Notes on the history of 'Arūḍ in al-Andalus

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Arabic poetry in *al-Andalus* is a case of a poetical tradition brought into a new environment where it struck roots, undergoing radical changes in the process. As is well known, this evolution finally resulted in abandoning first the metric of *'Arūḍ* (*muwashshaḥ*) and then, the language of the classical poetry (*zajal*).

This study of the metrical dimension of the history of Arabic poetical tradition in Medieval Spain is a continuation of the similar study of the classical poetry in the *Mashriq* undertaken in the author's monograph[1]. Not being a specialist in the history of Andalusian poetry, I nevertheless decided to publish the statistical data on its metrical repertory, hoping that they might be useful to scholars working in the field. The driving impulse of this work was the author's conviction that, as E. Lévi-Provençal puts it, "il serait... imprudent d'essayer de dégager les traits originaux qui la concernent, sans montrer simultanément ce que fut en Espagne la grande tradition du classicisme oriental, à laquelle ce pays demeura toujours strictement attaché, et qui devait se manifester à chaque instant dans la plupart des branches du savoir qu'il reçut et exploita"[2].

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

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[1] Dmitry Frolov, *The Classical Arabic Verse: History and Theory of 'Arūḍ*, Moscow 1991.

[2] E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Civilisation arabe en Espagne*, Paris 1961, p. 39.

[3] See A. Sanchez, "Concerning the Nature of the System of Arabic Metrics", in *Arabic Philology*, Moscow 1968.

[4] A.B. Kudelin, *Classical Spanish Arabic Poetry*, Moscow 1973.

EXPERIMENTAL BASIS.

Tables of the metrical repertory of the Andalusian poetry during its most creative period, starting from the second half of the 10th century A.D. and up to the 14th century A.D., include the statistical data representing fourteen poets, whose names speak for themselves:

1. Ibn Hānī al-Andalusī (d.972). - *Dīwān*. Ed. Karam al-Bustānī, Beirut 1963. 85 pieces.
2. Ibn Darrāj al-Qastallī (d.1030). - *Dīwān*. Ed. Maḥmūd 'Alī Makkī Damascus 1961. 173 pieces.
3. Ibn Zaydūn (d.1071). - *Dīwān Ibn Zaydūn wa-rasā'iluh*. Ed. 'Alī 'Abd al-'Azīm, Cairo 1957. 173 pieces.
4. Ibn 'Ammār (d.1084 or 1086). - Salāḥ Khālis, *Muhammad ibn 'Ammār al-Andalusī. Dirāsa adabiyya tārikhiyya*, Baghdad 1957. 76 pieces.
5. Al-Mu'tamid ibn 'Abbād (d.1095). - *Dīwān*. Ed. Aḥmad Aḥmad al-Badawī & Ḥāmid 'Abd al-Majīd, Cairo 1951. 176 pieces.
6. Al-A'mā al-Tutīlī (d. 1131). - *Dīwān*. Ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut 1963. 88 pieces.
7. Ibn Ḥamdīs (d.1133). - *Dīwān*. Ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut 1960. 370 pieces.
8. Ibn al-Zaqqāq al-Balansī (d.1133 or 1135). - *Dīwān*. Ed. 'Afīfa Maḥmūd Dayrānī, Beirut 1964. 149 pieces.
9. Ibn Khafāja (d.1138). - *Dīwān*. Ed. Karam al-Bustānī, Beirut 1961. 360 pieces.
10. Al-Ruṣāfī al-Balansī (d.1177). - *Dīwān*. Ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās Beirut 1960. 59 pieces.
11. Ibn Sahl al-Andalusī (d.1251). - *Dīwān*. Ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās Beirut 1967. 136 pieces.
12. Ibn al-'Abbār (d.1260). - *Dīwān*. Ed. 'Abd al-Salām al-Ḥarās Tunis 1986. 245 pieces.
13. Ḥāzim al-Qartājannī (d.1285). - *Dīwān*. Ed. 'Uthmān al-Ka''āk Beirut 1964. 44 pieces.
14. Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d.1374). - *Dīwān*. Ed. Muhammad al-Sharīf Qāhir Alger 1973. 353 pieces.

Number of poetical pieces in each *Dīwān* does not include *muwashshah* poems that are not in conformity with the *'Arūḍ*. For three poets (nos. 1, 3, 9), meters were defined by myself and for all the rest, the data was taken from the *Dīwān*. Ambiguous cases, such as the borderline between *hazaj* and short *wāfir*, or between *rajaz* and meters adjacent to it (*sarī'*, *munsariḥ*), were treated in accordance with the approach presented in the above monograph. Short forms were placed separately, as well as a peculiar form of *basīṭ* which is known as *mukhalla' al-basīṭ*. Summary data for four basic meters of the *Qasīda* tradition: *tawīl*, *basīṭ*, *wāfir*, *kāmil*, and for all short verse forms were included in the tables as separate lines. Data of the metrical repertory of the poetry in *al-*

Mashriq, used as the basis for comparison, were taken from the author's monograph[5].

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

Classical Arabic verse developed from folklore foundation of ancient recital and song forms of rhythmical speech used by Northern Arabian tribes. We can reconstruct three such forms: *rajaz,* mostly a declamatory form, being the direct continuation of ancient *saj';* *hazaj,* whose roots come from the autochthonous, now extinct, tradition of song and music of bedouins of Central and West Arabia; *ramal,* whose origins can be traced back to the tradition of singing, imported to the Peninsula from the Sasanid Iran, mainly through Ḥīra, the seat of *Lakhmid* kings[6]. Of the two song forms only one, *hazaj,* is Arabic in its origins, and it is doubtless much older than the other.

The evolution of the inner structure from primitive verse forms to a more strict metrical order brought into existence an alternating rhythm of a clearly quantitative nature, based on a *watid-sabab* alternation, where the longer segment, *watid,* plays the role of *arsis,* while the shorter segment, *sabab,* that of *thesis.* This rhythm had three variations corresponding to the above archaic verse forms: ascending, where *watid* is placed at the end of each foot (*rajaz* rhythm); descending, where each foot begins with *watid* (*hazaj* rhythm); and intermediate, where *watid* stands in the centre of the foot (*ramal* rhythm).

Each basic rhythm gave birth to a "family" of closely related meters. Thus, the *hazaj* family comprises such meters as *ṭawīl, wāfir, mutaqārib,* as well as the *'Arūḍ* version of *hazaj;* the *rajaz* family, *basīṭ, kāmil, sarī', munsariḥ, mujtathth,* not to mention *rajaz* proper; and the *ramal* family, the smallest one, includes only three meters - *khafīf, ramal* proper, and *madīd,* which is actually a rare variation of *ramal.* These "families" played different roles in the making of the metrical repertory of Arabic poetry.

The image of Pre-Islamic poetry, reflected (or created) by anthologies compiled during the period of "written fixation" (*al-tadwīn*), beginning in the second half of the 8th century A.D. and ending at the dawn of the 10th century A.D., is still dominant in Modern Arabic Culture and in the works on the history of Arabic poetry by European scholars. This view places the centre of poetical activity in Northern Arabia. The poetical heritage of the bedouin tribes located there appears as basically uniform in different aspects of poetic art.

