second hemistich.⁽⁸³⁾

The difference in structure between Hebrew parallelism and the parallelism of the Arabic Qaṣīda is that the former requires a couplet of verse in which the second line would fulfil the parallel idea and the succession of thought between the two lines by reinforcing, echoing, contrasting and completing

(80) 'Abdullāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Kitāb al-Badī', Ed. I. Kratchkovsky, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, New Series X, London, 1935, p.36 and al-Bāqillānī, I'jāz al-Qur'ān, Ed. by M. M. M. Khafājī, 1st. ed., Cairo, 1951, pp.113,114, 115 and also Ibn Rashīq al-Qārawānī, 'Umda, Vol. II, p.7.

(81) Abū Tammām, Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa, Vol. I, pp.151-152.

(82) Abū Tammām, Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa, Vol. II, p.162.

(83) Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Kitāb al-Badī', pp.47,48 and al-Bāqillānī, I'jāz al-Qur'ān, pp.124,125. Ibn Rashīq called this form (al-Tardīd-الترديد) 'Umda, Vol. II, p.2.

the sense of the first line, though in different terms, whereas the latter parallelism (the Arabic) requires only one line with its two halves (or hemistichs) and usually the second hemistich (al-‘Ajuz) completes the sense of the first hemistich (al-Ṣadr).

Poetry as well as music requires for its full expression an external representation, 'a movement in time.'⁽⁸⁴⁾ This movement is called 'rhythm' because of its regularity and articulation. It consists of the sound of speech and sometimes silence instead of sound. The unit of sound and that of silence together make a rhythmical or metrical succession and when the different portions of sound and silence are combined by groups into separate units rhythm arises. The 'foot' is the simplest rhythmic form. Each foot is divided into two parts, the 'rise' and the 'fall.' Therefore the fundamental units of the rhythmical structure are the 'division of time' and the 'gradation of stress.'⁽⁸⁵⁾ Rhythm as an essential quality of poetry may vary with the feeling of the poet and the rhythmical pulsation of his thoughts. In the early stages of poetry there was no conflict between the thoughts and the sounds of the words; the highest perfection of verse-rhythm would be that of expressing, with equal power and beauty, "the thought as the soul of speech and the sound as its body."⁽⁸⁶⁾ It seems clear

(84) W. H. Cobb, *A Criticism of Systems of Hebrew Metre*, Oxford, 1905, p.172.

(85) W. H. Cobb, *op.cit.*, p.172.

(86) *Ibid.*, p.63.

that ancient poetry appealed to the ear rather than to the eye and circulated orally for generations before being committed to writing in the time when memory was considered the main source of poetry. That poetry must, therefore, have had a rhythmical measure for the ear, and "the symmetry that the eye now discovers is a result of that rhythm."⁽⁸⁷⁾

Parallelism as an essential form of Hebrew poetry might create rhythm because a habit of expressing a thought in a given number of terms, and then repeating it by corresponding terms, would necessarily produce a certain rhythmical effect, which is especially noticeable in synonymous parallelism producing a 'rhythm of thought.' The variation in the length of a verse usually corresponds with a change in the thought. The rhythm of sound⁽⁸⁸⁾ in Hebrew poetry is a "period of time

(87) W. H. Cobb, op.cit., p.88.

(88) Metre in Hebrew literature is rather obscure. The rules of Hebrew metre have been and are matters of dispute and argument between specialist scholars. However, the question which arises is whether there is a regular metre in Hebrew poetry or not. Dr. Young has insisted that "regular metre cannot be found in early Semitic poetry" (Quoted by: W. F. Albright, A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems, Psalm lxviii, in the Hebrew Union College Annual, Vol.XXIII, Part I, Ohio, 1950-1951 which he quoted from J.N.E.S. Vol.IX, 1950, pp.124-133), whereas Professor W. F. Albright holds the opinion that Hebrew and Ugaritic poems were either sung to the accompaniment of instruments or were chanted like contemporary Homeric poetry. (W.F. Albright, op.cit., H.U.C.A. p.6), in the time that Syria and Palestine were noted for their musicians in the Ancient Near East. (W. F. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, 3rd. Ed., Baltimore, 1953, p.125). Music, as Professor Albright mentioned in the latter book, reached a high pitch of development in those regions and the cultivation of music as an art or profession was an early thing in history as has been attested by Professor

divided into two palpably commensurate parts of which each in itself may be either continuous or rationally discrete,"⁽⁸⁹⁾ and as a correspondence of thought brings with it similarity of expression, the two members of the verse will be similar in length and possess "a certain irregular harmony of accent which can be felt though not subjected to rule."⁽⁹⁰⁾ Such an accent with the flow of time as measured in waves or pulse-beats recurring at regular intervals, form the Hebrew rhythm or metre. If the time were equal, it did not matter whether the syllables in the different feet were alike in number or not.⁽⁹¹⁾ In Western poetry the metre is generally syllabic, based upon a

Continued from page 92)

Robertson (op.cit., p.155). Therefore, "it is simply inconceivable," wrote Albright, "that there was no regular metre in standard Canaanite and Hebrew, all of which was composed to be chanted or sung." (Albright, H.U.C.A., p.6) He admitted at the same time that there was considerable freedom of movement with regular or irregular alterations of various metrical types.

S. Segert (in his essay entitled 'Vorarbeiten Zur Hebraischen Metrik' pp.481-542, in Archiv Orientalni, XXI, 1953) after having divided the essay into two parts, that is a historical survey of Hebrew metre followed by a scansion of the poetry of the Old Testament, reached to the conclusion (Section 13, p.541) that the poetry of the Old Testament is divided into periods: old or ancient and young or new. The old period of the poetry is distinguished by a metrical system, whereas the second period is covered by an alternating metrical system.

(89) W.R. Arnold, "The Rhythm of the Ancient Hebrews," An Essay (pp. 167-204) in: Old Testament and Semitic Studies in memory of W.R. Harper, Ed. by: R.F. Harper, F. Brown, and G.F. Moor, Vol. I, Chicago, 1908, p.193.

(90) W.R. Smith, The Poetry of the Old Testament, p.436.

(91) The Jewish Encyclopaedia, Vol. VIII, p.520. See also: W.B. Stevenson, The Poem of Job, London, 1947, p.56.

stable relation between the unaccented and the accented syllables, whereas in Hebrew the accent "is determined not by the measured succession of syllables but rather by sense."⁽⁹²⁾ Hebrew metres are combinations of units: two units and three units. The number of these units in each line indicated the name of the metre. The shortest one is constructed from two units to each line (2+2). Its movement is quick and sharp and often "indicates a high emotional tension, sometimes due to fear or awe, and sometimes to exuberant happiness."⁽⁹³⁾ This metre is frequent in the Psalms. The second is a combination of three units to the first line and two units to the second (3+2). It is slower and more dignified than the first metre. It is often used in dirges or 'qinah', the Hebrew elegy, which is usually formed from two lines in which the first is long and the second short. They are divided by a stop, the first with a 'rising' and the second with a 'falling cadence'. The stresses are usually in the proportion of three to two.⁽⁹⁴⁾

(92) J. Muilenburg, "The Poetry of the Old Testament," pp.62-70, in *An Introduction to the Revised Standard Version of the Old Testament*, by Members of the Revision Committee, Luther A. Weigle (Chairman), London & Edinburgh, 1952, pp.67,68.

(93) T. H. Robinson, *The Poetry of the Old Testament*, p.30. Professor W. F. Albright made a statistical survey about the percentage of this metre in the metrical composition of the Old Testament. He stated that this metre (2+2) with its extension into (2+2+2) forms 50% and (3+3, with 3+3+3) metres about 22% and (2+2+3 (4+3) metres about 28%. (W. F. Albright, *H.U.C.A.*, Vol. XXIII, pp.5.6.)

(94) G. A. Smith, *op.cit.*, pp.12,21,23, and R. G. Moulton, *op.cit.*, pp.167,168.

The third metre is that of three units to each line (3+3). It has been observed that this metre is the most frequent in Biblical poetry. The whole of the poem of Job is written in it and it is the commonest metre in the Psalter.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Therefore, Hebrew poetry, according to the testimony of various scholars, possesses a metre which is basically accentual and not quantitative like that of the Greeks and Arabs. It is merely arranged by the rhythmical beat of time which is marked by the accent in the units of every line. Quantitative metre is only known to have been introduced into Hebrew poetry by the Jewish poets of the Middle Ages (the ninth or tenth century A.D.) in imitation of Arabic poetry; it may also have owed something to Syriac poetry.⁽⁹⁶⁾ In Spain, under the influence of Arabic culture, Hebrew poetry, which was governed by quantitative metre and rhyme, flourished in an age of considerable activity of Jewish grammarians and philologists.⁽⁹⁷⁾

Babylonian poetry, like Hebrew poetry, has a rhythm or metre which is built upon accented syllables. Each line contains a fixed number of stressed accents, and metre is not quantitative as in the Arabic line. Each Babylonian line falls into two halves divided by a caesura, and each half may again

(95) T. H. Robinson, *The Poetry of the Old Testament*, p.32.

(96) G. B. Gray, *op.cit.*, p.8 and S.R. Driver, *op.cit.*, p.340.

(97) G. B. Gray, *op.cit.*, p. 9.

be divided into two parts, each of which contains as a rule, a single accented word or phrase.⁽⁹⁸⁾ In Canaanite poetry, also as in Hebrew poetry, the line was basically accentual. It was composed of four, five or six feet, each of which was accented, and, although parallelism is the main factor and poetical form, metric length is its corollary.⁽⁹⁹⁾

In Syriac poetry metre⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ is based upon the 'number of syllables' and not upon 'feet' as in Greek metre or quantity as in Arabic poetry. Therefore, the individual line consists of a certain fixed number of syllables, four, five, six, seven or eight. This system of numbering syllables in each line,

(98) T. E. Peet, op.cit., p.54 and L. W. King, op.cit., p.cxxii and A. Heidel, op.cit., pp.6,7.

(99) C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Manual, Roma, 1955, p.109 and Ugaritic Grammar, p.79 and W. F. Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine, pp.231,232.

(100) It has been stated by various scholars that Bardesanes and his son Harmonius in the second century A.D. were the fore-runners of metrical compositions in Syriac literature. Harmonius, having been well educated in Greek literature, was considered the first who subjected his native language to metres and musical laws, and adapted it to choirs of singers. He did in fact enrich the Syriac metrical art and hymnology with some new Grecian measures and melodies. St. Ephraem, who represents to the Syrians both the beginning and the culmination of their national literature and whose influence in the middle of the fourth century A.D. was obvious, applied himself to master the metres of Harmonius. He also adapted other words consonant with the doctrines of the Church; such are his compositions in divine hymns and in prayers of holy men. He himself was regarded as the founder of Syriac religious poetry. He has left a certain number of acrostic hymns in which the strophes are laid following alphabetical order in imitation of several examples of Hebrew poetry of the Old Testament. (For more details see: R. Duval, op.cit., p.16 and Rev. H. Burgess, op.cit., p.xxxiii,xxxiv,xxxvii,xxxix,xl and Encyclopaedia of Literature, Vol.I, p.54)

constitutes six principal metres⁽¹⁰¹⁾ in Syriac poetry. Those metres do not exceed eight nor fall short of four⁽¹⁰²⁾ syllables.

(101) Syriac metres are as follows:-

- (i) The Tetrasyllabic metre, is mostly used by St. Ephraem, and because of its brevity is adapted for a quick and spirited style of composition. It is employed on all subjects. The following two verses of the "Hymn for the Evening" (Translated from the Syriac by: H. Burgess, op.cit., p.73):
 "In all evenings
 Let there be praise to thee."
- (ii) The Pentasyllabic metre is also found in all styles of composition, the grave as well as the lively. It allows of greater freedom than the tetrasyllabic without being so heavy as the longer verses. The following example is taken from the "Description of Paradise" of St. Ephraem's Metrical Homilies, No. 1, pp.113-120:
 "The air of Paradise
 Is a fountain of sweetness."
- (iii) The Hexasyllabic metre. The first two verses are from Hymn XX, p.56:
 "Pity me, O Father! in thy tender mercy,
 And at Thy tribunal let Thy love be with me."
- (iv) The Heptasyllabic metre is more used in stately and mournful subjects. An example is from Hymn X, p.25:
 "O Lord! appoint me not a place with the wicked;
 Do thou, Lord, confess me who have confessed
 Thee."
- (v) The Octosyllabic metre is not popular in the Syriac composition in comparison with other metres. The following example is from Hymn II, p.4:
 "Let the little children be pledges with Thee,
 And above, in heaven, let them be Thy guests."
- (vi) Dodecasyllabic metre which is presumed to be the tetrasyllabic thrice repeated.

(102) Rev. H. Burgess, op. cit., p.lvii-lviii and W. Wright, op. cit., p.34.

Ethiopic poetry recognises neither the quantity of syllables and feet such as in Greek and Arabic poetry, nor the number of syllables and the accent to which modern European poetry owes its harmony. The length of the verse is the author's choice and he very often expresses a concept within one verse.⁽¹⁰³⁾ The metre as an essential and artistic quality of poetry seems, however, to be questionable in Ethiopic poetry from the arguments and discussions between scholars.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ While rhyme, or the final sound of each single line, is the basis of Ethiopic poetry. Nevertheless rhyme and metre in Ethiopic poetry have still not been sufficiently studied and their proper understanding can only result, as has been suggested by Professor Ullendorff,⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ from a thorough investigation of Ethiopic music. The *genē*, as was mentioned earlier in this chapter, is considered to be the nearest to metric versification. The *genē* is formed from lines varying in length, sometimes long and sometimes short. The difference in length between these lines is balanced during the chanting or recitation, when the long lines were sung quickly while the short lines slowly, so

(103) C. C. Rossini, op.cit., p.160.

(104) The opinions of the various scholars can be found in the Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Vol. X, Part I, Cairo, May 1948, p.79. M. M. Moreno, *Raccalta die gene*, Roma, 1935, p.ix:

"The lines differ in their length, and they contain no metre which is based upon quantity or upon the number of syllables."

A. Dillmann, op.cit., p.12: "...an artistic Metric had never been developed in it (Ethiopic poetry); the farthest that was reached in the evolution of orderly form was the articulating of verse in symmetrical strophes, accompanied with rhyme."

(105) E. Ullendorff, op.cit., pp.152,153.

the musical note varies on one syllable.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ The Ethiopic qenē displays similarity to the Hebrew Qinah (an elegy) as both are derivatives, possibly metaplastically, of the same root, though the Hebrew term has acquired a specialized meaning.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Both the Qenē and Qinah were committed to a class of singers to chant to music, and both are formed from lines differing in length, though in the Hebrew Qinah the first line is usually the longer and contains three units or stresses whereas the second line, or the short one, has two units or stresses. The type of chant which the Qinah represents is well known also in Ethiopia.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ The Ethiopic verses are written one after the other and are separated from each other only by the usual sign of interpunctuation.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The basis of the Ethiopic line then is rhyme. Its length is dependent upon the poet's choice and is balanced by chanting and recitation. The metre remains to be studied.

The Arabic lexicographers define poetry as "measured and rhymed discourse" (al-Kalām al-mawzūn al-muqaffā ,

(الكلام الموزون المقفى). Arabic prosody is quantitative.

(106) E. Littmann, *Geschichte der aethiopischen Litterature*, in *Geschichte der Christlichen Litteraturen des Orients*, Leipzig, 1907, p.229 (quoted by: Dr. Murād Kāmil in his article "The Qenē; A Genre of Ethiopic Poetry" in the B.F.A., Vol. X, Part I, May, 1948, p.79)

(107) E. Ullendorff, *op.cit.*, p.173.

(108) *Ibid.*, p.173.

(109) C. C. Rossini, *op.cit.*, p.160 (Section 216). The sign of interpunctuation is: = =
= =

Every line in the Arabic qasīda consists of at least two feet in each of its hemistichs. The metrical foot rests upon the alternation of short and long syllables, that is of open syllables with a short vowel and of closed syllables with either a long vowel or a diphthong or a short vowel plus an unvowelled consonant. Arabic poetry possesses sixteen metres based upon quantitative feet, which are arranged in a definite order with a sense of the value of each in time. Arabic prosody bears a close resemblance to that of the Greeks in that it is quantitative, whereas Hebrew prosody "is not based on quantity as classical prosody is," wrote Sievers.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ If the Arabic qasīda is compared to the Greek ode in regard to technique and the art of metre, Hebrew verse is compared to the "Saturnian rhythms of the early Latin poets, or the chants of our Northern forefathers, recently imitated by the Poet Laureate in his Christmas Ode," wrote Sir Charles Lyall.⁽¹¹¹⁾

Rhyme as another poetical feature in many languages, did not mark all Semitic poetry. However, in the Arabic Qasīda it reached such a high degree in development that the Arabs used it even in a special prose genre called 'Saj' (rhymed-prose or unmetrical-poetry). In Babylonian and Hebrew poetry rhyme occurred accidentally and it appears to have been "as accidental

(110) The Jewish Encyclopaedia, Vol. X, p.94 (quoted from: Sievers, *Metrische Untersuchungen*, 1901, p.53).

(111) Sir C. J. Lyall, "The Relation of the Old Arabian poetry to the Hebrew Literature of the Old Testament" in *J.R.A.S.*, London, 1914, p.255.

as it was with the Classical Latin poets." (112) Professor G. A. Smith observed from his study of the occurrence of rhyme in the poetry of the Old Testament that the vast majority of the rhymes are formed by the recurrence of the same pronominal suffixes which are equivalent to English personal pronouns. (113) Although rhyme occurred accidentally in Hebrew poetry, e.g. The Song of Songs (114) and Proverbs, it was not an elaborated rhyme as an artistic form. Such rhyme never developed into a form of Hebrew poetry until the Middle Ages, when Hebrew poetry was subjected to the influence of Islamic culture and Arabic poetry. It is believed that the introduction of rhyme into Hebrew poetry is to be attributed to two Palestinian poets, Janai (115)

(112) S. R. Driver, op.cit., pp.339,340.

(113) G. A. Smith, op.cit., p.25.

(114) The following is an attempt to reproduce rhyme and rhythm in English rendered by: C. F. Burney, "Rhyme in the Song of Songs" in the Journal of Theological Studies, Vol. X, Oxford, 1909, p.585.

The Song of Songs, Chap. VIII, v.1-3:

"Would that thou wert my brother
Who sucked at the breasts of my mother!
When I found thee without I would kiss thee,
Nor fear the reproach of another;
Would lead thee, would bring thee
To the house of my mother who trains me,
Would give thee to drink spiced wine,
Pure pomegranate, none other.
- His left arm is under my head,
And see! his right arm enchains me."

(115) Janai (c.640 A.D.) was the first to use the rhyme in addition to the alphabetic acrostic. He also introduced the name acrostic and left a few poems with his name indicated at the beginning of the strophes. See M. Waxman, op.cit., p.213.

and Kalir⁽¹¹⁶⁾ who lived in or before the ninth century A.D.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ The Jews who lived among the Arabs of the Islamic era followed the poetical technique of the Arabic qasīda in regard to both metre and rhyme, and, because the Hebrew language is rich in like-sounding suffixes, they developed the art of rhyming to a high degree.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

(116) Eliezer Ben Kalir was the greatest of all these Palestinian poets. He is usually known as the Kalir. He wrote poems for all festival services. On account of his importance, legends clustered around his name. The earlier scholars placed him in different lands; some in Babylonia, and some in Southern Italy, taking the name Kalir to be a mis-pronunciation of Caligiari, a city in Southern Italy. Others have considered him a Palestinian, but elevated to the rank of a Tanna. The truth is that he was a Palestinian, but lived much later than the Tannaim, about the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Kalir deviated from the purity of the Hebrew language and intermixed with it not only a large number of Aramaic words but also coined a multitude of new words, and used new forms which are not in accordance with the rules of Hebrew grammar. He used rhyme, alphabetic and name acrostics, and paid much attention to alliteration. He evinced great skill in bending the language to his will and purpose, and at times wrote poems consisting of a jingle of rhymes, namely rhyming every pair of words in the entire strophe. The Kalir was much herated by the Spanish poets who could not forgive the barbarism of his style and his breaking of all rules of grammar. Kalir is the first of a line of poets who submerge their own individuality and speak on behalf of their nation. See M. Waxman, op.cit., pp.214, 215.

(117) G. B. Gray, op.cit., pp.17,237.

(118) M. Waxman, op.cit., pp.208,209,210,452.

As for Syriac poetry, there was no intentioned rhyme. The first appearance of rhyme was in the ninth century A.D. in imitation of the Arabic qasīda,⁽¹¹⁹⁾ whereas before Islam (before seventh century A.D.) rhyme occurred only as an occasional and incidental ornament of poetic speech in Syriac literature.⁽¹²⁰⁾

Ethiopic poetry which is symbolised by the 'qenē', is based upon rhyme. The rhyme is constant throughout the qenē or the stanza.⁽¹²¹⁾

Repetition is another literary quality and illuminating feature of Semitic poetry. All the forms of repetition provide continuity to the poets' thought producing a profound emotional effect. In Semitic poetry three forms of repetition can be found. Firstly, 'the line-repetition-form' in which the same line is repeated over and over again. Good examples of this practice can be seen in Babylonian, Hebrew and Arabic poetry. In 'the Dialogue of Pessimism', one of the Babylonian compositions, the following line:

"Slave, listen to me." "Here I am, sir, here I am."

(arad mi-tan-gur-an-ni an-nu-ube-le an- nu-u):

is repeated eleven times at the beginning of each strophe in the latter poem, which contains eighty-six lines, divided into ten

(119) R. Duval, op.cit., p.18, and W. Wright, op.cit., p.34, and W. H. Cobb, op.cit., p.64.

(120) G. Holscher, op.cit., p.6.

(121) C. C. Rossini, op.cit., p.160 and M. Kamil, op.cit., p.103.

units or strophes. Each unit has its subject; the shortest unit is formed from six lines and the longest one from eleven lines.⁽¹²²⁾ In Psalm 136 the line:

"For his mercy endureth for ever.":

appears in every verse throughout the whole of the twenty-six verses of the Psalm itself.

In the Arabic *qaṣīda* this form of repetition also occurred, but the Jāhiliya poet did not repeat the whole line. He, however, frequently repeated one of the two hemistichs and usually the first one (al-Ṣadr). Good examples of this form can be seen in the Mu'allaqā of 'Amr b. Kulthūm, who repeated the first hemistich:

"For with what purpose in view, 'Amr b. Hind": twice,⁽¹²³⁾ and in the poem of al-Muhalhil wherein the first hemistich:

"O my two comrades, call Kulāib for me": was repeated three times consecutively.⁽¹²⁴⁾ It is very interesting to note that the form of 'line-repetition', which occurred in the former Babylonian composition and in Psalm 136, can be seen in the Qur'ān used in precisely the same way. In the Sūra of ar-Rahmān (The All-Merciful) the following verse:

(122) W. G. Lambert, *op.ci.*, pp.139-149.

(123) al-Zawzanī, *Sharh al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab'*, p.137.

(124) H.al-Sandūbī, *Akhbār al-Marāqisa wa Ash'ārihim fi'l-Jāhiliya wa ṣadr al-Islām*, 1st. ed., Cairo, 1939, p.45. Further examples on pp.37,38 of the same book and in al-Qālī, *al-Amālī*, Vol.II, p.132.

"O which of your Lord's bounties will you and you deny?"

(Fabi 'ayy ālā'ī rabbikumā tukadh^hhibānī":

is repeated thirty one times, starting from the twelfth verse, and it is usually repeated after each one or two verses throughout the whole Sura of seventy-eight verses.⁽¹²⁵⁾ Secondly,

'the sentence-phrase repetition' form in which the poet repeats a complete sentence or a phrase consecutively, for example:

the phrase "In the Gate of," which is repeated twelve times in the last stanza of the Babylonian poem called 'The poem of the Righteous Sufferer,'⁽¹²⁶⁾ in Psalm 103, v.20-22, the phrase

"Bless the Lord," which was repeated three times and in the short poem of Jeremiah IV, v.23-26 wherein the expression "I beheld" was repeated four times. Hebrew poetry in regard to this form of repetition possesses another form which is called 'anadiplosis.'⁽¹²⁷⁾ It is a mode of speech in which the phrase

at the end of one sentence is repeated at the beginning of the next. For example, in Psalm 121, v.1-2, the following sentence

"From whence cometh my help," found its answer in the repeated sentence as "My help cometh from the Lord." In the Arabic qaṣīda the form of 'sentence-phrase repetition' also occurred.

In the Mu'allāqa of 'Abīd b. al-Abras the expression "and every possessor of" is repeated five times in three lines.⁽¹²⁸⁾

(125) The Qur'ān, Sūra 81, v.13.

(126) W. G. Lambert, op.cit., p.21.

(127) The Jewish Encyclopaedia, Vol. X, p.95.

(128) 'Abīd b.al-Abras al-Asadī, Dīwān, ed. by: Sir Charles Lyall, p.7.

Another example is the repetition of the expression "and you do not know" six times in the *Mudhḍahaba* (The Golden Poem) of *Uḥaīḥa b. al-Jullāh*.⁽¹²⁹⁾ Thirdly, the 'word-repetition' form which is merely a repetition of a single word. In Hebrew the succession of participial phrases are usually rendered by relative clauses,⁽¹³⁰⁾ as in Psalm 104, v.1-5, wherein the word "who" is repeated seven times. In the Arabic *qaṣīda* a very good example of this form of repetition can be seen clearly in the *Mujamhara* of 'Adī b. Zaīd, who repeated "O, 'Āḍhil" six times in six lines.⁽¹³¹⁾ In the Arabic *Qaṣīda* there occurred another form of repetition which may be called 'rhythmical-repetition' in which the poet merely repeats the same rhythm, or more specifically the same beats of time though in different terms as can be seen in the *Mu'allāqa* of 'Amr b. Kulthūm:

"We the givers of food when we are able,
We the destroyers when we are involved in battle,...
We the leavers (of things) when annoyed,
We the takers when we are pleased." (132)

So far we have analysed comparatively the structure of Semitic poetry vis à vis the Arabic *qaṣīda*, and have noted that parallelism, rhythm or metre, and rhyme, through different manners and media, form one art which is poetry. In the following pages we shall attempt a brief survey of the subject-

(129) al-Qurashī, *Jamhara*, p.255.

(130) J. Muilenburg, *The Poetry of the Old Testament*, p.69.

(131) al-Qurashī, *Jamhara*, p.175.

(132) al-Zawzanī, *Mu'allāqāt*, p.182.

matter of Semitic poetry, particularly love poetry, to see to what extent the Arabic Qaṣīda shares the common characteristics of Semitic love poetry. The latter drew its similes from nature. We can see pictures of love, passion, the feeling of chastity and sensual pleasure so bright, so clear in the Song of Songs and the Erotic Prelude of the Jāhīlīya qaṣīda. We shall therefore try to compare them concerning their images, style, and thought, because the Song of Songs and the Arabic qaṣīda both bear so closely the characteristics of Semitic love poetry.

The Song of Songs was compiled, it is thought, during the Greek period (circa 200 A.D.) and influenced by the erotic poems of the Greeks.⁽¹³³⁾ Scholars have differed in their opinions as to the manner in which the subject of love in those Songs has been dealt with. Some scholars⁽¹³⁴⁾ have supposed that the Song of Songs consists of a number of independent songs, the only link binding them together being the common subject, love. Whether the Song of Songs is one poem or a collection of independent poems does not affect the fact that love is its main theme and that it is a lyric poem. As an example of Semitic love poetry, it has several parallels with the Arabic qaṣīda.

Both are mainly reminiscence dealing mostly with the past

(133) Encyclopaedia of Literature, Vol. I, p.386.

(134) S. R. Driver, op.cit., p.409.

without any hope for the future,⁽¹³⁵⁾ and this is obviously because the nomadic Semite was too busy thinking about his problems of the moment or enjoying his present life on every possible occasion without considering the prospects of the future. As for their similes, it seems that they borrowed them almost entirely from the pleasant things of nature: that is milk, honey, wine, water, gardens, perfume, sun, moon, gold, marble, etc. The description of the beloved girl was based upon individual observations and is rather material in description, since the Semitic poet was very keen and alert in observing his natural surroundings and very realistic in his life. The beloved girl is described as a friend, as a daughter of a noble family.⁽¹³⁶⁾ Her beauty is glorified in a similar way and with the same spirit; her perfume and jewellery are treated in the same way.⁽¹³⁷⁾ She is often described in the Song of Songs as a dove, her voice like the cooing of the dove: Chap. 2, v.14:

"O my dove, that art in the clefts of the rock, in the secret places of the stairs, let me see thy countenance, let me hear thy voice, for sweet is thy voice, and thy countenance is comely."

On the other hand in the Arabic qasīda the beloved girl is very often described as a gazelle.⁽¹³⁸⁾ In both poetry

(135) A.Kh.Kinany, The Development of Gazal in Arabic Literature, Syria, 1951, p.35.

(136) Mu'allāqa of 'Amr b.Kulthūm, L.84,L.90, and Chap.VI, v.9-11, (Song of Songs)

(137) Imrū'ul-Qāis, Diwān, ed.by: H.al-Sandūbī, 2nd.ed.,Cairo,1939 p.31,line 3, and al-Qurashī, Jamhara, pp.196,197,lines 4,5, 6, and Chap. IV, V.10-14 (Song of Songs).

(138) al-Qurashī, Jamhara, p.88, line 6, and 'Antara, Diwān, p.85, line 5.

'naked description' also occurred. (139)

Besides these similarities they have contrasting features which portray the specific characteristics of their different environments. In the Song of Songs the man is described as a 'deer' or 'gazelle': Chap. II, v.9.

"My beloved is like a roe or a young hart."

While in the Arabic qasīda the woman herself is described as a 'gazelle' and never the man. Another feature is that the woman in the Song of Songs described her beloved 'mate-man': his head is as the most fine gold, his eyes as the eyes of doves by the rivers, his cheeks as sweet flowers, his lips like lilies dropping sweet smelling, etc. (140) While in the Arabic qasīda of the Jāhīliya era, there is no trace of a woman describing her mate in such a way. However, after Islam 'Umar b. Abī Rabi'a, (d. about 719 A.D.) Jamīl Buṭḥaīna al-'Udhri (d. about 701 A.D.) and Abū Nūwās (d. circa 810 A.D.) developed the Arabic love-qasīda to such a high extent that it is associated with their names to this day. In the Dīwān of 'Umar b. Abī Rabi'a we often find examples of women describing their lovers, but these are obviously the words of the poet since the woman plays only a passive rôle in his description. (141)

(139) al-Nābigha al-Dhubyanī, Dīwān, pp.51-52, and al-A'shā, Dīwān, p.42, and Song of Songs, Chap. VII, v.1-7.

(140) Song of Songs, Chap. V, v.8-16.

(141) The habit or the traditional way of expressing love-feelings amongst the Arabs was to exhibit man as the lover and love-sick, but amongst the Persians the woman was the lover who was yearning, longing and love-sick and not the man. This was observed by Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī, 'Umda, Vol.II, p.100.

In the Song of Songs the beloved girl is often described as 'sister' as is illustrated below: Chap. IV, v.9-10.

"Thou hast ravished my heart, my sister, my spouse;
Thou hast ravished my heart with one of thine eyes, with one
chain of thy neck."

Her lover is described as 'brother': Chap. VIII, v.1.

"O that thou wert as my brother, that sucked the breasts of my
mother!
When I should find thee without I would kiss thee, yea, I
Should not be despised."

Whereas in the Arabic Qaṣīda no trace can be found of such
description, i.e. sister and brother.

It is very interesting to note that the 'Love Songs' of the
later Egyptian Empire (circa 1300-1100 B.C.) bear a most striking
resemblance to the Song of Songs concerning the use of the terms
'brother' and 'sister' among the lovers when speaking of one
another, as is illustrated below:

"My brother, my beloved,
My heart follows the love of thee." (142)

and "The love of my sister is on yonder side
of the stream in the midst of the fish." (143)

These poems - Love Songs - breath a strong love and joy in
nature⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ as in the Song of Songs and the Arabic Qaṣīda.

They are lyric poems and their poetical structure bears a

(142) J. M. Plumley, "Love Songs," pp.187-191 in Documents
from Old Testament times, ed. by: D. Winton Thomas,
London, 1958, p.188.

(143) Ibid., p.189.

(144) A. Erman, The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians,
Translated into English by: A. M. Blackman, 1st. ed.,
London, 1927, p.242, and J. M. Plumley, op. cit., p.187.

resemblance to the Hebrew. Their verses have a number of stressed syllables, no quantitative metre as that of the Arabs, but 'free rhythm' like that of the Hebrews.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ They employed parallelism, but such parallelism in Egyptian poetry as a whole, wrote Erman, "was never consolidated into an establishing form for poetry, but remained always just a decoration, which was employed, to be sure without stint, whenever it was desired to express oneself in dignified language."⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ Whereas parallelism in Semitic poetry in general, and in Hebrew poetry in particular, reached a high pitch of development and is regarded as an essential quality of Hebrew poetical structure. Concerning the subject of love the Egyptian Love Songs bear a resemblance to Arabic chastity love-poetry. Although there are differing styles and forms in both cases, the 'beloved man' is described as 'love-sick', 'ill of a disease incurable by all physicians and medicines'.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ However, in Babylonian love poetry, it was a heroic romance built upon manliness and exhibiting the frank expressions of sentimental matters.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾

(145) A. Erman, op.cit., p.xxxi and J. M. Plumley, op.cit.p.187.

(146) A. Erman, op.cit., p.xxxiii.

(147) See the Love-Song (D), p.190 in J. M. Plumley, op.cit., and the Qasida of 'Urwa b. Hizām al-'Udhri, p.8 in Th.Nöldeke, *Delectus Veterum Carminum Arabicorum*, Carmina, Berolini, 1896.

(148) Here is a quotation from the Epic of Gilgamesh to illustrate this:

"When Gilgamesh put on his tiara,
Great Ishtar lifted her eyes to the beauty of Gilgamesh.
Come, Gilgamesh, be thou my consort.
Grant me thy fruit as a gift.
Be thou my husband I will be thy wife!
I will cause to be harnessed for thee a chariot of lapis lazuli and gold.....

(Continuation of footnote on page 112

The description of thunderstorms, which is a favourite theme in the Arabic qasīda,⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ is a favourite theophany of the Hebrew poets,⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ because the natural objects in the poetry of the Old Testament are considered to be the images or reflection of God and are noticed for some single prominent feature; for instance, mountains suggested strength and power: Psalm 36, v.6.

"Thy righteousness is like the great mountains":
and rivers suggested strength in motion.⁽¹⁵¹⁾

With regard to reference to animals in Semitic poetry, although the camel is glorified in the Arabic qasīda and the horse is depicted in the fullest detail by every poet of the desert, other animals (the wild mountain goat - Hebrew ya'al, Arabic wa'il - , the lion and the lioness, the wild-ass, the wild-ox or oryx - Hebrew rēm, Arabic ri'm - , the ostrich, the hawk, the eagle, the raven, etc.) are often described in the poetry of the Old Testament and the Arabic qasīda.⁽¹⁵²⁾

(Continued from page 111)

Gilgamesh open his mouth and said,

Addressing great Ishtar:.....

What will be my advantage if I take thee in marriage?....

Thou are a sandal which causes its wearer to trip.

What lover of thine is there whom thou does love forever?"

(See A. Heidel, The Gilgamesh Epic and the Old Testament Parallels, Chicago, 1946, pp.49-52.

(149) 'Abīd b. al-Abras, Dīwān, pp.7,75.

(150) G. A. Smith, op.cit., pp.57,59,60.

(151) P. C. Sand, Literary Genius of the Old Testament, Oxford, 1924, pp.74,75,76,77.

(152) Job, Chap. 38, 39 and al-Aṣma'īyyāt, Vol. I, pp.73-74 and al-Mufaḍḍalīyyāt, ed. by: Sir C. J. Lyall, pp.487, 488, 378, 276, 800-809, 811, 516 and see al-Qurashī, Jamhara, pp.172, line 4.

From the above, it will be seen that the Semites shared certain characteristics in their poetry, though as far as is known, poetry did not develop until some time after the breaking-up of the Semites as a people. Each group of Semites produced a form of poetry in which characteristics of the immediate environment can be traced. The general characteristics of Semitic poetry are parallelism, particularly noticeable in Hebrew poetry, rhythm or metre, which has two noticeable forms, that of a number of syllables in Syriac poetry and of quantitative metre in the Arabic *qaṣīda* and rhyme, which is particularly noticeable in the Ethiopic *genē* and in the Arabic *qaṣīda*. Repetition, with all its forms, occurred in the Babylonian quatrain, the Hebrew couplet and the Arabic *qaṣīda*. The subject matter of Semitic poetry is often similar. Religion was the main theme of all Semitic poetry, but there is little trace in the Arabic *qaṣīda* until after Islam. Semitic poetry is mainly lyric, although the Epic of Gilgamesh in Babylonian poetry is comparable to the Greek achievements in the epic style. Semitic verse-form is built upon the individual line with its two parts divided by a caesura. This structure is developed to a very high degree in the Arabic *qaṣīda* wherein the line is divided into two complete halves by its rhythm and the rhyme is consistent throughout each *qaṣīda*. It is quite conceivable that the division of the Arabic verse into two halves originally rose out of the Semitic leaning towards parallelism as a

cardinal feature of poetry. By the time, however, that the earliest poetry now extant was composed, parallelism had ceased to be all-important.

Thus, from the above account, it will be clear that the Arabic Qaṣīda, which developed from the Fifth Century A.D. onwards embodies a number of features which can be paralleled on other Semitic literatures. Though it had some peculiarly Arab features, it was unmistakably Semitic. What chiefly distinguished it from other Semitic poetry were, firstly, its highly developed quantitative metre, and secondly, its regular and rich rhyme system.

CHAPTER III

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ARABIC QASĪDA

The Unity of the Line, the Qit'ā, the Qasīda and the Mu'allaga

The Arabic Qasīda, which has been described as a 'wild flower of the naked desert',⁽¹⁾ has passed through a long period of poetical evolution and artistic development. Professor Guidi states that the odes of the sixth century A.D., which are noteworthy and admirable as far as the art of Arabic poetry is concerned, indicate that they are the fruit of a long and elaborate experience.⁽²⁾ A brief glance at the Qasīda's rules of grammar, its language, structure, form and metres leads the reader to believe that the Jāhiliya Qasīda could only have reached this extent of soundness and perfection after a long history of experiment.

Let us now examine the lexicographical definition of the word Qasīda which may throw light upon its literary value and the technique of its composition. The poetical meaning of the word 'Qasīda' is said to be derived from the word "qasd , قصد " meaning "aim, intention or purpose," as if the poet intended to compose his ode with care and an artistic purpose or because of the completeness of its discourse and the soundness of its

(1) Lady Ann & W.S. Blunt, The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia, p.ix.

(2) Dr. Shawqī Daif, al-Fan wa Madhāhibuhu fi-'l-Shi'r al-'Arabi, 2nd ed. Beirut, 1956, p.18 (Quoted from: I. Guidi, L'Arabie Antéislamique, p.41).

measure.⁽³⁾ Ibn Jinnī (d. 1002 A.D.) explained the word 'qaṣd' in more detail, saying that "the original meaning of 'qaṣd' and its positions in Arabic speech are 'intention or determination (al-i'tizān , الِإِغْتِرَامُ)', 'direction towards (al-Tawajjuh , التَّوَجُّه)', 'rising (al-nuhūd , الزُّهْدُ)' and 'standing up towards the thing (al-muhūd , الزُّهْوُضُ)'."⁽⁴⁾

The poet, therefore, composed his ode with a great sense of purpose and carefulness, or metaphorically, the Qaṣīda is the product of the skilful craftsmanship of the poet who adorned his ode with excellent expressions and choice meanings. On account of this Ibn Qutaība (d. 889 A.D.) divides the poets into two classes: "al-Mutakallif, الْمُتَكَلِّفُ (the poet who is very fond of curiositas or is an artificial composer)" and "al-Maṭbū', الْمَطْبُوعُ (the poet who is gifted with poetical talent or is a natural composer)." He defines the mutakallif as he who constructs his poetry by using the thiqāf (an instrument for straightening lances), adorns his ode after much search and then looks over it. Such poets are Zuhāir and al-Ḥuṭaī'a.⁽⁵⁾ Al-Aṣma'ī (739-831 A.D.) used to say that Zuhāir and al-Ḥuṭaī'a

(3) Ibn Duraīd, Jamharat al-Lughā. Vol. II, p.274, and al-Faīrūzabādī, al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt, Cairo, 1330 A.H. 1st. ed. Vol. I, p.328 and al-Zubaidī, Tāj al-'Arūs, Cairo, 1306 A.H. 1st. ed. Vol. II, p.467 and Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān al-'Arab, Beirut, 1955, Vol. III, pp.354,355, and al-Qaīrawānī, Ibn Rashīq, al-'Umda, Cairo, 1907, Vol. I, p.121, and E.W. Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, Book I, Part 7, London, 1885, p.2532.

(4) Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān al-'Arab, Vol. III, p.355.

(5) Ibn Qutaība, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', Vol. I, p.23.

together with the poets who followed them were slaves of poetry because they adorned it and never followed the path of the natural poets (al-Maṭbū'ūn).⁽⁶⁾ Al-Ḥuṭaī'a used to say that the yearly revised adorned poetry is the best poetry.⁽⁷⁾

To illustrate this method of composing the Qaṣīda it is very interesting to refer to the following lines of Suwaīd b. Kurā', who describes the long artistic operation of producing the Qaṣīda:

"I spent my night in front of the Qawāfī's (the rhymes; odes)
doors as though

I were chasing a strange, wild herd.

I watch them till dawn

Then after day-break or a little before I slumber.

They are rebellious except when I put in front of them
the camels' prison staff which conceals the upper parts
of their chests and their forearms.

I summoned the good beasts (the rhymes) but they followed
a wide, ample path which was crossed by odes.

They are free, no one can bring them back
without much toil and endeavour.

If I were afraid of them being related on my authority,

I would rather keep them in my breast before their
appearance.

But the fear of feeling that the son of 'Affān
might reject them

Insisted on me to spend a complete year and an extra
spring to straighten and well-breed them.

(6) Ibn Qutaība, al-Shi'ṇ wa l-Shu'arā', Vol. 1, p.23.

(7) Ibid., p.23.

There still remained in me a sense to add something to them,
But I was obliged to listen and to obey.⁽⁸⁾

The Qaṣīda, therefore, is not only a poem composed with an artistic purpose, but is excellent revised poetry as was considered by al-Faīrūzabādhī.⁽⁹⁾ This meaning is derived from the word "qaṣīd, قَصِيد" signifying "thick and fat marrow," for the Arabs tropically apply to chaste, to eloquent or to excellent language the epithet "samīn, سَمِين (fat)", such as "hādhā kalāmūn samīnum - هَذَا كَلَامٌ سَمِينٌ (literally - this is a fat (i.e. excellent) speech))."⁽¹⁰⁾ Similarly, the Arabs called the fleshy, fat she-camel "qaṣīd" or "qaṣīda" as is illustrated in the following line of al-A'shā:

(11) قَطَعْتُ وَصَايِي سُرْحَ كِنَاةٍ كَرْنِ الرِّغْنِ زَغْلِبَةً قَصِيدُ

Therefore, the poem is called "qaṣīda" because of the completeness of its structure.⁽¹²⁾ Just as the Arabic lexicographers differ in explaining and interpreting the actual sense in which the word "ḥaṣd (aim, intention or purpose)" is to be understood, so do the modern critics. Dr. Jacob⁽¹³⁾ would derive the word

(8) al-Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa'l-Tabīyn, ed. Hārūn, Vol. II, pp.12,13, and Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', ed. M. J. De Goeje, Leiden, 1904, p.403.

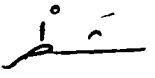
(9) al-Faīrūzabādhī, al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ, Vol. I, p.328.

(10) al-Zubaidī, Tāj al-'Arūs, Vol. II, p.468, Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān al-'Arab, Vol. III, p.354 and Lane - Lexicon, p.2532.

(11) "I crossed (the desert) and my companion was an easy, fleshy-fat, and swift she-camel, in height like the top of a mountain". See: The Dīwān of al-A'shā, Ed. R. Geyer, Gibb Memorial, VI, p.216, N o.65, line 23, & Ahmad b. Fāris b. Zakariyā, Mu'jam Maqāliys al-Lughā, ed. Hārūn, 1st. ed. Cairo, 1370 A.H. Vol. V. p.95, & Ahmad b. Hamdān al-Rāzī, Kitāb al-Zīna, ed. al-Hamadānī, 2nd. ed. Cairo, 1957, Vol. I, p.85.

(12) Ibn Fāris, Maqāliys, Vol. V, p.96.

(13) R. A. Nicholson, op.cit., p.76.

qaṣīda from the principal motive of these poems, namely to gain a rich reward in return for praise and flattery. Ahlwardt connects it with qaṣāda (to break) "because it consists of verses, every one of which is divided into two halves, with a common end-rhyme: thus the whole poem is broken, as it were, into two halves."⁽¹⁴⁾ It seems, however, that the interpretation of Professor Ahlwardt is an external rather than an internal one since the unity of the line with its two hemistichs (al-Ṣadr and al-‘Ajuz) is the basic element in the structure of the Arabic Qaṣīda.⁽¹⁵⁾ Lane defines the qaṣīda as "a poem or an ode for it was always designed to be chanted or sung, of which the bipartition (, shatr) of verses is complete, of which the hemistichs are complete, not curtailed."⁽¹⁶⁾

The Arab critics have associated other names besides the word qaṣīda with the ode. Some of these names indicate the purpose, the method or the characteristics of the composition. They apply, for example the term "kalima (literally - word)" to mean a poem or ode, and if such an ode were comparatively long they use the expression "Kalima Ṭawīla ,  (long word)."⁽¹⁷⁾ The qaṣīda was called "qāfiya

(14) R. A. Nicholson, op.cit., p.76.

(15) See Chap. II of this Thesis, p. 83-84

(16) Lane, Lexicon, p.2532.

(17) al-Qurashī, Jamharat Ash‘ār al-‘Arab, Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 415, Paper 10 and Aḥmad Abī al-Faṭḥ al-Ibshīhī, al-Mustaṭraf fī Kul Fan Mustazraf, Cairo, 1368 A.H. Vol.II, p.148.

قافية (rhyme)" on the grounds that the meaning of the word "qawāfī (pl. of qāfīya)" is the discourse in which every part of it follows the footsteps of the other in the same pattern. Then the gathering and union of the 'qawāfī' is called a 'qaṣīda'. Jarīr says:

"On two nights, if I compose a qaṣīda it will reach
'Umān and the mountains of Ṭaī'."

The word 'qaṣīda' in this line means an ode containing choice meanings and excellent expressions.⁽¹⁸⁾ The word 'qāfīya' in the sense of a poem or qaṣīda is mentioned in the following lines which are attributed to Imr Al-Qaīs:⁽¹⁹⁾

"I push aside the 'qawāfī' and drive them away from me
Like the driving of a brave, chivalrous youth,
(Who), when they become many and fall upon him,
Chooses the six noteworthy amongst them.
I set their coral aside
And take for myself the most cultivated pearls."

Similarly, Ibn Mayyāda, an Islamic poet, uses the word 'qawāfī' in the sense of qaṣīdas in the following lines:

"If I were to perish, I should leave behind me
Qawāfī (rhymes or odes) which will delight
the reciters.
Their syllables are sweet and sound

(18) al-Rāzī, al-Zīna, Vol. I, p.85.

(19) Imr al-Qaīs, Diwān, ed. Ahlwardt, p.122, No. 11 and edition of al-Sandhuqī, p. 63, No. XV, vv. 3-5.

and if poetry were to be a garment they would be worn." (20)

The critics and sometimes the poets gave their odes, which they used to revise, correct and adorn, various names such as "al-Ḥawlīyāt , الحَوَلِيَّات (odes, the production of which occupied a whole year each)," "al-Muqalladāt , الْمُقَلَّدَات (celebrated odes," "al-Munaqqahāt , الْمُنَقَّحَات (revised odes)," and "al-Muḥkamāt , الْمُحْكَمَات (sound odes)." (21) Al-Jāhiz explains the reason behind the application of these terms to be that such would enable their composer to become an eloquent Faḥl (22) and a poet of great genius. (23) The critics sometimes

(20) Ibn al-Shajari, Kitāb al-Ḥamāsa, Hyderabad, 1345, A.H. pp.237, 238.

(21) al-Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa'l-Tablīn, Vol. II, pp.9,12 (ed. Hārūn).

(22) This term Faḥl- فحل literally means: (a stallion, a male or an energetic man). But al-Aṣma'ī (d.831 A.D.) used it as a "critical term" which was used to indicate the excellent and most eloquent poet and he wrote an essay entitled "Fuḥūlat al-Shu'arā', فحول الشعراء" where his judgments on the value of the most appreciated Arab poets are collected. See for more details:

I. Goldziher, "Alte und Neue Poesie im Urtheile der Arabischen Kritiker: Old and New Poetry in the Judgment of Arabic Critics" pp.122-174 in: "Abhandlungen Zur Arabischen Philologie," Leiden, 1896, p.136; also: al-Aṣma'ī, Fuḥūlat al-Shu'arā', edited and translated into English by: Charles C. Torrey, pp.487-516 in Z.D.M.G. Vol. 65, Leipzig, 1911.

(23) al-Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa'l-Tablīn, Vol. II, p.9.

give an ode a name as a result of their own literary judgement or because of the literary value of the ode itself. Al-Aṣma'ī called the qasīda of Suwaīd b. Abī Kāhil al-Yaṣḥkurī (d. 60 A.H.), who was a Mukhaḍḍam poet, "al-Yatīma - اليَتِيمَة (a female orphan, or a pairless ode)" in the following statement:-

"The Arabs used to prefer and to like it, and they used to consider it as one of their qasīdas of wisdom, and used to call it in the Jāhiliya era the Yatīma (pairless ode) because of the proverbs included therein."⁽²⁴⁾

These judgments and names can be considered as evidence of consciousness that the Arabic Qasīda had reached a high degree in artistic perfection. The critics also gave the poets different names indicating the nature of the style of their poetry or the characteristics of their composition. Ṭufaīl al-Ghanawī was called "al-Muḥabbīr, المُحَبِّر (adorner) because he used to adorn his poetry,⁽²⁵⁾ and 'Adī or Imr al-Qaīs b. Rabī'a, as was mentioned earlier on was called al-Muhalhil because he refined his poetry.⁽²⁶⁾ This would surely indicate

(24) al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt, ed. Shākir & Hārūn, p.190.

(25) al-Aṣma'ī, Fuḥūlat al-Shu'arā', edited and translated into English by: Charles C. Torrey, pp.487-516 in Z.D.M.G. Vol. 65, Leipzig, 1911, p.493 and al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt, ed. Lyall, Vol. I, pp.410,411, and The Dīwān of Ṭufaīl al-Ghanawī, edited and translated into English by: F. Krenkaw, Gibb Memorial, Vol. XXV, London, 1927, p.2.

(26) See: p.78 Chap. II of this Thesis. Al-A'shā was called 'Ṣannājat al-'Arab' صَنَاجَة العرب - player upon the cymbals of the Arabs, because of the good quality of his poetry. See: al-Jawālīqī, al-Mu'arrab, edited by: Ed. Sachau, Leipzig, 1867, p.97 and Aghānī, Vol. IX, ed. Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya, p.109.

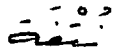
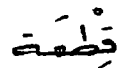
that the poets with their different styles and personalities, although they lived in the same century, represent various schools of poetry as is illustrated in the Jāhīlīya Qaṣīda. But the most frequent word used by the Arabic poets, critics, grammarians, transmitters and lexicographers to denote an ode is the word 'qaṣīda.' This word in this particular meaning did occur in the Jāhīlīya Qaṣīda as we read in the following two lines of al-Musaṭṭab b. 'Alas:

I shall indeed send with the winds an ode (Qaṣīda)
of mine which will pass into every land
(because of its beauty), until it reaches al-Qa'qā'
It will arrive at the watering-places as fresh and
strange among men who will quote it as a maxim
or sing it as a song. (27)

The definition of the number of lines or verses which the qaṣīda should contain in order to be called an ode is again subject to the differing opinions among scholars. However, they never regard the individual line as a poem, nor two lines unless they possess the same metre and rhyme. Even in the 'Rajaz', which is a popular form of composition among the Arabs, the individual line has never been considered as a form of poetry. It is said that at least four lines which must follow the same rhyme is the minimum that can be accepted as poetry. (28) Nevertheless, they used to call the individual

(27) Mufaḍḍalīyāt, ed. Lyall, pp.96,97, Lines 15,16 and Ibn Sallām, Ṭabaqāt, p.132.

(28) al-Bāqillānī, I'jāz al-Qur'ān, pp.85,87.

line "Yatīm ,  (Orphan child)," and also the two lines and sometimes the three lines "Nutfā,  (a little of)" (29) Al-Faīrūzabādhī (d. 1414 A.D.) defines the qasīda as an ode of either three lines upwards or of sixteen lines upwards. (30) Butrūs al-Bustānī, on the other hand, while mentioning the latter view, adds that the qasīda is an ode of seven lines upwards or of ten lines upwards. (31) It seems very likely, however, that al-Bustānī took his idea from Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī (d. 1064 A.D.) who says: "It is said that if the lines (verses) reach seven in number they are a Qasīda. Some people never regard a poem to be a qasīda unless it contains ten lines and even surpasses this number by one line. (32) Ibn Manzūr (d. 1311 A.D.) together with al-Zubaidī (d. 1791 A.D.) after mentioning the definition of al-Faīrūzabādhī, referred to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Akhfash's definition that the qasīda consists of three lines only. (33) Ibn Jinnī (d. 1002 A.D.) commenting on the latter definition, said that such was merely a generalisation. He went on to say: "For it is usual to call that which consists of three lines (abyāt, sing. baīt - house), or ten, or fifteen a qit'a  (a

(29) al-Bāqillānī, I'jāz al-Qur'ān, p.278, See also: Markosean, Mīzān al-Shi'r, Constantinople 1308 A.H. p.11 and Muṣṭafā Ṣādiq al-Rāfi'ī, Ta'rīkh ādāb al-'Arab, 1st. ed. Cairo, 1940, Vol. III, p.31.

(30) al-Faīrūzabādhī, al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ, Vol. I, p.328.

(31) Butrūs al-Bustānī, Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ, Beirut, 1870, Vol.II, p.1717.

(32) Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī, 'Umda, Vol. I, p.125.

(33) Ibn Manzūr, Lisān al-'Arab, Vol. III, p.355 and al-Zubaidī, Tāj al-'Arūs, Vol. II, p.467.

piece or part, i.e. fragment)' and what consists of more (i.e. sixteen or more lines) the Arabs call a qasīda." (34)

It is reasonable to assume that two or three lines following the same metre and rhyme should not be considered a qasīda, although they might be a fragment of a lost qasīda, and might thus be determined a qit'ā. The question now arises as to what is the minimum number of lines which constitute a qasīda. If we compare the opinions of Ibn Jinnī and Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī we shall see that the former would consider ten to fifteen lines a qit'ā whilst the latter would consider them a qasīda. It is generally agreed that sixteen lines upwards may be regarded as a qasīda. Although Ibn Jinnī preceeded both Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī and al-Faīrūzabādhī in time, neither of the latter two made mention of the qit'ā. Al-Faīrūzabādhī states that a qasīda may be of three lines upwards or of sixteen lines upwards, while Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī says of seven lines upwards, of ten lines upwards, or even of eleven lines upwards. Neither have given a definite opinion, but Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī asserts that the definition of ten lines (or even eleven lines) upwards is the opinion of others as well as himself. Since all authorities, Ibn Jinnī excepted, are willing to consider that a lesser number of lines might be determined a qasīda, it may perhaps be

(34) al-Zubaidī, Tāj al-'Arūs, Vol. II, p.467 and Lane-Lexicon, p.2532.

suggested that a qasīda should contain ten as a minimum number of lines considering that three lines or more or even seven lines or more would not be a compromise with the opinion of Ibn Jinnī. In the latter view the qitʿa would vary between two and nine lines.

The qitʿa is often only a portion of the qasīda detached from its context: "where it represents a really distinct kind of verse, it may more suitably be described as an occasional piece."⁽³⁵⁾ The qitʿa is usually confined to some one incident or purpose, and the 'Ayyām al-ʿArab' (Battle-days of the Arabs) together with their hard consequences can be considered a fresh theme and inspiration of the qitʿa. To understand the occasional piece thoroughly "we generally," wrote Sir Charles Lyall, "require to know the circumstances in which it was composed; it does not like the Kasīdah, tell its own tale."⁽³⁶⁾ These fragments were sometimes called al-Muqattaʿāt (القطعات)⁽³⁷⁾ on account of their shortness. Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlā (d. ca. 770 A.D.) explained the meaning of al-Muqattaʿāt as 'the short lines.'⁽³⁸⁾ The Rajaz poems were called Muqattaʿāt too for

(35) Sir Charles J. Lyall, Translation of Ancient Arabian poetry, p.xix.

(36) Lyall, Translation, p.xx.

(37) al-Marzūqī, Introduction to Diwān al-Ḥamāsa of Abū Tammām, edited by: Dr. Shukrī Faīsal, pp.75-103 in Majalat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿilmī al-ʿArabī, Damscus, Vol. I, Part 27, 1st Jan., 1952, p.81.

(38) Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān al-ʿArab, Vol. VIII, p.283.

the same reason, and it is related that Jarīr b. al-Khaṭafā (d. 728 A.D.) said to Ru'ba the following using the word 'Muqaṭṭa'āt:

"O, by God, if I were to spend a night
(composing an ode) against him, I
would leave him and his short-compositions
(the rajaz-lines) would scarcely suffice him."

He meant by 'Muqaṭṭa'āt' the Rajaz lines. (39)

These poetical fragments were favoured by the poets who lived in the Umayyād era and at the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd period, because the art of music and singing was so advanced that they were more convenient for the singers, who would have taken a very long time to sing the whole of a long poem. On the other hand, in the literary assemblies where many poets and reciters gathered to display their poetical talents before an audience, the poets themselves were required to be brief and not to declaim the whole of their qaṣīdas but only the best part (qit'ā) of it. "The first anthology of amatory fragments in Arabic literature was perhaps achieved in the literary salons." (40) The qit'ā, however, became independent in the time when the genuine qaṣīda declined. The amatory and panegyrical passages of the qaṣīda were from about 770 A.D. treated as isolated units, (41) although the

(39) Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān al-'Arab, Vol. VIII, p.283.

(40) A. Kh. Kinany, op.cit., p. 366, 367.

(41) Gustave E. Von Grunebaum, "Growth and Structure of Arabic poetry," in 'The Arab Heritage', edited by Nahih Amīn Faris, New Jersey, 1946, p.130.

amatory qit'ā has shown the sign of independence and unity in the poetry of 'Umar b. Abī Raḥī'a (d. 719 A.D.) and the 'Udhriyūn poets (i.e. the chastity-love poets), like Jamīl Buthāina, (42) (d. 701 A.D.) as we shall see later.

Let us now examine a statistical survey of the poetry composed by the chief poets of the Jāhiliya period and the "Mukhadramūn" (the poets who lived in both the Jāhiliya and Islamic eras). This should help to give us a clear picture of the length of the qaṣīda and may help us to trace something of its poetical evolution. From the table it is easy to assume that Arabic poetry can be classified into three categories:

- a) 'The individual line' which might indicate one of two possibilities: either that it is a part of a lost fragment or qaṣīda or that it represents the first stage of composition that the Arabic Qaṣīda underwent and in the latter case may be called the first stage of evolution of that poetry.
- b) 'The Qit'ā - Fragment' which varies in length between two and nine lines. The ancient Arab poets used to compose a few lines here and there inspired by the circumstances. It seems that some poets can be called Qit'ā poets, e.g. 'Amr b. Kulthūm, Hātam al-Tā'i, 'Āmir

(42) Dr. Shukrī Faīṣal, *Tatauwūr al-Ghazal*, Damascus, 1958, pp.365-366.

A TABLE TO SHOW THE LENGTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARABIC QASIDA

	No.	NAME OF POET	No. of Individual Lines	QIT'AS		QASIDAS		Number of Qasidas of 40 lines and over	SOURCE OF INFORMATION
				Number	Length	Number	Length		
THE PRELIMINARY POETS (500 - 622 A.D.)	1.	Imr al-Qais	2	37	2-9	25	10-76	5	Diwan in: The Diwans of the six ancient Arabic poets, edited by: W. Ahlwardt, London, 1870
	2.	Tarafa	-	8	2-9	11	11-103	2	Diwan, edited W. Ahlwardt, London, 1870
	3.	Labid	-	24	3-9	32	10-92	7	Der Diwan des Labid, edited by: J. Di al-Chalidi, Wien, 1880 & ed. Brockelmann, Die gedichte des Labid, Leiden, 1891
	4.	Zuhair	-	7	2-9	13	16-63	5	Diwan, ed. Ahlwardt
	5.	'Antara	-	17	3-9	10	10-85	1	Diwan, ed. Ahlwardt
	6.	Amr b. Kutthum	2	22	2-9	1	103	1	Diwan Shic' Amr b. Kutthum al-Taghlibi, ed. by F. Krenkow, al-Mashriq vol. 7, July, 1922, Beirut, pp 313-41
	7.	al-Marith b. Hilliza	-	7	4-8	4	11-82	1	Diwan Shic' al-Marith b. Hilliza, ed. F. Krenkow, al-Mashriq, Vol 8, August, 1922, Beirut, pp 43-708
	8.	al-A'sha	1	19	2-9	62	10-83	24	Diwan, ed. R. Geyer, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, VI, London, 1928
	9.	al-Nabigha al-Dhuhyani	-	11	3-9	20	10-49	1	Diwan, ed. Ahlwardt, London, 1870
	10.	al-Abras	-	2	5-7	22	10-45	1	Diwan, edited and translated by: Sir Charles J. Llyall, Gibb Memorial, XXI, London, 1913
	11.	Alqama al-Fahl	-	10	3-9	3	39-55	2	Diwan, ed. Ahlwardt, London, 1870
	12.	al-Tufail	21	16	2-9	9	11-77	3	Diwan, edited and translated by: F. Krenkow, Gibb Memorial, XXV, London, 1928
	13.	Amr b. Hajar	11	26	2-8	12	12-59	2	Gedichte und Fragmente des Amr ibn Hajar, ed. R. Geyer in Sitzung der Philosophisch
	14.	Urwah b. al-Ward	-	26	2-8	7	11-27	-	Die Gedichte des Urwah ibn al-Ward, von Th. Nöldeke, Göttingen, 1863
	15.	al-Muhallil	5	14	2-9	12	10-44	1	Al-Habir al-Maragha wa ash'arikim, ed. H. al-Sandubi, 1st ed., Cairo, 1937
	16.	al-Shanfara	2	15	2-8	3	11-68	1	Diwan, ed. al-Matmani, Cairo, 1937
	17.	al-Afwah al-Awdi	5	18	2-9	6	11-31	-	Diwan, ed. al-Matmani, Cairo, 1937
	18.	Amr b. Qamra	4	11	2-6	10	11-29	-	The Poems of Amr b. Qamra, translated into English by: Sir Charles J. Llyall, Cambridge, 1919
	19.	Ali b. Zaid	9	21	2-9	8	10-23	-	Shu'ara' al-Nagraniya, Pt. II, ed. L. Cheikho, Beirut, 1926, pp 439-474
	20.	Hatim al-Tai	1	34	2-9	12	11-41	1	Majma' Khamsat, Dawsun, Cairo, 1293 AH, pp 107-128
THE KURANIC POETS (600 - 640 A.D.)	21.	Hassan b. Thabit	2	19	2-9	48	10-41	1	Diwan, ed. H. Hirschfeld, Gibb Memorial, Vol. VIII, London, 1910
	22.	al-Nabigha al-Jadi	18	24	2-8	19	11-120	4	Les Poésies de An-Nabighah al-Jadi, ed. Maria Nallio, Roma, 1953
	23.	Amr b. al-Tufail	5	40	2-9	15	10-32	-	Diwan, edited and translated into English by: Sir Charles J. Llyall, Gibb Memorial, XXI, London, 1913
	24.	al-Mut'ala	1	65	2-9	28	11-48	2	Der Diwan des Garwal b. al-Mut'ala, ed. Ign. Goldziher, in Zei. Dev. Mor. Ges., Vol. 4, 6, 11, Leipzig, 1892-4
	25.	al-Shammakh	-	5	2-9	22	11-59	3	Diwan, ed. al-Shingiti, Cairo, 1827, A. H.
	26.	Umayy b. al-Salt	29	27	2-9	16	11-51	3	Diwan, ed. F. Scholihetz, in Beiträge zur Assyriologie, 8, 1910-1911 Leipzig, 1911
	27.	Kasb b. Zuhair	1	18	2-9	22	10-57	6	Diwan, ed. Dar al-Kutub al-Misriya, Cairo, 1950
	28.	Humaid b. Thawr	14	28	2-9	15	10-119	3	Diwan, ed. al-Matmani, Cairo, Dar al-Kutub al-Misriya, 1951
	29.	al-Mufaddiyat	14	37	2-9	93	10-108	16	Edited by: Sir Charles J. Llyall, Vol I, Oxford, 1921
	30.	Diwan of Hudhail	-	84	2-9	83	10-76	16	Three Parts, Dar al-Kutub al-Misriya, Cairo, 1946, 1948, 1950
		Total	133	848	-	643	-	101	

b. al-Ṭufā'il, al-Ḥuṭaī'a and Ḥassān b. Thābit. However, in the case of Ḥassān b. Thābit Ibn Sallām⁽⁴³⁾ (d. 845 A.D.) relates that Ḥassān was a very good poet and that when the Quraish settled their problems a great deal of poetry was falsely attributed to him to the extent that it is a very hard task to sift the original from the forged. It would appear from the table that Ibn Sallām's view is justified considering that the number of fragments attributed to Ḥassān is exuberant in comparison with the number attributed to any one of the other poets. The fragment in itself may be a part of a lost qaṣīda. Amongst these fragments there are two unities. Firstly the external unity, i.e. rhyme and metre, and secondly a perfect internal unity dealing with one subject-matter and avoiding abrupt themes. From the table we can see that amongst thirty collections of Dīwāns we have eight hundred and forty eight fragments, which, while portraying the true spirit of the Bedouin's environment, indicate the importance of the fragment in the development of Arabic poetry, and the Qit'ā may thus be described as the second stage in its evolution.

- c) 'The Qaṣīda,' which is an ode containing ten or more lines, the longest of which contains one hundred and twenty lines, may be determined the third and final stage in the evolution

(43) Ibn Sallām, Ṭabaqāt, p.179.

of Arabic poetry. The Arabs of the Jāhiliyya era differed in their opinions as to who composed the first qaṣīda, and here we see the influence of the 'aṣabiyya which swayed their judgements concerning that each tribe wanted the glory for herself. So the Yemenites hailed Imr al-Qaīs as the founder, Banū Asad 'Abīd b. al-Abras, Taghlib al-Muhalhil, Bakr 'Amr b. Qamī'a and al-Muraqqish al-Akbar (the Elder), and Iyād Abū Dū'ād. Also, it is said that al-Afwah al-ʿAwdī was the founder and that he prolonged the qaṣīda before any of the above mentioned poets.⁽⁴⁴⁾ All these poets lived and flourished about a century and a half before the advent of Islam, but tradition favours al-Muhalhil as the founder.

Al-Aṣma'ī asserts that the first poets to have composed qaṣīdas containing thirty lines were al-Muhalhil, Dhū'aīf b. Ka'b, b. 'Amr b. Tamīm, Ḍamra a man from Banū Kināna and al-Aḍbaṭ b. Quraīf, and that Imr al-Qaīs as the first composer of even longer odes came at a later date.⁽⁴⁵⁾ While Ibn Sallām⁽⁴⁶⁾ related that the lengthening of the qaṣīda took place in the time of 'Abdul-Muṭṭalib (sixth century A.D.) and Hishām b. 'Abd Manāf (fifth century A.D.) According to tradition the first poets

(44) al-Suyūṭī, Muzhir, Vol. II, p.296.

(45) Ibid., Vol. II, p.296 and Abū al-'Abbās Ahmad b. Yahyā Tha'lab, Majālis Tha'lab, ed. Hārūm, Cairo, 1948, Vol. II, p. 479.

(46) Ibn Sallām, Ṭahaqāt, pp.23-24, and Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī, 'Umda, Vol. I, p.126 and al-Suyūṭī, Muzhir, Vol. II, p.294.

to have prolonged the qasīda were al-Muhalhil and Imr al-Qaīs.⁽⁴⁷⁾

We may classify the qasīdas into long and short odes seeing that the majority of qasīdas vary in length between ten and forty lines. Some poets are very famous for their short qasīdas, while others are celebrated for their long odes. Al-Farazdaq (d. 728 A.D.), when asked why he preferred the short to the long qasīdas, replied that he found them easier to remember for the purpose of reciting and that they would be very popular in the assemblies.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Al-Ḥuṭaī'a gave a similar reason when his daughter asked him the same question.⁽⁴⁹⁾ On this subject al-Jāhiz said:⁽⁵⁰⁾ "And if you wish to recite short-poems which no one has heard, seek that in the short-composition of al-Farazdaq whom you will never find a poet who possessed originality in composing long and short odes. It was said to al-Kumaīt: people think that you are unable (to compose) short-poems. He replied: he who composes the long is more skilful in composing the short. This statement under thorough examination does not appear to be true. 'Aqīl b. 'Alafa was asked: Why do you not prolong your satire? He answered: That part of the necklace surrounding the neck is the only part

(47) Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī, 'Umda, Vol. I, p.126 and Ibn Sallām, Ṭahaqāt, p.33.

(48) Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, Kitāb al-Sinā'at al-aīn: al-Kitāba wa'l-Shi'r, ed. al-Bajāwī and Ibrāhīm, 1st. ed., Cairo, 1952, p.174.

(49) Ibid., p.174.

(50) al-Jāhiz, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. III, Cairo, 1906, p.31.

which will satisfy you."

As for the Mu'allaqāt, which are considered to be long odes, the questions which arise are: What are the principles of arrangement of the Qaṣīda as far as the subject-matter is concerned, is there an internal unity in the Arabic Qaṣīda and what is the position of the Mu'allaqāt as chefs d'oeuvre? We will answer these questions later on in this chapter.

The unity of the individual line occupies an important position in the realm of Arabic literary criticism. It seems, however, that the recognition of the line as an independent unit of the poem might have sprung from the sense and feeling of individualism among the Jāhiliyya poets. The poet, being a basic factor in the pre-Islamic community, was a faithful believer in his own individuality and possessed a strong sense of freedom and independence. Thus his psychological make up and social position led him to recognise the line of a qaṣīda as an independent unit containing one idea and having no syntactical connection with the following lines. Although the critics later on developed this attitude to the extent that it was regarded as a defect in poetic composition if a sentence in one line were completed in a following line or if a question or a condition were not answered within the single line.⁽⁵¹⁾ Nevertheless, the critics themselves differed, as we shall see

(51) al-Āmidī, Mūwāzana, p.196, and al-Marzūbānī, al-Mūwashshah, p.33.

later on in this chapter, as to whether such a style should be regarded as a defect or as an advantage in making the qasīda the whole unit. But the Jāhiliya environment, as already mentioned, influenced this style (the independence of the line) to such an extent that the majority of poets were very concerned about the beauty of the first or leading line of the poem (al-Maṭla', الطلع) rather than the beauty of the qasīda as a whole. So the appreciative value and the artistic criteria of the talent and poetical ability are restricted to the most excellent line that the poet had composed in love, satire, panegyric, etc. rather than to the best qasīda. On account of this various statements appeared such as "hādhā ash'aru baītin, هذا أشعر بيت (this is a more poetic line)," "hādhā akhnathu baītin⁽⁵²⁾ هذا أخنث بيت (this is a more effeminate line)," "hādhā al-Baītu 'aqrū hādhīhi'l - qasīda, هذا البيت عقر - هذه القصيدة (this line is the constitutive part of this ode)"⁽⁵³⁾ and "Anshadtukū muqalladātī sh-Shu'arā'i أنته فقلت الشعر (I recited to him the celebrated verses (renowned lines) of the poets)." ⁽⁵⁴⁾ Ibn Sallām in passing judgment on al-Farazdaq said that his renowned lines are more numerous than those of other poets and went on to explain

(52) Aghānī, Vol. IX, (ed. D.K.M.) p.112.

(53) al-Suyūṭī, Muzhir, Vol. II, p.306.

(54) Ibid., Vol. II, p.306.

the word "Muqallad , مَقْلَدٌ "by saying that it is a self-sufficient, line, famous enough to be set up as a proverb such as in the following line:

"How strange even Kulaīb insults me as though

Nahshal or Mujāshi' were her father."

(55) نَبَا عَجَبًا حَتَّى كَلِبْتُ نَسَبِي إِنَّ أَبَاهَا زَيْدٌ أَوْ جَابِعُ

Such famous proverbial lines were called "al-Abyāt/al-Sā'ira

النَّيَّاتُ السَّائِرَةُ (the circulating lines) "to which Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī gave another name ("al-Awābid , الأَوَابِد - (wild beasts)") were often used in al-Hijā' (satire).⁽⁵⁶⁾

Bashshār b. Burd (d. 783 A.D.) who summed up the opinions which prevailed amongst the critics who regarded the unity of the line as the basic element in their literary judgments, said:

"I am more cognisant in poetry than all people because I have composed twelve thousand qasīdas, and if a line were selected from each qasīda it would be unique, and he who possesses twelve thousand unique lines is more distinguished in poetry than all people."⁽⁵⁷⁾ Hassān b. Thābit, on the other hand, defines the 'excellent line' of poetry as 'true' in the following line:

"Verily a more poetic line (Ash'aru Baīt) that you compose
Is a line, which, when recited, would display the truth."⁽⁵⁸⁾

(55) Ibn Sallām, *Tabaqāt*, p.305.

(56) Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī, 'Umda, Vol. II, p.149.

(57) Abū Ishāq al-Husrī al-Qaīrawānī, *Zahar al-Ādāb*, ed. Dr.Zakī Mubārak, 2nd. ed., Cairo, 1931, Vol. II, p.136.

(58) Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī, 'Umda, Vol. I, p.73.

So, from the unity of these 'true lines' we will possess eventually a 'true qasīda.' Di'bil al-Khuzā'ī (765-860 A.D.), who was an 'Abbāsid poet and an earnest Shī'ite supporting the claim of 'Alī to the Caliphate, emphasised in the following line that the Rūwāt (Transmitters) were very fond of the 'individual line' and that they preferred it to the qasīda:"

I shall compose a line of poetry that
people will appreciate
and will attract many transmitters."(59)

It is very interesting to note that the individual line was used as a source of information in the sense of applying nicknames and new surnames to the poets. Al-Tha'alībī (d. 1038 A.D.), for example, devoted chapter two of his book "Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif" to the nicknames of poets who were so called as a result of a word or expression mentioned in one of their lines or in one of their qasīdas, e.g. al-Muraqqish whose name was 'Awf b. Sa'ad b. Mālik was thus called because he used the word "raqqasha - to dot," رَقَّشَ, "in the following:

(60) الدُّقْرُ وَالرُّومُ لَا رَقَّشَ فِي ظَهْرِ الدِّيمِ قَلَمٌ

This chapter of al-Tha'alībī is, in fact, a very good example to illustrate the importance of the individual line amongst the Arabs and also shows the keenness of the Arabs in glorifying the individual word and line.

(59) Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī, 'Umda, Vol. I, p.73.

(60) See: al-Tha'alībī, Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif, Chap. II, pp.17,18, 19,20,21, edited by P. DeJong, E.J. Brill, 1867.

The individual line played an important rôle in colouring the judgements of the Arab critics, and especially of those who lived in the Jāhiliya and Umayyād periods. They used to compare poets and their criterion was built upon the value of the individual line and not upon the qaṣīda as a whole. Literary criticism in its artistic sense is "the art of (61) studying the texts and distinguishing between various styles." However, the literary judgements of the Arab critics were not based upon an analytical study of the poetry itself but upon individual and personal taste in passing. Therefore, their criticism can be termed 'criticism determined by taste,' which is, in fact, merely an individual artistic sense without any limitation due to rules or classical traditions. Their judgements were centred upon general phrases such as the following:

"The most distinguished poets amongst the people are Imr al-Qaīs if he rides (horses), Zuhāir if he desires (wishes), (62) al-Nābigha if he fears and al-A'shā if he rejoices (thrills)." Or, as Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (d. circa 770 A.D.), who passed the following judgement on 'Adī b. Zaīd, said:
"He is amongst the poets like Canopus (suhail, سُهَيْل)

(61) Dr. Muhammad Mandūr, al-Naqdal-Manhajī 'ind al-'Arab, Cairo, 1948, p.4.

(62) al-Baghdādī, Khizāna, Vol. I, p.165 and al-Qurashī, Jamhara, p.33 and MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 415, Paper 16 and Ibn 'Abdi Rabbihi, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, Cairo, 1946, Vol. V, p.271.

