

CHAPTER 6

Accuracy of metre in the *zajals* of the *Dīwān Ibn Quzmān*

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The *Dīwān* of Ibn Quzmān, *ʿIṣābat al-ʿAḡrād fī Dīkr al-ʿAʿrād*, is one of the most discussed books in the Arabic literary heritage of prose and poetry. It is a unique manuscript, the single one remaining of what must have been innumerable *zajal dīwāns* compiled by the very many *zajal* poets in al-Andalus, especially those contemporary with Ibn Quzmān, and later. This manuscript is preserved at the Asian Museum in Saint Petersburg, Russia.

The *Dīwān Ibn Quzmān*: research and studies in the twentieth century

Since the manuscript was discovered and a facsimile created in 1896, there have been ongoing attempts to discuss its various characteristics as regards both form and content. The research on the various aspects of the *Dīwān* of Ibn Quzmān developed in the course of the twentieth century as a body of research into an independent Arabic literary form known as *zajal*.

The main research problems

Researchers encountered three main problems in dealing with this unique manuscript:

1. Numerous copyist errors and failures in transmission of the texts;
2. Text interpretation, inasmuch as the special Andalusī dialect terms and expressions differ from other Western (North African) and Eastern Arabic dialects;
3. And, most important of all, the question of metre in the poems of the *Dīwān*.

The metrics of Ibn Quzmān

On this subject, very briefly, researchers divided into two main schools:

1. The Spanish school

This school was established by Julián Ribera y Tarragón (1858-1934) since 1912, and was subsequently taken forward by his student Emilio García Gómez, over a period of 40 years (1950-90). This school also claimed that Andalusī Arabic language and dialect are both accentual, and being so, the metres of the two Andalusī genres known as *muwašṣaḥ* and *zajal*, are composed not according to quantitative Arabic Ḥalilīan metres but according to syllabic theory of metres, which depend on number of syllables in each strophe, irrespective of whether they are short or long, and that any stressed long syllable becomes short, and any stressed short syllable becomes long. García Gómez edited the *Dīwān* as *Todo Ben Quzman*, 1972. The horrible additions or omissions that García Gómez made in the texts to force them into his syllabic metres led him to inappropriate interpretations and caused a mis-reading of the metrics of the original text. Among Gomez's students, Federico Corriente was the most active.

2. The English school

This school first developed in earnest with A. R. Nykl (1933), followed by S. M. Stern (Studies on Ibn Quzmān, *Al-Andalus* XVI, 1951), and later by T. J. Gorton in his PhD study of the *Dīwān Ibn Quzmān* at Oxford University (1976) and his four published articles.

Each of them tried to prove, by scansion, that the metres of *zajal* are quantitative, and in one way or another correspond to one of the classical Arabic Ḥalīlian metres.

The theory of Federico Corriente – “Arūḍ Muḥawwar” – عروض محوّر

As of 1979 Corriente abandoned the Spanish school. He was convinced that it was impossible to continue defend García Gómez’s syllabic theory. Corriente invented a new theory of his own. He claimed that the Eastern Ḥalīlian quantitative ‘*arūḍ*’ of classical Arabic poetry should be modified, to fit *muwaššah* and *zajal* composed according to his supposed accentual Andalusī classical language and dialect. According to this theory of ‘*arūḍ muḥawwar*’ (modified ‘*arūḍ*’), it is permissible to change or replace feet, and it is permitted to substitute syllables by stress in both the *zajal* and the *muwaššah*.

Corriente’s 1980 edition of the *Dīwān*

Employing these principles, Corriente was first to edit the *Dīwān of Ibn Quzmān* (1980) using the Arabic Ḥalīlian classical metres and feet, adding stress to syllables, according to his reading of the text. This edition met with criticism from Gregor Schoeler and others, who rejected the theory of “‘*arūḍ muḥawwar*’” as a whole, and the use of stress for substitution of syllable in particular, because it lacks discipline in its application: where, when and why?

Corriente’s 1995 edition of the *Dīwān*

Corriente then went on to re-edit the *Dīwān* in 1995 in Arabic. He fixed and determined the metres of the 149 poems of the *Dīwān* according to Ḥalīlian metres (*buhūr*), or their derivatives. He continued to believe in his theory of “modified ‘*arūḍ*’ عروض محوّر”, as he explained thoroughly in his introduction to that edition.

To the best of my knowledge, nobody had criticised or rejected the metrics of Corriente as laid out in the 1995 edition. Many researchers have relied on these metrics in their articles and books, including latterly James Monroe (*Mischievous Muse*, 2016).

I do not accept any of the three theories cited above. Each contradicts the accurate theory of al-Ḥillī as laid down in the following four respects: no *ziḥāf* (switching the order of long and short syllables); no addition or omission of syllables at the beginning of a *gushn*; no replacement or exchanging of feet in *zajal*; most of the poems do not in fact accord with Ḥalīlian metres.

Arabic sources discussing the *muwaššah* and *zajal*

Zajal and *muwaššah* are twin arts invented in al-Andalus by Arab poets according to: Ibn Ḥaldūn (808/1406) (*Muqaddimah* p.538), Ibn Sa‘īd (685/1286) (*al-Muqtataf*, p, 263), and al-Ḥillī (750/1350) (*al ‘Āṭil*, p.10). They are similar in their structure and metres, but with one significant difference: whereas the *muwaššah* is composed in classical Arabic, the *zajal* is in the vernacular.

Both genres differ in structure and metre from the classical Arabic *qaṣīdah* (poem). The invention of these two genres was, in my opinion, the first and most serious revolution in classical Arabic prosody as a whole, and as regards its poetic grammar that goes under the name of Ḥalīlian *'arūḍ*: metres (بحور), rhyme system (قوافي) and idioms. Generally, the classical *qaṣīdah* is composed according to one of the 16 Ḥalīlian metres (and their derivatives (ومشتقاتها). Ḥalīlian metre (بحر) is determined by a fixed sequence of three or four feet (تفاعيل). The first line of *qaṣīdah* is called *maṭla'* (مطلع), with two equal and similar strophes (أشطار), the first being called *ṣadr* (الصدر) and the second *'ajuz* (العجز). *'Ajuz* ends with a rhyme (قافية) which is maintained in subsequent line ends. Each line is called *bayt* (بيت), pl. *'abyāt* (أبيات).

The inventors of the *zajal* and *muwašṣah* changed the meanings of the above idioms. The *maṭla'* can be composed of two or more (unlimited) strophes with equal or different metres and rhymes of each, it can be of two parallel or different lines. *Zajal* and *muwašṣah* consist, after the *maṭla'*, of a series of *'abyāt* (أبيات), each *bayt* (بيت) consists of two, three or four *'aḡṣān* (أغصان جمع غصن); each is of two or more hemistichs, equal or different in metre, and mostly of different rhymes, that should also be different from the rhyme of the *maṭla'*. After the *'aḡṣān* there is usually a *qufl* (قفل) parallel to the *maṭla'*. (Gregor Schoeler: “*Muwašṣah*”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 2nd edition vii: 809-12; *ibid*, “*Zajal*” v.11: 373-6).

After enjoying a wide diffusion within the Andalusī milieu, these two genres were “exported” to the Arab Eastern countries – Šām (Syria) and Egypt, where common people and famous educated poets enjoyed *zajal* and *muwašṣah*, and then developed a taste for composing them, either in imitation of the Andalusī poets, or as individual personal inventions of metres and structure.

