A CRITICAL STUDY

of

THE POETRY of AL-FARAZDAQ

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List of Abbreviations

Agh. = Kitāb al-Aghānī.

DB. = Dīwān of al-Farazdaq, Boucher's edition.

DS. = Dīwān of al-Farazdaq, aṣ-Ṣāwī's edition.

KN. = Kitāb an-Naqā'iḍ, ed. Bevan.

NOTE:

The poems in the two volumes of aṣ-Ṣāwī's edition of the Dīwān were numbered, for purposes of reference, from 1 - 768; the 1st volume ends with poem No. 337. Reference to a poem gives its number in the Dīwān (DS:-), followed by the number of the page on which the piece opens, and, when required, the number of the verse in the poem, thus: DS: 337-P.397:5.

Naqā'iḍ Poems in Chapter III are referred to by their KN. numbers.

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CHAPTER I

1. Family. 2. Loyalties. 3. Ideas and Ideals. 4. Character

Hammām ibn Ghālib, known as al-Farazdaq, was born in Kāẓimah, a seaside village near Baṣrah about the year 20 A.H. (642 A.D.). He belonged to the Banū Mujāshi' section of the Tamīm tribe, and his family included a number of men who were famous in pre-Islamic life.[1] The poet's father, Ghālib, was famous for his generosity; he was specially remembered for two feats of mass slaughter of camels.[2] His grandfather, Ṣa'ṣa'ah, was known as 'life-giver to infanticides' for his work in ransoming many victims of this practice.[3] Al-Farazdaq was proud of his ancestors of whose glories he frequently boasted; but neither their noble birth nor their deeds were sufficiently exalted to justify the poet's boastful challenge to Mu'āwiyah:[4]

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1. Al-Marzubānī pays them this rather exaggerated tribute: "It was said of al-Farazdaq that his genealogical tree up to 'Adnān does not include a single name which is not a celebrity." - Mu'jam, 3.
2. The first feat was performed during the Caliphate of 'Alī, the second during that of 'Uthmān; both figure prominently in al-Farazdaq's fakhr and naqā'iḍ work.
3. Agh. XIX, 3-4.
4. This impudence, and not the satire of Banū Fuqaim, was probably the cause of al-Farazdaq's troubles with Ziād.

وَما وَلَدَتْ بعدَ النَّبِيِّ وأَهْلِهِ كَمِثْلِي حَصانٌ في الرِّجالِ يُقارِبُهْ
نَمَتْهُ فُرُوعُ المالِكَيْنِ ولم يَكُنْ أَبُولَهَ الَّذي سَعْدٌ سُمِّيَ يُخاطِبُهْ 4

DS: 47-P.56

Al-Farazdaq's mother was Līnah bint Qarazah of Banū Dabbah who were a valiant offshoot of the Khindif group. The poet does not mention his mother in his poetry[5], although he makes capital out of the martial glories of his maternal uncles to compensate for the lack of valour on the paternal side of his family.

Al-Farazdaq married a number of women and the names of seven of them are mentioned in his dīwān; Mufaddah died before his marriage to Nawār[6]; Ṭaibah was probably also married at this period[7]; Suwaidah was a relative who bore him some children[8]; Nawār, a cousin, was tricked by the poet into a marriage which after much bickering ended in irrevocable divorce; she gave him five sons of whom only Labaṭah outlived his parents.[9] To spite Nawār, al-Farazdaq married Ruhaimah

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5. Instead, the poet boasts of his paternal grandmother, Lailā - see DS: 73-P.99, v.2; 370-P.474, v.19; 384-P.484, v.6.
6. DS: 486-P.603:10-11.
7. See DS: 158-P.172 where she taunts him with being sterile; also DS: 282-P.347.
8. DS: 16-P.28:5
9. Ibn Qutaibah Shi'r, 8.

of Banū an-Namir ibn Qāsiṭ and Ḥadrā' of Banū Shaibān, but the first deserted him, and his marriage to the second was never consummated.[10] He also had a daughter by a black slave-girl.[11] In his old age he married Ẓabiah who was the last of his wives.[12] Although he seemed to have missed happiness in his numerous marriages, al-Farazdaq loved his children, both male and female; he tells an apparently quarrelsome wife that he had to put up with her for the sake of his children who were "the marigold flowers of my heart and a heavenly blessing".[13] He also felt deeply the loss of some of them who died young, judging by the number of moving elegies which he wrote; indeed it may be said that the death of his father and his wife Nawār did not move him in the least, and his only expression of deep sorrow was made in his elegies on his dead children.[14]

2.

Al-Farazdaq owed allegiance in the first place to his family Banū Mujāshi' of whom he considered himself the champion against all comers:

أَنَا الضَّامِنُ الرَّاعِي عَلَيْهِمْ وَإِنَّمَا يُدَافِعُ عَنْ أَحْسَابِهِمْ أَنَا أَوْ مِثْلِي

DS: 587-P.712

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10. DS: 204-P.211; 167-P.181.
11. DS: 750-P.880
12. DS: 650-P.811
13. DS: 16-P.28:5
14. Ibn er-Rūmī paid these elegies the compliment of borrowing one of his widely admired elegiac themes on his dead children from one of them (DS: 760-P.885).

Next came his tribe, Tamīm in which he held the traditional position of tribal bard whose duty was to defend its honour and sing its praise:

أَحِيَّةَ أَعَاذَتْ بِنِي تَمِيمٍ نِسَاءَهَا وَجَرَّدْتَ بِجَرِيدِ الْيَمَانِي مِنَ الْغُمْدِ

DS: 201-P.207:9

Even on his death-bed he is alleged to have shown concern for the welfare of the tribe, emphasising at the same time the importance of his role as bard:

أُرُونِي مَنْ يَقُومُ لَكُمْ مَقَامِي إِذَا مَا الْأَمْرُ جَلَّ عَنِ الْخِطَابِ
إِلَى مَنْ تَفْزَعُونَ إِذَا حَثَوْتُمْ بِأَيْدِيكُمْ عَلَيَّ مِنَ التُّرَابِ

"Show me who will take my place for you when matters are beyond the discussion (stage); to whom would you turn when you had sprinkled with your hands earth on me?"

DS: 97-P.114

Al-Farazdaq's loyalty extends beyond family and tribe to the big Mudar tribal group, Khindif; besides including his tribe, Tamīm, and his maternal uncles, Banū Ḍabbah, this group also included the select clan, Quraish, to which belonged both the family of the Prophet and that of the ruling house of Umayyah. Thus he found this Khindif loyalty convenient in more than one way as it provided him with a sure weapon in his fakhr against the other tribal groups - Qais, Rabī'ah and Qaḥtān - who could not retaliate by attacking Khindif for fear of offending the memory of the Prophet or the ruling house; it

also satisfied his snobbishness by enabling him to boast that he was a cousin of both the Prophet and the Caliph:

أَنَا ابْنُ خِنْدَفَ وَالخَامِي حَقِيقَتَهَا قَدْ جَعَلُوا فِي يَدَيَّ الشَّمْسَ وَالْقَمَرَا

D.S: 247-P.282

مِنَّا الرَّسُولُ وَكُلُّ أَزْهَرَ بَعْدَهُ كَالْبَدْرِ وَهُوَ خَلِيفَةٌ فِي الْكَوْكَبِ

DS: 25-P.37:8

Al-Farazdaq's attitude towards Qais 'Ailān was dictated by circumstances; in the first place he could not forget that Qais and his own group, Khindif, were cousins, and that they were natural allies in face of the traditional ememy - Yemen.[15] So he only took a hostile stand towards Qais or some of its component tribes when he was involved in a personal feud with a poet of the group; thus his feud with Jarīr - who, though no Qaisite, was a spokesman of the group and thus had the status of an ally - provoked al-Farazdaq into such declarations of extreme hostility:

رَمَى اللهُ فِيمَا بَيْنَهُ قَيْسٍ وَبَيْنَنَا عَلَى كُلِّ حَالٍ بِالْعَدَاوَةِ وَالْبُعْدِ

DS: 201-P.207:5

Feuds with individual poets, such as Jandal of Banū Numair

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15. "...and so Khurāsān was divided into two camps: Azd and Tamīm; every Yemenite was called Azdite, and every Muderite in Khurāsān was called Tamīmid, and every Rabī'ite and Yemenite in Khurāsān was called Azdite..." - superscription to DS: 726-P.869:7-9, describing the tribal alignments in the partisan wars in Khurāsān following the insurrection of Qutaibah ibn Muslim in 96 A.H.

and al-Aṣamm of Bāhilah, would lead al-Farazdaq into attacks on their own tribes, which usually developed into attacks on the whole Qais group of which they were a part.[16] But this enmity to Qais was far from being as extreme as might be thought from the preceding declaration, and would soon give place to expressions of friendship and the brotherhood of Qais and Khindif, whenever the common enemy, the Yemenites, appeared on the scene:[17]

إذا غضبت يوما عرانيه خندف ... وإخوتهم قيس عليها حديدها

DS: 167-P.187:11

These diverse loyalties sometimes conflicted with each other, and the poet resolved the conflict according to the traditional pagan Arab rule: his loyalty belonged first to his own family against other sections of the tribe; then to his tribe against all others; then to Khindif against rival groups, and to Qais against Rabī'ah and the Yemenites. As shown above, most of these loyalties were subject to convenience and expediency, and the only really binding one was his loyalty to his tribe, Tamīm; thus his feud with Jarīr caused the poet much embarrassment and heart-searching because he felt that he could not attack Jarīr's section, Banū Yarbū'

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16. e.g. DS: 24-P.34; 25-P.37; 58-P.72; 36-P.45; etc.
17. Written on the massacre of the Muhallab family who, moved by Yemenite partisanship, had committed indiscriminate atrocities against Mudarite tribes in 'Irāq.

without harming the whole tribe. The kinship system inside the tribe also played a part in this conflict of loyalties.[18]

Towards Rabī'ah, the Nizārid group, al-Farazdaq adopted a friendly attitutde; this was dictated by many factors; first, he had been given asylum by Banū Bakr ibn Wā'il during his flight from Ziād as a young man, a good deed which earned them not only the gratitude of the poet, but that of all 'Adnān, as he claimed:

وَكَانَتْ يَدًا مِنْكُمْ عَمَمْتُمْ بِفَضْلِهَا عَلَى كُلِّ حَافٍ مِنْ مَعَدٍّ وَنَاعِلِ

DS: 521-P.650:9

Secondly, he married two Rabī'ah women (Hadrā' and Ruhaimah) and this gave him the status of an ally of their tribes; thirdly his friendship with al-Akhṭal endeared al-Farazdaq to the Rabī'ites and won them his loyalty to such an extent that he declared himself as the tribal poet of Banū Taghlib after the death of their bard, al-Akhṭal:

أَمْسَى لِتَغْلِبَ مِنْ تَمِيمٍ شَاعِرٌ يَرْمِي الْقَبَائِلَ بِالْقَصِيدِ الْأَثْقَلِ

"Taghlib has now got a Tamīmid poet who bombards (hostile) tribes with heavy qaṣīdas."

DS: 580-P.708

This friendly attitude can also be detected in two instances

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18. Thus al-Farazdaq's feud with Jarīr, a fellow-Tamīmid, started when the latter attacked al-Ba'īth of Banū Mujāshi'; but when al-Farazdaq found himself allied with Banū Taim, another section of Tamīm but remotely connected with both poets, against Jarir, he expressed his remorse that Jarīr should have driven him to that extent. - DS: 49-P.59.

on which al-Farazdaq forgot his snobbish pride in his tribe to such an extent as to admit that some noble houses of Rabī'ah were superior to some houses of Tamīm and equal in prestige to his own house.[19]

Towards the Yemenite group, the poet maintained an attitude of irreconcileable hostility; he constantly abused the Yemenite families in spite of their efforts to win his affection. Indeed he seemed to enjoy annoying the Yemenites by stressing the superiority of Mudar and the inferiority of the Yemenites, disregarding their displeasure and even peril to his life.[20] In addition to the traditional dislike of the Mudarite to the Yemenite, al-Farazdaq was also provoked by the partisan attitude of Yemenite governors in 'Irāq into outbursts of anti-Yemenite sentiment; thus this rash and infuriated cry followed the murder of a Tamīmid notable by order of Khālid al-Qasrī:

فَغَيْرَ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فَإِنَّهَا يَمَانِيَةٌ حُمْقَاءُ أَنْتَ هِشَامُهَا !

"Then do condemn them, O Prince of the Faithful '. They are a lot of foolish Yemenites, and you are their own Hishām !"

DS: 639-P.790:18

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19. See DS: 95-P.110:10-15; 105-P.126.
20. Typical of al-Farazdaq's diehard anti-Yemenism is the episode with Asad al-Qasrī, lieutenant governor of 'Irāq, who was friendly with the poet and was instrumental in securing his release from prison; al-Farazdaq was an old man when he was led by his son, Labatah, into the presence of Asad; Labatah had remonstrated with his father to say something which would please the Yemenite governor and earn the poet a much-needed reward; Asad received the

(cont. next page)

Al-Farazdaq showed his hatred of the Yemenites by being very grudging in his praise of Yemenite patrons in spite of the generosity and kindness shown him by some of them; his praise of Khālid al-Qasrī, his brother, Asad, Abān b. al-Walīd al-Bajalī, and Bilāl b. Abī Musā al-Ash'arī, suffers from a general lack of warmth and sincerity. In the rare cases when he writes a good eulogy on a Yemenite, such as some of his praise of Asad al-Qasrī and the Muhallab family, it is generally due to a temporary mood in which gratitude or generous admiration of the patron got the upper hand of the poet's deep-rooted detestation of the patron's race. But even in these rare cases the poet was careful to limit his praise to the person of the patron, jealously guarding against its extension to his tribe or group.

This hate of the Yemenites lurks behind his feud with at-Tirimmāh of Ṭaii, which assumed the magnitude of a major feud because al-Farazdaq was determined to carry it to a finish.[21]

Typical of al-Farazdaq's tribal mentality is his attitude towards a Yemenite tribe, Banū Kalb, with whom he was very

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20 (cont.) poet kindly and requested him to recite anything he chose; to spite him, al-Farazdaq recited a provocative piece in praise of the might of Muḍar, and departed unrewarded but unrepentant and satisfied with himself for having humiliated the Yemenite governor. - see super-scription to DS: 226-P.244.

21. See DS: 35-P.44; 110-P.135; 498-P.625, etc. At-Tirimmāh was a Khariǰite who, for reasons of religious principle would not be inclined to take part in satire, especially of the type imposed upon him by this feud.

friendly and on whose behalf he made several appeals to his own tribe to maintain friendly relations. The reason for this departure can be traced to an old alliance between Kalb and Tamīm which the poet chose to honour and keep alive.[22]

It may be asked at this juncture whether al-Farazdaq had any concept of the Arabs as a racial entity. There is no evidence in the dīwān to show that the poet had any national consciousness; he had occasion more than once to express a national sentiment when he invoked the memory of the battle of Dhū Qār fought between the Arabs and the Persians in the seventh century; but instead of evoking in him any feelings of national pride, he was only concerned with the battle as an occasion for praising the prominent part played by his patron's tribe, Banū Shaibān.[23]

Although he lived in an Islamic society, al-Farazdaq retained a strong mental and emotional attachment to the pagan world of pre-Islamic Arabia; his ideas and ideals resolve themselves into three categories:

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22. See DS: 262-P.322:9, 12, 14; 549-P.677:5; 10-P.13.

23. See DS: 595-P.754:6 et seq; 611-P.772:3 et seq; 537-P.666: 23 et seq. It should be remarked, however, that while Islam condemned tribalism, it also equally frowned upon nationalism, substituting for it a wider conception of the brotherhood of all Muslims irrespective of race.

(a) Pagan and bedouin ideas.

(b) Islamic ideals.

(c) Political and social conceptions.

Under the first head fall such attributes and attitudes as the pride which the poet took in his noble birth, his tribal loyalties, his approval of blood-feuds and contempt for meekness.[24] Frequently al-Farazdaq resurrects the ghosts of the pagan past of Arabia, when might was right; old age does not seem to have brought any change in this bedouin attitude - a mixture of pride and violence - and there is little to choose in aggressiveness between the young al-Farazdaq's threat to Mu'āwiyah:

فَلَوْ كَانَ هَذَا الدِّينُ فِي جَاهِلِيَّةٍ عَرَفْتَ مَنِ الْمَوْلَى الْقَلِيلُ حَلُوبُهُ

"If this rule was (like that of) the Jāhiliyyah, you would have realised which (of us) was the client with few milk-camels."

DS: 40-P.43:3

and another threat by the ageing al-Farazdaq directed to Jandal of Banū Numair:

فَلَوْلَا بَنُو مَرْوَانَ وَالدِّينُ أَنَّهُمْ بَنُو أُمِّنَا كَفُّوا الشَّدِيدَ عَنِ الضَّهْدِ
لَقَدْ أُنْكِحَتْ عِرْسَاكَ رَاعِيَ مَخَاضِنَا وَبِعْنَاكَ فِي نَجْرَانَ بِالْحَذَفِ الْقَهْدِ

"Were it not for Banū Marwān and for religion, they being our brothers who restrained the strong from aggression, your two wives would have been given in marriage to our camel-herd, and we would have sold you in Najrān for small sheep"

DS: 201-P.207:16-17.

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24. See DS: 39-P.47; 124-P.146; 79-P.103.

It is no mere coincidence that in the two examples quoted, with an intervening space of about sixty years, the poet expresses his impatience with the restraining influence of Islam; he was moved by a deep-rooted bedouin sentiment which deplored all forms of restraint. Other manifestations of pagan and bedouin influence can be traced in al-Farazdaq's approval of such pagan customs and institutions as wine-drinking, the shearing of the locks of a prisoner of war, gambling and idol-worship;[25] or in his nomadic contempt for such urban occupations as farming, navigation and oil-pressing; he frequently uses the epithet 'nabaṭ', i.e. peasant population of 'Irāq and Syria, in a context which shows it to be the highest term of abuse.[26] His contempt for mawāl̄ī ran away with him to such an extent that he believed in denying them the right to such an institution of Arabs society as hospitality to guests:

يَا مَالِكَ ابْنَ طَرِيفٍ إِنَّ بَيْعَكُمُ زَادَ الْقِرَى مَقْتُهُ لِلدِّينِ وَالْحَسَبِ
قَالُوا: نَبِيعُكَهُ بَيْعًا! فَقُلْتُ لَهُمْ: بِيعُوا الْمَوَالِيَ وَاسْتَحْيُوا مِنَ الْعَرَبِ

"O Mālik ibn Tarīf ! Your selling of food to guests is damaging to (your) religion and reputation; they said: 'We will definitely sell it to you ! I answered: 'Sell to mawāl̄ī, but be ashamed of (selling to) Arabs.'"

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25. See DS: 472-P.594; 551-P.678:20; 555-P.684:35;
26. DS: 235-P.252; 546-P.674:8,12; 41-P.50:5.

From this misguided position it was easy for the poet to take the next step which led him to believe in the racial inferiority of the mawālī even in physical attributes; thus he accuses a guide who lost his way in the desert of being a weakling mawlā:

وَلَا يَبِيدُ لِجَى الْمَوْلَى إِذَا اللَّيْلُ أَسْدَفَتْ عَلَيْهِ دُجَى أَثْبَاجِهِ الْمُتَرَاكِمِ
يُنِيخُ الْمَوَالِي حِينَ تَعْشَى عُيُونُهُمْ كَأَشْبَاهِ أَوْلَادِ الْقَطَا النَّوَائِمِ

"The mawlā does not travel by night when the darkness of the night's piled waves comes down; mawālī alight when their eyes become bleary like those of twin kittens."

DS: 701-P.840:44-45

Lastly, al-Farazdaq's attitude towards womanhood was typically pagan; he showed his contempt for the inferiority of the sex by boasting of his refusal to visit the grave of his wife, Ḥadrā', declaring that the death of a woman was a trifling loss.[27] In all these matters the poet's attitude was pagan and bedouin, and at variance with the teachings of Islam which preached, on the questions referred to, the dignity of manual labour, humility, and racial equality, and condemned wine-drinking, gambling and idol-worship.

The Caliphate was the major issue in the field of politico-theological thought during al-Farazdaq's

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27. See DS: 420-P.523:7-10; this attitude may explain the absence of any elegy on the poet's wife, Nawār.

lifetime.[28] Living in 'Irāq, the hotbed of disputation, al-Farazdaq naturally held his own views on this question; to trace the poet's political opinions, we would need to conduct a survey of his public utterances on the question of the Caliphate over a period of nearly fifty years, beginning with the reign of 'Abdul Malik (65 A.H.) and extending well into that of Hishām (105-125 A.H.):

فَالْأَرْضُ لِلَّهِ وَلَّاهَا خَلِيفَتَهُ ... وَصَاحِبُ اللَّهِ فِيهَا غَيْرُ مَكْذُوبِ

"The land belongs to God; He entrusted its
government to his Agent, and he who is
befriended by God is not betrayed"

'to 'Abdul Malik - DS: 14-P.23:15'

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28. Although the Umayyad Caliphs since the beginning of their epoch had been content to look upon themselves as temporal sovreigns and never seriously bothered about a divine right to the Caliphate, yet the question of the succession to the Caliphate and the functions of the office were always disputed; the whole question of the Caliphate formed the basis from which sprang the different politico-religous schismic factions of the Umayyad era - the Jamā'ah, the Khāriǰites and the Hāshimites who later became known as the Shī'ites. Even such apparently purely theological issues as, for example, the Khariǰite doctrine of 'damnation of the perpetrator of a major sin' can be traced back to this basic issue of the Caliphate, as the doctrine was a residue of the Khāriǰite theories put forward in interpretation of the principle of dividing the land into two zones of 'dārul-Islām' and 'dārul-Ḥarb' in pursuance of their major doctrine of righting wrongs by force of arms in holy war.

وَمَا زِلْتُ أَرْجُو آلَ مَرْوَانَ أَنْ أَرَى لَهُمْ دَوْلَةً - وَالدَّهْرُ جَمٌّ دَوَائِرُهْ

لَدُنْ قُتِلَ الْمَظْلُومُ أَنْ يَطْلُبُوا بِهِ وَمَوْلَى دَمِ الْمَظْلُومِ مِنْهُمْ وَثَائِرُهْ

"I have always hoped to see a regime of the family of Marwān - days having many turns - since the 'oppressed' (Caliph 'Uthmān) was murdered; I hoped that they would seek to avenge him, as (they are) the blood-relations of the victim of oppression and (therefore) the avengers."

'to al-Walīd - DS: 257-P.309'

وَأَعْطَاهُ بِالْبِرِّ الَّذِي فِي ضَمِيرِهِ وَبِالْعَدْلِ أُمْرَى كُلِّ شَرْقٍ وَمَغْرِبِ

"And He gave him (as a reward) for the piety of his conscience and for his Justice, the affairs of both East and West."

'to Sulaimān - DS: 12-P.15:29'

صَلَّى صُهَيْبٌ ثَلَاثًا ثُمَّ أَنْزَلَهَا عَلَى ابْنِ عَفَّانَ مُلْكًا غَيْرَ مَقْصُورِ

"Suhaib said prayers for three days (the period of consultation after the assassination of 'Umar) then bestowed it (the Caliphate) upon ibn 'Affan as an absolute monarchy."

'to Yazīd II - DS: 238-P.262:17'

وَرِثْتَ ابْنَ حَرْبٍ وَابْنَ مَرْوَانَ وَالَّذِي بِهِ نَصَرَ اللَّهُ النَّبِيَّ مُحَمَّدًا

"You have inherited ibn Harb (Mu'āwiyah), ibn Marwān ('Abdul Malik) and him through whom God had given victory to the Prophet Muhammad ('Umar or 'Uthmān)."

'to Yazīd II - DS: 154-P.168'

فَجَاءَ بِسُنَّةِ الْعُمَرَيْنِ فِيهَا شِفَاءٌ لِلصُّدُورِ مِنَ السَّقَامِ

"He came with the practice of the two 'Umars (i.e. Abū Bakr and 'Umar) in which there is healing to sick bosoms."

'to Hishām - DS: 700-P.835:74'

تُرَاثًا غَيْرَ مُغْتَصَبٍ وَلَكِنْ لِعَدْلِ مَشُورَةٍ كَانُوا خِيَارَا

"A heritage which was not usurped, but (they got it) because they (the Umayyads) were the choice in an equitable refrendum."

'from a panegyric of al-Jarrāḥ al Hakamī, + 112 A.H. - DS: 221-P.228:28'

From the above survey, al-Farazdaq's political views on the issue of the Caliphate can be summed up as:

(a) The Caliph has a divine right to rule as the agent of God.

(b) The Caliphate is an absolute monarchy.

(c) The succession is hereditary.

(d) He concedes the right of a 'chosen few' to elect the Caliph.

These views, in their totality, do not coincide with the views held by any group at the time,[29] but they can be said to represent an effort on the part of al-Farazdaq to find a theological and legal basis for a status quo; as stated before, the Caliphs would be pleased with such views, as they were not averse to assuming occasionally a spiritual guise to humour their loyal and credulous Syrian subjects. So it can

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29. (a) and (c) might be acceptable to the Shī'ah; (d) is acceptable to the Jamā'ah or Sunnah who were contented with an elite electorate confined to big cities (amṣār); none would be acceptable to the Khārijites.

be assumed that al-Farazdaq, as a court-poet, chose to flatter the Caliphs by adopting some views on the Caliphate, which, with his Shī'ite and Khārijite background in 'Irāq, he probably knew to be false. In fairness to the poet, however, it should be pointed out that he has adhered with consistency to the political basis of his theory of the Caliphate throughout the long period under survey.

There are, however, some frills to this political theory of the Caliphate, reflected in his claiming a spiritual attribute for the Caliph; and here al-Farazdaq sounds ridiculous. In his zealous effort to emphasise the spiritual nature of the Caliphate, the poet overshoots the mark by claiming some superhuman powers for the Caliph; he describes in the following lines how angels took the field to fight in the ranks of the Caliph's army against some rebels.

مَلَائِكَةٌ مَنْ يَجْعَلِ اللّٰهُ نَصْرَهُمْ لَهُ يَلْكَ أَعْلَى فِي الْقِتَالِ وَأَصْبَرَا

وَأَوْا جِبْرِيلَ فِيهِمْ إِذْ لَقُوهُمْ وَأَمْثَالَهُ مِنْ ذِي جَنَاحَيْهِ أَظْهَرَا

"Angels whose support, to whomever God grants it, would make him emerge uppermost in fighting, and more enduring; they (the rebels) saw Jibrāel amongst them (the Caliph's army) when they faced them, with others like him, twin-winged, in the open."

DS: 252-P.294:57-58.

This mystical outlook is, however, foreign to the realistic bedouin atmosphere of the Umayyed court, and is

perhaps an echo of al-Farazdaq's Shī'ite-ridden mental environment as an 'Irāqī.[30]

We now come to al-Farazdaq's political and social ideas; he views the battle of Ṣiffīn between Mu'āwiyah and 'Alī as a rebellion comparable to the later insurrection of Marj Rāhiṭ:

وَكَائِنْ إِلَيْكُمْ قَادَ مِنْ أَيِّ فِتْنَةٍ جُنُودًا وَأَمْثَالَ الْجِبَالِ كَتَائِبُهْ

فَمِنْهُنَّ أَيَّامُ بِصِفِّينَ قَدْ مَضَتْ وَبِالْمَرْجِ وَالضَّحَّاكُ تَجْرِي مَقَانِبُهْ

"And many a time a rebel-leader had led soldiers against you, his legions being like mountains; of these (occasions) were the past days of Siffīn and those at Marj when aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk's horse-companies charged."

DS: 74-P.99: 16-17

Obviously, to the fighting undertaken at Siffīn by the 'Irāqī army under 'Alī, al-Farazdaq gives the status of a rebellion against the established authority of Mu'āwiyah; through this he implies that 'Alī was a rebel-leader and places him on an equal footing with aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qais who later rebelled against Marwān; as Mu'āwiyah himself did not view the position of 'Alī in this light, the poet's view can only be taken as a case of being 'more royalist than the king'.

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30. Al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Abīd, the Shī'ite propagandist used to impose on the credulity of the 'Irāqīs by claiming that angels fought in the ranks of his army; there are also some legends about angels supporting the army of the Prophet in some of his campaigns, but this was supposed to be strictly a prophetic prerogative.

Al-Farazdaq is less squeamish in his condemnation of the Shī'ites in abusing those of them who joined ibn al- Ash'ath's rising against Ḥajjāj:

مِنَ النَّاكِثِيَ الْعَهْدَ سَبْئِيَّةٍ ... وَإِمَّا زُبَيْرِيٍّ مِنَ الذِّئْبِ أَغْدَرَا

"Of those pledge-breakers - Saba'ids or Zubairids who are more treacherous than a wolf." 31

DS: 252-P.294:67

The Zubairids were strongly denounced by al-Farazdaq after the fall of their regime; their head, whom he once dubbed '<u>imām</u>' (DS: 486-P.603:21) and his brother, the gallant Mus'ab, he came to describe as heretics:

بِهِنَّ لَقُوا بِحَكَّةَ مُلْحِدِيهَا ... وَمُسْكِينَهْ يُجَنُّونَ بِهَا الضَّرَابَا

DS: 13-P.22:3

As to the Khāriǰites, fear of quick reprisal seems to have prevented al-Farazdaq from denouncing them more vehemently, but he does not hide his exultation at the defeat and extermination of a Khāriǰite army in Baḥrain.[32]

These views on political events and factions may be taken as indications of al-Farazdaq's political loyalties.

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31. The epithet 'Saba'ite' was applied in a derogatory sense to the Shī'ah by their enemies; it was originally used to denote a follower of ibn Saba', a Jewish-born extremist Shī'ite who was burnt by 'Alī for his idolatrous views regarding 'Alī as an incarnation of God.

32. See DS: 122-P.143; 245-P.279.

It should be noted that the much-spoken of 'Alid or Shī'ite loyalty or even leanings of the poet are conspicuous by their absence.[33] Al-Farazdaq emerges from this survey as an extremist supporter of the Umayyad regime; but this should not necessarily be taken to mean that he was sincere or honest in the views he voiced.

On social issues, al-Farazdaq occasionally contrives to emerge from his tribal shell to think about the problems of his society as a whole. He was not given to criticism of the higher authorities, so we find a single fragment containing a warning to a Caliph against negligence in guarding the outposts of the empire.[34] In praising the digging of an irrigation canal (DS: 266-P.335:6), he stresses its effect on lowering the price of food-stuffs; he condemns

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33. The only favourable mention the 'Alids receive from the poet is a fragment of six lines (DS:713-P.848) in praise of 'Alī b. al-Husain; on the other hand, there is evidence to show that al-Farazdaq sometimes adopted a clearly anti-'Alid attitude; in a poem addressed to Sulaiman (DS:263-P.324-33) the poet enumerates the Orthodox Caliphs, omitting 'Alī, and carries on the list of successive Caliphs up to the time of Sulaimān, thus emphasising the unique omission, and concludes by a broad hint (v.66) that he was upholding the right of the Umayyad house to the Caliphate against the claims of their antagonists (the 'Alids).

34. DS: 267-P.344

corruption in the adminstration of 'Irāq (DS: 572-P.694:10); in a poem addressed to al-Walīd I, the poet pleads for prisoners and soldiers forgotten in outposts (DS:289-P.349:28); he reiterates the Caliph's charter to governors against oppressive practices (v.19); after so much public-spirited effort, the poet turns his attention to rather personal grievances, and in the same poem he complains to the Caliph of a tax-collector who refused to accept from the tribe payment of their religious tax in kind, insisting on cash (VS:32-34), thus driving them to borrowing and usury, an expediency the evil consequences of which the poet deplores on religious grounds (V.36). In another poem addressed to Sulaimān (DS: 263-P.324-33), al-Farazdaq is more out-spoken in his criticism; he describes dramatically the return, on the accession of Sulaimān, of fugitives and political exiles from the ends of the empire (V. 12 et seq), boldly condemns the inequities of past Caliphs, reminds the new Caliph of his declared promises before coming to power of doing away with oppression and mal-practices in government; he tells the Caliph of inequities in the system of conscription and in taxation, and describes the pitiful state of the population, and concludes by making a solemn oath that he has told nothing but the truth, and by reminding the Caliph of the plight of prisoners and widows (V.49).

The explanation for the fearless attitude taken by al-Farazdaq in the criticism which he addressed to Sulaimān may be found in the knowledge of the poet that his criticism would be well-received by the Caliph who came to his office full of noble intentions to eradicate the injustice of his predecessors. Al-Walīd I, in turn, was a serious-minded and just ruler who would not resent constructive criticism. But, except in the case of these two Caliphs, we do not find any political or social criticism addressed to other Caliphs; he perhaps was aware that these latter were either too frivolous or too tyrannical to listen to this kind of criticism, and so he kept his peace. As a social reformer, al-Farazdaq shows the same tendency as in his political thinking: he was an opportunist who took the line of least resistance and tried to avoid trouble.

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Professor Schaade, in his article on al-Farazdaq in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, sums up the moral character of the poet in these words: "his most prominent qualities were unbridled lewdness, cowardice, cruelty and ostentation." He goes on to make the concluding statement that "...he plays a role in obscene stories in Arab literature similar to that of Abū Nuwās at a later period."[35]

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35. Op. Cit., 11, 60-61.

This is a black picture of the poet; some things in it, such as al-Farazdaq's cowardice, are no doubt true, but the picture generally suffers from a lack of sympathy with the poet's character and from a want of true perspective. First, al-Farazdaq's personality was so typically bedouin, that it is hard for any urban scholar - irrespective of race or creed - to view with sympathy the workings of the wild and wayward bedouin temperament; the uninhibited and healthy love of pleasure of the bedouin might easily be taken, or rather mistaken, for licence and lust; the customary boastful attitude of the bedouin is liable to be viewed seriously by the urban scholar as indicative of ostentation. Secondly, it should be remembered that al-Farazdaq lived in an age which, though Islamic in name, was in many fundamental respects a relapse to pagan pre-Islamic days. To place the poet's moral shortcomings in their true perspective then, he should be judged according to the ethos of the Umayyad epoch, and not according to any hypothetical Islamic standards of morality to which only lip-service was paid during that era. With these two considerations to guide us, we will set out to re-touch Prof. Schaade's portrait of the poet.

Al-Farazdaq's sex-life seems to have provided his detractors with the greater part of the material for blackening his character, and the poet himself was in some measure

responsible for the growth of the Casanovaesque legend about his name by constantly boasting about his amorous adventures;[36] he succeeded in earning from the old critics the title of '<u>zīr nisā'</u>' which denoted a man fond of the company of women.[37] But this legend must be treated with caution; first because some of the amorous affairs were confessed fabrications,[38] and secondly, because al-Farazdaq had a morbid inclination to boast of his sexual virility;[39] lastly al-Farazdaq was a hero-worshipper of a former '<u>zīr nisā'</u>' - Imru-ul-Qais - whose life he tried to emulate and whose lustful tradition he sought to maintain.[40] This idolization of Imru-ul-Qais

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36. E.G. DS: 700-P.836:3-7; 237-P.225-62.

37. See Ibn Qutaibah, Shi'r, 29; Jāhiz, Bayān, I, 208. It is to be noted that in both pagan and Islamic traditions, the typical '<u>zīr nisā'</u>' was represented as a flirting young man of means and leisure, given to drinking and singing; if not completely effeminate, he was usually harmless; never virile. Notable examples of the type in pagan Arabian life were 'Adii b. Rabī'ah (known as THE zīr) and Imru-ul-Qais; in Islamic days 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'ah stands out among a typical group of young men of the aristocracy of the Ḥijāz.

38. E.G. al-Farazdaq confessed to Hishām that a lusty episode in one of his poems (DS: 700-P.835:13-17) was pure invention; he excused himself by quoting a verse of the Qur'ān (Surah, 26:244) which portrays poets as dreamers and braggarts.

39. In DS: 700-P.835:13-17, the poet, who was in his eighties (v.33). boasts of his unusual virility; but in another poem written at the same time (DS:82-P.105:2) he deplores his impotency when he tried to consummate his marriage to Ẓabiah, his last wife.

40. Al-Farazdaq was well versed on the life of his hero, and, according to Ibn Qutaibah (Shi'r, 48) "..there was no raconteur of the romances and poetry of Imru-ul-Qais to touch al-Farazdaq..."

is perhaps the most important single factor in shaping the attitude which al-Farazdaq adopted towards sexual matters in his life and in his poetry,[41] and it deserves to be studied more thoroughly. If accompanied by a more thorough enquiry into the psychological aspects of al-Farazdaq's sexual behaviour, this may lead to quite a different interpretation of his actions and, perhaps, a truer valuation of his moral character which shows many signs of a psychopathic personality. The attraction which the pagan poet had for al-Farazdaq may explain some aspects of the latter's personality; Imru-ul-Qais, in spite of his bragging about his virility, was, like al-Farazdaq, much hated by women and, also like him, he was known as 'mufarrak' i.e. much-jilted.[42] Both men seemed to have lived under the shadow of a sexual inferiority complex which found expression in boastful claims of virility and in a morbid delight in telling lewd stories and using obscene diction.

It is doubtful whether the charge of cruelty could be substantiated from al-Farazdaq's life,[43] but there is much

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41. The extent of al-Farazdaq's infatuation with the exploits of his hero may be judged from a romantic escapade told by al-Farazdaq, in which he played the role of Imru-ul-Qais in his famous Daratu Juljul - see Agh. XIX, 26-28; see also DS:700-P.835:18.

42. Agh. VII, 128:12.

43. Prof. Schaade appears to base his accusation of al-Farazdaq with cruelty on two scores: the episode of the Greek

(cont. next page)

evidence which points to a marked absence of delicacy and lack of refined feelings in the poet's character. A typical example is the undelicate and obscene fragment (DS: 70-P.96) which al-Farazdaq saw fit to write on the bereaved widow of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, whom he saw mourning her dead husband.

The fault for which al-Farazdaq deserves severe blame is his obscenity of diction; Ibn Sallām traces the growth of this tendency amongst poets and judiciously allots blame: "Some of the pre-Islamic poets used to be strictly moral: they were chaste in their poetry and did not boast of lewd deeds or use mockery in their satire; some of them, however, did injustice to themselves by being lewd; amongst these were Imru-ul-Qais and al-A'shā; al-Farazdaq was the most prolific of Islamic poets in this field." - Ṭabaqāt, 22.

To strike a balance, we must look at the other side of the picture; al-Farazdaq possessed an element of charm in his personality, which was a combination of humour, wit and

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43. (cont.) prisoner and a cynical remark which the poet was alleged to have made after reciting an elegy on one of his dead sons. Viewed in the light of the moral standards of the Umayyad era, the first episode would not constitute cruelty; all those concerned in it honestly believed the execution to be a lawful affair. The cynical remark was most probably just a boastful gesture by the poet to show his poetic prowess - that he was able to write so loftily on so uninspiring a subject as his dead son who "was not worth the price of his 'abā'ah"; al-Farazdaq had in mind, perhaps, the example of Jarīr who made a similar remark about his own father - (see Agh., VIII, 49:10 et seq.)

ebullient cheerfulness; he was capable of making gestures of generosity and humanity, which required moral courage and entailed defiance of prejudice; examples of these are provided by his elegy on Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (DS: 142-P.160), the eulogy written on Ibn Hubaṙiah's escape from prison (DS: 117-P.141), and his protest when a daughter of al-Muhallab was married, after the extermination of her house, by a nobleman whom the poet thought to have taken advantage of the bride's unfortunate circumstances (DS: 168-P.181).[44]

That al-Farazdaq enjoyed the affection and esteem of his fellow-Baṣrids is reflected in the words of al-Jāḥiz - himself an eminent Baṣrid - who quotes a patriarch of Baṣrah as saying "I would not like to sit with any company who do not relate '<u>ḥadīth</u>' according to al-Ḥasan (al-Baṣrī), and who do not know the poetry of al-Farazdaq."[45] Such an expression of public esteem, to say the least, does not tally with the dark picture of the poet as a despicable figure.

As to Prof. Schaade's concluding analogy of al-Farazdaq

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44. This generosity earned for al-Farazdaq an equally generous tribute from ibn Hubairah; asked who was the greatest man in 'Irāq at the time, the former Governor answered: "It is al-Farazdaq; he satirized me when I was in office, and eulogised me out of it". - see Ibn Qutaibah, 'Uyūn al-Akhb ār, I, 226.

