Chapter 5

FACTORS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GHAZAL
There is no doubt that the poetry of love has played a great part in enriching Arabic Literature. The Arabic works on love poetry are eloquent testimony to its supreme influence over the minds of the Arab scholars of all disciplines and of all times. Poetry and society work upon each other. The existence of largely fictitious stories about romantic or love poets and their poetry clearly indicates that popular taste continued to add to the store of Umayyad poetry. It is an asserted fact that there must have been some factors inspiring these poets to write love poetry or Ghazal. Ghazal was a widely practiced genre and the most popular poetic tradition in the Umayyad age.

The meaning of Ghazal is "to converse with a woman and to love her." If we analyse this meaning of the Ghazal we come to the conclusion that it comprises three fundamental elements, viz: (1) the man who talks and loves (2) the mistress who hears his talk and gives response to his love, and (3) the conversation which takes place between the two and stands witness to what occurs between the two as a result of the commitment of love. When a ligament connection is found among these three elements, Ghazal comes into existence. There was

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abundance of the three elements in Arabia. An Arab, from the very beginning, was a seeker of mirth, pleasure, and delightful amusements. It was the outcome of the environment and society in which he had to pass his life. An Arab, as we know, has a very tender heart. He was never too much concerned with the encumbrances of life though he used to be brought up amidst them and they had made the life dark and gloomy in his eyes. What he earned by his own power he considered it to be sufficient for himself because his life was hard and simple.

An Arab is pure in nature and powerful in sentiments. He always finds the ways to increase these two of his natural characteristic qualities. An Arab is a poet by nature. He attains the highly appreciated position by these verses which influence the hearts of the people. Whenever an Arab possesses all the qualities suitable to be a Ghazal-poet he begins to compose the Ghazal. But the only environment was not enough for the poet to compose the Ghazal. If the mistress with whom he could have conversation had not been traced, and if the lady was not so beautiful as to stir his heart and sentiments, he would have failed to compose the love poems. As the environment or the existence of a lady was not sufficient to compose the poetry, in the same
way the beauty of a mistress was not enough for composing love poems. All these elements along with poet's own sentiments, eloquence and style were equally important for a Ghazal to come into existence.

Men and women used to meet each other without any restriction or objection in Arabia at that time. It had become a habit of an Arab as has been narrated by Ibn al-Haytham 'Adiyya from Ibn 'Ayyāsh:

Their men used to have conversation with the women and they never saw any harm in it. 284

Thus the development of Ghazal in Arabic literature is fully based on these three elements — man, woman and the conversation between the two.

Arab is a nation of poets. But it does not mean that every Arab is a poet. It only means that poetry is a widespread gift among them in spite of differences in its sublimity and scantiness. 285 The poetry is an artistic skill which paints the inner feelings of the hearts and for this purpose many kinds of poetry are used. But the best representation of this artistic skill is made through the Ghazal. In it the lover talks about his beloved or

284. Ibid. P. 14.
about his yearning for her or his visit to her or his mental distress on her departure. Thus the Ghazal is the product of the sentimental love and the psychological condition of its composer. It is known as the poetry of emotional sincerity. On this basis it is distinguished from other poetical genres as eulogy, Satire, laudatory poems and boastful poems. In the same way the Ghazal is also called the poem of artistic sincerity because of the skillful representation of his true sentiments by the poet before his readers. The readers think that it is not only the mirror of the poet's own sentiments but also of universal human beings. It is the everlasting glorious record of culture, morals, and habits. The love poets have given the description of spiritual and physical beauty of a woman as well as her dresses, ornaments, perfumes, and her adornment. They talk about her morals. They describe their feelings at the time of beloved's departure. They talk about the backbiters and the reproachers and even their own refuge at the ruined abodes. The Ghazal is a very old artistic creation among the Arabs and even today its importance is the same, yet Arabic poetry, especially the Ghazal, has not affected the people much or reached to such an exalted position in any period as in the Umayyad period. There were so many factors which contributed to the development of the Ghazal during that period:
I. Environment and nature of an Arab
II. Relation between male and female
III. Arab's fondness of the Ghazal
IV. The literary salons, and,
V. Manifestations of Luxury.

I. ENVIRONMENT AND NATURE OF AN ARAB

The environment and society are reflected in the poetry of an era because its composers are very much influenced by the surroundings in which they open their eyes and in which they are brought up. Their milieu plays the role of great importance in building up their character. Specially the environment and society have their bearing on the general character of the Arabs in the desert and on their attitude towards life, love and women which are the main themes of the Ghazal. Ibn Khaldūn is of the opinion that the climate has great influence upon human character as the inhabitants of the hot zone for example Negroes are very much fond of singing and dancing.

"We have seen that Negroes are in general characterized by levity, excitability, and great emotionalism. They are found eager to dance whenever they hear a melody ------- likewise, when those who enjoy a hot bath inhale the air of bath, so that
the heat of the air enters their spirits
and makes them hot, they are found to expe-
rience joy. It often happens that they
start singing, as singing has its origin in
286 gladness."286

The same influence of climate and surroundings
was discernable on the Arabs.

Man is the builder of a nation. His habits, behaviour
and modes change according to his environment and surroun-
dings. Their influence is reflected in the reflection of
his talents and thoughts whether in the form of poetry or
prose. It is obviously true that the concerned affairs of
the Arabs in the Umayyad period were far different from
that of Pagan Arabia or early Islamic period as is evident
from their literature, especially poetry.

By going through the evolutionary phases of Arabic
Ghazal it can be assumed that the great factor of the
development of Ghazal is the love for the fair sex, which
is embodied by God in the nature of an Arab. The desert
was the great moulder of the Arab character which habit-
uated him to hardness and forced him to pass his life
roaming to and fro across his barren country in search of

food and water for himself and his cattle. No leisure time was given to him. In his daily life he had no time for speculation or philosophy. Being a nomad, at every moment he had to be on guard, watching everything to acquire rapid conception and lightning decision as he had to protect himself and his tribe against the many dangers produced by his environment. Always at every step he had to fight against hunger, thirst and the ruthless climate and other hardships of his stern existence. This developed a kind of practical outlook of everything in the life of an Arab along with a sense of individuality though his tribe played the institutional role in forming his personality. As the moral values, tradition and practical philosophy of life were to be found in the specific tribal ceremonies and customs which the tribesmen took for granted; he never criticised them, rather he moulded his mind, emotions, habits, feelings and thinking according to them.

By nature the desert passes swiftly from freshness to dryness and its weather changes quickly from cold to warm and vice versa. In the same way the temperament of an Arab was liable to swing suddenly from one extreme to the other. This made his temperament a combination of opposite qualities. For instance, he did not hesitate to
slaughter his loved camel to feed his hungry guest or to go to fight with his tribe against a related tribe and to kill his dear cousin. These opposite qualities, along with his sense of individualism and his practical approach of everything, developed in him the characteristic feature of paganism.

This paganism influenced very much in moulding an Arab's personality as a result of which he was unable to separate his inner world from the external world. In his eyes perfect life was that which allowed him to realise his full development, to satisfy his senses and instincts and call forth all his capacities. Ibn Khaldūn has said that the abundance and scarcity of food affect the human body and character:

"In spite of this, the desert people who lack grain and seasonings are found to be healthier in body and better in character than the hill people who have plenty of everything. Their complexions are clearer, their bodies cleaner, their figures more perfect and better, their characters less intemperate, and their minds keener as far as knowledge and perception are concerned. This is attested by experience in all these groups."²⁸⁷

The Arab of the desert was not concerned with his future or past. He was obliged to live a life of endurance, terror and suspicion. He was interested only in his present so his perception of everything was totally practical. He recalled his past only to illustrate the present, to make it clearer or more vivid. He showed very little concern for the future as his present business and problems did not spare time for him to ponder over the future. He sought his happiness in harmony with the nature conditioned with temporal existence. He was pleased even with little. Therefore, in spite of the fears, anxieties and hardships of his surroundings he tried to savour every joy within his reach to the full. This pagan attitude towards life is fully reflected in the poetry of the age. The poet is free and independent in spite of the heavy pressure of the tribal society. In his poetry we find a beautiful picture of his short romance, the freshness and mirth belonging to his past. It does not mean that he was allowed to go backward; he was permitted to look behind only with a rapid glance which could help him to drive forward. Dr. Ahmad al-Ḥawfī is of the opinion:

The Arab country is the country of light, where the sun journeys from the east to the west. And the light has more influence on the human
qualities than on the human body. For this reason Goethe \(\textsuperscript{288}\) used to say from the depth of his soul: I wish for light, I wish for light.\(\textsuperscript{289}\)

The same scholar has said at another place:

And necessity of light is like the necessity of oxygen in the air. In the country rich in light, things become clear, the imaginations are aroused, and actions become easy. Contrary to this in the country of darkness distress occupies the hearts and the poets see the confused and formal dreams.\(\textsuperscript{290}\)

\(\text{Ḥassān ʿAbū ṑRaḥāb says:}\)

If the nature of an Arab was far from the love of a lady and far from ostentation, and if the means of life did not arouse his heart and condition, the art of Ghazal would not have developed and there would have not been a charm for him in his ample sphere.

