

PROSODY AND RHYME IN CLASSICAL
ARABIC AND PERSIAN

by

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TRANSLITERATION

Exactly the same transliteration has been used for Persian as for Arabic. Each letter or digraph in the transliteration represents an Arabic script consonant or vowel. Initial hamza has not been represented in either language, as it may be assumed. Final, silent h in Persian has not been kept after a, to distinguish it from pronounced h.

<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Persian Additions</u>	<u>Vowels</u>
' - <u>b</u> <u>t</u> <u>th</u> <u>j</u> <u>h</u> <u>kh</u> <u>d</u> <u>dh</u> <u>r</u> <u>z</u> <u>s</u> <u>sh</u> <u>s</u> <u>q</u> <u>k</u> <u>z</u> <u>c</u> - <u>gh</u> <u>r</u> <u>g</u>	 <u>p</u> <u>ch</u> <u>zh</u>	 <u>Fatha</u> - <u>a</u> + <u>alif</u> - <u>ā</u> <u>Kasra</u> - <u>i</u> + <u>y</u> - <u>ī</u> <u>Damma</u> - <u>u</u> + <u>w</u> - <u>ū</u> <u>T marbuta</u> is omitted except in the feminine construct, when it is shown as <u>t</u> . Final vowels in Arabic are omitted, so the article is always <u>al-</u> . One exception is in names etc. when Persian, though Arabic in form, e.g., Shamsu'l-Dīn. With a few exceptions, letters are named by their transliteration, except <u>alif</u> , <u>ayn</u> ^c .

Arabic

Persian Additions

Vowels

k

g

l

m

n

h

v

(v - silent)

y

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the present book is to provide students of Arabic and Persian with an explanation of both how to scan poetry in those languages and the complex terminology, and theories connected with it, to be found in any native work on the subject.

This book has been long in mental gestation. It began with the frustration of an undergraduate at Cambridge in the late 1950's, who found that the back of Wright's Arabic Grammar helped to scan Arabic verse, though not to remember the metres without consulting it, while Persian metres remained a tantalising puzzle, especially the complex names of them, such as could be found in R.A. Nicholson's excellent Selected Poems from the Dīvāni Shamsi Tabrīz, in which each poem is headed by the traditional description of its metre, and the scansion in classical longs and shorts. Still in the erroneous belief that he understood Arabic metres, thanks to Wright, the now graduate of Cambridge University, between teaching times in Isfahan, tackled the Persian problem, with increasing knowledge and dissatisfaction, until the truth of the rubā^Cī, as presented in the Mu^Cjam of Shams-i Qays, struck him like lightning. The discovery that the rubā^Cī could be better and more simply described determined him to write the book. Several years and a doctorate later, discussion with graduate students reaffirmed the need for the book. The original plan was to present the matter in two parts: the first would describe Persian metres as they were, without the complexities of the adopted Arabic system of arūd^C; the second would describe the arūd^C as applied to Persian. Then, a reading of Gotthold Weil's

Grundriss und System der altarabischen Metren inspired further investigation of Arabic verse and the original ^carūd. Weil's most important contribution in his masterly little book, only adumbrated in his revised article, s.v. ^carūd, in the second edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, was the explanation of the true purpose of al-Khalīl's circles. Finally, the chance discovery of an exhaustive summary of classical Arabic theory, La métrique arabe. Traité complet de versification, by an Algerian, Mohammed-ben-Braham, mostly in French but with all the technical matter and quotations from sources in the original Arabic, led to the decision to deal with both Arabic and Persian. Further teaching and discussion of the subject decided the final form, in three parts. The first would present the Arabic ^carūd, for it is a practical system that fits Arabic better than the Western attempts to use purely Greco-Latin quantitative patterns. This part draws heavily on Ben-Braham's work. The second would present a new analysis of Persian metres, which are purely quantitative and should be analysed and described as such. The analogies in the patterns resulting from the new analysis with a Greco-Latin classical type of system are so striking that classical names of poetic feet have been inserted in this part, which are merely suggestive and do not presume proof of any connection. It should be added that Parwīz Natīl Khānlārī's Wazn-i shi^c r-i fārsī confirms most of the conclusions of this part, but the author of this book still cannot see why Professor Khānlārī made up even more circles for Persian metres when he seemed so close to truth and simplicity. His most interesting observation concerns the place of stress in Persian verse. It does not affect the quantitative metres as such, but if there is not an even distribution of word stresses, so that one falls on one syllable in every two, though it does not matter which, the

metre sounds different and may be awkward to read or hear. This is an important observation for any discussion of style and its development in Persian, but it does not affect the metres.

Finally, because it is impossible to understand any Persian discussion of metre, even the book of Professor Khānlari referred to, without a knowledge of the traditional system of ^carūd in Persian, the third part, presuming a knowledge of the Arabic ^carūd, is a critical and explanatory summary of al-Mu^c jam fī ma^c āyir ash^cār al-^cajam, without all the details and examples. This method is the opposite of what has usually been done in this field. Until Weil, no western scholar took ^carūd seriously for Arabic. The case was different in Persian. Gladwin, Blochmann and those who included metrics in their grammars, like Platts and Ranking, presented English versions of the traditional Persian system, usually according to late summaries, like Şayfī's, which Gladwin used and Blochmann translated. The present work is based on these assumptions: that a knowledge of metrics is necessary for the proper study of Arabic and Persian classical poetry; that the ^carūd best explains Arabic metres and is more memorable than an arbitrary Western classical system; that ^carūd as applied to Persian metres is an excellent example of misguided ingenuity, as Persian metres follow quite different principles; that, on the other hand, Shams-i Qays, author of the Mu^c jam, has many interesting things to say, and, though hampered by his traditional theories, knows perfectly well the difference between Arabic and Persian practices in verse, and is worthy of study. His book is much easier if the reader already understands ^carūd as applied to Arabic.

The terms, "reader" and "student", should be understood in the widest sense -- anyone who attempts Arabic and Persian poetry in the original.

The author is conscious that he has not read, nor ever will, every line of Persian verse, so the second part, which depends less on any theoretical source than on reading, teaching and explaining Persian poetry, may sin by omission; comments and criticisms, with references, will be welcome from such readers and students. For the rest, the bibliography makes clear the extent of the author's debt.

Al-^carūd: The Prosody of Classical Arabic Verse

1. The term ^carūd or, more precisely, ^cilm al-arūd, refers to the metric system of classical Arabic verse. Rhyme is a separate subject.
2. The minimum unit of a poem is a bayt, and each bayt consists of two equal, or nearly equal parts, called mišra^c or mišrā^c. Bayt and mišra^c are ancient terms.
3. The philologist al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad (t 175/791) is credited with the original elaboration of ^carūd. Taking the few terms already known and making their use precise, and adding a larger number of terms, he single-handedly invented the prosodic system used with little change for centuries by all succeeding students of Arabic metres, and followed faithfully by the overwhelming majority of Arabic-writing poets till modern times.
4. Each poem is written in one metre, and each metre is distinguished by its own pattern of long and short syllables. However, the concept of the syllable was lacking, or at least there was no word to express it. The Arabic alphabet is such that a single letter (i.e. consonant) bearing a vowel constitutes an open, short syllable, but such a letter was not regarded as a minimum utterance. Further, although a poem always kept to one metre, certain long syllables could be shortened, while others could not.
5. The minimum utterance was considered to consist of one letter with a vowel and one letter without, or as al-Khalīl, in common with his fellow grammarians, put it, one movent (mutaḥarrik) and one quiescent (sākin), e.g. qad. Also to be found was a group of two movents, e.g. laka. These, together with the important three-letter groups consisting of two movents followed by a quiescent, e.g. laqad, or a quiescent between two movents, e.g. waqta, made up the rhythmic patterns by which the metres were distinguished.

6. Al-Khalīl showed that the changeable elements in these patterns were the two-letter groups, while the three-letter groups were constant. He called the two-letter groups sabab (rope) and the three-letter groups watad or watid (peg). Each metric pattern, which may be called a foot, consisted of one or two sababs and one watad. The commonest sabab, that of one movent and one quiescent, was called light, sabab khafīf; that of two movents was called heavy, sabab thaqīl. Of the watads, the commonest was that ending in a quiescent, its movents together, so it was called watad majmū^C -- sometimes watad maqrūn in later treatises --; that with its quiescent between the two movents, separating them, was called watad mafrūq.

7. The feet were exemplified in the kind of paradigm words used by grammarians, based on the radicals fā', ayn^C, lām. However, as verse rhythms derive from what is heard rather than from what is written, the nunation is written out as a nūn. Also, the pronouns hu, hi, humu, kumu, usually counted as hū, hī, humū, kumū. Hence, as a general term, the feet were called taf^C ilā, pl. tafā^C il, while as constituent parts of a verse they were called juz^C, pl. ajzā^C, or rukn, pl. arkan.

The feet regarded as basic were the following:

Five letter feet (khumāsī): one watad majmū^C & one sabab khafīf -- fa^C ulun

: one sabab khafīf & one watad majmū^C -- fā^C ilun

Seven letter feet (subā^C ī): one watad majmū^C & two sabab khafīf -- mafā^C ilun

: two sabab khafīf & one watad majmū^C -- mustaf^C ilun

: one watad majmū^C between two sabab khafīf -- fā^C ilātun

: watad majmū^C, sabab thaqīl & sabab khafīf -- mufā^C alatun

: sabab thaqīl, sabab khafīf & watad majmū^C -- mutafā^C ilun

Seven letter feet

- (subā^Cī) (con't.) : one watad mafrūq & two sabab khafīf -- FĀ^CIlātun
 : one watad mafrūq between two sabab khafīf -- musTAF^CIlun
 : two sabab khafīf and one watad mafrūq -- maf^Cūlātu

8. For greater clarity, these elements and feet were shown by symbols, a hā' for a movent, an 'alif for a quiescent.

Thus: sabab khafīf: 10 (reading right to left)
sabab thaqīl: 00
watad majmū^C: 100
watad mafrūq: 010

9. As, in some metres, the constant element of one foot in each miṣra^C was a watad mafrūq, while in the majority of metres it was exclusively a watad majmū^C, al-Khalīl arranged the metres in circles, to show the position of the watad and whether it was majmū^C or mafrūq.

10. a) The first circle, called al-dā'iratu'l-mukhtalifa because its metres have different feet contains three metres (bahr, pl. buhūr):

tawīl: FA^Cūlun MAFA^Cīlun FA^Cūlun MAFA^Cīlun
basīt: ^CILUNfa-^CILUN[mustaf^CILUN fā^CILUN mustaf-
madīd: ^CILUNfa ^CIIĀ-tun fā^CILUN[fā^CIIĀ- tun fā-

b) It can be seen in this arrangement that the sababs and watads occur vertically under or over each other; the original arrangement showed the same patterns in a circle, so that by beginning with the fa^Cūlun of tawīl the watads are shown to be majmū^C, as in the feet, fa^Cūlun and mafā^Cīlun, which comprise that metre; the watads can be nothing else. Further, they precede the weaker, because variable, sababs, giving the unmistakable, strong rising rhythm at the beginning of each foot. It is not surprising that the

tawīl was by far the most common ancient Arabic metre.

c) The second metre, the basīṭ, consists of feet in which the position of the watad is at least potentially ambiguous. The foot mustaf^Cilun can be analysed in two ways, as shown in Number 7. But, by beginning on the ^Cilun of the second foot of tawīl, the student of ^Carūd finds that the next element is the unmistakable fa^Cū, a watad majmū^C. ^Cilun fa^Cū is changed to mustaf^Cilun restoring the fā, ^Cayn, lām, and the familiar grammatical paradigm Mustaf^CILUN is MAFĀ^Cilun reversed. The next foot of basīṭ, fa^Cilun, which corresponds in the circle with lun mafā of tawīl also has its watad at the end, and is similarly fa^Cūlun reversed.

d) The madīd is found by beginning on the lun of the third foot of tawīl, or the fā of the second foot of basīṭ. Here, the watads ^Cilā and ^Cilun are also majmū^C, and ^Cilā falls between sababs, rather than before or after them. This arrangement was found to be weaker and the madīd was comparatively rare. [Note: This arrangement of the metres in this circle is the ancient one. In later treatises, the order of the basīṭ and the madīd was inverted, as the latter was derived mechanically from the lun of the first foot of tawīl. The ancient order, as testified to by al-Jāhīz, keeps the metre with fa^Cilātun last, as this foot is weaker than mustaf^Cilun, with its watad at the end, which is the subā^Ci foot of the basīṭ.]

11. a) The second circle, called al-dā'iratu'l-mu'talifa because its metres have only one foot each, contains two metres:

wāfir: MUFĀ^Calatum MUFĀ^Calatum MUFĀ^Calatum
kāmil: mutafā - ^CILUN mutafā - ^CILUN mutafā^CILUN

b) As in the first circle, the metre with the foot beginning with an unmistakable watad majmū^C precedes that with the foot ending with the watad.

The other possible arrangement of a sabab khafif, watad majmū^c and sabab thaqīl, later exemplified as fā^cIIĀtuka, did not obtain in classical Arabic.

12. a) The third circle, called al-dā'iratu'l-mujtaliba, because the characteristic suba^ci feet of each can be thought of as "transferred" from the metres of the first circle, has three metres:

hazaj: MAFĀ^cilun MAFĀ^cilun MAFĀ^cilun
rajaz: mustaf^cILUN mustaf^cILUN mustaf^cILUN
ramal: fā^cIIĀ-tun fā^cIIĀ-tun fā^cIIĀ-tun

b) It can be seen that the characteristic feet of these metres are in the same order as they are in the first circle. All have the watad majmū^c, but in different positions.

13. a) The fourth circle, called al-dā'iratu'l-mushtabiha for reasons that will become clear, has six metres:

sari^c: mustaf^cILUN mustaf^cILUN maf^cūIĀTU
munsariḥ: mustaf^cILUN maf^cūIĀTU mustaf^cILUN
khafif: tun [fā^cIIĀ-tun musTAF^cILun fā^cIIĀ
mudāri^c: ^cilun [MAFĀ^cilun FĀ^cI lā-tun MAFĀ
muqtadab: mustaf^cILUN [maf^cū IĀTU mustaf^cILUN
mujtathth: tun fā^cIIĀ-tun [musTAF^cILun fā^cIIĀ

b) The "ambiguous" circle is well-named, for it alone can boast of no metre with a strong opening watad majmū^c with which to begin, and it alone contains the watad mafrūq, which occurs in the strange and somewhat artificial foot maf^cūIĀTU, and in the feet musTAF^cILun, FĀ^cIIĀtun, so easy to confuse with the more normal mustaf^cILUN, fā^cIIĀtun.

c) Of these six metres, only the first three are found in the ancient poetry, and are not too common in comparison with the tawīl, basīṭ, wāfir, kāmil or rajaz, though they seem to occur more often than the hazaj. The last three are only found in relatively late verse, and never became common.

14. a) The fifth circle, called al-dā'iratu'l-muttafiqa, contained originally only one metre, but a second was subsequently added:

muraqārib: FA^CŪlun FA^CŪlun FA^CŪlun FA^CŪlun
mutadārik: ^CILUN [fā-^CILUN fā-^CILUN fā-^CILUN fā-^CILUN fā-

b) The first of these metres was the only ancient one of this circle.

The second, possibly introduced from more popular verse, was admitted later to the system, though it remained more popular than high classical. It had other names: al-mukhtara^C, al-muḥdath, al-muntasiq, al-shaqīq, al-khabab, rakdu'l-khayl, darbu'l-nāqūs.

15. All the paradigms given above represent only the full, theoretically basic patterns of one miṣrā^C of each metre. It can be seen that some metres, in their basic forms, contain four feet in each miṣrā^C, while others contain only three. The longest metres are those of the first circle. Each miṣrā^C of these metres has twenty-four Arabic letters, five in fa^CŪlun, fā^Cilun, seven in mafā^Cilun, mustaf^Cilun, fā^Cilātun, each pair of basic feet being repeated once in each miṣrā^C. The metres of the second, third and fourth circles consist only of subā^Ci feet, of seven letters each; four of any of these in one miṣrā^C would total twenty-eight letters, which was thought ideally too many, so the basic forms contained only three feet, totalling twenty-one in each miṣrā^C. The metres of the fifth circle contain only khumāsī feet, of five letters each, so the basic miṣrā^C consisted of four, totalling twenty letters.

16. Most of the metres occur with the number of feet in their several paradigms. This form is called sālim. Some metres occur also, and a few only, in shortened forms. The process of shortening a bayt by one foot (juz') in each miṣrā^C is called jaz'; the bayt so shortened is called majzū^C. Shatr reduces a bayt to half, i.e. one miṣrā^C (also called shatr); such a bayt is called masḥūr. Nahk reduces a bayt to one third of its sālim length; such a bayt is called manḥūk.

17. In each bayt, the last foot of the first miṣrā^c is called arūd^c. In this sense arūd^c is feminine. The last foot of the second miṣrā^c is called darb, which is masculine. The first foot of the first miṣrā^c is called sadr; that of the second miṣrā^c, 'ibtidā'. All other feet are known collectively as hashw; hashw also denotes all feet except arūd^c and darb.

18. As mentioned in Numbers 4 and 6, certain elements, the sababs, were frequently found shortened, in the sense that the system presupposes e.g. mafā^c ilun to be basic, or original, so that the frequently found mafā^c ilun is reckoned shortened and derived. As the term and concept of the syllable were lacking, such a change was expressed as dropping a letter, or sometimes a vowel -- haraka. These changes in the metric feet were regarded as relaxation -- ziḥāf -- of the ropes -- asbab. A ziḥāf, pl. ziḥāfāt, affects only sababs, and may occur in any foot within the hashw in the same poem without changing the metre, which is forbidden.

19. Another kind of change may affect the arūd^c and darb, both the sabab and the watad. This is a more serious change, and is called illa^c, pl. ilal^c, defect or disease. The term does not imply disapproval but the fact that once a poem has begun with a certain illa^c in its arūd^c or darb, the resulting pattern must be followed throughout the poem. While ziḥāfāt in the hashw do not change the metre, ilal^c in arūd^c or darb do, so in effect, ilal^c result in sub-metres, known by the form of the arūd^c and darb. The arūd^c is primary, in that a sub-metre is characterised by it; to it correspond one or more patterns of darb. Thus, a poem may be said to be in e.g. the first, second, or third darb of the first arūd^c of al-tawīl.

20. The differing functions of ziḥāf and illa^c are not quite so sharply distinguished as their operations, i.e. the model theory as stated does not quite cover all cases. Later theory differentiates pure ziḥāf (al-ziḥāf al-mahd),

pure ^cilla (al-^cilla al-mahḍa), ^cilla-zihāf (al-^cilla al-jāriya majrā al-zihāf) and zihāf-^cilla (al-zihāf al-jārī majrā al-^cilla). The first two are as in Number 19. The fourth case is simply that of a zihāf change acting in the carūd or darb as if it were ^cilla, i.e. it must be observed throughout the poem and distinguishes a sub-metre. The third case covers a number of relatively rare phenomena.

It will also be observed that some zihāfs are so usual in certain metric forms as to be virtually obligatory.

21. Some zihāfs are simple, i.e. they effect a single change in the sabab of a theoretically basic foot. Others are the combination of two zihāfs in one foot. All zihāfs decrease the foot. ^cilla, on the other hand may increase or decrease the foot.

a) The simple zihāfs (al-zihāfāt al-munfarida) (Each Arabic letter stands in a position from first to seventh):

- idmār drops the haraka in the second position.
- khabn drops the quiescent letter in the second position.
- waqs drops the movent letter in the second position.
- tayy drops the quiescent letter in the fourth position.
- ^casb drops the haraka in the fifth position.
- qabd drops the quiescent letter in the fifth position.
- ^caql drops the movent letter in the fifth position.
- kaff drops the quiescent letter in the seventh position.

b) The combined zihāfs (al-zihāfāt al-muzdawija):

- khazl combines idmār and tayy.
- khabl combines tayy and khabn.
- shakl combines kaff and khabn.
- naqs combines kaff and ^caṣb.

c) Increasing cillas (cilal al-ziyāda):

- tasbigh adds a quiescent to a final sabab.
tadhyīl adds a quiescent to a final watad.
tarfil adds a sabab khafīf to a final watad.

d) Decreasing cillas (cilal al-naqs):

- qasr drops the final letter and preceding haraka.
hadhf drops the final sabab.
gat^c drops the final letter and preceding haraka of a final watad.
hadhadh drops the final watad majmū^c.
waqf drops the final haraka of a final watad mafrūq.
kasf drops the final movent of a final watad mafrūq.
ṣalm drops a final watad mafrūq.
gatf combines casb with hadhf.
batr combines hadhf with gat^c.
takhlī^c combines khavn with gat^c (in the basīṭ majzū').

