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Heartbeat: Conventionality and Originality in Najdi Poetry*

Abstract

This article discusses the interaction between convention, as perpetuated by the oral tradition, and the artist's individual touch in vernacular Najdi poetry (also called Nabaṭi poetry). The focus is on the introductory verses—the equivalent of the classical *nasīb*—which picture the highly charged state of mind that induced the artist to compose his poem. Within these preludes the description of the creative process itself features as a distinct subtheme. Thus the conventional framework of the *nasīb* offers ample scope for the expression of the Arabian poet's personal feeling and sense of individuality. This paper gives particular attention to the imagery and extended similes that translate these surges of emotion into dramatic scenes from the life of the Bedouins and villagers of the Najd. This is illustrated with examples from modern Bedouin poetry based on taped records, and preludial verses by a generation of premodern Najdi poets taken from written Saudi sources. The article is rounded off with a conclusion offering some general thoughts on the interplay between the tradition and the poet's individuality within the wider context of the modern development of Saudi Arabia.

Key words: poetry — oral literature — Arabia (Saudi Arabia, Najd) —
Bedouins — *nasīb* — extended simile

INTRODUCTION

THREE years ago I had the good fortune of spending about six weeks with an old and penniless yet proud and defiant Bedouin who is one of the greatest living poets of the Duwāsir tribe in southern Najd. His name is ʿAbdallah ibn Ḥzayyim of the Ḥarāršah (a subtribe of ar-Rijbān of ad-Duwāsir), but he is generally known by the nickname of ad-Dindān, an onomatopoeia derived from the verb *dandan* ‘to tinkle, to hum a tune, to break into spontaneous verse’.

For Dindān and his colleagues, singing and humming in meter and rhyme is an activity pursued in a spirit of both deadly seriousness and playful contest. Like a group of camel riders traversing the desert, they toss at one another lines of chanted poetry that encourage their mounts to vie neck to neck for speed, as expressed in this verse of Dindān:

<i>in dandanaw gimt ana alʿab liʿb dindāni</i>	When others hum the tune, I strike up the merry melody;
<i>w-in gaṭrifaw bi-l-ḡuwāriʿ gimt aḡaddīha¹</i>	When they ululate the song, I keep the rhyme going.

Indeed, he has identified to such an extent with his poetic gift that neither he nor anyone else calls him by any other name than ʿAbdallah ad-Dindān. When he follows the custom of oral poets to inscribe their copyright symbol in the first line of a poem (as a painter would sign his name in one of the lower corners of the canvas), this is how he puts it:

<i>šarraḡ aš-šāʿir ad-Dindān rijmin l-ḥālīh</i>	The poet ad-Dindān ascended a mountain all alone
<i>gāl šaffih b-kēfih min ḥasīn al- kalāmi²</i>	And burst into exquisite verses made to suit his own taste.

As these two examples show, Dindān’s lack of any formal educa-

tion does not prevent him from reflecting on his art. About half of the poems I recorded in the course of my sessions with him contain explicit references to his poetic tastes and to the creative process and include boastful passages about his preeminent position among his fellow artists. These references vary in length and elaborateness from one line to an entire poem of twenty-two verses. Taken together they present a fairly comprehensive picture of Dindān's conception of the nature of poetry and of his own relation to it. As we will see, these verses do not occur in isolation but are part and parcel of the introductory sections which may be taken to represent the equivalent of the classical *nasīb*.

As in the classical Arabic *qaṣīdah*, a melancholy, elegiac mood is predominant in the *nasīb* of Najdi vernacular poetry (also called Nabaṭi poetry). Also, in many poems the classical motifs are still present, such as the *aṭlāl* scene (the description of the poet's melancholy mood as he chances upon the traces of a deserted encampment once inhabited by the tribe of his beloved) and the complaint about the contrast between the poet's physical age and his young, amorous heart.³ In the formal scheme of the poem the introductory verses describe or hint at the emotional impulse that sets the creative process in motion and provides, as it were, the justification for what follows. Thus the *nasīb* is at once an integral part of the poem and the statement of its *raison d'être*. But in reality this function of the prelude is less important than the fact that it offers a lyrical poet like Dindān ample scope to develop the motifs closest to his poetic soul.

In the Najdi tradition the highly charged state of mind in which the poet's inspiration wells up, like the ecstasy seizing an oracle, becomes itself a major dramatic theme in the poem. These passages often are remarkable for the richness of the imagery and extended similes that translate these surges of emotion into dramatic scenes from the life of the Bedouins and villagers. Therefore the *nasīb* presents itself as an obvious choice for an assessment of the interrelation between convention and the poet's individual genius.

The procedure I have adopted for the purpose of this article is the following. First, taking Dindān's work as a point of departure, the place of the *nasīb* in the overall structure and object of the poem is discussed. Then the main motifs featuring in the *nasīb* itself are illustrated with fragments taken from the work of Dindān and other poets. The core of the article is a discussion of the extended simile, a stylistic device that allows the Najdi poet to display his art to the full. Dindān's imagery in this and other parts of the *nasīb* are compared to that of other Najdi poets. Samples from their poetry show

the degree to which these poets draw on a common store of motifs, images, and phraseology on the one hand, and, on the other, illustrate the individual touches by which an accomplished poet seeks to distinguish himself within the context of the tradition. The article is rounded off with a conclusion offering some general thoughts on the subject.

For examples from the work of poets other than Dindān I have relied primarily on four contemporary Saudi collections of oral poetry, all answering to relatively high editorial standards and containing good samples of lyrical verse by illiterate poets of the generation preceding Dindān. One such predecessor is ʿAbdallah ibn Sbayyil (d. 1938), a poet renowned in the entire Arabian desert, who lived in Nifi, a small town in the High Najd (*ʿĀliyat Najd*) situated in the territory of the ʿTēbah tribe.⁴ Very similar in content and form is the poetry of Fhēd al-Mijmāj, a poor agricultural laborer and a contemporary of Ibn Sbayyil who lived in the village of al-Aṭlah, not far from Nifi. The same applies to Mašʿān al-Htēmi, a Bedouin who wandered in the deserts of Najd about a century ago, and to ʿBēd ibn Hwēdi ad-Dōsiri, an agricultural laborer who was born in the small town of aš-Šaʿra, east of Nifi, and who lived in the same period and circumstances as the others just mentioned.⁵ Finally, I have made use of an anthology of verse by poetesses of the Arabian desert.⁶

THE *NASĪB* IN ORAL NAJDI POETRY

Relation of the Nasīb to Other Parts of the Qaṣīdah

As a rule, the poems in Dindān's oral *dīwān* (collection of poetry) include a number of prelude verses, varying in length from a single line to sections of almost twenty verses, that correspond to the *nasīb* of classical Arabic poetry; only in a few poems devoted to a single theme, like war or the joys of camel riding, has Dindān dispensed with the prelude altogether. Leaving aside the single-theme poems, Dindān's collection of oral poetry numbers 503 verses spread over twenty-five poems. As a quantitative illustration of the *nasīb*'s position in the *dīwān*, this total number of verses can be subdivided as follows:

- 1) Sentimental introductory verses corresponding to the classical *nasīb*: 124.
- 2) Description of the camel's physique and qualities: 182.
- 3) Description of thunderstorms, rain and its effect on the parched desert: 50.
- 4) Supplications and praise to God: 36.
- 5) The remaining 111 verses are devoted to familiar themes like moralizing maxims, and conventional wisdom (*ḥikam wa-*

naṣā'ih); glorification of his tribe (*mufākharah*); love poetry (*ġazal*); description of the itinerary the messenger has to follow (*ar-riḥlah*); greetings to the addressee and verses said in his praise (*madīḥ*); and riddles (*alġāz*).⁷

Before coming to the main focus of this article, the *naṣīb*, the following brief remarks as to the interconnection of these themes may be in order.

Structure of the Poem

In Dindān's poetry the introduction, whatever its length, is usually well defined by its content and the formula of transition that sets it apart from the main theme.⁸ In many poems this transition from one section to the other is marked by a form of address. Once the poet has concluded his introduction he turns to the immediate addressee of his words. If he addresses himself to God (as in eleven of the poems) with the vocative *ya-llāh*, this is usually followed by *ṭālibk lēlin* or *bi-lēlin* 'I request you to send a night [of clouds and rainfall]' and a description of clouds, thunder, rain, and torrents rushing through water-courses (as in eight of the poems). In the case of the poet turning to a messenger, the words *ya-rāḳbin* 'O rider [of a camel or a car of such and such qualities]' or *ya-nidībi* 'O messenger of mine' are invariably followed by a description of the mount or vehicle (as in twelve poems). Both *ya-llāh* and *ya-rāḳbin* occur in two of the poems.

Generally the description of the camel and the journey ends in a phrase beginning with *tanṣa* 'you head for', *naṣṣah* 'steer [the camel] towards', *lya jan*, *lya lifan* 'when [the she-camels] have arrived at' etc., followed by greetings to the final addressee, a terse indication of the message, and words of praise for its recipient and his tribe or kin.

In four poems the address to the messenger and the connected camel description separate the *naṣīb* from the love lyrics of the *ġazal* section, in one case with the addition of words destined for the *mamdūḥ* to whom the messenger is to report on the lovelornness of the poet. In two poems the *ġazal* section immediately follows the *naṣīb*, the transition being marked by the formula of transition: *min ʿana (ġaḏḏ an-nahad)* 'all this because of [one with luscious breasts etc.]' and *ʿalēk ya-* 'for your sake [O beauty of such and such traits]'.⁹ In Najdi poetry a direct transition from the *naṣīb* to *ġazal* is generally signaled by some formula of this kind.

In one poem Dindān speaks to his young riding camel (*bakriti*) and in another he asks God to punish a dove whose cooing renewed his pangs of love. Two poems consist almost entirely of a soliloquy by the poet. The shorter one, however, ends in an address to the censurer and claims that only a ride on a spirited camel will cool the

inflamed heart; the verse is reminiscent of Imru^o al-Qays' *fa-da^c dā wa salli al-hamma canka bi-jasratin* 'leave that subject and dispel your worries on the back of a strong she-camel'. Unlike most of Dindān's poems, which—apart from a few verses of *ḡazal*—fall into two, three, four, or more sections separated by more or less standardized markers of transition, these two are mainly made up of only one section, the *nasīb*, but one that has grown into a full-fledged poem in itself.

Object of the Poem

A modern Western poet might raise his eyebrows in astonishment when asked why he expresses himself in verse, for in the West it is commonly assumed that a deep chasm lies between the mundane pursuits of the general public and the modern poetic sensibility that seeks to carve out its own truths for no other reward than the admiration or respect of the like-minded. In Arabia, however, this question is not considered rude at all. Many times I myself was asked what profit (*fāydaḥ*) I derived from my endeavors. Even today the *qaṣīdah* in its most crude form—a stratagem to elicit financial reward or other favors—is still widely practiced in Saudi Arabia.

Dindān, as his sorry socioeconomic state testifies, never stooped to that level. The names that one finds in the sections of his poems corresponding to the classical *madīḥ* are those of fellow poets he is in poetic correspondence with and friends who are in jail or other sorts of trouble. The poems featuring the *aṭlāl* motif, as a prelude to memories of deceased friends, fall into the same category.

In six poems the sufferings of the poet are set in the *ḡazal* context of unrequited love. In two poems he reacts to slights against his honor. In eight poems the charged emotional state described in the *nasīb* is directly linked to the disastrous effects a prolonged drought has for the Bedouins and their herds. The core of these poems is a request for rain. Some take the form of fervent prayers to God to send down his bounty and save the Bedouins from *ad-dahr*, the remorseless fate that oppresses them. This is a distinctly pre-Islamic concept, though it is not recognized as such by the naturally devout Dindān. The following example is from a poem that begins with a brief *nasīb* evoking the poet's agitated state of mind as he stands on a mountaintop and feels the verses stirring inside him:

1. *bida b-isim rabbih gabil mab-
dāh fi l-anšād*
- w-dikir ṭalbit allah gabil bad^c*

1. He [the poet] pronounced in
the name of the Lord before
striking up his song,
And prayed to God before he

- at-timāṭīli*
2. *ṣhūhin w-aliḥḥih kiṭir ma
yiḥṣy al-ḥaddād
ḥala ḥājtin w-arji ḥaṭāyāh tajri
li*
3. *ya-llah b-lēlin ma yxuffih
nisam l-anwād*
- ḥagūgin yṣaḡḡiḡ māh gūr al-
ḡamālīli¹⁰*
- began composing his verses.
2. Truly, countless were the entreaties he sent up.
My need was great and so was the hope I placed in His munificence.
3. O God, send us a night whose clouds are not dispersed by the winds,
Making good on their promise with floods that rip up the bottoms of the gulleys.