\(\textsuperscript{288}\) A German philosopher, poet; The Columbia Encyclopedia, p. 789; Ahmad ʿAtiyyah-Allah; \(\text{Dār} \)rat al-Maʿārif al-Ḥadīthah pp. 135-136.

\(\textsuperscript{289}\) Al-Ḥawfī, Ahmad Muhammad; Al-Ḥayāt al-ʿArabiyya Min al-Shiʿr al-Jāhilī, p. 106.

\(\textsuperscript{290}\) Ibid. pp. 106-107.
And it was said to Kuthayyir: Nothing has remained in your poetry, i.e. your poetry has become rotten. He replied:

'Azzah has died, so how can I be melodious, and the youth has vanished, how can I appeal (some one), and the Ibn-e-Layla i.e. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān has died, so how can I wish? But the poetry depends on all these. 291.

It shows that the presence of a beloved, youth and a laudable person are the main sources of composing good poetry. Arabic is the language of the melodious verses. In it we can find both lamentation and ringing suitable for poetry and music. Due to their love for fine arts, even today the Arabs are known all over the world. From the very beginning an Arab by nature was intelligent, sharp-witted, quick perceptive, having alert sense and exciting sentiments. He lived a tribal life. He defended the nobility of his tribe and propagated its encomiums and gave tongue lashing to its opponents. He was so sentimental that he was enchanted by beauty and painted his sentiments and feelings in his verses. These verses were chanted when

driving the camel, or on the watering place. These are the characteristic qualities of the Arabs and had become part of their nature. Though the social traits and norms used to change from time to time, yet they were not changed.

The importance of a poet remained the same as was in the pagan Arabia. In the period of ignorance the birth of a poet in a tribe was celebrated like a celebration of marriage. In the early Islamic period a poet did not lose his importance though Islam put a check on composing poetry. Good verses were admired. The Prophet (peace be upon him) himself gave his mantle to poet Ka'b b. Zuhayr as a mark of his admiration for his poetry which he heard. In the Umayyad period even religion could not be an obstacle for the poets. Though there were two great Muslim poets, viz, Jarîr and Farzadak, yet a Christian poet, Akhtal, was crowned as the "Poet of the Umayyads" by Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwân. 292

II. Relation between Male and Female:

From the very day of the beginning of human life on this earth love exists between male and female, i.e. love is necessary in breeding the generations or for the exis-

tence of human beings in this world. The Ghazal is nothing but a modified expression of this love between a man and a woman. In other words it can be said that Ghazal is a personal experience in words. A love poet paints the beauty of a woman as he himself perceives it. He does not rely on others' perception of beauty and he describes every-thing related to it, even his agonies and hopes. We can say that Ghazal is the fruit of the poet's perception of beauty. Thus the meeting of a man with a woman is the first demand of the Ghazal. If there had not been such meeting the Ghazal would have never come into existence. Neither the conversation would have taken place nor the sensitive description of meeting and separation would have been expressed. Without meeting no one can come to know the beauty and qualities of a woman which are to be described by its beholder. Not a single verse can be composed by him without meeting her while to describe the beauties and qualities of the beloved is the main characteristics of this art of poetry, i.e. Ghazal.

The pagan Arabs has so great sense of honour that they used to infanticide their female child due to fear of humiliation by others in her youth. Yet the Arab woman was never captive in her abode. From the time immemorial she
was free to roam and she shared in many activities with the men. She used to graze cattle, to fetch water and to go for pilgrimage. She was permitted to go to the market for sale and purchase. She was allowed not only to attend literary gatherings but also to participate in them with men. During all her day-to-day activities she had the opportunities and freedom to interact with her male counterparts.

In the early Islamic period also the woman was free but she had to abide by certain Islamic morals. From history it is evident that the women used to go to wars for looking after the injured even in the period of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and the Orthodox Caliphs. Islām has forbidden immodesty and impudence. Due to this we do not hear much about love lover—beloved—and love poetry i.e. Ghazal in this period.

In the Umayyad period we find two types of people—those who strictly followed the path of the people of the early Islamic period, and those who transgressed it and adopted the path of the pre-Islamic pagan people. The first type of people had not loosened the grasp of modesty though they were helpless before their hearts and they sought shelter under the roof of poetry known as 'Udhrite Ghazal'. Contrary to this the second type of people were of the opinion that Allāh, the great Creator, has created
beauty to be flourished and it will be our ungratefulness to Him if we despise it. They expressed their sentiments through the poetry named as 'Umarite Ghazal'. Somehow both types of Ghazals were the result of the relation of a man with a woman, whether it was modest or immodest.

Men are by nature sentimental and sympathetical, affectionate while the women are sweet and weak by nature. A woman is sweet in words, in nature, in manners. It has never happened that she meets a man and does not move his heart. She arouses his poetic instincts which are the signs of the Ghazal — sentiments which are sweet and effective. Hassan Abu-Ralab is of the opinion:

If a beautiful lady had chanced to meet him on the banks of the river she would have influenced his heart and his feelings and if he was blessed with the talent of a poet he would have also composed beautiful Ghazal on her.

The verse based on the inner sentiments and the movements of the heart which is the result of this meeting of a man with a woman is called al-Ghazal. There are so many relevancies of link between man and woman which lead them to compose Ghazal. Some of them are as follows:

293. Hassan, Abu-Rahab: Al-Ghazal'indal-'Arab, p. 17.
(a) Grazing Pastures:

The Arabs cultivated pastures and grass. Their lives were dependant on milk. So they had to tend the cattle and camels. No Arab became a young man till he had faced the hardships of this type of life. Even a girl used to help him in managing for the needs of life and she never felt it a shameful task. She also like the boys of her age, took the grazing of the cattle as one of her duties. So the young boys and girls had to roam in search of food and water. This provided an opportunity for them to meet one another and a conversation took place between the two. Both of them had to pass their whole day under one shade and at sun set they were parted. Again at the day break their meeting was renewed. This happened again and again. It is an accepted fact that the Arab was a sentimental gifted poet. He converted his this meeting into a beautiful Ghazal. For instance, Majnūn Banī 'Āmir, who was in love with Layla, had accepted that they both were in love of each other even when they were children and they used to graze their cattle:

294. Abu'l-Faraj Al-Isfahānī: Kitāb al-Aghānī; Vol. II, pp. 12-13; Diwān, p. 8, "When we both were children we used to graze our cattle together. May it so has happened that I and she would not have grown up till this day and neither the cattle.

صغيرين منّيِّ اللَّهُمَّ أَهْلُّنَا إلى الّيَوْمِ الَّذِي نَتَبَارَوْنِيَّ نَبَارَوْنِ"
Ibn Mayyādah, once, went in search of his camel, and reached Jubar and happened to be at the house of an old woman who took him in her house for rest. On his entrance when her daughter removed the curtain and welcomed him, her beauty fascinated him and he composed a Ghazal about her in which he said:

Jamīl b. Ma'mar al-'Udhri, it is said, was grazing his camels in the valley known as Baghid. Leaving them to wander about he slept. At the same time Buthaynah with a neighbouring girl came there in search of water. Both of them passed by the camel herd and Buthaynah scared them away. Jamīl felt that she being a lady how dared to scare away his camels? So he abused her and in return she also abused him. Her abuse became amiable to him, so he said:

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296, 297. Ibid. pp. 277-278; Ḥassān Abū Rabāb; Al-Ghazal 'Indal-'Arab, p. 18, "We looked and the fire kindled at Jubar roused us to love and passion for Zaynab. As if her gleam emerged for me from the chink unintentionally and I was on my horse back". Jubar is a watering place for Banu Humays, (Mu'jam al-Buldān, Vol. II, p. 98).

298, 299. Abu'l-Faraj Al-Iṣfahānī: Kitāb al-Aghānī, Vol. VIII, p. 98, "O, Buthaynah! The first thing which stirred love between us was your abuse at the valley of Baghid. I said to her something to which she retaliated because, O, Buthaynah! for every saying there is a reply"; Ḥassān Abū Rabāb; Al-Ghazal 'Indal-'Arab, p. 18.
Dhu'l-Rummah has narrated how love between him and his beloved Mayyah began. Once he, with his brother, went in search of their camels. In the way they came to a watering place near to which Mayyah was standing. Dhu'l-Rummah saw her and fell in love with her. He stayed in her house for twenty years.\(^{300}\)

Kuthayyir, the famous 'Udhrite love poet, was once grazing his cattle and chanced to pass by the women of Banū Ḍamrah. He enquired about water from them and they asked 'Azzah' (who was a small girl at that time) to lead him to the watering place. Looking at her he was bewitched and fell in love with her. He has described this event in his poems.\(^{301}\)

(b) Visits and Drinks

It was the habit of the Arabs that they used to pay visits to others as it is practiced even today. In these visits the young boys happened to meet the young girls, the result of which was "love" and Ghazal was the outcome of this love.