Note: Kasf is sometimes called kashf, especially by later and Persian writers.
It is also sometimes found describing the function of waqf.

e) cilla-zihāfs

- khazm adds up to four letters to the beginning of the first hemistich, and up to two to the second hemistich, though even this may take up to four letters. This is uncommon and not highly regarded.
hadhf is regarded as cilla-zihāf when so used, e.g. in some carūds of mutaqārib.
tash^cīth drops the first letter of the watad majmū^c in the darb of khafīf, mujtathth, and mutadārik.
kharm drops the first letter of an initial watad majmū^c, in tawīl, wāfir, hazaj, muḡāri^c and mutaqārib.

kharm has eight other names for different cases; for mafā^cilun

without ziḥāf, kharm itself is used:

thalm -- kharm of fa^cūlun without ziḥāf.

tharm -- kharm of fa^cūlun with qabd.

shatr -- kharm of mafā^cilun with qabd.

kharb -- kharm of mafā^cilun with kaff.

^cadb -- kharm of mufā^calatun without ziḥāf.

qasm -- kharm of mufā^calatun with ^casb.

ḥajam (hajm) -- kharm of mufā^calatun with ^caql. Also called jamam.

^cags -- kharm of mufā^calatun with naqs.

f) Each of the preceding terms is a verbal noun, which expresses the function in terms of the system. Corresponding to each term is an adjective, which describes a foot, or by extension, the miṣra^c or bayt, or even sub-metre containing the foot so affected.

<u>Verbal Noun</u>	<u>Adjective</u>
<u>idmār</u>	<u>mudmar</u>
<u>khabn</u>	<u>makhbūn</u>
<u>waqs</u>	<u>mawqūṣ</u>
<u>ṭayy</u>	<u>matwī</u>
<u>^caṣb</u>	<u>ma^csūb</u>
<u>qabd</u>	<u>maqbud</u>
<u>^caql</u>	<u>ma^cqūl</u>
<u>kaff</u>	<u>makfūf</u>
<u>khazl</u>	<u>makhzūl</u>
<u>khabl</u>	<u>makhbūl</u>
<u>shakl</u>	<u>mashkūl</u>
<u>naqs</u>	<u>manqūṣ</u>

Verbal Noun

Adjective

<u>tasbīgh</u>	<u>musabbagh</u>
<u>tadhyīl</u>	<u>mudhayyal</u>
<u>tarfīl</u>	<u>muraffal</u>
<u>qasr</u>	<u>maqṣūr</u>
<u>hadhf</u>	<u>mahdhūf</u>
<u>qat^c</u>	<u>maqtū^c</u>
<u>hadhadh</u>	<u>ahadhdh</u>
<u>waqf</u>	<u>mawqūf</u>
{ <u>kasf</u>	<u>maksūf</u>
<u>kashf</u>	<u>makshūf</u> }
<u>salm</u>	<u>aslam</u>
<u>qatf</u>	<u>maqtūf</u>
<u>batr</u>	<u>abtar</u>
<u>takhlī^c</u>	<u>mukhalla^c</u>
<u>khazm</u>	<u>makhzūm</u>
<u>tash^cīth</u>	<u>musha^cath</u>
<u>kharm</u>	<u>akhram</u>
<u>thalm</u>	<u>athlam</u>
<u>tharm</u>	<u>athram</u>
<u>shatr</u>	<u>ashtar</u>
<u>kharb</u>	<u>akhrab</u>
<u>a^cadb</u>	<u>a^cdab</u>
<u>qaṣm</u>	<u>aqṣam</u>
{ <u>hajam/hajm</u>	<u>ahjam</u>
<u>jamam</u>	<u>ajamm</u> }
<u>a^cqas</u>	<u>a^cqas</u>

22. The different feet and the forms they take when affected by ziḥāf or ḥilla may be summarised as follows:

- a) fa^cūlun with qabḍ -- fa^cūlu -- maqḅud
fa^cūlun with qaṣr -- fa^cūl -- maqṣūr
fa^cūlun with ḥadhf -- fa^cū > fa^cal -- mahdhūf
fa^cūlun with batr -- fa^c -- abtar
fa^cūlun with thalm -- ūlun > fa^clun -- athlam
fa^cūlun with tharm -- ūlu > fa^clu -- athram
- b) mafā^cilun with qabḍ -- mafā^cilun -- maqḅud
mafā^cilun with kaff -- mafā^cilu -- makfūf
mafā^cilun with ḥadhf -- mafā^ci > fa^cūlun -- mahdhūf
mafā^cilun with kharm -- fā^cilun > maf^cūlun -- akhram
mafā^cilun with shatr -- fā^cilun -- ashtar
mafā^cilun with kharb -- fā^cilu > maf^cūlu -- akhram
- c) mufā^calatun with ḥaṣb -- mufā^caltun > mafā^cilun -- ma^csūb
mufā^calatun with ḥaql -- mufā^catun > mafā^cilun -- ma^cqūl
mufā^calatun with naḥṣ -- mufā^caltu > mafā^cilu -- manḥūṣ
mufā^calatun with qatf -- mufā^cal > fa^cūlun -- maqtūf
mufā^calatun with ḥadb -- fā^calatun > muftā^cilun -- a^cdab
mufā^calatun with qasm -- fā^caltun > maf^cūlun -- aqṣam
mufā^calatun with ḥajam -- fā^catun > fā^cilun -- aḥjam
mufā^calatun with ḥaqs -- fā^caltu > maf^cūlu -- a^cqas
- d) fā^cilātun (with initial watad mafrūq) with kaff -- fā^cilātu -- makfuf
- e) fā^cilun with khābn -- fā^cilun -- makhbun
fā^cilun with qat^c -- fā^cil -- maqtū^c
fā^cilun with tadhīl -- fā^cilān -- mudhāyyal
fā^cilun with tarfīl -- fā^cilātun -- muraffal

- f) mustaf^cilun with khavn -- mutaf^cilun > mafā^cilun -- makhbūn
mustaf^cilun with tayy -- musta^cilun > mufta^cilun -- maṭwī
mustaf^cilun with khabl -- muta^cilun > fa^cilatun -- makhbūl
mustaf^cilun with tadhyīl -- mustaf^cilān -- mudhayyal
mustaf^cilun with tadhyīl & khavn -- mafā^cilān
mustaf^cilun with tadhyīl & tayy -- mufta^cilān
mustaf^cilun with tadhyīl & khabl -- fa^calatān (or, by khavn from mufta^cilān)
mustaf^cilun with qaṭ^c -- mustaf^cil > maf^cūlun -- maṭṭū^c
mustaf^cilun with qaṭ^c & khavn -- ma^cūlun > fa^cūlun
- g) fā^cilātun with khavn -- fa^cilātun -- makhbūn
fā^cilātun with kaff -- fā^cilātu -- makhfūf
fā^cilātun with shakl -- fa^cilātu -- mashkūl
fā^cilātun with tasbigh -- fā^cilātān > fā^ciliyyān -- musabbagh
fā^cilātun with tasbigh & khavn -- fa^cilātān > fa^ciliyyān
fā^cilātun with qaṣr -- fā^cilāt > fā^cilān -- maṣṣūr
fā^cilātun with qaṣr & khavn -- fa^cilān
fā^cilātun with ḥadhf -- fā^cilā > fā^cilun -- maḥḍhūf
fā^cilātun with ḥadhf & khavn -- fa^cilun
fā^cilātun with batr -- fā^cil -- abtar
fā^cilātun with tash^cīth -- fā^cilātun > maf^cūlun -- musha^{cc}ath
- h) mutafā^cilun with idmār -- mutfā^cilun > mustaf^cilun -- mudmar
mutafā^cilun with waqs -- mufā^cilun > mafā^cilun -- manqūs
mutafā^cilun with khazl -- mutfa^cilun > mufta^cilun -- makhzūl
mutafā^cilun with tadhyīl -- mutafā^cilān -- mudhayyal
mutafā^cilun with tadhyīl & idmār -- mustaf^cilān
mutafā^cilun with tadhyīl & waqs -- mafā^cilān
mutafā^cilun with tadhyīl & khazl -- mufta^cilān

<u>mutafā^c ilun</u> with <u>tarfīl</u>	--	<u>mutafā^c ilātun</u>	--	<u>muraffal</u>
<u>mutafā^c ilun</u> with <u>tarfīl</u> & <u>idmar</u>	--	<u>mustaf^c ilātun</u>		
<u>mutafā^c ilun</u> with <u>tarfīl</u> & <u>waqs</u>	--	<u>mafā^c ilātun</u>		
<u>mutafā^c ilun</u> with <u>tarfīl</u> & <u>khazl</u>	--	<u>mufta^c ilātun</u>		
<u>mutafā^c ilun</u> with <u>qaṭ^c</u>	--	<u>mutafā^c il > fa^c ilātun</u>	--	<u>maqṭū^c</u>
<u>mutafā^c ilun</u> with <u>qaṭ^c</u> & <u>idmār</u>	--	<u>mustaf^c il > maf^c ūlun</u>		
<u>mutafā^c ilun</u> with <u>hadhadh</u>	--	<u>mutafā > fa^c ilun</u>	--	<u>aḥadhdh</u>
<u>mutafā^c ilun</u> with <u>hadhadh</u> & <u>idmār</u>	--	<u>fa lun</u>		
i) <u>maf^c ūlātu</u> with <u>khavn</u>	--	<u>ma^c ūlātu > mafā^c ilu</u>	--	<u>makhbūn</u>
<u>maf^c ūlātu</u> with <u>tayy</u>	--	<u>maf^c ūlātu > fā^c ilātu</u>	--	<u>matwī</u>
<u>maf^c ūlātu</u> with <u>khabl</u>	--	<u>ma^c ūlātu > fa^c ilātu</u>	--	<u>makhbūl</u>
<u>maf^c ūlātu</u> with <u>waqf</u>	--	<u>maf^c ūlāt > maf^c ūlān</u>	--	<u>mawqūf</u>
<u>maf^c ūlātu</u> with <u>waqf</u> & <u>khavn</u>	--	<u>ma^c ūlān > fa^c ūlān</u>		
<u>maf^c ūlātu</u> with <u>waqf</u> & <u>tayy</u>	--	<u>maf^c ūlān > fā^c ilān</u>		
<u>maf^c ūlātu</u> with <u>kasf</u>	--	<u>maf^c ūlā > maf^c ūlun</u>	--	<u>maksūf</u>
<u>maf^c ūlātu</u> with <u>kasf</u> & <u>khavn</u>	--	<u>ma^c ūlun > fa^c ūlun</u>		
<u>maf^c ūlātu</u> with <u>kasf</u> & <u>tayy</u>	--	<u>maf^c ūlun > fā^c ilun</u>		
<u>maf^c ūlātu</u> with <u>kasf</u> & <u>khabl</u>	--	<u>ma^c ūlun > fa^c ilun</u>		
<u>maf^c ūlātu</u> with <u>salm</u>	--	<u>maf^c ū > fa^c lun</u>	--	<u>aslam</u>
j) <u>mustaf^c ilun</u> (with middle <u>watad mafrūq</u>) with <u>khavn</u>	--	<u>mutaf^c ilun > mafā^c ilun</u>		
<u>mustaf^c ilun</u> with <u>kaff</u>	--	<u>mustaf^c ilu</u>	--	<u>makfūf</u>
<u>mustaf^c ilun</u> with <u>shakl</u>	--	<u>mutaf^c ilu > mafā^c ilu</u>	--	<u>mashkūl</u>
<u>mustaf^c ilun</u> with <u>khavn</u> & <u>qasr</u>	--	<u>mafā^c il > fa^c ūlun</u>		

23. Before listing the actual forms and variations that occur in the several metres, it is well here to summarise three rules elaborated by Arab prosodists to explain the interrelation of certain ziḥāf changes in some metres. Further reference will be made to these rules under the analysis of the appropriate metres.

a) Mu^cāqaba governs the change of two consecutive sababs within a foot, or between two feet. According to it, if two sabab khafīf occur one after the other in one or two feet, one may suffer ziḥāf, or neither, but not both. It is observed in nine metres: ṭawīl, madīd, wāfir, kāmil, hazaj, ramal, munsarih, khafīf and mujtathth. The rule prevents sequences of four movements between feet, or five consecutive movements; it also prevents the equalising of two feet in such a way that the metric form would be confused. It does not apply in certain cases where ^cilla or ziḥāf ^c-illa occur. These cases will be noted.

b) Murāqaba governs the change of two sababs within a foot. According to it, if two sababs are consecutive within a foot, one or the other must change by the appropriate ziḥāf. It is observed in two metres, muḍārī^c and muqtadab.

c) Mukānafa also governs the change of two sababs within a foot. According to it, of two consecutive sababs within a foot, one or both or neither may take ziḥāf. It is observed in four metres: basīt, rajaz, sarī^c, munsarih. It is not observed in feet with ^cilla or ziḥāf ^c-illa.

d) In connection with these rules, three terms refer to certain cases:

1. Ṣadr is a foot of which the first sabab is changed to preserve a preceding sabab.
2. ^cAjz is a foot of which the last sabab is changed to preserve a following sabab.
3. Ṭarafān is a foot of which the first and last sababs are changed for both reasons.

24. There are certain other technical terms which apply to feet in certain conditions.

- a) ibtidā': every initial foot of a bayt in which a change is permitted that is not permitted in the hashw, whether or not the change occurs in fact.
- b) i^c timād: every foot of the hashw affected by a zihāf not peculiar to it.
- c) faṣl: every arūd^c which differs from its counterpart in the hashw by being changeable or unchangeable, while the hashw is opposite in each case.
- d) ghāya: every ḍarb which differs from its counterpart in the hashw by being changeable or unchangeable, while the hashw is opposite in each case.
- e) mawfūr: every foot unchanged by kharm though kharm is permissible.
- f) sālim: every foot unchanged by zihāf though zihāf is permissible.
- g) ṣahīh: every arūd^c or ḍarb unchanged by what does not occur in the hashw. i.e. most cases of illa^c.
- h) mu^c arrā: every foot unaffected by an increasing illa^c, though this change is permissible.

25. The metres may now be listed in detail. For the theoretical patterns, see Numbers 10-14.

- a) Tawīl has one arūd^c and three ḍarbs.

Arūd^c - maqbūd Ḍarb 1 - Sālim

fa^cūlun mafā^cilun fa^cūlun mafā^cilun fa^cūlun mafā^cilun fa^cūlun mafā^cilun
 v - - v - - v - - v - - v - - v - - v - - v - -

Ḍarb 2 - Maqbūd

fa^cūlun mafā^cilun fa^cūlun mafā^cilun fa^cūlun mafā^cilun fa^cūlun mafā^cilun
 v - - v - - v - - v - - v - - v - - v - - v - -

Darb 3 - Maḥdhūf

fa^cūlun mafā^cīlun fa^cūlun mafā^cīlun fa^cūlun mafā^cīlun fa^cūlu(n) fa^cūlun
 v - - v - - v - - v - - v - - v - - v - - v - -

The qabḍ of fa^cūlun before darb 3 is strongly recommended, and so usual as to be regular.

The ḥashw admits qabḍ generally, kaff, thalm and tharm. Qabḍ of fa^cūlun is good (ḥasan); qabḍ of mafā^cīlun is acceptable (ṣāliḥ); kaff of mafā^cīlun and thalm and tharm of fa^cūlun are bad (qabīḥ).

Mu^cāqaba obtains (Number 23 a); if mafā^cīlun is changed by qabḍ, it should not take kaff and vice versa, i.e. it may become mafā^cīlun v - v - or mafā^cīlu v - - v , but not mafā^cīlu v - v v .

Darb 1 admits no qabḍ; that means a poet must choose either darb 1 or darb 2 (maqbuḍ) and keep it throughout a poem. Thus, qabḍ, in darb 2, is ziḥāf^c-illa. Darb 3 cannot take qabḍ, as this would destroy the distinctive fa^cūlun, or, as Arab metrics would say, because of the pause. Kaff is impossible in all three darbs. Some say darb 3 should always have ridf (a letter of prolongation before the rawī -- rhyme letter; see the section on rhyme).

Tawīl is often modified by taṣrī^c, which makes both miṣra^cs exactly equal. In this case the line is called muṣarra^c, and the qabḍ of the arūd^c is not obligatory, so a line may contain the forty-eight letters of the theoretical pattern. It is considered a fault (called tajmī^c) to make an arūd^c sālim or maḥdhūf without taṣrī^c, i.e. making it equal to the darb. There is indeed a second arūd^c of tawīl, maḥdhūf, rare and thought irregular. It has two darbs, maḥdhūf and maqbuḍ. Tasrī^c is commonly found in the first line of the qaṣīda, the matla^c (Cf. Number 26).

b) Basīṭ has three ^Carūds and six darbs.

^CArūd 1 - Makhbūn

Darb 1 - Makhbūn

mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilun mustaf^Cilun fa^Cilun mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilun mustaf^Cilun fa^Cilun
- - ✓ - - ✓ - - - ✓ - ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - ✓ -

Darb 2 - Maqtū^C

mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilun mustaf^Cilun fa^Cilun mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilun mustaf^Cilun fā^Cil
- - ✓ - - ✓ - - - ✓ - ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

^CArūd 2 - Majzū', Sālim

Darb 1 - Mudhayyal

mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilun mustaf^Cilun
- - ✓ - - ✓ - - - ✓ -

mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilun mustaf^Cilān
- - ✓ - - ✓ - - - ✓ -

Darb 2 - Sālim

mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilun mustaf^Cilun
- - ✓ - - ✓ - - - ✓ -

mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilun mustaf^Cilun
- - ✓ - - ✓ - - - ✓ -

Darb 3 - Maqtū^C

mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilun mustaf^Cilun
- - ✓ - - ✓ - - - ✓ -

mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilun maf^Cūlun
- - ✓ - - ✓ - - - ✓ -

^CArūd 3 - Majzū^C, Maqtū^C

Darb - Maqtū^C

mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilun maf^Cūlun
- - ✓ - - ✓ - - - ✓ -

mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilun maf^Cūlun
- - ✓ - - ✓ - - - ✓ -

The hashw admits khabn, which is good (ḥasan); tayy, which is acceptable (ṣāliḥ); khabl, which is bad (qabīḥ). Darb 1 of ^Carūd 2 admits all these. Darb 2 of ^Carūd 2 admits khabn. ^CArūd 3 and its darb admit khabn. The combination of khabn and qat^C in the basīṭ majzū' is called takhlī^C. A line so affected is called mukhalla^C, or sometimes makbūl, which latter term would seem to refer to a term, kabl, not usually listed. Mukhalla^C verses are more popular in later poetry. There are some rare ^Carūds of basīṭ, as follows:

^cArūd (4) - Majzū^c, Aḥadhdh, Makhbūn

Darb 1 - Aḥadhdh, Makhbūn

mustaf^cilun fā^cilun fa^cal
 - - ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ -

mustaf^cilun fā^cilun fa^cal
 - - ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ -

Note: Hadhdh is not usually listed as an ^cilla of mustaf^cilun, but of mutafā^cilun, which it reduces to mutafā > fa^cilun, i.e. it removes the final watad majmū^c. The same process reduces mustaf^cilun to mustaf > fa^cilun, and, with khabn, to mutaf > fa^cal.

^cArūd (5) - Mashtūr Darb - Mashtūr

mustaf^cilun fā^cilun mustaf^cilun fā^cilun
 - - ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ -

Note: In any mashtūr line, the ^carūd and ḍarb come together, i.e. are identical. Not to use khabn in the first ^carūd of basīt, likewise in its first ḍarb, is irregular, but occurs rarely. The sababs of basīt are governed by mukānafa (Number 23, c).

c) Madīd. This metre is always majzū'. In other words, the circle pattern is theoretical as regards the length of line, but by aligning this metre with tawīl shows that the watads are majmū^c. With this reservation, madīd has three ^carūds and six ḍarbs.

