

H U M A I N Ī P O E T R Y

I N

S O U T H A R A B I A

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ABSTRACT.

The subject of this thesis is Humainī Poetry in S. Arabia - a style of prosody which evolved from the pre-Islamic rudimentary tasmīṭ, and after a long struggle reached its destined goal of symmetrically-placed rhymes running throughout the whole poem.

Specifically, the term humainī is applicable to the muwashshah style, that is, to any poem structurally divided into abyāt (strophes) or fuṣūl (sections), bound together by a master-rhyme which closes every bait, or faṣl. The term, however, is sometimes used in an extended sense, and came to embrace the form rhyming ab ab ab, etc.

The chief attraction of humainī lies in its formal excellence; and in nothing is this more apparent than in the use of rhyme. Elaborate systems of rhyme schemes have been used, and tazfīr (which is the breaking of a line into three or four, and possibly more, short rhyming verse-sections) is sometimes practised.

Of all the rhyme patterns that were manipulated by the S. Arabians, only two were widely appropriated. The first rhymes aaaa bbba, etc.; and the second, abababab cdcdcdab, etc. - both of which were transposed into the regular alternation bait-tawshīh-taqfīl. Taken together, these three forms compose the corpus of humainī.

Humainī is essentially a style of poetry designed for singing. It is distinctively lyrical in character, and delights one's aesthetic sensibility mainly by its music - by skilfully devised rhyme arrangements, by well-chosen, though contracted, selection of diction, by metrical formulas of great variety, and by the spontaneous (or intentionally reserved) use of lahn.

The lahn in humainī is mainly restricted to the omission of vowel-case-signs and using a sukūn instead, and/or to the savouring of the poem with colloquial words and expressions. This kind of lahn is so characteristic of humainī that it came to be known as "ṭarīqat muwashshaḥ ahl al-Yaman" and "ṭarīqat al-humainī al-Yamānī."

PREFACE.

This thesis, which deals with humainī poetry in S. Arabia, represents the labour of four years. It owes its inception to Professor R.B. Serjeant from whose scholarly concise book, Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramawt (London, 1951), I have profited greatly.

The subject has presented me with a challenge, and I have read all the historical and biographical books on which I could lay my hands. Most of my readings, I confess, were not fruitful. The scarcity of informative material about humainī drove the learned al-Iryānī and al-Aghbarī, in their edition of al-Ānisi's humainī dīwān: Tarjī' al-Aṭyār... (Cairo, A.H. 1369), to reproduce, as an introduction for the S. Arabian style of prosody, the comments of Muṣṭafa Ṣādiq al-Rāfi'ī in his, Tārīkh Ādāb al-'Arab (Cairo, 1359/1940), III, 160-85, upon the different non-qarīḍ types of poetry in Arabic literature. Likewise, it made the learned al-Mu'ayyad and al-Jirāfī, who edited the humainī dīwān of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallāh Sharaf al-Dīn: Dīwān Mubayyatāt wa-Muwashshahāt... (Cairo, s.a.), in no position to question the authenticity of the important version of 'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh with which we open the first chapter of this thesis; nor were they able to offer any information on the three S. Arabian washshāhīn

who are listed in that version.

These editors cannot but be excused; for not only that material relevant to humaini is hard to encounter in S. Arabian books, but also (and I hardly need to say) because the history of poetry in S. Arabia had never been written, and to a large extent had not even been discovered.

The aim of this thesis is not to expatiate upon the life and the literary achievements of each muwashshih, but to give, with as much accuracy as possible, the main facts about the S. Arabian style of poetry. Biographies, therefore, have been as far as possible suppressed or relegated to the notes, and essential details are sometimes compressed to small compass by presenting them on tabular form. The notes on each chapter, it is hoped, may prove to be of some practical use to those who may desire to enter upon the study of al-shi'r al-qarid in S. Arabia.

It remains to say that the two terms, S. Arabia and Yaman, are interchangeably used in this thesis to denote the area extending from the northern borders of 'Asir to the extreme end of Ḥaḍramawt.

Lastly, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my supervisors, Professor R.B. Serjeant and Dr. W.N. 'Arafāt, under whose guidance and constant encouragement the writing of this thesis was accomplished. I wish also to thank

the Ṣan'ānite poets, 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maqāliḥ, Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaḍarānī, and Ṣāliḥ al-Sunaidār, for their hospitability, information, suggestions, and advice, which were extremely helpful and useful in the preparation of this work. Thanks are due in no small measure also to Mr. F. Sayyid who took the trouble of informing me in writing about some of the S. Arabian Mss. that are preserved in the Egyptian Library; to those (particularly al-Qāḍī Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl al-Ṣuhbānī and Mr. 'Abdallah Fāḍil Fāri') who placed at my disposal their printed books and manuscripts; to the staffs of the libraries of the Bodleian, British Museum, Ambrosiana, Leiden University, India Office, al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr of Ṣan'ā', and the School of Oriental and African Studies, for their patience and help.

INTRODUCTION.

In Yaman today, poetry is commonly divided into two kinds: al-ḥakamī¹, which is the regular Arabic prosody (al-qarīḍ), and al-ḥumainī², which is the popular poetry that employs the "vulgar" dialects (al-zajal). In the past, however, the term ḥumainī denoted a special type of poetry. The earliest reference to that term in a S. Arabian biography is made by al-Khazrajī (+ 812/1409) who says about Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Fulaitah (+ 731/1331)³:-

"He was an assiduous writer and a learned poet whose poetry is beautiful. He was eloquent, especially attached to kings, and endowed with the gift of conversing very pleasantly. In his poetry, he is ostensibly a profligate and a wanton, but in real life, he was chaste and kept aloof from what he used to mention [in his verses] . He has a very interesting collection of poetry contained in two large volumes, the first of which, arranged alphabetically, is exclusively given to the regular Arabic odes (al-'arabiyyāt)⁴, while the second, which he called Sūq al-Fawākih wa-Nuzhat al-Mutafākih, includes - in addition to the 'arabiyyāt - ḥumainiyyāt, sāḥiliyyāt⁵, bālḅāl,⁶ and

duwainiyyāt⁷. He had compiled a book containing a short selection of his poetry, and called it Tuhfat al-Muṭālī' wa-Buḡhyat al-Mutakhālī'. In it, he collected from his poems seven kinds of poetry⁸ which are 'arabī, duwainiyyāt, ḥalāwah,⁹ muwashshahāt, bālbāl, sāḥiliyyāt and ḥumainiyyāt. In this book, he included ten poems of each kind of the seven, the last of each ten being a poem in which he apologised, asked pardon, offered prayers, and begged forgiveness from God. One of his writings is a book dealing with matrimony, which he called Rushd al-Labīb Ila Mu'āsharat al-Ḥabīb¹⁰ His poetry is voluminous and beautiful in every subject, and all his poems are exquisite and excellent."

It follows, then, from this important version of al-Khazrajī that

- (a) Humainī was an independent kind of poetry.
- (b) The word ḥakamī had not yet appeared in the poetic circles, and the term 'arabī' (or 'arabiyyāt' for the poems) was used instead.

With the exception of 'arabī', muwashshah, bālbāl, and ḥumainī, I had failed to find, in all the manuscripts and books at my disposal, the names of the other kinds as mentioned by al-Khazrajī. The saying of the Hijāzite Ahmad al-Qāzānī¹¹: "I could not compose well the muwashshah, the ḥumainī, and the other kinds of poetry

that are used among the people of al-Yaman, until I met al-Sayyid Ḥātim [al-Ahdal* (+1013/1604)]", at least suggests that there were other independent and popular kinds of poetry besides al-muwashshah and al ḥumainī.

Al-Sharjī (812-93/1410-88), quoting the beginning of a non-ḥakamī poem written by 'Abdallah b. Muḥd. al-Nahārī (+747/1346), scornfully calls it "rhymed prose"¹², and hence the opportunity to know the name of that species of poetry is thus lost.

The term 'arabī lingered in the dīwāns of some poets until the tenth century, after which it became extinct, and was replaced completely by the term ḥakamī. The two other terms, ḥumainī and muwashshah, have continued to be in current use until the present day, but they became entangled with each other to the extent that they became synonymous to the majority of the S. Arabian writers and compilers. Let us now consider, very briefly, what the term ḥumainī meant to the literary circles of S. Arabia who, for simplification, will be divided into three groups.

The first group did not draw a dividing line between ḥumainī and muwashshah, and regarded the two terms as

*Starred names are poets who composed in the ḥumainī style, and their biography, or sources of biography, will be given in the first chapter of this thesis.

interchangeable with each other. Of this group is 'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh b. al-Muṭahhar b. al-Imām Sharaf al-Dīn (986-1048/1578-1638)* who, introducing the humainī dīwān of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah (930-1010/1531-1601)*, wrote¹³:-

"When I finished writing down what I could find and obtain of the regular classical poems of Sīdī Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah Sharaf al-Dīn - may God have mercy upon him - and having paid my debt in performing that task, I desired to make my last work [the collecting of] the muwashshah known among the people [of al-Yaman] as al-humainī."

On examining the printed dīwān, which contains one hundred and eighteen humainiyyāt¹⁴, we find that it consists of:-

- (a) Seventy-eight malḥūn⁺ poems which 'Īsa expediently calls dhawāt al-buyūt¹⁵, or simply mubayyatāt¹⁶. (Their style is dubbed al-mubayyat⁺⁺)¹⁷. Each of these mubayyatāt consists of a limited number of metrically - uniform equal abyāt (strophes), of two or four lines of the same metrical length, knitted together by a

+The lahn in these poems, as it is in humainī in general, is mainly restricted to the omission of vowel-case-endings and using a sukūn instead, and (but not always) to the occasional use of words, or particles, or homely expressions, that savour colloquialism.

++One of the main shortcomings of the term mubayyat is that the strophic muzdawij style of poetry, can properly be grouped under it. It will be, of course, understood that 'Īsa stipulatively uses that term as the equivalent of =

by a master-rhyme running at the end of each bait, and rhymes according to one of the following two schemes or its variation:-

- (i) aaaa bbba ccca, etc. This pattern will henceforth be designated as the first mubayyat form.
- (ii) abababab cdcdcdab efefefab, etc. This pattern will henceforth be designated as the second mubayyat form.
- (b) Thirty-four poems (all of which, except two¹⁸, are malhūnah) that consist of the regular alternation bait - tawshīh - taqfīl. This pattern, to which no attention appears to have been called hitherto, seems to have been popular only in S. Arabia¹⁹, and will be discussed in Chapter 2.
- (c) Six muwashshahāt that are typically Andalusian in rhyme scheme⁺²⁰. As will be shown in Chapter 2 of this thesis, the muwashshah style typical of the Andalusians can properly

= al-shi'r al-musammaṭ in which the poem is divided into metrically-uniform equal abyāt (strophes) welded together by a master-rhyme running at the end of each bait, giving it a melodic completeness of its own. An individual bait may represent a complete change in tone and idea or only a very slight one.

+ How 'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh and other S. Arabian poets and compilers regarded the Andalusian type of muwashshah will be depicted in Chapter 2.

be grouped under the term mubayyat. However, because of its unpopularity in the S. Arabian dīwāns and sufun, and on account of its having a clear-cut physiognomy of its own, we shall continue referring to it as Andalusian type of muwashshaḥ whenever the necessity arises.

(d) One poem consisting of the alternating pattern bait - tawshīḥ - taqmī'²¹. This unpopular structural form will be illustrated in Chapter 2.

The second group differentiated between humainī and muwashshaḥ. Of this group is al-Shaikh 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Bā-Wazīr, who compiled the dīwān of his celebrated

The dīwān of
al-'Aidarūs.

teacher: Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallah
al-'Aidarūs (851-914/1447-1508)*.

The printed dīwān²² is divided into three parts. The first part (pp. 51-114) includes the 'arabiyyāt, the second (pp. 114-65), the muwashshaḥāt, and the third (pp. 165-97), the humainiyyāt. None of the seventy poems that compose the muwashshaḥ section of Mahajjat al-Sālik is "Andalusian" in rhyme scheme, and most of them, it must be noted, are malḥūnah. The muwashshaḥāt of al-'Aidarūs are divided structurally as follows:-

(a) Sixty-eight poems consisting of the regular alternating pattern bait-tawshīḥ-taqfīl.

(b) Two poems (pp. 132, 147) that consist of the regular

alternation bait-tawshīh. This unpopular structural form will be discussed in Chapter 2.

As for the humainī section, it consists of sixty malḥūn poems²³ divided structurally as follows:-

- (a) Fifty-seven poems in the mubayyat style.
- (b) Two poems (pp. 183, 191) which rhyme ab ab ab, etc.

This pattern, which is the most popular rhyme structure among the bedouin poets of S. Arabia, will henceforth be designated as the bedouin form, and will be fully discussed in a later chapter.

- (c) One monorhymic poem (p. 192)

Before leaving Maḥajjat al-Sālik, we must note:-

(i) The compiler differentiated between humainī and muwashshah without expressly stating the basis for such differentiation.

(ii) Some of the 'arabiyāt contain more than one rhyme²⁴, while few are malḥūnah.²⁵

(iii) A mubayyat poem (p. 63) is quoted within the 'arabiyāt.

(iv) The two poems on pp. 110-11 are included within the 'arabiyāt although they do not differ, either in form or in being malḥūnah, from the humainiyah quoted on p. 183.

Therefore we would be right to assume that this classification by the compiler is arbitrary; that the

categories are not clear-cut and exclusive; and, further, that poems are found in one category which more properly belong to another. Indeed, the humainiyyah²⁶, in the second mubayyat form, commencing

يٰنَسِيْمُ السُّكْرِ مِنْ لَكَ خَيْرٌ عَنْ عَرِيْبٍ بُوَادِي الْمُنْحَنِ +

is also quoted, under the term muwashshah, in al-Mustaṭraf of al-Ibshīhī (790-c.850/1388-1446) where it is ascribed to Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (550-96/1155-1200)²⁷.

The differentiation between humainī and muwashshah can also be found in al-Zahr al-Bāsim where 'Abd al-Qādir b. Shaikh al-'Aidarūs (987-1038/1579-1628), as already stated above, quotes al-Qāzānī as saying: "I could not compose well the humainī, the muwashshah, and the other kinds of poetry that are used among the people of al-Yaman, until I met al-Sayyid Ḥātim [al-Ahdal]." Such references are less useful to us because they are not accompanied by examples from which one may discern any difference claimed between humainī and muwashshah. Al-Ḥaimī (1073-1151/1662-1739)*, for instance, commenting upon the poetry of Ḥaidar Āghā*,

*Metrical scheme: || -u---| -u-| -u- | -u---| -u-| -u-

mentions the humainī - like muwashshah (al-muwashshah al-humainī²⁸) without quoting any example. Again, with his customary elegantly rhymed prose, al-Ḥaimī, dealing with the poetry of al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. al-Imām al-Mutawakkil (1072-1149/1662-1736)*, gives us the impression that muwashshah and humainī are two distinct kinds of poetry²⁹. But the anonymous compiler of the small dīwān of this poet does not claim to make such a difference, and groups his poetry under the two formal categories: al-ḥakamī and al-humainī³⁰. Al-Ḥaimī is one of the best S. Arabian writers of his day, but we should be careful not to understand too much from some of his statements in Tīb al-Samar; for writing in the artificial style of balanced saj', he often tended to be inaccurate and inexact. Indeed, exaggeration, insincerity, and similarity of epithets coined for the recommendation of different poets, can be noticed very easily throughout this otherwise valuable book.

The third group use different words to denote humainī. Some use "al-shi'r al-malhūn³¹" as an epithet for that style of poetry; but this epithet does not, on account of its looseness, help us to form a clear idea of what

humainī is, and the root l-h-n, of the many connotations, may arouse the aversion of anyone claiming to have any pretension to learning. Others apply the term in a more loose sense to any short poem (whether written in grammatical Arabic or otherwise) which is intended or is appropriate for singing. This is because humainī, which is markedly lyrical in character, has been so closely associated with music³², and for such a long period of time, that it was, and still is, difficult to think of it as having an existence independent of music. It is not surprising, therefore, that the term, by extension, came to cover any short poem (irrespective of diction, grammar, metre, or rhyme scheme) that is intended, or is appropriate, to be sung. The contemporary poet 'Abdallah Hādī Subait*, for example, equates humainī with "al-shi'r al-ghinā'ī"³³. By this term he meant poetry intended, or appropriate to be sung, and he has, therefore, included under the term humainī correct strophic muzdawijāt³⁴, as well as ḥakamiyyāt³⁵, that are short and distinctively lyrical in character.

Having considered the opinion of the literary groups, we will now turn our attention to the dīwān of al-Imām al-Wāthiq al-Muṭahhar b. Muḥd. b. al-Muṭahhar (702-802/

1302-1402)* who was a contemporary of Ibn Fulaitah, and was considered as the most eloquent S. Arabian poet of his day.

The dīwān of al-Wāthiq consists of two types of poetry, to wit, 'arabī and ḥumainī. The 'arabī is the traditional one-rhyme qarīq, and the ḥumainī is the muwashshah style of poetry. Ḥumainī "is written in a style more intimately associated with euphony and elegance", while 'arabī "is more beautiful in its dignified diction and its serious and exalted themes³⁶." As we turn to the components of the ḥumainī part (fols. 141-73), we find that the ḥumainiyyāt included (of which some are not malḥūnah) are composed in one of the following styles:-

- (a) The regular muwashshah style in which the elements are the bait, the tawshīḥ, and the taqfīl (or, occasionally, the taqmī').
- (b) The mubayyat style³⁷.

Did ḥumainī poetry, then, in its early history, include the two styles as the dīwān of al-Wāthiq has shown us? Or was the term ḥumainī only applicable to one of them as Mahajjat al-Sālik tends to show? One also might be tempted to ask: Can we not assume that the ḥumainiyyāt

of Ibn Fulaitah are in the mubayyat style? The learned 'Abdallah b. 'Alī al-Wazīr (1074-1147/1663-1734)* wrote³⁸: "He [= 'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh] composed a dīwān of humainī poems, and was the person who collected the humainī and the muwashshah [poetry] of al-Sayyid Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah Sharaf al-Dīn". A similar remark is made by Ismā'īl^{b.} Muḥd. b. al-Husain b. al-Imām al-Qāsim (+1080/1669) when he commented upon the poetry of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah. He wrote:³⁹ "Most of his poetry is in the humainī and the muwashshah styles."

Can we, then, suggest that in these excerpts the term humainī refers to the mubayyat style of which consists the largest portion of the dīwān of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah? Can we also refer to those who employed the terms muwashshah and humainī to give us the impression that the two kinds of poetry existed independently of each other? And, in addition, or apart from this, the bulk of literary humainī has reached us in the mubayyat style, especially in the first and the second mubayyat forms, and the S. Arabian dīwāns exhibit this very clearly.

Again, we cannot base our conclusion upon tentative speculations. The fact is that both the mubayyat and the style of poetry in which the element tawshīh is an integral part of the poem have been handed down to us, by the poets of S. Arabia, as examples of humainī. However, the problem

is not as thorny as it may appear. The term mubayyat is mentioned casually by 'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh who equates humainī with al-muwashshah. Furthermore, the claim that the mubayyat style is not a muwashshah should be renounced. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥd. b. Ishāq (1140-1241/1728-1825) groups the mubayyatāt of his father under the general term al-muwashshah⁴⁰; and Yūsuf b. Yaḥya al-Ṣan'ānī (1080-1121/1669-1709) brands all the humainiyyāt of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah as "muwashshah malḥūn". Al-Shawkānī (1172-1250/1758-1835) mentions the commencing line of a mubayyatah⁴², written by Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah⁴³, under the term muwashshah; and al-Shirwānī (+1227/1812) quotes a poem, in the second mubayyat form, as an example of the many beautiful "muwashshahāt" composed by Ḥaidar Āghā⁴⁴.

Such references are many and are correct. Their correctness lies in the assumption that the term muwashshah, specifically, is applicable to any poem that has a master-rhyme, called 'amūd al-qaṣīdah', which runs throughout the whole poem⁴⁵. As will be shown in the second chapter of this thesis, some forms of the mubayyat style in S. Arabia were transposed into the regular alternation bait-tawghīh-taqfīl at a certain period of time, and the link between them and the pattern in question is clear indeed. For reasons of general convenience, however,

it is necessary, if we would avoid ambiguity and misunderstanding, to state explicitly the range of application we propose to give to the terms which will be employed in the following chapters, that is, the sense in which we are going to use them. We shall do well, then, if we adopt the following terms:-

(a) The regular muwashshah: to denote poems composed of the alternating pattern bait-tawshih-taqfil.

(b) The mubayyat muwashshah: to denote poems structurally divided into metrically-uniform equal abyat (strophes) welded together by a master-rhyme running at the end of every strophe, each bait being a unit by itself, a self-contained entity. Since the abyat are made by grouping lines, obviously two lines, having the same metrical length, are the fewest a bait may contain. There is no arbitrary limit at the other extreme end to the number of lines a strophe may have, although, in S. Arabian practice, abyat of more than six lines are very rare. Of all the mubayyat muwashshah patterns that have appeared in the S. Arabian diwans⁺, only the first and the second mubayyat forms were widely appropriated, and

+ A representative, though by no means complete, table of the mubayyat muwashshah rhyme patterns in S. Arabia is given in the second chapter of this thesis.

both of them, put together, compose the bulk of humainī.

(c) The muwashshah: to denote poems that are divided into abyāt (strophes) or fuṣūl⁺ (sections) in which a master-rhyme runs throughout the whole poem, closing every bait or faṣl.

Considered as a whole, humainī shows the same characteristics that have already been noted in the dīwāns

The nature of
humainī.

of al-Wāthiq and Muḥd. b.

'Abdallah Sharaf al-Dīn. The definition made by al-Zabīdī (1145-1205/1732-91) - that

"al-humainī is a species of newly-invented metres [sic] which is known as al-muwashshah, a Yamanite word [in origin and usage]⁴⁶" - is narrow, and is, therefore, only partially correct. The muwashshah poetry in the literary circles of S. Arabia is written in classical language. However, only a limited (considerable enough, it is true, but still limited) number of S. Arabian muwashshahāt are not malḥūnah, and yet these are not highly appreciated because vowel-case-endings are expected in ḥakamī, and associated

+ I have adopted the term faṣl to denote the alternating unit bait-tawshīh, or bait-tawshīh-taqfīl, or bait-tawshīh-taqmī.

with it, whereas they are usually avoided in humainī⁴⁷.

The lahn in the muwashshahāt of S. Arabia is mainly restricted to the omission of case signs and using a sukūn instead, and (though not always) to the reserved use of vocabular taznīm⁴⁸ (by which term is intended, throughout this thesis, the occasional use of words or homely expressions, that savour colloquialism⁺). This is done either spontaneously, or else intentionally, because the lahn, firstly, pleases the S. Arabian in general, and the Yamanite singer in particular; and, secondly, because this kind of lahn is thought to make the total effect of the poem, on the ear and the mind, more delightful and more moving⁴⁹. This characteristic was observed by Ibn Ma'sūm (1052-1117/1642-1705) who wrote⁵⁰:-

+ Perhaps the most valuable of all suggestions that may be thrown out in the way of helping the reader in reciting humainī is one so simple and obvious that, but for the fact that its practical bearing is seldom recognised in the only edited humainī dīwāns (that of Sharaf al-Dīn and 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Anisi), it would hardly call for formal statement. In our recitation of humainī, we should always remember that the S. Arabian washshāhīn often use vocabular taznīm in one or more lines of their poems. This means that the metre should be subordinated to the speech rhythm, and, therefore, the last letter of every muzannam word should be regarded as "quiescent" irrespective of the quantitative need of the particular line.

"The people of al-Yaman have a certain kind of prosody which they call al-muwashshah. It is quite different from the muwashshah of the people of al-Maghrīb, and the [main] difference between the two is that correctness [regarding case-endings] in the muwashshah of the people of al-Maghrīb is strictly observed, and if non-observance of grammar [by dropping case signs] occurs in some of the muwashshahāt [by that are composed in their pattern, it is because the composer of the muwashshah is unacquainted with the Arabic grammatical rules, and his example is not followed. The muwashshah of the people of al-Yaman is quite the opposite, because none of the grammatical rules are observed, nay, the lahn in it is more pleasant and more moving."

We should not, therefore, show surprise if we find phrases such as "muwashshah 'ala ṭarīqat ahl al-Yaman⁵¹", and "ṭarīqat al-ḥumainī al-Yamānī⁵²."

Humainī, though popular in S. Arabia, was highly scorned by the biographers of that country. Indeed, the bulk of humainī was lost as the result of several factors, one of which is the way learned men looked down upon non-ḥakamī species of poetry. Al-Sharjī

Scorn of humainī.

uses the pejorative adjectival phrases "rhymed prose⁵³" and "saj' malhūn⁵⁴" to denote two non-hakamī poems, and does not even condescend to mention the type (or types) to which they belong. Al-Haimī mentions the term humainī on several occasions in Tīb al-Samar but without quoting even one example - as did al-Shawkānī and some other S. Arabian biographers. Others did not even bother themselves to mention that term. Al-Qādī Ahmad b. al-Husain b. al-Qāsim (+1298/1880), writing to a sayyid, quoted the beginning of a humainī verse of his composition, and added: "Were it not for your high rank... my intention would have been, indeed, to quote the whole poem⁵⁵."

Such is the scorn with which humainī was regarded. Being a style of poetry in which the lahn predominates, poets prone to less respectable ways of life tended to express themselves in humainī using obscene language. For some of them, especially after the tenth century A.H., humainī became the field of hazl - a word that may connote many things except seriousness and the respectable aspects of life - while hakamī was the medium for seriousness, or, at least, a field where a poet should cover or tone down any feeling that might offend conservative susceptibilities. No wonder, then, if the preponderant hakamī was treated as jidd mu'rab⁵⁶

in contrast with the hazl malhūn⁵⁷, the humainī.

Such a narrow outlook on a kind of poetry which is ungrammatical and not strictly traditional in language, is, of course, not new in the history of Arabic literature, and the Andalusian muwashshahāt, classified in importance after the qarīd, are cases in point. Al-Maqqarī, unlike Ibn Bassām and al-Fath b. Khāqān, quoted several muwashshahāt in both Nafh al-Tīb and Azhār al-Riyāḍ. However, to avoid any ridicule that might be poured on him by those who regard the muwashshah style of poetry as a field for trifles and inanity, al-Maqqarī was tactful enough to produce three excuses for his "presumptuousness" in quoting some muwashshah poems, one of which is that preceding authors, whom he imitates, included in their books some jocular utterances and facetious remarks⁵⁰. Indeed, the word hazl became exactly synonymous with any incorrect kind of poetry. Ibn Quzmān (+554/1159) employs hazl as a synonym of zajal, and similar connotations may be deduced from two versions of Ibn al-Khaṭīb (713-76/1313-74)⁵⁹.

Humainī, in general, is transmitted orally, in the anthologies known as safāyin⁺, and in dīwāns. Through oral

+ This is how the pl. of safīnah is pronounced in Aden and Ṣan'ā'. For specimens of S. Arabian safāyin, see, for example, G. Levi Della Vida, Elenco dei Manoscritti Arabi Islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana (Roma, 1935), nos. 946, 947, 1053, 1087, 1153, 1192, 1203.

Transmission of
humainī.

transmission was lost a great deal of the vast quantity of humainī. The safāyin, however, are an important source. A

safīnah is generally a random collection of poetry owned by individuals who copy different poems either from books or dīwāns or as they hear them from singers and composers⁶⁰. In many of these safāyin, the bulk of the poems included are choice humainiyyāt, and in this way they provide the best method through which humainī has been handed down. But most of these safāyin do not enjoy any plan of arrangement, are full of misleading errors, and characterized by the tendency to attribute the majority of the humainiyyāt included to prominent S. Arabian washshāhīn such as Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah Sharaf al-Dīn and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ānisi (1168-1250/1755-1834)*.

The dīwāns of some poets present a good source for anyone dealing with humainī. It is almost a general rule in S. Arabia that a poet dies without collecting his own poetry. If the poet is eminent, then one of his relatives, disciples, or admirers, may shoulder the task of compiling a dīwān for him. The tendency among Yamanite compilers is to append a certain number of humainiyyāt in the dīwān

of the poet⁶¹; but some of these compilers sometimes tend to overlook the ḥumainiyyāt, and exclude them completely from the whole collection. Thus a poet's ḥumainī products are either forgotten through the lapse of time, or else, because of a certain characteristic, is wholly or partially preserved in safāyin. The ḥumainiyyāt of al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Qādir (1061-1112/1651-1700)* and 'Alī b. Muḥd. al-'Anṣī (1048-1139/1673-1727)*, to take only familiar names, are cases in point. One may collect many muwashshahāt by these two celebrated poets from different safāyin but not from their respective dīwāns.

✓ 1. Mr. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maqāliḥ suggested to me that the word ḥakamī is a relative adjective of Ḥakam, a well-known S. Arabian tribe which was famous for eloquence and correctness of speech. His claim may, indeed, be supported by referring to the saying of 'Umārah al-Ḥakamī, Yaman - Its Early Mediaeval History, ed. and tr. H.C. Kay (London, 1892), trans., p. 29, that the Ḥakamites "have preserved the Arabic language in its purity...Their speech has been preserved from intermarriage or association with townspeople. They are sedentary people who do not wander or quit their homes".

Yāqūt al-Rūmī, Mu'jam al-Buldān, ed. Wüstenfeld

(Leipzig, 1866-73), III, 707, and al-Fairūzabādī (Qāmūs, s.v. عكس), repeat what 'Umārah had stated. Al-Zabīdī (s.v. عكس), repeat what 'Umārah had stated. Al-Zabīdī the (Tāj, s.v. عكس), makes the interesting statement that the for more than three days lest their language becomes corrupted.

2. Nobody could suggest to me the origin of the word humainī, and I failed to find an explanation to it. Neither Nashwān b. Sa'īd al-Himyarī (+573/1178) in Shams al'-Ulūm, nor the Arab lexicographers, such as Ibn Duraid (223-321/838-933) and al-Sāghānī (577-665/1181-1266), mention the term as a certain genre of poetry. Indeed, the compiler of al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt lived in Zabīd for about twenty years at a time when the term humainī, as the S. Arabian synonym for the term muwashshah, was already in use. These lexicographers, as well as al-Sam'ānī (506-62/1112-67) in al-Ansāb, mention the word humainī as a relative adjective of Humain, a grandfather of the Companion Simāk b. Mukhramah. Al-Hamdānī, al-Iklīl, ed. al-Akwa' (Cairo, 1383/1963), I, 127, however, gives "Humain" as a S. Arabian name.

The two epithets, al-shi'r al-faṣīḥ and al-shi'r al-mukassar, are also employed today as the respective synonyms of hakamī and humainī. It is interesting to note

that Bā-Makhramah, K. Tārīkh Thaghr 'Adan, ed. O. Löfgren (Leiden, 1936-50), II, 80, uses the term al-mukassarāt side by side with the term al-'arabiyāt in connection with a certain S. Arabian poet who lived during the time of al-Malik al-Mujāhid (b. 706/1306-07; r. 721/1321; d. 764/1363), the Rasūlite king in whose honour Ibn Fulaitah wrote many renowned poems (v. ibid. II, 151).

3. 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-Khazrajī, Tirāz A'lām al-Zaman..., Br. Mus., Or. 2425, fol. 183b; see also Ismā'īl Pāshā al-Baghdādī, Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn ..., (Istanbūl, 1951-55), I, 107.

4. This dīwān is preserved in the library of al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr of Ṣan'ā', no. 35, under the title "Dīwān Fulaitah [sic] al-Ḥakamī [sic]". It consists of one hundred and forty folios, the poems being arranged alphabetically according to their rhyming letter. Ibn Fulaitah's name, as given in the first folio of this Ms., is, however, Abū Muḥd. Aḥmad b. Muḥd. b. Fulaitah.

For other poems of Ibn Fulaitah, see Della Vida, op. cit., nos. 1118.8, 1203 (fol. 3). Forty-six lines of his ḥakamī composition are also quoted in the Ambrosiana Ms., C 163, fols. 164b-65a.

5. The sāhiliyyāt are perhaps a special type of poetry cultivated by the people of the long coast of Tihāmah. The

Tihāmites of today have a certain colloquial species of poetry which has a peculiar pattern of its own, an example of which is quoted in al-'Aqīlī, Min Tārīkh al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaimānī (Cairo, 1378/1958 — [in progress]), II, 240.

6. Few specimens of this colloquial type of poetry are quoted in Ḥusain al-Ahdal, Tārīkh al-'Ulamā' wa-al-Mulūk, Br. Mus., Or. 1345, fol. 255a; Tārīkh Thaghr 'Adan, op. cit., II, 65.

The metrical scheme of these poems is

$$\| -u- - | -u- | -u- | \quad | -u- - | -u- | -u- -$$

'Alawī b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād, al-Shāmil fī Tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt wa-Makhālīfihā (Singapore, 1359/1940), p. 109, equates al-bālḅāl with al-shabwānī — a term fully discussed by Professor R.B. Serjeant, Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramawt (London, 1951), p. 26ff.

7. Al-duwainiyyāt are presumably poems in which the syllables dān-yā-dān-yā-dānā are used as a ringing refrain. Some of the best examples of dān-yā-dān poems are quoted in Aḥmad Faḍl al-'Abdalī, Dīwān al-Aghānī al-Laḥjiyyah (Aden, 1357/1938), p. 59; 'Abdallah Ḥādī Subait, al-Dumū' al-Ḍāḥikah (Aden, 1373/1953), p. 229. The metrical scheme of these poems is

$$\| - - | -u- | -u- - | \quad | - - | -u- | -u- -$$

8. These styles of poetry make the claim of al-Ḥillī (677-750/1278-1349), al-'Āṭil al-Ḥālī..., ed. W. Hoenerbach (Wiesbaden, 1956), p. 7, seem unfounded.

9. I have no information on this style of poetry.
10. A copy of which is preserved in the Egyptian Library, no. 566, Adab. For other copies of this work, see E.G. Brown, A Handlist of the Muhammadan Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge, (Cambridge, 1900), no. 477 (Q.q. 130); De Slane, Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes ... (Paris, 1883-95), no. 3051. The version of Ḥājjī Khalīfah, Kashf al-Zunūn, ed. and tr. G. Flügel (Leipzig and London, 1855-58), III, 464, should be corrected. The name is given as Ibn Qulaitah instead of Ibn Fulaitah, and the Year of his death is A.H. 231 instead of 731.
11. Cf. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Shaikh al-'Aidarūs, al-Zahr al-Bāsim min Rawḍat al-Ustādh Ḥātim, India Office, L 638-B 75. As will be shown in the first chapter, the dīwān(s) of Ḥātim do(es) not contain any species of poetry other than ḥakamī and humainī.
12. Al-Sharjī, Ṭabaqāt al-Khawāṣṣ..., (Cairo, 1321/1903), p. 126. Ibn al-Mujāwir (601-90/1205-91), Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir, ed. O. Löfgren (Leiden, 1951-54), II, 158, quotes a S. Arabian non-ḥakamī poem without, however, specifying the name of the species of poetry to which it belongs.
13. Dīwān Mubayyatāt wa-Muwashshahāt al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah b. al-Imām Sharaf al-Dīn, ed. al-Mu'ayyad and al-Jirāfī (Cairo, n.d., but probably 1956), p. 9. I should note here that the above misleading title was supplied by the

editors themselves, for it does not appear in the two Mss. copies of the dīwān in question (as possessed by al-'Izzī Ṣāliḥ al-Sunaidār), nor in M. Hartmann, Das Arabische Strophengedicht, I. Das Muwaššah (Weimar, 1897), p. 67f.

14. The printed dīwān actually contains one hundred and twenty-five poems, but five (pp. 205-11) have been added by the two editors, whereas the sixth (pp. 192-3) is monorhymic in form.

15. Ibid., p. 10.

16. Ibid., p. 82.

17. Ibid., p. 133

18. Ibid., pp. 12, 147.

19. So far as I could discover, the only non-Yamanite sources which include specimens of this type of muwashshah are

(a) Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥd. b. Ismā'īl (1210-74/1795-1857), Safīnat al-Mulk wa-Nafīsat al-Fulk (Cairo, 1893). This is an anthology of select songs, and is a good source of the muwashshah poetry as a whole. The Egyptian compiler of this valuable safīnah, however, does not mention the name of the author of any included poem; but I do feel that some of these poems were composed by S. Arabians. Two of the included songs (pp. 37, 147) are undoubtedly of al-Sūdī* since they are quoted, under his name, in the Ambrosiana

Ms., D 408, and the Leiden Ms., Or. 2697, fol. 56, respectively.

(b) 'Abd al-Karīm al-'Allāf, al-Ṭarab 'ind al-'Arab (Baghdād, 1364/1945), p. 112f. Likewise, the authors of these songs are not mentioned.

(c) G.W. Freytag, Darstellung der Arabischen Verskunst (Bonn, 1830), pp. 422-24, quotes one of such muwashshahāt under the name of 'Aṭā' b. Muḥd. Ibn Fath-Allāh al-Iskandarī without, however, giving any information about this poet, not even the year of his death. Hartmann, Das Muwaṣṣaḥ, p. 65, mentions the poet in question as a composer in the muwashshah style without adding anything of value beyond the statement that he has a dīwān, called Kashf al-Asrār. I have no further information on this poet.

20. Cf. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, pp. 21, 38, 51, 101-02, 150, 181.

21. Ibid., p. 74. This type of muwashshah does not probably exist outside S. Arabian sources.

22. Maḥajjat al-Sālik wa-Ḥujjat al-Nāsik, appended to his, al-Juz' al-Laṭīf fī al-Taḥkīm al-Sharīf (Cairo, 2nd ed., 1355/1936). His famous muwashshah poem (p. 114f) was elucidated by many of his admirers, and some of the commentaries upon it are mentioned in W. Ahlwardt, Verzeichniss der Arabischen Handschriften der Königl.

Bibliothek zu Berlin (Berlin, 1887-99), no. 7928.

23. It actually consists of seventy-five poems, eight of which (pp. 189-91, 193, 195, 197) are, however, so short - four or five lines only - that you cannot speak of their following a certain rhyme pattern. The remaining seven poems (pp. 190, 193-97) do not differ, either in form or in being malḥūnah, from, for example, the 'arabiyyah which is quoted on p. 110.

24. See, for instance, the poems on pp. 63, 76, 77.

25. See, for example, the poems on pp. 72, 111.

26. Ibid., p. 182.

27. Cf. al-Ibshīhī, al-Mustatraf ... (Cairo, A.H. 1304), II, 199-200. This humainiyyah is a well-known recorded song in S. Arabia. Whoever is its composer, we must acknowledge the fact that Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, to whom the muwashshah is ascribed, could not be the one who wrote it. Firstly, it is not included in his printed dīwān, ed. 'Abd al-Haqq (Haiderabad, 1377/1958); and, secondly, the author of Dār al-Tirāz had a strong aversion to lahn, and only allowed it in the concluding verses of the Andalusian type of muwashshah. For this reason alone, he did not quote an example of the muwashshah malḥūn known as al-'arūs (v. Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, Dār al-Tirāz ..., ed. J. al-Rikābī (Damascus 1368/1949), p. 27). Moreover, the rhyme pattern of the poem

in question is not "Andalusian", and Ibn Sa'nā' al-Mulk is not known to have written any poem in the second mubayyat form.

28. Aḥmad al-Ḥaimī, Ṭīb al-Samar fī Awqāt al-Saḥar, Br. Mus., Or. 2427, I, 295b.

29. Ibid., I, 194a.

30. Dīwān Sīdī al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. al-Imām al-Mutawakkil, an Ms. in possession of al-Qādī al-Ḥāj Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl b. Nāṣir of Ṣuhbān. The ḥumainī section in this Ms. contains twelve muwashshahāt, none of which, it must be noted, is Andalusian in rhyme scheme.

31. See, for instance, al-Shawkānī, al-Badr al-Ṭāli'... (Cairo, A.H. 1345), II, 79; Zabārah, Nail al-Waṭar... (Cairo, A.H. 1348-50), II, 44, 324, 416.

32. Cf. the version of 'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh in Dīwān Mubayyatāt, op. cit., p. 10.

33. Al-Dumū' al-Dāhikah, p. 166.

34. See, e.g. p. 182.

35. See, e.g. pp. 173, 242.

36. Dīwān al-Wāthiq, Ambrosiana, A92, fol. 141.

37. Ismā'īl b. Muḥd. b. al-Ḥusain (+1080/1669), Simṭ al-La'āl min Shi'r al-Āl, Br. Mus., Or. 3969, fol. 129, quotes for him a strophic poem which is typically Andalusian in rhyme scheme; but the same poem is quoted in al-Ṣafadī

(696-764/1296-1363), al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt, ed. H. Ritter and others (Istanbūl and Damascus, 1931-59), III, 54f, where it is attributed to Ibn Dāniyāl al-Mawṣilī (+708/1308).

Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, Fawāt al-Wafayāt, ed. Muḥd. Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo, 1951), II, 391, also quotes the poem in question under the name of Ibn Dāniyāl.

38. 'Abdallah b. 'Alī al-Wazīr, Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwa wa-Ṣiḥāf al-Mann wa-al-Salwa, Br. Mus., Or. 3919, fol. 5b.

39. Simṭ al-La'āl, op. cit., fol. 185a.

40. Salwat al-Mushtāq min Naẓm al-Mawla Muḥammad b. Ishāq, Ambrosiana, C 79, iii, fol. 121. All the included poems, it must be noted, are in the second mubayyat form.

41. Yūsuf b. Yaḥya al-Ṣan'ānī, Nasmat al-Saḥar fīman Tashayya' wa-Sha'ar, II, an Ms. (in two volumes)+ in possession of al-Qādī al-Ḥāj Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl of Ṣubḥān.

42. Al-Badr al-Ṭāli', II, 195.

43. The whole poem, which is in the second mubayyat form, is quoted in Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 108.

44. Al-Shirwānī, Ḥadīqat al-Afrāḥ li-Izāḥat al-Atrāḥ (Cairo, A.H. 1320), p. 15.

45. Cf. the second chapter of this thesis. For this reason alone, it seems, the author of Fawāt al-Wafayāt, I, 95, and Muḥd. b. Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī, al-Durr al-Maknūn fī al-Sab' [sic] al-Funūn, Br. Mus., Add. 9570, ii, fols. 101b-

+ For copies of which, see A.J. Arberry, A Second Sup.Handlist

104a, treat al-musammaṭ al-mukhammas under the term muwashshah.

46. Tāj al-'Arūs, s.v. حُومَانِي. The word humainī, though Yamanite in origin, is not, however, restricted to S. Arabia. Cf. Muḥd. Sa'īd Kamāl, al-Azhār al-Nādiyah min Aṣh'ār al-Bādiyah (Cairo, n.d., but probably 1961), p. 10; Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramawt, p. 14, nt. 7; H. Derenbourg, Les Manuscrits Arabes de l'Escorial (Paris, 1884-1903), I, 246, no. 374.1.

47. Cf. the grim remark of al-Shirwānī, Nafḥat al-Yaman fima Yazūl bi-Dhikrih al-Shajan (Cairo, 1356/1937), p. 93.

48. This term is borrowed from al-'Āṭil al-Ḥālī, p. 12.

49. Cf. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafa al-'Aidarūs, Tarwīḥ al-Bāl wa-Tahyīj al-Balbāl (Būlāq, A.H. 1283), p. 122.

50. Ibn Ma'sūm, Sulāfat al-'Aṣr fī Maḥāsīn al-Shu'arā' bi-Kull Miṣr (Cairo, 1334/1907), p. 244. It should be noted that Ibn Ma'sūm quotes, on p. 465, a poem in the second mubayyat form under the general term muwashshah.

51. See, for instance, ibid., pp. 452, 465; Ḥadīqat al-Afrāḥ, p. 15; al-Shillī, 'Iqd al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar fī Akhbār al-Qarn al-Ḥādī'ashar, Br. Mus., Add. 16647, ii,

= of the Muḥd. Mss. in the University and Colleges of Cambridge (Cambridge, 1952), nos. 204 (a), 205 (a).

fol. 258a.

52. See, for example, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muṣṭafa al-'Aidarūs, Tanmīq al-Asfār fimā Jara lahu ma'a Ikhwān al-Adab... fī Ba'd al-Asfār (Cairo, A.H. 1304), p. 259.

53. Ṭabaqāt al-Khawāṣṣ, p. 126.

54. Ibid., p. 8.

55. Nail al-Waṭar, I, 89.

56. Ibid., II, 8. The poem which Zabārah has in mind is appended to the Ms. dīwān of Ahmad Sharaf al-Dīn al-Qārrah which I possess.

57. Nail al-Waṭar, II, 308.

58. Cf. al-Maqqarī, Azhār al-Riyād fī Akhbār 'Iyād, ed. al-Saqqā and others (Cairo, 1939-42), II, 227.

59. Cf. al-Ahwānī, al-Zajal fī al-Andalus (Cairo, 1957), p. 60.

60. So far as I could discover, the earliest usage of the term safīnah, as an anthology of select verses, is made by al-Tha'ālibī (350-429/961-1038), Yatīmat al-Dahr. (Damascus, A.H. 1303), III, 207.

61. Some of the compilers, however, tend to insert in the dīwāns, which they undertake to collect, few specimens of the humainiyyāt that were composed by the poets, and no sincere effort is made on their part to collect as many humainī poems as they could. This fact can be attested

by the small number of ḥumainiyyāt that are included, for example, in the dīwāns of Yaḥya b. Ibrāhīm al-Jaḥḥāfī*, Muḥd. b. Ishāq*, and Ishāq b. Yūsuf.*

It should be noted that when a poet collects his own poetry, he would either give us valuable information, as did al-Qāṭin* in his "dīwān", Br. Mus., Or. 3730, fol. 136; or he would collect all that he composed, accompanied by informative notes, as did al-Khufanjī* in his dīwān, a copy of which is in my possession.

CHAPTER ONE
HISTORY OF HUMANĪ
IN
SOUTH ARABIA.

I.

'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh, introducing the ḥumainī diwān of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah Sharaf al-Dīn, wrote:¹

«إني لما فرغت من تدوين ما وجدته وظفرت به من شعر سيدي محمد بن عبد الله بن الإمام شرف الدين، رحمه الله تعالى، المعرب، وقضيت في ذلك ديني، أردت أن أجعل ختامه الموشح المعروف عند الناس بالحميني. وهو من النظم الذي ولح به المتأخرون، ولم يسبق إليه الأولون؛ له محور مختلفة، ومعان لطيفة مؤتلفة، أول من أظهر مجته، فانضحت مجته، في الديار اليمنية، الفقيه شهاب الدين أحمد بن فليته، ثم الفقيه فخر الدين عبد الله بن أبي بكر المزاح، وكلاهما كانا في الدولة الغسانية. ثم الفقيه الإمام، إمام العلوم والطريقة، عبد الرحمن بن إبراهيم الحلوي، وهو من أدار كأس الشراب، وأبدى فيه من المعاني ما يفوق الروض عاودة السحاب. وكان في زمن السلطان عامر بن عبد الوهاب؛ وأدرك دولة والدنا الإمام شرف الدين، وله فيه، وفي ولده الخليفة المظفر، مدائح تؤدّ البجوم موقعا، وتتهوى البذور مطالعرا.....»

"When I finished writing down what I was able to find and obtain of the regular classical poems of Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah b. al-Imām Sharāf al-Dīn - may God have mercy upon him -- and having paid my debt in performing that task, I desired to make my last work [the collecting of] the muwashshah known among the people [of al-Yaman] as al-ḥumainī. This is a kind of prosody which recent poets came to like, and for which the ancients provided no precedent. It has various metres and harmonious, agreeable themes. The first one to provide an "argument" in favour of the muwashshah, and who thus made its high-road clear, in the land of al-Yaman, is al-Faqīh Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Fulaitah. He was followed by al-Faqīh Fakhr al-Dīn 'Abdallah b. Abī Bakr al-Mazzāḥ. Both lived during the reign of the Ghassānite* dynasty. Then came the imam of learning and sufism, al-Faqīh al-Imām 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī. He was one of those who handed round the drinking cup, and sang of wine in themes that surpass [in their beauty] a meadow which has been refreshed by a succession of rain-bearing clouds. Al-'Alawī lived during

* The Rasūlite dynasty (625 - 850/1228 - 1416) who claimed to be descended from the Arab tribe of Ghassān.

the reign of al-Sultān 'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb and during part of that of our grand grandfather, al-Imām Sharaf al-Dīn. He praised him and his son, al-Khalīfah al-Muṭahhar, in eulogies whose high places the stars would desire, and whose brightness full moons would long for."

This important version presents us with a difficulty. The poems collected and arranged by 'Īsa to form the humainī dīwān of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah, show clearly that he is speaking about the muwashshah in general, and the muwashshah malhūn in particular. However, in order to give a better evaluation of the foregoing statement, we have to turn to the complementary second chapter of this thesis, where the general structural characteristics of the muwashshah poetry, as a whole, are discussed; but for the moment we can exclude, without any hesitation, the possibility that Ibn Fulaitah was the first to introduce to S. Arabia: either the mubayyat muwashshah or the Andalusian craft*.

*As will be shown in the next chapter, the muwashshah style of poetry typical of the Spanish Arabs can properly be grouped under the term mubayyat, and as such it must be regarded. However, because of its unpopularity among the S. Arabian washshahīn, and on account of its having a distinct rhyming structure of its own, we shall continue referring to it as Andalusian type of muwashshah whenever the necessity arises. It must not be forgotten, however,

continued end of next page.

The mubayyat muwashshah is older in time than either the Andalusian muwashshah or the regular muwashshah. The important and rather ambiguous version of al-Shar'abī in Tirāz al-Majālis², takes back the history of what he calls al-shi'r al-mutadākhil al-qawāfī as far as the fifth century A.H; and, moreover, some mubayyatāt had reached us before the time of Ibn Fulaitah as will be explained in the next chapter. Bearing this in mind, let it be remembered that the bulk of humainī, from the eighth century to the thirteenth, is composed in the mubayyat style, especially in the second mubayyat mubayyat form, and the term muwashshah is generally applied to it.

As for the Andalusian type of muwashshah, this style of poetry was known to the S. Arabians long before Ibn Fulaitah entered the poetical scene. Yaman and Egypt were somewhat linked, first spiritually, and, later, politically, for about four centuries, beginning with the entry of the Fāṭimid Dā'ī,

*cont'd. nor is the attentive reader likely to forget, that whenever the Andalusian type of muwashshah is contrasted with, or excluded from, the mubayyat muwashshah, the latter term is stipulatively used to mean the various forms of al-shi'r al-musammaṭ, (or their variations) that are tabulated on page 135

Mansūr al-Yaman, in A.H. 269, and ending, politically, with the seizure of power in Zabīd by the Rasūlite 'Umar b. 'Alī in A.H. 626.

The Andalusian muwashshah, at least in the sixth century, was known to, and imitated by, the Eastern Arab poets, and its infiltration into Yaman was, therefore, to be expected. Some of the Spanish Arabs who settled in Egypt had undoubtedly helped in making the art of this craft clear to the poets of Cairo. Al-Husain b. Muḥd. al-Tujībī al-Qurṭubī came to Egypt in A.H. 442, and left for Yaman where he lived until he met his death in 456³. Al-Falīshī came to Egypt where he composed a muwashshah poem⁴, and met the learned al-Silafī (478 - 576/1085 - 1180)⁵ who is known to have composed in the Andalusian type of muwashshah during his long stay in Alexandria⁶ where, from A.H. 511 until his death, he was discoursing on the ḥadīth and theology. Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt (460-529/1067 - 1134) and 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ghassānī (531-602/1137-1205) are two Andalusian-Maghribite poets who deserve mentioning. The first, who is known to have written a treatise on music⁷, lived in Alexandria and Cairo from A.H. 489 to A.H. 506, while the second, who has a dīwān exclusively given to his muwashshah compositions, reached Egypt and eulogised Salādin⁸ during whose reign the Ayyūbids annexed S. Arabia. Perhaps the Yamanite poet, 'Umārah al-Hakamī .

(c. 515-69/1121-1174), who finally settled in Cairo in A.H. 552, as well as the celebrated al-Qādī al-Fādīl (529-96/1135-1200), who was the patron of many learned men and poets, including 'Umārah and al-Silafī, learned about the Andalusian style from one of those Spanish settlers, and composed some poems in imitation⁹. Neither must we forget that it was during this period that Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (550-96/1155-1200) wrote Dār al-Ṭirāz.

In addition to this, it is highly probable that the Andalusian style was imported to S. Arabia through the contact of the Yamanites themselves with the Spanish pilgrims at Mecca, or, perhaps, through their contact with Eastern poets to whom that type of prosody was undoubtedly known in the sixth century. Ibn 'Arabī (560-638/1165-1240) made several pilgrimages and is known to have exploited the Andalusian type of muwashshah for sufi purposes¹⁰. Al-Shustarī (610-75/1213-76), claimed to be the first to exploit the zajal for mystical purposes,¹¹ came to Cairo where he met, and was influenced by, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (591-656/1195-1258), and visited Mecca many times for the pilgrimage. Al-Shustarī was a disciple of the great sufi of the Maghrib, Shu'aib b. Abū Madyan (+590/1194), who is known to have written poems after the Andalusian model.¹² As will be shown in a later chapter, the two orders of Abū Madyan and al-Shādhilī had Yamanite followers long

before Ibn Fulaitah was born. What is more, the occurrence of some strophic poems that imitate the Andalusian rhyme patterns in both the dīwāns of 'Umārah al-Ḥakamī¹³ and Ahmad b. 'Alwān (+665/1266-67)¹⁴, entirely preclude the supposition that Ibn Fulaitah was the first Yamanite to write in that style. Nor can it be claimed that he was the one who gave the Andalusian craft a vogue among the poets of S. Arabia, because that craft was never, at any time, popular in Yaman as is attested by the negligible number of poems composed in imitation of it by some S. Arabian poets, and by its complete absence in most of the extant ḥumainī dīwāns.

The name of Ibn Fulaitah may, perhaps, be connected with the regular muwashshah which was probably the outcome of several attempts made upon the first and the second mubayyat forms until the perfect pattern bait-tawshīḥ-taqfīl was originated and universally accepted. I shall endeavour, in the next chapter, to show that the claim of 'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh - that Ibn Fulaitah was the first Yamanite to provide a convincing "argument" in favour of the muwashshah - can be justified only if it is to be confined within the range of two possibilities:-

- (a) That Ibn Fulaitah was the first S. Arabian poet to establish a clear pattern for the regular muwashshah to be followed.

(b) That he was the man who gave humainī, as a whole, the right of citizenship in the literary circles of S. Arabia.

The learned 'Abdallah b. 'Alī al-Wazīr (1074-1147/1663-1734) was apparently content to follow in the footsteps of 'Īsa and state that "the first to compose in the humainī style were Ahmad Fulaitah [sic] and al-Faqīh Fakhr al-Dīn 'Abdallah al-Mazzāh; and then came the imam of sufism, al-Faqīh 'Abd al-Rahmān al-'Alawī." This statement shows clearly how Yamanite writers are sometimes inexact and misleading.

Be that as it may, the dīwān of al-Wāthiq can be taken as a counterpoise to Ibn Fulaitah's Bughyat al-Mutakhāli' because both men lived in the same period, and eulogised the same Rasūlite kings: al-Mu'ayyad and al-Mujāhid.

The Zaidite al-Imām al-Wāthiq¹⁶ was very learned, and considered as the most eloquent S. Arabian poet among his contemporaries. Born in A.H. 702, he set himself in youth to realise a dream which haunted him for a considerable period of time. He stored his mind with the necessary knowledge to enable him to convert that dream into reality. With the death of the Zaidite imam, al-Mahdī Muḥd. b. al-Muṭahhar b.

Al-Imām al-Wāthiq
(+802/1402).

to realise a dream which
haunted him for a
considerable period of time.

Yahya (b. 660/1261; imam 701/ 1301; d. 729/1329), two claimants to the Imamate found themselves opposed to each other. Al-Wāthiq, finding that the Zaidites were divided among themselves and tired of constant wars, could not afford to let such an opportunity pass.

The Zaidites believe in the bai'ah, and the Imamate is open to any qualified Zaidite descended from the Prophet, provided that he stands forth and publicly claims recognition of his authority. After the death of the first Zaidite imam in Yaman, Yahya b. al-Ḥusain (b. 245/859; entered Yaman 280/890; d. 298/910)*, the Zaidites, from the end of the third century to A.H. 923, exercised, through varying vicissitudes, intermittent authority over Ṣan'ā' and Ṣa'dah, but suffered as much at the hands of rival Imams as from their enemies. Only under the strong leadership of Ahmad b. Yahya b. al-Ḥusain (b. 278/891; Imam 301/913; d. 325/936) and 'Abdallah b. Ḥamzah (b. 561/1166; imam 583/1187; d. 614/1217) did they enjoy unity and take the offensive often with success.