The metrical repertory of this ancient poetry, or the *qaṣīd* tradition, seems to be characterized by the following distinctive features:

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[5] These data can be compared wuth those given in the earlier works on the metrical repertory of the Arabic poetry, all of them treating exclusively poets of *al-Mashriq*: E. Braunlich, "Versuch einer Literaturgeschichtlichen Betrachtungsweise altarabischen Poesien", *Der Islam,* 24, 1937; J. Vadet, "Contribution a l'histoire de la metrique arabe", *Arabica,* 2, 1955; J.Bensheikh, *Poetique arabe. Essai sur les voies d'une création,* Paris 1975, pp. 203-227.

[6] *Ibid,* chs.4 and 5, pp. 94-156. *'Arūḍ* meters that bear the same names: *rajaz, hazaj, ramal,* are not identical with this archaic verse forms, though they are their direct decsendants.

1) unchallenged priority of *ṭawīl*, the main *qaṣīd* meter, whose share is generally no less than one third of the total poetical production, often reaching over 50 percent, which results also in prevalence of descending rhythm meters;

2) predominance of four basic (long) meters of the *qaṣīd*: *ṭawīl, basīṭ, wāfir, kāmil*, whose share oscillates above the mark of 90%, only rarely falling below 80%;

3) very low rate of meters of the third rhythm (the *ramal* family), whose total share varies from zero to 1,5%, only occasionally reaching the mark of 4-5%;

4) rarity of short verse forms, used mainly for singing (*hazaj, kāmil, ramal, khafīf*), as *qaṣīd* poetry was intended primarily for declamation.

Table 1 shows conformity between anthologies of old poetry, exemplified by *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, with individual *Dīwāns* of Pre-Islamic poets, and the continuation and even accentuation of their common metrical tendencies in Early Islamic and Umayyad poetry[7].

This metrical picture is in principle correct, but only for part of classical poetry. As far as I know, Prof.Grunebaum was the first to realize that side by side with the bedouin school of metric there existed another school, originated in Ḥīra. In his foreword to the *Dīwān* of Abū Du'ād al-Iyādī, which he himself collected and published, Prof. Grunebaum wrote: "As an unexpected reward... Abū Du'ād emerged as an important figure in literary history, enabling us to form new concepts of the literary situation in those parts of the *'arabiyya* which from about A.D. 450-600 had their cultural center in al-Ḥīra, the capital of the Lakhmid kings"[8].

Prof. Grunebaum also wrote: "For the understanding of the development of Arabic poetry the study of Abū Du'ād has yielded far-reaching results which can be summarized as follows: Ḥīra and the 'Iraqian and East Arabian areas of which it was the cultural capital harboured a highly developed school of poetry, distinguished by metrical variety, occasional expression of ideas of non-Bedouin background, and a definite colour of local tradition. So far, Abū Du'ād is the first representative of the group... It is not surprising to find the metrical technique of Arabic poetry in 'Iraq richer than anywhere else. Generations of town and court life naturally tended to develop those arts that were generally practised"[9].

[7] We used the following editions: *Dīwān al-Hudhaliyyīn*, Cairo 1965; Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1964; Ḥuṭay'a, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1958; Jarīr, *Dīwān*, I-II Cairo 1969-1971; Abū Tammām, *Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa*, I-II (undated).

[8] G.E. von Grunebaum,"Abū Du'ād al-Iyādī: Collection of Fragments", *WZKM*, 51, 1948-1952, p. 83.

[9] *Ibid*, pp. 100-101. Grunebaum included into this school such poets, as 'Adī ibn Zayd, Mutalammis, Ṭarafa, al-Muthaqqib al-'Abdī, 'Abd Qays al-Burjumī, al-A'shā.

Table 1. Bedouin Metrical Tradition in the Poetry of *al-Mashriq*

Meters	Hudhayl (*diwan*)	Zuhayr	Hutay'a	Jarīr	Ḥamāsa of Abū Tammām
Descending:					
ṭawīl	41,43	30,18	45,31	36,61	56,40
wāfir	18,93	24,53	19,36	20,57	10,67
wāfir (sh.)	0,59				0,11
hazaj					0,22
mutaqārib	5,92	1,89	4,27	1,91	2,25
Total	66,86	66,60	68,94	59,09	69,66
Ascending:					
basīṭ	11,83	18,87	15,38	15,55	10,90
basīṭ(mukh)					0,22
kāmil	13,02	18,87	10,26	17,22	11,46
kāmil(sh.)	0,59		1,71		1,01
rajaz(3)	5,92		0,85	7,90	3,15
rajaz(2)	0,59				
sarī'	0,59		0,85		1,12
munsariḥ	0,59	3,77		0,24	1,12
Total	33,14	31,51	29,05	40,91	28,99
Intermed.:					
madīd					0,33
ramal		1,89			0,34
ramal(sh.)					
khafīf			1,71		0,67
khafīf(sh.)					
Total		1,89	1,71		1,35
4 meters	85,80	92,45	92,02	89,95	90,77
short forms	7,69		2,56	7,90	4,82
Pieces	100	53	117	418	890

It is significant that two special metrical characteristics mentioned by Grunebaum are: 1) the use of *ramal*, and 2) a certain predilection for *khafīf*[10]. Prof.Grunebaun treated occurrence of these meters in the poetry of the Hīra school as independent characteristics of its metrical repertory, but if the exposition presented above is true, they are simply different metrical variations

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[10] *Ibid*, pp. 102-103. Grunebaum states that *ramal* in Pre-Islamic time was used only by poets of this school, with the only exception of Imru'ulqays, who was believed to be the *rāwī* of Abū Du'ād, whereas *khafīf* was used by the poets not connected with the school, but not very frequently. Though some new instances of the usage of these meters could be added to the data given by Grunebaum, his conclusion remains true.

of the same basic rhythm, whose origin can be connected with Ḥīra as an intermediary between Persian and Arabic cultures. In this case the observations made by Prof.Grunebaum can now be restated, and we can say that the poetical school of Ḥīra shows a definite predilection for meters of the *ramal* basic rhythm that grew and remained outside the Bedouin *Qaṣīd* tradition[11].

Table 2 shows that, apart from a sharp increase in the occurrence of meters of the "*ramal* family" (up to one third of the total number of verses), some other features can be observed in the metrical repertory of the school. These are:

1) a considerable decline in the frequency of *ṭawīl* that sometimes yields priority to another meter;

2) a similar fall in the occurrence of the four basic meters of the *Qaṣīd* tradition:

3) a notable rise in the frequency of short verse forms, that were connected, as was mentioned above, with the art of singing.

Table 2 also shows that the poetical tradition born in Ḥīra, although neglected by literary critics and authors of anthologies, continued during the Umayyad time in the poetry of 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'a (and several minor poets of Medina), and it even became the major trend in the development of Arabic poetry during the Early Abbasid period, as represented by *muwalladūn* poets, who initiated the movement of *badī'*, that seemed almost a revolution in the poetical art. It is not at all accidental that such poets as Bashshār ibn Burd, Abū Nuwās, Muslim ibn al-Walīd, Abū 'l-'Atāhiya and others, who continued and developed the tradition of the Ḥīra school, were of Persian origin. Later, this metrical school was represented by poetry of Abu Tammām[12] and of al-Buḥturī.

It can not be deduced from the above that Abbasid poets regarded themselves as successors of Abū Du'ād or 'Adī ibn Zayd in the domain of metrics. On the contrary, their poetry was unanimously considered as breaking with the traditions of Pre-Islamic poetry which was represented for them by popular anthologies, such as *Mu'allaqāt, Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, Asma'iyyāt, Jamharat ash'ār al-'arab* by Abū Zayd al-Qurashī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā'* by al-Jumaḥī, and two *Ḥamāsa*'s by Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī, all of them creating the image of the all-embracing Bedouin tradition which had very different metrics.