45. Bayān, III, 220:11. Al-Ḥasan al-Basrī was a public idol to the citizens of Basrah, and this saintly theologian and moralist seemed to indulge a warm affection for al-Farazdaq.

and Abū Nuwās, there is - obscenity of diction apart - little in common between the characters of the two poets; al-Farazdaq was a bedouin type; his wickedness and wildness were the product of a simple, clean and vigorous society; the vices of Abū Nuwās were, on the other hand, those of a decadent civilised society. The contrast between the two is like that between the high-spirited pranks of a wild country lad, and the dissipation of a dirty old man of the world.

To conclude this estimation of al-Farazdaq's character and personality, it may be fit to allude to his religious beliefs. As indicated by his life and character, he was not a religious man in the accepted sense; he was too frank about his drinking and adulterous habits. In the realm of religious ideas, he showed a strong tendency towards unorthodoxy, which was perhaps an expression of his die-hard attachment to bedouin and pagan ideas and ideals as elaborated in a preceding section (p.12, above); but it must be pointed out here that al-Farazdaq's lack of religious zeal, whether in practice or thought, should not be interpreted to mean more than it actually did - the usual bedouin laxity in regligious practice and indifference to religious principles - ; there is a suspicion that it may be taken to represent a studied stand on religious matters, which is far from true.[46]

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46. Prof. Schaade (op. cit.) refers to the poet dying as an Antichrist; al-Farazdaq was, more probably, posing, having in mind the example of one of his masters, al-Ḥuṭai'ah, who made a similar anti-religious death-bed scene. - See Agh, II (Cairo, 1928), 195-7.

CHAPTER II

CONTENTS OF THE DĪWĀN.

For practical considerations I have had to use As-Ṣāwī's edition to which, unless otherwise stated, I will generally refer. Boucher's and Hell's editions will only be referred to for verification.

The Dīwān of al-Farazdaq contains 768 poems and fragments, ranging in length from a single line to 159 verses.[1]

The rambling nature of the Arabic qasīda, with its interchanging and overlapping themes, renders the classification of the contents of a dīwān into subjects a difficult and arbitrary task; with this consideration in mind, I give below a classification of the Dīwān of al-Farazdaq, arranged in descending order according to the total number of pieces in each section:[2]

Subject	No. of Pieces
1. Panegyric, fakhr and apology.	247
2. Satire and reproach.	222[3]
3. Occasional poems.	168
4. Elegy.	47
5. Description.	22
6. Humour and epigram.	19

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1. The total of Boucher's and Hell's editions is 704 pieces; See Dīwān, ed. Hell, p. 193.
2. For a more detailed analysis, see Appendix.
3. This figure includes 37 Naqā'iḍ poems.

Subject	No. of Pieces.
7. Love odes "ghazal".	11
8. Contemplative and didactic.	10
9. Pornographic and wine-songs.	7
10. Miscellaneous.	5

1. PANEGYRIC

The panegyric poetry of al-Farazdaq, together with fakhr (46 pieces) and apology (3 fragments and one poem), comprises nearly one third of the Dīwān.[4] The patrons to whom he dedicated his laudatory poems may be classified as:

(a) Umayyad Caliphs, from 'Abdul Malik to Hishām.

(b) Sons of Caliphs.

(c) Zubairids.

(d) 'Alids.

(e) Governors of Provinces and Generals.

(f) Tribes and families.

(g) Individual notables and benefactors.

In his panegyric, al-Farazdaq generally follows the traditional style of the qasīda.[5] He usually opens with a prelude in which he sings of the beauty of his beloved, of

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4. i.e. considering the number of pieces; for ratio in actual lines, see Appendix A.

5. For definition of this traditional style, see al-Marzubānī, al-Muwashshah, p.65; al-'Askarī, aṣ-Ṣina'atain, (Constantinople, 1320 A.H.), p.344; Nicholson, Literary History of the Arabs, P. 77.

her visiting image, or describes the forsaken abode of some loved ones;[6] sometimes he starts with a description of camels and long arduous desert travel, not infrequently interlaced with love-passages which may be more or less artificial.[7] He varies these two themes with a lament for his departed youth and the appearance of grey hairs;[8] but on a few occasions he departs from this trodden path to describe a journey by ship (DS: 499; 738), or to strike a sad note of Zuhd which is foreign to his carefree nature and to the subject of the poems (DS: 161; 576). More often he dispenses with the traditional prelude altogether, and opens with his main theme.[9]

A detailed comparison will be made at the end of this chapter between al-Farazdaq's work and that of his two principal rivals: al-Akhṭal and Jarīr, but it can be stated here that the bulk of his panegyric poetry is inferior to theirs. Praise is essentially an art of the courtier, and al-Farazdaq, with his crude and proud bedouin temperament, was not fitted for

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6. E.G. preludes to DS: 154; 218; 236; 253; 263; 274; 500; 352; 355; 392; 430; 431; 494; 529; 551; 629; 337; 242; 284; 647; 700; 763.
7. See DS: 221; 432; 493; 74; 223; 508; for mixed preludes see DS: 555; 59; 333; 409; 453.
8. E.g. DS: 14; 46; 66; 67; 248; 354.
9. See DS: 13; 48; 152; 160; 224; 257; 305; 306; 348; 422; 469; 552; 693; 65; 575; 507; 581. It should be noted, however, that most of these are short pieces which might have been parts of longer poems.

this role; he also lacked the mental detachment and discipline of Jarīr, and the exacting professional standards of al-Akhṭal who saw nothing in whittling a long poem down to a mere fragment.[10]

It is not surprising, therefore, to discover that the best examples of al-Farazdaq's panegyric art, comparatively few in number, are not to be found amongst his formal "Court poetry", but rather in the humbler section dedicated to Governors and Commoners, and generally emanating from spontaneous and genuine feelings of gratitude, admiration or affection.[11]

I have chosen ten pieces to represent the first-rate praise poetry of al-Farazdaq, and these are: two short pieces (DS: 521; 556) of ten verses each, in praise of Benū Bakr b. Wā'il and Benū Māzin; six poems addressed to Emirs: Bishr b. Marwān (DS: 248), Sa'īd b. al'Asī (DS: 493), al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb (DS: 555), al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (DS: 572), Suleimān b. ʿAbdul Malik - while still heir to the Caliphate - (DS. 12), the family of al-Muhallab (DS: 306), Bilāl b. Abī Burdah (DS:59) and al-Muhājir b. 'Abdullāhī al-Kilābī (DS. 337).

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10. See 'Umar Farrūkh, Court Poets of the Umayyads, Akhṭal.
11. This in itself is proof of his lack of artistic discipline; otherwise where would be such professional panegyrics as al-Mutanabbī (with his hate of Kafūr), or the host of distinguished 'Alid poets in both the Umayyad and 'Abbasid periods, who, in spite of their detestation of their patrons, subjected their passions to their reason and wrote good panegyric.

The first two fragments are good examples of sincere dignified praise; in both the poet opens directly with the main theme:

تَبَغَّتْ جِوَارًا فِي مَعَدٍّ فَلَمْ تَجِدْ ... لِخُرْمَتِهَا كَالْحَيِّ بَكْرِ بْنِ وَائِلِ

(DS: 521)

لَكَ بِالْأَحِبَّةِ مَازِنِيًّا مُضَنَّعًا ... فَخَافَةَ مَوْتٍ أَوْ فَخَافَةَ نَائِلِ

(DS: 556)

The rather plain opening of the Benū Bakr fragment was made more arresting by the unorthodox usage of the pronoun in the first word of the line. The poet also made clever word-play with the tribe's by-name of "Banūl Ḥisn = sons of the fortress" in praising them (verse: 4) for the secure asylum they gave him, and the staunch stand they made at their peril in protecting him from the wrath of Ziād, when his own tribe refused him protection. The conclusion (verse: 10) is rather flat, and could, with advantage, change place with the preceding line which sums up the praise theme and strikes a grander note which has a ring of finality about it.

The opening of the Benū Māzin fragment is also plain in that it contains no imagery; but its diction is more beautiful and rather sonorous; its conclusion is fitting.

His panegyric to Sa'īd b. al'Asī (DS: 493) represents his early work.[12] The merit of the poem lies in its melodious

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12. Written about 50 A.H., when the poet was in his thirties; see Tabarī, Annals, II[-I], 94; see also Encyclop. of Islam vol. II. (FARAZDAQ).

music - a combination of well-picked diction, metre, and a rhyme which lent itself to chanting; otherwise the erratic arrangement of the themes is disappointing. The poet opens with a prelude (1-4) about camels, describes his sleeplessness (5-6) then makes a transition (7-9) which is followed by general praise of Banū Umayyah (10-11), then come six meaningless lines (12-16) after which he touches on the causes of his flight from Ziād (18-22) and concludes with four lines (23-26) only the last two of which are in personal praise of Sa'īd.

The poem dedicated to Bishr b. Marwān (DS. 248) is nearly free from the faults common to the poet's panegyrics; its themes are well balanced; it has a unity and a logical sequence. Compared with the previous piece, its excellence of construction and standard of craftsmanship are very marked. A reason for this might have been that the poet wrote it when he was at the peak of his maturity in his sixties; another reason might have been the competitive atmosphere created by Bishr during his short tenure of the Governorship of ʿIrāq, and the fact that Bishr had succeeded in winning the friendship and affection of al-Farazdaq.[13] So this poem might also have been a labour of love and gratitude. A striking feature in it is the excellent blending and variation of themes, which the poet carried to

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13. See al-Balādhurī, Ansāb al-Ashrāf, vol. V, p.168.

perfection. To present this technique in a simple form, we will represent it in symbols:

A = prelude; B = praise theme; C = personal theme (e.g. congratulation, complaint, etc.)

In terms of these symbols, the poem presents the following pattern of preludes, interludes and varied themes:

A. B. A1. C. B1. A2. B2. A3. B3. C1. B4. A4. B5.

The praise of al-Ḥajjāj is a polished piece of conscious excellence. Al-Ḥajjāj was a discerning and critical patron of poetry,[14] and it is fitting to find that the poem dedicated to him is unique in its truthful and comprehensive treatment of its subject - praise of a great administrator. The poet does not praise al-Ḥajjāj for generosity, high birth and past tribal glories, as was his custom with other patrons; instead he confines himself to portraying truthfully the civic and administrative virtues of al-Ḥajjāj: firmness, justice, honesty and ruthlessness with the enemies of the state; he extols Pax Ḥajjājica in these lines which would please the zealous administrator:

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14. He criticized an improvised elegy written on the death of his son and his brother by al-Farazdaq, see Kāmil of al-Mubarrad, (ed. Wright Leipzig), 1874, Vol. I, 292; see also Agh. (Taqaddum Press) Vol. X, 84:21, for an episode with Laylā' al-Akhialiyyah, which demonstrates al-Ḥajjāj's critical ability.

وَكَمْ مِنْ عَشِيِّ الْعَيْنِ أَعْمَى فُؤَادُهُ أَقَمْتَ، وَذِي رَأْسٍ عَنِ الْحَقِّ مَائِلِ
بِسَيْفٍ مِنَ اللَّهِ تَضْرِبُ مَنْ عَصَى عَلَى قَصَرِ الْأَعْنَاقِ فَوْقَ الْكَوَاهِلِ
شَفَيْتَ بِهِ الدَّاءَ الْعِرَاقَ فَلَمْ يَدَعْ بِهِ رِيبَةً بَعْدَ اضْطِفَافِ الزَّلَازِلِ
فَكَانُوا كَذِي دَاءٍ أَصَابَ ذَوَاءَهُ طَبِيبٌ بِهِ تَحْتَ الْجَرَاسِيمِ دَاخِلِ

(How many a man, weak of sight and blind of heart, you have set on the right path; and many a man whose head swerved away from right; with a sword of God, with which you strike rebels on the base of their necks above the top of the shoulders. You have cured 'Irāq from sickness, leaving in it no complaint, after the (previous) conflicting upheavals. Verily, they (the 'Irāqis) were like a patient with a malady beneath the cartilage of his lungs, for which a physician has found a cure.)

DS: 572:5-8

He goes on to draw a sketch of the corruption and bribery of previous goverors to set it against the uncorruptible impartiality and honesty of his patron:

وَكُنَّا بِأَرْضٍ يَا ابْنَ يُوسُفَ لَمْ يَكُنْ يُبَالِي بِهَا مَا يَرْتَشِي كُلُّ عَامِلِ
يَرُدُّ إِذَا الْخَصْمَانِ جَاءَا إِلَيْهِمُ أَحَقَّهُمَا بِالْحَقِّ أَفْضَلَ جَاعِلِ
وَمَا تَبْتَغِي الْحَاجَاتُ عِنْدَكَ بِالرِّشَى وَلَا تَقْتَضِي إِلَّا بِمَا فِي الرَّسَائِلِ

"We lived, O Ibn Yūsuf, in a land where no administrator had any qualms about the bribes he received; when two litigants came to him he would consider that the one with presents had more right. With you business is not done with bribes, but only according to the contents of (holy) decrees."

(verses: 10-12)

It is interesting to note that the poet seeks to ingratiate himself with al-Ḥajjāj by attacking the rebels rather convincingly through subscribing to the fanatical

"state-cult" of al-Hajjāj:[15]

وَهُمْ لَيْلَةَ الْأَهْوَازِ حِينَ تَتَابَعُوا ... وَهُمْ بِجُنُودٍ مِنْهُ عُدَّدٍ وَخَاذِلِ

كَفَاكَ بِحَوْلٍ مِنْهُ عَزِيزٍ وَقُوَّةٍ ... وَأَعْطَى رِجَالًا حَظَّهُمْ بِالشَّمَائِلِ

فَمَا النَّاسُ إِلَّا فِي سَبِيلَيْنِ مِنْهُمَا ... سَبِيلُ لَحَقٍّ أَوْ سَبِيلُ لِبَاطِلِ

فَجَرِّدْ لَهُمْ سَيْفَ الْجِهَادِ فَإِنَّمَا ... نُصِرْتَ بِتَفْوِيضٍ إِلَى ذِي الْفَوَاضِلِ

وَلَا شَيْءَ أَشَرُّ مِنْهُ سِرِّيرَةَ خَائِنٍ ... يَجِيءُ بِهَا يَوْمَ ابْتِلَاءٍ وَالْمَحَاصِلِ

هِيَ الْعَارُ فِي الدُّنْيَا عَلَيْهِ وَبِئْسَمَا ... بِهَا يَوْمَ يَلْقَى اللَّهَ شَرُّ الْمَدَاخِلِ

"On the night of Ahwāz (battle) when they came along in legion after legion of combatants and defeatists, He has protected you with His might and strength, and gave to some men evil fortunes.
There are only two paths for people: one the path of right and the other the path of wrong.
Brandish upon them the sword of Jihād, for verily you have been given victory through a mandate of the Bountiful.
Nothing is more evil than the secret heart of a traitor, which he brings forward on the Day on which deeds are tested. It brings shame upon him in this world, and when he faces God, it will land him in the worst abode."

verses: 14,15,17,18,19,20.

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15. This cult is based on the divine right of the Caliph to rule as the agent of God on earth; anybody who took arms against the Caliph was, according to it, an infidel; al-Hajjāj was a staunch believer in this cult, and this may account for such of his actions as the bombardment of the holy Ka'bah and ruthlessness in dealing with rebels and political prisoners. Like the Inquisitors of a later Christian era, he committed the most cruel acts of torture with a clear conscience which sought guidance in false religious dogma. This aspect of al-Ḥajjāj's character - as a religious zealot rather than a blood-thirsty tyrant - is appealed to by al-Farazdaq by his emphasis on the religious side of al-Hajjāj's mission in combating insurrection in 'Irāq. For other adherents to this cult, see Tabari, II[-1], pp.425:5; 458:14.

In an effort to appeal to the masses who might not share the poet's newly-found religious zeal in condemning the defeated rebels, he reverts to bitter ridicule:

أَظُنُّ بَنَاتِ الْقَوْمِ كُلَّ حَيِيَّةٍ ... سَيَمْنَعُهُمْ مِنْكُمْ كُلُّ وُدٍّ وَنَائِلِ
فَبَدِّلْهُمُ مَا فِي الْحِقَابِ إِذَا انْتَهَوْا ... إِلَيْكُمْ وَأَعْطِهِمْ عُقَدَ الْحَمَائِلِ
سُيُوفُ نَعَامٍ غَيْرَ أَنَّ لِحَاهُمُ ... عَلَى ذَقَنِ الْأَحْنَاكِ مِثْلُ الْفَلَائِلِ
عَسَى أَنْ يَذُودَ النَّاسَ عَنْكُمْ إِذَا الْتَقَتْ ... أُسَابِيُّ مُجْرٍ لِلْقِتَالِ وَنَازِلِ
وَلَيْسُوا - وَإِنْ كَانَتْ طَوِيلًا خُصَاهُمُ - ... بِقَوْمٍ إِذَا لَمْ يُضْرَبُوا بِالْمَنَاصِلِ

"Methinks their womenfolk, every bashful maid
of them, will deny them any affection or favour.
Do (ladies!) exchange the contents of your
toilet-bags with them when they end up to you,
and take over in exchange the girthing of the
sword-belt.
These are really swords of ostriches (cowards)
though the beards on the chins of their lower
jaws be like hair locks.
They (the women) might beat away people from
you (masc.) when streams of blood mingle in
the battle-field.
Though their testicles be long, they are not
really men, as they do not do combat with
the sword."

verses: 21-25

Lacking any strong personal emotion, except perhaps admiration for the victorious patron, this poem by virtue of its simple poetic diction and truthfulness, claims its place amongst the best panegyric works of its period.

We come now to a very different poem; that addressed to al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb, cousin, brother-in-law to al-Ḥajjāj and his deputy governor of Baṣrah. As the personalities of the two men were very different, so were the two poems; al-Ḥakam was

a man of strong bedouin leanings: generous, simple and outspoken.[16]

Al-Farazdaq opens al-Ḥakam's praise with a comparatively long (9 verses) prelude of Ghazal and camel-description, then proceeds to praise him for generosity, protection extended to the poet, his valour, faithfulness, the glories of his ancestors, amongst which al-Farazdaq counts the pagan practice of lending a lucky gambling-arrow to other people.[17]

On the one hand, this poem is inferior to that dedicated to al-Ḥajjāj in that its themes are mixed haphazardly with no apparent system, and in its total disregard of the virtues of the patron as an administrator. On the other hand al-Ḥakam's praise is richer in noble diction, beautiful imagery, and its style is more ornamented. On the whole, the first has a dignified, austere, and intellectual atmosphere, while the second is more embellished, with a bombastic bedouin atmosphere. I believe that the poet advisedly took this different approach to suit the two different personalities of his patrons; neither of the two men would probably approve of the poem dedicated to the other if it were addressed to him instead.

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16. Al-Ḥakam was responsible in some measure for the fame of Jarīr because he introduced the poet to al-Ḥajjāj; see Al-Kamil, p.300:22; p.301:2,4.

17. Verse: 35; for definition of this arrow " عتيد ", see Ibn Qutaibah, al Maisir wal-Qidāḥ, (Cairo, 1343 A.H.) p. 64.

Next comes the panegyric to Sulaimān b. 'Abdul Malik (DS: 12) who was then still heir to the Caliphate. The main theme of praise is woven round the episode of the escape of the sons of al-Muhallab from the prison of al-Ḥajjāj; and the part played by Sulaimān in giving them protection and asylum.

The poem opens with narrative praise of Sulaimān:

لَعَمْرِی لَقَدْ أَوْفَی وَزَادَ وَفَاؤُهُ عَلَی کُلِّ جَارٍ، جَارَ آلَ الْمُهَلَّبِ
أَمَرَّ لَهُمْ حَبْلًا فَلَمَّا ارْتَقَوْا بِهِ أَتَی دُونَهُمْ بِدَرْءٍ وَمَنْکِبِ
وَقَالَ لَهُمْ حُلُّوا الرِّحَالَ فَإِنَّکُمْ هَرَبْتُمْ، فَأَلْقُوهَا، إِلَی خَیْرِ مَهْرَبِ

"By my life, he has fulfilled his promise,
and his fulfilment has surpassed that of any
other champion - he the protector of the
family of al-Muhallab. He twisted a rope for
them, and when they had climbed with its aid,
he stood guard before it with his protective
strength.
He said to them: unfasten your saddles; you
have escaped to the best refuge, so cast them
down."

DS: 12:1-3

He then proceeds to a colourful and imaginative description of their long and perilous journey, concluding by praising Sulaimān again for his protection, and comparing him to as-Samaw'al who sacrificed his son in order to keep a pledge (verses 21-24); he also alludes to a similar legend of protection attributed to al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim.

The excellence of these pieces lies in the dramatic narrative of the flight theme which seems to have fired the

imagination of the poet.[18] Al-Farazdaq soars to great heights of imaginative narration in building up gradually the picture of gaunt exhausted beasts, the long fearful road, the dawn, the tough emaciated fleeing riders, making deft touches here and there on his canvas to intensify the effect - he describes how, when an exhausted beast fell down by the roadside, they used to cut out pieces of its hide to provide shoes for the bleeding feet of another. He maintains the intensity of the gripping narrative to the very end, when he portrays the safe conclusion of their journey by describing the tears and anguish of their womenfolk, which gave place to deep relief. The introduction of pathos in the last two lines of the theme (16-17) is probably a conscious effort to find a fitting colourful conclusion for this colourful theme:

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18. The Muhallab brothers made very elaborate preparations for their flight which had a theatrical touch; false beards and disguise were used, and these were tested by rehearsal; see the superscription, DS: 12, pp.15-17.

خَبَبْنَ بِهِمْ شَهْرًا إِلَيْهِ وَدُونَهُ ... لَهُمْ رَصَدٌ يَخْشَى عَلَى كُلِّ مَرْقَبِ

مُعَرَّفَةً أُذْنَى كَأَنَّ خَبِيبَهَا ... خَبِيبُ نَعَامَاتٍ رَوَائِكَ خُضَّبِ

إِذَا تَرَكُوا مِنْهُنَّ كُلَّ شَمِلَّةٍ ... إِلَى خَمَاتٍ بِالطَّرِيقِ وَأُذْؤُبِ

حَذَوْا جِلْدَهَا أُخْفَافَهُنَّ الَّتِي لَهَا ... بَصَائِرُ مِنْهُ مُخْرَوِقَاهَا الْمُثَقَّبُ

وَكَمْ مِنْ مُنَاخٍ خَائِفٍ قَدْ وَرَدْنَهُ ... هَرَى مِنْ مُلِمَّاتِ الْحَوَادِثِ مُعْطِبِ

وَقَعْنَ وَقَدْ صَاحَ الْعَصَافِيرُ إِذْ بَدَا ... بِأَوَّلِ مَعْرُوفٍ مِنَ الصُّبْحِ مُغْرِبِ

بِمِثْلِ سُيُوفِ الْهِنْدِ إِذْ وَقَصَتْ وَقَدْ ... كَسَا الْأَرْضَ بَاقِي لَيْلِهَا الْمُتَحَوِّبِ

جَلَوْا عَنْهُ عُيُونًا قَدْ كَرَتْهُ كَلَالَةً ... مَعَ الصُّبْحِ إِذْ نَادَى أَذَانُهُ الْمُثَوِّبِ

عَلَى كُلِّ حَرْفُوجٍ كَأَنَّ فَرِيقَهَا ... إِذَا اصْطَلَّ نَابَاهَا تَرَنُّمُ أَخْطَبِ

وَقَدْ عَلِمَ اللَّائِي بَكَيْنَ عَلَيْكُمُ ... وَأَنْتُمْ وَرَاءَ الْخَنْدَقِ الْمُتَصَوَّبِ

لَقَدْ رَقَأَتْ مِنْهَا الْعُيُونُ وَنَوَّمَتْ ... وَكَانَتْ بِلَيْلِ النَّائِكَاتِ الْمُتَحَوِّبِ

"They (the camels) trotted with them for a month to him (Sulaimān), and before reaching him there were many watchers on every look-out point.
And they (the camels) were emaciated of jaws, their trotting was like that of ostriches with green-tinted legs, returning at dusk.
When they abandon a fleet-footed she camel on the road for vultures and wolves, they cut its skin into shoes for the camels feet, which have streaks of blood running through the peeled-off holes in the shoes.
How many an eerie watering-place they have come to, a fit setting for evil happenings and fatal.
They came down as sparrows twittered at the glimpse of the first signs of the familiar white-fringed morning:
On their backs, as they came down when the earth was clothed in the remanants of the receding night, were (men) like Indian swords.
(The men) opened eyes which had barely tasted drowsiness, just as the repeated call for prayer sounded.
On emaciated she-camels, whose grinding of teeth when two canine-teeth rub together, was like the singing of the green wood-pecker.
Those women who wept for you when you were behind the steep trench, now know that their eyes can have a respite, and they can sleep, after nights of mourning and sorrow."

(7-17).

In his panegyric to the house of al-Muhallab (DS: 306: p.374), al-Farazdaq fulfilled the promise given in his opening line:

لَأَمْدَحَنَّ بَنِي الْمُهَلَّبِ مِدْحَةً غَرَّاءَ ظَاهِرَةً عَلَى الْأَشْعَارِ

"I will dedicate to the sons of al-Muhallab a brilliant panegyric, surpassing all other poetry".

We meet with such superb similes and metaphors as in:

وَرِثُوا الطِّعَانَةَ عَنْ الْمُهَلَّبِ وَالْقَرَى وَخَلَائِقًا كَتَدَفُّقِ الْأَنْهَارِ

كُلُّ الْمَكَارِمِ عَنْ يَدَيْهِ تَقَسَّمُوا إِذْ مَاتَ زَيْدٌ أَرِيلَ الْأَوْصَارِ

كَانَ الْمُهَلَّبُ لِلْقَبَائِلِ سَكِينَةً وَحَيَا الرَّبِيعِ وَمَعْقِلَ الْفُرَّارِ

These all refer to the deceased father of the family, and the beauty of its imagery is enhanced by the simplicity of diction and the depth of feeling in this truthful tribute to the great soldier.

The individual praise - to distinguish it from the general praise of the Yemenite tribes - in the poem is almost confined to Yazīd, the leader of the family. The poet makes a prophetic summary of Yazīd's character in his line (9):

أَمَّا يَزِيدُ فَإِنَّهُ أَبَى لَهُ نَفْسٌ مُوَطِّنَةٌ عَلَى الْإِقْدَامِ

which gives the key to Yazīd's two most prominent qualities: pride and recklessness which were later to destroy all the house of al-Muhallab.

The praise of Yazīd contains some very noble lines, which have won a permanent place as masterpieces of classical panegyric:

إِنِّي أَتَيْتُ يَزِيدَ عِنْدَ شَبَابِهِ ... لُبْسَ التُّقَى وَمَهَابَةَ الْجَبَّارِ

مَلِكٌ عَلَيْهِ مَهَابَةُ الْمُلْكِ، الْتَقَى ... قَمَرُ التَّمَامِ بِهِ وَشَمْسُ نَهَارِ

وَإِذَا الرِّجَالُ رَأَوْا يَزِيدَ رَأَيْتَهُمْ ... خُضُعَ الرِّقَابِ نَوَاكِسَ الْأَبْصَارِ

Apart from this personal praise, the poet recorded the achievements of Yazīd in the fields of administration and battle:

وَلَقَدْ رَحِمْتُ وَإِنَّهَا فَاسْ كُلَّهَا ... بِمَذْكُرِهَا لَخَوَائِفُ الْمِرَّارِ

فَتَرَكْتُ أَهْوَفَهَا وَإِنَّهَا طَرِيقُهَا ... لَيَجُوزُهُ الشَّنَفَى بِالْإِقْفَارِ

The harmony of metre and rhyme of this poem is very melodious, and sometimes the poet reverts to a device of short musical periods within the metre, which device was later to be perfected by the 'Abbāsid school of the "New Model", under the name of "Tarsī'".[19] An example of these periods is in:

وَتَقَلِّدِي قَلْعِيَّةً وَصَوَارِمًا ... هِنْدِيَّةً وَقَدِيمَةَ الْآثَارِ

The diction throughout is noble and high-sounding; the words were clearly chosen with care to fit into the epic structure of the themes; sometimes, however, the poet passes beyond the realm of noble words into obscurity:

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19. See Ibn Rashīq, Al-'Umdah (As. Sa'ādah Press - 1325 A.H.), Vol. II, 22:20.

وَلَوَ انَّهَا وُزِنَتْ شَمَامُ بِحِلْمِهِ لَمَالَ كُلَّ مُعَيْمَةٍ حَضْجَارِ

. . . . . .

وَالقَائِدُونَهُ إِذَا الْجِيَادُ تَرَوَّحَتْ وَمَضِيْهُ بَعْدَ وَجَى عَلَى الْحَزْوَارِ

The remaining two poems represent the work of the poet's late years; both were written in the reign of Hishām (724-743 A.D.). The panegyric to al-Muhājir b. 'Abdull-ahī al-Kalābī, Governor of al-Yamāmah (DS: 337) has a beautiful Ghazal prelude:

لَقَدْ هَاجَ سِنْدَ عَيْنَيَّ مَا تَرَعَلَى الْهَوَى خَيَالٌ أَتَانِي آخِرَ اللَّيْلِ زَائِرُهْ

لَطِيَّةَ حَتَّى بِالسَّلَامِ كَأَنَّمَا عَلَيْهِ دَمٌ لَا يَقْبَلُ الْمَالَ ثَائِرُهْ

كَأَنَّهُ خُزَامَى حَرَّكَتْ - يَحَ الصَّبَا وَحَنْوَةَ رَوْضٍ حَبَّهُ أَقْلَعَ مَاطِرُهْ

لَنَا إِذْ أَتَتْنَا الرِّيحُ مِنْهُ نَوَاشِرُهَا وَدَارِيَّ مِسْكٍ عَارِفِي الْبَحْرِ سَاجِرُهْ

وَدَعْتَنِي إِلَيْهَا الشَّمْسُ تَحْتَ خِمَارِهَا وَجِيدٌ كَشَاةِ الرَّمْلِ فِي الْكِنْسِ غَارِرُهْ

The subtlety of the simile in the first half of verse (5) shows clever use of an old theme.

The praise theme is rather bedouin in nature, and its parts are not well-knit; the poet rambles freely from praise of the patron and his tribe, to praise his own people (20-22), and finally seems to have completely lost his grip on the theme, as he concludes with praise of himself (35).

The last poem (DS: 59) is addressed to Bilāl b. Abī-Burdah, who was appointed Prefect of Police of Basrah in 109A.H. It opens with two lines of Ghazal woven round Zabiah, the last wife to be married by the ageing poet; in the prelude

there is a clever line describing the vast Dahnā' desert:

فَمَا يَهْتَدِي بِالْعَيْنِ نَاظِرُ بِهَا وَلَكِنَّمَا يَهْدِي الْعُيُونَ قُلُوبُهَا

"The looker is not guided by his eye in it,
but the eye is guided by the heart".

He praises Bilāl's ability to maintain peace, his generosity and courage:

وَكَانَتْ قَنَاةُ الدِّينِ عَوْجَاءَ عِنْدَنَا فَجَاءَ بِلَالٌ فَاسْتَقَامَتْ كُعُوبُهَا

فَلَمَّا رَأَوْا سَيْفِي بِلَالٍ تَفَرَّقَتْ شَمَاطِيطُ أَقْوَامٍ وَمَاتَتْ ذُنُوبُهَا

. . . . . .

وَمَا دَعْوَةٌ تَدْعُو بِلَالًا إِلَى الْقِرَى وَلَا الطَّعْنِ يَوْمَ الرَّوْعِ إِلَّا يُجِيبُهَا

The diction is simple, and there is not much imagery in the piece; its merit lies rather in the direct approach to the theme with the greatest possible economy of words. This austerity lent it an atmosphere of sincerity and truthfulness, which is no mean achievement in a panegyric work.

Faults of Panegyric Technique

Some aspects of his faulty panegyric technique were pointed out to the poet by some of his contemporaries; Ibn Rashīq[20] tells how al-Farazdaq was admonished by 'Abdul Rahmān b. Ummul Hakam thus: "O, Aba Firās! Enough of this (rambling) type of your poetry which the listener would forget the first part of a poem of it by the time he came to its end;

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20. Ibid, Vol. II, 103:9.

do write for me a couple of verses which would stick in the memory of rhapsodists."

The key to al-Farazdaq's faults in this respect may be sought in his temperament; his vanity and undisciplined bedouin nature may be held responsible for most of his panegyric shortcomings which can be summed up under the heading of indifference to his patrons. Under this head come such faults as insolence, crudity, tactlessness and lax artistic standards.

In spite of the disfavour that it earned him from Sulaimān b. 'Abdul Malik,[21] the poet's annoying habit of indulging in self-praise in the presence of his patron, is much in evidence.[22]

A typical example of his tactlessness is provided by a poem dedicated to Hishām (DS: 647-P.808) with the opening:

وَطَرْفَةُ الْعَيْنِ قَدْ قَدَّتْ لِعَيْنِهَا تُقَادُ إِلَى أُخْرَى لِنِدِّ شَمِيمِهَا

when he ought to have known that Hishām was very sensitive about any reference to "sore eyes" because of his infirmity.[23]

Another example is al-Farazdaq's repeated reference in the presence of Yazīd II and Hishām to "the sword which Muhammed brandished at Badr".[24]

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21. Ibid, Vol. I, 44:12; see also Agh. I, 134.
22. See DS: 152-P.165; 305-P.374; 392-P.489; 469-P.592; 500-P.628; 551-P.678.
23. See his episode with Abun-Najm al-'ijlī in Agh.Vol.IX, 80.
24. See DS: 594-P.750; 21; 763-P.888:35.

His crudity is much in evidence in the poem referred to above (DS: 647-P.808). Al-Farazdaq was not contented with the harm he had done with his stupid opening, so he repeated the offending reference (verse 5) and embarked on an obscene and licentious piece of narrative which could not find favour with his pious and serious patron.[25]

Artistic laxity of standards isshown by al-Farazdaq's practice of repeating himself through borrowing whole verses from one patron and using them in a poem dedicated to another, and also by his digression, sometimes with disastrous effects, when it occurs in the conclusions of poems.[26]

2. Fakhr.

The pieces contained in this sub-section are those entirely devoted to fakhr, thus excluding fakhr poetry in Naqā'id and in other mixed poems.

The pure fakhr poetry of al-Farazdaq, as such, is not much; the dīwān contains 47 pieces which, with the exception of nine,[27] are mere fragments of between one line and eight lines in length.

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25. For further evidence see DS: 296-P.365; 551-P.678; 629-P.782; 298-P.369:1; 700-P.835; 433-P.545.
26. For repitition see DS: 66-P.87; 63-P.78; 354-P.423; 218-P.219. For digression see DS: 738-P.875;23-25; 48-P.57:14-16; 248-P.286:38-41.
27. The exceptions: DS: 243-P.274; 297-P.366; 683-P.823; 764-P.890; these vary between 20 to 42 lines; the other five are between 10-14 verses.

The main theme is glorification of the poet's tribe, Tamīm, his uncles Dabbah and Sa'd, his father Ghālib and grandfather Ṣa'sa'ah.[28]

Sometimes he goes beyond Tamīm to boast of his kinship with Khindif or Muḍar, generally invoking this remote connection when he is in conflict with a tribe or clan outside his own tribal allegiance.[29] As both Prophetship and Caliphate were a Khindif monopoly, the poet was certain of victory against his adversaries, and at the same time satisfied his snobbishness by vaunting such exalted relations.[30]

Al-Farazdaq seemed to find little, besides ancestral glories, to boast of; only a few pieces in this section contain references to personal virtues and attributes of the poet such as: generosity, good poetry, endurance and toughness, and lastly, and falsely, his courage and leadership in war.[31]

Considering the style, one notes two distinct methods of treatment of the themes of fakhr; the first is direct, and descriptive, and is used in nearly all the short pieces and fragments, some examples of which are here quoted in full:

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28. see DS:8-P.9; 17-P.30; 91-P.108; 98-P.115; 114-P.138; 283-P.348; 310-P.381; 439-P.550; 348-P.413; 492-P.614; 538-P.670; 681-P.822; 686-P.825; 711-P.848; 718-P.864; etc.
29. Such as Ṭaii and Qais; see DS: 683-P.823; 743-P.879; 676-P.820.
30. See DS:211-P.216; 243-P.274; 297-P.366, etc.
31. DS:466-P.591; 764-P.890; 15-P.28; 21-P.32.
    DS: 51-P.60; 492-P.614; 573-P.698.
    DS: 15-P.28; 764-P.890.
    DS:690-P.826:3,4,5.

أَنَا ابْنُ تَمِيمٍ لِعَادَاتِهَا ... قُرُوناً نَمَتْ وَلُيُوثاً بُحُورَا

تَرَى الْجِزْرَ حَوْلَ بُيُوتَاتِهِمْ ... عَقِيراً تَكُوسُ وَأُخْرَى بَقِيرَا

DS: 310-P.381

لَيْسَ أَبٌ كَظُلَّةَ بْنِ زَعْدِ ... وَلَا خَالٌ كَضَبَّةَ لِلْفَخَارِ

هُمَا حَبَسَا بِدَارِهِمَا مَنِيعٌ ... إِذَا مَا أَعْطَيَا عَقْدَ الْجِوَارِ

تَبَنَّى فِيهِمَا شَرَفَ الْمَعَالِي ... فَرَاطِيمُ الْجَحَاجِحَةِ الْكِبَارِ

DS: 283-P.348

إِنَّ تَمِيمًا كُلَّ جَدٍّ لِجَدِّهَا ... يَذِلُّ لِفِرْسَانِ الْجُدُودِ كَلَا كِلُهْ

لِدُهْمَانَ لَوْ يُلْقَى عَلَى كَبِدِ يَذْبُلٍ ... يَدُبُّ إِذَنْ لَا نْقَضَّ مِنْهُ جَنَادِلُهْ

وَإِنِّي لَمِمَّا أُجْشِمُ الْخَصْمَ جَهْدَهُ ... وَلَوْ كَثُرَتْ عُرَّامُهُ وَمُحَاوِلُهْ

وَشَيَّبَنِي أَلَّا يَزَالَ مُرَجَّمٌ ... مِنَ الْقَوْلِ مَأْثُورٌ خِفَافٌ مَحَامِلُهْ

لِقَوْلٍ غَيْرِي لَا خَرٍ مِثْلِهِ ... وَيُرْمَى بِهِ أَسْيَ وَيُتْرَكُ قَائِلُهْ

DS: 538-P.670

وَقَوْمٌ أَبُوهُمْ غَالِبٌ جُلُّ مَالِهِمْ ... مَحَامِدُ أَعْلَاهَا بِنَاهُ الْمُجَدِّغَالِبُ

يَبُوءُ كُلُّ فَيَّاضِ الْيَدَيْنِ إِذَا شَتَا ... وَأُكْدَتْ بِأَيْمَانٍ بِهِ الرِّجَالِ الْمَطَالِبُ

وَمَا زَالَ مِنْهُمْ مُشْتَرِي الْحَمْدِ بِاللَّهَى ... وَجَادَ لَهُ أَعْيَتْ عَلَيْهِ الْمَذَاهِبُ

DS: 91-P.108

إِنَّا لَنُنْصِفُ مِنَّا بَعْدَ مَقْدَرَةٍ ... عَلَى هَضِيمَتِهِ، مِنَّا لَيْسَ يُنْتَصَفُ

وَنَمْنَعُ النِّصْفَ ذَا الْأَنْفِ الْأَشَمَّ إِذَا ... كَانَ الْهَضِيمُ فِيهِ الْعِزُّ وَالْأَنَفُ

وَنَكْتَفِي مِنْهُ سِوَانَا فِي الْحُرُوبِ بِنَا ... إِذَا تَدَاعَى عَلَيْنَا النَّاسُ فَائْتَلَفُوا

عَزَّتْ تَمِيمٌ بِعِزِّ اللَّهِ فَانْفَرَدَتْ ... وَخَافَ مِنْهَا عِدَاهَا النَّاسُ فَاخْتَلَفُوا

DS: 439-P.550

إِذَا خَمَدَتْ نَارٌ فَأُمُّ ابْنِ غَالِبٍ ... سَتُوقِدُهَا لِلطَّارِقِينَ خَلُوقَةُ

أَنَا الطُّعْمُ الْمَقْرُورُ فِي لَيْلَةِ الصَّبَا ... وَأَجْهَلُ مِنْهُ بَعْضَ الْجَهْلِ بَعْضُ لَقُوقَةُ

DS: 466-P.591

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*32. Note the rare grammatical usuage.

This direct method, as shown by these examples, does not help the poet to run outside the rut of commonplace Ummayyad fakhr forms; the lack of imagery is compensated for by the beautiful diction.

The other method is narrative and dramatic, and is used in long fragments and qasídas; the effect of this indirect approach to fakhr has been salutary; it tones down the vulgar note inherent in self-praise, and renders it more acceptable to modern taste; it also gives the poet more scope to exercise his poetic talent with abundant use of imagery; lastly, it lends the qasída a unity which otherwise it would have lacked according to its traditional style.