^cArūd 1 - Sālim

Darb - Sālim

fā^cilātun fā^cilun fā^cilatun
 - ✓ - - - ✓ - - - ✓ - -

fā^cilatun fā^cilun fā^cilātun
 - ✓ - - - ✓ - - - ✓ - -

^cArūd 2 - Maḥdhūf

Darb 1 - Maḥsūr

fā^cilātun fā^cilun fā^cilun
 - ✓ - - - ✓ - - - ✓ - -

fā^cilātun fā^cilun fā^cilān
 - ✓ - - - ✓ - - - ✓ - -

Darb 2 - Maḥdhūf

fā^cilātun fā^cilun fā^cilun
 - ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

fā^cilātun fā^cilun fā^cilun
 - ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

Darb 3 - Abtar

fā^cilātun fā^cilun fā^cilun
 - ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

fā^cilātun fā^cilun fā^cil
 - ✓ - - - ✓ - - - -

^cArūd 3 -- Maḥdhūf, Makhbūn

Darb 1 - Maḥdhūf, Makhbūn

fā^cilātun fā^cilun fā^cilun
 - ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

fā^cilātun fā^cilun fā^cilun
 - ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

Darb 2 - Abtar

fā^cilātun fā^cilun fā^cilun
 - ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

fā^cilatun fā^cilun fā^cil
 - ✓ - - - ✓ - - - -

The hashw admits khabn, which is good (hasan); kaff, which is acceptable (ṣāliḥ); shakl, which is bad (qabīḥ). Mu^cāqaba is observed. ^cArūd 1 admits the same ziḥāfs as the hashw. Its darb admits only khabn. ^cArūd 2 rejects khabn. Older opinion attributed to al-Khalīl himself rejects khabn in darb 1 of ^carūd 2. Al-Akhfash is said to have accepted it. ^cArūd 3 admits no ziḥāf other than its characteristic khabn. For all its varieties, madīd is comparatively rare.

d) Wāfir has two ^carūds and three darbs.

^cArūd 1 - Maqtūf

Darb - Maqtūf

mufā^calatun mufā^calatun fa^cūlun
 ✓ - ✓ - - ✓ - ✓ - - ✓ - -

mufā^calatun mufā^calatun fa^cūlun
 ✓ - ✓ - - ✓ - ✓ - - ✓ - -

^cArūd 2 - Majzū', Sālim

Darb 1 - Sālim

mufā^calatun mufā^calatun
 ✓ - ✓ - - ✓ - ✓ - -

mufā^calatun mufā^calatun
 ✓ - ✓ - - ✓ - ✓ - -

Darb 2 - Ma^cṣūb

mufā^calatun mufā^calatun
 ✓ - ✓ - - ✓ - ✓ - -

mufā^calatun mafā^cilun
 ✓ - ✓ - - ✓ - - -

The hasbi admits ^Caşb, ^Caql, naqs, ^Cadb, qaşm, hajam and ^Caqş. ^CAsb is good (hasan); ^Caql is acceptable (şālih); the others are all bad (qabiḥ). Mu ^Cāqaba rules mufā^Calatun when ma^Cşūb, i.e. mafā^Cilun. ^CArūd 1 and all other darbs of wāfir admit no ^Caql or naqs, and darb 2 of ^Carūd 2 accepts only its characteristic ^Caşb. ^CArūd 2 admits only ^Caşb, (rarely ^Caql, which is disputed). Al-Akhfash cites a third ^Carūd, majzū', maqṭūf, its one darb the same. This is rare.

Note: The change of mufā^Calatun to mufā^Cilun by ^Caşb is so common and normal in wāfir that it is almost true that only an occasional mufā^Calatun distinguishes wāfir from hazaj in some cases. However, wāfir is one of the commonest metres in classical Arabic, while hazaj is comparatively rare, and there are other differences, chiefly in that hazaj is always majzū', but see below.

e) Kāmil has three ^Carūds and nine darbs.

^CArūd 1 - Salim

Darb 1 - Sālim

mutafā^Cilun mutafā^Cilun mutafā^Cilun
 √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ -

mutafā^Cilun mutafā^Cilun mutafā^Cilun
 √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ -

Darb 2 - Maqtū^C

mutafā^Cilun mutafā^Cilun mutafā^Cilun
 √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ -

mutafā^Cilun mutafā^Cilun fa^Cilātun
 √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ -

Darb 3 - Aḥadhdh, Muḍmar

mutafā^Cilun mutafā^Cilun mutafā^Cilun
 √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ -

mutafā^Cilun mutafā^Cilun fa^Cilun
 √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ -

^CArūd 2 - Aḥadhdh

Darb 1 - Aḥadhdh

mutafā^Cilun mutafā^Cilun fa^Cilun
 √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ - √ √ -

mutafā^Cilun mutafā^Cilun fa^Cilun
 √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ - √ √ -

Darb 2 - aḥadhdh, muḍmar

mutafā^cilun mutafā^cilun fa^cilun
 √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ - √ √ -

mutafā^cilun mutafā^cilun fa^cilun
 √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ - √ -

^cArūd 3 - Majzū', Sālim

Darb 1 - Muraffal

mutafā^cilun mutafā^cilun
 √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ -

mutafā^cilun mutafā^cilātun
 √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ -

Darb 2 - Mudhayyal

mutafā^cilun mutafā^cilun
 √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ -

mutafā^cilun mutafā^cilān
 √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ -

Darb 3 - Sālim

mutafā^cilun mutafā^cilun
 √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ -

mutafā^cilun mutafā^cilun
 √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ -

Darb 4 - Maqtū^c

mutafā^cilun mutafā^cilun
 √ √ - √ - √ √ - √ -

mutafā^cilun fa^cilātun
 √ √ - √ - √ √ -

The hashw admits idmār, which is good (hasan); waqs, which is acceptable (ṣāliḥ); khazl, which is bad (qabiḥ). Mu^cāqaba rules mutafā^cilun when it is muḍmar, i.e. mutafā^cilun. The darb, when muraffal or mudhayyal or sālim, can take the same ziḥāfs as the hashw, especially idmār. Idmār is commonly allowed in the darb maqtū^c of ^carūds 1 and 3, and some allow it in darb 1 of ^carūd 2, though this is really mixing two darbs, and is not common. Kāmil is also found, in later poetry, masḥūr, with and without tadhyīl and tarfīl. A form with five feet to the bayt is quite irregular.

Note: The frequent use of idmār in kāmil can make it seem identical to rajaz. Ancient and common as rajaz is, its uses were mostly quite different, and it is further distinguished by a great variety of changes never admitted in kāmil, while only kāmil has the foot mutafā^cilun.

f) Hazaj is always majzū', and has one ^carūd and two darbs.

^CArūd - Sālim

Darb 1 - Sālim

mafā^Cilun mafā^Cilun
✓ - - - ✓ - - -

mafā^Cilun mafā^Cilun
✓ - - - ✓ - - -

Darb 2 - Maḥdhūf

mafā^Cilun mafā^Cilun
✓ - - - ✓ - - -

mafā^Cilun fa^Cūlun
✓ - - - ✓ - - -

The hashw admits qabd and kaff, subject to mu^Cāqaba. The first foot may take kharm, shatr and kharb. Only kaff is said to be good (ḥasan); all the others are bad (qabiḥ). The ^Carūd admits qabd and kaff. Darb 1 cannot take kaff, and some prohibit qabd also. Darb 2 can have neither qabd nor kaff. Even the sālim hazaj is rare, though found somewhat more in later poetry. A darb maqṣūr is cited, but this is essentially not much different from the maḥdhūf. A second ^Carūd, maḥdhūf with darb the same is also mentioned, but is declared irregular by some writers.

Note: Readers will come across too little, if any, hazaj in Arabic poetry to concern themselves too much with this metre, which is easily recognisable if found. Most qaṣīdas consisting mostly, at first sight, of mafā^Cilun, turn out to be wāfir, with that metre's characteristic mixture of mufā^Calatun and mafā^Cilun (ma^Csūb).

g) Rajaz has four ^Carūds and five darbs.

^CArūd 1 - Sālim

Darb 1 - Sālim

mustaf^Cilun mustaf^Cilun mustaf^Cilun
- - ✓ - - - ✓ - - - ✓ - - -

mustaf^Cilun mustaf^Cilun mustaf^Cilun
- - ✓ - - - ✓ - - - ✓ - - -

Darb 2 - Maqtū^C

mustaf^Cilun mustaf^Cilun mustaf^Cilun
- - ✓ - - - ✓ - - - ✓ - - -

mustaf^Cilun mustaf^Cilun maf^Cūlun
- - ✓ - - - ✓ - - - ✓ - - -

^CArūd 2 -- Majzū', Sālim

Darb - Sālim

mustaf^Cilun mustaf^Cilun
- - ✓ - - - ✓ -

mustaf^Cilun mustaf^Cilun
- - ✓ - - - ✓ -

^CArūd 2 -- Mashtūr, Sālim

Darb - identical foot with ^Carūd

mustaf^Cilun mustaf^Cilun mustaf^Cilun
- - ✓ - - - ✓ - - - ✓ -

^CArūd 4 -- Manhūk, Sālim

Darb - identical foot with ^Carūd

mustaf^Cilun mustaf^Cilun
- - ✓ - - - ✓ -

The hashw admits tayy, which is good (hasan); khabn, which is acceptable (ṣālih); khabl, which is bad (qabīḥ) [but see the note below]. The ziḥāfs are ruled by mukānafa, i.e. can be used freely or not. The darb maqtū^C admits khabn, but not tayy (nor, therefore, khabl). Other darbs and all ^Carūds admit all ziḥāfs admitted in the hashw. A form of rajaz, not majzū' but with qaṭ^C (and also khabn) in ^Carūd and darb is cited by some. A form with qaṭ^C in ^Carūd (darb) of the mashtūr form is identical with a form of sarī^C, as al-Khalīl is said to have classified it (sarī^C mashtūr maksūf). A mashtūr form with pairs of verses alternately sālim and maqtū^C is found and admitted universally. This is the urjūza mashtūra muzdawija. Ḥadhadh and tasbīgh are admitted by some in the mashtūr. In later times, even a manhūk form of the mashtūr, as it was called, was used, mustaf^Cilun once (this being one-third of the mashtūr, mustaf^Cilun three times). There are even cases of misra^Cs in threes, or two hemistichs followed by one. This great variability has led to rajaz being called "the poets' donkey", "ḥimār al-shu^Carā'".

Note: Though rajaz is almost certainly the most ancient of the Arabic metres, it never was fully accepted by professional poets and for the most part was used in specific forms other than the qaṣīda. Older rajaz poetry was rhymed in both hemistichs. In Umayyad times there was even a body of writers who used only the urjūza, or rajaz poem, and who were not classed as shu^carā'. The urjūza later become the vehicle for manuals of grammar and other subjects. Only very late was rajaz used as a normal metre for a qaṣīda proper. Apart from usage, the fact that rajaz never has a foot mutafā^cilun, while it frequently sets mustaf^cilun, mafā^cilun, mufta^cilun and even fa^cilatun together, easily distinguishes it metrically from the characteristic mixture of mutafā^cilun and mustaf^cilun of kāmil. The prosodists' traditional classification of the ziḥāfs of rajaz as good, acceptable or bad scarcely applies to the old rajaz and the urjūzas, where the makhbūl foot fa^cilātun is common. In very late poetry, where rajaz is, so to speak, promoted to the qaṣīda, this ziḥāf is avoided.

h) Ramal has two arūds and six darbs.

^cArūd 1 - Maḥdhūf

Darb 1 - Sālim

fā^cilātun fā^cilātun fā^cilun
- √ - - √ - - √ -

fā^cilātun fā^cilatun fā^cilātun
- √ - - √ - - √ -

Darb 2 - Maqsūr

fā^cilātun fā^cilātun fā^cilun
- √ - - √ - - √ -

fā^cilātun fā^cilātun fā^cilān
- √ - - √ - - √ -

Darb 3 - maḥdhūf

fā^cilātun fā^cilātun fā^cilun
- √ - - √ - - √ -

fā^cilātun fā^cilatun fā^cilun
- √ - - √ - - √ -

^cArūd 2 -- Majzū', Sālim

Darb 1 - Musabbagh

fā^c ilātun fā^c ilātun
- ✓ - - ✓ - -

fā^c ilātun fā^c iliyān
- ✓ - - ✓ - -

Darb 2 - Sālim (mu arrā^c)

fā^c ilātun fā^c ilātun
- ✓ - - ✓ - -

fā^c ilātun fā^c ilātun
- ✓ - - ✓ - -

Darb 3 - Maḥdhūf

fā^c ilātun fā^c ilātun
- ✓ - - ✓ - -

fā^c ilātun fā^c ilun
- ✓ - - ✓ - -

The hashw admits khabn, which is good (ḥasan); kaff, which is acceptable (ṣāliḥ); and shakl, which is bad (qabīḥ). Mu^c agaba obtains throughout. Only khabn may affect all ^carūds and darbs of ramal, even a darb maqsūr or musabbagh. An ^carūd sālīm is irregular in the full, not majzū', ramal. A darb musha^{cc} ath is irregular in a ramal-majzū'.

i) Sarī^c has four ^carūds and six darbs.

^cArūd 1 -- Maksūf, Matwī

Darb 1 - Mawqūf, Matwī

mustaf^c ilun mustaf^c ilun fā^c ilun
- - ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

mustaf^c ilun mustaf^c ilun fā^c ilān
- - ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

Darb 2 - Maksūf, Matwī

mustaf^c ilun mustaf^c ilun fā^c ilun
- - ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

mustaf^c ilun mustaf^c ilun fā^c ilun
- - ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

Darb 3 - Aṣlam

mustaf^c ilun mustaf^c ilun fā^c ilun
- - ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

mustaf^c ilun mustaf^c ilun fā^c lun
- - ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

^cArūd 2 -- Maksūf, Makhbūl

Darb - Maksūf, Makhbūl

mustaf^c ilun mustaf^c ilun fā^c ilun
- - ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ ✓ - -

mustaf^c ilun mustaf^c ilun fā^c ilun
- - ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ ✓ - -

^CArūd 3 -- Mashtūr, Mawqūf

Darb (^Carūd)

mustaf^C ilun mustaf^C ilun maf^Cūlān
- - ✓ - - - ✓ - - - -

^CArūd 4 -- Mashtūr, Maksūf

Darb (^Carūd)

mustaf^C ilun mustaf^C ilun maf^Cūlun
- - ✓ - - - ✓ - - - -

The hashw admits tayy, which is good (hasan); khabn, which is acceptable (ṣālih); khabl, which is bad (qabīh). All zihāfs follow mukānafa, i.e. may be used freely or not. Only khabn is allowed in ^Carūds 3 and 4. Some allow khabn in ^Carūd 1. No jaz' or nahk occurs, which would confuse this metre with rajaz. Some permit a ḍarb aṣlam in ^Carūd 2, in which case both ḍarbs may be used in one poem.

Note: It will be noted that the foot maf^Cūlātu, which is the theoretical final foot of sarī^C in the circle it heads, never occurs as such; indeed, the fact that it ends in a short syllable ensures that it never retains this syllable at the end of a bayt. Further, as this syllable is the second of a theoretical watad mafrūq, it follows that the watad mafrūq never occurs as such in sarī^C. The fact is so obvious that it must have been clear to al-Khalīl when he devised the circles. Unable to find a metre opening with a strong watad majmū^C to head a circle indicating the position of the watads majmū^C in six of the metres he was analysing, and ascertaining the existence of a trochaic, permanent element in these same metres, he posited a final watad mafrūq at the end of sarī^C, in a theoretical foot containing only two sababs before it, so there could be no mistake, and by aligning the other metres in the circle, he showed that one of the permanent elements in each metre was trochaic, not iambic. The weak point of the circle is that it cannot show positively which

watads are majmū^c, whence it is a doubtful circle. It is a minor and inevitable weakness, for the circle isolates these difficult metres and it is easy to remember that only one watad is mafrūq in any miṣra^c. The ghost of the watad mafrūq in sarī^c is embodied in the other five metres of the "doubtful circle".

j) Munsarih has three ^carūds and three darbs.

^cArūd 1 -- Sālim

Darb - Maṭwī

mustaf^cilun maf^cūlātu mustaf^cilun
- - v - - - - v - - v -

mustaf^cilun maf^cūlātu mufta^cilun
- - v - - - - v - v v -

^cArūd 2 -- Manhūk, Mawqūf

Darb (= ^carūd)

mustaf^cilun maf^cūlān
- - v - - - -

^cArūd 3 -- Manhūk, Maksūf

Darb (= ^carūd)

mustaf^cilun maf^cūlun
- - v - - - -

The hashw admits ṭayy, which is good (hasan); khabn, which is acceptable (sālih) in mustaf^cilun, bad (qabīh) in maf^cūlātu; khabl, which is bad (qabīh). The ziḥāfs of mustaf^cilun after maf^cūlātu observe mu^cāqaba; those of mustaf^cilun before maf^cūlātu observe mukānafa. ^cArūd 1 accepts ṭayy or khabn but not khabl (i.e. as ziḥāf). Its ḍarb cannot take khabn as it is already maṭwī. The other ^carūds/ḍarbs admit khabn, but not ṭayy or khabl. In ḍarb 2, ridf is obligatory; in ḍarb 3, it is good. Ṭayy is so common as to be normal in sarī^c, and some say that even ^carūd 1 only occurs maṭwī; ^carūd 1 is also said to have another ḍarb, maqtū^c, but this is rare, though less so in later verse. Moderns even omit ridf. (see section on rhyme).

k) Khafīf has three ^Carūds and five darbs.

^CArūd 1 - Sālim

Darb 1 - Sālim

fā^Cilātun mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilātun
- ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

fā^Cilātun mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilātun
- ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

Darb 2 - Maḥdhūf

fā^Cilātun mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilātun
- ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

fā^Cilātun mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilun
- ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

^CArūd 2 - Maḥdhūf

Darb - Maḥdhūf

fā^Cilātun mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilun
- ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

fā^Cilātun mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilun
- ✓ - - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

^CArūd 3 - Majzū', Sālim

Darb 1 - Sālim

fā^Cilātun mustaf^Cilun
- ✓ - - - ✓ - -

fā^Cilātun mustaf^Cilun
- ✓ - - - ✓ - -

Darb 2 - Maḥṣūr, Maḥbūn

fā^Cilātun mustaf^Cilun
- ✓ - - - ✓ - -

fā^Cilātun fa^Cūlun
- ✓ - - - ✓ - -

The hashw admits khabn, which is good (ḥasan); kaff, which is acceptable (ṣāliḥ); shakl, which is bad (qabiḥ). In both miṣra^Cs, khabn of mustaf^Cilun and kaff of the first fā^Cilātun, also kaff of mustaf^Cilun and khabn of the last fā^Cilātun follow mu^Cāqaba. Khabn is allowed in all darbs and arūds, even when maḥdhūf (darb 2 - ^Carūd 3 is already makhbūn). Tash^Cīth is allowed in darb 1 of ^Carūd 1. According to al-Akhfash, it was the opinion of al-Khalīl that mu^Cāqaba was prohibited between kaff of the first fā^Cilātun and khabn of mustaf^Cilun, but it seems normal. A rare arūd^C is added by some, majzū', maḥṣūr, makhbūn, its darb the same. A verse in this form is credited to Abu'l-^CAtāhiya, who claimed priority over the science of arūd^C.

l) Mudāri^C is always majzū' and has one arūd^C with one darb.

^CArūd - Sālim

Darb - Sālim

mafā^Cilun fā^Cilātun
v - - - - v - - -

mafā^Cilun fā^Cilatun
v - - - - v - - -

In the hashw, murāqaba is obligatory in mafā^Cilun, which is therefore always makfūf or maqūd (but not both). Apart from this, the hashw admits shatr and kharb. The arūd^C admits kaff, but not qabḍ. The darb is always sālim.

