

THE PERSIAN METRES

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Contents

Introduction	vii
Transcription	xi
I. The Traditional Analysis of Arabic and Persian Prosody	1
II. Critique of Xallil's System as applied to Persian Metres	57
III. The Persian Metres	83
IV. Statistical Survey of Use of Metres	145
V. The Sources of the Persian Metrical System	168
Appendix I. Rhyme	223
Appendix II. Verse Forms	243
Bibliography	261
Index of Technical Terms	273
Index of Proper Names	281

For quick reference a table of the thirty commonest met
 is given on page xiv.

Introduction

For more than one thousand years the study of the metres of Persian verse has been dominated by the theories and principles devised by the analysts of Arabic poetry, and thereafter applied without discrimination to the classification of the compositions of the Persian poets. So complete has this domination been that this use of the traditional Arabic terminology has actually misled many scholars, both eastern and western, into assuming an intimate relation between the two systems, and even into asserting that Persian verse is derived from Arabic. In fact, as this book sets out to show, there is no support for such a belief. It is true that the Arabic terminology may (with some stretching of its legitimate use) be employed to describe the Persian metres; but this does not mean that the latter, as used by the poets, were copied from Arabic poetry - any more than the fact that Shakespeare wrote in what we choose to call iambic pentameters means that he copied this metre from the Greeks.

It is not the purpose of this book to criticise this traditional Arabic terminology insofar as it has been applied to Arabic verse. There must however be general agreement that, particularly in the failure to isolate and

identify the syllable as the unit of speech and therefore of scansion, the prosodic theories of traditional eastern scholarship fall far short of those of the Greeks in simplicity and clarity, and it is indeed surprising that such a clumsy system should have survived so long. This is not however to suggest that the Greek or any other alien system should be applied to Persian. The aim of the present book has been to analyse afresh the metres actually used by the Persian poets, and to work out, primarily for the benefit of students of Persian poetry, a new and simplified set of rules for their recognition and identification. At the same time it is recognised that some knowledge of the traditional laws of prosody and of the technical terms used is often necessary for an understanding of allusions in Persian poetry and prose. The first chapter is therefore devoted to a full description of these, which it is hoped may be of value to students of Arabic as well as Persian.

It was very quickly apparent that the lists of metres provided by the classical prosodists gave little or no indication of the relative frequency of different metres, and indeed it was by no means uncommon for the prosodist to compose his own verses in some obscure or unknown metre required to fill a gap in the theoretical system erected by him. A proper basis for such a classification could only be a "field" study of the metres in which poets actually wrote, and this involved the examination of the diwāns of

poets of all periods, together with a variety of anthologies, tadkirāt, etc., amounting in all to some 20,000 poems and fragments ranging from the 3rd/9th century to the present day. It was thought that such a study might indicate certain historical trends in the use and development of Persian metres; but in fact it soon became clear that the metrical system in universal use up to the present day (until the monopoly was broken by the introduction of "free verse") differs in no essential respects from that already in existence when Islamic Persian poetry emerged into the light of written record. The very fact that this system has lasted unchanged for so long is in itself evidence that it is closely bound up with the genius of the Persian language, and is unlikely to owe anything to the influence of an alien tongue. But it is one of the frustrating aspects of the situation that virtually no Persian poetry has survived from before that date, so that it is extremely difficult to suggest the stages by which the metrical system developed into its present form. The last chapter glances briefly along some of the avenues that remain to be explored in the direction of prose patterns, popular verse, and normal speech, and of Middle Iranian and Avestan verse, and thence into the ocean of Sanskrit, Greek and Indo-European metres generally.

A work of this nature must draw on a great many sources, and these are acknowledged in the bibliography. My special thanks are due to my one-time colleagues Mr. Hasan Balyuzi

and Mr. Abolqasem Taheri for recording samples of Persian verse, and to the British Broadcasting Corporation for providing facilities for this; to Dr. P.N. Xanlari, Prof. Mas'ud Farzad, and Mr. Amir Feridun Mo'stamed, both for their stimulating studies in this field, and for helpful and suggestive conversations and letters; and to numerous colleagues in the University of Edinburgh, especially in the Departments of Turkish, Arabic, Sanskrit, and Phonetics, for illuminating discussions and the use of technical facilities. Finally, my particular gratitude goes to Mrs. Pat Williams for the patience and accuracy with which she typed a very difficult and complicated text.

L. P. Elwell-Sutton

Edinburgh, October, 1975

Transcription

To assist the investigation of what are primarily phonetic questions, and to avoid the ambiguities involved in using scripts running in opposite directions, transcription has been used throughout. It is hoped that the unfamiliar appearance thus produced will not prove too great a stumbling block.

Generally speaking, Persian words and names are transliterated according to the Persian table, and Arabic according to the Arabic. This rule has been followed even when the Persian word or name is of Arabic origin or Arabic in form. In the case of book titles, the transcription shows the language of the book. An exception to this general rule is made in the case of the technical terms of prosody, which are all transcribed according to the Arabic system, even in the few cases where they are actually Persian (dū-pāra, tarāna, etc.). hamza at the beginning of words is generally omitted, except in verse, where it affects the scansion. For the sake of consistency the modernised spelling of Persian is used throughout, except where special reference is being made, e.g. to intervocalic ḍ for modern ḍ̄, ē for modern u, i, etc.

