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THE ANDALUSIAN AND TROUBADOUR LOVE LYRIC: A
COMPARATIVE STUDY.

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**THE ANDALUSIAN AND TROUBADOUR LOVE LYRIC:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY**

by

ABDIL M. NOURYEH

**A dissertation submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Comparative
Literature in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy, The City
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1974

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PREFACE

It will be obvious that in the present study I am not concerned with the question of Arabic influences on Troubadour lyrics; rather my concern is with comparing Arabic conceptions of love. Another concern of my work is with the continuity both of intellectual interests and of ideas and motifs in Arabic poetry and philosophy.

With these concerns in mind I have explored the quality and form of Arabic thought and expression in their historical perspective, using the philological approach as a means to that end. In so doing, matters of social or ethical orientation, style, and the view of reality become necessary standards of comparison between Arabic and Troubadour concepts of love. Finally, throughout this study I have been guided by the principle that an idea or a concept common to many a people does not necessarily signify a cultural diffusion proceeding from one people to another.

The following transliteration of the Arabic alphabet has been adopted in the present work:

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INTRODUCTION

The purposes of this study are four: to trace the semantic history of the term 'muwashshah' in the literature of the East and West; to explain the intellectual background against which the Andalusian-Arabic lyrics must be viewed and read; to suggest the place of these lyrics in the lyrical tradition of medieval Europe; and to compare the concept of love in Arabic poetry, especially Andalusian lyrics, and philosophy with that in Troubadour lyrics.

The term 'muwashshah' is the name by which the Andalusian lyrics, coeval with the Troubadour lyrics, are called in Arabic Spain of the twelfth century. An understanding of the form and content of these lyrics requires a study of the term in the various contexts in which it appears in earlier periods. 'Muwashsha', from the same root as the term 'wishah', means "to be decorated or embellished." Its appearance in pre-Islamic poetry (roughly, 500-632) is less frequent than that of 'wishah' which seems to have enjoyed a greater usage, and which, in fact, precedes 'muwashshah' as a title for the lyrics. 'Wishah', then, ought to be reviewed first.

'Wishah' denotes a "sash or girdle" with which a woman decorates her body; it is usually wrapped around her bust and waist. The word does not immediately attract attention of the poets, probably because it has not as yet crystallized in their imagination. But its frequent occurrence, though random and uncertain at first, slowly begins to gain recognition with the poets, so that in the eighth and ninth centuries, and later in Spain, 'wishah' acquires a symbolic meaning.

This symbolic meaning is closely connected with the rise of love lyrics and song in the eighth century, particularly during the Abbasid era which begins in the year 750. The era, rightly called the golden age of Arabic literature, is highlighted by the glamorous Jawari, or slave-girls, at the Abbasid court of Caliph Harun al-Rashid and others. The worldly tendencies of the Caliphs, their love of luxury and leisure, and their indulgence in literary parties give the court a saturnalian atmosphere. It is an atmosphere of song, music, wine, and love in which the poets find a rich source of lyrical expression (this did not obtain in earlier periods of Arabic literature, more specifically in periods of courtly

culture, for example, the Umayyad court, 661-750). At the Abbasid court, where the Jawari sing and dance, in addition to being concubines of the Caliphs and princes, court entertainment becomes a very special occasion. Poets, musicians, and Jawari are the leading figures in this event.

Not unlike the Provencal court where Guillaume's songs, for example, "depend on a live relation between the poet, or singer, and an attending audience,"¹ at the Abbasid court the poets compose love songs for the Jawari who perform them; while some touch the strings of the lute, others dance to its melody, and the Caliphs and their entourages revel in wine drinking and merrymaking. Similar orgies occur at the Umayyad courts in Spain (as in the East, lute playing and merrymaking also take place outside the court premises--in taverns, or at a friend's house). Often the poet expresses his love for the Jariya (singular of Jawari), and refers to her as "lady of the wishah" (in Arabic, dhata-l-wishah), in his poem. In the course of time the phrase takes on a symbolic reference around which the poet crystallizes other images, images which describe, not the lady's accomplishments or personality,

but her physical charms seen in terms of the symbol-- wishah. This symbolic development grows so important and suggestive that in Spain, toward the end of the eleventh century, 'wishah' is used as a designation of Andalusian-Arabic lyrics. As we shall see during the first half of the twelfth century, 'wishah' supersedes the term 'muwashshah' because of stylistic features peculiar to these lyrics. Thus love lyrics, or Muwashshahs, on whose development the Jawari exercise a major influence, come into being in Arabic literature.

A philological study of 'wishah' is rather incomplete without an idea of the style and the view of reality which it expresses. Already such a view is manifest in the multifarious sensory phenomena which are associated with the changes in the meaning of 'wishah', and which in turn contribute to those changes. In fact, in all the varied phenomena there is to be detected a uniform stylistic level common to pre-Islamic poetry and later poetry, namely the delight in sensory experience and the appeal to physical reality. This stylistic level, moreover, persists in the Andalusian lyrics in which Oriental and Spanish sensibility unite. Yet even here the poet hardly ventures

beyond the correspondence between physical objects: for the Andalusian poet, as for the Eastern poet, all things in actual existence are made to resemble each other. He thus explores life and nature through his senses; there is little or no attempt to explore life through the mind. For example, when the poet expresses his love for the lady, he constantly appeals to the sensual quality of her looks: "Her teeth are like pearls, her body is as supple as a camomile plant, and I pine for loving her."² There is thus nothing to compare with the sublime or the ideal which we necessarily associate with Provençal poetry. It is true that the erotic element prevails in both the Arabic lyrics and the Provençal lyrics; but in the latter one finds the mild stirrings of a refined love: what separates the poet from the realization of his love is what separates all men from the joys of paradise. The dignity of the feeling is preserved even as the possibility of fulfillment is denied. This attitude seriously implies that we cannot dissociate our explanation or interpretation of Troubadour poetry from the Christian medieval context of which it is an integral part.

Arabic love lyrics have a view of reality which

is defined by sensory phenomena; the poet's robust sense and vigorous imagination are his tools through which he acts on and reacts to the external world, drawing poetic eloquence therefrom. In other than love poetry we often find a sort of wisdom which emanates from the subjective experience of the poet. For example, Abu-l-'ala al-Ma'arri (d.1058) says in one of his poems:

Life is but a constant/drudgery/I marvel at him
who still desires it.³

Or another poet, al-Buhturi (d.897) says:

When a rogue tells you I am to blame/beware! his is
the testimony to my blameless character.⁴

Arabic poetry is larded with sage sayings of this type (one has only to mention here the impressive work of al-Mutanabbi, (d.965). Love poetry, however, is of a different conception because it has to do with a woman: here we are before a pretty lady whose physical charms enlist the poet's descriptive lore and evoke his words of magic; almost instinctually he touches a happy note of metaphoric exuberance when he is physically near the beloved, and a wistful plaintive note of heart-rending intensity when the beloved is inconstant. In both moods no other poet equals his verbal mastery and eloquence of language.

But such an eloquence of language does not express or treat of the beloved's nobility of soul, or of psychological states of love--moods of joy and gaiety allied with the melancholy of unrequited and spiritualized love, as we find the case in the Troubadour poets. It rather expresses a simple and frank feeling of love, or a marvelous sublimity of a perturbed mind such as swells up from the poet's robust and unselective imagination. For the poet in either mood all visible objects in life and nature are transmuted into artistic conventions which make up his lore. Accordingly, the difference between a poetry of soul-searching and of rhetorico-decorative poetry is remarkable, but the difference between Arabic ethico-aesthetic sense which does not look toward a supreme reality and that of the Troubadour lyrics which depend on it is an unbridgeable chasm.

For an Arab poet the senses are his sole way of knowing things, a poetic faculty shared by no other contemporary people; it begins with pre-Islamic poetry and continues into the later lyrics, that is, from the long poem to the short poem. And a brief historical survey will bring out this continuity into full relief.

In the pre-Islamic period tribalism was the structure of society. Religious or spiritual ideals were completely lacking; instead, individual arrogance and pride in ancestry were the mainstay of its existence. In a later period, however, the religion of Islam in vain sought to crush tribal feeling in an effort to merge the various conflicting tribes into a cultural unit. The failure resulted in the accession to power of the Umayyad dynasty in 661, which at once claimed the right of religious leadership, but which itself strongly adhered to its tribal traditions.⁵ Soon the Umayyad court busied itself in matters of state administration, peace and war; skilled personnel were recruited from Byzantium, Syria, and Persia to fill in the various offices. The rapid development in state affairs as well as in cultural relations with the outside world kept the court from maintaining its position as the guardian of religion. In 750 the Abbasid, another dynasty of equally strong group feeling, sought to meet the claims of dissatisfied religious leadership under the Umayyads and to remove the gulf which had largely separated religion from the state. At the same time the court officially patronized wholesale translations of Greek philosophy, medicine, and science into Arabic,

and in so doing it unwittingly created another gulf: the pure intellectualism that resulted not only reacted on the religion of Islam and produced rationalist movements, but also gave rise to a social group which looked to the court rather than to Islam for a model of cultural and aesthetic pursuits. Looking at these two historical events of court rule in retrospect, the historian Ibn Khaldun offers the following comment:

The Islamic religion censured royal authority and its representatives. It blamed them because of their enjoyment of good fortune, their senseless waste, and their deviation from the path of God.⁶

Royal authority in the sense in which it is here used refers to the Umayyad and the Abbasid dynasties which embodied the attitude of group feeling. For the religion of Islam group feeling was both identical with pre-Islamic pride in ancestry and threatening to spiritual quest.⁷

In the accession of dynasticism to power lay the germs of future socio-political upheavals which marked the history of the Islamic empire down to the late Middle Ages. In its slightly more sophisticated form, however, the history of dynastic rule repeats or continues pre-Islamic tribal conflicts, for group feeling, against all implemented attempts on the part of religion to bring the people to-

gether, never ceased to tear the fabric of society apart. In both the East and the West one dynastic rule succeeded another, so that in the midst of it all the fortunes of the rootless poet--and this is what I am trying to bring out--were contingent upon the winning party. Each party surrounded itself with literary figures and artist of all types, so that literature became both a reflection of court life and, now freed from the choking atmosphere of religious dogmatism, an expression of the poet's true voice.⁸ For example, Jamil Buthayna (d.701), the poet of love, flourished during the Umayyad dynasty, and, in defiance of religion, adhered to his tribal tradition (the tribe of Banu Uuhra) throughout his life; he died in frustration for failing to win Buthayna for a wife (she herself belonged to a different tribe). Another poet, 'Urwa b. Hazzam, wrote his love poetry during the staunchest period in the teachings of Islamic dogma. Deciding not to separate himself in this world nor in the other world from his beloved, 'Afra (in the famous love story of the pair), says:

And I would worship hell if it were written/that I
and Afra should meet in hell.⁹

Despite religious polemics the poet must have found the notion of lovers in hell the most expressive erotic sentiment which he could have felt at the moment, and which defined his true voice as a poet.

Our brief historical survey shows that at an early period poetic expression tends to stir away from religious themes. Jamil Buthayna and 'Urwa b. Hazzam are a case in point. Others, like 'Umar ibn Abi Rabi ' a and Abu Nuwas, two poets of far-reaching renown, make sensual love, wine, and Jawari their subject-matter of poetry (the latter's influence in Spain pervades every nook and cranny of poetic expression).¹⁰ In this poetry, including the Andalusian lyrics, the ideal and the spiritual have no room. The view from which the poet apprehends reality and reproduces it with all its connected sensory qualities is hardly influenced by the religion of Islam, or any concept of spiritual hierarchy prevalent at the time. The deeply mystical and religious involvement in the concrete world, as we find it, for example, in the thought and literary expression of Christian medieval Europe, is lacking in the Arab poet's consciousness. This appears even more so when we reflect that there is little or no

religious poetry written in Arabic literature (except for the poet, Hassan b, Tabit, who merely writes encomia of the Prophet's life and religious activity; but even so the encomia are not woven into an all-inclusive vision). It is important to note that a view of reality informed by not other consciousness than the sensory or the physical tends to blot out all speculative powers of the mind. This fact has a bearing on our present study, because it furnishes an insight into the background of the Arab poet's mind. Literary expression, in contrast to Arabic philosophy and religion which stress different hierarchies of spiritual values, is essentially horizontal, in that worldly affairs full occupy its foreground. This literary phenomenon puts the Andalusian lyrics at odds with the imaginative realism of Troubadour poetry, especially with regard to the concept of love.

No one to my knowledge has attempted to deal with Arabic poetry in its historical categories; that is, to concentrate on those aspects of the poetry that appear most alien to modern taste; the limitation of themes, formality of convention, the use of definite patterns of poetic composition, and social orientation underlying its themes and motifs.¹¹ Furthermore, without taking into account the social, religious, and ethico-

aesthetic ambience in which poetry is produced it would be impossible to avoid the confusion which has recently marked the trends of modern scholarship on the question of Arabic-Provencal literary relations. Only by applying the historical categories do we make a balanced judgment by which to support or refute the parallel between Arabic poetry and Troubadour poetry.

An investigation of some of these categories will help place the Andalusian lyrics in their historical context. For example, Arabic poetry in general exhibits two structural features; the first is its fragmentation: the poet does not attempt to build up one consistent image, or induce one consistent mood, each idea or conceit being rounded off in one self-sufficient verse. The other is the use of ill-assorted imagery in ways which sometimes seems lifeless and aesthetically indifferent. Stylistically the Andalusian lyrics have in common with Arabic poetry both fragmentation and discord of imagery; however, they evince consistency of mood as well as aesthetic sensibility. Accordingly the lyrics may be considered a new departure in poetic composition (although classical meters and classical themes and motifs appear in a great number

of them). Besides, they are divided into stanzas, and show a variety of rhyme scheme and meter. Now the question whence such a new form in poetic composition develops has to do with the following fact: the Andalusian lyrics seem to grow out of two main impulses: one derives from certain developments of form and content within Arabic poetry; the other originates under the influence of Spanish, or Romance love and dance songs.

This influence becomes clearer when we compare the form of Andalusian lyrics with that of pre-Islamic poetry. Pre-Islamic poetry shows a quantitative pattern of long and short syllables, while the Andalusian lyrics show a qualitative pattern, that is, rhythm in the form of stressed accent. Moreover, this new development involves the art of music which has an important function in the structure of these lyrics. Even the lyrics that came into being during the golden era of the Abbasid dynasty in the East do not exhibit a similar structure, for these lyrics are patterned on classical meters (long and short syllables). In the following centuries, however, in al-Andalus, the stresses become increasingly regularized, and the classical quantities become less important; music and rhythm increase

and develop and weave their patterns into the emerging strophic forms.

Various theories have been advanced in an effort to explain the musical mode on which the strophic forms, or Muwashshahs are based; first, the medieval scholar and poet, Ibn Sana' al-Mulk, states that the majority of Muwashshahs have a musical structure based on organic music.¹² In so saying the scholar puts the origin of such a structure outside Arabia, for, as we well know, organ music is something not known to Arabia. Although it is not easy to verify the historical source of Ibn Sana' al-Mulk's theory, I am led to believe that by organ music he probably means the musical form known as the 'organum' which was developed in Europe in the ninth century, and which was written for two voices with different melodies for the Mass and the Offices.¹³ To be sure, the form of Muwashshah shows that it too depends on two different melodies (one long and the other short) sung by two voices, or groups of singers, each group singing a melody. Another theory has been propounded by the modern scholar, Ihsan Abbas, who disagrees with Ibn Sana' a-Mulk and argues that the form known as 'nawba', or succession, is the musi-

cal basis of the Muwashshah. Yet, like the 'organum', this form is a combination of two different melodies; it was invented by the Persian musician, Ziryab, who came to al-Andalus during the first half of the ninth century, and who was acquainted with Ptolemy's Harmonics (Arabic music as it came down from the eighth century was founded on Persian and Greek scale systems, especially Arabic music in Spain of which Ziryab and his Jawari were the founders).¹⁴ A third theory is advanced by the medieval philosopher, Ibn Rushd (Averroes), who attempts to define the Muwashshah and its music in Aristotelian terms.¹⁵

These various theories have one thing in common, which may be summed up in the following passage from Ibn Said, an Arab grammarian and historian of the thirteenth century:

Song, or the art of singing which was developed by the people of al-Andalus was either an imitation of Christian singing, or an imitation of the ancient Arabs who sang to the beat of walking camels.¹⁶

The passage indicates that two sources underlie the art of song and music in al-Andalus, the Christian and the ancient Arabian. Neither the Christian alone nor the Arabian alone seems to be the sole genesis of the art; if it were, the content of the passage would have stated as

much, either in favor of the one or the other. However, had Ibn Said investigated the sources of his statement on ancient Arabia as an origin of song, he would probably have found little or nothing. In fact, before the eighth century we hardly find anything in the nature of a body of Arabian song, or a system of scales and modes of music. In ancient Arabia, or pre-Islamic times, there was not music but poetry. Camel drivers sang when they drove their camels, and young men sang when they were along. They repeated the sounds and hummed them, and when such a humming was applied to poetry, it produced something like singing.¹⁷ Moreover, the Arabs in Spain were primarily an extraction of the Eastern desert dwellers; their social life remained basically tribal in its forms and attitudes.¹⁸ Accordingly, Ibn Said had the life of ancient Arabia in mind when he wrote about the singing of the people of al-Andalus; for in actual terms this type of singing constituted, along with the simple and primitive instruments, the art of ancient Arabic folk song. But singing and music, in the sense of a craft or an art having its own rules and governed by its own principles, was neither an endowment of nor a heritage from ancient Arabia; for such an

art the Arabs had to wait until they conquered Persia and Byzantium. In the words of Romain Goldron,

When the Arabs invaded and took possession of Persia in the seventh century, they found there a level of culture superior to their own. Music was no exception. The Arabs based their musical theory on Iranian systems and adopted Persian instruments, which were of a more sophisticated design than theirs.¹⁹

The most important of these instruments was the lute which the Persian musician, Ziryab, introduced into Arabic Spain, and to which he added a fifth string.

Let us return once more to the passage quoted above from Ibn Said. He refers to the Arabs' imitation of Christian song, and that is as it should be, for when the Arabs took possession of Spain they found there a culture superior to their own. Indeed, just as in the East they adopted the Persian musical system, which is based on Greek musical theory,²⁰ so in the West they borrowed Christian-Spanish forms of song and music. It made no difference whether these forms had to do with the Church or with popular art (in the Middle Ages the two continually reinforced each other; for example, popular Romance songs were well steeped in Christianity).²¹ Moreover, Arab imitation of Christian song confirms (though

does not prove) Ibn Sana' al-Mulk's theory regarding polyphonic music as being the structural basis of the majority of Muwashshahs. Ibn Sana' al-Mulk's theory gains more credibility when we reflect that the Muwashshah receives its principle impetus from Spanish-Romance popular songs.

Perhaps the most concrete evidence of Arab imitation of Christian song is the Romance Kharja, the last refrain in a Muwashshah. During the last ten or fifteen years some 55 Kharjas have been discovered; they are preserved in Arabic and Hebrew Muwashshahs. Nine of these Kharjas occur in Muwashshahs whose authors can be placed with certainty in the eleventh century; the great majority (at least thirty-five) occur in Muwashshahs of the first half of the twelfth century, which saw the height of the genre.²²

Etymologically 'kharja' is connected, on one hand, with the verb 'kharaj,' meaning "to go out or to end one's stay inside," and, on the other, with the infinitive 'kharūj,' grammatically signifying the end-rhyme of a verse; hence 'kharja' means "ending or rest," that is, the point on which the Muwashshah ends or rests. The actual practice of Kharja involves the adaptation of the

rhyme scheme and meter of another poet's verses to a new poem. Distinguished scholars have alluded to this practice, but none has attempted to place it in its proper perspective, or fully explain or evaluate its function in the Andalusian lyrics.

The practice of adaptation goes back two or three centuries earlier. The poet borrowed a verse or two from another and built his new poem on them--the borrowed verses determined the rhyme scheme and meter of the new poem. To find the rhyme scheme was the important first step a poet had to take. This technique harked back to pre-Islamic poetry, in which not the borrowing but the formulating of rhyme scheme was a prerequisite. In fact, not until he had the rhyme scheme in mind could the pre-Islamic poet make his poetic speech.²³ From the same perspective, then, we can explain the adaptation of Romance verses, or Kharjas, by the Andalusian poets. The poet adapted the rhyme scheme and meter of these verses to his Arabic refrain. This refrain gives the pattern for the second part of each stanza in the new poem, which consists of some five such stanzas, each being followed by the refrain. The last stanza ends with the adopted Romance verses.