Note: An interesting comment of al-Damāminī, in his commentary on the well-known Qaṣīda al-Khazrajiyya of al-Khazrajī, is worth quoting in translation:

"Al-Akhfash denied that al-mudāri^C and al-muqtaḍab belonged to Arabic poetry and claimed that no example of them had been heard. (However) They are testified to be material handed down from al-Khalīl: al-Zajjāj says: 'Both are so rare that no qaṣīda is found in either by an Arabian; only single bayts or pairs of bayts of either have been handed down; not one bayt in either is attributed to an Arabian (sc. pure Arab, as opposed to other races) poet, nor are they found in the poems of the tribes'."

m) Muqtaḍab is always majzū', and has one arūd^C and one darb.

^CArūd - Maṭwī

Darb - Maṭwī

maf^Cūlātu mufta^Cilun
- - - v - v v -

maf^Cūlātu mufta^Cilun
- - - v - v v -

The hashw (sc. maf^Cūlātu) admits ṭayy or khabn according to obligatory murāqaba. No other ziḥāf appears in the hashw. The ṭayy of both arūd^C and darb is ziḥāf-^Cilla, i.e. obligatory, and no other ziḥāf is admitted. Some say that murāqaba is not obligatory in maf^Cūlātu, but at least al-Damāminī says it should be. In any case, the metre is extremely rare, and the form: fā^Cilātu mufta^Cilun (-v-v | -vv-) i.e. with ṭayy in the theoretical maf^Cūlātu is

usual in the few examples of this metre to be found. If the "bayts or pairs of bayts" mentioned under the previous metre in the quotation of al-Zajjāj by al-Damāminī is a little exaggerated for muqtadab or muḍāri^C, it is not greatly so, and the statement that only non-Arabian poets have used these metres seems true.

n) Mujtathth is always majzū^C, and has one ^Carūd and one ḍarb.

^CArūd - Sālim

Darb - Sālim

mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilātun
 - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilātun
 - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

The hashw admits ziḥāfs as khafīf, i.e. khabn, which is good (ḥasan); kaff, which is acceptable (ṣāliḥ); and shakl, which is bad (qabīḥ). Murāqaba governs khabn and kaff. The ^Carūd admits khabn or kaff according to murāqaba with the preceding foot, or shakl according to murāqaba, with the preceding and following foot. The ḍarb cannot admit kaff or shakl, but can take khabn (if the preceding foot has kaff, according to murāqaba). The ḍarb also admits tash^Cīth, in which case it cannot take khabn. Tash^Cīth of the ḍarb is not allowed by some; all agree that the ^Carūd cannot take tash^Cīth unless the bayt is muṣarra^C, (e.g. as a maṭla^C). As tash^Cīth is illa-zihāf, it may be used in some but not all bayts of a poem.

o) Mutaqārib has two ^Carūds and six ḍarbs.

^CArūd 1 - Sālim

Darb 1 - Sālim

fa^Cūlun fa^Cūlun fa^Cūlun fa^Cūlun
 ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

fa^Cūlun fa^Cūlun fa^Cūlun fa^Cūlun
 ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

Darb 2 - Maqṣūr

fa^cūlun fa^cūlun fa^cūlun fa^cūlun
✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

fa^cūlun fa^cūlun fa^cūlun fa^cūl
✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

Darb 3 - Maḥdhūf

fa^cūlun fa^cūlun fa^cūlun fa^cūlun
✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

fa^cūlun fa^cūlun fa^cūlun fa^cal
✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

Darb 4 - Abtar

fa^cūlun fa^cūlun fa^cūlun fa^cūlun
✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

fa^cūlun fa^cūlun fa^cūlun fa^c
✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - - -

^cArūd 2 - Majzū', Maḥdhūf

Darb 1 - Maḥdhūf

fa^cūlun fa^cūlun fa^cal
✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

fa^cūlun fa^cūlun fa^cal
✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

Darb 2 - Abtar

fa^cūlun fa^cūlun fa^cal
✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

fa^cūlun fa^cūlun fa^c
✓ - - ✓ - - -

The hashw admits qabḍ, thalm and tharm. Qabḍ is good (ḥasan) and very common, but the other two are bad (qabīḥ). ^cArūd 1 may take qabḍ or even hadhf, but this hadhf is ^cilla-zihāf. A poem by the ancient poet Imra' al-Qays has some ^carūds maḥdhūf some not. No darb of ^carūd 1 may take qabḍ, because of the pause. Al-Khalīl seems to have rejected qabḍ in a foot before a darb abtar, but not al-Akhfash and al-Zajjāj. Some say that qaṣr of ^carūd 1, and qaṭ^c of ^carūd 2, are pure zihāf, but others deny this on the authority of al-Khalīl.

p) Mutadārik has two ^carūds and four darbs.

^cArūd 1 - Sālim

Darb - Sālim

fā^cilun fā^cilun fā^cilun fā^cilun
- ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

fā^cilun fā^cilun fā^cilun fā^cilun
- ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ - -

^CArūd 2 - Majzū', Sālim

Darb 1 - Muraffal, Makhbun

fā^Cilun fā^Cilun fā^Cilun
- ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ -

fā^Cilun fā^Cilun fā^Cilātun
- ✓ - - ✓ - ✓ ✓ - -

Darb 2 - Mudhayyal

fā^Cilun fā^Cilun fā^Cilun
- ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ -

fā^Cilun fā^Cilun fā^Cilān
- ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ -

Darb 3 - Sālim

fā^Cilun fā^Cilun fā^Cilun
- ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ -

fā^Cilun fā^Cilun fā^Cilun
- ✓ - - ✓ - - ✓ -

The hashw admits khabn, which is good (ḥasan) and tash'īth (virtually qat' as an illa-zihāf), which is bad (qabīḥ), but not in the same foot. The arūds and darbs admit the same. Arūd 2, darb 1 is sometimes muṣarra'. Some say arūd 2 and its darbs are irregular. Al-Zamakhsharī gives the complete (not majzū') mutadarik two other arūds: 1. makhbūn, darb makhbūn; 2. musha^{CC}ath, darb musha^{CC}ath.

Note: This metre was not included by al-Khalīl in his original system and seems to have been added by al-Akhfash. It may have been of popular origin and rejected by al-Khalīl, rather than simply omitted. Unlike any other metre, it has a number of other names: al-mukhtara^C; al-muhdath; al-muntasiq; al-shaqīq; al-khabab; rakḍ al-khayl; darb al-nāqūs. The first two seem to indicate its late origin or invention; the third implies it was organised or fitted into the system; the fourth name may mean "uterine brother" or "split", or "half", perhaps the brother of mutaqārib, or formed by splitting fa^Culun and reversing its elements; the fifth applies especially to the form makhbūn throughout and refers to a horse's ambling gait; and the last two are equally onomatopoeic, and seem to refer to the same form, which has undoubtedly remained popular, rather than high classical.

26. In addition to the terms listed in Number 24, the following may be found in treatises:

a) tāmm: a bayt not majzū', mashtūr, or manhūk, of which the ^carūd and darb are not changed by ^cilla or ziḥāf-^cilla.

b) wāf(in): a bayt not majzū', mashtūr or manhūk, of which the ^carūd or darb are changed by ^cilla or ^cilla-ziḥāf.

c) muṣarra^c: a bayt with ^carūd identical with its darb (including the rhyme letter, or rawī), against the usual rule for the ^carūd in question.

d) muqaffā: as (c) but not against the rule for the ^carūd.

e) mujamma^c: a bayt of which the ^carūd breaks its rule without becoming identical with its darb.

f) muṣammaṭ: a bayt neither muṣarra^c, muqaffā, nor mujamma^c.

g) mudarraḥ/mudākhal/mudammaḥ/mudawwar: a bayt with a word spanning both its miṣra^cs.

h) ba'w: a bayt with all its theoretical feet, as in the circle, and without any sinād (see section on rhyme).

i) naṣb: a bayt with all its theoretical feet, as in the circle, and without a bad sinād (sinād qabiḥ).

27. For the sake of completeness, the names of the so-called modern metres (as opposed to Arab metres) are given here, with their paradigms, also the so-called seven genera (anwā^c)

a) mustaṭīl -- mafā^c ilun fa^c ulun, four times.

b) mumtadd -- fā^c ilun fā^c ilātun, four times.

c) mutawaffir -- fā^c ilātuka, six times.

d) mutta'id -- fā^c ilātun fā^c ilātun musTAF^c ilun, twice.

e) munsarid -- mafā^c ilun mafā^c ilun FĀ^c ilātun, twice.

f) mutṭarid -- FĀ^c ilātun mafā^c ilun mafā^c ilun, twice.

These metres have another set of names:

- | | | |
|----------------------|----|-----------------------------|
| g) <u>mustaṭīl</u> | or | <u>wasīṭ</u> |
| h) <u>muntadd</u> | or | <u>wasīm</u> |
| i) <u>mutawaffir</u> | or | <u>mu^c tamid</u> |
| j) <u>mutta'id</u> | or | <u>gharīb</u> |
| k) <u>munsarid</u> | or | <u>qarīb</u> |
| l) <u>muttarid</u> | or | <u>mushākīl</u> |

The first three of these metres are clearly derived from ṭawīl, maḍīd and wāfir respectively, by reversing the feet of the first two, or re-ordering the watad of the third. The fourth is probably derived from the sarī^c, beginning on its second sabab. The fifth and sixth, while similarly obtainable from the sarī^c pattern, beginning on the first watad majmū^c and the last watad mafrūg respectively, may have a Persian origin. Indeed the last three modern metres are all in the oldest extant Persian treatises under their second names. While gharīb seems to be a prosodist's artifact, qarīb is probably a genuine Persian metre, as is mushākīl, though this last was more associated with folk poetry. The second set of names as a whole is not found in Arabic until the commentary on the Manzūma (al-Shāfiya al-Kāfiya) fī^c ilm al-^c arūd, of al-Ṣabbān (XII Cent. A.H.). The student of Arabic is unlikely to come across any of the modern metres.

The seven genera comprise a mixed bag of forms:

- m) silsila - each miṣra^c : fa^clun fa^cilātun mutaf^cilun fa^cilātun
- n) dawbayt - each miṣra^c : fa^clun mutafā^cilun fa^cūlun fa^cilun

This is said to have five arūds^c and seven darbs.

Arūd 1 - sālim; darb 1 - sālim; darb 2 - mudhayyal

^cArūd 2 - mudmar; darb 1 - mudmar; darb 2 - mudhayyal

^cArūd 3 - majzū', sālim; darb - sālim

^cArūd 4 - majzū', maḥdhūf; darb - maḥdhūf

^cArūd 5 - mashtūr; darb = ^carūd

This form, as its name shows, is clearly an Arab adaptation of the Persian rubā^cī or dawbaytī. The shortened forms are not found in Persian, but the form is limited to two bayts in Arabic as in Persian. Al-Damanhūrī quotes a few examples.

o) qūmā - mustaf^c ilun fa^c lān. Popular, perhaps of Aramaic origin

p) muwashshah - Several variants, e.g.:

mustaf^c ilun fā^c ilun fa^c īl, twice, or fā^c ilātun fā^c ilun mustaf^c ilun fā^c ilun,

twice. This term refers more to the types of strophic poem developed in Islamic Spain, classifiable more by rhyme-schemes than by metres.

q) zajal - several variants, e.g.:

mustaf^c ilun mustaf^c ilun mustaf^c il, twice, or mustaf^c ilun fa^c lun fa^c lun, twice,

or mustaf^c ilun fa^c lun fa^c lān, twice.

The zajal is almost any traditional, but popular folk poem. It was cultivated in Spain, but the term is also applied to much more recent folk poetry, in strophic forms, as in modern Lebanon.

r) mawāliyā - each miṣra^c : mustaf^c ilun fā^c ilun mustaf^c ilun fā^c il. Popular, perhaps of Aramaic origin.

s) kān wa kān - first miṣra^c : mustaf^c ilun fa^c ilān; second miṣra^c :

mustaf^c ilun mustaf^c ilān, or: mustaf^c ilun fa^c lān, according to

whether the bayt is in an odd or even position.

AL-QĀFIYA: RHYME IN CLASSICAL ARABIC VERSE

28. The rules of rhyme in classical Arabic verse look to the final letters (hurūf) of a misra^c or bayt and their vowels (ḥarakāt). The earliest definition of the rhyme is apparently: "(The rhyme) is from the end of the bayt (back) to the first movent preceding a quiescent which is between these two." This definition is attributed to al-Khalīl. A later precision of al-Damanhūrī: "It consists of the last two quiescents of the bayt, the movents between them and the movent preceding the first quiescent (of the last two)."

29. The names of the letters of the rhyme are:

- a) rawī
- b) waṣl
- c) khurūj
- d) ridf
- e) ta'sīs
- f) dakhīl

Known collectively as: hurūf al-qāfiya

No rhyme has all of these; five is the maximum, as ridf can never be in the same rhyme as dakhīl or ta'sīs .

30. a) The rawī is the consonant letter (ḥarf) essential to the rhyme; according to it a qaṣīda is often known as e.g. lāmiyya, tā'iyya, i.e. a qaṣīda rhyming in lām, tā', etc.

b) Waṣl is a letter of prolongation after the vowel of the rawī, or a h in the same position.

c) Khurūj is always alif, w or y following h as waṣl .

d) Ridf is a weak letter, alif, w or y before the rawī either as a letter of prolongation with a homogeneous vowel or forming a diphthong with a heterogeneous vowel. As letters of prolongation, w and y can occur as ridf in one poem; diphthongs with both w and y can also occur in one poem, but should not mix with w and y as letters of prolongation, forming long vowels.

e) Ta'sīs is always an alif before the rawī but separated from it by another letter. If, as usually, the alif is original, ta'sīs must be kept throughout the poem; opinions differ on alif standing for hamza.

f) Dakhīl is the letter between the ta'sīs and the rawī. It is always vowelled, but may be any letter and change throughout the poem.

31. All letters may be rawī except, in certain cases, alif, w, y, h, y of tanwīn, n of the emphatic, hamza of pause. Alif is not 1^o when it amplifies the rhyme, 2^o as a dual sign, 3^o as part of the third person feminine pronoun, 4^o when replacing tanwīn or n of emphasis, 5^o when a sign for a vowel as in ana, the first person singular pronoun (of which the second vowel is short, i.e. the alif is not counted). Alif may be rawī or wasl 1^o when radical, 2^o when the augment of the feminine (alif zā'idat al-ta'nīth), 3^o when merely added.

W is not rawī when 1^o it amplifies the rhyme, 2^o after damma, as part of a plural, 3^o as part of a pronoun. Y is not rawī when it amplifies the rhyme, 2^o as a pronoun of the first or second person after kasra, 3^o with any pronoun. Y of the nisba, with tashdīd can only be rawī and counts as one letter; without tashdīd it may be rawī or wasl. W and y, when quiescent radicals, preceded respectively by damma and kasra, may be either rawī or wasl, but preferably wasl.

W and y are always rawī 1^o when preceded by fatha or 2^o sukūn, 3^o when movent and preceded by a movent, 4^o when with tashdīd -- in this case they are like any other letter with tashdīd, which should obtain throughout a poem.

H is not rawī 1^o when it is the h of pause, 2^o when a mark of the feminine, 3^o as a pronoun movent or quiescent preceded by a movent, or without tashdīd.

The mark of the feminine has sometimes been considered rawī but it is better considered wasl. Radical h, preceded by a movent, may be rawī or wasl. When preceded by a quiescent, it may only be rawī, whether it is radical or not as

in sajāyāhā, fīh(i), nuḥabbīh(i), ^calayh(i), ladayh(i), al-fatāh (for al-fatātu), al-ḥayāh (for al-ḥayātu). The t of the feminine may not be waṣl or rawī. Tanwīn may not be waṣl or rawī, nor may the n of the emphatic. Hamza of pause may never be waṣl or rawī. K may be rawī or waṣl, but when a pronoun or part of one it is not satisfactory as rawī and is better as waṣl. M, similarly, may be rawī or waṣl, but as waṣl it is inevitably part of a pronoun, and preceded by k or h.

32. The vowels of the rhyme are part of it, such that once a poet has used them in his maṭla^c, he must keep to them throughout his poem. The names of the vowels of the rhyme are:

- a) majrā
- b) nafādh
- c) hadhw
- d) ishbā^c
- e) rass
- f) tawjīh

Known collectively as: ḥarakāt al-qāfiya

33. a) Majrā is the vowel of a movent rawī.
b) Nafadh is the vowel of a h as waṣl.
c) Hadhw is the vowel before ridf.
d) Ishbā^c is the vowel of dakhīl.
e) Rass is the vowel before ta'sīs (always fatha).
f) Tawjīh is the vowel before a quiescent rawī.

34. The maximum of letters and vowels in a single rhyme is nine, as in the word: yuwāfiqūhā; the vowel of the w is rass; the alif is ta'sīs; the f is dakhīl, and its vowel is ishbā^c; the q is rawī, and its vowel is majrā; the h is waṣl, and its vowel is nafadh; the final alif is khurūj.

35. A rawī may be muṭlaq, free; or it may be muqayyad, fettered. The rawī muṭlaq has a vowel and is followed by waṣl either a soft letter, alif, w or y, or h.

The rawī muqayyad is quiescent; the vowel before it is tawjīh and it cannot be followed by waṣl. It is important to understand that all final vowels of a bayt or miṣra^c are counted long, whether followed by a letter of prolongation or not; in the case of w and y, these letters are only written when they would normally be written; alif is always added to final fatha whether it belongs grammatically or not.

36. According to whether its rawī is muṭlaq or muqayyad, a rhyme is classified as qāfiya muṭlaqa or qāfiya muqayyada. The qāfiya muṭlaqa has six varieties:

- a) al-qāfiya al-mujarrada al-mawṣūla bi'l-madd: This has no ridf or ta'sīs and its waṣl is a letter of prolongation (which, if w or y, may be understood in some lines if not written).
- b) al-qāfiya al-mujarrada al-mawṣūla bi'l-hā': This has no ridf or ta'sīs and its waṣl is h.
- c) al-qāfiya al-mu'assasa al-mawṣūla bi'l-madd: This has ta'sīs, and its waṣl is a letter of prolongation.
- d) al-qāfiya al-mu'assasa al-mawṣūla bi'l-hā': This has ta'sīs and its waṣl is h.
- e) al-qāfiya al-mardūfa (al-murdafa) al-mawṣūla bi'l-madd: This has ridf and its waṣl is a letter of prolongation.
- f) al-qāfiya al-mardūfa (al-murdafa) al-mawṣūla bi'l-hā': This has ridf and its waṣl is h.

The qāfiya muqayyada has three varieties:

- g) al-qāfiya al-muqayyada al-mujarrada: This has neither ridf nor ta'sīs.
- h) al-qāfiya al-muqayyada al-mu'assasa: This has ta'sīs.
- i) al-qāfiya al-muqayyada al-mardūfa (al-murdafa): This has ridf.

37. Individual rhymes are further classified according to the number of vowels between the two quiescents at the end of the rhyme.

- a) al-mutakāwisa has four vowels between its quiescents.
- b) al-mutarākiba has three vowels between its quiescents.
- c) al-mutadārika has two vowels between its quiescents.
- d) al-mutawātira has one vowel between its quiescents.
- e) al-mutarādifa has no vowel between its quiescents.

The order of these terms may be easily remembered by using the meaningless mnemonic SaBKaRaf. The first consonant is the last radical of the first term, al-mutakāwisa. Remove this, and the next gives the last radical of the next term, al-mutarākiba, and so on down to the last consonant of the mnemonic, which is the last radical of the last term, al-mutarādifa. All the terms are of the same grammatical form, and have appropriate meanings, which may be sought in the lexicon.

38. a) It is no fault to use mutakāwisa, mutarākiba and mutadārika rhymes in one poem.

b) It is also no fault to use mutakāwisa, mutawātira and mutarādifa rhymes in one poem.

c) It is thus implied that to use mutarākiba rhymes with mutawātira or mutarādifa rhymes is a fault, as it is to use mutadārika rhymes with mutawātira or mutarādifa rhymes, in one poem.