Though both genres are of Andalusī origin and invention, the grammarians who laid the basics of the two arts were Easterners. The Egyptian poet and *wašṣāh* Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk discussed the features and basics of composing *muwašṣah* in his book *Dār aṭ-Ṭirāz fī 'Amal al-Muwašṣahāt* (ed. Jawdat ar-Rikabi, 1949). The 'Iraqī grammarian, poet, *zajjāl* and *wašṣāh* Šafīyy al-Deen al-Ḥillī (born in 'Iraq but lived in Damascus) devoted his book *al-'Āṭil al-Ḥālī wal-Muraḥḥaṣ al-Ġālī* (ed. Wilhelm Hoenerbach, 1957) to the art of *zajal*: prosody, features of metres and structure.

Zajal metres: Theory of Šafīyy al-Deen al-Ḥillī

Al-Ḥillī devoted the first chapter of his book *al-'Āṭil* to a sharp critique of Ibn Quzmān and many other famous Andalusī *zajjāls* such as: Madḡalīs, al Šāṭibi, Ibn Ḥassūn al-Ḥallā, Ibn 'Umayr and others through their *dīwāns* that were widely available in the Eastern Bilād aš-Šām (Syria) and Egypt. He criticised them for having committed hundreds of faults that the Easterners prohibited in their composition of *zajal* such as: the use of classical Arabic words and idioms استعمال اللغة الفصحى; use signs of *'i'rāb* إظهار; using classical particles of time حين ذلك; and also changing the form of words to fit with the necessities of metre and rhyme, such as ينظور بدلا من ينظر *yanzūr* instead of *yanzur*, and *yanfūr* instead of *yanfur* ينفور بدلا من ينفر, and many other kinds of faults.

Although al-Ḥillī considers defective metre as the ugliest of faults (*al-'Āṭil*, p. 79), he never criticised either Ibn Quzmān or any other Andalusī *zajal* poet for having committed faults in metre, or the fault of exchange of feet (a defect known as *ziḥāf* – in Arabic metrics this refers to the optional reduction of a long to a short syllable or of two short syllables to one).

On the contrary, al-Ḥillī relies on the correctness of metre to prove that Ibn Quzmān had committed the fault of using the classical Arabic form and signs of 'i rāb (an Arabic term for the system of nominal, adjectival or verbal suffixes of classical Arabic, sometimes termed desinential flexion). Hence, in the following texts:

استعمل ابن قزمان الصيغة الفصحى وعلامات الإعراب:

فاعلن	فَعَو	فاعلن فاعلن	
هُوَ السَّبَبُ	مَنْ أَتَى	قَاضِي الْمَسْئَلِ	قَاضِي وَمُسْلِمِينَ فِي:
Qā ḍi yal /	mus li mī/	na 'at /	hus sa bab//
	أَطْوَلُ،	كَذَا نَفَطُ زَمَا	زَمَانِي، فِي:
kā ḍa naq/	ṭa' za mā/	ni yal/ 'aṭ wal//	
	لَكَ لَا،	تَعْرِفُ اسْمَ مَاهَا سَا	يَقُولُ
ta' ri fas/	mā ha sā/	ya qul/ lā ka lā//	
	فَعُولن	فَعُولن	مَسْتَفْعَلن
	هِيَ الرَّاحُ،	عُطْنِي	أَلَجْتَهُ لَوْ
'al jan na law/	'u ṭat nī/	hi yar rāḥ	هِيَ الرَّاحُ، فِي:
	فَاعلن	مَفْعُولن	
	مَسْئُولُ،	وَالصَّبْحُ	وَالصَّبْحُ سَيْفُهُ، فِي:
waṣ ṣub ḥū/	say fu hū/	maslūl	
			فَيَقُولُ الْحَلِي: وَلَوْلَا ذَلِكَ فَسَدَ الْوِزْنَ.

After each of the above examples al-Ḥillī says: otherwise, the metre would be defective and spoiled (*Diqqat al-'Awzan* pp. 213-14).

In my view there are many reasons for supposing that al-Ḥillī would have been accurate and correct in each of his hundreds of critical comments:

1. Al-Ḥillī's treatise was written during the golden era of the *zajal* in the East (Šām and Egypt).
2. These two countries were full of famous *zajjalists* who had read the *Dīwāns* of Ibn Quzmān and other Andalusī *zajjāls*, and who imitated them in metre and structure.
3. Al Ḥillī was a very close friend of al-'Amšāṭī, the *qayyim* of Damascus; they exchanged *zajal* poems, one of which is an imitation of Ibn Quzmān (*al-'Āṭil* 105-8),
4. Al-Ḥillī also was a court poet of the Ayyūbi king al-Mu'ayyad and used to attend his council with the poet and *zajjāl* Ibn Nubāta (686-768/ 1287/1366), and also with Ibn Muqātil al- Ḥamawī (763/1364), the *qayyim* of Ḥamāh and the Imām of Šamian *zajjāls* (Ibn Ḥijja: *Ḥazānat al-'Adab* v.2, p. 460),
5. At that time the poet, *waššah*, historian, *zajjāl* and *zajal* critic Šalāḥ al-Deen aṣ-Šafadi wrote the biography of al Ḥillī after he authorized him to copy and cite all his works, prose and poetry: (*A'yān al 'aṣr*, v. 3, pp. 68-99).
6. The Andalusī Ibn Ḥaldūn had read the book of *al-'Āṭil al-Ḥālī* and praises the 'Irāqīs for their art named *mawālyā*, and copied 10 'abyat of it (*al-Muqaddima*, p. 538).

7. During this period there was a minor war between Damascus and Ḥamāh over two competing *zajal qasidas*, of Ibn Muqātil and al-Amšāfī. The jury appointed to judge in this competition was chosen from highly educated scholars of that era, namely Ibn Nubatah, Ibn Ḥayyān of Ġirnāṭa, and Ibn Sayyid an-Nas. They decided that the *qasīdah* of the *qayyim* of Ḥamāh, ‘Alī Ibn Muqātil, was better than that of al-‘Amšāfī, the *qayyim* of Damascus (*Bulūġ al-‘Amal* 2019, p. 119).

It is worth noting that Ṣalah al-Deen al-Ṣafadī (*‘A‘yan al-‘Aṣr*, v. 1, p. 288-92) rejected the decision of the jury and criticised Ibn Muqātil for having committed at least three mistaken linguistic usages in his poem!

8. The famous author, poet, *zajjāl* and *waṣṣāh* Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawi edited his book *Bulūġ al-‘amal fi fann al-zajal* some 50 years after the death of al-Ḥillī. Ibn Ḥijja copied literally most of the criticism of al-Ḥillī regarding Ibn Quzmān, and other Andalusī *zajjāls*. He also applied this theory of accurate metre, and the principles of composition of *zajal*, by using the same method of al-Ḥillī, in criticising many famous Eastern Šamian and Egyptian *zajjāls* for over two centuries, from Ibn al-Nabīh (d.619/1222) till his last days (d. 837/1433), such as: Ibn Muqātil (d.764/1364), al-‘Amšāfī (d.725/1326), ‘Izz al-Deen al-Mūsili (d.789/1388), the Egyptians: Ibn al-Mi‘mār (749/1349), and also al-Ġabbārī (d. 810/1408), and many others.

9. *Al-‘Āṭil al-Ḥālī* and *Bulūġ al-‘Amal* are considered as the two *zajal dīwāns* of al-Ḥillī and Ibn Ḥijja. Each contains many poems of its author. These two books were surveyed by Federico Corriente, and he found them mostly of accurate metres. (*Diqqat al-‘awzan*, pp. 220-22).

I believe that al-Ḥillī’s theory is the only reliable and real theory. It proved its validity in my first study on the origins and metres of Šamian *zajal* (University of Haifa, 2007), which I published as *al-Zajal fi Bilād al-Šām min al-‘Aṣr al-‘Umawi ḥattā Suqūṭ al-Andalus* (Dar al-Huda 2010). I also worked with this theory in my second study (PhD, Haifa University 2017), for a thesis titled: “The Accuracy of Metres of Zajals in *Dīwān Ibn Quzmān*, *‘Iṣābat al-‘Aġrād fi Dīkr al-‘A‘rād*”, which I published with Dar al-Farabi, Beirut, in 2018.