And ends thus:

1. *ṣawāna d-dahar w-aḡla
ḥalēna l-ḥaḍīr az-zād*
- ṣakk ḥalāna mṣarriḥt al-grūs
ad-dalālīli¹¹*
2. *ḥasa llah yiḥīl al-ḥisr minna
w-min l-ajwād
jiṣīl al-mdūd w-yinzil al-xēr
tanzīli*
3. *w-taftaḥ lha bābin mn al-
ḥarṣ ya-jawwād*
- b-rizgin tlīn bh al-ḥbūd al-
maḡālīli¹²*
4. *liḥ al-xēr b-amr llah liḥ l-
mulk wa-l-mīḥād
w-minna bi-ḥilm allah hu aṣ-
ṣādīḡ al-gīli*
1. Scorched by drought and villagers who raised the price of our staples,
We suffered at the hands of money-lenders and their cunning.
2. May God free us and all noble souls from hardship.
He bestows His bounty lavishly and sends down to us His blessings.
3. O Beneficent One, open one of the gates of Your throne for the flow
Of sustenance that softens the hard, shrivelled livers.
4. He decrees the good, His is the reign and the last day.
God's commands we must obey,
He who speaks the true words.

These poems, for all their vivid descriptions of scenery and Bedouin life, are primarily an attempt to communicate with the supernatural, and as such might be classed as being in the domain of rite and private devotion.

From this it becomes clear that Dindān sings his verses neither in the hope of immediate financial reward nor exclusively for enter-

tainment or art's sake. For him poetry fulfills many other functions as well: it conveys messages and greetings to friends and beloved ones, prayers to God, affirmations of both individual and tribal self-esteem, and words of retaliation for attacks upon his honor. In addition to these external functions, many poems also serve an internal, psychological purpose which is closely related to the feelings expressed in the *nasīb*. Like the classical *nasīb*, these introductory verses are characterized by their melancholy and emotional tone and their expression of a sense of loss and separation from an ideal state (be it the separation from the poet's sweetheart, kin, friends, or his own youth) and suffering (be it the effects of drought, want, a slight, a fellow poet's scoffing, etc.).¹³ At the same time the *nasīb* makes clear that the verses that follow are the antidote for the disease, as when he says:

<i>ana hāḏ ma bi ʿūd bi-llah min</i> <i>aš-šayṭān</i>	I was roused to speak my mind— with God I seek refuge from Satan
<i>kalāmin yšālīni w-ana ḏāyigim</i> <i>bāli</i> ¹⁴	In words that give relief from the heaviness of my heart.

It is entirely consistent with Dindān's Bedouin way of life that the therapeutical aspect of his poetry normally takes the form of an imaginary drenching, a description of himself or a *jēš* (a group of mounted men) riding fast camels at a lively pace, or a bitter diatribe against his satirizer. Thus the poem closes the circle of loss, grief, compensation, and restored mental equilibrium.

PARTS OF THE *NASĪB*

It would be difficult to subdivide the *nasīb* into constituent parts that are as well defined as is the *nasīb* in relation to the other parts of the *qaṣīdah*. However, the following motifs may be bracketed together for the sake of convenience: a scene on a lonely mountain; a description of the process of poetic inspiration; the suffering of the heart and its adjunct, the extended simile belonging to the category of *ya-tall galbi* 'how the strings of my heart are being pulled'.

The Lonely Mountain Scene

Though the poet's ascent of an elevation in order to look out over the surrounding desert is a motif not unknown in classical poetry, it seems to be of considerably more frequent occurrence in the vernacular poetry of Arabia.¹⁵ As the poetess Nūrah al-Ḥmūd said:

margāh
ḥadāni ʿala ʿāli marāḡibih al-
*gīli*²¹ mountain against my wish,
 Driven to that high vantage point
 by the poetic urge.

*The Inspirational Process*²²

On top of the mountain the poet is overcome by conflicting emotions. His suppressed fury bursts forth and he is so agitated and desperate that his mind clouds over and he almost goes berserk.

dabbēt rijmin zād gulli galīli I climbed a mountain in a state
 of mounting fury,
lēn hu dāʿ ar-rāy wi-ʿmōmis al-
*ḡil*²³ Til my mind clouded over and I
 groped for words.

It is in this extreme condition that his inner self is stirred sufficiently for the verses to well up. In the *nasīb* of Najdi poetry the verb *ḥāḍ* 'to be stirred' and its derived forms *hayyaḍ* and *tahayyaḍ* commonly link the emotional state of the poet to the process of artistic creation:²⁴

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. <i>dabb aḍ-ḍaḥa n-naššād ʿāli</i>
 <i>l-amāṭīl</i>
 <i>rijmin yhayyiḍni ʿala liʿb al-</i>
 <i>afkār</i>²⁵</p> | <p>1. After sunrise the poet climbed to a high ridge,
 A mountain that brought me into a pensive mood.</p> |
| <p>2. <i>w-aḡbal ʿalayy min kull faj-</i>
 <i>jin timāṭīl</i>
 <i>w-ḥabb al-wiliyy min kull šinn</i>
 <i>at-tiḡiṣṣār</i>²⁶</p> | <p>2. From every nook and cranny the verses marched on me,
 Though the Lord loves moderation in everything.</p> |

The involuntary nature of this process is stressed over and over again:

bādyin rijmin timānīn alf gāmah I climbed a mountain soaring up
 480,000 feet high.
w-aḡṭar illi min jimīʿ al-gāf šāmi There he who vowed to abstain
 from all rhyming broke his fast.

One verse calls forth the next and before long the poet is almost swept away by the flood of his own inspiration. From everywhere the verses come hurrying to him and press around him like camels crazed with thirst:²⁷

aḡanni b-gāfin lēn ja lli warāh No sooner did I chant one verse,
nhāl than others came like camels

w-ṣakkat ʿalayy jill al-ḡuwāriʿ rushing to a well
*mahānīʿi*²⁸ And pressed around me, lowering
 their big heads to the water.

Or like hosts of young wingless locusts crawling, pushing, and riding on one another's backs, or grains of sand in the high dunes:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. <i>at-thāmi jāk lih fi l-jaww</i>
 <i>hāmah</i>
 <i>wa-š-šta gaṭʿat slūmih min</i>
 <i>šmāmi</i>²⁹</p> | <p>1. Or swarms of Tihāmah locusts that darken the sky;
 No sooner than winter has turned its back,</p> |
| <p>2. <i>ar-riḥiyy mn al-Kwēt ila</i>
 <i>Thāmah</i>
 <i>wa l-ʿadad ʿindik tara hāda</i>
 <i>kalāmi</i>³⁰</p> | <p>2. Their whirling columns are seen from Kuwait to Tihāmah.
 Count those numbers and you'll know how much I have to say.</p> |
| <p>3. <i>ʿidd raml al-ʿirḡ w-iḥḍar fi</i>
 <i>timāmih</i>

 <i>w-iḥṣ ʿaddih fi xadārīs aḍ-</i>
 <i>ḍalāmi</i>³¹</p> | <p>3. Also, count the grains of sand in a dune, not skipping one of them,
 But make sure you do your counting right during a dark, moonless night.</p> |

Visions undreamt of unfold as the inspiration bursts forth. But in this crucial moment the poet does not let himself be overpowered, and thanks to his mastery of the art moulds his thoughts in eloquent verses that obey the laws of rhyme and meter:

<p><i>al-galam hātih tara ʿindi kalām</i></p>	<p>Bring the pen, for I have verses to say;</p>
<p><i>la b-ḡāwīha wala bi-mxōjilāt</i>³²</p>	<p>I am not one to mangle them, nor do they turn out flawed.</p>

Indeed, the verbs used for 'composing poetry' all imply a firm grip of the professional requirements.³³ Thus the emotions are brought under control and translated into verse (JUNAYDIL 1980/81, 105):³⁴

<p><i>yigūl Mašʿān al-Htēmi tīfalham</i></p>	<p>This is the poetry said by Mašʿān al-Htēmi</p>
<p><i>gāfin rijas bēn aḍ-ḍlūʿ al-maḡālīḡ</i></p>	<p>Verses that raged between the walls of his ribs.</p>

The result is as delicious as camel's milk,³⁵ true poetry that lends itself to being sung:

*aš-šāʿir ad-Dindān ǧanna w-
iftikir
bētīn ʿala l-maʿna yruddih bi-l-
fiṣāḥ*

The poet ad-Dindān set his
thoughts to a tune,
Moulding each verse so as to
express its meaning with elo-
quence.

The Suffering of the Heart

The poet who stands brokenhearted on top of the mountain feels a surge of emotion pressing inside him, straining to be released. But his attempts at restraint only increase the fury of the emotions and the poet's mental pain:

1. *w-ḏāǧ aḏ-ḏimīr w-ja li-ṣadri
tiḏārīb
w-ḵannih yjurr ǧṣūn galbi ma-
ḥājīm*³⁶
2. *fi l-barr ḵanni fi miḏīǧ al-
lahābīb
lēn ixtalaft w-habb fi l-galb
tansīm*³⁷

1. Distress clouded my mind and
palpitated in my breast,
As if cupping glasses were tap-
ping my heart's arteries.
2. In the open desert I felt as if
hemmed in by walls,
While the winds of moodiness
tugged at my heart.

And:

1. *ʿAbdallah ad-Dindān ḏabb
al-mišārīf
rijmin taǧašwāḥ al-xyāl ar-
rzanī*³⁸
2. *afḏēt ma ḵannēt bēn as-
sarājīf
w-ǧāmat thišš al-ma l-ʿyūn al-
ḥzanī*³⁹
3. *yāma b-ṣadri xāfyīn ma
baʿad šīf
w-in jīt b-aḵna gult ana l-mōt
jāni*⁴⁰

1. ʿAbdallah ad-Dindān climbed
the high cliffs
Of a mountain soaked with
rain by heavy clouds.
2. There I gave free rein to the
feelings pent up between my
ribs,
And, disconsolate, I burst out
in tears.
3. If only people knew what
secrets I kept hidden:
My attempts at restraint put me
through the pains of death.

At the center of the forces unleashed during the creative process is the heart.⁴¹ It is roasted by flames until it becomes cooked to perfec-
tion.⁴² Violent, hot winds wither the heart's green sprouts. The
heart is likened to the dry bed of a watercourse after a long drought
or to a shallow pool of rainwater from which foam and dust are blown

by the desert winds. Sometimes it seems as if the heart is being plucked out of the breast by a pair of pincers. In the *ghazal* sections one also finds the familiar dialogue between the poet's heart and his common sense, with the latter upbraiding the former for its persistence in delusion.

In the end, the secret thoughts, worries, and sorrows the poet tried his utmost to suppress can no longer be contained in the cage between his ribs, and they pour forth.⁴³ This moment is heralded by the appearance of tears that stream from his sleepless and miserable eyes like water pouring from a bucket or gushing from a well after the sand and debris clogging it have been scraped away.⁴⁴

THE EXTENDED SIMILE IN THE *NASIB*

The comparison of a tearful eye to a bucket from which water splashes when it is drawn from a well by a camel was already dear to the early classical poets (WAGNER 1988, I, 72, 97–98). Often this motif is amplified in an extended simile with detailed descriptions of the technique of irrigation. By far the most famous example is the seven verses on this topic by Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā, but there is no dearth of this simile in the work of other classical poets as well. Since socioeconomic conditions in Arabia remained largely unchanged until the second half of this century, including the methods used to draw water, it is not surprising that the vernacular oral tradition has retained and refined this motif.⁴⁵

The extended simile is announced by formulas like *ya-tall galbi* 'ah, how my heart is being pulled', *ya-lajjiti* 'ah, how my heart clamors', *ya-mall galbin* or *mall galbin* 'how much suffering from a heart', *ya-wijūdi* 'ah, how I am pained', *ya-wanniti* 'ah, how I cry, lament'. In all these cases Dindān's poems open with a mountain scene. In other sources one also finds: *ya-jarr galbi* 'ah, how my heart is being tugged at', *ya-ḥann galbi* 'ah, how my heart is moaning and whining', *fariy galbi* 'how my heart is torn', *zōc galbi* 'how my heart leaps, flutters'.

In these, the most poetical sections of the *qaṣīdah*, each poet in his own way employs the standard repertory of images familiar to his audience in order to paint his heart's distress in the most vivid colors. An idea of this interplay between real emotion, the conventions of the *nasīb*, and the poet's ability to add individual touches might be gained from the following examples of Dindān's and other poets' use of the extended simile.