As a qualified Zaidite, al-Wathiq, therefore, claimed the Imamate for himself in 730, but finding that

*His life and activities in Yaman form the subject of the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3901.

his opponents were multiplying and irreconcilable, he gave up the hope for the time being, and tendered his submission to one of his rivals. Yet his thirst for the Imamate was never quenched, and when the opportunity arose again in A.H. 750, he declared himself as imam, but failed to gain as many supporters as his enemies could. Henceforth, he suppressed his ambition, and with virtue, honesty and open-mindedness that form his salient characteristics, led a peaceful life, discoursing on the ḥadīth and Zaidite theology until he met his death.

Al-Wāthiq and Ibn Fulaitah lived during the reign of the generous Rāsūlites (625-850/1228-1416) who supplanted the Ayyūbids (567-625/1173-1228), fought gallantly against the Zaidites, and built many schools in the major towns: Zabīd, Aden, and Ta'izz, around which literature thrived, and literary groups found protection, zeal, and reward. In this period, the sufi movement flourished, and Arabic

The Rasūlites

(625-850/1228-1416).

poetry was cultivated

diligently. This is the age

of al-Yāfi'ī (+768/1367),

al-Janadī (+732/1332), al-

Khazrajī (+803/1400), al-Jabartī (+806/1408), Ibn al-Muqrī (+837/1433) and al-Sharjī (+893/1487)-to mention only a few familiar

names.

This literary prosperity was made possible by the relatively stable rule of the Rasūlites who were able to establish a permanent government in Zabīd. Before them, and before the Ayyūbids whom they supplanted, S. Arabia was the scene of prolonged strife, a prey to contending factions of rival imams and Arab and African families, and was continually overrun by predatory tribes. With the establishment of the Ziādite dynasty in A.H. 204, the history of S. Arabia became slightly connected with the main streams of Islamic history. Petty states sprang up and flourished for a shorter period to be rooted out by others of the same nature. Arabic and Yamanite books recorded the history of the important dynasties*, but passed over many others. 'Alī b. Mahdī (+554/1159), the founder of the Banū Mahdī dynasty (545-569/1159-1173), for example, took possession of the whole of Yaman, except Aden, and put an end to twenty-five dynasties,¹⁷ most of whom we do not know, not even their names. And when the Ayyūbids arrived

* These are:

- (I) The Ziādite (204-409/819-1018).
- (II) The Yu'firite (247-345/861-956).
- (III) The Najāḥite (412-553/1021-1158).
- (IV) The Sulaiḥite (429-95/1037-1101).
- (V) The Hamdanite (492-569/1098-1173).
- (VI) The Zurai'ite (476-569/1083-1173).

in A.H. 569, Yaman was divided among local chiefs, " and in every district there was an independent ruler¹⁸".

But to revert to the Rasūlites, most of whom were tender towards the peasantry, did commendable deeds of justice and moderation in respect of their subjects, and, what is more, had an earnest desire for learning, and were sharers in many branches of knowledge.

The founder of the dynasty, Nūr al-Dīn 'Umar b. 'Alī (r. 626/1229; d. 647/1249), whose kingdom stretched from Ḥadramawt to Mecca, built several colleges in the major towns of S. Arabia, and a mosque in every village of Tihāmah, to which he assigned ample estates in mortmain.¹⁹ Al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad (r. 696/1297; d. 721/1321), who built several colleges in Aden and Zabīd, was a respectable sovereign possessing about one hundred thousand books.²⁰ His father, al-Muzaffar (r. 647/1249; d. 694/1295), outranked him in learning, and was more involved with the literary activities of his day than was his son. He used to occupy himself with science, of which he acquired as much as was vouchsafed to him in every branch. He possessed a complete mastery over the science of medicine, and wrote many books. His insatiability for knowledge is substantiated by the fact that on finding the same defect in several copies of the

same commentary of al-Rāzī (544-606/1149-1209/10) on the Qur'ān, he sent a special envoy to Khurāsān to bring back to him the original script of the author.²¹

As for al-Malik al-Mujāhid (r. 721/1321; d. 764/1363), he was considered as the most learned of the Rasūlites, and wrote many books. He composed a dīwān of poetry²², patronized many men of letters, including Ibn Fulaitah and al-Wāthiq, and had an extensive knowledge in astronomy, geomancy, and some branches of jurisprudence²³. His son, al-Afdal (+778/1377), who was eulogized by al-Wāthiq, was a jurist, learned in a number of branches of science, an adept at syntax, literature, lexicology, genealogy, and had written many books²⁴. Al-Malik al-Ashraf (r.778/1376; d. 803/1400), during whose reign the mosques and colleges of Zabīd alone numbered two hundred and thirty²⁵, wrote many excellent works on grammar, astronomy, and history²⁶, and invited al-Fairūzabādī (729-816/1329-1413) to stay in Zabīd where he spent twenty fruitful years, enjoyed the patronage of al-Ashraf and his son, al-Nāṣir (+1829/1426), and wrote many books including the celebrated al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ. And how noble a sentiment did al-Ashraf express when he wrote to the compiler of al-Qāmūs who desired to leave Zabīd and spend the remaining part of his life in

Mecca:—

"Yaman was in full darkness, and became illuminated by you. How could it be possible for you to proceed [to Meccā] while you know that God has revived through you what was dead in learning.....I prefer to be dead, or deprived of worldly luxuries, to your parting the Yaman and its populace."²⁷

The second name mentioned in the version of 'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh is that of al-Mazzāh. I gathered from different safāyin that his complete name is 'Abdallah b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl al-Mawza'ī, known as al-Mazzāh. Al-Mazzāh told us part of his life²⁸: how his love for a

beautiful maiden made him neglect his uncle's advice; how fear gripped him and made him run to a desolate place, where, falling asleep, he saw in a dream "a person with a horrible appearance and dishevelled hair. He fed me something that looked like dough and tasted like

honey, and said: 'Your livelihood shall be in this'....

Then I woke up with my mind swarming with verses."

Thereupon, so the story runs, he became a celebrated poet both in ḥakamī and ḥumainī.

His love for his beloved, however, clung tenaciously to his heart, and when he asked her father for her hand in marriage, a great sum of money was demanded of him which he was unable to pay. Confronted with the fear of losing his beloved, a sudden thought occurred to him: to praise al-Imām al-Manṣūr 'Alī b. Ṣalāḥ (b. 775/1373; imam 793/1390; d. 840/1436), whereupon he eulogised him with a renowned ḥakamī poem, the reward of which was generous and encouraging.

Apart from this story, as quoted by 'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh, al-Mazzāḥ did not receive any attention from the known biographers of his country. Al-Mazzāḥ is known to have a compiled ḥumainī diwān²⁹, but whether it is still possible to procure it is hard to tell.

The poems of al-Mazzāḥ, one may rightly assume, are generally characterized by simplicity, tenderness and refinement. His muwashshah songs, which were popular until the thirteenth century A.H.,³⁰ served as models to successive generations, and came to be imitated by many.

Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah Sharaf al-Dīn (930-1010/1531-1601) imitated him in eleven poems, and preferred his poetry, as a whole, to that of Ibn Fulaitah and al-'Alawī³¹.

Al-Khufanjī (+1180/1766) imitated fifteen poems of al-Mazzāh³²; and we can hardly err if we assume that other Yamanite poets imitated him, but they, or the compilers of their dīwāns, did not mention his name or the opening lines of the poems which they imitated.

The imitations made by Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah and al-Khufanjī show evidently that al-Mazzāh composed in both the two favoured styles: the regular muwashshah³³ and the mubayyat muwashshah. Indeed, poems in the second mubayyat form compose the bulk of these imitations.

The third name mentioned by Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh is that of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī who lived during the reign of the Ṭāhirite king: al-Sulṭān 'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb.

Like all the Ṭāhirites (850-923/1416-1517), who supplanted the Rasūlites, al-Sulṭān 'Āmir, who came to power after the death of his father in A.H. 894, was well-known for his benevolence and love for knowledge.

Though he inflicted many heavy losses upon the Zaidites in wars, his name, as a Sunnite champion, does not invoke a stream of invective among fair-minded Zaidite critics. For no reasonable person can deny what the wise and beneficent rule of 'Āmir meant for Yaman as a whole. He built many schools and mosques, constructed roads, cisterns and water-courses over the country, reduced taxes, distributed alms among the poor, encouraged literature, and made order prevail over the major part of a country that was, and still remains, a natural stage for wars and insecurity. Historians and biographers have accorded him a distinguished place in the history of S. Arabia, and stressed an important aspect of his varied life - that he was a profound lover of knowledge.

Unfortunately, the last years of 'Āmir's reign coincided with that of the crafty and celebrated Zaidite imam, Yaḥya b. Sharaf al-Dīn (b. 877/1473; imam 912/1507; d. 965/1558), who turned to the Egyptian Mamlūks for help against 'Āmir. 'Āmir fought gallantly, but was outnumbered, and with his downfall, a new and black chapter in the history of S. Arabia was opened:-

"My friends, order has perished after 'Āmir and after his

brother, the most just of men among the populace.

Since they departed, by God! by God, we are verily in utmost despair of safety and solace.³⁵"

However, the people of Yaman did not forget 'Āmir. His justice and benevolence became proverbial. Ibn Qādī Khān (+988/1580) wrote³⁶:—

"'Āmir continued to be mourned and eulogized for a long time after his death, so long that I have heard that after A.H. 940, the people of al-Yaman were still praising him in eulogies for which they made established rules for singing."

It was during the reign of 'Āmir and his father that 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Alawī lived. His complete name, according to the author of Anwār al-Rabī³⁷, is 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl b. 'Abdallah b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥd. b. Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Zabīdī al-Shāfi'ī, known as Wajīh al-Dīn al-'Alawī. He was born about A.H. 860 in Zabīd, grew up in that town, and left for Mecca

several times to attend lectures.

Al-Alawī.

When he finally settled in Zabīd,

his attention was turned to

jurisprudence and the ḥadīth, and he established himself as

a prominent man of letters. In A.H. 886, al-Malik al-

al-Mansūr 'Abd al-Wahhāb entrusted him with a certain post to which he clung tenaciously until he became totally blind, whereupon al-Mansūr dismissed him.

Al-'Alawī came from a family gifted with a special taste for verse. No wonder, then, if 'Abd al-Rahmān became one of the most prominent poets in the field of humainī. He "composed good poetry, and his dīwān is famous." "He was sweet-tempered, bland in conversation, and pleasant in speaking clearly... He composed a rhetorical poem which he called al-Jawhar al-Rafī', and wrote on it a good explanatory commentary. A number of learned men of his day, among whom is the well-versed Sha'bān b. Muḥd. al-Qādirī and Shaikh al-Islam Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, praised the poem. The compiler of al-Qāmūs, Shaikh Majd al-Dīn al-Fairūzabādī, had also praised it... He died about A.H. 920.³⁸"

This version of Ibn Ma'sūm is not precise. Firstly, al-'Alawī was born after the death of Ibn Ḥajar (773-852/1373-1448) who met al-Fairūzabādī (+816/1413) in Zabīd;³⁹ and, secondly, there is not a vestige of truth in the claim that 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī was the author of al-Jawhar al-Rafī'. The author of that long poem is 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥd. b. Yūsuf b. 'Ali al-'Alawī al-Ḥanafī

al-Zabīdī (748-803/1347-1401). Both Ibn Ḥajar and al-Fairūzabādī praised his poem⁴⁰.

The error committed by Ibn Ma'sūm arose, I think, from the similarity of the names of both the humainī poet and the author of al-Jawhar al-Rafī'. Moreover, the line of descent of the humainī poet, as stated in Anwār al-Rabī', is partially wrong. Al-Sakhāwī (831-902/1427-97), who met 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī, makes the following statement⁴¹:—

"Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl b. 'Abdallah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Umar b. 'Alī Wajīh al-Dīn al-Yamānī al-Shāfi'ī."

Al-'Alawī's dīwān⁴² is completely devoted to his performances in humainī. Of the one hundred and thirty humainiyyāt that make up his dīwān, one hundred and twenty-four are in the muwashshah style, while the remaining six are bedouin in form. The muwashshahāt of al-'Alawī, of which some are not malḥūnah, show the same structural characteristics that have already been noted in the dīwān of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah Sharaf al-Dīn, and most of them, it must be noted, are in the second mubayyat form. There is nothing unusual or remarkable about al-'Alawī's experiences, but his simple statements are unforgettable

poems because of the exquisite music of his words and the natural flow of his rhythm. The manipulation of the sukūn is practically perfect, tazfīf* is used with the greatest ease, and metrical formulas of great variety are most skilfully handled.

II.

It is axiomatic to say that other S. Arabian poets, apart from the three mentioned by 'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh, had composed in the humainī style from the beginning of the history of this type of prosody until the time of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah Sharaf al-Dīn.⁴³ Of these are al-Imām al-Wāthiq, al-Imām al-Muṭahhar b. Muḥd. b. Sulaimān al-Ḥamzī (+879/1475)⁴⁴, Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallah al-'Aidarūs (851-914/1447-1508)⁴⁵, Yaḥya b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥamzī (894-923/1488-1517), and Mūsa b. Yaḥya Bahrān (888-957/1483-1550).

We have already mentioned the dīwāns of al-Wāthiq and al-'Aidarūs. Concerning the dīwān of al-Imām al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥamzī, it contains one mubayyatah which is not malḥūnah.⁴⁶ The dīwān of his son, Yaḥya, on the other hand, contains twenty-four muwashshahāt which show the same structural characteristics that have already been noted in the dīwān of al-Wāthiq.

* Also called ta'qīd: the breaking of a line into three or four, and possibly more, rhyming units..

The ḥumainī portion in the dīwān of Bahrān is composed of fourteen muwashshah poems, many of which (particularly those that are typically Andalusian in rhyme scheme⁴⁸) are not malḥūnah; but the author of al-Sulūk al-Dhahabiyyah⁴⁹ quotes a malḥūn poem (couched in the form of a letter*) which he ascribes to Bahrān, the poem, be it noted, is written "after the poetical style known as al-ḥumainī." The structural scheme of this poem is ab ab ab, etc. This rhyme pattern, which is always malḥūn in the known S. Arabian dīwāns, is what I have called, for lack of a better epithet, the bedouin form, and two poems that follow the pattern in question have appeared in Maḥajjat al-Sālik.

The ḥumainī poetry of the afore-mentioned poets cannot be ranked with that of al-Mazzāh and al-'Alawī for tenderness and melody, and hence 'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh can be forgiven, if, as a ḥumainist himself, he chose to mention only the names of three poets whom he assumed to be good composers in ḥumainī. Yet one cannot but castigate him on the ground that he passed over the greatest exponent of ḥumainī Yaman has ever produced - al-Sūdī (+932/1525),

* I should note here that the oldest epistolary verse in Arabic is probably the one which is quoted in Dīwān Bashshār b. Burd, ed. Ibn 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1369-76/1950-57), I, 206.

whose poetry breathes tenderness which, in his case, is often concomitant with melodious rhythm.

Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥd. b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Sūdī,
 known as 'Abd al-Hādī, or simply
 Al-Sūdī.
 al-Hādī,⁵⁰ was born in Ṣan'ā'
 where he grew up and married.

It is said that one day while wandering in the outskirts of Ṣan'ā', he stumbled across a qāt - tree of which he chewed some leaves, and, as a result, he suffered from fits of abstraction, and left the town of his origin. After wandering in the wilderness for a considerable time, he chose Ta'izz as his final abode. In that town, he led a mystic way of life: disinterested in worldly matters, and drawn very strongly towards God.

During the whole period which he lived in Ta'izz, al-Sūdī's mystical aversion to the normal way of life, and his ecstatic utterances, exposed him to the censure and ridicule of the multitude. We are told that a street in Ta'izz bears his name because the inhabitants of that street, who used to laugh at al-Sūdī's neglected appearance and indifference to human conventionalities, were punished by God by having a hereditary defect in their eyes.⁵¹

Al-Sūdī's poetry is fluent, moving and rhythmical. I could not, I confess, resist being carried away by the

emotions which I have experienced throughout my reading of his poems. I have never read any humanist who could outrank him. Tens of poets have composed in the humainī style, but very few of them established themselves as masters of this craft: al-Mazzāḥ, al-'Alawī, Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah Sharaf al-Dīn, Ḥaidar Āghā, 'Alī b. Muḥd. al-'Ansī, 'Abdallah b. 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād, al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī, Yaḥya b. Ibrāhīm al-Jaḥḥāfī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ānisī, and his son Ahmad. But al-Sūdī is the master of these masters, and the unsurpassable humanist of S. Arabia.

Al-Sūdī never considered poetry as the decoration of a preconceived and clearly defined matter. He only composed when undergoing the "divine attraction" (al-jadh)^{*}, and without being fettered by the Arabic stereotyped expressions. During his ecstatic experiences, he will write on walls with charcoal, and when the acuteness of these experiences fades away, he will erase what he wrote. When his students knew that habit of his, they used to hurry and copy what poems they could find on the walls, and collect them.⁵² The collections of these students compose the dīwān(s) of al-Sūdī.

* The author of al-Nūr al-Sāfir did not realize that in any poetic creative experience, a short period of tranquility is necessary.

It seems that different compilers had collected the poems which they could attain, and gave each collection a name which they thought befitting. I have come across the following four names:

- (a) Dīwān 'Abd al-Hādī al-Sūdī⁵³
- (b) Kitāb Khalīl al-Afrāh wa-Rāḥat al-Arwāh wa-Mudhhib al-Atrāh.⁵⁴
- (c) Dīwān Abū 'Abdallah Muḥd. b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥd. al-Sūdī⁵⁵.
- (d) Nasamāt al-Saḥar wa Nafahāt al-Zahar⁵⁶.

Whatever the difference in the arrangements and quantities of the afore-mentioned collections, the humainī poetry of al-Sūdī shows the same general characteristics that have already been noted in the previously mentioned dīwāns: typical Yamanite muwashshahāt in which the sukūn predominates the terminations of some words in each verse, and, statistically speaking, poems in the second mubayyat form are in the majority.

The tenth century is remarkable for having produced some great S. Arabian washshāḥīn among whom is the well-known Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah Sharaf al-Dīn⁵⁷ whose humainī poetry is

widely exploited by the singers of Aden and Ṣan'ā', and whom I consider next in tenderness to al-Sūdī and al-'Alawī.

He is the grandson of the celebrated Zaidite imam Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah (930-1010/1531-1601).
 Yaḥya b. Sharaf al-Dīn⁵⁸, and his father, 'Abdallah (+973/1565)⁵⁹, is a well-known

ḥakamist. Very little is known of Muḥammad's life beyond a few anecdotes, but his biographers agree that he was a great poet, of a kind disposition, generous, and learned. The diversity of his knowledge is reflected in his ḥakamī poetry, and some of his ḥakamiyyāt are, indeed, the subject of separate and independent books.⁶⁰

'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh collected his poems in two dīwāns: ḥakamī⁶¹ and ḥumainī⁶². He wrote:—

"I have collected his scattered poems, arranged the current and disjointed ones, met with many difficulties in obtaining them from people [who possessed them], and sought them earnestly from people living in distant places. His [ḥakamī and ḥumainī] poetry outranks, in its beauty, stringed pearls."

Concerning ḥumainī, Muḥd. "surpassed his companions in this field, and excelled rival riders in that course. I have collected in this [ḥumainī] dīwān of his what would please the reader, and from whose lights suns desire to borrow; and

I have given, in the case of most of the poems, the reasons for composing them, and the motives for inditing them. I inserted in this [ḥumainī] diwān only the true versions, some of which I received orally from him, or otherwise through his writings. He - may God have mercy upon him - told me that his poems were written at intervals, and were not preserved [in a safīnah]. This is why I spent twenty years in collecting them.⁶³"

"And let it be known that Sīdī Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah did not follow, in the amatory verses of these renowned [ḥumainī] poems, the traces of the masters of symbolical imagery, who employ allegorical and symbolic diction involving divine attributes and prophetic qualities in describing the beloved - as is the case in the poetry of al-'Alawī and those who trod in his footsteps. Most of their muwashshahāt and erotic verses are symbolical, and not about a certain specified beloved... In the case of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah, it is quite the opposite; for every erotic poem of his was composed on a definite beloved one. If he describes a union or a separation, then it is as he describes it; if he weeps at a parting or a farewell, then it is so; if he mentions shunning by a beloved, and complains of her abstention and parting, then it is so, too. Some of my friends told me that a group

of people differed in opinion about a muwashshah poem of Sīdī Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah in which the name "Laila" is mentioned. Some of them were of the opinion that "Laila" was a symbol for the Ka'bah. One of them said: 'Let us go to him and ask him about it...' When they stood in his presence, and narrated to him their story, Muḥd. said: 'All of you are mistaken in what you thought. I employed the name "Laila" only to represent a beautiful maiden.⁶⁴' "

From the foregoing version, one can sense a feeling of earnestness on the part of 'Īsa to deny any connection of Muḥd. with the sufi doctrines of his time. The fact is that Muḥd., at a particular moment of his life, became involved in sufism, and defended it against the severe attacks of al-Imām al-Qāsim al-Kabīr (b. 967/1559; imam 1006/1597; d. 1029/1620). And because he did so, he was sharply criticised by learned Zaidites.⁶⁵

We need not, here, spend much time discussing this fact. But one may question the authenticity of some of the versions of 'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh. Most of the stories which he narrates might have been the creation of his own in order to give an earthly colouring to some of the poems. Moreover, it is possible that he did not insert those poems in which sufi principles are clearly manifested, and which perhaps presented him with the problem of inventing

appropriate stories that would have given them a worldly background.

The humainiyyāt of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah are characterized by an aristocratic choice of diction and imagery. Many of his poems were sung during his lifetime⁶⁶, and no wonder that his poems were widely circulating in different parts of his country to an extent which made 'Īsa spend twenty years in collecting them.

A prominent characteristic of his humainī poems is the tender and rather sad rhythm which stirs the very depths of the soul. This touch of sadness might have been the reflection of his inmost core. Wars had become the order of the day, political unrest was at its highest, the glory of his illustrious family crumbled under the feet of the Turks, opportunism and ruthlessness were the trade mark of his environment, and life in his country seemed to him devoid of all depth of morality and spiritualism. Sufism, though regarded by his class and sect as treason and perfidy, was the escape from his loneliness, and he nurtured its teachings and principles until his death.

Another important humainist of the tenth century is Ḥātim al-Ahdal who, in his time, is considered by al-Muḥibbī⁶⁷ as an unparalleled poet, as a prose-writer and

as a learned man; and who, as a mystic, is considered by al-'Aidarūs⁶⁸ as the Ibn 'Arabī and the Dhū al-Nūn of his time, and the Bisṭāmī and the Junaid of his century.

Ḥātim led a real mystical life in al-Mochā: he was not concerned with phenomenal existence, with the demands of human needs, became completely oblivious to all that would have claimed him apart from the Beloved, and cleaved, unwearingly, to every means to approach Him. At the end, it seems, Ḥātim attained his aim, and in his dīwān(s)

Ḥātim al-Ahdal
(1013/1604).

there are some wild utterances
which, if one may hazard a
generalization, make him unique

in the history of S. Arabian poetry.

To Ḥātim are attributed some miraculous performances, one of which is that he fell in love with a beautiful maiden, but their enviable love did not last long as a result of the activities of a certain calumniator. When Ḥātim knew this source of evil, he composed a humainī poem in which he wished the slanderer to be stung by a scorpion, and God answered his call by invoking the deadly vengeance upon the backbiter. This malhūn poem, which is in the second mubayyat form, is considered as a muwashshah typical of Yaman by both al-Shillī and Ibn Ma'sūm.⁶⁹

Ḥātim's dīwān is bulky. Some of his disciples, says

says al-'Aidarūs⁷⁰, collected his poetry in a large volume, the poems being those which he dictated to his students whenever he was under a spell of inspiration (al-wārid). One may remember here the statement made by al-Qāzānī that he could not compose well "the muwashshah, the humainī, and the other types of poetry that are in use among the people of al-Yaman", until he met Ḥātim. But Ḥātim's dīwān(s)⁷¹ do(es)not show that he employed any Yamanite kind of poetry other than humainī. Ḥātim, or perhaps the compiler of his dīwān, equates humainī with al-muwashshah. He also wrote:⁷²

"The art of al-muwashshah is one of the fields in which no one can excel except those very few eloquent poets and rarely refined composers who are the masters of the literary sciences that include Rhetoric and Philology, as is mentioned by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk - may God have mercy upon him - in Dār al-Ṭirāz*. He [= Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk] made it known that the Westerners had the precedence in originating al-muwashshah, and eloquence in composing it, and were followed by the Egyptians who were sufficiently qualified

*Nothing of the kind is mentioned in the printed Dār al-Ṭirāz.

to enter the House of Embroidery already mentioned. Others, like the Poor [= Ḥātim] - may God forgive him - unashamedly stand in front of its gate, and, without being invited, force themselves in. If Ḥātim falls short in his [muwashshah] compositions, then, at least, the listeners to his songs, and the readers of his muwashshahāt, will have the opportunity to feel the exhaltations of the Merciful wafting from the direction of al-Yaman.*"

The muwashshah which Ḥātim has in mind is the mubayyat muwashshah (particularly the second mubayyat form) and the regular muwashshah. It is interesting to note that Ḥātim included in the term muwashshah correct strophic poems that are takhmīsāt of some poems of other poets⁷⁵. Many of the muwashshahāt included are not malḥūnah; and the lahn in him, when it is manipulated, is mainly restricted to the employment of the sukūn, or to vocabular taznīm which is substitutable by Arabic equivalents without affecting the particular line.

*This is an allusion to the well-known tradition: "I feel the breath of the Merciful from the quarter of al-Yaman -

أبي لأجد نفس الرحمن من صوب اليمن."

III.

From the days of Ibn Fulaitah on, the composition of humainī continued on a large scale, and from the turning of the tenth century, many names that are jotted down in safāyin, indicate that the humainī style became the vogue among the educated classes of S. Arabia. Very few of these humainists, however, could be credited with the genius of al-'Alawī or al-Sūdī. A lack of expressed personality, an absence of personal originality, loose sentimentalism, imitativeness, repetitiveness - these must be regarded as the general principal characteristics of the majority of the composers in the field of humainī after the tenth century of Hijrah.

One can hardly give reasons for the qualitative decadence of humainī after the tenth century, but one can hardly do better than to revert to the period and the environment.

With the death of 'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb in A.H. 923, the Sunnite part of that country fell into chaos, the capital, Zabīd, was at the mercy of local chiefs and Mamlūk rebels, and the highroads were the natural fields for bedouin brigands.⁷⁴ Order was restored to most parts of S. Arabia for a while by the strong hand of al-Muṭahhar

The political conditions of S. Arabia after the tenth century A.H. b. Yahya Sharaf al-Dīn (908-80/1502-72)⁷⁵, but with the coming of the Turks, disorder prevailed again, and al-Muṭahhar spent the remaining part of his life battling against the Ottomans, or harassing them by rapid incursions and frequent plunder by expeditions. The prevailing disorder and insecurity of the tenth century invited Ibn Qāḍī Khān to make the following interesting comment⁷⁶:-

"Among the wonders of God is that each of the seven divisions of the habitable quarter of the Universe is associated with one of the corresponding planets. Yaman is linked with Saturn whose influence, by the will of God and His established decree, is connected with discord, evil deeds, and wars. Consequently, it is seldom that Yaman is not convulsed with wars because of that planetary influence, which takes place by the unavoidable decree of God, the Powerful and the Omniscient."

The first Turkish occupation of Yaman began soon after the downfall of 'Āmir. The sultans of Turkey were ambitious to control the Red Sea trade-route to India, to extend their conquests eastward, and to meet the challenge of the Portuguese who, on succeeding in rounding the Cape of Good Hope in A.H. 903, began to harry the Moslem fleets

on the high seas, frequently pillaged the Arabian coast, and even attempted to block the Red Sea to Moslem shipping⁷⁷. Therefore in A.H. 945, the Ottoman fleet captured Aden and some other seaport towns of Tihāmah; but it was not until A.H. 988 that the Turks were able to install Ḥasan Pāshā as the first governor of Yaman. The Turks, however, spent the ensuing fifty years in the suppression of repeated attempts of rebellion, accompanied by incessant strife between them and different imams or tribal chiefs⁷⁸.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, the Zaidites found a leader in the person of al-Imām al-Qāsim b. Muḥd. (b. 967/1560; imam 1006/1597; d. 1029/1620), who tirelessly warred against the Turks (whose name and government by now had become alike odious), and occupied most of the mountaineous districts. His son, al-Imām Muḥd. (b. 990/1523; imam 1029/1620; d. 1054/1644), compelled the Turks to evacuate the remaining part of the country; and for the first time in the tragic history of the Zaidites, the whole of Yaman, we are told, was firmly governed by a single imam without being rivalled by any claimant to the Imamate⁷⁹. It is very probable, as Playfair states,⁸⁰ that the Turks did not make a very spirited resistance to him, perhaps because on account of the Red Sea trade-route having declined in importance as the

Cape route to the East became more frequented.

Al-Imām Muḥd. was succeeded by his brother Ismā'īl (b. 1019/1610; imam 1054/1644; d. 1087/1676), who ruled unchallenged, and died universally respected and esteemed for his piety, learning, and administrative talents. His cousin, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim (b. 1029/1620; imam 1087/1676; d. 1092/1681), succeeded him, and likewise ruled with firmness and justice.

There is no need further to persue the various holders of the Imamate; for by the year of Aḥmad's death, we can mark the beginning of the gradual degeneration and dissolution of S. Arabia as a whole. The country became continually overrun by lawless and predatory tribes; and it was usual to find more than one imam - and sometimes five - contending to hold both the spiritual and the temporal swords⁸¹. By A.H. 1140 several petty chiefs, of tribes or families with long-standing bitter feuds against each other, were independent, some styling themselves as sultans⁸².

This condition was accentuated by the next coming of the Turks who undertook to subjugate anew the Yaman when the Wahhābī movement in A.H. 1218 blazed across Arabia. In A.H. 1232, the Turks wrested the coastal strip of Tihāmah, including the important ports of al-Ḥudaidah and al-Mochā, from al-Sharīf Ḥamūd b. Muḥd. (+1233/1818) of Abū 'Arīsh,

who, for reasons of his own, sided with, though later fought against, the Wahhābīs of 'Asīr. The Wahhābīs of Yaman being reduced, the Turks entered into a negotiation with the weak imam of Ṣan'ā', the then Aḥmad b. 'Alī (b. 1170/1756; imam 1224/1809; d. 1231/1815-16), who was only too glad to pay an annual tribute, in consideration of having a whole province restored to his sway⁸⁴. The reign of his son, 'Abdallah (b. 1208/1793; imam 1231/1815; d. 1251/1835), however, was much disturbed by internecine feuds; not only did he fail to retain Tihāmah which had been filched from his father, and which had been restored to him by the Turks, but a large portion of his domains, including Ta'izz and Jiblah, were seized by the two predatory tribes of Dhū Muḥammad and Dhū Ḥusain; and he was also obliged to subsidise the neighbouring tribes of Ṣan'ā' in order to prevent them plundering that town⁸⁵.

In A.H. 1247, we witness the struggle for mastery between the Porte and Muḥd. 'Alī Pāshā of Egypt. By A.H. 1253, the armies of Egypt, under the command of Ibrāhīm Pāshā, were occupying Tihāmah, from al-Qunfadah to al-Mochā. Ibrāhīm's activities in Tihāmah prompted the British, in A.H. 1254, to capture Aden from the 'Abdalite sultan of Laḥj; but in the next year, the Egyptians were compelled to evacuate Tihāmah, and most of the coastal towns

were handed over by the Porte to al-Sharīf Ḥusain b. Ḥaidar b. 'Alī.

In A.H. 1265, the Turks, thinking that the proper time had arrived to take possession of Yaman, occupied Tihāmah, and summoned the imam of Ṣan'ā', Muḥd. b. Yaḥya (imam 1260/1844; d. 1266/1849), to surrender his dominions to the Porte, and he agreed. On the unexpected arrival of a Turkish contingent at Ṣan'a', the inhabitants fell upon them, and only a few escaped being massacred. The Ṣan'ānites were so furious at the treacherous conduct of al-Imām Muḥd. that they executed him, and appointed 'Alī b. al-Mahdī 'Abdallah (+ c. 1288/1871), who had twice been deposed, in his stead.⁸⁶ Ghālib, the son of the executed ex-imam, declared himself as imam in A.H. 1267, and several other persons did the same. Ṣan'ā' became the scene of strife and anarchy; robberies and murders were events of every day occurrence, and the Jews and foreign merchants were despoiled of all they possessed.

This state of anarchy continued unabated in every part of the highlands; but Tihāmah, on account of the presence of the Turks, enjoyed some peace. In A.H. 1286, the opening of the Suez Canal led the Turks to take new interest in the Yaman as a whole, and their gradual occupation of the turbulent highlands began. When the Turkish army reached Ṣana'ā' in A.H. 1289, the populace of that town were only

too glad to have them as protectors against the sudden impulsiveness and incessant raids of the restless tribes. In the same year, a Turkish Pāshā was installed in Ṣan'ā' as the governor of Yaman, and the Ottomans continued, with fluctuating fortunes, to rule over Tihāmah and some other major towns of the interior until the surrender of their forces to the British at Aden and al-Ḥudaidah after the Armistice of A.D. 1918.

Throughout that long period, there was always the familiar violence that had been so long Yaman's lot. There was the uncertainty of the daily life in the face of the never wholly absent threat of harshness, famine, plague, the diseases of filth and contagion. Order was restricted to fortified towns, but highwaymen were an accepted risk of travel.

In such an environment we cannot expect literature to thrive, and ḥumainī was not an exception. Furthermore, the knowledge of literature was restricted to the very few, and neither the Turks, nor the bogus imams, who ceaselessly scrambled for power, had any interest in furthering education.

There is no doubt that the S. Arabian environment became more rigid and disinterested in true works of poetry. The mordant remarks of the author of Tib al-Samar in the introduction of his book, and the complaints of the poets about the way poetry came to be regarded by the rulers and the populace of that country⁸⁷, give us a fair image of

of the age. Al-Haimī⁸⁸ brands the rulers of his country as thieves and highwaymen; and trenchantly states that Yaman became drained of the beauty that stimulates, and devoid of the honourable kings who are sensitive to the satires of the poets.

Singing, which is closely associated with ḥumainī, could not thrive in an environment such as Yaman was. Sufism became degenerated, and sufi poets who could match al-'Alawī or al-Sūdī did not exist.

It is hard to weave a blanket wide enough to cover all the poets who wrote in the ḥumainī style after the tenth century; yet it is possible to prepare a list of tens of names that appear in safāyin. However, such a task may not serve any practical purpose, and many of the names that can be recorded did not take ḥumainī seriously, or, if they did, did not produce ḥumainiyyāt of any real value. They merely produced bad rhymes. Moreover, the majority of these ḥumainists do not have any place in the known biographies.

Most of the S. Arabian washshāḥīn, it must be noted, are only mentioned in Yamanite biographies on the virtue of their ḥakamī poetry or other aspects of learning, and thus the opportunity to know all the names of those ḥakamists who composed in the ḥumainī style, escapes the general reader. One, therefore, has to read every S. Arabian dīwān or safīnah upon which he could lay his hands. Such a task may seem arduous, but it is the only way to ascertain the names of those ḥakamists who gave ḥumainī some attention in their literary career.

Having all that in mind, I have made the following list of names of humanists in the hope that it may prove to be of some practical use. The guiding principles in its preparation are

- (a) The eminency of the poet as a humanist.
- (b) The repetition of the name of the humainī poet in Yamanite safāyin.
- (c) The fact that the poet has a compiled dīwān which is wholly, or partly, devoted to his performances in humainī.
- (d) The fact that the poet has been mentioned by S. Arabian biographers as a humainī composer.

Before listing the names of those poets, let it be stated that the number of those who composed in the humainī style is very large, and that the list which we give below is not by any means exhaustive.

A LIST OF S. ARABIAN HUMANISTS WHO FLOURISHED

AFTER THE TENTH CENTURY A.H.

'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abdallah Bā -Kathīr (+1025/1616 *89)

'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh b. al-Muṭahhar b. al-Imām Sharaf al-Dīn
(986-1048/1578-1638 *90)

Ṣalāh b. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Jaḥḥāfī (+1053/1643 *91)

* Starred names are known to have compiled dīwāns wholly, or partly, devoted to their humainī performances.

- Al-Ḥasan b. al-Muṭahhar al-Jarmūzī (1044-1100/1634-89^{*92})
- Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ al-Hindī (+1101/1690^{*93})
- Yahya b. Mūsa al-'Aidī al-Ḥabūrī (+1110/1698)^{*94}
- Al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Qādir (1061-1112/1651-1700⁹⁵)
- Yahya b. Ibrāhīm al-Jahḥāfī (+1117/1705)^{*96}
- Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Ānisī (+1119/1707)^{*97}
- 'Alī b. Zain al-'Ābidīn al-'Aidarūs (1055-1127/1645-1715)⁹⁸
- Muḥd. al-Kharwashī⁹⁹
- Ḥaidar Āghā b. Muḥd. al-Rūmī¹⁰⁰
- 'Abdallah b. 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād (1044-1132/1634-1720)^{*101}
- 'Alī b. Muḥd. b. Aḥmad al-'Ansī (1048-1139/1673-1727)¹⁰²
- Al-Ḥusain b. 'Abdallah b. Shā'ūs al-Ta'izzī¹⁰³
- 'Abdallah b. 'Alī al-Wazīr (1074-1147/1663-1734)^{*104}
- Maḥmūd Sunbul 'Alī.¹⁰⁵
- Sha'bān b. Salīm b. 'Uthmān al-Rūmī (1065-1149/1655-1736)^{*106}
- Al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. al-Imām al-Mutawakkil (1072-1149/1662
- 1736)^{*107}
- Aḥmad b. Muḥd. b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥaimī (1073-1151/1662-1739)^{*108}
- Zain b. 'Abdallah b. 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād (1105-1157/1694 -
1744)^{*109}
- 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bār (+1158/1745)^{*110}
- Hāshim b. Yahya al-Shāmī (1104-58/1693-1745)¹¹¹
- Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain b. 'Abdallah al-Ruqaiḥī al-Ṣabbāgh
(1086-1162/1675-1748)^{*112}

- Muḥammad b. Ishāq (1090-1167/1680-1754)*113.
- Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm (+1170/1757)¹¹⁴
- Qāsīm b. Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥd. b. Abī al-Rijāl¹¹⁵
- Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Jumā'ī¹¹⁶.
- Ishāq b. Yūsuf (1111-73/1699-1760)*117
- Ḥasan b. Muḥd. al-Fusayyil.¹¹⁸
- Al-Mahdī b. Muḥd. al-'Anṣī.¹¹⁹
- 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭās (1121-72/1709-58)*120
- 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Imām
al-Qāsīm, known as al-Khufanjī
(+1180/1766)*121
- Ismā'īl b. Muḥd. b. 'Alī Fāyi' (1106-85/1695-1771)*122
- 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Ishāq (+1191/1771)¹²³
- 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafa al-'Aidarūs (1135-92/1723-78)*124
- Muḥsin b. Muḥd. al-Fāyi' (1141-95/1729-80)¹²⁵
- Aḥmad b. Muḥd. al-Qāṭiḥ (1118-99/1706-85)*126
- Sa'īd al-Qarawānī (+ 1204/1789)¹²⁷
- Muḥd. b. Hāshim al-Shāmī (1140-1207/1727-93)¹²⁸
- 'Umar b. Saqqāf al-Saqqāf (1154-1216/1741-1801)¹²⁹
- Muḥd. b. Aḥmad al-'Anṣī (+1217/1802)¹³⁰
- Aḥmad b. Yahya al-Ṣan'ānī (+1217/1802)¹³¹
- Muḥd. b. Aḥmad al-Ḥasanī al-Ṣan'ānī (+1217/1802)¹³²
- Aḥmad al-Murtada al-Maḥṭūrī (+1219/1804)¹³³

- 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Amīr (1171-1219/1758-1804)¹³⁴
- 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ishāq (1150-1220/1737-1805)¹³⁵
- 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī 'Abbās (+1221/1806)¹³⁶
- Al-Muṭahhar b. Ḥasan al-Ṣa'dī (+1223/1808)¹³⁷
- Muḥd. b. Muḥsin al-'Alfī (+1224/1808)¹³⁸
- Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ānisī (1189-1241/1775-1827)¹³⁹
- Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Amīr (1175-1244/1762-1829)¹⁴⁰
- 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥya al-Ānisī (1168-1250/1755-1834)^{*141}
- Muḥsin b. Aḥmad al-Shāmī al-Ḥasanī (+1251/1835)¹⁴²
- 'Abdallah b. Abī Bakr 'Aidīd (1195-1255/1781-1839)^{*143}
- Ismā'īl b. Ḥusain b. Ḥasan b. Ṣalāḥ Ja'mān[†] (1212-56/1798-1840)^{*144}
- 'Abdallah b. Sa'd b. Sumair (1185-1262/1771-1845)^{*145}
- Al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawkabānī (1179-1265/1765-1849)^{*146}
- 'Abdallah b. Aḥmad Bā-Sūdān (1178-1266/1764-1850)^{*147}
- Muḥsin b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Ishāq (1191-1266/1771-1850)^{*148}
- 'Abdallah b. Ḥusain b. Ṭāhir (1191-1272/1774-1855)^{*149}
- Aḥmad Sharaf al-Dīn al-Qārīah (1295/1878)^{*150}
- Aḥmad b. Muḥd. al-Miḥdār (1217-1304/1802-86)^{*151}
- Ḥusain b. Muḥd. al-Bār (1250-1311/1834-93)^{*152}
- Shaikhān b. 'Alī b. Ḥāshim al-Saqqāf (1248-1313/1832-95)^{*153}

+ Zabārah, Nail al-Waṭar, I, 270, and Brock., Sup., II, 819, read "Jaghman", and, therefore, should be corrected. The reading "Ja'mān" is fixed by the Tāj al-'Arūs (s.v. جم); see also Khulāṣat al-Athar, I, 21.

- 'Alī b. Muḥd. al-Ḥabshī (1295-1333/1843-1915)*¹⁵⁴
 Muḥd b. 'Aidarūs al-Ḥabshī (1265-1337/1849-1919)*¹⁵⁵
 'Abdallah b. Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah Bā-Ḥasan, known as Jamal
 al-Lail (1278-1347/1861-1928)*¹⁵⁶
 Aḥmad Faḍl al-'Abdalī (+ 1362/1943)*¹⁵⁷
 'Abdallah Ḥādī Subait* (still living)¹⁵⁸

The following two poets, about whom I could not find any reliable information, are known to have composed in the muwashshah style:

- Muḥd. b. Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawkabānī.¹⁵⁹
 'Umar al-Mayyāh.*¹⁶⁰

1. Dīwān Mubayyatat, p.9.
2. Aḥmad b. 'Abdallah al-Shar'abī, Ṭirāz al-Majālis wa-Samīr Kull Nāhid wa-Ānis, an Ms. in possession of al-Qādī al-Ḥāj Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl b. Naṣīr of Ṣuḥbān. This important version will be given in the next chapter.
3. Cf. Yāqūt al-Rūmī, Mu'jam al-Udabā', ed. D.S. Margoliouth (Cairo, 1907-31), IV, 92.
4. Cf. Mu'jam al-Buldān, III, 917.
5. Cf. al-Silafī, Akhbār wa-Tarājim Andalusīyyah..., sel. and ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Beirūt, 1962), p. 43.
6. Cf. M.A. al-Karīm, Fann al-Tawshīḥ (Beirūt, 1959), p. 151.
7. Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'ah, 'Uyūn al-Ānbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā' (Cairo, 1299/1882), II, 62; see also the statement of al-Maqqarī, Nafh al-Ṭīb ..., ed. Rifā'ī (Cairo, 1355/1936),

VI, 181.

8. Fawāṭ al-Wafayāt, II, 35-6; see also his, Dīwān al-Ḥikam ..., Br. Mus., Add. 7560 (Rich.), fols. 3^b-4a.
9. See, respectively, 'Oumāra du Yémen, ed. H. Derenbourg (Paris, 1897), I, 288-9; Dīwān al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, ed. A.A. Badawī (Cairo, 1961), I, 283.
10. His dīwān (Būlāq, 1271/1855) contains thirty strophic poems that are typically Andalusian in rhyme scheme.
11. Cf. Dīwān al-Shustarī, ed. A.S. al-Washār (Alexandria, 1960), p. 7.
12. Ibid., p. 8.
13. 'Oumāra du Yémen, I, 388-9.
14. The dīwān of Ibn 'Alwān, Bodleian, Marsh 587, contains four strophic poems that are typically Andalusian in rhyme scheme.
15. Cf. Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwa, fol. 6a.
16. For his life and poetry, see Zabārah, Ithāf al-Muhtadīn bi-Dhikr al-A'imma al-Mujaddidīn (Ṣan'a', A.H. 1343), p.65; Simṭ al-La'al, fols. 125^b-132a; al-'Arashī, Bulūgh al-Marām..., ed. al-Karmiī (Cairo, 1939), p. 51; al-Fand, al-Lawāḥiq al-Nadiyyah..., al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, no. 16, ii; Ma'āthir al-Abrār..., al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, no. 14, i; Ibn Muẓaffar, al-Tarjuman..., Br. Mus., Add. 18513, fols. 168-69; Al-Badr al-Tāli', II, 311; Tārīkh Thaghr 'Adan, II, 20-21, 106-07;

al-Wāsi'ī, Tārīkh al-Yaman (Cairo, A.H. 1346), p. 38; Ibn Ja'mān, al-Simt al-Ḥawī..., Br. Mus., Or. 3898, v, fols. 192b-193a; al-'Iṣāmī, Simt al-Nujūm..., Br. Mus., Add. 23287, II, 250a; Anonymous, al-Futūḥat al-Murādiyyah..., Br. Mus., Or. 3718, fol. 127a; Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur (Leiden, 2nd ed., 1943-49), II, 230, Supplementband (Leiden, 1937-42), II, 232; E. Griffini, "Lista dei Manoscritti Arabi Nuovo Fondo della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano", RSO (1910-20), IV, 198 (B74) - VII.

17. Yaman - Its Early Medieval History, trans. p. 130.

18. Ibn Ḥatim, al-Simt al-Ghālī al-Thaman..., Br. Mus., Add. 27541, fol. 2a.

19. Cf. al-Khazrajī, al-'Uqūd al-Lu'lu'iyah..., ed. M. 'Asal (Cairo, 1329-32/1911-14), I, 84.

20. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, al-Durar al-Kāminah... (Haiderabad, A.H. 1348-50), II, 100.

21. Al-'Uqūd al-Lu'lu'iyah, I, 276ff. One of his books is preserved in the Ambrosiana, numbered C.22.

22. Cf. Tārīkh Thaghr 'Adan, II, 151.

23. Cf. al-Yāfi'ī, Mir'āt al-Janān..., (Haiderabad, A.H. 1357-40), IV, 266; Ibn al-Daiba', Bughyat al-Mustafīd fī Akhbār Zabīd, Br. Mus., Or. 3265, i, fol. 30. One of his books is mentioned in Brock., Sup., II, 252.

24. Cf. al-'Uqūd al-Lu'lu'iyah, II, 158f. For some of his preserved books, see Brock., Sup., II, 236.
25. Cf. al-'Uqūd al-Lu'lu'iyah, II, 244.
26. Cf. Tārīkh Thaghr 'Adan, II, 20f. For some of his books, see Brock., Sup., II, 236.
27. Cf. Azhār al-Riyād, III, 46.
28. Cf. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 133ff. I came across this story in some safāyin, and a considerable portion of the qaṣīdah in question is quoted in the Ambrosiana Ms., C 163, fol. 102.
29. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 133.
30. It is interesting to note that 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ānīsī, Tarjī' al-Aṭyār bi-Muraqqiṣ al-Ash'ār, ed. al-Iryānī and al-Aghbarī (Cairo, A.H. 1369), p. 397, refers to a humainī song of al-Mazzāh in a line which did not strike the attention of the two editors:

وما شعري : قفوا بي جنب ذا الدار أنا روي على من فيه دائر+

This is an allusion to a famous mubayyatah which commences

قفوا بي جنب ذا الدار أنا روي مع ساكنه++

and which was imitated by many S. Arabian washshāhīn,

+ Metrical scheme: || --u | ---u | ---u | ---u | ---u | ---u

++ Metrical scheme: || -u | ---u | ---u | ---u | ---u

including Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah (v. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, pp. 182, 204) and Ḥātim al-Aḥdal (v. Leiden Ms., Or. 1445, fol. 107a).

31. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 103.

32. See the fourth chapter of this thesis.

33. Three regular muwashshahāt are also quoted under his name in the Ambrosiana Ms., D.408. For other poems of al-Mazzāḥ, see Della Vida, op. cit., no. 947 (fols. 41, 42, 46, 62, 67).

34. See, for instance, al-Sakhāwī, al-Daw' al-Lāmi'... (Cairo, 1353-55/1934-36), V, 16; al-'Aidarūs, al-Nūr al-Sāfir... (Baghdād, 1353/1934), p. 118; al-Badr al-Ṭāli', I, 308; al-Shillī, al-Sanā' al-Bāhir..., Br. Mus., Add. 16648, ii, fol. 221b.

35. Cf. L.O. Schuman, Political history of the Yemen at the beginning of the 16th century - Abū Makhrama's account of the years 906-927H. (1500-1521 A.D)

(Amsterdam, 1960), p. 31; see also al-Ḥasan b. Ḥusain, Tuḥfat al-Zaman fī Akhbār Mulūk al-Yaman, Br. Mus., Or. 3330, fol. 106a.

36. Quoted in al-Sanā' al-Bāhir, fol. 244.

37. Ibn Ma'sūm, Anwār al-Rabī' fī Anwā' al-Badī', Br. Mus., Or. 3629, fol. 347.

38. Ibid., loc. cit.

39. Cf. al-Suyūṭī, Nazm al-'Iqyān fī A'yān al-A'yān, ed.

P. Hitti (New York, 1927), p. 46.

40. Cf. Tārīkh Thaghr 'Adan, II, 122-24; al-Daw' al-Lāmi', IV, 153f. The complete name of the rhetorical poem, as is stated in the well-written Ms. of the India Office Library (old no. 3703; catalogue no. is not yet settled) is:

Al-Jawhar al-Rafī' wa-Dawḥat al-Ma'ānī fī Ma'rifat Anwā'
al-Badī' wa-Madh al-Nabī al-'Adnānī wa-sharḥuhā al-mawsūm
bi-Azhār al-Rabī' wa-Ghāyat al-Amānī fī Sharḥ al-Jawhar
al-Rafī' wa-Dawḥat al-Ma'ānī: composed and elucidated by
al-Qādī al-Fādīl al-Kāmil al-'Allāmah Wajīh al-Dīn 'Abd
al-Rahmān b. Muḥd. b. Yūsuf al-'Alawī.

Ḥājji Khalīfah, Kashf al-Zunūn, II, 36, is nearer to the truth by attributing the poem in question to "Wajīh al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Yamānī who died about A.H. 800" than C. Rieu, Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum (London, 1894), p. 622, who "corrected" the version of Ḥājji Khalīfah by depending upon Ibn Ma'sūm's statement without noticing the difference of time between the death of al-Fairuzabādī, for example, and the birth of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī. Corrections should also be made to Brock., G.A.L., 231, and Ahlwardt, op.cit., no. 7376.

Another copy of al-Jawhar al-Rafī' is preserved in al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, numbered 71.

41. Al-Daw' al-Lami', V, 43.

42. Leiden, Or. 1248. The name of the poet, as is inserted in the first folio of this Ms., is 'Abd al-Rahmān al-'Alawī - a fact which may account for the error into which Brock., G.A.L., II, 230, and, later, P. Voorhoeve, Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the library of the University of Leiden...

(Lug. Bat., 1957), p. 62, had fallen. Both attribute the authorship of the Ms. to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥd. al-'Alawī (+803/1400). But note, incidentally, that the poet praises Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallah al-'Aidarūs (fol. 71a) and al-Sultān 'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (fol. 72). Moreover, the lines which al-'Aidarūs mentions in al-Zahr al-Bāsim, and which he attributes to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī, are part of two poems included in this Leiden Ms. (fols. 18a, 89b.)

The Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3789, contains the bulk of his ḥumainiyyāt. The larger portion of this Ms. (fols. 50-116) contains ḥumainī poems, the author of which is not apparent because the first folios of the collection are destroyed. Comparison between the Br. Mus. Ms. and the Leiden Ms. shows authentically that the author of the ḥumainī part of Or. 3789 is 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī,

For other copies of al-'Alawī's dīwān, see also Della

Vida, op. cit., nos. 1143¹⁰, 1153².

43. I do not have the slightest doubt that the production of humāinī, between the eighth and the tenth century, was enormous. One may come across some names in Yamanite safāyin about whom nothing is known because they were overlooked by the S. Arabian biographers. The only repeatable names in Yamanite safāyin, about whom we know enough, are al-Imām Sharaf al-Dīn (877-965/1473-1558), and his two sons, 'Alī (+978/1570) and 'Abdallah (+90 973/1565). Examples of their muwashshahāt are also quoted in Simṭ al-La'āl under their respective names.

Another important washshāḥ is 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. ... Ahmad al-Muhājirī al-Bura'ī (+803/1401). His dīwān, which contains several non-malḥūn mubayyatāt, was printed in Cairo in A.H. 1283, 1288, 1297 (twice), 1300, 1301 (twice) and 1303. It was also lithographed in Bombay in A.H. 1291 and 1301. Several malḥūn poems, however, are included in his Mawlid al-'Arūs (Cairo, A.H. 1298, 1301), but doubt may be cast over their authenticity since al-Bura'ī himself says in his dīwān (Bombay, A.H. 1301), p. 61, that a poem without grammar (naḥw) is like food without salt. But s.v. برع, Tāj al-'Arūs. Please note that Brock. Sup., I, 459, took al-Bura'ī to flourish in the middle half of the fifth century, and, therefore, should be corrected.

The most important Ḥaḍramite humainist before the end of the tenth century A.H. is probably 'Umar b. 'Abdallah Bā-Makhramah (884-952/1479-1545), one of whose muwashshahāt is quoted in al-Sanā' al-Bāhir, fol. 360b. For his life and poetry, see Ibid., fols. 293a-294b; al-Nūr al-Sāfir, p. 278; al-Saqqāf, Tārīkh al-Shu'arā' al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn (Cairo, A.H. 1353⁺ -), I, 130-40; R.B. Serjeant, "Materials for South Arabian History, II," Bull. School of Or. and African Studies (London, 1950), item 28, pp. 593-94.

For other Ḥaḍramite washshāḥīn, see also Bā-Shaibān, Tiryāq Asqām al-Qulūb..., Br. Mus., Or. 112, fols. 121a, 133a - 134b, 180a - 181b, 208a, 209b - 210a.

Another S. Arabian minor washshāḥ is al-Jarrāḥ b. Shājir whose dīwān, Br. Mus., Or. 409, contains four mubayyatāt (fols. 266-316, 32a-36b, 59a-62b, 63a-68a), none of which, however, is malḥūmah. This poet lived during the reign of 'Amir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, on whom he wrote some panegyric ḥakamiyyāt (see, e.g. fol. 92).

Other S. Arabian washshāḥīn are Muḥd. b. 'Umar Bahraq al-Ḥaḍramī (869-930/1465-1524) and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥd. al-Wazīr (830-914/1413-1508). Examples of their

+ It is in five volumes, but I have only seen the first three

ḥumainiyyāt are quoted in al-Nūr al-Sāfir, p. 149, and Simt al-La'āl, fol. 144a, respectively.

44. His life forms the subject of the Ambrosiana Ms., B14.

45. For his life and literary achievements, reference can be made to al-Zahr al-Bāsim; Ibn Qādī Khān, al-Barq al-Yamānī ..., Br. Mus., Or. 106, fol. 123; Tārīkh al-Shu'arā' al-Ḥadramyīn, I, 105ff; al-Nūr al-Sāfir, p. 81ff; al-Shillī, al-Mashra' al-Rawī... (Cairo, 1319/1901), II, 34ff; al-Ghazzī, al-Kawākib al-Sā'irah..., ed. J.S. Jabbūr (Beirūt, 1945) I, 113f; Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, Shadharāt al-Dhahab... (Cairo, 1350-51/1931-32), VIII, 62f; F.M. Hunter, An account of The British Settlement of Aden in Arabia (London, 1877), p. 174; Tiryāq Asqām al-Qulūb, fols. 28a-29b, 181b, 187b, 209a; Brock., Sup., II, 233.

46. Cf. Silk al-'Iqd al-Thamīn ..., Br. Mus., Or. 418, i, fols. 48a-62b. To the dīwān of the father is appended the ḥakamī and ḥumainī dīwān of his son: Yahya. The dīwān of Yahya begins on fol. 72b, and ends on fol. 121a.