According to this theory I edited the full Arabic text of *Dīwān* of Ibn Quzmān *‘Iṣābat al-‘Aġrād*. All texts of Ibn Quzmān gave themselves readily to my metrical analysis without deviations of metre or foot exchange.

I also re-edited the *Bulūġ al-‘Amal fi Fann al-Zajal*, of Ibn Ḥijja, which include dozens of poems, or pieces of poems, of Andalusī, Šamian and Egyptian *zajjāls* in addition to the *zajals* of Ibn Ḥijja composed according to a variety of metres and structures (Maktabat Kul Šay, Haifa: 2019).

Al Ḥillī’s theory on metres of *zajal*

That which is prohibited in *zajal* but is allowed in classical poetry:

الممنوع في الزجل وهو جائز في الشعر:

(a) prohibition of *zihāf* (exchange of foot and deviation from metre) with its numerous allowances by classical Arabic poetry grammarians.

منع الزحافات الظاهرة، المتعدد جوازها (في الشعر الفصيح) عند علماء العروض.

(b) prohibition of *hazm* at the beginning of line, which is the addition of a syllable at the beginning of a *bayt*.

منع الخزم، وهو زيادة حرف في أول البيت (حرف بمعنى مقطع).

(c) prohibition of *ḥarm*, which is the reduction of a syllable at the beginning of it.

منع الخرم، وهو نقص حرف منه،

(d) prohibition of difference and deviation between first and second equal strophes of a *bayt* (*ṣadr* and *ʿajuz*) by the addition or omission of syllables

منع مخالفة عجز البيت لصدره في الأقفال المتساوية، كما يلحق الضرب والعروض من العلل الموجبة لمخالفتها، بنقص بعض الحروف وزيادتها". (al-*ʿĀṭil* p. 46)

What is allowed in *zajal* but is prohibited in classical poetry:

المسموح في الزجل وهو ممنوع في الشعر:

(a) the use of metres afar from the sixteen Ḥalīlian metres

استعمال الأوزان الخارجة عن بحور العروض الستة عشر،

(b) the difference in each strophe of the line in length shortness and rhyme,

مخالفة كل شطر من البيت لآخر في القصر، والطول والقافية

(c) composing the *bayt* according to different metre and rhyme,

بناء البيت الواحد على عدة أوزان وقواف

(d) shortening of the *qufl* to a minimum, using one word or even half of it.

تقصير الأقفال الى غاية في القصر، حتى إذا جعلوا القفل منها كلمة واحدة، ونصف كلمة، جاز لهم.

Al-Ḥillī's account includes seven contemporary genres of poetry used by Eastern and Western Arabs: Classical poetry, *Muwašṣaḥ*, *Dūbeit*, *Kan wakan*, *Qōma*, *Mawalya* and *Zajal*.

The continuous invention of new *zajal* metres

In comparing *zajal* with the other arts, al-Ḥillī states: it is of the most various in metres, and the best in metrics, and it is, to our days, still of innovative metres, and numerous rhymes, and its inventors are the Maghrebis (viz. Andalusis) (al-*ʿĀṭil*, p. 6).

فهو (الزجل) أكثرها أوزاناً، وأرجحها ميزاناً، ولم تزل إلى عصرنا هذا، أوزانه متجددة وقوافيه متعددة ومخترعه أهل المغرب".

The essential function of singing for deducing metre

Al-Ḥillī emphasises the function of singing in extraction of metres and rhymes saying: it is called *zajal* because it can't be enjoyed, and neither can its metre, syllables and rhymes be understood, unless it is sung and voiced; only after that does all become obvious and clear.

"وإنما سمّي هذا الفن زجلاً لأنه لا يلتذّ به وتفهم مقاطع أوزانه ولزوم قوافيه حتى يغنى ويصوت فيزول اللبس بذلك". (al-*ʿĀṭil*, p.10).

The coherence of *zajal* and *muwašṣaḥ* in prosody

Since *zajal* and *muwašṣaḥ* are twin Andalusī forms, let us listen to what Ibn Sanā' al-Mulḳ says about metres and singing:

Metres of *muwašṣaḥ*

He says: "I tried to register its *ʿarūḍ* to make it a source of account and a device to its *ʿawṭād* and *ʿasbāb* but I failed; it was impossible because it cannot be counted.

"وكننت أردت أن أقيم لها عروضاً يكون دفترًا لحسابها، وميزانًا لأوتادها وأسبابها، فعز ذلك وأعوز،
لخروجها عن الحصر، وانفلاتها من الكف".

(*Watad* in 'arūd is (v -), short syllable followed by long one, and *sabab* is (-), one long syllable).

The essential function of singing *muwaššah*

As regards the function of singing in deducing metre in the *muwaššah*, Ibn Sanā' says:
"It has no 'arūd except tuning, and no rhythm else than music, no *awtād* else than tunes. no *asbāb* else than strings, and only according to this 'arud can metres be determined, and by which is checked the accurate from non-accurate and the right (*sālim*) from the deviative (*mazhūf*)".

"والقسم الثاني من الموشحات ما لها عروض إلا التلحين، ولا ضرب إلا الضرب، ولا أوتاد إلا الملاوي، ولا أسباب إلا الأوتار،
فبهذا العروض يعرف الموزون من المكسور والسالم من المزحوف، " (دار الطراز ص 47).

Ḥalilian and non Ḥalilian metres

Ibn Sanā' says: *muwaššahāt* are of two kinds:

The first kind is that of metres of the poetry of Arabs, this kind is the forsaken and cursed, it is more a *muḥammas* than a *muwaššah*, and it is used only by the weakest of poets.

The second kind of *muwaššah* has no relation to metres of the Arabs nor is it subjected to them.

"والموشحات تنقسم قسمين، الأول ما جاء على أوزان أشعار العرب، وما كان من الموشحات على هذا النسج
فهو المرذول المخذول، وهو بالمخمسات أشبه منه بالموشحات، ولا يفعله إلا الضعفاء من الشعراء، والثاني ما لا وزن له فيها
ولا إمام له بها (دار الطراز ص. 46).

Accuracy of Metres of Zajals in the Dīwān Ibn Quzmān

This is the title of my original PhD thesis. In surveying the 149 poems in the manuscript in Corriente's edition of 1995, I discovered that Corriente failed to identify accurate metre in 75 poems of the *Dīwān*.

In the following I present just eight poems (from 1-18), where I am convinced that their accurate metres and feet differ from those that appear in Corriente's 1995 edition, namely poems 1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 13, 15, 18.

[A] How text behaves with accurate feet and metre:

Example: Poem 13

[Metre in the 1995 edition: *basīṭ* (mustaf' ilun fa' lun + mustaf' ilātun)]

قصيدة 13

مشطور البسيط المقطوع التفعيلة الثانية المبتور الثالثة (مستفعلن فعْلن مستفعلن فع)

مستفعلن	فعْلن	مستفعلاتن (= مستفعلن فع)
ماعي أنا	مَعْشوقُ	شاطِ أبْيَضُ اشْفَرُ

هُوَ يَلْمَعُ أَكْثَرَ	بِاللَّيْلِ؟	رَبِيتَ الْقَمَرَ	
وَتَمَّ جَانِي	غَدَار	غَابَ عَنِّي إِلـ	1
وَأَنْ يِرَانِي	حَالِي	أَنْ يَفْتَقِدُ	
أَخْرَسَ لِسَانِي	فُمِّي	أَطْبِقُ عَلَى	
فِيَمَا نَقْدَر	مَرِد	وَكَانَ بِحَالُ	
وَمَا أَمْرُهُ	أَخْلَاهُ	ذَا الْعِشْقِ مَا	2
وَمَا أَعْرَهُ	هَجْرَان	وَمَا أَرْعَقَ إِلـ	
وَمَا أَسْرَهُ	عَاشِقُ	وَمَا أَحْزَنَ إِلـ	
بِأَيِّ ذَنْبٍ يُهْجَرُ؟	مَسْكِين	وَالْعَاشِقِ إِلـ	

Note the complete accord between feet and words in both hemistichs.

