

**THE INFLUENCE OF ARABIC POETRY
ON
THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSIAN POETRY.**

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ON THE
DEVELOPMENT OF PERSIAN POETRY.

BY

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TO

His Holiness Sardar Syedna

TAHIR SAIFU'DDIN SAHIB

THE HIGH PONTIFF OF THE DĀWŪDĪ BOHRA COMMUNITY

IN TOKEN OF

HIS GENEROUS HELP AND HIS DEVOTION TO ARABIC LEARNING

AND TO

My Beloved Master

PROFESSOR R. A. NICHOLSON, LITT.D.

OF

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

IN APPRECIATION OF

HIS CONSTANT FAVOURS.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE.

PREFACE.

In the following pages¹ an attempt has been made to trace the influence of Arabic poetry on the development and growth of Persian poetry; but, as no influence can be purely one-sided, it has been thought necessary to indicate how far Arabic poetry itself was influenced by its contact with Persian life and, later on, with Persian poetry. This has been done by means of a large number of parallel passages selected from the poetical literatures of the Arabs and the Persians. The multiplicity of ideas borrowed by Persian poets from Arabic poets would clearly show how great is the debt which Persian poetry owes to Arabic.

The parallel passages have been divided into three separate sections:—the Panegyric, the Didactic and the Descriptive. Each section consists of a group of typical ideas, as expressed by poets of different periods. A complete list of the sources from which these passages have been drawn is given at the end.

The period of selection in the case of Arabic passages extends from pre-Islamic times to the age of Mutanabbi (d. A.D. 965), including also other writers whose names are mentioned in the *Yatimah* and the *Dumyah*, and who, being contemporary with early Persian poets, either influenced them or were influenced by them. In the case of Persian passages, I have restricted my choice to those poets who lived before the sack of Baghdād by Hulāgū Khān in A.D. 1258², but have, whenever practicable, tracked

1 This book was originally submitted as a dissertation to the University of Cambridge in 1927 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and is now published without much alteration.

2 Except in one instance—vide No. (G) in the Didactic Section, where the Persian parallel is from Ibn-i-Yamin who died in 1344 A.D.

down an idea to much later poets. I have thus excluded Sa'di and other Persian poets who died after this event, and have alluded to them only in connection with such ideas as were expressed by their early predecessors. In the same way, I have left out of account the famous Sūfī poets 'Aṭṭār, Sanā'i, Rūmī, and later 'Irāqī and Jāmī, in order to make room for those poets who clung to earthly objects. To trace the influence of the Arabic poets, Ibnu'l-Fārid, Ibnu'l-'Arabī and others, on the above-named Persian mystics, and to appreciate it properly, would require a separate treatise.

As regards the subject of the thesis, I may say that, with the exception of Shibli Nu'mānī's chapter on "the Influence of Arabic poetry on Persian poetry" in his *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, and a few incidental references in Professor Browne's *Literary History*, Vol. I, no one else has so far offered a synthetic comparative study of Arabic and Persian poetry. If, therefore, by writing on this subject, I have, in some measure, fulfilled the wish of the late Prof. Browne (*Lit. Hist.* i. 477), I should be perfectly satisfied, although I cannot say that I possess the qualifications required by him.

In the end, I must express my heartfelt gratitude to those who have directly or indirectly helped me in the production of this work, especially to the Government of Bombay for granting me a State Scholarship for post-graduate studies in England and to my late lamented benefactor K. B. Mir Ghulām Muḥammad Khān of Tando Bago, Sind (ob. 12th February 1932), who generously financed me and maintained my family during my absence in Europe. My sincere thanks are also due to the Syndicate of the University of Bombay, for their subsidy of Rs. 400. I am extremely grateful to His Holiness Sardār Syednā Ṭāhīr Saifu'ddīn for his kind donation to cover the cost of printing. His Holiness is well-known for his patronage of men of letters and his benefactions to the various Islamic institutions in India and elsewhere. He is a

learned divine, who enjoins on his followers strict observance of religious principles, and an erudite scholar of Arabic who, inspite of his manifold duties which his high office lays upon him, is able every year to compose an original treatise explaining the mysteries of the faith. The present work has been in the press for the last three years, and but for his financial assistance could not perhaps have seen the light of day.

U. M. D.



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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.¹

(For the first two centuries of Islām, the history of Persian Poetry is almost a blank. During this long period Arabic reigned supreme. It was the language of diplomacy, religion and belles-lettres, and the poets and literary men of Persia used it in preference to their own native tongue. The Perso-Arabic writers of the 'Abbāsīd times, who otherwise evinced a keen interest in historical and philological pursuits, bestowed little care on collecting the poetical relics of their own country. Even those of them who wrote about the history and culture of ancient Irān chose to do so in Arabic, either because Persian had not attained the perfection of a literary form, or because it was a fashion to write in Arabic in those days. This apathy and indifference on the part of Persian scholars must have caused many ancient Persian Dīwāns to fall into oblivion. Many an indigenous poet must have sung and died in a sequestered corner of his country without making his voice heard, and many a lyre been left unstrung without transmitting its notes to posterity. Thus it is that we possess neither the poetical records of the two centuries immediately following the advent of Islām, nor those of the preceding Sāsānian period. Whether these records perished during the onslaught of the Arabs, or disappeared through the neglect of Persian savants themselves, there could be no doubt regarding the existence of poetry in Persia before and after the

¹ This chapter with a few omissions has already appeared in Dr. Modi Memorial Volume under the caption of "Early Persian Poetry and its Relation to Arabic Poetry," and is now incorporated in the book in its original form with certain modifications here and there.

Arab invasion.¹ The names of some of the minstrels of olden times, such as Bārbad, Bāmshād and several others, are significant in this respect, for music and poetry must go hand in hand.

What the nature of ancient Persian poetry really was cannot be exactly known. Probably it was of two types—the ballad and the epic.² On the other hand, Fakhrū'd-dīn As'ad Gurgānī, who versified the romance of *Vis-o-Rāmīn* (440 A.H.) from a Pahlawī version, which contained neither metre nor rhyme, boldly assures us that the ancient Persians did not cultivate the art of Poetry.³ This is by no means the truth. The fact is that Muslim writers did not regard ancient Persian poetry as poetry, because it did not conform to the rules of prosody as formulated by Khalīl b. Aḥmad (100-170 A.H.). Thus 'Awfī and Shams-i-Qays both agree that the Khusrawānī airs sung by Bārbad were without metre and rhyme, and without any literary grace (!), although they were full of encomiums on his sovereign.⁴ As against this is the view that the ancient Persians, like the Greeks, used no rhyme in their poetical compositions, and that a certain

1 Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (ob. 395 A.H.) says that the ancient Persians did possess poetry, which owing to its vastness could not be collected in books. The same author again says that the Persians possessed poetry which treated of their history and also of their wars, and that it was preserved in the royal libraries. Gradually with the decay of their language their poetry also disappeared, and there remained only Arabic poetry on their tongues... (Tafḥīl, p. 217 of at-Tuḥfatu'l-Bahīyyah).

2 Jackson, *Early Persian Poetry*, p. 2.

3 *Vis-o-Rāmīn*, ed Capt. Lees, Calcutta, 1865, pp. 11-12. This view is also held by the great al-Jāḥiẓ (160-255 A.H.), who says: "Every nation in some way or other tries to preserve its past relics and historical traditions: the Arabs did so by means of poetry which is their peculiar gift, and the Persians by erecting magnificent edifices, such as Istakhr and Madā'in, and forts, bridges, sepulchral vaults, etc. Then the Arabs wanted to equal them in this respect and built Ghumdān, Qasr Ma'rīb, Ablāq and others, so that they might remain unrivalled in the field of poetry.....(Kitābu'l-Hayawān, i 36)."

4 *Lubāb*, i.20; and *al-Mu'jam*, 170.

writer named Hasūni or Hashūbi (?) had collected this kind of blank verse in a book which he called "Yubah Nāmāh" (The Book of Desire).¹ This brings us to the opinion of Dr. Paul Horn, who suggests that although the ancient Persians did not use rhyme in their poetry, they must at least have had metre. The folk-songs, in which the rhythm depends not upon the quantity, but upon the number of syllables in each verse after the manner of the Avesta, afford abundant proof in support of this theory.² We, however, would maintain that the ancient Persian ballads did contain a kind of metre and rhyme, which, in some degree, resembled the *rajaz* of the pre-Islamic Arabs, as may be seen from the passages quoted below. The author of *Ta'rikh-i-Sistān* says that the following hymn used to be sung by the Zoroastrian priests of the *Karkūyah* fire-temple,³ which was built by Kay Khusraw in Sistān to the memory of Divine Light (*Hūsh-i-Garshāsp*, the Intelligence of *Garshāsp*) which appeared to him while he was busy quelling the demons of those districts.⁴ Only one out of the several strophes is given :

فرخت بادا روش خنیدن گرشاسب هوش
همی پرست از جوش نوش کن مئی نوش

1 *Mi'yārū'l-Ash'ār*, Leiden Mss: Codex. 683(2) Warn, p. 65; and Brit. Mus. Add. 1670, p. 4b. This book is attributed to *Naṣīru'd-dīn Ṭūsī* by Mufti Md. Sa'du'llah of Rāmpur, who wrote a commentary on it under the title of *Mizānu'l-Afkār* (Lucknow. 1262 A.H.). A similar view is held by al-'Askari who says that there are tunes in Persian which are composed like poetry; but the words in them are lengthened, so that the tunes appear metrical, though the words are prosaic (*Kitābu's-Ṣanā'atayn*, p. 103).

2 *Geschichte der Persische Literatur*, p. 44.

3 *Vide* The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, pp. 341-342.

4 This information is derived from the article of *Mirzā 'Abbās Āshṭiyānī* of *Tīhrān*, published in the *Kāvah*, No. 2, and Vol. II of the New Series. The name of the author of the History of Sistān is not known; but it is certain that he lived in the troublous times of the Mongol irruptions, and enjoyed the patronage of *Malik Naṣīru'd-dīn wa'l-Haqq* and his two sons *Malik-i-Mu'azzam*

دوست بداکوش بآفرین نهاده کوش
همیشه یکی کوش دی گذشت و دوش
شاه خدایگانا بآفرین شاهی

We may infer from this that the native poetry of Persia, in the Sāsānian times as well as in the first two centuries of the Hijrah, was of this simple type. Further evidence as to the rajaz nature of the early verses is afforded by the following lines of Yazīd b. Mufarrigh al-Himyari,¹ in which he makes an arch reference to Sumayyah, the grandmother of 'Ubaydu'llāh b. Ziyād, when the latter ordered the poet to be paraded through the streets of Baṣrah :

آبست و نبید است عسارات زیب است
سمیه روی

The following verses, which the people of Balkh are said to have recited in derision of Asad b. 'Abdi'llāh at his temporary defeat by the Khāqān² in 119 A.H., further corroborate our surmise :

Rukn'd-dīn Maḥmūd, and Shāh-i-Mu'azzam Naṣratu'd-dīn, who were rulers of Sistān. It appears from his own writings that the book was composed between the years 675 and 680. The History contains valuable information about the Ṣaffārid dynasty, besides many pieces of early Persian poetry. Rūdaki's ode beginning with "mādar-i-may..." was also identified by Mirzā Qazwini from this book, for which see pp. 215-217 of J.R.A.S., April 1926.

1 Yazīd b. Mufarrigh al-Himyari lived in the reign of Mu'āwiyah I (661-680 A.D.) and died in 688 A.D., i.e., only 66 years after the Hijrah. In consequence of this lampoon 'Ubaydu'llāh exiled him to Siyastān where he was put in prison. For other details, *vide* Ibn Qut : pp. 209-213. These verses and those quoted from aṭ-Ṭabari are my own finding. It was only in 1931, when I received a gift copy of *Bist Maqālāt-i-Qazwini*, from Mr. Hoshang Anklesaria of the Fort Printing Press, that I discovered that this erudite scholar had already discussed these verses as the earliest specimens of Persian poetry after the advent of Islām (*vide* pp. 26-36)

2 Ṭabari, ii. pp. 1602-1603.

از ختلات آمدی بر تو نباه مدی
آباره باز آمدی خنک و نزار آمدی

From Khuttal didst thou come,
With a worn-out face didst thou come,
Homeless and desolate didst thou come,
Dry and lean didst thou come.

The above instances are of the *rajaz* character, and would strike any one with the conviction that the early Persian poetry did possess metre, rhythm and rhyme, the three essentials of poetry. Gradually as Persian poets became accustomed to the Arabic metrical system they began to compose in all sorts of intricate metres.

Bahrām-i-Gūr, who is generally supposed to have composed the first verse in Persian,¹ and whose *Diwān* (!) was seen and read by 'Awfī in Bukhārā,² is reported by al-Mas'ūdī to have composed a number of poems in Arabic and Persian which, however, he refrains from quoting in order to save space.³ These, indeed, would have been an

¹ Tha'ālībī : Ghurar, ed. Zotenberg, p. 557. The authority cited by him is Ibn Khurdādhbih. But the verses quoted in his *al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik* (Leiden, p. 118), viz.,

متم شیر شنبه متم بر تله

are again of the *rajaz* kind, and might have been the result of an outburst of feeling on the part of that merry monarch. The story given by Dawlatshāh of the occasion which evoked this aberration of Bahrām is not mentioned at all by 'Awfī, Shams-i-Qays or Nizāmī 'Arūdi, although it is recorded by Ibnū'l-Faqīh along with the Arabic verses celebrating the occasion (cf. *Kitābu'l-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1887, pp. 256-57). Tha'ālībī, on the other hand, gives (Ghurar, p. 542) quite a different story of Bahrām's skill in hunting the deer, in which his favourite harper, Azādwar, loses her life owing to her inordinate demands. That Bahrām might have composed occasional verses cannot be doubted, but the verse as generally ascribed to him is far from genuine. The version given by Ibn Khurdādhbih seems to be nearer to the truth.

² *Lubāb*, i. 19.

³ *Murūj*, ii. 193. وله اشعار كثيرة بالعربية والفارسية امر ضنا عن ذكرها في هذا
الموضع طلباً للاختصار والابجاز.

important aid in determining the precise form of Persian poetry at the time. But neither Mas'ūdī nor other historians deserve much credence in this respect. At any rate, with the exception of certain poetical passages in the Avesta, which are really the impassioned utterances of a prophet rather than a poet, scarcely any pre-Islāmic Persian poetry has come down to us. But what is more regrettable is that we possess very scanty information about the poetry produced in the first two centuries of the Hijrah. This may have been partly due to want of patronage and change of circumstances, but some other reasons must be sought for the complete disappearance of early Persian poetry. One of these reasons may be the absence of Rāwis or rhapsodists who might have treasured up the early ballads in their memories and handed on to their descendants.

(Our object here is not to discuss the debatable question as to who composed the first verse in Persian, but to point out that, along with the poets who are thus honoured, there lived several others whose names have not come down to us, and that Hanẓalah (died before 248 A.H.), to whom a short reference is made by Tadhkirah writers, was by no means the only poet who flourished during the Tāhirid rule (205-259 A.H.).¹ Our anthologists

1 One such is Muḥammad b. al-Ba'ith (d. 235 A.H.) whose poems were recited to Ṭabarī by some old men of Marāghah (*Vide* Ṭab. iii. 1388). Other early verses, which no longer exist, but to which an allusion is to be found in an Arabic poem by Abū Muḥsin Muḥammad b. Baḥr of Isfahān, are ascribed to one Abū'l-Ash'ath of Qumūn (*Yāqūt*: *Mu'jamu'l-Udabā*, Leiden, p. 421).

Abū Ḥafṣ Ḥakīm b. Aḥwas of Buḡhd (lived in the third century A.H.) to whom the following verse is attributed, and who was the inventor of a musical instrument, Shahrūdih, could not be the first poet (*al-Mu'jam*, pp. 170-171; *Mafāṭihu'l-'Ulūm of Khwārizmī*, ed. Van Vloten, p. 237):

آهوی کوهی در دشت چگونه دودا او ندارد یاری بار چگونه دودا

How could the antelope bound over the plain ?

She has no mate, how could she leap without a mate ?

show crass ignorance even as regards those poets who acclaimed Ya'qūb b. al-Layth (254-265 A.H.) when he firmly established himself in Sīstān. Of these, Muḥammad b. Waṣīf as-Sijzī, the secretary of Ya'qūb, deserves special mention.¹)

1 The following information is derived from the History of Sīstān, for which I am deeply indebted to the article of Mirzā 'Abbās Iqbāl Āshtiyānī in Kāvāh (New Series 1921), No. II.

Muḥammad b. Waṣīf as-Sijzī seems to have lived to a goodly old age, and seen the Ṣaffārids at the height of their power, and at their fall. In 287 A.H. when 'Amr b. al-Layth was defeated by the Sāmānid Isma'īl and sent as a prisoner to Samarqand, Ibn Waṣīf wrote the following consolatory lines to him:

کوشش بنده سبب رنجش است کار قضا بود ترا عیب نیست
بود و نبود از صفت ایزد است بنده در مانده بیچاره کیست
اول مخلوق چو باشد زوال کار جهان اول و آخر یکبست
قول خداوند بغوات فاستقم معتقدی شو و بر آن بر بایست

And in the following fragment he bewails the fallen condition of the Ṣaffārid dynasty. The last two verses contain a reference to the last Amīr Ṭāhīr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. al-Layth, who spent his time and treasure in idle pleasures, and paid no heed to the wise counsels of Iyās b. 'Abdī'llāh, the chief of the Arabs of Sīstān, who had served the great Ṣaffārids faithfully and wanted to wean Ṭāhīr from his evil course. He is reported to have said to him: "This kingdom has been conquered by sword; thou wilt give it away from thy hands through sport and idle pleasures; a kingdom cannot be kept with frivolity; a king ought to possess justice, religion, administrative skill, eloquence, whip and sword." The Amīr did not listen to his advice and allowed him to depart.

ملکیتی بود شده بی قیاس عمرو بران ملک شده بود راس
از حد هند تا بحد چین و ترک از حد زنگ تا بحد روم و کاس
راس ذنب گشت و بشد مملکت زر زرد شد از نحوست نحاس
دولت یعقوب درینا برفت مانند عقوبت بعقب بر حواس
عمر عمرو رفت و زو باز ماند مذهب روباه بنس و نواس؟
ای چه غیا آمد و شادی گذشت بود دلم دائم ازین یر هراس
هرچه بکردیم نخواهیم دید سود ندارد ز قضا احتراس
ناس شدند نسناس آنکه هم و ز هم اس بگشتند ناس
دور فلک گردان چون آسبا لاجرم این اس هم کرد آس
ملک ابا هزل نکرد انتساب نور ز ظلمت نکند اقباس
چند و جد یعقوب باید همی تا که ز جد بدر آید ایاس

Besides Ibn Waṣīf and Bassām, there was another learned man named

The author of the History of Sīstān says that after the Amir Ya'qūb had crushed his enemies, and wrested the city of Harāt from the hands of the Tāhirid governor in the year 253 A.H., compelling the Tāhirid prince Muḥammad (248-259 A.H.) to recognise him as ruler of Sīstān, Kābul, Kirmān and Fārs, he made a triumphal entry into his capital town Sīstān. The people made great rejoicings at his arrival, and their great divine Abū Aḥmad 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (d. 255 A.H.) inserted his name in the Friday sermon. The poets addressed Arabic verses to him in celebration of his victory, but as Ya'qūb was innocent of Arabic, he exclaimed: "Why should people say what I cannot understand?" On hearing this Muḥammad b. Waṣīf, who happened to be present, and who was regarded as a distinguished scholar of the day, at once recited the following verses in Persian¹:

۱. ای امیریکه امیران جهان خاص و عام
بند و چاکر و مولای و سک بند و غلام

Muḥammad b. Muḥallad as-Sijzi, who also thereafter began to write Persian poetry. The following three verses of his are addressed to Ya'qūb:

جز تو نژاد هوا و آدم نکشت شیر نهادی بدل و پر منش
معجز یغبر مکتی توئی بکنس و منش و بگوشت
فخر کند عمار روزی بزرگ کی همانم من که یعقوب کشت

1 The irregularity of metre and unevenness of construction show that the piece in question is old, and that it is the first attempt of Ibn Waṣīf at Persian poetry. The author of the History of Sīstān says that Ibn Waṣīf was the first to compose verses in Persian, and that no one before him had done so (!); because, says he, so long as the Persians (Sāsānians) ruled, the people sought their favour by composing verses according to the Khusrāwānī airs. After the coming of the Arabs, the people of Persia wrote in Arabic, and were well-versed in Arabic poetry. Before Ya'qūb, however, there arose no such great man whom the people might praise in poetry except Ḥanzah b. 'Abdī'līz al-Khārijī, who himself was a learned person and knew Arabic. His soldiers, too, were mostly Arabs and spoke Arabic. His panegyrists, therefore, addressed verses to him in Arabic. The author of the History of Sīstān says that the above *Qasīdah* is a long one, but that he has recorded only 6 verses.

۲. ازلی خطی در لوح که ملکی بدهید
 بی ابی یوسف یعقوب بن اللیت هم
 ۳. بشام آمد و رتبیل لسی خورد بلنگ
 لزم شد لشکر رتبیل و هبا گشت کنام
 ۴. لمن الملک بخواندی تو امیرا بیقین
 با قلیل الفته کت داد دران لشکر کام
 ۵. 'عمر عمار ترا خواست و زو گشت بری
 تیغ تو کرد میانجی بمیان ددودام
 ۶. 'عمر او نزد تو آمد که نو چون نوح بزی
 در آکارنن او سر او باب طعام

1. O prince, before whom the princes of the world, high and low, are servants, attendants, clients, dog-binders and slaves,
2. From eternity, it was inscribed on the Preserved Tablet, "Grant kingdom to Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. al-Layth, the hero."
3. Bassām submitted,¹ while the Ratbil² received a blow on his leg, his army cut to pieces, and their houses turned to dust.

1 Bassām Kurd was one of those Khārijites who came to Ya'qūb in order to sue for peace. He was a learned man, and when he saw the method of Ibn Waṣīf, he too began to compose Persian poetry. In the following verses, he alludes to the fate of 'Ammār:

۱. هر که نبود او بدل منهم بر از دعوت تو کرد نم
 ۲. عمر ز عمار بدان شد بری کاوی خلاف آورد تا لاجرم
 ۳. دید بلا بر تن و جان خویش گشت بمالمت او درالم
 ۴. مکه حرم کرد عرب را خدای عهد ترا کرد حرم در عجم
 ۵. هر که درآمد همه باقی شدند باز فنا شد که ندید این حرم

1. He who was not guilty in heart said 'yea' in answer to thy 'all.
2. Life parted from 'Ammār because he opposed thee, and he fore of sure

4. You recited "To whom belongs the sovereignty to-day?"¹ with certitude, O Prince! Who gave you victory over that army inspite of your small numbers?"
5. 'Ammār sought your life, but from him instead was it cut off; Your sword became an arbiter between the wild and tame beasts.
6. His life came to you, saying: "Long may you live like Noah!" while his body lay hung on the Gate of Ākār, and his head on the Gate of Ta'ām.²

From the fragments left by early Persian poets, we can infer that they composed poetry on some special occasions, describing only what the event required; that most of them being already masters of Arabic verse found it easy, under the stimulus of peculiar circumstances, to direct their attention to Persian; and that Persian poetry began as essentially panegyrical.)

Long before the rise of the Saffārid dynasty, however, Persian music had travelled into Arabia, and given impetus to Arabian music. Thus Ibn Misjah of Mecca, who was the first to adapt Persian music to Arabic, learnt the art of singing from the Persian artisans who were employed by 'Abdu'llāh b. Zubayr to repair the Ka'bah³; and Sā'ib Khāthir of Medina first learnt to play on the lute from

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3. He saw evil on his body and soul, and his body was tortured in the world.
 4. God made Mecca the sanctuary for the Arabs, but during thy reign He made the sanctuary in Persia.
 5. Whoever came into this sanctuary became immortal, and he who did not see it became extinct.

Do we not see in this small piece the Persian love of exaggeration?

2 Rātibī was the common title of a ruler of Kābul and Sīstān in early days. *Ide Balādhuri*, pp. 397-402.

1 The Qur'ān, xl.16.

2 *Ibid.*, ii.250.

3 Ākār and Ta'ām were the names of the gates of Sīstān.

4 *Aghāni*, ii. 86; *Nuwayri*; iv. 233.

the Persian singing-girls, whom 'Abdu'llāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz had brought to Medina, and subsequently from a Persian named Nashīṭ.¹ It is obvious that these Persian singers must have originally sung in their native tongue.² We also read that the Caliph Hārūnu'r-Rashīd called one famous lute-player Sunayd from Fārs in order to decide whether Ibrāhīm al-Mawsilī or Zalzal was a better musician.³ Later on, the poet Abū Tammām (190-231 A.H.) was fascinated by the singing of a female musician at a banquet in Abrashahr,⁴ without, however, comprehending the meaning of what she sang. He expresses his regret in the following lines⁵:

ولم افهم معانيها ولكن ورت كبدي فلم اجهل شجاها
فبت كاتنى اعمى معنى بحب الغانيات وما يرام

I did not understand her meaning, but she kindled
my heart and I could not ignore her plain-
tive notes;

So I remained like a blind man who is afflicted
with the love of damsels, but cannot see them.
Ibnu'r-Rūmī (221-283 A.H.), too, was not insensible to
the rich melody of Persian music. He says⁶:

فامزج غناء المحصنات لكأسها بغناء عجم في الجنان فصاح

Mix the voice of chaste women singing for their
drink with the music of eloquent Persians in
the gardens.

This music, as time went on, grew more and more in
volume until it burst forth in real poetry in the person of
Rūdaki. The two silent centuries at last found their voice

1 Aghānī, vii.180; Nuwayrī: iv.237.

2 Von Kremer: Culturgeschichte, i.27.

3 Jāhiz: Kitābu't-Taj, pp. 40-41.

4 An early Muslim name for Nishāpūr (Le Strange: 'The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, p. 383).

5 Diwān, Beyrouth edition, p. 476.

6 Diwān, ed. Kāmil Gilāni, Cairo, p. 380

in him. With the skill of a harper, he combined the consummate art of a poet, to whom we can trace all the verse-forms of Persian poetry that have been in vogue till our own day. There have been poets before him and after him, who may have left us a rich legacy of their poetical output, but Time has laid its cruel hands on their works. The accidental burning of the Sāmānid library (about the year 998 A.D.), and the destruction of the Buwayhid library by the iconoclast Maḥmūd (420 A.H.), in which these poetical treasures may have been stored, and afterwards the vandalism of the savage Tartars, must have sealed their doom. Else as late as the time of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw (b. 394 A.H.; d. 481?), or even much later than that, the Diwāns of early Persian poets seem to have been preserved and sedulously studied. In his *Safarnāmah*, he tells us that while at Tabriz (Safar 20, A.H. 438) he made the acquaintance of the Persian poet Qaṭrān, who read with him the Diwāns of Daqīqī and Manjūk.¹ Our Tadhkirah-writers had, doubtless, means of access to the works of early poets, but have transmitted to us only what appeared to satisfy their taste. We have, therefore, very little left save what fragments we find imbedded in anthologies and books like Asadī's *Lughāt-i-Furs*, Surūrī's *Majma'-i-Lughāt-i-Furs* and other treatises which were incorporated by Shu'ūrī in his voluminous dictionary "*Lisānu'l-'Ajam*". In the dearth of materials, we cannot sufficiently determine to what extent early Persian poets were inspired by Arabic poetry. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that for full two centuries Persia was subject to Arabian influences which profoundly affected her social, political and religious ideas, and that even the stray fragments of early Persian poetry, that have come down to us, bear indelible marks of these influences, to trace which is the purpose of the subsequent chapters.

1 *Safarnāmah*, Kavianī Press, p. 8; Prof. Browne: *Lit. Hist.* ii. 222.

CHAPTER II.

ARABIC POETRY AND ITS EVOLUTION.

We have seen that poetry did exist in Persia in the pre-Islāmic times, and ascribed its disappearance mainly to the apathy and indifference of early Persian savants and to the lack of transmitting agencies, *e.g.* Rāwis, who might have perpetuated it even as the Arab Rāwis did in the case of Arabic poetry. The earliest extant poetry in Persian, therefore, dates from the Muslim period, and that, too, after full two centuries had run their course, during which Arabic poetry remained paramount. This, however, does not imply that all the while the people of Persia expressed their thoughts in Arabic. As a matter of fact, the study of Arabic and its literature was confined to the learned few, while the native tongue continued to hold its own among the masses. The Persians seem to have been very scrupulous about the purity of their speech. Thus Khurrahusrāw, the Persian satrap for Yaman in the time of the Prophet, was recalled to Persia because of his complete Arabisation,¹ and we have the evidence of the grammarian Ibn Jinnī (330-392 A.H.) that the Persians were loth to introduce Arabic words into their

1 Prof. Browne: *Lit. Hist.* i. 262 and footnote 4. This point also proves that owing to contact with Arabia, several Arabic words may have strayed into Persian at an early stage. In fact for a long time there was a flow of Semitic words into Pahlawi, which go by the name of Huzwarish (*vide* Prof. Browne: *Lit. Hist.* loc. cit.). There was an interaction of Arabic and Persian influences in the buffer state of al-Hīrah. The king Bahrām-i-Gūr was brought up by the Lakhmite princes, Nu'mān and Mundhir III, and besides knowing Arabic and Persian, he was well-versed in Hebrew, Hindi, Harawi, Nabāṭian and Greek (see Ghurar of Tha'ālībī, pp. 542-3; Prof. Browne: *op. cit.* and the footnote 2). The Persian grandees complained that he had the manners and appearance of the Arabs among whom he had grown up (Prof. Nicholson: *Lit. Hist.* p. 41 and footnote 2, Ṭabarī, i. 858, 7). The poet 'Adī and his son Zayd were employed as Arabic interpreters at the Persian court.

language, and that they found fault with such of their poets as made use of Arabic words in their compositions.¹ In fact, Arabic spread very slowly in Persia, and still more slowly in the districts of Bukhārā and Samargand where the new faith of Islām met with great resistance. The conquerors made various efforts to gain proselytes from among the recalcitrant population by offering money to those who would attend the Congregational Prayers on Fridays, and also allowed the Qur'ān to be recited in Persian instead of Arabic so that it might be intelligible to all.² We have also to remember that from the days of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (634-644 A.D.) down to the reign of the Umayyad caliph 'Abdu'l-Malik (695-705 A.D.), who first made violent efforts to universalize Arabic, the accounts in the Finance Department were kept in Persian. With the consolidation of the Arab rule, however, the circumstances changed, and the Persians became more and more interested in the study of Arabic. Yet there was another reason for the spread of Arabic in Persia. Those Persian poets who sought to win the favour of their Arabic rulers had necessarily to sing their praises in their own speech. Gradually the Persians acquired such proficiency in Arabic that they even excelled their teachers, and began to crowd them out in every literary activity, even in the production of poetry which was the chief contribution of the Arabs to literature. They not only learnt their style, but also gave it a different turn, introducing many new ideas that were undreamt of by the old Arabic poets. It was from this transformed Arabic poetry,

1. *Fitābu'l-Khaṣā'is* (Cairo, 1331), pp. 251-2: *فإن قلت فإن العجم أيضاً بلهم مشغوفون ولها مؤثرات ولأت يدخلها شيء من العربي كارهون الاترى أنهم اذا اورد شاعر منهم شعرا فيه الفاظ من العربي عيب به وطن لاجل ذالك عليه*

I owe this reference to the courtesy of my friend, Mr. F. Krenkow.

2. T. W. Arnold: *Preaching of Islām*, p. 213.

still retaining within itself an echo of the desert song, that the nascent poetry of Persia drew its material and inspiration.

It is hard to agree with those scholars¹ who, following the conservative judgment of the Arabic philologists, think that real Arabian poetry ceased with Dhu'r-Rum-mah (d. 117 A.H.), the last of the Bedouin bards, and that the poetry produced in the 'Abbāsid period was Arabic only in so far as the diction was concerned, the ideas and imagery being Persian. On the whole it is safer to side with the opinion of Von Kremer who, while speaking about Abū Firās (d. 968 A.D.), says: "The inner history of Arabic poetry ought, indeed, to conclude with him, had not a greater and more lofty genius (*i.e.*, al-Ma'arri) stepped forth, who independently gave a new and important development to the philosophical and speculative turn of thought first introduced by Abu'l-'Atāhiyah."² Nor can we say that the Arabian poets of olden days were in any way superior to the Moderns.³ They were

1 Among those scholars who cling to this view, we may only mention Dr. Weil (*Poet: Lit. der Araber*, p. 81) and Sir Charles Lyall (*Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. xxxiii).

2 *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, ii. 386; Trans. by Prof. Browne: *Lit. Hist.* i. 371.

3 For the interesting problem whether the ancient Arabic poets were superior to the Moderns, see, Ibn Qutaybah, pp. 5-6; Ibn Rashīq: *al-'Umdah*, i. pp. 56, 57; and Ibnu'l-Athīr: *al-Mathalū's-Sā'ir*, pp. 489-490. The last named has exposed the futility of the canons of criticism established by the early philologists, whose authority in the matter of poetical taste is very much doubted by him. The whole question has been carefully considered by Goldziher in his "Alte und Neue Poesie im Urtheile der Arabischen Kritiker". See also Prof. Nicholson: *Lit. Hist.*, pp. 286-288, and his "Studies in Islāmic Poetry", pp. 48-49.

It is further remarkable that the later Anthologists of Arabic poetry like Tha'ālibī in his *Yatīmah*, Bākhārī in his *Dumyah*, 'Imādu'd-dīn al-Isfahānī in his *Kharīdah*, and Ṣadru'd-dīn al-Madānī in his *Sulāfah*, all extol their contemporary poets, and go so far as to maintain that their respective epochs were the best for the production of poetry, and that their contemporary poets excelled the preceding ones in the sweetness of language and the delicacy of thought.

superior only in this sense that they were the first in the field of Poesy when yet untilled.

Poetry like all progressive thought must change with the change of time, and adapt itself to new conditions. It is not the property of one age to the exclusion of another. As long as man is gifted with imagination, so long will poetry continue to live. Abū 'Tammām says¹:

فلو كان يفنى الشعر أفناء ما قرت حياضك منه في الصور الذواهب
ولكنه صوب العقول اذا انجلت سحاب منه اعقت بسحاب

If poetry could be exhausted, then surely what thy reservoirs have gathered of it in the past ages would have exhausted it²;

But it is the gentle rain of human intellects; when some clouds thereof disperse, they are soon followed by other clouds.

Indeed, it is not rare to find poets who boast of their superiority over the Ancients. For instance, Mutanabbī³:

..... ما قال اهل الجاهلية كلهم شعري

"The poets of the Jāhiliyyah all cannot reach my poetry..."

and not a few will justify the proud boast of al-Ma'arri:

واتي وان كنت الاخير زمانه لآت بما لم تستطعه الاوائل

"And I, albeit I came in Time's late hour, Achieve what lay not in the Ancients' power."⁴

Let us, then, trace the various changes undergone by

1 Diwān, p. 43, 10; and 'Umdah, i. 57.

2 What thy reservoirs etc. = What has been written in thy praise and in the praise of thy predecessors (mā qīla fika wa fī salafika): p. 97 of the Ms. of Risālat⁴ 'Shufran in possession of Prof. Nicholson; and p. 675 of J. R. A. S. Oct. 1900.

3 'Ukkari, ii. 186.

4 Prof. Nicholson: Studies, p. 149.

Arabic poetry during its course upto the 'Abbāsid times, and what new ideas it came to embrace within itself by its contact with foreign cultures.

The classical Arabic poetry is varied rather in matter than in form. The Ode, the Fragment, and the Elegy are all invariably similar in structure, but differ in the matter of the topics they treat. The following is a rough classification of Arabic poetry according to its subject matter :

(a) An-Nasīb, the erotic prelude to a Qasīdah or other amatory verses, in which the poet portrays the passion of his heart, and expresses his love-longing for his mistress. This theme occupies a very prominent place in ancient Arabian poetry.

(b) al-Fakhr, or al-Ḥamāsah, verses in self-glorification, in which the poet prides himself on his noble lineage, and recounts the valorous deeds of his tribe and ancestors.

(c) al-Hijā, or satire, in which the poet rails at his adversaries, and throws invectives upon his tribal enemies. In the Umayyad times, satire became an important political weapon, and performed the function of the Press in modern times.

(d) ar-Rathā, or elegiac verses, in which the poet praises the qualities of a dead person. If the deceased was foully murdered by a man of another tribe, the poet by his indignant verses incited his people to avenge his death. The task of dirging over the dead was generally assigned to women, because it is only women who are capable of giving vent to their deep sorrow. They would sing of their early graves made verdant by the morning cloud, dwell upon the fleeting and transient nature of human life, comparing it to the shifting sands of the desert, or to the meteors that shoot across the sky and die in the same moment, while the stars will rise and set, and

mountains rear their lofty heads heavenwards and never grow old.

(e) al-Madhī, or the panegyric, in which the poet eulogises the bounty, the liberality and other pagan virtues of a chief who has helped him or his tribe out of a difficulty. In later times, this class of poetry degenerated into flattery of the great.

(f) al-I'tidhār, or apologetic verses, in which the poet, having temporarily fallen in disfavour with his patron for some supposed offence, tries by a series of oaths to vindicate his innocence. The poet Nābighah ranks most high in this kind of poetry, and was only equalled by al-Buḥturī in post-Islāmic times.¹ Persian poets, as a rule, do not come up to the level of Arabic poets in the composition of apologetic verses as well as dirges which, of course, were forbidden by Islām.

(g) al-Waṣf, or descriptive poetry, which like the Naṣīb is of a considerable range. In this the poet describes the scenery of the desert, its impressive solitudes, the enchanting illusions of the mirage, the magnificent constellations of the tropical heavens, the life of incessant peril, the exploits of romantic gallantry, the nocturnal journeys, the sylvan chase, the battle, and other things obtaining in the desert.

(h) al-Mathal, or al-Ḥikam, gnomic verses which contain some moral truths or precepts of practical wisdom.²

All these topics, however, may be found in the Qaṣīdah, the true offspring of the desert, which has exercised an enormous influence on the subsequent poetry of Islām. It almost invariably opens with the familiar scene where

1 al-'Askarī: *Diwānu'l-Ma'ānī*, p. 26b.

2 Later Islāmic poets added to the above list what are known as *Zuhdiyyāt* (religious poems), *Khamriyyāt* (wine-songs), *Ṭardiyyāt* (hunt-songs), and *Ikhwāniyyāt* (convivial songs).

the poet is represented as standing near the ruined abodes of his mistress and mournfully musing over his past associations. In this state of conflicting emotions he remains plunged for some time, until awakened by the grim realities of the present he mounts his hardy camel, and bids farewell to the spot. He then gives a minute description of his camel, and tells us of his personal courage and fortitude, recounting his exploits and other circumstantial things that had caught his attention on the way. He then winds up the poem with a panegyric on his own tribe or any other munificent chief, or with the description of an impending storm, followed by a heavy shower of rain, which brings calm to his fevered feelings, or not seldom with some apophthegms of worldly wisdom.¹

The most important elements of pre-Islāmic Arabian poetry were mainly three: (a) the glorification of feats of arms, (b) the praise of the virtues of hospitality and liberality, which the simple Bedouins regarded as priceless assets in the inhospitable waste, and (c) love, by far the richest element of the three, which has evoked some of the finest poems in the whole of Arabic literature. Here the vehement Arab has given vent to the impetuous rush of passion, and expressed in verse what was written in fiery letters on his heart. Many such poems have been preserved to us of those rough times when woman, not yet man's slave, was capable of inspiring him with real love. Later, when theological restrictions deprived the woman of her liberty, and when nothing was left to her save her external charms, Arabic poetry assumed that sensual character which is so repugnant to the modern taste, and revolting to the finer feelings.² Nay, owing to

1 For the plot of a typical Arabian Qasidah, see, De Slane: Introduction to the Translation of Ibn Khallikān, xxxiv. It is more or less an analysis of the poem of Imru'u'l-Qays. See also Prof. Nicholson's Lit. Hist., pp. 77-79.

2 Dr. Weil: Die Poetische Literatur der Araber, pp. 30, 31 and 80,

the pernicious influence of Persian surroundings, that pure love was diverted to unnatural channels. The simplicity and directness of ancient Arabic poetry were for ever lost, and the poets borrowed hackneyed phrases which, since then, became the common stock of poetry, and which were simply run to death by Persian poets.

(It has truly been said that poetry is the register of the Arabs. It is the very warp and woof of their life. Every little event in their life was to them of utmost significance, and afforded them an occasion for a poem. A battle fought, a victory won, a danger passed, a vengeance wreaked, a beauty visited, a guest entertained, a kindness done and received, a foal born—all were immortalised through verse. Through it we, in these distant times, are enabled to know their environment, their customs and usages, as also to understand the working of their mind.¹ Theirs is not a transcendental poetry, rich in thoughtful legend and lore, glittering in the prismatic colours of fancy, but a poetry, whose chief aim is to paint life and nature as they really are, and within its narrow bounds it is magnificent.² It breathes the freshness, the bloom, and the glory of the desert song, and is manly, vigorous and chivalrous.

With the advent of Islām, everything was changed. The Arabian society was almost revolutionised, and the old ideals were replaced by new ones.³ For a time, the Arabs had better things to do than to repeat the ancient strains of love and hatred. They were fired with the zeal to conquer the world for Islām and its God. Only the Qur'ān, as a divine and sacred word, was assiduously studied, understood and learnt by heart. Thus, though

¹ D. ./.eil: op. cit p. 46.

² Noldeke: *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Poesie der alten Araber*, xxiii; Lyall: *Ancient Arabian Poetry*, xviii.