The adoption of these Romance Kharjas underlines

the flourishing art of dance-song in al-Andalus of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. For it had become a custom to end the rhetorically elaborate panegyrics and love-songs composed at the sophisticated courts of al-Andalus with verses specially appropriate to the Jawari who performed them. Most often these consisted of a woman's love song which contrasted with the rest of the piece by its simplicity and directness, at times by its coquettish or provocative wit. Thus the qualities of poetic vivacity, wit, lyrical imagination, and song which characterize the Romance dance-song afforded the Andalusian poets a rich source of expanded lyrical expression, of rhyme and meter which they used in the still nascent art of Muwashshah. Although certain formal developments within Arabic poetry helped to pave the way for the Muwashshah, it was undoubtedly the flourishing strophic lyric in the Romance vernacular that gave the principle impetus towards the innovation of strophic lyric in Arabic. This impetus came to full bloom during the first half of the twelfth century, thus representing the beginnings of a tradition which later spread Eastward.

The first half of the twelfth century also saw

the height of the Troubadour lyrics behind which lay centuries of Romance song. The relation of these lyrics with Romance dance-song has not been thoroughly investigated, nor am I attempting to do so here. However, one cannot ignore the fact that this relation is specially noticeable in the two subgenres of Provençal lyrics, the Alba and the Pastorella which were popular in the Middle Ages.²⁴ Also one cannot disregard the fact-- and this is my primary point--that the Alba occurs in some Arabic Muwashshahs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and, like the other Romance Kharjas, the poet adopts it to his Arabic refrain. It thus follows that since the Alba, for example, is found in the Provençal lyrics and the Muwashshahs, both types of lyrics draw from the same Romance tradition. This conclusion may be further confirmed by the following passage from Leo Spitzer:

In the light of the discovery of our Kharjas, modern Spanish popular stanzas or Villancicos... appear to contain an age-old primitive layer of Spanish poetry whose continuity since the eleventh century is now firmly established. The Villancico (or 'nuclear lines,' as Alonso calls it) is the basis for potential longer poems (what the Spaniards call Glosas) in which it appears as a refrain (Spanish Estribillo)-- just as on the basis of the Kharjas the expanded poems of Muwashshah type was built by the Judeo-Mozarabic poets.²⁵

This pertinent remark makes it clear that in the beginning

the Muwashshah did not develop in isolation from European experience; in fact, it was pretty much part of that experience. The same may in part be said for the Troubadour lyrics: the remark, "The Villancico is the basis for potential longer poems," itself becomes the basis of Spitzer's other important remark: "The explanation of Troubadour poetry must start from these simplest popular forms attested by the Kharjas much earlier than the first Provençal Troubadour poem,"²⁶ and not, one might add, from the Arabic Muwashshahs.

When we consider the conception of love in Arabic poetry and philosophy, a comparison with the Troubadour conception of love becomes unavoidable. Distinguished critics, like Nykl, Denomy, Errante, and others have argued that there are parallels between the two conceptions. Unfortunately, they begin with an imposed assumption that the influence is a certainty: "No one," says Errante, "would seriously discard the possibility of Arabic influences (and of many others) on the first Troubadours;"²⁷ "The absence of tangible evidence of transmission," says Denomy, "should not invalidate the evident dependence of the characteristics of Courtly Love on Muslim mystical

thought and teaching."²⁸ Statements like these seem to imply the following question: How could the Troubadour poets have invented a concept of love which is at once secular and spiritual had the Arabs not expressed a similar concept?

But the fact is that the Arabs did not express a similar concept. In pre-Islamic poetry, for example, there is nowhere to be found a spiritual conception of love; even sentimental love is quite a rarity.²⁹ On the other hand, Arab social life in Spain remained for the most part tribal, pretty much like that of pre-Islamic Arabia (the Umayyad dynasty in al-Andalus was an off-shoot of that in the East, which was of purely tribal origin).³⁰ This tribal audience could not have fostered a poetry celebrating spiritual love, or the kind of Courtly Love expressed in the Troubadour lyrics. Pre-Islamic poetry, from which Andalusian poets drew their subject matter and their attitude toward love, was appropriate to tribal life. The poetry is sensuous and frankly sexual, and, if it concerns heterosexual love, has as its object, the consummation of this love in marriage (a great many of the lyrics are apparently about homosexual love, no less

sensual)-- in every regard different from the concept of love in the Troubadour lyrics. Exactly the same may be said for the Andalusian-Arabic Muwashshahs: the conception of love in this poetry, a conception which has as its source the glamorous world of Jawari, or slave-girls, in no way resembles the Troubadour concept of love as an integral part of nobility and of court education.

The concept of Courtly Love has been much debated; much has been made of the various philosophies underlying its inception, particularly Arabic philosophy. This is the theme of Theodore Silverstein's remarkable article, "Andreas, Plato, and the Arabs,"³¹ and therefore need not be recapitulated here. Our main concern, however, is to understand why Errante, Nykl, Denomy, and other distinguished critics have sought to establish a Troubadour connection with the Arabs. These critics find little or nothing in the poetry of the Arabs that is suitable to their purpose but make a good deal more of Arabic philosophy: for Denomy direct contact between the earliest Troubadours and Arab Spain is crucial; Errante seeks to seal off the earliest Troubadours from any direct contact with Arabic Spain, but stresses an indirect contact through the school of

Chartres;³² Nykl, while finding a little more in the poetry, underlines the resemblance between Ibn Hasm's philosophic work, The Ring of the Dove, and the concept of Courtly Love, and therefore the influence of the one on the other.³³

Arabic philosophy is a residuum or an echo of Greek and Neo-Platonic ideas. Indeed, a thoughtful specialist in medieval studies recognizes that Greek and Neo-Platonic philosophies are to be found both in Arabic Spain and elsewhere in Europe. They thus constitute a common heritage. Since the sixth century European thought and history have been imbued with Greek and Neo-Platonic concepts;³⁴ the contrary is true for Arabia, for these philosophies remain marginal and unintegrated into any system of Arabic thought as a whole. They are the property and occupation of only a very few Arab thinkers. The reason for this is not difficult to find. In the tenth century the Islamic religion was beset, as was the case always, by all kinds of corrupt and sectarian movements which threatened its basic tenets; the good will of certain thinkers, like Ikhwan al-Safa' (Sincere Brothers), for example, sought to restore confidence and right reason by incorporating

Greek philosophy with the tenets of religion. Despite such noble efforts, they were disgraced, traduced, and mocked by the Moslem community; they were even described as heretics and miscreants (zanadiqah).³⁵ In Spain, Ibn Rushd, Ibn Hazm, and others sought to reconcile, or at least recognize the differences between philosophy and religion. Ibn Hazm, for example, as has been pointed out more than once, erects his conception of love on Platonic and Neo-Platonic ideas; and he writes poetry. His book, The Ring of the Dove, is a work of prose and verse; the versified section is so larded with metaphors and philosophic turns of phrases that the total impression becomes non-Arabic, untrue, and almost mendacious. More significant, and something which has rarely been accounted for, is Ibn Hazm's total rendering of Aristotle's logic in an effort to harmonize it with religious law and thought, an effort which largely results in misconstruing Aristotelian concepts.³⁶

I have tried to review briefly these historical facts in order to reach a basis for an evaluation of the misunderstanding of the function and value of Arabic philosophy. The preoccupation of a few Arab philosophers

with Greek and Neo-Platonic concepts ought to be studied in its historical perspective and evaluated there. The Moslem community at large displayed no interest in these philosophers, particularly in the face of internal problems which threatened its religious foundation. On the other hand, the poets showed no enthusiasm for or actual curiosity about the wisdom of philosophy--they lived in their own world of sensory rowdy reality, while the devout and religious were divided among themselves or separated into hostile sectarian factions. Indeed, when we look at Arabic society, beginning with the eighth century on to the end of Arab rule in Spain, we see a disparate and disconnected structure in which a handful of philosophers who, despite noble efforts to rectify errors and purge religion of cancerous growth, themselves were misunderstood and ostracized.

Other Arab philosophers were looked on with suspicion by the orthodox theologians. Ibn Sina (Avicenna) was strongly criticized by al-Ghazal (1058-1111) for his doctrine of creation; and Ibn Rushd (Averroes) had to leave Spain owing to the suspicion and hostility aroused by his unorthodox philosophical opinions. In fact, the

study of Greek philosophy was forbidden in Islamic Spain.³⁷ Thus it can be said that these philosophers belong to Arabia by birth, but in spirit and mind they are a part of European heritage. Indeed, while they are rejected by their own kith and kin, their work is selected as a tribute in honor of the contribution they make to European philosophy. For example, in Dante's Commedia Averroes and Avicenna are among the dwellers of "noble castello"; the Prophet of Islam dwells in hell.

Being a part of Western tradition and a contributor to medieval renaissance, Arabic philosophy cannot be regarded as an influence on Courtly Love. For we must not confuse the essence and goal of philosophy with those of poetry;³⁸ we should be on our guard against the pitfall of "post hoc, ergo propter hoc" and against the notions of influence and causation in the history of ideas and the history of sensibility. We should rather take into account the more or less simultaneous polygenesis of themes, motives, and literary forms underlying the concept of Courtly Love.³⁹ For example, Christian ideas play a major role in the making of the concept; we also must not diminish or deny the originality of the Troubadour poets themselves.⁴⁰

Besides, already Western counterparts to Arabic philosophy form a tradition that was, in Silverstein's words, "available in France before and during the time when Courtly Love arose, and in two texts which have been neglected by (critics)."⁴¹

The question why our distinguished critics sought to establish a Troubadour connection only with the Arabs is not difficult to answer: it is likely that they did not sufficiently emphasize the significance of historical perspectivism. For it is my conviction that the various phenomena or events in human social life and intellect cannot be fully understood otherwise. For example, there is a mental language more or less common to all peoples (i.e. the language of love), but this language which grasps the various phenomena is expressed with as many diverse modifications as these phenomena have diverse aspects. If, however, a critic is unaware of the many modifications underlying the different phenomena, he will certainly lose sight of the distinct character of the individual event, and therefore that of the individual people.

INTRODUCTION

Notes

¹Frederick Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouveres (New York, 1973), p. 5.

²See Chapter II, pp. 6-7.

³Karam Bustani, ed. Diwan Abu-l- Ala al-Ma arri (Beirut, 1951), p. 20:

ta abun kuluha-l-hayatu/fama a jabu illa min
raghibin fi-z-diyadi.

Karam Bustani, ed. Diwan al-Buhturi (Beirut, 1950), p.70:

idha atatka madhammati min naqisin/fahiya-l-
shahadatu bi'anniya kamilu.

⁵Fazlur Rahman, Islam: Introduction (New York, 1966), pp. 14-26.

⁶Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History, trans. Franz Rosenthal (Princeton, 1967), p. 160.

⁷See Gustave E.Von Grunebaum, Medieval Islam, 2nd ed., (Chicago, 1953), pp. 170-220.

⁸Ahmad Abdul Majid al-Ghazali, ed. Diwan Abu Nuwas: Introduction (Cairo, 1953), pp. 28-29.

⁹The verse can be found in Ibn Dawud al-Isphahani, Kitab al-Zuhra (The Book of the Flower), ed. A.R. Nykly (Chicago, 1932), p. 118:

wa'anni la' ahwa-l-hashra idh qila anani/wa
afra'a yawma-l-hashri multaqiyani.

¹⁰Muhammad Ali Makki, "Ensayo sobre los aportaciones Orientales en la Espana Musulman," Instituto de Estudios Islamicos de Madrid (1968), 235-237.

¹¹Mr. Andras Hamori has written a book on this subject, The Art of Medieval Arabic Literature (Princeton University Press, 1974), Unfortunately the book was not yet in print when I had completed this work and submitted it to the library.

¹²Ibn Sana' al-Mulk, Dar al-Tiraz (The House of Broidery), ed. Jawdat Rakabi (Damascus, Syria, 1939), p. 35. The passage is this: 'wa 'aktaruha mabni ala ta'lif al-urghun."

¹³In Romain Goldron's, Byzantium and Medieval Music (H.S. Stultman, 1968), p. 99. 'Organum' is a term used for the duplication of melody at a different pitch. The form is diaphonic and therefore similar to that on which the Mu-washshah is based. What seems to give credence to my argument is that prior to Ibn Sana' al-Mulk Ibn Bassam, a twelfth-century critic and historian of Andalusian literature, refuses to cite Muwashshahs because they depend on a special musical pattern, and because "they are based on a system of prosody that is different from our traditional system." See Chapter IV, p. 216.

¹⁴Ihsan Abbas, Tarikh al-Adab al-Andalusi "History of Andalusian Literature" (Beirut, 1962), p. 54. See also Henry G. Farmer, History of Arabian Music (London, 1929), pp.128-30.

¹⁵Ibn Rushd, Kitab al-Shi'r (The Book of Poetry), ed. M. Lasanio, "Il Commento Medio di Averroee alla Poetica di Aristotele" (Pisa, 1872), p. 3.

¹⁶There are other works by Ibn Said available in American libraries; but the work which contains this passage is most difficult to locate. However, the same Arabic passage, which I here translate into English, can be found in Garcia Gomez, Al-Andalus, 21 (1956), 310. Here is the Spanish translation:

Las canciones de la gente de al-Andlaus, o eran por el estilo los cristianos, o eran por el estilo de los camelleros Arabes.

¹⁷Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah, trans. F. Rosenthal, pp. 328-30.

¹⁸W. Montgomery Watt and Pierre Cachia, A History of Islamic Spain (New York, 1967), pp. 20-23.

¹⁹Romain Goldron, Byzantium and Medieval Music, p. 83.

²⁰Alfred Einstein, A Short History of Music (New York, 1954), p. 8.

²¹Peter Dronke, The Medieval Lyric (New York, 1968) pp. 49-51.

²²S.M. Stern, ed. Les Chanson Mozrabes (Universita di Palermo-Istituto di Filologia Romanza), n.d.

²³See Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah, trans. F. Rosenthal, p. 449; see also Ibn Abd Rabbihi, Al-Iqd al-Farid (Cairo, 1935), IV, 3-19.

²⁴See Peter Dronke's important chapter, "The Alba" in The Medieval Lyric, pp. 167-185; p. 200.

²⁵Leo Spitzer, "The Mozarabic Lyric and the Theories of Theodore Frings," Comparative Literature, 4 (1952), p. 13.

²⁶Ibid., 14.

²⁷Quoted by Theodore Silverstein in his "Andreas, Plato, and the Arabs," Modern Philology, 47 (1949-50), 121.

²⁸A.J. Denomy, "Concerning the Accessibility of Arabic Influences to the Earliest Provençal Troubadours," Medieval Studies, 15 (1953), 158.

²⁹G.E. Von Grunebaum, "The Arab Contribution to Troubadour Poetry," Bulletin of the Iranian Institute, 6 (1946), 141.

³⁰See Aib Khaldun, The Muqaddimah, trans. F. Rosenthal, p. 124. Ibn Khaldun says in referancee to the Umayyad dynasty in Spain: "When its tribal or group feeling was destroyed, small princes seized power and divided the territory among themselves. In competition with each other, they distributed among themselves the realm of the Umayyad dynasty." In this passage Ibn Khaldun is referring to the political division of al-Andalus into the various small kingdoms known as Miluk al-Tawa'if, which occurred during the second half of the 11th century. The insight which this passage affords is that prior to such a division the dominant feeling in Spain was that of tribal or group feeling, and so long as this feeling prevailed, al-Andalus, unlike the East, remained relatively stable politically; hence the flourish of poetic art during the years 750-1050.

³¹Theodore Silverstein, "Andreas, Plato, and the Arabs," Modern Philology, 47 (1949-50), 117-126.

³²Ibid., 119.

³³A.R. Nykl, Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relation with the Old Provençal Troubadours (Baltimore, 1946), pp. 371-401. See also G.E. Von Grunebaum, "The Arab Contribution to Troubadour Poetry," Bulletin of the Iranian Institute, 6 (1946), 138-151.

³⁴See the excellent study by Winthrop Wetherbee, Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century (Princeton, 1972), pp. 11-126.

³⁵G.E. Von Grunebaum, Medieval Islam, 114, 328-337.

³⁶See the medieval scholar Ibn Said al-Andalusi, Kitab Tabaqat al-Uman The Book of Nations ed. Louis Shaykho (Beirut, 1912), p. 76.

³⁷F.C. Copleston, Medieval Philosophy (New York, 1961), p. 67.

³⁸See Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, 1973), pp. 203-213.

³⁹Frederick Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouveres (New York, 1973), pp. 5-19.

⁴⁰James Wilhelm, Seven Troubadours: The Creators of Modern Verse (Pennsylvania, 1970), p. 15.

⁴¹Theodore Silverstein, "Andreas, Plato, and the Arabs," pp. 123-125. The texts are Apuleius, De Platone, Book II, and the Latin Asclepius.

CHAPTER I

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ANDALUSIAN
LYRICS AND TROUBADOUR LYRICS;
STANDARDS OF COMPARISON USED ARE
STYLE, VIEW OF REALITY, AND
ORIENTATION.**

Ibn Zuhr, an Andalusian poet, and Jaufre' Rudel, a Troubadour poet, flourished in the mid-twelfth century; each wrote a poem about a far-off love.

Ibn Zuhr wrote the following Muwashshah:¹

I shall follow love/to its far-off ends
till a friend should say/he grew pale and limp.

Because of you, O Yahya,
my patience has never waned;
seeing you I die at times,
and at times I revive;
what news do you desire of me
O most perfect of all creation?

I am a lover who, among other woes, suffers from
separation; red pearls pour down my cheeks/ and
drench all my face,

Yours is but the only face,
the union of all charm;
it is indeed the moon,
when the moon is not in heaven;
your smiling mouth, that
tries the patience of a patient man,

is like a well-ripened camomile/watered by
your spittle that glitters like nectar.

My tears trickled and
spoke of what I see;
but my lot is insomnia,
while others sleep calmly;
and I, like a star that looks feeble,
am helpless, restless, and lonely.

Frailty in a strong man/shows only in languor;
it is like the helpless drowned/whose rescue comes

from a face like the new moon,
appearing perched on a bough,
decked with all its beauty
that is the gift of perfection.
After all that, he says:
tell him from me that I settle

for his descriptions and comparisons/should he desire
my friendship, his patience will put him wise to my
arrogance.²

At the center of the lyric stands the beloved (who is either a male or a female)³ whose physical beauty occupies the poet's ardent attention. This is conveyed through sensory comparisons drawn from life and nature, denoting the beloved's attractive qualities: face like the moon; mouth like a well-ripened camomile; spittle like glittering nectar, etc. These comparisons become the leitmotif and "rime-clé" of the entire piece: seeing you I die at times, and at times I revive; your smiling mouth is like a well-ripened camomile; your face is like the new moon perched on a bough. The name 'Yahya' itself, meaning "to live," determines the rhyme scheme of the first stanza.⁴

The use of such sensory descriptions indicates that the lover is sad for the lack of the beloved's

company; he suffers the woes of separation; his tears trickle down, drenching his cheeks, since he cannot sleep; and his vigor has waned. Yet, despite all that, the lover is determined to "follow love to its far-off ends;" in fact, no matter how distant the beloved may be, he shall love him all the more: "Because of you, O Yahya, my patience has never waned." This is precisely the kind of love that Ibn Dawud in the East had formulated in his book, Kitab al-Zuhra: in a state of separation (after love is born at the first sight of the beloved) all the faculties of the mind are preoccupied with the image of the beloved, and if there is no separation and no preoccupation with separation, longing, etc., true love cannot exist.⁵

Thus Ibn Dawud, drawing on the love poetry of the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries, raises the theme of separation to the level of a law: love is perpetuated only in a state of separation. Ibn Zuhri's poem is part of this poetic tradition (although he may not have read Kitab al-Zuhra, written 250 years earlier). It illustrates the theme of separation, and portrays the lover's longing for the beloved, his pain, and his sorrow, while the beloved himself deliberately maintains his seclusion

from the lover:⁶

After all that, he says:
tell him from me that I settle

for his descriptions and comparisons;/ should
he desire my friendship, his patience will put
him wise to my arrogance.