Note also the definite article *التعريف* ال which belongs to the preceding word in scansion (1.1 / 2. 2; 2.3; 2.4)

Poem 13: Scanned transliteration of the text:

[Metre: mustaf`ilun	fa`lun	mustaf`ilātun]
	ma`šuq	šā ṭab ya ḍaš qar
1	bil lēl	ḥuw yal ma`ak ṭar
	ḡad dār	wā ṭam ma jā nī
	ḥā lī	wā`an ya rā nī
	fum mī	`aḥ ras li sā nī
2	mab rad	fī mā na qad dar
	`aḥ lāh	wā mā`a ḡar roh
	hij rān	wā mā`a`ar roh
	`ā šiq	mā`a sar roh
	mis kīn	bay ḍan bi yuh jar

[B] How text behaves with incorrect metre:

Example: Poem 6

Text in the 1995 edition:

لَشَنَّهُمُ الصَّبِيَّانُ مَلَا حُ مَخَاذِلُ	
وَأَبْرَاهِيمَ الْوَشْكَى مَلِيحٌ وَعَاقِلُ	
أَنَا الَّذِي قَدْ رَيْتُ مِنْهُمْ طَوَائِفُ	1
لَمْ قَطُّ يَرَى مَعْشُوقٌ إِلَّا مُخَالِفُ	
إِنْ قُلْتَ لَهُ إِجْلِسْ يَقُومُ هُوَ وَاقِفُ	
وَإِنْ رَأَى حَقْلَكَ يَسْرُدُهُ بَاطِلُ	
لَا كَانُوا مِنْ صَبِيَّانٍ إِيَّيْ خَدَلَهُ فِيهِمْ	2
هَذَا الْعَوَجُ كُلُّهُ مِنْ أَشْ يَجِيهِمْ	
إِيَّاكَ تَسَلُّ دَعْوَهُمْ يَمْشُو مَسْبِيهِمْ	
وَإِغْفَلُ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ لَسُنَّةُ غَافِلُ	

Poem 6

[Metre in the 1995 edition: *rajaz* with third foot cut (mustaf'ilun mustaf'ilun fa'ūlun), with some replacement]

عروضه من الرجز المقطوع التفعيلة الثالثة (مستفعلن مستفعلن فعولن) مع بعض الاستبدال

The text accordingly:

	مستفعلن	مستفعلن	فعولن
	لَشَنَّهُمَ الدَّ /	صَبِيَّانُ مِلَاحُ	مَخَاذِلُ
	وَأَبْرَاهِيمَ الدَّ /	وَوَشْكِي مَلِيحُ	وَعَاقِلُ؟
1	أنا الذي /	قَدْ رَيْتُ مِنْهُمْ	طَوَايِفُ
	لَمْ قَطِ يَرَى /	مَعشُوقٌ إِلَّا	مُخَالِفُ
	إِنْ قُلْتَ لَهُ /	إِجْلِسُ يَقُومُ	هُوَ وَاقِفُ
	وَأَنْ رَأَى /	حَقَّكَ يَرُ /	دَهْ بَاطِلُ
2	لا كانوا من /	صَبِيَّانُ إِي خَدُّ	لَهُ فِيهِمْ
	هذا العوجُ	كُلُّهُ مِنْ أَشْ	يَجِيهِمْ
	إِيَّاكَ تَسَلُّ	دَعَهُمْ يَمْشُو	مَشِيهِمْ
	واغفل فإبـ	نَ اللّهُ لَسْتُ	لَهُ غَافِلُ

In fact, this poem is exactly similar to poem 13 (above) in structure and metre, but he missed the metre here. It is of two different hemistichs and different metres. Thus:

Poem 6

[Metre: mustaf'ilun fa'ūlun + mustaf'ilātun]

	مستفعلن	فعلن	مستفعلاتن
	لَشَنَّهُمَ الدَّ	صَبِيَّانُ	مِلَاحُ مَخَاذِلُ
	وَأَبْرَاهِيمَ الدَّ	وَوَشْكِي	مَلِيحُ وَعَاقِلُ
1	أنا الذي	قَدْ رَيْتُ	مِنْهُمْ طَوَايِفُ
	لَمْ قَطِ نَرَى	مَعشُوقٌ	إِلَّا مُخَالِفُ
	إِنْ قُلْتَ لَوْ	إِجْلِسُ	يَقُومُ هُوَ وَاقِفُ
	وَأَنْ رَأَى	حَقَّكَ	يَرُدُّهُ بَاطِلُ
2	لا كانوا من	صَبِيَّانُ	إِي خَدُّهُ فِيهِمْ
	هذا العوجُ	كُلُّهُ	مِنْ أَشْ يَجِيهِمْ
	إِيَّاكَ تَسَلُّ	دَعَهُمْ	يَمْشُو مَشِيهِمْ
	واغفل فإبـ	نَ اللّهُ	لَسْتُ غَافِلُ

Poem 6: Scanned transliteration of the text

	[Metre: mustaf' ilun	fa' lun	mustaf' ilātun]
	laš šan hu maş	şib yān	mī laḥ ma ḥā del
	waB rā hi mal	Waš kī	mā liḥ wa 'ā qel
1	'ā nal la dī	qad rēt	min hum ṭa wā yef
	lam qaṭ na rā	ma' šuq	'il lā mu ḥā lef
	'in qul ti loh	'ij lis	yā qum hu wā qef
	wā 'in ra 'ā	ḥaq qak	yā rud du bā ṭel
2	lā kā nu min	şib yān	'iy ḥaḍ la fi hum
	ḥā ḍal 'a waj	kul loh	min 'aš ya jī hum
	'iy yak ta sal	da' hum	yam šū ma šī hum
	wağ fal fa 'in	naL lāh	las san hu gā fil

All the deviations between text and metre disappear when you apply the accurate feet.

[C] Imposed Ḥalīlian metre on what is obviously non-Ḥalīlian text

Example: Poem 5

The text in MS and in the 1995 *Dīwān* is delivered as shown below:

	الشَّرَابُ يَطِيبُ لِي مَذَاقَهُ	
	وَالْحَبِيبُ يَعْجِبُنِي عِنَاقَهُ	
	ذَا الْعِقَارُ هُمُومِي تَسْلِي	
1	بِالْخُمَارِ نَعِزْلُ وَ نُوَلِي	
	عَتِيقُ صَارُ مَتَى مَا أَقْلِي	
	إِذَا غَابَ يَحْزَنِي فِرَاقَهُ	
2	أَشُّ يُرِي فِي فَرْحِهِ مُرَابِطُ	
	إِنْ دُرِي وَزِيرُ بَقَرَارِيطُ	
	بِالْجَرِي يَرْجَعُ لَهُ مُخَالِطُ	
	لَسُّ يُصَابُ إِلَّا فِي زُقَاقِهِ	

Poem 5

[Metre in the 1995 edition: *muqtaḍab* (fā' ilātu mufta' ilun fa') (المقتضب (فاعلات مفتعلن فع (

Let us see how text behaves according to this metre and arrangement of feet:

	قصيدة 5	
	فاعلات	مفتعلن
	أَشُّ يُرِي	طِيبُ لِي مَذَا
	وَالْحَبِيبُ يَعْـ	جَبْنِي عِنَا
1	ذَا الْعِقَارُ هـ	مُومِي تَسـ
	بِالْخُمَارِ نَعـ	زَلُّ وَنُو
		لِي

عتيقُ صارَ مَـ	تى ما أقـ	لى
إذا غابُ يَحـ	زنى فرا	فه
أشُّ يُرى	فى فرحه مُرا	بط
إنْ دُرِي وَ	زيرُ بـقرار	يط
بالجري ير	جع له مُخا	لط
لسُ يُصابُ إـ	لا فى زُقا	فه

Notice the distorted text and the neglected rhyme in the first strophe, and the division of words in each foot.

