

# ON A NEW EDITION OF THE *DĪWĀN* OF ḤASSĀN B. THĀBIT<sup>1</sup>

By M. J. KISTER

The aim of the editor, Walid 'Arafat, ' to produce as complete a record as possible of the poetry ascribed to Ḥassān b. Thābit in the different recensions of the *Dīwān* and in other sources together with the scholia in the *Dīwān*, additional notes from other sources and editorial comments ', as stated in his preface (p. 1), has been pursued by him with praiseworthy perseverance, zeal, and dedication. Ten different manuscripts of the *Dīwān* have been closely examined and evaluated (introduction, pp. 10-23). The poems of the *Dīwān* have been accordingly divided in the following manner: poems 1-225 from the MS Ahmet III, 2534 (Ṭ) form the main part of the *Dīwān*; poems 226-63 from MS Ahmet III, 2584 (ṬA) form the second part of the *Dīwān* called *al-Ziyādāt*; the poems 264-372 are additions gathered from other sources (*ziyādāt min ghayri makhṭūṭāt al-dīwān*). The 'Introduction' contains sections dealing with the life of Ḥassān (pp. 3-7), former editions of the *Dīwān* (pp. 7-10), recensions of the *Dīwān* and its MSS (pp. 10-23), and the authenticity of the poems (pp. 23-31). In his sharp criticism of the authenticity of a great many of the poems ascribed to Ḥassān, 'Arafat often refers to his own articles, basing his conclusions on an analysis of the style and composition of these poems, the historical circumstances and developments, and the statements of early Muslim scholars.

The painstaking work of the recording of variants (*rīwāyāt*) and of sources (*takhrīj*) has been done by 'Arafat with great accuracy; the second volume contains the scholia from the MSS and other sources, the editor's notes and comments, and detailed indexes. The list of 152 sources perused affords evidence of the efforts expended by 'Arafat over a long period of time in order to establish correct readings. The result is indeed an admirable and sound edition of the texts in the good philological tradition.

## I

It may perhaps be useful to record some additional parallels from recently published sources, from some sources not consulted by 'Arafat, and from hitherto unpublished manuscripts.

### Poem 1

Al-'Iṣāmī, *Ṣimṭ al-nujūm al-'awālī fī anbā'i 'l-awā'ilī wa 'l-tawālī*, Cairo, 1380/1960, I, 343-4 (verses 11-12, 14-17, 19, 21, 23-7, 31), II, 192-4 (29 verses);

<sup>1</sup> Walid N. 'Arafat (ed.): *Dīwān of Ḥassān ibn Thābit*. ('E. J. W. Gibb Memorial' Series, New Series, xxv.) 2 vols.: viii, 31, 5-527, [12]; [vii], 5-439, [8] pp. London: Luzac and Co. Ltd., 1971.

al-Kalā'ī, *al-Iktifā' fī maghāzī rasūli 'llāhi wa 'l-thalāthati 'l-khulafā'*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāḥid, Cairo, 1387/1968, II, 312–14 (27 verses); al-Safārīnī, *Ghīdhā'u 'l-albāb li-sharḥi manzūmat al-ādāb*, Cairo, 1324/1906, I, 157 (verses 11–13); 172–3 (28 verses); Ibn al-Athīr, *Jāmi'u 'l-uṣūl min ahādīthi 'l-rasūl, ṣallā 'llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī, Cairo, 1370/1951, VI, 116–17 (verses 11–17, 21, 23, 25–7); al-Ḥākīm, *al-Mustadrak*, Hyderabad, 1342/1923, III, 45 (verse 23), 488 (verse 23), 72 (verses 11, 13), 487 (verse 27); Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib āl Abī Ṭālib*, Najaf, 1376/1956, I, 143 (verses 22, 24–7, and the verse of the *Dīwān*, I, 19, penult.); al-Khafājī, *Nasīm al-riyād fī sharḥ shifā'i 'l-qāḍi 'Iyād*, Cairo, 1327/1909, I, 142 (verse 26), II, 24 (verses 23, 27); Mughultāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim fī siyar Abī 'l-Qāsim*, MS Leiden Or. 370, fol. 319b (verse 7; Mughultāy refutes the assumption of al-Suhaylī that the verse was invented, stressing that it is recorded in the recensions of al-Sukkārī, Ibn Ḥabīb, and Abū 'Ubayda: *wa-za'ama 'l-suhayliyyu anna qawla ḥassāna 'alā anyābihā' . . . maudū'un, lā yushbihu shi'rahu wa-lā lafzahu, fīhi nazarun min ḥaythu anna hādihā thābitun fī ghayri mā nuskhatin min dīwānihi, riwāyati 'l-sukkariyyi wa-bni ḥabībin wa-abī 'ubaydata wa-ghayrihim*). The reading *al-janā'u* (instead of *al-ijtinā'u*) is in the recension of al-Sukkārī, as stated by Mughultāy; (cf. 'Arafat, op. cit., II, 7, n. 1), fol. 315b (verse 11: *min kanfay kadā'i*); 'Imād al-Dīn al-'Āmirī, *Bahjat al-maḥāfil wa-bughyat al-amāthil*, Madīna, 1331/1913, I, 414–16 (verses 11–19, 21–7); Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, *Zād al-ma'ād*, Beirut, n.d., II, 168–9 (27 verses); al-Qurṭubī, *al-Tafsīr* (reprint), Cairo, 1387/1967, XIII, 153 (verses 23–4, 27, 31); al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, Hyderabad, 1355/1936, X, 238 (verses 11–17, 19, 21, 23, 25–7); Nashwān, *Shams al-'ulūm*, ed. K. V. Zetterstéén, I, part I, Leiden, 1951, p. 68 (verse 15).

#### Poem 2

Al-Hamdānī, *al-Iktilāl*, ed. Muḥammad al-Akwa' al-Ḥiwālī, Cairo, 1386/1966, II, 217 (verse 2); al-Rabā'ī, *Niẓām al-gharīb*, ed. Brönnle, Cairo, n.d., p. 12 (verse 2).

#### Poem 3

Al-Hamdānī, op. cit., II, 216–17 (verses 11–12, 16–18); al-Ḥākīm, op. cit., III, 279 (verses 11–12); al-'Iṣāmī, op. cit., II, 66–7 (verses 1–12, 14–23); al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., II, 72 (verses 11–12).

#### Poem 5

Al-'Iṣāmī, op. cit., I, 204–5 (24 verses), II, 103–10 (23 verses); al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-muwashshā'*, ed. E. Brünnow, Leiden, 1886, p. 105 (verses 3–5); Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-zahra*, ed. A. R. Nykl and Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān, Chicago, 1932, p. 80 (verses 3–5).

#### Poem 6

Al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., II, 442–4 (20 verses); al-'Iṣāmī, op. cit., II, 218–19 (31 verses).

## Poem 11

Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, *al-Bad' wa 'l-tārīkh*, ed. C. Huart, Paris, 1916, iv, 208 (verses 1–3, 5, 9, 14).