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[11] Prof. Grunebaum, very significantly, suggests that "*ramal* was an adaptation of the Pahlavi octosyllabic verse... to the exigencies of Arabic prosody", quoting E. Benveniste, "Le texte du Draxt asurik et la versification pehlevie", *JA* 217 (1930), p. 221, and adds that "there is certainly no intrinsic obstacle to the assumption of Persianinfluence on the formation of Arabic poetical technique in the districts adjacent to, and under the suzerainty of, the Iranian power", see *ibid*, p. 102.

[12] We used the following editions of relevant texts: Abū Du'ād-Grunebaum, *op.cit*; 'Adī ibn Zayd, *Dīwān*, Baghdad 1965; 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'a, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1960; Bashshār ibn Burd, *Dīwān*,I-IY, Cairo 1952-1966; Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, Beirut n.d.; Abū Tammām, *Dīwān*, Beirut n.d.; al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, I-IY, Cairo 1962.

Table 2. Metrical School of Ḥīra in the Poetry of *al-Mashriq*[13]

Meters	Abū Du'ād	'Adī ibn Zayd	'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'a	Bash. ibn Burd	Abū Nuwās	Abū Tammām	Buḥ. Shār.
Descending:							
ṭawīl	12,50	21,25	21,42	27,39	14,07	18,40	21,49
wāfir	8,33	11,25	4,76	7,56	9,18	9,09	9,89
wāfir(sh.)			2,38	0,17	1,70	0,43	0,32
hazaj	1,39	2,50	0,59	3,19	4,09	0,87	0,53
mutaqārib	6,94	3,75	5,06	2,86	1,50	0,65	6,28
mudāri'					0,10		
Total	29,16	38,75	34,21	41,17	30,64	29,44	38,51
Ascending:							
basīṭ	15,28	8,75	8,63	14,45	12,28	17,10	11,82
basīṭ(mukh)				0,17	1,00	1,51	0,74
kāmil	12,50	7,50	18,75	11,76	7,49	24,46	17,24
kāmil(sh.)	9,72	1,25	1,19	2,69	2,79	0,65	1,38
rajaz	4,17		1,19	2,35	6,09	1,73	0,74
sarī'	1,39	6,25	1,19	6,39	12,97	5,41	6,06
munsariḥ	1,39	3,75	4,17	4,54	7,58	3,90	4,36
mujtathth				0,34	3,19	0,43	0,53
muqtaḍab					0,10		
Total	44,45	27,50	35,12	42,69	53,49	55,19	42,87
Intermed.:							
madīd	1,39	1,25	2,38	0,17	0,90	0,65	0,21
ramal	4,17	11,25	4,16	4,03	2,49	0,22	0,96
ramal(sh.)		1,25	2,38	1,18	4,59	1,08	1,49
khafīf	19,44	18,75	19,36	9,42	6,49	12,55	15,43
khafīf(sh.)		1,25	2,08	1,34	1,40	0,87	0,53
Total	25,00	33,75	30,64	16,14	15,87	15,37	18,62
Non-'Arūḍ verse	1,39						
4 meters	58,33	50,00	57,13	64,19	48,51	71,64	62,88
short forms	15,28	6,25	10,11	11,26	24,05	4,11	5,31
Pieces	72	80	336	595	1002	462	940

Table 3 provides data on the metrical repertory of two most outstanding poets of the 10th and 11th centuries A.D., who personified the acme of the

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[13] It means that Abū Tammām, who in his famous *Ḥamāsa* was asserting the Bedouin metrical tradition, followed in his own poetry another metrical ideal, that of the Early Abbasid poetry, which continued the tradition of Ḥīra.

Classical Arabic poetry, al-Mutanabbī and Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī[14]. It can be
seen that they are an example of the balanced combination of the two metrical
tendencies. Since then this metrical synthesis replaced the pure Bedouin metrical
tradition as the core of the poetic art.

Table 3. Metrical Repertory of al-Mutanabbi and al-Ma'arri.

Meters	al-Mutanabbī	al-Ma'arrī *Saqt al-zand*	al-Ma'arrī *Luzūmiyyāt*
Descending:			
ṭawīl	21,83	31,86	23,23
wāfir	16,55	15,04	13,56
hazaj			0,44
mutaqārib	7,75	3,54	6,55
Total	46,13	50,44	43,88
Ascending:			
basīṭ	15,14	10,61	25,05
basīṭ(mukh.)	1,76	0,89	1,57
kāmil	14,79	16,81	13,82
kāmil(sh.)	0,70		0,56
rajaz	3,17	4,43	0,25
sarī	2,46	6,20	6,21
munsariḥ	6,34	2,66	2,95
mujtathth	0,35		0,19
Total	44,71	41,60	50,60
Intermediate:			
madīd			0,19
ramal	1,06		0,57
ramal(sh.)			0,12
khafīf	8,10	7,07	4,58
khafīf(sh.)		0,89	0,06
Total	9,16	7,96	5,52
4 meters	70,77	75,21	77,79
short forms	4,22	4,43	1,62
Pieces (total)	284	113	1592

Their metrical repertory, which can be called Classical, should be added

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[14] We used the following editions of relevant texts: al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān*, I-IY Beirut 1980;
Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, *Sharḥ al-tanwīr 'alā Saqt al-Zand*, I-II, Cairo 1941; Abū 'l-'Alā' al-
Ma'arrī, *Luzūm mā lā yalzam*, I-II, Beirut 1961.

to the two previous types as the third. Further metrical development of the poetry in *al-Mashriq* does not concern us here, as from the 11th century A.D. the Andalusian poetry has gone its own evolutional way.

These three types of the metrical repertory: Abbasid, basically ancient Ḥīran (Type A), Bedouin (Type B), and Classical (Type C) were the legacy of Arabic poetry in the *Mashriq* left to Arabic poetry in *al-Andalus*, that entered into its most creative period in the 10th century A.D. Their quantitative parameters are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Three basic types of Metrical Repertory of the Classical Arabic Poetry.

Parameters	Type A (Abbasid)	Type B (Bedouin)	Type C (Classical)
4 basic meters	50-70%	around 90%	70-75%
ṭawīl	10-25%	35-50%	20-30%
Descending meters	30-40%	60-70%	45-50%
Ascending meters	30-50%	30-40%	45-50%
Desc.:Asc.	1:1,5(1-1,8)	2(1,5-2,5):1	1:1(0,9-1,1)
Intermediate meters	15-30%	0-5%	5-10%
Short forms	10-25%	2-8%	5-10%

DISCUSSION.

We can say little definite about the metrical repertory of poets who lived in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D., because of insufficient data available to us. We know that cultural tradition prevalent in *al-Andalus* till the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥ man II (822-852) was Syrian. It would probably mean that poetry exhibited some variation of the Bedouin metrical repertory, characteristic for the official court poetry of the Umayyads in the *Mashriq*.