39. Thirty-five varieties of mutlaqa, and five muqayyada rhymes, may be summarised as follows:

<u>al-qāfiya</u>	<u>al-muṭlaqa al-mawṣūla</u>					
<u>al-mujarrada</u>	qamarā	qamarū	qamarī	qamaruhā	qamaruhū	qamarihī
<u>al-mu'assasa</u>	ṣāhibā	ṣāhibū	ṣāhibī	ṣāhibuhā	ṣāhibuhū	ṣāhibihī
<u>al-murdafa bi'l-alif</u>	ṣihābā	ṣihābū	ṣihābī	ṣihābuhā	ṣihābuhū	ṣihābihī
<u>al-murdafa bi'l-wāw</u>	budūrā	budūrū	budūrī	budūruhā	budūruhū	budūrihī
<u>al-murdafa bi'l-yā'</u>	ḥabībā	ḥabībū	ḥabībī	ḥabībuhā	ḥabībuhū	ḥabībihī
<u>al-qāfiya al-muqayyada</u>						qamaruh
<u>al-mujarrada</u>	qamar					ṣāhibuh
<u>al-mu'assasa</u>	ṣāhib					ṣihābuh
<u>al-murdafa bi'l-alif</u>	ṣihāb					budūruh
<u>al-murdafa bi'l-wāw</u>	budūr					ḥabībuh
<u>al-murdafa bi'l-yā'</u>	ḥabīb					

40. The faults of rhyme, other than those indicated in Number 38, are as follows:

a) itā': the repetition of a rhyming word with the same meaning as well as sound. There is an opinion that repetition of a rhyme in taṣrī^c is not a fault, i.e. using later in a ḍarb a rhyming word of an arūḍ in taṣrī^c.

b) taḍmīn: enjambement, connecting the rhyme with a following bayt in grammatical construction. Taḍmīn is bad (qabīḥ) when the sense requires it, but it is permissible (jā'iz) if the first bayt makes sense without the following, which only complements the sense.

c) iqwā': using both kasra and ḍamma as majrā (vowel of the rawī) within a poem.

d) iṣrāf: using both fathā and another vowel as majrā within a poem. Iṣrāf is worse than iqwā', as fathā is said to be heavy, the other vowels light.

e) ikfā': using a different rawī, but similar in sound to the principal rawī (mutaqārib al-makhrāj); worse than iṣrāf or iqwā'.

f) ijāza: using a different rawī remote in sound from the principal rawī (mutabā^c id al-makhraj). Worse than ikfā', iṣrāf or iqwā'.

g) sinād: any change in the consonants or vowels before the rawī. There are five main kinds, two concerning the consonants, three the vowels.

- 1° sinād al-ridf - using ridf in one or some bayts but not another or others.
- 2° sinād al-ta'sīs - using ta'sīs in one or some bayts but not another or others.
- 3° sinād al-ishbā^c - changing the vowel of the dakhīl, the ishbā^c. According to common usage, alternating between kasra and ḍamma as ishbā^c is not bad, while alternating between fatha and another vowel is bad. As al-Damānḥūrī puts it: "Sinād al-ishbā^c may be in vowels close in weight, sc. kasra and ḍamma, or remote in weight, sc. fatha and one of the others."
- 4° sinād al-ḥadhw - applied to alternation between fatha and another vowel as the vowel before the ridf.
- 5° sinād al-tawjīh - changing the vowel before a rawī muḍayyad, the tawjīh. Most agree that ḍamma and kasra may interchange, but not fatha.

h) tahrīd: not always found in manuals of rhyme, is the term applied to the use of more than one ḍarb within a poem.

i) iq^cād: also not always in manuals of rhyme, is the term for changing the arūd^c within a poem in the kāmil metre. It is not so much a fault of rhyme as of metre.

41. The conditions laid down by tradition and theory for a true qaṣīda concern length, metre and rhyme. It should have at least seven bayts (though theoretical opinion varies: at least three, ten, eleven, sixteen, twenty).

A qaṣīda, further, should open with a maṭla^c, a bayt rhyming its ^carūḍ and ḍarb. The rhyme and metre established in the maṭla^c must be kept throughout the poem, the rhyme only in the ḍarbs. All bayts must have the same number of feet, the same ḍarb and ^carūḍ and follow the same rules, whether obligatory, optional or prohibitive. While uniformity of rawī is said not to be a condition, absence of iqwā', ikfā', iṣrāf, and ijāza is, which comes to saying the same thing.

if both vowelless consonants in rāst were followed by vowels. An important exception to the extra long rule is that of syllables with long vowels, not diphthongs, closed by n. Thus, zamīn dād, darmān kard. Silent consonants do not count, e.g. zamīn khward.

4. Some syllables are anceps, i.e. may be long or short as required. These are: the idāfa; the final vowel represented by "silent b"; the word for "and", always pronounced [o] between consonants, [óv] before a vowel, unless contracted as in wandar (never wa in poetry); the final vowel [o] represented by w, e.g. du, tu.

5. Words beginning with a vowel (written with alif) may simply attach themselves to a preceding word, thus opening its final consonant or may be pronounced with a gentle glottal stop (counting the alif as a consonant), e.g. bād ast or bād 'ast, bad ast or bad'ast. The final vowel represented by h may coalesce with an initial vowel represented by alif, or not, in a similar way, e.g. guft ast or gufta 'ast.

6. Final [i:] and [u:] resolve into [ij] and [ov] before [a:], e.g.: īrānī, (---), but īrāniyān (--v-): bāzū, (--) but bāzuwān (-v-). Final [u:] may shorten before idāfa, e.g.: sū-yi or su-yi, the idāfa itself being long or short.

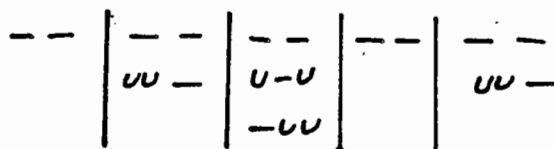
7. Certain shortenings are common: tashdīd is dropped, especially finally; the nisba ending ī then follows Number 6, but the poet retains the option of keeping it; long vowels are shortened in certain words: rah, shah, mah, for rāh, shāh, māh.

8. Some words in verse show a different vowel distribution from that normal in modern standard pronunciation, e.g. gursina for gurusna. Some words have alternate forms, with and without tashdīd. Such varieties, if not immediately apparent from the metric pattern, may be sought in lexica of the classical language.

9. The various metres are different patterns of long and short syllables, which, for convenience, may be analysed as feet analogous to those of classical Greek and Latin poetry. The Persian extra long syllable fits into the patterns as if it were simply one long syllable followed by one short syllable, though only the extra long is pronounced; the long closed syllable, or vowel and cluster of consonants have the time of a long and a short before another consonant.

10. Repetition and sometimes combination of the various feet build the patterns for verse units, of which the minimum in Persian may be called hemistich as it is normally paired with another, exactly equal metrically, to form a line. This produces a superficial resemblance to the Arabic bayt and misra^C, of which the Persian lines and hemistichs may be conscious imitations; indeed the Arabic terms are used in Persian, as in all prosodic matters, as Part III will show. Nevertheless, the Persian hemistich has a metrical independence lacking to the Arabic misra^C. It is never linked to its mate by a word spanning both, as is common between two misra^Cs of a bayt in Arabic. It is often found or quoted alone, or may be one of an odd number of hemistichs in a strophe.

11. The Persian quatrain, usually known as rubā^Cī, may conveniently be analysed first, as it is undoubtedly native to Persian and unique as a form in that it is characterised by its metre, rather than by its rhyme scheme. Its peculiar metre illustrates well the strictness of quantitative relations found in all Persian metres. The rubā^Cī hemistich, its basic unit, is built up from four feet of two or three syllables: — — (Spondee); ∪∪ — (Anapaest); ∪ — ∪ (Amphibrach); — ∪∪ (Dactyl). As in all Persian poetry (with partial exceptions, see Number 13), one long equals two shorts, and the rubā^Cī hemistich is always equivalent to ten long syllables, according to the following substitution table (moving from left to right).



The ten long syllables, which do occur, though rarely, have been placed on top to show the relationship to the other feet. Noteworthy is the syncopation possible in the third foot, which is the odd man out among the other feet. The first and second, like the fourth and fifth, are always ---|--- or ---|uu- . A favourite variety is: $\text{---|uu-|u-u|---|uu-}$. The fifth foot is commonly --- , as is the second, possibly as commonly. The third foot is ---uu fairly commonly, but far less often --- . Uniquely to the rubā^cī, any one of the twelve possible varieties of the hemistich is allowed in each of the four hemistichs comprising the rubā^cī proper. No other Persian metre can boast such chameleon quantities. As to rhyme, the first, second, and fourth hemistichs must rhyme; the third may, and often does. Such an arrangement is not peculiar to the rubā^cī in comparison with the first four hemistichs of a Persian qaṣīda or ghazal. Some early poets wrote longer pieces using this metre and pairs of hemistichs in it are scattered through Sa^c dī's Culistān, along with short pieces in other metres.

12. The other metres are built up of the following feet, which have been selected as the most natural metra of Persian verse, other than the rubā^cī; the anapaest uu- also occurs in one metre.

- a) Feet of three syllables, one short and two long:

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{u} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \text{u} \text{---} \end{array}$$

- b) Feet of four syllables, three short and one long:

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{uu} \text{---} \text{u} \\ \text{u} \text{---} \text{uu} \end{array}$$

c) Feet of four syllables, two short and two long:

u u - -
- u u -
- - u u
u - u -
- u - u

d) Feet of four syllables, one short and three long:

u - - -
- u - -
- - u -

13. The feet are subject to limited change at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the hemistich, subject to the following rules:

a) Every hemistich of a poem must be quantitatively equal, one long equalling two shorts, except for (c) below.

b) Two successive shorts within a foot but not beginning the hemistich may become one long. This is not overdone, not usually more than once in a hemistich.

c) Of two shorts beginning a hemistich, the first alone may become long.

d) Final syllables of a hemistich must be long. This means one or two final short syllables must be made one long or, more usually, dropped (see (e)).

e) Some metres are catalectic, or have both catalectic and acatalectic forms. In the catalectic form a final long is dropped. If a short or shorts are left, Number 13 (d) applies.

Note 1: (a) governs (b), (d) and (e); (c) is a partial exception. Therefore (b) and (c) may apply in some hemistichs of a poem and not others, but (d) and (e) must obtain throughout or not at all, according to (a).

Note 2: Another rare exception to (a) is the acephalous line, which drops a single initial short. It is confined to a single metre, found in old poets but increasingly rare.

14. The metres may be classified according to whether they are built up by repetition of one foot or by combining more than one kind of feet.

a) Based on $v--$. (The bacchius).

A common metre, most usually the tetrameter catalectic (hendecasyllable):

$v-- | v-- | v-- | v-$ (The mutaqarib)

This was established early, mainly by Firdawsī, as the epic metre, but it had other uses. Another famous example of its use is the Būstān of Sa^cdī.

Less common are the acatalectic and trimeter forms, both catalectic and

acatalectic:

$v-- | v-- | v-- | v--$
 $v-- | v-- | v--$
 $v-- | v-- | v-$

b) Based on $-v-$. (The Cretic).

The only metre based on this foot (the mutadārik) is found in traditional treatises, but nowhere else, apparently, in Persian. Undoubtedly it is mentioned because it is an Arabic metre, though not one of the five "Arab metres"

(tawīl, baṣīt, madīd, wāfir, and kāmil) always quoted as not in use by Persians except in imitation of Arabic. The foot is found in combination.

c) $\left. \begin{matrix} vv--v \\ v--vv \end{matrix} \right\}$ These feet are only found in combination (Pæon tertius e secundus).

d) Based on $vv--$ (The Ionic a minore).

Both trimeter and tetrameter forms, most commonly catalectic:

$\bar{v}v-- | \bar{v}v-- | \bar{v}v-- | \bar{v}v-(-)$
 $\bar{v}v-- | \bar{v}v-- | \bar{v}v-(-)$ (The Ramal-i makhbūn)

This is one of the metres used for narrative poetry, but apparently first by Khusraw of Delhi (XIII-XIV Centuries) probably as a variety of the traditional Ramal (j).

e) Based on $-vv-$ (The Choriamb).

Both trimeter and tetrameter forms, always acatalectic, unless the metre (u) below be accounted a catalectic form:

- ̣̣ - | - ̣̣ - | - ̣̣ - | - ̣̣ -

(The Rajāz-i maṭwī)

The form: - ̣̣ - | - - - || - ̣̣ - | - - - , with strong diaeresis throughout, occurs.

- ̣̣ - | - ̣̣ - | - ̣̣ -

The form: - ̣̣ - | - ̣̣ - | - - - , with final - - - throughout, occurs.

f) Based on - ̣̣̣̣ (The Ionic a maiore).

Both trimeter and tetrameter forms, almost always catalectic:

- - ̣̣ | - - ̣̣ | - - ̣̣ | - -

(The Hazaj-i akhrab-i makfūf-i

- - ̣̣ | - - ̣̣ | - -

maqṣūr/mahdhūf)

The form: - - ̣̣ | - - - || - - ̣̣ | - - - , with strong diaeresis throughout, is found.

g) Based on ̣̣ - ̣̣ - (The Diiamb).

Both trimeter and tetrameter forms, usually acatalectic.

̣̣ - ̣̣ - | ̣̣ - ̣̣ - | ̣̣ - ̣̣ - | ̣̣ - ̣̣ -
̣̣ - ̣̣ - | ̣̣ - ̣̣ - | ̣̣ - ̣̣ -

(The Rajaz-i makhbūn)

This purely iambic pattern is not common.

h) - ̣̣ - ̣̣ (The Ditrochee) . This foot is only found

in combination.

i) Based on ̣̣ - - - (The First Epitrite)

Both trimeter and tetrameter forms, catalectic and acatalectic:

̣̣ - - - | ̣̣ - - - | ̣̣ - - - | ̣̣ - - -
̣̣ - - - | ̣̣ - - - | ̣̣ - - - | ̣̣ - - -
̣̣ - - - | ̣̣ - - - | ̣̣ - - -
̣̣ - - - | ̣̣ - - - | ̣̣ - - -

(The Hazaj-i sālim, or maqṣūr/mahdhūf)

The trimeter catalectic is, like the tetrameter catalectic of (a),

(mutaḡārib), a hendecasyllabic line, and certainly ancient. It is common in

poetry close to the folk, notably the simple quatrain known as du-bayṭī, as

opposed to rubā^cī (though the terms were once synonymous). The most famous

examples are the quatrains of Bābā Ṭāhir^c Uryān, the dervish dialect poet

of the eleventh century. The same metre is also one of those used in narrative

verse in couplets (mathnawī) especially the romantic sort, e.g. Wis u Rāmīn

of Fakhru'l Dīn Gurgānī.

j) Based on -v-- (The Second Epitrite).

-v-- -v-- -v-- -v--	} (The <u>Ramal-i sālim</u> , or <u>maqsūr</u> / <u>mahdhūf</u>)
-v-- -v-- -v-- -v--	
-v-- -v-- -v--	
-v-- -v-- -v--	

The trimeter catalectic, another hendecasyllable, is another of the metres used for narrative verse, being especially associated with the famous Mathnawī-yi Ma^cnawī of Jalālu'l-Dīn Rūmī, though Aṭṭār also had used it.

k) Based on --v-- (The Third Epitrite).

Both trimeter and tetrameter forms, and even dimeter, usually acatalectic, but catalectic forms are found (of the trimeter mostly):

--v- --v- --v- --v-	} (The <u>Rajaz-i sālim</u> / <u>maṭṭū^c</u>)
--v- --v- --v-	
--v- --v- --v-	
--v- --v-	

l) Based on -vv- and v-v- (The Choriamb and Diamb).

These feet may be combined in patterns that should be kept throughout a poem.

They form trimeters and tetrameters or even dimeters, e.g.:

-vv- v-v- -vv- v-v-	} (The <u>Rajaz-i maṭṭwī</u> / <u>makhbūn</u>)
v-v- -vv- v-v- -vv-	
-vv- -vv- v-v- -vv-	
-vv- -vv- v-v- etc.	

m) Based on vv-u | -v-- (Paeon tertius and Second Epitrite).

Always tetrameter acatalectic:

vv-u | -v-- | vv-u | -v-- (The Ramal-i mashkūl)

Fairly common in lyric poetry, this metre rarely lengthens the first syllable.

It often has a strong diaeresis after the second foot.

n) Based on v-v- and vv-- (The Diamb and Ionic a minore).

Always tetrameter, usually catalectic, though acatalectic occurs:

v-v- | vv-- | v-v- | vv- (-) (The Mujtathth-i makhbūn[-i maqsūr/mahdhūf])

In the less common acatalectic form the last foot usually keeps the shorts, while the catalectic form often contracts them.

o) Based on $-\bar{v}-$ and $v-\bar{v}$ (The Third Epitrite and Paeon Secundus).

Always tetrameter, usually catalectic:

$-\bar{v}- | v-\bar{v} | -\bar{v}- | v-$ (The Mudāri^c-i makhbūn-i makfūf-i maqṣūr/mahdhūf)

The acatalectic form contracts the final shorts, according to Number 13 (d):

$-\bar{v}- | v-\bar{v} | -\bar{v}- | v-$

The form: $-\bar{v}- | v-\bar{v} | -\bar{v}- | v-$, with strong diaeresis, occurs.

p) Based on $-v-v$ and $-vv-$ (The Ditrochee and Choriamb)

A relatively uncommon metre, usually tetrameter (or dimeter) acatalectic:

$-v-v | -vv- || -v-v | -vv-$ (The Muqtaḍab-i matwī)

The rhythm of this metre makes for a strong diaeresis.

q) Based on $-vv-$ and $-v-$ (The Choriamb and Cretic).

Almost always tetrameter, though the trimeter occurs:

$-v\bar{v}- | -v- || -v\bar{v}- | -v-$ (The Munsarih-i matwī-yi mawqūf/makshūf)

The trimeter: $-v\bar{v}- | -v- | -vv-$

The rhythm makes for a strong diaeresis in the tetrameter.

r) Based on $-vv-$ and $-v-v$ (The Choriamb and Ditrochee)

Almost always tetrameter catalectic, with loss of the last three syllables:

$-v\bar{v}- | -v-v | -v\bar{v}- | -$ (The Munsarih-i matwī-yi majdū^c/manhūr)

The trimeter occurs: $-v\bar{v}- | -v-v | -v\bar{v}-$

s) Based on $-\bar{v}\bar{v}$ and $-v-v$ (The Ionic a maiore and Ditrochee).

Most commonly a trimeter catalectic:

$-\bar{v}\bar{v} | -v-v | -$ (The Hazaj-i akhrab-i maqbūd-i maqṣūr/mahdhūf)

This metre is used for narrative poetry, Nizāmī of Ganja being probably the first to do so. It may be an ancient decasyllable, but it was already classified as a variety of Hazaj by Persian prosodists by Nizāmī's time, so, having used the Hazaj-i maqṣūr/mahdhūf hendecasyllable (i) for his Khusraw u Shīrīn, he may have chosen this metre as a variety, but still associated with the traditional romantic measure, for his Iaylā u Majnūn.

t) Based on $\bar{v}v--$ and $v-v-$ (The Ionic a minore and Diiamb).

Always a trimeter catalectic:

$\bar{v}v-- | v-v- | \bar{v}v-$ (The Khafīf-i makhbūn-i maqṣūr/maḥdhūf)

This metre, apart from being one of those used for narrative poetry, such as the Hadīqatu'l-Haḍīqa of Sanā'ī and the Haft Paykar of Nizāmī, is also found in the earliest known fragments of Persian verse.

u) Based on $-vv-$ twice and $-v-$ (The Choriamb and Cretic)

Always trimeter acatalectic (unless this be accounted a catalectic form of (e) above):

$-\bar{v}v- | -\bar{v}v- | -v-$ (The Sarī^c-i matwī)

This metre is used for narrative poetry; Nizāmī of Ganja was probably the first to use it so, in his Makhzanu'l-Asrār.

v) Based on $v--$, $\bar{v}v--$ and $v-v-$ (The Bacchius, Ionic a minore and Diiamb).

This metre always has the trimeter form of its three feet and often drops its first short, making an acephalous line, within a poem:

$(v)-- | \bar{v}v-- | v-v-$ (The Qarīb-i makfūf-i maqṣūr/maḥdhūf)

Though classified as a newly invented metre by Persian prosodists with an Arabic viewpoint, this metre was used by Rudakī and other early poets, most of whom may have been ignorant of the technicalities of ^carūd as applied to Persian. It became increasingly rare after Anwarī, possibly pari passu with increasing knowledge of ^carūd among the Persian poets, for it is a strange metre from the point of view of a prosodist using ^carūd. Anwarī even has a poem with another syllable:

$(v)-- | \bar{v}v-- | v-v--$; as this has no line with an initial short,

it is better analysed as: $--vv | --v- | v--$.