This poem is a song, obviously composed of two hemistichs with two different rhymes and two different metres and feet: (fā' ilun) + (fa' ūlun fa' ūlun)

فاعلن	فعلون	فعلون
الشرابُ	يطيبُ لى	مذاقه
والحبیبُ	يعجبني	عناقه
ذا العِقارُ	هُمومى	تسلى
بالخُمارُ	نُعزلُ و	نولى
عتيقُ صارَ	متى ما	أقلي
إذا غابُ	يَحزنى	فراقه
أشُّ يُرى	فى فرحه مُرابط	
إنْ دُرِي	وزيرُ بـقراريط	
بالجري	يرجع له	مُخالط
لسُ يُصابُ	إلا فى	زُفاهه

Poem 5: Scanned transliteration of the text

[Metre: fā' ilun	fa' ūlun	fa' ūlun]
'aš ša rāb	ya ṭib lī	ma dā qoh
wal ḥa bīb	ya' jib nī	'i nā qoh
1. dal 'i qār	hu mu mī	ti sal lī
bil ḥu mār	na' zi law	nu wal lī
'a tiq šār	ma tā mā	'a qal lī
'ī da ḡāb	yaḥ zan nī	fi rā qoh
2. 'aš yu rī	fi far ḥoh	mu rā biṭ
'in du rī	wa zir bī	qa rā riṭ
bil ja rī	yar ja' loh	mu ḥā liṭ
las yu šāb	'il lā fi	zu qā qoh

Most words are of syllables parallel to the feet. It is no doubt an invented non-Ḥalflian metre.

[D] The exact scansion but not the exact metre

Example: Poem 15

Text in the 1995 edition:

مِمَّا صَدَنِي لَسْ يَسْلَمُ وَقَتْنَا نَلْتَقُو	
وَإِشْ كَتَسْأَلُهُ مِنْ صُدُودِهِ لَوْ لَمْ نَعْشَقْهُ	
مَاذَا سَلَطَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْنَا مِنْ هَذَا الْهَوَى	1
وَهُوَ لَا الْمِلَاحُ لَسْ يُجَدُّ مِنْ هَوَاهُمْ دَوَا	
قَوْمًا تَسْتَعِيثُ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِمْ أَوْ تَسْكُتُ سِوَا	
لَسْ يَخَافُو اللَّهَ فِي عَاشِقٍ وَلَا يَتَّقُو	
أَخْلَاقًا صِعَابَ عَوْذٍ بِاللَّهِ مِنْ (هـ) / ذِي الْخُلُوقِ	2
لَسْ يَرْتُو لِحَالٍ مِنْ عَشَقْتُهُمْ لَوْ رَاوَهُ يَسُوقُ	
وَلَا يَذْرُو قَيْسٍ مَا يُقَاسِي وَ(لا) / مَا يَذُوقُ	
إِلَّا أَنْ يَذُوقَهُمْ مِمَّا ذُوقَهُ	

[Metre in the 1995 edition: *mujtatt*: (mustaf'ilun fā'ilatun) prefixed by (fā), and concluding with (fa' mustaf'ilun) = (fā + (mustaf'ilun fā'ilatun) + (fa' + mustaf'ilun)]

مشطر ساذج عروضه من المجتث (مستفعلن فاعلاتن) المسبوق بفا الملحق بفع مستفعلن
(فا) + (مستفعلن فاعلاتن) + (فع + مستفعلن)

Arabic text accordingly:

فَا	(مستفعلن فاعلاتن)	فَع	مستفعلن
مِمَّا	(مِمَّا صَدَنِي لَسْ يَسْلَمُ)	وَقَدْ	قَتْنَا نَلْتَقُو
وَإِشْ	(كَتَسْأَلُهُ مِنْ صُدُودِهِ)	لَوْ	لَمْ نَعْشَقْهُ
مَا	(ذَا سَلَطَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْنَا)	مِنْ	هَذَا الْهَوَى
وَ	(هُوَ لَا الْمِلَاحُ لَسْ يُجَدُّ مِنْ)	هَـ	وَاهُمْ دَوَا
قَوْمًا	(مَا تَسْتَعِيثُ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِمْ)	أَوْ	تَسْكُتُ سِوَا
لَسْ	(يَخَافُو اللَّهَ فِي عَاشِقٍ)	وَ	لَا يَتَّقُو
أَخْ	(إِلَاقًا صِعَابَ عَوْذٍ بِاللَّهِ)	مِنْ	(هـ) ذِي الْخُلُوقِ
لَسْ	(يَرْتُو لِحَالٍ مِنْ عَشَقْتُهُمْ)	لَوْ	رَاوَهُ يَسُوقُ
وَ	(لَا يَذْرُو قَيْسٍ مَا يُقَاسِي)	وَ	(لا) مَا يَذُوقُ
إِلَّا	(لَا أَنْ يَذُوقَهُمْ)	مِمَّا	ذُوقَهُ

This complicated annexed and prefixed Ḥalīlian *mujtatt* metre, although it is correct in scansion, cannot be the metre of composition nor for imitation, and the most important consideration is that it is impossible to sing it accordingly.

This poem is also a song of special charming rhythm. Its accurate metre is not Ḥalīlian; it is of two hemistichs also:

[Metre: (fa'lun fā'ilun + fā'ilātun) + (fa'lun fā'ilun)]

فَعْلُنْ	فَاعِلَاتُنْ	فَاعِلُنْ /	فَعْلُنْ
مِمَّا /	لَسْ يَسْلَمُ /	صَدَنِي /	مِمَّا /
وَإِشْ كُنْ /	مِنْ صُدُودِهِ	تَسْأَلُهُ /	وَإِشْ كُنْ /
مَاذَا /	لِلَّهِ عَلَيْنَا /	سَلَطَ الْإِلَهَ /	مَاذَا /
وَهُوَ /	لَسْ يُجَدُّ مِنْ /	لَا الْمِلَاحُ /	وَهُوَ /

قَوْمًا /	تَسْتَعِيثُ/	بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِمْ/	أَوْ تَسُدُّ كُنْتَ سَوَا
لِسْ يَـ/	خَافُوا أَلـ/	لَهُ فِي عَاشِقٍ/	وَلَا/ يَتَّقُوا
أَخْلَا	قَا صِعَابُ/	عُودُ بِاللَّهِ	مَنْ (هـ)/ ذِي الْخُلُوقِ
لِسْ يَرُ	ثُو لِحَالُ/	مَنْ عَشَقَهُمْ	لُورَاوُ هُ يَسُوقُ
وَلَا	يَذُرُو قَيْسُ/	مَا يُقَاسِي	وَلَا/ مَا يَذُوقُ
إِلَّا	أَنْ يَنْدُ	وَقَهُمْ [أَكْثَرُ]	مِمَّا / دُوقَهُ

Poem 15: Scanned transliteration of the text

[Metre: fa' lun	fā'ilun	fā'ilātun	fa'lun fā'ilun]	
	mim mā/ waš kan/ 1 mā ḡā/ wā hō/ qō man/ las yā/ 2 'aḡ lā las yar wā lā 'il lā	šad da nī nas 'a lō sal la ṭal lal mi laḡ tas ta giṭ ḡā fu 'al qan ši' b tū li ḡal yad ru qēs 'an ya ḡaw	las ye sal lam min šu dū dō lah 'a lē nā las yu jad min ben ya dē hum lah fi 'ā šeq 'ū du biL lah man 'a šaq hum mā yu qā sī waḡ hu mak ṭar	waḡ tan/ nal ta qū law lam/ na' ša qo min hā/ ḡal ha wā hā wā/ hum da wā 'aw tas/ kut sa wā wā lā/ yat ta qū min hā/ ḡil ḡu lūq law raw/ hū ya sūq wā lāl mā ya ḡūq mim mā ḡaw wa qoh

Notice that there is a full parallelism between words and feet in its *maṭla'* and most words in its *ḡuṣns*.

