INTRODUCTION
To take up some aspect of prose or Poetry in general is a more difficult and pains-taking job than to do research on a literary figure and his achievements. The topic of the present doctoral thesis is the treatment of the Development of the Ghazal in Arabic literature. Though the poets who composed Ghazal in all periods of literary history are mostly criticised by those who are orthodox in their religious views, yet their Ghazals do have a universal appeal for the common reader. It is the Arabic word Al-Ghazal, extant in Arabia since the Pre-Islamic period, which was later adopted in some other languages like Persian and Urdu for love poems. A number of factors were responsible for the output of Ghazals in the Arabic literature. An attempt has been made in the present thesis to analyse some of these major factors. This thesis aims at evaluating contributions of the Ghazal-Poets in Arabic. The sources made use of in this regard are the authorities on literary history who furnish us with ample material for giving an account of these poets as well as for a critical assessment of their poetic excellence. This is obviously supported by the textual evidence of the available Diwâns of these poets. All references have also been thoroughly checked.
stand perhaps I had to face a little more difficulty than I had originally anticipated mainly due to non-availability of Dīwāns of some of the concerned poets and I had sometimes in some cases no option but to rely upon the supplementary books.

For writing the present thesis I had to go through the poetry composed during the Umayyad period and I discovered that the same couplets are attributed to different poets by different scholars (e.g. P. 16 Chap. III of the present thesis; verses of Қays b. _ssh, Ḍahrāḵ, Aqẖānī Vol. IX PP. 182-183 are given in the Dīwān of Majnūn PP. 50-51 with slight changes). After sifting the evidence I came to the conclusion that it was so because the art of writing was not so developed during the Umayyad period as it is now. The literary output especially in the domain of poetry, has been preserved mainly in anthologies or human retention. Further extensive research is needed to trace out the original composers of these poems.

Chapter I of this thesis deals with three sub-topics. Firstly, it has been tried to trace the origin
of the word al-Ghazal because some people hold that it is not of Arabic origin. However, the fact is that it is an Arabic word and was used even by the pre-Islamic poets. Secondly, it is arguable whether the love poems composed by the pagan poets in the form of Nasib or Taghib are entitled to be regarded as Ghazals or not. And it is also traced who was the first poet who composed Nasib. Though we do not get any poetical production of Ibn Hadham, yet, perhaps it was he who started the lamenting on the desolate ruined abode of the beloved as it is proved by a verse of Imru'al Kays:

\[ \text{مَعَ جَٰلَٰلِ الْبَيْنَاتِ ﺑِدْلَ الْمَحْكِمَةِ بِلَيْلَةٍ ﺑِنْبِئَ ﺍَلْدِيْنَ ﺑِمَا كَبِيْرَاءٌ} \]

Thirdly, the position of Ghazal in the early Islamic period has been discussed. In this connection references to a few contemporary poets have been made and their poetical expressions critically examined. This chapter is a necessary prelude to tracing the development of the Ghazal.

In Chapters II, III and IV an attempt has been made to trace the development of the Ghazal as well as the contribution of the Umayyad love-poets. Chapter V is mainly

1. Da'irat al-Ma'arif, Vol. II, P. 441
2. "Halt at the changed ruins of the abodes so that we may weep on the desolated abodes as Ibn Hadham has wept." This verse is given in Diwan on P. 162. But there is \( 
\text{لَيۡلَةٌ} \) in place of \( 
\text{بِنْبِئَ} \) and Ibn Khidham in place of Ibn Hadham.
devoted to examine the factors that played important role in the development of the Ghazal in Arabic literature.

The caliphate of Mu'āwiya marked the end of the era of the Orthodox or Rightly Guided caliphs and the beginning of the Umayyad dynastic rule that lasted for about eighty-nine years until 750 A.D./132 A.H. There is a chain of fourteen caliphs in the Umayyad Dynasty.

Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān 661 A.D./40 A.H.
Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya 680 A.D./61 A.H.
Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd 683 A.D./64 A.H.
Marwān b. al-Ḥakam 684 A.D./65 A.H.
'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān 685 A.D./66 A.H.
Al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik 705 A.D./86 A.H.
Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik 715 A.D./96 A.H.
'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz 717 A.D./99 A.H.
Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik 720 A.D./101 A.H.
Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik 724 A.D./105 A.H.
al-Walīd b. Yazīd 743 A.D./125 A.H.
Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik 744 A.D./126 A.H.
Ibrahim b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik 744 A.D./126 A.H.
Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān I 745 A.D./127 A.H.

4. 661 - 750 A.D.
Mu'āwiya was the founder of the dynastical caliphate of the Umayyads. He introduced the hereditary system of rule in the Muslim Arabia. This step has been described by some historians as a very effective measure to end the bitter period of civil war among the Arabs.

After Prophet's (Peace be upon him) death the non-existence of any definite law for electing a successor resulted in controversy and finally in civil war. It created different creeds and sects challenging the fundamental concept of brotherhood given by Islam.

Before the establishment of the Umayyad rule the third Orthodox Caliph 'Uthmān was assassinated and 'Alī was elected next caliph by a group of the Muslims. The other group of the Muslims demanded from the Caliph 'Alī for the immediate punishment to the persons responsible for committing the crime. Mu'āwiya along with Talḥah and Zubayr was the most influential persons who demanded that the caliph's murder should be avenged. This led to the Battle of Camel under the leadership of the Prophet's wife 'A'īshah. Talḥah and Zubayr were killed in this battle and 'Alī emerged victorious. Mu'āwiya, who had the organised support of the Syrian army was difficult to be subjugated. A battle was fought between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya at Ṣifflīn. When 'Alī was about to win the battle
Mu'āwīyah presented a proposal to him for the settlement of differences by referring the matter to two arbitrators who would pronounce judgement according to the Holy Kur'an. The majority of 'Alī's army accepted it but a section of his followers objected strongly to the acceptance of arbitration and deserted 'Alī. They came to be known as the Khārijites. This sect was very fanatic. They repudiated the claim of 'Alī to the Caliphate after he had agreed to this arbitration. 'Alī won the battle of Naharwān against them but at the cost of his own life. After some time he was killed by a Khārijite. The Khārijites were not only a formidable force during the Umayyad period but remained a constant menace to the Umayyad dynasty throughout.

The Shī'ah creed came into being with the death of the Prophet (Peace be upon him) when a section of the people in Madīnah advanced the view that the leadership of the Muslim Community should pass on to the family of the Prophet. They were in fact in favour of 'Alī to be caliph after the death of the Prophet.

Though the Khārijites had revolted against 'Alī, yet they were united with the Shi'ites in opposing the
Umayyads as both the groups considered them to be usurpers. Consequently, they put their forces together to fight out the Umayyads. Thus the Shi'ites and the Kharijites emerged as a potential danger to the Umayyads. The Umayyads engaged a large number of spies to keep a watch on their activities and also persecuted them from time to time. Even then the Umayyads could not escape from their manoeuvres much too long.

The issue of the Prophet's successor gave birth to the sect of Murji'ites also. They tried to maintain a neutral attitude and pleaded strongly for the postponement of the judgement and for leaving the whole thing to the God to decide in His own way. Contrary to this the Kharijites and the Shi'ites considered the Umayyads as un-believers. Thus apparently the Murji'ites were the supporters of the Umayyads but they never carried arms to fight for them.

The Mu'tazilites also were not favourably inclined towards Mu'awiyah and the Umayyads. The followers of all these parties or sects considered the Umayyads to be the usurpers of the right of 'Ali. Therefore they raised a series of problems which the Umayyads had to face. Besides the absence of a definite law of succession, there were many
other shortcomings too in the Umayyads. The Umayyad Caliphs revived tribal jealousies in order to serve their own purpose by playing off their influence which can be seen in the poetry of the contemporary poets. It divided the Muslims into two hostile camps and also served to ruin the empire.

With the advent of the Umayyads a epoch making change occurred. This change was not only political but also cultural and social. Damascus became one of the beautiful cities of the world, the centre of culture, and the seat of the Islamic empire under the Umayyads. The rulers led a luxurious and majestic life after the fashion of the rulers of Persia and Rome. They introduced the practices of drinking, gambling, racing etc. in the society. The women occupied a prominent place in the society and enjoyed much freedom. They took interest like their male counter-parts in the intellectual activities and some of them distinguished themselves as scholars and poetesses.