47. See supra.

48. Cf. Dīwān ... Bahrān, Br. Mus., Or. 3853, ii, fols. 28b-30a, 54b-56b, 65b-66a, etc. Bahrān's ability as a washshāḥ has been noted by al-Raiḥānī, Adab wa-Fann (Beirūt, 1957), p. 38.

Copies of Bahrān's dīwān are in the Egyptian Library, no. 4075 Adab; al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, no. 182, iii.

49. Cf. al-Hādī b. Muḥd. b. Ibrāhīm, al-Sulūk al-Dhahabiyyah..., Br. Mus., Or. 3731, fol. 17.

50. Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr al-Ṭālī', I, 408, and Yūsuf b. Yahya, Nasmat al-Saḥar, II, erroneously give his name as 'Abd al-Hādī b. Muḥd. al-Sūdī. For his life and poetry, see also al-Nūr al-Sāfir, pp. 155-60, 170, 179-91; Ḥadīqat al-Afrāḥ, p. 28; al-Khaffājī, Raiḥānat al-Alibbā' (Bulāq, 1273/1856), pp. 220-21; M.H. Ḥusain, Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Buhār Library (Calcutta, 1923), no. 432; Das Muwaṣṣaḥ, p. 20; Brock., G.A.L. II, 536, Sup., II, 565, 897; Ambrosiana Ms., C158, fols. 44b-47a, 73b-74a, 84b-85a; Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 4363, fols. 38a-39b.

51. Cf. Ṭīb al-Samar, Br. Mus., Or. 2428, II, 157a.

52. Cf. al-Nūr al-Sāfir, p. 155.

53. Cf. Ahlwardt, op. cit., nos. 7934, 7935. The Ms. of the Egyptian Library, no. 80 Adab, is simply entitled "Dīwān al-Hādī al-Sūdī"

54. Ambrosiana, D. 410.

55. Leiden, Or. 2697, i; see also Della Vida, op. cit., no. 292³.

56. The anonymous Ambrosiana Ms., D 408 (v. al-Munajjid, Fihrist al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabiyyah fī al-Ambroziānā (Cairo,

1960)), consists of two parts. The first is undoubtedly the dīwān of al-Sūdī, but the name given to the collection is not known because the first folios of the Ms. are destroyed. Indeed, many of the poems of the first part of this Ms. are included in Khalil al-Afrāḥ. One cannot blame al-Munajjid for his failure to authenticate the authorship of these poems; but one cannot but censure him for not having spent few more minutes in examining the Ms. in question. For if he did, he would have decided with complete certainty that the author of the Ms. is al-Sūdī. Many of the poems in the first part are repeated in the second part, the heading of which is stated as follows: Kitāb Nasamāt al-Saḥar wa-Nafaḥāt al-Zaḥar: nazm al-Shaikh al-Imām al-Quṭb al-A'zam Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallah Muḥd. b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Sūdī.

The second part of the Leiden Ms., Or. 2697, fol. 45b, has the title: Nasamāt al-Ḥumainiyyāt al-Saḥar [sic] wa-Nafaḥāt al-Zaḥar. Ḥājjī Khalīfah, Kashf al-Zunūn, VI, 342, gives the following name: Nusaimāt al-Saḥar wa-Nafaḥāt al-Zaḥar fī al-Muwashshahāt.

57. For his life and poetry, see Nafaḥat al-Yaman, pp. 78-80; Sulāfat al-'Aṣr, pp. 430-48; Ḥamīd al-Dīn, Tarwīḥ al-Mashūq..., Br. Mus., Or. 419, fols. 108a - 109a; Nasmat al-Saḥar, II; Simṭ al-La'āl, fols. 184b-193a; al-Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat al-Athar... (Cairo, A.H. 1284), IV,

20; Aḥamd b. 'Abdallah al-Wazīr, Sharḥ Silsilat al-Ibrīz..., Br. Mus., Or. 3918, fol. 75; Das Muwaṣṣaḥ, pp. 67-8; Tuhfat al-Zaman, fol. 172; al-Badr al-Ṭali', II, 194; al-Ru'āmī, al-Rawḍ al-Ḥasan.. - Historia Jemanae sub Hasano Pascha, ed. and tr. A. Rutger⁺ (Lug. Bat., 1838), p. 180; al-Rashīdī, Bughyat al-Murīd wa-Anīs al-Farīd..., Br. Mus., Or., 3719, fols. 20a-21b; Della Vida, op. cit., nos. 947 (fol. 21), 1053 (fols. 22, 49-52), 1083 (fol. 18), 1120 (fols. 35, 37), 1181 (fol. 8); Ambrosiana Mss., C158, fols. 22b, 27b-33b, 34a-36a, 39a-40a, C. 159, fols. 44a, 46b, 48, C 163, fols. 80b, 104; Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3779, fols. 70-75; al-Munajjid, op. cit., no. D286.

58. His life forms the subject of the Ambrosiana Ms., A3.

59. Al-Khaffājī, Raiḥānat al-Alibbā', p. 217, quotes his name mistakenly as 'Abdallah b. Shams al-Dīn b. al-Muṭahhar, and, furthermore, there are certain mistakes in some of the lines of the poem which he quotes.

For his life and poetry, reference can also be made to al-Badr al-Ṭali', I, 383; Simṭ al-La'āl, fols. 176a-184b; Ibn Abī al-Rijāl, Maṭla' al-Budūr wa-Majma' al-Buḥūr, Ambrosiana, B 131, III, 38; Della Vida, op. cit., nos. 1053 (fols. 66-68, 100), 1083 (fol. 12); Nasmat al-Saḥar, II.

+ Containing a Latin translation, notes, and index only, without the Arabic text.

60. Of these is the poem called al-Jawāhir al-Maknūnah. Al-Ḥaimī expounded the difficult lines of this long poem in a book which he called al-Aṣḍāf al-Mashhūnah bi-al-Jawāhir al-Maknūnah (v. al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Qādir, al-Qawl al-Ḥasan., Br. Mus., Or. 3938, fol. 18a; al-Ḥaimī, Sulāfat al-'Āsir..., Br. Mus., Or. 3841, fol. 22b.).
61. Leiden Ms., Or. 2766, and al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr's, no. 184.
62. ʿĪsa b. Luṭf-Allāh, Rawḥ al-Rūḥ fīma Jara ba'd al-Mi'ah al-Tāsi'ah min al-Futūḥ, Br. Mus., Or. 4583, fol. 118.
63. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, pp. 9-10.
64. Ibid., p. 10.
65. See, e.g. Simṭ al-La'āl, fols. 184b - 185a; al-Badr al-Tāli', II, 195-6; Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwa, fol. 6a.
66. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, pp. 26, 62, 77, 129, 153.
67. Khulāṣat al-Athar, II, 30.
68. Al-Zahr al-Bāsim.
69. 'Iqd al-Jawāhir, fol. 258b; Sulāfat al-'Asr, p. 452. The whole poem is quoted in the Leiden Ms., Or. 1445, fol. 107.
70. Al-Zahr al-Bāsim; al-Nūr al-Sāfir, p. 164.
71. The Leiden Ms., Or. 2701, which carries the title "Dīwān al-Sayyid Ḥātim al-Ahdal", does not contain any poem of Ḥātim. The second Leiden Ms., Or. 2701 (1), is perhaps the dīwān which al-'Aidarūs has in mind. The

anonymous Leiden Ms., Or. 1445 (v. Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts, p. 62) is the dīwān of Ḥātim as collected and arranged by another compiler. A quick comparison between Or. 2701 (1) and Or. 1445 proves that the author of the Ms. in question is Ḥātim. Internal evidence also supports our claim, and the following will sufficiently serve our purpose:-

(a) His name is mentioned in three verses (fols. 102a, 117b, 121a).

(b) The poem of Ḥātim whose beginning is quoted in 'Iqd al-Jawāhir, fol. 258b, and Sulāfat al-'Aṣr, p. 452, is one of the poems of this Ms. (fols. 106b-107a).

(c) Ḥātim's famous muwashshah which commences

أصلك يسراك أيتها القر ومرحبا

as quoted in al-Zahr al-Bāsim, is included in the humainī section of the Ms. in question (fols. 72b-73a.)

72. Dīwān Ḥātim al-Ahdal, Leiden, Or. 1445, fol. 69b.

In the other Leiden Ms., Or. 2701 (1), Ḥātim's poetry is divided into hakamī and humainī, and there is no mentioning of the term muwashshah. The humainī section of Or. 2701 (1) begins from fol. 89b and ends abruptly on fol. 113b.

73. Dīwān Ḥātim al-Ahdal, Leiden, Or. 1445, fols. 76, 89, 103, etc.

74. Al-Barq al-Yamānī, fol. 17.

75. Rawḥ al-Rūḥ, fol. 93.
76. Cf. al-Sanā' al-Bāhir, fol. 244.
77. Cf. R.B. Serjeant, The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast (Oxford, 1963), p. 15; R.H. Kiernan, The Unveiling of Arabia (London, 1937), p. 67; see also D.G. Hogarth, The Penetration of Arabia (London, 1904), p. 32.
78. For the struggle between the Turks and the Zaidites in this period, see A.S. Tritton, The Rise of the Imams of Sanaa (Oxford, 1925).
79. Al-Badr al-Ṭāli', II, 240.
80. R.L. Playfair, A History of Arabia Felix or Yemen (Bombay, 1859), p. 110.
81. A bitter and satirical ḥumainī verse, called Bughyat al-Ḥurafā' fī Sīrat al-Khulafā', gives us a vivid image of the struggle of opportunists trying to wield both the spiritual and the temporal swords. The poem in question was written by Ahmad Sharaf al-Dīn al-Qārrah, and is included in his diwān, a copy of which is in my possession.
82. The earliest extant reference to the title "sultān", as assumed by the S. Arabian tribal sheikhs, is Ibn Samurah al-Ja'dī (547-86/1152-90), Ṭabaqāt Fuqahā' al-Yaman, ed. F. Sayyid (Cairo, 1957), p. 112. It is interesting to note that al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ al-A'sha... (Cairo,

1331-38/1913-19), V, 34, has noted that the title "amīr" is sometimes applied in Yaman to persons who do not enjoy any princely attribute.

83. The life of Ḥamūd, and his political manoeuvres, form the subject of al-Bahkalī's book, Nafḥ al-'ūd fī Sīrat al-Sharīf Ḥamūd, al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, no. 341, i.

84. Cf. A History of Arabia Felix, p. 134.

85. Cf. ibid., pp. 134, 140.

86. Cf. ibid., p. 155.

86. See, e.g., Khulāṣat al-Athar, II, 24; Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Ānisī, al-'Alam al-Mufrad..., Br. Mus., Or. 3859, fols. 5a, 32b.

88. Ṭīb al-Samar, I, 200b.

89. Cf. Sulāfat al-'Aṣr, p. 461, For his life and poetry, see also Ḥadīqat al-Afrāḥ, p. 27; Zabārah, (Mulḥaq) al-Badr al-Ṭāli', p. 121; Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn, I, 574; al-Ṭihirānī, al-Dharī'ah ila Ṭaṣānīf al-Shī'ah (al-Najaf, 1335-81/1936-61) X, 688; Khulāṣat al-Athar, II, 418.

90. For his life and works, see ibid., III, 236ff; Nasmat al-Saḥar, II; Maṭla' al-Budūr, Ambrosiana, B. 132, II, 105-06; Tarwīḥ al-Mashūq, fol. 109b; Ṭīb al-Samar, I, 39b; al-Badr al-Ṭāli', I, 516; Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwa, fols. 5b-6a; Brock., G.A.L. II, 528, Sup., II, 550.

For his humainī dīwān and examples of his muwashshahāt, see Simṭ al-Lā'āl, fols. 236a-238a; see also Griffini, loc. cit., III, 68A-xi; Tuḥfat al-Zaman, fol. 234a.

91. For his life and poetry, see Khulāṣat al-Athar, II, 249; (Mulḥaq) al-Badr al-Ṭāli', p. 107; Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3823, fol. 19b; Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwa, fol. 20b; Muḥsin b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim, Riyāḍ al-'Asjad..., Br. Mus., Or. 3823, fols. 70b-71a, 128b, 183a. Reference to his hakamī and humainī dīwān is made in ibid., fol. 71a.

92. For his life and poetry, see Nasmat al-Saḥar, I; al-Badr al-Ṭāli', I, 210; Ṭīb al-Samar, II, 109b-113a. Al-Jarmūzī is a tender humanist whose muwashshahāt are widely dispersed in safāyin. One of his beautiful mubayyatāt is quoted in Dīwān Qalā'id al-Jawāhir min Shi'r al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Jābir, Ambrosiana, A7, fol. 142b.

93. For his life and poetry, see Sulāfat al-'Aṣr pp. 477-85; Ḥadīqat al-Afrāḥ, p. 8; Ṭīb al-Samar, I, 211b; al-Badr al-Ṭāli', I, 16; 'Iqd al-Jawāhir, fol. 375a; Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwa, fols. 59b-60b, 74, 90b-91b, 113b-115a; Brock., G.A.L., II, 525, Sup., II, 545, Della Vida., op. cit., no. 947 (fols. 23, 67), 1120 (fols. 33, 54); Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3869, fols. 19a, 35; Khulāṣat al-Athar, I, 412.

Fifteen of his muwashshahāt are quoted in the Br. Mus., Ms., Or. 3790, fols. 125b - 134a.

94. For his life, see (Mulḥaq) al-Badr al-Ṭāli', p. 235. For his ḥakamī and ḥumainī dīwān, see Ahlwardt, op. cit., no. 8005.

95. For his life and poetry, see Nasmat al-Saḥar, I; Ṭīb al-Samar, I, 22b; al-Badr al-Ṭāli', I, 221; Ḥadiqat al-Afrāḥ, p. 11; Khulāṣat al-Athar, II, 469; Sulāfat al-'Āsir, fol. 6; Della Vida, op. cit., no. 947 (fol. 31); Brock. Sup., II, 544; 'Alī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Nuzhat al-Nāzir: Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Mawla al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Qādir, Br. Mus., Or. 3805, i.

His ḥumainiyyāt are dull, but widely dispersed in safāyin, some of which are also appended to the dīwān of Ahmad Sharaf al-Dīn al-Qārrah. None of his muwashshahāt, however, is included in his small dīwān, al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, no. 247, i; Br. Mus., Or. 3936.

96. His ḥakamī and ḥumainī dīwān is called Durar al-Aṣḍāf min Shi'r al-Sayyid Yaḥya b. Ibrāhīm Jaḥḥāf, copies of which are preserved in al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr (appended to the dīwān of al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Qādir) and the Vatican (v. Della Vida, op. cit., no. 1073). This is his dīwān as collected by one of his relations (v. (Mulḥaq) al-Badr al-Ṭāli', p. 221). The Leiden Ms., Or. 2699, is his dīwān as, perhaps, collected by another compiler. This Ms. has not the above title, contains fewer muwashshahāt, and does not have any scheme of arrangement.

Al-Jahhāfī has many correspondences with al-Khufanjī (+1180/1766), and the year of his death, as is given in the Ṣan'ā' Ms., is A.H. 1163 - a fact which cannot be reconciled with that of Yūsuf b. Yahya (v. Nasmat al-Saḥar, II.), Zabārah (v. (Mulḥaq) al-Badr al-Ṭāli', p. 221), and Brock., Sup., II, 545.

Reference to his humainī poetry is made in Ṭīb al-Samar, II, 171a, and three of his humainiyyāt are also quoted in Ḥadīqat al-Afrāḥ, pp. 37-40. Two strophes of the muwashshahāh quoted in ibid., p. 40, are reproduced and scanned in G.W. Freytag, Darstellung der Arabischen Verskunst (Bonn, 1830), p. 416. Several of his muwashshahāt are also quoted in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fols. 113-118; Ambrosiana Ms., A119, fols. 135a, 136a-140b.

97. For his life and poetry, see Nasmat al-Saḥar, I.; al-Badr al-Ṭāli', I, 36; Ṭīb al-Samar, II, 103a-106b; Ḥadīqat al-Afrāḥ, p. 8. A copy of his ḥakamī and humainī dīwān, as collected and arranged by himself, is in the Br. Mus., Or. 3859. The title of this Ms. is "al-'Alam al-Mufrad min Shi'r al-Muthanna Aḥmad b. Aḥmad." Brock., Sup., II, 545, misreads the title and, therefore, should be corrected. Indeed, Brock., Sup., II, 544f, attributes this Ms. to two poets and not to one. The author of this dīwān is Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥd. al-Ānisi, and the word

"al-muthanna" was inserted by the poet himself to match "al-'alam al-mufrad", and to be a mark of differentiation between his diwān and that of his father, Ahmad b. Muḥd. al-Ānisī (+1079/1668).

The humainī part in al-'Alam al-Mufrad (fols. 65b-72a) contains fifteen muwashshahāt and a poem (fol. 70) in the bedouin form. Another copy of the diwān in question is in the Egyptian Library, no. 4613 Adab (Ṭal'at). For other copies, see De Slane, op. cit., no. 3258; Ahlwardt, op. cit., nos. 7972², 9478; Della Vida, op. cit., no. 1109⁷.

98. Cf. Tārīkh al-Shu'arā' al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn, II, 52.

99. He is considered by al-Ḥaimī, Ṭīb al-Samar, I, 305a, as an eminent humainist.

100. One of the most prominent S. Arabian washshāhīn after the tenth century as is attested by the number of poets who imitated some of his muwashshahāt. To my best knowledge, Ḥaidar Āghā does not have a compiled diwān. Examples of his muwashshahāt, however, can be collected from safāyīn and from Ḥadiqat al-Afrāḥ, p. 15; Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fols. 90a, 91a, 92a, 92b-93a.

For his life and poetry, reference can also be made to Nasmat al-Saḥar, I; Ṭīb al-Samar, I, 294b-298b; Della Vida, op. cit., nos. 947 (fol. 24), 1053 (fol. 11),

1120.75, 1181.8, 1203 (fol. 8).

101. For his life and literary achievements, see al-Murādī, Silk al-Durar... (Cairo, A.H. 1301), III, 91; Tārīkh al-Shu'arā' al-Ḥadramiyyīn, II, 24-50; Brock., G.A.L., II, 537, Sup., II, 566; Sarkīs, Mu'jam al-Maṭbū'āt (Cairo, 1346-49/1928-31), I, 189; Nafḥat al-Yaman, p. 123; Ḥadīqat al-Afrāḥ, p. 28.

Al-Ḥaddād is one of the best washshāḥīn S. Arabia has ever produced. His printed dīwān, al-Durr al-Manzūn li-Dhawī al-'Uqūl wa-al-Fuhūm (Cairo, 3rd. ed., 1377/1957), contains twenty-seven muwashshahāt dispersed throughout the whole collection. The term faṣl, it should be noted, is used in this dīwān instead of the term bait. Al-Ḥaddād's well-known muwashshahāh (pp. 94-5), is quoted, with an additional maṭla', in al-'Aṭṭās, al-Qaṣā'id al-Anfās min Anfās al-Sādāt al-Akyās (Bombay, A.H. 1312), pp. 30-2.

102. For his life and poetry, see Nasmat al-Saḥar, II.; al-Badr al-Ṭāli', I, 475; Tirāz al-Majālis; Ḥadīqat al-Afrāḥ, p. 21; Brock., G.A.L., II, 526, Sup., II, 545; Tabaq al-Ḥalwa, fols. 33b-34a; Tīb al-Samar, I, 206b-209b; Della Vida, op.cit., nos. 947 (fol. 1), 1029^{6e}, 1086¹⁰, 1053 (fols. 3, 4, 62, 77, 97, 102); 1203(fol. 5); Ambrosiana Mss., B 74, fols. 4-8, C 3, fols. 31-41, C 158, fols. 40, 47a-53, C 159, fol. 43a, C 163, fols. 56a-58b, 97b-98a; Miyād al-'Asjad, fols. 9b-10a, 45b, 68b, 101;

Griffink, loc. cit., III, 123A - ii (15-21); Tuḥfat al-Zaman, fol. 250a.

Al-'Ansī is a famous S. Arabian washshāḥ, and some of his muwashshahāt are popular recorded songs, the first two strophes of one of which is quoted in al-Ṭayyib, al-Murshid ila Fahm Ash'ār al-'Arab (Cairo, 1955), I, 15. The Egyptian Library's Ms., no. 4613 Adab (Ṭal'at), contains a considerable number of his muwashshahāt, but his dīwān, Kās al-Muḥtasī min Shi'r al-'Allāmah al-'Ansī, Ambrosiana, C 163; (fols. 1-48), does not contain any of his own composition.

103. He is considered by al-Ḥaimī, Ṭīb al-Samar, II, 99b, as a good composer in humainī.

104. For his life and literary achievements, see ibid. I, 175a; Nasmat al-Saḥar, II.; Ḥadīqat al-Afrāḥ, p. 26; Brock., G.A.L., II, 525, Sup., II, 544f; Ṭabaq al-Ḥalwa, fols. 95b-96b, 121; al-Badr al-Ṭāli', I, 388; Della Vida, op. cit., nos. 947 (fol. 23), 1087. 1; Ambrosiana Mss., C 158, fols. 3b-5a, C 159, fol. 44a.

His dīwān, Jawāriḥ al-Afrāḥ wa-Qūt al-Arwāḥ, Ambrosiana, C 109, i (fols. 4-68), contains several muwashshahāt appended to his ḥakamiyyāt. A copy of this dīwān is preserved in the Egyptian Library, no. 4568 Adab. The Leiden Ms., Or. 2375, which is his dīwān and has the above title, does not, however, contain any humainiyyah.

Several of his muwashshahāt are also quoted in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fols. 109b-112a.

105. He is mentioned in Tīb al-Samar, I, 148a, as a good composer in humainī. One of his muwashshahāt is quoted in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fol. 118b.

106. For his life and works, see Nasmat al-Saḥar, I.; al-Badr al-Ṭāli', I, 281; Brock., G.A.L., II, 526, Sup., II, 546-7; Ḥadīqat al-Afrāḥ, p. 22; Tīb al-Samar, I, 259b-261b; Della Vida, op. cit., nos. 947 (fol. 65), 1053 (fol. 102). His famous urjūzah, Natā'ij al-Fikr al-Mu'rib 'an Tafdīl al-Thamrah, is preserved in al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, no. 33.

Al-Wazīr, Jawāriḥ al-Afrāḥ, Ambrosiana, C 109, fol. 66, wrote a muwāshshah poem in honour of Sha'bān in which he considers him unparalleled in nasīb. Two of his muwashshahāt are quoted in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fols. 148a, 159a, and his ḥakamī and humainī dīwān is preserved in the library of Yale University (v. L. Nemoy, Arabic Manuscripts in the Yale University, (New Haven, 1956), No. 348 (L. 682)).

107. For his life and poetry, see Nasmat al-Saḥar, I.; Tīb al-Samar, I, 193b-195a; al-Badr al-Ṭāli', I, 222; Della Vida, op. cit., nos. 947 (fol. 24); 1053 (fol. 21); Riyāḍ al-'Asjad, fols. 75, 135b; Ambrosiana Ms., C 163, fols.

66, 70b, 73a.

He is one of the best poets Yaman has ever produced, and his father, 'Alī (1050-96/1640-85), is a celebrated ḥakamist (v. al-Badr al-Ṭāli', I, 348; Nasmat al-Saḥar, II.; Khulāṣat al-Athar, III, 148-50; Ṭīb al-Samar, I, 191a-192a; 'Iqd al-Jawāhir, fols. 374a, 375b. The dīwān of 'Alī is preserved in al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, no. 182, i).

Al-Ḥusain is a tender ḥumainist, and some of his muwashshahāt were imitated by many S. Arabian poets. His small dīwān (as possessed by al-Qādī Aḥmad al-Ṣuhbānī) contains twelve muwashshahāt appended to his ḥakamiyyāt, six of which are also quoted in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fols. 98b-101a.

108. He is one of the most prolific writers of S. Arabia. He wrote more than forty books (v. al-Badr al-Ṭāli', I, 103-04), among which is a commentary upon al-Wāthiq's al-Durr al-Manzūm, which he called al-Ṭirāz al-Marqūm 'ala al-Durr al-Manzūm, a copy of which is in the Ambrosiana, numbered D 361. The Ms. of al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, no. 314, is another copy of this commentary, but has the title "al-Washy al-Marqūm 'ala..."

Al-Ḥaimī's ḥumainiyyāt were collected and arranged by himself in a dīwān which he called al-Jawāhir al-Mu'talifah al-Mustakhrajah min al-Buḥūr al-Mukhtalifah (v. Ṭīb al-Samar, I, 175a.)

109. Cf. Tārīkh al-Shu'arā' al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn, II, 137.

110. Cf. ibid., II, 118.

111. A popular ḥumainist whose muwashshahāt, that are mostly religious in nature, are widely dispersed in safāyin. For his life and poetry, see Nasmat al-Saḥar, II.; Ḥadīqat al-Afrāḥ, p. 34; Tīb al-Samar, I, 171b-175a; al-Badr al-Tāli', II, 321.

112. A repeatable washshāḥ in safāyin. For his life and poetry, see ibid., I, 52; Riyāḍ al-'Asjad, fols. 121a-122b; Tīb al-Samar, I, 309a-311a; Nasmat al-Saḥar, I.

113. He is an eminent ḥakamist. His dīwān, as collected and arranged by his son, Ibrāhīm (+1241/1825), contains few muwashshahāt appended to his ḥakamiyyāt. Most of his muwashshahāt, says his son (v. Salwat al-Mushtāq min Nazm al-Mawla Muḥammad b. Ishāq, [Ambrosiana, C79, iii, fol. 121]), had been lost because they were not preserved in a safīnah.

For his life and poetry, reference can be made to Ithāf al-Muhtadīn, p. 89; Ḥadīqat al-Afrāḥ, p. 29; Brock., Sup., II, 547; Tīb al-Samar, II, 6a-14b; al-Badr al-Tāli', II, 127-30; A History of Arabia Felix, p. 115; Della Vida, op. cit., nos. 947 (fols. 56, 58), 1153. I, 1178. 4; Riyāḍ al-'Asjad, fols. 13a-14b, 28b, 91a; al-Ruwaisī, K. Bulūgh al-Umniyah fī al-Sīrah al-Mutawakkiliyyah, Br. Mus., Or. 3857, fol. 13a; Br. Mus. Mss., Or. 3789, fols. 33b-38b, Or. 3790, fols. 172b-174a; Griffini, loc. cit., III, A75, i.

114. A repeatable washshāh in safāyin, who also wrote in the bedouin form. Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr al-Tāli', I, 375, and Zabārah, (Mulḥaq) al-Badr al-Tāli', p. 22, differ in the year of his death.

115. He is considered in Tīb al-Samar, II, 83a, as an eminent humainist. Three of his beautiful muwashshahāt are quoted in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fols. 163b-164a.

116. Cf. Tīb al-Samar, II, 81b.

117. Two compilers, Muḥd. b. Hāshim al-Shāmī (v. Nail al-Waṭar, II, 322) and an anonymous, compiled his poetry under the respective titles: (a) Nūr al-Awrāq min Nazm al-Mawla Ishāq. (b) Husn al-Akhlāq min Ḥasanāt al-Mawla Ishāq. Copies of the first are in the Ambrosiana, no. D 301, and the Vatican (v. Della Vida, op. cit., no. 1058); and of the second are in the Ambrosiana, no. C 214, and the Egyptian Library, no. 4078 Adab. Few of his muwashshahāt are appended to his ḥakamiyyāt, and the most famous of his humainiyyāt (v. Nūr al-Awrāq, Ambrosiana, fol. 23), is quoted in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fol. 97a.

For his life and poetry, see Nasmat al-Saḥar, I.; Tīb al-Samar, II, 44a-48a; al-Badr al-Tāli', I, 135; al-Shirwānī, al-Manāqib al-Ḥaidariyyah (Lucknow, A.H. 1235), p. 123; Brock., Sup., II, 545f, 563; Della Vida, op.cit., nos. 947 (fol. 58), 1181.5; Ambrosiana Ms., C3, fols.

16-17, 22-28, 49; Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fols. 175b-178a; Nail al-Waṭar, I, 369-74; Ḥadīqat al-Afrāḥ, p. 4.

118. One may, indeed, compile a ḥumainī dīwān for this poet as his ḥumainiyyāt, both in the muwashshah style and the bedouin form, are widely dispersed in safāyin and in the dīwān of al-Khufanjī with whom he entertained some correspondence. One of his ḥumainiyyāt, which is bedouin in form, is quoted in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fols. 139b-140a.

For other poems of al-Fusayyil, see the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3869, fol. 53; Della Vida, op. cit., nos. 947 (fol. 47), 1053 (fol. 60).

119. Cf. Tīb al-Samar, II, 157a.

120. Cf. Tārīkh al-Shu'arā' al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn, II, 161.

121. The Ms. which I possess is his ḥumainī dīwān, and has the title "Sulāfat al-'Adas wa-Lubb al-'Alas fī al-Muḥikāt wa-al-Dalas", a copy of which is also preserved in the Vatican (v. Brock., Sup., II, 817).

Beyond al-Khufanjī's name, and the year of his death, as jotted down in the first folio of the Ms. which I possess, and beyond the names of those poets with whom he had some ḥumainī correspondence, nothing is known about him. His ḥumainī dīwān is, however, the mirror of his life and the age in which he lived, and is, undoubtedly, one of the best and richest poetic documentations for the study of the social

and cultural environment of Yaman in the twelfth century.

Brock, Sup., II, 817, corrupts his name and takes him to have flourished in the thirteenth century A.H., and, therefore, should be corrected. The role which al-Khufanjī played in the history of humainī will be depicted in Ch. 4.

122. For his life and poetry, see Ṭīb al-Samar, I, 266b-273a; (Mulḥaq) al-Badr al-Ṭāli', p. 63; Brock., Sup., II, 547; Riyāḍ al-'Asjad, fols. 3b-5a, 10b, 11a, 133b-134b. His ḥakamī and humainī diwān is preserved in the Vatican (v. Della Vida, op.cit., no. 965), and some of his muwashshahāt, mostly in honour of al-Imām al-Mansūr al-Ḥusain (1107-61/1695-1748), form the second part of the Leiden Ms., Or. 2701.

123. A weak but repeatable washshāḥ in safāyin, one of whose muwashshahāt is quoted in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3730, fol. 134a. For his life and specimens of his ḥakamī poetry, see ibid., fols. 7b-8a, 22a, 56b-57a, 79b, 95a; al-Badr al-Ṭāli', I, 375. For his diwān, see Nail al-Waṭar, I, 131.

124. For his life and literary achievements, reference can be made to Silk al-Durār, II, 328; Mu'jam al-Maṭbū'āt II, 1398; Brock, Sup., II, 478f; al-Jabartī, 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār...(Būlāq, A.H. 1297), II, 27-34; Tārīkh al-Shu'arā' al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn, II, 189-215.

His dīwān, Tanmīq al-Asfār... (Būlāq, A.H. 1304), contains a considerable number of humāiniyyāt which are introduced, on p. 259, by the statement: ولصاحب الذئب... على طريقة الحميري. The humāinī section in Tanmīq al-Asfār (pp. 259-370) contains one hundred and thirty-eight poems divided structurally as follows:-

- i. Fifty-seven malhūn poems in the bedouin form, but the lahn in these poems is mainly restricted to the employment of the sukūn.
- ii. Thirty-four malhūn poems in the Rajaz form in which the hemistichs are made to rhyme together throughout the whole poem. Likewise, the lahn in these poems is mainly restricted to the manipulation of the sukūn.
- iii. Thirty-nine muwashshaḥ poems, one of which (p. 337f) is typically Andalusian in rhyme scheme. In some of these muwashshaḥāt the lahn is not used.
- iv. Three poems (pp. 269, 282f) rhyming abc abc abc, etc.
- v. Four non-strophic muzdawijāt (rhyming ab cd ef, etc.) in which the lahn is not employed.
- vi. A poem (p. 273) whose rhyme pattern is hard to categorize.
- vii. One monorhymic poem (p. 301) which is malhūnah.
- viii. Two lyrical hakamiyyāt (p. 368ff).

His other dīwān, Tarwīḥ al-Bāl wa-Tahyīj al-Balbāl (Būlāq, A.H. 1283), contains several humainiyyāt that are to be found in Tanmīq al-Asfār.

125. A repeatable washshāh in safāyin, who also wrote in the bedouin form. Some of his humainiyyāt are quoted in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fols. 149b, 162a; Dīwān al-Qāṭin, fols. 135b, 137.

For his life and poetry, see (Mulḥaq) al-Badr al-Ṭāli', p. 92; Della Vida, op.cit., nos. 1053 (fol. 73), 1065.32, 1101.4d, 1153.1

126. For his life, see al-Badr al-Ṭāli', I, 113. For his performances in humainī, see his "dīwān", Br. Mus., Or. 3730, fols. 136, 145a.

The Ms. in question is a poetical miscellany by al-Qāṭin. It is mainly taken up with his own verses and with those of several literati of Yaman, with whom he entertained a poetical correspondence. There are at the end several elegies on his death. The Ms. contains also select verses of early Arab poets, and miscellaneous extracts, the most extensive of which are mentioned in Rieu, op.cit., no. 1124, p. 706.

127. The celebrated poem which Zabārah, Nail al-Waṭar, II, 8, has in mind is appended to the humainī dīwān of Ahmad Sharaf al-Dīn al-Qārrah. The poem in question is divided into two types of strophes: al-jidd and al-hazl, the former

being composed in the mu'rab style, and the latter, in the malhūn. The poem consists of twenty-six strophes divided, alternatively, into jidd and hazl.

128. Cf. Nail al-Waṭar, II, 324. One of his beautiful regular muwashshahāt is quoted in "Dīwān" al-Qāṭin, fol.

134b. For his life and specimens of his ḥakamī poetry, see also ibid., fols. 18b, 81b-82a, 141b-142a; al-Badr al-Ṭāli', II, 272ff.

129. Cf. Tārīkh al-Shu'arā' al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn, III, 13.

130. Cf. Nail al-Waṭar, II, 214.

131. Cf. ibid., I, 246.

132. Cf. ibid., II, 218.

133. Cf. ibid., I, 233f.

134. Cf. ibid., II, 112. For specimens of his poetry, see Della Vida, op. cit., nos. 1053 (fols. 5, 20, 38, 78), 1065. 28. 34, 1111.6, 1192 (fols. 246-254); Ambrosiana Mss., C3, fols. 56-59, C 159, fols. 50b-51a.

135. A repeatable washshāh in safāyīn who also wrote in the bedouin form. For his life and poetry, see Nail al-Waṭar, II, 120; Della Vida, op. cit., nos. 1053 (fols. 1, 2, 10, 29, 74, 75), 1111.3; Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3869, fols. 21a-19b, 38a-37b, 42a, 60a-59a, 65; Ambrosiana Ms., C3, fols. 50, 56, 65.

136. Cf. Nail al-Waṭar, II, 32.

137. Cf. ibid., II, 366.
138. Cf. ibid., II, 308.
139. Cf. ibid., I, 114; Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, pp. 207, 237f.
140. Cf. Nail al-Waṭar, II, 416.
141. His printed dīwān, Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, is wholly given to his performances in humainī, and contains one hundred and one malhūn poems divided structurally as follows:-
- i. Forty-eight mubayyatāt.
 - ii. Twenty-seven regular muwashshahāt.
 - iii. Twenty-three poems in the bedouin form.
 - iv. One poem (p. 79) which rhymes aba aba aba, etc.
 - v. A poem (p. 246) whose rhyme scheme is irregular.

For his life and poetry, see al-Badr al-Tāli', I, 340-52; Nail al-Waṭar, I, 20-2, 71-4, 108, 154-6, 160-1, 410-11, II, 43-4, 125, 127, 131-2, 223; Della Vida, op.cit., nos. 1053 (fols. 38, 69-73), 1068.2, 1203 (fol. 24); Brock, Sup., II, 547, 817.

142. Cf. Nail al-Waṭar, II, 195.
143. Cf. Tārīkh al-Shu'arā' al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn, III, 183.
144. His dīwān, Br. Mus., Or. 3898 (25-113), contains a mubayyatah, fol. 78a, and a regular muwashshahah, fols. 78-79a. And because the above Ms. ends abruptly, we cannot give a fair idea about his ability as a humanist. It is

interesting to note that Ibn Ja'mān himself gives us a hint about what he considers as a main attribute of ḥumainī. Commenting upon a ḥakamiyyah (fols. 112b-113a), he says:

" وفيها من عدم الإغراب ما يناسب إثباتها في الشعر المجيب لذمها أشبه به ، ولكن لما كانت قد تضمنت مدح الوصي ، عليه الصلاة والسلام ، حق تقدسها . "

For his life and works, see Nail-al-Waṭar, I, 270, II, 230; Brock., Sup., II, 819-20.

145 - Cf. Tārīkh al-Shu'arā' al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn, III, 127.

146. Cf. Nail al-Waṭar, I, 331.

147. Cf. al-Zarkilī, al-A'lām (Cairo, 2nd ed., A.H. 1378-8), IV, 195.

148. He is an eminent ḥakamist, but as a washshāh he is dull. His ḥakamī and ḥumainī dīwān, Dhawb al-'Asjad fī al-Adab al-Mufrad, as collected by 'Abdallāh b. Sa'īd al-'Ammārī, is preserved in the Egyptian Library, no. 4792 Adab (Ṭal'at). For another copy of this dīwān, see Della Vida, op.cit., no. 1068.

For his life and poetry, reference can be made to al-Badr al-Ṭālī', II, 78; Nail al-Waṭar, I, 7, 9, 118, 125, 282f, 291, 335, 376, 384f, 393, II, 65, 71f, 142ff, 201ff, 212f, 289, 306, 372f, 344, 405, 417f; Della Vida, op. cit., nos. 1053 (fols. 7, 64-67, 97), 1203 (fols. 10, 30, 84); Brock., Sup., II, 820. His renowned ḥakamiyyah,

al-Haikal al-Laṭīf fī Ḥilyat al-Jism al-Sharīf, is contained in al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr's Ms., no. 55.

149. Cf. Tārīkh al-Shu'arā' al-Ḥadramiyyīn, III, 172.

This is, perhaps, the dīwān which Brock., Sup., II, 820f, mentions.

150. His ḥakamī and ḥumainī dīwān, which I possess, contains (a) Twenty-five malḥūn poems in the first and the second mubayyat forms. (b) Three malḥūn poems consisting of the regular alternation bait-tawshīh,

For his life, see Nail al-Waṭar, I, 105-07.

151. Cf. al-A'lām, I, 235. For some of his muwashshahāt, see al-Qaṣā'id al-Anfās, p. 60ff.

152. Cf. al-A'lām, II, 282.

153. Cf. ibid., III, 266.

154. Cf. ibid., V, 172.

155. Cf. ibid., VII, 213.

156. Cf. ibid., IV, 277.

157. Cf. Dīwān al-Aghānī al-Laḥjiyyah, pp. 34, 45, 48f.

158. Several of his muwashshahāt are contained in al-Dumū' al-Dāhikah. It is to the credit of Subait that he has tried to revive the ḥumainī tradition by imitating a number of S. Arabian muwashshah songs of the past (v. ibid., pp. 169,

171, 173, 174, 181, 201, 214, 220).

159. Cf. Nafhat al-Yaman, p. 94f.

160. Cf. Les Manuscrits Arabes de l'Escurial, I, no. 347, ii.

CHAPTER TWO.

THE MUWASHSHAḤ POETRY IN S. ARABIA.

The muwashshah poetry in S. Arabia can be divided into two kinds: the mubayyat and the regular. The first was transposed into the second, and both of them, put together, form the corpus of humainī. Let us, therefore, proceed to discuss each style independently, and show its structural characteristics.

I.

The author of Ṭirāz al-Majālis¹ presents us with a challenging, and rather ambiguous, statement because, firstly, he tries to take back the history of what may be categorised as humainī as far as the fifth century A.H.; and, secondly, because he uses the term al-mutadākhil al-qawāfī to denote any poem in which more than one rhyme is involved. He says:-

”أما أبو بكر الجندي اليماني فقد كان شاعراً مطلقاً، صحب الزريبي ابن سبا فاقترن به ذكره،

وعرفت عنده حقيقة أمره: له في الشعر المتداخل القوافي أضرب لطيفة صعبة الإتيان، ومعان

سلسلة عسيرة الإصطيان. وقد أكثر شعراء بني الزريع من هذا النوع من الشعر، فجاءوا بالأعراق،

واتجروا بها في الأسواق، فنزات عليها العامة، ونفقت لديهم كل مزجاة سامة. فجاء الجندي

فجّد المخلخل، وشدّد الملهل، وهذّب المعاني، وشدّب الملباني، ورقق الألفاظ،

ونوع الأغراض. فترسم آخرون طريقه من بعده، واستفادوا من طرائف فنده

وزنده : منهم التكريتي صاحب الحمينية المشهورة " عجم برسم الدار فالطلال " التي

حدا برا الحادون ، وهدي برا اليرادون . ومحمد بن عبدالله بن الإمام شرف الدين ،

وكان ، رحمه الله ، من تجرحة اللخطة ، وتجله اللفظة ، وقد جمع ديوانه الحميني

والموشح سيدي عيسى بن المظهر . أما في وقتنا هذا ، ففارسه الذي لا يبارى ،

وشاعره الذي لا يجارى : مهيار عصره ، وابن زيدون دهره : أخي الجمالي ،

وقرة يميني وشمالي : علي بن محمد العنسي ، فقد اجتنب كل عباس من

المعنى ، ومكفهرت المبنى ، وأسكر بدررة بنت الحان ، وأطرب بجواهره

ناجحة الأغصان . فمن موشحاته التي تشهد له بالبراعة ، والإمامة في هذه

الصناعة ، قوله "

"Abū Bakr al-Janadī al-Yafā'ī was a poet of genius. He accompanied the Zurai'ite [prince] Ibn Sabā, with whom his name became connected, and by whom his poetical ability was truly appreciated. Al-Janadī has exquisite stylistic types in al-shi'r al-mutadākhil al-qawāfī, which are arduous to accomplish, besides the simple themes in this genre of poetry which are very difficult to catch. The poets of Banū al-Zurai' [sic] had widely exploited this type of verse, and exported into the market of literature trivial poems round which the multitudes zealously crowded, and among whom such dead wordings, that poison the mind, found wider circulation.

Al-Janadī entered into the poetical scene, and strengthened the loosely-fabricated style of this species of verse, and injected vigour into its badly-woven subject matter. He refined its themes, pruned its stylistic mannerism, varied its subjects, and introduced tenderness into the body of its diction. Other poets have followed in his footsteps, and made ample use of his novel, appealing experiences. Among these poets is al-Takrītī, the author of the famous humainiyyah, [that begins with] "'uj bi-rasm al-dār fa-al-talal"*, which was on every lip, and the very delicate and tender poet, Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah b. al-Imām Sharaf al-Dīn..., whose humainī and muwashshah poems [sic] were compiled in a dīwān by Sīdī 'Īsa b. al-Muṭahhar [sic]. As for the present, the unrivalled performer in this genre of poetry, and its unparalleled poet, is the Mihyār of his time, and the Ibn Zaidūn of his period: my brother and the pleasure of my eyes: al-Jamālī 'Alī b. Muḥd. al-'Ansī, who avoids uninteresting themes and harsh and barbarous words, and who intoxicates wine by his pearls, and thrills weeping doves by his jewels. Among his muwashshah poems in witness of his skill and leadership in this craft is the following...**".

* Metrical scheme: || -uu| -u-| --u^u | -uu| -u-| --u^u

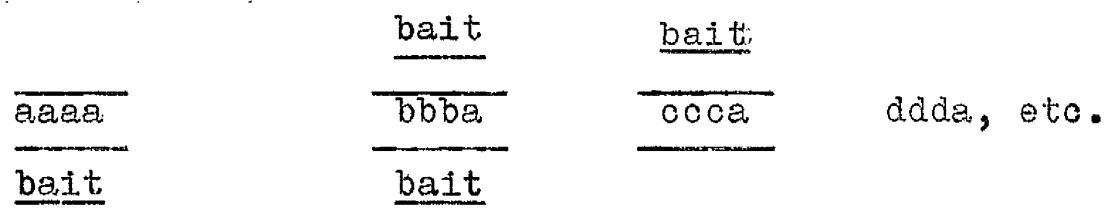
** Two strophes of this muwashshah will be given in Chapter Five.

The foregoing version of al-Shar'abī has many shortcomings, among which are the following:-

(a) The epithet al-mutadākhil al-qawāfī does not evoke a definite and concrete connotation, and could be applied to any poem that may fall under the mubayyat muwashshah, or the regular muwashshah, or the muzdawij prosody as a whole.

(b) Al-Shar'abī mentions al-ḥumainī and al-muwashshah, in connection with the name of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah, as two distinct types of poetry despite the fact that 'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh himself does not make such a differentiation. Al-Shar'abī then proceeds to quote a malḥūn poem, in the second mubayyat form, under the term muwashshah, and thus betrays his inconsistency.

However, one can discern what al-Shar'abī means by al-shi'r al-mutadākhil al-qawāfī, because he mentions the opening hemistich of the poem of al-Takrītī (c. 571/1176), and regards the poem as a ḥumainiyyah. The rhyme pattern of this celebrated poem², which is not malḥūnah, and which is often quoted in Yamanite safāyin, is aaaa bbba, etc. Poems in this rhyme scheme, or its variations, may be called "mubayyatāt", because the poem, as a whole, is divided into abyāt (strophes), each bait is considered as a unit by itself, independent more or less of what precedes and what follows. In S. Arabian safāyin and dīwāns, such poems are divided as follows:



I have much respect for al-Shar'abī as a learned man, and cannot renounce his claim -- that al-shi'r al-mutadākhil al-qawāfī was cultivated very ardently in Aden and al-Janad during the reign of Zurai'ites (476-569/1083-1173) -- without giving concrete reasons for doing so. The conditions to which S. Arabian poetry was subjected were favourable as is attested by the number of poets patronized by both the Zurai'ites and the Najāhites. The first were true Arabs who prided themselves in generosity, and much enjoyed being

Poetry under	praised and surrounded by good
the	poets. Muḥd. b. Sabā (r. 534/
Zurai'ites.	1139; d. 548/1153) for example,

was a man "of a generous disposition, universally praised, fond of eulogy, liberal in his rewards to those who eulogized him, and himself was a skilful improviser. He treated men of culture and learning with generosity, and often introduced one or more verses in his conversation³." The Yamanite poet and historian, 'Umārah al-Ḥakamī⁴, quotes the following interesting incident which shows how the Zurai'ite princes of Aden used to treat the poets who sought their reward:-

"I once saw him ^{him} [= Muḥd. b. Sabā] on a feastday seated on a spot where he suffered from the hot rays of the sun. Poets were present who strove with one another for liberty to recite their verses. "Tell them", he said to me,

"and raise your voice so that they may hear that they need not crowd around me, for I will not leave this place until they have finished." The poets were thirty in number, and he rewarded each one.

Muḥd. b. Sabā was not the exceptional example among the members of his family in patronizing the Yamanite poets of that period. His son and successor, 'Imrān (+ 560/1164), was more liberal towards the poets who surrounded him, one of whom was 'Umārah himself who states that those "who declare that generosity and beneficence were the nature of 'Imrān, its necessary result, nay, its fulfilment and seal" are not contradicting themselves⁵. Bilāl, who succeeded 'Imrān, and his son Yāsir, continued this virtue and were greatly praised and liberally rewarded their eulogists⁶.

It was during the reign of Muḥd. b. Sabā that Abū
 Abū Bakr al-Janadī Bakr b. Muḥd. al-Yafā'ī
 (490-552/1097-1157). al-Janadī lived. He was an
 accomplished scholar, a
 distinguished poet, and "the
 author of extemporaneous verses which no studied lines have
 ever excelled⁷." He had a special position in the courts of
 al-Mansūr b. al-Mufaḍḍal and Muḥd. b. Sabā. 'Umārah tells
 us⁸ about several eulogists, ten in number, who assembled
 at the gates of Ibn Sabā's house seeking rewards for poems

which they submitted to the prince. Muḥd. b. Sabā asks the persons around him what reward he ought to, in their opinion, bestow upon the authors of the poems. One of those who were present was Abū Bakr al-Janadī. The following interesting incident, which shows the poetical ability of al-Janadī, is worth quoting⁷:-

"The Dā'ī [Muḥd. b. Sabā] extemporized two lines of verse in a certain metre that occurred to him, and he promised to give the robes he wore, and the money about his person, to him among the persons present who should be the first to supplement his verses. The poets* were slow in the accomplishment of their task, and al-Qādī Abū Bakr al-Yāfi'ī [sic] outdistanced his companions in the race. He was close to me [= 'Umārah al-Ḥakamī]. I stole the paper out of his hand, and I contrived to have his words in readiness on my lips. I thus appropriated the two lines he had composed. Standing up, I recited them to the Dā'ī, and received the Qādī's prize. His shot hit the remark, but I had purloined the arrow, and I carried off the money and the robes. The stream of the Dā'ī's liberality followed in

* Among whom was al-Qādī Yaḥya b. Abī Yaḥya (+ 562/1167) who, in the opinion of the people of Yaman, occupies a rank among the poets equal to that of his contemporary: Ibn al-Qumm. Al-Qādī Yaḥya was killed by the Banū Mahdī of Zabīd.

torrents for the benefit of the talented men about him. Not one of them but received a robe of honour and was rewarded with generous gifts."

The problem which we have to face is in what kind of al-shi'r al-mutadākhil al-gawāfī did al-Janadī compose. This problem cannot be resolved at present since not even one example of al-Janadī's composition, that may fall under the epithet of al-Shar'abī, is known to exist. Al-Janadī is known to have a compiled dīwān¹⁰, but whether its procurability is still possible is hard to tell. But let it be remembered that the Sulaiḥites and the Zurai'ites were spiritually connected with the Fāṭimids of Egypt, and that it was during this period that 'Umārah composed two poems in imitation of the Andalusian muwashshah. The celebrated poet, al-Qādī al-Rashīd Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-Zubair (+ 563/1167-8), a student of the washshāḥ al-Silafī, was also living in Aden at that time. On his arrival in A.H. 534, he invested Muḥd. b. Sabā with the noble office of Dā'ī, in the name of the Fāṭimid caliph of Cairo¹¹. Al-Qādī al-Rashīd resided for several years in Yaman, and was later imprisoned in Aden by 'Imrān b. Muḥd. b. Sabā¹².

It seems desirable at this point to leave the statement of al-Shar'abī for a while, and digress a little in order to understand the nature of the mubayyat muwashshah and its gradual development. For there are two essential things that are connected with this style of prosody, viz., pauses and rhyming, and it is through the manipulation of these two characteristics that the first humainī poem came into existence. In the remaining part of this section, therefore, I intend to deal with pauses and rhyming as briefly as possible, without, of course, forgetting the fact that these two features are interdependent and are difficult to separate.

It is a common knowledge that the classical Arabic ode is monorhymic, and the poet is only allowed to use tasrī' in the opening verse, or when he changes from one topic to another. Monorhymic odes have their own advantages and shortcomings; but it is axiomatic to state that the bedouin ear - and the societal structure of S. Arabia is predominantly bedouin - will not carry, as a unit, a very long line, but, instead, will pause somewhere in the line. This pause may be caused by the thought of the line, or by its syntactic structure, or, as is often the case, by the human need to draw breath at

Pauses in

Arabic Poetry.

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regular intervals. The traditional ode does furnish a pause at the end of each line marked by ḥarf al-rawī, and this is not, doubtless, an arbitrary thing, a question merely of caprice, but is determined by the natural human demand of a pause somewhere in the line, and the end of the line was, perhaps, thought to be the best resting-place. This is probably why the ancient Arab rhetoricians denounced the tadmīn* - the overflowing of the sense into the second line - and considered the line as an independent unit by itself. It is a marked feature of the mu'allaqāt, for example, that each line stands in no direct relationship to another, and no vital injury is usually done to the flow of the ode if some of the lines were to be taken away or rearranged.

Apart from the metrical pauses that are marked by the last letter of the rhyme at the end of each line, pauses in Arabic poetry may roughly be divided into two main categories, to wit, sense-pauses and rhythmical pauses. No clear-cut demarcation line exists, or should be claimed to exist, between these two types of pauses, and in many cases it is hard to distinguish between them.

Sense-pauses are resting-places in a line where a reciter or a singer may find it plausible to stop for a

* Also called ta'liq, and tatmīm.

very short period to draw his breath. They are either left to the discretion of the individual (though often determined by the flow of the thought), or determined by the ~~flow~~ structure of the line, or otherwise are the answer to an individual need to draw breath at more or less equidistant places in a very long line. The classical ode may furnish this need at the end of each hemistich, but sometimes a poet may commit idraġj, and the reciter, or the singer, has to strain himself to take the line as a whole.

The Rajaz form.

The answer for a pause at equidistant places in a line was the Rajaz, a prominent characteristic of which is that each hemistich rhymes with the other throughout the whole poem. Rajaz was the zajal of the bedouin. It answered his needs for a form easy to compose extempore, to memorize, and, furthermore, supplies pauses at equidistant places in the form of rhymes which, in addition, may be grateful to the ear.

Indeed, to try to trace the growth of humainī, one should always have in mind the main characteristics of Rajaz. Its metrical basic unit, mustaf'ilun, constantly occurs in the daily speech of the common people¹³, nay, it is the most frequently-used foot in humainī. Moreover, the Rajaz metre, as a whole, is not a "dignified" one as compared with the other classical Arabic metres, because it is not a

"stable" one - that is to say, changes in its principal foot occur more often than they occur in any other metre. "Suppression" of two letters in one and the same foot is a possibility; and shaṭr and nahk are typical of it¹⁴. Note, incidentally, that shaṭr and nahk are distinctive characteristics of humainī, and were practised mainly for the sake of pauses in the form of rhymes, and for the obvious reason that a considerable quantity of humainī was either composed spontaneously or intended to be sung.

Before dealing with rhythmical pauses, I should like to call^{the} attention to the fact that the repetition of one and the same rhyme in the The S. Arabian Rajaz form is naturally bedouin form. monotonous, though it tends to act as a natural pause which prevents the exhausting strain on the attention when idrāj is committed. And it is my belief that the bedouins of S. Arabia could not bear this wearisome pattern of rhyming, and appropriated what I called, for lack of a better designation, the bedouin form, the rhyme scheme of which is ab ab ab, etc. Such a form certainly supplies regular resting-places, and at the same time breaks the monotony of the monorhyming Rajaz. As the Rajaz pattern was not restricted to the Rajaz metre, neither was it the case with the S. Arabian bedouin form

which employs most of the known classical Arabic metres, besides others including al-Mustaṭīl which Ibn al-Jazzāz al-Zabīdī considers as the most widely-used among the bedouins of Yaman, from al-Shiḥr and Ḥaḍramawt in the south, to Ṣa'dah in the north¹⁵. From the ninth century onward, the bedouin form became popular among some humanists of S. Arabia, and can be exemplified by the following poem of al-'Alawī¹⁶:-

يسحب أذيال المرخ	مترى ساج آمنواظر
مثل نشوان أصطبغ	في شعاب أكفاف حاجر
إت قلب فيك تحمخ	قلت: وافض آمنجائر
نالروى شرطه وضع	قال: مهلك لد تخاطر
رام كتمه نافترض	أخرير حزم ماهر
وشت عندى وضع	جربوا ذا أهل البصائر
من شرب صرفه طمع*	كاس نخر الحب داير

The second type of pauses are the rhythmical, under which may be grouped the metrical pauses which the traditional qaṣīdah furnishes at the end of each line. However, there are other important pauses that are rhythmical in the sense that they delimit the end of a certain rhythmic

* Metrical scheme: ||-u-|--u^u | ---u-|--u⁻

structure, and tend to function as resting-places. The Arab rhetoricians of the past gave such rhythmical structures different names, sometimes two or even more for the same structure, and regarded them as admirable ornaments which, when used in excess, become alien to the spirit of poetry. That may be the case; but some of these structures were, in my opinion, the first step towards the origination of the muwashshah poetry as a whole, and hence cannot be overlooked. There is no doubt that these structures occurred occasionally in some pre-Islamic poets, but at a certain period of time, and, perhaps, under the pressure of musicians, were sought for their singsong effects. It is irrelevant and extraneous to our subject to think in terms of badī', and forget the intimate links that exist between rhythmical pauses, sense-pauses, and humainī.

Of all the rhythmical structures that have much bearing upon our subject is al-tashtīr which was doubtlessly of a pre-Islamic origin. Al-tashtīr is of two kinds¹⁷: tarṣī', as exemplified in the following line:

حامي الحقيقة ، مهود الخليفة ، مهدي الطريفة ، نفاع وضرار .

and mumāthalah, as exemplified by the following lines:

وإنا ياكلوا لحمي ، وفرت لحومهم
وإنا يهدموا مجدي ، بنيت لهم مجدا .

