

إفادة بنيل درجة الدكتوراه

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محمد باجوده على درجة الدكتوراه، كما أنّ فيها التّفويه  
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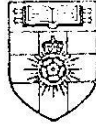
لطيفة

بفضل الله تعالى تمّت مناقشة رسالة الدكتوراه يوم  
٢٥/٢/١٣٨١ هـ عن مدينة كبرج . وبعد المناقشة عاد حسن بن  
محمد باجوده مع سعادة المشرف بالقاهرة الى مدينة لندن، وحينما ظهرت ضاعية  
لندن بارت المشرف بطابه حُضُوتُه على درجة الدكتوراه،  
وأضاف : إذا جاء نا طالب وقام بعمل كهذا فلال  
رُبّع قُرْبًا فنحن سعداء بذلك العمل .  
وهذه هي رسالة الدكتوراه . وبِئِهِ تَعَالَى  
الْحَمْدُ وَالْحَمْدُ .

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AN EDITION OF THE WORKS OF THE MINOR MĀDINESE POETS TO  
THE END OF THE Umayyad Period, WITH A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

---

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

HASSAN MUHAMMAD BAJOUDA

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ABSTRACT

After the discussion of its frontiers, history and social structure, the importance of Madina as a birth-place of poets was discussed. A definition of the term "Madinese poet" was attempted. A division of sources into groups was followed by a discussion of the poems, a description of the manuscripts and their alphabetical arrangement. It was necessary to justify the method of reconstruction of poems from fragments so that they can but need not be read as whole poems. A solution to the problem arising from the similarity of poet's names was preferred. Words and lines were interpreted, but the wording of the text was respected throughout. Any change or omission was referred to. The anthology was divided historically, into five parts, and provided with a list of poets yet unknown as well as one of the poetry ascribed to unknown poets.

Finally, an attempt was made to show how Madina was reflected in its pre-Islamic and Islamic poetry, with themes such as heroism and the fertility of Madina predominating. Taking Ibn Rawaha as a representative, it was demonstrated how Islam in its early days influenced poetry. It was also shown how melody induced erotic poets to use simple words, short metres, and to limit the number of lines in a poem. Reference was made to three Umayyad trends: wine, Shu'ubiyya and travel, stating that Ibn Harma described ~~nomadic~~ rather than settled life.

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## I

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Information on Madina<sup>1</sup> proper and the surrounding territory is obtained not only from geographical dictionaries such as Yaqut's Mu'jam al Buldan, but also from hadith as well as historical sources such as Samhudi's Wafa al Wafa.

Madina is situated between two volcanic tract (Harrah) which lie to the east and the west.<sup>2</sup> To them are joined two other stone tracts which form extensions of the two larger ones.<sup>3</sup> To the north are the mountains of Uhud and Thowr,<sup>4</sup> and to the south lies 'Air.<sup>5</sup>

A relatively early description of Madina is found in Yaqut's Mu'jam al Buldan who says that Madina is as large as one half of Mecca. Yaqut mentions especially Quba which, as he says, lies outside Madina

1 Madina - Pre-Islamic Yathrib, later Madinat-al-Rasul, hence al-Madina. The Prophet preferred to refer to it as Ṭaibah. Yaqūt lists 29 names applied to Madina, while al-Samhudi registers 94, (Cf. Yaqut, Mu'jam al Buldan, under Madinat Yathrib; Al Qazwini, Athar al Bilad wa Akhbar al Ibad, p.107; al Samhudi, Wafa'l Wafa Vol.1 pp. 7-19).

2 Al Samhudi, op.cit., Vol.I, p.62.

3 Ibid., p.63

4 Ibid., p.66

5 Ibid., p.64



at a two miles distance from the Prophet's mosque in the direction of Ka'aba. "Uhud", he continues, "is the mountain nearest to Madina at two parasangs' distance from it". He adds that there are numerous farms around Madina, most of which are deserted. "The sweetest water in that area comes from the wells of al 'Aqiq."<sup>1</sup>

It would appear then that Yaqut regarded the built-up area as Madina; and Quba, Uhud and al 'Aqiq as suburbs.

The frontiers of Madina have by no means always been rigidly determined, but varied considerably under changing circumstances.

In the Umayyad period, its buildings reached the valley of al 'Aqiq where there are still ruins of Umayyad palaces in evidence,<sup>2</sup> of which the best preserved are those of the palace of Saïd b. al 'As, in al 'Arṣa al Sughra in al 'Aqiq.<sup>3</sup> The most renowned of the palaces was that of 'Urwa b. al Zubair, but only its famous well is still in existence.

Modern Madina was, as late as two generations ago, so tiny a city that one could cover the distance between the mosque and the eastern boundary of the city, beyond which there were only orchards, in a mere few minutes. Madina was enclosed in the north by the gate

1 Yaqut, Mu'jam al Buldan, under "Madinat Yathrib".

2 'Abd al - Quddus al - Ansari, Athar al-Madinah al-Munawwarah, p.159.

3 Ibid., pp. 37, 38.

which is still called al-Bab al-shami, from which one could reach the western end in a quarter of an hour. In the south, the passage was completely barred by farms so that one had some difficulty in finding one's way to Quba.

Since then, the city has expanded in all directions, and all along the way to Uhud, Quba and 'Aqiq, so that almost all the farms had been built on.

It has been said that the oasis of Madina was first cultivated by 'Amaleks who planted palm trees and orchards, and built houses and fortresses.<sup>1</sup>

Their successors in or after the first century A.D. were the Jewish settlers of Madina and Khaibar<sup>2</sup> who established markets, founded villages and built fortresses. The best known Jewish tribes were Quraizah, Nadīr and Qainuqa'.<sup>3</sup>

Aus and Khazraj were the third group of settlers. They came to Madina from South Arabia after the destruction of the dam of Marib, in the fifth century A.D.<sup>4</sup> However, power remained in the hands of

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1 Yaqut, Mu'jam al Buldan "Madinat Yathrib".

2 Shauqi Daif, al-shir al-ghinai fi'l amṣār al-Islamiyah I, Fi'l Madina, p.5 Cf. al Aghani, Vol.XIX, p.94.

3 Al Aghani (Dar al fikr), Vol.III, p.24.

4 Shauqi Daif, op.cit., p.7.

the Jews,<sup>1</sup> until shortly before the advent of Islam.

Gradually, Aus and Khazraj grew in strength so that their share of gardens, palm-trees and houses equalled that of the Jews.<sup>2</sup>

After the advent of Islam, Madina proved particularly eager in embracing the new religion. When the Prophet took up residence there, he endeavoured to live in peace with the Jews, but they soon found it necessary to emigrate. Exceptions were allowed to stay provided they respected certain conditions.<sup>3</sup>

At the time of 'Umar, the second Caliph, all Jews were ordered to leave, according to one theory because 'Umar had heard the Prophet say that two religions must not be allowed in the Arabian Peninsula,<sup>4</sup> but more likely because they were causing trouble.

Among the outstanding happenings which Madina subsequently witnessed was the killing of 'Uthman, perhaps the most important event to occur there in the period of the four early Caliphs. Madina lost its status as the first city of Islam after the murder of Ali, the fourth Caliph, and was replaced as the Islamic capital by Damascus.

Further outstanding events of the Umayyad period which took place in Madina or influenced its fate were the killing of al Husain

1 Ibn al Athir, al Kamil, Vol.I, p.492.

2 Yaqut, Mu'jam al Buldan under Madinat Yathrib.

3 Yaqut, Mu'jam al Buldan, under "Khaibar", and "Fadak".

4 Ibid., under, Khaibar.

in 61 A.H., and the battle of al Ḥarraḥ in 63 A.H. Both events occurred at the time of Yazid b. Mu'awiya. The battle of Ḥarraḥ seems to have broken the spirit of the Madinese, for the part they played afterwards among the Muslims gradually diminished in importance. The generations of heroes which had aroused fear even among the rulers of Damascus disappeared and were replaced by men who preferred a life of luxury. In the year 130 A.H., when the need arose to oppose the Kharijites under Abu Ḥamza who challenged the authority of the Umayyad Caliph, the Madinese were defeated in Quda'id, and lost about seven hundred men.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ibn al Athir, Vol.V, pp.297-299.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF MADINA

(a) In Pre-Islamic Times

In the pre-Islamic period, the population of Madina consisted of three groups: Khazraj, Aus and Jews who by no means always lived at peace with each other. It has been said that it was the war of Sumair that put an end to peaceful relations between Aus and Khazraj.<sup>1</sup> When peace was made, hatred had taken root so firmly in the hearts of these hostile tribes that the war of Sumair was followed by a long series of feuds of which Ibn al Athir mentions only the most famous ones.<sup>2</sup> The one before last was the so-called "war of Ḥaṭib".

Abu al Faraj maintains that the hostilities between the two tribes were never severe, except in the admittedly fierce war of Bu'aath.<sup>3</sup> Though the main combatants were Aus and Khazraj, Jews sometimes took part in the battles, sometimes as the sole opponents of these tribes<sup>4</sup> and sometimes allied to one or the other. Sometimes the Jewish settlers were divided among themselves, so that Jew fought Jew, in the war of Bu'ath.<sup>5</sup>

1 Ibn al Athir, Vol.I, p.494.

2 Ibid., Vol.I, p.503.

3 al Aghani, Vol.III, p.8.

4 Al Waqidi, Al Maghazi, p.13.

5. Ibn al Athir, Vol.I, p.510.

Feuds sometimes broke out between branches of the same tribe.<sup>1</sup>

For their protection, they erected fortified buildings called Uṭums.<sup>2</sup> It is said that when the Prophet fled to Madina he found Banu Sa'idah occupied in building the last of these fortresses, and allowed them to complete it.<sup>3</sup> According to al Jahiz<sup>4</sup> most of them were destroyed during the Caliphate of the third Caliph Uthman, and the authenticity of some of the ruins discovered is highly suspect.<sup>5</sup>

Within the precincts of Madina itself as well as in the adjoining district called Khaibar, one finds also fortresses of another kind, called "Husun", one of which was in the possession of Ka'ab b. al Ashraf.<sup>6</sup> The very name "Khaibar" points to the fortified character of the area.<sup>7</sup>

1 Diwan Qais b. al Khaṭim, p.111, n.

2 al Roud al Unuf, Vol.II, pp.51-52.

3 Wafa'al Wafa, Vol.I, p.147.

4 al Hayawan, Vol.I, p.73.

5 Cf. Athar al Madinat al Minawwarah, p.52, where the author suggests that a certain building was the Uṭum of Ohaiḥa b. al-Julah. A picture of that Uṭum, named Adḍahian الضحيان is in my possession. I do not think the ruins could be those of a fortress.

6 Athar al Madina al Munawwarah, p.43.

7 Mu'jam al Buldan, "Khaibar".

The Madinese were not only interested in building fortresses and fortified buildings, they also took interest in agriculture. The land of Madina was fertile, which attracts settlers who tilled the soil and reared domestic animals, especially in times of peace. They were also craftsmen, familiar with handicrafts, and the Jews among them in particular were expert gold and silversmiths,<sup>1</sup> and skilled in making weapons.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Al Wafa; Vol.I, p.198.