³ Goldzher: *Muh. Stud.* i. Chap. I ou Muruwwah.

the Prophet did not directly discourage poetry, was its progress considerably retarded. Under the Umayyads who, with the exception of 'Umar b. 'Abdi'l-'Aziz (99-101 A.H.) were not so favourably disposed to orthodoxy, the old pagan spirit asserted itself once again. "The famous poets of the first century,—al-Farazdaq, Jarir, al-Akhtal, Dhu'r-Rumamah,—carried on without a break the tradition of the poets of the pagan time. Besides the personal references which they make to them, they use their poetical stock-in-trade over and over again, elaborating the same themes in the same way, improving, modifying, adapting, but still carrying on the same tradition."¹ Nevertheless, even in this period, there were signs of a change,²

1 Lyall: *Diwāns of 'Abid b. al-Abras and 'Amir b. al-Tufayl*, introduction, p. 12.

2 This change was largely due to a change in the life of the people. Goldziher, who has considered this point in his "*Alte und Neue Poesie*" (p. 148), says: "The unnaturalness of the *Qasidah*, with all its traditional appurtenances and its adherence to the desert associations, became at once manifest in view of the development of town-culture, which attracted the poets to the central seat of government. Already in the Umayyad times, sensible people had begun to perceive the absurdity of such poetical effusions. Elsewhere we come across unfavourable comments and ironical sayings belonging to the first century, which clearly point out to this change in the mental outlook (*Muh. Stud.* i. 32 notes). Al-Farazdaq himself found this method ridiculous (see his remark, and similarly those of Jarir and Jamil, regarding the poetry of 'Umar b. Abi Rabi'ah: *Aghānī*, iv. 133-134; and Ibn Qutaybah, ed. De Goeje, p. 350). The poet 'Ubaydu'llah b. Qays ar-Ruqayyat, who lived in the reign of the Caliph 'Abdu'l-Malik, could hear the sarcastic remark, with which Sa'id b. al-Musayyab scoffed his invocation to the atlatl; and in an anonymous poem of the Umayyad time, which seems to have been in much vogue, and which was sung by Ma'bad before Walid b. Yazid (*Agh.* i. ii. 21-24), we read:

"She was surprised when she saw me lamenting over the camp laid waste by years and days,

Tarrying by the dwelling and weeping, with nothing before my eyes except the debris of the camp;

(And said) "How canst thou bewail the people that are never weary of march?

So often as thou sayest that now they will settle, they beat a fresh start."

We shall see later on, how the 'Abbāsid poets broke away from the conventions of old Bedouin poetry.

which became more and more pronounced under the 'Abbāsids.

The 'Abbāsid period is essentially a period of reconstruction. With it we emerge from the turmoil of conquest and expansion. The martial ardour cools down, and the wild sons of the desert gladly exchange their coarse mode of living for the amenities of town life. The poets like the warriors become effeminate. They sing no more of war and vengeance; they change themselves into courtiers, and celebrate the praises of the caliphs and other powerful potentates, from whom they expect rewards. Still clinging to the Ancients as their models they lack their inspiration in describing various objects, and endeavour to make up the deficiency by studied refinement of expression, by virtuosity of style, by flashes of wit, word-play and bombast. They may now and again, like early poets, describe battles which they never fought, praise a horse of whose merits and demerits they knew next to nothing, and arouse terror by depicting a storm which they witnessed while safely resting under their roofs. Their poems seldom possess that outburst of feeling which characterises the old Bedouin poetry. They are mere words artfully arranged, but without life and without soul. They smell of the inkhorn. In former times, only a person gifted with a fiery imagination could become a poet, but now that comprehensive rules of prosody were formulated every one took to paper and pen, scanned and rhymed until a complete poem was nicely turned out. Whereas formerly the subject-matter of poetry was confined to the commemoration of hospitality, heroism and feminine beauty, and the early Islāmic poets added to it the praise of God, the Prophet and his successors, the influx of Greek sciences and philosophy during the time of the first illustrious 'Abbāsids further widened the scope of poetry, and prosody itself, astronomy, theology, mathematics, chemistry

and grammar afforded new subjects to the poets.¹

The change was inevitable in the nature of the circumstances, for the poetry of an epoch is but a mirror of its social conditions and environment. The Qasidah, the only received normal form of poetry, no longer befitted the new situations. When, therefore, the poets, regardless of the altered conditions, kept on singing in the old fashion, they were swiftly reminded of the real facts of the case. One may, in this connection, remember the sharp rebuke, which the poet Abū Tammām (190-231 A.H.) received for comparing Aḥmad b. al-Mu'tasim to the old Arab chiefs in the verse²:

أقدام عمرو في ساحة حاتم في حلم أحنف في ذكاء إياس

He combines the intrepidity of 'Amr with the liberality of Ḥātim, the forbearance of Aḥnaf and the acuteness of Iyās ;

and how he wriggled out of it by extemporising:

لا تذكروا ضربي له من دونه مثلاً شروداً في الندى والبأس
فإنه قد ضرب الأقل لنوره مثلاً من المشكوة والنبراس

Object not to my applying to him the current parable in liberality and courage of those who are inferior to him,

1 Dr. Weil: *op. cit.* pp. 82-84.

2 Ibn Khallikān, Trans. by De Slane, i. 350 *et seq.*, and also noticed by Prof. Nicholson: *Lit. Hist.*, p. 286. There seems to have occurred a considerable change in the attitude of the people towards their rulers in the 'Abbāsid times. Whereas the Umayyad caliph 'Abdu'l-Malik censured the poet Ibn Qays ar-Ruqayyāt for employing in his praise the attributes of Persian kings, *viz.*, the tāj or diadem (Agh. iv. 158), Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz in his semi-epical poem compares his cousin to the Persian Ardashīr when he tried to restore a fallen kingdom (Dīwān, p. 128, 15). This was no doubt due to the Persian influence. In the last chapter we shall see how far the 'Abbāsids became Persianised.

For God Himself has adduced the parable of lesser objects, such as the niche and the lamp, in describing His light.)

Ibn Bassām, a Spanish writer, while reviewing the change that had come upon the Andalusian poetry, declares that "the oft-swept ruins of Khawlah's dwelling-place in the yellow sands have become rather oppressive". Nor does he believe that much effect will be given to the frequent summons, "Here let us halt, O friends! that we may weep". And as regards the question "Is this the trace of Umm Awfā?", nobody could really imagine, he says, that the busy winds would have kept the traces of that young lady intact for these many centuries. On the other hand, he suggests that there may be some poetical fields yet unexplored by the ancients, many a graceful thought and pleasing image that belongs to present springs and summers, preferable perhaps even to those strains which seemed universally accepted because their authors were long dead and gone.¹ This observation of Ibn Bassām is singularly true in the case of the 'Abbāsīd poets, who sought to free themselves from the tyranny of old traditions. The first heretic in this respect was Muṭṭī' b. Iyās, who avoided to imitate the ancients. His love-odes begin without the customary erotic prelude, and his use of light metres give to his poetry a naturalness and a pathos rarely to be found in his contemporaries who stuck to the past.² After him Bashshār (d. 167 = 783), Abu Nuwās (d. 199 A.H.), Ibnu'r-Rūmī (d. 283 A.H.) and Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz (d. 296 A.H.) drifted farther and farther apart from the old conventions. This severance from the past became complete with the poets of the

1 The whole passage is taken from Deptsch Emmanuel's *Literary Remains*, pp. 460-461. D. E. has translated it from Schack's "*Poesie und Kunst der Araber in Spanien u. Sicilien*", p. 90, who in return quotes it from "*Loes de Abbadides*" ed. Dozy, iii, p. 58.

2 Brockelmann: *Gesch. der Arab. Litteratur* (short edition), p. 79.

fourth and fifth centuries. They sang of the green gardens, the roses, the narcissi, the warbling birds, the silver streams with the moon and the stars quivering in them, of wine and the young Saki, the snow-clad ground and other natural objects. We shall deal with this aspect of Arabic poetry in the fifth chapter.

The Qasidah itself underwent a great revision. The poet's lady-love, instead of shifting from one oasis to another in a howdah, now went from one town to another in a boat or by some other means of conveyance. Muslim b. al-Walid (d. 208 = 823) in an Ode, instead of addressing the desolate dwellings of his mistress, turns to ask the waters of the Euphrates to tell him where the boats had carried his beloved¹:

يا ليتَ ماءَ الفراتِ يخبرنا اين تولّت باهلها السفن
ما احسنَ الموتَ عندَ فرقتهم و اقبح العيشَ بعد ما ظعنوا

Would, the waters of the Euphrates could tell me
"Where wended the boats with their inmates".

How sweet is death at their separation! and how
bitter is life after they depart!

The musician Ishāq al-Mawṣili (767-849 A.D.) says²:

ما كنتُ أعلمُ ما فى البين من حزن حتى تنادوا بأن قد جئ بالسنن
قامت تودّعنى والعين تغلبها فجمجت بعض ما قالت و لم تبين
مالت الىّ تودّعنى و ترشفتنى كما يميل نسيم السريح بالفسن
و اعرضت ثم قالت وهى باكيه باليتَ معرفتى اتيك لم تكن

I knew not what grief there is in separation until
they announced that the boats were brought.

She rose to bid me farewell, her eyes over-running,

1 *Diwān*, ed. De Goeje, Ode 21.

2 *Aghāni*, v. 120.

and she fumbled certain words without articulation;

She bent towards me even as a twig is bent by a gentle breeze, and kissing me said: May I be thy ransom!

Then she turned aside, and weepingly said: "Would my acquaintance with thee had never happened!"

The poets themselves, instead of going to their patrons on camel-back, now performed their journeys on foot, comparing their sandals to a she-camel that had never run a race, never uttered a plaintive cry over its young one, and was never smeared with the tar.....¹

→ In Abū Nuwās (145-199 A.H.) for the first time we catch a note of defiance against the ancient models. He says².

— صفة الطلول بلاغة القدم فاجعل صفاتك لأبنة الكرم

The description of the worn-out camps is the eloquence of the dull-witted; so devote thy descriptions to the daughter of the grape (i.e. wine).

The caliph Hārūn-r-Rashīd threatened to imprison him if he did not praise the ruined abodes, but he went on with his wine-songs.³ In several of his odes he has ridiculed

1 Comp. the verses of Abū Nuwās and Mutanabbī, 'Umdah, i. 152.

2 'Umdah, i. 58.

3 Perhaps the following two verses refer to this incident (Ahlwardt: Ode 34, p. 21):

دعاني إلى صفة الطلول مسلطاً تضيق ذراعي أن أجوز له أمراً
فسمّاً أمير المؤمنين وطاعةً وإن كنت قد كلفتنى مركباً وعراً

autocrat has called me to commemorate the tulūl, but it distresses me to obey his command:

I hear and obey, O Commander of the Faithful! though thou hast imposed upon me a difficult task,

O Thou, Who givest instinct (mulhim) to the lower creatures, I shall not follow the caravan-folk which resemble the date-palms of Malham.

Another characteristic of the 'Abbāsid poetry is its comparative freedom from rare and obscure expressions which were in favour with the scholarly poets. Both Abu'l-'Atāhiyah and as-Sayyidu'l-Ḥimyarī, like Wordsworth, maintained that poetry should be written in simple and plain language in order that it may be intelligible to all people.¹ With Abu'l-'Atāhiyah also begins the philosophical poetry of Islām, which later on found its protagonist in Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri (363-449 A.H.). In the following verse on the death of his only son,

وكانت في حياتك لي عظات وأنت اليوم أعظم منك حيًّا

And there were many lessons for me in thy life;
But to-day thou art more instructive than when alive.

Abu'l-'Atāhiyah alludes to what one Greek sage is reported to have said over the body of Alexander, namely, "So long as this man was alive, his speech was a lesson to us all, but today by his silence he is even more impressive than before".² The poems of Abu'l-'Atāhiyah, Abū 'Tammām and al-Mutanabbī abound in such wise sayings. This led al-Ḥātimī to write a pamphlet in which he has

1 Aghāni, iii.161 and vii.11, respectively.

2 al-'Asakiri: Kitābu's-Ṣanā'atayn, p. 11; 'Umdah, ii.225. Ibn Rashīq puts these words in the mouth of Aristotle.

The Indian Persian poet, Amīr Khusrāw, expresses the same thought in an elegy on the death of his mother:

روزيکه لب تو در سخن بود بند تو صلاح کار من بود
امروز منم مہر پیوند خاموشی تو می دهد بند

"Whenever those lips of thine to speech were stirred
Ever to my advantage was thy word.
Today thy silence makes its dumb appeal
And lo! my lips are closed as with a seal."

(Prof. Browne: Lit. Hist. iii.110.)

collected such verses of al-Mutanabbi as, according to him, are adaptations from Aristotle. One example will suffice. Aristotle says¹ :

إذا كانت الشهوة فوق القدرة كان هلاك الجسم دون بلوغ الشهوة

“When the desire is above one's power, the body perishes before the realization of the desire.”

Mutanabbi has rendered this idea in the following manner:

وإذا كانت النفوس كباراً تعبت في مرادها الأجسام

When the spirits are great, the bodies tire in the accomplishment of their desire.

Besides the ^{above} changes in the substance of poetry and departures from the old standards, many new ideas and poetical images were introduced. Ibn Rashīq has devoted a separate chapter to the consideration of these.² He argues that the introduction of new ideas was necessary by reason of a change in the social life of the Arabs. The Arabs having spread in all directions and having come in contact with diverse cultures, their poetry was bound to be affected. He further points out that even the ancients were not altogether devoid of such ideas; in fact, it was they who had paved the path for later poets. If one considered the innovations brought in by Jarīr, al-Farazdaq and others of their class, one would indeed be surprised at the multiplicity of new devices and ideas which they use. Bashshār and his followers further expanded them, and introduced more new ideas and conceits, which had never occurred to the early poets. For instance, Bashshār says³ :

يا ليتنى كنت نقاحاً مفلجاً أو كنت من قبض الریحان ریحاناً
حتى إذا وجدت ریحی وأعجبها ونحن فى خلوة مثلت الساناً

1 Ar-Risālatu'l-Hātiniyyah, p. 145 of at-Tuḥfatu'l-Bahiyyah.

2 'Umdah, ii. 185.

3 Aghāni, iii. 83; it was presumably this conceit which led the Persian

Would I were an apple that is divided in twain, or a
blossom of the twigs of the sweet basil,
So that when she smelt it and found its fragrance
sweet, we being in privacy, I would be turned
into a man.

Ibnu'r-Rūmī particularly was prolific in such innovations. The following two quotations from him will serve the purpose :

عيني لعينك حين تنظر مقتل ولكن عينك سهم حنف مرسل
من العجائب ان معنى واحداً هو منك سهم وهو مني مقتل

Mine eye, when thou lookest, is a vital centre for
thine eye, but thine eye is a flying dart of Death.
It is a marvel that the meaning is one and the
same, though in thy case it is a dart, and in my
case a vital centre.¹

The second quotation illustrates why a child weeps at its birth²:

لما توذن الدنيا به من صروفها يكون بكاءُ الطفل ساعة يولد
والأفما يبكيه منها و انها لأفسح مما كان فيه و ارغد
إذا ابصر الدنيا استهلّ كانه بما سوف يلقي من اذاها يهدد با
و للنفس احوال تظلّ كأنها تشاهد فيها كل غيب يشهد

poet 'Umārah to write:

اندر غزل خویش نهان خواهم گشت تا بر لب تو بوسه زخم چو نش بخوانی
I shall hide myself in my ode, so that when thou wouldst sing it I might
imprint a kiss on thy lips.

(Jāmi: Bahārīstān, p. 84; see also Jackson's "Early Persian Poetry", p. 52, and other sources mentioned in note 2) Khaffāf has further exaggerated it by saying: (Lughat-i-Furs, ed by Paul Horn, p. 86).

کاشکی سیدی من آن تبی تا چو تبخاله کرد آن لبی

Would my lord (the beloved) could take fever so that I might be like a
fever-pustule on his lip.

1 'Umdah, ii. 190; Dīwān, ed. Gūlshā, p. 18.

2 Dīwān, p. 393.

It is because the world informs him of its misfortunes that the child weeps at the hour he is born ;

Otherwise, what else should make him weep, for the world is more spacious and easy than what he was in ?

When he sees the world he cries, as though he were threatened with what pain he will soon experience.

And the soul has conditions during which it sees every mystery that can be seen.

A few more passages of this kind will be noticed in the fifth chapter together with their Persian parallels.

This brief survey of the 'Abbāsīd Arabic poetry brings us nearer to the time when Persian poetry made its appearance. The next chapter, therefore, will treat of those forms of Arabic poetry which the Persians adopted in their compositions.



CHAPTER III

THE FORMS OF POETRY BORROWED BY THE PERSIANS FROM THE ARABS.

(What has been said in the preceding chapter is especially applicable to the Qasidah, the only form of verse which was familiar to the Arabs from pre-Islamic times, and which, inspite of various vicissitudes, has, more or less, retained its original structure. Only recently, owing to the impact of Western civilization and Western ideals on the East, the spirit of modern Arabic poetry has, to some extent, come to be changed.

It was, then, this kind of poetical composition, based on ancient models, which the Persians borrowed from the Arabs, though with certain modifications. The character of the exordium (*tashbib*) was altered to suit the new requirements. The poet, instead of giving a picture of deserted camps, now chose to preface his Qasidah with a description of vernal beauties or other natural phenomena, or still affecting an erotic tone he addressed the pretended object of his passion, and then glided as dexterously as possible into a panegyric on his sovereign or any other patron of the day.¹ Not seldom the exordium was replaced by moral or philosophical reflections, often tinged with pessimism. Nevertheless, there were poets like Minūchihri, Mu'izzi, Lāmi'i and others, who still adhered to the Arabian model. Several of their poems

¹ Sometimes the poets did away with the *tashbib* altogether, and at once began with the panegyric. This kind of Qasidah is called *al-Muqtadab*. Perhaps Mutanabbī was the first to do so. In a Qasidah he dispenses with the *tashbib* by asking this pertinent question: (Ukbarī, ii.246)

أكل فصيح قال شراً متيم

"Is it necessary that every eloquent person who composes poetry should be love-sick?"

possess the same features, viz., the passionate longing, the appeal to the companions to halt near the camp-traces, the departure, the ride through the burning sands, the delineation of the horse or the camel, as the case may be, the description of the star-spangled sky, as will be seen from the citations given in this chapter. Minūchihri particularly displays his fondness for the Arabian Qasidah, although here and there he, too, like Abū Nuwās, has a fling at it. In one ode, he expressly declares that the camp-marks described by him are no other than the places of his past carouse.¹ His poetry is full of allusions to Arabic poets, and his birds, instead of warbling their proper notes, chant some of the Arabic poems.² ❀

(Among the 'Abbāsīd poets who have influenced the Persian Qasidah, we may mention the names of Abū Nuwās, Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturi, Ibnu'r-Rūmi, Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz and al-Mutanabbī. The influence of the last-named especially has been profound both on subsequent Arabic and Persian poetry. This has led Rashīdu'd-dīn, the author of *Ḥadā'iqu's-Sihr*, to say that "In learning, subtlety and force of expression, all the subsequent

1 Ode xxxiv. L. 5:

و آنجا که بود مستی ایام گذشته آنجا ست همه رسم اطلال و دمن من

2 Ode xi. Ll. 12-13:

قوس قزح قوس وار عالم فردوس وار
کبک دري کوس وار کرد "قفا نَبک" یاد

The rainbow is like the bow, and the world is like the Paradise;

The red-legged partridge sings with the trumpet voice "qifā nabki" (halt ye two that we may weep).

The last line alludes to the opening verse of the Mu'allaqah of Imru'u'l-Qays, as also the following verse from Ode LV. L. 11:

نشید بلبل و صلصل قفانیک و عن ذکرى

"The rehearsal of the Bulbul and the wood-pigeon is "qifā nabki" and "an dhikrā,"

In Ode xvii. L. 16:

مرغ حزین روایت معبد کند همی

The nightingale (lit. the sad bird) repeats the songs of Ma'bad.

poets of Islam are the children of Mutanabbî".¹ Two Persian poets, at least, are likened to him.² Dawlat-shāh says: "Without doubt, eloquence and perspicuity are the property of the Arabs, and the poets of Persia, in this respect, simply follow them, especially in the science of rhetoric, of which the Arabs are past masters."³

The reasons of this predominant influence are not far to seek. Persian poetry began at a time when Qasīdah writing was the fashion of the day. The Arabic Qasīdah had, by that time, fallen from its high pedestal, and had become reduced to mere flattery of the great. The Persian poets, who craved to obtain the court patronage, had naturally to follow the precedent set by Arabic panegyrists. Thus at its very incipience, the Persian Qasīdah became venal in character, without possessing the redeeming features of its Arabic predecessor. For, Arabic poets, even at their worst, maintained a certain degree of independence in their dealings with the ruling princes, and not seldom we find an Arabic poet addressing his patron as an equal. With the Persians, however, the case was quite different. To them the ruling prince was a symbol of divine justice, and a shadow of God on earth. The servility and subservience,

In Ode xviii. L. 4:

عَلَمٌ

فرمانبردارى

صلصل بلعن زلزل وقت سیده دم اشعار بنواس همی خواند و جریر

The wood-pigeon at dawn is chanting the poems of Abū Nuwās and Jarīr with the tune of Zalzal.

And in Ode xxx. L. 16:

صلصل خواند همی شعر لید و زهیر نارو راند همی مدح جریر و ختم

The wood-pigeon is reciting the poetry of Labīd and Zuhayr, and the black-cap is declaiming the panegyrics of Jarīr and Khath'am.

1 Tadhkiratu'sh-Shu'arā, p. 24.

2 These are 'Unā'uri and Farrukhī. According to Rashīdu'd-dīn, "Unā'uri, in his transition-verses, is to the Persians what Mutanabbī is to the Arabs." Very nearly the same comparison is applied to Farrukhī. (See, Dawlatshāh: p. 55, 10; Prof. Browne: Lit. Hist. ii. 124; Paul Horn: Gesch. der pers. Litt., p. 80, where he is called the "Younger Mutanabbī".)

3 Tadhkirah, p. 19

engendered in them by long subjection to despotic rule, began to be manifest also in their poetical compositions. They modelled their Qaṣīdahs on those of the older poets whom they strove to imitate and surpass. They borrowed their thoughts, but they were ingenious enough so to distort them out of shape as to be hardly recognisable. Under these circumstances, almost every thought must have been expressed before, and one could easily justify the complaint of later poets that their predecessors had left nothing new for them to sing. The same thing had taken place in ancient Arabic poetry. We find, for instance, 'Antarah and Zuhayr lamenting the lack of poetic material.' Any one who reads Persian poetry carefully would not fail to observe how the same ideas crop up again and again under different guises.¹ Poetry, as in the case of later Arabic poets, became an art with the Persians. Nizāmi 'Arūdī, while discussing the qualifications necessary for a poet to be entitled to immortal fame, says²:

"But a poet cannot attain to this rank unless, in the

1 'Antarah's Mu'allāqah begins with :

هل غادر الشعراء من متردّم

"Have the (ancient) poets left anything (for me) to patch?"
and Zuhayr says:

ما ارانا قول الا معارا او مباداً من لفظنا مكرورا

"We utter nothing but the borrowed thoughts of others,
Or we repeat our own words already said."

Goethe has expressed the same idea in so many words: "Alles Geschichte ist schon gedacht worden; man muss nur versuchen es noch einmal zu denken."

André Gide says: "Toute choses sont dites déjà, mais comme personne n'écoute il faut toujours recommencer."

And Swift says:

Thus every poet in his kind
Is bit by him that comes behind.

2 A few examples of this kind of plagiarisms will be found in the beginning of Chap. V.

3 Chahār Maqālāh, p. 30; the translation is based on that of Prof. Browne: Vide The Four Discourses, p. 49.

prime of his life and the season of his youth, he commits to memory 20,000 couplets from the poetry of the Ancients, and keeps before his view 10,000 verses from the works of the Moderns, and continually reads and remembers the *Dīwāns* of the great Masters, noting how they effected their ingress into and egress from the narrow passes and delicate places of song, until the modes and varieties of verse should become ingrained in his nature, and its beauties and defects depicted on the tablet of his understanding. In this way his style will improve and his genius will soar high. He whose taste for composition has thus been formed, and whose expression has become even, should, then, address himself to the technique of the poetic art, study the science of prosody, and peruse the works of Master Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Bahrāmī of Sarakhs, such as the "Goal of Prosodists" (= *Ghāyatu'l-'Arūdiyyīn*), the "Thesaurus of Rhymes" (= *Kanzu'l-Qāfiyah*), and the works treating of poetic ideas and phraseology, plagiarisms, biographies, and other sciences of this class, under the guidance of a teacher well-versed in these, that he may, in turn, come to merit the title of Master. "

Nizāmī 'Arūdī lived in the 6th century A.H., and although the rules he laid down for the training of a budding poet might not be applicable in the case of early Persian poets, like Rūdakī and others, yet their poetry shows a considerable study of the Arabic verse-forms. Most of the early Sāmānid poets, leaving out of question those who flourished under the Ghaznavids and Saljūqs, were learned men, and had a command over both the languages. Of these bilingual poets, the names of Shaykh Abu'l-Ḥasan Shāhid of Balkh, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Khusrawānī of Sarakhs, and Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. 'Abdillāh al-Junaydī, are mentioned by 'Awfi.¹ Rūdakī, who is supposed to have been born blind, was without doubt very well-read in the various sciences

1 Names of several other bilingual poets are mentioned in the *Yatimah* and the *Dumyah*.

of his age. The following verse of his bears testimony to this fact¹:

بغنود تم بر درم و آب و زمین دل بر خرد و علم و دانش بغنود

My body rested in wealth, honour and estate,

While my heart reposed in wisdom, science and knowledge.

A further proof of his acquaintance with the works of Arabic poets can be deduced from his allusions to them in his Ode "Mādar-i-may", which he composed in honour of Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. al-Layth who became governor of Sīstān in 311 A.H.²:

اینک مدحی چنانکه طاقت من بود لفظ همه خوب و هم بمعنی آسان

مدح امیری که مدح اوست جهانرا زینت و هم روی و فروزهت و سامان

شعر سزاوار میر گفت ندانم ورچه جریرم بشعرو طائی و احسان

سخت شکوهم که عجز من بنماید ورچه صریع ابا فصاحت سبحان

79. Here is a panegyric, according to the best of my power: its words are good, and their meaning is clear.

80. It is the praise of an Amir, whose praise to the world is an ornament, honour, glory, delight and support.

81. A poem worthy of the Amir I could not compose³,

1 Surūri: *Majma'-i-Lughāt-i-Furs*, under Ghanūd.

2 J. R. A. S. of April 1926, pp. 213-237; the whole Qasīdah has been published and translated by Sir Denison Ross, along with the variants supplied by Mirzā Qazwīnī. In the above fragment, the order of the verses 80 and 81 has been inverted.

* 3 In place of 'shī'r saẓāwār-i-mīr' which is the suggested reading of Mirzā Qazwīnī, the original text contains 'juz bi-saẓāwār-i-mīr' which would mean, "I could not say except what is worthy of the Amir." This does not tally with the context, but assuming it to be correct, the poet's meaning is that what he has said in praise of the Amir is nothing but the truth, and that he has in no way exaggerated his virtues. The Qasīdahs of Rūdākī are realistic like those of Arabic poets. His Ode on old age, for instance, is very characteristic from this point of view. The description of his old age with a mournful remembrance of his youthful days is quite in the manner of Arabic poets.

although I am a Jarir, a Tā'i, and a Ḥassān in poetry¹.

82. I am mighty afraid that it reveals my shortcoming, although I am a Ṣarī' with the eloquence of Saḥbān².

That he could at least understand Arabic is borne out by the fact that when his patron Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-331 A.H.) asked him to versify the story of Kalilah-wa-Dimnah, the latter ordered some one to read out the Arabic of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' to him. This he did in the Ramal metre, and his rendering in Persian seems to have been so faithful to its Arabic model that Sir E. Denison Ross, in the light of some of its fragmentary verses preserved in the Persian Glossary of Asadī, has been able to rectify some of the errors in the printed text of this Arabic work³.

Firdawsī also, according to his own confession, must have read quite a number of histories in Arabic in order to collect material for his Shāhnāmah. He says :

" Much have I laboured, much read o'er
Of Arabic and Persian lore."⁴

Again it is very significant that some of the early Persian poets, like ancient Arabic poets, had their Rāwis, or rhapsodists, who remembered and recited their poetry.) It was Zhukovski who first called attention to the system of Rāwis among Persian poets. Thus Firdawsī, Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān and Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī had their Rāwis⁵;

1 Jarir, Abū Tammām at-Tā'i and Ḥassān are chosen by Rūdaki as typical Arab panegyrists.

2 Ṣarī' is Muslim b. al-Walid, called Ṣarī'u'l-Ghawāṣi, the Victim of the Fair; and Saḥbān is the name of the famous Umayyad orator (d. 54 A.H.)

3 Sir E. D. Ross: Foreword to the Pancha-tantra, Vol. 5 of the "Ocean of Story" ed. N. M. Penzer, p. xiii; see also J. R. A. S. Oct. 1924, p. 612; the occasion which led Naṣr to ask Rūdaki to versify the story of Kalilah wa Dimnah is alluded to by Firdawsī in the Shāhnāmah, ed. Mohl, iv. p. 1750, ll. 16-23.

4 Prof. Nicholson: Studies in Islamic Poetry, p. 15; the Persian text to be found in the Lubāb, ii, 83, 15.

5 Prof. Browne: Lit. Hist. ii. 372.

and Sir E. Denison Ross, in his article on Pseudo-Rūdakī¹, has pointed out that Rūdakī also had a Rāwī, Maj or Māj by name, who declaimed his poetry.

Besides, Persian poets themselves acknowledge to be the pupils of Arabic poets, as may be seen from the following verse of Anwarī, in which he reiterates the well-known saying of aṣ-Ṣāhib b. ‘Abbād, *viz.*, “Poetry began with a prince and ended with a prince”²:

شاعری دانی کدامین قوم کردند آنکه بود

ابتدا شان امرء القیس آنها شان بوفراس

Knowest thou what people practised the art of poetry?

Those, of whom the first was Imru’u’l-Qays and the last Abū Firās.

Many of them boast of their Arabic learning, and compare themselves with Arabic poets. For instance, Minūchihrī, in Ode XXXV. l. 36, ridicules the ignorance of one of his rivals by saying:

من بسی دیوان شعر نازیان دارم بیر تو بدانی خواند الابصحنک فاصبحین

As for me, I know by heart many Diwāns of the poetry of the Arabs, whilst thou canst not even read
~ “alā bi-ṣaḥniki fa’ṣbaḥīna” (Ho! pour us the morning draught in thy goblet).

The last hemistich contains an allusion to the opening line of the Mu‘allaqah of ‘Amr b. Kulthūm. The same poet, at the end of Ode XXIX, prays to God to inspire him with “the afflatus of Bashshār and the genius of Ibn Muqbil,” so that he might sing the praises of his patron.³

¹ J. R. A. S. Oct. 1924, p. 636.

² Yatīmah, i. 22.

³ The line in Persian is as follows:

دهد ایزد مرا در نظم شعرت دل بشار و طبع ابن مقبل

Mu'izzī goes a step further. At the conclusion of his Ode beginning with "Ay Sāribān", which will be given in this chapter, he ventures to apologise to his patron for prefacing his panegyric with the mention of 'deserted camping-grounds' after the manner of Arabic poets by saying :

مشمز طبع من زلل مشناس در شعرم خلل
 گر من ز ربع و از طلل در مدح تو گفتم سخن
 تغزو بدیعت این نمط در درج بی سهو و غلط
 زانسان که در درج وسط یا قوت اندر مقترن

Count it not a slip in my talent, nor a breach in my poetry,
 if in thy praise I have spoken of worn-out camps and

Excellent and original is this style, in writing faultless and impeccable, like rubies strung on a thread or contained in a casket.

The same poet, in several other places in his *Diwān*, likens himself to Arabic poets, *e.g.*,

هست معزّی بدولت تو عجم را همچو عرب را جریر و اخطل و اعنی
 Mu'izzī, in thy reign, is to the Persians what Jarir,
 Akhtal and A'shā were to the Arabs.

Similarly, 'Abdu'l-Wāsi' blows his own trumpet by saying :

اگر امرء القیس فخر عرب شد سزد گر بتو فخر باشد عجم را
 If Imru'u'l-Qays is the pride of Arabia, it is befitting
 that Persia should be proud of thee.

The following are the few specimens of Persian *Qasīdashs* constructed on Arabic models. Let us begin with *Minūchihri* :—

Ode V.

۱ سلام علی دار ام الکواع بتان سیه چشم غیر ذوائب
 ۲ رسوم الطلل والذّبار الدّوارس چو بر صدر منشور توفیق صا

۳ قتاده بنسرين بر اوراق سنبل چو بر روی قرطاس خطهای کاتب

.....

۵ مقام غوانی گرفته نوايح بساط عنادل سپرده عناكب

.....

۷ چو سير کواکب بدینگونه دیدم براندم نجيب از مقام مصائب

1. Hail to the abode of the queen of plump-breasted maidens, idols possessing dark eyes and tresses scented with ambergris.

2. Hail to the debris of worn-out dwellings, whose relics look like the cipher of the minister¹ on the top of a royal edict.²

3. The petals of the hyacinth that have fallen over the white roses resemble the lines written by a scribe on a sheet of paper.

5. Mourning women have occupied the place of chaste maidens, and spiders have rolled the carpet of nightingales.

7. When I saw the sport of stars in this wise, I spurred away my high-bred camel from this scene of calamities.

The poet, then, continues his weary march, through a pitch-dark night, buffeted by wind and beset with every description of danger, when on a sudden he espies a row of tents pitched far into the valley. Fair damsels strut out of the tents 'like peacocks running to a watering-place',³ and behold! his mistress, too, is among them

1 *Ṣāhib* here refers to the minister Abu'l-Ḥasan to whom the Ode is dedicated. This kind of digression by which a poet artfully introduces his patron's name in the exordium is called "*Istifrād*."

2 In Arabic poetry, the relics of ruined abodes are compared to a parchment covered with letters written in black ink.

3 This simile is adapted from Arabic poetry, of. *al-Munakhkhal al-Yashkuri* (*Ibn Qutaybah*, p. 238,15):

ندفعتها و تدافعت مشى القطاة الى القدير

I pushed her and she pushed me in return, and we moved as move the sand-grouse towards a pool.

Minūchihri has merely substituted 'peacock' for 'sand-grouse'.

'a celestial nymph midst her maidenly train'. She advances caressingly towards the poet, and brazenly enough asks him if he would not entertain his uninvited guests. The poet, of course, proves equal to the occasion, and tells us :

٢٧ فکندم رحال و زمام نجیم والهت بالتعرو والتحر واجب
 ٢٨ چو مرکب فدای بت دلستان شد مرا گفت دلبر که طال المعاتب
 ٢٩ شدم از صحاری من اندر عماری وقد صرت حقاً سعید العواقب

27. I flung aside the saddle and halter of my high-bred camel, and was inspired to do the sacrifice, for sacrifice is an incumbent duty.

28. When the camel was offered as a sacrifice to that heart-captivating idol, she said to me : "Have done with thy reproaches."¹

29. I crossed the deserts in her howdah and verily rejoiced at this happy turn of my affairs.

This Ode, besides containing many words used by Imru'u'l-Qays in his celebrated Mu'allaqah, such as 'Sajanjal', 'ghadā'ir' and 'qandil-i-rāhib', recalls an episode in the life of the Arabian poet, namely, his adventure with his cousin 'Unayzah, his sacrifice of his riding-camel to feast the damsels detained by his ruse and finally his ride with 'Unayzah in the same howdah. One could hardly imagine a more slavish imitation. It is incredible if Minūchihri ever met with such an incident in his whole life.

The Mu'allaqah of Imru'u'l-Qays seems to have exercised an extraordinary influence upon Minūchihri. He cannot resist its charms. In another Ode which is

* 1 The second hemistich is rather abrupt. The poet, after having fed his mistress and her fair companions, seems to be wrangling with her and insists on riding with her in the same howdah,

missing from the *Diwān*, but is cited by Shams-i-Qays in his *Mu'jam* (pp. 407-408) as an example of a poem with unfamiliar rhymes, the poet, after bidding the raven be silent, addresses the relics of his beloved's former habitation. Strange to say that his mistress, too, bears the name of 'Unayzah', and that she also like her has gone to dwell in the sandy dunes of Miqrāt and Siqṭu'l-Lawā, the very spots mentioned in the *Mu'allaqah*. After this, Minūchihri complains of the pangs of love which has taken deep root in him, and says :

ز خواب هواگشت بیدار هر کس نخواهم شدن من ز خوابش مفیقا

Every one awakes from Love's slumber; I alone
cannot wake up from its slumber.

This again is reminiscent of the following verse of Imru'u'l-Qays :

نسكت عمايات الرجال عن الصبي وليس فؤادي عن هواك بمنسلي

Men soon recover from the follies of Love;
My heart alone cannot free itself from love of thee.

The Ode XXXVII opens with the ominous croaks of a raven followed by a description of desolate tenements, and a nocturnal journey through a fearful desert, the whole *Nasib* occupying 35 lines. As for the Ode XXIX, which is also after the Arabian model, the reader is referred to its excellent rendering into English with monorhyme by Prof. Browne in his *Literary History*, Vol. ii. pp. 30-34. We now pass on to Abu'l-Ma'ālī of

1 The reading given in al-*Mu'jam* is 'Azizah or 'Uzayzah, a name easily exchanged for 'Unayzah. The three names are so alike in form when written, that one can be mistaken for another. But as 'Azizah or 'Uzayzah never occurs in poetry, it is certain that the proper name is 'Unayzah.

Rayy whose Qasidah, too, begins with the portending cries of the raven¹ :

- ۱ خروش من همه از چیست از نمیب غراب
که دور ساخت مرا از دیار و ز احباب
.....
۱۱ دیار ایز شد از گشت روزگار چنان
که روزگار بماند درو همی بمجاب
۱۲ گن برند که آبجایگاه راحت و امن
شده ز دوری تو سر بسر بیاب و خراب
۱۳ گرفت خار همه معدن کل خود روی
شده سراب همه جای لاله سیراب
۱۴ ز خرّمی که نمودی نگار خانه تو
نگار باغ ز شرمش درون شد بمجاب
۱۵ تبه نمود همی صنعت سحاب از وی
برین ستیزه همه نقش آتش است سحاب

1. What causes all my wailing? It is the raven's croak that has severed me from the abode and its dear inmates.

1 *Lubāb*, ii. 228-232. We may also note here the following four verses by Zahir (Diwān, p. 44a) which have their own interest :

- گراست زهره که با این دلی ز صبر نفور در افکند سخنی از وداع نیشاپور
اگرچه می شنود ناله غراب و لیک چگونه فهم کند آدمی زبان طيور
ندانم این چه دلیر است گوئیا که غراب زیار خویش نبودست هیچ شب مهجور
غراب را چه خبر ز آنکه هر شب از غم هجر چگونه میگذرد حال این دل زنجور

Who can dare speak to this heart, stranger to patience, about separation from Nishāpūr?

Though one hears the croak of the raven, yet how can one understand the language of birds?

I know not what impudence this is, as though the raven had never been away from its mate for a night!

What knowledge has the raven about how this ailing heart suffers from the pangs of separation every night?

11. Such has the abode become by Time's revolution
that Time itself stands aghast at it.

12. They say it is through thine absence that this
place of peace and plenty has become entirely waste and
barren.

13. Thistles have grown in the place of natural
flowers, and mirage glimmers in the place of fresh tulips.

14. Yet time was when thy picture-gallery, by its
gay appearance, eclipsed the picturesqueness of other
gardens.

15. The work of the cloud has despoiled its beauty :
in this spiteful action, the cloud is but a counterpart
of fire.

The next three odes begin with the poet's appeal to
the camel-driver to pause near the ruined abode of his
sweetheart that he might bathe its relics with his copious
tears. The first is by Mu'izzī¹:

ای ساربان منزل مکن جز بر دیار یار من
تا یکرمان زاری کنم بر ربع و اطلال و دمن

¹ *Diwān-i-Mu'izzī*, p. 41a et seq.

Another *Qasidah* of his (*Diwān*, India Office Ms. p. 202) begins with an
appeal to the caravan-leader not to hasten their departure :

یک امشب ز بهر من ای ساربان ز دروازه بیرون میر کاروان

Only for to-night, O camel-driver! do not take the caravan outside the
city-gate, just to please me...

When his appeal falls flat on the ears of the camel-driver, he asks the caravan-
leader to lend him a camel so that he may escape from the dismal surroundings,
—a camel as fleet as a demon freed from its shackles, which when led by the
driver by its halter would appear as if the Mount Sinai was being pulled by a
serpent.

The whole *Qasidah* is either spurious or a juvenile attempt on the part of
Mu'izzī, because unlike the above *Qasidah* its construction is loose, and it is full
of unnecessary repetitions.

Another *Qasidah* (*ibid.*, 130b) begins with

تا سلامت بجهل آمد سلی حله شد از خرمی چون چنت ماوی

- ۲ ربع از دلم بر خون کنم خاک دمن کملکون کنم
اطلال را جیحون کنم از آب چشم خویشتن
- ۳ از روی یار خرکهی ابوان همی بینم نهی
وز قد آن سرو سهی خالی همی بینم جن
- ۴ آنجا که بود آن دلستان با دوستان در بوستان
شد کرک و روبه را مکان شد کوف و کرکس را وطن
- ۵ برجای رطل و جام می کوران نهادستند پی
برجای چنگ و نای و نی آواز زاغت و زغن

Since Salmā arrived safe in the camp, the camp by reason of its gay appearance has become like Paradise.

Another Qasīdah of his begins with (vide *Majma'ul-Fuṣṣḥā*, p. 282a)

طال الیالی بعدکم وایض عینی من بکا یا حیدا ایا منافی وصالکم یا حیدا

Nights after ye have waxed long, and mine eyes have become white with weeping; how happy were the days which I passed in union with ye!

In this ode the poet, instead of celebrating the charms of a mistress, describes a handsome stripling. This false taste has darkened many a page of Muslim poetry ever since the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd period. Amatory exordiums devoted to the depiction of male beauty were brought into vogue by Wālibah and carried to excess by his notorious disciple Abū Nuwās, coming to Persian poetry, almost all lyrical passages given in the *Lubāb* of 'Awfī are of this kind, and even Rudakī is no exception in this respect. The following two verses in the above Qasīdah are descriptive of a dark night :

تیره شبی کز هاویه دادی نشان هر زاویه چون قطرها بر راویه پیدا کو اکب برسا
برجانب مشرق شفق چون لاله برسبین طابق کوکب بگردش چون عرق برعروض مشوقها

A night so dark that every corner gave indication of hell, and the stars in heaven appeared like drops on a water-bag.

Towards the east, the twilight shone like tulips laid on a silver tray; and the stars around it seemed like drops of sweat on the cheeks of lovely maidens.

In the last verse the twilight with the stars about it is compared to the ruddy and flushed cheeks of a bashful maiden, bedewed with perspiration. This simile will be further discussed in Chap. V in the section on Descriptive Poetry.

There are several other Qasīdahs by Mu'izzī, which begin with the parting scene between the poet and his mistress.