The theme of separation is found in many
Troubadour lyrics wherein the lover's pain and sorrow
are caused by the beloved who is merciless and hard of
heart, precisely like the beloved in Ibn Zuhr's poem,
for example, in one of his poems which begins Non es
meravelha s'eu chan, Bernart de Ventadorn says:

Per bona fe e ses enjan
am la plus bel' e la melhor.
Del cor sospir e dels olhs plor,
car tan l'am eu, per que i ai dan.
Eu que n'posc mais, s'amors me pren,
e las charcers en que m'a mes
no pot claus obrir mas merces,
e de merce no i trop nien?⁷

(In good faith, without deceit,
I love the best and most beautiful.
My heart sighs, my eyes weep,
because I love so much, and I suffer for it.
What else can I do, if love takes hold of me,
and no key but pity can open up
the prison where he has put me,
and I find no sign of pity there?)⁸

The similarities between Ibn Zuhr and Bernart are
striking: both portray a lover who is in love with the

most beautiful creature; the lover suffers and weeps; in Bernart, the lover is a prisoner, in Ibn Zuhr he is like a drowned man; in both lyrics the lover laments the unrequited love, and in both the beloved is cold, merciless, and hard of heart.

Equally striking is the resemblance between Ibn Zuhr's far-off love and Jaufré Rudel's amour lointain.

Here is one of Rudel's poems:

Quan la rius de la fontana
s'esclarzis, si cum far sol,
e par la flors aigentina,
e.l rossinholetz el ram
volf e refranh ez aplana,
son dous cantar e l'afina,
dreitz es qu'ieu lo mieu refranha.

Amors de terra lonhdana,
per vos totz lo cors mi dol;
a no.n puesc trobar mezina
si non au vostre reclam
ab atraich d'amor doussana
dinz vergier o sutz cortina
ab dezirada companha.

Pus totz jorns m'en falh aizina,
no.m meravilh si.m n'aflam,
quar anc genser crestiana
non fo, ni Dieu non o vol,
Juzeva ni Sarrazina;
ben es selh pagutz de mana,
qui ren de s'amor guazanha.

De dezir mos cors no fina
 vas selha ren qu'ieu pus am;
 e cre que volers m'enguana
 si cobezeza la·m tol;
 que pus es ponhens qu'espina
 la dolors que per joi sana;
 don ja non vuelh qu'om m'en planha.

Senes breu de parguamina
 tramet lo vers, que chantam
 en plana lengua romana,
 a·n Hugo Bru per Filhol:
 bo m sap quar gens Peitavina
 de Berri e de Guiana
 s'escgau per lui e Bretanha.⁹

(When the waters of the spring
 run clear once more,
 and the flower comes forth on the eglantine,
 and on the branch the nightingale
 turns, modulates, softens
 his sweetsong, and refines it,
 it is right that I modulate mine.)

Love of a far-off land,
 for you my whole heart aches;
 and I cannot find the remedy
 if I do not listen to your call,
 drawn by the sweetness of love,
 in a garden, or behind curtains,
 with a friend I desire.

Since I am always denied any chance for that,
 it is no wonder I am on fire,
 for there never was a gentler woman,
 Christian, Jew, or Saracen--
 God does not want it:
 he is fed on manna
 who wins a little of her love.

My heart does not come to the end of desire
 for the one I love most;
 and I think my will misleads me
 if lust takes her away from me;
 far more piercing than a thorn
 is the pain only joy can cure;
 therefore let no man pity me.

Without any letter of parchment
 I send this vers, which we sing
 in our plain romance tongue,
 to En Hugo Brun, by Filhol;
 it makes me glad that the people of Poitou,
 Berry, and Guyenne,
 and Brittany too, rejoice in him.)¹⁰

When we compare this lyric with Ibn Zuhr's lyric we find that both contain the idea of a far-off love, in the former, "Amors de terra lonhdana, per vos totz lo cors mi dol," in the latter, "I shall follow love/ to its far-off ends, till a friend should say/he grew pale and limp." Further, like Ibn Zuhr, J. Rudel speaks of pain due to the fact that the beloved is far away; and like Bernart de Ventadorn, as we have seen, both Ibn Zuhr and Rudel have in common the theme of separation.

However, this similarity ends when we find that Ibn Zuhr gives the name of the beloved, Yaha (a common practice among Andalusian poets), while the beloved in J. Rudel remains unidentified (as in all Troubadour poets). Upon closer examination, moreover, Ibn Zuhr's

lyric is an expression of the lover's sentiment, ranging from abject submission to the beloved (or minion) to a plea for compensation for the wounds of love. Indeed, what makes such a sentiment all the more poignant is the lover's hopeless yearning and craving for the beloved: because of the beloved's arrogance and aloofness, the lover's "insomnia" and frustration dominate the poem; he feels sorry for himself, and his happiness almost comes to an end. In contrast, in Rudel's poem, although the lover is denied the company of the beloved, the lover's happiness does not come to an end. On the contrary, the lover yearns and craves for the beloved who is unattainable, and the very fact that she is unattainable is the source of his joy and happiness. This is made even more explicit in another poem, beginning Lanquan li jorn son lonc en may, in which he says:

Ver ditz qui m'apella lechay
 ni deziran d'amor de lonh,
 car nulhs autres joys tan no.m play
 cum jauzimens d'amor de lonh.
 Mas so qu'ieu vuoill m'es tant ahis,
 qu'enaissi m fadet mos pairis
 qu'ieu ames e nos fos amatz.¹¹

(He speaks the truth who says I crave
 and go desiring this love far away,
 for noother joy pleases me more
 than the rich enjoyment of this love far away.
 But the path is blocked to my desire,
 for my godfather gave me this fate:
 I must love and not be loved.)¹²

The poignancy of this desire is such that the lover is not to be pitied because his love is unfulfilled, for it is an anguish healed by the very joy of desire, as Rudel says in the fourth stophe of the poem quoted earlier. Thus in the two poems of Bernart and Rudel the lover's feeling is not, as it is in Ibn Jühr, reduced only to abject debasement, or self-pity. In fact, in Rudel, the lover's feeling becomes elevated even as the possibility of fulfillment of his love is denied. This is one of the major differences between Rudel and Ibn Zühr.

Another important difference between J.Rudel and Ibn Zühr lies in style. In Ibn Zühr it is denotative and consists of concrete comparisons; for example;

I am a lover who, among other woes, suffers
 from separation; red pearls pour down my cheeks/
 and drench all my face,

Yours is but the only face,
 the union of all charm;
 it is indeed the moon,
 when the moon is not in heaven;
 your smiling mouth, that
 tries the patience of a patient man,

is like a well-ripened camomile/watered by
your spittle that glitters like nectar...

Here one will notice the abundance of images, each image or idea being rounded off in one self-sufficient line. (This is a stylistic feature or principle observable in Arabic poetry from its earliest stages.) For example, the lover is sad; then his tears are likened to red pearls; next the beloved's face is likened to the moon; further, the beloved's mouth is like nectar, and so forth. The poet is obviously not concerned with aesthetic unity, with inducing a consistent mood, or with building up a consistent image. Rather his concern is with independent detail, the purpose of which is to portray through further juxtaposition of images-- he is like a dim star, lonely and helpless, and like a drowned man whose rescue comes from a face like the new moon--his grief and sorrow at being separated from the beloved. Such a portrayal is apparent from the first line of the poem: "I shall follow love to its far-off ends/till a friend should say he grew pale and limp." Thus seen from the perspective of the poet's use of sensory imagery, far-off love is precisely the actual, physical separation between lover and beloved--this love seeks possession

and is frustrated by distance.

In contrast, J. Rudel's poem generates a consistent mood, because it builds a single arc over five stanzas unfolding a single image. For example, in the first stanza we find the parallel between the rejuvenation of nature in spring and the poet's song being modulated to the nightingale's song. In other words, when spring comes, the waters run, flowers blossom, and the nightingale turns, modulates his song in harmony with nature. At this point the poet says:

...dreitz es qu'ieu lo mieu refranha.

Thus the poet establishes a parallelism between human feeling and nature. In the remaining stanzas this parallelism is further sustained by the poet's use of figurative language: the bird's song in the garden evokes the vision of l'amors de terra lonhdana which is a metaphor for the lady and the object of the lover's love.

In this connection Spitzer says:

L'attrait du lointain inhérent à son amour, le poète le perçoit dans le réveil de la nature au printemps et dans le chant de oiseaux, qui engagent l'homme à aimer avec eux.¹³

Moreover, the lover's desire for the lady is infused with a spiritual quality suggested by the word 'mana.' The

lover's desire is real because of his longing and yearning for the beloved, and it is also ideal because of the endless joy and happiness it gives. Thus his love puts him on guard against lust (fourth stanza), teaches him to control it, and unites him with his society (last stanza). Separation, therefore, gives a positive ethical and social value to the love and makes the lover a better man.

In the work of Jaufré Rudel there appears all the yearning of a visionary imagination, a sublimation of sentiment which created the legend of the distant princess so beloved by later poets.¹⁴ His figurative use of language and the mixture of the ideal and the real are shared by other Troubadour poets. These stylistic features are a creation of the Middle Ages and have no parallel in Andalusian lyrics. The genius of Arabic-Andalusian style, however, lies in a profusion of concrete sensory images whereby the most remote things can be connected together: the mole on the cheek of the beloved, her waist, teeth, breasts, hips--all female (or male) charms are described and compared to natural objects; moreover, these descriptions and comparisons are usually associated with wine drinking. Thus in the

Andalusian lyric language is denotative and the expression of love does not venture beyond the sensual, no matter how refined.

Andalusian lyrics have a distinct quality--they are strictly urban.¹⁵ The great majority can be explained in terms of political and social conditions. With perhaps nothing more precise to stimulate poetic expression than the luxurious pleasure-seeking, Caliphate's patronage, and promise of political positions for the poets, Andalusian lyrics developed along lines that quickly became stylized, a subject which is beyond the scope of the present study.¹⁶ However, some of these lyrics have themes in which we read of drinking parties held on the river at night, or in a grove or flowery meadow either in the cool of the evening or at dawn "when night washes off its kohl (a dark coloring) in the morning dew"; of fawn-like girls or girls slim-waisted and round-hipped inducing inebriation by the wine they pour; while to the accompaniment of a lute a slave-girl sings or another dances, finally slipping out of her dress to appear "like a bud unfolding from a cluster of blossoms."¹⁷

Nature provides the idyllic background for

bacchic and pleasure-seeking scenes, but it is then only vaguely sketched in. For example, the following two stanzas are from a Muwashshah by Iban Isa al-Ishbili (second half of the twelfth century):

The garden spreads its fragrance/ the birds are singing: bright is the morning/ and everyone is awake.

Drink it [wine] like hope when depressed
from the flask, or from the cup,
and behold it glittering before you

like a star appearing/in its bright orbit,
then dropping quickly/to make off with the demons.

Ah, her sparkling garment
and necklace of pearls floating
round her neck, over her tender body...¹⁸

In the beginning nature is referred to explicitly, exactly as in Jaufre' Rudel:

Lanquan li jorn son lonc en may
me'es belhs dous chans d'auzelhs de lonh,
e quan mi suy partitz de lay
remembra.m d'un' amor de lonh...¹⁹

(When days are long in May,
I enjoy the sweet song of the birds far away,
and when I am parted from their song,
the parting reminds me of a love far away...)²⁰

But what is not in al-Ishbili's lyric, as it is in Rudel's, is a parallelism between nature and human feeling: the poet does not project emotion into nature or allow nature to act upon his emotion, as Rudel does in making the month

of May a time of joy and the parting from the birds' song a parting from love far away---the idea evokes a sense of continuous flow. Instead, we have single items coming in for a fleeting observation--garden's fragrance, singing of birds, bright morning, etc. The poet interrupts these observations, or descriptions of nature's awakening, and takes up wine drinking, which incidentally is compared to hope. (The persona of the lyric drinks wine to drown a feeling of depression the cause of which is given later in the lyric). Next, the poet strikes up another comparison: glittering wine is like a bright star which fantastically drops out of orbit to make off with the demons. At this point, the reader, unprepared, hears the description of the beloved's garment, neck, tender body---which continues in the remaining part of the lyric:

Like the deer matched only by the moon's beauty,
and I melt with grief because of his tyranny.
O whom should I seek for help (to bring me near him)?²¹

Needless to say the language and the view of reality in which it is expressed are typical of Arabic poetic style. Al-Ishbili delights in sensory phenomena in which various images are connected together without due regard for the aesthetic experience that may be

associated with each image: wine is compared both to hope and to a star simultaneously; or elsewhere (in the stanza just quoted) the comparisons follow a descending gradation: man (the beloved) is compared to animal (deer), animal to object (moon). The result is fragmentation: the poet moves from the description of nature to wine drinking in depression, from a falling star to the description of the beauty of the beloved, from her tyranny to his grief; and between each pair of these categories sensory comparisons are injected--a typical poetic structure shared by Ibn Zuhr and many others.

For example, here is a complete lyric by Ibn Baqqi (d.1145):

Longing vanquished my heart, hence the latter
complained of pains of love; my tears then
answered the call:

Oh folks, my heart is filled with love,
Yet my love treats me ungently,
How much do I cajole him, while I weep:

Oh little fawn, who taught you, pray, the way
To kill fierce lions with the arrows of your glances?

A full moon underneath night's darkness
Rising from a straight bough of ban a plant:
Slender of stature, with a beaming face:

His eyes--so bewitching--how often did it strike
The lions' hearts within their bosoms strong!

Oh gazelle, whom I craved, but who escaped,
 Turning aside, intoxicated with its youth,
 Like a bough swayed by a cooling breeze!

I said: grant me, my love, a union with you,
 Cast away, give up all notions of avoidance!

He said: my cheek is a flower in bloom,
 My eyes are like an unsheathed, sharp sword
 Guarding the flower from being culled:

He who would like to pluck it is doomed death:
 So refrain from all temptations of desire!

My heart melted for my love of a deceitful fawn,
 Whose face is shining in the shadows of the dawn,
 My heart is the prisoner of his dear hands:

I cannot find the patience to forget his charm,
 So my victory comes through my shedding of tears!²²

Like al-Ishbili's lyric and that of Ibn Zuhr, Ibn Baqqi's lyric abounds in concrete comparisons drawn from sensory reality; the language is denotative and hardly expresses anything beyond familiar, immediate objects. Once again we find the comparisons following a descending gradation: the beloved is like a flower, or a moon, then a gazelle, or a fawn. The result is fragmentation: the poet moves from expression of grief to the little fawn whose glances slay lions, from a description of the beloved as a full moon to the lover's complaint of the beloved's tyranny, etc.; and between each pair of these categories further

sensory images are thrown in, so that no progression of mood or consistency of imagery is maintained.

The forma mentis of an Arab poet may be described as atomistic; it points to a concern with independent detail in that each verse in a poem is by itself a meaningful unit, independent of what precedes and what follows, by itself it makes a perfect sense, either as a laudatory, an erotic, or an elegiac statement, or all of these combined. Such an atomism is deeply ingrained in the literary tradition of the Arabs, if not in their make-up, and contrasts sharply with the concern with synthesis or unity displayed in Western literature. This concern with unity of structure can be found even in the most frivolous poems, for example, in Guillaume's poem which begins, Companho, faray un vers...convinen. The poet builds an arc over nine stanzas, unfolding a single image.²³ And among the greatest examples illustrating this concern with unity (and a single image) are Jaufré Rudel's poems which we have discussed earlier in this study.

The artistic spirit of Andalusian-Arabic poets lies in their delight in concrete, sensory phenomena. The poet's robust imagination connects together the

most remote things in nature and life; it never soars up to universals, but remains submerged in the senses; hence the lack of a spiritual view of reality in Arabic love poetry, or even of a fusion of the ideal and the real so common in Western medieval poetry, particularly Troubadour poetry. These facts, moreover, explain to us why Andalusian-Arabic love poetry expresses instead a horizontal view of reality in that the poet sees no other world beyond the world of physical phenomena. Yet within such a view his range of sentiment varies widely: from consuming passion to dalliance, from expressions of abject submission to his mistress or minion to mock pronouncement on the compensations due to the wounds of love, from the uncomplicated sensuality of an Ibn Khafaja--

My palms, caressing her, slid along her body,
At times her waist they touched, at times her breasts:
One of my hands slid down along her hip, and
The other slowly moved up toward her bosom!²⁴

---to Ibn Hazm's protestation that he preferred to meet his beloved in a dream lest in reality the touch of his hand should make her fade away.²⁵ Yet the range does not extend beyond the sensory, no matter how refined.

In the Andalusian lyrics we have discussed earlier

there remains an important aspect of love which ought to be pointed out. None of these lyrics contains a reference to the beloved as noble, gentle, courteous; in none is there an expression regarding the lover's aspiration toward a supreme social and ethical reality through love. Moreover, the beloved does not represent such a reality. Instead, we have a beloved whose physical charms constitute the chief element in the lover's intense passion. In addition to the earlier lyrics, here are further examples; al-Tutili (d.1127) says in one of his lyrics;

The beloved's power/is sweeter than honey
and the saddened one/must submit to his own
baseness, for I am at war/ with the large-eyed;

his captivating eyes/disarm me/seeing his charming
brow/ I become a heathen.²⁶

Like a provencal lady, the beloved in al-Tutili's lyric exhibits qualities of coldness and aloofness; she wields power over the lover, itself a delightful enthrallment. Another poet might describe the beloved's attitude as intractable, or not easy to deal with:

He whom I love/holds me/ spell-bound under his glance;
his beauty secludes him/ and he turns away/hard to please,
at times he comes near/only like a fleeting bird/
to sip water.

O his tender body/his pink, bedecked cheeks,
 covered with veils/but I cannot hold my ardent
 desire.²⁷

Examples of this kind are legion. The unbridgeable difference between the beloved in the Troubadour lyrics and the beloved in the Andalusian lyrics is that the latter's physical beauty is the only cause of the lover's ardent passion: her power is sweeter than honey; the charming brow and the pink, bedecked cheeks hold the lover spellbound; the beloved is like a full moon in the night's darkness, and her young, tender body is like a gazelle, etc. And because the lover cannot possess such wondrous delights, he suffers the woes of separation and the lack of sexual fulfillment. Thus the lover and the beloved are separated, because of the latter's high station, nobility of character, and courtliness, but because she is fickle, coquettish, hard to please, desirable, and decidedly witty, as we have seen in Ibn Baggi's poem:

My eyes are like an unsheathed, sharp sword
 Guarding the flower from being culled:

He who would like to pluck it is doomed to death:
 So refrain from all temptations of desire!

Despite the beloved's arrogance, tyranny, aloofness,

fickleness, etc., the lover remains in total submission to the beloved and never gives up hope for reunion, as al-Abyad says in one of his Muwashshahs:

She is one who kills hearts/her walk makes me confused;
oh glances, increase my sin/oh her sweet lips.

May they refresh the thirsty:
the lover is in pain,
who does not swerve
from his pact of love with her,
and who never gives up
in all circumstances; hoping for reunion,
though he eschews him.²⁸

The lover's suffering and his separation from the beloved, and his hope and desire to be near her are common themes to both Troubadour lyrics and Andalusian lyrics. However, in the Troubadour lyrics the beloved, though she may be coquettish, tyrannical, and hard to please, also has nobility of character and courtliness to which the lover aspires. For example, Bernart de Ventadorn echoes Jaufré Rudel's amour lointain in a poem, Bel m'es qu'eu chan en quel mes, which the lover laments his unrequited love for a lady merciless and hard of heart. Yet through his love and desire of her he increases in worth:

El mon non es mas una res
 per qu'eu joya pogues aver;
 e d'aquela no'n aurai ges,
 ni d'autra no'n posc ges voler.
 Pero si ai per leis valor e sen,
 e'n sui plus gai e'n tenc mo cors plus gen,
 car s'ilh no fos, ja no m'en meir' en plai!²⁹

(There is only one thing in the world
 whereby I may have joy;
 and of that I shall not have any,
 nor can I wish for it from another.
 Yet, through her I have worth and character,
 and because of her I conduct myself more nobly,
 for if she did not exist, I would not strive
 so hard).³⁰

There is hardly anything of the kind to be found in
 Andalusian lyrics. And what is even further removed
 from any Arabic parallel is that the lady in the Troubadour
 lyrics remains inaccessible because she is courtly and
 higher in station, and therefore the lover suffers.
 Indeed, the lover already knows, or at least gives us
 to understand, that, no matter how much he suffers, the
 lady is worthy of his suffering; further, his pain itself
 can become a source of good and joy, as Bernart says
 in a poem, beginning Non es meravelha s'eu chan:

Aquest ' amors me fer tan gen
 al cor d'una dousa sabor:
 cen vetz mor lo jorn de dolor
 e reviu de joi autras cen.