وإنا ضيعوا غيبي ، حفظت غيوبهم
وإنا هم لصوا غيبي ، لعويت لهم رشدا .

[The possible short pauses in the preceding three lines are marked by punctuations, and the long pauses are marked by full-stops]

It is clear from the foregoing lines that in tarsī', common internal rhymes, which should change from one line to another, are essential, and the line, as a whole, is broken into verse-sections, each creating a pause which does not necessarily coincide with the end of a foot. If we scan the line in question, and supply the possible pauses as above, then we will have the following rhythmical structures:

--u-uu , ----u-uu , - | --u-uu , ----u----

In mumāthalah, the lines fall naturally into verse-sections, each creating a rhythmical pause from the division of each hemistich into two equal metrical periods:

u--u--- , u-uu-u- , u--u--- , u-uu----

The second step was to combine both tarsī' and mumāthalah in one and the same line, and thus divide each line into a series of units of equal metrical length, each rhyming with the other except the penultimate rhyme which must not change throughout the whole poem. This combination of tarsī' and mumāthalah is known as tasmīṭ, and is illustrated in the following two lines:

وحرِبُ وِرْدَتِ وَتَشْرَسِدَتِ وَعَلَجَ شَدَدَتِ عَلَيْهِ الْجَبَالُ

وما لحويت وخيل حميت وضيع قريت يخاف الولا *
 * وضيع قريت يخاف الولا *

- which can be written in the following way and be claimed as a mubayyatah consisting of two strophes:

و حرب وردت و ثغر سددت
 و عالج سددت عليه الجبال
 و مال حويت الخ

However, we are not sure when the first full musammaṭ form came into existence, though, of course, there are some musammaṭ pieces that are attributed to Imru'u al-Qais, but Ibn Rashīq (390-463/1000-71) and al-Ma'arrī (363-449/973-1057), both of whom despise this style of poetry, cast doubts over their authenticity¹⁸.

The Arabs employed many forms of al-shi'r al-musammaṭ, but their critics were not always exact in their definitions¹⁹.

Al-shi'r Al-musammaṭ.

I should say that the most distinctive and concomitant

qualities in the musammaṭ style

of poetry, which differentiate it from other styles of poetry employing more than one rhyme, are, first, the division of the whole poem into a certain number of metrically-uniform equal abyāt (strophes), each bait containing two or more lines of

* Metrical scheme: ||--u| --u| u-u| --u | --u| --u| u-u| --u

the same metrical length, and usually complete in itself; and, secondly, the existence of a master-rhyme, designated as 'amūd al-qaṣīdah, which marks the end of each strophe, giving it a distinctive melodic completeness of its own. When the poem is set for singing, 'amūd al-qaṣīdah acts as the longest resting-place at which new tunes of music may be worked out to accompany the following strophe.

There is no limit upward as to the number of lines a bait may have, and the musammaṭ forms that were used by the Arab poets of the past are so numerous and varied that no complete tabulation of them could be attempted here; but the following may be mentioned as the most popular among the washshāhīn of S. Arabia*:-

I	aaaa	bbba	ccca	etc.
II	aaab	cccb	dddb	"
III	aaaaA**	bbbbA**	cccA**	"
IV	aaaaa	bbbba	ccca	"
V	aaaab	cccab	dddab	"
VI	aaaaa	bbbaa	cccaa	"

* Each stroke marks the end of a complete unit, the bait. Each rhyming letter ends a hemistich, but tazfīr may be used in I, II, IX, X, and XI. Hemistichs in III, IV, V, VI, VII, and VIII, are always identical in metrical structure.

** Capital letters represent identical hemistichs, or lines ==

VII	aaabb	ccobb	dddbb	etc.
VIII	aaabo	dddbc	cccbc	"
IX	abababAB**	cdcdcdAB**	efefefAB**	"
X	abababab	cdcdcdab	efefefab	"
XI	abababababab	cdcdcdcdcdab	efefefefefab	"

These rhyme patterns have reached us as part and parcel of the mubayyat muwashshah, and can, perhaps, be treated under what al-Shar'abī calls al-shi'r al-mutadākhil al-qawāfī.

The question which faces us here is: did the poets of S. Arabia write in such patterns before the days of Ibn Fulaitah and al-Wāthiq? To answer this question, we are obliged to turn back to the Yamanite poets who flourished before the end of the eighth century A.H.

The number of S. Arabian poets who lived before the end of the eighth century is substantial; but owing to circumstances, known and unknown, only the following names, listed in chronological order, are known to have compiled dīwāns:-

Waḍḍāḥ al-Yaman²⁰

Al-Hamdānī (278-334/891-945)²¹

'Amr b. Yaḥya al-Haithamī²².

Jayyāsh b. Najāḥ (+498/1105)²³.

Al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ḥujūrī (+533/1139)²⁴.

Abū Bakr b. Muḥd. al-Yafā'ī (490-552/1097-1157)²⁵.

*= repeated as refrains, either for their emotional richness or for their melodic qualities.

Al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī, known as Ibn al-Qumm²⁶.

'Umārah al-Ḥakamī (c. 515-69/1121-74)²⁷.

Al-Imām al-Manṣūr 'Abdallah b. Ḥamzah (561-614/1166-1217)²⁸.

Muḥammad b. Ḥimyar (+651/1253)²⁹.

'Alwān b. Sa'īd al-Ḥujūrī (+ 660/1262)³⁰.

Al-Qāsim b. 'Alī al-Hutaimil³¹.

Aḥmad b. 'Alwān al-Yafrisī (+665/1266-7)³².

Abū Ḥanīfah al-'Adanī³³.

Muḥd. b. 'Abd al-Qaddūs al-Ẓafārī (+691/1292)³⁴.

Sa'īd b. Mas'ūd al-Najawī³⁵.

'Abdallah b. Ja'far (+713/1313)³⁶.

'Īsa b. Saḥbān al-Ḥakamī (+725/1325)³⁷.

Al-Malik al-Mujāhid (706-64/1306/07-1363)³⁸.

'Abdallah b. As'ad al-Yāfi'ī (698-768/1298-1367)³⁹.

Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥubaishī (702-69/1302-68)⁴⁰.

Ibn 'Alwān⁴¹ and al-Malik al-Mujāhid⁴² are known to have composed in one or more of the previously tabulated patterns of al-shi'r al-musammaṭ, and one of the earliest musammaṭāt that has reached us in an authentic S. Arabian compilation is that of 'Abd al-Nabī b. Maḥdī (+569/1173)⁴³. It is not fanciful, therefore, to assume that the Yamanites, like their brethren across the border, exploited the musammaṭ prosody for different purposes when such a style of poetry became rooted in the body of Arabic literature.

II.

Of all the previously tabulated musammāt patterns in humainī, only two were fully exploited by the S. Arabians, which, when taken together, compose the corpus of humainī from the time of Ibn Fulaitah until the end of the thirteenth century.

The first pattern rhymes aaaa bbba ccca, etc., and is exemplified by the following poem of al-Haddād⁴⁴:-

زارني بعد الجفا ظبي الجودِ عنبريِّ العرفِ ودرّيِّ الخودِ
وسقاني من رحيقِ في البديدِ وشفى بالملتقى قلب العميدِ

قلت أهلاً ياغزال الرقتينِ أنت قرّةُ خاطري أيضاً وعيني
لا تعدّي يا سويحى المقلتينِ هكذا ترى زماهي وعهودي

أقبلت لي، حين أقبلت البشارِ بالأمانى وألمني يا ظبي عامرِ
كم وكم لي من مرامٍ ومزمارِ فيك يادري المباسمِ والحقودِ

يا قضيياً قد تهاين في كتيبِ عندما هبت له ربح الجنوبِ
عدّ إلينا لا تخف قول الرقيبِ يامسراتي إذا ما عاد عودي

يارى الله ليالي بالمعاصدِ نلت فيهما ما أرجيه وزائدِ
هل ترى عيشاً تقضى ثم عائدِ إن، والد بالبا يعين جودي *

*Metrical scheme: || --u^u | --u- | --u^u | --u^u | --u^u | --u^u

The question which should be raised here is this: is the employment of the sukūn in this form, and the other humainī forms, a necessary condition? To answer this question in the positive would amount to a denial of the existence of a limited number of humainiyyāt in which the sukūn is not manipulated; and to answer in the negative, would amount to a deprivation of humainī of one of its most traditional features. It goes without saying that when a humainī poem is composed spontaneously, the sukūn may be distributed very smoothly at different points in the abyāt, and will function as resting-places or rhythmical pauses. Throughout its long history, humainī produced only very few poets who knew how to manipulate the sukūn with discretion and purpose, the result of which are poems that cannot be read or heard without instantly becoming music, and, so to speak, sing themselves. Al-'Alawī's poems are cases in point. On the other hand, some poets, like Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallah al-'Aidarūs, neither possessed the tenderness of al-'Alawī nor the understanding of the importance of the role played by the sukūn, and hence the outcome are mechanical and inanimate poems which, though they will scan correctly, have no vitality, and are nothing but dead wordings.

The foregoing musammaṭ pattern, which we have designated as the first mubayyat form, was not as popular among the humainists of S. Arabia as the second mubayyat form which we exemplify by the following muwashshah of Yahya b. Ibrāhīm al-Jahhāfī⁴⁵:-

جيبى من عبيّر مخلوق وعنبر ومن عود طيب الأنفاس هندی
 ومن كافور بينه مسك أذفر سحيق قد مازجه ماورد وردی
 وثغرة من عقيق أحمر وجوهز وتخته وشم أزرق لادوردی
 وریقه من عسل أبيض وسكر نبات ذفته مع التبييل وحدي

جيبى صاغه الرحمن من نور ومن لؤلؤ خلق ثغرة ومرجان
 جيبى قد خلق من زهر مطور ومن روح صورة زيب وربان
 جيبى صح لب أنه من الحور وأنه قد شرد من عند رضوان
 جيبى للقمر والشمس أسر فقال: أسرت جاريتك وعبدی

غراحي من طرف قد صار شق فرا أنا لا أفیق من التصاحب
 بهذا قاضى الأثواق أفق فلم أنشدت من فرط اكتئاب
 ومزجى النسيم ورق حق لأخب قد شكوت إليه ما حيب
 فما أحلاه وقت الصبح إذا مر وإن أذك هوية نار وجدی

تعلمت الجمائم من ولوعی إذا أنا من فراقكم بکیست
 وودت أنرا تخلي سجوکی وتروعی فب التصاحب ما رویت
 وأما مثل ما ضمت ضلوعی فإخب ما سمعت ولا رأیت
 هوى غيلان عندی ليس يذكر فقد حدث دموع العين خدی

It is invaluable to study and analyse the best humainiyyāt that were - are sung, and to determine where the melodic secret lies. The bulk of the best humainī songs have reached us in the second mubayyat form - a form so perfect that the majority of the known washshāhīn composed most of their songs in it -- because of the intrinsic value that lies in its rhyme-sequences which lend themselves wonderfully to music.

The poem, as a whole, is divided into abyāt (strophes), the number of which varies, in most cases, between three and five. The bait.

Each bait should be treated as an independent unit, because when the poem is set for singing, each bait signalizes the end of a musical unit and the beginning of a new one. It is obvious that the overflow of the sense from one bait to another should be overruled, because it will destroy the integrity of the bait as a musical entity, and thus will deprive the musician of the opportunity of varying his tunes. But even this simple fact was not sometimes observed, and tadmīn may be found in few poems such as al-Haddād's⁴⁶:

على فراق الربوع
وساعده الدموع
بدمعه والخشوع

ياسعد قلبي حزين
قد زاد منه الحنين
ناديت: هل من معين

من كل عاشق مكين قد طال منه الزرع

بـ
الحك عريب ألمحى النازلين الكثيب
فيهم عنديب ألمحى فرداً جماله غريب
رماه لما رحى قلب بسم مصيب
فصار مثلي رهين طول الزمان يوع *

Each line of the bait is usually divided into two hemistichs; but there is a limited number of poems in which the poet practises tazfīr, and breaks his lines into three rhyming verse-sections⁴⁷:-

القلب يخفي هواه حيناً وينغي دعوى الغرام
لكن طرفي يخرج الذي بات يرغي بالإسجاء
يعين خفي فقد أذنت بكشفي لدهن الغرام
نشرت لفي وأبدت ما كنت أخفي عن الربام

بـ
يانسة الشام بنهت قلبي فما نام لما سريت
فهل لك ألمام بالخيف أم عندك أعلم عمت هويت
هل عهدهم دأ أم أثرت فيه الأيام وما دريت
فالبعد يلغى عهد ألمحف ويعنى رسم الذمام **

* Metrical scheme: || -uu | -uu | -u- | -uu

** Metrical scheme: || -uu | --uu | -uu | - | -uu

Or four⁴⁸:-

يا من حسنه أغار شمس الزوار
في وجنتك ما رنار وجيلنار
والبدر لما أستنار
والزرجس الغض صار في مقلتك
فأقت جميع الثمار
رمانتيك من معصيتك
من ذا الذي قد أدار ذلك السوار

ببي
فما لجلك مثال يا آخر الخزال
تعال عندي تعال يا أوصاك
في الشكل إلا الهلاك إذا أنعطت
قالوا زكاة أجمان فلا تخف
وهو، فديتك، حلال مثل الزلازل
بذلك الأثر قال بعض السلف
لا تكثر الاعتذار ولا النار
غيب غالي قرار إلا لديك*

The internal rhymes, which occur in each single bait, may serve several functions: giving pleasure in themselves, pointing out the rhythmical structure, breaking a long line into shorter units, or may serve as resting-places at which the singer may take his breath or prolong the articulation of the last syllable of the rhyme if it has any suggestive, emotional connotation.

The 'amūd al-qaṣīdah is an important and prominent characteristic of the second mubayyat form. It binds together and marks the integral character of each strophe, and, at the same time, separates each strophe from those

* Metrical scheme: || -u-u | -u-| -u-u | -u-u | -u-| -u-u

that are preceding or immediately following. It has thus both a separating and a combining effect. Apart from this function, or in addition to it, 'amūd al-qaṣīdah gives each bait a rhythmic entity - for it regularly recurs at more or less equal periods of timing after it seemed lost on the appearance of new internal and metrical rhymes, and closes the bait with an echo at once gratifying to the ear and satisfying to the artistic taste.

III.

Having considered the patterns of the first and the second mubayyat forms, it is essential, at this point, to deal very briefly with some aspects of the Andalusian muwashshah style before we treat the rhyming characteristics of the regular muwashshah.

Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's definition of the (Andalusian type of) muwashshah as "a versified [form of] speech written in a special metre⁴⁹" is loose, hazy, and therefore, inadequate. However, one can say that the Andalusian type of muwashshah is a strophic style of poetry characterized by having a certain pattern consisting of a regular alternation of elements having common and separate rhymes. Before discussing these elements, let us exemplify the Andalusian pattern by

the following poem of al-A'ma al-Tuḥīlī (+525/1131)⁵⁰:-

ما ألتوق إلا زناد
ورس بلعب بالفراق
يورع بقلب كل حين
ينتابه ليل السليم
نيرانا
حيرانا

يا ليت شعري هل
أيام حب الأرو
مطرزاً بالعدل
سيروا كسير الجياد
ومن أراد السباق
وإذ أقول للصحاب
وبادروا للهجوت
إلى كناني ورئم
فالناسا
فالناسا

قل أية سلما
أضل أم هلما
لا تلحن في ألبا
وجدني ملك أوجد زاد
ذو عي حواشي رفاق
عهد الشباب الميم
أم لدا إليه سبيل
إن أخذت مف ألتول
ذكري، والذكري شجوت
عاطيتهم بنت آل كروم
إخوانا
أزمانا

ريلة بالخليج
عليه ضوء بهج
أحسن بران سروح
بحر إذا مد كاد
أحشاؤه ف أصطفاق
والبدر قد ألق شعاع
وفلنا تجرع سراغ
تركها على أندفاع
من كثرة أبيض يكون طوفانا
إن جردت خيل النسيم
فرهانا

دنيا تجلت عروش
فاشرب وهاه الكؤوش
وإن أبيت العروش
على يساط السندس
فهيب حياة الألفس
فاعدل إليها وأجلس

لصارم راق العيون عريانا
عن زهراء كالبحر الموانا

حيث الرياض نجاد
وللكمام انشفاقت

للذئب محمود الخلال

وصاحب صلحا

بين المياه والظلال

تلناه مصطحا

في القهوة الصبراء قال:

قد عانقت فيه الغصون أغصانا
عندي فسعد يانديم ندمانا *

وإث عدول لها

« سكرة على شاطبي واد
تعد بملك العرائف

Now one of the greatest difficulties attending the study of the Andalusian type of muwashshah is the lack of a uniform set of terminology for its components. I have come across the following set of terms in different Arabic books: markaz, ra's, ghuṣn, simṭ, dawr, qufl, bait, faṣl, ḥashw, kharjah, silsilah, khānah, dhail, inṣirāf, durj, and lāzimah. It seems, however, practical to adopt the following terms which will enable us to analyse intelligibly the elements of the Andalusian muwashshah pattern:--

* Metrical scheme:--

long lines: ||--- | -u---| -uu | -uu | -uu

Metricaly speaking, the third and the fourth long lines are "broken", for they scan

||--- | -u-|-u-u | -u-|-uu

short lines: ||-uu | -uu | -uu | -uu

bait: strophe consisting of simṭ = part with separate rhymes, and qufl = part with common rhymes. If we take the foregoing poem as an illustrative example of the Andalusian pattern, and employ the alphabetical notation usually adopted when dealing with rhyme-sequences, then we get the following scheme:-

<u>qufl</u> <small>(abcbcd)</small> <u>qufl</u> (abcdec)	<u>bait</u> <hr style="width: 100%;"/> (efefef) (abcdec) <u>simṭ</u> <u>qufl</u>	<u>simṭ</u> <u>qufl</u> (ghghgh) (abcdec), etc. <hr style="width: 100%;"/> <u>bait</u>
---	--	--

It is obvious from this scheme that the aqfāl should wholly reproduce themselves in each bait throughout the whole poem, the last qufl, considered by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk⁵¹ as the loom upon which the washshāḥ should weave his poem, bears the name of kharjah. If the muwashshāḥ has a maṭla' (exordium), which is the first qufl, then it is called tāmm, but when it does not, it is called agra'. Whenever the poem is set for singing, the bait may conveniently be termed as dawr (stave).

The question which should be raised here is: how did the S. Arabians regard this style of poetry? The answer to this question can be discerned from the meagre quantity of poems that have reached us in that pattern, as well as by its complete absence from most of the extant humainī dīwāns.

A humainiyyah composed after the Andalusian model is treated as a mubayyat muwashshāḥ if its lines have the same

metrical structure. Taking the liberty of borrowing non-Yamanite terms, we might say that if the metrical structure of the aqfāl is wholly reproduced in the asmāṭ, then the humainiyyah in question is regarded as a mubayyatah, with a maṭla', if the muwashshah is tāmm. The following poem of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah⁵², which is contrived after the Andalusian pattern, will show how such humainiyyāt are divided in S. Arabian diwāns and safāyin:-

ألقى على الروض فتون الحلي	ألوحى
إسفنط كأس نورة يختلي	فأجتلي

زهر الدجى في روضةٍ أزهت	أسفرت
لنا السما في الأرض إذ نورت	صورت
الباينا في حسن ما حبرت	حيرت
كأس على زهر الربا يجلي	حيث لي
يزين جيد العاطل العجلي	كالجلي

صبت يعاطب الكاس غزلان غبيد	السعيد

مبا سماً وألطي عيناً وجيئد	كالفريد
من يهزج الكأس بجز البيديئد	الرشيد
بالكأس كفت الشادن آل كل	كالكيب
كأسب على رجح ثنا ألبيل	وأهل لجب

على آرتشاف درة آل نفس	مؤنسب
بالله أدهقها ولا تجسس	أكؤسب
من كفت ساق أحور العسس	واحتسب
في الكأس ذاك الرائق السلس	سلسب
أكوابها بالمسك وألمندل	علاكب

إلك طلعة أقسم ماذا بشر	من نظر
حاروا وقالوا إذا ملك أو قر	والبشر
منه أختفى والشمس غابت خفر	والقر
ياشمس أذيال ألحيا وأجلب	أسلب
بالله من يجبك ذا آلرول*	وأفلب

*Metrical scheme: || -u- | -u^u- | -u^u- | -u-

However, if the aqfāl and the asmāt belong to the same metre, but are unequal in length (by the dropping of one or more feet from either), or if the metre of the asmāt is different from that of the aqfāl, then the humainiyah is considered as if it were composed of the regular alternation bait-tawshih. The following poem⁵³ is appended as an example:-

لقلبي شغلٌ في المحبة شغلٌ
إذا ذكرت تلك الربا والمنازلُ
ولي نحو هاتيك المعاهد لوعة
بيت برا دمعي على الخد هاملُ

ش
يا معشر العشاق
ما يخفي الأحرار
عن مشهد الأحداق
بادي الأذى حيران
رام يصطبِر ما طاق
عن شبيهه غصن ألبان

أشيروا بما يبري رسيس غرامه
فقد غمرته في الغرام المجهلُ
فقالوا جميعاً: ليس يبريه غير من
كساء جلايب الضنا وهو ذاهلُ

ش
خف يا عذيب الناب
عن حمل أوصاحب
قلبي الشجي ما غاب
عك في تغياب
لما فكر ذاب
لم يزل إليك صاحب

فَيْشْفِي بِتَرْوِجِ اللَّقَا نَارَ وَجِيدِهِ عَسَى يَنْقُضِي تَبْرِجَهُ وَالْبَلْبَلُ
فَأَنْتَ لَهُ دَاءٌ وَفِيكَ دَوَاؤُهُ إِذَا ضُمَّمٌ مَعْسُولٌ عَلَيْهِ وَعَاسِلُ

ت و ش ح

فِي جَيْبِكَ الْوَضَّاحُ وَالْمَبْسَمُ الدَّرَجِي
كُلُّ رُوحَةٍ وَالرَّاحُ وَالسَّرُورُ وَالْبَشِيرُ
كُنْ بَوْصَلَةَ سَمَّاحُ لِذَمِّنْ إِلَى الْغَدْرِ

بي

بِنِعْمَةِ سُلْطَانِ الْوَرَى وَمَلِكِهِمْ إِمَامِ الْهَدَى عَلَى أَمَقَامِ الْخَلَّاحِ
مَنْكَسِ رَايَاتِ أَمْلُوكِ بِهَمِّيَّةٍ تَدِينُ لَهَا بَيْضُ أَلْطَبَا وَالذَّوَابِلُ

ت و ش ح

ضَيْغَمُ الْوَرَى الْبِرَّاسِ عِنْدَ رُؤْيَةِ الْأَبْطَالِ
الْمَبْهَرِجِ الْرَجَّاسِ بِالنَّوَالِ وَالْإِفْضَالِ
لَا يَخَافُ رَفْدَةَ بَاسِ وَفَوْقَ قِبَلَةِ الْأَمَالِ

إِمَامٌ مَلِكٌ بِالْمَكَارِمِ كَلِمَا تَوْجِلُ مِنْ مَعْرُوفِهِ فَهَوَ حَاصِلُ
أَخِيرٌ، وَلَكِنْ بِالْفَضَائِلِ ضَامِنٌ يَأْخُرُ بِالتَّقْصِيرِ عَنْهُ الْأَوَائِلُ*

* Metrical scheme:-

bait: || -u-u | --u | ---u | u-u | -u-u | u-u | ---u | u-u
tawshih: || ---u | -u | ---u | -u

The error in such division is that the bait in the Andalusian type of muwashshah should always be considered as the unit of the poem. The bait is usually a line in a qasīdah, a hemistich in an ourjūzah, a number of couplets in a muzdawijah, and a distinct strophe ending by a master-rhyme running throughout the whole poem in a musammaṭah. Hence we can say confidently that the basic unit in a poem contrived after the standard Andalusian rhyme pattern is the bait,^{and,} therefore, the foregoing appended poem of al-'Alawī may be divided as follows:

<u>qufl</u> = <u>maṭla'</u>	<u>bait</u>	<u>tawshīh</u>	
aaxa	(bcbcbe)(xaxa)	(dedede)(xaxa)	, etc.
	<u>tawshīh</u> <u>qufl</u>	<u>bait.</u>	

Any division which does not regard the bait as the basic unit in such pattern is wrong, and Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's usage of the term bait⁵⁴, to denote what corresponds to the tawshīh in al-'Alawī's poem, is misleading.

IV.

Very different from the mubayyat forms that were popular in S. Arabia is the stately regular muwashshah, in that it is, in my opinion, the deliberate invention of, perhaps,

two gifted minds. An anonymous experimenting with the various patterns of al-shi'r
 The regular muwashshah and al-musammaṭ, and having in
 its gradual development. mind the requirements of
 choral singing, produced the first phase of the regular
muwashshah. That anonymous poet was, perhaps, a sufi who
 felt the requirement of group singing in his circle, and
 hence introduced a new element, the tawshīḥ, into the body of
 one of the two popular musammaṭ patterns in S.Arabia: the
 first and the second mubayyat forms.

The incorporation of tawshīḥ into the body of one of
 the two afore-mentioned mubayyat forms, led to the
 incorporation of the same element into the body of the other.
 Which preceded the other is problematical, and should be
 left for conjecture; for neither the S. Arabian dīwāns,
 nor the biographies at hand, are of much help to us in
 deciding the period in which the implementation of the
tawshīḥ into the body of the first and the second mubayyat
 forms had occurred. Nevertheless, the nature of the
 regular muwashshah leaves no doubt that it passed through
 two main changes, beginning with the introduction of tawshīḥ,
 and ending with the introduction of taqfīl. we do not
 possess any authentic example beyond the eighth
 century, but the S. Arabian dīwāns of some humanists,

however, furnish us with very few examples which reflect the nature of the gradual development of the regular muwashshaḥ. The lingering of such specimens in some dīwāns and safāyīn, may be taken as a sign of a practice made after models of the past which, as a literary tradition, continued in few poets - and in Yaman traditions are usually hard to terminate.

To the first mubayyat form was first added the element tawshīḥ, the introduction of which makes the pattern of the poem resemble that of an Andalusian one, with one main difference that can be easily discerned. The following poem of 'Alī b. Muḥd. al-'Anṣī⁵⁵ is appended here as an example of this transitory phase:-

ما وقتك بين الكلب والباث ولفتك حول النقا ونعمان
إلا ولك بين الخيام أشجاث هات الرمل من القلب أفنان

ت و ش ح
فأسكب أفانين الهوى ما في قلبك من جوى

فالحب ماله دوى

ب ب ب
عليش تطبن حرقك علامة تخفى الجوى والحب علامة
دموع عينك مثلما الغمامة وطول حرقه وسراذ أجفان

ت و ش ح

رَدَّدْ سَجُوعَكَ كَالْغَرِيدِ وَأَبِدْ مِنَ الشُّوقِ الشَّدِيدِ

عَلَيْهِ مَالِكٌ مِنْ قَصِيدِ

طَارِحُ شَجُونِكَ فِي الْهَوَى شَجُونِي إِنْ كَانَ دِينُكَ فِي الْغَرَامِ دِينِي
رَقَّ الْهَوَى بَيْنَكَ جَمْعٌ وَيَنْفِي وَكَلْنَا بَاكِي عَمِيدُ سَهْرَانِ

تَشَوُّحٌ
مَا فِي فُؤَادِكَ مِنْ حَرِيقٍ وَهُوَ بِسَكْنَاءُ حَقِيقِ
قَدْ خَلَّهٗ قَلْبِي الرِّيقِ

لَكِنْ أَظْنُوكَ مَا غَلَبَتْ غَلْبِي قَلْبِكَ مَعَكَ وَأَنَا نَهَبْتُ قَلْبِي
مَا حُدَا الرِّادِي وَمَالَ حَبِي نَادَى فُؤَادِي: وَاحْلِفِ الْآحْزَانِ

تَشَوُّحٌ
حَبِيبِي مَالَهُ مِثَالُ يَضُوعِي جَبِينَهُ كَالرِّهْلَانِ

حِينَ يَبْتَسِمُ بِيَدِي لَدَلْ

بِاللَّهِ وَافُوجِ الصَّبَا الْمَعْنَبِ هَلْ عَرَّجُوا بِالْوَادِعِي الْآخِضِرِ
أُمَّ شَاهِمُوا نَحْوِ الْكَلْبِ الْآعْفَرِ قَلِّ لِحَبِّ، فَدِينُكَ، مَهْجِي أَيْنُ بَانِ

تَشَوُّحٌ
أَعْبَابُ رَهْلِكَ وَأَنْسِئِمُ تَذَكِّي مِنَ الْقَلْبِ الْكَلِيمِ

ذَكَرَى شَبَابِ صَارِ رَدِيمِ

بالله وافوج ألنقا وجرور سلم على الغزير الأحوى
 راعى أمغلاة وأجبين الأضوى ريم أمحصيت مجل أليسات

الله يلتن وازبيد أرام قدت من حديث حتى ينغ غصفي الجريد*
 ح

The second step in this form was the introduction of the element taqfīl as exemplified in the following poem⁵⁶:-

سرى لي سجيراً نسيم الشمالين فنجش غرايح وبيع بلادك
 سرى لي فذكر بحالى الشمالين بمن ف القمر من بهاءه مخاين

سلام وانسيم بحال كف وسلم عسى علم تعلم ح
 تق

خبر خير لصاب بظي الجمالين قلبه موزع بتلك أمانك
 بي

عسى جزت وافوج ربح الأحياب فرت سواخ دهم حور أتراب
 وفيرا جيب حويلك ألتعاب يرخ قوامه كسران تامل

فتيت قددا ونوشت خدة ونخرة ونردة ح
 تق

تلطفت وأمسيت بين الغلايل تخلل وشاحة وخارج وداخل
 ح

*Metrical scheme:-

bait: || --u | -uuu | -uu | --u | -u-- | -uu
 tawshih: || -u-- | -uu | -u-- | -uu | -u-- | -uu

ببي
متى عجت ، قل لي ، بتلك الملاعب
وعاينت فيرا فير الغياض
على عين كحل قرن نون حاجب
ونعش جفونه على سحر بابل

لش
غزال أحور العين حوى الحسن والزين
مشلا الخديدين
لثقة
إذا كان بالله محبة مبادك
فقد طاب عيني برغم العواذل*

As for the second mubayyat form, the same elements were added to it, and the change can be assumed to have occurred along similar lines. I append here two poems pertaining to that change in its two respective manners:-

1.

لا تسأل اليوم عنى
شغل المحبة شغل
برق الخوير المدني
حرف عدوكي رحمني
إنت المشوق المتيم
عن كل مشرب ومطعم
بكاتيب الدمع والدم
وكف عني وسلم

*Metrical Scheme:-

bait: ||--u| --u| --u| --u | --u| --u| --u| --u
tawshih: ||--u| --u | --u| --u | --u| --u
taqfil: ||--u| --u| --u| --u | --u --u| --u| --u

لَسْتُ وَشَوْح

كَمْ فِي آمْرٍ مِنْ مَجَابِبِ وَكَمْ لَأَهْلَةٍ مَنَاقِبِ
مَكُونُ تِلْكَ الْمُضَارِبِ الذَّنْبِ لِي وَهَوِّ عَائِبِ

سَلَكْتُ فِي كُلِّ مَذْهَبِ وَطَفْتُ كُلَّ النُّوَاحِبِ
مَا رَأَيْتُ أَحَدًا وَأَعْدَبِ لِي نَاطِرِي مِنْ رَدَاحِبِ
وَأَنَاسٍ كَمْ شَاطِرِي وَمِنْ طَبِيبِ جِرَاحِبِ
شَخْصَةً وَإِنَّ غَابَ عَنِّي طَبِّبٌ بِقَلْبِي وَخَمِيمٌ

لَسْتُ وَشَوْح

جَبِيْتُ نَسِيمَ الْجَوَانِبِ كَمْ حَرَكْتُ مِنْ لَوَالِبِ
كَمْ غَادَرْتُ قَلْبَ ذَائِبِ كَمْ تَرَكْتُ دَمْعَ سَائِبِ* 57

2.

رَنَةٌ مِنْ شَجِيَّةٍ غَنَّا تَسْتَشِيرُ الدَّمْعُ
طَرَقَتْ خَرَفٌ مَسْمِيٌّ وَهِنَا فَاسْتَطَارَ الْهَجْرُ
نَمٌّ وَاللَّتُّ فَكَادَ أَنْ يَفْنَى حَيْثُ قَلْبِي أَلْمَرُوعُ

* Metrical scheme:-

bait: || --u- | -u-u | --u- | -u-u
tawshih: || --u- | -uuu | --u- | -u-u

يَأْتِي لِرَبَّةِ الْحَسَنَاءِ وَتَيْ فَرِحَ شِعْرٌ
 وَشَح
 أَضْحَكَ اللَّهُ وَاضْحَاتِ الْغَيْدُ وَنَفَى عَنِ لِحَظِهَا التَّسْرِيهُ

وَوَقَاهَا الْبَاءُ وَالْتَرْدِيدُ

تَقْفِي
 نَلِهَتْ النَّوَظِرَ الْوَسْنَى وَالصَّنَا وَالْوَدْوَعُ
 وَلَنَا مَا شَجَّحَ وَمَا أَضْفَى وَالْجَوَاعُ وَالْوَلْوَعُ

بِي
 إِيهِ يَجَارَتِي ، وَمَنْ يَسْأَلُ
 فِيمَ هَذَا أَلْبَا أَلْبَا الَّذِي قَلْبِي
 أَفْقَدْتِ خَلِيلَكَ الَّذِي
 أُمُّ فَجَعْتِ بِيكَرِكَ الْأَسْفَى
 وَشَح

غَيْرَ أُنِّي وَلَا أَقُولُ نَحْوِي مَا شَجَّحِي ذُو صِبَابَةٍ شَجْوِي

وَإِذَا شَتَّتِ فَاسْمَجِي وَأُرْوِي

تَقْفِي
 فَلَيْتَ أَلْفِظَ مِنْهُ وَالْمَعْنَى
 ذَاهِبٌ فِي الْهَرَبِ الَّذِي أَعْفَى
 وَالْأَصُولُ وَالْفُرُوعُ
 لَسْتُ أَنْوِي رَجْوَعُ

بِي
 كَيْفَ أَرْجَعُ وَمَا الْجَفَا طَبِيعِي
 سَيَدِيمِ الْوَقَا وَلَوْ يَدْعِي
 هَا أَشْتِيَابِي وَهَا سَمَا دَمْعِي
 تَسْعُدُ عَنْ بَلِي وَمَنْ غَفَّ
 وَفَوَادِي الْوَفَى
 لَمَذَاقِ الْحَتَفِ
 فَبِ الْلَمَا وَالْوَكُوفِ
 فَبِ رَبَا أَوْ رِبْعِ

ت و ش
يا أنا من بلاد الأشجاء وتهادى الدهور والأزمان

بغراف الحبيب والأوطان

تقفيل
كلما رمت نحرهم أذنا قلت للقلب: كفت، قال أفتى
زدت عنهم شسوع ذا أوان الشروع

جارتى قد بكيت لك إحسان فأسعديني فمدحة آل إنسان
وأجمعيل لا يضيغ أسعدت قبل نخلة حلوان
أنت يكاف الصنيع بياها مطيع والسجى يسعد الشجى المضى
بالحنين والدموع

ت و ش
أسأل الله منزل الفرقان صون خدك وطرفك الفتان

من دموع الولوع والأشجاء

تقفيل
وخلاصي من الذي عتّى وأجتماعي بهم كما كنا
وثوب في الضلوع والنتام الصدوع * 58

* Metrical scheme:-

bait: ||-u-|-u^u | --^uu|-u^u|-u^u
tawshih: ||---u|-u|-u^u | ---u|-u|-u^u | ---u|-u|-u^u
taqfil: ||-u-|-u^u | ---u|-u|-u^u

This is how the final touch was given to the regular muwashshah as far as I can see. The base was the first and the second mubayyat forms, to which were added, first, the tawshih, and second, the taqfil. The comparative unpopularity of the first mubayyat form was a precursor for the unpopularity of the regular muwashshah which is based on it. And what is more is that poems from whose pattern the taqfil is excluded can, indeed, be counted on one's fingers. Therefore, we can say plainly, and without hesitation, that the most widely-used humaini forms were the mubayyat form rhyming abababab cdcdcdab, etc., and the regular muwashshah pattern which is based on it, and in which the tawshih and the taqfil are integral parts.

The regular muwashshah, in its final form, was intended to be sung with the involvement of a chorus. The main singer will sing the bait (strophe), the chorus will chant after him the tawshih (anti-strophe?), after which the singer will close the faṣl (section) by repeating the taqfil (epode?).

In the majority of cases, the tawshih consists of three hemistichs (or verse-sections), though there is no apparent reason why its number should not exceed this limit. However, it should be noted:-

- (a) The number of the hemistichs (or verse-sections) in the tawshīh should not be less than three, and must conform to a certain rhyme scheme. According to humainī usage, if the hemistichs of the tawshīh are three, then they must rhyme together; but if there are more, then the first line of the tawshīh may have two different rhymes, and possibly more, that must be strictly observed in the other lines of the same tawshīh.
- (b) The hemistichs (or verse-sections) of the first tawshīh should be wholly reproduced in the following tawshīhāt. And because humainī is partly dependent upon rhyme variation for its effects, it is almost obligatory that each tawshīh should have a rhyme pattern of its own which must not be reproduced, wholly or partly, in any corresponding part of the other fuṣūl. However, exceptions to this may be found in good poets.
- (c) The tawshīhāt should be metrically uniform throughout the whole poem. The metrical structure of the tawshīhāt may or may not be the same as that of the abyāt and the taqfīlāt of the poem.
- (d) Enjambment (taḍmīn) from the tawshīh to the following taqfīl is not an uncommon practice.

The element taqfīl, on the other hand, differs from

the tawshih in that it should always correspond, in rhyme and metre, to the maṭla', which is the first bait. It goes without saying that the taqfīl in the regular muwashshah pattern is nothing but a reproduction of a half of the pattern of the maṭla'; but in a few negligible number of poems, it is the reproduction of a quarter of it:-

وقارنته السعود على ألونا بالعهود عسى زمانك يعود تخطى بحقق البنود	وحاز كل الفخر صرفاً قبيل الفجر قد ضاع جل العمر على همر الدهر	قد نال أقصى المراد من سف كاس الوداد ثم واقتيل الرقاد بالجد والإجتهاذ
---	---	---

وآجتهند جهدك وكتر وآجتهند جهدك وكتر	لا تكن عاشق متعز لا تكن عاشق متعز	جرد الهمة وشمر جرد الهمة وشمر
--	--------------------------------------	----------------------------------

إلى منازك زروذ إلى منازك زروذ	يعيد بعد الهجر يعيد بعد الهجر	لعل رب العباد لعل رب العباد
----------------------------------	----------------------------------	--------------------------------

وصهرت حيرات كئيب هو سقمي والطيب مق دعائي أجيب مالي وما للمجود	من يوم غاب محبوبي فما سواة مطلوبي فأنا العبد التوبي يستلم لي خبري	ضائق عليّ الحلال لوجاد لي بالخيال ولو أطال المطان شالقي إليه القياد
--	--	--

لو يكون في الدهر عزة لو يكون في الدهر عزة	بالكرامة والمسرة بالكرامة والمسرة	فاز من شرف بنظره فاز من شرف بنظره
--	--------------------------------------	--------------------------------------

من مفردات العقود من مفردات العقود	بنظم سلك الدر بنظم سلك الدر	سعد برا وأستفاد سعد برا وأستفاد
--------------------------------------	--------------------------------	------------------------------------

سرى حويد التطار وسار بقلبي الصادي يومم أمم الترى
 خلى دموعي غزار تندي على أخطادي واصحابي ماترى
 كيف شاتسعى الديار وكيف شاهى زادي وآطم لذيد الكرى
 قد سمّ قلبى البعاد عن الجيب الطهر إمام يوم الخلود

واهيامى واهيامى رب بلغنى مرامى من عويلي الملقام

تقفى

أنت الرزوق الجواد فأجز بفضلك كسرى ياخالتي ياودود* 59

There is, however, another term, the taqmī', which appears occasionally in some dīwāns and safāyin. This term occurs only in the regular muwashshah which is based on the second mubayyat form to denote the reproduction of a ^{quarter of} the matla' at the end of each faṣl - as is the case in the

* Metrical scheme:-

bait: || -u- | -u- u | --- | -u- u | -u- | -u- u
tawshīh: || --u- | --u- | --u- | --u- | --u- | --u-

The taqmī'. above poem of al-'Alawī - in a very few specimens of poems. The term taqmī', however, was employed for such denotio^{at}n only after the tenth century A.H.⁶⁰; but was originally minted to designate a new element that was added to the Andalusian type of muwashshah. This, one may reasonably assume, had happened before the final regular muwashshah pattern, consisting of the regular alternation bait-tawshīh-taqfīl, was either invented or universally accepted.

We have seen how the Andalusian type of muwashshah was regarded by the S. Arabians. What interests us here is that the washshāhīn of Yaman added a new element to the main body of the Andalusian rhyme pattern, and gave it two different names. If this additional element precedes the tawshīh, they erroneously call it bait; but if it follows it, then they give it the name of taqmī'. I append here three S. Arabian humainiyyāt to show how the Andalusian pattern, which was never popular among the humainists of S. Arabia, was transposed into two main forms. The first humainiyyah is Andalusian in pattern; the second will show the new element (which you may dubb as you like) preceding the tawshīh; while the third shows the new additional element as it follows it.

A. THE STANDARD ANDALUSIAN RHYME PATTERN IN
S. ARABIA⁶¹

مقلد بالكواكب الزمير
تجري عليه سلافة الخمر

بدر تمام جينه أبلج
يفتر عن در مسم أبلج

رقت ثياها

شويدت أشنبت

بالحسن تياها

مقنح مخجب

أنفاس رياها

لله ما أطيب

من طلعة البدر ليلة البدر
وهز قدا كذابل السمر

باهي ألمحيا جينه أبلج
إذا أنشفت ماج ردفه وأرخ

مالي وما للكاش
يفوح في الأنفاس
ومن كلام الناس

في ثغرة راحي
رياها تفاحي
من عشقته آحي

شوقاً نصارت مداحي تجري
مهلاً عندولي فليس لي أمري

لوم عندولي على هواة أضح
خلقت قليب بلومه مزح

عن شادين أحرور
بالبدر قداثمر

من أين لي سلوان
غصن من العقيان

بمِثْلِ كَالنَّشْوَاتِ فِي سُنْدِسٍ أَخْضَرٍ

أَزْجُ وَرْدِ الْحِيَالِ ضَرْجُ
كَمْ لَوْنُ الْحَسَنِ سُنْدِسًا يَنْسُجُ
بِأَحْمَرٍ تَحْتَ أَسْوَدِ الشَّعْرِ
عَلَيْهِ تَلَوِينُ سُنْدِسِ الزَّمْرِ

غَلَالَةُ الزَّمْرِ تَلَوْنَتْ أَلْوَانُ
فِي صَفْحَتِي بَدْرٍ تَلُوحُ فِي فِينَانُ
وَأَمَاءُ فِي الْجَمْرِ تَزْهَرُ بِهِ الْأُرْجَانُ

فِيَا تَرَى مِنْ لِنَارِهَا أَشْجُلُ
بَدْرٌ بِفِيهِ سَلَفَةٌ تَمْرُجُ
وَعَادِرُ أَمَاءٍ فِيهِ كَالْجَمْرِ
بِشَهْدِ رَيْقِ هَمْسِكَ الْنَشْرِ*

B. THE ANDALUSIAN RHYME PATTERN WITH THE
ADDITIONAL ELEMENT PRECEDING THE

TAWSHĪH62

أَمِنْ مَذَابِ الذَّهَبِ مُثَلَّتْ إِنْسَانًا سَوِيًّا
أَمْ مِنْ شِعَاعِ الشَّهَبِ صَوَّرَتْ حَسَنًا يَوْسُفِيًّا

ضِدَّانِ فِي وَجْنَيْكَ قَدْ جَمَعَا
وَالنَّارِ جَرِيَانِ مَعَا

*Metrical scheme:-

bait: || ---u | -u- | -uuu | ---u | -u- | -uuu
tawshīh: || -- | -u-u | -- | -u-u

وَأَلْبَرَقَ مِنْ جَوْهَرِ أَلْمَا لِمَا

تقفى

ل
وَمَارَجَ مِنْ لَهَبٍ فِي خَدَّةِ الْوَرْدِيِّ تَهِيًّا
أَهْبَى بِلَوْنِ ذَهَبِي مَنْ كَانَ شَيْخًا أَوْ صَبِيًّا

سَوَاكَ مَا بِي شَجْنُ يَا يَوْسُفَى الْحَسَنِ الْبَدِيعِ
أَنْتَ الرِّيحُ الْحَسَنُ مَا بِي وَأَيَّامُ الرِّيحِ

لش و ش ح

جِيْنِكَ الرُّوْحُ سَنَاكَ زَيْتَةُ أَعْشَقُهُ: وَرْدَةٌ وَسُوسَنَةٌ

سَجَانُ مِنْ صَاغَةٍ وَكُونَةٌ

تقفى

ل
مَمَّحٌ فِي أَلْحَبِّ الْعَيْنِ مِنْهُ كَالْحَمِيَّا
بَدْرٌ سَرَى فِي الْغَيْبِ قَدْ تَوَجَّهَتْ بِالْثَرِيَّا

أَفْدِيَهُ مِنْ مَنَفَرِدٍ بِحَسَنَةِ التَّرْكِ الْمَلُوكِي
كِبَانَةٌ مِنْ عَسْجِدٍ فِي رَمَلِي تَبْرُ سَبِيكِي

لش و ش ح

عَصْنٌ تَنْتَى وَفَوْقَهُ قَمَرٌ بَدْرٌ تَمَامٌ وَبِلَيْهِ شَحْرٌ

صُورَةٌ حَسَنٌ عِنْتُ لَهُ الصُّورُ

تقفى

ل
رَضَابُهُ كَالضَّرْبِ لَوْ مَسَّ مَيْتًا عَادَ حَيًّا
يَفْتَرُّ عَنِ كَالْحَبِّ وَرَيْقُهُ الرَّاحُ الْحَمِيَّا

بي

من سندس ألوشي النسيج
تهدي شذا زهر المروج

شمس بدت في زبرج
أنفاسها بالأريج

واماً له لو يزور عاشقته
يات جح الدجا معانته

يلثمه بجنتي شقايقه

تقف

وبألمب وبألمب
سقياء ويات برح بي
أفديك وابهى ألمحيا
لعهديك ألماضي وزغيا

C. THE ANDALUSIAN RHYME PATTERN WITH THE
ADDITIONAL ELEMENT FOLLOWING THE TAWSHĪH⁶³

فتباً لقلب لا يهيم بها صبا
ملاحته العظمى تعبده ربا
بعيد مهاري القرط ريقته الصها
وأصلب من صلد الصفا في الروى قلبا

حكى القمر النوار وألقن الرطبا
بديع جمال لو رأى متصوّف
أغن غضيض الطرف ساجي مقلة
أرق من ألماء ألمعبر معانيا

ش ح

*Metrical Scheme:-

bait: || -| -u--| -u-u | -u^u-| -u-u^u
tawshīh: || -uu-u| -u-| -u^u- | -uu-u| -u-| -u^u- | -uu-u| -u-| -u^u-
taqfīl: || -| -u--| -u-u | -u^{uu}-| -u^{uu}-

في حسرة ألفي حبتين جوز
مثل ألمنا طينة وحازني جوز
وقد ألين من قضيب في جوز
ففرقتة تعباً ولقيته فوز

تقريب

كالعوجي جيدة وألدر في بديده وألمسك من رودة

له عنق سام ومقلة ناعين
شبيهة لها في غنجها وفترها
كأن برا، والله يخلق ما يشاء
تعبدي رقاً، وألبسني ضيقاً
مكحلة بالسحر تستلب اللبا
فتور غزال الشرب فارقت السرا
عليّ يسرّ السيف يتغيّ الضربا
وأزقي شوقاً، وتيمّني حبا

تقريب

ضاني الحشا، مخض، خدلج ألسان
له وجه في الدجور يشرق أشراق
مطار، فتان الجفون، مخناق
لقيام فرحة للفراد إذا ضاق

تقريب

وصلة مني قلبي لومن به ربي ما كنت في كربي

ظننت أنّ الحب شهيد ولذة
وما الحب إلا محنة وملمة
ومن محنة العشاق أنّ جميعهم
فاجرهم وصلّا، وسخطهم رضك
فياليت أنّ الله لم يخلق الحبا
فكم حطمت صلباً ولم قصمت لباً
يروون عذاب الحب عندهم عذاباً
وجورهم عدلاً ويعدهم قرباً

تقريب

لا مالقي عروة وقيس مثلي ولا ابن معمر في الهيام شكلي
بارد غرامي في هواه يخلي شربت كاس الحب وقهر ممالي

نقمة

فمن شربت بالكاس ما في الهوى من باس كاس المحبة كاس*

From the above illustrative poem of al-Wāthiq, and, indeed, from all the few specimens which were composed by some Yamanite poets who lived before the tenth century⁶⁴, we can say that the term taqmī' denoted an element which, structurally speaking, has no connection whatever with the regular muwashshah which is based on the second mubayyat form. That element neither follows the rhyme scheme and the metrical structure of the maṭla', nor can it be claimed to be a regular reproduction of a quarter of it. But after the tenth century, the term taqmī' crystallized to denote the regular reproduction of a quarter of the maṭla' in each faṣl of the regular muwashshah which is based on the second mubayyat form. On what ground and how it came to

*Metrical scheme:-

<u>bait</u> :	---u ā-u ---u ū-u -u-u ū-u ---u ū-u
<u>tawshīh</u> :	--u -u-- -u- ^u --u -u-- -u--
<u>taqmī'</u> :	-- -u-- --ū -u-- -- -u- ^u

be assumed to be so, is extremely difficult to answer.

An evaluation of
the statement of
'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh.

A final word may best be briefly
stated here concerning the claim
of 'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh that Ibn
Fulaitah was the first S.

Arabian poet to provide an "argument" in favour of the
muwashshah in the land of al-Yaman. If 'Īsa has in mind
the first and the second mubayyat forms, then we must
outrightly renounce his claim, for the simple reason that
it is irreconcilable with some of the facts that were very
slightly referred to in the preceding sections of this
chapter. If, on the other hand, he means the Andalusian
type of muwashshah, we have also to reject him for reasons
which we have given in Chapter One.

The claim of 'Īsa may be justified if it is to be
confined within the range of two possibilities:-

(a) That the regular muwashshah, with its inalienable
element, the tawshih, and its complementary component, the
taqfil, is the particular one which 'Īsa has in mind. The
structural complexity of this muwashshah pattern deprives it
of the honour of historical precedence over the Andalusian
pattern which apparently began to take root, as a literary
tradition in the Arab East, only in the sixth century A.H.

It is, perhaps, between the sixth century and the eighth century that several attempts were made upon the mubayyat style, two of which crystallized into the addition of, first, the tawshīh, and, second, the taqfīl, to the body of the first and the second mubayyat forms. The regular muwashshah was thus the outcome of two deliberate distinguished attempts; and if we are to acquiesce in the claim of 'Īsa, the last phase in the development of the regular muwashshah should only be involved. It remains, however, to be proved that Ibn Fulaitah was

(i) Either the man who accomplished the task by originating the taqfīl, and incorporating it into the body of the muwashshah consisting then of the alternating pattern bait-tawshīh, before we credit him with that honour,

(ii) Or, the poet who made the muwashshah, consisting of the regular alternation bait-tawshīh-taqfīl, popular among the poets of that country.

(b) Take the claim of 'Īsa to mean that Ibn Fulaitah was the first poet who gave humainī, as a whole, the right of citizenship in the literary circles of S. Arabia. The version of al-Khazrajī⁶⁵, however, shows that Ibn Fulaitah was not serious as a poet, and, moreover, there is no sign whatever indicating that he was an eminent humainist.

1. Al-Shar'abī, Tirāz al-Majālis wa-Samīr Kull Nāhid wa-Ānis.
2. The poem is wholly quoted in Tārīkh Thaghr Adan, II, 32ff.
3. Yaman: Its Early Mediaeval History, trans., p.74.
4. Ibid., trans., p. 74f; see also Tārīkh Thaghr 'Adan, III, 217.
5. Yaman, trans., p. 275. The way this cultured prince used to treat his poets is illustrated at its best by the incident which is quoted in 'Oumāra du Yémen, II, 646. The Adanite poet, Abū Bakr al-'Abdī (+ 580/1184), is the subject of this incident.
6. Yaman, trans. p. 276.
7. Ibid., trans. p. 75.
8. Ibid., loc. cit.
9. Ibid., trans., p. 76. Sincerely, I could not reconcile this incident with the more known one which is quoted in Tārīkh Thaghr Adan, II, 166, and 'Oumāra du Yémen, II, 542, 572.
10. Cf. Kashf al-Zunūn, III, 321f.
11. Yaman, trans., p. 74.
12. Cf. al-Udfawī, al-Tāli' al-Sa'id... (Cairo, 1333/1914), p. 47; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingae, 1835-50), I, no. 64, p. 90.
13. Cf. al-Damānḥūrī, al-Irshād al-Shāfi 'ala Matn al-Kāfi (Cairo, 2nd ed., 1377/1957), p. 87.

14. Ibid., p. 83.
15. Ibn al-Jazzāz al-Zabīdī, al-Ishārāt al-Wāfiyah..., Br. Mus., Or. 3778, ii, fol. 55b.
16. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 99. It should be noted here that a poem in this rhyme scheme is included in the dīwān of Ibn 'Arabī, op. cit., p. 460, where it is erroneously designated as a musammaṭah.

The popularity of the rhyme pattern in question in the bedouin poetry of Syria has been noted by Wahībah, al-Zajal: Tarīkhuh, Adabuh, 'Alāmuh - qadīman wa-ḥadīthan (Ḥarīṣā, 1952), p. 79, and Amīn Nakhlah, Mu'anna Rashīd Nakhlah (Beirūt, n.d., d. 1942), p. 72.

17. My source of information, except where otherwise stated, is al-Jawhar al-Rafī'.
18. Cf., respectively, Ibn Rashīq, al-'Umdah fī Maḥāsin al-Shi'r ..., ^{ed.} Muḥd. Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo, 2nd ed., 1374/1955), I, 178ff; al-Ma'arrī, Risālat al-Ghufrān, ed. Bint al-Shāṭi' (Cairo, 1950), p. 230ff. Ibn Rashīq, op. cit., I, 182, says that among those poets who wrote in the mukhammas and muzdawij styles of poetry is Bashshār b. Burd; but the dīwān of Bashshār, as edited by Ibn 'Ashūr (Cairo, 1369 - 76/1950 - 57), does not contain even a single mukhammasah or muzdawijah. Ibn al-Nadīm (+ c. 385/995), al-Fihrist (Cairo, A. H. 1348), p. 232, states that the bulk of the

poetry of Abān al-Lāhiqī is in the muzdawij and the musammaṭ styles. Al-Damīrī (+808/1406), K. Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān al-Kubra (Būlāq, 1284/1868), I, 96, quotes a poem rhyming aaaaa bbbba, etc., which he ascribes to Abū Nuwās.

19. For some of such attempts, s.v. s-m-t in Lisān al-'Arab and Tāj al-'Arūs; see also al-Umdah, I, 178-80.
20. Cf. Kashf al-Zunūn, III, 320. Please note that references are restricted to sources in which a compiled dīwān is attributed to the poet in question.
21. Cf. Tirāz A'lām al-Zaman, fol. 225b; al-Qiftī, Inbāh al-Ruwāt 'ala Anbāh al-Nuḥāt, ed. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1374/1955), I, 284.
22. Cf. Ṭabaqāt Fuqahā' al-Yaman, p. 106.
23. Cf. Tārīkh Thaghr 'Adan, II, 46; 'Oumāra du Yēmen, II, 585, 648.
24. Cf. W. Ivanow, A Guide to Ismaili Literature (London, 1933), no. 185, p. 51; al-Hamdānī, al-Ṣulaiḥiyyūn wa-al-Ḥarakah al-Fāṭimiyyah fī al-Yaman (Cairo, 1955), p. 194.
25. Cf. Kashf al-Zunūn, III, 321f; 'Oumāra du Yēmen, II, 637; Mir'āt al-Janān, III, 301.
26. A fragment of his dīwān is preserved in the British Museum, numbered Or. 4004, i.
27. He composed two poems that are typically Andalusian in rhyme pattern - as stated in the previous chapter. It should be noted here that 'Umārah's poems, which he must have composed

in Aden and Zabīd, are not included in Denenbourg's edition of his dīwān. The man eulogized the Zurai'ites, the Najāhites, some illustrious men like the poet al-'Abdī, and different members of the noble family of 'Aqāmah of Zabīd. And though he spent most of his life in Yaman, not more than thirty lines of his composition in Derenbourg's edition of his dīwān are in honour of S. Arabian personages.