2 Al Shi'r al-ghina'i fi'l-amṣar al-Islamiyah, I, Fi'l-Madinah, p.7.

(b) In Islamic Times

According to Ibn al-Athir who says that one hundred years divided the battles of Sumair and Ḥaṭib, this pre-Islamic period of inter-tribal strife between Aus and Khazraj whose end was marked by the war of Bu'ath, lasted well over a century. The only advantage of the fratricidal strife was that both Aus and Khazraj developed great military prowess and became known as brave fighters. When the two cousin tribes united after the advent of Islam, they strove together to bring about the victory of the religion and its people. Illustrative of this fact is the following quotation: "The Anṣār are the bravest of men: 'Abd Allah b. 'Abbas said: 'Swords were not drawn out of their sheaths, huge armies did not march heavily and lines of soldiers were not made strait before the sons of Qailah, (i.e. the Aus and Khazraj) became Muslims. They are the Anṣār, the descendants of 'Amr b. 'Āmir, from Azd.'"<sup>1</sup> The Prophet insisted that all Muslims should be brothers, and it was this idea that led to the reconciliation of Aus and Khazraj. The Jews who had refused to embrace the new religion once temporarily succeeded in reviving the old hatred between Aus and Khazraj. The Prophet put an end to that quarrel and on that memorable occasion the Qur'aan was revealed.<sup>2</sup> Thus hatred between Aus

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1 al Iqd al Farid, Vol.I, p.138 Cf also Vol.II, pp.192, 193 and Vol.III, p.334.

2 Ibn Hisham, Vol.I, pp.555-557.



and Khazraj turned not only into love, but also into friendly rivalry. "One of the things which God did for His apostle was that these two tribes of the Anṣar, Aus and Khazraj, competed the one with the other like two stallions: if Aus did anything to the apostle's advantage, Khazraj would say: 'They shall not have this superiority over us in the apostle's eyes and in Islam', and they would not rest until they could do something similar. If Khazraj did anything, Aus would say the same."<sup>1</sup>

The vast amount of money which poured into Madina after the advent of Islam seems to have had a beneficial effect on the development of the city already in the time of 'Uthman.<sup>2</sup> When Damascus became the capital under Mu'awiyah, the influx of money into Madina continued. The Caliphs were intentionally generous as they hoped that affluence would prevent the Madinese from indulging in political activities. Thus Madina soon became inured to the life of luxury which was only interrupted on certain occasions such as the battle of al Ḥarra and the revolution of Ibn al Zubair. Hisham b. 'Abd al Malik stopped the stream of money to Mecca and Madina for one year when Zaid b. 'Ali rebelled against him.<sup>3</sup>

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1 A. Guillaume, The life of Muhammad, p.482.

2 Shauqi Daif, al-Shi'r al-Ghina'i fi'l amsar al-Islamiyah I, Fi'l Madina, p.28.

3 al Aghani, Vol.VII, p.22.

The outward signs of this luxury were palaces, built mainly in al'Aqiq, luxurious clothes, and costly perfumes.<sup>1</sup> 'Aisha bint Talḥa is said to have gone on a pilgrimage accompanied by seventy mules with their howdahs and saddles.<sup>2</sup>

Madina became a centre of cultural activity, of music and song. It has been said that it was a magnet whose religious associations and life of luxury attracted a variety of immigrants from various places. In the Umayyad period, there were among them slaves and slave-girls whose influence on the life of the city was considerable. Some slave-girls were a source of inspiration of poets. A number of well-known singers, male and female alike, came from the Mawalis. Few and far between in the pre-Islamic period, they became numerous under Islam and commonly performed at assemblies which were attended by all classes of the community. Famous singers flocked to Madina from many different places to compete with each other.<sup>3</sup> It is significant that Malik b. Anas once wanted to become a singer himself.<sup>4</sup> The author of the Aghani stresses the preoccupation of the Madinese with song. And indeed they have always been known for their interest in music, which they deeply cherished.

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1 Aghani, Vol.IX, p.262.

2 Ibid., "Bulaq", Vol.X, p.60.

3 Aghani, Vol.VIII, pp.186-236.

4 Aghani, Vol.IV, p.222.

## II

POETIC ACTIVITY IN MADINA

Ibn Sallam says that the wars between Aus and Khazraj mainly account for the abundance of poetry in Madina.<sup>1</sup> But Jahiz adds that it is also a gift of God, because we find that there were some people who lived in an environment similar to that of the Aus and Khazraj, but who did not produce poetry.<sup>2</sup> The Prophet himself has described the Anṣar as people who liked al Ghazal<sup>3</sup> [erotic poetry of the sober kind]. And indeed, of the five Arab urban centres which are well known for their poets, Madina, Mecca, al-Taif, al Yamama and al-Bahrain, Madina is the most famous.<sup>4</sup> "Jahiz says: 'Abu 'Ubaidah has said that Arabs agree that the best poets inhabiting Arabian cities are those of Yathrib, then those of 'Abdul Qais, and then those of Thagif'"<sup>5</sup> Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi relates: "Malik ibn Anas, the servant of the Prophet has said: 'When the Prophet came to us, there was no house among the Anṣar in which one member at least did not compose poetry'. When he was asked whether he was one of them he answered 'Yes'".<sup>6</sup>

1 Tabaqāt Fuḥūl al-Shu'ara', p.217.

2 al-Ḥayawan, Vol.IV, p.380.

3 al-'Iqd al-Farid, Vol.VI, p.7.

4 Ibn Sallam, p.179.

5 Aghani, Vol.IV, p.122.

6 al-'Iqd al-Farid, Vol.V, p.283.

This susceptibility to poetic mood in the Madinese accounts for the huge number of poets in Madina, both before and after Islam. Unfortunately, there are some among them whose poetry has, despite strenuous efforts, not yet been discovered, so that it is to be feared that it is lost. Among those whose work is extant are individuals as well as whole families which are exceedingly rich in poets, such as that of Hassan b. Thabit, where we find six poets in a direct line of descent,<sup>1</sup> as well as those of Kab b. Malik and Annu-'man b. Bashir al Anṣari.

In the early days of Islam the poets of Madina were encouraged by the Prophet to attack the non-Muslim inhabitants of Mecca in defence of Islam.<sup>2</sup> After the Prophet's death, most of the inhabitants of Madina took part in the wars of conquest, and temporarily neglected poetry. Soon after, however, their poetic activity revived.<sup>3</sup>

As to the manner in which this poetry has been transmitted, it seems that many Madinese knew their poetry - especially the poems dealing with the feuds between Aus and Khazraj - by heart, and used to recite it. It is related that 'Aisha, the Prophet's wife, listened to two young girls reciting the poetry composed during the war of Bu'ath;<sup>4</sup> and al-Aghani reports that Tuwais, the singer, used to chant

1 Mujam al Shuara, p.366.

2 Aghani, Vol.IV, p.137

3 Ibn Sallam refers to this question in al-Ṭabaqat, pp.22, 39-40.

4 Lisan al 'Arab, under "غيا"

the satires by which Aus and Khazraj had attacked each other.<sup>1</sup>

'Umar, the second Caliph, forbade people to recite any of the poetry written by the Ansar or the unbelievers of Quraish with the aim of satirizing each other. Nevertheless, some of the poets of Mecca came to Madina to recite what they had written before Hassan b. Thabit. When 'Umar learned what had happened, he addressed those who were in his presence: "I had forbidden you to recite any of those poems which were written by Muslims and non-Muslims, in order to free you from hatred and unseemly things; but since the Meccans refuse to do so, then you may write and preserve it, and they did." Khallad b. Muhammad said: "I myself saw the Anṣar copy it out again when they feared that the paper on which it was written was rotting with age."<sup>2</sup>

Arabic scholars have always been intent on the preservation of classical poetry. Al-Amidi mentions in al-Mu'talif wa'l Mukhtalif sixty anthologies of the poetry of sixty tribes,<sup>3</sup> one of which was Quraizah.<sup>4</sup> Ibn al Nadim, in the Fihrist, mentions twenty-eight anthologies, containing the poetry of as many tribes.<sup>5</sup>

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1 Aghani, Vol.III, p.39.

2 Aghani, Vol.IV, p. 141.

3 Maṣadir al-shi'r al Jahili, p.543.

4 al Mu'talif wa'l Mukhtalif, p.143.

5 Maṣadir al Shi'r al Jahili, p.545.

The biographical sources contain references to the anthologies of the poets of Madina and its suburbs. Speaking of al Ahwaṣ b. Muḥammad, al-Āmidī says: "I have given some information about him, and selected short pieces of his poetry in "The Book of the Famous" and in "The Poetry of Aus and Khazraj."<sup>1</sup> We also read in the Aghani: "Nahik b. Isaf used to satirize Abu al Khaḍra' al-Ashali in the Jahiliyah, and (both) their poems are found among the poetry of the Anṣar."<sup>2</sup> There is also a reference in the Fihrist to the anthologies of 'Abdul Raḥmān b. Ḥassān and his son S'aid b. 'Abdul Raḥmān,<sup>3</sup> and, in another place, a remark to the effect that the diwan of Muḥammad b. Bashir consisted of fifty leaves<sup>4</sup> and that the poetry of Ibrahim b. 'Ali b. Harma alone, without commentaries, covered two hundred leaves.<sup>5</sup>

Of the collected poetry of the Arabian tribes, only the poetry of the Hudhail has survived in the diwan of Hudhail.<sup>6</sup> As to the Madinese poetry proper, the diwans of Ḥassān, Qais b. al Khaṭīm and al Nu'man b. Bashir have already been edited and in some cases subjected to detailed research. As to the works of minor poets of Madina,

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1 'al Mu'talif wa'l Mukhtalif, p.48.

2 Aghani, Vol.XX, p.117.

3 Fihrist, p.224.

4 Ibid., p.233

5 Ibid., p.227

6 "Ash'ar al-Hudhaliyir", published by Dar al-Kutub and recently re-edited by Farraj and M.M. Shakir. See also Maṣadir al-Shi'r al-Jahih, p.548.

assiduous search on my part has failed to unearth any anthology whatsoever. The present thesis is therefore devoted to the work of such Madinese poets as are not credited with a diwan that we know of or with one that has survived.

### WHO IS A MADINESE POET?

For obvious reasons, Madinese poets who are credited with an extant diwan are not included in this collection. Beyond that, the first difficulty I had to overcome was to define, as exactly as possible, who was a "Madinese poet". The process of elimination was long and painstaking, and consisted in examining the nature of the ties which bound each poet to Madina. I started by considering every poet who had any connection with Madina, and eliminated any whose connection did not justify his inclusion in this collection. This anthology is intended to be as comprehensive as possible, and to cover the widest scope.