- ۶ ابر است برجای قر زهر است برجای شکر
سنگ است برجای کهر خار است برجای سمن
- ۷ آری چو پیش آید قضا مروا شود چون مرغوا
جای شجر گیرد کیا جای طرب گیرد شجن
- ۸ کاخی که دیدم چون ارم خرم تر از روی صنم
دیوار او بینم بنم مانند پست شمن
- ۹ از حجره ناسعدی بشد وز خیمه ناسلمی بشد
وز حله تا لیل بشد گویا بشد جانم ز تن

1. O camel-driver, tarry not save by the abode of my Love that I may weep awhile over the camp, and its traces and debris;

2. That I may drench the camp with my heart's blood, redden the dust of the debris, and turn the traces into the Oxus through the water of mine eyes.

3. I find the courtyard without the face of my tent-living mistress, and I find the meadow without the form of that tall cypress.

4. The place where that charmer once played with her mates among the flowers has become a den for wolf and fox, and a roost for owl and vulture.

5. Wild asses have set foot in the place of wine and cup, and the cries of crows and kites are heard in the place of harp, timbrel and lute.

6. The cloud is in the place of the moon, and poison in the place of sweet; stone is in the place of pearl, and thorn is in the place of jasmine.

7. Yea, when Fate comes, a good omen turns into an evil one; trees make way for the grass, and grief takes the place of joy.

8. The walls of the mansion, which once seemed to

me like an Iram and fresher than the face of an idol, are now bowed like the back of an idol-worshipper.

9. Since Su'dā left her cell, and Salmā left her tent, and since Laylā left her camp, my soul, meseems, has left the body.

The poet then depicts the charms of his mistress in fantastic colours and says that ever since her departure his heart has been sore with love, that his once jet-black hair has turned camphor-white, and that he has passed restless nights tossing in bed like a bird on spit. He then goads his camel on and presses forward to his patron.

The second Qaṣidah is by 'Abdu'l-Wāsi' Jabalī¹:

- باشم در دیار و منزل دعد و رباب
روز و شب نالنده و گریندم چون رعد و سحاب
۲ تا ز حسن دلبران گش جدا ماند آن دیار
نار قرّ لمبتان خوش نهی گشت آن جناب
۳ آب چشم عاشقان نوحه کر در هجر شاف
کرد چون طوفان نوح آنرا همه یکسر خراب
۴ بود چون باغ ارم عمواره از نقش حیات
بود چون خلد برین پیوسته چون حسن مآب
۵ کر وطن گیری کنون دروی صبا بینی جلیس
ور سخن کوئی کنون در وی صدا یابی جواب
۶ که ز تنهایی درو دمساز کردم با طیور
که ز شیدائی درو همراز باشم با ذباب
۷ ای بسا شبها که من تا روز دروی بوده ام
با حریفان در نشاط و با ظریفان در عتاب

¹ *Diwān*, p. 17b; *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣḥā*, p. 70a

- ۸ کوش من سوی سماع و هوش من سوی صباح
چشم من سوی نگار و دست من سوی شراب
- ۹ زار نالانم چون بلبل دیده پر خون چون تذرو
تا نفورم کرد زان کبک دری بانگ غراب
- ۱۰ دلبری کز عارض او آبروی گل بر ریخت
در فراق روی او شد دیده من پر کلاب
- ۱۱ ترکسی دارد سیاه و سوسنی دارد سفید
لاله دارد لطیف و سنبل دارد بتاب
- ۱۲ سنبل چنبر نهاد و ترکسی خنجر گذار
لاله شکر فشان و سوسنی غنبر نقاب

1. How long shall I groan and weep like thunder and cloud in the place and abode of Da'd and Rabāb ?

2. Since the place became devoid of the beauty of its lovely inmates, and since yon court became reft of the glory of its fair fondlings,

3. The water of the eyes of lovers, mourning at their loss, has swept off its traces like Noah's Deluge.

4. In its life-like appearance it resembled the garden of Iram, and like the highest heaven it was a goodly resort.

5. If now thou wilt dwell there, thou wilt find the breeze to be thy sole comrade ; and if thou wilt utter a word, thou wilt receive its echo as an answer.

6. Now through loneliness I roam consorting with birds, and now through distraction I confide my secrets to the fly.

7. O many the nights that I spent there till break of day with friends in mirth, and in dalliance with the fair ones—

8. My ear towards the music, and my mind towards graceful maidens ; my eyes towards my idol, and my hand towards the wine !

9. Now ever since the raven's croak has scared me from that partridge of the vale, I utter piteous moans like the nightingale and my eyes are bloodshot like those of the pheasant.

10. (She was) a beauty whose cheeks robbed the rose of its lustre : away from her face my eyes are shedding rosy tears.

11. Dark narcissus eyes had she, and a face resembling a white lily, lips as tender as a tulip, and curly hair of hyacinth hue—

12. A hyacinth luring like a hoop, a narcissus as piercing as a dagger, a tulip that pours out sugar, and a lily masked in a dusky veil.

This is followed by a description of the poet's horse which carries him to his patron.

The third Qasidah opening with the scene of mouldering houses is by Lāmi'i, a contemporary of Mu'izzī and Anwārī. The whole exordium is characteristic and is, therefore, given in extenso¹ :

- ۱ هست این دیار بار شاید فرود آرم جل
 برسم رباب و دعد را حال از رسوم و از طلل
 ۲ جویم رفیقی را اثر ککو دارد از لیلی خبر
 داند کزین منزل قمر کی رفت کی آمد زحل
 ۳ خون بام از شوق حبیب از دیده چندان برقتیب
 ایدون که پنداری طبیب از چشم ببریدم سبل

¹ *Diwān*, p. 16a-b ; *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣḥā*, p. 394a-b ; *Kāshī*, p. 357b

- ۴ جائی همی بینم خراب اندر میان او سحاب
آتش زده گاه کراب از قوت برق و هطل
- ۵ گشته زمین او بنخیل آب اندرو مانده قلیل
آورده بر روی نخیل آنکه کروب اکنون دقل
- ۶ بی آب مانده منبعش بی بار مانده مرتعش
در قاعهای بلقش خیل شیاطین را زجل
- ۷ سهمش چو سهم هاویه صدبیم در هر زاویه
عجاز نخل خاویه دیوار و بامش را مثل
- ۸ کرده بماء منهر ویران عزیز مقتدر
الا بامر قد قدر توان چنین کردن عمل
- ۹ گریست این کار فلک ورد اندرو چون شد خشک
خاک اندرو چون شدنمک آب اندرو چون شد وحل
- ۱۰ تا من برقم زین چمن فی سرو ماند و فی سمن
بودی همانا اشک من آنکه نهالش را نهل
- ۱۱ کو خانه سعدی و می آنکه از کف آن هردوی
خوردیم بجمام اندر دوحی این در تمیم آن در هذل
- ۱۲ وان همچو گنبد خیمها در خیمه حسنا رویها
این چون سهیل و آن چون سها آراسته زیشان رحل
- ۱۳ اکنون بجای هر یکی بینم همی رسم اندکی
آورده بنداری چکی سکاشر را دهر از اجل
- ۱۴ رفت آنکه در هر گنبدی آواز آن مرغ آمدی
کی چون ندا کردی زدی چون شاطر از شادی بفل
- ۱۵ بانگ پلنگ آید همی فریاد رنگ آید همی
آشوب سنگ آید همی چون گاه زلزال از قلل

- ۱۶ کونی کجا رفت آن صنم! که بود در عالم علم
خورده دم عذرا بدم برده دل وامق یدل
- ۱۷ آن یاک چون اخلاق حر چشم از فریب و ناز پر
زیر لب شیرینش در چون برکل بشکفته طل
- ۱۸ رخسار و زلفش را عرب در شعر خوانده روز و شب
رنگینش رخ شیرینش لب سنگینش دل سیمین گدل
- ۱۹ برد از دلم صبر و خرد چون بانگ را بر ناله زد
کاریم پیش آورد بد لثا تولی و ارنحل
- ۲۰ بی مونس و آب و چرا اندر مقامی من چرا
چون کرده ضایع یچه را انجیر در کف جبل
- ۲۱ بندم عماری بر هیون آیم از ویران برون
گیرد بویران اندرون کس جای هرگز چون جمل
- ۲۲ رانمش در مشکل رهی با سهم و هیبت هر جهی
ماه اندرون مانده مهی مانند اشتر در وجل
- ۲۳ قاعی که آرد موج خون از تن مسافر را برون
چون مرد را گاه فسون آب از بصر بوی بصل
- ۲۴ گر زمین بیابان بگذرم رفج سفر را بسیرم
از تخم کشته برخورم گردد شرنگ من عمل
- ۲۵ یش آیدم باغ ارم پر چتر و خرگاه و خیم
از طبل و منجوق و علم چون در که جشید بل

1. This is the abode of my love; it is fit to make the camel kneel, and question the traces and relics about Rab^{ab} and Da'd.

2. (It is fit) to look for a friend who may have news about Laylā, and who may know when the moon left this mansion and when Saturn came (to fill its place).

3. Through yearning for my love, I shed so much blood on the saddle-trees that thou wouldst say that the physician had cut the albugo of my eyes.

4. I see a desolate place, in the midst of which the cloud, at the flood-time, has wrought ruin by means of lightning and rain.

5. Its soil has become niggardly of produce, and very little water is left in it; its palms which once yielded rich dates, now give only poor ones.

6. Its fountain is without water, and its pastures without verdure; in its arid plains one hears the drumming sounds of demons.

7. Its terror reminds of hell, and a hundred perils lurk in every nook; its walls and roof resemble 'the trunks of hollow date-palms.'

8. 'God Almighty'² has laid it low by "rolling streams of water"³; such a deed could not be done 'without a fore-ordained decree.'⁴

9. If this be not the work of Heaven, then why did the roses turn to tares, why the soil turn salt, and why the water turn slime?

10. Since last I left this grove, neither cypress nor jasmine has remained: apparently it was my tears that fertilised its young trees at the time.

11. Where is the house of Su'dā and Mayyah, from whose hands I drank wine, with this one in the tribe of Tamim and with that one in the tribe of Hudhayl?

12. And where are those dome-like tents together with their fair inmates—this one like Canopus and that one like the Suhā, the ornaments of their hamlets?

1 Qur'ān, LXIX. 7

2 Ibid. LIV. 42.

3 Ibid. LIV. 12.

4 Ibid. LIV. 14.

13. Now of each house there remains nothing save a few marks ; you would say Time had brought the mill of Fate to crush their dwellers.

14. Yet time was when from every perch one heard the crowing of that fowl (i.e. cock) which, as it crew, flapped its wings like a sharper in glee.

15. Instead one hears the tiger's cry, the wild goat's bleat, and the rumbling sound of boulders as they roll down the mountain-tops.

16. Say, where is that idol gone, who was so illustrious in the world, and who at a glance caused 'Adhrā to languish, and stole the heart of Wamiq by blandishment ?

17. She was chaste and pure in moral traits ; her eyes were full of wiles and amorousness ; and her pearly teeth, behind her sweet lips, glistened like dew-drops on a full-blown rose.

18. Her cheeks and locks were sung in verse day and night by the Arabs ; her face was rosy, her lips sugary, her heart stony, and her hips tender.

19. She robbed my heart of rest and reason when she bade the camel move ; she made my case worse when she turned to depart.

20. Why, then, should I wander in this place without food or friend like a game-animal that has lost its young one in a mountain cave ?

21. So I would set the saddle on the camel and come out of this wilderness : Does any one abide in the wilderness like a beetle ?

22. I would urge him along a rugged path, encompassed by dread and terror, while the moon in the clouds looks like a camel trembling in fear—

1 In ancient Arabic poetry, a person wailing at the loss of a dear one is often compared to a she-camel that utters plaintive groans at the death of her young one, or to an onager that wanders distraught in search of her young which were killed by hunters during her absence.

23. (Through) a desert which brings waves of blood from the body of the wayfarer, even as the smell of onions brings out water from the eyes of a man under the influence of magic.

24. If I cross this desert and end the toil of journey, I shall reap the fruit of what I have sown, and my colocynth will turn to honey.

25. A garden of Iram shall then come before me, full of canopies, tents, pavilions, drums, and banners with golden lunettes on their staffs, resembling the court of the heroic Jamshid.

There is another long Qaṣīdah after the Arabic type by Jawhari Zargar, in which the poet, after a long journey, overtakes the caravan which hurries away with his sweetheart, and appeals to the leader of the procession to stop the camels so that he may for the last time catch a glimpse of her.

Again there are Odes in Persian, which open with a sort of altercation between the poet, who is ready to start on a journey to his patron, and his mistress, who tries to dissuade him from this arduous undertaking with a gentle reproach that he should not sacrifice the pleasure of her company to the hardships of travel in hopes of a dubious reward. The poet, of course, is deaf to her pleading, and with a promise that he will soon return with his pockets full, he leaves her behind in tears. This type was borrowed by Persians from later Arabic poets. Still there are other Persian Qaṣīdahs in which the poet, after the fashion of Arabic poets, conjures up the phantom of his beloved (Ṭayfu'l-Khayāl) that has traversed through vast spaces to visit him at night. Besides, the descriptions of horses, battles and rides through the desert given by Persian poets are, more or less, repeated in the same orthodox manner. These could

easily be illustrated, but it is no use to swell the size of the book. "Those that run may read."

(The examples quoted above will serve to show how unnatural it was for Persian poets to imitate the style of the Arabian Qasidah. Their poems are mere travesties when compared with poems of the same sort in Arabic. They lack both originality of conception and genuineness of feeling. To weep over dilapidated dwellings, or any other object that called up to the memory the visions of the past, was a reality with the Arabic poet. The Persian poet, on the other hand, had no such occasion to shed tears. Further, the Arabic poet never consecrated his Qasidah to more than one Love, while the Persian poets mention three or four names of some well-known desert beauties in one and the same verse. The fact is that such attempts on the part of Persian poets, inspite of skilled versification and elegant expression, were out of time and tune, and were bound to fail. It was, therefore, wise on the part of Persian poets to have cast aside this kind of exordium and substituted other themes in its place. Let it be said to the credit of Minūchihrī, however, that among the Persian poets, who have attempted to handle the Arabian Ode, he alone makes a nearer approach to its excellence. After him, Sa'dī, Ḥāfiẓ and Jāmi have successfully imitated this form in some of their Ghazals, but it is beyond the scope of this book to consider this aspect of their lyrical poetry.)

Hitherto we have considered only such Qasidahs as begin with a scene of desolation, or with the poet's appeal to the caravan-leader to stop the camels so that he might speak a few parting words to his beloved. We have also hinted at another variety of Qasidah in which the exordium consists of a sort of altercation between the poet and his mistress who exhorts him not to proceed on his perilous journey, but stay with her for a longer while. There

is still another species of Qasidah, often practised by Persian poets, in which the exordium consists of a dialogue between the poet and his imaginary sweetheart. Two Qasidahs of this kind have been translated into English by Prof. Browne¹ and Prof. Nicholson². The following piece is by the poet Abu'l-Hārith Ḥarb b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḡwārī (?) of Harāt³:

- ۱ گفتم این که که نمودن روی جباری بود
گفت قدر مردم اندر خویشتن داری بود
- ۲ گفتم این خواری چه باید کی پرستم من ترا
گفت هر کو بت پرستد از در خواری بود
- ۳ گفتم آن زلفین تازی زاستر بر ز آن دورخ
گفت مه را روشنی اندر شب تازی بود
- ۶ گفتم آسانی و ناز از من ربود این عشق تو
گفت عشق نیکوان با رنج و دشواری بود

1. I said, "It is a tyranny to show thy face again and again." She said, "The worth of men lies in self-control."

2. I said, "Why to deserve this disgrace for worshipping thee?" She said, "He who worships an idol deserves disgrace."

3. I said, "Move away those dark tresses from thy cheeks." She said, "The moon shines bright on a dark night."

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6. I said, "This thy love has robbed me of ease and comfort." She said, "The love of fair ones is attended with pain and hardship."

1 The Qasidah of 'Unsuri, *Lit. Hist.* ii. 121.

2 That of Farrukhi, *Studies in Islamic Poetry*, p. 17.

3 *Lub.* ii. 60.

We find instances of this kind of conversation in the poems of ancient Arabic poets. For example, Imru'ul-Qays in his Mu'allagah says :

تقول و قد مال الفيض بنا معاً عقرت بعيري يا امرء القيس فانزل
فقلت لها سيري وارخي زمامه ولا تبعديني عن جنائك المعلل

She was saying, while the litter swayed with us,
"Thou'lt gall my camel, O Imru'u'l-Qays! so
dismount."

I said to her, "Go on, slacken its reins, and repel me
not from thine oft-tasted fruit."

فقلت سباك الله اترك فاضحي ألت نرى السمار والناس احوالي
فقلت يمين الله ابرح قاعداً ولو قطعوا رأسي لديدك و اوصالي

She said, "God estrange thee! thou'lt disgrace me.
Dost thou not see the watchmen and other people
around me?"

I said, "By God, I will not budge from my seat, even
though they cut off my head and my limbs in thy
presence."

Many of the Qasīdahs of 'Umar b. Abi Rabi'ah contain such dialogues which give a peculiar charm to his poetry. Here is a complete Ode of this kind by Waddāhu'l-Yaman, opening with an address to his former sweetheart, Rawḍah¹:

يا روض جيرانكم الباكر	فالقلب لا لاء ولا سابر
فالت الا لا تلجن دارنا	ان ابانا رجل غائر
قلت فأتني طالب غرة	منه و سيفي صارم بار
فالت فان القصر من دوننا	قلت فأتني فوقه ظاهر

¹ *Ag. vi.*, 35. Later on he fell in love with Ummu'l-Banīn, the wife of the Umayyad caliph Walid b. 'Abdi'l-Malik, and lost his life almost in the same way as did 'Āqil, the supposed lover of Zaybu'n-Nisā, the favourite daughter of the Mughal emperor Aurangzib.

قالت فان البحر من دوننا قلت فاني سابح ما هر
 قلت فحولي اخوة سبعة قلت فاني غالب قاهر
 قالت فليث رابض بيننا قلت فاني أسد عاقر
 قالت فان الله من فوقنا قلت فرتبي راحم غافر
 قالت لقد اعيتنا حجة فان اذا ما هجع السامر
 — فاسقط علينا كسقوط الندى ليلة لا ناره ولا زاجر

1. O Rawḍah ! Your neighbours are departing early,¹ and my heart is heavy and restless.

2. She said, "Ho ! do not enter our house ; verily our father is a man jealous of honour."

3. I replied, "Then I'll seek for an unguarded moment on his part, and my sword is sharp and cutting."

4. She said, "The castle-walls divide us." I replied, "I'll scale the walls and find my way."

5. She said, "The sea lies between us." I replied, "In that case, I am a skilful swimmer."

6. She said, "My seven brothers keep a watch on me." I replied, "But I am a hero, mighty in war."

7. She said, "Between us lies a lion ready to leap." I replied, "I, too, am a lion that rends his prey."

8. She said, "Fear then, God is above us." I replied, "My God is merciful and forgiving."

9. She said, "Verily thou hast baffled my arguments ; so come when the night-talkers sleep,

10. And drop in upon us like the drops of dew² on a night when there is none to chide or check."

1 The poet seems to imply that his tribe who had encamped near that of his mistress were removing early next day and consequently he felt uneasy at the idea of parting with her.

2 This reminds of the verse of Imru'u'l-Qays:

سوت اليها بعد ما نام اهلهما سمو حباب الماء حالا على حال

I ascended towards her, after her people had gone to sleep, as gently as a bubble that now and again rises to the surface of water. (contd.)

One can easily see that even in a simple composition of this kind Arabic poets bear away the palm by their straight-forward directness and artless ingenuity, while the Persians indulge in petty conceits and thereby mar the beauty of their poems.

Analogous to the above form, there is another species of poetical composition known as 'Munāẓarah' or 'Strife-poem' in which two personified opposites, such as Pen and Sword, Day and Night, etc., are pitted against each other, contending for superiority. It is true that specimens of this kind existed in Arabic prose, *e.g.*, the Munāẓarah, between Autumn and Spring by al-Jāhiz, but it was left for the Persian poet Asadī to give it a poetic shape.¹

In the last chapter, while enumerating the various topics which pre-Islamic Arab poets have treated in their poetry, it was remarked that the post-Islamic poets, Arabic and Persian, failed to produce the same effect in their elegiac verses, and that their dirges lacked the force, the fire, and the pathos of the ancient ones. Here we shall discuss a kind of poetical composition which partakes of the qualities of both an elegy and a panegyric, and is considered by Ibn Rashīq as a most difficult form of elegy.² In this the poet contrives to express his sorrow at the death of his former patron, and his joy at the succession of his heir to the throne. The earliest example of this kind, so far as I have been able to ascertain, is furnished by 'Abdu'llāh b. Hammām as-Salūlī who, in an

We find the same kind of similitude in an old English ballad :

He came all so still,
Where his mother was,
As dew in April
That falleth on the grass.

1 Éthé: *Über Persische Tenzonen; Die Höfe und Romantische Poesie der Perser*, p. 31; *Neue Persische Literatur* in Vol. ii. of *Grundriss*, pp. 226-229. See also Prof. Browne: *Lit. Hist.* ii. 149.

2 *al-'Umdah*, ii. 124.

impromptu speech, condoled with Yazīd on the death of his father Mu'āwiyah (d. 60 A.H.) and at the same time congratulated him on his accession to the throne. The story runs:

"When Mu'āwiyah died and his son Yazīd was proclaimed Caliph, the Arab grandees assembled at the palace gate to speak to him. But as none of them was able to combine congratulation with condolence, they all stood in a state of hesitancy until there came 'Abdu'llāh b. Hammām who knowing the reason forthwith began:

"O Commander of the Faithful! may God requite thee for this affliction, and bless thee with favours, and assist thee in ruling over thy subjects! Verily thy affliction is great, but the recompense is abundant: therefore thank God for what He has bestowed on thee, and bear with patience what has befallen thee. Verily thou hast lost the vice-gerent of God, but hast been granted His vice-gerency: therefore if thy loss has been great, the gift thou hast received is equally great. Now that Mu'āwiyah is dead and thou hast succeeded him in the governance of the State, may God cause him to attain the places of joy, and may He grace thee in all thy undertakings!"

This peroration was ended with the following four verses:

اصبر يزيد فقد فارقت ذامقة واشكر حباء الذي بالملك اصفاكا
لارزء اعظم في الاقوام نعلمه كما رزئت ولا عقى كعقباكا
اصبحت راعي اهل الدين كلهم فانت نرعاهم والله برعاكا
وفي معاوية الباقي لنا خلف اذا نعت ولا نسمع بمنعاكا

1. Patience, O Yazīd, for thou hast lost a loving father, and give thanks for the gift of Him Who has chosen thee for sovereignty.

1 Mac'ūdī: *Murūj*, v. 153; Mubarrad: *al-Kāmil*, p. 785; 'Umdah, ii. pp. 124-125; Nuwayrī: *Nihāyatul-'Arab*, v. 215-216; *Zuhru'l-Ādāb* of al-Ḥuṣrī, i. pp. 49-50; and also Ibn Qutaybah: *Poësis et Poëtarum*, p. 412.

2. No calamity that we know of in the world is greater than the one thou hast sustained, and no recompense so great as thine.

3. Thou hast become the pastor of all the Faithful; so do thou protect them and Allāh will protect thee.

4. In the surviving Mu'āwiyah¹ we have a worthy successor when thy death is announced, may we never hear of thy death !

Several 'Abbāsīd poets have followed in the wake of 'Abdu'llāh b. Hammām, the first among them being perhaps the jester, Abū Dulāmāh, who in one hemistich of his poem bewails the death of Mansūr and in the second rejoices at the succession of al-Mahdī :

عيناى واحدة ترى مسرورة بامامها جذلى و أخرى تذرف
تبكي و تضحك مرة و يسوءها ما ابصرت ويسرّها ما تعرف
فيسوءها موت الخليفة محرما ويسرّها أن قام بدر أراف
ما انت رأيت ولا سمعت كما أرى شعرا ارتجله و أخرى انتف
هلك الخليفة يا لأمة احمد واما كم من بعده من يخلف
اهدى لهذا الله فضل خلافة ولذاك جئات النعيم و زخرف
فابكوا لمصرع خيركم و وليكم واستشرفوا لمقام ذا و تشرفوا

1. Of my two eyes, the one thou seest rejoicing at its Imām and the other pouring forth tears.

2. The one weeps because it is grieved by what it saw, the other smiles because it is gladdened by what it knows.

3. The one is grieved by the death of the Caliph

¹ The reference is to Mu'āwiyah son of Yazīd, who succeeded his father in A.H. 64, but soon abdicated. He was called Abū Laylā, and some one remarked : وللك بعد أبي ليلى لمن غلبا (Zuhru'l-Ādāb, i. 50).

while in *Ihrām*,¹ the other is glad at the rising of a gracious full moon.

4. I never saw nor heard anything like what I now see: one hair I comb and the other I pluck.

5. The Caliph is dead, alas for the followers of Muḥammad! but after him there has come to you his successor.

6. To this one God has granted the favour of the Caliphate, while to that one the Garden of Paradise and its fineries.

7. So weep for the death of the best one of you who was your guardian, and seek honour and glory in the elevation of the other.²

In Persian poetry, as far as my knowledge goes, there is only one solitary example of this kind. It is by an early Sāmānid poet Abu'l-'Abbās al-Faḍl b. 'Abbās ar-Rabinjanī who in his poem refers to the death of Naṣr II b. Aḥmad (331-943) and the succession of Nūḥ I b. Naṣr¹:

یادشاهی گذشت خوب نژاد یادشاهی نشست فروغ زاد
ز آن گذشته زمانیان غمگین زین نشسته جهانیان دلشاد
بنگر اکنون بچشم عقل بگو هر چه بر ما ز ایزد آمد داد
گر چراغوز پیش ما برداشت باز شمعى بجای او بنهاد
ور زحل نحس خویش پیدا کرد مشتری نیز داد خویش بداد

¹ Al-Manṣūr died in A.D. 776, while on his way to pilgrimage at Bir Mainūn, about an hour's journey from Mecca. (Noldeke: *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 144.

² The poem occurs in *Safīnatu'l-Bulaghā*, p. 105b.

Similar antithetical poems were composed by (a) Abū'sh-Shīṣ on the death of Hārūn and succession of Amīn in 193/809, see Ibn Qutaybah, *Poësis et Poëtarum* p. 535; (b) by Abū Nuwās on the same occasion to condole with al-Faḍl b. Rabī': see his *Diwān*, p. 137; Ibn Rashīq, *Umdah* ii. 125; and Nuwayrī: *Nihāyatul-'Arab* v. 216; (c) by Abū Tammām at the death of al-Mu'tasim and the accession of al-Wāthiq in 227/825. (Vide *Diwān Abi Tammām*, p. 276) and by several other poets of later times.

1. A prince hath passed of noble race,
A prince high-born hath ta'en his place.
2. Time mourns for him that passed away,
For him that's crowned the world is gay.
3. Look now with reason's eye and tell
How just is God in what befell!
4. For if one light from us He reft,
Another in its place He left.
5. If Saturn rose with baneful power,
Yet soon retired Jove's gracious hour.

In all probability, Rabinjani must have had such Arabic models in view when he composed the above little poem which alone entitles him to a place in the *Lubābu'l-Albab*¹:

So far we have considered the various types of *Qasidah* adopted by Persian poets. There now remain the *Ghazal*, the *Mathnawi* and the *Rubā'i*, of which the last one is peculiarly Persian in origin and will be considered at some length in the last chapter.

The *Ghazal*, though not an Arabic invention, was in its early stages nothing but the *Tashbib* portion detached from the main body of the *Qasidah*, from which it gradually evolved its present shape. The early specimens of the *Ghazal* by Persian poets bear a marked resemblance to the *Tashbib*, inasmuch as the function of both is to paint the charms of a beautiful person and to dwell upon the pangs of separation and other concomitants of love. It is also noteworthy that the early Persian poets did not put their pen-name (*Takhalluṣ*) in the last verse (the *Maqṭa'*) of the *Ghazal*, which is an additional proof that at first it was not recognised as a distinct class of poetry as it came to be in later times.

¹ Vol. ii. p. 9; the English version of the poem is by Prof. Nicholson (*Studies in Islamic Poetry*, p. 14), and is incorporated here by his kind permission, as also other pieces in the book.

The *Mathnawī* or "couplet-poem" also was not known to the classical Arab poets. The monorhyme system of the Arabic verse did not lend itself easily to the composition of a long poem. Further, the realistic tendency of Arabic poets to describe what they actually saw and felt without a colouring of imagination was a deterrent factor in this direction. Thus it is that Arabic literature possesses no such epic as the *Shāhnāmāh* of Firdawsi, nor even a narrative in the sense we understand it today. Episodic pieces, for instance, the adventure of Imru'u'l-Qays with 'Unayzah, the story told by Jirānu'l-'Awd of his experience with women, and such other passages to be found in the poetry of 'Umar b. Abi Rabi'ah, Jamil and others, cannot strictly be called narrative. Nevertheless, we must not forget that certain advances were made in this direction as well, although they did not produce any important result, or afford any incentive to later poets to carry on the tradition. The story of az-Zabbā and Jadhīmah by 'Adī b. Zayd (Ibn Qut. p. 112 et seq.) and the description of the distress of Baghdād during its siege by Ma'mūn's general Tāhir, as given by Abū Ya'qūb al-Khuraymī (vide Ibn Qut. p. 543, and Tabarī, iii. 874 ff.) were indeed a significant step towards the conception of Epic and Narrative poetry. But nothing further was done. The Arab poets did not even sing the loves of Laylā and Majnūn, which were left for the Persian poets to celebrate.

It was not until the 'Abbāsīd times that any serious attempt was made to write in the *Mathnawī* form, known in Arabic under the name of 'Muzdawaj' (or consorted). Bashshār b. Burd (d. 167 A.H.) was perhaps the first to compose *Muzdawaj* poems, although none of them has been preserved to us.¹ He was followed by Abānu'l-

¹ *Aghāni*, iii, 24, where it is stated on the authority of al-Jāhiz that Bashshār was a master of prose, muzdawaj and epistolary writings.

Lāḥiqī and Abu'l- 'Atāhiyah. Abu'l- 'Atāhiyah's famous *Urjūzah*, *Dhātu'l-Amthāl*, was greatly appreciated by al-Jāḥiẓ.¹ Lāḥiqī versified the story of Kalilah and Dimnah in Arabic for the Barmecides and received a rich reward from them.² A full list of the poets who have rendered this famous Indian Fable into Arabic verse is given by Sir E. Denison Ross in his Foreword to the Panchatantra (Vol. V of the Ocean of Story, ed. by Pender). But all these didactic poems, as well as the semi-epical poem of Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz, were composed in the *Rajaz* metre, and scarcely deserve the name of *Mathnawī*. It was really Persian poets who raised this form of verse to a pitch of perfection.

1 *Aghāni*, iii. 143.

2 *Aghāni*, xx. 73. For the names of other narrative poems written by Lāḥiqī, see, *Fihrist*, pp. 119 and 613.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PERSIAN QAṢĪDAHS COMPOSED IN THE METRE AND RHYME OF SOME WELL-KNOWN ARABIC ODES.

We have considered in detail the various forms of verse which the Persians adopted from the Arabs. We shall now pass on to the consideration of those *Qaṣīdahs* which are actually modelled on some well-known Arabic Odes and possess their metre and rhyme. Before doing this, however, we shall first briefly indicate in what respects the Persians departed from the rules of prosody as laid down by the Arabic authors, and what new metres they added to the already established number of metres.

The first to invent the Arabic prosody and to enunciate its canons was al-Khalil b. Aḥmad of Baṣrah (100-170 A.H.). He discovered that the whole range of classical Arabic poetry was composed in fifteen metres which he divided into five circles. His pupil al-Akhfash, the Middle (d. 215 A.H.), added one more metre to the list, viz., *al-Mutadūrik*, also called 'Rakḍu'l-Khayl' (the horse-trot); but this metre has been very rarely employed by Arabian poets. After al-Khalil, several other writers wrote on the same subject, differing only in certain minor points. Abū Naṣr Isma'īl b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī (d. towards 1002 A.D.) further simplified and elucidated the intricacies of this art, and the later writers of prosody have simply followed in his footsteps. The only important point in which he disagreed with al-Khalil was that he considered the number of 'measures' to be seven instead of eight, refusing to admit the measure 'Maḥ'ūlātu' (- - -) on the ground that if it had been a specific measure, an independent metre might have been made out of it as from the other measures. In support of this he argued that it was

formed by simply changing the final iambus (° -) of the measure 'Mustaf'alun' (- - ° -) into a trochee (- °), i.e. by putting the final *nūn* before the *lām*, and therefore could not be counted as a separate measure.¹

Now out of the sixteen metres established by the Arabic prosodians, those comprising the first two circles, viz. *Tawīl*, *Madīd*, *Basīṭ*, *Kāmil* and *Wāfir*, are peculiarly Arabic and seldom employed by Persian poets. The poets who have made use of these long and heavy metres have done so only to display their skill in the art of versification, and to emulate their Arabic predecessors. But after unsuccessful attempts in them they were given up as inconsonant with the genius of the Persian language.²

We have already seen how Arabic poetry was affected by Persian and Hellenic influences, during the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate. Not only was its original spirit invaded by foreign ideas, but new metres and forms of verse were introduced to suit the taste of townspeople. Among the new forms of verse which thus came into vogue, we may only mention the names of *Mawāliyyā*, *Zajal* and *Muwashshah*. Of these the last two were the product of Andalusia and only gradually found their way to the East. *Al-Muwashshah* was first invented by Muqaddam b. Mu'āfir al-Farīrī, and afterwards popularised by Aḥmad b. 'Abdī'r-Rabbih (940 A.D.), the author of the well-known book *al-'Iqdu'l-Farīd* (The Unique Necklace); while Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abdī'l-Malik b. Quzmān raised *Zajal* to the dignity of a literary form, and Ibn Khaldūn says that his *Zajals* were more popular in the East than in the West.³ Muslim b. al-Walīd was responsible for the introduction of many new metres, among them a variety of *Basīṭ* in

1 *al-'Undah*, i. 88. 2 *al-Mu'jam*, pp. 25, 55 and 61.

3 *Muqaddimah* (Bulāq edition), pp. 519 and 524; Ibn Quzmān died in 555=1160.

which the *Mawāliyā* was composed.¹ The author of *Kitābu'l-Aghānī* states that Abu'l-'Atāhiyah was once asked whether he knew the science of prosody, whereupon he replied, "I am above prosody"; and al-Iṣfahānī further observes that there are in the poetry of Abu'l-'Atāhiyah certain metres which would be incapable of scansion by the ordinary rules of prosody².

This increase in the poetical metres during the 'Abbāsid period led to the multiplicity of metres in Persian poetry even at its earlier stages. Bahrāmī of Sarakhs and Buzurjmihr al-Qasimī are mentioned as early prosodians of note. Unfortunately their works are lost beyond any hope of recovery. We therefore have to rely upon the works of later prosodians regarding the names of new metres used by the early Persian poets. Of these later treatises on prosody, that of Shams-i-Qays, viz. *al-Mu'jam fī Ma'āyiri Ash'āri'l-'Ajam*, is by far the most important, as also the fullest. This author is not in favour of the new metres, and at several places in his book he has criticised, in scathing terms, the tendency of the early Persian prosodists to fabricate fresh metres and has exposed their artificiality, saying that they are nothing but permutations and combinations of the original metres.

According to Shams-i-Qays, these new-fangled metres number twenty-one, and are divided into three circles, viz. *Mun'akisah*, *Mun'alīqah* and *Munghalīṭah*—the very names being reprehensible in his sight.³ None of these, says he, has ever been used by the best poets.

1 *Mawāliyā* was first invented by a slave-girl of the Barmecides, who in her dirge-songs over them uttered the word "*Mawāliyā*" at every pause. Ibn Khaldūn notes several varieties of the *Mawāliyā* such as *Qāmā*, *Mufrad* and *Du-baytī* by which name the Persian *Rubāʿī* is known in Arabic literature (op. cit. 532).

2 *Aghānī*, iii. 131.

3 *al-Mu'jam*, pp. 152-3.

In addition to these, there are three other metres, namely, *Gharīb*, *Qarīb* and *Mushākil*, which are peculiar to Persian poetry.

Speaking of the metres *Gharīb* and *Mushākil* Shams-i-Qays says that these have been invented by some pseudo-Arab writer, and that the Persians have simply followed suit by including them in their prosodic circles.¹ A little further, he says that the number of Pahlawī verses composed in the *Mushākil* exceeds that of Persian verses in the same metre. The sole reason of its inclusion among the poetical metres was due to the circumstance that he found the people of 'Irāq—high and low, learned and illiterate—addicted to reciting verses in Pahlawī, and that the Arabic love-sonnets and Persian *Ghazals* did not please them so much as

لحن اورامن و بیت بهلوی زخمه رود و سماع خسروی

the Urāmanī strains and Pahlawī verses,
the touch of the harp and Khusrawānī airs.²

The Persians use 35 'ziḥāf' or alterations in the poetical feet, of which 22 are originally Arabic.³ To these some pedants have added three more 'ziḥāf', viz. *Tawsi'*, *Taṭwīl* and *Tadfit*. The alterations 'thalm', 'tharm' and 'batr' are characteristically Arabic and do not occur in Persian poetry.⁴

As Persian prosody was borrowed from the Arabs, it is but natural that most of the Persian poems should have been composed in Arabic metres. To give concrete examples of such poems will be superfluous. But there are some particular cases in which a few Persian poets have consciously modelled their *Qaṣīdahs* after the Arabian

1 *Mu'jam*, 135, 141.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 143; the Persian couplet is by Pindān of Rayy (vide *Farhang-i-Shu'urī*, i. p. 140a).

3 *Ibid.* p. 28.

4 *Ibid.* p. 29.

types, retaining the metre and rhyme of the poem they imitate and mentioning the name of its author. The following three will suffice as illustrations. The first two are by Minūchihri and the third is by Mu'izzī.

۱ چو از زلفِ شب باز شد تابها فرو مرد قنديل محرابها
۲ سپيده دم از بیم سرماي سخت بپوشيد بر کوه سنجابها
۳ عيخوارگان ساقی آواز داد فکنده بزلف اندرون تابها
☆ ☆ ☆

۹ بزير و بم شعر اعشى قيس زنده همی زد بمنابها
۱۰ و کاس شربت علی لذّة و آخری تداویت منها بها
۱۱ لکی يعلم الناس أنني امرء اخذت المعيشة من بابها

1. When the curly locks of night became dishevelled, and the candles in the altars became dim,

2. When at early dawn, the mountains lay clad in ermine for fear of cold,

3. The Sāqī, putting curls in his locks, called out to the wine-bibbers.

9. The harpist began to play the alto and bass of A'shā's poetry with his jujube-like fingers :

10. "One cup I drained for the of sake pleasure and another as a cure to slake the thirst, caused by the first,

11. So that the people may know that I am a man who enjoys life at its very source."¹

1 *Diwān-i-Minūchihri*, p. 10. Several Arabic poets have composed Qasīdahs in the same metre and rhyme. The following three are the opening lines of the Qasīdahs belonging to three different periods :

(a) that of al-Khansā, with the difference that the rhyming letter is *lām* instead of *bā*,

الا من لعینک و ام مالها وقد اخضل الدمع سرابها

(b) that of Ibnū'l-Mu'tazz, in which he asserts the claims of the house of 'Abbās over the house of 'Alī,

الا من لعینى و تسکابها و تشکى القنّاء و تنکابها

(c) and that of Šaff'u'd-dīn al-Ĥillī in answer to (b),

الا قل لشرف عباد الاله و طافى قریش و کذابها

Minūchihri is indebted to two Arabic poets in this poem. For while the metre and rhyme are suggested by al-A'shā, the theme of the lines 4-8 (not given above) owes its inspiration to a wine-song of Abū Nuwās. The reflection cast by the sparkling wine, in this case, draws an astrologer to the tavern in order to take the height of stars by his astrolabe. And the line 7, in which he says that the wine shed its lunar light on the side of its walls, is an echo of the following lines from the same song of Abū Nuwās, who on entering a wine-shop in a dark night is asked by the keeper how he managed to get there. The poet replies¹:

فقلتُ له نرفقُ بي فأنِّي رأيتُ الصبحَ من خللِ الدِّيارِ
فكان جوابُهُ أن قال صبحٌ و ما صبح سوى ضوءِ العقارِ

"Be gentle with me," I said to him. "I perceived the dawn from inside the house."

He replied in wonder, "Dawn! there is no dawn except the light of wine!"

The second Qasidah begins with²

جهان‌آچه بدمهر و بدخو جهانی چو آشفته بازار بازارگانی

O world! what a cruel and vicious world thou art!
Thou art even like the disordered mart of a merchant.

The succeeding lines contain the complaint of the poet against the tyranny of Time even as in the Qasidah of Abu'sh-Shis, whom Minūchihri has taken as a model in this case, and whose name he inserts in the penultimate line of the poem:

۶۵ بران وزن این شعر گفتم که گفتست ابو شیص اعرابی باستانی
۶۶ آشاقک واللیل ملقی الجران غراب بنوح علی بنی بن

1 *Diwān Abi Nuwās*, p. 324.

2 *Diwān of Minūchihri*, 129-132.

65. I have written this poem in the self-same metre¹ which has been used by Abū Shīs, an Arab of old days,

66. "Is it a raven croaking on the bān-tree bough that makes thee yearn, while the night broods on earth?"

The third specimen is from Mu'izzī and is composed in the metre and rhyme of the well-known juvenile verses of al-Mutanabbi, beginning with²

أبلى الهوى أسفا يوم النوى بدني وفرق الهجر بين الجفن والوسن

"On the day of parting, passion wore away my body through grief,

While absence made a separation between the eyelids and sleep."

Mu'izzī quotes the first hemistich of the above verse after giving us the scansion of his poem. The opening couplet and the last two verses are given below³:

ای زلف دلبر من پر بند و پر شکنی گاهی چو وعده دوست که چو بخت منی

☆

☆

☆

کفتم ستایش تو بر وزن شعر عرب تقطیع او بعروض 'الآجنین نکنی'
مستعملن فعلن مستعملن فعلن أبلى الهوى أسفا يوم النوى بدني

Other examples could be cited, but these few will be enough to show to what extent Persian poets, especially the panegyrists, have employed the material and method of Arabic poets. This will be more clear when we consider the ideas actually incorporated in Persian poetry.

1 The metre used is *Mutaqārib*; for the poem of Abu'sh-Shīs see *ash-Shi'r wa'sh-Shu'arā'*, p. 538.

2 *Diwān of Mutanabbi*, ed. Dieterici, p. 3.

3 *Majma'ul-Fusūḥ*, p. 24.

CHAPTER V.

PARALLEL PASSAGES.