[E] The deceiving *maṭla'*:

Example: Poem 1

Text as presented in the 1995 edition:

نريدُ ولخوفِ الشُّبُهَةِ نُبكي
 واشُ تُقَدِّرُ نَمُوتُ وَرَاكَ يَا وَشْكَي
 عَشَقْتُهُ وَصَحَّتِ الرُّوَايَةُ 1
 فُقَالَ لِي لَسَقْدُ فِي أَمْرِكَ أَيُّهُ
 مِنْ ذَابِ نُبَيْدِيكَ تَعْمَلُ نِكَايَهُ
 تُرَضَى بِيَرْضَاكَ فِدْلَ وَأَنْكِي
 تَمَيِّزُ الْكَلَامِ إِنْ مُتْ أَرْحَمُ 9
 رَجَعُ كُلِّ أَحَدٍ فَرَسٌ وَحَمَحَمُ
 فَإِنْ جِيَتْ أَنَا خَلَيْتُهُ مَفْحَمُ
 أَلْقِي بِيئُوسِي وَقُلْ لِي أَحْكِي

Poem 1

[Metre in the 1995 edition: partial *ṭawīl* (fa'ūlun mafā'īlun fa'ūlun) with some replacement of maf'ūlun or fā'ilun in the first foot]:

[عروضه من مجزوء الطويل (فعلون مفاعيلن فعلون) مع جواز استبدال مفعولن او فاعلن بالتفعيلة الأولى]

The Arabic text accordingly:

قصيدة 1		
مفاعيلن	مفاعيلن	فعولن
نريدُ و/	لخوفاً الشُّب/	بِه تَبكي
واشْ نُقَدِرُ/	نَمُوتُ وَاَرَكَ/	يَا وَشُكي
عَشَقْتُ/	وَصَحَاتِ الـ/	رَوَايَه
فَقَالَ لِي/	لَقَدْ فِي أَمْرٍ/	رَكَ اِيَه
مِنْ ذَابِ نَبْ/	تَدِيكَ نَعْمَلْ/	نِكَايَه
تَرْضَى بِـ/	رَضَاكَ فَادُ/	لِ وَأَشْكي
تَمَيِّزَ الـ/	كَلَامٍ إِنْ مُـ/	تَ أَرْحَمَ
رَجَعَ كُـ/	لَنْ أَحَدُ فَارَسَ/	وَحَمَحَمَ
فَأَنْ جِيـ/	تَ أَنَا خَلِيْـ/	تُهُ مَفَحَمُ
أَلْقَى بِيـ/	أَسُو لِي وَأَقَالَ/	لِي أَحْكي

Note the forced division of words in most feet in every *ḡuṣn*.

This poem is in fact a song, of two hemistichs and of two different feet and metre.

[Metre: Its accurate metre is: (fa'lun fā'ilun) + (mustaf'ilātun)]

مستفعلاتن	فاعلن	فاعلن/
أَلشُّبِيَه تَبْكي	وَلخوفُ	نريدُ /
وَرَاكَ يَا وَشُكي	حَدْرَ نَمُوتُ	واشْ نُقَدِرُ /
حَتَّ الرَوَايَه	تُهُ وَصَـ	عَشَقْتُ /
فِي أَمْرِكَ اِيَه	لِي لَقَدْ	فَقَالَ /
نَعْمَلْ نِكَايَه	تَبْتَدِيكَ	مِنْ ذَابِ/
فَدَلْ وَأَشْكي	بِرِضَاكَ	تَرْضَى /
إِنْ مُتْ أَرْحَمَ	رَ الكَلَامِ	تَمَيِّبـ/
فَرَسٌ وَحَمَحَمَ	كُلَّ أَحَدُ	رَجَعَ /
خَلِيَّتُهُ مَفَحَمَ	جِيَتِ أَنَا	فَأَنْ /
وَقَالَ لِي أَحْكي	بِيئُ لِي	أَلْقَى /

Poem 1: Scanned transliteration of the text:

[Metre: fa'lun	fā'ilun	mustaf'ilātun]
nā rīd	wā li ḥōf	'an nuš ba nab kī
waš naq	dar na mūt	wā rak ya waš kī
1 'ā šeq	tō wa šaḥ/	ḥā tir ri wā yā
fā qal	lī la qad/	fī 'am ra kā yā
min ḡab	nab ta dik/	na' mal ni kā yā
nar ḡā	bī ri ḡak/	fā dul li wan kī
9 tam yī	zal ka lām/	in mut tu 'ar ḥam
ra ja'	kul la ḡad/	fā ras wa ḥam ḥam
fā 'in	jī ta nā/	ḡal lay tu muḡ ḥam

'al qā

bī no lī/

wā qal li 'aḥ kī

[F] Incorrect metre leads to mistaken changes of text

Example: Poem 7

Text in the 1995 edition:

السَّلْفُ مَرْدُودٌ وَالْعَارِيَّةُ تَرْجَعُ
وَلَايِنَ حَمْدِينَ لِقُرْ طَبِيَّةً نَقَطِعُ
دَوْلَةَ الْحَرَمَانَ تَتِيمَ ضَرُورِهِ
فَدُ حَتَمَ مِسْكِينَ لَمْ تَبْقَى لَهُ سُورِهِ
لِحَشَلِ اشْبَلِيذُو مِقْدَامَ ذِ كُورِهِ
يَا مُجِي سَعْدِي يَضْحَكُ وَيُولُولُ
وَمُضِي قِرْدِي قَدَامِي يَقْرَتَلُ
كَنْ أَخَذَ عَادَهُ بَلْبَسُهُ مُحْوَلُ
كَفَ رَأَى بِاللَّهِ إِعَادَهُ يُبْرَعُ

Poem 7

[Metre in the 1995 edition: *madīd* (fā'ilātun fā'ilun fā'ilātun)]

عروضه من المديد (فاعلاتن فاعلن فاعلاتن)

The Arabic text accordingly:

فاعلاتن	فاعلن	فاعلاتن	
السَّلْفُ مَرْدُودٌ /	دودٌ وَالْعَا /	ري تَرْجَعُ	
وَلَايِنَ حَمْدِينَ /	دين لِقُرْ /	طوبيه نَقَطِعُ	
دَوْلَةَ الْحَرَمَانَ /	مان تَتِي /	مَ ضَرُورِهِ	1
فَدُ حَتَمَ مِسْكِينَ /	كين لَمْ تَبْ /	قى لَهُ سُورِهِ	
لِحَشَلِ اشْبَلِيذُو /	يذُو مِقْدَا /	دام ذِي كُورِهِ	
يَا مُجِي سَعْدِي /	دي يَضْحَكُ /	وَيُولُولُ	2
وَمُضِي قِرْدِي /	دي قَدَا /	مي يَقْرَتَلُ	
كَنْ أَخَذَ عَادَهُ /	دَه بَلْبَسُ /	سُهُ مُحْوَلُ	
كَفَ رَأَى بِاللَّهِ /	الله إِعَا /	دَه يُبْرَعُ	

Note the forced division of words in every foot of the *gusns*.