In the pre-Islamic period, there were three kinds of poets, as there were three categories of inhabitants of Madina, the Aus, the Khazraj and Jewish tribes. The poetry of these groups will be described as "Madinese." After the disappearance of Jews in the early Islamic period there remained only Aus and Khazraj, whose numbers were increased by the influx of immigrants. Gradually, those who had settled down in Madina became part of its life to such an extent that it is difficult to distinguish between them and the native population of the city. This is most obvious when one examines the position under the Umayyads when the descendants of the heterogeneous mass of immigrants of the early part of the first century had amalgamated with the indigenous population into an ethnically uniform whole. Before Islam, the poets of Aus and Khazraj boasted of belonging to one of the



two cousin tribes. Now that God had called them "Anṣār," and they were proud of their new name. When Mu'awiya summoned them to meet him, by their old names, Aus and Khazraj, they refused to obey the summons as though they had never borne those names before.<sup>1</sup> It is also stated in the Qur'ān that they loved those who had come to settled among them.<sup>2</sup> The result was a completely happy and harmonious relationship between the indigenous population and the new-comers. The new generation was reared in the new spirit of brotherhood and the Anṣār and the new-comers, all of them Muslims, were fused into one close-knit community. It is justifiable, therefore, to describe all the poets who grew up in Madina as Madinese, regardless of their origin. Poets who lived in the suburbs of Madina were considered Madinese only if their bonds with the city were particularly close. Thus, for example, Muḥammad b. Bashir al-Khariji - so named after Kharijat 'Adwan; he has no connection with the Khawarij - who lived in Malal, a valley in the proximity of Madina, and the Jewish poets of Khaibar have been included for this very reason. As to the Madinese who left Madina, all Anṣār who lived outside the city have been regarded as "Madinese" wherever they took up their abode. That is why I considered it advisable to investigate the route of the family

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1 Aghani, Vol.XVI, p.48.

2 Surat al Hashr, verse 9.

of al Nuáman b. Bashir after they had left Madina. Having successfully traced a number of its later members, I incorporated their poetry in the present collection.

## III

SOURCES, ARRANGEMENT AND PLAN

When I began collecting the work of minor Madinese poets I was already acquainted with an appreciable quantity of Madinese poetry of this period, I was also familiar with the names of some Madinese poets. I therefore set about collecting the poetry concerned from all available sources and finally found myself with a huge number of poets and a correspondingly large amount of poetry on my hands. When I was reasonably satisfied that a poet qualified for inclusion - as he was a Madinese and fell into the period under consideration - I continued collecting his poetry. In this way I dealt with about 193 poets, and found that the work of some of them was qualitatively so outstanding that it deserved individual treatment. I do not think I shall ever be able to claim that I have discovered and collected all the Madinese poets and all their poetry, but I have done my best, and I hope I have made a useful contribution to the study of this field.

The sources on which I have relied are of two kinds:

I Printed Books and II Manuscripts. The former can be subdivided, according to the subject they deal with, into seven main groups:

(i) Diwans of individual poets, such as that of Ḥassan b. Thabit, Qais b. al Khatīm and al Nu'man b. Bashir, and anthologies such as al-Asm'iyat, al-Mufḍḍaliyat, the Ḥamasahs of Abu-tammam, of al-Buhturi,

and of Ibn al-Shajari, Jamharat ash'ar al-'arab etc.

(ii) Dictionaries

(1) Biographical

- (a) of famous men of the past, such as Yaqut's Mu'jam al-Udaba; Ibn Khallikan's Wafayat al-a'yan; and Ibn Shakir's Fawat al-wafayat.
- (b) of poets, such as al-Marzubani's Mu'jam al-shu'ara' and al-Amidi's al-mu'talif wa'l-mukhtalif.

(2) Geographical, such as Yaqut's Mu'jam al-Buldan; and al-Bakri's Mu'jam ma ista'jam.

(3) Lexica such as Ibn Manzur's Lisanal-'Arab; al-Zabidi's Taj al-'arus and Ibn Duraid's Jamharat al-lughah.

(iii) Philological works, some general such as al-Mubarrad's al-Kamil; al-Baghdadi's Khizanat al-adab, and al-Jahiz, al-Bayan wa'l-tabyin, but some devoted to some subject, such as Ibn Duraid's al-Ishtiqaq and Ibn al-Anbari's al-Addad.

(iv) Biographies proper, i.e. life stories of individual persons such as Ibn Hisham, al sirat al-nabawiyah, al-Suhaili's al-roud al-unuf, and collective biographies such as Ibn Hajar's al Isaba, Ibn 'Abdal-Barr's al-Isti'ab and Ibn Sad's al Tabaqat al-Kubra.

(v) Historical works, especially by al-Tabari, Ibn al-Athir and Ibn 'Asakir.

(vi) Religious works, especially of Ḥadīth, such as al-Jamī' al-Ṣaḥīḥ by al-Bukhari.

(vii) Works dealing with miscellaneous subjects such as books on proverbs, horses, mules, plants, palm-trees, idols, animals etc.

## II Manuscripts

### A -

(1) Ali b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Asakir's History of Damascus, chapters of which are found in the Cambridge University library, Add.2927 and 2928.

(2) Walid b. 'Ubaid al-Buhturi's al Ḥamasah.

(3) Muḥammad b 'Ali al-Khattāb, al-Qurashi's Jamharat ash'ar al-'arah.

(4) 'Ali b. 'Abd allah, al-Samhudi's Khulaṣat al-wafa' and Wafa'al-wafa.

(5) 'Abdul Raḥmān b. 'Abdullah al-Suhaili's al-rouḍ al-Unuf.

(6) Muḥammad b. 'Umar, al-Waqidi's Maghazi Rasul Allah.

(7) Yaqut's Mu'jam al Buldan.

(8) al-Zabidi's Taj al-'Arus.

### B - Ms Sources:

The MSS of three poems found in the Tubingen State Library deserve special mention. One of them, Tubinger Depot der Staatsbibliothek MS. OR. quart. 642, is apparently relatively small in format, 25 lines to

the page. On one page a poem of 20 lines is found, represent a

Madinese poem attributed to al Ahwas b. Muhammad and begins,

أشد ندمه اليوم أن يبداً      فصد غلب المزون أن يبجداً

The handwriting is clear but the text is often wrongly pointed, and

the poem teems with mistakes and omissions. Line one has المزون

instead of المزون ; line 2 has وأسرا instead of وأسرا

line 5 contains ونشهي instead of ونشهي

line 7 has حرى لحه من دون أن يبجداً instead of

حرى لحه من دون أن يبجداً

line 8 has عنان صنع مدح اللحم عضداً which is unsuitable for the

meaning intended, and is obviously a corruption of عنان صنع مدح اللحم مصعباً

line 9 has ظده instead of ظده line 10 has أصقبت

instead of أصقبت line 13 contains as many as seven mistakes

in nine words. Without the possibility of comparison with its counter-

part in al Ahwas anthology the whole of line 13 would be incomprehen-

sible. Line 14 has نشر and ينف instead of نشر

and ينف line 16 has وليس عطا من كان منه... وإن عمل instead of

ليس عطا من كان منه... وإن عمل line 18 has بيان مجداً متيداً instead of

بيان مجداً متيداً Only lines, 3, 4, 6, 11, 12, 15, 17, 19, 20

are perfect. These errors of the scribe obviously greatly impair the

scientific value of the MS, whose usefulness lies in the fact that it

provides preferable semantic alternatives in some verses.

The other MS, also found in the Tubinger Depot der

Staatsbibliothek, MS. OR. Peterm. II, 561, contains two poems by Ibn

Harma. The whole MS consists of two very large pages, 42 lines to the one and 44 lines to the other.

The first poem-opening:

إلى امرؤ من رعى غيبى رعى له : غيب الزمام ومن أنكرت أنكرنى -

begins in line 20 of the first page, and consists of 27 verses or  $13\frac{1}{2}$  distichs in  $13\frac{1}{2}$  lines. As there are two verses to the line and the ink has flown in the centre of the page, the lines and spaces are indistinct, a fact which, coupled with the smallness of the letters, contributes to the illegibility of the text. Qualitatively, this manuscript is far superior to the above-described manuscript of al Ahwas' poem, as mistakes are few and far between. However, the script is not quite so legible, despite the relative correctness of the text. By comparing the manuscript of the first poem with the text found in Ibn 'Asakir's al Tarikh al Khabir, which is also full of errors and misprints, and with isolated verses traced in al Aghani and Majalis Tha'lab, I have been able to discover, and rectify, the following mistakes:

line 10 has	ولدى جين بالجين	instead of	ولدى جين بالجين
line 16 has	إذا خطوت	instead of	خطوت
line 17 has	يسكون من فرة سكوى	instead of	سكوى
line 19 has	وسم سوارهم ولم يسيوا على ضبيع	instead of	ضبيع ...
line 20 has	كفرن أئيب	instead of	كفرن
line 21 has	كلنا ... كلن	instead of	كلنا ... كلن
line 23 has	حضيت	instead of	حضيت

line 26 has *وَأَنْتَ هَيْرِصٌ وَالْبِيرُ وَالْكُونُ* , and the last two words have no meaning.

The second poem which exists of 23 verses and begins:

« يَا ذَا الْبِنَاةِ يَدْعُو فِي لَيْسَعِ نَ مَوَاعِظًا مِمَّ جَيْلٍ رَأَيْتُ حَسَنًا »

in line 38 of the first page, continuing to the end of the first half of the seventh line of the second page. The script is clearer and more legible than that of the first poem, because it is free from smudges which obscure the text and also because its mistakes are fewer in number. Apart from the sources on which I relied for the first poem, I was also able to make use of *Maqatil al Talibiyyin* by Abu al Faraj al Isfahani. Mistakes found in the manuscript are the following:

line 7 has	<i>مَا خَيْرٌ مِنْهُ وَجْهٌ مَعْرُورٌ</i>	instead of	<i>مَا خَيْرٌ مِنْهُ وَجْهٌ أَمْرٌ</i>
line 15 has	<i>وَطِينَةٌ لَمْ تَفَارِقْهُنَّ بَيْنَ</i>	instead of	<i>لَمْ تَفَارِقْهُنَّ ... الطَّبِينِ</i>
line 18 has	<i>عَنْ جَانِبِنَا</i>	instead of	<i>مِنَّا جَنْبًا</i>
line 19 has	<i>بِالْعَرَجِ</i>	instead of	<i>بِالْعَوَجِ</i>

## II

In dealing with the sources, I proceeded according to a certain invariable routine. I contented myself with one edition if the meaning of the text was so clear that it could be immediately grasped. In case of obscurity, I would compare one published text with another, and never depend on one edition, but consult two or more, giving preference to the last available edition. Whenever it seemed advisable, I consulted the manuscript, provided it was or could



be made available.

The poems are grouped under authors and arranged alphabetically according to rhyme. The rhyme vowels are arranged as follows: damma, fatha, kasr and finally sukun.