In addition to the two main systems, variations are

Code No.	Basic Scansion	Arabic bahr
1.1.11	u - - - - - u - - - - -	mutaqārib
1.1.12	u - - - - - u - - - - -	"
2.1.11	u - - - - - u - - - - -	hazaj
2.1.16	u - - - - - u - - - - -	"
2.3.16	u - - - - - u - - - - -	rajaz
2.4.11	u - - - - - u - - - - -	ramal
2.4.15	u - - - - - u - - - - -	"
2.4.16	u - - - - - u - - - - -	"
3.1.11	u - - - - - u - - - - -	ramal
3.1.15	u - - - - - u - - - - -	"
3.1.16	u - - - - - u - - - - -	"
3.3.14	u - - - - - u - - - - -	hazaj
3.3.07(2)	u - - - - - u - - - - -	"
3.4.11	u - - - - - u - - - - -	sarīf
3.4.16	u - - - - - u - - - - -	"
4.1.15	u - - - - - u - - - - -	mujtatt
4.1.16	u - - - - - u - - - - -	"
4.4.13	u - - - - - u - - - - -	munsariḥ
4.4.07(2)	u - - - - - u - - - - -	"
4.5.11	u - - - - - u - - - - -	xafīf
4.7.11	u - - - - - u - - - - -	muḍāriḥ
4.7.02/09	u - - - - - u - - - - -	qarīb
4.7.14	u - - - - - u - - - - -	muḍāriḥ
4.7.07(2)	u - - - - - u - - - - -	"
5.1.10	u - - - - - u - - - - -	hazaj
5.1.11	u - - - - - u - - - - -	"
5.1.13	u - - - - - u - - - - -	"
3.3.13	u - - - - - u - - - - -	"
5.2.16	u - - - - - u - - - - -	rajaz
5.3.16	u - - - - - u - - - - -	ramal

A full list of Persian metres with examples will be found in Chapter III.

The above table lists those most commonly met with.

I. The traditional analysis of Arabic and Persian prosody

Writers on Persian and Arabic prosody are legion, but few of them add much to what their predecessors have written. We cannot do better than to go back to the beginning, to the "Father of Arabic Prosody", al-Kalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farḥūdī (or al-Farāhīdī) of Baṣra, who was born about 100/718 and died in 170/786 (175/791 or 190/806, according to other authorities). The earliest extant work to contain a statement of al-Kalīl's ideas is the Ṣiqd al-farīd of Ibn ʿabd Rabbih of Cordoba (246/860-328/940). His most important successors were al-Aḫfaṣ (215/831 or 221/836) and Abu'l-Ḥasa ʿAlī b. Saʿda of Balx (d. 376/986). The earliest named writer on Persian prosody is Moulana Yusef of Nišapur (d. c. 390/1000), and other early theorists were Bozormehr Qommi (Qasemi) and Bahrami of Saraxs, author of the Xojaste-name. Nothing has survived of the works of these writers, while the important books of the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries, the Tarjoman ol-balaḡe of Raduyani and the Ḥadayeḡos-sehr of Rašidoddin Vajvaḡ deal rather with the art of poetics, rhetoric, metaphor and allusion, poetic conceits, and so on. It is not until the seventh/thirteenth century that we get the first serious work devoted primarily to the Persian

metres. This is al-Moʿjam fi maʿyayire aʿṣarel-ʿajam, by Šamsoddin Moḥammad b. Geis Razi, written in 614/1217. It was quickly followed by Naširoddin Tuši's Meʿyayrol-aʿṣar, written in 649/1251. Of innumerable later works, one of the most useful is the ʿaruz-e Seifi, written by Seifi of Boxara in 896/1491, and reference should also be made to the Resale-e ʿaruz of Abdorrahman Jami, completed about 885/1480, as an example of a work by a practising poet.

European works that reproduce the theories of the oriental scholars without significant change are those by Samuel Clarke (1661), Ewald (1825) and Freytag (1830) for Arabic; and Gladwin (1801), Rückert (1827), Garcin de Tassy (1848), and Blochmann (1872) for Persian. The following account of the traditional system is a résumé of all these sources, and is applicable equally to Arabic and to Persian, though the technical terms are given throughout in their Arabic form.

Generally speaking, any given poem in Arabic or Persian is composed throughout in lines (hemistich - miṣrāʿ) of constant length and metre (wazn) (with permissible variations). These hemistichs are paired in couplets (bayt, pl. abyāt), this being the unit of verse. The classical system of prosody is based on the assumption that there are a certain number of basic (sound, sālim) metres (bahr, pl. buhūr), a certain number of sub-divisions of each of these categories that constitute distinct metres (and so cannot be used in the same poem), and a certain number of variations that are

permitted within the same metre.

One of the surprising blind spots of the Muslim prosodists was their failure to recognise the syllable. Indeed they failed ever to isolate the vowel except as a function of the consonant or letter, a failure all the more surprising since they must have been familiar not only with Greek works on the subject, but also with the ideas of the Zoroastrian priests who devised the Avestan alphabet. Be that as it may, scansion (taqīlīq) is based on the written form, and is carried out by a process of counting letters (harf, pl. hurūf), the general rule being that each line of a poem contains the same number of letters (with the permissible addition of one at the end). The letters are classified into vowelled (moving, mutaḥarrik pl. mutaḥarrikāt) and unvowelled (resting, silent, sākin pl. sawākin). Included in the latter are the three letters ʿ, w, and y, whether they represent consonants, long vowels or diphthongs. In Arabic verse two sākin letters may never come together (except rarely at the end of a bayt), and though in Persian this juxtaposition is common, there is no place for it in the prosodic system, and in such cases the second sākin letter is assumed for scansion purposes to be mutaḥarrik. So much a part of the system has this become that Turkish and Indian readers, when reciting Persian poetry, actually insert a short a-sound (nīm-fatḥa) after the second sākin, though of course no such vowel-sound is to be found in the original language. All sākin letters after the second are ignored.

(a) nešast sarvar-e ?ahl-e karam be-majles-e xa:š

do x̄'a:n se x̄'a:n do se x̄'a:n x̄'a:st xa:n ce x̄'a:n ke
na x̄'a:st

(b) Nišast Sarwarī ?ahlī Karām BiMaJLiSi Xa?š (22 letters)

DuW XWa?N SiH XWa?N DuW SiH XWa?N XWa?ST Xa?N CiH

XWa?N KiH NaXWa?ST (42 letters)

(c) N Š S T S R V R ? H L Y K R M B M J L S X ? Š

(15 mutaharrik, 8 sakin)

D X ? S X ? D S X ? X ? S X ? C X ? K N X ? S

(15 mutaharrik, 8 sakin)

o o | o o | o o | o | o | o | o o

Particular metres are distinguished according to the

sequence of mutaharrik and sakin letters (which can be re-interpreted in practice into the sequence of short and long syllables - see below). To facilitate identification (and for other reasons that will become clear), the sequence of letters is broken up into units (aşl, pl. uşul) as follows:

(i) sabab (pl. asbāb), "rope"

(a) sabab xafif = one mutaharrik and one sakin, e.g.