28. Two copies of his voluminous dīwān are preserved in the British Museum, numbered Or. 417, and Or. 3815.
29. Cf. Tārīkh al-'Ulamā' wa-al-Mulūk, fol. 107a.
Al-Khazrajī, al-'Uqūd, I, 110f, states that his dīwān had become excessively rare.
30. Cf. ibid., I, 140.
31. A malhūn poem rhyming abb cbb dbb, etc., is included in his printed dīwān, ed. al-'Aqīlī (Cairo, 1381/1961), p. 177. The metrical structure of this poem is
- $$\| \text{--u-} | \text{-| -u--| -u--} | \text{-| -u--| -u--}$$
- Al-Ahdal, Tārīkh al-'Ulamā', fol. 7a, states that he does not know the year of his death; and all one can say is that he was still living around A.H. 665 eulogising the Rasūlite al-Malik al-Muzaffar Yūsuf b. 'Umar b. 'Alī (r. 647/1249; d. 694/1295). Cf. al-'Uqūd, I, 185.
32. His dīwān is preserved in the Egyptian Library, no.

- 1266 Adab, and the Bodlesian, no. Marsh 587.
33. He was the poet of the sultan of al-Shihr, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Rāshid (+ 664/1265-6), and most of his dīwān is made up of the bālbāl style of poetry. Cf. Tārīkh al-'Ulamā', wa-al-Mulūk, fol. 255a.
34. Cf. ibid., loc. cit.
35. Cf. ibid., fol. 261a.
36. Cf. ibid., fol. 134a.
37. Cf. ibid., fol. 261a.
38. Cf. Tuhfat al-Zaman, fols. 78b-79a; Tārīkh Thaghr 'Adan, II, 151.
39. Cf. Ibid., II, 112. One of his poems, rhyming aab ccb ddb, etc., is quoted in his, Rawḍ al-Rayāhīn fī Hikāyāt al-Ṣāliḥīn (Cairo, 3rd. ed., 1370/1951), p. 9.
40. Cf. al-'Uqūd, II, 138; Tirāz A'lām al-Zaman, fol. 69b.
41. Mr. F. Sayyid had kindly informed me in writing that the dīwān of Ibn 'Alwān, as preserved in the Egyptian Library, is a good source for his humainī composition. The Bodleian Ms., Marsh 587, which is the dīwān of Ibn 'Alwān, contains four strophic poems that are typically Andalusian in rhyme scheme. A strophic muzdawijah, however, is also included under the term muwashshah. In addition, the Ms. in question contains twenty-one poems in the first mubayyat form, none of which, it

should be noted, is malḥūnah. Several mubayyatāt of Ibn 'Alwān are also quoted in the Ambrosiana Ms., C 33, fols. 107-13.

For Ibn 'Alwān's life, see al-'Uqūd, I, 160f; Ṭabaqāt al-Khawāṣṣ, pp. 19-21; Ṭirāz A'lām al-Zaman, fol. 172a; al-Munāwī, al-Kawākib al-Durriyyah fī Tarājim al-Sādah al-Ṣūfiyyah, Br. Mus., Add. 23359, fol. 236b; Brock., Sup., I, 806; al-Maqṣirī, K. Ithāf al-Sālikīn al-Akhyār..., Br. Mus., Or. 3854, iv, fol. 103a.

One of the main works of Ibn 'Alwān, al-Tawḥīd al-A'zam, is preserved in al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, no. 85.

42. One of his musammaṭāt (rhyming aaaa bbbba, etc.) is quoted in al-'Uqūd, II, 124; see also Tārīkh Thaghr 'Adan, II, 150.
43. Quoted in al-Khazraji, al-Kifāyah wa-al-I'lām fīmam Waliya al-Yaman wa-Sakanahā min Ahl al-Islām, Br. Mus., Or. 6941, fols. 87b-88b.
44. Al-Durr al-Manzūm, p. 105f.
45. Dīwān al-Jahhāfī, Leiden, fol. 6a.
46. Op. cit., p. 77.
47. Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 124.
48. Durar al-Asḍāf, al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr.

49. Op. cit., p. 25.
50. Dīwān al-A'ma al-Tuḡlīlī, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās (Beirūt, 1963), p. 279f.
51. Op. cit., p. 32.
52. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 150. The unpopularity of this type of muwashshah in S. Arabian dīwāns made the two editors produce the following commentary in the

footnote:

لعل أبيت الأول ناقص، فالأبيات الأخيرة تشتمل
على عشر شطرات، ولم نجد كماله في أي النسخ.

The fact is that the poem in question was made in imitation of a celebrated Andalusian muwashshah which is quoted in al-Mustatraf, II, 198; Safīnat al-Mulk, p. 24; E. Yāfīl, Mu'jam al-Aghānī wa-al-Alḥān... (Algiers, 1904), p. 269.

For specimens of al-muwashshah al-aqra' in which all the lines of the poem have the same metrical length, see, for instance, Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 66; al-Durr al-Manzūm, p. 37.

53. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 85. For such division, see, for example, Dīwān Mubayyatāt, pp. 21, 38, 51, 181; Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 402; al-Alam al-Mufrad, Br. Mus., fols. 77b-78a. In ibid., fols. 67b-68a, a poem having a similar rhyme pattern is quoted under the statement:

وقال... مدور على طريقة أهل مكة .

54. Cf. Dār al-Tirāz, p. 25.
55. Tirāz al-Majālis. For poems having a similar pattern, see also Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 101f; Dīwān Ḥātim al-Ahdal, Leiden, Or. 1445, fol. 119; Dīwān Bahrān, Br. Mus., fols. 47b, 111b-112a.
56. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 191.
57. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fols. 76b - 77a, Leiden, fols. 10b--11a.
58. Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 87.
59. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fols. 54b-55a.
60. See, for instance, Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 71f.
61. Simṭ al-La'al, fol. 192 a.
62. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 147; see also ibid., pp. 56, 136f; Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 129f.
63. Dīwān al-Wāthiq, fols. 157b-158a.
64. Cf. Dīwān Yahya b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥamzī, fols. 93b, 119b; Dīwān Bahrān, Br. Mus., fols. 46a, 52a; Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 74; Dīwān Ḥātim al-Ahdal, Leiden, Or. 1445, fol. 120a.
65. Cf. Tirāz A'lām al-Zaman, fol. 183b.

CHAPTER THREE.MUSIC IN S. ARABIA.

I.

According to some Arabian narrations of the past, Music in the pre-Islamic Yaman. singing, called al-sumūd in the language of Ḥimyar,¹ began in Yaman from time immemorial, and later came to be an integral part of the social life of the S. Arabian. The legendary period supplies the names of two songstresses, al-Jarādātān, who belonged to the people of 'Ād at the time of their settlement between al-Shiḥr and Ḥaḍramāwt.² These two S. Arabian singing-girls are also claimed to be the first to cultivate the art of singing among the Arabs³. Al-Hamdānī⁴ tells us also about two other singing-girls of 'Ād who were transformed by God into stone statues found in one of the caves of Ḥaḍramāwt. In the lap of one of them was a lute, and on the left hand of the other was a flute.

However, other narrators claim 'Alṣ̣ b. Zaid, known as Dhū Jadān, to be the first to cultivate the art of singing in Yaman. The appellation "jadan" means the beautiful voice in the language of Ḥimyar, and he received it from having a remarkably sweet voice.⁵

As we turn our attention from the legendary period to the century prior to the dawn of Islam, we find the poet 'Alqamah Dhū Jadan mentioning the playing of singing-girls as well as the drinking of wine.⁶ The vagabond Ḥaḍramite poet, Imru'u al-Qais, is depicted in K. Al-Aghānī⁷ as ending each enjoyable day, which he spent with some outcasts of Arabia, by drinking and listening to the songs of his slave singing-girls. A line in one of his poems reads⁸:

"When I become depressed in the evening, I make many a delicate singing-girls play the lute."

The Yamanite warrior, 'Abd Yaghūth b. Waqqāṣ al-Ḥārithī, is asked by his captors which death he prefers to die, and he answers: Give me wine to drink, and let me sing my death-song. So they ply him with wine, and open one of his veins; and as his life ebbs, he sings a song in which he remembers the happy days when he used to tear his robe "in twain for two singing-girls⁹." Al-A'sha b. Qais tells about a certain Ḥaḍramite chieftain, who was accustomed to be surrounded by boon companions ceaselessly drinking wine in the presence of a songstress who plays the lute whenever she is under the effect of drink¹⁰. In one of his odes, al-A'sha eulogises some chiefs of Najrān, and mentions that he was once present in one of their drinking-chambers in

which "our witnesses are the roses, the jasmine, and the singing-girls with their flutes."¹¹ And he also gives us the impression that it was not unusual for the feudal lords of Yaman to pass over singing-girls as a gift¹².

The popularity of singing and music in S. Arabia before Islam made Gregentius, the Roman archbishop of Zafār, draw up some laws by which "public singers, harp players, actors, dancers, were suppressed, and anyone found practising these acts were punished by whipping and a year's hard labour¹³." And the fact that the art of singing became part and parcel of the social life of that country, is, perhaps, best manifested by the incident which took place upon the death of the Prophet. It is said that on that occasion two singing-girls of Ḥaḍramawt expressed their joy on the reception of the news by dyeing their hands and beating the tambourine, and the prostitutes of that region followed their example.¹⁴

We must neither forget that several musical instruments used in the Islamic times are known to be of S. Arabian provenance¹⁵, and among these first must rank the mi'zafah* about which the author of Kitāb al-Malāhī

* According to al-Shawkānī, Ibtāl Da'wa al-Ijmā' 'ala Tahrīm Muṭlaq al-Samā' (Lucknow, A.H. 1317), p. 30, al-ma'āzif (sing. mi'zafah or mi'zaf) is a general name =

says that only the people of al-Yaman used to play on it¹⁶.

Now what kind of singing did the pre-Islamic S. Arabians cultivate? Farmer¹⁷ quotes Ibn al-Kalbī to the effect that the music of the Arabs was "in three styles - the naṣb, the sinād and the hazaj. As for the naṣb, it is the music of the riders (rukḅān) and the singing-girls (qaināt). As for the sinād, it is the heavy refrain, full of notes (naghmāt). And as for the hazaj, it is the light [song], all of it, and it is that which stirs the heart and excites the forebearing." Farmer then reaches the conclusion that it was the sinād and the hazaj that were introduced at the time of the third orthodox caliph, and became to be known as the artistic singing (al-ghinā' al-mutqan).

The foregoing conclusion of Farmer should be confuted for the simple reason that it is unreasonable as well as based upon a mistake. It is hardly conceivable that the pre-Islamic singing-girls of Arabia in general, and those of Yaman in particular, used to sing exclusively in the primitive naṣb mode. And it is hardly plausible that the lords of Arabia, and especially those of Ḥadramawt and Najrān, and the world^{ly}

= to which belong the 'ūd and the ṭanbūr and, indeed, any other stringed instrument.

pre-Islamic poets, passed their times in listening to a type of singing daily employed by the riders of the desert. The lives of the pre-Islamic poets, as well as the instruments they employed, make it almost unreasonable to give any credit to the claim that the art which the singing-girls of pre-Islamic Arabia had cultivated was the naṣb.

Farmer's conclusion is undoubtedly based upon a mistake. He confined himself, for one reason or another, to the printed edition of al-'Iqd al-Farīd (Cairo, 1887-8) of Ibn 'Abdrabbih in which the word gaināt appears next to rukḃān. But as it appears from al-Ibshīhī,¹⁸ for example, an error was committed by the author of al-'Iqd or by his transcribers whereby the sense of the passage is singularly misrendered. In al-Mustatraf, the word fityān appears instead of the word gaināt, and the distorted sense which Farmer gives, has undoubtedly resulted from the shifting and the misplacement of the diacritical points in fityān. The more authentic Kitāb al-Malāhī¹⁹ makes it clear, on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī himself, that "singing among the Arabs had three forms, the naṣb, the sinād and the hazaj. As for the naṣb, it was the song of the riders, and it is that which is called traditional in which youths sing. As for the sinād, it is the heavy rhythm having a refrain, the low-pitched

voice and the glottal hiatus. As for the hazaj, it is the light rhythm with which pasturing is done at night and amusement is sought, and which the throat finds easy. The singing of the people of al-Yaman is called al-hanafī."

The above last sentence in the quotation of Ibn al-Kalbī does, indeed, strike the attention, although it does not evoke any concrete sense of meaning. Was the hanafī of the people of al-Yaman a distinct style of music and singing? Or was it only a mere name preferably employed by the inhabitants of that country? Al-Mas'ūdī²⁰ quotes Ibn Khurdādhbih to the effect that the singing of the Yamanites was in two styles: the hanafī and the himyarī, the former being considered the better.

Farmer²¹ claims that the himyarī is the pre-Islamic type of singing in S. Arabia, and the hanafī is the more recent type which the Arabs knew through the gradual innovations that had occurred in the Arabian music, the first of which began just prior to the dawn of Islam. This claim is based upon the erroneous assumption which runs throughout the first two chapters of A History of Arabian Music - that the pre-Islamic Arabs in Arabia knew only one type of singing, the naṣb, before al-ghinā' al-mutqan was introduced into al-Hijāz. Farmer depends in this respect on the authority of Ibn Khurdādhbih as quoted in al-Mas'ūdī. He says²²:-

"In al-Ḥijāz, which was not advanced musically as either al-Ḥīra or Ghassān perhaps, the naṣb and the nawḥ were the only types of songs practised until the close of the sixth century or the beginning of the seventh, when the poet-minstrel al-Naḍr Ibn al-Ḥārith (d. 624) introduced several innovations from al-Ḥīra, and among them the more advanced song (ghinā') which supplanted the naṣb, and the wooden-bellied 'ūd which seemingly took the place of the skin-bellied mizhar." But the term naṣb in al-Mas'ūdī has an implication over which Farmer passes silently lest he contradicts himself. There it is stated very clearly that the ghinā' of the pre-Islamic Arabs was called naṣb; that naṣb has three forms - the rukbanī, the heavy sinād, and the light hazaj²³.

Farmer's claim that al-ḥanafī was nothing but the artistic modes of singing and music introduced into Arabia by al-Naḍr and later musicians should, therefore, be rejected. Pre-Islamic Arabia undoubtedly knew all the three types of singing before al-Naḍr appeared on its musical scene. However, in all justification the two terms, ḥimyarī and ḥanafī, may purport the sense claimed by Farmer if the generalizations upon which it is based are concretely adduced from indisputable facts. And since they are not, and since singing and music flourished in the pre-Islamic Yaman, we are entitled to think differently.

The term hanafī is given by Ibn al-Kalbī as a general name for the type of singing in S. Arabia, and the other term, himyarī, has no place in the eyes of that authentic narrator. It is highly possible, therefore, that the word hanafī was minted to replace the word himyarī after Islam had surged over that country. The name "Himyar", and anything that was connected with it, was loathed by the non-Yamanite lords of that country. The Prophet ordered the demolition of Ghumdān²⁴, the third caliph in Islam ordered its burning²⁵; the cruel 'Abbāsīd governor, Ishāq b. Yūsuf, persecuted the S. Arabians, and ordered the uprooting of all the palm-trees known as al-khawkh al-himyarī because out of hatred for that name²⁶. Is it fanciful, then, to assume that the term hanafī was perhaps coined to give the already existing modes of singing and music an Islamic colouring and flavour? The role which al-Nadr b. al-Hārith is claimed to have played in the history of Arabian music is groundless. Moreover, we are told that his father, al-Hārith b. Kaladah, learned to play the lute in Persia and Yaman²⁷.

II.

With the conversion of Yaman into Islam, and with the establishment of the Caliphate in al-Madīnah, and its transference first to Damascus and then to Baghdād, it was

natural that attention should mainly be focussed upon the universal centres of learning in Islam. For about two centuries from the beginning of Islam, Yaman could not apparently claim a major centre of learning for herself, and only few details about her cultural history during that long period have been handed down to us. It was only when Zabīd was built in A.H. 204 by the Ziādites (204-409/819-1018) that S. Arabia entered upon a political and a cultural career of her own. Between the third century and the eighth, however, the information regarding S. Arabian poetry in general, and Yamanite singing in particular, are so scanty that to attempt piecing them together and reduce them to coherency is very hard indeed.

The naṣb, the sinād, and the hazaj styles of singing have continued until the present day despite the strong opposition with which the hazaj and the sinād are expected to have met from the strict legists of that country. The naṣb was probably less denounced on account of its being a style of singing in which no instrument of "diversion" is employed. Religious poems in the Yaman of today may be sung without being accompanied by an instrument, and it is not uncommon to find professional singers depending almost completely for their livelihood on the gift of their voice. Such singers are in demand to perform in the

mawālīd and the ḥaḍrāt, and are even called on to recite the Qur'ān on certain occasions. It was the Prophet who gave the lead in this respect when he likened the modulating voice of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī to the music of David in the saying: "verily, he psalmodizes like David."²⁸ Abū Mūsā came from Tihāmah, the populace of whose capital, Zabīd, are depicted by Ibn al-Mujāwir as lovers of wine, singing, and dancing.²⁹

As we have already mentioned, details about S. Arabian singing and poetry in the first two centuries of Islam are very scarce. Recourse can be made now and then to some generalizations such as the ones put by Abū al-Faraj³⁰ and Nashwān;³¹ but these are not, in my opinion, sound claims, and can hardly be of any avail to us. There are, however, some glimpses of hope in some casual remarks in the general literary and historical works. In the reign of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, we hear of Waḍḍāḥ al-Yaman to whom Abū al-Faraj attributes the composition of twenty-five songs, three of which³² were sung in the Yamanite hazaj rhythmic mode. We also hear of a S. Arabian singer, Ibn Tanbūrah, who lived in the second half of the second century, and was considered among the most skilful performers in the hazaj style of singing³³.

In A.H. 204, Zabīd was built, and that town was destined to be the major cultural seat of Yaman in the

succeeding centuries following the disintegration of the Ziādites in whose hands the 'Abbāsids entrusted the affairs of Yaman. During the long reign of the Ziādite Abū Jayyāsh (+371/981), some of the chieftains of the mountains revolted against Zabīd, and declared their independence. The Ziādites themselves gave the lead in this respect, for when they received tidings of the weakened condition of the 'Abbāsids, as symbolised by the assassination of al-Mutawakkil in A.H. 247, and the deposition of al-Musta'īn in A.H. 252, they appropriated the entire revenue of S. Arabia.

One of the first upheavals in the third century was the appearance of the Qarmaṭians led by Mansūr al-Yaman and 'Alī b. al-Faḍl al-Yāfi'ī. What interests us here is that a poem expressible of the extreme Qaḥṭānite spirit is ascribed, rightly or wrongly, to 'Alī b. al-Faḍl, the first line of which runs: "Hold the tambourine, O maiden, and strike it, And sing your merriest songs, and be ravished by them."³⁴

With the gradual disintegration of the Ziādite dynasty, the actual power fell into the hands of their eunuchs, some of whom showed extraordinary ability and wisdom in managing the current political affairs. Out of the chaos which subsequently followed, two important dynasties played a distinctive role in the history of Yaman - the Ṣulaiḥite and the Najāḥite. Of course other minor dynasties flourished side by side with these two major ones, and their princes and nobles

were ardent cultivators of music and singing. Al-Qalqashandī³⁵ gives us this impression.

Among the Ṣulaiḥites must first rank al-Mukarram Ahmad b. 'Alī who conjointly ruled the major part of Yaman with his wife, the celebrated Music under the Ṣulaiḥites. al-Sayyidah Arwa b. Ahmad (441-532/1049-1138), and gave himself up to the pleasure of music and wine³⁶. Upon his death, al-Sayyidah thrust the political affairs of her realm upon al-Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abū al-Barakāt (+504/1110), the governor of al-Ta'kar, and used to conciliate his good will by presents such as were most agreeable to his nature of singing - girls, valuable stuffs and perfumes³⁷. When al-Mufaḍḍal was campaigning in Tihāmah against the Abyssinians of Zabīd, the Sunnites, led by the fuqahā', seized his impregnable castle, and declared their independence of him. Al-Mufaḍḍal returned and laid siege to the castle; and when the siege became prolonged and began to tell upon the besieged, the fuqahā', knowing the nature of his inmost being, brought his concubines whom they held in captivity, placed tambourines in their hands, and set them upon the roof of the palace singing, whence al-Mufaḍḍal and his army could see them. On beholding his concubines in the midst of men, and clad in bright coloured apparel singing with tambourines in their

hands, al-Mufaḍḍal committed suicide by taking poison³⁸.

The Najāhites were particularly attached to music, and "no Arab king surpassed them in personal merit or in aught but in nobility of lineage. They were noted for generosity, for their brilliant estate, and for combining renown in war with celebrated achievements in times of peace³⁹." Some

names of songstresses who flourished under this Abyssinian

Music under the
Najāhites (412-553/
1021-1158).

dynasty, have been handed down to
us, and we are told that the poems
of Al-Shaikh Ismā'īl b. Muḥd.,

who served as a wazir under Jayyāsh b. Najāh (+498/1104) and
some of his descendants, were exploited by the singers of
Zabīd.⁴⁰

With the murder of the wazir Anīs in A.H. 517, al-Mansūr b. Fātik, his successor, acquired by purchase out of his heritage the slave-girl 'Alam who was an accomplished singer, on account of which she was raised to an enviable position, and became "the assiduous performer of the pilgrimage by land and by sea, attended by natives of Yaman, whom she protected from the dangers of the journey and against unjust taxation and exactness⁴⁶."

Al-Mansūr Mufliḥ al-Fātikī was also another wazir of the Najāhites, and "was noted among the most distinguished of his contemporaries for his righteousness, and was also

remarkable for his knowledge of affairs, for his skill as a jurist, for his literary culture, for his handsome appearance, his bravery, his clemency and for the perfection of his talents as a leader.⁴² And though he had never been the prey of passion either in youth or in mature age, he fell in love with a slave singing-girl, called Wardah, without even seeing her but only through the reports he continuously heard of her accomplishment as a singer⁴³. That same singer passed into the hands of Surūr whom one may consider as the greatest wazir the Najāhites could hope to find.

When the Zaidite prince, al-Sharīf Ghānim al-Wahhāsī, reached Zabīd as an envoy to Surūr al-Fātikī to negotiate a truce between the Zaidites and the Abyssinian lords of Tihāmah, he was unable to see the actual holder of the temporal sword, because his singing-girl, Wardah, was angry with him. Only after three days he had passed on pins and needles did Wardah agree to resume her friendliest terms with her master Surūr, and the restless Zaidite prince was invited to witness the celebration of the occasion, and to discuss with Surūr the terms of negotiation. True to his metal, the Zaidite felt a despise for the henpecked Abyssinian, and Surūr seemed to guess what was passing in his mind, whence he recited the words of the poet:

"We are a people whom a woman's large and lustrous eyes will melt,
And we are men to whom iron must obey."⁴⁴

It seems that most of the nobles of Tihāmah were particularly attached to music. Wardāh, the singing-girl of the wazir Muflīḥ, relates that upon her master's death, she was asked in marriage by four notables, and she refused one of them on account of his already possessing twenty singing-girls⁴⁵. The name of Ḥimyar b. As'ad (+553/1158), the Arab secretary of several Najāḥites, is worth mentioning. He was a shrewd politician, liked by both the rulers of Zabīd and its inhabitants who "were not in the habit of secluding either their singers or their freed women, mothers of their children, for most of their concubines and singers were supplied by him and educated in his house."⁴⁶

With the murder of the wazir Surūr in A.H. 551, political intrigues increased by leaps and bounds in the royal courts of Zabīd, and with the appearance of the Khārijites in Yaman, the Banū Maḥdī, the fate of the African and the Arab dynasties could not deflect. With the exception of Aden, the whole of Yaman was overrun by the Khārijites, and as early as A.H. 554, the proud and happy inhabitants of Zabīd had to open the gates of their city to the victorious armies of 'Alī b. Maḥdī, and endure a very

conservative regime under which drinking intoxicating liquors, or listening to songs, was punishable by death⁴⁷. The coming of the Ayyūbids in A.H. 569 was a great relief, for under these Kurdish champions of the Sunnah, the art of singing continued to flourish, and became largely cultivated by the sufis of S. Arabia whose strength is perhaps best manifested by the revolt of Mirghim al-Ṣūfī, who challenged the well-led and armed soldiers of al-Malik al-Mas'ūd (r. 612/1216; d. 626/1229), the last Ayyūbid in Yaman.⁴⁸

III.

The early history of sufism in Yaman did not receive any serious attention from the Arab writers of the past who dealt with the biographies of the sufis of Islam. Statements about the sufis, such as "the Substitutes are found in al-Shām, the Intelligent in al-Yaman, and the Pious in al-'Irāq⁴⁹", may be encountered here and there in some Arabic works, but these are general statements that can hardly be of any use to us. Al-Sharjī⁵⁰ complains about this poignant fact, and states that he was solely actuated to write Ṭabaqāt al-Khawāṣṣ because the Arab writers on sufi biographies before him did not mention even a single name from his country, and this, he adds, may give rise to the

erroneous assumption that Yaman was devoid of pious men and saints.

However, much of the blame should squarely rest upon the Yamanites themselves. Long before al-Sharjī made his complaint, the S. Arabian sufi, 'Abdallah b. As'ad al-Yāfi'ī,⁵¹ made a similar one. He says that the reason why he was deterred from finishing the commentary on his poem, Bāhiyat al-Muḥayyā fī Madh Shuyūkh al-Yaman al-Aṣfiyā, is the meagre account available to him about the sufis and saints of his country. He could not, he continues, find reliable material upon which he could depend in finishing the commentary in question.

Be that as it may, the names of Uwais al-Qarnī⁵², Ṭā'ūs b. Kaisān⁵³, Wahb b. Munabbih,⁵⁴ and al-Mughīrah b. Ḥakīm al-Ṣan'ānī⁵⁵, should be considered as the pioneers of sufism in S. Arabia. Anecdotes from their biographies can be freely quoted to support the claim that they did not pay much attention to worldly things. What draws the attention to these prominent ascetics is that they are from the Abnā' populace of Yaman, and have found a place in some Arabic biographies because they are known to have journeyed beyond the borders of their country.

The early history of the sufi orders in S. Arabia is, however, very hard to ascertain on account of the slight information that have reached us about them. Details

concerning controversies over such issues as predetermination versus free will may, however, contribute to our understanding why the degenerated sufism, with its belief in the intercession of saints and their superantural powers, have taken root among the Sunnites of Yaman, but never among the Mu'tazilites of that country: the Zaidites⁵⁶.

The first sufi order in which the symbolic khirqah is regarded as a necessary spiritual requirement is that of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jailānī (470-561/1078-1166) from whose hands some Yamanite sufis wore the cloak. Others wore it from the messengers he sent to that country⁵⁷.

The second important order is that of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (591-656/1195-1258)⁵⁸, and the third is that of Abū Madyan al-Maghribī (+590/1194)⁵⁹. The popularity of the al-Madyaniyyah order is, however, mainly restricted to Ḥadramawt because of the spiritual influence of the Bā-'Alawī family in that remote region of S. Arabia. It is said that Abū Madyan himself sent one of his disciples to Yaman with the instruction to deliver three of his khirqa to three persons whom he named. One of these khirqa was handed to the illustrious al-Faqīh al-Muqaddam Muḥd. b. 'Alī Bā-'Alawī (+653/1255) of Tarīm who is held in the highest esteem by the influential members of his family. It is claimed that he was the first to introduce sufism into the region of Ḥadramawt⁶⁰.

The above three orders have established themselves firmly among the Sunnites of Yaman, because their founders, upon whose teachings these orders were based, are known to be ardent followers of the Sunnah, and did not hold the extreme principle of pantheism. The S. Arabians have rejected the extreme principle of pantheism, and stressed the important fact that the sufi way of the people of that country is in complete harmony with the basic teachings of Islam⁶¹. In no better way is this stress best manifested than in some of the manāqib of Ibn 'Alwān⁶² who is known to have composed in the muwashshah style, and whose impact upon the common folk of Yaman is undeniable.

Other orders have, of course, existed side by side with the above three, but since their followers are limited in number, no attention should be paid to them. Of the sufis of Islam who are greatly admired by the Yamanite writers is al-Ghazālī. It is said that the Ḥaḍramite saint of Aden, Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallah al-'Aidarūs, has once expressed the opinion that al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā' is almost a revealed book⁶³. And whenever al-Yāfi'ī finds an opportunity, he either quotes al-Ghāzālī or al-Jailānī⁴⁴. The influence of al-Ghazālī upon the teachings of the later sufis of Islam, including al-Jailānī himself, has been established by a modern authority on sufism⁶⁵, and his Iḥyā', says MacDonal⁶⁶, "never became absolutely extinct, and it seems that it has

remained especially strong in al-Yaman. In that corner of the Moslem world, generations of sufis lived comparatively undisturbed, and it was the Sayyid Murtada, a native of Zabīd in Tihāmah, who, by his great commentary on the Iḥyā'... practically founded the modern study of that book".

The followers of the three orders in Yaman have employed music in their circles as essential means through which God reveals Himself unveiled. The sufis of Islam, including al-Ghazālī, have appreciated the spiritual effects of music, recognised the role it plays in ravishing the heart of the gnostic, and defended audition (al-samā') against the strictures of the extreme legists¹⁷. The humanist Abū Bakr al-'Aidarūs⁶⁸ claims that all the khiraq of sufism are traced to al-Junaid, who is known to be an avowed defender of music. Al-Junaid, however, divides those who listen to music into three classes, to wit, the common folk, the ascetics, and the gnostics. As for the first, they hear with their outward ears, and since the material sound cannot stir the depths of the human soul, listening by them should be considered as "unlawful". As for the second, audition is permissible as a necessary means for self-mortification. But as for the gnostics, preference should be given to listening⁶⁹.

As early as the beginning of the reign of the Rasūlites,

we find Ibn 'Alwān taking part in the controversy whether singing and music should be exploited by the sufis of his country, and he tries his utmost to dissuade its opposers. Here is one of his songs⁷⁰ in which he raises the banner of music:-

"When the yearning towards God sweeps my heart,
 And the wafts of His breath passes through my core,
 My ship tosses up and down through His angry waves,
 And there I stand shaken and smitten with awe.
 How can one escape when the tide of yearnings is so high?
 A ship cannot be anchored upon a restless sea.
 Let me suffer and reap the thorns of my way,
 And be kind and shed your tears, and refrain from thy blame;
 For a sparkle of His lightning may strike the core of thy
 heart,
 And the land of yours may bloom through the heavy fall of His
 rain.
 O Thou, who shrinks from dancing held in the highest esteem,
 Know, you must, that a man of honour forbids not an act of
 virtue:

This is music cultivated by the brothers of the pure souls
 On whose lips, the name of the Watcher is always uttered.
 Hopefully I say: Take to the praising of God by listening
 to the music they play,
 And leave the question of right and wrong to Him the wisest

of all."

The opposers of singing and music, especially the fugahā', did not rest but used every possible means to suppress them. Their staunch opposition is manifested in the action of Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥadramī, who, on beholding one of the servants of al-Malik al-Mujāhid carrying a lute, could not restrain himself but snatched that instrument of "diversion" from the bewildered servant, and broke it into pieces⁷¹. However, in the beginning of the second half of the eighth century, the tide turned against the fugahā', and the lovers of sufi music and songs found an avowed patron and protector in the person of al-Malik al-Ashraf who fell under the spell of Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl al-Jabartī, the greatest exponent of the principles of Ibn 'Arabī in the literary history of S. Arabia, and to whom both al-'Alawī and Ḥātim al-Ahdal dedicated some of their ḥumainī verses⁷².

"You ought to know", says al-Ahdal, "that the tracts of Ibn 'Arabī were introduced into Cultivation of music by the sufis of Zabīd. Yaman first by al-Maqdisī and later by Abū Bakr al-Yahawī al-Ta'izzī. The learned men of that period disapproved of their contents, and upon the death of al-Yahawī their circulation in Yaman came to an end. However, Ibn 'Arabī's books and tracts appeared again at the end

the eighth century during the life of al-Shaikh Ismā'īl and Ibn al-Raddād⁷³."

Shaikh Ismā'īl was born in A.H. 722, "and his fame reached its highest point near the end of the eighth century. The prominent officials of [al-Malik] al-Ashraf came to believe in his saintliness, on account of which the multitudes showed the desire of belonging to his order; hence many people followed him, and dominated the population of Zabīd, Ta'izz, Aden, and the other different parts of Yaman. Many miraculous performances, as well as mystical communions with God, are attributed to him. His followers became widely known for their diligent cultivation of singing and the music of the lute, and introduced [such novelties] into the mosques, and regarded them as necessary means of attaining nearness to God, whereby they promulgated the belief in the blessing of their use. People showed great desire to attend such mosques in which men and women mingle⁷⁴."

Among al-Jabartī's disciples "was a group of men who devoted themselves to the study of Ibn Arabī's books. Of these were 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jailānī, Ibn al-Mu'aibidī, Ibn al-Ḥusām, and other notorious sufis who neither respected the Sunnah, nor paid any heed to the disapproval of the community of Islam...

Al-Jabartī held the view that it is possible for a human being to acquire divine attributes. This is very clearly ascribed to him, with much approval, by Ibn Al-Raddād in his book: Aḥkām Khirqat al-Taṣawwuf⁷⁵."

Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr al-Raddād was one of the leading disciples of al-Jabartī. "He collected the chains of authorities pertaining to the khiraq of the different orders [established in Yaman], as well as the biographies of the men to whom the khiraq primarily belonged. This he achieved in two concise books, and was helped in that task by al-Qādī Majd al-Dīn al-Shirāzī* who was not strict in testing the authenticity of the narrators, and apparently nurtured the doctrines of Ibn 'Arabī and other extreme sufis like him⁷⁶."

"Al-Raddād [sic] became the chief judge of Yaman for a period of one year or so, during which his pressure and oppression began to tell upon the fukahā' of the Sunnah. He was not sufficiently qualified and prolific in jurisprudence to hold that post, and he died in Dhū al-Qi'dah, 821⁷⁷."

* The compiler of al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt. For the vacillating position of al-Fairūzabādī in Zabīd, cf. Ibn Hajar, Inbā' al-Ghumr..., Br. Mus., Add. 23330, II, 45-6.

"Among the leading sufis who were still living [after the death of Ibn al-Raddād] were al-Shaikh Muḥd. al-Mizjājī and the non-Arab atheist, al-Kirmānī, who was considered the most dangerous of all since he knew by heart all the tracts of Ibn 'Arabī, and believed in their contents, and claimed that he was prepared to defend them and prove their correctness. This is the reason why the fugahā' [of Zabīd] declared him to be an unbeliever in God. As for al-Mizjājī, he was a righteous man, good-natured, and was predominantly benevolent of disposition. But though he received instructions in the Ḥanafī law, he was, yet, more inclined to believe in the saintliness of al-Ḥallāj and Ibn 'Arabī... Among all the sufis [of his country], he was unparalleled in the collecting and procuring of the books of those [mystics] who believe in the divine oneness of existence, because he could afford to purchase them⁷⁸." "His style in composition is weak, and his knowledge is superficial. This can be attested by the book which he compiled for the praise of Ibn 'Arabī and al-Ḥallāj, for which he collected baseless stories and unsounded anecdotes. Both he and al-Kirmānī showed their enmity to Ibn al-Muqrī, and maliciously made al-Sulṭān al-Nāṣir suspect his activities to the extent that he gave orders for his men to search Ibn al-Muqrī's house⁷⁹."

"When al-Nāṣir died in 827, his son and successor, al-Manṣūr, favoured Ibn al-Muqrī and honoured him, and barred al-Kirmānī from attending him, and showed an unfriendly attitude towards him which culminated in his order to raid al-Kirmānī's house and confiscate his property. An intercession was made on al-Kirmānī's behalf, and al-Manṣūr set him free on condition that he should leave the country⁸⁰."

"As for 'Abd al-Karīm, he died a few months after 810. He was one of the oldest disciples of al-Jabartī, and had written prose and poetry in which extreme doctrines, similar to those of Ibn 'Arabī, are manifested. As for Ahmad al-Mu'aibidī, he died a few months after 820. He was one of the most depraved and reprobated sufis [of Zabīd]; and it is an established fact that he once, when attending a musical concert, held a tambourine in his hand and said: In my opinion, this is better than the Minhāj of al-Nawawī⁸¹."

"Ibn al-Husām, I think, had died after al-Mu'aibidī, and with his death, God thus broke the power of the extreme sufis, and exterminated their leaders⁸²."

The voice of the sincere fugahā' of the Sunnah was unanimously raised against the heretical views of al-Jabartī and his followers, as well as against the employment of music in the sufi circles and the mosques; but the influence of al-Jabartī and Ibn al-Raddād was powerful enough to silence

them. Prominent among these fuqahā?, were Ahmad b. Abū Bakr Kushar⁸³, Ahmad al-Nāshirī (+815/1412-13)⁸⁴, and al-ʿAslafī (+806/1403-04)⁸⁵. However, the man who emerged as the hero of the Sunnah was the great ḥakamī poet of Yaman: al-Faqīh Ismāʿīl b. Abū Bakr al-Shāwirī, better known as Ibn al-Muqrī.

Ibn al-Muqrī
(754-837/1353-1434).

It was on account of his persistent enmity to Ibn 'Arabī and his followers in Zabīd that he suffered repeated persecution and imprisonment.

Ibn al-Muqrī criticised the followers of al-Jabartī very sharply, and called the fuqahā' of Yaman to suppress the extreme doctrines of Ibn 'Arabī and massacre their espousers. He defended the cause of the Sunnah, wrote a book against the sufis of Zabīd⁸⁶, and satirized them and the principles they profess in many poems⁸⁷. What is more, is that this renowned ḥakamī poet, whose technical skill and mastery of the Arabic language is best manifested in 'Unwān al-Sharaf', and whose poetical ability was considered by some critics to surpass that of al-Mutanabbī - this great ḥakamist found it

* Lithographed in Lucknow in A.H. 1272, and printed in Aleppo (A.H. 1294) and Cairo (A.H. 1309). The book curiously combines treatises on law, prosody, history, grammar, and rhyme. When read in the usual way, it is a treatise on law. The first and last letters of each line, and two other perpendicular columns in the middle of the page, offer, when read from above downwards, four different treatises. The first is on Prosody. The =

necessary to employ the same means which the sufis of Zabīd had hitherto successfully employed, hence condescended to defend the Sunnah in poems composed in the humainī style to counteract the influence of the sufis among the masses⁸⁹.

Reliance upon the authority of the State, however, proved to be the undoing of the followers of al-Jabartī and Ibn al-Raddād in Zabīd. For within the first year after al-Nāṣir had died, the tide had completely turned, and al-Malik al-Manṣūr declared himself against the extreme principles of Ibn 'Arabī, and persecuted those who espoused them. But it would be a mistake to infer that a dictum from the State was sufficient to kill the enthusiasm of the sufis for the employment of music. Singing and music have continued to be cultivated by them until the present day, and by the turning of the ninth century, three factors have helped immensely the lovers of sufi music, to wit, the popularity of qāt⁹⁰ and coffee⁹¹, and the introduction of tobacco into S. Arabia⁹².

After the short-lived victory of the Moslem orthodoxy in Zabīd, music among the sufis of Yaman became no longer limited to the Sunnite part of that country. As early as the

= second treatise gives an account of the Rasūlite dynasty. The third is on Grammar; and the fourth on Rhyme.

tenth century, al-Imām al-Qāsim b. Muḥd., who was completely occupied with his wars against the Turks, was compelled to write a long and celebrated poem, called al-Kāmil al-Mutadārik li-Bayān Madhhab al-Mutaṣawwif al-Mutahālik⁹³, in which he satirized and ridiculed the sufis of Yaman, and exposed to the followers of Zaid b. 'Alī* the unorthodoxy

Al-Imām al-Qāsim (967-1029/1559-1620) and sufism. of the teachings and the practices of the sufis of his day. The contemporary washshāh,

Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah Sharaf al-Dīn, was bold enough to defend sufism against the severe attacks of al-Qāsim, whereof the Zaidite imam retorted in a qaṣīdah entitled Ḥatf Anf al-Ifk⁹⁴. Both the poems, and the two commentaries he wrote upon them, were much applauded by the learned Zaidites of his day⁹⁵.

In one of the many letters which he wrote to different parts of Yaman, al-Qāsim declares⁹⁶:-

"Among the things which God, the most glorified and

* Zaid b. 'Alī was a disciple of Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā', the real founder of al-I'tizāl in Islām, who held the cardinal doctrine of free-will. One of the main principles of Zaidism is that every individual is morally responsible for his actions. It is not surprising, therefore, that Zaidite scholars, like al-Imām al-Qāsim al-Kabīr, declare themselves against the extreme sufis who espouse the divine oneness of existence.

Pantheism in every form is open to grave objections. It is clear that on every pantheistic hypothesis, the freedom, and therefore the responsibility of finite persons, must be =

highly exalted, Has forbidden is the following of a sect of unbelievers belonging originally to the religion of Magianism in which sexual intercourse with mothers and daughters and sisters is considered not to be unlawful. Verily, among the information which we have heard related by trustworthy men is that there is still in existence a remnant of Magians who, being unable to battle against the Moslems, professed Islam openly, but have grudgingly adhered to their former atheistic beliefs. Under the guise of Islam, they went stealthily into the ranks of the unintelligible faction of the Moslems, known as al-Rawāfid, and called themselves al-Ismā'īliyyah. Likewise, they struck their roots among the feeble-minded section of the Sunnites, and gave themselves the appellation "al-Şūfiyyah".⁹⁷

"As for al-Ismā'īliyyah, most of the Moslems of today have avoided contacting them; but as for the sufis, they have made everyone, except those whom God has granted His protection, err and depart from the true path of Islam.

= an illusion, for they are by nature parts or aspects of the One Divine Reality. Not only does a pantheistic view destroy the reality of moral life, it tends to abolish

the distinction between good and evil, and affords no basis for judgement of value. If all is Divine, then every aspect of the all must be a revelation of the Divine Reality, and the difference, which to us seems so important, between right and wrong, good and evil, must be only a distinction from our point of view, not grounded upon the nature of things.

This is because the sufis persuade people by saying that God.. Has incarnated Himself in the bodies of beautiful women and handsome, beardless young men..."

"On account of this belief, the sufis thereby took to singing lyrical poems in which they mix some tahlīl and the name of the Prophet.. so as to make what they say acceptable to the common and ignorant mind. The sufis belief [in God] thus appears to be unquestionable, on account of which their necks are saved. Surely, if people have come to know what they secretly keep in their hearts, every true Moslem should have then avoided them, and all the sufis would have been promptly put to the sword by those who can distinguish between what is lawful and what is not."

"Anyone who helps them in furthering their seditious aims, and in continuing the strengthening of their religion, should be considered as an unbeliever like them, because he is acutally helping in the destruction of Islam, and in the obliteration of the Muḥammadan message. Do ask yourself: was the Messenger of God, or one of his Companions, or one of the preceding pious Moslems, in the habit of bringing a tambourine and a flute and a singer in order to clap his hands and dance? Of course, no. I swear by the Almighty that [singing and dancing] were not their religion, but are the religion of these accursed unbelievers about whom God.. Has said: And avoid those who have taken their religion for

a mere play and an idle sport, and whom this world's life has deceived, and remind them thereby lest a soul should be given up to destruction for what it has earned: It shall not have before God any guardian or an intercessor*."

However, despite the severe attacks of al-Qāsim on Sufism, one may infer from his later poems that he was unable to check the spread of sufism among the Zaidites. That great imam who drove the Turks out of the mountainous districts of his country, and received the nickname of al-Kabīr for his successful wars against them, spent the remaining part of his life lamenting the abject condition to which the religion of God was reduced by the hands of the sufis⁹⁸:-

The Book of God is left untouched,

And, instead, the misguided took to al-shi'r al-muṣarra'

[= ḥumainī?].

The Sunnah of the best of all the prophets receive no attention,

And all kinds of diversion became religion zealously followed.

The night-prayer of the people has become dancing

With the clapping of the hands⁹⁹, accompanied by the tunes of the musicians.

* Qur'an, vi, 70 (tr. Amīr 'Alī).

Sufism, however, continued to spread among the Zaidites despite the attempts of al-Qāsim's successors to limit it¹⁰⁰, and despite the bitter satires which sufi singing and dancing received from the learned Zaidites¹⁰¹. In A.H. 1157, al-Mashja'ī, a sufi from the Maghrib, appeared among the Zaidites, and succeeded in gathering around him the powerful tribes of Ḥāshid and Bakīl. By A.H. 1164 he was strong enough to dismantle and plunder the imam's castles and strongholds, and collided several times with the armies of Ṣan'ā',¹⁰². In A.H. 1256, the Zaidite sufis aspired to create a State of their own, and their leader, Sa'īd b. Ṣāliḥ b. Yāsīn, declared "he had a divine mission to purify the faith of Muhammad, to abolish taxation throughout Yaman, and to drive the infidel [= the British] from Aden; and he promised all who should join him in this task complete invulnerability against sword and gun-shot wounds¹⁰³."

IV.

Al-ghinā' in the Yaman of today may roughly be divided into two categories: the religious, and the secular. The first is either performed by professional religious minstrels, the maddāḥīn (sing. maddāḥ), or otherwise in the mawālīd and ḥalaqāt al-dhikr.

The mimḍāḥah is not a highly considered profession. A maddāḥ usually moves from one door to another in towns and

and villages, but he may also be found in public places such as those of Aden and Ṣan'ā'.

The maddāḥ.

The maddāḥ plays music when singing, and listening to

his music is not discountenanced even by the strict Zaidite fuqahā'. This is perhaps because the instruments on which he plays are among the least denounced by the extreme legists of Islam, since they are confined to the tambourine, the drum and the flute, the first instrument being the most widely used. The songs which a maddāḥ sings are usually dedicated to the praise of the Prophet and 'Alī b. Abī Tālib*, and these are composed in both the vernacular and the classical.

* Some of the maddāḥīn traverse a long tract of land, harp or tambourine in hand, singing the wayfarers, not only the glories of the Prophet and 'Alī, but also the poems of the two celebrated bedouin poets, al-Ḥumaid b. Mansūr and Yaḥya 'Umar al-Yāfi'ī, about whom we will speak in the next chapter. The music and the voices of these maddāḥīn may prove unintelligible and execrable to a sophisticated ear; but a certain habituation to their primitive music, and a certain education in the diction of their songs, will undoubtedly reveal the tender and unaffected nature of the common folk of Yaman.

"Breaking" of the metre and lahn can hardly be avoided by most of these semi-literate maddāhīn when they sing the lyrical hakamiyyāt of, say, al-Bura'ī.

In a mawlid or a ḥadrah, poems are sung without the accompaniment of music, on account of which one may categorize such songs under the pre-Islamic naṣb. There is no apparent reason why instruments of music should not be employed, but since such occasions are not especially initiated by a particular group, it is more likely that music is banned by tacit consent.

The types of poetry sung in the mawālid and the ḥadrāt are the muwashshah, the hakamī, and the colloquial. The poems of the humanists of the past are widely exploited. The second mubayyat form is the most favoured type of poetry, and a refrain (lāzimah, radd, jawāb, maṭla'), chanted by the participants after the precentor finishes each bait, is usually supplied. On the other hand, when the poem is a regular muwashshah, the bait will be sung by the precentor, and the following tawshīh will be chanted by everyone, and the taqfīl, following the tawshīh, will be either sung alone by the precentor himself, or else by the whole participants.

Poems in both the mubayyat and the regular muwashshah

styles are performed in a similar manner in the ṣūfī circles (ḥalaqāt al-dhikr), but with Ḥalaqāt al-dhikr. the important difference that they are usually accompanied by music. The tambourine is the instrument, par excellence, in such circles, and dancing is performed in harmony with its beating. It is not unusual in Tihāmah to come across some dancers in a dhikr who lose their sense of balance and collapse in spasmodic fits, often foaming at the mouth. Rumours about the degenerating morality in such circles should not, perhaps, always be taken seriously, although, from my personal experience, the notorious name/^{with} which some of the ḥalaqāt of Aden, say al-Rifā'iyah*, are branded, is well founded upon the infamous behaviour of some of the leading participants in them. Homosexuality seems to be a strong incentive for attending some of these circles.

As for secular singing, the muwashshah songs of the past are set to the music of the lute by the singers of Aden and Ṣan'ā', the most eminent of whom pride themselves in possessing a safīnah. The second mubayyat form is the most widely exploited humainī form, and it is axiomatic to say that no chorus is involved in the

* Based upon the teachings of its founder: Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Yahya al-Rifā'ī (512-78/1118-82).

songs composed in the form in question.

Other forms of humainī are of course exploited by these singers; but almost all the eminent singers of Aden and Ṣan'ā have a natural aversion to the regular muwashshah style which involves group singing of the tawshīhāt. What impresses one is that when a regular muwashshah is beautiful in diction and imagery, a singer does not refrain from subtracting the tawshīhāt from the whole poem, and set the remaining portion (which by now has assumed the form of a mubayyatah) to the music of his lute. Indeed, it is a very rare occurrence to find a regular muwashshah poem sung without the subtraction of the element tawshīh; but whenever the tawshīhāt remain an integral part of the song, then a chorus may or may not be involved. When not, the singer has to sing the tawshīh in the same way in which he sings the preceding bait and the following tagfīl, the music of his lute being changed with every faṣl, but not with every bait. From such a custom of today, one may adduce that the regular muwashshah style of poetry was meant to be sung together in religious circles where it was, perhaps, born and nurtured.

The humainī songs are lyric in character. They treat their themes with a great deal of seriousness; their general sentiment is not gaiety, and they never lack the tenderness of emotions and the finer shades of imagery - all these may explain why the muwashshah songs have

continued to be connected with the spiritual aristocrats of S. Arabia. Even the late al-Imām Ahmad b. Yahya Hamīd al-Dīn gave his approbation to such a style of singing, and allowed the Ṣan'ā' Radio to put it on the air despite the conservatism with which he ruled his country. The fact that it is serious may tempt us to categorize it under the pre-Islam sinād. Its melodious tunes are not the procurors of drunkenness and fornication, as an extreme legist would say, but are themselves, paradoxically, being procured by the musicians of S. Arabia in harmony with the distressing atmosphere where they are daily nurtured - the qāt-chewing chambers, which are known in Ṣan'ā' as the mafārij (sing. mafraj), and in Aden as the mabāriz (sing. mabraz).

Being preponderantly cultivated by Ṣan'ānite poets and singers, from the tenth century A.H. onwards, the singing of humainī poems came to be closely connected, and sometimes even equated, with what is today loosely called al-ghinā' al-Ṣan'ānī. In this sense Ahmad Faḍl al-'Abdalī, who became weary of the muwashshah style of poetry as was then sung by the Adanite singers, declared his revolt against it:-

وَفَنِّي لِي «مَرْجِبًا بِالْهَاشِمِيِّ» فَمَا «يَا شَارِيَّ الْبَرْقِ» ، وَإِنْ غَنِيَّتْ ، يَطْرَبْنِي *104

* Metrical scheme: || -uu| -u--| -u-| -u-- | -u| -u--| -u-| -u-u

غَتَّ صَوْتُ الدَّانِ

غَتَّ يَاهَارِي نَشِيدَ أَهْلِ الْوَطَنِ

"غَتَّ مِنْ عَقِيَانِ" *105

مَا عَلَيْنَا مِنْ غِنَا صِنَاعِ الْيَمِينِ

Al-ghinā', al-Ṣan'ānī was, and still is, a uniting factor, and there is no doubt that over the centuries, it, and its accompaniments, brought to the S. Arabians, in general, cultural refinement, a kind of spiritual enjoyment that is by no means without value as an educational instrument.

* Metrical scheme: || - | - - u - | - u - | - - u - | - - u -

1. Cf. al-Anbārī, K. Al-Addād, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (Leiden, 1881), p. 27.
2. Al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salamah, K. al-Malāhī, tr. J. Robson (Glasgow, 1938), p. 10.
3. Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj al-Dhahab, ed. M. M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo, 1357/1938), IV, 159.
4. Al-Iklīl, ed. N.A. Fāris (Princeton, 1940), VIII, 142f.
5. Al-Nuwairī, Nihāyat al-Arab... (Cairo, A.H. 1342- [in progress]), IV, 217.
6. Ibn Hishām, al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyyah, ed. al-Saqqa and others (Cairo, 2nd ed., A.H. 1375), I, 38.
7. Abū al-Faraj, Kitāb al-Aghānī (Cairo, A.H. 1345- [in progress]), IX, 87.

8. Cf. Dīwān Imru'u al-Qais, ed. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1958), p. 86.
9. Cf. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, The Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, ed. and tr. C.J. Lyall (Oxford, 1918-21), II, 112; see also Abū 'Ubaidah, al-Naqā'id..., ed. al-Sāwī (Cairo, 1353/1935), I, 140.
10. The Dīwān of al-A'sha, ed. R. Geyer [Gibb. Mem. Ser., New Series, VI.] (London, 1928), p. 212.
11. Ibid., p. 121.
12. Ibid., pp. 19, 204.
13. J.B. Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire (London, 1931), II, 413.
14. Cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Muḥabbar, ed. I. Lichtenstädter (Haiderabad, 1361/1942), p. 184f.
15. Cf. H.G. Farmer, A History of Arabian Music (London, 1929), pp. 3, 7.
16. Op. cit., p. 18.
17. Op. cit., p. 50.
18. Op. cit., II, 140.
19. Op. cit., p. 19; see also al-Mustaṭraf, II, 140.
20. Op. cit., IV, 159.
21. Op. cit., p. 15.
22. Ibid., p. 14f.
23. Murūj al-Dhahab, IV, 159.

24. Cf. al-Hamdānī, al-Iklīl, ed. al-Karmilī (Baghdād, 1931), VIII, 27; al-Rāzī, Tārīkh Ṣan'ā', Br. Mus., Or. 2903, fol. 10a.
25. Cf. Ṣubḥ al-A'sha, V, 40; al-Hamdḥānī, K. al-Buldān [Bibl. Geog. Arab., V.] (Leiden, 1302/1885), p. 35.
26. Cf. al-Idrīsī, K. al-Akhyār fī Ma'rifat al-Siyar wa-al-Akḥbār, Br. Mus., Or. 4581, fols. 176b-177a; Ibn al-Daiba', Qurraṭ al-'Uyūn bi-Akḥbār al-Yaman al-Maimūn, Br. Mus., Add. 25111, fol. 15.
27. Cf. 'Uyūn al-Anbā', I, 110; al-Qiftī, Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā', ed. J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1320/1903), p. 162; Ibn Juljul al-Andalusī, Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā' wa-al-Ḥukamā', ed. F. Sayyid (Cairo, 1955), p. 54.
28. Ṭabaqāt Fuqahā' al-Yaman, p. 10. On this topic, see also the remarks of al-Ghaẓālī, Bawāriq al-Ilmā' fī Takfīr Man Yuharrim al-Samā' (Lucknow, A.H. 1321), p. 61.
29. Op. cit., I. 81.
30. Op. cit., I. 66.
31. Nashwān b. Sa'īd al-Ḥimyarī, al-Ḥūr al-'In, ed. K. Muṣṭafa (Cairo, 1367/1948), p. 106f.
32. Op. cit., VI, 216, 234, 239.
33. Ibn 'Abdrabbih, al-'Iqd... (Cairo, 1317/1898), III, 170; al-Mustaṭraf, II, 141.
34. Cf. al-Ḥammādī, Kashf Asrār al-Bāṭiniyyah... (Cairo,

1351/1939), p. 31. It was during this period that Ibn Rustah, al-A'lāq al-Nafīṣah [Bibl. Geog. Arab., VII.] (Leiden, 1892), p. 112, made the interesting remark that the Ṣan'ānites have a market in which only flutes are sold.

35. Cf. Ṣubḥ al-A'sha, V, 35.

36. Yaman, trans., p. 40.

37. Ibid., trans., p. 51.

38. Ibid., trans., p. 54.

39. Ibid., trans., p. 96.

40. Cf. 'Oumāra du Yemen, II, 590f; Tirāz A'lām al-Zaman, fols. 204b-205a.

41. Yaman, trans., p. 97.

42. Ibid., trans., p. 104.

43. Ibid., loc. cit.

44. Ibid., trans., p. 116.

45. Ibid., trans., p. 115.

46. Ibid., trans., p. 107.

47. Ibid., trans., p. 133.

48. Cf. Ṭabaqāt al-Khawāṣṣ, p. 112f. His name is given as "Rughum" in al-Simt al-Ghālī al-Thaman, fol. 38a. al-'Āmirī, K. Ghirbāl al-Zamān..., Br. Mus., Add. 21587, fol. 120a, remarks that a certain sufi, called Sulaimān, occupied the whole of Yaman in A.H. 612, and that al-Malik al-Mas'ūd was sent from Egypt to put an end to his rule.