Ben es mos mals de bel semblan,
 que mais val mos mals qu'autre bes;
 e pois mos mals aitan bos m'es,
 bos er lo bes apres l'afra.³¹

(This love wounds my heart
 with a sweet taste, so gently,
 I die of grief a hundred times a day
 and a hundred times revive with joy.
 My pain is worth more than any pleasure;
 and since I find this bad so good,
 how good the good will be when this
 suffering is done.)³²

In interlocking antithetical statements and phrases common to the Middle Ages, the lover has defined his position; as a Troubadour he sings of his constant devotion and service to the lady; he then describes the nature of such devotion and service to her:

Bona donna, re no;us deman
 mas que.m prendatz per servidor,
 qu'e.us servirai com bo senhor,
 cossi que del gazardo m'an.
 Ve.us m'al vostre comandamen,
 francs cors umils, gais e cortes!
 Ors ni leos non etz vos ges,
 que.m aucizatz, s'a vos me ren.³³

(Good lady, I ask you for nothing
 but to take me for your servant,
 for I will serve you as my good lord,
 whatever wages come my way.
 Behold me at your command, a man to rely on,
 before you, o noble, gentle, courteous, and gay.
 You are not, after all, a bear or a lion,
 you would not kill me if I give myself to you.)³⁴

This relationship of a vassal to his lord identifies the lover as a conscious aspirant, constantly striving to be recognized by the lady for his noble worth, for the purity of his love, for his courtliness."³⁵

It is true that the lover suffers, but this suffering is worth more than any pleasure; it is joy itself, for true love is not a quiescence in attainment of the beloved but a ceaseless desire that is unappeased:

Totz tems volrai sa onor e sos bes
 e·lh serai om et amics e servire,
 e l'amarai, be li plass' o be·lh pes,
 c'om no pot cor destrenher ses aucire.³⁶

(I shall always desire her honor and her good, and I shall be her man, and her lover, and her servant, and I shall love her whether it pleases her or grieves her, for no one can constrain a heart without killing it.)³⁷

Seen from the perspective of vassal-lord relationship separation is part of the lover's ceaseless desire to prove himself worthy of his lady. In this sense, separation gives a positive ethical and social value to the love, makes the lover a better courtly man, and unites him with the court.

To conclude, in the Troubadour lyrics love is an ennobling power, and therefore the beloved is higher

in station than the lover: 'She commands respect, she is imperious, celebrated for her virtuous qualities; although, in the remoteness of her perfection, she is still hardly realized as an individual.'³⁸ Furthermore, love does not cease in the attainment of the beloved, for it is a conscious and constant desire that is never appeased. These qualities of courtly love have no parallel in Andalusian-Arabic lyrics.

CHAPTER I

Notes

¹Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of texts are mine.

²The text may be found in Jawdat Rakabi, Muwash-shahat (Beirut, 1965), p. 58:

laatba^ʿanna-l-hawa/ila aqasihi/ḥatta yaqula fariq/raqqat
 hawashihi ma ila muṣṭabari/lawlaka ya yaḥya
 amutu bi-l-nadhari/wa taratan aḥya
 ma shi^ʿta min khabari/ya bad u fi-l-ashya
 Ṣabbun yuqasi-l-nawa/fima yuqasihi/yafidu wadi-l-aqiq/^ʿala
 maāqihi man li biwajhin jama^ʿa/mahasina-l-suwari
 yugha idha ma tala^ʿ/^ʿan matla^ʿi-l-qamari
 wa mabsimin lam yada /ṣabran limuṣṭabiri
 miṭla-l-^ʿiqāḥi-s-tawa/fabata yasqihi/riqun ka^ʿnna-l-raḥiq/
 musha^ʿsha^ʿfihi

dam i jara fanataq/^ʿan ba^ʿḍi ma ajidu
 wa mas^ʿadi fi-l-araq/wa-l-nasu qad raqadu
 najum ḍa^ʿifu-l-ramaq/ḥayraṇu munfaridu

yaluhu du^ʿfu-l-qawiyu/^ʿala tawanihi/miṭl iltimasi-l-ghariqi/
 ma laysa yanjihi

wajhun kamiṭli-l-hilal/yabdu ^ʿala ghusni
 rasa ^ʿathu bi-l-jamal/wa tuḥfatu-lhusni
 fa^ʿinda dhalika qal/qulu lahu ^ʿanni

laysa nartaḍi lahu siwa/waṣfi wa tashbihi/yuridu nakunu lahu
 sadiq/yasburu^ʿala tibi.

The form of the lyric looks like this:

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..... a ..... b ..... c ..... b
          ..... d ..... e
          ..... d ..... e
          ..... d ..... e
..... a ..... b ..... c ..... b
          ..... f ..... g
          ..... f ..... g
          ..... f ..... g
..... a ..... b ..... c ..... b
          ..... h ..... i
          ..... h ..... i
          ..... h ..... i
..... a ..... c ..... c ..... b
          ..... j ..... k
          ..... j ..... k
          ..... j ..... j
..... a ..... b ..... c ..... b

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³This subject is rather long and complicated and has been dealt with at length both by Western and Eastern critics. For example, Henri Peres, referring to the use of masculine nouns and pronouns instead of the feminine, says:

...Mais il est bien connu que les poètes emploient tout autant le masculin que le féminin pour parler de leur bien-aimée, ce qui n'est pas d'ailleurs pour faciliter la distinction entre les vers qui s'adressent à des mignons et ceux qui ont pour objet une féminine.

Henri Pérès, La Poésie Andalous en Arabe classique au XI siècle (Paris: Librairie d'amerique et d'orient, 1937), p. 416.

Thus in the lyric under discussion the beloved may or may not be a female, and it makes no difference whether it is the one or the other (although the name 'Yahya' is a name of a male), since the general theme of love in Arabic lyrics can be recognized by its tone, view of reality, and style.

⁴In fact, the choice of the name 'Yahya' decided the rhyme scheme of the first stanza, thus: Yahya/ahya/ashya. Other images of light, such as 'qamar' (moon) decided the rhyme scheme of the second stanza: suwar/qamar/mustabar; etc.

⁵See Ibn Dawud, Kitab al-Zuhra, eds. A.R. Nykly and Ibrahim Tuqan (Beirut, 1932), pp. 18-19. See also Chapter V below, pp. 15-16.

⁶The beloved's rejection or refusal to comply with the lover's desire and longing (for sexual fulfillment) is common to Arabic love lyrics. Such a refusal may be considered as a topos of the end, with which the poet rounds up his lyric. We shall have to say more about this in later chapters.

⁷Carl Appel, ed. Bernart Von Ventadorn, Seine Lieder, mit Einleitung und Glossar (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1915), p. 190. The same text may be found in Frederick Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouveres (New York, 1973), pp. 126-127.

⁸Translated by Goldin.

⁹Alfred Jeanroy, ed. Les Chansons de Jaufré Rudel, 2eme ed. (Paris 1965), pp. 3-5. Another edition of the same text may be found in Frederick Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouveres, pp. 102-5.

¹⁰Translation by Goldin.

¹¹Alfred Jeanroy, ed. Les Chanson de Jaufré Rudel, pp. 12-15.

¹²Translation by Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours..., p. 105.

¹³Leo Spitzer, "L'amour lointain de Jaufré Rudel et le sens de la poesie des troubadours," University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literature, V (1944), 13.

¹⁴Frederick Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours... p.100.
See also Stuart Y. McDougal, Ezra Pound and the Troubadour Tradition (Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 83-86.

¹⁵There is a marked absence of the rural atmosphere in the Andalusian lyrics (though nature is often described). The dominant themes are love and wine, and the setting a palace, a tavern or a street. A great number of Muwashshahs are composed to praise kings and princes: they begin with a praise of a king, then a description of wine, or the beloved, and conclude on a similar note to the beginning--praise. See Jawdat Rakabi, Muwashshahat (Beirut, 1965), pp. 18-19.

¹⁶For a detailed study of this subject see Salah Khalis, Ishbilia fil Qarn al-Khamis "Seville in the Eleventh Century" (Beirut, 1965), pp. 80-5.

¹⁷R.A. Nyk, Hispano-Arabic Poetry (Baltimore, 1946), pp. 135-6.

¹⁸The text may be found in Jawdat Rakabi, Muwashshahat (Beirut, 1965), p. 60:

‘arafu-l-rawdi fah/wa-l-tayru qad ghanna
wa-l-subhu ada/fabakir-i-danna.

Khudhha ka-r-raja fi ‘aqbi-l-yasi
idha sabbaha-l-ibriqu fi-l-kasi
musha ‘sha ‘atan tudi‘u lil-nasi

ka-l-najmi alah/fi ufqihi wa huna
hawa famaqa/an yakhtifa-l-jinna.

ala bi‘abi nuriyatu-l-burdi
bilubbatihā la‘ali‘u-l-‘aqdi
fatufu bihā malihātu-l-qaddi...

¹⁹Alfred Jeanroy, ed. Les Chanson de Jaufre Rudel, p. 13.

²⁰Translation by Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours..., p. 104.

²¹Jawdat Rakabi, Muwashshaht, p. 60:

ghazalun ka'anna-l-badra yahkih
adhubu hadhran min tajannah.
fama li bihi hatta adanih.

²²Translated by R.A. Nykl, Hispano-Arabic Poetry,
pp. 242-243.

²³Frederick Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours...,
p. 20.

²⁴A.R. Nykly, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, pp. 228

²⁵Ibn Hazm, Tawak al-Hammah, trans. A.J. Arberry,
The Ring of the Dove (London, 1953), pp. 188-89. Ibn
Hazm does reflect the (ultimately Neo-Platonic) view
that love is the reunion of the two halves of a spirit
created as one sphere, but the recognition is always through
physical attraction. Neo-Platonic love in this context
is related to a peculiar psychology of chastity whereby
eroticism is a morbid perpetuation of desire since, in
physical love, fulfillment and satiety must coincide.
Woman is said to have had much freedom and to have been
much exalted in Andalusian society, but in poetry it is
always her physical charms that are sung, the only character
trait mentioned--though chastity in the man is sometimes
praised--being her caprice and cruelty in denying her lover.

²⁶Text may be found in Ibn Sana al-Mulk, Dar al-Tiraz,
ed. Jawdat Rakabi (Damascus, 1949), p. 44:

saṭwatu-l-habib/ahla min jana-l-nahli
wa 'ala-l-ka'ib/an yakhdā'a lildhulli
ana fi hurub/ma'a-l-ḥadaqi-l-nujli

laysa li yadan/bi'aḥwarin fattan/man ra'a jufunahu/
faqad afsadat dinuhu

²⁷Ibid., p. 30.

man li bihi yarnu/bimuqlati/ila-l-'ibadi
 yan'a bihi-l-ḥusnu/fayaṭni nafir/sa/ba-l-qiyadi
 wataratan yadnu/kama-j-tasa-t-a'iru/ma'a-l-ṭamadi
 fajiduhu aghyad/wa-lkhaddu bil khalli/munnamaq/taktumuhu-l-
 hujubu fali ila-l-kullati tashawwuq.

²⁸Ibn Sana al-Mulk, Dar al-Tiraz, p. 40:

mimma abada-l-quluba/yamshi lana mustariba
 ya lahzata zid dunuba/wa ya lamahu-sh-shaniba;

barrid ghalil/sabb al- alil
 layastahil,
 fihi an ahdi/wa la yazal
 fi kulli hal/yarju-l-wasal
 wa huwa fi-shshadi.

²⁹Carl Appel, ed. Bernart Von Ventadorn..., p. 63.

³⁰Translation is mine.

³¹Carl Appel, ed. Bernart Von Ventadorn, p. 191.

³²Translation by Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours...,
 p. 127.

³³Carl Appel, ed. Bernart Von Ventadorn..., p. 191.

³⁴Translation by Goldin, p. 129.

³⁵F.Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours..., p. 109.

³⁶Carl Appel, ed. Bernart Von Ventadorn..., p. 220.

³⁷Translation by Goldin, p. 137.

³⁸F.Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours..., p. 9.

CHAPTER II

A SEMANTIC STUDY OF THE TERMS 'WISHAH' AND 'MUWASHSHAH' IN ARABIC LITERATURE; THEIR DEVELOPMENT IN CONNECTION WITH THE JAWARI (OR SLAVE-GIRLS) AS WELL AS WITH THE RISE OF ANDALUSIAN LYRICS; THE VIEW OF REALITY AND STYLE CHARACTERISTIC OF ARABIC POETRY CONTRASTED WITH THAT OF EUROPEAN POETRY.

Originally the term 'muwashshah', from the same root as the noun 'wishah', meant "to be decorated, or to be embellished," and 'wishah' meant an "object of decoration"; in this sense both terms were used in pre-Islamic poetry. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, 'wishah' and its derivative acquire a new signification--they are used as a designation of Andalusian-Arabic lyrics, or Muwashshahs. Because it appears more frequently in literature and has acquired a symbolic meaning, 'wishah' precedes 'muwashshah' as the name of the lyrics. It is important, therefore, to investigate the semantic history of 'wishah', its associations as well as the ideas and motifs which it evolves in connection with the rise of Andalusian lyrics. In this study I shall do my own translation of the texts, and, where other translations are available, I shall supply them in footnotes.

The earliest occurrence of the term 'wishah' is in a famous Mu'allaqah (ode) by the first pre-Islamic poet Imru' ul-Qais (550-540); it appears in the following verse:

The Eastern stars broadly show themselves twinkling/
in heaven like the folds of a bejewelled wishah.¹

Here 'wishah,' described as bejewelled, denotes a sash or scarf which an Arabian woman wears around her bust and waist. In the verse, however, the poet makes no explicit reference to woman; instead, he alludes to her bejewelled wishah only to pair it up with the twinkling stars. He then centers on what appeals to his eye and concocts a correspondence between two aspects of the visible, the twinkle of stars and the glitter of jewels. This is what might be called the simplistic structure of the verse which, like every other verse in the ode, consists of two parts, each complementing the other; there is thus no symbolic dimension to be found beyond the self-contained image.

Other expressions in the verse, "folds of a bejewelled wishah" and "stars broadly show themselves!" combine with the basic image or simile. All together they seem to imply the figure of a woman, for the poet imagines the stars to be spreading across heaven as though they were enfolding it, just as wishah enfolds the body of a woman. This is further confirmed by the

tenth-century commentator, al-Zauzani, who observes that the poet visits his beloved precisely at the time when he sees the stars in heaven; he then likens heaven's stars to a wishah's jewels "because the stars enfold mid-heaven as a wishah enfolds the midriff of a woman."²

It is rather curious why the poet only refers to a woman by implication without explicitly stating so in the verse. The answer in part has to do with the verse's simplistic structure and partly with the pre-Islamic convention-imposed technique of versification. In this connection Ibn Khaldun says:

Each verse, with its combination of words, is by itself a meaningful unit. In a way it is a statement by itself, and independent of what precedes and what follows.³

In other words, had the poet incorporated the image of a woman, he would have to compose another run-on verse-- which is contrary to poetic convention and rules of verse construction. It is therefore important to understand pre-Islamic poetics only because it recurs in the later poetry. At best this poetics evinces a narrow range of conception and lack of aesthetic judgment; it underlines the heuristics of pre-Islamic mind and its approach to

reality; for this mind acquaintance with things in nature and life comes before a judgment of them.

Pre-Islamic poets occupied themselves with the primary operation of the human mind. They were busy giving every visible object a name according to its natural property. 'Wishah', 'camel', 'desert', 'oasis', 'horse', 'wine', 'idol', 'tent'-- all these, among others, are symbols of that operation. For example, 'Antara, a pre-Islamic poet, describes the walk of his horse:

He nimbly trots as though he were tipsy with wine/
like an intoxicated drunkard hurrying along.⁴

Like the verse from Imru'ul-Qais, this verse is made up of two parts, neither part illuminating the other; in fact, the whole is aesthetically indifferent, signifying nothing: one sensory image is matched with another, quite unrelated from our viewpoint. Both poets poeticize physical reality and their delight in it. Another example from Imru'ul-Qais shows that not only a woman's figure looms large in his imagination, but that the verse which contains 'wishah' occurs in a context in which he remembers his dalliance with women (from the same Mu'allaqah quoted above):

Oh yes, many a fine day I've dallied with the white ladies and especially I call to mind a day at Dara Jul jul, and the day I slaughtered for the virgins my riding-beast (and oh, how marvelous was the dividing of its saddle) and the virgins went on tossing its hacked flesh about and the frilly fat like fringes of twisted silk...⁵

'Wishah' occurs a few verses later. Inspired with amorous longings and priapic spasms the poet is in perfect unison with the primary elements of life, with crude and sensuous things in nature. Note the last two lines: the combination of "hacked flesh" and "frilly fat" with "fringes of twisted silk" is a true instance of an imagination immersed in sensory phenomena. It is this immersion in sensory phenomena that determines the choice of metaphors--one object is associated with another, and the entire passage is a mound of crude unassorted imagery. To be sure, if such a literal, or rudimentary representation of reality points to anything of value for us, it is the limited consciousness of the period (as reflected in poetry) as well as its narrow range of perception. In this connection, a distinguished Arab scholar says in reference to pre-Islamic poetry:

In these images we discern the simplicity of life in pre-Islamic Arabia and the workings of a rudimentary imagination. A closer look reveals that these images and metaphors are conceived on the basis of sensory objects being made to resemble other sensory objects; a poetic process which takes place within the primal activities of the eye, touch, and taste. The poets hardly present a mental or psychological image, for example, corresponding to a sensory one; nay, we do not even find a trace of a single abstract or mental image in the entire body of pre-Islamic poetry.⁶

In more comprehensive terms, the founders of Arabic poetry applied themselves to sensory impressions by which they brought together the qualities or relations of individuals and species which are concrete and from these created their poetic genera. They formed almost all words by metaphors drawn from natural objects according to their sensible effects. Their imagination, as this is particularly shown in Imru'ul-Qais, was not in the least abstract, refined, or spiritualized,⁷ but was entirely immersed in the senses and passions and buried in the body. Also it was an imagination specially suited for the springing up again of reminiscences and the working over of what was remembered. This last idea demonstrates the manner in which a pre-Islamic poem begins with the topos of recollection: in the Mu'allaqah of

Imru'ul-Qais, for example, the poet induces the poetic atmosphere with a wistful prologue about an identified ruined terrain, and then quickly, before it disperses, turns to the real business in hand--the days of his dalliance with the ladies. Other poets, such as Labid al-'Amiri, whom we shall discuss next, turns to describing his courage and prowess; others, like Antara, turns to his battles. In the same ode the poet shifts from one topic to another; never is a topic protracted to the full length of the poem.

What we have discussed with regard to Imru'ul-Qais and his world of forms is also true of another poet, Labid al-'Amiri, who lived over a hundred years (560-665); and here we come to the second occurrence of 'wishah'. In one of his poems, in which he boasts of his prowess, we read:

I defended my tribe well-armed riding my steed/
as I wrapped her reins round my shoulders like a wishah.⁸

Here 'wishah' is used in a different context from that which we have encountered in Imru'ul-Qais; there is nothing glittering or bejewelled about it, nor is it employed in the sense of a decorative object (although

this last is implied). The tone of the verse, like that of the whole poem, is serious and heroic in content. Even though he remembers his dalliance with the beloved, nevertheless the poet turns to the real business in hand--to take up arms against a sea of trouble. Indeed, being the spokesman and leader of his tribe, its oracle, its guide in peace, and its champion in war,⁹ the poet tightly wraps his horse's reins round his shoulders and rides to his tribe's defense. This wrapping of the reins round the shoulders parallels the manner in which a lady wraps, or folds, her wishah round her body. Like Imru'ul-Qais, the figure of a woman wearing her wishah looms large in his imagination. The image is thus based on one-to-one correspondence: just a woman wraps her wishah round her body, so do I wrap the horse's reins around me when I ride to do battle.¹⁰ The simile is simplistic in structure and, like all other images in the poem, is immersed in sensible qualities.

In both instances, in Imru'ul-Qais and in Labid al-'Amiri, the term 'wishah' seems to be employed in the sense of decoration, and in both the effect is sensory.