With the arrival of the famous Ziryāb, a pupil of the celebrated singer Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī, to Cordoba, the Abbasid cultural influence began quickly gaining force and finally replaced the Syrian tradition[15]. Long period of relative peace and prosperity in the 9th century under 'Abd al-Raḥmān II stimulated

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[15] Lévi-Provençal, *La civilisation Arabe en Espagne*, pp. 69-74.

cultural development, and the first major poet in *al-Andalus*, Yahyā al-Ghazāl (773-864) appeared at that time. Unfortunately, his *Dīwān*[16] proved unavailable to me, but from the general tone of his poetry, the absence of panegyrics and the prevalence of such genres as *hijā'*, *khamriyyāt*, and *zuhdiyyāt* we can deduce his inclination towards Early Abbasid poetry, contemporary to him, which may bespeak the adoption of the Abbasid (Hiran) metrical tradition[17].

His younger contemporary, Saʿīd ibn Jūdī (d.897) was, on the contrary, an adherent of the pure Bedouin poetical tradition, probably the last in *al-Andalus*, not to count the strict traditionalist Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (860-940), whose literary taste could have influenced not only the contents and style of his poetry, but also his metrics[18].

We can conclude that even before the time of ʿAbd al-Rahmān III (912-961), the Andalusian poetry in Classical Arabic tried both metrical traditions of the Past. During the reign of this mighty monarch, who had adopted the title of caliph in 929 A.D., thus proclaiming *al-Andalus* equal to *al-Mashriq* in any respect, the Andalusian poetry entered its classical, most creative period. The turning point, it seems, coincided with two cultural events of extreme significance that happened almost simultaneously.

The first was the arrival in Cordoba of the great Abū ʿAlī al-Qālī (901-967), the founder of the Andalusian philological tradition, who had brought with him forty *Dīwān* of Eastern poets[19]. The second was the emergence of the famous *al-ʿIqd al-farīd* by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, that provided the Andalusian poetry with a solid theoretical foundation in the field of metrics -the first written fixation of the science of *al-ʿArūd*, leaving behind the scholars of the East.

From that time the Andalusian poetry in Classical Arabic acquired the "learned" character and the metrical repertory of a poet became more the matter of rational choice than of chance and poetical instinct. Both the normative theory and the corpus of texts representing it were present, and the first really great Andalusian poet was soon to appear. It was Ibn Hānī (d.972), the panegyrist of the caliph ʿAbd al-Rahmān III.

Table 5 contains statistical data, representing metrical repertory of major poets of the Cordoba caliphate (10th-11th centuries A.D.).

Two main panegyrists of the Cordoba caliphate, Ibn Hānī al-Andalusī and Ibn Darrāj al-Qastallī, both oriented towards the Bedouin ideal in its philological interpretation, raised the art of panegyric to the height of classical Oriental masterpieces. Both of them were compared with al-Mutanabbī as his

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[16] Published in part by Hikmat al-Awsī and Hilāl Nājī.

[17] The story of his visit to Baghdad, where he succeeded in pretending that his own verse was composed by Abū Nuwās, told by Ibn Dihya, see H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en Arabe classique au XI siècle*, Paris 1953, pp. 44-45, indicate the same orientation, as well as the comparison of al-Ghazāl's verses with those of ʿUmar ibn Abī Rabiʿa, Bashshār ibn Burd, and al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Ahnaf by the same Ibn Dihya, see *op.cit*, p. 54.

[18] As far as we know, he had no *Dīwān*, and the number of poetical pieces, available to us, is not enough to afford a statystical analysis.

[19] See list of them in Pérès, *op.cit.*, p. 30, note 6, citing Ibn Khayr.

Occidental rivals[20]. H. Pérès lists al-Marrākushī and Ibn Hazm in the Occident,

Table 5. Poets of the Cordoba Caliphate
(10th-11th centuries A.D.)

Meters	Ibn Hānī	Ibn Darrāj	Ibn Zaydūn
Descending:			
ṭawīl	29,41	27,74	19,66
wāfir	1,18	5,79	8,67
wāfir(sh.)			0,58
hazaj			
mutaqārib	3,53	12,13	8,09
Total	34,12	45,66	37,00
Ascending:			
basīṭ	17,65	16,18	14,45
basīṭ(mukh.)	1,18	1,73	0,58
kāmil	31,76	27,74	9,24
kāmil(sh.)		0,58	5,20
rajaz(4)			
rajaz(3)	2,35	0,58	1,16
rajaz(2)			
sarī'	2,35	0,58	6,36
munsariḥ	1,18	0,58	1,16
mujtathth		0,58	4,05
Total	56,47	48,55	42,20
Intermediate:			
madīd		0,58	
ramal	3,53	1,16	4,62
ramal(sh.)		0,58	5,20
khafīf	5,88	3,47	8,67
khafīf(sh.)			2,31
Total	9,41	5,79	20,80
4 basic meters	81,18	79,76	58,38
short forms	2,35	2,32	18,50
Pieces	85	173	173

as well as al-Thaʿālibī and Ibn Khallikān in the Orient, among critics who

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[20] See R.A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* Cambridge 1969, p. 419. *Cf.* Pérès, *op.cit.*, pp. 46, 51.

shared this opinion[21].

It can be seen that metrical repertories of Ibn Hānī and Ibn Darrāj belong to the same type, which, unlike motives and style of their poetry, is clearly not Bedouin. The only parameter that conforms to Type B is low occurrence of short verse forms, but it reflects only the prevalence of panegyrics, not intended for singing, in their poetry.

All other parameters, actually making their technique of versification look close to that of al-Mutanabbī, present a mixture of the two other types, Abbasid and Classical. The vacillation between types A and C has remained a specific trait of the metrical repertory of most Andalusian poets ever since. In the case of Ibn Hānī and Ibn Darrāj this mixture is naturally nearer to Type C. Some of its peculiarities, as we shall see later, have a pronounced Andalusian colouring.

First, *tawīl* yields the first position to *kāmil*, which becomes incontestably the leading meter of the Occidental poetry. Second, *wāfir* drops out of the company of four main *qaṣīd* meters, leaving the *qaṣīd* tradition in Spain with triangular foundation: *kāmil - tawīl - basīt*.

The joint impact of these two features results in the emergence of the third peculiarity. We can see, that the drop in frequency of descending rhythm to the occurrence rate of type A is compensated not by the corresponding rise in frequency of the intermediate rhythm, to the mark of 15-30% (as should have been the case in conformity with this type), but by the rise in frequency of ascending rhythm to the mark of type C and even more. The general outcome of all these shifts is that the first stage of Andalusian poetical tradition modelled its metrical type largely as ascending by contrast with the descending (B), intermediate (A), and balanced (C) types. This change of metrical dominant marks the creation of a separate Andalusian metrical tradition (Type D).

Ibn Zaydūn, who was probably the greatest poet of Muslim Spain, presents an interesting but not an easy task for a metrical analysis. On one hand, his poetry is a combination of the tradition of court panegyrics (26 pieces, approximately 0,15% of the *Dīwān*), and of love poems, which more directly reflect Andalusian realities (85 pieces, approximately half of the *Dīwān*)[22].

On the other hand, Ibn Zaydūn's poetry -chronologically and biographically- is the link between the Cordova school and that of Seville, which can be considered the poetical capital of *al-Andalus* during the period of *mulūk al-ṭawā'if*[23].

Summary data given in Table 5 place his poetry unequivocally in the Abbasid metrical tradition (Type A). His metrical repertory is close to that of,

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[21] See Pérès, *op.cit.*, pp. 46 and 47, note 4.