## Poem 13

Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-'ulūm, Najaf, 1384/1964, i, 180 (verses 7, 11–13, 15); al-Sharīshī, *Sharḥ maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Khafājī, Cairo, 1372/1952, ii, 98 (verses 7, 11–13, 15); al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, op. cit., iv, 122 (verses 11–13, 15, 23); al-Aṣma'ī, *Tārīkh al-'arab qabla 'l-islām*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan āl-Yāsīn, Baghdād, 1379/1959, pp. 102–3 (verses 7–8, 10–11, 14–15); al-Tha'ālibī, *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, Beirut, 1966, p. 102 (verses 11, 15); Mughultāy, op. cit., fol. 330b (verses 11–15); Mughultāy corrects a faulty version of verse 11 recorded by al-Suhaylī:

*aulādu jafnata ḥaula qabri abīhimī*  
*biḍu 'l-wujūhī min al-ṭirāzī 'l-awwalī.*

Giving the correct version of the verse, he remarks that it is so recorded in the *Dīwān* and transmitted by Abū 'Ubayda, Abū 'Amr, Ibn al-A'rābī, Ibn Ḥabīb, and al-Sukkarī; Ghars al-ni'ma al-Ṣābī, *al-Hafawāt al-nādīra*, ed. Ṣāliḥ al-Ashtar, Damascus, 1387/1967, p. 376 (verses 23–4).

## Poem 14

Al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., ii, 192 (15 verses); al-Safārīnī, op. cit., i, 160 (15 verses).

## Poem 15

Al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, op. cit., iv, 192 (verses 14, 16); Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., i, 55 (verses 14–15); al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., ii, 40–1 (16 verses); al-'Iṣāmī, op. cit., ii, 35 (16 verses); Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Tamām al-mutūn fī sharḥ risālati bni zaydūn*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1389/1969, pp. 153–4 (16 verses); Mughultāy, op. cit., fol. 222b (verse 1); Mughultāy refutes al-Suhaylī's explanation of *al-qashīb* as *jadīd*, new; *qashīb* belongs to the *addād* and denotes in this verse 'an effaced writing', says Mughultāy); al-Qurṭubī, op. cit., vii, 375–6 (16 verses).

## Poem 16

Al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., ii, 82 (verses 6–8), 157 (verses 1–3, 6–11); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS BM Add. 23297, fol. 222a (verse 9).

## Poem 19

Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, *al-Istīḥṣār fī nasabī 'l-ṣaḥābati min al-anṣār*, ed. 'Alī Nuwayhid, Cairo, 1392/1972, pp. 28–9 (7 verses).

## Poem 20

Khalīl b. Aybak, op. cit., p. 191 (verses 1, 4, 5); al-'Iṣāmī, op. cit., ii, 412 (verses 1, 4–5, 8); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, v, ed. S. D. Goitein, Jerusalem,

1936, p. 104 (verses 3, 5, 7); al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, Tehran, 1380/1960, xxxviii, 266 (verses 3-5); Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Māliqī, *al-Tamhīd wa 'l-bayān*, ed. Maḥmūd Yūsuf Zāyid, Beirut, 1964, pp. 179 (verses 3, 5), 207-8 (verses 1-2, 4-8); Ibn A'tham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, Hyderabad, 1389/1969, II, pp. 240-1 (verses 1-3, 5-7); al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Jamal*, Najaf, 1368/1948, pp. 96 (verses 3-5), 100 (verses 3, 5).

Poem 21

Al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., II, 283-4 (16 verses); al-Khafājī, op. cit., IV, 413 (verses 12, 16); 'Alī Khān al-Shīrāzī, *al-Darajāt al-rafi'a fī ṭabaqāt al-shī'a*, Najaf, 1381/1962, pp. 77 ult.-78 (14 verses).

Poem 23

Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā, *al-Ishrāf fī manāzil al-ashrāf*, MS Chester Beatty 4427, fol. 69b (verses 1, 4).

Poem 28

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Māliqī, op. cit., pp. 204-5 (6 verses); al-Balādhurī, op. cit., V, 103 (verses 5-6); al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id wa-manba' al-fawā'id*, Beirut, 1967, IX, 99 (verses 1-2).

Poem 29

Khalīl b. Ayyub, op. cit., pp. 191-2 (verses 1-2); al-Balādhurī, op. cit., V, 104 (5 verses); Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Māliqī, op. cit., p. 209 (5 verses); Anonymous, *al-Tārīkh al-muḥkam fī-man intasaba ilā 'l-nabīyyi ṣallā 'Uāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam*, MS BM Or. 8653, fol. 211b (verses 4-5); al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab quraysh*, MS Bodley, Marsh 384, fol. 202b (verses 4-5).

Poem 30

Al-Balādhurī, op. cit., V, 100 (verse 1).

Poem 32

Al-Ḥākim, op. cit., III, 64 (verses 1-4, 6), 78 (verses 4, 6); al-Haythamī, op. cit., IX, 43 (verses 1-3); al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, op. cit., p. 102 (verses 1-3); al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, op. cit., V, 167-8 (verses 1-3); al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, VI, 369 (verses 1-3, 5); Ibn Naṣīr al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-athār fī ma'ulidī 'l-nabīyyi 'l-mukhtār*, MS Cambridge Or. 913, fol. 312a (verses 1-3); Anonymous, *al-Tārīkh al-muḥkam*, MS, fol. 118a (verses 1-4, 6); al-Majlisī, op. cit., xxxviii, 261 (verses 1-4, 6), 264 (verses 1-3); Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1964, IV, 123 (verses 1-4, 6); Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, *al-Ṣawā'iq al-muḥriqa*, ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Abd al-Laṭīf, Cairo, 1375/1955, pp. 74 (verses 1-3), 83 (verses 4, 6); al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riḡāḍ al-naḍīra*, ed. Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-Na'sānī, Cairo, n.d., I, 53 (verses 1-4, 6); al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-khulafā'*, ed. Muḥammad

Muḥyī 'l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamid, Cairo, 1371/1952, pp. 47 (verses 4, 6), 33 (1-3); al-'Iṣāmī, op. cit., I, 305 (verses 1-4, 6); al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfi'īyya*, ed. al-Ṭanāḥī and al-Ḥulw, Cairo, 1383/1964, I, 250 (verses 4, 6).

Poem 34

Al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., II, 73 (verses 1-5, 9).

Poem 35

Al-Qurtubī, op. cit., V, 376 (verses 2, 4).

Poem 38

Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-'Iṣāba*, Cairo, 1328/1910, III, 543, no. 8650 (verses 1-2, ascribed to Ibn Rawāḥa).

Poem 39

Al-Tauḥidī, *al-Baṣā'ir wa 'l-dhakhā'ir*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Kaylānī, Damascus, 1964, IV, 47 (verse 3; and see the editor's note, p. 348); Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-'uyūn fī sharḥi risālati bni zaydūn*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1383/1964, p. 161 (verses 1, 3).

Poem 42

Al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., II, 73-4 (verses 1-2, 4-5, 7).

Poem 50

Mughultāy, op. cit., fol. 154a-b (verses 1, 3, 5, 11-13; the verse of the *Sira* quoted by 'Arafat, I, 154, l. 10, is recorded by Mughultāy, fol. 154a; Mughultāy remarks (fol. 154b, l. 4) that he quotes according to the *riwāya* of al-Sukkarī on the authority of Ibn Ḥabīb: *riwāyat al-sukkarī 'an ibni ḥabīb*).

Poem 51

The verse *lau-lā 'l-sifār* . . . recorded by 'Arafat, *Dīwān*, I, 155, is (with four additional verses) attributed to Ḥassān, who according to Ibn Da'b uttered these verses when he passed by the grave of Rabī'a b. Mukaddam [see al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1376/1956, IV, 89]. Mughultāy (op. cit., fol. 216a) records this verse with two additional verses (*wahūbi, li-hurūbi*). These verses were attributed to Ḥassān (by al-Mubarrad), to a man from the Balḥārith b. Fīhr (who is named by Abū 'Ubayda as Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb), to Mukriz b. Jābir (see al-Marzubānī, *Mu'jam al-shu'arā'*, ed. F. Krenkow, Cairo, 1354/1935, p. 470), to a man from the people of Taymā, or to Ḥāṭib b. Abī Balta'a.