(63)

among the stars, joins them but never moves in the same course." Nevertheless, al-Āmidī (d. 987 A.D.) later on developed Arabic literary criticism to the high standard of analysing poetry as a whole and investigating its forms and styles. In so doing he set down a system and thus planted the seeds of practical Arabic literary criticism. He applied this method in his book "al-Muwāzana" wherein he compared Abū Tammām (d. 850 A.D.) and al-Buḥturī (d. 897 A.D.) "People never agreed as to who should be considered the most excellent amongst the four poets: Imr al-Qaīs, al-Nābigha, Zuhāir and al-A'sha: neither among Jarīr, al-Farazdaq and al-Akḥṭal nor among Abū Nūwās, Abū al-ʿAtāhiya and Muslim, because their opinions and attitudes concerning poetry differ But if I compare between two qaṣīdas, one belonging to Abū Tammām and the other to al-Buḥturī and if they follow the same metre and rhyme and the final vowel of the rhyme, and if I compare between one meaning (the theme and the idea) and the other then shall I be able to judge who is the most excellent poet in that poem or on that subject." (63A) Because of this belief of regarding the individual line as a complete unit in itself, the critics paid full consideration to its structure and metrical system. Thaʿlab (815-904 A.D.), for instance, distinguishes five types

(63) al-Marzūbānī, Muʿjam al-Shuʿarā', ed. F. Krenkaw, p.249.

(63A) Further discussion will take place in a later chapter.
See also: al-Āmidī, Mūwāzana, p.3.

of lines and classifies them according to their literary value as far as the unity of thought is concerned. The line which possesses such a unit between its hemistichs (al-Ṣadr and al-ʿAjuz) is called by Thaʿlab "al-Baīt al-Muʿaddal ,

البيت المعدل" (64) He appreciates this type of line by asserting that it is nearer to eloquence and is treasured by the Rūwāt who consider such lines as "circulating proverbs (Amthāl Sa'ira , أمثال سائرة" (65) such as the following line of Zuhaīr:

"Whoever leaves home to a foreign country
regards an enemy as his friend
and he who does not respect himself, is
not respected by others."

The second type is "al-Abyāt al-Ghurr , النجيات الغرر
(Fine, noble lines)," which, as Thaʿlab states, mean that the first hemistich (al-Ṣadr) possesses a complete unit of thought or an idea in itself without al-ʿAjuz. While in the third type, which is called "al-Abyāt al-Muhajjala ,

النجيات المحجلة" (66) al-ʿAjuz can indicate the purpose or aim of the composer from the succession of his thought.

(64) Thaʿlab, Qawāʿid al-Shiʿr, ed. C. Schiaparelli, pp.175-214 in Actes du Huitième Congrès International Des Orientalistes, Tenu en 1889, Leide, 1893, p.201.

(65) Ibid., p.201, and Zuhaīr's Muʿallaqa, line 57.

(66) Thaʿlab, Qawāʿid al-Shiʿr, pp.203,204,205.

The fourth is "al-Abyāt al-Muḍāḥa ر التَّيَّابَاتُ الْمُوضَّحَةُ" in which the parts of each line are independent and balanced equally with a sense of rhythmical beating such as the following line of Imr al-Qais:

يَكْتَرُ مِفْرَ طُفْلِ مُدْرِ بَعَا كَلْمُودِ صَحْرَ طَمَّ أَلَيْلُ مِنْ عَلِ (67)

or the line of al-A'shā:

لُحُولُ الْعِمَادِ رَيْعِ الْوَادِ تَحْمِي الْمَصَافِ رُبْعُ الْفَقِيرِ (68)

The fifth and last type is "al-Abyāt al-Muraḥḥala⁽⁶⁹⁾

التَّيَّابَاتُ الْمُرَحَّلَةُ" in which the whole idea or thought is expressed in both hemistichs to the extent that the reader or listener could not possibly understand the idea unless he reads or hears the last word of the line. The latter is not like the first type wherein the thought or idea is distributed equally between the two hemistichs. The 'Muraḥḥala lines' can be regarded as 'perfect lines' as far as the subject-matter is concerned such as the following line of al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī:

"This is the praiseworthy, and if you listen
to its reciter

I would not - may God free you from
curses - present it for reward." (70)

(67) Mu'allāqa, line 53.

(68) Dīwān, ed. R. Geyer, pp.70, line 35.

(69) Tha'lab, Qawā'id al-Shi'r, p.209.

(70) Tha'lab, Qawā'id al-Shi'r, p.209.

and of Zuhā'ir:

Verily, Justice has three ways (limits):
swearing, exhibiting evidence in front
of a reliable personality and finally
clarity. (71)

Tha'lab, however, criticises these lines by saying that they are so far from the pillar of eloquence and the Rūwāt do not appreciate them. (72) But, if we compare the two examples quoted to illustrate the first type (al-Baīt al-Mu'addal) and the fifth and last type (al-Abyāt al-Murahhala), although both belong to Zuhā'ir b. Abī Sulmā, the poet of al-Hawlīyāt qasīdas, we can see that the difference between them is that in the former the thought of the poet is distributed between two hemistichs (al-Ṣadr and al-'Ajuz) and that they appear to be independent such that each bipartition (al-Shaṭr) is regarded as a complete unit in itself although there is a slight internal unity between them, but in the latter example the poet expressed his idea throughout the whole line. In other words the two hemistichs were not independent but were connected by one idea and thus the whole line possesses one unity. It seems, however, that Tha'lab never followed a traditional

(71) Tha'lab, Qawā'id al-Shi'r, p.209 and Dīwān Zuhā'ir, ed. Dār al-Kutūb al-Misrīya, p.75.

(72) *Ibid.*, P. 209.

rule in appreciating the former and criticising the latter except that he relied very much upon his own poetical taste. His judgement on the fifth type of line (al-Baīt al-Murahḥal) when he stated that it is far from the pillar of eloquence and is not appreciated by the transmitters, seems unjustified because, when the same line was recited before ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the second of the Orthodox Caliphs, who possessed a sound taste for poetry and was nearer to the spirit of Zuhāīr's poetry in time than Tha‘lab, ‘Umar himself repeated the line with delight soon after he had heard it.⁽⁷³⁾ This surely indicates that such a line is not far from the pillar of eloquence. This example also shows clearly the attitude that personal taste was a very important element in the development of Arabic literary criticism. Zuhāīr, on the other hand, composed those two lines without any intention of dividing his thought or idea into two hemistichs or of keeping it in one line, because, as a poet, he is subjected to his own impulses and the immediate motives which inspire him to express his feelings and thoughts. Such an expression might be completed in one hemistich or in two, in one line or in two, or in a whole qaṣīda. Tha‘lab did not pay any consideration to the relation between the individual line and the lines following, so it seems that he favoured the unity of the line in general

(73) al-Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa l-Tabfīyn, Vol. I, pp.240,241, ed. Hārūn.

since such a connection between two lines would be regarded as a defect in poetic composition. Al-Marzūqī (d. 1030 A.D.) in his erudite introduction to the *Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām (d. 850 A.D.) supported the latter point by asserting that the line should stand alone and should not be in need of another line unless it contains an incomplete sentence which should be completed in a following one, a conditional sentence, for example, or an interrogative phrase. This structure was regarded as a defect.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Al-Marzūqī seems, however, in adopting this attitude to have been dependent upon his predecessors who recognised the individual line as being one unit. The reflection of al-Marzūbānī (d. 993 A.D.) to such a principle can be seen in the following:

"The lines of Imr al-Qaīs in describing the night are exquisite, ingenious and spontaneous. In the opinion of the masters of literature and the connoisseurs of poetry, there is only one fault in them which, but for the fear that somebody might think I have overlooked the point, I would not have mentioned. The defect is that when he said:

'And I said to the night, when it stretched its lazy back
Followed by its fat rump, and settled down its heavy
breast,

O ye long night won't you clear yourself off and let

(74) al-Marzūqī, Introduction to *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, *Majalat al-Majma' al-'ilmī al-'Arabī*, Damscus, Vol. I, Pt.27, 1st. Jan. 1952, p.100.

The day shine? Yet day, when it yields, is in no way better than you.'

He (Imr al-Qaīs) did not express the phrase "and I said to the night" in the same line but depended upon the second line (in order to complete the actual meaning), and this is a defect in the Master's eyes because the best poetry is that in which every line stands independently.⁽⁷⁵⁾ And the best line is that in which every part is independent of the other, and so on until the rhyme (al-Qāfiya) is reached, such as:

'Allāh is the most reliable of all these from whom you beg,
And generosity is the best provision-bag of the camel's
saddle.'⁽⁷⁶⁾

One notices that the first half (al-Ṣadr) is self-sufficient and has no need of the second (al-ʿAjuz)."⁽⁷⁷⁾

Al-Marzūbānī in commenting on this line went on even to regard "wāw al-ʿatf , *واو العطف* (the conjunctive particle)" which joins both hemistichs as not very appreciable although he preferred the line in which both hemistichs are completely independent without such a conjunctive particle, such as the following line of al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī:

(75) al-Āmidī, Mūwāzana, p.196.

(76) Imr al-Qaīs, Dīwān, ed. Ahlwardt, pp.144, line 14.

(77) al-Marzūbānī, al-Mūwashshah, Cairo, 1343, A.H., p.33.

"You will not keep a friend whom you do not embrace
In spite of his faults, what man is perfect?"⁽⁷⁸⁾

Nevertheless, some critics prefer the poem to be one unit and in this respect the individual line is not deemed the decisive factor in judging its literary value. Al-Jāhiz (d. 869 A.D.) says:

"The best poetry you see is that in which all parts are united, possessing smooth ends and then you will realize that it is poured all at once."⁽⁷⁹⁾

It appears surely that al-Jāhiz advocates poetry to be one unit and one construction. He based such unity upon the union and fitness of all the parts of the poem including the individual line. Certainly it would appear that al-Jāhiz did not regard the relation between two lines as a poetical defect, because his judgement in recognising the best poetry is built upon the principle of the unity of the whole poem. In the following conversation lies further evidence of regarding the relationship between two lines as an important factor in the literary value of the Arabic Qasīda. 'Umar b. Laja' said to one poet: "I am more cognisant in poetry than you."

The poet replied: "And how is that?"

'Umar answered: "Because I compose the line and its brother and you compose the line and its cousin."⁽⁸⁰⁾

(78) al-Marzūbānī, al-Mūwashshah, p.33.

(79) al-Marzūqī, Muqaddima, Majalat al-Majma' al-'ilmī al-'Arabī, Damascus, Vol. XXX, 1955, p.417.

(80) al-Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, ed. W. Wright, Leipzig, 1864, p.324, and al-Jāhiz, al-Bayān wa l-Tabīyn, Vol. I, p.206 and Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa l-Shu'arā', ed. De Goeje, pp.25,26.

The significance of this is that 'Umar regarded the union of two lines as more important than the unity of one. The poet who was very keen in collecting his lines and putting them into a good order by uniting all their parts is called "al-Mirqa'.

المرقع." Ibn Sīda, ⁽⁸¹⁾ (d. 458 A.H.) related on this account that Arabs used to say: "Khatībun miṣqa' wa shā'irun mirqa',

خطيبٌ مِصْقَعٌ و شاعرٌ مِرْقَعٌ (an eloquent orator and a mirqa' poet (he who patches his poetry))." Ibn Sīda explains

the meaning of the word 'mirqa' ' as he who joins the parts of the sentence or the speech together or he who patches the part that was torn off, and, for this reason, Ibn Sīda went on to

say: "Poetry has a system because of the unity of its parts and their gathering."⁽⁸²⁾ It seems, however, that the

application of this term 'mirqa' took place amongst the Arabs at the time when they began to prolong their poetic composition from one line into two, three or more.⁽⁸³⁾ Ibn Rashīq

al-Qaīrawānī, who was a great lover of the independent line said: "As for me I prefer (value) the line (of poetry) to stand independently with no reference to preceding and following lines. If the contrary I would consider it a defect, except in special cases such as in stories and tales wherein the union between the single words is appreciable because of the narrative

(81) Ibn Sīda, al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ, 1st. ed. Būlāq, 1317 A.H. Vol.II, p.115 and al-Rāfi'i, op.cit., Vol. III, p.42.

(82) Ibn Sīda, Mukhaṣṣaṣ, Vol. II, p.115 and Lane-Lexicon, Book I, Pt. 3, pp.1137,1138.

(83) al-Rāfi'i, op.cit., Vol. III, p.42.

necessity." (84)

There is another factor which might have contributed to the principle of the unity of the independent line. The Arabs always favoured a line that vividly and succinctly expressed a moral or an axiom in a proverbial manner. (85) In their oratory, in their moments of exaltation and in situations that needed some laconic and effective remark they usually resorted to such lines. The poet who supplied his society with such lines was very much esteemed and appreciated, his name often praised and his lines were called "al-Abyād al-Sā'ira
البيات السائرة (the circulating lines)" as already mentioned.

A modern researcher has given another factor in considering the line an independent unit. This factor is connected with the development of the 'Rajaz'. The Arabs first employed this metre as an accompaniment to their physical labours such as drawing water or driving camels. The linking of the 'Rajaz' to a physical movement resulted in firstly a flexibility of rhythm to suit the types and timing of different movements, a quality which was further aided by singing, and secondly a rhyme to mark the end of each movement. But, as this type of poetry was usually impromptu, time did not permit one rhyme for the whole poem, and poets were satisfied with a

(84) al-Qaīrawānī, 'Umda, Vol. I, p.175.

(85) A. Elkott, op. cit., p.146.

double rhyme in a couplet. Later on, when poetry separated itself from that physical aspect, it kept this double rhyme in the first line of longer poems. All the 'Mu'allaqāt' had had this 'double rhyme (Taṣrī', التصریح)' and the oldest of them did not only have it in the first but in six others scattered throughout the poem. This particular Mu'allāqa (of 'Abīd b. al-Abrāṣ) is a good example of the early Arabic poetry which had not yet perfected its rhythm, nor divorced itself from the influence of that rudimentary metre. Probably the principle of regarding lines as independent units was due to this influence.⁽⁸⁶⁾

It appears, however, from the whole investigation that the principle of accepting and regarding the line as an independent unit is subjected to differing opinions amongst the critics themselves. Their final judgements never depended upon typical principles or traditional criteria, but was based, as already mentioned, upon personal taste and thus their critical judgements became partial and full of generalisations.

The Bedouin, who lived for his present moment, sensed the line and glorified its beauty to the extent that his judgements were individual and personal. Therefore, such recorded statements of the bedouins as: "This is the most excellent (line in poetry) that the Arabs have uttered

" هَذَا أَجْوَدُ مَا قَالَتْ الْعَرَبُ "

(86) A. Elkott, op. cit., pp.145,146.

or "This man is the most distinguished poet among the Arabs

هذا الرجل أشهر العرب"; is merely a reflection of his social and psychological structure and cannot be taken as final judgements. The critics of the Umayyād and 'Abbāsīd dynasties in the main followed these judgements and remained bedouins in their literary spirit. Some of them, however, founded a new method in analysing the actual poetry before passing judgements, for example al-ʿAmīdī.

To sum up we might say that the Arabic critics who collected and arranged Arabic Qaṣīdas paid full attention to the unity of the independent line rather than to the internal unity of the qaṣīda, although some of them, such as al-Jāhīz, did favour the latter unity. This does not prevent us from assuming that the Arabic Qaṣīda might possess a complete unity between all of its parts. At the same time we must bear in mind that the arrangement of the lines was subjected to the opinion of critics. It is easy perhaps to conclude that the loss of unity between the parts of the Muʿallaqāt, and such rearrangement, might be considered a result of the critics' appreciation of the unity of the independent line rather than of the whole ode. Also, as it appears from the details related above, the critics were always pleased to discover such a line (independent in its thought and structure) from the Muʿallaqāt rather than a qaṣīda. To them the position of the line did not

mean very much since it satisfied their personal taste. Thus the individual line or the odd line attributed to the Jāhilīya and Mukhḍramūn poets, as seen on p. of this thesis, may be just a line composed on the spur of the moment, a mislaid line of a qit'ā or qaṣīda, or a line purposely detached from its context by the critics or the Rūwāt on account of its literary value. In the following pages an attempt will be made to examine the form and structure of the Arabic Qaṣīda as far as its internal unity is concerned.

A Qaṣīda is the name given to an actual poem in Arabic literature. According to tradition the first qaṣīda was composed a century and a half before the advent of Islam, but this qaṣīda is by no means a rudimentary ode: it is perfect in its form, structure, language, rhyme and metrical system. As Desvergers said with wonder:

"The origins of this literature has unfortunately escaped us, and when it does appear for the first time it comes to us from the heart of the desert in perfect creation like Minerva when she came in perfect form from the brain of Jupiter." (87) Or, as Professor Nicholson, who likens the appearance of the Arabic qaṣīdas to that of the Iliad and

(87) M. Noel Desvergers, *Arabie*, Paris, MDCCCXLVII, p.472. "Malheureusement, les origines de cette littérature nous échappent, et, quand elle nous apparaît pour la première fois, elle est sortie complète du désert, comme la Minerve tout armée du cerveau de Jupiter." See also: Najīb Muḥammad al-Bahbītī, *Ta'rikh al-Shi'r al-'Arabī*, Cairo, 1950, p.5.

Odyssey, says: "They are works of highly finished art, which could not possibly have been produced until the poetical art had been practised for a long time." (88)

From a mechanical point of view the poem in Arabic literature may be termed a collection of independent lines each possessing a unity of rhyme and metre within itself. In Western poetry, however, one line is dependent upon the other from an objective point of view. This unity of the independent line would enable the critics or the transmitters to rearrange the lines within the actual *qaṣīda* without seriously affecting the general meaning. But one unity would still remain: that of rhyme and metre. The Bedouin's environment would have necessitated this perfection in the individual line, but as each tribe eventually adopted its own poet it is not surprising that whole poems were composed and that they in themselves were made up of lines constructed in the same way as was already known to them. Since nomadic necessity compelled the Bedouins to preserve the poem in their memories, it would not be hard to believe that a line of a poem was occasionally misplaced or that a line or a few lines were forgotten or omitted since the mechanical unity of rhyme and metre was present throughout the whole poem. On this subject Professor Gibb says: "...the Arab artistic creation is a

(88) R. A. Nicholson, *op.cit.*, p.XXii.

series of separate moments, each complete in itself and independent, connected by no principle of harmony or congruity beyond the unity of the imagining mind."⁽⁸⁹⁾

The Arabic qasīda, because the line was regarded as an independent unit, was subjected to various criticisms which indicate that it lacks in general a subjective or an internal unity, although it does possess a perfect mechanical or external unity of rhyme and metre. Ernest Renan even went on to criticise the Semitic spirit according to this literary conception by saying: "Arabic poetry, which is represented by the qasīda, expresses the individual feelings and describes a particular personal state. The heroes of this poetry are themselves its creators. This feature of individuality which appears in both Arabic and Israeli poetry is due to another characteristic of the Semitic spirit, viz. the lack of a creative and imaginative ability. Therefore, we do not find in them traces of epic and narrative poetry."⁽⁹⁰⁾ But Semitic literature as mentioned previously⁽⁹¹⁾ is, in fact, a realistic literature viewing things as they are in reality. The lack of epic and

(89) H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, p.5.

(90) Ernest Renan, *Histoire Générale et Système Comparé des Langues Sémitiques*, pp.1-18 (Quoted by: 'Umar al-Dustūqī, *al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī*, 2nd. ed., Cairo, 1951, p.65.

(91) See Chap. II of this Thesis.

narrative poetry cannot be considered a defect in Semitic imaginative ability because they did develop Lyrical poetry to a high standard in both form and poetical images. They, in fact, did produce epic poetry as is shown in the Gilgamesh Epic, which was called the Babylonian Odyssey and in the Epic of Creation. But their main product is Lyrical poetry. There is another factor, however, which might explain their failure to have developed epic and narrative poetry in its broadest sense. A study of the psychological structure of the poet or prose writer himself together with that of the environment as an interaction of political, social, economic, religious and ideological factors is essential when examining any literature whether ancient or modern. Taine asserted⁽⁹²⁾ that external stimuli play a great rôle in creating the artistic response of the poet himself, while Saint Beuve⁽⁹³⁾ paid attention to the position and the importance of individual temperament and the psychological structure and character of the poet himself. Nevertheless, the poet as a human being is the product of both. Therefore, the Semitic environment did influence the poets, especially when describing things as they appear in their realistic shapes. The nature of the Jāhiliyya environment,

(92) Ṭāhā Ḥusaīn, *fī'l-Adab al-Jāhiliī*, 2nd ed. Cairo, 1927, p.41.

(93) *Ibid.*, p.40.

for example, is a mobile one. Therefore, the Jāhilīya poets used to move and to travel from one part of the desert to another according to individual desires, or sometimes to tribal orders. Their poetry illustrates this mobility, expresses the feelings and thought of the tribe and also depicts the thoughts and feelings of the poet himself. The lack of a national unity amongst the tribes and the lack of the influence of a central authority together with the Bedouin's nature, which made him an individual and a great lover of freedom and independence, did not assimilate the individuality of the Jāhilīya poet nor his own personality with that of his tribe. Thus the Jāhilīya poet appears to have been the spokesman of his own tribe as well as of his own individuality.

The subjects and themes which the Greek poet dealt with are more or less the same as those of the Jāhilīya poet, e.g. satire, panegyric, elegy, love and nature, but the difference between the two is that the Greek poet combines his subjects into a form of story while the Jāhilīya poet leaves them free according to his imagining mind at the moment of inspiration. Thus the Greek ode appears as one unit with a sound congruity between its parts, while the Arabic qaṣīda appears abrupt and lacking congruity in its subject-matter: that is because the Jāhilīya poet loved details.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Nevertheless, poetry

(94) al-Bahbītī, op.cit., p.105.

in general is valued and appreciated by all nations because it is the expression of human activities. Imagination is the main objective in all these activities. Dryden wrote: "Imagining is, in itself, the very height and life of poetry."⁽⁹⁵⁾ The images in a poem are like a series of mirrors set at different angles so that, as the theme moves on, it is reflected in a number of different aspects.⁽⁹⁶⁾ The Jāhiliya qaṣīda, which is the standard type of finished poem, consists of a series of pictures conveying different aspects of Arabian life, loosely bound together in a conventional order. Whatever the main subject of the poem may be, the poet is free to reach it only after a fixed series of stages.⁽⁹⁷⁾ Ibn Qutaība (d.889) enumerates the principles of this conventional order, although he expresses views which had long been operative in his time and the seeds of which had been sown by his predecessors. He said: "I have heard from a man of learning that the composer of odes began by mentioning the deserted dwelling-place and the relics and traces of habitation. Then he wept and complained and addressed the desolate encampment, and begged his companion to make a halt, in order that he might have occasion to speak of those who had once lived there and afterwards departed; for

(95) C. Day Lewis, *The Poetic Image*, London, eighth impression, 1955, pp.17,18.

(96) *Ibid.*, p.80.

(97) H. A. R. Gibb, *Arabic Literature; An Introduction*, p.18.

the dwellers in tents were different from townsmen or villagers in respect of coming and going, because they moved from one water-spring to another, seeking pasture and searching out the places where rain had fallen. Then to this he linked the erotic prelude (nasīb), and bewailed the violence of his love and the anguish of separation from his mistress and the extremity of his passion and desire, so as to win the hearts of his hearers and divert their eyes towards him and invite their ears to listen to him, since the song of love touches men's souls and takes hold of their hearts, God having put it in the constitution of His creatures to love dalliance and the society of women, in such wise that we find very few but are attached thereto by some tie or have some share therein, whether lawful or unpermitted. Now, when the poet had assured himself of an attentive hearing, he followed up his advantage and set forth his claim: thus he went on to complain of fatigue and want of sleep and travelling by night and of the noonday heat, and how his camel had been reduced to leanness. And when, after representing all the discomfort and danger of his journey, he knew that he had fully justified his hope and expectation of receiving his due meed from the person to whom the poem was addressed, he entered upon the panegyric (madīḥ), and incited him to reward and kindled his generosity by exalting him above his peers and pronouncing the greatest dignity, in comparison

with his, to be little." (98)

This description fits almost exactly the majority of ancient Arabian odes. Thus the Jāhiliya qaṣīda is a series of pictures created by the same mind. The form of the qaṣīda has not one mood belonging to it but a variety of moods, and such form does not remain an external or mechanical frame; "it is adopted by the mind, in the same sort of way as a dance tune becomes the rhythm of the dancer." (99) The artificial structure of the Jāhiliya qaṣīda in passing abruptly from one subject to another presents the same structure as in the Greek Ode of Victory (Ettivikioo - Epinikia) (100) and especially in the odes of Pindar, (b. 522 B.C. and survived the year 452 B.C.) which may remind one by their sudden transitions and their elaborate figuring upon the motives which succeed one another in a determined manner almost of a conventional order. (101) The Olympian Odes of Pindar are composed of various elements (102) that share the Arabic qaṣīda its form, but the Ode of Victory has a national appeal because of the religious and cultural

(98) R. A. Nicholson, op.cit., pp.77,78 and A. J. Arberry, *The Seven Odes*, pp.15-16 and Ibn Qutaiba, *al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā'*, ed. De Goeje, pp.14,15.

(99) W. P. Ker, *Form and Style in Poetry*, London, 1928, pp.100, 234.

(100) Francesco Gabrieli, *Storia Della Letteratura Araba*, 2nd. ed. Roma, 1956, p.33.

(101) J. W. Mackail, *Lectures on Poetry*, London, 1914, p.108.

(102) R. C. Jebb, *The Growth and Influence of Classical Greek Poetry*, London, 1893, pp.150-155.

atmosphere of the ancient athletic festivals. These odes represent the unity of Greece amid great tribal variety and a splendour of religious pomp and pride and a gathering of all powers." (103) Nevertheless religion and political freedom were the main inspirations that created and nourished the best poetry of Greece. (104) It is very interesting to compare between the first Olympian Ode (105) of Pindar and the Jāhiliya qaṣīda as far as the setting-out of the subject-matter is concerned and as seen by Ibn Qutaiba in the case of the latter. Pindar begins his ode with 'the praise of the festival'; the Jāhiliya poet begins by mentioning 'the deserted dwelling places and the relics and traces of habitation (the aṭlāl prelude)'. Pindar passes immediately to 'the praise of the hero and his mighty horse - the Victory bringer;' the Jāhiliya poet passes to 'the erotic prelude - al-Nasīb - with the violence of his love and the anguish of separation from his beloved.' Pindar then proceeds to 'mystic narrative' "for this had become an almost essential feature of the epinician style;" (106) the Jāhiliya poet proceeds to describe 'the complaint of fatigue

(103) D. M. Robinson, Pindar a poet of Eternal ideas, Baltimore, U.S.A., 1936, p.6.

(104) R. C. Jebb, op.cit., p.260.

(105) The Ode was composed in honour of the Olympian Victory won with the famous horse Pherenikos by Hieron, King of Syracuse, probably in 476 B.C. (See for details: L. R. Farnell, The Works of Pindar, Vol. I, London, pp.3-9, and also: G. Thomson, Greek Lyric Metre, Cambridge, 1929, pp.70,71,72.

(106) L. R. Farnell, op.cit., pp.3-9.

of his desert journey and a description of his camel.' Pindar returns to further 'encomium of the hero,' while the Jāhiliya poet links the description of his camel to that of desert animals (e.g. the ostrich, the wild cow, and the she-ass) as examples of speed and power. Pindar closes his ode with some 'solemn reflections and with a prayer for the continuance of the hero's prosperity and of his own pre-eminence in the poetic field;' the Jāhiliya poet ends his qaṣīda with 'the panegyric-al-Madīh' - of his patron,' although he sometimes closes his ode with 'al-Fakhr, glorifying himself or his tribe.' (107)

Although both Pindar and the Jāhiliya poet composed odes wherein they pass from one subject-matter to another abruptly, these changes of subject do not deprive the odes from their artistic value. But the Arabic qaṣīda differs from the Pindaric ode essentially in its vividly personal or autobiographic quality and fundamentally in its metrical structure. (108)

The Greek Ode of Victory and the Jāhiliya qaṣīda are both admired because of the beauty of their language and the richness of their imagery. As Thomson wrote: "The modern reader, making the acquaintance of the odes of Pindar for the first time, is apt to be puzzled by their apparent incoherence. He admires the fine language, the swiftness and the wealth of

(107) See: G. Thomson, op.cit., pp.70,71,72 and L. R. Farnell, op. cit., pp.3-9 and Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa l-Shu'arā', Vol. I, pp.20,21.

(108) J. W. Mackail, Lectures on Poetry, p.108.

splendid imagery, but he is bewildered by the abrupt changes of subject and the seeming lack of many close unity of form." (109)

The Erotic-prelude (al-Nasīb) can be considered the main theme in the Jāhiliya qaṣīda, and, according to the conventional scheme, the Jāhiliya poets were bound to begin their odes with the Nasīb, which has nothing to do with the true subject of the poem. The poet, on the other hand, had little space for individual motives; he was bound by the traditional structure of the Nasīb itself. The structure of the Erotic Prelude is based upon three features: (a) the sleepless night (b) the departure of the beloved and the weeping about her empty encampments and (c) the description of the rain with an account of the memories of al-Aṭlāl (the ruins) themselves. (110) The Nasīb itself is evidence of the high development reached in poetic art in Arabic literature. Its theme and all these associations (i.e. the sleepless night, etc.) are taken from the daily life of the desert. It is obvious that the actual Nasīb was preceded by a long period of development in the art of poetry itself. (111) The Nasīb is the classical continuation of the most ancient love song. (112) The question now arises

(109) G. Thomson, op.cit., p.70.

(110) I. Lichtenstädter, Das Nasīb Der Altarabischen Qaṣīde, p. 59.

(111) Ibid., p. 87.

(112) I. Guidi, "Il-Nasīb nella Qaṣīda Araba," in: Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Orientalistes, Alger, 1905, 3e partie, Paris, 1907, pp.8-12.

as to what was the origin of the custom of starting the qaṣīda with the Nasīb. The explanations given in answering this question vary. Ibn Qutaība thinks that the Erotic prelude is a natural genre since "the song of love touches men's souls and takes hold of their hearts,

لَذَّ النَّسِيبُ قَرِيبٌ مِنَ النُّفُوسِ لَرُطِّ الْقُلُوبِ

- God having put it in the constitution of His creatures to love dalliance and the society of women." (113) Ibn Qutaība, however, did not explain why the Jāhiliya poet must open his ode with the Nasīb, although love is, in fact, a common subject amongst all nations and some poets apprehend it as a kind of necessity by which all things are bound together and in which the whole pattern could be seen and their contradictions would appear reconciled. (114) Ibn Qutaība, although he regards al-Tashīb as a natural instinct, never considers it an independent norm nor that the poet is free to express his own feelings and thus may satisfy his own individuality. On the contrary he thinks that the aim of the Jāhiliya poet in commencing his qaṣīda with the Nasīb is to "win the hearts of his hearers and divert their eyes towards him and invite their ears to listen to him." (115) Therefore, al-Nasīb in the

(113) Ibn Qutaība, al-Shi'r wa l-Shu'arā', ed. De Goeje, p.15.

(114) C. Day Lewis, The Poetic Image, pp.36,37.

(115) Ibn Qutaība, al-Shi'r wa l-Shu'arā', p.14 (ed. De Goeje).

Jāhiliya qaṣīda is a means of satisfying the listener rather than the poet himself.

Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī does not consider al-Nasīb a means to satisfy the listener, but that it is more or less an aim of the poet himself. On this subject he relates:

"Dhū'r-Rumma was asked: 'How do you compose if poetry is locked away from you?' He replied: 'How can poetry be locked away from me when I have its keys.' Then he was asked again: 'About them (the keys) we ask you, tell us what are they?'

Dhū'r-Rumma answered: 'The solitude in remembering the beloved ones.'" After this conversation Ibn Rashīq adds the

following: "This is because he is a lover, and I swear that if the (door of the) Nasīb of the qaṣīda were opened to the poet, he would indeed pass the door and put his foot in the stirrup of a horse-saddle."⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Therefore, according to Ibn Qutaiba the Nasīb of the Jāhiliya qaṣīda is a means to an end, while Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī regards it as a mixture and combination of a means and an aim within the soul of the poet himself.

Professor Guidi compared the Nasīb of the Arabic qaṣīda to the Homeric hymns. The rhapsodists who say Homeric myths and legends caused their poems to be preceded by a hymn to the Divinity. The living religious spirit with its rich myths which the Greek race has possessed ever since its origins,

(116) Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī, 'Umda, Vol.I. p. 137-138.

gave birth to the beginnings of Greek poetry in the so-called hieratic poetry under the names of Orphaeus, Museus and the like.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ When, as a result, the rhapsodists, before beginning to sing the Homeric song, sang the hymn, there were to a certain extent the continuators of the ancient hieratic poetry.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ "In my opinion," Professor Guidi writes, "much the same happened to Arabic poetry though in a different direction, as the poetical religious element which was so keenly developed among the Greeks was in the main lacking among the Arabs. To the Arabs love poetry took the place of the Greek hieratic poetry, and love poetry with the Arabs was to be the common daily song, so to speak of all poetry. When the qasīda developed gradually from the imperfect popular form and reached an advanced literary form, the love song remained always at the beginning of it just as the hymn had remained at the beginning of the Homeric recitation."⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Professor Guidi concluded his article by asserting that the most ancient Greek hieratic poetry was continued in more elaborate forms in the Homeric hymns and normally preceded every recitation of the rhapsodists, so the ancient, and probably very simple, love song continued in the Nasīb as an obligatory part of any poem, with the exception, of course,

(117) I. Guidi, op.cit., pp.8-12.

(118) Ibid., pp.8-12.

(119) Ibid., pp.8-12.

of the funeral dirge.⁽¹²⁰⁾ Professor Guidi even thought that the description of the camel or of the horse could have had a similar origin to the Nasīb. He went on to say: "I should add being quite a favourite and popular theme, it would not have been easy for the poets to have left it out."⁽¹²¹⁾

Professor Nallino explained that the Nasīb poetry of the Jāhiliyyā era which has come down to us is little in comparison with other subject-matters. The first reason is that the expression of love and romance needs a simple and tender medium far from the strange and complicated words (al-Alfāz al-Gharība, *الألفاظ الغريبة*). Therefore, the philologists of the second and third centuries of the Hijra did not bother to collect all of the Nasīb poetry since their main aim of collecting ancient poetry was hunting for the 'rare expressions and the important news and stories of Arab history.'⁽¹²²⁾ The second reason is that the pure love poetry amongst the Arabs of the Jāhiliyya is a vulgar subject; even the lowest class of that society were addicted to compose in it, and thus the great Jāhiliyya poets neglected it and never paid full attention to it except that they were satisfied in putting the Nasīb verses at the beginning of their odes.⁽¹²³⁾ Professor Nallino considers

(120) I. Guidi, op. cit., pp.8-12, and I. Lichtenstädter, Das Nasīb Der Altarabischen Qasīde, p.88.

(121) I. Guidi, op. cit., pp.8-12.

(122) C. Nallino, Ta'rīkh al-Ādāb al-'Arabīya, p.103.

(123) Nallino, op. cit., p.103.

that the Jāhiliya poets who were eloquent and genuine did not devote the whole qaṣīda to love because the aim of excellent poetry for them was to glorify the tribe, to magnify prowess, praising good deeds, and to satirise enemies. So love poetry was never regarded as one of the honourable themes of that poetry.⁽¹²⁴⁾ There is another explanation that love amongst the Jāhiliya poets was a mixture of spiritual and sensual pleasure to the extent that they could not talk about it without talking simultaneously about its sensual pleasure. Therefore, love without satisfaction of the senses was not love. This might explain why Jāhiliya love was closely connected with 'youth.' Once 'youth' was over there was no more 'love' but merely sweet and tender memories.⁽¹²⁵⁾ This also might explain why the Jāhiliya poets did not conceive love as a god or as a distinct thing or notion, as a 'venus' for example or as a 'cupid.' Having no clear independent conception of love the Jāhiliya poets did not talk about it separately and did not depict the beauty, glory and bliss of being in love.⁽¹²⁶⁾

The attribution of al-Aṭlāl (the empty encampments or ruins) to a woman, eg. Umm Awfā in the Mu'allāqa of Zuhāir, Khawla in Tarafa's Mu'allāqa and 'Abla in 'Antara's Mu'allāqa, might be considered as remains of an ancient habit amongst the Arabs; that of attributing their children and sometimes their

(124) Nallino, op. cit. p.103.

(125) A. Kh. Kinany, op. cit., p.53.

(126) Ibid., p.53.

tribes to their mothers (in lineage) in lieu of their fathers in the period of early motherhood and gradually such an attribution became traditionally a way of expression amongst the Jāhiliya poets to the extent that whenever they remembered their beloved ones they mentioned simultaneously their aṭlāl.

The Jāhiliya environment, on the other hand, played an important rôle in valuing the Nasīb as an essential element and principle in the structure and form of the Arabic qaṣīda. The hard nature of the desert compelled its sons to be united against famine and the vicissitudes of time and thus gave birth to a united love which the Jāhiliya poet himself glorified and magnified and gave it an honourable respect by presenting it as the first prelude in his qaṣīda. Therefore, the Nasīb of the Arabic qaṣīda can function social and physical necessities. It is a desert love; it exists under the strenuous and endearing conditions of the Arabian desert "where the soul of man and woman are knit as closely by the immense isolation of their lives, where either becomes so dependent on the other by the constant pressure of material dangers. Each little 'house of hair tent' is as a fortress in the wilderness, set up in some far valley against the forces of nature and held there by its dual garrison." (127) So the Nasīb appears, however, not to be only a means of satisfying the listener as Ibn Qutaiba

(127) Lady Ann & W. Blunt, The Seven Golden Odes, p. xiv.

mentioned nor a vulgar expression as Professor Nallino thought; it is a social and physical need which the desert created amongst its citizens and thus such love became genuine and pure and an essential basis of the Bedouin's life which is reflected in his own qasīda. "Love needs three things to flourish." wrote Stendhal, "youth, leisure and a belief that woman is an equal to love, not a devil to avoid. That is why the home and paragon of the purest and most genuine sort of love are to be found in the modest and gloomy tents of Arabia." (128)

Although the majority of the Arabic qasīdas follow the subject order which was set down by Ibn Qutaība (i.e. al-Aṭlāl, al-Nasīb or erotic prelude, the desert journey, the description of desert animals - the poet's camel and finally the panegyric or Madīh) this must not, however, be regarded as the invariable model, (129) because some of the Jāhiliya qasīdas differ very markedly in their structure and components. (130) Professor Gibb regards the standard scheme described both by the Arabic writers and by modern scholars as "being no more than a broad generalization." He went on to say: "what the early Arabic critics demanded of the poets was not that they should necessarily include in their odes descriptions of camels or of

(128) A. Kh. Kinany, op. cit., p.57, Quoted from: Stendhal, *De l'Amour*, Paris, 1928, p.143.

(129) R. A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.78.

(130) H. A. R. Gibb, Arab poet and Arabic philologist, pp.574-578 in the *Bulletin of S.O.A.S.*, London, 1948, Vol. XII, p.575.

desert journeys, hunting scenes, carusals or thunderstorms, such as constituted the stock-in-trade of the ancient poets, but rather that they should observe the general distribution of themes and proportions common to the majority of old qasīdas." (131) Even in the Jāhilīya poetry there are some qasīdas which do not follow the order of Ibn Qutaība at all. To illustrate this point here are two qasīdas which possess a complete unity of theme. Neither begin with the Nasīb nor with the mentioning of the aṭlāl. The first qasīda belongs to al-Shanfarā (the man with thick lips) of the tribe of Azd whose mind is a typical example of the Arab Bedouin mind as untouched by civilization. (132) The second was composed by Qaīs b. al-‘Aīzāra al-Hudhalī. Al-Shanfarā's qasīda comprises twenty lines and that of Qaīs twenty three. Al-Shanfarā's is as follows:

"Many a long-necked watch tower to which the swift, barefooted
hunter failed to ascend
Have I lifted up my head, staring at its apex when
darkness began to fall.
Then did I spend the night crouching firmly, coiling like a
speckled snake wrapped in a cloak.
And my provision was nothing but a pair of tight sandals
whose fronts were threadbare and unpatchable

(131) H. A. R. Gibb, Arab poet and Arabic philologist, p.575.

(132) I. Goldziher, A Short History of Arabic Literature, p.8.

Together with a shabby, ragged garment, which, if worn on one side (of my body), would not suffice to wrap over the other.

And (I possess) a white sword made of Indian steel, sharp in cutting and plucking away the edges of arms,

And a red bow, broadbacked, made of chedara tenax, whose twang is like the sound of one grieved and wailing.

And when a duel is about to take place my bow shows pride of its hilt and even hurls and shoots with its two ends

As if the sound of the arrows above its hilt is like the buzzing of a swarm of bees ascending the mountain when they have lost their hive.

The white carrion vulture (Umm Qa'is) left the two spring places and was heedful lest summer might take her away (from me)

And if you (Umm Qa'is) know many a watering place, dire as the disease of the abdomen or even more fearful To it will I draw near with my glittering Yemenite sword and my sinewed and feathered arrows which I myself have chosen.

In a reddish brown bow will I set them up and will shoot even the peeled one.

And I went on sharpening my arrow until I left it twanging, ready to rush with matchless speed when shot from the bow.

In my hand is an arrow prepared to strike at the odious
one should a lonely friend be ill-treated.

In many a far, deep valley, whose narrow passages are
naught but ambushes of venomous, eagle-eyed, male vipers,
Haunted by wild beasts, barren, mysterious, and whose heart
is the dwelling place of jinni.(evil spirits) and lions
Have I lost my way, and, when the dew has fallen, have
passed over hills whose poverty the night traveller fears.
And if the soul of the coward trembles and is petrified
when passing through (that valley at night), leave it for
me who dreads no fear. I am the lion of night.

And the man who lead Sa'd b. Mālik to act wrongfully
against me will be answered violently as I swear by
the garments of al- Uqaiṣir."(133)

This qaṣīda portrays a vivid picture of al-Shanfarā
himself who is one of al-Ṣa'ālīk poets,⁽¹³⁴⁾ and who represents
the true spirit of the Arab rebel Bedouin. The qaṣīda was
composed in the style of a short story. The poet describes
the night on which he was watching his enemies and passes on to
describe this provision which indicates his poverty. As a
sign of al-Ṣa'ālīk community the qaṣīda is full of descriptions

(133) al-Shanfarā al-Azdī, Dīwān, ed. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz al-Maīmanī,
pp.25-42 in al-Ṭarā'if al-Adabīya, Cairo, 1937, pp.37-38 and
Aghānī, XXI, pp.140-141.

(134) See Chap. I of this Thesis, pp. 22-23.

of snakes and other animals with which al-Shanfarā himself was acquainted. His bow, his arrows, the colours, i.e. red, brown, are remarkable objects in this qasīda. The ode possesses a sound unity as far as the subject-matter is concerned. The poet did not begin his qasīda by mentioning the aṭlāl or al-nasīb, never described a camel or a horse nor dedicated his qasīda to a patron. This qasīda is not subjected to the order or the pattern of topics which Ibn Qutaiba had enumerated. To al-Shanfarā another celebrated ode is attributed: the Lāmīyyat al-‘Arab (the poem rhymed in 'L' of the Arabs) in which he describes his own heroic character and the hardships of a predatory life.⁽¹³⁵⁾ This qasīda (the Lāmīyya) is said to have been forged or composed by Khalaf al-Aḥmar (d. circa 800 A.D.) and then ascribed to al-Shanfarā.⁽¹³⁶⁾ But the ode itself represents the "completest utterance ever given of a mind defying its age and all around it, and reverting to, or at least idealizing, the absolute individualism of the savage."⁽¹³⁷⁾ All the scholars who have discussed the authenticity of this remarkable qasīda agree that if al-Shanfarā was not its author, it is certainly the work of someone who was thoroughly acquainted with Arab life in ancient

(135) R. A. Nicholson, op.cit., pp.79-80 and see also: al-Zamakhsharī, A‘jab al-‘Ajab fī Sharḥ Lāmīyat al-‘Arab, together with the commentary of al-Mubarrad, 1st. ed. Constantinople, 1300 A.H. pp.11,12-70.

(136) al-Qālī, Amālī, Vol. I, p.156.

(137) W. G. Palgrave, Essays on Eastern Questions, p.335.

times and who felt the inspiration of the wild sons of the desert stirring within him,⁽¹³⁸⁾ and if Khalaf al-Aḥmar really did compose this famous Lāmīyya "his own poetical endowments must have been of the highest order."⁽¹³⁹⁾ Professor Theodor Nöldeke writes "If not I have seen on the copy of Petermann the phrase 'Lāmīyyat al-Shanfarā' and if it were said that it was forged, I should not be able to doubt its authenticity. And if this qaṣīda is not of al-Shanfarā, as it has been claimed by someone, the poet who composed it must have been acquainted with Arab life in the Jāhiliyya era to a great extent and his imagination was so rich and wealthy that he deserves to take the highest seat amongst the Jāhiliyya poets and if this qaṣīda is not for the hero of the desert, it was composed to be ascribed to one like him, because the later Islamic poet was unable to free himself from his environment and talk to us like the following line of al-Shanfarā:

"If Umm Qaṣṭal (the War) were sad with al-Shanfarā

There is a long time since she is content with al-Shanfarā."⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

This Lāmīyya of sixty-eight lines, is a vivid picture of an outlaw, of a rebel who hated and ignored his clan and tribe, and of one who did not believe in the 'aṣabīya, as a basic

(138) C. Huart, op. cit., p.20.

(139) R. A. Nicholson, op.cit., p.134.

(140) Dr. Fū'ād Hasanaīn 'Alī, "Lāmīyat al-'Aarab," pp.45-66 in Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Fū'ād I University, Cairo, 1948, Vol. X. Pt. I. May, 1948, p.48 and al-Zamakhsharī, Lāmīyat al-'Arab, pp.54,55.

doctrine in the tribal structure. Al-Shanfarā never began his ode with the Nasīb nor the Aṭlāl; neither did he praise the members of his clan nor did he glorify their deeds or their heroic characteristics. This qaṣīda also, as in the case of the first, does not follow the topic order of Ibn Qutaiba and does possess a sound unity as far as its subject-matter is concerned.

The poetry of al-Shanfarā possesses in general a complete subject unity and as far as its external unity is concerned the Ṣa'ālīk poets were not very keen to open their qaṣīdas with al-Taṣrī' التصريح (rhyming the first two hemistichs - al-Ṣadr and al-'Ajuz - with the same rhyme.) The reason for this may be that the Ṣa'ālīk poets were rebels and revolutionaries against the rigid rules of their society, e.g. 'aṣabūya, lineage, etc., and all of them were socially outcast and thus became outlaws. Added to this their ample freedom which never allowed them to follow the traditions of their society. Therefore, the interaction between their personal feelings as outlaws, inferior to the rest of their tribes, and their freedom might have lead them to break the traditional order of the topic (subject-matters) of the Arabic qaṣīda and thus they might be regarded as the pioneers of a new school in Arabic poetry of the Jāhiliya era: the 'school of al-Ṣa'ālīk poetry.'

The following qaṣīda of twenty-three lines is taken from the Dīwān of Hudhaīl and can be regarded as another example of

the Jāhiliya qaṣīda which possesses a complete subject-unity and at the same time never follows the order of Ibn Qutaiba. Fahm captured Qaīs b. al-‘Aīzāra al-Hudhalī, then he escaped from them after Thābit b. Sufyān, who is called Ta‘abbata Sharan, took his weapon (sword). Qaīs then said:

"By your life I shall never forget my terror on the day of Aqtud,
And can terror abandon the soul of the captive?

On that morning when they whispered to each other, then rose and decided unanimously upon killing me; there is no dispute about that.

And they said: '(He is) an enemy who is squandering your blood, satirising the honour of the tribe and cutting (the ties of kinship).'

And I calmed them with words until they became as hornless oxen having been quietened by rich pastures.

And I said to them (I would offer you) many sheep and camels and all of you would be satiated with that wealth.

They demanded the Balhā' (my noble she-camel) together with her young as the first claim; God would protect me.

UmmJundub, my master's lady had ordered that I should be killed secretly; may no one pay attention to that.

She said: 'Kill Qaīs and cut his tongue. It is sufficient for them that an assassin cuts off the head.'

And Sha‘l ordered me to be put to death so I said to him:

Sha'l: 'What an evil intercessor you are!'

And Sha'l gave a young camel as a dowry from my ransom
as if you (Sha'l) were giving from the young she-camels
of Ibn Jāmi'.

Thābit removed my sword ruthlessly and I had not drawn on
him; may my fingers be paralysed.

And alas that I did not fight, and was never afraid of the
people until my hands were bound.

Woe to the sword which Sha'l dragged on the pebbles; then
did it crack and was ruined there.

And if the mother of little 'Āmir (the hyena) follows
you (Sha'l), you are indeed in need of people, limping
barefoot behind them.

And some women said: 'If you were killed it will grieve
us indeed; it is for other than you, for some anguished one
that we grieve.

Men and women of the district of Rāya up to the place of
Huthun whose eyes shed tears on me (he means his wife
and his daughters and the rest of his family).

A mixed band of 'Amr and Kāhil will succour me when
they swiftly come to raid, careless of whether they travel by
night or by day.

May Allāh water Dhāt al-Ghamr with heavy, continuous
rain, and may the flashing clouds fall upon it.

Since it is an abode whose plants are pleasant, and it is a meeting place to which longing pregnant she-camels love to be driven.

And if Dhu'l-Māwāin flows, its pools with their bubbles would become (a place) in which frogs frisk and rejoice.

And when they leave it, the pregnant she-camels would walk to the bottom of the valley, attracted by its clumped pastures. It has plain, smooth land, and a rough upland, not like (the mountain) in height onto which the clouds continue watering.

As though on its heights there were wood, musk and ambergris which the spring-clouds have watered."(141)

This *qaṣīda* paints a vivid picture of a captive who overheard his captors planning his death. The poet depicted and illustrated his fear in a way of negotiating with his captors, but all his efforts were in vain. They wanted his noble, beloved she-camel as the first demand; he, of course refused such a claim. Then the wife of the captor stood firmly against him. She insisted upon his death and the cutting-out of his tongue. She wanted his people to kill him secretly, so that nobody would know of his end. Then after that the poet described how his captor took his sword which he treasured and loved very much

(141) *Dīwān* of Hudha'il, *Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya*, 1st. ed. Cairo, 1950, Pt. III, pp.76-80 and Th. Nöldéke, *Delectus*, pp.31-34 and *The Poems of Huzailis*, ed. J. G. L. Kosegarten, pp.247-252.

He then remembered his wife and the rest of his family. He was not alone in the battle; his people would help him, he thought, if they heard his news. He described the place of Dhāt al-Ghamr as a rich and fertile place because the spring clouds watered it and it became green and different perfumed plants grew there. Thus he closed his qaṣīda.

He did not start his qaṣīda with al-Aṭlāl nor with al-Nasīb. He did not describe the desert journey, nor did he dedicate this qaṣīda to a patron. It is a true picture of a captive in a very difficult moment of his life. In this qaṣīda Qaīs b. al-ʿAīzāra does not follow the order of Ibn Qutaiba but his qaṣīda does possess a sound subject unity. (142)

(142) Other examples which possess a sound theme-unity and never started with the aṭlāl introduction or erotic-prelude can be seen in:

- (a) Poetry of Muhalhil b. Rabīʿa, ed. Hasan al-Sandūbī, Qaṣīda No. 8, p.50 and Th. Nöldeke, Delectusc, pp.44,45.
- (b) Sammlungen Alter Arabischer Dichter I, al-Aṣmaʿīyāt, ed. W. Ahlwardt, Berlin, 1902, Qaṣīda of al-Mutalammis, No. 65, p.64.
- (c) Abū Tammām, Hamāsa, Vol. 1, pp.245-248. Qaṣīda of Taʿabbatā Sharan (26 lines) See its English translation in: R. A. Nicholson, op. cit. pp.97-100.
- (d) al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, Dīwān, ed. W. Ahlwardt, Qaṣīda No. 7 (33 lines) pp.9,10,11. This Qaṣīda was called al-Mutajarrida, the name of King al-Nuʿmān's wife. Al-Nābigha described her so vividly to the extent that such description excited her husband's suspicion. See also: Qaṣīda No. 15 (18 lines) p.17.
- (e) Tarafa, Dīwān, ed. Ahlwardt, Qaṣīda, No. 8 (16 lines) p.65 and Qaṣīda No. 14 (22 lines) pp.70-71. Both Qaṣīdas were never introduced by the aṭlāl or erotic-prelude.
- (f) ʿAbīd b. al-Abras. Dīwān, ed. Lyall, Qaṣīda, No. VII (25 lines) pp.27-29. The poet omitted the Ghazal-prelude.
- (g) Zuhair, Dīwān, ed. Ahlwardt, Qaṣīda, No. 20 (25 lines) pp.101-102 and Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya edition, p.284. Zuhair omitted all mention of the aṭlāl or the Ghazal-

The structure of the Jāhiliya qaṣīda (i.e. the mentioning of the desert abodes and relics - the aṭlāl - together with the sad memory of the departure of the poet's beloved, the erotic prelude - the naṣīb, the desert journey and the description of the poet's camel, and finally the panegyric) became a formal pattern and a traditional scheme which the poets should follow in their odes, except in elegies wherein the erotic prelude is often omitted or if it does not lead directly to the main subject it might be pursued by a description of the poet's horse or camel which bears him through his journey with the speed of the antelope, the wild ass or the ostrich. This structure did approach a degree of perfection before the advent of Islam as appears from the famous Mukhaḍramūn poets, e.g. Ḥassān b. Thābit, Ka'b b. Zuhair, al-Shammākh, al-Ḥuṭaī'a and al-Nābigha al-Ja'dī. Islam with its new philosophy and teaching did not change the structure of the Arabic qaṣīda, nor did it ignore its artistic value. On the contrary Islam honoured and rewarded the qaṣīda as a literary work which leads to moral ideals, religious themes and good deeds according to the new doctrines. On this account the Arabic qaṣīda gained new themes rather than a new form, and, moreover, the Qur'ān condemned the poets saying that the perverse follow them: 'They wander in every valley' and 'they say that which they do not know.'⁽¹⁴³⁾ This view of condemning

(142) Continued from page 176)

prelude, but devoted it to advise his people and express the lessons he learned from life.

(143) The Qur'ān, Sūra XXVI, 224-225.

poets, which Professor Margoliouth used to his advantage when he discussed the authenticity and origins of Arabic poetry,⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ may be regarded as an echo to the 'poetical battle' then ensuing between the Muslim poets in al-Madina and the pagans in Mecca. It is then a condemnation of the latter and a form of encouragement to the Muslims who "believed and feared God, and did good, who avenged themselves after they had been oppressed."⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

The poets whom Islam condemned were its most dangerous opponents and Prophet Muḥammad disliked them "not as poets but as propagators and defenders of false ideals, and because they ridiculed his teaching, while on the contrary he honoured and rewarded those who employed their talents in the right way."⁽¹⁴⁶⁾

Nevertheless, the Arabic qaṣīda in this light, remained the artistic ideal in the poetry of that period as far as its form and external structure are concerned and was used as a literary weapon against paganism as far as its subject matter is concerned. The poets of this era, i.e. the beginning of Islam and the Orthodox Caliphate 622-661 A.D., were the continuators of the Bedouin school in which the Jāhilīya qaṣīda with its traditional scheme occupy the main place. But in spite of such poetical imitation the poems of this period

(144) D. S. Margoliouth, "The Origins of Arabic poetry," in J.R.A.S., London, 1925, p.425 and see also: A. J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, pp.230,231,239.

(145) A. Elkott, op. cit., p.32 and al-Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, Vol.19, p.78.

(146) R. A. Nicholson, op.cit., p.235.

are not devoid of the traces of the great change in the historical position of the Arabs and also their themes do reflect the ~~thought~~, events and the face of the new Faith.

Ḥassān b. Thābit (d. 54 A.H.), who "is the father of religious poetry in the Arabic language"⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ and who confessed in one of his poems⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ that he did not steal from poets their utterance nor was their composition equal to his, did compose odes in three ways. Firstly in imitation of the Jāhiliyya qaṣīda such as his ode which was composed in praise of āl-Jafna of Ghassanids, No. XIII⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ and which was one of his memories of bygone times. It runs in this order: (vv 1-3) a description of the empty encampments or the aṭlāl, (vv 4-13) a panegyric for the Ghassanids, (vv 14-20) a record of his memory of youth together with a description of wine and finally (vv 21-27) the fakhr part of the poem. Similar to this poem is the first ode of his dīwān;⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ it was composed to celebrate the day of conquering Mecca. He begins with the aṭlāl (vv 1-3), then links this part with the nasīb (vv 4-5). Next he describes wine (vv 6-10) and finally glorifies and praises the Prophet and the new religion (vv 11-31). Sometimes Ḥassān omits the description of the wine and the desert journey and, in

(147) Ḥassān b. Thābit, Dīwān, ed. H. Hirschfeld, London, 1910, p.2 - Introduction.

(148) Dīwān, No. VIII, v. 19, p.11.

(149) Ibid., pp.16,17.

(150) Ibid., pp.1,2.

particular, the description of his riding beast preferring the fakhr, 'boasting and glory,' instead of the latter.⁽¹⁵¹⁾ The second type of Ḥassān's style can be seen in his poem VIII,⁽¹⁵²⁾ which is a mixture of imitation of the Jāhiliya qaṣīda's structure when he begins it with the erotic prelude, and of his own creation when he omits many other themes that were a part of the traditional pattern. He begins this ode by addressing his beloved (vv 1-4), then he goes on to describe his journey in the desert at noon (vv 5-10), follows this by a description of the journey at night (vv 11-21) and of how he spent that night without sleep at the time when all his comrades were sleeping and dreaming; he is their trustworthy guide in that fearful wilderness and from here (v. 15) he begins to praise and to magnify his own personality. He is a generous and patient man (v. 16); he possesses a sound logic and is not a babbler (v. 17). He then praises his own poetic talent (v. 19) and finally turns to nasīb affairs (vv.22-38). This change seems to be of Ḥassān's own style. In this part of the poem he describes his beloved as noble and precious (vv.26,27,29) and states that he loves her in spite of the lack of a true relationship as far as their lineage and kinship are concerned (v. 30). He ends his ode with four lines in the fakhr (vv.35-38)

(151) *Diwān*, No. X, pp.13,14 (vv.1-9) The aṭlāl-prelude, (vv.10-17) The sad memory of the departure of his beloved together with the sad feelings towards the calumniators who tried to cut off his love-ties and finally he ends (vv.18-37) with his favourite theme, the Fakhr.

(152) *Ibid.*, pp.10,11.

The third type of Ḥassān's composition is free from the chains of traditional imitation for the whole ode is devoted to one subject-matter without any conventional cliché. (153)

Ka'b b. Zuhāir in his famous panegyric ode on Prophet Muḥammād, beginning "Bānat Su'ād-Su'ād has departed," also imitated the Jāhiliya qaṣīda in its external structure. In this poem which commemorates his conversion to Islam, Ka'b begins by introducing the nasīb (vv.1-13). He describes Su'ād's departure and her beauty by likening it to a gazelle with most beautiful eyes; when she smiles she displays bright teeth as if tasting of wine which has been mixed with cold water. He then digresses to describe that water and turns to complete the description of her character. She does not hold to a promise which she had made and the promises of 'urqūb (154) as an example for her. Ka'b blames himself for relying on her promises and ends his erotic prelude by mentioning that she is so far from him and that he cannot reach her except on his swift, noble and excellent she-camel. Thus he proceeds to the other part of his qaṣīda. It might be suggested that Ka'b's ghazal prelude shows significantly his political views in relation to the opponents of the Prophet, blurred by and confused with his nasīb towards an imaginary

(153) Dīwan, VI, pp.7,8. IX, pp.11,12,13, CXVII, p.52, VII, VII, pp.9.10.

(154) 'Urqūb is the name of a person who lived in Pre-Islamic times and who was known as a liar in his promises as the proverb says: "Promises of 'Urqūb-Mawā'id 'Urqūb, مواعيد عرقوب" See: al-Maīdānī, Majma' al-Amthāl, Cairo, 1353, A.H. Vol. II, pp.267-268.

departed loved one. The poet's disillusion about his love, the beloved's unreliable character and her unpromising behaviour reflects allusively his political disillusion with the fruitless opposition of the pagan Arabs to the Prophet.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ Ka'b then passes to make a full description of his she-camel (vv.14-37) and digresses to mention the calumniators (v.34) who warned him that he is truly slain and even his friends have refused to help him and have^{cut} their relationship (v.35), Ka'b displays his patience and finally decides to leave his matter to the Prophet who he hopes will pardon and forgive him. The last part of the qasīda (vv.38-57) is devoted to praise of the Prophet and his teaching. Ka'b expresses his feeling when he approaches the Prophet. He then praises the Prophet's followers (the Muhājirūn - the migrants) and thus ends his ode. It is worth mentioning that the language and style of this part of the ode, which may be described as "the formal part" of the qasīda and which depends upon the preceding episodes which may be regarded as "the artistic parts" of the qasīda, are simple and clear in comparison with the rest of the qasīda. This might indicate that Ka'b composed the first part (the erotic prelude) and the second (the description of his riding beast) when he was a pagan or in the moment of his second thought, and, when he decided to meet the Prophet and to convert himself to Islam,

(155) A. J. al-Muttalibi, op. cit., p.89.

he added the third part. Therefore, it might be possible to say that Ka'b's qaṣīda is a Jāhiliya poem in its first two parts and an Islamic ode in the final one, and from the clear and lucid expressions of the latter this qaṣīda might throw light upon the development of the language of the Arabic Qaṣīda in passing from the desert with its peculiarities to a more civilized and settled community.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ Ka'b sometimes prefers to introduce other themes after the erotic prelude. Before⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ the description of his riding beast (e.g. in his poem No. III) he begins his ode by describing himself as an old man or approaching old age together with the blame of his beloved (vv.1-4). He then passes to describe a wine party with his tavern companions (vv.5-13), follows this by a vivid picture of two popular desert animals, the eagle and the wolf (vv.14-28) and then links this part with the traditional theme, the description of his she-camel and his fearful and hard journey in that sandy ocean (vv.29-48). Ka'b returns to praise himself and to boast of his poetic talent together with al-Ḥuṭaī'a (vv.49-52) thus ending his poem. In his nasīb prelude Ka'b began to free himself from the conventional order of the Jāhiliya nasīb itself, was satisfied to mention his

(156) F. Krenkow, Tabrīzī's Kommentar zur Burda des Ka'b ibn Zuhāir, pp.241-279 in Z.D.M.G. Vol. 65, Leipzig, 1911 and also: Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī, Sharḥ Banat Su'ād; edited with notes by: I. Guidi, Lipsia, 1871 and Ka'b b. Zuhāir, Dīwān, ed. Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya, Cairo, 1950, pp.6-25.

(157) Dīwān, pp.41-60.

youth and his memories of the past and was very fond of describing his grey hair,⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ while in the Jāhiliya nasīb the poet often mentions the desolate relics and abodes (the aṭlāl) together with the sad memory of the beloved's departure, then he links this part with the description of the beloved, her body, her character and her social status in the Bedouin community. However, Ka'b sometimes omits mentioning the aṭlāl, the nasīb and the description of the desert journey and devotes the whole poem to one subject-matter, e.g. panegyric or satire. This can be seen in his poem⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ which was composed immediately after he had finished reciting his famous ode "Bānat Su'ād" wherein he praised the Muhājirūn (the migrants) and neglected the Helpers (the anṣār). The latter attitude was regarded as a matter of discrimination between them. Therefore, Ka'b devoted the whole ode (33 lines) to praise of the Helpers, their positive rôle, their chivalrous deeds and their noble character in order to satisfy their anger. This poem may be taken as a good example of the importance of the 'aṣabīya amongst the Arabs and might throw light upon the development of this feeling in the new era - Islam - which tried strongly to liquidise its power and to replace it with a more honourable feeling of

(158) Dīwān, No. V, pp.70-88.

(159) Dīwān, No. II, pp.25-41.

brotherhood and equality, although the 'aṣabiya sprang stronger than ever in the Umayyād age when it was used as a political weapon in the hands of the Umayyāds against their opponents.

The Bedouin traditions continued unbroken in the poetry of al-Shammākh.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ In one of his long odes⁽¹⁶¹⁾ he begins as usual with the nasīb prelude (vv.1-22) but expresses all he desires about his beloved Laīlā, the sad memory of her departure and separation, the places which she had stayed in, that she is a noble girl of noble stock and that she has a soft life. From (v.8) al-Shammākh begins to describe her body, then her garment and dress (v.11) and after that he continues to mention his meeting with her which took place secretly. He then says that Laīlā does love him, but, alas, her litter is ready to depart. From here he goes on to describe the night (v.19) as the only shelter from his sadness and sorrows and finally ends this part of the qaṣīda with the feeling of despair: there is no hope to meet Laīlā again after her departure. From (vv.23-28) he praises his own personality and character, (vv.29-35) follow the traditional theme of the description of his she-camel, and then he goes on to describe other animals (vv.36-59) such as the gazelle and the wild ass

(160) Al-Shammākh, Dīwān, edited with commentary by: Ahmad b. al-Āmin al-Shinqīṭī, Cairo, 1327, A.H., pp.26,37,43,53 and see also: al-Qurashī, Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab, p.320-326.

(161) Ibid., p. 5-17. No. II.

and his female in a desert scene together with a description of the desert flora.

Al-Nābigha al-Ja'dī later follows the same traditional path in many of his poems⁽¹⁶²⁾ although he did compose other poems with one subject-matter without including the aṭlāl prelude and the ghazal introduction.⁽¹⁶³⁾

Al-Ḥuṭaī'a does in some of his poems imitate the Jāhiliya qasīda exactly, such as his ode LXXXIX⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ wherein he begins (vv.1-5) with the description of Hind's ruined abodes and describes how the winds and rain obliterated its traces; then he passes to describe his desert journey and his she-camel (vv.6-8) who carried him to his patron to whom he dedicates his ode (vv.9-22). He also composed other poems which deal with one subject-matter in panegyric,⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ satire⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ or in the style of conversation.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾

(162) Le Poesie di An-Nābigah al-Ga'dī, edited and translated into Italian by: Maria Nallino, Roma, 1953, Qasīdas: V, pp.78-81, IX, p.105, X, pp.109-112, XII, pp.121-124.

(163) Al-Nābigha al-Ja'dī, Le Poesie, Qasīda, VIII, pp.102,103.

(164) Der Dīwān des Ġarwal b. Aus al-Ḥuṭay'a, von Ign. Goldziher, in: Z.D.M.G. Vol. 46,47. Leipzig, 1892, & 1893, Qasīda, LXXXIX, p.185 and I, p.175, III, p.188, V, p.193, XI, p.471.

(165) Ibid, VIII, p.210, (48 lines). This Qasīda is devoted to praise Baghīd and al-Ḥuṭaī'a never follows the Bedouin tradition in its composition.

(166) Ibid., XX, p.497 (18 lines). Al-Ḥuṭaī'a in this poem satirised al-Zibriqān b. Badr who was one of the Prophet's followers.

(167) Ibid., LXXXV, p.180 (Vol.47). Al-Ḥuṭaī'a composed this poem in conversation with the second Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

It appears then that the poetic structure and the literary pictures of the Mukhadramūn poets bear the influence of their predecessors. Yet, although they imitated the Bedouin models, they did succeed in transmitting through their poems their own moods and tastes vividly and realistically.

The traditions of the Jāhiliya qaṣīda were carried without a break by most poets of the Umayyād period. Al-Farazdaq, Jarīr and al-Akḥṭal, who were the pithiest poets of the Umayyād period and who are considered as the three stars shining in the sky of the poetry of this period,⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ followed the principles of the school and besides the personal references which they make to the poets of this school "they use their poetical stock-in-trade over and over again, elaborating the same themes in the same way, improving, modifying, adapting, but still carrying on the same tradition. There can be no question that we possess the genuine works of these poets, who lived in an age when writing was generally used for recording poetical compositions, though oral recitation was still the method of producing them to the public."⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ On the other hand, al-Farazdaq, who composed his poems in the traditional pattern of the Jāhiliya qaṣīda,⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ devoted long

(168) Ign Goldziher, A Short History of Arabic Literature, p.27.

(169) Sir Charles J. Lyall, Introduction to Dīwān 'Abīd b. al-Abras, p.12.

(170) Al-Farazdaq, Dīwān, ed. 'Abdu'llāh Ismā'il al-Sāwī, Cairo, 1st. ed. 1936, pp.3, 23, 53.

odes to one subject-matter; panegyric and the fakhr which are considered favourite themes of the poet, but he did not imitate the Bedouin structure in the latter. (171)

Dhū'r-Rumma begins his composition with the usual prelude of ghazal by addressing, remembering, greeting, or praying for the safety of the deserted encampments of his beloved. There are a few exceptions in which his ghazal contains no mention of these encampments; two poems which have probably lost their opening sections have no ghazal at all. (172) He imitated the Jāhilīya qasīda with "tiresome and monotonous fidelity" (173) but the philologists of the following age praised him far above his merits because of his antique and difficult style, (174) at the time when they were hunting for the gharīb (the rare word and expressions) and the archaic expressions. His odes, as Macartney puts it "are a mine to the lexicographer." (175) It is related that the poetry began with Imr al-Qaīs and ended with

(171) Al-Farazdaq, Dīwān, ed. 'Abdu'llāh Ismā'īl al-Ṣāwī, Cairo, 1st ed., 1936, pp.17-22, pp.63-67, pp.714-725 (This Qasīda is of (104 lines) and the next is (100 lines) pp.725-734.

(172) Dīwān, ed. C. H. H. Macartney, Cambridge, 1919, Qasīda, No. VI, pp.52-53 and LIII, pp.404-412 and al-Muttalibī, op.cit. p.102.

(173) R. A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.246.

(174) Ibid., p.246.

(175) C. H. H. Macartney, "A Short Account of Dhū'r-Rummah," pp.293,303 in: A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Edward G. Browne on his 60th Birthday, edited by: T. W. Arnold & R. A. Nicholson, Cambridge, 1922, p.303.

Dhū'r-Rumma,⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ or as Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' said: "poetry ended with Dhū'r-Rumma and the Rajaz with al-'Ajjāj.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ This is true in the sense that Dhū'r-Rumma is the last poet of the Bedouin school; this is because his environment was that of the desert and his upbringing Bedouin. Moreover, Dhū'r-Rumma as a transmitter of 'Ubaīd b. Ḥuṣaīn al-Rā'ī, a Bedouin poet, who gained a reputation in describing camels in his poetry,⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ must have acquainted himself with the then extant poetry of the Jāhiliya era, and, under such impulse and the interaction of his physical environment together with the new trend of valuing the Jāhiliya qaṣīda by the Umayyād Caliphs as a classical ideal in Arabic poetry, resulted in creating in Dhū'r-Rumma a great love and a passion to imitate that unique ideal to the extent that such an imitation appears sometimes as his own creation. He is a poet who portrays vividly his own world within the scope of the Bedouin school.

The Umayyād poets sometimes tried to free themselves from the rules of the Bedouin school and endeavoured to limit their subject-matter to two parts: the Nasīb prelude and the panegyric,⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ or one theme, e.g. the satire as it appears from

(176) R. A. Nicholson, op.cit., p.246.

(177) Al-Suyūṭī, Muzhir, Vol. II, p.301.

(178) Ibn Sallām, Ṭahaqāt al-Shu'arā', pp.434,467.

(179) 'Ubaīd Allāh Qaīs al-Ruqaiyāt,^{Diwān} ed. Dr. M. Y. Njim, Beirut, 1958, XXXIX, pp.87-96, pp.1-6, 7-11, 151-155.

the Naqā'id. (180) 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a took the dramatic step of detaching from the ode its amatory prelude which he developed into a love-poem in its own right. (181) Whilst the Jāhiliya poets and most of the Umayyād poets regard the mentioning of the desert journey by means of the poet's riding beast as an essential part of the external structure of the Qaṣīda al-Kumaīt b. Zaīd al-Asadī, the political poet of the Shi'ites, considers such a theme of secondary importance and he replaced it at the end of his ode. Sometimes his new method of composition forces him to omit any mention of such a theme or to devote a few lines in other cases. A careful study of his Hāshimīyāt (the odes which were composed in praise of the family of Banū Hāshim: the Prophet and his son-in-law 'Alī) will illustrate the Kumaīt's method. In the first (182) Hāshimīya which contains one hundred and three lines al-Kumaīt devoted only two lines (vv.1-2) to the traditional nasīb prelude, and even in those two lines he is satisfied to mention only his night dreams and his beloved's phantoms. He then passed on to praise the Prophet and his family (vv.3-94), and ended his long ode with the description of his desert journey and his

(180) Aḥmad Salāh al-Dīn Najā, al-Kumaīt Shā'ir al-Shī'a al-Siyāsī fī'l-'Aṣral-Umawī, Beirut, 1957, p.98.

(181) A. J. Arberry, Classical Persian Literature, London, 1958, p.12.

(182) al-Kumaīt, Hāshimīyāt, edited and translated into German by: Josef Horowitz, Leiden, 1904, pp.1-26.

she-camel (vv.95-103). Similarly his second Hāshimīya⁽¹⁸³⁾ which consists of one hundred and forty lines runs in this order: (vv.1-5) he expressed the signs of his old age and stressed that he was not interested in love any more, (vv.6-111) panegyric to Banū Hāshim; (vv.112-140) a description of his she-camel, that she is strong, swift, noble and patient and then he likened her to the wild-bull and digressed to describe his colour, the raining windy night which he spent under a tree and then a vivid scene of the battle between that bull and the **dogs** of the chase which resulted in his fleeing from the scene and thus he ends his ode. In the third Hāshimīya⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ al Kumaīt devoted thirty-three lines from an ode of one hundred and thirty three lines to the ghazal-prelude (vv.1-33) and ended the poem in his own way by describing his she-camel (vv.99-133) in which he likens her as usual to the wild bull and the sand-grouses, whereas in his fourth ode⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ of one hundred and eleven lines he never mentioned the nasīb prelude nor the desert journey and neither his she-camel, but it is an ode dealing with one subject-matter (panegyric and memories of Banū Hāshim) from the beginning to the end. Al-Kumaīt's abandoning of the nasīb prelude in the sense of the Jāhiliya nasīb (the mentioning

(183) al-Kumaīt, Hāshimīyāt, edited and translated into German by: Josef Horowitz, Leiden, 1904, pp.27-73.

(184) Hāshimīyāt, pp.74-109.

(185) Ibid., pp.110-144.

of the ruined abodes - the aṭlāl - of the poet's beloved, the sad memory of her departure, and finally the description of her body, her character and her social position) together with the feature that his odes did not circulate around one particular beloved may be due to his sincere faith in the members of the Hashimite family and to the maturity of his mind which kept him aloof from becoming intimate with beautiful young girls.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ He himself confirmed that those girls always thought him old in the following line:

"They think that I am fifty years old, but I thought only forty."⁽¹⁸⁷⁾

We might ask the question: Why did the Umayyād poets imitate the Jāhilīya Qaṣīda? Professor Nallino⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ thinks that there are many factors which combined together to favour such imitation. The majority of the Arabs who migrated from the peninsula during and after the Islamic conquest to live in Syria were tribes whose origins claimed descent from Yemen and the Quraishites who left for the borders of Syria were very busy in matters of new administration, political disputes and the wars. Therefore, under such circumstances they abandoned poetry in spite of their love for it. The inhabitants of the great Syrian cities, on the other hand, were Syrians and Romans

(186) Najā, op. cit., p.100.

(187) Hāshimīyāt, p. 82, line 29:
يَحْنَنُ لِي فِي السَّيَةِ فَحْيَهُ كَبِيرِي وَالْبُرُجِيَةِ أَقْبِي

(188) C. Nallino, op.cit., pp.130,131.

who remained a long time after the conquests knowing very little about the Arabic language and Arabic poetry. Similar to them were the Persians and the Armenians in Iraq. The Arabs who migrated into Iraq and Syria remained yearning to go home to their desert to drink the milk of the she-camels which was known as "al-'Aīma - ^{العَيمَة} - a strong passion and desire to drink the camels' milk." (189) Thus a feeling of homesickness or 'nostalgia' urged them to leave the life of the settled communities or cities. For all these reasons the Umayyād poets composed their odes in imitation of the Bedouin school in order to satisfy their complexes which were a result of the change of their environment.

Another reason which might help in answering the question is a political one: the Umayyāds welcomed the Jāhilīya Qaṣīda in its theme and form because it helped them to embitter the powerful tribes against each other and this kept them busy thus preventing them from contesting the legitimacy of the Umayyād Caliphate. (190) Therefore, the union between politics and poetry re-emerged after a temporary truce during the epoch of the Prophet and the Orthodox Caliphate, and subsequently the poets became influential in social life as their Jāhilīya predecessors had been in their own time. However, the Umayyād

(189) C. Nallino, op.cit., pp.125,126.