49. Cf. al-Sulamī, Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyyah, ed. J. Pedersen (Leiden, 1960), p. 239.
50. Op. cit., p. 2.
51. Mir'āt al-Janān, IV, 336.
52. Cf. Abū Nu'aim al-Aṣbahānī, Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'... (Cairo, 1351-57/1932-38), II, 79ff; al-Sha'rānī, Lawāqih al-Anwār... (Cairo, A.H. 1286), I, 43.
53. Cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwah (Haiderabad, 1355-57/1936-38), II, 160.
54. Ibid., II, 164.
55. Ibid., IV., 167.
56. This was also noted by M. Niebuhr, Travels Through Arabia, tr. R. Heron (Edinburgh, 1792), II, 187.
57. Cf. Mir'āt al-Janān, III, 355.
58. Cf. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Shaikh al-'Aidarūs, Nafā'is al-Anfās..., India Office, no. 1388, fol. 26b.
59. Ibid., loc. cit.
60. Ibid., fol. 51a; see also al-Juz' al-Laṭīf, p. 18; Tiryāq Asqām al-Qulūb, fol. 36.
61. Cf. 'Abdallah b. 'Alawī al-'Aṭṭās, Zuhūr al-Ḥaqā'iq fī Bayān al-Tarā'iq (Bombay, 1895), p. 46; al-'Alam al-Nibrās fī al-Tanbīh 'ala Manhaj al-Akyās, printed on the margin of his, Sabīl al-Muhtadīn (Bombay, A.H. 1316), pp. 28, 39.

62. See, for instance, Tirāz A'lām al-Zaman, fol. 172a; Ṭabaqāt al-Khawāṣṣ, p. 19ff. It seems excusable to take a common-sense view and regard such manāqib as a definite type of popular fiction, primarily designed to explain that Ibn 'Alwān was destined to be the chief saint in Yaman, blessed as it were by his direct spiritual connection with the first caliph in Islam. Such manāqib do also stress that the sufi way of Ibn 'Alwān, and his followers in S. Arabia, is in complete harmony with the tenets of Islam.

63. Al-'Alam al-Nibrās, op. cit., p. 68.

64. His admiration for al-Ghazālī is expressed in his long poem, 'Iqd al-La'āl al-Mufaṣṣal bi-al-Yāqūt al-Ghālī fī Madḥ 'Aqīdat al-Ḥaqq al-'Ālī wa-al-Taghazzul bi-al-Imām Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī. This poem is contained in his book, Marham al-'Ilal al-Mu'dilah (Calcutta, 1910), p. 3ff. Appended to the Marham is his second book, Khulāṣat al-Mafākhir fī Ikhtisār Manāqib al-Shaikh 'Abd al-Qādir (= al-Jailānī).

65. M. Smith, al-Ghazālī - the Mystic (London, 1944), p.205.

66. D.B. MacDonald, Development of Muslim Theology... (New York, 1903), p. 284f; see also H.A. Gibb, Arabic Literature (Oxford, 2nd ed., 1963), p. 158.

67. Cf. A History of Arabian Music, p. 35f.

68. Cf. al-Juz' al-Laṭīf, p. 22.

69. Cf. Muḥd. b. Aḥmad al-Shādhilī, Farah al-Asmā' bi-Rukhas al-Samā' (Lucknow, A.H. 1317), p. 6; see also the interesting statement of 'Abdallah b. Abī Bakr al-'Aidarūs, al-Kibrīt al-Aḥmar..., appended to the treatise of Muḥd. b. al-'Aidarūs, Idāḥ Asrār 'Ulūm al-Muqarrabīn (Cairo, 1352/1933), p. 79f.
70. Quoted in the Ambrosiana Ms., C.33, fol. 109.
71. Cf. Tabaqāt al-Khawāṣṣ, p. 97. He was a Shāfi'ite, and according to the school of al-Shāf'ī one may usurp instruments of music and break them before returning to the owner without incurring any liability. Cf. al-Nawawī, Minhaj et talibīn..., tr. E.C. Howard (London, 1914), p. 200.
72. Cf., respectively, Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fols. 87b-88a; Dīwān Ḥātim al-Aḥdal, Leiden, Or. 1445, fol. 89a. Al-'Alawī's relationship with al-Jabartī can also be gleaned from the "chain" given by al-Shawkānī in Ithāf al-Akābir bi-Isnād al-Dafātir (Haiderabad, A.H. 1328), p. 107.
73. Tārīkh al-'Ulamā', fol. 204b.
74. Ibid., fol. 200b.
75. Ibid., fol. 201a.
76. Ibid., fol. 201b.
77. Ibid., fol. 204b.
78. Ibid., loc. cit.

79. Ibid., fol. 203a.
80. Ibid., loc. cit.
81. Ibid., fol. 204a.
82. Ibid., loc. cit.
83. Ibid., fol. 41a.
84. Inbā' al-Ghumr, II, 43.
85. Tārīkh al-'Ulamā', fol. 27a.
86. Al-Daw' al-Lāmi', II, 295.
87. Some of these poems are quoted in the Br. Mus. Mss., Or. 5322, fols. 44b-49a, Or. 3762, fols. 314a-323b. His famous poem, al-Ḥujjah al-Dāmighah li-Rijāl al-Fuṣūṣ al-Zā'ighah, is mentioned in Ahlwardt, op. cit., no. 7896, fols. 177b-184.
88. Cf. al-Badr al-Tāli', I, 142; al-Suyūṭī, Bughyat al-Wu'āt ... (Cairo, A.H. 1326), p. 193f.
89. These poems are collected under the title "al-Ḥumainiyyāt al-Badī'ah fī Madḥ 'Ilm al-Sharī'ah." Cf. Brock, Sup., II, 255.
90. The incident which we have mentioned about al-Sūdī does, at least, show that qāt was almost unknown before the second half of the ninth century A.H. The existence of a fatwah in A.H. 949 about the chewing of qāt (v. Kashf al-Zunūn, II, 634) may, however, support the claim that qāt-chewing was already popular in S, Arabia.

It is interesting to note that some of the Zaidite imams of Yaman had tried to uproot the qāt-tree from their country, but without success. For one of such attempts, reference can be made to Ibn Abī al-Rijāl, al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir., Br. Mus., Or.3847, fol. 101b.

91. The discovery of coffee is unanimously credited by the Yamanites to the saint: 'Alī b. 'Umar b. Da'sīn (755-825/1354-1425), around whose shrine al-Moḥā was built. See also al-Zahr al-Bāsim; Travels Through Arabia, I, 428f; E. Marco, Bibliography on Yemen and Notes on Mocha (Coral Gables, Florida, 1960), p. 32.

92. Shaikh al-Baiḥānī of Aden attributes its introduction into S. Arabia to Muḥd b. Sa'īd al-Dhubḥānī, and dates the year of its introduction by the last three words of the following two lines:

قال خبي عن السلخان أجبي هل له في كتابنا إيهاء
قلت: ما فرط الكتاب بشيء ثم أرخت: يوم تأت السماء*

However, the foregoing two lines are also ascribed to a non-Yamanite poet. Cf. 'Alawī al-Saqqāf, Risālat Qam' al-Shahwah 'an Tanāwul al-Tunbāk wa-al-Qāt wa-al-Kiftah wa-al-Qahwah (Cairo, 1302/1884), p. 2.

* An allusion to the Qur'ānic verse, XXXXXIX, IX.

93. Contained in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3851, fols. 101b-105b. It was during the time of al-Qāsim al-Kabīr that the English captain, John Jourdain, visited Yaman. He wrote: "When we came neere his [= the Turkish governor of Aden] house, wee weare entertayned with tabour and pipe and other heathen musicke." Cf. The Journal of John Jourdain., ed. W. Foster [Hak. Soc., Second Series, XVI.] (Cambridge, 1905), p. 59.
94. Contained in al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr's Ms., no. 120.
95. Al-Jarmūzī, al-Nubdhah al-Mushīrah ila Jumal min 'Uyūn al-Sīrah, Br. Mus., Or. 3329, fol. 20a.
96. Ibid., fols. 192b-193a.
97. Such an accusation may, perhaps, be partially true, but as a sweeping statement it cannot be justified on historical grounds. Ibn Khaldūn, The Muqaddimah, tr. F. Rosenthal (New York, 1958), II, 92ff, however, states that the idea of a "pole" (quṭb), who rules the inner world, was plagiarised by the sufis from the extreme Shi'ah who believe in one imam ruling the manifest world. He also notes that the early sufis made neither negative nor affirmative statements on the Fāṭimids.
98. Al-Nubdhah al-Mushīrah, fol. 20a.
99. The practice of clapping hands while reciting the

adhkār, or litanies, was also denounced by some S. Arabian Sunnite writers. See, for instance, Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 168; al-Maqṣirī al-Zabīdī, Ithāf al-Sālikīn al-Akhyār bi-Hukm Khalīf al-Tasfīq bi-al-Adhkār, Br. Mus., Or. 3854, fols. 87-126.

100. See, for instance, 'Iqd al-Jawāhir, fol. 334a.

101. See, for instance, the satirical poem of al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdallah (1166-1217/1752-1803) in al-Badr al-Tāli', II, 34.

102. Al-Mashja'ī and his activities form the subject of the Br. Mus., Ms., Or. 3790, 1.

103. A History of Arabia Felix, p. 147; see also Nail al-Waṭar, II, 226f.

104. Diwān al-Aghānī al-Laḥḥiyyah, p. 87. "Marḥaban bi-al-Hāshimī" is the opening of a popular Laḥjite song. "Yā shāriya al-barq" is the opening of a muwashshah poem of al-Ānisi (v. Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 133).

105. Op. cit., p. 35. "Ghuṣn min 'iqyān" is the opening hemistich of a recorded muwashshah song written by Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ānisi, the first strophe of which runs:-

فائق الغزلات والغيد	أشهر بالتمزق أم حبيب	نصن من عقيات
وسبا الأعيان بالجميل	قائمة إن خطر وأزى التضييب	مخجل الأغصان
وعلى الأوجات توريب	من بين الدرر صفى الشيب	قلت لمابات
وأسال الأخوات وأسيد*	هجر لك من هجر ما هو مصيب	مالذا من شات

*Metrical scheme: || --u-| --u^u | -u---u| --- | -i---u-

CHAPTER FOUR.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HUMAINĪ*

I.

When one traces the history of humainī in S. Arabia, an enormous quantity of this kind of poetry, and many names that are connected with it, strike one's attention. Yet the bulk of the production is lean, and is undoubtedly beneath the dignity of art. Most of the humainists are weak, few are mediocre, and only very few are eminent. The majority of the poets failed to conceal the banality, the sameness, and the vulgar sentimentality of their works, and did not have that rare power of, say, al-'Alawī and Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah, who could place a proper check on their feeling and on their language.

The belief in a narrow circle of subjects that seem to have been regarded as the special and appropriate themes of humainī is partially responsible for its general monotony. Elegy is absent in all the known humainists, perhaps because the S. Arabian style was deemed inappropriate or undignified enough for mourning the death of an individual. But though tacitly regarded to be so, some poets, such as al-Wāthiq

*For the metrical characteristics of humainī, see the next chapter.

مُسْتَهْمِي لِي طَبِيبٌ وَالْخَوْفُ عَيْنُ الْأَمَانِ

ذُقتُ معانيَ الغرامِ على العذولِ الدُحُوقِ
 فظنَّ أنَّ الملامُ يثقبُ عنانَ المطشوقِ
 هيهماتُ فاتِ المرامِ من رامِ بيضِ اللُذُوقِ
 رأيتُ بعشقي مصيبُ لا شكَّ بعدَ أَلحِيانِ

ومدحِ سيِّدِ الملوكِ عامرُ مثيرِ القريضِ
 فقد أزالَ الشكوكِ من كلِّ قلبِ مريضِ
 وفيضِ جودِ اللُكوكِ من جودِ كَفَّةِ يفيضِ
 سيِّدِ الملوكِ المهيِّبِ مروءِ الحسامِ والسَّنانِ*

* Metrical scheme: || -u- | -u-u | -u- | -uuu

Poems in praise of wine, too, are very few, and these have nothing special about them save that they usually open with an erotical prelude. I append the following humainiyah of al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī² as an example:—

قد قهرت القلب يا شبه القمر بغنا القمرى
 وبوجنه قد روى عنها الزهر مسند الزهرى
 وثنايا كالدراري والدرر برقها يسرى
 وغذيت رقت دخولي ما عنز ف أهوى العنرى

واحبب أمقلب في تخرك حبب من رحيق الريق
 فأسقى ما لونها مثل الذهب من فم الإبريق
 هات شعشعرا لنا مثل أمهت تخرس المنطيق
 قد عصرها في الدنانى من عصر سالف العصر

صباح أكرمها فهى بنت الكروم غاية النفس
 قد غدا الكأس لها مثل النجوم وهى مثل الشمس
 فأستقني منها فقلبي يالهوم مترع الأُمس
 قم فباشرها فني كل البشر سرها يسري
 ماتت بالكاسات راحات النفوس وحياة أفرخ

اللقى عند النصارى والجموش فنرا مشروح
 زفرا يافاتني زف العروش غبقرا أملوخ

وأستقني ما بين ترجيح ألوتر وغنا ألقرى*

Humainiyyāt in which the primary aim of the poet is to expound some moral, political or other teaching, are also

*Metrical scheme: || -|---u^u | -u-|---u-| ---u^u

negligible in number, and should be regarded as foreign to the true spirit of a craft whose chief object is to entrance rather than to persuade. A peculiar feature of such didactic poems is that they usually commence with a love-prelude, and as the poet shifts to instruct or preach, the humainiyyah loses part of the tender rhythm with which it begins³:-

بالليالي التي مرّت لنا	يانديهي فؤادي مرتهن
والمنازل ديار آحبابنا	بين تلك المربح والدّهن
بعدهما غاب سؤلي وأملّي	ما تهنت جفوني بالوسن
يجل البدر نوره والسّنا	كامل الوصف ذي الوجه الحسن

والليالي تفضت بالصّدود	آه يا حسرتي طال البعاد
من تلاقئك أيا نور الوجود	مرّ عمري ولد نلت المراد
عشنا ذاك اللّون لا يعود	هل ترى عاد يانور الفؤاد
من تولّت ليلايت ألها	يات قلبي تولّاه الحزّ

في الهك عوض عن كل شيء لا تأسف على ما قد مضى

خلّ لو إنّا شكّ وحي عن سبيل السلامة والرضى

والذي عنك يطرح كلّ غي إنّما هو سكوتك للقضا

والمواهب جميعاً والممن تحت حسن الرجا فأحط هنا

بي

هذه الدار ما فيها سرور قطّ تخلو من أخلاط الكسر

كلّ من حبّها عقله يدور في خلال المنزاه والقدر

لا تعرّج على دار الغرور واجتنبوا ووافق من صبر

وأجعل الزهد زادك والوطن فهو راس السيادة والغنى*

* Metrical scheme: || -u- | -u- | -u- | -u- | -u- | -u-

The main theme
in humainī.

The principal theme in humainī is
love and the despair brought on by
unrequited love. Strange to say is

that this main theme of humainī is so limited in range, and
so confined in "methods" of expression, that the slightest
acquaintance with humainī enables the reader, from the first
bait of the humainiyah, to perceive, very easily, the drift
of the poet's thoughts and sentiments which are to follow.

A humanist may directly enter upon his main subject⁹:-

لي في ربا حاجر غزير اتلغ يسبي القلوب
حنت لقلبي بين بان لغلغ وقت الغروب
صير فؤادي في أمهوى موزغ يسبي يلوب
وارحمتاه للعاشق المولغ كم له كروب

بي

قد حل من أهوى ربوع نخد وأنا الغريز
ما حيلتي يا أهل أمهوى وجهدي جهدي حشير
مالي شفيح والد عظيم وجدي ذاك لي بصير

وَالدَّمْعُ مِنْ فَوْقِ الْخُدُودِ أَرْبَعٌ جَارِيٌّ سَكُوبٌ

بي

يَالَيْتَ شِعْرِي هَلْ أُرَى بَعِينِي سَيِّدَ الْمَلَاخِ
أَقْصَى مَرَادِي ، مِنْتَهَى شَجْوَنِي طَبَّ الْجِرَاحِ
قَدْ صَارَ حَبَّةٌ مِنْدُوبِي وَدِينِي شَاهِرٌ مِبَاخِ
مَالِي وَلِلْعَدَالِ خَلِيٍّ أَنْفَعُ حَتَّى أَسْرُوبِ

بي

لَوْ شَاهَدُوا وَجْهَ الْحَبِيبِ مِثْلِي قَالُوا أَصَابَتْ
بَاهِي الْمَحْيَا لِلْهَوَمِ هَجْلِي عَشْقُهُ صَوَابِ
لَكِنْ حَبِيبِي دُونَ أَهْلِ عَدْلِي أَرْخُ الْجَبَابِ
إِنَّ كُنْتَ جَانِعٌ فِي أَمْطَرِي تَبْرِقُ نَخْتِي أَمْدُونِ

بي

مَنْ لَمْ يَنْدُقْ لُحْمَ أَمْهَوِي تَعَذَّبْ طَوْلَ أَمْرِيكَ
جَرَعَ الْهَوِي مِنْ كُلِّ عَذْبٍ أَعَذَّبْ تَرْكَةَ هَوَاتِ

فَأَشْرَبْتُ سَلَفَ الْأَكْرَمِينَ وَأَطْرَبْتُ فِيهَا الْأَمَّاكُ

وَأَتْرَكْتُ كَلَامَ الْعَاذِلِينَ أُجْمَعُ كَلَّةً عَيْبُوتُ

بيبي

طَهَّبْتُ عَلَى وَادِي أَمْنَقَا خِيَامَكَ بَيْنَ الْأَرَاكُ

وَأَجْعَلُ غَنَا أُلْسَاكُ مِنْ كَلَامِكَ تَبْلُغُ مِنْكَ

لَا تَسْمَعُ عَاذِلُ نَمَاكَ وَوَلَامِكَ خَلَّةُ وَرَاكُ

إِيَّاكَ مِنْ جَوْرِ الْمَلَامُ تَجْزَعُ بَدْعَةً كَذُوبُ*

Or, he may begin his love-poem by ordering his companion(s) to halt the beast, to weep over the deserted encampment of the beloved, before he describes her beauty, or complains about her shunning or/and the violence of his passion:-

*Metrical scheme: || -u--- | ---u| -u---| -u---

أبكي على الأحيّة

من حسرة وكربة

خير كلّ تربة

من حرّ طول غربه

يا سعد قف بي على الطلوك

ونسكب الدمع كالسيون

لهني على الجيرة التّرون

لعلّها تُبرد الكلوك

بي

والربح والمنازل

والورد والمناهل

أبكي بدمع سايل

عسى رضاه وقربة

بانوا عن الأهل والوطن

وأوحش الجار والسكن

وخلفوني على الدّمن

يا غارة الله والرسون

بي

تجمل علي بنظرة

والأنس والمسرة

أراك ياساكن ألفؤاد

يحصن بها القصد والمراد

ويذهب ألّهجر وألبعادُ وألبؤسُ وألمضرةُ

فأسفحُ ، لك ألخيرُ ، ياملوكُ وأذكرُ عهد الصّحبةُ

بي
في حين كنا بـداً وميمُ بالواديّ المسوّزُ

بجانب أسفح من تريمُ وألعيش غصّ أخضرُ

يسري لنا ألبرقُ ، وأالنسيمُ ممسكُ مُحَنَبَرُ

حيث ألأحيّةُ حلوكُ صربةُ تؤمّ صربةُ*

Or, he may exploit the departure of his beloved to stir
a train of thoughts about his love⁶:-

حويديّ الأضعان بالأحباب هوّت على عيسكُ وقت قليلُ

رفقاً يقلي فالديّ الأترابُ راحت يقلي ساعة الرحيلُ

* Metrical scheme: || --ū -u-ū | -u -u- | -u-ū

غابوا أحيائي وقلبي غاب
وأصبح حنيني بعدهم طويلاً
لا نغمة الزهر ولا الأكوام
عنهم تسلي قلبي العليل

ت و ش و ح

فألهم بعدي تقول يا صباح
راحوا وخلوني عميد ملتاح
دائم الكبد ورمحي ستاح

تقفي ل

أقسمت عيشي بعدهم لا طاب
ولد أرتوي لي بعدهم غليل
الله يرى أحيائي الغياب
مالوا ولا أنسأهم ولا أميل

بي

مالي معك واحادي الأضعان
خلفتني حيران في الدمن
سريت بالأقمار والأغصان
وشم فيرا للشجي شجن
لي بين غزلانك رشا نجان
أغر مثل الشادن الأغن
غزال له أسد الشرى حجاب
إلى وصاله ليس لي سبيل

توشح

وفي وداعه ذا الشهر لعيني ودع برنعه للحجاب دوني
فقلت له واقامة الرديني

تقفي

عاشق يعيش بعد النوى كذات يوم الوداع كم للهوى قتيلاً

لو ودع الصخر الأحمب ذاب ورق حتى أجرى السمع تسيل

بي

أفدي بروحي الشادن التياها حاك الجوت مستعذب المذاق

شكيت له حالي وما ألقاه حتى بدا لي ليلة الفراق

ولو رقيبته صددت عن لقاء سح بطيب الضم والعناق

حوري جناني يفتن الأدباك للظبي منه العين والتلين

ت و ش و ح

وَدَّعٌ وِدْمَعِي فِي الْخُدُودِ مَسْفُوحٌ وَرَاخٌ وَخَلَّابِي جَسَدٌ بِلَا رُوحٍ

أَجَابُ الْوَرَقَا الصَّدُوحُ وَأُنُوحٌ

تقفيل

فَجِينٌ وَدَّعْتُهُ وَلِي آرَابٌ فِي الْقُرْبِ تَشْبِيهِ وَجِدِي الدَّخِيلُ

ناديت: يامن سبب الاسباب اعطف علي الشادن الكحيل*

Or, he may resort to the conventional symbol of the lightning to arouse his deep feelings about his unresponsive or absent beloved⁷:-

يا شارِي أَلْبِرَقِ مِنْ تَهَامَةٍ رُوَيْدِكَ أَلْمَحِ وَالْخَفُوقِ

حَلَيْتَ قَلْبَ الشَّجِي ظِلَامَةٍ فِي ذِمَّتِكَ قَلْبَهُ أَلْمَشُوقِ

مَسْكِينِ مَسْتَلْحَبِ السَّلَامَةِ قَامٌ يَسْأَلُكَ عِلْمٌ لَا يَعُوقِ

*Metrical scheme:-

<u>bait</u> - <u>taqfīl</u> :	-u- -u- - -u- -u-	- - -u- - -u- -u-
<u>tawshīh</u> :	- -u- -u- - -u- -u-	- -u- -u- - -u- -u-
	- -u- -u- -u- -u-	

فكان جوابك عليه حامة ما هكذا تفعل البروق

تو شوح

أبرك ربي وساحك فيما فعلته بلاحك

إن خفت فيما يفاثلك

تقفي ل

هل في تهامة بكت غمامة فأضحكت دمعها الدفوق

فأخضرت من رملها شامة وأصفرت من نخلها العذوق

بيي

ومن سمز بالكثيب الأعفر بعدي على ساري القمر

وأبيض الفلّ ذاك الأزهر شبيه نجر الرشا الأغر

من شكّ زهرة ومن تشقر ورصفة ساعة السمز

ومن خطب قريّة الحامة في منبر النخلة السحوق

لشوح
 لله ما أشجاء من خطيب يشجى الخلي يبي الكئيب
 يذكي جوى فرقة الحبيب

لثقف
 فإيه هل قام في مقامه لا زيلة عنه ما يعوق
 وأليل قد رقت ظلامه نسمة الفجر بالخفوق

بي
 فشوش العود وفو مائل للطير حين أسحر النسيم
 فاستيقظت نوم البلايل ورددت نغمة الرخيم
 وأقبلت زمره العنادل بنغمة الحازق السقيم
 فقومت للهوى قيامه وللطرب والسرور سوق

لشوح

فَهَاتِ عَنْ أَهْلِهَا الْغُرُ الطَّيِّبِ الْخُبْرَ وَالْخَبْرَ
وَسَادَةَ الْبَدْوِ وَالْحَضَرَ

تَقْفِي

مَفَاتِحَ الْخَيْرِ وَالْكَرَامَةِ وَالنُّضْلِ وَالرَّغْبِ لِلْحَقْوَقِ

مَنْ لَيْسَ فِي وَصْفِهِمْ ذِمَامَةٌ
وَلَيْسَ فِي فِعْلِهِمْ عَقْوَقٌ

بِي

وَبَعْدَ وَابَارِقِ التَّهَائِمِ
إِنَّ لَدَخَ بَارِضِ الْحَصِيْبِ سِنَاكَ

فَقُلْ دَوِيْنِ الْنَقَا الْمَشَائِمِ
وَارَاغِيْ أَمِيْرٍ أَنَا فِدَاكَ

صَبِيْبُكَ بَارِضِ الْجِبَالِ هَائِمِ
عَسَاكَ تَشَاءُ مِثْلَمَا يَشَاكَ

وَاجَامِعِ الْحَسَنِ وَالزَّخَامَةَ
لَا عِيْشَ فِي فِرْقَتِكَ يَرُوْقُ

تَوَشَّحَ

أَسْأَلُ مِنَ الْمَعْطِيِّ السَّمِيْعِ
أَنْ يَصْبِحَ الشَّمْلُ بِكَ جَمِيْعِ

بالمصطفى الشافع النفيح

تقفي
محمد الغوث في القيامة للناس إنا ضاقت الخنوق
صلاة ربي عليه مدامه وألآل ما لاحت البروق*

Or, he may begin by addressing the gentle breeze to express his emotions about the beloved, or to stir himself to pensive melancholy, sometimes invoking a dialogue by asking it about the beloved: whether it blew over her abode, whether the scent which it wafts belongs to her, and may even request it to deliver to her his impassioned message or greetings⁸:-

أمانتك قف وانسيم آآصان شأوصيك إالى ريم ألمجان عزيزة ألمزار
سلم عيلرا إنا عبرت الأطلاق وقل لها وأخت الغزان عيش ذا النفاز
نعاشقتك حالة من آلنوى حال يبكي عليك طول أمليان ما قر له قراز
ويه كم يقاسي من شبي ولبان يشوقه فوج الشمال ونفة الهزار

* Metrical scheme:

bait - taqfīl: || -u-| -u-| -u-u | --u-| -u-| -u-u
tawshīh: || -u-| -u-| -u-u | -u-| -u-| -u- | -u-| -u-| -u-u

عطشان كم يشرب وليس يروي أدار كاسات الهوى صرفاً له المدير
 قلبه على جمر الغرام يطوى سباه في سفح اللوى غزير غريز
 أحور عيونته ناعسات نشوى أحوى لرقي قد حوى وأصبحت له أسير
 أهواه نشوات التوام ميال يختال من سكر أملاك لا يعرف العزاز

بيد

جماله الفائق يفوق وصفي حسنه ملوكي يوسفي على الملاح فاق
 حسنه سبا قلب الشبي ولهربي قلب جواه لا ينطفي بالضم والعناق
 كم ذا لعشقه يارفاق شأخي ما الحب، ويلا، محتني فكيف يارفاق
 شابدي هوى زين الحدود والخاك وشاتجمل قيل وقال شأخلع العذار

بيد

ياقلب هل لي من سواه إفراف كم شجو تخفي وأحتراف أوردتني التلف
 وم تعاني من شبي وأشواق تعانق ألموت أعتناق في قمرية الخرف

آة لو يواصلني رشفة تريف من ثغر معسول المذاق كلؤلؤ الصدف

وأمسيت أثارغ بالعناق الأفلان والأعب أمداح وأملاك والطرق والسواز*

Or, he may turn to the highly potent and richly suggestive conventional symbol of the dove, and expresses the reminiscences and thoughts suggested by her trilling note or complaint⁹:-

أمسى على بان ألحى القلبي قمرية يردد في أمهوى سير

وأمست رواة العشق تسقلي حتى إذا نجم الصباح ظهر

شدا بقول بين الفصل الحب لا يبقى ولد ينذر

فأجبت له من حاكم عدل دم ألمنى عنده مسر

ت
و
ش
ح
فقل لمن لا يعرف المحبة إن كنت غافل في الهوى تنبه

*Metrical scheme: || -u- | u-u- | -u- | -u- | --ū- | -u- | -u- |

فما خيار النقد كالمشبه

تقفي

ما كل من زاق الهوى مثلي هيهات ليس الخبر كالمخبز
 كم أترع الكاش من ديني طلي ولا أنقض لي فيه ولا تظهر

بي

لو كان ساجي المقلّة الكحل يدري بما ألقى لرق لي
 قلبي بنيران الجفا يصلى وأدمعي تكفي وتمتلي
 وأنا معذب به وتؤم مخاي ولا الشجي في الحب كالمخاي
 ولست أدري ما يكون فعلي في كتم ما قد شاع وأشتهر

ت وش

تحدثت عني شواهد الحال بأنت حالي في الغرام ما حال

وأكد الأخبار دمع طلال

تقفي

عسى الإلّة يجمع به شمالي فما بقي لي عنه مصطبز

فجبه أستولى على عقلي وصار ملء السمع والبصر

بي

من يوم أخذ العهد والميثاق إني على ذاك الولا مقيم
ما كنت جاني الطبع في المذاق ولا النوى قلبي به يهيم
وليس يدري الهائم المشتاق من حلّ منه داخل الصميم
لن يقصر العاذل عن عذلي إلا إذا قد شامدة نظر

ش

أمّا أنا والله ما أبالي بمن يقاطعني ومن يوالي

وشهري تغنيك عن سوالي

تقفي

ياربّ ياذا المت والفضل يامنزل الآيات والسور
سهل زيارة ظبية الأثل الفصن من يعنوله القمر*

*Metrical scheme:-

bait-taqfīl: || -u| -u- | -u-^u | --| -u^u - | -u-^u

tawshīh: || --u| -u- | -u-u | --u| -u- | -u-^u | --u| -u- | -u-u

The obsession of the humainists of S. Arabia with the cooing of the doves, and the blowing of the breeze, especially the former, deserves to be given more attention yet cannot be propounded here. They have been so much occupied with the mourning of the doves, to make tangible their worldly and sufi thoughts and sentiments, that they could not find space for describing nature's scenic beauty. The fidelity with which they exhausted the traditional themes that revolve around the wailing, or the singing, of the dove, is astonishing indeed. What is impalpable is that it is the prelude, par excellence, in humainī - and sometimes the main subject of the love-poem in the form of an address to the solitary bird - but not in hakamī.

The spiritual meaning
in humainī.

I should like to draw the
attention at this point to the
fact that many of the
washshāḥīn of S. Arabia were

sufis who naturally expressed themselves in the language of human love which involves the evocation of sensuous images. Of course the humainiyyāt of these sufis possess, beneath their exoteric meaning, a subtle and esoteric signification known to the initiated.

The spiritual meaning in humainī can in fact be maintained through every detail. For example: the beloved

is God, the lover, man; the wailing of the dove is the mourning of the human soul in reference to her imprisonment in this earthly world, or her complaint of being in bondage in a human body which, by its sensuality, hampers her release; her singing (ghinā', shadw, etc.) are the sweet melodies of the voice of God which calls the poet to union. The gentle breeze (nasīm, rīḥ) is the modalities of the Exhaltation of the Merciful whose scents may suddenly be wafted to the heart of the gnostic; the flash (lam', ishrā', etc.) of lightning (barq) are the glush of intuition; absence (ghiyāb) is the condition in which the visions of God, which may tenant the human heart by divine favour (karāmah) and grace (luṭf), suddenly disappear; separation (firāq, bu'd, etc.) is the non-recognition of God, or the unresponsiveness of the Beloved Who makes it conditional that the lover ('āshiq, ṣabb, etc.) should first traverse the long and difficult way (ṭarīq) of the "stations" (maqāmāt) before he attains the rank of proximity (qurb) and satisfaction (riḍā'); shunning (ṣadd, nufūr, etc.) denotes the state of mind of the impassioned lover who, having traversed, alone and by self-mortification (mujāhadah), all the way of the "stations", finds himself, for one reason or another, barred from the Divine presence (ḥuḍūr, ḥaḍrah, etc.) which is the state (ḥāl) of intuition (kashf) that cannot be acquired by human efforts. Union (waṣl, ittiḥād, etc.), with which no human

being is permanently endowed, is the seeing (mushāhadah, mu'āyanah, etc.) of His face when the veil (ḡinā', ḥijāb, etc.) is lifted. Wine (khamr, ḥumayyā, etc.) is the Divine love which, when "tasted" by the longing seeker after the state of kashf is momentarily bestowed, leads to intoxication or rapture (sukr, dhuhūl, etc.) which, being a temporary state (ḥāl), is followed by sobriety (ṣaḥw), and the gnostic's heart, though knowing that the state of rapture is unattainable except by grace (luṭf) and favour (karāmah), continues to long for it because longing (ishtiyāq, ḥanīn, etc.) is a necessary attribute (ṣifah, ālāmah, etc.) of love. The libertine (al-khalī') is he who, having seen the Divine Beauty, which is beyond forms and outstrips all thoughts, becomes completely oblivious to phenomenal existence, and indifferent to human conventionalities. And so on.

The repetitiveness of the ḥumainī themes and the vulgar sentimentalism to which The revolt of al-Khufanjī against ḥumainī. most of the ḥumainists had succumbed, invited al-Khufanjī to parody the S. Arabian style as a whole. Beyond his name and the year of his death, as is inserted in his dīwān, and beyond the names of those poets with whom he

entertained some humainī correspondence, nothing at the moment is known about him. His poetry, however, is the mirror of his life and the age in which he lived, and, as such, can be exploited to form a picture about the man whose parodies have given him a distinct place in the history of humainī.

It seems that al-Khufanjī began his career as a qādī and a muftī, but ended as a buffoon or a clown hiding his tragedy by means of mimicry. He begins his dīwān with a poem in which he depicts himself as a religiously learned man who discovers that knowledge does not, and never will, stop the gurgling of empty stomachs. Despair grips him, and he finds himself blaspheming:-

تبقى تصلي على خبط الرماد وقمة الدين عندك باليه
 خلّ السجاريه في الجامع زواذ لا تعتبر بالقرون الخالية*

Henceforth, he leaves the masyadah, contents himself with the farm which he owns, and begins a poetical career as a preacher and as a humainist terrorizing his friends and his enemies - a fact which may explain to a considerable degree why his name was overlooked by the known biographers of his country. His closest friend, the prodigiously gifted Yahya

* Metrical scheme: || -u---| -u-| -u-^u | -u---| -u-| -u---

b. Ibrāhīm al-Jahhāfī, found it his bounden duty to give him the following advice:-

وما زج من ينظره
مثلك أديب لا تشتهه*

الهجو يزري بالنظام
من كان من نسل الكرام

But al-Khufanjī was not the kind of man to follow such an advice, and spent the rest of his life attacking vociferously the absurdities and the hypocrisy of his society in caustic muwashshahāt which have reached us in that unique dīwān:

Sulāfat al-'Adas wa-Lubb al-'Alas.

The themes of the dīwān in question range very widely. Didacticism, hazl (which is sometimes of unmatched obscenity), satire, parody, and epistolary verses, are the main features of the whole collection; and in most of the poems included, al-Khufanjī made ample use of the colloquial diction, mainly to find a wider circulation among the masses.

Al-Khufanjī does not interest us by his didactic poems, for there is nothing unusual about them except, perhaps, his sincerity; nor by his hazliyyāt, for these are neither genial nor graceful or sophisticated in humour, notwithstanding the fact that they appealed, and still appeal, to the multitudes:-

منهبي في الجون يرتاح له أهل عصري الطويل والمنكح
صباح ذا مشربي فأين الصفي والمعربي ما أحدا له سطلع**

Many of his hazliyyāt, it must be noted, derive a fair

*Metrical scheme: || -u--| -u-u | -u--| -u--

** Metrical scheme: || --u-| -u- | --u-| -u- | --u-| -u-

share of their humour from the incongruity between the elaborateness of the regular muwashshah and the triviality of the subject-matter.

His satires, on the other hand, which he poignantly articulates in many of his poems, may be found enchanting. He does not, for example, believe that women have the mental capacity to read and write, and he considers them as prostitutes by disposition. And a Turk in his eyes is nothing but a vulgar animal having no interest beyond stuffing his stomach with nutritious food, and twisting and retwisting his long, thick and dirty moustache - a fact which may account why

ما قد سمعنا باباشا ضييران
ولد في الروم من يدعى جميل*

Our main interest in al-Khufanji, however, lies in the fact that

(ā) He is the first known S. Arabian humanist who made ample use of the colloquial diction in the muwashshah style, and the first, so far as I could discover, in whom humainī and hazl become equated:-

أخ مطبك ياعمي
ما ذو سبايك حكيم
وأقطف ثمر هذا الهزل
بل هو حميبي مرتجل**

* Metrical scheme: || -u- | -u- | -u- | -u- |
Daimaran = slim, lean.

** Metrical scheme: || -u- | -u- | -u- | -u- |

(b) He parodied eighty-five humainiyyāt that were widely circulating in his time¹⁰, ridiculed the attitude, style, and the poetical substance of the S. Arabian Humainists by either handling their elevated erotical subjects in a trivial manner, or by composing in the muwashshah style a low subject of his own with mock dignity. The following strophe is the opening of one of many of his humainiyyāt that were solely designed to be burlesques of the attitudes of the humainists of his country:-

الطيب الشباب	يستف فؤادي	طرفه من قريب
في ثغرة كباب	شغل ابن هادي	معتود بالليب
والسكر مذاب	في خد نادي	بستانه رحيب
في حب الرباب	شأطرخ كنادي	ما أخشى من رقيب*

II.

To the traditional subjects of humainī must be added the main body of its diction and The poetical diction of humainī. imagery that are classical in the main, on account of which alone one may make the sound

* Metrical scheme: || -u| --- | -i -u-- | -u| ---
Kunādī = heart.

claim that the humainī songs of the past were not, in general, intended for the masses or the man in the street, but for gatherings of semi-educated and highly-sophisticated men as they are intended today. Some humainists were apt to develop a vocabular characteristic of their own on account of which their rhythm depends partly: whether like al-Wāthiq's, it abounds in diction resuscitating out of the classical Arabic language; or like that of al-Sūdī, it generally adheres more closely to the classically-correct plain speech; or like al-'Alawī's it moves more freely than either between the pedantic and the popular.

Far from manipulating the classical repertoires of diction and imagery in a shrewd way and giving them the individual touch that is necessary in every creative art, most of the humainists became enslaved by them. To some, and especially after the tenth century, the proof of their mastery over the Arabic language, or the mere play with words, or the mere content with the production of jingling rhymes or an elaborate system of internal rhyming, became the end in themselves, and hence the result is a cold-blooded wordings only distinguishable from saj' in being embodied in systematic metrical forms, the feet and the metre. A mere acquaintance with Salwat al-Mushtāq, al-'Alam al-Mufrad,

and Tanmīq al-Asfār, will justify the above statement. Others, like Yahya al-Ḥamzī, Bahrān and Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallah al-'Aidarūs, were apparently content to reproduce slavishly a very contracted selection of the pedantic stereotyped expressions and imageries without any individual contribution of their own. Only very few ḥumainists, such as al-'Alawī and Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah, were able to exploit the Arabic diction in such a genuine manner that can hardly escape the notice of the most careless reader.

The enslavement of the ḥumainists of S. Arabia to literary conventions is best manifested in the usage of the phrase "ghazāl Zabīd", which often occurs in the ḥumainī songs of Yaman. Like the traditional Arabic poetry, ḥumainī is a poetry made to express, not life as a whole, but some ideal conception of the beautiful and the desirable. Traditional connotive names of places, such as Ḥājir, al-Bān, and La'la', were amply used for worldly and sufi purposes, but Zabīd was, and still remains, far from being the apt symbol even at the time of al-Wāthiq. Says al-Shar'abī:-

"The population of Tihāmah is a mixture of races whose tongue (lisān) is Arabic, but whose features (ṣuwar) are predominantly Negroid - with sun-burnt faces and curly hair (sha'r mufalfal). How far is this from the traditional saying: 'O Mu'ādh, when you reach the wādī of al-Ḥuṣaib

let your beast trot* [lest you become bewitched by the alluring beauty of its women]. You ought to know - may thy life be preserved - that the [?ḥumainī] poets of Yaman mention the beauty of the women of Zabīd by way of imitation of their predecessors, and in doing so, they act the role of the fool, the blind, and the ignorant."

Ibn al-Mujāwir (601-90/1205-91), on visiting Zabīd, could not endure the ill-founded claims of the poets of S. Arabia, and exclaimed impatiently:-

"I swear by God, the most merciful, that I have never seen in the whole of al-Yaman, in its lowlands and its highlands, a single beautiful face that could arrest my eyes. Nor is there in the Yamanites any ingredient of wit, or gentleness, or beauty, or sweetness, except only in the appellations they bear that are not, in any way, justified

* "يامعاز: اذا دخلت وادي الحبيب نهروا". Al-Ḥuṣaib is the wādī on which Zabīd is situated, though the name is sometimes used for the town itself (v. Mu'jam al-Bulḍān, II, 280). The saying which al-Shar'abī quotes is a well-known Tradition (s.v. عنه, Taj al-'Arūs) with which the Apostle is said to have addressed the Companion Mu'ādh b. Jabal whom he sent to Yaman to teach the tenets of Islam. The incident which al-Ḥammādī quotes in Kashf Asrār al-Bāṭiniyyah, p. 33, corroborates the belief that, at least until the end of the third century A.H., the women of Zabīd were celebrated for their alluring beauty.

by their physical appearance¹²."

Conventional as it is, and classical in diction and
 Imagery, the humainī craft
 carried in its blood the germ
 of colloquialism which we have

called, for lack of a better epithet, vocabular taznīm.

In the hands of even so skilful a washshāḥ as 'Abd al-Raḥmān
 al-Ānīsī, vocabular taznīm can become annoying if overdone;
 but when used with reservation or subtlety, it gives the poem
 a rustic flavour which, it is thought, makes the total effect
 of the muwashshahah, on the ear and the mind, more pleasant
 and more moving. It is, perhaps, scarcely necessary to point
 out that in any muwashshahah in which case-endings are
 supplied, vocabular taznīm will not appear, and the poem
 may retain part of the dignity or exaltation of ḥakamī which
 partly rests on giving the correct case signs to words that
 accept vowelling. This is more particularly so when the
 rhymes of the muwashshahah are not in the pausal form.

Vocabular taznīm in humainī exhibits so many varieties
 that no summary statement of its characteristics would be
 possible in this chapter. Keeping to generalities, however,
 we may say that in the sense that humainī is the style of
 singing which primarily aims to please the predisposition of
 the singer and his listeners, affectation of rusticity was
 unavoidable. To give their humainiyyāt a plebian flavour,

and sometimes to pad out the need of metre, or the demand of rhyming, the majority of the washshāhīn of S. Arabia were driven now and then

(1) To supply the ياء الصغير to nouns that are already in the diminutive form. The predilection of the humainists of S. Arabia with the diminutives of endearment and enhancement which give their songs a peculiar note of tenderness and passion, is one of the main characteristics of humainī as a whole.

(II) To use the Himyaritic article am, the interjective particle wā (usually pronounced wuh), the particle sha— which expresses futurity, and the verbal and nominal suffix — sh (=k).

Until at least the third century of Hijrah, the definite article am was current up to the northern borders of 'Asīr¹³, though nowadays it has disappeared from some parts of S. Arabia, particularly Aden and the central highlands around Ibb and Ta'izz. It is, however, still in use in many parts of Yaman, often side by side with the Arabic al. According to humainī usage, am should not be assimilated to any consonant.

The interjection wā, which is used in Arabic to express horror or pain, is still current in Tihāmah and the central highlands. In literary humainī, there is a tendency to prefix it to the word ḥamāmī (a dove; pl. ḥamām), to the

relative particle man, to nouns whose final radical is preceded by a long vowel (ḥarf līn).

The particle sha - (which may be converted into shā - if the metre demands), and the suffix - sh (whose usage was termed by the Arab philologists as the shinshinah¹⁴) are still in use in S. Arabia. The former is current in many of the colloquials of present day Yaman, while the latter, which was ascribed by al-Mas'ūdī to the tongue of al-Shihr¹⁵, remains popular at least in Ḥaḍramawt¹⁶.

(iii) To make the predicate of a verbal clause agree in number with a plural subject.

(iv) To use the S. Arabian relative particle dhī without distinction of number and gender.

(v) To allow themselves, occasionally and sparingly, to drop the nūn of the imperfect when it is in the indicative case; to regard akhū and abū as invariable; to make the particle qad precede a noun, and to omit 'an before the subjunctive.

The occasional use of colloquial words and homely expressions that have assumed some degree of universality in S. Arabia, on the other hand, was tacitly considered to be part and parcel of the ḥumainī tradition; for almost every known ḥumainist had savoured at least some of his muwashshahāt with them. Every poet seems to have consulted his own convenience as to the employment of everyday words

and expressions; but the general tendency was to use them sparingly and with reservation, either to heighten the emotional effect of the poem, or else, I suspect, decoratively as plebian ingredients that can, save in few cases, be substituted by Arabic equivalents without affecting the metrical quantity of the particular line. The only exceptions to this general statement are the limited number of muwashshahāt in which the humanist condescends to employ taznīm because it is not in his interest, vocabulary speaking, to raise his muwashshahāh above the common plane. I have in mind those muwashshahāt that are dialogical in nature, in which the dialogue (muqāwalah, murāja'ah) tends to betray some traces of provincialism¹⁷, as well as those muwashshahāt in which the dove, or the gentle breeze, or the rider of the desert, or the lightning, plays the role of the messenger between the impassioned lover and his beloved. The message which the poet requests one of these moving agents of nature to deliver to his absent or unresponsive beloved usually comes at the end of the poem, and tends to be couched in a language presumably familiar to the person to whom it is intended. By way of illustrating this point, the following pome of al-Ānisi¹⁸ is appended as an example:-

شَدَّ نَوْمَ الْعَيْوُثِ وَشَنَّ
 دَمْرًا الْجَارِيَةَ السَّرِيْدَ
 مِنْ حَامَةِ عَلَى فَنَنْ
 لَدَيْهِ زَهْرَةَ الْنَضِيْدِ

فغدا تحتها يهيدُ
والشجى فى الشجى يزيدُ

حرّكت صوتها الأذن
فأثارت بيّ الشجنُ

ش
بما على قد جرى

ل
هويت وما أحد درى

فشاع بين الورى

ل
ولحق بالقديم جديدُ

تقفى
وظهر بعدما بطن

حين نغم صوتها الغريدُ

فتوالت بيّ ألحن

من شجون الهوى عديمُ،

بيت شعري، وما ألحمان

عنده المقعد المقيمُ

ليش يحصل لى الظلامُ

وكفى بالغرام غريمُ

هل لوجدة بمن أقامُ

أولشوقه بمن لمحن فعداب أفراف شديد

لـ ش
كم من شجى مستهام إن ما سقاء الحمام

كساء ثوب السقام

تقفي لـ

وأنحل الجسم، وألمن كالتراب تأكل الحديد

قطع آله مده عن كل عاف الفؤاد عميد

بيـ

وامعرج على الخصب قرب آله لك الوصول

قف على داره القصيب حيثما الفل والفلوك

قل سلام ما السلام عيب سنة الله والرسول

من شجيرة نازح الوطن أين صنعا وأين زيد

و ش ح

وقد فعل ذاك الكتاب محامدة في عتاب

ومنظر للجواب

تقفية بحياة وجهك الحسن أن تجرب جواب مفيد

يتلأه بين أن يحكم الله بما يريد*

The S. Arabian elements in the poetical diction of humainī as a whole, though hardly touch the sphere of its basic vocabulary, which is derived from the repertories of the traditional Arabic poetry, are nevertheless of four distinct kinds:-

(i) Words which are entirely non-Arabic, such as zakhāmah

*Metrical scheme:

bait-taqfīl: || -u-| -u-| -u^u | -u-| -u-| -u^u

tawshīh: || -u-| -u-u | -u-| -u-ū | -u-| -u-ū

(beauty), 'adan, (south), bāk-yibūk (to go), zāk-yizūk (to show one's prowess on the battle ground), wakan-youkan (to expect something, to pin one's hope on somebody), etc., which though seemingly Arabic, cannot by any linguistic jiggling be said to have any binding thread of meaning with the corresponding Arabic trilateral roots. Such words are still universally current in Yaman, and, perhaps, belong to a principal vocabulary that was basic in every S. Arabian dialect before the gradual arabicization of that country had begun¹⁹.

(ii) Words whose trilateral roots are Arabic, but which nevertheless in humainī are used not in the Arabic sense of the root, but in a modified sense which developed in S. Arabia. Words such as rā'ī (owner, possessor), dair (a village), hād-yihīd (to look), nashar (to go, or travel, at night), samsam (to emanciate, to weaken), hanab (to fall in a trap. mahnab: a trap, an intricate problem), are illustrations.

(iii) Homely phrases and expressions, such as 'alaish (why? For what reason?) and anā rabī'ak (may I be thy ransom!), which supposedly inject into the verse tenderness, and also give it greater emotional weight.

(iv) Words which are genuinely Arabic in meaning but not in form. The underlined word in the following strophe may serve as an example:--

وَأَهْلُ أَجْمَالِ أَمْسَارِيهِ عَزَسُوا فَالرَّكِبِ قَدْ أُعِيَتْ مَطَايَاهُ

قَضُوا فَنَدَةَ نَارِ الْفُؤَادِ أُقْبَسُوا مِنْهَا وَرَمَعِي ذَا رِدْوَا مَالَهُ

جَوَانِحِ الْعَشَّاقِ وَالْأَنْفُسِ فِي رَكْبِكُمْ تَسْرِي بِمَسْرَاهُ

رَحِمْتُمْ بِرُوحِي مَا لَكُمْ أُجْبَسُوا حَتَّى أَنْتَشِدُ رُوحِي عَسَى الْقَاهُ*

Instead of using one of the two Arabic forms, أَنْتَشِدُ and أَنْشِدُ (to seek after, to cry for a stray beast), the poet²⁰ has used another form. Whether such forms are originally S. Arabian²¹, or whether they are the result of metric need or rhyming demand, but masquerading as plebian in origin, is sometimes hard to ascertain.

It is particularly in the bedouin form, it must be noted, as well as in those S. Arabian washshāhīn who came under the powerful impact of the traditional bedouin qaṣīdah, that vocabular taznīm is more conspicuous.

III.

To appreciate the impact of the traditional bedouin qaṣīdah upon the washshāhīn of S. Arabia, we must begin by remarking on some of its general characteristics as briefly as possible. It is only when these are understood that we can fairly estimate the influence of the bedouin craft

* Metrical scheme: || -- | - u -- | - u -- | - u - u

The bedouin qaṣīdah.

upon the humainists of Yaman

A typical bedouin qaṣīdah²²

is claimed to be the result of some power, mysterious and original, which makes the poet sing (yibalbil, yidānī) as the ring-dove (qumrī) sings instinctively and untaught.

This power is termed either al-ḥalīlah:-

* قال ألفت الوادي كم شاكون قاني أحليلة لتري زانجا *

(The valiant al-Wādi'ī says: how long will the ḥalīlah continue disturbing my sleep by inspiring me with poetry.)

Or, al-hājis:-

وشم قال من قد بات ذا الليل غائب عن هذه الدنيا وفاقد نفوذها

يحكم قوافيه في الشعر راغب قوافيه عجيبة ما تخفي حدودها

وما جسي لتريض يجيب الغائب لأن علي بوزيد شاعر نهودها**

(The one who experiences in this night poetical rapture which renders him unresponsive to phenomenal influences,

And who, being moved to translate his experience into verse, chooses exact rhymes,

Says: when my hājis wanders about [in the field of poetry],

* Metrical Scheme: ||-u--|-u-|-u-- | -u--|-u-|-u--

** I am uncertain of the metre of these lines.

he inspires me with thrilling lines, because I, 'Alī Bū Zaid, is the [unchallenged] poet of [the tribe of] Nahd²⁴.)

Unlike the ḥalīlah, the hājīs is usually invoked²⁵, but it is difficult to determine whether the device is a literary convention or an earnest appeal for aid:-

يقول الهروي ياهاجس ابع ومات آيات بانشرحرا الآن²⁶*

The poetical effusion which results from the blessing visit of al-hājīs (or al-ḥalīlah) is appropriately called

al-zāzil:-

وقال ذي زاجله دردوش من درّه وحسبي الله واسمه من شهيد الزور
زاجل حجيت لك باسم الشكر والبصرة والسند والهند كته يقرب الناظور
ما غير مالي بصير في القول من كثرة ما قد نفى سفحه من زايد الدرور**

"Says he, whose poetical effusion flows like torrential rain, : God and His name suffice me against those who doubt the incessant flux of inspiration

Which has descended upon me from every direction, and rendered me unable to make a proper selection from the images which crowd before my inward eye.

My heart craves for expression, yet it cannot, for neither am I able to check the overflow of its emotions, nor inspiration has ceased its torrential outpouring."

* Metrical scheme: || --u| ---u| ---u | --u| ---u| ---u

*Metrical Scheme: || --| -u--| -u-| -u-u | --| -u--| -u-| -u-u

But despite the fact that each tribe of S. Arabia has its own poet(s), the hājīs seems to have only blessed very few poets whose fame nowadays transcends their tribal boundaries.

These are al-Shubātī²⁷, Abū Muṭlaq (also known as Ibn Ja'dān²⁸), al-Qushabī²⁹, Ibn Sunbul³⁰, Yahya 'Umar (also known as Abū Mu'jib³¹), and (the most eminent of all) al-Humaid b. Mansūr³².

A typical bedouin qaṣidah has the simple rhyme pattern ab ab ab, etc., and may begin with a religious prelude - a post-Islamic element in the tribal poetry of S. Arabia - which may range from one line to thirty lines, and possibly more. In this prelude, God is mentioned, and the poet may ask of Him forgiveness or the fulfilment of a certain wish:-

يَا أَللهُ يَا رَبَّنَا نَرْجُوكَ لِذَهَبَتْنَا وَمِنْ لِقَابِكَ دَنَا	يَا مَن لَكَ الْأَمْرُ وَالْتَدْبِيرُ وَالْكَافُ وَالنُّونُ هَوَّنْ عَلَيْنَا بِفَضْلِكَ يَا رَجَا كُلِّ مَسِيُونِ بِحَقِّ اسْمِكَ وَمَا سَجَّ بِهِ الْعَبْدُ ذُو النُّونِ
--	--

* قال يا ابن سنبيل

But in many poems, the Apostle is also mentioned in the religious prelude, and blessings are called upon him, (though not always) his Family, and his Companions:-

*Metrical scheme: || -u-| -u-u | --u-| -u--| -u-| -u-u

عزير العز بالعزة تعزز ومن يعتاش بالعزة يعزّ

يعزّ العبد في أجدد وهوّ وفي التران في شكله ودمزة

على المختار صلوا ما ترهمز شعاع الفجر جنح الليل رمزة
أبو مطلق يقول *

As can be seen from the above passages, the poet on finishing the religious prelude, introduces either his name or nickname by exploiting the root q-w-l in different ways, such as qāl al-Ḥumaid b. Mansūr, thumma qāl Ibn Ja'dān, wibn (or wabn) 'Alī qāl etc. In poems in which the religious prelude is omitted, the poet may directly begin his ode with his name or nickname:-

يقول خورعلوي جام يسجج صوته شجي نلش جراحب **33

In many poems, however, no name or nickname is mentioned, and the poet, instead, will take the latitude of attaching to the root q-w-l whatever epithet may seem appropriate.

This can be exemplified by the following lines:-

*** قال ألقى الشاعر من حيد أمزيود عيني في أمهوى تردم وجوني

* Metrical scheme: || --u| ---u| ---u | --u| ---u| ---u

**Metrical scheme: || -| -u--| -u-- | --| -u--| -u-u

***Metrical scheme: || --u| ---u| --- | -u--| ---| -u--

ثم قال من له زمان بالشعر يتكلم وبين المشكلة في المر والجمالي*³⁴

والمرتهجس قال قف لي يا المترف قف ياغصن رياتك سالك في وسط بستان³⁵**

After introducing himself to us, the bedouin poet may enter upon his main topic if it is exclusively erotical, or else he may begin erotically before he glides from one poetical type to another, or from one topic to topic, without any logical cohesion, until he reaches the pious conclusion (khātimah) in which he usually "calls down blessings on the Prophet, his Family and his Companions as there are, for instance, drops of rain, sand on the sea-shore, or as long as the ring-dove sings³⁶."