\(^{300}\) Hassan, Abū Raḥāb: Al-Ghazal 'ind al-'Arab, p. 19,

\(^{301}\) Hassān, Abū Raḥāb: Al-Ghazal 'ind al-'Arab, p. 19;
As we know, the Arabs were the people of valour and generosity, though they were forced by the hardships of life to travel and move from one place to another. In these movements they had to face the hardships and difficulties and they had to stay at some places in search of drinking water to quench their thirst or at an inhabited place to get some travelling provisions.

These travels and visits to the populated places and watering places provided the opportunities to men of meeting women, due to which their sentiments were stirred as a result of which they composed love poems i.e. Ghazal. For instance there is a narration how Kays b. Dharīḥ met his beloved Lubna.

Once Kays b. Dharīḥ went for some requisites to the tents of Bani Kaʿb b. Khuzāʾah. He stood at the door of a tent which was of Lubna, the daughter of al-Ḥubāb al-Kaʿbiya. At that time her people were not present. He asked for water and she came out with it and gave it to him to drink. When he saw her he fell in love with her. He drank water. She then asked him to stay with them. He accepted her invitation and stayed there. When her father came he slaughtered a camel and gave him a hospitable reception. After that Kays b. Dharīḥ went back
with his heart full of Lubna's love. His love poems composed for Lubna are the best representatives of these sentiments.  

Festive Seasons of the Arabs:

The festive seasons were the occasions for the meeting of men and women or the instigators of the emotions of the both. These were the main factors which kindled the feelings of love and passion in their hearts, due to which there was great production of love-poems. These seasons were like exhibitions of today where men and women get chance to meet each other. It was a peculiarity for the eyes of an Arab that it never chanced to fail from falling on a beautiful thing, the beauty of which inflamed the feelings of love and which was later described in their poetry. This poetry is known as Ghazal. The Arab ladies also participated in these seasonal gatherings and they had got the talent of a literary man or a poet. They used to recite sentimental poems which described the charms even of their own beauty.


303. Abu'l-Faraj Al-Isfahani: Kitab al-Aghani, Vol. IX, p. 188, "My soul is related with her soul since our pre-creation days and after that when we were in the wombs and in the cradles. It increased with our growth till it became fully developed. Even when we die it will not break the promise i.e. the relation between we two".
Thus these festive seasons were for the youths the means of amusements and entertainments. They assisted them in meeting the opposite sex and in developing relations with them. The greatest of all these seasons was Ḥaj. The Ḥaj is an ancient rite which was well established in Arabia even long before the advent of Islam. Being one of traditional pagan practices of the monotheistic religion, Ḥaj for the people was a peaceful occasion of gathering. There they used to come to purify their hearts from the filth and corruptions of life. There they devoted their whole attention to Allāh with the feelings of submission to repent for their sins.

At the time of Muḥammad (peace be upon him) the Ḥaj was so completely assimilated into the Arab paganism that it lost its original monotheistic message. Pagan customs introduced certain undignified and discriminatory practices in the Ḥaj. Islam took Ḥaj back to its original form and various aspects of Ḥaj consequently regained their significance. All were brought down to the level of equality by making them to dress in two lengths of white unstitched material with heads uncovered. Only the women were allowed to wear ordinary clothes covering all their bodies except their hands and faces. This also provided the
opportunity of invitation to the eyes of male pilgrims who by nature were the lovers of beauty, at the charming beauty of the female pilgrims. They used to defend their this sin by saying that Allah has created beauty to be beheld. Thus the amateurs sought provisions for their lustful lives even in the religious canons.

It was the nature of an Arab, though he was pure at heart pious and God fearing, that whenever he happened to see a woman he was moved by her beauty, developed passionate love for her and talked about her assuming her to be one of the signs of Allah who has blessed her with a pretty face and adorned her with perfect beauty which manifests His glory and sublimity. As the pilgrims are instructed to refrain from abuse, lewdness or hostile argument, these poets defended themselves by putting forward the above mentioned arguments. Thus the Hijj became for them a season of love-adventures. Most of the pleasure-seeking lovers cum poets used to come for Hijj not only from religious point of view but also to find an opportunity of having a glance at the beautiful faces. For instance, the great 'Umarite love poet 'Umar b. Abî Rabî'ah was the frequent visitor during the Hijj season. After reaching the gatherings of the pilgrims he used to
throw a glance around himself. And when he chanced to see a beautiful woman he began to talk about her and her charms in his verses. The following verses were composed by him at the time of Haj when he saw a beautiful lady with her friends walking between al-Makām and al-Hajar:

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\text{ابنُ لَمْ يَلِيَة وَيَهْدِيَهَا نَسْوَتَهَا إِنْ شَيْءَ أَنَّهَا مَثْلُ أَنْبَاطَةٍ أَنْتَ أَعْلَمُ فَهَبِّيْهَا}
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It was the Haj season in which mostly this great love poet — 'Umar — came into contact with most of his beloveds and he composed beautiful love-poems about them. It is accepted by all that he used to come for Haj only for the sake of these lovely ladies. Due to this he had desired that the Haj season must occur again and again so that he might be able to have a glance at his beloveds.

Kudāmah b. Mūsa has narrated:

once he, with his sister Zaynab, was going for 'Umrah. When he was at Saraf, he happened to meet 'Umar b. Abī Rabī‘ah going on his horse. After the exchange of salutation Kudāmah asked him where he was going. He replied: I am told of a lady of my people, who has surpassed others in beauty. So I want to converse with her.

304. Abu'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, Kitāb al-Aghānī, Vol. I, P. 169; Diwan, p. 136 "\text{"In the night I saw her and her companions walking between Makām-e-Ibrāhīm and Hajre-Aswād (the Black Stone). They were fair, tender and gentle. They were walking disdainfully like a wild cow."}.

305. A place ten miles away from Makkah.
Kudamah said to him: Do you not know that she is my sister?

He replied in the negative and feeling ashamed turned his horse back and went away to Makkah. 306

It is the same Zaynab about whom he has composed the following verses:

During the Haj season 'Umar b. Abi Rabī'ah saw a lady from 'Irāk. Her beauty bewitched him and as was his usual habit, he followed her. Finally a conversation took place between the two. He proposed her marriage which she accepted on the condition that he should go to her city with her and ask her hand from her family. He agreed and he stayed at her city in 'Irāk for one day but he did not get any favourable response from her in spite of his repeated reminders of her promise. It became clear to him that the lady never intended to marry him but only to have his companionship in her return journey, to enjoy his love-


307. Abu'l-Faraj al-İsfahani: Kitab al-Aghani, Vol. I, p. 103; Hāssan, Abū Raḥāb: Al-Ghazāl īnd al-'Arab, p. 23; Diwan, p. 280, “O, my friends! Keep me away from blames and in the morning pay a short visit to (those) women in camel-sedans (then you) yourselves will be in the same condition as mine. Do not reproof me about the people of Zaynab because my heart is pawned as captive with them.”
poems and to get a place in his heart. Her intention was only to get fame of her beauty and elegance among the people through his love poems. So she made excuses that she was the widow of her cousin who had taken promise from her not to marry again. She sent him five thousand Dirhams which 'Umar returned. He came back to Makkah sighing over her separation with the grief that he failed in marrying her. After this incident he composed a very famous Ghazal with the opening verse:

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\text{ناَمُ عَطَيْتُ وَلَمْ يُصْحِحُ مِنْ خِيَالِ بِنَاتِي يُمُّونُ}
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Many other great poets also used to roam on the way to the Haj and meet many beautiful ladies about whom they composed Ghazals. Dhu'l-Rummah had said:

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	ext{"My friend has slept and I am not sleeping due to the feelings which has grieved me".}
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'Abdullāh b. 'Umar al-'Umarī had narrated:

Once I went for Haj and saw a beautiful lady who was talking loosely. I took my she-camel near to her then said to her:

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309. Hassan, Abū Raḥāb: Al-Ghazal'ind al-'Arab, p. 24, "My friend has slept and I am not sleeping due to the feelings which has grieved me".
310. Hassan, Abū Raḥāb: Al-Ghazal'ind al-'Arab, p. 25, "Completeness of Haj is that the riding beasts stop at Kharkā' near the Pretty women not wearing the veil"; Kharkā' is a place in the way to Haj: Yākūt al-Ḥamawī: Mu'jamal-Buldān Vol. II, p. 360.
Are you not afraid of Allah?
She removed the veil from her face, the beauty of which dazzled the sun. She said: O, my uncle! It is me about whom al 'ArjĪ had said:

It was the fashion of the day that the women used to sit near the holy mosque of Makkah312 and talk about the poets and their poetry. Once when one of them cursed Jamīl for composing love poems on women pilgrims another lady said: No, but Allah might have killed Kuthayyir 'Azzah when he had said:

The third lady said: Allah might have killed Nuṣayb when he had said:


312. مسئود
313. Hassan, Abū Rahāb: Al-Ghazal 'ind al-'Arab, p. 26, "They appeared to us between the hills of Marwah and Safa walking like the swinging motion of the clouds on the pebbly land. By Allah they were about to create a tumult for a repenting man who was very humble due to the fear of Allah."
This event is also narrated by Ya'kūt al-Ḥamawī with the reference of Nusayb. Not only did the women pilgrims hear about and discuss the poets and their poetry, they also liked to be mentioned in the Ghazals of these poets. These ladies wished to be loved by the poets and to be addressed by them even at the occasion of the Ḥaj and 'Umrah. It was so because at that time paganism was again returning to the Society. Most of the Ghazals of this period were composed during the holy season of Ḥaj, due to which one can not hesitate to conclude that the youths of the time used to come for Ḥaj with the only intention to meet the young beautiful ladies. The same was the case with the young ladies. It is narrated that some of them became angry when poets did not mention their names and did not celebrate their charms in their Ghazals.