(190) A. Kh. Kinany, op.cit., p.171.

odes had the ghazal prelude and the poems which had no amatory prelude "were called 'Batra' or 'decapitated poems' and were compared to 'ḥaṣa' or 'stones' because of their insipidity."⁽¹⁹¹⁾ There is another possible reason for such imitation: the Umayyāds who were Arabs first and Muslims afterwards⁽¹⁹²⁾ found in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda a record of their past and thus it was valued as a classical model in Arabic poetry. The Umayyād Caliphs themselves encouraged and rewarded the poets, who wrote odes in imitation of the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda, thus producing competition amongst the poets. The transmitters, philologists, historians and story-tellers of that epoch who went searching for every minute detail of the Jāhiliya past in order to satisfy the Caliphs' obsession and to gain their patronage. The language of the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda, on the other hand, was applied to illustrate and to explain that of the Qur'ān and the Tradition Hadīth.' Thus the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda was quoted by philologists transmitters and theologians to explain any rare expression or strange word in the Qur'ān as can be seen from the following words of Ibn 'Abbās, the cousin of the Prophet: "If you ask about anything concerning the rare word and strange expressions (gharīb) in the Qur'ān, look for it in the poetry because poetry is the register (dīwān) of the Arabs."⁽¹⁹³⁾ This

(191) A. Kh. Kinany, op. cit., p. 172.

(192) R. A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.xxviii.

(193) Al-Suyūṭī, Muzhir, Vol. II, p.193.

linguistic value gave the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda a great status for its linguistic structure which had attracted students of language and thus added to its artistic value a new significance to the extent that it was imitated faithfully by the Umayyād poets and deemed with great admiration by the Caliphs themselves.

CHAPTER IV

THE MU'ALLAQĀT IN THE LITERARY BALANCE.

The Rūwāt of Arabic poetry attributed the title "Mu'allaqāt - suspended poems" to seven long qasīdas which belong to the following seven poets: Imr al-Qaīs, Ṭarafa, Zuhāir, Labīd, 'Antara, 'Amr b. Kulthūm and al-Hārith b. Ḥilliza. The number of these Mu'allaqāt varies between seven, nine and ten. The grammarian Ibn al-Nahhās (d. 950 A.D.) added to the seven existing Mu'allaqāt two more qasīdas, one of al-A'shā and the other of al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, thus making a total of nine.⁽¹⁾ Al-Tibrīzī (d. 1109 A.D.) added to the nine another qasīda of 'Abīd b. al-Abras thus making the total ten.⁽²⁾

Abū Zaīd al-Qurashī (d. 170 A.H.) regarded al-Nābigha and al-A'shā as two of the original authors of the Mu'allaqāt and omitted all mention of 'Antara and al-Hārith b. Ḥilliza stating that "Abū 'Ubaīda (d. 825 A.D.), a contemporary philologist of al-Aṣma'ī (d. 831 A.D.) used to say that the most excellent poets are Imr al-Qaīs, Zuhāir, al-Nābigha, al-A'shā, Labīd, 'Amr b. Kulthūm and Ṭarafa". Al-Mufaḍḍal (who is not necessarily al-Mufaḍḍal al-Dabbī (d. 786 A.D.) as Professor Arberry pointed out⁽³⁾ said: "These poets are the authors of the Seven Long

(1) An-Nahhās' Commentar zur Mu'allaga des Imru'ul-Qais, ed. by Dr. Ernst Frenkel, Halle, 1876, p.VII and al-Qurashī, Jamhart Ash'ār al-'Arab, Brit. Mus., MS. Or. 415, paper 25.

(2) Al-Tibrīzī, . . . Sharḥ al-Qasā'id al-'Ashr, ed. Lyall, Calcutta, 1894.

(3) A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.23.

Odes) which people call al-Sumūt (the necklaces of pearls) and he who claims that there are other authors involved in the seven besides those poets (who have been mentioned by Abū 'Ubaīda) has falsified and disagreed with what was decided by the people of learning and knowledge".⁽⁴⁾ It seems, however, that al-Qurashī gave no reason for omitting 'Antara and al-Hārith as authors of the Mu'allaqāt nor did he establish a literary basis or a poetical criterion in admitting al-Nābigha and al-A'shā to the list of the Mu'allaqāt's authors, except that he mentioned that Abū 'Ubaīda and a certain Mufaḍḍal had said so, whereas Ibn al-Naḥḥās in adding the qaṣīda of al-A'shā "waddi' Hurā'irata" (say farewell to Hurā'ira) and the qaṣīda of al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī "Yā dāra Mayyata" (O ye encampments of Mayya) to the seven Mu'allaqāt gave the following reason: "I have found that the majority of scholars agree that the most excellent poets of the Jāhiliya era are Imr al-Qaīs, Zuhāir b. Abī Sulmā, al-Nābigha and al-A'shā, except Abū 'Ubaīda who regarded only Imr al-Qaīs, Zuhāir and al-Nābigha as the three famous Jāhiliya poets. Therefore, the statement of the majority of scholars urge us to write down the qaṣīdas of al-A'shā and al-Nābigha because the scholars prefer them (the

(4) Al-Qurashī, Jamhara, ed. Cairo, 1926, p.45 and Brit. Mus. Or. 415, paper 21 and Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī, 'Umda, Vol. I, p.61 and al-Baghdādī, Khizānat al-adab, Vol. I, p.123 and al-Suyūṭī, al-Muzhir, Vol. II, p.298.

two qasīdas) although they are not included in the Seven Odes".⁽⁵⁾ Ibn Khaldūn (1332-1406 A.D.) later on omitted all mention of Labīd, 'Amr b. Kulthūm, and al-Hārith b. Ḥilliza and regarded 'Alqama b. 'Abada as one of the Mu'allaqāt's authors.⁽⁶⁾ Ibn Khaldūn appears to be the only scholar who considered 'Alqama b. 'Abada as one of the Mu'allaqāt's poets as is seen in the order which he set down: Imr al-Qais, al-Nābigha, Zuhair, 'Antara, Tarafa, 'Alqama b. 'Abada and al-A'shā.⁽⁷⁾ He gave no reason for his acceptance of 'Alqama as a worthy equal of the poets of the Mu'allaqāt nor did he mention an ode by him which he considered a Mu'allaqā. But it might be possible that he associated the word 'Mu'allaqāt' with the word 'sumūt' on the grounds that the Mu'allaqāt were also called 'sumūt'.⁽⁸⁾ Abū 'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī (d. 967 A.D.) related on the authority of Ḥammād al-Rāwīya (694-771 or 774 A.D.) that the Arabs used to present their poetry before Quraish; if the poem were accepted it must have been appreciable and if rejected not appreciable. Then 'Alqama b. 'Abada visited Quraish and recited before them his ode:

(5) Ibn al-Nahhās, Commentar^{Zur} Mu'allaqā des Imru'ul-Qais, pp.VII, VIII.

(6) Ibn Khaldūn, Muqaddima, 2nd ed. Beirut, 1886, Chap. 50, pp.529-530.

(7) Ibn Khaldūn, Muqaddima, p.530.

(8) A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.22 and C. Hauri, op. cit., p.10.

"Hal mā 'alimta wa mā 'stūdi'ta maktūmu?"

"Is that which you know and that which she gave to you in trust (i.e. her love) still kept as a hidden treasure (within her)?"

And they said:

"Hādhā simtu 'l-dahr".

"This is a necklace of time".

He visited them the next year and recited the following ode:

"Ṭahā bika qalbun fī'l - hisāni tarūbu".

"A heart quick to thrill when touched by Beauty has drawn you far".

Then they said:

"Hātāni simtā 'l-dahr".

"These are the two necklaces of time". (9)

Ibn Sallām (d. 845 A.D.) regarded these two odes of 'Alqama together with another one as "three excellent odes which no poetry can surpass". (10) Therefore, 'Alqama can be considered a 'poet of the sumūt' and this attitude might have led Ibn Khaldūn to accept him a 'Mu'allāqa's poet'. Ibn Khaldūn, on the other hand, did not explain the principles of his order by omitting Labīd, 'Amr and al-Hārith. It seems, however, that the order of the Mu'allāqāt does not follow a literary principle, and the order of these odes varies according to the individual arrangement of the Rūwāt and the commentators.

(9) Aghānī, XXI, p.173 and al-Mufaḍḍaliyyat, ed. Lyall, Vol. I, pp.765, 786 and Vol. II, pp.329, 334 and ed. Shākir and Hārūn, pp. 390, 396 and 'Alqama b. 'Abada, Dīwān, ed. Muḥammad Ben Cheneb, Alger and Paris, 1925, pp.17, 43.

(10) Ibn Sallām, Ṭabaqāt, pp.116, 117.

The following survey in chronological order will support this view and show that all authorities place Imr al-Qaïs as the first poet of the Mu'allaqāt, but differ as to the second and succeeding poets:

- (i) Ibn Kaïsān⁽¹¹⁾ (d. 932 A.D.) arranged them: Imr al-Qaïs, Tarafa, Labīd, al-Hārith, 'Amr, 'Antara and Zuhair.
- (ii) Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 939 A.D.)⁽¹²⁾ gave the following order of the poems: Imr al-Qaïs, Tarafa, Zuhair, 'Antara, 'Amr, al-Hārith and Labīd.
- (iii) Ibn 'Abdi Rabbihi (d. 940 A.D.)⁽¹³⁾ arranged them: Imr al-Qaïs, Zuhair, Tarafa, 'Antara, 'Amr, Labīd and al-Hārith.
- (iv) Ibn al-Nahhās (d. 949 or 950 A.D.)⁽¹⁴⁾ arranged them together with two other odes as follows: Imr al-Qaïs, Tarafa, Zuhair, Labīd, 'Antara, al-Hārith, 'Amr, al-A'shā and al-Nābigha. Another arrangement by Ibn al-Nahhās occurs in the Brit. Mus. MS. of the Jamharatu-ash'ari-l-'Arab (Or. 415) as follows: Imr al-Qaïs, Tarafa, Zuhair, Labīd, 'Antara, al-Nābigha, al-A'shā, 'Amr and al-Hārith.
- (v) al-Zawzānī (d. 1093 A.D.)⁽¹⁵⁾ gave the following order: Imr al-Qaïs, Tarafa, Zuhair, Labīd, 'Amr, 'Antara and al-Hārith.
- (vi) al-Tibrīzī (d. 1109 A.D.)⁽¹⁶⁾ supplemented the seven of the canon with three more: Imr al-Qaïs, Tarafa, Zuhair, Labīd, 'Antara, 'Amr, al-Hārith, al-A'shā, al-Nābigha and 'Abīd b. al-Abras.

(11) A. J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.24.

(12) Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.24.

(13) Al-'iqd al-Farīd, Cairo, 1946, Vol. V, pp.269, 270.

(14) Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.24 and Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 415 of Jamhara, paper 25.

(15) Sharh al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab', 2nd ed., Cairo, 1950.

(16) Sharh al-Qasā'id al-'Ashr, ed. Lyall, Calcutta, 1894.

(vii) Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406 A.D.)⁽¹⁷⁾ established the sequence: Imr al-Qaīs, al-Nābigha, Zuhāir, 'Antara, Ṭarafa, 'Alqama b. 'Abada and al-A'shā.

(viii) al-Baghdādī (d. 1682 A.D.)⁽¹⁸⁾ gave the order: Imr al-Qaīs, Ṭarafa, Zuhāir, Labīd, 'Antara, al-Hārith and 'Amr.

Professor Arberry⁽¹⁹⁾ arranged the Mu'allaqāt in an order similar to that of al-Tibrīzī but excluding the last three odes: Imr al-Qaīs, Ṭarafa, Zuhāir, Labīd, 'Antara, 'Amr and al-Hārith. It appears as Professor Blachère pointed out that the odes of Imr al-Qaīs, Zuhāir and Labīd were found in all the collections of the Mu'allaqāt, and they might probably form the original foundation of the Mu'allaqāt and then other odes were added to them under literary and political influences.⁽²⁰⁾

Just as the order and the number of these famous odes were subjected to differing opinions so was their name. Hammād al-Rāwīya (694-771 or 774 A.D.) was the first transmitter who put the Mu'allaqāt - 'the Suspended Poems' into circulation. "The title was not his invention, though apparently current already in the ninth century it was not in general use even as late as the end of the tenth".⁽²¹⁾ The name 'Mu'allaqāt' signifies 'the suspended' and according to the traditional interpretation various reasons for these seven suspended odes

(17) Muqaddima, 2nd ed., Beirut, 1886, p.530.

(18) Khizānat al-Adab, Vol. I, p.123.

(19) The Seven Odes.

(20) R. Blachère, op. cit., p.146.

(21) Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.21.

being thus called can be mentioned. Ibn 'Abdi Rabbihi (d. 940 A.D.) related that the Arabs were very fond of poetry and appreciated it to the extent that "they selected seven odes from the ancient poetry and wrote them on fine Egyptian linen 'qabāṭī, قَبَاطِي' with water-gold and they were suspended in the Ka'ba and this it is said: 'The golden (gilded) poem of Imr al-Qaīs, and the golden ode of Zuhair 'wa mudhahhabat Zuhair.' 'The golden poems were seven and were called al-Mu'allaqāt".⁽²²⁾ Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī (d. 1064), who quoted the above, added that the selected poem is called 'golden - mudhahhabāt' if it is the most excellent poem.⁽²³⁾ Ibn Khaldūn (1332-1406) thinks that the only poets who possess a sound reputation, a strong 'aṣabiya and a renowned position among Muḍar were those whose poetry was worthy of being suspended on the walls of the Ka'ba and thus, it was said, was the reason given to denote the meanings of the word 'Mu'allaqāt'. Ibn Khaldūn seems to have considered that the Mu'allaqāt did not gain their literary reputation on account of the high quality of their poetical value, but rather because of the social position of their composers. Al-Baghḍādī (d. 1682 A.D.) explains⁽²⁵⁾ the meanings

(22) Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, al-'iqd al-Farīd, Vol. V, p.269.

(23) 'Umda, Vol. I, p.61.

(24) Muqaddima, p.530.

(25) Khizānat al-Adab, Vol. I, p.123.

of the word 'Mu'allāqa' by stating that the poets in the Jāhiliya era used to compose poetry but no one really bothered to listen to them until they visited Mecca on the occasion of the pilgrimage; then they presented it before the assemblies of Quraish, and if it were appreciated it would have circulated among the people and thus would have become the glory of the poet himself and would have been suspended on the walls of the Ka'ba in order to exhibit it to the people, otherwise it would be left without care. The first poet whose poetry was suspended in the Ka'ba was Imr al-Qaīs and after that other poets followed in his path. The number of those poets whose poetry was suspended was seven. Al-Baghdādī also related that Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān (his Caliphate 661-680 A.D.) said: "The odes of 'Amr b. Kulthūm and al-Hārith b. Ḥilliza were ones of the glorious deeds of the Arabs. They were suspended in the Ka'ba for a long time."⁽²⁶⁾ Ibn al-Naḥḥās (d. 949 or 950 A.D.) mentioned another meaning of the word 'Mu'allāqāt'. He said: "The scholars differ in the collection of these seven odes, and it is said that the majority of the poets used to gather in 'Ukāz where they used to recite their poetry, and, when a poem was deemed excellent, the kings used to say: "Suspend this for

(26) Khizānat al-Adab, Vol. III, p.162.

us, that it might be in his repository.⁽²⁷⁾ Ibn al-Nahhās, however, did not mention the name of this king but it might have been al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir (the last Lakhmite king of Hīra who reigned from 580 to 602 or from 585 to 607 A.D.),⁽²⁸⁾ because, as Ibn Sallām (d. 845 A.D.) mentioned, he used to have a written diwān of the Fūhūl's poetry and other poems which were composed for the purpose of praising him and his family. This diwān, or part of it, remained in the possession of Banū Marwān.⁽²⁹⁾ Ibn Jinnī (d. 1002 A.D.), however, related on the authority of Hammād al-Rāwīya that King al-Nu'mān ordered the poems of the Arabs to be written in pamphlets. He then buried them in his white palace, and, when al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubaīd seized the region of Kūfa (the rebellion of al-Makhtār took place in 685-686 A.D. against the Umayyād government on behalf of the Shī'ite movement), he was informed that there was a treasure under the palace. So he dug up the treasure and thus brought up those poems and the people of Kūfa became more learned in pottery than the people of Baṣra.

(27) Ibn al-Nahhās, op. cit., p.VIII and Ibn Rashīq, 'Umda, Vol. I, p.61 and al-Baghdādī, Khizānat al-Adab, Vol. I, p.123 and al-Suyūṭī, al-Muzhir, Vol. II, p.298 and Lane, Lexicon, Book I, Pr. '5, p.2137 and Th. Nöldeke, al-Mu'allaqāt in al-Muqtataf, by: Y. Sarruf and F. Nimr, Vol. XXXVII, Cairo, 1910, pp.1047-1054, p.1048 and 'Abdu'l-Mit'āl al-Sa'idī, "fī'l-Mu'allaqāt" in: al-Risāla, Vol. 67, 15th Oct., 1934, pp.1705-1706, p.1705.

(28) R.A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.45 and A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.121.

(29) Ibn Sallām, Ṭahaqāt, p.23.

(30) Ibn Jinnī, al-Khaṣā'is, Cairo, 1913, Vol. I, p.393.

In spite of all these attitudes Ibn al-Naḥḥās himself confuted the story that the Mu'allaqāt were hung up in the Ka'ba by saying: "As for the assertion that they were hung up in the Ka'ba, it is not known to any of the Transmitters (the Rūwāt)"⁽³¹⁾ Professor Nöldeke supported this view and concluded that such a story would already be suspicious as none of the old writers, who told the story of Mecca and who described every detail connected with the Ka'ba most carefully, knew anything about it.⁽³²⁾ "Neither al-Azraqī⁽³³⁾ nor Ibn Hishām⁽³⁴⁾ mention it and we have every reason to think that al-Kalbī and his son, the main sources of history and myth of the Arabs, who collected greedily everything connected with fables etc., did not know anything about it. We do not find a trace in the Qur'ān of this competition and crowning of these poems, or in the religious traditions, though obviously Muḥammad would have mentioned once that such worldly songs were hung up in the greatest shrines".⁽³⁵⁾ As for the story that these odes were written in gold, Professor Nöldeke thinks that it evidently originated in the name 'the golden poems (lit.

(31) Ibn al-Naḥḥās, op. cit., p.VIII and Th. Nöldeke, "Mo'allaqāt" pp.629-631 in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, London, 1959, Vol. XVI, p.629.

(32) Th. Nöldeke, Beiträge zur Kenntniss Der Poesie der Alten Araber, Hannover, 1864, pp.XIX, XX.

(33) Akhbār Mecca.

(34) Sirat Rasūl Allāh.

(35) Nöldeke, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der Alten Araber, p.XX.

the gilded)' a figurative expression for excellence. (36)

Professor Nicholson compares such a misunderstanding of the name 'Mudhahhabāt' or 'Mudhabāt' (i.e. the Gilded Poems) to that of the Greeks who gave the title 'Χρυσέα ἔπη', to a poem falsely attributed to Pythagoras. (37)

European scholars interpret the word 'Mu'allaqāt' from different standpoints and these opinions are interesting in that they shed light on the position of the Mu'allaqāt. Alfred von Kremer points to the use of the verb "'allaqa" to signify "transcribe" and proposed that the Mu'allaqāt were so called because after long oral transmission they had been put into writing. (38) Professor Blachère thinks that the interpretation does not agree with the habit of the Arab authors who were very fond of using metaphorical titles for their books, and if A. von Kremer is relying upon the former statement of Ibn al-Nahhās, (39) he would have substituted one name in place of the other. The verb "'allaqa" to signify "transcribe" is also a later usage which was limited to the environment of the scribes. Therefore, it is a name given by men of letters. (40)

(36) A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.21 and T. Nöldeke, Ency. Britannica, Vol. XV, p.629.

(37) R.A. Nicholson, op. cit., pp.101, 102.

(38) Ibid., p.101 and Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.22 and R. Blachère, op. cit., p.145 and James Robson, "The Meaning of the title al-Mu'allaqāt", pp.83-86 in J.R.A.S., Pt. I, January, London, 1936, p.84 (Altarabische Gedichte, p.11).

(39) The statement of Ibn al-Nahhās is that an ancient Arab King used to say: "Suspend ye for us this ode and fix it in my repository when an ode was deemed excellent".

(40) Blachère, op. cit., p.145.

W. Ahlwardt suggest that the meaning is that in these poems⁽⁴¹⁾ each verse or sequence of verses 'depends' upon its predecessor. He also holds that it means poems which are favoured for their excellence, 'the richly bejewelled'.⁽⁴²⁾ The former suggestion is confuted too on the grounds that in every qaṣīda each verse or sequence of verses depends upon its predecessor and there is no reason for attributing this title 'Mu'allaqāt' to these poems and not to others.⁽⁴³⁾ On this account Professor Arberry writes: "Both of these conjectures (Von Kremer and Ahlwardt) fail to account for the application to a particular and rather small collection of odes of a nomenclature whose meanings, in either interpretation, would equally well fit the whole body of pre-Islamic poetry".⁽⁴⁴⁾ A. Müller suggests that the meaning⁽⁴⁵⁾ is "'the pendants', as though they were pearls on a necklace". Professor Nöldeke points out that certain Arab authors in the Middle Ages used the fanciful title 'collar (Sint) for their books, and draws attention to the fact that the Mu'allaqāt are sometimes referred to as the Sumūt (by analogy Mu'allaqāt could be understood to mean 'necklaces').⁽⁴⁶⁾ He then went on to say:

(41) Blachère, op. cit., p.45 and The Seven Odes, p.22.

(42) R.A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.101 and J. Robson, op. cit., p.84 (Bemerkungen über die Aechtheit der alten Arabischen Gedichte, p.25).

(43) R. Blachère, op. cit., p.145.

(44) The Seven Odes, p.22.

(45) R.A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.101.

(46) Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.22 and Blachère, op. cit., p.145.

"I think that this name (Mu'allaqāt) is only a synonym for string of pearls but I cannot prove this. We have to accept the Arab explanation that 'hung up' means to be put in a place of honour because of its preciousness."⁽⁴⁷⁾ Professor Brockelmann also holds the latter view.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Sir Charles Lyall suggests that the name Mu'allaqāt "is most likely derived from the word 'ilq, meaning 'a precious thing, or a thing held in high estimation', either because one 'hangs on' tenaciously to it, or because it is 'hung up' in a place of honour, or in a conspicuous place, in a treasury or storehouse".⁽⁴⁹⁾ There is another interpretation which comes from James Robson who connected the meaning of the word Mu'allaqāt with the word "Mu'allāqa" which occurs in the Qur'ān (Sūra IV:128):

"You will not be able to be equitable
between your wives, be you ever so eager;
Yet do not be altogether partial
so that you leave her as it were suspended
(Fatadhrūhā Ka'l-mu'allaqati)."

The commentators explain the term "mu'allāqa" there as meaning "one whose husband has been lost to her; or left in suspense,

(47) Th. Nöldeke, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der Alten Araber, p.XXI and Ency. Britannica, Vol. 15, p.629 and Th. Nöldeke, "al-Mu'allaqāt" in al-Mashriq, Vol. XXXVII, 1910, p.1048.

(48) J. Robson, op. cit., p.84 (Gesch. der Arab. Lit. 1, pp.17,18).

(49) Sir Charles J. Lyall, Translation of Ancient Arabian Poetry, London, 1885, p.xlix (Introduction) and The Seven Odes, p.22 and Blachère, op. cit., p.146 and R.A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.101.

neither husbandless nor having a husband; or neither having a husband nor divorced".⁽⁵⁰⁾ So she is still reckoned to be the wife of a certain man, but is not given the position she should have. To this James Robson says: "So I would suggest that Ḥammād gave this title (the Mu'allaqāt) playfully, meaning to indicate that the poems are still attributed to their authors, but are not given their rightful position, which would be in the poet's dīwān".⁽⁵¹⁾ To this Professor Arberry adds: "This very tentative speculation gains some reinforcement from the fact that the alternative title Mudhahhabāt (or Mudhabāt), which has always been interpreted 'Gilded', could also according to another derivation mean 'sent away', 'banished'".⁽⁵²⁾

Despite all these opinions and interpretations which indicate that the Mu'allaqāt have occupied a remarkable position in the minds of scholars, the word 'Mu'allaqāt' in the sense of 'Suspended Poems' did not occur in the works of other scholars who dealt with Arabic poetry and who lived between the ninth and the fourteenth century A.D. This might explain that the word 'Mu'allaqat' had not been popularized enough to have been regarded as a term with literary significance as it does today.

(50) The Seven Odes, pp.22, 23 and J. Robson, op. cit., p.85 and Ibn Manẓūr. Lisān al-'Arab, Vol. X, p.267 and Ibn Fāris, Maqāīys al-Luġha, Vol. IV, pp.126, 128, 129.

(51) J. Robson, op. cit., p.85.

(52) Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.23.

The following survey of those authors and their works has been arranged in chronological order:

i) Ibn Sallām al Jumahī (d. 845 A.D.).

'Tabaqāt al Shu'arā' did not mention the story or the meaning of the word 'Mu'allaqāt' in the introduction to his book. When he talked about the first class of the Jāhīlīya poets, e.g.

Imr al-Qaīs, al-Nābigha al Dhulyānī, Zuhāir b. Abī Sulmā and al-A'shā, he did not mention the name Mu'allaqāt. He was

satisfied to mention "hādihā qawluhu min kalimatīn ṭawīlatin -

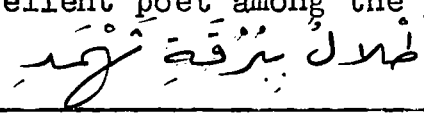
هذا قوله من كلمة طويّلة - this is his saying from a long ode (lit. word)" or "hādihā qawluhu - هذا قوله - this is his saying".

Ibn Sallām classified Labīd as one of the third class of the Jāhīlīya poets, and again he never

mentioned the word Mu'allaqā but was satisfied to say: "he was a poet and a good poet amongst his people".⁽⁵³⁾ In his report

on the fourth class (Ṭarafa, Ibn al-'Abd, 'Abīd b. al-Abras, 'Adī b. Zaid and 'Alqana b. 'Abada) he said: "They are four Fuḥūl poets, their position is that of the ancients, but the small quantity of their poetry in the hands of the Transmitters (the Rūwāt) harmed them."⁽⁵⁴⁾ As for Ṭarafa Ibn Sallām said:

"He is the most excellent poet among the people in one (ode).

It is: "  - Likhawlata

(53) Ṭabaqāt, pp.103-114.

(54) Ibid., p.115.

at-lāwīn biburqati thamadi (for Khawla are abodes in the story tract of Thahmad)". (55) He did not use the word Mu'allāqa, but used "wāḥīda" (one ode), and this surely indicates that the word Mu'allāqāt was not very popular as a literary term. He used the same term 'wāḥīda' - one ode "instead of the Mu'allāqa when he talked about the poets of the sixth class": "they are four poets each possessing one (famous) ode ... the first is 'Amr b. Kulthūn ... and al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza ... and 'Antara b. Shaddād ...". (56) Ibn Sallām quoted the three Mu'allāqāt which belong to the above three poets, but he never called them Mu'allāqāt; he used the term 'wa lahu qaṣīda - وَلَهُ قَصِيدَةٌ - and a poem is for him "instead of saying 'wa lahu mu'allāqa - وَلَهُ مُعَلَّقَةٌ -", then he added the following to 'Antara's qaṣīda: "'Antara has plenty of poetry, but this ode (the Mu'allāqa) is unique. Therefore it has been classified with the possessors of the one (ode)". (57)

It appears, however, that the word Mu'allāqāt was not favoured by Ibn Sallām although he preferred to call some of the Mu'allāqāt's poets "aṣḥāb al-wāḥīda - the owners of one (ode) - أَصْحَابُ الْوَحِيدَةِ". (58)

ii) Al-Jāhiz (d. 869 A.D.) did not mention the word Mu'allāqāt nor its story in his famous book 'al-Bayān wa'l-Tabyīn'.

(55) Ṭabaqāt, p.115.

(56) Ibid., pp.127, 128.

(57) Ibid., p.128.

(58) Ibid., p.128.

However, he related that the poets were very keen in revising and adorning their poems and that they used to call these odes "al-Ḥawliyyāt, al-Muqalladāt, al-Munaqqahāt and al-Muḥkamāt in order that their composer would become an eloquent faḥl and a poet of great genius".⁽⁵⁹⁾ When he mentioned Zuhāir he said: "He was one of the three chief poets, and he used to call his great poems the 'Ḥawliyyāt'".⁽⁶⁰⁾

It appears ^{also} that the al-Jāḥiẓ did not favour the word Mu'allaqāt, and there is no reason which could possibly have prevented him from using such a term except that this word (the Mu'allaqāt) was not sufficiently popular to have been considered a literary term in his time.

iii) Ibn Qutaiba (d. 889 A.D.) related the usual stories and anecdotes and recorded the events of the lives of Imr al-Qaīs Zuhāir, al-Nābigḥa, Labīd and al-A'shā,⁽⁶¹⁾ but he never mentioned anything about their Mu'allaqāt in the sense of 'Suspended Poems', nor did he relate their story of their being hung up on the walls of the Ka'ba or being transcribed in golden letters, although he quoted many lines from their Mu'allaqāt. But speaking of 'Amr b. Kulthūn he regarded his famous ode (the Mu'allaqā) as "one of the seven" in the following statement: "He stood as an orator and recited it (on the

(59) Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān wa'l-Tabīyn, Vol. II, p.9.

(60) Ibid., Vol. I, p.204.

(61) Al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', Vol. I, pp.60, 93, 116, 226, 219.

occasion of the dispute) between himself and 'Amr b. Hind. It (the ode) is one of the best ancient Arabic poems and one of the seven.⁽⁶²⁾ "In the second edition of the book "al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā' of Ibn Qutaiba" by Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā, Cairo, 1932 the word 'Mu'allaqāt' was added to the latter sentence and thus we read: "... one of the seven Mu'allaqāt".⁽⁶³⁾ It might be suggested that this word (Mu'allaqāt) was added by the scribes of a later period, and especially when the word Mu'allaqāt had gained a popular, literary reputation, because we have another two editions of the same book: the first is edited by M.J. De Goeje and published in Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1904 and the second is edited by A.M. Shakir and published in Cairo, 1364 A.H.: both of which omit the word 'Mu'allaqāt' from the former statement⁽⁶⁴⁾ and even al-Baghdādī (d. 1682 A.D.) who quoted exactly the same statement as that of Ibn Qutaiba,⁽⁶⁵⁾ omitted the word 'Mu'allaqāt'. There is other evidence which might support the former view that Ibn Qutaiba also referred to the famous ode of 'Abīd b. al-Abras as "one of the seven",⁽⁶⁶⁾ without adding the word Mu'allaqāt. This can be seen in al-Saqqā's edition too. The question which arises now is why should Ibn Qutaiba have added the word Mu'allaqāt to the ode of 'Amr b. Kulthūn and

(62) Al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', Vol. I, p.188.

(63) p.67.

(64) Ed. Shakir, p.188 and Ed. De. Goeje, p.120.

(65) Khizānat al-Adab, Vol. III, p.162.

(66) Al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', Vol. I, p.226, ed. De. Goeje, p. 144 and al-Saqqā (ed.) p.85.

omitted it from 'Abīd's poem? Ibn Qutaība considered both of them as one of the seven, and, if he really added the word, there is no reason which could possibly have prevented him from using the same word with 'Abīd's poem. Ibn Qutaība also called the famous ode of 'Antara "al-Mudhhaba"⁽⁶⁷⁾ or, according to the edition of al-Saqqā, "al-Dhahabīya"⁽⁶⁸⁾ and he never called it 'Mu'allaqāt, but stated that it is the best of his poems.⁽⁶⁹⁾ As for Tarafa b. al-'Abd Ibn Qutaība considered him a holder of an excellent long ode.⁽⁷⁰⁾ This view is similar to that of Ibn Sallām as already mentioned. Ibn Qutaība also never named the celebrated ode of al-Hārith b. Hilliza al-Yashkurī as a 'Mu'allaqāt' but was satisfied to relate that al-Hārith "extemporised his ode and thus it was like an oration."⁽⁷¹⁾

Thus, it appears that Ibn Qutaība did not favour the word Mu'allaqāt and he did not even mention the word in his introduction, which was devoted to discussing the qualities of Arabic poetry and the order of subject-matter that the Jāhīliya qaṣīda should follow. He mentioned all the poets of the Mu'allaqāt but never stated anything about their Mu'allaqāt. This might support the view that this word was not in common use in his

(67) Vol. I, p.206, ed. De Goeje, p.132.

(68) p.76.

(69) Al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', Vol. I, p.206 and ed. De Goeje, p.132.

(70) Ibid., pp.137, 142 and ed. De Goeje, p.88.

(71) Al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', Vol. I, pp.150, 151.

time and that the Mu'allaqāt were regarded as ordinary poems but possessing their own individual qualities. Ibn Qutaiba, on the other hand, considered the poems of 'Amr and 'Abīd as two of the seven. This word 'seven' appears to be vague too, because Ibn Qutaiba did not mention who were the poets of these seven odes, which particular odes, and, if we subtract the odes of 'Amr and 'Abīd from the so-called 'seven', we would have another five odes without knowledge of their composers and their texts. If we were to suggest that Ibn Qutaiba associated the word 'seven' with the seven 'Long Odes' which were known as the Mu'allaqāt such a suggestion would need further consideration. Al-Qurashī never considered the ode of 'Abīd to be one of the 'Seven Long Odes' but he arranged it as the first of the Mujamharāt.⁽⁷²⁾ Ibn al-Nahās together with al-Zawzanī did not recognise it as one of the seven Mu'allaqāt nor one of the nine as already mentioned. The only authority which accepts 'Abīd's poem is al-Tibrīzī (d. 1109) who added it to his collection of the ten odes. This word "The Seven" occurred in the Jamhara of al-Qurashī wherein he related that 'Isā b. 'Umar (d. 766 A.D.) appreciated the famous ode of 'Amr b. Kulthūn and used to say that "his one is indeed better than their seven but people forged poetry and attributed it to him."⁽⁷³⁾ Later on

(72) Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab, p.45.

(73) Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab, Brit. Mus., MS. Or. 415, paper 20.

al-Baqillānī (d. 403 A.H.) used the same term 'seven' when he spoke about the Mu'allāqa of Imr al-Qaīs. He said: "... and when they chose his qaṣīda to be one of the seven".⁽⁷⁴⁾

iv) al-Mubarrad (826-898 A.D.) did not mention the word 'Mu'allāqat' and did not relate the story of their being hung up on the walls of the Ka'ba. He devoted one chapter in his famous book 'al-Kāmil' to the similes and examples of description which the ancient poets used to apply in their poetry, and entitled it "Bāb al-Taṣhbīh wa'l-waṣf". In this chapter he quoted many similes and lines which belong to Imr al-Qaīs, Zuhāir and al-Nābigha and some of them were taken from the famous Mu'allāqāt such as the five lines he quoted from the Mu'allāqa of Imr al-Qaīs to illustrate the best similes, but he never mentioned this name (Mu'allāqa) and was satisfied to say that "one of the remarkable similes of Imr al-Qaīs is his saying".⁽⁷⁵⁾

v) Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī (d. 967 A.D.) related in his Aghānī all the stories and judgments about the poets of the Mu'allāqāt, but made no mention of the story of their being hung up or written in gold letters. He spoke about Imr al-Qaīs,⁽⁷⁶⁾ Ṭarafa,

(74) Al-Bāqillānī, I'jāz al-Qur'ān, p.185 and al-Rāfi'ī, Ta'rīkh Adāb al-'Arab, Vol. III, p.190.

(75) See: Al-Muharrad, Taḥdhīb al-Kāmil, 1st ed., ed. al-Sībā'ī Baīyūmī, Cairo, 1923, Vol. II, p.13.

(76) Aghānī, Vol. IX, ed. D.K.M., pp.77-105.

Zuhair, (77) 'Antara, (78) al-Nābigha (79) and al-A'shā, (80) but did not mention the word 'Mu'allāqa' or 'Mu'allāqāt' while he quoted many lines from their Mu'allāqāt. As for Labīd, al-Isfahānī was satisfied to state that "Labīd used to compose poetry and to say keep it secret until he composed 'afati' D - diyāru maḥalluhā famuqāmuhā - عَفَتِ الدِّيَارُ مَحَلًّا مُقَامًا - the abodes of the beloved are desolate and also a halting-place and the encampments'." (81) This first hemistich (al-Ṣadr) forms the leading line of Labīd's Mu'allāqa but al-Isfahānī did not call it 'Mu'allāqa'. When he spoke about 'Amr b. Kulthūm, al-Isfahānī repeated what Ibn Qutaiba had said about 'Amr's Mu'allāqa, that it is a famous ode among Banū Taghlib (the tribe of the poet) and that 'Amr recited his ode as an oration. (82) He also repeated the statement of Ibn Qutaiba concerning the Mu'allāqa of al-Hārith, who, as is related extemporized his ode but did not call it 'Mu'allāqa'. (83) In talking about 'Abīd b. al-Abras he related the statement of Ibn Sallām that 'Abīd holds

(77) Aghānī, Vol. IX, ed. Būlāq, pp.146, 148.

(78) Ibid., Vol. VIII, ed. D.K.M., pp.237-246.

(79) Ibid., Vol. XI, ed. D.K.M., pp.31-37.

(80) Ibid., Vol. IX, ed. D.K.M., pp.109-112.

(81) Ibid., Vol. XIV, ed. Būlāq, p.96,

(82) Ibid., Vol. XI, ed. D.K.M., p.54.

(83) Ibid., Vol. XI, D.K.M., pp.43, 45.

long existing fame and a great reputation but that his poetry is in a state of disorder and confusion, and has passed out of men's memories except for his ode 'Kalimatuhu - lit. his word): "aḡfara min ahliḡi malḡūbu - Malḡūb is desolate and all its inhabitants gone". (84)

Al-Isfahānī in referring to Ḥammād al-Rāwīya related all his stories but made no mention of the name and story of the Mu'allaqāt except for asserting that Ḥammād was a man learned in the language and poems of the ancient Arabs. (85)

The word 'Mu'allaqāt' then did not occur in the Kitāb al-Aghānī and it appears that al-Isfahānī did not favour its use, otherwise there is no reason why he did not employ such a name unless it was not very important from a literary point of view and was not very popular in his time.

vi) Abū al-'Alā'al-Ma'arrī (973-1057 A.D.) employed three terms for three Mu'allaqāt when speaking of Zuhāir, Labīd and Tarafa in his book "Risālat al-Ghufrān - The Letter of Pardon". He quoted the proverbial line of Zuhāir's Mu'allāqa (v.46) according to al-Zawzanī's order and v.56 according to al-Tibrīzī's order:

"Sa'imtu takālīfa 'l-hayāti wa man ya'ish
 Ṭhanānīna ḡawlan la āba laka yas 'ami

I was disgusted with the burdens of life; and
 whoever lives
 Eighty years, believe me, grows very weary". (86)

(84) Aghānī, Vol. XIX, ed. Būlāq, p.84.

(85) Ibid., Vol. V, ed. Būlāq, pp.164, 172.

(86) Abū al-'Alā'al-Ma'arrī, Risālat al-Ghufrān, ed. Kāmil Kaillānī, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1925, Vol. I, pp.72-73.

He referred to it as "al-Mīmīya , الميمية the ode rhyming with the letter M". When he mentioned Labīd he used the same word 'Mīmīya' but added to it the word 'Mu'allāqa':
 فَأَنْشِدْنَا مِمْيَاكَ الْمُعَلَّقَةَ " Fa'anshidnā Mīmīyataka 'l-Mu'allāqa". And recite to us your Mu'allāqa which is rhyming with the letter M". (87)

Al-Ma'arrī, on the other hand, used the word 'qaṣīda' when he referred to Tarafa's Mu allāqa:

"... قَصِيدَتِكَ الَّتِي عَلَى الدَّل"

"Qasīdatuka 'llatī 'ala 'D-dāl"

"Your poem which is rhyming with the letter D". (88)

It seems that al-Ma'arrī was very fond of naming the Mu'allāqāt by their 'rhyme - qāfiya', although he mentioned the word Mu'allāqa once when he wished to distinguish between two poems sharing more or less the same rhyme (the letter M in Zuhair's poem and letters M and H in Labīd's ode). If the term Mu'allāqāt had a literary significance in the time of al-Ma'arrī, he would surely have used such a term to avoid mentioning the 'rhyme-name'.

vii) al-Zawzanī (d. 1093A.D.) in his commentary on the seven Mu'allāqāt never referred to this word 'Mu'allāqāt' at all in his introduction but called them "al-Qaṣā'id al-Sab' - The Seven Odes" in the following statement: "This is the commentary

(87) Risālat al-Ghufrān, Vol. I, p.92.

(88) Ibid., Vol. I, pp.202-203.

of the seven odes, I wrote it down briefly and concisely ..."(89)

If the word 'Mu'allaqāt' does appear on the cover of the book as we read "Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab'", it is very likely that this word was added by the scribes and copiers, otherwise it should read "Sharḥ al-Qaṣā'id al-Sab'".

viii) al-Tibrīzī (d. 1109 A.D.) followed his predecessor al-Zawzanī in calling them 'al-Qaṣā'id al-Sab'' rather than 'al-Mu'allaqāt al Sab'', although he considered them ten in number as mentioned before. This term occurred when he introduced his commentary by saying: "You asked me - may God guard you - to abridge for you the commentary of the Seven Odes 'al-Qaṣā'id al-Sab'' together with the two odes of al-Nābigha al-Dhubyanī and al-A'shā which were added by the grammarian Abū Ja'far Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl (Ibn al-Nahḥās) and the poem of 'Abīd b. al-Abras to be ten completely." (90) This term "Seven Odes" occurred also at the end of al-Hārith's Mu'allāqa when al-Tibrīzī said: "This is the end of the Seven Odes" (91)

Therefore, the word 'Mu'allaqāt' does not appear to have been an important or a popular term in the time of al-Tibrīzī, otherwise he would have applied it without limitation.

ix) Yāqūt (d. 1229 A.D.) after relating the main events and

(89) Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab', 2nd ed., Cairo, 1951, p.4.

(90) Sharḥ al-Qaṣā'id al-Ashr, ed. Lyall, Calcutta, 1894, p.1.

(91) Ibid., p.142.

stories in the life of Ḥammād al-Rāwīya, mentioned that Ḥammād was a distinguished scholar in both ancient Arabic poetry and Arabic language.. He asserted on the authority of Ibn al-Naḥḥās that Ḥammād did collect 'the Seven Long' (odes) - al-Sab' al-Tiwāl. Yāqūt added that Ibn al-Naḥḥās did not confirm that they (the Seven Long Odes) were hung up on the walls of the Ka'ba as other people mentioned.⁽⁹²⁾ Ibn Khallikān (1211-1282 A.D.) also considered that Ḥammād was the editor of the Seven Long Odes.⁽⁹³⁾ Both Yāqūt and Ibn Khallikān did not mention the story of the Mu'allaqāt nor even their name, but were satisfied to refer to them as the seven long poems. Whereas the commentator of al-Ḥarīrī's Durrat al-Ghawwās, al-Khafājī (d. 1659 A.D.) called them 'al-Sab' al-Mu'allaqāt' when he referred to Ḥammād, but he gave another interpretation of the word Mu'allaqāt by stating that they were so called because, when the Arabs used to recite their poems, their chiefs used to say "hang up" this ode or that for us, meaning that such an ode must be remembered and is worthy of reciting.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Al-Khafājī, on the other hand,

(92) Yāqūt, Irshād al-Arīb ilā Ma'rifat al-Adīb (Mu'jam al-Udabā'), edited by: D.S. Margoliouth, Gibb Memorial, Vol. IV, London, 1927, Vol. IV, p.140 and Abū al-Barakāt 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. Muhammad al-Anbārī, Nuzhat al-Alibbā' fī Tabaqāt al-Udabā', Cairo, 1294, A.H., p.43.

(93) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān, ed. M.M. 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, 1st ed. Cairo, 1948, Vol. I, p.448.

(94) Ahmad Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafājī, Sharḥ Durrat al-Ghawwās fī Awhām al-Khawās of al-Ḥarīrī, 1st ed. Constantinople, 1299, A.H. p.229.

supported Ibn al-Naḥḥās's view that they were never suspended on the walls of the Ka'ba.⁽⁹⁵⁾ It appears that the application of the term Mu'allaqāt in the statement of al-Khafājī is applicable to a later date when they had gained a literary reputation and were actually regarded as the chefs d'oeuvre of classical Arabic poetry.

x) Ibn Manẓūr (d. 1311 A.D.) did not mention the word Mu'allaqāt in the sense of the 'Suspended Poems' nor their story of being transcribed in golden letters while he defined many terms from the same root "‘aliqa". He also explained all the possibilities of the meaning of the word 'Mu'allaqā' as it occurred in the Qur'ān (Sūra IV: 128),⁽⁹⁶⁾ as was mentioned earlier in this chapter, but he made no reference to the Mu'allaqāt being hung up in the Ka'ba or elsewhere. Ibn Fāris (d.1005 A.D.) mentioned the two terms 'Simt - pl. Sumūt' and '‘aliqa and Mu'allaqā'. He defined their lexicographical meanings but did not mention that the Mu'allaqāt were sometimes referred to as 'Sumūt' nor did he mention the story of their being hung up in the greatest sacred shrines. It seems that the word 'Mu'allaqāt' had not gained lexicographical currency and this

(95) Aḥmad Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafājī, p.229. Sharḥ Durrat al-Ghawwā

(96) Lisān al-‘Arab, Vol. X, p.267 (under the word: ‘aliqa).

(97) Ibn Fāris, Mu‘jam Maqāīys al-Luḡha, Vol. III, p.101 and Vol. IV, pp.126, 128, 129.

was due, one might suggest, to the fact that such a term was not favoured in that time and that the Mu'allaqāt were known as the Seven Long Odes.

These celebrated poems, as we have seen from the former opinions and attitudes of various scholars, appear to have other names in addition to their popular name as Mu'allaqāt. Here is an attempt to examine the various names in order to see to what extent the nomenclature 'Mu'allaqāt' can stand amongst the rest.

i) The 'Mudhhabāt', 'Mudhahhabāt' or Dhahabīyāt' a name given to them by Ibn 'Abdi Rabbihi,⁽⁹⁸⁾ al-Qaīrawānī⁽⁹⁹⁾ and al-Baghdādī.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ The word 'al-Mudhhaba' or 'al-Dhahbiya' also occurred in Ibn Qutaiba's book⁽¹⁰¹⁾ when he mentioned the famous ode of 'Antara which is known as one of the Mu'allaqāt. This name, as already mentioned, indicates that these poems were transcribed in golden letters and thus could be called 'The Golden (lit. Gilded) Poems'. This story has been confuted and rejected by other scholars and regarded as a legend, but the name can be interpreted to mean 'excellent poems' which have occupied a high position in Arabic poetry. Therefore, the application of this term is based upon its metaphorical value

(98) Al-'Iqd al-Farīd, Vol. V, p.269.

(99) Al-'Umda, Vol. I, p.61.

(100) Khizānat al-Adab, Vol. I, p.123.

(101) Al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā; ed. De Goeje, p.132 and ed. M. al-Saqqā, p.76.

rather than upon a historical or literary foundation and such a term might be used to refer to any ode which can fulfil sound poetical principles or a literary perfection as far as the rules of Arabic poetry are concerned.

ii) (al-Sumūt - Necklaces' which occurred in al-Qurashī's Jamhara, ⁽¹⁰²⁾ although Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī referred to it as 'al-Simt', ⁽¹⁰³⁾ and later on al-Suyūṭī (1445-1505 A.D.) kept the same word. ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ This term 'al-Sumūt or al-Simt', as was explained refers to the seven long odes of: Imr al-Qaīs, Zuhair, al-Nābigha, al-A'ṣhā, Labīd, 'Amr and Ṭarafa. Therefore, according to this order of al-Qurashī, the odes of 'Antara and al-Hārith b. Hilliza were not regarded as "Sumūt", whereas other authorities, e.g. Ibn al-Nahhās, al-Zawzanī, al-Tibrīzī, consider them Mu'allaqāt. At the same time the two odes of al-Nābigha and al-A'ṣhā, which were referred to as Sumūt according to al-Qurashī, were not regarded as Mu'allaqāt according to the latter scholars. Therefore, it might be suggested that the use of the term 'Sumūt' is due to its metaphorical application and is not necessarily applied to certain odes because the Arabs of the Jāhīliya era used to apply this word 'Simt, pl. Sumūt' to other poems which were not known as Mu'allaqāt or the certain Seven Odes as al-Isfahānī related on the authority of Hammād

(102) Brit. Mus., Ms. Or. 415, paper 21.

(103) Al-'Umda, Vol. I, p.61.

(104) Muzhir, Vol. II, p.297.

al-Rāwīya that Quraīsh appreciated two odes of 'Alqana b. 'Abada and called them "the two necklaces of time - Simṭā al-Dahr." (105) Even Hammād himself did not refer to the seven odes being called 'Sumūt'. It might be possible then to assume that these odes were not known as Sumūt before Hammād's time (d. 771 or 774 A.D.) because there is no reason why he did not use such a term when he himself, according to tradition, was the compiler of the Seven Odes although his order is different from that of al-Qurashī. Some scholars put the word 'Mu'allaqāt together with the word 'Sumūt' as one title, such as D.F.A. Arnold who gave the following title to his edition: "al-Sumūt al-Sab'a al-Mu'allaqāt min ash'ār al-'Arab - The Seven Suspended Necklaces of Arabic poetry". Professor Blachère mentioned that the Berlin manuscript (No. 7435) has the following title: "al-Sumūt al-Tis'a al-Mu'allaqā min ash'ār al-'Arab - The Nine Suspended Necklaces of Arabic poetry." (106)

iii) 'al-Sab' al-Tiwāl - The Seven Long (odes)'. This name was mentioned by al-Qurashī, Yāqūt and Ibn Khallikān. Professor Blachère mentioned that Ibn Kaīsān (d. 229 A.H./911 A.D.) entitled his book: "Sharḥ al-Sab' al-Tiwāl al-Jāhīliya - The Commentary of the Seven Long (odes) of the Jāhīliya". (107) The

(105) Aghānī, XXI, p.173.

(106) R. Blachère, op. cit., p.146.

(107) Ibid., op. cit., p.144.

question which might arise is: why were these seven odes called 'Long'? Was it because they are the longest odes in Arabic poetry of the Jāhīliya era or because they are the longest poems in their composers' dīwāns? A modern researcher has tried to connect this term (al-Sab' al-Ṭiwāl) with the Tradition of Prophet Muḥammad by stating that Ḥammād borrowed this expression from the following Tradition when Prophet Muḥammad said: "I was given the Seven Long (Suras) in place of the Tawrāt (the Bible - Hebrew תורה)."⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ As it appears from the table in Chapter III of this thesis, all of the Mu'allaqāt are not the longest odes in the Jāhīliya poetry but only two, that of Ṭarafa which contains (103 lines) according to his dīwān or (104 lines) according to al-Zawzanī or (105 lines) according to al-Tibrīzī and that of 'Amr b. Kulthūm which contains either (103 lines, 101 lines or, according to al-Tibrīzī (96 lines) only. These two odes together with al-Ḥārith's ode (82 lines) were regarded by Arab critics and transmitters as excellent odes as we read in the following statement: "The most excellent poets amongst Arabs in one long (ode) which include the best poetical quality and length are three: Ṭarafa b. al-'Abd, al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza and 'Amr b. Kulthūm."⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Even those two odes of Ṭarafa and 'Amr appear

(108) Al-Suyūṭī, al-Itqān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān, Cairo, 1368 A.H., Vol. I, 64 and al-Rāfi'ī, op. cit., Vol. III, p.189.

(109) Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Baḥqāfī, al-Maḥāsin wa'l-Masāwī', edited by: Dr. F. Schwally, Giessen, 1902, pp.457, 458.

not to be the longest poems in the Jāhīlīya poetry, because as we see from the table the longest ode in the collection of the Mufaḍḍaliyyāt is (108 lines). This Mufaḍḍaliya (No. XL) belongs to Sūwaīd b. Abī Kāhil al-Yashkurī,⁽¹¹⁰⁾ who was a Mukhadram and lived far into the Islamic age, but his ode was composed in the Jāhīlīya time as al-Aṣma'ī relates that it was known among the Arabs of the Jāhīlīya as 'the unique pearl-female orphan - al-Yatīma' on account of its proverbs.⁽¹¹¹⁾ It is worth mentioning that al-Nābigha al-Ja'dī who was also a Mukhadram poet composed the longest ode which contains (120 lines).⁽¹¹²⁾ It remains to answer the other part of the question as to whether the name 'Seven Long (Odes)' indicates that the Seven Long Odes were the longest poems in their composer's dīwāns. This view cannot be wholly supported, because, if we take the Mu'allāqa of Zuhāir, for instance, and compare it with other odes in his dīwān as far as the length of the poem is concerned we will find that the Mu'allāqa is not his longest ode. The Mu'allāqa contains (62 lines) according to al-Zawzanī or (59 lines) according to al-Tibrizī, while the longest ode in the dīwān is of (63 lines).⁽¹¹³⁾ This surely

(110) Al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, ed. Lyall, Vol. I, pp.381-409.

(111) Al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, Vol. II, (the English translation) p.140 and ed. Ḥarūn and Shākir, p.190.

(112) M. Nallino, Les Poesie di An-Nābigah al-Ja'dī, Roma, 1953, Qaṣīda, III, pp.31-39.

(113) Dīwān, ed. Ahlwardt, Qaṣīda, I, pp.75, 76.

indicates that the Mu'allāqa is not the longest poem and it appears that it was selected as one of the Mu'allāqāt not because of its length but rather because of its poetical quality and historical significance. Similar to this is the Mu'allāqa of Labīd which was regarded as one of the Long Odes although it is not the longest poem in his dīwān. His Mu'allāqa contains (88 lines) according to al-Zawzanī or (89 lines) according to al-Tibrīzī while the ode XLI in his dīwān seems to be the longest one; it contains (92 lines)⁽¹¹⁴⁾ as is seen in the table. This might indicate that Labīd's Mu'allāqa was chosen not because of its length but because of its poetical value. However, there are other long odes which exist in Jāhīlīya poetry, but have never been regarded as Long Odes concerning their length and some of them are even longer than some of the Mu'allāqāt. Al-A'shā's poem (No. II - 83 lines) in his dīwān⁽¹¹⁵⁾ is longer than the Mu'allāqa of Imr al-Qaīs (81 or 82 lines) of Zuhaīr (62 or 59 lines), of 'Antara (75 or 80 lines) and of al-Ḥārith (82 lines according to al-Zawzanī). Another example is the ode⁽¹¹⁶⁾ (No. I - 77 lines) of al-Ṭufāīl al-Ghanawī which in his dīwān is longer than both Zuhaīr's and 'Antara's Mu'allāqa if we consider al-Zawzanī's number in the latter. Therefore, it seems that this term the 'Seven Long' is really not applicable

(114) Dīwān, ed. Brockelmann, P. 27.

(115) Dīwān, ed. R. Geyer, pp.13-22.

(116) Dīwān, ed. F. Krenkow, pp.2-16.

to all seven odes. It might be applicable if we use it with those of Tarafa and 'Amr, otherwise such a term might be regarded as a board generalization.

iv) 'Al-Qaṣā'id al-Sab' - The Seven Odes'. This name seems to have been favoured by almost all scholars and also appears in different ways: Ibn Qutaiba used the term "ihdā al-Sab' - One of the Seven" when he referred to the poems of 'Amr b. Kulthūm and 'Abīd b. al-Abras,⁽¹¹⁷⁾ al-Bāqillānī applied the word al-Sab'iyāt - The Seven' when he spoke of Imr al-Qaīs's Mu'allāqa,⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Ibn al-Anbārī used the term 'al-Sab' al-Jāhiliyat - The Seven (Odes) of the Jāhiliya' as a title to his commentary. This term also occurred in a MS. in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya (No. Z.19907).⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Other scholars, such as Ibn al-Naḥḥās, al-Zawzanī, and al-Tibrīzī, were satisfied to use the word "al-Qaṣā'id al-Sab' - The Seven Odes". It seems, however, that the application of this term lies in the significance of its number 'seven' which is thought to have been a most popular and favourable number amongst the Semites in general and the Arabs in particular.⁽¹²⁰⁾ Although scholars have agreed to use this term, their order of the poets of these Seven Odes is very varied as already mentioned, were based upon individual tastes and interests. This name 'The Seven' does not necessarily imply

(117) Al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', Vol. I, pp.188, 226.

(118) I'jāz al-Qur'ān, p.185.

(119) Dr. Al-Hwāfi, al-Hayāt al-'Arabīya min'l-Shi'r al-Jāhili, p.145.

(120) R. Blachère, op. cit., p.144.

a historical or literary value but merely a numerical definition and even this definition does not seem to be final: Ibn al-Naḥḥās considered it nine, al-Tibrīzī ten, while al-Zawzanī restricted it to seven. This name 'the Seven' does not describe the poetical qualities of these odes nor their literary value and it cannot be considered an artistic term.

v) 'al-Mashhūrāt-al-Qaṣā'id al-Mashhūra - The Famous or Renowned Odes! This name is attributed to Ḥammād al-Rāwīya. Ibn al-Naḥḥās says: "The true view of the matter is this: when Ḥammād saw how little people cared for poetry, he collected these seven (poems), urged them to study them, and said: 'These are the famous or renowned (odes)'.⁽¹²¹⁾ Then Ibn al-Naḥḥās added that they were called the famous odes because of this view, and he appears to have favoured this name because, when he introduced his commentary, he preferred to use 'al-Qaṣā'id al-Sab' al-Mashhūrāt - The Seven Famous Odes' and at the end of his commentary he used 'hādhā ākhir al-Sab' al-Mashhūrāt'.⁽¹²²⁾ The question which arises now is: Why did Ḥammād call them al-Mashhūrāt? Was it because they had gained a historical reputation or because they were regarded as chefs d'oeuvre in

(121) Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *Commentar zur Mu'allaga des Imru'ul-Qais*, ed. Dr. Ernst Frenkel, p.VIII and Th. Nöldeke, "Mu'allagāt" in: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. XVI, pp.629-631, 629.

(122) Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *op. cit.*, pp.VII, VIII.

Arabic poetry up to the time of Ḥammād (eighth century A.D.) and thus they were eligible to be called the odes of renown. This name, it might be suggested, is the best title for them because it implies a literary significance. According to the former statement of Ibn al-Naḥḥās, the main reason which had urged and insisted upon Ḥammād to collect them was the 'little care of people towards poetry'; in other words the lack of poetical taste. In order to attract those people and invite them to appreciate poetry, he selected those seven odes as a group of excellent poems which exhibit two Arabic virtues: "dermatic intensity and epigrammatic terseness to a degree approaching perfection":⁽¹²³⁾ and at the same time represent seven poetical tastes of seven distinct poets each with his own individual style and personality⁽¹²⁴⁾ so that he might be able to satisfy the poetical needs of those people. Another fact which might throw light on this matter is that Ḥammād must have been aware of the important rôle and position of the "‘aṣabiya" and its social consequences which did influence the literary criteria and the poetical appreciation especially in the Umayyād period when the ‘aṣabiya became over-emphasized. In contrast to the advent of Islam when religion tried to imprison it, the Umayyāds, who were Arabs first and Muslims afterwards,⁽¹²⁵⁾

(123) Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.250.

(124) Ibid., p.253.

(125) R.A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.xxviii.

set it free to satisfy their political interests. Therefore, it might be possible that Ḥammād selected these odes from the works of different poets who belonged to various tribes.⁽¹²⁶⁾ Thus he succeeded in achieving the social function of those odes as well as their poetical value, and this might explain why Ḥammād did not select these odes from the works of one poet. The term 'the Mashhūrāt' implies two meanings: a literary renown and a social value. As it appears then these odes are famous not because they were hung up on the walls of the Ka'ba, or transcribed in golden letters, or regarded as the longest odes in the Jāhiliya poetry but probably because they represent seven schools of the whole Jāhiliya poetry each with its own style and personality as we shall see later on in this chapter. About them Professor Nöldeke writes: "And as we see in the great poem of Homer, in spite of its change, its shining spring of human life and the blooming sky of Hellas, we get through the old Arabic poems a lively point of view of the ancient Arabs, their preferences and faults, their greatness and smallness".⁽¹²⁷⁾

(126) This is the arrangement of the seven poets according to their tribes:

- (a) Imr al-Qaīs - Banū Kinda
- (b) Tarafa - Banū Bakr b. wā'il
- (c) Zuhair - Banū Muzaīna
- (d) Labīd - Banū 'Amir
- (e) 'Antara - Banū 'Abs
- (f) 'Amr b. Kulthūn - Banū Taghlib b. Wā'il
- (g) al-Hārith - Banū Yashkur.

(127) Th. Nöldeke, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der Alten Araber, p.XXI.

The following table has been arranged to illustrate the contents of the Seven Famous Odes and also the poems appended to them in order to determine the validity of what Ibn Qutaiba laid down as the traditional pattern which the Arabic Qasida must follow as far as the unity of theme is concerned.

A TABLE TO SHOW THE VARIOUS SUBJECT-MATTERS CONTAINED WITHIN THE TEN MU'ALLAQĀT

No.	THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE MU'ALLAQĀT	Imr al-Qais	Tarafa	Zuhair	Labid	Antara	Amr b. Kulthūm	al-Harith b. Hilliza	al-A'ashā	al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī	al-Abbas b. al-Abbas
1	Description of the Atlatl and the sad memory of the departure of the poet's beloved	6 Lines vv. 1-6	5 vv. 1-5	15 vv. 1-15	15 vv. 1-15	12 vv. 1-12	-	8 vv. 1-8	-	6 vv. 1-6	6 vv. 1-6
2	The Nasīb-Love Affairs	37 vv. 7-43	5 vv. 6-10	-	4 vv. 16-19	11 vv. 13-19, 57-60	14 vv. 9-22	-	24 vv. 1-24	-	-
3	DESCRIPTION OF DESERT ANIMALS	The Horse	18 vv. 52-69	-	-	8 vv. 62-69	5 vv. 20-21, 67-69	-	-	-	3 vv. 34-36
		The She-camel	-	32 vv. 11-40, 43-44	-	8 vv. 20-25, 53-54	8 vv. 22-23, 28-33	-	6 vv. 9-14	3 vv. 33-35	2 vv. 7-8
		The She-ass and her Stallion	-	-	-	10 vv. 26-35	-	-	-	-	-
		The Wild Cow	-	-	-	17 vv. 26-42	-	-	-	-	-
		The Male Ostrich	-	-	-	-	4 vv. 24-27	-	-	-	-
		The Wild Bull	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11 vv. 9-19	-
		The Eagle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12 vv. 37-48
		The Fox	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	Self and tribal glorification	-	39 vv. 41-42, 45-47, 48-51	-	21 vv. 55-56, 70-88	3 vv. 24-25, 41-56, 57-58	79 vv. 23-101	68 vv. 15-82	21 vv. 44-64	-	-
5	Description of wine together with a singing-girl	-	5 vv. 48-52	-	5 vv. 57-61	4 vv. 37-40	8 vv. 1-8	-	8 vv. 25-32	-	-
6	Wisdom, proverbs and guidance to the poet's clan	-	3 vv. 102-104	17 vv. 46-62	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 vv. 21-26
7	Description of night	4 vv. 14-17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	Description of a desert valley	4 vv. 48-51	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	Description of lightning and torrential rain	12 vv. 70-81	-	-	-	-	-	-	8 vv. 36-43	-	-
10	Description of war and peace	-	-	16 vv. 25-40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	Panegyric and apology	-	-	14 vv. 16-24, 41-45	-	-	-	-	-	31 vv. 20-50	-
12	The poet's philosophy of life	-	15 vv. 53-67	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	Reminiscence of youth and tears, yearning for love	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11 vv. 71-77
14	Religious theme	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 vv. 18-20
Total	According to al-Zawzani (d. 1093 A.D.)	81	104	62	88	75	101	82			
	According to al-Tibrizī (d. 1109 A.D.)								64	50	48
	The Metre	Tawīl	Tawīl	Tawīl	Kāmil	Kāmil	Wāfir	Khafif	Basīf	Basīf	Sharīf

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i) The Mu'allāqa of Imr al-Qaīs according to the table is rich in the description of his love adventures (37 lines, vv. 7-43), also in the description of his horse (18 lines, vv. 52-69) and of lightning and torrential rain (12 lines, vv. 70-81). No mention is made of panegyric, satire, glorification or prowess. He begins his Mu'allāqa by mentioning the empty encampments (vv. 1-6), follows this by a vivid description of his romances during his wanderings (vv. 7-43), from (v.10) the style of the poet takes the form of a dialogue with his mistresses and from (vv. 19-43) the poet uses some obscene descriptions. Professor Ṭāhā Ḥusāin, however, thinks that the latter part of the Mu'allāqa (love affairs) was added by the Transmitters who were influenced by the poetry of al-Farazdaq and 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a because he thinks that the style of this part of Imr al-Qaīs's Ode is the style of al-Farazdaq and 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a.⁽¹²⁸⁾ After his love adventures Imr al-Qaīs passes to a description of night as a time of refuge from his pain and sorrows (vv. 44-47). He then describes a barren desert valley (vv. 48-51) although the native commentators attribute these lines to the brigand-poet Ta'abbata Sharran.⁽¹²⁹⁾ He follows this by a marked description of his horse (vv. 52-69)

(128) Ṭāhā Ḥusāin, *Fi'l-Adab al-Jāhili*, Cairo, 1952, pp.260-261.

(129) Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu'allāqāt al-Sab'*, p.28 and al-Tibrīzī, *Sharḥ al-Qaṣā'id al-'Ashr*, pp.20, 21, and *Diwān of Imr al-Qaīs*, ed. al-Sandūbī, p.132 and R.A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.107.

and a scene of the chase and finally ends his Mu'allāqa with a striking description of lightning and torrential rain which "shows the Arab poet at his most vigorous and most imaginative" (130)

As for its artistic value the Mu'allāqa appears to have occupied a respectable status amongst European critics as can be seen when Professor Nicholson remarks that they "have vied with each other in praising its exquisite diction and splendid images, the sweet flow of the verse, the charm and variety of the painting, and, above all, the feeling by which it is inspired of the joy and glory of youth". (131)

ii) The Mu'allāqa of Tarafa is rich in the description of his she-camel (32 lines, vv. 11-40, 43, 44) and in self and tribal glorification (39 lines, vv. 68-101 and 41, 42, 54-47) Tarafa begins his ode by mentioning the empty encampments and the sad memory of the departure of his beloved (vv. 1-5), follows this by a vivid description of his she-camel (vv. 11-40, 43, 44) including therein details of her body, her hair, her character and her swiftness of foot. Tarafa in his description appears as a lover who is very fond of mentioning every little and great thing in his subject. Tarafa's picture of his riding best is "a succession of strange and most arresting images, has always been prized as the finest passage of its kind in Arabic

(130) Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.52.

(131) R.A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.105.

poetry", remarks Professor Arberry.⁽¹³²⁾ He goes on to glorify himself by drawing a spirited portrait of himself (vv. 41, 42, 45-47, 68-101) and then to describe the wine linking the latter with his philosophy of life (vv. 48-52, 53-67). He then turns to record his personal glories in his will to his niece (vv. 93-102) and finally ends his Mu'allāqa with three lines (vv. 102-104) which have become much popularised as proverbs. On this point C. Huart writes: "He is almost the one of the ancient poets in whose work we find some signs of meditation, maxims, or apophthegms".⁽¹³³⁾

iii) Zuhair in his Mu'allāqa is a poet of peace and it is believed that he composed it in his old age to stress the horrors of internecine strife and to celebrate the virtues of peace.⁽¹³⁴⁾ He devotes about half of his ode to insist upon his people to keep peace and to abandon war (vv. 25-40, 46-62). He begins with a description of the atjāl and the sad memory of the departure of his beloved (vv. 1-15), follows this by panegyric to the peace-makers (Harim b. Sinān and al-Hārith b. al-'Awf who settled the dispute between 'Abs and Dhubyān (vv. 16-24, 41-45) with a strong insistence to the tribe of Dhubyān to follow peace (vv. 25-40) and finally ends by advising his clan to pursue good principles (vv. 46-62). The latter is

(132) A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.79.

(133) C. Huart, op. cit., p.15.

(134) A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.97.

expressed in the form of wisdom and proverbs which are "not unlike the proverbs of Solomon, which he repeats to his friends as a specimen of his wisdom acquired by long experience".⁽¹³⁵⁾

In his Mu'allaga Zuhāir appears to have the moralist's temperament and his verses were marked by seriousness by a sententious and didactic tendency.⁽¹³⁶⁾ This moral flavour of his poetry sprang from a combination of two factors: the religious consciousness awakening in Arabia towards the end of the sixth century, and his own advanced years which recommended him warmly to the first generation of the Faithful.⁽¹³⁷⁾

iv) The Mu'allaga of Labīd is marked by two beautiful themes: a description of a she-ass and her stallion (vv. 26-35) followed by a description of a wild-cow, who had lost her young calf, the latter description being linked with a vivid picture of a battle which ensued between herself and the dogs of the chase resulting in her victory (vv. 36-52). Labīd begins his ode by mentioning the aṭlāl with the departure of his beloved (vv. 1-15), follows this by the nasīb (vv. 16-19) and then goes on to describe his she-camel (vv. 20-25, 53-54) likening her to a she-ass (vv. 26-35) and a wild-cow (vv. 36-52). Following this he describes a wine-party with a singing girl and his tavern companions (vv. 57-61), then his mare (vv. 62-69) and

(135) A.J. Arberry, *The Seven Odes*, p.109.

(136) C. Huart, *op. cit.*, p.15.

(137) A.J. Arberry, *op. cit.*, p.99.

ends with self and tribal glorification (vv. 55-56, 70-88). Labīd in this Mu'allāqa is very fond of mentioning the places of his beloved and has a very sound geographical sense. In this ode he mentions about twenty-one places: Mmā, Ghawl, Rijān, al-Rayyān, Tūdiḥ, Wajra, Bīsha, Faīd, al-Hijāz, al-Jabalān (Aja' and Salmā), Muḥajjar, Farda, Rukhām, Ṣuwā'iq, Wihāfal-Qahr, Tilkhām, al-Thalabūt, Ṣu'ā'id, al-Badīy and Tabāla. This Mu'allāqa is regarded as one of the finest examples of the pre-Islamic qaṣīda concerning its varied contents which are fresh pictures of desert life and scenery.

v) The Mu'allāqa of 'Antara is famous for its stirring battle-scenes and the main object was to blazon his own achievements and exploits and to demand implacable resentment against the calumniators. "In no other poem from ancient Arabia", writes Professor Arberry, "do we get such a powerful impression of the heroic savagery of those bitter times"⁽¹³⁸⁾. The Mu'allāqa also illustrates the romance of a black knight who was considered one of 'the Ravens of the Arabs'. He begins his ode by mentioning the aṭḥāl of his beloved 'Abla (vv. 1-12), and follows this by the Nasīb (vv. 13-19, 57-60). He goes on to describe his horse (vv. 20-21, 67-69) and of this part of the ode Professor Arberry says: "Few passages in the whole of literature equal in dramatic poignancy 'Antara's tender description of his horse in battle."⁽¹³⁹⁾ 'Antara then describes his she-camel

(138) A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, pp.149, 171.

(139) Ibid., p.150.

likening her to a male ostrich in her speed (vv. 22-33). He then glorifies and magnifies himself as a hero of the battlefield (vv. 34-36, 41-56, 61-66, 70-75) including in this a description of wine and of his generosity (vv. 37-40). In modern times it is not as a poet that 'Antara is chiefly remembered, "but as a hero of romance - the Bedouin Goddess - born, however, he could not be called by any stretch of imagination". (140)

vi) The ~~seventy~~ lines (vv. 23-101) of 'Amr's Mu'allaga are a history of the tribe of Banū Taghlib. His ode represents the true spirit of a man who united in himself the ideal qualities of manhood as understood by a race which has never failed to value, even too highly, the display of self-reliant action and decisive energy. (141) 'Amr begins his Mu'allaga not by what Ibn Qutaiba considered to be the traditional way but with a description and glorification of wine (vv. 1-8) which is linked with his love affairs (vv. 9-22) and finally he records his tribe's glory (vv. 23-101).

vii) The Mu'allaga of al-Ḥārith, like that of 'Amr b. Kulthūm, is a record of tribal history and the glory of his tribe, Banū Bakr. Its historical and poetical significance lies in throwing light upon the feuds in Northern Arabia which were connected with the antagonism of the Roman and Persian Empires. About this Mu'allaga Sir William Jones remarks: ".... This

(140) R.A. Nicholson, op. cit., pp.114, 115.

(141) Ibid., op. cit., p.110.

oration, or poem, or whatever it may be denominated, had its full effect on the mind of the royal umpire, who decided the course in favour of the Beʿrites, and lost his life for a decision apparently just. He must have remarked the fiery spirit of the poet Amru from the style of his eloquence, as Caesar first discovered the impetuous vehemence of Brutus's temper from his speech delivered at Nice, in favour of King Deiotarus; but neither the Arabian nor the Roman tyrant were sufficiently on their guard against men, whom they had irritated even to fury⁽¹⁴²⁾. Al-Hārith begins his ode by mentioning the aṭlāl (vv. 1-8), then goes on to describe his she-camel likening her swiftness to that of an ostrich (vv. 9-14) and finally devotes sixty-eight lines (vv. 15-82) to tribal history. It seems that this Muʿallaqa together with that of ʿAmr can be distinguished from the rest in their main subject matter. Both of them are devoted to the one theme, i.e. tribal history, and the remaining themes do not occupy the same status but merely a few lines in comparison with the main subject.

viii) Al-Aʿshā begins his ode with a farewell to his beloved Huraīra, then turns to describe her (vv. 1-24) most vividly to the last detail, follows this with a description of a wine party and singing girls together with his tavern companions (vv. 25-32) and then mentions his she-camel (vv. 33-35). He goes on to describe lightning and torrential rain (vv. 36-43) and finally

(142) A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.218.

relates tales glorifying his clan (vv. 44-64).

ix) The Mu'allāqa of al-Nābigha is rich in panegyric and apology which has renowned him as a court poet (vv. 20-50). He begins by mentioning the atlāl (vv. 1-6) and goes on to describe his she-camel as a means of conveyance to his patron (vv. 7-8). This is followed by a vivid description of a wild bull and the scene of the ensuing battle with the dogs of the chase (vv. 9-19) and ends with a panegyric and apology (vv. 20-50) to al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir.

x) 'Abīd devoted the last twelve lines (vv. 37-48) of his ode to a vivid description of a fight between a hungry eagle and a young fox. He begins by mentioning the empty encampments (vv. 1-6), then remembers his youth and years of love (vv. 7-17). In lines (18-20) we can see a spirit of religious enthusiasm, although these lines may be attributed to Islamic times. He follows this by proverbial expressions insisting upon learning from the lessons of life (vv. 21-26). He goes on to describe his she-camel likening her to a wild ass and a wild bull (vv. 27-33), then he describes his mare (vv. 34-36) whom he says is like an eagle in her swiftness and from here he goes on to describe the eagle and the fox (vv. 37-48) thus ending his ode.

It is clear from this analysis that the poets of the Mu'allāqāt did not follow exactly a set pattern or a set list of subject-matters. The Atlāl prelude may be considered a common subject-matter to a great extent amongst them although 'Amr opens his ode by celebrating the wine and al-A'shā begins

with a farewell to his mistress. The Nasīb, the description of desert animals and self and tribal glorification are common themes to a certain extent, and the description of wine to a lesser extent. In the remaining subject-matters there is not sufficiently conclusive evidence to consider them common subject-matters, and they may be considered themes determined by the individual desires of the poet himself. It appears then that the ten Mu‘allaqāt as they stand give a powerful impression of having been the work of ten distinct poets, each with his own individual style and personality.⁽¹⁴³⁾ Although there are several subject-matters which are more or less in common, each ode has its own specialist theme, the favourite theme of the poet himself: Imr al-Qaīs, love affairs (37 lines, vv. 7-43); ʿTarafa, the description of his she-camel (32 lines, vv. 11-40, 43, 45); Zuhair, peace and moral teaching (33 lines, vv. 25-40, 46-62); Labīd, the description of a she-ass and a wild-cow (27 lines, vv. 26-35, 36-52); ‘Antara, self and tribal battle glorification (31 lines, vv. 34-36, 41-56, 61-66, 70-75); ‘Amr, the tribal history of Banū Taghlib's glory and deeds (79 lines, vv. 23-101); al-Hārith, self and tribal glorification, i.e. of Banū Bakr (68 lines, vv. 15-82); al-A‘shā, love affairs and the wine party (32 lines, vv. 1-24, 25-32), al-Nābigha, panegyric and apology (31 lines, vv. 20-50); and ‘Abīd, the description of a fight between a hungry eagle and a young fox (12 lines,

(143) A.J. Arberry, *The Seven Odes*, p.253.

vv. 37-48). To compare this conclusion with what Ibn Qutaiba laid down as the traditional pattern which the Jāhiliya qasīda must follow as far as the unity of theme is concerned we can see that the Mu'allaqāt are in some cases exceptions and in other cases variations of his rule. This attitude will help to facilitate the task ahead of deciding whether or not the Mu'allaqāt are complete qasīdas in themselves or separate qasīdas and fragments (qit'ās) classified and arranged together by the Rūwāt - Transmitters of a later period, each possessing a common rhyme and metre as the only unity.