The decorative and the sensory, however, differ from one instance to the other. Labid transposes the term from the purely visual to the modal or formal, that is, the manner in which the folds of the reins mimic those of a lady's wishah. This change is important, for from the beginning it shows the plastic quality of the word and proves it capable of being used in a variety of contexts--once in combination with the stars, and another time in combination with the horse's reins. Dynamic, playful, and plastic, the word undoubtedly had a graceful sound which attracted the poets, and which increasingly continued to do so.

In the poet Antara a contemporary of Labid al-'Amiri, we find for the first time the word 'wishah' used explicitly in connection with a woman. The actual word used is 'muwashshah', the participial form of 'wishah', meaning "to be decorated with a wishah." In a poem in which the poet describes the physical beauty of a woman (most certainly his beloved Ablah) says, referring to her as the "sun" as well as "a tree branch":

The sun (her face) glows like a flame of red fire/
while the tree branch (her figure) is wrapped or
decorated with a wishah.¹¹

The meaning of the verse is this: her face is like the sun, red and shining, and her figure is like the supple branch of a tree so lovely to behold, especially when she wraps herself round the waist with a wishah.

In 'Antara the association of a woman, specifically the beloved, with wishah is realized. But as in Imru'ul-Qais and Lapid, the verse exhibits the same simplistic structure, the same metaphorical language (drawn from a different species of objects). The three poets share the same poetic style and with it the same view of reality; indeed, already these are prefigured in the uses of the term 'wishah' and its derivative. Pre-Islamic style draws its subject matter from the quality of life in the desert, the desert strewn with tents and palm trees and lined with traces of camel tread. It is both a rich and simple life, mysterious and most inspiring to poetry; and the poet transmutes such richness and simplicity into artistic forms or conventions which make up his poetic speech. There is nothing he sees, touches, or tastes that cannot be made into the stuff of poetry. C.J. Lyall puts the matter in this way:

The Arabian ode sets forth before us a series of pictures, drawn with confident skill and first-hand knowledge, of the life its maker lived, of the objects among which he moved, of his horse, his camel, the wild creatures of the wilderness, and of the landscape in the midst of which his life and theirs was set; but all, however loosely they seem to be bound together, are subordinate to one dominant idea, which is the poet's unfolding of himself, his admirations and his hates, his prowess and the freedom of his spirit... No poetry better fulfills Mr. Matthew Arnold's definition of "a criticism of life"; no race has more completely succeeded in drawing itself for all time, in its grandeur and its limitations, its best and its worst. It is in this sense that the poetry of the Pagan Arabs is most truly their history.¹²

The passage contemplates what I have been trying to demonstrate philologically, Accordingly 'wishah' and the view of reality associated with it indicate that pre-Islamic poetry, or "history," reflects no hierarchy of human values;¹³ there is no where to be found, for example, a spiritual view of reality, a figurative description, or even an ideal of happiness. However, the genius of this poetry resides precisely in its denotative style: in the world of sensory experience, of merry sensuality imagination's special delight is to bind together the most remote things in life and nature.

Not only 'wishah' is connected with heaven's

twinkling stars, horse's reins, or tree branch, but also with a variety of objects which became known to us during the early years of the Islamic faith. For example, Umar, the second Caliph after the Prophet, had a sword which was called a 'wishah'.¹⁴ Moreover, during the time of the Prophet, or after his death in 632 (which roughly ends the pre-Islamic period), his wife 'Aishah used to say: God's minister often embraced and kissed me."¹⁵ This statement contains the verbal form of 'wishah', that is, 'yatawashshah' implying both the embrace and the kiss. Other expressions were used; for example, "he decorated himself (tawashshah) with his sword", to indicate an important member of the group, as the Caliph Umar apparently was; and "a woman decorated with her wishah." This last usage of the term seems to me to have been made so that "women of the wishah" may be distinguished from those who wore the veil; for one of the religious canons of the time was that women of the faith should cover their faces and their physical beauty with veils in public¹⁶, such a canon proved to be irrevocably damaging to the poetic muse which depended on women's physical charms).

In 632 the period known as pre-Islamic poetry comes

an end, and a new era begins in literary expression. During this period dominant meaning in the uses of 'wishah' and its derivatives is "decoration or embellishment". These uses are conceived in what might be called corporeal terms, that is, they are connected with various aspects of the body: 'wishah' denotes a sword with which a man decorates himself; it denotes the manner in which the horse's reins are wrapped round the shoulders; the scarf with which the woman decorates her body that is like a tree branch; the embrace and the kiss-- all these different contexts point to a view of reality expressed in a denotative language of signs and objects. The association between 'wishah' and body is especially prefigured in Antara's description of his beloved wearing her wishah round her waist; gradually, as lyrical poetry begins to emerge, 'wishah' and the beloved becomes inextricably associated in the love lyric.

This development begins with 'Umar ibn Abi Rabi'a (d. 712), the poet of love, who lived during the reign of the Umayyad dynasty. In a poem in which he describes a pretty woman he says:

She is like the deer, full-bosomed/and round
her slim belly wears a wishah.¹⁷

In another verse he says of Zaynab, one of his many
beloved:

Like the deer, her arms are full and her thighs
round/ she walks wearing her wishah round her slim
waist.¹⁸

And again:

Her haunches are like the wavy sand dune/pretty
and seductive, she wears her wishah round her
slim belly.¹⁹

In all these verses 'wishah' and the beloved are significantly related, so that no description of her physical beauty or sexual appeal is complete without a mention of her wishah. Indeed, even when the poet is not describing his beloved physically but only speaking of the nature of his relationship with her or what they do when they are together, he still refers to her wishah; in another poem the poet had finally met his beloved and now being together describes what went on:

I had my satisfaction of her; I kissed her
mouth and lips, and we talked at length; then I kissed
her more and wrapped her silky wishah round us both
and I said: I do not wish to think of tomorrow,
for it brings tears to my eyes.²⁰

It is clear that in 'Umar 'wishah' becomes a symbol around which other images crystallize, images that describe the beloved physically, and parade the lover's passion in frankly sexual overtones. The style is thus part of the tradition of which we have spoken earlier. In 'Umar's poetry we witness the continuity of pre-Islamic artistic genius and its fundamental view of reality: there is a total immersion in the primary elements of life and nature, explored through the senses and expressed in a vigorous and natural language. For example, the beloved is like a deer; her haunches are like a sand dune--what a graphic image! The ample fleshiness beneath her wishah could hardly be better erotically expressed.

In such poetry the kind of passion characteristic of Troubadour poetry is markedly absent; that ideal of happiness-- a happiness grounded on successful romantic love--is nowhere to be found in 'Umar's poetry. We do not know how love affects him psychologically, nor do we know the actual sentiment of the beloved. The beloved whom 'Umar describes remains without her individual characteristics; her personality does not shine through; her feelings are concealed from us, and we are not able to

judge whether or not she represents an ideal of happiness. The only view we have of her, however, is her physical beauty; she is the quintessence of eroticism. When the poet yearns for his beloved, he only expresses a wistful longing to be near her physically, and the passion underlying such a longing constitutes in large measure the erotic quality of Arabic love poetry.

Erotic poetry, with its frank sexuality, comes into being with 'Umar ibn Abi Rabi'a whose influence in later poets is far-reaching. It is this kind of poetry that Islamic poleemics fulminated, declaring it an anathema. But the poet's delight in sensory phenomena, his intimate relation with things in life and nature, and the poetic forms which this relation evolved never succumbed to religious rigorism. For despite impassioned and prophetic feeling—the oneness of Allah (God) and his attributes, the ethical duties of man, and the coming retribution—the playful and the erotic in poetry remained strong currents. Paradox though it may seem, the holy Qur'an, by enjoining women to guard their private parts and cover their adornments,²¹ helped strengthen these currents. For one thing, the rigorism of the faith did not foster

new themes or fresh subject matter worthy of poetic expression; for another, despite its universalism, it did not allow for poetics which, as in medieval Europe, could cut across both philosophy and theology. It was thus inevitable that pre-Islamic poetry should flow unabated down the ages with its two powerful themes, the inherent activities of the senses and the appeal to physical charm of women. These two themes were further fed by various tributaries; the Umayyad dynasty provided the main tributary, for its true sentiments were pagan and during its reign the poet of love made his full appearance,²² as this is evidenced in 'Umar ibn Abi Rabi'a.

This main tributary came from Persia and Byzantium in the wake of the Umayyad conquests. The slave-girls, or Jawari, who poured into Arabia from these conquered lands, soon became part of the town's life as well as that of the court. With the Umayyads in power religion and all other features of life had little or nothing to do with the desert; desert dweller, including the poets, moved into towns and participated in whatever took place in them-- material growth and prosperity caused people to seek those aspects of civilization that were lacking in the desert.

To be sure, an atmosphere of luxury and success in worldly occupations and indulgence in worldly desires set in. To this atmosphere, the cultivation of literature, music, song, and other artistic and intellectual activities added a saturnalian aspect. At the center of this saturnalia stood the Jawari, or slave-girls who proved to be of lasting influence on the new trends of literary expression, particularly the love lyric.

The special role of Jawari was to afford orgiastic pleasure and entertainment; they sang and danced in public taverns and they entertained at court. They combined physical charm and personal education, spoke various languages, even composed their own songs and wrote their own poetry. At the Umayyad court, and especially the Abbasid's beginning in 750, the Jawari were to play a significant role in literature, song, and dance, as the following passage by the Arab scholar, Karam Bustani, indicates:

The art of singing began during the first half of the eighth century with two famous Jawari, not with Arab free women, who were owned by the Caliph Mu'awiya ibn Bakr. Furthermore, they were the first to make a means of living--something which was uncharacteristic of Arab women, but which was peculiar to the Jawari who were brought from the lands of Persia and Byzantium.²³

During the Abbasid reign, in the words of another Arab scholar, al-Ghazali,

The society of Jawari had a tremendous influence on literature. The great poets of the period, like Abu Nwas, Abbas ibn al-Ahnaf, Ibn al-Rumi, and others were irresistibly drawn into this glamorous society with its magical world and incomparable beauty.²⁴

In Spain, as Karam Bustani tells us, the Jawari were not less influential.²⁵ At courts they were specially sought by rival princes and Caliphs who made them part of their harems; in public they were the town's main center of entertainment and pleasure. Also private families gave lodging to Jawari as part of the Moslem male's right to own slave-girls.²⁶ (Ibn Hazm was raised and cared for by Jawari at home. He fell in love with one at the age of twenty, whence his conception of love derived; a far cry, to be sure, from the Troubadour conception of love which had noble women at its center). On the other hand, the poets, who moved in the orbit of court life, composed love poems in which they expressed their love for the Jawari. These poems were to become part of their repertoire of song and dance at court. Besides, the voluptuous beauty of gardens and the sophisticated culture

at the courts of al-Andalus provided a congenial atmosphere for the development of erotic poetry; here it was cast in moulds unknown to the East, but, like the East, the fair Jawari and their glamorous world formed its main substance.²⁷

In this new historical context the term 'wishah' reappears in poetry. Not until the Jawari, or slave-girls, had become rooted in Moslem society, not until they had afforded the poets fresh incentives for literary expression, did the term 'wishah' reappear in conjunction with the Jariya, or the beloved.²⁸ In the East, Abu NUWAS (d.810), who fell in love with a Jariya called Jinan, says:

O my friend I must complain to you about this pretty-eyed lady of the wishah.²⁹

Other poets such as Ghaylan ibn Aqaba says of the lady whose name is Mayya:

When once I saw Mayya's face, I thought I became dizzy like one struck with lightning/O mayya! You think this is easy and you are pretty; but O dhat al-wishah I shall have my privilege of your love.²⁰

The expression "dhat al-wishah", meaning the lady who wears the wishah, persisted in later poetry; Sakhr ibn Ju'd of the ninth century says:

They were cruel to dhat al-wishah, and I had no luck with dhat al wishah.³¹

Also al-Mutanabbi, a poet of the tenth century, describes a woman wearing two wishahs instead of one.³² Al-Mutanabbi's verse is translated by R.P.A. Dozy:

L'ampleur des ses hanches fait que son manteau ne peut toucher son corps, de sorte que le manteau reste bien éloigné de ses deux ceintures.³³

Dozy quotes this verse for the purpose of defining 'wishah' and the taste of Arab men in the women who wear it:

Pour comprendre ce vers, il font se rappeler que les arabes aiment beaucoup, chez les femmes, l'ampleur des hanches.³⁴

To be sure, we have seen an apt example of this taste in 'Umar abi Rabi'a who likens the woman's haunches to a sand dune. Dozy further observes that "les poètes arabes se servent de l'expression dhat al-wishah pour désigner une femme. Un vers d'Ibn Hamdis le Sicilien est conçu en ces termes:

Donnez-nous le vin, après l'avoir reçu de la main de celle qui porte le wishah.³⁵

The reference to a Jariya serving wine at a tavern in Sicily is unmistakable.

These examples clearly show that 'wishah' has acquired a new signification: it is closely bound up with

the lady, or Jariya to whom the poet addresses his ardent love. Because love is often unrequited this address normally embodies wistful longings, sorrowful outcries, and turgid sighs, not unlike the ancient lovelorn poet who reminisces about the traces of the beloved and bygone dalliance. In both cases the poet feels sorry for himself. The tendency to cry heartily, inherent in Arabic love and therefore in the lover's complaint is the same for pre-Islamic poets as for later poets. The only difference, however, is a sense of immediacy, or presentness that is lacking in the experience of the ancient poet. In pre-Islamic poetry passions of love remain in the background, and love songs celebrate a lost cause and a thing of the past. The contrary is true for eighth-century poetry as well as later poetry; here passions of love are close to the poet's experience, and his love songs grow out of the immediate present (Abu Nuwas and Ghaylan write their love lyrics because they are in love with Jinan and Mayya). This shift of emphasis from the content of a past memory to present experience results from diverse historical events some of which we have briefly outlined earlier; these have led the poets to view the world differently.

Unlike the ancients, the new poets have no sense of belonging to a tribe; they do not ride to do battles, nor do they boast of their prowess and amorous exploits; and they do not praise the accomplishments of their individual tribes. Instead they fall in love right then and there, or they praise their immediate patrons; above all, they court the lady of the wishah who is usually a Jariya for at the slightest glance of her eye; as she walks by trailing her sensuous perfumes, their hearts flutter with wondrous love and delight.

The sense of immediacy characteristic of the new love poetry which is often touched off by the glances of a Jariya is nowhere better illustrated than in an anecdote from Ibn Hazm's book, The Ring of the Dove. The poet of the anecdote is al-Ramadi, one of the early writers of Muwashshah. One day when he was passing a place where ladies were wont to congregate, he espied a young girl who "entirely captured my heart, so that all my limbs were penetrated by the love of her". He therefore turned aside from going to the mosque and set himself instead to following her. She observed him and accordingly went up to him and said:

"Why are you walking behind me?" He told her how sorely smitten he was with her, and she replied, "Have done with that! Do not seek to expose me to shame; you have no prospect of achieving your purpose, and there is no way to your gratifying your desire." He countered, "I am satisfied merely to look at you." "That is permitted to you." Then he asked her, "My lady, are you a freewoman, or are you a slave?" "I am a slave", she told him. "And to whom do you belong?" he asked her. To this she retorted, "By Allah, you are likelier to know what inhabits the seventh heaven than the answer to that question. Seek not the impossible!" "My lady", he begged, "Where may I see you again?" "Where you saw me today", she replied, "at the same hour every Friday."³⁶

The charm of the scene is its simplicity and freshness, its direct and unsophisticate unfolding. How different from the setting at a Provencal court where love's end and the lover's behavior are in essence determined or defined by the courtesy and ethics of a courtly class represented by the lady. Arabic love does not emanate from or exist by a supreme reality, nor is it defined by a prudent social class. At best it takes only a market place, or a bazaar where a Jariya happens to be passing by for a poet to feel smitten with love of her, as the anecdote tells us. In fact, the anecdote is an authentic picture of how love is born in the heart of Arabia, East or West.

As in the West, in Cordova, al-Ramadi was smitten with love of a Jariya, so was his predecessor, Abu Nuwas, in the East. In Abu Nuwas the love relation between the poet and a Jariya becomes the nucleus for later love poetry. In a short lyric entitled "The Company of Jawari" ('Ishq al-Jawari) he says:

A better place than the one in dhi Qar is a
 wine tavern in al-Anbar,
 And the smelling of perfume and Narjis (an odorous
 plant is livelier than the tending of the flocks,
 And to be in the company of Jawari is dearer to my
 heart than being at a ruined terrain or pursuing
 deceptive merges;
 O the playing of the lute whose strings send out
 their music mingled with the freshness of sensuous
 young girls.³⁷

Abu Nuwas is the father of the short lyric, especially the love lyric. With his celebration of love, wine, and Jawari he launches his attacks on ancient poetry as well as the poets who tend flocks and stand before ruined terrains pursuing deceptive mirages. In this Abu Nuwas acutely voices the temper of the age which is one of lute playing, singing and dancing and drinking. The main source of his passionate love poetry is the beloved Jariya, Jinan, as we have seen earlier. In fact, Arab scholars are one in the opinion that without Jinan Arabic literature would be deplorably wanting in lyrical poetry.³⁸

Al-Abbas ibn al-Ahmaf (d.806), a contemporary of Abu Nuwas, is another famous lyric poet who celebrates his love for a Jariya called Fauz. In a short poem he tells us how he met her at a tavern:

A Jariya most renowned for her beauty born to a well-known family;
I drank the nectar from her lips, O the taste of that nectar;
O Fauz may I ask a favor of you, to see you before I die?³⁹

When Fauz did not grant him his wish, the grieving poet intoned:

The love of Jawari is the business of none but me, for only the slaves love the Jawari,
They are inconstant, they are liars and breachers of every promise;
(Love, my friend, if you can a freewoman who honors her father and mother);
But I have none other than a tyrant, a cause of grief to me from beginning to end.⁴⁰

In the context of the new short lyric the appearance of 'wishah' is frequent, and that is as it should be, for the poet's delight in describing a woman's adornments and her private parts is instinctually bound up with her sensuous 'wishah'. This is true in the case of Abu Nuwas, as we have seen. Another instance from the same poet occurs when he goes to a tavern for a drink of wine; he enters the tavern and sees young

women serving wine and says:

And our cup came carried by a lovely woman whose
slim waist was wrapped in a wishah.⁴¹

Moreover, in a short lyric al-Abbas ibn al-Ahnaf addresses
his beloved Jariya, Fauz, saying:

O Fauz! gladden my heart and give me your girdle,
ring, or your wishah; for when I am in the orchard
alone you remind me of the fresh odor of tangerine
and apple.⁴²

The rise of the short love lyric, including wine
poetry, at whose center is the beloved Jariya, gave the
term 'wishah' a plasticity that was not possible in the
earlier poetry. To be sure, this plastic quality is re-
flected in a variety of contexts, some of which do not
directly refer to the beloved. Yet even here the use of
'wishah' is hardly possible without its associate, the
figure of a woman, being mentioned. For example, in a
short lyric Abu Nuwas says:

I poured a sip of coffee in the morning in
a glass, and before mixing it with water it looked
like a woman without her jewels; but upon mixing it
with water the mixture invested it with a wishah.⁴³

Here 'wishah' is used metaphorically to describe the little
bubbles (which resemble jewels on a wishah) appearing on
the surface when water is added. The meaning of the two

verses is simply (but awkwardly) that coffee without water is like a woman without her bejewelled wishah. The image is aesthetically indifferent and structurally simplistic. Note, for example, the poet composes two verses in order to present an image made up of two sensory objects: bejewelled wishah and coffee bubbles, no where a creative instinct is better illustrated.

Another example is to be found in Ibn al-Mu'tazz (861-908), a famous lyric poet. His use of 'wishah' is a little more intricate than that in Abu Nuwas' passage. In a short lyric the poet refers to the beloved in masculine and feminine terms simultaneously:

And the beloved is a soldier who slays his victims with no weapon in hand/when he holds the cup in his hand, it looks like a bride covered with pearls as jewels cover a wishah/she asked if my love would ever perish, and I said only when your beauty and charm perish.⁴⁴

Again 'wishah' is here used metaphorically to describe the bubbles of wine as though they were pearls glittering like jewels on a wishah. Notice, however, that the passage consists of a torrent of unsorted imagery: the beloved is like a soldier slaying his victims; then a shift of emphasis occurs in the second verse in which not

the beloved, but the wine glass which forms glittering bubbles around its edge resembling pearls, moreover, look like jewels on a wishah; and finally we come to the description of the physical beauty of the beloved.

