HUMANITY POETRY

IN

SOUTH ARABIA

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# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. HISTORY OF HUMAINI IN SOUTH ARABIA</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE MUWASHSHAH POETRY IN SOUTH ARABIA</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. MUSIC IN SOUTH ARABIA</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HUMAINI</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. THE METRES OF HUMAINI</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT.

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

Specifically, the term ḥumainī is applicable to the muwashshah style, that is, to any poem structurally divided into abyat (strophes) or fusūl (sections), bound together by a master-rhyme which closes every bait, or fasl. 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 ḥumainī 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 taqfīr (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, ababab cdcdaab, etc. — both of which were transposed into the regular alternation bait-tawshīh-taqfīl. Taken together, these three forms compose the corpus of ḥumainī.
Humainī is essentially a style of poetry designed for singing. It is distincively 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 laḥn.

The laḥn in ḥumainī 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 laḥn is so characteristic of ḥumainī that it came to be known as "ṭariqat muwashshah ahl al-Yaman" and "ṭariqat al-ḥumainī al-Yamānī."
This thesis, which deals with ḥumainī 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 Hadramawt (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 ḥumainī drove the learned al-Iryānī and al-Aghbārī, in their edition of al-Ānīsī’s ḥumainī dīwān: Tarjīh al-Ātyār... (Cairo, A.H. 1369), to reproduce, as an introduction for the S. Arabian style of prosody, the comments of Muṣṭafā Sādiq al-Rāfī in his, Tārikh Ādāb al-'Arab (Cairo, 1359/1940), III, 160-85, upon the different non-qarīd types of poetry in Arabic literature. Likewise, it made the learned al-Mu’ayyad and al-Jirāfī, who edited the ḥumainī dīwān of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah Sharaf al-Dīn: Dīwān Mubayyatāt wa-Muwashshāhāt... (Cairo, s.a.), in no position to question the authenticity of the important version of 'Īsa b. Lutf-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 *humain* 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 Ḥadramawt.

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 Ṣanʿānīte poets, 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maqlīḥī, Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaḍarānī, and Ṣāliḥ al-Su‘nādār, for their hospitality, 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-Qāṭī Aḥmad b. Ismāʾīl al-Ṣuhbānī and Mr. 'Abdallah Fāḍil Fārī) 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-Jāmiʿ al-Kabīr of Ṣanʿā', 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-ḥakami, which is the regular Arabic prosody (al-qari), and al-humaini, which is the popular poetry that employs the "vulgar" dialects (al-zajal). In the past, however, the term humaini denoted a special type of poetry. The earliest reference to that term in a S. Arabian biography is made by al-Khazraji (+ 812/1409) who says about Abū al-ʿAbbas Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Fulaitah (+ 731/1331):—

"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-ʿarabiyyāt), while the second, which he called ʿSūq al-Fawākih wa-Nuzhat al-Mutafākih, includes — in addition to the ʿarabiyyāt — ḥumainiyyāt, sāḥiliyyāt, bālībāl, and
duwainiyat. He had compiled a book containing a short selection of his poetry, and called it *Tuḥfat al-Muṭāli' wa-Bughyat al-Mutakhāli*. In it, he collected from his poems seven kinds of poetry which are *'arabī, duwainiyat, ḥalāwah, muwashshahat, bālbal, sāhiliyyat* and ḥumainiyat. 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-Ḥabīb*.

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-Khazraji that

(a) Ḥumainī was an independent kind of poetry.

(b) The word ḥakamī had not yet appeared in the poetic circles, and the term *'arabī* (or *'arabīyyat* for the poems) was used instead.

With the exception of *'arabī, muwashshah, bālbal*, 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-Khazraji. The saying of the Ḥijāzite Ahmad al-Qāzānī: "I could not compose well the muwashsha, 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 diwāns 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.
The classic diwan of Sidi 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-ḥumainī."

On examining the printed diwan, which contains one hundred and eighteen ḥumainiyyat, we find that it consists of:

(a) Seventy-eight malhūn poems which 'Īsa expediently calls dhawāt al-buyūt, or simply mubayyat. (Their style is dubbed al-mubayyat.) Each of these mubayyat 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 lāḥn in these poems, as it is in ḥumainī 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 muzdawīj 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 coca, etc. This pattern will henceforth be designated as the first mubayyat form.

(ii) abababab cdcdodab efefefab, etc. This pattern will henceforth be designated as the second mubayyat form.

(b) Thirty-four poems (all of which, except two, are malhūnah) that consist of the regular alternation bait – tawshīḥ – taqfīl. This pattern, to which no attention appears to have been called hitherto, seems to have been popular only in S. Arabia, and will be discussed in Chapter 2.

(c) Six muwashshaḥat that are typically Andalusian in rhyme scheme. As will be shown in Chapter 2 of this thesis, the muwashshaḥ style typical of the Andalusians can properly be called al-shīr al-musammat 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 'Īsā b. Luṭf-Allāh and other S. Arabian poets and compilers regarded the Andalusian type of muwashshaḥ will be depicted in Chapter 2.
be grouped under the term mubayyat. However, because of its unpopularity in the S. Arabian diwāns and sufūn, and on account of its having a clear-cut physiognomy of its own, we shall continue referring to it as Andalusian type of muwashshāh whenever the necessity arises.

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

The second group differentiated between ḥumainī and muwashshāh. Of this group is al-Shaikh 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. 'Abd al-Rahmān Bā-Wazīr, who compiled the dīwān of his celebrated teacher: Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh al-'Aidarūs (851-914/1447-1508)*.

The dīwān of al-'Aidarūs.

The printed dīwān is divided into three parts. The first part (pp. 51-114) includes the 'arabiyyāt, the second (pp. 114-65), the muwashshāhāt, and the third (pp. 165-97), the ḥumainiyyāt. None of the seventy poems that compose the muwashshāh section of Mahfajjat al-Sālik is "Andalusian" in rhyme scheme, and most of them, it must be noted, are malḥūnah. The muwashshāhāt 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 *baḥt-*taḥšīḥ. This unpopular structural form will be discussed in Chapter 2.

As for the ḥumanī section, it consists of sixty *malḥūn* poems$^{23}$ 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-Salik*, we must note:

(i) The compiler differentiated between ḥumanī and muwashshaḥ without expressly stating the basis for such differentiation.
(ii) Some of the *'arabiyyāt* contain more than one rhyme$^{24}$, while few are malḥūnah.$^{25}$
(iii) A *mubayyat* poem (p. 63) is quoted within the *'arabiyyāt*.
(iv) The two poems on pp. 110-11 are included within the *'arabiyyāt* although they do not differ, either in form or in being malḥūnah, from the ḥumanī*yyah* 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 ġumainiyyah\textsuperscript{26}, in the second mubayyat form, commencing

\begin{align*}
\text{باسم الله للْعَلَى،}
\end{align*}

is also quoted, under the term muwashshah, in al-Mustaṭraf of al-Ibshīḥī (790–c.850/1388–1446) where it is ascribed to Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (550–96/1155–1200)\textsuperscript{27}.

The differentiation between ġumainī 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 ġumainī, the muwashshah, and the other kinds of poetry that are used among the people of al-Yaman, until I met al-Sayyid Ḥātim [al-Aḥdal]." Such references are less useful to us because they are not accompanied by examples from which one may discern any difference claimed between ġumainī and muwashshah. Al-Haimī (1073–1151/1662–1739)*, for instance, commenting upon the poetry of Ḥaidar Āghā*,

\textit{Metrical scheme:} \begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
  -u- & -u- & -u- & -u- \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
mentions the ḥumainī - like muwashshah (al-muwashshah al-ḥumainī) without quoting any example. Again, with his customary elegantly rhymed prose, al-Ḥaimī, dealing with the poetry of al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. al-Īmām al-Mutawakkil (1072-1149/1662-1736)*, gives us the impression that muwashshah and ḥumainī are two distinct kinds of poetry. But the anonymous compiler of the small diwan of this poet does not claim to make such a difference, and groups his poetry under the two formal categories: al-ḥakami and al-ḥumainī. 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 Tib al-Samar; for writing in the artificial style of balanced sai', 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 ḥumainī. Some use "al-shi'r al-malḥūn" 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 music, 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-shīr al-ghinā". By this term he meant poetry intended, or appropriate to be sung, and he has, therefore, included under the term humainī correct strophic muzdawijāt, as well as ḥakamiyyāt, that are short and distinctively lyrical in character.

Having considered the opinion of the literary groups, we will now turn our attention to the diwan 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 diwan of al-Wathiq consists of two types of poetry, to wit, 'arabī and ḥumainī. The diwan of al-Wathiq. 'arabī is the traditional one-rhyme qarīd, 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 themes." 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 taqmi').

(b) The mubayyāt style.

Did ḥumainī poetry, then, in its early history, include the two styles as the diwan of al-Wathiq has shown us? Or was the term ḥumainī only applicable to one of them as Maḥajjat 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. 'Ali al-Wazîr (1074–1147/1663–1734)* wrote\(^3\)8:

"He [= 'Isa b. Luṭf-Allâh] composed a diwan of ḥumainî poems, and was the person who collected the ḥumainî and the muwashshah [poetry] of al-Sayyid Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah Sharaf al-Dîn". A similar remark is made by Ismâ'îl/Muḥd. b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Imām al-Qasîm (+1080/1669) when he commented upon the poetry of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah. He wrote:\(^3\)9 "Most of his poetry is in the ḥumainî and the muwashshah styles."

Can we, then, suggest that in these excerpts the term ḥumainî refers to the mubayyat style of which consists the largest portion of the diwan of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah? Can we also refer to those who employed the terms muwashshah and ḥumainî 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 ḥumainî has reached us in the mubayyat style, especially in the first and the second mubayyat forms, and the S. Arabian diwāns 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 tawshîh is an integral part of the poem have been handed down to us, by the poets of S. Arabia, as examples of ḥumainî. 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-muwashshahā. 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-muwashshahā⁴⁰; and Yūsuf b. Yaḥya al-Ṣan‘ānī (1080-1121/1669-1709) brands all the humainiyāt of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallāh as "muwashshah malḥūn". Al-Shawkānī (1172-1250/1758-1835) mentions the commencing line of a mubayyatāt, written by Muḥd. b. 'Abdallāh⁴³, under the term muwashshahā; and al-Shirwānī (+1227/1812) quotes a poem, in the second mubayyat form, as an example of the many beautiful "muwashshahāt" composed by Ḥaidar Āgha⁴⁴.

Such references are many and are correct. Their correctness lies in the assumption that the term muwashshahā specifically, is applicable to any poem that has a master-rhyme, called 'amūd al-qasīdah, 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-tawāshīn-taḥfīl 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 muwashšāḥ: to denote poems composed of the alternating pattern bait-tawšīḥ-taqfīl.

(b) The mubayyāt muwashšāḥ: to denote poems structurally divided into metrically-uniform equal abyāt (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 abyāt 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, abyāt of more than six lines are very rare. Of all the mubayyāt muwashšāḥ patterns that have appeared in the S. Arabian dīwāns, only the first and the second mubayyāt forms were widely appropriated, and

+ A representative, though by no means complete, table of the mubayyāt muwashšāḥ rhyme patterns in S. Arabia is given in the second chapter of this thesis.
both of them, put together, compose the bulk of ḥumainī.

(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, ḥumainī shows the same characteristics that have already been noted in the diwāns of al-Wāthiq and Muḥd. b. 'Abdallāh Sharaf al-Dīn. The definition made by al-Zābīdī (1145-1205/1732-91) — that "al-ḥumainī is a species of newly-invented metres [sic] which is known as al-muwashshah, a Yamanite word [in origin and usage]" — 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 malḥūnāt, and yet these are not highly appreciated because vowel-case-endings are expected in hakamī, and associated +

† I have adopted the term faṣl to denote the alternating unit bait-tawshīḥ, or bait-tawshīḥ-qaqfīl, or bait-tawshīḥ-taqmaūl.
with it, whereas they are usually avoided in ḥumainī.47

The laḥn 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 laḥn, firstly, pleases the S. Arabian in general, and the Yamanite singer in particular; and, secondly, because this kind of laḥn 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 Maʾṣūm (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 ḥumainī is one so simple and obvious that, but for the fact that its practical bearing is seldom recognised in the only edited ḥumainī dīwān (that of Sharaf al-Dīn and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Anisī), it would hardly call for formal statement. In our recitation of ḥumainī we should always remember that the S. Arabian washshāḥīn 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-Maghrib, and the main difference between the two is that correctness regarding case-endings in the muwashshah of the people of al-Maghrib is strictly observed, and if non-observance of grammar by dropping case signs occurs in some of the muwashshah 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 lahm in it is more pleasant and more moving."

We should not, therefore, show surprise if we find phrases such as "muwashshah 'ala tarīqat ahl al-Yaman"51, and "tarīqat al-humainī al-Yamānī."52"

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-ḥakami species of poetry. Al-Sharjī
uses the pejorative adjectival phrases "rhymed prose" and "saj' malḥūn" to denote two non-ḥakamī poems, and does not even condescend to mention the type (or types) to which they belong. Al-Ḥaimī mentions the term ḥumainī on several occasions in Tib 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 Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Qāsim (+1298/1880), writing to a sayyid, quoted the beginning of a ḥumainī verse of his composition, and added: "Were it not for your high rank... my intention would have been, indeed, to quote the whole poem."

Such is the scorn with which ḥumainī 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 ḥumainī using obscene language. For some of them, especially after the tenth century A.H., ḥumainī became the field of ḥaḍl - a word that may connote many things except seriousness and the respectable aspects of life - while ḥakamī 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 ḥakamī was treated as jidd mu'rab.
in contrast with the hazl malhun\textsuperscript{57}, the ḥumainī.

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-Maqqari, unlike Ibn Bassām and al-Fath b. Khaqqān, quoted several muwashshahāt in both Nafḥ al-Ṭib and Azhār al-Riyāḍ. However, to avoid any ridicule that might be poured on him by those who regard the muwashshahāt style of poetry as a field for trifles and inanity, al-Maqqari was tactful enough to produce three excuses for his "presumptuousness" in quoting some muwashshahāt poems, one of which is that preceding authors, whom he imitates, included in their books some jocular utterances and facetious remarks\textsuperscript{50}. Indeed, the word hazl became exactly synonymous with any incorrect kind of poetry. Ibn Quzāmān (+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)\textsuperscript{59}.

Ḥumainī, in general, is transmitted orally, in the anthologies known as safāyin\textsuperscript{+}, and in diwāns. Through oral

\textsuperscript{+} This is how the pl. of safānah 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 was lost a great deal of the vast quantity of humanī. The safāyin, however, are an important source. A safūnah is generally a random collection of poetry owned by individuals who copy different poems either from books or diwāns or as they hear them from singers and composers. In many of these safāyin, the bulk of the poems included are choice humanīyyat, and in this way they provide the best method through which humanī 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 humanīyyat included to prominent S. Arabian washshāhin such as Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah Sharaf al-Dīn and 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ānisī (1168-1250/1755-1834).

The diwāns of some poets present a good source for anyone dealing with humanī. 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 diwān for him. The tendency among Yamanite compilers is to append a certain number of humanīyyat in the diwān
of the poet, 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-Ansī (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 'Umarah al-Ḥakamī, Yaman - Its Early Medieval 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-Ḥumī, Mu'jam al-Buldān, ed. Wüstenfeld
2. Nobody could suggest to me the origin of the word ḥumainī, and I failed to find an explanation to it. Neither Nashwan b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī (+573/1178) in Shams al-ʿUlūm, nor the Arab lexicographers, such as Ibn Duraid (223-321/838-933) and al-Ṣaghānī (577-665/1181-1266), mention the term as a certain genre of poetry. Indeed, the compiler of al-Qāmūs al-Muhīt lived in Zabīd for about twenty years at a time when the term ḥumainī, as the S. Arabian synonym for the term muwashshah, was already in use. These lexicographers, as well as al-Samʿānī (506-62/1112-67) in al-Ansāb, mention the word ḥumainī as a relative adjective of Ḥumain, a grandfather of the Companion Simāk b. Mukhrarah. Al-Ḥamdānī, al-Iklīl, ed. al-Akwaʾ (Cairo, 1383/1963), I, 127, however, gives “Ḥumain” as a S. Arabian name.

The two epithets, al-shīr al-faṣīḥ and al-shīr al-mukassar, are also employed today as the respective synonyms of hakamī and ḥumainī. It is interesting to note
that Bā-Makhramah, *Tārīkh Thaghr 'Adan*, ed. O. Löfgren (Leiden, 1936-50), II, 80, uses the term al-mukassarat side by side with the term al-'arabiyyat 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 Rasūlīte king in whose honour Ibn Fulaitah wrote many renowned poems (v. ibid. II, 151).


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-Ḥakami [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 Bella Vida, op. cit., nos. 1118.8, 1203 (fol. 3). Forty-six lines of his ḥakami composition are also quoted in the Ambrosiana Ms., C 163, fols. 164b-65a.

5. The saḥiliyyat are perhaps a special type of poetry cultivated by the people of the long coast of Tihāmah. The
Tihamites 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 Tārikh al-Mikhlaf al-Sulaimānī (Cairo, 1378/1958 — [in progress]), II, 240.

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

The metrical scheme of these poems is

\[ \| -u--| -u-| -u- \| -u--| -u-| -u- \]


7. Al-duwainīyyāt 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-'Abdālī, Diwan al-Aghānī al-Lahjiyyah (Aden, 1357/1938), p. 59; 'Abdallah Hādı Subait, al-Dumu' al-Ḍāhikah (Aden, 1373/1953), p. 229. The metrical scheme of these poems is

\[ \| -u--| -u-| -u- \| -u--| -u-| -u- \]

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, Ḳaṣḥ al-Ẓunūn, ed. and tr. G. Flügel (Leipzig and London, 1835-58), 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 Rawdat 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 ḥumainī.


13. Dīwān Mubayyatāt wa-Muwashshaḥāt 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-Sunaidī), nor in M. Hartmann, Das Arabische Strophengedicht, I. Das Muwaṣṣah (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. 135

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-Nafīṣat 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 Muwassah, 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.

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-Tākhīm 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.
It actually consists of seventy-five poems, eight of which 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 malhūnah, 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-Ibšīḥī, al-Mustatraf ... (Cairo, A.H. 1304), II, 199-200. This ḥumainiyyah is a well-known recorded song in S. Arabia. Whoever is its composer, we must acknowledge the fact that Ibn Sana‘ 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 laḥn, 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 malhūn known as al-'arūs (v. Ibn Sana‘ al-Mulk, Dār al-Tirāz ..., ed. J. al-Rikābi (Damascus 1368/1949), p. 27). Moreover, the rhyme pattern of the poem
in question is not "Andalusian", and Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk
is not known to have written any poem in the second
mubayyat form.

Mus., Or. 2427, I, 295b.
29. Ibid., I, 194a.
30. Diwan Sīdī al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. al-Imām al-Mutawakkil,
an Ms. in possession of al-Qāqī al-Ḥāj Aḥmad b. Isma'īl
b. Naṣir of Şuhbān. The ḥumaynī section in this Ms. contains
twelve muwashshahat, none of which, it must be noted, is
Andalusian in rhyme scheme.
31. See, for instance, al-Shawkānī, al-Badr al-Ṭā'li'...
(Cairo, A.H. 1345), II, 79; Zabārah, Nail al-Watār...
(Cairo, A.H. 1348-50), II, 44, 324, 416.
32. Cf. the version of 'Īsā b. Luṭf-Allāh in Diwan
Mubayyatāt, op. cit., p. 10.
33. Al-Dumu' al-Ḍāḥikah, p. 166.
34. See, e.g. p. 182.
37. Isma'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


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


42. Al-Badr al-Tāli', II, 195.

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


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.


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

48. This term is borrowed from al-′Āṭīl al-Ḥālī, p. 12.


50. Ibn Maṣūm, Sulāfāt al-ʾĀṣr fī Maḥāsīn al-Shuʾara′ bi-Kull Miṣr (Cairo, 1334/1907), p. 244. It should be noted that Ibn Maṣūm quotes, on p. 465, a poem in the second mubayyāt form under the general term muwashshah.

51. See, for instance, ibid., pp. 452, 465; Ḥadīqat al-Afrāḥ, p. 15; al-Shillī, ʿIqd al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar fī Akhābār al-Qarn al-Ḥadīʿashar, Br. Mus., Add. 16647, ii,
52. See, for example, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muṣṭafā al-'Aidārūs, Tanmīq al-Asfār fīmā Jara lahu maʿa Ikhwān al-Adab... fī Baʿd al-Asfār (Cairo, A.H. 1304), p. 259.


54. Ibid., p. 8.

55. Nail al-Watār, I, 89.

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


60. So far as I could discover, the earliest usage of the term safīnah, as an anthology of select verses, is made by al-Thaʿālibī (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 ḥumainiyyāt that were composed by the poets, and no sincere effort is made on their part to collect as many ḥumainī poems as they could. This fact can be attested
by the small number of ḥumainiyyāt that are included, for example, in the ḏīwāns of Yahya b. Ibrāhīm al-Jahhāfī*, Muh. 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-Qāṭīn* in his "ḏīwān", Br. Mus., Or. 3730, fol. 136; or he would collect all that he composed, accompanied by informative notes, as did al-Khufanjī* in his ḏīwān, a copy of which is in my possession.
CHAPTER ONE
HISTORY OF HUMAINĪ
IN
SOUTH ARABIA.

I.

‘Īsa b. Lutf-Allāh, introducing the humainī diwān of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallāh Sharaf al-Dīn, wrote:¹

"إِنِّي لَأَنْفَعِتْ مَا وَجَدْتُهُ وَظُلِّمْتُ بِهِ مِنْ شُعُرِ سَيْدِي صَدِيدٍ بْنِ عبدَاللهِ بْنِ الإِمَامِ شَرِفِ الدِّينِ رَحْمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ، العَرَبِ، وَقَضَيْتُ فِي ذلِكْ دِيْبَيْ، أُرِدتُ أَنْ أَجْمِلْ خَبَاهُ
الموْسِعَ المَعْرُوفَ عِنْدَ اَلْأَلْمَاسِ بِالجَمِيِّ، وَهُوَ مَنْ أَنْظِمْتُ الدِّيْنَ لَهُ لَوْ لَكُنْتُ مَنْ تَأَخَّرْتُ، وَلَا
يَسَنِّي لَيْهِ الدُّوْلَةِ، لَمْ تَحْرُمَنَا، وَمَعْانَ لِطِيْبَةٍ مُؤَنَّةٍ، أَوْلِيْاءٌ أَلْهَهُ جَزَاهُ،
نَأْتِحَتْ سَيْدَتُهُ، فِي الدِّيَارِ الْعَدُودِ، النَّظِيرُ شَرَابٌ الدِّينِ أَحْدِبْنَ فِلَتَانِهِ، فَمَثْلَهُ
فِي الْبَنِي عَبْدِاللَّهِ بْنِ أَبِي كَبْرِ المَرْتَاحِ، وَلَكِنَّهَا كَانَتْ فِي الدُّولَةِ الْعَمُّسَانِ، فَمَثْلَهُ
الإِمَامِ، إِمَامُ الْعُلَومِ، وَالْمَنْهَجَةِ، عِبَادُ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ إِبْراهِيمِ العَلْوِيِّ، وَهُوَ مِنْ أَدَار
لَأَسَ الشَّرَابِ، وَأَبَدَّ فِي هَذِهِ مَعَايِنَ مَدْيَكُو الرُّضَاءِ عَوْدَةَ السَّعَابَ، وَكَانَ فِي
رَسِّ السَّلَاحَةِ عَامِرُ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْوَهَابِ، وَأَدْرَكَ دُوْلَةً وَالدُّنْا الإِمَامُ شَرِفُ الدِّينِ،
وَهُوَ فِي هُذِهِ وَلَدَةُ الخَلِيْفَةِ الْمُلُكِّ، مُدِانُ تَرْدُّ الْبُثُومَ مُوَافِقًاً، وَتَرْدُّ الْبُدُور
مَطَالَعًا..."
"When I finished writing down what I was able to find and obtain of the regular classical poems of Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh 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-ḥūmainī. 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 ʿAbdallāh b. Fulaitah. He was followed by al-Faqīh Fakhr al-Dīn 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr al-Mazzā’h. Both lived during the reign of the Ghassānīte dynasty. Then came the imam of learning and sufism, al-Faqīh al-Imām ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī. He was one of those who handed round the drinking cup, and sang of wine in themes that surpass a meadow which has been refreshed by a succession of rain-bearing clouds. Al-'Alawī lived during

* The Rasūlīte dynasty (625 - 850/1228 - 1416) who claimed to be descended from the Arab tribe of Ghassān.
the reign of al-Sultan '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 ḥumainī diwān of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah, show clearly that he is speaking about the muwashshāh in general, and the muwashshāh malḥūn 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 muwashshāh 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 mubayyāt muwashshāh or the Andalusian craft*.

*As will be shown in the next chapter, the muwashshāh style of poetry typical of the Spanish Arabs can properly be grouped under the term mubayyāt, and as such it must be regarded. However, because of its unpopularity among the S. Arabian washshāhin, and on account of its having a distinct rhyming structure of its own, we shall continue referring to it as Andalusian type of muwashshāh whenever the necessity arises. It must not be forgotten, however,
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 Ṭirāz al-Majālis, takes back the history of what he calls al-shi'r al-mutadakhil al-gawāfī 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 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 Fatimid Da‘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-musammar (or their variations) that are tabulated on page 13.
Manṣūr al-Yaman, in A.H. 269, and ending, politically, with the seizure of power in Zabīd by the Rasūlīte '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-Ḥusain ½. 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 456. Al-Falīshī came to Egypt where he composed a muwashshah poem, and met the learned al-Silafī (478 - 576/1085 - 1180) who is known to have composed in the Andalusian type of muwashshah during his long stay in Alexandria where, from A.H. 511 until his death, he was discoursing on the hadīth 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 music, 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 Salādīn during whose reign the Ayyūbids annexed S. Arabia. Perhaps the Yamanite poet, 'Umārah al-Ḥakamī.
(c. 515–69/1121–1174), who finally settled in Cairo in A.H. 552, as well as the celebrated al-Qāḍī al-Fāqil (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 imitation. Neither must we forget that it was during this period that Ibn Sana' al-Mulk (550–96/1155–1200) wrote Dar al-Tirāz.

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 purposes. Al-Shustarī (610–75/1213–76), claimed to be the first to exploit the zajal for mystical purposes, came to Cairo where he met, and was influenced by, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shadhili (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'āib b. Abū Madyan (+590/1194), who is known to have written poems after the Andalusian model. As will be shown in a later chapter, the two orders of Abū Madyan and al-Shadhili 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 diwāns of 'Umārah al-Ḥakamī13 and ʿAlwān (+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 Yemen 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 ḥumānī diwāns.