This may be influenced by ^carūd theory. Other "varieties" of this metre given by prosodists seem artificial.

w) Based on --v- and vv- (The Third Epitrite and Anapaest)

Tetrameter, acatalectic: -- v - | vv - || -- v - | vv -

The rhythm makes for a strong diaeresis. This rare metre is, on the face of it, a Persian adaptation of the Arabic basīṭ, though it is strictly regular in quantity in a manner foreign to Arabic.

x) A metre based on a mixture of lines: -v--|v---|v-- and a normal v---|v---|v-- (see (i)) seems to have been a popular and dialectal form, from which prosodists developed some artificial "varieties"; it was called mushākīl or akhīr. Though used by Bundār of Ray, the dialect poet, it does not appear to have made a place for itself in the repertoire of regular Persian metres.

15. Persian classical poetry includes several types of verse.

a) The rubā^cī has been described, as it is distinguished primarily by its metre (Number 11), though its form is better known: a quatrain of four hemistichs, rhyming aaba, optionally (and not infrequently) aaaa. It is ideal for its typical uses: epigrammatic, philosophic, gnomic, erotic miniature, and many others, especially Anacreontic. The fourth hemistich is the conclusion to which the first three lead. A good rubā^cī may have two premisses in the first two hemistichs, a distinction or condition in the third and a striking conclusion in the fourth. As noted in Number 11, rubā^cī hemistichs may always be recognised by their metre, even when found alone or in pairs. The old alternate name, du-baytī, became restricted to the quatrain with a simpler metre (Number 14 (i)). Another old name for the rubā^cī proper was tarāna (song), which has been revived by modern writers.

b) The Arabic qaṣīda must have been adopted between the Arab conquest and the first appearance of Islamic Persian verse. In those early days, Persians wrote Arabic qaṣīdas, and some continued to do so later. By the time the first

full-blown Persian qaṣīdas in monorhyme (and monometre) appeared in Sāmānid times as the major form of court poetry, the form bespeaks previous practice and development. Nevertheless, the content of the earlier qaṣīdas, while nodding in the direction of the traditional Arabic form, is markedly different, and may derive from an earlier Persian tradition of court poetry. The question of Persian influence on Arabic poetry awaits detailed investigation. As to form, the qaṣīda, alike in Persian and Arabic, must open with a matla^C, a pair of hemistichs rhyming together, and this rhyme must be maintained in every second hemistich thereafter. Some Persian qaṣīdas reached enormous lengths.

c) The ghazal seems to have developed later than the Persian qaṣīda, and may have begun in the tashbīb or taghazzul written for the nasīb, or "erotic prelude" traditional for the opening of a qaṣīda. Lyric verses, including love-lyric, are known from the earliest fragments of Islamic Persian verse, but complete ghazals are not known till later. Like the qaṣīda, it must open with a matla^C, and then rhyme every second hemistich. Primarily a love-lyric, it is short; various limits are given, e.g. five to fourteen bayts i.e. pairs of hemistichs, but some poets exceed this number, and seven bayts become almost standard in late classical verse. While the erotic diction persisted, the ghazal was early made to serve more general uses. Anwarī, a secular court poet, was important in this generalisation, and Ṣūfī poets exploited the ambiguity of erotic/mystical diction fully.

d) The term qit'a^C (fragment), a number of which may be called muqatta'āt^C collectively, is applied to a short poem without matla^C but otherwise rhyming every second hemistich. Whether or not the original qit'as^C were "fragments", the qit'a^C became a recognised separate form, which was used

for philosophic, gnomic, didactic short verses, as opposed to the lyric ghazal, with its erotic tradition. Some poets specialised in qit'as, e.g. Ibn-i Yamīn (XIII-XIV cents.) is more famous for his moral, philosophical poems in this form than for his panegyric qasīdas.

e) Mathnawī is the term applied to couplet verse, i.e. pairs of hemistichs rhyming together but not with the other pairs of the poem. Mathnawī is used extensively for narrative poetry -- epic, romantic, mystical, didactic, and more mundane sorts. Mathnawī was used by early poets, though only fragments remain of anything before the monumental Shāhnāma of Firdawsī. The number of metres used for mathnawī was limited (See Number 14 (a),(d),(i),(j),(s),(t),(w)) probably by growing tradition. Jāmī, right at the end of the classical period, was the first to use all seven metres, in his "Septet" or Haft Awrang (Seven Thrones), though all of them had been used before him by different poets. Tradition, as summed up by Jāmī, assigned different groups of metres to different subjects: hazaj (Number 14 (i) and (s)) for love (^Cishq); ramal (Number 14 (j) and (d)) and sarī^C (Number 14 (u)) for didactic (panḍ) and mystical verse (taṣawwuf); khafīf (Number 14 (t)) for festive, celebratory verse (bazm); mutaqārib (Number 14 (a)) for heroic, epic (razm) and festive (bazm) verse. There are few exceptions, the Būstān of Sa^Cdī, in mutaqārib (Number 14 (a)) being probably the most famous, as it is essentially panḍ of the most delightful kind, though it has elements of bazm.

f) The musammaṭ is a strophic poem in which each strophe consists of four, five or six hemistichs; all the hemistichs of the strophe rhyme except the last, which rhymes with the last hemistichs of all the other strophes of the poem. It is not unusual for the first strophe to rhyme all its hemistichs,

while the succeeding strophes have their own rhyme except in the last hemistich. Minūchihri of Dāmgān is well known for his musammats, which mostly concern wine.

g) Tarjī^c-band and tarkīb-band are two similar kinds of strophic verse with a refrain. The strophes are somewhat longer than those of the musammāt, twelve pairs of hemistichs being normal, but variations occur, sometimes even within a poem. Every second hemistich must rhyme, but often all do, except for the band, the pair of hemistichs forming the refrain at the end of each strophe, which rhymes its own halves together and with all the other bands of the poem, though the strophes otherwise have their own rhyme. The tarjī^c-band uses exactly the same pair of hemistichs at the end of each strophe; the tarkīb-band changes the pair, but not normally the rhyme; some tarkīb-bands rhyme the bands internally but not with each other or with the strophes.

h) Mustazād is a term applied to a qaṣīda, ghazal or even rubā^c ī of which each hemistich is increased by a little appendix, which rhymes with its hemistich or with the other additions, must be metrically homogenous, and adds to the meaning of the hemistich, which latter should still make sense alone. The added words usually scan according to the last two feet of the hemistich.

Rhyme in Persian is not difficult to recognise. It is absolutely strict; no alteration of vowels, such as Arabic rhyme tolerates in some cases, is allowed. A word may not rhyme with itself, though two homophones with different meanings may be used, especially if a literary elegance results. Persian rhymes are easily found, so they became complicated. In particular, inflexional endings may not rhyme by themselves, or any such additions to a basic word or stem. If such occur, they must be used as part of the rhyme,

which begins before them. Thus, bast rhymes with dast, bastī with dastī, but bast does not rhyme with rāst, nor bastī with rāstī. Kashīd rhymes with damīd, because the īd is part of the past stem of the verb; kashīdam does not rhyme with dādam. Rhymes are often found which end with the same word or phrase; these constitute part of the rhyme, and, like inflections, must be repeated, the rhyme beginning before them. Examples are often found in rubā^c iyyāt: ābast marā - shitābast marā - khwābast marā; khābar khwāham kard-
mukhtaṣar khwāham kard - bar khwāham kard. Such repeated words are known as the radīf (pillion-rider).

PART III. ^cILM-I ^cARŪD, OR HOW PERSIAN METRES ARE MISREPRESENTED.

1. The Arab conquest of Persia influenced the study of poetic prosody in that country much more than the practice of the poets themselves. The system of al-arūd, so ingenious as an analysis of Arabic verse, was devised by al-Khalīl precisely when the Islamic religion was spreading the sciences -- ^culūm -- through the furthest reaches of the Islamic oecumene, once an empire, but then disintegrating in political terms without losing its distinctive culture. Some names of early Persian prosodists are known, but their works are lost. Nizāmī the Prosodist, of Samarcand, in the second of his Four Discourses (Chahār Maqāla), advises the aspiring poet, once assured of his native talent, and having memorised 20,000 verses of the older poets and perused 10,000 words of the moderns so that the measures become rooted in his mind, to turn to the "science" of poetry (^cilm-shi^cr) and make himself thoroughly acquainted with the works of Bahrāmī of Sarakhs and others. That was in the twelfth century, A.D., before the Mongol invasion. A refugee, who fled from the Mongols at the beginning of the thirteenth century, ended up in Shīrāz, where he wrote, or rather re-wrote, what is now the earliest surviving treatise on Persian prosody, al-Mūjam fī ma āyīr ash ār al-^cajam, which also deals with rhyme and poetic criticism. Shamsu'l-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Qays of Ray, the author of this work, mentions Bahrāmī of Sarakhs several times, each time to criticise him and others severely, mainly for inventing metres that no one uses and are contrary to good taste. Shams-i Qays, as he is known for short, was healthily conservative and as expert in Arabic prosody as in Persian. He tells us that his original work covered both Arabic and Persian, but this had been lost in his flight from the Mongols. It is clear from his work that, not only did he disagree with his predecessors, but there was disagreement among them.

All of them, as did Shams-i Qays, agreed that poetic metres should fit into circles, like those of the Arabic ^Carūd; the issue was, what kind of circles? It was clear that the common metres of Arabic, especially those of the first two circles of al-Khalīl, were not used at all by Persian poets, except in deliberate imitation of Arabic, which implies that such imitation was unusual, as indeed it was. Nevertheless, the prosodists assumed that ^Carūd should be followed as closely as possible. The book of Shams-i Qays became enormously influential, though manuscript copies were rare. Since its publication in modern times, it has renewed its influence. Unfortunately, while the conservatism of Shams-i Qays led to his sensible presentation, for the most part, of real metres, as used by poets, it also caused him to present as varieties of one metre, e.g. hazaj, what are in Persian different metres, in that they cannot be mixed in one poem. For what all the Persian prosodists failed to understand was that the original purpose of the circles of al-Khalīl was to point out the watad and show whether it was majmū^C or mafrūq. Any other usefulness the circles had as good classifying systems to aid the memory was secondary. Persian metres have no watads or sababs in any useful sense, which fact alone destroys the justification of the circle system for an analysis of Persian prosody.

2. The Arabic paradigm words, familiar from Arabic grammar, proved useful as analyses of the metric divisions of Persian verse, just as iambs and trochees etc., mutatis mutandis, can be useful for verse other than classical Greek. As these paradigm words were not used freely and purely with regard to the realities of Persian, but came with all the assumptions, rules and the outlook of ^Carūd, with the prestige of a "science", those paradigms that were basic in ^Carūd were treated so in Persian, and those that were derived, likewise in Persian. In many Persian metres, the division according to the

tafā^cīl was coincidentally happy. Thus, the Persian metre based on v-- fitted fa^cūlun very well. The common catalectic form could be described as maḥdhūf or maḥṣūr. Already, the arūd^c has complicated a simple fact of Persian prosody, because it counts letters, not syllables. The shortened foot, v-, must be either fa^cal, maḥdhūf, or fa^cūl, maḥṣūr, according to the number of consonants (or rather letters, including letters of prolongation) clustered at the end of the verse. In a mathnavī written in this metre, the changing rhymes scatter words with only one quiescent (fa^cal) liberally among words with two quiescents (fa^cūl) or even three, as tīragīst-girīst (at which point arūd^c gives up).

3. The relatively conservative circles of Shams-i Qays illustrate well the most commonly accepted grouping of the metres in classical and modern times. After explaining the afā^cīl/tafā^cīl/arkān and their names, their derived forms, he proceeds to the elucidation of "the ancient and modern metres (buhūr) and the drawing of the circles, the scansion (taqtī^c) of lines and derivation (fakk) of the feet (ajzā') of the metres from each other." In this section, tradition makes him explain the original Arabic circles first; then he explains that five of the Arab metres do not sound well in Persian: tawīl, madīd, basīṭ, wāfir and kāmīl. (Note that the order of the second and third metres has been reversed by his time). He gives examples by the ancients (gudamā), "written in imitation of Arabic poetry, to display their skill in prosody." These examples show what to avoid, what is clearly remote from a sound poetic ability (ṭab^c-i salīm). This leaves ten metres on which Persian poetry depends. His criticisms of others' attempts to subdivide Persian metres further, separating e.g. hazaj into three metres: baḥr-i sālim, baḥr-i makfūf, and baḥr-i akhrab, are very revealing. The nub of his criticism of his

predecessors is that they put the sound hazaj, rajaz, and ramal in one circle, and their "derived forms" (muzāhafāt) in another circle, and so for other metres. This could refer to the classification in the Mi^cyāru'l-ash^cār, attributed to Naṣīru'l-Dīn of Ṭūs, which does precisely this. Such a further division is unwarranted according to Shams-i Qays, because a metre (bahr) is a generic name for (a type of) verse, under which are different kinds of measures (awzān), each one of which may be described by an epithet, by which it is distinguished from the others, e.g. hazaj-i makfūf, hazaj-i akhrab, rajaz-i maṭwī, ramal-i makhbūn, mudāri^c-i akhrab, mujtathth-i makhbūn, and such like. It is clear from this, and from his following remarks, that Shams-i Qays and his rivals were disputing the classification of the Persian metres, not the fact that e.g. hazaj-i sālim never mixed with hazaj-i makfūf in a poem.

4. The first circle of Shams-i Qays is the third of al-Khalīl, containing hazaj, rajaz and ramal. Shams-i Qays, however, calls it dā'ira-yi mu'talifa and bases each metre on four feet, not three. His fourth and last circle is exactly the fifth and last of the Arabic system, is called dā'ira-yi muttafiqa and contains mutaqārib and mutadārik. His second and third circles diverge most from the Arabic system, for they contain the metres of the Arabic fourth circle and some unknown to Arabic, all based on forms of the paradigm words that in arūd^c are derived (muzāhaf) rather than basic (sālim). The second is called dā'ira-yi mukhtalifa and contains metres based on four feet: munsariḥ, mudāri^c, muqtaḍab and mujtathth; the third is called dā'ira-yi muntazi^ca and contains metres based on three feet: sari^c, gharīb, qarīb, khafīf and mushākil.

5. These circles may be represented in the same way as the original Arabic circles in Part I.

a) Dā'ira-yi mu'talifa

hazaj: MAFĀ^Cīlun MAFĀ^Cīlun MAFĀ^Cīlun MAFĀ^Cīlun

rajaz: ^CILUN[mustaf^CILUN mustaf^CILUNmustaf^CILUNmustaf^CILUNmustaf-

ramal: ^CIIĀtun[fā^CIIĀ tun fā^CIIĀ tun fā^CIIĀ tun fā-

b) Dā'ira-yi mukhtalifa

munsariḥ: mufta^CILUN fā^CIIĀTU mufta^CILUN fā^CIIĀTU

muḍāri^C : lātu[MAFĀ^Cīlu FĀ^CI -lātu MAFĀ^C-īlu FĀ^CI-

muqtadab: mufta^CILUN[fā^Ci IĀTU mufta^CILUN fā^CIIĀTU

mujtathth: lun fa^CIIĀtun[maFA^CI lun fa^CIIĀ tun maFA^CI

c) Dā'ira-yi muntazi'a

sari^C: mufta^CILUN mufta^CILUN fā^CIIĀTU

gharīb: lun[fa^CIIĀ tun fa^CIIĀ tun maFA^CI-

garīb : lātu [MAFĀ^C-ī lu MAFĀ^Cī luFA^CI

khafīf: lun fa^CIIĀ tun [fa^CIIĀ tun maFA^CI-

mushākil: lātu MAFĀ^C-ī-lu MAFĀ^Cīlu[FA^CI-

d) Dā'ira-yi muttafiqa

mutaqārib: FA^CŪlun FA^CŪlun FA^CŪlun FA^CŪlun

mutadārik: ^CILUN[fā^C-ILUN fā^C-ILUN fā^C-ILUN fā-

Note: By positing "derived" feet as "basic" feet for the purpose of the circles, Shams-i Qays finds the need to speak not only of sababs and watads but of the fāšila as a component of verse. The fāšila (pl. fawāšil) is of two kinds: fāšila-yi suḡhrā, three movents and a quiescent, and fāšila-yi kubrā, four movents and a quiescent. These terms occur in Arabic treatises to describe

what results from changes in the feet, not as basic elements. Shams-i Qays goes on to show how metres may be derived from each other in these circles, and discusses in detail the questions arising from the fact that pronunciation counts, not always spelling. It is here that the only reference to the problem of the extra long is made. Scanning the words: bākht dil bā tu mihr he says: "in the measure of mufta^c ilun fā^c ilān, for the kh and t stand for the t and ayn of mufta^c ilun so, therefore; a "fraudulent vowel" (harakati mukhtalis) is counted (on each), though not pronounced; however in the line:

nīkūst rakht-i jafā na nīkūst makun

wān lāyiq-i dushman ast bā dūst makun

as the t's of nīkūst and dūst are not pronounced in this verse, they are not scanned. If they come at the end of a bayt (he might add "or misrā^c") they do not count as additions to the foot. Such arguments occur throughout the Mu^cjam and illustrate the contortions forced on a medieval Persian student of arūd. Particularly of interest is the remark that such and such must be because of the paradigm it corresponds to. The original, practical approach to Arabic metres through the circles of al-Khalīl had long been misunderstood.

6. The metres derived from the circles of Shams-i Qays may now be shown in more detail.

a) The first metre (bahr) of the first circle is hazaj, based on mafā^c ilun mafā^c ilun four times (for a bayt). The derived forms (azāhif) of the feet are:

mafā^c ilun - maqūd; mafā^c ilu - makfūf; mafā^c il - maqūr;

fā^c ilun - ashtar; maf^c ulun - akhrām or mukhannaq;

mafā^c ilān - musbagh (musabbagh); fa^c ulun - māhdhūf; fa^c ul-

ahtam; maf^c ulu - akhrab; fa^c al - majbūb; fā^c - azall; fa^c - abtar.

Note: Having studied the ^Carūd of Arabic, the student will notice that zihāf and ^Cilla are here treated as one, though the difference is explained earlier in the Mu jam. He will also notice that the foot mafā^Cilun has more derived forms even than Arabic. The reason will become clear.

6. Examples are then given of individual bayts, with detailed scansion. Mafā^Cilun eight times gives hazaj-i muthamman-i sālīm, six times, hazaj-i musaddas-i sālīm; four times gives the murabba^C. Then come catalectic forms: maḡṣūr, ending in mafā^Cil, maḡdhūf, ending in fa^Cūlun. The hazaj-i musaddas-i maḡṣūr/maḡdhūf is the metre of the Khusraw u Shīrīn of Nizāmī and the Wīs u Rāmīn of Fakhri (Fakhru'l-Dīn) of Gurgān, and is popular in dialect poetry. The remarks of Shams-i Qays are interesting on these matters.

After the sālīm and maḡṣūr/maḡdhūf examples come the "abyāt-i muzāḡaf" -- implying that the former belong to one class of wazn, distinct from what follows, i.e.: muthamman-i makfūf-i maḡṣūr - mafā^Cilu mafā^Cil mafā^Cilu mafā^Cil (twice); muthamman-i makfūf-i maḡdhūf - mafā^Cilu mafā^Cilu mafā^Cilu fa^Cūlun (twice); muthamman-i maḡbūd-i maḡṣūr - mafā^Cilun mafā^Cil mafā^Cilun mafā^Cil (twice); musaddas-i makfūf-i maḡṣūr - mafā^Cilu mafā^Cilu mafā^Cil (twice); musaddas-i makfūf-i maḡdhūf - mafā^Cilu mafā^Cilu fa^Cūlun (twice). Then comes the group of examples with maf^Cūlu: muthamman-i akhrab - maf^Cūlu mafā^Cilun maf^Cūlu mafā^Cilun (twice); muthamman-i akhrab-i makfūf-i sālīm-i^C arūd u ḡarb - maf^Cūlu mafā^Cilu mafā^Cilun mafā^Cilun (twice); muthamman-i akhrab-i makfūf-i maḡṣūr - the same, ending mafā^Cil, and the maḡdhūf, ending fa^Cūlun; musaddas-i akhrab-i maḡbūd-i ṣaḡīḡ-i^C arūd u ḡarb - maf^Cūlu mafā^Cilun mafā^Cilun (twice); musaddas-i akhrab-i ashtar-i ṣaḡīḡ-i^C arūd u ḡarb - maf^Cūlun fa^Cilun mafā^Cilun; musaddas-i akhrab-i maḡbūd-i maḡdhūf - maf^Cūlu mafā^Cilun fa^Cūlun (twice); musaddas-i akhrab-i makfūf-i maḡdhūf - maf^Cūlu mafā^Cilu fa^Cūlun. Finally, examples are

given of a form musaddas-i akhrab-i maqbūd-i musabbagh, a murabba^C-i akhrab, a murabba^C-i maqṣūr and murabba^C-i maḥdhūf.