Every poem was preceded by the mention of the source or sources in which it had been traced as well as of the circumstances in which it was originally composed. If the sources disagreed about one or more of these details, I quoted the different versions. And if the particular sources disagreed as to the attribution, so that the poem or part of it was ascribed to more than one poet, I mentioned both this fact and the difference between the versions in the reference or references in question. I also tried to interpret lines or words which needed explanation, sometimes quoting the explanations given by my predecessors, but always, explicitly, mentioning the source of each. Whenever the quotation was derived from the footnote of a source, I indicated the fact by the letter  $\phi$  in the margin of my text.

I should also like to add that among the fragments I succeeded in tracing there were a number which could be pieced together. This led to the reconstruction of entire poems. The procedure I adopted in dealing with these fragments was twofold. I adduced the fragments separately, but in such a way that they represented a sequence which can, but need not, be read as one poem. Only when I was convinced that the resulting text was identical with that of the original poem, did I actually quote it in this combined form. Poems written to

celebrate certain occasions were easier to date than others, as they are found quoted not merely in one, but in various sources. The fragments found in these sources were then arranged in their proper order.

The names of a number of poets are phonetically so similar that they have been frequently confused. This has happened in the case of Ibn Yasir and Ibn Bashir; of Abu Qais Ibn Rifa'aa, the Jewish poet, and Qais b. Rifa'a al Waqifi; of the 'Arab Dirham b. Yazid al Ausi and the Jewish poet of the same name; of Bashir b. Obairiq al Dhafari and his brother Bishr, and many others. To avoid confusion, I have always quoted the fullest form of the name found in my sources. I have also always mentioned the absence of a name in a source or sources. That was the procedure adopted in the case of Abu Qais ibn Rifa'aa and Qais b. Rifa'aa al Waqifi al Ausi, and with the 'Arab and Jewish Dirham b. Yazid.

Sometimes, though the poetry in question was unequivocally ascribed to a poet, the context contained no conclusive proof of his authorship. In cases of this kind, I would trace and study the life of his family, and subsequently ascribe the poetry to the member who was most likely to have composed it. This method was applied in dealing with Bashir b. Obairiq al Dhafari and his brother Bishr. Thus, for example, a short verse in which the Muslims are attacked is ascribed to Bishr, who is known to have been a very religious man. The study of the life of his brother Bashir revealed, on the other hand, that he was a

hypocrite, perfectly capable of an attack of this kind. This led me to ascribe the verses to Bishr. In all cases of this kind, I have tried to justify the ascription adducing the reasons for what I did, and naming my sources.

On the whole, I respected the wording of the context. Whenever I changed a word which seemed unsuitable, filled in the space in a line, or omitted a word which did not fit the metre, I always referred to it in a footnote.

The work of each poet was provided, if possible, with a concise introduction containing genealogical data concerning his tribe and his family, indicating, in particular, if he belonged to Aus, Khazraj or was a Jew or a Mawla. This was usually followed by a brief analysis of the characteristics of his poetry.

The collection is arranged in a chronological order as follows:

I Pre-Islamic period

a - Aus

b - Khazraj

c - Jews

II Mukhadramun comprising poets who wrote both in the Jahiliyya and in the early period of Islam.

a - Aus

b - Khazraj

No Jewish poets are quoted during this period.

III Early Islam and the Battle of Siffin.

a - Aus

b - Khazraj

IV The Umayyad period

a - Aus

b - Khazraj

c - others

V Mukhadramun - comprising those whose poetic output spanned the end of the Umayyad and the beginning of the Abbasid period. The poets in question lived in Madina, but belong neither to the Aus nor the Khazraj.

VI Anonymous

a - Poems ascribed to Jews

b - Poems ascribed to Arabs

VII Poets whose poetry did not survive, or has not been traced yet.

The following tables show the distribution of the poets in the various centres over the period concerned:

TABLE

<u>The Period</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Number of Poets</u>	<u>Number of Lines</u>	<u>Special Remarks</u>
(1)				
Jahiliyyun	A - Aus	16	336	
	B - Khazraj	23	216	
	C - Jews	17	164	Two of them lived in Khaibar
(2)				
Mukhadramun	A - Aus	3	64	
	B - Khazraj	8	740	
(3)				
Early Islam	A - Aus	12	69	
	B - Khazraj	30	191	
	C - Uncertain (Anṣar)	4	30	

TABLE (continued)

<u>The Period</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Number of Poets</u>	<u>Number of Lines</u>	<u>Special Remarks</u>
(4)				
Umayyads	A - Aus	4	608	
	B - Khazraj	18	582	The family of al Nu'man b. Bashir lived mainly in Syria.
	C - Uncertain (Ansar)	2	20	
	D - Non-Ansarite	44	1914	Muhammad b. Bashir al-Khariji lived in a valley in the vicinity of Madina called Malal.
	Umayyad poets	26 from Quraish 12 Mawalis 6 others		
(5)				
Mukhadramu al Dawlatain, in the Umayyad and the Abbasid periods.		12	1174	None of them are Ausiter or Khazrajites
		7 from Quraish 4 Mawalis 1 from al Nadr bin Kinana		
(6)				
Poetry ascribed to unknown Madinese poets throughout the whole period.	A - Jews		9	
	B - Arabs	0	141	

TABLE (continued)

<u>The Period</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Number of Poets</u>	<u>Number of Lines</u>	<u>Special Remarks</u>
(7)				
Poets whose poetry has not been traced yet.	Ausites ) Khazrajites ) Madinese )	18		
Total		211	6259	

The above tabular arrangement shows the number of poets and the amount of poetry produced by each ethnical groups. Besides, it may help to visualize the geographical, chronological and ethnical distribution of minor Madinese poets. In some cases, a poet's connection with Madina is confined to a brief stay, while others who were born in Madina of Madinese stock emigrated to Syria when Damascus became the capital of the Caliphate, and Madina was reduced to a provincial town. The effect of the successive events, such as the revolt of Ibn al Zubair in Mecca, the battle of al Harra in 63 A.H., and the Kharijite wars which occupied the energies of the Umayyads for most of their reign, are reflected in passing references to be found in lines ascribed to Madinese. The poetry of the early Islamic period as mirrored in the Sira, constitutes a special category with problems of its own. It is accepted that during that period, Madinese

as well as non-Madinese poets contributed verse, much of which was lost and overwhelmed by later efforts, or else replaced. In view of the comments of the ancient critics and of the research recently carried out on it, some poetry has been treated as a special category and approached with the caution that scholars' research has so far inspired. In any case, most of this poetry is ascribed to poets who are credited with a diwan of their own, and as such have been considered, for practical reasons, as falling outside the scope of this collection. All poetry ascribed to such poets as Ibn Rawaha and Ka'b b. Malik, has of course been included.

Three poets have been excluded because they are credited with diwans which are still extant and have been published, in the case of two of them, more than once. They are Hassan b. Thabit, Qais b. al-Khatim and al-Nu'man b. Bashir.

At the advent of Islam, the inhabitants of Madina consisted of the Arab tribes of Aus and Khazraj, and the Jewish Quraiza, Nadir and Qainuqa'. 39 Arab and 17 Jewish poets have been found for inclusion in this collection, and of the latter, a few are credited with verse ascribed to the early Islamic period. Otherwise, no reference is to be encountered to Jewish poets after the final victory of Islam.

A total of 11 poets from both the Arab tribes can be classified as Mukhadramun, since they are credited with verse written before and after the advent of Islam. The problem of classification here is



obvious, but poets whose output extended over both the Jahiliyya and the Islamic period have been classed in this category.

To the early Islamic period, extending up to the beginning of the Umayyad Caliphate, 46 poets can be assigned of whom 12 are Ausites, 30 - a much larger number - are Khazrajites, 4 who cannot be definitely identified with either tribe are nevertheless Anṣaris.

The largest number naturally belong to the Umayyad period. 68, of whom only 22 are of Anṣari origin. Of these, 4 only are from the Aus, 18 from the Khazraj and two are unidentified Anṣaris. The majority, 44 poets in number, belonged to non-Anṣaris. As can be seen in the tables above, the Quraish contributed the largest number, then the Mawali, mostly Persians.

It is worth noting that the court poets who appeared in Damascus came from the desert tribes, and from areas nearer the centre of power. Some of the Madinese poets did indeed very occasionally visit the Umayyad court, but none of them seems to have thought of becoming a court poet.

Of later Mukhadramun whose work spanned the Umayyads and the Abbasids, there are twelve poets. Seven of Quraish, four Mawalis and lastly, Ibn Harma, of al-Nadr b. Kinana.

## IV

MADINA AS MIRRORED IN POETRY

It has been said that "Poetry is the Diwan of the 'Arab"<sup>1</sup> which means that poetry is a mirror reflecting the nature of the 'Arab, so that whoever reads the anthology of a certain poet will obtain a representative image of his character, ideas, feelings and way of life. Hence the portrayal of the character and the life of the Madinese is a concomitant of the study of Madinese poetry. Doubts concerning the authenticity of ancient Arabic poetry have been expressed by early Arab scholars and critics and, in our own time, modern scholars have made special studies of early Islamic poetry with particular reference to the poetry of Madina. Nevertheless, there are still valid doubts as to the provenance of some of the poetry ascribed to pre-Islamic Yathribite poets, and even to some Muslim poetry such as most of the verses composed in the battle of Siffin. Despite the existing doubts, however, which lie outside the scope of this thesis, it may be legitimate to say that an authentic picture of Madina itself and of Madinese social life is reflected in this poetry, and a survey of this aspect of it is, therefore, not out of place here. As Madina is very fortunate in having been the birth-place of numerous poets, the picture of the life and history of the city resulting from this anthology of Madinese poetry will be accurate and almost complete.

---

1 al Hayawan, Vol.I, p.72.

(A) BEFORE ISLAM

It can be said that the life of Madina before Islam consisted of alternating periods of war and peace which are both mirrored in its poetry. Thoughts of war evoked in the poets the desire to avenge their killed fellows. Abu Qais ibn al Aslat, for example says:

لَدَنَا لِمِ الصَّلِّ وَبِرْزَى بِرِ الْاُعدَاءِ كَيْلِ الصَّاعِ بِالصَّاعِ

"We do not feel pain when some of us are killed, and retaliate on our enemies by killing an equal number of them". They speak of their arms and stallions; words such as armour, sword, lance, bow, arrow and horse occur constantly; so do words denoting fortresses and fortified buildings which are all mentioned in their poetry.

Whenever a poet composed a eulogy on his tribe, attacking its enemies, an enemy poet would immediately parody it, in order to extol his own tribe. The eulogy and the lampoon thus became the two main types of war poetry in Madina. This is true, above all, of the war of Sumair, on the occasion of which Malik b. al 'Ajlan, the chief of the two cousin tribes, Aus and Khazraj, wrote a poem blaming his people, al Khazraj, for deserting him in battle. They did so because he had refused to accept the solution suggested by 'Amr b. Imru'l Qais of al Khazraj to take five she-camels as blood money for his Mawla, insisting on being paid the blood money due for a free man, namely, ten she-camels. 'Amr b. Imru'l Qais, Qais b. al Khaṭim, Dirham b. Yazid al Ausi and Hassan b. Thabit, composed one poem each on this subject, using the metre and rhyme Malik b. al 'Ajlan had used in the

above-named poem.