Parallel passages which occur both in Arabic and Persian poetry may conveniently be classified under three heads—the Panegyric, the Didactic and the Descriptive. Before proceeding with this classification, however, it is necessary to explain my position with regard to the line of argument which I have adopted in the following pages.

Some critics may be led to suppose that I have made rather sweeping assertions in considering that these passages have necessarily been borrowed from Arabic Poetry. They may accuse me of partiality towards Arabic poets, contending that such passages are simply examples of what is called “*Tawārud*”, i.e. coincidence of similar ideas expressed by different poets belonging to different periods. They may also imagine that I have done injustice to the originality of Persian poets by thus making them dependent upon their Arabic predecessors in the poetic field.

To assure these sceptics, I say that I have arrived at my conclusions after considerable deliberation and wide reading of poetry, and that I have fixed my choice upon only such ideas as are considered to be the best of their kind by the consensus of Muslim critics, such as Ibn Qutaybah, Ibn Rāshiq, Tha‘ālibī, Marzubānī, and are often quoted by them in their treatises. I may also venture to add that I have scrupulously avoided such ideas as constitute the common stock of poetry. These are too many to enumerate, and it would be wrong to suppose that one

1 As regards the dependence of Persian poets upon Arabic poets, such critics may with advantage refer to the judgment of the Persian poet and author Rāml towards the end of this chapter.

people necessarily copied them from another. But the case of Persian poets is quite different. Their minds were saturated with Arabic culture, and Arabic poets were their acknowledged masters to whom they looked up for inspiration. Further, as these ideas were first broached by Arabic poets, it is only natural to deduce that Persian poets were the imitators. "The school of Rūdakī and his successors," says Darmesteter,¹ "is Persian only in language; the inspiration and the models are Arabian." Again many of the early Persian poets, as has been pointed out, were masters of both Arabic and Persian. These bilingual poets took these ideas directly from Arabic poets whom they deliberately studied, and consciously or unconsciously put them in their verse, under the impression that their less fortunate brethren, who were innocent of Arabic, would not charge them with plagiarism. These latter again assimilated the same turns of thought in their poetry under a new garb, although the underlying idea remained the same. This clandestine pilfering of others' thoughts was favoured also by the circumstance that the poetical works of the older poets were not published, so that it was easy for the succeeding poets to draw upon them with immunity. Indeed, literary plagiarism and mimicry stalk so unmasked in the East that to quote one poet would be to quote almost all. The following few examples from Persian poetry will speak for themselves :

(a) Rūdakī says :²

1 *Coup d'œil sur l'Histoire de la Perse*, p. 46.

2 *Hadā'iqul-Balāghah*, p. 476; see also Éthé : *Nachrichten*, p. 737, and Pizzi : *Chrestomatie*, p. 62. For English versions of the passage cf. Prof. Browne : *Lit. Hist.* i. 458; and Jackson : *Early Persian Poetry*, p. 34.

Rūdakī seems to have been inspired by the following lines of Yazd b. Mu'āwiyah (*Kharābāt*, ii. 408) :

من بعد رؤيتها يوماً على احد	ملیحة لو رأتها الشمس ما طلعت
من رام منا وصلاً مات بالكبد	سألها الوصل قالت لا تكن عبثاً
ما فيه من رفق دقت يداً يده	واسترجعت سألت عنى فقبل لها

خون کشته ببینم دو لب کرده فراز و از جان تھی ابن قالب فرسوده نیاز
بر بالینم نشین می کوئی بناز کای کشته ترا من و یشیمان شده باز

When thou seest me slain, my lips forever sealed,
And this love-lorn mould devoid of its soul,
Thou sittest by my bed and sayest with pride,
"It was I who slew thee, lo ! I am penitent again."

Shāpūr-i-Zahrāni has rendered it thus¹ :

خوش آنکه شب کشی و روز آئیم بر سر که آه این چه کسی است و که کشته است اینرا
How fine ! you slay me by night and come near my head
by day,
And cry, " Ah ! who is this person, and by whom is he
slain ?"

(b) Abū Maṣṣūr 'Umārah b. Muḥammad of Merv says² :

می چون میان سیمین دندان اورسید کوئی کران ماه پیروین درون نشست
When the wine reached between her silver teeth, thou
wouldest have said that a horn of the moon had entered
the Pleiades.

This pretty simile in which the teeth of a beautiful person are compared to the Pleiades is employed by Kamāl Isma'il very nearly in the same way³ :

دورشته در دندان چون از لب تابد کوئی مکر نریا در ماه کرد منزل
When the two rows of thy pearly teeth shine through
thy lips, thou wouldest say the Pleiades had taken
their station in the moon.

A graceful maiden is she ; if the sun were to see her, it would never shine
on any one, after seeing her.

I asked her for union; she said, " Don't be silly : he who seeks union
from us shall die with grief "

She then relented and enquired after me, and when it was said to her
'not a breath remains in him,' she struck one hand on the other.

¹ *Ḥadā'iqul-Balāghah*, p. 476.

² *Lubāb*, ii. 25.

³ *Anīsush-Shu'arā*, p. 294.

(c) Sa'di has said in his *Gulistān*¹ :

باران که در لطافت طبعش خلاف نیست در باغ لاله روید و در شوره بوم خس

The rain, in whose fine nature there is no flaw,

Produces tulips in the garden and tares in the saltish soil.

This verse is nothing but the quintessence of the following idea of 'Unşuri'² :

۱ تو ابر رحمتی ای شاه و آسمان هنر

همی بیاری بر بوستان و شورستان

۲ بدین دو جای تو یکسان همی رسی لیکن

ز شوره گرد بر آید چو نرگی از بوستان

۳ اگر چه در باصل از سرشک بارانست

نه در کردد هر جا که بر چکد باران

1. Thou, O king! art a cloud of mercy and a sky of virtue,
Thou pourest thy waters alike over gardens and
brackish land.
2. Thou reachest both spots in equal measure :
But dust rises from the brackish soil, while in the
gardens bloom the narcissi.
3. Though a pearl by origin is the product of rain-tears,
A pearl is not produced wherever it rains.

(d) The following lines by Firdawsi occur in his famous satire on Maḥmūd of Ghaznah :

درختیکه تلخست ویرا سرشت کرش در نشانی بیاض بهشت

ور از جوی خلدش بهنگام آب به بیخش شکر ریزی و شهد ناب

سر انجام گوهر بکار آورد همان میوه تلخ بار آورد

The tree, which is bitter by nature—though thou plant
it in the Garden of Paradise

1 *Gulistān* ed. Eastwick, p. 9.

2 *Diwan*, Tehran edition.

And bathe its root, when needing water, with sugar and
pure honey from the streams of Eternity—

Will at last betray its base nature, and the fruit it will
bear will be bitter still.

Now Firdawsi has simply elaborated and refined what Abū
Shukūr of Balkh (d. 330=941) has already expressed in the
following lines¹ :

بدشمن برت مهربانی مباد که دشمن درختیست تلخ از نهاد
درختی که تلخش بود کوهر را اگر چرب و شیرین دهی مرورا
همان میوه تلخ آرد پدید ازو چرب و شیرین نخواهی مزید

Have no compassion on thy foe, for the foe is a tree of an
evil root ;

The tree whose substance is bitter—even though thou
should feed it with delicious things—

Will yield the same bitter fruit, and nothing delicious
shalt thou get from it.

The poet Hātifi (d. 927=1520), before being allowed to
write poetry, was asked by his uncle, the great Jāmi, by
way of test, to compose a “parallel” to the above lines of
Firdawsi. Hātifi at once produced the following parallel² :

اگر بیضه زاغ طلعت سرشت نهی زیر طاؤس باغ بهشت
بهنگام آن بیضه پروردش ز انجیر جنت دهی ارزش
دهی آتش از چشمه سلسبیل بدان بیضه دم در دمد جبرئیل
شود عاقبت بیضه زاغ زاغ برد رنج بیهوده طاؤس باغ

“If thou should’st place an egg of the crow of dark
nature under the Peacock of the Garden of Paradise,

¹ *Ḥadā'iqul-Balāghah*, p. 465; *Majma'u'l-Fusahā*, p. 74.

² *Majma'u'l-Fusahā*, Vol. II, p. 54; *Kharābat*, Vol. III, p. 436; Prof.
Browne : *Lit. Hist.* Vol. IV, pp. 227-28.

And if at the time of nourishing that egg, thou should'st
give it grain from the Fig Tree of the Celestial
Gardens,

And should'st water it from the Fountain of Salsabil,
and Gabriel should breathe his breath into that egg,

In the end the crow's egg will become a crow, and vain
will be the trouble of the Peacock of Paradise."

Specially in the realm of panegyric poetry, where the poets strove to use new words and rare expressions, is this tendency to borrow from older poets more conspicuous. The same old thoughts are cast into new moulds, the same old wine poured into new glasses of glittering colours to give it an air of novelty. The result of all this has been that Eastern poetry has become static and moves in the same narrow circle of ideas.

I. THE PANEGRIC.

Even in early Arabian poetry we find germs of the panegyric. The old Arab poets valued the qualities of heroism, hospitality and liberality. They praised themselves, their clansmen, and those others who possessed these qualities without any mercenary motive. If a chief helped a poet or his tribe out of a difficulty, he requited him by singing his praises and extolling his virtues and brave deeds. We find, for instance, the prince-poet Imru'ū'l-Qays praising the Banū Taym, because an individual of this tribe had given him quarter against his inveterate enemy al-Mundhir b. Mā'us-Samā' :

أَقْرَحَ حُشَا امْرَأَ الْقَيْسِ بْنِ حَجْرٍ بَنُو تَيْمٍ مَصَابِيحُ الظَّلَامِ

The children of Taym, the lamps of darkness, soothed
the heart of Imru'ū'l-Qays b. Hujr.

Thenceforward the Banū Taym became known as "Maṣābiḥu'z-Zalām" (the Lamps of Darkness). The same poet

1 'Umdah, i. 49; Ahlwardt: *Dīwāns*, Q. 27, p. 221.

speaks of the Banū 'Awf in the following terms, because al-'Uwayr, the chief of that tribe, had given a safe conduct to his sister and her retinue when they were exposed to much danger¹:

نياب بنى عوف طهارى نقيه واجههم عندالمشاهد غرّان
 The hearts of the Banū 'Awf are pure and clean, and
 their faces in councils are bright.

Subsequently there arose a group of poets in Arabia, who accepted gifts from the persons whom they praised. The poet Zuhayr praised Harim b. Sinān when he and Hārith b. 'Awf brought about a truce between the warring tribes of 'Abs and Dhubyān by paying the blood-wit on their behalf. For this eulogy Harim gave a handsome reward to Zuhayr, although he never asked for it. Harim was so pleased that he swore that he would always reward Zuhayr whenever the latter praised or saluted or asked a boon of him. Zuhayr felt ashamed and in future whenever he met him in a full assembly, he would say: 'Good morning to everybody except Harim, and verily the best one of you I have excluded"². He seems to have adhered to this golden mean, for he says in his *Mu'allagah*:

سألنا فأعطينم وعدنا وعدّتم ومن اكثرتالساأل يوماً سيحرم

We asked and ye gave: we asked again and ye gave again;

But he that begs often will be disappointed one day³.

The praises of Zuhayr have immortalised the name of Harim. The Caliph 'Umar is reported to have asked a daughter of Zuhayr as to what became of the robes with which Harim had invested her father, whereupon she

¹ Ahlwardt: *Diwāns*, Q. 66, p. 228.

² *Aghānī*, ix, 154.

³ Ahlwardt: *Diwāns*, p. 192, Ode 19, 7.

replied, "Time hath worn them out." "But," said 'Umar, "Time shall never wear out the robes with which thy father invested him."

The old Arab poets did not praise any one until he had done something laudable, and then, too, never beyond his deserts. It is recorded of Salāmah b. Jandal that once when he was asked by the tribe of Tamim why he did not praise them, he replied: First do something and then I shall praise you.¹ Very soon, however, there arose a group of poets who made poetry a means of living. They went far and wide visiting kings and other grandees in order to obtain rewards in lieu of their encomiums. Among these may be mentioned Nābighah who was attached to the Lakhmite princes of al-Ḥīrah, especially the last prince Nu'mān. On this account he was despised by the Arabs,² although he was proud to say that he never praised any one but noble kings:

و كنت امرءاً لامدح الدهر سوقة³ فـلست على خير أـمـاك بحاسد

I am a man who never praised the vulgar, and therefore

I am not envious of what wealth thou hast got.⁴

Ḥassān b. Thābit, before he accepted Islām, used to frequent the courts of the Lakhmites and Ghassānids and receive favours from them.⁵ The pseudo-prophet and poet Umayyah b. Abi's-Ṣalt was under the patronage of 'Abdu'llāh b. Jud'ān and received from him the celebrated female singers known as "Al-Jarādatān."⁶ It was al-A'shā who first reduced poetry to a method of begging. He ranged from one place to another praising all sorts of people. Not

1 *Aghāni*, ix. 154; *'Umdah*, i. 50.

2 Tha'alibi: *Khāṣṣu'l-Khāṣṣ*, p. 59.

3 *'Umdah*, i. p. 49.

4 Ahlwardt: *Diwāns*, p. 9.

5 *Aghāni*, ix. 171-172; Ibn Qutaybah; *Poesis*, 170-171.

6 *Aghāni*, viii. 2.

being satisfied with his wanderings in Arabia, he coveted the prizes of the Persian Kisrā and paid a visit to his court at Madā'in. There, however, his poetry did not bring him much profit, chiefly owing to bad interpretation.¹ Al-Ḥuṭay'ah was still more abject in his demands.²

(All these circumstances combined to degrade the art of poetry, and, to put it in the words of Sir Charles Lyall, "the noble pride and free spirit of the desert which 'never praised any man but for what was in him' gave place to the servile and venal adulation of the courts of Damascus and Baghdad."³ We must not, however, think that this free spirit was altogether extinguished, and that all Arabic or semi-Arabic poets sang for love of money: there were still many who might be regarded as real servants of Poesy. Jamil, Qays, 'Umar b. Abi Rabī'ah and several others were purely lyrical poets. Even in 'Abbāsīd times when the craze for panegyric increased, there were poets, like as-Sayyidu'l-Ḥimyarī, Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri, who disdained to pay respects to any prince.

On the other hand, Persian poetry from its very outset flourished under the court patronage, and as such contained the same extravagances from which Arabic poetry came to suffer in later times. But let it be said to the credit of Arabic poets that, even in their worst hyperboles, they never descended to the depths of Persian poets. In point of fact, they acquired love of exaggeration amid Persian surroundings and under Persian influence. In spite of that, they were on the whole more reticent in the praises of their patrons. For, whereas Arabic poets recounted the martial deeds and other virtues of their benefactors, of course in highly glowing terms, their Persian confrères raised them to the skies, and very often their utterances amounted to

1 Ibn Qutaybah : *Poesis* p. 137 ; 'Umdah, i. 49.

2 'Umdah, i. 50.

3 *Ancient Arabian Poetry*, Introd. xviii.

sheer blasphemy. Dr. Paul Horn has traced some queer examples of Hyperbole in the Avesta and remarks that they are characteristically Persian. For instance, the mythical fish Kārā can descry the tiniest ripple in the sea! A horse can recognise a horse-hair in the darkest of nights at a distance of nine miles, and know whether it belonged to the mane or the tail Similarly the Rakhsh of Rustam, as described in the *Shāhnāmāh*, can view a black emmet at a distance of two miles!¹ This love of exaggeration seems to have been inherent in the Persian nature.)

The following passages taken from both Arabic and Persian poetry are panegyrical in character. Incidentally, they also give us an apotheosis, incomplete as it is, of an eastern autocrat.

((A)) The patron is likened to the sun, and the other princes to stars; at the approach of the sun, the stars disappear :

(a) Nābighah says :²

ألم تر أن الله أعطاك سورة ترى كل ملك دونها يتذاذب
فإنك شمس والملوك كواكب إذا طلعت لم يبد منها كوكب

Seest thou not that God has given thee a majesty
before which all kings are shaking in awe ?

For thou art a sun, while other kings are stars : when
the sun rises, none of the stars are visible.³

(b) and Nuṣayb says :⁴

1 *Geschichte der persischen Litteratur* p. 18.
2 *Diwāns*, p. 5 ; Ibn Qut. *Poesis* 75 ; *Diwānu'l-Ma'ānī*, p. 4.
3 Nābighah himself was preceded by a poet of Kindah, with regard to this idea. The latter says in praise of the Lakhmite prince 'Amr b. Hind. (*Diwānu'l-Ma'ānī*, p. 4b) :

نكاد تبدا الأرض بالناس إن رأوا لعمر بن هند عصبة وهو عائب
هو الشمس وإنت يوم سعد فأفضلت على كل ضوء والملوك كواكب

4 *Diwānu'l-Ma'ānī* p. 4.

هو البدر والناس الكواكب حوله وهل تشبه البدر المضي الكواكب

He is the full moon, and the people around him are stars : can the stars compare with the shining moon ?

Among the Persian poets (i) Qaṭrān (d. 465=1072) has expressed the above idea in a number of similes :¹

خسروا میران کجا آرند دیدن روی تو
 گرچه ایمن باشد آنکوب با تو در ایمان شود
 گرچه روبه بند و دستان بیشتر داد سزد
 چون به بیند شیر را بن بند و یدستان شود
 ورچه شاهین کبوتر تیز باشد
 چون به بیند روی شاهین خیره ولرزان شود
 ورچه انجم صد هزارست و یکی هست آفتاب

چون بر آید آفتاب انجم همه پنهان شود

O king ! how can princes dare to look at thy face ?
 although he who is thine ally is safe (from thy wrath).

Though the fox may possess more tricks and wiles,
 yet at the sight of the lion he will forget all his wiles.

Though the spurs of the pigeon be sharp.....yet when
 it sees the hawk, it becomes dazed and nervous.

Though the stars be a hundred thousand and the
 sun but one, yet when the sun rises, the stars
 all slink away.

(ii) Rashīdu'd-dīn al-Waṭwāt (578=1182) says :²

اگر ملوک ز تیغ نهان شدند بلی ز آفتاب شوند اختران نهان یکسر

If kings hide themselves from thy sword, it is well ;
 yea, the stars disappear at the sight of the sun.

1 *Diwān-i-Qaṭrān*, p. 33b.

2 *Diwān-i-Rashīd*, p. 59b.

(iii) *Zāhir-i-Fāryābī* (d. 598=1201) says :¹

يك يك زيم خنجر خورشيد اختران همچون مخالفان شهنشه شدند كم

One by one, in fear of the Sun's falchion, the stars disappeared like the foes of the emperor.

Analogous to the above idea is the idea that the presence or the wrath of the patron strikes terror into the hearts of his enemies, that even their unborn children tremble in their embryonic state. It would be improper to quote examples for illustrating this idea.

((B)) The patron is the theatre of all virtues : he is the macrocosm containing the microcosms.

(a) *Abū Nuwās* (d. 199=814) says in praise of *al-Faḍl b. Rabi'*:²

ليس على الله بمستنكر ان يجمع العالم في واحد

It may not be deemed strange on the part of God if He unite (the noble qualities of) all mankind in a single individual.

(b) *An-Nāshī* (d. 906 A.D.) praises the caliph 'Alī in the following verse :³

وغير بدع ان يرى عالما ركبته الخالق في عالم

It is not strange for one to see the whole world united by the Creator in one learned man.

(c) *Al-Mutanabbī* (d. 354=965) has expressed the same

1 *Dīwān-i-Zāhir*, p. 48b ; *Majma'*, p. 139a.

2 *Dīwān*, p. 87 ; *Ibānah*, p. 29 ; *Yatīmah*, i. 102 ; the same poet in praise of *al-Amin* :

كانا انت شي حوى جميع الماني

The idea was suggested to him by the famous verse of *Jarir*:

اذ غضبت عليك بنوتيم حسبت الناس كلهم غضبا

3 *Ibānah*, p. 29.

idea in various forms. To quote only one instance:¹

هدية ما رأيت مهيبة إلا رأيت الأنام في رجل

It is a gift whose donor, as soon as I saw him, struck
me as if all mankind were combined in one man.

Coming to Persian poets, we find this idea first expressed
by (i) 'Unṣuri (d. 431 = 1040):²

گرش بتانی دیدن همه جهانست او بر این سخن هنرو فضل اوست کوا
کس ازخدای ندارد عجب اگر دارد همه جهانرا اندر تنی همه تنها

If thou canst see him, he is all the world; his ability
and excellence bear out this fact.

No one need be surprised, if God join the whole universe
in one single person.

(ii) Abū Naḥḥās of Isfahān (a Saljūq poet):³

ازان کجا که عالمی نه يك شخصی هنوز مدّت عالم نیامدست بسر

It is by reason of thy being the whole world, and not
one individual, that the world's duration has not yet
come to an end.

and (iii) Anwarī who like Mutanabbī expresses it in
various forms,⁴ e.g.

تو جهان کاملی اندر جهان مختصر هفت اقلیمت که باقی باد هفت اندام تو

Thou art a perfect world (macrocosm) contained in a
minor world (microcosm); thy seven climes, may
they ever endure!, are thy seven limbs.⁵

1 *Yatīmah*, i. pp. 102 and 139, and also p. 74, where the poet as-Sulāmī says in imitation of the above line of Mutanabbī.

فشرت آمالی بلك هو الوری و دارهی الدنبا و یوم هو الدهر

and 'Alī b. Jabalah says in praise of Abū Dulaf (Ibn Qut., *Poesia* p. 550):

انما الدنيا أبودلف - بین منزاء و مختصره فاذا ولی أبودلف - وگت الدنبا عل

2 *Diwān*, Teh. ed.

3 *Diwān-i-Anwarī*, Teh. ed.

4 *Majma'*, p. 14a.

5 Viz. the head, breast, belly, hands, and feet
or, the head, hands, sides and feet

As a corollary to the above idea, the patron is considered equivalent to the whole world, and when opposed to a host he alone can suffice to compass its defeat without the help of an army.

(a) Abū Tammām (190-231=806-846) says:¹

نبت المقام يرى القبيلة واحداً وبرى فيحسبه القليل قبيلة

Of steady mien, he sees the whole body of men as a single man; and when himself seen, he appears to one advancing towards him as a body of men.

(b) Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz (247-296=861-908) says in self-praise,

أنا جيش اذ غدوت وحيداً ووحيد في الحجفل الجرار

I am legion when I sally forth alone, and am peerless in a mighty host.²

(c) al-Mutanabbī (d. 354=965) says of Sayfu'd-Dawlah that³

فلما رأوه وحده دون جيشه دروا ان كل العالمين فضول

When they saw him all alone in front of his army, they knew that the rest of the people were useless.

(d) Abū Firās (d. 968) says in praise of 'Abdu'llāh b. Tāhir:⁴

الى رجل يلقاك في شخص واحد ولكته في الحرب جيش عرمرم

(We look) to a man who will appear to thee in the form of a single person, but who in battle is like a numerous host.

The Persian poet Rūdakī (d. 329=941) according to Sam'ānī has made use of the same simile. He says:

با صد هزار مردم تنهائی بی صد هزار مردم تنهائی

1 *Dīwān*, p. 244; *Dīwānu'l-Mu'tanabbī*, p. 48a.

2 *Dīwān*, p. 31.

3 *Dīwān*, p. 119.

4 *Dīwān*, p. 110.

With a hundred thousand people thou alone art unique ;
Without a hundred thousand people thou alone art
enough.

Owing to brevity of expression the meaning of the verses is not quite clear. What Rūdakī means to convey is that his patron, though amidst a throng of people, is distinguishable from them by reason of his wisdom and ability, and that without their aid he is self-sufficient. Hence 'Unṣurī who took this idea from Rūdakī, but made it more explicit, can rightly claim the idea to be his own, while to Rūdakī belongs the credit of precedence only.¹ 'Unṣurī says :

اگرچه تنها باشد همه جهان با اوست و گرچه با او باشد همه جهان تنهاست

Although he be alone, the whole world is with him (i.e. he possesses the qualities of all mankind) ;

And although the world be with him, he stands unique by himself.

The same poet repeats the same idea in a still better form when he says:²

میان صد حشر ادر بفضل تنهایی و گرچه تنهایی رفصل با حشری

Amidst a hundred multitudes, thou art peerless in excellence ;

And when alone, thou art a multitude by reason of thy excellence.

Zāhir-i-Fāryābi (d. 508=1201), taking the simile of an army as used by the above-quoted Arabic poets, says :³

داند همگنان که تو تنها بذات خویش صد لشکری چو روی بکافر نهاده

Thy compeers know that thou alone in thine essence constitutest a hundred hordes when attacking the infidels.

¹ *al-Mu'jam*, p. 445.

² *Diwān-i-'Unṣurī*, Teh. ed.

³ *Diwān-i-Zāhir*, p. 77 b.

The same poet again vaunting his own learning says :¹

گرچه يك شخصم از ره صورت دارم از علم لشکر جرّار

Although in form I am but a single individual,

I possess a mighty host by reason of my knowledge.

((C)) The patron is cast altogether in a different mould: though one of the human species, he is yet far above them in worth. The poet by a fanciful reasoning (*ḥusn-i-ta'īl*) attempts to prove that a part is greater than the whole.

(a) Al-Mutanabbi (d. 965 A.D.) says :²

فان تفق الانام وانت منهم فان المسك بعض دم الغزال

If you excel mankind, being one of them, (no wonder !);
for musk, (though) a portion of a gazelle's blood, (is
yet better than its blood).

This conceit has been taken up with avidity by Persian poets, as will be seen from the quotations given below :

(i) 'Unṣuri (d. 431=1040) says :³

تو ای شاه از زجنس مردمانی بود باقوت نیز از جنس اشجار

1 *Diwān-i-Zuhīr*, p. 40a.

2 *Diwān*, ed. Dieterici, p. 394; *Yatīmah*, i. 93. Mutanabbi has expressed this idea in various ways, e.g. (*Yatīmah*, i. 94)

فان في الخمر معنى ليس في العنب.

"Verily there is a property in wine which can scarcely be found in grapes." Al-Bustī takes the clue from Mutanabbi and says; (*Yatīmah*, i. 94)

ابوك حوى العلبا وانت مبرز عليه اذا نازعته قصب المجد

وللخمر معنى ليس في الكرم مثله وفي النار نور ليس يوجد في الزند

Your father gathered greatness, but you excel him when you compete with him for the reed of glory:

There is a property in wine, like which the grape has not, and there is a light in the fire which cannot be found in the tinder.

And again Mutanabbi says (*Yatīmah*, i. 93),

وما انا منهم بالمشي فيهم ولكن معدن الذهب الرغام

Anwari expresses the same idea in the following verse:

خود خراب آباد گیتی نیست جای تو ولیک گنجها تنهند هرگز جز که در جای خراب

3 *Diwān*, Teh. ed.

O king ! If you belong to the genus of men (it does not matter),

For, the ruby also belongs to the species of trees,¹
and is yet more valuable than they.

(ii) Anwārī (d. 587=1191) says :²

در جهانی و از جهان بیشی همچو معنی که در بیان باشد

Thou art in the world, yet far above the world, even
like an idea which is enclosed in words.

(iii) Qaṭrān (d. 465=1072) says :³

جهان عزیز هم از است گرچه زوئی تو صدف عزیز بدرست گرچه زوست در

1 There are varieties of rubies called 'Rummānī, 'Wardī' etc.; hence a ruby is a species of trees.

2 *Diwān-i-Anwārī*, Teh. ed. Anwārī reverts again and again to this conceit in his *Qasīdahs*: e.g.

(a) ای جهان لفظ و تو درات معنی هم از ویش و هم بدو اندر
The world is the word, and thou the idea in it;
Better than it and yet living in it.

(b) تویش از عالمی گرچه دروئی چو علم معنوی در لفظ ابتر
Thou art better than the world, though living in it,
Like the occult meaning in a truncated word.

(c) تویش از عالمی گرچه دروئی چو رمز معنوی در کسوت زور
Thou art better than the world, though living in it,
Like a subtle idea lurking in the garb of sham.

All these verses have a direct reference to the following verses of al-Mutanabbi of which they are faithful reproductions: e.g.

الناس ما لم یروک اشباه والدمر لفظ و انت معنا

People, so long as they do not see you, are all alike;
Time is a word, and thou the idea thereof.

و لولا کوکم فی الناس کانوا هراء کالکلام بلا معانی and

Were it not for your existence amongst the people, they would be
like incorrect speech shorn of all meaning.

Reverting to Anwārī :

(d) به از جهان بجهان در اگر کسی باشد تو آن کسی که از ویشی و بدو آن

If there be in the world one better than the world,
Then thou art that one who is better than it, and yet living in it.

3 *Diwān-i-Qaṭrān*, p. 73b.

The world is honoured through thee, although thou art
a portion thereof :

The oyster-shell is precious because of pearls, although
the pearls are bred by it.

(iv) Mu'izzi (d. 542=147) says: ¹

درجهانی نو ولیکن زجهان قدر تو بیش راست گویم که جهان صدفت و تو کهر

Thou art in the world, yet thy worth is more than the
world :

To tell the truth, the world is an oyster-shell and thou
the orient pearl.

(v) Ḥasan b. 'Alī Shihābī (a panegyrist of Arslān
Shāh...I or II ?) says: ²

گرچه بر روی زمینی از فلک اعلی تری گرچه در ملک جهانی از جهانی بیشتر

Although thou art on the surface of the earth, thou
art higher than the sky;

Although thou art in the domain of the world, thou art
more than the world.

(vi) Rashīd (d. 578=1182) says: ³

در شرف بیشی ز عالم گرچه هستی اندرو نه لالی در صدف باشد جواهر در بحر

In honour thou art more than the world, although thou
livest in it :

Are not pearls to be found in the shell, and diamonds
in stones ?⁴

1 *Dīwān-i-Mu'izzī*, p. 68b. In another place (*Dīwān*, p. 157) he says:

تواند در جهانی و بیش از جهان چنان کز صدف بیش باشد کهر

2 *Majma'*, p. 79a.

3 *Dīwān-i-Rashīd*, p. 62a.

4 Rashīd seems to have stolen this figure from the following lines of al-Khwārizmī (d. 383=993) who, in return, had imitated the above-quoted verses of Mutanabbī (*Fakmah*, i. 93):

و آنک منہم و کذاک ایضاً من الماء الفرائد و الالآ
و تنکن دادم و کذاک سکنی ال حجارة و الزمرد فی الجبال

As a sequel to the above idea, the patron is likened to the central pearl, or jewel, of a necklace, while other princes denote the remaining beads.

(a) Abū 'Ubaydu'llāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Juhaynī says in praise of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (A.D. 847-861):¹

ولما رآك الناس وحدك ايقنوا بأنك بين الناس واسطة العقد

When the people saw thee alone, they became certain
that thou, amongst men, wert like the central pearl
of a necklace.

(b) Al-Mutanabbī has taken hold of this comparison and given a different turn to it. He says:²

ذكر الأنام لنا فكان قصيدة كنت البديع الفرد من أبيانها

The people were counted to us: they appeared like
an Ode;

Whilst thou wert the verse *par excellence* among its
verses.

Long before these, however, Abū Nuwās (d. 199=814) had used the same comparison in a panegyric upon al-Amin (A.D. 809-813), the son of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph, Hārūn. He says:³

إذا بنوا العباس عدّ حصاهم فمحمّد ياقونها المستخلص

If the children of 'Abbās were counted as stones,
Surely Muḥammad would be the purest gem among
them.

This idea also, like the preceding one, has been quite a favourite with Persian poets.

(i) Rūdakī (d. 329=941) says:⁴

بزرگان جهان چون کرد بندن تو چون یاقوت سرخ اندر نیماه

1 *Ibānuh*, p. 77.

2 *Dīwān* p. 288; *Yatimah*, i. 136.

3 *Dīwān*, p. 113.

4 *Lughat-i-Furs*, p. 203.

The great ones of the world are like the necklace :
Thou art like the red ruby in its centre.

(ii) Al-'Uṭarīdī (a panegyrist of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, A.D. 998=1030) says :¹

ملك قلاده است و او میان قلاده زین نگیرد قلاده جز بمیان

The country is the necklace, and he the centre of the necklace :

The necklace has no value without its central pearl.

(iii) Minūchihri (d. 430=1038) says :²

بزرگان همچو قلاده خرزند تو همچو یاقوت اندر میان خرزى

The great ones resemble a necklace of beads :
Thou art like a ruby among the beads.

(iv) Qatrān (d. 465=1072) says :³

تو چون میانه و دیگران همه چو درر تو چون فذالکى و دیگران همه چو شمار

Thou art like the central jewel, while others are like pearls ;

Thou art the sum-total,⁴ while others represent the divers items (of the account).

((D)) The patron is like rain which brings life to withering plants which, in this case, stand for the poets or the

1 *Lubāb*, ii, 57.

2 *Diwān*, p. 148.

3 *Diwān*, p. 70a. The second hemistich is taken from Mutanabbī who says (*Yatīmah*, i, 102) :

لقيت كل الفاضلين كأننا ردّ إلالة قوسهم و الأعمار
نسقوا لنا نسق الحساب مقدماً وأنى فذالك إذ أتيت مؤخراً

I met all the men of talent (of ancient days in thy person) as though God had restored their persons and ages :

They were first drawn up for us in order like the divers items of an account; and their sum-total was realised when you came at last.

4 The word " fadhālika " has also been used by Rūdākī exactly in the same sense (vide *Shu'arī Lisānu'l-'Ajam*, ii, 200b) :

جهن خوش است ولیکن زوال مالک است بتا خوشست ولیکن فنا فذالك اوست

subjects. This comparison is very common in ancient Arabic poetry. A noble and generous chief was often compared to a boundless ocean, and his hands to vernal clouds that fertilize the parched land. Compare, for instance, the following verse of Zuhayr in praise of Harim b. Sinān:¹

أليس بقبّاض يده غمامة نمال اليتامى فى السنين محمد

Is he not a bountiful man whose hands are like a cloud,
the refuge of the orphans, and praised in the years
of drought?

and also the following verse of Nābighah in praise of Nu'mān (*Diwāns*, Q 17, line 31):

وانت ربيع بنعش الناس سيبه الخ

Thou art a vernal cloud whose downpour gives new life
to men.

Among the early 'Abbāsīd poets who have made use of the same simile, it will be enough to mention the name of Bashshār (d. 167-783). While praising the generosity of the tribe of Qays, he says:²

كانّ الناس حين تغيب عنهم نبات الارض أخطاء قطار

As though men, at the time thou art absent from them,
were grass-blades missed by a shower.

¹ *Diwāns*, p. 80.

² *Aghānī*, iii. 21. Mutanabbī has imitated Bashshār in the following verses (*al-Mathalī's-Sa'ir*, p. 477):

اين ازمعت ايّ هذا الهام نحن نبت الربى وانت الغمام

Whither wendeth thou, O magnanimous man?

We are like the grass on slopes and thou a rain-cloud.

Al-Wāḥidī notes another example of this kind (*Diwān*, p. 383):

نحن زهر الربى و جودك غيث هل بغير النبت تورق ازهر

We are the flowers on slopes while thy bounty is rain:

Can the flowers blossom without rains?

For more examples of this comparison, see (a) *Diwānu Ibnī'r-Rūmī*, ed. Salīm p. 8, and (b) Buḥārī, p. 4b of *Masālikul-Abḡār*.

Rūdakī (d. 329=941) says of his patron : ¹

مرا جود او تازه دارد همی مگر جودش ابرست و من کشت زار

His bounty keeps me fresh ; perchance his bounty is a cloud and I am a field.

((E)) The patron is liberal : but if the poet's efforts do not meet with favour at his hands, it is rather due to the ill-luck of the poet than to any fault in the patron. Buḥturī (d. 284=897) says :²

سحاب عدائي جوده وهو رقيق و بحر خطائي فيضه وهو مغم
وبدر أضاء الارض شرقاً ومغرباً و موضع رجلي منه أسود مظلم
أأشكو نداه بعد أن وسع الوری ومن ذا يذم الغيث إلا مذم

A cloud is he, whose shower has missed me, although itself full of promise ; and a sea, whose bounty has failed me, although itself overflowing ;

1 *Lubābu'l-albāb* ii. 7. Many comparisons about rain and clouds in Persian poetry are borrowed from Arabic, e.g. the peal of thunder in Arabic is often likened to the groaning of a she-camel that has lost its young one, or the wailing of a bereaved mother at the loss of her only child: cf. Rūdakī (*Asadi: Lughat*, p. 83):

زمانی برق بر خنده زمانی رعد بر ناله چنان مادر ایر سوگ عروس سیزده ساله

At one time the lightning laughs and at another the thunder groans, even as a mother who mourns over the death of her thirteen years old daughter.

And again Shāhid (*Lub.* p. 4, 11)

ابر چو چشم هند بن عتب است

The cloud weeps like the eye of Hind b. 'Utbah (?).

2 *Yatīmah*, i. 48; *Dīwānu'l-Mu'ānī*, p. 32. A similar idea is expressed by Abū Firās (*ibid.*) :

وافعاله للراغبين كريمة وامواله للطالبيين نهاب
ولكن نبا منه بكفي صارم و اظلم في عيني منه شهاب

His actions toward the suitors are noble,
and his riches a booty for the seekers ;
But his sword became blunt in my hands,
and his star became obscure in my eyes,

And a full moon that fills the east and west with light,
 while the place my feet tread upon is dark and dim :
 Shall I complain of his largesse after it has encompassed
 the universe ? Who would blame the rain but one
 open to blame ?

Firdawsī is reported to have written the following lines
 on the walls of the Ghaznah Mosque when he left the court
 of Maḥmūd in rage at the perfidy of the Sultān. In content,
 they resemble the above lines of al-Buḥturī :

خجسته در که محمود زاول آن دریاست چگونه دریا کآترا کرانه پیدایست
 چه غوطها زدم و اندرو ندیدم در گناه بخت منست این گناه دریابست

The auspicious court of Maḥmūd of Zabūl is a sea—
 What a sea, whose extent is unknown !

I plunged within its waves, but found no pearl :
 It is the fault of my luck and not of the sea.¹

Sometimes the patron owing to his multifarious duties
 is unable to attend to the wants of the poet : it is then the
 duty of the poet to remind him. Ibnu'r-Rūmī (d. 283=896)
 says :²

نذکر بالرقاع اذا نسينا ونذكر حين يطلنا الكرام
 فان الامم لم ترضع صبيا مع الشفاق لو سكت الغلام

We remind by letters when we are forsaken,
 and we remind when the generous delay us :
 For, verily the mother does not suckle the babe
 despite her love for it, if it remains quiet.

The Persian poet Shāhid of Balkh (died before Rūdākī)
 copies this idea in the following manner :³

گر فراموش کرد خواجه مرا خویشتن را برقه دادم یاد
 کودك شیر خواره نا نگرست مادر اورا بمهر شیر نداد

1 *Éthé: Firdausi als Lyriker*, p. 631.

2 *Kharābāt*, ii. 467.

3 *Zubāb*, ii. 4.

If my lord has forgotten me,
 I remind him of myself by a letter :
 So long as the suckling babe does not cry,
 the mother would not suckle it through love.

((F)) The patron is like Time, or like Day and Night : just as they hold sway over the world, so the king has the offending poet completely within his power, and fly where he may, he cannot escape his retribution. The following verses by Nābighah are apologetic in nature. He tries to prove his innocence to Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir who was poisoned against him by his traducers.¹

فان كنت لا ذوالضعن عني مكذب ولا حلفي على البراءة نافع
 ولا انا مأمون بشيء اقله و انت بأمر لا محالة واقع
 فانك كالليل الذي هو مدركي وإن خلت أن المنتأى عنك واسع

If I cannot refute the calumnies of my rancorous foe,
 and must protest in vain for my innocence ;
 And if I am not safe in whatever I say,
 and thou must do what thou art determined upon,
 Then, of sure, thou art like Night that overtakes me,
 although I think that a great space separates us.

This idea has been persistently taken up by Arabic poets down to the days of al-Buḥturī.² The Persian poet

1 Ahlwardt : *Dīrāns*, pp. 19-20; *Dīrānu'l-Ma'ānī*, p. 6a ; *al-'Undah*, ii, 145.

2 The following illustrations are all taken from the *Dīrānu'l-Ma'ānī* of al-'Ash'arī, p. 6a.

(a) al-Farazdaq (d. 110/728) says:

فلو حملتني الريح ثم طلبتني لكنت كشيء ادركته مقاديره

If I were borne on wind and then you were to summon me, I would be like a thing overtaken by fates.

(b) Salmu'l-Khāsir exonerates himself before al-Mahdī (A.D. 775-785) or some wrong: (also in *'Undah*, ii, 145)

و انت كالدهر مبثوثاً جباله و الدهر لا ملجأ منه ولا هرب
 ولو ملكت عنات الريح اصرفها في كل ناحية ما فاتك الطلب

(Continued on page 98.)

Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān (d. in A.D. 1121 or 1131), who had incurred the displeasure of Sultān Ibrāhīm of Ghaznah (A.D. 1059-1099) and was imprisoned by his orders in the Castle of Nāy on the suspicion of intriguing with the Saljūq king Malikshāh (1072-1092 A.D.),¹ exculpates himself exactly in the same manner; and the very fact that he was a master of Arabic and had composed a separate

Thou art like Time, its nets wide spread,
and as for Time, there is no refuge or escape from it
Could I own the reins of the Wind, turning it
in all directions, you would not fail to overtake me.

The first distich is adapted from the following line attributed to al-Akhtal (Ḥabīb b. Aws declares that it is by a Taghlabite poet named Sham'alāh: vide p. 114 of Prof. Nicholson's *Ms. of Risālatu'l-Ghufrān*, mentioned in J. R. A. S. of 1902, p. 95):

وان أمير المؤمنين و فعله كالدهر لا عار عليه بتأفل الدهر

The Prince of the Faithful and his deeds are like Time;
no blame attaches to what Time does.

(c) 'Alī b. Jabalah (d. 828 A.D.), who had enraged Ma'mūn for praising Ḥumayd at-Tūsī and Abu Dulaf in exaggerated terms (Huart: p. 77), also expresses the same idea:

وما لامره حاوله منك مهرب ولو رفعت في السماء مطالع
على هارب لا يهتدى لكاه ظلام ولا ضوء من الصبح لامع

The person, whom you pursue, cannot escape you,
were he raised to heavens by means of ladders;
Nay, the fugitive cannot find a way to a place of refuge;
it will be dark, not a ray of dawn shining.

(d) Buḥturi (d. 284=897) says:

ولو انهم ركبوا الكواكب لم يكن لجدهم من خوف بأسك مهرب

Even if they were to ride the stars, the fleetest of them shall not be able to escape the fear of thy wrath.