With many conquests the peninsula was now no longer an island. It had been thrown open to the world. The major power still rested with the Arabs but the conquered races represented by the Persians, the Egyptians, and the
Romans were exercising a visible influence on the cultural life of the empire which was fast under-going change. A number of their leading features were absorbed in the new system under the Umayyads. It is a fact that the conqueror of a country is not always a conqueror of everything. In certain matters the conquerors are also sometime conquered. The same happened with the conquering Arabs. The conquered nations though embraced Islam but they had their own individual traditions, they had their own poetry and literature. Some of them were intellectually superior to the Arabs. The Arabs had their own traditions and their own outlook towards life. Between the two i.e. the conquered and the conquerors there was conflict, struggle, and tension, especially regarding the social system and literature, particularly poetry. With the conquests the Arabic language spread throughout the empire. However, new surroundings were bound to react on the sensitive minds of the poets from Arabia. The result of this appeared in the co-existence of the two worlds, the old and the new, which was reflected in the love poetry of the Umayyad era. The Nasīb or Tashīb of Jarīr, Akhtal and Farazdak can be taken as old and traditional while the love poetry of the 'Umarites and 'Udhrites as new. As
the Umayyads were busy with the suppression of internal conflicts and the consolidation of their empire much progress could not be made in the domain of literature as a whole. However, great and significant contributions made in the field were of poetical composition.

Though the Umayyad period was marked by turbulences and conflicts of all kinds yet the rulers were mostly pleasure seekers. In the true Arab tradition they were fond of poetry, dance and music. Their court was thronged with scholars, poets and artists. Some of these caliphs were themselves famous Ghazal - Composers. Among them the most famous are Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walīd b. Yazīd.

Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik was so much in love with a slave girl Ḥabbābah that he expired within fifteen days of her accidental death. Many anecdotes about their love adventures have come down to us. Al-Walīd b. Yazīd was a famous poet, who wrote wine-songs, the themes of which were borrowed by the later poets, even by Abū Nuwās, an 'Abbasīd poet well-known for his wine-sohgs. He also composed poems in praise of women and Tashbīb on Umm-i-Ḥabib. He was also an expert in music and singing.  

7. Ibid. P. 91.
In the Umayyad period the restrictions imposed by orthodox caliphs on composition of poetry were withdrawn. Umayyad caliphs themselves were great patrons of poetry which had again started to flourish and many inimitable poets appeared on the scene. Some of the shining stars in the galaxy of the Ghazal poets are:

Kaṣīs b. Ḍhārīn - d. 688 A.D., Vol. VI; P. 55
Majnūn b. Āmīr

Layla al-Akhīliyyah d. 700 A.D. Vol. VI; P. 116
Jamīl b. Ma'mar d. 701 A.D. Vol. II; P. 134
Tawbah b. al-Ḥimyar d. 704 A.D. Vol. II; P. 73

Al-Aḥṣāt d. 708 A.D. Vol. V; P. 318
Waḍdāh al-Yemen d. 708 A.D. Vol. IV; P. 69
Al-Ṭāfī d. 709 A.D. Vol. IV; P. 340

'Umar b. Abī Rabī'ah d. 712 A.D. Vol. V; P. 211
Kuthayyīr d. 723 A.D. Vol. VI; P. 72
Al-Āhqāṣ d. 723 A.D. Vol. IV; P. 257
Nuṣayb d. 726 A.D. Vol. VIII; P. 355

8. Al-Ziriklī: Al-'Ālam, Dates are given from the different volumes.
The 'Umayyad caliphs had genuine appreciation for poetry and were liberal in their patronage of poets. They were endowed with a fine taste for poetry and this was shown in their ability to cite verses appropriate to different occasions. Their sensitivity to good poetry was intense and spontaneous. They were particularly generous to poets and rewarded them lavishly which sometimes amounted to thousands of Dirhams. Once Kuthayyir gave such a description of Ghurrāb⁹ in the presence of caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan that the caliph gave it to the poet as a gift. Even 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, called 'Umar II for his piety and of rectitude, was fond of listening to poetry and showed regard to the poets from time to time. Once Kuthayyir with al-Aḥwaṣ and Nuṣayb visited caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and sought permission to recite some verses. He permitted but asked them to express only the truth. Nuṣayb's refusal resulted