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 mubāyyaṭ forms until the perfect pattern baʾīt-tawshīḥ-taqfīl was originated and universally accepted. I shall endeavour, in the next chapter, to show that the claim of ʿĪsa 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 diwan 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 Rasūlīte kings: al-Mufayyad 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.
Yahya (b. 660/1261; imam 701/1301; d. 729/1329), two claimants to the Imamate found themselves opposed to each other. Al-Wathiq, 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-Husain (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‘a' 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-Husain (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 Ḥādīth theology until he met his death.

Al-Wāthiq and Ibn Fulaitah lived during the reign of the generous Rasūlites (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 Taʾizz, around which literature thrived, and literary groups found protection, zeal, and reward. In this period, the sufī movement flourished, and Arabic poetry was cultivated diligently. This is the age of al-Yāfiʿī (+768/1367), al-Janadī (+732/1332), al-Khazrajī (+803/1400), al-Jabarti (+806/1408), Ibn al-Muqrī (+837/1433) and al-Sharjī (+893/1487)—to mention only a few familiar
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 Ziadite 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, most of whom we do not know, not even their names. And when the Ayyūbids arrived

* These are:
  (I) The Ziadite (204-409/819-1018).
  (III) The Najāhite (412-555/1021-1158).
  (IV) The Sulailīte (429-95/1057-1101).
  (V) The Hamdanite (492-569/1098-1173).
  (VII) The Zurai'īte (476-569/1083-1173).
in A.H. 569, Yaman was divided among local chiefs, "and in every district there was an independent ruler".

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 Tiḥāmah, to which he assigned ample estates in mortmain. 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. His father, al-Muẓaffar (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 Qurʾān, he sent a special envoy to Khurāsān to bring back to him the original script of the author.  

As for al-Malik al-Muḥāhid (r. 721/1321; d. 764/1363), he was considered as the most learned of the Rasūlites, and wrote many books. He composed a diwan of poetry, patronized many men of letters, including Ibn Fulaitah and al-Wāṭhiq, and had an extensive knowledge in astronomy, geomancy, and some branches of jurisprudence. His son, al-Afdal (+778/1377), who was eulogized by al-Wāṭhiq, was a jurist, learned in a number of branches of science, an adept at syntax, literature, lexicology, genealogy, and had written many books. Al-Malik al-Ashraf (r. 778/1376; d. 803/1400), during whose reign the mosques and colleges of Zabīd alone numbered two hundred and thirty, wrote many excellent works on grammar, astronomy, and history, 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-Muhīṭ. 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 Mecca 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."

The second name mentioned in the version of 'Īsa b. Luṭf-Allāh is that of al-Mazzāḥ. I gathered from different safāyin that his complete name is 'Abdallah b. Abī Bakr b. Āḥmad b. Ismā'īl al-Mawza'ī, known as al-Mazzāḥ. Al-Mazzāḥ told us part of his life: 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-Īmām 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. Lūṭf-Allāh, al-Mazzāḥ did not receive any attention from the known biographers of his country. Al-Mazzāḥ is known to have a compiled ḥumainī diwan, 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 muwashshāḥ songs, which were popular until the thirteenth century A.H., served as models to successive generations, and came to be imitated by many.
Muhd. 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-'Alawi. 31 Al-Khufanjī (+1180/1766) imitated fifteen poems of al-Mazzāḥ; and we can hardly err if we assume that other Yamanite poets imitated him, but they, or the compilers of their diwāns, did not mention his name or the opening lines of the poems which they imitated.

The imitations made by Muhd. b. 'Abdallah and al-Khufanjī show evidently that al-Mazzāḥ composed in both the two favoured styles: the regular muwashshah 33 and the mubayyat muwashshah. Indeed, poems in the second mubayyat form compose the bulk of these imitations.

The third name mentioned by Ḥsa b. Luṭf-Allāh is that of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī who lived during the reign of the Tāhirite king: al-Sultān 'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb.

Like all the Tāhirites (850-923/1416-1517), who supplanted the Rasūlites, al-Sultān '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 beneficient rule of 'Āmir meant for Yaman as a whole. He built many schools and mosques, constructed roads, cisterns and watercourses 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) wrote 36:

"'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-Rabī' 37, 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 humāini. 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-Rāfī, and wrote on it a good explanatory commentary. A number of learned men of his day, among whom is the well-versed Shābān b. Muḥd. al-Qādirī and Shāikh al-Islam Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, praised the poem. The compiler of al-Qāmus, Shāikh Majd al-Dīn al-Fairūzabādī, had also praised it... He died about A.H. 920.38"

This version of Ibn Mašūm 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; 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 poem.\(^4^0\)

The error committed by Ibn Maṣūm 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-Sakhawī (831-902/1427-97), who met 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī, makes the following statement:\(^4^1\):


Al-'Alawī's diwan\(^4^2\) is completely devoted to his performances in humainī. Of the one hundred and thirty humainiyāt that make up his diwan, one hundred and twenty-four are in the muwashshāh 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 diwan of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallāh Sharaf al-Dīn, and most of them, it must be noted, are in the second mubayyāt 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, taṣfīr * 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 ḥumainī style from the beginning of the history of this type of prosody until the time of Muhd. b. 'Abdallāh Sharaf al-Ḍīn. Of these are al-Īmām al-Wāthiq, al-Īmām al-Muṭahhar b. Muḥd. b. Sulaimān al-Ḥamzī (+879/1475), Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh al-ʿAḍarūs (851-914/1447-1508), Yaḥya b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥamzī (894-923/1488-1517), and Mūsa b. Yaḥya Bahrān (888-957/1483-1550).

We have already mentioned the diwāns of al-Wāthiq and al-ʿAḍarūs. Concerning the diwān of al-Īmām al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥamzī, it contains one mubayyatah which is not malḥūnah. The diwān 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 diwān of al-Wāthiq.

* Also called taʿgīd: 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 muwashshāḥ 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-Mazzāḥ and al-ʿAlawī for tenderness and melody, and hence ʿĪsa b. ʿUṭf-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 Diwan Bashshār b. Burd, ed. Ibn ʿAshūr (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. 'Ahlī b. Ḥamad b. Ibrāhīm al-Sūdī, known as 'Abd al-Hādī, or simply, al-Hādī, 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 gāt - 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.

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  humiliation who could outrank him. Tens of poets have composed in the  humiliation style, but very few of them established themselves as masters of this craft: al-Mazzāḥ, al-'Alawi, Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah Sharaf al-Dīn, Ḥaidar Āghā, 'Alī b. Muḥd. al-ʿAnṣī, 'Abdallah b. 'Alawi al-Ḥaddād, al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī, Yaḥya b. ʿIbrāhīm al-Jaḥṣāfī, 'Abd al-Ḥamīn al-ʿAnṣī, and his son Ahmad. But al-Sūdī is the master of these masters, and the unsurpassable  humiliation 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-jadhb)*, 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. The collections of these students compose the diwan(s) of al-Sūdī.

* The author of al-Nūr al-Safir 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) **Diwan 'Abd al-Hadi al-Sudi**

(b) **Kitab Khalil al-Afrah wa-Rahat al-Arwah wa-Mudhib al-Atrah**

(c) **Diwan Abu 'Abdallah Muhd. b. 'Ali b. Ahmad b. Ibrahim b. Muhd. al-Sudi**

(d) **Nasamat al-Sahar wa Nafahat al-Zahar**

Whatever the difference in the arrangements and quantities of the aforementioned collections, the humaini poetry of al-Sudi shows the same general characteristics that have already been noted in the previously mentioned diwans: typical Yamanite muwashshahat in which the sukun 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 washshahin among whom is the well-known Muhd. b. 'Abdallah Sharaf al-Din whose humaini 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 Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh (930-1010/1531-1601), and his father, ‘Abdallāh (+973/1565), 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.

‘Īsa b. Lutf-Allāh collected his poems in two dīwāns: ḥakamī and ḫumainī. 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 ḫumainī poetry outranks, in its beauty, stringed pearls."

Concerning ḫumainī, Muḥammad "surpassed his companions in this field, and excelled rival riders in that course. I have collected in this ḫumainī 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 [humainî] diwan 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 safînah]. This is why I spent twenty years in collecting them.63"

"And let it be known that Sîdî Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah did not follow, in the amatory verses of these renowned [humainî] 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-'Alawi and those who trod in his footsteps. Most of their muwashshahât 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. 'Abdallāh 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.'

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 ṣifism, and defended it against the severe attacks of al-Imām al-Qāsim al-Kabīr (b. 967/1559; imām 1006/1597; d. 1029/1620). And because he did so, he was sharply criticised by learned Zaidites.

We need not, here, spend much time discussing this fact. But one may question the authenticity of some of the versions of 'Īsa b. Ḥuṭf-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 ḥumainiyyat of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah are characterized by an aristocratic choice of diction and imagery. Many of his poems were sung during his lifetime, 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 ḥumainī 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 ḥumainist of the tenth century is Ḥātim al-Aḥdal who, in his time, is considered by al-Muḥibbi 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 Bistāmī 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 diwān(s) 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 ḥumainī 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 malḥūn poem, which is in the second mubayyāt form, is considered as a muwashshah typical of Yaman by both al-Shillī and Ibn Ma'sūm⁶⁹.

Ḥātim's diwān is bulky. Some of his disciples, says
sends al-'Aidarūs, 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-Qazānī that he could not compose well "the muwashshah, the ḥumainī, and the other types of poetry that are in use among the people of al-Yaman", until he met Ḥātim. But Ḥātim's dīwan(s) does not show that he employed any Yamanite kind of poetry other than ḥumainī. Ḥātim, or perhaps the compiler of his dīwan, equates ḥumainī with al-muwashshah. He also wrote:

"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 Sanāʾ al-Mulk — may God have mercy upon him — in Dār al-Tirāz. He [= Ibn Sanāʾ 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-Tirāz.*
to enter the House of Embroidery already mentioned. Others, like the Poor \(\text{Hātim}\) - may God forgive him - unashamedly stand in front of its gate, and, without being invited, force themselves in. If \(\text{Hātim}\) falls short in his compositions, then, at least, the listeners to his songs, and the readers of his muwashshaḥat, will have the opportunity to feel the exhaltations of the Merciful wafting from the direction of al-Yaman.

The muwashshaḥ which \(\text{Hātim}\) has in mind is the mubayyat muwashshaḥ (particularly the second mubayyat form) and the regular muwashshaḥ. It is interesting to note that \(\text{Hātim}\) included in the term muwashshaḥ correct strophic poems that are takhmiṣat of some poems of other poets. Many of the muwashshaḥat 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 -
From the days of Ibn Fulaitah on, the composition of "humainî" continued on a large scale, and from the turning of the tenth century, many names that are jotted down in "safâyin", indicate that the "humainî" style became the vogue among the educated classes of S. Arabia. Very few of these "humainî"ists, however, could be credited with the genius of al-'Alawî or al-Sûdî. 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 "humainî" after the tenth century of Hijrah.

One can hardly give reasons for the qualitative decadence of "humainî" 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-Wahhab in A.H. 923, the Sunnite part of that country fell into chaos, the capital, Zabîd, was at the mercy of local chiefs and Mamlûk rebels, and the highroads were the natural fields for bedouin brigands. 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. of Yahya Sharaf al-Din (903-80/1502-72) 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 comment:

"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 planetal 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 shipping. Therefore in A.H. 945, the Ottoman fleet captured Aden and some other seaport towns of Tihamah; 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 chiefs.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, the Zaidites found a leader in the person of al-Imām al-Qaṣīm 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 Imamate. It is very probable, as Playfair states, 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 Muhād. 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, ʿAḥmad 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 pursue the various holders of the Imamate; for by the year of ʿAḥmad'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 swords. 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 sultans.

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. 1222, the Turks wrested the coastal strip of Tihāmah, including the important ports of al-Ḥudaidah and al-Mochā, from al-Sharīf Ḥamūd b. Muhād. (+1235/1818) 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 Ṣanʿā'ī, the then ʿĀḥmad b. ʿAlī(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 sway. The reign of his son, ʿAbdallāh (b. 1208/1793; imam 1231/1815; d. 1251/1835), however, was much disturbed by internecine feuds; not only did he fail to retain Tihamah 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 Taʾizz and Jiblah, were seized by the two predatory tribes of Dhu ʿUmmad and Dhu Ḥusain; and he was also obliged to subsidise the neighbouring tribes of Ṣanʿā' in order to prevent them plundering that town.

In A.H. 1247, we witness the struggle for mastery between the Porte and Muḥd. ʿAlī Pāšā of Egypt. By A.H. 1253, the armies of Egypt, under the command of Ibrāhīm Pāšā, were occupying Tihamah, from al-Qunfadah to al-Mochā. Ibrāhīm's activities in Tihamah prompted the British, in A.H. 1254, to capture Aden from the ʿAbdalite sultan of Lahj; but in the next year, the Egyptians were compelled to evacuate Tihamah, and most of the coastal towns
were handed over by the Porte to al-Sharīf Ḥusain b. Hādīr b. 'Alī.

In A.H. 1265, the Turks, thinking that the proper time had arrived to take possession of Yaman, occupied Tihamah, 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'ā', 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 'Abdallāh (+ c. 1288/1871), who had twice been deposed, in his stead. 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 Tihamah, 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 Ṣanā'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-Hudaidah 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 country, give us a fair image of
of the age. Al-Ḥaimī 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-ʿAlawī 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 washshāhin, it must be noted, are only mentioned in Yamanite biographies on the virtue of their ḥakami 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 diwan 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 ḥumainists 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 ḥumainist.
(b) The repetition of the name of the ḥumainī poet in Yamanite safāyin.
(c) The fact that the poet has a compiled diwān which is wholly, or partly, devoted to his performances in ḥumainī.
(d) The fact that the poet has been mentioned by S. Arabian biographers as a ḥumainī composer.

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

A LIST OF S. ARABIAN HUMAINISTS WHO FLOURISHED AFTER THE TENTH CENTURY A.H.

'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abdallāh Bāʾ-Ḳathīr (+1025/1616\(^*\))
'Īsa b. Lutf-Allāh b. al-Muṭṭahhar b. al-Īmām Sharaf al-Dīn (986-1048/1578-1638\(^*\))
Ṣalāḥ b. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Jāḥīfī (+1053/1643\(^*\))

* Starred names are known to have compiled diwāns wholly, or partly, devoted to their ḥumainī performances.
Al-Hasan b. al-Muţahhar al-Jarmūzī (1044-1100/1634-89) *92
Ibrāhīm b. Sāliḥ al-Hindī (+1101/1690) *93
Yaḥya b. Mūsa al-'Aidī al-Ḥabūrī (+1110/1698) *94
Al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Qādir (1061-1112/1651-1700) *95
Yaḥya b. Ibrāhīm al-Jahāfī (+1117/1705) *96
Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Ānisī (+1119/1707) *97
'Alī b. Zain al-'Abidīn al-'Aidarūs (1055-1127/1645-1715) *98
Muḥd. al-Kharwāshī *99
Ḥaidar Aghā b. Muḥd. al-Rūmī *100
'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. Sha‘ūs al-Ta‘izzī *103
'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
Zain b. 'Abdallah b. 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād (1105-1157/1694-1744) *109
'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bār (+1158/1745) *110
Ḥāshim b. Yaḥya al-Shāmi (1104-58/1693-1745) *111
Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain b. 'Abdallah al-Ruqaiḥī al-Ṣabbāgh
(1086-1162/1675-1748) *112
Muḥammad b. Ishaq (1090-1167/1680-1754)

Ahmad b. Ishaq b. Ibrāhīm (+1170/1757)

Qāsim b. Sa‘līh b. Muḥd. b. Abī al-Rijāl

Ahmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Jumā‘ī

Ishaq b. Yusuf (1111-73/1699-1760)

Hasan b. Muḥd. al-Fusayyīl

Al-Mahdī b. Muḥd. al-'Ansī

‘Alī b. Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭās (1121-72/1709-58)

‘Alī b. Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Imām al-Qāsim, known as al-Khufanjī (+1180/1766)

Ismā‘īl b. Muḥd. b. ‘Alī Fāyi’ (1106-85/1695-1771)

‘Abdallāh b. Ahmad b. Ishaq (+1191/1771)

‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Muṣṭafā al-'Aidarūs (1135-92/1723-78)

Muḥsin b. Muḥd. al-Fāyi’ (1141-95/1729-80)

Ahmad b. Muḥd. al-Qāṭīn (1118-99/1706-85)

Sa‘īd al-Qarawānī (+1204/1789)

Muḥd. b. Ḥāshim al-Shāmī (1140-1207/1727-93)

‘Umar b. Saqqāf al-Saqqāf (1154-1216/1741-1801)

Muḥd. b. Ahmad al-'Ansī (+1217/1802)

Ahmad b. Yaḥya al-Ṣan‘ānī (+1217/1802)

Muḥd. b. Ahmad al-Ḥasanī al-Ṣan‘ānī (+1217/1802)

Ahmad al-Murtada al-Maḥṭūrī (+1219/1804)
'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Amīr (1171-1219/1758-1804)

'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Iṣḥāq (1150-1220/1737-1805)

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Māhdi 'Aḥbās (+1221/1806)

Al-Muṭṭahhar b. Ḥasan al-Sa'dī (+1223/1808)

Muhd. b. Muḥṣin al-'Alī (+1224/1808)

Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ānisī (1189-1241/1775-1827)

Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Amīr (1175-1244/1762-1829)

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥya al-Ānisī (1168-1250/1755-1834)

Muḥṣin b. Aḥmad al-Shāmī al-Ḥasanī (+1251/1835)

'Abdallah b. Abī Bakr 'Aḍīd (1195-1255/1781-1839)

Ismā'īl b. Ḥusain b. Ḥasan b. Ṣaḥāh Ja'mān (1212-56/1798-1840)

'Abdallah b. Sa'd b. Sumair (1185-1262/1771-1845)

Al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawkabānī (1179-1265/1765-1849)

'Abdallah b. Aḥmad Bā-Sūdān (1178-1266/1764-1850)

Muḥṣin b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Iṣḥāq (1191-1266/1771-1850)

'Abdallah b. Ḥusain b. Ṭāhir (1191-1272/1774-1855)

Aḥmad Sharaf al-Dīn al-Qāriḥah (1295/1878)

Aḥmad b. Muḥd. al-Miḥdār (1217-1304/1802-86)

Ḥusain b. Muḥd. al-Bar (1250-1311/1834-93)

Shaikhān b. 'Alī b. Ḥāshim al-Saqqāf (1248-1313/1832-95)

+ Zābarah, Nā'il al-Wāṭar, I, 270, and Brock., Sup., II, 819, read "Jaghmān", and, therefore, should be corrected. The reading 'Ja'mān" is fixed by the Tāj al-'Arūs (s.v. "); see also Khulāṣat al-Athār, I, 21.
The following two poets, about whom I could not find any reliable information, are known to have composed in the muwashshah style:

2. 'Umar al-Mayyarah.

1. Diwan Mubayyat, p. 9.
2. Ahmad b. 'Abdallah al-Shar'abi, Tiraz al-Majalis wa-Samir Kull Nahid wa-Anis, an Ms. in possession of al-Qadi al-Haj Ahmad b. Isma'il b. Nasir of Suhban. This important version will be given in the next chapter.

7. Ibn Abi Usaibi'ah, 'Uyun al-Anba' fi Tabaqat al-Atibba' (Cairo, 1299/1882), II, 62; see also the statement of al-Maqqari, Naff al-Tib ..., ed. Rifa'i (Cairo, 1355/1935),
8. *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, II, 35-6; see also his, *Dīwān al-Hikam* ...
9. See, respectively, *Qumāra du Yemen*, ed. H. Derenbourg
   (Paris, 1897), I, 288-9; *Dīwān al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil*, ed. A.A.
   Badawi (Cairo, 1961), I, 283.
10. His *dīwān* (Būlāq, 1271/1855) contains thirty strophic
    poems that are typically Andalusian in rhyme scheme.
12. Ibid., p. 8.
14. The *dīwān* of Ibn 'Alwān, Bodleian, *Marsh* 587, contains
    four strophic poems that are typically Andalusian in rhyme
    scheme.
16. For his life and poetry, see Zabārah, *Ithāf al-Muhtadīn
    bi-Dhikr al-Ālimmah al-Mujaddidīn* (Ṣan‘ā’, A.H. 1343), p. 65;
    *Simt al-La‘āl*, fols. 125b-132a; al-‘Arashi, *Bulūgh al-Mara‘īm*...
    ed. al-Karmīlī (Cairo, 1939), p. 51; al-Fandi, *al-Lawāhiq
    al-Nadiyyah*..., *al-Jāmi‘ al-Kabīr*, no. 16, ii; Ma‘āthir
    *al-Ābrār*..., *al-Jāmi‘ al-Kabīr*, no. 14, i; Ibn Mu‘azzafar,
    *al-Tarjumān*..., Br. Mus., Add. 18513, fols. 168-69; *Al-Badr
    al-Tālī*, II, 311; *Tārīkh Thaghr ‘Adan*, II, 20-21, 106-07;


24. Cf. al-'Uqūd al-Lu'lu'iyyah, II, 158f. For some of his preserved books, see Brock., Sup., II, 236.

25. Cf. al-'Uqūd al-Lu'lu'iyyah, II, 244.


28. Cf. Diwān Mubayyatāt, p. 133ff. I came across this story in some safāyīn, and a considerable portion of the qāsīdah in question is quoted in the Ambrosiana Ms., C 163, fol. 102.

29. Diwān Mubayyatāt, p. 133.

30. It is interesting to note that 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Anīsī, Tarījī' al-Ątyār bi-Muraqqis al-Ȃsh'ār, ed. al-Iryānī and al-Aghbarī (Cairo, A.H. 1369), p. 397, refers to a āhumānī song of al-Mazzāh in a line which did not strike the attention of the two editors:

وَمَا شَرَبَ قَنْوَانِي جَنِبَ ذَا الْدَّارِ

This is an allusion to a famous mubayyātah which commences

قَنْوَانِي جَنِبَ ذَا الْدَّارِ

and which was imitated by many S. Arabian wasḥaḥīn,

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

++ Metrical scheme: ||-u|-u|-u|--u| -u|-u|-u|--u
including Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah (v. Diwan Mubayyatāt, pp. 182, 204) and Ḥātim al-Ahdal (v. Leiden Ms., Or. 1445, fol. 107a).

31. Diwan Mubayyatāt, p. 103.

32. See the fourth chapter of this thesis.

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

34. See, for instance, al-Sakhwālī, al-Daw' al-Lāmi'.
    (Cairo, 1353-55/1934-36), V, 16; al-'Aidarūs, al-Nūr al-Safir
    ... (Baghdād, 1353/1934), p. 118; al-Badr al-Tāli', I, 308;
    al-Shilli, al-Saناس al-Bahir..., 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, Ṭubfat
    106a.

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

    Or. 3629, fol. 347.

38. Ibid., loc. cit.

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

40. Cf. Tarikh Thaghr 'Adan, II, 122-24; al-Daw' al-lāmī', 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'rīfat Anwā'

al-Badī' wa-Madḥ al-Nabī al-'Adnānī wa-sharḥuḥā al-mawsūm

bi-Azhar al-Rabī' wa-Ghāyat al-Amānī fī Sharḥ al-Jawhar

al-Rafī' wa-Dawḥat al-Ma'ānī: composed and elucidated by


Ḥājī 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 Ḥājī Khalīfah by depending upon Ibn Ma'sūm's statement without noticing the difference of time between the death of al-Fāiruzābādī, for example, and the birth of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī. Corrections should also be made to Brook., C.A.L, 231, and Ahlwardt, op.cit., no. 7376.
Another copy of al-Jawhar al-Rafi'i is preserved in al-Jamiʿ al-Kabir, 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-'Alawi - 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-'Alawi (+803/1400). But note, incidentally, that the poet praises Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh al-'Aidarūs (fol. 71a) and al-Sulṭān Ṭāmir 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-'Alawi, are part of two poems included in this Leiden Ms. (fol. 18a, 89b.)

The Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3789, contains the bulk of his ḥumainīyyāt. The larger portion of this Ms. (fol. 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-'Alawi.

For other copies of al-'Alawi's diwān, see also Della
Vida, op. cit., nos. 1143, 1153.

43. I do not have the slightest doubt that the production of ḫumainī, 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 (+90973/1565). Examples of their muwashshahāt are also quoted in Simt al-Laʿāl under their respective names.

Another important washshāh is 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥim b. . . . . Ahmad al-Muḥājirī al-Buraʿī (+803/1401). His diwān, 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-ʿArūs (Cairo, A.H. 1298, 1301), but doubt may be cast over their authenticity since al-Buraʿī himself says in his diwān (Bombay, A.H. 1301), p. 61, that a poem without grammar (nahw) is like food without salt. But s.v. بُ. تَعَجَ ʿArūs. Please note that Brock, Sup., I, 459, took al-Buraʿī to flourish in the middle half of the fifth century, and, therefore, should be corrected.

For other Ḥadramite washshāḥīn, see also Bā-Shaibān, Tiryaq 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 diwān, Br. Mus., Or. 409, contains four mubayyatat (fols. 266–31b, 32a–36b, 59a–62b, 63a–68a), none of which, however, is malḥūmah. This poet lived during the reign of ʿĀmir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, on whom he wrote some panegyrical ḥakamiyyāt (see, e.g. fol. 92).

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

+ It is in five volumes, but I have only seen the first three
humainiyāt are quoted in al-Nūr al-Sāfir, p. 149, and Simt al-Lā‘al, fol. 144a, respectively.

44. His life forms the subject of the Ambrosiana Ms., Bl4.


46. Cf. Silk al-Iqd al-Thamīn ..., Br. Mus., Or. 418, i, fol. 48a-62b. To the diwān of the father is appended the ḥakami and ḥumainî diwān of his son: Yahyā. The diwān of Yahyā begins on fol. 72b, and ends on fol. 121a.

47. See supra.

48. Cf. Diwān ... Bahrān, Br. Mus., Or. 3853, ii, fol. 28b-30a, 54b-56b, 65b-66a, etc. Bahrān’s ability as a washshah has been noted by al-Raiḥāni, Adab wa-Fann (Beirut, 1957), p. 38.
Copies of Bahrān's diwān are in the Egyptian Library, no. 4075 Adab; al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, no. 182, iii.


53. Cf. Ahlwardt, op. cit., nos. 7934, 7935. The Ms. of the Egyptian Library, no. 80 Adab, is simply entitled "Diwān al-Ḥāḍī 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-Munajjīd, Fihrist al-Makhtūṯāt al-'Arabiyyah fī al-Ambroziānā (Cairo,
1960)), consists of two parts. The first is undoubtedly the diwan 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-Afrah. 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:


The second part of the Leiden Ms., Or. 2697, fol. 45b, has the title: Nasamāt al-Ḥumainiyyāt al-Sāḥar [sic] wa-Nafāḥāt al-Zahar. Ḥajjī Khalīfah, Kashf al-Zunūn, VI, 342, gives the following name: Nusaimāt al-Sāḥar wa-Nafāḥāt al-Zahar fī al-Muwashshaḥāt.