In dealing with poetry composed in times of peace, one soon realizes that it is dominated by descriptions of the fertile land of Madina. This can be exemplified by a passage in which Ka'b b. al Ashraf says:<sup>1</sup>

سكنوا من يثرب كلَّ ربي      و سولٍ حيث حلوا من أنف

"They [his people] dwelt in all the hillocks and plains of Yathrib; wherever they stayed, they kept their pride."

و هم أصل ما ريب برسان      و حصون و نخيل و غرف

"They were, there, the owners of chambers, ante-chambers, fortresses, and palm-trees."

ولنا بئر واء بحسن      من يرد لها بارئ يعرف

"And we have plenty of fresh water from the well, [from which] whoever comes with a vessel can scoop the water."

و نخيل من تلامح حمير      تخرج التمر كأصابع الكف

"A large number of palm-trees in fertile lands which produce bunches of dates like the fingers of one's hand."

و صرير من صحالي حليته      في آخر الليل أصابع يرف

"The creaking of the pulley blocks at the end of the night, you might think it is the chant of a tambour."

In one of his short poems, Uhaiha says that, even if the winter refused to give its rain, his orchard would always be green,

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1 Poem No.150, p.125.

as there is always a steam in it:<sup>1</sup>

1. إِذَا جُمَادَى فَنَعَتْ قَطْرُهَا : زَانُ جِنَانِي نَحْنُ مُفَضِّفٌ
2. مَعْرُوفٌ أَسْبَلُ جِبَارَهُ : أَسْوَدُ كَالغَيْبَةِ مَعْرُوفٌ
3. يَزُرُّ مِنْ أُقْطَارِهِ مَعْرُوفٌ : كَأَقْسَمِ الشَّوْخِ وَالغُرَيْفِ

"If Jumada refused to give its rain, my orchards would be ornamented with highly-bred long-leaved palm trees. [They are] as black as the forest and have shed their leaves. The large ones are prone."

"A torrential stream flows inside it, shaw' and Ghiriaf<sup>2</sup> cover its banks."

The people of Madina always seem conscious of the superiority of their fertile land; they never doubt that their way of life is preferable to that of the Bedouins who look after their camels. This is illustrated by the verses of the following passage by Uhaiha:<sup>3</sup>

يَلُومُونِي مِنْ أَشْرَاءِ الْفَيْحِ : لَوْ قَوَّصَ فُطْلَهُمْ يَعْذَلُ

"My people, all of them, blame me for buying palm trees."

وَأَصْلُ الَّذِي بَاعَ يَلُومُنِي : كَمَا عَمَّزِلُ الْبَائِعِ الْأَوَّلِ

"And the family of the seller blames him, and his predecessor was blamed in the same way."

هِيَ الظِّلُّ مِنَ الْحَرِّ حَمَّةٌ الظِّلِّ : وَالْمَنْظَرُ الْأَمْسُّ الْأَجْمَلُ

"In heat, they provide shelter, truly good shelter and the finest, most beautiful view."

1 Poem No.36 p.37.

2 Shaw' and Ghiriaf are two kinds of plants.

3 Poem No.34, p.39.

تُعْتَمِدُ أَكْثَرُهَا بِالْجُوبِ : وَأَتَى حُلُوبَهَا مِنْ عُلَى

"Their roots draw their food from the earth, and their fruit comes from above."

وَتَبِعَ حَيْثُ بَيْتِ الرَّعَاءِ : وَإِنْ ضَيَّعُوا وَإِنْ أَهْمَلُوا

"When the morning dawns, they remain where the gardeners have slept, even if they are neglected and not tended."

وَلَا يُصْبِحُونَ يَبْغُونَهَا : خِلَالِ الْمَلَاكِلِمِ بِأَنْ

They don't go out in the morning, searching for them in the desert, all of them, asking, "where they are"?

The review of Madinese poetry will not be complete without the lyrical poems which depict personal experiences. Madinese poets were fond of women, whose praise they sang extolling their physical beauty, their voice and skill in playing the lute. They were also fond of wine and their boon companions. Their manhood; their prowess in riding across the desert on their strong she-camels, their bravery and pride, their generosity, the help and protection they gave to those who needed it, their wisdom, clemency, their fluent rhetoric and, last but not least, "They mix together equally, both rich and poor" which are reflected in their poetry. Most of these types can be exemplified by verses of 'Amr b. al Itnaba:<sup>1</sup>

فَلَمَّا كُنَّا بِنَاجِزٍ مِنْ حَالِنَا      وَنَشْرِبُ بَدِينِ عَامٍ قَابِلِ

1 Poem No.97, p.87.

"We shall buy food for cash, and our drink on credit, which is supposed to be repaid next year."

بُيِّتَ مِنَ الْعُقُومِ الَّذِينَ إِذَا شَرُّوا  
بَدَّوْا بِحَقِّ اللَّهِ ثُمَّ النَّاسَ

"I am one of those who, when they meet to face a problem, they give first to God His due and then to men their gifts".

الْمَلَأَيْنِ مِنَ الْخَسَاءِ رَأْتَهُمْ  
وَاطْمَأْنَيْنَ عَلَى طَعَامِ الْبَائِسِ

"They protect the women of their neighbours from disgrace and if a guest arrives, they would bring him all available food."

وَالْمِخْلُطِينَ فَقِيرَهُمْ بِغَنِيَّتِهِمْ  
وَالْبَائِسِينَ عَطَاءَهُمْ كَالْبَائِسِ

"They mix equally their poor with their rich, and grant the beggar their gifts."

وَالضَّارِبِينَ الْكَبِيْثَ بِرُحْبِيْبَتِهِ  
ضَرَبَ الْمُجْرِمِيَّةَ مِنْ حَيْضِ الْوَكِيْلِ

"They strike the chief of their enemies, whose helmet is shining, exactly as the shepherd strikes his camels to push them away from the watering place."

وَالصَّالِحِينَ عَلَى الْمُضَافِ حَيْوَلَهُمْ  
وَالْمُحَقِّقِينَ رَحْمَتَهُمْ بِالضَّالِّ

"In war, if someone was in peril, they would turn their horses towards him, and reach the killer by their spears."

وَالْمُدْرِكِينَ عَدُوَّهُمْ بِرُحْبِيْبَتِهِمْ  
وَالضَّالِّينَ لِقَدْبِ كُلِّ مَضَالِ

"They always wreaked vengeance on their enemies, and never hesitated if challenged to a duel."

والصّاعقين لدى الوغى أقرانهم إنّ المنيّة من وراء الوائل

"In war, they kill their equals in courage, and if someone kills one of them, his death will always pursue him."

فنزح عيونهم إلى أعدائهم يمضون مضي الأسيحكت الوائل

"They lower at their enemies, and tread like lions in a torrential rain."

ليسوا بظالمين ولا ضعيفين إذا ما الحرب بهبت أبعثوا بالأسل

"They are neither weaklings, nor cowards, and if war broke out, their warrior would kindle the flames."

لا يصدون وهم على أحماسهم يصفون بالأحلام داء الجاهل

"They never rust, and beside their pride in their lineage, they cure the illness of the dullard."

والقائلين صديقا خطيبهم يوم المحاماة بالفضاء الفاضل

"Their words are final and decisive, and their orator can never be faulted on the day of the competition."



(B) UNDER ISLAM

The impact of Islam on poetry was complex and manifold. In the first place, the new religion influenced poetry by giving a powerful impulse. The Prophet himself encouraged the Madinese poets to attack the non-Muslim inhabitants of Mecca in their satires. Hassan, Ka'b b. Malik and 'Abd Allah b. Rawaha in particular used to make fierce attacks on Quraish.<sup>1</sup> This early Islamic satire is, however, somewhat different in its nature from the pre-Islamic Hija'; it is ennobled by the loftiness of its aims. Representative of the refined type of satire are the following lines of 'Abd Allah b. Rawaha:<sup>2</sup>

فخبروني أثمان العباء متى : كنتم بطاريه أودانت لكم مصر

"Tell me, you, whose price was as cheap as that of a cloak, when were you warriors. When did Mudar come under your rule?"

نجاله الناس عن عرض فئاسهم : فينا النبي و فينا نزل السور

"We fight anyone we encounter, and take them captives. Among us, the Prophet lives and the suras of the Qur'an are revealed."

وقد علمتم بأنا ليس غالبنا : صي من الناس إن عزوا وإن كثروا

"You already know, that none can defeat us, though they may be mighty and superior in number."

يا صاهم الخير إن الله فضلكم : على البرية فضلكم ما له غير

"Hashim's Kith and Kin, whose deeds are memorable, God has preferred you, for ever, to all mankind."

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1 Aghani, Vol.XVI, p.231

2 Poem No.188, p.160.

إني كُفرتُ بغيره فإني كُفرتُ بغيره من الذي نظروا

"[O Prophet] in you, I recognized the good which I knew,  
a certainty which differed from theirs."

ولو سألت أو استغثت بعضهم من أجل أمرك طأ وواو ما نظروا

"If you asked some of them [for shelter] or help in most of  
your concern, they would grant you neither shelter nor help."

فثبت الله ما آتاك من حسن تثبيت موسى ونصراً ط الذي نظروا

"May God confirm the good he conferred on you, as he did with  
Moses, and grant you the victory he gave them [The other Prophets]."

أنت الرسول ضلح يرم نوافله والوجه منه فقد أرم به بقدر

"You are the Messenger, and he who is deprived of your  
liberality and [a view of] your face, has been scorned by fate."

The satire of this period contains elements of (1) eulogy, in which praise of others is combined with self-praise; (2) of elegy, lamenting the dead and departed.

After the victory of Islam and the final success of the "cause" that united the Muslims against non-Muslims, the personal elements came to the fore.

Gradually, this nobility of tone was drowned by the sheer force of invective. When 'Abd al Rahman b. Hassan and 'Abd al Rahman b. al Hakam attacked each other during the Umayyad period, their past was a fertile source of accusation and recrimination. They did not recoil from insults when heaping scorn on their adversaries. Nor were they

sparing with words of praise to extol their own exploits, sometimes to the point of vainglory. Erotic poetry is sometimes made subservient to the aims of satire. Anxious to discredit his enemy, al Najashi, 'Abdal Raḥmān b. Ḥassān sent a woman to spy on al Najashi's sister<sup>1</sup> and then abused the secret knowledge of her person he thus obtained, in order to throw suspicion on her and, indirectly, injure the honour of her brother. This represents a somewhat unsavoury, but rather effective type of *hija'*.