7. The rules of mu^Cāqabat and murāqabat are invoked by Shams-i Qays to forbid indiscriminate use of derived feet, or to explain certain changes within a poem, though this is implied. On the one hand, the examples he gives imply that they do not mix in a poem; on the other, being aware that some of them do, he explains that "in hazaj there is mu^Cāqabat between the y and n of mafā^Cīlun, which means that both should not be omitted." The form mafā^Cīlu never occurs, and his reasons again are interesting. Further, there is mu^Cāqabat between the n of one mafā^Cīlun and the m of the following; "if both are omitted mafā^Cīlu fā^Cīlun remains, which equals fa^Cūlun mafā^Cīlun," i.e. the tawīl metre, already explained as not good in Persian. Again, "in the musaddas-i akhrab of this metre, there is murāqabat between the y and n of mafā^Cīlun; after maf^Cūlu comes mafā^Cīlun without y, or mafā^Cīlu without n; the sound mafā^Cīlun never comes after maf^Cūlu unless after a sound foot there comes another akhrab, which is only possible in the muthamman or murabba^C, e.g. maf^Cūlu mafā^Cīlun maf^Cūlu mafā^Cīlun. There is also murāqabat between the n of one mafā^Cīlun and the m of the following in the hazaj-i akhram; never after maf^Cūlun can there come mafā^Cīlun, for after an akhram foot only another akhram or an akhrab foot, or ashtar, is possible." Shams-i Qays is quite aware of the realities of Persian verse. He knows that the musaddas-i akhrab-i maqbūd can mix with the musaddas-i akhram-i ashtar, but the application of arūd to Persian quantities prevents him from stating the simple truth, that two short syllables may contract into one long.

8. The greatest distortion of the analysis of Persian metres effected by the arūd is that perpetrated on the rubā^Cī. Students should refer to the

Mu^cjam for the charming version, the oldest extant, of how "an ancient Persian poet, Rudakī I think, but God knows best" heard a boy playing with walnuts in the springtime in one of the parks of Ghazna, when the boy chanted the line:

ghaltān ghaltān hamī rawad ta bun-i kū

(rolling, rolling, down to the end of the lane it goes)

To cut a long and colourfully told story short, the poet referred the line to the rules of arū^c and found it to be one of the derivatives of hazaj. This feat was later elucidated by Hassan-i Qaṭṭān, "one of the old masters of Khurāsān," whose trees of akhrab and akhram Shams-i Qays reproduces; they may be rearranged in horizontal schema here:

THE AKHRAB TREE

I	II	III	IV
maf ^c ūlu (<u>akhrab</u>)	{ mafā ^c ilun (<u>maḡbūḍ</u>)	{ mafā ^c ilun (<u>sālim</u>)	{ fā ^c (azall)
	{ maf ^c ūlu (<u>akhrab</u>)	{ fa ^c ūl (ahtam)	
			{ maf ^c ūlun (<u>mukhannaq</u>)
	{ mafā ^c ilun (<u>sālim</u>)	{ fā ^c (azall)	
			{ mafā ^c ilu (<u>makfūf</u>)
{ mafā ^c ilun (<u>sālim</u>)	{ fā ^c (azall)		
		{ mafā ^c ilu (<u>makfūf</u>)	{ fa ^c (abtar)
{ maf ^c ūlu (<u>akhrab</u>)	{ fa ^c ūl (ahtam)		
		{ maf ^c ūlun (<u>mukhannaq</u>)	{ fa ^c al (<u>majbūb</u>)

THE AKHRAM TREE

af ^c ūlun (<u>akhrab</u>)	{ fā ^c ilun (<u>ashtar</u>)	{ mafā ^c ilun (<u>sālim</u>)	{ fā ^c (azall)
	{ maf ^c ūlun (<u>mukhannaq</u>)	{ fa ^c ūl (ahtam)	
			{ maf ^c ūlu (<u>akhrab</u>)
	{ maf ^c ūlun (<u>mukhannaq</u>)	{ fā ^c (azall)	
			{ maf ^c ūlu (<u>akhrab</u>)
{ mafā ^c ilun (<u>sālim</u>)	{ fā ^c (azall)		
		{ mafā ^c ilu (<u>makfūf</u>)	{ fa ^c (abtar)
{ maf ^c ūlu (<u>akhrab</u>)	{ fa ^c ūl (ahtam)		
		{ maf ^c ūlun (<u>mukhannaq</u>)	{ fa ^c al (<u>majbūb</u>)

These "trees" illustrate the need for all the extra ziḥāf terms invented for the Persian metres classified as hazaj. For most of the varieties, the terms taken from Arabic suffice, though they perform a different function in Persian. As shown in Part II, Number 11, the rubā^ci hemistich is best analysed as of five feet, but the arūd^c could not do this. The four-foot analysis in the "trees" provides schemes of growing alternatives, all of which, with considerable ingenuity and invention, may be "derived" from mafā^cilun, ergo hazaj. It is noteworthy that kharm was given another name when it was found in the middle of the hemistich, but kharb has to serve both initial and medial occurrence of maf^culu. The notorious twenty-four varieties of rubā^ci metre are really only twelve; the distinction of fā^c from fa^c, or fa^cul from fa^cal, otiose in Persian except regarding rhyme, doubles the number.

9. Omitting a number of "heavy" metres Shams-i Qays feels obliged to include under hazaj, we come to rajaz. The "varieties" of rajaz present no difficulties, once the Protean metamorphoses of hazaj, according to arūd^c, are understood. The foot, mustaf^cilun, on which rajaz is based, accepts five ziḥāfs according to Shams-i Qays: khābn, ṭayy, qat^c, idhālat (tadhyl) and tarfīl; the list is as for Arabic, less khābl, and plus tarfīl, which does not occur in Arabic. Ziḥāf and illa^c are again combined (and confused). In Persian, the muzāḥaf forms, of course, are the basis of different metres, either alone, or in combination with each other in patterns that should be kept. Persian has as the full form the muthamman-i sālim, and Shams-i Qays remarks that the musaddas "is called majzū", and the murabba^c "is called mashtūr," which contrasts with Arabic practice and nomenclature. He also remarks: "in khābn and ṭayy the relation (tanāsub) of the feet must be observed, so that the miṣra^cs are not different and

the taste of the poetry spoiled." He disapproves of changing a final mustaf^Cilun or maf^Cūlun in a poem, but approves of changing mafā^Cilun with mufta^Cilun. This may reflect ancient Persian practice or the influence of arūq^C.

10. Like rajaz, the Persian ramal is long: "four times fā^Cilātun fā^Cilātun." The "ziḥāfs" are fourteen: kaff, shakl, qaṣr, ḥadhf, ṣalm, tash^Cīth, jaḥf, isbāgh (tasbīgh), rab^C, mu^Cāqabat, ṣadr, ajz^C and ṭarafān. Of this list, apart from the inclusion of illas^C, ṣalm is borrowed, mu^Cāqabat, ṣadr, ajz^C and ṭarafān are not ziḥāf or illa^C in the Arabic sense, and jaḥf and rab^C are introduced. The "aṣlam" of fā^Cilātun is fā^Clun, the marbū^C is fā^Cul, the majḥūf is fā^C; with isbāgh, these become fā^Clān, fā^C (fā^Cal cannot take isbāgh). Ṣalm belongs properly to maf^Cūlātu, but was handy to explain the fā^Clun thought to be from fā^Cilātun, especially as the distinction of watad majmū^C and watad mafrūq was even more useless in Persian than the concepts of watad and sabab. Fā^Clun only occurs in the so called ramal-i makhbūn, where final fā^Cilun interchanges with it. From the separate examples in the Mu^Cjam the reader without experience of Persian poetry would never guess that fā^Cilātun can interchange initially with fā^Cilātun in the ramal-i makhbūn, but not in the ramal-i sālim. The forms fā^C, fā^C and fā^Cal occur in examples of "old heavy" metres, which are, indeed, rare or non-existent in poetic practice.

11. The munsarih in Persian is supposedly based on mustaf^Cilun maf^Cūlātu "which become mufta^Cilun fā^Cilātu" as in the circle of Shams-i Qays. Mustaf^Cilun is said to have the same khabn, ṭayy, and qaṭ^C as in rajaz, plus ḥadhadh (fā^Clun) ḥadhadh and isbāgh (fā^Clān) and raf^C (fā^Cilun). Isbāgh has been

confused with idhālat (tadhyīl), again revealing the uselessness of watad and sabab in Persian. Ḥadhadh has been borrowed and misapplied from mutafā^cilun, though the effect of removing a final watad majmū^c is correctly inferred. Maf^cūlātu is said to have khabn khabn and waqf, khabn and kashf, ṭayy, ṭayy and kashf, ṭayy and waqf, raf^c (maf^cūlu), jad^c (fā^c) and nahr (fa^c). The last three are introduced and strange to Arabic. Shams-i Qays allows a change from muftā^cilun to mafā^cilun in forms of line he calls matwī-yi makhbūn, but these do not occur much, if at all, in practice. The two metres noted in Part II as munsariḥ are those scanned: muftā^cilun fā^cilun/fā^cilān muftā^cilun fā^cilun/fā^cilān, and muftā^cilun fā^cilātu muftā^cilun fā^c/fa^c. Of course, Shams-i Qays lists the musaddas-i maqṭū^c as a separate example: muftā^cilun fā^cilātu maf^cūlun. This maf^cūlun, of course, interchanges with muftā^cilun, as is implied in other examples given. Raf^c, applied to mustaf^cilun, and ḥadhadh, in the musaddas, are given as examples in "old heavy" metres, as are examples "with various feet". He gives an example by Mas^cūd-i Sa^cd of three bayts, the first two scanning:

maf^cūlun fā^cilātu maf^cūlun fa^c, and the third:

muftā^cilun fā^cilātu maf^cūlun fa^c.

"The first two," he writes, "if you scan them as maf^cūlun fā^cilun mafā^cilun fā^c, are of the hazaj metre (sc. rubā^ci), while the third may only be scanned as munsariḥ." Shams-i Qays says this is confusing for one not expert in arūd, but it is the arūd which makes for the confusion.

12. The basic feet of muḍārī^c are supposedly mafā^cilun fā^cilātun four times, but these "become mafā^cilu fā^cilātu". The ziḥāfs of mafā^cilun are kaff, kharm, kharb, takhnīq and qaṣr (maf^cūl), ḥadhf, qabd, batr (fa^c, as in the rubā^ci "trees"); fā^cilātun has kaff, qaṣr, ḥadhf, isbāgh, salkh (fā^c), and ṭams (fa^c).

Murāqabat is included in the total list for the metre. The main form is the makfūf-i maqṣūr/maḥdhūf, both muthamman and musaddas, of which examples are given before the akhrab forms, which are the only ones normally found. This is one of the metres re-analysed in Part II, in order to bring together short syllables separated by the ^carūḍ analysis. Thus, the so-called muthamman-i akhrab and akhrab-i makfūf occur together. In the following example the scansion suggested in Part II underlies the two lines:

maf^c ūlu fā^c ilātun maf^c ūlu fā^c ilātun
 maf^c ūlu fā^c ilātu mafā^c ilu fā^c ilātun
 -- √-|√- √√ | -- √-|√- --

If the "non-akhrab" forms do occur, they would have to be considered as having extra initial shorts, and it should be carefully noted whether these initial shorts obtain throughout the poem or only in some hemistichs. The so-called maslukh and maṭmūs forms are among the "old, heavy" metres in the Mu^c jam, and do not occur often. The same holds for the musaddas-i mukhannaq-i maqṣūr - maf^c ūlu fā^c ilātun maf^c ūl (√-√-|√-√-|√-), murabba^c-i makfūf-i maqṣūr -- mafā^c ilu fā^c ilān (√-√-|√-√-) and musaddas-i maqbūd -- mafā^c ilun fā^c ilātun mafā^c ilun (√-√-|√-√-|√-√-), to which Shams-i Qays prefers the muthamman-i maqbūd -- mafā^c ilun fā^c ilātun mafā^c ilun fā^c ilātun (√-√-|√-√-|√-√-|√-√-), the example of which last metre is attributed to a little known poet. These last mentioned metres, as suggested in brackets above, are essentially different from the usual muḍārī^c-akhrab-i makfūf-i maqṣūr/maḥdhūf as analysed in Part II.

13. The basic feet of muqtaḍab are supposedly maf^c ūlātu mustaf^c ilun "which become fā^c ilātu mufta^c ilun". The zihāfs of maf^c ūlātu are: ṭayy, khabn and raf^c (maf^c ūlu); of mustaf^c ilun, they are ṭayy and qaṭ^c. The usual form, says

Shams-i Qays, is the murabba^C: fā^Cilātu mufta^Cilun fā^Cilātu mufta^Cilun, which is matwī; the matwī-yi maqtū^C is mentioned separately, but interchanges: fā^Cilātu maf^Cūlun fā^Cilātu maf^Cūlun. Of the other forms mentioned by Shams-i Qays, the muthamman-i matwī is simply double the murabba^C in length and occurs, while the murabba^C-i makhbūn - mafā^Cīlu mufta^Cilun twice, and the murabba^C-i matwī-yi sālīm-i darb u^C arūḡ - fā^Cilātu mustaf^Cilun twice, seem artificial. The musaddas-i matwī - fā^Cilātu mufta^Cilun fā^Cilān twice - may occur, while the musaddas-i marfū^C "according to the Arab circle", is clearly artificial -- maf^Cūlu mustaf^Cilun mustaf^Cilun twice. The metre, even the "usual variety", is so unusual in Persian, even more so than in Arabic, that it is difficult to pronounce upon it with certainty.

14. The basis of mujtathth is supposedly mustaf^Cilun fā^Cilātun, four times, but this becomes mafā^Cilun fā^Cilātun, which is makhbūn. The ziḥāfs of mustaf^Cilun are: khabn, raf^C (fā^Cilun) and shakl (mafā^Cilun); those of fā^Cilātun are: khabn, shakl, khabn and qaṣr (fā^Cilān), khabn and ḥadhḥ (fā^Cilun), salm (fā^Cilun), salm and isbāgh (tasbīgh) (fā^Cilān), tash^Cīth, jaḥf (fā^C) and jaḥf and isbāgh (fā^C). Of these, raf^C is one of the ziḥāfs introduced by Persian prosodists, shakl for mustaf^Cilun is borrowed from fā^Cilātun, salm is borrowed from maf^Cūlātu, and jaḥf is another Persian introduction. As the so called makhbūn form of this frequently found metre is not only the standard, but the only form to be found in practice, the theoretical nature of the concept of ziḥāf as a modification of something basic is, in Persian, well illustrated by this and other metres. The mashkūl form of mustaf^Cilun is not proven to exist by Shams-i Qays; he quotes a ghazal of Daqīqī and scans mafā^Cīlu in the penultimate foot throughout, but he himself admits it may be scanned mafā^Cilun, as it depends

on the quantity of the pronoun tu in the radīf (or as Shams-i Qays puts it, if the m of manad, the word after tu in the radīf, is read with tashdīd).

Jahf is only found in what Shams-i Qays calls "old, heavy" examples. Qasr and hadhf are normal, as the standard form is catalectic, ṣalm is used to describe the normal contraction of two shorts in the last foot, while tash^cīth (properly cⁱilla in Arabic) describes the same phenomenon in the second foot. While mafā^cilun fa^cilātun mafā^cilun fa^cilun answers well to the syllabic basis of this metre given in Part II (Number 14 n), the whole discussion of this metre in the Mu^cjam is another superb example of how arūd^c complicated something simple.

15. The third circle of Shams-i Qays opens with sarī^c, of which the basis is supposedly mustaf^cilun mustaf^cilun maf^culātu twice, which becomes mufta^cilun mufta^cilun fā^cilātu, which is matwī. The zihāfs of mustaf^cilun are ṭayy, khabn, qaṭ^c and khabl; those of maf^culātu are ṭayy, ṭayy with kashf, waqf, khabn and kashf and hadhadh. These are all familiar, though hadhadh is borrowed from mutafā^cilun again. Qaṭ^c (properly cⁱilla) occurs in Persian in the hashw, in that it describes the contraction of two shorts in mufta^cilun. The normal form of this metre is the matwī-yi mawquf/makshūf. The "heavy" varieties in the Mu^cjam are probably artificial, especially the makhbūn-i makshūf -- mafā^cilun mafā^cilun fā^cilun twice; the ahadhdh, with fa^cilun finally instead of fā^cilun may occur, or the variant with uncontracted shorts fa^cilun (makhbūn-i matwī-yi makshūf) though not as in the example given by Shams-i Qays, with mustaf^cilun elsewhere. The makhbūl, with fa^cilatun for mufta^cilun, must be artificial. The final remarks of Number 14 above, mutatis mutandis, apply equally here.

16. The next metre in this circle, gharīb, supposedly an inversion of mujtathth is undoubtedly artificial. Supposedly based on fā^c ilātun fā^c ilātun musTAF^c Ilun, which becomes fa^c ilātun fa^c ilātun mafā^c ilun (makhbun, like mujtathth), it is treated very briefly in the Mu^c jam. The misaddas, as Shams-i Qays says, is the bayt of the circle, while the murabba^c (fā^c ilātun musTAF^c Ilun twice) is the murabba^c of khafīf, as is the murabba^c-i makhbūn. After giving an example of a bayt in the basic feet, Shams-i Qays says: "this metre was invented by an Arabising busybody (yakī az mutakallifan-i musta^criba) who wrote a few Arabic bayts in it; Persian poets followed him in this and introduced the metre into their circles." While this remark may apply to the last example Shams-i Qays gives, it probably applies to the whole set of varieties, as the term bahr includes them all. In fact, this metre is non-existent in Persian, though universal negatives are difficult to prove, and it has not been included in Part II.

17. The next metre, qarīb, though called "recently invented" (mustahdath) like gharīb, by Shams-i Qays, is undoubtedly a genuine Persian metre (Part II, Number 14 v). Supposedly based on mafā^c ilun mafā^c ilun FĀ^c Ilātun twice, it becomes mafā^c ilu mafā^c ilu fā^c ilātun, in the words of the Mu^c jam. The zihāfs of mafā^c ilun are: kaff, kharm, kharb, and qabd; FĀ^c Ilātun has qaṣr, ḥadhf and salkh (apparently confused, in all the mss. used for Riḍawī's edition, with tams, which is omitted). In practise, the metre occurs in the form given in Part II, subject to the remarks there. Shams-i Qays quotes the matla^c of the poem by Anwarī:

Tā mulk-i jihānrā madar bāshad

farmāndih-i ū shahriyār bāshad

The poem is to be found in the dīwān. The poem of Rūdakī is known only from the Mu^cjam. It illustrates well the interchange of lines with and without an initial short, as does a poem of Khusrawī also quoted, which also displays the greater freedom early poets felt to contract two shorts. It is not clear why an example, also by Anwarī, of the akhrab-i makfūf-i maqṣūr is less "heavy" than an akhrabi makfūf-i mahdhūf, of which Shams-i Qays attributes a couple of lines to one Bu'l - Hasan Awrmazdī. Most of the other examples given in the Mu^cjam seem artificial, including a form maqḅūd, of which the example has an irregular fa^c ilātun, which Shams-i Qays criticises, and a bayt-i masluḅ: maf^c ūlu mafā^c ilun fā^c. The bayt-i akhrab-i akhrab -- maf^c ūlun maf^c ūlu FĀ^c ilātun twice-- is no more than a contracted version of the metre of the first example quoted from Anwarī. As suggested in Part II, this may be analysed as a different metre. The doubt is caused by the scarcity of genuine examples in Persian poetic literature.