57. For his life and poetry, see Nafḥat al-Yaman, pp. 78-80; Sulāfat al-'Aṣr, pp. 430-48; Hamīd al-Dīn, Tarwīḥ al-Mashūq..., Br. Mus., Or. 419, fols. 108a - 109a; Nasmat al-Sāḥar, II; Simṭ al-Lā'āl, fols. 184b-193a; al-Muḥībbī, Khulasat al-Athar...(Cairo, A.H. 1284). IV,
20; Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Wāzīr, Sharḥ Silsilat al-Ibrīz...,
Br. Mus., Or. 3918, fol. 75; Das Muwaṣṣah, pp. 67-8;
Tuhfat al-Zaman, fol. 172; al-Badr al-Ṭali', II, 194;
al-Ruʻāmī, al-Rawḍ al-Ḥasan... - Historia Jemanae sub Hasano
al-Rashīdī, Bughyat al-Murīd wa-Anīs al-Farīd..., Br. Mus.,
Or., 3719, fol. 20a-21b; Della Vida, op. cit., nos. 947
(fol. 21), 1053 (fol. 22, 49-52), 1083 (fol. 18), 1120
(fols. 35, 37), 1181 (fol. 8); AmbrosianaMs., 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, Ṭarḥat al-Alibbā', p. 217, quotes his
name mistakenly as 'Abdallāh 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-Laʻāl, 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-Sahār, 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-Hāmī expounded the difficult lines of this long poem in a book which he called al-Asdāf 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-Hāmī, Sulāfat al-'Āṣir..., Br. Mus., Or. 3841, fol. 22b.).

61. Leiden Ms., Or. 2766, and al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr's, no. 184.
63. Diwān Mubayyatāt, pp. 9-10.
64. Ibid., p. 10.
65. See, e.g. Simt al-La'āl, fol. 184b - 185a; al-Badr al-Tāli', II, 195-6; Ṭabqaq al-Ḥalwa, fol. 6a.
68. Al-Zahr al-Bāsim.
69. 'Iqād al-Jawāhir, fol. 258b; Sulāfat al-'Āṣr, p. 452. The whole poem is quoted in the Leiden Ms., Or. 1445, fol. 107.
71. The Leiden Ms., Or. 2701, which carries the title "Diwān al-Sayyid Ḥātim al-Ahdal", does not contain any poem of Ḥātim. The second Leiden Ms., Or. 2701 (1), is perhaps the diwān which al-'Aidarūs has in mind. The
anonymous Leiden Ms., Or. 1445 (v. Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts, p. 62) is the diwan 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 'īqd 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 muwashshahah which commences

\[\text{אכלה יספרת איסר אלתדר ומרגמה} \]

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

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

In the other Leiden Ms., Or. 2701 (1), Ḥātim's poetry is divided into ḥakami 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. Diwān Ḥātim al-Ahdal, Leiden, Or. 1445, fols. 76, 89, 103, etc.

74. Al-Barq al-Yamanī, fol. 17.
75. Rawḥ al-Rūḥ, fol. 93.

76. Cf. al-Sanāʿ al-Bāḥir, fol. 244.


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).


81. A bitter and satirical humanī verse, called Bughyat al-Żurafā' 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 dīwān, 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, Subh 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-Bahkālī's book, Nafḥ al-'Ūd fī Sīrat
al-Sharīf Ḥamūd, al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, no. 341, i.


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

86. Cf. ibid., p. 155.

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

88. Ţīb al-Samar, I, 200b.

89. Cf. Sulāfat al-'Aṣr, p. 461, For his life and poetry,
see also Ḥadīqat al-Afraḥ, p. 27; Zabārah, (Mulḥaq)
al-Badr al-Ṭālī', p. 121; Ḥadiyyat al-'Ārifīn, I, 574;
al-Ṭihrānī, al-Dhāri'ah ila Taṣānīf al-Shī'ah (al-Najaf,

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; Ţīb al-Samar, I, 39b;
al-Badr al-Ṭālī', I, 516; Tabaq al-Halwa, fols. 5b-6a; Brock,
For his ḥumānī diwan and examples of his muwashshahāt, see Simṭ al-Lāʾal, fols. 236a-238a; see also Griffini, loc. cit., III, 68A-xi; Tuhfat al-Zaman, fol. 234a.

91. For his life and poetry, see Khulāṣat al-Athar, II, 249; (Mulḥaq) al-Badr al-Tāli', p. 107; Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3823, fol. 19b; Tabaq al-Halwa, fol. 20b; Muḥsin b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qasim, Riyāḍ al-ʿAṣjād..., Br. Mus., Or. 3823, fols. 70b-71a, 128b, 183a. Reference to his ḥakamī and ḥumānī diwan is made in ibid., fol. 71a.

92. For his life and poetry, see Nasmat al-Sahar, I; al-Badr al-Tāli', I, 210; Tīb al-Samar, II, 109b-113a. Al-Jarmūzī is a tender ḥumānīst whose muwashshahāt are widely dispersed in safāyin. One of his beautiful mubayyatat is quoted in Diwan Qalā'īd al-Jawāhir min Shiʿr al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Jābir, Ambrosiana, A7, fol. 142b.

93. For his life and poetry, see Sulāfat al-ʿAṣr pp. 477-85; Ḥadīqat al-Afrāh, p. 8; Tīb al-Samar, I, 211b; al-Badr al-Tāli', I, 16; 'Iqd al-Jawāhir, fol. 375a; Tabaq al-Halwa, 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-Tāli', p. 235.

For his ḥakami and ḫumainī diwān, see Ahlwardt, op. cit., no. 8005.

95. For his life and poetry, see Nasmat al-Samr, I; Tīb al-Samar, I, 22b; al-Badr al-Tāli', I, 221; Ḥadīqat al-Afrah, p. 11; Khulāṣat al-Athar, II, 469; Sulāfīt al-Āṣir, fol. 6; Della Vida, op. cit., no. 947 (fol. 31);

Brock. Sup., II, 544; 'Alī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Nuzhat al-Nāżir; Sharh Qasīdat al-Mawla al-Husain 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 diwān of Ahmad Sharaf al-Dīn al-Qārrrah. None of his muwashshahāt, however, is included in his small diwān, al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, no. 247, i; Br. Mus., Or. 3936.

96. His ḥakami and ḫumainī diwān is called Durar al-ʿAsdāf min Shiʿr al-Sayyid Yahya b. Ibrāhīm Jaḥḥaf, copies of which are preserved in al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr (appended to the diwān of al-Husain b. 'Abd al-Qādir) and the Vatican (v. Della Vida, op. cit., no. 1073). This is his diwān as collected by one of his relations (v. (Mulḥaq) al-Badr al-Tāli', p. 221). The Leiden Ms., Or. 2699, is his diwān 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-Jaḥḥāfī 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. Yaḥya (v. Nasmat al-Ṣaḥar, II.), Zabārah (v. (Mulḥaq) al-Badr al-Tālī', p. 221), and Brock., Sup., II, 545.

Reference to his ḥumainī poetry is made in Tib al-Samar, II, 171a, and three of his ḥumainiyyāt are also quoted in Ḥadīqat al-Afrah, pp. 37-40. Two strophes of the muwashshaḥah quoted in ibid., p. 40, are reproduced and scanned in G.W. Freytag, Darstellung der Arabischen Verskunst (Bonn, 1830), p. 416. Several of his muwashshaḥāt are also quoted in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fols. 113-118; Ambrosiana Ms., All9, fols. 135a, 136a-140b.

97. For his life and poetry, see Nasmat al-Ṣaḥar, I; al-Badr al-Tālī', I, 36; Tib al-Samar, II, 103a-106b; Ḥadīqat al-Afrah, p. 8. A copy of his ḥakami and ḥumainī diwan, as collected and arranged by himself, is in the Br. Mus., Or. 3859. The title of this Ms. is "al-ʿAlam al-Mufrad min Shiʾr al-Muthanna Ahmad b. Ahmad." 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 diwan is Ahmad b. Ahmad b. Muḥd. al-ʾAnisī, and the word
"al-muthanna" was inserted by the poet himself to match "al-ʿalam al-mufrad", and to be a mark of differentiation between his dīwān and that of his father, ʿAhmad b. Muḥd. al-ʿAnisi (+1079/1668).

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


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

100. One of the most prominent S. Arabian washshahīn after the tenth century as is attested by the number of poets who imitated some of his muwashshahāt. To my best knowledge, Ḥaidar Aghā does not have a compiled dīwān. Examples of his muwashshahāt, however, can be collected from safāyin and from Hādiqat al-Afrah, p. 15; Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fol. 90a, 92a, 92b-93a.

For his life and poetry, reference can also be made to Nasmat al-Sahar, I; Tib al-Samar, I, 294b-298b; Della Vida, op. cit., nos. 947 (fol. 24), 1053 (fol. 11),
1120.75, 1181.8, 1203 (fol. 8).


Al-Ḥaddād is one of the best wasḥshāhin S. Arabia has ever produced. His printed *diwan*, al-Durr al-Manṣūn li-Dhawī al-'Uqūl wa-al-Fuhūm* (Cairo, 3rd. ed., 1377/1957), contains twenty-seven muwashshāṭ dispersed throughout the whole collection. The term *fasl*, it should be noted, is used in this *diwan* instead of the term *baīt*. Al-Ḥaddād's well-known muwashshahah (pp. 94-5), is quoted, with an additional *māṭla', in *al-'Aṭṭas, al-Qaṣā'id al-Anfās min Anfās al-Sādāt al-Akīs* (Bombay, A.H. 1312), pp. 30-2.

102. For his life and poetry, see Nasmat al-Saḥar, II; *al-Badr al-Tāli*, I, 475; *Tirāz al-Majālis; Hādīqat al-Afrah*, p. 21; Brock., *G.A.L.*, II, 526, *Sup.*, II, 545; *Tabaq al-Halwa*, fols. 33b-34a; *Ṭīb al-Samar*, I, 206b-209b; *Della Vida*, *op.cit.*, nos. 947 (fol. 1), 10296, 108610, 1053 (fols. 3, 4, 6, 7, 97, 102); 1203(fol. 5); *Ambrosiana Mss.*, B 74, fols. 4-8, C 3, fols. 31-41, C 158, fols. 4b, 47a-53, C 159, fol. 43a, C 163, fols. 56a-58b, 97b-98a; *Miyād al-'Asjad*, fols. 9b-10a, 45b, 68b, 101;
Al-'Anṣī is a famous S. Arabian washšah, and some of his muwashšahāt are popular recorded songs, the first two strophes of one of which is quoted in al-Ṭayyib, al-Murshid ila Fahl Ashʻar al-ʻArab (Cairo, 1955), I, 15. The Egyptian Library's Ms., no. 4613 Adab (Ṭalʿat), contains a considerable number of his muwashšahāt, but his diwān, Kas al-Muḥtasaʻ min Shīr al-ʻAllāmah al-ʻAnṣī, Ambrosiana, C 163 (fols. 1-48), does not contain any of his own composition.

103. He is considered by al-Ḥaimī, Tib al-Samar, II, 99b, as a good composer in ḥumainī.  
104. For his life and literary achievements, see ibid. I, 175a; Nasmat al-Saḥar, II.; Ḥadīqat al-Afrah, p. 26; Brock., G.A.L., II, 525, Sup., II, 544f; Tabaq al-Ḥalwa, fols. 95b-96b, 121; al-Badr al-Ṭally, I, 388; Della Vida, op. cit., nos. 947 (fol. 23), 1087. 1; Ambrosiana Ms., C 158, fols. 3b-5a, C 159, fol. 44a.

His diwān, Jawārish al-Afrah wa-Qūt al-Arwāh, Ambrosiana, C 109, i (fols. 4-68), contains several muwashšahāt appended to his ḥakamiyyāt. A copy of this diwān is preserved in the Egyptian Library, no. 4568 Adab. The Leiden Ms., Or. 2375, which is his diwān and has the above title, does not, however, contain any ḥumainiyyah.
Several of his muwashshahat are also quoted in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fols. 109b-112a.

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


Al-Wazīr, Jawārīsh al-Afrah, Ambrosiana, C 109, fol. 66, wrote a muwashshahat poem in honour of Shābān in which he considers him unparalleled in nasīb. Two of his muwashshahat are quoted in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fols. 148a, 159a, and his ḥakami and ḥumainī diwan 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-Sahar, I.; Tib al-Samar, I, 193b–195a; al-Badr al-Tāli', I, 222; Della Vida, op. cit., nos. 947 (fol. 24); 1053 (fol. 21); Riyāḍ al-'Asjad, fols. 75, 135b; Ambrosiana Ms., C 163, fols.
He is one of the best poets Yaman has ever produced, and his father, 'Alī (1050-96/1640-85), is a celebrated hakamist (v. al-Badr al-Tāli', I, 348; Nasmât al-Saḥar, II; Khulāsāt al-Athār, III, 148-50; Tib al-Samar, I, 191a-192a; 'Iqd al-Jawāhir, fols. 374a, 375b. The diwān of 'Alī is preserved in al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, no. 182, i).

Al-Husain is a tender humanist, and some of his muwashshahāt were imitated by many S. Arabian poets. His small diwān (as possessed by al-Qādī ʿAbd al-Suhbānī) contains twelve muwashshahāt appended to his hakamiyyāt, six of which are also quoted in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fols. 98b-101a.

He is one of the most prolific writers of S. Arabia. He wrote more than forty books (v. al-Badr al-Tāli', I, 103-04), among which is a commentary upon al-Wāthiq's al-Durr al-Manẓūm, which he called al-Tirāz al-Marqūm 'ala al-Durr al-Manẓūm, 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-Haṁī's humanīyyāt were collected and arranged by himself in a diwān which he called al-Jawāhir al-Muṭalīfah al-Mustakhrajah min al-Buḥūr al-Mukhtalīfah (v. Tib al-Samar, I, 175a.)

110. Cf. ibid., II, 118.

111. A popular ḥumainist whose muwashšahāt, that are mostly religious in nature, are widely dispersed in safāyin. For his life and poetry, see Nasmat al-Sahar, II.; Ḥadīqat al-Afraq, p. 34; Tib al-Samar, I, 171b-175a; al-Badr al-Tāli’, II, 321.

112. A repeatable washšah in safāyin. For his life and poetry, see ibid., I, 52; Riyāḍ al-’Asjad, fols. 121a-122b; Tib al-Samar, I, 309a-311a; Nasmat al-Sahar, I.

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

For his life and poetry, reference can be made to Ithāf al-Muhtadīn, p. 89; Ḥadīqat al-Afraq, p. 29; Brock., Sup., II, 547; Tib 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. Bulugh al-Umniyyah fi al-Širah 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 washshahāh in safāyin, who also wrote in
the bedouin form. Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr al-Ṭalī', I, 375, and
Zabārah, (Mulḥaq) al-Badr al-Ṭalī', p. 22, differ in
the year of his death.

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


117. Two compilers, Muḥd. b. Ḥāshim al-Shāmī (v. Nail
al-Waṭar, II, 322) and an anonymous, compiled his poetry
under the respective titles: (a) Nūr al-Awraq min Naẓm
al-Mawla Ishaq. (b) Ḥusn al-Akhlaq min Ḥasanāt al-Mawla
Ishaq. 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 ḥumainiyyāt (v. Nūr al-Awraq, Ambrosiana, fol. 23), is

For his life and poetry, see Nasmat al-Sahar, I;
Tīb al-Samar, II, 44a-48a; al-Badr al-Ṭalī', I, 135;
al-Shirwānī, al-Manāqib al-Haidariyyah (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.
One may, indeed, compile a ḥumainī diwān for this poet as his ḥumainiyyāt, both in the muwashshah style and the bedouin form, are widely dispersed in safayin and in the diwān 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).

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 diwān 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.

Brook, 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 ḥumainī will be depicted in Ch. 4.

122. For his life and poetry, see Tib al-Samar, I, 266b-273a; (Mulḥaq) al-Badr al-Ṭali', p. 63; Brock., Sup., II, 547; Riyāḍ al-'Asjad, fols. 3b-5a, 10b, 11a, 133b-134b. His ḥakāmī and ḥumainī dīwān 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-Ḥusayn (1107-61/1695-1748), form the second part of the Leiden Ms., Or. 2701.

123. A weak but repeatable wasḥshah in safa'yin, one of whose muwashshahāt is quoted in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3730, fol. 134a. For his life and specimens of his ḥakāmī poetry, see ibid., fols. 7b-8a, 22a, 56b-57a, 79b, 95a; al-Badr al-Ṭali', I, 375. For his dīwān, see Nail al-Waṭār, I, 131.

124. For his life and literary achievements, reference can be made to Silk al-Durar, II, 328; Mu'jam al-Maṭbu'āt II, 1398; Brock, Sup., II, 478f; al-Jabartī, 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār... (Būlāq, A.H. 1297), II, 27-34; Tarīkh al-Shu'ārā' al-Ḥudrāmiyyīn, II, 189-215.
His diwān, Tanmīq al-Asfār... (Būlāq, A.H. 1304), contains a considerable number of ḥumainiyyāt which are introduced, on p. 259, by the statement: The ḥumainī section in Tanmīq al-Asfār (pp. 259-370) contains one hundred and thirty-eight poems divided structurally as follows:

i. Fifty-seven malḥūn poems in the bedouin form, but the laḥn in these poems is mainly restricted to the employment of the sukūn.

ii. Thirty-four malḥūn poems in the Ṣ️ajā form in which the hemistichs are made to rhyme together throughout the whole poem. Likewise, the laḥn in these poems is mainly restricted to the manipulation of the sukūn.

iii. Thirty-nine muwashshāḥ poems, one of which (p. 337f) is typically Andalusian in rhyme scheme. In some of these muwashshāḥat the laḥn is not used.

iv. Three poems (pp. 269, 282f) rhyming abc abc abc, etc.

v. Four non-strophic muzdawijāt (rhyming ab od ef, etc.) in which the laḥn is not employed.

vi. A poem (p. 273) whose rhyme pattern is hard to categorize.

vii. One monorhymic poem (p. 301) which is malḥūnah.

viii. Two lyrical ḥakamiyyāt (p. 368ff).
His other diwan, Tarwih al-Bāl wa-Tahyīj al-Balbāl (Būlāq, A.H. 1283), contains several ḥumainiyyāt 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 ḥumainiyyāt are quoted in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fols. 149b, 162a; Diwan al-Qāṭin, fols. 135b, 137.

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

126. For his life, see al-Badr al-Tāli, I, 113. For his performances in ḥumainī, see his "diwan", 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. 705.

127. The celebrated poem which Zabārah, Nail al-Watār, II, 8, has in mind is appended to the ḥumainī diwan of Ahmad Sharaf al-Dīn al-Qārrah. The poem in question is divided into two types of strophes: al-jadd 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-Wâtar, II, 324. One of his beautiful regular muwashshahat is quoted in "Diwan" al-Qâṭîn, fol. 134b. For his life and specimens of his ḥakami poetry, see also ibid., fols. 18b, 81b-82a, 141b-142a; al-Badr al-Tâli', II, 272ff.


131. Cf. ibid., I, 246.


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

134. Cf. ibid., II, II2. For specimens of his poetry, see Della Vida, op. cit., nos. 1053 (fols. 5, 20, 38, 78), 1065. 28. 34, llll.6, 1192 (fols. 246-254); Ambrosiana Mss., C3, fols. 56-59, C 159, fols. 50b-51a.

135. A repeatable washshah in safâyin who also wrote in the bedouin form. For his life and poetry, see Nail al-Wâtar, II, 120; Della Vida, op. cit., nos. 1053 (fols. 1, 2, 10, 29, 74, 75), llll.3; Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3869, fols. 21a-19b, 38a-37b, 42a, 60a-59a, 65; Ambrosiana Ms., C3, fols. 50, 56, 65.

137. Cf. ibid., II, 366.

138. Cf. ibid., II, 308.

139. Cf. ibid., I, 114; Tarjī al-Ātyār, pp. 207, 237f.


141. His printed diwan, Tarjī al-Ātyār, is wholly given to his performances in ḥumaini, and contains one hundred and one malḥūn poems divided structurally as follows:—

i. Forty-eight mubayyatāt.

ii. Twenty-seven regular muwashshāḥat.

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.


144. His diwan, Br. Mus., Or. 3898 (25-113), contains a mubayyatāt, fol. 78a, and a regular muwashshāhah, fol. 78-79a. And because the above Ms. ends abruptly, we cannot give a fair idea about his ability as a ḥumainist. 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:

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


148. He is an eminent ḥakamīst, but as a washsbāh he is dull. His ḥakami and ḥumainī diwan, Dhawb al-'Aṣjad fi al-'Adab al-Mufrad, as collected by 'Abdallāh b. Saʿīd al-'Ammārī, is preserved in the Egyptian Library, no. 4792 Adab (Talʿat). For another copy of this diwan, see Della Vida, op. cit., no. 1068.

For his life and poetry, reference can be made to al-Badr al-Talī', II, 78; Nail al-Wāṭar, 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,

149. Cf. Tārīkh al-Shu‘ārā‘ al-Hādramīyyīn, III, 172. This is, perhaps, the dīwān which Brook., Sup., II, 820f., mentions.

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

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


153. Cf. ibid., III, 266.

154. Cf. ibid., V, 172.

155. Cf. ibid., VII, 213.

156. Cf. ibid., IV, 277.


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 ḫumānī tradition by imitating a number of S. Arabian muwashshah songs of the past (v. ibid., pp. 169,
171, 173, 174, 181, 201, 214, 220).


CHAPTER TWO.

THE MUWASHSHAH 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 ḥumainī. Let us, therefore, proceed to discuss each style independently, and show its structural characteristics.

I.

The author of Tirāz al-Majālis presents us with a challenging, and rather ambiguous, statement because, firstly, he tries to take back the history of what may be categorised as ḥumainī as far as the fifth century A.H.; and, secondly, because he uses the term al-mutadākhil al-qawāfi to denote any poem in which more than one rhyme is involved. He says:-
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 subjets, 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-Takritī, the author of the famous ḥumainiyyah, [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 ḥumainī and muwashshah poems [sic] were compiled in a dīwān by Sīdī 'Īsā b. al-Muṭahhar [sic]. As for the present, the unrivalled performer in this genre of poetry, and its unparalleled poet, is al-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||-uu|-u-|--u||

** Two strophes of this muwashshahāh 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-ℏumainī 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 ℏumainiyyah. The rhyme pattern of this celebrated poem², which is not malḥūn̄ah, 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:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aaaa</th>
<th>bbba</th>
<th>ccca</th>
<th>ddda, etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bait</td>
<td>bait</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```
I have much respect for al-Shar'abī as a learned man, and cannot renounce his claim — that al-shi'rx al-mutadakhil 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 praised and surrounded by good poets. Muḥd. b. Sabā (r. 534/1139; 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 conversation." The Yamanite poet and historian, 'Umārah al-Ḥakamī, 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 [Muhd. b. Saba] on a feast day 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 themselves. Bilāl, who succeeded 'Imrān, and his son Yāsir, continued this virtue and were greatly praised and liberally rewarded their eulogists.

It was during the reign of Muḥd. b. Sabā that Abū Bakr al-Janadī (490-552/1097-1157). Bakr b. Muḥd. al-Yafāʾī al-Janadī lived. He was an accomplished scholar, a distinguished poet, and "the author of extemporaneous verses which no studied lines have ever excelled." He had a special position in the courts of al-Mansūr b. al-Mufaddal and Muḥd. b. Sabā. 'Umārah tells us 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. Muhd. 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 quoting:

"The Dā'ī (Muhd. 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-Yāfiʿī [sic] outdistanced his companions in the race. He was close to me [= Umārah al-Hakamī]. 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 Mandī 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'ir al-mutadakhil al-qawāfī** 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 **diwan**, but whether its procurability is still possible is hard to tell. But let it be remembered that the Sulaihītes and the Zurai'ītes were spiritually connected with the Fātimids 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 Ahmad b. 'Alī b. al-Zubair (+ 563/1167-8), a student of the washshāh 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 **Da'ī**, in the name of the Fātimid caliph of Cairo. Al-Qādī al-Rashīd resided for several years in Yaman, and was later imprisoned in Aden by 'Imrān b. Muḥd. b. Sabā.
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 mubāyyat 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 ālhumainī 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 taṣrīḥ 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
regular intervals. The traditional ode does furnish a pause at the end of each line marked by ḥarf al-rawālī, 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 taḏmīn* - 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 idraj, and the reciter, or the singer, has to strain 
himself to take the line as a whole.

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 humaini, 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 people, nay, it is the 
most frequently-used foot in humaini. 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 šahr and nahk are typical of it.¹⁴ Note, incidentally, that šahr and nahk are distinctive characteristics of ḥumainī, and were practised mainly for the sake of pauses in the form of rhymes, and for the obvious reason that a considerable quantity of ḥumainī was either composed spontaneously or intended to be sung.

Before dealing with rhythmical pauses, I should like to call attention to the fact that the repetition of one

The S. Arabian bedouin form. and the same rhyme in the Rajaz form is naturally monotonous, though it tends to act as a natural pause which prevents the exhausting strain on the attention when ḫidrāj 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-Mustatîl which Ibn al-Jazzâz al-Zabîdî considers as the most widely-used among the bedouins of Yaman, from al-Shîhâr and Hadramawt in the south, to Sa'dah in the north. 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-'Alawi:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{سيب أذال آل عمر} & \\
\text{مثل نشورآصبيح} & \\
\text{إذ تليل نبكم شح} & \\
\text{الورى شرفة رحم} & \\
\text{رام كنه نففف} & \\
\text{وشبد عنب ومحم} & \\
\text{من شرب صرفة فحم.}
\end{align*}
\]

The second type of pauses are the rhythmical, under which may be grouped the metrical pauses which the traditional qaṣîdah 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: \(-u--u--u-\)
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 bādī'ī, 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-taṣḥīr which was doubtlessly of a pre-Islamic origin. Al-taṣḥīr is of two kinds: tarṣī', as exemplified in the following line:

\[\text{حامي المفيدة، صعود أطلالته، ود摘要 المفيدة، نتاج وضرر.}\]

and mumāthalah, as exemplified by the following lines:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{وإذا أتاكوا ليحي، فرعت لهوم،} \\
\text{وإنهم نورا غنى، نورت لهم رشد.}
\end{align*}\]
It is clear from the foregoing lines that in tarsi, 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 tarsi 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 tarsi and mumāthalah is known as tasmīt, and is illustrated in the following two lines:

ورب وردت رثبر سدنت رحش شهدت عليه ألمجال
which can be written in the following way and be claimed as a mubayyatah consisting of two strophes:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{جورب وردت،} \\
\text{روش شدست،} \\
\text{وبال حبيت،} \\
\end{align*}
\]

However, we are not sure when the first full musammat form came into existence, though, of course, there are some musammat 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 authenticity.

The Arabs employed many forms of al-shi’r al-musammat, but their critics were not always exact in their definitions. I should say that the most distinctive and concomitant qualities in the musammat 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 musammat 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 washshāhin of S. Arabia*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>aaaa</th>
<th>bbba</th>
<th>ccca</th>
<th>etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>aaab</td>
<td>cccb</td>
<td>dddb</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>aaaaA*</td>
<td>bbbA*</td>
<td>cccA*</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>aaaaa</td>
<td>bbbba</td>
<td>ccca</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>aaab</td>
<td>cccab</td>
<td>dddab</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>aaaaa</td>
<td>bbbaa</td>
<td>cccaa</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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 inmetrical structure.