The following poem, the longest (42 verses) in this section, is a good example of this indirect method; the poet opens with seven lines of traditional Ghazal, then goes on to describe a big enemy host, and how the poet's tribe fought it, boasting of his high birth in Tamīm and his strong support within the tribe (lines 1-17). The rest of the poem is devoted to a well-knit narrative telling of a stray benighted guest seeking the poet's encampment, and how the poet kindled a big fire to guide the guest, and killed a fat she-camel for his fare. This part is a masterpiece of narrative, and I doubt if there is anything to approach its imagery and wealth of delicate artistic detail in the work of his contemporaries. It merits quoting in full:

وَمَسْنَجِي وَاللَّيْلُ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَهُ
يَرَاعِي بِعَيْنَيْهِ النُّجُومَ الطَّوَالِعَا

تَرَى إِذْ تَغَشَّى اللَّيْلُ تَحْمِلُ صَوْتَهُ
إِلَى الصَّبَا فَتَظَلَّ بِالرَّمْلِ طَاوِيَا

دُعَاءَ عُلُوَّةَ كَالْيَأْسِ لَمَّا تَحَقَّقَتْ
بِهِ الْبَيْدُ وَاعْتَوْرَتْ إِلَيْهِ الْقَيَاعِيَا

فَقُلْتُ لَهُ هَلْ صَوْتُ صَاحِبِ فَقْرَةٍ
دُعَاءٌ، أَوْ صَدَى نَادِي الْفَرَافِرِ وَافِيَا

تَأَنَّيْتُ وَاسْتَمْعَتْ حَتَّى فَهِمْتُهَا
وَقَدْ قَفَفَتْ نَكْبَاءُ مِنْهُ كَأَنَّهُ سَارِيَا

فَقُمْتُ وَحَاذَرْتُ السُّرَى أَنْ تَفُوتَنِي
بِذِي شُقَّةٍ تَعْلُو الْكُوَرَ الْحَوَافِيَا

فَلَمَّا رَأَيْتُ الرِّكْبَ تَحْلِكُ نَجْمُهُ
وَقَدْ هَوَّرَ اللَّيْلُ الشَّمَالَ الْيَمَانِيَا

حَلَفْتُ لَهُمْ إِنَّهُ لَمْ يُجِبْهُ كَلَالُنَا
لَأَسْتَوْقِدَنَّهُ نَارًا يُجِيبُ الْمُنَادِيَا

عَظِيمٍ سَنَاهَا لِلْعُفَاةِ، رَفِيعَةٍ
نَوَامِي أُنُوفَ الْمُوقِدِينَ فِنَائِيَا

وَقُلْتُ لِعَبْدٍ شَبَّ أَشْعَرَهَا فَأَتَّهْ
كَفَى بِنَاهَا لِلْبَيْتِ إِنْ كُنْتَ رَاعِيَا

فَمَا خَمَدَتْ حَتَّى أَضَاءَ وَقُودُهَا
أَخَا فَقْرَةٍ يُزْجِي الْمَطِيَّةَ هَافِيَا

فَقُمْتُ إِلَى الْبُرْكِ الْجُعُودِ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ
سِلَاحِي لِيُوَقِّي الْمَرْبِقَاتِ الْمَنَالِيَا

فَخِفْتُ إِلَى الْأَنْسَاءِ مِنْهَا وَقَدْ تَرَى
ذَوَاتُ الْبَقَايَا الْمُعْنَاتُ ظَانِيَا

وَمَا ذَاكَ إِلَّا أَنَّنِي أَفْتَرُ لِلْقِرَى
يَمَانِعَ الْمَحَاجِمِ وَالْجَذَاعِ الْأَوَابِيَا

فَمَكَّنْتُ سَيْفِي مِنْهُ ذَوَّابَ رَأْسِهَا
غَشَاشًا وَلَمْ أُغْفِلْ بِكَاءً رِعَائِيَا

He follows with nine lines of colourful description of his huge cooking-pot, and concludes aptly and precisely with the line

فَمَا قَعَدَ الْعَبْدُ الْمُعَنَّى حَوِيَّةً
حَلِيبًا وَشَحْمًا مُذْرِيَ الشَّوْلِ وَارِيَا

DS: 764-P.890; DB: PP.56-58.

The highlights of the piece are the flashes of imaginative word-pictures such as:

سَرَى إِذْ تَغَشَّى اللَّيْلَ تَحْمِلُ صَوْتَهُ ... إِلَى الصَّبَا قَدْ ظَلَّ بِالْأَمْسِ طَاوِيَا

دَعَا دَعْوَةً كَالْيَأْسِ، لَمَّا تَحَقَّقَتْ ... بِهِ الْبَيْدُ وَاعْتَوْرَتْ الْمِتَانَهُ الْقَيَافِيَا

the weak shouting of the hungry guest, carried by the north wind, his cry full of despair and bewilderment, are finely and movingly portrayed in these lines above.

فَلَمَّا أَتَيْتُ الزَّجْرَ تَحْلُجُ نَبْحُهُ ... وَقَدْ هَوَّرَ اللَّيْلُ السِّمَاكَ الْيَمَانِيَا

The poet's attention to artistic detail in describing the jarring effect of the wind on the "barking"[33] of the guest, and fixing the late hour of night when this took place, give this line clarity, truthfulness and dramatic appeal.

As an example of the dramatic style we quote this fragment:

عَجِبْتُ لِرَبِّ فَرَّحَتْهُمْ مُلِيحَةٌ ... تَأَلَّقُ مِنْ بِيضِ الذَّنَابِيَةِ فَالْمَعَا

فَلَمْ نَأْيَهَا حَتَّى لَعَنَّا مَكَانَهَا ... وَحَتَّى اشْتَفَى مِنْهُ نَوْبِيٌّ صَاحِبُ الْكَرَى

فَلَمَّا أَتَيْنَا مِنْهُ عَلَى النَّارِ أَقْبَلَتْ ... إِلَيْنَا وُجُوهُ الْمُصْطَلِينَ ذَوِي اللِّحَى

فَلَمَّا نَزَلْنَا وَاخْتَلَفْنَا بِأَهْلِهَا ... بَكَوْا، وَاشْتَكَيْنَا أَيَّ سَاعَةٍ مُشْتَكَى

تَشَكَّوْا وَقَالُوا لَا تَلُمْنَا فَإِنَّنَا ... أُنَاسٌ حَرَامِيُّونَ لَيْسَ لَنَا قُرَى

وَقَالُوا: أَلَا هَلْ مِنْ قِرًى مِثْلَ غَالِبٍ ... وَإِيَّايَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ سَائِلُهُمْ عَنِّي

وَوَسْطَ رِحَالِ الْقَوْمِ بَازِلُ عَامِهَا ... جَرَنْبَذَةُ الْأَضْلَاعِ هَمَّاسَةُ السُّرَى

فَلَمَّا تَصَفَّحْنَ الرِّكَابَ انْتَقَيْتُهَا ... أُرِيدُ بَقِيَّاتِ الْعَرَائِكِ فِي الذُّرَى

أَقُولُ وَقَدْ قَصَّبْتُ بِالسَّيْفِ سَاقَهَا: ... حَرَامٌ ثَبَتَّهُ كَعْبٌ، لَا مَلَامَةَ فِي الْقِرَى!

فَبَاتَ لِأَصْحَابِي وَأَرْبَابِ مَنْزِلِي ... وَأَضْيَافِهِمْ بِسْلٌ وَفْدٌ وَمُشْتَوَى

DS: 8-P.9.

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33. The guest "barked" to attract the dogs to reply by barking and thus guide him to the encampment.

Again we notice a good example of the indirect fakhr, where through the use of dialogue (vs. 5-9) the poet conveys inoffensively the praise of his father and himself. We also note the attention to detail shown in the reference to the beards of the hosts (verse 3).

3. Apology

The three fragments[34] devoted wholly to apology are insignificant. Their shortness (the longest is 5 lines) left little scope for the poet, who was no epigrammatist, to do justice to his themes. We give below the longest of the three, which was addressed to 'Abdullāhi b. Abī Bakrah, nephew of Ziād:

أَبَا حَاجِمٍ قَدْ كَانَ عَمُّكَ رَامَنِي ... زِيَادٌ، فَأَلْفَانِي امْرَءًا غَيْرَ نَائِمِ

أَبَا حَاجِمٍ، مَا حَاجِمٌ فِي زَمَانِهِ ... بِأَفْضَلَ جُودًا مِنْكَ عِنْدَ الْعَظَائِمِ

فَهَلْ أَنْتَ إِنْ عَاتَبْتُكَ الْيَوْمَ تَارِكِي ... وَبُوئِي بِذَنْبِي يَا ابْنَهُ بَانِي الدَّعَائِمِ

أَبُوكَ الَّذِي مَا كَانَ فِي النَّاسِ مِثْلُهُ ... إِذَا نَزَلَتْ بِالْمِصْرِ إِحْدَى الْعَظَائِمِ

بَهَالِيلُ مَعْرُوفُونَ بِالْحِلْمِ وَالتُّقَى ... وَآسَادُهَا فِي الْمَأْزِقِ الْمُتَلَاحِمِ

DS: 664-P.816

It is typical of the poet's tactlessness that while he was asking the forgiveness of the patron for an offence which he admits, he saw fit to refer truculently to his unfortunate episode with Ziād, the patron's uncle, with a veiled threat to the patron.

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34. DS: 236-P.254; 664-P.816; 667-P.817.

Apology poetry occurs, as part of many poems of praise and complaint,[35] but the fact that pure apology qasīdas do not exist, is due to the aggressive nature of the poet who neither cared to apologize nor seemed fitted by temperament to make good apology poetry.

4. SATIRE

This section may be divided, according to the subjects of satire, into five categories:

(a) Collective satire of a tribe or clan.

(b) Emirs and Governors.

(c) Poets.

(d) Individual persons.

(e) Irony and lampoons.

The greater part of the first sub-section is devoted to sections of the poet's own tribe, Benī Tamīm, such as Fuqaim and Nahshal, Benī Sa'd, Benī Māzin, etc. The poet's feud with Fuqaim started during the life of his father and reached its climax in the interference of Ziād and the poet's flight to Medinah.[36]

In this inter-tribal satire, the poet was treading on unfirm ground, and this may explain the weapon he chose for

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35. See DS: 61-P.76; 152-P.165; 266-P.335; 551-P.678; 643-P.803.
36. See KN: I: 214-217.

attack - licentious calumny of his oppenents' womenfolk; this method localises the damage done to the general reputation of the clan, and confines the shame to the section concerned.[37]

A typical example of the licentious nature of this inter-tribal satire is this fragment satirizing Benī Nahshal:[38]

إِذَا مَا تَمَطَّتْ بِالضُّحَى نَهْشَلِيَّةٌ ... تَمَنَّتْ أَمَانِيًّا كَثِيرًا فُنُونُهَا

إِذَا مَا تَمَطَّتْ بِالضُّحَى نَهْشَلِيَّةٌ ... تَمَدَّدَ مِنْ حُبِّ النِّكَاحِ جَنِينُهَا

إِذَا لَمْ أُثِرْ نَهْشَلِيَّ لِأُمِّهِ ... ثَلَاثَةُ أَشْبَاءٍ فَقَدْ طَاحَ دِينُهَا

DS: 754-P.879

The poet's concentration on calumny of females may be a diversion from more serious attacks on other objectives which might bring shame on the whole Tamīm tribe; restraint in attacking fellow-tribesmen can clearly be noted in the long qasida (DS: 286-P.353) addressed to members of Benī Māzin branch of Tamīm, who prevented him from watering his camels at a water-hole. The poet dissipated his fury in a beautiful long ghazal prelude (verses 1-12) then referred casually and mildly to the incident, and devoted the rest of the qasida to a tribute to the memory of a dead Taghlibid hero who happened

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37. The same method is used in the poet's Naqāʾiḍ with Jarīr, another Tamīmid, and the calumny of women folk is less licentious in the satire directed against non-Tamimīd tribes, cf. DS: 56-P.68; 25-P.37; 24-P.34; 343-P.407.

38. See also: DS: 222-P.233; 397-P.497.

to be buried in the locality.

The distinguishing feature of this Tamīm satire is brevity which again implies the poet's reluctance to attack members of his own tribe.[39]

In contrast to Tamīm satire, that addressed to other tribes is in long qasīdas and rarely in fragments; one of the longest qasīdas in the dīwān is a satire of Benī Ga'far b. Kilāb (DS: 367-P.452: 164 verses); the abnormal length of this qasīda is partly due to the preoccupation of the poet with showing his poetic agility in some themes which are not normally part of satire,[40] viz. the beautiful ghazal prelude (lines 1-19) and the digressive narrative of the exploits and tragic end of a pearl-diver (lines 20-30), which is again a piece of great artistic beauty. The poet's endeavour

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39. With the exception of four qasīdas, all the poetry in this section is made up of short fragments not exceeding four lines; see: DS: 268; 227; 52; 528; 402; 326; 324; 189; 80; 128; 30; 67; 661; 659; 658; 639; etc.

40. The reason for the ghazal prelude - its heroine is a damsel of the satirized tribe - might have been to embarrass the menfolk; the poet's preoccupation with imagery may be due to the fact that the poem was written in reply to a poem by another poet called Dhul Aḥdām (see KN. vol. II p.12). The influence of al-A'shā can be detected in the piece about the pearl-diver (see al-A'shā's poem: *in al-Khizānah, vol. I, 544.* but al-Farazdaq's knowledge of sea-lore must be noted, and admitted to exceed that of al-A'shā; his birth in Kāzimah, a village on the sea-shore may account for this.

to fulfil artistic ends which are not strictly part of the subject of the qasida is shown by the flimsy pretext for digression - a simple simile of a beautiful woman and a pearl:

تَهادَى إلى بَيْتِ الصَّلاةِ كأنَّها ... عَلَى الوَعْثِ ذُو سَافٍ مُهِيعٍ كَثِيرُهَا

كَدُرَّةِ غَوّاصٍ رَمَى فِي مَهِيبَةٍ ... بِأجْرَامِهِ والنَّفْسُ يَخْشَى ضَمِيرُهَا

DS: 367-P.452

The rest of the qasida follows the normal pattern of Umayyad satire; it glorifies the poet's ancestry, extols his generosity and attacks the virtue of the Benī Ga'far women; a great part is devoted to pre-Islamic battles in which Benī Ga'far were defeated or disgraced.

With the exception of the ghazal prelude and the digressive narrative, the other satire qasidas in this sub-section follow the same pattern, and this fragment satirizing Bāhilah is typical:[41]

كأنَّ البَاهِلِيَّ يَظُنُّ أنِّي ... سَأقْعُدُ لَا أُجَاوِزُهُ سِبَابِي

. . . . . .

DS: 24-P.34

As to Emirs and Governors, al-Farazdaq satirizes a number of the Governors and high officials in 'Irāq and al-Yamāmah: 'Umar b. Hubairah,[42] Khālid al-Qasrī,[43] al-Muhallab and his family,[44] Mālik b. al-Mundhir, Umayyah b. Khālid b. Asīd,

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41. For further examples of collective satire see: DS: 58-P.72; 56-P.68; 343-P.407; 489-P.609; 613-P.773; 641-P.799; 758-P.884.
42. DS: 247-P.282; 389-P.487; 403;P.508; 516-P.647.
43. DS: 179-P.189; 477-P.598; 484-P.601; 733-P.874.
44. DS: 9-P.10; 167-P.187; 235-P.252; 346-P.412; 502-P.631; 746-P.879.

al-Muhājir b. 'Abdillāhi and Ibrâhīm b. 'Arabī.[45] Only fear of terrible punishment could have stopped the poet from satirizing Ziād and al-Ḥijjāj in their life-time.[46]

Avarice was mostly the cause for satirizing some patrons to whom the poet had dedicated many of his eulogies,[47] but in the case of Ibn Hubairah, the poet chose to accord him this ungracious welcome before he took office; or soon after it:

نَزَعَ ابْنَهُ بِشْرٌ وَابْنَهُ عُمَرَ قَبْلَهُ ... وَأُخْرَى لِثَالِثٍ مَا يَتَوَقَّعُ

وَمَضَتْ بِحُمْلَةِ الْمَالِ مُوَدِّعًا ... فَأَعْمَى فَزَارَةَ لِاهْتِمَالِ الْمُرَّبَّعِ !

وَلَقَدْ عَلِمْتُ لَئِنْ فَزَارَةُ أَقْرَتْ ... أَنَّهُ سَوْفَ تَطْمَعُ فِي الْإِمَارَةِ أَشْجَعُ

لِلَّهِ الْقَيَافَةَ قَدْ دَنَتْ أَعْرَافُهَا ... حَتَّى أُمَيَّةَ عَنْهُ فَزَارَةَ تَنْزَعُ

DS: 403-P.508.

These satires were political lampoons, and the poet appeared to aim at popular circulation for them, and ultimately to reach the Caliph; this may account for their brevity.[48]

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45. See DS: 76-P.101; 311-P.382; 618-P.776; 319-P.385; 320-P.386; 509-P.639; 511-P.641.

46. The poet expressed his fear and referred to threats of "cutting off his tongue" in DS: 605-P.763; for his post-mortem satire of these two Governors see DS: 347-P.413; DS: 494-P.618:48-51.

47. See DS: 246-P.280; 350-P.416; 453-P.579; 266-P.335; 306-P.374; 337-P.397; 517-P.648; 19-P.31; 61-P.76; etc.

48. Out of 24 pieces in this sub-section, only four exceed the fragment-length of eight lines; the rest are mostly in couplets.

They depict personal shortcomings of public servants; cowardice, dishonesty, mal-administration and religious unorthodoxy:

لَوْ كُنْتَ حِلْبَ الْفُوْدِ أَوْ كَانِبَ مِعْمِرٍ ... لَخِفْتُ حِيَاحَةَ الْمَوْتِ وَاللَّيْلُ مُظْلِمُ
وَلَكِنَّهُ أَبَنَ قَلْبٍ أَطِرَتْ بِنَاتُهُ ... وَعُرْقُوبُ لَئِيمٌ حَالَ اللَّوْنِ أَدْهَمُ

49. DS: 618-P.776

أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، وَأَنْتَ وَالٍ ... شَفِيقٌ، لَسْتَ بِالْوَالِي الْحَرِيصِ :
أَوَلَّيْتَ الْعِرَاقَ وَرَافِدَيْهِ ... فَزَارِيًّا أَحَذَّ يَدِ الْقَمِيصِ
وَلَمْ يَكُ قَبْلَهَا إِعْيَ مَنَاصِبِهِ ... لِيَأْمَنَهُ عَلَى وَتَرٍ فُلُوصِ
تَفَيْهَقَ بِالْعِرَاقِ أَبُو الْمُثَنَّى ... وَعَلَّمَ قَوْمَهُ أَكْلَ الْخَبِيصِ
سَتَحْمِلُهُ الدَّنِيَّةُ عَنْ قَلِيلٍ ... عَلَى سَيَّارَةٍ ذَعْلَبَةٍ مَحُوصِ

50. DS: 389-P.487

أَهَلَكْتَ مَالَ اللَّهِ فِي غَيْرِ حَقِّهِ ... عَلَى النَّهْرِ الْمَشْئُومِ غَيْرِ الْمُبَارَكِ
وَتَضْرِبُ أَحْوَانًا صِحَاحًا ظُهُورُهَا ... وَتَتْرُكُ حَقَّ اللَّهِ فِي ظَهْرِ مَالِكِ
أَإِنْفَاقُ مَالِ اللَّهِ فِي غَيْرِ حِلِّهِ ... وَمَنْعًا لِحَقِّ اللَّهِ مِنْ شَرَائِكِ !

DS: 48-P.601

أَبْلِغْ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رِسَالَةً: ... فَمَثَّلْ - هَدَاكَ اللَّهُ - نَزْعَكَ خَالِدًا
بَنِي بِيعَةَ بِنْهَا الْقَلِيبَ لِأُمِّهِ ... وَهَدَّمَ مِنْهُ بِنَصْبِهِ الْقَصَرَ الْمَاجِدَا

DS: 178-P.189

The four qasidas differ from these fragments in being collective and tribal while the ~~former~~ fragments were personal and

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49. Addressed to Ummayyah b. 'Abdullahi b. Asīd, a general who fled before the Kharijites.
50. Satirizing 'Umar b. Hubairah.

political; the poems also were more likely to have been an outcome of the recurrent tribal wars in Basrah, rather than the result of personal friction between the poet and individual governors and emīrs. Three of these poems satirize al-Muhallab, his family and the Azd tribe, and the fourth is a satire on 'Umar b. Hubairah, the Fazarah tribe and the Qais group as a whole.

The themes of satire in the poems addressed to the Azd tribe show the bedouin mentality of al-Farazdaq; he seeks to deny the Azd their Arab origin, claiming that they were 'Nabat'; he reproaches them with their sea-faring tradition, and glorifies the squalour and misery of the bedouin camp-life in his effort to show the Azd as non-Arabs who had missed all the benefits of this 'glorious life':

وَلَمَّا رَأَيْتُ الْأَزْدَ تَهْفُو لِحَاهُمُ ... حَوَالَيَّ مَزْوِيٌّ لَئِيمُ الْمَرَكَّبِ

مُقَلَّدَةً بَعْدَ الْقَلُوسِ أَعِنَّةً ... عَجِبْتُ، وَمِثْلِي يَسْتَفِزُّ لَهُ يَعْجَبُ

تَقَسَّمُ أَنْوَفًا لَمْ تَكُنْ عَرَبِيَّةً ... لِحَيِّ نَبَطٍ أَفْوَاهُهَا لَمْ تَقَرَّبِ

فَكَيْفَ وَلَمْ يَأْتُوا بِمَكَّةَ نَسْكَهَا ... وَلَمْ يَعْبُدُوا الْأَوْثَانَ عِنْدَ الْمُحَصَّبِ

وَلَمْ يَسْمَعُوا دَاعِي: يَا صَبَاحَا! فَيَرْكَبُوا ... إِلَى الرَّوْعِ إِلَّا فِي السَّفِينِ الْمُخَضَّبِ

وَمَا وَجَهَتْ أَزْدِيَّةٌ بِسِخَانَةٍ ... وَلَا شَرِبَتْ فِي جِلْدِ حَوْبٍ مُعَلَّبِ

وَمَا أَنْبَأَتْهَا الْقَنَّاصُ بِالْبَيْضِ وَالْجَنَا ... وَلَا أَكَلَتْ فَوْزَ الْمَنِيِّ الْمُعَقَّبِ

وَلَا سَكَتْ عَنْهَا سَمَاةُ وَلِيدَةٍ مَظَلَّةُ أَعْرَابِيَّةٍ فَوْقَ أَشْقُبِ

"And when I saw the Azd with their beards
flying (in the wind) round a Mazūnite (Azdite
i.e. al-Muhallab) of low origin, with horse-
reigs round their necks instead of ship-ropes,
I was amazed - and anyone who hears of this
will be amazed.
Their non-Arab noses were covered by beards
of Nabat whose mouths (i.e. tongues) were
never Arabicized.
But how could that (i.e. their being Arabicized)
be when they never attended a worshipping place
at Meccas, nor worshipped the idols at
Muhassab.
And whenever a crier cried: 'raid, ahoy!' they
would ride out for battle only in patched up
ships.
No Azdite woman has ever suffered the pain of
circumcision nor has she drunk out of a camel-
foal skin made into a tankard.
Never did huntsmen come to her with eggs and
(herbal) delicacies, and never did she eat
the winnings of the end-notched manīh (a
favorite gambling-arrow).
Never was the sky (i.e. sun) shut off from
her as a young maiden (mounted) on small camels
by a bedouin unmbrella."

DS: 9-P.10.

It is to be noted that al-Farazdaq, in trying to deny to the Azd claim to any share in the traditional life of ancient Arabia and its institutions, has slipped into praising some pagan aspects of that life (v. 8); this might have laid him open to blame from his contemporaries who in spite of the snobbish pride they took in all the institutions of the old Arabian life, were likely to draw the line at sheer paganism.[51]

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51. See also DS: 235-P.252.

One of these Azd satires (DS: 167-P.187) was written on the abortive revolt of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (in 105 A.H.); the poet denounces all the Yemenite tribes for this rising, and exults at the extermination of the fleeing remnants of the Muhallab family by a Tamīmid general in Sind; he concludes by singing the glories and supremacy of Khindif, Qais and Tamīm - three 'Adnān loyalties of the poet, which were not always in harmony, but reconcilable, as in this instance, in the face of a common Qaḥtān enemy.[52]

The Fazārah satire (DS: 247-P.282) contains an attack on the Qais group as a whole, thus providing an example of the unreliability of the poet's loyalty. The main theme of the satire on Fazārah is the legendary stigma of their eating the sexual organs of donkeys, and he repeats this theme monotonously and at great length.[53]

The tedious repetitiveness and the lack of vehemence in invective which mark most of these four tribal satires, indicate that al-Farazdaq wrote them in fulfilment of his duty as a tribal bard.[54]

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52. Cf. P.4, above.

53. Twenty lines were devoted to this theme out of a poem of 37 lines.

54. This view is supported by the fact that al-Farazdaq has always shown admiration for the Azd family of al-Muhallab and expressed sympathy with their tragic fate (see DS: 12-P.15; 306-P.374; 142-P.160; p.27, above); his relations with Ibn Hubairah were extremely cordial and there was a bond of mutual admiration between the two which earned the poet one of the highest tributes paid him by a patron. (see Kāmil, II, 482:13).

Lastly, this section includes two short fragments of two verses each (DS: 628-P.781; 42-P.51) satirizing Caliph Hishām and referring to his deformity; these represent the only satire on a Caliph in the dīwān, and their authenticity is rather doubtful.

Amongst the poets satirized in this sub-section, Jarīr takes the lead with 23 pieces addressed to him against 14 pieces for all the others. The other poets are: Miskīn ad-Darīmi, Murrah b. Miḥkān, 'Umar b. 'Afrā', Jandal b. 'Ubaid ar-Rā'ī and aṭ-Ṭirimmāḥ. The first three are all Tamīmids, the fourth is a Numairid and the fifth a Ṭā'id.

This non-Naqā'iḍ satire on Jarīr is mostly in fragment-length pieces, with only two qasīdas (DS: 299-P.370 ; 536-P.664). The main themes in this satirization of Jarīr are an accusation against the latter's tribe of indulging in sexual relations with she-donkeys, and the promiscuity of their womenfolk. al-Farazdaq handles these two repellent themes with a lightness of touch which, combined with wit and humour, takes away much of their vulgarity, and even succeeds in rendering their reading delightful:

سَأَسْأَلُ أَيَّ ابْنَيْ عَطِيَّةَ إِذْ نَوَى عَطِيَّةُ، لَمَّا أَمْرَقَتْهُ حَلِيلَةُ :
أَمَعَّةُ بِعُرْقُوبِ الْأَتَانِ وَنَزْوِهِ عَلَيْهَا إِذَا مَا فِيهَا جَافِلَةُ

"I will enquire as to which of the two sons of 'Atiyyah, when he ('atiyyatu) has died and he is driven away by his wives, has more right to (inherit) the (use of) the tendons of the she-donkey and to jump on her when he inserts..."

DS: 536-P.664

It is for such ability in making variations of a familiar and rather vulgar theme, through creative imagination, that al-Farazdaq was rightly considered by some of the old critics to have beaten Jarīr in their satire duel.[55] Even the extreme obscenity of the following piece is so diluted and transformed by the play of wit and imagination of the poet, that the reader's reaction is likely to be one of amusement instead of horror and disgust:

دُبِّئْتُهَا فِي أَهْلِ حَجْرٍ قَدِ اكْتَسَتْ
مِنَ الرَّكْضِ بِالرِّجْلَيْنِ أُمُّ جَرِيرِ

وَأُعْجِبُهَا كَرُّ الْجَوَارِي حِمَارَهَا
إِلَى دَلْوٍ فِي بَيْتِهَا وَحَمِيرِ

لِكُلِّ لُجَيْمِيٍّ عَرِيضٍ لَبَانُهُ
غَدَا شَتَلَتْ أَصْدَاغَهُ بِقَتِيرِ

وَلَنْظَى شَدِيدِ الْمَنْكِبَيْنِ مُعَاوِدٍ
عَلَى الرَّهْزِ بَعْدَ الرَّهْزِ غَيْرِ فُتُورِ

تَشَكَّتْ إِلَيْهِ قِلَّةَ الْمَالِ بَعْدَمَا
أَصَابَتْ بِصَوْتٍ كُلَّهُ وَنَخِيرِ

وَقَالَتْ لَهُ لَيْسَ امْرُؤٌ يَبْتَغِي الْغِنَى
لَهُ مِثْلُ فَدًى وَاحِدًا بِفَقِيرِ!

"I was told that Jarīr's mother has gained (her) clothing in Ḥajr from working hard with her two legs (i.e. prostitution); she is pleased when the young girls offer her donkey at her house bad dates and barley (i.e. out of her wages of sin); she (sells her body) to every broad-chested Lujaimid whose temples are streaked with white (hair); he is hefty, strong-shouldered, capable of repeated copulation without ever tiring.

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55. See al-Marzubānī, Muwashshah, 124, 121.

"She compalins to him of (her) lack of money
after what she has suffered beneath him with
(loud) and nasal sounds.
She says to him: verily a person who seeks to
make his fortune and who possesses one like
this (female organ) cannot be poor."

DS: 264-P.334

For such extreme obscenity al-Farazdaq deserves to be considered a fore-runner of the libertines of the 'Abbāsid era: Bashshār and Abū Nuwās and their school.[57]

The two Tamīmid poets, Miskīn and Murrah, get away very lightly; the first was rebuked for an elegy he had written on the death of Ziād (DS: 228-P.245), and with Murrah, al-Farazdaq reverted to diversionary tactics by devoting more than four-fifths of his long (52 verses) poem to a ghazal and chase prelude, with the last eight lines given to a half-hearted personal attack on Murrah.[58]

The satire addressed to non-Tamīmid poets is characterised by a noble and sonorous diction, vehemence in invective, and a marked degree of craftsmanship and finish. In the following fragment al-Farazdaq satirizes 'Amru b. 'Afrā', a Ḍabbite and a former rhapsodist of the poet; he takes pains first to deny 'Amr's relation with Ḍabbah, al-Farazdaq's maternal uncles, then proceeds to punish him in sonorous and beautiful diction:

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57. In many instances al-Farazdaq depicts Jarīr as a female with whom he has imaginary sexual relations; this is only one step removed from the homosexual satire of the 'Abbāsids. (see DS:299-P.370)
58. For an explanation of this restraint, and the diversionary tactics, see footnote 37 above.

سَتَعْلَمُ يَا مَحْرُوشَ عَفْرَاءَ أَنَّهُ ... غُلَامٌ إِذَا مَا الْأَمْرُ جَلَّتْ عَوَاقِبُهْ

نَهَيْتُ ابْنَ عَفْرَا أَنْ يَقِفَّ أَتَتْهُ ... كَقَفْرِ السَّلَا إِذْ عَفَّرَتْهُ ثَعَالِبُهْ

فَلَوْ كُنْتَ ضَبِّيًّا عَرَفْتَ قَرَابَتِي ... عَلَى قَدَمِي هَيَّابَةٌ وَعَقَارِبُهْ

وَلَوْ قَطَعُوا يُمْنَى يَدَيَّ غَفَرْتُهَا ... لَهُمْ، وَالَّذِي يُعْفِي السَّرَائِرَ كَاتِبُهْ

وَلَكِنَّهُ دِيَافِيٌّ أَبُوهُ وَأُمُّهُ ... بِحَوْرَانَ يَعْصِرْنَ السَّلِيطَ أَقَارِبُهْ

فَإِنَّكَ امْرَأٌ يَفْنَا بْنُ لَمْ أَطُلْهُ ... هَرِيمًا وَلَا سُنِّحَاهُ عَنِّي أَقَارِبُهْ

كَمُحْتَطِبٍ يَوْمًا أَسَاوِدَ هَضْبَةٍ ... أَتَاهُ بِهَا فِي ظُلْمَةِ اللَّيْلِ عَاطِبُهْ

أَخِيَّةَ الْتِفٍّ نَابَايَ وَابْيَضَّ مِخْلَبِي ... وَأَطْرَقَ إِطْرَاقَ الشُّجَاعِ الَّذِي نَشَا أُعَارِبُهْ

DS: 41-P.50

Note the dignity in the concluding three verses, and the ominous atmosphere created by the metaphor, and by the trick of omitting the answer to the semi-conditional clause in the last line.

Jandal was the son of a former ally of al-Farazdaq in his conflict with Jarīr;[60] this seems to have entitled him to some special consideration, as we notice that two of the four pieces addressed to him were devoted to rebuking Jandal and counselling him to desist from attacking al-Farazdaq.[61]

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60. Jandal's father was 'Ubaid b. Husain, nicknamed 'Ra'ī'l ibl', a member of Banū Numair tribe and their poet; he suffered much abuse from Jarīr for his stand with al-Farazdaq in their feud.
61. See DS: 495-P.624; 531-P.658; in the first piece Jandal is reproached; in the second he is threatened.

Of the other two poems, one is a mild attack on Jandal and his group, Qais 'Ailān, as a whole, with an irreverent reference to his dead father (v. 25). Both by its length (25 lines) and its picked diction, this satire (DS: 201-P.207) shows that al-Farazdaq's patience and restraint were exhausted:

أَتُوعِدُنِي قَيْسٌ وَدُونَهُ وَعِيدُهَا ... شَرَاةُ تَمِيمٍ وَالْعَدَادِيُّ مِنَ الْأُسْدِ

أَحِينَ أَعَاذَتْ بِي تَمِيمٌ نِسَاءَهَا ... وَجُرِّدْتُ تَجْرِيدَ الْيَمَانِي مِنَ الْغِمْدِ

وَأَهْرَتْ كِلَابُ الْحَيِّ مِنِّي وَنَبْصَتَتْ ... بِآذَانِهَا مِنْ صَنْعِمٍ ضِرْغَامَةٍ وَرْدِ

تَمَنَّى ابْنُ رَاعِي الْأُدْمِ حَرْبِي وَدُونَهُ ... شَمَارِيخُ صَعْبَاتٌ تَشُقُّ عَلَى الْعَبْدِ

"Do Qais threaten me when against their threat
(I am protected by) the plenty of Tamīm and the
marauding lions (i.e. fighting men).
At the time when Tamīm put their womenfolk
under my protection, and I was drawn like a
Yemenite (sword) from its Scabbard,
And the dogs of the Jinn have whined
(in fear) of me and wriggled their ears (in
fright) of a bold lion.
So! the son of the camel-herd is hoping for
(joining in) battle with me, but (he will
encounter) in front of him difficult mountain
tops (the climbing of which) will be hard on
the slave."

By a combination of fearful threats and booming words, al-Farazdaq seems to have aimed at frightening the younger poet into stopping his attack, but he seemed to have failed in this intention and to have mobilized all his guns for a

final attack on Jandal; the fourth fragment, most probably and logically the last to be written, (DS: 36-P.45) came out as a storm of abuse and extreme obscenity which spared neither Banū Numair nor their nephew tribes of Kilāb and 'Āmir nor their womenfolk. The brevity of the fragment did not prevent it from being very scathing, and al-Farazdaq seems to have advisedly chosen this brevity both as an ultimatum and a sample for the horrors in store for Jandal and his people if he did not stop; as there is nothing to show that al-Farazdaq had had cause to write another satire on the subject, these shock tactics seem to have fulfilled their aim.

The last of the poet s satirized in this section is at-Tirimmāh of Ṭaii'; six pieces are addressed to him and his tribe, of which four are short fragments and two are qaṣīdas (DS: 72-P.96; 110-P.135). In the fragments al-Farazdaq tries to discredit Ṭaii's Yemenite ancestry and alleges that they were Syrian 'Nabaṭ'; he also belittles their tribal strength and prestige and accuses their women of being uncircumcised.[62]

The two qaṣīdas revolve round the same themes of invective. The opening two lines of one (DS: 72-P.96) preach an ascetic rejection of the world and the blessings of friendship, and are therefore foreign both to the style of al-Farazdaq and

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62. DS: 275-P.343; 498-P.625; 546-P.674; 698-P.834.

to the rest of the poem with its obscene satire of Ṭaii'.[63] The remaining satire (DS: 110-P.135) is perhaps the last of the series in chronological sequence if we judge by the vehemence of attack and the extreme vulgarity and obscenity of the abuse directed against the Ṭaii' women in such verses as (11-17).[64]

In the satire addressed to individuals, we notice that with one exception (DS:331-P.393 - 14 lines), it is made up of very short fragments mostly of a single verse or a couple of lines. The persons satirized were mostly nonentities, and the light vein which runs through all these pieces indicates that the poet did not take the matter seriously. Except for a few which are quoted below, the bulk is of little or no artistic value.[65]

لَوْ أَنَّهُ قَدْ رَاكَبَتْ بِهِ طُولَ مَا هَبَتْ عَلَى الْحُقُوفِ، بَكَتْ قَدُورُ أَبِيهِ جَبَّارِ

مَا شَمَّهَا دَسَمٌ مُذْ فُصَّهُ فَقِدُوهَا وَلَا رَأَتْ بَعْدَنَارِ الْقَيْنِ بِالنَّارِ

DS: 340-P.406

This is a beautiful epigram, witty and stinging, a rare thing in the satire of al-Farazdaq.

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63. These two opening lines might well belong to an-Nābighah ash-Shaibānī, but the claim (made in the superscription, DS: 72-P.96) that the whole poem belongs to him is unfounded; the style is typically that of al-Farazdaq, and the poem contains a pet phrase of his (v.16) - cf. DS: 41-P.50:5; 546-P.674:8.
64. Cf. the sequence of satire in the case of Jandal and Banū Numair, pp. 68-69.
65. For the rest of the 45 pieces in this sub-section, see Appendix.

غَلَبَ التَّمْرُ فَاسْتَخْفَى سِنَانٌ وَخَرَّخَتْ خَفَافِيسُهُ فِي إِهَوْدِهِ الْمُتَسَلِّمِ

DS: 710-P.848.

This single line playfully satirizes a drinking companion of the poet, who hid himself when the poet called at his house; the amount of wit and humour packed into this single verse should be noted.

قُعُودُكَ فِي الشَّرْبِ الْكِرَامِ بَلِيَّةٌ وَرَأْسُكَ فِي الْإِكْلِيلِ إِحْدَى الْكَبَائِرِ

DS: 307-P.381

Here al-Farazdaq mocks one of his neighbours; the line is prosaic, but a social historian may be interested in its record of a social usage - garlanded wine-drinkers.

تَبْكِي الْخُمُورُ وَتَبْكِي كُلُّ زَانِيَةٍ لَهُ الْمُحْصَنَاتُ عَلَى قَبْرِ ابْنِ رَوَّادِ

DS: 182-P.191

The incorrigible impishness of al-Farazdaq is demonstrated by this irreverent elegy written on the death of a friend whom the poet had made a solemn pledge never to satirize as long as that friend lived.

This section also includes a number of political lampoons combining irony with virulent satire.:[66]

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66. The first verse lampoons Muhammad b. Rabāt, Ibn Hubairah's Deputy as Governor of Basrah, who was a short black man, and who made a funny misquotation of the Qur'ān from the pulpit (see supersciption DS:119-P.142). The next two lampoon the Azd tribe during the revolt of Yazid b. al-Muhallab; in the first of these the poet mocks some obscure Azd families whose names he heard during a military review by Yazid; the second lampoons a client of Quraish who joined the revolt as an Azd.

بَلَى الْمِنْبَرُ الشَّرْقِيُّ إِذْ قَامَ فَوْقَهُ أَمِيرٌ فَضِيحِيٌّ قَصِيرُ الْقَوَائِمِ

DS: 119-P.142

مَا كُنْتَ أَشْعَرَ مَا عَرَفَانُهُ مُذْ خُلِقُوا وَلَا هِدَادٌ وَلَا عِلْمٌ بِبُرْسَانَا

وَلَا الْقَوَامِلُ أَشْبَاهٌ بِهَا خَلَقَهُ وَلَا الْفَرَاهِيدُ، حَتَّى كَانَهُ مَا كَانَا

DS: 755-P.882

تَبَدَّلَتْ جَرْمَانَةٌ قُرَيْشِيَةً وَرَاسِبًا فَبِالْكَ جَارِيَ ذِلَّةٍ وَهَوَانِ

DS: 721-865

Khālid al-Qasrī is lampooned for his episode with a keeper of the holy Ka'bah, which subsequently brought upon him humiliating punishment from the Caliph:

لَعَمْرِي لَقَدْ صَابَتْ عَلَى رَأْسِ خَالِدٍ شَآبِيبُ مَا اسْتَهْلَلْتَ سَبْلَ الْقَطْرِ

. . . . . .