(Arabic) Ku-N = kun

(Persian) ?a-Z = az

(b) sabab taqil = two mutaharrikāt, e.g.

(Arabic) La-Ka = laka

(Persian) Sa-Ri = sar-e

(ii) watad (watid, pl. awtād), "peg".

(a) watad mafruq = one mutaharrik, one sakin, one mutaharrik, e.g.

(Arabic) Qa-B-La = qabla

(Persian) Ku-W-Yi = kuy-e

(b) watad majmūʿ (maqrūn) = two mutaharrikāt, one sakin, e.g.

(Arabic) La-Qa-D = laqad

(Persian) Bi-Ku-N = bekon

(iii) fāšila (pl. fawāšil), "section".

(a) fāšila šuḡrā = three mutaharrikāt, one sakin (i. sabab taqil + sabab xafif), e.g.

(Arabic) Qa-Da-Mi-Y = qadami

(Persian) Bi-Ra-Wi-Y = beravi

(b) fāšila kubrā = four mutaharrikāt, one sakin (i. sabab taqil + watad majmūʿ), e.g.

(Arabic) Da-Ra-Ba-Hu-M = darabahum

(Persian) Na-Gu-Da-Ri-Y = nagozari

The Dorre-e Najafi² adds the following:

(i) (c) sabab mutawassit = one mutaharrik, two sawākin, e.g. (Arabic) Da-?-L(-LuN) = ḡallun

(Persian) Ya-?-R = yar

(ii)(c) watad kutrā = two mutaharrikāt, two sawākin, e.g.

(Arabic) Ta-Da-?-L(-La) = taḡalla

(Persian) Fi-Ra-?-Z = feraz

(iii)(c) fāšila šuḡmā = five mutaharrikāt, one sakin (i. sabab taqil + fāšila šuḡrā), e.g.

(Arabic) Ḥa-Ra-Ka-Tu-Ha-? = ḥarakatuhā

(Persian) Bi-Na-Di-Ha-Ma-Š = benadihamaš

Of the above, (i)(c) and (ii)(c) are peculiar to Persian verse, while (iii)(b) and (c) are only found in Arabic verse. In general the fawāšil are of little practical value, since they are merely combinations of uşul from the other two

categories.

It may help to illuminate this somewhat puzzling scene if the various figures in it are represented also in the guise of European notation. For this purpose a *mutaḥarrrik* consonant (i.e. consonant + short vowel) is to be regarded as a short syllable (◌), and a *mutaḥarrrik* plus *sākin* (i.e. consonant + short vowel + consonant, or consonant + long vowel) as a long syllable (◌-):

(i)(a) o | -

(b) oo ◌ ◌

(c) o | | ◌

(ii)(a) o | o

(b) oo |

(c) oo | |

(iii)(a) oo | |

(b) oo | | |

(c) oo | | | |

Equipped with these units, we are now in a position to form the feet (*rukṅ*, pl. *arkān*, or *juzʿ*, pl. *ajzāʿ*) that go to make up a line of verse. In order to avoid repetition of the clumsy terminology, formulae (*afāʿil*) were devised to represent the feet, using the three letters familiar for this kind of purpose throughout Arabic grammar - *f*, *ʿ*, and *l*. Ten basic feet are recognised, two consisting of five letters (two *uṣūl*), known as *xumāsī*, and eight of seven letters (three *uṣūl*), known as *subāʿī*:

(a) xumāsī

1. Faʿ-ʿiLuN = fa:ʿilun : sabab xafīf + wataḍ maǰmūʿ - ◌ -
2. FuʿuW-LuN = fuʿū:lun : wataḍ maǰmūʿ + sabab xafīf ◌ - -

(b) subāʿī

3. MaFaʿ-ʿiY-LuN = mafa:ʿi:lun : wataḍ maǰmūʿ + sabab xafīf + sabab xafīf ◌ - - -
4. MuS-TaF-ʿiLuN = mustafʿilun : sabab xafīf + sabab xafīf wataḍ maǰmūʿ - - ◌ -
5. MuFaʿ-ʿeLa-TuN = mufa:ʿalatun : wataḍ maǰmūʿ + sabab taqīl + sabab xafīf ◌ - ◌
6. MuTa-Faʿ-ʿiLuN = mutafa:ʿilun : sabab taqīl + sabab xafīf + wataḍ maǰmūʿ ◌ ◌ - ◌ -
7. Faʿ-ʿiLaʿ-TuN = fa:ʿila:tun : sabab xafīf + wataḍ maǰmūʿ + sabab xafīf - ◌ - -
8. MaF-ʿuW-LaʿTu = mafʿu:la:tu : sabab xafīf + sabab xafīf wataḍ mafrūq - - - ◌
9. Faʿ ʿi-Laʿ-TuN = fa:ʿila:tun : wataḍ mafrūq + sabab xafīf + sabab xafīf - ◌ - -
10. MuS-TaFʿi-LuN = mustafʿilun : sabab xafīf + wataḍ mafrūq + sabab xafīf - - ◌ -

The following table compares the arrangement of the *uṣūl* within the *arkān*:

	1st aṣl	2nd aṣl	3rd aṣl
1.	Faʿ	ʿiLuN	wataḍ maǰmūʿ
	<u>sabab xafīf</u>	<u>wataḍ maǰmūʿ</u>	LuN
2.	FuʿuW	wataḍ maǰmūʿ	<u>sabab xafīf</u>
	<u>wataḍ maǰmūʿ</u>		

3. MaFa? watad majmūq ʕiY LuN
 sabab xafif sabab xafif
4. MuS TaF ʕiLuN
 sabab xafif watad majmūq
5. MuFa? ʕaLa TuN
 watad majmūq sabab taqil
 (fāšila šuqra)
6. MuTa Fa? ʕiLuN
 sabab taqil sabab xafif
 (fāšila šuqra)
7. Fa? ʕiLa? TuN
 sabab xafif watad majmūq
8. MaF ʕuW La?Tu
 sabab xafif watad mafrūq
9. Faʔʕi La? TuN
 watad mafrūq sabab xafif
10. MuS TaFʕi LuN
 sabab xafif watad mafrūq sabab xafif

It will be seen that every foot consists of one watad and one or two asbāb. The significance of this, as also of the distinction between Nos. 7 and 4 on the one hand and Nos. 9 and 10 on the other, will be discussed later.