Once the daughter of caliph 'Abdal-Malik came for Ḥaj and 'Umar was warned by the Governor, Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf not to compose poems on her. So he refrained from it

314. Ibid. p. 26, "I am reproached for Layla and for the sanctity which is between the place of Ibrāhīm and the curtains of Ka'bah. If I had the power about her, I would have alienated myself from Layla whether it was the day of shaving (in Ḥaj) or of Immolation."

though she wished for it. When she completed her Haj
she happened to meet a man in the way and asked him:
From where are you?
He said: I am from Makkah.
She said: curse be upon you and your city’s people.
He enquired: Why?
She told: I came for Haj and entered Makkah with my
beautiful maids match of whom you would have not seen.
But 'Umar b. Abī Rabī‘ah has not provided us with his
poems to be enjoyed with them in our journey.
He said: I have found him doing nothing except this.
She said: Bring something if he has said. You will get
ten dinārs for each couplet.
He went to 'Umar and narrated the whole story. 'Umar
said: I have done. But I want you to keep it a secret.
Then 'Umar recited two Ghazals which were recited by that
man to her and she gave him what she had promised him.316

III. Arab’s fondness of the Ghazal:

Arabs loved Ghazal by their soul and heart since
very early days. The Ghazal remained developing in every
period till it reached its highest peak in the Umayyad

regime. It continued to be composed in the 'Abbásid period but it was not so rich and developed as that of the Umayyads. Actually the poets did not stop composing it in any age. In every age the poet got opportunities suitable for expressing his passion. And the people were always inclined to hear his poems and admire him. In the pre-Islamic period a Ḷasīdah was never free from Ghazal even if it was an elegy while they both are contradictory in nature to each other. Mostly the Ghazal consists of joy, pleasure and entertainment. It reflects the cheerful heart and mind of the poet. Contrary to this an elegy is distinguished by the depth of grief and lamentation. It presents the picture of the poet's mood in sorrow and his lamentation. In spite of this the poets started the poems of all types, even an elegy with amatory prelude as the Arabs never considered a poem good which did not have Ghazal or Nasīb in the beginning. According to Ibn Ḫutaybah its reason was the incentive impulse which inspired the Arabs to follow this traditional model. 317. We find that the poet starts even a satire with Ghazal because a Ghazal reaches the ears, appeals to the hearts and brings solace to the mind, after which the poet starts a harsh, abusing and filthy satire.

'Ali b. Yaḥyā al-Munjim had said:

I heard the narrators saying that the best of the people who composed Kasīdah in the pre-Islamic period was Imruʾal-Ḳays when he had said:

قُفْ أَنْ بَلْيَكَ مِنْ ذَكْرِي حَبِيب وَمَنْ لِلْيُهُودُ

Not only the earlier poets but the poets of later periods — early Islamic period and some poets of the Umayyad period had adopted the same trend of Ghazal i.e. the lamenting on the traces of the beloved's encampments, and considered it as the criteria of good poetry. It is said that once at the time of hunting poet Yazīd b. Dabbah was with Wālid. He recited to him an excellent eulogy but it was not started with Nasīb. So Wālid ordered the poet to write the Tashbīb first and then to sing it. The poet carried out his order.³¹⁹

In the Umayyad period all the moral obstructions and prohibitions were detached from the life of an individual. The effect of it is evident in the poetry composed in this period. So the poets again returned to their paternal subjects like wine, love, slanderous satire, false praise in eulogy. They separated the Ghazal from

³¹⁸. Ibid. P. 67.
the olden Kasīdah and gave it the position of an independent genre in Arabic literature. Ghazal took a new turn during this period.

At the court of Damascus nobody cared whether the author of a fine verse was a Muslim or a Christian. The poets were leaders of public opinion; their utterances took the place of political pamphlets or of party oratory for or against the government of the day. Nicholson, R.A. cites an example:

"On hearing Akhtal's ode in praise of the Umayyad dynasty 'Abd al-Malik ordered one of his clients to conduct the author through the streets of Damascus and to cry out, "Here is the poet of the commander of the Faithful! Here is the best poet of the Arabs!" 320

The Arabs' love for Ghazal reached such a limit that they honoured and considered superior and excellent a person who had composed Ghazal or Nasīb. However, the scholars do not agree on the point as to who was the best love poet during this period. The Arabs were so great

lovers of the Ghazal that they memorized its verses hurridely and sang it in every assembly. They used to repeat the incidents mentioned in it and discuss them there. It was not the case with the male Arabs only. The Arab ladies also had the same love for the Ghazal. The Ghazal was the main source to bring fame for a lady because as is stated earlier, the Ghazal is a poem which narrates all the qualities, beauties and dignities of a lady. It is by nature that the people love to be praised. But this feeling is found more abundantly among the women.

An Arab lady hears the verses of Ghazal with interest being led by her habits, breedings and her surroundings in which she is brought up. These verses touch her heart and influence her sentiments and she derives pleasure from it. For this purpose she had to use all the means. She never concealed herself but kept her bright face unveiled. She never stayed in her house. She used to journey or roam from one place to another. She was frequent pilgrim for Haj where she could meet the poets who could talk about her beauty. She used to stay at the places of excursion and amusements. She never hesitated to send for a love-poet to hear him reciting his verses which gave pleasure to her heart with the feelings of passion and it was the climax of her life.
'A'ishah bint Talhah had defended her unveiling by saying:

Allah, the most blessed excellent, has blessed me with the stamp of beauty to which I want the people to look and recognize my superiority to them. Why should I veil while by Allah I have no blemish to be told by anyone.\textsuperscript{321}

The same 'A'ishah bint Talhah, after she was widowed, used to stay one year at Makkah and one year at Madīnah. She used to go to Ta'īf where she possessed a rich property and a palace. She used to make excursion there to have entertainment and to hear al-Numayırī reciting mostly the verses of Ghazal.\textsuperscript{322}

Hind and Rabāb once went to 'Akīk with the same purpose. When both were talking, Khalid al-Ḳasrī came to them. They asked him to bring 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'ah who after coming recited to them his verses of the Ghazal till the evening.\textsuperscript{323}

The Arab ladies used to instigate the poet by different ways till they succeeded in getting his favour

\textsuperscript{322} Ibid. Vol. XI, p. 179.
\textsuperscript{323} Ḥassān, Abū Raḥāf Al-Ghazāl Īnd Āl-'Arāb, p. 71.
and he became ready to compose Ghazals about them and
make them popular by reciting them among the people.
'Umm al-Banīn, daughter of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān
and wife of Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, once at the time of
Hajj sent for Kuthayyir and Waddah al-Yemen to compose
Nasīb on her. Kuthayyir being afraid of her dignified
position did not do so and composed Ghazal about her maid
servant, while Waddah said Nasīb on her and lost his
life.324

Once 'Ātikah, daughter of Mu'āwiya, went to perform
Hajj. When she was at Tuwa in Makkah she discontinued her
journey and due to the increasing heat unveiled her face. At
the same moment Abū Dahbal, a famous love poet, passed
by her and was spell-bound by her beauty. He stayed there
looking at her for a long period and she was not aware of
this. He wrote a Ghazal in her praise which was sung by
the bards. When 'Ātikah heard these verses she was
surprised and sent a robe to the poet as a gift.325

Due to their love for Ghazal Arab ladies loved the
poets also. They used to lament on the death of a love
poet because his death was a great loss for them. This
loss was nothing but loss of Ghazal in which he used to

324. Abu'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, Kitāb al-Aghānī, Vol. VI,
P. 206.
325. Ḥassān, Abū Raḥīb, Al-Ghazal 'ind al-'Arab, p. 72.
describe her dignities and glorify her qualities and
beauty, which was sung by the singers.

When 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'ah died the Makkan
ladies lamented and wept very much for him.
One of them said: who will laud the women
of Makkah for their beauty?
She was told: Glad tidings for you that one
youth from the sons of 'Uthmān, Allāh might
be pleased with him, known as al-'Arjī has
grown up. He will take the place of 'Umar
and will follow his path.
She said: Sing some of his verses.
They sang some verses. Hearing them she
wiped her eyes and said laughing: All the
praises are for Allāh who has not destroyed
his ('Umar's) reputation. 326

Kuthayyir and 'Ikramah, client of Ibn 'Abbās
passed away on the one and the same day. It is said
that all the Kurayshites gathered in the funeral of
Kuthayyir and no one was found to take the corpse of
'Ikramah. 327

326. ʿAbū Raḥāb: Al-Qazal 'ind al-'Arab, p. 73;
Al-Suyūṭī: Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Mughanni, P. 520;
Diwan al-'Arjī, p. 4.