أَظُنُّكَ مَجْبُوعًا بِرُبْعِ مُنَافِقٍ تَلَبَّسَ أَثْوَابَ الْخِيَانَةِ وَالْغَدْرِ

"I believe you would be bereaved through (the loss of) a quarter of a hypocrite who is heavily attired in clothes of dishonesty and treachery."

DS: 302-P.372.

The last line is an excellent example of the wit and delicate turn of phrase which went to make these lampoons so effective by being both humorous to the public and embarrassing to their victims. In this line al-Farazdaq wanted to tell al-Qasrī that his hand would be cut off by the Caliph for

daring to whip the keeper of the Holy Ka'bah, but he chose to couch this fact in mystery by alluding to the hand in judicial terminology (the loss of a hand is counted as a quarter of full indemnity); once he aroused the association in the minds of his listeners of a hand being cut off in fulfilment of a legal judgment, the poet hastened to remind them that, in fact, al-Qasrī's hand had deserved to be chopped off for more discreditable reasons - being the hand of a tricky thief.[67]

The reproach poetry of al-Farazdaq, like his apology verse,[68] suffers from the poet's hot temper both in quantity and quality. He tends to mix his reproach with threats and abuse, so that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish reproach from satire. This tendency is best illustrated by his reproach of Mu'āwiyah:[69]

أبولك ويحى يا معاوى أورثا ... تراثا فأدلى بالتراث أقاربه

فما بال ميراث الخباز أكلته ... وميراث حرب جامد لك ذائبه

فلو كان هذا الحكم فى جاهلية ... عرفت لمد الموالى القليل حلائبه

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

DS: 47-P.56

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67. For the episode, see Agh, 19, 60-61.

68. See p.55, above.

69. It may be argued that this is a product of the poet's young days, but there is ample evidence to show that old age had little effect on al-Farazdaq's hot-headedness; see 'Iqd, II, 105; DS: 226-P.244.

The poet slides from the opening lines of reproach into open threats and concludes by bitter abuse of the Caliph's ancestors. But, nevertheless, al-Farazdaq was sometimes capable of writing excellent reproach poetry when he controls his hot temper; an example of this is provided by a poem addressed to Banū Bakr b. Wā'il (DS: 597-P.706) in which al-Farazdaq sounds strangely humble, forgiving and eager to please.[70]

5. OCCASIONAL POETRY

Al-Farazdaq was an extrovert who led a full and colourful life; he enjoyed sharing all his experiences with the readers of his poetry, and told these experiences with frankness.

In the poetry in this section, the poet records his personal impressions and expresses his opinions on a wide range of subjects which may be classified as:

(a) personal experiences.

(b) reactions to outer incidents.

(c) political commentary.

(d) social chronicle

(e) tribal affairs.

Under the first subsection al-Farazdaq records most of his important personal experiences: his flight from Ziād and

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70. Gratitude might have been an important factor in the ingratiating attitude of the poet towards Banū Bakr who offered him asylum when he was a fugitive from Ziād.

al-Ḥajjāj, his dispute with his wife Nawār and the subsequent divorce, his marriage to his other wives and his opinions of them, his life as a refugee in Medina and his banishment from the city by two Governors, etc.

With more than seventy pieces in this sub-section, we can only choose representative examples:

رَأَتْنِي قَعِيدَةَ مُصْحَرًا فَنَاذَرَتْ ... بَدِيَّةَ مَخْشِيِّ الْجَرِيرَةِ عَارِمِ

أَتَانِي وَعِيدٌ مِنْهُ زِيَادٌ فَلَمْ أَنَمْ ... وَسَيْلُ اللِّوَى دُونِي وَهَضْبُ الْقَوَائِمِ

فَإِنْ تَدْرَكِينِي مِنْهُ اللَّهَ نِعْمَةً ... وَمِنْ آلِ حَرْبٍ أَلْفُهُ طَيْرَ الْأَشَائِمِ

فَدَعْنِي أَكُنْ مَا كُنْتُ حَيًّا حَمَامَةً ... مِنَ الْقَاطِنَاتِ الْبَيْتَ غَيْرِ الرَّوَائِمِ

DS: 610-P.771

إِنْ تَنْصِفُونَا يَالَ مَرْوَانَ نَصْرَكُمْ ... وَإِلَّا فَخَلُّوا بَيْنَنَا وَبِلَادِ

فَإِنَّ لَنَا عَنْكُمْ مَرَامًا وَمَذْهَبًا ... بِعِيسٍ إِلَى رِيحِ الْفَلَاةِ صَعَادِ

وَنَجْيَةِ بُزْلٍ تَخَايَلُ فِي الْبُرَى ... سَوَارٍ عَلَى طُولِ الْفَلَاةِ غَوَادِ

وَفِي الْأَرْضِ عَنْ دَارِ الْهَوَانِ مَنَاهَةٌ ... وَكُلُّ بِلَادٍ أَوْطَنَتْ كَبِلَادِي

وَمَا ذَا عَلَى الْحَجَّاجِ يَبْلُغُ جَهْدَهُ ... إِذَا نَحْنُ خَلَّفْنَا حَفِيرَ زِيَادِ

DS: 180-P.190

This mixture of bravado and cowardice is typical of the poet's reaction to danger, for he was both a coward

and a braggart.[71]

His married life is depicted in detail, and his dispute with Nawār in its different stages is fully recorded:[72]

كَبُرَتْ عَلَيَّ نَوَارُ تَعْنِفُ لِحْيَتِي ... تَعْنِفُ الْجَعِيدَةَ لِحْيَةَ الْخَنْعَاسِ

DS: 386-P.486

مَا لِكَدَادٍ تَلُمْنِي أُمُّ - لَقَدْ ... وَعَلَى بَعْجُودٍ ضَخْمٍ [73]

DS: 651-P.812

لَعَمْرِي لَقَدْ أَرْدَى نَوَارَ وَسَاوِسُهَا ... إِلَى الْغُورِ أَحْلَامٌ قَلِيلٌ عُقُولُهَا

مُعَارَضَةَ الرَّكْبَانِ فِي شَهْرِ نَاجِرٍ ... عَلَى قَتَبٍ يَطْوِي الْفَلَاةَ دَلِيلُهَا

. . . . . .

DS: 486-P.603

نَدِمْتُ نَدَامَةَ الْكُسَعِيِّ لَمَّا ... غَدَتْ مِنِّي مُطَلَّقَةً نَوَارُ

وَكَانَتْ جَنَّتِي فَخَرَجْتُ مِنْهَا ... كَآدَمَ هِيبَ أُخْرِجَهُ الْمُطَهَّرُ

وَكُنْتُ كَفَاجِرٍ عَيْنَيْهِ عَمْدًا ... فَأَعْمَى لَا يُضِيءُ لَهُ النَّهَارُ

وَلَا يُوفِي بِحُبِّ نَوَارَ عِنْدِي ... وَلَا كَلَفِي بِهَا إِلَّا انْتِحَارُ

. . . . . .

DS: 293-P.363

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71. See also: DS: 605-P.762; 171-P.183; 175-P.186 452-P.579; 668-P.818; 751-P.881.

72. See also: DS: 94-P.110; 135-P.153; 190-P.195.

73. Kadād was a cousin of Nawār who took her side against her husband when the latter beat her.

His marriage to other wives besides Nawār is recorded together with accounts of his household life with them:[74]

لَجَارِيَةٍ بِنْتِ السَّلِيلِ عُرُوقُهَا ... وَبِنْتِ أَبِي الصَّهْبَاءِ مِنْ آلِ خَالِدِ

أَحَقًّا بِأَعْلَى الْمَهْوَرِيَّةِ الَّتِي ... زَبَتْ وَهْيَ تَنْزُو فِي حُجُورِ الْوَلَائِدِ[75]

DS: 167-P.181

لَقَدْ حَوَّلَتْنِي عَنْهُ تَمِيمٌ وَبَدَّلَتْ ... رُهَيْمَةُ دَارِي وَشَطَّ بِهَا رَائِلُ

DS: 564-P.692

وَعَهْدِي بِهِ قَدْ رُزْتُ ثُمَّ أَتَمْتُ ... عَلَيْهِ وَلَمْ أَنْفِثْ عَلَيْهِ الْبَوَاكِيَا

وَفِي جَوْنِهِ مِنْهُ دَارِمٌ ذُو حَفِيظَةٍ ... لَوَاحِيَةُ اللَّيَالِي أَمْهَلَتْهُ لَيَالِيَا[76]

DS: 767-P.894

لَعَمْرُكَ إِنَّهُ رُبَّ أَكَانٍ عَلَى الْبِلَى ... بِظَبْيَةَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ بِالرَّحِيمِ

DS: 650-P.811

Echoes of his carefree and dissipated life in Medina vibrate in an ode which he wrote on a singing girl whose house he used to frequent:

إِذَا شُئْتَ غَنَّانِي بِهِ الْغَانِيَ قَاصِفٌ ... عَلَى مُعْصِمٍ رَيَّا وَلَمْ يَتَشَدَّدِ

لِبَيْضَاءَ عِيشَاهُ أَهْلُ الْمَدِينَةِ لَمْ تَعِشْ ... بِبُؤْسٍ وَلَمْ تَشْبَعْ مُحَوَّلَةَ نُجْعَدِ

نَعَمْ بِهَا لَيْلَ التَّمَامِ فَلَمْ تَبِنْ ... يُرَوِّي اشْتِعَالِي هَافَةَ الْحَائِمِ الصَّدِي

DS:165-P.180

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74. See also: DS:86-P.106; 82-P.105; 96-P.114; 140-P.159; 158-P.172; 169-P.182; 373-P.480, etc.
75. The wife referred to is Ḥadrā' the Shaibānite; the allusion in the second line is to Nawār who had a slave-girl as one of her grandmothers.
76. On the death of his negro wife, mother of his daughter, Mackiyyah, who died in child-birth.

His banishment from Medina by two Governors is frankly recorded:

فَرَّ وَاللهِ إِلَّا مَطِيَّتِي مَكْفُوتَةً تَرْجُمُ الْجِبَارَ وَرَبُّهَا لَمْ يَيْأَسِ

. . . . . .

DS: 379-P.482

أَوْعَدَنِي فَأَجْلَنِي نَهْرَتَا كَمَا وَعِدَتْ لِمُهْلِكِهَا ثَمُودُ

DS: 173-P.185

Perhaps the best illustration of al-Farazdaq's tendency to record all the aspects of his life in his poetry, is found in these fragments which range from such trivial matters as building a new door to his house or dying his hair with <u>henna</u>, to serious matters such as his repentence at the grave of Nawār and his retort to his people when they reproached him for his adulterous life:

جَعَلْتُ لَهَا بَابَيْنِ: بَابَ مُبَاعِدٍ وَبَابًا لِجَيْمَاءَ عَزِيزًا مَرَارُهُ

DS: 633-P.787

خَضَبْتُ بِسَيْدِ الْحَنَّاءِ رَأْسِي لِيُعْقِبَ حُمْرَةً بَعْدَ الْبَيَاضِ

DS: 391-P.489

لَقَدْ خَابَ سَعْدٌ أَوْلَادَ آدَمَ سَعْدُهَا إِلَى النَّارِ مَشْدُودُ الْخَنَاقِ مُوَثَّقَا

DS: 450-P.577

أَمَا الزِّنَاءُ فَإِنِّي لَسْتُ تَارِكَهُ وَالْمَالُ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَ الْمُرْدِ نِصْفَانِ

DS: 734-P.874

The poet's reactions to incidents which he witnessed or heard of, cover a wide range, e.g.: on the assassination

of the prefect of police of Basrah by the Khārijites,[77] on a man who entered his horse for the races,[78] on two stolen she-camels of a neighbour,[79] on a daughter of al-Muhallab being married;[80] also recorded are the poet's reactions to some incidents in which he took part such as the episode of the Greek prisoner whom he failed to decapitate,[81] the practical joke played on him by two policemen,[82] and his dispute with two men on digging a well.[83]

The political subsection yields a comprehensive record of most of the important political events in ʿIrāq at the time; the poet gives us his impressions on: the death of Ziād,[84] the Zubairid rule in ʿIrāq,[85] the imprisonment of Nasr b. Sayyār by Khālid al-Qasrī,[86] the rule of al-Ḥajjāj, the revolt of Ibnul-Ash'ath and the battle of Dairul-Jamājim;[87] the revolt of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab is well recorded in eight fragments.[88]

Other political subjects dealt with under this heading include criticism of the policy of Benū Umayyah,[89] Qutaibah's

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77. See DS: 649-P.811
78. DS: 514-P.645
79. DS: 678-P.821
80. DS: 168-P.181
81. DS: 174-P.186
82. DS: 446-P.573
83. DS: 90-P.107
84. DS: 619-P.776
85. DS: 457-P.586; 480-P.600
86. DS: 338-P.403
87. DS: 443-P.570; 725-P.867; 252-P.294
88. DS: 149-P.199; 448; 449; 404; 603; 645; 657.
89. DS: 4 - P. 8

insurrection in Khurasān,[90] and al-Farazdaq's reactions to the appointment of Governors and prefects of police in Baṣrah.[91]

As a social chronicler, al- Farazdaq brought to his job acute observation and a strong sense of humour. Though the material is but fragmentary, we are enabled to have a glimpse of a small cross-section of social life in Baṣrah at the time, and of some of the social problems of nomad life:

وَمُثْلٍ لِقَلْبِي وَالْبَلَاءِ وَأَهْلِهَا ... إِذَا جَاءَ دِينَارٌ حَنَفَاهَا وَخَرْقَدُ

. . . . . .

DS: 185-P.192

لَحَى اللَّهُ مَاءَ حَنْبَلٍ قَيَّمَ لَهُ ... قَفَا حَنَبَةٍ تَحْتَ الصَّفَاةِ فَكَدَّرَهُ

وَإِذَا مَا وَرَدْتَ الْمَاءَ فَادْلُفْ لِحَنْبَلٍ ... بِقُبٍّ سَوِيقٍ أَوْ بِقُبِّ طَحِينِهِ

أَدَيْتَ لِأَبْنَاءِ الطَّرِيقِ بِسَيْرِهِمْ ... شُرُوبَ الْأَدَاوِي لِلرِّكَابِ دَفُونِهِ

وَلَوْ عَلِمَ الْحَجَّاجُ عِلْمَكَ لَمْ يَزِغْ ... بِمِثْلِكَ مَاءً مُسْلِمًا بِخَبِيثِهِ

لَحَاوَلْتَ جَدْعًا أَوْ لَأَلْفَيْتَ مُقْعَدًا ... تَزَحَّفُ تَمْشِي مِشْيَةَ ابْنِهِ وَهْيَ بِنْتُهُ

DS: 754-P.881

Both fragments above deal with an important public utility - water supply to nomads; the first fragment satirizes two government well-borers; the second depicts a bribe-loving water-hole-keeper employed by al-Ḥajjāj, and draws the latter's attention to his malpractices.

This social chronicle also tells of horse and boat-racing meetings,[92] the ways of lovers,[93] and weeping women in a

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90. See DS: 75-P.101
91. DS: 749-P.880; 276-P.344; 231-P.249.
92. DS: 672-P.818; 318-P.385
93. DS: 301-P.372

religious story-teller's (Qassās) meeting.[94] The last three fragemnts in this subsection record the marriage of a man to two beautiful ladies and preserves for posterity the name of one of them,[95] the sexual idiosyncrasy of a man and the adulterous practices of another.[96]

The tribal subsection deals with such aspects of tribal life as grazing and water disputes,[97] feuds and blood-money,[98] and tribal alliances.[99] The death of 'Umar b. Yazīd, a Tamīmid general, who died in suspicious circumstances while imprisoned by the anti-Mudarite Khālid al-Qasrī, is dealt with in several pieces.[100]

6. ELEGY

The performance of al-Farazdaq in his elegiac verse presents an uneven picture; along with some examples of really good elegy, one meets with many examples of third-rate versification.

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94. DS: 291-P.362. The Qassās later became a social institution in the 'Abbāsid era (see al-Jāhiẓ, al-Bayān, (Cairo, 1948) Vol. I. pp.367-369); but this is, to my knowledge, the first account of a public meeting held by a Qassās and attended by women in the Umayyad period; see also: Agh, Vol. 19, 63:10,11.
95. DS: 434-P.546
96. DS: 308-P.381; 303-P.373
97. DS: 233-P.249; 339-P.405; 702-P.844
98. DS: 39-P.45; 79; 124; 129; 163; etc.
99.
100. DS: 112-P.138; 106-P.126; 639-P.790; 685-P.825.

His bereavement in the death of four of his five sons produced six poems which represent the best in his elegiac work; these consist of three fragments and three qasīdas which merit some quotation:

بِنَ الشَّامِيَةِ الصَّخْرِ إِنَّهُ كَأَنَّهُ مُسَنَّى
فَلَسْتُ وَإِنْ شَفَّتْ حَيَازِيمَ نَفْسَهَا
عَلَى حَزَنٍ بَعْدَ اللَّذَيْنِ تَتَابَعَا
تُذَكِّرُنِي ابْنَ السَّمَاكَيْنِ مَوْهِنًا

DS: 606-P.764

أَبَى الْحُزْنُ أَنْ أَنْسَى بَنِيَّ وَسُوَرَةً
إِذَا ذُكِرَتْ أَسْمَاؤُهُمْ أَوْ دُعُوا بِهَا
هَجَرْنَا بُيُوتًا آنَسَتْ وَأَهْلَهَا
سَيَبْلُغُ عَنِّي الْأَرْطَلِيَّةَ: ابْنَةَ غَالِبٍ
أَخِي، وَخَلِيلِي التَّغْلَبِيَّ وَدُونَهُ
فَلَا تَحْسَبَا أَنِّي لِصَفْقَةِ جَانِبٍ

DS: 760-P.885

تَمَنَّى الْمُتَنَزِّيدَةُ لِي الْمَنَايَا
بِأَرْبَعَةٍ زَعَمْتُهُمْ وَكَانُوا
بَنِيَّ أَصَابَهُمْ قَدَرُ الْمَنَايَا
أَحَبَّ الْمَيْتَتَيْنِ إِلَى ضَمِيرِي
فَهَلْ مِنْهُنَّ مِيتَةُ أَحَدٍ مُجِيرِي

زَرِيَّةُ شِبْلَيْ مُنْذِرٍ فِي الضَّرَائِمِ
مِنَ الْوَجْدِ بَعْدَ ابْنَيْ نَوَارَ بِلَاهُمَا:
لَهَا، وَالْمَنَايَا قَاطِعَاتٌ لِمَائِمِ
إِذَا أَرْتَفَعَا بَيْنَهُ النُّجُومِ التَّوَائِمِ

أَرَاهَا إِذَا الْأُسْدِيُّ طَرَّقَ غِضَابُهَا
كَأَنَّ دُمَيَّانِيَّ تَفَرَّى جِلَابُهَا
فَجُدْ عَلَيْنَا بِانْزِارِ اجْتِنَابُهَا
وَأَهْلَ بَرِيمَةَ عَبَّ عُبَابُهَا
تُنَادِي شَنُوضٌ فِي الْفَلَاةِ رِكَابُهَا:
وَلَا أُمَّ نَارُ الْحَرْبِ يَخْبُو شِهَابُهَا

إِذَا حَنَّتْ نَوَارُ هَيَجْنَ مِنِّي حَرَارَةَ مِثْلِ مُلْتَهَبِ السَّعِيرِ

. . . . . .

كَأَنَّ تَشَرُّبَ الْعَبَرَاتِ مِنْهَا هِرَاقَةُ شَنَّتَيْنِ عَلَى بَعِيرِ

كَلَيْلِ مُهْلِهِلٍ لَيْلٍ إِذَا مَا تَمَنَّى الطُّولَ ذُو اللَّيْلِ الْقَصِيرِ

DS: 241-P.270

The sincerity of the poet in expressing his grief and loss cannot be doubted in the foregoing poems; we note his touching reference in three of them to the bereaved mother, his wife Nawār, and his desperate message to two dead friends: his brother al-Akhtal b. Ghālib, and his namesake the poet (DS: 760:21).

The poet's preoccupation with the exultation of his enemies at his loss (see opening of DS: 241; 270; 407, and DS: 760, verses. 8, 24, 30) drove him to assume a stoic attitude and refrain from giving rein to his emotions.[101]

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101. al-Farazdaq was also following a pagan Arab tradition of stoic restraint in face of grief, and he voices his opinion clearly on this subject:

مَا كُنْتُ أَبْكِي الْهَالِكِينَ لِفَقْدِهِمْ وَلَقَدْ بَكَيْتُ وَعَزَّ مَا أَبْكَانِي

DS:723:3

His reaction to the death of females is even more stoic, or rather a mixture of disdain and cruelty, as expressed in this strong denial to an accusation that he had wept the loss of his wife Hadra':

يَقُولُ ابْنُهُ صَفْوَانُ بَكَّيْتَ وَلَمْ تَكُنْ عَلَى امْرَأَةٍ عَيْنٌ إِخَالُكَ تَدْمَعُ

يَقُولُونَ زَرْ حَدْرَاءَ وَالدَّهْرُ دُونَهَا وَكَيْفَ بِشَيْءٍ وَعْدُهُ قَدْ تَقَطَّعُ

وَلَسْتُ وَإِنْ عَيَّتْ عَلَيَّ بِزَائِرٍ تَرَابًا عَلَى مَرْمُوسَةٍ قَدْ تَضَعْضَعَا

وَإِنَّ صُعُودًا مُفْنِدٌ وَإِذَا الْمَوْتُ غَالَهُ عَلَى الْمَرْءِ سَدَّا صَابِحٍ حِينَ أَقْنَعَا

DS:420-P.522

For the rest of his elegies on his sons see: DS: 407-P.509; 416-P.515; 670-P.818.

Amongst the best elegiac verse in this section we find three pieces of a collective tribal nature; it appears that the poet's loyalty to his tribe was so strong that loss to the tribe was considered by the poet as a personal loss:

لَوْ أَعْلَمُ الْأَيَّامَ رَاجِعَةً لَنَا بَكَيْتُ عَلَى أَهْلِ الْقُرَى بِمُجَاشِعِ

DS: 393-P.491

وَقَفْتُ فَأَبْكَيْنِي بَدَارِ عَشِيرَتِي عَلَى رُزْئِهَا الْبَاكِيَاتُ الْحَوَاسِرُ

DS: 239-P.267

لَقَدْ سَرَّ الْعِدَا وَسَاءَ سَعْدًا عَلَى الْقَعْقَاعِ قَبْرٌ فِي هِضَابِهِ

DS: 747-P.880

Al-Farazdaq is, however, less sincere in a number of pieces of what we may term offical elegy; these were written on the death of a Caliph, some Governors, emirs and generals.[102]

An unaccountable fact is al-Farazdaq's failure to do justice to the sentiments of pride and respect which he felt for his father, in spite of repeated attempts at writing an elegy on Ghālib as shown by six poor fragments. In these there is no sign of real grief, and their shortness (with one exception, none exceeds three lines) together with the

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102. These include: Sulaimān b. 'Abdul Malik (DS: 503-P.632), 'Abdul 'Azīz b. Marwān (DS: 219-P.225), al-Ḥajjāj, his son and his brother (DS: 295-P.365; 429-P.529; 181-P.190; 396-P.494); Bishr b. Marwān (DS: 240-P.268), al-Jarrah al-Ḥakamī (DS: 637-P.789; 644-P.806), 'Umar b. 'Ubaidullāhī b. Ma'mar (DS: 249-P.290); etc.

poet's apparent persistence in his attempts to write an elegy, point to the possibility that though al-Farazdaq might have been moved by filial duty, he was not moved by any real feeling of grief on the loss of his father.[103]

Another example of the poet's failure to write good elegy after repeated trials is provided by the eight pieces he wrote on the Tamīmid general W'akī' b. Abī Sūd; with one exception none of these fragments exceeds three lines, and they are all prosaic. It appears that the poet felt it his duty to write a good elegy on the prominent tribal figure, but that his repeated attempts failed because with the lack of a feeling of personal loss, was coupled al-Farazdaq's lack of the self-imposed discipline, industry and patience of the true artist.[104]

7. DESCRIPTION

Al-Farazdaq exhibits, with more advantage, in his descriptive verse the same gifts of narrative ability, imagination and humour which we have noted in his occasional poetry.[105]

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103. It is significant that al-Farazdaq mourns his father for only one good quality - generosity and hospitality, see DS: 32-P.42; 202-P.210; 490-P.611; 544-P.674; 547-P.676; see also two equally indifferent fragments written on his brother al-Akhtal, DS: 73 and 278.

104. For the elegies on Wakī' see: DS: 125; 229; 327; 361; 405; 406; 504; 625.

105. see P. 80 , above.

Among the best pieces in this section are six which typify this use of narrative in description thus saving it from the staleness and drabness of conventional descriptive poetry. These pieces exhibit both in form and content a marked degree of technical excellence, and show the amount of hard work put into them by a poet who generally did not labour much on the technical side of his work. At least three of the six were written for the pure artistic joy of expression, as they have no other aim.[106] In the other three, the narrative-descriptive theme forms the central piece round which the pattern of the respective poems was woven.[107]

To illulstrate this narrative poetry we give two examples; the first is a long poem written by al-Farazdaq during his Medina days, in which he describes a nocturnal amorous adventure - how he climbed into a palace to meet the wife of a senile nobleman. The narrative part of the poem forms a well-knit short story, with vivid descriptive touches in the drawing of the characters of the story, the tense atmosphere and the apt ending. It will be interesting to establish the relation between this poem and another on the same theme by a contemporary - 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'ah, as this may lead to a reassessment of al-Farazdaq's work as a Ghazal poet in the

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106. These three are: DS: 237-P.255; 523-P.651; 384-P.484
107. see: DS: 701-P.840; 727-P.868; 68-P.92.

Umayyad era.[108] The first part of the poem is given to a lengthy ghazal prelude which we omit:

وَجْدٍ عَلَيْهِ الْحُقُّ فِيهِ مَرِيضَةٌ ... تَطَّلَّعُ مِنْهُ النَّفْسُ وَالْمَوْتُ حَاضِرُهْ

خَلِيلَةَ ذِي أُلْفَيْهِ شَيْخٍ يَرَى لَهَا ... كَثِيرَ الَّذِي يُعْطِي قَلِيلًا يُحَاقِرُهْ

أُحَاذِرُ نَبْوَ ابْنِهِ قَدْ وَكَلَا بِهَا ... وَأَكْرَمِهِ عَاجٍ سَبُطٌ مَشَافِرُهْ

فَقُلْتُ لَهَا كَيْفَ النُّزُولُ فَإِنَّنِي ... أُرَى اللَّيْلَ قَدْ وَلَّى وَحَانَ طَائِرُهْ

فَقَالَتْ: أَمَا لِيدِ الرَّتَاجِيَّةِ عِنْدَهُ ... وَطَاءٌ بِأَنْوَابٍ كَثِيفٌ نَاشِرُهْ

أَبِالسَّيْفِ؟ أَمْ كَيْفَ الَّتِي لِطَوْقِهِ ... عَلَيْهِ رَقِيبٌ رَاقِبُ اللَّيْلِ سَاهِرُهْ

DS: 237-P.258

The second poem describes a journey across the desert in which the poet and his companions came near death from thirst because their guide lost his way; al-Farazdaq's preoccupation with satirizing the useless guide - who had later shown in-gratitude for the poet's generous action in saving his life - caused the poet to interrupt his narrative frequently to mock at the guide; but still the poem contains a wealth of witty and humorous description:

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108. For 'Umar's poem, "the Night of Dhū Dawrān", see his Dīwān (ed. Schwarz, Leipzig 1901), pp. 1-4; see also Ṭahā Ḥusayn, Ḥadīth al-Arbaʿāʾ - Vol. I. pp.169-307 for the different ghazal schools of which al-Farazdaq is a member of none.

مَا خُنْهُ إِنْ جَاءَتْ صُدُورُ رِكَابِنَا ... بِأَوَّلِ مَنْ غَزَّتْ لِهَدَايَةِ عَاصِمِ

فَلَمَّا تَصَافَفْنَا الْأَدَادَةَ أَجْهَشَتْ ... إِلَيَّ عُضُونُهُ الْعَبْرَى الْجُرَاضِمِ

وَجَاءَ بِجُلْمُودٍ لَهُ مِثْلِ رَأْسِهِ ... لِيُشْفَى عَلَيْهِ الْمَاءَ بَيْنَهُ الصَّرَائِمِ

فَضَاقَ عَنِ الرِّجْلِ نَفْنَةَ الْعَقْبِ إِذْ رَمَى ... بِهَا عُنْبَرِيًّا مُفْطِرًا غَيْرَ صَائِمِ

وَلَمَّا رَأَيْتُ الْعَنْبَرِيَّ كَأَنَّهُ ... عَلَى الْكَفْلِ حَرَّانُ الضِّبَاعِ لُقَاعِمِ

شَدَدْتُ لَهُ أَزْرِي وَخَفَّضْتُ لُطْفَهُ ... لِصَيْدِ بَانٍ يَرْمِي رَأْسَهُ بِالسَّلَامِ

حَمِيِّ الْجَوَى يَهْوِي شُعَاعًا قَدِ الْتَظَى ... عَلَيْهِ لَظَى يَوْمٍ مِنَ الصَّيْفِ جَاحِمِ

وَقُلْتُ لَهُ ارْفَعْ جِلْدَ عَيْنَيْكَ إِنَّمَا ... حَيَاتُكَ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَجِيفُ الرَّوَاسِمِ

DS: 701-P.840

Equally excellent is a short poem (DS: 108-P.132 - 16 verses) in which the poet praises the valour of a fellow-Tamīmid general in the battle of 'Uqr Bābil when Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was defeated and killed by the Syrian army under Maslamah b. 'Abdul MaliK. The beauty of the sonorous diction and imagery may be judged by this extract which is a true specimen of an even fabric with no purple patches; the poet portrays the bewildered and desperate rebel leader in the hour of defeat:

عَشِيَّةَ لَا يَدْرِي يَزِيدُ أَيَنْتَحِي ... عَلَى السَّيْفِ أَمْ يُعْلِي يَدًا حِينَ شَلَّتِ

وَأَصْبَحَ كَالشَّقْرَاءِ، نَحْرُ إِلَهِهَا ... وَتَضْرِبُ سَاقًا حَالِزًا مَا تَوَلَّتِ

DS: 108:4-5

Other pieces worthy of mention in this section deal with such subjects as: the escape of Ibn Hubairah from the prison of al-Ḥajjāj and that of the sons of al-Muhallab from the prison of al-Qasrī; the poet's encounter with a lion during his flight from Ziād, an incident with a savage camel and al-Farazdaq's effort to pawn his son as security for blood-money.[109]

Lastly come eleven short fragments which include two pieces of the early work of the poet (DS: 256-P.359; DS: 410-P.512); these fragments, as indicated to some extent by their brevity, are trivial, although the longer of the two fragments referred to above (DS: 410) shows some signs of creative imagination - a promise in the budding poet which was fully fulfilled later.[110]

8. HUMOUR AND EPIGRAM

Ibn Qutaibah[111] says of al-Farazdaq that he "...possessed the gift of expression, and could turn a beautiful phrase; he was capable of writing poetry on any subject, and was quick of retort."; he then gives several examples of the poet's humour, wit and repartee. Al-Jāhiz also cites many instances

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109. see DS: 117-P.140; 479-P.599; 261-P.321; 62-P.77; 765-p.893 - respectively
110. see DS: 410: 4,5,6 - P.512
111. Ash-Shi'r Wa 'sh-Shu'arā' - P.292.

showing these qualities.[112]

The humour of al-Farazdaq had a coarse bedouin streak, combined with sharp wit; it poked fun at the victim but rarely aimed at hurting him. The pieces included in this section, therefore, are those written in a light vein, thus precluding satire and lampoon.[113] They are mostly epigram-length, rarely exceeding a couple of verses.

A typical coarse piece of humour is this joke of al-Farazdaq with a crony of his:

تُمَنِّي عَذَابَ الْهَجِيمِ أُبُورَهَا ... وَعِنْدَ أَبِي نَوْمٍ ثَلَاثُ رَوَائِمِ

وَكُلُّهُ إِذَا مَا حَنْظَلِيًّا رَأَيْنَهُ ... تَضَعْضَعُ عَلَى الْأَفْخَاذِ رَمْيَ الْحَمَائِمِ

DS: 707-P.847

In the escape from drowning of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, the poet sees the funny side by pointing to the sea-faring ancestry of Yazīd:

لَوْ لَمْ تَكُنْهُ دُمُوصُ لُطْيَةَ خُوَّفَةً ... غَرْقَى فَدَاهُ الْجِسْرُ ابْنَ الْمُهَلَّبِ

وَكَيْفَ يَهَابُ الْمَاءَ مَنْ لَمْ تَكُنْ لَهُ ... سِوَى الزَّجْرِ وَالْبَنَّاءِ أُمٌّ وَلَا أَبُ

DS: 83-P.105

His impish and uncontrollable humour is shown by this joking tribute which he paid to a dead fellow-tribesman when he passed by some women gathered to mourn him:

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112. see Bayān, II, 243.

113. The margin of differentiation between these epigrams and satire and lampoons is so narrow that many pieces in each category are interchangeable with the others, see: DS: 182-P.191; 119-P.142; 307-P.381; 340-P.406.

مِنْهُ لِلضِّبَابِ الْمَعِيبَاتِ وَحْشُهَا إِذَا حَانَ يَوْمُ الْمُعْوِرِينَ بَصِيرُ
إِذَا الضَّبُّ أَعْيَاهُ بَجًى وَلَحْشُهُ فَمَا حَفَرَهُ فِي عَيْنِهِ بِكَبِيرُ

DS: 314-P.383

The poet, who often embarrassed people with his ribaldry, was himself embarrassed by a donkey-hirer whom he addressed with this line:

كَمْ مِنْ جِرَابٍ ضَخْمٍ حَمَلْتَهُ عَلَى الرَّحْلِ خَوْفَ الْأَخْذَرِيِّ الْمُكَدَّمِ

DS: 616-P.775

The man retorted that he had carried the poet's wife, Nawār, many times on the donkey, and the embarrassed poet was chidden by his son.

Al-Farazdaq's reaction to a funny situation is shown by an incident which took place in the mosque where he was sitting with his rhapsodist, Abū Shafqal. A woman came in looking for a learned man to seek his advice on a question of religion; seeing that the rhapsodist was of striking appearance, she addressed her question to him, to be shocked by the poet's funny and unexpected advice:

أَبُو شَفَقَلٍ شَيْخِي عَدِيُّ الْحَقِّ جَائِرٌ بِبَابِ الْهُدَى وَالرُّشْدِ غَيْرُ بَصِيرِ

DS: 372-P.480

Lastly mention must be made of a long humorous poem (DS: 609-P.769 - 36 verses) in which al-Farazdaq satirizes the devil "Iblīs". The story behind the writing of the poem

is full of fun; the poet met in the market-place a client of Bāhilah tribe - a target for many of the poet's satires;[114] the client offered to buy off the good name of his tribe for a skin of butter, which offer the poet accepted.

The poet seized upon this farcical situation to embark on a mock declaration of his repentance of a long and sinful life of satire, and to launch a tirade against the devil who had led and abetted him "for seventy years". Apart from the abundant wealth of humour, wit and imagination which the poem yields, it has a special value in that it represents a unique example in the Umayyad period of a whole qasīda of this length devoted to such a purely imaginary theme.

9. Love Odes "Ghazal".

Women occupied an important place in al-Farazdaq's emotional life as is shown by the number of his wives (seven) and his paramours.[115] He was lustful by his own admission,[116] and had little use for romantic or Platonic love, and this accounts for the meagre crop of pure love odes which we could glean for this section.

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114. See P. 58, above.
115. The names of twelve women are mentioned in the formal Ghazal preludes to praise and fakhr poems; but, with few exceptions, these names might have been fictitious or the poet might not have had any relations with those bearing them: see DS: 500; 218; 242; 337; 284; 297; 264; 430; 763; 629; 253; 595.
116. See P. 78, above.

What place did Nawār occupy in the poet's affections ? This question is bound to be asked because she gave him all his sons, and because their martial dispute gave notriety to their married life. Hell states that al-Farazdaq did not forget Nawār until her death and that he wrote much Ghazal poetry to win her love.[117]

It is true that al-Farazdaq repented his divorce from Nawār, and that he was present at her burial,[118] but there is hardly any ground for saying that they loved each other.[119] Moreover, there is nothing in his Ghazal poetry to show that he gave Nawār any special consideration; her name is mentioned in only five formal Ghazal preludes - probably for the sake of propriety - and only a single fragment (DS: 462) is dedicated to her in the pure Ghazal poetry which falls under this section.[120]

Hell's conjecture that al-Farazdaq's love poetry was written in the late part of his life may find some support in both the quantity and quality of this poetry. The fourteen pieces in this section include a single long poem, one short

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117. See Das Leben Des Farazdak (Leipzig, 1903) p.15.

118. See p.76 , above.

119. We are told (in DS:651-P.812) how he used to beat her, and how she cursed him.

120. For these see: DS: 1-P.3; 67-P.89; 263-P.324; 537-P.666; 555-P.684. I use the terms "formal" and "pure" to differentiate between the fictitious love-poetry used in preludes of the traditional qasīda, and poetry of genuine love, written to express a true feeling.

short poem, and the rest are short fragments varying in length between five verses and one line. Lack of intense emotion in most of them points to an old man who had spent his fire.

The piece dedicated to Nawār is marked by the absence of any true feeling or passion, and could fit easily in a formal Ghazal prelude:

لَقَدْ طَرَقَتْ لَيْلَى نَوَارَ وُدُونَهَا
مَهَامِهُ تِيهٍ أَرْجَاؤُهُ بَعِيدٌ خُرُوقُهَا

وَأَنَّى ٱهْتَدَتْ وَاللَّهُ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَهَا
وَزُورٌ وَرَاءَ ٱلْعَيْنِ جِسْمٌ فُتُوقُهَا

فَجَادَتْ كَأَنَّهُ الرِّيحُ حِينَ تَنَفَّسَتْ
بِأَرْجَائِهَا نَوَّارُ قَفْرٍ وَحَدِيقُهَا

فَبِتُّ أُنَاجِيهَا وَأَحْسَبُ أَنَّهَا
قَرِيبٌ وَأَسْبَابُ النُّفُوسِ تَسُوقُهَا

فَلَمَّا خَلَا عَنِّي ٱلْكَرَى وَتَقَطَّعَتْ
غَيَابَةُ شَوْقٍ غَالَبٌ عَنِّي صَدُوقُهَا

DS: 462-P.589

The long poem (DS: 626-P.778- 38 verses) is dedicated to a woman of Benī Sāmah b. Nājiyah, a branch of the Kinānah tribe who lived round Mecca. It rings a false note perhaps because al-Farazdaq was copying and plagiarizing 'Antarah's famous Mu'allaqah. He borrowed some of 'Antarah's themes and lifted whole verses with little modification (see verses: 16, 11, 14, 34), and lastly concluded this love song with typical 'Antara fakhr. The style and technique also show many signs of immaturity, and the poem - written on a Mecca subject - might well be a product of the poet's early days when he fled to Mecca from Ziād.[121]

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121. He refers to this Mecca period in DS: 610-P.771

The shorter poem (DS: 491-P.612) was dedicated to al-Mulā'ah bint Awfā who was a famous belle of Baṣrah. The style of the piece is in the pre-Islamic tradition of An-Nabighah and al-A'shā, with its stress on describing the physical beauty of the beloved; he plagiarized from both poets extensively (see verses: 2, 3, 13); al-Farazdaq's only original mark is provided by the lustful concluding lines.[122]

The rest of the short fragments include two addressed to a woman named Sukainah,[123] one to his wife Ḥadrā', and the remaining six are of a general nature.

It is interesting to note that some of these six pieces show an attempt by al-Farazdaq to emulate the 'Udhrī style of the period by refraining from lustful description of the female body and concentrating instead on a lament of the lover's miserable lot, unrequited love, and such pet themes of traditional 'Udhrī love poetry as telltalers, desertion, and keeping the secret of the beloved:[124]

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122. Two further fragments in this section are dedicated to Al-Mulā'ah, see DS: 342-P.406; 506-P.633.

123. The same name is mentioned in a praise prelude; see DS: 218-P.219, and in a didact. fragment, DS: 753.

124. For the 'Udhrī tradition in the love-poetry of the Umayyad period see Taha Hussain, Ḥadīth al-Arba'ā', Vol. I (Dār al-Ma'ārif, Cairo, 1951) p.220 et seq.