Nos. 5 and 6 are found only in Arabic verse.

The basic feet are not sufficient to account for all the variations that are found in Arabic and Persian metres, and it is therefore necessary to postulate a considerable number of "derived" feet. For this purpose the basic arkān are

known as the uṣūl, and the derived feet as the furūq (sing. farq). This terminology must not be confused with the other use of the term aṣl referred to above. Of the ten uṣūl, the following six are found only as "basic" feet:

mufa:ʕalatun, mutafa:ʕilun, fa:ʕila:tun,
mafʕu:la:tu, fa:ʕi.la:tun, mus.tafʕi.lun.

(exceptionally, fa:ʕila:tun may be derived from fa:ʕilun by tarfil, as indicated in the tables below). The other four are regarded as uṣūl in certain metres, and occur as furūq in others:

fufu:lun - aṣl in the metres tawil and mutaqaʕrib

farq in all others

fa:ʕilun - aṣl in the metres madid, basit, and mutadārik

farq in all others

mustafʕilun - farq in the metre kāmil

aṣl in all others

mafa:ʕi:lun - farq in the metre wāfir

aṣl in all others

Apart from the above ten feet (whether aṣl or farq), 37 other feet are found which are regarded as being derived from one or other of the basic or "sound" (sālim) feet. Such feet are known as ḍayr sālim ("unsound"). Modification may take the form of

(a) addition of one or more letters.

(b) "silencing" of one or more letters (i.e. elision of vowel).

(c) elision of one or more letters (with accompanying

vowel).

These modifications fall into two categories:

(i) ziḥāf (pl. ziḥāfāt): generally speaking, the ziḥāf is a modification applicable to any or all of the feet in a hemistich (miṣrāʿ), and affects only the asbāb. In Arabic verse the ziḥāfāt are permissible variations within the framework of a given metre. This is not the case in Persian verse, in which many ziḥāfāt are used to account for basic differences in the metre, which must be maintained throughout.

A ḡayr sālim foot, if it has been modified by a ziḥāf, is called muzāḥif.

(ii) qilla (pl. qillal): the qilla is a modification applied (in Arabic verse) only to the awṭād in the first or last foot of a miṣrāʿ (in Persian also to the foot before a mid-line caesura). It generally alters the length of the foot and so of the line, and thus forms a new metre. A foot thus modified is called maqṭūl.

Of the forms of modification listed above, (a) is found only in the qilal; (b) and (c) may occur in either category.

The lists of ziḥāfāt and qilal differ in various authorities, and there are some inconsistencies in terminology. Forty-eight (14 ziḥāfāt and 34 qilal) seem to be generally recognised, and these are set out in full in the following tables. Table A lists all the ziḥāfāt (marked with an asterisk) and qilal, arranged in the sequence of the Arabic alphabet, together with their definitions, the arkān

to which they apply, and the effect they have on them. This effect is also described in terms of Western notation, and this part should be read in conjunction with Chapter III. Table B breaks the arkān down into their component uṣūl, and shows the ziḥāfāt and qilal applicable to these according to their category and position in the rukn. Appended tables give the same information in terms of syllables, and list the various classifications of ziḥāf and qilla. Table C shows the ziḥāfāt and qilal applicable to each of the ten sālim feet, and the feet thus derived. Table D gives a complete list of feet, both sālim and ḡayr sālim, arranged in descending order of length, together with the sālim feet from which they are derived and the relevant ziḥāf or qilla. This shows that there are 47 such feet - six regarded only as uṣūl, four serving as either uṣūl or furūq, and the remaining 37 serving only as furūq. It should be noted that, in arriving at the formula for the derived foot, the immediate result of applying a ziḥāf or qilla to a basic foot is re-expressed in one of the recognised forms. For instance, if we apply taxlīq to the basic foot Muṣṭafāqilun, we find that we are required by definition to drop the second sākin of the initial sabab xafīf (S), to elide the sākin of the final watad majmūq (N), and to "silence" the preceding letter - i.e. elide the vowel (u). This leaves us with Muṣṭafāqil, which must be re-expressed by its equivalent FuṣūwluN (fufu:lun, u--).

Effect on Syllables of zihāfat and qilāl

Long	Shortened	elided	Short
Long	Shortened	elided	Short
Long	Shortened	elided	Short
Long	Shortened	elided	Short

xabn rafʿ
 talm, ʿaǧb, xarm, waǧʿ, taxniq
 tayy taʿʿit, (qafʿ - see below)

This table does not include compound zihāfat and qilāl

waǧʿ Silencing of 3rd letter
 jadʿ Silencing of 3rd letter, with other effects - see I, II
 kasf Elision of 3rd letter
 nahr Elision of 3rd letter, with other effects - see I, II
 ʿalm Elision of whole aʿl

watad maǧnuʿ (Maʿnuw)LaʿTu

III. THIRD AʿL

Addition of one sakin Addition of sabab kafif Addition of watad maǧnuʿ Elision of 3rd, Silencing of 2nd Elision of whole aʿl	idāla tarfīl taiwīl	(MUSTAʿ)ʿILUN (MUSTAʿ)ʿILUN (Faʿ)ʿILUN	sabab taqīl watad maǧnuʿ
Addition of whole aʿl, with other effects - see I, II Elision of 2nd letter Elision of whole aʿl, with other effects - see I, II None	qasr qasr qasr qasr	(Mus. Tarfī)ʿILUN (Maʿ)ʿILUN (Faʿ)ʿILUN (Faʿ)ʿILUN	sabab taqīl sabab kafif sabab kafif sabab kafif
Addition of whole aʿl, with other effects - see I, II Elision of 2nd letter Elision of whole aʿl, with other effects - see I, II None	qasr qasr qasr qasr	(Maʿ)ʿILUN (Faʿ)ʿILUN (Mus. Tarfī)ʿILUN (Mus. Tarfī)ʿILUN	sabab taqīl sabab kafif sabab kafif sabab kafif
Addition of whole aʿl, with other effects - see I, II Elision of 2nd letter Elision of whole aʿl, with other effects - see I, II None	qasr qasr qasr qasr	(Maʿ)ʿILUN (Faʿ)ʿILUN (Mus. Tarfī)ʿILUN (Mus. Tarfī)ʿILUN	sabab taqīl sabab kafif sabab kafif sabab kafif