18. The khafīf is, as Shams-i Qays writes, an old metre, though not in the sense he had in mind. He thought of it as one of the original metres of the Arabic circles, though the supposed basis of fā^c ilātun mustAF^c ilun fā^c ilātun twice does indeed become fa^c ilātun maFĀ^c ilun fa^c ilātun twice, which is makhbūn. The ziḥāfs are khābn, khābn and ḥadhḥ, ṣalm, khābn and qaṣr, ṣalm and isbāgh, tash^cīth, jaḥf and jaḥf and isbāgh; mustAF^c ilun has only khābn. Khābn is here normal throughout the feet, though, as in the case of the similar ramal-i makhbūn, Shams-i Qays does not explain why fa^c ilātun initially is often fā^c ilātun, just as tash^cīth is not explained as a contraction of two shorts in the rare acatalectic form quoted as "old and heavy". The doubly catalectic majhūf/ majhuf-i musbāgh, though also "old and heavy" is probably genuine, though rare. The line of Rūdakī quoted and condemned as tasteless is muthamman:

fā^c ilātun mafā^c ilun fa^c ilātun mafā^c ilun
 - √ - - | √ - √ - | √ √ - - | √ - √ -
 fa^c ilātun mafā^c ilun fa^c ilātun mafā^c ilun
 √ √ - - | √ - √ - | √ √ - - | √ - √ -

Rare certainly, and long out of fashion by the time of Shams-i Qays, this has all the marks of genuine Persian poetic practice, uninfluenced by ^carūd.

The line is:

Gar kunad yāri'ī marā bi gham-i^c ishq-i ān šanam
 - √ - - | √ - √ - | √ √ - - | √ - √ -
 Bituwānad zadūd^o zīn dil-i ghamkhwāra zang-i gham
 √ √ - - | √ - √ - | √ √ - - | √ - √ -

The Mu^cjam is apparently the only source for this line also.

19. The last metre in the third circle of Shams-i Qays, mushākil, presents a curious problem. He calls it "a newly invented metre, in which some busybodies have written a few lines in Arabic, and Fahlawī verses (i.e. dialect verses) are commoner than Persian verses in it." His customary formula: "its basis is fā^c ilātun mafā^c ilun mafā^c ilun twice, which becomes fā^c ilātu mafā^c ilu mafā^c ilu" seems to indicate that the normal Persian metre has to be interpreted in ^carūd as muzāḥaf. Indeed, without even listing ziḥāfs, he gives examples of a bayt-i makfūf-i maqṣūr, a murabba^c-i maqṣūr and "even heavier" a bayt-i muthamman, and a musaddas-i maḥdhūf of which last the first is makfūf while the second is sound but for the third foot. He then quotes dialect verses scanning: fā^c ilātun mafā^c ilun fa^c ūlun, i.e. the sound "basic" measure, maḥdhūf. He goes on to enlarge on a subject already treated in the Mu^cjam under hazaj, namely the habit in dialect poetry of mixing the ordinary hazaj-i musaddas-i maḥdhūf with the mushākil, putting fā^c ilātun for mafā^c ilun in the first foot. For the conservative student of ^carūd, this was a devastating fault. The case,

then, seems to be of a genuine Persian poetic practise flourishing in folk poetry but never quite making a place for itself in high literature, partly or wholly due to prejudice stemming from ^Carūd.

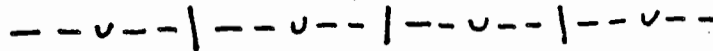
20. The last of the circles of Shams-i Qays, identical with the fifth and last of al-Khalīl, opens with mutaqārib, based on fa^Cūlun eight times. Even the zihāfs listed in the Mu^Cjam are those of the Arabic ^Carūd: qabḍ, qaṣr, thalm, tharm, ḥadhḥ and batr. The only varieties listed as "sweet" (^Cadhb) are the muthamman-i ṣaḥīḥ and maqṣūr/maḥdhūf. Examples of musaddas-i sālim, maqṣūr/maḥdhūf, muthamman-i athlam, athram, abtar, are given as "old and heavy". An interesting pair of lines by Rūdakī are quoted, of which the Mu^Cjam is as yet the only source, in what Shams-i Qays calls maqḥūd-i athlam, remarking: "saj^C is observed, therefore the lines are not so heavy." By saj^C he means internal rhyme:

<u>gul-i bahārī but-i tatārī</u>	<u>nabīdh^o dārī chirā nayārī</u>
√ - √ - - √ - √ - -	√ - √ - - √ - √ - -
<u>nabīdh-i rawshan chu abr-i bahman</u>	<u>binazd-i gulshan chirā nayārī</u>
√ - √ - - √ - √ - -	√ - √ - - √ - √ - -

If this metre had survived, it would demand the scansion:

√ - √ - - || √ - √ - - √ - √ - - || √ - √ - - ,

and another metron would have to be included in Part II, the "inverted dochmius". The metre is certainly quite different from the standard Persian mutaqārib, which, unlike the Arabic metre, is never affected by qabḍ, in true Persian fashion, for no long syllable that is part of the normal pattern of any metre may be shortened. The mulamma^C (poem in Arabic and Persian in alternate bayts) by Hamīd of Kāzirūn, with thalm in alternate feet, of which four lines are quoted, is another rare, possibly unique, example. Even the Arabic lines follow the same strict pattern as the Persian:



This might be another Persian metre that never achieved posterity.

21. The last of the metres in the regular circles of the Mu^c jam, the mutadārik, is based on fā^c ilun eight times. As Shams-i Qays remarks when commenting on this circle, even in Arabic this metre was added later, as he says, by prosodists. "Poets in both Arabic and Persian," he says, "have only written a few lines in this metre." In fact, as suggested in Part I, it is found in Arabic especially as a popular metre, but is as foreign to Persian as the five metres of the first two Arabic circles. Without further comment, Shams-i Qays gives examples of the complete line according to the circle, the muthamman-i makhbūn, "called rakḍ al-khayl," the muthamman-i maqtū^c (fa^c lun eight times), as un-Arabic as un-Persian, and musaddas-i maqtū^c; the last two examples, as artificial as they are in Persian, are at least theoretically possible. In Arabic, such lines would be unthinkable. The examples illustrate well the confusion of illa with ziḥāf, which in turn stems from the unreality of watad and sabab in Persian metrics.

22. After dealing with his own four circles, Shams-i Qays illustrates the three circles "of recently invented metres made by Persian prosodists, like Bahrāmī of Sarakhs, Buzurjmīhr-i Qasīmī and the like...so that the corrupt derivation and useless efforts of such men should be clear to men of talent." The reader may consult the Mu^c jam for such artificialities.

23. The essentials of rhyme in Persian have been set out at the end of Part II, but the tradition of ilm al-qāfiya arrived with al-^carūd in Persia to become ilm-i qāfiya, with all the technical terms of the Arabic science and some more to cover purely Persian phenomena. The first chapter of Part Two of the Mu^c jam "on the science of rhyme and poetic criticism, in six chapters" deals with legendary and traditional accounts of the origin of poetry in Arabic and Persian

which have their own interest, but must be left out of consideration here.

Shams-i Qays then defines a qaṣīda as a poem of at least fifteen bayts; less than that constitute a qiṭʿa^C. "In Persian," he says, "the maṭla^C must be muṣarra^C, i.e. rhyme both miṣra^Cs; if it is not, the poem is a qiṭʿa^C, even if of more than twenty bayts." To summarise a long description, he says that lyrical and erotic poems are called ghazal. He then defines rhyme: "it is part of the last word of the bayt, on condition that the word itself with the same meaning should not be repeated; if it is repeated, it is the radīf and the rhyme is what precedes it." He then gives examples to show that the same ban applies to identical suffixes, endings, and enclitics.

24. The second chapter of this part of the Muʿjam^C describes the letters of the rhyme: rawī, ridf, qayd, ta'sīs, dakhīl, waṣl, khurūj, mazīd and nāyir (or nā'ira). All of these will be familiar from Part I except qayd, mazīd, and nāyir. Persian is more strict as to the rawī, for it must be part of the root of the word. Further, "every letter (sc. consonant) attached to the rawī and not part of the root, if it is not pronounced in correct Dari, such as the h of khanda, girya, nāma, jāma, or the y of ki, chi, (old spelling), or the w of du, tu, should not be rawī." In other words, final vowels represented by Arabic letters cannot be rhyme letters. If the final letter of a word is part of an established word, though compound, it may be rawī, e.g. dānishmand, khudāwand, or dānā, bīnā; if the combination is not an established compound as shāhā, khudāwandā, or the m of āmadam, raftam, it may not be. He then deals in detail with the letters of the alphabet, as they occur in Persian rhymes. This section is full of interesting remarks, but must be omitted here.

25. Ridf in Persian has the same meaning as in Arabic, an alif, w or y before the rawī. Shams-i Qays is still conscious of the difference between the

ma^crūf sound of hūr, sūr, and the majhūl sound of zūr, yūz (zōr, yōz), and the parallel series: ma^crūf: nīl, zanjabīl, and majhūl: dīr parīr (dēr, parēr).

The question of whether Persian poets distinguish the sounds, and if so who, when and where, or for how long in the history of Persian poetry, awaits investigation. Any other quiescent than a letter of prolongation (ḥarf-i madd u līn) before the rawī is qayd.

26. The term qayd is introduced into the system to cover the more complex clusters of written letters in Persian. Shams-i Qays adds: "if a letter of prolongation occurs before the qayd, the qayd is called in that case ridf-i zāyid, and what is before it is called ridf-i ašlī. Thus a rhyme may have ridf-i mufrad, with only a letter of prolongation, or ridf-i murakkab, with both ridf-i ašlī and ridf-i zāyid. The ridf-i ašlī may only be alif, w or y; the ridf-i zāyid may be one of six: kh, r, s, sh, f and n. From these letters, fifteen types of rhyme are possible, e.g.: bākht, tākht; sūkht, dūkht; bīkht, rīkht; kārd, ārd; mīrd (for which Shams-i Qays knows no rhyme, except an old word for the town of Kāzarūn, "Nūrd"); līrd (another old word); māst, rāst; pūst, dūst; bīst, girīst (ma^crūf) and dawīst, bayīst (dawēst, bayēst, majhūl); dāst, pīndāst; gūst (no rhyme); kūft, rūft; fīrīft, shīft; mand, rawānd; in all cases, the ridf-i ašlī and the ridf-i zāyid must be maintained. The term qayd is then applied to quiescent letters other than alif, w or y before a rawī and without a ridf-i ašlī, as in e.g.: abr, gabr; bakht, rakht; sard, zard; duzd, muzd; mast, dast; dasht, tasht; naghz, maghz; ruft, guft; band, kamand; mīhr, chīhr; in Arabic words like aws, gaws, firdaws, qays, uways, the w or y is also qayd. In Arabic, these last would still be ridf. The term murdaf, as in Arabic, refers to rhymes with ridf, while Persian rhymes with radīf are called muraddaf.

27. Ta'sīs has the same meaning in Persian as in Arabic, and applies to the alif in such words as āhan, as well as to Arabic words. However, Persian poets do not always keep the ta'sīs e.g. hāsil, muqbil; āhan, saturwan. If the Arabic type of qāfiya mu'assasa is used in Persian it is an extra imposition (luzūm mā la yalzam).

28. As in Arabic, dakhīl is the letter between ta'sīs and rawī. Persian poets who use ta'sīs refer to the dakhīl as hāyil, because it changes.

29. Waṣl in Persian may be alif, d (dh), k, h and y, and letters for idāfa, the plural infinitive diminutive, etc. These letters cover the various forms of endings, suffixes and enclitics that cannot be rawī, but follow it.

30. Khurūj in Persian is exactly as in Arabic, what is attached after the waṣl. However, in Persian, two other letters (consonants) may occur, and these are, in turn, mazīd and nāyir.

31. The Persian ^cilm-i qāfiya adopted the names for the vowels of the rhyme used in Arabic. Rass is the fatha of the alif of ta'sīs, so where ta'sīs is observed in Persian, the rass may also be referred to. Ishbā^c is the vowel of the dakhīl, as in Arabic. Shams-i Qays even says, "the vowel of the dakhīl is called ishbā^c in mawsūl rhymes and tawjīh in muqayyad rhymes, as will be explained." Of course, from the Persian point of view of writing, there are no muṭlaq (though the term is used) rhymes in Persian, whence the opposition of muqayyad and mawsūl. Ḥadhwa is the vowel before ridf and also, in Persian, that before qayd. It must not change in either case (e.g. guft and raft do not rhyme). Tawjīh is the vowel before a quiescent rawī, as in Arabic; in Persian this refers to an ordinary consonant, not a letter of prolongation or "silent" h or w, which in Persian spelling must

follow a movent final consonant. Majrā, as in Arabic, is the vowel of the movent rawī; unlike Arabic, such a rawī in Persian must always have a written waṣl. Nafādh, as in Arabic, is the vowel of the waṣl when followed by khurūj. In Persian it is also the vowel of mazīd, if there be one. As Shams-i Qays says: "in Persian poetry, it is not necessary that the waṣl be movent in order to connect with the khurūj, and it may be that two or three quiescents come at the end of the rhyme; one is the rawī, one the waṣl and one the khurūj. If the nāyir is movent, its vowel is also called nafādh." ^C Ilm-i qāfiya fits where it touches.

32. The next section of the Mu^Cjam enumerates the various kinds of rhyme, with examples to show how the various terms apply. The interested reader should refer to the Mu^Cjam for the examples and comments, which are perfectly clear, the matter above being understood. Shams-i Qays then lists the faults of rhyme, which show some differences in comparison with Arabic. His list, which he does not claim as his own, is: iqwā'; ikfā'; sinād; īṭā'; munāqada; tadmīn; takhli^C; ^C udūl az jādda-yi mustaqūn. Iqwā' is changing the ḥadhw and tawjīh (in Arabic it is using both damma and kasra as majrā); a Persian example of changing the ḥadhw is: Tūsī - Firdawsī, and of changing the tawjīh: pur - tar. As Shams-i Qays remarks, "in Persian, changing the majrā is so disgusting that there is no term for it." Ikfā' is changing the rawī for a letter of similar sound; the examples in the Mu^Cjam are t and d, th and dh. "Changing the rawī for a dissimilar letter," says Shams-i Qays, "like n and j, or b and d etc., is not just a fault, the verse is not even regarded as poetry." Sinād, in Persian is changing the ridf, unlike Arabic.

Shams-i Qays remarks: "while changing the majrā is so bad that it has no term, all the same, changing the ridf is even worse, yet it used to be considered equal." Ītā' is repeating a rhyme, as in Arabic. In Persian, īṭā'-i jalī (open) and īṭā'-i khafī (hidden) are distinguished. Shams-i Qays quotes several examples of īṭā'-i jalī, by Bū Salīk (Ṣaffāvid period, contemporary of ^CAmr b. Layth), Daqīqī, Bū Ṭāhir-i Khātūnī and "another ancient poet". All rhyme the same suffix or word, though compounded. The last example rhymes nazhand, mustmand, band, mardumand, nangirand, dardmand, bishnawand, nihand. The fault is that the mand suffix appears twice, and the third person plural ending four times. A correct example is: khudāwand, paywand, farzand, khiradmand, chand, where the mand suffix appears once and rhymes with the other words. "Ītā'-i jalī," says Shams-i Qays, "is a grave fault, unless the qaṣīda be very long, more than twenty or thirty bayts, or it have two maṭla^Cs, in which case one or two rhymes in the second maṭla^C may return. Repetition of the rhyme of the carūd (first misra^C) is not īṭā'." Ītā'-i khafī is "such that some of the letters listed under the section on the rawī should be repeated in a qaṣīda, e.g. āb, gulāb, sāzgār, kāmgār, shākhsār, kūhsār, ābdār, pāydār, or even more hidden, ranjūr, muzdūr, dānā, gūyā, marzbān, pāsbān. "Most poets," adds Shams-i Qays, "allow īṭā'-i khafī in two or three parts and rarely used." The use of such endings as -ān in various forms, with limited īṭā'-i khafī is shāyagān (permissible, though strictly against the rules). Munāqada, though included in the list of faults of rhyme, is really a rhetorical or logical fault, whether in verse or other forms of speech. It consists of saying something which is in contradiction to something said before, or in unpleasant contrast. Tadmīn is of two kinds;

the first consists of making the meaning of a bayt depend on a second bayt, the greater the dependence, the worse the fault. What Shams-i Qays objects to in Persian is splitting words between bayts and misra^Cs, for he mentions that the latter is normal in Arabic. He quotes an example of deliberately witty use of this "fault", a qasīda of the satirical poet Sūzanī, in which every hemistich is joined by a word spanning the next, the rhymes coming in the middle of the words spanning each line. Shams-i Qays goes on to say that continuing the sense from one bayt to another (frowned upon in Arabic) is not so bad that it should be reckoned a fault, and he quotes approvingly lines of Mas^C ūd-i Sa^C d, in which the sentence flows through two bayts in each example. That this kind of enjambement was part of Persian tradition may be deduced from many examples in the Shāhnama of Firdawsī. On the other hand, Shams-i Qays disapproves strongly of a taḍmīn of this kind, also known as istidrāk, because the second bayt is necessary to explain an otherwise offensive bayt, as is clear from his anonymous examples. The second kind of taḍmīn is the inclusion by a poet of a bayt or miṣra^C by another poet, or another poem of his own. If this adds to the value of the poem, and fits well, it is a virtue and no fault, especially if the name of the poet quoted is mentioned (or the quotation is well known). Taḍmīn, in either sense, is not really a fault, if at all, of rhyme, though the extreme kind exemplified by the example of Sūzanī in the Mu^C jam affects the rhyme. Takhli^C, according to Shams-i Qays, is the use of "independent metres and unpleasant measures, with different feet and arrangement of them." He quotes an example scanning: mufta^C ilun mafā^C ilun mustaf^C ilun in one miṣra^C, mustaf^C ilun mafā^C ilun mafā^C ilun in the next (reading hamī for mī). It is worth noting that such a line would

be acceptable in an Arabic rajaz, but is condemned as a fault, though a metrical one, not of rhyme. Oddly, Shams-i Qays remarks, "the meaning of takhlī^C has been given in the explanation of the ziḥāfs." True, but there its Arabic meaning as a ziḥāf (really illa^C) of mustaf ilun^C is given, with the comment that it is not used in Persian. The term (meaning lexically "snatching off, dislocating") is simply reassigned by the Persian to decry a phenomenon only unacceptable in his language as distinct from Arabic. Udūl az jādda-yi sawāb comprises four varieties according to Shams-i Qays. The first is to err in language in meaning or form, for the sake of metre and rhyme. The second is to order words in such a way they may be misread in an unfortunate way, e.g. halā ki dūst sounds like halāk-i dūst. The third is to go so far in description, praise, satire and the like, that the result is absurd or unseemly. Naturally, as Shams-i Qays admits, differences of opinion abound on this point. The fourth is to open a qaṣīda with an unseemly word or phrase, or to put such words in the takhallus (i.e. makhlaṣ), the transition from prelude to panegyric. Shams-i Qays is strongly critical of negative statements, denials that liberality exists and so on, even if later contradicted.

33. It is clear that Shams-i Qays has tucked in his ideas of literary faults at the end of his treatise on rhyme rather than include them in his last two chapters, on rhetorical figures and the like, and the needs, manners, position and required knowledge of the poet. These last parts of the Mu jam^C belong to the history of rhetorical and literary criticism in Persian and Arabic, and derive largely from earlier works fortunately extant in both languages. Indeed, most of the illustrative quotations are taken from the Ḥadā'iq al-Siḥr of Rashīdu'l-Dīn Waṭwaṭ, or from a similar source now lost. The study of such sources still awaits exhaustive treatment, but not within

the confines of this book, which will have done its work if it helps students to understand the facts of Arabic and Persian prosody and rhyme, as well as the exotic system and terminology used to describe them. Its success will be all the greater if it encourages readers of these languages to study both the monuments and the commentaries with understanding and sympathetic imagination.

Tamma bi-^c awnihi ta^c ālā.

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