Poem 53

Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., I, 102 (verses 1-3); al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo, n.d., XVII, 97 (5 verses).

## Poem 55

Al-ʿIṣāmī, op. cit., II, 66 (5 verses).

## Poem 56

Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, op. cit., VI, 55 (6 verses); al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, op. cit., IV, 203 (verses 2-3); al-Khafājī, op. cit., II, 16 (verses 1-4); al-Qurṭubī, op. cit., IX, 77 (verses 2-3).

## Poem 59

Al-ʿIṣāmī, op. cit., II, 93 (5 verses).

## Poem 60

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh 'alā qabā'il al-ruwāh*, Najaf, 1386/1966, p. 96 (verses 1-2).

## Poem 61

Al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., II, 213 (6 verses); al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, op. cit., IV, 223 (verses 1, 3, 5).

## Poem 74

Al-ʿIṣāmī, op. cit., II, 68 (7 verses).

## Poem 75

Muwaffaq al-Dīn, op. cit., p. 30 (verses 1-2); Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op. cit., p. 113 (verses 1-4).

## Poem 76

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op. cit., pp. 49 (verse 2), 113 (verses 1-2).

## Poem 77

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op. cit., pp. 113-14 (verses 1-3, 6-7).

## Poem 78

Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS, fol. 25a (verse 1).

## Poem 81

Mughultāy, op. cit., fol. 173a (verses 1, 4).

## Poem 86

Ḥumayd b. Muḥammad b. Ruzayq, *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-'adnaniyya*, MS BM Or. 6569, fol. 272b (8 verses); 'Imād al-Dīn al-'Āmirī, op. cit., I, 127 (verses 4-6); Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, op. cit., IV, 157 (verses 3-4).

## Poem 89

Al-Dhahabī, *al-'Uluww li 'l-'alīyyi 'l-ghaffār*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad 'Uthmān, Madīna, 1388/1968, pp. 40 (verses 1-2, 5), 41 (verses 1, 3-5);

Iṣḥāq b. Bishr, *Kitāb al-mubtada'*, MS *Zāhiriyya*, *ḥadīth* 359, fol. 129b, l. 4 (verse 5).

Poem 93

Al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, Najaf 1381/1962, p. 56 (4 verses); al-Majlisī, op. cit., xx, 259 (4 verses), LXI, 80 (verses 3–4), 98 (4 verses); al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-'Uthmāniyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo, 1374/1955, p. 337 (4 verses—al-Iskāfī).

Poem 94

Al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., II, 196 (4 verses); al-Fayrūzābādī, *al-Maghānim al-muṭāba*, ed. Ḥamad al-Jāsir, Riyāḍ, 1389/1969, p. 66 (verse 2 and the verse recorded by 'Arafat, I, 210, l. 3 from bottom); al-Khafājī, op. cit., III, 218 (verse 4); al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan*, IX, 83 (verse 4).

Poem 95

Al-Nuwayrī, op. cit., XVII, 199 (4 verses); al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., II, 200 (4 verses).

Poem 101

Al-Sharishī, op. cit., IV, 214 (verses 2, 5); al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1384/1965, p. 490 (verse 2).

Poem 102

Al-Sharishī, op. cit., IV, 213 ult.–214, l. 1 (verses 1–2).

Poem 103

'Imād al-Dīn al-'Āmirī, op. cit., I, 145 (verses 1, 5–11); al-Fayrūzābādī, op. cit., p. 136 (verses 6, 11).

Poem 118

Al-Fayrūzābādī, op. cit., p. 153 (verses 1–3, 5).

Poem 123

Al-Sharishī, op. cit., III, 98 (verses 1, 5–6, 9–10); Usāma b. Munqidh, *Kitāb al-manāzil wa 'l-diyār*, ed. A. B. Khālidov, Moscow, 1961, fol. 156b (verses 1–3, 5, 9).

Poem 126

Al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār*, p. 145 (verses 1, 5).

Poem 129

Al-'Iṣāmī, op. cit., II, 210 (13 verses); al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., II, 361–2 (13 verses).

## Poem 130

Al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., II, 189-90 (11 verses).

## Poem 131

ʿImād al-Dīn al-ʿĀmirī, op. cit., II, 122-3 (20 verses); Khalil b. Aybak, op. cit., p. 35 (verse 12); al-Nuwayrī, op. cit., XVIII, 402-3 (19 verses).

## Poem 132

Al-Nuwayrī, op. cit., XVIII, 402 (8 verses).

## Poem 138

Mughultāy, op. cit., fol. 292a (verses 1, 7-9).

## Poem 140

Anonymous, *al-Tārīkh al-muḥkam*, fol. 194b (verses 1, 3); al-Khafājī, op. cit., IV, 373 (verse 3); al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., II, 374 (verse 1).

## Poem 144

Al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, op. cit., IV, 216 (verses 1-4).

## Poem 147

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, op. cit., fol. 189b (verse 3).

## Poem 152

Al-ʿIṣāmī, op. cit., I, 334 (verses 1-3, the two verses recorded by ʿArafat, I, 306 ult.-307, l. 1, and an additional verse); al-Ṣāliḥī, *Subul al-hudā wa 'l-rashād fi sīrat khayri 'l-ʿibād*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, Cairo, 1392/1972, pp. 501-2 (verse 1 and the verse recorded by ʿArafat, I, 307, l. 1); Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., I, 62 ult.-63 (verses 1-2, the verse recorded by ʿArafat, I, 306 ult. and an additional verse; and see Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., I, 142 ult.-143); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khaṣā'is al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad Khalīl Harās, Cairo, 1387/1967, I, 194 (verse 1 and the two verses recorded by ʿArafat, I, 306 ult.-307).

## Poem 153

Al-Tauḥīdī, *al-Dhakhā'ir*, I, 330-1 (verses 1, 3, 5); Nashwān, op. cit., I, I, 112 (verses 9-10).

## Poem 155

Muḥammad b. Yahyā 'l-Māliqī, op. cit., p. 208 (verses 1-7).

## Poem 157

Al-Raba'ī, op. cit., p. 214 (verse 7).

## Poem 159

Al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., II, 440-2 (11 verses); al-ʿIṣāmī, op. cit., II, 217-18 (11 verses).

## Poem 160

Al-'Iṣāmī, op. cit., II, 414 (verses 1-2).

## Poem 161

Muḥammad b. Yahyā 'l-Māliqī, op. cit., p. 216 (5 verses); al-Qurṭubī, *al-Tadhkira fī aḥwālī 'l-mautā wa-umūri 'l-ākhirā*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Mursī, Cairo, n.d., p. 537 (verses 2, 5); P. Leander, 'Aus Abū 'Abdallāh az-Zubair b. Abī Bakr Bakkār's Muwaffaqijāt', *MO*, x, 1916, 152 (verses 2, 5).

## Poem 162

Al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., II, 130-1 (19 verses); al-'Iṣāmī, op. cit., II, 107 (19 verses).

## Poem 163

'Imād al-Dīn al-'Āmirī, op. cit., I, 395 (8 verses); al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., II, 285-6 (8 verses).

## Poem 168

Al-Ṣafadī, *Nakt al-himjān fī nukat al-'umyān*, Cairo, n.d., p. 181 (verses 1-3); al-'Iṣāmī, op. cit., I, 328 (5 verses); al-Ḥākīm, *al-Mustadrak*, III, 545 (verses 2-4); al-Haythamī, op. cit., IX, 284-5 (5 verses); al-Tauḥīdī, *Mathālib al-wazīrayn*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Kaylānī, Damascus, 1961, p. 67 (verses 1-4).