** Capital letters represent identical hemistichs, or lines
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-shīr al-mutaddakhil 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:—

Wādīdāh al-Yaman. 20
Al-Hamdānī (278-334/891-945). 21
"Amr b. Yahya al-Haithami. 22
Jayyāsh b. Najāh (+498/1105). 23
Al-Khaṭṭāb al-Hujūrī (+533/1139). 24

— repeated as refrains, either for their emotional richness or for their melodic qualities.
Al-Ḥusain b. ʿAlī, known as Ibn al-Qumm²⁶.

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


Muḥammad b. Ḥimyar (+651/1253)²⁹.

ʿAlwān b. Saʿīd al-Ḥuṣūrī (+660/1262)³⁰.

Al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-Hutaimi³¹.

Ahmad b. ʿAlwān al-Yafrisi (+665/1266-7)³².

Abū Ḥanīfah al-ʿAdani³³.

Muḥd. b. ʿAbd al-Qaddūs al-Zafārī (+691/1292)³⁴.

Saʿīd b. Masʿūd al-Najawi³⁵.

ʿAbdallah b. Jaʿfar (+713/1313)³⁶.

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

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

ʿAbdallah b. Asʿād al-Yafrisi (698-768/1298-1367)³⁹.

Ahmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥuṣaishi (702-69/1302-68)⁴⁰.

Ibn ʿAlwān⁴¹ and al-Malik al-Muṯjahid⁴² are known to have composed in one or more of the previously tabulated patterns of al-shiʿr al-musammat, and one of the earliest musammatāt that has reached us in an authentic S. Arabian compilation is that of ʿAbd al-Nabi b. Mahdī (+569/1173)⁴³. It is not fanciful, therefore, to assume that the Yemenites, like their brethren across the border, exploited the musammat prosody for different purposes when such a style of poetry became rooted in the body of Arabic literature.
II.

Of all the previously tabulated musammat 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 coca, etc., and is exemplified by the following poem of al-Haddad⁴⁴:-

*Metrical scheme: ||--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 ḥumainī forms, a necessary condition? To answer this question in the positive would amount to a denial of the existence of a limited number of ḥumainiyāt in which the sukūn is not manipulated; and to answer in the negative, would amount to a deprival of ḥumainī of one of its most traditional features. It goes without saying that when a ḥumainī 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, ḥumainī 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-ʿAlawi's poems are cases in point. On the other hand, some poets, like Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh al-ʿAidarūs, neither possessed the tenderness of al-ʿAlawi 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 musammam pattern, which we have designated as the first mubayyāt form, was not as popular among the humainists of S. Arabia as the second mubayyāt form which we exemplify by the following muwashshah of Yahya b. Ibrāhīm al-Jahhāfī⁴⁵:-
حبيبي من عبير عطوف وعابر ومن عود طيب الأذى ناسا هندي
ولكن كافوره مسك أذفر سعيد قد مازقة موارد ورميد
وثيرة من عقق أحرا وجهر وحنطة وشم أزرق لازورد حبيب
وريقة من عسل أبيض وسكر نبات ذهبتا مع التييل وهمدة

حيبي حنانه الشجع من نور ومن لؤلؤ حلق نغرة ووجهات
حيبي قد خلق من زهر حطور وم روح مورورة زبيب وربان
حيبي صرح لي أتى من الحور وأتى قد شرد من عند ضواح
حيبي للعر والليس أسبر فقال: أسرت جارية وعديب

غراقي من طرق قد مارست فرا أنا لا أفيق من الهارمه
بها فاضيه الأشواق أشفت للن بشت من فرط الأشواق
ومردي المسم ورق حقق على قد شغوت إليه ما ضل
فنا أزهق وقتي ألمبه إذام وران أذك هوية در وهمدة

تعلمت الهادى من ولوشد إذا أنا من فراغ كلما كنت
وودت أن أكتب سجوغ وترويح في التصاف ما رويت
وأما مثل ما وضعت ضلوغ ياذب ما سمعت ولد رأيت
هوه يبلغ عندي ليس يذكر فقد حدث دوم العين خداني

* Metrical scheme: -- u | u u u | u u | -- u | u u u | u u u
It is invaluable to study and analyse the best ḥumainiyyāt that were — are sung, and to determine where the melodic secret lies. The bulk of the best ḥumainī songs have reached us in the second mubayyat form — a form so perfect that the majority of the known washšāhin 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. 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's:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{اَلْمُعَلِّمُ} & \quad \text{فَزَادَ مَنْ عَلَّمَ}
\end{align*}
\]
Each line of the *bait* is usually divided into two hemistichs; but there is a limited number of poems in which the poet practises *tazfir*, and breaks his lines into three rhyming verse-sections:

* Metrical scheme: $\| -u_{-1} -u - u_{-1} -u_{-1} -u_{-1} -u_{-1}$

** Metrical scheme: $\| -u_{-1} -u_{-1} -u_{-1} -u_{-1} -u_{-1}$
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: \(-u-u\) | \(-u-u\) | \(-u-u\) | \(-u-u-u\)
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

The Andalusian type of muwashshah. 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 Sānāʾ Al-Mulk’s definition of the (Andalusian type of) muwashshah as "a versified form of speech written in a special metre" 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
ورى بتلبيب لعينين
ينتهي ليل السلام
هيناء
ولايت شرب من
تين وق ولت في
أثناء حي أقول
بأويل الجواب
وقد روا للجواب
برقينا ورقيم
فأنا

هوئي أشياء البذاء
وأراد السباق

تل آية سلام
أصل أم ملك
لسعني في البلا
وحبي على الوجه زاد
ذوب حولي رقفت

وصل قلها شعاع
وللنا جرف سرا
نزلنا على أندان
سيرة نسيج كوب طونا
إذ جردت خيل النسيم فرحا

دنا جنب عرس
ناقشب وراث آلرس
وراح فيت الورش
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, ghusn, simt, dawr, qufl, bait, faśl, hashw, kharj, silsilah, kanah, dhail, insiraf, durj, and lazimah. 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:  \[ \underline{-} | -u- | u-u | -u-u \]

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

\[ \underline{-} | -u- | u-u | -u-u \]

short lines:  \[ u-u | -u-u | -u-u \]
bait: strophe consisting of simt = 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:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{qufl} & \text{bait} & \text{simt} & \text{qufl} \\
(\text{ghghgh}) & (\text{abcdef}) & (\text{ghghgh}) & (\text{abcdef}), \text{etc.}
\end{array}
\]

It is obvious from this scheme that the aqfal should wholly reproduce themselves in each bait throughout the whole poem, the last qufl, considered by Ibn Sanā‘ al-Mulk as the loom upon which the washshah should weave his poem, bears the name of kharjah. If the muwashshah has a matla’ (exordium), which is the first qufl, then it is called tamm, but when it does not, it is called agara’. 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 humainiyah composed after the Andalusian model is treated as a mubayyát muwashshah 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 aqāfīl is wholly reproduced in the āsmāt, then the ḥumainiyyah in question is regarded as a mubayyatah, with a māṭla', if the muwashshah is tāmm.

The following poem of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallāh, which is contrived after the Andalusian pattern, will show how such ḥumainiyyāt are divided in S. Arabian dīwāns and safāyin:-

ألف على الروع نفوت أحلاب
إسفنت كأس نورة يتلمب

أسفرت صورت
حيرت

لها اسماء ف الأرض إذ نورت
أبلابنا ف حسن ما حبرت
كأس على زهر أرآ بجلب
يحن جيد الفاعل المطلب

ببب

صلت بعاطلي أكلس غلرات نيبد

السعيذ
مباشرةً وأُلقي عينًا رخِيدًا
من صرح أَكَس أجر أَبيديدة
بالكأس كثت أَشارت آلا كفل
كأس على رجح شا أُلمت

على أَرشاف درة أَكَنشين
بُل أَدهقت وَإِل تَخيسين
من كث سما أُحور أَلبس
ف أَكَس ذاك أَرائع السلال
أُقياس بالممسك والمنديل

إلى طلعتة أقضم ماذا يشمس
حاروا وقُلوا ذا ملك أو تسر
منه أخْتفي وأَلمست غابت خضر
يا نسي أَديال أَلبي باخليب
بالله من يحيه ذا الدول

*Metrical scheme: ||-u-|-u-u-|-u-u-|-u-|
However, if the aqfal and the asmat 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 asmat is different from that of the aqfal, then the humainiyyah is considered as if it were composed of the regular alternation bait-tawshih. The following poem is appended as an example:

إذا ذكرت تلك أئربا وأئبلزل
بيس برا دمي على أنخد فالم

-Cola
 ما يخفى الأدوار
 بارد ألسى حيران
 عن شيخه غصن الباء

بب
 فقد خرْه في ألغام الجاهل
 كساء جليب الها رفِّ داهل

أشر pal pal
 فتى ياعقب أئبل
 قيل أئبل ماغب
 كَلَا فَلِّ اذاسْب
فيما ينتهي ترهماً وآبلًا
إذا ذُمّلّ معصومٌ عليه راعسل

لمسم الأرحب
والسم الأربك
والضرير والأبشر
لنقل رأى الفجر

بنيت سلطان آلرب وملهم
منس رياض أملوك بهمة

ضيغ آلورى البلاسي
المهراج أرّجاش
لدعان رفت باشي

إمام ملتهى بالممار، كأما
أخير، وكان بالمضائل ضابان

* Metrical scheme:--

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

tawshīn: |---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 *qaṣīdah*, 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 *musammatāh*. Hence we can say confidently that the basic unit in a poem contrived after the standard Andalusian rhyme pattern is the *bait*; therefore, the foregoing appended poem of al-‘Alawi may be divided as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
quf\ell = \frac{maṭla'}{aaxa} \\
bait \\
tawshīn
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
(bobobob)(xaxa) \\
(dedede)(xaxa), \text{ etc.}
\end{array}
\]

Any division which does not regard the *bait* as the basic unit in such pattern is wrong, and Ibn Sana‘ al-Mulk's usage of the term *bait*\(^{54}\), to denote what corresponds to the *tawshīn* in al-‘Alawi'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'\textsuperscript{r} and al-musammat, and having in 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 tawshih, into the body of one of the two popular musammat patterns in S. Arabia: the first and the second mubayyat forms.

The incorporation of tawshih 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 d\textsuperscript{w}ans, nor the biographies at hand, are of much help to us in deciding the period in which the implementation of the tawshih 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 tawshih, and ending with the introduction of taq\textsuperscript{f}il. We do not possess any authentic example beyond the eighth century, but the S. Arabian d\textsuperscript{w}ans of some humainists,
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 safāyin, 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 tawṣiḥ, 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-'Ansī55 is appended here as an example of this transitory phase:

والنتكلّ حول ألقاب رمَسْان
هاتُ الرَّملُ من ألبَاب أنتان
وشتِّما في تليلٍ مِن جوى
فألبَم مَاله دوَّات

عليشّ تطَبُ حرقَتٍ علَمَة
تنكِف ألبَب واللب علَمَة
وابرَّة حِرى وسِراد أجنان
ودورَة عينكَ مشابّة القامة

سُبَّ وشَّاء
ردّـت سحءت كالغريـن
و أبي سـن الـشرق الشـبيـن
عليه عالـك من قصيـدٍ

طاح سحءت ف آله الوـنْسِ حين كان دينك ف الغرام ديفي
رق آله الوـنْسِ بـيـنْك وبيـفي وـكانـا بـكِ عـينـك سـهـران

ما في فـؤادك مـن حـريقٍ رَّفْدُ بـسکـناء حقيقـق
قد جَعَلَهُ شابٍ وـرئيـقٍ

اتَّـلَّـلا أَلْبـكْ ما غَلـبت عـسـالي تـلبـك مـعلـك وأَنا رَّهي فـنـهـيـب
لـما حـدا ءـرادي وـمال حبي بـاد فـؤادي: راـحيف الـحَـزاـن

حيـبّي مـاله مثالٍ يضُوي حبيـه لاـلـلادـل
حين يشمُّ بديـي لـكـ

بيـة

الله وافـح أَـلبـة الـعنـيـر هل عَرـحوا بـالوادـكـي آـله حـضر
أم شاهوا فـو أَـلبـة الـعـيـر قـل لـبي فـسـيـلك ، مـجي إـيـن بـات
ت و شـيـنح

أَعـبات رـهـدـك واسْـتـمْ تـنكي من أَلـبـة الـلادـل
ذكرى شابّ مارّ دمّ
The second step in this form was the introduction of the element taqfil as exemplified in the following poem:

**Metrical scheme:**

**bait:** ||-u-|u|u|u-|-u-|u-|u-|u-|u-|u-

**tawshīḥ:** ||-u-|-u-|-u-|-u-|-u-|-u-|u-|-u-|u-|u-
As for the second mubayyat form, the same element 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.

**Metrical Scheme:**

- **bait:** \[\|---u|---u|---u|---u\|---u|---u|---u|---u\]
- **tawshin:** \[\|---u|---u|---u|---u\|---u|---u\]
- **taqfil:** \[\|---u|---u|---u|---u\|---u|---u|---u\]
كم في أموته من حببت
الذين في وُفُو غانبت
بيبت في كل منتهبت
ولدت كل النواحي
في ولاية من الداجين
ومن مليء جراحي
فخذت بلببة وخمـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَـَ~

جسيم سمي الجوانب آ حركت من لواليب
كم غادرت قلب ذايب \#75

مـَّنْ هـُـو أَسـَم مـُـمـي وعـَـا
"مـَّنْ وـَـا عـَـا даـً أـً يـُـن إنـَـَ~

* Metrical scheme:--

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

tawshīḥ: ||--u|--uuu|--u|--u--u
يالنبي لرية الحسناء
تَدْ وَ شَجِع
أضحك الله راضحات ألغية
وتنا إن لحاكمها السهيد
وقاها الله والتربيه

تقف
نلهن النروائر الوعسي
قالنا وراء دوع
ولا جمع، وما أضحك
بيه ياجاري، ومي تسأل
فيم هذا ألكا الذي تقل
فقد دخلك الداران
أم جمعت ببكك الدسفي
والزاي تلاعوج
غير أبي، ولد أقول نجري
ما شبي ذي صوابية شرف

إذا شتث تاسجي وأورئ

تقف
فاي اللفظ منه والمعق
لست أنوبي رجوع
وقد ألهف على
والفصول والفروع
ذَادَبُ في الهرف الذي أعف
كيف أرجع وما لنا لهجي
سيدم الفرح ولو بديد
ها اشتياقي وها سم بي
تسعد من بلى ومن غفل
يا أنا من بلبل الآشجاش وجاءت أهمور والأيّاس...
بغراف الجيب والآدوات
توفي
كلما رست خروج أذى
قلت للقلب: كنت قال أنقى
بي..
جمال ل يضيق
والهيل لا يضيق
أنت يافع الصين
بكاها مطية
الحنين والدموع

وشي
أسأل ألهة منزل ألفوات
صول خذاك وترنك ألفنات
من دموع الآلولو والأشجار
تقفني
ويقف في الضجع
والهيل من الذي علق
وجماعي بين كم كن

* Metrical scheme:—

bait: |---u_1-u^-u|---u_1-u^-u|---u_1-u^-u|

tawshîn: |---u_1-u^-u|---u_1-u^-u|---u_1-u^-u|

taqfîl: |---u_1-u^-u|---u_1-u^-u|---u_1-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 tawshīḥ, and second, the taqfīl. 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 taqfīl is excluded can, indeed, be counted on one's fingers. Therefore, we can say plainly, and without hesitation, that the most widely-used ḫumaiṇī forms were the mubayyat form rhyming abababab cdcdcdab, etc., and the regular muwashshah pattern which is based on it, and in which the tawshīḥ and the taqfīl 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 ba'it (strophe), the chorus will chant after him the tawshīḥ (anti-strophe?), after which the singer will close the fasl (section) by repeating the taqfīl (epode?).

In the majority of cases, the tawshīḥ 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:
The element taqfīl, on the other hand, differs from
The taqfil.

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

قد نال أقصى إمضاء
من سن كأس الوداد
فم راقيل الأرتزا
أبجد وأادجشرها
تقبيل ألمحة وشيكل
لمل برب ألمباب

وصارت مئات كتب
من يوم غاب جميع
فأوساء مطلوي
فأنا العبد الوسيم
يستلم لي جبر
والاخترد

قلت على الخلل
لوجاد في الخيل
ولأؤام أطلال
شالقي إليه الليل

وشرفاء بدرج
بالإرامة والمشرفة
قلت

سعد بها وعائدة
بثم سلك المدر
من مفردات المقول
There is, however, another term, the taqmī', which appears occasionally in some dīwans and safāyin. This term occurs only in the regular muwashshah which is based on the second mubayyat form to denote the reproduction of the maṭla' at the end of each fasl - as is the case in the

* Metrical scheme:-

bait: || \( u-1-u-u \) \( \cdots \) \( u-u \) \( u-1-u-u \)

tawshīḥ: || \( u-1-u-u \) \( \cdots \) \( u-1-u-u \) \( u-1-u-u \)
above poem of al-'Alawi - in a very few specimens of poems. The term taqmi', however, was employed for such denotation 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 washshahīn 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 taqmi'. I append here three S. Arabian humainiyyat 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 dub 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. ARABIA

بدر تام جينه أبَّاسة
يفتر عن درمسم أفْنَح
شوبت أشنَب
بالمس تبَّنَى
أئناس رياً
لله ما ألمَبَن
باهي أحيا جينه أبَّاسة
إذا أنشف ماج رفته رآين
في ثغر راهب
رياً تجاً
من عشقتة آهَب
لوم عدنولي على هواة أتَخ
خلت قليبه بلومه مَرَقًة
من أين لي سلوان
عن شادن أحوز
بالبسر قد أذِر
من أين لي أحلوي
عن أعشى عشاء
في نغمة أتَخ
من عشقتة آهَب
لوم عدنولي على هواة أتَخ
خلت قليبه بلومه مَرَقًة
من أين لي سلوان
عن شادن أحوز
بالبسر قد أذِر
من أين لي أحلوي
عن أعشى عشاء
B. THE ANDALUSIAN RHYME PATTERN WITH THE ADDITIONAL ELEMENT PRECEDING THE TAWSHIH62

Métrical scheme:—

bait: | u-u-u | uuu | u-u-u-u |
tawshih: | u-u | u-u | u-u |
وَالَّذِيِّ مِنْ جَوُرِّ أَلْلَهَا لَحَسِبَ

تَقَفْيِ

وَمَارِجَ مِنْ لِهَبٍ فِي خَدَّةِ الْوُرَدِيْةٍ تَهَيْبَا
أخْبِي بَلْرِيْ ذَهْبِي مِنْ كَانَ شِيَّاً أَوْصِبِيَا

بيبِ

سوَاكَ مَايِ شَجَّيْ يَاوْسَعْ أَلْسِنَةَ الْبَيْحِ
أَتِبْ أَلْرِيْعَ أَلْسِنَةَ مَالِيْ وَأَيْامَ الْرَّيْحِ

جيبك آلِرَىْ سنَاكَ زَيْتَةٌ أَعْشَاقَةٌ وَرَدَةً وَسَوَسَةُ
سِجَانٌ مِنْ صَائِحَةٍ وَكُوَّةٍ

تَقَفْيِ

مَسْحٌ فِي سَبِيلِ الْعَيْنِ مِنْهُ لَا خِيْبَا
بِرْ سَرَىٰ فِي أَلْيَهَٰٓ فِي نَجْوَةٍ بِالْنَّزَايِ

بيبِ

أَمْوَاهُ مِنْ مَنْفَرِدِ وَاخْتِسَابِ الْتُّرِّكِ الْعَلْوِيِّ
كِبَانْكُهُ مِنْ عِسَاجٍْ فِي رَمْقِ نَبْرِ سِبِيْكِ

جوّاً وَشَرَّاً
عيَّتْ تَلْقَ وَفَوْقَةٌ خَمْرَ بِدْرِ خَامِ وَلِيَّةٌ شَمْر
صُوْرَةٌ حَسَنَى عَنْتُ لِهُ أَلْصُورُ

تَقَفْيِ

ضِادَبَةٌ فِي الصَّمْرِ لَوْ مِسْمَىٰ عَادِ حَيَا
يَفْتَرُ عَنِ الْلِّحْبِ وَرَيْقَهُ الْرَّحِمَ أَلْحِمَا
C. THE ANDALUSIAN RHYME PATTERN WITH THE ADDITIONAL ELEMENT FOLLOWING THE TAWSHIH

كَإِلَّا أَلَا النَّارُ وَأَلَا الْرُّطْبَ
بِذِينَ جَالِلِ لُوْلُأَفْ مَتَصِرفً
أَفْقَ غَيْبِيِّ أَلْحَرَ سَاِيِ مَتْلِيَ
أَرَقَّ ٍ مِنْ أَلَّامَاءِ ٍ الْمَعْنَىِّ مَعَايِّناً

*Metrical Scheme:-

bait: || -i|u| - |u| - u|| -u| -u| - |u|
tawshih: ||-u|u| - - |u| - u|| -u|u| - - |u| - u|
taqfil: || - - |u| - |u| - u|| -u|u|u| - |u|u|
في صرخة أنتوي حبين جوز
شل أنين لطينة وجازي حويز
ذقه بك ما تدد وابدار في بديعة
والشمار صوته وقطره في رودة

كتمة بالبحر تستلب الباب
لعتنق سم وقلعة داعس
فناور غزال السبب فارقت أسرا
علي سبل أسينب بنيتي الضربا
وارتقب شوقاً، تضيق حبنا

ضاحى أشعاء خسست، خدعت أسان
مطرط، فناد الليل، مخنقت
له وجه في البحور يشرق آزرا
ليه فرحه للنور إلا ضاحى

وصلة من قلبي لومي به ربي ما كنت في كري

ظلنت أن الحب شهد رئتي
علات أنت إلى الله لم تغلق الحب
فما حفظت حمباً وما تعلم لبا
برون عناب الحب عندهم غدا
وجوههم عدل، وعهدهم رضي

وح
From the above illustrative poem of al-Wāthīq, and, indeed, from all the few specimens which were composed by some Yamanite poets who lived before the tenth century, 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 matla', 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 matla' in each fasl of the regular muwashshah which is based on the second mubayyat form. On what ground and how it came to

*Metrical scheme:*

bait: \[|--u \bar{u}-u|---u| \bar{u}-u|---u| \bar{u}-u\]

tawshīn: \[|--u|-u-|--u-\bar{u}|---u|-u|--|--u--|--u--\]

taqmī': \[|--|--|--\bar{u}|---u-|--|--|--|--|--|--|--\]
be assumed to be so, is extremely difficult to answer. 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 mubayyāt 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 tawshīḥ, and its complementary component, the taqfīl, 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 tawshīḥ, 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 'Isa, 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-tawshīḥ, before we credit him with that honour,

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

(b) Take the claim of 'Isa 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-Khazrajī, 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 Tarīkh Thaghr Adan, II, 32ff.


4. Ibid., trans., p. 74f; see also Tarīkh 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 Adanian poet, Abū Bakr al-'Abdī (+ 580/1184), is the subject of this incident.


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 Tarīkh Thaghr Adan, II, 166, and 'Oumāra du Yémen, II, 542, 572.


   Br. Mus., Or. 3778, ii, fol. 55b.

16. *Diwan al-'Alawī*, Br. Mus., fol. 99. It should be noted
   here that a poem in this rhyme scheme is included in
   the *diwan* of Ibn 'Arabi, *op. cit.*, p. 460, where it is
   erroneously designated as a musammatah.

   The popularity of the rhyme pattern in question in
   the bedouin poetry of Syria has been noted by Wahibah,
   al-Zajal: *Tarikhuh, Adabuh, 'Amāmuh - qadīman wa-
   ḥadīthan* (Hamīsa, 1952), p. 79, and Amīn Nakhlah, *Mu'anna

17. My source of information, except where otherwise stated,
   is al-Jawhar al-Rafī'.

18. Cf., respectively, Ibn Rashīq, *al-'Umdāh fī Maḥāsin
   al-Shi'r ..., Muḥd. Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd* (Cairo,
   2nd ed.; 1374/1955), I, 178ff; al-Ma'arrī, *Risālat

   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 *diwan* 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-Lāḥiqī is in the muzdawīj and the musammat styles. Al-Damīrī (+808/1406), Ḥayāt al-Hayawān 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 Taḥ 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 diwān is attributed to the poet in question.


26. A fragment of his diwān 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 diwān. The man eulogized the Zurai'ites, the Najāhites, some illustrious men like the poet al-'Aḥdālī, and different members of the noble family of 'Aqīmah of Zabīd. And though he spent most of his life in Yaman, not more than thirty lines of his composition in Denenbourg's edition of his diwān are in honour of S. Arabian personages.

28. Two copies of his voluminous diwān are preserved in the British Museum, numbered Or. 417, and Or. 3815.


Al-Khazrajī, al-'Uqūd, I, ll0f, states that his diwān had become excessively rare.

30. Cf. ibid., I, 140.

31. A malhūn poem rhyming abb obb dbb, etc., is included in his printed diwān, ed. al-'Aqīlī (Cairo, 1381/1961), p. 177. The metrical structure of this poem is

\[ \| -u- | -| -u-| -u- | -| -u-| -u- \]

Al-Aḥdāl, Ta'rikh al-'Ulamā', fol. 7a, states that he does not not know the year of his death; and all one can say is that he was still living around A.H. 665 eulogising the Rasūlīte al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf b. 'Umar b. 'Alī (r. 647/1249; d. 694/1295). Cf. al-'Uqūd, I, 185.

32. His diwān is preserved in the Egyptian Library, no.
1266 Adab, and the Bodleian, no. Marsh 587.

33. He was the poet of the sultan of al-Shihr, 'Abd al-Rahman b. Rashid (+ 664/1265-6), and most of his diwan is made up of the bālbal style of poetry. Cf. Tarikh al-'Ulama' wa-al-Muluk, fol. 255a.

34. Cf. ibid., loc. cit.

35. Cf. ibid., fol. 261a.


38. Cf. Tuḥfat al-Zaman, fols. 78b-79a; Tarikh Thaghr 'Adan, II, 151.


40. Cf. al-'Uqūd, II, 138; Tirāz A'lam al-Zaman, fol. 69b.

41. Mr. F. Sayyid had kindly informed me in writing that the diwan of Ibn 'Alwān, as preserved in the Egyptian Library, is a good source for his humaini composition. The Bodleian Ms., Marsh 587, which is the diwan 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 35, fols. 107-13.


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

42. One of his musammatāt (rhyming aaaa bbbba, etc.) is quoted in al-'Uqūd, II, 124; see also Tārīkh Thaghr 'Adan, II, 150.