When we compare this passage with any of Guillaume's poems, for example, or with Troubadour poetry in general, we then observe how in the latter a single thought usually unfolds in one single image throughout the poem. In our passage, however, no one thought or image is protracted to the full length of the piece; from the beloved "as a soldier" through the wine cup "as a bride covered with pearls" to her physical beauty there is little or no continuity of thought. This stylistic phenomenon is true for almost every passage we have quoted earlier, a phenomenon which is in line with the tradition of the founders of Arabic poetry; it demonstrates the primary operation of a mind wholly immersed in sensible effects of things in nature and life. Sensory experience is transmuted into a disarray of imagery in which the relation of one image to another follows a descending gradation.

One can scarcely avoid a feeling of awe and admiration for such a marvellous artistic spirit; it is

simply a form of genius in which the poet exhibits his indifference to the progression of imagery is made; he subordinates his judgment of things in nature and life to his delight in a juxtaposition of them in his poetry. Indeed, for an Arab poet life meant total absorption in living; he felt no need for thought or reflection on the aims and ends of life; he was no philosopher or moralist bent on rationalizing his existence. At best his was an outright acceptance of life characterized by a blissful ignorance of the causes of things; he awoke every morning as if it were the first day of his life. To understand this distinct 'forma mentis' of an Arab poet I would like to give in contrast the following example from Ibn Hazm:

For sure, when anything we see/of its own self sole cause to be that being, being of that thing/lives ever undiminishing. But when we find its origin/ is other than the thing it's in, our losing that which made it be/annihilates it instantly.⁴⁵

This is philosophic verse par excellence quite extraneous to the native genius of Arabia; it lacks authenticity not because it wants the proper imagination or native thought, but because it derives from his education in Aristotelian dialectics.⁴⁶ However, it is a noble attempt to fuse

the spirit of Greek culture with that of Arabia, and Arabic literature no doubt pays Ibn Hazm tribute in honor of his excellent work. But that is not the true genius of Arabic poetry. What is natural and intrinsic to Arabic genius is an imagination that plunges deep into particulars; it never soars up to universals, but remains submerged in the senses.

The Arab poet speaks in a language of simple comparisons, similes, and imagery without the genera and species which are necessary for the proper definition of things. When he describes his beloved, he hardly sees her as an individual, a person with certain accomplishments such as education or nobility of mind. So long as she is physically attractive his comparisons flock to describe the mole on her cheek, the whiteness of her teeth, or the odor of her breath. His love is in essence dependent on these qualities, and he yearns to satisfy his desires of her. If, however, she does not requite his love, he accuses her of being a tyrant; he then blames her for his grief and misery and wallows in self-pity. The dignity of feeling even when the possibility of fulfillment is denied is hardly preserved. It thus follows that no poet, including

Ibn Hazm, ever reflects, as Guillaume does, for example, that in order to be a successful lover 'he has to look for the causes of his failure in himself, and he must know the bitterness of guilt and despair."⁴⁷ How could he, one may ask, if neither social nor aesthetic obligations are imposed on him?

The plastic quality which begins to accrete to 'wishah' continues in the ninth and tenth centuries. This quality further manifests itself in the appearance of the verbal form of 'wishah', 'washshah', in two poets, Ibn al-Mu^ttazz and al-Humadani (d.1007); the former uses it to mean "to cover with a veil",⁴⁸ the latter "to decorate with a sword."⁴⁹ The emergence of the verbal form of 'wishah' does not change its original meaning of 'decoration or embellishment.' However, because of the plasticity in the usage of 'wishah' and its derivatives decoration and embellishment may also signify ornate style, and therefore 'wishah' can be used to define a new way of writing, or a new technique in literary style characterized by fine diction and clever expression. In fact, this is precisely what occurred in the eleventh century, for in the introduction to his book, Maqamat al-Hariri (The Assemblies of al-Hariri)

al-Hariri says:

I present fifty Maqamas which contain serious language and lightsome, and combine refinement with dignity of style, and brilliance with jewels of eloquence, and beauties of literature with its rarities, besides verses of the Qur'an wherewith I adorn them (washshah) and choice metaphors, and Arabic proverbs that I interspersed, and literary elegancies and grammatical riddles...⁵⁰

It is here apparent that 'washshah', the transitive form of 'tawashshah', signifies the new style of literary prose introduced in the eleventh century. Ornate, metaphoric, rhymed, figurative, and anecdotal this style was specifically employed in intellectual or literary stunts. But al-Hariri insists that moral teaching is equally his aim. To instruct and to please through anecdotal narrative are therefore special characteristics of al-Hariri's Maqamah.

From a historical viewpoint this ornate style was the outcome of a general decay which set in around the turn of the eleventh century in the East. The causes which led to this decay are far too complex to be discussed here; however, a brief word is necessary. During the second half of the tenth century, after the fall of the glorious Abbasid rule and the ensuing political upheavals, a dearth of subject matter came over Arabic

literature; the enchanting world of Jawari which gave it vitality, effect, and coherence disappeared after the tenth century; and the Arab poets began to look to pre-Islamic Mu'allaqat as models of literary excellence. The poets of the tenth and eleventh centuries set out to imitate the ancients; in effect, in the words of Garcia Gomez,

The vision of Arabic poetry became extremely narrow, for it confined itself to literary norms and forms quite incompatible with the spirit of the time. Consequently, poetic expression, by reason of this uncritical imitation of the ancients, waxed prolix, obscure, and mannered to the point of absurdity.⁵¹

In retrospect al-Hariri's work can be seen as a product of this new mannerism, as he himself indirectly refers to it in another passage of his introduction:

It happened that in some literary salons where literature was once read and discussed with instruction and pleasure--but now its brightness has dimmed and its vitality and strength have been sapped--a mention was made of Maqamah whose inventor was al-Hamadani...⁵²

While al-Hariri alludes to the low status of literature which we have just briefly reviewed, his intention is to perfect the form of Maqamah, redeem literature's dignity of expression and rescue it from decadence. The result, however, is a mannered style; yet it is this style which

introduces a new signification into the term 'wishah', specifically its derivative 'washshah'.

In the West, in al-Andalus, a similar mannered and ornate style characterized literary composition in the eleventh century.⁵³ But slowly toward the end of the century and the beginning of the twelfth we begin to witness the emergence of a new style of poetic expression, less ornate and devoid of moral teaching. The founders, or perhaps the promoters of this style, unlike the preceding generations, responded openly and fully to the historical situation in which they found themselves; for they felt they were in direct contact with a rich culture which offered them new possibilities. They were able to evolve an entirely different concept of literary composition in which eventually the term 'wishah' was to acquire its permanent designation, namely the strophic lyrics. For us this designation is already adumbrated in al-Hariri's use of the term 'washshah' which, as we have seen, seems to fit in well with the style and intention of Maqamah: narrative, poetry, sermon, proverbs, qur'anic verse, and rhymed prose are brought together in perfect continuous rhythm. Indeed, the idea of a balanced mixture, or

variety of style in a literary form becomes part of the new content of the word in this new content. Now we shall have to turn to the West in order to learn of the fortunes of 'wishah' in the literature of al-Andalus.

Al-Andalus did not immediately produce poets of great distinction. There are not a few poets of the late eighth century and of the ninth century whose names are recorded and samples of whose compositions have been preserved; but they are no more than competent. Indeed, many of them were princes of the Umayyad house who owed to their rank and station the attention they have received from literary historians. It was not until late in the Umayyad period-when Cordova had been a center of learning and the court offered worthy patronage to men of talent and of learning-that al-Andalus produced two men of letters of lasting reputation.

Ibn Abd Rabbihi (860-940), a poet whose amatory verses are not without charm, is famous above all for his literary thesaurus, al-Iqd al-Farid (The Peerless Necklace), which proved immensely popular for many centuries both in the East and in the West. He took for his model the work compiled in the East by Ibn Qutaybah, and drew his material

mostly from the East.⁵⁴ In fact, the distinguished Arab scholar abd al-Hamid 'Ibadi describes the thesaurus in these words:

It is surprising that the author of al- Iqd al-Farid includes only a minimal quantity of verse from Andalusian literature; the reader, to be sure, feels as though the book were composed in the heart of the East, not in al-Andalus. Moreover, if anything can be learned from the compilation of this book, it may be that the intellectual atmosphere, in which Andalusian men of letters lived, was still purely Eastern, hardly affected by the new environment.⁵⁵

But with regard to one long chapter in the book 'Ibadi's opinion is ill-informed; for he completely disregards Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi's attempt to deal with new poetic structures which in prosody deviate from the tradition of classical Arabic system of meters. To be sure, Ibn Abd Rabbihi develops these structures out of the classical system and introduces into Andalusian literature the tradition and technique of the short lyric. Besides, in the course of our study of the term 'wishah' it will become apparent that a new spirit of poetic expression is burgeoning in al-Andalus, even within the context of what 'Ibadi calls 'minimal Quantity of verse contributed by Ibn Abd Rabbihi.

In al- Iqd al-Farid as a whole the term

'tawashshah' occurs only once; and since the book is a collection of other poets' work and very little of the author's, the term significantly occurs in one of the author's own short poems describing nature in spring:

Oh flower garden in which spring's hand has
formed collars of flowers, by singles and by twos,
Quickened by showers of passing evening clouds,
made fertile by showers of cooling morning clouds
Dressed up in bejewelled mirage (the entire expression
means 'tawashshahat'), wrapped up in a cloak of
light not spun by hands,
Covered with robes embroidered with blossoms,
on carpets woven from a most precious cloth!⁵⁶

Notice the metaphors, "spring's hand, collars of flowers, dressed up in bejewelled mirage, cloak of light", etc.; the English translation matches, or brings out the equivalent metaphors in the original. These metaphors are drawn from the poet's immediate experience with nature; in their concreteness they reflect his sensuous impressions of the garden—there is no other but immediate sensory reality being represented, neither a symbolic nor a supreme reality is in view. Although the language is still on the low plateau of sensory phenomena as we find it in Eastern poetry, there is in this poem a new and refreshing sensuality which can hardly be seen in the poetry of the East. To be sure, from crude elemental expression we come to the flourishing of a

new poetic sensibility in which the Orient and Spain, East and West, unite. In this context the verbal form 'tawashshahat', while its underlying meaning of decoration still carries over from Eastern notions, acquires the signification of diversity. Opposed to the basic one-to-one simile, as we find 'wishah' used in Eastern poetry, in the new context the term implies the idea of mixture or amalgamation. The glittering beauty of sunlight as it falls on diverse kinds of flowers makes the garden what it is in the poem; for without these variously assorted flowers the garden cannot be described as "bejewelled or embroidered." In this way the poet's use of the term frees it from its earlier narrow signification. In fact, one may go so far as to suggest that in 'Abd Rabihi the use of 'tawashshah' counterpoints that of 'washshaha' in al-Hariri: while the meaning of each term is relevant to a specific context, both terms have in common the idea of mixture or amalgamation.

In Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi's poem on the garden the idea of 'wishah', more specifically of 'tawashshahat', signifies a broadening of the concept of decoration. Although it is the only poem in the book which deals with such a theme,

nevertheless it is a milestone in the early development of Andalusian literature: Al-'Iqd al-Farid is mainly a collection of Eastern poems on various subjects, and as a historical document it is composed during a period of unlimited reliance on Eastern models. Yet the poem on the garden alone inaugurates an entire tradition which Henri Pérès characterizes as "la peinture des jardins est peut-être le plus familier aux écrivains arabes d'Espagne."⁵⁷

Péres goes on to describe this peculiarly Andalusian poetic genre:

Le genre, qui a reçu le nom de rawdīyyat (de rawd, pl. riyad: jardin), fournirait à lui seul l'objet d'une longue étude. L'Andalousie et l'Espagne tout entière semblent n'avoir été qu'un vaste jardin où les fleurs et les arabes déployaient leurs couleurs les plus séduisantes et leurs frondaisons les plus fraîches. Ce thème du jardin est d'ailleurs inséparable de celui du printemps et des premières pluies fécondantes qui marquent la fin de l'hiver et l'arrivée des premières chaleurs. L'Orient, avec presque tous les poètes, Abbasis et surtout al-Buhturi, Ibn al-Mu'tazz, aḡ-Çanawbari, aḡ-Charif ar-Radī et Mi'yar ad-Dailami, avaient déjà abordé ce genre. Mais les Andalous le reprennent en y apportant une très grande ingéniosité, et ils arrivent à composer des vers originaux, non pas tant par les idées, mais par des mots plus expressifs ou par des métaphores plus évocatrices.⁵⁸

Péres' passage is a later insight into the distant quality of twelfth-century Andalusian literature. Yet in its clear formulation and lucid style the passage depicts certain

elements already manifest in Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi's poem on the garden, especially the poem's metaphoric language and its choice of words. And it is in this quality "évocatrice" that we can understand the significance of the word 'tawashshahat'.

The quality "évocatrice" which P'érès aptly uses to describe a distinct theme of Andalusian poetry, namely "la peinture des jardins," is to a large extent found in Eastern poetry under various guises. Indeed, we have had more than one occasion to point out this evocative quality in Eastern poetry. For example, Abu Nuwas, who in two verses evokes the image of a woman wearing her bejewelled wishah through his description of the coffee bubbles which glitter when water is added; or Umar ibn Abi Rabi' a who evokes the sexual appeal of a woman's haunches through the image of a sand dune. Numerous examples from Andalusian poetry, as we shall see below, may be compared with others from Eastern poetry. In both bodies of poetry one poetic phenomenon remains constant, namely the sensory quality of expression, a quality which will cling to Arabic verse as long as it lives. In 'Abd Rabbihi the garden still appeals to the poet's eye: he simply describes what he sees. The

result is a stock metaphoric description; signs and objects are brought together, not to express personified concepts or abstract ideas, but to create a sort of uniformity among sensible particulars: blossoms, spring, light, flowers, clouds, carpets, mirage, together with other metaphors do not rise above immediate and sensible effects.

Despite the charming effects of the new environment Andalusian poets could not shake off the shackles of classical forms. In the early centuries they copy the Easterners in all manners of form and content, and like the Easterners they never aspire to anything in the nature of depth of meaning or of intellectual conception. Poetic imagination remains a tool for concocting metaphors, images, and similes; the purpose is to outwit the Easterners in embellishment and clever expression (this is true even in a poet like Ibn Hazm who claims that his poetic virtuosity is unusual in Arabic poetry, for he can compare three and even four pairs of things in a single verse).⁵⁹

The poet who represents such a heavy reliance on Eastern models is Ibn Hani' al-Andlausi (937-972); he is the immediate successor to poetic fame after Ibn Abd Rabbihi. To be sure, with Ibn Hani', not only do we have

a perfect example of arabesque and mannered style of poetry, but we also hark back to pre-Islamic times. In him the use of 'wishah' illustrates this return to ancient poetry. In a poem in which he praises king Mu'izz two forms of 'wishah' are used in the same verse, which remind us of Labid al-Amiri:

The kingdom of fate was visible in every path
where death loomed inevitable/but my king, dhu-l-fukhar
in hand (name of a sword), decorated (washshaha) his
august mien in a manner (tawshihan) which drove
death away.⁶⁰

This is the pre-Islamic spirit par excellence at work in al-Andalus of the tenth century. The poetry of Ibn Hani' derives exclusively from ancient forms and abounds in obscure terminology, hyperbole, and mannerism. Indeed, of this poetry in general the poet and critic Abul ala el-Ma'arri, the contemporary of Ibn Hani' in the East says:

His poetry is like a mill grinding blocks of stone;
so much noise and so little sense is there in his verse.⁶¹

The poetry of Ibn Hani' is one of many instances in which Eastern poetic forms are revived and imitated in al-Andalus of the tenth and eleventh centuries.^{61a} In a different content of poetic expression, that is, in a content other than that of heroic battles, prowess, and eulogies of kings, and in a contemporary of Ibn Hani', we

find the term 'wishah' used in exactly the same signification as in the East. In the East of ninth century we have seen that 'wishah' is specially used in combination with the lady who wears a decorative scarf; the lady is usually a jariya, or slave-girl whose charm and glamor have become direct inspiration of love poetry. In al-Andalus the poet Ibn Shuhayd, in a poem which shows an Epicurean love of wine and women, uses 'wishah' in reference to a Jariya:

Her face is like the full rising moon/and her
wishah seems to envelop a fresh pearl (her body).⁶²

In this verse the use of 'wishah', in so far as Jawari are concerned is in line with Eastern tradition of love poetry. 'Wishah' and the metaphors, "face like the moon" and "body like a fresh pearl", are mechanically taken over from Eastern sources, and are instances of that delight in sensory phenomena that is the genius of Arabic imagination (similar instances will recur in Muwashshahs, as we shall see).

During the same period, or the beginning of the eleventh century certain derivatives of 'wishah' begin to appear in poetry, such as 'wusshha' or 'washshaha'. Already an instance of such derivatives occurs in Ibn 'Ahd

Rabbihi's poem on the garden where 'tawashshahat' signifies the idea of mixture in the sense of decoration. This idea reappears in another poet, Ibn al-Ramadi (926-1022), who uses it as follows: once the poet was in prison where he fell in love with a black youth of whom he says:

They shaved his hair and he became ugly/ because they feared that his hair would become wushha (black and white).⁶³

Al-Ramadi, we must remember, is the poet about whom Ibn Hazm related the anecdote concerning his love for a slave-girl (see above, p. 95), and who is one of the early precursors in the art of Muwashshah. The idea of mixture also appears in the poet Ibn Mas'ud al-Bijani, and like al-Ramadi, al-Bijani fell in love with a youth in prison whose face he describes:

His face was made of white pure silver/and beauty decorated (washshashat) his cheeks with golden hue.⁶⁴

These various uses of 'wishah' and its derivatives during the late tenth century and early eleventh century to not deviate from the general concept of decoration; whether these uses have to do with a woman, the description of a garden, or the description of a youth, the same general concept is maintained throughout. Toward the middle of the

eleventh century, however, 'wishah' begins to take precedence over its derivatives. In the poet Abu Ishaq al-Ilbiri (d.1067) the word is used in the following verse:

Time hoisted the flag of my old age/only to
enshroud me and so to carry off my wishah from me.⁶⁵

Garcia Gomez interprets the verse as follows: "el poeta se exhorta a si mismo al arrepentimiento en la vejez."⁶⁶ To be sure, the poet repents his young wanton days of wine carousing and dalliance with women; and the expression "carry off my wishah from me" is a metaphor for his lady of the wishah. Ibn Zaydun (d. 1070), the famous poet-lover of al-Andalus uses 'wishah' in this way:

I saw the sun rising through the mountain
path/and the branch of ban a supple plant (used
as a metapor for the lady) walked by dragging
her wishah along.⁶⁷

In late eleventh century the poet Ibn Zaqqaq says, as Garcia Gomez lucidly translates his verses:

Con su vista pasé la noche en la mas
deliciosa situación: abrazado por la aurora
hasta la aurora/su brazos eran tehabrés en
mis hombros; mis brazos eran un cenidor
(wishah) en su talle.⁶⁸

Henri Pérès tells us that the Caliph al-Mu'tamid (1068-1091), being away from Seville on an expedition, remembers one of his Jawari and writes to her expressing his ardent

love in a poem:

Il baiserait la pourpre du visage qui est
sous la voile et il embrasserait ce qui est
au-dessus de la ceinture (wishah) jusqu'au
au collier.⁶⁹

And the poet Ibn Hamdis, referring to a Jariya serving wine at a wine tavern, says, as Dozy translates:

Donnez-nous le vin, après l'avoir reçu de la
main de celle qui porte le wishah.⁷⁰

In all these instances the term 'wishah' slowly gains importance as it is continually used in association with the beloved who is most often the Jariya. In fact, it is this association which in part underlies the rise of Andalusian strophic lyrics,

We have seen earlier in the anecdote by Ibn Hazm that the poet al-Ramadi (d. 1022) falls in love with a Jariya; in fact, he falls in love with a youth as well. Al-Ramadi is also one of the early precursors in the art of Muwashshah, as the historian, Ibn Bassam, tells us in his Kitab al-Dhakhira. Thus the association between this early writer of Muwashshah (although none of his lyrics survived) and the Jariya lays the foundation upon which Andalusian strophic forms were in part erected. This fact is further confirmed by another poet, 'Ubda ibn Ma'

al-Sama' (d. 1044-54), who is a link in the chain of development of Muwashshah, and who composes a lyric about a Jariya; it begins as follows:

My love of Mahah (a name) one of the most beautiful Jawari is a kind of worship/for she is like the moon rising in the most perfect heavens, whose beauty is matchless.⁷²

The fact that 'Ubada composes this love lyric about a Jariya makes possible the association between 'wishah' and the strophic lyric. Indeed, this is precisely what occurred during the second half of the eleventh century when the use of 'wishah' began to gain ground in poetic expression. Thus in late eleventh century 'wishah' appears as a designation of the Andalusian strophic forms; in a short poem called Mahbubah (The Beloved) the poet Obn 'Ammar (1031-1095) says in reference to a beloved who is a Jariya, using masculine terms:⁷³

He looks with eyes like the Narjis (a plant), he exhales an odor like the Sawsan (a plant) and smile with teeth like camomile/he points to his earring and listens to the melody of wishah.⁷⁴

In this poem (although not a Muwashshah) the reference to the strophic lyric is unmistakable; for the expression 'melody of wishah' indicates that music and song are integral parts of the lyric's structure. In this con-

nection, in a chapter called "The Influence of Jawari in Literature", Karam Bustani says concerning the art of song and Jawari in al-Andalus:

The Andalusian women were not terribly less fond of singing than their sisters in the East. The natural scenery surrounding al-Andalus and the people's basic delight in a life of leisure, luxury, and glamor were strong factors in the development of the art of song; so much so indeed that this art soon was cast in poetic forms called Muwashshas.⁷⁵

The close connection between Jawari and song, on one hand, and Jawari and the rise of Muwashshah, on the other, is further evidenced by the poet al-Abyad, a contemporary of Abn'Ammar; he composes a Muwashshah in which he describes his feeling awakened by wine drinking and the song of a Jariya, as A.R. Nykl translates:

Drinking of wine never gave me pleasure,
when I was in the garden where daisies were
blooming, unless a girl with a slim waist
(wishah) when she came to see me at dawn,
or in the evening, began to sing.⁷⁶

The phrase "girl with a slim waist" is familiar to us from Eastern poetry, especially in a verse by Abu Nuwas (see above, p. 10) in which he identifies the girl who wraps her wishah round her slim waist as the Jariya serving wine at a tavern.