Labor at the Well

The strain on the poet's heart implied in the formula *ya-tall galbi* 'how severely my heart is being pulled' can be visualized in many ways. Thus one finds as the second part of the simile a description of a falcon flapping its wings in an effort to escape from the *sbūg*, the leather loops that keep it tied to its padded perch when it spies a flock of bustards.⁴⁶ Or, in a reversal of roles, the comparison is made with a falconer waving his arms in the hope of luring back a falcon that flew away to join its own brethren in freedom.⁴⁷

However, as a motif in the *nasīb* of Najdi poetry nothing equals the popularity of the *sāni* and the *sānyah*, the laborer and his camel that draw water from the well. One can think of various explanations for this, but certainly the sight of a camel being urged on relentlessly as it paces up and down the same path and heaves mightily at the ropes must have struck the imagination as a powerful metaphor for the condition of one ridden by the devil of poetry. As ʿBēd ibn Hwēdi said in a variation on the Arab adage *sayr as-sawānī safar la yanqaṭiʿ* 'the course of the beasts that draw water is a journey that does not end':

*yigūl al-mwallaʿ wa-r-ruwābiʿ
tdīrih dēr*

These are the words of one infatuated, as he's driven in circles by worry

*ķima dēr miʿwādin ʿala ma baġa
s-sāni⁴⁸*

Like a camel drawing water from a well goes back and forth at the driver's directions.

(JUNAYDIL 1980/81, 151)

Unlike the classical poets, who compare the eye's tears with the water drawn in buckets from a well, Dindān builds his simile on a comparison between his torn heart (*ya-tall galbi*) and the strain on the bucket's rope, and hence on the camel, as a result of the driver's cruelty, indifference, or inexperience.

*ya-tall galbi tall dakwin maʿa
jāhhāl*

Or is it torment like that of a leather bucket hoisted by clumsy youngsters,

*ʿala ġēr tasnīʿin fiḡatha n-nu-
wākīʿi⁴⁹*

And ripped open by sharp stones protruding from the sides of the well.

In a similar vein ʿAbdallah ibn Sbayyil says:⁵⁰

1. *ya-tall galbi tallat al-ġarb li-*

1. Ah, my heart is being pulled

- ršāh*
ʿala zaʿāʿin ḥāylin ṣaddarat
*bih*⁵¹
2. *sawwāgha ʿabdin ḍarabha bi-*
miḥdāh
imm amrasat bi-ršāh walla
*wiṭat bih*⁵²
3. *ḵannik ʿala sōgah thimmih*
w-tanxāh
- la ʿawwad allah sāʿtin ʿarrifat*
*bih*⁵³
4. *ly agfa b-ha ḵann aṭ-ṭamā-*
mīʿ tašʿāh
- ḵann ad-daluw ṭērin lya naz-*
*zaʿat bih*⁵⁴
5. *lēn immazaʿ garbih ʿala ḥadd*
ʿargāh
- w-jlān bīrih bi-l-msūḥ lʿabat*
*bih*⁵⁵
- like a bucket by its rope,
By a vehement she-camel, bar-
ren of womb, that struggles
down the path,
2. Beaten with a stick by its
driver, a slave:
Either the rope slips off the
roller or she steps on it.
3. He drives her as if you were
encouraging him or shouting
him on in battle;
Cursed be the hour she came
to know him.
4. When he chases her down the
path like a camel hurried on by
raiders,
She pulls so hard that the
bucket comes flying up the well
like a bird,
5. So that its leather became
torn at the wooden crosspieces
over its mouth,
As it banged and scraped
against the stones covering the
well's shaft.

(FARAJ 1952, 206–207 and SBAYYIL 1988, 131)

There is a difference between the drawing of water for the purpose of watering the camel herds and for irrigation. The first is a relatively simple operation carried out with a minimum of equipment, as described in these verses of Ibn Sbayyil:

1. *ya-tall galbi tallatēnin mn*
agšāh
- tall al-wrād illi ḥyāmin*
*wrūdih*⁵⁶
2. *yamm aṭ-ṭwāl illi ʿdūdih*
mṭawwāh
*yrūʿ jaddābah mijādīb ʿdūdih*⁵⁷
1. Ah, how my heart is being
pulled again and again from its
roots,
Like the strain on the ropes of
a well circled by camels crazed
with thirst,
2. Towards aṭ-ṭwāl, deep wells
with walls made of stone,
That pose a daunting challenge
to those who draw the water,

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>3. <i>ʿala giʿūdin ma ysāniʿ bi-mamšāh</i></p> <p><i>mistaʿibin ma yitbaʿ illi yigūdiḥ⁵⁸</i></p> | <p>3. Let alone with a young male camel that does not obey directions,</p> <p>An unruly beast that does not follow the man leading it.</p> |
| <p>4. <i>la gāl ya-rāʿi l-jimal zād bi-xṭāh</i></p> <p><i>imma nḡaṭaʿ walla tiṣarram ʿamūdiḥ⁵⁹</i></p> | <p>4. If the man at the well shouts, “Halt the camel!” it only increases its pace,</p> <p>Either cutting the rope or breaking the poles of the hoist.</p> |
- (FARAJ 1952, 168–69 and SBAYYIL 1988, 120)

Two factors combine to put a severe strain on the rope: the depth of the well and the unruly behavior of the young male camel that has not gone through the kind of training (*ʿsāf*) that a regular *sānyah* receives before being put to work. Also, unlike the trained *sānyah*, this camel pulls the rope toward an undefined point, only halting when the driver hears the shout of the man at the well who catches the bucket and empties it into the trough (*ḥōḍ*). This shout—*ya-rāʿi l-jimal* ‘O driver of the camel!’ or *ʿawwid* ‘return!’—is a sign that the bucket has reached the top of the well, but in this case the wayward camel continues to pull despite all efforts to stop it and thus plays havoc with the equipment, either breaking the rope or one of the two stout poles that support the wooden roller (*maḥālah*) over which the rope (*ar-rša*) runs.

What especially captured the imagination of the poets is the terror felt by the *sānyah* for the slave who mercilessly drives her on. The fate of these camels—toiling like prisoners condemned to forced labor under the supervision of a camp bully—may have appeared especially gruesome to the poet when compared with that of camels pasturing freely in the desert. In any case, this master-slave relation, in which the master is himself a slave, is a recurrent motif in these sections. As described by Ibn Sbayyil, the driver’s misguided zeal only results in the rapid exhaustion of the animal and damage to the equipment, thus necessitating time-consuming repairs. Similar scenes of cruelty captured the imagination of other poets like Mašʿān al-Htēmi:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. <i>ya-wanniti wannat talāṭin halāyim</i></p> <p><i>min nasfihin xiḍr al-jmām ad-daḡārīḡ⁶⁰</i></p> | <p>1. My groans are like those of three gaunt she-camels,
Worn from drawing the well’s copious greenish-blue water.</p> |
| <p>2. <i>sawwāghin ʿabdin maʿa l-lēl yajham</i></p> | <p>2. Their driver is a slave who starts working towards the end</p> |

*w-anjaḥ miṣāxifhin b-rūs al-
misāwīḡ⁶¹*

of night,
Raining blows with his stick on
their bodies' tender parts.

(JUNAYDIL 1980/81, 105)

And °Bēd ad-Dōsiri:

1. *o tall ḥabl as-sānyah °igb l-
i°lāḡ*

*sawwāgha nāsin manāṭiḡ
dānih⁶²*

2. *lya jat ma°a s-sanda f-la ḥib
tinsāḡ*

*la šakk bāḡin hēniha llah
yihinih*

1. Or like the bucket's rope is
straining at the she-camel after
it has been joined to the saddle,
A camel driven by a slave for-
getful of his religion's prescrip-
tions.

2. Doesn't he know that she
should not be urged on as she
makes her way back to the well
up the tow path?

But he is bent on humiliating
her, may God punish him!

(JUNAYDIL 1980/81, 143-44)

As Ibn Junaydil points out, on their return from the lower end of the tow path (*maṣabb*) after the bucket has been drawn from the well and emptied into the reservoir (*al-lza*) the camels are allowed to walk back up the slope (*sanda*) toward the turning point at the well (*m°addal*) at an easy pace in order to let them recover somewhat from the exertion. Therefore the stick (*miswigah*) is only used to spur them on while they are drawing up the heavy bucket on their way down the slope. To beat the camel on its return towards the well is considered an outrage (JUNAYDIL 1980/81, 39, 99). And under no circumstances should the camel be hit on her tender parts—such unethical treatment is also likely to result in the mishaps described in Ibn Sbayyil's poem. Of course the likelihood that the slave loses his temper is greater if the camel has not been well trained, or for some other reason behaves in a recalcitrant way:

wa-tall galbi tall ḡarb an-nuwā°ir

°ala ṭalāṭin ḥil fi hinn zarga⁶³

Ah, my heart is being torn like a
bucket dangling from the wood-
en poles,

Drawn by three sterile she-camels,
one of them an unruly white.

(RADDĀS 1984/85, I, 184)

Here the disturbing factor is the presence of a *zarga*, a white animal with a few black hairs that is notorious for its impetuosity and unruliness and for shying at the least thing (MUSIL 1928, 329–34; JUNAYDIL 1987, 168). These qualities make a camel unsuited for labor requiring docility and steady, regular effort.

Clamor of the Heart

Similes announced by the formula *ya-lajjiti* etc. generally refer to sounds, especially noises of distress, confusion, and anxiety, as in the following verses by Maš'ān al-Htēmi:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. <i>ya-min li-galbin sajj fi
marbi^{cih} lajj</i></p> <p><i>lijlāj ahal sūgin tibī^c al-kisāwi⁶⁴</i></p> | <p>1. What to do with a heart distracted by love and raging inside its breast,
Like the clamor of market vendors selling cloth?</p> |
| <p>2. <i>lajjat maḥāl al-bīr yōm
ytidāraj</i></p> <p><i>tiḡbil w-tiḡfi bih talāṭin
^cadāwi⁶⁵</i></p> | <p>2. Or the screams of wooden rollers turning rapidly above the well
As three sturdy camels pace back and forth towing the rope,</p> |
| <p>3. <i>sawwāgha ^cabdīn lya gām
yanhaj</i>
<i>^cabdīn ḥalāl al-gōm ma hūb
yāwi⁶⁶</i></p> | <p>3. Once their driver, a slave, begins to rush them up and down:
May that merciless fellow be captured and taken away as the enemy's booty!</p> |

(JUNAYDIL 1980/81, 100)

In this example a third element has been added to the motif of the slave driving three camels: that of the wooden wheel (*al-maḥālah*) over which rolls the rope that joins the bucket to the camel saddle (*ḥītab*) especially made for this purpose.⁶⁷ The *maḥālah*, together with the elongated bucket (*ḡarb*), the wooden crosspieces tied over the mouth of the bucket (*^carqāh*), and the rope (*rishā^c*), are part of the vocabulary that has remained virtually unchanged since the time of Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā.

In the period called *aš-šarbah*, when the wheat fields are in need of constant irrigation, the clamor of the squeaking wooden water wheels used to sound almost all night long and disturb the sleep of the village folk.⁶⁸ In poetry this noise (*lajjah*, *lijlāj*) is compared to the mayhem of the stormy emotions inside the poet's heart, a connection made explicit in this verse by Fhēd al-Mijmāj:

- ʿalēh maḥḥāl aḍ-ḍimāyir zalāzīl* For her sake the wooden wheels
of my inner self are shaking and
squeaking,
tjūḍ min figdih w-min šidd Twisting about because of her
*fargāh*⁶⁹ absence and the pain of separa-
tion.
(JUNAYDIL 1980/81, 48)

Similarly Dindān says:

- ya-lajj galbi miṭil ma lajlj al-* My heart whined like the squeak-
maḥḥāl ing of the wooden wheels sus-
pended above a well
tnazziḥ ḡilībih dārbāt al- While well-trained camels briskly
*marājīʿi*⁷⁰ draw its water.

The simile is further enriched by the fact that the sound of the *maḥālah* is sometimes directly connected to the monotonous songs chanted by the camel-driving slave or laborer in order to stay awake at night and to relieve the tediousness of his work:

1. *ya-lajjiti lajjet maḥāḥīl ʿab-* 1. Ah, my screams are like those
bāb of the waterwheels turning
above an abundant well,
saggāyhin b-aṣwāthin miʿij- Singing in voices that cheer up
*bātih*⁷¹ the man in charge of the irriga-
tion.
2. *ṣaddar ʿala ʿirbin marājīʿ w-* 2. Down the tow path he leads
ašbāb camels, some of them old hands
and some new to the job,
rasm aš-šaḥam bi-ḍhūrhin ḵāl- The spring pastures having cov-
*yātih*⁷² ered their backs with layers of
fat.