This poem too is a song composed of two different hemistichs and metres:
(fā'ilun fā'ilun + fā'ūlun fā'ūlun). Thus:

فاعلن	فاعلن	فاعلن فاعولن (أحيانا مفعولن فاعولن)
السَّلْفُ	مَرْدُودٌ	وَالْعَارِيَّةُ
وَلَايِنَ	حَمْدِينَ /	لِقُرْ طَبِيَّةً نَقَطِعُ

1	دولة الـ /	حرمان /	تتسم ضروره
	قد حتم /	مسكين	لم تبقى له سوره
	لخشل اشـ	با يد	مقدام ذي كنوره
2	يا مجي	سعدى	يضحك و يولول
	ومضي	قردي	قدامي يفرتل
	كن اخذ	عاده	محول بلبسة
	كف راي	بالله	يعاد يبرع

Note that in this version the forced division of words disappears.

Poem 7: Scanned transliteration of the text

[Metre: fā'ilun	fa'lun	fa'ūlun	fa'ūlun]
	'as sa laf	mar dūd	wal 'ā rī
	wā li Bin	Ḥam dīn	lī qur tū
1	daw la tal	ḥir mān	tā tim mā
	qad ḥa tam	mis kīn	lam tab qā
	laḥ ša laš	bā yaḍ	miq dam ḍi
2	yā mu jī	sa' dī	yaḍ ḥak wā
	wā mu ḍī	qir dī	qud dā mī
	kan 'a ḥaḍ	'ā dah	bi lub soh
	kif ra 'ā	biL lah	'i 'ā dah
			ya bar ra'

The *guṣn* 3 of *bayt* 1 is written thus in the MS:

لخشل اشـ با يد مقدام ذي كنوره

It consists of Romance words, and they accord with our feet above. But in the 1995 edition the text was changed to:

لخشل اشـ بلبلدو مقدام ذي كوره

to fit the non-accurate metre, and with an uncertain translation:

"الكلام كله أعجمي إلا لفظه الثالث مع بعض التحريف" ويضيف: "واحتمالنا أن معناه: "يقضي مقدام على همومه (تهكمًا)".

There is a need for new translation of the original text:

لخشل اشـ با يد مقدام ذي كنوره

laḥ ša laš/ bā yaḍ miq dam/ ḍi ka nū rā

See also: Poem 20 .

[Metre in the 1995 edition: *madīd* (fā'ilatun fā'ilun fā'ilatun)]

It has the same metre as assigned to poem 7 above.

[G] The non-accurate Ḥalilian hafif metre

Example: Poem 9

Text as presented in the 1995 edition:

بَعْدَ مَا قَالَ آهَا ثُمَّ نَدَمَ
 لَسْ لَهُ السَّاعَةَ مِنْ عَذَابِي إِثْمٌ
 1 قَالَ لِي آهَا وَقَالَ لِي لَا بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ
 وَحَلَفَ أَنَّهُ لَمْ يَقُلْ لِي كَذَاكَ
 وَجَحَدَ مَا دَرَى فَمِنْ حَيْثُ ذَلِكَ
 لَسْ نَصَدَّقُ مَلِيحٌ إِذَا قَالَ نَعَمْ
 42 تَمْضِي إِنْ شَالَلَهُ مِنْ سُورٍ لِسُرُورٍ
 وَالسَّعَادَةَ بِشَاشَتِهِ إِذْ مَطُورٍ
 وَعَدُوكَ أَيُّذٌ فِي سُؤَالٍ ظَلُورٍ
 لَعْنُ اللَّهْ مِنْ لَا يُقُولُ نَعَمْ

[Metre in the 1995 edition: *ḥafif*: (fā'ilātun mustaf'ilun fā'ilun)]

مشطر ساذج عروضه من الخفيف (فاعلاتن مستفعلن فاعلن)

Accordingly the Arabic text needs some changes in the (mustaf'ilun):

فاعلاتن	مستفعلن	فاعلن	يجب تغيير في مستفعلن
بَعْدَ مَا قَا/	لَا آهَ تُـ /	مَ نَدَمُ	قَالَ
لَسْ لَهُ السَّآ/	عَه مِنْ عَدَا/	بِي إِثْمٌ	السَّاعَةُ
1 قَالَ لِي آهَا/	وَأَقَالَ لِي لَا/	بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ	وَأَقَالَ
وَحَلَفَ أَذْ/	أَنَّهُ لَمْ يَقُلْ /	لِي كَذَاكَ	أَنَّهُ
وَجَحَدَ مَا /	دَارَى فَمِنْ /	حَيْثُ ذَلِكَ	دَارَى
لَسْ نَصَدَّقْ/	مَالِيحٌ إِذَا/	قَالَ نَعَمْ	مَالِيحٌ
42 تَمْضِي إِنْ شَا/	لِللَّهِ مِنْ سُورٍ /	لِسُرُورٍ	
وَالسَّعَادَةَ/	بِأَشَاشَتِهِ إِذْ/	مَطُورٍ	بِأَشَا
وَعَدُوكَ أَيُّـ /	أَيْذٌ فِي سُؤَالٍ/	ظَلُورٍ	أَيْذَا
لَعْنُ اللَّـ /	لَا هُوَ مِنْ لَا يُـ /	قَوْلُ نَعَمْ	اللَّهُ هُوَ

Note the forced division of words, as well as the lengthening of short syllables to long ones in each *guṣn*.

Poem 9

This poem, as also the 17 other poems in the *Dīwān*, are not in fact of Ḥalīlian *ḥafif* metre. Their accurate metre is not Ḥalīlian. It is: (fā'ilun fā'ilun + fa'ū fā'ilun)

فاعلاتن	فاعلاتن	فاعلاتن
بَعْدَ مَا قَالَ /	هَ تُـ	مَ نَدَمُ
لَسْ لَهُ السَّاعَةَ مِنْ/	عَدَا	بِي إِثْمٌ
1 قَالَ لِي آهَا وَقَالَ/	لِي لَا	بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ
وَحَلَفَ أَنَّهُ لَمْ/	يَقُلْ	لِي كَذَاكَ
وَجَحَدَ مَا دَرَى/	فَمِنْ	حَيْثُ ذَلِكَ

لَسْ نَصَدَقْ مُلِيحٌ /	إِذَا	قَالَ نَعَمْ	
تَمْضِي إِنْ شَالَهُ مِنْ /	سُرُورٌ	لِسُرُورٍ	42
وَالسَّعَادَةَ بِشَا /	شَاةً أَدَّ	مَطُورٌ	
وَعَدُوكَ أَيُّدٌ فِي /	شَوَالٌ	ظَلُورٌ	
لَعَنَ اللَّهُ مَنْ /	لَا يُدِ	قَوْلُ نَعَمْ	

Note that all deviations of text from feet disappear.

Notice also the parallelism of text to fā'ilun fā'ilun! in each guṣṣ.