## Poem 173

Khalīl b. Aybak, op. cit., pp. 162-3 (18 verses); al-'Iṣāmī, op. cit., II, 100-1 (18 verses); al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., II, 126-7 (18 verses).

## Poem 182

Anonymous, *al-Tārīkh al-muḥkam*, fol. 131b (verses 6, 8-9); al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-'Uthmāniyya*, pp. 126-7 (verses 1, 3-4, 8-9, and 2 additional verses, not included in the poem); Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb tārīkh*, VII, 83 (verses 1-2, 4-7, 11).

## Poem 192

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, op. cit., fol. 145a (5 verses); Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, ed. Khūrshīd Aḥmad Fāriq, Hyderabad, 1384/1964, pp. 238-9 (5 verses).

## Poem 197

Al-Majlisī, op. cit., XLI, 82 (verse 1); al-Ṭabarī, *Bishārat al-muṣṭafā li-shī'ati 'l-murtadā*, Najaf 1383/1963, p. 186 (verse 1).

## Poem 198

Al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, op. cit., IV, 227 (verses 1-2).

## Poem 199

Al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., II, 139-40 (verses 1-6).

## Poem 211

Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Muẓaffar, *Dalā'il al-ṣidq*, n.p., 1373/1953, III, part 1, 217–18 (verses 1–2, 10, 12).

## Poem 218

Nashwān, op. cit., I, I, 35 (verse 1).

## Poem 220

Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Muẓaffar, op. cit., III, I, 219 (verses 1–2); al-Majlisī, op. cit., VIII, 567—lithogr. ed. (verses 1–2).

## Poem 221

Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Muẓaffar, op. cit., III, I, 218 (verses 1–2, 5).

## Poem 222

Al-'Iṣāmī, op. cit., I, 343 (verses 1–2, 4–8); al-Khafājī, op. cit., III, 459 (verse 7); al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, x, 238 (verse 4).

## Poem 233

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, op. cit., fol. 95a (verse 1 and the verses of Mauhib recorded by 'Arafat, I, 413).

## Poem 234

Al-Ḥākīm, *al-Mustadrak*, III, 486 (verse 1); al-Tha'ālibī, *al-I'jāz wa 'l-ṭjāz*, Beirut, n.d., p. 145 (verse 1).

## Poem 235

Al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., II, 189 (verses 1–8).

## Poem 242

Al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, op. cit., v, 170 (verses 1–2).

## Poem 245

Al-Fayrūzābādī, op. cit., p. 168 (verses 1–2).

## Poem 249

Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., I, 71 (verses 1–2, 4–7, 9, 11–12); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-kubrā*, I, 368 (verses 1–6 and an additional verse).

## Poem 255

Al-Haythamī, op. cit., VIII, 125 (verses 1–5), IX, 152 (verses 1, 3–5); al-Ḥākīm, *al-Mustadrak*, III, 362–3 (9 verses); al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍīra*, II, 359–60 (8 verses); Anonymous, *Manāqib al-ṣaḥāba*, MS BM Or. 8273, fol. 59a–b (9 verses); al-'Iṣāmī, op. cit., II, 439 (verses 1–4, 7–9).

## Poem 261

Al-Sharīshī, *op. cit.*, III, 99 (4 verses); al-Aṣma'ī, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-14 (4 verses).

## Poem 275

Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, pp. 25-6 (and an additional verse; and see the editor's reference).

## Poem 278

Al-'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, II, 105-6 (43 verses).

## Poem 282

Al-Muṭaḥhar b. Ṭāhir, *op. cit.*, v, 69 (verses 1-3, 5, 7, 12-13, 18-19, 36); Ibn Shahrāshūb, *op. cit.*, I, 210 (verses 1-3, 6, 36); al-'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, II, 234-6 (46 verses).

## Poem 284

Al-Wāqidī, *al-Ridda*, MS Bankipore XV, 108-110, no. 1042, fol. 25a (7 verses and two additional verses; after verse 4 in 'Arafat's *Dīwān*, I, 459:

وقد كانت الأنصار منه قريبة فلما رأوه قد تباعد باعدوا

and after verse 7 in 'Arafat's *Dīwān*:

فان ترض هذا فالرضا ما رضيته والّا فأيقظ انّ من تحت راقد

Muḥammad Ḥamidullah, *al-Wathā'iq al-siyāsiyya li 'l-'ahdi 'l-nabawiyyi wa 'l-khilāfa 'l-rāshida*, Cairo, 1376/1956, pp. 271-2.

## Poem 285

Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS, fol. 43a (2 verses).

## Poem 286

Al-Wāhidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, Cairo, 1388/1968, p. 167 (verses 1-4, 6); al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-'uyūn* (= *al-Sira al-ḥalabiyya*), Cairo, 1353/1935, III, 19-20 (6 verses); al-Qurtubī, *Tafsīr*, VIII, 159 (verses 4, 6).

## Poem 289

Al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, fol. 3b (9 verses and an additional verse, after verse 7 of 'Arafat's *Dīwān*:

واننا يوم بعنا الله أنفسنا لم يبق خوف على مال ولا ولد

Verses 4-5 are recorded in Wāqidī's *Ridda* as follows:

ان كان عندكم عهد له سبب بعد الرسول فما قلناه بالفند  
أو لا يكن عندكم عهد فانّ له أصحاب بدر وأهل الشعب من أحد

The words *lahū sababun* in verse 4 are written above the line of *fa-inna lahu*).

## Poem 291

Ibn Shahrāshūb, *op. cit.*, I, 62 (2 verses).

## Poem 305

Anonymous, *Manāqib al-ṣaḥāba*, fol. 14b (3 verses).

## Poem 306

Al-Kalā'ī, *op. cit.*, II, 64 (10 verses); al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, *op. cit.*, IV, 193 (verses 7, 9).

## Poem 307

Al-'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, II, 412 (3 verses); Ibn A'tham, *op. cit.*, II, 239 (3 verses, and 5 additional verses); al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Jamal*, p. 96 (3 verses and 4 additional verses); Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Māliqī, *op. cit.*, p. 217 (3 verses, and 2 additional verses). The correct reading in verse 2 is *hājā amran* instead of *idh jā*.

## Poem 311

Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, MS, fol. 254a; al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār*, p. 64; 'Imād al-Dīn al-'Āmirī, *op. cit.*, I, 276.

## Poem 318

Ibn 'Arabī, *Muḥāḍarat al-abrār*, Beirut, 1388/1968, II, 41-2 (2 verses and 11 additional verses).

## Poem 321b

See Ibn 'Arabī, *op. cit.*, II, 41-2.

## Poem 323

Al-Nuwayrī, *op. cit.*, XVII, 97 (5 verses).

## Poem 324

Al-Ṣafadī, *Nakt*, p. 177 (3 verses); 'Imād al-Dīn al-'Āmirī, *op. cit.*, I, 303 (3 verses).

## Poem 336

Al-Fāsī, *op. cit.*, VI, 298-9 (5 verses); Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, II, 105 (verses 1-4); al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-khulafā'*, p. 144 (verses 2-4).

## Poem 340

Al-Kalā'ī, *op. cit.*, II, 438-40 (19 verses); al-'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, II, 216-17 (19 verses); Anonymous, *Manāqib al-ṣaḥāba*, fols. 106b-107a (18 verses).

## Poem 344

Al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, v, 401 (4 verses).

## Poem 347

Al-Nuwayrī, op. cit., xvii, 174 (3 verses); 'Imād al-Dīn al-Āmirī, op. cit., I, 267 (3 verses); al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, xiv, 134 (3 verses).