(e) 'Abdu'llāh b. Ṭāhir says ('*Umdah*, ii. 145):

وانني وان حدثت نفسي بأنني افوتك ان الراي مني لعازب
لا تك لي مثل المكان المحبط بي من الارض اني استنهضتني المذاهب

And if it were to occur to my heart that I could escape from thee, then I should be destitute of sense;

For thou art to me like an encompassing space of earth that bounds whatever way I take.

¹ Prof. Browne: *Lit. Hist.* ii. p. 326.

Diwān of poems in that language¹ strengthens our supposition that he got this idea from Arabic poets. He says:²

کجا توان شدن از پیش چشم تو ملکا کجا توان شدن از آفتاب و از مهتاب
اگر کریخته در کت ملک کردد هوا سراسر در کرد او شود مضراب

Where to fly before thine eyes, O king !

Where to fly from the sun and the moon ?

Should the fugitive from thy court become an angel,

The air around him would resound with his name.³

((G)) In short, the patron is a unique person, the quintessence of the whole creation, and none like him shall mother earth produce in future.

Abū Dahbal al-Jumāhī, an early Umayyad poet, says of the Prophet⁴:

عقم النساء فما یلدن شیبه ان النساء بمنله عقم

Women became barren lest they should give birth to his
peer : verily women are barren to bear one like him.

This is quite befitting in the case of a prophet, but to apply it to an ordinary mortal like a certain Abu'l-Hasan, as Anwarī does, is tantamount to blasphemy. Anwarī has not only imitated Abū Dahbal, but also made use of his epithet '*aqīm*,' which is considered to be the worst kind of plagiarism. He says :

مجدالدین بوالحسن که هست عقیم مادر عالم از چو او فرزند

(I speak of) Majdu'd-din Abu'l-Hasan, (who is such) that
mother world is barren to produce a son like him.

1 *Zubāb*, ii. 246; and *Dawlatshāh : Tedhkirah*, p. 47.

2 *Diwān*, p. 701.

3 Andrew Marvel, an English poet of the 17th century, offers a close parallelism to the above idea :

“ But how should I avoid to be her slave,
Whose subtle art invisibly can wreathe
My fetters of the very air I breathe ”.

4 *al-Warā*, p. 142.

There are many more passages belonging to this class of poetry, which Persian poets have imitated from Arabic poets ; but the above ones with their corollaries sufficiently reveal the character and powers of an Eastern despot who holds sway over the souls of his subjects, as it were, by divine right, and whose prerogatives none dare dispute. They also show the cringing attitude of poets to their patrons.

We shall now pass on to the didactic passages.

II. THE DIDACTIC.

The poetry of every people is interspersed with moral reflections. Indeed, there have been times when poets have deliberately assumed the role of moral teachers. Ancient Arabic poets are no exception in this case. Their poems abound in sententious verses, pithy sayings, and exhortations to such stern virtues as were practised by the simple folk of the desert. And according to the Muslim canons of criticism, no pagan poet could lay claim to greatness unless his poems contained some such moral truths. Thus Imru'ū'l-Qays came to be regarded as an excellent poet (*fahl*) after he composed the following verse¹:

والله انجح ما طلبت به والبر خير حقيبة الرحل

God is the most competent being to accomplish what
you ask of Him ;

And righteousness is the best provision-bag on the
camel's saddle.

In the 'Abbāsīd period, there arose a number of poets whose genius was purely didactic. One such was Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abdī'l-Quddūs (d. 167 A.H.) whose poetry, though of a high order, is not appreciated by his contemporaries on the ground that it was monotonously didactic. Similarly much of the poetry of Abu'l-'Atāhiyah (d. 213=828) constantly

¹ Suyūṭī: *Shawāhid*, p. 80.

harps upon the dull topics of death and transience of human life.

It would be an exaggeration to maintain that such simple maxims were borrowed by Persian poets from the Arabs, since they are common to the poetry of all people. Moreover, these aphoristic sayings are abstract in conception and do not present a moral in life-like images. In the following few passages, therefore, only such examples have been chosen as embody a moral truth in a concrete form, and only indirectly appeal to our moral sense.

((A)) *Death, the Leveller (moro omnibus communis).*

Tarafah (d. 564 B.D.) says :¹

ارى قبر نحّامٍ بخيلٍ بماله	كقبر غويٍّ في البطالة مفسد
نرى جنونين من ترابٍ عليها	صفائح صمّ من صفيح منضّد
ارى الموت يعتام الكرام ويصطفى	عقيلة مال الفاحش متبذّر
لممرك ان الموت ما أخطأ الفتي	لكالطول المرخي وثنياء باليد

I see the grave of a miser, niggardly with his wealth,
like the grave of an erring prodigal who dissipates
his property in idleness.

Thou wilt see two heaps of dust over them, on which
are placed flags of hard stone, one on the top of
another.

I see that Death selects the generous as well as he
chooses the best part of the property of an indecent
spendthrift.

¹ From the *Mu'allagah of Tarafah*, Ibn Qut. *Poesis*, p. 89. Tarafah seems to have learnt this from his contact with the Christians of al-Ḥirah. The idea closely corresponds to the one contained in the following verses from the Bible (*Job*. Chap. 21 and verses 23-26) :

One dieth in his full strength, being wholly at ease and quiet.

His breasts are full of milk, and his bones are moistened with marrow.

And another dieth in the bitterness of his soul and never eateth with pleasure—

They shall lie down alike in dust, and the worms shall cover them.

By thy life ! Death, so long as he misses a youth, is like
the relaxed tether (of a beast), of which the two ends
are held fast in the (owner's) hand.

The general drift of the above passage is to be seen in
the following verses of Rūdakī :¹

زندگانی چه کونه و چه دراز	نه بآخر بمرد باید باز
هم بجنبر گذار خواهد بود	این رسن را اگر چه هست دراز
خواهی اندر عنا و شدت زی	خواهی اندر امان و نعمت و ناز
خواهی اندکتر از جهان بپذیر	خواهی از ری بکیر تا بطراز
این همه روز مرکب یکسانند	شناسی زی یکدگر شان باز

Life, however short or long,
is not Death at last its end ?

This rope, though it be lengthy,
must have its ends passed through a hoop.²

Whether you live in difficulty and distress,
or in safety, bliss and luxury ;

Whether you capture less of the world,
or conquer the country from Rayy upto Tīrāz ;

On the day of death, all these are equal :
you cannot distinguish one from another.

The idea is nearly the same though expressed in different
words, and the comparison of life to a rope, whose folded ends
pass through a hoop, occurs in both the passages. Compare
also a similar passage from Sa'dī's *Gulistān* :

1 *Ta'rikh-i-Bayhaqi*, Teh. Ed. p. 272.

2 The poet 'Unsurī has transferred this simile to another department:

شدم بصورت چنبر جو زلف او دیدم بصورت رسن واصل آت رسن چنبر
نکر بن گذرت هست در مثل کارسن اگر چه دور بود بگذرد سوی چنبر

assur = the shape of a hoop when I saw her locks that were like ropes
of pure ambergris :

Look ! thou hast to pass through me, just as the rope, however far, must
eventually pass through the hoop.

یکی امروز کامرات بینی دیگری را دل از مجاهده ریش
 روزکی چند باش تا بخورد خاک مغز سر خیال اندیش
 فرق شاهی و بندگی برخاست چون قضای نوشته آبد پیش
 ار کسی خاک مرده باز کند شناسد توانگر از درویش

Today you find one successful in his desires,
 and another, his heart sore with life's struggle.

Wait for a few days until the dust eats
 the brain of the vain thinker :

The distinction of sovereignty and slavery disappears,
 when the fore-ordained fate makes its appearance.

If one were to open the tombs of the dead,
 he cannot distinguish the rich from the poor.

((B)) *Death is Inevitable.*

'Alī b. Abī Tālib (d. 40=661) says :¹

فی ایّ یومی من الموت افر ایوم لم یقدر أم یوم قدر
 یوم لم یقدر لا ارجیه ومن المقدور لا ینجی الحذر

Which day of the two shall I flee from death,
 the day it is decreed, or the day it is not ?

The day it is not decreed. I fear it not—
 and no caution can save from what is decreed.

Pindār of Rayy (a court poet of the Daylamite prince Majdu'd-Dawlah 997-1029 A.D.), a bilingual poet, has translated this idea as follows :²

از مرگ حذر کردن در روز روا نیست روزیکه قضا باشد و روزیکه قضائست
 روزیکه قضا باشد کوشش نکند سود روزیکه قضائست درو مرگ روا نیست

1 *Al-'Iqdul-Farīd*, i. 54 : this author says that 'Alī used to recite these lines every day on the field of Siffin ; *Ḥamāsah* of Buhturī, p. 61. Ibn Jinnī attributes the first verseto an A'rābī (see *Sirru'l-Ḥ-Sanā'ah*, Leiden MSS. p. 10a.)

2 *Dawlatahāh : Tadhkīrah*, p. 42-43.

It is not proper to fear Death on two days :
 the day it is decreed, and the day it is not.
 The day it is decreed, no effort can avail,
 and the day it is not, death is not possible in it.

((C)) *The Caprice of Time.*

Ibnu'r-Rūmī (d. 283=896) says :¹

دھر علا قدر الوضیع به و نری الشریف بحطه شرفه
 کالبحر یرسب فیہ لؤلؤہ سفلاً و تملو فوقہ جیفہ

It is a time in which the worth of the low is high,
 while the noble you find abased for their very honour.
 Even as in the sea the pearls lie at the bottom,
 while carrion floats high on its surface.

Rashidu'd-dīn al-Watwāt (d. 578=1182) says :²

گر زیر دست هر کسی و ناکس نشانیم آنجا دقیقه ایست دایم من اینقدر
 بچراست مجلس تو در بحر بی خلاف اولوی زیر باشد و خاشاک بر زیر

If thou makest me sit beneath every man, high and low,
 there is a subtle point in it, I know this much :
 Thy court is the sea, and in the sea, without dispute,
 the pearls lie low while the weeds float above.

Ibn-i-Yamīn (d. 745 A.H.) follows in the same track :³

بیزم آصف جمشید رنبت کھی کابن الیمین از پا نشیند
 ندارد خویشتن را در مضیق ز نا اہلی اگر ادنی نشیند
 فروتر پایہ دارد مرد نادان اگرچہ بر تر از دانا نشیند
 ندارد قدر کوہر هیچ خاشاک بدربا اگرچہ او بالا نشیند

If sometimes Ibnu'l-Yamīn sits in a lower place
 in the assembly of the minister of Jamshīd's rank,
 He will not worry himself (at the thought)
 that he sits below a worthless person :

¹ *Yatimah*, iii., 290.

² *Majma'*. Teh. ed. p. 180.

Diwan-i-Ibn-i-Yamīn, p. 100.

An ignorant man has a lower position,
even though he may sit higher than the learned.

No weed has the value of a pearl,
although it may float high on the sea.

Qābūs b. Washmīr, the prince of Tabaristān (reigned A.D. 976-1012), in the following well-known lines, has further elaborated this simile first used by Ibnū'r-Rūmī :

قل للذي بصروف الدهر غيرنا هل عاند الدهر الا من له خطر
- أما ترى البحر تملو فوقه جيف و تستقر بأقصى قعره الدر
فان تكن عبث ايدى الخطوب بنا و نالنا من تهادى بؤسها الضر
ففى السماء نجوم مالها عدد وليس يكسف الا الشمس والقمر

Tell him who would fain taunt us for our misfortunes :

"Does Fortune fight save against men of eminence ?

"Seest thou not that putrid carcasses float on the sea,

"While the pearls lie hid in its lowest depths ?

"Though the hands of calamities have sported with us,

"And though much harm has accrued to us through
their persistent malice,

"Know that there are numberless stars in the sky,

"Yet of them all, the sun and the moon alone suffer
eclipse."

The following fragment by Ibn-i-Yamin is practically a paraphrase of the above verses of Qābūs :

ای دوستان بکام دلم نیست روزگار آری زمانه دشمنِ اهلِ هنر بود
سهلست اگر جفاکتم از دور بیوفا زحمت نصیب مردم والا کهر بود
بر آسمان ستاره بود بشمار لیک رنج کسوف بر دل شمس و قمر بود
رسمیت در زمانه که هر کم بضاعتی ز اهل هنر بمرتبها بیشتر بود
در با صفت که منصب خاشاک اندرو بالای عقد گوهر و سلک درر بود

1 *Yatimah*, iii. 290; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, 550.

2 This parallel has been noted by Prof. Browne in *Persian Literature*, iii. pp. 221-222.

O friends ! the world is not according to my heart's desire,
Yea, Time is the enemy of men of genius.

What matters, though fickle Time trouble me ?

Trouble is the portion of all noble men.

The sky contains innumerable stars, but
it is the sun and the moon alone that suffer eclipse.

It is a custom in the world that every worthless person
sits many a degree above the men of talent,

Even as in the sea, the place of sticks and straws
is above the necklaces of pearls and the strings of
gems.

((C)) *The Tyranny of Time.*

Al-Mutanabbi (d. 354=965) says :¹

رمانی الدهر بالأرزاءِ حتى " فؤادی فی غشاء من نبال
فصرت اذا اصابتنی سهام تکثرت النصال ' علی النصال

Time smote me with so many misfortunes,
that my very heart became hid in a cover of arrows ;
So that when more arrows struck me,
their heads broke against one another.

Jamālu'd-dīn of Isfahān (d. 588=1192) has imitated this grand conceit of Mutanabbi, with the only difference that whereas Mutanabbi's heart is, as it were, steeled against hardships and would not flinch under the severest afflictions, that of Jamālu'd-dīn still continues to smart with each new arrow piercing it :

نماید تیری در ترکس قضا که فلک سوی دلم بسر انگشت امتحان نکشود
چون خار پستی گشتم از تیر آزارش که موی بر تن صبرم ز تیر او بشخود

Not an arrow remained in the quiver of Fate but Heaven
discharged it at my heart with the finger of trial :

¹ *D'wiz*, p. 389; *Fatimah*, i, 101.

I became like a porcupine through its painful arrows, and
the piercing shafts grew like hairs on my suffering
body.¹

A little consideration will show that the picture drawn by al-Mutanabbi is more graphic than that by the Persian poet who further spoils it by the unhappy comparison of himself to a porcupine or a hedge-hog with its prickly spikes. Moreover, the sprightly rhythm of the Arabic piece exactly fits in with the swift discharge of arrows, so that we can imagine them as falling thick against the poet's heart and breaking upon one another; while the slower Persian verses, though quite in harmony with the sadness they are intended to convey, bear, notwithstanding, an unmistakable impress of artificiality.

((D)) *A constant guest is never welcome.*

Al-Bustī (d. 401=1010) says:²

لقد هنت من طول المقام و من يقم طويلاً بهن بعد ما كان كرماً
و طول مقام الماء في مستقره بغيره لوناً و ريحاً و مطعماً

I was despised through staying long; and he who stays
long is despised, although at first he was most
honoured.

And a long staying of water in its bed causes it to change
in colour, smell, and taste.

Daqīqī (d. 975 A.D.) expresses the same idea in Persian:³

من اینجا دیر ماندم خوار گشتم عزیز از ماندن دائم شود خوار
چو آب اندر شمر بسیار ماند زهومت گیرد از آرام بسیار

¹ *Majma'ul-Fuṣṣḥā*, 65a.

² *Fatimah*, iv. 230.

³ *Lubāb*, ii 13; Jāmi : *Bahārīstān*, p. 83. As both Bustī and Daqīqī were contemporaries and lived under the patronage of the same Sāmānid prince, Nūḥ II, it is difficult to say who first originated the idea. I am inclined to give precedence to Daqīqī, as his verses appear more original and are free from the unnecessary repetition of words which mar the second hemistich of the last verse of the Arabic piece.

I stayed here long and became disgraced :
 even a dear one is disgraced through constant stay.
 When water stays long in a pool,
 it becomes foul through long repose.

((E)) *Have Patience*

or

“ *Death before the Doctor.* ”

This proverb can be exemplified by quotations from various Arabic poets. For instance

(a) Abū Tammām (d. 231=846) says:¹

و ما نفع من قدمات بالأمس صادياً إذا ما السماء ليوم طال انهمارُ

Of what avail to one that died of thirst but yestereve,
 if the cloud prolong its shower today ?

(b) Abū Firās (d. 968 A.D.) says:²

معلّتي بالوصل و الموتُ دونه إذا متّ طمأنناً فلا نزل المطر

She puts me off with promises of union, while death lies
 in wait : when I die thirsty, may the rain never fall !

(c) Aḥmad b. Bundār (?) says:³

وقالوا يعود الماء في النهر بعد ما عفت منه آثار و جفت مزارعه
 فقلت الى ان يرجع الماء عائداً و نعشب شطاه نموت ضفادعه

They said : Water will return to the stream after its
 traces are effaced and its sources dry.

I replied : Before the water comes back again and its
 banks become green, the frogs will die.

Persian poets substitute ‘ fish ’ for ‘ frog ’ when expressing the same idea : e.g.

(i) Pindār of Rayy (d. 401 A.H.=1011 A.D.) says:⁴

¹ *Diwān*, p. 399.

² *Diwān*, p. 91, 2.

³ *Kiṭāb al-Ḥikm*, p. 130a.

⁴ *Majmaʿ al-Furūṣ*, 61 b.

باط می گفت ماهی در آب و تاب غم نیست بجوی رفته باز آید آب
بط گفت چو من قدید گشتم تو کباب دنیا پس مرگ ماچه دریا چه سراب

The fish was saying to the duck in fever and restlessness :
Never mind, the water gone will soon return to the stream.
The duck answered : When I am minced and thou art
grilled,

(It is the same) if the world after our death becomes a
sea or a mirage.

This and the following fragment by Anwarī¹ are almost
the translations of the above-quoted verses of Aḥmad b.
Bundār :

همدی گفت صبر کن زیرا صبر کر تو خوب و زود کند
آب رفته بجوی باز آید صکار بهتر از آنچه بود کند
گفتم آب ار بجوی باز آید ماهی مرده را چه سود کند

A comrade said : Be patient,

Patience will mend your matters soon ;

The water gone will come back to the brook,
and thy affair will be better than it ever was.

I replied : If the water come back to the brook,
of what use to the fish after it is dead ?

Ibn-i-Yamīn (745=1344) says :²

چه سود آنکه که ماهی مرده باشد که باز آید بجوی رفته آن

Of what use to the fish when it is dead that the water
should come back to the brook ?

Very similar to the above are the following verses in
Arabic by Tāju'd-Dawlah son of 'Aḥdu'd-Dawlah :³

هب الدهر ارضانی و أعتب صرفه و أعقب بالحسن من الحسب والأسر
فمن لی بأیام الهموم الی مضت ومن لی بما أنفقت فی الحسب من عمری

¹ *Diwān*, Teh. ed.

² *Kharābāt*, ii. 368.

³ *Yatīmah*, ii. 5 ; *Kitābu'sh-Shi'r*, p. 135a.

Granting, Time doth please me and repair its wrong,
and return good in place of prison and captivity :

Who will be responsible to me for the days of grief that
are past, and who will restore to me the life spent in
prison ?

Daqīqī (d. 975 A.D.) seems to have had these lines in
view when he said :¹

گویند صبر کن ترا صبر بر دهد آری دهد ولی بمر دگر دهد
من عمر خویش را بصبري گذاشتم عمری دگر بیاید تا صبر بر دهد

They say : " Be patient, patience will yield thee fruit."

" Indeed, it may yield, but in another life ;

I have spent my life in patient expectancy,

Another life is needed for patience to bear fruit."

Farrukhī (d. 429=1038) touches the same chord :²

تا در طلب دوست همی بشتابم عمرم بکران رسید و من در خوابم
گیرم که وصال دوست خواهم یافت این عمر گذشته را کجا دریابم

While still hot in the pursuit of the Belovéd,

My life has reached its end, and I am in sleep :

Granting, I attain to union with the Belovéd,

Where shall I recover the past life ?

'Abīd b. al-Abras, a pre-Islāmic Arab poet, has also ex-
pressed the same thought :³

لأعرفنك بعدَ اليومَ تذبني وفي حياتي ما زودتني زادي

Ay sooth! I know, thou wilt weep for me after today ;

While during my life thou didst not fulfil my desire.

This idea is common enough among Persian poets. For
instance, Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1388 A.D.) says :

1 Pizzi : *Chrestomathie Persane*, p. 58 ; *Kharūbāt*, ii. 217.

2 *Lubāb*, ii, 50.

3 Lyall : *Diwāns of 'Abīd and 'Āmir*, p. 70.

امروز که در دست توام مرحتی کن فردا که شوم خاک چه سود اشک ندامت

Today that I am in thy power, feel pity on my fate :

Tomorrow I become dust, what boots then a tear of regret ?

((F)) *Humility*

or

"Oaks may fall when reeds may stand the storm."

Ibnu'r-Rūmī (d. 283=896) has couched this proverb in the following verses :¹

كالريح والزرع استكانَ لمرّها و عنا فلم تقدر على تقصيفه
كم قد نجا منه الضيف وما نجا منه العنيف بلقم و لقيفه
و تهاوت الجذع الابي مهزّة فاني عليه ولم يرع لحفيقه

Like the wind and the corn-field which abases itself and bows before its passage so that it is unable to break it: How many a weak stalk escapes free, whilst the strong ones do not escape safe despite the help of their neighbours !

The haughty palm took its blast lightly : so it destroyed it and was not scared by its blustering sounds.²

¹ *Muḥādarāt*, p. 14.

² An English piece of poetry quoted in "The Compleat Angler" of Isaak Walton expresses the same truth :—

Hail, blest estate of lowliness !
Happy enjoyment of such minds
As, rich in self-contentedness,
Can, like the reeds in the roughest winds,
By yielding make that blow but small
At which proud oaks and cedars fall.

The author of *al-'Iqdū'l-Farīd* (vol. i. 11) notes another parallel of the same kind by an unknown poet :

انّ الرياح اذا ما اعصفت قصفت
عبدان نخل ولا يعبان بالرم
The winds, when they blow, break the palm-trunks, but pass heedlessly over the broom-shrubs.

Another anonymous poet (see *al-Khayāl fi'sh-Shi'r'ul-'Arabiyyi*, p. 5) says :

لذّ الحمول وعند النذلّ معتصاً
فالريح تحطم ان هبت عواصفها
بالله تنجو كما اهل النهى سلوا
دوح التمار وينجو الشيخ والرم

Ibn-i-Yamin, quoted already, employs the same similitude in the following verses :¹

هر بلا كز قضای بد باشد بر بزرگان روزگار رسد
می نه بینی که صرصر از بوزد چون با طرف جوئبار رسد
سروهای کهن زین بکنند نی ازو سبزه را غبار رسد

Every calamity, which is sent by evil Fate,
afflicts the great ones of the time :

Seest thou not that when a hurricane, in its course,
reaches the river-side,

It tears the ancient cypresses from the root,
while no harm accrues from it to the grass ?

There might be many more examples in Persian didactic poetry which can be traced back to Arabic poets, but the above few illustrations will serve to prove that, even in the field of Didactic poetry, Persian poets are indebted to their Arabic forerunners, and will impress upon any serious student of Persian Literature the necessity of a comparative study of Arabic so persistently emphasized by the late Professor Browne in his *Literary History of Persia*.

III. THE DESCRIPTIVE.

The descriptive element in ancient Arabic poetry is no less important than the didactic, and occupies a very considerable portion of it. By this we do not, of course, mean that there exists in ancient Arabic poetry a certain distinct class of poems which may be termed descriptive. There is no such thing. All ancient Arabic poetry, in a wider sense, is descriptive in so far as it describes to us all that pre-Islamic Arab poets saw, felt and did. In this section, we shall be concerned with only such passages as deal with descriptions of the various scenes of nature as it

¹ *Diwan of Ibn-i-Yamin*, p. 101 a-b

was apprehended by Arabic poets, classical as well as post-classical, and shall then point out, by means of quotations, how far these descriptions stimulated and inspired the Persian poets.

It is not strange that the desert Arabs, who lived from their infancy in direct touch with nature and knew her in all her charms and terrors, and whose unsophisticated minds were always responsive to her influences, should celebrate her various manifestations in their simple songs. Their hearts beat in unison with nature, and the immediate impression she made on them is distinctly perceptible in their poetry. Being shut out from the rest of the world by their insular position, and confined only to the objects surrounding them, they were able to express their feelings about them with an intensity which is almost astounding. Their domestic animals, especially the horse and the camel so indispensable to desert life, their fights and forays, their loves and hates, the pleasures of youth and the cares of crabbed old age, the flora and fauna of the waste, the deep blue heavens with the dazzling sun, the shining moon and the starry hosts, the tempest, the rain-storm with its thunder and lightning, the mountain torrents, the dark and narrow ravines, the deadly simoom, the deluding phenomenon of mirage—all stand transfigured in their poetry.

The Arab poets of old did not describe any landscape. Impetuous and fiery by nature, they had no patience to stand and admire a thing for its beauty. They thought only on the spur of the moment, and expressed their sense of joy in vague and general terms. This, however, does not bespeak any lack in their poetical talent. Being masters of their language, they were quite capable of giving expression to their feelings. But what could they do in the dearth of any natural scenery? They had nothing before their view except the burning sands and bleak hills. Their unproductive soil did not provide them with any landscape.

Only now and then we find a bush or a tree described, or an oasis with an old well about which herds of wild animals roam in search of scanty forage. They did not even know the mighty and magnificent forests of the North, and much less the rose-gardens, the crystal lakes and lotus flowers of a happy zone. But we can see from the descriptions of those poets who had visited Mesopotamia, Persia and Syria that the old Arabic poets were not deficient in depicting natural scenery, and that they could do so without stuffing their descriptions with rhetorical tropes. Compare for instance, the inimitable description of a meadow by 'Antarah :¹

او روضةً أُنْفَا تَصْنَنُ نَبْتَهَا	غَيْثٌ قَلِيلٌ الدَّمَنُ لَيْسَ بِعَلَمٍ
جَادَتْ عَلَيْهِ كُلُّ بَكْرٍ حَرَّةً.	فَتَرَكْنَ كُلَّ قَرَارَةٍ كَالْقَدَرَمِ
سَحًا وَنَسْكَابًا فَكُلَّ عَشِيَةً	يَجْرِي عَلَيْهِ الْمَاءُ لَمْ يَنْصَرِّمِ
وَحَلَا الذِّبَابُ بِهَا فَلَيْسَ بِيَارِحٍ	غَرْدًا كَفَعَلَ الشَّارِبِ الْمَتَرَمِ
هَزَجًا يَحْكُ ذِرَاعَهُ بِدِرَاعِهِ	قَدَحَ الْمَكْبَ عَلَى الزَّمَادِ الْأَجْدَمِ

Or (her mouth by reason of its sweet odour) is like a fresh meadow, free from smell of dung, and untrodden, whose herbage is guaranteed by rain : .

On it every cloud poured its pure and maiden showers, leaving each pool bright as a silverling ;

Plashing and pattering (they fell), so that at every evening it was washed by water without cease or stint ;

The bee alone was there and would not move away from it ; it kept humming as does the tipsy drunkard

With a tremulous note, rubbing one of its fore-arms against the other like a maim, when bending over the flint to strike fire.

1 ZAWZANĪ p. 147 ; Ibn Qut. *Poesis*, p. 133; 'Umdah, i. 202.

or the description by al-A'shā :¹

ما روضةٌ من رياض الحزن معشبة خضراء جاد عليها مسبل مطل
 يضا حك الشمس منها كوك شرق مؤزر بعيمم النبت مكتهل
 يوماً بأطيب منها نشر رائحة ولا بأحسن منها إذ دنا الأصل

No meadow, on a high and rugged ground, green and verdant, refreshed by the gentle showers of a trailing cloud.

Whose glistening flowers, perfect in form and mantled with rich foliage, vie with the sun in brightness,

Is more fair or fragrant than she in diffusing odour, when the evening draws nigh.

The following picture of date-palms, wherein their intermingling branches at every gust of wind are compared to virgins pulling one another by their fore locks, is drawn by al-Marrār al-'Adawī :²

كانَ فروعها في كلِّ ربح عذارى بالذوائب ينتصينا

As if their top-most branches, waving in every wind,

Were like maidens pulling one another by fore-locks.

This description, though denounced by al-A'sma'ī as untrue to nature, is nevertheless very characteristic.

The influence of environment always reacts upon the poet. Take him out of his desert surroundings, and put him in a place abounding in rose-gardens, fountains and flowers, and he will at once attune himself to the new objects, and his Muse will assume altogether a different form. Mutanabbi offers a handy example in this connection. Even he, a son of the desert, familiar only with the scenery of Syria and Egypt, could not remain insensible to

1 Ibn Qutaybah, *Ash-Shi'r-wa'shu-Shu'arā*, p. 143 This kind of composition is known by the name of *Tafīr* in Arabic.

2 Ibn Qut.: *Poësis* p. 437; *Mufaddaliyyât*, p. 125.

the Persian rose-fields and charming valleys. The new surroundings pleased him so much that he was tempted to bring his wife and children to Shirāz, but his hope was not realised, and he was slain by some brigands on the way. Mutanabbi was not a poet of nature, but had it not been for his visit to Persia, we should never have had his excellent description of the valley of Bawwān :¹

The houses in the pass were as fresh and fair as the spring; but he, being a stranger in that country, could not understand the speech of the people living in that happy valley. The umbrageous trees protected him from the scorching heat of the sun, permitting only so much light as was enough to point the way. The coolness and the beauty of the spot so charmed his companions and the steeds that they were loth to move onward. The sun-beams shone through the interstices of the branches and fell like pearls on their garments and on the manes of their horses, forming a network on the ground—a scene of shifting shade and light. The trees were laden with luscious fruits which invited their eager eyes. The murmur of the rippling rivulets, and the tinkling sound made by pebbles in their shallow beds, pleased their ears, and the cooing of doves on the trees was reciprocated by the melodious chant of singing-girls on earth.....

In the same way his description of the lake Tiberias (al-Buḥayrah) in Syria is remarkable (*Diwān*, p. 152). All this was due to the effect of the new surroundings amidst which he was placed. They compelled him to bid adieu to the scenes of war with which his poetry is so full, and turn to nature for true inspiration.

We may, then, safely assume that the nature-poetry

¹ *Diwān*, p. 763; *Yāqūt: Geog.* i. 751.

composed during the 'Abbāsid period was due to a change in the life of the poets. The new poets, being no longer in direct communion with nature, could not describe her in her wild and awful aspects. A greater part of their lives was spent in towns and courts, and they were familiar only with man-made nature, as displayed in the artistic beauty of gardens, well-laid-out flower-beds, tastefully decorated palaces of princes with their fountains and sprays, and landscapes. The poets became deliberate artists, and poetry in their hands took up the function of the plastic arts. Simile and metaphor became the chief vehicle of poetic expression. The poets did not attempt to reproduce the feeling or emotion aroused by the contemplation or perception of a beautiful object, their sole aim being to describe the object itself as it struck their imagination. This they did by drawing up a series of sensuous, visual images, and the real feeling of the poet, if any, became submerged under the borrowed trappings of art. In their delineation of nature we find nothing of the Wordsworthian "emotion recollected in tranquillity," nor the feeling of sympathy that subsists between things of nature. Nor do they read unutterable love in the silent faces of the clouds. Their hearts do not dance at the remembrance of "daffodils." They are mere passing shadows of the moment, and for that time they are exquisite and enjoyable things. Their perception does not leave any permanent effect on the poet's heart. Professor Nicholson,¹ while commenting upon the pictorial character of nature-descriptions by early Persian poets, aptly remarks that they "express the keen sensuous feeling of the poet, his joy in visible and material things and his grief at their loss, but they express it objectively so far as the feeling itself becomes subordinate to the fanciful imagery in which it is clothed," and that it is very seldom that we find in them "any intimacy of passion, any depth of moral or spiritual emotion."

¹ *Studies in Islamic Poetry*, p. 13.

This is equally true of the contemporary Arabic poets, whom the early Persian poets took for their models and imitated in every way. He, who would read the *Yatimah* and the *Lubāb* side by side, cannot fail to perceive the striking similarity of the descriptions of nature given by the early Persian poets and the Arabic poets who lived at the same time, and cannot help inferring that the nascent poetry of Persia, in order to enrich itself, must have embraced within its body almost all the ideas that moulded the contemporary Arabic poetry.

There were very few poets who took any real delight in Nature. One such among them¹ was As-Sanawbari (d. 334 A.H.), the librarian of Sayfu'd-Dawlah. "This first landscape poet in Arabic literature," says Dr. Mez, "was a passionate lover of the sky, the light and the air, with his eyes open to read their gentle secrets."² Here is a description of a garden in spring by him :

ياربمُ قومي الآن وبحكٍ فانظري	ماللربى قد اظهرت اعجابها
كانت محاسنُ وجهها محجوبةً	فالآن قد كشف الربيع حجابها
ورد بدا يحكي الحدود و نرجس	يحكي العيون اذ رأت احبابها
وشقائق مثل المطارف قد بدت	حرّاً وقد جعل السواد كتبها
و نبات باقلى تشبه نوره	بلق الحمام مشيلةً اذ نابها
والسرو تحسبه العيون غوايياً	قد شمرت عن سوقها اثوابها
وكان احدا من فنج الصبا	خود تلاعب موهناً اترابها
لو كنت املك للرياض صيانةً	يوماً لما وطئ اللبائم ترابها

O Gazelle, get up now and see how the slopes have disclosed their wonders !

1 For instance, Kushājīm, Khālidī brothers, Amīr Mikālī and other minor poets whose names may be found in the *Yatimah*.

2 *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 252.

3 *Kutub* : *Fawā'id*, i. 76 ; and *Man Ghāba 'Anhu'l-Maṭrib*, p. 240.

—The beauty of their face was veiled : now has the spring
cast off their veil.

—Roses have bloomed like ruddy cheeks, and the narcissi
are like eyes when they behold their beloved ones ;

—And the anemones have bloomed, which resemble red
mantles of silk, and their petals are pranked with
black ;

And the bean-plants, whose flowers seem like pied
pigeons with their tails upraised ;

And cypresses, which strike the eye as chaste women
tucking up their garments above the shanks—

—As though each one of them, at the blast of the breeze,
were a maiden playing with her mates at midnight.

If ever I had power to watch the gardens, no mean
person would dare to tread their soil.

The above lines of Ṣanawbari are very much like
Andrew Marvell's "Thoughts in a Garden," although the
sentiment in them is less philosophical. They do not
remind him of his pre-natal associations in the garden of
Paradise. But does not the last line recall the solicitude
of the Persian poet al-Kisā'i (died about 1001 A.D.) who
would not bear to see the roses bartered for silver? He
says :¹

گل نعمتی است هدیه فرستاده از بهشت مردم کریمتر شود اندر نعیم گل

ای گل فروش گل چه فروشی برای سیم وز گل عزیز تر چه ستانی به سیم گل

Roses are a gift of price

Sent to us from Paradise ;

More divine our nature grows

In the Eden of the rose.

Roses why for silver sell ?

O rose-merchant fairly tell

What you buy instead of those

That is costlier than the rose.²

¹ *Lubab*, ii. 34. Ll. 24-25.

² Prof. R. A. Nicholson : *Studies in Islamic Poetry*, pp. 13-14.

It is a remarkable piece, indeed, but it cannot strictly be called descriptive. Other extant pieces by Kisā'i, Daqīqī and several other Persian poets, describing objects of nature, are commonplace and partake of the same qualities which we have mentioned above.

Ṣanawbarī is also supposed to be the first to compose poems on snow (thaljiyyāt), in which he set an example for the succeeding poets. But it would be incorrect to say that nobody else before him had turned his attention to nature. Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī, Ibnū'r-Rūmī and Ibnū'l-Mu'tazz had already distinguished themselves in the delineation of nature, and exercised considerable influence on the succeeding Arabic and Persian poets. Buḥturī's description of the *Birkah* (i.e. pond) in the palace al-Ja'fari, which was built by al-Mutwakkil at Surra-man-ra'ā, has been imitated by several Persian poets like 'Unṣuri, Far-rukhi and Azraqī; and it is quite likely that his inimitable description of the ruins of the *Iwān-i-Kisrā* inspired the Persian poet Khāqānī to compose his famous elegy on the same subject, although the motives which led both the poets to compose their master-pieces were different, Buḥturī's description being realistic, and that of Khāqānī more sentimental. Buḥturī, at the sight of this glorious pile, pictures to himself the time when Nūshirwān led his mighty hordes against the Byzantines; recalls Parwīz regaling himself with wine and listening to the melodious strains of Bārbaḍ; and conjures up the sweet memories of the past: the king surrounded by courtiers arrayed according to their ranks, and receiving foreign embassies. He then contrasts its past glory with its present utter ruin, and feels sorry, not because of any personal sympathy, but because it was the nation's monument of those people who had helped his sovereigns, the 'Abbāsids, to defeat the Umayyads and win the Persian throne. Khāqānī's description, on the other hand, lacks all this detail, but is suffused with the poet's

sentiment. Like a true patriot he is swept away by a wave of intense grief at this great national loss. By dint of Pathetic Fallacy, he makes the river Tigris and other objects about him join in mourning, and then moralises on the fleeting nature of the world.

This much as a preamble. We now proceed to give some of the notable parallels in descriptive poetry; but before doing so, we should first deal with the descriptions of the horse and battle which were peculiar to ancient Arabic poets, and which have been imitated by some Persian poets. The following description of the horse by Imru'ul-Qays, occurs in his celebrated Mu'allaqah:¹

مَكْرَرٌ مَقْبَلٌ مُدْبِرٌ مَعَاً كَجَلَسُودٍ صَخْرَ حَطَّةِ السَّيْلِ مِنْ عَلٍ
لَهُ ابْطَالٌ ظَبْيِي وَسَاقَانَعَامَةٌ ^{وَأَرْخَاءُ سِرْحَانٍ وَتَقْرِيبٌ تَنْفَلٍ}

Charging and retreating, advancing and receding, in all the ways (I wish), and (in speed and hardness) like the boulder of a rock hurled down by a torrent from on high: He has the flanks of a fawn, the legs of an ostrich, the gallop of a wolf, and the canter of a fox.

This description is highly praised by all critics, because the last distich contains four similes all at once, and because of the alliterative effect of the first verse. The Persian poet Minūchihrī (d. 430=1038) has translated it as follows:¹

همچنان سنگی که آنرا سیل کرد اندر کوه گاه زان سو گاه زین سو گاه فراز و گاه باز
شیرکام و بیل زور و کرک بوی و کور کرد ببرد و آهوج و روباه عطف و رنگ ناز

Like a stone which a torrent rolls down from a rock, now that side, now this side, now forwards, and now backwards;

Having the lion's pace, the elephant's force, the wolf's run, the onager's turn, the tiger's leap, the deer's jump, the fox's dodge, and the wild goat's speed.

¹ *Diwān*, p. 65, ll. 20 and 22; cf. also p. 81, line 18, wherein he makes use of the simile in the first verse of Imru'ul-Qays:

تو گفنی کنز سنج کوه سیلی فروه آرد می احبار صد من

In other descriptions of the horse, Minūchihri pushes this array of epithets (Tansīqu's-Sifāt) to absurdity. The equine animal comes to possess the elephantine, bovine, cervine, lupine, vulpine, leonine and asinine attributes! *Curiosa infelicitas!!*¹

Mu'izzī (d. 542=1147) also compares the headlong rush of his patron's horse to the velocity of a stone which rolls down from a mountain top:²

فری سمند تو کاندر نبرد گردش اوست چون گاه سبیل ز کھسار گردش جلود

How excellent is thy bay horse, whose movement in the battle is like the motion of a boulder rolling down a rock at the time of a torrent.

To the above description of the horse, we may add the following verse of 'Adī b. ar-Riqā', in which he compares the tapering point of a young deer's horn to a pen dipped in black ink:³

تزجی اغنّ کان ابرة روقه قلم اصابت من الدوام مدادها

She (i.e. the doe) drives her fawn, the point of whose antlers is, as it were, a pen that has acquired its blackness from the ink-pot.

This simile, too, is praised by Arabic critics, and has been employed by the Persian poet Asadī (the Younger, d. 458 A.H.) in the following verses, which describe the pursuit of a deer by Narīmān,⁴ with the difference that in

1 *Diwān-i-Minūchihri*, p. 90, 18 and p. 143, 9.

2 *Diwān-i-Mu'izzī*, p. 43b.

3 Ibn Qut. *Poēsis*, p. 392; 'Umdah, i. 176. Jarīr describing the horses in battle says ('Umdah, i. 176):

يخرجن من مستطير النع دامة كان آذانها اطراف انلام

They come out of the spreading dust-cloud covered with blood, and their ears look like reed-pen nibs.

and 'Umānī says ('Umdah, i. 177):

تعال اذنه اذا تشوفا فادامة اولها عرفا

You'd think that its ears, when erect, were a plume or a pen cut obliquely.

4 *Gurgāsp Namah. Majma'at-Fuṣṣṣā*, p. 38a.

these verses the comparison is applied to the ears rather than the horns.¹ In this respect, Asadī has followed Jarīr and 'Umānī, both of whom compare the ears of a horse to a pen cut obliquely:²

نهاد بآهوسیه گوش چشم جهان چودرخش از کینکه بخشم
سر گوش قیرین چو نوکِ قلم نشان پیش در زمین چون درم

He fixed his eye on the black-eared fawn, which leapt like a flash from its ambuscade :

The tips of its pitch-coloured ears were like the point of a pen, and the marks of its feet on the ground were like coins.

Descriptions of battle are common in ancient Arabic poetry. The dust-cloud raised by the horses in fight is generally likened to the night, and the sheen of the spears or swords to the stars. A notable example of this kind is afforded by the following verses of Bashshār b. Burd (d. 167=783):³

كَأَنَّ مَنَارَ النِّقَمِ فَوْقَ رُؤُوسِنَا وَاسِيفُنَا لَيْلَ نَهَاوِي كَوَاكِبِ

The dust-cloud that rolled above our heads, and our shining swords, resembled a night whose stars march in succession.

Firdawsi resorts to this simile in many of his battle descriptions in the *Shāhnāmah*, e.g.

درخشیدن تیغهای بنفش در آن سایهٔ کایانی درفش
تو گفتی که اندر شبِ تیره چهر ستاره همی برفشاند سپهر

1 The spears set on the head of a horse in battle are called the horns of the horse (Lane's Lexicon, under Qarn).

2 See the 3rd footnote on the last page.

3 Ibn Qut. *Poésie*, p. 478; 'Attābi has based the following line on that of Bashshār (Ibid. p. 479) :

تَبَنِي سَنَابِكُهُ مِنْ فَوْقِ ارْؤُسِهِمْ سَفْنَا مَكَاكِبِ الْيُسُ الْمُبَاتِرِ
Their hoofs build above their heads a sky, of which the stars are the cutting swords.