44. Al-Durr al-Manẓūm, p. 105f.

45. Dīwān al-Jāḥīfī, Leiden, fol. 6a.


47. Tarjī' al-Āṭyār, p. 124.


52. Diwan Mubayyatāt, p. 150. The unpopularity of this type of muwashshah in S. Arabian diwāns made the two editors produce the following commentary in the footnote:

لعلُ آليتُ الأولُ ناقتُ، فالئياتُ الأخيرةُ تشتمل على عشر شطراتٍ، ولم تجدَ كاملٌ فَأَيْ أَيْ السِّنَةُ؟

The fact is that the poem in question was made in imitation of a celebrated Andalusian muwashshah which is quoted in al-Mustaṭrāf, II, 198; Safīnāt al-Mulk, p. 24; E. Yāfīl, Mu'jam al-Aghānī wa-al-Albān... (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-Āṭyār, p. 66; al-Durr al-Manzūm, p. 37.

53. Diwān al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 85. For such division, see, for example, Diwan Mubayyatāt, pp. 21, 38, 51, 181; Tarjī' al-Āṭyār, 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:

55. Tirāz al-Majālis. For poems having a similar pattern, see also Diwan Mubayyatāt, p. 101f; Diwan Ḥātim al-Aḥdāl, Leiden, Or. 1445, fol. 119; Diwan Bahran, Br. Mus., fols. 47b, lllb-112a.

56. Diwan Mubayyatāt, p. 191.


58. Tarjī' al-Ātyār, p. 87.


60. See, for instance, Tarjī' al-Ātyār, p. 71f.

61. Simt al-La'āl, fol. 192a.

62. Diwan Mubayyatāt, p. 147; see also ibid., pp. 56, 136f; Maḥajjat al-Ṣālik, p. 129f.

63. Diwan al-Wāḥiq, fols. 157b-158a.

64. Cf. Diwan Yahya b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥamzī, fols. 93b, 119b; Diwan Bahran, Br. Mus., fols. 46a, 52a; Diwan Mubayyatāt, p. 74; Diwan Ḥātim al-Aḥdāl, Leiden, Or. 1445, fol. 120a.

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-Jarādatān, who belonged to the people of 'Ād at the time of their settlement between al-Shīhr and Ḥadramawt. \(^2\) These two S. Arabian singing-girls are also claimed to be the first to cultivate the art of singing among the Arabs. \(^3\) Al-Hamdānī \(^4\) 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 Ḥadramawt. 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 'Alṣūb b. Zaid, known as Dhū Jadan, 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. The vagabond Ḥadramite poet, Imru‘u al-Qais, is depicted in K. Al-Aghānī 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 reads:

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

The Yamanite warrior, 'Abd Yaghūth b. Waqqāṣ al-Ḥarīthī, 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-girls."' Al-A'sha b. Qais tells about a certain Ḥadramite 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 drink. 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." 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 gift.

The popularity of singing and music in S. Arabia before Islam made Gregentius, the Roman archbishop of Zafar, 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 labour." 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 Hadramawt 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.

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

* According to al-Shawkānī, Ibţāl Da'wa al-Ijmā' 'ala Taḥrīm Muţlaq al-Sama' (Lucknow, A.H. 1317), p. 30, al-ma'ażif (sing. mi'zafah or mi'zaf) is a general name
says that only the people of al-Yaman used to play on it\textsuperscript{16}.

Now what kind of singing did the pre-Islamic S. Arabians cultivate? Farmer\textsuperscript{17} quotes Ibn al-Kalbî to the effect that the music of the Arabs was "in three styles – the nasbh, the \textit{sinād} and the \textit{hazaj}. As for the \textit{nasb}, it is the music of the riders (\textit{rukban}) and the singing-girls (\textit{qainat}). As for the \textit{sinād}, it is the heavy refrain, full of notes (\textit{naghmat}). And as for the \textit{hazaj}, it is the light \textit{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 \textit{sinād} and the \textit{hazaj} that were introduced at the time of the third orthodox caliph, and became to be known as the artistic singing (\textit{al-ghina’ 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 \textit{nasb} mode. And it is hardly plausible that the lords of Arabia, and especially those of Hadramawt and Najrān, and the worldly

\begin{itemize}
\item to which belong the \textit{'ud} and the \textit{ṭanbūr} and, indeed, any other stringed instrument.
\end{itemize}
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 qaināt appears next to rukban. But as it appears from al-Ibshihi, 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 qaināt, 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-Malahi makes it clear, on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbi himself, that "singing among the Arabs had three forms, the naṣb, the sinād and the hāzaj. 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 *hazai*, 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-hanafi*.

The above last sentence in the quotation of Ibn al-Kalbi does, indeed, strike the attention, although it does not evoke any concrete sense of meaning. Was the *hanafi* 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'udi quotes Ibn Khurdadhibih to the effect that the singing of the Yamanites was in two styles: the *hanafi* and the *himyari*, the former being considered the better.

Farmer claims that the *himyari* is the pre-Islamic type of singing in S. Arabia, and the *hanafi* 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 *nasb*, before *al-ghina' al-mutqan* was introduced into *al-Hijaz*. Farmer depends in this respect on the authority of Ibn Khurdadhibih as quoted in al-Mas'udi. He says—
"In al-Hijaz, which was not advanced musically as either al-Hira or Ghassan perhaps, the nasb and the nawh 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-Nadr Ibn al-Harith (d. 624) introduced several innovations from al-Hira, and among them the more advanced song (ghina*) which supplanted the nasb, and the wooden-bellied 'ud which seemingly took the place of the skin-bellied mizhar." But the term nasb in al-Mas'udī has an implication over which Farmer passes silently lest he contradicts himself. There it is stated very clearly that the ghina* of the pre-Islamic Arabs was called nasb; that nasb has three forms - the rukbanī, the heavy sinād, and the light hazaj²³.

Farmer's claim that al-hanafi was nothing but the artistic modes of singing and music introduced into Arabia by al-Nadr and later musicians should, therefore, be rejected. Pre-Islamic Arabia undoubtedly knew all the three types of singing before al-Nadr appeared on its musical scene. However, in all justification the two terms, himyarī and hanafi, 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 ḥanāfī 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 ḥanāfī 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 Ghumdān, the third caliph in Islam ordered its burning; the cruel 'Abbāsid governor, Ishāq b. Yūsuf, persecuted the S. Arabians, and ordered the uprooting of all the palm-trees known as al-khwākh al-himyarī because out of hatred for that name. Is it fanciful, then, to assume that the term ḥanāfī was perhaps coined to give the already existing modes of singing and music an Islamic colouring and flavour? The role which al-Nāḍr b. al-Ḥārith is claimed to have played in the history of Arabian music is groundless. Moreover, we are told that his father, al-Ḥārith b. Kaladah, learned to play the lute in Persia and Yaman.

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

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-Faraj and Nashwān 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 Waqqāṣah al-Yaman to whom Abū al-Faraj attributes the composition of twenty-five songs, three of which were sung in the Yamanite hazāj rhythmic mode. We also hear of a S. Arabian singer, Ibn Ṭanbūrah, who lived in the second half of the second century, and was considered among the most skilful performers in the hazāj style of singing.

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 Ziyādites in whose hands the 'Abbāsids entrusted the affairs of Yaman. During the long reign of the Ziyādītē Abū Jayyāsh (+371/981), some of the chieftains of the mountains revolted against Zabīd, and declared their independence. The Ziyādites 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 Qarmatians led by Mansūr al-Yaman and 'Alī b. al-Fadl al-Yāfī'ī. What interests us here is that a poem expressible of the extreme Qaḥṭānīte spirit is ascribed, rightly or wrongly, to 'Alī b. al-Fadl, the first line of which runs: "Hold the tambourine, 0 maiden, and strike it, And sing your merriest songs, and be ravished by them."

With the gradual disintegration of the Ziyādītē 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 Sulaiḥītē and the Najāḥītē. 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-Qalqashandī gives us this impression.

Among the Sulaiḥites must first rank al-Mukarram Aḥmad b. 'Alī who conjointly ruled the major part of Yaman with his wife, the celebrated al-Sayyidah Arwa b. Aḥmad (441-532/1049-1138), and gave himself up to the pleasure of music and wine. 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 perfumes. When al-Mufaḍḍal was campaigning in Ṭiḥāmah 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-Mufaddal committed suicide by taking poison.  

The Najāḥites 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 peace." Some names of songstresses who flourished under this Abyssinian Music under the Najāḥites (412-553/1021-1158), 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. Najāḥ (+498/1104) and some of his descendants, were exploited by the singers of Zabīd.  

With the murder of the wazir Anīṣ 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 exactness."  

Al-Mansūr Muflīḥ al-Fātikī was also another wazir of the Najāḥites, 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. 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 singer. That same singer passed into the hands of Surūr whom one may consider as the greatest wazir the Najāḥites 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 culmination of the occasion, and to discuss with Surūr the terms of negotiation. True to his nature, 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 Tiḥāmah were particularly attached to music. Wārdāh, 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-girls\(^45\). 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 excluding 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 Mahdī, 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. Mahdī, and endure a very
conservative regime under which drinking intoxicating liquors, or listening to songs, was punishable by death. 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.

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-'Iraq", 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-Sharji complains about this poignant fact, and states that he was solely actuated to write Tābaqāt 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-Sharji made his complaint, the S. Arabian sufi, 'Abdallah b. As'ad al-Yafi', made a similar one. He says that the reason why he was deterred from finishing the commentary on his poem, Bahiyat al-Muhayya fi Madh Shuyukh al-Yaman al-Asfiya, 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-Qarni, Ta'us b. Kaisan, Wahb b. Munabbih, and al-Mughirah b. Hakim al-Sanani, 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 Abna' 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 Zaidites.

The first sufi order in which the symbolic khirqah is regarded as a necessary spiritual requirement is that of The three principal sufi orders in S. Arabia, '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 country.

The second important order is that of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (591-656/1195-1258), and the third is that of Abū Madyan al-Maghribī (+590/1194). 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 khiraq to three persons whom he named. One of these khiraq 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 Ḥadramawt.
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 Islam. In no better way is this stress best manifested than in some of the *manāqib* of Ibn 'Alwān 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 Ḥadramite saint of Aden, Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh al-'Aidarūs, has once expressed the opinion that al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā‘* is almost a revealed book. And whenever al-Yāfi‘ī finds an opportunity, he either quotes al-Ghazālī or al-Jā‘alānī. The influence of al-Ghazālī upon the teachings of the later sufis of Islam, including al-Jā‘alānī himself, has been established by a modern authority on sufism, and his *Iḥyā‘*, says MacDonald, "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 Zābīd in Tiḥāmah, who, by his great commentary on the Ḥyā', 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-ṣama') against the strictures of the extreme legists. The humanist Abū Bakr al-'Aidarūs 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 listening.

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
The opposers of singing and music, especially the *fuqaha*, 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. Ṣāḥib al-Ḥadramī, who, on beholding one of the servants of al-Malik al-Mujahid carrying a lute, could not restrain himself but snatched that instrument of "diversion" from the bewildered servant, and broke it into pieces. However, in the beginning of the second half of the eighth century, the tide turned against the *fuqaha*, 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 Ibrahīm b. Iṣmāʿīl al-Jabarti, 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-Aḥdal dedicated some of their *ḥumailī* verses.

"You ought to know", says al-Aḥdal, "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-Yaḥawī al-Taʾizzī. The learned men of that period disapproved of their contents, and upon the death of al-Yaḥawī 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 Isma'īl and Ibn al-Raddād."

Shaikh Isma'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 mingle."

Among al-Jabarti'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-Husām, and other notorious sufis who neither respected the Sunnah, nor paid any heed to the disapproval of the community of Islam..."
Al-Jabarti 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: *Ahkām Khirqat al-Taṣawwuf*.

Ahmad b. Abū Bakr al-Raddād was one of the leading disciples of al-Jabarti. "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 him."

"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 fuqahā' of the Sunnah. He was not sufficiently qualified and prolific in jurisprudence to hold that post, and he died in Dhū al-Qi'dah, 821."

"Among the leading sufis who were still living [after the death of Ibn al-Raddād] were al-Shaikh Muḥd. al-Mīzājī 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 fuqahā' of Zabīd declared him to be an unbeliever in God. As for al-Mīzājī, 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 them. 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 house."
When al-Nāṣir died in 827, his son and successor, al-Mansūr, favoured Ibn al-Muqṭī 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-Mansūr set him free on condition that he should leave the country.

"As for 'Abd al-Karīm, he died a few months after 810. He was one of the oldest disciples of al-Jabarti, and had written prose and poetry in which extreme doctrines, similar to those of Ibn 'Arabi, are manifested. As for Abū' l-Hāshim 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-Nawawī."

"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 leaders."

The voice of the sincere fuqaha' of the Sunnah was unanimously raised against the heretical views of al-Jabarti and his followers, as well as against the employment of music in the sufi circles and the mosques; but the influence of al-Jabarti 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-ʿAqīn IsmāʿĪl b. Abū Bakr al-Shawīrī, better known as Ibn al-Muqrī. Ibn al-Muqrī (754-837/1353-1434).

It was on account of his persistent enmity to Ibn ʿArabī and his followers in Zabīd that he suffered repeated persecution and imprisonment.

Ibn al-Muqrī criticized the followers of al-Jabarti very sharply, and called the fuqahā’ of Yaman to suppress the extreme doctrines of Ibn ʿArabī 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 Ḫunwān al-Šarāf88, and whose poetical ability was considered by some critics to surpass that of al-Mutanabbi – this great ḥakamist found it

* Lithiographed 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 ḥumānī style to counteract the influence of the sufis among the masses.

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 qāṭ and coffee, and the introduction of tobacco into S. Arabia.

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

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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. Muhād., 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-Mutasawwif al-Mutahālik, in which he satirized and ridiculed the sufis of Yaman, and exposed to the followers of Zaid b. 'Alī the unorthodoxy of the teachings and the practices of the sufis of his day. The contemporary washshāh, Muhād. 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-Ifk. Both the poems, and the two commentaries he wrote upon them, were much applauded by the learned Zaidites of his day.

In one of the many letters which he wrote to different parts of Yaman, al-Qāsim declares:

"Among the things which God, the most glorified and

* Zaid b. 'Alī was a disciple of Wāsīl b. 'Aṭā', the real founder of al-I'tizāl in Islam, 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-Īsmā'īliyyah. Likewise, they struck their roots among the feeble-minded section of the Sunnites, and gave themselves the appellation "al-Ṣūfiyyah." 97"

"As for al-Īsmā'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 tahlîl 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 sufis:

The Book of God is left untouched,
And, instead, the misguided took to al-shi'r al-musarra' [= 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 hands, accompanied by the tunes of the musicians.

* Qur'ān, vi, 70 (tr. Amīr 'Alī).
Sufism, however, continued to spread among the Zaidites despite the attempts of al-Qāsim's successors to limit it, and despite the bitter satires which sufi singing and dancing received from the learned Zaidites. 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 Bakil. 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'. 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 wounds."
and villages, but he may also be found in public places such as those of Aden and Ṣanʿā'.

The maddāḥ.

The maddāḥ plays music when singing, and listening to his music is not disapproved 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 Ṭalib*, 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 maddāhin when they sing the lyrical ḥakamiyyāt of, say, al-Bura'ī.

In a mawlid or a ḥadrā, poems are sung without the accompaniment of music, on account of which one may categorize such songs under the pre-Islamic nasb. 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 mawlid and the ḥadrā are the muwashshah, the ḥakami, 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, matla'), 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 Sufi circles (Halaqat al-dhikr), but with 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 Tihamah 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/which some of the Halaqat of Aden, say al-Rifa'iyyah*, 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 saffīnah. The second mubayyat form is the most widely exploited ḥumainī form, and it is axiomatic to say that no chorus is involved in the

* Based upon the teachings of its founder: Ahmad b. 'Ali b. Yahya al-Rifa'i (512-78/1118-82).
songs composed in the form in question.

Other forms of ḫumainī are of course exploited by these singers; but almost all the eminent singers of Aden and Ṣanʿā' have a natural aversion to the regular muwashshah style which involves group singing of the tawshīḥat. What impresses one is that when a regular muwashshah is beautiful in diction and imagery, a singer does not refrain from subtracting the tawshīḥat 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 tawshīḥ; but whenever the tawshīḥat remain an integral part of the song, then a chorus may or may not be involved. When not, the singer has to sing the tawshīḥ in the same way in which he sings the preceding bait and the following taqfīl, the music of his lute being changed with every fasl, 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. Yaḥya Ḥamīd al-Dīn gave his approbation to such a style of singing, and allowed the Ṣanʿāʾ 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 categorise it under the pre-Islam sinād. Its melodious tunes are not the procurers 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 qat-chewing chambers, which are known in Ṣanʿāʾ as the mafārij (sing. mafraj), and in Aden as the mabariz (sing. mabrāz).

Being preponderantly cultivated by Ṣanʿānīte poets and singers, from the tenth century A.H. onwards, the singing of ḥumainī poems came to be closely connected, and sometimes even equated, with what is today loosely called al-ghināʾ al-Ṣanʿānī. In this sense Ahmad Fāḍl al-ʿAbdalī, who became weary of the muwashshah style of poetry as was then sung by the Adanite singers, declared his revolt against it:

* Metrical scheme: ||-uu| u--| u--| u--| -u|--|--|--| -u|--|--|--|--
Al-ghināʾ al-Sanʿānī 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-

5. Al-Nuwairī, Nihāyat al-Arāb... (Cairo, A.H. 1342—[in progress]), IV, 217.
7. Abū al-Faraj, Kitāb al-Aghānī (Cairo, A.H. 1345—[in progress]), IX, 87.


11. Ibid., p. 121.

12. Ibid., pp. 19, 204.


22. Ibid., p. 14f.

23. Murūj al-Dhabab, IV, 159.


33. Ibn ʿAbdrabbih, al-ʿIqd... (Cairo, 1317/1898), III, 170; al-Mustatraf, II, 141.

34. Cf. al-Ḥammādī, Kashf Asrār al-Bāṭiniyyah... (Cairo,
It was during this period that Ibn Rustah, al-A'laq al-Nafisah [Bibl. Geog. Arab., VII] (Leiden, 1892), p. 112, made the interesting remark that the San'a'ites have a market in which only flutes are sold.

37. Ibid., trans., p. 51.
38. Ibid., trans., p. 54.
39. Ibid., trans., p. 96.
40. Cf. 'Oumâra du Yémen, II, 590f; Tirāz A'lam 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. Tabaqāt al-Khawāṣṣ, p. 112f. His name is given as "Rughum" in al-Simṭ al-Ghālī al-Thaman, fol. 38a. al-'Āmirī, K. Ghīrābāl 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.


52. Cf. Abū Nu'aim al-Asbahānī, Hilyat al-Awliyā'... (Cairo, 1351-57/1932-38), II, 79ff; al-Sha'ranī, Lawāqīḥ al-Anwār... (Cairo, A.H. 1286), I, 43.


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.


58. Cf. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Shaikha 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-Lātīf, p. 18; Tiryaq Asqām al-Qulūb, fol. 36.

See, for instance, Tirāz Aʿlām al-Zaman, fol. 172a; Tabaqāt 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.

Al-ʿAlam al-Nibrās, op. cit., p. 68.


Cf. al-Juzʿ al-ʿAṭūf, p. 22.

70. Quoted in the Ambrosiana Ms., C.33, fol. 109.

71. Cf. Tabaqat al-Khawāṣṣ, p. 97. He was a Shāfī'ite, and according to the school of al-Shāfī'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, Diwan al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fols. 87b-88a; Diwan Ḥātim al-Aḥdal, Leiden, Or. 1445, fol. 89a. Al-'Alawī's relationship with al-Jabarti can also be gleaned from the "chain" given by al-Shawkānī in Ithāf al-Ākābir bi-Isnād al-Dafātir (Haiderabad, A.H. 1328), p. 107.

73. Tārikh al-'Ulama', 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. Tarikh al-'Ulama', 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-Hujjah al-Dāmighah li-Rijāl al-Fusūq al-Zā'ighah, is mentioned in Ahlwardt, op. cit., no. 7896, fols. 177b-184.
89. These poems are collected under the title "al-Humainiyāt al-Badī'ah fī Madh '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-Riṣāl, al-Rawd 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-Dhubhānī, and dates the year of its introduction by the last three words of the following two lines:

However, the foregoing two lines are also ascribed to a non-Yamanite poet. Cf. 'Alawī al-Saqīf, 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, XXXXIX, IX.

94. Contained in al-ḥāmi' al-Kābir's Ms., no. 120.


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 Fātimids.

98. Al-Nūbdhah al-Mushīrah, fol. 20a.

99. The practice of clapping hands while reciting the
adhkār, or litanies, was also denounced to some S. Arabian Sunnite writers. See, for instance, Mahajjat al-Sālik, p. 168; al-Maqṣīrī al-Zabīdī, Ithāf al-Sālikīn al-Akhyār bi-Hukm Khālṭ al-Tasfīq bi-al-Adhkar, Br. Mus., Or. 3854, fols. 87-126.


101. See, for instance, the satirical poem of al-Qāsim b. Ahmad b. 'Abdallāh (1166-1217/1752-1803) in al-Badr al-Tālī', II, 34.

102. Al-Mashja‘I and his activities form the subject of the Br. Mus., Ms., Or. 3790, i.

103. A History of Arabia Felix, p. 147; see also Nail al-Wāṭar, II, 226f.


105. Op. cit., p. 35. "Ghusn min 'iqyān" is the opening hemistich of a recorded muwashshah song written by Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ānisī, the first strophe of which runs:-

*Metrical scheme: ||-u|-u | -u-u | -u-u | -u-*
CHAPTER FOUR.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HUMANĪ*

I.

When one traces the history of humanī 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 humanists 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-'Alawi 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 humanī is partially responsible for its general monotony. Elegy is absent in all the known humanists, 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 humanī, see the next chapter.
and al-'Alawi, regarded ḥumainī as suited for praising the living or glorifying their deeds, and hence prostituted some of their ḥumainiyyāt on panegyrics, without, however, forgetting the erotic nature of their craft. For in the few laudatory poems that have reached us, the largest part of a ḥumainiyyah is usually erotic, and only the last portion of it is dedicated to the praise of the person in question. Al-'Alawi's ḥumainiyyah,\(^1\) quoted below, may serve as an example:

\[
ف ألمب سمر مصان
وعن عوادى أرمان
يكلا منه ألسان
إذا تعوو بخان
\]

بيفي وبين أحبيب
عن أطلاع الرقيب
شرح ألمبه غريب
وكل عاشق كيبيب

ببي

وأمستريخ أخلي
ششتات بين ألميد
هذاش شوقا شديد
عوني ما تريد
وأتكون عين الأمان
مستمسي لي طبيب

على العدول السرور
يتف عنات الشوق
من رام بيض الأذون
لد شلل بعد الاليان

وصدع يسيئ الملوك
فقد أزال الشكوك
وفيض جود الملوك
يسيد الملوك الهمية

* Metrical scheme: ||-u-u-u|-u-u-u
Poems in praise of wine, too, are very few, and these have nothing special about them save that they usually open with an erotic prelude. I append the following ḥumainīyyah of al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī as an example:

بُخَاءَ الْقَرْبِ
مَسْنُودُ أَلْزَدِرٍ
بِرْقُها يَسْرُ
فْعَلْهُوَ الْعَدْرٍ

قد قَرَتْ الْقَلْبِ يَا شَهِيَّ الْقَرْبِ
وَبِجْنَةٍ قد رَوْىَ عَنْهَا الْزَّمَرُ
وَثَانِيَ الْسَرَارَيَّ وَالْمَرْزَرُ
وَغْدَيْتْ رَهْقَتْ دَخُوْلٍ مَا عَنْزَرُ

وَاحْبِيْبٌ آمَلْتُ فِي نْفَكَ حَبْسٍ
فَأَسْقَىِّ مَا لَوْنَّا مِثْلُ الْدَّهْبِ
هَاتِ شَعْصَعَ لَنَا مِثْلُ آمَلْهُ
تُدْعُعُ مِثْلُ آمَلْهُ

بَيْنُ يَمِينِ الْعَرْشِ
بَيْنُ يَمِينِ الْعَرْشِ
صاحب أكرمها في يحيى بن تاكرم، غاية النفس
قد هذا الأكاس لها مثل الجومه، وهي مثل النسيم
فأسقفي منها فقليب باللهوم، متنع الأمس
قم فباشرها فقي كل النشاز، سه يسررب
بيت بالكاسات، رحات النفوس، وحياة أضراخ
التي عند النصارى، والبرجوى، فنسا مشروخ
رقى يافاتي، زقق العروس، غبقا ألموخ
وأسقفي ما بين ترجيح الطير، وغنا الفرقي

*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 begins:

باليالي ألقى مرت لعا
والمنزل ديار أحبابنا
بعبدا غاب سؤلي وألف
بجل أليبدر نورة وألفنا

ياستهي فؤادى مرتهن
بين تلك المراه وادورة
ما تهمت جموه بالوء
كامل الوصف ذى الوجه المحسن

والالياء تضت بالضوء
سم تشقيق أيا نور الوجود
عيشنا ذاك التوابل لينعود
منذ صلت ليالي أللهنا

آه يا حسني طال البعاد
مز غريب ولد نلت المراة
مل ترى عاد يانور الفواد
إي تلي تولي حزنه
في إلهامٍ عُرضٍ على قُلُوبٍ
من سبيل السلمة والرضى
خُلَّ لَوْ إِنَّا شكَّ وَليْتُ
الذي عنكّ يفرح لَّغِيٍّ
إِيّاهَا هَوْ معونتك للفضاء
يُت حتّ حَسٍّ أَلِيجا نَاظِمًا هَنَا

بيِّنَتَهُنَا أُتْصَارِها فَرَزَّ قَطْ تَخْلُصَت مِنَ أَخْلاَنَ آتَالأَلَسْرُ
كَلّ مِن جَهْبَا عَلْتَة يَدُورُ فِي خَلَالَ أَلْزَامٍ وَالقُنْدُر
لَدّ تَجْرِحَ عَلَى دَارَ الْغَرْزِ وَأَجْتَنَبَوْنَهَا وَوَافَقَهَا صَبْرَ
وَأَجْعَلَ أَلْزَامَ زَادَكُ وَالوَلْدُ زَهْيَ رَاسِ السَّيَادَةَ وَالغَفَّ

* Metrical scheme: ||-u--|-u| -u-| -u-|-u-| -u-|
The principal theme in ḥumainī is love and the despair brought on by unrequited love. Strange to say is that this main theme of ḥumainī is so limited in range, and so confined in "methods" of expression, that the slightest acquaintance with ḥumainī enables the reader, from the first bait of the ḥumainīyyah, to perceive, very easily, the drift of the poet's thoughts and sentiments which are to follow.