## Poem 348

Al-'Iṣāmī, op. cit., II, 125-6 (7 verses); al-Khalīl b. Aybak, op. cit., p. 173 (verses 1-4); al-Safārīnī, op. cit., I, 318 (verses 1-5); al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., II, 231 (7 verses), 232 (verses 1, 4); see al-Haythamī, op. cit., IX, 235 (8 verses), 51 (4 verses).

## Poem 349

Al-Khalīl b. Aybak, op. cit., p. 194 (4 verses); P. Leander, art. cit., 152 (4 verses).

## Poem 352

Al-Kalā'ī, op. cit., II, 140-1 (13 verses); Muwaffaq al-Dīn, op. cit., p. 287 (verses 1-2).

## Poem 353

Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ miṣr*, ed. C. Torrey, Leiden, 1920, pp. 107 (3 verses); 233 (3 verses); al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, op. cit., fol. 194b, inf. (verse 2 with the following remark: . . . *wa-innamā huwa l-ḥārithu bnu ḥabībī bni shaḥāmīn, fa-lam yastatimma lahu 'l-baytu illā bi-an ja'ala ḥabīban ḥubayyīban; wa-shaḥāmun huwa jadhīmatu bnu māliki bni ḥislīn, jaddu hishāmi bni 'amri bni rabī'ata bni l-ḥārithi*).

## Poem 363

Al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, p. 70 (3 verses).

## Poem 370

Al-Fāsī, op. cit., VI, 31 (2 verses).

These parallels were collected at random. Within the limits of this article it has not been possible to note variants, some of which may be important.

## II

Ḥassān's verses referring to certain events, such as poems written in praise of the Companions of the Prophet or attacking his enemies deserve our attention. A lengthy poem in praise of 'Ā'isha, the wife of the Prophet, is recorded in the Anonymous, *Manāqib al-ṣaḥāba*, MS BM Or. 8273, fols. 86b-87a :

	وقال فيها حسان بن ثابت	
لزوجة مختار و بنت أبي بكر	مديحي على اسم الله حقا بلا نكر	1
فبان لأهل الأرض في البر والبحر	لعائشة والله أظهر فضاهما	2

- 3 وبرأها في سورة النور قاصدا  
 4 وكانت بحمد الله منه بريئة  
 5 فجاء رسول الله جبريل قاصدا  
 6 وكان رسول الله قبل مجيئه  
 7 فسرّ رسول الله بالوحي اذ أتى  
 8 فقام رسول الله يسعى بفرحة  
 9 فقبل عينها وقبل رأسها  
 10 أتاني جبريل من الله أنفا  
 11 فأصبحت أم المؤمنين بريئة  
 12 هنيئا لك القول الذي فيك قاله  
 13 فأنت وبيت الله سيدة النساء  
 14 وأنت وبيت الله حقاً ضجيعتي  
 15 فقال أبوها يا بنية أسرعي  
 16 فقالت بحمد الله ليس بحمده  
 17 ولكنني حقاً سأبسط عذره  
 18 فمن لم يقل هذا فشلت يمينه  
 19 واني أدين الله ربي بلعنه  
 20 ألا قل لأهل الرفض والجهل والعمى  
 21 وحدثم عن أبهج الناس وبحكم  
 22 ولا زال روح الله يغدو مجردا
- من الافك اذ جاءت به عصبة الشرّ  
 مطهّرة الأذيال من دنس الوزر  
 يجبر عنها بالصيانة والستر  
 تخلّف عنه الوحي نحواً من الشهر  
 وقد كان قبل الوحي كالضيق الصدر  
 الى ابنة الصديق بل كاد أن يجرى  
 وقال أتاني عنك بالصدق ذو خبر  
 فبرأك من كلّ الخيانة والعزّز<sup>2</sup>  
 وأمن ربي منك يا عائشة لي خدرى<sup>3</sup>  
 أناس فقد نلت الجزيل من الأجر  
 كما أنا حقاً سيّد دون ما فخر  
 لدى جنّة الفردوس في ذروة الحجر<sup>4</sup>  
 جواب رسول الله في شكر ذى الأمر  
 وان كان بعد الله سؤلئ مع الذخر<sup>4</sup>  
 كما بسط الرحمن لي عنده عذرى  
 فقد أنكر الحق المبيّن في الذكر  
 وبغضته حتى يتوب من الكفر  
 عيتم وبيت الله عن رؤية البدر  
 وخالفتم الرحمن في السرّ والجهر  
 على روضة المختار بنت أبي بكر

Two verses in praise of 'Ā'isha are recorded by Mughultāy (fol. 292a inf.) with the following remark :

... وعند الحاكم بيتان لحسان في مدح عائشة لم يذكرهما ابن اسحاق وهما:  
 خليله خير الناس ديناً ومنصباً      نبي الهدى والمكرمات الفواضل  
 رأيتهك وليغفر لك الله حرّة      من المحصنات غير ذات غوائل

Al-Haythamī (op. cit., ix, 236) records three verses of Ḥassān rhyming in *ḥū*, recited when the calumniators of 'Ā'isha were flogged.

Three verses rhyming *wa-shaqqat*, *fa-shallat*, *istaqallat*, written by Ḥassān in praise of the brave defence of the Prophet by Ṭalḥa at the Day of Uḥud are

<sup>2</sup> So text ; perhaps to read *والغدر*.

<sup>3</sup> The metre in the second hemistich is faulty.

<sup>4</sup> The reading of the word is uncertain.

recorded by al-Ḥākim (*al-Mustadrak*, III, 378), Ibn 'Asākir (op. cit., VII, 82) and al-Muttaqī 'l-Hindī (op. cit., XV, 181–2). Three other verses rhyming *wa-nkashafū*, *wa-rtadafū*, *'atafū* describe the dangerous situation during the battle of Uḥud when the Prophet was deserted by his Companions while Ṭalḥa, his body stained with blood, defended him (al-Ḥākim, op. cit., III, 378; cf. Ibn 'Asākir, op. cit., VII, 83). The courageous deed of Ṭalḥa at Uḥud is also lauded by Ḥassān in four verses rhyming *wa 'l-jabal*, *yazal*, *'uzul*, *baṭal* (Ibn 'Asākir, op. cit., VII, 83).

Ḥassān composed a special poem about the messengers of the Prophet sent to the rulers of the neighbouring countries. Two verses of this poem (rhyming *khalīfah*, *al-ṣahīfah*) are recorded by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (op. cit., p. 53) on the authority of Wathīma b. Mūsā.

Four verses (rhyming *jahlī*, *rahlī*, *al-fadlī*, *al-qatlī*) recorded by al-Tha'ālibī (*Thimār al-qulūb*, p. 145) are directed against Abū Jahl.

Four verses rhyming in *lī* are a libel against 'Amr b. al-Āṣ, stating that the man who begot him was in fact Abū Sufyān (Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, op. cit., VI, 285; al-Majlisī, op. cit., VIII, 573—lithogr. ed.).

The two verses of 'Arafat's *Dīwān*, I, 521, no. 365 seem to be quoted from a poem of eulogy of the Southern tribes. Three verses in Hamdānī's *Iklāl* (II, 97, 199, 338) seem to be derived from this very poem.

Seven verses in al-Aṣma'ī's *Tārīkh* (pp. 8–9) rhyming in *rī* deal also with boasting concerning the Southern tribes and their superiority over the Northern tribes.

Two verses in al-Fākihī's *Tārīkh Makka*, MS Leiden Or. 463, fol. 457b, were composed in praise of the Banū Makhzūm.