The change from the erotical prelude - which may come directly after the religious prelude, if any - to the main subject, or from one topic to another, is achieved either abruptly, or else through some conventional modes of expression such as وبعد ذا or وبعد (then), ثم (now, at this moment), الساع (but after this preliminary introduction), أعني (I mean, I allude to), etc. A good bedouin poet is considered to be he who embellishes the disconnected parts of his ode with aphoristic and didactic lines which the halīlah or the hājis may inspire. Indeed, the S. Arabian bedouins delight in poems in which a great deal of moral advice is given.

* Metrical scheme: || --| -u--| -u-| -u-u | --| -u--| -u-| -u--

** Metrical scheme: || --| -u--| --| -u--| --| ---| --| -u--

When a bedouin qaṣīdah is exclusively erotical, as is the case with the typical poem quoted below³⁷, the poet will roughly divide it into two main parts by the use of وبعد or زأ بعد or ذافصل (that's enough), before he concludes with conventional expressions, such as وأختم, وأختم, وأختم, etc.:-

يقول خورعلوي منامة زعل
والنوم جنب من عيونته

الكلب ذابت والحشا تشتعل
والسمع قد جرح جفونته

من يوم شفت العيطي مبتهل
ذاك الذي هم يوصفونته

راحت عظامي يا حسن ترتل
وأصطبت من لحظة عيونته

عارضت أبارح مسيرة عجل
فحرب وعسكر يتبعونته

شفت أفتاين نارها تشتعل
والخيل مصفونات دونته

ملقي مظلة تحتها مستظن
يبغى العرب ما يعرفونته

مَيِّ وَقَدْنَا فِي سَهْوَنَهُ مَسْرِي وَرَا امِيرُ الْغَوَانِي جَفَلُ
 حَرَامٌ مَا غَمَضَتْ عَيُونَهُ لَوْ شَافَهُ الْمَيِّتُ عَلَى الْمَغْتَسِلِ
 غَلَقَ فِي الْعَسْفَةِ رَهْوَنَهُ أَوْ شَافَهُ الْفَطْلُ الْبُهَيْمَ الْمَقْتُلُ
 يَاطِيرُ يَا مَعْرَبُ لِحُونَهُ وَبَعْدُ يَا أَحَى مَا سَرَحَ مَرْتَجَلُ
 سَلَّمَ عَلَى كَا حَلِ عَيُونَهُ يَا رَايَ الْسَيْرِ الشَّحِيحِ الْأَجَلُ
 جَعْدَةٌ مَرَّاسِلُ فِي مَتُونَهُ عَذِبَ الثَّمَانُ الْبَيْضُ مَتَى نَبَلُ
 سَبْعَةٌ بِسَبْعَةٍ يَنْقَشُونَهُ وَالْخَشْمُ خَنْجَرٌ عَادَةٌ وَالْأَذَى زَهْلُ
 وَالْتَوْرُ يَلْمَحُ تَحْتَ نُونَهُ وَمَبْسَمَةٌ بَارِقُ سَرَى يَشْتَمَلُ
 فِي جَدْفَةٍ تَرَعَشُ غُصُونَهُ وَأَوْشَامُ خَضْرَا زَرَعٌ عَادَةٌ بِقَلُ
 سَبْعِينَ بِحَرَبٍ يَخْدَمُونَهُ وَالْعِزُّ مَرْكَبٌ عَادَةٌ وَالْأَدَى وَصَلُ
 وَالْمَسْكُ وَالْعَبْرُ شَحْوَنَهُ صَارِيٌّ شِرَاعَةٌ وَالْتَقَلُ مَعْتَدُ
 يَا بَخْتُ مَنْ يَقْلَبُ غُصُونَهُ يَا رَا زَيْبِي يَثْرُ عَلَى غَيْرِ حَلِ
 حَتَّى الرَّمْدُ نَاقَتُ عَيُونَهُ وَالْيَوْمُ خَوْعَلَوِي تَعَبُ مَا وَصَلُ

ومن تعرّض للحبّة فشُرُّ واهل الهوى ما ينقدونه

ياقلبي اصبر للقضا وامتثل حكم القضا وأصدق ظنونهُ

ولد تصاحب كل من هو مطرُ تسمي وتصبح في سهونهُ

شف عاد ربك ما يغضبك بخل يطبق على ودك جفونهُ

والفي صلاة الله على من نقل إلى السماء الماطر مزونهُ

محمد الحمود زين المقلِّ وآل والأصحاب دونهُ

وأختم بطه ما سرى يشتعل بارق على قوده وسونهُ*

*Metrical scheme: || -| -u---| -u--^u | -u-| -u---| -u--^u

The influence of the bedouin craft upon the washshāhīn of S. Arabia is mainly a matter of form. When it began, it is too early to state, but it is commonly reflected in the poetry of some of those who lived in and after the tenth century of Hijrah. Firstly, the rhyme scheme ab ab ab, etc., began to appear as early as the days of al-'Alawī, but the poems of this poet that are composed according to the rhyme pattern in question are negligible in number and very short in length:

يارشيق التدمر	راقب الله في العياد
صهار قلبي فيك مبنى	وأشتياقي في مزيد
لصفى العذال جهلا	بحسبوا عندك يفيد
قلت : يا قلب تسلا	ربما يطغى الوقيد
قال لي : لا ألف كلا	ذون ذا قطع الوريذ
لا سلا دون المهلا	فاتني حان الجعيد ³⁸ *

After the tenth century, such a style of poetry became popular among the humanists of S. Arabia, and, quantitatively

* Metrical scheme: || -u- -t- u- | --u^u- | --u-

speaking, in few poets began to rival the regular muwashshah. The length of the poems gradually increased, often exceeding twenty lines, as is the case in many literary humainī bedouin poems of 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Amīr, Muḥsin b. 'Abd al-Karīm, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafa al-'Aidarūs. The following humainiyyah of Subait³⁰ is quoted as an example:-

ياساجع اذيك بالسجعة كويت
تلي وهيجت كامن اضلي
كأنا أنت بالبلوب رميت
نسي وحطت ساي مطمي
ما إن تعالى نياحك ءاذ بكيت
إلا شكا الجفن وا أرض ابي
وزابت النفس حتى ءان رأيت
أث قد تلفظت من مسمي
كأنا أنت ياشاك نويت
قتلي ءأدنيثني من مصري
يالمر رحماك ءاي قد وهيت
بل هان عظمي وجفت أدمي
قد كنت بالدمع أسخو إن بكيت
واليوم من ذوب قلب موجع

بعث المحبين عري وأشتريت
 وألأ فدعني فإني قد رعبت
 أنا الذي للأحبة قد وفيت
 يا طير هل أنت باللوعة أصطليت
 هل لك حشاشة، وهل مثلى أبتليت
 اليأس يا طير يثبت ما أدديت
 في مسمع الدهر بالشكوى رويت
 هويت لكن مجلي قد هويت
 أخلصت يا طير في حبي وليت
 غرست وردى، ومن شوكة جنيت
 حتى تسامى ورادى وأستويت
 الحب يا طير جنة لورديت
 ما إن تناهيت إلأ وأرتميت
 بخررة الحب يا طير أنتشيت
 حبي فهل أنت في البيعة معي
 عهدي ولوحان حين ألمصرع
 إليك عني ودع ما سددي
 هل أنت تشعر شعوري أو تني
 نفسك ببركان بين الأضلع
 والبينة من لزوم المددي
 وعالم الحب بالله أسمع
 بل ذقت ذلي بكاي منزع
 كل المحبين تسلك مشرع
 بل قلت يا عين بالغيت أسرع
 على مقام الورداد الأرفع
 ألفت فيرا خصيب المرتع
 وقلت: إلى الحب يانفس أفرع
 كاسي فوادي، وراحي أدمي

عندي عنادي، وحرمانى أصطفت
دمعي فراشي، وسهدي مضجعي

من ذلّ نفسي وتخليبي بنيت
لمن أحبته منيح المفتح

ومن دمائي ودمعي قد سقيت
ورد المحبته فياواشي أفتح

يا طير كم أنت من دمعي أرتويت
وهما ثاري فنقر وأرتع

يا قلب إنك على روجي جنيت
اهداً فأنت العظيم الموقع

أنت الذي للمحبه قد خويت
بل أنت للحبّ نعم المرجح

يامن إلى الحبّ وأجلى دعيت
بشرّ بجهدك غرام الأصمعي

كلّ المحبين جنديك لومسيت
على جبين ألفنا لم ترجح

فانعم ببلواك وامنّ قد هويت
وأنت ياساجعه بالله أسجي*

*Metrical scheme: || -u--| -u-| -u-u | -u--| -u-| -u-u

Secondly, a considerable number of literary ḥumainiyyāt in the bedouin form commence in the same way as a typical bedouin qaṣīdah usually begins. The following are examples chosen at random from Tanmiq al-Asfār, and the lines quoted are restricted in each case to the opening of the poem:-

<p>*⁴⁰ في حية أهل المعالي والشهوة **⁴¹ للشعر من بعد تركي للتصيد ***⁴² قد ناك حسنة على الحور الحسنات ****⁴³ يسطو علينا بعينيه ررب *****⁴⁴ من هام في عجبول مزاح</p>	<p>قال ألفتي العيدوش من قد رنا قال ابن الأشراف دهيجني غزال قال ألفتي الهاشمي أملك من قال الذي هام في ظبي غريه يقول مكلوم الفؤاد الحزين</p>
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Moreover, a ḥumainist may even model his whole love-poem after the bedouin fashion:-

قال الذي هام في رعنا خروذ من لي بعودة لطيب أوقاتنا
 رعياً لأزمان مرّت في سعوذ ما بين بان النقا والمخنى

<p>* Metrical scheme: ** " *** " **** " *****"</p>	<p>: : : : :</p>	<p> -u-- -u- -u-- -u-- -u- -u-- -u-- -u- -u-- -u-- -u- -u-- -u-- -u- -u-- -u-- -u- -u-- --- -u- -u-- -u-- -u- -u-- - -u-- -u-- -u- -u-- -u-u</p>
--	--	---

أَيَّامُ لَثْمِي لَتَّاحِ الْخُدُودِ أَيَّامُ ضَمِّي لَقِيدٍ كَالْقَنَا
أَيَّامُ سَأَى الْمَدَامَةَ لِي بِجُودٍ حَيْثُ أَلْصَقَا وَالْمُسْرَةَ وَالرَّهْنَا
وَبَعْدَ يَامِي سَبَى الْقَلْبِ الْوَرُودِ يَا فَائِقُ الْغَيْدِ يَا بَاهِي السَّنَا
هَيَّا نَقِيلْ عَلَى شَاهِي زُرُودِ يَا سَيِّدَ رُوحِي وَنَجْمِ شَمَلْنَا
ثُمَّ نَحْتَسِي الْكَاسَ فِي وَقْتِ الْوَرُودِ مَا بَيْنَ نَهْرِ زَهْرٍ وَنَهْرِ بَحْتَنِي
فَا لَسَجِبَ قَدْ قَهَقَهْتُمْ فِيمَا أَلْعُودِ وَسَاجِحِ الطَّيْرِ أَشْجَبَ بِالْخَنَا
هَذَا الرِّيْعُ أَقْبَلْتُ فِيهِ الْوَرُودِ تَحْكِي خُدُوكَ وَإِن كُنْتُ أَحْسَنَا
ثُمَّ نَنْهَبُ الْأَنْسَ رَغْمَ أَنْفِ الْحَسُودِ ثُمَّ فَاجْتَلِ الْكَاسَ وَأَشْرِبْ وَأَسْقِنَا
مَوْلَايَ مَوْلَاكَ مَا يَهْمُنَا رِقُودُ مِنْ كَثْرِ صَهْدِكَ إِلَى كَمْ ذَا أَلْعَنَا
مَا آتَى تَجْدِيدَ مَا يَتِيكَ الْعَهْمُودُ مَا آتَى يَأْسِيْدُ أَنْ تَشْفَى الْضَنْفَى
مَتَى مَتَى بِالتَّوَاصُلِ لِي تَعُودُ وَالرَّاحُ وَالرُّوحُ دَائِرٌ بَيْنَنَا
وَالْمَنْجُ مِنْ رَيْقِكَ الْحَالِكِ الْوَرُودِ يَنْجِي الَّذِي طَلَحَ فِي بَحْرِ الْفَنَا

هَذَا الرَّجَائِكِ يَا حِلْوُ الشُّهُودِ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّي وَالشُّكْرُ

وَالْحُتْمُ صَلَّوْا عَلَيَّ سَامَى السُّعُودِ خَيْرَ الْوَرَى الْمَصْطَفَى هُوَ جَدُّنَا

وَالَّذِ وَالصَّحْبُ يَا نَعْمَ الْأَسْرُودِ مِنْ جِبَّتِهِمْ نَالَ غَايَاتِ الْمُنَى⁴⁵*

The encroachment of the bedouin craft upon the muwashshah style is almost negligible, for only a very limited number of muwashshahāt betray some of the traditional characteristics of the bedouin qaṣīdah. The following muwashshahah⁴⁶ is appended as an illustrative example:-

قَالَ الَّذِي قَدَّمَ هَامَ فِي هَوَى أَغْيَدُ بِاللَّهِ زُرْنِي يَا حَبِيبُ

وَأَصِلْ مَجْبُكَ يَا غَزَالَ تَشَهَّمَدُ وَأَرْحَمُ فَقِي عَانِي غَرِيبُ

يَا مَنْ قَوْمَةٌ فَاقَ غَصْنَ أَمَلَدُ وَرَيْقَتُهُ خَمْرُ الزَّيْبِ

*Metrical scheme: || -u--| -u-| -u-u | -u--| -u-| -u-u

وخته أباهي شهبي مورّد وكل ما فيه عجيب

لش
حق متى هذا العنا ياكل قصدي وألني

ما آن تجمع شملنا

بي

يا بهجة الأرواح يا مهفهف يامن سبي بسر التمام

متى يقولوا بالوصال أتخف للصب مشوق التمام

إرحم ، فديتك ، فيك صب مشغف له طرف ما يهوى منام

الناس تعلم والشهود تشهد وائي من الفرقة كئيب

لش
هات آسني بنت الكروش صهبا تجلي كل بوش

في الجام تجلي كالعروش

ورَّاحَ الدُّرُوحَ بِالتَّلَاقِ فِي رَوْحِ نَافِخٍ بِالنَّهْورِ
 وَجَدْنَا لَنَا بِالرِّشْفِ وَالْعِنَاقِ وَخَشَى رَمَانَ الصَّوَرِ
 وَأَمْزَجَ حَمِيًّا كَأَسْنَا أَلْمَاقِ يَأْسِيْدُ فِي خَمْرِ التُّغْوَرِ
 وَمَا عَلَيَّ مِنْ يَقُولِ عَرَبٍ حَسْبِي هُوَ هَذَا الزُّبَيْبِ

ت
 وَش
 ح
 هَذَا شَنَا أَلْصَبِ الْعَلِيْلِ هَذَا الَّذِي مَالَهُ مِثْلُ
 هِيَهَاتَ مَا عَنهُ بِدِيْلِ

بِي
 هَوَاهُ لِي قَدْ صَحَّ فِيهِ مَشْرَبٌ فِيهِ الْفَنَاءُ عَيْنَ الْبَقَا
 نَسِيْتُ سَعْدِي إِذْ بَدَأَ وَزَيْنَبُ وَكُلَّ ظَبِيَّاتِ الْبَقَا
 لِي مَذْهَبٌ فِي ذَا الْغَزَالِ مَذْهَبٌ لِلْقَلْبِ مَنِّي أَوْشَقَا
 وَمَشْهَدِي فِي الْعَشْقِ خَيْرُ مَشْهَدٍ لَهُ وَسَطُ أَحْشَائِي دِيْبِ

دع عنك لوي يا عدوك مالك وتكثير الفضول
وأختم كلامي بالرسول

خير النور الهادي إلى السلامة عليه صلى ربنا
والآل أهل الفضل والكرامة من فيهم يعلو ألسنا
والصحب أهل المجد والإمامة من جهم نال ألمى
ما هيح المشتاق حين غرّذ قمرى على غصن رطيب*

1. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 59b.

2. Dīwān Sīdī al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī, op.cit. This poem with slight variation is also to be found in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fol. 100b.

3. Al-Durr al-Manzūm, p. 50.

4. Nasamāt ... al-Saḥar, Leiden, fols 57b-58a.

5. Al-Durr al-Manzūm, p. 184.

6. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 60f.

7. Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 133.

8. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 142.

*Metrical scheme:- bait: ||-u--| -u-u | --u| -u--| -u-u
tawshih: ||-u--| -u--| -u--| -u--| -u--| -u--

9. The poem, as we have quoted, is taken from a safīnah where it is ascribed to Ḥaidar Āghā. Al-Khufanjī, Sulāfat al-'Adas, op. cit., parodied this poem, and quoted its opening line under the statement: قلت عراض قصيدة المزاح التي مطلعها. Yet the muwashshah in question is inserted, with slight variation, in the dīwān of al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fols. 87b-88a.

10. In most cases, al-Khufanjī mentions the name of the author of the poem which he parodies, as well as the opening line of the song. In this respect, his dīwān is unequalled in the history of ḥumainī since it helps the researcher to know the songs that were popular in the twelfth century A.H., to evaluate and assess the importance of the role played by some preceding ḥumainists, and to trace the authorship of some ḥumainiyyāt which are mistakenly ascribed to eminent ḥumainists, such as Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ānisi, in some safāyin which he may read. Therefore it will not be superfluous to give a list of those ḥumainists whom al-Khufanjī parodied, and whose names and the opening lines of their songs are mentioned in his dīwān.

Name of the <u>ḥumainist</u> whom al-Khufanjī parodied.	Number and style of the <u>ḥumainiyyāt</u> that were parodied.		
	regular muwashshah.	mubayyat muwashshah.	bedoiin form.
'Abdallah al-Mazzāh	7	8	-

Muḥd b. 'Abdallah	8	6	-
Ḥaidar Āghā	2	3	-
al-Sūdī	-	3	-
al-Hindī	5	2	
Al-Qashandhalī	-	4	-
'Alī b. Muḥd. al-'Ansī	-	1	1
'Alī b. al-Imām Sharaf al-Dīn	1	-	-
Al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī	-	1	-
Qāsim Fāyī'*	-	-	1
'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ishāq	2	3	1
Al-Fusayyil	-	-	1
Ibn al-Habal*	-	-	1
Yahya 'Umar al-Yāfi'ī	-	-	1
Al-Matarī*	1	-	1
Al-Kharwashī	2	1	1

I have no reliable information on those poets that are marked by an asterisk. Ibn al-Habal is perhaps al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Jābir (+1079/1668), known as Ibn al-Habal, but his diwān, Qalā'id al-Jawāhir..., Ambrosiana, A 7, does not contain any humainiyyah of his own composition.

Al-Qashanshalī is 'Abdallah b. Aḥmad b. Shams al-Dīn, an uncle of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah. He is depicted by 'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh (v. Diwān Mubayyatāt, pp.93-4) as a renowned washshāh. The opening of one of his tender muwashshahāt, which is in the second mubayyat form, is mentioned by 'Īsa (v. ibid., p. 128) and al-Khufanjī (v. Sulāfat al-'Adas); but this poem is quoted in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fols. 105b-106a, under the name of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah Sharaf al-Dīn.

11. Tirāz al-Majālis. I am not prepared to go as far as al-Shar'abī; but I must note that due to historical factors, as well as to the slave-trade which flourished in S. Arabia from pre-Islamic days, Tihāmah became a melting-pot for the African and the Arab races. As early as the fifth century of Hijrah, it was hard to distinguish the Arab from the African by the colour of his skin. When the Sulaiḥite prince, al-Mukarram Aḥmad b. 'Alī, captured Zabīd in A.H. 475, his heralds, says 'Umārah, Yaman, text, p. 26, trans., p. 36, proclaimed his orders to the victorious Arab armies to unsheath the sword against the ḥabashah (Abyssinians) who were the staunch supporters of the Najāḥites, but warned them of the fact that "the Arabs of Tihāmah beget children by black concubines; and that a black skin was common to both the slave and the free. 'But if you hear a person pronounce the word 'azm, 'azm, know that he is an Abyssinian, and slay him. If he pronounces it 'azm, he is an Arab, and you should spare him.' "

It was possible for the Arabs of Zabīd to pronounce the word 'azm correctly in the fifth century, but today, the first and the second letters of that word are completely unpronounceable to them.

The contemporary prince, Aḥmad Faḍl al-'Abdalī, complains in his book, Hadiyyat al-Zaman... (Cairo, A.H. 1351), p. 297, about the multiplying number of the Negroes in S. Arabia, and

urges all the Arab princes of that corner of the world to take a unified action against the continuance of slavery in their dismembered country. He does not, however, forget to remind them that future marriages between the Arabs and the Negroes, who are already settled there, should be prevented since the African blood has proved to be "a disaster upon our blood, our minds, and our features."

12. Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir, II, 246. Remarks to the same effect, also occur in al-Qazwīnī, K. Āthār al-Bilād...(Beirūt, 1380/1960), p. 38; Mu'jam al-Udabā', VI, 13; al-Zahr al-Basim

13. Cf. the version of al-Hamdānī, K. Ṣifat Jazīrat al-'Arab, ed. D.H. Müller (Leiden, 1884-91), pp. 134-6.

14. Cf. al-Suyūṭī, al-Muzhir fī 'Ulūm al-Lughah, ed. Jādd al-Mawla and others (Cairo, 2nd ed., n.d, c. 1954), I, 222.

15. Cf. C. Rabin, Ancient West-Arabian (London, 1951), p.50.

16. Cf. Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī, Tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt al-Siyāsī (Cairo, A.H. 1354-5), II, 193.

17. See, for instance, Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 90.

18. Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 183.

19. The fact that arabicization was strong in S. Arabia, even before the coming of Islam, is borne out by the statement of al-Āmidī, al-Mu'talif wa-al-Mukhtalif, ed. Farrāj (Cairo, 1381/1961), p. 9, from which one can adduce that pre-Islamic poets from Ḥimyar had written in the classical

Arabic language, and that their poetry, like the poetry of those few Arab tribes who had a name for using particularly good Arabic, was collected in a separate dīwān that bore their name.

20. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 141.

21. It is safest to assume, for want of positive evidence to the contrary, that such forms are S. Arabian in origin. In the few pre-Islamic authentic ḥakamiyyāt of S. Arabian poets, one may come across certain verbal and nominal forms, and even some expressions, that are not recorded in the known Arabic lexica. See, e.g., al-Aṣma'īyyāt, ed. Shākir and Hārūn (Cairo, 1955), pp. 60 (l. 28), 65 (l. 10), 201 (l. 26), 202 (l. 35).

22. My authority on the subject, except where otherwise stated, is al-Shaikh 'Abdallah Zaid al-Qaifī, who is one of the most widely known S. Arabian narrators of Yamanite bedouin poetry. In connection with this subject, the reader is also advised to consult Ibn Khaldūn, The Muqaddimah, III, 412-40; Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramawt, pp. 5-8, 55-7.

For specimens of S. Arabian bedouin poetry, reference can be made to ibid. (Ar. Pt.); 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, Dīwān al-Waqā'i'... (Bombay, 1315/1897); Leiden Mss., Or. 6979, and Or. 6981.

23. Cf. Tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt al-Siyāsī, II, 196f. Compare the last line with that which is quoted in al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salamah, K. al-Fākhir, ed. C.A. Storey (Leiden, 1915), p. 4.

24. For the pedigree of Nahd, see al-Qalqashandī, Nihāyat al-Arab fī Ma'rifat Ansāb al-'Arab, ed. Khaqānī (Baghdād, 1378/1958), p. 394. Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat Ansāb al-'Arab, ed. E.L. Provençal (Cairo, 1368/1948), p. 418, states that the Banū Nahd were settled in Najrān, and not in Ḥaḍramawt; and Ibn Khaldūn, K. al-'Ibar... (Būlāq, A.H. 1284), IV, 225, adds that their descent is derived from Qudā'ah, but they intermixed with the 'Asīrite tribes of Khath'am and Bajīlah among whom they settled. Amīn al-Raiḥānī, Around the Coasts of Arabia (London, 1928), p. 210, gives an interesting account of how an 'Asīrite becomes a poet.

25. The term al-hājis, it should be noted, is more universal in usage among the tribes of S. Arabia than the term al-ḥalīlah. The main difference between the two, as is put by al-Shaikh 'Abdallah, is that al-ḥalīlah is whimsical and unreliable. She generally visits the poet at night, or in desolate places, but may fail him at any moment when he is in earnest need for her inspiration. Furthermore, she may intentionally make him the target of ridicule among rival poets by putting into his mouth cold pieces of poetry, and may even embarrass him before his tribe and family by inspiring him with inept verses. Sa'īd... 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, Dīwān al-Waqā'i', p. 27, brands the ḥalīlah with the epithet "al-khasīṣah", and adds (p. 51) that she is unreliable as an inspirer of poetry. This is, perhaps, the main reason why

bedouin poets do not invoke her help.

Others who were consulted on the subject, however, will not agree that the ḥalīlah is in any sense unreliable or inferior to the hājīs. Some, indeed, went as far as to suggest her superiority over the hājīs since she, and she alone (they claim), can make a seer out of the poet, and inspire him with compact verses embellished with delightful gnostic lines.

I should draw the attention to the fact that the hājīs, as a super-human power, may be regarded as the counterpart of the Arabian shaiṭān al-shi'r (or al-ra'ī, or al-tābi') but with two main differences:-

(a) In the traditional Arabic poetry, the tābi' is not expressly invoked for help despite the fact that some poets, such as Ḥassān b. Thābith (v. Dīwān..., ed. al-Barquqī (Cairo, 1347/1929), p. 174), give the impression of having established so close a relationship with their tābi' as to call him a "brother", or, as is the case in al-A'sha (v. Dīwān..., op.cit., p. 148), a "partner". It seems that the only conceited poet in Arabic poetry, as regards poetical inspiration, is Imru'u al-Qais, who went as far as to make the tawābi', not the inspirers of his poetry, but the narrators of what he says (v. Dīwān..., p. 325).

(b) The Arabian shaiṭān al-shi'r, who had been seen by a favoured few, bears diverse names, each is said to have a

limited power for poetical inspiration. Al-Farazdaq (cf. al-Qurashī, Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab (Beirūt, 1963), p. 80), however, says that there are only two superhuman powers that inspire poetry. The first, which inspires good poetry, is called al-hawbar, while the second, which inspires bad poetry, is called al-hawjal.

26. Hadiyyat al-Zaman, p. 233f; see also Prose and Poetry from Ḥadramawt, Ar. Pt., no. 10, l. 6.

27. Aḥmad al-Shubatī who lived in the twelfth century A.H., and died in Wādī al-Sirr, near Radā', where his memory still lingers. He has a celebrated dīwān in which some of the poems included exceed five hundred lines. He is regarded as the best poet the tribe of Qaifah has ever produced.

28. Nothing reliable is known about him, although he is reputed to have come from Yāfi'. Many of his poems, as well as those that are erroneously ascribed to him, are still sung in Aden and Ṣan'ā', some of which have been recorded.

29. I possess a considerable number of his poems, some of which are nearly - literary in diction. Shaikh 'Abdallah Zaid says that his name is Aḥsan al-Qushabī al-Baiḥānī, and that he lived in the second half of the eleventh century A.H. al-Qārrah, in one of his maqāmāt that are inserted in his dīwān, alludes to him in a parodically casual remark which he makes about a certain Ṣan'ānite singer of his day:--

ولقد أقرت بمشيخته مشايخ يافع ، وسلمت لبراعته أرباب
 قحطبه ، إذ لا مشارك له ولا منازع ، لو عرفه ابن سنبل
 لكان خادمه في كل جمع ، أو سمع به القشبي لضرب
 أممه المرفع مكي

30. See supra. Shaikh 'Abdallah has no reliable information about this poet.

31. For this legendary poet, see Prose and Poetry from Ḥadramawt, p. 64. A reference to Yahya 'Umar is made by al-Khufanjī in one of his humorous verses:-

إِنَّ كُنْتَ بَحِي نَانَا بُو مَحْرَمَةَ أَزْوَاجِ الشَّعْرِ وَأَجَشَّةَ جَشُوشِ*

Bū Makhramah is, perhaps, the Ḥadramite poet: 'Umar b.

'Abdallah Bā-Makhramah (884-952/1479-1545).

32. He originally belongs to al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaimānī (= 'Asīr). While in the prime of life, al-Ḥumaid was chosen by al-hājis to be his organ and mouthpiece. Gifted with a very melodic voice, and blessed as it were by the frequent visits of al-hājis, al-Ḥumaid was destined to be the unsurpassable and immortal poet-minstrel of the badw of al-Yaman. Suffering from fits of abstraction, he wandered aimlessly from the north to the south, and from the south to the north, rabāb in hand, singing the tribes of S. Arabia what al-hājis inspired him. He is said to have died in Abyan near the end of the tenth century A.H.

*Metrical scheme: || -u- | -u- | -u-u | -u- | -u- | -u-

The maddāḥīn of Yaman still sing his poems, and he is claimed by almost every region and tribe of that country. The earliest reference to al-Ḥumaid, so far as I could discover, is in one of al-Khufanjī's light verses which is a *débat* between al-Ḥumaid and another bedouin poet, named 'Alī b. Zāyid, wherein the two poets contend a certain point.

33. Dīwān al-Waqā'i', p. 160f.
34. Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramawt, Ar. Pt. no. 9, l. 5.
35. Dīwān al-Waqā'i', p. 137.
36. Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramawt, p. 6.
37. Dīwān al-Waqā'i', p. 157.
38. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 99b.
39. Op. cit., p. 169.
40. Tanmīq al-Asfār, p. 354f.
41. Ibid., p. 308.
42. Ibid., p. 269.
43. Ibid., p. 280.
44. Ibid., p. 279.
45. Ibid., p. 264
46. Ibid., p. 263f. Either a tawshīḥ is wanting, or, more probably, the last bait was added by a pious hand.

CHAPTER FIVE.

THE METRES OF HUMANĪ.

The classical Arabic metres are reckoned to be sixteen in number, some of which were more usual among the pre-Islamic poets than others, while two of them, namely al-muqtadab and al-muḍāri', were probably the invention of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, the founder of Arabic prosody. However, with the change that took place in the social life of the Arabs in the Islamic Empire, and under the influence of singers and musicians, new metres were employed, tawshīh became ardently cultivated in Spain, shaṭr and nahk became widely practised, and poets did not refrain from composing poems based upon two taf'īlāt after Salm al-Khāsir (+ 186/802) gave the lead in that respect¹.

Al-buḥūr al-muhmalah.

By the time the muwashshah

poetry came to be firmly rooted

in the body of Arabic literature, there were already some other popular metres which do not belong to the sixteen of al-Khalīl and al-Akhfash. These "new" metres are commonly called al-buḥūr al-muhmalah (the abandoned metres), and were generally reckoned to be six in number² despite the fact that Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' (433-514/1042-1120) prides himself in accomplishing the unprecedented task of "deducing" (istikhrāj),

from the five circles of al-Khalīl, twenty-one more metrical forms (abniyah), for each of which he contrived one line or two as a prosodical example³. Bearing all this in mind, we may now turn to the metres of humainī as exemplified in the S. Arabian dīwāns and safāyin.

Quantity and rhythm
in humainī.

As in classical Arabic, the metres of humainī are based upon a scheme of long and short syllables, and have a marked

regularity. Humainī, however, is a style of poetry in which a poet often practises lahn^{*}, mainly in the form of a sukūn. Indeed, the use of sukūn (that is, omitting a short syllable in the form of a ḥarakah, a short vowel) is the main device in humainī that makes it possible for the poet to use to the utmost the relaxed cadences of the spoken language. It reduces the possibility of al-takhlī'^{**}, slows the tempo of the verse, and consequently influences rhythm. It will not, therefore, be superfluous to give the sukūn some

* See p. 20f.

** The frequent occurrence of the ziḥāf. Needless to say that a great preponderance of short syllables almost always speed the rhythm, and will ordinarily seem more vigorous or rapid than the sense may demand or suggest.

attention in the following paragraphs.

We may first begin by distinguishing two types of pause in humainī: the internal and the terminal. The internal (which coincides with a long syllable* - in most cases a long vowel - or results from omitting a short vowel (حركة)** and replacing it by a sukūn) may function either as a minor

* Mainly in (a) al-af'āl al-nāqīṣah and al-malfūfah; (b) al-asmā' al-manqūṣah and al-maqṣūrah; and (c) some of the demonstrative, relative, and interrogative pronouns, as well as in some particles and most of the conditional nouns. It should be noted that the usual practice in humainī is to drop the terminal hamzah of a verb or a mamdūd noun, partly in order to secure a pause.

Of course, a sukūn may result grammatically, as in the Jussive, in which case it may offer itself as a pause appropriate to be manipulated by the singer.

** Provided that a word is not a mudāf or immediately followed by a hamzah, the tendency has always been to render quiescent: (a) the preterite and the aorist; (b) the separate and the affixed pronouns; (c) the termination al-tā' al-marbūṭah; (d) a word ending in ي or و (if it accepts vowelling; e.g. دلو, نهي); (e) the diminutive noun; (f) the vocative; (g) the noun of superiority; (h) a word whose final radical is preceded by a long vowel =

pause, or as a major one, and may occur at any point of a line except the rhyming ends of the hemistichs (or verse-sections).

The internal pause comes practically anywhere in a line, but rarely after the first word, and may coincide with the ends of some of the metrical taf'īlāt. In the following two strophes of al-'Alawī⁴, vertical bars are used to indicate the place where the internal pause, here minor in every case, coincides with the end of a regulated metrical foot:-

من سفح حاجر حيتي خيموا	في آمنار
إلى رباهم بالشجى يسموا	وابوارك
في الخفة قد باحت بما ألكم	فالهو الطر
نيرانها في هجتي تضرم	والبلايل

= (ḥarf līn); and (i) a muzannam word, and, indeed, every word to which a S. Arabian particle is prefixed.

كم أصالي من مزجيات الشوق ما لا يطاف

في أمليالي وأبات في | لوعة جوى | وأحتراف
 حال حالي وياترى | ما حال عذب المذاف
 هل يساين عفى أم الإعراض مستحکم*

It is ordinarily the case that the coincidence of the internal pause with the end of a metrical foot creates a singsong effect. It is not, therefore, surprising that a poet should resort to two main devices at his disposal in order to secure that effect:-

(a) Vocabular taznīm:

يامن أطلال التجني ويللا من غيرك

لما تحققت أتب طير حنب في الشرك

* Metrical scheme:- || -u- | -u- | -u-^u | --u-

وَلَيْتَ وَأَعْرَضْتَ عَنِّي بِالرَّوْدِ مَا أُنْذِرُكَ
 حَلَفْتُ لَا أُغْضَى جَفْنِي مَا عَادَ بَقِيَّتُ أَنْظِرُكَ*

(b) Tashtīr (in the form of mumāthalah or tarsī'):

مَوَاهِبُ الدُّنْيَا عَوَارِيٌّ يَرْجُحُ بِهَا عَمَّا قَلِيلُ
 وَالْأَدَمُ بِالْغَايَاتِ جَارِيٌّ كَمْ قَصَّرَ الْبَاعُ الطَّوِيلُ
 بِاللَّهِ يَأْسِرُ الْقَمَارِيَّ وَيَا بَنِيَّاتِ الْهَدْيِ
 نُوحِي مَعِي وَأَرْعِي جَوَارِيَّ وَسَاعِدِي فِي الْعَوِيلِ

لَوْلَا حَسَنٌ يَحْيَى ابْنُ طَاهِرٍ فِيهَا لَمَا زَالَ الْعَجَبُ
 نَجْمُ الْعَلَا نَجَلُ الْأَكَابِرِ عَلَى النَّسَبِ وَافِي الْحَسَبِ
 أَنَسُ الْأَنْدِيمِ رُوحُ الْمَحَاضِرِ بَحْرُ الْعُلُومِ رَوْضُ الْأَدَبِ
 سَهْلُ الْعَرِيكَةِ غَيْرُ عَارِيٍّ عَنِ مَلْبَسِ الْفَضْلِ الْجَلِيلِ**

* Metrical scheme:- ||-u-|-u--|---u-|-u-u

** Metrical scheme:- ||-u--|-u-u| -|-u--|-u-u

It may be remarked that the rhythm of the second strophe of the preceding example has a regular, mechanical effect, partly because the internal pause, which falls on the end of a metrical foot, is organized in three consecutive lines. Insistence on this type of badī' is likely to become tiresome to the ear, though, of course, its monotonous effect can, to some extent, be mitigated either by making the internal pause occasionally diverge from the end of the regulated metrical foot, or else by "masking" it, as it were, by making it coincide with long vowels.

The internal pause may tend in a few lines towards some degree of organization that may coincide with the end of a regulated metrical taf'īlah; but on the whole, it constantly varies from one line to another, and usually runs counter to the rigid metrical scheme. Indeed, much of the vitality in humainī is derived from the contrast between the metrical scheme of the poem and its rhythmical pattern as largely determined by the natural flow of the language.

The internal pause, however, becomes annoying when the poem is sentimental; when the hemistichs (or verse-sections) are very short (six or eight syllables only); when artifice is apparent as a result of employing some types of badī' or an elaborate system of tazfīr. The ear may be gratified by the reserved manipulation of tarṣī',

but becomes satiated by the repetition of internal rhymes in the form of tazfīr.

The internal pause is melodically effective when it is preceded by a harf līn, and can function as a device for achieving emphasis. A short consideration of the following two strophes⁷ will, I think, convince anyone that in the hands of a skilful washshāh, the internal pause can play a determining role in the total melody of the song:-

يَارِبَّةُ الصَّوْتِ الرَّخِيمِ رَجِّي وَأَفْشِي هَوَاكُ مِثْلِي وَزَيْعِي

وَيَا حَمَامَاتِ الْغَصُونِ أَسْجِي وَطَارِحِينِي فِي سَجْوَعِي

وَيَا نِصْوَاتِ أَلْبَانِ نَوْحِي مَعِي وَشَارِكِينِي فِي وِلْوَعِي

وَيَا بُرُوقَ الْأَبْرَقِينِ أَلْمِي وَأَجْرِي عَلَى خَدِّي دَمْعِي

بِسْ

شَابِكِي وَمِثْلِي لَا يَلِدُنَّ، إِنَّ بَكِي عَنَدِي لَدَهْلُ اللَّوْمِ وَاضِحٌ

وَأَحَلَّ مِنْ غَرْبِ السَّمْعِ أَلْوَا وَأَسْقِي بِهَا غَادِي وَرَائِحٌ

وَأَسَاجِلُ الْوَرَقَا لَعْلُ الْبَلَا يَطْفَى الْجَوَى بَيْنَ الْجَوَاخِ

قَد كُنْتُ لَدَى أَبِي وَقَلْبِي مَعِي وَأَلْيَوْمَ قَدْ نَارَتْ ضَلُوعِي*

It can be easily seen from the above passage that there is a large number of long vowels which, besides making vocalization easier, tends to slow down the pace of the verse, and often produces, in the hands of a skilful humainist, an effect of sombreness. The strong pause which falls on the terminations of the underlined words (which end in a vowelless consonant preceded by a long vowel) has no weight in the scansion, that is, it does not affect the metrical timing. It is on the position of this pause that much of the melody of a humainī song often depends. How to handle such a pause, and manipulate it or shift it from one strophe to another, is a test of the washshāh's ability.

It may be remarked that the words immediately preceding أَسَجِي and أَلْيَوْمَ in the above example may be vowelled, in which case the hamzat al-waṣl would be absorbed, and the lines would be as metrically correct as when it is retained. But it should also be noted that, by manipulating the sukūn at the end of the second metrical foot of the verse, al-

*Metrical scheme: || -| -u-| -u-^u | -u-| -u-| -u-^u

Ānisī gives the singer, not only the opportunity to linger on the sonorous nūn, but also directs him to emphasize and reinforce the two verbs in question*. In short, the retention of hamzat al-waṣl renders the emphasis of those words possible, and improves the verse rhythmically.

We must not, however, form the idea that a humanist begins by selecting a metre, and then makes his poem (with the internal sukūn) conform to it. Humainī is a subjective style of poetry: it expresses briefly, simply and musically the emotion aroused in the poet. The natural situation in this style of poetry is one in which the urgency of feeling establishes the basic rhythm, and thus leads towards the particular metrical scheme, along with a naturally smooth distribution of the sukūn at different points of the verse.

It is, then, the mood of the poet which often determines the way the pause is to be distributed along the lines. To occur where the flow of rhythm demands it, and not forcibly - whether it be under the exigency of the metre or not, is of no consequence - is a good indication of the spontaneity of the poem. Witness al-Sūdī's poem of which we quote the commencing strophe:--

* The poem, from which the two strophes in question have been culled, is a recorded song. Whether the singer, Shaikh 'Alī Bū Bakr, retains the hamzat al-waṣl in أسجي and ألج, is worth discovering.

يانسيم الخزام كيف الخيام التي زينت وادي زروء
 والحبيب الذي فيها أقام وأنفرد بالملحة في الجود
 هل رعى في الهوى حفظ الذمام والمهود الوثيقة والوعود
 وتذكر معاطات المدام والغامة على رامة تجوده

The simple and moving rhythm of the song under discussion transcends the rigid notion that the feet of a verse can be grouped in one way only. For as we proceed to cut up the ladder of rhythm of the song in question into units of long and short syllables, we get different "metres" according to the way we group the syllables into feet:--

- (a) -u-| -u---| -u- | -u-| -u---| -u- ||
- (b) -u---| u---| -u- | -u---| u---| -u- ||
- (c) -u---| u---| u- | -u---| u---| u- ||
- (d) -u-| -u-| ---u- | -u-| -u-| ---u- ||

By breaking the first hemistich into two rhyming verse-sections (a kind of internal taṣrī', so to speak), the poet probably seems to point out the way in which the regulated syllables of his song should be grouped into feet:

كَيْفَ الْخِيَامِ = --u-| -u- ; يَأْسِمُ الْخِزَامِ = -u-| -u-. The strong pause on al-khuzām is, of course, a metrical misnomer, for its duration cannot be taken into account in the scansion.

The internal sukūn can, of course, be forced by a poet under metrical pressure, in which case it puts an abrupt check to the flow of the language. Note how the author of Tanmīq al-Asfār puts an abrupt check on his rhythm by forcing the sukūn, in order to pad out the need ~~out the~~ need of the metre, on the first word of the last hemistich of the following strophe⁹:-

بَاتَ عِنْدَ الْحَبِيبِ	وَقَرَّ بِالْوَصْلِ عَيْنِي
فَاعْتَنَقْتُ الرَّطِيبِ	قَدَّةً شَبِيهَ الرَّدِينِي
فَالْتَمَسْتُ الشَّنِيبِ	مَنْ مَجَلَّ النَّيِّرِي
بَتَّ فِي أَنْسِي وَطَيْبِ	مَعَ لَابِسِي الْأَحْمَرِيْنَ*

As can be seen from the examples which we have hitherto quoted in this thesis, a general and distinctive characteristic of humainī is its manipulation of al-qawāfī al-mutarādifah which, besides signalling the ends of rhythmical units, (1) serve as resting-places, minimize the possible occurrence

* Metrical scheme: || --u-| -u-^u | --u-| -u--

of taḍmīn from one strophe to another, make impossible the occurrence of iqwā'* and ikfā'** , and reduce the possibility of other faulty rhymes; and (2) provide the singer with words which, when acoustically rich, may be emphasized and reinforced by prolonging the long vowel coming before the rawī***, or by making the voice dwell on the rhyming letter if it has a droning, vibrant effect.

* It is stipulatively used in this chapter to mean the changing of the majra (which is the vowel that follows the rhyming letter in the loose qāfiyah.)

** It is the substitution of a cognate consonant for the rhyming letter.

*** In the traditional Arabic qaṣīdah, the rawī is the consonant upon which the rhyme depends, and which should remain the same throughout the whole poem. In humainī, however, the rawī should be regarded as the consonant upon which the rhyme of every hemistich (or verse-section) depends, and which, in the muwashshah style, usually changes from one strophe (or section) to another. Needless to say that each single bait or faṣl in a humainī verse will have two or more rawīs. 'Amūd al-qaṣīdah is, of course, the principal rawī in the muwashshah style of poetry, since it appears at the end of every bait (or faṣl) after it seemed =

A word may best be said here about humainī as a style of poetry which strives, within its own limits, for the linguistic and rhythmical naturalness of the spoken language, and which is designed, not for recitation, but for singing. It is scarcely necessary to point out that a person, with a first-hand knowledge of Arabic prosody, will tend to be conditioned by the principle of metrical regularity of long and short syllables to supply vowel case-endings to level out what seems to him to be quantitative divergences from the norm.

In reading humainī, we must pause where the sense and the rhythmical flow of the language demand, irrespective of the quantitative need of the particular line. We can, of course, indicate in general terms where a reader of humainī poetry should pause, but will always come to the conclusion that no rigid rules can be laid down for this. A reader who trusts the natural flow of the language, and does not allow his knowledge of Arabic prosody to interfere with his reading of humainī, will, I think, come to appreciate the rhythmical subtleties which humainī poetry displays. In a

= lost on the appearance of new internal and terminal rawīs, and welds the strophes (or sections) together, giving each a melodic completeness of its own.

strophe like the following¹⁰:

مال بالطير مائل الأغصان	حين هبّ النسيم
فأستوى كيّ يقيم للأحباب	زبرها والرخيم
وتضئّ فميج الأشجان	والغرام القديم
فأسترهتّ مهاجر الأعيان	فوق خيِّ هشيم*

- the rhythm demands the tahrīk of every word that accepts vowelling, though, of course, the reader may take the latitude of rendering طير and يقيم as quiescent, without inflicting any injury upon the metrical quantity of the respective hemistichs, by giving these words their accorded weight of timing. This can be easily done by the prolongation of the ي to the extent the unvitiated ear will demand.

Nevertheless, excepting strophes (or poems) in which the feeling seems to demand the vowelling of words, we may haphazard a generalization and say that, in the sense that humainī (as a whole), muwashshah as well as bedouin, has always been intended to suggest the relaxed and artless

*Metrical scheme: || -u-| -u-| ----u| -u-| -u^u

rhythmical qualities of the spoken language, the reader may take the liberty of dropping the vowel from the terminating radicals of every word, which is neither a mudāf nor immediately followed by a hamzah, if it is a diminutive noun, or contains a ḥarf līn preceding its final radical, or muzannamah, or a word to which is prefixed a S. Arabian particle. In the following strophe of 'Alī b. Muḥd al-'Anṣī¹¹:

مَادِيَّ الْعَيْسِ لَدَنْتِ أَلْمَى لَوْ مَعَكَ بَعْضُ مَا بِي مَا حَدِيثُ
 أَنْتِ شَلَيْتِ رَوْحِي وَالْجِنَا فِي أَمْهَوَادِجٍ وَلَكِنْ مَا دَرَيْتِ
 بَتُّ أَبَايَ عَلَى سَاجِي أَمْرِنَا وَأَنْتِ وَاخِلٌ قُلُّ لِي هَلْ بَلَيْتِ
 مَرْتَعَكَ فِي قَلْبِي مَا تَغَيْبُ وَأَنْتِ تَدِي سَوَادَةً بِأَمْسَلِجٍ*

and شَلَيْتِ may be vowelled to fit the need of the metre and scan --u ; but to "move" the final letter of these three words is alien to the true spirit of humainī, and would sound, melodically speaking, strange to the ear habituated to a craft whose rhythm is closer to the emphasis of ordinary speech than ḥakamī. Apparently, therefore, we may scan in one way, and read (or sing) in

* Metrical scheme: || -u--| -u-| -u- | -u--| -u-| -u--

in another, and the ear has to be the judge.

Thus far our attention has been directed mainly to the sukūn as a general aspect in humainī. A few pages must now be devoted to the facts and problems of humainī versification.

The S. Arabian dīwāns which contain humainī are not usually vocalised. The poems, though conform to certain regulated schemes of long and short syllables, cannot, notwithstanding, be expected to follow rigidly the Arabic prosodical rules, and the following generalizations should be borne in mind before any scansion of humainī is attempted:-

(a) An exact distinction between hamzat al-qat' and hamzat al-waṣl can never be satisfactorily made. Nevertheless, it is generally assumed that the vowel with a hamzah at the commencement of a word should be absorbed by the final vowel of the preceding word. The deviation from this can, however, be noted in some poems. The hamzat al-qat' may be preserved to pad out the need of the metre; the prefixed pronoun أ, when preceded by the particle sha -, or the conjunction wa-, may be converted into ā if the metre demands, whereas under the pressure of quantity, the أ of أ may be suppressed, particularly when it is preceded by wāw al-'atf and mā al-nāfiyah.

(b) The $\overset{2}{\text{ـ}}$ or ـ of the affixed pronoun δ is either long or short at will; so, too, is the ـ with which ف , ك , أنتم , are pronounced.

(c) The demonstrative ذا may be reckoned either long or short at will; but when the particle لا or لي is prefixed to it, then it usually lends itself as a long syllable.

(d) The separable biliteral preposition ح is sometimes rendered short, long (u-).

(e) Suppression of hurūf al-līn is freely practised in a specific number of muwashshahāt in which the lahn is very sparingly used. In such muwashshahāt, the word علا , for instance, should be pronounced so lightly and quickly so that it may be equivalent in weight and timing to a sabab khafīf (عَد).

(f) Because rhythmical variation is deemed essential in the muwashshah poetry, tahrīd* is therefore a possible device to which a poet may resort. Note how al-'Alawī¹² manipulates the tahrīd in the following two strophes:-

* It is the alteration of the 'arūd or the darb. It is clear that tahrīd is not a ziḥāf, for it does not occur in the hashw; nor is it an 'illah, because it is not a permanent change that continues throughout the whole poem.

مالي على حمل الهوى مسعدُ بيتٌ إليه القلب شكواهُ
 إله هزازٌ في الحمى ينشدُ قد فرّح أجناني بمسراهُ
 ناديتُهُ - والعالمين همّهُدُ واللّيل قد أبدى خباياهُ - :
 هل عامرٌ من بعدنا شهيدُ قال لي : كرهتك قد عهدناهُ

ما خلفك عن شمّ ذاك العبيرُ وزي شهود العشق تنبيهُ
 بات قلبك في هواهم أسيرُ حليف أشجانٍ وكربِ
 فقلت : إياك فكّ اللطيف الخبيرُ ياخانات السعد هبي
 فما على الرحمن يستبعدُ رجاؤنا في ودّ الله

The first bait scans

|| -u- | -u- | -u- | -u- |

whereas the second scans

|| -u- | -u- | -u- | -u- |

Needless to say that tahrīd does not occur in the bedouin form.

(g) Humainī, as a style of poetry designed for singing, permits substitution of feet which, besides making humainī easier to

compose spontaneously, opens up possibilities of the most subtle modulation. Take, for example, the following strophe of Muhd. b. 'Abdallah¹³:-

غزِيلُ الْأُنْسَى الْرَيْبِ الْأَحْوَرُ نُوَيْعَسُ الْأَجْفَانِ
عَقْدٌ عَلَى صَبْحِ الْجَبِينِ الْأَزْهَرِ هَلْدَلٌ مِنْ عَقِيَاكِ
سَفَرٌ جَمَالُهُ، صَحِيحٌ حِينُ اسْفَرِ جَمَالُهُ الْفَتَانِ
هَذَا مَلِكٌ أَمْ ذَا قَهْرٍ مَصَوَّرِ فَمَا كَذَا إِنْسَانِ

Though we read these lines with no suspicion of anything aberrant in them, examination at once shows that maf'ūlun in the last two lines is substituted by fa'ūlun. Such substitution may occur in the hashw or the 'arūd or the darb, though, generally speaking, it must not take place in a batch of lines, or even in a single line, to such an extent that the metre(s) of the poem can be mistaken. We must depend upon the "feel" and discrimination of our ear to decide whether the substitution is permissible. No hard and fast rules can be laid down; but as a result of my experience, I find that the feet most suitable as substitutes for mustaf'ilun - the commonest foot in humainī - are mafā'ilun and fā'ilātun; that fa'ūlun and fā'ilun substitute well, if not too freely used, for

maf'ūlun and fā'ilātun. These equivalences are reciprocal.

Metrical variations
in humainī.

Because rhythmical variation between the length of the hemistichs of the poem is a common practice in humainī, the first contact with the S. Arabian craft may deter one from attempting to limit the number of its metres. But the metres of humainī can, in fact, be limited, and reduced to coherency, if an exhaustive scansion of the available poetical material is done with patience and vigilance.

Metrically speaking, the mubayyatāt (excluding the very few which are either muzaffaḥah or typically Andalusian in rhyme pattern) can be grouped under three main types:-
(a) Those in which the lines are divided into hemistichs of equal length and belong to the same metre:-

غَيْتٌ فَأَغْنَيْتِ عَنِ الْأَلْحَانِ وَأَعْرَبْتِ عَنِ هَوَى الْعَرَبِ

شَجَّتْ فَوَادِي فَمَا الْأَشْجَانُ تَصَبَّ إِذَا عَلَى الْأَصْبِ

ورقا رقت منبر الأغصان تشدو بما ليس في الكتب

ياسعد ما كان في الإمكان جذبه ولا تخشى من عيب¹⁴ *

(b) Those which are based upon a single metre but in which the hemistichs are unequal. When the metrical scheme of one of the hemistichs is in four taf'īlāt, the preponderant tendency is to drop half of them in the second hemistich:-

واغصن لادش قميص أخضر مشجر وطاش لزال عنك ألما
 يامبتسم عن عقيق أحمر وأفصاح ماس من صنع رب ألما
 يامن ريش بالعيون الساجيات الحواش وحل سفك ألما
 قلبي رياضك ولك وسط السويدا أغراش وفي الحشا لك حمى

قل لي متى نجمع يا بابلي العيون في سفح صنعا ألين
 فقد تغت هزار الروض فوق الغصون بالحاك تنفى الشجن

* Metrical scheme: || --- | -u- | --u-u | --- | -u- | -u-u

وقال في حال سجعته واحليف الشجوت
 لا عيشي إله لمن
 عند بكته بنته الكرم في كل كاسي يا ابن ماء السما*15

Otherwise rhythmical variation between the length of the hemistichs is achieved by dropping

(i) Two feet from one of the hemistichs:-

لي في ربا حاجر غزيرل آحور
 مثل القمر
 أيلج جينه كالصباح يزهر
 إذا سافر
 ريقه وأنفاسه ضرب وعنبر
 شجرة درر
 من شامده قال: ذا قمر مصور
 ماذا بشر*16

(ii) One foot and a part of a foot from one of the hemistichs:-

حيبي أمجاني عبر وسلم
 وزاد تبسم
 أحيى فؤادي المغرم المسوم
 والعادل أفتم
 فقلت: تبقي واحبيب وتسلم
 لقاء مختم

* Metrical scheme:

|| -u- | -u-u | -u- | -u- | -u- | -u-u

** Metrical scheme:

|| -u-u | -u- | -u- | -u-

أشار بالظرف الكليل الأحرورم السرر يكتم*17

(iii) One foot in either hemistich:-

ذة نجوم السعادة طالعہ
 في بروج السرور
 والتهاذي حدائق جامعہ
 لنون الزهور
 وشار الأمانى يانعہ
 في أوت البكور
 وطيور البشائر ساجعہ
 في الرياض والقصور**18

(iv) Or by variation between the 'arūd and the darb through addition or subtraction of one or two or three syllables:-

ناحت على مملولة ألبان
 وألصح لما ينجلي
 ورقا لها في صوغ الحان
 حذق النديم الموصلي
 تشدو فيبكي كل إنسان
 وتشجى القلب الخلي
 وفي الصباة تبعث أشجان
 من ذاقها ما زاد سلي***19

* Metrical scheme: || - | - u - u | -- u | - u -- | - u - u

** Metrical scheme: || - u - | - u u | - u -- | - u - | - u u

*** Metrical scheme: || - u -- | - u - u | - | - u -- | - u - u

(c) Those which are based upon two metres:

ما على ساجى آمنوا لهنَّ لو زارني غفلة الرقيب
وأفتقد مستهام جائز قد ذاب من حرقه اللهب
ترقد الناس وقو ساهر عميد معنى شجي كيب
يرقب أمسه آمنوا لهنَّ ويقطع أمليل بأمنيب*20

A common feature about many of such poems is that one of the hemistichs of the bait is usually based upon a single foot:-

السَّنا لَح حرم على أجناني لذيذ الهجوع
والشَّذا فاح أسال نفسي من مجاري الدموع
مالي التناخ لعرف شقه أو لبارك لموع
كيف يا صباخ لا صبر عن وصل الغزال المنوع**21

In like manner, poems in the bedouin form can be grouped under three categories:-

(a) Those which are based upon two metres:

رحمتك واسعة إن ضاق بالعبء ما نسئ***22

*Metrical scheme: ||-u|-u-|-u-u|_--u-|--u-

**Metrical scheme: ||-u-|-u-|-u-u|_--u-

***Metrical scheme: ||--u-|-u-|-u-|-u-

(b) Those in which the hemistichs belong to the same metre and are equal in length:

*²³ أشجاك والله يغفر له سوبج الطير في الأنصان

Poems of this category are in the majority.