From the table we can see that each Mu'allāqa comprises a number of fragments and qasīdas, each possessing within itself a sound unity of its subject-matter. For instance, in the Mu'allāqa of Imr al-Qaīs the first six lines (vv. 1-6) form a qit'a on the subject of the aṭlāl, the next thirty-seven lines (vv. 7-43) form a qasīda on the subject of the nasīb, the following four lines (vv. 44-47) a qit'a on the description of night, the succeeding four lines (vv. 48-51) a qit'a describing a barren desert valley, the next eighteen lines (vv. 52-69) a qasīda wherein the poet describes his horse and the final twelve lines (vv. 70-81) a qasīda on the subject of a description of a storm of lightning and torrential rain. In short, the Mu'allāqa of Imr al-Qaīs consists of three qit'ās and three qasīdas, strung together like "the Iliad of Homer, which was formed from the songs of the Rhapsodists".⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ This transition

(144) W.A. Clouston, op. cit., p.LX.

from one theme to another furnished most favourable opportunities for interpolation, for example the four lines (vv. 48-51) which describe a barren desert valley have been ascribed to Ta'abbata Sharran as already mentioned and al-Tibrīzī recorded that (v. 101) of Ṭarafā's Mu'allāqa was only related by Abū 'Amr al-Shaībānī but neither al-Asma'ī nor Ibn al-A'rābī mentioned this line. Also al-Tibrīzī related that lines (104, 105) of the same Mu'allāqa have been attributed to 'Adī b. Zaid.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

Nevertheless, each Mu'allāqa in itself represents various literary movements connected by no principle of harmony or congruity beyond the unity of the imagining mind.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ This unity is based upon the physical environment of the poet, the creator of such a unity. His environment was stamped by the sign of mobility which naturally coloured his imagining mind. The Jāhīliya poet was free to move from one subject to another and thus those themes, e.g. the Aṭlāl, the Nasīb, the journey in the desert, the description of its fauna and flora etc., became natural objects of his freedom and his composition and eventually they became traditional subjects which form the conventionalised scheme of the Jāhīliya qaṣīda standing as the main poetical principles of the Bedouin School in Arabic poetry. It is clear that every episode in the Mu'allāqāt had its leading character, yet all episodes are, in fact, projected

(145) al-Tibrīzī, Sharḥ al-Qaṣā'id al-'Ashr, pp.51, 52.

(146) H.A.R. Gibb, Modern Trends in Islam, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., 1947, p.5.

onto the desert which forms the background. The desert, therefore, is the main character shared by all episodes of the Mu'allaqāt and can be regarded as the most powerful formative element of all in the creation of the qaṣīda as a literary genre. Any departure from the desert life calls inevitably for a corresponding diversion from the qaṣīda since the two are bound up together.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ These episodes are subjected to a chain of oral transmission: the poet, the Rāwī and the audience. Oral transmission was the essential way of 'publication' in the Jāhīliya era from the first moment that the qaṣīda comes into being.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ In passing through this channel of transmission various divergences in the order and contents of the qaṣīda can possibly take place, sometimes even such variations and variants might exist in the lifetime of the poet himself as Professor Arberry mentioned when he discussed the various recensions of Ṭarafa's Mu'allaqā: "... it is quite possible that even in the author's lifetime his Mu'allaqā was already being recited in several distinct versions, and indeed Ṭarafa himself may well have made changes from time to time; the poem was certainly not composed at a single sitting".⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ Therefore, it might be thought that the order of these episodes and effusions of the Mu'allaqāt has been influenced by the oral transmission.

(147) A.J.Y. al-Muttalibi, A Critical Study of the Poetry of Dhū'r-Rumma, Thesis for Ph.D. degree, S.O.A.S., University of London, 1960, p.87.

(148) R. Blachère, op. cit., p.93.

(149) A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.82.

There is another possibility which might help to elucidate the arrangement of qit'as and qaṣīdas inside each Mu'allāqa. The Mu'allāqa, it might be suggested, was the final stage in the development of the Jāhīliya Qaṣīda, because, just as the Arabs came to favour a particular line of a qit'a or qaṣīda, it is quite feasible that they probably came to favour a particular collection of lines which might be a qit'a or qaṣīda in itself in the time when poetry in the Jāhīliya days had reached its zenith and was valued as a nourishment of the mind and heart, and eventually particular qit'as and qaṣīdas of a certain poet were then collected together as the most famous lines of that poet, each in itself being of great literary value, all being united by a common rhyme and metre. Thus each Mu'allāqa is famous because firstly it is a supremely fine poem as it stands and secondly it is a collection of unique qit'as and qaṣīdas which exhibit the style, the personality and the great poetical talent of their composer.

As for the literary value and the place of the Mu'allāqāt in Arabic poetry, they were not known as 'Mu'allāqāt' until well after the time of Ḥammād al-Rāwīya, who died between 771 and 774 A.D. and who first put them into circulation. But they were certainly regarded as a part of the poetical works of great authors who were praised and appreciated by the first generation of Islam in spite of the pagan belief of most of them. Such appreciation and estimation are above religious fanaticism. They were deemed excellent because of their

artistic value and their poetical perfection. The Prophet Muḥammad described Imr al-Qaīs as "the most poetical of the poets, and their leader into Hell-fire".⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ The Prophet is also recorded as having said about Zuhāir: "We have heard the discourse of the orators, the eloquents and of the son of Abī Sulmā, but we have never heard such a discourse like his (meaning the best) from anybody else".⁽¹⁵¹⁾ The second Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb described Imr al-Qaīs as follows: "He was their (i.e. the Jāhiliya poets) forerunner, excavated for them the well of poesy, opening a most true vision where formerly there had only been purblind notions".⁽¹⁵²⁾ 'Umar also called Zuhāir 'the poet of the poets' when he said in the following conversation with Ibn 'Abbās: "O Ibn 'Abbās, would you recite to me (poetry) from the poet of the poets". Ibn 'Abbās replied: "Who is the poets' poet, O Prince of the faithful?" 'Umar answered: "Zuhāir". Ibn 'Abbās asked: "Why did you make him the poet of the poets?" The Caliph replied: "Because he never indulged in obscurity, never used outlandish words and never praised

(150) Al-Qurashī, Jamhara, p.20 and Brit. Mus. Ms. Or. 415, paper 11, and Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', Vol. I, p.14 and Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.40.

(151) Al-Qaīrawānī, Zahr al-Ādāb, Vol. I, pp.88-89.

(152) A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.40 and see also Al-Sibā'i Baīyūmī, Ta'rīkh al-Ādab al-'Arabī, Vol. I, Cairo, 1948, p.251.

anyone unless worth of praise".⁽¹⁵³⁾ The fourth Caliph 'Alī admired Imr al-Qaīs when he said: "I have found him the best poet for the excellence of his invention and his outstanding intuition, and because he never uttered out of fear or of favour".⁽¹⁵⁴⁾

From the above judgments the composers of the Mu'allaqāt were admired and esteemed for their poetical talents and were judged as poets despite the fact that most of them were pagans and considered infidels according to the new Faith. This attitude in itself is sufficient to explain the Arab love and passion for poetry. The question which might now emerge is: "Are the Mu'allaqāt great poetry and are they the most excellent specimens in Arabic poetry? The Mu'allaqāt were celebrated because of their being excellent poems and because they are representative of various styles and personalities which form the famous Bedouin School in Arabic poetry. In support of this view we can again refer to the statement of Ibn al-Naḥḥās (d. 950 A.D.) when he gave the following as a reason for the collection of the Mu'allaqāt: "The true view of the matter is that when Ḥammād saw how little people cared for poetry, he

(153) A.J. Arberry, *The Seven Odes*, p.99 and al-Qurashī, *Jamhara*, p.32. (Brit. Mus. Ms. Or. 415, paper 16. Ibn Qutaiba, *al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā'*, Vol. I, p.86 and al-Amīdī, *Muwāzana*, p.125 and Qudāma b. Ja'far, *Naqd al-Shi'r*, p.20.

(154) A.J. Arberry, *The Seven Odes*, p.40 and S. Baiyūmī, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p.251.

collected these seven (poems), urged the people to study them and said: "These are the famous or renowned odes".⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ So, as it appears, 'the lack of poetical taste' which implies how little people cared for poetry led Hammād to select the Mu'allaqāt as chefs d'oeuvre of seven distinct poets in order to satisfy the lack of such poetical taste amongst his people. Therefore we may assume that their unique poetical qualities gave them this favoured position and thus made them candidates for Hammād's collection. Yet Professor Blachère thinks that "in spite of their celebrity, these poems do not present themselves as the most faithful vestiges of the ancient poetry".⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ They still have their own poetical appeal and are likely to retain their reputation as odes unequalled in classical Arabic poetry, "Literature of genius has to create its own taste".⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ These fine words of Samuel Taylor Coleridge are surely applicable here. "The Mu'allaqāt", writes Professor Arberry, "are supremely fine poems judged by Arab standards, within the definition of what the Arabs recognised as constituting fine poetry. They represent the climax of an artistic impulse whose origins are beyond our elucidation;

(155) Ibn al-Nahhās, op. cit., p.VIII and Th. Nöldeke, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XVI, p.629.

(156) A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.245 and R. Blachère, op. cit., p.147: "En dépit de leur célébrité, ces poèmes ne s'offrent pas comme les plus fidèles vestiges de la poésie archaïque".

(157) J. Middleton Murry, The Problem of Style, London, 1960, p.31.

they remained throughout the history of Arabic literature prime models of excellence, and their meticulous study exercised a dominating and fruitful influence on the development of all subsequent writing. Coming so early in the literature of this people, they are free of many of the faults which vitiated too much later work; they manifest a confidence, an originality and a certain unselfconsciousness characteristic of all great art and notably absent in the euphuistic imitations of the Arab Middle Ages". (158)

(158) A.J. Arberry, *The Seven Odes*, p.254.

CHAPTER V

THE THEMES OF THE ARABIC QASĪDA AND THEIR ARTISTIC DEVELOPMENT

Victor Hugo in his famous preface to Cromwell says:
"Poetry has three ages, each of which corresponds to an epoch of society - the ode, the epic, the drama. Primitive ages are lyrical, ancient times are epical, modern are dramatic. The ode sings of eternity, the epic celebrates history, the drama paints life. The character of the first is naïveté, of the second simplicity, of the third truth the life of the ode is ideal, that of the epic grandiose, that of the drama real."⁽¹⁾ The Jāhilīya Qasīda may well be regarded as an artistic ideal in Arabic poetry which is lyrical because it is a true expression of Bedouin life with its vastness and its strange combination of vivid colour and immense monotony. Although a poetical production of Bedouin individualism, the Jāhilīya Qasīda has not been regarded as an expression of nationalism for that period; it is a lyrical and not an epical expression. The epic generally is a long ode which contains more than a thousand couplets. The epic as Hugo says, celebrates history which is the main principle in its structure. Epical history springs from the interaction of the environment with external stimuli which respond by

(1) H. M. Posnett, Comparative Literature, London, 1886, p.152 (quoted from: V. Hugo, Cromwell, p.18).

creating the main theme of the epic. War is an essential factor in such a creation together with the national spirit which demands that the poet express patriotic elements rather than individual ones. Thus the epic-poet expresses the feeling and thoughts of the nation while the lyrical poet expresses his own feelings and thoughts. Therefore, the epic might be termed a national ideal and the lyrical ode an individual ideal. The epic also needs a rich imagination and the mentioning of gods and goddesses, their behaviour, their character and their blessing in order to achieve its national aim. The question which might arise is: Why did the Arabs not produce epics? The physical environment of the Jāhiliya Qasīda with all its hard conditions, its monotony, its simplicity, and its instability did not favour the opportunity for epical imagination like that of Homer who lived in the time when the Greeks were building their great civilization. Homer lived in a stable environment which inspired him to create his Iliad and Odyssey whereas the Bedouin poet, who was fighting with nature for survival and who was too busy thinking about the present moment of his life, did not create an epical imagination, but a lyrical one which enabled him to express his own feelings and impulses as an individual. The poetical personality of the Bedouin poet can be seen very clearly in his ode, the only record of his glorious deeds and memories, while the Homeric personality is that of the

national feeling of Greece. The Jāhiliya Qaṣīda lacks this national feeling which plays an important rôle in creating the national history which the epic can sing. National literature is an outcome of national life, a spiritual bond of national unity. This unity was not known in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda. Arabia before the advent of Islam was a loose aggregate of small tribes which had little in common beyond a general resemblance in their manner of life and habits. They were without anything that could be termed a national self-consciousness, and could not, therefore, have a fully developed national poetry.⁽²⁾ This view might be supported by the fact that the words which indicate national unity are very rare in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda. Words such as "‘arab, ‘arabī, ‘urūba" did not occur in this sense. The poets of the Mu‘allaqāt did not mention such words at all in their odes; the words which occur in the Mu‘allaqāt are general terms which were in common use amongst the Arabs of the Jāhiliya era and which did not express any sense of national unity, e.g., ‘ashīra or ma‘shar - cognation or kindred, qawm⁽³⁾ - tribe or nation, hayy⁽⁴⁾ - tribe or quarter of a town,

(2) J. W. Mackail, Lectures on Poetry, London, 1914, p.125.

(3) Imr al-Qaīs, Mu‘allaqa, line 64, Tarafa's Mu‘all, line 53, Labīd's Mu. lines 79,81,84,86,88. ‘Amr's Mu. line 26, A‘shā Mu. line 63.

(4) Tarafa, Mu. Lines 42, 45, 46, 86. Zuhāir's Mu. line 23, Labīd, line 81, ‘Antara, line 65, ‘Amr, lines 38, 52, 77, al-Ḥārith, line 40, A‘shā, lines 59, 61, al-Nabigha, lines 21, 42.

(5) Tarafa, line 47, Zuhāir, line 33, Labīd, lines 12, 63, ‘Amr, lines 41, 85.

qabīla⁽⁶⁾ - tribe, and raḥṭ⁽⁷⁾ clan or party of men. However, the word 'arab did appear in some rare instances, such as: Dhāka Saīyd al-'Arab - that is the master of the Arabs⁽⁸⁾ and in the following line of Duraīd b. al-Ṣimma:

I have travelled through the whole country but I see no equal to the son of Jud'ān amongst the Arabs (waṣṭ al-'arab).⁽⁹⁾

But these words, as they stand, do not imply any sense of national unity except a general term indicating the people of the desert.

In the Mufaḍḍaliyat two words occurred from the same root (10) ع ر ب , e.g. the word 'irāb' which means 'an Arabian horses' and 'arib' which means *anyone*.⁽¹¹⁾ In the dīwān of Imr al-Qaīs the word 'arabīyāt , عَرَبِيَّات which means 'Arab sweet ladies' also occurred.⁽¹²⁾

(6) 'Amr, Mu'allāqa, line 92.

(7) Abū Tammām, Ḥamāsa, Vol. 1, p.241.

(8) Aghānī, IX, p.149.

(9) Ibid., p.10.

(10) Mufaḍḍaliyāt, Vol. I, p.440, v.5.

(11) Ibid., p.513, v.8.

(12) Imr al-Qaīs, Dīwān, ed. Ḥasan al-Sandūbī, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1939, p.122 and also the edition of dār Ṣādir, Beirut, 1958, p.138.

مُخَالَفَةُ نَوَى أَسِيرٍ بِقَرِيْبٍ قَرَى عَرَبِيَّاتٍ لَيْسَ الْجَوَارِقَا

The technical structure of the epic with all its peculiarities is different from that of the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda. The mentioning of gods and goddesses is an important part of epical composition. The epic poet talks about them, attributes to them various virtues and actions, gives them different names and describes their conduct as if he is living amongst them. They often appear as human beings or even as friends of the poet himself. The Jāhiliya composers did not produce such imagination. Although they worshipped various idols⁽¹³⁾ and regarded them as their gods or goddesses they never described their behaviour, their character, their virtues or other features. They used those idols as a means of swearing in a moment of need as the Bedouin view of life was thoroughly hedonistic. "Love, wine, gambling, hunting, the pleasures of song and romance, the brief, pointed, and elegant expression of wit and wisdom - these things he knew to be good."⁽¹⁴⁾ Beyond them he saw only the grave. The idols did not form a deep religious significance in Bedouin ideology beyond the moment of his need, and, once that moment had disappeared, the whole religious feeling disappeared with it. To illustrate this point, it is interesting to mention

(13) See Ibn al-Kalbī, al-Aṣnām.

(14) R. A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.136.

the following anecdote. It was related that when Imr al-Qaīs received the news of his father's murder by Banū Asad, decided to avenge his father. Therefore, he made preparations and collected weapons to take revenge on the murderers, the traitorous tribe. Marching with his irregulars collected from various clans, he found himself in the neighbourhood of Tabāla, a station in northern Yemen about seven days' journey from Mecca. In those days a white stone was worshipped in Tabāla as a powerful idol, Dhu'l-Khalasa, - later the prophet Muḥammad ordered it to be destroyed and Imral-Qaīs is thought to have consulted the oracle before proceeding further. The divination consisted in shuffling three arrows, inscribed 'Do,' 'Don't' and 'Wait' respectively, and drawing one of them. Imr al-Qaīs shuffled and drew, and the arrow 'Don't' was in his hand. Twice he repeated the prescribed procedure, and twice again he received the same answer. Thereupon he seized all the arrows, broke them and threw them into the idol's face, saying, 'Confound you. If it had been your father who had been murdered you wouldn't have wanted to stop me then.'⁽¹⁵⁾ Thus the religious theme concerning the gods and goddesses, which is regarded as one of the basic ingredients of the epic,

(15) A. J. Arberry, *Seven Odes*, pp.36, 37. See also:
M. S. Samak, *Amīr al-Shi'r fi'l-'Asr al-Qadīm Imrū'ul-Qaīs*, Cairo, 1929, pp.119,120.

was not a main theme in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda. There is another technical reason which might explain the lack of epic-poetry amongst the sons of the desert. The Arabs understand poetry as 'the measured and rhymed discourse'. Therefore, any discourse or expression possessing no metre and rhyme could not be termed poetry. So the Arabic Qaṣīda is based technically on metre and rhyme. It is expected to be of substantial length, following one identical rhyme throughout the whole ode and also one metre, although the poet would be free to choose from a considerable variety of metres fixed quantitatively.

It is certainly not easy to compose an ode of a thousand couplets with one rhyme and if we were to suppose that there is ample freedom to continue the same rhyme throughout a long composition, another difficulty would arise; that of the musical effect of the ode, the metre. The persistent use of the same metre in hundreds of successive verses would tend to lead to monotony. Nevertheless, the Arabs loved and appreciated in their Qaṣīda its mono-metre and mono-rhyme and because the epic is a long narrative poem in grandiose style, dealing with the adventures of great soldiers or heroes whose deeds are part of the history of a nation, the technical elements of the Arabic Qaṣīda do not seem to favour epic-composition.

In the following pages we shall attempt to analyse the various themes of that lyrical ideal of the Bedouin community with a view to their development and their literary influence upon the works of the poets who lived at the beginning of Islam and in the Umayyad period. Such an analysis will help to throw light upon the literary innovations which affected the theme of the Arabic Qaṣīda in its new environment.

Love Poetry:

In the Arabic language the word 'love-ḥubb' is expressed by three popular terms: Nasīb, Tashbīb and Ghazal. The Arab critics differ in their definition of these terms, and especially in that of the first two words. Sometimes they apply the Nasīb to the Tashbīb and vice versa to the extent that the distinction in meaning between these two terms seems rather vague. According to Ibn Hishām al-Ansārī (d. 855 . A.H.) the Nasīb has four features: (a) the mentioning of the physical and moral characteristics of the beloved, e.g. the red colour of her cheeks, the slenderness of her body, her dignity and her chastity. (b) the mentioning of the characteristics of the lover himself, e.g. his emaciation, his weakness, his affection and his sadness, (c) the mentioning of separation, forsaking, complaint, apology, faithfulness and the breaking of promises, all of which might occur between lovers, (d) the mentioning of the calumniators

and those who watch them. Ibn Hishām then stated that the first feature is called Tashbīb.⁽¹⁶⁾ Therefore the Tashbīb is part of the Nasīb and the latter signifies love in general. Qudāma b. Ja'far defines the Nasīb as "the mentioning of women's nature and character."⁽¹⁷⁾ As for the difference between the Nasīb and the Ghazal, he says that the latter is the essential idea which urges its holder to express his feeling towards women's friendship and thus it is the inclination and the passionate desire for women's love, whereas the former - the Nasīb - is merely the mentioning of the Ghazal.⁽¹⁸⁾ Therefore Qudāma regards the Nasīb as the 'frame' and the Ghazal as the 'body.' He then mentions the principal characteristics and qualities that the Nasīb should involve: the proofs of true love-feeling, the clear signs of grief and sadness, tenderness, and leanness, together with the longing, the remembering of the places of the beloved, the winds, the lightning, the cooing of doves, the appearance of the phantoms (the Khayāl), the remains of the ruined abodes and the traces of the desolate relics (the aṭlāl).⁽¹⁹⁾ Qudāma,

(16) Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abdu'llāh Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī, Sharḥ Bānat Su'ād, Edited with notes by Ignatius Guidi, Lipsiae, 1871, p.13.

(17) Qudāma b. Ja'far, Naqd al-Shi'r, p.42.

(18) Naqd al-Shi'r, p.42.

(19) Naqd al-Shi'r, p.43.

as it appears, does not refer to the Tashbīb as one of love's implications, while Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī who mentioned the same characteristics which Qudāma applied to the Nasīb, regards them as the essentials of the Tashbīb but adds that the 'Nāsīb-the lover' must display a desire in love and never exhibit weariness or tedium.⁽²⁰⁾ However the words Nasīb and Tashbīb seem to be connected together. Both do not exhibit the actual idea of love as a natural instinct as apparently the term 'Ghazal' implies, but they deal rather with the appearance of that idea. The love impulse inspired the Bedouin to express the calling of his heart in words which he treasured and loved, words that he dedicated to his beloved. Many occasions existed in that sandy ocean to give both the man and the woman ample freedom and opportunity to talk together, to meet and to fall in love. Pasturing is one of these occasions together with the nomadic nature which compels the Bedouins to move from one place to another. Sometimes the journey is very long and they need to halt for a short rest. Usually their break takes place near a well or near another tribe and thus they have this occasion to discuss their problems or to relate the events of their journey. Such an occasion also gives them the chance to see the women of their hosts and maybe to talk with them. Gradually the seeds

(20) Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, Kitāb al-Ṣināʿataīn, Cairo, 1952, pp.129,130,131.

of love will grow and soon will be transmitted into words which pass swiftly from one lip to another. Visiting neighbours is another occasion that might plant the seeds of new love. It is related that when 'Abdu'llāh b. 'Alqama, one of Banū 'Amir, was a youth he went with his mother to visit her neighbour who had a daughter called Ḥabīsha. When 'Abdu'llāh saw her, she appealed to him, and, when he left, he composed two lines expressing his love-feeling for her.⁽²¹⁾ The pilgrimage occasions afforded another opportunity for falling in love, when we consider that Bedouin love is based upon one meeting or even the first look.

The features of the Ghazal in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda were based upon:

(a) The description of the beloved's ruined abodes - the Aṭlāl - together with the sad memories of her departure. This part of the Ghazal is marked by a sad tune of grief, and it is natural that the Jāhiliya poets found in the revisiting of a deserted encampment "an occasion appropriate to the evocation of such a feeling of grief, and the characteristic Arab tendency to follow the beaten track led to the formalization and later exaggeration of the theme."⁽²²⁾

(21) Aghānī, Vol. VII, p.280 (ed. Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya) and see: Ḥassān Abū Riḥāb, al-Ghazal 'ind al-'Arab, 1st. ed. Cairo, 1947, pp.20,21.

(22) H. A. R. Gibb, "Arab poet and Arabic philologist," B.S.O.A.S., pp.574-578, Vol. XII, Parts 3 & 4, London, 1948, pp.575,576.

The description of the aṭlāl in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda was a natural theme amongst the poets of that era, because the mobile nature of their community which compelled them to migrate from one pasture to another especially in Spring-time and then their return to their actual place beside the social relations with other tribes and clans (their neighbours) in both Spring and Summer, created in them this love of the aṭlāl with their memories. Thus the aṭlāl stood in the desert as a symbol of love and of memories, not mere ruined abodes without any sentimental and emotional motive. The aṭlāl prelude invokes and intensifies the feeling of grief, and gave to the Jāhiliya poet an opportunity to elevate himself above the trifles of everyday life. This theme of lamentation in the aṭlāl, the mourning of separation and the appearance of the phantom of the poet's beloved clothe his suffering about his love. (23)

The aṭlāl prelude contains various themes which the composer of the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda vividly described. The features of the aṭlāl theme are: a halt on the scene of the empty encampment, (24) the definition of its whereabouts,

(23) I. Lichtenstädter, *Das Nasīb Der Altarabischen Qaṣīde*, Islamica, Vol. V, pp.18-96, Lipsiae, 1932, p.57.

(24) Imr al-Qaīs, Mu'allāqa, lines 1,5. Tarafa, Mu. line 2, Zuhair, Mu. line 4, al-Nābigha, Mu. line 2, Bashshama b. al-Ghadīr, Mufaddaliyyāt, p.407, ed. Hārūn, v.6.

such as between al-Dukhūl and Hawmal in the Mu'allāqa of Imr al-Qaīs,⁽²⁵⁾ or the stony tract of Thahmad according to Tarafa,⁽²⁶⁾ the definition of the halting-time or the time of the departure;⁽²⁷⁾ the difficulty of tracing the aṭlāl as expressed by Zuhair:

"There it was I stood after twenty years,
hardly then I recognised the lodging after
suspicion."⁽²⁸⁾

and the description of the remains of those desolate relics such as: Athāfī - stones used to support the cooking pan,' 'Nu't - trench around a tent,' 'Thumām - Panic-grass used for stopping holes in a tent,' 'Awārī - the remains of a stable,' 'Khaīma - a tent,' 'Āthār al-Jīyād - the remains of the horses.' All of these objects created a sad feeling in the heart of the Jāhiliya poet, because they were symbols of his memories.⁽²⁹⁾ The other features are: a description of the aṭlāl themselves

(25) Mu'allāqa, line 1.

(26) Mu'allāqa, v. 1. Zuhair, Mu. v. 1,2. Labīd, Mu. vv.12 al-Nabigha, Mu. line 1 and Bashshama, Mufa, p.407, v.1.

(27) Zuhair, Mu'all. v.4. Labīd v.3. al-Nabigha, v.2.

(28) Mu'all, v.4, Mufaddaliyāt, p.133, v.4.

(29) Zuhair, Mu'al. v.5. Labīd, v.11, al-Nābigha, v.3. al-Muraqqish al-Akbar, Mufaddaliyāt, p.229, v.1., p.407, v.3, p.132, v.3.

likening them to sensual objects. Tarafa says that the aṭlāl of Khawla "appear like the tattoo-marks seen on the back of a hand,"⁽³⁰⁾ and Labīd says that the abodes are naked showing their traces rubbed smooth like "lettering long since scored on a stony slab."⁽³¹⁾ The description of the aṭlāl after torrential rain,⁽³²⁾ the description of the aṭlāl as empty and a playground for wild beasts,⁽³³⁾ the influence of the winds and rain in obliterating the traces of those aṭlāl,⁽³⁴⁾ the mentioning of the flora which may grow in those places,⁽³⁵⁾ the greeting of and the praying for the aṭlāl,⁽³⁶⁾ the mentioning of the silence of the aṭlāl while the poet converses with them,⁽³⁷⁾ the exhibition of the poet's fortitude and patience⁽³⁸⁾ and finally the mentioning of tears and crying about the aṭlāl as they bring back memories of the beloved who had departed

(30) Mu'allāq, v.1.

(31) Mu'allāq, v.2 and A. J. Arberry, Seven Odes, p.142.

(32) Mufaḍḍalīyāt, p. 132, v. 1. Zuhaīr Mu.line 2, Labīd, vv.8,9.

(33) Imr al-Qaīs, Mu'allāq, v.3. Zhaīr, line 3, Labīd, vv.6,7.

(34) Imr al-Qaīs, v.2, Labīd vv.4,5.

(35) Labīd, Mu'allāq, v.6.

(36) Zuhaīr, Mu'allāq, v.6.

(37) Zuhaīr, lines 1,2. Labīd, v.1.

(38) Imr al-Qaīs, Mu'allāq, vv.5,6.
Tarafa, Mu'all., v.2.

to another place. She has left behind her a captive-love who finds in revisiting her abodes great comfort and consolation. Thus he sheds his tears as a true expression of his sad love.⁽³⁹⁾

These general features of the *aṭlāl* prelude are taken from the physical and social environment of the Jāhiliya *Qaṣīda*, from the desert, and later on they formed the traditional basis of the Arabic *Qaṣīda*. The poets who lived at the beginning of Islam and in the Umayyād period regarded them as essential elements in the poetic style and imitated them until Abū Nūwās (d. circa 810 A.D.) attacked the practice of addressing the ruined encampments at the beginning of the *Qaṣīda*, as we shall see in a later chapter.

(b) The description of the beloved's departure together with the scene of her journey. Most of the Jāhiliya *Qaṣīdas* mention this theme immediately after the description of the *aṭlāl*. A brief glance at the *Mu'allaqāt* of Tarafa, Zuhāir, 'Antara and Labīd will illustrate the latter. This theme is marked by four characteristics: the questioning of the poet about the departure, his description of the party, the journey's route, the description of the women's litters on the backs of their camels and finally the mentioning of the women themselves.

As for the question, the poet addresses it to his sincere

(39) Imr al-Qaīs, *Mu'allaqā*, vv.1.6.

friend "Khalīl" asking him whether he can see the litters of his beloved and her companions at the moment of their departure. The question very often takes the following form:

"نَظَرُ ، خَلِيلِي ، هَلْ تَرَى مِنْ طَعَائِنٍ ..."

"Tabaṣṣar, khalīlī, hal tarā min za'ā'inin"

Look well, my sincere friend - do you see any litter - bane ladies (travelling)....."

This question was repeated by other poets to the extent that this form appears to be a traditional way of expressing that question.⁽⁴⁰⁾ It appears in the poetry of 'Abīd ⁽⁴¹⁾ al-Muraqqish al-Aṣghar,⁽⁴²⁾ in the Mu'allāqa of Zuhāir,⁽⁴³⁾ and in other odes in his dīwān.⁽⁴⁴⁾ This expression was also imitated by Islamic poets e.g. al-Rā'ī begins one of his odes⁽⁴⁵⁾ with the same expression. Other expressions occurred concerning the question of the beloved's departure, but were not considered traditional expressions as in the case of the latter. They are merely individual expressions, e.g.

al-Muraqqish al-Akbar uses: "liman'l-Zu'nu bi'l-Duhā Tāfiyātin

"لِمَنِ الظُّنُّ بِالضُّحَى طَائِفَاتٍ ..."

(40) Dr. Shukrī Faīṣal, Taṭawwūr al-Ḡhazal baīn'l-Jāhiliyya wa'l-Islām, Damascus, 1959, pp.91,92.

(41) 'Abīd b. al-Abras, Dīwān, Edited and translated into English by: Sir Charles Lyall. P.34, X, V.I, P.60, XXI, V. I.

(42) Mufaḍḍaliyyat, ed. Hārūn, p.245, line 7.

(43) Mu'allāqa, line 7.

(44) Dīwān, ed. D.K.M., P.358.

(45) Sh.Faīṣal, Op.Cit., P.92.

"To whom these litters which appear high
in the morning
as if they are the trees of Dawm (lote-tree)
(in their height) or big ships that were
floating upon water."(46)

'Abīd b. al-Abras uses another expression:

لَمِنْ جِئَالٍ قَبِيلِ الصُّبْحِ تَزُومُهُ نَجْمَاتٌ بِرَأْسِ غَيْرِ مَعْلُومَةٍ

"To whom these Camels (with their litters)
which are ready to depart before the morning
towards an unknown direction."(47)

However, after the poet had asked his question and realized the direction of the journey of his beloved, he turns to remember her and her road and thus he describes that road, the mountains, the valleys, the sand-dunes, the flora, the watering-places, and the halting-stations.

This theme can be seen clearly from the proper names which the poets use in referring to the scene of their love's departure. The Mu'allaqāt of Zuhair and Labīd are rich in those names.(48) But the Jāhilīya poets were not concerned about the geographical significance of these places since they were the symbols of their love and memories. They see in them the phantoms and the images of their beloved-ones and they find in their mentioning a psychological comfort. The

(46) Mufaddaliyat, ed. Hārūn, p.227, v.1.

لَمِنْ الطُّعْنِ بِالضُّحَى طَائِفَاتٍ تَبْرُحُ الدَّمْعُ، أَزْهَابًا كَفِيَّةٍ

(47) Dīwān, p.60, XXI, v.1.

(48) Zuhair's Mu'allāqa, vv.7,8,9,10,11,14,15.
Labīd, Mu'all., vv.14,15,17,18,19.

poet then links with this scene the description of the Hawādij - the litters or howdahs.' This part of the Qaṣīda implies the description of the litter itself, its movement and its colours. The poet also mentions the camel but not in detail. He is satisfied to refer to the camel as the carrier of litters and always favours the male camel. There is no reason given for this except that, as was explained by the commentators, the Arabs are very fond of putting their women on male camels because of their strength and patience.⁽⁴⁹⁾

The howdah - the litter - was described as high and big like the trees of the Dawm,⁽⁵⁰⁾ the Tamarisk,⁽⁵¹⁾ a palm-tree.⁽⁵²⁾ The Jāhiliya poet sometimes likens the litter of his beloved to a ship or a schooner. For example Tarafa says:⁽⁵³⁾

"As if the litters of the Mālikīya (one from the tribe of Banū Mālik (the beloved of the poet) on the morning (of the departure) are ships in the valley of Dad."

As for the movement of the litter, the Jāhiliyya poets

(49) D. Shukrī Faīsal, op. cit., p.94.

(50) Mufaddalīyāt, ed. Hārūn, p.227, v.1.

من الصفح طاميات شربها الدم أو ضلوا فيه

(51) Labīd, Mu'allāqa, v.15.

هَفَرْتِ وَأَجَلَا الشَّرَابَ مَا نَحَا أَهْرَعَ بَيْتَهُ أَتْلَحُ وَرِضَافُهَا

(52) 'Abīd b. al-Abras, *Dīwān*, ed. Lyall, p. 61.

عَلَّاهُ أَطْعَمَ رِزْقًا خَلُّ مَوْثِقَةٍ سَوْدُ ذَوَائِلِ الْحَمَلِ مَكْمُومَةٍ

(53) Tarafa, Mu'allāqa, v.3.

ماتة هُدُوح المَالِيَّة غَدُوَّة هَلَا يَفِيهِ التَّوَاصُفُ مِنْ رَدِّ

See also: Mufaddaliyat, ed.Hārūn, p.288,vv.7,8.

al-Muthaqqib al-'Abdī says:

وهذه لذلك حبة قطع ملحا مائة خمسون على سبعة

يُثَبِّتُ السَّيِّئَ وَهُوَ كَيْتٌ
عُرَاضَاتُ الدَّاهِرِ وَالسُّورِ

very often liken it to the movement of a ship in the sea, and sometimes they describe the ship as Tarafa says: (54)

"From 'Adauli, on the vessels of Ibn-i
Yāmin
Their mariners steer now tack by tack,
now straight forward;
Their prows cleave the streaks of
the rippling water
just as a boy playing will scoop
the sand into parcels."

It appears, however, that the Jāhiliya poets did observe the sea but the mentioning and the description of the sea has not been regarded as a traditional theme that the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda should contain, partly because their life was that of the desert. But that does not mean that the Arabs of the Jāhiliya time were ignorant about the sea as Dr. Tāhā Ḥusain generalized in his statement when he rejected the authenticity of the Jāhiliya poetry by saying that "it is strange that we scarcely find in the Jāhiliya poetry a mentioning of the sea and not even a hint, and if it were mentioned, such mentioning would indicate ignorance." (55) He did not illustrate

(54) Tarafa, Mu'allaga, vv.5,6 & Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.83.

عَدُولِيَّةُ أَرْضِيهِ أَهْلُ يَامِينِ
يَجُوزُ بِطَائِفَةِ طُورٍ وَبِرَيْدِي
لَا تَقْصِرُ التَّرْبَةُ الْغَائِبَةُ بِالْجَيْدِ
يُسَوِّدُ حَبَابَ الْمَاءِ حَيْرُوقًا
See also: 'Abīd b. al-Abrās Dīwān, p.44, v.3.

تَبَيَّنَ صَاحِبِي أَرْضِي حَمُولًا
يُسَبِّحُ سِرْهَا عَوْنُ السَّفِيهِ
or: VIII, pp.29,30, vv.4.5.

تَبَعْتُ خَلِيلِي هَلْ رَكِبَ مِنْ طَعْمَائِنِ
يَمَانِيَّةٍ قَدْ تَقَدَّرِي دَرُوحُ
كَعُومَ سَفِيهِ فِي غَوَابِ لُجَّةٍ
تَلَقَّيْتُهَا فِي مِلْطِ دَهْلَةٍ رَجُ
(55) Tāhā Ḥusain, fī l-Adab al-Jāhili, p.80.

this ignorance nor did he prove it and then how does Dr. Ṭahā Husaīn interpret the former couplets of Ṭarafa? Do they show the ignorance of Ṭarafa or were they forged by the transmitters and falsely ascribed to him? Such an idea sprang from the belief that the Jāhiliyya poetry is the expression of the barrenness, roughness and monotony of the desert. Its images and artistic pictures were drawn from the desert and cannot go beyond that environment, i.e. to mention the sea or other characteristics of settled life. It is true that the Jāhiliyya poetry represents desert life as a whole but that, however, does not indicate that the mentioning of the sea or other observations of settled communities, are the fabrication of the transmitters. Moreover, what we understand as Jāhiliyya poetry is not the whole poetry of that period, as Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (d.770 A.D.) says: "

ما انتزى اليك مما قالت العرب إلا أقله
ولو بها ولم وانما لما دلم علم وشر كثير

„(56)

When the poet finishes the description of the litter's movement, he passes to describe its colours. It seems that the colour red is the favourite one. (57)

(56) Sh. Faīsal, op.cit., pp.121,122. & Ibn Jinnī, al-Khaṣā'is, Vol.I, P.392.

(57) 'Abīd, Dīwān, p.61, XXI, v.3.

لِعَبْقَرِيٍّ عَلَيْهِ إِزْعِدَا صَبَحَ
تَأْتِي مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْخَوَافِ مَذْمُومَةٌ

See also: Zuhaīr, Mu'allāqa, v.13.

مَأْتَتْ قِصَاتُ الْعَيْنِ فِي كُلِّ مَرْكَبٍ
تَزِلُنَّ بِهِ حَبَّ الْفَضْلِ يَحْكُمُ

'Alqama b. 'Abada illustrated vividly the influence of the colour red of the 'Hawdaj' in attracting the birds which attacked those litters thinking that their redness was red flesh in the following line:

"The birds continue snatching the variegated cloths of the litters thinking them as if they were meat overspread with blood." (58)

Sometimes and during the description of the departing-scene, the poets may refer to the beauty of the beloved-girl or those who accompanied her on her journey, but such a reference appears to have been added to the scene incidentally since the Jāhiliya poets have devoted the third part of love-poetry for their women.

(c) After the mentioning of the aṭlāl and the departing scene, the poet passes to describe his beloved.

The woman as a symbol of love and beauty inspired the Bedouin poet to sing of her beauty and to fight for her freedom. Bedouin love, therefore, was centred more around the woman than around nature. The Bedouin poet was fully conscious of his individuality despite the heavy pressure of tribal society. He was the spokesman both of his tribe and of his own personality. He was socially obliged to celebrate

(58) Mufaḍḍaliyat, ed. Hārūn, p.397, v.5. See also:

'Alqama, Dīwān, p.46, II, v.5:

عَمْرٌ مَرَمًا تَطْلُ الصَّبْرَ لَطْفُهُ مَا نَهَ مِنْ دَمِ الْجُحُوفِ مَدْمُومٌ

and extol his clan's virtues but psychologically he did not forget in his poems to include exultation in his personal qualities and his own deeds and experiences. Love is one of those experiences. When he celebrated the beauty of his beloved he gave a realistic picture of her but he put the stress upon her body: for the Arabs of the Jāhiliyya era were very fond of 'physical beauty' which did satisfy their passions and sexual pleasure. The beauty of the body of the beloved is the only sign of love in the desert⁽⁵⁹⁾ although continence and chastity were very much appreciated by the pagan Arab and praised in his Qaṣīda.⁽⁶⁰⁾

The poet describes the colour of his beloved together with the brightness of her face,⁽⁶¹⁾ her cheeks, her eyes which were always likened to the eyes of a gazelle,⁽⁶²⁾ the sweetness of her lips, the charm of her conversation,⁽⁶³⁾ her neck, her hair, her chest, her stature, her breasts, her buttocks, her legs, her arms, her fingers, her jewellery, her fragrance, her temptation, her character, her tenderness which was compared with that of the gazelle, the poet described the

(59) Dr. Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Munjid, Jamāl al-Mar'a'ind- l- 'Arab, Beirut, 1957, p.50.

(60) A. Kh. Kinany, op. cit., p.51.

(61) Imr al-Qaīs, Mu'allāqa, vv. 31,32, 40. Tarafa, Mu'all, v. 10, al-Nābigha, Dīwān (ed. Ahlwardt, p.10, vv.11,14.

(62) al-Nābigha, Dīwān, p. 10, vv. 9,19. Imr al-Qaīs, Mu'allāqa, v.33.

(63) al-Nābigha, Dīwān, p.10, vv.20,21 and Tarafa, Mu'allāqa, vv.8,9.

gazelle as being with her baby and never with her male, although sometimes and in few cases the poets depicted a dove cooing and yearning for her mate, or referred to the longings of their she camel when she was away from home⁽⁶⁴⁾ and also the pleasure that she was able to give her lover in the joy of physical union.

The intimate union between love and sexual pleasure may be regarded as the hall-marks of the Jāhiliya love to the extent that the pagan poets considered it on a par with riding, hunting and drinking wine. Tarafa expressed his realistic philosophy by treasuring three things which made his life worth living: wine, love and war.⁽⁶⁵⁾

There was another sort of Ghazal in the Jāhiliya Qasīda; it was addressed by the poet to wine-shop maids. This sort of love was merely sensual attraction and the poet usually describes the wine-party and the singing-girl.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Besides the Arab beloved and the wine-shop girls, the Jāhiliya poet often celebrates the beauty and serenity of nuns. This is

(64) A. Kh. Kinany, op.cit., p.54.

(65) Tarafa, Mu'allāqa, vv.57,58,59,60.

ولولئلا هذ من عتبة الفتي وجهدك لم أخجل من قام بجودي
فمنهن سحر العاذلة بشرة كنية مني ما نفل بالمار ترديد
وكره إذا نازلت المضاف محباً كيد الفضل بريقه الميود
وتعبر يوم الدهم والدهم معجب ببركة تبت الطرف المعتمد

(66) Tarafa, Mu'allāqa, vv.48,49,50,51,52 and see al-A'shā, Dīwān, pp.45,46, vv.39-44.

due to the fact that the wine-shops were usually situated near monasteries and convents which provided them with wine. The Bedouins were allowed sometimes after an exhausted journey, to halt for a while and maybe to spend the night in those religious places, thus he had the opportunity of seeing the nuns and portraying their charm and dignity in his verses. (67)

There is another kind of Ghazal in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda. It might be termed 'the heroic love.' This sort of love is inspired by the social status of women amongst the Arabs of the Jāhiliya; for although physical attraction was the main element in their love, they also at times expressed - albeit somewhat inadequately - their appreciation of the moral attributes of the beloved. These moral elements were detected when the poets describe some of their beloved's moral qualities such as their dignity, honesty, generosity, courtesy, discretion and their distinguished lineage. 'Amr b. Kulthūm expressed some of these qualities when he said that the women of his tribe "mingle with their beauty, high birth and obedience." (68) But such an appreciation of moral beauty is rare in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda. Nevertheless the position of the women in Pre-Islamic Arabia was high and their influence great. They were regarded not as slaves and

(67) A. Kh. Kinany, op. cit., pp.64,65. See for more details: Ḥabīb Zafiyāt, "al-Dīyārāt al-Naṣrāniya fī d-~~Islām~~," pp.291-405 in al-Mashriq, 36, July-September, 1938.

(68) 'Amr b. Kulthūm, Mu'allāqa, v.88.

chattels, but as equals and companions. (69)

The disputes, raidings and wars between various tribes of that age might reduce the status of women to that of slaves or captives, and thus their protection became a basic element in their ethical code. They used to take their women with them to observe the battles in order to inspire their warriors to fight and thus they kept them in a safe position as 'Amr b. Kulthūm illustrated when he said that his people take care of their women against the ill-treatment and insults of the enemy. Their wives also said to their husbands: "You are not ours, if you do not protect us." (70) It seems, however, that the Bedouins were acquainted with the serious consequences which affect the social position of their women in case of defeat and they knew that their enemy, if they succeeded, would ill-use their women. There are, sometimes, points in the Ghazal of the Jāhiliya Qasīda which indicate that some poets were boasting while talking about their love, especially when they celebrated the charm, the beauty, the physical attraction of the women-captives who were taken off by them or their tribe from a defeated enemy-clan, or when they bragged of having been able to seduce married women or to capture the fancy of native virgins. (71)

(69) R. A. Nicholson, op. cit., pp.87,88.

(70) 'Amr, Mu'allāqa, vv.82,83,87.

(71) A. Kh. Kinany, op. cit., p.50.

The harm of such a disgrace to their honour inspired the pagan poets to express their chivalrous deeds and to display their bravery, patience and their concern for their noble beloved. 'Antara described himself as a person who was modest, noble and a man with character. He loved no woman but 'Abla. He answered her calls for help and never upset her.⁽⁷²⁾ In his Mu'allaqā, 'Antara stressed his power as a hero and expressed his bravery whenever he talked with 'Abla.⁽⁷³⁾ The high position of the woman together with the fear that she might be taken off as a captive, created the seeds of the Jāhiliya heroic-love. In many cases, some wars that occurred in Pre-Islamic Arabia, were centred around saving and bringing home the noble ladies of different tribes who had become captives in the hands of their enemies.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Arabs in this matter were like other nations in ancient times. The war of Troy, in Greek history, was waged in order to bring Helen back to her husband. Such captive women brought dishonour on their people in the eyes of the Greek poets. So the Trojan war was waged for the return of Helen to wipe out national dishonour, not because of Helen's individuality or personality,⁽⁷⁵⁾ while in the Arabic Qaṣīda, love was devoted

(72) 'Antara, *Dīwān*, ed. W. Ahlwardt, London, 1870, p.34, vv.20,21,22.

(73) 'Antara, *Mu'allaqā*, vv.34,35,36,43,44.

(74) Dr. 'Alī al-Hāshimī, *al-Mar'a fī l-Shi'r al-Jāhilī*, Baghdad, 1960, p.255.

(75) Mūsā Sulaimān, *al-Adab al-Qaṣaṣī 'ind l-'Arab*, Lebanon, 1950, p.105 & A. al-Hāshimī, *op.cit.*, pp.255,256

(Quoted from: Dr. M. Perron, *Femme Arabe*, Paris, 1858, pp.175-77 and *Journal Asiatique*, Dec. 1846.)

to the woman herself, for her protection and her safeguard - this reason lay behind many disputes and wars in Arabia.

It seems easy to divide Jāhiliya Ghazal into decent and obscene poetry, but it must be borne in mind that the classifying of pagan poets according to the lines in the latter, may be considered a misleading point, because the Jāhiliya poet might be decent in some poems and obscene in others. It might also be suggested that the poets who lived in Central Arabia and who never left the Peninsula, e.g. Zuhaīr and 'Antara, produced decent Ghazal- hubbun 'affif whereas those who left the Peninsula for the north, to al-Hīra in Mesopotamia and Ghassind Court in Syria, and who were professional poets using their erotic-preludes to captivate their audience's attention, or those who were familiar with wine-tavern entertainment and court-life, among those poets Imr al-Qaīs, al-A'shā, al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī and Ḥassān b. Thābit (before he became Muslim) can be named. They produced obscene poetry 'Ghazal Mājin.'

In the Jāhiliya Qasīda there is no trace of homosexual love. This sort of love appeared in Arabic poetry in the 'Abbāsid period (750 - 1258 A.D.) and it is thought that this theme was taken over from Persia.⁽⁷⁶⁾

It is very interesting to note that the names of the

(76) A. Kh. Kinany, op. cit., p.71.

beloved which were used in the Jāhiliya Ghazal represent sometimes the traditional way in using them in their erotic-prelude and sometimes they indicate an individual taste.

The following survey of those names may help to illustrate their popularity. It may also help to explain to what extent the Jāhiliya poets used to pursue that traditional pattern of their love-compositions. This survey has been taken from the Mufaḍḍaliyāt, the Mu'allaqat and the dīwāns of the six ancient Arabic poets (al-Nābigha al-Dhubyanī, 'Antara, Ṭarafa, Zuhair, 'Alqama and Imr al-Qais).

(a) Salmā or Sulaimā - سَلْمَى، سُلَيْمَى : was used very much amongst the poets of the Jāhiliya era and which might be regarded as one of the traditional names that were used in the love-poetry of that period which passed through stages of development and poetical evolution of that theme. The poets who used this name are: Imr al-Qais,⁽⁷⁷⁾ Ṭarafa,⁽⁷⁸⁾ Zuhair,⁽⁷⁹⁾ al-Muraqqish al-Akbar,⁽⁸⁰⁾ al-Musaiyab b. 'Alas,⁽⁸¹⁾ Bishr b. Abī Khāzim,⁽⁸²⁾ al-Hārith b. Zālim,⁽⁸³⁾ Mu'awiya

(77) Imr al-Qais, Dīwān, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 121, line 2, No. 9, p.128, v. 1. No. 20. p.136, v.1. No. 34.pp.151,152,vv.4, 5,6,7, No. 52.

(78) Ṭarafa, Dīwān, ed. Ahlwardt, pp.69, v.3.

(79) Zuhair, Dīwān, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 89, v. 1. and p. 91, v.1, p.99, v.5.

(80) Mufaḍḍaliyāt, ed. Hārūn, p. 223, v.1.

(81) Ibid., p.60, v.1.

(82) Ibid., p.330, v.1.

(83) Ibid., p.314, v.1.

b. Mālik,⁽⁸⁴⁾ Jābir al-Taghlibī⁽⁸⁵⁾ and al-Khurshub al-Ammārī.⁽⁸⁶⁾

(b) Asmā' or Sumāiya - أسماء : has less popularity than the first, although used very much. This name might be suggested as the second traditional name which was used by the following poets: Zuhair,⁽⁸⁷⁾ al-Hārith b. Hilliza al-Yashkurī,⁽⁸⁸⁾ al-Nābigha,⁽⁸⁹⁾ al-Muraqqish al-Akbar,⁽⁹⁰⁾ 'Amir b. al-Tufail⁽⁹¹⁾ and al-Hādira.⁽⁹²⁾

(c) Hind , هند : was used by: Imr al-Qais,⁽⁹³⁾ Tarafa,⁽⁹⁴⁾ al-Muthaqqib al-'Abdī and Rabī'a b. Maqrūm⁽⁹⁵⁾ (who is a mukhadram poet). "Hind," William Palgrave wrote, "was a name of historical reputation of beauty among Arabs, no less than 'Helen' among Greeks."⁽⁹⁷⁾

(84) Mufaddaliyyāt, ed. Hārūn, p.357, v.1.

(85) Ibid., p.209, v.3.

(86) Ibid., p.39, v.1.

(87) Zuhair, Dīwān, p.97, v.3.

(88) Mu'allaga, v.1.

(89) al-Nābigha, Dīwān, ed. Ahlwardt, p.21, v.1.

(90) Mufaddaliyyāt, p.224, v.1. p.229, v.2. p.237, v.3. p.431, v.1.

(91) Ibid., p.363, v.1.

(92) Ibid., p.43, v.1. (He used the name as)

(93) Imr al-Qais, Dīwān, p.115, v.1. No. 3. p.120, v.1. No. 7. p.143, v.1. No. 44.

(94) Tarafa, Dīwān, p.68, v.1.

(95) Mufaddaliyyāt, p.149, v.1.

(96) Ibid., p.181, v.1.

(97) W. G. Palgrave, Essays on Eastern Questions, p.281.

- (d) Fāṭima or Fāṭim or Fuṭaīm - فَاطِمَة ، فَاطِمَة ، فُطَيْم - was used by: Imr al-Qaīs,⁽⁹⁸⁾ Zuhāīr,⁽⁹⁹⁾ al-Muraqqish al-Asghar⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ and al-Muthaqqib al-‘Abdī.⁽¹⁰¹⁾
- (e) Hirr or Huraīra - هِرْر ، هَرَيْرَة - was used by al-A‘shā,⁽¹⁰²⁾ Imr al-Qaīs⁽¹⁰³⁾ and Ṭarafa.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾
- (f) Khawla - خَوْلَة - was used by: Ṭarafa,⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ ‘Awf b. al-Aḥwas⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ and ‘Abda b. al-Ṭabīb⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ (a mukḥadram poet).
- (g) Umāma, Umaīma or Maīya - أُمَامَة ، أُمَيْمَة ، مَيْيَة - was used by: al-Nābigha al Dhubyānī,⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ al-Jumāih⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ and Bashāma b. al-Gḥadīr⁽¹¹⁰⁾ (Zuhāīr's uncle).

- (98) Imr al-Qaīs, Dīwān, p.147, v.17.
- (99) Zuhāīr, Dīwān, p.75, v.1.
- (100) Mufaḍḍalīyāt, p.244, vv.1,14,15,16,18.
- (101) Ibid., p.288, v.1.
- (102) Mu‘allaqa, v.1.
- (103) Imr al-Qaīs, Dīwān, p.124, v, 4, No.17. p.126, vv.6,7. No. 19, p.157, v.3, No.59. p.159, v.2. No. 63.
- (104) Ṭarafa, Dīwān, p.60, v.1.
- (105) Ibid., p.54, line 1, p.67, v.1.
- (106) Mufaḍḍalīyāt, p.173, v.2.
- (107) Ibid., p.135, vv.1,2.
- (108) al-Nābigha, Dīwān, p.6, v.1, p.9, v.1, p.16, v.1, p.2, v.1.
- (109) Mufaḍḍalīyāt, p.34, v.1.
- (110) Ibid., p.55, v.1.

(h) Su'ād or Su'dā - سَعَاد، سَعْدَى : was used by:
al-Nābigha⁽¹¹¹⁾ and Rabī'a b. Maqrūm.⁽¹¹²⁾ Ka'b b. Zuhāir

was famous in Arabic poetry as a composer of "Bānat Su'ād."

(i) Laīlā - لَيْلَى : was used by: 'Alqama al-Fahl⁽¹¹³⁾
and Imr al-Qaīs.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

(j) Rabāb or Umm Rabāb رِبَاب، أُم رِبَاب : was used
by: Imr al-Qaīs⁽¹¹⁵⁾ and al-Mukhabbal al-Sa'dī.⁽¹¹⁶⁾

(k) Sometimes the poets referred to their beloved in her
Kunya-by-name, e.g. Umm al-Hūwaīrith and Umm al-Rabāb
according to Imr al-Qaīs.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Zuhāir⁽¹¹⁸⁾ used Umm Awfā,
Umm Ma'bad and Umm Ka'b, while Umm 'Amr was used by
al-Shanfarā⁽¹¹⁹⁾ and 'Amr b. Kulthūm.⁽¹²⁰⁾

(l) Other names occurred in the Jāhiliya Ghazal, but they
seem, however, not very popular. Perhaps those poets who used
them did not regard them as traditional love-names. Maybe
they are the actual names of their beloved such as 'Unaīza
of Imr al-Qaīs,⁽¹²¹⁾ 'Abla of 'Antara,⁽¹²²⁾ Ṣadūf of Subaī'

(111) al-Nābigha, Dīwān, p.8, v.1, p.23, line 3, p.25, v.1.

(112) Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, p.213, v.1.

(113) 'Alqama al-Fahl, Dīwān, ed. Ahlwardt, p.105, v.2.

(114) Imr al-Qaīs, Dīwān, p.145, v.1, No. 46.

(115) Ibid., p.146, v.5, No. 48. p.157, v.3, No. 59.
p.169, v.2, no. 63.

(116) Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, p.113, v.1.

(117) Dīwān, p.146, v.5, No. 48.

(118) Dīwān, p.94, v.1, p.79, v.1. p.82, v.1.

(119) Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, p.108, vv.1,2.

(120) Mu'allāqa, vv.5,6.

(121) Imr al-Qaīs, Dīwān, p.147, v. 11, No. 48.

(122) Dīwān, ed. Ahlwardt, p.34, v.21, p.43, v.1. p.44, v.4,
p.45, v.7, p.52, v.1.

b. al-Khaṭīm al-Taīmī⁽¹²³⁾ and al-Rūwā' of Rabī'a b. Maqrūm.⁽¹²⁴⁾

It appears from this survey that the Jāhiliya poets used to share these beloved's names between them although in some cases they did apply their own names. This attitude might suggest that the Jahiliya poets used to follow two ways concerning the dedication of their erotic-prelude: they either applied one of those names which were shared by many poets e.g. Salmā, Asmā' or Fāṭima and which might be interpreted as traditional ideals, that poets should apply if they wished to follow the traditional pattern, or they did apply their own love-names as individual ideals if they wished to free themselves from the traditional rules. This view might be supported by the fact that the commentators of ancient Arabic poetry did not adequately explain those names. They even differed in their understanding and their definition. To illustrate this point let us look at the names which were used in the Mu'allaqāt and see to what extent the commentators and transmitters had succeeded in explaining those love-names. Imr al-Qaīs mentioned four names in his Mu'allāqa. Umm al-Rabāb, Umm al-Hūwaīrith, 'Unaīza and Fāṭima.⁽¹²⁵⁾ Al-Tibrīzī interpreted those names as follows: "Umm al-Hūwaīrith was

(123) Mufaḍḍaliyāt, p.372, v.1.

(124) Ibid., p.186, v.1.

(125) Mu'allāqa, vv. 7.13,19.

Hirr mother of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥuṣāin b. Ḍamḍam al-Kalbī and Umm al-Rabāb was also from Kalb." (126) "Ḥunaīza was a name for a woman," (127) al-Tibrīzī said, but "Fāṭima," he pointed out on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī, "was a daughter of 'Ubaīd b. Tha'labā b. 'Āmir who was al-Ajdar b. 'Awf b. 'Udhra." (128) Al-Zawzanī, however, did not personify Umm al-Ḥūwaīrith or Umm al-Rabāb, but as for Ḥunaīza he said "was the name of his mistress and she was his paternal cousin." He then added "this name - Ḥunaīza - was her nickname, and her actual name was Fāṭima." Al-Zawzanī gave a third opinion that "this name was her actual name and Fāṭima was another woman." (129) But when he referred to Fāṭima, he said "She was the nursing woman or Ḥunaīza or maybe Ḥunaīza was her nickname." (130) It appears that al-Zawzanī was not sure about the definition of those names as he used the expression "fīmā qīla" and he did not refer to any authority. As for Khawla of Ṭarafa, al-Zawzanī said "was a name of a woman from the tribe of Kalb." (131) "Umm Awfa," of Zuhair "was a by-name of his beloved." (132) "Nawār" of Labīd, "was a name of a

(126) Al-Tibrīzī, Sharḥ al-Qaṣā'id al-'Ashr, ed. Lyall, p.6.

(127) Ibid., p.9.

(128) Ibid., p.11.

(129) Al-Zawzanī, Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab', p.11.

(130) al-Zawzanī, Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab', p.14.

(131) Ibid., p.47.

(132) Ibid., p.77.

woman whom he composed amatory verses on her." (133) Umm
 'Amr of 'Amr b. Kulthūm was unlucky to attract the attention
 of al-Zawzanī, so she was left alone without any definition.
 Similar to this was Asmā' of al-Hārith b. Hilliza. 'Abla of
 'Antara was mentioned as "the name of his beloved." (134)

These definitions are not sufficient for the reader. They
 are, in fact, general statements since they do not identify
 the personality of the beloved as far as her name, her family,
 her lineage and the occasion which inspired the poet to
 compose amatory verses, are concerned. Therefore, it might
 be easy to assume that some of these beloveds' names, as
 already mentioned, were regarded by the poets of that age
 as traditional symbols which formed a part of the traditional
 technique of the Jāhiliya Ghazal that underwent stages of
 artistic evolution.

However, the Jāhiliya love-poetry with all its features
 gave rise to a prominent school in Arabic love-poetry. It was
 called the Bedouin school or the traditional school which
 influenced through its conspicuous characteristics both the
 Islamic and the Umayyād poets. But in spite of the fact that
 Bedouin love did attract and stimulate many adherents who
 faithfully imitated its models and clichés (such as the
 Umayyād triplet: al-Farazdaq, Jarīr and al-Akhtal, together

(133) Al-Zawzanī, Shahh al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab', p.102.

(134) Ibid., p.147.

with those who remained Bedouin in their poetical spirit, e.g. Dhu'r-Rumma, al-Rā'ī, Muzāhim al-'Uqaīlī and al-Quṭāmī), it was challenged by new schools of love-poetry which sprang up as a result of the new life and the new outlook. These schools were: the 'Udhri-love "the chastity love" which was headed by Jamīl Buṭhāina and the 'Umarite-love - "obscene-ludicrous love" which was led by 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a who was long ago described by William G. Palgrave as "the Don Juan of Mecca, the Ovid of Arabia and the East."⁽¹³⁵⁾ Since the first decades of Islam - the Orthodox Caliphate 632-661 A.D. - were regarded as transmitting period in Arab history, love-poetry of that era may be termed "transmitting love-poetry" which led together with the new circumstances of political conflicts, that marked the history of Umayyad Dynasty (661 - 750 A.D.) to create the later schools of love-poetry as we shall see in the following pages.

This period was not really favourable towards the development of love-poetry. Three factors, it may be suggested, helped to reduce the importance of love-poetry in that time: the religious factor, that is the attitude of Islam towards poets and poetry, the social factor which is expressed by the conquests-movement and the artistic factor which is seen in the new consideration of the Jāhiliya poetry and the artistic

(135) W. G. Palgrave, *Essays on Eastern Questions*, London, 1872, p.274.

place of the Qur'ān. It was in this era that the Arabic Qasīda was used as a sharp political weapon against the opponents of Islam and it was in this period too that the Ghazal was used for the purpose of satire rather than the celebration of the charms of women.⁽¹³⁶⁾ The opposition party which was led by wealthy chieftains of Quraīsh, saw in Islam subversive elements that would deprive them of their freedom and limit their authority as Islam preaches equality, brotherhood and justice. Therefore, they used poetry, one of the few weapons of that age, to oppose the new Faith. This explains the reasons behind the attack of the Qur'ān⁽¹³⁷⁾ on poets by describing them as those "who are followed by the perverse," and "wander in every valley," and "say that which they do not know." This literary-religio -political battle caused other poets to keep aloof and some of them gave up composing poetry. For example the transmitters related that Labīd (d. circa 661 A.D.) on accepting Islam abjured poetry saying, "Allāh has given me the Qur'ān in exchange for it."⁽¹³⁸⁾

The conquests-movement which carried with it the Islamic doctrines and teaching, did not permit the Arabs to compose love-poetry to a great extent. They were too busy to think about Salmā, Asmā' or Su'ād as the conquests for them were their

(136) A. Kh. Kinany, op. cit., p.135.

(137) Qur'ān, Sura XXVI: 224-5.

(138) R. A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.119 and al-Qurashī, Jamhara, p.39.

whole life with its external and internal impulses and motives.⁽¹³⁹⁾ The nature of the conquests, on the other hand, was a union of all Arab powers which were crystalized to achieve victory and it involved a migration of the Arab tribes to more sedentary and settled communities. This era was marked by instability because of new environment, new religion and new outlook, and thus the passion for composing amatory poems was extinguished.

As for the artistic factor, the Jāhiliya poetry was not only the artistic ideal of the Arabs in the Jāhiliya period, it was also a picture of their traditional ideals, their paganism, 'asabiya, revenge, and their ideology. So the new Arab Muslims who believed in Allāh, and his Messenger and who followed new moral teaching and doctrines began to think that their poetry and in particular, love-poetry, was a reminder of a past which they should forget in order to adapt themselves to the new religion. Therefore they found in the eloquence of the Qur'ān an artistic compensation which might satisfy their love for poetry in general. The Qur'ān, also encouraged them to practise another literary genre, prose which became an important medium in their new life. The art of exhortation and delivering orations was another artistic factor that might have helped to limit their literary appreciation for their pagan poetry.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ Furthermore, love-poetry was deprived of

(139) Dr. Sh. Faīṣal, op. cit., p.185.

(140) Ibid., pp.187, 188, 189.

its youthful romantic ardour by the development of purātanism in the early stages of Muslim Society and thus a critical, intellectual spirit was put in its place.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ The poets of this period may be classified into two groups although to group them with any accuracy seems rather difficult. This era was a transmitting period, and love-poetry was not distinguished by any particular school with its own artistic name, since the Jāhiliya Ghazal models were in use. The first group was formed from those who accepted Islam and expressed its spirit and the second was those who accepted Islam reluctantly but remained pagans at heart and thus they may be called "the pagan Muslims". They did not follow the Islamic practice as far as wine, women and other moral principles were concerned. They tried to interpret some Qur'ānic verses to their advantage merely to justify their religious sins and especially that of wine-drinking,⁽¹⁴²⁾ yet some of them repented later on in their life and became good Muslims such as Abū Mihjan.⁽¹⁴³⁾ However, there is a conspicuous feature in love-poetry of this period, i.e. the application of the 'Kināya-Metonymy' and 'Ramz-allusion, hint.' Under the moral teaching of Islam and the severe attitude of the Orthodox Caliphs towards

(141) A. Kh. Kinany, op. cit., p.141.

(142) Aghānī, Vol. XXI, p.219.

(143) Ibid., p.218. Abū Mihjan composed the following lines when he abandoned wine-drinking.

أُتَيْتُ الْخَمْرَ صَالِحَةً وَفَيْضًا مُنَاقِبَتُهُ لِلرَّجُلِ الْحَلِيمِ
 مَدَدَ اللَّهُ أَشْرَبَ حَيَاتِي وَلَدَّأَ قَفِي بِأُكْدُ نَدِيمِ

composing amatory verses the poets of that era were induced to quell their feelings or to hide the true names of their beloveds and to use metonymies and allusions such as "tree"⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ or "pigeon" to sing their beauty, or to pretend to be describing a mere dream vision of them.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ Here is a very interesting example of the use of metonymies, taken from the dīwān of Humaīd b. Thawr al-Hilālī (d. circa 65 A.H.). The poet was talking with a pigeon that possessed a beautiful voice and he described her song as sad with a deep sense of grief. He said:

"If I wished, she would sing to me
between the winding of Bīsha valley
or the palm-trees of Tathlīth or
Yabnama.
I wondered how her singing was so
beautiful
When she never opened her mouth.
I have never seen a grieved person
possessing such a voice,
nor an Arab delighting in the voice
of a foreigner,
like I was when she sang, but her
voice,
had such a sad tone that if the
old camel understood it, he would
surely groan." (146)

However, the poets of the Umayyad period omitted the use of "the Kināya" and "the Ramz" because of the new social and

(144) A. Kh. Kinany, op. cit., p.159 and Dr. Sh. Faṭsal, op.cit. pp.200-206.

(145) Humaīd b. Thawr al-Hilālī, Dīwān, ed. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz al-Maīmanī, Cāiro, dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya, 1951, p.40, vv.37,38, p.41, v.44.

(146) Humaīd b. Thawr al-Hilālī, Dīwān, Edited with notes by: 'Abdu'l-'Azīz al-Maīmanī, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriya, Cairo, 1951, p.26, 27, vv. 92,93,94,95.

political circumstances which emerged in the poetry of that era. To pass to the Umayyad love-poetry, three schools were current: the 'Udhri, the 'Umarī and the traditional school which remained faithful to its Jāhiliya style. Al-Ḥijāz was the homeland of the first and especially its outskirts which were the gathering-places of still Bedouin tribes. The towns of al-Ḥijāz namely, Mecca and al-Madina were the background of the second school, while the third school was regarded as a classical ideal which radiated from Arabian desert. If the Orthodox Caliphate period were, in the religious development of the Arabs, a period of transition from paganism towards Islam, the Umayyād era were, in the social development of the Arabs, a transmitting and changing period from nomadic environment and characteristics towards more civilized and settled life and that the Bedouin features had been hitherto noticeable in the Arabic Qaṣīda of this period, which was still presented in a 'half-pagan character.' (147)

The 'Umarite love-poetry grew in the holy cities of al-Ḥijaz because of many reasons that operated together in creating its theme and form. First, the economic factor which was represented by the pouring of immense wealth into the two holy cities as a result of the victorious campaigns and the extensive conquests of the Arab army. And with the

(147) Theodor Nöldeke, Beiträge Zur Kenntniss Der Poesie Der Alten Araber, Hanover, 1864, p.3.

Caliph 'Uthmān (elected 644 A.D.) who was "an easy tool in the hands of his ambitious kinsfolk,"⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ the aristocratic party of Mecca succeeded in gaining the upper hand even in Madina, which had hitherto been the seat of extreme religious puritanism,⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ then when the Umayyād-party succeeded in establishing their dynasty they tempted the youth of al-Hijāz by giving them immense wealth in order to divert their political ambitions to that of free love, wine, women and leisure.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ In so doing the Umayyād-party, politically, distracted their opponents and rivals from the Caliphate. "Thus," Von Kremer remarks, "grew up a life of pleasure and luxury regardless and heedless of Islam and its moral precepts."⁽¹⁵¹⁾ In addition to this a social factor rose: the emergence of a new social-class, i.e., the slaves and captives who were brought from different parts of the world as a result of the Islamic conquests to the extent that it became quite rare to find an Arab home without some of those slaves and captives.⁽¹⁵²⁾

(148) R. A. Nicholson, op.cit., p.190.

(149) Von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, translated from German into English as "The Orient under the Caliphs" by S. Khuda Bukhsh, Calcutta, 1920, p.32.

(150) See: J. S. Jabbūr, 'Umar b. Abī Rafī'a, Vol. 1 (the Age of Ibn Abī Rafī'a), Beirut, 1935, pp.27,28.

(151) Von Kremer, op. cit., p.32.

(152) al-Baladhurī, *Futūh al-Buldān*. Edited by M.J.DeGoeje, Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1866, p.142.

"... انه سي قياسية لخوا أربعة آلاف أس فلما
لعبه به عارية الى عمره الخطاب أمرهم فانزلوا
الجرف ثم قسمهم على جاني الدنصا - وجعل بعضهم في
الكتاب والدعماء للملحمة."

and see also: Jabbūr, op. cit., pp.31,32,33,46.

This social-class produced new means of life to the Hījāzī community such as the art of singing⁽¹⁵³⁾ which influenced later on the metrical structure of the Arabic Qaṣīda as we shall see and which attracted the rich merchants of Mecca to purchase and train female slaves,⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ to the principles of this new art. With the growth of luxury and social enjoyment grew the art of poetry together with song which added charm to social intercourse and relieved the monotony of primitive life.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ Moreover, the growth of the religious sects, may be suggested as another factor in creating the 'Umarite love-poetry. The dogmatic dissent of the scholars - 'Ulamā' - on serious matters directly connected with Muslim ideals and social life created a sort of restlessness⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ in the minds of the youth of that period and thus most of them kept aloof from such arguments and discussions of sects and ideology and consequently they found in a life of pleasure and free love-poetry, the seeds of which were already planted, an easy escape from serious matters.

The most important feature, perhaps in the development of Ghazal during the Umayyād period is its extension to feelings and thoughts beyond love-motives. In the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda

(153) Jabbūr, op. cit., pp.46, 55, 61.

(154) Vom Kremer, op. cit., p.32.

(155) Ibid., pp. 34, 39 and A. Kh. Kinany, op. cit., p.187.

(156) See: Kinany, op. cit., pp. 185, 186.

as already mentioned, love and pleasure were inseparably united, whereas this union had to discontinue in al-Ḥijāz in this period when the 'Umarite poets sacrificed 'true love for lighter feelings and for pleasure;' while the 'Udhri poets 'rejected pleasure and accepted suffering for the sake of true love.' (157) The 'Umarite love-poetry was composed to achieve two things: either the description of women who enjoyed the luxurious and gay life, or the inducement of these women to love and adventure. (158) As 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a was the artistic leader of this school in Arabic poetry, it is very important, therefore, to sketch the artistic norms of his love-poetry as seen in his dīwān. 'Umar in most of his love-qaṣīdas does not appear to be a lover who expresses his own feelings towards his beloved, but is rather the 'beloved-man' of whom girls ask 'about his departure and the time of his visit,' (159) 'they prefer to die if he leaves them,' (160) 'he is their ambition and lasting-memory,' (161) 'he is the target of their chasing in the pilgrimage occasion,' (162) 'he is the shining moon,' (163) 'he is the desire of every girl,' (164) 'he is not to be blamed

(157) Kinany, op. cit., pp. 194, 195.

(158) Ibid., p. 212.

(159) Der Diwan des 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabī'a, ed. Paul Schwarz, Leipzig, 1909, No. 6, p. 9.

(160) Ibid., No. 11, p. 14.

(161) Ibid., No. 20, p. 21.

(162) Ibid., No. 28, p. 27.

(163) Ibid., No. 33, p. 31.

(164) Ibid., No. 38, p. 34.

or upset, (165) 'he is the first one to be loved and from the first look, (166) 'he is well-known among them from his appearance and cloths, (167) and 'he is followed by many women-lovers, looking for him wherever he goes. (168)

Through all these examples his name occurred either in the form of his Christian name as "‘Umar" or his nickname as "Abū al-Khaṭṭāb." (169) It is obvious that he was a "Ma‘shūq" and not "‘Ashiq" as Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī related that ‘Umar b. Abī Rabī‘a said "I used to be loved passionately when I was young, but have never fallen in love myself." (170)

‘Umar, as it appears, changed the theme of love from the man to the woman, in other words, the woman before ‘Umar was the love-star and the main object of love-composition, whereas after ‘Umar, the man became the love-star and the

(165) Der Diwan des ‘Umar Ibn Abī Rabī‘a, ed. Paul Schwarz, Leipzig, 1909, No. 42, p. 37.

(166) Ibid., No. 187, p. 135.

(167) Ibid., No. 308, p. 206.

(168) Ibid., No. 385, p. 236.

(169) Ibid., No. 308, p. 206.

قَالَ: أَوَّلُ الْخَطَّابِ أَعْرَفَ نِسَبِهِ وَكَوْنَهُ لِدُنْهٍ غَيْرِ مَرَّةٍ
and p. 2, line 34.

ثَانِيَةً، أَمَّا الْخَطَّابُ، فَغَيْرُ مُدْفِعٍ عَلَيْهِ أَمِيرٌ مَا كُنْتُ مُؤَمَّرٌ

(170) Aghānī, Vol. I (ed. D.K.M.) p. 76, See also: Jabbūr, op. cit., Vol. II, Beirut, 1939, p. 31 and Dr. Zakī Mubārak, Ḥubb Ibn Abī Rabī‘a wa Shi‘ruhu, Cairo, 1928, pp. 17, 19, 21 and al-Baghdādī, Khizāna, Vol. II, p. 27.

main object in the love-poems.⁽¹⁷¹⁾ However, those women who used to inspire him to compose his love-odes and who used to urge him to mention their names may perhaps have acted through self-delusion and vanity,⁽¹⁷²⁾ because they wanted to advertise their beauty and loved other people to relate their stories behind their backs. It may be also suggested that 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a might have had a feeling of 'narcissism',⁽¹⁷³⁾ although it did not become a complex. This view is supported by the fact that he was very handsome - he was like a moon⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ - as he himself expressed it and he in most of his poems, appears to be the centre of attraction to women although one might suggest that some of those women's names used in his poetry were symbols of such feeling. But he is admired for his own

(171) See: Shawqī Daīf, al-Taṭawwūr wa'l-Tajdīd fi'l-Shi'r al-Umawī, Cairo, 1952, pp. 191, 195, 196.

(172) 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād, Shā'ir al-Ghazal 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1951, pp. 51, 57, 58.

(173) In Greek mythology, Narcissus was a youth who disdained the addresses of Echo who pined away and died. He, as a penalty, was doomed to fall in love with his own image until he too pined away and died, his corpse being changed into the flower which bears his name. Narcissism in psycho-analysis is an abnormal love and admiration for oneself. (See Ency. Britannica Vol. 16, London, 1960, p.117)

(174) Dīwān, p.31.