انّ بني مخزوم قوم وجدتهم      نجوم الدجا والجوهر المتحيرا  
صفوا كصفاء المزن في ناقع الثرى      من الرنق حتى ماؤه غير أكدرا

Nineteen verses rhyming in *ā* compare the miracles wrought by prophets with those performed by the Prophet and emphasize the superiority of the Prophet in this field (al-Majlisī, op. cit., XVI, 403, 405, 413–16; Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., I, 184–5, 190–2).

Special attention should be given to the verses of Ḥassān uttered in connexion with the election of Abū Bakr. The verses recorded in 'Arafat's *Dīwān*, I, 463, no. 289, were indeed uttered on the Day of the *Saqīfa*, as rightly assumed by 'Arafat (II, 318, no. 289) and as attested by al-Wāqīdī (*al-Ridda*, fol. 3b). Ḥassān emerged as an advocate of the Anṣār, emphasizing what they did for the Prophet, pointing out their courageous and zealous fight in his defence, and denying any superiority of the Muhājirūn.

The fifteen verses of Ḥassān rhyming in *lī*, as recorded by Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd (*Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, VI, 25) form another specimen of an attack by Ḥassān on the delegates of Quraysh who demanded exclusive authority for Quraysh on the Day of the *Saqīfa*. He states that the Qurashī demands are unjust and

points out the exertions of the Anṣār on behalf of the Prophet and the Muhājirūn.

Shortly afterwards, when Abū Bakr sent out his troops against the rebellious tribes under the command of Khālīd b. al-Walīd, Ḥassān stood up in the presence of Abū Bakr and demanded that an additional commander be appointed (see the two verses: al-Ya‘qūbī, op. cit., II, 119). Abū Bakr responded and appointed over the Anṣār their leader, Thābit b. Qays.

It was in connexion with the event of *yawm al-saqīfa* that Ḥassān stood up and recited his verses rhyming in *an*, in which he expressed the virtues and merits of ‘Alī and pointed out his right to authority, as against the demand of the Muhājirūn that authority should be granted to Abū Bakr (Ibn Abī ‘l-Ḥadīd, op. cit., VI, 35, 9 verses; al-Ya‘qūbī, op. cit., II, 118, 7 verses; al-Majlisī, op. cit., XXXVIII, 267, 2 verses; Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., 372, 2 verses).

It was Ḥassān b. Thābit who, according to Shi‘ī tradition, asked the Prophet’s permission to recite verses in praise of ‘Alī at Ghadīr Khumm, when the Prophet proclaimed him as his *maulā* for the faithful (*man kuntu maulāhu fa-‘alī maulāhu*). The six verses rhyming in *yā* are indeed a versification of the Prophet’s utterance and an explanation of his order to obey ‘Alī and aid him as an *imām* and guide. (See al-Ganjī, *Kifāyāt al-ṭālib*, ed. Muḥammad Hādī ‘l-Amīnī, Najaf 1390/1970, p. 64 (6 verses); Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., II, 230 (6 verses); al-Ṭabarsī, *I‘lām al-warā*, ed. ‘Alī Akbar al-Ghaffārī, Tehran, 1338/1919, pp. 139–40 (6 verses); al-Fattāl, op. cit., p. 103 (6 verses); al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, pp. 94–5 (6 verses); *idem*, *al-Jamal*, p. 101 (6 verses); Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-khawāṣṣ*, Najaf, 1383/1964, p. 33 (6 verses); Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, *Amālī al-Ṣadūq*, Najaf, 1389/1970, p. 514 (6 verses); Akhtāb Khwārizm, *al-Manāqib*, Najaf, 1385/1965, pp. 80 ult.–81 (6 verses); al-Majlisī, op. cit., XXXVII, 112 (6 verses); XXXVIII, 267 (verse 1). The Prophet, after listening to these verses, gave his blessing to Ḥassān, praying that he might be aided by the Holy Spirit (see e.g. al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, p. 95; Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, op. cit., p. 33).

Ten verses of Ḥassān recorded by Sulaym b. Qays (*Kitāb al-saqīfa*, Najaf, n.d., p. 183) rhyming in *yā* deal with the same subject, i.e. the Prophet’s injunction at Ghadīr Khumm, but are different from the verses quoted above.

Five verses rhyming in *yā* form a kind of a versified report on the miraculous healing of ‘Alī’s ophthalmia by the Prophet who spat into his eyes and handed over the banner to him at the attack on the fortresses of Khaybar (al-Ganjī, op. cit., p. 104; al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, pp. 37, 67; Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., II, 320; al-Fattāl, op. cit., p. 130; al-Majlisī, op. cit., XLI, 87. Two verses in Ibn Bābawayh’s *Amālī*, p. 514 and in Majlisī’s *Biḥār*, XXXVII, 112, are derived from this poetical passage).

Six verses rhyming in *nā* attributed in some sources to Ḥassān refer to a discussion between ‘Alī and al-Walīd b. ‘Uqba about a revelation which had been granted to the Prophet (Sūra XXXII, 19; see e.g. al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*,

pp. 235–6; al-Qurtubī, *Tafsīr*, XIV, 105). In these verses Ḥassān stresses 'Alī's faith, contrasting it with the unbelief of al-Walid. (Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, op. cit., VI, 292–3; al-Ganjī, op. cit., p. 141; al-Majlisī, op. cit., XXXVIII, 235; Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., I, 294; Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī, op. cit., p. 202; Ibn Bābawayh, op. cit., p. 440.)

Two verses of Ḥassān ending in *bī* report the miracle of the sun's return so that 'Alī might be able to perform the prescribed prayer (al-Qundūzī, *Yanābī' al-mawadda*, Kāzimiyya–Qumm 1385/1966, p. 183).

Three verses rhyming in *lī* tell about the proclamation of Jibrīl: *lā sayfa illā dhū 'l-fiqār wa-lā fatan illā 'aliyy* (Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī, op. cit., p. 26).

Two verses rhyming in *ā* point out that 'Alī will be in charge of *the Basin* (*al-haud*) on the Day of Judgement; he will serve drinks to the righteous and will refuse to give drinks to the enemies of the people (i.e. the enemies of the Shi'a—K.; Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., II, 14).

Three verses rhyming in *rā* enumerate the merits and virtues of 'Alī: he gave a beggar his signet-ring as alms when he prostrated himself during prayer; he slept on the bed of the Prophet when the latter set out for his *hijra*; and he was named in nine verses of the Qur'ān by the name 'the believer', *al-mu'min* (Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī, op. cit., p. 16).

According to some traditions verse 56 in Sūrat al-Mā'ida (*innamā walīyyukumu 'Ulāhu wa-rasūluhu wa-'Udhḥina āmanū 'Udhḥina yuqīmūna 'l-ṣalāta wa-yu'tūna 'l-zakāta wa-hum rākī'ūna*) was revealed to the Prophet in connexion with the occasion on which 'Alī granted the beggar his signet-ring, as mentioned above. Four verses of Ḥassān rhyming in *'ī* praise this deed stressing that God granted him 'the best authority', *khayru wilāyatīn* (al-Ganjī, op. cit., p. 229; Ibn al-Jauzī, op. cit., pp. 15 ult.–16; al-Ṭabarī, *Bishārat al-muṣṭafā*, pp. 266 inf.–267).

Some verses of Ḥassān emphasize the bravery of 'Alī in the campaigns of the Prophet. Two verses rhyming in *'u* report the battle with the Banū Qurayza in which 'Alī captured nine of the enemy and killed their leader (al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, p. 50; al-Majlisī, op. cit., XX, 173, XLI, 95; Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., II, 332. The verses are said to have been composed in connexion with the killing of Ka'b b. al-Ashraf, or with the expedition against the Banū al-Naḍīr).