[22] If we take the total number of *bayts* in each genre, the proportion will be nearly the opposite: *madh* -about one third of the *Dīwān*, *ghazal*- around one fourth, see Kudelin, *op.cit*, p. 75. For the analysis of metrical repertory, though, the number of pieces composed in each meter seems a more appropriate criterion than the number of verses in each piece.

[23] About two thirds of his poems were composed in the Cordova period, among them - practically all love poetry, and one third belongs to the later, Seville period, although not of them were composed in Seville proper.

say, Bashshār ibn Burd or al-Buḥturī, with whom, incidentally, he was compared as his Occidental rival[24]. However, the picture turns out to be not so simple, if we treat Ibn Zaydūn's metrics analytically (see Table 6)[25].

We can see the difference between the two periods as far as metrics is concerned. Although in both periods *ṭawīl* yields its "hereditary" first place to another meter, the "successful" rival is different. While in Cordova it is *basīṭ*, which normally has a medium frequency rate in any type of metrical repertory, in Seville it is *kāmil*, the most "Andalusian" meter, as in the poetry of Ibn Hānī and Ibn Darrāj. The frequency rate of *basīṭ* in the poetry of Ibn Zaydūn of the first period is exceptionally high (above 20%) and has only few parallels in the history of Classical Arabic Poetry, among them Muslim ibn al-Walīd and Ma'arrī in *Luzūmiyyāt*[26].

There are several other shifts, such as the change in the proportion of Descending:Ascending meters from 1:1,1 (Cordova) to 1:1,3 (Seville), the drop in the frequency of the four *qaṣīd* meters (from 62,71% to 48,08%), and the sharp increase in the rate of short verse forms (from 15,25% to 28,85%), all pointing in the same direction - to the extreme of Abbasid type, which stands miles away from the Bedouin metrical tradition or even Classical one. At the same time, both variants present clear alternative to the metrical repertory of Ibn Hānī and Ibn Darrāj.

It seems, that all metrical tendencies, observed in the poetry of the Cordova period from the time of 'Abd al-Rahmān III, are not a spontaneous process of evolution, but a deliberate, conscious search for metrical identity of Andalusian poetical tradition.

Cultural atmosphere of the period, especially at the time of *fitna*, supports this view. It is during the 10th century A.D. that Andalusians came to the realization of the great values of their own poetry and began compiling anthologies of it, the first of them being *Kitāb al-Ḥadā'iq* (unfortunately lost) by Ibn Faraj al-Jayyānī (d.976), and the 11th century witnessed the appearance of already three anthologies, one of them belonging to the poet 'Ubāda ibn Mā' al-Samā'[27]. In the same 11th century many poets began compiling their own *dīwāns*, among them Ibn Zaydūn and other poets of the Seville school[28].

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[24] See Pérès, *op.cit*, p. 47; Kudelin, *op.cit*, p. 75. However, from the metrical point of view, their closeness is that of a common type and not of an individual character.

[25] We were unable to place, with certainty, three pieces into one of the periods and therefore left them out from the statystical calculations.

[26] Not to speak of several minor poets of the *Jāhiliyya* period, all very significantly belonging to the Hiran tradition, see Frolov, *op. cit.*

[27] See Pérès, *op.cit.*, p. 52 and note 2. These facts could be seen as having a double meaning. H.Pérès, mentioning these anthologies, wrote: "Mais jusqu'au XIe siècle, il y avait peut-être des raisons matérielles qui motivaient le peu d'estime des Espagnols pour leur poésie et leur prose: s'était l'absence de tout *dīwān* et de toute anthologie".

[28] See Pérès, *op.cit.*, p. 54.

Table 6. Metrics of Ibn Zaydūn's Poetry.

Meters	Cordova	Seville	*nasīb*	*madh*
Descending:				
ṭawīl	20,34	17,32	16,47	26,92
wāfir	9,31	7,69	9,41	11.54
wāfir(sh.)	0,85		1,18	
mutaqārib	8,47	7,69	7,06	11.54
Total	38,97	32,70	34,12	50,00
Ascending:				
basīṭ	20,34	1,92	24,69	
basīṭ(mukh.)	0,85		1,18	
kāmil	7.63	11,54	5,88	26,92
kāmil(sh.)	3,39	9,61	3,53	7.69
rajaz(4)	0,85	1,92	1,18	
rajaz(3)	0,85		1,18	
sarī'	5,08	9,61	4,71	
munsariḥ	0,85	3,85		
mujtathth	3,39	5,77	4,71	
Total	43,23	44,22	47,06	34,61
Intermediate:				
ramal	3,39	7,69	3,53	15,39
ramal(sh.)	4,24	7,69	4,71	
khafīf	8,47	3,85	8,23	
khafīf(sh.)	1,70	3,85	2,35	
Total	17,80	23,08	18,82	15,39
4 basic	62,71	48,08	62,34	73,07
meters	15,25	28,85	18,93	7,69
short forms				
Pieces	118	52	85	26

Abū 'l-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī of Cordova (d.1048) made his anthology the expression of his contemporaries' general attitude. The preface to his *al-Badī' fī waṣf al-rabī'* which H.Pérès called "un veritable manifeste du nationalisme littéraire"[29], marked the beginning of the movement that reached its height later in the famous *al-Dhakhīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-Jazīra* of Ibn Bassām (d.1147).

If we look at the poetry of Ibn Zaydūn in this perspective, we can make some additional observations. Although his panegyrics inherited from the previous masters one pure Andalusian trait - predominance of *kāmil*, they

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[29] See Pérès, *op.cit.*, p. 52; Kudelin, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

demonstrate at the same time a very peculiar metrical repertory (*kāmil - ṭawīl - ramal - wāfir - mutaqārib*), where *basīṭ*, and not *wāfir*, is totally absent, where such unusual, for the *qaṣīd* tradition, meter as *ramal* holds the third(!) place, and where descending rhythm in general surpasses ascending one in proportion close to Type B (1,4:1).

Such repertory has a very individual character and does not conform to any type. It bears the traces of a conscious, rational choice, among them the clearly deliberate absence of *basīṭ*, otherwise very frequent in Ibn Zaydūn's poetry (see Table 5) and a high rate of *ramal*, which can not be considered among very popular meters of Ibn Zaydūn, if we take his poetry as a whole. Would it not be so, we could have seen quite the opposite picture with regard to these two meters, where each of them would occupy its own traditional place.

The intentional character of the poet's metrical repertory becomes evident, if we turn to *ghazal* poems of Ibn Zaydūn. The distribution of meters in his love poetry looks quite different from that in his panegyrics. *Kāmil* loses its frequency and yields the first position to *basīṭ*, which springs up from "nowhere" and becomes the leading meter. *Ramal* changes places with *khafīf*. Descending meters in general lose their frequency to a great extent, and the ascending rhythm takes the leadership.

The goal which the poet was pursuing was probably to differentiate metrically what Ibn Zaydūn regarded as an Andalusian genre (*ghazal*), from what was considered to be primarily an Oriental one (*madḥ*), at the same time making both genres different from their counterparts in *al-Mashriq* and thus asserting an independent character of the Andalusian poetry. The tendency towards "estrangement" of the poetical genre, or motive, with the help of treating traditional themes in untraditional meters, not infrequent in various poetical traditions, was particularly favoured by Arab critics, as the theory of *sariqāt* shows[30]. Although some traits, like the first rank of *kāmil* in panegyric poetry, was borrowed by Ibn Zaydūn from his predecessors; in other aspects the poet went his own way. This deviation from Ibn Hānī's and Ibn Darrāj's "way" can be accounted for by the fact that the two elder poets were oriented mostly towards one genre (*madḥ*), while the younger poet was creative in many genres, the centre of his creativity being located in *ghazal* and not in *madḥ*.