يا هذيا أخت النجاشي ألمي

"O Hind, sister of al Najashi, I hope you are well,

هل تذكرين ليلةً يا صنم ؟

Do you still remember the night [we spent] in Idam?

وليلةً أخص بجو الحرم ؟

And another in the valley of Haram

والتامة السوداء بالحمم

[When I admired] the black beauty spot on your ankle,

والخال بانكس السيف الأصفم

And the mole below your delicate and slender waist?"<sup>2</sup>

According to the Aghani, al Ahwas b. Muhammad was so fierce in his attacks upon all and sundry, that all his people finally

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1 ZDMG 54, 1900, p.423

2 Poem No.588, p.400.

deserted him except one of them, an only friend who came from Banu Jahjaba of the Aus.<sup>1</sup> Humaida d. al-Nu'man b. Bashir al-Ansari, whose work consists entirely of satire, chose her three husbands as the target of her *hija'*. Moreover, she satirized al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf al-Thaqafi and the Madinese emigrants to Syria.<sup>2</sup>

Secondly, the advent of Islam as such had a formative effect on the poetry of the first Islamic generation. It fertilized their poetry by altering their entire way of life. Their mentality changed, their whole outlook on life was modified and replaced by another. They developed a serious and profound interest in religion. They were not only zealous in their beliefs, but also strict in their observance. They fought bravely and eagerly to spread this religion among other peoples. This not only influenced their poetry, but was also mirrored in it. Thus the early Islamic poetry is, thematically, confined to religion and war. In the first stages of Islam, the time of the Madinese was fully occupied with warlike pursuits. The metre of *Rajaz* was particularly well suited for this purpose, because it was well-suited for expressing high emotional tension.

Both thematically and formally, 'Abd Allah b. Rawaha is, perhaps, the most representative Muslim poet of that period. When, in the battle of Muta in which he was killed, his inner self was

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Vol. IV, p.240.

Poems 492-504, pp.351-356.

reluctant to obey his urgent wish to throw himself into the heat of the battle, he addressed his soul as follows:

أقسم يا نفسي لتتبعني

"I swear, my soul, you shall come to the battle;

لتتبعني أو لتكهنني

You shall fight or be made to fight.

إن أجليب الناس وشدوا الرثنه

Though men shout and scream aloud,

عالم أراك تكهنين الجنة

Why should you spurn Paradise?

قد طالما قد كنت عطشني

Long have you been at ease

هل أنت لولا نطفة في شئنه

You are nothing but a drop in a worn-out skin!"<sup>1</sup>

His soul obeyed him, and he fought on until he was killed.

Gradually, the sentiments expressed in the Madinese poetry came to mirror what is best described as a mixture of obedience to the precepts of religion, and the wish to gratify individual desire. Most Madinese poems are permeated by religious feeling. Even a poet so notorious for his inclination to riotous living as al Ahwas b. Muhammad is firm in his noble refusal when his beloved insists that he must try to win the friendship of her husband if he wants to enjoy

<sup>1</sup> The life of Muhammad, p.534.

her. He says that he is not willing to resort to iniquitous means, and adds that he is determined to avoid both the wife of his friend and the wife of his neighbour, because he does not want to sadden his friend, and because God had ordered him to protect his neighbour.<sup>1</sup>

In the poetry of two outstanding Islamic scholars. 'Urwa b. Odhaina and 'Ubaid Allah b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Utba, the love of woman and the love of religion are inseparably fused together, and it can be said that these two feelings reach here the highest degree of cohesion found in the poetry of the Umayyad period. As to Abu Saïd (Mawla Faïd), a singer and hermit who loved both song and religion, he devoted only one poem to the love of woman. If Ibn Rawaḥa reflects strong Islamic feeling in his poetry. Ibn Odhaina, in the Umayyad period, reflects calm Islamic feeling, the feeling of one who accepts things as they are. He says:<sup>2</sup>

لقد علمت وما الإشراف من خلقي      أن الله من صور رزقي سوف يأتيني

"Surely I knew, and cupidity is not of my nature, that what God has provided for me will come to me."

أرعى له ضيعتني تطبه      ولو قدمت أتاى لا يعنيني

"I run towards it, and my search for it exhausts me; but even if I stayed seated, it would come to me without strain."

فإن حظ احمر غير سيبلغه      إلا بعد ما يد أن يحا زه دوني

"Another man's destined share will reach him; surely it will

1 Poem No. 363, p.287.

2 Poem No. 822, p.530.

pass me on the way to him."

ك خير من طمع يدني إلى طبع و غفّة من كفاف العيش تكفي

"There is no profit in greed which lures one to corruption, and the tiniest fraction of slender means will satisfy me."

كلم قد أخذت وكم أنفقت من ثياب و من معاريفنا رزق غير صنون

"What huge gains I used to make, what a multitude of things I owned and how much I spend on life."

ضأ شرت على ريس وما صرعت نفسي طلة عسراء يبلوني

"I was not spoilt by good treatment; nor was I humiliated in the fell grip of circumstance which came to me as a test."

هيمى كريم ونفسي لا تخشى أن الإله بلا رزق يخلين

"My nature is not bad, nor does my soul even suspect that God will deny me my livelihood."

ك من فقير غني النفس تعرفه و من غني فقير النفس مكين

"There is many a poor man, you know, whose soul is rich, and many a rich man is mean-spirited and humble."

Erotic poetry proper, i.e. with the minimum emphasis on religion, alternates, during the Umayyad period, between description of sinful, illicit or adulterous relationships and platonic relationships between the two sexes. Ismaïl b. Yasar, the representative of the poetry of illicit love, says in one of his poems:<sup>1</sup>

كظم أنت الهم يا كظم و أنتم داني الذا أ كظم

"Kaltham, O Kaltham, you are my concern, and the ailment which I hide;"

1 Poem 656, p.451.

أَكْأَتَمُّ النَّاسِ صَوِيًّا سَفِينًا      وَبَعْضُ كَلِمَاتِ الْهَوَىٰ أَمْ حَزْمٍ

"I hide from people the love which made me lean, and to hide one's love is sometimes prudent;"

وَأَنْتَ ظَلَمْتَ بِالْإِظْمَانِ      وَرَأَيْتَ فِيمَا بَيْنَنَا الْوَمَّ

"You have blamed me unjustly and without indictment, while you alone among us are blameworthy;"

أَبَدِي الَّذِي تَخْفِيهِ ظَاهِرًا      أَرَادَ عَنْهُ خِيَلَهُ أَوْ أَوْ قَدَمِ  
إِحْتَابِيًّا سَمِيحًا وَمَطْمَعِ      يُشِيرُ بِجَسَدِ الْوَدِّ أَوْ يُبَلِّغُ

"Reveal openly what you hide and I will either give up

[pursuing you] in despair, or carry on, full of hope, strengthened by your sweet love;"

لَا تُرَكِّبْنِي صَدًّا صَبِيًّا      لِمَا صَنَعَ الْوَدَّ وَرَأَى حَرَمِ

"Don't leave me in the plight of one who will die; you neither grant me love nor desert me completely;"

أَوْ ضَرَبْتِ بِمَا قَلَّتْ وَلَا تَنْدُ مِنْ      لَنْ الْوَفَىٰ الصَّوْلَ لَا يَنْدُمِ

"Keep your promise and do not repent, no one who keeps his promise repents;"

أَيُّهَا حَاجِبَتِ عِلْمِ رَقَبَتِهِ      بَعْدَ الْكُرْسِيِّ وَالْحُجِيِّ قَدْتُوَعُوا

"Remember how after sleeping time I came, fearing the watchful eyes when others were asleep;"

أَمْ حَافِظَتِ الْمَسِيَّ حِزَارِ الْعِدَا      وَأَسْبَدَ رَأْيِي عَالَمِ مَظْمِ

"I trod slowly for fear of enemies, though the night is pitch-dark;"



ورون ما حاولت إردا زرتكم أؤولك والخال صفاً والحلم

"Knowing when I came that your brother, mother's brother  
and your father-in-law all stood in my way;"

وليس إلا الله ط صعب إيلكم والصدارم اللندم

"I had no companion but God and my sharp-edged sword;"

حتى دخلت البيت فاستدرفت من سفيح عيناك لئلا تسبم

"When I entered, your eyes overflowed with tears, for fear I  
might be hurt;"

ثم أكلت الحزن وروعته ونجيب الطاسخ والمبرم

"Sadness fear and alarm were then swept away; enemy and  
intruder were no longer there,"

ضبت ضيا شئت من نعمة مخفيرا نمرها والغم

"I spent the night enjoying the pleasures I desired,  
offered me by her neck and mouth;"

حتى إذا أصبح بدا ضوءه ونمات الجوزاء والمرزم  
ضربت والوطء فخرى لها يناب من مكنة الأروم

"At the first light of dawn when Gemini and Bellatrix had  
set, I went out, treading softly as a snake slips out of hiding."

Platonic love is celebrated in one of the most beautiful  
Arabic love poems, the poem by 'Urwa b. Odhaina which opens as

follows:

إن التي زعمت فؤادك ملها خلقت صوال كما خلقت صولها

"She who accused him that his heart was bored by her, though in  
fact, she had been created for his love as he had been created for hers;"

فبده الناس زعمت بها وكلاماً      أيدي لصاحبه الصباية صلا

"You are enamoured of her, and she of you, as she claims,  
and both of you profess a vehement longing for each other;"

وبيت بين جوارح حبت لها      لو كان تحت فراشها لأظلم

"Within my ribs, my love towards her dwells at night; if  
that love had been under her bed it would have heaved it up high;"

ولعمرك لو كان صلبه فوقها      يوماً وقد ضحيت لذن لأظلم

"And by her life [I swear] if one day your love had been  
over her while she was exposed to the sun, it would have sheltered  
her."

وإذا وجدت لأواسلوة      سفع لضمير إلى الفؤاد فهدأ

"Whenever I listened to the whispers of my heart, urging me  
not to think about her, my conscience would appeal to the heart and  
gently silence those whispers."

بيضاء باكرها النعيم ضاعها      بلافة خادقها وأملها

"She is an honourable woman, luxury came to her early and  
shaped her cleverly and thus the parts of her body which should be  
thin are so, and the parts which should be luxuriant are opulent."

لا عرضت صلتاً لي حاجة      أ غشى صعوبتها وأرهودها

"When I revealed my desire, saying "May peace be with you",  
the desire I feared would be unattainable while I hoped it would be  
easy."

منيت تحيتي فقلت لصاحبي ما كان أكثر صالوا وقلها

"She was reluctant to greet me and so I said to my friend:  
What a help she was to us, and how deprived of help we are now."