+ with other effects

xabn + tayy = xabl
xabn + kafī = xaki
īdmar + īayy = xazi
ʔasb + kafī = naqs

(c) The compound zihārat are:

šalm, šams, qasr, qatīʔ, kabī, kasī, waqr, hatm.
īdāla, batr, tarrīl, tasbiq, taiwil, ḥadāq, ḥadī, rabʔ, zīlal,

The following final apply to the last foot of the misraʔ:

tarm, šalm, jumum, xarb, xarm, šatr, ʔadḥ, ʔaqṣ, qasm.

(b) The following final apply to the first foot of the misraʔ:

batr, jabḥ, jahī, salx, šalm, qatīʔ, nahr.

(a) The following final affect more than one aṣl:

Classification of zihārat and final

Final Two Syllables	Both long	one overlong	qasr, salx+
	Long - short	one overlong	waqr, jadḥ+
	Short - long	elided	šalm (cf. above)
		elided	ḥadāq

+ with other effects

First Two Syllables	Both long	elided	jadḥ+, nahr+
	Both short	one long	īdmar
	Long - short	one overlong	salx+
	Short - long	elided	šalm (cf. below)
Second and Third Syllables (in Tetrasyllable)	Short - long	elided	ḥadāq
	Short - long	elided	batr
Third and Fourth Syllables (in Pentasyllable)	Both short	one long	ʔasb
	Penultimate Syllable	shortened	qabḥ
	Long	shortened	qabḥ
	Short	elided	ʔaqṣ, qatīʔ
Final Syllable	Long	Long + overlong	taiwil
		Long + long	tarrīl
		one overlong	tasbiq, īdāla
		shortened	kafī
		elided	ḥadī
	Short	elided	kasī, nahr+

TABLE C. The Ten ušūl with their furūš

FĀŪLUN - - -	tarfīl	fa:ŷila:tun	- - -
	idāla	fa:ŷila:n	- - -
	xabn + idāla	faŷila:n	- - -
	*xabn	faŷilun	- - -
	qaŷ	faŷlun	- - -
	taxlīŷ	faŷal	- - -
	ḥadad	faŷ	- - -
	tasbīŷ	fuŷu:la:n	- - -
	*qabŷ	fuŷu:lu	- - -
	talm	faŷlun	- - -
FUŪLUN - - -	qaŷr	fuŷu:l	- - -
	ḥadf	faŷal	- - -
	tarm	faŷlu	- - -
	šatr	faŷlu	- - -
	batr	faŷ	- - -
	tasbīŷ	mafa:ŷi:la:n	- - -
	*qabŷ	mafa:ŷilun	- - -
	*kaff	mafa:ŷi:lu	- - -
	xarm	mafŷu:lun	- - -
	taxnīŷ	mafŷu:lun	- - -
MAFĀŪLUN - - -	qaŷr	fuŷu:la:n	- - -
	ḥadf	fuŷu:lun	- - -
	šatr	fa:ŷilun	- - -
	xarb	mafŷu:lu	- - -
	ḥadad	faŷlun	- - -
	hatm	fuŷu:l	- - -
	jabb	faŷal	- - -
	zilal	fa:ŷ	- - -
	batr	faŷ	- - -

(d) The following combinations of zihāfāt with ŷilal occur:

qabŷ + talm = tarm
 kafŷ + xarm = xarb
 qabŷ + xarm = šatr
 qaŷb + qaŷb = qaŷm
 qaŷb + qaŷf = kabŷ
 xabn + qaŷf = kabŷ

All these rank as ŷilal.

(e) The compound ŷilal are:

xarm + hatm = zilal
 qaŷr + ḥadf = hatm
 qaŷr + xarm = batr
 qaŷf + ḥadf = batr
 qaŷf + qaŷf = taxlīŷ

MUSTAFĀQILUN	tatwīl	mustafāqīla:ta:n	-- -- ~
- - - -	tarfīl	mustafāqīla:tun	-- -- -
	xabn + tarfīl	mafa:qīla:tun	-- -- -
	tayy + tarfīl	muftaqīla:tun	-- -- -
	idāla	mustafāqīla:n	-- -- ~
	xabn + idāla	mafa:qīla:n	-- -- ~
	tayy + idāla	muftaqīla:n	-- -- ~
	*xabn	mafa:qīlun	-- -- -
	*tayy	muftaqīlun	-- -- -
	*kaff	mustafqīlu	-- -- -
	xabl + idāla	faqīlata:n	-- -- ~
	*xabl	faqīlatun	-- -- -
	*šakl	mafa:qīlu	-- -- -
	qaḥḥ + idāla	mafqu:la:n	-- -- ~
	qaḥḥ	mafqu:lun	-- -- -
	kabl	fuqu:lun	-- -- -
	taxlīḥ	fuqu:lun	-- -- -
	rafq	fa:qīlun	-- -- -
	ḥadād	faqlun	-- -- -
MUFĀQALĀTUN	*qaḥḥ	mafa:qī:lun	-- -- -
- - - -	*qaql	mafa:qīlun	-- -- -
	*naḥḥ	mafa:qī:lu	-- -- -
	qaḥḥ	muftaqīlun	-- -- -
	qaḥm	mafqu:lun	-- -- -
	qaḥf	fuqu:lun	-- -- -
	jumum	fa:qīlun	-- -- -
	qaḥḥ	mafqu:lu	-- -- -
MUTAFĀQILUN	tarfīl	mutafa:qīla:tun	-- -- -
- - - -	iḥmār + tarfīl	mustafqīla:tun	-- -- -
	waḥḥ + tarfīl	mafa:qīla:tun	-- -- -
	xabl + tarfīl	muftaqīla:tun	-- -- -
	idāla	mutafa:qīla:n	-- -- ~
	iḥmār + idāla	mustafqīla:n	-- -- ~
	*iḥmār	mustafqīlun	-- -- -