The shining of the crimson swords, under the shade of the Kāvah banner,

Looked as if the sky was scattering stars on a dark-visaged night.

Qaṭrān (d. 465=1072) also employs the same simile on a similar occasion. For instance, he says:¹

فروغ تیغ پدید از میان گردِ سیاه چنانکه در شب تاری ستاره‌رخشان

The sheen of the swords, visible from the midst of dark-coloured dust, was like stars shining on a dark night.

Anwarī follows in the train, but instead of the word 'sword' he uses the word 'spear,' and in this, I think, he is imitating Ibnū'l-Mu'tazz and al-Mutanabbī:²

از پسِ گردِ سیاه برقِ سنانِ آبدار همچنان باشد که اندر پرده‌شب اخترى

Behind the dark dust, the flash of the bright point of the spear is like a star in the curtain of night.

We will now pass on to the descriptions of the rainbow, the new moon, the stars, the dark night, the flowers, the wine-cup, and old age, and clinch the whole argument by adducing a few passages celebrating the charms of a beautiful person, followed by a few reflections on Love.

((A)) *The Rainbow.*

The following description of the rainbow in Arabic by Ibnū'r-Rūmī³ is regarded as a masterpiece. The Persian

1 *Diwān-i-Qaṭrān*, p. 125a.

2 Anwarī: *Diwān*. Ibnū'l-Mu'tazz (*Diwān*, p. 29) says:

وممّ السماء التمع حتى مكانه دخان و اطراف الرماح شرار

The dust filled the sky in such a manner that it looked like smoke, and the spear-points like stars.

And al-Mutanabbī says: (*Fatimah*, i. 95)

كانما كسى النهار ربهما دجى ليل و اطلمت الرماح كواكب

As if the day enveloped by it (i.e. dust) was a dark night, and the spear-points rose like stars (lit. the spear-points caused the stars to appear).

3 Ibn Rashīq attributes this description to Ibnū'r-Rūmī (*Umdah*, ii. 184); it also occurs in the *Diwān* of Ibnū'r-Rūmī ed. by Gilānī, p. 473. Its ascription to Sayfu'd-Dawlah by Tha'alibī (*Fatimah*, i. 19) and to 'Aḡud'd-Dawlah by Shamsu'l-Khalīfah (*Majma'ah*, p. 95b) is due to their partiality to princes. Ibn Khallikān says that this description is also attributed to Abū'ṣ-Ṣaqr al-Qattāf and 'Abdu'ṣ-Ṣamad b. al-Mu'adhdhal.

passage set side by side with the Arabic is a deliberate translation by Amīr Tāhir b. Faḍl,¹ and, barring a few variations required by the exigencies of the case, is very much the same in substance. Therefore, it would be enough to give a translation of the original.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| و ساق صبيح للصباح دعوته | آن ساقی مه روی صبحی بر من خورد |
| فقام و في اجفانه سنة الغمض | وز خواب دو چشمش چو دوتا بر کس خرم |
| ٢. يطوف بكاسات العقار كالنجيم | وان جام می اندر کف او همچو ستاره |
| فن بين منفض "علينا و منفض" | نا خورده یکی جام دگر داده دمام |
| ٣. وقد نشرت ایدی الجنوب مطارفا | وان میغ جنوبی چو یکی مطرف خور بود |
| على الجو "دكنا والحواشي على الارض | دامن بزمین بر زده همچون شب ادهم |
| ٤. بطرزا قوس السحاب با صفر | برسته هوا چون کمری قوس قزح را |
| على احمر في اخضر تحت مبيض | از اصر و ز احمر و ز ایض معلم |
| ٥. كاذبال خود اقبلت في غلائل | کوئی که دوسه میرهن است از دوسه گونه |
| مصبة والبعض اقصر من بعض | وز دامن هریک زدگر یار گکی کم |

1. I called the graceful Saki to pour the morning draught, and he rose with his eye-lids heavy with sleep :

2. He passed the cups of wine sparkling like stars, some descending towards us, while others were yet undrained.

3. The hands of the South breeze spread dark mantles in the sky, their fringes sweeping the ground—

4. The rainbow streaking them with yellow upon red joined to green overlaid with white,

5. Like the skirts of a limber maid who comes forth in dyed gowns, one being shorter than another.

This description of the rainbow has prompted the two Persian poets, Minūchihri and Mu'izzi, to try their talent. Minūchihri says :²

¹ *Lubbab*, ii. p. 28.

² *Diwan-i-Minūchihri*, p. 124, 4-5.

بامدادان بر هوا قوس قزح بر مثال دامن شاهنشاهی
 پنج دیبای ملوث برتنش بازجسته دامن هر دیبای

The rainbow in the sky at early morn resembles the
 skirt of an emperor,

Wearing five silk garments of different colours, the skirt
 of each garment being removed from the other.

Mu'izzi says :¹

نماید خویشتن قوس قزح چو چنبر رنگین
 که باشد در زمین پنهان شده يك نیمه زان چنبر
 چو پوشیده سه پیرامن که هر يك را بود پیدا
 بز دامن یکی احر یکی اصر یکی اخضر

The rainbow displays itself like a coloured hoop, one
 half of it being hidden in the earth.

Like one apparelled in three shirts—red, yellow and
 green, each one having the bottom of its skirt visible.

((B)) *The New Moon.*

We have already seen that the 'Abbāsid poets were responsible for introducing many new similes and images in their poetry, and that the most remarkable of them all were the two contemporaries Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz and Ibnu'r-Rūmi. Among those new similes are the comparisons of the New Moon to several tangible objects, such as a sickle, a golden boat partly submerged in water, a paring of a nail,² the curve of a polo-bat, a dagger, the letter *nūn*, a bracelet, the eye-brow of an old Ethiop, a horse-shoe, an ear-ring, a bow etc. Persian poets, as usual, have imitated Arabic poets in this respect also. It would be interesting to adduce parallels to illustrate all these comparisons, but that would lead us far afield. We shall, therefore, notice only a few of them.

¹ *Diwan-i-Mu'izzi*, p. 21 b; *Majma'u'l-Furaha*, p. 228.

² 'Amr b. Qamrah employs this simile; vide *Diwan*, ed. Lyall, p. 64.

(i) The New Moon compared to a sickle made of gold :
Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz says :¹

انظر الى حسن هلال بدا يهتك من انواره الخندسا
كنجل قد صيغ من عسجد يحصد من زهر الدجى برجسا

Behold the beauty of the new moon rising :

it dispels the darkness by its beams ;

It is like a sickle made of gold,

reaping narcissuses from the flowers of darkness.

Many Persian poets have handled the above simile.
We shall quote Minūchihri and Mu'izzi only.

(a) Minūchihri says :²

بدید آمد هلال از جانب کوه بسان زعفران آلوده محجن

The crescent appeared from the mountain-side like a
sickle tinted with saffron.

(b) Mu'izzi says :³

کردون چون مرغزار درو ماه نوچوداس گفتم که ماهتاب همی بدرود کیا

The sky is like a meadow, and the New Moon in it like a
sickle ; you would say the moon was mowing the grass.

The above description of the New Moon by Mu'izzi is very
much akin to the one given by Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz.

(ii) The New Moon compared to a golden boat rising
above, and sinking under, blue waters.

Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz says :⁴

أهلاً بفطر قد اناك هلاله فالآن فاغد الى المدام فبكر
واظن اليه كزورق من عسجد قد اتقلته حولة من غبر

¹ *Diwan*, ii. 122.

² *Diwan-i-Minūchihri*, p. 81, 35.

³ *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣṣa*, p. 233a. To Ḥāfiẓ the rising of the New Moon in the
azure sky is a reminder of his past actions and his approaching old age. He
says :

مزرع سبز فلک دیدم و دایس می نو یادم از کشته خویش آمد و هنگام درو

⁴ *Diwan*, ii. 116 ; 'Umdah, ii. 183.

Hail to the Festival of Fast heralded by the New Moon ;
so now rise early and betake yourself to wine :

Look at it ; it is like a boat made of gold, pressed down
under a heavy load of ambergris.

Among Persian poets we may mention only 'Am'āq of Bukhārā and Qaṭrān. 'Am'āq's description contains also other similes in addition to the above, while that by Qaṭrān really deals with the rising sun.

(a) 'Am'āq (d. 1148 A.D.) says :¹

هلالِ عبد برون آمد از سپهر کبود چون شمع زرین پیش زمردین محراب
فلک چو چشمه آب و مه نو اندروی بسان ماهی زرین میان چشمه آب
کهی نهان شد و گاهی همی نمود جمال چو نور عارض فردوسیان بزیر نقاب
بسان زورق زرین میانه دریا کهی باوج بر از موج و گاه در غرقاب

The crescent of the Festival appeared from the azure
sky like a golden candle before an emerald altar ;

The sky was like a fount of water, and the New Moon in
it was like a golden fish in the midst of a fount ;

At one time it disappeared, and at another it displayed
its beauty like the light of the cheeks of the veiled
heavenly folk,

Resembling a golden boat in the midst of the sea, some-
times raised to the zenith by the waves, and some-
times about to sink.

(b) Qaṭrān (d. 1072 A.D.) says :²

چون شنبلیذ زار میان بنفشه زار از گوشه سپهر روان مهر دلپذیر
با چون غدیر بود پر از آب بیلگون از زر زورق زیر آب آب غدیر

The glorious sun came out from the corner of the sky
like crocus flowers growing in a violet-field ;

Or the sky was like a pond of deep blue water, and a boat
made of gold was floating on the surface of that pond.

1 *Majma' ul-Fuṣṣaḥ*, 143a ; *Khāṣṣat*, i. 185.

2 *Diwān-i-Qaṭrān*, p. 64a.

((O)) *The Stars in the Sky.*

Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz compares the stars in the azure sky to pearls strewn on a blue carpet. For instance:¹

كَانَ اجْرَامَ النُّجُومِ لَوَامِعاً دَرِّ نَزْنٍ عَلَى بَسَاطِ اَزْرَقِ

The bodies of the stars, as they shone, seemed like pearls scattered over a blue carpet.

This simile, too, is very common among Persian poets.

(a) Daqiqi (d. 975 A.D.) says :²

سحرگاهانکه بادِ نرم جنبید بجنباند درختِ سرخ و اصفر
نوپنداری که از گردون ستاره همی بارید بر دیبای اخضر

When the gentle breeze blows at morn, it sheds the red and yellow leaves from the trees :

You would imagine that the stars from the sky were falling on green brocade.

(b) Mu'izzi (d. 1147 A.D.) says :³

ستارگانِ دُرُ افشان بر آسمان گفتم که در زیرِ جدمینا مرتع است درر

You would say that the pearl-scattering stars in the sky were like pearls imbedded in a green chrysolite.

To this we may add the description of the Milky Way bordered with stars :

(a) Ibnu'r-Rūmi (d. 283=896) says :⁴

_____ كَانَ الْمَجْرَى جَدُولَ مَاءٍ نَبْتَ الْأَقْحَوَانِ فِي جَانِبَيْهِ

The Milky Way looks like a stream of water, on both sides of which camomiles have grown.

(b) 'Abdu'llāh b. Ḥajjāj (d. 391 A.H.) has taken up the same simile and made it more explicit by the mention of stars.

1 *At-Tibyan fi'l-Bayan*, by at-Tayyibi, p. 86b.

2 *Majma'ul-Fuṣṣḥā* (Teh. ed.), p. 216.

4 *Majma'ah*, p. 71b.

3 *Diwan*, p. 68, 17.

— هذى المجرة و النجوم كأنها نهر تدفق فى حديقة نرجس

Behold this Milky Way and the stars, as though it were a stream gushing forth in a garden of Narcissi.¹

Abu'l-Faraj of Rūn (d. circa 500 A.H.) and Anwarī (d. 587=1191) both use the above figure in much the same way.

(i) Rūnī says :²

بگرفت شکوفه بچمن در گذر آب چونانکه ستاره گذر کاهکشان را

The flowers in the garden have blocked the passage of water just as the stars block the path of the Milky Way.

(ii) Anwarī says :³

بران مثال همی یافت رام کاهکشان که در بنفشه ستان برکشیده صف عبر

The Milky Way was shining in the same manner as the rows of jasmine flowers in a violet-field.

((D)) *Flowers.*

Of the many flowers which later Arabic poets have described, we may mention only the anemones as in the following verses of Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz :⁴

كان آذرىونها تحت السماء الصافية
مداهن من عسجد فيها بقايا غالبه

The anemones in them (i.e. gardens) under the clear sky resembled the scent-bottles of gold containing a residue of the civet perfume.

The Persian poet Qatrān (d. 1072 A.D.) has used the same figure several times in the description of anemones, e.g.⁵

لاله نمان مانند یکی جام عقیق زده از غایب اندر بن آینه جام رقم

1 *Khizānah*, p. 175.

2 *Majma'ul-Fughah*, p. 9a.

3 *'Umdah*, ii, 183.

4 *Diwān*, Teh, Ed.

5 *Diwān-i-Qatrān*, p. 110a.

The anemone looked like a cup of agate, bearing a print of the civet perfume at its bottom.

The dew drops on flowers are often compared to the drops of sweat on the cheeks of a beautiful maiden. The following line by al-Buḥturi is much praised for its grace:¹

— شقائق يحملن الندى فكأنها دموع الصابي في حدود الخرائد

1 *Zahrul-Ādāb*, ii. pp 215-216. The author of this book al-Ḥusri narrates a story based on the report of Duratwayh that this verse was recited in the presence of al-Mubarrad who liked it very much saying that he had never come across such a beautiful verse either among the Ancients or among the Moderns. Al-Buḥturi who was also present on the occasion felt very elated at this praise, when a blow was given to his vanity by one of the audience who declared that al-Buḥturi was not the originator of this simile, and that he had been preceded in the use of this simile by several poets, for instance (i) by Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd al-Kātib when he said:

— حَذَبَ الفراقُ لنا قَبيلَ وداعنا ثم اجتزعنا كشمِّ نَاقع
— و كأننا إثر الدموع بختها طَلَّ تَناطُفُ نَواقِ وَردِ بانع

Separation seemed sweet a little before parting; then we swallowed it like a deadly poison:

And the traces of tears on her cheeks looked like the dew that falls on a red rose.

(ii) by their common friend Abu'l-ʿAbbās an-Nāshī:

بَكَتْ للفراقِ وَ قد راعني بكاء الحبيب لبعد الديار ✓
كانَ الدموع على خدِّها بقية طَلَّ على جَنارِ ✓

She wept for separation, and verily I admire the tears of the beloved at the thought of remoteness of dwellings:

As though the tears on her cheeks were the last drops of dew that linger on the pomegranate flower.

(iii) by 'Alī b. Jarīḥ, who even excelled him by further elaborating the same simile:

لو كنتَ يومَ الوداعِ شاهداً وهنَّ يُطْفِئْنَ غلةَ الوجدِ
لم ترَ إلاَّ دموعَ باكيةٍ تسفعُ من مقلَّةٍ على خدِ
كانَ تلكَ الدموعُ قطرندي يقطرُ من زرجٍ على وَردِ

If you had been our witness on the day of parting, while they (my sweet-heart) were quenching the thirst of love,

You would have seen naught but tears of a weeping one flowing from the eyes on to the cheeks:

As if those tears were dew-drops that trickled down from a narcissus (i.e. the cheeks).

and so forth.

The anemones bore the drops of dew resembling the tears of love on the cheeks of bashful maidens.

Among the many Persian poets who have laid this simile under contribution, we may allude to only

(a) Rūdakī (d. 329=941):¹

و گشته زین بر در سبز شاخ بیدر بنساله

چنان چون اشک مهجوران نشسته زاله بر لاله

On account of this green sky the branches of the old willow have put forth new leaves, and the dew drops on the tulips look like the tears of forlorn lovers.

(b) Mu'izzi (d. 1147 A.D.):²

عرق کرده جبینش ز داغ فرقت من چون بر چکیده بگلبرگ قطره‌های کلاب

Her brow sweated through the brand of separation from me, (and the drops of perspiration looked) like drops of rose-water trickling on a rose-leaf.

(c) Falakī Shirwānī (a contemporary of Khāqānī):³

عرق گرفته و را عارض از حرارت می چون زیر قطره شبنم صحیفه کنگار

His cheeks, perspired through the warmth of wine, resembled a leaf of pomegranate with drops of dew on it.

(d) Lāmi'ī (circa 520=1126):⁴

چندین چه کریم از غم معشوق بر طلل بر روی زرد اشک چو بر شنبلیله طل

Why do I weep so much over the deserted camps through grief for my beloved, that the tears on my pale face appear like drops of dew on a crocus?

and (e) Sa'dī (d. 1291 A.D.):⁵

زآله بر لاله فرو آمده هنگام سحر راست چون عارض گلبوی عرق کرده باز

Early morning the dew descended on the tulip: indeed, it resembled the drops of sweat on the cheeks of a sweet-smelling beauty.

¹ *Lughat-i-Asadi*, p. 83. ² *Diwān*, p. 172b. ³ *Ālīsh Kadalāh*, p. 73.
⁴ *Springer's Collection*, 383a. ⁵ *Shu'arī: Lisān-ul-'Ajam*, II. 50b.

((E)) *Descriptions of Wine.*

Although descriptions of wine and drinking-bouts are by no means uncommon in ancient Arabic poetry, it was not until the time of 'Adī b. Zayd (d. 587 A.D.), the 'Ibādī Christian poet of al-Ḥīrah, that real wine-songs were first composed in Arabic. 'Adī has had a decided influence on the later development of this kind of poetry, and his bacchic verses served as models to the Umayyad prince Walid b. Yazīd and his boon-companions, whose revelleries and wine-songs scandalized the pious Muslims of the day. Abū Nuwās, with whom this class of poetry attained to perfection, had taken his cue from them, and in the substance as well as execution of his songs he owes a great deal to his fore-runners, and especially to his senior contemporary Ḥusayn b. Dāḥik, many of whose poems found their way in his works.¹

It is needless to point out that in this class of poetry, as in others detailed above, Arabic poets were the exemplars of the Persians; and their influence, particularly that of Abū Nuwās, is discernible in the descriptions of wine by early Persian poets, as the following passages will show :

(i) *Wine is essential to human nature.*

Abū Nuwās says :²

وجدت طبائع الانسا ن اربعة هي الأصل
فاربعة لأربعة لكل طبيعة رطل

I have found that man's temperaments are originally four :
Therefore four things for four : for each temperament
a cup.

The following two verses of Minūchihri refer to the above verses of Abū Nuwās :³

1 Brookemann: *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (in *Litteraturen des Ostens Series*), pp. 36, 73 and 81.

2 *Diwān*, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 81.

3 *Diwān*, p. 81, 2 ; this parallelism is noted by Kasimiri.

می ده چهار سافر تا خوشکوار باشد

زیرا که طبع عالم هم بر چهار باشد

Give four cups of wine, so that it may be palatable,
because the nature of the world also consists of
four (elements).

(ii) *Wine should be drunk to the accompaniment of music.*

Abū Nuwās says:¹

ولا تشرب بلالهو وطرب فان الخيل تشرب بالصغير

وليس الشرب الا بالملاهي وبالحركات من منى وزير

Drink not without diversion and mirth, for even horses
drink with a whistle.

There is no pleasure in drinking without music, and
without the notes of bass and treble.

As before, in this instance also Minūchihri follows Abū
Nuwās pretty closely. He says:²

وین نیز عجبر که خورد باده نه بر چنگ بی نغمه زیرش بی تاب شتابست

اسی که صغیرش نه زنی می نخورد آب نه مردم کم از اسپ و نه می کتراز آبست

And this, too, is a wonder that he drinks without the
accompaniment of the harp, and that he hastens to the
pure wine without a bass note ;

A horse, unless you encourage him by whistling, will not
drink water: after all man is not inferior to a horse,
nor is wine less worthy than water.

(iii) *The effect of wine in the body.*

An early Persian poet Halilah says:³

زان باده صافی کهن کشته بخوردند زان باده که مانده جان باشد در تن

وان باده همی رفت در ایشان بلطیفی چونانکه در انگشت رود آتش روشن

1 *Diwān* (Cairo), p. 290; also Kaziminski, p. 329.

2 *Diwān*, p. 14, 6-7.

3 *Lubāb*, II. 65.

" They drank of wine so pure and old,
Its body seemed to be ensouled ;
And through them flowed that essence fine,
As fire bright through coal doth shine."¹

The effect of wine is compared to the creeping of flames into a heap of coal, or a faggot of sticks. This simile occurs in old Arabic poetry ; a Hudhaylite poet in describing a hunter, who overtakes his quarry with a celerity unperceived by the animal, says:²

و نمتى لا يُحسّ به كتمتى النار فى الضرم

And he moved in such a wise as not to be perceived,
like the moving of fire in a faggot of wood.

Similarly Abū Nuwās speaking of the effect of wine in the body says :³

1 Prof. Nicholson: *Studies in Islamic Poetry*, p. 10.

2 *Diwān Muslim b al-Walīd*, p. 250.

3 *Ibid.* p. 280.

According to al-Aḡma¹, Abū Nuwās derived this idea from the following verse of Muslim b. al-Walīd:

تجبرى محبتها فى قلب و امقها جري السلامة فى اعضاء منكس

Her love flows in the heart of her lover, like the flowing of health in the limbs of a convalescent.

and that Muslim, in turn, got it from 'Umar b. Abī Rabi'ah:

لقد دب الهوى لك فى فؤادى ديب ديم الحياة الى المروق

Love for thee crept into my heart like the creeping of life-blood towards the veins.

Ibnū'r-Rūmī, while describing a skilful musician, says : (*Diwān*, ed. Gilāni, p. 302) :

فكان لذة صوته و ديبها رنة تشفى فى مفاصل نفس

The pleasure of his voice and its creeping were like sleep creeping into the limbs of drowsy persons.

Abu'l-Faraj al-Wāwā (*ʿAṭimah*, i. 207) speaking about wine says :

لطف فسارت من لطيف محلها تجرى كتمجى الروح فى الاعضاء

It was subtle, and on account of its subtleness it began to move like the spirit in the limbs.

Ibn Durayd in his *Maṣṣarāh* (verse 3) makes use of this ancient comparison :

واشتمل الميض فى مسودة مثل اشتعال النار فى جمل النضا

(Continued on page 136.)

كتمت في مفاصلهم كتمت البرء في السقم

It crept into their joints like the creeping of health into a sick man.

It was probably from Abū Nuwās or other poets quoted in the footnote that Halīlah got this comparison.

(iv) *The setting and rising places of wine.*

Wine, by some 'Abbāsid poets, has been compared to the sun or the moon, which sets in the mouth of the drinker and rises again in his or her cheeks, e.g.

(a) Ibnu'r-Rūmī (d. 283=896) says:¹

خرا إذا ما لديمي ظلٌّ يكرعها أخشى عليه من اللاءِ يحترق
لوراءٍ يحلف أن الشمس ما غربت في فيه كذبه في وجهه الشفق

Whenever my boon-companion sips wine, I fear he would be burnt by its brilliancy;

If he seek to swear that the sun did not set in his mouth, the twilight on his face would falsify him.

(b) Talīqu'l-Marwānī says:²

فاذا ما غربت في فمه اطلعت في الخد منه شفق

When it (i.e. wine) sets in his mouth, it causes a red twilight to appear on his cheeks.

(c) Sanawbarī (d. 334=945) says:³

بدر غدا يشرب شمساً غداً و خدّها في الوصف من خدّه
تقيب في فيه و لكنّها من بعد ذا تطلع في خدّه

The white hair flared up in the black like the flaring up of flames in the laggot of the Ghaḍā wood.

Al-'Askari in his "*Book of the Two Arts*" (p. 150) records two verses by a king of Yaman who, while describing the sickle nature of the sun which prevents continuance of life on earth, says:

تجري على كبد السماء كما يجري حمام الموت في النفس

It travels in the midst of the sky in the same way as the fever of Death moves in the soul.

1 Nuwayrī: *Nihāyah*, iv. 106.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Kutubī, *Fawā'id*, i. 79.

A full moon (i.e. the Saki) drinks a sun (wine) in the morning early, and its cheek (i.e. of wine) resembles his cheeks :

It sets in his mouth, but it rises again on his cheeks.

Among the early Persian poets, so far as I know, only Daqiqi has given expression to this conceit. He says :¹

زان مرکب که کالبد از نور لیک اورا روان و جان از نار
زان ستاره که مفرش دهنست مشرق اورا همیشه بر رخسار

This is rendered into English by Professor Nicholson :²

"A composite whose body is of light,
But all its soul and spirit of fiery strain ;
A star that has its setting in the mouth
But ever rises on the cheeks again."

(v) *A conjunction of the sun and the moon.*

(a) Abū Nuwās (d. 199=814) says :³

وكانتْها والكأسُ فوقَ بنانها شمسٌ يمدُّ بها اليك هلالُ

As though she, with the cup on her fingers, were a sun by which a crescent moon was being drawn towards thee.⁴

(b) Ibnu'r-Rūmī (d. 283=896) says :⁵

ابصرته والكأسُ بينَ فم منه و بينَ اُصغرِ خمسِ
فكانتْها و كأنَّ شاربها قمرٌ يقبلُ عارضَ الشمسِ

I saw him while he held the cup between his mouth and five fingers :

The cup and its quaffer looked as if the moon was kissing the cheek of the sun.

A similar conceit by an anonymous poet is recorded in the *Zahru'l-Ādāb* alongside of the above one :

¹ *Lubb*, ii, 13, 10.

² *Studies in Islamic Poetry*, p. 9.

³ *Zahru'l-Ādāb*, i. 12.

⁴ The Saki is likened to the sun and the wine-cup to the moon which the sun was attracting to the drinker.

⁵ *Zahru'l-Ādāb*, ii. 115 ; *Umdah*, ii. 147.

فإذا ما رأيتها تشرب الراح أرنتي شمساً قبل البدر

And when I saw her drinking wine, she appeared to me
like a sun kissing the full moon.

Abū Manṣūr 'Umārah of Merv, a Sāmānid poet, uses the same figure while describing this phenomenon :¹

آزمی بدست آن بت سیمین من نکر کوئی که آفتاب بیوست با قمر

Behold that wine in the hand of my silver idol :
You would say that the sun had joined with the moon.

(vi) *The difference between gold and wine.*

Abū Nuwās says :²

اقول لما نحاكيا شبهاً ايها للتشابه الذهب

هما سواء و الفرق بينهما انهما جامد و منسكب

Since the two (the goblet and wine) are so alike in appearance that I wonder which one of them is gold.

Both are alike, the only difference being that while the one is solid, the other is liquid.

The following lines of Rūdaki describing wine seem to have been suggested by the preceding verses of Abū Nuwās :³

و آن عقیقی می که هر که بدید از عقیق گداخته شناخت

هر دو بک گوهر اند لیک بطبع ابن یفسرد و آن در بگداخت

He who sees the cornelian colour of wine will not know
it from molten cornelian :

Both are of the same stuff, but the one has, by nature, become solid, while the other has melted.

(vii) *Wine in the goblet.*

The following lines, attributed to as-Sāhib b. 'Abbād (d. 385=995), are well-known in this connexion :⁴

1 *Lubāb*, ii. 25.

2 *Nuwayrī, Nihāyah*, iv. 108.

3 *Lubāb*, ii. 8, 18-19.

4 *Ibn Khallikān : Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 96.

رقّ الزجاج و رقت الخمر فتشابهها وتشاكل الامر
فكانما خمر ولا قدح وكانما قدح ولا خمر

So clear is the glass, and so clear the wine that the affair has become ambiguous by their close resemblance :

As if all was wine and no glass, or else all was glass and no wine.

Sāhib himself seems to have borrowed this idea from the following verses of al-Buḥṭurī :¹

يُخْفِي الزجاجة لونها فكانها في الكف قائمة بغير اناء

Its (of wine) colour hides the glass, so that it seems to stand on the palm without a vessel.

Among the Persian poets who have employed this conceit we may mention :

(a) al-Kisā'ī (d. 1001 A.D.),²

آن صافى كه چون بركف دست بر نهى كف از قدح ندانمى از قدح بيد

So clear it is that when you put it on the palm of your hand, you will neither know the palm from the cup, nor the cup from the wine.

¹ *Muwazzanah*, p. 14; al-Āmidī has not noted this parallel. Al-Buḥṭurī was followed by al-Kushājīm (d. 330=941) and an-Nājīm (died bet. A.D. 980 and 1008) in the use of this simile:

لست ادري من رقة و صفا هي في الكأس ام هو الكأس فيها

By virtue of its fineness and clearness, I know not whether it (wine) is in the cup or the cup in it.

وقهوة كشاع الشمس صافية مثل السراب تري من رقة شبا
إذا تماطيتها لم تدر من فرج راحاً بلا قدح اعطيت ام قدحا

And wine as clear as the rays of the sun, glimmering like the mirage, and showing by reason of its transparency a form :

When you deal it out, you know not through joy whether it is wine without cup that you give or cup without wine.

² *Lubb*, il. p. 85.

(b) Ghadā'iri of Rayy says :¹

باده بمن داد از لطافت گفتم جام بمن دژادلیک باده ندادست

He gave me wine ; by way of fun I remarked : " He has given me the cup but not the wine."

He implies that the colours of the wine and the cup were indistinguishable.

(c) Kawkabī of Merv says :²

قدح و باده هر دو از صفوت همچو ماه دو هفته دارد اثر
یا قدح بی می است یا می ناب بی قدح در هوا شکفت مگر

The cup and wine, by virtue of their purity, give the impression of the moon two weeks old :

Either the cup is without wine, or that the pure wine stands in the air without a cup.

And lastly (d) 'Irāqī (d. 688=1289), a Persian poet of the Tartar Period, says :³

از صفائی می و لطافت جام در هم آمیخت رنگ جام و مدام
همه جام است و نیست کوئی می یا مدامست و نیست کوئی جام

Through the clearness of wine and the fineness of glass, the colours of the wine and the glass were so intermingled

That you would say the glass was all and the wine was naught, or else the wine was all and the glass was naught.

(viii) *Pleasure lies in unlawful things.*

Minūchihri says :⁴

غلام و جام می را دوست دارم نه جای طعنه و جای ملام است
همی دالم که این هر دو حرامند ولیکن این خوشبها در حرام است

1 *Lubāb*, ii. 59.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 65.

3 Prof. Browne :

Persian Literature under Tartars, pp. 129-30.

4 *Diwan*, p. 207.

I love the page-boy and the wine-cup :

There is nothing to blame or to reprove in this.

I know full well that both these are unlawful,

But these pleasures lie in unlawful things.

The main drift of the above passage points to the following verses of Abū Nuwās :¹

فخذها إن اردت لذيت عيش ولا تعدل خليل بالمدام
وإن قالوا حرام فقل حرام ولكن اللذائة في الحرام

So drink it, if thou desirest the pleasures of life, and
consider not, O friend ! anything equal to wine :

If they tell you " it is unlawful," say " it is unlawful, but
that pleasure lies in unlawful things."

(ix) *Libations to Earth*.

Badi'ū'l-Hamadhānī (d. 398=1067) says :²

شربنا واهرقا على الارض جرعة وللارض من كأس الكرام نصيب

We drank and spilled a draught on Earth :

For Earth has a share in the cup of the generous.

This is not an Arabic idea ; Hamadhānī seems to have adopted it from some early Persian verses.³ The following Persian poets have expressed the same idea :

(a) Minūchihri (d. 430=1038):⁴

جرعه بر خاک بریزیم از جام شراب جرعه بر خاک همی ریزند مردان ادیب
ما جوانمردی بسیار بود چون نبود خاک را از قدح مرد جوانمرد نصیب

We should pour a draught from the wine-cup on Earth :
for men of culture always pour a draught on Earth.

It would indeed be the height of ungenerosity, if Earth
had no share from the cup of the generous.

1 *Diwān*, p. 327.

2 *Kharābāt*, iii. 394.

3 Hamadhānī was in the habit of adopting Persian ideas and putting them into Arabic verse. See his *Diwān*, pp. 11, 21, 36, 48, 56, 64-65, 72, 77 and 80. The originals in Persian are irrevocably lost.

4 *Diwān*, p. 11.

(b) 'Umar Khayyām (d. 517=1123):¹

هر جرعه که ساقیش بخاک افشاند در دیده کرم آتش غم بنشاند
Every draught that the Saki scatters on the earth
quenches the fire of anguish in some afflicted eye.

(c) 'Irāqī (d. 688=1289):²

زان شدم خاکِ درت کز جام می جرعه بر من فشانی ای بسر
For this reason have I become the dust of thy door,
O boy ! that thou mayest sprinkle a draught of wine
on me.

(d) Ḥāfiz (d. 791=1388):³

اگر شراب خوری جرعه فشان بر خاک ازان گناه که نفعی رسد بغیر چه باک
If you drink wine, scatter a draught on earth: What
fear from that sin which benefits others?

and lastly (e) Jāmi (d. 898=1492):⁴

زفیض جام نوجامی همیشه جرعه کُشاست بی نصیب بود خاکرا ز کأس کرام
Jāmi always drinks a draught from the cup of thy bounty:
Aye, the dust has its share from the cup of the noble.

1 *Quatrains*, ed. E. H. Allen, p. 199. FitzGerald's version of this line is as follows :

And not a drop from our cups we throw
For Earth to drink of, but may steal below
To quench the fire of anguish in some eye
There hidden—far beneath and long ago.

A note by FitzGerald: "The custom of throwing wine on the ground before drinking still continues in Persia, and perhaps generally in the East. Mons. Nicholas considers it 'un signe de libéralité, et en meme temps un avertissement que le buveur doit vider sa coupe jusqu'à la dernière goutte.' Is it not more likely an ancient superstition: a libation to propitiate Earth, or to make her an accomplice in the illicit Revel, or, perhaps, to divert the jealous eye by some sacrifice of superfluity, as with the ancients of the West? With Omar we see something more is signified: the precious liquor is not lost, but sinks into the ground to refresh the dust of some poor wine-worshipper foregone."

2 This instance is noted by Kāzimirski, see *Diwān-i-Minūchihri*: p. 325.

3 Prof. Browne: *Lit. Hist.* iii. 128.

4 *Amīr-ah-Shawārā*, p. 110.

(x) *Bury me under the vine.*

A true votary of wine would like to be buried under the roots of the vine, so that even after his death his bones may be wet with its juice: This idea was first of all expressed by an early Islamic Arab poet, Abū Miḥjan, who acquitted himself so well in the battle of Qādisiyyah:¹

اذا مت فادفني الى اصل كرم نروي عظامي في التراب عروقه
ولا تدفنتني في الغلاة فاتم أخاف اذا ماتت ألا اذوقها

Bury me, when I die, beside the stock of a vine whose roots may moisten my thirsty bones in the dust.

Bury me not in the desert, for then I much fear lest after my death I should not taste it again.

Minūchihri has made free with this passage:²

آزاده رفیقان منا من چو بمیرم از سرخترین باده بشوئید تن من
از دانه انگور بسازید حنوطم و ز برگ رزسبز ردای کفن من
در سایه رز اندر گوری بکنیدم تا نیکترین جای باشد وطن من

O my free-born friends! When I die, wash my body with the reddest wine;

Embalm my cerements with grape-stones,³ and make my shroud out of the vine-leaves;

Dig my grave under the shade of a vine, so that the best of places may become my abode.

‘Umar Khayyām has expressed this idea several times in his Quatrains. Take, for instance, the following quatrain by FitzGerald:

Ah, with the Grape my fading life provide,
And wash my Body whence the life has died,

1 *Aghāni*, xxi (ed. Brunnnow). 215; Ibn Qutaybah, p. 253; Tabari, see the extract translated by Prof. Nicholson in his *Translations from Eastern Poetry and Prose*, pp. 62-64, for the story of his confinement by Sa’d b. Abi Waqqān, his release by Sa’d’s wife, and his marvellous fight in the battle.

2 *Diwan*, p. 31.

3 i.e. instead of the usual aromatics.

And lay me, shrouded in the living Leaf,
By some not unfrequented Garden-side !¹

((F)) *Old Age.*

Old age, in all its phases, has been described by ancient and modern Arabic poets. The descriptions of old age by Persian poets also take very nearly the same form. We will note only three phases here :

(i) *The mixture of white and black hair compared to the intermingling of Night and Day.*

Al-Farazdaq (d. 110=728) says :²

1 The substance of this quatrain is derived from the following two quatrains of 'Umar Khayyām (*Rubā'iyāt* of Omar Khayyām, ed. E. H. Allen, No. LXIX and XCI):

چون فوت شوم بیاده شوئید مرا تلقین از شراب ناب گوئید مرا
خواهید که روز حشر بینید مرا از خاک در میگذرید مرا
When I am dead, wash me with wine,
Say my funeral service with pure wine ;
If thou wouldst see me on the resurrection day
Thou must seek me in the dust of the tavern door.

and

ز بهار مرا ز جام می فوت کنید وین جهره کهر با چون باقوت کنید
چون در گذرم بی شوئید مرا و از چوب رزم نخت باقوت کنید
Take heed to stay me with a cup of wine,
And make this amber face like a ruby:
When I die, wash me with wine,
And make the planks of my coffin from the wood of the vine.

2 Ibn Qutaybah, *Podais*, p. 9.

Many Arabic poets, pre-Islamic as well as Islamic, have made use of this image. Suwayd al-Ḥārithī has said (p. 6 of *Maqsūrah* of Ibn Durayd, ed. L. N. Boisson):

فتی قبلما تبس من السن وجهه سوی خلصه فی الرأس کالدری الدجی
A young man was he, his face not yet wrinkled by age, except for a
patch of white hair on his head which shone like the full moon in the
dark night.

Ibn Durayd describes his own old age:

إما نرى راسي حاكى لونه طرقة صبح نعت اذ يال لاجي
و اشتعل البيض في مسوده مثل اشتعال النار في جمل الغني
فكان كالليل البهيم حل في ارجاء ضوء صباح فانجلي

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الشيب ينهض في الشباب كأنه ليل يصبح بجانيه نهار

The white hair growing beside the black appear as if the day was dawning on both sides of the night.

Kisā'i (d. 1001 A.D.) has rendered this into Persian :¹

گفت موی سفید و موی سیاه همچو روزست در میانه شب

She said : The white hair and the black hair are like day in the midst of night.

(ii) *Khidāb as a sign of mourning.*

Ibnu'r-Rūmī says :²

لم اخضب الشيب للفواني ابغى به عندها ودادا
لكن خضابي على شبابي البست من بعده حدادا

I did not dye the white hair for beautiful women to win their favour:

Rather my dyeing is a mourning attire which I wear in memory of my youth.

Rūdākī has translated this into Persian :³

Seest thou not my head whose colour resembles the streaks of dawn under the skirts of darkness:

The white hair has flared up in the black like the flaring up of fire in a faggot of *Ghaḍā* wood:

It was like a pitch-dark night; the light of dawn alighted on its sides, and so it cleared up.

and so forth.

This simile is quite a favourite one with the Persian poets. The face of the beloved is generally compared to day or the sun, and the long black tresses of her hair to a dark night. Thus when she loosens her tresses on the face, they say: the night has enveloped the day; or when she moves them aside from her bright face, they say: the day has emerged from darkness,

1 *Lubāb*, ii. 37.

2 *Majmū'ah*, p. 207a; *Majmū'at ul-Ma'ānī*, p. 126. A Spanish poet al-Huṣrī (?) says (*Khavābāt*, ii. 391):

إذا كان الياض لباس حزن باندلس فذاك من الصواب
الم زنى لبست ياض شيب لآتني قد حزنت على الشباب

3 *Eḥḥé: Nachrichten*, p. 739; Pizzi: *Chrestomathie* p. 62.

من هوی خویش را نه ازان میکنم سیاه تا باز بوجوان شوم و از نوکنم گناه
چون جامها بوقت مصیبت سیه کنند من هوی از مصیبت پیری کنم سیاه

I do not dye my hair for this that I may appear young,
and commit sins afresh :

As in time of mourning people blacken their garments,
so I blacken my hair through the calamity of old age.

The Persian poet Kisā'ī was reproached by his friends
for dyeing his hair, whereupon he excused himself by
saying :¹

از خطاب من و از موی سیه کردن من گرمی خشم خوری بیش خور و رنج ببر
غرضم زو نه جوانیست بترسم که ز من خرد پیران بجویند و نیابند مگر

If you are angry with me for applying *khidāb* and
blackening the hair, then let you be ever so angry
and vexed.

My object is not to look young, but I fear lest people
should seek in me the wisdom of the old and not find it.

Al-Bākhharzī remarks that this idea is very common
among Persian and Arabic poets, and that the above verses
of Kisā'ī approximate to the following line of the Imām al-
Qushayrī (d. 1072 A.D.) in meaning :²

1 Lub3b, ii. 37.

2 *Dumyatu'l-Qaṣr*, p. 197b.

Al-Bākhharzī says that aṣ-Ṣāḥib b. 'Abbād used to recite the following
verses of Abū Aḥmad at-Tihāmī, which contain the same idea, and admire
their beauty (*ibid.*):

اقول و نور الشيب لاح ببارضی قد افتر لي عن ناب اسود سالخ
اشياء و حاجات الشباب كأنها يحيش بها في الصدر مرجل طالع
وما كل حزني للشباب الذي هوى به الشيب عن طود من الناس شامخ
ولكن لقول الناس شيخ و ليس لي على ثابات الدهر صبر الشاغل

I say—while the light of old age has gleamed on my cheeks, and bared
for me the canine teeth of a black serpent.

"Am I old, while the desires of youth are boiling within my breast like
the cauldron of a cook?"

And my grief is not for my youth, which has been brought down by
old age from the high tower of happiness,

But for fear lest people should say "Here goes an old man", though
I do not possess the patience of old men over the vicissitudes of
Fortune.

ما خضایی بیاض شمری الا حاذراً أن یقال شیخ خلیع

I do not dye my white hair except for caution lest it may be said, "Here is an immoral old man."

(iii) *Why the back becomes bent!*

Mu'izzī (d. 1047 A.D.) says:¹

بشتم دوتا از پی آن شد که عشق تو باری برونهاد از اندیشه و عنا
کم شد دلم زدست و بجاك اندر او قتاد کردم ز بهر جستن او پشت را دوتا

My back has become bent, because thy love has laid on it a load of anxiety and care :

My heart fell from my hand and dropped in the dust : it is in its search that I have bent my back.

Another Persian poet has pilfered this conceit from Mu'izzī substituting 'youth' for 'heart':¹

گفتی دوتا چرا شود قامت مرد زیرا که ز گوهر جوانی شد فرد
و انرا که بیو قتاد چیزی از دست پشت از پی جستن دوتا باید کرد

You ask: Why does the stature of a man become bent ?