(ʿBēd ibn Hwēdi in JUNAYDIL 1980/81, 167)

As Ibn Junaydil explains, the noise made by the *maḥālah* becomes louder as the bucket becomes heavier with water and the tension on the rope increases. Sometimes the driver of the camels on the tow path (*masna*) used to hammer a small, tapered piece of fig-tree or desert-plum (*sidr*) wood into one of the cracked ends of the axis on which the roller turns. As a result the *maḥālah* did not turn as smoothly as before and a bucket of smaller size had to be attached to the rope. But

the advantage gained was a sound that, though far from melodious, was regular enough that the laborer could tune into it with his own chanting and thus find some distraction from the boredom of his work. Such a roller was called *maḥālat al-jāhūš* (JUNAYDIL 1987/88, 76). Another enlivening touch was added by the gay colors painted on the *maḥālah*:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>lya garribat Dirwah wa-bint al-Jahāmah</i> | When Dirwah and bint al-Jahāmah were brought to the tow path, |
| <i>maḥḥātha miṭl al-bniyy al-max-āḍib</i> ⁷³ | The turning waterwheels resembled the hands dyed with henna of gesticulating young ladies. |
- (Mḥammad ibn Salmān in JUNAYDIL 1987/88, 75)

One rare adaptation of the *maḥālah* motif appears in these verses by the poetess Waḍḥa al-Mašʿān of Ḥarb, a tribe through whose territory the Mecca-Medina stretch of the Ḥijāz railroad ran:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>al-galb ḵannih bi-l-misāmīr masmūr
sumr al-ḥadīd mjawwdīn fi ḍbābih</i> ⁷⁴ | 1. My heart squirms as if it has been spiked with nails,
As if the dark iron were riveted onto its arteries; |
| 2. <i>walla ḵima lajjat maḥāḥīl bābūr
tsūgih al-kiffār sōg ar-ribābah</i> ⁷⁵ | 2. Or like the rattling sound made by a steam engine's wheels,
Driven by the infidels as one plays a one-stringed fiddle. |
- (RADDĀS 1984/85, I, 339)

Sound of Distress

A different kind of *lajjah* is that of suffering camels. The *xalūj*, a she-camel bereft of her young, is an obvious example:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>ya-lajjiti lajjat xalūj al-miṣāgīr
illi ʿala bawwīn tiṣāyad ḥnāha</i> ⁷⁶ | Ah, my moans are like those of a she-camel bereft of her young,
As she stoops again and again over the stuffed skin of her slaughtered calf. |
|--|---|

(Siʿidah at-Taʿliyyah in RADDĀS 1984/85, I, 369)

The groans of thirsty camels suffering the torments of Tantalus

as they crowd around a desert well, unable to reach its water in the absence of a herdsman, provided the poets with another simile for the anguished voices inside them. Take this scene of sheer terror that a pure Bedouin like Dindān may have derived from his own experience:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. <i>ya-lajjiti lajbat giṭī^c al-
miḍālīf</i></p> <p><i>sab^c ijbatin fōg al-misāgi
ḥwāni⁷⁷</i></p> <p>2. <i>tahajjifat min ^cugib ri^ciy l-
xazārīf</i></p> <p><i>sam^cat šyāḥ al-wird lēlat ti-
māni⁷⁸</i></p> <p>3. <i>^cugb aš-šaḥam ḡid hi ḡidīd
al-manāšīf
mann aḍ-ḍma mišyāfha yōm
zāni⁷⁹</i></p> <p>4. <i>ḵanḥa ḥašīm aṭ-ṭalḥ tamši
gifāḡīf
ḥazzat miḡīb shēl wa-l-gēḍ
dāni⁸⁰</i></p> <p>5. <i>ṣabbaw lha min mašrabin
xallaha t^cīf</i></p> <p><i>ḵarrat ḥanīnin šayyab al-mi-
ṭribāni</i></p> <p>6. <i>māha ḡamīriḥ ṭawwarath al-
maḡārīf
w-mayyāḥḥa ḥajriḥ ṭuwāḥ al-
wsāni⁸¹</i></p> | <p>1. I moan and groan like a herd
of camels standing with bent
necks,
Looking over the brink of the
well for more than three days,</p> <p>2. Their humps sagging, gone
whatever remained from graz-
ing on the <i>xazārīf</i> plants;
And then, on the fourth day,
heard the shouts of the herds-
men.</p> <p>3. Once covered with fat, they
now look like shriveled thongs:
Cruel thirst robbed them of
the strength they gained from
spring's pastures.</p> <p>4. Like a bundle of dead acacia
wood they trudge along
At the time of Canopus' eclipse
when the great heat sets in.</p> <p>5. Disgusted by the foul smell
of the water poured into the
trough,
The animals groaned so piti-
fully as to make a happy fellow
turn grey.</p> <p>6. When he stirred the filth on
the water with a ladle,
The man scooping up the water
inside the well fainted, over-
come by the stench.</p> |
|--|--|

For *lajjah* the poetess Waḍḥa al-Maš^cān al-Ḥarbiyyah substituted *ya-ḥann galbi*, a formula closer to the sound usually associated with camels, but otherwise the simile is the same:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. <i>ḥann galbi ya-^cAli ḥannat</i></p> | <p>1. My heart, ^cAli, groans like</p> |
|---|--|

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p><i>al-xūr</i>
<i>tawāridan °ēnin ġilīlin šarā-</i>
<i>bah</i>⁸²</p> <p>2. <i>ila šifaghin ya-°Ali tāyih aš-</i>
<i>šōr</i></p> <p><i>tijāwiban yašdin ginīb ad-</i>
<i>dyābah</i>⁸³</p> | <p>camels rich in milk,
When they come to a well hold-
ing but a little water,</p> <p>2. Because, °Ali, some half-wit
has led them astray [from the
road to the right well],
Their moans mingling like
wolves responding to one an-
other's howls.</p> <p>(RADDĀS 1984/85, I, 339)</p> |
|--|--|

With these verses Waḍḥa began a poem lamenting a loved one who had fallen victim to smallpox. Dindān's more playful comparison with the sound of a mortar as the coffee beans are being pounded shows that the poet's complaints about his grieving heart need not always be taken as literally:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. <i>mall galbin tāyilīn gullih w-</i>
<i>ķāni</i>
<i>miṭl nijrin kull ma hassōh</i>
<i>danni</i>⁸⁴</p> <p>2. <i>in šiga° l-ašbār yašhar bi-</i>
<i>°wiyāni</i>
<i>w-in rikad daggih ḡlū°ih lajli-</i>
<i>janni</i>⁸⁵</p> <p>3. <i>in jaġar bi-š-šōt šakkih mi-</i>
<i>tribāni</i>
<i>w-in °awa bi-l-hōl min sam°ih</i>
<i>ywinni</i>⁸⁶</p> | <p>1. Woe to a heart that struggled
to conceal its bitterness!
Like a mortar made of copper
it rings out when beaten.</p> <p>2. When its rim is struck with
force it screams and whines,
And when its bottom is pound-
ed its ribs raise a clamor.</p> <p>3. If it begins to purr, then
knock it merrily,
But if it howls in terror, the
company groans in sympathy.</p> |
|--|--|

Terrors of the Chase

Whereas the previous similes dealt with more or less static scenes, descriptions taken from the repertory of raiding, war, and perilous desert crossings add a measure of excitement, terror, and anguish, as in the following opening of one of Ibn Sbayyil's poems:

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|--|--|
| <p>1. <i>ya-tall galbi tall rakbin l-</i>
<i>šimšūl</i></p> <p><i>rab°in mišākīlin °ala kinnasin</i>
<i>hīl</i>⁸⁷</p> <p>2. <i>šāfaw warāhum miš°al aš-</i></p> | <p>1. Ah, my heart is straining like
mounted men hurrying a small
camel herd,
A group of proud warriors rid-
ing strong, barren she-camels.</p> <p>2. Looking behind them they</p> |
|--|--|

- šēx maš^cūl*
- yōm ibrahazz al-lēl šāfaw
rijājīl⁸⁸*
3. *šāfaw warāhum zōl w-agfaw
ķima l-jōl*
- jōl an-na^cām illi tigāfan mi-
dālīl⁸⁹*
4. *yōm ixtāfōhin rawwahan tūf-
faḥ jfūl
ķannih yramma min taḥathin
hadāmīl⁹⁰*
5. *o tall ḥiṣn msarrib al-gēd bi-
hlūl*
- ķaṭḥ an-njūm w-fāxatōh az-
zimāmīl⁹¹*
6. *fi māgi^cin ma bēn gātīl w-
magtūl*
- ṭāḥat ḥdāha wa-l-mawārid
midāhīl⁹²*
7. *xamsin misīrathin wala
ṭāla^can zōl*
- w-hādann ^cigb mlāfaḥ al-^cirf
wa-d-dēl⁹³*
8. *tīšāwaraw ma bēn ^cādīl w-
ma^cdūl
wa-l-^cidd l-adna ḥāl dūnih
maḥāwīl⁹⁴*
9. *taxayyaraw min ṭayyib al-
fōd zi^cjūl*
- saw that the sheik's torch had
been lighted,
And when the night sky paled
they descried warlike men chas-
ing them.
3. They saw the men's silhou-
ettes behind them and flew
away like a flock,
A flock of fleeing ostriches
stepping on one another's shad-
ow,
4. A herd snatched and driven
away in a mad, panicky gallop,
As if scared by someone throw-
ing rags under their legs.
5. Or is it like the strain felt by
horses in the quivering heat of
full summer
And the dust stirred up by the
heavenly constellations, while
the men leading the camels
with the supplies missed the
rendezvous?
6. In a dangerous land where an
encounter means a battle for
life or death,
They lost their horseshoes,
whereas the enemy was camp-
ed in force around the wells.
7. Their fourth day without
water and without seeing a liv-
ing soul,
Until they became strangely
quiet and no longer shook their
manes or waved their tails.
8. Reproaches flew back and
forth as the men took counsel,
And, knowing that a waterless
desert separated them from the
nearest well,
9. Each of them took a strong
animal from the best of the

- ṭimāni*⁹⁹
 5. *lāla simār al-lēl ḡabba l-maxālīf*
*ma rāḥ minhum min yimiss al-bṭāni*¹⁰⁰
 6. *taxāṭifōhum fi nḡūr al-mizāḡīf*
*waṭṭaw ʿalābīhum bi-ḡadd as-snāni*¹⁰¹
 7. *lēn istiṭāʿ aš-šarḥ minhum ʿala l-kēf*
*w-rāḥ aš-šaʿab minhum ḡima l-mirjaʿāni*¹⁰²
- from the crest of the stony hill.
 5. Were it not for the dark of night that covered the winding trails,
 None of them ever would have touched his camel's belly girths again.
 6. The pursuers outflanked the raiders, then took them in their horses' breasts,
 And stabbed them with the points of their spears in the neck,
 7. Until the fiery among them became as meek as lambs,
 And the intractable as tame as camels trained to draw water.