	waḥḥ + idāla	mafa:qīla:n	-- -- ~
	xabl + idāla	muftaqīla:n	-- -- ~
	qaḥḥ	faqīla:tun	-- -- -
	*waḥḥ	mafa:qīlun	-- -- -
	*xabl	muftaqīlun	-- -- -
	qaḥḥ + iḥmār	mafqu:lun	-- -- -
	ḥadād	faqīlun	-- -- -
	ḥadād + iḥmār	faqlun	-- -- -
FĀQILĀTUN	tasbīḥ	fa:qīla:ta:n	-- -- ~
- - - -	xabn + tasbīḥ	faqīli:ya:n	-- -- ~
	*xabn	faqīla:tun	-- -- -
	*kaff	fa:qīla:tu	-- -- -
	*šakl	faqīla:tu	-- -- -
	tašḥīḥ	mafqu:lun	-- -- -
	qaḥḥ	fa:qīla:n	-- -- ~
	ḥadḥ	fa:qīlun	-- -- -
	xabn + qaḥḥ	faqīla:n	-- -- ~
	xabn + ḥadḥ	faqīlun	-- -- -
	šalm + tasbīḥ	faqla:n	-- -- ~
	šalm	faqlun	-- -- -
	batr	faqlun	-- -- -
	rabḥ	faḥal	-- -- -
	jaḥḥ + tasbīḥ	fa:ḥ	-- -- ~
	jaḥḥ	faḥ	-- -- -
MAFQULĀTU	*xabn	mafa:qī:lu	-- -- -
- - - -	*tayy	fa:qīla:tu	-- -- -
	*xabl	faqīla:tu	-- -- -
	waḥḥ	mafqu:la:n	-- -- ~
	kaḥḥ	mefqu:lun	-- -- -
	xabn + waḥḥ	fuqu:la:n	-- -- ~
	tayy + waḥḥ	fa:qīla:n	-- -- ~
	xabn + kaḥḥ	fuqu:lun	-- -- -
	tayy + kaḥḥ	fa:qīlun	-- -- -
	rafḥ	mafqu:lu	-- -- -

xabl + kasf	façilun	- -
šalm	façlun	- -
jadç	fa:ç	-
naħr	faç	-
FĀÇI.LĀTUN	fa:çi.la.ta:n	- - ~
*kaff	fa:çila:tu	- - ~
qašr	fa:çi.la:n	- - ~
ħađf	fa:çi.lun	- - ~
šalm	façlun	- -
salx	fa:ç	-
šams	faç	-
MUS.TAFÇI.LUN	mus.tafçi.la:n	- - ~
*xabn	ma.fa:çi.lun	- - ~
*kaff	mus.tafçi.lu	- - ~
*šakl	ma.fa:çi.lu	- - ~
qašr	maf.çu:lu.n	- - ~
xabn + qašr	fu.çu:lu.n	- - ~

mutafa:çilun	tarfil	- - -
mutafa:çilun	tafwil	- - -
mutafa:çilun	tarfil	- - -
mutafa:çilun	idmar + tarfil	- - -
mutafa:çilun	waqs + tarfil	- - -
mutafa:çilun	xabn + tarfil	- - -
mutafa:çilun	idala	- - -
mutafa:çilun	kazl + tarfil	- - -
mutafa:çilun	çay + tarfil	- - -
mutafa:çilun	salim	- - -
mutafa:çilun	salim	- - -
mutafa:çilun	tasbiç	- - -
mutafa:çilun	idala	- - -
mutafa:çilun	idmar + idala	- - -
mutafa:çilun	salim	- - -
mutafa:çilun	çasb	- - -
mutafa:çilun	salim	- - -
mutafa:çilun	tarfil	- - -
mutafa:çilun	salim	- - -

The turn^ç, showing how they are derived from the usul

TABLE D. No. of Syllables

5

6

4

The following terms are used to distinguish the various types of "sound" foot:

sālim: a foot in which there is no *ziḥāf*.

ṣāḥih: a foot in which there is no *ḡilla* of subtraction (where such is possible).

muḡarrā: a foot in which there is no *ḡilla* of addition.

mawfūr: a foot which is immune from *xarm*.

mujarrad: a foot which is immune from *xazm* (the prefixing of a letter or letters before the first foot of a bayt - a practice found in some Arabic verses, but rarely in Persian).

barī?: a foot which is immune from muḡāqaba (see below).

An important distinction needs to be noted between Arabic and Persian verse. In the former, "sub-metres" within each "standard" metre (*baḥr*) are distinguished only by the *ḡilal*, whereas in Persian, contrary to the practice envisaged by al-Xalīl, the *ziḥāfāt* have to be pressed into this service. This is because the number of distinct metres that may not be combined in the same poem is much larger in Persian (over two hundred) than in Arabic (about 67), though the variations permissible within each metre are correspondingly fewer. Persian does not use five of the Arabic *buhūr*, though three of its own are added (see below).

As has been indicated, an Arabic or Persian poem is composed of couplets of verses (*bayt*, pl. *abyāt*) each composed of two hemistichs (*miṣrāʿ*, also *miṣrāʿ*), each of

māfa:ḡilalun
 fa:ḡilal:ṭun
 mafa:ḡilal:ṭun
 fa:ḡilal:ṭun
 mafa:ḡilal:ṭun
 fa:ḡilal:ṭun
 mafa:ḡilal:ṭun
 fa:ḡilal:ṭun
 mafa:ḡilal:ṭun
 fa:ḡilal:ṭun
 mafa:ḡilal:ṭun
 fa:ḡilal:ṭun

jāḥr + tashbīḡ

zilal

ḡadād

tams

nāḥr

jāḥr

batr

batr

jadḡ

salx

fa:ḡ

fa:ḡ

1

which is composed of from two to four (rarely one) arkān. Each rukn is named according to its position in the bayt, as follows:

First miṣrāʿ: ṣadr - ḥaṣw (maximum of two) - ṣarūḍ.