أَمَا وَالَّذِي مَا شَاءَ سَوَّى لِعَبْدِهِ ... إِلَى اللَّهِ يُفْضِي مِنْهُ أَنَّى وَأَقْسَمَا

لَئِنْ أَضْبَحَتِ الْوَاشُونَ قَرَّتْ عُيُونُهُمْ ... بِهَجْرٍ قَضَى أَوْ صَدْمِ حَبْلٍ تَجَذَّمَا

فَقَدْ تُضْبِحُ الدُّنْيَا عَلَيْنَا قَصِيدَةً ... جَمِيعًا وَمَا نُفْشِي الْحَدِيثَ لِكُتَّمَا

فَقُلْ لِلْحَبِيبِ الْحُبِّ إِنَّهُ كَائِدٌ صَادِقًا ... بِأَنَّ الرِّفَا يَشْفِي الْفُؤَادَ الْمُتَيَّمَا

فَقَالَ الطَّبِيبُ الْهَجْرُ يَشْفِي مِنَ الْهَوَى ... وَلَنْ يَجْمَعَ الْهِجْرَانُ قَلْبًا مُقَسَّمَا

DS: 679-P.821.

10. Contemplative and Didactive

Al-Farazdaq was no philosopher or thinker as is shown by the ten pieces in this section. With one exception (DS: 43 - 14 verses) the fragments vary between four and two verses. They do not exhibit any profound thinking but rather deal with ordinary problems which confronted the ordinary bedouin of the time. The range of the poet's comtemplation is limited to the boundaries of personal problems.

The poem (DS: 43) and two other fragments (DS: 37; 359) contain a lament for the poet's departed youth, and the former concludes with a homily on the vices and virtues of cousins:

أَرَى الدَّهْرَ أَيَّامَ الْمَشِيبِ أَمَرَّهُ ... عَلَيْنَا وَأَيَّامُ الشَّبَابِ أَطَايِبُهْ

وَخَيْرُ الشَّبِيبِ لَذَّاتُهُ وَقُرُوهُ أَعْنُبُهْ ... وَمِنْهُ قَبِيلٌ عَيْشُهُ تَتَقَلَّلُ جَارِبُهْ

إِذَا نَازَلَ الشَّيْبُ الشَّبَابَ فَأَضْلَعَا ... بِسَيْفَيْهِمَا فَالشَّيْبُ لَابُدَّ غَالِبُهْ

فَبَاتَ عَلَيْهِ مَهْزُومٍ وَبَاشَرَ هَازِمٍ ... إِذَا الشَّيْبُ لَاحَتْ لِلشَّبَابِ كَتَائِبُهْ

وَلَيْسَ شَبَابٌ بَعْدَ شَيْبٍ بِرَاجِعٍ ... يَدَ الدَّهْرِ حَتَّى يَرْجِعَ الدَّهْرَ حَالِبُهْ

DS: 43 - P.51

We note in this poem the absence of obscurity and ambiguity - both faults being frequently met with in the poetry of al-Farazdaq. The contemplative act seems to have benifited him by clarifying his thoughts.

These are followed by three short lyrical fragments (DS: 387; 559; 753) in which the poet records some sad thoughts and memories:

أَلَا حَبَّذَا إِذْ أَهْلُنَا أَهْلُ جِيرَةٍ
وَقَدْ كَانَ لِلْبَيْضِ الرَّعَابِيبِ مَشْهَدَا
بِهِ حَلَقَةٌ فِيهَا سَنَامُ الْجُمُوعِ قَائِلٌ

DS: 383-P.484

وَحَاجَةِ لَدَّاهَا النَّاسُ أَكْتُمُهَا
لَقَدْ تَيَسَّبَ أَنَّ الْأَرْضَ قَدْ حَمَلَتْ

DS: 559-P.689

لَقَدْ عَلِمَتْ سَلْمَى بِأَنَّ فُؤَادَهَا
عَلَى النَّفَرِ الَّذِينَ رُزِئْتُ لَمَّا
لَقَدْ ضَمِنَتْ قُبُورُهُمُ وَدَائِعَ

DS: 753-P.881

The obscurity in DS: 559 may be due to the fact that the poet had to make no effort to think (he simply wanted to say that he was carrying a terrible secret).

Then follow two fragments (DS: 89; 413) on the subjects of human nature and the vanity of human life; after these come the last two fragments in this section. One of them

was written in prison and expresses the poet's thoughts on the next world:

أَرَى السِّجْنَ سَجَّنَنِي عَلَى الرَّوْعَةِ الَّتِي ... إِلَيْهَا قُلُوبُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ تَحُومُ
عَجِبْتُ لَهُ الْآمَالِ وَالْمَوْتُ دُونَهَا ... وَمَا ذَا يَرَى الْمَنْعُوتُ حِينَ يَقُومُ

DS: 662-P.815

The other expresses his resignation to fate:

أَبَى الْحُزْنُ إِلَّا أَنْ أَسِيرَ مَصَائِبٌ ... أَوْجَعْنَ صَمِيمَ فُؤَادٍ كَانَ غَنِيًّا
وَمَا أَنَا إِلَّا مِثْلُ قَوْمٍ تَسَابَقُوا ... عَلَى قَدَرٍ سِنَّ حَادِثَاتٍ مُنُونُهُ
وَلَوْ كَانَتِ الْأَحْدَاثُ تَدْفَعُهَا الْفَتَى ... بِعِزٍّ لَمَا نَالَتْ يَدَا وَعَرِينُ

DS: 742 - P.878.

Perhaps there is no profound thinking behind these verses, but still they represent a conscious effort on the part of al-Farazdaq to face some of his emotional and spiritual problems in a philosophical way.

II. Pornography and Wine Songs.

Both the satire of al-Farazdaq and his Naqāid abound in obscenity, so the rarity of pure pornographic verse in this section must be viewed with this reminder. There are only two short fragments of pornography included here:

يَا رُبَّ خَوْدٍ مِنْ بَنَاتِ الزَّنْجِ ... تَمْشِي بِتَنُّورٍ شَدِيدِ الْوَهْجِ
أَنْعَتُ مِثْلَ الْقَدَحِ الْخَلَنْجِ ... يَزْدَادُ طِيبًا بَعْدَ طُولِ الْمَهْجِ
مُخْتَبِطٍ بِالْأَزْرِ أَنَّ مُعْجِ

DS: 121-P.143

يَا أُمَّ عَمْرٍو أَبْرِكِي سُنَاكِي ... كَمَا نَلْتُنَا بَارِكًا أَبَاكِ

DS: 482-P.601

The second fragment is addressed to Jarīr's daughter.[125]

The wine verse of al-Farazdaq is represented by five fragments; for a poet living in the austere Umayyad epoch with its strict conventions condemning wine-drinking and punishing drunkenness, al-Farazdaq shows in these verses a great deal of indiscretion and disregard for public opinion:[126]

شَرِبْتُ وَنَادَمْتُ الْمُلُوكَ فَلَمْ أَجِدْ ... عَلَى الْكَأْسِ نَدْمَانًا لَهَا مِثْلَ دَيْكَلِ

أَقَلَّ مِكَاسًا فِي جُزُورٍ سَمِينَةٍ ... وَأَشْرَعَ إِنْضَاجًا وَإِنْزَالَ مِرْجَلِ

عَشِيَّةَ نَسْنَا قَبِيصَةَ نَفْلَهُ ... فَبَاتَ الْفَتَى الْقَيْسِيُّ غَيْرَ مُنَعَّلِ

DS: 582-P.710

This picture of a drinking feast reeks of bedouin smells of the cooking-pot, and the wine drunk in it might well ha ve been the mild "nabīdh"; but the poet also knew elegant wine parties in which only vintage wines were drunk with all the ceremony of civilised society.[127] This vintage wine al-Farazdaq praises in elegant verse in which he introduces new themes of wine-song which were later copied by such 'Abbāsid wine-singers as Abū Nuwās and his school:[128]

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125. See footnote 57, above.

126. Cf. the attitude of some of his contemporary poets who, when they had to praise wine, were careful to emphasise that they never drank it; see An-Nābigha Al-Shaibānī, Dīwān, P.22:10.

127. See al-Farazdaq's mention of a high-brow drinking feast in which the guests wore garlands - P. 71 , above.

128. See Diwan of Abū Nuwās, ed. Asāf (Cairo, 1898), section VIII (wine-songs).

وَإِجَّانَةٍ رَيَّا الذُّرُوبِ كَأَنَّهَا ... إِذَا اغْتَمَسَتْ فِيهَا الزُّجَاجَةُ كَوْكَبُ
مُخَتَّمَةٍ بِاسْمِ ابْنِ كِسْرَى بْنِ هُرْمُزٍ ... سَبَقْتُ بِهَا يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ أَوْ دَنَا
DS: 11-P.15

These three lines contain four themes which became the stock-in-trade of all writers of wine-songs in the 'Abbasid period.[129]

The poet's indiscretion about his drinking extended to describing the parties given by his friends, and this must have caused them much embarrassment if not actual trouble with the police authorities:

شَرِبْنَا فِي بَنِي جُشَمِ بْنِ سَعْدٍ ... شَرَابًا لَيْسَ مِنْهُ سَقَطُ الْمَتَاعِ
سَقَانِيهِ أَبُو عَمْرٍو خَلِيلِي ... وَقَدْ لَذَّ الْمُدَاجِيَةَ لِلسَّمَاعِ

"We have drunk in (the houses of) Banū Jusham ibn Sa'd a drink which was no trash; it was given to me by Abū 'Amr, my pal, when dark (rain) clouds made singing such a pleasure."

DS: 411-P.513

12. MISCELLANEOUS

The six short fragments in this section deal generally with complaints and pleas which the poet addressed to emirs and governors of provinces such as: a plea to Tamīm al-Qainī, Governor of Sind, to release a conscript (DS: 184-P.191), to Mālik b. al-Mundhir from prison (DS: 478-P.599), an appeal for assistance to 'Ubaidullāhi b. Ziād (DS: 195-P.199), an

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129. Loc. cit.

appeal for succour to Khālid b. Asīd (DS: 505-P.632), an appeal addressed to an anonymous person against his imprisonment,[130] and a complaint of a public nature to Bilāl b. Abī Burdah. With perhaps one exception (DS: 144-P.161 - 9 verses) these fragments are prosaic owing possibly to the nature of the subjects, the circumstances in which they were written and their shortness (the other five fragments range between five verses and two lines).[131]

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130. Most probably to Caliph Hishām; Cf. DS: 152-P.165

131. See DS: 63; 184; 199; 478; 505.

POETICAL DEVELOPMENT

The poetical development of al-Farazdaq falls into three stages which cover a period of nearly seventy years.

The poet was born about 20 A.H. and died about 114 A.H.[132] We are told that his father introduced him to 'Alī after the battle of al-Jamal (36 A.H.) as a poet;[133] so we can assume that al-Farazdaq was writing poetry before the year 40 A.H., i.e. before he was twenty years of age.[134] He continued to write poetry to the very end of his long life, so we are safe in fixing the productive stretch of his life between 40 - 110 A.H.

The first stage covers twenty years, and coincides with the reign of Mu'āwiyah (41 A.H. - 60 A.H.); it includes the period of the poet's exile at Medina.[135]

During this period the poet was confined to the limits of his tribe, and was chiefly engaged in exchanging satire

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132. See Hell, Das Leben Des Farazdak; P.35

133. Agh. XIX, 6.

134. Al-Farazdaq is quoted as saying that he used to engage in satire with the poets of his tribe while he was still a youth in the reign of 'Uthmān (24-35 A.H.); see Agh. XIX, 10.

135. Hell, in Das Leben Des Farazdak, gives this period at Medina as ten years, presumably to cover the full term of Ziād's Governorship of 'Irāq (45-53 A.H.), but at-Tabarī (Annals II[-1], 94) fixes the year of the poet's flight as 50 A.H., thus reducing his stay at Medina to 3 years.

with Tamīmid poets such as the two Rumail̄ah brothers and other Fuqaimid and Nahshalite poets.[136]

His insignificance in this period may be judged from the fact that when the tribes of Fuqaim and Nashal complained to Ziād of al-Farazdaq's onslaught on them the poet's name was completely unknown to Ziād.[137]

The bulk of the work of this stage is represented by about forty pieces of tribal satire of Fuqaim and Nahshal.[138] With the exception of three, all these are short fragments, and they fall under the section dealing with tribal satire.[139] The three qasīdas (DS: 370; 397; 607) exhibit the early portents of the poet's narrative ability and his tendency for obscenity. The choice of obscure diction (see DS: 286; 370) gives away the poet's amateurish attempt to show off his mastery of words.

The significance of this period in the future development of al-Farazdaq is that it has provided him with ample training in satire which proved useful when he later joined battle with Jarīr.

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136. See Tabarī, Annals II^{-1}, 94; see also Ibn Qutaibah, Shi'r, pp. 431, 452, for more Tamīm satire.

137. Tabarī, loc. cit; Ziād had to be reminded of "...that young bedouin person who gave away his silver and clothes in the market-place".

138. DS: 28; 141; 148; 162; 198; 222; 227; 268; 269; 279; 315; 316; 324; 362; 398; 402; 497; 510; 513; 524; 525; 528; 540; 541; 586; 615; 630; 638; 652; 658; 659; 671; 697; 736; 745; 748; 752; 756; 286; 370; 397; 607.

139. See P. 55 , above.

Emotionally, however, the poet was immature, and he had yet to gain his great experience of women and affairs. To this may be added the poet's inability to handle the long poem as is shown by the profusion of fragmatary pieces and the rarity of qasīdas in this stage. This may provide a clue to the mystery of the poet's failure to write an elegy on the death of his father after repeated unsuccessful attempts.[140]

The second stage covers about fifteen years, from the end of Mu'āwiyah reign (60 A.H.) to the end of the Zubairid rule in 73 A.H. It was a period of political unrest and strife in 'Irāq, Hedjāz and Syria, and witnessed the reign of three Umayyad Caliphs: Yazīd I, (60-64 A.H.), Marwān (64-65 A.H.) and the first part of 'Abdul Malik's reign (65-86 A.H.), with the rise and fall of Zubairid rule, the massacres of Karbalā' and Ḥarrah, the revolt of al-Mukhtār and the decisive battle of Maskin.

This stage also witnessed two events which influenced the life and work of al-Farazdaq, viz. his marriage to Nawār, and the beginning of the Naqā'iḍ feud with Jarīr.

Al-Farazdaq, playing for safety, remained neutral in the turbulent days of this stage, as is indicated by his silence after the tragic massacre of Karbalā' and the fact that he did not dedicate any panegyric work to the heads of any of the

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140. See P.84, above.

different powers which were battling for the mastery of ʿIrāq;[141] the Marwānites, the Zubairidis, the Shī'ites and the Khārijites. His decision in this stage to retire voluntarily from society, to lock himself up till he had learnt the Qur'ān and to give up poetry, is in keeping with his sense of frustration.[142] To this may be added the poet's dispute with his wife Nawār.

So this stage was both the shortest and the one with abundant contrary conditions; in quantity it was less productive than the following stage, but in quality the poet had reached his maturity (he was 53 at its end), and his work shows a marked mastery of diction which was clearly lacking in his early work. For the first time al-Farazdaq had to deal more frequently with the long qasīda with its complex themes instead of the simple fragment which dominated the verse of the earlier stage.

An important factor in this stage is the atmosphere of competition created by Bishr b. Marwān in his short tenure of

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141. The poet made some attempts to court the favour of the different factions in ʿIrāq but power changed hands too quickly to make the attempt worthwhile; only fragments represent these attempts, for which see Appendix A.

142. When al-Farazdaq was drawn into the Naqāiḍ battle with Jarīr, he was in this voluntary retirement; see KN, p.124. The date for the beginning of Naqāiḍ with Jarīr can be fixed about 66 A.H. - al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabī'ah was Governor of Basrah till 67 A.H. and he punished the two poets drastically for indulging in their Naqāiḍ interchange (see Ibn Qutaibah, Shi'r, 338); further, al-Qālī (Dhail al-Amāli, p.42), on the authority of Jarīr's son gives the year 68 A.H. as the date for the beginning of the Naqāiḍ battle; see also: DS: 587-P.711 (verse: 4).

the Governorship of Iraq (73 A.H.) when al-Farazdaq came in contact with al-Akṭal for the first time.

As examples of the work of this stage we give two poems which could be dated with accuracy; the first (DS: 486-P.603) was written on Nawār's journey to Mecca to seek divorce; it exhibits a high degree of imagery, beautiful diction, wit and mastery of the narrative style. The second poem (DS: 768-P.895) is considered by some critics to be the first poem in the Jarīr-al-Farazdaq Naqāiḍ, and there is ample evidence in its context to support this view.[143] This poem is a unique example of noble diction, and of the melodious music of poetry and shows the height to which al-Farazdaq could rise when he really exerted himself.

The third stage is the longest, covering roughly forty years, from 73 A.H. to the death of the poet in 114 A.H. The beginning of this stage coincides with the consolidation of Umayyad rule in ʿIrāq after the defeat of the Zubairids, and the emergence of 'Abdul Malik as the supreme power in the land. For the first time al-Farazdaq was able to declare his loyalty to the Umayyad house without fear of the other factions; he was not slow in addressing a panegyric to 'Abdul Malik in which he attacked the fallen Zubairids (DS: 13-P.22).

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143. Cf. Chapter III, P. 151 , below.

Hell says of al-Farazdaq at this juncture that "... the Bedouin poet has become a court-poet";[144] but as this was the only poem dedicated to 'Abdul Malik in the whole of the 13 years up to the end of his reign, it would be more correct to confer this title on the poet later in the reign of al-Walīd. Meanwhile the poet was occupied in 'Iráq by trying to establish good relations with the Governors of the new reign, and with the events which came to a head in 'Iráq after the appointment of al-Ḥajjāj in 75 A.H.[145]

This stage witnessed the emergence of al-Farazdaq as a court-poet of the Umayyads, and his panegyric work dedicated to the Caliphs, more than forty pieces, represents the greater part of his praise poetry. A similar number of pieces represents the panegyric work dedicated to Governors.[146]

Al-Farazdaq continued the Naqā'iḍ campaign in this stage with the added incentive of partisan enmities; Jarīr, his opponent, stood on the side of the Qais group who had formed the hard core of Zubairid support, and who had fought against the Marwānites and their Qaḥṭānite allies at Marj Rāhit; so al-Farazdaq allied himself with the anti-Qaisite faction as was shown by his alliance with al-Akhṭal, and by the stand al-Farazdaq took in the partisan wars in Khurāsān.

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144. See Das Leben Des Farazdak, P.23: 19, 20.
145. Ibid, 24, 25.
146. For details, see Appendix ...

As Hell says,[147] more than half of the poetry of al-Farazdaq was definitely written after the beginning of the reign of 'Abdul Malik; this includes most of the long poems.

To sum up, the first stage represents the tribal poetry, bedouin in outlook, amateurish in form and crudely executed; the young poet was copying old masters with little originality, and was yet unable to write long poems as was shown by his failure in the elegies on his father.

The second stage sees al-Farazdaq as a mature poet, rich in emotional experiences of love and bereavement and disappointment; in this stage he comes out of tribal seclusion into the wider arena of public competition with Jarīr, and meets his first royal patron in Bishr b. Marwān.

The third stage witnessed the emergence of the court-poet, and accounts for the bulk of al-Farazdaq's serious work as a panegyrist and satirist. At the beginning of this stage the poet was in his sixties, and he continued during the next thirty years to develop steadily his grip and mastery of the technique of the long qasīda, a task to which he brought great narrative ability, wit, humour and a superb command of noble diction.[157]

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147. Das Leben Des Farazdak, p. 7.

148. For representative work of this stage, see DS: 609-P.769; 716-P.851; 606-P.764; 431-P.538; 537-P.666, etc.

HIS MASTERS.

Al-Farazdaq provides us with a list of poets who "bequeathed" poetry to him, and to whose work he considers himself "heir":

وَهَبَ الْقَصَائِدَ لِي النَّوَابِغُ إِذْ مَضَوْا ... وَأَبُو يَزِيدَ وَذُو الْقُرُوحِ وَجَرْوَلُ

. . . . . .

"Qasīdas were bequeathed to me by the Nābighahs when they passed away, and also by Abū Yazīd (al-Mukhabbal as-Sa'dī), Dhul-Qurūh (Imru-ul-Qais) and Jarwal (al-Hutai'ah)." 158

DS: 588-P.714:51

The twenty two poets mentioned in the above poem by al-Farazdaq need not all be taken seriously as masters of the poet, especially when we take into account that he cited their names in support of his claim for his own poetic supremacy; but this list yields some interesting facts on scrutiny; first, with the exception of four - Imru-ul-Qais, Ḥassān, an-Najāshī Abut-Tamahān al-Qainī - all the poets mentioned belong to the Northern Arab group to which al-Farazdaq himself belongs;[159]

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158. Other names mentioned in this poem: 'Alqmatu 'l-Faḥl, Ṭarafah, al-Muhalhil, the two A'shās (of Banū Qais and Banū Bakr), Muraqqish, Abuṭ-Ṭamahān al-Qainī, 'Abīd b. al-Abraṣ, Abū Du'ād (Jāriyah b. Ḥimirān), Zuhair and his son Ka'b, Ḥassān b. Thābit, Labīd b. Rabī'ah, Bishr b. Abī Khāzim al-Asadī, Aws b. Ḥajar and an-Najāshī. See also DS: 575-P.700, for a shorter list of nine masters (Zuhair and his son, al-Mukhabbal, Imru-ul-Qais, Ṭarafah, Labīd, al-Ḥuṭai'ah and the two Nābighas) whom the poet considers the best.

159. Even the four Southern group poets have in one way or another been so subjected to Muḍarite or Northern influence as to render them Northerners for all practical

(cont. next page)

secondly, some connection could be traced between these poets and al-Farazdaq, thus indicating that he did not pick out their names haphazardly. The list contains four Tamīmid poets: 'Alqamatu 'l-Faḥl, al-Mukhabbal, Jāriyah b. Ḥimrān and Aws b. Ḥajar. Aws was the bard of all Muḍar until Zuhair and an-Nābighah appeared in the field and he was eclipsed and demoted to the humbler position of the tribal bardship of Tamīm [160] - a position to be filled later by al-Farazdaq. Through Aws b. Ḥajar also we come to his disciples Zuhair, his son Ka'b and al-Ḥuṭai'ah who founded the perfectionist school known as ' 'Abīd ash-shi'r ' i.e. slaves of poetry,[161] and it seems natural for al-Farazdaq, as an heir to the poetic laurels of Aws, to think that he was an heir to his poetic tradition, although it should be pointed out that the faulty craftsmanship of al-Farazdaq makes any claim by him to membership of this school an idle boast. Next come some poets whose characters and personalities are so much akin to those of al-Farazdaq as to arouse his interest in their life and work; foremost

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159. (cont.) purposes; Imru-ul-Qais was brought up by Banū Tamīm, an-Najāshī lived and died in 'Irāq in the first century of Islam, Abuṭ-Ṭamaḥān was also an 'Irāqī, and Ḥassān through the impact of Islam became in some respects a spokesman of Muḍar when he became the poet of the Prophet - see Ṭaha Ḥusain, Fī- 'l-Adab al-Jāhilī, (Cairo, 1927), 208:13 where he comes to the conclusion that the poetry of the Anṣār was as Muḍarite as that of Quraish, Qais or Tamīm.

160. Ibn Qutaibah, Shi'r, 99: 21; also al-Baghdādī, al-Khizānah, 113.

161. Ibid, 61-14-15.

among these is Imru-ul-Qais who will be dealt with fully later, an-Najāshī,[162] Abut-Tamahān al-Qainī,[163] al-A'shā;[164] the faulty rhyming technique of al-Farazdaq[165] may indicate the influence on him of two notoriously bad-rhymers in the list - 'Abīd b. al-Abraṣ and Bishr b. Abī Khāzim.[166] With the exception of Imru-ul-Qais, it is difficult to determine to what extent al-Farazdaq was influenced by these poets whom he claims as his masters; but it can be said that al-Farazdaq plagiarized and borrowed from most of them.[167]

Now we come to Imru-ul-Qais who, of all the poets contained in the list, was the real master of al-Farazdaq. Before citing evidence for this claim, it may be useful to stress a point which was made before concerning Imru-ul-Qais's

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162. Ibid, 187-90, where he is described as a libertine, drunkard and of weak religious beliefs; he lived in Kūfah in the first-century A.H.

163. Ibid, 229; same character as above.

164. See P.26:18, above.

165. See P.131, below.

166. Ibn Qutaibah, Shi'r, 145:15.

167. See DS: 54-P.63; 739-P.876; 727-P.864; 384-P.484 (al-Ḥuṭai'ah); 241-P.270:21 (Muhalhil); 590-P.735:7; 595-P.754:12; 14-P.23:38, 43 (an-Nābighah); 595-P.754:11, 33, 34 (Zuhair); 352-P.417:8 (Labīd), etc. on this question of plagairism, al-Aṣma'ī is quoted by al-Marzubānī (Muwashshah, 105) as declaring that nine tenths of the poetry of al-Farazdaq is borrowed from other poets; but al-Murzbānī remarks that al-Aṣma'ī might have been prejudiced against al-Farazdaq by the latter's satire of the former's tribe, Bāhilah. The poet himself is reported (Agh. XXI, 200) as confessing that he enjoyed plagiarizing from other poets.

Yemenite origin, as it might seem strange that al-Farazdaq should choose for master a Southerner. Al-Iṣbahānī tells us[168] that Imru-ul-Qais, when still a child, was placed by his father with the Tamīm tribe; a woman of the Banū Ḥanẓalah branch of the tribe was chosen as nurse for the child, and he remained with Banū Tamīm until the assassination of his father; when this occurred, he was a young man given to drinking, the company of women, and the chase, a mode of life which had alienated the affections of his father who had disowned him before his death. From this it will not be difficult to credit a statement by ibn Qutaibah who, on the authority of a rhapsodist of al-Farazdaq's, tells us that he "has never met a man who was more acquainted with the life and poetry of Imru-ul-Qais than al-Farazdaq and his rhapsodist, Abū Shifqal."[169] It would be natural for the young al-Farazdaq whose poetic inclinations were apparent early in his life,[170] to take an interest in the life and poetry of such a glamorous figure as the Young Prince who had lived with his own tribe and was an adopted member of it, and to find many old men who could satisfy his curiosity about the life and poetry of Imru-ul-Qais.

Other reasons may be advanced for the interest shown by al-Farazdaq in the affairs of Imru-ul-Qais; the character

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168. Agh. VIII, 68:8.
169. Shi'r, 48.
170. See Agh. XIX, 10.

of al-Farazdaq was very similar to that of Imru-ul-Qais; they shared such traits as pride, rashness, cowardice, and a deep love for the pleasures of the flesh and drink. Further, al-Farazdaq might have looked upon himself as a kindred companion in misfortune to the unlucky prince who had forfeited, through his loose living, his inheritance of a kingdom and had lost his life fighting and intriguing to regain it. Such a pathetic and heroic figure would probably not fail to win the sympathy and admiration of al-Farazdaq who was easily moved by the heroic deeds of others.[171]

The influence of Imru-ul-Qais on the character of al-Farazdaq can be detected in the bragging and indiscreet attitude adopted by the latter towards his love-affairs with married women, and in the licentious description of sexual acts. It was perhaps this strong influence exerted by Imru-ul-Qais that alienated al-Farazdaq from the three Ghazal schools which existed at the time - the Platonic or 'Udhrī school, the Sentimental (harmless) school, and the Materialistic school, represented respectively by Jamīl, 'Umar and Kuthair - ,[172]

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171. See p.40, above.

172. See Ṭahā Husain, Hadīth al-Arba'ā', I, 169 et seq; it may be argued that these ghazal schools were all in the Hijāz and that al-Farazdaq was an 'Irāqī, but it can be pointed out that he was a frequent visitor in Hijāz and a friend of all the principal members of these schools; dwelling in 'Irāq did not prevent his contemporary and rival Jarīr from writing ghazal in the style of the first of these schools.

al-Farazdaq belonged to none of these although he was nearer to the third, but he would not qualify for its membership because he never bothered to write pure ghazal poetry; one may be justified in claiming that in this attitude towards ghazal verse, which was the outcome of a view that was materialist and contemptuous of the fair sex, al-Farqzdaq was influenced by his emulation of his hero, Imru-ul-Qais.

Lastly, al-Farazdaq might have had yet an additional motive later in life for increasing his interest in Imru-ul-Qais. Yaqūt quotes Abū 'Ubaidah, the eminent critic, as saying that during the Jāhiliyyah most poets were of the Qais group, but with the advent of Islam the balance changed in favour of Tamīm who produced most of them.[173] There is no reason to doubt the truth of this statement, and there is also no doubt that there always existed a state of rivalry and competition between Qais and Tamīm who fought for supremacy in many fields including those of poetry and battle. Al-Farazdaq, who was no warrior, achieved much in maintaining the supremacy of Tamīm over Qais in the field of poetry; as will be seen later (Chapter III, p.171), one of the objectives of the Naqā'id feuds fought by al-Farazdaq was to vanquish rival poets who, when beaten, were placed by a traditional rule of the game on the retired list and given the name of

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173. Irshād, VII, 258.

'mughallab' i.e. utterly beaten.[174] As Jarīr was taking the side of the Qais group in the Naqā'id feud, it was natural for al-Farazdaq to strengthen his side by recruiting indiscriminately without regard to the traditional loyalties of his allies; a scrutiny of the list of his masters, which is part of a Naqā'id poem, yields the following disposition of the twenty two masters:

Qais	Mudar (including Tamim)	Rabī'ah	Yemen
*An-Nābighah (dhub.)	*'Abīd b. al-Abraṣ	*Ṭarafah	*Imru-ul-Qais
-do- (Ja'dī)	'Alqamah	*al-A'shā (Bakr)	an-Najāshī
*Labīd	al-Mukhabbal	-do- (Shaib.)	Abut-Ṭamahān
*Zuhair	Bishr	an-Nābighah (")	Ḥassān
Ka'b al-Ḥuṭai'ah	Jāriyah	al-Muhalhil	
	Aws	al-Muraqqish	

In his effort to claim poetic supremacy over Jarīr, al-Farazdaq puts forward this impressive list of masters which includes all the seven old masters of the pre-Islamic Mu'allaqāt (*)[175]

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174. ar-Rā'ī, an ally of al-Farazdaq in his Naqā'id feud with Jarīr, was soundly beaten by Jarīr and retired to the country where he abstained from writing poetry; when an-Nābigha al-Ja'dī was beaten by al-Akṭal, he was listed with the 'vanquished company' of Mudarite poets - see Ibn Qutaibah, Shi'r, 159:13-14.

175. There is, of course, the other version which makes the old masters of the Mu'allaqāt ten - by adding 'Antarah, 'Amr b. Kulthūm and al-Ḥārith b. Ḥillizah; but as neither of these was a professional poet, it is probable that al-Farazdaq did not consider it worthwhile to claim them as masters.

and if he could cut across the diverse tribal loyalties represented in the above disposition to cite Qaisites and Rabī'ites as his masters, al-Farazdaq would not be deterred by anti-Yemenite sentiment from making capital out of the connection which the Yemenite Imru-ul-Qais had with Tamīm.

It now remains to trace the influence of Imru-ul-Qais on the poetry of al-Farazdaq. With the knowledge that al-Farazdaq knew by heart much of the poetry of Imru-ul-Qais, one would be more lenient with the pilfering activities of the poet, but still there is clear evidence in the dīwān to point to the original source of some verses:

وَقَفَا بِهَا صَحْبِي عَلَيَّ مَطِيَّهُمْ ... عَرَفْتُ رُسُومَ الدَّارِ بَعْدَ التَّوَهُّمِ

يَقُولُونَ لَا تَهْلِكْ أَسًى وَتَجَمَّلِ ... لَهُمْ عَبَرَاتُ الْمُسْتَهَامِ الْمُتَيَّمِ

DS: 595-P.754: 2-3

The passages concerned in the above two lines are admittedly commonplace and were not an invention of Imru-ul-Qais, but still one cannot forget that they were lifted bodily from a line of his Mu'allaqah:

وَقَفَا بِهَا صَحْبِي عَلَيَّ مَطِيَّهُمْ ... يَقُولُونَ لَا تَهْلِكْ أَسًى وَتَجَمَّلِ

one cannot also help viewing with suspicion al-Farazdaq's splitting up of the verse and omission of two words from it, an action which may be taken as an attempt to camouflage it.

The influence of Imru-ul-Qais is, however, more marked in the lustful description (DS: 700-P.835:13-19) of his doings with three girls; al-Farazdaq leaves the reader in no doubt about the source of inspiration by concluding this description with an expression of regret that Imru-ul-Qais was not present with him on that occassion (v.18).

Lastly, one may allude to a judgment of a contemporary critic which touches on this subject; Ṭahā Ḥusain, in trying to deny the authenticity of both Imru-ul-Qais and his poetry, suggests that the description of Daratu-Juljul in the Mu'allaqah was faked by al-Farazdaq.[176] However one may view the conclusions of Dr. Tahā Ḥusain on this subject, this statement stresses the similarity of style of the two poets, especially in the narrative love-poetry.

On the whole, the influence of pre-Islamic poets was stronger in the early formative stage of the poet's development and grew less with the passage of time in the face of two opposing factors: the influence of the Qur'ānic style and the individualistic tendency of the poet which drew him away from the traditional style of the qasīda. As both these factors will be discussed in more detail at the end of this chapter, it will be sufficient here to give an example of the poet's tendency to copy the pre-Islamic style, both in form and content, during the early stage of his development.

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176. Fī 'l-Adab al-Jāhilī, 221: 6 et seq.

The poem chosen (DS: 592-P.745) is one of the inter-tribal satires which the poet indulged in while he was yet a young and obscure poet in Basrah; its date can accurately be fixed before 50 A.H. as the woman addressed in its opening line, Ẓamyā' was cited in the complaint against him to Ziād which precipitated his flight in 50 A.H.[177] The diction throughout is so difficult and obscure that it reminds the reader of the work of those pre-Islamic poets who went out of their way to choose obscure diction like Labīd. The description of camels (vs: 11-44) with its intricate interludes of similes of zebras and hunters is in the best tradition of such old masters as an-Nābighah, 'Abdah b. aṭ-Ṭabīb and Labīd; al-Farazdaq's description of the she-camel:

لَا كَيْفَ إِلَّا عَلَى غَبْرَاءَ دَوْسَرَةٍ تَأْوِي إِلَى عَيْدَةٍ لِلرَّحْلِ مَلْمُومِ
صَهْبَاءَ قَدْ أُخْلِفَتْ عَامَيْنِ بَازِلُهَا تَلُطُّ عَنْهَا جَاذِبُ الْأَخْلَافِ مَعْقُومِ

DS: 592-P.745: 11-12

strongly resembles two lines on the same subject by 'Abdah b. aṭ-Ṭabīb.[178] The theme of the zebra (vs: 17-22) is a true copy of the same theme in the Mu'allaqah of Labīd,[179] and

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177. This Ẓamyā' was an aunt of the Tamīmid poet, al-La'īn of Banū Manqūr; al-Farazdaq satirized her in his feud with Manqūr and her people complained to Ziād - see Ibn Qutaibah, Shi'r, 296:3.
178. See Mufaḍḍaliyyāt (ed. Lyall, Beirut, 1920), XXVI, vs:9-11.
179. See Jamharah, (Būlāq, 1308 A.H.), 67:15.

al-Farazdaq's description of the hunter:

نَابِي الْفَرَائِسِ، حُرِّيُّ اللَّحْمِ مُطْعَمُهُ كَأَنَّ أَلْوَاحَهُ أَلْوَاحُ مَحْصُومِ

عَارِي الْأَشَاجِعِ مَسْعُورٌ أَخُو قَنَصٍ فَمَا يَنَامُ بِحِيرٍ غَيْرِ مَهْيُومِ

vs: 31-32

is plagiarized from the description of the hunter in the Mu'allaqah of an-Nābighah:[180]

أَهْوَى لَهُ قَانِصٌ يَسْعَى بِأُكْلُبِهِ عَارِي الْأَشَاجِعِ مِنْهُ فَاصِلٌ أَغَارَا

مُحَالِفُ الْقَيْدِ، هَبَّاسٌ لَهُ، لَجِمٌ مَا إِنْ عَلَيْهِ ثِيَابٌ غَيْرُ أَظْمَارَا

Al-Farazdaq borrowed from an-Nābighah not only the theme, but the very words.

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180. See Jamharah, (Būlāq, 1308 A.H.) 54: 13-14.

OPINION OF OLD CRITICS ON HIS WORK

1. The Grammarians of the Old Basra School.

Al-Iṣbahānī sums up for us the sterile conception of poetry held by the grammarians of the Baṣra school, in his comment on the poetry of al-Farazdaq; "He impacted his words, and this pleased the grammarians."[181]

The minds of those erudite men were one-tracked; in reading poetry they only looked at the grammatical construction to detect an unorthodox usage.[182]

Two of the founders of the Baṣra school, 'Abdullāhi b. Abī Isḥāq al-Ḥadramī and 'Anbasah b. Mi'dān al-Fīl, were satirized by al-Farazdaq who was exasperated by their narrow-minded and quibbling criticism;[183] a third pillar of the school, Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā', earned the praise of the poet partly for his more liberal views but more probably for his tactful handling of al-Farazdaq.[184]

Even when they climbed down from their hobbey-horse, those grammarians were very conservative in outlook, and chose to stick strictly to the traditional pre-Islamic standards of the qasīda which formed their yardstick. The following dialogue illustrates their methods:-[185]

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181. Agh. XIX, 10.
182. See al-Muwashshah, 101.
183. See Jurjānī, Wisāṭah (Sidon, 1331 A.H.), 15; also DS: 164, P.179.
184. See DS: 313, P.382.
185. Agh. VIII (Cairo, 1935), 283.

(The occasion is a lecture of Yūnus's; the questioner is a man in the audience; the commentator is Abū 'Ubaidah).

Man: Who is the best poet of the three ? (Jarīr, al-Farazdaq and al-Akhṭal).

Yūnus: Al-Akhṭal.

A. 'Ubaidah: What three ?

Yūnus: Any three you mention.

A. 'Ubaidah: On what authority do you make this statement ?

Yūnus: On the authority of 'Īsa b. 'Umar, Ibn Abī Ishāq al-Ḥadramī, Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā', 'Anbasah al-Fīl and Maimūn al-Aqran, men who knew their subject inside out, not like these friends of yours who are neither bedouins nor grammarians.

(Here Abū 'Ubaidah tells the man to ask Yūnus to state the reason for his preference of Al-Akhṭal).

Yūnus: Because he had more good long poems which were free from rubbish and coarseness, and because he took more pains to polish his work.

In this dialogue the leaders of the Baṣra school of grammar declare their preference for al-Akhṭal who was in their opinion a faithful adherent of the traditional style of the pre-Islamic qasīda;[186] but as most of them combined

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186. Abū 'Amr is quoted as declaring: "Had al-Akhtal lived a single day in the pre-Islamic period, I would never

(cont. next page)

the role of grammarian with that of philologist, they could not deny to al-Farazdaq the excellence of his diction and his command of the language.[187]

2. The philologists in the second and third centuries of the Hijrah represented a marriage between grammar and philology which gave birth to such critics as al-Jumaḥī and Ibn Qutaibah who were the pioneers of methodical literary criticism and whose work blazed the trail for al-Jurjānī, al-ʿĀmidī and Ibn Rashīq. We will quote three men whose opinions on the work of al-Farazdaq may be consider to represent the whole scale of values of the philologists; these men are Abū 'Ubaidah, al-Mufaḍḍal aḍ-Ḍabbī and al-Aṣma'ī; the first was too much of a philologist, the second was more preoccupied with poetry and the third was a blend of both.

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186. (cont.) have preferred anybody to him." - Ibid, 285. Further evidence on the morbid conservatism of Abū 'Amr is given by al-Asma'ī who tells us that he attended Abū 'Amr's lectures for ten years without hearing him once quote an Islamic poetical work; he goes on to relate how Abū 'Amr once mused: "This new thing (meaning the poetry of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq) has increased and it has become so good that I am sometimes tempted to direct our young people to learn it." - Jāḥiẓ, Bayān, I, 321. It is significant that this preference of the Basra grammarians for al-Akhtal is shared by a prominent member of the Kūfa school of philology, Ḥammad Ar-Rāwiyah - see Agh. VIII, 287.

187. Yūnus states that but for the poetry of al-Farazdaq, one third of the Arabic language would have been lost - Agh., XIX, 48; Abū 'Amr b. Al-'Alā', while saying that al-Akhtal resembles an-Nābigha in soundness of construction, likens al-Farazdaq to Zuhair (perhaps in noble diction). See Agh. VIII (Cairo, 1935), 286 and Ibn Qutaibah, Shi'r, 61.