The same goal of "estrangement" could be seen also in the attempts to try *ṭawīl*, identified with the core of Oriental *qaṣīd* tradition, for such un-*qaṣīd* verse form as *takhmīs* (nos.13,14 in the *Dīwān*), which he favoured. These attempts might have been the embodiment of the tendency to incorporate the *muwashshaḥ* form into the Classical tradition in its Occidental variation. This last observation opens up a new aspect of discussion.

First, let us make one more observation, concerning all the three poets of the period. Despite differences between their metrical repertories, we can see,

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[30] See A.B. Kudelin, *Medieval Arabic Poetics*, Moscow 1983.

that *rajaz* exhibits a very low frequency in the poetry of each of them[31]. It is natural to conclude, that *rajaz* did not interest them, and this is very meaningful.

Metrics of *'Arūd*, which was a cultivated form of poetical art, developed from folklore roots, represented, as was shown elsewhere[32], mostly by the centuries-old tradition of popular *rajaz* poetry, the genuine and spontaneous expression of the Arab mentality and language ability.

Once there is a community of native speakers, for whom Arabic, in all its forms, is the sole means of expression, *rajaz* verse would emerge organically, like wild plants, given the necessary conditions of soil, temperature and water. On the contrary, in the community, where the native language is other than Arabic or where we see some kind of bilingualism with the prevalence of a non-Arabic ethnic and linguistical element, this spontaneous *rajaz* tradition quickly disappears, giving way to another folklore verse tradition, which has roots in this other language. Examples are plenty (Iran, Turkey, India, Central Asia).

The history of *'Arūd* in these regions show, that it can exist as a living poetic tradition, only if there remains a tie with its original roots. If this connection is severed, the *'Arūd* poetry can go two ways. It can be preserved and cultivated as part of the common cultural heritage of all Muslim nations, as dried flowers are kept in a herbarium. Or it can establish connections with a new folklore foundation, undergoing radical changes, among them the emergence of strophic forms and the introduction of the stress as a rhythmical factor into the verse structure, which, incidentally, immediately undermines its quantitative basis[33].

As it happened, the cultivated tradition of *'Arūd*, or *qasīd*, poetry was brought into Spain disconnected from its folklore roots, and it seems, that spontaneous *rajaz* poetry never found a place for itself in *al-Andalus*. Arab conquerors, who made up a very small minority of the population, were quickly assimilated by the native ethnic element, and this radically changed the linguistical situation in the Peninsula.

Following the presentation of F. Corriente[34], the linguistical situation in Muslim Spain can be summarized as follows. Stating that until the 13th century "al-Andalus was both Romance and Arab"[35], the Spanish scholar stresses the need "to take into account that in Muslim Spain there was not only a situation of bilingualism (Romance and Arabic being simultaneously spoken till the 13th century), but also of diglossia (colloquial Arabic vs. Classical Arabic, the latter being imported from the East...)"[36], and then continues: "In one respect SpAr is unique in its epoch and would remain so for centuries amidst Arab lands, and

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[31] There is no evidence allowing us to surmise that these poets composed a lot of *rajaz* verses, that were simply not included into their *dīwāns*, as was the case sometimes in al-Mashriq.

[32] See Frolov, *op.cit.*, and references given there.

[33] These facts constitute a strong counter-argument against all attempts to reconstruct stress within the classical *'Arūd* verse.

[34] F. Corriente. *A Grammatical Sketch of the Spanish Arabic Dialect Bundle*, Madrid 1977.

[35] *Ibid*, p. 6.

[36] *Ibid*, p. 7.

it is by the fact that its speakers were aware of the personality of their dialect and not a bit ashamed of it, to the point that they sometimes preferred it over Classical Arabic for purposes such as folk poetry and proverb collections"[37]. Trying to fix the time of emergence of the Spanish Arabic koine, F.Corriente suggests "as an educated guess that the Hispano-Arabic melting-pot produced the standards of this language between the ninth and tenth centuries"[38].

It is exactly at that time we see the emergence of *muwashshaḥ* poetry. Ibn Bassām stated that this poetical form was invented by a certain Muqaddam, who lived in the second half of the 9th - beginning of the 10th century[39]. This statement is accepted by modern scholars, but poetry of Muqaddam and his successors was lost. The earliest *muwashshaḥs* at our disposal belong to the above-mentioned poet 'Ubāda ibn Mā' al-Samā' (d.1028), who was the author of an anthology of Andalusian poetry in Classical Arabic, and the earliest *kharja* in the Romance language goes back approximately to 1042 A.D.[40]

We will not go into the details of a very complex problem of the genesis of *muwashshah*[41]. It is enough for us to state that in the tenth century we see the existence, side by side with the *'Arūḍ* poetry, of an alternative poetical tradition, born in al-Andalus and already fully aware of the situation of bilingualism and making aesthetical use of it, thus deviating from the "way" of Oriental poetry not only metrically[42], but also linguistically.

The reaction of the three analyzed poets to the situation of the existence of the alternative autochthonous poetical tradition was different. Ibn Hānī and Ibn Darraj, who confined themselves mainly to one genre, panegyric, which is

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[37] *Ibid*,8. The author adds: "Instinctively feeling the main differences between CLAr and SpAr, like the substitution of stress for vowel length, they went as far as to develop spelling devices... in their wish to make living usage match with grapheme. That this was intentional, and not the mere result of ignorance of CLAr, is borne out by the fact that such orthography is used by authors, like Ibn Quzmān, al-Zajjalī, al-Šuštarī and others, whom we can not accuse of such ignorance". Elsewhere in the book F. Corriente says of the nature of Hispano-Arabic metric, citing Garcia Gómez on that matter: "...that, unlike ClAr, SpAr was characterized by phonemic stress, and that lengthening of vowels was just one of the concomitant effects of stress. This would match the situation of the Romance languages of Spain and could be construed as an efect of interference by the substratum: as a matter of fact, the emergence in al-Andalus of an accentual metric system (the *zajal*, ostensibly irreducible to quantitative meters) would be the living proof of this assumption", see *ibid*, 63 and note 88.

[38] *Ibid*, p. 7.

[39] See, i.e., E. García Gómez, *Poemas Arábigoandaluces*, Buenos Aires 1942, p. 22. *Cf*. also A. Kudelin, 'Spanish Arabic Strophics as "mixed poetical system" (hypothesis of J. Ribera in the light of recent discoveries)', in *Typologiya i vzaimosvyazi srednevekovikh literatur Vostoka i Zapada*, Moscow 1974, p. 395.

[40] See Kudelin, *op.cit.*, p. 395, where the author mentions that E. Lévi-Provençal told once that he had found *kharjas* in Romance belonging to the period before the 11th century, citing: P. Le Gentil, *Le virelai et le villancico. Le problème des origines arabes*, Paris 1954, p. 161.

[41] Publications on the problem are numerous. We shall mention only the already cited article of A. Kudelin (Moscow, 1974) that presents a good piece of scholarship, but, as written in Russian, it might have escaped the attention of Spanish colleagues.