Because he has parted with the pearl of youth.

He who drops a thing from hand must bend his back to find it out.

The following Arabic piece, which conveys the same meaning, was recited to me by an Egyptian friend, Dr. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān Amin Bey of Cairo, whom I happened to meet in Madrid. The authorship of the piece is unknown,

¹ I discovered these two pieces in a manuscript of *Zubdatu'l-Ash'ār* (67, Ouseley Collection, Bodleian Library, p. 120). This book is an abridgement of *al-Murjān Fi Ma'āyiri Ash'ari'l-'Ajam* (ed. Mirza Muḥammad of Qazwin, Gibb Series). The above lines should fill the lacuna on page 440. Many of the corrupt readings in the latter work could be corrected in collation with this Ms. Besides the chapter on old Pahlawi words and an ornate Qasidah by Faḍlu'llah b. Muḥammad of Shirāz, treating of metres and figures, should form part of *al-Murjān*, and should be included in it, when it is reprinted.

and although Dr. Amin assured me of its antiquity I personally think that it has been composed by an amateur. Nevertheless, it furnishes a good parallel to the above Persian passages, although it cannot be said to have inspired them.

وشيوخ فوق ظهر الارض يمشي و هامته تعادل ركبته
 قتلن له لماذا انت نحفي قال مقاباً نحوى يديه
 شبابى فى الثرى قد ضاع منى وها انا فى الزى ابحت عليه

Many an old man who walks on the back of earth with
 his head on a level with his knees,

To him have I said : "Why dost thou bend thy back ?"
 And he has replied wringing his hands :

"I have lost my youth in the dust, and lo! I am
 searching for it in the dust."

((G)) *Similes employed in describing the various features
 of the beloved, followed by parallel passages on Love.*

The similes and metaphors, which both Arabic and Persian poets employ in describing the various physical charms of a beautiful person, have been enumerated and illustrated by Sharafu'd-din ar-Rāmi in his book *Anīsū'l-'Ushshāq* (Lovers' Companion).¹ In this section we

1 This book has been translated into French by C. Huart, but, besides certain very important omissions, his renderings are often faulty. There is one fine manuscript of this book in the Cambridge University Library, one in the British Museum, besides many others on the Continent. All these manuscripts, however, have suffered through the carelessness and, perhaps, ignorance of the copyists. Especially the references to Arabic poets are hopelessly wrong. At places it is pointed out that such and such simile was used by such and such Arabic poet, but in spite of my ransacking their works I have been unable to find any trace of such similes. Shall we presume that such similes existed in their *Diwāns* at the time of ar-Rāmi and have disappeared from later recensions? One such example by way of explanation will suffice. It is written in the book that Imru'u'l-Qays compared the "Khaff" or downy hair on the cheeks of a stripling to "burnt aloes" (Camb. 89b)!, which is a flagrant misstatement, because love of youthful boys became a theme for poetry only during the 'Abbāsid period.

will restrict ourselves to three types of examples, of which the first is from early Arabic poetry, while the remaining two belong to the later 'Abbāsid times.

(i) Ancient Arabic poets often compare the curly hair of a beautiful woman to "clusters of grapes." According to Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, the following verse by al-A'shā, describing the hair, is unrivalled in ancient Arabic poetry, and was warmly admired by the blind poet Bashshār :¹

فَافْضَيْتُ مِنْهَا إِلَى جَنَّةٍ تَدَلَّتْ عَلَيَّ عُنَاقُهَا

Then I betook myself to her (face fresh like) garden,
and her (hair like) clusters of grape dangled over me.

1 *Diwānu'l-Ma'āni*, p. 72a.

Other examples of this rare simile are as follows :

(a) Ṭarafah says (*Diwān*, ed. Seligsohn, p. 147) :

صَادَتْ الْقَلْبَ بَيْنِي جَوْدَرٌ وَ بَنَرُ فَوْقَ الرِّجَانِ جَم
و بَفْرَعَيْنِ عَلَى أَمْتَانِهَا مِسْكِرٌ كَعُنَاقِيدِ السَّحْمِ

She captivated my heart with the eyes of a young wild calf, and with a neck adorned by a rich necklace of pearls,

And with two long plaits of hair, sleek and full-grown, which fell upon her back like clusters of black grapes.

Al-Mukhabbal says (*Masāliku'l-Abṣār*, p. 24b) :

و تَضَلَّ مَدْرَاهَا الْمَوَاشِطُ فِي جَدِيدِ أَحْمَرٍ كَأَنَّهُ كَرَمٌ

The tirewomen lose their combs in her intensely black hair which resembles the grapes.

Shammākh says (*Kitābu'l-Muḥibbi wa'l-Maḥbūbi*, p. 6b) :

دَارُ الْفَتَاةِ الَّتِي كُنَّا قَوْلَ لَهَا يَا ظِيَّةَ عَطَلَا حَسَنَةَ الْجِيدِ
تَدْنُو الْحَمَامَةَ مِنْهَا وَهِيَ لَاهِيَةٌ مِنْ يَانِعِ الْكَرْمِ قَنَوَانِ السَّنَائِدِ

This is the house of the maiden whom we used to address : "O Gazelle of symmetrical form and superb neck!"

The she-dove would draw near her while she sported with (her hair like) ripe bunches of grapes.

Abū Ṭ-Tamahān al-Qaynī (*Ḥamāsah* of Abū Tammām, ed. Flügel, p. 811) :

لَقَدْ حَلَقُوا مِنْهَا عُذْفَانًا كَأَنَّهُ عُنَاقِيدُ كَرَمٍ ابْتَعَتْ فَاسْبَكْرَتْ

They shaved from it (i.e. the head), the raven-locks which looked like ripe and full-grown bunches of grapes.

And lastly 'Umar b. Abi Rabi'ah says (*Kitābu'l-Muḥibbi*, p. 4a and Nuwayri: ii. 19) :

سَبَّحَهُ بِوَحْفٍ فِي الْقِمَاصِ كَأَنَّهُ عُنَاقِيدُ دَلَالِهَا مِنَ الْكَرْمِ قَاطِفٌ

She captivated him with her rich and luxuriant hair, plaited at the end with ribbons—hair which resembled bunches of grapes suspended from the vine by the vintager.

This rare and peculiarly Arabic simile has been adopted by the Persian poet Mu'izzī:

کشیده زلف کمره گیر در میان دولب چون خوشه غناب اندر میان غناب

She put her curly tresses between her lips, where they appeared like a bunch of grapes placed between jujube-berries.²

1 *Diwān* of Mu'izzī, p. 177b. *Anisul-'Ushshāq* (Huart), p. 16.

2 The comparison of lips to the jujube-berries came in vogue with the post-Islamic poets. Cp. Abul-Faraj al-Wāwā (*Yatimah*, i. and *Maqāmāt* al-*Hariri*, ed. Steingass, p. 20):

فامطرت لؤلؤ من نرجس وسقت ورداً وضعت على الغناب بالبرد

Then she rained pearls from the narcissus, and watered the rose, and bit upon the jujube with hailstones.

This is translated into Persian by an unknown poet (*Anisul-'Ushshāq* ed. Huart, p. 61) as follows:

زاله از نرگس فرو بارید و گل را آب داد و ز تکرک روحپور مالش غناب داد

She rained hailstones from the narcissus, watered the roses, and rubbed her life-giving jujubes with the hailstones.

Steingass, perhaps on the authority of Sharaf, i. 51, supposes that "unnāb" here stands for "henna-stained finger-tips". Indeed the word is susceptible of two interpretations. Thus we have the verse of Minuchihrī (supra p. 81):

زنده می زد بتابها

and Sa'dī says in his *Gulistan*:

بمخون هزاران فرو برده چنگ سر انگشتها کرده غناب رنگ

I think it was Abū Nuwās who first compared the finger-tips to *unnāb*; he says: (*Umdah*, i. 200)

يا قرأ بصرت في مأثم يندب شجواً بين اتراب

بيكي نيدري الدر من نرجس ويلطم الورد بتاب

What a full-moon I saw in a mourning assembly, lamenting plaintively amidst her equals;

She was weeping and thus scattering pearls from a narcissus and slapping the rose with jujubes.

Great Persian poets like Mu'izzī and Zahir use the word *unnāb* to represent the lip. Mu'izzī says:

مناب شکر بار تو هر که که بخندد شاید که بخندد بتاب عجب بر

Every time that thy sugar-pouring *unnāb* smiles, it is befitting that it should laugh at sugar and *unnāb*.

And Zahir says (*Diwān*, p. 9b; Huart: *Anisul-'Ushshāq*, p. 69):

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Khāqāni also has made use of the same simile :¹

گیسو چو خوشه ناکه و از بهر عید وصل
من همچو خوشه سجده کنان پیش عرش

She plaited her tresses like a bunch (of grapes), and I, through felicity of union, lay prostrate before her juniper form like a bunch.

(ii) The love-locks, hanging loosely from the temples and falling on the cheeks in front of the ears, are compared by later Arabic poets to scorpions that approach the fire (i.e. the glowing red colour) of the cheeks, and recoil through fear of being burnt.² The Persian poet Daqiqi compares the love-locks to scorpions in the following verse without pressing the simile further :³

زخم عقرب نیستی بر جان من کر ورا زلف معقرب نیستی

My soul would not have smarted from the sting of a scorpion, if he (i.e. his beloved) had not possessed scorpion love-locks.

The simile was first introduced by Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz who set the example for others. He says :⁴

چرا هوای لب خون من بجوش آرد اگر نشاندن خون از خواص عتاب است

Why does the desire after thy lip make my blood boil, if it is the property of the jujube to cool the blood ?

Besides this particular simile, the comparison of eyes to narcissi, of tears to pearls, of cheeks to roses, and of teeth to hailstones, is also borrowed by Persian poets from later Arabic poets. It would be superfluous to illustrate them.

1 *Dīcān i-Khāqānī*, p. 59a. The comparison of stature to 'ar'ar is also Arabic. 'Ar'ar corresponds to the Persian *Sarr*.

2 I have already adverted to the corruption of poetic taste in the 'Abbāsid times, when the function of the *Tashbīb* degenerated into the praise of handsome Turkish youths.

The love-locks worn by beautiful boys correspond to the modern bobbed hair. I may add that coxcombs in the East still follow this fashion, which in a local parlance is called '*Alamī* hair.

3 *Lub.* ii. 12.

4 *Kitaḥu'l Muḥibbi*, p. 6b. I.M. alludes to an Arabic expression cited by Ibnu's-Sikkī, viz. *كأنى شئوة عند الصدود* = as if I was a scorpion in aversion. Scorpions are known to shun fire.

رَمَ يَتِيهِ بِحَسَنِ صُورَتِهِ عَثَّ الْقَتُورُ بِحَسَنِ
فَكَأَنَّ عَقْرَبَ صَدْغِهِ وَقَفَتْ لَمَّا دَنَتْ مِنْ نَارِ وَجْنَتِهِ —

He is a gazelle, proud of the beauty of his form ;
Languishment plays about the beauty of his eyes :
As though the scorpion of his lock paused (in fear)
When it approached the fire of his cheek.

An Arabic speaking poet of the fifth century A.H., named Abū 'Abdi'r-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdi'l-'Azīz an-Nīlī, whom al-Bākhārī met in his old age, has based the following lines on the above simile of Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz:¹

اشْتَقْتُ لَمَّا حَلَّ اَصْدَاغُهُ سَاحَةً خَدَّ جَرَهَا مُحْرِقُ
فَانْقَلَبْتُ اَصْدَاغُهُ كُلَّهَا سَالَةً وَاَحْزَقُ الْمَشْفِقُ

I was afraid, when he loosened his love-locks on the
expanse of his cheeks burning like a live-coal, (lest
they should be burnt):

But his love-locks withdrew in safety; it was the one
who feared that burnt therein.

These verses were recited by al-Bākhārī to Abū Naṣr

¹ *Dumyāh*, p. 190a.

Aṣ-Ṣanawbarī expresses the same idea when he says (al-'Askari, *Kitāb al-Sinā'atayn*, i. 457, 21):

— نَوَيْتُ تَقْبِيلَ نَارِ وَجْنَتِهِ وَخَفْتُ اَدْنُو مِنْهَا فَاحْتَرَقُ

I intended to kiss the fire of his cheeks, but I was afraid to approach it
lest I should be burnt.

The same poet again (*Risālatu'l-Ghufrān*, p. 11):

تَخِيلَهُ سَاطِعًا وَجْهَهُ فَتَأْتِي الدُّنُو إِلَى وَجْهِهِ

He considered him as his face glowed with heat, and refused to approach
its heat.

Mutanabbī also has expressed the same idea, but in different words (*Dumyāh*, p. 57b):

وَبَسَنَ مِنْ بَرْدِ خَشْبَتِ اُذْيِهِ مِنْ حَرِّ اِنْفَاسِي فَكُنْتُ اَلْدَّابَّاءُ

They displayed their hailstones (teeth) by smiling: I was afraid to melt
them by the warmth of my breaths, but it was I who melted,

of Juwāshir,¹ a famous contemporary Persian poet, who versified them into Persian on the spur of the moment :

بترسیدم از زلف ترا ز آتش رخسار تو چون بر فروخت
زلف تو برگشت بی آزار ازو و آنکه همی ترسید ازوی بسوخت

I was exceedingly afraid lest the glowing fire of thy cheek should burn thy lock :

Thy lock returned from it without harm, while the one who feared was burnt by it.

(iii) The soft, downy hair growing on the upper lip, or on the cheeks (*khatt*), is compared to green sprouts, musk, ambergris etc. Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz says:²

و نکاد الشمس تشبهه و یکاد البدر بحکيه
کیف لا یخضر عارضه و میاه الحسن ته

The sun is almost like him, and the full moon nearly resembles him :

Why should not his cheeks become green, since they are moistened by the waters of beauty ?

Rūdakī says :³

بر کرد کل سرخ کشیده خط سبزی نا خلق جهان را بکند بخلالوش

He has drawn a green line (*khatt*) around his red rose (the cheeks), and has thereby thrown the people of the world into consternation.

Zahīr-i-Fāryābī also says :⁴

1 *Dumyāh*, 190a. The surname of the poet is given as الجوسوری (al-Jūswarī or Jawswarī) which seems to be wrong. The name of the city of Kirmān was Juwāshir, or Juwashir or Gawāshir (vide *Le Strange : Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*). Hence the surname of the poet ought to read as Juwāshirī, or Juwāshirī.

2 Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, ii. 82.

3 Shu'arī : *Farhang-i-Shu'arī*, i. 367a.

4 *Lubāb*, ii. 302, 14; Huart : *Ants*, p. 42. The poet feels jealous of the down that enjoys the exclusive pleasure of kissing the lips of the beloved

در خط شوم ز سبزه خط تو هر زمان تالِب چرا بران لب شکر فشان نهاد

I am troubled every moment by the down that grows about thy lips, and ask: Why has it placed its lips on thy sugar-pouring lips?

(b) Abū Firās compares the down to musk: ¹

قَر كَأَنَّ بِعَارِضِهِ كَلْبَهَا مَسَكَ نَسَاقَطَ فَوْقَ وَرْدٍ أَحْمَرٍ

A moon is he; and the down on his cheeks looks like musk falling on a red rose.

Mu'izzī has taken this simile and says: ²

مِنْ غِلَامِ آن خَطِ مُشْكَبِنِ كَه كُوْنِي مُورِچِه پَايِ مُشْكِ آلودِه مَرَبْرَكِ كُلِّ سَرِيْنِ نِهَاد

I am the slave of that musky down, which looks as if an emmet had laid its musk-besmeared feet on the leaf of a white rose.

Rūdakī likens the down to a halo of ambergris: ³

اِبَاقْدِ تَوْچُونِ سُرُوِي ز دِيْبَا كَرْدِ آن آذِيْنِ وَيَا رُوِي تَوْچُونِ مَا هِي زَعْبِرِ كَرْدِ آن بَر هُونِ

¹ *Yatimah*, i. 36; *Nuwayrī*, ii. 81.

² *Lubāb*, ii. 73; *Huart: Ants*, p. 46.

The comparison of the down to the footprints of an emmet is also found in the verses of an Arabic poet of Baghdād, named al-Khubzu'r-ruzzi (rice-bread baker) who lived in the 4th century A.H.: (*Nuwayrī, Nihāyah*, i. 82; see also *Yatimah*, ii. 133; and *Mas'ūdī*: viii. p. 374):

اَنْظُرْ اِلَى التَّجِجِ يَجْرِي فِي لَوَاحِظِهِ وَ اَنْظُرْ اِلَى دَعِجٍ فِي طَرَفِ السَّاحِي

وَ اَنْظُرْ اِلَى شِمَاتٍ فَوْقَ عَارِضِهِ كَأَنَّهِنَّ نَالَ سَرْنٍ فِي الْبَاجِ

Behold the blandishment in his glances, and behold the intense blackness and whiteness of his broad gentle eyes.

And behold the soft hair on his cheek, which appear like an emmet creeping on ivory.

³ *Shu'ūrī: Farhang*, i. 165a.

An Arabic poet says (*Nuwayrī*, ii. 83):

يَا لَأَتَمِّي فِي حَبِّ ذِي عَارِضٍ مَا لِلْبَلَدِ الْمُخْضَبِ كَالْمَارِجِلِ

يُوجِ مَاءَ الْحَسَنِ فِي وَجْهِهِ فَيَقْدِفُ الْعَبْرَ فِي السَّارِجِلِ

O you, who blame me for loving one possessed of a dowy cheek, know that a fertile soil is better than a barren one.

The water of beauty produces waves on his face, and throws ambergris on the shore.

O you, whose form is like a cypress decked in brocade :

O you, whose face is like a moon haloed with ambergris.

'Umārah likens it to the civet-perfume :¹

نا بدید آمدت امسال خط غایه بو غایه خیره شد و زاهری عنبر خوار

Since this year a civet-smelling down has appeared on thy face, the civet-perfume has become dismayed, and the fragrance of ambergris has been put to shame.

It is needless to multiply examples of this sort. Almost all similes enumerated by Sharafu'd-din ar-Rāml could be traced back to their Arabic origin. It would be interesting, however, to record in this place the opinion of this author about the originality of Persian poets. While mentioning the various epithets applied to the lips of a beautiful person, he tells us in the most undisguised terms :

و اهل عجم در استعمال عبارات عرب میگردند ' که در نهیب و سلب
دست تصرف دارد ' و این معنی از مطالعه دواوین استادان
عرب محقق گردد.²

"The Persian are at full liberty to use the expressions of the Arabs, because they have a free hand in plundering and pilfering (the poetic ideas of other people); and this fact can be verified by studying the works of the Arab Masters."²

Thus ar-Rāml, though himself a Persian, is hacking away at the very root of Persian originality! Nor is this attack unwitting and isolated: the author is perfectly serious about what he says. In another place of his book, while counting those peculiar similes which Persians alone employ in describing the teeth, he again remarks:³

1 Shu'arf: *Farhang*, ii. 40b.

2 *Ans'at-Ushshiq*, Camb. Univ. Lib. Man. Add. 261. ii. f. 73b-112a, p. 24b.

3 *Ibid.* 97a.

و اهل عرب بهیج باب دندان برین کلمات فارسی نمی نهند^۱ و
 شعرای عجم دندان طمع در الفاظ ایشان فرو برده اند^۲ و در
 تصرف تشبیهات مخیرند.

"And the Arabs do not use any of these Persian words in describing the teeth, whereas the Persians have set the teeth of greed on their expressions, and appropriate their similes with impunity."

Nevertheless, we should bear in mind that these novel similes used by the 'Abbāsid poets were a result of their close contact with Persian life and Persian culture, because we rarely come across such similes among the ancient Arab poets. We may make this point very clear by considering the objects to which the fingers of a beautiful person were compared by ancient Arabic poets. Imru'ū'l-Qays, for instance, compares the fingers of his mistress to the red-headed worms of *Zabi* and to the tooth-sticks of the *Ishil* tree, on account of their softness and flexibility. But these similes, excellent and apt in themselves, would have been repugnant to the taste of the 'Abbāsid poets, most of whom lived in towns and saw things which one would hardly expect to find in the desert. They would rather liken the fingers of their ladies to twigs of silver, or of pearls, tipped with cornelian, rubies or jujube-berries,¹ or to the tail of an ermine.²

Since most of these similes are euphuistic, and any further elaboration of them would serve no useful purpose, we shall now proceed to consider those parallel passages which, to some extent, are the true expression of the poet's soul, and which, crude as they are, contain some philosophy of love.

(i) *A lover's long night of separation.*

To a lover, the night of separation is long and endless,

1 For illustrations of such similes, see the verses of Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz and Ibnu'r-Rāml in *'Umdah*, i. p. 204; the verses of Abu'l-Mu'ayyad of Balkh (*Lubāb*, ii. p. 36, ll. 18-22).

2 See the verses of 'Unāfi (Huart. *Ants*, p. 80), and also the verses of Kisrī (*Lubāb*, ii. 36, 22-24.)

and the heavenly bodies appear stationary in his sight. Even the dawning of day does not make much difference to him. The thought of the beloved one haunts his mind day and night. Such a description of night is supplied by Imru'ū'l-Qays :

الا ايها الليل الطويل الا انجلي بصبح و ما الا صباح منك بأمنل
كَأَنَّ الزيا عُلِّقت في مصامها بأمراس كتان إلى صمّ جندل

O thou, long night! be brightened by dawn, although the dawn itself is not much preferable to thee.

1 Ahlwardt: *Diwān*, p. 148.

Many ancient Arabic poets have spoken of the night in these terms. We need only mention the following verses by Mutanabbī (*Ibnah*, p. 12):

من بعد ما كان لي لا صباح له كان أول يوم الحشر آخره

After this, my night had no morning; as though its last portion was but the beginning of the Resurrection day.

This line, according to the author of *Ibnah*, is an imitation of the following line by Muḥammad b. Ḥāshim al-'Ubaydī :

سهرت لي فنوم العين متبول كأن لي يوم الحشر موصول

I passed my night in wakefulness, and the sleep in the eyes grew weak, as though my night was joined to the day of Resurrection.

The following description of the night by the Persian poet, Anwarī, seems to be based on the above verses in Arabic:

شی گذاشته ام دوش در غم دلبر بران صفت که نه صبحش بدید بدنه سحر
چنان شی بدرازی که گفתי مردم سهر باز نزاید همی شی دیگر

I have passed a night, in grief for my beloved—a night, of which neither the morning nor the dawn was visible.

So long was the night that you would say every moment that heaven would not bring forth a night any more. —

In the following verses Anwarī has quoted the phrase "*uḥādun am sudāsun*," from the famous line of Mutanabbī, viz. :

احاد ام سداس فی احاد لیلا المنوطة بالتار

which has baffled many grammarians. Anwarī says :

می سیده دم شبِ خذلان بد خواهی چنانکه تا صبح حشر میگوید احاد ام سداس

May the hapless night of thy foe be without dawn, so that he may go on crying until the morning of the Resurrection day (*uḥādun am sudās*) "Is it one night, or all the nights put together?"

There are other passages of like import scattered all over the *Diwān* of Anwarī.

The Pleiades (move not) as though they were secured firm at their stations by strong ropes of flax to solid rocks.

Daqlqī seems to have had the above description by Imru'ū'l-Qays in view when he composed the following lines :¹

شبِ یسّر کردم چگونه شبی همی از شبِ داج تاریکتر
درنگی که گفتم که بروین همی نخواهد شد از تارکم زاستر

I had before me a night—O what a night, darker than the darkest night!

So slow was it that I thought that the Pleiades would not move away from above my head.

(ii) *The condition of the Lover at the times of trysting and separation.*

A Ḥamāsah poet says :²

و عافی الارض اشقی من محبٍّ وإن وجد الهوى حلو المذاق
ترام باکیاً فی کلّ وقتٍ مخافة فرقه او اشتیاق
فیبکی ان نأوا شوقاً الیهم ویبکی ان دنوا خوف الفراق
فتسجن عینه عند التناهی و تسجن عینه عند التلاق

None in the world is more miserable than a lover, although he may find love of sweet relish :

Thou seest him weeping at every time, through fear of separation, or through longing ;

If his mistress part, he weeps through yearning for her, and if she approach, through dread of estrangement ;

Thus his eyes become inflamed with tears at parting, and his eyes grieve at the time of trysting.

The same thought has been handled differently by Persian poets. For instance, 'Unsuri says :³

1 *al-Murjam*, p. 255.

2 *Hamāsah of Abū Tammām*, ed. Flügel, p. 588.

3 *Ibid.*

هجر اوز امید وصل او بود شیرین چو وصل وصل او از بیم هجرش تلخ چون هجران بود

Separation from her, in hope of union, is as sweet as union ; and union with her, in fear of separation, is as bitter as separation.

(b) Qaṭrān says :¹

نهیب هجر او دارم در امر او وصل او غمگین امید وصل او دارم در امر او هجر او شادان

The fear of parting from her makes me sad at the time of meeting ; and the hope of meeting her makes me happy during her separation.

and (c) Bahā'u'd-dīn Marghistānī (d. 527 A.H.) says :²

عمرم بسر رسید و ندیدم امید آنکه بینم رسیده مدت هجران تو بسر
شادان مباد از خیر وصل تو دلم کر باغم فراق تو دارم ز خود خبر

My life has reached its end, but I did not realise the hope of seeing the period of separation from thee at an end.

May my heart not rejoice to hear the news of thy coming, if inspite of the grief of thine absence, I should be conscious of my being !

(iii) *A lover's curse.*

When love is unrequited, and inspite of constant appeals on the part of the lover, the beloved is irresponsive, the lover through despair prays that his beloved may, in turn, be afflicted with the love of some cruel person equally irresponsive, in order that she may realise what tortures one has to suffer in love. The following verses by Ibn Ja'far, a Ṭalibite, furnish an example of this kind :³

¹ *Diwān*, p. 126b.

² *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣṣā*, Teh. ed. p. 172.

³ *Umdah*, ii. 100; *al-Mathalū's-Sā'ir*, d. 473. The whole name of the poet is 'Alī b. 'Abdillāh b. Ja'far b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdillāh b. Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib. *Umdah* also gives the remaining lines which describe how the poet's beloved actually falls in love with a young man who does not return her overtures. The lines are :

فما كان إلا عن قليل وأشفقت	بحبّ عزّال ادعج الطرف الحمر
و عذبها حتى أذاب فؤادها	و ذوّفها طعم الهوى والتذلل
قلت لها هذا بهذا فأطرفت	حياء وقالت كل من عاب ابتلى

ولتا بدا لی آنها لا نودتی وان هواها لیس عتی بمنجلی
تمنیت ان نهوی سوائی لعلها تذوق صابات الهوی فترقی لی

When it became evident that she did not love me, and
that love for her would not quit me,

I wished that she might love some one other than me,
so that perchance she might taste the pangs of love
and become soft towards me.

To this passage correspond the following verses by Rābi'ah, daughter of Ka'b, which have been so highly praised by Prof. R. A. Nicholson, for their sincerity and depth of feeling.¹ As Rābi'ah came of an Arab tribe and was well-versed in both Arabic and Persian it is probable that she imitated the above passage of Ibn Ja'far:²

دعوت من بر تو آن شد که ایزدت عاشق کند
بر یکی سنگین دلی نامهربان چون خوشتن
تا بدانی درد عشق و داغ مهر و غمخوری
تا بهجراندر بیچی و بدانی قدر من

Professor Nicholson has rendered this passage into English in his own inimitable manner :

"This is my curse on thee. God send thee love
One like thyself, unkind and obdurate,
That knowing love's deep cautery thou mayst writhe
In loneliness, and know my worth too late."

1 *Studies in Islamic Poetry*, p. 24; the Persian text in *Lulāb*, ii. p. 62, 14.

2 As a matter of fact her ode (*Lulāb*, ii. p. 62) beginning with

مرا عشق همی محمل کنی بحیل

is reminiscent of the poem of Ibn Ja'far especially, the last line in Arabic,

فمن تکبر يوماً بعد عزّ ذلّ

is very much like the concluding verse of Ibn Ja'far's poem.

And the following stray verse of Rūdaki, which seems to have formed part of a ^{مقطعه} piece, is also of similar import:

بتو باز گردد غم عاشقی نگارا مکن این همه زشتیاد

Love's sadness will redound on thee; therefore, my love! do not find so
much fault with me.

The large variety of the parallel passages given in this chapter would conclusively prove to what a considerable extent Persian poetry has been moulded by Arabic poetry. It is true that the majority of the passages cited belong to the post-classical period, but, as we have already pointed out, it was precisely this post-classical Arabic poetry, a continuation of ancient Arabian poetry, which played so predominant a part in the development of Persian poetry, to which it gave its direction and design.



CHAPTER VI.

THE INFLUENCE OF PERSIA AND PERSIAN POETRY ON ARABIC POETRY.

We have shown by copious illustrations how Persian poetry was moulded and influenced at its renaissance by Arabic poetry. We have also casually remarked how Arabic poetry in its turn underwent a transformation when it left its native soil. In this last chapter, we will briefly survey the effects on Arabic poetry of its contact with Persian surroundings.

Great as the influence of Arabic poetry has been on the development and growth of Persian poetry, the influence of Persia on Arabia and Arabic poetry is much older, and has had far-reaching consequences. The so-called "Arab Civilization" was the product of the combined efforts of several nationalities, which under the impact of Islam became merged into one whole. In this amalgam, the Persians bore a significant part. Even in the production of poetry, the chief literary output, of which the Arabs could boast, they were surpassed by the Persians. "Take away from what is generally called Arabian Science—from exegesis, tradition, theology, philosophy, medicine, lexicography, history, biography, even Arabic grammar—the work contributed by Persians and the best part is gone."¹ It would be an interesting and highly fruitful study to trace this Persian influence in all the branches of Arabic literature, but this has already engaged the attention of greater scholars, who have left us the rich results of their extensive researches and investigations.² The humble aim of this

1 Prof. Browne: *Lit. Hist.* i. 204.

2 For instance, Kremer, Brockelmann, Goldziher, Spiegel, the Russian orientalist Iacozanzer, Prof. Browne, Prof. Nicholson, and other eminent scholars.

thesis is to inquire into the influence of Persia on Arabic poetry from the pre-Islamic times to the 'Abbāsid period.¹

While studying the works of pre-Islamic Arab poets like Imru'u'l-Qays, Tarafah, Labid, A'shā, Aws b. Hajar and others, whose speech was considered to be by far the purest, we come across numerous Persian words in their poems; and many of them, inspite of the fact that the ancient Arabs looked with sovereign contempt on Persians, show considerable familiarity with Persian life and Persian customs.² Was this a mere adventitious circumstance, or were there some deeper causes underlying this infiltration of Persian words into Arabic in pre-Islamic times? The Arab poets could not have used such foreign words without presupposing that they were intelligible to their countrymen. A considerable period of time must have elapsed before these words found currency among the people. Of the many causes, responsible for the penetration of Persian influence into Arabia, the most important by far were three, viz. (a) the contiguous position of the two countries, (b) the political relations, and (c) the commercial intercourse between them.

The contact of Arabia with Persia goes back to olden times. The interior of Arabia itself was not free from Persian influence. "At several places of the Peninsula," says Goldziher, "there were Persian traders who lived side by side with the Arabs. And from the beginning of the Christian era, we find Persians exploiting gold mines at

1 Even in this field considerable work has been done by Goldziher, especially in his essay on "*Islamisme et Parsisme*" and in the famous chapter on "'Arab und 'Ajam" in his *Muhammadanische Studien*. An Indian scholar, Dr. A. Siddiqi, wr. te a thesis on "*Persische Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*," which is a good recapitulation of what is to be found in the works of Goldziher and the *al-Mu'arrab* of Jawāliqī. The present writer also cannot claim much originality in the following pages which are based upon the works of the above great masters.

2 Goldziher: *Muā. Stud.* pp. 102-103 with footnotes; and *Islamisme et Parsisme* p. 22.

different points of the country (Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, ii. 193). As to the extent of the influence exerted by these Persians, we may judge of it by the fact that a portion of the Arab tribe, Banū 'Ijl, who were settled in Baḥrayn, became completely Persianised." It is therefore but natural that many Persian words should have got mixed with the Arabic spoken in those parts, whence they gradually spread over the Peninsula.

The Sāsānian period is a very important period in the development of relations between Arabia and Persia. In this period, we find Arabs and Persians at deadly grips with each other, contending for power. Shāpūr I, son of Ardashīr, annihilated the whole tribe of Qūḍā'ah, who had fought on the side of Saṭīrūn (Dayzan), the story of whose betrayal by his own daughter Naḍīrah and her own cruel and tragic end is too well known.¹ Similarly Shāpūr II drove out, at the point of sword, the Arab hordes which had begun to ravage the western parts of the Persian empire towards the end of the third century A.D.² Gradually, however, the unruly Arabs of the North were subdued, and in place of anarchy and disorder there arose the prosperous kingdom of al-Ḥīrah under its Arab rulers, the Lakhmites, who acknowledged the suzerainty of Persia.

Situated near the Persian capital and exposed to its genial influences, al-Ḥīrah became the chief transmitter of Sāsānian culture in the North. It provided the best opportunity for the Arabs and Persians to meet together. The Arabs, who came to al-Ḥīrah and settled there, gradually gave up their nomadic mode of life and assimilated the ways of its people.³ Here also lived the 'Ibādī Christian poet 'Adī b. Zayd, who had acquired great proficiency in

¹ Goldziher: *Islamisme et Parsisme*, p. 23; *Muh. Stud.* i. p. 193.

² *Tabari*, i. 2, pp. 827-29=Nöldeke: *Tab.* 33-38.

³ Nöldeke: *Aufsätze*, pp. 97-98.

⁴ *Tabari*, i. 822=Nöld. *Tab.* p. 24. Rothstein: *Die Dynastie der Lachmiden in al-Ḥīra*. Prof. Nicholson: *Lit. Hist.* p. 39-49.

Persian, and who could also play the Persian royal game of polo. On account of these and other accomplishments, he was appointed secretary to the Persian Kisrā, by whom he was subsequently sent on an embassy to Byzantium.¹ The Lakhmite court also attracted many ancient Arabian bards. Among those who resided there, we may mention Nābighah and Laqīṭ; and among those who came as occasional visitors to obtain rewards, the names of 'Abid b. al-Abrāṣ, Ṭarafah and his uncle Mutalammis, Labid and al-A'shā stand out prominently. The last-named went as far as the Persian court at Madā'in, and is said to have sung before Nushirwān himself. His constant mention of the Persian musical instruments, flowers and herbs indicates that he was fascinated by the Persian mode of life. To his stay at the Persian court and his contact with Persian life Ibn Qutaybah attributes the abundance of Persian words to be found in his poems.² We may also consider that al-Hīrah, on account of its central position, must have been a great emporium of trade, which allowed a close contact between the Arabs and Persians. The caravans of Abū Sufyān, carrying the commodities of the Meccan merchants to Persia,³ must have passed through al-Hīrah. Some of these caravan people learnt the stories of ancient Persian kings and heroes of the National Epos. One such storyteller was the Qurayshite an-Nadr b. al-Hārith, who thinned the audience of the Prophet by diverting the people of Meccah with the Persian legends of Rustam and Isfand-yār.⁴

Besides the kingdom of al-Hīrah, the south-east coast

1 *Aghāni*, ii, 18-40, Brockelmann, i, 29; Prof. Nicholson: *Lit. Hist.* pp. 45-48; Ibn Qut. *Poësis*, p. 114.

2 Ibn Qutaybah: *Poësis*, pp. 136-37. 3 Goldziher: *Islamisme et Parsisme*, p. 22; *Aghāni* vi, 93, 12; *Kāma Abu Sufyān tājwan, yuzuhhizut-tujjara bi-mālāhi wa bi-muli Qurayshin al-arḍi*: 'Ajam.

4 *Ibn Hishām: Sirah*, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 191 and 236; Prof. Nicholson: *Lit. Hist.* p. 320; Weil: *Patische Lit. der Araber*, pp. 54-55.

of Arabia, with the provinces of Baḥrayn and 'Umān extending to the borders of Yamāmah and Yaman, belonged to Persia.¹ Many Persian words passed into Arabic through Baḥrayn and 'Umān, and some of these are still traceable in pre-Islamic poets.² The Persian Governor of Baḥrayn was designated Asbad, and the Arab subjects under him were stigmatised by the free Arabs as "Slaves of Asbad" (*'Abidu Asbada*).³ The last Persian governor of Baḥrayn, al-Mundhir b. Sāwā, along with other Persians, came over to Islam, soon after Baḥrayn was conquered by the Muslim forces.⁴

We have also to take account of Yaman which, at the birth of the Prophet, was under Sāsānian influence. Its emancipation from the Abyssinian yoke was brought about by the Persian levies sent by Nūshirwān to help Sayf b. Dhī Yazn in driving out the invaders. After four years of joint rule with the Persian commander, Wahriz, Sayf was killed by his Abyssinian slaves while hunting. The Yamanites were so grieved at the loss of their prince that they did not appoint any other ruler from among themselves, but were content to remain under the Persian government. The last Persian governor Bādhān embraced Islam (10 A.H.) and was retained by the Prophet as governor of Yaman with his capital at Ṣan'ā. At Bādhān's death which took place soon after the Farewell Pilgrimage, the Prophet divided Yaman among the provincial governors, leaving Ṣan'ā to Shahr, the son of Bādhān.⁵

The Persians who came with Sayf b. Dhī Yazn settled in Yaman and married among the Arabs. They were

1 Hamzah: *Annals*, p. 138,

2 Jawālikī: *al-Mu'arrab*, ed. Sachau, pp. 10-11.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Nöldeke: *Tabari*, p. 268, footnote 2; Balādhuri: pp. *Futūḥ* 76 and 85; Ibn Hishām: *Sirah*, pp. 945 and 971.

5 Prof. Browne: *Lit. Hist.* i pp. 178-181; Omara's *History of Yaman*, transl. by H. C. Kay, p. 138; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ* p. 105; Ibn Hishām: *Sirah*, p. 46; and *Aghāni*, xvi, p. 75 et seq.

called Banu'l-Ahrār or Sons of the Noble. Their descendants also retained the same appellation for a long time.¹ We find this term for the first time used in a poem of Umayyah b. Abi'ṣ-Salt, which he recited before Sayf b. Dhī Yazn in the presence of Arab deputations which had come to congratulate him on his victory over the Abyssinians. Among those present on the occasion were the Quraysh notables of Mecca with 'Abdul-Muṭallib, the Guardian of the Ka'bah, at their head.² This fact shows in what close relation the Arabs of the North stood with Yaman. The Yamanites' victory over the Abyssinians was looked upon as a great national achievement.

Thus we see that pre-Islamic Arabia was almost surrounded by Persian influence, and we can imagine what a great effect this political situation must have had on the Arabic speech. The poem of Umayyah alone contains five Persian words, according to the different versions given by Ibn Qutaybah, Ibn Hishām, Ṭabarī and Ḥṣfahānī.³

Besides political relations, we must also consider the part which commercial intercourse plays in the making of a language. It is well known that there was an active commercial intercourse between North and South Arabia, and

1 Among the distinguished persons who originated from Yaman, we may mention (a) Wabb b. Munabbih, the earliest compiler of the Qur'ān, vide Ṭabarī i. 1763; (b) 'Abid b. Sharyah, the romancer, who was summoned by Mu'āwiyah from Ṣan'ā to relate to him the history and legends of the kings of Yaman (Prof. Nicholson: *Lit. Hist.* p. 13; *Fihrist*, p. 89; see also Brockelmann *Geschichte d. a. Lit.* i. pp. 61-67; and Prof. Browne: *Lit. Hist.* i. p. 273.)

To these may be added the names of Ḥasan b. Ahmad al-Hamdānī and Naḥwān b. Sa'īd al-Humyārī. Among the Yamanī poets, it will suffice to mention Waḍḍāḥ al-Yamanī to whom we have already referred in chap. iv, and Yazīd b. Raḥmān b. Mufarrigh al-Ḥimyārī who seems to have composed Persian verses as well, vide Jāḥiḡ: *al Bayān*, p. 61; Ibn Qutaybah, p. 210. See also Prof. Nicholson's *Lit. Hist.* p. 19, footnote 2.

2 *Aghānī*, xvi. 75; Ibn Qutaybah, *Poësis*, pp. 281-282; Ṭabarī, i. 956; and Ibn Hishām, *Stral* p. 44. Except *Aghānī*, all other authorities attribute this poem to Umayyah's father, which is probably correct. I have followed the author of *Aghānī*.

3 See the above footnote.

that from ancient times the carrying trade of the world passed through Yaman. We may, therefore, safely assume that the caravans, which bore the rich stuffs and wines of Yaman to the North, must have carried along with them also some of the ideas prevailing there.¹ In this way, many Persian words must have travelled from Yaman to the remaining parts of Arabia. In due course of time, these Persian words came to stay, and, became part and parcel of the Arabic language. By the time of the Prophet, they came to be regarded as Arabic, and some of them even passed into the Revelation.²

The conquest of Persia during the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and the farther progress of the Muslim troops in the days of the Umayyads brought in more Persian words, which were gradually assimilated in poetry, as may be evidenced from the quotations given in *al-Mu'arrab*.³ Arabic music which developed during the Umayyad period

1 Goldziher: *Islamisme et Parsisme*, p. 23

2 Words such as *Dim Sijil*, *sarj*, *sarabīl* etc. (see *Mu'arrab*). We must also note that one of the early companions of the Prophet was Salīmān, the Persian, whose counsel helped the Prophet at the Battle of Khandaq (= Persian *kandah*, see, *al-Mu'arrab*, p. 51).

3 *Al-Mu'arrab*, loc. cit. En passant, we may add that the institution of *Diwān* (Exchequer) by 'Umar was a Persian suggestion, and so was the starting of the Hijra Era (al-Beruni, *chronology*, p. 29).