The second motif in Ibn Sbayyil's introduction, marked by a repetition of the *tall* formula, involves another risk connected with raiding: that of getting lost in the desert. On major raids over long distances the men owning horses used to detach themselves from the *zimāmīl* (the men leading the camels transporting the water, fodder, and other supplies) as they neared the enemy camp in order to carry out the attack and seize the booty. The purpose of this tactic was to forestall the possibility of the slower pack camels falling prey to a counterattack on horseback by the other tribe. The *zimāmīl* would take a different route and, at a predetermined location, await the return of the fighting men with the captured herds. As described in great detail by SOWAYAN (1992), it often happened that one or the other of the two parties went astray and missed the rendezvous. If this happened the horse riders were in immediate danger, especially in summer, since horses are not able to go for more than a few days without water. The poem tells us that in this case the horses had not been watered in four days and thus their fate was sealed. Accordingly the men, after some deliberation and quarreling over who was to blame for the error in desert navigation, decided that only a forced march to the nearest well on the fittest of the captured camels offered them any chance of survival. The horses and the rest of the camels were left behind to face certain death.¹⁰³

The Pain of Defeat

A related motif is that of the pain and terror felt by a man who has fractured a bone on a raid or journey, or by one wounded in war and abandoned in the desert. The formula marking the beginning of the simile is either *wannah* 'crying, moaning' or *wajd* 'pain, suffering':

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>wannēt ana wannat illi ṭaggiḥ aṭ-ṭāyif</i> | Ah, my cries are like those of one suffering from a bout of anxiety, |
| <i>walla kisīrin ʿala l-ʿērāt tūmi biḥ¹⁰⁴</i> | Or one who has fractured a bone and is swaying back and forth on the back of hardy camels. |
- (ʿAmša al-Mašʿān in RADDĀS 1984/85, I, 354)

And Ibn Sbayyil:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>ya-wanniti wannat ṭiʿīn aš-šīṭrah
fi sāʿtīn yūxad ṭimaʿha ʿšāwah¹⁰⁵</i> | 1. My moans are like those of one wounded by a sharp blade,
When the robbers are despoilt of their booty by one stronger than them, |
| 2. <i>xilli nahār al-kōn waṣṭ al-kisīrah
ma lih walad ʿammin wala lih danāwah¹⁰⁶</i> | 2. Left behind on the field of battle amidst the fallen,
Without a kinsman or a relative anywhere near, |
| 3. <i>w-la yiʿarf aṭ-ṭālīʿ min ay-yah ʿašīrah

min kill badwīn nawwḥum bi-l-ʿatāwah¹⁰⁷</i> | 3. And no way to know from what tribe hails the man approaching him
From among the Bedouins who make oppression their trade. |
- (FARAJ 1952, 182 and SBAYYIL1988, 58)

Again, the feelings of animals are treated with no less sympathy than those of man, as in the following verses by Ḥwēd ibn Ṭihmāj al-ʿDyāni al-ʿTēbi about an unfortunate wolf:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>o wajd sirḥānin jara lih ʿaṭābīr
min al-hajaf wa-l-jūʿ jarr al-ginābi¹⁰⁸</i> | 1. Or like the pain of a wolf whose luck ran out,
And howls from hunger and exhaustion. |
| 2. <i>ma yimriḥ al-madhūb yaṭʿa d-duwāwīr</i> | 2. Instead of lying down for the night he is on a rampage around |

- w-^caddōh ḥirrās al-^carab wa-l-^ḵlībi*¹⁰⁹
3. *yalwi b-hum lēn aṣbah aṣ-
ṣibh ya-Mnīr
tumm inhazam sārīh ḡi^cif an-
niṣībi*¹¹⁰
4. *w-^citānih at-taffāg b-umm
al-misāmīr
wa-hwah ma^ca l-mixwā^c yihḡib
haḡībi*¹¹¹
5. *w-tārat w-ḡaddāha wiliyy
al-migādīr*
- wi-lya ann ^caḡm as-sāg ḡāḡin
ḡaḡībi*¹¹²
- the tents:
In spite of the resistance put
up by the Bedouins' guards and
dogs,
3. He kept circling around them
until the new day dawned;
Only then did the wretched
animal scamper away.
4. The gunman took aim at him
with his rifle,
While he ran down a patch of
low ground at a fast trot.
5. The gun fired and, guided by
the Lord of Destiny, the bullet
hit home,
And behold, the bone of the
wolf's leg was smashed to
pieces.
(JUNAYDIL 1980/81, 229–30)

These fragments offer no more than a glimpse of the rich imagery displayed by the representatives of the oral Najdi tradition. The number of examples illustrating their virtuosity in describing the dog's life of the poet's heart could be expanded *ad infinitum*. In the hands of a poet like Ibn Sbayyil these similes are moulded to suit the delicate and playful mood of his work. Others find in the convention the means to express in a personal manner a true sense of loss, like the ^cTēbah poetess ^cAmša al-Maš^cān who weeps over the death of her first infant son in a dirge opening with this complaint:

1. *ya-jarr galbi ma^c Dḡayyim
yijirrih
jarr ar-rša min fōg ^cūj al-
luwāḡīf*¹¹³
2. *wa-s-sadd minni bāḡ wa-š-
šīrb murrāh*
- wa-l-murr ma yibri l-glūb al-
muwālīf*¹¹⁴
1. Ah, how my heart is being
pulled because of Dḡayyim,
Like the rope is pulled over the
roller between the slanting
poles.
2. The emotions I tried to re-
press have burst forth; bitter
is my cure,
But bitter herbs do not cure the
hearts of those who love.
(RADDĀS 1984/85, I, 360)

The traditional similes offer a vehicle for the expression of a wide range

of emotions and moods, from this mother's lament captured in meter and rhyme to the jocular verses of poets who merely wish to frolic in the playground of convention.

CONCLUSION

Though this survey presents only a very incomplete picture of this vast and largely unexplored subject, one can nevertheless draw some conclusions from the foregoing.

The Nasīb

Within the *qaṣīdah*, as it has developed in the oral tradition of Najd, the *nasīb* (the introductory section) still represents a distinct segment that is set apart from the other sections by its emotional content and recurring motifs and similes, as well as by certain stylistic markers. Some of the motifs, images, and vocabulary proper to the classical *nasīb* have been retained virtually unaltered. But whereas a melancholy, plaintive mood continues to be characteristic of the prelude, the tendency in Najdi poetry is towards greater self-reflexiveness; to a degree unknown in ancient times, the inheritors of the classical tradition dwell on the creative process itself and its accompanying psychological condition.

The Tradition

In composing, the poets make use of a common store of themes, motifs, stock images, phraseology, and prosodical options that together constitute the heritage of Najdi poetry. That this living tradition encompasses many "archaic" elements should not be surprising, for due to its natural barriers Najd remained virtually sealed off from the outside world until the early part of this century. As a result its socioeconomic situation remained virtually unchanged for more than a thousand years. Thus the sense of alienation an eighth-century *muḥdath* poet in Baghdad might have already felt regarding his early models was not experienced by the Najdi poets until the first part of this century: for them the inherited repertory continued to correspond to the facts of their daily life. Indeed, the Najdi poets cited in this article are much closer to the spirit and imagery of pre-Islamic poetry than were the urban poets in the early centuries of Islam.

Art and Nature

Of course one can only speak in relative terms about matching art and nature. Literature often tends to play by its own rules, with a sovereign disregard for facts outside its domain. In Arabia this tendency

has become even more pronounced as the modern development of the country rapidly widens the gulf between the literary reality of Najdi poetry and the socioeconomic environment in which the poets live. Nowadays the old vocabulary of war, raiding, animal husbandry, and agriculture mainly survives through the continuing popularity of pre-modern poetry. Also, the later poets, especially those living in the conservative tribal society, have been slow to respond to the changed situation. The work of Dindān, for example, is remarkably close in expression and imagery to that of Ibn Sbayyil, though the two men are separated by a three-generation gap that coincided with the modern transformation of the country. This can be explained in part by the fact that Dindān remained wedded to the life-style of his ancestors and preferred to pay the price of economic marginalization rather than give up his nomadic existence in the desert with his small herd of camels. Yet it is true that even a Bedouin like Dindān only knows from hearsay many poetic elements of which Ibn Sbayyil and his contemporaries had (or might have had) firsthand experience. For instance, Dindān and other poets continue to compare the speed of fleet camels to that of fleeing ostriches, an animal that had already been hunted to extinction in Arabia by the time they grew up. This speaks for the fact that, as in the classical period, the tradition perpetuates itself and continues to hold sway over the poets long after the conditions in which it originated have fundamentally altered.

Like most of the imagery in the similes, the survival of the ostrich in modern poetry is surely an archaism, but matters are sometimes less clear-cut. For example, an established motif both in ancient Arabic poetry and in its linear descendant, the oral tradition of the Najd, pictures the poet standing on top of a mountain or hillock and watching in desperation as the caravan carrying his beloved disappears in the distance. In Dindān's case this is not a stereotyped prelude, but part of the reality he lived. When he felt the urge to compose a poem he did indeed climb one of the rocky ridges and conical basalt peaks in the desert around Wādi ad-Duwāsir. In doing so Dindān followed in the literary traces of countless Najdi poets before him, but not all of his predecessors necessarily matched poetry and reality as neatly as did Dindān. It seems likely that most of them composed their mountain verses in more comfortable quarters. And even Dindān's poetic mountaineering may have been another example of nature following literature.

The same holds true for Dindān's use of the *aṭlāl* motif. There can be no doubt that he felt genuine sorrow about the passing away of fellow tribesmen and was reminded of the happy hours he had spent

in their company when he came across the traces of one of their former camps.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, his verses on the subject are distinctly literary and traditional in character. Yet another example is the cooing of the dove that awakened the poet's nostalgic memories of his former romancing. No doubt he often heard the cooing of a dove while slumbering in the shade of a tree, but the poetic tradition was no doubt the determining factor in his choice of this particular motif rather than that of the warbling of a lark or other bird found in the desert.

Convention and Originality

In a traditional society like that of the Najd, the concepts of convention and originality cannot be applied in the same way as they are in the West. Outside the circles of the urban literate elite, poetry in Arabia is still an art to be enjoyed orally and collectively. Therefore poetry must answer to certain expectations of the audience, based on the audience's previous experience, in order to be understood and appreciated. For the poet to step too far outside the bounds of tradition would be tantamount to poetic suicide. The Najdi poet is imbued with this tradition from the first day he sits in the *majlis* (the circle of men assembled on the carpet to discourse freely on any subject of common interest while sipping tea and coffee), and feels the lure of rhyme and meter when listening to the poetry that is routinely declaimed on such occasions.

Yet within the bounds of tradition there is ample room for each Najdi poet to choose and elaborate in order to imprint his work with the stamp of his own individuality. As the samples presented in this article demonstrate, originality in this type of poetry can be understood as the incorporation of individual touches to the treatment of any given theme or motif (such as raiding, drawing irrigation water with the help of a camel, and, in the case of Dindān, the life of a nomad in the desert). Only an artist with a sound knowledge of the traditional environment underlying these themes and motifs, and a keen eye for its possible application in poetry, will be able to do so. Craftsmanship and originality in this sense are the qualities most highly regarded by the audience. Thus the interaction of the poet, the audience, and the environment sustain the vitality of the tradition.

Originality?

Nevertheless, the material in the existing collections and my own data certainly show departures that seem highly original and innovative. But even in these cases the Western concept of artistic originality cannot be applied without qualification. For instance, the poetess who

replaced the screaming of the wooden water wheels suspended above the well with that of the iron wheels of a steam engine, both called *maḥāhīl*, may have borrowed this innovation from another poet in her own tribe or any other located in or near the area crossed by the Ḥijāz railroad. One poet or poetess must have been the first to introduce this image, but it is in the nature of oral poetry that one will never know for certain who was the “inventor.”

Some of these departures raise even more complex questions, as in the following intermediate section wedged between a traditional *nasīb* (a complaint of the heart) and an equally traditional camel description in a poem by Dindān:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. <i>ana wēn adawwir li ma^ca ḍa
l-lsān lsān</i></p> <p><i>y^cāwin lsāni la yibīn al-xalal
fiyyah</i></p> | <p>1. Where can I turn for a tongue,
other than the one I already
have,
To help me express what this
one is incapable of saying?</p> |
| <p>2. <i>ana b-aḥmid allah yōm ja li
^cala ma zān</i></p> <p><i>thiḍ al-^cibār illi min al-^cām
makniyyah¹¹⁶</i></p> | <p>2. God I praised the day I re-
covered my poetic bearings,
And my heart broke out in sobs
after suffering in silence for a
year.</p> |
| <p>3. <i>tifahhamt fi gāfin wmarni
bih r-riḥmān</i></p> <p><i>talāhat mizāmīrih w-gārat
marākiyyah¹¹⁷</i></p> | <p>3. The verses dictated to me by
the Merciful I understood,
As they responded to one an-
other's melody and marched
on me in battle array.</p> |
| <p>4. <i>ṭara li jimī^c illi yṭarra wu-
hu ma kān</i></p> <p><i>lya fāḥ ṣadri miṭl foḥ al-
ḥasāwiyyah¹¹⁸</i></p> | <p>4. Everything imaginable occur-
red to me at once, strange as it
seems,
While my breast boiled over
like a coffee pot made in al-
Aḥsāʾ.</p> |
| <p>5. <i>kalēt as-sima w-arḍih wala
waggat al-liḥyān</i></p> <p><i>ma^c l-^carš killih ma yiḥi lug-
mitin liyyah¹¹⁹</i></p> | <p>5. Earth and sky I gobbled up,
but for me it was not even
chicken feed,
With the throne of heaven
thrown in it's but a poor chunk.</p> |
| <p>6. <i>širibt al-bḥūr w-jīt mit-
gānīmin ḍamyān</i></p> <p><i>jimī^c al-mišārib ma tiji rišfitin
liyyah¹²⁰</i></p> | <p>6. Gulping down the seas didn't
quench my thirst,
But then I'd drain the oceans
in one sip.</p> |