Abu 'Ubaidah, asked about Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, answered: "Jarīr's satire of al-Farazdaq does not exceed three themes: Ji'thin, Az-Zubair and the black-smith; while al-Farazdaq has a hundred themes of satire on Jarīr."[188]

Al-Mufaḍḍal prefers al-Farazdaq to Jarīr, and gives a rather unconvincing reason for his judgment.[189]

Al-Aṣma'ī condemns al-Farazdaq for extensive borrowing from other poets and goes so far as to state that nine-tenths of his poetry was plagiarized from others;[190] he also criticises a verse of al-Farazdaq, showing sound judgment.[191]

It is clear that the philologists were better disposed towards al-Farazdaq than their masters, the grammarians; this was due to the fact that the philologists were considering other aspects of poetry than mere grammatical construction - they were judging diction and style as is shown by the examples above.

3. We come now to critics who represented a new link in the chain of development of Arabic literary criticism; these were men of taste and literary experience as writers and poets themselves.

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188. Muwashshaḥ, 121. For an explanation of the three themes of Jarīr, see Chapter III, p. 160, below; it should be noted that when al-Akhṭal is included in the comparison, Abū 'Ubaidah considers him the best of the three, see Agh. VIII (Cairo, 1935), 286.
189. See Yaqūt, Irshād (ed. Margoliouth), Vol. VII, 258-9.
190. Muwashshaḥ, 105.
191. See Yaqūt, Irshād, Vol. VII, 258; see also al-Jumahī, Ṭabaqāt, 114.

Ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī prefers al-Farazdaq,[192] but he frowns on the poet's obscenity;[193] in his opinion, the poetry of Jarīr would appeal to nomads more than that of al-Farazdaq.[194]

Al-Mubarrid also declares himself for al-Farazdaq against Jarīr because, as he said, "Al-Farazdaq gives us a verse followed by its "brother" while Jarīr gives us a verse followed by its "cousin." [195] He exhibited some literary taste in his condemnation of some verses of the poet and praise of others.[196]

Al-Jāḥiẓ says this of al-Farazdaq: "Al-Farazdaq was notorious for (his relations with) women whose company he loved, but in spite of this he has not written one profound line of love-poetry; this was in spite of his jealousy of Jarīr who was chaste and never loved a woman, but who still was the better writer of love-poetry."[197] But he pays al-Farazdaq the compliment that his short poems are the best of their kind, and that no other poet combined the ability to write both excellent short and long poems.[198]

Ibn Qutaibah (213-276 A.H.) reiterates the opinion of al-Jāḥiẓ on the love poetry of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, using

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192. See Muwashshaḥ, 117.
193. Ṭabaqāt, 22.
194. See Muwashshaḥ, 115.
195. Ibid, 121; he means to say that there is more unity in a poem of al-Farazdaq.
196. Ibid, 105; also Kamīl, I, 18,19.
197. Bayān, I, 208.
198. Ḥayawān, 98.

nearly the same words;[199] he quotes a verse of al-Farazdaq as an example of bad poetic licence.[200]

Al-Jurjānī blames al-Farazdaq for bad grammar, plagiarism and ambiguity, citing a number of examples for each fault.[201]

It may be of interest to know the views of two poets of the 'Abbāsid period; al-Buḥturī, whose style is similar to that of Jarīr, declared his preference for al-Farazdaq against Jarīr, on the strength of al-Farazdaq's command of varied themes, especially in satire.[202] Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah also declares himself for al-Farazdaq, quoting the Naqāʾiḍ poetry in support of his judgment.[203]

Lastly, there seems to have been much wisdom in the reply of a layman whom Jarīr questioned as to who was the better poet - himself or al-Farazdaq; "You to the general public," answered the man, "andal-Farazdaq to savants."[204]

For what these critical views were worth, al-Farazdaq emerges victorious in the comparisons made between him and his two main rivals, al-Akhṭal and Jarīr.[205]

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199. See Shi'r (Leiden, 1902), 29.
200. Ibid, 34.
201. Wisāṭah, pp. 13,14,15,156,310.
202. See Muwashshah, 124.
203. Ibid, 121; al-Marzubānī commented by corroborating Marwan's view.
204. Agh. VIII (Cairo, 1935), 79.
205. Al-Isbahānī, after saying that people differ in their order of preference, declares that al-Akhṭal was a late intruder in the conflict between Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, but that his nature was very different from theirs. - Ibid, 4.

STYLE AND TECHNIQUE

Reverence for the pre-Islamic tradition in poetry was too strong during al-Farazdaq's lifetime[206] to encourage poets to develop individual styles; nevertheless, al-Farazdaq's poetry reflects so much of the poet's personality and departs in so many ways from the traditional form as to support our claim that al-Farazdaq has a style of his own. Such personal attributes of the poet as pride, lasciviousness, wit, and a pagan attitude of mind give a vivid personal colour to much of his work.[207]

The chief characteristic of al-Farazdaq's style is the abundant use of narrative; the poet made full use of his gift for narrative to enliven themes of panegyric, satire, ghazal, and description, and, not infrequently, for the sheer artistic joy of telling a yarn. This narrative ability is most probably due to the influence of the mythology of the Qur'ān "Qaṣaṣ" which the poet seems to have studied extensively as is shown by the numerous references and allusions in his work.[208]

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206. See footnote 186, above.

207. See pp. 47, 65, 72, 89, above; also Agh. VIII (Cairo, 1935) p. 12:10.

208. See DS: 257-P.309; 8-P.9; 764-P.890; 237-P.255;

This narrative tendency is perhaps responsible for two marked stylistic idiosyncrasies of al-Farazdaq; the first is what is known in Arabic orthometry as "tadmīn", which means that a verse overflows the boundary of its own rhyme into the beginning of the next verse;[209] this was considered by the old critics to be a metrical fault.[210]

To-day when the whole poem, and not the single verse, is held to be a united whole, one may be tempted to take the opposite view to that held by the old critics on "tadmīn", and look upon it as an instrument of freeing Arabic verse from the shackles of rhyme which stopped its growth. But one would be well-advised first to consider whether those poets who broke the rules of Arabic prosody by reverting to this device of "tadmīn" were in fact moved to do so by a desire to find more elbow-room for their thoughts and, which is more important, whether they were earnestly seeking a new rhythm-schemeto replace the traditional harmony of metre and rhyme. In my opinion "tadmīn" in al-Farazdaq's work was a product of artistic laxity, and does not meet any of the above stipulations, as is shown in these examples:[211]

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209. See DS: 117-P.140; 149-P.164; 154-P.168; 253-P.302; 263-P.324; 355-P.427; 551-P.678; 608-P.762; 694-P.830, etc.

210. See Ibn Rashīq, al-'Umdah, (Cairo, 1907), Vol. I, p.113:6

211. For further examples see: DS: 52-P.61; 8,9; DS: 261-P.321; 1,2; DS: 107-P.131:26, 27; DS: 108-P.133: 13,14; DS: 110-P.135: 1,2; DS: 223-P.241: 10,11; etc.

وَكَانَ لَهُمْ حَبْلٌ قَدِ اسْتَكَرَّ بِرَابِعٍ
عَلَى الْأَرْحَبِيِّ // مِنْهُ سَنَّهَا سَنَّهُ مُلُوكُهُمْ
تُرَدِّدُ بَيْنَ الْمَدِينَةِ وَالَّتِي

عَرَاقِيَ دَلْوٍ كَانَهُ فَاصِدٌ ذُبُوحُهَا
يَفِيضُ كَالْفُرَاتِ الْجَوْنِ فَفْقًا قَلِيبُهَا
إِلَيْهَا قُلُوبُ النَّاسِ يَهْوِي مُنِيبُهَا

DS: 45-P.63: 4-5

فَلَمْ يَتْرُكْ بِهِ أَحَدٌ يُصَلِّي
إِلَى أَنْ سَلَّمَ // أَوْ لَاقَ ذَمِيمًا
وَعَرَّ دَعَهُ بِنِيهِ الْكَسْبَ مِنْهُمْ

وَرَاءَ مُكَذَّبٍ حَتَّى أُنَابَا
بِهَا رَكَبَ الْمَنِيَّةَ وَالْحِسَابَا
وَلَوْ كَانُوا ذَوِي غَلَبٍ سِغَابَا

DS: 13-P.22: 4-5

In both examples no contribution was made to the meaning; as to any rhythmic pattern this does not seem to have been intended as no repetition of even this simple device of "tadmīn" was made.

The other stylistic feature is closely connected with the former and may be considered a miniature of it; in this case al-Farazdaq places the caesura in the second hemistich instead of its usual place at the end of the first hemistich.[212] He uses this device extensively, and while one has no quarrel with it, one is bound to condemn it if it proves to have been used only as an excuse for padding and slipshod technique instead of a vehicle for more profound and clearer expressions; these are examples of the first case:

حَبَيْتُ بِأُخْرَى بَعْدَهَا إِذْ بَخِلْتَ بِهَا // عَلَيَّ وَعَزَّتْ نَفْسِي بِهَا أَنْ تَقَحَّمَا

P.242:3

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212. See DS: 69-P.94: 2,7; DS: 72-P.96: 7; DS: 74-P.101: 19; DS: 107-P.131:32; DS:108-P.132:2,4; DS:223-P.240:3,4,15,17; etc. etc.

فَأَضْجَعَهُ لَا يَشْرِيهِ نَفْسَانِ بِنَفْعِ ... بِهِ النَّاسِ إِذْ عَنْهُ الْمَنِيَّةُ زَلَّتِ

P.132:5

Yūnus might have been exaggerating in estimating al-Farazdaq's extensive vocabulary,[213] but the poet's stock of obscure words is considerable. Al-Farazdaq's use of diction is very erratic and does not seem to follow any regular pattern; enquiry along such lines as poetical development, difference of theme or difference of circumstances yields no dependable results. The diction in some early poems shows a greater command of the language than is exhibited in later work of the middle and late stages.[214] Again in the same theme, say fakhr or satire, the diction varies considerably between one poem and another for no apparent reason; this also applies to poems written in identical circumstances, or dedicated to the same patron.[215]

The poet cannot justly be blamed for failing to make better use of his rich vocabulary, if we remember the primitive state of literary criticism at the time which had as yet not formed definite opinions on poetic diction. Another factor underlying al-Farazdaq's failure to adopt a concious attitude towards diction is perhaps the poet's method of composition.

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213. Footnote 187, above.

214. See P.102 et seq., above.

215. Cf. DS: 200-P.202; 237-P.255; 222-P.233; 299-P.370; 235-P.252; 440-P.551;

Al-Farazdaq, at best, was probably half-literate;[216] he probably composed his verses orally and built the poem up by chanting to himself each part of it and then committing it to his rhapsodists. This method does not lend itself to revision or to choosing the best words, thus excluding any conscious use of diction.

This oral method of composition might have been responsible for other serious faults in al-Farazdaq's style - impactation and ambiguity as exhibited in such verses:

تَجَاوَزْتَ عَنْهُمْ فَضْلَ حِلْمٍ كَمَا عَفَا ... بِحِسْكَةَ وَالْهِنْدِيُّ تَعْلُو ذُكُورَهَا

أَبَوْكَ حُبُوًّا أَنْقَذَ الْمَاءَ مُصْعَبٌ ... تَفَلَّذَ عَنْهُ وَهْوَ نِدْعٌ كَثِيرُهَا

DS:253-P.302: 37,38.

وَمَا مِثْلُهُ فِي النَّاسِ إِلَّا مُمَلَّكٌ ... أَبُو أُمِّهِ حَيٌّ أَبُوهُ يُقَارِبُهْ

DS: 92-P.108

فَرُعْمًا وَرُعْمًا لِلْقُدُورِ وَنَابِهَا ... تَنُوءُ مَرَامِيهَا مِنْهَا مَنْ رَمَاهُمَا

DS: 711-P.848

لَأَمَّ أَشْنَا بِالْوَلِيدِ خَلِيفَةً ... مِنَ الشَّمْسِ لَوْ كَانَتْ أَبَرَّ الْبَرَاجِبِ

DS: 66-P.87

فَهُوَ السَّيْفُ الَّذِي لَمْ تَرَ أَبَدًا أَرْوَى ... بِهِ مَرْوَانُ عُثْمَانَ الْمُصَابَا

DS: 67-P.89:14

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216. We have no evidence, except a single obscene line, that al-Farazdaq could write:

كَتَبَ الْفَرَزْدَقُ فِي السِّجِلِّ بِأَيْرِهِ ... ثُمَّ اسْتَمَرَّ بِهِ اسْتَمَرَّ جَرِيرُ

which proves nothing beyond a coarse taunt. We have, however, reasonable evidence (superscription DS:159-P.173) that he could read, which is further supported by the fact

(cont. on next page)

Al-Farazdaq carries this game of contravening grammatical laws a step further by committing this fault at the end of lines, thus we find such examples of "iqwā'":[217]

إذا دعيت عياءً لقيت أنذل بشربة برئ لا محالة شاربُ
وما ذاك من عيا ولكنه من لؤم الضرائب وعلته

DS: 26-P.39

لو بابٌ جامعٍ مرّت حاجتنا أنجحتَ، أو بين الصوجاء قطبه

بنو قبيصةَ لا تخفى مكارمهم من دونه أعراضهم أموالهم جُنَّهُ

DS:737-P.874

أنا في إليكم طالب طالما نأت جالتّارُ، دانٍ بالقرابة عالمُ
تذكّر آبدَ الجابرين قضاتَهُ فقال بنو عمّي، أبانا بنيّة دارِمُ

DS:792-P.827:1-2.

Variation of themes is the chief feature of al-Farazdaq's technique; he uses it constantly in nearly all long poems, especially in eulogy.

In a eulogy dedicated to 'Amr b. al-Walīd (DS:160-P.174) al-Farazdaq opens with a prelude in two lines, followed by four lines of praise, then an interlude in one line which leads to five lines of praise, followed by a second interlude which merges into four lines of praise; this is followed

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216. (cont.) that al-Farazdaq shut himself up to learn the Qur'ān. There is no contradiction in these two facts, the phenomenon is quite common in the Arab East to-day of many people who could read, especially religious books, without being able to write.

217. See also al-Jurjānī, Wisāṭah, pp.13-15, 156, 310, for further examples of faulty grammar and rhyme.

by a homily in two lines and lastly the conclusion in six lines of praise.

In symbols, the poem presents this pattern:

A - B - A1 - B1 - A2 - C - B2

(A = prelude; A1, A2 = interludes; B, B1, B2 = main theme (praise); C = theme not connected with the main theme (didactic here)).

Note that the poet also reverts to narrative in the second interlude, interlacing it with dialogue (verses: 13-17) which provides a change from the factual statements preceding it. This rather poor poem would have been poorer without this variation.

Another example is the poem addressed to al-Jarrāḥ al-Ḥakamī, Governor of Baṣrah, (DS:221-P.228) in which the poet seeks redress for some injustice done him by the Governor of al-Yamāmah, threatening to complain to the Caliph as a last resort. Al-Farazdaq opens with a prelude in eleven lines describing his mounts, then he states his complaint in three lines, followed by a transitional verse (v. 15) then comes back to a description of camels in an interlude of ten lines; then a transitional line (v. 26), followed by praise of the Caliph in four lines; after a transition in one line (v. 31) comes the conclusion in nine lines praising al-Jarrāḥ.

The two most important themes in this poem should have been the statement of the poet's grievance against the Governor of al-Yamāmah, and praise of al-Jarrāḥ, his superior at whose hands al-Farazdaq was seeking redress; but actually the poet devoted only three lines to the first theme (12-14), and lavished more attention on prelude and interlude than on praise of al-Jarrāḥ, which was relgated to the end of the poem. An explanation for the poet's attitude may be sought in two quarters; first al-Farazdaq's proud nature makes him a bad litigant who is more prone to threatening persons in authority than showing humility to them; secondly, the poet might have had some misgivings that the Governor of Baṣrah would support his subordinate the Governor of al-Yamāmah and shelve the complaint; this may account for the poet's threat to raise the matter before the Caliph and the intrusion of the praise of the Caliph at the expense of al-Jarrāḥ's praise. The symbolic pattern of this poem is:

A - B - D - A1 - D1 - C - D2 - B1.

(A = prelude; B = main theme; C - additional theme; D = transition).

Let us now examine other subjects than eulogy; in an elegy on Bishr b. Marwān (DS: 240-P.268) al-Farazdaq opens straight away with his main theme of elegy and continues for fifteen lines with a single departure in the tenth line when

he makes a pass at his opponent Jarīr; then the poet embarks on a narrative description of an episode in which he claims that he sacrificed his horse on the grave of Bishr. As usual al-Farazdaq succeeds, partly through a clever use of a kind of dialogue, to create a dramatic atmosphere which provides a fitting conclusion to the poem. The tribute paid to the memory of Bishr in the narrative part of the elegy is much greater than that contained in the first part which was made up of the usual clichés of elegy. The technique in this case does not involve variation of themes, but consists in change of style from descriptive to narrative.

We conclude by examining a long fakhr poem (DS:764-P.890); it opens with a mixed prelude of fakhr and ghazal in seven lines; the poet then devotes six lines to a description of an enemy army, and after a transitional line (v. 14) resumes his fakhr theme in three lines, after which he embarks on a narrative in fifteen lines describing a benighted guest who arrived at the poet's encampment, and how al-Farazdaq gave him shelter and food; lastly the poem is concluded by ten lines describing the poet's huge cooking-pot.

This poem was a pure fakhr one, and the fakhr themes touched upon by the poet were four:

(a) Toughness and hardihood - 3 lines (v. 1-3)

(b) Courage (tribal and not personal) - 2 lines (v. 12-13)

(c) Noble birth - 3 lines (v. 15-17)

(d) Generosity - 25 lines (v. 18-42)

We note the emphasis laid on the theme of generosity to which the poet devoted so much space; he was no doubt on surer ground on this point than he would be if he tried, for instance, to emphasise his courage; the theme of generosity allows much play for the poet's imagination as one can see in this poem, and he fears no public denunciation even if the incident was purely fictitious, as he was known for his generosity, while he could not elaborate on the theme of personal courage without laying himself open to public derision; this is perhaps the reason for al-Farazdaq's apparent modesty in this poem when he chose to praise the collective courage of his tribe instead of his own.

In symbols, this poem presents the following pattern:

A - B - D - B1 - B2 - B3

(A = prelude; B = <u>fakhr</u> theme; D = transition).

The last three <u>fakhr</u> themes (B1, B2, B3) present different stylistic features; B1 is a short statement of fact (v. 15-17), B2 is a narrative and dramatic short story with well-drawn characters, a climax and a conclusion; B3 is a descriptive piece.

From these examples, which are truly representative of al-Farazdaq's long poems, we are justified in making the following conclusions on al-Farazdaq's technique:

(a) Variation of themes was constantly used by the poet to avoid monotony in long poems.

(b) Variation of style (e.g. from descriptive to narrative) was also reverted to by the poet either because the subject did not allow for more than one theme (e.g. elegy), or when one theme got too long and monotony was feared (e.g. last fakhr example).

(c) Through vagaries of temperament and for the sake of securing more effect, the poet varied the emphasis frequently in a poem by giving more attention to some themes at the expense of others, not without upsetting the balance of the whole sometimes.

It is through variation - in the ordering of themes in a poem, in style, in emphasis, and even in rhythm, as shown above, that al-Farazdaq was seeking to express his undisciplined artistic temperament; whether these attempts were conscious

or not is immaterial, but two facts emerge clearly: al-Farazdaq's style reflects a strong individualistic quality both in content and in form, and, through this individuality marks a departure from the traditional style of the qasīdah.[218]

To elucidate this last statement we will make a comparative study of the style of al-Farazdaq with those of the two main poets of the time - al-Akhṭal and Jarīr.

Al-Akhṭal (640 ? - 710 A.D.) was an adherent of the school of pre-Islamic perfectionists known as "'Abīd 'ash-shi'r" - slaves of poetry - for the pains they took to polish their work. He was known to cut down a poem of ninety lines to thirty in the process of polishing it.[219]

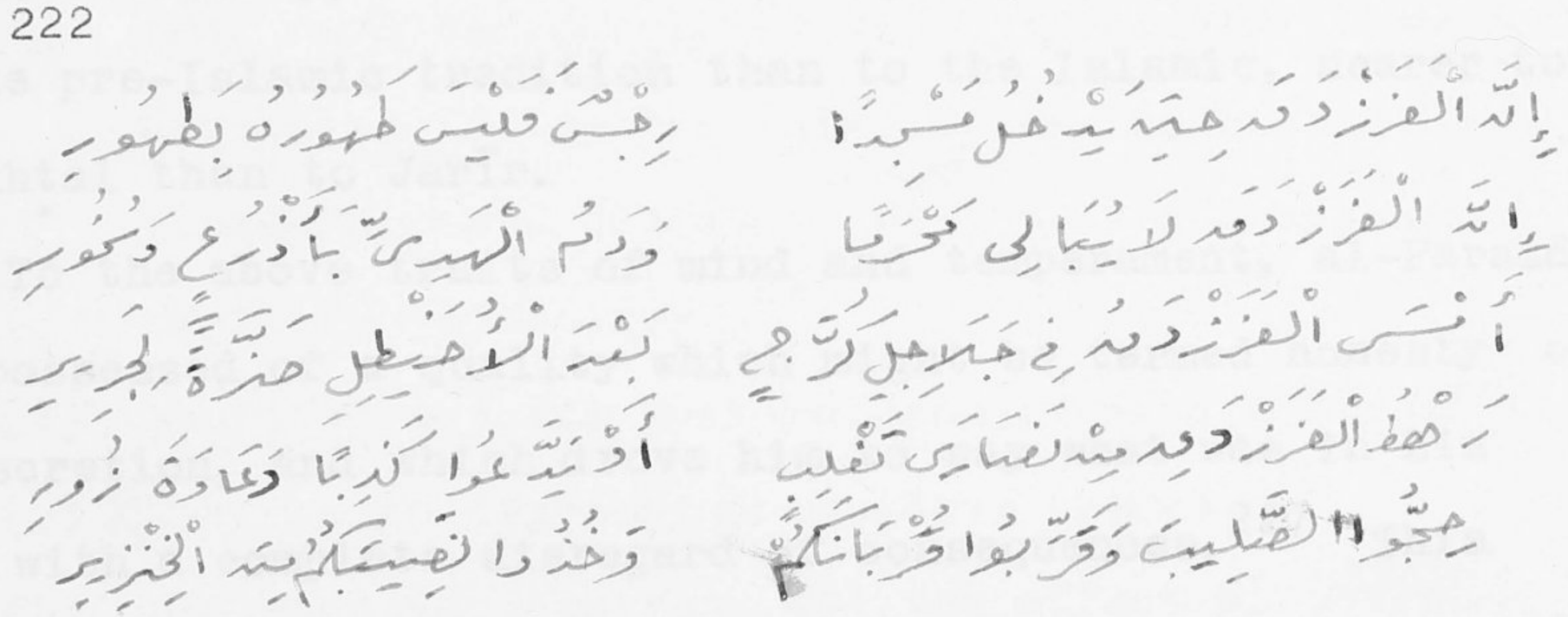
The fact that he was a christian, limited al-Akhṭal's field of expression in two respects: he had to be careful not to offend Moslem sentiments and this entailed avoiding controversial religious matters; secondly, he was deprived of sharing the rejuvenating experience which a study of the Qur'ān brought to his contemporary Moslem poets.[220] If we add to these facts that al-Akhṭal's social environment in a christian tribe underwent little change through Islam, we may

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218. For definition of the traditional style see, Al-'Askarī, as-Ṣinā'atain (Constantinople, 1320 A.H.), p.344; Nicholson, Lit. History of the Arabs (London, 1914), pp. 77-78.
219. Agh., VII, P.171.
220. On the rare occasions when al-Akhtal dabbles in Qur'ānic subjects, he shows lamentable ignorance - see Dīwān, p.147: 9-11.

consider him a true representative of the poetic tradition of the pre-Islamic era.

On the other hand, Jarīr (30 - 110 A.H.) was a pure product of the Islamic age and culture. He was a practising Moslem and rather conservative in both religious belief and outlook.[221] His conservatism in poetry is reflected in his strict observance of the superficial conventions of pre-Islamic poetical forms, such as his slavish retention of the ghazal prelude in almost every subject. In the content of his poetry, Jarīr was essentially a Moslem poet. This is a typical satire theme:[222]



"Al-Farazdaq, when he enters a mosque, is an unclean thing, as his ablution is not cleansing.
"Al-Farazdaq is not bothered by forbidden things, when the blood of sacrificial beasts is on their arms and bases of necks (i.e. at the hajj period).
"Al-Farazdaq, has become, after little Akhtal, a second wife of Jarīr.
"Al-Farazdaq's clan are Taghlibid Nazarenes, unless they make false claims.
"Pay homage to the Cross and offer your sacrifices, and receive your portion of pig-meat."

Dīwān, Vol. I, p.81: 8-12

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221. See Agh. VIII (Cairo 1935), P.5:9.
222. See also Dīwān, Vol. I, P.148: 5-10.

Religious uncleanliness, lawlessness, the idea that a second wife is resented, religious infidelity, as themes of satire, are all product of an Islamic mind.

Our next question is where does al-Farazdaq stand between these two contemporaries, or rather between the pre-Islamic tradition in poetry as represented by al-Akhtal, and the Islamic tradition represented by Jarīr. I think that al-Farazdaq, with his strong sense of tribal loyalty,[223] the influence of his pre-Islamic masters,[224] the semi-pagan streak in his mentality,[225] his shaky religious beliefs,[226] was nearer to the pre-Islamic tradition than to the Islamic, nearer to al-Akhtal than to Jarīr.

To the above traits of mind and temperament, al-Farazdaq was possessed of a quality which might be termed honesty or indiscretion, and which drove him to say what was in his mind with a complete disregard of consequences.[227] This quality permitted full play to the above peculiarities, and so set the seal of individuality on the work of al-Farazdaq.

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223. See P. 4 , above.

224. See P.109, et seq. above.

225. See P.10 , above.

226. See P.28 , above.

227. See P. 8 , above.

To set the points of similarity or difference more clearly, the outstanding stylistic features of the poetry of the three men are given below:

(a) Al-Akhtal

(1) Diction is usually made up of difficult words; archaic and obscure words are used in dealing with traditional pre-Islamic themes such as camel-preludes and fakhr, but when the poet tackles themes which developed in the Islamic era, such as ghazal, or which were not fully developed in the pre-Islamic era, such as wine-songs and didactic, he uses a current and familiar vacabulary.[228]

(2) Inclined towards pastoral and bedouin themes.[229]

(3) Reverts to digression in above themes.[230]

(4) Sequence is observed, and the effect of polish is reflected in the absence of faults of rhyme and grammar.

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228. See Dīwān: pp. 176: 2-5; 117-119.

229. Ibid: pp. 9; 60; 6; 113-116; 185-188; 196-199; 139-141.

230. Ibid: pp. 96: 3 et seq.; 114:1 et seq.; 148:5 et seq.; 170-171

(b) Jarīr.

(1) Diction is composed of easy, common words, chosen for their melody, especially in ghazal.

(2) He is capable of writing lengthy poems.[231]

(3) Traditional ghazal preludes are constantly and indiscriminately used, whether in eulogy, fakhr, or satire.

(4) His descriptive style is poor in imagery, and is built upon bare statements of facts or simple prosaic similes.[232]

(5) Unity is lacking between component themes, in a poem, and between verses in a theme.[233]

(c) Al-Farazdaq.

(1) Diction is a mixture of difficult, obscure, and common words.[234]

(2) Traditional preludes are sometimes dispensed with.[235]

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231. Cf. Dīwān, Vol. I, pp.84-90; 106-11; 159-65.

232. E.G. Dīwān, Vol. II, p.56: 13 et seq.

233. Ibid, Vol. I, pp.24-25; 37-39; 112-14; Vol. II, pp.160-63. Also see Mubarrad's criticism of this fault of Jarīr's technique, footnote 195, above.

234. See pp.129-30, above.

235. See p.31, above.

(3) Through use of narrative, unity and sequence are maintained both in the poem and in individual themes.[236]

(4) Imagery is extensively used, especially in satire.[237]

(5) Faults of rhyming and unorthodox grammatical usage are numerous.[238]

This comparison is supplemented by the following comparative analysis of one of Jarīr's poems and one of al-Farazdaq's; two of their Naqā'iḍ poems would naturally suggest themselves for this purpose, but advisedly this was not done as the circumstances in which a Naqīḍah was written, were usually artificial. The two poems chosen were written on the same subject - the demolition of the Christian church at Damascus and the building of his famous Mosque by al-Walīd.

Jarīr's poem (Dīwān Vol. II, p.84) opens with a traditional ghazal prelude of ten lines, followed by two lines of praise of the Caliph; then he devotes only three lines to the subject of the demolition of the church without any reference to the building of the Mosque. This is followed by nine lines which are a mixture of praise for the Caliph and a plea for his prize.

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236. See P.51, above. Also footnote 195, above.
237. See P.55, et seq., above.
238. See PP.130-31, above.

Al-Farazdaq opens his poem (DS: 608-P.767) with two lines of didactic on contentment and the evils of old age, then embarks on fifteen clumsy lines in praise of the ancestors of the Caliph, lamenting the assassination of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and stressing the legal right of al-Walīd to the Caliphate. Then he comes to the main theme to which he devotes six lines in which he praises the Caliph for separating the worshipping places of the two religions, a wise act which the poet likens to that of David and Solomon in a famous case recorded in the Qur'ān.[239] He concludes, like Jarīr, with six lines of praise and begging.

Jarīr's long ghazal prelude sounds out of place and flippant on such a solemn religious occasion; his praise of the Caliph was irrelevant and does not seem to have been written with any special thought of the occasion. The main theme, which is supposed to deal with the demolition of the church and the erection of the mosque, fails on two counts to achieve its aim; first the poet misinterpretted the action of the Caliph in demolishing the church, giving the humiliation of the Christians as his motive:

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239. Sūrah 21:78

وَلَقَدْ سَمَوْتَ إِلَى النَّصَارَى سَمْوَةً ... رَجَفَتْ لِوَقْعَتِهَا جِبَالُ الدَّيْلَمِ

إِنَّ الْكَنِيسَةَ كَانَ هَدْمُ بِنَائِهَا ... نُفْرًا، فَكَانَ لِهَزِيمَةً لِلْأَخْرَمِ

فَأَرَاكَ رَبُّكَ إِذْ كَسَرْتَ صَلِيبَهُمْ ... نُورَ الْهُدَى وَعَلِمْتَ مَا لَمْ تَعْلَمِ

"You have dealt the Nazarenes a blow the
repercussions of which have shocked the
mountains of Dailam.
"The demolition of the church was a victory,
so it was a defeat of the Akhram.
"In breaking their Cross, your God has
revealed to you the light of guidance, and
given you new knowledge."

Dīwān, Vol. II, 85: 5-7

Secondly, the more important part of this historic occasion, the building of the Damascus Mosque, is completely ignored by Jarīr.

On the other hand, al-Farazdaq seems to have been more aware both of the solemnity of the occasion and its religious significance; he confines his prelude to two lines of dignified didactic, and directs his praise, not to the person of the Caliph, but chiefly to the religious dignity of his ancestors and the glories of his family. When he comes to the main theme he shows tact and understanding; the demolition of the church, he considered, was not dictated by any motives of humiliating the Christians but was rather dictated by necessity and practical considerations; the decision of the Caliph was just and his action inspired:

فرقت بين النصارى في كنائسهم ... والعابدية مع الأسحار والقتم
وهم معاً في مصلاهم وأخبارهم ... شتى، إذا سجدوا لله والصنم
وكيف يجتمع الناقوس يضربه ... أهل الصليب مع القراء لم ينم
فقلت نحو لها عنهم لكما فهما ... إذ يحكمان له فيهم على الحرث والغنم:
داود والملك المهدي إذ حكما ... أولادها وأجز الصوف بالجلم
فهدى الله نحويكما لبيعتهم ... عن مسجد فيه تتلى طيب الكلم

"You have separated the Nazarenes in their churches from the worshippers at dawn and dusk.
"They (were) together in their prayer-place, but their faces pointed differently when they (separately) bowed to God and the idol.
"How could foregather the bell rung by the 'people of the cross' with the (voices) of readers who never slept.
"You have been guided to undertake this removal of it (the church) as were David and the guided king (Solomon) when they gave judgment in the case of the plantation and sheep by giving (to the complainant) its young and the shearing of wool by shears.
"God had made you understand this removal of their chapel away from a mosque in which holy words were chanted."

DS: P.768: 9-14.

In fairness to Jarīr, it should be mentioned that through choice of suitable words, he succeeded in making his poem musically more acceptable to the ear than al-Farazdaq's. Again Jarīr's poem is free from the fault of impactation which is evident in al-Farazdaq's poem.[240]

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240. See, for example, the last two verses of the excerpt of al-Farazdaq's poem given above.

To conclude, it is noteworthy that Jarīr, who, as a good Moslem, had every chance to excel on this religious occasion, failed through mediocrity and classicism; al-Farazdaq succeeded through imagination and originality and sheer poetic ability to rise to the occasion and capture its dignity and splendour. It was a victory of originality over conservatism and, as far as poetry was concerned, al-Farazdaq's fine perception and gift of expression counted more than Jarīr's religious sentiment.

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CHAPTER III

NAQA'ID POETRY.

1. A short history of Naqā'iḍ Poetry - 2. Fixing the date of the feud of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq - 3. Contents of Kitāb an Naqā'iḍ - 4. Subjects and themes of Naqā'iḍ - 5. Technique and special features distinguishing it from ordinary satire - 6. Artistic value of Naqā'iḍ.

The history of Naqā'iḍ poetry goes back to the pre-Islamic era, and as a form of poetry in which two or more poets exchanged poems of usually the same subject, metre and rhyme, it was perhaps as old as Arabic poetry.[1]

The themes of Naqā'iḍ are basically; the glorification of tribal achievement in war, especially in the field of pre-Islamic battles "ayyām", vaunting the prestige of noble birth, self-praise for noble deeds and qualities, and satire and abuse of the adversary. All these subjects were contrary to the spirit of Islam which preached social equality, frowned on snobbery and sternly condemned abuse and libel. For these reasons Naqā'iḍ poetry only flourished during the

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1. See A. Ash-Shā'ib, Tārīkh an Naqā'id, (Cairo, 1946), pp. 1-46.

Umayyad era when there was a relapse into pre-Islamic social conditions and practices through partisan strife and tribal jealousies. Indeed the stern disapproval shown in the early part of the Umayyad era to Naqā'iḍ poets by such rulers as Ziād or al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabī'ah,[2] soon gave place to offical approval and encouragement by such rulers as Bishr b. Marwān, and the final seal of approval was set on Naqā'iḍ poetry by the Caliphs themselves who rewarded Naqā'iḍ poets handsomely.[3]

Tribal rivalries seemed to have been the main source of inspiration for Naqā'iḍ poetry, as is shown by the decline of this form of poetry later in the 'Abbāsid era when the old tribal structure of society collapsed in 'Irāq.

To the main rival tribal groups in the Umayyad era, the principal poets represented our present day equivalent of mouth-piece or party-organ. Jarīr stood for the Qais 'Ailān group, al-Farazdaq for Mudar and al-Akhṭal for Rabī'ah and the Yemenite allied group. These alignments were basically on tribal lines, and political loyalties often cut across these boundaries.

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2. Ziād banished al-Farazdaq from Basrah for his satire of Fuqaim (Tabarī, Annals, II[-1], 94); al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabī'ah pulled down Jarīr's and al-Farazdaq's homes to stop their Naqā'iḍ feud (KN, Vol.I. pp.166:11; 607:2; 683:11).
3. For examples of poems dedicated to Caliphs and containing Naqā'iḍ satire, see Nos: 51; 61;

This arrangement may explain why the three principal poets of the Umayyad era held the stage for so long; with growing prestige they came to hold a similar position to that occupied by well-established national newspapers in our time, which leave little scope for minor rivals.

In this chapter we are chiefly concerned with an estimation of the Naqā'iḍ poetry of al-Farazdaq, but by the very nature of this form of poetry, we have to take note also of the Naqā'iḍ poetry of Jarīr.[4]

The date of the beginning of Naqā'id interchange between Jarīr and al-Farazdaq can be fixed with reasonable accuracy. Al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabī'ah was Governor of Baṣrah for Ibn az-Zubair for two years (65 - 67 A.H.), he was an ascetic and pious man[5] who was shocked by the coarseness of the satire exchanged betwen Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, so he imprisoned Jarīr and took al-Farazdaq's wife as hostage when the poet evaded arrest.[6] This action did not seem to have the desired effect, as the Governor had to pull down the homes of the two poets, at least twice in the case of al-Farazdaq:[7]

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4. For the text of this Naqā'id poetry we relied on Abū 'Ubaidah's "Kītāb an-Naqā'iḍ", ed. Bevan, (Leiden, 1905-9).
5. See KN, p.683:12.
6. Ibid, p.166:11
7. Ibid, p.607:2.

أَحَارِثُ دَارِي مَرَّتَيْنِ هَدَمْتَهَا ... وَكُنْتَ ابْنَ أُخْتٍ لَا تَخَافُ غَوَائِلُهْ

Jarīr also protested against this action:[8]

فَخَافِ كِتَابَ اللَّهِ تَهْدِمُ دَارَنَا ... بِنَهْدِمِ مَا حُورٍ خَبِيثٍ مَدَاخِلُهْ

This evidence is conclusive in establishing that the Naqā'iḍ feud was going on in the period 65-67 A.H., but we have to look elsewhere for evidence to determine how long before this date the feud was in being. Such evidence is provided by a statement attributed to Jarīr's son who tells that "... when al-Ḥajjāj came to Baṣrah (in 75 A.H.) Jarīr and al-Farazdaq had been abusing each other for seven years".[9] This fixes the date for the start of Naqā'id at 67/8 A.H.

For corroborative evidence we quote from the first poem with which al-Farazdaq opened his Naqā'iḍ battle with Jarīr:[10]

ثَلَاثِينَ عَامًا مَا أَرَى مِنْهُ غَايَةً ... إِذَا بَرَقَتْ، إِلَّا ازْدَدْتُ لَهَا رَحْلِي

and taking this as a round figure for the poet's active manhood, the date of this poem can be fixed before the year 70 A.H., assuming that the poet was born about 20 A.H., and reached manhood at twenty.[11]

The chronology of the Naqā'iḍ as given by Abū 'Ubaidah is not reliable;[12] so we will try to establish only the first

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8. See KN, p.683:11.
9. See al-Qālī, Amālī, Dhail, (Cairo, 1926), p.42.
10. KN, p.127:15.
11. See also Bevan's introduction, KN, Vol.I, pp. xvi-xviii.
12. Some discrepancies: No. 51 on the revolt of Qutaibah b. Muslim could not have been written before 96 A.H. but it is placed before No. 57 in which Jarir satirizes al-Akhtal

(cont. on next page)

poem which was written by al-Farazdaq in his feud with Jarīr; the value of establishing this poem is that it gives us some idea as to the state of this satire art before the efforts of its two prolific sponsors, and furnishes a basis for a study of the development of Naqā'iḍ poetry.

It is generally agreed that when the feud between Jarīr and al-Ba'īth al-Mujāshi'ī broke out, al-Farazdaq was in voluntary retirement, having put himself in chains until he learned the Qur'ān. He was reluctant to interfere until he was forced to do so by the appeal of his kinswomen who were violently satirized by Jarīr for whom al-Ba'īth was no match.[13] All the MSS. of Kitāb an-Naqā'iḍ give poem No. 31 (KN, Vol. I, p.127) as the first poem composed by al-Farazdaq on his intervention between Jarīr and al-Ba'īth. The internal evidence supports this view; al-Farazdaq opens this poem with a reference to his chains and imprisonment, the ungrateful attitude of al-Ba'īth and Jarīr's abuse of his kinswomen to which he had so far paid litte heed (v. 6). Again when we turn to Jarīr's answer (No. 33) we note that while Jarīr was violent in his attack on al-Ba'īth and his mother, he showed much

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12. (cont.) who joined the feud in 73 A.H., and before No. 61 addressed to 'Abdul Malik (65-86 A.H.); also before No. 55 in which Jarīr praises al-Ḥajjāj (75-95 A.H.)

13. See KN, pp.126-27.

restraint in attacking al-Farazdaq; he even identified himself ingratiatingly with Banū Mālik, al-Farazdaq's clan (v. 38), a gesture which he dropped when the feud got fierce.[14] Kastly, Jarīr in his answer (No. 33, vs. 56-58) refers to the episode of his imprisonment in the company of al-Farazdaq's wife by the Governor in an attempt to stop the Naqā'iḍ feud;[15] this episode obviously took place later; Abū 'Ubaidah clarifies this confusion by pointing out (KN, 166:10) that the lines referring to this episode were a later addition.