⁹. Yaḥūt al-Hamawī: Mu'jam al-'ulūdān, Vol. IV, P. 192,
A place near Syria.
his banishment whereas Kuthayyir and al-Ahwāṣ recited beautiful verses containing some Islamic ideas. Hearing these verses the caliph gave rich rewards to the poets. Once Walīd b. Yazīd bestowed upon Ibn Mayyādh a very beautiful Persian slave girl. There still exists a detailed account of how poet Nuṣayb got ten thousand Dīnārs from ‘Abd al-Azīz b. Marwān. Thus we find plentiful records of such momentous events and occasions when poets and singers received bounties from the Umayyad caliphs and from their Governors.

The Umayyad caliphs and their Governors liked Ghazal more than any other form of poetry because the Ghazal couplets are characterized by an enchanting melody and direct expression of inner feeling that touches our hearts and minds. A significant feature of these Ghazals is the intensity of feeling and expression. According to Grunebaum:

"This fascination with quaint, extravagant, or extraordinary behaviour, aside from its usefulness to the literary purposes of the work in giving entertainment or arousing the wonder

of the reader, seems to represent a realization that in the depths of such irrational behaviour there may reside a certain deep and paradoxical wisdom that is beyond the reach of the ordinary mind."\(^{13}\)

The opinion of this scholar regarding Majnūn bani 'Āmir, who was madly in love with his cousin Laylā may be correct. Ever since many stories about the love experience of Majnūn-Laylā have been current all along. But they have been dramatized so often that they have acquired the status of a legend. This legendary tale has provided the theme for widely known theme of subsequent Persian and Urdu poetry too. When Laylā was made to refuse to marry Majnūn he roamed in madness, his health was ruined and in the end he died of lovesickness. All these may not be acceptable to the rationalistic mind of the modern reader. It is a fact that whenever we are presented with an impossible thing it looks like a legend. The same was the case with Majnūn and Laylā. The intensity of their love was not acceptable even to the people of his own time. Otherwise Layla's father would not have

\(^{13}\) Grunbaum, G.E. : Arabic poetry, P. 113.
grieved and regretted for not allowing Laylā to marry him. Majnūn is not just a legendary figure. In favour of this the answer of an 'Uḫrī can be cited. He was asked if his tribe was really the most tender-hearted in all Arabia and he replied: We were but the Banū 'Āmir (b. Sa'sa'h) have surpassed us with their Majnūn (the poet Kays b. al-Mulawweh).

The Ghazal reflects the love experiences and incidents relating to them which occurred in the Umayyad age. The Ghazal poets enjoyed social security as well as royal patronage. The composition and recitation of Ghazal was popular in society owing to the influx of wealth following conquests and political aggrandizement and introduction into the Arab population of foreign elements. Pleasure seeking was the dominant feature of the Umayyad society. However the refinement of amorous sentiment over and above the classical models of pre-Islamic verse can be seen in the work of such poets as 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'ah, Jamīl b. Ma'mar, Ḵays b. Dhārīḥ and Majnūn bani 'Āmir. Ghazal was closely bound up with music which also flourished simultaneously in that

period. Love poetry became one of the main resources for writings on the theory of love and thus many useful books of literary importance like Jahiz's Risālah fī l-Iṣḥāk wa-al-Nisā' and Risālah al-Ḳiyān; Dāwūd al-فزفان's Kitāb al-Zahrah; Ibn Ṭayyib's Tawq al-Ḥamāmah; and Ibn Ahmad al-Sarrāj's compiled work Maṣāri'al-'Ushshāk (in two volumes) etc. came into being. The love poets tried to express the inexpressible, to say eloquently and memorably what other people could only stammer, or, even, might find unutterable. Thus the poems composed by the love-poets of the Umayyad age provide ample material on love from which the later poets and literary scholars got inspiration to write about love.