In six verses rhyming in *lu* Ḥassān praises 'Alī's bold fight against 'Amr b. 'Abd Wudd (al-Jāhīz, *al-'Uthmāniyya*, p. 337—al-Iskāfī).

The fundamental change in the attitude of Ḥassān towards 'Alī is revealed in his verses concerned with the murder of 'Uthmān. Ḥassān was one of the few people who remained faithful to 'Uthmān and defended him against his calumniators (see al-Balādhurī, op. cit., v, 60; and see Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, op. cit., VI, 64). In the two additional verses to poem 307 in Ḥassān's *Diwān* (p. 477), recorded by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā 'l-Māliqī (op. cit., p. 217) he frankly accuses 'Alī of having sat in his house asking people (about the fate of 'Uthmān—K.), but he in fact received the news and expected merely to get

authority. Twelve verses rhyming in *dī*, not recorded in the *Dīwān*, describe the dramatic situation of the last days of the besieged 'Uthmān (Muḥammad b. Yahyā 'l-Māliqī, op. cit., pp. 213-14).

Shī'ī scholars consider the verses of Ḥassān in which he accused 'Alī of approving of the murder of 'Uthmān as malicious lies (*qadhf*), arguing that Ḥassān is unreliable as a witness, as he gave false evidence in the case of 'Ā'isha (in the *ifk* story) and the Prophet ordered him to be flogged. There is a different Shī'ī evaluation of Ḥassān's verses in which he bore evidence that the Prophet granted authority to 'Alī at Ghadīr Khumm. These verses are considered sound in the opinion of the Shī'a because they were composed and recited in the presence of the Prophet and the Prophet did not disapprove of them. Shī'ī critics, referring to those of his verses in praise of Abū Bakr which served as evidence that Abū Bakr was the first who embraced Islam (*Dīwān*, I, no. 32, p. 125), remark that Ḥassān belonged to that type of poet who did not refrain from falsity (*abāṭil*) in accordance with the way poets are described in the Qur'ān. Besides, Ḥassān was granted some favours by 'Uthmān; his words of praise for 'Uthmān are thus certainly unfounded and unreliable. (See al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Jamal*, pp. 100-3; al-Majlisī, op. cit., xxxviii, 264-7.)

The compilations about the *ridḍa* record many of Ḥassān's verses in which he warned the tribes of the results of their revolt and urged them to embrace Islam. The verse recorded by 'Arafat (*Dīwān*, I, 468, no. 245 from Suhaylī's *al-Rawḍ al-umuf*) is one of the seven verses recorded by al-Kalā'ī (*Tārīkh al-ridḍa*, ed. Khurshīd Aḥmad Fāriq, New Delhi, 1970, p. 67; according to another tradition the verses were composed by Ziyād b. Labīd b. Bayāḍa al-Anṣārī, see *ibid.*, p. 66, l. 12). Al-Wāqidi records in his *Ridda* (fol. 18b) two additional verses :

يا محكم بن الطفيل قد نصحت لكم      أتاكم الليث ليث الحضر والبادى  
يعدو به سرحة<sup>6</sup> الرجلين طاوية      قباء<sup>6</sup> مشرفة المتنين والهادى

Ibn Ḥubaysh records in his *Maghāzī* (MS Leiden Or. 343, pp. 34-5) only 7 verses, as in al-Kalā'ī's *Ridda*; he quotes, however, in his report a sentence which is of some importance and may be recorded here :

قالوا ولما خرج خالد بن الوليد إلى اليمامة أرسل حسان بن ثابت أبياتا، وكان صديقا  
لمحكم بن الطفيل وكان شريفا وسيما، قال الواقدي. . . .

Al-Wāqidi (*Ridda*, fol. 19a) records the answer of Ḥassān to a poem sent by Muḥakkam to Khālīd b. al-Walīd ending in the same rhyme *dū* :

حنيفة قد كادك الكائد	1
وبعد غدا جمعهم هامد	
فويل اليمامة ويل لها	2
إذا ما أناخ بهم خالد	

<sup>6</sup> In text سرحق.

<sup>6</sup> In text قب.

وهل يؤمن الأسد اللابد	فلا تأمنوه على غرّة	3
وقد طاعنوه وقد جالدوا	هو القاتل القوم يوم البراح	4
وذيان <sup>9</sup> أوطى وقد عاندوا	واوطى <sup>7</sup> بني <sup>8</sup> أسد ذلّة	5
وما مثله منكم واحد	فولتى طليحهم هاربا	6
فسبّ به الجدّ والوالد	وقاد عيينة في غلّة	7
ومالك اذ كفره تالد	وأمكنه الله من فرّة	8
يغني <sup>10</sup> بها الصادر الوارد	وأنتم غدا مثله بهلة	9

A letter of six verses rhyming in *lū* was sent by Ḥassān to al-Ash'ath b. Qays (al-Wāqidi, op. cit., fol. 35a) :

فاني لكم ناصح فاقبلوا	أنيبوا الى الحقّ يا قومنا	1
فان الرجوع بكم أجمل	ولا تأنفوا اليوم أن ترجعوا	2
فلا ترتدوا ثمّ تستجهلوا	رमित بنصحي لكم جاهدا	3
وينميكم الشرف الأطول	فأنتم أناس لكم سؤدد	4
كريم الثنا الشرف الأول	صباح الوجوه نماكم الى	5
حروبا تذلّ بها التزل	فشيموا السيوف ولا تبعثوا	6

When Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī advised Abū Bakr to suspend for a year the expeditions against Kinda and thus to postpone for a year the collection of their taxes, because of their military strength, Abū Bakr refused. Ḥassān, in support of the opinion of Abū Ayyūb composed the following verses (al-Wāqidi, op. cit., fol. 36a) :

ينهى أبا بكر وقال مقالا	لما أبو أيوب قام بخطبة	1
تحت العجاج فوارسا أبطالا	إن تلق كندة تلقهم يوم الوغى	2
أن يحملوا نحو الهدى أموالا	فاتركهم عاما <sup>11</sup> هناك لعلهم	3
من أن ترى متعسفا قتالا	فلذاك خير إن قبلت نصيحتي	4

Ibn Abī Ṭāhir records three verses of Ḥassān rhyming in *lī* (*Kitāb Baghdād*, ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kautharī, Baghdād, 1368/1949, p. 13) in praise of the Prophet, recited by him when he entered Madīna. (See these verses: Abū Zakariyā Yazīd b. Muḥammad al-Azdī, *Tārīkh al-Mauṣūl*, ed. 'Alī Ḥabība, Cairo, 1387/1967, p. 354.)

Four verses rhyming in *ḍī* bewail the death of the Prophet (Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., I, 209-10).

<sup>7</sup> In text وأوطا.

<sup>8</sup> In text بنو.

<sup>9</sup> In text وذيان.

<sup>10</sup> In text يعني.

<sup>11</sup> In text عام.

A verse in praise of Maslama b. Mukhallad rhyming in *hū* is recorded by al-Ḥākim (*al-Mustadrak*, III, 495).