7. *saḥant al-jbāl dwan wala takḥīl al-burmān*
*w-jimī^c aš-šijār ma mayyal al-
 ēn hādīyyah¹²¹*
8. *kalēt al-gumar wa-š-šams w-amsēt ana jā^cān*
wala ēād bih šinn āklich eizzita liyyah¹²²
9. *kalēt as-snīn w-kāsirin bērag aš-šaytān*
w-širibt al-habāyib wa-l-jnūn sjidat liyyah¹²³
10. *libist an-nahār twēb xāmin ēala l-amtān*
w-suwād al-liyāli li bšūtin šimāliyyah¹²⁴
11. *w-jima^ct an-njūm w-niyyat al-xubṭ li-l-ēidwān*
ēala šān abīhum yaskinūn al-ḥarāmiyyah
12. *w-tarāni dixīl allah wilīyyi ēaḍīm aš-šān*
w-bāḡ al-xalāyiḡ ma lhum ēindi ēiyyah¹²⁵
13. *ya-rākib illi ḡaffalōha min al-miḡtān*
fiṭīrin yšādinn al-buwākīr maḥniyyah¹²⁶
7. If all mountains were ground into kohl it would not even cover the corners of my eyes, Nor would all trees provide enough sticks to smear it with.
8. After supping on sun and moon my stomach still rumbled with hunger, And now there is nothing else left to eat, poor me.
9. I swallowed the years and smashed Satan's banner; I imbibed the winds and the jinnees prostrated themselves for me;
10. As a cloak of coarse wool I threw the day around my shoulders, And I wrapped myself in the dark of night as in a furred mantle;
11. I gathered the stars, as well as all spite I could muster, With the intention of silencing them for good, that rabble!
12. To God, the mighty Lord I entrust myself, And as for the rest of mankind, I don't give a damn.
13. O rider of mounts left unimpregnated since the summer, Full-grown she-camels, so lean as to resemble the curved grip of a cane;

There can be no doubt as to the great poetic force of this passage. That, however, was not the issue at stake in the Wādi. These particular verses scandalized public opinion in the local community and, according to popular belief, brought upon Dindān divine wrath in the form of the partial paralysis of one of his legs. The poet (and the poem itself) say that the lines were spoken in response to a verbal assault by a rival poet. Unfortunately, I never learnt which poems

elicited this and other furious eruptions of hyperbole from Dindān. The lack of comparable material makes it impossible to tell at this stage whether they are truly original departures or fit into a local convention. One possibility is that these verses are part of more or less established patterns of local poetic exchange in which each poet tries to overwhelm his opponent by making fantastic claims for his own poetic prowess. If this is true, then either Dindān took unusual freedoms with the rules of these contests or this particular circuit of poets itself operates in some respects on the margins of local society.¹²⁷

This example also shows that published materials alone cannot provide a basis for well-founded judgments on these questions, since verses that are likely to jar on religious or other sensibilities do not appear in print. If anything, the conclusion must be that our understanding of the interrelationship between the individual poet and the tradition of which he partakes will remain sketchy until further research fills in the white spots of what is still very much a huge *terra incognita*.

NOTES

* The source of inspiration for this article was S. A. SOWAYAN's landmark contribution "Al-mu'ānāt wa-l-ibdā' fī naḍm al-qaṣīdah an-nabaṭiyyah" [Suffering and creativity in the composition of Nabaṭi poetry] (1987). For a comprehensive introduction to the subject of the Najdi tradition in poetry see SOWAYAN 1985. Sowayan's chapter on prosody and language is a breakthrough in the search for solutions to the problems of scansion in vernacular Najdi poetry. It would exceed the scope of this paper to repeat Sowayan's set of rules for prosodic analysis, but it should be noted that—for reasons I am unable to explain—the fragments from poems by Dindān included in the text of this article are metrically much more varied than those by others. The meters of the poems by Dindān quoted here correspond to the following meters in classical poetry: *aṭ-ṭawīl* in six of the fragments; *ar-ramal* in four; *al-basīṭ* in two; *ar-raḥaz* in one; *al-mumtadd* in one; the long meter --v---v--v-- in four. The latter meter is used in sixteen of the nineteen fragments by other poets (and in all of the four fragments chosen from Ibn Sbayyil's *dīwān*), the remaining three being *al-basīṭ* (two) and *aṭ-ṭawīl* (one).

The system of transliteration used for lexicographic items, titles, and names in Classical Arabic is that of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, with the modification that *dj*, *gh*, and *k* have been replaced by *j*, *g*, and *q*. I have rendered Dindān's poetry phonemically on the basis of taped records. Verses cited from written sources have been transliterated in a way that I hope more or less approximates the result that would have been obtained if the material had been recorded from a transmitter.

1. *li'ab* in poetry usually has the meaning of "song, poetry, dancing movements"; *gāṭārīf* 'the boastful songs and cries of men returning from a successful raid' is close in meaning to *zaḡārīt* (CA *taḡaṭrafa* 'to magnify oneself, be proud, to walk in a haughty manner'); *ḡuwāri'* 'verses of poetry' (cf. CA *qawāri'* *al-qur'ān* 'the verses of the Quran one recites for protection from evil spirits, etc.');

ḡīda, *ḡādda*, imp. *yḡaddi*

'to direct, lead, show the way'.

2. *šarraḥ* 'to climb, ascend'; *rijim* pl. *rjūm* 'cairn, peak, heap of stones [made into a shelter or an observation post]' (cf. the glossary of SOWAYAN 1992; hereafter references to this glossary are abbreviated as *Glos.*)—here it has the more general meaning of 'hill, mountain, mountain peak' (like CA *rijm* pl. *arjām*); *šaff* 'wish, desire'.

3. Already in the classical *nasīb* complaints about the poet's old age had developed into an independent theme (WAGNER 1988, I, 99–100).

4. See SBAYYIL 1988 and FARAJ 1952. The latter is one of the earliest and best collections of Najdi poetry, including the *dīwāns* of other, predominantly lyrical, poets as well. The former is a more recent collection by one of the poet's grandsons. Where the text of both editions varies slightly I have generally followed the former edition. For my interpretation of the verses I am indebted to the poet's cousin Ḥmūd ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAziz ibn Ḥmūd ibn Sbayyil, a retired judge living in Riyadh.

5. Samples of the latter three's poetry are taken from JUNAYDIL (1980/81). Ibn Junaydil is an authority in the field of geography and popular culture whose intimate acquaintance with these subjects stems from the fact that as a young man he used to travel widely on camelback as a trader in agricultural equipment.

6. RADDĀS 1984/85. Ibn Raddās (born in 1924 or 1925) collected these poems in the course of his travels as an inspector for the Ministry of Labor. See AL-BILĀDĪ 1984, 271–72. He is now retired and lives in Riyadh.

7. Sowayan informed me that the vernacular tradition of the Najd uses the following technical terms: *fakir* for maxims and conventional wisdom, *al-irḳāb* for the description of the itinerary, *ḡaṭuw* for riddles.

8. Only two of the twenty-five poems discussed here do not begin with such an introduction: one opens with *ya-rāḳbīn* (O rider), followed by one line of camel description, and the *naṣṣah* (steer her to) immediately ushers in the *mufaḳḳarah*. Similarly, the second one opens with *ya-nidībi* (O my messenger) and one verse of camel description, followed by *naṣṣah* and one line of *madiḥ* addressed to the recipient. The remaining twenty verses of this last poem describe the poet's construction of an unassailable fortified palace guarded by the angel of death, which can be read as a highly original metaphor for Dindān's own art. See SOWAYAN 1987, 87, on building as a metaphor for composing poetry.

9. This marker *min ʿana* frequently occurs in the poetry of the Duwāsir in addition to such formulas as *ʿalēk ya-* or *ʿala allaḡi* 'for one who', commonly used by poets who lived in central Najd.

10. *xaff*, *yxuff* 'to disperse, to chase away' (when the wind blows, the rain is believed to come down in smaller drops, cf. CA *khaffa* 'to diminish, decrease, to become deficient', said of rain); *nūd* pl. *anwād* 'wind, breeze'; *ḡagūḡ* 'a violent downpour, clouds that do not deceive by their appearance, but truly deliver on their promise of rain'; *ḡamlūl* pl. *ḡamālīl* 'a rather narrow valley with dense vegetation' (CA *ḡamlūl* pl. *ḡamālīl* 'a narrow valley with many trees and luxurious vegetation, low tracts of land covered with herbage').

11. *dahar* 'fate, misfortune, drought'; *ḡaḡīr* i.e., *ḡaḡar* 'inhabitants of the settled land, village folk, those who dwell in permanent houses', contrary of *baduw*, the Bedouins; *ṣakk ʿala* 'to lock, to surround, encircle, press around'; *dallāl* pl. *dallālīn* 'middleman who establishes contact between buyer and seller for a fee (*dalālah*)' (HESS 1938, 147).

12. *ḳabd* pl. *ḳbūd* 'the liver' believed to be a seat of feelings, especially hatred and spite, and also means 'the entire area of the stomach' or 'the entrails' (HESS 1938, 149 and MUSIL 1928, 115, 575); *maḡlūl* pl. *maḡālīl* 'very thirsty; furious' (CA *maḡlūl*, *ḡalīl*

'burning of thirst, burning inside from thirst or anger and vexation').

13. Cf. WAGNER 1988, I, 85, 87.

14. *šāla* 'to suit, be of help or convenience to someone'; *ašla*=*afḍal* 'better, more suitable' (CA *išhtalā* 'to save from harm').

15. On this motif see SOWAYAN 1987, 96–100. Verbs used for 'to climb' are *ḍabb*, *riḡa*, *bida*, *šarraf*, *natt*, *ta^calla*, *adda*. Sowayan also mentions the mountain or lookout (*riḡim*, *nāyif*, *mašraf*, *margab*, *mirḡāb*, *ḥaja*, *majdūr* etc.) and adjectives indicating its shape (*mdamlaj*, *mgawwir*, *maḍrūb*, *malmūm*, etc.).

16. *ōḥa*, *yūḥi* 'to hear, perceive; to listen' (cf. CA *awḥā*; *waḥy* 'sound, voice'); *ginīb* 'barking, howling' (CA *qānib* 'a howling wolf').

17. *ḡayyar^cala* 'to bring in a bad, angry mood'.

18. Similarly a Dōsiri poetess: *ana bādyah waḡt aḡ-ḡaḡa rās riḡmin bān* (RADDĀS 1984/85, II, 147).

19. *šā^cūḡ* 'summit, pinnacle' (perhaps the association is with thunderbolts striking the peak, cf. CA *ša^cāqa*).

20. *min ḡarriḥ* 'because of his deception'.

21. *baḡa*, *yabḡi* or the contracted form *yabi* 'to want, desire, covet' (CA *baḡā*).

22. See SOWAYAN's chapter "Composition: The poet's viewpoint" (1985, 91–100) and SOWAYAN 1987.

23. *ḡalīl*, *ḡull* 'fretting, brooding anger, rancor, spite, unsatisfied love'; *ḡmōmis* 'to become obscure, unclear, recondite'; *ḡmōmis ar-rāy* 'the mind became clouded, shrouded in darkness, confused' (CA *amasa*).

24. CA *hāḡa* 'to renew the pain' as in *hāḡa al-ḡuzn qalbah* 'his heart was afflicted by grief time and again'.

25. *amṡāl*, *amāṡil* 'landmarks, elevations' (CA *amṡāl* 'mountains resembling one another').

26. *šin*=*šayyin* 'anything, something'; *tigiššār* 'moderation, taking things in modest portions'.

27. See also SOWAYAN 1987, 76.

28. *nhāl* 'thirsty camels when they have arrived at the well and start to gulp down the water' (CA *ibl nawāḡil*, *niḡāl*; *nahal* 'the first drink'); *mahnū^c* pl. *mahāni^c* 'bent, bowed' (CA *ba^cīr mahnū^c* 'a camel standing with its neck lowered').

29. *jāk*: the pronominal suffix refers to the listener or the audience in general, in the sense that *jāk* means 'he comes for you' (SOWAYAN 1992, 53). Sowayan therefore calls this feature of the narrative style the *-k* of courtesy. *ḡāmah* 'flight, whirl'; *salm* pl. *slūm* 'customs, manners, established norms' (*Glos.*); *šmām* 'instantly, in a twinkle' (*Glos.*).

30. *riḡiyy* 'the lower end of the column-like swarm of locusts' (CA *raḡan* pl. *ruḡiy* 'millstone').

31. *irḡ* 'a long spur of sand' (MUSIL 1928, 677).

32. *tara* a presentative article, functioning in almost the same manner as CA *inna* (see *Glos.*); *tarāni*=*innani*. *mḡōjīlāt* (pl. fem.) 'flawed' (cf. CA *mukḡḡil* 'confounded; rent, worn out'). 'Bring the pen' etc.: an appeal to an imaginary scribe is a stereotyped motif in oral Najdi poetry.