[42] Ibn Bassām gave deviation from the "Arabic meters" as the reason for his refusal to analyse *muwashshah* poetry, see Kudelin, Classical Spanish Arabic Poetry..., p. 20.

the most conservative form of 'Arūḍ poetry, did not make any concessions to this tradition and simply ignored it, while Ibn Zaydūn tried, as we saw, to incorporate it into the Classical tradition, implanting it in the centre (aṣl) of its metrics - ṭawīl. Thus of the two above-mentioned theoretical possibilities, open to 'Arūḍ poetry in al-Andalus, it tried both as early as the Cordova period.

The "way" of Ibn Hānī and Ibn Darrūj objectively lead to the conservation of an isolated tradition of high court poetry, whose metrics they gave an Andalusian colouring, and it is not by chance that their metrical repertory became standard in Muslim Spain within the tradition of 'Arūḍ poetry, replacing in this role classical oriental models.

The "way" of Ibn Zaydūn lead to the amalgamation of the two traditions of Andalusian poetry -imported and autochthonous- that in historical perspective could have meant nothing but decomposition and decay of the imported metrics.

The second stage of poetical development roughly coincides with the period of mulūk al-ṭawā'if and Seville could rightly be considered its poetical capital. This stage is represented by three poets in Table 7. The last of them, Ibn Hamdīs, spent in Seville a rather short, but very important period (1078-1091), for his formation as a poet. Chronologically, he could be considered as a link between this period and that of the Almoravids, although after the fall of Seville he left al-Andalus and spent the rest of his life, more than forty years (1091-1133), in North Africa.

Ibn 'Ammār, whom al-Marrākushī characterized as "un de ces glorieux poètes qui suivent les traces d'Ibn Hānī al-Andalusī"[43], confirms this characteristic also by his metric. The metrical repertory of his poetry, which consists mainly of panegyrics, repeats all main parameters of Type D, which was set up by Ibn Hānī and Ibn Darrāj, among them predominance of kāmil and ascending meters in general, low rate of wafir, etc. The only individual feature of the poet's metric is the rarity of the third rhythm, whose rate is the lowest among all Andalusian poets, studied in this paper, not exceeding the limits of Type B.

Poetry of al-Mu'tamid presents a more complex object for metrical analysis, as it displays a greater diversity of genres and belongs chronologically to two different periods: the period of glory (till 1091) -about 75% of his poetical production, and the period of exile (1091-1095)- appr. 25% of his poems.

Although the royal poet had no need to compose panegyrics and never wrote them, he admired al-Mutanabbī, being an adherent of the Classical Eastern tradition, and even tried to imitate the great Eastern poet in his fakhr poems, but his style turned closer to his Andalusian predecessors - Ibn Hānī and Ibn Darrāj[44], who, as we remember, shared his attitude towards al-Mutanabbī. At the same time, al-Mu'tamid's ghazal poems, whose main object was I'timād,

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[43] See Pérès, op.cit., p. 51.

[44] B. Shidfar, Andalusian Literature, Moscow 1970, p. 111.

resembled Ibn Zaydūn's poems dedicated to Wallāda[45]. Thus, his *dīwān* shows a joint impact by both "ways" of Andalusian poetry set up at the previous stage,

Table 7. Poets of Seville.

Meters	Ibn 'Ammar	al-Mu'tamid	Ibn Ḥamdīs
Descending:			
ṭawīl	30,26	17,04	30,55
wāfir	3,95	4,00	4,05
wāfir(sh.)	1,32	0,57	
hazaj		0,57	
mutaqārib	9,21	10,79	8,65
Total	44,74	32,97	43,25
Ascending:			
basīṭ	6,58	11,93	12,70
basīṭ(mukh.)	2,63	3,41	1,62
kāmil	28,95	17,04	17,31
kāmil(sh.)	5,26	5,11	1,89
rajaz(6)			0,81
rajaz(4)		3,41	0,27
rajaz(3)			0,54
rajaz(2)	1,32	0,57	
sarī'	2,63	10,79	4,86
munsarih	2,63	1,70	3,51
mujtathth	2,63	3,41	0,54
Total	52,63	57,37	44,05
Intermediate:			
madīd			0,27
ramal		2,84	4,32
ramal(sh.)		1,70	
khafīf	2,63	4,55	7,57
khafīf(sh.)		0,57	
Total	2,63	9,66	12,16
Non-*'Arūḍ* meters			0,54
4 basic meters	78,93	59,10	68,12
short forms	10,53	15,91	3,24
Pieces(total)	76	176	370

which makes him the typical representative of the second generation of

[45] See Shidfar, *op.cit.*, p. 113.

Andalusian poets.

Metrics of al-Muʻtamid corroborates this theory of mixed influences. On the one hand, it exhibits the prevalence of *kāmil* and of ascending meters over descending (1,7:1, which coincides with what is attested in Ibn Hānī's poetry), the lowest rate of *wāfir* (common trait of Ibn Hānī, Ibn ʻAmmār and al-Muʻtamid), and exactly the same frequency of the third rhythm as Ibn Hānī's *dīwān* (about 10%).

On the other hand, we see in al-Muʻtamid's poetry the lowest rate of the four basic meters, repeating that of Ibn Zaydūn's metrics (59,10% vs. 58,38%), the lowest rate of *ṭawīl* (less than 20%), which again is paralleled only by Ibn Zaydūn.

The individual peculiarity of al-Muʻtamid's metrics is an exceptionally high frequency of *sarīʻ*, which was not characteristic for Ibn Hānī and Ibn Darrāj, but was more favoured by Ibn Zaydūn. In the poetry of al-Muʻtamid this meter entered for the first time the group of four or five most frequent meters: Ibn Hānī (*kāmil - ṭawīl - basīṭ - khafīf*), Ibn Darrāj (*kāmil - ṭawīl - basīṭ - mutaqārib - wāfir*), Ibn Zaydūn (*ṭawīl - basīṭ - kāmil - khafīf - wāfir*), Ibn ʻAmmār (*kāmil - ṭawīl - basīṭ - mutaqārib - wāfir*), al-Muʻtamid (*kāmil - ṭawīl -basīṭ - mutaqārib - sarīʻ*).

If we make a comparison between metric of al-Muʻtamid's poetry of the two periods, we shall see radical changes in the period of exile. *Ṭawīl* restores its hereditary first place, surpassing by far any other meter. The proportion of descending:ascending meters comes to the classical rate of 1:1. Short verse forms go out of use almost completely. Actually, poems of this period are composed mainly in three meters: *ṭawīl* (about one third of the total number of pieces), *basīṭ*, *kāmil* (also one third, taken together), all other meters occurring once or twice at the most.

One more common metrical trait relates the poetry of Ibn ʻAmmār and al-Muʻtamid to the poetry of Ibn Zaydūn. It is a very high rate of short verse forms that, as a rule, attests to the orientation of poetry towards song and music. This rate (from 10% to 20%) has no parallels in the previous, as well as in the later stages, and it is understandable, if we take into consideration the already mentioned attempts of *ʻArūḍ* poetry to find for itself a place in the domain of popular song tradition, which by that time has been occupied by its rival, *muwashshah* poetry. In the case of Ibn Zaydūn who took the most radical position, it lead to the tendency of incorporating of the muwashshah in *ʻArūḍ* poetry in the form of *takhmīs*. In the case of al-Muʻtamid and Ibn ʻAbbād, whose position was more conservative, it spelled a sharp increase in the rate of short forms.