A ḥumainist may directly enter upon his main subject:

لي في ربا حاجز غزيل أُتُهل حتَّب لقليبي بين بات لعَلِّح صيّر فوادي ف أهوى وزغ وارحنا للعاشق اولع

لي في ربا حاجز غزيل أُتُهل حتَّب لقليبي بين بات لعَلِّح صيّر فوادي ف أهوى وزغ وارحنا للعاشق اولع

بَيْنَ القلوب

وقت الغروب

يسي يلوب

كم له كروب

وأنا المörper

جمدي حقيء

ذاك لي نصير

ما له شفيع إلا علم وجمي

ما لياً أهوى يا أهل أهوى وجمهي

ما حيلتي يأي أهل أهوى وجمهي

قدم حي من أهده ربيع يجي

وأنا المقرر

ما حيلتي يا أهل أهوى وجمهي

ما له شفيع إلا علم وجمي

ما لياً أهوى يا أهل أهوى وجمهي

ما حيلتي يأي أهل أهوى وجمهي

قد حي من أهده ربيع يجي

وأنا المقرر

ما حيلتي يا أهل أهوى وجمهي

ما له شفيع إلا علم وجمي

ما لياً أهوى يا أهل أهوى وجمهي

ما حيلتي يأي أهل أهوى وجمهي

قد حي من أهده ربيع يجي
والسعون من فوق أخدود أربع
جارٍ سكوب

بيتا شعرٍ هل أرى بعيني
سيّة آملّه
أقصى مرادي، متهدف شجوني
لهب الجراح
قد صار حبيّة منتهي وريني
شاهر مباح
حالاً والعدّال خلّيّ أنفخ
حقاً أودب

بيتا

لو شاهدنا وجه الحبيب مثالي
قالوا أصاب
كأنه ألفما لله سمر بحلي
عشقته صواب
أرح ألحاب
لكن حبيبي دون أهل عناني
أنت كنت جازع في أطراف برقع
بكيت

بيتا

من لم ينظف لحم آهشه تعذّب
لول أدمان
جري لهؤلاء من كل عبن أعناب
تركه هوات
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-|u--
أبكي على الأحبة
من حسرة وكربة
خسر كل سربة
من حرّ طول غربة

يا سعد قف خلا أطلول
وتنسب الدمع كالسيون
لهذي على الأجيرة الأزل
لعلّها تفرّد أطلول

بِبي

والريح والمنازل
والورد والنمادل
أبكي بهم سالين
عسى رضاه وقبره

بِبي

بالوا على الأهل والولون
واحش ألحار والسكن
وخلّفوني على السّم
يا غارة الله ورسله

بِبي

أرّك ياسكرِّ الفؤاد
بحمل بها القصد والرداً
والأش والمسترّ
Or, he may exploit the departure of his beloved to stir a train of thoughts about his love:

* Metrical scheme: $\|--\overline{u}-u-u\|--u-u-\overline{u}-u-u$
نابوا أحبائي وقلبي غاب
وأصبح حنيني بعدهم طويل
ل نفحة الأزهار ول الأكرار
حتى قبل الميلاد
الله يرى أحبائي ألقوابا
كماmarginLeftırlاءه أتى ولا أنهاهم
ول أكثر
مالي مملك وإحادي الأضعان خلفتي حائر في الله
ست البتار والذغبان
رغم فيما للشي شجى
في بين غزواتك رشا نهان
أغر مثل أشداد النَغْم
غزال له أسد الشرى جاب
إلى وصلة ليس له سبيل
وفي وداعه ذا السهر لعيني ودع برفعه للجباب دونه
قلت له واقامة الوداع

عشق يعيش بعد ألذو كذاب يوم ألوداع كم للهوى قليل
لو ودع ألمع الآلهة ذاب ورق حقي أجرى البدو تسيء

أفي بروى الشادت النبأ فالجوع مستعبن المناق
شكت له حالي وما ألقاه حق ولا ليلة لأنقل
ولو رقية عيني لقياه سمى بطب ألمع وذهب
حوري جناني ينش ألمب اللقي منه ألمين وآلتين
Or, he may resort to the conventional symbol of the lightning to arouse his deep feelings about his unresponsive or absent beloved:

يا شارِي البق من تهامة رويسك اللمح والخدوع حلِّيت قلب أنبي فتوافُ في زمِلل قلب الشروق مسکٌ مستحب آلسلامةً نأم يسألك علم لا يعوق

*Metrical scheme:*

| bait - taqfi' | -u| -u|--|--u|--|--|--u--|--|--|-- |
كان جوابك عليه جامحة
شو شئ
أبرك ربي وساحك
إني حنفت فيها فانشل
تقف
هل في تهامة كب كخامة
وأصغر سب نظلا العذوق
أنا خرست سب رلها خامة
بين
ومن شر بالطيب التخفثر
بعدي على ساري القمر
وأبيض عليل ذاك التذوق
شبه نحو الرشا الذقر
من شكل زهرة ومن تشتر
وضمنًا ساعة السمر
في منبر الخالدة السقوف
فنىات عن أهلها الغرر الطيّف الخير والخير
وسادة البدور والحضرة

تقنية
من أخبار آخر وآخرة
والنبل والرغبة للحقوق
ليست في وصفهم دمتة
ببي

وبعده وبابق ألتهاشم
إن دخ بارض الخصيب سناك
وأرايي أميرنا أنا نادك
نقل دوين ألقا لماشائع
صبرت بارض أجدال هائم
عسال تشاء مما يشاك
واجماع أحسى وأزخامة
د عيش في فرقتين يروف

سأل من المئي السامي أن يصح أهل بكل جميع
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 greetings:

* Metrical scheme:

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

tawshih: ||-u|-u|-u-u| --u|u|--u|--u
علماً كم يشرب وليس يروى أدار كاسات الآلهوى صرفاً له المديز.
قلبة على حرم الفرح يلوح سباح في سفح للوى غزيل غريب.
أحور غريبة ناسات نشوى أقوى لرقي قد حوى وأصيبت له أسير.
أهواة نسوات آلتمام ميال يختال سكرة سلال لا يعرف العقار.

بيل

بالله الفائق يغوف وروقي حسنة ملوكية يرسى على المذهب ماط.
حسنة سبا تلب الله ولوني تلب جواة لا يغني بالفهم والمناق.
كم ذا لمانة يارنات شخني ما ألمب، ويلة، عشتي نكتين يرفات.
شادبي، هوى زين الحدود ولفتان وشامتنا قبل، وران شاخذ المداز.

بيل

بأطيب هل لي من دروا إفراق كم شجر غني واحتراف أوردق أنتلف.
كما تحتي من شبي وأشراق تعاقألموت أعنان في قري الخرب.
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 complaint:

أمسى على بان ألي التباين قريّب بالرّد ف امهو هي سير
وأمست رواة العشق سلطاني حقَّ إذا نجم الصباح نظر
شدا بتره بين الفضل الحب لدبيقي ولا يندر
فأعجب له من حاكم عائل دم المقدم عنداء مسر

*Metrical scheme: ||-u|u|u-| -u--|u-u|--u--|--u--|--u--|
ما خيار الانتقد كالشبهة

 تقفي

 ما كل من ذات آلهوى شاملي
 هما بديهيات آخر كأن يبر
 ولد أنتي لي نية ولد نهر

 بيدري ما ألقى ألقى لوق للمال

 لو كان سامياً الفلكة ألكل

 تقي بنير التحنا برسى وأدمعي تكفي ومتمي

 وانما مصدّب به بفَّور بعائي

 ولد الشبي في شاه كالشي

 ولست أدري ما يكون نعالي في كم ما تدق شاعر وأشهر

 وشَّ يَت حَتْت في شواهد الآخر بابن حالي في الازّار ما حال

 وأتّهد الأخبار دمع دمائل

 تقفي

 على أبديته جميع به شمو في بقي لي عنه مصطلح
فيّه أستولى عقلي وصار مل السح وآلهة

بين يوم أخذ المهد والميثانى، فإنّ على ذلك أولاد متممٍ
ما كنت جاني الله في المذاق ولد الطوب تليبه يهيم
وليس يعرف آلهام المشفق من حل منه داخل الصميم
لني يصبر الاعاذل عن عني، إلا إذا قد شاهد نظر

وشيّرك تغنيك عن سؤالي،

تقف

يارب إذا ألم وأنفسل ياذن الالاثيات واسرور
شمل زيارة لاپنة الدِّين الغضى من يغوله آلهة

*Metrical scheme:-
bait-taqfil: ||u-u--|u-u u|--|--|u-u--|u-u

tawshîn: ||--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|-- |--
The obsession of the humanists 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 āhūmānī - and sometimes the main subject of the love-poem in the form of an address to the solitary bird - but not in āhakāmī.

The spiritual meaning in āhūmānī.

I should like to draw the attention at this point to the fact that many of the washshāhīn 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 humanīyyāt of these sufis possess, beneath their exoteric meaning, a subtle and esoteric signification known to the initiated.

The spiritual meaning in āhūmānī 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',  ishra', 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 (karamah) 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,
šabb, etc.) should first traverse the long and difficult way
(tariq) of the "stations" (maqāmat) before he attains the rank
of proximity (qurb) and satisfaction (ridā'); shunning
(ṣadd, nufūr, etc.) denotes the state of mind of the
impassioned lover who, having traversed, alone and by
self-mortification (muḥāhadah), all the way of the "stations",
finds himself, for one reason or another, barred from the
Divine presence (ḥudūr, ḥadrah, etc.) which is the state
(hāl) of intuition (kashf) that cannot be acquired by human
efforts. Union (wasl, ittiḥād, etc.), with which no human
being is permanently endowed, is the seeing (mushāhadah, 
umāyanah, etc.) of His face when the veil (qinā', hijāb, etc.) is lifted. Wine (khamb, humayyā, 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, dhuhul, etc.) which, being a temporary state (ḥal), is followed by sobriety (sahw), and the gnostic's heart, though knowing that the state of rapture is unattainable except by grace (lutf) and favour (karamah), continues to long for it because longing (ishtiyāq, hanīn, etc.) is a necessary attribute (ṣifah, alāmah, etc.) of love. The libertine (al-khali') 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 ḥumāni themes and the vulgar sentimentalism to which The revolt of al-Khufanjī against ḥumāni. most of the ḥumāni 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 diwan, 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:

* Metrical scheme: \[\|u-|-u-|u-u\|-u--\]
b. Ībrāhīm al-Jahāfī, found it his bounden duty to give him the following advice:

\[\text{سأ رجع على يده} \quad \text{كل شيء دبيب ل تشاقة}^*\]

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 diwān: Sulāfāt al-'Adas wa-Lubb al-'Alas.

The themes of the diwān 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:

\[\text{ما دنب في الجوه بِرِبَاح لَهُ أَهْل عَصيَةَ الْحُيْوَان} \quad \text{وَالْمَلَائِكَة}^*\]

Many of his hazliyyāt, it must be noted, derive a fair

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*Metrical scheme: \[\| \text{–u–l–u–} \| \text{–u–l–u–} \]

** Metrical scheme: \[\| \text{–u–l–u–} \| \text{–u–l–u–} \| \text{–u–l–u–} \]
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 باشا ضيمار ول في ألمد عن يدي جميل

Our main interest in al-Khufanji, however, lies in the fact that

(a) 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:

أنا مخيلك ياخي بل شرخفي مزجل
ما هو سبائك حكيم

* Metrical scheme: ||-u-i--u--|| -u--i-u-u--
Raimaran = slim, lean.

** Metrical scheme: || -u[--u]| -u--|--u-

(b) He parodied eighty-five ḫumainiyyāt that were widely circulating in his time, ridiculed the attitude, style, and the poetical substance of the S. Arabian ḫumainists by either handling their elevated erotic subjects in a trivial manner, or by composing in the muwashshāh style a low subject of his own with mock dignity. The following strophe is the opening of one of many of his ḫumainiyyāt that were solely designed to be burlesques of the attitudes of the ḫumainists of his country:–

اللهِ أشنابٍ
هي قد بُلِّغت
معقودُ بالحليب
في خدّ نادِب
وُلْسَرُ منذاب
في حبّ أناب
شَأْنُهُ كنا دَبٍ
ما أُحِبُّ من ربيّ

II.

To the traditional subjects of ḫumaini must be added the main body of its diction and imagery that are classical in the main, on account of which alone one may make the sound

* Metrical scheme: ||-u|---| -u-- | -u---
Kunādī = heart.
claim that the ḥumainī 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 ḥumainists were apt to develop a vocabulary 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 repertories of diction and imagery in a shrewd way and giving them the individual touch that is necessary in every creative art, most of the ḥumainists 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 Tanmiq al-Asfar, will justify the above statement. Others, like Yahya al-Hamzî, Bahrân and Abû Bakr b. 'Abdallah al-'Aidarûs, 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 humanists, such as al-'Alawi 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 humanists of S. Arabia to literary conventions is best manifested in the usage of the phrase "ghazal Zabîd", which often occurs in the humanî songs of Yaman. Like the traditional Arabic poetry, humanî 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 Hajîr, al-Bân, and La'la', were amply used for worldly and sufi purposes, but Zabîd was, and still remains, far from being the apt symbol even at the time of al-Wathiq. Says al-Shar'ābî:—

"The population of Tihamah is a mixture of races whose tongue (lisân) is Arabic, but whose features (suwar) 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 wâdî of al-Husainb
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 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.

* Al-Ḥuṣaib is the wādī on which Zabīd is situated, though the name is sometimes used for the town itself (v. Mu'jam al-Buldān, II, 280). The saying which al-Shar‘abī quotes is a well-known Tradition (s.v. حض، 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. 35, 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.
Conventional as it is, and classical in diction and imagery, the ḥumainī ṭafrm 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 washshah as 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ānisī, vocabular taznīm can become annoying if overdone; but when used with reservation or sublety, it gives the poem a rustic flavour which, it is thought, makes the total effect of the muwashshaḥah, on the ear and the mind, more pleasant and more moving. It is, perhaps, scarcely necessary to point out that in any muwashshaḥah in which case-endings are supplied, vocabular taznīm will not appear, and the poem may retain part of the dignity or exaltation of ḥakami which partly rests on giving the correct case signs to words that accept vowelling. This is more particularly so when the rhymes of the muwashshaḥah are not in the pausal form.

Vocabular taznīm in ḥumainī 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 ḥumainī 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 ḥumainiyyāt a plebian flavour,
and sometimes to pad out the need of metre, or the demand of rhyming, the majority of the washshāḥīn of S. Arabia were driven now and then

(1) To supply the ḫāṣal to nouns that are already in the diminutive form. The predilection of the ḫūmainīns 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 ḫūmainī as a whole.

(II) To use the Ḥimyaritic article am, the interjective particle wā (usually pronounced wuh), the particle sha—which expresses futurity, and the verbal and nominal suffix -sh (=sh).

Until at least the third century of Hijrah, the definite article am was current up to the northern borders of 'Asīr, 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 ḫūmainī 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 ḫūmainī, 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 (harf 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 nun of the imperfect when it is in the indicative case; to regard akhū and abū as invariable; to make the particle gad 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 ḥumainist 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 provincialism, 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-Ānisī is appended as an example:
فغدا تختها بضلع
والفتي في السجى يزيد
ختطت صوتها الألقين
نأثارت في السجن
لسو شهير، وما أحد درى
هويته وما أحد قرأ
نشارك بين الورى

تفقى...
ولحق بالتقدم جدید
وظهر بعدما بطن
فتوالت بي الثم
بين شجاعة صوتها الغريد

ليت شعرى، وما أجمل
في الشوق أهلوق عديم
عندل المقد المقيم
ليشى يحصل لدى القلاب
دلت لوجوده بن أقام
ولفي بالغرام عريم
أو لشوقة بين لعين
لندوا شديد
كم من شيء مستهان
إنه ما سقاه أهالي
لكم نوبة أسقام
تقف
كالتراب تأكل الحديد
قلتُ الله مدادا عن
كل عانُ الفؤاد عيده
بسم
قرب الله لك الوصول
واعتَ على الخصيب
قف على دار الخصيب
حيثُ آلل ولفول
سنة الله والرسول
قل سلام مآ السلام عيجب
The S. Arabian elements in the poetical diction of ḥumainī 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 zakḥāmah

*Metrical scheme:

bait-taqfīl:  \( |_u|u|-u-|u|_u |_u|u|-u-|u|_u \)
tawshīḥ:      \( |_u|-u|-u|-u-|u|-u|-u-|u|_u|-u-|u|-u-\)
(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 triliteral 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 begun 19. (ii) Words whose triliteral roots are Arabic, but which nevertheless in ḥumainī 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), ḥād-yiḥīd (to look), nashar (to go, or travel, at night), samsam (to emanciate, to weaken), ḥanab (to fall in a trap. mahāb: 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:
Instead of using one of the two Arabic forms,  آلش دانش (to seek after, to cry for a stray beast), the poet has used another form. Whether such forms are originally S. Arabian, 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 washšahihin who came under the powerful impact of the traditional bedouin qasīdah, that vocabular tazmīm is more conspicuous.

III.

To appreciate the impact of the traditional bedouin qasīdah upon the washšahihin 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
A typical bedouin qasīdah is claimed to be the result of some power, mysterious and original, which makes the poet sing (yibalbil, yidāni) as the ring-dove (qumri) sings instinctively and untaught.

This power is termed either al-halīlah:

*تاقب أصحليلة لنوي ذانغاُ (The valiant al-Wādī'ī says: how long will the halīlah continue disturbing my sleep by inspiring me with poetry.)

Or, al-hājīs:

وسم قالَ من تدبات ذا الليل غائبٍ (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 hājīs wanders about in the field of poetry),

* Metrical Scheme: ||-u--|-u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--

** I am uncertain of the metre of these lines.
he inspires me with thrilling lines, because I, 'Ali Bu Zaid, is the unchallenged poet of the tribe of Nahd.

Unlike the ḥalīlah, the ḥajīs is usually invoked, but it is difficult to determine whether the device is a literary convention or an earnest appeal for aid:

The poetical effusion which results from the blessing visit of al-ḥajīs (or al-ḥalīlah) is appropriately called al-ẓājīl:

"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

**Metrical Scheme:** ||---u---u---u|---u---u---u---u
But despite the fact that each tribe of S. Arabia has its own poet(s), the hājis seems to have only blessed very few poets whose fame nowadays transcends their tribal boundaries. These are al-Shubatī²⁷, Abū Muṭlaq (also known as Ibn Jaʿdān²⁸), al-Qushabī²⁹, Ibn Sunbul³⁰, Yaḥya 'Umar (also known as Abū Muʿjib³¹), and (the most eminent of all) al-Humaid b. Mansūr³².

A typical bedouin qaṣīdah 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:-

*yalālītī bārīṭī yawkā dānā

*Qāl: 'Eibā sīnīlī

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- $
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, wāb n (or wāb n) 'Alī qāl etc. In poems in which the religious prelude is omitted, the poet may directly begin his ode with his name or nickname:

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:

---

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

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

***Metrical scheme: ||-u|---u|---| -u---|--|--| -u--
After introducing himself to us, the bedouin poet may enter upon his main topic if it is exclusively erosical, 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 (khatimah) 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 sings."

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 asal (now, at this moment), wa埔 (then), وبد ذا ويبم (but after this preliminary introduction), "أغنى" (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|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
When a bedouin qaṣīdah is exclusively erotic, as is the case with the typical poem quoted below, the poet will roughly divide it into two main parts by the use of وَهَوَّد or دَافِع (that’s enough), before he concludes with conventional expressions, such as شَتّ, وَعَظَم, وَلَخَم, etc.:-

البلد ذاتها تشتعل
والمح قد جرح جفونة
من يوم شنت العطي متيهل
ذلك الذي هم يوسفه
راعي عظاي ياحسي تنقل
وصلت من لحظة عيونه
رغب وعسكر يشعونة
عارضت البارج مسيرة بجل
شنت النبأ نارها تشتعل
وأخيل مصغونات دوية
ملقي مظلة تختها مستقل

يبيع العرب ما يعرفونه

37
متى ودنا في سهونة
حرام ما غضت عيونه
علق في الخسفة روضة
بلعير بامعر عونه
وبعد ناهيا ما سرح مرجل
يبارك آلسيار الشهيد الالدجل
عذب ألهان أبيض مقب الـ1
وللهضم خير عادة بالد زحل
ومسبة بارق سرى يشمل
واوضما خفرا زريع عادة بقل
والجريكب عادة بالد وصل
صارب شراعة والدقتل معتدل
يأزقيقة يمر على نير حل
واليوم حري اعوي نعمة ما وصل
وانا تعرض للجبة فشل حكم انتضا وإسراف نهونة
يابل اصبر للقضا وامتشل
ولد تصاحب كل من دوم دم
ويقض على ورك جنونة
شف عاد ربك مايغيبك ضل
والله علما الله على من نقل
إلى السماء المأمور مزونة
والمجرد زين امليل وآل وسماح دونة
واخم بطبه ما سرى يستقل بارق على قوة وسورة

*Metrical scheme:  | -|-- | u--|-- u-
 | -|-- | u--|-- u- u-
The influence of the bedouin craft upon the washshahin 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-'Alawî, 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:

[Arabic text]

After the tenth century, such a style of poetry became popular among the humainists of S. Arabia, and, quantitively
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 'Ali b. Ibrāhīm al-Amīr, Muḥsin b. 'Abd al-Karīm, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā al-'Aidārus. The following humainiyyah of Subā'it\textsuperscript{30} is quoted as an example:

\begin{quote}

\textbf{Yaṣāmaḥ Allāhik sabjatūk图像}

\textbf{bibi ṭaḥdāt kān āḍāmī}

\textbf{la'īna qatańska al-balūk rīmīṣī}

\textbf{la'd ša ḥajna wa ʿaḍāmī}

\textbf{ma inn tāli νahāk ẓad bīṣīṣī}

\textbf{waḥša al-faṣṣ wa-arḍa al-bīṣī}

\textbf{ān ṭad ṭahīsīna min ṭṣīrī}

\textbf{waḥābī al-tūsī ḥaqq ẓan rāṣīt}

\textbf{kāmīna ast ḫāsākī nūxīṣī}

\textbf{ṭimīṣī, ʿadīnīṣī min māryī}

\textbf{yāmil ṭaḥāk ḫaṣṣī qā ṭūṣīṣī}

\textbf{bl ṭūṣīṣī, ṭahāt ṭūṣīṣī ḥaqqī}

\textbf{tākīṣī, ʿadīnīṣī min māryī}

\textbf{rasūl bīṣīṣī ashūr ẓan blīṣī}

\textbf{wālīyom min ṭābī ṭūṣīṣī}

\end{quote}
دعني عذائي، ورحماني أصلتي
دمي فراشي، وسمدي مفصحي
لم يحبة منيع أجل
من ذل تسي وختمي بيني
رث الحبة ييارش أقنع ودع
دمي ومطية قد سهبت في
يلبركم أنت من دمي أرهبتي
وها ثارت نفق وآرت
يا قلب إلقي على رؤي جنبتي
هدا فائت العظيم الموقع
أنت الندي لحببتي قد خرحت
بل أنت للحبب نم المرجح
يا من إل الحب وألحا دعيب
بشر بهدك غرام الأصغي
كل الحيين جندك لوسيت
على جبين ألمنا لم ترجع
تأنم بيلوالات وات قد هوربتي
وأت بالسجنة بالله أبيق

*Metrical scheme: ||-u--|u-|u-u | -u--|u-|u-u
Secondly, a considerable number of literary humainiyat in the bedouin form commence in the same way as a typical bedouin qašidah 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:—

Moreover, a humainist may even model his whole love-poem after the bedouin fashion:—

* Metrical scheme: 
  ||\(-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-|-u--
  ******" " : ||\(-u--\-|u-|-u--\-| \-u--\-|u-|-u--
أيام لي لنعّاش الورد
أيام ضيّقة لْيْقَبِّي الْغِنَا
أيام ما بين الودام اللي جور
حيث أصلنا ولمسرة والهنا
وبعد يومين سه المروج يذوق الفخد ياباهي اللسنا
هنا تسخّل على شالي زرود ياسبود روجي وجمع شملنا
ثمّ نحتى أيّاك في وقت الورد ما بين شهر وزهر بنظفي
نما ينهب نستهّله في الورد وساجح الطير أتشكي بالخنّا
هذا الزرخ أقبل فيه الورد تقي خدورك وإن كنت أحسنا
ثمّ نتهب الأنس رغم أن الورد نحن ناجتي أيّاك وأستمنا
نوبدي مولدك ما ينهنا رقوم من كثر صداقه كم ذا ألمنا
ما آين تخليد هابيتك المهمود ما آين يا سيد أنت تشفي الضيّ
مقوى بالتواصل لي توعد والراح والروح دائرة بيننا
رآزوُج من ريك ألمال الورد يسيّب ألمدي باح في جهر ألفنا
The encroachment of the bedouin craft upon the muwashshah style is almost negligible, for only a very limited number of muwashshahat betray some of the traditional characteristics of the bedouin qaṣīdah. The following muwashshahah\textsuperscript{46} is appended as an illustrative example:-

\texttt{\textsuperscript{*}Metrical scheme: \texttt{|-u--|-u-|-u-u| -u---|-u|-u-u}}
وحده أنثىٍ شهية موزّدَة وَلَّا ما فيها جمْب

لَوْ شُيِّدَتْ جُبَمْبًا بِالجِبرَةٍ مُقَبِّلَةٍ

حقّ ما هذا أَلْخَـدَا بالجِبرَةٍ وَالْحِبّ

ما آن تجَحّ نُسُلًا

بيّـ،

بِئِبَعَةٍ الرُوَّاـحِ يَا أَهْـفَـهْـفَـهُ، يَـبْـيِـعُهُ بِـمَـنْسَبِ دُرَاـكَمْ

مُيّـتَ نـُظَّلَوا بِالرُسُـالِ أَقْـفُهُ للجِـبـرَةٍ مُـكَبَّـمَةٍ الدُـرَاـكَمْ

إِرْحَمْ، فـَهْـبِه، إِنْكَ صَبَّ مَشْغُفٌ لِـهَـلْ طُهْرُ ما يَهْـوِي منـاْ

الناس تعلِـمُ وَأَشْهُرُ تَـشْمِهُ، إِيِّي مِن الـطَـرْقِةِ كَـبِيْــرُ;

لَوْ شُيِّدَتْ مَا أَنْتَ الـطَـرْقِةُ كَـبِيْـرٌ

دَهَـتَ أَسْتَيْ بِنَتَّ الـكُـؤُـسُ، صَـيْبَاءٌ تَـلَّا لَّـ لَّ تَـبَوْـسُ

فِـ آلِـبـاـم تَـجَـيْـــ تَـلَّ الـعِـروـسُ
يرجح الابراج بالكلاقي
في روح نائل بالزمر
وجدة لنا بالرشف والحنان
وأشهر جميلاً كأسنا ألمان
وامحز حبيبنا حسبى هكذا ألمبه
وبهما من يقول عني
هيهات عني بديل

هيته لا شمل العليل
هذا الذي ماله مثير
هيهات عني بديل

هوه لي تد صبح فيه مشرب فيه الفنانيين البقا
نسيت سعي إذ بدأ ورحيه كل ليبيات الألقا
لي منته في ذا الغزال منته للقلب سقي أورقى
ومنهدي في العشق خير مشهد له وسط أحشائي دبيب
2. Diwan Sidi al-Husain b. 'Ali, op.cit. This poem with slight variation is also to be found in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fol. 100b.
6. Diwan Mubayyatat, p. 60f.
7. Tarjī' al-Atyar, p. 133.