The last poet in whom the term 'wishah' appears as a designation of the strophic lyrics is al-Mustazhir; in a short poem called Itab (Reprimand) he laments a time of love:

And we gathered in a wishah, and like beads in a necklace we embraced and kissed.⁷⁷

This verse presents the problem of how can "gather in a wishah" relate to the development which I have been sketching in this study. Let us begin with Henri Peres who translates the same verse as follows:

Où nous étions unis par la même ceinture (wishah)
et nous nous entrelaçions comme les perles d'un
même collier.⁷⁸

The first thing to be noticed is that Peres translates the Arabic 'igtama'na' as 'nous étions unis.' In Arabic literary usage, especially in philosophical discourse on love, the word 'ittihad' is used to signify a fusion of souls; often the word is translated into English or French as "union." Peres must be inaccurate in his translation, because neither the verse nor the poem expresses the idea of a union of souls; the verse merely indicates that the poet-lover and the beloved meet together at a place (although not specified in the poem) where singing and dancing are in full swing. We may ask, where do these

actually take place? Most often at the palace or court.

The Arabic expression for a gathering place at court is 'Majlis 'uns'; it denotes a hall, or a court room where kings or Caliphs, poets, Jawari, musicians and singers gather in a festivity of song, dance, and music. Historically, such festivities gained importance during the period (1041-1095) when the Umayyad rule in Spain slowly began to disintegrate into the small kingdoms (Muluk al-Tawa'if) of Cordova, Seville, Badajos, Toledo, and others. Not able to live in political unity, the Caliphs and princes vied with each other in splendor and indulged in high-sounding titles. They built in their capitals and fortresses sumptuous palaces and villas, and indulged in drinking and literary parties in the company of poets, musicians, and singing girls.⁷⁹ For example, one day the Caliph Ibn abi'Amir held a "majlis 'uns" at his palace. When everyone present took his fill of wine, the Caliph's Jariya, Uns al-Qulub, began to sing a love song. Present was a handsome young poet, Abul Maghira, to whom the song was dedicated. The Caliph, meanwhile, became so enraged with jealousy that he wanted to murder the Jariya. Crying, she begged for mercy

telling the Caliph that the love between the young poet and herself was an act of God, not of his or her own doing. The young poet, then, stood up and recited estempore the following lyric in her behalf:

My sin is so great/how can I be forgiven?
My love for her is an act of God/not of my own
choice;
But forgiveness is most appropriate/ to the great
ones such as you.⁸⁰

Naturally, the Caliph granted them his forgiveness.

Thus when al-Mustazhir says, "And we gathered in a wishah" the reference is to a "Majlis 'uns" at a sumptuous court room where the lover and the beloved get together, embracing, kissing, and listening to song and music, especially the newly developed lyric. Indeed, in the light of this brief historical background we can also understand the reference with the poet Ibn Ammar makes in his verses to the beloved listening to "the melody of wishah", that is, the strophic lyric.

The term 'wishah', which became the designation of Andalusian strophic forms during the second half of the eleventh century, was superseded by the term 'muwashshah'. In the twelfth century the poet, Ibn Quzman (d.1160), a famous composer of Zajal, a strophic

form similar to Muwashshah and written in colloquial Arabic, says in Zajal No. LXIII, addressing a friend:

You, who have forgotten me, see about the payment;
I sold you a Muwashshah, now where is the price
for it?⁸¹

In addition to this reference to the strophic lyric Ibn Quzman makes another in Zajal No. 133, in which he says that he borrowed the rhyme scheme and meter of a Muwashshah by Ibn Bajah. The term he uses is 'tawshih', the infinitive form of 'muwashshah', meaning 'The art of Muwashshah'; it appears in the following verse along with the word "prosody":

I composed this Zajal as I said/and borrowed the prosody of the art called twashih.⁸²

These references, 'muwashshah' or 'tawshih', 'the art of Muwashshah', became popular after Ibn Quzman, so that in late twelfth century Ibn Sana' al-Mulk adopts the name 'muwashshah' and devotes a whole book to the art of Muwashshah, called Dar al-Tiraz 'The House of Broidery.'

From our survey of the semantic history of the terms 'wishah' and 'muwashshah' we learn the following simple fact: the words which initially were used to signify a

bridle, a sword, a girdle, or a scarf, to decorate or to embellish, eventually came to signify the Andalusian strophic forms. In the course of this survey, however, we digressed several times from our purely semantic discussion, because the various contexts in which the words occurred were themselves in need of explanation. It thus became necessary to investigate and interpret these contexts in order to understand the view of reality out of which Arabic poetry grew, and to which in particular the terms 'wishah' and 'muwashshah' belonged. But there remains a few important ideas which ought to be considered in some detail, so that we can obtain further insight into the nature of Arabic literature and imagination as distinct from European medieval literature and imagination.

We have found that 'wishah' and the poetry associated with it belong to a view of reality which consists in primary expressions of nature and life. In Arabic language there are to be found few stem-words and root-words which are not related to camel, horse, cattle, desert, oasis, tent, etc., it not immediately, at least through the medium of certain slight modifications. The Arab is intimately connected with camel, mule, and horse; nothing

can happen to him which does not at the same time affect these creatures, and vitally connect their existence and their activity with his own: we have seen how Imru'ul-Qais kills his riding beast (the attitude is hospitality) in order to feed the virgins; Labid rides his horse to do battle; a famous ode of Tarafa, another pre-Islamic poet, presents a picture of a racing camel:

Ah, but when grief assails me, straightway
I ride it off mounted on my swift, lean-flanked
camel, night and day racing, sure-footed, like
the planks of a litter; I urge her on down the
bright highway, that back of a striped mantle;
she vies with the noble, hot-paced she-camels,
shank on shank nimbly plying, over a path many
feet have beaten

Labid begins a famous ode with these words:

Is such my camel? Or shall I liken her
to a wild cow, whose calf the beasts of prey
have devoured, lagging, though true herd-leader?

Antara whom we have seen earlier, in the thick of battle gives a graphic description of his horse. The list can go on endlessly.⁸³

If we consider the other wild and domestic animals which the wandering bedouin frequently sees, we shall find these too in all relations of life. And if we consider everything else visible—mountain, terrain, desert, cliff, trees, herbs, flowers, starry heavens—we

find that, to the Arab poet, the most remote things can be connected together: frilly fat is like fringes of twisted silk; a camel's thighs are like the gates of a lofty, smooth-walled castle; coats of mail gleam like stars: his blood whistling from his ribs like a harelip hissing; the lances were like well-ropes sinking into the breast of my steed.⁸⁴ Nor does the use of 'wishah' differ from these elementary metaphoric expressions of nature and life: twinkling stars are like glittering jewels on a wishah; a bridle wrapped round the shoulders like a wishah; the mixture of water and coffee resembles a woman wearing a bejewelled wishah; the woman's haunches wrapped in a wishah are like a sand dune; her slim waist wrapped in a wishah is like a branch of a tree, etc.

Here we see that language is already productive in and of itself; indeed, in so far as it comes to meet thought, it is eloquent and, in so far as it coincides with the imagination, poetic. However, eloquence and imagination depend for their impact and effect on the reality perceived by the senses, whose function is to connect things and objects in nature and ~~life~~—thus creating a pattern of associations which is not in the least allegorical or figurative, as we find it, for example, in

medieval European thought,⁸⁵ but which is denotative and sensory and lacks a humanist concept of man's nature and task. The Arab poet expresses no personified concepts, for he possesses no sense of the divine frenzy which bursts upon him and fills him. It is true that the sacred book of Islam, the Qur'an, teaches the concept of an infinite mind; but it also teaches the concept of an infinite body, for the Moslem looks forward to pleasures of the senses as rewards in the other life;⁸⁶ nor, to be sure, do these concepts conflict in the poet's heart.⁸⁷ The medieval Christian, on the other hand, does not look forward to pleasures of the senses as rewards in the other life, for the concept of an infinite body forms no part of his tradition; nor does it indeed form part of the tradition of Troubadour poetry either. What the Troubadour poet possesses, as his contemporary Arab poet does not, is a strong sense of ethics, an ethics held and defined by a particular social class—the courtly class. This is precisely Guillaume's sense of ethics and also his awareness of the true role of a lover who, through soul-searching, identifies himself with a superior reality. Fredrick Goldin has lucidly expressed this identity in

these words:

The lover has to love like a courtly man, and the setting is now so essential to his love, as the only means of its expression, that his unsuccess in love necessarily implies his failure as a courtly man. Love has become the enactment of courtliness: the way a man loves is the surest sign of his identity as a courtly man.⁸⁸

The Arab poet enjoys no such identity, for the necessary arbiter in matters of ethnics and social behavior is lacking in his social setting--this fact explains why those critics must be wrong who attributed Guillaume's serious love-lyrics to Arabic influences. In Arabic tradition the lady whom the poet addresses is different from the lady whom the Troubadour poet praises; and the social setting which preconditions and therefore promotes Courtly Love, as C.S. Lewis has pictured it, does not obtain in Arabic Spain:

We must picture a castle which is a little island of comparative leisure and luxury, and therefore at least of possible refinement, in a barbarous countryside. There are many men in it, and very few women--the lady, and her damsels. Around these throng the whole male meiny, the inferior nobles, the landless knights, the squires, and the pages--haughty creatures enough in relation to the peasantry beyond the walls, but feudally inferior to the lady as to her lord--her 'men' as feudal language had it. Whatever 'courtesy' is in the place flows from her: all female charm from her and her damsels.⁸⁹

In pre-Islamic times and after a woman does not occupy a central role in the social make-up, and therefore no form of 'courtesy' ever flows from her. In fact, such courtesy is not possible in a social setting which legally and religiously permits a man to marry four wives and own as many Jawari as he desires. Thus the man is the master, and so long as his needs and desires are concerned he possesses unrestricted freedom. On the other hand, the woman does not enjoy a similar freedom—she is no more than a sort of private property, or a tool for the man's personal delight. It is true that he often expresses his love for one of his wives or Jawari, as al-Mu'tamid of Seville, whom we have met earlier, does for his Jariya: all that he misses is her face under the veil and her secret treasures underneath her wishah. But love which transports or elevates to a higher realm of thought and feeling is not the forte of the Arab poet-lover. Speaking of this phenomenon, the scholar Ihsan Khalis, says that,

It certainly has something to do with the nature of Arab life, particularly the position of women in society. In fact, the bulk of love poetry of this period (eleventh century Spain) lacks depth of feeling and sublimity of sentiment. This poetry is no more than a superficial expression of the poet's love for a pretty woman;

for neither do we get a true picture of the beloved woman; nor, if her name is mentioned, does the poet present an individualized personality. All that is actually given is the picture of a sensual pretty woman- the poet delights in her company and feebly grieves in the lack of it.⁹⁰

Far from being a theory, Khalis's statement is a fact regarding the actual content of love poetry in Arabic literature of Spain. Very few Andalusian poets speak, as do Ibn Hazm and Ibn Zaydun, of chaste love and the lover's submission to his beloved. (Ibn Hazm's orientation is Neo-Platonic, while Ibn Zaydun's is sentimental; he falls in love with Wallada, the daughter of the Caliph of Cordova, whom he wins easily; he expresses his submission to her, his desire and longing for her, and his sadness when they part; but soon she accuses him of infidelity with one of her slave-girls, and in turn he accuses her with the wealthy bourgeois Ibn Adous-- the lady in the Troubadour lyrics is often accused of having other lovers, though never a bourgeois; and though accusations of infidelity occur, one never finds this kind of squabble. Although the beloved in Ibn Hazm and Ibn Zaydun is not a slave-girl, the great bulk of Andalusian love poetry is directed to slave-girls or Jawari. This

literary phenomenon is embedded in the social setting of al-Andalus, especially regarding the position of women, as the Arab scholar M. Fahmy writes:

On est arrivé à un état de moeurs, où, mis à part les femmes des classes pauvres, il existe deux catégories de femmes: les unes tenues à l'écart et éloignées du commerce avec les hommes, à l'exception des proches parents; les autres, mêlées à la société des hommes, présentes aux banquets où se réunissent les amis. Les premières, souvent moins instruites, moins intéressantes, que les secondes, ce sont les épouses, qui ne se montrent que dans certains cas réglés par les lois et les moeurs; les secondes, qui charment la société par leur présence, leurs chants, leur talent de diseuses et de musiciens, ce sont les esclaves.⁹¹

No wonder, therefore, that the great Caliphs of the East and West loved and admired these brilliant Jawari. Indeed, they became so important that neither the Caliphs nor the poets could do without them. For example, the poet Abas ibn al-Ahnaf, who himself addressed his love poetry to the Jariya, Fauz, composed a short lyric on behalf of Caliph Harun al-Rashid who loved a Jariya called Haylana; she died leaving the Caliph loveless:

Would I desire another love after Haylana/
when I am bereaved of her company?
My heart will not be consoled by any after her/
for tears shall be the only consolation to my
eye.⁹²

Concerning the other category of Arab women who, as M. Fahmy says, remained "à l'écart et éloignées du commerce avec les hommes," they were the special property of the palace, for these were not the object of the poet's love poems. We have a confirmation of this fact from Abul-Faraj al-Isphahani who tells us that Caliphs, like al-Walid I, for example, warned the poets to refrain from addressing love songs to any member of his household on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and decreed that they could do so only to slave-girls.⁹³ In Spain, a similar edict is contained in an episode which Ibn Hazm relates about the sad fate of a poet who dared to address one of the Caliph's women at the palace.⁹⁴

In short, the great majority of love lyrics is addressed to the Jawari. Indeed, excluding the immense bulk of homosexual poetry, as well as nature poetry, about which Henri Pérès has written excellently, we can say that the finest sentiment expressed in Andalusian lyrics owes its origin to the glamorous world of Jawari. However, the poetry of Ibn Zaydun is not inspired by his love for a Jariya, for Walladah, his beloved, is a lady of noble descent, and herself a poetess. This

relationship and the poetry celebrating it rank as a unique experience in Arabic literature. But Ibn Zaydun is not a writer of Love lyrics, or Muwashshahs which are the subject of our investigation here. His expression of love does not draw material from his love for a Jariya, and it is not in the form of a Muwashshah. The Andalusian lyrics, at least during the first 100 years of their recorded appearance, draw on the glamorous dance and song of the Jawari. And despite the vices and cynical treacheries with which the Jawari win the affections of the poets, they dominate the Muwashshahs. The Jariya, then, is at the center of Andalusian love lyric, she is the lady whose affection the poet strives to win. In this love relationship the term 'wishah' acquires a symbolic value as the poets constantly find themselves calling the beloved "the lady of the wishah". In addition to these love lyrics various poets compose songs for the Jawari to sing at court and in public; such songs become part of the latter's repertoire. It thus naturally follows that the term 'wishah' becomes integrally associated with these lyrics and songs, so that eventually it is used as a designation of Andalusian strophic forms.

There is another equally important factor which led to such designation; it can already be observed in our study of the semantic history of the term 'muwashshah'. Actually, 'wishah' and 'muwashshah', a noun and a participle, derive from the same root and share the same idea of decoration. As a participial form, however, and along with the verb 'washshah', the term 'muwashshah' seems to have had a diversity of contextual uses, denoting the idea of mixture, or amalgamation, or the idea of unity in variety. Indeed, already this idea is clearly manifest in Ibn and Rabbihi's use of 'tawashshah' in the context of a poem on the garden. The same idea, moreover, appears in the poet al-Zimani, a contemporary of al-Ramadi; in a poem which tolls the knell of doom, he says:

Every moment death spreads his shroud/ and
we are no more than playthings in his hands;
O my friend! Be not deceived by this world
and its specious gaieties/ which decorates
itself (tawashshah) with bright colors and
shining attires.⁹⁵

The idea of decoration in 'tawashshah' which here signifies a mixture or variety was later transferred to the context of literature. In the eleventh century, in the belletrist al-Hariri the term 'washshah' re-

presents stylistic embellishments in literary prose—a mixture of prose and verse, riddles, proverbs, Qur'anic verse, and other elegancies of literature. This is the style of Maqamah in which the dominant rhetorical device is rhymed prose (in Arabic 'Saj). Al-Hariri's work was well known in the eleventh-century Spain, with whose influence we are not here concerned. However, the stylistic features associated with 'washshah' found a new literary context which only naturally lent itself to the content of the term: Ibn Quzman, not only refers to this new literary context by the term 'muwashshah', but also, as we have seen, uses the word 'tawshih', the infinitive form of 'washshah', to refer to the prosody and rhyme scheme which he borrows from a Muwashshah for one of his Zajals. In short, this new literary context is none other than that of the Muwashshah the stylistic features of which are: variety in rhyme scheme, long and short verses, classical and colloquial Arabic, music, development of the form.

The history of 'wishah' and its derivatives present a clear picture of the close connection between

Jawari and the rise of Andalusian lyrics. Not only the Jawari influence dominate love poetry but also the art of song; they thus act as a vital link between the two poetic forms. Our study also gives us an idea of the basic view of reality and the style in which this view is expressed. In effect, we find that in every way the content and style of Arabic lyrics differ from those of European lyrics, particularly Guillaume's lyrics; so much so indeed that not only is Arabic influence highly unlikely but there is absolutely nothing in Arabic poetry or song which could in any manner suggest to Guillaume his concept of courtliness in love.

CHAPTER II

Notes

¹In pre-Islamic poetry diction and syntax are the most difficult to translate into English, or even explain in Arabic. I am not sure I have hit the correct translation; for this reason I have used a tenth-century interpretation of the ode by the scholar Abu Abdullah al-Zauzni, Kitab Shrh al-Mu allaqat "The Book of Interpretation of Mu allaqat" (Cairo, 1876), p. 13.

idha ma-l-turaya fi-l-sama'i ta'arradat/ ta'arruda
atna'a-l-wishahi-l-mufassali.

The same verse has been translated by A.J.Arberry, Aspects of Islamic Civilization (Ann Arbor bokk, University of Michigan, 1967), p. 20.

What time the Pleiades showed themselves broadly
in heaven 'glittering like the folds of a woman's
bejewelled scarf.