بِهَا يَذْكُرُنِي أَبْصَرْتَنِي رَوْحٌ فَيَدُ الْمَيْلِ لِعِدْوَلِي الدَّغْرُ
 قُلْنَ تَعْرِفِينَ الْفَرَّ؟ قُلْنَ نَعَمْ قَدْ عَرَفْتُمَا وَهَلْ يَخْفَى السَّمَرُ
 زَاهِبٌ لَمْ يُعْرِجْ دُونَ حَاقَةِ الْحَبَةِ إِلَيْنَا وَالْقَدَرُ

physical beauty that he composed amatory verses on himself. (175)

Furthermore, the 'Umarite love was marked by an optimistic⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ feeling rather than the sad tone or the sense of grief that marked the Jāhiliya Ghazal: that sadness, it will be recalled, was expressed in revisiting the ruined abodes of the beloved together with the sad memory of her departure. The narrative style, the dialogue and the love-story theme, are other characteristics of 'Umarite poetry. In his famous ode: (177)

أَمِنْ آلِ نَعْمٍ أَنَّنِي غَادٍ فَمُبَكِّرُ غَدَاةِ غَدِ أُمِّ الْحُجِّ فَمُرَجَّرُ

which contains (73) lines, 'Umar begins with the love-prelude by describing his feeling towards his beloved 'Nu'm, mentioning her relations, his messenger, his meeting with her in a place called 'madfa'aknān,⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ and closes this part by describing some of his characteristics.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ This part (lines 1 - 18) may be regarded as an introduction to the actual story that took place at night in Dhī Dawrān⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ and thus he passes to relate his love-adventure (lines 19 - 73). In this part he uses the narrative style and a dialogue form

(175) See: J. S. Jabbūr, op. cit., Vol. II, p.31.

(176) See: Dr. Sh. Faīṣal, op. cit., pp. 407, 408, 409.

(177) Dīwān, No. 1, pp. 1-4.

(178) Dīwān, p. 1, v. 9.

(179) Ibid., vv. 10 - 18.

(180) Ibid., vv. 19.

by applying "I said - fa-qultu" and "She said - fa-qālat" throughout this part of the qaṣīda. 'Umar, however, was not the inventor of this style 'love-story and dialogue' in Arabic poetry, because as already mentioned Imr al-Qaīs in his Mu'allāqa⁽¹⁸¹⁾ was apparently the pioneer when he related the story of his love-adventures in 'Dārat Juljul' with 'Unaīza and with Fāṭima. But 'Umar may be considered the poet who developed this art to a great extent and who freed this part of the Qaṣīda - love - from the rest of the traditional norm and thus he appeared as an inventor and creator of this theme.⁽¹⁸²⁾ The language of 'Umarite-poetry with its simplicity and lucidity, is another feature. The 'Umarite-language may illustrate the influence of the Hijāzī environment with its new means and apparatus of livelihood, upon the development of Arabic poetical language. As 'Umar and his comrades lived in an age which was more civilized and sedentary than that of the Jāhiliya, and because of the growing of the slave and captive-class who had difficulty with the Arabic language, and the development of the art of music and singing in that society, and because 'love is the expression of sentiments and emotions,' the 'Umarite poets began to use a simple and lucid language which

(181) Mu'allāqa, vv.10-42.

(182) See: Dr. Sh. Faīṣal, op. cit., pp.313,314,326,334, 335,342, and see: 'Abdu'llāh Anīs al-Tabbā', al-Ḥubb wa'l-Ghazal baīna-'l-Jāhiliya wa-'l-Islam, Beirut, N.D., pp.57,58,104.

was probably nearer to everyday language, despite its soundness and perfection. The following examples of 'Umar may illustrate this point:

(a) ثُمَّ قَالَتْ وَهِيَ تُذَرِّي دَفَعَ عَيْنَيْهَا جُومًا
لَلثَّرِ بِأَقْدَاطِكَ هَذَا الْمُعْتَنُ أَنْ يَدُومَا
أَخْبَرَهُ بِأَلَّذِي أَلْقَى فِيهِ مَا هُوَ مُقِيمَا
مَلْبَعُهُنَا مَوْعِدًا لَدُنِّي فِيهِ نَحْمُومَا
وَلَيْتَنِي زَاكِرًا إِذَا مَا أَنْصَفَ الْبَيْنُ بَرَاهِمَا

(183)

(b)

قُلْتُ بِالْخَيْفِ مَرَّةً لِحَوِي نَوَاعِيسٍ
قُلْتُ بِاللَّهِ يَلَّتِي سَمِعْتُ مَوْلَى ظَالِمٍ
إِقْبَلِي الْعُذْرَةَ مِنْ نَفْسِي صَادِرَةً غَيْرَ آثِمٍ
لَمْ تَجْطِي الْوَدَادَ لَدُنِّي وَرَبِّي الْمَوَاسِمِ

(184)

The following line also is interesting:

إِنَّمَا أَهْلُكَ حَيْرَانٌ لَنَا إِنَّمَا تَحْنُ وَهْمُ شَيْءٍ أَحَدٍ

(185)

(183) Dīwān, pp. 80, 81, No. 102.

(184) Ibid., p. 83, No. 105.

(185) Ibid., p. 115, No. 155, v.16.

This line if we take off the second ^سلِ نَمَّا which was added because of the metrical necessity, would appear as an ordinary prose-sentence of a very familiar pattern in colloquial language. ‘Umar, therefore, used such language because of its popularity, its reality and furthermore, love is the language of the heart. To keep this heart, living, he simplified its feeling in words that were appreciated for their simplicity and lucidity.

Although the ‘Umarite-poets used the aṭlāl prelude, they differed in their implications. The aṭlāl of ‘Umar b. Abī Rabī‘a were "luxurious and civilized abodes" as they were described by a modern researcher,⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ but they, on the other hand indicate the influence of the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda on the poets of that age.

Moreover, while the Jāhiliya poets were very fond of depicting the physical charms of their beloveds, and while the ‘Umarite poets were interested in describing their lov-adventures, the ‘Udhri-poets were the pioneers of moral love which was based upon a deep appreciation for moral virtues.

The ‘Udhri love was born in the outskirts of al-Ḥijāz. Many factors contributed to its creation. The political factors which influenced the ‘Umarite love, did affect the ‘Udhri love too. The policy of the Umayyād party in keeping

(186) Dr. Sh. Faīṣal, op. cit., p.373.

their political opponents under their control took two shapes; either pouring an immense wealth into the main cities of al-Hijāz and thus keeping them busy from thinking about their political ambitions in the case of 'Umarite love or by isolating the outlying parts of Hijāz from any contact with other parts of the peninsula. (187) Furthermore, the Arabs who used to live there were very poor in comparison with the people of the two holy cities, Mecca and al-Madina (188) and thus they were unable to enjoy themselves. Moreover they were influenced by Islam which strongly urged them to abandon sensual pleasures, but on the other hand, encouraged moral beauty. The 'Udhri-lovers were good Muslims. Therefore they were subjected to two factors: religious feeling and sexual desires. The union between those two paradoxical elements created the 'Udhri love. 'Chastity al-'Iffa, العِفَّة as a result of the first factor and the true feeling of love as a result of the second factor, are the most conspicuous norms of the 'Udhri-love-poetry. The Islamic puritanism which adopted an uncompromising attitude towards adultery and fornication did, in due course, drive some pious people of al-Hijāz to find a compromise between their human instincts and their puritanical religion and eventually they found it

(187) Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusāin, Ḥadīth al-Arbi'ā', Vol. 1, Cairo, 1937, p. 306.

(188) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 237.

in the 'Udhri-love which "was presumably understood as a love which could reach the divine without abandoning the human, and might become spiritual while remaining also carnal. (189) So it may be understood that the 'Udhri lovers freed their 'love' from the yoke of 'sexual instinct.' It has also been suggested that the 'Udhri-love was taken from the platonic-love which was current amongst the Greeks. (190)

As Jamil Butaina (d. 82, A. H. / about 701, A. D.) was the pioneer of this literary school, it is important to observe its general characteristics as seen in his diwan and such observation might afford some fruit for comparisons.

From a brief glance at his diwan, one can sense the 'chastity feeling' when he addresses his beloved - Butaina, The faithfulness in love and chastity were rooted in the tribe of Banu 'Udhra - the tribe of Jamil - Ibn Qutaiba (191) related that love and beauty were common amongst the tribe of 'Udhra, one of them was asked: "What is the matter with

(189) Kinany, op. cit., p.180.

(190) Dr. Ahmad 'Abdu-'l-Sattar al-Jiwari, al-Hubb al-'Udhri, Cairo, 1948, p. 45 (This view is held by Prof. L. Massignon in his article 'Udhri' in Ency. of Islam, Vol. IV, Leyden and London, 1934, p. 990: Hubb 'Udhri love is in the history of Islamic thought a literary and philosophical theme, related to the 'platonic love' of the Greeks from which it is derived, and to the amour courtois of the Western Christian Middle Ages which it inspired).

(191) Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa l-Shu'ara', Vol. I, p. 400.

your hearts, melting like salt in water as if they were bird's hearts? Don't you show endurance? He replied: That is because we look at eye's orbits that you don't." The members of this tribe were also known for their faith in love to the extent that if they fall in love, they die either of love or of consumption.⁽¹⁹²⁾ Therefore they were 'love-martyrs - Shuhada' al-Hubb , شهداء الحب as Jamīl himself expressed:⁽¹⁹³⁾

يَقُولُونَ جَاهِدْ يَا حَمِيلُ بِغُرُومٍ وَأَيَّ حِلْطٍ غَيْرُكَهْنٍ أُرِيدُ
لَكَ حَبِيبٌ بَيْرُوتُ بَشَاةٌ وَكَثْرُ قَتِيلٍ عِنْدُكَهْنٍ شَرِيدُ

It is very interesting to note that Jamīl used in those lines religious words such as 'Jāhid and Jihād - the holy war, one of Islamic pillars' - "Shahīd" and this indicates the religious influence on those poets, although Jamīl used them for his love-allusion. This feeling of love-martyrdom is

(192) al-Sarrāj, Maṣāri' al-'Ushshāq, Beirut, 1958, Vol. 1: p.42:

"سَمِعْتُ - جَاهِلًا مِنْ بَنِي عُذْرَةَ عِنْدَ عُرُومَةٍ مِنَ الزَّبِيرِ يَجِدُّنِي،
نَقَالَ عُرُومَةٌ : يَا هَذَا جَمْعُهُ أَقُولُ لَكُمْ إِنَّكُمْ أُرْقَهُ الْفَاسَ
قُلُوبًا. نَقَالَ : نَعَمْ ، وَاللَّهِ لَقَدْ تَرَكْتُ بِالْحُبِّ سَلَابِيهَ قَدْ
خَامَرَهُمُ السُّلُّ ، وَمَا بِهِمْ رَأْيَ إِلَدِ الْحُبِّ ."

(193) Jamīl Buthaīna, Dīwān, edited by: Bashīr Yamūt, Beirut, 1934, p. 21, and the edition of Buṭrus al-Bustānī, Beirut, 1953, pp. 23, 24.

another religious influence as it was related by al-Sarrāj⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās that the Prophet Muḥammad said: "He who falls in love, and achieves his aim, and is chaste then died, is a martyr." Ibn 'Abbās even though that a dead-chaste lover will entre Paradise.⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ Some scholars even collected the stories and anecdotes of the 'Udhri love-martyrs.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ The 'Udhri love has no aim or end to be achieved, then the love-feeling and passion would be extinguished. But it was rather a sort of honest and simple friendship as was expressed by another poet who was not from the tribe of 'Udhra, but from the same school, Majnūn Laīlā who said that he had fallen in love with Laīlā since she was a young girl in the time when she and he used to take the cattle for pasturing and that friendship grew later on into chaste love.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ The other feature in this poetry is that the 'Udhri-poets composed their amatory verses and dedicated them to one beloved, the only one, such as Jamīl and Buthaīna, Majnūn and Laīlā, 'Irwa b. Hizām and 'Afrā' and Lubnā and Qaīs. This 'monogamy'

(194) al-Sarrāj, Maṣāri' al-'Ushshāq, Vol, 1, p.14.

(195) al-Sarrāj, Maṣāri' al-'Ushshāq, Vol. 1, p.103.

(196) See: Otto Spies, Mughulṭai's Biographical Dictionary of the Martyrs of Love, Vol. 1, Stuttgart, 1936.

(197) Dīwān Majnūn Laīlā, ed. with notes by:
'Abdu'l-Mit'āl al-Ṣa'īdī, Cairo, n.d. p.12.

of 'Udhri love which was not noticeable in the Jāhiliya period and totally unknown to the 'Umarite-poets, was due perhaps to the religion-pattern which set up one single God - instead of many idols - and one single nation - instead of many tribes. So the 'Udhri, spontaneously perhaps, transposed this idea to their love-affairs, to concern themselves with one single beloved." (198)

'Ya's **الْيَأْسُ** despair,' the pessimistic attitude towards love, is another feature of 'Udhri-love-poetry. (199) This attitude which is coupled with a sense of suffering and pain may be due to the influence of 'Fatalism' which inculcated in the mind of 'Udhri-lovers that they must suffer from their lovesickness and display their submission to their fate, so that they would be rewarded in the hereafter. (200) Jamīl leaves his affairs to 'Allāh' who will help him in curing his lovesickness, his sadness and his grief: (201)

إِلَى اللَّهِ أَشْكُو مَا أُلْدِي مِنَ الْهَوَى وَمَنْ حُرِّقَ لِقَاعِي وَنَزِير
وَمَنْ كُرِبَ لِلْحُبِّ فِي بَاطِنِ الْحَا وَلَيْلِ طُحُولِ الْحَزَنِ غَيْرِ قَصِيرِ
أَبْكِي عَلَى نَفْسِي بَعِيدٍ غَرِيرَةٍ بِمَا نَزَّ حَزْبِي فِي الْوَعْدَةِ أَسِيرِ

(198) Kinany, op. cit., p.277.

(199) Diwān, Jamīl Buthaina, pp. 34, 48.

(200) Kinany, op. cit., pp. 179, 258.

(201) Diwān, p.34 and the following line
p.38:

إِلَى اللَّهِ أَشْكُو لَدَى النَّاسِ هُبْطٌ وَلَدَيْ مَنْ شَكُوهُ هَيْبٌ يُرْفَعُ

Jamīl was blamed for this endless love as there was no hope to achieve, but he always answered that his love was from the will of God and he must follow the divine order as he used the expressions, (202) قَضَاءُ اللَّهِ ، قَضَى اللَّهُ

لَقَدْ لَدَيْهِ نِيْلٌ أَوْ زَوْجَرَابَةٌ هَبِيبٌ إِلَيْهِ فِي مَلَامَتِهِ شَرِيٌّ
وَقَالَ أَفَوُهْ هَتَمَ مَتَى أَنْتَ هَائِمٌ بَشَنَةٌ نِيْلٌ قَدْ تَعِيدُ وَمَدُّنِي
فَعَلَّتْ لَهُ نِيْلٌ فَضَّلَ اللَّهُ مَا رَكِبَ عَلَيَّ وَكُلَّ فِيمَا فَضَّلَ اللَّهُ مِنْ رَدِّ

He even stressed this feeling of fatalism by applying such words as PL. الْقَدَرُ قَدَر in the following line: (203)

وَالْحَبَّةُ أَوَّلُ مَا يَلُومُهُ لِحَاكِمَةٍ تَأْتِي بِهِ وَتَوْفَقُهُ الْقَدَرُ

Furthermore, Jamīl and other 'Udhri lovers sometimes use words which may imply a meaning of sensual or physical pleasure such as تمتع (205) or أَلَذُّ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا (204) or لَذَّةُ الدُّنْيَا (206) or لَذَّةُ الْحُبِّ (207), but in the

(202) Dīwān, p. 23 and p. 28:

تَجُودٌ عَلَيَّ بِالْحَبِيبَةِ وَمَارَ تَجُودٌ عَلَيَّ بِالرِّضَابِ مِنَ النُّفَرِ
فِيَالِيَةِ لِي قَدْ فَضَّلَ زَالِكُ مَرَّةً فَيَعْلَمُ لِي عِنْدَ ذَلِكَ مَا شَكَّرِي

(203) Dīwān, p. 36.

(204) Ibid., p. 14.

(205) Ibid., p. 17.

(206) Ibid., p. 39.

(207) Ja'far b. Shamsu'l-Khilāfah, Kitābush-Shi'r, Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 19,407, Paper No. 7.

قَالَ عُرْوَةٌ بِهِ هَرَامٌ : فَمَا نَتَّ لِنَفْسِي لَذَّةُ الْحُبِّ كُلِّهَا
فَلَمْ يَلْقَ قَبْلِي مُحِبٌّ وَلِلْعَدْوِ

'Udhri love, these words were only used because of their moral beauty and they do not imply any physical feeling which is obvious in the 'Umarite or Jāhiliya love, since the enjoyment of Jamīl was merely to enjoy looking at his Buthaīna and no sensual pleasure was involved, as he says:

تَمَنَّى مِنْهَا يَوْمَ بَانُوا بِنَظَرَةٍ
وَهَلْ عَاشَ مِنْ نَظَرَةٍ بِمَتَعٍ (208)

The unity of the subject-matter and the freedom from the mentioning of the aṭlāl of the beloved with the scene of her departure, are other characteristics of 'Udhri poetry. The 'Udhri poets do not need to mention the aṭlāl as in the case of the Jāhiliya Qasīda, because the beloved in the 'Udhri love is living in the heart of her lover who is a 'victim of her love - صريع الحب (209) to the extent that if the bowels of the poet were to be discovered, a new and inherited love can be seen in them. (210) Therefore, the 'Udhri poet does not need the aṭlāl to remind him of his beloved as he lives for his love, so he passes directly to his theme without any formal

(208) Dīwān, p. 39.

(209) Majnūn Laīlā, Dīwān, p. 47.

أَبْنَيْ صَرِيْعِ الْحُبِّ دَامَ مِنَ الرُّوْحِ وَأَصْبَحَ مُزْمِعَ الْفُؤَادِ مِنَ الصَّدْرِ

(210) Jamīl Buthaīna, Dīwān, p. 22.

فَلَوْ تَلَفَ الْكُفَّاءُ صُورَ تَحَنُّنٍ
لَبْنَةُ حُبِّ طَارِفٍ وَتَلِيدٍ

prelude or traditional pattern. True, the 'Udhri poets mention the empty encampments,⁽²¹¹⁾ but the aṭlāl was never regarded as an inevitable prelude in the chastity-poetry.

However, both the 'Umarite and the 'Udhri poetry favoured the 'Qit'a' rather than the long ode for several reasons. It was more suitable for the nearby development in the art of singing and music. Again the tendency of the poets of that epoch to compose their poems on one subject only encouraged the Qit'a to grow independently. Thus the Ghazal prelude freed itself from the traditional or the classical structure of the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda. Moreover, the poets of the 'Abbasid period developed the art of Qit'a composition to a great extent especially when the literary innovation-movement took place under the leadership of Bashshār b. Burd (d.783 A.D.) and Abū Nūwās (d. Circa 810 A.D.) as we shall see later on.

There is another kind of love which existed in the Arabic Qaṣīda, which may be termed 'satirical love,' that of holding up the vice or folly of the times to ridicule, lampooning individuals through the use of the names of their women, or through describing them as 'beloveds of the satirist.' This love flourished with the effect of the political crisis which took place at the beginning of the Umayyād Dynasty (661 A.D.)

(211) Jamīl Buthaīna, Dīwān, pp. 53, 38, 22, 81, and Majnūn Laīlā, Dīwān, p. 79.

when this sort of love was used as a political weapon to distract their opposition. In the Jāhilīya period this kind of love was centred around the social status of women. The Bedouins were very concerned about their women especially in the time of raiding or sudden attack from another tribe. They were aware of the consequences of those raidings which might reduce their women to the position of slaves and captives. Their new masters would boast in mentioning their names in their love prelude in order to injure the honour of their rivals. It is also possible to think that Arabs used to compose amatory verses about their enemy's women partly because they used to love them as the opportunities were available in pasturing, pilgrimage and even on raiding-occasions.⁽²¹²⁾ This attitude may be understood from the following line of 'Antara:⁽²¹³⁾

"I fell in love with her suddenly
as I slew her people,
I swear by your father that such
a declaration is scarce opportune."

However, this love cannot be regarded as true love for its purpose was to upset either the father, the brother or the clan of the girl whose name occurred in such a love - composition which kindled their anger and their jealousy. But

(212) Dr. 'Abdu' llāh al-Taīyb al-Majdhūb, al-Murshid ilā Fahm ash-'ār al-'Arab wa šinā'atihā, Cairo, 1955, Vol. I, p.416.

(213) Mu'allaqā, line 7, and A. J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.179.

in the fierce battle between Islam and its opponents, satire found in obscene love an efficient method of ridiculing women and causing disgrace and shame to their clans and families. This can be seen clearly in the dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit, the poet of Islam, who drew the most obscene pictures of the infidels' wives of Mecca.⁽²¹⁴⁾ One of the reasons that encouraged this sort of love poetry was presumably in the effect of Islamic puritanism on women's attitude towards love-poetry. They began to realise the discredit of the illegal love and its consequences which drove them to refuse anybody who would celebrate their charms. They were scared of a public scandal.⁽²¹⁵⁾

The 'satirical-love' poetry grew more frequent in the Umayyād age and the political factor was an important reason. It may be applicable, therefore to call it 'political love.' Dr. Ṭāḥa Ḥusayn,⁽²¹⁶⁾ however, regards it as a new art which was invented by the Islamic poets although it is rather difficult to know "whether the poet was serious in his love or merely making gestures, praising his beloved because he loves her or because he hates her folk. Thus one is obliged to consider this sort of love poetry an independent art which

(214) Dīwān, XXXVII, p.30, XLVI, p.32, LIV, p.34, LXIV, p.37, CXXVI, p.55, CCXIV, p.87, CCXXVI, p.91.

(215) See: A. Kh. Kinany, op. cit., pp.126,157.

(216) Dr. Ṭāḥa Ḥusayn, Ḥadīth al-Arbi'ā', Vol. I, p. 320.

has nothing to do with the true feelings and emotions of the poet himself."

The following three examples are taken from the works of three poets who had different political beliefs: al-'Arjī, an aristocratic Hījāzī youth, 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Hassān b. Thābit, a member of the Prophet's Helpers (Anṣār) and 'Ubaīd Allāh b. Qaīs al-Ruqaiyāt, the poet of the Zubairite party. All of them composed a sort of 'political-love-poetry' and mentioned the names of the wives or sisters of the Umayyād rulers, as their mistresses. Al-'Arjī composed his amatory verses on Jaīdā' mother of Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī the governor of al-Hijaz⁽²¹⁷⁾ and on Jabra,⁽²¹⁸⁾ the wife of the governor. Al-Isfahānī gives the reason: that al-'Arjī wanted to kindle the anger of the governor who was a tyrant but there was no love involved in the matter.⁽²¹⁹⁾

(217) Aghānī, Vol. 1, pp. 154,161.

عوي عليا ربة الوردج إنه إلى تفعل تحركي
إني أتيته لي يمانية إهدني بني الحارث من مدح
لبيته مولد ما يركطه ليلتي إلى علم منبرج
في الحج إنه حبة رمان وأهله إنه هي لم تنجح

(218) Ibid., pp.162,163.

عوي علي فاهي جبر فيم الصدود وانتم سقر
ما لفتي الدمار من حمر تفرق بضا النسر
الحول بعد الحول يتبعه ما الدهر إلى الحول والشمر

(219) Ibid., pp. 154,161 and al-Baghdādī, Khizāna, Vol. 1, p.99.

'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Hassān b. Thābit composed his amatory verses about Ramla daughter of Mu'āwīya, ⁽²²⁰⁾ Such composition made Yazīd, her brother, who grew up as a Bedouin, with the instincts and tastes which belong to the Bedouins- love of pleasure, hatred of piety, and reckless disregard for the laws of religion, ⁽²²¹⁾ very angry to the extent that al-Akhtal was invited to satirize 'Abdu'l-Rahmān and the Helpers disgracefully. ⁽²²²⁾

Ibn Qaīs al-Ruqaiyāt mentioned Umm al-Banīn, wife of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. ⁽²²³⁾ He began by describing her and how he enjoyed his night with her despite her husband who was very jealous and who was guarding her but he related that all those things happened in a dream. ⁽²²⁴⁾ The use of dream in this

(220) Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', pp. 456-457:

وهي زهره من لؤلؤة الفواصد فيرت من جواهر مكنون
 ولما نبت لم تحبها في غار من العاصم ذوب
 ثم ضا صرط إلى القبة الخضراء نسي في ممر منون

(221) R. A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.196.

(222) See: Dr. al-Saīd Muṣṭafā Ghāzi, Al-Akhtal Shā'ir Banī Umaīya, 1st. ed., Alexandria, 1957, pp. 48,49,50,51,52,53.

(223) Ibn Qaīs, al-Ruqaiyāt, Dīwān, No. 48, pp.121-124.

(224) Ibid., p. 122, line 12:

أتني في المنام فقلت هذا هي أعتق

sort of poetry perhaps indicates that the poet is honest and does not mean anything beyond that of kindling the feeling of jealousy and anger of his political opponents who deprived him of his own right. (225)

(b) Nature-Poetry:

Nature with its universal beauty was a rich theme in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda. The desert with its monotony and solitude, with its various flora and fauna, with its happiness and sadness, was the only source from which the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda drew its images and pictures. Description ('Waṣf') was based on the individual sense: the Jāhiliya poet describes the natural objects according to his subjective responses and his own feeling. He does not express the feeling of the others since his physical environment made him an individual and since national unity was not yet born.

The Jāhiliya Qaṣīda gives abundant evidence of a fine study of animal life. Al-Jāhiz on this account, asserts that nearly every meaning which was heard from philosophers or read in the books of doctors and theologians concerning animal-knowledge, can be found in ancient Arabic poetry. (226) The Jāhiliya poets devoted long passages to descriptions of domestic animals such as the camel, the horse and the dog.

(225) See: Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusain, Hadīth al-Arbī'ā', Vol. 1, pp. 319, 320, 321.

(226) al-Jāhiz, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. III, p. 83.

Understandably their descriptions of desert animals were often based upon the 'beneficial value' especially in a barren desert that has no means of survival except those animals.⁽²²⁷⁾ The camel was glorified by almost the majority of the Jāhiliya poets because of its usefulness to man. As a result the camel acquired an artistic value to the extent that the description of the poet's camel became a traditional theme in the poetical structure of the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda, - although the warrior-poet magnified the horse to a great extent. Prof. Nöldeke stated, through his observations of nature-poetry in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda, that "certain animals well known to the Arabs (e.g. the panther, the jerboa, and the hare) are seldom mentioned and scarcely ever described, apparently for no reason except that they were not included⁽²²⁸⁾ in the conventional repertory." This curious observation according to Prof. Nicholson, illustrates the highly artificial character of the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda.⁽²²⁹⁾

The description of the camel occupied a very high position amongst the poets of that age and even amongst the philologists of the Islamic era. Al-Aṣma'ī (d. 831 A.D.) wrote a book

(227) 'Abdu-'l-'Azīm 'Alī Qanāwī, al-Waṣf fī'l-Shi'r al-'Arabī, 1st. ed., Cairo, 1949, Vol. I, pp. 55, 221.

(228) R. A. Nicholson, op. cit., p. 78 (Quoted from: Th. Nöldeke, Fünf Mo'allaqāt,

(229) Ibid., p. 78.

called "The book of Camels - Kitāb al-Ibil" in which he mentioned: their diseases, their names, their characters, their colours, and their behaviour in the desert-journey.⁽²³⁰⁾ When the Jāhiliya poet describes his she-camel he usually tends to be realistic. It is interesting to analyse Ṭarafa's description of his she-camel which occupies thirty-two lines in his famous Mu'allāqa⁽²³¹⁾ in order to see to what extent he succeeded in expressing and illustrating this reality of description. We shall later note the development and influence of such compositions upon the works of Islamic and Umayyād poets. Ṭarafa rides off on his she-camel when grief assails him. She is swift and lean-flanked. She is sure-footed like the planks of a litter. She is obedient and noble when she hears the voice of the caller, returns to him. She has a bunchy tail guarding her against tuft-haired stallions. He then likens the hair of her tail to the feathers of the wings of a white vulture that is fixed firmly to the bone. Even the movement of her tail attracted Ṭarafa's attention especially when she strikes with it behind the rear-rider, or her dry udders which withered like an old-water-skin. Her two thighs are fleshy like the gates of a lofty, smooth-walled castle. Her spine-bones are tight and strong, her

(230) See for details: al-Aṣma'ī, Kitāb al-Ibil, pp. 66-157 in: Texte zur Arabischen Lexikographie, edited by: Dr. August Haffner, Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1905.

(231) Mu'allāqa, lines 11-40, 43, 44.

ribe are like bows. Her elbows are widely spaced. The bristles under her chin are red. Her back is very firm. She is swift. Her skull (cranium) is huge. Her shoulder-blades high hoisted to frame her loftiness. The traces of twisted ropes on her back and ribs are like-water-courses as though in their movement of meeting and parting, are white gores which mark a slit shirt. Her neck is long like a rudder of a vessel. Her skull is like an anvil. Her cheek is smooth like Syrian paper and her split lip is like a Yemenite tanned leather in its smoothness. Her eyes are like a pair of mirrors in their purity and they are like the dark eyes of a wild cow with calf (The sight of this camel is strong and perfect like the sight of a wild-cow who is looking everywhere to protect her calf from any attack that might come from a wild beast.) Her ears are sensitive and true especially on a night-journey, she can even detect whispering. They are sharp and indicate her noble pedigree. They are like the ears of a lone-pasturing wild-cow. Her heart is sensitive, pulses strongly and quickly as a pounding-rock set in the midst of a solid boulder. Her upper-lip is marked by a slit and the lean part of her nose is holed. She is a trained camel in her running and if you wish her to run swiftly she appears as if she is swimming with her forelegs like a male-ostrich. Thus Tarafa closes this vivid picture by saying that this is the only she-camel that he wants to ride in his desert-journey.

This description can be taken as an example to illustrate the artistic imagination of the Bedouin. Tarafa did not follow a set pattern in his description. He relied on his own individuality and his own observations. He began with describing her swiftness, her character as obedient and noble then he went on to describe her tail, her thighs, her back, her ribs, her neck, her forearms, her bristles under her chin. He again mentioned her back, her skull, her shoulders, her neck, the smoothness of her cheek, her split lip, her eyes, her ears, her heart, her upper-lip, her nose. Tarafa, as it appears, did not look at his she-camel as one unit, a whole unit, but he looked at her as many various parts which form at the end a composite unit. That is why he started his description with her swiftness and tail then passed to her head and went back to describe her back. He regarded every part of his camel as an independent unit in itself and his description is in fact, a gathering of independent pictures that formed his unique she-camel. The poet, through his description appears to have two artistic personalities: the materialistic one when he likens the parts of his she-camel's body to natural objects and sensitive one when he described her character as obedient in returning to her caller since she hears him, and when he described her heart as sensitive and pulses strongly and quickly. His similes were taken from his

physical environment especially when he likened the strong sight and hearing of his she-camel to that of a wild-cow with her calf whom she protects against any attack from a wild beast or a hunter, or to that of a wild-cow who was left alone in pasturing.

The likening of the she-camel in speed to other desert animals in the Mu'allaqāt may be regarded as an artistic feature of this poetry. In the Mu'allāqa of Labīd⁽²³²⁾ she is likened in speed to a wild ass and to a wild cow whose calf had been devoured by a wild beast, in the Mu'allāqa of 'Antara⁽²³³⁾ to a male ostrich and in the Mu'allāqa of al-Ḥārīth b. Ḥilliza⁽²³⁴⁾ to a female ostrich who was the mother of young ostriches and a desert-dweller and who was very conscious of the hunter's attack.

Sometimes, the Jāhiliya poets add human elements and features to the description of their she-camels. They talk with her and consider her a human journey-companion as illustrated in the following couplet of al-Muthaqqib al-'Abdī:⁽²³⁵⁾

If I rise at night to put the
saddle on her back
She sighs deeply like a grieved man;
She says, when I tighten the strap
of the saddle
is this to be for ever his way
and mine?

(232) Mu'allāqa, vv. 22-54.

(233) 'Antara, Mu'allāqa, vv. 24-27.

(234) Mu'allāqa, vv. 9-11.

(235) Mufaḍḍaliyāt, ed. Hārūn & Shākir, pp. 291, 292, vv. 35-37.

Is departing and gathering the whole
of time,
will he never spare me, or save me?
(from being utterly worn out).

Thus this description of the she-camel with all its
artistic features became a traditional element in the
Jāhiliya Qaṣīda and was imitated by the Islamic poets. But
there were two poets of the Umayyād period, al-Rā'ī and Dhū'r-
Rumma, who added new themes to this subject-matter. Al-Rā'ī -
the Shepherd - was a nickname given to the poet because he
vividly described camels in his poetry and was regarded as a
'fahl' amongst the Umayyād poets.⁽²³⁶⁾ In one of his famous
odes which was classified as one of the Malḥamāt⁽²³⁷⁾ by
al-Qurashī,⁽²³⁸⁾ 'Abīd al-Rā'ī begins that long poem of eighty-
three lines, with the usual erotic-prelude (lines 1-4) then he
passes on to describe the camels, their power, their loftiness
and the smoothness of their skin. He described his she-camel
as fat, fleshy and her skin so smooth that the ticks would
easily slip on it - (v. 8)⁽²³⁹⁾ This picture was not new as

(236) Aghānī, Vol. XX, p. 168.

(237) Jamhara, pp. 353-359.

(238) Al-Malḥamāt المنحومات Lit. Epics, but the term was
used by al-Qurashī in his Jamhara to denote seven famous
odes which belong to seven famous Umayyād poets:
Farazdaq, Jarīr, Akḥṭal, 'Abīd al-Rā'ī, Dhū'r-Rumma,
al-Kumait, and al-Tirimmah b. Hakīm. For more details
see: Jamharatu ash'ar al-'Arab, Brit. Mus. MS., 415,
Fol. 21.

(239) Jamhara, p. 353, v. 8.

نَبِيَّةٌ مَرَاتِفَةٌ مَوْهٍ مَرَّتُهُ لَدَيْكَ طَيِّعٌ فِي الْفَرَادِ مَصِيلٌ

Ka'b b. Zuhair in his famous ode 'Banat Su'ad' used this idea when he described the chest and the flanks of his she-camel so soft and smooth that the ticks slip while moving over it. (240) Al-Rā'ī after this line (v. 8) goes on to describe vividly a journey of camels with their driver, their approaching the watering-place, their pasturing, then described the herd as headed by an active- strong and swift she-camel. (241) They were moving in that wilderness and the sad tone of their driver singing was encouraging them to go forward by night. (242) They were exhausted and very thirsty. The scene of watering is the most vivid picture in this ode. Al-Rā'ī depicted the dreadful thirst by saying that the sound of water can be heard inside their abdomens (243) "لَمَّا رَفِيَ أَهْوَاهُنَّ صَلِيلًا"

The difference between the description of Tarafa and al-Rā'ī is that Tarafa did not describe a flock of camels marching in the desert. He merely described his own she-camel according to his individual observations which were marked by a realistic sense. The Jāhiliyya poet usually likened his she-camel to a wild-ass or wild-cow with calf and thus he digressed to describe

(240) Ka'b b. Zuhair, Dīwān, p.12, line 19.

يَسِيءُ الْفَرَادُ عَلَيْهِ ثُمَّ يُزَلِّقُهُ ضَالِّجَانَهُ وَأَمْرَبُ نَهْلِيلُ

(241) Jamhara, p. 354, vv. 12-14, vv. 16-17.

(242) Ibid., p. 354, v. 15-16.

(243) Ibid., p. 355, v. 21, 22.

فَتَوَّاهُوا صَوَادِي بِسَمْعِهِ غَنِيَّةٌ لَمَّا رَفِيَ أَهْوَاهُنَّ صَلِيلًا

those animals, whereas al-Rā'ī was very fond of depicting a flock of camels together with the scene of their pasturing and their journey and he drew other pictures which illustrate the Bedouin character - generosity and bravery - from such scenes. Al-Rā'ī sometimes appears to be in love with his camels. (244)

(244) See: Dr. Saīd Nawfal, *Shi'r al-Tabī'a fī'l-Adab al-'Arabī*, Cairo, 1945, pp. 140, 141, 142.

It is very interesting to note that some poets described their camels by likening them to girls in their walking or in describing their breasts and hips such as the following two lines which belong to al-Qutāmī and which were esteemed as remarkable verses in describing she-camels:

يَمْتَنِبُهُ زَهْوًا نَدَى الْعُجْبَانِ خَازِلَةٌ
وَلِلْصَدُورِ عَلَى الْعُجْبَانِ سَكَلٌ
فَرَّتْ مَصْرُضَاتُ وَالْحَصَى رَمَضٌ
وَالرَّيْحُ سَالِكَةٌ وَالظُّلُّ مُعَدِّلٌ

The critics added that if the first line were composed in describing women, it would be better because of its beauty and the soundness of its vocabulary.

See: al-Qutāmī, *Dīwān*, ed. J. Barth, I, vv. 17, 18, p. 4, and Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, *Dīwān*, al-Ma'ānī, Vol. II, Cairo, 1352, A.H., pp. 118, 119.

Dhū'r-Rumma who was the Rāwī- Transmitter - of al-Rā'ī, had a great attachment to camels. He describes them in a conventional way.⁽²⁴⁵⁾ But in two lines of his famous Bā'iya (lines 39, 40) he broke with tradition by drawing a picture of the conduct of a reckless she-camel while on the other hand the Jāhiliya poets traditionally described their she-camel as well-behaved as seen in Tarafa's Mu'allāqa.⁽²⁴⁶⁾ Dhū'r-Rumma described his she-camel by saying that she is intelligent and active. She listens when her rider saddles her but she leaps when he puts his feet in the stirrups like the leaping of a scratched wild-ass which leaps sideways as though suffering from a pain in its flanks.⁽²⁴⁷⁾

(245) Jamhara, pp. 360-378 (The famous Bā'iya of Dhū'r-Rumma) and the Dīwān of Ghailān Ibn 'Uqbah known as Dhū'r-Rumma, Edited by: C. H. H. Macartney, Cambridge, 1919, pp. 1-35, No. I.

(246) Mu'allāqa, v. 16.

(247) Dīwān, pp. 9, 10 and al-Mutlali, op. cit., p. 109.

تَصْنَعُ إِذَا نَدَّهَا بِالْكُورِ حَاجَةً حَتَّى إِذَا مَا أُنْصَوْنَ مِنْ غَيْرِهَا سَبَّ
وَبِالسَّحَرِ مِنْ عَنَانٍ مَعْطَلَةٍ مَا تَهْ مِنْ بَابِ الثَّلَاثَةِ أَوْ حَبِيبِ

Raidings, disputes and tribal wars that occurred in Arabia, made the horses extremely important. The Arabs of the Jāhiliyya era loved the horse which they glorified and magnified to excess. They treasured nothing more than their horses. They saw in them glory, beauty, honour and power in challenging their rivals and adversaries. Indeed they even prefer them to their own families. (248)

The description of the horse in the Jāhiliyya Qaṣīda took two forms: either portraying his qualities as a pleasure and leisure-companion and especially in the chase as Imr al-Qaīs depicted his horse vividly in his Mu‘allaqa, (249) or as a battle-companion in the eyes of a gallant warrior such as the description of ‘Antara. (250) Imr al-Qaīs stressed the physical

(248) Abū Ubaīda Ma‘mar b. al-Muthannā, Kitāb al-Khaīl, 1st. ed., Hyderabad-Deccan, 1358, A.H., pp. 2, 3, 4. ‘Amr b. Kulthūm explains the reason of glorifying horses because they protect them against their enemy and will help them to achieve victory in the battle:

وَتَحْمِلُنَا غَدَاةَ الرِّزْقِ هَبْرَدُ عَرَفْنَا لَنَا نَقَادَ وَأَفْلَحِينَا
وَرَدْنَا دَرَاغًا وَهَرَبْنَا نَعْفًا مَا مَالِ الرِّصَالِ قَدِ لَبِينَا
وَرِثَاهُنَّ عَنْ آبَائِ صِدْقِهِ وَتَوَرَّجْنَا إِذَا مُتْنَا بَيْنَنَا

See: Mu‘allaqa, vv. 79-81.

(249) Mu‘allaqa, vv. 52 - 69.

(250) Mu‘allaqa, vv. 66 - 69.

characteristics of his horse whereas 'Antara emphasised the feelings of his horse during the battle. Imr al-Qaīs describes his horse as short-haired, swift, huge-bodied, strong, smooth, fiery, smooth in movement. His flanks are the flanks of a fawn, his legs are the legs of an ostrich. He runs like a wolf and like a young fox when he gallops. His body is sturdy, his tail long, his ribs strongly built, his back like the pounding-slab of a bride's perfumes, and he is unique in the chase.

This description was drawn from actual life and reflected some aspects of Imr al-Qaīs's life as a 'wandering-king' who lived for his own pleasure and who loved the chase. 'Antara personified his horse. He is brave despite the sinking of the lances into his breast. He protested silently as he did not know the art of conversation or speaking. The version here quoted is by A. J. Arberry.

'Antara! they were calling, and the
lances were like
well-ropes sinking into the breast of
my black steed.
Continuously I charged them with
his white blazoned face,
and his breast, until his body was
caparisoned in blood,
and he twisted round to the spear's
impact upon his breast
and complained to me, sobbing and
whimpering;
had he known the art of conversation, he
would have protested,
and had he been acquainted with speech,
he would have spoken to me." (251)

The general artistic features of horse-description in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda appear to be: the individual experience and observations as the Jāhiliya poets described the parts of the body of their horses to the last detail: such a description was by an expert. The second is the description of the horse's slenderness and swiftness by likening them to desert animals e.g. fawn, ostrich, wolf and fox as is illustrated in Imr al-Qaīs's description. The third is that they added to the horse a human character as they talked with him and sensed his feeling, he was able to express his own feeling as illustrated in 'Antara's picture. The fourth feature is a linguistic one: the vocabulary which was used in the horse-description was clearer and simpler than that of the camel-description in general. To illustrate this point, we may cite the following two lines: one belonging to Ṭarafa's Mu'allāqa describing his camel and the second belonging to 'Antara's Mu'allāqa describing his horse. Ṭarafa says:

مَا نَ عَلَوَبِ النَّعِ فِي رَأْيَاتِي مَوَارِدٍ مِنْ خَلْقَاءِ فِي ظَهْرِ قَرَدٍ (252)

To understand this line one might consult the dictionary to know the meaning of ، النَّعِ ، ، عَلَوَبِ ،

قَرَدٍ ،

whereas the following line of 'Antara does not need such consultation, as it is understandable from the first reading:

(253) لَوْ مَانَ بَدْرِي مَا الْخَارِ رَمَ أَشْتَلَى وَلَكَانَ لَوْ عَلِمَ الْكَلَامَ مَكْلَبِي

The description of the horse and the camel-description remained as an artistic ideal in nature-poetry.

The Jāhiliya poets often likened their she-camel to a wild-ass or a wild-cow and thus they digressed to describe the latter. A vivid picture of a wild-ass and a wild-cow can be seen in the Mu'allāqa of Labīd. (254) He begins by likening his she-camel to a she-ass, pregnant of a white-bellied sire who was very jealous and who was worn and lean because of the kicking and biting of fellow-stallions. He was bitten badly and he climbed with her to the hills as he wanted to take her away from other males. In the highland of al-Thalabūt, he watched her fearing lest hidden-hunters might see her. They stayed the six months of winter in that place and it was a long fasting for them together. So, they decided to seek a water-spring as the oncoming of summer dries up the herbage. Then they made their way towards the water despite the pricking of the thorns the she-ass's hoofs and the scorching winds of summer. In their way to the water-spring they kicked up a long column of dust like a smoke of a bonfire that was mixed with dry and wet branches of 'arfaj and fanned

(253) Mu'allāqa, v. 69.

(254) Mu'allāqa, vv. 25-35, vv. 36-53.

by the north wind (he described the dust which occurred through their rushing to the water as thick and high like that fire). When they approached the water, the male pushed her ahead of him as his habit was to push her ahead whenever she threatened to turn aside. Then they went to the middle of a rivulet and drank from a brimming spring which was surrounded by reeds and thus Labīd closes his description. It is interesting to note that in many pictures, but not in that which is given by Labīd, a hunter lies hidden in the reeds beside the water-spring, and as the wild-ass and his mates come down, shoots at them. In nearly every picture he misses, but the surprise sends the wild-asses galloping away with frantic speed. (255) Abū Dhū'aīb al-Hudhalī who was a Mukhadram poet depicted the hunter of wild-asses to have succeeded in shooting them. When they made their way through the water-spring, they heard that there was a hunter somewhere not so far from them so they went galloping except a she-ass who remained there with a stallion. Then the hunter saw them and immediately shot them with his arrow. He hit the female and while he was putting his hand in his quiver to shoot another, the wild-ass began to flee, but the hunter succeeded in hitting his flanks and he went galloping with his wound. Abū Dhū'aīb then portrayed the most vivid picture of those wild-asses by describing the blood

(255) Sir Charles J. Lyall, "The Pictorial Aspects of Ancient Arabian Poetry," J. R. A. S., London, 1912, p. 138.

that was flowing from their wounds and covered their fore-
legs as if they were wearing red-lined garments and thus he
ends this scene to pass to another one. (256)

As for the description of the wild-cow, Labīd begins his
picture by likening his she-camel to a wild-cow whose calf had
been devoured by wild-beasts. This flat-nosed cow went
unceasingly circling about her calf. She was groaning for
the sake of a half-weaned white calf whose body had been
dragged by wolves ashen in colour. After she had despaired
and lost her young one while she was wandering in that wilderness
all night long when the rain was streaming upon her in continuous
flow. So she took refuge under a high-branched tree. Labīd

(256) al-Mufaḍḍalīyat, ed. Hārūn & Shākīr, pp. 422-425, vv.16-36.
The following lines illustrate the hunting scene of those
wild-asses: vv. 32-36:

فَرَمَ مَا نَفَذَ مِنْ جُودٍ عَائِلٍ سَهْمًا، فَخَرَّ رِيَّةً مَصْمُوعًا
فَبَدَّلَهُ أَمْرًا هَذَا لَهَا عَجَبًا، فَعَثَّ فِي اللَّيْلِ يَرْجِعُ
فَرَمَ مَا لَعَنَ صَاعِدًا مُطَهَّرًا بِاللَّحْرِ مَا شَمَلَتْ عَلَيْهِ النَّصْلُوعُ
فَأَتَتْهُنَّ هُوَضُنَّ فَرَاكِ بِدَمَائِهِ أَرْبَابُكَ مَجْجَعُ
تَعْتَرْنَ فِي هَذِهِ الطُّبَابِ مَا نَمَّا كَيْبَةَ بَرُودٍ بَنَى رَيْدَ الدُّنُوعِ

then passes on to describe her under those conditions saying that she was white in colour except her hoofs and face, she was shining in the beginning of darkness as if she were a pearl of a diver which shines when shaken free from its thread. (257)

When night was over and dawn surrounded her, she left her night-refuge, her feet slipping upon the dripping earth. She gave up hope after seven nights and successive days of despair, sorrow and sadness, so that her swelling udders became dry and in this critical moment of her life she heard the murmur of unseen men's voices and thus she was terrified for man was her sickness " وَالَّذِينَ سَقَا (258) - wa'l-Anīsu saqāmuhā". Danger was waiting for her - the hunters - as she did not know in which direction the danger lay, before or behind her. From here Labīd passes to picture the scene of hunting. The hunting picture in the Jāhīlīya Qaṣīda always includes an attack on the animal by a hunter or hunters with dogs. The attack usually fails and the wild-cow after a battle with the hunting-dogs and dispatching some of them with her spearlike horns, flies away to vanish into the wilderness. (259) The

(257) Mu'allāqa, v.43:

وَتَفَرَّقَ فِي وَجْهِ الظُّلَمِ مُبِيرَةً كَلِمَاتِهِ الْبَحْرِيَّةُ كُلُّ نَظَامَةٍ

(258) Ibid., v.47.

وَتَوَقَّعَتْ رَأْسَ الذِّئْبِ مَرَاوِعًا عَنْ ظَهْرِ غَيْبٍ وَالَّذِينَ سَقَا

(259) See: Sir Charles J. Lyall, The Pictorial Aspects of Ancient Arabian Poetry, pp.139, 140.

following lines of Labīd describe the scene vividly:

And when the hunters despaired to win her (the wild-cow as their arrows cannot reach her)
they sent their flap-eared,
and dry-bellied dogs (to attack her)
they followed her, then she
turned upon them, attacking
with her horn
which is like a Samharī spear
in its length and shapeness.
She repelled them thinking that
if she did not,
her death will be certain and
imminent.

So she killed Kasāb (a name
of a hound) who was smeared
with blood,
and Sakhām (another name of hound)
was left lying on the battle-field". (260)

It is interesting, however, to note that the Jāhiliya poets
when describing the journey of a wild-ass and his mates towards

(260) Labīd, Mu'allāqa, vv.49-52. A vivid picture of the
hunting-battle between the wild-cow or wild-bull and the
hounds can be seen in the following lines of al-Nābigha
al-Dhubyānī:

نَلَّهَ الْفَرِيسَةَ بِالْمِزَّةِ مَا نَفَّذَهَا نَلَّهَ الْمِيطْرَازَ تَشْرِبُ مِنَ الْعَصْرِ
فَأَلَّهَ لَهَا دَهَا مَهْ جَبَّ صَفْحَتَيْهِ فَوَدَّ شَرِبَ نَوْمَ عَيْنٍ مَقْصَادِ
فَطَلَّ لَيْغَمٌ أَعْلَى الرَّوْفِ مَقْضَاً فِي حَالِهِ التَّوْبِ صَدْرُهُ غَيْرِي أَوْدِ
لَمَّا أُنْزِلَتْ رَاشِقُهُ إِنْ قَاعَ صَنْصَابِهِ وَلَدَسَّ بِلَإِ عَقْلٍ وَلَدَ مَوْدِ
مَالَتْ لَهُ النَّفْسُ إِلَى لَدَائِ الْهَمَاءِ وَإِنَّهُ مَوْلِدُكَ لَمْ يَكُنْ وَلَمْ يَصِرْ

See: al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, Dīwān, ed. W. Ahlwardt,
p.6, vv.15-19 and al-Tibrizī, al-Qaṣā'id al-'Ashr, p.154.

water-springs after violent thirst and the scorching wind of the burning summer of the desert, did not present the hunter⁽²⁶¹⁾ as in the case of the wild-cow or wild-bull whereas in most of the Mukhaḍḍamūn poetry the hunter was presented as waiting for the asses while the latter were about to drink. The hunter was even given names such as Ṣafwān⁽²⁶²⁾ or one of Banū Jillān who were known as famous shooters.⁽²⁶³⁾ Dhu'r-Rumma later on described the hunter of his wild-ass "as one of Banū Jillān, whose clothes were rags and shabby and whose voice was low, hiding himself in a shelter".⁽²⁶⁴⁾ It was thus observed that the presence of the hunter in this account may be regarded as an Islamic feature⁽²⁶⁵⁾ and one of the new themes that was added to the Arabic Qaṣīda in its literary evolution.

The Jāhīlīya Qaṣīda is also rich in the description of wild beasts. To illustrate this point we may cite the following three pictures of the wolf. The first belongs to al-Muraqqish al-Akbar who was regarded as one of the famous lovers and

(261) Der Dīwān des Lebīd, ed. al-Chalidī, Wien, 1880, pp.116-123, vv.28-43 and Th. Nöldeke, Delectus, pp.100-103, vv.28-43.

(262) al-Mufaḍḍalīyat, ed. Lyall, p.64, IX, v.15.

(263) Ibid., p.380, XXXIX, v.28.

(264) Dīwān, p.14, v.57 and Jamhara, p.366, v.8.

وَالشَّائِلُ مِنْ حَبْرٍ مَقْنَعٍ رَتَّ الشَّيْبِ خَفِيَ الشَّخْصُ مَرَبٍ

(265) A.J.Y. al-Muttalibī, op. cit., p.117.

warriors⁽²⁶⁶⁾ amongst the Arabs of the Jāhīlīya times. The second belongs to al-Shanfarā who was one of the ṣaʿālīk:⁽²⁶⁷⁾ a class which was formed from those who were social outcasts. The third picture belongs to al-Farazdaq (d.728 A.D.) who was one of the great Umayyād poets and who was known as the poet of boasting and bragging - Shāʿir al-Fakhr - شاعر الفخر - of his own tribe. A comparative glance at these artistic pictures in Arabic nature - poetry will enable us to trace the literary development of this theme and, on the other hand, to analyse the poetical personalities of its authors.

Al-Muraqqish al-Akbar described his wolf as follows:

When we lighted the fire to roast our meat
then a wolf, unhappy, dust-coloured, came to us.

I flung a slice of our roast-meat to him as I
was ashamed (to send him hungry away)
I hate impoliteness towards one with whom
I sit at meal.

Glad and happy he went back with it
(the slice of roast meat) shaking his head
like a gallant warrior returns home with booty.⁽²⁶⁸⁾

Al-Shanfarā gives this picture of his wolf:

I go early in the morning seeking
for scarce food like
an ashen - coloured, lean - hipped
wolf who was tottering from one
barren desert to another.
Hungry was he, keeping up with
the winds in his rushing
attacking in the ends of the mountain's-paths,
where he was waddling.
And when he found no food for which
he had planned to search
he howled and was answered by the
howling of other starving wolves.

(266) Mufaḍḍaliyat, ed. Shākir and Hārūn, p.221.

(267) See: Chapter I of this thesis, p.22-23.

(268) Al-Mufaḍḍaliyat, ed. Lyall, Vol. I, XLVII, p.466, vv.12,13,
14 and ed. Shākir and Hārūn, p.226.

They are bony, and pale-faced as if
they are arrows moving and quivering
in the hands of the gambler.
Or like a swarm of bees who were
disturbed by
the sticks of a honey-collector.
Their mouths are big and broad like
wide cracks in sticks,
their faces are miserable and sad and
they grin agrily.
He clamoured and they clamoured in a
desert plain,
as if they are mourning women who have
lost their children, crying in a highland.
He averted his eyes, they averted their
eyes, he consoled himself, they consoled
themselves
like the hungry offering consolation to
the hungry.
He complained, they complained, then
he bore it patiently, they bore it
patiently, as patience,
when a complaint is not useful, is
(something) sweet (bearable).
He then went back and they vanished
swiftly
despite their violent hunger which they
bore patiently. (269)

Al-Farazdaq describes his wolf in two poems: the first:

Many a night we spent at al-Gharīyāin when a wolf came
to us as a guest,
slender of forearms, and ashen in
colour.
Seeking for us until he drew near to us
as his habit was searching and
wandering since his mother had weaned him.
Had he come near to us, I would
have clothed him (with a garment),
if he used to (clothe himself).
But he turned his side away after
he approached us,
and the length of a spear or less was
between us.
Then I shared him half^{of} the rest of my food,
while the camels were drowsy (dozing) to sleep.

(269) See: al-Zamakhsharī, A'jab al-'Ajab fī Sharh Lāmīyat
al-'Arab, p. 37- 50, vu. 26- 35.

the son of Laīla (the poet) used not to look sternly at the night-visitor, as he offered his food to the wolf, his guest. (270)

The second picture is:

Many a dust-coloured wolf who was
not my companion
did I summon to my fire at the
middle of the night
"Come along," said I, as he drew
near to me.
"You and I are partners in my food."
I spent that night equalling out
the food between us
sometimes under the light of the fire
and sometimes under its smoke.
When he grins and grinds his teeth
while my hand is on the hilt of my sword,
said I,
"Eat with me, and if you will promise
that you will not cheat me
we shall be good friends, O, wolf."
O, wolf you and treachery are brothers
and did suck the same milk.
And if you seek hospitality elsewhere
you will be faced with the arrow and
the edge of the sword. (271)

There are significant similarities and differences in the way in which the three poets handle this theme. All described the colour of the wolf as that of dust or ash. Al-Muraqqish expressed the feeling of his love to that wolf as he was ashamed to send him hungry away. He was distinguished amongst them by picturing the happy state of the wolf after he had satisfied his hunger. The wolf went home shaking his

(270) Al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān*, edited with notes by: 'Abdu'llāh Ismā'īl al-Sāwī, 1st. ed., Cairo, 1936, p. 485.

(271) Al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān*, p. 870.

head like a brave warrior who returns with booty from the battle. This simile reflects the actual spirit of al-Muraqqish himself as he was regarded as one of the famous Arab warriors. Al-Muraqqish did not describe the body of his wolf nor did he express any feeling of fear towards it. The wolf of al-Muraqqish was unhappy because of hunger - the natural phenomena in the desert - and he found friendship and hospitality in al-Muraqqish. Al-Farazdaq imitated al-Muraqqish in some of his similes. Al-Muraqqish lighted his fire to roast the meat which he gave to his wolf while al-Farazdaq shared and equalled out his food with the wolf under the light of the fire and sometimes under its smoke. Al-Farazdaq in both pictures did not describe the body of his wolf except in a half line of the first poem when he described him as "slendered forearms and ashen in colour. (272) "نَمُوقُ الدَّرَاعَيْنِ أَطْلَسُ"

Al-Farazdaq tried to express the feelings of his love of desert-animals when he said that he desired to clothe his wolf, or to share with him his food or try to be friendly with him. This feeling, however, might be regarded as mere imitation of the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda as he himself rejected this love-feeling towards his wolf when he associated him with cheating and treachery in the second poem. He expressed the feeling of

fear towards the wolf as he said that his hand was on the hilt of his sword when he invited the wolf to eat with him and especially when the wolf ground his teeth, whereas al-Muraqqish was happy with his wolf and they parted as good friends. But the distinctive feature of al-Farazdaq's pictures is that he used the wolf as an instrument through which he expressed his idea and feeling of boasting and flattering himself especially when he said that he never used to look sternly at the night-visitor - the wolf - but on the contrary he offered him his food and generosity. The wolf could not possibly find such hospitality elsewhere; he would be faced with an arrow or a sword if he tried to seek it. The happy wolf of al-Muraqqish al-Akbar was used as a medium to express the attitude of the Fakhr by al-Farazdaq. As for al-Shanfarā, he drew the most vivid picture of the hungry wolf and his companions. Al-Shanfarā described the wolf's colour, body and his feeling of hunger and starvation. This is the distinctive feature of his picture. His wolf was lean-hipped, quick in his movement and attack, hungry as most of the inhabitants of the desert. He sought here and there for such sparse food as was available. We are told of his disappointment in finding nothing to fill his stomach. Hunger - the natural disease of the desert - made him howl. Then al-Shanfarā went on to describe the wolf together with other

starving wolves and how they bore the pains of their hunger and misfortune till they vanished in the wilderness. It appears, however, that the wolf of al-Shanfarā is a symbol representing him together with his friends and companions who were the members of the Ṣaʿālīk-class. They were expelled from their tribes and were social outcasts. They were left alone without tribal glory or ʿaṣabīya. They were hungry, howling in that desert like starving wolves, fighting for their survival. Al-Shanfarā stressed and emphasised patience when he ended his picture of the wolves by saying that they bore their misfortune and hunger patiently. This picture may reflect the Ṣaʿālīk's feeling of inferiority-complex which was borne patiently by all of them.

However, this vivid and realistic picture of al-Shanfarā differs from that of al-Muraqqish and al-Farazdaq. The wolves of al-Shanfarā were hungry and remained hungry while the roast-meat of al-Muraqqish delighted his wolf. Al-Farazdaq's wolf was used as an instrument for Fakhr. It is rare to find vivid pictures like those of al-Shanfarā and al-Muraqqish in the Islamic Qaṣīda partly because the Arabs began to leave the desert for more civilized and sedentary environments. Moreover the emergence of new military, economic, social and political problems occupied the minds of most of the Arabs of that age. In moving from the desert - the cradle of the Arabic Qaṣīda - towards towns and cities of al-Hijāz, Irāq

and Syria, the natural observation of desert-animals was changed to an imaginative observation which was based upon hearing from others and using the poetical clichés of the Jāhiliya Qasīda including its similes and pictures. Such imitation was common and is easy to detect. The Jāhiliya Qasīda is also rich in the description of the snakes. This description was based upon observation and may be termed a 'materialistic description' which indicates the experience and the personal interests of the Jāhiliya poets. Here is a vivid picture of a male-snake described by 'Antara:

He is deaf, blackish, venomous
if he stings
his body quivers and poison flows
from his mouth.
He lives amongst the rocks in a
cleft on a mountain, has not seen
the sun,
and if the snake-charmer were to
see him, he would tremble with fear.
A loop like that of a rope was left in
his neck from his cast off slough,
and the rest of his skin was torn off
from his back.
A forenoon sleeper is he, and his
tongue
when he hears voices, is black like
a pencil of collyrium of one blear-
eyed. (273)

Dramatic description can also be seen in the Jāhiliya Qasīda. The last part of the Mu'allāqa of 'Abīd b. al-Abras⁽²⁷⁴⁾

(273) See: al-Jāhiz, al-Hayawān, ed. Sāsī, Cairo, 1906, Vol. IV, p. 102 and Ibn Qutaiba, al-Ma'ānī al-Kabīr, 1st. ed., Hyderabad, Deccan, 1949, Vol. II, pp. 672-673.

(274) Mu'allāqa, vv. 37-48 and Dīwān, ed. Lyall, pp. 10, 11.

is a unique picture of a battle between the Eagle and the Fox. This scene illustrates the struggle for survival not only between human beings but also between animals. Hunger, drought and famine drove the Arabs of the desert to fight each other, and raids were common. The animals of the desert under the same barren and hard conditions were forced to fight in order to live. 'Abid depicted this scene vividly when he described that battle between a hungry Eagle and a young fox who was searching for his food. He begins his picture by likening his mare to an eagle who was swift in its movement, so that her nest was full of the hearts of her victims (the eagle as is understood from this line does not eat the hearts). That eagle spent her night with no food and no drink, as if she were an old woman whose children were all dead. In the morning she dropped from her feathers the frost then she saw a swift fox, far away from her as there was a droughty desert between them. So she shook her feathers and prepared herself for rising and swooping. The fox lifted his tail and quailed when he saw her but this could not stop her from attacking him, so she flew swiftly towards him with her firm intention. He crept on his belly when he saw her approaching, he was terrified when she drew nearer and nearer, and his eyes showed the whites when they turned towards her. She attacked him and he was in pain and anguish beneath her.

She knocked him down with violent shocks and all his face was torn off by the stones. She repeated her action and left him in a most miserable state as he shrieked but her talons were in his side and his end was inevitable when she tore off his breast with her beak. (275)

This is a realistic picture based on the keen interest and observation of the poet himself. The poet was free to express his feelings and to colour his picture. There was no

(275) Mu'allāqa, vv. 37-48:

مَأْتِي الْقُوَّةَ طَلُوبُ	تَجَرُّ فِي وَلَرِهَا الْقُلُوبُ
بَاتَتْ عَلَى إِيْمٍ عَذُوباً	مَأْتِي شَيْخَةً رَقُوبُ
فَأَصْبَحَتْ فِي غَدَاةٍ مُرَّةٍ	يَنْقُطُ عَنْ رِيشِهَا الضَّرْبُ
فَأَنْصَرَفَتْ لَطْلَباً رِيحاً	وَرَدْنَهُ نَبْتٌ هَدِيدُ
فَنَفَضَتْ رِيشَهَا وَوَلَّتْ	فَذَلِكَ مِنْ زُرْهَةٍ ضَرِبُ
فَأَتَحَالَ رَأْيَا عَيْنٍ حَسِيدٍ	وَفِعْلُهُ لِفَعْلِ الذُّؤُوبِ
فَنَزَعَتْ خَوْفَهُ هَمِيَّةً	وَهَرَدَتْ هَزْدَمٌ لَسِيْبُ
فَدَسَّ مِنْهُ أَيْلاً رِيحاً	وَالْعَيْنُ فَمَلَّاقٌ مَقْلُوبُ
فَادَلَّتْهُ مَطَرُهُنَّ	وَالْقَصْدُ مِنْ تَحْتِهَا مَلُوبُ
فَحَدَلَّتْهُ مَطَرُهُنَّ	مَلَدَّهِنَّ وَجْهَهُ الْجُوبُ
فَعَادَرَتْهُ مَرْفَعَتُهُ	فَأَيْلَتُهُ وَهُوَ مَلُوبُ
لَيُصْغَوْ وَتَلَطَّ فِي رَقَبِهِ	لَدَيْهِ هَزْرُومُهُ مَقْلُوبُ

traditional pattern or order which he must follow. The Jāhiliya Qasīda in dealing with nature is free from the traditional chains or the mechanical fetters since nature-poetry was based upon individual observations although some nature-themes were common amongst the poets, e.g., the (276) description of winds, lightning, thunder and torrential rain, or the description of popular birds in the desert, (277) while other themes such as the description of the meadow or the garden were rather rare (278) as the environment was too hard and harsh to permit such observation. Nature in the Jāhiliya Qasīda is vivid and alive since the desert itself had fostered it but later on when the Arabic Qasīda passed to the cities and towns of more civilized and settled communities, nature remained a symbol of beauty and the Islamic and Umayyad poets continued to imitate its similes and pictures.

(276) Imr al-Qaīs, Mu‘allaqa, vv. 70 - 81 and ‘Abīd b. al-Abras, Dīwān, ed. Lyall, XXVIII, pp. 75-77, vv. 6-15, and Der Dīwān des Lebīd, ed. al-Chalidī, XVII, pp. 123-127, vv. 44-55.

(277) ‘Alqama b. ‘Abada, Dīwān, ed. M. B. Cheneb, Alger & Paris, 1925, pp. 54-61, vv. 17-28. The description of the male ostrich, and ‘Antara, Mu‘allaqa, vv. 24-27

(278) Al-A‘shā, Mu‘allaqa, vv. 12-14 and Dīwān, ed. R. Geyer, p. 43.

(c) War-Poetry

The history of the Jāhiliyya period is mainly a record of wars or rather guerilla fighting which centred around famous "days" that perpetuated the memories of their deeds and heroism. "The Days of the Arabs" - - Ayyām al-‘Arab

أَيَّامُ الْعَرَبِ were, in fact, a reflection of many factors combined together: their barren environment, the lack of a central government, ‘aṣabīya, and the physical and psychological structure of the Bedouin himself as a natural lover of freedom and independence. These were the ingredients of the "days" which glorified individual heroism and tribal victory. Life consisted of "an Homeric kind of warfare that called forth individual exertion in the highest degree, and gave ample opportunity for single-handed deeds of heroism."(279)

These "days" with all their vices and virtues inspired the poets to compose poetry which was tinged with sadness at times and boasting and praising victorious deeds at others. Poetry flourished as a result of those wars and raidings between various tribes and clans, satire, panegyric, fakhr and dirges were the items of that poetry. Ibn Sallām even went to the extreme when he explained the reason for a scarce quantity of poetry amongst the tribe of Quraīsh by asserting that they did not raid other tribes nor did they fight in a

(279) R. A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.55.

battle against one. (280)

However, in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda there are many cries for peace and curses upon war and its hard consequences. Zuhair may be regarded as the peace-poet in the Jāhiliya era. In his Mu'allāqa, (281) he described war vividly by emphasising its ugliness and its horror:

War is nothing but what you
have known and tasted
It is not a story or a vague conjecture;
When you kindle it, it is an
ugly thing which you have kindled.
It will become wild once you burst
its flame:
Then She grinds you like a millstone
grinds (the seeds) on its (thifāl - a piece
of cloth or skin put under it)
twice a year she conceives and
twins she produces;
She bears you unfortunate children,
all are like
Aḥmar of 'Ād, then she gives suck
and weans them;
She yields you a good crop more
than
the dirhams and bushels that the fields
in Iraq give their inhabitants.
(The vices of war are more than the benefits
and advantages of those fields).

This is a unique picture of war in which Zuhair poured out all his venom and rancour, likening war to a millstone that grinds human beings. Zuhair was faithful and honest when he

(280) Ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī, *Tabaqāt al-Shu'arā'*, p. 102. See also: Dr. 'Alī al-Jundī, *Shi'r al-Harb*, Cairo, 1958, Vol. I, pp. 54,55,56.

(281) Mu'allāqa, vv. 28-32.

condemned war but bellicose feeling was deeply rooted in the Bedouin, so Zuhāir's cry could not exert much influence. War was regarded as one of the necessities for survival in the desert.

It is interesting to note that the war-picture in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda included common similes which were used by more than one poet. Thus it might be maintained that the war-picture did follow conventional similes, a point which might illustrate the highly artificial character of the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda. Zuhāir in his picture used the words " ^{رحى} Raḥā - millstone" and "Thifāl ^{ثفال} (282) a piece of cloth or skin put under the millstone to preserve the flour after grinding the seeds." He also likened war to a blazing fire when he said: " ⁽²⁸³⁾ ...وَنَفْرٍ إِذَا ضَرَبَتْهَا فَتَضَمَّ (فخر , نَفْرٌ). Nevertheless he applied the same conventional terms in his picture, although without the dramatic intensity or the epigrammatic terseness of Zuhāir. 'Amr b. Kulthūm also described war in his Mu'allāqa ⁽²⁸⁴⁾ although he used it as a medium for his boasting and glory (Fakhr , فَخْرٌ). Nevertheless he applied the same conventional terms in his picture, although without the dramatic intensity or the epigrammatic terseness of Zuhāir. 'Amr used ' ^{رحى} Raḥā and ^{ثفال} Thifāl' but added two

(282) Mu'allāqa, v. 30:

مَنْعَرَكُمُ عَرَكَةُ الرَّحَى جِبَالُهَا وَتَلْفَحُكَ مَا تَمُتُّ نَجْعُ فَتُتَمُّ

(283) Ibid., v. 29.

(284) Mu'allāqa, vv. 30-33.

other terms ' طحين Tahīn - flour' and ' لَهْوَة, Luhwa' - a
(285)
handful of grain (or any kind of seed) thrown in the mill-hole.
Al-A'shā used "Raḥa al-Ḥarb حى الحرب". (286) To liken the war
to a blazing-fire " سائر الحرب Sa'ir al-Ḥarb" is a very
common simile amongst the Jāhiliya poets. Zuhair used
" ... والحرب تَسْعُرُ " (287), 'Amir b. al-Tufail used

(285) Mu'allāqa, vv. 30-31:

مَتَى نَقْعُ إِلَى تَوْمٍ رَحَانَا يَكُونُوا فِي اللَّيْلِ لِطَحِينَا
يَكُونُ نِفَارًا شَرْقِيَّ نَجْدٍ وَلَهُنَّ فُصَاعَةٌ أَجْمَعِينَا

When we carry our war-mills against
a people
They become as its flour in the meeting;
Its Thifāl will be in east of Najd,
and its grain is all Qudā'a.

(286) See: al-A'shā, Dīwān, ed. R. Geyer, p. 184, No. 42,
v. 4, and 27, v. 13, p. 130.

(287) Dīwān, ed. Ahlwardt, VII, p. 83. v. 5:

الْحَبْدُ فِي غَيْرِهِمْ لَوْلَا مَا نَزَّهُ وَصَنْدَرُهُ نَفْسُهُ وَالْحَرْبُ تَسْعُرُ

" إِذَا أُرْسِلَ لِرَبٍّ نُسْرُ " (288), al-A'shā used ,
 " وَنُسْبُ الْكُرْبِ " (289)

This theme remained in the later Arabic Qaṣīda, but was changed to serve new principles at the beginning of the Islamic era. Islam succeeded in directing the warlike propensities of the Arabs of the Jāhiliya time to spreading Islam. The Arab conquests under the banner of Islam in a short time included Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt. With the Islamic-conquests grew new poetry which may be termed "The Conquests-poetry - Shi'r al-Futūḥāt, شعر الفُتُوحَاتِ". In this sort of poetry the authors described their long journeys towards the battle-fields and described their glorious deeds and their pride in their victory over their enemies. But the social conception of war in this poetry differs from that of the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda as illustrated in the Mu'allaqā

(288) Dīwān, ed. Sir Charles J. Lyall, Gibb Memorial Vol. XXI, London, 1913, XIII, p. 123, v.7:

يُطِيلُونَهُ بِالنَّحْرِ شَرَاهَا إِذَا أُرْسِلَ لِرَبٍّ نُسْرُ

(289) Dīwān, Qaṣīda VI, v. 48, p. 46.

لَتُعْرِضَنَّ إِنَّ هَذِهِ النُّفُورُ وَنُسْبُ الْكُرْبِ بِالْأُفُوفِ وَأَهْمَلُوا

of Zuhair, ⁽²⁹⁰⁾ and 'Amr b. Kulthūm. ⁽²⁹¹⁾ In the Jāhiliya time war was regarded as an instrument to gain booty, or to possess a well in a barren desert or to take revenge. But in the 'conquests-poetry' war was regarded as a means to carry out the will of Almighty God. It was a Holy War to purify peoples from corruption. War in the Jāhiliya was waged between Arab and Arab. In the Islamic epoch war was between Muslims and infidels. That is why in 'conquests-poetry' there was regular mention of Allāh in connection with victory.

"We fight until God sends down his victory -

"نَفَاتِلَ حَتَّىٰ أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ نَصْرَهُ" one of them said. ⁽²⁹²⁾

In the following lines is a picture which illustrates the artistic features of Islamic conquests-poetry. The poet begins his poem by describing his long journey with his comrades who were brave and well-armed warriors, then he passes on to mention the places when he and his party have halted, before reaching the place of the battle. He then describes the scene of the battle in which they have won victory with God's help. Boasting and praising were permanent items in such poetry. Qaīs b. al-Makshūh al-Murādī composed this poem when he killed Rustam the head of Persian army in the battle

(290) Mu'allāqa, vv. 28-32.

(291) Mu'allāqa, vv. 30-33.

(292) Th. Nöldeke, Delectus, p. 75:

نَفَاتِلَ حَتَّىٰ أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ نَصْرَهُ وَفَدَّ بِجَاءِ الْفَارِسِيِّ قُصَصَهُ

of al-Qādīsīya (16 A.H., 637 A.D.)

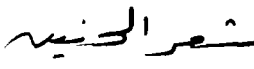
I urged the horses galloping on from
 San'ā'
 each (carries) a well armed gallant,
 like a noble lion;
 To the valley of al-Qurā and the
 encampments of the tribe of Kalb
 and to al-Yarmūk and then the Syrian
 land;
 After a month they arrived at al-Qādīsīya
 with bleeding, marked-backs (of
 their hoofs - the journey was too long.)
 The army of Kosroe, there we fought
 together with the sons of noble
 Persian satraps.
 And when I saw the cavalry wheeling
 about,
 I directed my way to the place of the
 heroic king;
 His head I struck then prostrate he
 fell,
 with (my) sword that was neither notched
 nor blunt;
 And there God granted us goodness
 (encouragement)
 as doing-good has an esteemed value
 with God. (293)

The Islamic-conquests continued to spread during the
 Umayyād dynasty and till then poetry was still glorifying
 Islam and God's victory. But there was a revival of the
 tribal 'aṣabīya which re-emerged stronger than it had been
 before in pagan times despite the sincere attempts of the
 Orthodox Caliphs especially 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and even
 Mu'āwīya himself to stop it. (294) However, the Arabs in the

(293) See: Th. Nöldeke, *Delectus*, pp.74-75 & C. Nallino,
Ta'rikh al-Ādāb al-'Arabīya, p.98. This poem can be seen
 in: *al-Baladhurī, Futūh al-Buldān*, p.261, ed. Leiden, 1866
 (De Goeje)

(294) C. Nallino, *op.cit.* pp.194,195 & J. Wellhausen, *The Arab
 Kingdom and its Fall*, translated into English by:
 M. G. Weir, Calcutta, 1927, pp.208-209.

Syrian and Mesopotamian steppe had remained unchanged under the new conditions. "Neither Islam nor Christianity," wrote Prof. Wellhausen, "kept them from making the tribe and revenge paramount. They preferred hell to disgrace and only felt remorse when it was too late." (295) Therefore, the theme of war-poetry once again became a tool of tribalism in that situation, as in pagan Arabia.