*Metrical scheme:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bait:</th>
<th>Tawshih:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{---</td>
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</tr>
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<td>( \text{---</td>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>( \text{---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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: وقَلَتْ عَرَضَّ قصِيدَةِ الزَّاهِد. Yet the muwashshah in question is inserted, with slight variation, in the diwan of al-'Alawi, 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 diwan 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 ḥumainiyāt which are mistakenly ascribed to eminent ḥumainists, such as Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah and 'Abd al-Rāḥmān al-Ānisī, 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 diwan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the ḥumainist whom al-Khufanjī parodied</th>
<th>Number and style of the ḥumainiyāt that were parodied</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Abdallah al-Mazzāh</td>
<td>regular muwashshah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mubañyāt muwashshah</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bedoin form.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I have no reliable information on those poets that are marked by an asterisk. Ibn al-Habal is perhaps al-Hasan b. 'Ali b. Jābir (+1079/1668), known as Ibn al-Habal, but his diwān, Qalā'īd al-Jawāhir..., Ambrosiana, A 7, does not contain any ḥumainiyāh of his own composition.

Al-Qashanshalī is 'Abdallah b. Ḥamad b. Shams al-Dīn, an uncle of Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah. He is depicted by 'Īsā b. Luṭf-Allāh (v. Diwān Mubayyatāt, pp.93-4) as a renowned washshāḥ. The opening of one of his tender muwashshāhāt, which is in the second mubayyat form, is mentioned by 'Īsā (v. ibid., p. 128) and al-Khufanjī (v. Sulāfāt 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.
I am not prepared to go as far as al-Shar'abi; 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, Tihamah 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 Ahmad b. 'Ali, 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 Najāhites, but warned them of the fact that "the Arabs of Tihamah 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, Ahmad Fadl 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."


17. See, for instance, Diwan Mubayyatāt, p. 90.


19. The fact that arabicization was strong in S. Arabia, even before the coming of Islam, is borne out by the statement of al-Āmīdī, al-Mu'tālif wa-al-Mukhtalif, ed. Farrāj (Cairo, 1381/1961), p. 9, from which one can adduce that pre-Islamic poets from Ḥimyār 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 diwan that bore their name.


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 hakamiyyat 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-Asma'iyyat, ed. Shakir and Harun (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 Khaldun, The Muqaddimah, III, 412-40; Prose and Poetry from Ḥadramawt, pp. 5-8, 55-7.

For specimens of S. Arabian bedouin poetry, reference can be made to ibid. (Ar. Pt.); 'Abd al-Haqq, Diwan al-Waqā'i'... (Bombay, 1315/1897); Leiden Mss., Or. 6979, and Or. 6981.

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. Provencal (Cairo, 1368/1948), p. 418, states that the Banū Nahd were settled in Najrān, and not in Ḥadramawt; 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-Raḥūnī, Around the Coasts of Arabia (London, 1928), p. 210, gives an interesting account of how an ‘Asīrite becomes a poet.

25. The term al-hājīs, it should be noted, is more universal in usage among the tribes of S. Arabia than the term al-halīlah. The main difference between the two, as is put by al-Shaikh ‘Abdallah, is that al-halīlah 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, Diwan al-Waqā‘i’, p. 27, brands the halīlah with the epithet "al-khasīsah", 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 ʾṭāʾilāʾah 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 seeer out of the poet, and inspire him with compact verses embellished with delightful gnomic 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 shayṭān al-shiʾr (or al-raʾī, or al-tābiʾ) but with two main differences:

(a) In the traditional Arabic poetry, the tābiʾ is not expressly invoked for help despite the fact that some poets, such as Ḥasan b. Thābit (v. Ḍīwān..., ed. al-ʾBarqūqī (Cairo, 1347/1929), p. 174), give the impression of having established so close a relationship with their tābiʾ as to call him a "brother", or, as is the case in al-ʾAʾṣa (v. Ḍīwān..., op.cit., p. 148), a "partner". It seems that the only conceited poet in Arabic poetry, as regards poetical inspiration, is Imruʾu ʾAl-Qais, who went as far as to make the tawābiʾ, not the inspirers of his poetry, but the narrators of what he says (v. Ḍīwān..., p. 325).

(b) The Arabian shayṭān al-shiʾr, 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-Qurashi, Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab (Beirut, 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. Ahmad al-Shubatī who lived in the twelfth century A.H., and died in Wādī al-Sirr, near Rada', where his memory still lingers. He has a celebrated dīwan 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 Yafi'. 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-Qārrrah, in one of his maqāmat that are inserted in his dīwan, alludes to him in a parodically casual remark which he makes about a certain Ṣan'ānite singer of his day:-
30. See supra. Shaikh 'Abdallah has no reliable information about this poet.

31. For this legendary poet, see Prose and Poetry from Hadramawt, p. 64. A reference to Yahya 'Umar is made by al-Khufanjī in one of his humorous verses:

إن كنت جاهًا فانا بو ضرفة أزوواج الشعر وأجسحة جمشوش

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 (='Āsīr). While in the prime of life, al-Humaid 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-Humaid 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: |\( -u-- | -u-- | -u-\) | \(-u-- | -u- | -u--\)
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. Zayid, wherein the two poets contend a certain point.

34. Prose and Poetry from Ḥadramawt, Ar. Pt. no. 9, 1. 5.
35. Diwan al-Waqa'i', p. 137.
40. Tanmiq al-Asfar, 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 tawshīh is wanting, or, more probably, the last bait was added by a pious hand.
CHAPTER FIVE.

THE METRES OF HUMAINI.

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-muqtaṣāb and al-muqārī', were probably the invention of al-Khalīl b. ʿAbdād, 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, tawshīn became ardently cultivated in Spain, shatr and nahk became widely practised, and poets did not refrain from composing poems based upon two taf'īlāt after Salm al-Khāsir (+ 186/502) gave the lead in that respect. 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 number despite the fact that Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʾ (433-514/1042-1120) prides himself in accomplishing the unprecedented task of "deducing" (istilḥāl).
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 example. Bearing all this in mind, we may now turn to the metres of ḥumainī as exemplified in the S. Arabian diwāns and safāyin.

As in classical Arabic, the metres of ḥumainī are based upon a scheme of long and short syllables, and have a marked regularity. Ḥumainī, 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 ḥumainī 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-takhli, slows the tempo of the verse, and consequently influences rhythm. It will not, therefore, be superfluous to give the sukūn some

* See p. 301.

** The frequent occurrence of the zihāf. 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 ḥumainī: 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 (אָוֹן)** and replacing it by a sukūn) may function either as a minor

* Mainly in (a) al-af'āl al-naqisah and al-malfūlah; (b) al-asma' al-manqūsah 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 ḥumainī is to drop the terminal hamzah of a verb or a māmdūd 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 muḍāf 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-marbūtah; (d) a word ending in ِْ or ُ (if it accepts vowelling; e.g. دلُوُّ, نبيُّ); (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'ilat. In the following two strophes of al-'Alawi⁴, 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:

\[
\text{في أمّّيّة} \quad \underline{|} \quad \text{سنّه هاجر حبيبى حيّمها} \\
\text{وابّوالنّ} \quad \underline{|} \quad \text{إلى براحه البّغيّ يهمّها} \\
\text{فّالكّنة قدّ باختبّاّيّ فّا ذكّيّ} \\
\text{فّي سيرانّها في هجّى أضّرّ} \\
\text{بّينيّ} \\
\]

\[= (\text{harf lîn}); \text{ and (i) a muzannam word, and, indeed, every word to which a S. Arabian particle is prefixed.} \]
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 **taznām**:

* Metrical scheme:  
\[| -u- | -u-- | -u-u | -u- \]
(b) Tashtīr (in the form of mumāthalaḥ or tarsī'):

 مواهب الله فلما ولى
 والده بالغالات جاري
 نوقي معي وآري جوارب
 بيبه

 لولا حسن نسي أين لامقر
 بيج أين نسي أين لامقر

 أنش النسيم روح الحاضر
 سهل الركيك نير عاري

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

** Metrical scheme: --|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--
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 taṣfīr. The ear may be gratified by the reserved manipulation of tarsī'.
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 *ḥarf līn*, and can function as a device for achieving emphasis. A short consideration of the following two strophes 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:

لا ي администра الخصوص أسبي وطرقني في سموي
ويامنون أليم مي وشامكي في ولوه
ويابرق الآذريني ألمي وأجرب على خضي رموي

لا ي بأسك ومناي ل يلمو إن بكى عندي لأهل اللهو وامي
وأخي من غرف السموه أولو وآسي بما غادئ وراني
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 humanist, 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 humanī 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 washšahā’s ability.

It may be remarked that the words immediately preceding ālā in the above example may be vowelled, in which case the hamzat al-wasl 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-|
Anisi gives the singer, not only the opportunity to linger on the sonorous nun, but also directs him to emphasize and reinforce the two verbs in question*. In short, the retention of hamzat al-wasl renders the emphasis of those words possible, and improves the verse rhythmically.

We must not, however, form the idea that a humainist begins by selecting a metre, and then makes his poem (with the internal sukun) conform to it. Humaini 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 sukun 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-Südî'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 'Alî Bu Bakr, retains the hamzat al-wasl in and , is worth discovering.
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)** \[ -u- -u- -u- \]
- **(b)** \[ -u- -u- -u- \]
- **(c)** \[ -u- -u- -u- \]
- **(d)** \[ -u- -u- -u- \]

By breaking the first hemistich into two rhyming verse-sections (a kind of internal \textit{taṣrīf}, 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:
The strong pause on al-khuza'ā 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 Tamīq al-Asfār puts an abrupt check on his rhythm by forcing the sukūn, in order to pad out the need of the metre, on the first word of the last hemistich of the following strophe:

\[
\text{بَتَتْ عَنْدَيْ الْحَبِّيَّ}
\]
\[
\text{وقَرْ بَالْوُلَد} عِيْنَٰٰ
\]
\[
\text{قَدْدَ شَيْءَ الْرَّيْفِ}
\]
\[
\text{فَأَطْمَسَ الْرَّيْفِ}
\]
\[
\text{مَنْ مَجِلَ الْعَيْنِينَ}
\]
\[
\text{فَأَلْتَشَبَّتْ الْشَّيْبَةَ}
\]
\[
\text{بَتْ فِي أَنْيَّ لَحِيبٍ}
\]
\[
\text{مَعَ لَبَسٍ الْحَمْرِينََِّ frustration}
\]

As can be seen from the examples which we have hitherto quoted in this thesis, a general and distinctive characteristic of ḥumānī is its manipulation of al-qawāfī al-mutarādīfah 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 iqwa'*, and ikfa'**, 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 rawi***, 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 qāfiyyah.)

** It is the substitution of a cognate consonant for the rhyming letter.

*** In the traditional Arabic qaṣīdaḥ, the rawī is the consonant upon which the rhyme depends, and which should remain the same throughout the whole poem. In ḥumainī, 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 fasl in a ḥumainī verse will have two or more rawīs. 'Amūd al-qaṣīdaḥ is, of course, the principal rawī in the muwashshah style of poetry, since it appears at the end of every bait (or fasl) after it seemed
A word may best be said here about ḥumainī 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 ḥumainī, 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 ḥumainī 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 ḥumainī, will, I think, come to appreciate the rhythmical subtleties which ḥumainī 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 following:

- the rhythm demands the tahrīk of every word that accepts vowelling, though, of course, the reader may take the latitude of rendering and 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 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-
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 muḍāf nor immediately followed by a hamzah, if it is a diminutive noun, or contains a harf 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-'Anṣī:

هارئِ آلِيس دَلْتَ اَلْفِ جَمِّآ، لوْعتَ بِمَضِ مَهِي ما حَدِيثَ
أَنتَ شَلَتَ روَجَيْ وَأَلْجَأْ نَفْكَاء وَكَنَّ مَا دَرَثَتْ
بَتَ آَكِي عَلَى سَاجِي آَمَرَتْ وَأَنتَ وَاحِلَ تَلْ لَيِّ دَل بَلْيَتْ
مَدَّكَ فِي قَلْبِي مَا نَغَيْبٌ وَأَنتَ سَدِي سَوَادَةٌ بُعْلُحٍ*  
* Metrical scheme: ||-u--| -u-| -u-| -u--| -u-| -u-|

and 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
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 ḥumainī. A few pages must now be devoted to the facts and problems of ḥumainī versification.

The S. Arabian dīwāns which contain ḥumainī 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 generalization should be borne in mind before any scansion of ḥumainī is attempted:—

(a) An exact distinction between hamzat al-qat' and hamzat al-wasl 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 ُّ, when preceded by the particle sha-, or the conjunction wa-, may be converted into َّ if the metre demands, whereas under the pressure of quantity, the ُّ of ُّ may be suppressed, particularly when it is preceded by َّ wāw al-'atf and َّ al-nāfiyah.
(b) The $^{2}$ or $^{1}$ of the affixed pronoun $^{3}$ is either long or short at will; so, too, is the $^{2}$ with which $^{3}$, $^{4}$, are pronounced.

(c) The demonstrative $^{5}$ may be reckoned either long or short at will; but when the particle $^{6}$ or $^{1}$ is prefixed to it, then it usually lends itself as a long syllable.

(d) The separable biliteral preposition $^{7}$ is sometimes rendered short, long ($^{8}$).

(e) Suppression of huruf al-līn is freely practised in a specific number of muwashshahāt in which the lāhn is very sparingly used. In such muwashshahāt, the word $^{9}$, for instance, should be pronounced so lightly and quickly so that it may be equivalent in weight and timing to a sabab khāṣūf ($^{10}$).

(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-'Alawi manipulates the tahrīd in the following two strophes:—

* It is the alteration of the 'arūd or the ḍarb. It is clear that tahrīd is not a zihāf, 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.
The first bait scans
\[ -u-|u-|u- | u-|u-|u-\]
whereas the second scans
\[ -u-|u-|u- | u-|u-|u-\]

Needless to say that tahrid 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. 'Abdallah:

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'ilun. 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 fa'ilātun; that fa'ilun and fa'ilun substitute well, if not too freely used, for...
maf'ūlun and fa'ilātun. These equivalences are reciprocal.

Metrical variations in ḥumainī.

Because rhythmical variation between the length of the hemistichs of the poem is a common practice in ḥumainī, the first contact with the S. Arabian craft may deter one from attempting to limit the number of its metres. But the metres of ḥumainī can, in fact, be limited, and reduced to coherency, if an exhaustive scansion of the available poetical material is done with patience and vigilance.

Metically speaking, the mubayyatāt (excluding the very few which are either mu'azzafahāh 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:-

خَنْشَةْ فَلَغُنْتْ عِنْ أَلْدَهْانَ ِ
وَأَعْرَثْ عَنْ دُوْىٌ أَلْوَرْبِ

شَجَّهَ فَوَادِيٌ فَا مَا أَلْدَهْانُ
نَصْبُ إِلَّا عَلَىْ أَلْصَبْ

وَرَقَةٌ رَقَةٌ مَنْبِر‌ُانْ أَلْدَهْانُ
تَشْدُوعَ بِهَا لَيْسَ فِي أَلْوْرِبٍ
(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'ilat, the preponderant tendency is to drop half of them in the second hemistich:

* Metrical scheme: ||---u---u--- | ---u---u---
Otherwise rhythmical variation between the length of the hemistichs is achieved by dropping:

(i) Two feet from one of the hemistichs:

(ii) One foot and a part of a foot from one of the hemistichs:

* Metrical scheme: \[\underline{u-u}\]  
** Metrical scheme: \[\underline{u-u-u}\]
(iii) One foot in either hemistich:

في بروح أسرؤ
لـنـون أزرـؤ
في أوقـات الـلكؤ
وطيور البشائر ساجحة

(iv) Or by variation between the 'arūḍ and the darb through addition or subtraction of one or two or three syllables:

ناحت على مطولة ألبان
ورتا لها في ضوئ ألبان
شدو فتاي كل إنسان
وفي الصباح تعم آبلان

من داقها ما زاد ساي

* Metrical scheme: ||-|u--| --u|--|u--|--u
** Metrical scheme: ||u--|--u| --u|--|--u|--u
*** Metrical scheme: ||--|u--|--u| --|--|--|--u|--u
(a) Those which are based upon two metres:

A common feature about many of such poems is that one of the hemistichs of the *bait* is usually based upon a single foot:

In like manner, poems in the bedouin form can be grouped under three categories:

(a) Those which are based upon two metres:

*Metrical scheme: \[\text{II} - \text{u} \quad \text{II} - \text{u} \quad \text{III} - \text{u} \quad \text{IV} - \text{u} \quad \text{V} - \text{u} \quad \text{VI} - \text{u} \quad \text{VII} - \text{u}\]

**Metrical scheme: \[\text{II} - \text{u} \quad \text{II} - \text{u} \quad \text{III} - \text{u} \quad \text{IV} - \text{u} \quad \text{V} - \text{u} \quad \text{VI} - \text{u}\]

***Metrical scheme: \[\text{II} - \text{u} \quad \text{II} - \text{u} \quad \text{III} - \text{u} \quad \text{IV} - \text{u} \quad \text{V} - \text{u} \quad \text{VI} - \text{u}\]
(b) Those in which the hemistichs belong to the same metre and are equal in length:

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:

The regular muwashshah, on the other hand, has its own peculiarities as regards the element tawshih. The abyat and the taqfiilat 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: \[--\text{u}--\text{u}--\] -- \[\text{u}--\text{u}--\]

** Metrical scheme: \[\text{u}--\text{u}--\] -- \[\text{u}--\text{u}--\text{u}--\] -- \[\text{u}--\text{u}--\]
Or else (and this is a common practice) in part, especially
in half:

- Metrical scheme:
  - Bait-tafl:
Only in a limited (but considerable) number of humanīyyāt does the tawshīḥ claim a metre (or two metres) of its own:

* Metrical scheme:*

**bait-taqfīl:**

- - u | - u | - u | - u | - u | - u | - u | - u

**tawshīḥ:**

- - u | - u | - u | - u | - u | - u | - u | - u
بَسِيَّةٌ إِلَى خَفِّرٍ الْفُصُوْنِ تَحْيِيَ مَلْبَكَ بِالسِّجْوَعِ كَمْ بَلَّكَ يَغَلُّ قَلْبُكَ وَشَفْوُهُ مِن كِسَّاءٍ نَّوْبِ الْأَسْقَامِ أَوْ لَعْبَ الْفُرْقَةِ فِي أَرْضِهَا لِدَبْ أَلْقَى حُوْرِيَّةٍ الْدَّمَيِّ أَلْقِيَ مِن سَناً بِدَرْ أَلْقَمَ لَٕتَتْفِىَ يَالْمِيرِ حَدْ تَسْكِ يِهْوَهَ وَأَحْنَّزْ قَالُنِي بِالرَّقْعِ أَوْ مَا تَرُى رَبِّ الْمَنْوَى مِن دُونِ هَاتِيِّ الْأَرْبَوْعٍ

*Metrical scheme:*

bait-taqfil: ||-u-|--u-u|--u|--u--
tawshih: ||-u-|--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 tawshīḥ is usually the reproduction of one of them:

\[
\text{\(\text{إلا أعتدل}
\)}
\]

\[
\text{\(\text{يشكو أجمل}
\)}
\]

\[
\text{\(\text{ما أكمل}
\)}
\]

\[
\text{\(\text{وفي لولد أوكل في جمالك}
\)}
\]

\[
\text{\(\text{قد عزم جمل}
\)}
\]

\[
\text{\(\text{شافن}
\)}
\]

\[
\text{\(\text{فقت الحسان للح حسن زان حور البنان}
\)}
\]

\[
\text{\(\text{لقيقين}
\)}
\]

\[
\text{\(\text{على تحرم عاشتك وصالك بيس العالم}
\)}
\]

\[
\text{\(\text{مث مق يامنقي نالك قبل اللجاب}
\)}
\]

Only in a very negligible number of poems does the tawshīḥ*

*Metrical scheme:  **bait-taqfīl:** ||-u--|--u!-u--|--u--

**tawshīḥ:** ||-u--|--u--|--u--
claim a metrical pattern of its own:-

(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-tagfil: \[-u-|-u-\--|-u-\--|-u-\--|\]
tawshih: \[-u-\--|-u-\--|-u-\--|\]
every hemistich of each tawshîh:

ما ذهب نشر أضياً إلّا وأذَّك النار في فؤادي
ولد خفّق في الربا شذاء إلّا واحتزم زاد
لي في الأحذة نباً كان الحبيب يأتي على مراري
وبد دّاج نبا، وصار يسي في طريق عناي

وقف:

أختف وعودة وقبض عودة وطاع هجرة وأصل صدوة
فقال: ما زاد على حسودة

لقولوا ليهم ألبًا على هذ السجرات وألمادي
انحرّ لمسى قلب، وطول شقة أبادٌ

*Metrical scheme:*

Only in some of the very negligible number of ħumanīyyāt in which ṭazfīr is employed, does the ṭawshīh claim a metre (or two metres) of its own:

لهَ كَلَّ أَلْجَابِيَّةِ سِنَّةٌ دَرْ رَهَّ هَذَا الْفَغْرِ كِيْفِ حُسْنِ يَا أَمْلَاكَ
وِسَيْبَ الْفَسْبِ. خَلِعَ عَمَّارُ الْعُنْجِرَ وَفَلّ جَيْشُ أَلْمَدُمَّ
غَبِيَ عَلَى مَنْ عَبِثَ فَيْلُعْ يَاشْقِيقُ الْبَيْرِ بِلِ يَأْمُرُ أَلْمَيْسَانَ
يَايَنَّ بَعْدَ وَأَقْرِبُ فِ النَّافِرَ وَالْسَّرْ ما صَلَّ اَلْأَقَامَ

أَنتُ غَرَابٌ كَغَالِيَةٍ مَا وَرَ حَسَنْكَ سِيْاَةً
كَمْ خَصَلَةُ فِيّ آيَةٌ فِ عَشِيْرٍ عَشَرَةٌ كَفَاْيَةً

إِلَّا غَيْرُ

حَسِيْبٌ عَلَى مِنْ حَسَبِ وَأَحَالٌ وَآيَنَّ لَجَيْرُ قَدْ عَزّ فِيّ الْحَيَّاءِ

مَا فَاحَ نَشُرَّ وَهَبَ اللَّهُ وَأَفْقَهَ صَبْرًٍ وَأَوْفَى زِيدَ الْخُرَّارَ

*Metrical scheme:*

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

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

\[
\text{مّبّثّ منشورك عرف والمست ناخ قلّ ما استنفت مثلك في الرّياح هبّ أخنيت}
\]

\[
\text{هنّ تل لي ما اللّي أهبت ياسيني ألبان كنيت الجراح}
\]

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:—

\[
\text{bait: } \begin{array}{c}
\text{--u--u} \\
\text{--u--u--u--}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{tawshīh: } \begin{array}{c}
\text{--u--u} \\
\text{--u--u--}
\end{array}
\]
In the very few negligible number of poems that consist of the regulated pattern *bait-tawshîh-qa'mî*, the *tawshîh* is always composed in a metrical pattern (which need not to be identical with that of the *qa'mî*) different from that of the *bait*:

وعيشع وافات الأحداث

كُوْسَ آل بيّن

ليس هَكّ الشَيْ السَّبَاق جَهَل يَاوُرِدُيّ الحَدِّين

قد بَتْ فِي آخِلٍ وَالخَلُق مَاقْطٌ فِيّ غَيْر هَذَا أَشْيَهٍ

اسمٍ عَبدك مَن أَلْبَارق أَوْفٍ شَرَك بِذَاك آل ين

وَشَكَّ ثُمَّ

أَسْىَ ذَا الْوَجْز ما دَامُ دَهْرَ مَسَاءٍ

ما أَجِدُ مِن يَوْوَدْ وَمَيْ يَرْدُ ذِف الْأَوْلَدْ

يَلْيَسَ مِن صَيْدٍ مِن عَلَّمٍ ذِف الْقُوَاعِد

وَإِذَا عَزّآتَلْقِف فَجِلَّ بالْأَمَانٍ
Scansion of ḥumainī has never been attempted in the S. Arabian diwāns and safa.yin, and a sense of frustration and bewilderment is reflected in a letter which al-Qādī Ahmad b. al-Ḥusain (+1298/1880) wrote. The compiler of Taj al-‘Arūs claims that all the metres of ḥumainī are newly-invented, while the author of Tarwīḥ al-Bāl, himself a ḥumainist of some renown, states that some of them belong to the sixteen of the pedantic school.

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--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|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of ḥumainiyyāt, may deter one from attempting to delimit the number of the metres of ḥumainī. However, an exhaustive scansion of the available literary ḥumainī production reduces what may seem a wide range of metrical varieties to order, 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 ḥumainiyyāt 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. 'Abdallah\(^{34}\) of which we quote the following two strophes:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{يَاسُ الْأَلْثِرِيَّانِ مِنْ رِيَاةٍ يُنَّا دِرْنُ شِرْكَ بَيْنَ أَرْشَا سَلِّمَةَ} \\
\text{سِيَأَبَاحَةٌ لِلْذَّرَكْةِ تَلْبِيْشَةً وَعِيَالِ الصَّبِّ إِلَّهِيَّ مِنْ حَرَّةٍ بِبِ.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{جَلِّ مِنْ سْوَىٰ جَمَالٍ ذَا أَلْبِيْنَ وَبَخْذَكَ أَبْسَ أَزْمَارَ الْأَرْبَيْنَ}
\end{align*}
\]
This poem can be scanned in three ways:

(a) \[-u--u--u--u--\]

(b) \[-u--u--u--u--\]

(c) \[-u--u--u--u--\]

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 bāhīr al-ramal) because it can be "deduced" from dā'īrat 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:

\[ \古老的 \text{الخصبر} / 
\]

Take, for instance, the mubayyatah of 'Alī b. Muḥd. al-'Anṣī of which we quote the following strophe\(^{38} \). (We have marked the speech pattern by slanting strokes):

\[ \古老的 \text{الخصوص} / 
\]

We can scan this poem in five ways:-

(a) \[ \古老的 \text{الخصوص} / 
\]

(b) \[ \古老的 \text{الخصوص} / 
\]

(c) \[ \古老的 \text{الخصوص} / 
\]

(d) \[ \古老的 \text{الخصوص} / 
\]

(e) \[ \古老的 \text{الخصوص} / 
\]

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 ḥumainiyyāt in which the metrical scheme in question is reproduced, wholly or partly, has shown that poems in the bedouin pattern never use the majzu’ form, and tend to drop half of the metrical scheme in either hemistich:

By restricting ourselves to the buḥūr that can be "deduced" from the five circles of al-Khalīl, there is only one possible way in grouping the normal taf’ilāt:

|--u|--u|--|--u|--|--u|--|--u|--

That is to say, the tamm and the mashtūr forms of al-bahr al-mumtadd (= maqlūb al-madīd) 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 tawšīḥ) always use hemistichs of equal length, either in the tamm form or else in the majzuʿ one, but never in the mashtur scheme. Take, for instance, the poem of 'Alī b. Muḥd al-ʿAnsī of which we quote the first strophe:

Restricting ourselves to the circles of al-Khalīl, this song can only be scanned in two ways:

(a) \[ -u- | -u- | -u- | -u- \]

(b) \[ -u- | -u- | -u- | -u- \]

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 majzuʿ form of what may be termed as bahr al-bālbal, 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 to the traditional qaṣīdah, have been employed by writers on Arabian muwashshah and zajal poetry.