We can also observe a very peculiar tendency common to the metric of the three poets. While different stages of poetical activity of the same poet show a great degree of metrical divergence, their metrical repertory of the Seville period looks very much alike. Many facts corroborate this observation, among them the fall in the rate of *ṭawīl*, the unchallenged first place of *kāmil*, the oscillation of the ratio descending:ascending meters around the mark of 1:1,5. This set of facts attests to the continuity of the Andalusian metrical type (D), set

up by Ibn Hānī and Ibn Darrāj.

On the other hand, the sharp increase in the frequency of short verse forms, paralleled by a similar drop in the rate of four basic meters of the *qasīd* tradition (below the mark of 50%), which was mentioned and explained above and which was characteristic only of the Seville poetry, attests to the new trait introduced by it.

Taking these two sets of facts into consideration, we can speak of the existence of the Seville metrical school that transcends individual metrical inclinations of the poets of this school, which comes second, after the Cordova school, in the history of Andalusian 'Arūḍ poetry.

Ibn Hamdīs, though related to the history of Andalusian poetry only through the medium of Seville's poetical circle, presents a metrical repertory, totally different from that of the Seville school, showing no links with Andalusian -or any other- song tradition and, consequently, a very low rate of short verse forms. It also differs in some crucial points, like the ratio of descending:ascending meters (1:1 for Ibn Hamdīs), or the secondary role of *kāmil*, from the metric of the earlier, Cordova school. Being closer to poets of Almoravid and Almohad periods, his poetry at the same time gives the impression of an non-Andalusian origin, which is no surprise if we remember that Ibn Hamdīs came from Sicily at the age of 33, already, it seems, an experienced poet.

The low rate of short verse forms indicates that from this time on each of the two poetical traditions -classical and popular- went its own way, never meeting again. And it is no surprise that three poets demonstrate the conservation of the Cordova metrical repertory (Type D). The only exception is al-A'mā al-Tuṭīlī, "The Blind of Tudele", who, as his metric shows, followed the "way" of Ibn Zaydūn, and it is only natural that he is also known as the author of *muwashshah* poems.

The relation of *muwashshah* and 'Arūḍ poetry is a separate and very complex problem which lies outside the scope of the present article. We shall make only one remark. Although *muwashshah* compositions by al-A'mā deviate from the rules of classical metric to such an extent that they evidently conform to another metrical system, in most of them the basic, or underlying, 'Arūḍ meter is discernible. This meter is mostly of the ascending rhythm, being either *kāmil*, or *rajaz*. This shift from *ṭawīl* in *takhmīs* poems by Ibn Zaydūn to *kāmil/rajaz* in *muwashshah* by al-A'mā seems significant. It indicates that post-classical poetry of the 12th century, even when it looked back to the abandoned metrical system, was oriented not to its original, Oriental prototype, but to its Andalusian version with *kāmil* as the leading meter instead of *ṭawīl*, and predominance of ascending meters in general.

We conclude our survey of the metrical repertory of 'Arūḍ poetry in *al-Andalus* with statistical data on later poets, practically without comments, as nothing happened in the domain of 'Arūḍ, whose vitality had been probably exhausted one or two centuries before in the futile attempt to find a compromise with the new poetical tradition, bursting with the force of the Andalusian genius.

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Table 8. Poets of the 12th century A.D.

Meters	A'mà Tuṭīlī	Ibn Khafāja	Ibn al-Zaqqāq	al-Ruṣāfī
Descending:				
ṭawīl	30,68	27,69	23,50	27,12
wāfir	9,09	4,61	12,75	6,78
wāfir(sh.)			0,66	1,69
hazaj				
mutaqārib	4,55	8,46	4,70	3,39
Total	44,32	40,76	41,61	38,98
Ascending:				
basīṭ	27,27	6,15	11,49	11,87
basīṭ(mukh)	1,14	3,08	0,66	8,48
kāmil	7,95	31,15	24,84	25,43
kāmil(sh.)	2,27	2,31	0,66	1,69
rajaz(6)		0,39	0,66	
rajaz(4)		0,39		
rajaz(3)	2,27			1,69
rajaz(2)			0,66	
sarī	6,82	8,08	4,70	1,69
munsariḥ	1,14	1,15	2,01	
mujtathth		1,92	0,66	
Total	48,86	54,62	46,34	50,85
Intermed.:				
madīd		0,77	0,66	
ramal	1,14	1,15	5,37	3,39
ramal(sh.)		0,39	0,66	
khafīf	5,68	2,31	4,70	6,78
khafīf(sh.)			0,66	
Total	6,82	4,62	12,05	10,17
4 meters	78,40	74,99	74,56	83,06
short forms	4,55	5,01	3,96	3,38
Pieces(total)	88	260	149	59

A number of non-*'Arūḍ* meters in *dīwāns* of all poets, included in Table 9, except Ibn Sahl, show that composing correct verses became a difficulty, probably because the quantitative rhythm of the *'Arūḍ* was not already "on the ear" by that time.

Table 9. Later poets (13th-14th centuries A.D.)

Meters	Ibn Sahl	Ibn al-'Abbār	Ḥāzim	Ibn al-Khaṭīb
Descending:				
ṭawīl	29,41	26,94	25,00	33,43
wāfir	6,62	14,29		5,66
wāfir(sh.)		1,22		0,28
hazaj				
mutaqārib	2,94	2,45		3,97
Total	38,97	44,90	25,00	43,34
Ascending:				
basīṭ	15,44	11,02	22,73	11,05
basīṭ(mukh.)		3,27		0,57
kāmil	27,94	22,45	38,63	22,66
kāmil(sh.)		1,22		0,57
rajaz(6)		0,82		0,28
rajaz(4)	0,73	1,22		0,28
rajaz(3)		0,41		
rajaz(2)				
sarī	6,62	2,45		6,23
munsariḥ	2,21	1,63	4,55	1,13
mujtathiḥ	1,47	1,22		0,57
Total	54,41	45,71	65,91	43,34
Intermidiate:				
madīd		1,22	4,55	0,57
ramal	2,21	3,27		2,55
ramal(sh.)		0,41	2,27	1,13
khafīf	2,94	3,67		7,93
khafīf(sh.)	1,47			
Total	6,62	8,57	6,82	12,18
Non-'Arūḍ meters		0,82	2,27	1,14
4 meters	79,41	80,41	86,36	74,22
Short forms	3,67	4,48	2,27	2,83
Pieces(total)	136	245	44	353

CONCLUSIONS.

Statistical data, presented and dicussed in the paper, show that the metrical repertory of *'Arūḍ* poetry in *al-Andalus* exhibits several traits which do not conform to any of the three metrical types, characteristic of the Oriental poetry: Bedouin, Abbasid (Hiran), and Classical. This fact permits us to speak about the 4th type - Andalusian.

The Cordova school (Ibn Hānī, Ibn Darrāj) set up a metrical model, which became normative for later generations of poets. The Seville school (Ibn Zaydūn, al-Mu'tamid, Ibn 'Ammār) was the period of attempts to find a compromise between the imported, classical, and home-born, *muwashshah,* poetical traditions, the most radical of them was undertaken by Ibn Zaydūn. Afterwards the classical Andalusian metric was preserved more as part of cultural legacy than as a living tradition.

Several questions have remained unanswered, among them -what caused the attested predisposition of Andalusian poetry for *kāmil* and ascending rhythm in general? It is only natural for the first approach to a very complex problem. If we have succeeded at least in drawing attention of scholars to the importance of the theme and to the links that tie the history of metric with that of poetry, we may consider the task of this paper accomplished.