Second miṣrāʿ: ibtidāʿ (also maṭlaʿ) - ḥaṣw - darb (also ṣaʿj).

The metres are made up of arkān in various combinations. At the base lie the "standard" metres, of which there are generally reckoned to be nineteen, including three said to have been introduced for Persian poetry only. They are of two kinds, munfariḍ (all feet the same) and murakkab (feet of two kinds).

The "standard" miṣrāʿ consists of four feet in ten of the metres, and three in the other nine. Since the whole bayt is taken into account, the first group are known as mutamman (eightfold) and the second as musaddas (sixfold).

The standard metres (baḥr, pl. buḥūr) are as follows:

(a) munfariḍ

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. <u>ḥazaj</u> (trilling): | <u>mafāʿīlun</u> | <u>mafāʿīlun</u> |
| | <u>mafāʿīlun</u> | <u>mafāʿīlun</u> |
| 2. <u>raʿaj</u> (trembling): | <u>mustafʿīlun</u> | <u>mustafʿīlun</u> |
| | <u>mustafʿīlun</u> | <u>mustafʿīlun</u> |
| 3. <u>ramal</u> (trotting): | <u>fāʿīlātun</u> | <u>fāʿīlātun</u> |
| | <u>fāʿīlātun</u> | <u>fāʿīlātun</u> |
| 4. <u>mutaṣārib</u> (nearing): | <u>fuʿūlun</u> | <u>fuʿūlun</u> |
| | <u>fuʿūlun</u> | <u>fuʿūlun</u> |
| 5. <u>mutadārik</u> (overtaking): | <u>fāʿīlun</u> | <u>fāʿīlun</u> |
| | <u>fāʿīlun</u> | <u>fāʿīlun</u> |

- | | | |
|---|--------------------|--|
| 6. <u>kāmil</u> (complete): | <u>mutafāʿīlun</u> | <u>mutafāʿīlun</u> |
| | <u>mutafāʿīlun</u> | <u>mutafāʿīlun</u> |
| 7. <u>wāfir</u> (abundant): | <u>mufāʿalatun</u> | <u>mufāʿalatun</u> |
| | <u>mufāʿalatun</u> | <u>mufāʿalatun</u> |
| (b) <u>murakkab</u> (i) <u>mutamman</u> | | |
| 8. <u>tawīl</u> (long): | <u>fuʿūlun</u> | <u>mafāʿīlun</u> |
| | <u>fuʿūlun</u> | <u>mafāʿīlun</u> |
| 9. <u>madīd</u> (protracted): | <u>fāʿīlātun</u> | <u>fāʿīlūn</u> |
| | <u>fāʿīlātun</u> | <u>fāʿīlun</u> |
| 10. <u>basīṭ</u> (spread out): | <u>mustafʿīlun</u> | <u>fāʿīlun</u> |
| | <u>mustafʿīlun</u> | <u>fāʿīlun</u> |
| (ii) <u>musaddas</u> | | |
| 11. <u>mujtatt</u> (cut off): | <u>mustafʿīlun</u> | <u>fāʿīlātun</u> |
| | <u>fāʿīlātun</u> | |
| 12. <u>muḍarīʿ</u> (similar): | <u>mafāʿīlun</u> | <u>fāʿīlātun</u> |
| | <u>mafāʿīlun</u> | |
| 13. <u>munsariḥ</u> (quick-paced): | <u>mustafʿīlun</u> | <u>mafʿūlātu</u> |
| | <u>mustafʿīlun</u> | |
| 14. <u>muqtadab</u> (untrained): | <u>mafʿūlātu</u> | <u>mustafʿīlun</u> |
| | <u>mustafʿīlun</u> | |
| 15. <u>sarīʿ</u> (swift): | <u>mustafʿīlun</u> | <u>mustafʿīlun</u> |
| | <u>mafʿūlātu</u> | |
| 16. <u>xafīf</u> (light): | <u>fāʿīlātun</u> | <u>mustafʿīlun</u> |
| | <u>fāʿīlātun</u> | |
| 17. <u>qarīb</u> (near): | <u>mafāʿīlun</u> | <u>mafāʿīlun</u> |
| | <u>fāʿīlātun</u> | |
| 18. <u>qarīb</u> (strange) | | |
| | <u>jadīd</u> (new) | : <u>fāʿīlātun</u> <u>fāʿīlātun</u> <u>mafāʿīlun</u> |
| 19. <u>muṣākīl</u> (resembling): | <u>fāʿīlātun</u> | <u>mafāʿīlun</u> <u>mafāʿīlun</u> |

Nos. 1-4 and 6-16 are said to have been laid down by al-Xalīl, and indeed he is credited with having "invented" Nos. 11, 12 and 14. No. 5 is attributed to al-Axīf. Nos. 6-10 are found only in Arabic verse (though it should be added that few of the others are found in Persian in their unmodified form). Nos. 17-19 are regarded as Persian metres, and are said to have been laid down by Moulana Yusef in the fourth/tenth century; they are in fact of rare occurrence, though examples of garīb are attributed to Farāqī (fl. 300/900), Šahīd Balxī (fl. 300/900), and Daqīqī (330/942-370/981). The metres actually used by the poets (wazn, awzān al-šīr), as opposed to the theoretical buḥūr, are derived from these by the various modifications already described, and also by reducing the number of feet (it has been pointed out that these terms are possibly derived from Greek: bahr, "sea" = rhuthmos, "flowing"; wazn, "weight" = metron, "measure").³ A metre that follows the standard pattern is called sālim; if it is modified in some way, it is qayr sālim or muzāhif. A musaddas metre derived from an original mutamman is described as majzūʿ; a murabbaʿ from a musaddas is murabbaʿ majzūʿ; a mutallat (three-foot) from a musaddas is maštūr; a mutannā (two-foot) is manḥūk, and a muwaḥḥad (one-foot) is maštūr manḥūk. muxammas (five-foot) verses are rarely found, musabbaʿ (seven-foot) never. Certain metres with a caesura or break in the middle of each mišrāʿ are recognised as consisting of two repeated halves, and are known as mukarrar or (in Persian) dū-pāra.