It is interesting, however, to state that with the expansion of the Islamic-conquests and the direct contact with new communities as a result of the emigration of many Arab tribes when they joined the conquests, another theme entered the Arabic Qaṣīda. It may be called "homesickness-poetry - Shi'r al-Ḥanīn  ". This poetry expresses the longing of the Bedouin for his camels and homeland. On the other hand, it may reflect the extent of his assimilation to new ways of life in new environments which were more civilized and settled than his original one. It is therefore the new geographical environment and new social and political system which limited his freedom to that of a civilized life, created in him a kind of homesickness, which was a mixture of sadness and love. This new life with its luxuries and prosperity, did not stop him from yearning for the

(295) J. Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p. 208.

scented dust of Najd especially after evening rain, or the sweet East wind of Najd when it blows gently in the morning. (296)

The following picture was drawn by Yaḥyā b. Ṭalīb al-Ḥanafī when he was in Khurāsān:

O, Tamarisks of the bottom plain
of the valley of Tawḍīḥ
my yearning to your shadows
was long;
O, Tamarisks of the plain, my
heart was attracted by you
although the gift of your bounty
was small;
O, Tamarisks of the plain, my companions
became tired of my journey,
is there a resting siesta under your
shadows?
Or is there a way for smelling
the lavender and a glance
at Qarqarā, before death?
I may drink a draught from the
water of al-Juḥailā'
which will cure a love-sick before
death;
I speak to myself about you that
if I do not come back to you
then sorrow and grief will live in
my heart;
I love going down towards her
but a heavy debt upon me prevents it
when I desire. (297)

- (296) See: al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Ḥanīn ilā l-Awtān, Edited with notes by: Shaikh Ṭāhir al-Jazā'irī, Cairo, 1351, A.H. pp.23,24,28, 29, and also: Th. Nöldeke, Delectus, pp.24, vv.10,11:

فيا هذا نجد وطيب ترابه إذا هَضَبْتُهُ بالتي هواضيه
ويح صبا نجد إذا ما شئت ضرت أدركت فتح الظلم هناجه

See also: Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 19,407. Kitāb al-Shi'r, by: Ja'far Shams al-Khalāfa, Paper 39-The Section of "al-Tashawwūq ilā al-Awtān", فصل في التوجه إلى الأوطان.

- (297) See: Th. Nöldeke, Delectus, pp.25,26:

أيا أثلت القاع من بعد وضح حنيني إلى أظهورك صول
ويا أثلت القاع على موصل كبت وحبوب خيرك قليل

This picture reflects faithfully the feeling of sorrow and homesickness. The poet emphasises his love by repeating the word "tamarisks" three times. He shows genuine sadness in using words such as 'death,' 'love-sick' and in his request to rest under their shades.

(d) 'Panegyric-Madh,' 'Boasting-Fakhr,' and 'Satire - al-Hijā'

In a tribal community like that of Arabia before the advent of Islam, the personality of the poet was assimilated with the personality of his tribe although in some cases the poet was free to express his own feelings towards certain individual concerns such as love and nature. However, the poet was morally and socially the only spokesman of his tribe. He must praise his tribe's glorious deeds, hospitality, nobility of lineage and character, faithfulness, bravery, and every item that was involved under the term 'aṣabiya. In short the poet was the defender of his clan in peace and in war time and thus he had every opportunity to refer to the famous intertribal days of the battles which occurred in that age - Ayyām al-'Arab , أَيَّامُ الْعَرَبِ . The 'Panegyric Madh or Madīh , مَدِيحٌ is the art of extolling and praising the good deeds and virtues of an individual or a group of

Footnote (297) continued from page 349.

وَيَا أَتْلَدَ الْفَاعِ قَدَمُكَ صُغْبِي مَرِبَ قَهْرُكَ فِي ضَلَلَتِ مَقِيلُ
الْبَهْلُ إِلَى شَرِّ الْخَزَائِ وَنَظَرِي إِلَى قَرْقَرِي قَبْلَ الْمَاءِ سَبِيلُ
فَأَشْرِي مِنْ مَاءِ الْجَحِيلِ شَرَّةً نَادِي بِطِ قَبْلَ الْمَاءِ عَلِيلُ
أُحِبُّ عَطْلَ النَّفْسِ إِنْ لَبَّتِ أَمْعًا إِلَيَّ فَخَرِي فِي الْفَوَارِ دَحِيلُ
أَسِيدُ أَحَدًا تَحْوَاهُ مَبِضُّفِي إِذَا رُفِقَتْهُ دَسْبُ عَلِيٍّ تَقِيلُ

individuals in the case of extolling the actual tribe of the poet himself. 'Al-Fakhr , الفخر ' is the art of boasting of personal deeds and virtues rather than that of the tribe although Madh and Fakhr appeared to be joined together: for when the poet was boasting, he was in a way praising himself, and vice versa.

However, in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda there existed two kinds of panegyric. The first was the moral and social panegyric - al-Madh al-Khulūqī wa'l-Ijtimā'ī , المَدْحُ الْخُلُقِيّ وَالْإِجْتِمَاعِيّ .

This was based upon extolling and exhibiting the good deeds of the tribe, for example its prowess, kindness, generosity and glory without any reward or prize. This is exemplified by the Mu'allaqas of 'Amr b. Kulthūm and al-Hārith b.

Hilliza⁽²⁹⁸⁾ as the 'aṣābiya of the panegyrist inspired them socially and morally to sing its glory and greatness. Again, sometimes the poet praises some individuals because of their honest and faithful achievements in saving other peoples, by establishing peace and treaties between rival tribes such as in the case when Zuhāir b. Abī Sulmā praised Harim b. Sīnān and al-Hārith b. 'Awf who restored peace between the tribe of 'Abs and Dhubyān.⁽²⁹⁹⁾ The second type is 'the professional

panegyric - Madh al-Takassub wa'l-Ihtirāf , مَدْحُ التَّكْسُبِ وَالْإِحْتِرَافِ .

(298) 'Amr's Mu'allāqa, vv. 23-101, and al-Hārith's Mu'allāqa, vv.15-82.

(299) See: Zuhāir's Mu'allāqa, vv.16-24.

This type was regarded as a 'profession - Hirfa , حِرْفَة
and the poet's ambition was to gain money and reward rather
than to display his artistic and poetical ability. This
panegyric reached a high level with al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī
whose chief patron was King Nu'mān b. Mundhir Abū Qābūs of
al-Hīra and who basked in the sunshine of royal favour,
enjoying every privilege that Nu'mān bestowed upon his most
intimate friends. (300) The other poet who practised this
sort of panegyric, was al- A'shā who was related to be the
first poet to have begged in his poetry and made it a
profession. (301) He himself admitted that when he said: (302)

Don't prevent me from your
ample generosity,
as I am a person never to be scorned
or humiliated before you.

He even expressed that greed for money when he said:

I travelled and rambled seeking
money in its countries
'Umān, Hims and Jerusalem;
Al-Najāsī I approached in his land
and the Aramaean and Persian lands;
And Najrān and finally al-Sarw
of the tribe of Himyar;
Then which direction is left
That I had not desired to (visit). (303)

(300) R. A. Nicholson, op. cit., p. 121.

(301) Ibn Sallām, Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā', p.54 & Aghānī, Vol.IX,
ed. D. K. M., p. 109.

(302) A'shā, Dīwān, ed. R. Geyer, II, p. 22, v. 83:

"مَدَّ حَرَمِي نَدَاءَ الْجَزَلِ مَبْنِي أَمْرٍ مَبْلُومٍ أَهَنْ"

(303) A'shā, Dīwān, ed. R. Geyer, IV, p. 33, vv.56-58.

This sort of panegyric sparse as a result of gifts and presents which were offered by some Chieftains to the panegyrists as a sign of gratitude. Gradually these presents acquired the nature of a price for eulogy. Hence a poet began to be hired and whenever a poet became renowned because of the good quality of his poetry, he would direct his ambition to the courts of al-Hīra and Ghāssān seeking for money as 'Abīd b. Al-Abras, Al-Nābigha, Tarafa, al-A'shā and Ḥassān b. Thābit and others had done. Undoubtedly, this change was regarded as a deleterious influence upon poetry for it transformed poetry as an art to a profession of making money and collecting prizes. The economic factor which reflects the barrenness and poverty of the desert together with the political competition between those two courts: al-Hīra and Ghassān, in attracting poets to glorify their deeds, may be suggested as another factor which might have contributed to produce 'the professional panegyric.'

Al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī was the first professional poet in the Jāhilīya era. (304) In studying his 'apologies, i'tidhārīyāt اعتذاريات, and his 'panegyric-poems - Madā'ih مدائح on al-Nu'mān one main artistic feature can be observed, i.e., the use of laudatory figures and exaggeration -

(304) See: 'Umar al-Dusūqī, al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, Cairo, 1951, pp. 186, 187.

'Mubālagha, **المبالغة**. As poets were paid for their panegyrics they had to delight and please their patrons even by exaggeration and false statements. (305) It was this that gave Arabic panegyric-poetry the conventional stock of extolling figures such as being as 'glorious as the sun' as al-Nābigha said:

All other kings are stars, but thou a
sun,
When it rises none of them would be
seen. (306)

or as 'brave as the lion,' (307) as 'generous as the sea or spring - al-Rabī' as al-Nābigha described al-Nu'mān:

You are Spring whose prosperity
would please people,
and you are a sharp sword that
was borrowed by fate. (308)

Another conventional use was producing the picture of the generosity of the patron by likening it to the patron's dogs who learned not to bark as they became used to many guests:

" **لَا تَنْبَرِكُ كَلَابُهُمْ** " as Ḥassān b. Thābit illustrates:

(305) See: A. Elkott, op. cit., p. 43.

(306) Dīwān, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 5, v. 10:

بَأَنَّهُ شَمْسٌ وَالْمُلُوكُ كَوَاكِبُ إِذَا طَلَعَتْ لَمْ يَنْدَفِرُوا كَوَاكِبُ

& Th. Nöldeke, Delectus, p. 97.

(307) Jamhara, p. 245, v. 3, & Zuhair, Dīwān, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 82, v. 16, & p. 85, v. 30.

(308) Dīwān, p. 20, v. 31:

وَأَنَّهُ يَبِيعُ يَبْعَثُ الظَّاهِرَ سَيْبُهُ وَفِيهِ أَعْيَرَتُهُ الضِّيقُ فَالْجُعُ

They are visited so often (by guests) that
their dogs do not bark
nor do they ask about the approaching black
(visitors at night). (309)

This greed for money and reward even reduced al-Nābigha
to the status of a slave 'abd, عَبْد, when he apologised to
King al-Nu'mān saying:

If I have been unjustly treated, then
it is a slave you have wronged.
And if you have a pardon, then
you are the sort of man to give pardon. (310)

However, the poets of the Umayyād period especially the
triplet, al-Farazdaq, Jarīr, and al-Akhtal developed the
'professional panegyric-poetry' to a great extent under the
influence of rich rewards which were offered to them by the
Caliphs themselves. The latter used this way to attract
poets to sing their glory and at the same time as a political
weapon against their opponents.

As for Fakhr, it remained recognised as a legitimate
subject of Jāhiliya poetry and a part of the personal-panegyric -
'al-Madh al-Shakhsī ر المدح الشخصي'. Hassān b. Thābit,

(309) Dīwān, XIII, p. 17, v. 9 & Nöldeke, Delectus, p. 98:

يَفْتَوْنَهُ حَتَّى لَدَنْتُهُمْ كَلْبُهُمْ لَدَيْتُ لَوْهَ عَنِ الْوَادِ الْقُصْبِ

(310) Dīwān, p. 5, v. 12 & Nöldeke, Delectus, p. 97.

فَإِنَّ أَلَك مَظْلُومًا، مَقْبَدُ ظَلَمَتُهُ وَإِنَّ لَكَ ذَا عَيْبٍ فَمِنْكَ لَيْعِبُ

another example can be seen in the Dīwān, p. 20, v.30.

أَتُوْعِدُ عَبْدًا لَمْ يَخْطُكَ أَمَانَةٌ وَنَزَلَتْ عَنْكَ ظِلْمٌ وَهُوَ ضَالِعٌ

however, distinguished himself as a Fakhr-poet. He praises his ancestors, tribe, family, faithfulness, and liberality, and particularly his sword which never left its scabbard.⁽³¹¹⁾ Poem II⁽³¹²⁾ in his Dīwān ed. Hirschfeld, illustrates vividly his self-praise which is a mixture of panegyric and Fakhr which is the strongest element represented in Ḥassān's verses. It even permeates his poems composed in honour of Prophet Muḥammad and his heroes.⁽³¹³⁾ Al-Farazdaq in the Umayyād era was regarded as the Fakhr-poet who sang the nobility of Banū Tamīm, their glory, their great social position amongst the rest of Arab tribes and their noble history.⁽³¹⁴⁾ He followed this theme so assiduously that it even comes into his nature poetry, as already mentioned when he described the wolf and used him as a medium and tool for his own self-praise. Jarīr, his strongest rival and opponent admitted this fact when he eulogised al-Farazdaq saying:

The noble chieftain of all Tamīm
was he, her tongue,
her proud spokesman in every
direction. (315)

(311) Dīwān, p. 8 (introduction)

(312) Dīwān, II, pp. 2,3 (19 lines).

(313) Dīwān, Introduction, p. 8.

(314) Dīwān, pp. 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, -725.
This poem of 104 lines can be considered a good Fakhr-Qaṣīda in the Umayyād poetry.

(315) Jarīr, Dīwān, edited with notes by: M. I. A. al-Ṣāwī, 1st. ed., Cairo, 1353, A. H., p. 407, v. 5:

عَمَّادُ تَمِيمٍ كُلُّهَا وَلَسَانُهَا وَنَا لِحَقِّهَا السَّيِّدُ فِي كُلِّ مَطْعَمٍ

As for the 'Satire - Hijā' - الرجاء, it is the art of criticising and depicting the shortcomings - Mathālib مآلِب of the enemy or the rival. The hijā' verses owed their origin to the contentions and warfare of the Arab tribes. Great importance was attributed to Satire-poems in the earliest times; they were the natural concomitants of tribal warfare and the emulations of individuals as well. (316) The tribal feuds, however, were the main theme which fostered and inspired hijā' verses which were an element of war just as important as the actual fighting. (317) The satirist was the spokesman of his own tribe and his hijā' was the sharpest weapon to blacken the character or deeds of the rivals and enemies of his tribe. "His rhymes," writes Prof. Nicholson, "often compared to arrows, had all the effect of a solemn curse spoken by a divinely inspired prophet or priest. (318)

However, in the Arabic Qaṣīda three types of hijā' can be seen: 'The personal-Satire - al-Hijā'al-Shakḥī الرجاء الشخصي, which was based upon personal and individual reflections that were inspired by an insult or ill-treatment and competition in a society which was built on war and feuds. This type of Satire was an expression, a quick expression, of the anger instinct. It had two functions: a psychological

(316) I. Goldziher, A Short History of Arabic Literature, p. 5.

(317) R. A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.73.

(318) R. A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.73.

one especially when the poet expresses his own feelings of his anger and thus he finds in the hijā' verses that he composed a psychological comfort; and secondly, this poetry illustrates the social and moral values of the poet and his age. (319) Frequently, this type of hijā' was a record of a contest between two persons, each insulting and criticising the other by exhibiting his vices and revilings and for this purpose Fakhr-self-praise - was used as a tool in the hand of each satirist. (320) The second type of Satire is 'the professional Satire - Hijā' al-Ihtirāf , هجاء الإحتراف , which was regarded as a profession and a means of livelihood. Al-Huṭaī'a who was a Mukhadram, was the true representative of this art. He himself admitted that Hijā' was the only means for his survival. When the second Orthodox Caliph, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb warned him to stop satirising people, al-Huṭaī'a replied: "Then my family will die hungry; this (hijā') is my profession and from it I live." (321) However, there were many factors which helped to make al-Huṭaī'a a professional satirist and panegyrist: his suspected lineage (he was "maghmūz al-Nasab , مغموض النسب " as it was thought that he was an illegitimate child): physical ugliness, (322) which had

(319) Dr. M. MuḥammadHusaīn, al-Hijā' wa'l-Hijā'un fī'l-Jāhiliya, Cairo, 1947, pp. 95,96.

(320) Al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt, ed. Shākir & Hārūn, pp. 160,161.

(321) Aghānī, Vol. II, p.187.

(322) Aghānī, Vol. II, pp. 163,165 & al-Baghdādī, Khizāna, Vol. II, p. 355.

created in him a sort of inferiority complex which found an outlet in loving passionately; and covetousness and greediness for money. Al-Ḥuṭaī'a remained pagan in character although he was a Muslim in public. He found in Islām and its moral teachings a new power which limited his freedom as compared with the Jāhiliya attitude.⁽³²³⁾ This dualism in his personality might have led him to glorify and love money through the medium of panegyric and satire.

The artistic feature of al-Ḥuṭaī'a's hijā' was his talent in drawing vivid pictures of mockery, fun, and criticism of his rivals or those who did not give him a shelter or show him a kind of hospitality when he visited them. He described one of them as a monkey, mean, and miserable. He was even very careful in using his words to illustrate his victim as in the latter instead of using the ordinary word "qird, قِرْد" - "a monkey" he used another word which shows the picture vividly, "hijris, الْحِجْرِي".⁽³²⁴⁾ Note also this picture when he satirised a certain clan by saying that their men were stupid and fools like goat-bucks and their women were snorting and bustling like she-asses who were harassed by

(323) See: Tāhā Ḥusaīn, Ḥadīth al-Arbi'ā, Vol. I, pp. 157, 160, 164.

(324) Dīwān, ed. I. Goldziher, p. 502, v. 8.

أَلْبَغُ بَرِيْعِي بَأْتَهُ خَاجِمٌ لَوْمٌ رَانَ أَبَاهُمْ مَالِجِرِي

(Z.D.M.G. Vol. 46, Leipzig, 1892).

flies.⁽³²⁵⁾ Al-Ḥuṭaī'a was very fond of likening his rivals to the stupid animals of the desert, such as the he-goat, she-ass or the lizard who usually exposes his tail when he senses a hunter. Ḥuṭaī'a described two misers by saying that they were like two old lizards who found peace and safety in their rocky burrow but if they were to sense a night-hunter (of lizards) they would display their tails to him,⁽³²⁶⁾ This ability to draw vivid pictures made al-Ḥuṭaī'a's hijā' popular among cultural critics, who appreciated his poetry despite his greediness and covetousness. Al-Isfahānī described him saying that "he was an excellent poet whose rhymes (poems) were current throughout the country; kāna al-Ḥuṭaī'a matīn al-Shi'r, Sharūd al-Qāfiya, لَمَّا هِ الْخَطِيئَةُ مَتَبَةِ الشَّعْرِ، شَرُودَ لِقَافِيَةِ⁽³²⁷⁾." Thus his poetry was praised as an example of an artistic panegyric and an artistic satire "rafa'a shi'ruhu min l-tharā wa ḥaṭṭa min'l-thuraīyā - رَفَعَ شِعْرُهُ مِنَ الثَّرَى وَحَطَّ مِنَ الثُّرَايَا - his poetry raised up the earth and brought the Pleiades down."⁽³²⁸⁾

(325) Dīwān, p. 504, v. 5 (ed. Z.D.M. G. Vol. 46)

لَهُمْ نَفَرٌ مِثْلُ السُّيُوفِ وَنَوْمٌ مِمَّا جِيءَ مِنَ الدَّخْلِ النُّعْرَاتِ

(326) Ibid., p. 52, XLI, v. 2 (Z. D. M. G. Vol. 47)

ضَبَّيَاهُ هَجَلِيَّاهُ فِي آمَنِ الدُّكْ إِذَا مَا أَهَمَّكَ هَارِيٌّ بِلَيْسَ زَبَا

(327) Aghānī, Vol. II, p. 165.

(328) Ibn Sharaf al-Qaīrawānī, Rasā'il al-Intiqād, edited with notes by: H. H. A. al-Tūnisī, Damascus, 1912, p.17.

In the Umayyad period, however, the art of the hijā' reached its zenith especially when the art of the "Naqā'id-Flytings⁽³²⁹⁾ النقا ئض " took place in the Arabic Qaṣīda. The Arabs before this period were not accustomed to listen or to hear satiric verses recited every day, but their hijā'-poetry used to accompany the tribal feuds and wars. In the Umayyād age the hijā' became a permanent object of daily life. The Naqā'id was personal scolding-matches which took place between Jarīr and his rivals al-Farazdaq and al-Akḥṭal. The theme of the Naqā'id was to display boastings and revilings which were centred around 'aṣabīya and the famous days of the Arabs in their pagan times. The Naqā'id, it may be suggested, were encouraged by the Umayyād party, and used as a political means to keep the public opinion of Iraq, the centre of the political oppositions, busy listening to those daily flytings and thus diverting the people from political ambition. The Naqā'id was an extension of the personal hijā' that existed in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda. But in the Naqā'id it became a literary competition which required an artistic skill pushing the poet to attract many enthusiastic partisans who maintained that he was superior to his rival. The main features of the Naqā'id are: the tendency to compose a

(329) Poetical invective; chiefly, a kind of contest practised by Scottish poets of the 16th C., in which two persons assailed each other alternately with tirades of abusive verse.

hijā' poem in the same metre and rhyme as the rivals, for example if al-Farazdaq satirised Jarīr in a poem of the Kāmil metre and chose the letter "L" to be the rhyme, Jarīr will reply in another poem following same metre and rhyme (although not necessarily the same vowel) and vice versa. Furthermore, the poet in his answering-poem tries to refute all the arguments of the first poet. A good example can be seen in the two Naqā'id of al-Farazdaq and Jarīr. Al-Farazdaq began his poem:

إِنَّهُ الَّذِي سَمِعَ السَّامِرُ بِنِي لَنَا بَيْتاً دَعَائِمُهُ أَغْرَ وَأُطْوَلُ

while Jarīr said:

لَمِنَ الدَّيَّارِ مَا نَزَّحًا لَمْ تَحُلْ بِهِ النَّاسُ وَبِهِ طَلَحَ الدُّغْلُ

Firstly, both of these poems follow the same rhyme (letter L) and the same metre (al-Kāmil). Jarīr in his reply refuted and rejected the pleas of al-Farazdaq following the same subject. If it were self-praise (Fakhr) it would be answered in the same way: al-Farazdaq for instance said:

إِنَّهُ الَّذِي سَمِعَ السَّامِرُ بِنِي لَنَا بَيْتاً دَعَائِمُهُ أَغْرَ وَأُطْوَلُ
بَيْتاً بَنَاهُ لَنَا الْمَلِيكُ وَمَا بَنَا هَلَمَّ السَّامِرُ فَإِنَّهُ لَدُنْ يَحُلْ

Jarīr answered him in this way:

إِنَّهُ الَّذِي سَمِعَ السَّامِرُ بِنِي لَنَا بَيْتاً عَالِيَهُ فَمَالَهُ مِنْ قُنُطَلْ
أَخْرَجَ الَّذِي سَمِعَ السَّامِرُ مَجَاحِطاً وَبِنِي بَنَاهُ فِي الْحَضِيضِ الْكَثْفَلْ (330)

(330) See: The Naqā'id of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, ed. A. A. Bevan, Leyden, Vol. 1, pp. 182, 211, 213.

The second feature of the Naqā'id is the adoption of the story and narrative style,⁽³³¹⁾ especially in relating the history or the bad deeds of the poets, Jarīr and al-Farazdaq used this style very often in their Naqā'id because the latter were not only a hijā', but were a mixture of other subjects which were popular in that epoch, such as panegyric, self-praise (fakhr), nasīb and love-affairs, and description of the desert nature. Thus each Naqīda can be considered an ordinary poem which contained many episodes and themes.

The third feature is the vulgarity of some of its expressions in using obscene language.⁽³³²⁾ The fourth feature is the repetition of the idea and the meanings together with the repetition of the poetical pictures. This repetition may be regarded as a natural result of that literary competition, because each one of the Naqā'id's poets: Jarīr, al-Farazdaq and al-Akḥṭal, cannot possibly remain quiet in hearing the satire and insultation of the other against them. Moreover, the Naqā'id were spread over a long period and repetition of the same pictures was almost inevitable, although sometimes they used them in the form of witticism or epigram. Jarīr, for example, used the profession of al-Farazdaq's grandfather, who was a blacksmith, as a rich theme to draw from it most vivid pictures of mockery. He imagines al-Farazdaq's

(331) See: Dr. M. M. Ḥusain, al-Hijā' wa'l-Hijā'un fī Ṣadr al-Islām, Cairo, 1948, pp. 114, 115, 123.

(332) Naqā'id, ed., Bevan, Vol. I, p. 199.

grandfather in his grave and his tools and his apparatus buried with him. (333)

The third type of hijā' is 'the political-Satire - al-Hijā' al-Siyāsī , الرِّجَازُ السِّيَاسِي " which flourished in the Umayyād period. After the death of 'Uthmān (656 A.D.) who was very prone to nepotism there arose a deep line of cleavage among Muslims about the conception of Caliphate. Thus they were divided into political parties. The Umayyād party which was the most powerful one, believed that the Umayyads were the true and rightful successors of the Caliphate. This attitude was expressed by their poets, for example al-Akhtal and Jarīr. (334)

(333) See: The Naqā'id, ed. Bevan, Vol. I, pp.214,218.

(334) Jarīr, Dīwān, ed. al-Sāwī, p. 356, v. 6.

يَا آلَ مَرْوَانَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ فَضَّلَكُمْ فَضْلاً عَظِيماً عَلَى مَنْ رَيْنَهُ الْبِدْعُ

and p. 506, vv.3-4.

رَضِينَا بِالْخَلِيفَةِ حِينَ كُنَّا لَهُ تَبَعاً وَمَا لَهُ لَنَا إِمَامَا
سَاءَ شَرَّتِ الْبِلَادُ لَكُمْ تَجَلُّمُ أَقَامَ لَنَا الْفَرِثُفُ وَاسْتَقَامَا

and see: al-Akhtal, Dīwān, ed. Salhani, Beirut, 1905. &

al-Aghānī, Vol. VIII, ed. D. K. M., P. 297:

The following was composed in praising 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwān:

الْخَائِضَةُ الْغَمْرُ وَالْمَيُونُ طَائِرُهُ خَلِيفَةُ اللَّهِ ، يَسْتَرْجِيهِ الْمَطَرُ
or p.305 of Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r, wa'l-Shu'arā', ed. De Goeje.
وَقَدْ جَعَلَ اللَّهُ الْخَلِيفَةَ نَبِيْلًا بَاضًا لِدَعَايِهِ الْخَوَافِ وَلِلْجَبْدِ

or p.40, v.15:
أَعْظَاكَ اللَّهُ مَا أَرْنَتْمْ أَهْوَاهُ إِذَا الْمَوْتُ عَلَى أَمْسَالِهِ أَفْرَعُوا

or: S. M. Ghāzī, Op. Cit., P. 158, 180.

The Shī'ite party followed the fourth Orthodox Caliph 'Alī and supported him as the only one who was qualified to be the Caliph after the prophet Muhammad. The Shī'ites also believe that the Caliphate should be kept in the same line of 'Alī-Fāṭima. The Caliphate in their eyes was a divine order restricted to the family of the Prophet. This attitude was expressed by al-Kumāit in his Hashimīyāt.⁽³³⁵⁾ The Shī'ite poetry is characterised by an almost effeminate longing and lamentation as an end in itself especially after the death of Husaīn son of 'Alī together with his supporters in his revolution against Yazīd the second Umayyād caliph as the Shī'ites believe that the Umayyāds were usurpers of the Caliphate. The Shī'ite poetry may be termed 'polemical poetry' since Shī'ism appeared as a political movement to keep the Caliphate in the line of 'Alī and his children. Thus at the beginning of the Umayyād era Shī'ism formed a strong

(Continuation of footnote 334 from page 364)

إِنَّهُ الْوَلِيدُ أَمْرُهُ اللَّهُ أَنْتَ فِي وَمَا مَصْنَعُهُ إِلَى مَجَانِهِ هَرَبِي
خَلِيفَةُ اللَّهِ يَنْتَقِي بِنْتِهِ الْغَيْثُ عِنْدَ مُوَلِّي الْعِلْمِ يَنْتَقِي
The Umayyad Caliphs according to above came according
to the will of Allāh. They were called Khulafā' Allāh
"أُمَنَاءُ اللَّهِ" or Umanā' Allāh خُلَفَاءُ اللَّهِ

(335) Hashimīyāt, ed. Hovitz, p. 156, v. 5.

فِي مَوْقِفٍ أَوْ قَفَّ اللَّهُ النَّبِيَّ بِهِ لَمْ يَعْطِ قَبْلَهُ مِنْ خَلْقِهِ بَشَرًا

political party of opposition which established itself in Kūfa in Iraq. The polemical tendency, however, in the Shī'ite poetry encouraged the poets to imitate the style of the Qur'ān and incorporate quotations therefrom in their poetry. This feature can be seen in the Hashimīyāt of al-Kumāit, the founder of Shī'ite polemical poetry. Al-Saīyd al-Himyarī later on followed the same path of al-Kumāit. (336)

The third party was the Khārijites (Seceders) who revolted against 'Alī who was forced to agree to arbitration in settling the disputes between him and Mu'āwīya about the Caliphate. They regarded arbitration as an act of treason against Allāh, the sole arbitrator. Their movement reached its zenith in the years of political and religious confusion which followed Yazīd's death (the second Umayyād Caliph. d. 683 A.D.) They were mostly drawn from the Bedouin soldiery who settled in Baṣra and Kūfa after the Persian wars. (337) They believe that the Caliphate is the right of every free Muslim even if he were an Abyssinian slave and the elected Caliph had no right to resign but if he became a tyrant or used his authority unjustly he will be dismissed or killed. Thus they were rebels who built their dogma on the ample freedom of Islam rather than

(336) S. A. Khulousy, Shi'ism and its influence on Arabic Literature, a Ph. D., Thesis, S.O.A.S., University of London, May, 1947, pp. 207, 208.

(337) R. A. Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 208, 209 & see also: J. Wellhausen, Die religions-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam: Die Chavārig, Die Shī'a, translated into Arabic by: "Abdurrahmān Badāwi, Cairo, 1958, p. 18.

on the narrow attitude of the Arab 'aṣabiya. (338) They believe in equality and they do not allow any racial discrimination as far as the conception of Caliphate is concerned. Their poet 'Imrān b. Hiṭṭān expressed this view

We are people of Islam and Allāh is
our Lord,
and the most favourable (person) amongst
the people of God, is he who thanks
(god) (339)

The fourth party is the Zubaīrites who were led by 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubaīr who insisted that the Caliphate should remain in Ḥjāz in the hand of Quraīsh and the Caliph should be elected from the sons of the earlier followers of the Prophet Muḥammad. The poet of this party was Ibn Qaīs al-Ruqaiyāt who sang their glory and emphasised and stressed their claims and rights for the Caliphate. (340)

The fifth party is that of the Mawālī , موالی the clients. The parties of the opposition, however, sought in them allies against the Umayyads who actually represented the ruling power of the Arabian nation, and not of Islam. Thus the

(338) J. Wellhausen, Die Chavârig und Die Shī'a pp.29,30,31,38.

(339) Aghānī, Vol. XVI, p. 154:

نحن جو الپسوم واللہ رضا وأولک عباد اللہ باللہ من شکر

This line was taken from the Qur'ānic verse:

"إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَاكُمْ"
See: Qur'ān, "verily the noblest of you in the sight of God, are those who do most fear Him." Sura, 49: 13.

(340) See: Ibn Qaīs al-Ruqaiyāt, Dīwān. P. 17-19, IV, P. 87-96,

XXXIX, P. 117-120, XLVI, P. 121-124, XLVIII.

Mawālī were admitted with equal rights into the Khārijite community and the Shi'ites admitted them with much greater effect. (341) But those Mawālī later on and under the racial discrimination and the strong trends of the Umayyād 'aṣabīya, began to demand equal rights with the Arabs. They had Islam on their side, and were recruited by the revolution which based itself up on Islam. (342) This attitude of the Umayyāds towards the Mawālī led in due course of time to the emergence of the Shu'ūbite movement "Harakat al-Shu'ubiya, حركة الشعوبية" which directed its attacks principally against the racial pride of the Arabs, who were fond of boasting that they were the noblest of all mankind and spoke the purest and richest language in the world. (343) In the poetry of the Mawālī, the poets assimilated themselves to two cultures: the Arabic and mostly Persian as they began to use the narrative style and dealing with the animals' stories and prolonging their composition beside their attacking of Arabs and Arab elements. (344)

The political hijā', however, had its original seeds in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda especially in the poetry of the Ṣa'ālīk who formed a new party which freed itself from the rigid rules

(341) Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, p.72.

(342) Ibid., pp. 308,309.

(343) See for more details: R. A. Nicholson, op. cit., pp.279, 280,281 & Chapter I of this thesis, p. 14-15.

(344) C. Nallino, op. cit., pp. 238, 239

of the tribal 'aṣabīya. A glance at the Lāmiyyat al-Shanfarā will illustrate this point, but the Ṣa'ālīk poetry cannot be regarded as a political poetry in its wide sense although they were in revolt against the superiority and pride of the 'aṣabīya of their actual tribes and clans,⁽³⁴⁵⁾ because they did not use to believe in a particular political idea beyond that of being socially outcast, a tendency which united them. At the beginning of Islam this sort of Satire turned to be a 'religious-Satire-Hijā' Dīnī **هَجاء ديني** which was a long battle between the new Faith and Arab paganism and when Caliph 'Alī transferred his capital from Hijāz to Kūfa in Iraq, political satire began to take place and many parties were formed and directed their opposition towards the Umayyāds. It is interesting to note that as a result of that political struggle a new theme of satire arose, that was 'the regional-satire - al-Hijā' al-Iqlīmī , **الهجاء الإقليمي** ' which was a satire between Iraq, the centre of political opposition and Syria, the centre of the usurpers of the Caliphate. Iraq was in favour of 'Alī and Syria of Mu'āwīya. This sort of satire may be regarded as a kind of 'political Naqā'id' which can be seen in two poems: one composed by Ka'b b. Ju'aīl al-Taghlibī, the poet of Syria, and the second was composed by al-Najāshī

(345) See Chapter I of this Thesis, p. 22 - 23.

b. Ka'b, the poet of Iraq. Each tried to refute the pleas of the other and both employed self-praise (fakhr) and panegyric beside the satire.(346)

As a result of the political conflicts, violent satire, personal ambition, the poets as ordinary people were subjected to various punishments if they misbehaved or went beyond their due limits. Hence some of them were imprisoned or exiled and from their prison and exile they composed poetry which was stamped by sorrow. This theme in the Arabic Qaṣīda may be termed 'the prisons-poetry *Shi'r al-Sijūn* , شعر السجون . The seeds of this theme can be traced in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda. 'Adī b. Zaid was put in prison by King al-Nu'mān because of a very personal reason. 'Adī invited al-Nu'mān to have his lunch

(346) Th. Nöldeke, Delectus, pp. 79,80.

The poem of Ka'b b. Ju'a'il, is:

أَرَى الشَّامَ تَلَرَهُ مَلَكُ الْعَرَبِ وَأَهْلَ الْعَرَبِ لَهُمْ مَا هَبِينَا
وَصَدَّ لَصَاحِبِهِ مُبْغِضًا بَرِيءٌ كُلُّ مَا مَا مِنْ ذَلِكَ دِينَا

and the poem of al-Najāshī is:

رَبِّتْ مَعَارِيءَ مَا لَنْ يَكُونَا فَقَدْ هَمَّوْا اللَّهَ مَا تَحْدُرُونَا
أَتَأْتُمُ عَلِيَّ أَهْلَ الْعَرَبِ وَأَهْلَ الْحَبَابِ فَمَا لَصَعُونَا
مَهَلْتُمْ عَلَيَّ وَأَسْأَلُهُ نَظِيرَ أَنَّهُ لَصَدِّ أَمَا تَنْكَبُونَا

with him and when al-Nu'mān was in his way towards 'Adī's home a third person who was 'Adī b. Marīnā, stopped him with his party and insisted upon them to halt and have their lunch and drink with him in the time that 'Adī b. Zaīd was waiting for his guests. Al-Nu'mān then went to 'Adī, but it was too late to the extent that 'Adī became very angry. al-Nu'mān who was a sincere friend of 'Adī decided to go home. Later on al-Nu'mān invited 'Adī who refused to attend his party as a result of the former events. Thus he was put in the prison.(347) 'Adī b. Zaīd then began to compose poetry from his prison expressing his miserable state, his shabby clothes, his heavy chains and requesting his brothers and friends to interfere as mediators and request al-Nu'mān to free him.(348) Those prison-poems described his sadness, they were full of tears and discomfort, full of request and hope to save him from that boring life as he did not commit any sin. In the

(347) Aghānī, II, ed. Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, pp.115,116.

(348) Ibid., II, pp.114,117.

أُلْجِئاً عَامِراً وَأَبْلَغُ أَهْوَائِي مَوْتُهُ شَدِيدٌ وَتَأْتِي
فِي هَدِيدِ الْقَطَايِدِ تَرْقِيَّتِي الْحَائِسُ وَالرُّكُطُ شَرٌّ يُلَاقِي
فِي هَدِيدِ مَضَافِعِ وَغُلُولٍ وَتَحَابٍ مَضَاحٍ فَيُطَارِقُ
فَمَا لَبِثُوا فِي الْحَرَامِ مَلَأُوا أَهْلَهُمْ إِنَّهُ عَيْراً قَدْ حَزَزَتْ لِنَظَرِهِ

beginning of Islam al-Ḥuṭaī'a was imprisoned by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, because he satirised one of the Prophet's followers, al-Zibriqān b. Badr. He then composed a poem from his prison and dedicated it to the Caliph. He expressed his poor state and described his children as small chicks, hungry to the extent that their crops were red, lacking food and water. He begged 'Umar to pardon him because of his family who needed him; the Caliph on hearing his poem set him free providing that he would promise not to satirise Muslims again. (349) Abū Miḥjan was imprisoned by 'Umar because he drank wine which was forbidden by Islam (350) and when he was with the Muslims in the Qādisīya battle (16 A.H. - 637 A.D.) Abū Miḥjan composed a poem from his prison where he was chained, In that poem he expressed his sorrow and regret as he was left alone surrounded by those heavy in a time when his brothers were fighting and were in need of his gallant quality as he was a warrior in the Jāhiliya times. (351)

(349) Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa l-Shu'arā' ed. M. al-Saqqā, p.114:

مَاذَا تَقُولُ لِلْمَرَاخِ بِذِي مَرَخٍ خُمَزُ الْحَوَاصِلِ لِمَاءٍ وَلِدِ شَجَرٍ
أَلَقَيْتَ مَا سَبَّحُوا فِي قَعْرِ مُظْلَمَةٍ فَأَغْفِرْ عَلَيَّ يَا اللَّهُ يَا عَمْرُ

(350) Aghānī, Vol. XXI, p.215.

(351) Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa l-Shu'arā', ed. al-Saqqā, p.162, & Aghānī, XXI, p. 213:

كَلِمَةً هَزَنًا أَمْ تَرُدِّي الْخَيْلَ بِالْقَنَا وَأَتْرَكَ مَدَدًا عَلَيَّ وَمَافِيَا
إِذَا مُمَّتْ قَنَا فِي الْحَيْدِ وَغُلِقَتْ صَارِيْعٌ مِنْ رَدِّي لُصْمُ النَّارِ

In the Umayyād period al-‘Arjī was put in prison because he satirised Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī, the governor of Mecca. (352) He even composed amatory verses on the governor's mother and wife and handed them to the singers of his time to popularize as already mentioned. It seems, however, that the imprisonment of al-‘Arjī was due to his political ambition, although it resulted in failure especially when the Umayyads succeeded in controlling the Empire. That failure, it was suggested, made al-‘Arjī a critical person and a sharp-tongued satirist in lampooning his rivals. (353) From his prison, he composed a poem describing himself as a great loss to his people. He was patient, brave, He expressed his sadness and grief when he was dragged and ill-treated by his rivals. (354)

(352) Ibn Qutaība, al-Shi‘r wa l-Shu‘arā', ed. al-Saqqā, & Aghānī, XXI, p.224.

(353) Tāhā Ḥusayn, Hadīth al-Arbi‘ā', Vol. I, pp.305,306,309.

(354) Aghānī, Vol. I, ed. D.K.M., P. 413:

أَضَاعُونِي وَأَيَّ فَنٍّ أَضَاعُوا	لِيَوْمٍ لَرَبِّهِ وَبِدَادَ تَفَرُّ
وَصَبْرٍ عِنْدَ مَعْرَكِ الْمَنَازِلِ	وَقَدْ شَرَفْتِ أَسْتَرْجَا بَحْرِي
أَهْرَزْتُ فِي الْجَوَاعِ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ	فِي اللَّهِ مَظْلَمَتِي وَصَبْرِي
مَا فِي لَمْ أَكُنْ فِيهِمْ وَسِطًا	وَلَمْ تَكُنْ نَسْبِي فِي آلِ عَمْرِو

See also: Ibn Qutaība, al-Shi‘r wa l-Shu‘arā', ed. al-Saqqā, p.224.

Al-Farazdaq was cast into prison by the Caliph Hishām for reciting in his presence a glowing panegyric on ‘Alī's grandson, Zāin al- ‘Ābidīn. (355) Al-Kumaīt was imprisoned by the order of Caliph Hishām b. ‘Abdu'l-Malik because of composing the Hāshimīyāt in praise of the family of ‘Alī. But al-Kumaīt fearing the heavy penalty upon him decided to praise the Umayyads. (356) He asked them their pardon and even humiliated his tribe as the lowest of all; thus al-Kumaīt appeared to be a political-hypocrite - Munāfiq Siyāsī. However, imprisonment which inspired this type of poetry was caused by personal behaviour - to which exception was taken - as we see in the Jāhiliya Qasīda. It might also have moral and religious reasons in Islamic poetry, and political ones in the Umayyād period. Nevertheless, the subject-matter of such poetry was invariably the description of sadness, fear, or hope, and asking for forgiveness.

With the political confusion in the Umayyād community, and the pouring of immense wealth as a result of the conquests, social differences began to be emphasised. Thus a new theme

(355) Aghānī, Vol. XIX, p. 40-41.
& R. A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.243.

(356) Aghānī, Vol. XV, p. 118 :

وَقَفَرْتُمْ لِدَوْبِ الذُّنُوبِ مِنْ التَّمَايُزِ وَالْأَصَاغِرِ
أَسْبَى أُمَّيَّةَ إِيَّاكُمْ أَهْلَ الدَّائِرِ وَالْأُدْمِ
تَقَى لِكُلِّ مَلَمَةٍ وَعَشِيرَةٍ دَوْمَ الْعَشَائِرِ

emerged in the Arabic Qasīda, that was the 'social-Satire al-Hijā' al-Ijtimā'ī , الرِّجَارُ الْإِجْتِمَاعِيّ , which was composed to describe the social life of the community: the behaviour of the governor, the conduct and honesty of the tax-collectors, the new etiquette of meeting the governors as a sign of a civilized and settled community, all these were met by criticisms which were developed into social hijā'. Al-Rā'ī in his Malhama⁽³⁵⁷⁾ criticised the tax-collectors by saying that the people of that age were Arabs who regarded alms as a divine order from Allah, but those collectors were rough and hard and mistrusted people. They compelled people to pay taxes by harsh methods.

(e) Wine-Poetry

The Arabs in the Jāhiliya era drank wine for different ends: as a means for pleasure or one of the youth's joys "‘Ishat al-Fatā , عِشَّةُ الْفَتَى ,"⁽³⁵⁸⁾ or as a medium of forgetting sorrows and griefs.⁽³⁵⁹⁾ Wine was also considered an expression of generosity and a part of hospitality.⁽³⁶⁰⁾ It was drunk to give them courage and strength against their

(357) See: al-Qurashī, Jamhara, pp.356,357, vv.44-52. See also: Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', ed. al-Saqqā, pp.286,287.

(358) Tarafa, Mu'allāqa, vv.57,58.

(359) 'Amr b. Kulthūm, Mu'allāqa, v. 3.

(360) Ibid., v. 4:

إِذَا مَا ذَاقَهَا حَتَّى يَلِيْقَا تَجَوَّرَ بِذِي اللَّجَانَةِ عَنْ هَوَا
 عَلَيْهِ لَمَالُهُ فَيَطْأُ صَرْبَهَا رَأَى الْخَزْرَاءَ الشَّحِيحَ إِذَا أُفْرِتْ

& 'Antara, Mu'allāqa, v.39:

مَالِي وَغَرَضِي وَأَمْرِي لَمْ يُكَلِّمْ نَبَاذَا شَرِبْتُ فَبَانَتْ مِنْ رَيْبِي

enemies during their wars and feuds. Ḥassān b. Thābit refers to this in the following lines:

And when we drink it (wine) it will
leave us as though we are kings
and lions who never fear wars (361)
(Lit. the meeting in a battle)

Although wine, however, was described vividly in the Jāhiliyya Qaṣīda, the poets did not devote or compose whole qaṣīdas on the wine itself. They dealt with it incidently when they talked about personal or tribal matters. But al-A'ṣhā may be regarded as the wine-poet in the Jāhiliyya period as he prolonged the description of the wine-scene and also wrote a number of wine-poems 'Khamriyāt خمریات'. He developed the wine-poem as a main theme in his poetry. It was not a conventional or traditional theme of Jāhiliyya poetry and al-A'ṣhā had succeeded in making it an independent form. (362) Furthermore, the wine poem was subjected to traditional similes and descriptions which were in common use amongst the Jāhiliyya poets: its colour, for instance, was described as red and was likened to the blood of the slaughtered victim 'damm al-Dhabīḥ

(361) Dīwān, ed. Hirschfeld, p. I, v. 10:

ونشرها فتنرتنا ملوماً وأسد ما ينهزنا اللها

See also: Jamīl Sa'īd, *Tatawwūr al-Khamriyāt fī'l-Shi'r al-'Arabī*, 1st. ed., Cairo, 1945, pp. 29, 30.

(362) See: Iliyā Ḥawī, *Fann al-Shi'r al-Khamrī wa Tatawwūruhu fī'l-Adab al-'Arabī*, 1st. ed., Beirut, 1960, pp. 27, 28, 34, 36.

دم النبیج (363) or the blood of the gazelle 'damm al-Ghazāl
دم النضال (364) or to the saffron (365) or al-Huṣṣ . الحَصَن .

Al-A'shā added new picture to its colour, he described its
amber colour like that of the sun-light (366) although he
described it as red like the red flower of the Dhabh. (367)

(363) Al-Mufaddaliyāt, ed. Shākir & Hārūn, IX, p. 52, v. 29:

هَفَنُ مِنَ الْغَرِيبِ خَالِصٌ لَوْنُهُ كَدَمِ النَّبِيجِ إِذَا لَيْتَ تَشَفَّعَ
& Dīwān of Hudhail, Vol. I p. 69, vv. 3-4.
مُصَنَّفَةٌ مَصْفَاةٌ عَقَا - شَامِيَةٌ إِذَا هَلَيْتَ مَرُوحَ
إِذَا فُضَّتْ خَوَائِمُهَا وَفَلَّتْ يَقَالُ لَهَا دَمُ الْوَدَجِ النَّبِيجِ

(364) Imr al-Qaīs, Dīwān, ed. Ahlwardt, No. 59, p. 157, vv. 9-10:

نَظَّلَيْتُ فِي دَمِ الدِّيارِ مَا نَبِي نَوَانُهُ بِالْكَرَةِ صَبُوحُ مُدَمٍ .
أَنْفُ كُلُّوهِ دَمِ النُّضَالِ مُعَقَّوهُ مِنْ خَمْرِ عَانَةِ أَدْرُومِ شِبَامِ .

(365) 'Amr b. Kulthūm, Mu'allāqa, v. 2:

مُتَعَتَّةٌ مَا أَنَّ الْحَصَنَ نَيْطَ إِذَا مَا الْمَاءُ خَالِطَهَا خَيْبَا
and al-A'shā, Dīwān, ed. R. Geyer, p. 137, v. 14.

سَلَفٌ مَا تَهُ الزَّعْفَرَانُ وَعِنْدَمَا لِيَصْفُوهُ فِي نَاهُورِهَا تَمْلَقُطُ

(366) Al-A'shā, Dīwān, ed. Geyer, p. 135, v. 22.

مَا تَهُ شَعَاعُ صَرَمِ الشَّمْسِ نَيْطَ إِذَا مَا فَتَّ عَنْ نَيْطِ الْخَصَامَا

(367) Ibid., p. 162, v. 33:

وَسَمُولٍ كَتَبَ الْعِيَةَ إِذَا صُنِفَتْ وَرَدْنَاهَا نَوَالِدُ الدَّيْجِ

Even the name⁽³⁶⁸⁾ which was given to describe the wine, was a traditional one: it was called "al-Ṣahbā", **الصهباء** - reddish," or "al-Mudām", **المُدَام**, but al-A'ṣhā gave it new names such as "al-Isfānt", **الإِسْفَنْط**⁽³⁶⁹⁾ or "al-Jiryāl", **الجرىال**⁽³⁷⁰⁾. Most of these names were not Arabic and it was thought that al-A'ṣhā used them as a result of his wide journeys outside of the Peninsula and especially when he visited Persia or Syria. The smell of the wine was described as like musk, **المسك**. Al-A'ṣhā exaggerated in describing the smell of his wine when he said that even a person who has a cold and cannot possibly distinguish between smells, once he touched it would sense its perfume.⁽³⁷¹⁾ 'Adī b. Zaīd drew the most vivid picture of the mixing of wine with water by saying that his wine was palatable wine and since it was mixed with water, its taste would be very nice and as a result of that mixing, small bubbles like pearls appeared over the mixture; they were induced by clapping:

مُرَّةٌ قَبْلَ مَرْطَلٍ خَائِذَا مَا مُرَجَّبَةٌ لَدَى طَعْمٍ مِّنْ يَذُوقُهُ
وَلَطْفٌ فَوْقَهَا فَقَا قَبِيعٌ مَّا لَدَى صَبَا يُبْرِهَا التَّضْفِيفُ
(372)

(368) See: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Hasan al-Nawājī, Ḥalabat al-Kumāīt, Cairo, 1938, Chapt. I, (the names of wine) pp.6-11.

(369) Dīwān, ed. R. Geyer, p. 5, v. 15.

(370) Ibid., p. 23, v. 9, p. 108, v. 2.

(371) Ibid., p. 135, v. 17.

سَنَ السَّيِّئِ يُحْمَلْنَ عَلَى الطَّيِّبِ كَرِيحِ الْمَسْكِ نَسْلُ الزَّهَامَا

(372) See: Shu'arā' al-Nasrāniya, Pt.4p. 467, vv. 15, 16.

This picture shows the influence of the settled and more civilized community on the poetical creation of the poet, as 'Adī lived in al-Hīra for a long time. This picture was imitated by the 'Abbāsīd poets to a great extent. (373) As for the description of the state of the drinker 'al-Shārib', there were very slight pictures which reflected the Arab boasting and a Bedouin spirit. This can be seen in the following verses of al-Munakhkhil al-Yashkurī, who said:

If I become drunk, I feel (as if) I am
the Lord of al-Khuwarnaq and al-Sadīr
(two famous palaces in Hīra):
And if I become sober, I feel (as if)
I am the master of a little ewe and
a camel. (374)

Al-Akhtal later on illustrated the state of the drinker vividly as we shall see.

However, the wine-poem in the Jāhiliyya poetry, remained as mere individual expression and followed the conventional scheme concerning its colour, name and influence. The wine-similes in the Jāhiliyya Qaṣīda remained as classical ones which were imitated by Islamic and Umayyād poets, and the wine-poems stayed as a part of the actual ode and did not reach the realm of being independent or free.

At the beginning of Islam, the wine-poetry did not flourish in comparison with that of the Jāhiliyya era or the

(373) J. Sa'īd, op. cit., p. 76.

(374) Ibn Qutaiba, Al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', ed. al-Saqqā, p.151:

فَإِذَا كُنْتُ مُشْرِبًا فَهِيَ
رَبُّ الْخَوَاصِرِ وَالسَّيْرِ
وَإِذَا صَحَوْتُ فَهِيَ
رَبُّ التَّوْبَةِ وَالْبَعِيرِ

Umayyād period, because Islam forbade wine-drinking and considered it an evil action encouraged by Satan. (375) Thus Muslims were instructed to avoid it as a sin. The new teachings did affect the Mukhadramūn poets who were accustomed themselves to drink wine in pre-Islamic times. Abū Miḥjan was the first wine-poet who was cast into prison by ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. (376) His wine songs described his passion and love of his wine:

Bury me beside a wine-tree
(Karma), if I die
as its roots may water my bones;
And do not bury me in a barren
plain
as I verily fear that I may not taste
it after I die. (377)

The rest of his wine-poems, however, show the internal struggle inside him, a struggle between his love of wine from one side and his religious beliefs which forbade it from another. (378) Abū Miḥjan used the same conventional pictures of wine-poems of the Jāhiliya times; he called it the classical

(375) The Qur'ān, Sura, 5, v.90.

(376) Aghānī, XXI, p.215.

(377) Ibid., p.215 & Th. Nöldeke, Delectus, pp.26,27.

إِذَا مِتُّ فَأَدْفِنِي إِلَى أَصْلِ كَرْمَةٍ تَرَكِي عِظَائِي فِي الزَّابِ عَرِيقًا
وَلَا تَدْفِنِي بِالْفَلَاكِ فَإِنِّي أَخَافُ إِذَا مِتُّ أَنْ لَا أَذُوقَهَا

(378) J. Sa'īd, op. cit., pp.85,86,87.

name 'Ṣahbā', (379) its colour was red and it was from 'Khamr al-Huṣṣ', خمر الحُصّ, (380) and the aims of his drinking were to help women and neighbours. (381)

In the Umayyād period al-Akḥṭal (d. between 705-715 A.D.) was celebrated because of his loyalty to the Umayyād house as he was usually known as the Poet Laureate of the Umayyāds and secondly because of his wine-songs. His Christian beliefs encouraged him to draw vivid pictures of the wine. He, as most of the Umayyād poets, did imitate the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda although not rigidly. Al-A'shā was his ideal in composing wine-poetry; he even copied his similes and was influenced by him to a great extent. Here is a brief comparison which shows clearly the influence of al-A'shā on al-Akḥṭal. Al-A'shā described the colour of the wine-skin, black as a face of an Abassinian:

(382) تَحِبُّ الزَّقَّةَ لِيضًا مَسْنَدًا هَبَّيًّا نَامَ عَمْدًا فَأَنَاجَحَ

Al-Akḥṭal referred to the colour as like one of 'the Sudān men' (black):

(383) أَنَا هُوَ فَجَرُوا صَبَاءَ مَائِي - جَالٌ مِنَ السُّودَانِ لَمْ يَسْرِ لَوْ

(379) Th. Nöldeke, Delectus, p.27, v.4.

(380) Ibid., p.27, v.2.

(381) Ibid., p.27, vv.6-8.

(382) Diwān, ed. R. Geyer, p.163, v.42.

(383) Al-Aghānī, Vol. XI, ed. D. K. M. P. 63. & Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r, ed. De Goeje, P. 310. & Nöldeke, Delectus, P. 28, v. 6.

Al-A'shā described the smell of his wine as so strong that the Mazkūm , مَزْكُومٌ a person with cold' can sense and smell that perfume:

(384) مِنْ خَمْرٍ عَانَةٍ قَدْ أَتَى لِحْيَتِي حَوْلُ نَلْ غَمَامَةِ الْمَزْكُومِ

Al-Akḥṭal used the same picture:

(385) إِذَا تَعَامَدَ الْكُفَّ زَجَاجِلُ نَفْعَتِ فَتَمَّ رِيَا حَرِي الْمَزْكُومِ

Al-A'shā described the drinkers as those who do not become sober, but remain drunk repeating their demands whenever their waiter was late:

(386) لَدَيْهِمْ نَفْسٌ مَرَّةً وَهِيَ الْهِنَةُ إِلَيْهِمْ وَإِنْ عَلُوا وَإِنْ نَزَلُوا

Akḥṭal said:

(387) نَحْنُ لَيْسْنَا نَتَوَلَّى لِحَقِّهِ بِنَا تَوَابِعِلْ مِمَّا نَعْلُ وَتَنْزِلْ

Al-Akḥṭal, however, did create something new in the wine-poetry; it is the picture of a drunkard and how the wine works in the human body. The following picture can be regarded as expression of the originality of al-Akḥṭal as such a theme was not stressed in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda.

Prostrate with old wine - Mudām,
is he; the (other) drinkers lift his
head
So he may revive, while his
bones and joints have already
become numb;
Sometimes we lead him and
sometimes we drag him
and he can scarcely understand

(384) Dīwān, ed. R. Geyer, p.258, No.205, v.2.

(385) Dīwān, p. 45.

(386) Dīwān, ed. R. Geyer, p.45, v.40. & Mu'allāqa, v.28,
Sharḥ al-Tibrīzī.

(387) Ghāzī, Op. Cit., P. 160.

except with the lost breath of
life;
 It (the wine) creeps through
 the bones, as though it were
 a creeping of ants slipping down
 in the sand. (388)

Al-Akḥṭal created another vivid picture when he depicted
 the pouring of wine into a glass saying:

Then they poured wine into a glass
 as if (the wine) were a burning
 blaze, whenever they glanced at it. (389)

The wine-poem, however, was still a part of the actual ode
 of panegyric or satire and was not separated from the traditional
 order till the time of al-Walīd b. Yazīd, the Umayyād Caliph
 (743-744 A.D.) who devoted the whole poem to the description
 and celebration of his wine. He even influenced the poets
 who followed him in the 'Abbasid age, namely Abū Nūwās (d. circa
 810 A.D.) who took many pictures and similes from al-Walīd and
 added them to his poetry after slight modification. (390)

Al-Walīd devoted himself to his sensual pleasures; he was not
 a politician, but rather a man of desire, love, drink and lust.

(388) Nöldeke, *Delectus*, p. 28:

صَرِيعٌ مُلِمٌ يَرْفَعُ التُّرْبُ أُنْثَى لَبِيبٌ رَقْدَمَاتِ عِظَامٍ وَفَضْلُ
 نَهَارِهِ أَهْيَانًا، وَهَيْئًا حَرْمٌ رَمَامًا دَالِلًا إِلَى تَهْلُكَةٍ يَعْجَلُ
 تَرْتَبُ رَيْبًا فِي الْعِظَامِ مَا تُثَى رَيْبُ نِمَالٍ فِي تَهْلُكَةٍ يَنْزِيلُ

(389) *Said*, *op. cit.*, p. 159:

فَصَبُّوا عَصَا فِي إِيْنَا بِمَا نَحَلُ إِذَا لِحْوَاهُ هَدُومٌ تَأْكُلُ

(390) Aghānī, Vol. VI, p. 109-110.

His wine-songs were short lyrics and they dealt with his own hedonism. He was the creator of the Islamic drinking-song since the Jāhiliya poets used the wine theme primarily to serve as a subject for the poet's boasting (fakhr), but al-Walīd lived for it and believed in it. It was thought that al-Walīd followed the tradition of 'Adī b. Zaid through his drinking companion al-Qāsim b. al-Tufaīl who was a Christian from Hira.⁽³⁹¹⁾ A glance at al-Walīd's songs in the Book of Songs will leave the impression that they were composed for singing as most of them were composed in short metres to fulfil the requirements of the art of singing.⁽³⁹²⁾ They were marked by unity of theme, i.e. wine and love. Their language was also simple and lucid as a result of the civilized environment of the Umayyād palaces. Al-Walīd's time (743-744 A.D.) is regarded as the date of wine-poem's separation from the rest of the episodes of the traditional Qaṣīda. The poets of the 'Abbasid age cultivated that art and developed it to a great extent when Persian elements began to enter the wine-composition. For the glorification of wine was one of the major themes of early Persian poetry which is unlike early Arabic poetry because it deals mainly with 'types' rather than individual character. The Persian poet generally works through "established conceptual patterns and

(391) C. Brockelmann, op. cit., pp.99,100.

(392) Aghānī, Vol VI, p.99.

and stylized ideas and images." (393)

The Religious-Poetry:

The religious theme in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda was not prominent because the Arabs of that epoch were mainly pagans although we find in their poetry some slight references to God and the Day of Resurrection such as in the Mu'allāqa of Zuhāir, (394) who even referred to the day of Judgement "Yawm al-Ḥisāb, **يَوْمَ الْحِسَابِ**" and used the word 'Allāh.' In the Mu'allāqa of 'Abīd b. al-Abras there is a sign of the recognition of the oneness of God. (395) But these references cannot be regarded as pure religious themes in the broadest sense of the word in comparison with the religious poems of Abū Nūwās or Abū al-'Atāhiya (748-828 A.D.) the "Zuhdiyyāt, **زُهْدِيَّات**" since the pagan environment made the average Arab of that epoch a cynical materialist who knew nothing beyond the grave, but was ready to swear by his idols in a moment of need.

Umayya b. Abī al-Ṣalt, however, expressed some religious feelings which were based upon his knowledge of the Christian scriptures (396) (Old Testament and New Testament) which were

(393) E. Yarshater, "The Theme of Wine-drinking and the Concept of the beloved in Early Persian poetry," pp.43-53 in *Studia Islamica*, Vol. XIII, Paris, MCMLX, pp.44,48.

(394) Mu'allāqa, vv.26,27.

(395) Mu'allāqa, vv.18-20.

(396) Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', ed. al-Saqqā, pp.176, 177.

available amongst the Arab Christians and Jews in Hijāz and Hīra and other parts of the Peninsula. He used the stories of the Bible in his poetry⁽³⁹⁷⁾ which, however, was not regarded as purely religious composition. When Islam emerged the Arabs began to adopt strong religious attitudes. Yet they did not develop religious poetry in a deep sense. What did happen was that the moral theme was introduced. Moreover, Islamic poets imitated the style of the Qur'ān. In the Umayyad period, however, religion was used to serve political ambition and was used by the political parties of the opposition as a form of their political dogma and thus as a result of that political confusion religious poetry was not recognised as an independent subject but was a mixture mainly of politics and religion. By the end of the eighth century A.D. however, religious thinking and feeling had pervaded the mind of the average Muslim to such an extent that it found its way into poetry without being considered an innovation.⁽³⁹⁸⁾ One very interesting development was the introduction of religious phraseology and religious images into the amatory ode.⁽³⁹⁹⁾ It is thus that in the Zuhdīyāt of Abū Nuwās and Abū al-‘Atāhīya, the

(397) Shu‘arā’ al-Naṣrānīya, p.214-20 & al-Sibā‘ī Baiyūmī, Ta’rīkh al-Adab al-‘Arabī, p.300-305 & J. Zaidan, Ta’rīkh Adāb al-Lughā al-‘Arabīya, Vol. I, p. 126-127.

(398) G. Von Grunebaum, "The Early Development of Islamic Religious Poetry," pp.23-29 in "Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 60, U.S.A., 1940, p.24.

(399) Ibid., p.27.

religious-poem became independent and free from the influence of the Umayyād political competition, although philosophical arguments began to take place in those religious-poems as a result of the translation-movement which started in the 'Abbasid period and which brought the Muslim mind in contact with Greek philosophy and logic.

Rithā' (Dirge) Poetry:

Rithā' رِثَاء is the medium through which the poet expresses his sadness and grief towards a dead person at the same time exhibiting his virtues and deeds. The song of grief, however, is mostly simple. Women in the Jāhiliya era were the exhibitors of this art. Al-Khansā' (d. about 664 A.D.) is known as the poetess of the Rithā' "Shā'irat al-Rithā'

شاعرة الرثاء " in Arabic poetry.

The dirge-poem 'The Marthiyya - المَرْثِيَّة ' does not usually follow the conventional form of the classical Qasīda. The Marthiyya is dealing with one subject matter and this feature might be regarded by most of the transmitters and critics as a defect since they appreciated variety of theme within one Qasīda. An exception to this rule, is the Marthiyya of Duraīd b. al-Ṣimma, which was regarded as the only elegiac poem that started with the love-section (the Nasīb prelude).

أَتَتْ حَبِيدَ الْحَبْلِ مِنْ أُمَّ فَعْبِدَ لِعَافِيَةٍ أَنْ أَعْخَفَتْ كُلَّ مَوْعِدِ

(400) Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī, 'Um̄da, Vol. I, pp.121,122 & al-Qurāshī, Jamhara, pp.224-227.

The poets of the Jāhīlīya period used to include proverbs and maxims in their Rithā' poems. They used to liken their dead to the 'powerful kings of ancient kingdoms', to the wild-goats, lions, wild-asses, vultures, eagles and snakes.⁽⁴⁰¹⁾ In the Jāhīlīya Qaṣīda, the Rithā' stands as an ordinary theme which accompanies the disputes, tribal feuds and wars that used to take place between different tribes of that age. The Rithā' was a common subject and may be regarded as a branch of panegyric, although it did not reach the professional level of the latter.

Rithā' became the independent art in the Dīwān of al-Khansā' who devoted herself to eulogize her brothers Mu'āwīya and Ṣakhr. Al-Mubarrad (d. 898 A.D.) thought that the best eulogies are those which are a mixture of panegyric and grief and which are expressed in sound words and correct language such as the Rithā' of al-Khansā'.⁽⁴⁰²⁾ We will try in the following pages to analyse her artistic features.

(401) Al-Qaīrawānī, 'Umda, Vol. I, pp.120, 121.

(402) See: the Introduction to: Anīs al-Julasā' fī Sharh Dīwān al-Khansā', edited with notes by: LE. P.L. Cheikhō, 1st ed., Beirut, 1896, p.25:

قال البرد : ومن أحسن المراثي ما قيل فيه مدح بجميع
 على المراثي فإذا أوقع ذلك بكلام صحيح ولابة صريحة
 ونظم غير متفاوت فهو الغاية من كلام المخلوقين
 وكذلك شأن النساء .

The poetess normally begins the poem by portraying her grief and her tears which she cannot stop and then shows how worthy the dead man was, to be grieved over so deeply. The sunrise reminded her about Sakhr also the sunset.⁽⁴⁰³⁾ She would try to commit suicide if left alone, but she found a kind of consolation in those who mourned their dead brothers.⁽⁴⁰⁴⁾ The repetition of the first verse 'Maṭla'- pl. Maṭāli'- مطالع of her poems is another poetical feature.⁽⁴⁰⁵⁾ She also

(403) Dīwān, p.151:

يَذْكُرُ فِي طُلُوعِ الشَّمْسِ صَخْرًا وَاذْكُرْ لِكُلِّ غُرُوبِ شَمْسٍ

(404) Dīwān, p.152:

وَلَوْلَا كَثْرَةُ الْجَالِيَةِ هَوِيَّ عَلَى إِخْوَانِهِمْ لَقَتَلْتُ نَفْسِي

(405) Such as the following examples:

عَيْنِي هَوْدًا بَدَعَ غَيْرَ مَتْرُورٍ وَ إِعْوَالًا صَخْرًا خَيْرَ مَقْبُورٍ

(Dīwān, p.125)

يَا عِيَّةَ هَوْدِي بَدَعَ غَيْرَ مَتْرُورٍ مِثْلَ الْحِمَامَةِ عَلَى الْخَذِيرَةِ مَحْدُورٍ

(Dīwān) p.127)

يَا عِيَّةَ هَوْدِي بَدَعَ مِنْكَ مَلَكُوتٍ كَطُلُوعِ هَالِكٍ فِي السَّمَاءِ مَقْبُورٍ

(Dīwān, p.12)

يَا عِيَّةَ مَالِكٍ لَدَيْكَ تَعْلَابَا إِذَا بَدَعَ دَهْرٌ وَمَا الدَّهْرُ تَيَابَا

(Dīwān, p.1)

أَلَا يَا عِيَّةَ وَجِلَّ أَعْدِيِّي فَقَدْ عَظُمَتْ مَصِيبَتُهُ رَجَلَتْ

(Dīwān, p.24)

أَلَا يَا عِيَّةَ وَجِلَّ أَعْدِيِّي لَرِيْبِ الدَّهْرِ وَالزَّمَنِ الْعَظِيْضِ

(Dīwān, p.157)

repeated individual words such as the expression ' Hammāl Alwīya - حَمَّالُ أَلْوِيَةٍ - a holder of banners' was repeated four times in four poems.⁽⁴⁰⁶⁾ This feature of repeating verses or expressions may indicate that the meanings and similes of the Rithā' were limited. The Rithā' of al-Khansā' was based upon portraying the character of her brothers and especially Ṣakhr who was a gallant warrior,⁽⁴⁰⁷⁾ the materialistic loss of the tribe's protector,⁽⁴⁰⁸⁾ the helper of the widows and orphans⁽⁴⁰⁹⁾ and finally the target of the guests.⁽⁴¹⁰⁾

(406) See the Dīwān, pp. 5, 136, 81, 241. The expression 'Tawīl al-Nijād طَوِيلُ النِّجَادِ' was repeated twice in two poems: pp.41, 224.

(407) Dīwān, p.136:

وَأَبِي أَخَاكَ وَلَيْسَ شَأْنُهُ وَأَبِي أَخَاكَ شَجَاعًا غَيْرَ خَوَا

(408) Ibid., p.2:

وَأَبِي أَخَاكَ لَخِيْلٍ مَالِقًا عَصَبٍ فَصْنَتُهُ لَأَتَوْنٍ سَيِّئًا وَارْعَابًا
وَأَبِيهِ لِلْفَارِسِ الْحَامِي حَقِيقَتُهُ وَلِلضَّرِيَّةِ إِذَا مَا جَاءَ مَنَابًا

(409) Ibid., pp.1, 136, 239:

فَأَبِي أَخَاكَ لَدُنِّيَّامٍ وَأَمِلَةٍ وَأَبِي أَخَاكَ إِذَا جَاءَتْ أَجْنَابًا
وَأَبِي أَخَاكَ لَدُنِّيَّامٍ وَأَمِلَةٍ وَأَبِي أَخَاكَ لِحِمَى الضَّيْفِ وَالْحَبَابِ
وَأَبِي أَخَاكَ لَدُنِّيَّامٍ أَضْرَبُهُمْ رَبِّ الزَّمَانِ وَكُلِّ الضَّرِيفَتَانِ

(410) Ibid., pp.136, 169-70, 12, 53:

أَبِي الْمَرْهِيَةِ تَلَدَدَ الْمَالِ بِرَأْسِهِ نَزَلَتْ شَرَّهَا وَتَرَجَّحَ بِالصُّومِ الْمَصَائِفِ
نَعْمَ الْفَتَى مَا هُوَ لَمْ يُضَيَّفْ أَنْ تَزِلُوا وَسَائِلُ حَقٍّ لِعَدْلِهِ مَكْرُوبِ
وَالسَّجْعُ الْقَوْمِ إِنَّهُ لَهَبٌ مَصْرُوعٌ تَلَبَّاهُ مُغْتَرَةً كَهَبٌ بَصْرَادِ

As for her language it is simple and lucid as the subject matter is sadness and the tender nature of al-Khansā' as a woman tended to simplify her expressions.

The dirge poems of the Umayyād period remained similar to those of the Jāhiliya era since the nature of the Rithā' is the same. But Rithā' was also used in the political poetry.

In conclusion we thus see a limited number of well-defined themes in the Qaṣīda, all of which, with the exception of wine and religion, are already highly developed in Jāhiliya poetry. They are love, the animals and scenes of the desert environment, war, panegyric, self-praise, satire, wine, religious poetry and Rithā'.

The expression of these themes is often in conventional terms which were taken from one part by another, although this did not prevent some themes being dealt with in a highly personal manner, such as the description of Imr al-Qaīs's horse, the she-camel of Ṭarafa, the wolf of al-Shanfarā, the apologies of al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, the tribal glory of 'Amr b. Kulthūn, the peace of Zuhaīr and the individual heroism of 'Antara.

Naturally, the new circumstances and environment after the Islamic conquests led to some changes and extensions in dealing with these themes - for example the development of Naqā'id out of hijā', the increased prominence of the wine theme and the war theme. But the change in subject matter

was less than might have been expected. The main change was not so much in the actual themes and their treatment as in their grouping within the single poem. The Jāhīlīya ideal was as we have seen the composite Qaṣīda, comprising linked sections on several themes, beginning usually with the love-section (the Nasīb prelude). In Islamic times, this gradually separated into its component parts. The disintegration was already far advanced by the end of the Umayyād period. It was completed in the 'Abbasid era, when composite Qaṣīdas on Jāhīlīya-pattern ceased to be written except by old-fashioned poets such as Abū Tammām.

The Language of The Arabic Qaṣīda.

Two opposing tendencies can be recognised in the life of language: the one in the direction of splitting, the other in the direction of larger and larger units. The Arabic language is an example of the first tendency and the Latin language as an example of the second. The classical Arabic language as we know it is believed to be based on the different dialects spoken by the Arabs before the rise of Islam. It would appear that a standard language is to be found in the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda and in the Qur'ān. The Qur'ān itself was revealed to the Prophet Muḥammad in a literary language which was in use amongst the inhabitants of Hijāz, although different readings and variants later took place.

In Arabia before Islam two kinds of Arabic were extant: South Arabic which was spoken in Yemen including the Sabaean and Himyarite dialects and Arabic proper which was spoken in Arabia generally, exclusive of Yemen. The former had become a dead language by the sixth century A.D., when the Himyarite Empire was overthrown by the Abyssinians in the same century. Eventually and after that date the language of North Arabia established an almost universal supremacy and won for itself the title of '"Arabic" par excellence',⁽¹⁾ a medium through which

(1) R.A. Nicholson, A Lit., Hist., of the Arabs, p.xxi.

the Jāhīlīya Qaṣīda expressed its emotions and thoughts.

A brief glance, however, at the Jāhīlīya poetry will show that it was composed in one consistent language despite the fact that the poets themselves were from different tribes who spoke various dialects. Thus the poets of the Jāhīlīya era appeared to have adopted a common practical and artificial language since oral transmission was the only method of popularizing their compositions.⁽²⁾ The linguistic unity of that 'artificial language' was dependent upon intercourse in the Jāhīlīya community. According to Arab theory in the mediaeval period roughness of various dialects were smoothed down. Thus the greater part of those dialectical peculiarities which were not favoured, disappeared from that elevated medium. The Arab philologists regarded the following as the remains of those dialectical peculiarities: "aj'ajat Qudā'a نَجَّهَ قَضَاعَةَ" which is to change the letter 'Y' into the letter 'J' if the former follows the letter 'ع'. Thus they say, for instance: "al-Rā'ij Kharaj ma'ij الراعي خَرَجَ مَعِي", instead of: "al-Rā'ī Kharaja ma'ī, الراعي خَرَجَ مَعِي, the Shepherd went out with me". To the tribe of Qudā'a another dialectical form was added. It was called "Ghamghamaī Qudā'a, غَمَّهَ قَضَاعَةَ, to speak confusedly without stressing and emphasizing the letters". To the tribes

(2) Carl Brockelmann, *Semitische Sprachwissenschaft*, p.55 (quoted by: 'Umar al-Dusūqī, al-Nāṭiqha al-Dhubyānī, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1951, pp.17, 18.

of Yemen two dialectical forms were attributed: the first was 'Shanshana - الشَّشَنَة' which was the changing of the letter 'K' into 'Sh' always e.g. 'Labbaish , لَبَّيْش ' instead of 'Labbaik لَبَّيْكَ' - Here I am at thy service, and the second was the "watm , وَتَم" which was the changing of the letter 'S' into 'T', e.g., they said 'al-Nāt , النَّات' instead of 'al-Nās , النَّاس' - people'. To Himyar the 'Ṭumṭum-aniya was added. (الطَّمْطَمَانِيَّة) It was the form of putting am - أَم instead of al- آل , e.g., Ṭāba amhawa 'طَابَ أَمْهَوَار' instead of 'Ṭāba al-hawā' طَابَ الْهَوَار - the air was refreshing". To the tribe of Bahrā' بَهْرَار - that the "Taltala التَّلْتَلَة" was attributed. It was the way of pronouncing the first letter of the imperative with the 'Kesra' always. Bahrā', was a clan of the tribe of Qudā'a. This may indicate that there were several dialects within one tribe. Hudhail had the form of "Fahfaha - فَهْفَه" which was the changing of the letter 'h' into 'ع' e.g., "al-'Asan akhu al-'Usaīn العَسَن أَخ الْعُسَيْن , instead of 'Al-Hasan akhu al-Husaīn - الْحَسَن أَخ الْحُسَيْن". The 'An'ana - الْعَنْعَنَة which was the changing of the hamza at the beginning of the word into the letter 'ع' e.g., 'an - أَنْ will become 'an عَن , was attributed to the tribe of Tamīm and sometimes to the tribe of Qaīs. The tribe of Asad had the form of "Kashkasha" الْكَشْكَشَة " which was the changing of the letter 'K' in the second person feminine into the letter 'Sh' e.g., 'alaish عَلَّيْش instead of 'alaiki عَلَيْكِ . The tribe of

Kalb preferred to pronounce the letter (K) in the plural ' with the 'kasra' as كُمْ rather than with 'damma', so they said 'alaikim عَلَيْكُمْ instead of alaikum عَلَيْكُمْ. This dialectical form was called "Wakm Kalb وَكَمْ كَلْب". The people of al-Shahar omitted the final hamza in their speech and said: mash allāh مَا اللهُ instead of ma shā' allāh

مَا شاءَ اللهُ , lit. what God willed is or Bravo'. This form was called 'Lakhlakhanīyat al-Shahr' لَخْلَخَانِيَّةُ الشَّهْرِ.

The tribe of Tayyi' omitted the final letter of the word and said 'Yā Abā al-Hakā - يَا أَبَا الْحَا' instead of Yā Abā al-Hakam

يَا أَبَا الْحَكَم . This form was called 'Qaṭ'at Tayyi' قَطْعَةُ طَيِّ. Some tribes such as Sa'ad b. Bakr, Hudhail, al-Azd and al-Anṣār (the Helpers of the Prophet) preferred to

pronounce the letter ' ع ' which has a sukūn and if preceded by the letters Ṭā' ط or Dād ض , as letter (N) e.g. they said: anṭā أَنْطَر instead of aṭā أَطَر 'he gave'.