327. ʿAbū Raḥāb: Al-Qazal 'ind al-'Arab, p. 73;
Ibn Sallām al-Jumāḥī: Tābqāt al-Shu'ā'ra', p. 124;
'Ikramah al-Barbārī (645-723 Ad.) a great scholar
of Tafsīr. When the love-Poet Kuthayyir and 'Ikramah
died on the same day it is said;

When Majnūn bani `Āmir died it is said:
None of the young ladies from Banī Ja'ādah and Banī al-Ḥarīsh was left from coming out crying and lamenting with grief on him and the youngmen of the tribe gathered weeping for him. Layla and her father also accompanied them weeping bitterly for Majnūn and Layla's father was repentant for not marrying his daughter to him. It is narrated that weeping men and women never in future gathered in more numbers than that day. 328

The same was the condition of women when Ḥamīl said farewell to this world.

There are instances proving that the verses of Ghazal were recited in the mosques and learned scholars of tradition and jurisprudence used to hear and enjoy them. For example, once 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbās was in the Holy Mosque of Makārah, Nāfē' b. 'Aẓrāḳ accompanied by some people of the Khawarjī was also with him and was asking him questions. At the same time 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'ah came there. Ibn 'Abbās asked him to recite some verses of Ghazal. 'Umar recited the Ghazal opening with the following verse:

When 'Umar completed his Ghazal Nafeb, 'Azra\' came forward and complained to him that instead of giving answers to the questions related to religion, he took interest in hearing the Ghazal. 330

The Arabs' love for Ghazal had no limit. The kings, diplomats and governors etc. considered it to be a 'touchstone' of civilization and good breeding for the people. They used to ask the scholars to narrate it to their children till they became able to understand it and feel its sentiments. We get very few instances when the kings and the scholars did not have love for Ghazal.

IV. Literary Salons:

The literary salons were arranged in the annual fairs held at different places in Arabia. These annual fairs are called the Aswāk, meaning the markets. The regular markets were already in existence among the Arabs before the advent of Islam. These Aswāk al-'Arab were

329. Diwān, p. 84, "Do you come from the people of Nu'm early in the morning or do you leave at noon?"

the places where the Arabs used to gather with the competitive sense in trade, bravery, as well as in literature. Among them orators used to give sermons. The literary men, especially the poets and singers used to come there to show their genius and talent. To satisfy their intense fervour for poetry the men and women used to assemble there. This practice continued even after the rise of Islam.

These literary salons are also known as the Aswāk al-Adab which were arranged in towns. In the pre-Islamic period the famous literary salons were Sūk al-'Ukāz, Sūk al-Majanna and Ḍhu'l Majāz. It is mentioned in the literary history that Sūk al-'Ukāz used to be arranged even after Islam till the year 129 A.H.331 It is also proved that it is this Sūk al-'Ukāz where the Prophet (peace be upon him) called the Arabs to the new religion in response to which the Prophet's uncle Abū Lahab b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said: O, the people! he is the son of my brother but beware of him as he is a great liar.332

These literary salons for the Arabs were the seasonal gathering places where the people from every corner of the country used to come. There the poets

composed poems and the competition used to be held. Everyone of them tried his best to come at the top of all the competitors. Besides this, these Aswāk also provided opportunity of meetings of men and women. Such meetings were never considered objectionable in their society. The poems composed by women were heard with the same enthusiasm with which the poems of men were heard. Al-Khansa', a great elegiac poetess, had recited her verses at 'Ukāz in the presence of famous poets like Nābīghah al-Zubyānī, Al-A'sha and Ḥassān b. Thābit. It was so because an Arab lady also had the taste for literature and love for poetry. Arab women made the same contributions to literature as did Arab men.

These literary salons had the same place among the basic factors of the development of Ghazal as the Ḥaj, meadows and places of water. As a result of meetings in these salons sentiments of their hearts were stirred and they fell in love with each other. The poet, male or female, used to express sentimental feelings of love in Ghazals which became famous. Sometimes these Ghazals described the beauty and other qualities of the beloved, sometimes they narrated the conversation between the two.

333. Ibid. PP. 315-316.
sometimes cheerful feelings of meeting each other were depicted, sometimes miseries owing to separation were expressed and sometimes lustful talks of the beloveds and their haughtiness were reflected.

In the Umayyad period Marbad was a famous market place in Baṣra. In the beginning it was a market of camels. Later on, it acquired the position of a literary salon of the people of 'Irāk. So the poets used to gather there to reveal their genius and talent. The importance of al-Marbad in this period was the same as that of al-'Ukāz in the pre-Islamic period. Therefore, it was called by the name of 'Ukāz al-Islām. But there was some difference between the two. 'Ukāz was situated in the centre of the Arabian peninsula. Hence the people who used to gather there were pure noblemen from Arabia. Not a single non-Arab came there. Contrary to this, al-Marbad was situated near the Persian Gulf. So the influence of Persia was quite pronounced on the literature produced there and the non-Arab poets and literary men used to come there side by side with the eloquent Arabs. Marbad was an exhibition place for every tribe. Every poet used to come here with his own circle of the people. One poet used to recite the poem while the other used to reply it. And the people of their respective circle used to narrate them later on to the public. Ahmad Amīn is of the opinion:
Al-Marbad was the centre of lampooning between Jarīr, al-Farzadaḵ and al-Akhtal, as a result of which the great polemic poetry came into existence and is known as al-Nakā'id. 334

Al-Kālī in his book al-Amālī has cited these two verses which Majnūn had recited at Marbad:

وَالَاخْتُلْفَانَ، وَلَا تَنَزِّل، وَلَا تَنَكَ، وَلَا فَكَّرَانِ، وَلَا تَخْلَفَ

J.S. Jabbur has narrated from some one that he had seen Dhu'1-Rummah at Marbad. The poet among his groupmen was standing and he was reciting the famous poem opening with "ما بال عينيك منياً الماء ينكلب and tears were flowing from his eyes over his beard. 336

Along with many other poets 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'ah, paid frequent visits to Marbad and there he composed and recited many artistic love poems. The fame gained by

335. Abu'l Faraj al-Isfahānī: Kitāb al-Aghānī, Vol.II, p. 63; Dīwan, p. 93; Al-Kālī, Abū-'Ali: Kitāb al-Amālī, Vol. II, P. 126; In the last two books there is slight change of one word in the first line of the second verse:
In Dīwān it reads as:  "مَا سَأَلَتُكْ هَلْ سَأْلَتُكْ بَعْدًا "
In Amālī it reads as:  "مَا سَأَلَتْكِ هَلْ سَأَلْتِكْ بَعْدًا "
"O, the riders from Yeman! halt near us because my love is for Yemanites.
I am asking you whether the people of Na'man valley asked you about the love of Na'man for us after our departure".

al-Kunāsah at Kūfah was equal to that of al-Marbad.\footnote{1337} The importance which is given to Delhi and Lucknow for the development of Urdu literature was given to Başrah and al-Kūfah for the development of Arabic literature at that time. The greater part of Arabic literature is the production of these two famous seats of learning. Under the patronage of the Umayyad caliphs these two cities became so important that people from distant places used to come to see them and to take part in the literary activities which took place there. P.K. Hitti says: 

"As the two sister cities of al-Ḥijāz, Makkah and al-Madīnah became under the Umayyads the home of music and song, love and poetry, so did the twin cities of al-‘Iraq, al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah, develop during this period into centres of the most animated intellectual activity in the Moslem World".\footnote{1338}

Among the love poets who distinguished themselves in these meetings were Al-Aḥwaṣ, al-‘Arjī, Ibn Khālid, Waḍḍāh al-Yemān, Nuṣayb, Jamīl, but the poet who towered above them all and rose like a lofty mountain on the horizon was 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'ah.

\footnote{1337} Dayf, Dr. \textit{Shawkî: Al-Taṭawwur} wa al-Tajādīd fil Shi'r al-al-Umawī P. 81. 
\footnote{1338} Hitti, P.K. \textit{History of the Arabs}, P. 241, Spellings are verbatim.
There were other gatherings besides Ḥaj and Aswāk as the rulers, governors, officials were also fond of poetry. So the ladies used to come to these meetings held for the recitation of poems.

Dr. Ṭaha Ḥusayn is of the opinion:

These gatherings were never devoid of ladies and they always participated in them. They used to arrange meetings in the wine shops, monasteries and in the houses of emīrs and ministers. There they used to argue and gratify their senses.

There were literary salons for ladies also like those of men. These literary meetings or salons for the ladies were in no way inferior to those held by men so far as the merits of the recitation of poems and their understanding were concerned. In these meetings the ladies used to gather and did not hesitate to narrate all that which happened between them and their lovers. These narrations were nothing but talking about the meeting and separation, mere talk with the lover, or vigilance of the reprovers. They had a discussion among themselves about the poets composing Ghazals. As the ladies were allowed

339. Ḥusayn, Dr. Ṭaha : Ḥadīth al-'Arbi'a', Vol. II, P. 32.
to join the gatherings of men in the same way these meetings of ladies were not banned for men. The reason might be assumed that both men and women found pleasure in the company of each other. When the ladies found a man with the poetic talent especially a love-poet, their attachment with him became intense as was the case with men when they came in contact with a charming beauty. Both men and women were delighted in the talk of love and passion.