A ḡarb with a different modification to the ḡarūd is called a ḡāva; an ḡarūd with a different modification to the ḡarb is known as a faṣl.

Two further terms (which are often confused) are employed to account for certain alternations of modification within a foot or line. These are muḡāqaba and murāqaba.

(a) Both terms are used to describe the alternation of two letters within a foot, e.g. in the metre muḡāriʿ the foot mafaʿīlun (- - -) may become either mafāʿilun (- - -) by qabḍ or mafāʿīlu (- - -) by kaff, but never a combination of both; or, in other words, the last two syllables of the foot can never both be short. This is known as muḡāqaba (or murāqaba) between Y and N.

(b) The term murāqaba is applied to a similar rule for the foot mutafāʿilun; if the fourth letter is elided (by ṭayy), then the second letter must be silenced (by iqmār): thus MuṭfaʿīluN becomes Muṭfaʿilun (the combined ziḥāf known as kazl). In Western notation this means that, in the foot - - - -, if the third syllable is shortened, the first two shorts must be contracted to one long (- - -).

(c) A similar alternation takes place between two consecutive feet, this being known as muḡāqaba in respect to what precedes or what follows. This applies principally to the foot fāʿilātun (in the metre ramal), where two sabab xāfīf are juxtaposed, at the end of one foot and the beginning of the next. If the sākin letter of one of these is dropped, the other must be retained. Thus fāʿilātun/

- - - - -
 - - - - -
 - - - - -

MUTADĀRIK

aşl: fa:şilun (mutamman or musaddas)

ziḥāfāt: xabn: faşilun

şilal: qeşş: faşlun

tarfīl: fa:şila:tun (only in musaddas)

- - - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -

KĀMIL

aşl: mutafa:şilun (musaddas or murabbaş)

ziḥāfāt: idmār: mustafşilun

şilal: qeşş: faşila:tun

qeşş + idmār: mafşu:lun

ḥadad: faşilun

ḥedad + idmār: faşlun

tarfīl: mutafa:şila:tun (only in murabbaş)

tarfīl + idmār: mustafşila:tun (only in murabbaş)

- - - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -

WĀFIR

aşl: mufa:şalatun (musaddas)

ziḥāfāt: şeşb: mafa:şilun

şilal: qeşş: fuşu:lun

- - - - -

- - - - -

TAWİL

aşl: fuşu:lun mafa:şilun (mutamman)

ziḥāfāt: qabđ: fuşu:lu mafa:şilun

şilal: talm: faşlun (at beginning of bayt only)

talm + qabđ: faşlu (at beginning of bayt only)

ḥadf: fuşu:lun

- - - - -

- - - - -

MADİD

aşl: fa:şila:tun fa:şilun (mutamman or musaddas)

ziḥāfāt: xabn: faşila:tun faşilun

şilal: ḥadf: fa: ilun (in musaddas only)

xabn + ḥadf: faşilun (in musaddas only)

şalm, batr: faşlun (in musaddas only)

- - - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -

BASİT

aşl: mustafşilun fa:şilun (mutamman or musaddas)

8. sarīf musaddas maṭwī maxbūn maksūf

ra?atki qayni: fa-da?ayni: l-hawa:

maxbūn maṭwī maṭwī maksūf

?ilayki li-l-ḥayni wa lam ?aqlami:

maxbūn maṭwī maṭwī maksūf
(Ḡumar b. Abī Rabiʿa)9. xafīf musaddas maxbūn

la: buḥayrun ?aqna: qati:lan wa la: rah...

sālim sālim sālim
...tu kulaybin taza:jaru: ?an ḡala:li
maxbūn maxbūn sālim
(al-Ḥārīt b. Ḡubād)

PERSIAN

1. hazaj musaddas maḥḍūf aw maqṣūr

?agar ?i:n-ast moḡa:n-e: tar-e: man

sālim sālim maḥḍūf

naxa:had ?a:fta:b-e: maḥšaram su:xt

sālim sālim maqṣūr
(Farḥat)2. hazaj mutamman axrab makfūf maḥḍūf

?olm-ast ke bi:ru:n koniy-am ?az qafas aknu:n

axrab makfūf makfūf maḥḍūf

k-az ju:r-e to ?am ri:xte šod ba:l o par a:nja:

axrab makfūf makfūf maḥḍūf
(Majid Ṭaleqani)3. hazaj mutamman axrab maqḥūḍ makfūf aḥtam abtar

?abr a:mad o ba:z bar sar-e: sabze geri:st

axrab maqḥūḍ makfūf aḥtam

bi: ba:de-ye ḡolrang nami:ba:yad zi:st

axrab makfūf sālim abtar
(Ḡomar Xayyam)4. raʿjaz mutamman maṭwī maxbūn

ba: to padi:d mi:konam ḥa:l-le tabāḥ-e xi:š-ra:

maṭwī maxbūn maṭwī maxbūn

ta: to naši:ḥati: koni: cašm-e siya:h-e xi:š-ra:

maṭwī maxbūn maṭwī maxbūn
(Neẓami)5. ramal mutamman maškūl sālim al-ḡarūḍ wa-l-ḍarb

sar-e zolf-e to: na mošk ast o be mošk-ra:b ma:nad

maškūl sālim maškūl sālim

rox-e roušan-e: to ?ei du:st be-?a:fta:b ma:nad

maškūl sālim maškūl sālim
(Farroxi)6. mujtatt mutamman maxbūn maḥḍūf ašlam musabbaʿ

nešā:n-e meḥr o vafa: ni:st dar tabassom-e ḡol

maxbūn maxbūn maxbūn maxbūn maḥḍūf

be-na:l-e bolbol-e bi:-del ke ja:y-e ferya:d ast

maxbūn maxbūn maxbūn maxbūn ašlam musabbaʿ
(Ḥafeẓ)