This form was called "Istinṭā' اِسْتِنْطَاء". (3) It is interesting to note that this form "istinṭā'" is popular in the dialect of modern Baghdad , while in the middle of Iraq and in part of the south people usually drop the letter ' ع ' from

(3) See: Tha'lab, Majālis, Vol. I, p.100 and al-Suyūṭī, Muzhir, Vol. I, pp.128, 133 and Ibn Jinnī, al-Khaṣā'is, Cairo, 1913, Vol. I, p.411 and 'Umar al-Dusūqī, op. cit., p.33 and Dr. Ibrāhīm Anīs, al-Lahajāt al-'Arabīya, Cairo, 1957, pp.92, 97, 98; fī al-Lahajāt al-'Arabīya, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1952; pp.98, 103, 109, 110; see also: Paul E. Kahle, The Cairo Geniza, the Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, London, 1947, p.115. (It was a translation of a statement of al-Farrā' (d. 821 A.D.) who dealt with the language of Quraish, it was found in MS. Arab. 705 of the Chester Beatty Collection, foll. 4-7.)

the word ^{أَعْطَى} completely. So, they say aṭṭīk ^{أَطِيبُ} instead of a'ṭīk ^{أَعْطِيبُ}.

The poetical and artificial language of the Jāhīlīya Qaṣīda in drawing its poetic diction from the tribal word-stocks of different dialects and in purifying itself from their dialectical roughness and peculiarities, bears a sort of resemblance to the Epic dialect of Greek. Homer, for example, was thought to have composed his Iliad in an artificial or poetical language which was not regarded as a spoken vernacular. It was a highly developed literary style used only for literature and created for the same purpose. Homeric poetical language was made up of different dialects; it is thought to be chiefly the Ionic and Aeolic which are both descendants of a common Greek stock. Those dialects, though existing separately, impinged on each other and were mutually intelligible. Thus the Epic artificial and literary language grew.⁽⁴⁾

It is not possible, however, to reject the authenticity and deny the existence of the Jāhīlīya poetry because of the absence of the dialects in this poetry.⁽⁵⁾ Almost the majority of scholars have agreed that there was a literary and an artificial language in Arabia before the advent of Islam,

(4) See Thomas W. Allen, *Homer, The Origins and the Transmission*, Oxford, 1924, p.101 and C.M. Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad*, Oxford, 1930, pp.134, 136, 140, 155.

(5) D.S. Margoliouth, *The Origins of Arabic Poetry*, J.R.A.S., London, 1925, pp.440, 441, also A.J. Arberry, *The Seven Odes*, pp.231. 234.

but they differ as to the extent of the connection between that poetical language and the spoken dialects which were in local use in that period. Chaim Rabin offers what he calls a working hypothesis, namely that "classical Arabic is based on one or several of the dialects of Najd, perhaps in an archaic form. Najd was an area where East-Arabians and West-Arabians met and mingled".⁽⁶⁾ Sir Charles J. Lyall maintains that the language of the Jāhīlīya poetry was a standard Arabic set by poets. It was a language of poetic convention of tribal word-stocks that had grown up with the absorption of the immense vocabulary of the Jāhīlīya Qaṣīda and its great number of synonyms.⁽⁷⁾ Th. Nöldeke thought that the differences between dialects spoken in the main part of Arabia (Hijāz, Najd and the Euphrates region) were small, and that the literary language was based upon all of them equally.⁽⁸⁾ Guidi held the opinion that the classical Arabic was a mixture of dialects spoken in Najd and adjoining regions, but not identical with any one of them.⁽⁹⁾ Caskel thought that the new language seems to have travelled towards the east through the kings of Hira, for the dynasty of the Lakhmids had come from al-Namāra on the frontier

(6) C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, London, 1951, p.3.

(7) *The Mufaḍḍalīyat*, Vol. II, pp.xxv, xxvi.

(8) C. Rabin, *op. cit.*, p.17.

(9) C. Rabin, *op. cit.* p.17.

sphere of Nabataen culture.⁽¹⁰⁾ Nallino, on the other hand, connected the rise of classical Arabic with the kingdom of Kinda which certainly contributed a good deal towards the creation of a uniform "High Arabic". He thought that only a political structure like their kingdom would be able to introduce a common language - a king's Arabic⁽¹¹⁾ and it was the colloquial of the Ma'add tribes which were united in that state.⁽¹²⁾

Brockelmann claimed that classical Arabic was never spoken in the form in which we know it.⁽¹³⁾ Karl Vollers thought that classical Arabic was based upon the speech of Bedouins in Najd and Yamāma, but much changed by the poets, while in the rest of Arabia quite a different language was spoken. He tried to prove that the original text of the Qur'ān was written in a popular dialect in Hijāz. Such a dialect lacks amongst others the final endings "i'rāb إعراب". Then he drew the following conclusions: "the language of the Qur'ān had been transformed on the whole in accordance with the model of the poetry of the Najd Bedouins; this transformed language has been victorious and has destroyed or driven aside the local and individual shape of the original language". Thus the Qur'ān

(10) Werner Caskel, the Bedouinization of Arabia, pp.36-46 in "The American Anthropologist Studies in Islamic Cultural History", ed. by: G.E. Von Grunebaum, The American Anthropological Association, Vol. 56, No. 2, part 2, Memoir No. 76, April, 1954, p.43.

(11) W. Caskel, op. cit., p.44.

(12) C. Rabin, op. cit., p.17.

(13) Ibid., p.17.

was composed in that popular Arabic and subsequently rewritten in the classical style.⁽¹⁴⁾ According to this hypothesis, the Arabic of the Qur'ān, as we now have it, was a 'grammarian's fabrication'. However, Voller's theory has been abandoned as being too extreme.⁽¹⁵⁾ As for the mediaeval Muslim scholars they thought that the literary Arabic was identical with the spoken language of the Bedouins.⁽¹⁶⁾ C. Rabin and R. Blachère arrived at the conclusion that the language of the Qur'ān, far from being pure Meccan either subsequently revised or slightly adapted to the poetic idiom, is "none other than the poetic koine".⁽¹⁷⁾ Thus in sifting these hypotheses and opinions we find that one of them is generally accepted today; it is the opinion that classical Arabic developed from an intertribal language of poetry. This literary artificial language of the Jāhiliyya Qaṣīda existed side by side with various spoken dialects in that period, and was employed as a "sort of lingua franca in intertribal communications, of a more dignified order

(14) See: C. Rabin, op. cit., p.17 and Th. Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, Strassburg, 1910, pp.1-5 "Der Korān und die 'Arabiyya, and Paul Kahle, "The Qur'ān and the 'Arabiyya" pp.161-182, in Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume, Part I, ed. by: Samuel Lāwinger and Joseph Somogyi, Budapest, 1948, pp.165, 166, (quoted from: Karl Vollers, Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabia, Strassburg, 1906, item (4)), and see also: A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.240.

(15) A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.240.

(16) C. Rabin, op. cit., p.18.

(17) C. Rabin, The Beginnings of Classical Arabic, pp.19-37 in Studia Islamica, Vol. IV, Larose, Paris, 1955, p.24 and R. Blachère, Introduction au Coran, Paris, 1957, pp.156-169.

than colloquial speech".(18) It was this language through generations of linguistic and dialectic evolution and literary experiments, which was employed as a literary idiom by the Jāhiliya poets and in the Qur'ān. Many factors, it may be suggested, have operated together producing eventually or at least helping to produce this literary language. Linguistic unity depends always upon intercourse in a community of life, since language in its essence is a human activity. War is an important factor in causing the mingling of different tribes and clans from various parts of the country. The history of Arabia before Islam is a history of wars, tribal feuds and individual heroism. A sudden attack from a strong rival and the fear of raidings urged some tribes to perform a sort of union in which they would safeguard their interests and protect themselves. This simple political union may have helped in some cases to favour a linguistic union between various dialects of different tribes - the war of Dāḥis and al-Ghabrā' is an example. This war, it is related, was waged between the tribe of 'Abs and Dhubyān - the former united itself with the tribe of Banū 'Āmir, while the latter united itself with the tribe of Banū Tamīm. It is possible that these tribes might have adopted a common medium to be understood by all of them despite their dialectic variations. Some tribes also used to form a kind of 'friendship

(18) A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes, p.240.

confederate' or an 'ally's treaty' - al-Ahlāf or al-Hulafā' sing. Hilf or Halīf. Both al-Zawzanī and al-Tibrīzī interpreted the word Hilf or Halīf, which occurred in the Mu'allāqa of Zuhaīr,⁽¹⁹⁾ as the neighbour who must help and co-operate with the rest of the people with whom he had signed an ally's treaty. The language of such a treaty should be understandable amongst all of them - the partners of the treaty - and thus should be above the dialectic peculiarities. Al-Hārith b. Hilliza al-Yashkurī even referred to a written treaty in his Mu'allāqa⁽²⁰⁾ when, on behalf of the tribe of Banū Bakr he reminded the tribe of Taghlib of the treaty of Dhū al-Majāz. Both al-Zawzanī and al-Tibrīzī⁽²¹⁾ interpreted the latter as a place where King 'Amr b. Hind gathered Bakr and Taghlib together and drew up a treaty between them. The questions which might rise are: what

(19) Mu'allāqa, v.25 according to the classification of al-Zawzanī, v. 26 according to al-Tibrīzī:

أَلَا أُلَيعَ الدُّهُوفَ عَنِّي سَالَةً وَزُبَانَ هَذَا قَسَمْتُ كُلَّ مَقَسَمٍ

(20) Mu'allāqa, vv. 66, 67 according to al-Zawzanī and vv. 41, 42 according to al-Tibrīzī:

رَأَيْتُمْ هَذَا هِلْفَ رَبِّ الْحَبَابِ وَمَا قُدِّمَ فِيهِ الْعُرُودُ وَالْكَفَارُ
هَذَا الْجَوِّ وَالنَّعْدَى وَهَذَا يَنْقُضُ مَا فِي الرِّهَابِ مِنَ الدُّهُورِ

(21) Al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Mu'allāqāt al-Sab'*, p.180 and al-Tibrīzī, *Sharḥ al-Qaṣā'id al-'Ashr*, p.133.

was the language of that treaty? Was it written in the dialect of Bakr or Taghlib? What language did 'Amr b. Hind himself use when discussing such an important tribal matter? Did he adopt the Bakrite dialect or the Taghlibite one? It might be understood that 'Amr b. Hind as a neutral arbitrator in a serious tribal dispute, had employed a sort of diplomatic language which was a kind of the literary language of the whole peninsula. It is thus in the gathering of different tribes of various dialects and in their union, the linguistic unity would grow. Here again we have the analogy of the linguistic unity between the Ionic and Aeolic dialects of the Greek Epic. The Ionian settlers lived next door to the Aeolian, and both must have been united by their efforts against common foes and their sense of a common origin. Such audiences, whether in Ionia or Aeolis, would find no difficulty in understanding the language of Homer. These conditions, it is thought, made the creation of an 'artificial language' possible.⁽²²⁾ The mobile nature, however, of the tribal community seems to have favoured the unification of the literary language of the Jāhīlīya Qaṣīda. The changing of dwellings and the searching for pasturage for the cattle consequently drove the nomads to change their neighbours. Often the members of one tribe tried to make acquaintance with another living adjacent to their pasturage. Eventually a constant intercourse and interaction arose as a

(22) C.M. Bawra, Tradition and Design in the Iliad, p.140.

result of enmity or friendship between the two tribes. That intercourse induced upon each tribe to make itself understood to its neighbours under the pressure of feud, peace or business, thus bringing the two dialects nearer and nearer to one another. The rise of great towns and cities can be considered an important factor in the unification of language. Mecca and al-Madina in Hijāz and Hira in Mesopotamia, were gathering places of different tribes and various dialects. It was in those cities that the dialectic roughness was smoothed down. The Hijāz held the cultural religious and economic position in Arabia; 'Ukāz became the centre of the poetical competition between different poets and here the literary language grew rapidly. The story of al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī and his literary judgments between poets is too well known to be mentioned here. He himself was recorded to have said: "I came to Hijāz with a defect in my poetry and I left it the most excellent poet amongst people"⁽²³⁾. Mecca and al-Madina were like Athens and Rome which played a notable part in linguistic evolution.⁽²⁴⁾ If Athens in the fifth century B.C. held the empire of poetry and imposed it upon the whole Hellenic world,⁽²⁵⁾ Hijāz and 'Ukāz in the sixth century A.D.

(23) Ibn Sallām, Ṭahaqāt, p.56 and Aghānī, Vol. XI, p.1021, and al-Marzūbānī, al-Mūwashshah, pp.39-40.

(24) Otto Jespersen, Mankind, Nation and Individual from a Linguistic Point of View, 2nd. impression, London, 1954, p.57.

(25) J.W. Mackail, Lectures on Greek Poetry, London, 1910, p.177.

held the empire of poetry and literary language and imposed them upon the whole Arab world. The unification of language may be due to the establishment of an annual fair in 'Ukāz or other famous seasonal markets. Ḥijāz was the gathering place of the trade - routes which penetrated into the peninsula from the south to the north and passed through the lands of many different tribes. Thus certain words used to travel with those trading-caravans through various dialects and were regarded in due course as a part of the literary language. It is said that the establishment of an annual fair in the Rocky Mountains has had the result that the Indian tribes to east and west, which at first could not understand one another, have now become nearer to one another in speech.⁽²⁶⁾ Marriages and religious festivals and assemblies are another factor in the formation of that literary language. The poets, the transmitters, and the singers of the Jāhīliya era played no small part in forming the literary language. The Jāhīliya poets did not create that poetical, artificial language, but rather helped its creation. Each of them used in the main a language which in its essential features was already formed when he took it over. The unifying faces of the literary language of the Jāhīliya Qaṣīda had been at work before those poets had begun to compose their poetry. Their chief importance was that they gave a certain impetus to what was already moving. They were regarded as literary models

(26) Otto Jespersen, op. cit., p.40.

and the imitations of their literary excellences led to imitations of their language, and thus their poetical language came to be known in wider circles than that of other private individuals who remained faithful to their own local dialects of which we possess a small quantity that could not be taken into account. The personal-journeys during which members of different tribes met accidentally or on purpose together with the meeting of poets from many tribes at the courts of Hīra and Ghassān and at commercial centres were another factor that operated towards the unity of the poetical and literary language. The well-known "ḏīyāfa ضيافة - hospitality" of stray travellers helped indirectly to bring the dialects of different tribes together • Al-A‘shā, al-Nābigḥa, al-Dhubyānī, ‘Abīd b. al-Abrāṣ and Ḥassān b. Thābit, all had visited the courts of Hīra and Ghassān and all were highly honoured and lavishly rewarded. Their poetical language was the same despite the fact that they belonged to various tribes with different spoken dialects. It might be possible to conjecture that there were many attempts made by other poets who preceded them to unite that poetical language. The pioneers of that unity were in many cases compelled to compose or to recite their poems in some kind of common-speech which was more or less understood everywhere and especially in those courts. They were also obliged to drop the most unintelligible elements of their own local dialects. This attitude may be supported by likening it to the important position

taken by touring companies of actors. When actors are bound to appear one week in one city and the next in another, they cannot adopt the local pronunciations of that or this dialect or the language of each city or town in turn. They must, therefore, like the wandering minstrels of old evolve a language which will be intelligible everywhere. (27)

Thus a literary language emerged. That language was widely employed by the Jāhīliya poets before Islam and when the Qur'ān was revealed to the Prophet, the same literary idiom was used in that revelation. The general attitude which is accepted today about the language of the Qur'ān is that it was a popular medium amongst the citizens of Ḥijāz and the inhabitants of the peninsula, in its etymology and i'rāb (the ending-vowels) otherwise Islam would not have succeeded in uniting the Arabs of different dialects under one banner. Although the Qur'ān was primarily addressed to the Meccans, it was also recited by the Prophet to other tribes during many meetings he had with them in the pilgrimage occasions. It is a historical fact that when the Prophet emigrated to Yathrib, he and his Meccan supporters found no difficulty regarding the language. They shared homes with people of al-Madina, made friendships, marriages, and carried on the struggle against the Meccans with no recorded language difficulty. Furthermore the "Ām al-Wufūd - عام الوفود - the year of delegations and deputations" which took place in the ninth year of the Hijra, may be regarded as another evidence in supporting the unification of

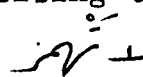
(27) O. Jespersen, Op. Cit., P. 46, 48.

Arabic literary language. In that year most of the tribes throughout the peninsula sent their prominent figures to pay allegiance to the new faith. The Prophet met delegates and representatives from Tamīm, Banū 'Āmir, 'Abdāl-Qais, Banū Ḥanīfa, Tayyī', Murād, Kinda, Zabīd, Azd and other different tribes. Nothing in the book of the "Sīrat Rasūl Allāh" of Ibn Hishām (28) is mentioned regarding any language obstacle, or any misunderstanding of words or expressions in the conversations between the Prophet and the tribal delegates. One may ask: was the Qur'ān revealed to the Prophet in the dialect of Quraīsh - the inhabitants of Mecca - or was it composed in that literary or classical idiom which was already adopted by the tribe of Quraīsh? It seems, however, that the Qur'ān was revealed in the medium of the latter because there is no mention, in the Qur'ān, of a Quraīshite language. The Qur'ān refers to itself as "hādihā lisānun 'arabiyyūn mubīn - هَذِهِ لِسَانٌ عَرَبِيٌّ مُبِينٌ (29) -" this is a clear Arabic tongue", or "Innā ja'alnāhu Qur'ānan 'arabiyyan la'allakum taqilūn - إِنَّا جَعَلْنَاهُ قُرْآنًا عَرَبِيًّا لَعَلَّكُمْ تَعْقِلُونَ (30) -".

(28) See: The Sīra, by Ibn Hishām, edited by: Muhammad Muḥī al-Dīn 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, Cairo, 1937, Vol. IV, p. 194, 242-245, 258.

(29) The Qur'ān, Sūra 16, 103.

(30) Ibid., Sūra, 43, 3. Further references of the Qur'ān being an Arabic tongue can be seen in the Qur'ān: Sūra, 26 (al-Shu'arā'), 195, Sūra, 41 (Fuṣṣilat 1, 3, 44. Sūra 12 (Yūsuf), 2. Sūra, 13 (al-Ra'd), 37. Sūra, 20 (Tāhā), 113. Sūra, 39 (al-Zamr), 28. Sūra, 42 (al-Shūrā), 7. Sūra, 46 (al-Ahqāf), 12.

"we made it an Arabic Qur'ān so that you may understand". To connect the word "‘arabī" in those verses with the word "Quraīsh" is rather far-fetched. Even the commentators did not interpret this word as indicating the Quraīsh. Al-Qurṭubī, for example, thinks that there is no evidence which can possibly support the idea that the Qur'ān was revealed in the Quraīsh dialect because there are different words and readings in the Qur'ān which are unknown in the dialect of Quraīsh such as the stressing and emphasising the hamza while Quraīsh drops the hamza "la tahmiz - ". Al-Qurṭubī concluded that the term '‘Arab' mentioned in the Qur'ān should always be interpreted as a name for all Arab tribes equally.⁽³¹⁾ The attributing of the language of the Qur'ān to that of Quraīsh dates back to the Caliph ‘Uthmān (murdered in 656 A.D.) who collected the text of the Qur'ān and who was related to have said to the Quraīshite compilers: "If you differ with Zaid b. Thābit about something in the Qur'ān (regarding the various reading), write it in the Quraīsh tongue as it was revealed in their language".⁽³²⁾ Nöldeke thought that the Qur'ān was not composed in the Quraīsh dialect as this tendency had sprung in the Umayyād period to glorify

(31) Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī al-Jamī‘ Liḥkām al-Qur'ān, 1st ed., Dār el-Kutub al-Miṣriya, Cairo, 1933, pp.38-39.

(32) See: Ibn al-Nadīm, Al-Fihrist, Cairo, 1348 A.H., p.37 and al-Suyutī, al-Itqān, Vol. I, p.61.

Quraīsh because of the kinship to the Prophet.⁽³³⁾ He maintained that the Qur'ān was composed in the 'Arabīya a language whose region has extended and which shows of course, some dialectical variations.⁽³⁴⁾ Such variations are partly reflective in the Qur'ānic readings. The chief characteristics of this ideal Arabic were that the rules of I'rāb إعراب were carefully observed in it. The Muslims were exhorted to use the I'rāb in reading the Qur'ān especially when that literary language turned more and more into a language of religious guidance and legislation for the new order. The Prophet Muḥammad on the authority of Abū Hurā'ira is reported to have said: "A'ribū'l-Qur'ān wa'l-Tamisū gharā'ibahu. - اَعْرِبُوا الْقُرْآنَ وَالتَّمِسُوا غَرَائِبَهُ - learn the I'rāb of the Qur'ān and seek for its wonderful events"⁽³⁵⁾. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said: "Ta'allamū i'rāb al-Qur'ān kamā tata'allamūna ḥifẓahu - تَعَلَّمُوا إِعْرَابَ الْقُرْآنِ كَمَا تَتَعَلَّمُونَ حِفْظَهُ - learn the I'rāb of the Qur'ān as you learn its recitation".⁽³⁶⁾ He

(33) C. Brockelmann, Semitische Sprachwissenschaft, p.55 (quoted by: 'Umar al-Dūsūqī, op. cit., p.18.

(34) Th. Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, p.5.

(35) See: al-Rāzī, Kitāb al-Zīna, Vol. I, p.117 and Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Khaṭṭābī, al-Bayān fī I'jāz al-Qur'ān, edited with notes by: Dr. 'Abdu'l-'Alīm, India, 1953, p.15.

(36) Al-Rāzī, Zīna, Vol. I, p.117.

also is related to have said: "... Ta'allamū al-'Arabīya

تَعَلَّمُوا الْعَرَبِيَّةَ ... , learn Arabic with I'rāb". (37)

'Ā'isha is reported to have insisted upon learning the poetry, chiefly pre-Islamic for the sake of this 'Arabīya when she said:

"Ta'allamū al-Shi'ra fa'innahu Yu'ribu alsinataikum -

تَعَلَّمُوا الشِّعْرَ فَإِنَّهُ يُعَرِّبُ أَلْسِنَكُمْ - learn poetry,

for it brings the I'rāb on to your tongues". (38) The importance

of the Quraīsh linguistically is that they helped towards the unification of the literary Arabic rather than towards its creation. The geographical situation of Mecca as a gathering place of trade-routes and caravans, the religious reputation of the Ka'ba as a centre of the pilgrimage amongst the Bedouins, the commercial-mindedness and nobility of lineage of the Quraīshites themselves, all these factors presented them with ample opportunities to hear various kinds of Arabic from the different tribes of the Arabs who had come to Mecca for pilgrimage, or for attending 'Ukāẓ to observe or to join one of its poetical-competitions or for visiting friends. Thus they had been able to select from these dialects the most acceptable of each. In due course their language was purified from the local dialectical roughness and other peculiarities. It became accurate and sound and the Quraīshites were described as "the

(38) P. Kahle, the Qur'ān and the 'Arabīya, p.181, (quoted from: al-Baghdādī, al-Tamhīd fī ma'rifat al-Tawhīd, MS. of the Chester Beatty Collection, A.S. 705, dated A.H. 525, fol. 103v).

most eloquent people amongst the Arabs - Afṣaḥ al-'Arab

أَفْصَحُ الْعَرَبِ (39) Therefore their linguistic

status, it may be concluded, lies in providing that literary language with eloquent expressions and sound words rather than in creating it. According to al-Suyūṭī, al-Fārābī (d. 950 A.D.) mentioned in his book "al-Alfāz wa'l-Ḥurūf - الألفاظ والحروف" that the most reliable sources from which the Arabic tongue was derived, were the tribes of Qaṣis, Tamīm, Asd, then Hudhail and some of Kināna and Ṭayyi' while the town-dwellers were not regarded as an authentic source. (40) Thus, and as a result of

(39) Aḥmad b. Fāris, al-Sāhibī, Cairo, 1910, p.23, and al-Suyūṭī, Muzhir, Vol. I, pp. 127, 128, 133 and P. Kahle, The Cairo Geniza, pp.79, 80, 81, 115, 116 and Ibn Jinnī, al-Khaṣā'is, Vol. I, p.411 and al-Khaṣā'ijī, Sharḥ Durrat al-Ghawwās of al-Ḥarīrī, pp.235, 236.

(40) Al-Suyūṭī, Muzhir, Vol. I, p.128:

"... والذين عنهم نقلت اللغة العربية وهم اقصدى وعينهم
أخذ اللغة العربية من قبائل العرب هم قيس
وتميم وأسد فإِنَّ هؤلاء هم الذين عنهم أكثر ما أخذ
ومعظمه وعليهم اتكل في الغريب وفي البدع والتصرف
ثم كمدل وبعض كنانة وبعض الهذليين ولم يؤخذ عن
غيرهم من سائر قبائلهم وبالجملة فإِنَّه لم يؤخذ عن قَطْرٍ قط"

the combination of different tribal dialects, various variants in Qur'ānic reading took place. It is related that Prophet Muḥammad had said: "This Qur'ān was revealed in seven letters (dialects or variants), so read what is convenient for you -

" إِنَّ هَذَا الْقُرْآنَ أُنْزِلَ عَلَى سَبْعَةِ أَحْرَفٍ
فَاتَّبِعُوا مَا يَشَاءُ مِنْهَا " (41)

This tradition even occurred in different readings and texts. (42)

The word 'Aḥruf' lit. letters - أَحْرَف - was interpreted as different readings of different words but with the same meaning such as: (43) " قَصْدِي ، وَخَوِي ، وَقُرْبِي . "

(41) Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, Jāmi' al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān, 1st ed., Bulāq, Cairo, 1323 A.H., Vol. I, p.10.

(42) Ibid., Vol. I, pp.10, 11, 15:

- (a) " إِنَّ هَذَا الْقُرْآنَ أُنْزِلَ عَلَى سَبْعَةِ أَحْرَفٍ فَاتَّبِعُوا مَا يَشَاءُ مِنْهَا "
- (b) " أُنْزِلَ الْقُرْآنُ عَلَى سَبْعَةِ أَحْرَفٍ كُلًّا سَافٍ مَافٍ " .
- (c) " أُنْزِلَ الْقُرْآنُ عَلَى سَبْعَةِ أَحْرَفٍ أَتَمًّا قَرَأْتَ أَصَبَّهَ " .
- (d) " نَزَلَ الْقُرْآنُ عَلَى سَبْعَةِ أَحْرَفٍ فَمَا قَرَأْتَ أَصَبَّهَ " .

(43) Al-Ṭabarī, Jāmi' al-Bayān, Vol. I, pp.19, 20.

So it is a variation rather than a differentiation.⁽⁴⁴⁾ These variants indicate two things: the dialectical remains in Hijāz and secondly that different tribes had worked towards the unification of literary language and not only the tribe of Quraish. This point was clarified by Ibn al-Jazarī who stated that the Arabs before the revelation of the Qur'ān used to speak different dialects. It was difficult to change them to a new idiom without practice and learning, so Islam gave them permission to read the Qur'ān within the scope of those variants.⁽⁴⁵⁾ In so doing Islam attracted the Arabs who were regarded as élité because they know and understand the literary language and also the ordinary Arabs who found some difficulties in adapting themselves to the literary idiom and rather preferred to read the Qur'ān in their own dialects. Prof. Goldziher thought that these variants were due to the peculiarities of Arabic calligraphy. The shape of the word in Arabic can be read in different ways according to the position of the dots, if they are above or below the letter. Another factor was the lack of vowels at that time.⁽⁴⁶⁾ This may be true to a certain extent because the various readings were already in use even in the

(44) Ibn al-Jazarī, al-Nashr fī'l-Qirā'āt al-'Ashr, edited by: 'Alī Muḥammad al-Dabbā', Cairo, 1338, A.H., Vol. I, pp.49,50.

(45) Ibn al-Jazarī, al-Nashr fī'l-Qirā'āt al-'Ashr, Vol. I, pp.22, 23.

(46) 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Hammūda, al-Qirā'āt wa'l-Lahajāt, 1st ed., Cairo, 1948, pp.183, 199.

life time of the Prophet himself⁽⁴⁷⁾ when oral transmission was the only way of communication.

The literary language of the Jāhīliya Qaṣīda,^{it} may be concluded, had passed throughout a series of stages of linguistic evolution and unification of various dialects. In the sixth century A.D. this language became the poetic idiom of that epoch. Thus the language of the Qur'ān and the Jāhīliya poetry did not represent a certain poetic dialect but rather a language, purified so far from the dialectical remains.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Islam gave that language great significance and status when it became the religious language of all Muslims and the administrative idiom of the new Empire. Hence the Jāhīliya Qaṣīda is quoted to support the language of the Qur'ān while the latter gave it unity, popularity and continuity. As Renan says, "among a people so preoccupied with language as the Arabs, the language of the Koran became as it were a second religion, a sort of dogma inseparable from Islam".⁽⁴⁹⁾ Therefore the practical need of the readers of the Qur'ān was the reason for the collecting and recording of Jāhīliya poetry in the first century of Islam. On the basis of this material correct Arabic was established by the early grammarians and philologists and to this the language of the Qur'ān was adopted. Thus the theologians, the

(47) Al-Ṭabarī, Jāmi' al-Bayān, Vol. I, pp.14,15,19 (examples of different readings took place in front of the Prophet).

(48) See: R. Blachère, op. cit., p. 81.

(49) Rev. S.M. Zwemer, Arabia: The Cradle of Islam, New York, 1900, pp.246, 247.

grammarians and even the Prophet's followers and Caliphs quoted verses from the Jāhīliya Qaṣīda to support their linguistic arguments or to illustrate and clarify some of the Qur'ānic expressions. Ibn 'Abbās, the cousin of the Prophet, used always to cite poetry in explaining the verses of the Qur'ān and he used to say that if you were unable to interpret a verse of the Qur'ān, you would find it in the poetry, the Dīwān of the Arabs.⁽⁵⁰⁾ This language, the classical Arabic, at least since the end of the Umayyād era, was not a spoken language.⁽⁵¹⁾

In the first century of Islam when the Arabs settled in more civilized communities, the collecting and recording Jāhīliya poetry began to be undertaken by the grammarians, philologists and transmitters. The aims of that movement were: firstly to understand the archaic or strange words and expressions "the gharīb الغريب" in the Qur'ānic language. Thus they wrote the dictionaries and the lexicographical interpretations rose. Here the Qur'ān together with the Jāhīliya Qaṣīda became as a philological and grammatical source. The transmitters activities of searching for the Jāhīliya poetry because of its literary value have been united with the grammarians activities of that poetry because of its linguistic importance. Hence the collecting movement became more organised and its aim did not

(50) Al-Tābrizī, Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa of Abū Tammām, Vol. I, p.3 and al-Suyūṭī, Muzhir, Vol. II, p.193.

(51) C. Rabin, The Beginnings of Classical Arabic, p.20.

remain as an individual satisfaction or personal desire. It became an end in itself.⁽⁵²⁾ The third aim was nationalistic. The Arabs during and after the Islamic conquests found themselves face to face with new peoples who had rich historical background and civilization such as the Persians in Mesopotamia and the Greeks and Syrians in Syria. Those non-Arab Muslims remained faithful to their own history and traditions, chiefly their ancient literature. The Arabs on the other hand, after their triumph wanted to show themselves that they were not barbarians or stubborn Bedouins, but that they too had a glorious past. Eventually they collected the Jāhīliya poetry as the ideal of that past. Literary competition between scholars, and the fear of lacking proofs⁽⁵³⁾ and examples which were needed abundantly in such academic circles, urged them to study the Jāhīliya Qaṣīda as an authentic and genuine source for those discussions and arguments. There is another aim behind the collecting movement, that is the collection of the gharīb⁽⁵⁴⁾ - the strange expressions. The Muslim scholars were very fond of the archaic and obsolete words although to a different extent. Hence they considered the Jāhīliya poetry as a treasure - house of philological curiosities, a store from which to collect evidence for lexicographical discussions. At the turn of the

(52) See: R. Blachère, op. cit., p. 111.

(53) R. Blachère, op. cit., p. 120.

(54) Ibid., p. 121.

second century the poetry became the field for word-hunters which laid the foundation for the Arabic dictionaries of the third and fourth centuries.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Such love of the gharīb encouraged some of the Bedouins of that time who were regarded as the only authority to forge and fabricate many expressions⁽⁵⁶⁾ in order to satisfy their desire. Many scholars thought that the Bedouin could not speak wrong Arabic even if he had wanted to. "The best speakers of Arabic are those deepest in the desert - Afṣḥu 'l-A'rābi abarruhum - " أَفْصَحُ الْعَرَبِ أَكْبَرُهُمْ " says a proverb.⁽⁵⁷⁾ This extreme attitude of the linguistic

(55) See: Sir William Muir, "Ancient Arabic Poetry; its genuineness and authenticity," pp.72-93, in J.R.A.S., Vol. II, New Series, London, 1879, p.81 and F. Krenkow, "The use of writing for the preservation of ancient Arabic poetry", pp.261-268 in "A volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Edward G. Brown on his 60th Birthday, edited by: T.W. Arnold and R.A. Nicholson, Cambridge, 1922, pp.261, 262 and C.H.H. Macartney, "A Short Account of Dhū'r-Rummah, pp.293-303 in the same volume, p.303 and also: G.E. Von Grunebaum, "Pre-Islamic Poetry", pp.147-153, in "The Muslim World", Vol. XXXII, April, 1942, p.147.

(56) R. Blachère, op. cit., p.123, and al-Suyūṭī, Muzhir, Vol. I, p.108: (on the authority of 'Uṭhmān al-Māzinī said: "I heard al-Lāhiqī saying: Sibawaihi asked me: Do you cite an example from Arabic poetry on the influence or government (i'māl - إِمَال) the form Fa'ila - فَعِيلَ ? He replied: I forged this line (for the grammatical purpose):

هَذَا أَمْرٌ لِلتَّصِيرِ وَأَمِنْ هَالِكٍ مَخِيبَةٍ مِنَ الْقَدَرِ

(57) See: C. Rabin, op. cit., p.18.

superiority of the Bedouin appears to be the result of the theory which attributed everything that was considered incorrect to the influence of foreign languages on the speech of the settled population. (58) This opinion and the blind passion for rare expressions or exceptional instances in Arabic grammar, led some of the scholars to attribute to other poets or writers false statements or verses as al-Khalīl b. Ahmad asserted when he said: "Skilful scholars may sometimes impose upon people what was not from the speech of the Arabs for the sake of dubiousness and confusion - (59)

"... عن الخليل قال :

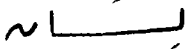
إِنَّ الْخَاصِرَ يُرِيدُ أَنْ يَدْخُلُوا عَلَى النَّاسِ
مَالِيَةً مِنْ كَلَامِ الْقُرْبِ إِدَّةَ اللَّسَنِ وَالْغَيْبِ "

As a result of the work of lexicographers and transmitters a few technical terms came to be applied to the language of the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda and the Qur'ān as an ideal literary language together with the dialectic variants. The term 'arabiya became the name of classical Arabic. This definition was attributed, however, to Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā'. It was related that: Ibn Nawfal said: "I heard my father saying to Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā':

(58) Ibid., p.18. See also: Ibn Jinnī, al-Khaṣā'is, Vol. I, p.408: 'Al-Farrā' had said: you must hear from an eloquent Bedouin before you cite or relate -

"وَمَنْ قَالَ الْقُرْآنُ فِي بَعْضِ كَلَامِهِ : "إِنَّ تَسْبِيحَ نَبِيٍّ
مِنْ بَدْوِيٍّ فَصِيحٌ فَقُولُهُ "

(59) Al-Suyūṭī, Muzhir, Vol. I, p.82 and Ibn Fāris, al-Ṣāhibī, p.30.

tell me about what you have laid down and called 'arabīya, does it imply all Arabic speech? He replied: no. I said: what do you do about that in which other Arabs who are authority, have disagreed with you? He answered: I follow the majority and I call that which disagrees with me 'lughāt'.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Thus Abu 'Amr distinguished between 'arabīya and lughā. The latter may indicate an exceptional case in grammar or another reading or a dialect. Although the ancient scholars used to apply the word "lisān -  - tongue" to mean 'lughā⁽⁶¹⁾ which is likely to be a dialect. The 'lughā' then came to be regarded as the specialization of the Transmitters (the Rūwāt) and the 'arabīya the specialization of the philologists and grammarians. Al-Kisā'ī (d. about 805 A.D.) and al-Aṣma'ī (d. 830 A.D.) are reported to have joined in a grammatical argument regarding the position of a word in a verse. Both were in front of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. Al-Aṣma'ī preferred the accusative case of that word whereas al-Kisā'ī found three cases for that word and

(60) Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Zubaidī, Ṭabaqāt al-Naḥwīyn wa'l-Lughawīyn, 1st ed., Cairo, 1954, p.34, and Abū al-'Abbās al-Sharīshī, Sharḥ al-Maqāmāt al-Harfīya, Būlāq, 1867, Vol. II, pp.277, 278.

(61) Dr. E. Littmann, "Survivals of the Arabic dialects in the Arabic Literature", pp.1-44 in Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts in Fouad I, University, Cairo, May, 1948, Vol. X, pt. 1, p.3. See also: al-Ṭabarī, Jāmi' al-Bayān, Vol. I, p.15 and Ibn Jinnī, al-Khaṣā'is, Vol. I, p.395.

proved them. Tha'lab the relater of this story added at the end: "then al-Aṣma'ī kept quiet because he had no knowledge of the 'Arabīya, but was a scholar of lughā and not of the I'rāb:

"فَكَتَ التَّصْفِيَّ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ عِلْمٌ بِالْعَرَبِيَّةِ إِنَّمَا كَانَ صَاحِبَ
لُغَةٍ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ صَاحِبَ إِرْعَابٍ" (62)

Although, Tha'lab is from the school of Kūfa together with al-Kisā'ī while al-Aṣma'ī is from Baṣra, and the literary and philological competitions between both schools might have influenced this story. But it may be taken as an example to differentiate between the terms 'arabīya and lughā. There is another term which was employed at the beginning of the classical age to mean a language or a dialect, it is Lahn pl. ألْحَان (63). Al-Sijistānī mentioned that "the Alḥān are the Lughāt وَاللُّغَاتُ".

In the works of the grammarians the stress was upon the 'arabīya rather than upon a dialect. Sībawāhi, for example, used both terms: " (64) فِي لُغَةٍ مِنْ تَرْتِضُ عَرَبِيَّةً

or (65) "هَذَا عَرَبِيٌّ جَيِّدٌ حَسْبَ ب"

(66) "لُغَةٍ لِلْهَلِ الْحَارِ وَهِيَ عَرَبِيَّةٌ حَائِزَةٌ"

(62) See the full story in: Al-Zajjāj, al-Amālī with the commentary of Aḥmad b. al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1935, pp.34, 35 and Ibn al-Shajārī, al-Amālī, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1349 A.H., Vol. I, p.37.

(63) Al-Sijistānī, al-Maṣāhif, edited by: Dr. A. Jeffery, p.32.

(64) Sībawāhi, Kitāb, Būlāq, 1317 A.H., Vol. II, p.404.

(65) Ibid., Vol. II, p.407.

(66) Ibid., Vol. II, p.416.

As the language of the Jāhīliya Qaṣīda is regarded as the classical ideal in Arabic literature, the Qaṣīda itself became the field of that ideal. The Jāhīliya poetry thus came to be termed 'eloquent poetry - al-Shi'r al-Faṣīḥ ر الشعر الفصيح' and its composers were 'the eloquent Arabs - al-'Arab al-Fuṣaḥā', العرب الفصحاء', in the philological and lexicographical circles of that age. (67)

The poetic diction of the Jāhīliya Qaṣīda was derived from the desert. It contained vivid descriptions of the desert's animals, its flora, its hard nature and its nomadic life. Although, the Jāhīliya poets composed their poems in a literary and, probably, artificial language which reached a high level of flexibility and expressiveness, they differed in their images, their similes, their selection of vocabulary and the relative simplicity of their expressions. The vocabulary of the Mu'allaqāt, for instance, is not as consistent as their theme. Imr al-Qaīs who was a prince and who lived a royal life unbound of responsibility, expressed his feelings and emotions in a way different from 'Antara who was regarded as one of 'The Arab Ravens' and who fought for recognition as a noble hero. The simplicity and lucidity of 'Amr's Mu'allaqā are different from the complicated and vivid pictures of Labīd's description of the wild-ass or the wild-cow. The moral

(67) Al-Jawālīqī, al-Mu'arrab, edited by: Ed. Sachau, Leipzig, 1867, pp.45, 118.

diction of Zuhāir's Mu'allāqa was not the realistic and artistic description of Ṭarafa's she-camel. The political diction of al-Ḥārith's Mu'allāqa was not the love-adventures of Imr al-Qaīs. The poetic diction of the Ṣa'ālīk composition was marked by the use of strange words and expressions "gharīb" as is illustrated in the Lāmīyya of al-Shanfarā. The language of the Ṣa'ālīk poetry may, it is suggested, represent the Arabic language of the nomadic life and of isolation.

Words of foreign origin reached the Arabs of the Jāhīliya era and were used in their poetry. They are variously derived from Aramaic, Persian, Syriac, Ethiopic, Hebrew and Greek. Many opportunities and occasions helped to introduce such words and in due course of time they were Arabicized and thus became a part of the Jāhīliya poetic diction. The use of such words - little known or foreign - by the Jāhīliya poets who adorned their verses with them may point, as it was suggested to an early practice of interpreting the words that were unknown to the ordinary listener.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Commercial intercourse and religious propaganda tended to spread particular words amongst the Arabs before Islam. Personal journeys and contacts were another factor which helped to bring foreign words into use.

(68) F. Krenkow, "The Beginnings of Arabic Lexicography till the time of al-Jauharī, with special reference to the work of Ibn Duraid," pp.255-270 in J.R.A.S. Centenary Supplement, London, 1924, p.256.

Al-A'shā, is reported to have used Persian words in his poetry as a result of his visits to the Persian kings.⁽⁶⁹⁾ He was even criticized for using such words.⁽⁷⁰⁾ A foreign word might even be used because of its "general aura of exoticism",⁽⁷¹⁾ without any precise local colour or perhaps because of its "snob value".⁽⁷²⁾ Al-A'shā, like the rest of other eloquent poets, used to borrow foreign words and used to apply them in his poetry because of their beauty and fitness or according to the needs of the rhyme.⁽⁷³⁾ The court of the Lakhmids at Hīra, was a famous centre of literary activities

(69) Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', p.213.

(70) Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Rasā'il, ed. Khafājī, 1st ed., Cairo, 1946, p.43.

(71) S. Ullmann, Semantics, An Introduction to the Science of Meaning, Oxford, 1962, 1st ed., p.134.

(72) Ibid., p.134.

(73) Al-Jawālīqī, al-Mu'arrab, p.6:

"... إِنَّ رُؤْيَا الْعَجَّاجِ وَالْفَصْحَاءِ مَالِئَتَا وَغَيْرِهِ
رَبَّ السَّعَادَةِ الْكَلِمَةُ مِنْ كَلَامِ الْعَجَمِ لِلْفَافِيَةِ لِيُشَظَّرَفَ...
وَمَالَ الْعَجَّاجِ :

"... أُنْبِئَنِي فِي الْمَسِيرِ الْبَرْدَجَا "

The word "al-Bardajā" means the captives who were called in Persian 'Bardah' بَرْدَه, so the poet used it merely because of its fitness to the rhyme.

in the Jāhīliya era. Many poets used to visit it in order to display their poetic talents in praising the Lakhamids who greatly encouraged Arabic poetry. Al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, al-A'shā, 'Abīd b. al-Abras, Tarafa, al-Mutalammis and al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza were some of the poets who found in that court ample opportunity for encouragement and rewards. 'Adī b. Zaīd lived so long in this court that the philological critics did not recognise his verses as genuine evidence in their grammatical arguments because "his words were not from Najd -

.. لَيْتَ أَفْطَحَ لَيْتَ خَيْرِيَّةٌ (74)

His long stay in Ḥīra made his tongue soft and easy compared with that of a pure Bedouin, كَذَلِكَ نَدَنَ لِسَانُهُ وَرَهْلَ نَطْقُهُ (75)

In Ḥīra in Mesopotamia Persians and Aramaeans had been living near to each other for centuries and they exchanged words of their languages in many cases. When the Persians conquered a long part of the Near East, they adopted Aramaic as their official language. (76) So many Persian words in Aramaic were transmitted to the Arabs. 'Adī b. Zaīd is related to have

(74) Ibn Qutaīb, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', p.182 and al-Marzūbānī, al-Mūwashshah, p.73.

(75) Al-Marzūbānī, Mu'jam al-Shu'arā', ed. Krenkow, p.249 and al-Mūwashshah, p.73.

(76) C. Brockelmann, Semitische Sprachwissenschaft, chapter I, item 23 (quoted by: 'Umar al-Dusūqī, op. cit., p.30). See also Murād Kāmil, "Persian words in Ancient Arabic", pp.55-67 in the Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University, Vol. XIX, pt. 1, May, 1957, Cairo, 1960, pp.56-57 and Dr. Arthur Jeffery, The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1938, p.14.

applied many words to which he used to listen during the meeting of foreign delegations in the Lakhamids court:

"وقال أبو عمرو السيباني عن الفضل : مَا نَتَّ الْوُفُورُ لَقَدْ
عَلَّمَ الْمُلُوكَ بِالْحَرِيرَةِ فَطَاهَهُ عَدِيٌّ بِهِ زَيْدٌ لِيَسْمَعَ لِفَاتِهِمْ
فِيهِ خَلَا فِي سَمْعِهِ."

(77)

It is believed that the art of writing spread to the rest of the Arabian peninsula from Ḥīra.⁽⁷⁸⁾ The Arab kingdom of Ghassān which was used by the Romans to offset the Persian influence at Ḥīra, was another channel whereby Byzantine influence penetrated into the Arab environment. Thus Greek words, including some trade words, were transmitted to the Arabs through Greek commercial ventures along the Red Sea.⁽⁷⁹⁾ Some commentators of the Jāhīliya Qaṣīda, however, referred to the Greek loan words as "Rūmīyya , رُومِيَّةٌ " which was

(77) Al-Marzūbānī, al-Mūwashshah, p.73.

(78) Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī, Adab al-Kuttāb, edited with notes by: Muḥammad Bahjat al-Aṭharī, Cairo, 1341, Vol. I, p.30:

"وَسُئِلَ الْمُهَاجِرُونَ مِنْ أَيْنَ تَعَلَّمُوا الْكِتَابَةَ، فَقَالُوا مِنْ أَهْلِ
الْحَرِيرَةِ، فَسُئِلَ أَهْلُ الْحَرِيرَةِ مِنْ أَيْنَ تَعَلَّمُوا فَقَالُوا مِنْ
أَهْلِ الشَّامِ."

See also Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, pp.6, 7 and al-Suyūṭī, Muzhir, Vol. II, p.215.

(79) Dr. A. Jeffery, op. cit., p.17.

understood to mean Byzantine Greek.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Ibn al-Nahhās, for example, in explaining the word 'al-Sajanjal' - السَّجَنْجَل - "in the Mu'allāqa of Imr al-Qaīs⁽⁸¹⁾ said:" it is a mirror or may be silver or gold, it is from Rūmiyya language which was Arabicized -

وَالسَّجَنْجَلُ الْمِرْآةُ وَقِيلَ الْفِضَّةُ وَالذَّهَبُ
لَفظة رُومِيَّة عَرَبِيَّة الصَّرْبُ
(82)»

South Arabian civilization, in some aspects at least, was learned by the Northern Arabs from Ḥimyar as is understood from the South-Arabian words which are found in the Qur'ān and elsewhere. They passed, as it is observed by C. Rabin,⁽⁸³⁾ first through Ḥimyaritic, where they may have suffered considerable changes. Some of the Ethiopic loan words may in fact come from Ḥimyaritic during the Axumite occupation of South Arabia,⁽⁸⁴⁾ through commercial and political contacts.

(80) Dr. A. Jeffery, op. cit., p.17.

(81) v.31:

مُهَمَّمَةٌ بَيْضَاءٌ غَيْرُ مَفَاضَةٍ رَأَيْتُهَا مَفْضُولَةً مَالِ السَّجَنْجَلِ

(82) Ibn al-Nahhās, Commentor Zur Mu'allāqa des Imru'ul-Qaīs, p.25 and al-Zawzanī, Sharḥ al-Mu'allāqāt al-Sab', p.20:

لَفظة رُومِيَّة عَرَبِيَّة الصَّرْبُ

(83) C. Rabin, Ancient West-Arabian, p.52.

(84) C. Rabin, Ancient West-Arabian, p.52 and Dr. A. Jeffery, op. cit., pp.13, 14.

These foreign words, however, were regarded as a part of the poetic diction of the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda. They in fact show the cultural and religious trends of the time. They also indicate the influences of those factors upon the creation of the Arabic literary language which underwent different stages of linguistic unification and poetical evolution. All were adopted as Arabic words after they were Arabicized to suit and fit the linguistic form and structure of Arabic language. The poets, however, played the rôle of interpreting them and thus they popularized them so that they came into more common use.

In the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda, there are many words with quadriliteral roots although the Arabic language is mainly triliteral. Comparatively, they occurred in poetry more frequent than in prose. In the Mu‘allaqāt, for instance, we have a few of them such as: 'andal - عُنْدَال (85) she-camel with a huge head', 'al-Musarhad, السَّرْحَد (86) {the verb is: Sarhada - to become tender', 'lahdham, لَهْدَم (87) - long spear', 'mughadhmir - مُغْدِمِر (88) - the verb is: ghadhmara: he became angry with murmuring', (ḥazwar - هَزَوَ (89)

(85) Ṭarafa, Mu‘allaqa, v.26.

(86) Ibid., v.92.

(87) Zuhaīr, Mu‘allaqa, v.55.

(88) Labīd, Mu‘allaqa, v.79.

(89) ‘Amr b. Kulthūm, Mu‘allaqa, v.91.

pl. ḥazāwira - **هَزَاوِرَة** - strong lads', 'al-'izlim -
العِظِيم (90) - indigo', 'qarāḍiba , **قَرَضِيْبَة** (91) sing.
qirdāb - **قِرْدَاب** or qurdūb - **قُرْضُوب**, a thief. The
comparatively high incidence of these quadriliterals may,
perhaps, be regarded as a characteristic feature of Arabic
poetic diction as developed in pre-Islamic times. (92) The
large number of synonyms in the language of the Jāhīlīya
Qaṣīda may be due to the fact that some adjectives, especially
those applied to animals, became nouns. For example, the
common word for 'lion' is **asād** - **أَسَد** ' whereas other
names were in reality adjectives - for example: al-aṣṣad
الْمَجْرَب, al-aṣṣab **الْمُضْرِب**, al-mujarrib **الْمُضْبِد**,
al-bāsil **الْبَاسِل**, al-maṣyās **الْمَيَّاس**, etc. (93)

It is clear, also, that a number of foreign words were
already current in the literary language even before Islam.
In other words a recognised standard language had already
emerged. Charles C. Torrey studied the commercial-theological
terms in the Qur'ān and observed that the words 'jazā **جَزَى**,
thawb **ثَوْب**, wafā **وَفَى**, ajr **أَجْر**, in their various
forms, play an important part in the Qur'ān. They are used
always exclusively in the theological sense, and with few

(90) 'Antara, Mu'allaga, v.54.

(91) Al-Ḥārith, Mu'allaga, v.43.

(92) This idea has been suggested to me by J.A. Haywood, in conversation.

(93) See: Jurjī Zaidān, Ta'rīkh Adāb al-Lughā al-'Arabiya, Cairo, 1936, Vol. I, pp.45, 46.

exceptions, refer to the future life. He then went on to conclude that most of these terms, probably all of them (including other commercial terms such as **حساب**, *hisāb*, **نقد** *naqd* etc.) were current in the same figurative use before the time of Muḥammad.⁽⁹⁴⁾

In the vocabulary of the Qur'ān, there are many foreign words which were already extant in the literary language before Islam. They also formed a part of the poetic diction of the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda as already mentioned. The Muslim philologists and commentators differed about the origin of those words and whether they may be regarded as Arabic or foreign words.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Al-Suyūṭī, however, held the most sensible

(94) See: Charles C. Torrey, *The Commercial-Theological Terms in the Koran*, Leyden, E.J. Brill, 1892, pp.12, 18.

(95) Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān fī 'Ullūm al-Qur'ān*, Vol. I, p.137: al-Suyūṭī recorded the valid opinions about the origin of the foreign words:
 (a) al-Ṭabarī thinks that those foreign words were used in their origin languages i.e., Persian, Ethiopic, Coptic etc., according to the *Tawārid al-Lughāt* **توارد اللغات**. Thus Arabs, Persians, Ethiopians applied such meanings in the same words.
 (b) The second opinion is that those foreign words belong to the language of the ancient Arabs (al-'Arab al-'Āriba - **العرب العاربة**), in whose tongue the Qur'ān was revealed, after they had had contact with other languages through commercial affairs, whereby the Arabs took over foreign words, altering some of them by dropping letters or lightening what was heavy in the foreign form. Then they used these words in their poetry and conversation so that they became like pure Arabic "al-'Arabī al-Faṣīḥ **العربي الفصيح**" and were used in literature and thus occur in the Qur'ān.
 (c) The third opinion is that all these foreign words were pure Arabic "arabiya **عربية صرفة** *jun sirfa*". That is because Arabic language is too wide and it is very likely that the skilful scholars could not discover them.

view on this whole question. He thought that these foreign words came from a foreign origin as the authorities have stated. Then the Arabs made use of them and Arabicized them and thus they came to be recognised as Arabic. Then the Qur'ān was revealed and these foreign words were mixed with the Arabic speech. Thus whoever said that they (the foreign words) were Arabic words, is right, and whoever said they were foreign words, is also right. (96) This opinion was also held by al-Jawālīqī. (97)

The literary and linguistic influences of the Qur'ān on

(96) Al-Suyūṭī, Itqān, Vol. I, p.138 and also see: al-Rāzī, al-Zīna, Vol. I, p.139, also: Muzhir, Vol. I, p.159:

"... رآه هذه الحروف أصولها أعجمية كما قال الفقهاء
لأنها وقعت للعرب فخرطت بالسنن وهو لا عن اللفظ
العجم إلى ألفاظها فصارت عربية ثم نزل القرآن وقد
اختلفت هذه الحروف بكلام العرب فمن قال إنها عربية
فهو صادق ومن قال أعجمية فصادق."

(97) Al-Jawālīqī, al-Mu'arrab, p.5:

"... وذلك انه هذه الحروف (الكلمات الأعجمية) بغير
لها العرب في الأصل .. ثم لفظت به العرب بالسنن
فصارت عربية بغيرها بغيرها بغيرها بغيرها
الحال أعجمية الأصل."

the poetic diction lay in the fact that the Qur'an gave many words new significance mainly religious and theological. Most of these words occur in the Jāhīlīya Qaṣīda, but with other meanings such as: 'al-Muslim ^{المسلم}, 'al-Mu'min - ^{المؤمن}, 'al-Nifāq ^{النفاق}, 'al-Kufr - ^{الكفر}, 'al-Fāsiq ^{الفاسق}, 'al-Zakāt ^{الزكاة}, 'al-Ṣalāt - ^{الصلاة}, 'al-Rukū' - ^{الركوع}, 'al-Sujūd - ^{السجود}, 'al-Ṣawm or al-Ṣīyām - ^{الصوم}, 'al-Ṣayām - ^{الصيام}. The word 'Muslim and Islam' was taken from 'aslama ^{أسلم} or 'silm ^{سيلم}. Both indicate 'the making of peace' or 'giving his way (matter) to somebody', while in the Qur'ān the word 'Islam means the new religion in comparison with other religions (Judaism, Christianity). The word 'Mu'min - faithful' was known in the Jāhīlīya as al-Amān and al-Īymān which means to 'believe': while in the Qur'ān the word 'Mu'min' means the faithful Muslim. The term 'amīr al-mū'mīnīn - ^{أمير المؤمنين} - 'The Prince of Faithful' was applied to a Caliph. The rest of the words 'Munāfiq - hypocrite' occurs in the Jāhīlīya in the phrase 'Nāfiqā' al-yarhū' - ^{أفكار البرع} - the burrow of jerboa - fieldrat'. The word 'Kufr' means 'unbelief or infidelity' in the Qur'ān while in the Jāhīlīya it meant either to 'cover something or dark cloud or night'. (98) The word

(98) Labīd, Mu'allaqā, v.41:

يعلو صريقة منطاً متواتر في ليلة كفر الخوم غماضاً
and v.65: هتري إذا ألقى يداني كافر وأهت عوات النعور طهوراً

'Ṣalāt' means a prayer, an important pillar in Islam, whereas in the Jāhiliyya period the Arabs used it to mean 'call or blessing or invitation' as al-A'ṣhā expressed this meaning when he described the wine:

"Fa'in dhubihat ṣallā 'alaihā wa zamzamā"

(99) " فَإِنْ رَجَيْتَ صَلَاتِي عَلَيْهَا وَزَمْرَمَا " "

The words 'Zakāt - alms', 'Rukū' - bowing down in prayer', 'Sujūd - to worship God by bowing the head' and 'Ṣawm - fasting' were not known in their Qur'ānic usage in the Jāhiliyya time. (100)

The style of the Qur'ān influenced the poets of that epoch as far as its lucidity and polished diction are concerned. The Islamic poets tried to abandon the use of complicated expressions or the archaic words. They also used Qur'ānic diction in their arguments and discussions, especially when political poetry became a weapon in the hands of the religious sects against the Umayyāds. Al-Kumāit al-Asadī, the Shi'ite poet, imitated the Qur'ān in his polemical poetry as already seen.

As for the position of the Islamic and Umayyād poets, it can be observed from the judgments which were passed by the philological critics on their poetic diction. When Arabs settled in the new communities of Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt and

(99) See: Al-A'ṣhā, Dīwān, ed., R. Geyer, p.200, No. 44, v.4.

(100) See for more details: Al-Rāzī, al-Zīna, Vol. I, pp.140, 146, 147 and Al-Suyūṭī, Muzhir, Vol. I, pp.172, 173, 176, 177.

Persia during and after the conquests, foreign vocabulary and expressions penetrated into the literary idiom. The contacts with different dialects and languages extant in those environments led to 'solecism - al-Laḥn - **الحن**'. The concern of the Umayyād Caliphs about their glorious past and the tendency of keeping its medium pure, encouraged philological circles to collect evidences from the Jāhīlīya poetry for that purpose. The movement of purifying the Arabic language from solecisms and vulgarity was encouraged by some of the Mawālī (clients) who had linguistic ambitions and who admired the pure Arabic tongue. ⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Thus the Umayyād poets faced with strong opposition to the use of wrong words or deviation from grammatical rules. Dhū'r-Rumma was criticised because he used the word 'Zawja

زَوْجَةٍ - a wife' in the following line:

⁽¹⁰²⁾ **أَزَوْ زَوْجَةً بِالْمِصْرَائِمِ نَوْحُوتَةٍ أَلَيْكَ يَا بِصْرَةَ الْعَامِ نَارِيَا**

which should be 'zawj, **زَوْج**' with ^{out} the letter (T) according to the pure or eloquent Arabs - **العرب النصار**. But in spite of such a mistake Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' regarded him as "Faṣīḥ - **فصيح** eloquent, pure Arabic tongue" when he said: ⁽¹⁰³⁾ **إِنَّهُ (ذَا الرِّقَّة) لَفَصِيحٌ وَإِنَّا لَنَأْخُذُ عَنْهُ بِمَرِيضٍ.**

Al-Aṣma'ī also considered him an authority "Hujja" because of

(101) Johann Fück, Arabiya Untersuchungen Zur Arabischen sprach- und stilgeschichte, translated into Arabic by: Dr. 'Abdu'l-Halīm al-Najjār, Cairo, 1951, p.31.

(102) Dīwān, ed. Macartny, Qaṣīda No. 87, v.29, p.953.

(103) Ibn Sallām, Ṭahaqāt, p.484.

his Bedouin upbringing when he said: " ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ ذَا الرِّثَّةِ حَبَّةٌ لَنَنْتُهُ بَدْوِيٌّ ".

Al-Aṣma'ī explained ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ the reason behind ^{due to} the mistakes of Dhū'r-Rumma as (that of) his contact and stay in the towns and their dwellers when he said: "Dhū'r-Rumma had eaten vegetables and salted food in the shops of the greengrocers till he was so full up that he could not digest it (the food) -
 " إِنْ ذَا الرِّثَّةِ مَدَّ أَكَلَ الْبَقْلِ وَالْمَلُوحِ فِي حَوَانِيتِ الْبَقَّالِيهِ "
 حَتَّى نَبِشِمَ " (105)

Al-Ṭirimmāḥ was criticized because he shortened the plural of the word "Tilmīdh ^{تِلْمِيذٌ} (a pupil or a student) which should be broken plural "Talāmīdh ^{تِلْمِيذٌ} "into "Talām -
 "thus be dropped " Idh - ^{يَذُ} " because of the rhyme when he said:

(106) تَحْفِظُ الشَّمْسَ بِمِزْنَيْنِ مَالِجَيْنِ بِأَيْدِي السَّامِ

"She protects herself from the sun with two sharp horns that are like the nozzles of bellows in the hands of the pupils (assistants of a black-smith).

This form of shortening an ordinary plural because of the rhyme was regarded as a mistake in the eyes of critics. (107)

(104) Al-Marzūbānī, al-Mūwashshah, p.170.

(105) Al-Zubaidī, Ṭahaqāt al-Naḥwīyīn wa'l-Lughawīyīn, p.190 and al-Marzūbānī, al-Mūwashshah, p.180. See also: Johann Fūk, op. cit., pp.43, 44, 45.

(106) Al-Ṭirimmāḥ, Dīwān, edited and translated into English by: F. Krenkow, Gibb Memorial, XXI, London, 1927, p.100, No. 4, v.21.

(107) See: Johann Fūk, op. cit., p.39.

Al-Kumaīt was criticized because of the vulgarity of some of his expressions. (108) He was also considered a Mutakallif poet and a plagiarist by Ibn Qutaiba. (109) While 'Umar b. Abī Rabi'a was accepted by al-Aṣma'ī as an authority (Hujja) (110) despite the fact that 'Umar did not use 'gharīb' and his language is simple and lucid and sometimes it reaches the standard of daily life. The 'Gharīb', as mentioned before, became the "hobby horse" of the philological critics. But some poets used it so much that it became a defect. Al-Kumaīt and al-Ṭirimmāḥ b. Ḥakīm were known in philological circles to have applied the 'gharīb' in their poems even without understanding it. (111) This point was also stated by Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' who is related to have said that he saw al-Ṭirimmāḥ in the Sawād (112) of Kūfa copying down words which he had heard from the Nabīṭ ,

(ألفاظ النبط), (Aramaean), and when asked why he did this, Ṭirimmāḥ replied that he would arabicize them and use them in his verse:

(108) See: Johann Fück, op. cit., p.40.

(109) Al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', Vol. II, p.563.

(110) Aghānī, Vol. I, ed. Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyya, p-79.

(111) Al-Marzūbānī, al-Mūwashshah, p.192 and al-Āmidī, al-Mu'talaṭ wa'l-Mukhtalif, Cairo, 1354 A.H., p.170. Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', Vol. II, p.567 and Aghānī, Vol. II, ed. Būlāq, p.18.

(112) 'Sawād al-Kūfa - سوار الكوفة : the district around the towns or villages of Kūfa.

« ما حوالي الكوفة من القرى والرياح »

See: Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān, Vol. 3, p.225.

«... عن الذَّصِصِ قَالَ : ذَكَرَ الطَّرَاحُ عِنْدَ أَبِي عَمْرٍو
ابن العلاء فقال : أَيْتُهُ بِوَادِ الْكَوْفَةِ يَكْتَبُ
أَلْفَاظَ النَّبِيِّ . فَقُلْتُ : مَا تَصْنَعُ بِهَذِهِ ؟ قَالَ :
أُعَرِّبُهَا وَأَدْخِلُهَا فِي شِعْرِ . » (113)

This statement illustrates the influence of the 'gharīb' upon the part in that epoch. It may be true that the application of that 'gharīb' by al-Kumāṭi and al-Ṭirimmāḥ was to show themselves skilful in using it while the artistic value of the poetry had secondary importance. Thus they may reflect partiality to searching for 'gharīb' in that age.

However, the literary status of the Islamic and Umayyād poets was not equally recognised by the critics like that of the Jāhiliyya poets. Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā', al-Aṣma'ī and Ibn al-A'rābī did not cite their poetry for their philological arguments, because they thought that the 'Muḥdathūn' , مُحَدَّثُونَ or Mūwalladūn , مُوَلَّدُونَ poets (the Islamic and Umayyād) were not reliable as a philological source because of the corruption of their language under the influence of settled life. Al-Aṣma'ī did not recognise al-Kumāṭi and al-Ṭirimmāḥ as authorities because they learned Arabic grammar 'Naḥw' or because they were Mūwalladūn, when he said:

(113) Al-Marzūbānī, al-Mūwashshah, p.208.

" قَالَ الذَّصَمِيُّ : الْكَمِيَّةُ تَعَلَّمَ النُّحُو وَلَيْسَ حُجَّةً ،
وَلِذَلِكَ الطَّرْمَاحُ . " الْكَمِيَّةُ بِـ نَيْدٍ لَيْسَ حُجَّةً
لِذَلِكَ مُؤَلَّدٌ ، وَلِذَلِكَ الطَّرْمَاحُ . (114)

On Hassān b. Thābit al-Aṣma'ī passed the following judgment: "Poetry is coarse and evil is its gate". This is Hassān b. Thābit who was a fahl amongst the Jāhiliya poets, but lost his poetical power when Islam arose -
" الشُّعْرُ نَدَبُ بَابِهِ الشَّرِّ . هَذَا حَتَاهُ بِـ تَابَةٍ تَحُلُّ مِنْ مَحُولِ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ
لَمَّا جَاءَ إِلَيْهِمُ سَفَرُ نَبِيِّهِمْ (115)

Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' did not consider al-Akḥṭal an authority, but if al-Akḥṭal had lived only one single day of the Jāhiliya, he would have preferred nobody to him. But as he was born under Islam he would never even with all his merits, have been able to be compared with the ancient poets. (116)

" لَوَازَرَكَ الذُّخْلُ يَوْمًا وَاحِدًا مِنَ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ مَا
قَدَّمْتُ (قَضَيْتُ) عَلَيْهِ أَحَدًا .

(114) Al-Marzūbānī, al-Mūwashshah, pp.192, 209.

(115) Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', ed. al-Saqqā, p.104.

(116) Aghānī, Vol. VII, ed. Būlāq, p.172.

Ibn al-A'arabi went so far as to describe the poetry of the Muḥdathūn as a flower whose smell would last for a day and then die, whereas the ancient poetry is like musk ^{withers, for thrown away} and is perfumed with ambergris, whenever one stirs it, would increase its smell:

إِنَّمَا أَشْجَارُ هَؤُلَاءِ الْمُحْدَثِينَ - مِثْلُ أَبِي نَوَاسٍ وَغَيْرِهِ -
مِثْلُ الرِّجَامِ يَنْشَمُ يَوْمًا وَيَذْوِي فَيَرَى بِهِ رَأْسًا - الْقِدَامِ مِثْلُ
الْمَاءِ وَالْغُبْرِ كُلُّمَا حَرَكْتَهُ انْزَادَ (117)
طَبِيبًا

One is thought to assume that those critics were influenced by 'asabiya in attributing every poetical merit to the Jāhiliya poets. It is true that the poetic diction of the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda is purer Arabic " عربية فصيحة " but that does not prevent us from appreciating the Islamic and Umayyād poetry. The philological critics rarely emphasised the influence of the new environments and the political and religious trends on the development of poetic diction. Their blind fanaticism and love of the past led them to glorify the poetic diction of the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda. The poets were mainly taken

(117) Al-Marzūbānī, al-Mūwashshah, p.246.

into consideration as the repertoires and sources of the classical expressions, as far as their work should give proof and argument 'hujaj' for the good 'lugha'. Therefore, they could not appreciate the "new poets". Not only did they deny them lexicographical value, but were sure, too, that no new Islamic poet could be free of grammatical faults.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' did not use in those ten years which al-Aṣma'ī spent with him, one verse of Islamic poetry as a 'locus probatus'⁽¹¹⁹⁾ and only much later and with great hesitation did he let his pupils recite poems of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq. He used to say:

"لَقَدْ نَبَغَ هَذَا الْخَدَثُ وَفَنَ حَرْفُ قَهْمَتِ رَوَايَةٍ..."

Thus while the Jāhiliya poets were called classical masters without any hesitation, the Islamic and the Umayyād poets (the modern poets) had to beg admission from the severe judgments of the philologists.⁽¹²¹⁾

The most sensible attitude on this question, however, is that suggested by Ibn Rashīq al-Qaṭrawānī who regarded the ancient and modern poets as two men: the one erecting the framework of the house and the other adding the decoration:⁽¹²²⁾

(118) See: I. Goldziher, *Alte und Neue Poesie im Urtheile der Arabischen Kritiker*, pp.138, 139,

(119) *Ibid.*, p.139.

(120) Ibn Qutaiba, *al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā'*, ed. al-Saqqā, p.7.

(121) I. Goldziher, *Alte und Neue Poesie*, pp.140, 151.

(122) *Umda*, Vol. I, P. 57.

وَأَتَمَّا ضَلَّ الْقَدَمَاءُ وَالْمُحَدِّثُ كُلُّهُ - جَلِيهٌ ابْتَدَأَ هَذَا
 نَبَأٌ مَا حَكَمَهُ وَاتَّقَنَهُ ثُمَّ أَتَى التَّخَرُّضَ فَتَقَنَهُ وَرَزَنَهُ
 فَالْكُفَّةَ ظَاهِرَةً عَلَى هَذَا وَإِنْ حَسَنَ وَالْقَدَمَ
 ظَاهِرَةً عَلَى ذَلِكَ وَإِنْ حَسَنَ "

As for the figures of speech 'Badī' in the poetic diction of the Jāhiliyya Qaṣīda, they usually appear to occur naturally without artificial intention. Antithetic parallelism can be regarded as a simple form of the Badī'. This art amongst the Muḥdathūm poets was recognised as an important figure to adorn the verse. Some of those poets used it to display their artistic and skilful ability.⁽¹²³⁾

Al-Kumaīt in the Umayyād period applied a kind of Badī' which was termed 'al-Mujāwara - neighbourhood'.

It is a form of repeating a word twice either each one following the other or separated. The effect of this figure is to strengthen the meaning and the words.⁽¹²⁴⁾

Al-Kumaīt said:

(125) لِلْبَذْرِ مَا لَبِثَ مِنَ الْحَبِّ الشَّاقِبِ بَيْتُهُ الْقَمَامِ وَالْقَمَامِ

He repeated the first and last word. Another example is:

(126) وَإِذَا الْحَرْبُ أَوْقَعَتْ بَنِي الْبَرْقِ وَبَنِي الْحَمَامِ خَوَالِصَهُمَ

(123) Al-Marzūqī, introduction to the Dīwān of Ḥamāsa of Abū Tammām, Majalat al-Majma' al-'ilmī al-'Arabī, Damascus, Pt. 1, Vol. 37, 1st Jan. 1952, p.93.

(124) See: Al-'Askarī, Kitāb al-Ṣinā'atā'īn, p. 401.

(125) Ḥaṣhīmiyyāt, ed. J. Horowitz, p.5, v.14.

(126) Ibid., p.8, v.24.

Therefore, al-Kumaīt may be regarded as a pioneer of this genre.⁽¹²⁷⁾
 Later on Muslim b. al-Walīd perpetuated the art of Badī' in
 the beginning of 'Abbasids period and thus he paved the way
 for Abū Tammān who used it to a great extent.⁽¹²⁸⁾

(127) Najā, al-Kumaīt Shā'ir al- Shī'a al-Sīyāsī, pp.79, 80, 82-83.

(128) Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ṭahaqāt al-Shu'atā' fī madḥ al-Khulafā' wa'l-Wuzara, ed. with notes by: A. Eghbal, Gibb Memorial, New Series, XIII, London, 1939, p.109 and see also: Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Rasā'il, edited with notes by: Muḥammad 'Abdu'l-Mun'im Khāfāji, 1st ed., Cairo, 1946, p.16.

قال ابن المعتز: "سلم به الوليد اول من رشح البديع"
 لئلا يثا - به برد اول من جاز به ، ثم جاز سلم
 فثابه ثم جاز ابو تمام فأمرط فيه وجاوز
 المقد - .

CHAPTER VII

The Prosody of the Arabic Qaṣīda

A poet is a man whose feeling for language, and particularly for the rhythmical flow of speech, is more highly developed than is usual amongst his fellow men. The poetical charm of language, therefore, consists in its musical quality. Thus rhythm, rhyme, alliteration and assonance all contribute, individually or collectively, to the music of language.⁽¹⁾

Prosody is the science of analysing poetry. It is not the study of what has actually been composed in verse, but of "the shadowy bodiless music in the mind of the poet before the poem is made".⁽²⁾ The identification of poetry with music is so much an axiom with the literary critic that he interchanges the words 'poem' and 'song' and 'poet' and 'singer' as if they were synonyms. Music, furthermore, is an art to which poetry is a "willing handmaid".⁽³⁾ If poetry is the harmony of words, then music is the harmony of notes. Thus the connection between poetry and music is so strong that the former withers and dries out when it leaves the latter.⁽⁴⁾ Al-Khalīl b.

Aḥmad, the discoverer of Arabic prosody, is reported to have written one book about al-Nagham - النغم, musical-note and another about al-Iyqā' - الإيقاع, rhythm.⁽⁵⁾

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- (1) See: V.K. Gokak, *The Poetic Approach to Language*, London, 1952, p.4 and J. Press, *The Fire and the Fountain; An Essay on Poetry*, 1955, London, p.102.
- (2) W.P. Ker, *Form and Style in Poetry*, London, 1928, p.101.
- (3) J.M. Gibbon, *Melody and the Lyric*, London and Toronto, 1930, p. VII, viii.
- (4) See: J.M. Gibbon, op. cit., pp.195, 196.
- (5) Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, p.65.

It is also thought that his knowledge of musical notes and rhythm helped him to codify the art of prosody 'al-'Arūd -

« وَلَهُ عِلْمٌ بِالِدِّيْقَاعِ وَلَهُ كِتَابٌ فِيهِ . وَصَرَفَتْهُ بِالنِّعَمِ
(6) وَمَوَاقِعُ أَخَذَتْ لَهُ عِلْمَ الْعُرُوضِ .

But the difference between 'Arūd and Iyqā' is that the former divides time into sound syllables whereas the latter divides time into musical notes":

إِنَّ صِنَاعَةَ الدِّيْقَاعِ تَقْسِمُ الزَّمَانَ بِالنِّعَمِ وَصِنَاعَةُ
(7) الْعُرُوضِ تَقْسِمُ الزَّمَانَ بِالْحُرُوفِ الْمُرَعَّةِ .
(8)

Thus musical rules seem similar to those of the 'Arūd. It is pertinent to ask whether the poets of the Jāhiliya really understood prosody as a science, or merely followed their instincts in their metrical compositions? According to Muslim Scholars the art of prosody was known amongst the Arabs of the

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- (6) Abū al-Hasan 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-Rūwāt 'alā Anbāh al-Nuhāt*, edited with notes by: Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1950, Vol. I, p.342. See also: al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wū'āh fī Ṭabaqāt al-Lughawiyīn wa'l-Nuḥāh*, 1st ed., Cairo, 1326, A.H., p.244.
- (7) Ibn Fāris, *al-Ṣāhibī*, p.230 and al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, Vol. II, P. 291.
- (8) *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Safā' wa Khullān al-Wafā'*, introduced by: Buṭrus al Bustānī, Beirut, 1957, Vol. I, (Vth Letter in music pp.183-241), p.197:

« إِنَّ قَوَائِدَ الْمَوْجِزِ مِمَّا تَلَقَّاهُ الْعُرُوضُ . »

Jāhiliya. This point may be supported by the fact that when they heard some recitations of the Qur'ān for the first time, they thought it was poetry because of the application of rhyme and rhythm in some of its Suras. The Arabs of that time could not possibly call the Qur'ān poetry, unless they had a knowledge of the rules of prosody. Ibn Fāris made a statement which might be taken as important evidence regarding this question. He said: "As for 'Arūd, it is obvious that it is known according to the agreement of the scholars 'ahl-al-'ilm'. When the Infidels (unbelievers) heard the Qur'ān, they said, or some of them said, that it was poetry. Al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra refuted (their claim) saying, "I have displayed what Muḥammad reads in front of the reciters of poetry 'Uqurā' al-Shi'r -

أَقْرَأَ الشِّعْرَ, of its Hazaj and Rajaz etc., and I did not see that the Qur'ān bears resemblance to that (to the poetry)." (8)

To this Ibn Fāris added: "Does al-Walīd say such a thing if he does not know the metres of poetry 'Buḥūr al-Shi'r?"