فإن فقال لعلها معذورة من بعين رقيبنا فقلت لعلها

"My friend approached and said to me: 'Perhaps she might be forgiven because we were watched by others', and then I said: 'Perhaps it is true.'<sup>1</sup>

Although erotic poetry always formed part of Madinese verse, during the Umayyad era it became its most prevalent theme. That was because love was one of the themes that <sup>led</sup> ~~mited~~ the new life of luxury. Moreover, it lent itself not only to recitation, but also to music and song. In fact, Madina occupied, for complex reasons, the first place among the Muslim cities in this field for a period. There were numerous prominent, celebrated singers in Madina during the Umayyad period. As regards the poetic quality of these songs, it might be useful to mention that two out of the three best Arabic songs chosen for Harūn al Rashīd were written by Madinese poets, Abu Qatifa and Nusaib.<sup>2</sup> This combination of song and erotic poetry has influenced the poetry in several ways:

(1) Its diction became very simple;

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1 Poem No.808, p.523.

2 Aghani, Vol.I, p.3.

(2) The numbers of lines of the poem was limited, because very long poems are not easy to sing;

(3) Its metres were short, such as al Hazaj, al Wafir, al Khafif, al Ramal and al Mutaqarib. Poets sometimes shortened the traditional metres. Four out of the seven songs known under the collective name of al Zayanib, and ascribed to Muhammad b. Ruhaima, are written in those shortened metres. Two of them are written in

Majzu' al Ramal *فاعلاتن فاعلاتن* instead of the complete form *فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن* 1

Of the other two, one is written in Majzu' al Kamil *صفا عن صفا عن*

*صفا عن صفا عن* instead of in

*صفا عن صفا عن صفا عن صفا عن*

2 *صفا عن صفا عن صفا عن صفا عن*

and the other in Majzu' al Khafif

*فاعلاتن صفعن فاعلاتن صفعن*

instead of in

3 *فاعلاتن صفعن فاعلاتن صفعن*

It was also in the Umayyad period that three additional themes crept into Madinese poetry: (1) wine, (2) self-praise indulged in by the non-Arabs, members of the Shu'aubiyya movement and (3) travel.

'Abd al Rahman b. Artah and Ibrahim b. Harma exhibit a paramount interest in wine. Ibn Harma says, for example.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Poems No. 925 and 933, pp.585, 588.

2 Poem No. 924, p.585

3 Poem No. 920 p. 584

4 Poem No.1267, p.731.

أَسْأَلُ اللَّهَ مَكْرَةً قَبْلَ مَوْتِي : صَبِيحَ لَصِيْبِيَانِ يَا سَكْرَانَ

"I ask God to let me drink when I die and let the children shout at me: 'He's drunk, He's drunk!'"

Wine can be said to have been the favourite topic of 'Abd al Raḥmān b. Artāḥ to such an extent that it superseded love in his songs. One could say that he specializes in the poetry of wine. He is perhaps the best exponent of his group. He says in one of his poems:<sup>1</sup>

لَدَيْهِ مَنِي نَدِيمِي مَا جِدًّا أَنْفَاقًا      لَدَوَقَانِي خَالِطًا زَوْرًا يَهْتَانُ

"My boon companion always finds me noble and proud; when I talk, I never mix my words with lie or falsehood;"

أَغْرَّ رَأْوُوقَهُ مَا لَانَ صَافِيَةً      تَنْفِي الضَّرِيْعِيْنَ عَنِ جَبِيْنِ غَيْرِ غُرَيَانَ

"[He also finds me] a fastidious person, whose decanter is full of pure wine which rejects the specks from the forehead [of one] who was never confused";

أَمْسِي أَعَاظِيهِ لَأَسَا نَدْمُورِبَهَا      كَابِلِيْدِهِ حَفَّتْ بِنَسْرِيْنِ وَرِيْحَانَ

"In the evening, surrounded with jonquil and sweet scented [plants], we exchange cups of tasty wine, akin to musk;"

سَبِيْهُ مَن قَرِيْبِيْ بِيْرُوتَ صَافِيَةً      أَوْلِيْنِي سَبِيْدَتَ مَن أَرْضِ بَيْسَانَ

"Clear wine, purchased in the village of Beirut or the land of Baisan."

1 Poem No.719, p.486.

إِنَّا نَشْرَبُهَا حَتَّى نَمِيلُ بِهَا      كَمَا تَمِيلُ وَسْوَانٌ بوسان

"We drink it till we swing sleepily as one swings with one's  
bozing fellow."

As to the poetry of the Shu'ubiyya movement the relatives  
of Al Yasar al Nisai were well-known for their Persian pride which  
made them feel superior to the 'Arabs. This trend is observable in  
several poems. Muhammad b. Ismail b. Yasar, for example, says in  
part of a line:<sup>1</sup>

ليس العرب عند الله من أحد

"Arabs are nobody in the sight of God."

Also Ismail b. Yasar al Nisai says in one of his poems:<sup>2</sup>

رَبِّ خَالِي مَتَوَجِّعٌ لِي وَعَمَّ      حَاجِدٌ مَجْنُونٌ كَرِيمٌ (الغائب)

Many wore crowns on my father's and on the distaff side, they were  
sought after for their generosity. Noble were they and gave without  
measure."

أرنا سمي (الفوارس) بالف      من مصاصاة رفعة الأثاب

The Persians were given this name to recall their ancestors' glory."

فَا تَرَكِي الضَّرْبَ يَا أُمَّ حَامٍ عَلَيْنَا      .. وَأَتْرَكِي الْجُورَ وَأَنْظِمِي بِالصَّوَابِ

O Omama, forsake your vanity, your tyranny against us and confess  
the truth."

Poem No.860, p.552.

Poem No.642, p.441.

وَأَسْأَلُ إِنْ جِئْتُمْ عَلَيْنَا وَعَلَيْكُمْ      كَيْفَ كُنَّا مِنْ سَالِفِ الْأَرْحَابِ  
لَمَّا نَزَجْنَا بِنَاتِنَا وَتَدَسُّو      نَ سَافَاً بِنَاتِكُمْ مِنْ الرَّابِ

"If you were ignorant, inquire about us and yourself, how were we in olden times? We used to rear our daughters while you, stupidly, buried them in the dust."

On the other hand, there is a poem by Muhammad b. Bashir al Khariji which exemplifies the feeling of superiority of the 'Arabs over the Mawali. The poem describes the story of a Mawla who was forced to divorce his 'Arab wife, and was consequently ill-treated.<sup>1</sup>

Travel, and descriptions of distant places, seem to preoccupy the minds of those poets of Madina who used to leave their city for shorter or longer periods of time. It is true that the memory of their journeys fills their poetry with names of places in the Arabian Peninsula and outside it, but these journeys also intensify the love of their homeland. Consequently, their poetry reflects feelings of nostalgia by which the inevitable comparisons between Madina and foreign parts are coloured. Among these poets of travel are al Ahwas,<sup>2</sup> Muhammad b. al Mawla<sup>3</sup> and S'aid b. 'Abd al Rahman b. Hassan.

1 Poem No.881, p.562.

2 Poem No.411, p.307.

3 Poem No.1364, p.777.

Said b 'Abdal Raḥmān says in one of his poems:<sup>1</sup>

قالت: وطاء العين بفضل كلها  
عند الفراقه عنك بسبب

"She said when we departed, while the continuous and torrential tears [flowing] from her eyes washed [away] her eye-powder:"

بأيتك أنته يا سعيد بأرضنا  
تلقى المراسى نأويًا ونخيم

"O Saïd, I hoped you would stay in our land and make it your residence."

فصيب لذة عيشنا ورضاه  
فكلون أهوارًا فماذا ننقم

"And so you would share our sweet and easy life, we would be neighbours, and there would be nothing you dislike."

لندرجن إلى الحجاز خيرة  
بلد به عيش الكريم فندقم

"Don't go back to Hijaz, because it is a country in which the life of the noble finds too little praise."

وهلم جاورنا فقلت لا أقصر  
عسى بطيبة ومع غيرك أنعم

"Come and become our neighbour'; but I told her to be silent, saying that life in Taiba - may somebody else be blamed - was preferable."

أيضاره الوطن الحبيب المنزلي  
نأوي ونسرى بالطيب الأقدم

"Is the beloved country abandoned for another, o so remote, or is the old one bartered for the new?"

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1 Poem No. 532, p.368.



إنَّ الحمام إلى الحجاز يبيع لي      طرباً سرّته إذا يترنم  
والبرق حين أسبغه مياضاً      وجناب الأرواح حين تنسم

"The cooing of pigeons, when they do so, increases my enthusiasm for Hijaz. So does the lightning which turns its face towards it, and the southern winds when they breeze."

The figure which towers above all other poets of travel is Abu Qatifa, who was exiled together with the whole Umayyad dynasty by 'Abd Allah b. al Zubair. Representative of his poetry are the following lines.<sup>1</sup>

ليت شعري وأين صني ليت      أعلم العبد يلين خبرام

"Would that I knew - and too far away for me to know - are Yalban and Barām still as they used to be?"

أم كعبها القيصو أم غيرت      بعدي الحارات والأيام

"And is 'Aqiq the same as I know it to be, or [have] events and days changed it?"

وبأهل بدلت عطاً وطمحاً      وجزاماً وأين صني جزام؟

"Akk and Lakhm and Judham were given to me to replace my family, and how different are those people from my people."

وبدلت من ما كن حوصي      والقصو التي بها الكلام  
أكل قصدهم ذوا أواسي      أبيض على ذراه الحمام

1 Poem No.633, p.432.

"For the houses of my people, and the palaces with square structures, I was given, as a substitute, all well-built palaces, on good foundations, over whose gables the pigeons coo."

أقرصن السلام إن جهنت قوصي      وقليل لهم لديّ السلام

"If you reach my people, give them my regards, and I owe them more than a greeting."

أقطع الليل كله بالسَّابِ      وزفير حيا أكارأكم  
نحو قوصي إذ فرقت بيننا الداء      روحا دت من قصصها الأعلام

"I spend the whole night in sadness, and my breathing stalls, and I go short of sleep because my people have been separated, and all minds have been led astray."

خشية أن يصيبهم عتاده      وحرّيب يسبب منها الغلام

"And because I dread they might be set upon by time, which destroys, and war, which makes the child turn grey."

قلعه مان أن يكون له الداء      رر عنا بقاءه وانظروا

"May this time soon fade in the distance, and be cut short."

As has already been mentioned, two of the best Arabic songs selected for Harūn al Rashīd were written by Madinese poets, and one of them, which is vastly superior to the other two, is ascribed to Abu Qatīfa who is said to have composed it while in exile in Syria:<sup>1</sup>

1 Poem No.637, p.435.

القصر فالنخل فالجِمامَ بينهما  
 إلى البلاد فما حازت قرائن  
 قد يكتم الناس أسراراً علمها  
 أسس إلى قلب من أبواب جبرون  
 دور ترهن عن الفناء والرهون  
 وما يزالون من الموت مكنون

"The palace and the palm trees, and al Jamma' in between, are more attractive to the heart than Abwab Jairun."

"[The place contains] al Balat and what lies beside its Qarain dwellings, no less remote from excess than humiliation."

"People may hide their secrets but I know them, while they can never, till they die, know mine."