(c) Those in which the hemistichs belong to the same metre but are unequal in length. Variation between the length of the hemistichs is achieved by dropping part of the metrical pattern, especially half, from one of the hemistichs:

ياساهر الليل قم فأسأله فروع البشامة وأطلب جواب السؤال**²⁴

The regular muwashshah, on the other hand, has its own peculiarities as regards the element tawshih. The abyat and the taqfilat should always be metrically identical throughout the whole poem, but the tawshih, however, seems to have been composed according to a certain theory:--

(i) When the bait is based upon a single metre, and its hemistichs are equal in length, the metrical scheme of the bait preponderantly tends either to be wholly reproduced in each hemistich of every tawshih:

* Metrical scheme: || ---| -u-| -u-^u | ---| -u-| -u---

** Metrical scheme: || -u-| -u--- | -| -u-| -u---| -u-| -u---

شقيق التمر أسفر يدجور فينانة
 جمع خنثة الأزهر من الزهر الوانة
 أموت كلما فتر وحووم بأجفانة
 فسجان من صرور جماله ومن زانه

توشح

يغازك بطرف أحور ويفتر عن جوهز

نبت في عقيق أحمر

تقفيل

عجب منطقة يسحر كما تسحر أعيانة
 وما نعمة المزهر سوى رجعة الحانة*25

Or else (and this is a common practice) in part, especially in half:-

*Metrical scheme:-

bait-taqfīl: || ---u |---u | ---u |---u
tawshīh: || ---u |---u | ---u |---u |---u |---u

غزِيلُ جناني سويحى النواظرُ جماله سباني فأمسيت سامرُ
 نتي تحت جيد الغزال حسن ناظرُ وقلي على غصن علفيه طائرُ

ت ش ح

غزِيلُ جناني مليح المعاني جماله سباني

س ق ف ي ل

أنايات يبات لي بليبي مسامرُ فمالي وكاسي الأطلال والمزاهر^{26*}

Only in a limited (but considerable) number of

humāniyyāt does the tawshīh claim a metre (or two metres)

of its own:-

يا لمير يا حالك الفنون ما أشجى هديرك في الفروع

يا لمير كم تبعت شجونك وكم تجدد من ولوع

يا لمير كم تسهر عيونك يا لمير كم تجري دموع

* Metrical scheme:

bait-taqfīl:

|| --u | --u | --u | --u | --u | --u | --u | --u

tawshīh:

|| --u --u | --u --u | --u --u

تسبي على خضر الغصون تحيي ظلامك بالسجود

من بلادك يا ذا المطرف
بأمتحان أهل الخرام

من شغف قلبك وشوق
من كسالك ثوب السقام

أولحت الثغر الأفرف
في الرشا لدن القوام

حوري الدنيا المخلق
من سنا بسر التمام

تقف في

يالمير خذ نفسك بهون
وأحذر تخالض بالوقوع

أو ما ترى رب المنون
من دون هاتيك الربوع^{*27}

*Metrical scheme:-

bait-taqfīl: ||-u--| -u-u | -u--| -u--
tawshīh: ||-u-| --u- | --u-| --u-

(ii) When the hemistichs of the bait are unequal in length, yet belong to the same metre, the metrical scheme of each hemistich in every tawshīh is usually the reproduction of one of them:-

الغصن لولا قامة أعتدالك ما أعتدن
 والبدر من باهي سنا جمالك يشكو الأنجل
 والظبي لولا أكل في جمالك ما أكل
 سبحان من قد تتم لك خصالك قد عز وجل

فقت المحسان لك حسن زان حور الجنان

عليش تحرم عاشتك وصالك بيس ألهم
 مق متى يامنيق ننالق قبل الأجل*28

Only in a very negligible number of poems does the tawshīh

*Metrical scheme:- bait-taqfīl: ||-u--|--u--u--|u--
tawshīh: ||-u--|--u--|u--

claim a metrical pattern of its own:-

زارني عند الوشام يابلي اللحن والمنطق
 وجلد بدر التمام فوق غصن ناعم مورق
 وكشف ذلك اللثام عن لثك الميسم الأفرق
 يتسم عن كالنظام لاح في فيروز أزرق

أخو الغزال الكحيلي بدا كبدٍ تجلى بالأخيم الزهر بجلى

زار فأجاب الظلم من لثك وجهه المشرق

صحت: لقيانا منام صاح أم في يقظة نلتقي*²⁹

(iii) When the bait is based upon two metres, the usual practice is to reproduce one of them, wholly or partly, in

*Metrical scheme:-

bait-taqfīl: || -u-| -u--| -u-| -u--| -u^u
tawshih: || --u-| -u--| --u-| -u^u | --u-| -u-u

every hemistich of each tawshīh:-

ما هب نشر الصيا إله وأذك النار في فؤادي
 ولد خفق في الربا شذاه إله وأحترمت زادي
 لي في المحبة بنا كان الحبيب يأتي على مرادي
 وبعد ذا جا بنا وصار يسعى في طريق عنادي

ت وش ح
 أخلف وعودة وتفض عهدة وطال هجرة وأصل صدوة
 فقلت - لما زاد على حدوده -:

ل تقضي
 قولوا لرسم الخبا عيش ذا الهجران وأتمادي
 انتر لما سبي وطقون شقة البعادر³⁰*

*Metrical scheme:-

bait-taqfīl: || --u | -u-- | -u-^u | -u- | -u-^u
tawshīh: || --u | -u-- | -u-^u | --u | -u-- | -u-^u | --u | -u^u | -u--

Only in some of the very negligible number of humainiyyāt in which tazfīr is employed, does the tawshīh claim a metre (or two metres) of its own:-

لله كل العجب من در هذا الثغر كيف حل فيه المدام
ومن غريب النسب خلع عذار العذر وفل جيش الملام
عبي على من عتب فيك يا شقيق البر بل يا أمير الوسام
يامن بعد وأقرب في الناظر والسر ما صد إلا أقام

توشح
أنت غايه كل غايه ما ورا حسنك نهميه
كل خصلة فيك آيه في عشر عشره كفايه

تقفيل
حسبي على من حسب واصل وآس ليجري قد عز فيك الفطام

ما فاح شرك وهب والد وأنف صبري وآوري زناد الخرام^{31*}

*Metrical scheme:-

bait-taqfīl: ||-u-| -u-^u | ----| -u^u- | -u-| -u-^u
tawshīh: ||--u-| --u- | --u-| --u-

(iv) In the very negligible number of sectional poems that consist of the alternating pattern bait-tawshīh, the tawshīh, when composed of two hemistichs, preponderantly tends to be composed in a metrical pattern of its own:-

يَنْسِيمُ أَلْبَانَ تَكَيْتِ الْجِرَاحِ عِنْدَمَا وَارِجَ هَبَيْتِ

قَطِّ مَا أَسْتَنْشَقْتَ مِثْلَكَ فِي الرِّيحِ هَاتِ قُلِّي لِي مَا أَلَذِي أَدَيْتِ

هَبْ مَنشُورَكَ عَرَفَ وَالْمَسْكَ فَاخِ وَظَهَرَ كُلُّ أَلَذِي أَخْفَيْتِ

هَلْ حَمَلْتَ آخِبَارَ عَن زَاةِ الْوَشَاحِ أُمِّ عَلَى رَامَهُ تَمْشَيْتِ

بِاللَّهِ يَا ذَا التَّمْكَانِ مَا حَالُ تَلْبِ الْخَلَالِ 32*

Otherwise the same remarks which we have stated about the metrical pattern of the tawshīh in the regular muwashshah apply to the tawshīh in the alternating pattern bait-tawshīh.

* Metrical scheme:-

<u>bait</u> :	--u- --u ^u	-u- --u- --u-
<u>tawshīh</u> :	-u- -u--	-u- -u--

(v) In the very few negligible number of poems that consist of the regulated pattern bait-tawshīḥ-taqmī', the tawshīḥ is always composed in a metrical pattern (which need not to be identical with that of the taqmī') different from that of the bait:-

عليش وافترا الأجداف تسقي عجبك كؤوس البين
 ليس هجرتك للشجى الملتاق جميل يا وردى الخدين
 قدبت في الخلق والأخلاق ما قط فيك غير هذا الشين
 اسقى عبيدك من البراق أوفى غريمك بذاك الدين

انغم ذا الوجود ما دام دهرك مساعدا
 وش

ما أجدى من يعود ومن يرد ذى الموارد

يلفيه من صدود من علمك ذى الواعد

لقيم
 إذا عزّ التلاقي فعلل بالأماني

عسى يلقى احتراقي بتعليق الأمانى
 فقد زاد أشتياقي وصبري قد جفاني
 ودمعي في أنداق وجسمي صار ضائي*³³

II.

Scansion of humainī has never been attempted in the S. Arabian diwāns and safāyīn, and a sense of frustration and bewilderment is reflected in a letter which al-Qādī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain (+1298/1880) wrote³⁴. The compiler of Tāj al-'Arūs³⁵ claims that all the metres of humainī are newly-invented, while the author of Tarwīḥ al-Bāl, himself a humainist of some renown, states that some of them belong to the sixteen of the pedantic school³⁶.

The tendency to vary between the 'arūd and the ḍarb, and between the length of the hemistichs, as well as the employment of more than one metre in a considerable number

* Metrical scheme:- bait: || -- | -u- | -u-^u | -- | -u- | -u-^u
tawshīḥ: || --u- | -u-^u | -u- | ---
taqmī': || --u- | ---u | ---u- | ---u

of humainiyyāt, may deter one from attempting to delimit the number of the metres of humainī. However, an exhaustive scansion of the available literary humainī production reduces what may seem a wide range of metrical varieties to obherency, and shows that the S. Arabian styles, the bedouin and the muwashshah, have in fact a very limited number of metres.

One point is especially worth remembering before any scansion is attempted. The rules laid down by the Arab prosodists concerning the zihāfāt and the 'ilal are not of much help in scanning a limited number of humainiyyāt which employ the lahn; and the notion that a poem can only be scanned in one way is not applicable to a considerable number of poems of specific metrical pattern. Take, for example, the poem of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah³⁴ of which we quote the following two strophes:-

يامن الترياق من ريقه فبه درّ ثغرك يارشامى سلمه

من أباحه للأراكة تلمته وعلى الصب الشبي من حرمة

بي

جل من سوى جمالك ذا البديع وبخدتك أبت أزهار الربيع

عقل صبك حينا تبدي يضيغ لو بدا حسنك لراهب تيمه

This poem can be scanned in three ways:

- (a) ||-u-|--u-|--u- | -u-|--u-|--u-
 (b) ||-u---| -u---| -u- | -u---| -u---| -u-
 (c) ||-u---| -u-|--u- | -u---| -u-|--u-

Now since "metre" is simply a method of measuring the length of a line, and since each of the above regulated patterns of conventional taf'īlāt is sustained throughout the whole poem, we may make an arbitrary choice of one of them. The speech rhythm may prevailingly go well with one of the above three metrical patterns, but an orthodox prosodist will only accept the first grouping of taf'īlāt (which he designates as bahr al-ramal) because it can be "deduced" from dā'irat al-mu'talif, which is the third circle of al-Khalīl b. Ahmad. As a matter of convenience, we have to adopt, without discussion, the pedantic pattern, for the Arabian system of grouping the conventional taf'īlāt will give us a sort of standard, however crude and arbitrary, to which we can refer, in most cases, whenever we are confronted with a poem whose scheme of long and short syllables can be grouped in two or more ways of conventional feet.

I say "in most cases" because there is still a very limited number of poems about which one almost hesitates to

describe the metre by any single term. One or both hemistichs of these poems have always a third or a half or the whole of the following scheme:

||--u--u---u--u-

Take, for instance, the mubayyatah of 'Alī b. Muḥd. al-'Ansī of which we quote the following strophe³⁸. (We have marked the speech pattern by slanting strokes):

بِلبِ الوادِي الأَخْضَرِ / تَعانِ أَيْنَ دَمَعُكَ /
 سَدَّيْ لَوْعَةَ العِشاقِ / وما العِشْقُ طَبَعُكَ /
 فَاسْتَرْخِ وَأَشْغَلِ البِاناتِ / بَخْفِضِكَ وَرَفْعِكَ /
 وَأَتْرِكِ الحَبِّ / لِأَهْلِ الحَبِّ / وإِلبِ البانِ .

We can scan this poem in five ways:-

- (a) ||--u-| -u--| -u-| -u- | --u-| -u--| -u-| -u--
 (b) ||--u-| -u-| --u-| -u- | --u-| -u-| --u-| -u--
 (c) ||--u-| --u-| --u-| --u- | --u-| --u-| --u-| --u--
 (d) ||--u-| -u-| --u-| --u- | --u-| -u-| --u-| --u--
 (e) ||--u-| --u-| ---u-| --u- | --u-| --u-| ---u-| --u--

The speech pattern preponderantly goes well with the last metrical grouping, but a pedantic prosodist will only accept

the first two metrical groupings on the ground that they can be "deduced" from dā'irat al-mukhtalif, which is the first circle of al-Khalīl. We have, therefore, to exclude, arbitrarily no doubt, the last three metrical groupings, and restrict our choice to the first two. The question that remains to be answered is: Which one of the two metrical groupings should we choose?

On the whole, it would seem best if we restrict the first metrical grouping to the muwashshah style, and the second, to the bedouin form. Intensive investigation of humainiyyāt in which the metrical scheme in question is reproduced, wholly or partly, has shown that poems in the bedouin pattern never use the majzū' form, and tend to drop half of the metrical scheme in either hemistich:-

المعنى يقول: يامن سكن في فؤادي وأحتجب في سعوراه 39

By restricting ourselves to the buhūr that can be "deduced" from the five circles of al-Khalīl, there is only one possible way in grouping the normal taf'īlāt:-

||--u-| -u- | --u-| -u-| --u-| -u-

That is to say, the tāmm and the mashtūr forms of al-bahr al-mumtadd (= maqlūb al-madīd)⁴⁰ are used.

Contrariwise, when the metrical scheme in question is

used in the muwashshah style, the abyāt (the metrical scheme under discussion is rarely used in the tawshihāt) always use hemistichs of equal length, either in the tāmm form or else in the majzū' one, but never in the mashtūr scheme⁴¹. Take, for instance, the poem of 'Alī b. Muḥd al-'Ansī⁴² of which we quote the first strophe:-

واحمامي على الغصن الرطيب قد ترنم بنشوة وأرتياح
 لست مثلي من العشق كئيب ليتني في أمهوا أملك جناح
 كنت شالمير إلى مهد الحبيب ريم صنعا ولو داره براح
 وأشم عبيرة من قريب وأستقي من لى سيد الملاح

Restricting ourselves to the circles of al-Khalīl, this song can only be scanned in two ways:-

- (a) ||-u-| --u-| -u-| -u-| -u-| --u-| -u-|
 (b) ||-u---| -u-| -u-| -u-| -u---| -u-| -u-

But since we have limited the mumtadd metre to metrically identical poems that are bedouin in form, it would be more convenient if we adopt (b), which is the majzū' form of what may be termed as bahr al-bālbāl⁴³, for the song in question.

Before listing and illustrating the metres of ḥumainī, I should say that as a matter of general convenience, I have adopted the conventional terms of Arabic prosody which, though

strictly applicable^{only} to the traditional qaṣīdah, have been employed by writers on Arabian muwashshah and zajal poetry.

The metres of humainī.

1. Al-Bālbāl.

This metre can be "deduced" from dā'irat al-mukhtalif.

(a) ||--u-| -u--| -u-| -u- | --u-| -u--| -u-| -u-

وامخرد على الأعصاب ردد سجعك ذة دعوي تسيل فأسكب شعابك دعوك

44
ذا دعوي هجر طرفي مهاجر هجوعك ذا ولوعي ملانم لي فلانم ولوعك

(b) * ||-u--| -u-| -u- | -u--| -u-| -u-

ياجمي على داري ينوح لا تز في شجي قلب الكيب

*Metrical forms that are marked by an asterisk are very popular.

أنت تدعو هدين من عهد نوح وأنا أدعو جيب عهد قريب

رحمته لي ولك ياذا الصوخ من دعانا إلى من لا يجيب

غير قل لي لم اخترت السوخ والعلالي على الفص الربيع⁴⁵

II. Al-Basit.

(a) || -u- | -u- | -u- | -u- | -u- | -u- |

زارت تشقى كفن ألبات في رملتين غزال للظبي منرا الجيد والملقين

حمر الشفة واللسان العذب والوجنتين سودا الذوايب سودا العين والحاجين⁴⁶

But unlike the classical form, tarfīl⁺ may occur in one or both hemistichs⁴⁷, especially in the bedouin form⁴⁸, and khābn⁺⁺ does not necessarily take place in the darb⁴⁹.

+ It is the addition of a sabab khafīf to a watad majmū' at the end of the foot. In classical prosody, it is limited to the majzū' forms of al-kāmil and al-mutadārak.

++ It is the suppression of the second letter of a foot when it is quiescent.

Qaṭ'⁺ is typical of the metre as a whole, and when it occurs in both hemistichs of the above scheme⁵⁰, as it often does, it recalls to the mind the mawāliyyā metrical scheme⁺⁺.

(b) || -u-- | -u- | -u-- | -u-- | -u- | -u--

يا ليل علمك بمن عانى السهر ومن طرد بالقلق فيك المجمع⁵¹

(c) * || --u | -u- | -u-- | --u | -u- | -u--

ما من مطوّف على الخماين غرد مع الصبح ساجدة
أو ماس في أروض غصن ماين هزة نسيمه فطاوعة

أوجد مزق السماء بوابنه في السحب تشرى لوامعه
أو فر جيش الظلام آفل والفجر طلائع⁵²

This form is called al-makbūl or mukhalla' al-basīṭ, and is popular in the muwashshahāt of the Andalusians. However, fa'ūlun in ḥumainī constantly changes into fa'ūl or fa'al from one bait (or faṣl) to another, and may even be

+ It is the suppression of the last letter of a watad majmū' at the end of the foot, at the same time making the preceding letter quiescent.

++ The metrical scheme of the mawāliyyā type of poetry is

|| -- | -u-- | -u- | -u-- | -- | -u-- | -u- | -u--

converted into U --- at will in any strophe or section⁵³.

(d) * || -u-| -u--- | -u-| -u---

يا من هواهم أقام	في هجت وأستقر
عطنا على المستهام	بكم ، حليف الشهر
دمعه كفيض الغمام	من فقد باهى الغرر
من فرعه كالظلام	ووجهه كالقمر ⁵⁴

Qaṭ' is typical of the above form, and when it takes place in both hemistichs⁵⁵, it recalls to the mind the metrical scheme of al-qawmā⁺.

III. Al-Mustaṭīl⁵⁶.

This metre can be "deduced" from the first circle of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad. Qaṣr⁺⁺, ḥadhif⁺⁺⁺ and batr⁺⁺⁺⁺ are typical of the metre as a whole.

(a) || --u| ---u| ---u| ---u | ---u| ---u| ---u| ---u

+ The metrical scheme of al-qawmā is: || --| -u-- | --| -u--

++ It is the suppression of the second letter of a sabab khafīf at the end of a foot, making the remaining letter quiescent.

+++ It is the suppression of a sabab khafīf at the end of a foot.

++++ It is the concurrence of qaṭ' and ḥadhif in fa'ūlun and fā'ilātun.

ذَكَرْتِكَ وَالْفُؤَادَ فِي خُضُوفٍ مِثْلَ قَرَطِيبِكَ
 يَقُولُ فِي كُلِّ حِينٍ لِلَّهِوِي : لَيْلِكَ وَسَعْدِيكَ
 أَنَا أَفْدَى يَارَشِيْقَ الْقَوَامِ عَيْنِيكَ وَخَدِّيكَ
 فَلِلَّهِ الْخُدُودَ الْأَنْدِيَاتِ الْأُسَيْلَةَ 57

(b) * ||-u|--u|---u|-u|--u|---u

إِلَهِي أَحْفَظْ حَبِيْبِي وَقَصِّرْ عَمْرَ هَذَا الْيَعَادُ

فَقَدْ فَتَّتْ قَلِيْبِي وَشَرَّدَتْ مِنْ جُفُوفِي الرَّقَادُ 58

(c) * ||--u|---u|-u|---u

شَجَانِي بِنَظْمِ جَوْهَرٍ حَكَ تَطَرَّ الْخِمَامَةُ 59

IV. Al-Wāfir.

Only the trimeter maqṭūf form is occasionally used in the muwashshah style:

تَعَلَّمْتُ الْحَمَائِمَ مِنْ وَلَوْعِي إِذَا أَنَا مِنْ فِرَاقِكُمْ بَكِيْتُ

وَوَدِدْتُ أَنَّهَا تَحْكِي سَجْوَعِي وَتُرْوِي فِي الْتَصَابِي مَا رَوَيْتَ 60

V. Al-Mumtadd⁶¹.

This metre can be "deduced" from the first circle of al-Khalīl.

(a) ||--u-|-u-|--u-|-u-| |--u-|-u-|--u-|-u-

لم يلاق الذي لاقيت عاشقاً مبلبله ذاب في الحب مثلي⁶²

(b) * ||--u-|-u-| |--u- -u-

يا قدير يا مقدر كل شيء يامدبر⁶³

VI. Al-Kāmil.

(a) ||-u-uu|-u-uu|-u-uu| -u-uu|-u-uu|-u-uu

سفرته بوجه كالهلال المشرق وتمايلت مثل القضيبة المورقة

شبهتها لما بدت في القربى شمس النهار إذا استوت في المشرق⁶⁴

(b) ||-u-uu|-u-uu| -u-uu|-u-uu

سكر الحب وما به سكر سوى أنسى الحبيب

فيالها من سكرة حصل ألف ونأى الرقيب⁶⁵

VII Al-Khafīf.

(a) ||--u-|-u-|--u-| ---u-|-u-|--u-

ياسميري ، اذ ملّ مَيّ سميري يانصيري ، اذا جفاني نصيري

ياسروري ، اذا عصاني سروري ياصلاحيّ اذا تلاشت أهوري 66

(b) || -u | -u-- | --u- | -u | -u-- | --u-

بحر حجّيّ لهما على البحار وشهوريّ مدامي الغزار

زاد شوقي فليس له قرار كيف شأبره وألّلب مستطاز

قل صبريّ وزادني الشجون من حماة تسجّع على الغصون

ذكرتني الأنيب المصون والعواذك تهدي بكلّ ضار 67

(c) || -u-- --u- | -u-- | --u-

في المثلن : عند الامتحان نكرم المرء أو يُهان 68

VIII. Al-Hazaj.

(a) * || --u | ---u | ---u | --u | ---u | ---u

شقيق البدر براق الجمان كحل المثلة الظبي المنطق

خَطْرٌ يَسْحَبُ ذِيُولَ أَلَيْهِ عَانِي وَمَاءُ الْحَسَى فِي خَدَّةٍ تَرْقُوقُ

مُهَفَّهَفٌ لَيْسَ لَهُ فِي الْحَسَى ثَانِي وَهُوَ لِلنَّيِّرَيْنِ ثَالِثٌ مُحَقَّقٌ

خَطَابَةٌ، إِيَّاكَ نَطُوقُ فَاقِ الْمَثَانِي وَأُنْسِي بِالذِّي يَنْبَجِي وَيُبْدَهَقُوقُ

(b) * || ---u | ---u | ---u ---u

أَسْكَانُ الْحَمَى بِنْتُمْ وَبَانَ الرَّشِدُ مِنْ عَقَلِي
وَعَنْ شَرْطِ الْهَوَى مَلْتُمْ لَهُ يَاجِيرَةُ الْأَثَلِ
رَى إِلَهَ يَوْمَ مَا كُنْتُمْ تَجَاوِزِي عَلَى فَعَلِي
وَكَانَتْ عَادَتِي مِنْكُمْ يَغْطِي حَلْمَكُمُ جَهْلِي 70

Tarfīl may take place in one or both hemistichs⁷¹; but the usual practice is to drop the last two sababs ~~from the~~ from the darb⁷².

IX. Al-Mustadrak⁷³.

This metre cannot be "deduced" from any circle of al-Khalīl.

Qasr, ḥadhf and batr are typical of the metre as a whole.

(a) || --u | --u | -u- | -u- | --u | --u | -u- | -u-

كيف بي لوسفر خياله لثامه من قمر يجفل القمر في تمامه

لو وجود للشجيه بردة سلامه ات رد السلام اوصى به الله 74

(b) * || --u | -u | -u | --u | -u | -u |

من يبلغ غزال رامة منذهب الخد ساجي العين

قد وصلنا على السلامة بعد طول الفراق والبين

يانديم هات لي المدامه واستقيرا سلاف كالعين

وانتم لذة الإقامة فالسور في اجتماع الفين 75

X. Al-Rajaz.

(a) || -u-- | -u-- | -u-- | -u-- | -u-- | -u--

الراجلين بالخل عبي في سحر راحوا وخلوني معاني للسهر
وامسيت أقول للنجم حين نام السمر أشكي عليك يا نجم راحوا بالقمر 76

(b) * || --- | -u-- | -u-- | --- | -u-- | -u--

نصر من الله من عطاء الفاضل فتح قريب واسع متكاثر

للقائم المهدي الإمام الناصر هدى الخلافة كابر أعى كابر 77

(c) * ||--u| -u--| -u--| | --u| -u--| -u--|

البدر طالع من سنا جينك والغصن أم ذة قامتك ولينك

ياسين عليك ما أحلى حوز عيونك ما أحلك في جدك وفي مجونك 78

(d) * ||-u--| -u--| | -u--| -u--|

سبح القماري في الخماين ألحاح ترجيعه فنون

بجاوب أصوات البلدين وألورق في أعلى الكون 79

(e) * ||--u| -u--| | --u| -u--|

أشجاك صوت مزر أم صاح البلدين

أم الربيب الأحرور إذ ماس في غلايين

غائيه غرير يسحر بالطرف سحر باين

عسال ان تخطر يزيه بكل ذابل⁸⁰

XI. Al-Mudrak⁸¹.

This metre cannot be "deduced" from any circle of al-Khalīl.

Tash'it⁺ is typical of the metre as a whole.

(a) *||-u--|-u-|-u-|-u-| -u--|-u-|-u-|-u-

يا بعيد المحلة وقلبي لك حلاك وات غيرك حبيب ما حارلي

میلوا قلبك الناس عن ودي فما آ ما للعواذك وما لي

لا تظن ان عهد الوفا والود حال وات حالي على العهد حالي

كيف تصدق سلوي وهذا اللمع ساه كذب وانه يسيل دمع سالي⁸²

(b) ||---|-u-|-u-|-u-| ---|-u-|-u-|-u-

+ It is the suppression of one of the two moveable letters of the watad majmū' in fā'ilun and fā'ilātun

قل لعذب المُقبِل سويحك الأُحداق الذي مدمي من صسورة مهراف

راقب الله في صب قلبه خفاق قط لا يستفيق وان أفان لفراف 83

(c) * ||--u|u-|-u-|-u-| |--u|u-|-u-|-u-|

خائب كالقز ليلة بهاء ما أحلاه ما أفتنه

ما أعذب منطقه ما أحلى دلالة ويلاد ما أحسنه

عيني تعشقته تهوى جماله قلبي مسكنه

حسنة يوسف عدي جناني كالبسر التمام 84

XII. Al-Tawil.

(a) ||---u|---u|---u|---u| |---u|---u|---u|---u

عدي ألمي عذب فؤادي وسممه وأنخل بطول الهجر قلبي وأسمة

أنا أهوا ما أخفي قط واسمه ولد أكتنه وكيف أكتنه ياناسي وأله يعلمه 85

(b) * ||---u|---u| |---u|---u

شقيق القز أسفر بدجور فينانه

جمع خدّه الأزر من الزهر الوانهُ 86

XIII. Al-Mustatrad. 87

This metre cannot be "deduced" from any circle of al-Khalīl.

Metrical scheme: * ||---u|u-|u-|---u|u-|u-

بانة في كيب من كافور
قرأ لاج في دج دجور
وتنت بمطنه المكور
وتجلى بمقلتي يعفور

أثرت للنظر
من أثيت الشعر
نمات السحر
وبسم عن درز 88

Tarfīl may take place in either hemistich :

قر في وفا حساب تميكة
قرأ لاج في دج دجور
غن في كيب إذا مال ميكة
في علك القصور يسحب ذيلة

من درايلا كالليالي
من أثيت الشعر
أرخصت سوم كل غالي
من ينل قري العالجي 89

XIV. Al-Madīd.

Only the trimetre maḥdhūf - makhbūn form is used:

ياغزال الكلب والخيم عن يمين الضال والسلام
من تواصل دائم الألم أنت لا ترثي مكتئب 90

XV. Al-Muṭṭarid.

Metrical scheme: ||---u|---u|---u-|---u---u---u-

This metre can be "deduced" from the fourth circle of al-Khalīl. Only the dimeter form is used in humainī :

آه من فرقة الأحاب لا يلك الله بها مسلم
فهى نار الهوى الكبرى

كم بها قلب مولى زاب ويقت دمعة تسجى
حين بيضا وحين حمرا

يسأل البارق المنتاب والنساء ويستعلم
بليل البانة الخضرا 91

XVI. Al-Sarī'

Metrical scheme: * ||-u-|-u-|-u-|-| -u-|-u-|-u-|-

عِيشَ وَامْسَبَلِ زِيُولِ أَعْجَابِ بَخَلْتُ حَتَّى بِالنَّظْرِ مِنْ بَعِيدِ

نَظْرَةً يَطِيبُ الْعَيْشَ بِرَأِ وَالشَّرَابِ سَطَفِي لَطْفِي قَلْبَ الْمَشُوقِ الْعَمِيدِ

قَلْبِي عَلَيْكَ الْيَوْمَ تَقَطَّعَ وَزَابِ رَفْعاً بَقَلْبِي لَيْسَ قَلْبِي حَسِيدِ

دَعِي تَقِينِ يَوْمَ مَا يَقُومُ الْحَسَابِ شَتْسَفَكَ مَاذَا بَسَفَكَ تَرِيدِ⁹²

Tarfīl may take place in either hemistich⁹³, and salm⁺ is typical of the metre⁹⁴. The predominating tendency, however, is to drop the watad of the darb⁹⁵.

XVII. Al-'Ajāmī⁹⁶.

Metrical scheme || -uu-u | -u- | -u- | -uu-u | -u- | -u-

This metre cannot be "deduced" from any circle of al-Khalīl.

لَعِبْتُ بِالْفُصُولِ رِيحَ صَبَا وَأَسْتَمَلْتُ فُرُوعَهَا طَرَبَا

وَأَضْيَاءُ بَرُوقِ كَاطِمَةٍ فِي الْدِيَاخِي وَأَطْهَرَتِ عَجَابَا⁹⁷

XVIII. Al-Ramāl.

(a) || ---u- | ---u- | ---u- | ---u- | ---u- | ---u-

+ It is the suppression of a watad mafrūq from the end of a foot.

زارني بعد أَلجفا طيبِ أَلجودِ عنبريَّ أَلعرفِ وردِيَّ أَلخودِ

وسقاني من رحيقِ في أَلبيدِ وشغى بالملتقى قلب أَلعميدِ 98

(b) * || -u- --u- --u- | -u- --u- --u-

ما لأجفاني جفت طيب أَلوسن ما أَلقبي بات خافقُ ما سكن

لمت أَلقبي حنّ من لومه وأُن قال: لَمْ طرفكُ فطرفكُ لي فتتو

(c) * || --u- --u- | --u- --u-

بلس أَلجحف أَميماني لم أذك منه مبلبل

لأما غنى شجاني قطّ لأمليت ولا من

قد عناه ما عاني فلهذا ماك وميّل

فلمه يا أهل أَللعاني أنا معجم وَهْمٍ مهمل 100

(d) * || -u- --u- | -u- --u-

مرّني ساجي آمنواظرو يسحب أذيال أَلمرخ

في شعاب أَلناف حاجر مثل نشوات أَلصطح 101

XIX. Al-Munsarih.

Only the dimeter makshūf form is used:

عَنِّي وَلَمْ أَنْمُ	نَامَ الْفَزَالُ الْأَحْوَمُ
وَأَغْرَبَ بِي السَّقْمُ	وَأَجْرَبَ دَمَوْنُ عَيْنِي دَمُ
بَكَيْتَ فَأَبْتَسَمُ	شَكَيْتَ لَهُ لَمْ يَرْحَمُ
كَمْ ذَا الصُّوْدِ كَمْ 102	أَخْ يَا عَزِيبَ الْمُبْتَسَمِ

XX. Al-Duwainī¹⁰³.

This metre cannot be "deduced" from any circle of al-Khalīl.

(a) || -u- | -u- | -u- | | - - | -u- | -u- |

وَأَنَّ فِي السَّهْرِ مِنْ نَجَاتٍ لَرَبِّنَا ضِدَّ مَا فِي الظُّنُونِ
 وَيَذْهَبُ الْهَمُّ وَالْحَسْرَاتُ وَبِالتَّلَاقِي تَقَرُّ الْعِيُونُ
 وَيَرْجِعُ اللَّهُ مَا قَدْ فَاتَ خَلْفَ مَا يَوْمَ الْوَاهِمُونِ
 فَاللَّهُ ذُو الْفَضْلِ وَالرِّزْقِ وَجُودُهُ قَدْ عَلَا كُلَّ جُودٍ 104

(b). * || - - | -u- | -u- | | - - | -u- | -u- |

عَنِّي مَطْوُوفٌ رُبَا شَهْمٌ فَهَيِّجْ أَشْجَاتَ أَشْوَاقِي

ولما في أمروع ردد أطار نومي من أحداي

يامن بدا بالجفا والصد ونقض عهدي وميثاقي

الله ما بيننا يشهد أجهل فيك أجميل باقي 105

XXI. Al-Munbasit¹⁰⁶.

This metre can be "deduced" from the first circle of al-Khalīl.

(a) * || -u- | -u- | -u- | -u- | -u- | -u-

أيرا البدر التمام فتنني في وجهك المشرق
 أنت تور في ظلام جوهري في غاية الرويق
 كم تجر عني الغرام لا أنت بالمبقي ولد المشفق
 شار في كل عام كلما قلنا عسى نلتقي 107

(b) * -u- | -u- | -u- | -u-

يارشيق القد مهلا راقب الله في العميد

صار قلبي فيك مبل وأشتياقي في مزيد

حسبوا عندك يفيد
فاتني حاتم الجعيد 108

لدمى العذال جهلا
لا سلا دون المهلا

(c) ||---| -u- | ---| -u-

حي روضة بيها سول قلوب سكات
قد علاها ألبها والمسرّة أفنان
القر كالسها في قمرها أوسنان
ما أظي ما ألبها ما غزيب نحات 109

(d) * ||---u| -u- | ---u| -u-

مّرت تخطر في قبا مشجر حولها أواليد
تجن بلين ألقه حين تخفر كل غصن مايد
بصح أسفر وظلام أعذر فاقته أخرأيد
تقر عن لؤلؤ بضيد موشر ذوب شهد جامد 110

XXII. Al-Mujthatt.

Only the dimeter form* is used:

خلى صقيل أترأيب باهى أأديد أالمورّد

قَدَّةٌ شَبِيهَةٌ أَمْوَاجٌ لَوْلَوْ مَكَّنَّ بَعْجَدُ

وَفَرَّتْهُ فِي الذَّوَابِ مَصْبَاحٌ فِي اللَّيْلِ يَصْعَدُ

مَا فِيهِ عَيْبٌ لَعَائِبٌ مَرَّ رَأَى هَلْ وَشَهْدٌ 111

XXIII. Al-Mutaqārib.

This metre often tends to give a mechanical effect. Qasr, hadhf and batr are very typical of the penultimate foot of each hemistich.

(a) * || --u | --u | --u | --u | --u | --u | θ-u | --u

شَوِيْدُ الْأَرَاكِ سَبِي مَهْجَتِي وَأَجْرِي بِمَا أَلْبَسَ مَا سَجِي
نَوَاحِكُ أَثَارِ ضَمِي لَوْعَتِي تَذَكَرُكَ الْإِلَافُ يَذُكُ الْوَلُجُ
وَمَا عَشَقْتِكَ فِي أَمْهَوِي عَشَقْتِي وَلَدِ نَافِرِكَ بِالْمَدَامِغِ هَمِجُ
وَقَدْ أَرَقْتُ سَجَعَتِكَ مَقَلَّتِي أُنِي شَرِكُ الْقَوْمِ خَلِّكَ وَقَعُ 112

(b) * || --u | --u | --u | --u | --u | --u

تغيّر من الحبّ حاليّ تبليّن من الشوق بالي

فمن منصفني من غزاليّ شكوت ألهوى مارثلي 113

(c) * || - | --u | --u | - | --u | --u

جرت سنة الحبّ أنّ المقيم يهيم بعد من قد سار

فقل للذي سار ماله يهيم بحبّ المقيم في الدار

ويشجيه برق الدجى والنسيم ويبيكه غنا الأطيّار

ويلحق هواه الجديد بالقديم ويطرح على النار ناراً 114

(d) * || --u | --u | --u | --u

أرى مقلتك واقمرى الحمام كنبيل السهام

ونور الخدود الحسنان الرحام كيدر القمام

لجنى التراب حوىك الوشام به القلب هام

به أضحى معنى كثير الهيام حليف الفرامم 115

XXIV. Al-Murtajaz¹¹⁶.

This metre cannot be "deduced" from any circle of al-Khalīl.

(a) ||--u|---|--u|---|---u|---|---u|---

يا مولى أليانة وأللب الحنوت يا حالى التلاقى يامر الشجون

حبك قد بنى لك في قلمي حصون حبك والنوى حبك حبك جنون 117

(b) * ||--u|---u|---|---u|---u|---

واريم ألملة ما مثلك يرى فى الوجود
من دونك أكلة حويلها الحرش والجنود
سمسني فوله معشوق النور والعقود

ما رأيت مثلي أبلة يرتاد الوصال بالصدود 118

(c) * ||--u|---|---u|---

أقبل في معصفر معشوق أجمان الخريب

معسول ألموشتر عسال القوام الرطيب

أحلى من تختر في برد الشباب القشيب

ما أسعد وأظفر من له في وصاله نصيب 119

(d) * ||-u|---|-u|---

يا مرخ النقاب كم عني سخب

ما هذا صوت يكفك

يا طيب الكتيب يكفك ذا العذاب

عجل بالمآب واصل من قريب 120

XXV. Al-Mutadarak.

Tash'it is typical of the metre as a whole, and tarfil may occur in either hemistich.

(a) ||-u-|-u-|-u-|-u-|-u-|-u-|-u-|-u-

ياحياتي ومن في فؤادي أقام راحم مسكينك

واعبيدي له شرت المنام والهبت محبينك 121

(b) * ||-u-|-u-|-u-|-u-|-u-|-u-|-u-

ياظبي حاجر حياة ذا المييا الصبح

ارثه ليايز في حبك فؤادة جرح

كم ذا تهاجر ما هذا ملح وامليح

صدك علامه كل الناس لك طائعين 122

(c) * ||-u-|-u-|-u-|-u-|-u-

خانسه الاطباز وجفاه السكون

لو تمكّن الطاز بجناح الشجوت

لما دار حاز ما درى كيف يكون

سلبته القرار ساجحات الغصوت 123

XXVI. Al--Mustakmal¹²⁴.

This metre cannot be "deduced" from any circle of al-Khalīl.

Tayy⁺ is typical of it as a whole.

(a) ||-uu-u| -u-| -u--- | -uu-u| -u-| -u---

الشمس والبدر يسجدان إذا أبرز من ستره مياهاً
والغصن ، بعد الركوع ، قام له تواضعاً حين ماس عطفاه¹²⁵

(b) ||---u| -u-| -u--- | ---u| -u-| -u---

يدر تمام جبينه أبلج مقلد بالكواكب الزهر

يفتر عن در مبسم أفج تجري عليه سلفة الخمر¹²⁶

+ It is the suppression of the fourth letter of a foot when it is "quiescent".

1. Cf. Mu'jam al-Udabā', IV, 248.
2. Al-Irshād al-Shāfi', p. 57.
3. Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', K. al-'Arūḍ fī Ma'rifat Awzān Shi'r al-'Arab, Br. Mus., Or. 3770, iii, fols. 64a-65a.
4. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Leiden, fol. 63a, Br. Mus., fol. 107a.
5. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 188.
6. Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 202ff.
7. Ibid., p. 116f.
8. Nas̄māt al-Saḥar, Ambrosiana.
9. Tanmīq al-Asfār, p. 342f.
10. Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 208.
11. Tirāz al-Majālis; see also the second chapter of this thesis, p. 119ff.
12. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Leiden, fol. 20b, Br. Mus., fol. 61a.
13. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 36.
14. Tanmīq al-Asfār, p. 350.
15. These are the first two strophes of a poem of Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ānisi'. The poem is a recorded song.
16. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 79.
17. Ibid., p. 85. This poem is also attributed to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī (v. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 55b).
18. Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 320.
19. Ibid., p. 167f.

20. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Leiden, fol. 74, Br. Mus., fol. 50
21. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 125.
22. Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 139.
23. Ibid., p. 270
24. Ibid., p.360.
25. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p.62.
26. Ibid., p. 203.
27. Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 220
28. Mahajjat al-Sālik, p. 138.
29. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 179f.
30. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 77.
31. Ibid., fol. 86a.
32. Ibid., fol. 63. This poem is erroneously attributed to Ḥaidar Āghā in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fol. 91b.
33. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fols. 71b-72a.
34. Cf. Nail al-Waṭar, I, 89.
35. S.v. س
36. Tarwīḥ al-Bāl, p. 124.
37. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 175.
38. Quoted in al-Murshid, op.cit., I, 15.
39. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 211
40. Cf. al-Irshād al-Shāfī, p. 57. Aḥmad b. Muḥd. al-Qādī, al-Wishāḥ 'ala 'Arūd al-Miftāḥ (Lahore, 1898), p. 14, calls it

al-'amīq.

41. This statement needs some qualification. So far as I could discover, the only poet who used the mashtūr form in one of his muwashshahāt is 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ānisī, Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 391.

42. Tirāz al-Majālis.

43. My own depreciation. I call it so because the bālbāl poems quoted in al-Ahdal and Bā-Makhramah are all in the majzū' form of this metre. It is highly probable that this metrical scheme is typical of the bālbāl style of poetry mentioned in Tirāz A'lām al-Zaman, fol. 183b.

44. Cf. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fols. 99b-101b.

45. Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, pp. 45, 344, 412, 425; see also Nasmāt al-Saḥar, Ambrosiana; Dīwān Mubayyatāt, pp. 80, 163, 192, 198; Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 182; al-Durr al-Manzūm, pp. 50, 83.

46. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 111; see also Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 87a.

47. See, for instance, al-Dumū' al-Dāḥikah, p. 221.

48. See, for instance, Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, pp. 207, 308, 360.

49. See, for example, ibid., p. 155; Maḥajjat al-Sālik, pp. 181f, 189.

50. See, for instance, Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 335; Dīwān

Mubayyatāt, p. 189.

51. Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 199. This trimeter pattern of al-basīṭ is particularly popular in the bedouin form. See, e.g. ibid., pp. 178, 192; Tanmīq al-Asfār, pp. 307, 334, 354. So far as I could discover, the only poet in whom this majzū' form is maqṭū' is Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah Sharaf al-Dīn (v. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 88).

52. Dīwān Yahya al-Ḥamzī, fol. 118b; see also Dīwān Mubayyatāt, pp. 123, 170; Jawāriṣh al-Afrāḥ, Ambrosiana, fols. 63b-64a; al-Durr al-Manzūm, p. 167.

53. See, for instance, Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 38.

54. Al-Durr al-Manzūm, pp. 173f, 177.

55. See, for instance, ibid., pp. 54, 176.

56. ** Maqlūb al-ṭawīl. Its popularity in the poetry of the bedouins of Yaman is noted in al-Ishārāt al-Wāfiyah, fol. 55b. It is interesting to note that al-Sakākī, Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm (Cairo, 1356/1935), p. 269, corrects al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, who regards this metre as a muhmal, on the ground that it was used by the pre-Islamic poets of Arabia, and quotes some lines from the Ḥadramite poet, Imrū'u al-Qais, in support of his claim. The popularity of al-mustaṭīl in the colloquial poetry of Ḥadramawt has been noted by some Western scholars. Cf. Prose and Poetry from Ḥadramawt, p. 79, no. 12.

57. Dīwān Yahya b. Ibrāhīm al-Jahhāfī, Leiden, Or. 2699, fol. 2; see also Tanmīq al-Asfār, p. 336.
58. Dīwān Hātim al-Ahdal, Leiden, Or. 1445, fol. 107; see also Dīwān Mubayyatāt, pp. 182, 204.
59. Tanmīq al-Asfār, p. 346f; see also Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 67; Dīwān al-'Alawī, fol. 90b; Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 176.
60. Hadīqat al-Afrāḥ, p. 40, Dīwān al-Jahhāfī, Leiden, fol. 6; see also Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 146.
61. This metre is popular in the poetry of the bedouins of S. Arabia. See, for instance, Dīwān al-Aghānī al-Laḥjiyyah, p. 33; al-Dumū' al-Dāhikah, pp. 167, 190; Prose and Poetry from Ḥadramawt, p. 78. This is partly why we have restricted it to the bedouin form.
62. Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3869, fol. 19; see also Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 193f.
63. Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, pp. 238, 314; see also Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 211.
64. Dīwān Bahrān, Br. Mus., fols. 111b-112a; see also Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 122.
65. Ibid., p. 157.
66. Ibid., p. 123.
67. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 59a.
68. Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 157.
69. Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fol. 90a; see also Tarjī'

al-Aṭyār, p. 397; Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 165.

70. This is the first strophe of a recorded song composed by Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ānisī. For poems having the same metrical scheme, see also Maḥajjat al-Sālik, pp. 169, 180.

71. See, for instance, ibid., p. 178.

72. See, for example, Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 113; Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 70.

73. My own depreciation.

74. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 130; see also Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 119; Dīwān Ḥātim al-Aḥdal, Leiden, Or. 1445, fol. 120.

75. Ḥadiqat al-Afrāḥ, p. 15; see also Maḥajjat al-Sālik, pp. 115, 144, 155; Dīwān Mubayyatāt, pp. 98, 120; Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 69.

76. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 178; see also Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 168; 'Abdallah b. 'Alī al-Wazīr, Aqrāṭ al-Dhahab..., School of Oriental and African Studies, no. 40911.2, fols. 268a-270b.

77. Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 395.

78. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, pp. 40, 54, 82, 115; Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 420; Maḥajjat al-Sālik, pp. 165, 167, 170, 171, etc., al-Durr al-Manzūm, pp. 67, 98, 130, etc.

79. Dīwān Yaḥya al-Ḥamzī, fols. 96a-98b.

80. Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fol. 129b; see also Dīwān

al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 56; Khalīl al-Afrāh; Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 195; Dīwān Yaḥya al-Ḥamzī, fol. 99b.

81. My own depreciation.

82. Nūr al-Awrāq, Ambrosiana, fol. 23; see also Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fol. 97a; Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, pp. 46, 66, 255, 363, 398, 423, 428.

83. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, pp. 112, 122, 168.

84. Ibid., p. 173.

85. Ibid., p. 87; see also Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 129; Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 84.

86. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 62.

87. My own depreciation.

88. Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, pp. 159-60; see also Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 51; al-'Alam al-Mufrad, Br. Mus., fol. 70b.

89. Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 158.

90. Al-Durr al-Manzūm, p. 121ff.

91. Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 242f.

92. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 185.

93. See, e.g., Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 120.

94. See, e.g., Dīwān Mubayyatāt, pp. 138, 141.

95. See, e.g., Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fols. 58b, 62b; Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, pp. 116, 358; Tanmīq al-Asfār, p. 341; Dīwān Mubayyatāt, pp. 104, 117, 120.

96. My own depreciation. A poem in this metre is quoted

in Dīwān Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Hillī (al-Najaf, 1375/1956), p. 277,

under the statement: وقال... وهو من الأوزان العجمية

97. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 51a.

98. Al-Durr al-Manzūm, p. 105.

99. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 154; see also al-Durr al-Manzūm, p. 48; Tanmīq al-Asfār, p. 318ff; Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 185; Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 380.

100. Khalīl al-Afrāḥ; see also al-Durr al-Manzūm, pp. 37, 103, 176; Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 86.

101. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 99a.

102. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 203.

103. My own depreciation. This metre seems to be popular in the dān-yā-dān-yā-dānā songs of S. Arabia.

104. Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 185; see also Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fols. 56b-57a.

105. Ambrosiana Ms., D408, i, Dīwān al-'Alawī, Leiden, fol. 17; see also al-Durr al-Manzūm, pp. 73, 104; Dīwān Mubayyatāt, pp. 77, 197; Maḥajjat al-Sālik, pp. 141, 191; Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 216; Salwat al-Mushtāq, Ambrosiana, fols. 122b-123a.

106. = Maqlūb al-basīṭ.

107. This is the first bait in a regular muwashshah written by al-Mazzāḥ, and quoted, under his name, in the Ambrosiana Ms.,

D408, i.

108. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 99b.

109. Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 188.

110. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 57a; see also Dīwān Mubayyatāt, pp. 68, 195; Maḥajjat al-Salik, pp. 152, 176, 188

111. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 166.

112. Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fol. 130a.

113. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fols. 60a, 65b.

114. Tarjī' al-Atyār, p. 337.

115. Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 155.

116. My own depreciation.

117. Al-Dumū' al-Dāhikah, p. 248.

118. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 66b; see also Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 66.

119. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 65a; see also Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 178.

120. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 210.

121. This is the first bait of a mubayyatah written by Muḥd.
b. Hāshim al-Shāmī.

122. Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fols. 73b-74a.

123. Tarjī' al-Atyār, p. 97.

124. My own depreciation.

125. Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 74; see also Dīwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fols. 69b-70a.
126. Simṭ al-La'āl, fol. 192a, Dīwān Mubayyatāt, p. 38; see also Dīwān Ḥātim al-Ahdal, Leiden, Or. 1445, fols. 72b-73a.

CONCLUSION.

We have seen in Chapter 2 how the rudimentary tasmīṭ had undergone great elaboration and expanded in many directions; how only two forms of the musammāt style were widely appropriated by the S. Arabians, and were gradually transposed into the alternating pattern bait-tawshīḥ-taqfīl.

The tasmīṭ existed in embryonic form in some pre-Islamic poets, but the need of perfect rhythm and symmetrically-placed pauses was no doubt the chief impulse which brought the tasmīṭ - as an independent style of poetry - into the vogue in the 'Abbāsīd period, especially in Spain where it underwent a slight change, and was ardently cultivated under the designation "al-muwashshah".

The unfortunate thing about the wretched term "al-muwashshah" in Arabic literature is that it has not a fixed usage, and it is not uncommon to meet with a writer who appears to believe, at least who certainly acts upon, the notion that the right over that term resides in him, and that others are wrong as far as they differ with him. To follow the compiler of Maḥajjat al-Sālik, for example, and restrict the term muwashshah to poems which consist of the alternating pattern bait-tawshīḥ-taqfīl or bait-tawshīḥ,

is to deprive, to the chagrin of modern scholars, the Andalusian strophic poems of the honour of that name. To appeal to etymology as to the meaning of the term is really out of court; current standard usage must decide the question.

The term muwashshah seems best if we limit its usage to poems that are structurally divided into abyāt (strophes) or fuṣūl (sections) knitted together by a master-rhyme ('amūd al-qaṣīdah) which runs at the end of each bait or faṣl giving it a melodic completeness of its own. If it be borne in mind that from the fifth century A.H. to the eighth, the term muwashshah was mainly connected with the strophic style of poetry of the Andalusians, it will be immediately seen why the name suggests certain accidental attributes by association acquired after it had been applied to the mubayyatāt of Spain.

The Andalusian type of strophic poetry is found in S. Arabia as far back as the time of 'Umārah al-Ḥakamī, but owing to its nature perhaps, it did not make much headway in that country, though from time to time Yamanite poets modelled some of their poems on its rhyme pattern, and handed them down to us under the grand term "ḥumainī".

True, ḥumainī and muwashshah can be equated: any poem

which is divided into abyāt (strophes) or fuṣūl (sections), that are welded together by a master-rhyme running at the end of every bait or faṣl, can be called a ḥumainiyyah or a muwashshahah. But now that we are widely and intimately acquainted with what was handed down to us as ḥumainī, a distinction perhaps should be made between the two: a muwashshahah is any poem that follows one of the muwashshah patterns, but a ḥumainiyyah is a muwashshahah of love wherein the lahn may be made either to increase its emotional richness or to give it a plebian flavour. Without the spontaneous (or subtle use of) lahn and the principal theme of love in a muwashshah form, we may have the externals of ḥumainī without its spirit. With the love theme and the spontaneous (or reserved use of) lahn in any non-muwashshah style of poetry, such as the bedouin form, we may have the spirit of ḥumainī without its externals. In its fullest and completest sense, ḥumainī, as a style of poetry designed for singing, pre-supposes the union of the two.

Now what have the ḥumainists of S. Arabia contributed to Arabic poetry? The answer to this question is three-fold. Firstly, the pertinacious fidelity with which they have kept cultivating the art of al-muwashshah is unsurpassed in the literary history of the Arabs. The

span of life of that art of poetry in a country whose societal structure is predominantly bedouin, and in which singing is naturally associated with provincialism, is surprising indeed. This is perhaps because the muwashshah poetry was, as it is now, connected with the spiritual aristocrats of that country, and has continued to be composed to meet the daily requirements of the singers of the educated classes, or otherwise has continued to be written for the mere passing of time, or, one may suspect, as a literary tradition of the past hard to terminate and difficult to animate.

Secondly, they have shown us that the art of al-muwashshah in the literary history of the Arabs is nothing but a gradual development of the pre-Islamic tasmīṭ which successive ages had witnessed; that the most complex of all the appropriate humainī forms is the stately regular muwashshah.

And lastly, humainī is the only poetical production of which S. Arabia should be proud. Yamanite hakamī poetry, sad to say, is traditional in theme and imagery, and monotonous in rhythm; for, as a whole, it has kept within the flurid bounds and rules that were drawn by the Arab critics and prosodists of the past, and the slightest acquaintance with it makes the satirical verse

about the hakamists of S. Arabia:

إذا زاب جسمي من حرور بلادكم
علقت على أشعاركم أتبرد* 1

seem reasonable and justified.

It is particularly in the muwashshah style that S. Arabia has excelled. True, some of the humainists took this genre very lightly; some were merely content to produce jingling rhymes; others did not apparently comprehend what humainī essentially is, and sought to show their craftsmanship in the mere play of words; and many others were sentimentally vulgar, and lacked the sense of restraint and reservation which could have lifted their songs above the common plane. But still, a slim volume of moving songs can be gleaned from the harvest of those eminent humainists (and how few they are!) who respected their craft, understood its nature, and knew where its melodic secret lies. Through sincerity, and through a masterly check on their feeling and on their language, these poets produced some tender songs which can rank with, if not surpass, the best of those of the Andalusians. It is the tender rhythm of

* Metrical scheme: || -u-u | u-u | ---u | u-u | -u-u | u-u | ---u | --u

these humainists which is the most fascinating aspect of the muwashshahāt of S. Arabia, and which gives to the plain language of al-Sūdī and al-Haddād the subtlety of distinction, and lends to the conventional diction of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah and Yaḥya b. Ibrāhīm al-Jaḥḥāfī a touch of mystery. It is this subtle quality, which cannot be defined, that made al-Shirwānī (+1227/1818) grimly state that the Yamanites are the unequalled masters of this craft², and moved al-Ānīsī³ to utter his feelings about it in a song with which this thesis may fittingly end:-

Be gentle, O composer of humainī, for thy tenderly sad rhythm transports me.

Thou knowest not, but God knows, how the warbler of thy words enraptures me:

The latent griefs of my bygone love nest again in my breast, and move me to weep.

Tears to our eyes is thy poetry; agony to our hearts are thy verses.

Those who hear thy voice reap distress: emoted by thy sadness becomes the careless, restless at heart becomes the lover.

From what matter do you weave the threads of thy moving songs? And how you achieve the impossible in evoking the noblest emotions of the human heart?

Do you record the noble sentiments of the great poets of the past? Or do you reflect in thy verses the common emotions in all?

1. Quoted in al-'Imād al-Aṣbahānī, Kharīdat al-Qaṣr wa-Jarīdat al-'Asr [qism shu'arā' Miṣr], ed. Aḥmad Amīn and others (Cairo, 1370/1951), I, 198.

2. Cf. Nafḥat al-Yaman, p. 93.

3. Cf. Tarjī' al-Aṭyār, p. 207.

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