The metres of ḥumainī.

1. Al-Bālbal.

This metre can be "deduced" from dā'irat al-mukhtalif.

(a) \[\underline{\text{-u-}} \underline{\text{-u-}} \underline{\text{-u-}} \underline{\text{-u-}} \underline{\text{-u-}} \underline{\text{-u-}} \underline{\text{-u-}} \underline{\text{-u-}}\]

Wawāṣṣ on the usāmān Rādīn al-jazāʾīr. Dāyī, Dāyī, Tāṣīl, Tāṣīl, Shāhīl, Shāhīl,

Da jārī ḥaṭṭa la'āghī la'āghī la'āghī la'āghī la'āghī la'āghī la'āghī la'āghī

(b) \[\underline{\text{-u-}} \underline{\text{-u-}} \underline{\text{-u-}} \underline{\text{-u-}} \underline{\text{-u-}} \underline{\text{-u-}} \underline{\text{-u-}} \underline{\text{-u-}}\]

Yārājī la dhārī la'ūnūn, la'ūnūn, la'ūnūn, la'ūnūn, la'ūnūn, la'ūnūn, la'ūnūn.

*Metrical forms that are marked by an asterisk are very popular.
But unlike the classical form, tarfīl⁴⁷ may occur in one or both hemistichs⁴⁷, especially in the bedouin form⁴⁸, and khoabn⁴⁹ 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.
Qat' is typical of the metre as a whole, and when it occurs in both hemistichs of the above scheme, as it often does, it recalls to the mind the mawāliyya metrical scheme.

(b) \[\bar{u}-|u|\bar{-u}-|u|--u|-u|--u--\]

This form is called al-makbul or mukhalla' al-basit, and is popular in the muwashshahat of the Andalusians. However, fa'ulun in ḥumainī constantly changes into fa'ul or fa'al from one bait (or faṣl) to another, and may even be

+ It is the suppression of the last letter of a wata'd majmu' at the end of the foot, at the same time making the preceding letter quiescent.

++ The metrical scheme of the mawāliyya type of poetry is

\[\bar{u}-|u|-u|--u|--u-|u|--u-|u-\]
converted into \( U \) --- at will in any strophe or section\(^53\).

\[(d) \quad \|-u|--u--|--u|--u--\]

Qat' is typical of the above form, and when it takes place in both hemistichs\(^55\), it recalls to the mind the metrical scheme of al-qawma\(^+\).

III. Al-Mustatīl\(^56\).

This metre can be "deduced" from the first circle of al-Khalīl b. Ahmad. Qasr\(^++\), ḥadhī\(^+++\) and batr\(^++++\) are typical of the metre as a whole.

\[(a) \quad \|---u|---u|--u|--u|--u|--u|--u|--u|--u\]

\(^+\) The metrical scheme of al-qawma is: \|---\|---\|---\|---\|

\(^++\) It is the suppression of the second letter of a sabab khaṣīf at the end of a foot, making the remaining letter quiescent.

\(^+++\) It is the suppression of a sabab khaṣīf at the end of a foot.

\(^++++\) It is the concurrence of qat' and ḥadhī in fa'ūlun and fa'ilatun.
Only the trimeter maqtūf form is occasionally used in the muwashshah style:

If you are interested in more details, please let me know!
V. Al-Mumtadd

This metre can be "deduced" from the first circle of al-Khalil.

(a) ||--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|---

لَيَلُقُّ الَّذِي لَدِيَ عَاشِقٍ مَبِيلٍ ذَابٍ فِي الْحَبّ مِثَالٍ

(b) * ||--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|---

VI. Al-Kamil

(a) ||---u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|---

سَفَرَتُ بَوْجِهُ كَالْهَلَدِ الْشَّرْقِ وَسَلَطَتْ مِثَلَ الْقُضْيَةَ الْمُورَقَةَ

شَبَّهَتْهَا لَمْ بَدْسَتْ فِي الْقُرْطُبِ شَمْسَ الْأَهْلَاءِ إِذَا أَسْتُوْتُ فِي الْشَّرْقِ

(b) ||---u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|---

سُكَرَ الْحَبِّ وَمَا بَيْهُ سُكَرُ سُوِيَ أَنْسَ الْحَبِّ

فِيَلَا هَا مِنْ سَكَرَةٍ حُسِنَ أَلْفِ وَنَافَ الْرَّقِبِ

VII Al-Khaṭṭīf

(a) ||---u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|--u--|---
يا نصرة، إن ملّ مي سيري، يانصرتي، إذا جفاني نصرتي.

يا نصرتي، إذا عصي بسوري، يا صلحي، إذا تلشت أمرتي.

(ب) حرب جسيها على أعدائها وشهورهم، مداني الغزاة.

زارد شويق فليس له قرار كيف شاميبر والقلب مستطار.

قل صبري وزاد الفشج من جامه تسبح على الفضوات.

ذكربت الأذن في المصوت والتحذير تهذي بكل ضرار.

(ب) في مثم: عند الإصبات كلما أمر أو يهدان

VIII. Al-Hazaj.

(أ) شقيق أبدر براق أجاين كميل المثلة 알غي الهمان.
Tarfīl may take place in one or both hemistichs; but the usual practice is to drop the last two sababs from the darb.

IX. Al-Mustadrak.

This metre cannot be "deduced" from any circle of al-Khalīl. Qasr, hadhf and batr are typical of the metre as a whole.
كيفي لوفر خياله لنا مه بر جي الضر في نامة
لوجد للشيء بردهة سلمة إنّ ره السلام أوضي به أهله 74

(ب)

مي بلغ غزال رامة منب الفد ساجي الفدين
قد وصلنا على السلمة بعد طول الفراق والسين
ياسدي داهي الدوامة واسبنيا سلف كالمين
واشتم لندة الإقامة فالسروش في أجماع الفدين 75

X. Al-Rajaz.

(أ)

الراحين بالبلع عقي في سكر راحوا وخلوّي معاني السهلر
واستي أقول للجبي حين نام السمر أشدك عليك ياجم راحوا بالكح 76

(ب)
ليس من أهلة في عرفة أضلٌ فتح قريب واسع مستشار

للقائِم المهدي الإمام الامام الم煌ّم هذين الخطأ كابور على كابور

البدر طالع من سنا جينك ولغيض أم ذا قابلق وليك

ياسي عليك ما أعلى حور عيونك ما أحلوك في جنّتك وفي جهنّم

سيح الهمار في الحياج ألا جمعة فعوين

بجواب أصوات البلدان والورق في أعلى الورق

أشجاك صوت مزهر أم صالح البلدان

أم أرسل اللحوز إذ ماس في غاليل
XI. Al-Mudrak.

This metre cannot be "deduced" from any circle of al-Khalīl. Tashīʿīt is typical of the metre as a whole.

(a) \[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
-u & -u & -u & -u \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

(b) \[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
-u & -u & -u & -u \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

+ It is the suppression of one of the two moveable letters of the wātād majmuʿ in fāʿilun and fāʿilātun.
الله تعالى في نص سورة التوبة بنص نص مختصر:

(1) 

و(2) 

(3) 

(4) 

(5) 

(6)
XIII. Al-Mustatrad.

This metre cannot be "deduced" from any circle of al-Khalīl.

Metrical scheme:  

| u | u | - | u | - | u |

Tarfiil may take place in either hemistich:

قرى في وفاة حساب تكيلة
من درياها كالليالي
من أثبت الشعر
أرخصت سوء كل نليل
من يل قرى الفلايا

XIV. Al-Madīd.
Only the trimetre mafidhuf – makhbūn form is used:

يا تفزل ألكشب وَلَحْمَي عِن يَسِين الْفَالِ وَالْسَّام
مَلَ تواَصَل دَائِمَ الْأَلَّام أَنتَ لَهُ ثُرْبٌ مَّلْكَبُضٌ ٩٠

XV. Al-Mu’ttarid.

Metrical scheme: |— u | — u | — u — | — u — — u —

This metre can be "deduced" from the fourth circle of al-Khalīl. Only the dimeter form is used in ḥumainī:

آَ وَفَتْ أَرْضِي نِآرُ الْهَوْى الْأَلْبَر
لَ بِهِ أَلْلَهَةُ بِهَا مَسَاءً
فَقِّيَّيْنَ نَارُ الْهَوْى الْأَلْبَر

كَمْ بِها قَلْبٌ مِلْلَ غَزِيَّ زَابُّ وَرَفَتُ دَعَتَا تَسِيَّرُ
حَسَنَ بِهِ وَحَسَنُ جَارُ

يَسَالُ الْأَبَاقُ الْأَشْتَابُ وَالْهَسَامُ وَيَسْتَعَمُّ
بِلِلِّأَبَاقُ الْأَسْمَارُ ٩١

XVI. Al-Sarī"

Metrical scheme: * ||— u | — u | — u — | — u — — u —
Tarfīl may take place in either hemistich, and salm is typical of the metre. The predominating tendency, however, is to drop the wataad of the darb.

XVII.  Al-Ajami.

Metrical scheme

This metre cannot be "deduced" from any circle of al-Khalīl.

XVIII. Al-Ramal.

(a)  

It is the suppression of a wataad mafrūq from the end of a foot.
زاريُة بعد أن نُقِّمُ في الجُرُود عبَّرُى الأَمْر وريَّيْ أَخِنُوْد
وسقاَيٌ من رحيقٍ في البَيْدِي وشفى بالمَلْتَقَ قلب الأَمْيرٍ
(98)
ما لَهُ بيني جنَّ طيبٍ أوَّلٍ
ما لَهُ بات خافَق ما سكن
لَت قلبي حسبٍ من لَوْمَة وَأَنْ تَلَأْ أوُلَفْم فَرْنِكْ لِي فَنَّوْو
(9)
لم أَزل منه مبلَّل
قلِ لَسْمِن وَلَسْم
فلهذا مالٌ وميَّل
أنا محرّمٌ وَقَرْنِيُّ
(100)
بُلُبُبُ أَحِيف أَمْيَامٍ
كُلَّ عَنَئِيْ شجَاهٍ
قد عَنَأ كامِن ما أَعثَى
فأْتى يا أَحِيل أَلْعَانٍ
فلَمَّا يَأْهِل أَلْعَانٍ
(11)
مرْيَص ساَيُّ سُناوُصُ يُسْبِح أَزَىْ أَنْقَح
في شعاب آثَاف حاجْنَ مَتْ نُحَرُّ أَصِيَّلَحٍ
(101)
XIX. Al-Munsarih.

Only the dimeter makshuf form is used:

\\( \text{ماَمْ} \text{الفُزؤَل} \text{الْحَمَّوُمْ} \)
\\( \text{وَآَرَى} \text{دوَامٍ عَيْنِي} \text{ذَمَّ} \)
\\( \text{شَكْت} \text{لَهُ} \text{مُيِّرَم} \text{أَخُ يَا عَدْيِبُ اَلْمَسْمُ} \)

XX. Al-Duwaini

This metre cannot be "deduced" from any circle of al-Khalīl.

(a) \( \text{||} -u| -u| -u -| -u| -u -\)

(\( \text{وَإِنَّهُ} \text{فِي} \text{الْحِلْيَة} \text{نُفَاحَةٌ} \text{لَيْتَا} \text{ضَحَّي} \text{مَا} \text{فِي} \text{الْفُنْوَنْ} \))

(\( \text{وَبِذَهَّب} \text{الْهُمَّ} \text{وَالْجِسَالَة} \text{وَالْمَلَقَّي} \text{تَقَرِّرُ} \text{الْعِيْنَ} \))

(\( \text{وَبَرِجُ} \text{اللَّهُ} \text{مَا} \text{تُدِفَخُ} \text{خَلْفُ} \text{مَا} \text{يَوْمُ} \text{الْوَاهِمَ} \))

(\( \text{فَالَّهُ} \text{ذَو} \text{الْفُضْلُ} \text{وَالْزَرْقِ} \text{وَجُوُرَةٌ} \text{قَدْ} \text{عَلَدِكَ} \text{جُوُرُ} \text{104} \))

(b) \( * \text{||} -u| -u -| -u| -u -\)

\( \text{فَقَ مَلَّوَّقُ} \text{رَبَّي} \text{شَمَّهُ} \text{فَهُجُ} \text{أَنْجَاتُ أَشْوَاقِي} \)
XXI. Al-Munbasit\textsuperscript{106}.

This metre can be "deduced" from the first circle of al-Khalīl.

(a) \[ * \ | -u- \ | -u- \ | -u- \ | -u- \ ]

فَنَقِيَ في وَجَهِ الْقُرْفِ
أيْنَ الْبَرْدُ الْقَدْمَ\textsuperscript{107}
أُنتُ صَوْرَ في نُلْاماً
عَفَّ أَلْفَارْمُ
لَا تَسْتَ بَالْبِيُّ وَلَدَ المُشْقِقِ
اًتَحْلَّى عَسِي نَلْقَيَ\textsuperscript{107}.

(b) \[ * \ | -u- \ | -u- \ | -u- \ | -u- \ ]

يَا وَشُقِّ أَلْقِدْ صِحْلًا
راَبِعُ اللَّهُ فِي الْمِيْدَانِ
صَارَ قَلْبِ مِلَّكِ مِبَالِ
وَأَشْتَاقُي فِي مِزْيِدٍ
لدى اللمدّل جرَّاح
فائي حايٍ اللمدّل

(0)

لدى السَّلم دون اللمدّل

جيّ روضة بها سول قلب سكان
والمسرة أفانان
قالها ألبها في هُرّها الواسنان
ما ألبها ما ألبها

XXII. Al-Mujthatt.

Only the dimeter form* is used:

خلبي مسقيل للتريب باَيْ أُخْدِيد أَوْرَدْ
XXIII. Al-Mutaqārib.

This metre often tends to give a mechanical effect. Qaṣr, ḥadhif and batr are very typical of the penultimate foot of each hemistich.

(a)  *

لما فيه عيب لعابين 5 رأى هللة وشيّدت

وغير في الدياب يصعد

111
(6) 
	
	


تَمْـيِـّزَّ مِن َالْحَبّ حَاليّ تَبْلَابٍ مِنُ ُّلْشَوقِ َبَالِيّ

في منصفٍ مِن غزاليّ شَقُوتُ َّالْهُوَى َما رَبُّيّ 113

(6) 
	
	


جِرُّتْ سَنَةً ََّالْحَبّ أَتّ أَلْقَيْمٍ يَهِيمٍ بَعْدَ َنَفْسِ سَارٍ
فَقَلَ الْذِّي سَارَ مَا لَهُ يَهِيمٍ ََّالْحَبّ أَلْقَيْمٍ فِي َُّالْسَارٍ
ويَشْجِيْه بِرْقٍ أَلْدِي َوْلَسْمٍ وَيُسِّكِه غَنَا أَلْفَارٍ
وَيَنفُقُّ دُوَّاءً َجَدِيدٍ بَالْقِدْمِ وَيُضْعِفُ عَلَى َأَلْفَارٍ 114
(d) 
	
	

أَرْی مُقَلَّطٍ وَأَقْرِي ََّالْحُمْامٍ َكَنُبُّ َالْسُّهَامٍ

وَنْورُ َالْخِدُودُ َأَلْسَانُ ََّالْرَّحْمٍ َكَبْرُ َالْقُرْمُ
This metre cannot be "deduced" from any circle of al-Khalil.

(a) \[ || u |---|---|--u|--u|--u |---|-- || \]

(b) \[ * || u |---|--u|--u|--u |---|-- || \]
XXV. Al-Mutadārak.

Tashīt is typical of the metre as a whole, and tarfīl may occur in either hemistiches.

(a) \[ \| -u- -u- -u- -u- \| -u- -u- -u- -u- \]
ياجدي و حبيبي... لقد ارتبطت بالحياة أثر يحبينك

واعلمي لم تشرب اثنا عشرة

ياجدي حاجز حياة دا اثنيا الصعب

إرث لما في جبل فؤاد جرب

كم هذا سماجر ما هذا ملء وامله

صديقه علامة كل الناس لك لانعين

هاجبا اليد للبيان وجمال السكون

لو مكان للمراف بجانب الشجوك

كلها دار حازم ما درى كيف يكون

سلتله القفز ساجعات الفصوص
XXVI. Al-Mustakmal. 124.

This metre cannot be "deduced" from any circle of al-Khalīl. Tayy is typical of it as a whole.

(a) \( | -u| u |-u|-u| -u| u|-u| -u| \)

+ It is the suppression of the fourth letter of a foot when it is "quiescent".

124

125
3. Ibn al-Qāṭṭāt, K. al-'Arūq fī Ma'rīfat Awzān Shi'r al-'Arab, Br. Mus., Or. 3770, iii, fols. 64a-65a.
5. Diwan Mubayyataţ, p. 188.
7. Ibid., p. 116f.
11. Tiraz al-Majālis; see also the second chapter of this thesis, p. 116f.
13. Diwan Mubayyataţ, p. 36.
15. These are the first two strophes of a poem of Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ānisī. The poem is a recorded song.
16. Diwan Mubayyataţ, p. 79.
17. Ibid., p. 85. This poem is also attributed to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī (v. Diwan al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 55b).
19. Ibid., p. 167f.
20. Diwan al-'Alawi, Leiden, fol. 74, Br. Mus., fol. 50
22. Tarji' al-Atyar, p. 139.
23. Ibid., p. 270
24. Ibid., p. 360.
26. Ibid., p. 203.
27. Tarji' al-Atyar, p. 220
29. Diwan Mubayyat at, p. 179f.
31. Ibid., fol. 86a.
32. Ibid., fol. 63. This poem is erroneously attributed to Haidar Agha in the Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fol. 91b.
35. S.v. الغيث
37. Diwan Mubayyat at, p. 175.
39. Diwan Mubayyat at, p. 211
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-Ātyār, p. 391.

42. Tirāz al-Majālis.

43. My own depreciation. I call it so because the bāl-bal poems quoted in al-Ahdal and Bā-Makhramah are all in the majā'ī form of this metre. It is highly probable that this metrical scheme is typical of the bāl-bal style of poetry mentioned in Tirāz A'ilam al-Zaman, fol. 183b.


45. Tarjī' al-Ātyār, pp. 45, 344, 412, 425; see also Nashāt al-Sahar, Ambrosiana; Diwan Mubayyatat, pp. 80, 163, 192, 198; Mahajjat al-Sālik, p. 182; al-Durr al-Manzūm, pp. 50, 83.

46. Diwan Mubayyatāt, p. 111; see also Diwan al-'Alawī, Br. Mus., fol. 87a.

47. See, for instance, al-Dumā' al-Dāhikah, p. 221.

48. See, for instance, Tarjī' al-Ātyār, pp. 207, 308, 360.

49. See, for example, ibid., p. 155; Mahajjat al-Sālik, pp. 181f, 189.

50. See, for instance, Tarjī' al-Ātyār, p. 335; Diwan
51. Tarjī' al-Atyar, p. 199. This trimeter pattern of al-basīt 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 maqtū' is Muḥd. b. 'Abdallah Sharaf al-Dīn (v. Diwan Mubayyatāt, p. 88).

52. Diwan Yahya al-Ḥamzī, fol. 118b; see also Diwan Mubayyatāt, pp. 123, 170; Jawārish al-Afrāḥ, Ambrosiana, fols. 63b-64a; al-Durr al-Manzūm, p. 167.

53. See, for instance, Diwan Mubayyatāt, p. 38.


55. See, for instance, ibid., pp. 54, 176.

56. Maqlūb al-tawīl. Its popularity in the poetry of the bedouins of Yaman is noted in al-Ishārat al-Wafiyah, fol. 55b. It is interesting to note that al-Sakākī, Miftāḥ al-Ulūm (Cairo, 1356/1935), p. 269, corrects al-Khalīl b. Ahmad, 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 Hadramite poet, Imrū'u al-Qais, in support of his claim. The popularity of al-mustaṭīl in the colloquial poetry of Hadramawt has been noted by some Western scholars. Cf. Prose and Poetry from Hadramawt, p. 79, no. 12.
57. Diwan Yahya b. Ibrāhīm al-Jahhāfi, Leiden, Or. 2699, fol 2; see also Tanmiq al-Asfar, p. 336.

58. Diwan Ḥatim al-Ahdal, Leiden, Or. 1445, fol. 107; see also Diwan Mubayyatāt, pp. 182, 204.

59. Tanmiq al-Asfar, p. 346f; see also Diwan Mubayyatāt, p. 67; Diwan al-'Alawī, fol. 90b; Mahajjat al-Sālik, p. 176.

60. Hadīqat al-Afrāḥ, p. 40, Diwan al-Jahhāfi, Leiden, fol. 6; see also Mahajjat al-Sālik, p. 146.

61. This metre is popular in the poetry of the bedouins of S. Arabia. See, for instance, Diwan al-Aghānī al-Lahjiyyah, p. 33; al-Dumu' al-Dāhikah, pp. 167, 190; Prose and Poetry from Hadramawt, p. 78. This is partly why we have restricted it to the bedouin form.


63. Tarjī' al-Atyār, pp. 238, 314; see also Diwan Mubayyatāt, p. 211.

64. Diwan Bahrān, Br. Mus., fols. lllb-112a; see also Mahajjat al-Sālik, p. 122.

65. Ibid., p. 157.

66. Ibid., p. 123.


69. Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fol. 90a; see also Tarjī'
al-Atyār, p. 397; Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 165.

70. This is the first strophe of a recorded song composed by Ahmad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān 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-Atyār, p. 113; Diwān Mubayyatāt, p. 70.

73. My own depreciation.

74. Diwān Mubayyatāt, p. 130; see also Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 119; Diwān Ḥātim al-Aḥdāl, Leiden, Or. 1445, fol. 120.

75. Ḥadiqat al-Afrāḥ, p. 15; see also Maḥajjat al-Sālik, pp. 115, 144, 155; Diwān Mubayyatāt, pp. 98, 120; Diwān al-ʿAlawī, Br. Mus., fol. 69.

76. Diwān Mubayyatāt, p. 178; see also Maḥajjat al-Sālik, p. 168; ʿAbdallah b. ʿAlī al-Wazīr, Aqrāṭ al-Dhahab..., School of Oriental and African Studies, no. 40911-2, fols. 268a-270b.

77. Tarjī' al-Atyār, p. 395.

78. Diwān Mubayyatāt, pp. 40, 54, 82, 115; Tarjī' al-Atyār, p. 420; Maḥajjat al-Sālik, pp. 165, 167, 170, 171, etc.; al-Durr al-Manẓūm, pp. 67, 98, 130, etc.

79. Diwān Yaḥya al-Ḥamzī, fols. 96a-98b.

80. Br. Mus. Ms., Or. 3790, fol. 129b; see also Diwān

81. My own depreciation.


84. Ibid., p. 173.

85. Ibid., p. 87; see also Mahajjat al-Salik, p. 129; Diwan al-ʿAlawī, Br. Mus., fol. 84.

86. Diwan Mubayyatāt, p. 62.

87. My own depreciation.

88. Tarjīʿal-Āṭyār, pp. 159–60; see also Diwan Mubayyatāt, p. 51; al-ʿAlam al-Mufrad, Br. Mus., fol. 70b.

89. Tarjīʿal-Āṭyār, p. 158.

90. Al-Durr al-Manzūm, p. 121ff.

91. Tarjīʿal-Āṭyār, p. 242f.

92. Diwan Mubayyatāt, p. 185.

93. See, e.g., Mahajjat al-Salik, p. 120.

94. See, e.g., Diwan Mubayyatāt, pp. 138, 141.


96. My own depreciation. A poem in this metre is quoted
in Diwan Safi al-Din al-Hilli (al-Najaf, 1375/1956), p. 277, under the statement: وقال ... وهى اللوزات الحمى،


99. Diwan Mubayyatat, p. 154; see also Al-Durr al-Manzum, p. 48; Tanmiq al-Asfar, p. 318ff; Mahajjat al-Salik, p. 185; Tarji' al-Atyar, p. 380.

100. Khalil al-Afrah; see also Al-Durr al-Manzum, pp. 37, 103, 176; Diwan Mubayyatat, p. 86.


102. Diwan Mubayyatat, p. 203.

103. My own depreciation. This metre seems to be popular in the dan-ya-dan-ya-dana songs of S. Arabia.

104. Mahajjat al-Salik, p. 185; see also Diwan al-'Alawi, Br. Mus., fol. 56b-57a.

105. Ambrosiana Ms., D408, i, Diwan al-'Alawi, Leiden, fol. 17; see also Al-Durr al-Manzum, pp. 73, 104; Diwan Mubayyatat, pp. 77, 197; Mahajjat al-Salik, pp. 141, 191; Tarji' al-Atyar, p. 216; Salwat al-Mushtaq, Ambrosiana, fol. 122b-123a.

106. = Maqlub al-basit.

107. This is the first bait in a regular muwashshah written by al-Mazzah, and quoted, under his name, in the Ambrosiana Ms.,
375.

D408, i.


109. **Maḥajjat al-Sālik**, p. 188.

110. **Diwan al-'Alawî**, Br. Mus., fol. 57a; see also **Diwan Mubayyatât**, pp. 68, 195; **Maḥajjat al-Sālik**, pp. 152, 176, 188

111. **Diwan Mubayyatât**, p. 166.


116. My own depreciation.


118. **Diwan al-'Alawî**, Br. Mus., fol. 66b; see also **Diwan Mubayyatât**, p. 66.


121. This is the first bait of a mubayyatâh written by Muh. b. Ḥashim al-Shāmī.


124. My own depreciation.

126. *Simāt 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 tasmīt had undergone great elabroation and expanded in many directions; how only two forms of the musammat style were widely appropriated by the S. Arabians, and were gradually transposed into the alternating pattern bait-tawshīh-taqfīl.

The tasmīt 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 tasmīt - as an independent style of poetry - into the vogue in the 'Abbāsid 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-tawshīh-taqfīl or bait-tawshīh,
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 fusūl (sections) knitted together by a master-rhyme ('amūd al-qāṣīdah) which runs at the end of each bāit or fasl 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-Ḥakāmī, 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 "humainī".

True, humainī 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 fasl, 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 laḥn may be made either to increase its emotional richness or to give it a plebian flavour. Without the spontaneous (or subtle use of) laḥn 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 reserve use of) laḥn 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 tasmīt 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 ḥakamī 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:

It is particularly in the muwashshah style that S. Arabia has excelled. True, some of the humanists took this genre very lightly; some were merely content to produce jingling rhymes; others did not apparently comprehend what humani 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 humanists (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
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-Jaḥhāfī 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 craft, and moved al-Ānisī to utter his feelings about it in a song with which this thesis may fittingly endː—

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 distressː 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?

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