After the conquest of Persia, Muslims began to evince more interest in the affairs of Persia and the history of its people. The Caliph 'Uthmān invited to his court at Medina the Christian Abū Zubayd Ḥarmalah b. Mundhir, who before the advent of the Prophet, had paid visits to many kings, especially, the kings of Persia and knew the account of their lives (Goldziher: *Islamisme et Parsisme*, p. 5; *Aghāni* xi. 24; *kāna min zuwārī'l-mulūki wa khayātān mulūki'l-'Ajam*, wa kāna 'alīman bi-siyarhim...). Mas'ūdī records that a Book of History, detailing the public and private life of Persian monarchs, based upon the documents in the imperial archives of Isfahān, and containing portraits of each monarch, was translated into Arabic in the year 118 A.H. for the use of Hishām son of 'Abdū'l-Malik (vide *Tanbih*, p. 106). Many such records and histories may have been translated in the days of the Umayyads but the vandalism of the 'Abbāsids wiped out of existence what they had done.

was largely influenced by Persian music.¹ On account of the development of music, poetry itself came to be refined, and the isolated parts of the *Qasidah*, which were only loosely connected before, now assumed a sort of uniformity and coherence. The amatory songs of 'Umar b. Abi Rabi'ah show signs of Persian influence.²

Persian influence attained its climax during the reigns of the first 'Abbāsid caliphs. We must not, however, suppose that it came all of a sudden: on the contrary, it had been slowly making itself felt through the Umayyad period. The Arabs living in the provinces remote from the central seat of government were gradually losing their national aloofness, and adopting the ways of the indigenous population. "The Arabs of Khorāsān," says Muir, "were almost more Persian than Arab. Their fathers had married Persian wives, and the sons spoke Persian rather than Arabic, drank wine, wore trousers, and kept Persian holidays..."³ It was in Khurāsān, where the Arab rule was so precarious and unsteady, that the renaissance of Persian poetry took place, and it was in Khurāsān that the standard of revolt was unfurled by Abū Muslim against the Umayyads: and it was really the Khurāsānian soldiery that won the throne of Persia for the 'Abbāsids. The deep hatred for the Umayyads, and hence for all Arabic speaking people, finds its expression in a letter which Ibrāhīm wrote to Abū Muslim: "See that there be not one left in Khorāsān whose tongue is the tongue of the Arabian, but he be slain."⁴ Naturally, from the very beginning, the 'Abbāsids showed a decided bias towards Persians. The highest offices of the State were awarded to them, and the whole mechanism of government was based upon

1 For details, see Von Kremer: *Streifzüge*; Prof. Nicholson: *Lit. Hist.* pp. 236-237.

2 *al-'Umdah*, ii. 99-100.

3 Muir: *The Caliphate*, p. 423.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 432. This letter was intercepted by Marwān, the Asst.

the model of the Sāsānians.¹

Persian influence reached its height during the ascendancy of the Barmecides who really managed the affairs of the State ; and had the plans of Ja'far succeeded, and had he not been taken unawares by Hārūnū'r-Rashīd before proceeding to Khurāsān, the history of the 'Abbāsids might have been written otherwise.² The Barmecides used their influence in promoting their countrymen, and in reviving their national traditions.³ They encouraged the Shu'ūbite movement and gave offices to those who bitterly hated the Arabs.⁴ They themselves were not free from Persophile tendencies. The philologist Aṣma'i (d. 831 A.D.) speaks of them as conniving at heresy :⁵

إذا ذكر الشرك في مجلس انارت وجوه بني برمك
واب تليت عندهم آية اتوا بالأحاديث عن مزدك

When polytheism is mentioned in an assembly, the
faces of the sons of Barmak beam with joy ;
And if a verse of the Qur'ān is recited in their presence,
they bring in the sayings of Mazdak.

Another Persophile gentleman, who had perhaps

1 For the institutions of the Sāsānids adopted by the 'Abbāsids, see, Prof. Browne, *Lit. Hist.* i. pp. 255-260 ; Goldziher : *Islamisme et Persisme*, p. 5 et seq. ; Von Kremer : *Streszüge* ; and Darmesteter : *Coup d'œil sur l'Histoire de la Perse*. The last two books consider this question in detail.

2 Prof. Margoliouth : *Umayyads and 'Abbasids*, p. 199 et seq.

3 Vide Prof. Browne : *Lit. Hist.* i. 158, Manṣūr's consultation with Yahyā b. Khālīd about the demolition of Iwān-i-Kisrā. In the literary field they encouraged writers to translate old Pahlavi works into Arabic and thus prevented them from perishing. Abūn al-Lāhiqī versified the Pahlavi works such as *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, the national romances of Ardashīr and Nūshīrwān, Mazdak and Sindbad etc. (*Fihrist*, pp. 119 and 163) ; and similarly other writers and poets who were under their patronage.

4 For instance, 'Allān, the Shu'ūbite, a copyist at the Baytū'l-Hikmah, who was a hide-bound hater of the Arabs, and who composed a book of *Mathalib* in which he exposed every Arab tribe (*Fihrist*, p. 105) ; and so were Sa'īd b. Ḥamād al-Bakhtakān (*id.* 123) and Saḥl b. Hārūn (*id.* 102) who was in the employ of al-Ma'mūn.

5 *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, ed. Brockelmann, p. 71 ; Jāhiz : *al-Bayān*, ii. 150.

retired from active service, and was spending his time in building mosques, says :¹

إِنَّ الْفِرَاقَ دَعَانِي إِلَى ابْتِنَاءِ الْمَسَاجِدِ
و إِنَّ رَأْيِي فِيهَا كَرَأْيِ بَجِيٍّ بِنِ خَالِدٍ

Verily my retirement has called me to the construction of mosques,

Else my opinion about them is the same as the opinion of Yahyā son of Khālīd.

Indeed, many of the Persians, who had accepted Islam through force of circumstances, had inward leanings to the faith of their fathers. Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' (d. 142 A.H.), happening to pass by a fire-temple, thus addressed it :²

يَا بَيْتَ عَانِكَةِ الَّذِي اتَمَزَلْ حَذَرَ الْعَدَى وَ بِهِ الْفَوَادِ مَوَكِلْ

O abode of 'Ātikah, which I now shun through fear of enemies, while my heart is attached to it.

After the catastrophe that fell on the house of Barmak, a league was formed by the people of Khurāsān to avenge the deaths of Abū Muslim and Ja'far, and they were only waiting for an opportunity to strike the blow. Their hopes naturally turned to al-Ma'mūn, because his mother was Persian and because he himself had been brought up in the family of Ja'far, and was therefore partial to the Persians.³ The war that followed between the two brothers, Amin and Ma'mūn, was again a contest for supremacy between the Arabs and the Persians; and indeed, the caliphate of Ma'mūn is marked by a re-awakening of Persian national feeling, realised in the semi-independent dynasty of the Tahirids, who in many respects imitated the Sāsānian kings

1 'Uyūn, p. 71.

2 Ibid.

3 Prof. Margoliouth: *Umayyads and Abbāsids*, p. 203.

of Persia.' Some of the Tāhirid family were themselves poets, and we infer from a line of Ibnu'r-Rūmī¹ that a son of 'Abdu'llāh b. Tāhir, named 'Alī, composed Persian verses as well. We have, therefore, every reason to believe that besides Ḥanẓalah, the first Persian poet, whose *Diwān* was compiled, there must have arisen several other Persian poets whose names and works have not been preserved.

The early 'Abbāsīd period is noted for its wealth of light literature and romance, and this was largely the work of Persian scholars and poets. The art of historiography also dates from this period. Referring to this, Goldziher says :

1 Jāḥiẓ: *Kitābu'l-Tāj*, ed. Zaki Pāshā, pp. 149-150. It was a custom with the Sāsānid kings, Ardashīr, Bahrām Gur and Nushīrwān, to order all the dresses in their wardrobes to be distributed among their courtiers, favourites and other people according to their ranks. Their idea was that a king should not require to wear the garments of summer in winter and vice versa, but that they should be given away when the season is over. Therefore on the day of Mihrajān, the king used to wear new robes of silk etc. and give away the summer raiment; similarly on the Nawrūz day, he used to distribute all the winter clothes.

Jāḥiẓ then proceeds to say. We do not know any Muslim ruler, who followed this custom of the Sāsānids except the Amīr 'Abdu'llāh b. Tāhir who behaved like them on these two festivals.

The same prince was in the habit of using the expressions of Nūshīrwān the Just. For instance, he once wrote in an official letter (Bayhaqī. *Mahāsīn*, p. 310, 16; Jāḥiẓ: *Mahāsīn*, pp. 158-59):

من سمى رعى و من لزم المنام رأى الاحلام

which is the translation of the following Persian sentence :

هر که رود چردهر که خست خواب یند

In the face of such facts, it is hard to believe the absurd anecdote of Dawlatāhāh (which has misled even Prof. Browne, who otherwise is so severe upon him, see, *Lit. Hist.* i. 346-347) that 'Abdu'llāh ordered a copy of the romance of *Wāmiq o 'Adhā*, which was brought before him, to be thrown into the river, saying: "We are men who read the Qur'ān, and need not such books, but only the Scripture and Tradition. This book, moreover, was composed by Magians, and is therefore accursed in our eyes."

2 *Diwān*, ed. Gihānī, p. 171 :

يا شاعر العجم الكرام كما ان بن حجر شاعر العرب

"The writing of history on the part of the Arabs had its roots in the imperial archives of the Persians, and there would have been no Arab historiography if the Arabic scholars had not received the first impulse from Persia, for it was this impulse which led them to make researches and preserve the historical relics of their own nation."¹

In like manner, the ethico-didactic literature, both in Arabic and Persian, derived its material from the ethical and didactic works of the Sāsānian times.²

Coming to the Arabic poetry of the 'Abbāsīd period, we find that the early great poets of this period, Bashshār, Abū Nuwās, al-'Abbās al-Aḥnaf, were of Persian origin. Some of them even boasted of their Persian parentage. Thus Bashshār proudly called his own tribe "the Quraysh of Persia";³ al-Khuraymī exulted that he had the noble blood of the chiefs of Ṣughd in his veins⁴; and long before them, Isma'īl b. Yasār had nearly lost his life for praising his Persian ancestors in the presence of the Umayyad caliph Hishām (A.D. 724-743).⁵ The Arabic poetry of this period abounds in Persian words and expressions.⁶ The poets found to their advantage a rich mine of Persian proverbs which they rendered into Arabic verse. "The poetry of Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abdu'l-Quddūs (d. 167 A.H.) alone, says Abū Hilāl

1 *Islamisme et Parsisme*, p. 4.

2 For full details see Inostranzyev: *Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature*, translated from Russian by G. K. Nariman, chaps. iii and iv; for the names of books written on *Akhlaq* cp. *Fihrist*, pp. 315-316.

3 *Aghāni*, iii. 21:

نسى في الكرام بنى عامر فروعى واصل قريش المعجم
My branches grew in the noble tribe of Banū 'Āmir,
While my stock is the Quraysh of Persia.

4 Ibn Qutaybah: *Posie*, p. 512, 3:

انى امرء من سراء الصند البسنى عرق الاعاجم جلداً طيب الخمر
I am a man from the noble chiefs of Ṣughd, and my noble Persian ancestors have clothed me in a skin of goodly repute.

5 Prof. Browne: *Lit. Hist.* i. 266.

6 Cp. the verses of the Rājiz 'Umānī before Ḥarūn, and those of Aswad b. Kuraymah, 'Udhāfir and Khurrahād (*Jāhiz: Bayan*, i. 61).

al-'Askari on the authority of Ibn Durayd, contains one thousand Arabic proverbs, and one thousand Persian proverbs."¹ Later on, there were poets who deliberately versified Persian proverbs into Arabic. One such poet was Abu'l-Faḍl as-Sukkari of Merv who, according to Tha'alibi,² "was fond of translating Persian proverbs into Arabic." Of the many proverbs which he strung together in the *mathnawī* form of verse, the following three with their Persian equivalents will illustrate the point:³

(a) من رام طمس الشمس أخطا الشمس بالتطين لا تغطى

He who seeks to efface the sun is mistaken: the sun cannot be hidden by plastering.

The Persian equivalent is: آفتاب بكل اندودن نتوان which Asadi of Tūs has put into verse:⁴

چنین داد پاسخ بت دل کسل که خورشید پوشید نتوان بکل

The heart-breaking beauty answered thus:

The sun cannot be covered over with mud.

(b) اذا الماء فوق غريق طما قناب قنأ و الف سوا

(1) When the water surges over the drowning man,
A measure of a spear-shaft or a thousand is alike.

The Persian equivalent is:

چون آب از سرگذشت چه يك نيزه چه صد نيزه

of which the purport is found in the following lines of Salmān:⁵

غمش دریای بی پایان و ما را دستگیری نی

گذشت آب از سرت سلمان چه پائی دست و پای زن

His love is a boundless sea, and I have none to take my hand:

1 *At-Tafḥīl* p. 217 of *at-Tuhfatu'l-Bahiyah* (Jawālib, 1302).

2 *Fatimah*, iv. 23.

3 The Nos. (b) and (c) are noticed by Prof. Browne: *Lit. Hist.* i. 476, but without the quotations from Persian poetry.

4 *Gharīb-namah*, p. 4b.

5 *Shu'arāt-e Salmān*, i. 15b.

The water has passed over thy head, O Salmān ! how long to continue ? give up the ghost.

(c) احسن ما فى صفة الليل وجد الليل حبلى ليس يدري ما يلد

The best description of the night to be found is :

The night is pregnant ; it is not known what it will bring forth.

The Persian equivalent is : شب است آبستن بینم چه زاید
The night is pregnant : let me see what it brings forth.

This idea has been expressed by several Persian poets,¹ and was not altogether unknown to the Arabs, as may be seen from the following two examples :

(i) 'Adī b. Zayd says :²

يا راقدا الليل مسروراً باؤه ان الحوادث قد تطرقن اسحارا
لا تأمنن بليل طاباؤه فرب آخر ليل أنج النارا

1 Farrukhī says (*Diwān*, p. 43a) :

گفتم تو چه دانى که شب تیره چه زاید بشکب و صوری کن تا شب بنهد بار
I said : How can you know what the dark night will bear ?

Be patient and wait until the night lays down its burden.

Iftikharī of Bukhārā says (*Bulkhāna*, ii. 687a) :

و لیکن هنوزم امید است وائق که دوران چه زاید اذ اللیل حبلی
But still I have a firm hope as to what Time will bear, since the night is pregnant.

Minūchihri says :

زمانه بامل هجرت و لابد نهند يك روز بار خویش حامل
Time is pregnant with separation, and the pregnant must needs deliver themselves of their burden one day.

and Zahr (*Diwān*, p. 2b ; *Majma'u'l-Fuḡahā*, p. 196b) says :

زمانه هر قسم تازه محتى افزاید اگرچه وعده مبین شده ست حبل را
Time adds a fresh trouble every moment, although the period is fixed for the pregnant.

and Ḥāfiṣ says (*Farhang-i-shu'arā*, p. 23a) :

فریب! جهان زمه' روشنست بین تا چه زاید شب آبستن است
The deceit of the world is a well-known story :

Wait and see what the night brings forth, since it is pregnant.

2 Kharrabī,

O you who sleep at night, pleased with its first part,
know that accidents happen a little before day-break.

Be not secure against the night whose first part is
pleasant, for many a latter part of the night has
kindled the fire (of war etc.).

The verses of 'Adī are general in drift, but those of Bashshār, given below, are very much like the Persian proverb, and contain very nearly the same words. Bashshār says:

ارجع إلى سكن تعيش به ذهب الزمان وانت منفرد
ترجو غداً و غداً كاملة في الحى لا يدرون ما تلد

Return to a quiet abode wherein you may live in peace;
time is gone, and thou art left alone.

Thou desirest the morrow, and the morrow is like a
pregnant woman in a tribe, who do not know what she
will bring forth.

Another poet, who versified Persian proverbs into Arabic, was Abū 'Abdī'llāh aḍ-Ḍarīr (the Blind) of Abīward (see, *Yatimah*, iv. 25).

Besides these poets who translated Persian proverbs into Arabic verse, some of the later Arabic poets borrowed ideas and images from early Persian poets, who were either contemporary with them or preceded them by a short space of time. Thus many Persian verses, now lost to us, live in their Arabic translations, of which we will cite a few examples.

The figure used in the following verses by Abu'l-Hasan Ahmad b. al-Mu'ammil, says Tha'alibi, is taken from two couplets of Rūdakī, which seem to have become rare even in his day:*

لا بالتى انت بها تنظر تصور الدنيا بعين الحجبى
من عمل الخير به صبر الدهر ببحر فانخذ زورقاً

Consider the world with the eye of understanding, not
the one wherewith you see :

The world is like a sea, so choose a boat of good actions
and cross thereby.

Al-Kāfi al-'Umānī al-Majūsī has copied the following idea
from Persian:¹

و صحراء ردتها الظباء حفائراً بأظلافها احسن بها من حفائر
فهبّت رياحاً للصبا فطمسناها بمسك فمادت تزهة للنواظر

Many a plain (there is) which the gazelles have turned
into pits by their hoofs : how excellent those pits !

Then there blew the easterly breezes, and filled them
with musk, and lol they have again become a delight
for the eyes.

Most of the poets mentioned by al-Fākhrazī in his *Dum-yatu'l-Qasr* were natives of Persia, and knowing both Arabic and Persian they were able to compose in either language. They show extraordinary skill in translating from one language into another ; and as they were well conversant with the contemporary Persian poetry, they could easily transform into Arabic any beautiful idea or conceit which they found in Persian. One of these bi-lingual poets, ash-Shaykh Abū Alī al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdī'llāh al-'Uthmānī was particularly gifted in this respect. He has Arabicised the following quatrain of Farrukhī:²

خط آوردی رواست ای روی چوماه خوشتر گشتی از آنچه بودی صد راه
از آرزوی خط تو خوبان سیاه بر روی همی کشند خطهای سیاه

It is proper that thou hast grown the down round thy
moon-like face : thou hast become a hundred times
more beautiful than before ;

1 *Dumyah*, p. 22a.

2 *Dumyah*, p. 201a ; *Labab*, ii. 50.

Through envy of thy down, the fair ones of the camp
draw black lines on their faces.

The Arabic version is :¹

عذرت يا من وجهه قد عذر المصودا
قد تحسبك الصباح ماذا أرايتها الحدودا
وتخط في حدودها ال . . بيض خطوطاً سودا

Thou hast grown the down, O thou ! whose face has
baffled the lovers ;

The beautiful envy thee, ever since thou hast shown
them thy cheeks,

And they draw black lines on their bright faces (in
order to appear like thee).

The same poet has translated the following quatrain by an
unknown Persian poet :²

تا بیری دی دو زلف بر عارض زلفت صد پیرده دریده گشت و صد نوبه شکست

خوبیت بمستی و بهشیاری هست هشیار نکو تری ندانم یا مست

Ever since thou hast trimmed the two locks on thy
lovely cheeks, a hundred veils have been rent, and a
hundred vows broken.

'Thou retainest thy beauty both in drunkenness and
sobriety : I know not whether thou art more beautiful
when sober, or when drunken.

The Arabic version, except for the substitution of 'alf' for
'sad,' is so exactly like the original that its translation
in English is unnecessary.

مذقرضت الصدغ فوق عارض كالبدر نقضت الف نوبة وهكت الف ستر

حسنك باق حالة الصحو وحالة السكر في الصحو أبهى أنت أم في السكر كنت ادرى

The same poet again has translated a third Persian
quatrain into Arabic, and as both the original and the copy

¹ The Gotha Ms. of *Dumyâh* says that the fourth line is dropped. But the
sense is complete.

² *Dumyâh*, p. 301a.

are similar in content they are placed side by side. The translation in English is after the Arabic version : (*Dumyah*, p. 201b).

آبجا که نباید نه پدیدي گوئی نـحـجـب فـي وـقـت الحـجـاب فـلا تـرى
و انجا که بیايد از زمین بروئی و تنبت في وقت اللقاء من الأرض
عاشق کنی و مراد عاشق جوئی و نصبي الموالي ثم تبني مرادم
اینت خوشی و ظریفی و خوشخوئی و ذاغایة فی الطرف و الخلق المرضی

Thou hidest at the time of seclusion and are not seen,
but sproutest forth from the earth at the time of
meeting ;

Thou beguilest the lovers and then seekest their wishes ;
this is an extreme point of elegance and pleasing
nature.

Another bi-lingual poet, Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr 'Abdu'llāh was asked to render the following Persian quatrain into Arabic :

می برکه عاشقت که چنین زردست کوئی که جو من از صنمش فردست
کیرم که مشک بوی بوئی دادست این رنگ زعفران ز کجا بردست

Of whom is wine enamoured that it is so pale ?

Perhaps like me, it, too, is away from its beloved.

Supposing musk has lent its smell to it,

Wherefrom has it borrowed the hue of saffron ?

and this he did verbatim :

بمن شغف الراح مصفره تراها عراها الذی قد عرائی
هب المسک سوغها عرفه فانی لها صبغة الزعفران

The poet Abū Ja'far al-Andādī composed Qaṣīdahs in Arabic, which he translated into Persian verse, keeping the same metre and rhyme, and al-Bākhharzī says that he was unique in this respect, and that no one else was able to emulate him. Al-Bākhharzī gives two examples in which

the first verse is in Arabic and the second, its translation, is in Persian :¹

- عذیری من قدك الخیزرانی ومن وردنی خذک الارجوانی (1)
فغان زان دورخ چون گل ارغوانی وزان برشده قامت خیزرانی

Who will defend me 'gainst thy rattan form and 'gainst
the roses of thy ruddy cheeks ?

- التا بیدر الدجی فأنظرا الی صوره صوّرت للوری (2)
یکی بر مه چارده بگذرا بروی نگارین او بنکرا

Draw near the full-moon of darkness, and behold a
figure drawn for mankind.

Al-Qādi Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abdu'l-'Azīz at-Tībī has translated the following Persian quatrain into Arabic :²

گفتی برو برابرم چه نشینی اینک رفتم چرا چنین غمگینی
چون بفروشی بتا ستور زین بر بسته بر آخردگر کس بینی

You said, "Go away, why do you sit beside me ?"

Now that I am gone, why are you so sad ?

When you sell your saddle-horse, O my idol !

You will find it tied at another's manger.

The Arabic version is :

وامت الذی أبعدنی اذ رأیتنی وها أنا ذا غاد فإلک نحزن
اذا انت بعت اليوم مہرا الهزلہ نراء علی آدی غیرک یسمن

It is you who put me away when you saw me ; and here
am I departing, then why do you grieve ?

If you sell a colt today for its leanness, you will see it
grow fat at the manger of another.

¹ *Dumyāt*, p. 261a. This should not be confounded with the form called *Mulamma'* in which Arabic and Persian verses alternate and are not of the same meaning.

² *Dumyāt* 'l-Qayr, Bodl. Library MSS. p. 126 a.

From the above examples it will be seen that the Persian Arabic poets of the 11th century A.D. were particularly fond of translating Persian quatrains into Arabic on account of their terse and epigrammatic character. Besides, the quatrain being the indigenous product of Persia, these later poets wanted to introduce it into Arabic literature, and consequently their first attempt was to imitate the Persian originals. We shall now give a few independent specimens of Arabic quatrains, composed in this period. We have to remember that in the early form of Persian quatrains the four lines rhyme with one another ; the same peculiarity is to be observed in the Arabic quatrains.

Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Khaṭīb of Būshanj says :¹

قدماض فراقه قنارى والله واستهلك هجره قرارى والله
اذرى الدم لى ونهارى والله لم يغن عن الهوى حذارى والله

Separation from him has broken my back-bone, by God
And his absence has destroyed my peace, by God ;
I weep tears of blood all day and night, by God,
No caution can avail against love, by God.

The same poet again says :²

ابلى جسدى هوى ظلوم جانب قد هجن قدّه قضيب الباب
يامن أضحى و ماله من مالى ما ضرك لوفككت هذا العاني

Love of a cruel tyrant has worn out my body,
His form puts the twig of Bān tree to shame,
He is such that he has no one as his second,
What harm, if you can free this bondman ?

Al-Bakharzī says that he did not know about this kind of composition, until his father recited to him the quatrains of

1 *Dumyāt* (Bodl. Lib. Ms.), p. 80a.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 80b.

Abu'l-'Abbās of Bākhārī, which follow the same order. Here is a quatrain by al-Bākhārī himself :¹

اعطيتك يا بدرُ عنان القلب لا زلت ارى هواك شأن القلب
لولم يكن الصدر صوان القلب انزلتك والله مكان القلب

I gave thee, O Full-moon ! the rein of my heart,
Thy love continued to be the sole care of my heart,
If my bosom were not the safe of my heart,
By God, I should put thee in the place of my heart.

We shall now give some more Persian passages which, though translated into Arabic verse by later poets, were at first inspired by Arabic passages of a similar import, as the following quotations will show :

(i) Āghāḥī says :²

ای آنکه نداری خبری از هنر من خواهی که بدانی که نیم نعمت پرورد
اسب آر و کند آر و کتاب آر و کمان آر شعرو قلم و بربط و شطرنج و می و ورد

O thou, who have no knowledge of my accomplishments,
If thou desirest to know that I am not one reared in
luxury,

Then bring forth the steed, the lasso, the book and the
bow,

As also poetry, pen, lute, chess, wine and backgammon.

1 *Dumyāt* (Bodl.) p. 80a.

2 *Lubb*, i. 82. According to 'Awfi, Āghāḥī derived this from the following verse of 'Alī:

سئل عن سيرتي سبي ونوسي ورعى والملة والتضايا

As regards my actions, ask of my bow and arrow, my spear, my trials,
and my judgments.

But had he not the following famous verse of Mutanabbi before his mind ?

الحيل والليل والبيداء تعرفني والغرب والظلم والطمر والطير والطير

"The desert knows me well, the night, the mounted men,
The battle and the sword, the paper and the pen."

(Prof. Nicholson: *Translations from Eastern Poetry and Prose*, p. 80.)

This passage was translated into Arabic verse by al-Hamadhānī with slight variations:¹

ان شئت تعرف في الآداب منزلي و اتنى قد عدائى الفضل و النعم
فالطرف والقوس والاوهاق تشهدلى والسيف والنرد والشرطيح والقلم

If you wish to know my rank in various accomplishments,
although wealth and luxury have left me,
Then the horse, the bow and the lasso will bear me out,
as also the sword, backgammon, chess and the pen.

(ii) *The worn out body of the lover compared to a fine hair.*
Al-Mantiqī says:²

1 Al-'Ukbarī, ii, 259. The authorship of this passage is disputed. The 'alibi at one place (*Yatimah*, iv, 79) attributes it to one Abu'l-Qāsim Isma'īl b. Ahmad ash-Shajari, and at another place he says that perhaps Āghājī himself translated it into Arabic (*Tutimmatu'l-Yatimah*, p. 152). But in all probability it was al-Hamadhānī who versified it into Arabic as he was fond of translating Persian ideas into Arabic.

2 *Lubāb*, ii, 17. This idea has been expressed by many Arabic poets, from whom Mantiqī seems to have borrowed it. The following passages are, as far as possible, given in chronological order. Besides Al-Majnūn's description of the emaciation of his body, Ibn Qutaybah (*Poësis*, p. 351) has cited other parallels by 'Umar b. Abi Rabī'ah, an unknown Arab poet, and 'Ubayd b. Ayyūb al-'Anbarī):

(a) Majnūn :

آلا انما غادرت يا ام مالك صدى اينما تذهب به الريح يذهب
Ho! Mother of Mālik, thou hast left me behind like an echo which goes
whither the wind carries it.

(b) Bashshār (*Aghāni*, iii, 26) :

ان في بردى جساً ناعلاً لو توکات عليه لانهدم
Verily within my two cloaks is a body so thin that, if you were to lean
against it, it would fall to pieces.

and again (*ibid.* p. 56) :

في حلتى جسم فتى ناعل لو هبت الريح به طاحا
In my cloak is the body of a lean youth: if the wind were to blow against
it, it would fly off.

(c) Mu'ammil likens the lean body to a breath blown off by the breaths of other people (*Shahāṭ*, p. 134-136):

تد صرت من ضغنى الى حاة تجري لها آماق حسادى
يكاد جسى من يحول الضنا تحمله انناس عوادى

Continued on page 184.

يك موى بدزيدم از دو زلفت چون زلف زدى اى صنم بشانه
چوناش بستى همى كشيدم چون مور كه گندم كشد بخانه
با موى بخانه شدم پدر گفت منصور كدامست از دوكانه

Through weakness, I am reduced to such a condition that even the eyes
of my envious shed tears at it;

My body has become so lean through disease that it can almost be borne
by the breaths of my visitors.

(d) Khālid al-Katib describes his body as one existing in the imagination
(Sharist, i. p. 135):

فدا خيلك ضواً لا حراك به لم يبق من جسمه الا نومه

Thy friend has become thin and motionless and naught has remained of his
body except its imaginary existence.

(e) Ibnū'l-Mu'tazz represents the body to be so thin as to be hardly
visible to Death (*ibid.*):

مسجد خانه التفریق فی امله اضواء سیده ظلماً بمرتحمه

فدق حتى لو أن الدهر فادله حقاً لما أبصرته مقلتا اجله
A sleepless one, whom separation has disappointed in his hopes: his lord
has emaciated his body by cruelly departing from him;

Hence he has become so thin that if Time were to lead its doom to him,
the eyes of Death would not perceive him.

(f) Mutanabbi has made the body disappear altogether (*id.*):

ولو قلم ألقيت في شق رأسه من السقم ما غيرت من خط كاتب

If I were thrown into the cleft of the nib of a pen, I shall not spoil the
lines of a scribe through my leanness.

The following lines by the same poet are still better known:

روح تردد في مثل الحلال اذا اطارت الريح عنه التوب لم يبين

كفى بجسمي محولاً اتني رجل لولا غاطبتي اياك لم ترني

"(I am only) a spirit permeating (a body) like a splinter (in leanness) no
longer visible when the wind blows the garment away from it.

Thin enough is my body, for indeed I am a man whom thou wouldst not
see if I did not speak to thee."

(Prof. Browne, *Lit. Hist.* iii. pp. 547-548).

The Persian poet Jāmi has based the following line on the above description
(*ibid.*, p. 546):

گشتم چنان ضعیف که بی ناله و فغان ظاهر نمی شود که درین یرهم یکست

"I have grown so thin that, but for my lamentation and wailing, it would
not appear that there was any one in this shirt." (Prof. Browne.)

Another unknown poet says:

مرا ضعیفی آنچنان نهان کردست که جز بنانه نداند کسی وجود مرا

Continued on page 185

"One hair I stole from out thy raven locks
When thou, O sweetheart, didst thy tresses comb,
With anxious toil I bore it to my house,
As bears the ant the wheat-grain to its home.
My father when he saw me cried amain,
'Which is my son, I pray thee, of these twain?'"¹

Badī'ū'z-Zamān al-Hamadhānī was asked by As-Sāhib b. 'Abbād to render the above verses of Manṭiqī into Arabic in the *Sari'* metre, which he did on the spur of the moment:²

سرق من طرته شعرة حين غدا يمشطها بالمشاط
ثم تدلحت بها متقللاً تدلح النمل بحب الحنط
قال ابي من ولدي منكما كلا كما يدخل سم الحياط

"I stole from his tresses a hair
When he combed them with care in the morn,
'Then, labouring, bore it away
As the ant staggers off with the corn.
Quoth my father, 'Since either would go
Through the eye of a needle, I trow,
Inform me I pray thee, which one
Of the twain is my son?'"³

(iii) *The lover wounds the cheeks of his beloved by*

Leanneas has so concealed me that, except for the wailing and groaning,
no one is aware of my being.

A minor poet of the *Yaffmah* says (vol. i 165):

لبي سيد فانت يعلمني بحسنه كيف يجب العبد
لما رأني وفي يدي قلم لم يدرك مولاي انسا ظم

I have a lord, bewitching in beauty, who teaches me, by reason of his
beauty, how to worship an idol.

When my master saw me with a pen in my hand, he did not know which
one of us two was the pen.

1 Prof. Browne, *Lit. Hist.* i. 463; for the Persian text, cp. *Lubāb*, ii. 17.

2 Prof. Browne, *Lit. Hist.* i. 464.

3 *Ibid.*

glancing upon [them; while the beloved in retaliation wounds the lover's heart.

Abū Shukūr of Balkh says in this connection:¹

از دور بدیدار تو اندر نگرستم مجروح شد آن چهره یرحسن و ملاح
وز غمزه تو خسته شد آزرده دل من وین حکم قضائست جراحت مجراحت

"I ventured to glance from afar at thy face, and Behold!

'Twas sufficient a wound to inflict on thy countenance sweet;

By thy glance in return was my heart smitten sore,
for of old

'Tis a law of Atonement that 'wounding for wounding'
is meet."

1 *Lubb*, ii. 21.

2 Prof. Browne; *Let. Hist.* i. 467. A similar idea is expressed by Sir Philip Sidney in his *Arcadia*:

His heart his wound received from my sight;
My heart was wounded with his wounded heart;
For as from me on him his hurt did light,
So still methought in me his hurt did smart.

This pretty conceit was worked out by several Arabic poets before Abū Shukūr, who evidently got it from them. Here are some examples:

(a) Abū Tammām says (*Al-Mathalut-Sa'ir*, p. 467):

ادميت باللعظات وجته فاقصم نازله من القلب

I made his cheek bleed with glances: so his eye took the revenge from my heart.

(b) Ibnū'r-Rūmī says (*ibid.* 476):

جرجه العيون فاقصم منها بجوى أن القلوب دوى الدوب

The eyes wounded him: so he took vengeance from them by a pain that causes bleeding wounds in the hearts.

(c) The same poet again (*Ibānah*, p. 16):

بند و فيكرت باللعاط جراحتا في وجته وق القلوب جرا

He comes out in the morning: then we multiply wounds on his cheeks by our glances, while our hearts smart with the wounds inflicted by him.

(d) Al-Mutanabbī says (*ibid.* p. 16):

ما باله لاحظه! فتضرجت وجناه و نواذى المروح

What is the matter with him that when I glanced at him, his cheeks became stained with blood, as also my heart?

The bilingual poet Abu'l-Fath al-Bustī has rendered this idea into Arabic :¹

رَمَيْتِكَ عَنْ حُكْمِ الْقَضَاءِ بِنَظَرَةٍ وَ مَالِي مِنْ حُكْمِ الْقَصَاصِ مَنْصَاسٍ
فَلَمَّا جَرَحْتَ الْخَدَّ مِنْكُمْ بِمَقْلَقِي جَرَحْتَ فَوَادِي الْجُرُوحِ قَصَاصِ

By chance I shot thee with a glance, but I could not escape the decree of retaliation ;

So when I wounded thy cheeks with mine eye, thou also didst wound my heart, for wounds are retaliated.

(iv) *Tears shed from the eyes are the heart-blood transformed into water.*

Al-Ma'rūfī, an early Sāmānid poet, says :²

خُونِ سَيْدِ بَارَمِ اَزْدَوْرْخَانِ زَرْدَمِ آری سَیِّدِ بَاشَدِ خُونِ دَلِ مَصْعَدِ

I rain white blood on my pale cheeks :

Yea, the blood of a boiling heart is white.

This idea, says Tha'alibī³, was expressed by several contemporary poets who wrote in Arabic. For example, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī says :

وَلَمْ أَرَ لِي يَوْمَ الرَّحِيلِ مُسَاعِدًا عَلَى الْوَجْدِ حَتَّى أَقْبَلَ الدَّمْعَ مُسْعِدًا
وَكَانَ دَمًا فَايِضًا مِنْهُ أَحْمَرَارُهُ بِنَارِ التَّصَابِي حِينَ فَاضَ مُسْعِدًا

I did not see a helper on the day of marching to soothe my grief, until the tears advanced to my aid.

(e) Al-Ḥamadhānī says (*Yatīmah*, i. 67) :

بَدَتْ مِنْ خَلَلِ الْحِجَبِ كَتَلُ اللَّوْلُوهِ الرُّطْبِ
فَادَمَى خَدَّهَا لِحْظِي وَ أَدَمَى لِحْظُهَا قَلْبِي

She came out of the screens of the curtain like a fresh pearl ;
So my glance wounded her cheek, and her glance wounded my heart.

(f) Abū Kāmil Tamīm b. Muḥarrir at-Tūṭī says (*Dumyāh*, p. 11a) :

يَجْرَحُهَا اللَّعْظُ عَلَى أَنْفِهَا يَجْرَحُهَا بِاللَّعْظِ سَوَادُ الْقُلُوبِ

The glances wound her, but she by her glances wounds the core of the hearts.

1 *Zubab*, ii. 31. See another such passage on page 32.

2 *Fatīmah*, iii. 164.

They were blood, but as they came overflowing through
distillation their redness was changed into whiteness
by the fire of love.

The following lines by an anonymous poet also contain the
same idea :¹

أراك دمي اذ جرى فحملني من الضرّ والبلى على مركب صعب
فلا تنكرن تلك الدموعَ فاتناً بيضها تصعدها من دم القلب

Did my tears deceive you, that you made me mount
the restive horse of difficulty and distress?

Blame not these tears : it is their distillation from the
heart's blood that makes them look white.

The following verses of Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b.
Furjāh al-Yazdijirdī (*Tatimmat*, Berlin Mss. p. 102a) are
also, according to Tha'ālibī, based upon the above quoted
verse of Ma'rūfi :

تظنون ما تزدى جفوني ادمعاً بل الدم فيها يستحيل فيقطر
نردّ بياضاً حمرة الدم لوعتي كما ابيض ماء الورد احمر

You think that what my eye-lids shed is tears : rather
it is the blood in them that is transformed and then
falls in drops.

My burning passion turns the redness of blood into
whiteness, just as the rose water turns white, although
the rose is red.

Granting that the above passages in Arabic were all
inspired by this single verse of al-Ma'rūfi, Tha'ālibī forgets
that al-Ma'rūfi was not the first to utter this thought,
and that even in Persian he had his rivals in Daqiqī and
Abu'l-Mathal of Bukhārā who have given expression to
the same idea.

(i) Daqiqī says :²

¹ *Yatimah*, iii. 164.

² *Shu'arā* : Farhang, ii. 164.

شود خون جگر از دل چکیده که آب آتشین آید ز دیده

The cardiac blood is distilled from the heart :

It is therefore that hot tears flows from the eye.

(ii) Abu'l-Mathal says :¹

افشرد خون دل از چشم او ریخته بالاون مزگان فرو

The colander of the eye-lashes poured down the expressed juice of his heart-blood from his eyes.¹

Now this self-same idea was expressed by several great poets of the 'Abbāsid period, with the only difference that instead of the heart-blood turning into tears they use the word *rūh* (the soul, or the spirit) which melts into tears. There is every reason to suppose that the above mentioned Persian poets borrowed this idea from the Arabic poets :

(a) Bashshār says :²

ليس الذى يجرى من العين ماءً ها ولكنّها روحى تذوب فتقطر

What flows from the eyes is not their water ; it is rather my spirit which melts and falls in drops.

(b) Diku'l-Jinn says :³

ليس ذا الدمع دمع عيني و لكن هي نفسى تذيبها انفاسى

These tears are not the tears of my eyes, it is rather my soul which is melted by my warm sighs.

(c) Ibn Durayd says :⁴

لا نحسبوا دمعى نحدّر اتها روحى جرت فى دمعى المتحدّر

Do not think that it is my tears that trickle down : it is rather my spirit which flows in my descending tears.

(d) Al-Mutanabbī says :⁵

'ساروا بتسليم فجدنا بأفئس نسل من الآماق والسّم ادمع

They saluted us by gestures, and we offered our souls

1 Shu'arī: *Farhang*, ii, 16b.

2 'Ukbarī, i, 437.

3 'Ukbarī, i, 427.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.* and *Diwan*, ed. Diesterici, p. 42.

which flowed through the eye-corners under the name of tears.

The same poet again says :¹

خليلي لا دمعاً بكيت وإنما هو الروح من عيني تسيل بمخرج

My friends, it is not the tears that I weep ; it is rather my soul that goes out by flowing through mine eyes.

"Such translations of Arabic into Persian verse, and vice versa, seem to have been a favourite exercise with scholars and wits from this period onwards into Saljūq times, though unfortunately it is not always possible to compare the version and the original, one or other having been lost."²

We shall now in conclusion give two examples of such deliberate translations from the *Ḥadā'iq* of Rashidu'd-dīn al-Watwāt :³

(i) Nāsir-i-Khusraw says :

کردم بسی ملامت مرد هر خویش را بر فعل بد و لیک ملامت نداشت سود
دارد زمانه تک دل من ز دانش خرم دلی که دانش اندر میان نبود

I addressed many a reproach to my Time on its evil actions, but reproach did not avail ;

Time straitens my heart because of its wisdom :

Happy the heart which has no wisdom in it !

Rashidu'd-Dīn has converted it into Arabic verse :

عذلتُ زمانى مدةً في فعّاله ولكن زمانى ليس يردعه العذل
يضيق صدرى الدهر بنضاً لفضله فطوى لصدر ليس في ضمنه فضل

For a long time did I censure my Time for its action :

But as for my Time, no censure could restrain it.

Time straitens my heart in envy of its excellence :

¹ *Diwan*, p. 42.

² Prof. Browne: *Lit. Hist.* i. 464; the whole page along with the footnotes is worthy of consideration.

³ The passages are taken from the section on *Turāfin*.

Happy the heart that contains no excellence within itself!

(ii) Qaḍī Yahyā b. Sa'īd of Harāt said in Arabic :

اقول كما يقول حمار سوء وقد ساموه حملاً لا يطيق
 سأصبر والامور لها اتساع كما ان الامور لها مضيق
 فاما ان اموت او المكارى و اما ينتهى هذا الطريق

I say precisely what the wretched ass said, when they imposed a heavy load on him :

"I will be patient, and the affairs will be easy just as the affairs have been strait;

"Either I must die or the driver, or this road must come to an end."

Rashīdu'd-dīn has put this passage into Persian as follows :

من همان گویم کآن لاشه خرك رفت و میکند بختی جانی
 چکنم بار كنم راه برم که مرا نیست جز این درماں
 یا بمیرم من و یا خر بنده یا بود راه مرا یا بانی

I say precisely what that sorry jade of an ass said, as he went trudging along with pain :

What shall I do but bear loads and walk the way,
 for I have no other remedy save this;

Either I must die or the driver, or my journey must have an end.

Taking the humour of the situation we, too, must end. It is now time to sum up what has already been said in the preceding chapters.

CONCLUSION.

We have considered the progress of Persian poetry from its early beginnings, and traced the influence of Arabic poetry on its three distinctive departments, viz., the

the Romantic sprang from the native soil, but they also, in the course of their development, embodied many time-honoured similes and images, which were familiarised by Arabic poets of the 'Abbāsīd period. Since then upto the present, the technique of poetry has remained much the same. No bolder spirit has ventured to rebel against the Past. Adherence to metre and rhyme still cramps the poetic thought. Probably Eastern poetry can never do without metre and rhyme. The growth of patriotic and dramatic poetry, however, is a healthy sign of the times. 'Ārif in Persia, Shawqī in Egypt and Iqbāl in India have given a fresh orientation to the poetry of changing Islām. The future is big with promise, and it is to be hoped that both Arabic and Persian poetry will readjust themselves to the needs of modern times, reflecting the purer ideals and nobler sentiments of the present race.

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