As in pre-Islamic times, praise of the superiority of the fertile land of Madina occupies pride of place in Islamic poetry. K'ab b. Malik, attacking Quraish in one of his poems, begins his hija' with a description of the gardens and wells of Madina as well as of the swelling river of Murrar, which he contrasts with the barrenness of the land of Quraish who are compelled to trade with donkeys. In the opening lines of his satire he says:<sup>1</sup>

ألد بلغ قريشاً أن سلعاً  
 فوا صنع من الحروب حدّ باب  
 وما بين المرعى إلى الصّاد  
 وخص من نقتت من عهد عاد

"Tell Quraish that Sal'a and [the land] which lies between 'Uraid and al Şimad, are gardens once familiar with wars; their wells were dug in the time of 'Ad."

1 Poem No. 227, p.181.

رواكد يزخر المزار فيها . فليت باجماع ولا انقاد

"[Those wells] are calm, but the river al Murrar swells  
and so they [the wells] are neither brimful nor shallow."

كأنت الغاب والبردي فيها أهدى إذ أتبع للصيد

"Sylvan trees and papyri, yellow-specked at harvest time,  
closely twist and intertwine."

ولم نجعل تجارنا اسرا الا حمير لا رهن دوسيا و مراد

"We did not choose to trade in donkeys in the land of Dous  
and Murad."

بلاد لم تُترد الا للبا تجالدين لطم للبلاد

"It is a land which was ploughed only to be fought for, if  
you so desired."

أترنا كالأبناط فيها فلم نر حقلها جلالات واد

"We planted palm trees in rows as Nabatheans do, and so one  
can not find valleys as beautiful as ours."

'Abdal Raḥmān b. Ḥassan says addressing 'Abdal Raḥmān b. al  
Hakam:<sup>1</sup>

من كان يأكل من فريسة صيده فليتم يعنينا عن المتصيد

"If there are people who devour the victims of their hunt,  
we are too much interested in dates to eat hunted game."

1 Poem No. 554, p.380.

During the Umayyad period, the family of Ibu al Zubair were well-known for their poetic descriptions not only of the fertile land of Madina, but also of its gardens, wells and palaces.<sup>1</sup>

This section of Madinese poetry owes its origin to the fact that Madina is remarkable for its natural and architectural beauty, and the picturesque scenery of its surroundings. Its descriptive character is enhanced by the use of place names such as al 'Aqiq, Khakh, suwaiqa, al-'Arṣa al Sughra, al 'Arṣa al Kubra, al Jamma' and Quba' which occur in it repeatedly; so does the well of 'Urwa al Ahwas or al Sari b. 'Abd al Raḥmān says in one of his poems:<sup>2</sup>

كُضِّفَ لِي مِنْ مِثْلِ دِرْعِ أُرْوَى      وَأُصْحَى مِنْ بَرْقَةِ عَمَّالٍ

"When I die, shroud me in Arwa's garments, and bring water from 'Urwa's well;"

سُفْهُ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ بَارِدَةٌ الصَّبِيحِ      فَا سَرَّاحٌ مِنَ السَّيِّئِ الظُّلَمِ

"Which is warm in winter, cold in summer and [glows like] a lamp in the dark of the night;"

وَلَهَا مَرَجٌ بِرُوحَةٍ عَالِيَةٍ      وَعَصِيْبٌ بِالْقَرِّ قَصْرِ قُبَا

"Burqat Khakh is her home in winter, and the palace, the palace of Quba' is her home in summer."

1 Poem No.750, p.499, Poem No.754, p.501, Poems No. 824, 825, p.533, Poem No.827, p.534 and Poem No. 1307, p.753.

2 Poem No.342, p.278.

Needless to say that the earliest forms, the hija', (satire) and its counterpart, the madh (eulogy) with its vainglorious offshoot, the fakhr (self-praise), never disappear from the horizon of the Madinese poetry. Neither does the ritha' (elegy).

Regarding self-praise in particular, one can say that it reflects, during the Umayyad period, the feelings of poets who were proud of being Muslims as well as of their ancestors who were capable of great deeds. Al Fadl al Lahabi boasts of belonging to the tribe of Quraish from which the Prophet came, and of his relationships with Abu Lahab and his wife Hammalat al Hatab, who were attacked in the Qur'an.<sup>1</sup> Once Sukaima bint al Husain proudly referred to her grandfather, the Prophet, when she heard the Mu'addin calling: "I believe there is no God but God. I believe that Muhammad is a messenger". This occasion inspired al Ahwas to compose a poem in which he addresses Sukaina, and which opens with the words:<sup>2</sup>

فخرت وانتم فعلت انظري  
ليس جهل ائمه بديع

"She announced her glory and named her ancestors, so I said: Wait a little while. The tyranny you are guilty of is unacceptable;"

خانا ابن الذرعت طه الد  
سراخيل اللحيان يوم البيع

"I am the descendant of the one who was martyred by the al-hyan at the battle of al Raji' and was protected by bees;"

Poem No. 839, p.542.

Poem No. 429, p.315.

غسلت ضائي المرثلة الأبرار / صبيته طوي له من صريح

"My mother's brother, when he was martyred, was washed by the noble angels. How noble a man, deserving of paradise is he!"

The poets of the first days of Islam were proud of the glorious deeds they themselves achieved, while the poets of later generations were mainly proud of the achievements of their ancestors. 'Abd al Rahmān b. Hassān, attacking Miskīn al Darīmī, registers in a very long poem, the deeds of the Anṣars. The poem has almost become a historical document.<sup>1</sup>

The frontiers of Madina were extended during the Umayyad period, a fact which made it possible to include in this study those poets who lived on its outskirts and in its suburbs. Among those, Ibn Harma is, perhaps, the highest in stature. In reading his poetry, it becomes immediately obvious that he is not a city-dweller born and bred in the atmosphere of a town. He derives his vocabulary, ideas and imagery from the desert rather than from the fertile land of Madina. He depicts tents, bonfires which flame over hills to guide those lost in the desert, and dogs which welcome guests with loud barking. His poems provide a picture of the life of the Bedouin whose outstanding characteristic is his generosity. Whoever appeals to it, will always find food and welcome:

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1. Poem No. 530, pp.392-397.

وسئل الجار والمصعب والذئب ياف وصناً إذا تحيوا لدي  
كيف يلقونني إذا تبع الكلاب وراء الكور نجاً فيها

"Ask my neighbour and the one who tightens a stone to his stomach  
[to suppress hunger] and the guests who greet me at midnight, how  
[hospitable] they find me when the dog barks weakly [weakened by  
the cold] from behind the fences of the tent."<sup>1</sup>

And in another poem he says:<sup>2</sup>

ويدل صنيضى من الظلام إذا سرى      إيفاد نارس أو بناع كلوي  
عما إذا واجهته وعرفه      قد يئنه ببصائص الذئاب  
وجعلن ما قد عرفن يصدن      ويكون أن ينطقن بالترحاب

(1) "The flame of my fire, and the barking of my dogs guides my  
guest who travelled through darkness all night long."

(2) "When they notice him and recognize him, they demonstrate their  
willingness to die for him by wagging their tails."

(3) They are used to frequent guests, and so they guide him; they  
are unable to speak, otherwise they would hail him loudly."

The dog, the Bedouin's faithful companion, is constantly  
referred to:<sup>3</sup>

استوص خيراً به فإن له      عندي يداً لأزال أحمده

1 Poem No. 1279, p.741.

2 Poem No. 1124, p.665.

3 Poem No. 1148, p.677.



بر دلّ صنیعی علیّیٰ فی عہد السیل از ذالنا ر نام سوکده

"Do take care of him [I pray] as he does me favours which I always appreciate;

In the darkness of night, when those who kindle the fires are asleep, he guides my guest towards me."

### CONCLUSION

It was necessary to ascertain the geographical limits of the territory of Madina. Though Yaḡūt regarded only the built-up area as Madina, and Quba' Ohud and al 'Aḡiq as its suburbs, it was assumed that it extended between two Ḥarras in east and west, and two mountains, 'Air and Thour, in south and north. It was stated that Madina was first cultivated by 'Amaleks, consequently by Jews and then by Aus and Khazraj. After the disappearance of Jews in the early Islamic period it was inhabited by Aus and Khazraj together with immigrants and Mawali, and became familiar with the life of luxury under the Umayyads. In pre-Islamic time they fought each other, built fortresses and utums, and lived as farmers and craftsmen. Under Islam, Aus and Khazraj became friendly rivals. Umayyads were generous as they did not want the Madinese to indulge in political activities. Thus Madina became a centre of cultural activities and occupied for a while the first place among the Muslim cities in the field of music and song. Madina was fortunate in being the birth-place of poets, both before and after Islam. Only poets born in Madina were included, and those who lived on the outskirts and in the suburbs of the city only considered if their bonds with the city were strong. All the Anṣars, wherever they dwelt, were included. The anthology itself was divided into seven groups in which the poets and poems were arranged alphabetically, under mention of the origin of its poem and its sources. The different versions were stated, and lines and words interpreted.

The wording of the text was respected throughout, and any alterations made by me, such as the filling of gaps, changes or omissions of words were always referred to. The sources were divided into groups, and the manuscripts described. The work of each poet was provided, if possible, with a concise introduction giving an idea about his life and poetry.

Lastly it was briefly shown how Madina was mirrored in its poetry, both before and after Islam. The choice of examples was governed, throughout, by two considerations: (1) which poet or poem was most characteristic of his period or group, and (2) what poem or line was most characteristic of the poet in question.

The theme of pre-Islamic Madinese poetry is the glorification of Arab manhood. In the Madinese poetry of the early Islamic era, this theme is enriched by the strength of religious and heroic feeling.

Poetry was accepted and given a powerful impulse by Islam. Madinese poets were allowed by the Prophet to attack the non-Muslim Meccans. When comparing their satire with that of 'Abd al Raḥmān b. Ḥassan. Al Ahwas b. Muḥammad and Ḥumaidah bint Annu'man b. Bashir, it became clear that the satire of early Islamic poets had undertones of nobility which Umayyad poetry lacked.

'Abd Allah b. Rawaha was our representative for the poets of the first days of Islam. He reflected the strong Islamic feeling of that period while 'Urwa b. Odhaina was considered our representative

of the Umayyads and he reflected a calm Islamic feeling, the feeling of one who had accepted things as they were. Erotic poetry under the Umayyads represented the prevalent part. Music and song influenced its diction, metres and the length of the poem. Under the Umayyads, three new themes, appeared in the Islamic Madinese poetry: (1) wine, (2) self-praise especially coming from members of the Shu'ubiyya movement, and (3) travel. Also in Umayyad times, poets of the family of Ibn al Zubair spoke of gardens, wells and palaces.

Hija' (satire) the madh (eulogy) the fakhr (self-praise) and the ritha' (elegy) are ever present in Madinese poetry. Ibn Harma is considered representative of the poets who lived on the outskirts of Madina. His vocabulary, ideas and imagery, however, are derived from the life of the desert rather than from conditions in the fertile land of Madina.

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