As previously shown,[16] the beginning of the Naqā'iḍ feud falls within the second stage of al-Farazdaq's poetical development (60 - 73 A.H.). This first poem of Naqā'iḍ exhibits the chief characteristics of the poet's work in this stage: mastery of a noble diction, self confidence (vs. 8-11) born of the poet's tussles in his previous stage as a tribal poet, and a general atmosphere of maturity compared with earlier satire work.[17] The poem also reflects the effect of al-Farazdaq's short acquaintance with the Qur'ān in his self-imposed penance; such sentiments of piety and humility were however merely the product of a passing mood, and were soon shed in the heat of battle:

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14. Cf. No. 62: 19; 48 seq.
15. See P. 149, above.
16. See P. 104 seq, above.
17. See PP. 103-4, above.

وَلَوْ عَلِمَتْ أَنَّ الْوَثَاقَ أَشُدُّهُ ... إِلَى النَّارِ قَالَتْ لِي مَقَالَةَ ذِي عَقْلِ

لَعَمْرِي لَئِنْ قَيَّدْتُ نَفْسِي لَطَالَمَا ... سَعَيْتُ وَأَوْضَعْتُ الْمَطِيَّةَ لِلْجَهْلِ

ثَلَاثِينَ عَامًا مَا أَرَى مِنْهُ عَمَايَةٍ ... إِذَا بَرَقَتْ، إِلَّا شَدَدْتُ لَهَا رَحْلِي

"If she knew that I have tightened my chains
for fear of hell-fire, she would have spoken
to me in a sensible manner.
By my life! If I now chain myself, there was
many a time when I hurried and drove my mount
towards folly.
For thirty years I would not see a folly
beckon to me but I would saddle my mount and
(race) to it."

This maturity of al-Farazdaq's first effort in a new field of poetic activity cannot, however, be wholly attributed to previous experience gained by the poet in satire; we should take into account the then existing tradition of Naqā'iḍ poetry of which al-Farazdaq must have been aware, judging by the extensive range of his knowledge of the work of both pre-Islamic and Islamic poets who formed the list of his masters.[18] As a matter of fact, al-Farazdaq grew up in the shadow of a Naqā'iḍ feud in his own family, that between al-Ḥuṭai'ah and az-Zibriqān b. Badr, and its humiliating ghosts were kept alive by Jarīr more than fifty years later in allusions to it and in an attack on the house of az-Zibriqān, to which al-Farazdaq was called upon to provide an answer.[19]

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18. See P.109, above.
19. For the feud between al-Hutai'ah and az-Zibriqān see Agh. II, pp.52-55; see Nos. 67,68 for Jarīr's attack on the house of az-Zibriqān and al-Farazdaq's answer; In his attack,

(cont. next page)

- 3 -

The Kitāb an-Naqā'iḍ contains 79 pieces produced by the feud between Jarīr and al-Farazdaq; 38 pieces are attributed to al-Farazdaq and 41 to Jarīr; the difference is accounted for by three pieces by Jarīr (Nos. 88, 104, 109) to which there is no answer by al-Farazdaq. The total number of lines for al-Farazdaq is 1626 compared with 1997 for Jarīr, which is reduced to 1886 when we deduct the three pieces to which no answer by al-Farazdaq is provided. This gives an average length of 42 lines per poem for al-Farazdaq as against 49 lines for Jarīr.

With few exceptions, the unities of Naqā'iḍ - unity of metre and rhyme - are strictly observed. One of these breaches is rather insignificant as it occurs in an answer in a single line by al-Farazdaq:

إِنَّ كَانَ أَنْفُكَ قَدْ أَعْيَاكَ مَحْمِلُهُ فَارْكَبْ أَتَانَكَ ثُمَّ انْظُرْ إِلَى زِيدِ

(No. 80)

to a fragment of five lines by Jarīr:

يَا زِيدُ أَنْكَتَ قَيْنًا بِاسْتِهِ حُمَمَهْ يَا زِيدُ وَيْلَكَ! مِنْهُ أَنْكَتَ يَا زِيدُ؟!

(No. 79)

In his answer, al-Farazdaq adheres to the same metre as that of the principal (Basīṭ) but varies the vocalization of the

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19. (cont.) Jarīr refers to the old feud: سَأَذْكُرُ مَا قَالَ الْحُطَيْئَةُ جَارُكُمْ وَأَحْدُثُ وَمَا فَوَّهَ وَمِسْ الْمُخَبَّلِ he threatens to broadcast the satire of al-Huṭai'ah and that of al-Mukhabbal as-Sa'dī, another poet who satirized az-Zibriqān. (v.91).

last letter of the rhyme (rawii).

The second case constitutes a more serious breach of the Unities as it involves two poems, No. 87 (14 vs.) by al-Farazdaq and the answer by Jarīr, No. 89 (23 vs.) In his answer, Jarīr uses a different metre (Kāmil) from that of the principal (Ṭawīl); he also departs from the rhyme by giving different vocalization to the last letter:

لَبِنْ أُمَّ عَيْلَانَ اسْتَحَلَّ حَرَامَهَا حِمَارُ الْغَضَى مِنْهَا نُفُولًا كَمَا نَفَا

(No. 87 - al-Farazdaq)

طَرَقْتَ لَئِيمًا وَلَيْتَهَا لَمْ تَطْرُقِ حَتَّى تَفُكَّ حِبَالَ عَانٍ مُوَثَّقِ

(No. 89 - Jarīr)

The third example is less serious as the breach involves only the vocalization of the "rawii".

لَسْتَ بِمُعْطِي الْحُكْمَ عَنْهُ بِشَغْبِ وَلَا عَنْهُ بِنَاتِ الْحَنْظَلِيَّةِ رَاغِبُ

(No. 77 - Jarīr)

تَقُولُ كَلِيبٌ حِينَ شُبَّ بِنَارُهَا وَأَخْصَبَ مِنْهُ مَرْوُهَا كُلَّ جَانِبِ

(No. 78 - al-Farazdaq)

It is significant that in all three cases - there are only two or three others (see footnote 22, below) - one of the poets departed from the traditional practice of Naqā'iḍ when the subject of the principal poem to which he wrote an answer was somewhat specially embarrassing to him because

it reflected on his filial or matrimonial relations. In such cases the poet would not wish to draw attention to the principal poem by writing an answer which would always be associated with it; hence the effort to camouflage the answer.

In his fragment (No. 79) Jarīr satirizes Zīq, al-Farazdaq's prospective father-in-law for giving his daughter, Ḥadrā' in marriage to al-Farazdaq; al-Farazdaq answers in a single line trying, no doubt, not to attract attention to this embarrassing episode which was jeopardizing his chances of marriage.[20]

This explanation is further supported by Nos. 77 and 78 which are on the same subject but of prior date to the preceding two. Jarīr wrote the principal (No. 77, 19 vs.) at the request of Nawār, al-Farazdaq's wife, when she first got wind of his suit to Ḥadrā'. Al-Farazdaq, full of confidence at this stage that his suit was accepted, promptly answered Jarīr, measure for measure (No. 78, 19 vs.). He used the same metre (Ṭawīl) and the same rhyme, only changing the vocalization of the "rawii".

In the case of Jarīr, his poem (No. 89, 23 vs.) was an answer to al-Farazdaq's ironic attack (No. 87, 14 vs.) on the marriage of Jarīr's daughter - Ummu-Ghaiṯān, to a healer who

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20. In fact the marriage was never consummated, the father having panicked at the satires of Jarīr, put al-Farazdaq off by telling him that his daughter had died; this was considered to have been a mere subterfuge; see KN, pp.819-821; Agh. (Cairo, 1936), IX, p.336:8.

cured her father of anthrax. Al-Farazdaq spared neither coarseness nor irony and succeeded in making the marriage a mockery. Jarīr seems to have sought to divert attention from this poem by attacking al-Farazdaq on a different front,[21] but appears to have found himself compelled to answer the attack and defend the marriage; he did this in the least harmful way to himself; he used a different metre (Kāmil) from the principal (Ṭawīl), and although he kept the same rhyme, he used different vocalization for the "rawii".[22]

To conclude, both Jarīr and al-Farazdaq depart from observing the traditional orthometric unities of Naqā'iḍ when the subject involves personal embarrassment, and when they do not wish the principal poem to be remembered by association with the answer. In such cases the answer is camouflaged by the use of a different metre, or a different rhyme, or both. We also note that in such cases the poets are inclined to be brief.

The subjects touched upon by the Naqā'iḍ poetry of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq represent all the usual subjects of Arabic poetry, ghazal, fakhr, satire, praise, description and, in a limited way, elegy.

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21. See No. 88.
22. For further examples of breaches of Naqā'iḍ unity see: Nos. 39, 40.

Being more conservative, Jarīr persists in using the traditional ghazal prelude, with a few exceptions; on the other hand, al-Farazdaq dispenses with the ghazal prelude in more than two-thirds of his Naqā'iḍ poems, replacing it in a few cases with a descriptive interlude.[23] Jarīr's preoccupation with the ghazal prelude may be due to the fact that, of the two, he was the better writer of love-songs in the best 'Udhrī tradition and he wanted to make use of his superiority in the Naqā'iḍ feud which was to a great extent a championship competition between two bards. Another reason is perhaps that Jarīr, although of the same tribe as al-Farazdaq, came of a humble family, and this handicapped him in the main theme of Naqā'iḍ: fakhr.[24]

While Jarīr's ghazal preludes represent the best part of his Naqā'iḍ work, we notice that al-Farazdaq's ghazal preludes

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23. These are mostly short fragments, see Nos.85 (vs.2), 88(2vs.) 99 (14 vs.), 109 (3 vs.), 111 (6 vs.), 112 (8 vs.). 92 (115 vs. Elegy).

24. This tendency of Jarīr's to compensate for his humble birth by an exhibition of poetic ability was pointed out by a contemporary of Jarīr, 'Umar b. Laja' in his satire:

سبق الفرزدقُ بالمكارم والعُلى وابن المراغة يندبُ الأطلالا

"Al-Farazdaq has won the race for noble deeds and glory while Ibn al-Marāghah (Jarīr) was describing desrted encampments."

KN. Vol.I, p.489:17

That this question of the social position of the respective families of the two poets had some influence on the Naqā'iḍ feud was clearly shown by a contemporary poet, as Salatān al-'Abdī, who delivered his judgment on the poetic merits of the two contestants in these words:

فيا شاعرا لا شاعر اليوم مثله جريرٌ، ولكنه من كليبٍ تواضعُ

Ibn Sallām, Ṭabaqāi, Cairo, p.143:5

when he takes the trouble to write them, suffer from the usual faults of his style - impactation and uncouth diction.[25]

The main themes of fakhr are: ancestral and tribal glories, deeds of valour and generosity. Al-Farazdaq had an advantage over Jarīr on most of these themes; his immediate ancestors - his father Ghālib and grandfather Ṣa'ṣa'ah were famous for generosity; for valour, the issue is confused as it covers the whole field of pre-Islamic battles of the tribe, which were generally fought collectively; each poet tries to monopolize the common heritage but Jarīr's claims are in most cases more lawful because his branch of the tribe- Yarbū' - were more militant than al-Farazdaq's branch - Banū Dārim. Al-Farazdaq compensated for this lack of military glory in his immediate family by invoking the deeds of the gallant Ḍabbah, his maternal uncles, who, though not part of Tamīm, were members of the big Khindif group which both poets used as a prop in their fakhr against the two other big rival groups: Rabī'ah and Qaḥṭān.[26]

Satire themes form the greater part of the Naqā'id poetry of both poets; unlike fakhr, satire provided unlimited opportunity for accumulating material to attack the opponent; in a fight in which no hold was barred, each poet tried to outdo

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25. See Nos. 93, 59, etc.
26. For the genealogy of 'Adnān clans and of Tamīm tribes, see an-Nuwairī, Nihāyatūl - Arab, Vol. II.

the other is abuse and coarseness; the aim was to amuse the public and to embarrass the opponent and compel him to leave the field. So there was much scope for the ability to invent disgraceful topics and abusive themes to hurl at the adversary. In this respect al-Farazdaq's gifts of wit, imagination and fancy were great assets. Jarīr's stock of satire themes was very limited; his repertoire consisted of only three main themes none of which was even authentic: the first was the alleged rape of al-Farazdaq's sister, Ji'thin by some Minqar young man; the second was that az-Zubair b. al-'Awwām was travelling under a Mujāshi' safe-conduct at the time of his assassination by 'Amr b. Jurmūz; the third was that one of al-Farazdaq's grandfathers was a slave black-smith " فين ".[27] Jarīr harped on these three themes for forty years, and whatever conviction he might have hoped to derive from repetition was definitely outweighed by its extreme monotony.

On the other hand, al-Farazdaq had no specific theme, but rather a vague allegation that Jarīr's folk had indulged in sexual relations with she-donkeys. Out of this probably imaginary allegation and the humble station of Jarīr's parents, al-Farazdaq managed to weave numerous patterns of satire and irony which were both fresh, diverting and caustic. Here

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27. Jarīr repeated these three themes incessantly in all his satire. His persistance may better be judged when even in a fragment of three lines (No. 91) he brings in one of these three favourite themes.

are two examples of the ingenious use by al-Farazdaq of the "donkey" theme; the first example is from the satire written by al-Farazdaq on the marriage of Jarir's daughter, Ummu-Ghailān, to a healer who cured her father of anthrax and asked for her hand in lieu of his fees:

لَئِنْ أُمُّ غَيْلَانَ اسْتَحَلَّ حِرَامَهَا ... حِمَارُ الْغَضَى مِنْهُ نَفَلٌ مَا كَانَ رَيِّقَا

فَمَا نَالَ رَاعِي عِنْزِهَا مِنْ لُعَابِهِ ... عَلَيْنَاهُ، مِمَّنْ سَارَ غَرْبًا وَشَرَّقَا

. . . . . .

لَقَدْ كَانَ فِي الْقَعْسَاءِ أَوْفَى بَغَائِهَا ... ثَوَابٌ لِعَبْدٍ مِنْ أُسَيِّدَ أَبْلَقَا

فَلَيْتَكَ بِمَّا تَالِي شَوَّتَ وَلَمْ تَكُنْ ... بِعَيْرِ الْغَضَى أَرْجُوحَةً حِينَ أَحْنَقَا

. . . . . .

فَلَيْسَ بِمَوْلُودٍ غُلَامٌ وَلَنْ تَرَى ... أَطَبَّ بِأَدْوَاءِ الْحَمِيرِ وَأَرْفَقَا

غُلَامٌ أَبُوهُ ابْنُ الشَّقُورِ وَجَدُّهُ ... عَطِيَّةُ أَدْنَى لِلْحَمِيرِ وَأَنْهَقَا

"If Ummu-Ghailān be given in marriage to the
wild donkey for spitting his saliva (in charm-cure)
No other charmer got such (a prize) like her for
his saliva, within our ken in the east or west.
There was enough reward in (giving) the hollow-
backed she-donkey or her foals to a spotted slave
of Usaiid.
I wish you had bribed (him) out of my money, instead
of (her) becoming a swing for the wild donkey when
he is in erection.
There will never be born, and you will never see
a cleverer one for doctoring donkeys and for
insight (into their love)
Than a boy whose father is a son of a famous
donkey (Ibn as-shaghūr), and his grandfather is
'Attiyyah (Jarīr's father); such a boy would be
most akin to donkeys and most braying."

(No. 87)

Al-Farazdaq uses imagination in conjuring this picture of a donkey marriage, irony in suggesting that the charmer ought to have been paid his fees in donkeys, and fancy in inventing a son by the marriage who would prove to be an outstanding veterinary doctor specializing in donkey diseases by virture of his parental connections on both sides.

The second example is from the answer (No. 78) written by al-Farazdaq to Jarīr's satire on the former's suit to Ḥadrā' (No. 77):

تَقُولُ كُلَيْبٌ حِينَ شِبْتْ سِبَالُهَا وَأُخْضِبَ مِنْهُ مَرْوُتَاهَا كُلَّ جَانِبِ
لِسُوءِ بَلِيَّةٍ أَغْنَاهُمُ عَنْهَا أُمُّهُ إِلَى أَنْ عَلَاهَا الشَّيْبُ فَوْقَ الذَّوَائِبِ:
أَلَسْتَ إِذَا أَلْقَاءُ أَنْسَلَ ظَهْرُهَا إِلَى آلِ بِسْطَامِ بْنِ قَيْسٍ بِخَاطِبِ؟

"said Banū Kulaib when their beards were smeared (with butter) and their dales were green on every side,
To an expert sheep-herd whose mother herded sheep until her locks were grey:
Are you not, when the hollow-backed she-donkey gives birth, going as a suitor to the family of Bisṭām b. Qais ? (the prospective father-in-law of al-Farazdaq)".

(No. 78)

By comparison, Jarīr's tone is shrill and graceless; his Naqā'iḍ satire is marked by a bitterness which does not show in al-Farazdaq's carefree irony; in satirizing al-Farazdaq's engagement to Ḥadrā', Jarīr wrote an abusive attack on the proposed marriage (No. 77) addressed to the bride's father, Zīq, a scion of a noble house:

يَا زِيقُ أَنْكَحْتَ قَيْنًا بِاسْتِهِ حُمَمٌ يَا زِيقُ وَيْحَكَ إِنَّهُ أَنْكَحْتَ يَا زِيقُ؟!
غَابَ الْمُثَنَّى فَلَمْ يَشْهَدْ نَجِيَّكُمَا وَالْحَوْفَزَانُ، وَلَمْ يَشْهَدْ مَسْرُوقُ

"Oh, Zīq, you have given (your daughter) in marriage to a black-smith whose arse is discoloured (by black fumes). Oh, Zīq, woe unto you! whom have you betrothed (her) to? Al-Muthannā was absent, and he did not witness your secret deliberation; neither did al-Ḥawfazān, nor did Masrūq."

Jarīr used his favourite theme of abuse "the black-smith" to lower his opponent in the eyes of his prospective father-in-law; this accusation would not carry any weight with Zīq who, as the head of a great family, must have been well-acquainted with the genealogy of al-Farazdaq; neither would Jarīr's invocation of the names of three dead Shaibān grandees who, he alleged, would have resented the marraige, because al-Farazdaq was of equal social status with the bride. This mixture of abuse, ridicule and threats attained its aim by making the father-in-law panic and wriggle out of the marriage contract, but in poetic merit it is inferior to the equivalent piece of al-Farazdaq who with charm and perfect good nature succeeds in drawing many laughs at the expense of Jarīr.

As to elegy, there are only two examples of it in the Naqā'iḍ. The indelicacy of dragging elegy into this satiric feud appears to have been committed first by al-Farazdaq who concluded his elegy on his wife Ḥadrā' (No. 81) by some lines satirizing Jarīr; the latter was not slow to counter-

attack (No. 82). Al-Farazdaq's chance to retaliate came when Jarīr wrote his famous elegy on his wife (No. 92) and, perhaps to forestall al-Farazdaq, concluded it by a vehement attack on his opponent. In his answer (No. 93) al-Farazdaq threw delicacy to the wind and made a coarse attack on the dead woman in addition to the usual abuse of Jarīr.

Praise and descriptive themes are treated in the usual style of ordinary non-Naqā'iḍ poetry; it is to be noted that rarely are Naqā'iḍ poems used as a medium for addressing an eulogy to a patron, and that when themes of description occur, they are treated with brevity even by such a voluble writer as al-Farazdaq who usually enjoys using descriptive themes as a means for variation in his non-Naqā'iḍ poetry.[28]

- 5 -

To study the technique of Naqā'iḍ poetry and determine its peculiar features in comparison with ordinary satire, we have chosen eight representative poems, making four pairs of principal, i.e. first poems, and answers.

(a) Nos: 39-40: the principal is by al-Farazdaq who opens directly with fakhr:

إنّ الّذي سَمَكَ السّماءَ بَنى لَنا بَيْتًا دَعائِمُهُ أعَزُّ وأطْوَلُ

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28. There are only a few Naqā'iḍ poems containing eulogy: e.g. Nos. 51, 61, 105 by al-Farazdaq, and No. ~~53~~ 103 by Jarīr.

which he varies between boasting of his noble lineage (1-35), extolling the martial exploits of his family (36-43) and praising his maternal uncles, Banū Ḍabbah (44-45); after a short satiric interlude (46-48), al-Farazdaq proudly praises his own poetry and enumerates his masters (49-65); the rest of the poem (66-104) is devoted to abuse of Jarīr and his family.

In his answer (No. 40), Jarīr starts with a ghazal prelude in nine lines:

لِمِثْلِ الدِّيَارِ كَأَنَّهَا لَمْ تَحْلُلِ ... بِبَيْنَةِ الكِنَاسِ وَبَيْنَةِ طَلْحِ الأُعْزَلِ

After an interlude in two lines (10-11) in which Jarīr satirizes poets generally and al-Farazdaq and his two allies al-Ba'īth and al-Akhṭal specially, he sets out to rebut the themes of fakhr made by al-Farazdaq (12-23); he then introduces additional themes of satire which are, however, a repetition of his three favourite themes.[29] The rest of the poem is given to fakhr themes covering the noble birth and the martial glories of his people, and to satire of al-Farazdaq and his womenfolk.

(b) Nos. 43 and 44: The principal is by Jarīr and opens with a ghazal prelude in seven lines which gives place abruptly to satire of al-Farazdaq and his kinsmen; this deals with a disgraceful incident (v.12); he repeats one of the three pet themes (13-15) and the unavenged murder of an uncle of

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29. See P.160, above.

al-Farazdaq (v.16). After more abuse of al-Farazdaq and al-Ba'īth (17-25), Jarīr embarks on fakhr, boasting of the valour of his kinsfolk, their generosity and some of their old battles and famous warriors. He concludes by reminding al-Farazdaq of the incident of az-Zubair and another tribal episode (v. 36).

As usual, al-Farazdaq in his answer, ignores Jarīr's prelude and goes straight into the attack:

جَرَّ الْخَزِيرَاتِ عَلَى كُلَيْبٍ جَرِيرٌ ثُمَّ سَامَنَعُ الزَّمَارَا

His first theme (1-14) is in the form of a threat to Jarīr for daring to attack him, and when he comes to rebutting Jarīr's attack he uses a novel method by recording a dialogue with his wife who rebukes him for debasing himself by indulging in satire with Jarīr; in her rebuke Nawār sings the praise of al-Farazdaq's ancestors and abuses those of Jarīr (vs. 15-31). Al-Farazdaq picks up the threads and concludes by rebutting a point made by Jarīr (34-35) and satirizing Jarīr and his folk.

(c) Nos. 51 and 52: The principal is by al-Farazdaq and deals chiefly with the rising of Qutaibah b. Muslim in Khurāsān (96 A.H.) and his assassination by the Tamīmid general Wakī' b. Abī Sūd. In this long poem (104 lines) written at Medina, al-Farazdaq opens with a mixed prelude of nostalgic yearning for his home, didactic and ghazal; this is followed by a short

eulogy of Sulaimān b. 'Abdul Malik; then comes an account of the revolt and death of Qutaibah (vs. 32-53), and the rest of the poem is devoted to satirizing Qais 'Ailān clans and Jarīr, together with fakhr and repeated references to the death of Qutaibah. This long poem which has great merit especially for its wealth of poetic diction and imagery, suffers from lack of unity; the themes are disjoined and repeated, and the main theme (the revolt) is dealt with in scattered instalments. This may be due to the oral method of composition,[30] but the lack of unity in this case is so obvious that one is led to suspect that the long poem is made up of two different shorter poems on the same subject, the first one ending at verse 42, and the second opening with:

أَتَانِي وَرَحْلِي بِالْمَدِينَةِ وَقْعَةٌ لِتَمِيمٍ أَقْصَدَتْ كُلَّ قَائِمٍ

Another possibility is that al-Farazdaq made additions to the poem at different times.[31]

In his answer (No. 52), Jarīr opens with a ghazal prelude which is followed by satire of al-Farazdaq on the usual lines; he then challenges al-Farazdaq's fakhr themes in which the former claimed the honour for the assassination of Qutaibah for his people, by establishing that the vanquisher of Qutaibah was a Yarbū'ī kinsman of Jarīr's; he goes on to

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30. See P.130, above.
31. For evidence of such practice see P.152, above.

answer al-Farazdaq's attack on Qais clans by recounting their martial victories and the defeats of al-Farazdaq's kinsmen in pre-Islamic battles; he devotes the rest of the poem to abusing al-Farazdaq in his usual method. Compared with the principal, Jarīr's answer is better planned and has more unity.

(d) Nos. 53 and 54: For our last example we take a famous Naqā'iḍ by Jarīr (No. 53) as principal:

أَقِلِّي اللَّوْمَ عَاذِلَ وَالْعِتَابَا وَقُولِي إِنْ أَصَبْتُ لَقَدْ أَصَابَا

Its subject is satire of 'Ubaid ar-Ra'ī, the Numairid poet who sided with al-Farazdaq; Jarīr opens with a ghazal prelude, followed by fakhr, then satirizes al-Farazdaq by referring to the betrayal of az-Zubair, the rape of Ji'thin and some humiliating incidents of tribal history; after this he embarks on his main theme - satire of Banū Numair - (vs. 51 et seq) using themes of obscene abuse and tribal fakhr.

Again we notice that in spite of the length of the poem (112 lines), Jarīr was able to keep the balance between the different parts and the unity of the whole.[32]

Al-Farazdaq ~~gives~~ opens his answer (No. 54) directly with tribal fakhr; after 35 lines he comes round to rebut Jarīr's attack on Banū Numair by abusing Jarīr and his clan and praising

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32. Abū 'Ubaidah gives some interesting data on the circumstances which led to and the method of composition of this poem; see KN, Vol. I, p.430: 11-18.

Banū Numair; he concludes by satirizing Jarīr's clan through recounting the exploits of a Taghlibid general who defeated Jarīr's people and captured a number of their women; he also vaunts his own poetical prowess.

This answer was written by al-Farazdaq in defence of his ally 'Ubaid, a poet who was unable to stand up to Jarīr.[33] This may account for the half-heartedness of the answer compared with the determined aggressiveness and vehemence of the principal; also al-Farazdaq's answer suffers from a lack of purpose, as both fakhr and satire themes were of such a general nature that they could be applied to any subject other than this defence of 'Ubaid.

From this general analysis of these representative Naqā'iḍ poems, we may sum up the technique of Naqā'iḍ in the following:[34]

(a) the principal poem sets out the issues of the attack by selecting from amongst a limited number of themes:

1. Poetical ability.
2. Noble birth.
3. Tribal valour and strength.
4. Pre-Islamic martial victories.
5. Tribal and personal abuse of adversary.

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33. See KN. Vol. I, p.429: 11 et seq.

34. Cf. A. Ash-Shā'ib, Tarīkh an-Naqā'iḍ, pp.24-30.

(b) The answer-poem seeks to refute the claims made in the principal through:

1. Reversal: in which the answer tries to reverse some themes of the original:

إِنَّ الَّذِي سَمَكَ السَّمَاءَ بَنَى لَنَا بَيْتًا دَعَائِمُهُ أَعَزُّ وَأَطْوَلُ
بَيْتًا زُرَارَةُ مُحْتَبٍ بِفِنَائِهِ وَمُجَاشِعٌ وَأَبُو الْفَوَارِسِ نَهْشَلُ

No. 39 - al-Farazdaq

In his answer, Jarīr reverses the fakhr theme of al-Farazdaq into satire:

أَهْزَى الَّذِي سَمَكَ السَّمَاءَ مُجَاشِعًا وَبَنَى بَنَاءَكَ فِي الْحَضِيضِ الْأَسْفَلِ
بَيْتًا دَعَائِمُهُ أَعَزُّ وَأَطْوَلُ دَنِسًا دَعَائِمُهُ خَبِيثُ الْأَرْذَلِ

No. 40 - Jarīr

2. Parallel Claim: in which the answer makes a parallel claim to the fakhr theme of the principal:

أَحْلَامُنَا تَزِنُ الْجِبَالَ رَزَانَةً وَحُلُومُنَا تَزِنُ الْجِبَالَ رَزَانَا
وَإِذَا عَقَدْنَا لِامْرِئٍ شَرَفًا يَفُو قَ النَّاسَ سَالَ الْمَجْدُ حَتَّى يَغْرَقَا

No. 39 - al-Farazdaq

أَحْلَامُنَا تَزِنُ الْجِبَالَ رَزَانَةً وَيَفُوقُ جَاهِلُنَا فِعَالَ الْجَهْبَلِ

No. 40 - Jarīr

3. Insinuation: by giving different explanation and reaching different conclusions from those aimed at by the principal:

وَأَنَا ابْنُ حَنْظَلَةَ الْأَغَرِّ وَإِنَّنِي فِي آلِ حَنْبَلَةَ لِلْمُعَمَّمِ الْمِخْوَلُ

No. 39 - al-Farazdaq

كَانَ الْفَرَزْدَقُ إِذْ يَعُوذُ بِخَالِهِ مِثْلَ الذَّلِيلِ يَعُوذُ تَحْتَ الْقَرْمَلِ

No. 40 - Jarīr

4. Denial: by denying a claim made in the principal:

فَدَى لِسُيُوفِ بَنِي تَمِيمٍ وَفَى بِهَا رِدَائِي وَجَلَّتْ عَنْهُ وَجْبَةُ الْأَضَائِمِ

No. 51 - al-Farazdaq

فَغَيْرُكَ أَدَّى لِلْخَلِيفَةِ عَهْدَهُ وَغَيْرُكَ جَلَّى عَنْهُ وَجْبَةَ الْأَضَائِمِ

No. 52 - Jarīr

We shall try now to answer the question which was set at the beginning of this section - what is the difference between Naqā'iḍ and ordinary satire ? It should be pointed out at the start that there is a categorical difference in the nature of the two forms; Naqā'iḍ is competitive in nature - a duel of wits between two or more poets each of whom aims at beating his opponent in abuse and at the same time establishing his own poetic superiority. On the other hand, the ordinary satirist who sets out to poke fun at his victim is not worried by the standard of his composition, nor is he worried by what his opponent would say in answer.[35]

As we have seen above, the themes of Naqā'iḍ are limited and stereotyped, and tend to be more concerned with the tribe than the individual.[36] On the other hand, the ordinary satirist

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35. Both Jarīr and al-Farazdaq were constantly worried by what the other would say when composing their Naqā'id; this worry developed into a kind of telepathy, and both are alleged to have anticipated the answers to some points at the time of writing them - see Nos. 105: 46-47; 56; 53.

36. This is due to the fact that Naqā'iḍ was a development of two pre-Islamic institutions - Mufākharah and Munāfarah, which were prose contests between two groups or two individuals to establish the superiority of a tribe or a person on grounds of noble birth, valour and generosity - the same principal themes as in Naqā'iḍ.

is neither hampered by writing within certain prescribed limits nor is he unduly concerned with the tribe of the victim he satirizes. The fruits of this freedom may be seen in the non-Naqā'iḍ satire of both Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, which is distinguished by the abundance and variety of satire themes, and the unity of the poem, resulting from concentration on the subject. Perhaps the best example to illustrate these two qualities of non-Naqā'iḍ satire is al-Farazdaq's satire of a guide who lost his way in the desert and caused the travellers, amongst whom was the poet himself, great hardships. In this satire (No. DS: 701-P.841), al-Farazdaq made full use of his gifts of wit and humour to describe the hardships, and to poke fun at the unreliability and lack of toughness of the guide; what is more importan, al-Farazdaq succeeded in keeping the balance and unity of narrative throughout the poem, no doubt because he was dealing with a single incident and with one person only, the guide.

The atmosphere of competition and retaliation as a factor in Naqā'iḍ served both as excuse and incentive for coarseness and obscenity which would not be justified or tolerated in ordinary satire.[37]

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37. The competition was encouraged by the public attitude towards Naqā'iḍ feuds, which in the Umayyad era was analogous to that prevailing to-day towards pugilism - a mixture of shocked amusement and open admiration. Retaliation in Naqā'id ruled out the possibility of prosecuting the offender for libel, which would have put an end to Naqā'iḍ feuds as the Islamic libel law is extremely severe.

The Naqā'iḍ work of both Jarīr and al-Farazdaq contains the longest poems written by each.[38] This supremacy in length which the Naqa'iḍ enjoyed over ordinary shorter satire, although not always an asset, had certain advantages; it offered more scope for variation and development of themes, and especially for the use of irony which requires more space in which to develop ironic sketches of the type frequently used in Naqā'iḍ satire.[39]

Before any true estimation of the artistic value of the Naqā'iḍ poetry produced by the Jarīr-al-Farazdaq feud can be made, some inherent limitations of this form of poetry must first be set out and taken into account.

First, the scope of this poetry was greatly limited - abuse of the adversary and self-praise; the stock of themes available for these two subjects of Naqā'iḍ was limited. The feud continued for nearly forty years,[40] a period which is too long for any sustained original poetic activity even in the most favourable conditions; for these two reasons the Naqā'iḍ poetry

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38. E.G. Nos. 51 (155 lines); 63 (93 lines), 93 (90 lines) 96 (85 lines) - by al-Farazdaq; and 53 (112 lines), 52 (84 lines), 64 (96 lines), 95 (92 lines), 101 (122 lines), 104 (106 lines) - by Jarīr.

39. E.G. Nos. 76; 79; 88; etc.

40. KN. p.181:12.

of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq was exposed to the danger of staleness, and did not, in fact, escape it.

Secondly, theoretically half of this poetry could be said to have been conceived and composed under artificial conditions; the poet who writes the "principal" sets the face for his opponent who writes the "answer", leaving him no choice of subject, themes, or even metre and rhyme. Furthermore, the principal poems themselves are mostly stereotypes, and artificiality seems to be therefore the hall-mark of Naqā'id poetry.

These are real handicaps because they denied to Naqā'id the fundamental liberties enjoyed by lyric poetry of which Naqā'id is supposed to be part - spontaniety of feeling and expression.

The three chief components of this Naqā'id poetry are: ghazal, fakhr and satire, and these will be estimated separately.

As pointed out before,[41] al-Farazdaq does not put much store by ghazal in his Naqā'id work, and in the few cases where he indulges in conventional preludes, only few of these could be considered ghazal, and the majority are concerned with description of deserted encampments and camel-travel; this is a list of all the first lines of al-Farazdaq's preludes:

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41. See P.158, above.

أَلَمْ تَرَ أَنِّي يَوْمَ جَوِّ سُوَيْقَةٍ بَكَيْتُ فَنَادَتْنِي هُنَيْدَةُ مَالِيَا

No. 34.

أَقُولُ لِصَاحِبِي مِنَ السَّفْرِ وَقَدْ نَكَبَا أَكْبَةَ الْقِفَارِ

No. 41

عَفَّى الْمَنَازِلَ آخِرُ الْأَيَّامِ مَطَرٌ وَمُرْتَجِزٌ وَاخْتَلَفُ نَعَامِ

No. 45

عَمَّنْ بِزَوْرَاءِ الْمَدِينَةِ نَاقَتِي حَنِينَ عَجُولٍ تَبْتَغِي الْبَوَّ رَائِمُ

No. 51

عَرَفْتُ بِأَعْلَى رَابِيَ الْقَاعِ رَبْدَهَا وَصَنْعَةَ أَيَّامٍ شَهِدْنَ شُهُودَهَا

No. 59

عَرَفْتُ بِالْمَشَاشِ رَسْمًا لَمْ تَعْرُفْ وَأَنْكَرْتُ مِنْهُ حَدَّ رَسْمٍ أَنْتَ تَعْرِفُ

No. 61

عَرَفْتُ الْمَنَازِلَ مِنْهُ مَهْدِ كَوَحْيِ الزَّبُورِ مِنَ الْفَرْقَدِ

No. 75

إِذَا قَامَ الْعَذَارَى قُلْتَ عُمْ فَلَيْتَنِي إِذَا كَانَ لِي مِمَّا تُنَّ تَحْتَ الضَّفَائِحِ

No. 84

أَعَرَفْتَ بِيدَ رَيَّةٍ وَحَبَائِلِ دِمَنًا تَلُوحُ كَأَنَّهَا أَسْطَارُ

No. 93

عَفَتِ الدِّيَارَ فَأُذْهِبَتْ عَرَصَاتِهَا مَشْوَ الصَّحِيفَةِ بِالْبَلَى وَالْمُورِ

No. 96

أَلَا مِنْهُ لِصَادِيَةٍ الْحُزَيْدَ عَائِدٌ وَهَلْ أَنَّ دُونَهُ الشَّرَائِفَ عَائِدِي

No. 102

أَلَمْ تَعْجَبْ بِمَا لَقِيَتْ نَوَى الْعَرَصَاتِ أَوْ أَثَرَ الْخِيَامِ

On the other hand, Jarīr, with the exception of a few fragments, almost invariably opens with a ghazal prelude on which he lavishes much care. For this reason we will concentrate on his ghazal. The criterion for judging it will be the traditional 'Udhrī love-poetry of the period, famed for melody, depth of feeling and courteous tenderness towards the beloved.

Jarīr's ghazal compares favourable with the work of the 'Udhrīs on the score of simple poetic diction and melody in such lines as:

أَلَا حَيِّ رَهْبَى ثُمَّ حَيِّ الْمَطَالِيَا ... فَقَدْ كَانَ مَا نُوشَا فَأَصْبَحَ خَالِيَا

إِذَا ذُكِرَتْ نَسْلَى أُبَيْكَى لِيَ الْهَوَى ... عَلَى مَا تَرَى مِنْ هِجْرِهَا وَاجْتِنَابِيَا

خَلِيلَيَّ لَوْلَا أَنَّهُ نَهْيُ نَاهِيَا ... لَقُلْتُ بِحَيْثُ انْتُمْ عُقَيْلَةَ دَاعِيَا

et seq: No. 35.

But he falls short of the other 'Udhrī standards; his ghazal suffers from frigidity of emotion and a tendency to preach to and argue with the beloved:

أَبَيْتَ فَلَا تُعْطِينَهُ دِينًا وَظَالِمًا ... جَعَلْتَ بِجَابَاتِ الشَّدِيدَةِ الْمَكَارِمَ

أَغَرَّكِ مِنِّي أَنَّمَا قَادَنِ الْهَوَى ... إِلَيْكِ، وَمَا غُرَّهُ لَكِنَّهُ بِكِ دَائِمُ

No. 52

لَا فَيْءَ فِي مُسْتَظَلَّاتِ الْمَلَادِمِ ... وَلَا فِي خَلِيلٍ وَصْلُهُ غَيْرُ دَائِمِ

تَرَكْتُ الصِّبَا بِي خَشْيَةً أَنْ يَهِينَنِي ... بِمُرْتَفَعِ مِنْكُمُ الْمَنَازِلِ الْمُتَقَادِمِ

No. 70

This Naqā'id ghazal lacks sincerity and genuine emotion; note the hypocrisy of a lover who could declare:

تَرَكْتُ الصِّبَا مِنْ خَشْيَةٍ أَنْ يَلِيجَنِي ... بِتَوْضِحَ رَسْمُ الْمَنْزِلِ الْمُتَقَادِمِ

"I gave up love-making for fear that the remains of the olden house at Tawḍih might move me."

No. 70.

Such lapses from the romantic 'Udhrī tradition give away Jarīr and expose his pose; he was merely playing a conventional game; he never experienced love, and the women he mentions are imaginary. His ghazal is, in short, artificial love-poetry.

The chief characteristic of Naqā'id fakhr is its tribal collective nature; in boasting of the achievements of their ancestors and tribes, both poets had little to say about personal achievements:

إِنَّ الَّذِي سَمَكَ السَّمَاءَ بَنَى لَنَا ... بَيْتًا دَعَائِمُهُ أَعَزُّ وَأَطْوَلُ

. . . . . .