Hind the daughter of al-Ḥarīth al-Murriya, and her friends desired that 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'ah should attend their gathering (or meeting) and recite his Ghazal for them. They sent Khalid al-Khīrīt to him, who instigated 'Umar to pay a visit to those ladies who excelled in beauty and elegance. He requested him to come in disguise as a Bedouin. 'Umar came to those ladies as a Bedouin and after salutation recited the verses of Kuthayyir, al-Āḥwas, Jamīl and Nuṣayb etc. They became angry with him and asked him to go back. Then 'Umar recited his own verses hearing which the ladies became happy and showed by their behaviour that they had recognized him. Hind pulled down his turban and said to him:
I have found you cheating us today. But we have cheated you through Khālid whom we had asked to bring you here in disguise.

In this meeting 'Umar recited a Ghazal which opens with the following verse.  


There are so many instances of the female gatherings. Whenever the ladies desired to hear a poet reciting poems or a bard singing love-poems for them, they sent for them through their slaves or friends. Only that female gathering was considered to be successful in which there was a poet to compose or recite love-poems. The great author Ḥassān Abū Raḥāb has cited a quotation of Dr. ʿAḥmad Dāyf:

The ladies exercised great influence in these meetings. The people thought it an honour to attend these meetings and they liked them.

The literary scholars always gave preference to be present in those meetings which had great effect on their moral.  

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341. DĪwān, P. 169, "Have you not asked the abodes where they stayed in the spring season at the place of Ḥullayāt (in the way to Ta'if) and which are effaced and became desolated place?"

These literary salons or meetings were the places where the poet used to sing the poems full of boastings whether of tribal solidarity or of love affairs like their pagan predecessors. Ibn Ḥabīb in his Kitāb al-Muḥabbār has included the name of Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thakafi among the eight names of the men who organized the literary meetings. Dr. 'Umar Farrukh has also accepted it. He says:

Ḥajjāj used to organize the literary meetings in the same manner as the Umayyad caliphs used to do.

Thus these annual fairs, or Aswāk or literary meetings were a kind of forums in which poetic tournaments were held and the poets showed their skills. These literary meetings were the part and parcel of the Umayyad society. The importance of these literary meetings of the Umayyad age was similar to that of pagan social gatherings which the Arab tribes used to hold occasionally but those were not to be compared with the literary 'salons' in the Umayyad age. The latter were the achievements of a wealthy and well bred society living in riches, security and

343. Ibn Ḥabīb; Kitāb al-Muḥabbār, P. 263.
344. 'Umar Farrukh, Dr. ; Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thakafi, p. 20.
laziness. In these salons highly educated men and women and well instructed slaves used to meet, converse, discuss literary subjects or listen to poets and singers or to reciters who narrated stories of love and adventures. In these salons the young aristocrats of Hijāz acquired a fair part of their literary culture.

V. Manifestations of Luxury:

It is a striking fact that in general the tone of life in Damascus in the Umayyad era was not greatly different from what it is today. The closeness of the Umayyad period to the "barbarian" age, its many wars, and the unsettled social and economic conditions of the Muslim world, though, all militated against the possibility of intellectual development yet the seed was then sown and the tree of knowledge had its roots firm in the soil in that period. Its fruits were enjoyed by its descendant dynasty i.e. the 'Abbasids. Poetry and music flourished in the court of Damascus, though music was considered as diversion forbidden by the Prophet (peace be upon him) by conservative Muslims who linked music and song with wine-drinking and gambling. Undoubtedly under the Umayyads the greatest measure of intellectual progress was achieved in the field of poetical composition. The stern period of
conquests during the early Islamic days had inspired no poet in a nation of poets but with the accession of the worldly Umayyads the old connection between wine, song and poetry were re-established. For the first time the poet of love makes his full appearance in Arabic.

Indulgence in luxury was rife owing to increased wealth and the super abundance of slaves.

Undoubtedly Ghazal is one of the great fine arts. It brings a shining colour of joy and happiness in the life. The hearts are most inclined to it when they are free of anxieties of life and calamities of time. Thus Ghazal is the sentimental product of the exited hearts full of joyful feelings. The happy and gay life has bonds of love with poetry i.e. Ghazal. There was a group of people for whom Ghazal was one of the instruments of luxury or pleasure. On the other hand there were some people who neither liked love poets nor love poems. With all their power and intellect they criticised both. It was so because they did not recognise it, they did not reach its high flight of imagination and they had not tasted what was in it. If by any means they reached it they considered it just amusement and expression of madness.
Regarding the values of these factors from the view of influence on the poet or on the people we can say that we see in the shape of beautiful Ghazal the influence of the poet's mind and heart when he is happy and pure at his heart and mind. Due to this he becomes capable of producing a pure, original, beautiful and skillful collection of Ghazals adorned with sweet words and effective feelings. The people desire to derive fame and happiness through the poet's production which satisfied their sentiments. Thus we find even today a relation between the poet, his readers and his listeners. These readers and listeners give preference to the excellence found in the poetical wealth by which literature becomes rich and by which people get pleasure as it is indicated by the anecdotes of the Ghazal of which the literary books are full and which are narrated by generation after generation.

It is a natural phenomenon of a human being that whenever he becomes prosperous, he begins to think of enjoying himself and polishing his emotions and sentiments. In the same way whenever he becomes powerful which brings peace and security to him he begins to think how to have entertainments for himself. He gets the opportunity and time to compose the Ghazal in which he finds nourishment
for his heart and mind. The same was the condition in the Umayyad period. There was influx of wealth due to conquests and the political stability. So the Ghazal found a suitable atmosphere and fertile ground for its growth. Thus the manifestation of luxury was the main factor in its development, of which are the following main sources: (a) Youth, (b) The slave girls, and (c) Al-Ghina'.

a. Youth:

Youth is a stage of maturity. It brings a great change in the life of an individual. It changes his attitude towards life and society and he begins to establish his place in the social life. From the accompanying changes there emanate personal conceit and the forceful self-perception or love for pleasure. A young man only looks at himself and talks about himself and takes pleasure in self awareness and self importance. There are so many stories which reflect this attitude of the youths of the Umayyads. In the same way the love of childhood changes into strong passion whether it is for the people of the same sex or for the opposite sex. Side by side in this stage of maturity he develops the taste for music and poetry, chivalry and adventures.

It is worth noting that the Arabs were fond of seeing the qualities of good repute, self-respect, protec-
tion of the neighbour and freedom accompanied with chivalry in their youths. These qualities are the main basis of a successful social and spiritual life, on which depends the acquisition of the Ghazal. Al-Tabrezī has admitted that the love of woman and passion for her was the spirit of soldiership. Due to this we find many soldiery words used by the poets in their love poems. The love-poets take their love affairs as a fight sometimes with the beloved and sometimes with her people.

For the Arabs from the very beginning spiritual love and sensual pleasure were inter-mingled. Love without satisfaction of senses was no love. Their love was thus closely connected with the youth. Islam attached great importance to chastity even in love. The Prophet (peace be upon him) has said:

"One who loves and remains chaste and then dies he dies as martyr."

So the lovers were divided into two groups: licentious people known as "Umarites" and chaste people known as 'Udhrites'.

346. Ibid. 128.
Not only the young males but the young women of the Umayyad period also played a prominent part in the refined society of the 'Arabs as the greatest enjoyment was the company of the opposite sex. Abū Ḥāzim, a prominent disciple of the Prophet's companions, went once on a pilgrimage and saw a beautiful woman being admired by a group of pilgrims. He said to her:

You are at a holy place. You are fascinating the pilgrims and putting them off their prayer. So you must fear Allah and be pious. Verily Allah has asked in His Book (you women) to conceal yourselves.

She replied: I am from those ladies of whom the poet said:

\[ \text{349.} \]

Then Abū Ḥāzim said to his companions:

Let us invoke Allah not to punish this beautiful picture with the Hell.

So Abū Ḥāzim commenced his invocation while his companions kept saying: Amen. \[ 350. \]

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349. The verse is of Ḥarīth b. Khālid al-Makhūmī: "Remove the silken veil from her bright face and remove the printed upper garment from her body." It is also in Dīwān of Al-'Ārīf (p.74), but the second line reads as 

Here we have to consider the youth of a poet, a man of letters, and a nation. As far as a poet is concerned, till he is a young man of good health and zeal he can utilise all the sources of composing poetry. So he fully dedicates himself to entertain the people by his poetry which is the best interpreter of all types of his life — life full of smiles and mirth; life full of beauty, sweetness and purity; life full of love and passion. This picture of his life tells us about his inflammatory sentimental feelings. He presents himself in his poetry as he is in his real youth — happy, smiling, singing and dancing. He puts his spirit and heart in his poetry. Due to this his Ghazal has become in the poetry of this period a pleasing picture full of power, novelties, art and beauty.