33. Examples are *ysanni^c*, *yfašsil*, *yḡaddi*. SOWAYAN (1987, 87 and 1985, 94): *y^caddīl*, *ywallif*, *yāzin*, *y^casif*, *yanḡat*, *yḡaxxir*, *yanḡir*, *yabni*, *yḡūḡ*.

34. *ḡāf* (lit. 'rhyme'), *ḡīl*, *timāṡīl*, *nišīd*, *ḡiḡīd*, etc.

35. E.g., JUNAYDIL 1980/81, 101:

1. *wi-bda^ct ḡāḡīn fāḡmīḡ ma ta^carwaj* 1. My verses do not limp, for they were

- w-killin* ^c*ala gāf al-Htēmi šifāwi* composed with skill;
My poetry is popular with audiences everywhere:
2. *yišdi l-darr illi waladha ydarrij* 2. Sweet as the milk of one that gently nudges on her calf,
lya jāt min nabt aš-šicib al-frāwi When she returns from grazing in a broad valley.
36. *ḵannih* < CA *ka-annah*; *ḡuṣn* pl. *ḡṣūn* 'twig, branch'.
37. *lahābib*, pl. of *lahbūb* 'a ravine, a gap between two mountains' (cf. CA *lih̄b*, pl. *alhāb*, *luhūb*, *lihāb*); *ixtalaft* 'I became confused, bad-tempered'.
38. *taḡašwa*, energetic form of *ḡaša*, 'to cover completely' (CA *taḡašshā* to cover, conceal'); *xyāl*, *maxāyil* 'black rainclouds' (HESS 1938, 67) (CA *makhīlah* pl. *makhāyil* 'cloud showing signs of rain'); *rizīn* pl. *rzān* 'heavy, resting solidly on the ground' (CA *razīn* 'heavy, motionless', said of a cloud hanging in the sky).
39. *aḡḡa* 'to allow to stream, let go'; *kamm* 'to hide', *ḵinīn* 'what one hides inside his breast, the feelings and thoughts one dissimulates' (CA *kammana* 'to hide, veil'); *sirjūf* pl. *sarājīf* 'side of the breast, the soft spot of the side under the ribs' (CA *shurshūf* 'the extremity, head of the rib next the belly'); *hašš*, *yhišš* 'to leak, ooze out, seep; to flow copiously [tears]'.
40. *b-aḵna* 'I want to conceal, suppress it; to endure, bear it' (similar in meaning to *aḵma*, *aktim*). The prefixation of *bi-* to the imperfect gives it a future meaning.
41. *galb al-ana*, *al-galb al-manna*, *galb al-xaṭa*, 'the unreasonable, enamored, afflicted heart'.
42. *nijāh* 'the state of being well-done, completely cooked'.
43. *huwājīs*, *ruwābi* 'worries, concerns one tries to keep to himself'; *bēn as-sarājīf*, *šindūg al-ḡaša* 'the room between the ribs' that is pictured as a cage imprisoning the emotions; *sadd*, *ḵinīn* 'what is hidden there, contained by the walls'; *bāh*, *bayyah*, passive *bīh*, 'to appear, to become exposed to public scrutiny', said when the poet is forced to give himself away.
44. *fōh fiḡr al-bīr la ḥirrik difīnih* 'like a well whose sand-filled bottom is scraped up'; *fawwa* at *bi-l-jamm l-azrag ma tmāh* 'the limpid water came gushing to the surface and did not require someone to tug at the rope in order to make sure that the bucket was full or to descend in the well in order to scoop it up in case the well was almost dry'.
45. For the extended simile in *nabaṭi* poetry, as the vernacular poetry of Najd is called, and some beautiful examples see also SOWAYAN 1985, 113–17.
46. E.g., RADDĀS 1984/85, I, 58.
47. E.g., FARAJ 1952, 210.
48. *ḵima* < CA *kamā*; *m'id*, *mi'wād* pl. *ma'āwīd* 'a camel trained to draw water'.
49. *jāhhāl* sing. *jāhil* 'young, reckless men; a gay youth between his fourteenth and eighteenth years, who is imprudent and will be neither advised nor remonstrated with' (MUSIL 1928, 536). *sanna* 'to steer in the right direction, to do something right'; ^c*ala ḡēr tasnī* 'clumsily, incompetently, wrongly': *nuwāḵīr* 'sharp stones jutting out from the inside of a well' (CA *naka'a* 'to strike, hit').
50. JUNAYDIL (1987/88) contains much relevant information on this and other poems dealing with the technique of drawing water.
51. *za'a* 'a strong, vehement camel' (CA *za'za'a* 'to shake, agitate'); *ḡāyil* pl. *ḡīl* 'sterile, not impregnated and hence fat and strong animals' (CA *ḡā'il* 'not conceiving, not becoming pregnant during a year or some years'); *ṣaddar* 'to hoist the bucket by

moving away from the well while pulling the rope'. See also JUNAYDIL 1987/88, 37, 79, 94.

52. *mihda* = *miswigah* 'stick used to prod the animal'. JUNAYDIL (1987/88) gives *lya razz mihdāh* 'when [the slave] raises his stick'. *amras* 'to slip off the waterwheel' (said of the rope holding the bucket; JUNAYDIL 1987/88, 100 [cf. CA *imrās*]). *wiṭa* 'to tread, step on'. See also JUNAYDIL 1987/88, 31, 38, 99.

53. *naxa* 'to invoke someone's honor in an appeal for his assistance' (*Glos.*).

54. Sbayyil has *tanxāh* and Faraj *tanḥāh* instead of *taṣ'āh*, which is given by JUNAYDIL (1987/88, 38). *agfa*, inf. noun *igfa* 'to turn back, move away; to make an escape, retreat'; *ṭimi*^c 'to hope for, desire gain'; *ṭamāmī*^c 'raiders craving booty'.

55. ^c*argāh* 'the wooden crosspieces fastened over the mouth of the elongated bucket to which the rope is attached'; *jāl* pl. *jilān* 'wall made of rocks or stone like the steep side of a mountain or a well covered on the inside with stones'. See also JUNAYDIL 1987/88, 38, 83–84, 100.

56. *mḥīm*, *ḥāyīm* pl. *ḥyām* '[a thirsty camel] circling around [the water trough, waiting to be watered]' (cf. CA *ḥā'im*).

57. *aṭ-ṭwāl* 'the long ones', the name of some wells on the caravan road from Kuwait (JUNAYDIL 1987/88, 38). Obviously these are the *ṭwāl* wells in the possession of the Muṭair tribe (see INGHAM 1986, 23–24, 32); ^c*idd* pl. ^c*dūd* 'a well with plenty of water'; *mṭawwa* '[a well] covered on the inside with stones'.

58. *gi'ūd* pl. *ḡi'dān* 'young male camel [until its fourth year]' (HESS 1938, 76); *ysāni*^c 'to perform something well'.

59. This verse is explained later in the text on the basis of JUNAYDIL 1987/88, 41–42. *xaṭwah* pl. *xṭa* 'step, pace'.

60. *halīmah* pl. *halāyim* 'a starved, emaciated camel' (SOWAYAN 1981, 66); *nisaf* 'to throw vigorously, toss; to push aside' (*Glos.*); *jamm* pl. *jmām* 'the water of a well that has collected after it has been drawn from'; *daḡariḡ* (pl.) 'copious' (CA *daḡraqa* 'to pour, splash a fluid').

61. *jaham* 'to rise early in the morning, at the end of the night' (*Glos.*); *anjah* 'to saturate with, to give something the full measure of; to overcook'; *miṣ'axif* 'tender parts' (cf. CA *sakhif* 'thin in texture'; the substitution of ṣ for s in the vicinity of gutturals is a common feature of the Najdi dialect); *miswigah* pl. *misāwiḡ* 'stick used to urge on an animal'.

62. *i'lāḡ* 'the fastening of the noose at the other end of the rope holding the bucket to the *ḵitab*, the saddle of the *sānyah*' (JUNAYDIL 1987/88, 97).

63. *nā'ūr* pl. *nuwā'ir*, also *markūz* pl. *marākīz* 'two stout poles planted in the ground at the sides of a well that has not been covered on the inside with stones in order to support the roller on which runs the rope' (JUNAYDIL 1987/88, 71).

64. *hal* < CA *ahl*.

65. ^c*adāwi* 'camels having pastured on good herbage, fat camels' (CA ^c*udwīy*).

66. *nahaj*, *yanhaj* 'to hurry, hasten'; *ḥalāl al-gōm* 'may he be the *ḥalāl* (possession of) *al-gōm* (enemies, raiders), may he be captured and taken away as booty by the enemy'; *ma hūb yāwi* 'he has no mercy, consideration for' (CA *awā*, *ya'wī l-* 'to be compassionate for, feel pity for'); *ma hūb* 'he is not' (followed by the predicate), the particle of negation *ma* and a contraction of the personal pronoun *hu* and the emphatic *b-*.

67. *ḵitab* pl. *ḵitbān* (CA *qatab* 'pack-saddle') (JUNAYDIL 1987/88, 45–46).

68. *aš-šarbah* 'a period of one month and ten days in late spring when water for the irrigation of the wheat fields has to be drawn day and night' (JUNAYDIL 1987/88, 105–107).

69. *jāḡ*, *yjūḡ* 'to toss about (e.g., someone ill with fever), to move in an agitated

manner'.

70. *nazzaḥ* 'to exhaust, empty a well' (CA *anzaha al-bi'r* 'he drew water from the well until he had emptied it'); *ḡilib* pl. *ḡilbān* 'a well' (CA *qalīb* pl. *qulbān* 'a well in the desert'); *mirjāc* pl. *marājīc* 'a *sānyah*, a she-camel trained to draw water for irrigation purposes brought back from pasture', i.e., one with previous experience in the *masna*, hence: 'lean, emaciated camel'.

71. *abbāb* 'a well with plenty of water'.

72. *irb* 'good and strong camels but not of a thoroughbred race' (HESS 1938, 75); *kālyāt* < CA *kala'a* 'to find grass, green fodder'.

73. *bint* pl. *bniyy* 'daughter, girl'; *maxḏūb* pl. *maxāḏīb* 'dyed [with henna, paint]'.

74. *mjawwid* 'tying, fastening firmly'; *ḡbāb* 'brass rings which hold something together'.

75. *ribābah* 'one-stringed violin' (see SOWAYAN 1985, 138–40 on singing and musical accompaniment).

76. *xalūj* 'a she-camel whose calf is killed immediately after birth and who notices it' (MUSIL 1928, 194); *baḡw* 'stuffed skin of the slaughtered calf'. "If a strong she-camel, which gives milk long and abundantly, gives birth to a weak male cub, the owner removes it from its mother, kills it, and ties a portion of its skin around the neck and throat of another young camel. The mother of the animal which has been killed sniffs at the skin, thinks that this is her cub, and lets it suck. Thus she does not lose her milk with fretting, while the mother of the living camel continues to treat it in the same way" (MUSIL 1928, 22).

77. *miḡālīf* '[camels or cranes that] remain standing in a fixed position with their necks curved downward'; *ḡāni* pl. *ḡwāni* 'stooped, bent downwards', i.e., *taḡannat arḡābha* 'they stood with lowered necks'; *ijbah* for *wijbah* pl. *wjāb* 'half astronomical day, the unit used by Bedouins in their calculation of time; five *wjāb* is two times twenty-four hours plus one night' (HESS 1938, 70).

78. *tahajjaf* 'to become thin, worn, exhausted'; *xazraf* pl. *xazārīf* 'a kind of plant that grows in southern Najd'.

79. *ḡidād* 'leather thong, strap'; *mann* 'to take away'; *ḡma* 'the day on which the camels get thirsty' (Glos.); *miṣyāf* 'period of pasturing on the green produced by the ṣēfi rains', here, metaphorically, 'the fat accumulated during that period'.

80. *tamši ḡifāḡīf* 'they trudge along, walk with a faltering gait' (CA *taqafqafa* 'to shudder, tremble'); *ḡazzah* 'about the time of'; *shēl* 'Canopus'—the disappearance of Canopus in June signals the beginning of the *ḡēḡ*, the hot and dry season, extending over four months to about the first days of October (CA *qayṣ*).

81. *ḡamīr* 'the scum, algae, and dirt floating on stagnant, warm water'; *maḡrafah* pl. *maḡārīf* 'big, wooden spoon or ladle for scooping up water or food'; *māyyāḡ* 'the man who climbs down into the well to scoop up the water if there is only a little of it at the bottom, or to pull the rope of the bucket to ascertain whether it has filled with water' (JUNAYDIL 1987/88, 98–99); *tuwāḡ al-wsāni* 'the stench did him in', i.e., he almost fainted (CA *asana* 'to become altered for the worse in odor when it has stood too long', said of water).