### III

The extensive collection of Ḥassān's poetry brought together by 'Arafat is impressive. 'Arafat rightly points out 'a strikingly wide variety of style, spirit, theme and subject-matter which is more than can be explained as the usual development of a poetic talent' (*Dīwān*, I, English introduction, p. 25). He concludes that some of the poems ascribed to Ḥassān were invented by forgers of later generations. He bases his assumption on reports of early transmitters and the opinions of early authorities on poetry who cast doubts on the authenticity of a relatively large number of Ḥassān's poems. He provides us with a concise survey of the historical events, socio-political changes in the Muslim empire, intertribal disputes and clashes after the death of the Prophet, and argues that 'the campaigns also, and the "local" wars, were occasions for the writing of new verse, as well as cause for neglecting old poetry; and in time, for the confusion of both' (*ibid.*, p. 27). He points out that the stormy historical events 'afforded occasions for the composition of verse but not for preserving it' (*ibid.*, p. 28) and, classifying the different sources of the *Dīwān*, he presents a fairly convincing list of themes which may be the subject of invention and forgery. Among the categories exposed to forgery, he counts poems of later Anṣārīs attributed to Ḥassān, in which the forgers boast of the glory of their ancestors, poems on battles and slanders connected with the battles, which are generally of poor quality in which 'the rules of grammar, syntax and idiom may be subjected to the metre', which 'sometimes appear in the *Sīra* in pairs, a poem and its counterblast', are poor as regards the quality of their verse, and seem both to have been invented by the same person. Exposed to invention and forgery are further, according to 'Arafat, poems of Shi'ī and 'Abbāsīd propagandists, eulogies attributed to Ḥassān with the intention of enhancing the reputation of the deceased, poems of various factions during later political wars, slanders which were the product of later generations, a number of poems of religious or meditative character, and finally miscellaneous poems attributed to him. 'Arafat admits that there is in this collection 'an undefined element of what is probably his genuine poetry' (see introduction, pp. 23-31).

The conclusions of 'Arafat, although plausible and well argued, may be reconsidered and probably modified to some extent. The question at issue is the character and quality of Ḥassān's poetry. Early critics pointed out the essential difference between the poetry he composed during the period of the Jāhiliyya and that which he composed under Islam. Al-Aṣma'ī stated that Ḥassān's poetry deteriorated after he embraced Islam. The proper style of poetry in al-Aṣma'ī's opinion is that of the 'forceful poets' (*fuḥūl*) of the Jāhiliyya like Imru 'l-Qays, Zuhayr, and Nābigha, who gave descriptions of

the quarters of the tribe and of the saddle, composed verses about wine and women, boasted of their tribes, and wrote satire against enemies. This poetry, the true poetry, was the poetry of the 'gate of wickedness' (*bābu 'l-sharr*). Such was the poetry of Ḥassān during his Jāhiliyya period; he was then one of the excellent poets. But when he embraced Islam his poetry entered the 'gate of virtue' (*bābu 'l-khayr*) and it deteriorated (see al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshah*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo, 1965, p. 85; Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-shi'r wa 'l-shu'arā'*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1904, p. 170). The opinion of Aṣma'ī, expressed in various formulations (*saqāṭa shi'rūhu, lāna shi'rūhu, quti'a matnuhu li-ḥālī 'l-nabiyyi*) reveals clearly the cause of the fundamental change in Ḥassān's poetry. The poet, who followed in his Jāhiliyya period the well-trodden path of the current poetical convention, and exposed Jāhiliyya ideals, embraced Islam and committed himself to the propagation of the ideals of the revolutionary movement of the new faith. His task was twofold: he had to repel the invectives and slanders of the enemies of the Prophet and to follow his campaigns encouraging the warriors, extolling their victories and praising the audacity of the faithful. He had, of course, to denigrate the enemy, to emphasize his cowardice in battle, the meanness of his pedigree, his shameful behaviour and the wickedness of his family and relatives. This activity was on the well-known lines of the Jāhiliyya poetry, and it was deliberately used in the service of Islam. On the other hand, Ḥassān had to spread the ideas of the new religion: his eulogies of the Prophet, which extol his spiritual virtues and his religious mission, and enumerate the graces bestowed on him by God, breathe a true Islamic spirit. It is apparent that Ḥassān was compelled, as a propagator of the new faith, to have recourse to improvisation: he had to answer on the spot an aggressive accusation, to compose hastily after the battle eulogies for the victorious fighters, to bewail the fallen believers, to debase the enemy and to assure those killed from among the enemy of the fire of Hell. Such were his verses connected with the battles during the life of the Prophet and those composed during the *riḍḍa* after the Prophet's death. His verses on these subjects were necessarily imperfect, feeble and unpolished. These poetical compositions, mainly fragments (*qīṭa'*), written in haste and lacking elaboration, but sincere and fierce, were intended for circulation among the audience of the tribal councils and meetings of the believers, and are a distinct feature of Ḥassān's poetry in that period. This seems to have been the meaning of al-Aṣma'ī's utterance concerning the deterioration of Ḥassān's poetry in the Islamic period. These verses, although weak when they are judged by the criteria of literary criticism developed in the second century A.H., were apparently effective and were granted the blessing of the Prophet.

In evaluating the authenticity of Ḥassān's poetry it is thus hardly possible to apply the criteria of weak or good poetry. A weak, faulty, or unpolished verse is not necessarily a forged one and a verse in exquisite and difficult Arabic is not necessarily proved to be authentic. (Cf. Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab*

*des Ibn al-Kalbī*, Leiden, 1966, I, Vorwort, p. xii: '... und endlich blosser Fälschungen erkennen, wofür die Faustregel: unechte Verse sind leicht, echte schwer zu übersetzen, nicht immer genügt'.) The main criterion in the inquiry about the authenticity of verses remains the thorough scrutiny of the historical background and the comprehensive analysis of the circumstances in which the poem, or the fragment, is said to have been composed.

'Arafat's assumption that the revolt against the Umayyads did not afford occasions for preserving poetry (*Dīwān*, I, introduction, p. 28) is in need of revision. The Umayyads were interested in the preservation of old poetry. It was Mu'āwiya who intended to include a poem of Ḥassān (*Dīwān*, I, 74, no. 13) in the collection of 12 poems which the transmitters chose and which he ordered should be taught to his son (*RSO*, XLIV, I, 1969, p. 29 ult.). It was indeed the old poetry which was carefully transmitted and taught in the courts of caliphs, princes, and governors.

That a poem contains boasting with regard to the ancestors of the Anṣār does not necessarily indicate that the poem is forged. It is a well-known tribal tradition and it is therefore no wonder that the two verses of poem 346: *warithnā min al-buhlūli 'amri bni 'āmirin* . . . are ascribed by 'Abdallāh b. Wahb (*al-Jāmi'*, ed. J. David-Weill, Cairo, 1939, p. 5, ll. 6-7) to the grandfather of Ḥassān, al-Mundhir b. Ḥizām.

The additional material contributes to a better understanding of the role played by Ḥassān on the 'Day of the Hall of Banū Sā'ida'. Ḥassān advocated the division of power between Quraysh and the Anṣār and this might have caused a split in the Muslim community. It is just plausible that these verses were omitted in the commonly used sources of Muslim historiography.

The verses about 'Alī can be divided into two parts: fragments extolling his bravery and courage in battles, and fragments alluding to 'Alī's virtues and merits. Those concerned with 'Alī's excellence and the graces granted to him, as confirmed by the Prophet, are in fact versified interpretations of the utterances of the Prophet about 'Alī. These verses are often quoted in Shī'ī sources as support for the Shī'ī arguments for the rights of 'Alī and his descendants to authority. They have to be scrutinized and checked with the utmost caution as they are generally suspect of being later inventions. But the verses about 'Alī's bravery and courage belong probably to the class of war poetry and praises of the fighters which Ḥassān practised during the life of the Prophet; some of these verses may be authentic, as it is plausible that Ḥassān sympathized with 'Alī and admired his fighting zeal and devotion. This attitude changed when 'Uthmān was murdered and Ḥassān accused 'Alī of at least being a passive watcher of the actions of the murderers while expecting to gain power and authority.