Thus the youth of the poet contributes very much in producing the love poems. When he reaches the old age, the prolonged calamities of life bend his back and the life becomes a distressed anguish for him. Now, being old, he renounces the manifestations of young life, especially its vanities and amusements. Now Ghazal is not suitable for him nor the love which was earlier the main theme of his Ghazal. When the great love poet Kuthayyir was asked the reason of his not composing poems, he attributed its cause to the disappearance of his youth.  

When a literary man is young and in the bloom of his youth, he accepts every thing which is fascinating and beautiful, which kindles his feelings and touches his heart. He finds all these in the verses of Ghazal. That is why he studies and teaches the Ghazal. He acquires its words with its meaning to quench his thirst for it. Poets are encouraged when they find people who can understand their verses and dive deep to fetch out their concealed meanings full of profound emotional appeal. This the reason why scholars and critics evaluate a work of art. By these evaluations and criticism the poetry of the poets becomes known to every one at every place. Every tongue recites it and it affects every heart. That is why the poets are considered magicians and their Ghazal is held in great demand.

As far as the youth of nation is concerned, it has great influential power. A great source is provided for it from the glorious factors of the blessings of life. It is this condition under which people live and grow up and it fulfils their hopes. They find in it possibilities and opportunities in abundance to be happy and joyful. The love poets particularly find in this condition what gives strength to their poetic art, polishes their passion and stirs their sentiments. It inspires them to tell the
people what is beautiful, what is sweet melody, and what is charming and seducing. It makes their life very fine, skillful and active.

When the youth of the poets, the youth of the literarymen whether from among the readers or hearers — and the youth of the nation are mingled in one, the verses out of the poetical production become more powerful and surprisingly beautiful. These verses are known as Ghazal. Thus the Ghazal is the most powerful and effective poetical expression of the youth. It is crystal clear that during the Umayyad period the Arab nation was in its prime of youth. The art of Ghazal was so developed in this period as none of the poetical arts in any period has ever developed.

(b) **The Slave Girls**:

Slavery remained an essential part of the social structure during the Umayyad period. Slavery arises from war and conquest. When there was no war for the supply of slaves fresh sources as piracy and kidnapping were traced. At first man simply killed his victims and sometimes ate them. But when he adopted a settled way of life he found it more useful to spare their lives and enslave them, thus
freeing himself from the burden of regular work. Female slaves became a source of pleasure. It is the nature of an Arab to love a woman. The love for any other thing was not equal to this love. The female slavery was known to the Arabs even before Islām. Female slaves were used as singers, dancers and concubines. The maidens among the slaves continued to occupy the same position even after the advent of Islām. Some of them exerted appreciable influence over their caliph masters.

We study much about these slave-girls in the Arabic literature. They had acquired a place of great importance during every period in creating atmosphere and conditions conducive to the creation of great literature. They used to sing with elegance in soft and beautiful voice, especially the verses from the Ghazal. Dr. Ṭaha Ḥusayn has said about such women:

They were well educated, authority on poetry, good reciters, good in music and they excelled in it. They had acquired the knowledge of all the types of literature famous at that time. They stood firmly in the discussions with the poets, learned scholars and experts of language.
Due to this they were distinguished and given preference on the chaste and noble ladies because their chastity and nobility became obstruction between them and conversation with the men.  

Numerous instances of love of such maidens are recorded in the writings of the Arabs.

Caliph Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik had a very pretty slave girl named Ḥabbābah. He loved her very much. He used to shut himself with her neglecting the affairs of the state and enjoyed wine, her song and dance. On one such occasion the maid girl, Ḥabbābah, was choked by one of the pomegranate's grains and died on the spot. The caliph was so shocked by this accident that in no case he was ready to quit her corpse. When the corpse began to disintegrate, on the request of his attendants the caliph became ready for its burial. But after only five days his love for the dead girl induced him to open her grave. On the earnest request of his brother, Muslimah, he permitted closure of the grave. But he was so distressed with her death that he remained on bed lingering speechless for

seventeen nights and afterwards he expired and was buried by the side of his beloved maid servant. 354

It is the same Ḥabbābah who was famous for her singing. She through her singing had made famous the love poems of many love poets. It was she about whom many love poets had composed Ghazals. For instance, Waddāh al-Yeman had said about her before she was purchased by caliph Yazīd:

يأَيُّهَا الْقَلْبِ الْفَلِيْقُ
بِالْئِذْنِ وَالشِّفْعِ الأَنْقِبِ
تَبْتَ حَبَّةُ قَلْبِي
شَيْئًا لَّنْ تَمْرَحَ العَيْقِ

It is said that the love poet Al-Aḥwāṣ sent to Ḥabbābah some verses of his Ghazal to be sung by her in the presence of caliph Yazīd. When he heard these verses he enquired about its composer and sent for him and rewarded him generously. 356

355. Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī: Kītab al-Aghānī, Vol. VI, pp. 216-217; Fāyīd al-'Umrusī: Al-Jawārī al-Mughannīyat, P. 98, "What has happened to the heart which is not obeying the reproachers nor is improving (from its ailment).
Pretty Ḥabbābah has put his heart in trouble with her physical beauty and her coquetry. With the bewitching eyes stained with the collyrium she walks rapturously like a man who drank the mellowed wine. A Urdu poet says:

The sefd maid servant of caliph Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik was Sallamah who like Habbabah, sang the Ghazal of al-Ahwas. Al-Kumyat a well-known poet, was friendly with Alwīs and he was the opponent of the Umayyad. Once he went before caliph Yazid who showed Sallamah to him and asked him whether he had ever seen the beauty like that of her. The poet replied in the negative and said a Ghazal in praise of his opponent's maid servant:

She is the sun of the day in beauty except that she is bestowed with superiority in assassinating the witty people.

Her skin is tender and she is mellow, coquettish, lean in physique and well shaped.

Her coquetry adorns her, her teeth are clean and her talk is like singing and not dry.

She has been made (beautiful) beyond imagination. So, O, the son of 'Abd Manaf! Pay, head to my sayings.

The caliph on hearing these verses laughed and ordered him to be rewarded.

It was not the case only with Yazid but every well-to-do man in that period used to have slave maidens. Most of their masters were in love with them. Some of them

357. Ibid. P. 87.
358. Ibid. P. 93, "She is (bright as) the sun of the day in beauty except that she is bestowed with superiority to it in assassinating the witty people.

Her skin is tender and she is mellow, coquettish, lean in physique and well shaped.

Her coquetry adorns her, her teeth are clean and her talk is like singing and not dry.

She has been made (beautiful) beyond imagination. So, O, the son of 'Abd Manaf! Pay, head to my sayings."
359. Ibid : P. 93.
composed love poems for these slave maidens themselves, while others recited the verses from the love poems of the other poets. The masters of these beautiful maidens were so proud of possessing them as a man possessing a huge property feels proud of it. Sometimes the masters permitted them to appear unveiled before their friends and sometimes a curtain was put and they used to sing behind it.

There was a large number of these slave maidens. They possessed reasoning power, sharp wit and literary taste. All these qualities possessed by a lady, were enough to instigate and seduce a man. Yet, there was another great quality of these slave maidens, which added to their attraction in the eyes of men. It was their melodious "singing", which being sensitive and delightful for the hearts, was infused in the spirits of the 'Arabs. It is true that the poetry presents a clear picture of the time in which it is composed. So we get innumerable verses of Ghazal related to these slave maidens. In these verses there are the descriptions of their beauty, their coquettish talk and walk, and their embellishment which had induced the sentiments of their lovers and left them completely enchanted. Thus these slave maidens by being the actual inspiration behind the Ghazal had really enriched the literature.
During the early centuries of Islam, Syria under the Umayyads (661-750) developed itself into a great cultural centre. The music of Arabia was brought into contact with the musical traditions of Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia. This resulted in the cultivation of a new pattern of Arab music. The singing of poetical lyrics in Arabic was retained in the new performance techniques and new musical instruments. Alī Jihād Racy has said:

"Court affluence and acquaintance with the worldly splendor of conquered empires stimulated humanistic interests and artistic and intellectual tolerance on the part of the Arab rulers. In a short time court patronage of poets and musicians became common practice, in contrast to the antipathy of some early Muslims towards music and musicians."

Al-Ghina is one of the methods of expression of human emotions of a nation. It interprets the sentiments

of pleasure or grief and the natural impulses of a human being. The meaning of the word Al-Ghīnā is song or singing but it also stands for music as it is accepted by the 'Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', as they say:

"ان الغناء مركب من الدعاء، والحنين مركب من الدعاء، و
الحنين مركبة من المتتابعات والذات السFONT-
اعات." 361

After a serious study of Al-Ghīnā we can say that it is the poem which can be sung on the musical instrument. Al-Mas'ūdī is of the opinion that al-Ghīnā has been developed out of al-Ḥūdā 362 (camel man's chant) which was the original form of poetry among the Arabs and the extracts of which are not available to us. According to al-Mas'ūdī none of the nations except the Persian and the Greek could be compared to the Arabs in the matter of pleasure seeking and enjoying life. 363

Al-Ghīnā is closely connected with verses. In fact al-Ghīnā is the source of all poetry, and the singers have sung these verses according to the rules of Al-Ghīnā which have been changing from time to time.

361. Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', Vol. I, PP. 196-197. "Al-Ghīnā is made of Alḥān (airs or tunes), the Lāhn is made of Naghmāt (musical notes), and the Naghmāt are made of Naḵārat (drumbeats) and Iḵāṭāt (rhythms)."
363. Ibid. P. 159.
The Arabs were so fond of singing that their ladies even used to sing on the occasion of death also. So, we can say that probably much of the pre-Islamic poetry was sung by the Arabs but we hardly find any particular poet whose verses were especially sung. The pagan Arabs used to sing and dance whenever they got the opportunity whether it was raining, or victory at battles, or marriage, or the birth of a child.

Pagan al-ʻHudâ‘ was the original form of this type of poetry i.e. melodious song though they have become now extinct. For the Arabs nothing but the poems were the stuff of al-ʻGhina‘. Specially the Ghazal which was supposed to be the interpreter of the sentiments, became the main subject of al-ʻGhina‘. The great scholar al-ʻJāḥiz says:

As far as the pleasing melody in the Ghazal's verses is concerned it is one of the privileges of the women. It is desirable that the verses of Ghazal, Tashbīb, love and passion should be sung for the women for whom they have been composed.  

In the beginning the poems of praise, pride and chivalry were the subject matter of al-Ghina'. Farmer, a famous professor of Music has said:

"It was the women of the tribes who joined in the music of the family or tribal festivities with their instruments, a custom which continued down to the time of Muḥammad, whose nuptials with Khadija were "celebrated with great festivity, mirth, music, and dancing". At Uhud (625) the journey of the Quraysh was enlivened by the women led by Hind bint 'Utba singing war-songs and laments for the slain at Badr, and playing their tambourines (Dufūf sing. Duff). At the onset to battle, they were still singing and playing". 365

There were a group of singing girls who became an integral part of social life of Arabia. Singing concerts were very often held in which these singing girls used to sing. About these singing girls al-Jāhiz 366 has said:

"The cleverest of them know by heart four thousand songs and more, each of two to four lines. Multiplying it up, this comes to around ten thousand lines — in which God is never once mentioned except inadvertently, and the poet never once draws attention to the danger of divine punishment or the need to seek one's reward in the world to come. They are all on such subjects as adultery, procuring, 'Ishq, youthful dalliance, yearning desire and amorous passion."  

It is true that the pre-Islamic poetry is full of description of wine, youthful amusements and adventures. These verses were sung in the market of 'Ukāz. The Arabs from the very beginning loved composing and listening poetry. It was their atmosphere and natural surroundings which forced them to seek opportunities for laughters and merriment in their lives. They used to sing after being delighted by the beauty of the nature. For this they never cared whether it was a private place or a public place.

The singing was so intimately associated with the concept of beauty that they could never put them into separate categories. The singers used to buy beautiful maid slaves and after making them experts in singing sold them at high prices.\textsuperscript{368}

All this was not limited to a particular group or period. Shawkî Ḍayf has said:

It was the general view of the people that the days and nights were made for singing. At every place and time we could hear people talking about singing and singers.\textsuperscript{369}

In the Umayyad period the caliphs and all the people holding significant positions liked music and singing. Keeping of the singing girls and bards was considered princely splendour; it was also not taken as low grade profession. The princesses and the ladies of aristocratic families were very fond of singing. ‘Ātikah, daughter of Mu‘āwiyyah, was favourably inclined to it.\textsuperscript{370}

\textsuperscript{368} Jabbūr, ‘Abd al-Nūr : Al-Jawārī, P. 63.


\textsuperscript{370} Bayham, Muḥammad Jamîl : Al-Mar‘atu fī Ḥadā’aratil ‘Arab, P. 83.
So the art of singing had been developed side by side with poetry. Due to this the Umayyad period is called the period of luxury and singing. During this period the twin cities of Hijāz — Makkah and Madīnah surpassed all the cities of the Umayyad empire particularly in the matter of singing and composing poetry.

Institutes of music were established to entertain the people. They used to come to Hajj not for the sake of religion but for hearing the songs of the famous singers of the two cities.

Farmer has said:

"The leading musicians appear to have made rather comfortable livings. They were in constant demand at court, the houses of the nobility and aristocracy". 371

In this period new musical notes had been developed. On the line of these musical notes the love poets composed their Ghazals. 'Umar b. Abī Rabī‘ah was the most capable poet among them. He himself was a great

lover of the art of singing. He had two leading singing
bards, viz, Ibn-Surayj and Al-Qharid as his bosom friends
who used to sing his Ghazals. Shawki Dayf has said:

None of 'Umar's verses was heard till it
was not sung by his singing bards — Ibn -
Surayj and Al-Qharid.\textsuperscript{372}

Once Ibn-Surayj halted near a garden on the way to
Haj and started singing out the following verses:

\begin{verbatim}
ف دون البئر ما تجلو
أرقب الناس كدر موئلما
\end{verbatim}

When the pilgrims heard him singing they gathered around
him. One of the pilgrims became afraid that the pilgrims
in general would be distracted from the rituals of Haj. He
therefore said to Ibn-Surayj:

You have deviated them from Haj and have bewitched them.
So beware of Allah and leave them.\textsuperscript{374}

On this Ibn Surayj stood up and the pilgrims went away.

\textsuperscript{372} Dayf, Dr. Shawki : \textit{Al-Shi'IR al-Ghina'I fi al-Am\textsuperscript{S}ar

\textsuperscript{373} Hass\textsuperscript{a}n, Ab\textsuperscript{u} Ra\textsuperscript{a}b: \textit{Al-Ghazal 'ind al-\ Arab}, P. 51, "For
whom is the fire which never dies on the elevated land
of Khayf on the side of the spring.
\textsuperscript{i} I remained sleepless to remember the sites of her
(abode) and the heart yearned for her memory.

\textsuperscript{374} Ibid, PP. 51-52.
'Umar b. Abī Rabī‘ah was very fond of singing. He used to be enraptured after hearing it. Once 'Azzah al-Maylā‘ sang before 'Umar b. Abī Rabī‘ah his own verses. Hearing them he tore his garment and screaming a loud cry he fainted. When he regained his senses some people said to him:

It suits the people other than you, O, Abū Khāṭāb.

He replied: When I heard it, by Allah, I could not control my soul and mind. 375

It was not the case only with 'Umar but Ibn-Kays al-Ruḵayyat, al-'Arjī, al-Āḥwaṣ etc. also equalled him in their love for singing. They dedicated their lives to poetry and singing. Ghazal became the main subject of singing. 'Umar's Dīwān is the best specimen of it in which we do not get anything except Ghazal or verses related to love, lover and beloved. These Ghazals are not lengthy as lengthy poems do not very often suit the singing. This singing also served to bring people together.

375. Ibid. P. 51. It is narrated by Fayid al-'Umrusī that once Ibn Abī 'Atīk, 'Umar b. Abī Rabī‘ah and Al-Āḥwaṣ went to Jamīlah, famous songstress of Madīnah. When she sang some of 'Umar's verses hearing them 'Umar cried and tore his shirt and garment. Jamīlah gave him another dress which he wore and went back. After arriving at Makkah he sent a gift of ten thousand Dirhams and ten garments to her as it was not customary for the Arab nobles to accept gifts from songstresses. (Al-Jawārī al-Mughannīyat : P. 67). But Muṣā Sulaymān says that hearing these verses all the dignitaries present there tore their garments and fainted. (Al-Adab al-Ḵaṣāṣī 'ind al-'Arab : P. 83).
Due to their love for the art of singing most of the poets were in friendship with the singing girls. It is said that 'Umar b. Abī-Rabī‘ah, Al-Āhwas and Al-'Arjī were friendly with the songstress Jamīlah. The main cause of this friendship can be traced in the correlation which was maintained between Ghazal and al-Ghīnā'. The beauty of poetry is enhanced when it is sung. It is also a fact that the caliphs and other dignitaries mostly used to be in love with some particular lady. They asked the renowned poets of the time to compose verses on their love and the singers, male or female, used to sing these verses of Ghazal in the musical sessions. Sometimes a pretty singer also happened to possess melodious voice and a particular poet was attracted to and finally fell in love with her and began to compose poems on his love for her. For example Al-'Arjī and Al-Āhwas had the same relation with Jamīlah, a beautiful songstress of Madīnah. Singers also used to sing the Ghazal which were really composed in their own praise in assemblies and musical concerts. Thus there was a great relation between Ghazal and al-Ghīnā'. There was Ghazal where the Ghīnā' was found. According to Nicholson:

"Henceforth the words and the melody are inseparably united."\(^{377}\)

Dr. Taha Husayn says:

There is no doubt that the singers acquired the licentious verses from the people of Makkah and Madīnah and the 'Udhrite verses from the bedouins, as the stuffs for the tuning (٨٨) and singing (٩٨).\(^{378}\)

Dr. Shawkī Ḥayf is of the opinion that:

The poets passed their lives for the sake of love and Ghazal. It is the subject which the singing bards and songstresses desired and to which every male and female felt tempted.\(^{379}\)

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\(^{379}\) Dayf, Dr. Shawkī : Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, Vol. II, P. 347.