أَبْنَاءُ الَّذِينَ بِهِمْ لُقَاسِ دَارِمًا ... أَمْ مَنْ إِلَى سَلَفٍ مُهَيَّةَ تُجْعَلُ

نَحْمُونَهُ فِي حَلَقِ الْحَدِيدِ كَمَا حَمَتْ ... حُرْبُ الْجِمَالِ بِهَا الْكَمِيُّ الْمُشْعَلُ

. . . . . .

al-Farazdaq - No. 39

إِنِّي إِلَى حَسَبٍ تَمِيمَ مُقَبَّلٌ ... وَمَحَلُّ بَيْتِي فِي الضِّفَاعِ الْأَطْوَلِ

وَإِذَا تَسَأَلُ إِذَا خَرَجْتَ الْخِدَامُ وَاحْمَتْ ... حَرْبٌ تَضَرَّمُ كَالْحَرِيقِ الْمُشْعَلِ

أَبْنُو مُهَيَّةَ يَعْدِلُونَهُ فَوَارِسِ ... وَبَنُو خُصَافِيَ وَذَاكَ مَا لَمْ يُعْدَلِ

Jarīr - No. 40

Noble birth, valour of tribe or family and a list of old victories - these are typical of Naqā'iḍ fakhr themes which

42. See P.160, above.

have been used repeatedly throughout the forty-year feud. Compared with the fakhr work of such masters as 'Antarah or 'Amr b. Kulthūm, the shortcomings of this Naqā'iḍ fakhr are clearly exposed. It is impersonal, and does not carry the conviction of personal experience which gives authority to the words of the two pre-Islamic poets who lived through most of the experiences which they wrote about. It is no mere chance that the greatest fakhr poet in the Arabic language - al-Mutanebbī - ignored empty boasting about noble birth and the achievements of ancestors, and concentrated on his personal achievements and experiences; the same could be said of such masters of fakhr as as-Sharīf ar-Raḍī and Abū Firās al-Ḥamdanī.

Naqā'iḍ satire does not suffer from the shortcomings and limitations of Naqā'iḍ fakhr; it is personal to a great extent, for even when collective or tribal traits are dealt with, it is with an eye to pinning them down on the opponent; its themes offer an unlimited scope for variation and inventiveness. But, as pointed out before,[42] only al-Farazdaq made use of the possibilities offered, and wrote satire which was varied and fresh:

سَأَرْمِي، وَلَوْ حُمِلَتْ فِي اللِّئَامِ وَرُدَّتْ إِلَى دِقَّةِ الْمَحْتِدِ
حَلِيْمًا، فَمَا أَوْقَدَتْ نَارَهَا لِقَدْحِ فَفَاخِرَهُ وَلَا مُرْفِدِ
وَلَا رَافَعُوا لَيْلَةَ الصَّارِخِيـ ـةِ لَهُمْ صَوْتَ ذِي غُرَّةٍ مُوقِدِ
وَلَكِنَّهُمْ بَلَهٌ وَلَهُ الْحِمَيـ ـرَ رَدَافَى عَلَى الظَّهْرِ وَالْقَرْدَدِ
عَلَى كُلِّ فَقَّارَةٍ مُخْزِيَةٍ بِقِطْعَةِ رِبْعِيَّةٍ وَلَمْ تُكْبَدِ

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42. See P.160, above.

Although the themes of satire in the first three lines are commonplace: humble origins, stinginess, and cowardice, one cannot fail to note the treatment of at least two of these themes in lines two and three through the clever use of poetic diction; the inventiveness and variation are, however, reflected in such masterly development of ironic touches as in the fifth verse where the poet conjures up a host of ironical themes by alluding to an item of the trappings of their comical war-mounts. He goes on to vary the theme of their mounts:

يَمْشُونَ مَشْيَ الْجَمَلِ الْمُرْحَلِ ... وَهُنَّ طَلَائِعُ بِالْمَرْصَدِ

يَهْتَزُّ يَعَابِيبُ أَعْنَاقِهَا ... وَيَشْفُونَ كُلَّ دَمٍ مُقْصَدِ

till he achieves the climax in a fantastically ironic analogy:

فَمَا حَاجِبٌ فِي بَنِي دَارِمٍ ... وَلَا أُشْرَةُ الْأَقْرَعِ الْأَمْجَدِ

وَلَا آلُ قَيْسٍ بَنُو خَالِدٍ ... وَلَا الصَّيِّدُ صَيِّدُ بَنِي فَرْقَدِ

إِذَا أَنْفَرُوا كُلَّ خَفَّاقَةٍ ... وَرَدْنَ بِهِمْ أَحَدَ الْأَكْمُدِ

بِأَحْيَلَ مِنْهُمْ إِذَا نَزَّلُوا ... بِمُفْرِهِمْ حَاجِبٌ مُوجَدِ

يَسُوقُونَ نَزْوَتَهُ بِالْوَصِيفِ ... وَكُوَّمَيْهِ بِالنَّاشِرِ الْأَمْرَدِ

No. 75

Again al-Farazdaq shows his ability to pack a varied number of themes and sketches in a few lines in which nearly every word plays a part in developing a satirical picture or in

bringing to mind a distant allusion; take the last four lines: each of the words أَثْمُد ، خَفَافَة ، أَقْفَرُوا in the third line provides a small picture denoting respectively: poverty, a comical mount and the miserable life of a weak tribe; even more ingenious is the use in the fourth line of the words: مؤجد ، حَاجِبْ ، مَغْزَنِهِمْ ، زَيَّنُوا ، أَجْبَل ، denoting the pathetic and comical pride which Jarīr's people took in a prize-donkey. The same applies to the remaining two verses.

To sum up, the artistic value of the Naqā'iḍ verse of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq is slight in relation to the volume of that verse. Its form was too cumbersome, entailing a combination of ghazal, fakhr and satire themes, to allow the balanced development of a united poem. The form also imposed upon the poet the necessity of scoring on a prescribed number of topics, thus leading to repetition and padding. The content was limited by the limitation of the themes of fakhr and satire. Add to these the length of the period through which this Naqā'iḍ verse was written, and the final judgment on Naqā'iḍ will be: disjointed construction, artificiality and staleness.

There is, however, a saving grace; in Naqā'iḍ verse, both poets preserved for the historian much useful information on the old battles of Arabia, and the philologist and

grammarian can find useful material, especially in the work of al-Farazdaq who used the language with more boldness and originality than his timid and conventional opponent.

* * *

CONCLUSIONS

1. al-Farazdaq's loyalty, beyond the limits of his own tribe, was a matter of convenience and expediency; he flattered Khindif, tolerated Qais, liked Rabī'ah and hated the Yemenite group. pp. 3-10

2. He retained to the end of his life a strong mental and emotional attachment to the pagan world of pre-Islamic Arabia and all that it stood for. His concept of the Caliphate was as an absolute hereditary monarchy; his political loyalty was clearly Umayyad, and there is no evidence of any 'Alid or Shī'ite leanings in his poetry. pp. 11-22

3. His moral character is not as black as usually portrayed, and lustful episodes should be received with suspicion. On the other hand, al-Farazdaq has enjoyed the affection and esteem of his contemporaries. pp. 23-28

4. Panegyric (including fakhr) and satire account, in equal proportions, for nearly half the bulk of the poetry in the Dīwān. The faults of his panegyric technique were twofold: contempt of patrons and slipshod consturction. He used two methods in fakhr: one was direct and prosaic; the other was narrative and dramatic; it was generally used in long poems and was very successful. pp. 29-55

5. In the satire directed against his own tribe and its branches, al-Farazdaq concentrates on the calumny of his opponent's womenfolk so as not to offend against the tribe as a whole, thus the damage is localised. This Tamīm satire is usually in fragment-length, while satire of other tribes is in long qasīdas. His reproach poetry is so mixed with threats and abuse that it is difficult to distinguish it from satire. pp. 56-73

6. The occasional poetry of al-Farazdaq is a comprehensive record of his life; it gives his personal experiences, his comments on personalities and events of his time, and provides a social chronicle of some of the customs and institutions of the Umayyad epoch. pp. 74-81

7. His elegiac work is insignificant; the best in it is represented by six pieces written on the death of his sons; he fails completely in his repeated efforts to write a good elegy on his father; the loss of females he did not deem worthy of an elegy. pp. 82-85

8. His descriptive verse benefits from abundant use of narrative and imagery. pp. 86-89

9. His humorous fragments exhibit a coarse and sharp bedouin wit which aims at laughing at rather than wounding the victim. pp. 90-92

10. al-Farazdaq does not seem to have experienced a genuine emotion of love in spite of the great number of women whom he knew. It is very doubtful whether he ever loved his wife, Nawār, and she hardly figures in his love-odes. This may account for his failure to write love-odes in the style of his contemporary 'Udhrī school. pp. 93-95

11. His contemplative and didactic poetry shows no signs of profound thinking. pp. 96-98

12. For his pronographic fragments and his elegant themes of wine-song, al-Farazdaq may be considered a fore-runner of the group of 'Abbāsid libertines and wine-song writers. pp. 99-100

13. His poetical development falls into three stages: the first covers twenty years (41-60 A.H.); in this stage he was a young tribal poet, and his work was confined to exchanging satire with other Tamīmid poets. The second stage covers about fifteen years (60-73 A.H.), and was a period of political unrest in Syria, Hijaz and 'Irāq; it witnessed two important events in his life, viz. his marriage to Nawār and the beginning of his Naqā'id feud with Jarīr. The third stage covers about forty years (73-114 A.H.), and it saw the emergence of al-Farazdaq as a court-poet. He developed in these three stages from an insignificant tribal poet in the first, to a mature and experienced poet in the second, who mastered the technique of the long qasīda and was able to keep his own in his feud with Jarīr; later he became one of the three principal poets of his era. More than half of all his poetry was written in the third stage, including the best of his panegyric and satire verse. pp. 102-108

14. al-Farazdaq knew by heart most of the work of pre-Islamic and Islamic masters, especially Imru-ul-Qais and al-Hutai'ah; the influence of Imru-ul-Qais on him is reflected in al-Farazdaq's bragging attitude towards his sexual life, his obscenity of diction and a cynical attitude towards love. Through al-Hutai'ah, he was introduced to the perfectionist tradition of the school of Zuhair, but al-Farazdaq was too much of an individualist to make a good disciple of a school which imposed rigid artistic discipline on its adherents. On the

whole, the influence of the pre-Islamic poets on al-Farazdaq was strong in the early formative stage of his development, but it weakened with the growth of his personality and the impact of the Qur'ānic style. pp. 109-119

15. The grammarians of the old Basrah school preferred al-Akhtal to al-Farazdaq for the former's orthodox grammatic construction and his adherence to the form of the traditional qasīda. They, however, admired al-Farazdaq's wealth of diction. The philologists of the second and third centuries preferred al-Farazdaq to Jarīr for his mastery of varied themes of satire. Literary critics of the same period held different, but mostly favourable, views on the merits of al-Farazdaq. pp. 120-125

16. The chief characteristic of al-Farazdaq's style is the abundant use of narrative in which he was influenced to some extent by the mythology of the Qur'ān. Tadmin is frequently used, and as it does not contribute to the rhythm of the metre, it seems to have been merely a product of careless versification; the same can be said of his unconventional use of the displaced caesura. al-Farazdaq's handling of his wealth of diction is extremely erratic, perhaps due to his "oral method of composition" which is also responsible for such stylistic faults as impactation, ambiguity and faulty rhyme.

The chief feature of his technique is variation: themes are varied to avoid monotony; style is varied in a poem when it has only one theme (e.g. elegy) or in a theme when it gets too long; emphasis is also varied.

In a comparison with his two chief rivals - al-Akhtal and Jarīr, al-Farazdaq emerges as nearer to al-Akhtal than to Jarīr, i.e. nearer to the pre-Islamic poetic tradition than to the Islamic. Compared with Jarīr, he emerges victorious by virtue of his originality and fine perception, although Jarīr is superior in handling easy melodious diction. pp. 126-146

17. The history of Naqā'iḍ poetry goes back to pre-Islamic days; it was a requisite of a tribal society, hence its decline in the Urban 'Abbāsid society in 'Irāq. The date of the beginning of the Jarīr - al-Farazdaq feud can be accurately fixed as 67/8 A.H.

In their feud, both Jarīr and al-Farazdaq strictly adhere to the conventional unities of Naqā'iḍ, and only depart from them when the subject involves personal embarrassment; in such rare cases they are also inclined to be brief.

Naqā'id dealt with all the usual subjects of Arabic poetry, including, in a limited way, elegy.

Jarīr, being a conservative, persists in using the traditional ghazal prelude in nearly all his Naqā'id verse, while al-Farazdaq dispenses with it in more than two thirds of his.

The main themes of Naqā'id fakhr is collective tribal glories. Satire themes in Naqā'id, on the other hand, give much scope for individual abuse. Jarīr's repertoire of satire themes was very limited, while al-Farazdaq invented a wide and varied collection of themes.

The difference between Naqā'id and ordinary satire is categorical: Naqā'id is competitive in nature; its themes are stereotypes; the issues are determined by the "principal" poem. The retaliation factor in Naqā'id serves both as incentive and excuse for its extreme coarseness and obscenity.
pp. 147-174

18. The artistic value of Naqā'id poetry is limited by two factors: the content of the Naqā'id poem is rigidly limited to a set of prescribed themes; the form is cumbersome as the poet has to comply to a given metre and rhyme, and sometimes a given length - all chosen by his adversary. Added to these is the staleness of the Naqā'id poetry which was produced by the Jarīr - al-Farazdaq feud which lasted forty years.
pp. 174-181

APPENDIX

List of Contents of the Dīwān of al-Farazdaq.

(ed. aṣ-Ṣāwī, 1st ed., Cairo, 1936).

Arranged according to subjects.

1. PANEGYRIC.

	No. of Poem in Dīwān	Page.	Length in lines.
a. Caliphs:			
1. 'Abdul Malik	13	22	06
2. Al-Walīd	576	702	52
	257	309	44
	284	349	40
	608	767	29
	66	87	19
	554	683	3
3. Sulaymān	263	324	99
	494	618	61
	508	635	43
	529	654	34
	12	15	29
	223	240	18
	679	822	5
	349	415	4
4. 'Umar	500	628	31
	218	219	46
5. Yazīd II	355	427	65
	763	888	42
	238	268	39
	693	828	30
	432	543	21
	154	168	19
	552	681	15
	515	645	12
6. Hishām	700	835	82
	629	782	55
	430	532	54
	647	808	40
	54	63	33
	705	845	28
	152	165	23
	594	750	21
	74	99	20

	No. of Poem in Dīwān.	Page.	Length in lines.
b. Princes:			
1. al-Walīd b. Yazīd	352	417	31
	065	084	30
	298	369	13
	(?) 581	708	12
	002	007	11
	408	510	09
	382	484	04
2. al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd	431	538	50
	354	423	39
3. 'Umar b. al-Walīd	160	174	24
4. Ayyūb b. Sulaymān	253	302	40
5. Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām	694	830	20
c. Zubairids:			
1. Hamzah b. 'Abdullahī ibn az-Zubair	254	308	03
	444	570	03
	532	659	02
d. 'Alīds:			
1. Zainu 'l-'Abidīn	713	848	06
e. Governors of Provinces, Generals and Emīrs:			
1. Sa'īd b. al-'Āsī	493	615	26
2. al-Ḥajjāj	572	694	40
	067	089	38
	417	515	05
	356	435	04
3. Bishr b. Marwān	248	286	42
	203	211	05
4. The Muhallab family	306	374	53
	186	192	09
	038	046	06
	759	885	02
	088	107	01
5. 'Umar b. Hubairah	246	280	23
	453	579	25
	350	416	05
6. Nasr b. Sayyār	409	511	23
	282	347	17
	345	411	07
	483	601	02
	136	154	01
7. Khālid al-Qasrī	266	335	23
	296	365	12

	No. of Poem in Dīwān.	Page.	Length in lines.
8. Ibrāhīm b. Hishām	092	108	01
9. 'Abdullāhi b. 'Āmir	333	395	09
10. 'Umar b. 'Ubaidullahi	660	814	05
11. al-Jarrāh al-Hakamī	221	228	40
12. al-Junaid b. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān	674	819	07
13. Qais b. al-Haitham	601	761	06
14. Asad al-Qasrī	274	340	33
	738	875	25
	161	177	18
	499	626	14
	469	592	14
	277	344	09
	348	414	08
	422	526	07
	242	273	07
	153	168	04
	281	346	04
	454	581	15
	468	592	01
15. al-Hakam b. Ayyūb	014	023	43
	555	684	36
16. Ziād b. ar-Rabī'	394	492	14
17. Ibrāhīm b. 'Arabī	517	648	03
18. Qatan b. Mudrikah	575	700	25
19. al-Muhājir al-Kilābī	337	397	36
20. Yazīd b. 'Umar	194	198	11
21. 'Ubaidullāhi b. Abī Bakrah	048	057	16
22. Hassān b. Sa'īd	133	153	02
23. Bilāl b. Abī Burdah	535	660	31
	046	053	22
	059	074	21
	057	070	14
	571	694	10
	437	547	10
	569	693	09
	545	674	06
24. Muhammad b. Manzūr	534	660	03
25. Khalaf b. Ziād	433	545	05
26. Mālik b. al-Mundhir	643	803	37
	551	678	33
	061	076	05
	712	848	03
	019	031	02
27. Abān b. al-Walīd	353	420	29
	052	061	15
	739	876	12
	305	374	07
	436	547	04

	No. of Poem in Dīwān.	Page.	Length in lines.
28. 'Abdu 'r-Rahmān b. Umm al-Hakam	392	489	16
	224	242	04
29. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd	259	320	09
30. Misma' b. al-Mundhir	562	690	11
31. al-Ward al-Hanafī	063	078	43
	155	170	03
32. Khālid b. 'Abdul Malik	507	633	19
f. Individual Patrons:			
1. 'Abdullāhī b. 'Abdel A'lā of Banū Shaibān	537	666	38
	001	003	29
	595	754	16
	611	772	09
2. 'Abdur-Rahīm b. Salīm of Banū Kalb	262	322	19
	691	826	06
	549	677	05
3. Hilāl b. Ahwaz	438	548	16
	050	060	04
	401	507	06
	741	878	06
	260	321	04
4. 'Abbād b. Akhdar	197	200	03
	655	813	02
5. az-Zi'l al-Jarmī	465	590	09
	518	648	04
	719	864	07
6. Salm b. Ahwaz	323	387	08
7. al-'Akkār al-Māzinī	714	849	01
8. Qumair b. Sa'īd	330	392	06
9. al-Hārith b. Salīm	527	653	04
10. Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā'	313	382	01
11. Abū Hādir al-Usaidī's son	304	373	02
12. Husain b. Burthun	055	068	02
13. Kuthair b. Sayyār	244	278	09
14. Muhammad b. Wakī'	336	396	02
15. 'Īsā b. Khusailah	193	197	10
16. 'Abbād b. 'Abbād	196	199	08
17. al-'Udhāfir at-Tamīmī	335	396	03
18. Irāz b. Salamah	377	481	02
19. Hilāl b. Hammām	415	515	02
20. 'Abdullāhi b. 'Amr	288	360	05
21. Sa'id b. Khālid	165	180	02
22. Salm b. Ziād b. Abīhi	560	690	04
	617	775	02
23. Jarīr b. 'Abdillāhi 'l-Bajalī	170	182	07

	No. of Poem in Dīwān.	Page.	Length in lines.
24. aṣ-Ṣalīb an-Nahshalī	400	506	04
25. al-Ábrash al-Kalbī=Sa'īd b. al-Walīd	636	788	19
26. 'Umair b. Ḍubai'ah	654	812	07
27. Muslim b. Sinān	087	106	06
28. Sufiān b. 'Amr	358	436	10
29. Jamīl b. Himrān	740	877	10
30. 'Azīzah of Banū Dhuhl	020	032	05
g. Nonentities:			
-	031	041	04
-	044	053	02
-	053	063	03
-	102	124	01
-	188	193	02
-	351	416	03
-	387	486	05
-	435	546	01
-	548	676	04
-	583	710	01
-	737	874	02
-	687	825	06
h. Tribes and Clans:			
1. Quraish	427	528	02
2. Banū Dabbah	258	314	36
3. Qais 'Ailān	602	761	04
4. Banū Bakr b. Wā'il	521	650	10
5. Banū Hanīfah	245	279	10
	464	590	04
	699	834	09
6. Banū 'Ijl	566	692	02
	614	775	02
7. Banū Bakhdhaj	123	144	03
8. Banū 'l-'Amm	137	154	08
9. Banū Khuzā'ii b. Māzin	328	389	13
10. Banū Māzin	556	688	10
11. Banū Abān b. Dārim	631	786	07
	692	827	13

2. FAKHR.

No. of Poem in Diwan.	Page.	Length in lines.
005	008	01
008	009	10
015	028	02
017	030	06
018	031	01
021	032	02
027	039	05
033	042	14
035	044	07
051	060	04
091	108	03
098	115	03
114	138	01
145	162	04
211	216	01
234	250	13
243	274	30
269	338	02
283	348	03
297	366	20
310	381	02
348	413	03
357	436	03
439	550	04
461	588	03
466	591	02
492	614	06
538	670	08
553	683	03
570	693	03
573	698	13
604	762	06
648	811	04
676	820	13
681	822	04
686	825	02
690	826	05
695	831	25
703	844	02
711	848	02
717	864	05
720	865	03
724	867	10
730	873	02
743	879	04

	No. of Poem in Dīwān.	Page.	Length in lines.
-	✱ 760	885	1½
-	762	887	03
-	764	890	42
	3. APOLOGY.		
-	236	254	04
-	664	816	05
-	667	817	03
	4. SATIRE.		
a. Caliphs:			
1. Hishām	042	051	02
	628	781	02
b. Governors and Generals:			
1. Khālid al-Qasrī	178	189	02
	179	189	03
	477	598	02
	484	601	03
	733	874	03
2. 'Umar b. Hubairah	389	487	05
	403	508	04
	516	647	08
3. Ziād b. Abī Sufiān	347	413	03
4. al-Muhallab and Family	009	010	15
	176	187	23
	346	412	06
	746	879	02
5. Mālik b. al-Mundhir	076	101	02
	311	382	01
6. al-Hakam b. al-Mundhir	325	388	02
7. 'Umar b. 'Ubaidullāhi	561	690	02
8. Umayyah b. Khālid	618	776	02
9. Ibrāhīm b. 'Arabī	509	639	07
10. al-Muhājir al-Kilābī	319	385	01
	320	386	01

✱ Rajaz.

	No. of Poem in Dīwān.	Page.	Length in lines.
c. Sections of Tamīm:			
1. Banū Fuqaim	141	160	02
	148	163	03
	310	383	03
	316	384	03
	524	652	03
	540	672	03
	586	711	04
	615	775	02
	652	812	02
2. Banū Nahshal	028	040	02
	162	178	03
	222	233	37
	362	439	02
	397	497	44
	510	640	05
	513	642	03
	541	672	03
	607	765	31
	745	879	08
	752	881	02
3. Banū Māzin	286	353	42
	671	818	01
	697	833	11
4. Banū Sa'd	269	338	02
	279	345	03
	398	502	41
	445	571	17
	402	507	02
	736	874	02
	756	882	02
5. Banū Usaiid	326	388	03
	528	654	02
6. Banū Manāf b. Dārim	525	652	03
	661	815	03
7. Banū Taim	029	040	02
8. Banū 'Amr b. Tamīm	624	778	03
9. Banū Rubai' b. al-Harith	268	338	04
10. Banū 'l-Ahtam	630	785	06
d. Individual Tamīmids:			
1. A man of Banū Tha'labah b. Yarbū'	078	102	02
2. Sa'd ar-Rabiyah	"	424	527	02
3. Zaid b. Masrūq	"	627	781	04
4. Abū 'l-Muhalhil	"	578	707	05

	No. of Poem in Dīwān.	Page.	Length in lines.
5. Yazīd b. 'Umar al-Usaidī	539	671	04
	729	873	03
6. Khālid b. Safwān	659	814	04
7. Na'īm b. Safwān	198	200	03
8. al-Jalawbaq as-Sa'dī	460	588	01
9. Sinān al-'Adawī	710	848	01
10. Mālik b. 'Ilwān "	227	245	03
11. 'Ayyāsh b. az-Zibriqān	030	041	04
12. Sālih b. Kudair al-Māzinī	128	148	04
13. A man of Banū Malkān	080	104	03
14. Zahdam of Banū Fuqaim	496	624	04
15. Huraim al-Mujashi'i	658	814	03
16. Dalam "	748	880	02
	324	388	02
17. Miskīn ad-Dārimī	228	245	03
18. Murrah b. Mihkān	592	745	52
19. al-Khiyār	728	873	04
e. Other Tribes and Groups:			
1. Banū Makhzūm	622	777	02
2. Banū Jārim	638	790	04
3. Qais 'Ailān	056	068	16
	640	795	38
	722	865	07
4. Banū Muhawwalah	292	362	02
	520	649	04
5. Banū 'Ijl	568	692	02
6. Banū Fazārah	247	282	37
7. Banū Shaibān	567	692	03
8. Banū Ka'b b. Rabī'ah	489	609	18
⁂ 9. Banū 'Amir	663	815	14
10. Bal-Hārith b. Ka'b	758	884	15
11. al-Azd	235	252	15
	502	631	02
f. Poets and their Tribes:			
1. Jandal and Qais	036	045	04
	041	050	11
	201	207	25
	495	624	05
	531	658	12

⁂ Cf. 640 - p. 795.

	No. of Poem in Dīwān.		Page.	Length in lines.
2. al-Asamm and Bāhilah	025		037	18
	058		072	16
	343		407	22
	467		592	01
	414		514	03
	612		773	04
	613		773	20
	641		799	36
3. at-Tirimmāh and Taii	072		096	24
	110		135	28
	275		343	07
	498		625	05
	698		834	05
	546		674	12
	683		823	27
4. Jarīr and Banū Kulaib	049		059	07
	060		076	03
	085		105	02
	115		139	01
	150		164	03
	189		194	14
	215		217	01
	264		334	07
	290		362	02
	299		370	16
	375		481	01
	341		406	03
	344		410	09
	349		415	03
	360		438	03
	522		651	04
	536		664	17
	632		786	08
	696		833	05
(31)	** 587		711	26
(34)	** 768		895	29
(39)	** 588		704	104
(41)	** 364		439	025
(44)	** 365		442	042
(45)	** 715		849	024
(47)	** 589		725	100
(49)	** 366		448	040
(51)	** 716		851	159
(54)	** 099		115	070
(23)	** 206		212	023
(58)	** 131		149	011
(59)	** 367		452	104
(61)	** 440		551	111

** Naqā'id Poems, on left are their K.A. nos.

XXX Not in D.S.

	No. of Poem in Dīwān.	Page.	Length in lines.
(63)	** 590	735	094
(66)	** 419	516	047
(68)	** 591	743	030
(69)	** 717	861	046
(71)	** 107	127	035
(74)	** 472	594	015
(75)	** 200	202	044
(78)	** 095	110	019
(80)	** 475	598	001
(81)	** 420	522	017
(84)	** 132	150	015
(86)	** 104	125	002
(87)	** 474	596	016
(90)	** 368	465	003
(93)	** 369	465	089
(94)	** 757	882	025
X (96)	**		
(98)	** 370	474	043
(100)	** 421	955	012
(102)	** 139	156	023
(105)	** 700	835	082
(107)	** 024	034	018
(110)	** 191	195	004
(113)	** 371	479	007

g. Individuals:

1.	'Amr b. 'Afrā'	374	480 001
2.	Ruhaimah (his wife)	204	211 006
3.	'Amr b. 'Isā	300	371 03
4.	al-Hazhāz al-Bakrī	214	492 01
5.	Ayyūb ad-Dabbī	334	396 01
		159	173 05
6.	az-Zi'l al-Jarmī	574	699 05
7.	Judai' b. Sa'īd	726	868 04
8.	Abū 'Ubaidah b. Muhammad	623	777 03
9.	Numailah al-Fazārī	459	587 05
10.	al-Ash'ath al-'Ijlī	653	812 02
11.	'Abd b. Abī Sūd	512	642 03
		511	641 07
12.	al-Karawwas	380	483 02
13.	'Anbasah al-Fīl	164	179 01
14.	Ibn Zahdam	151	164 01
15.	Ma'n - a fodder-seller	317	384 02
16.	A woman of 'Ukl	563	691 01

** Naqā'id Poems, on left are their K.N. Nos.

X** Not in D.S.

	No. of Poem in Dīwān.	Page.	Length in lines.
17. Anon.	070	096	01
18. 'Amr b. 'Ubaid	331	393	14
19. Anon.	100	123	01
20. " (Fazarids?)	118	142	03
21. " (Bakrids)	120	143	03
22. "	207	215	01
23. "	212	216	01
24. "	376	481	01
25. "	363	439	03
26. "	388	487	03
27. "	688	826	02

5. REPROACH.

1. Mu'āwiyah	047	056	16
	040	049	05
2. Banū Bakr b. Wā'il	596	756	02
	597	756	11
3. Banū Jārim (of Dabbah)	542	673	03
	666	817	03
4. His wife - Suwaidah	016	028	16
5. " " - Nawār	321	386	01
6. His people.	463	589	03
7. al-Khiyar al-Mujāshi'ī	172	184	06
	251	293	09
8. Yazīd b. Hubairah	669	818	02
9. Banū Hajar (of Dabbah)	294	364	03
10. Banū Malkān	270	339	02

6. IRONY AND LAMPOONS.

1. A comic Governor	119	142	01
2. Cooking pot of a miser	340	406	02
3. A mock elegy	182	191	01
4. To a neighbour	307	381	02
5. Jarīr's daughter	023	033	02
6. Banū Muqā'is	761	887	02
7. Musā b. Ḥamzah	721	865	02
8. Yemenite tribes	755	882	02
9. Defeated General	265	335	02
10. Khālid al-Qasrī	302	372	07

7. ELEGY.

	No. of Poem in Dīwān.	Page.	Length in lines.
1. His children	241	270	25
	407	509	03
	606	764	13
	670	818	01
	760	885	30
2. His father	032	042	03
	147	163	03
	202	210	03
	490	611	12
	544	674	03
	547	676	03
3. His brother	073	099	05
	278	345	03
4. His people	393	491	12
5. Members of his tribe:			
a. Wakī' b. Abī Sūd	125	146	03
	229	246	10
	327	389	02
	361	438	02
	405	509	04
	406	509	03
	504	632	03
	625	778	02
b. 'Abdullāhī b. Nāshirah	239	267	05
	665	817	03
c. al-Qa'qā'	747	880	05
d. Hilāl b. Ahwaz	138	155	05
6. Caliphs:			
a. Sulaimān	503	632	04
7. Governors and Emirs:			
1. 'Abdul 'Azīz b. Marwān	219	225	08
2. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab	142	160	03
3. al-Hajjāj	295	365	04
	429	529	21
4. al-Hajjāj's son	181	190	02
	396	494	37
5. Bishr b. Marwān	240	268	22
6. 'Abdul Malik b. Bishr	034	043	04
7. Muhammad b. Mūsa	646	807	16
	723	866	16
8. al-Jarrāh al-Hakamī	637	789	12
	644	806	08
9. 'Umar b. 'Ubaidullāhī	249	290	18

	No. of Poem in Dīwān.	Page.	Length in lines.
10. Salm b. Ziād	267	337	07
11. Dā'ūd b. Qaḥdham	285	353	02
12. Mālik b. Misma'	395	494	03
13. 'Atiyyah b. Ji'āl	423	527	03
14. Muḥammad b. al-'Āsī	549	751	45
8. Anonymous	077	102	06
	143	160	05
	280	346	04
8. DESCRIPTION AND NARRATIVE.			
1. The battle of 'Uqr Bābil	108	132	16
2. Escape from Prison - The Muhallabs	479	599	03
3. " " " - Ibn Hubair-ah	117	140	09
4. Amorous Adventure in Medinah	237	255	49
5. Encounter with a lion	261	321	05
6. " " " wolf	384	484	06
7. " " " "	727	868	47
8. Incident with a wolf	410	512	08
9. Camels	256	309	01
10. Travel	146	162	04
11. A herd of camels	109	134	08
12. A forced march by al-Ḥajjāj	111	137	05
13. The sinister Ḥajjāj	470	593	03
14. Ruins	441	569	01
15. Episode on a rainy day	230	247	06
16. Trotting camels	442	570	01
17. Astray in the desert	701	840	53
18. Incident with savage camel	062	077	04
19. Pawning his son	765	893	13
20. A journey in Ṭaii country	068	092	10
21. A wicked trick	523	651	08
22. Fly droppings	208	215	01
9. OCCASIONAL.			
a. Personal affairs:			
1. On dying his hair	391	489	02
2. Opening a second door	633	787	02
3. Bickering with Nawar	651	812	04
4. Quarrelling " "	386	486	02
5. Desertion of "	486	603	28
6. Jealousy on "	135	153	03

xv.

	No. of Poem in Dīwān.	Page.	Length in lines.
7. Flight of Nawār	094	110	03
8. Nawār's jealousy	467	598	04
9. Divorce of Nawār	293	363	06
10. Marriage to Ḥadrā'	167	181	02
11. " " Ruhaimah	140	159	06
	086	106	01
	564	692	01
12. Divorce of a wife	704	845	01
13. Marriage to Zabiah	399	506	01
	082	105	01
	650	811	02
	096	114	03
	378	482	01.
14. A slave girl	373	480	01
15. Death of a concubine	767	894	05
16. On his daughters	519	649	02
	750	880	03
	169	182	04
17. On leaving his children	416	515	02
18. A bad son	103	124	05
19. To a wife	158	172	03
20. Adultery	734	874	01
21. Obscenities	255	308	06
	190	195	01
b. Important Incidents:			
1. Flight from Ziād	488	608	02
2. " " "	605	763	13
3. " " "	610	771	15
4. " " "	171	183	05
5. Fear of "	452	579	04
* 6. " " "	668	818	02
7. On hearing of Ziād's death	175	186	03
8. " " " " "	619	776	02
9. Return from exile	751	881	01
10. Fear of Hajjāj	605	762	04
11. Flight from Hajjāj	180	190	06
12. Exile in Medinah:			
a. Asylum	220	225	26
b. Trouble with Governor	379	482	03
c. Banishment	173	185	01
d. Merry life	166	180	08
13. On leaving prison	022	135	07
	585	711	02

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* Repetition from DS: 610 - p. 771: VS: 4-5.

	No. of Poem in Dīwān.	Page.	Length in lines.
c. Political Comments:			
1. Advice to a Caliph	149	164	03
2. Firmness of al-Ḥajjaj	443	570	01
3. The Revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath	725	867	08
	635	787	04
4. Rebuke for disloyalty	480	600	05
5. Mudar loyalty	338	403	12
6. The death of an enemy	557	689	01
7. Assassination by Khārijites	329	390	10
8. Assassination of Chief of Police	649	811	02
9. Defeat of a Zubaīrid General	457	586	04
10. The Khurāsān Revolt	075	101	01
11. Comment on policy	004	008	01
12. Revolt of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab	657	813	02
13. " " " " "	603	762	06
14. " " " " "	645	806	10
15. " " " " "	199	201	09
16. Massacre of the Muhallab family	448	574	08
	449	575	22
17. A political marriage	168	181	04
18. The battle of Dairu 'l-Jamā-jim	252	294	80
19. Flight of a General	322	386	04
20. Complaint and warning	276	344	03
21. On a dismissed official	231	249	03
22. Condemnation of Murji's	404	508	02
23. On a new Governor	749	880	01
24. Political murder	675	819	03
25. " "	309	381	03
26. To al-Qasrī (?)	113	138	02
27. Anti-Khārijite	122	143	02
d. Tribal Affairs:			
1. Quarrel with Banū Fuqaim	233	249	05
2. Grazing dispute	339	405	09
3. Superiority	105	126	03
4. Anti-Azd	533	660	05
5. Complaint to Caliph	639	790	38
6. Murder of a Tamīmid	106	126	05
	685	825	02
	112	138	02
	481	600	02
7. Let down by his tribe	271	339	03
8. Vengeance	084	105	02
9. Taunt	709	848	01
10. Detestation of Yemenites	226	244	05

	No. of Poem in Dīwān.	Page.	Length in lines.
11. The battle of Nisār	682	823	03
12. Tribal solidarity	684	825	02
13. Conflict of loyalties	593	749	09
14. Blood feuds:	039	047	09
	045	053	02
	079	103	02
	124	146	04
	129	148	02
	163	179	04
	425	528	04
	526	653	05
	530	657	07
	550	677	06
	598	757	35
	599	760	05
	620	776	02
	621	777	06
15. The Tamīm-Kalb alliance	010	013	09
16. On Banū Mujāshi'	250	293	03
17. On Banū Kulaib	702	844	03
18. Quarrel with Banū Manqir	487	607	03
19. Defence of an ally	458	586	04
e. Social Chronicle:			
1. A water-supply keeper	754	881	05
2. Government well-borers	185	192	03
3. Horse racing	672	818	02
4. Water racing	318	385	01
5. The tricks of lovers	301	372	01
6. Women at a public meeting of a religious-story-teller	291	362	01
f. Personal experiences and reflections:			
1. The episode of the Greek prisoner	174	185	04
	205	212	04
	289	361	05
2. Voluntary imprisonment	209	215	01
3. Drunken	217	218	02
4. Advice	565	692	01
5. Heresy	577	707	01
	287	360	01
6. Repentance	450	577	04
7. Freedom of Expression	272	339	02
8. Generosity	177	189	01

	No. of Poem in Dīwān.	Page.	Length in lines.
9. Tenderness	213	216	01
10. Contentment	732	874	01
11. Necessity	312	384	01

g. Comment and Criticism of other matters:

1. A foolish messenger	428	529	01
2. A good deed	543	673	05
3. Ingratitude of two men	455	583	19
4. A man entering his horse for the races	514	645	04
5. Theft of a neighbour's camels	678	821	11
6. Dispute on a water hole	090	107	04
7. On two policemen who frightened him	446	573	05
8. To a thief who taunted him	447	574	01
9. A case of mistaken identity	451	578	03
10. A sordid incident	558	689	03
11. Al-Muhallab's wife	130	149	02
12. An unequal marriage	081	104	03
13. Fear of the Muhallabs	225	243	04
14. Shameless beggar	232	249	01
15. Comparison	674	819	02
16. A man who married two beautiful women	434	546	03
17. A co-respondent	303	373	02
18. Obscenity	308	381	01
19. Reply to a poet	642	803	04
20. A woman who begged him to spare her people	656	813	01
21. A joke with a maid	026	039	02
22. A tax collector gives him a drink	766	894	03
23. On meeting al-Akhtal	485	602	01
24. Loyalty to "	580	708	03
25. Loosing his way	192	196	05
26. His notoriety	093	109	04
27. Two friendly robbers	471	094	02
28. The Azd-Tamim feud	187	193	02
29. To a bore	673	819	01
30. A callous comment	071	096	04
31. Intercession for a conscript	069	094	09
	184	191	04
32. A patroness stops an annual allowance	332	394	02
33. A dispute between wealthy heirs	385	485	03
	584	710	01
34. Gallant swordsmen	116	139	01
35. On his death	097	114	02

10. HUMOUR AND ~~IRONY~~ EPIGRAM.

	No. of Poem in Dīwān.	Page.	Length in lines.
1. A funny deal	609	769	36
2. A coarse joke with a crony	707	847	02
3. A cowardly general	157	172	02
4. A glutton	708	847	02
5. Mercenary soldiers	418	516	02
6. A Rabelaisian figure	003	008	01
7. Influence of wives	731	873	02
8. To a Casanova	456	585	03
9. To a recevidist	501	631	01
10. Two tribes	579	708	01
11. To Dhū-'r-Rummah	127	147	02
12. His rhapsodist	372	480	01
13. To a one handed man	473	595	01
14. On a braying donkey	735	874	02
15. Meeting his match in repartee	616	775	01
16. A mock elegy	314	383	02
17. " " "	134	153	01
18. The seafaring Azd	083	105	02
19. On a crony	706	847	02

11. CONTEMPLATIVE.

1. The vanity of life	089	107	02
2. Generosity	413	514	02
3. Sad memories	753	881	03
4. A secret	559	689	02
5. Memories	383	484	03
6. Resignation	742	878	03
7. Beyond the grave	662	813	02
8. Lament for his lost youth	043	051	14
9. " " " " "	359	437	04
10. " " " " "	037	046	03

12. WINE, SONGS AND PORNOGRAPHY.

1. Vintage wine	011	015	03
2. Drinking companions	582	710	04
3. Drunken "	412	514	04
4. A tactless confession	381	483	03
5. Wine and songs	411	513	03
6. Lustful episode	121	143	02
7. To Jarīr's daughter	482	601	02

13. LOVE SONGS.

	No. of Poem in Dīwān.	Page.	Length in lines.
1. To Nawār,	462	589	05
2. To Ḥadrā'	600	760	05
3. To al-Mulā'ah	342	406	05
	491	612	16
	506	633	03
4. To Sukainah	126	147	02
	634	787	03
5. To a girl of Kinānah	626	778	38
6. On the troubles of lovers	677	821	05
7. A visit in a dream	546	675	04
8. The departed loved ones	680	822	03
9. On beautiful women in the market place	390	488	03
10. The blissful Medinah days	689	826	03

14. MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Appeal to Bilāl	064	083	05
2. Begging	190	199	02
3. A petition to Mālik	478	599	03
4. Anon. (from prison?)	144	161	09
5. Appeal for succour in a famine to Khālid b. 'Abdul Malik b.(?) Asīd	505	632	03