"أَنْ يَقُولَ الْوَلِيدُ هَذَا وَهُوَ لَا يَعْرِفُ حَوَالِ الشِّعْرِ؟" (9)

It is possible that al-Walīd did not know all the metres except

(8) Ibn Fāris, al-Sāhibī, p.10:

"وَأَمَّا الْعَرَضُ فَمِنْ الدَّلِيلِ عَلَى أَنَّهُ لَا يَسْتَعَارُ مَا مَطْلُومٌ اتِّفَاقُهُ أَهْلَ الْعِلْمِ عَلَى أَنَّهُ الشَّرِكِيُّ لِأَسْمَاءِ الْقُرْآنِ قَالُوا أَرَضَ قَالِ مِنْهُمْ: "إِنَّهُ شِعْرٌ". فَقَالَ الْوَلِيدُ بِهِ الْغِيَرَةُ فَكَلَّمَ عَلَيْهِمْ: "لَقَدْ عَرَضْتُ مَا يَقْرَأُ مُحَمَّدٌ عَلَى أَقْرَأِ الشِّعْرِ، فَهَرَجَ بِهِ وَهَرَجَ وَلَدًا وَلَدًا، وَلَمْ أَرَهُ يَتَّبِعُهُ شَيْءٌ مِنْ ذَلِكَ".

(9) Ibid., p.10.

the popular ones such as the Rajaz and Hazaj, since they were used very much by the Arabs of the Jāhiliya. The Rajaz, in particular, was regarded as a folk metre 'wazn Sha'bī -

وزن شعبي and even used by the ordinary peoples 'al-'Awām' as al-Bāqillānī stated:

(10) "وأما الرجز فإنه يعرض في كلام العوام كثيراً"....

The other evidence which might support the idea that the science of prosody was known to the poets of ^{the} pre-Islamic era, is the fact that some poets of that epoch used to adorn and revise their poems, for example, Zuhāir in his Ḥawliyat. Al-Ḥuṭaī'a who was a Mukhadram poet, followed Zuhāir's path. (11) It is certain that both metre and rhyme were subjected to the poet's revision and trials, to put them into sound shape. Thus he must select the most highly estimated metres which were extant amongst the poets and critics of his time. Ṭawīl (12) (the long) and 'Kāmil' (13) - perfect' seem to have been the most highly

(10) Al-Bāqillānī, I'jāz al-Qur'ān, p.87.

(11) Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', ed. al-Saqqā, p.16.

(12) The scanning of the Ṭawīl metre is:

twice in (	{	فَعُولُنْ مَفَاعِيلُنْ فَعُولُنْ مَفَاعِيلُنْ	}
every			
verse (		— — — — —	

(13) The scanning of the Kāmil is:

twice in (	{	مَتَفَاعِيلُنْ مَتَفَاعِيلُنْ مَتَفَاعِيلُنْ	}
every			
verse (		— — — — —	

esteemed metres. Most of the Mu'allaqāt, for instance, were composed in those metres: the Mu'allaqas of Imr al-Qais, Tarafa and Zuhair were composed in Tawil metre. The Mu'allaqas of Labid and Antara were composed in Kamil while 'Amr's Mu'allaga was in Wafir⁽¹⁴⁾ (ample) and Harith's ode in the Khafir⁽¹⁵⁾ (light). Thus we may assume that poetry even in those days was a craft which required knowledge of prosody and other techniques. Zuhair in his Hawliyat must have been acquainted with such knowledge which might have helped him in his poetical revision. Poetry was not a natural gift of all Arabs of the Jahiliya era as some of the Ruwat tried to maintain. The poets of the Mu'allaqāt, for example, must have developed their poetic talents through a long period of literary effort. As the Jahiliya Qasida underwent different stages of poetical evolution and linguistic unification, the science of prosody developed accordingly. It seems, however, that 'Arud, though known before the time of al-Khalil, was not regarded as an organised science with a formal system and rules. The genius of al-Khalil lies in the fact that he made 'Arud, a codified science.

(14) The scanning of the Wafir is:

twice in the { مفاعِلُنْ مفاعِلُنْ مفاعِلُنْ }
same verse { - - - | - - - | - - - }

(15) The scanning of the Khafir is:

twice in the { فاعِلونْ مُنْعَلونْ فاعِلونْ }
same verse { - - - | - - - | - - - }

Arabic prosody in its general features resembles that of Greek and Latin. The prosodial value of syllables depends upon the quantity or position of their vowels since Arabic is a language of syllable length rather than stress; it is quantitative rather than qualitative. Al-Khalīl in the eighth century A.D. codified the Metres of Arabic poetry by expressing the various feet with the root ' فـ ل - فعل '. He discovered eight measures which he called 'Tafā'il - تَفَاعِيل'. The scanning of these feet depends on the length of syllable, which may be either short (consisting of a consonant with a short vowel, for example, all three syllables in 'dhaba - ذَهَبَ' (he went) will be scanned as (٠ ٠ ٠) or long (consisting of a vowelled letter followed by an unvowelled letter, e.g. Qātala - قَاتَلَ (he fought), the syllable ' قَا , Qā' - is long).

Those eight feet are the following:

(1) Fā'ilūn	— ٠ —	فَاعِلُنْ
(2) Fa'ūlun	— — ٠	فَعُولُنْ
(3) Mustaf'ilun	— ٠ — —	مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ
(4) Maḥā'ilun	— — — ٠	مَحَاحِلُنْ
(5) Fā'ilātun	— — ٠ —	فَاعِلَاتُنْ
(6) Maḥ'ulātu	٠ — — —	مَحْعُولَاتُ
(7) Muḥā'alatun	— ٠ ٠ — ٠	مُحَاحِلَاتُنْ
(8) Mutafā'ilun	— ٠ — ٠ — ٠	مُتَفَاعِلُنْ

From the combination of these feet al-Khalīl found fifteen metres although these feet are subject to certain changes. The Metres

are: Tawīl, (16) Kāmil, (17) Madīd, (18) Basīṭ, (19) Wāfir, (20)

The scanning of the Metres is as follows:

(16) Tawīl:

فَعُولُنْ مَضَاعِلُنْ مَعُولُنْ مَضَاعِلُنْ فَعُولُنْ مَضَاعِلُنْ
 - - - - - | - - - - - | - - - - - | - - - - - |

(17) Kāmil:

مَضَاعِلُنْ مَضَاعِلُنْ مَضَاعِلُنْ مَضَاعِلُنْ مَضَاعِلُنْ مَضَاعِلُنْ
 - - - - - | - - - - - | - - - - - | - - - - - |

(18) Madīd:

مَاعِلَانْ مَاعِلَانْ مَاعِلَانْ مَاعِلَانْ مَاعِلَانْ مَاعِلَانْ
 - - - - - | - - - - - | - - - - - | - - - - - |

(19) Basīṭ:

مُتَفَعِّلُنْ مَاعِلُنْ مَتَفَعِّلُنْ مَاعِلُنْ مَتَفَعِّلُنْ مَاعِلُنْ
 - - - - - | - - - - - | - - - - - | - - - - - |

(20) Wāfir:

مَضَاعِلُنْ مَضَاعِلُنْ مَعُولُنْ مَضَاعِلُنْ مَعُولُنْ مَضَاعِلُنْ
 - - - - - | - - - - - | - - - - - | - - - - - |

Hazaj, (21) Rajaz, (22) Ramal, (23) Sarī', (24) Munsarih, (25) Khafīf (26)

(21) Hazaj:

مَـعِـيـنٌ مَـعِـيـنٌ مَـعِـيـنٌ مَـعِـيـنٌ
- - - - -

(22) Rajaz:

مَـعِـيـنٌ مَـعِـيـنٌ مَـعِـيـنٌ مَـعِـيـنٌ
- - - - -

(23) Ramal:

مَـعِـيـنٌ مَـعِـيـنٌ مَـعِـيـنٌ مَـعِـيـنٌ
- - - - -

(24) Sarī':

مَـعِـيـنٌ مَـعِـيـنٌ مَـعِـيـنٌ مَـعِـيـنٌ
- - - - -

(25) Munsarih:

مَـعِـيـنٌ مَـعِـيـنٌ مَـعِـيـنٌ مَـعِـيـنٌ
- - - - -

(26) Khafīf:

مَـعِـيـنٌ مَـعِـيـنٌ مَـعِـيـنٌ مَـعِـيـنٌ
- - - - -

Mudāri‘, (27) Muqtaḍab, (28) Mujtath, (29) and Mutaqārib. (30) Later on al-Akhfash discovered another metre and called it al-Khabab or Mutadāarak. (31) The number of Feet in each hemistich does not go beyond four nor fall below two. The Metres vary between four

(27) Mudāri‘:

مَـأَعِيْلُ	مَـأَعِيْلُ	مَـأَعِيْلُ	مَـأَعِيْلُ
---و ---و- -	---و ---و- -	---و ---و- -	---و ---و- -

(28) Muqtaḍab:

مَفْعُولَاتُ	مَفْعُولَاتُ	مَفْعُولَاتُ	مَفْعُولَاتُ
-و--- -و--- -و---	-و--- -و--- -و---	-و--- -و--- -و---	-و--- -و--- -و---

(29) Mujtath:

مَفْعُولَاتُ	مَفْعُولَاتُ	مَفْعُولَاتُ	مَفْعُولَاتُ
--و- -و- -و- -	--و- -و- -و- -	--و- -و- -و- -	--و- -و- -و- -

(30) Mutaqārib:

مَفْعُولَاتُ	مَفْعُولَاتُ	مَفْعُولَاتُ	مَفْعُولَاتُ
--و ---و ---و ---و	--و ---و ---و ---و	--و ---و ---و ---و	--و ---و ---و ---و

(31) Mutadarak:

مَـأَعِيْلُ	مَـأَعِيْلُ	مَـأَعِيْلُ	مَـأَعِيْلُ
-و- -و- -و- -و-	-و- -و- -و- -و-	-و- -و- -و- -و-	-و- -و- -و- -و-

and two feet for each Shatr (hemistich: the Ṣadr or the 'Ajuz). The Metres which contain four Feet in each hemistich, that is to say eight in the whole verse, were called 'the Long Metres: al-Awzān or al-Buḥūr al-Ṭawīla'. But those which fall under three Feet in each hemistich, that is to say, six or four in the whole verse, were called 'the Short Metres: al-Awzān al-Qaṣīra or al-Majzū'āt, المجزوءات.

In the Jāhīliya Qaṣīda, however, the long Metres were often used. Thus the Metres: Ṭawīl, Wāfir, Basīṭ and Kāmil may be regarded as the main conventional metres of the Jāhīliya era. This attitude is supported in the following brief survey which has been taken from the Diwāns of the six ancient Arabic poets: al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, 'Antara, Ṭarafa, Zuhāir, 'Alqama and Imr al-Qaīs.⁽³²⁾ These poets composed (178) poems, fragments and individual lines. (71) of their collections were composed in Ṭawīl metre, (34) in Wāfir, (24) in Basīṭ, (23) in Kāmil, (9) in Mutaqarab, (4) in each of Sarī', Ramal and Rajaz while only three in Munsariḥ and two in Madīd. Later on the Islamic and Umayyād poets together with the 'Abbāsīd poets used the short metres and the Majzū'āt very often. This may be due to the influence of the art of music and singing on the metrical system of the Arabic Qaṣīda, as we shall see later in this chapter.

As for rhyme 'Qāfiya', scholars differed in their definition.

(32) Edited by: W. Ahlwardt, London, 1870.

Al-Khalīl thought that the rhyme really consisted of two letters, the first being the vowelised rawī, and the second the semi-vowel (long ū, ā or ī) which is present even when not written as in truly Arabic metres, the final syllable of the verse or half-verse is always long, i.e. يَقْبَلُ 'Yaqbalu' 'he accepts' is read يَقْبَلُو Yaqbalū, in recitation. Al-Khalīl considered the unvowelled rawī in the short word to be an important element in Qafiya. Abū Ḥasan al-Akhfash thought it was the last word in the verse, while al-Farrā' stated that it was the letter of Rawī 'ḥarf al-Rawī - the letter of rhyme - حرف الروي (33). The latter definition was accepted by most of the poets. (34) It was also suggested that the rhyme was called Qāfiya because it follows what preceded it. Thus the poet is obliged to repeat it: القافية ما لزم الشاعر إيمارته ، وإنما سميت قافية
لأنها تتبع ما قبلها من الكلام ، من القفو وهو
البيت (35).

None of these definitions, however, indicate any relationship between the rhyme and music. Rhyme seems to be a natural mode

(33) See: Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī, 'Umda, Vol. I, pp.99, 100 and also see-'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Anbārī, Kitāb al-Mūjaz fī 'ilm al-Qawāfī, edited with notes by: 'Abdu'l-Hādī Hāshim, pp.48-58 in Majalat al-Majma' al-'ilmī al-'arabī, Damascus, Vol. I, pt. 31, 1st Jun., 1956, p.51.

(34) Al-Anbārī, Mūjaz, p.51.

(35) Al-Anbārī, Mūjaz, p.51.

of musical expression in many nations although Milton speaks very severely against the rhyme as being "no necessary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verse, but the invention of a barbarous age to set off wretched matter and lame metre."⁽³⁶⁾

Despite Milton's dictum, rhyme may be considered to be essentially musical in its nature.⁽³⁷⁾ Al-Khalīl also codified the rhyme by expressing various terms as a result of his individual observations of Arabic poetry. Such terms are: 'al-Iqwā' - الِيقْوَار which means the gathering of different vowels of the rhyme-letter 'ḥarf al-Rawī' in one poem, that is to say, the application of ḍamma and kasra within the same rhyme. Al-Khalīl is reported to have said that he arranged the verse of poetry in similar arrangement of the Arabian tent. Then he said:

فَسَمَّيْتُ الِيقْوَارَ مَا جَاءَ فِيهِ الِرفُوعُ فِي السَّفَرِ
وَالْمَخْفُوضُ عَلَى قَاصِيَةٍ وَاحِدَةٍ لِقَوْلِ النَّابِغَةِ :
"عَجَبُونَ زَا زَارٍ وَغَيْرُ مُرَوَّرٍ" ثُمَّ قَالَ :
"وَبِذَلِكَ هَمَزْنَا الْفَرْجُ الْبُشُورُ"
(38)

The vowel of the first 'dāl, letter D' is kasra, مُرَوَّرٍ while the vowel of the second 'D' is ḍamma, الْبُشُورُ. Al-Khalīl

(36) H.B. Cotterill, An Introduction to the Study of Poetry, London, 1882, p.78.

(37) Ibid., p.78.

(38) Al-Marzūbanī, al-Mūwashshah, p.21 and Ibn Qubāḥba, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', Vol. I, p.42.

also referred to this defect as 'al-Muqa'ar - ^{المُقَرَّر} (39)
 Other technical terms regarding the structure of the rhyme are:
 al-Ikfā', ^{الِئْفَاء} which means the application of different
 letters that have a similar sound such as the mīm letter (M)
 and nūn letter (N) or ṭa' letter (T) and dāl letter (D) within
 the same rhyme. As for 'al-Iyṭā', ^{الِئْطَاء} it means
 the repetition of the same rhyme in the same ode. (40)

These terms describe what were regarded by the Arab
 prosodists as poetical defects, but it may be suggested that
 they were the remains of the poetical evolution that the Qaṣīda
 had undergone to achieve its high standard. The Jāhīlīya poets
 were free to apply any letter of the alphabet as their rhyme.
 Nevertheless the popularity of the rhyme-letter 'ḥarf al-Rawī'
 depends upon the position of that letter in the individual word
 and upon the number of such words in the language itself and
 the richness of the poet's vocabulary. However, in the
 Jāhīlīya Qaṣīda, it is rare to find a rhyme-letter of 'Z' or
 'Ḍ' or 'Ṭ' ṭā' or Shīn 'Sh' or Khā' (Kh). Abū al-'Alā'
 al-Ma'arrī in the introduction to his Luzūmiyyāt observed rhyme
 amongst the poets of the pre-Islamic period and said: "As for
 the ancient poets, it is seldom that they compose (their poems)

(39) Al-Anbārī, Mūjaz, pp.56, 57.

(40) See for details: Al-Anbārī, Mūjaz, p.57 and al-Marzūbānī,
 al-Mūwashshah, pp.14, 15, 18 and Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r
 wa'l-Shu'arā', Vol. I, pp.42, 43, 44.

in all the letters of the alphabet 'ḥurūf al-Mu'jam , 'حروف المعجم', because in the poetry of Imr al-Qaīs which has come down to us, we cannot find in it (rhymes) in the letters ṭā' or ḡā' or Shīn or khā'. Similar to this the Dīwān of al-Nābigha which is empty of rhymes of the letters ṣād, ḡād, and ṭā'.⁽⁴¹⁾ The rare occurrence of such letters as rhyme-letters cannot be considered a poetical defect since each letter has its own peculiar sound and the taste of the poet depends upon the nature of his theme and the increasing number of words in his vocabulary. Later on the use of those letters 'ṭā', ḡā', as rhymes was regarded as a sign of skill artificially, and some poets tried, in their composition, to show such an ability. Al-Buḥturī, (d.897 A.D.) for example, composed a poem in satire and selected the letter ṭā' as its rhyme-letter. When his son asked him why he tried a difficult rhyme and not an easy one, al-Buḥturī replied that words in the latter were easy and available, but the skilful (poet) 'al-Hādhīq , 'الحاذق' always composes something excellent, in every direction he tries or any rhyme he applies:

"يَأْتِي لَصْرِي إِسْمُ الْكَلَامِ فِي الصَّوَانِي السَّهْلَةِ أَطْبَعُ وَأَعْلَنُ ؛ إِلْدَانَّ
الْحَازِقَ لِيَقُولَ إِلْدَ جِدًّا فِي أَبِي شَيْءٍ أَخَذَ وَلَدِي قَافِيَةً يَكْتَلِبُ .." (42)

(41) Dr. Ibrāhīm Anīs, Mūsīqa al-Shi'r, Cairo, 1952, p.246. and see: Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, Luzūmiyyāt, Vol. I, P.34-35.

(42) See: Al-Ṣūlī, Akhbār al-Buḥturī, edited with notes by: Dr. Ṣāliḥ al-Ashṭar, Publication of al-Majma' al-'ilmī al-'arabī, Damascus, 1958, pp.121-122.

It appears that the metrical system of the Jāhīliya Qaṣīda, possibly, had passed through stages of development. It is thought that the rhymed prose 'the Saj' which was used by the oracles and soothsayers 'kuhḥān - , may be regarded as the first stage in the development of the poetical form. It was a favourite form of composition amongst the Arabs of the Jāhīliya. The Qur'ān exhibits such a style,⁽⁴³⁾ a fact which indicates its popularity ~~in~~ ^{the} that time. In due course, saj' developed into a more disciplined and systematical rhythmical form which was influenced by the song of the camel-driver (ḥudā'). This period of using saj' and ḥudā' may be considered the second stage of that development, which created regular measures. At the outset they are very simple and suitable for popular use such as the measures of Rajaz and Hazaj. Those measures were also first used for short sayings of a few lines, but later in imaginative poetry also in poems of some length.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Thus Rajaz was considered the oldest and the simplest of all Arabic metres. In this form of verse all the lines have rhyme. Its popularity lies in using it chiefly for extempore recitations on occasions of combat, boasting and tribal feuds.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Therefore Rajaz "is the first-born child of poetry with rhymed prose ⁽⁴⁶⁾ for a father and song for a mother", so runs the Arabic definition.

(43) Th. Nöldeke, Sketches from Eastern History, p.34 and P.K. Hitti, op. cit., p. 92.

(44) I. Goldziher, A Short History of Arabic Literature, p. 5.

(45) C.J. Lyall, Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry, p. xli.

(46) P.K. Hitti, op. cit., p. 92.

Hence Rajaz was regarded as the most popular poetical form in the Jāhīliya era, because of its simplicity and its rhythmical beauty:

« للرب تصرف واناع في الرجز كثرته في كلامهم
ولسهولة وعذوبته . » (47)

It was also suggested that the Arājīz of the Jāhīliya may have included in their compositions some dialectical remains⁽⁴⁸⁾ of that time, but the Rūwāt did not pay full attention to and did not collect all Rajaz-poems of that period since Rajaz was the medium of expressing personal feelings and representing, on the other hand, the folklore of different tribes.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The Arabs before Islam used not to compose long Arājīz, but the Mukhaḍramūn and Islamic poets such as al-Aghlab al-‘Ijlī, Abū al-Najm, al-‘Ajjāj, Ru’ba, Dhu’r-Rumma and Khalaf al-Aḥmar, prolonged their Rajaz-poems.⁽⁵⁰⁾ In the Umayyād period, however, Rajaz became an independent art to the extent that a new class of poets emerged. They were known as al-Rujjāz ‘the poets of Rajaz’. Most of them were in Iraq. This new class tried to make from Rajaz-poems a great competitor to artistic poetry.

(47) Dr. Ibrāhīm Anīs, Mūsīqa al-Shi‘r, Cairo, 1952, p. 125.

(48) Ibid., p. 127.

(49) Ibid., p. 126. and Dr. ‘Abdu’llāh al-Ṭayyib, al-Majdhūb, al-Murshīd ilā Fahm ash‘ār al-‘Arab, Cairo, 1955, Vol. I, p. 247, 249.

(50) Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī, Arājīz al-‘Arab, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1346, A.H., p. 4.

Thus they encouraged the philologists and Rūwāt to collect and transmit their poems by the way of applying the 'gharīb' and archaic expressions in them. Consequently, the Rajaz poems were used as a rich mine for the 'gharīb' which was the main motive in collecting them:

" طاه الرجز ديوانه العرب في الجاهلية والاسلام ... وموطن
الغريب من كلامهم ولذلك حرس عليه الذئبة من
السلف وأغتنوا به حفظاً وتديناً " (51)

This can be seen in the Diwāns of al-'Ajjāj and his son Ru'ba. (52)

In the 'Abbasid period the art of the Rajaz-poems declined because of the new conditions of life. The Muzdawaj which is a form of Rajaz, and which was based on composing an individual line with a different rhyme for each succeeding verse, was used in didactic and proverbial poetry, such as that of the Alfīya of Ibn Mālik on grammar.

There is another piece of evidence which might support the hypothesis that the Arabic metrical form had sprung from the saj'. In the following examples which have been taken from the Jāhīliya poetry, there are some possible remains of the poetical evolution of the rhymed prose.

In all these examples we can observe the application of inner-rhymes or the use of the rhymed prose within poetical verses. This indicates the leaning of the Arabs of that age

(51) Al-Bakrī, Arājiz al-'Arab, p.4.

(52) See: The Diwāns of al-'Ajjāj and Ru'ba, edited by: W. Ahwardt, Berlin, 1903.

(459(A))
1-Imr al-Qais : Qudāma b. Ja'far, Naqd al-Shi'r, ed. S.A.
Bonebakker, E.J.Brill, Lieden, 1956, P.14.

وَأَوْتَادُهُ مَانِيَّةٌ وَعِمَادُهُ رَدِينِيَّةٌ فِيهَا الْأَسِنَّةُ تَغْضِبُ

2- Al-Nimr b. Tawlab: Naqd al-Shi'r, P. 15.

مِنْ صَوْبٍ سَارِيَةٍ عِلَّتْ بِغَادِيَةٍ تَهْلُ حَقَّ يَكَادِ الصُّنْبُحِ يَنْجَابُ

3- Al-La'in al-Minqari : Naqd al-Shi'r, P.15.

كَيْفَ إِذَا اسْتَرْخَى كَيْشُهُ إِذَا انْتَحَى عَلَى الْقَرَبِ الْأَقْصَى وَشَدَّ لَهُ الْأَزْرَا

4- Al-Afwah al-Awdi: Naqd al-Shi'r, P.16.

سُودٌ فِدَائِيرُهَا بَلَجٌ مَحَاجِرُهَا كَانَ أَطْرَافُهَا لَمَّا أَجْطَى الطُفَّ

5- Sulaik b. Sulaka: Naqd al-Shi'r, P.16.

إِذَا اسْهَلَتْ خَيْتَ وَإِنْ أَحْزَيْتَ مَشَتْ وَتَغَشَّى بِهَا بَيْنَ الْبَطُونِ وَتَصَدَفَ

6- Abū Saḥr al-Hudhali: Naqd al-Shi'r, P.17-18.

وَتِلْكَ هَيْكَلُهُ خُودٌ مَبْطُيَّةٌ صَفْرَاءُ رُفْلِيَّةٌ فِي مَنْصَبٍ سَنِيمٍ
عَذِبٌ مَقْبَلُهَا جَدَلٌ مَخْلُخَلُهَا كَالْعَصْرِ اسْقَلَهَا مَخْصُورَةُ الْقَدَمِ
سُودٌ ذَوَائِبُهَا بَيْضُ ذَوَائِبُهَا مُحَضَّرُ ذَوَائِبُهَا صِيغَتٌ عَلَى الْكَرَمِ
عَبِلٌ مَقِيدُهَا حَالٌ مَقْلَدُهَا بِخُضْرٍ جَرْدُهَا لَفَاءٌ فِي عَمَمٍ
سَبَّحٌ خَلَّاقُهَا دُرٌّ مَرَافِقُهَا يَرْدَى مُعَانِقُهَا مِنْ بَارِدِ الشِّمِّ
كَانَ مَعْتَقٌ فِي الدَّنِّ مُغْلَقَةٌ صَبْهَا مَصْفَقَةٌ مِنْ رَابِئٍ رُزْمٍ
شَبَّهَتْ بِمَوْهَبَةٍ مِنْ رَأْسِ مَرْقَبَةٍ جَرْدَاءُ مَهْبِيَّةٌ فِي حَالِقِ شَمِّ

7-Umayya b. Abī al-Salt: Shu'arā' al-Nasrāniya, ed. L.Chélikho,
Pt., 11, P.223-224, Vv. 13, 14, 27.

وَمِنَ السَّرَاطِطِ الْجَلَّاحِمَةِ الْمَلَوِّقَةِ الْمَنَاجِيعِ
الْقَائِلِينَ الْفَاعِلِينَ الْأَمْرَيْنِ بِكُلِّ صَالِحٍ
بِالْقُرْبَاتِ الْمُبْعَدَاتِ الطَّامِعَاتِ مَعَ الطَّوَامِيعِ

8-Imr al-Qais: Diwān, ed., W. Ahlwardt, P. 203, No. xxi, V.1.

أَفَادَ فَجَادَ وَشَادَ فَزَادَ وَقَادَ فَنَادَ وَغَادَ فَافْضَلَ

9- Abū al-Muthallam al-Hudhali : Naqd al-Shi'r, P.18.

لَوْ كَانَ لِلدَّهْرِ مَالٌ كَانَ مُطْبَعُهُ لَكَانَ لِلدَّهْرِ صَخْرٌ مَالٌ قَنِيَانُ
أَبِي الْهَضْمَةِ نَابُ بِالْعَظِيمَةِ هُوَ أَلَفُ الْكَرِيمَةِ جَلْدٌ فَيْرُثْمَانُ

حامي الحقيقة نسال الوديقة معتناق الوسيقة لا نكسولا واني
رَبَّاءُ مَرْقَبَةٌ مَنَاحُ مَغْلَبَةٍ وَهَبُ سَلْهَبَةٍ قَطَاعُ اقْـسَرَانِ
هَبَاطُ أَوْدِيَةٍ حَمَالُ الرِّبَةِ شَهَادُ أُنْدِيَةٍ سِرْحَانُ فِتْيَانِ

10-Abū Duwād al-Iyādī:

Ibn Rashīq al-Qaīrawānī, 'Umda, 1st. ed.,
vol. 11, P. 23, Amīn Hindīyya, Cairo, 1925.

وَالْعَيْنُ قَادِحَةٌ وَالرَّجُلُ ضَارِحَةٌ وَالْيَدُ سَائِحَةٌ وَاللُّونُ فَرِيبٌ
وَالشَّدُّ مَنَهْمِرٌ وَالْمَلَأُ مَنَحْدَرٌ وَالْقَصْبُ مَضْطَمِرٌ وَالْمَتْنُ مَلْحُوبٌ

11-Imr al-Qaīs : al-Qaīrawānī, 'Umda, Vol. 11, P. 24.

كَحَلَاءٍ فِي بَيْحٍ صَفْرَاءٍ فِي نَعَجٍ كَانَهَا فِضَّةٌ قَدْ مَسَّهَا زَهَبٌ
فَتَرَى الْقِيَامَ قَطُوعَ الْكَلَامِ غَفَرَعْنُ نِي غَرِيبٍ أَشِيرُ

12- Al-Khansā' : Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, Kitāb al-Sinā'atāin,
P. 376.

حامي الحقيقة محمود الخليفة مهدي الطريقة نفاع وضار
فَعَالٌ سَامِيَةٌ وَرَادٌ طَامِيَةٌ لِلْمَجْدِ نَامِيَةٌ تَعْنِيَةُ سَفَارِ
جَوَابُ قَاصِيَةٍ جَزَارُ نَاصِيَةٍ عَقَادُ الْوَيْسَةِ لِلْخَيْلِ جَرَارُ
حُلُوحَلَاوَتِهِ فَصْلُ مَقَالِهِ فَاشِ حَمَالَتِهِ لِلْعَظْمِ جَبَّارُ

13-Al-Farī'a b. al-Shaddād: al-Huṣrī, Zahr al-Ādāb, Vol. 1V,
P. 88.

قَوَالٌ مُحْكَمَةٌ نَقَاضُ مَهْرَمَةٍ فَتَاحُ مَهْمَةٍ جَنَاسُ رَوَادِ
قَتْلُ مَسْغَبَةٍ وَتَابُ مَرْقَبَةٍ مَنَاحُ مَغْلَبَةٍ فَكَالُ اقْـسَرَانِ
حَلَالُ مَسْرَعَةٍ فَرَاغُ مَفْطَعَةٍ حَمَالُ مَضْلَعَةٍ طَلَاعُ ابْجَادِ
حَمَالُ الْوَيْسَةِ شَهَادُ أُنْدِيَةٍ شَدَادُ أَوْهِيَةِ فَرَاغِ اسْدَادِ

14-Imr al-Qaīs : Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', Vol. 1,

P. 79.

سَلِيمُ الشَّظَا عَلِ الشَّوْى شَيْخُ النِّسَا لَهُ حَبَابَاتُ مَشْرِفَاتٍ عَلَى الْغَالِ

15- Aws b. Hajar: Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', Vol. 1, P. 160

فَمَنْ يَنْجُوهُ كَنْ يَعْقُرْتُهُ وَالْمُسْتَكْنُ كَمَنْ يَمْشِي بِقِرْبَاحِ

16-Abū al-Salt al-Thaqafī: Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', Vol. 1,
P. 432.

قَلْبًا جَحَاجِحَةً بِيضًا مَرَاوِجَةً اسْدَادُ قُرْبٍ فِي الْغِيَاظِ أَشْبَالًا

towards saj':

" وقد أعجب العرب السجع حتى استعملوه في منظوم
كلامهم ، وصار ذلك الجنس من الكلام منظوماً
في منظوم ، وسجماً في سجع . " (53)

This sort of poetry is called 'al-Muraṣṣa', المرصع which means that the verse is divided into inner rhymed units :

" والتصريح هو أن يكون هو البيت سجوعاً . " (54)

It was also called "al-Muḍāra'a - المضارعة" (55)

Thus it may be assumed that the Muraṣṣa poetry is the remains of the development of Saj' into more disciplined measures which formed Rajaz and the rest of the Arabic metres. It must also be borne in mind that the Umayyād and 'Abbasid poets used this form of composition in imitation of the Jāhiliya poets or as a display of Badī', which was then appreciated to a high degree.

Another question which arises is this: Did the Arabs of the Jāhiliya era take the system of their metres and rhymes from other nations, i.e. Greeks, Romans or Persians? Or was the creation of Arabic metres an independent Arab production?

(53) Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, al-Ṣinā'atān, pp.264, 265.

(54) Ibid., p.375.

(55) Al-Bāqillānī, I'jāz al-Qur'ān, p.128.

Nöldeke, after observing that all Arabic poetry is rhymed, and rhyme predominates even in certain solemn modes of speech not subject to strict metrical rule, stated that this form of poetry up to that time was unknown everywhere. But after the fourth century A.D., such form (rhyme and metre) springs into prominence in Latin and Greek poems of a popular and devotional character.⁽⁵⁶⁾ He then went ^{on} to conjecture that "there may be a connection of some sort with occidental poetry in the employment of this artistic method which may very well have come into use among the Arabs about the same time. The point of common origin might be Palestine and Syria. Rhymed prose was probably the original form".⁽⁵⁷⁾ Prof. Nöldeke also stated that the whole matter is, however, beyond proof.

According to most of the scholars who dealt with the metrical form of Greek and Latin poetry, the occurrence of rhyme is sporadic and merely occasional and intended for special effects. In general, the classical poets evidently took pains to avoid rhyme; and nowhere in classical verse is rhyme a structural element.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Homer sometimes has rhyme and assonance; he

(56) Th. Nöldeke, "The Scope and Influence of Arabic History", in: The Historian's History of the World, edited by: H.S. Williams, in twenty-five volumes, London, The Times, 1908, Vol. VIII, p.8.

(57) Nöldeke, The Scope and Influence of Arabic History, pp.8, 9.

(58) W. Beare, Latin Verse and European Song, London, 1957, p.258.

especially allows parts of hexameters, or whole hexameters, to end alike, but it does not happen very frequently.⁽⁵⁹⁾ There may be even three rhymes in a line. Such rhyming is apparently unintentional, and was evidently not objectionable to the ancient taste.⁽⁶⁰⁾

The beginnings of Latin rhyme can be traced still further back to the end of the second century A.D. when inner-rhyme was used but it was neither cultivated nor systematically followed.⁽⁶¹⁾

Thus in Greek and Latin poetry rhyme was not a basic element, although the early Christian poets used simple forms of rhyme on a large scale.⁽⁶²⁾ Even in Syriac poetry rhyme was not regarded as a formal element but as a means of emphasizing certain lines of either parallel or antithetic content.⁽⁶³⁾

The Syrians, the pupils of the Greek, according to Prof. Nöldeke's conjecture should have imitated the Greek metrical system and thus helped to transmit some of it to the Arabs. But the Syrians in their poetry did not even follow the Greek metres.

(59) W.F. Jackson Knight, *Roman Vergil*, London, 1944, p.245.

(60) A. Shewan, "Alliteration and Assonance in Homer", pp.193-209 in *Classical Philology*, Vol. XX, July, 1925, No. 3, Chicago, Illinois, p.200.

(61) Henry Lanz, *The Physical Basis of Rime*, California, 1931, pp.109, 113.

(62) W. Beare, *op. cit.*, p.258.

(63) Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1961, p.185.

Their Metres were based on the number of syllables rather than on the quantitative element of Greek or Arabic Metre⁽⁶⁴⁾ and the occurrence of rhyme was not intentioned like that of the Greek, while in Arabic metrical system, rhyme is regarded as an essential element. As for the influence of Persian on Arabic poetry, it seems that there was some use of Persian words, but no other influence on technique. It was also thought that the earliest poetry from Persia was of two types, the ballad and the epic.⁽⁶⁵⁾ The former is believed to have contained a kind of metre and rhyme and the Ballads were, in some degree, like the Rajaz of the Jāhiliya poetry.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Truly speaking, poetry, par excellence, is distinguishable in the compositions produced during the Islamic period,⁽⁶⁷⁾ when the Persian poets became accustomed to the Arabic metrical system. So they happened to compose in all sorts of intricate metres. Thus it may be possible to suggest that the end-rhyme or full-rhyme seems to have arisen independently in several nations without historical connexion. Each poetry has its own peculiarities and characteristics regarding its metre, rhyme and language.

(64) See Chapter II of this thesis, p. 96-97.

(65) A.V. Williams Jackson, Early Persian Poetry, New York, 1920, p.2.

(66) Dr. U.M. Daudpota, "Early Persian Poetry and its relation to Arabic Poetry", pp-34-351 in: Dr. Modi Memorial Volume, Bombay, 1930, p.343.

(67) Dr. Ali Asghar Hekmat, Glimpses of Persian Literature, Calcutta, 1956, p.52.

But it seems that the metrical system of the Jāhīlīya Qaṣīda has sprung from pure Arabian soil, that is to say the desert.

We shall try in the following pages to trace the influence of music and song on the formation and development of Arabic prosody.

The Jāhīlīya Qaṣīda as a lyrical ideal may bear resemblance to the Greek lyric which was sung to the lyre; and the ode was choral composition.⁽⁶⁸⁾ It is also thought that the Homeric epics were originally sung to the harp by rhapsodists, though later recitation took the place of singing.⁽⁶⁹⁾ The music that accompanied lyric, it is stated, belonged to the class of dance-music.⁽⁷⁰⁾ It may be said, however, that music or song in both Greek and Arabic literature acted as a vehicle for oral transmission of the poetry.

In the Jāhīlīya Qaṣīda there occurred certain words which refer to the names of the singing girl. These names are: 'al-Karīna, ⁽⁷¹⁾ *الكرينة* which appeared in the Mu'allāqa of Labīd, and which al-Zawzanī interpreted to be a singing girl accompanying herself on the lute "al-Jārīya al-'awwāda - ⁽⁷²⁾ *البانية العوّدة* ;

(68) B. Pattison, *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance*, London, 1948, p.21.

(69) Ibid., p.20.

(70) G.S. Farnell, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, London, 1891, p.33.

(71) V.60: *وَصُوحٌ صَافِيَةٌ وَجَدَّ كَرِينَةٌ*
مَوْتَرٌ تَأْتِيهِ بِإِيَّامِهَا

(72) Al-Zawzani, *Sharh al-Mu'allagāt al-Sabʿ*, P.117.

'al-Musmi'a, ⁽⁷³⁾ الْمُسْمِيَّةُ, 'al-Dājina - ⁽⁷⁴⁾ الدَّاجِنَةُ, 'al-Ṣadūḥ or al-Ṣādiḥa - ⁽⁷⁵⁾ الصَّدُوحُ, الصَّادِحَةُ, and 'al-Sannāja - الصَّنَاجَةُ, which is a singing girl playing upon the cymbals and al-A'shā distinguished her from the ordinary singing girl when he said:

(76) وَشَبَّعَانِ وَصَنَاجَةُ نَقَلْتُ بِالْكَفِّ أَوَّارَهَا

Possibly this indicates the close connection between poetry and song and the influence of the latter upon the former. Regarding this, Prof. Brockelmann thought that the poems of the Jāhīliya were meant to be chanted to a simple musical accompaniment.⁽⁷⁷⁾ It is also reported that some pre-Islamic poets used to sing their own poetry such as 'Alqama al-Fahl⁽⁷⁸⁾ and

(73) Al-A'shā, Dīwān, ed. Geyer, p.121, v.20.

وَمَا هَذَا الْوَرْدُ وَالْبَاسِكِيَّةُ وَالسَّمْعَاتُ بِفَصَاحَةٍ

(74) Al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, ed. Lyall, LXXI, p.554, v.6:

وَبَيْتٌ دَاجِنَةٌ تَجَازِبُ مِثْلَهَا خَوْرًا مُنْعَمَةً وَلَضْرِبُ صَعْبًا

(75) Al-A'shā, Dīwān, ed. Geyer, p.212, v.17.

وَصَدُوحٌ إِذَا بَرَّحَتْ الشَّرْبُ تَرَقَّتْ فِي خِرْقَةٍ صَدُوفٍ

(76) Ibid., p.214, v.22. See also: Dr. Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, al-Qiyān wa'l-Ghinā' fī'l-'Asr al-Jāhīlī, Beirut, 1960, pp.29-32.

(77) H.G. Farmer, A History of Arabian Music to the XIIIth century, London, 1929, p.18.

(78) See: Ibn al-Taḥḥān, Hāwī al-Funūn wa Salwat al-Mahzūn, Manuscript in Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, Funūn Jamīla, No. 539, fol. 17, Chap. XIII "في أسرار أول من غنى في الحاضرة من الرجال" (I read this MS. in the form of a microfilm by the courtesy of J.A. Haywood).

Muhalhil. (79) The poet sometimes engaged a musician 'Mughannī' to chant his verses for him in the same way as he would employ a transmitter (Rāwī) to recite them. This idea, it is thought, persisted even into the Islamic era. (80) The most popular type of song in Ḥijāz in the Jāhiliya time was the 'naṣb - نَصَب' which was merely an improved 'ḥudā' - حُدَا' or caravan song. This is said to have been made up of 'measured melodies - alḥān mawzūna - أَلْحَانٌ مَوْزُونَةٌ'. (81) This type of song was borrowed from Ḥira. (82) It seems then ^{that} the

(79) Aghānī, V, p. 51, 56:

"... فَنَاقَهُ غَمْرًا ، فَلَمَّا طَابَتْ نَفْسُهُ (الْمَرْهَلِينَ) لَقْنَهُ ..."
 " ... وَإِنَّمَا لَقْنَهُ مَرْهَلَةً لَطِيبَ شِعْرِهِ وَرِقَّتِهِ ، وَمَا
 أَحَدٌ مِنْ غَنَّا مِنْ الْعَرَبِ فِي شِعْرِهِ "

(80) H.G. Farmer, A History of Arabian Music, p.9.

(81) Ibid., p.49. See also: Music: The Priceless Jewel from the Kitāb al-ʿiqd al-Farīd of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d.940), edited and translated into English by: H.G. Farmer, Bearsden, Scotland, 1942, pp.4, 5 and al-Masʿūdī, Murūj al-Dhahab, ed. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861-1877, Vol. VIII, pp.92, 93:

" وَمَا الْحَدُّ فِي الْعَرَبِ قَبْلَ الْغَنَاءِ ... وَمَا الْحَدُّ أَوَّلَ السَّمْعِ
 وَالرَّجِيعِ فِي الْعَرَبِ ثُمَّ اخْتَلَفَ الْغَنَاءُ مِنَ الْحَدِّ وَكَثُرَ فِي الْعَرَبِ عَلَى
 مَوَاقِعِهِمْ . "

and see: al-Qairawānī, ʿUmda, Vol. II, p.241.

(82) H.G. Farmer, Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence, London, 1929, p.52.

art of song and music accompanied poetry in the Jāhīlīya period. Such relationship, perhaps did influence the formation of certain measures while the Arabic metre was in its stage of developing from a simple form of rhymed prose to that of Rajaz. This connection was ascertained by many Muslim scholars. Sībawaihi (d. 793 or 796 ^{A.D.}), for example, devoted a chapter to discuss the various ways of reading rhymes in the poetical recitation and entitled it "Bāb wujūh al-Qawāfī fī'l-Inshād - **باب وجوه القوافي في الإنشاد**". In this chapter he mentioned that if the Arabs wanted to chant their poetry, they usually add the letters alif, wāw and yā' to the rhyme - letter 'ḥarf al-Rawī'. The reason for such application was that poetry was composed for song and chanting:

"وَأَمَّا أَلْحَقَ هَذِهِ الْمَثَرَةُ فِي حُرُوفِ الرَّوِيِّ لَدُنَّ الشَّاعِرِ
وَضَمَّ لِلْقَاءِ وَالرَّيِّ (83)"

Ibn Khaldūn, on the other hand, mentioned a similar view when he tried to trace the origins and types of Arabic song. He stated that the Arabs possessed poetry first, then the camel-drivers sung ḥudā' 'the caravan song' also their youths in their leisure times, so they repeated various sounds and chanted. They used to call chanting of poetry, song 'ghinā':

(83) Sībawaihī, al-Kitāb, Vol. II, pp.298,299.

"...وَمَا يُبْكُونَ التَّرَنَّمَ إِذَا مَاءَ بِالتَّثْمَرِ غِنَاءٌ" (84)

Abū 'Alī Miskawāhī in comparing the application of Metres amongst the modern poets 'Mūwalladūn' to those of the Jāhīlīya era, asserted that the former usually used one Metre in most of his compositions while the latter applied Metres which seemed strange to us and which we could not possibly appreciate:

"...وهي أمة عن طبعها". This is because the Jāhīlīya poets used to repair their metrical defects 'al-Zihāf fī'l-awzān, "الزحاف في الأوزان" by applying musical notes 'Naghamāt' in their poetry, thus their poetry appeared sound in its Metre:

"...إله القوم ما يجردون بغيات يستعملون مواضع
من التثمر يستوي في الوزن" (85)

However, this connection between poetry and music became more close in the Islamic period and especially in the Umayyād era when many female singers were brought from Persia, Mesopotamia and Syria as a result of the Conquests. Thus a new social class emerged: it was the class of singers who occupied an important seat in the life of that community. (86)
It is in this period ^{that} the short Metres began to take place to fulfil the musical and singing requirements especially when

(84) Ibn Khaldūn, Muqaddima, p. 771. (Vol. I, ed. Dār al-Kutub, Beirut, 1956.)

(85) Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī and Miskawāhī, al-Hawāmil wa'l-Shawāmil, Cairo, 1951, pp. 282, 283.

(86) Aghānī, Vol. I, ed. Dār al-Kutub, pp. 40, 250, 254, 315, 378, 379.

poetry became personal and subjective and which tended to assume a style of diction familiar to the singer and his hearers. It might be suggested that the invention of 'Zihāf, pl. Zihāfāt -

الزحافات - metrical licences' by al-Khalīl was

intended to help the modern poets to adapt the long ancient Metres of the Jāhīliya era to the light and short melodies of a new type of singing.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Therefore, the Majzū'āt (المجزوات) 'the short forms of Metres' became very popular in this age and were even used very often by the 'Abbasid poets because of the development of music and song. Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī observed that most of the Jāhīliya poetry was composed in long Metres such as Ṭawīl, Basīṭ, then Wāfir and Kāmil. He also stated that the short Metres 'al-Awzān al-Qiṣār or al-Qaṣīra' were known in the Islamic period in the poetry of Mecca and Madina, like the poems of 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a and 'Adī b. Zaid who was one of the ancients because he lived in a sedantry place.⁽⁸⁸⁾

" وَأَمَّا الدُّرُودَانُ فَلَمَّا عُرِفَتْ فِي الْعَصْرِ الْإِسْلَامِيِّ
فِي أَشْعَارِ الْمَلِكِ وَالْمَلِكِ مِنْ أَشْعَارِ عُمَرَ أَبِي رَبِيعَةَ
وَلَمَّا عُدِيَ بِهِ زَيْدٌ فِي الْقَدَمَاءِ لَدُنَّ مَاهٍ مِنْ مَاهِ الدَّر."

(87) Dr. Shawqī Daif, al-Fann wa Madhāhibuhu fī'l-Shi'r al-'Arabī, Beirut, 1956, pp.67, 68.

(88) Al-Bahbītī, op. cit., p.146 (quoted from: Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, al-Fuṣūl wa'l-Ghāyāt, p.212).

CHAPTER VIII

THE POSITION OF THE ARABIC QAṢĪDA AMONGST

THE TRANSMITTERS AND CRITICS

The high position of the Jāhiliya Qaṣīda was maintained by critics and philologists who based their literary judgments on the purity and power of its language. However, the literary function of the Rūwāt lay in putting the Qaṣīda into circulation amongst the people. The Transmitters also used to correct the Qaṣīda, as it is reported that al-Aṣma‘ī read one day some verses of Jarīr to Khalaf al-Aḥmar, and when the former reached the following line:

فَبَالِكَ يَوْمًا خَيْرُهُ قَبْلَ شَرِّهِ تَغْيِبَ وَابْنِهِ وَأَقْصَرَ عَاذِلُهُ

Khalaf exclaimed, "Woe to him, what is the use of goodness that leads to evil -

وَجِبَ مَا يَنْفَعُهُ خَيْرُ يَوْمٍ إِلَى شَرِّ؟

al-Aṣma‘ī then replied that he had recited the above line in exactly this form in front of Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā'. Khalaf said that Jarīr truly uttered this line and Abū ‘Amr relied upon hearing (Samā‘ - السَّمَاعُ). Al-Aṣma‘ī after that asked Khalaf about the best reading of the above line and how it should be; the latter answered that for the best reading Jarīr should replace the word 'qabla - before' by 'dūna - less' and thus he should say :

خَيْرُهُ دُونَ شَرِّهِ

Khalaf then insisted that al-Aṣma‘ī should recite the line incorporating this change as the transmitters in ancient times used to amend and correct the ancient poetry. Al-Aṣma‘ī then

decided to recite the above line according to Khalaf's suggestion.⁽¹⁾ Besides their efforts in trying to put the Qaṣīda into sound shape, the Rūwāt also acted as interpreters of that poetry. They themselves together with the critics did not pay full attention and consideration to the aesthetic value of the Arabic Qaṣīda, that is to say its artistic beauty and unity. They expressed their estimation in statements which were based on individual judgments and personal tastes. The philologists of the eighth century A.D. were delighted to praise and to appreciate al-'Ajjāj (d. about 709 A.D.) and his son Ru'ba (d. 762 A.D.) because they stuffed their Rajaz-poems with 'gharīb'. Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' praised the Jāhīliya poets because they were the representatives of the past with its glory, and they presented pure and sound Arabic. Al-Aṣma'ī followed

(1) See: al-Ḥuṣrī, Zahr al-Ādāb, Vol. II, p.13:

« قَالَ الدُّصَمِيُّ : مَرَأْتُ عَلَى أَبِي عُمَرَ خَلْفَ بِهِ حَيَاةَ الدَّحْرِ ، ثُمَّ صَبَرَ
 نَدَا بَلَفَتْ إِلَى تَوَلَّيْ : فَيَا لَكَ يَوْمًا خَيْرَ مَنَ شَرِّ تَصَيَّبَ وَاشِيَهُ وَأَقْصَرَ عَزْلَهُ
 فَقَالَ خَلْفَ : وَجْهَ فَمَا يَنْفَعُهُ خَيْرٌ يُولَدُ إِلَى شَرِّ ؟ فَقُلْتُ لَهُ : كَذَا
 مَرَأْتُهُ عَلَى أَبِي عُمَرَ بِهِ الْعُصْرُ . فَقَالَ لِي : وَلَكِنَّا قَالَ هَرِيرٌ وَمَا
 لَانَ أَبُو عُمَرَ وَلِصَفَرٍ إِذَا مَا سَمِعَ . قُلْتُ : فَلَيْفَ مَا بِهِ يَجِبُ أَنْ يَكُونَ ؟
 قَالَ : الدَّحْرُ أَنْ يَقُولَ : " خَيْرٌ دَرَسَ شَرُّ " ، فَأَزِدْهُ كَذَلِكَ
 فَقَدْ مَاتَ الرِّوَاةُ قَدِيمًا نَصْلُ أَشْعَارِ الدُّرَائِلِ . فَقُلْتُ : وَاللَّهِ
 لَدَا رُوبِهِ بَعْدَهَا إِلَّا كَذَا . »

the same path in regarding them as authorities in their language and diction. However, the reader of such judgments could not possibly form a clear picture about the Arabic Qaṣīda according to its artistic form and its development as a literary genre. In other words, the aesthetic importance of the Qaṣīda was not fully emphasised, since it was used as the chief weapon in philological and lexicographical arguments. Al-Buḥturī (d. 897 A.D.) illustrated this point when he was informed that some transmitters had criticized Abū Tammām. He commented: "The Rūwāt know the interpretation of poetry, but they do not know its words ^{الفاظه} (the aesthetic value of its words) except a few of them who can distinguish this".

الرواة يعلمون تفسير الشعر ولا يعلمون ألفاظه،
 وإنما يميز هذا منهم القليل .
 (2)»

From the following statements which have been collected to show the various judgments of Arab critics and transmitters, a few remarks may be made: firstly most of these critics based their literary criteria and judgments upon their individual and personal taste rather than upon analysing the Qaṣīda as a whole unit. Thus Arabic literary criticism of those days might be termed a 'taste-criticism, Naqd Dhawqī, نقد ذوقي, rather than a systematic criticism' Naqd Manhajī - نقد منهجي.

(2) Al-Sūlī, Akhbār Abī Tammām, edited with notes by: Maḥmūd 'Asākir, Muḥammad 'Abda 'Azzām and Naẓīr al-Islām al-Hindī, 1st. ed., Cāiro, 1937, p.101.

1-Some statements of Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (d. about 770 A.D.) :

- ١- "عدي بن زيد في الشعراء مثل سهيل في الكواكب يعارضها ولا يجرى معها"
- ٢- "شعر ذي الرمة نقط عروس يفضّل عن قليل وأبعار ظباء لها مشم في أول شمسها ثم يعود إلى أرواح البعير"
- ٣- "عليكم بشعر الأعشى فإنه أشبه شيء بالهازي الذي يضطاد به ما بين الكركي والعندليب ولعمري أنه أشعر القوم ولكنه وضعيته الحاجة بالسؤال"
- ٤- "الأعشى شاعر مجيد كثير الأعارض والإفتان"
- ٥- "كان أوس فحل مضر حتى نشأ النابغة زهير فأخلاه"

See: al-Marzūbānī, Mu'jam al-Shu'arā', ed., Krenkow, P. 72, 249 & al-Mūwashshah, P. 171 & al-Baghdādī, Khizāna, Vol. 11, P. 107, 165, & al-Qurashī, Jamhara, P. 38, (the Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 415, fol. 19), & Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', Vol. 1, P. 182, & Ibn Sallām al-Jumhī, Tabaqāt, P. 467.

2- Al-Asma'i (d. 831 A.D.) :

- ١- "إن شعر ذي الرمة حلوا أول ما تسمعه فإذا كثرا نشأه ضعف ولم يكن له حسن لأن أبعار الظباء أول ما تشم توجد لها رائحة ما أكلت من الشيح والقيصوم والجشجات والنبت الطيب الريح فإذا أدمت شمه ذهب تلك الرائحة"
- ٢- "كفاك من الشعراء أربعة زهير إذا طرب والنابغة إذا رهب والأعشى إذا غضب وعترة إذا كلب"
- ٣- "زهير والحطيئة وأشباههما من الشعراء عبيد الشعر لأنهم نقضوا ولم يذهبوا فيه مذهب الطبسوفين"
- ٤- "الشعر نكد بابه الشر فإذا دخل في الخير ضعف هذا حسن بن ثابت فحل من فحول الجاهلية لما جاء الإسلام سقط شعره"
- ٥- "ما قيلت قصيدة على الزأى أجود من قصيدة الشطّاخ في صفة القوس . . ولو طالت قصيدة المتخيل كانت أجود وهي التي يقول فيها :
يا ليت شعري وهم المرء ينصبه والمرء ليس له في العيش تحبير
قال : ولم تقل كلمة على الطاء أجود من قصيدته المتخيل التي يقول فيها :
وما قد ردت أميم طام على أرجائه رجل الغطاء"

٦- قال الثوري: قُلْتُ لِلأَصْعَمِيِّ: مَنْ أَشْعَرُ النَّاسِ؟ فَقَالَ: "مَنْ يَأْتِي إِلَى الْمَعْنَى الْخَسِيسِ فَيَجْعَلُهُ بِلَفْظِهِ كَبِيرًا وَإِلَى الْكَبِيرِ فَيَجْعَلُهُ بِلَفْظِهِ خَسِيسًا أَوْ يَنْقُضِي كَلَامَهُ قَبْلَ الْقَافِيَةِ فَإِذَا احتَاجَ إِلَيْهَا أَفَادَ بِهَا مَعْنَى "

٧- " لَمْ يَكُنِ النَّابِغَةُ زُهَيْرًا وَاسِحَسَنُونَ صِفَةَ الْخَيْلِ وَلَكِنْ طَفِيلُ الْغَنَوَى فِي صِفَةِ الْخَيْلِ غَايَةُ النِّعَتِ "

٨- " إِنْ التَّعْيِينَ عَلَى بَيْتٍ وَاحِدٍ فِي نَوْعٍ وَاحِدٍ قَدْ وَسَّعَتِ الْعَرَبُ فِيهِ وَجَعَلَتْهُ مَعْلَمًا لِأَفْكَارِهَا وَمُسْتَرَحًا لِخَوَاطِرِهَا لَعَلَّهَا أَنْ يَقَعَ النَّصْرُ عَلَيْهِ وَلَكِنْ أَحْسَنَ النَّاسُ تَشْبِيهًا أُمُورَ الْقَيْسِ بَعْدَ فَطْرَةِ صَاحِبِ وَاحِدَةٍ لَا يَقْطَعُ بِقَوْلِهِ مَعَ التَّجَوُّزِ وَإِنَّمَا يَعِدُّ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ الْوَاحِدَةِ "

See: al-Qalrawānī, 'Umda, Vol. 1, P. 60, & Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r, P. 23, 265, 642. & al-Baghdādī, Khizāna, Vol. 11, P. 107, & al-Marzūbānī, al-Muwashshah, P. 39, 171. & al-Qurashī, Jamhara, P. 33, & Qudāma b. Ja'far, Naqd al-Shi'r, P. 64, & al-Sharīshī, Sharh al-Maqāmāt al-Haririya, Vol. 11, Būlāq, 1867, P. 279, 280, 281.

3- Hammād al-Rāwīya (d. between, 771-774 A.D.):

١- " أُمُورُ الْقَيْسِ أَحْسَنُ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ تَشْبِيهًا وَذُو الرِّمَّةِ أَحْسَنُ الْإِسْلَامِ تَشْبِيهًا ، وَمَا آخِرُ الْقَوْمِ ذَكَرَهُ إِلَّا لِحَدَاثَةِ سَنَّتِهِ وَانْتِهَمَ حَسَدُوهُ وَكَانَ الْفَزْدُقُ وَجْهَهُ يَحْسَدَانَهُ عَلَى شَعْرِهِ . "

٢- قَالَ مَعَاوِيَةُ بْنُ بَكْرٍ الْبَاهِلِيُّ: قُلْتُ لِحَمَّادِ الرَّاهِطَةِ: بِمِ تَقْدَمُ النَّابِغَةُ؟ قَالَ:

بِالْكَفَائِكَ بِالْبَيْتِ الْوَاحِدِ مِنْ شَعْرِهِ لَا بِلِ بِنِصْفِ بَيْتٍ لَا بِلِ بِرَبْعِ بَيْتٍ مِثْلِ

قَوْلِهِ: حَلَفْتُ فَلَمْ أَتْرِكْ لِنَفْسِكَ رِيَّةً وَلَيْسَ رَأَى اللَّهَ لِلْمَرْءِ مَذْهَبٌ "

Al-Baghdādī, Khizāna, Vol. 11, P. 106, & Aghānī, Vol. XI, ed., Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, P. 7, 8.

4- Yūnus al-Nahwī :

" سِئَلُ يُونُسَ النَّحْوِيِّ: مَنْ أَشْعَرُ النَّاسِ؟ قَالَ: لَا أَوْعِي إِلَيَّ رَجُلٌ بِعَيْنِهِ، وَلَكِنِّي أَقُولُ:

أُمُورُ الْقَيْسِ إِذَا رَكِبَ وَالنَّابِغَةُ إِذَا رَهَبَ زُهَيْرًا إِذَا رَغِبَ وَالْأَعَشَى إِذَا طَرِبَ "

Al-Baghdādī, Khizāna, Vol. 11, P. 165.

5- Ali-Mufaddal al-Dabbī (d. 786 A.D.):

" مَنْ زَعَمَ أَنَّ أَحَدًا أَشْعَرُ مِنَ الْأَعَشَى فَلَيْسَ يَعْرِفُ الشُّعْرَ "

6- 'Isā b. 'Umar (d. 766 A.D.) :

"لَوُضِعَتْ أَشْعَارُ الْعَرَبِ فِي كَفَّةٍ وَقَصِيدَةُ عَمْرِو بْنِ كُلْثُومٍ فِي كَفَّةٍ لَمَالَتْ بِأَكْثَرِهَا."

Al-Qurashī, Jamhara, P. 41, (Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 415, fol. 19)

١- "طُرْفَةُ أَجُودِهِمْ وَاحِدَةٌ وَلَا يَلْحَقُ بِالْهَجْرِ" يَعْنِي أَمْرًا الْقَيْسِ وَزُهَيْرًا وَالنَابِغَةَ

وَلَكِنَّهُ يَوْضَعُ مَعَ أَصْحَابِ الْحَارِثِ بْنِ حُلْزَةٍ وَعَمْرِو بْنِ كُلْثُومٍ وَسُوَيْدُ بْنُ أَبِي كَاهِلٍ .

٢- "الْأَعَشَى هُوَ رَابِعُ الشُّعْرَاءِ الْمُتَقَدِّمِينَ وَهُوَ يُقَدَّمُ عَلَى طُرْفَةٍ لِأَنَّهُ أَكْثَرُ عَدَدَ

طَوَالَ جَيْهَادٍ وَأَوْصَفَ لِلْخُمْسِ وَالْحُمْرِ وَأَمَدَحَ وَأَهْجَى فَأَمَّا طُرْفَةٌ فَانَمَا يَوْضَعُ

مَعَ الْحَارِثِ بْنِ حُلْزَةٍ وَعَمْرِو بْنِ كُلْثُومٍ وَسُوَيْدُ بْنُ أَبِي كَاهِلٍ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ"

7- Abu 'Ubaīda (d. 825 A.D.) : Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r, p. 142, 219.

8- Tha'lab (815-904 A.D.) :

زُهَيْرٌ أَشْعَرُ شُعْرَاءِ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ وَالْحَطِئَةُ بَعْدَهُ وَجَرِيرٌ أَشْعَرُ

شُعْرَاءِ الْإِسْلَامِ وَبَعْدَهُ الْعَرَارُ الْأَسَدِيُّ وَجَرِيرٌ فِي صَدْرِ الْإِسْلَامِ

كَزُهَيْرٍ فِي صَدْرِ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ ."

Al-Zubaidī, Tabaqāt al-Nahwīyīn, P. 165.

9- Al-Baihaqī (994- 1066 A.D.) :

"أَشْعَرُ الشُّعْرَاءِ ثَلَاثَةٌ : أَمْرُ الْقَيْسِ وَالنَابِغَةُ وَزُهَيْرٌ مَعَ الْأَعَشَى ،

وَأَشْعَرُ الْفَرَسَانِ ثَلَاثَةٌ : عَنَتْرَةُ بْنُ شَدَادٍ وَدُرَيْدُ بْنُ الصَّمَةِ وَطَلْحَةُ بْنُ

عَمْرِو بْنِ مَعْدَى كَرَبٍ وَأَشْعَرُ الشُّعْرَاءِ الْعَقْلِيِّينَ ثَلَاثَةٌ : الْمُتَصِّلُ وَالْمُسَيَّبُ بْنُ

عَلَسٍ وَحَصِينُ بْنُ حِمَامٍ الْمَرْيُّ وَأَشْعَرُ الْعَرَبِ وَاحِدَةٌ ^{طَوِيلَةٌ} لِجُمُعَتِ جُودَةٍ مَعَ طَوَّلِ

ثَلَاثَةٌ : طُرْفَةُ بْنُ الْعَبْدِ وَالْحَارِثُ بْنُ حُلْزَةٍ وَعَمْرِو بْنُ كُلْثُومٍ ."

Al-Mahāsīn wa'l-Masāwī' , P. 457, 458.

Secondly, some of these judgments are broad generalizations which might, perhaps, have been influenced by the 'aṣabiya which led some critics to glorify certain poets without real investigation or analytical study. For example, the statement of al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbāī: "Whoever claims that there is one (poet) who is more cognizant of poetry than al-A'shā, does not know poetry:

” مَنْ زَعَمَ أَنَّ أَحَدًا أَشْرَ مِنَ الشُّعْثَى

” فَلَيْسَ لَعَرُ الشُّعْثَى (3)

or the statement of 'Isā b. 'Umar: "If the poetry of the Arabs were put in one scale of a balance and the Qaṣīda of 'Amr b. Kulthūm (the Mu'allāqa) in the other, the latter would weigh heavier:

” لَوْ وَضِعَتْ أَعْصَا الْعَرَبِ فِي كِفَّةٍ وَقَصِيدَةُ

عُمَرُو كَلْثُومٍ فِي كِفَّةٍ لَأَنَّ أَكْثَرَهَا (4)

Thirdly, comparison between poets does not seem to have followed a systematical order or an artistic criterion which is based upon analytical comprehension except in a few cases. For example, the statement of Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā': "Al-A'shā is an excellent poet with many Metres, and skilled in the art of

(3) Al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Vol. II, p.165.

(4) Al-Qurashī, *Jamhara*, p.41 and Brit. Mus. Ms. Or. 417, fol.19.

(5) "الدغنى شاعرٌ مجيد، كثيرُ الأعْياضِ والِدَقْتانِ poetry:

While al-Aṣma'ī considered the length of the poem an important element in such comparison. He said: "The most excellent poem that was composed on the letter 'Z' (as a rhyme-letter) is that of al-Shammākh in the description of the bow and had al-Mutanakhkhil's poem been longer, it would be considered even more excellent:

" مَا قَبِلْتُ قَصِيدَةً عَلَى الزَّايِ أَجْوَدَ مِنْ قَصِيدَةِ الشَّيْحِ
فِي صِفَةِ الْقَوْسِ ... وَلَوْ طَالَتْ قَصِيدَةُ الْمُتَخَلَّلِ
مَا نَتَّ أَجْوَدَ (6) "

Abū 'Ubaīda, however, regarded the amount of poetry composed by a poet as the main principle in his comparisons. He considered al-A'shā the fourth great poet in the Jāhiliya era and even preferred him to Ṭarafa because the former had composed many excellent long odes:

"الدغنى هو أبع الشعراء المتقدمين، وهو يُقَدَّمُ
على أصفه لِدُنْه أَكْثَرُ عِدَدِ أَصْوَالِ حِيَادِ (7) "

As for Ṭarafa, Abū 'Ubaīda thought that he was a holder of an excellent ode, but did not classify him as one of Buḥūr, بحور
"lit. Seas - the famous poets: Imr al-Qaīs, Zuhair and al-Nābigha!"

(5) Al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Vol. II, p.165.

(6) Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā', p.642.

(7) Ibid., p.219.

” طَرْفَةُ أَهْوَاهُمْ وَأَحَدَةٌ ، وَلَدَ يَلْحَقُ بِالْجُورِ ” ، يَعْنِي
 امراً القيس وزهيراً والنايفه ... ” (8)

because he did not compose a great deal of poetry in comparison with the rest. Frequently the unity of the individual line with its rare expressions and its proverbial quality was the main concern. This attitude was illustrated by ‘Abdu’l-‘Azīz al-Jurjānī who said that the Arabs used to prefer the poet whose lines circulated most among peoples and which ^{were} even frequently quoted. They did not bother to consider the Badī‘ figures such as - alliteration, antithesis, or metaphore a main principle in their judgements since ‘the pillar of poetry - ‘Amūd al-Shi‘r - عمود الشعر and the system of composition - ‘Nizām al-Qarīḍ . نظام القرص were sound:

” وَمَا نَتِ الصَّرْبُ إِنَّمَا تَفَاضِلُ بِهِ الشُّعْرَاءُ فِي الْجُودَةِ وَالْحُسْنِ
 بِشَرْفِ الْمَعْنَى وَصَحْنِهِ ... وَلِئِنْ كَثُرَتْ - وَائُرُّ أَمْثَالِهِ ، وَشَوَارِدُ
 أَيْبَائِهِ ، وَلَمْ تَكُنْ لَقَباً بِالْجَيْشِ وَالطَّائِفَةِ ، وَلَدَخَلَتْ بِالْبِدَاعِ
 وَالِدَسْعَاءِ ، إِذَا مَضَى لَهَا عَمُودُ الشُّعْرِ وَنِظَامُ الْقَرِصِ ” (9)

Such critical judgments did not enable the reader to form a

(8) Ibn Qutaiba, al-Shi‘r wa’l-Shu‘arā’, p.142.

(9) ‘Alī b. ‘Abdu’l-‘Azīz al-Jurjānī, al-Wasāṭa baīna al-Mutanabbī wa Khushūmihi, edited with notes by: al-Sa‘īdī and Ahmad ‘Ārif al-Zain, Cairo, 1948, Vols. I, II; p.27.

clear picture of the Arabic *Qaṣīda* as an artistic unit although they do show the nature of Arabic literary criticism: it was a matter of personal taste rather than of systematic schools.

Al-Aṣma'ī regarded the poets of the Jāhīlīya as the only authorities in Arabic literature for pure language, soundness of expression and poetic-diction. He wrote a treatise which he entitled "*Kitāb Fuḥūlat al-Shu'arā'*", *كتاب فحولة الشعراء*. In this treatise he classified most of the Jāhīlīya poets as Fuḥūl. It seems that he did not make any plan of arrangement. This can be seen when his pupil al-Sijistānī asked him to name the first Faḥl, for he said al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī. Then he expressed his high estimation of one verse of Imr al. Qaīs, and, when he saw his pupil writing down his statements, al-Aṣma'ī reflected for a moment and then said: "The first Faḥl amongst all the Jāhīlīya poets was Imr al-Qaīs upon whose poetry they all drew and whose canons they all followed."⁽¹⁰⁾

The scientific value of the treatise, as a specimen of literary criticism, is small. Al-Aṣma'ī appears not to have made any careful study of the criteria according to which poets were to be excluded from, or admitted to, his faḥl class. He also had no system of successive classes, in which he ranked those whom he would not recognise amongst the Fuḥūl.⁽¹¹⁾

(10) See Al-Aṣma'ī, *Fuḥūlat al-Shu'arā'*, p.492, in Z.D.M.G., Vol. 65, Leipzig, 1911.

(11) Al-Aṣma'ī, *Fuḥūlat al-Shu'arā'*, The Introduction, p.489.

However, al-Aṣma'ī defined the Fahl as: "One who has a marked superiority over his fellows, like the superiority of a thoroughbred stallion over the mere colts:

(12) « إِنَّ (الْفُحْلَ) مَرْيَّةٌ عَلَى غَيْرِهِ كَمَرْيَةِ الْفُحْلِ عَلَى الْخَصَافِ. »

But he did not illustrate the artistic superiority of those Fuḥūl in comparison with the Islamic and Umayyād poets. His judgments were based on his personal taste rather than upon practical criticism which ought to be an analytical study. His Fuḥūlat, however, illustrates al-Aṣma'ī's passionate love and ardent admiration of the Jāhīlīya Qaṣīda as is seen when al-Sijistānī asked him whether he could recognise Jarīr, Farazdaq and Akḥṭal as Fuḥūl. He replied: "If these poets belonged to the Jāhīlīya, they would have a distinguished place (in this ranking); but since they belong to Islam, I will say nothing about them:

« هَؤُلَاءِ لَوْ مَا وَفَى الْجَاهِلِيَّةَ مَا نَ لَهُمْ شَأْنٌ

وَلَا أَمَلٌ فِيهِمْ لَدُنْهُمْ إِسْمِيُونَ. » (13)

The most important critics who dealt with the Jāhīlīya Qaṣīda were Ibn Sallām al-Jumahī (d. 845 A.D.) and Ibn Qutaiba (d. 889 A.D.). Ibn Sallām arranged his book "Ṭabaqāt, Classes" according to the time factor, especially when he divided the

(12) Al-Aṣma'ī, Fuḥūlat al-Sh'arā', The Introduction, pp.492, 504.

(13) Ibid., p.495.

poets into Jāhīliya and Islamic poets. He also classified certain poets according to their places and tribes and called them 'the poets of the towns - Shu'arā' al-Qurā'. This classification is thought to be one of the remains of the Jāhīliya regarding the influence of the 'asabiya.⁽¹⁴⁾ The critical method of Ibn Sallām, however, is not based on an analytical study of the poetry itself; it is merely an arrangement of stories and statements appertaining to the poets concerned. In his judgments, he was dependent upon his personal taste.⁽¹⁵⁾ But he was very careful in examining the poetical texts. The principle of his comparison and preference of poets are based on: the amount of poetry written by an individual poet, the various themes of the poets and the quality of the poetry; but he stressed the first principle very much as^{is} illustrated in the following judgment which he passed on al-Aswad b. Ya'fur:

وله (الأسود بن يعفر) واحدة طويلة رائعة لدقيقة أجود شعر
لو كان شاعرًا بمثلها قد ناه على مرتبته. " (16)

(14) Dr. M. Mandūr, op. cit., p.4.

(15) Ibn Sallām, *Tabaqāt*, p.110:

"وما من أجود رديء شاعرٍ نحوًا لدغمزة فيه ولدوهن."

and p. 156:

"عبد بن الحسان، فهو الشعر، رقيقه هو في الكلام."

and p. 452:
"وما من البعيت شاعرٍ فاضلٍ الكلام، حتر اللفظ، وقد غلبه هرب وأغلبه."

(16) Ibn Sallām, *Tabaqāt*, p.123.

He also preferred the poets who had composed their poetry on a combination of themes such as love, panegyric, satire and rithā' to those who devoted most of their compositions to one subject only like 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a and Jamīl Buthaīna. This is obvious from the fact that he classified Kuthaīyīr 'Azza as one of the second class of the Islamic poets, while he put Jamīl in the sixth class. He explained the reason as follows: "Kuthaīyīr did compose an ample portion on love (al-Tashbīb) but Jamīl has surpassed him in this subject, ^{though} Kuthaīyīr has other themes in poetry with which Jamīl did not deal:

"وَمَا كُنْتُ فِي النَّسَبِ نَصِيبٌ وَأَمْرٌ ، وَحِيلٌ قَدَّمَ عَلَيْهِ
(17) " فِي النَّسَبِ ، وَلَهُ فِي مَقَرِّ السَّمْعِ مَا لَيْسَ لِحَيْلِ

This surely indicates that Ibn Sallām regarded the quality and the creative ability of the poet as of secondary importance since the poet had composed his poetry on many themes. He admitted that Jamīl was a true love-poet and that his nasīb poems did surpass Kuthaīyīr's and that the latter had not really fallen in love.

"وَمَا حِيلٌ صَادَرَهُ الصَّبَابَةُ ، وَمَا كُنْتُ يَقُولُ
(18) " وَلَمْ يَكُنْ عَاشِقًا

But this did not prevent Ibn Sallām from preferring Kuthaīyīr to Jamīl. It is also strange that Ibn Sallām did not mention

(17) Tabaqāt, p.461.

(18) Ibid., p.461.

'Umar b. Abī Rabi'a, nor did he recognise him as one of any of the Islamic poetical classes. This may be considered further evidence that he favoured the variety of themes within the Qaṣīda rather than one subject.

Ibn Qutaiba in his book "al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'arā'" did not study the poetry itself, nor did he analyse its artistic value. In the introduction to his book, he discussed various matters such as the parts of poetry, motives of poetical inspiration together with their proper times, preference of poets and the defects of poetry. He did not analyse the Qaṣīda, nor even trace its literary development. He wrote the biographies of most of the Jāhiliya and Islamic poets with his favourite quotations from their poetry. But he did not establish a distinctive principle of criticism. The value of his book lies in the fact that there are sources extant which deal with Jāhiliya and early Islamic poets. It is thought that his book was written for the average citizen of that time.⁽¹⁹⁾ However, al-Āmidī (d. 987, A.D.) later on established the principle of objective analysis of poetry when he compared the poetry of al-Buḥturī with that of Abū Tammām.⁽²⁰⁾

To sum up, it may be said that the Arab philologists, critics and transmitters, who dealt with Arabic poetry and especially

(19) R. Blachère, op. cit. p. 140.

(20) See his book: al-Mawāzana bayna Abī Tammām wa'l-Buḥturī.

with the Jāhīliya Qaṣīda, paid attention and consideration to its linguistic value and the purity of its language and to the unity of the individual line, rather than to its artistic development and its aesthetic value as a whole unit.

In modern times various attempts have been made to reject the authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry; this is seen mainly in the works of Prof. Margoliouth⁽²¹⁾ and Prof. Ṭāhā Ḥusain.⁽²²⁾ However, both Sir Charles Lyall⁽²³⁾ and Prof. Arberry⁽²⁴⁾ are generally in favour of considering this poetry authentic. To establish whether this poetry is authentic or not would demand a most thorough investigation of the poetry itself, of its language, its style, its form and its artistic development, and, even then, one could not be sure to the last detail, considering that there is little doubt that the Rūwāt, philologists and critics did make changes and alterations according to their

(21) D.S. Margoliouth, "The Origins of Arabic Poetry", pp.417-449 in J.R.A.S., London, 1925.

(22) Ṭāhā Ḥusain, fī'l-Adab al-Jāhīlī, Cairo, 1927.

(23) Introduction to the Mufaḍḍalīyāt, Vol. II, Oxford, 1918.

(24) The Seven Odes, London, 1957, (the Epilogue pp.228-254). A thorough discussion of this question can be seen in: Dr. N.A. Asad, Maṣādir al-Shi'r al-Jāhīlī, Cairo, 1956, Chapter III "al-Nahl wa'l-Wad' fi'l-Shi'r al-Jāhīlī", pp.352-428.

individual and personal tastes. It is not part of the aims of present study to consider this question, which, though a cause célèbre two or three generations ago, has now largely sunk into oblivion. This study has been written on the assumption - now commonly accepted in East and West - that most of the Jāhīlīya poetry as handed down to us is basically authentic, though by no means free from changes and interpolations.

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