82. *xūr* 'she-camels abounding with milk' (CA *ḡhawwārah* pl. *ḡhūr*).

83. *ṣīfaḡ*, *yaṣfiḡ* 'to strike, slap, hit' (Glos.)—here it means 'to push in the wrong direction'; *yaṣda*, *yāṣdi*, *yāṣd* 'he resembles, he is like' (CA *shadā* 'to assimilate, liken to').

84. *ḡāni* 'long-suffering'; *nijir* 'mortar made of copper in which the coffee is pounded, a sound that is carried over a great distance and is considered an open invitation to all who hear it'; *ḡassōḡ* 'they touched it, hit it'; *dann*, *dandan* 'to make a buzzing sound'.

85. *šiga*^c 'to hit, strike with force'; *šibir* pl. *šbār* 'the rim of the mortar' (CA *ašbār* 'the sides of a vessel'); *rikad* 'to pound softly on the bottom of the mortar'; *dagg* 'beating, pounding'.

86. *jağar* 'to grumble, grunt'; *šakk* 'to strike from all sides'.

87. *rakb* 'a group of men mounted on camels'; *šimsūl qōd* 'a small herd of 15–20 camels' (HESS 1938, 62); *rabi*^c 'fellow tribesmen, company of men'; *mišākīl* 'men enjoying prestige, having great self-esteem and high aspirations'; *kinmas* 'strong camels'.

88. *miš^cal* 'torch', used by the Bedouins to follow the traces of robbers at night. It consists of a kettle filled with firewood carried by two men holding the chains fastened to the kettle's handles while the fire is kept burning by a third man who picks up dead wood on the way (HESS 1938, 102); *ibrahazz* 'to pale' (said of the darkness of night); *rajjal* pl. *rijājil* 'manly, courageous man'.

89. *zōl* [dimly perceived] silhouette'; *jōl* 'flock'; *tigāfa* 'to move away, one following the other'; *miqālil* 'one's shadow touching that of the other'—hunters approach their prey in the late afternoon with the low sun in their back, so that the ostriches step on one another's long shadows as they flee in one line.

90. *xataf* 'to catch one unaware'; *tiffah* (pl.) 'running fast as if floating over the ground, flying' (CA *tāfiḥ*); *jfūl* (pl.) 'in a panicky gallop'; *hadmūl* pl. *hadāmīl* 'rags, pieces of cloth' that scare camels if they are thrown at them (CA *hidmūl*).

91. *ḥṣān* pl. *ḥiṣin* 'stud horse'; *msarrīb* 'creating the *sarāb*, the mirage'; *ḥill* pl. *ḥlūl* 'time, period'; *kāṭḥ an-njūm* 'the time marked by the position of the stars when the hot winds of summer begin to blow and stir up *kāṭḥ* [CA *kathaha* 'to blow something away'], clouds of dust'; *fāxat* 'to miss the right direction, take a wrong turn, go astray from'.

92. *tāḥ* 'to fall, to fall off'; *midhāl* pl. *midāhīl* 'places frequented by man or animals', i.e., the watering places were crowded with enemy tribes and were inaccessible to them.

93. *tāla*^c 'to spy, see and notice, look out over'. Bedouins of ʿTēbah described to me the stages of the *qma*, the days the camels pasture in the desert without being watered, as follows: At night the camels are watered at the well (*al-bill txammar* ^c*ala l-bīr*); the next morning they are watered again (*tišbiḥ*), and then driven to the pasture (*nahār aṣ-šidīr*); the next day is *nahār al-ḡibb*; then *nahār ar-ribi*^c; then *nahār al-xams*, the fourth day of *aq-qma*.

94. *ʿidd* 'a water well with plenty of water' (*Glos.*); *maḥāl* pl. *maḥāwīl* 'waste, waterless desert' (*Glos.*).

95. *fōd* 'booty'; *zi^cjūl* 'strong, lively animal'; *maxyūl* pl. *maxāyīl* 'a stick on which the shepherd hangs his cloak as a stratagem to prevent his flocks from wandering off in his absence'.

96. *ankaf* 'to return from a raid'; *manākīf* 'returning raiders' (MUSIL 1928, 642); *girdūb* 'the highest point of a *ḥazim*, stony hill'.

97. *šyāḥ* 'cries of alarm'; *tayyar* 'to scare, send away fleeing'; *tuwāḥīf* = *bwārdiyah* 'gunmen'; *wakkad* 'to become certain of something'; *mlāwyāt al-^cnān* 'moving, tossing the reins back and forth', i.e., spirited mares.

98. *ḡaṭārīf* 'boastful songs of successful warriors'; *naḥa* 'to go or come in the direction of'.

99. *waṭṭa* 'to step upon, kick'; *nūt* 'long'; *nūt ar-rḡāb* 'having long necks'; *muwājīf* 'fast, fleet'; *mūyfāt* (pl. fem.) 'fast she-camels' (CA *wajīf* 'a fast, agitated pace of camels'); *haff* 'to rush over the crest and plunge downhill'; *ṭimān* = *ṭāmin* 'sloping downward'.

100. *lāla* < CA *law lā. ḡabba* 'to cover, conceal'; *mixlāf* pl. *maxālīf* 'a path between two *ḡīl*^cs, two low, isolated mountains'; *bṭān* pl. *biṭīn* 'girth; a camel's-hair rope forming a belly girth' (MUSIL 1928, 353); *min yimiss al-bṭān* 'those who pull the belly girth', i.e.,

all the raiders would have been killed.

101. *taxāṭifaw* 'they rushed ahead of them, cut off their escape and attacked the enemy'; *mizḡāf* pl. *mizāḡif* i.e., *sābiḡ*, 'a horse that outruns other horses', *an-na^cām al-mizāḡif* 'ostriches fleeing at great speed'; *^calābi* 'the tendons, sinews of the neck; neck'.

102. *šarh* 'one who entertains an ambition or hope' (*Glos.*); *mirja^cāni* = *mirjā^c* (see note 70).

103. See RADDĀS 1984/85, I, 59, 303 for a similar treatment of the motif.

104. *ṭagg* 'to hit, strike'; *at-ṭāyif* 'the spectre; depressive mood'; *^cērāt* (always used in the plural and often in conjunction with *al-inḡa*) 'strong camel mounts' (*Glos.*; MUSIL 1928, 156 [CA *^cayrān* 'camel resembling the wild ass (*^cayr*) in quickness and briskness; hardy']); *ōma* 'to sway back and forth, to flutter' (CA *awma^a* 'to make signs with the hand or the head').

105. *ṭi^cin* 'wounded by the thrust of a weapon'; *ṣiṭīrah* '[a weapon] with a sharp point or blade'; *ṭima^c* 'gain, coveted object' (*Glos.*); *^cšāwah* 'by sheer force' (CA *^cašhiya^c ala* 'to wrong someone').

106. *kōn* 'battle'; *danāwah* 'relatives' (CA *daniyya* 'he was *ibn^c amm* [son of a paternal uncle, closely related]').

107. *^cašīrah* 'tribe, tribal section'; *naww* 'intention, ambition' (CA *an-nawā*); *^catāwah* 'oppression, arrogant and lawless behavior'.

108. *^catābir* 'mishaps, problems'; *hajaf* 'thinness'.

109. *amrah*, *yimriḡ* 'to lie down, rest at night'; *maḡhūb* 'cursed one'; *yaṭ^ca* 'he makes mischief, rampages' (<CA *^cathā* by transposition of the root consonants); *ad-duwāwīr* 'the tents pitched in circles'; *klib* 'dogs' (CA *kalb*).

110. *ya-Mnīr* i.e., the person to whom the poet addresses himself; *tumm* 'then, thereupon' (<CA *thumma*); *inhazam* 'to flee, to run for it'.

111. *i^ctān* 'to take aim at; to catch sight of'; *tāffāḡ* pl. *tiffāḡ*, *tifāfiḡ* 'gunman' (*Glos.*); *umm al-misāmīr* lit. 'mother of the nails' i.e., a gun; *mixwā^c* pl. *maxāwī^c* 'a low tract of land, a plain, depression'; *haḡīb* 'a fast trot'.

112. *ḡadda* 'to steer in the right direction; to take aim, to hit the target'; *ḡādi* 'gone, lost'; *ḡada* 'to be, to become'.

113. Dhayyim is a pet name for ^cAbdu r-Raḡmān; *^cūj al-luwāḡiḡ* 'the slanted poles supporting the draw wheels suspended above the well'.

114. *murrah* 'bitter and burning herbal medicine' (CA *murrah* 'myrrh; a certain medicine for scorpion stings, intestinal disease, etc., that is sucked, applied as a plaster or swallowed in a dry state'); *biri*, *yibri* 'to be restored to health, be cured'; *al-glūb al-muwālīf* 'the affectionate, tenderly loving hearts' (CA *ma^alūf*, in the Najdi dialect the initial glottal stop of the first radical of the root *hamzah* usually changes to *w* [see SO-WAYAN 1985, 151]).

115. One of the early developments of the *aṭlāl* motif was that the classical poets extended it to include a lament about the forced departure of their own tribe due to war (WAGNER 1988, I, 99).

116. *^cibār* 'wailing, sobbing'; *maḡniy* 'suppressed, concealed'.

117. *ḡāf* pl. *ḡifān* 'rhyme', generally used with the metonymical meaning of 'rhymed verse, poetry'; *talāḡa* 'to sing, hum a tune to one another, strike up a tune in response to another singer'; *mizmār* pl. *mizāmīr* 'reed-pipe'; *markiy* pl. *marāki* 'a sizable body of armed camel riders', i.e., *al-jēš*.

118. *ṭara* 'to occur to one's mind, to think of'; *ṭarra* 'to mention'; *fāḡ* 'to boil over, bubble up, to flow, said of a well' (CA *fāḡa* 'to pour forth, to boil'); *fōḡ* 'the bubbling up, welling forth'.

119. *la waggat al-liḡyān* literally means 'there was nothing between the jaws, nothing

that prevented the jaws from touching', i.e. the morsel was so small that it could not even be chewed (CA *waqā*).

120. *mitgānim*, *gānim* pl. *gānmīn* 'having obtained, gained, acquired; taker of spoil, successful raider; able, worthy man' (Glos.). *ḡamyān* 'thirsty' (CA *zamān*).

121. *dwa* 'medicine, remedy' (CA *dawā*); *burmān* 'the angles of the eyes'; *mayyal* 'to apply kohl with a *mīl*, also *ḡaṭrūf*, a small knife for rubbing on the eye black'.

122. *izzāh*, *izzi likum* 'O, what a pity!' (Glos.); *wa-izzāh*, *ya-izzāh* 'alas!; O, dear me!'.

123. *habāyib* 'the winds' (CA *habūb* 'wind that raises the dust').

124. *ṭwēb* dimin. of *tōb* 'garment, piece of cloth' (CA *ṭhawb*). *bišt* pl. *bšūt* 'a cloak'.

125. *tara* is a presentative article, functioning in almost the same manner as CA *inna* (Glos.); *tarāni*=*inmanī*. *dixil* 'one who places himself under the protection of someone'; *bāḡ*<CA *bāqī*.

126. *ḡaffalōha* 'they did not attend to it', i.e., 'they left the she-camel sterile, not impregnated' (CA *ḡhafala* 'to neglect intentionally'); *miḡtān* pl. *miḡātīn* 'a place where the Bedouins make a prolonged stay in summer time' (MUSIL 1928, 24); *fāṭīr* pl. *fiṭīr*, *fiṭṭar* 'a she-camel older than twenty years' (MUSIL 1928, 334) or 'older than fourteen years' (HESS 1938, 74). Nowadays, however, any she-camel older than nine or ten years is called *fāṭīr*. *yašda*, *yšādī*, *yšād* 'he resembles, he is like' (MUSIL 1928, 177, 482 and Glos.) (CA *shadā* 'to assimilate, liken to'). *bākūr* pl. *buwākīr* 'a staff; a stick provided with a cord at one end, the other being bent in a semicircle' (MUSIL 1928, 127); *maḥniy* 'bent, curved'.

127. In the sectional sequence of the poem this passage occupies an intermediate position between the *nasīb* proper and the camel section introduced by the marker *ya-rākbin*. It could be considered both as a prolongation of the self-reflexive motif describing the creative process and as an independent section of *mufākḫarah*, viz. a celebration of the composer's poetic skills.

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