Poem 9: Scanned transliteration of the text

[Metre: fā'ilun fā'i lun	fa 'ū	fā'ilun]	
1	ba' di mā/ qā la 'ā las la hus / sā 'a min qal li 'ā/ hā wa qal wā ḥa laf / 'an nu lam wā ja ḥad/ mā da rā las na ṣad/ daq ma liḥ	ha ṭum/ 'a dā / li lā/ ya qul/ fa min/ 'i dā/ su rur/ ša taḍ/ ša wal/ la yū/	mā na dam bī 'i ṭam ba' da dāk lī ka dāk ḥī na dāk qal na 'am lī su rūr maṭ ṭūr zūl lūr qul na 'am
2	tam ḍi 'in/ ṣal la min was sa 'ā/ dā ba šā wā 'a duk/ 'ay ḍa fi lā 'a nal/ lā hu man		

[H] The proof that singing is more accurate than scansion

Example: Poem 115

Text as given in the 1995 edition:

تَقَطَّعَ اكْتِبَادِي يَا صَبِيَّهْ	
أَشُّ لَوْ دَرَيْتُ أَدِي حَلَّ يَبِيَّهْ	
مَنْ شَوْقِي أَنْ نَبْلُغَ فَيْكَ مُرَادِي	1
لَسْ يَنْغَلِقُ عَيْنِي فِي رُقَادِي	
أَلَّهُ بَعْدَ يَعْزَمُ إِعْتِقَادِي	
وَيَعْلَمُ النَّيَّهَ وَالطَّوِيَّهْ	
يَوْمًا يَرَاكَ عَيْنِي يَا بِيَاضِي	2
وَخَذَكَ الْأَزْهَرَ هُوَ رِيَاضِي	
إِذَا اتَّ حَبِيبُ قَلْبِي عَنِّي رَاضِي	
أَنَا فِي أَخْلَاقِي الرِّضِيَّهْ	

[Metre in the 1995 edition: *basīṭ* with cut of second and third feet: (mustaf'ilun fa' musaf'ilun fa').

[Note: The original *basīṭ* metre is composed of four feet: (1) mustaf'ilun; (2) fā'ilun; (3) mustaf'ilun; (4) fa'lun.]

من البسيط المقطوع التفعيلة الثانية والرابعة (مستفعلن فع مستفعلن فع)

Arabic text according to above feet:

مستفعلن	فع	مستفعلن	فع
تَقَطَّعَ اَكْبَـ	بَا	دي يا صَبِيحَـ	يَه
أَشُّ لَوْ دَرَيْتُ	أَدِي	ذِي حَلِّ بِيحَـ	يَه
مَنْ شَوْقِي أَنْ	نَبْ	لَعَّ فَيْكُ مَرَا	دي
لَسْ يَنْغَلِقُ	عَبْدِ	نِي فِي رُقَا	دي
أَللَّهُ بَعْدَ	يَعْدُ	لَمَّ إِعْتَقَا	دي
وَيَعْلَمُ الـ	نَبْ	يَه وَالطَّوِيحُ	يَه
يَوْمًا يَرَاكَ	عَبْدِ	نِي يَا بِيحَـ	ضي
وَحَدِّكَ الـ	أَزْ	هَرُّ هُوَ رِيَا	ضي
إِذَا اتَّ حَبِيبُ	قَلْبُ	بِي عَنِّي رَا	ضي
أَنَا فِي أَخْبَـ	سَلَا	قِي الرِّضِيِّ	يَه

Transliterated text accordingly:

[Metre: mustaf'ilun	fa'	mustaf'ilun	fa']
1	tā qaṭ ṭa 'ak	bā	dī yā ṣa biy ya
	'iṣ law da ret	'aḍ	ḍī ḥal li biy yah
	min ṣaw qī yan	nab	luḡ fik mu rā dī
	las yan ḡa liq	'ay	nī fī ru qā dī
	'al lah ba 'ad	ya'	lam 'i' ti qā dī
	wā ya' la man	niy	yah waṭ ṭa wiy yah
2	yaw man ya rak	'ay	nī yā ba yā dī
	wā ḥad da kal	'az	har huw ri ya dī
	'ī ḍat ḥa bib	qal	bī 'an ni rā dī
	'ā nā fi 'aḥ	lā	qī 'ar ra ḍiy yah

By scansion, the text surrenders totally and accurately to the feet of the above metre.

But there is forced division of words with no splitting of phrases across feet between the two hemistichs and it cannot be sung as the other 3 poems of the same metre in the 1995 Dīwān: 8, 121 and 146.

In fact, this poem 115 is a song, of different metre and feet. It is of two hemistichs with two different metres:

[Metre: (mustaf'ilun fa'lun) + (fā'ilātun)]

Arabic Text accordingly:

مستفعلن	فعلن	فاعلاتن
تَقَطَّعَ اَكْبَـ	بَادِي	يا صَبِيحَـ
أَشُّ لَوْ دَرَيْتُ	أَدِي	حَلِّ بِيحَـ
مَنْ شَوْقِي أَنْ	تَبْلُغُ	فَيْكُ مَرَادِي
لَسْ يَنْغَلِقُ	عَيْنِي	فِي رُقَادِي
أَللَّهُ بَعْدَ	يَعْلَمُ	إِعْتَقَادِي

وَالطَّوِيه	نَبِيه	وَيَعْلَمَ الـ	
يَا بِيَاضِي	عَيْنِي	يَوْمًا يَرَاكَ	2
هُوَ رِيَاضِي	أَزْهَرُ	وَوَحْدَكَ الـ	
عَنِّي رَاضِي	قَلْبِي	إِذَا اتَّ حَبِيبُ	
الرَّضِيهِ	مَلَاقِي	أَنَا فِي أَخـ	

Poem 115: Scanned transliteration of the text

[Metre: mustaf' ilun	fa' lun	fā' ilātun]	
	tā qat̄ ʔa 'ak	bā dī	yā ʂa biy
	'iʂ law da ret	'aḍ ḍī	ḥal li biy yah
1	min ʂaw qī yan	nab luḡ	fik mu rā dī
	las yan ḡa liq	'ay nī	fī ru qā dī
	'al lah ba 'ad	ya' lam 'i' ti qā dī	
	wā ya' la man	niy yah	waḥ ʔa wiy yah
2	yaw man ya rak	'ay nī	yā ba yā ḍī
	wā ḥad da kal	'az har huw ri ya ḍī	
	'ī ḍat ḥa bib	qal bī	'an ni rā ḍī
	'ā nā fi 'aḥ	lā qī	'ar ra ḍiy yā

Note the total parallelism of words to the three feet!

Conclusion:

1. Al-Ḥillī's theory, to which I hold, is the only theory relevant to *zajal* metres, as shown above in the section "that which is allowed and that which is forbidden in *zajal* composition", with the firm and absolute declaration that there is "no *ziḥāf* in *zajal*", which eliminates both Corriente's theory of 'arūḍ muḥawwar and the syllabic theory of García Gómez.

2. Most of the *zajal* poems do not submit to Ḥalīlian metres. They are songs of invented metres. This is what we have set out to show in the above presentation, and it clashes with Nykl, Stern and Gorton in their dependence solely on Ḥalīlian metres.

3. All the major researchers of the two schools paid little or no attention to any of the medieval Arabic grammarians, particularly Al-Ḥillī and Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, as regards non-Ḥalīlian metres of *zajal* and *muwašṣaḥ*. The Spanish school concluded that if these metres are not Ḥalīlian then they are syllabic Romance, while the English school stuck to Ḥalīlian metres.

4. The written vernacular Arabic texts are for reading and understanding, but not for scansion, nor can they indicate how vowels should be pronounced. Most of the poems are songs. The only device to discover long and short syllables is by singing these texts, and by using that device the metre can be easily determined.

5. In accurate metre, the syllables of words of the text adjust themselves to long and short syllables, by shortening the long and lengthening the short. In most texts of Ibn Quzmān words are chosen to accord with their foot (an obvious clue that metres are invented and that the composition according to these metres is artificial industry (صناعة)).

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