The entire ode is translated in Arberry's book, Seven Odes.

²Al-Zauzni, Kitab Shrh al-Mu allaqat, p. 13.

³Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History, trans F.Rosenthal (Princeton, 1967), p. 444.

⁴The verse can be found in Jamil Said's book, Tatawar al-Khamriyat fi-l-Shi'r al-Arabi "The Development of Wine Poetry in Arabic Literature" (Cairo, 1945), p. 41.

wa ka'anna mashyatuhu idha nahnahathu/bi-l-nakli
mashyatu sharibin musta'jili.

⁵A.J.Arberry, Aspects of Islamic Civilization, p. 20.

⁶Translation is mine. Jamil Said, Tatwur al-Khamriyat fi-l-Shi'r al-Arabi, p. 41.

⁷Pre-Islamic poets, at best paganbedouins (though some were of noble descent), had little if any religion; to spiritual impulses they were lukewarm even indifferent. A story told by Imru'ul-Qais illustrates this point: having set out to avenge the murder of his father he stopped at the temple of Dhu Khlasa, an idol, to consult the oracle by means of drawing one of three arrows, the Commanding, the Forbidding, and the Waiting. He drew the second, whereupon he broke the arrows and dashed them on the face of the idol, exclaiming with gross imprecation, "If they Father had been slain, thoug wouldst not have hindered me." See Abu Faraj al-Isphahani, Itab al-Aghani ('The Book of Songs'), 8, 70. The story may also be found in Philip Hitti's, History of the Arabs, 5th ed. (New York, 1951), p. 96. The entire episode symbolizes an act of blasphemy; for the god is supposed to be personally offended by the desecration of his name.

⁸The verse is this:

wa laqad hamaytu-l-hayya tahmilu shakkati/
fartu wishahi idh ghadawtu li jamuha.

It is also translated by Arberry:

And I defended the knights, my bristling
panoply burdening/a swift-stepper, its bridle
at dawn flung about my shoulders.

See A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes (New York, 1957), p. 146.

⁹See R.A. Nicholson, Literary History of the Arabs (London, 1968), pp. 71-140.

¹⁰See al-Zauzni, Kitab Sharh al-Mu allaqat, p. 98.

¹¹Yusuf Tuma al-Bustani, ed. Sharh Diwan Antara b. Shaddad (A Commentary on the Diwan of Antara b. Shaddad) (Beirut, nd.), p. 98.

wa-l-shamsu bayna mudarrajin wa mublaja/
wa-l-ghusnu bayna muwashshahin wa muqalladi.

¹²C.J. Lyall, Ancient Arabian Poetry: Introduction (London, 1930), p. 18.

¹³See note 7.

¹⁴See B. Bustani, Al-Muhit al-Muhit (The Encompassing Ocean) (Beirut, 1870), article under "washshaha".

¹⁵See the lexicon, Lisan al-Arab (The Tongue of Arabs), Article under "washshaha".

¹⁶Fazlur Rahman, Islam (New York, 1968), pp. 35-36.

¹⁷Muhammad Innabi, ed. Diwan Umar ibn abi Rabi'a (Cairo, 1912). p. 129:

innaha kal mahati mushba 'atu-l-khalkhali/
sifru-l-hasha tuji 'u-l-wishaha.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 380:

khadlajatun idha-n-sarafat/ra'ayta wishaha
qaliqa

¹⁹Ibid., p. 478.

muhafhafatun gharra'u sifrun wishahuha/
wa fi-l-marṭi minha ahyalun mutarakimu.

²⁰Ibid., p. 154.

fama-z-dadtu minha ghayra massi litatuha/
wa taqbili faha wa-l-haditi-l-muraddadi;
tazawatu minha wa-t-tashahtu bimartiha/
wa qultu laytani asfahu-l-dam a min ghadi.

²¹See the Qur'an, (24: 30, 31,32) trans. Mohammad Marmaduke Pickthall (New York, nd).

²²Philip Hitti, History of the Arabs, 5th ed. (New York, 1951), pp. 405-408.

²³Karam Bustani, Al-Nisa al-Arabiyat (Arab Women) (Beirut, nd), p. 40.

²⁴Ahmad Abdul Majid Ghazali, ed. Diwan Abu Nuwas: Introduction (Beirut, 1953), p. 6.

²⁵Karam Bustani, Al-Nisa al-Arabiyat, pp. 17-30.

²⁶Qur'an (24: 30).

²⁷For a survey of the cultural and literary heritage of al-Andalus see Abdul Hamid Ubadi, Al-Mujmal fi Tarikh al-Andalus (A Compendium of the History of al-Andalus) (Cairo, 1958), pp. 2-70. See also Karam Bustani, al-Nisa al-Arabiyat, pp. 70-73.

²⁸In the poetry of Jarir, al-Akhtal, and al-Farazdaq, the three major poets who flourished during the Umayyad dynasty the term 'wishah' hardly appears. It does appear, however, in Jarir, but not in conjunction with the lady. See Karam Bustani, ed. Diwan Jarir (Beirut, nd), p. 40.

²⁹Ahmad Abdul Majid Ghazali, ed. Diwan Abu Nuwas, p. 231.

ya saḥ ashku hulwata-l-'aynayni/ja'ilata-l-wishahi.

³⁰The two verses may be found in Ibn Dawud's, Kitab al-Zuhra (Book of the Flower) A.R. Nykly, ed. (Chicago, 1932), p. 29.

wa kuntu ara min wajhi Mayyata lamḥatun/
fa' abraqu maghshiyān alaya makaniya;
tutilina layyani wa anti maliyatun/ wa
uhsinu ya dhata-l-wishahi-l-taqadiya.

³¹Ibid., p. 33.

laqad zalamu dhata-l-wisha wa lam yakun/
li hazun min dhata-l-wishah.

³²Al-Abkari, ed. Diwan Al-Mutannabi (Cairo, 1890), I.
434.

turrafi 'u tawabaha-liardafu 'anha/fayabqa
min wishahayha shusu a.

³³R.P.A. Dozy, Dictionnaire Détaillé des Noms des Vêtements chez les Arabes (Amsterdam, 1845), p. 429.

³⁴Ibid., p. 429.

³⁵Ibid., p. 4320.

³⁶Ibn Hazm, Tawq al-Hamamah (Beirut, 1966), pp. 41-42.
I have used Arberry's translation of the passage; A.J. Arberry, The Ring of the Dove (London, 1953), pp. 52-53.

³⁷Abdul Majid Ghazali, Diwan Abu Nuwas, p. 338.

ahsanu manzilin bidhi qari/manzilu
khammaratin bil 'anbari,
wa shammu rihanin wa narjisatin/ahsanu
min 'anbagin bi 'akwari,
wa 'ishratun lilqiyani fi di 'atin/ma'a
rash' in/ aqidin lizinar,
aladhu min mahmahin 'ukiddu bihi/wa min
sarabin ajwabin gharrari,
wa naqru udin idha turj'uhu/binanu rawdi-l-shababi
mi tari.

³⁸Karam Bustani, al-Nisa al-Arabiyyat, pp. 1-30.

³⁹Diwan Abbas ibn al-Ahnaf (Constantinople, 1881),
p. 25.

Jariyatun fi hasabin badhikhin/majidata-l-aba i
wa-l-unahati,
saqatni-l-riga lafiha faya/tiban lahu min
fami tilka-l-fatati,
ya fauzu hal li minkum majlisun/taqurru ayni
fihi qabla-l-mamati.

⁴⁰Ibid, p. 43.

laysa ishqu-l-ima'i min shughli mittli/
innama ya shaqu-l-ima'i-l- abidu,
la wafa'a wa la hifaza wa lakin/kidhbu-l-waddi
ma lahuna uhudu,
sil idha ma wasalta hurrata qawmin/sharrafaha
aba'uha wa-l-jududu,
laysa li ya zalumun ghayraki hammun/anti hammi
tarifuhu wa-l-talidu.

⁴¹Abdul Majid Ghazali, Diwan Abu Nuwas, p. 169.

wa dara bika'sina rasha'un rakhimun/latāfa-l-kashhi
mahduma-l-wishahi.

⁴²Diwan Abbas ibn al-Ahnaf, p. 43:

Fauz madha alayki an tu'nisini/bihiqabin
aw khatimin aw wishahi,
in dakhaltu-l- bustana adhkarani rihiki
rihu-l-nasrini wa-l-tuffahi.

⁴³Abdul Majid Ghazali, Diwan Abu Nuwas, p. 2.

fasakabtu minha fi-l-zujajati shurbattan/
kanat lahu katta-s-sabahi sabaha;
min qahwatin ja'atka gabla mizajiha/ utalun
fa'albasaha-l-mizaju wishaha.

⁴⁴Bernhard Lwin, ed. Diwan Ibn al-Mu'tazz, p. 36.

wa ma shugu-sh-shama'ili 'askariyun/lahu
qatla wa laysa lahu silahu,
ka'anna-l-ka'sa fi yadihi 'arusun/laha mi
lu'luiin ratibin wishahu,
wa qa'ilatun mata yufna hawahu/faqultu idha
faniya-l-milahu.

⁴⁵A.J. Arberry, The Ring of the Dove, pp. 24-25. For further information on this phase of Ibn Hazm's life, see Ihsan Abbas, Tarikh al-Adab al-Andalusi (History of Andalusian Literature) (Beirut, 1962), pp. 124-127.

⁴⁶See the medieval scholar Al-Qadi abi Qassim ibn Said al-Andalusi, Kitab Tabaqat al-Uman (The Book of the Classes of Nations), ed. Luois Sheiko (Beirut, 1912), p. 76. See also Ihsan Abbas, Tarikh al-Adab al-Andalusi, p. 126.

⁴⁷Frederick Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouveres (New York, 1973), p. 11.

⁴⁸Diwan Ibn al-Mu 'tazz, p. 23.

⁴⁹Al-Hammadani, Kitab al-Maqamat (The Book of Maqamat), p. 69.

⁵⁰Al-Hariri, Maqamat al-Hariri; Introduction, Arabic text edited by F. Steingars (London, 1897), p. 4. Translation is mine.

⁵¹Emilio Garcia Gomez, Poemas Arabigoandaluces, (Buornos Aires, 1942). This book has been translated in to Arabic by Hussayn Mu'nis, al-Shi'r al-Andalusi (Cairo, 1956), p. 24. Translation is mine.

⁵²Al-Hariri, Maqamat al-Hariri: Introduction, p. 4.

⁵³Hussayn Mu'nis, al-Shir'r al-Andalusi, p. 25.

⁵⁴W. Montgomery Watt and Pierre Cachia, A History of Islamic Spain (New York 1967), p. 62.

⁵⁵Abd al-Hamid Ibadī, al-Mujamal fi Tarikh al-Andalus, p. 175.

⁵⁶Translation is by A.R. Nykl, Hispano-Arabic Poetry (Baltimore, 1946), p. 41. The original text may be found in Ibn Abd Rabbihi, Kitab al-Iqd al-Farid (The peerless Necklace) (Cairo, 1935), p. 45.

⁵⁷Henri Pérès, 'La poésie Arabe d'Andalousie et ses Relations Possibles avec la Poésie des Troubadours,' L'Islam et l'Occident: Les Cahiers du Sud (1947), 110.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 110.

⁵⁹A.J. Arberry, The Ring of the Dove, pp. 39-41.

⁶⁰Karam Bustani, ed. Diwan Ibn Hanī' al-Andalusī (Beirut, 1952), p. 32.

faka'anama maliku-l-qada'i muqaddaran/fi kulli
awbin wa-l-himamu mutiha; wafa bihaybati dhul
fuqari ka'nama washshahathu binajadihi tawshiha.

⁶¹Cited by Karam Bustani in his introduction to Diwan Ibn Hanī', p. 7.

⁶²Translated by A.R. Nykl, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, p.48.

⁶³Garcia Gomez, Poemas Arabigoandalouces, trans. Hussayn Mu'nis, al-Shirr al-Andalusī, 147.

⁶⁴The verse may be found in Ibn Bassam's, Kitab al-Dhakhira "The Book of Treasury" (Cairo, 1942), p. 80.

qad sigha min fidatin bayda'a sāfiyatin/
wa washshaha-l-husnu khadayhi bitadhhibi.

⁶⁵Emilio Garcia Gomez, ed. Diwan Abu Ishaq Elvira (Madrid, 1944), p. 84.

wa qad nashara-l-zamanu liwa'a shaybi/
liyatiwini wa yaslubani washahi.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 84.

⁶⁷Karam Bustani, ed. Diwan Ibn Zaydun (Beirut, 1951), p. 50.

The verse is this:

ra'aytu-l-shamsa ṭaṭla' u min niqabin/wa
ghusnu-l-bani yarfulu fi wishahi.

⁶⁸Emilio Garcia Gomez, ed. El Libro de las Banderas de los Campeores de Ibn Sai al-Maghrabi (Madrid, Granada, 1942), p. 48.

fa bittu wa qad zatat bi'an'umi halati/you aniquni
hata-l-sabahi sabaha.
'ala 'atiqi min sa'idayha hama'ilu/ wa fi
khasriha min sa'idi wishahu.

⁶⁹Henri Pères, La poésie Andalous en Arab Classique au XI Siècle (Librairie d'amerique et d'Orient, Paris, 1937), p. 403.

⁷⁰R.P.A. Dozy, Dictionnaire Détaillé des Noms des Vêtements chez les Arabes, p. 430.

⁷¹Ibn Bassam, Kitab al-Dhakhira, II, 2.

⁷²Quoted by Ihsan Abbas, Tarikh al-Adab al-Andalusi, p. 231:

hubbu-l-maha ibadah/min kulli bisami-l-jawari.

⁷³On this issue of masculine pronouns used to refer to women Henri Pères says the following:

Il est curieux de noter que c'est sous la forme masculine, et nom feminine, qu'ils se rencontrent. Mais il est bien connu que les poètes emploient tout autant le masculin que le féminin pour parler de leur bien-aimés.

See La poésie Andalous en Arabe classique au XI Siècle, p.416.

⁷⁴Hussayn Mu'nis, al-Shi'r al-Andalusi, p. 131.

rasha yarnu binarjisatin wa ya'tu/bisawsanin
wa yabsimu an 'iqahi,
yushiru ila quartahu wa/tasgha khilalahu ila
naghmi-l-wishah.

⁷⁵Karam Bustani, al-Nisa al- Arabiyat, p. 71.

⁷⁶A.R. Nykl, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, pp. 345-46.

⁷⁷Hussayn Mu'nis, al-Shir al-Andalusi, p. 158.

wa-j-tama'ana fi wishah/wa-n-tazamma nazma
aqdi.

⁷⁸Henri Pérès, La poésie Andalous, p. 402.

⁷⁹A.R. Nykl, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, pp. 69-72.

⁸⁰The original text may be found in A.R. Nykl, ed.
Mukhtarat min al-Shir al-Andalusi (Selections from Andalusian
Poetry) (Beirut, 1949). pp. 38-39.

⁸¹A.R. Nykly, ed. el-Cancionero de Aben Guzman (Madrid,
1933), p. 146. The verse is this:

ette, ya man nasani, unzuru fa'la-l-wazan/
bi tu minka muwashshah, fa'ayna-t-taman.

The same verse is translated into Spanish; the same
edition, p. 405.

Tu, que me olvidaste, mira la balanza:
te vendí una muwashshah, y donde esta su precio.

⁸²Ibid., p. 214.

qultu fihi dhal zajal kama qad rawayt/
aradi-t-tawashihi al-ladhi samayt.

⁸³These examples may be found in A.J. Arberry,
Aspects of Islamic Civilization, pp. 20-30.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵On this intricate and incalculable subject Erich Auerbach has written his book, Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages. This book still awaits a proper evaluation; see also E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, pp. 128-144.

⁸⁶The Qur'an, trans. Mohammad Marmaduk Pickthall, 2: 25, 111, 266; 7: 42-44; 18: 32; 19: 61, 66; 22: 23-24; 25: 15-16; 30: 54-55; 43: 7-73; 44: 51-57; 52: 17-24.

⁸⁷Gustave E. von Grunebaum, Medieval Islam (Chicago, 1961), pp. 117-125.

⁸⁸Frederick Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouvères, p. 10.

⁸⁹C.S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love (London/New York, 1972), p. 12.

⁹⁰Salah Khalis, Ishbilia fil Qarn al-Khamis (Seville in the Eleventh Century) (Beirut, 1965), p. 33.

⁹¹Mansour' Fahmy, La Condition de la femme dans la tradition et l'évolution de l'Islamism (Paris, 1913), pp. 114-15.

⁹²Diwan Abbas ibn al-Ahnaf, p. 36.

a 'ubghi hubban min ba'di haylanah idha/
arani mulghi min wafa i-l-haba'ibi
sawhishu qalbi ba'daha min sururihi/ wa
u'nisu 'ayni bi-l-dumu 'i-l-sawakibi.

⁹³Isphahani, Kitab Aghani (Cairo, 1927), IV, 356; also Ashani, VI, 123-24.

⁹⁴See below, Chapter III, p. 199

⁹⁵A.R. Nykl, ed. Mujhtarat min al-Shi r al-Andalusi,
p. 31.

al mawtu fi kulli hinin yanshuru-l-kafana/
wa nahnu fi ghaflatin 'amma yuradu bina,
la taṭma'inna illa-d-dunya wa bahjataha/
wa 'in tawashshahat min atwabiha-l-husna.

CHAPTER III

THE ANDALUSIAN POET AL-TUTILI AND OTHERS:
THE CONCEPT OF LOVE IN ONE OF HIS LYRICS,
BRIEFLY COMPARED WITH THAT IN GUILLAUME'S
LYRIC (NO. 9); THE PLACE OF AL-TUTILI'S
LYRIC IN THE TRADITION OF ARABIC LOVE
POETRY BOTH EAST AND WEST: THE KHARJA,
ITS LITERARY TRADITION IN THE EAST, ITS
ASSOCIATION WITH THE ROMANCE KHARJAS AND
THEIR IMPORTANT FUNCTION IN THE MUWASHSHAH.

In this chapter I shall make constant reference to Eastern poetry in order to demonstrate the continuity of Andalusian lyrics with Eastern poetry. A few words at this point will be instructive. Substantially, Andalusian poetry is continuous with that of the Islamic East. The Andalusians never lost their interest in the literary production of the East. Their habit of characterizing their own poets as "the Mutannabi" or "the Ibn al-Rumi of the West" indicates deference to the standards of the East (the greatest example is the historian Ibn Bassam who refuses to record the Muwashshahs simply because their meters are not based on those of Eastern poetry). In expression also, in rhetorical word-play, style as well as in orientation, the Andalusians were following upon Eastern models. In short, one may say that the Andalusians found themselves, their essential nature, and their culture reflected in the poetry of their ancestors.

More specifically, there is no difference, for example, between the Eastern Imru'ul-Qais and the Andalusian Ibn al-Qazzaz, a twelfth-century writer of Muwashshahs:

I twisted her sidetresses to me, and she
 leaned over me;
 slender-waisted she was, and tenderly plump her
 ankles, shapely and taut her belly, white-fleshed,
 not the least flabby,
 polished the lie of her breast-bones, smooth as a
 burnished mirror...
 let the follies of other men forswear fond passion,
 my heart forswears not, nor will forget the love
 I bear you.¹

Full moon, midday sun, bough on a sandhill,
 fragrant musk;
 how perfect, how resplendent, how fragrant, no
 doubt he who spies her, falls in love with none
 but her.²

In both passages the poet's vivid imagination flows in a
 torrent of imagery which indicates an erotic state of mind.
 The purpose is sexual, not spiritual, or at least the
 purpose is not spiritually motivated. He loves her not
 because she is a glorious creature of his mind, but be-
 cause she is physically attractive--her white body, her
 fragrance, eyes, her breasts are the sole cause of his
 love for her.³ Unlike Western poetry, especially Troubadour
 poetry, in which the poet mixes the real and the spiritual,
 (a mixture of styles which is so baffling to us),⁴ the
 Arab poet expresses his familiar sense of reality stripped
 of a higher, supreme order.

Let us consider the following Muwashshah written by the Andalusian blind poet, al-Tutili (d.1126); it is the first complete lyric which has come down to us from the period 1050-1126; my translation in part attempts to preserve the form of the original:

Her teeth are like shiny pearls the moon, her beauty is so swaddles her with love.	she uncovers a face like boundless and-my heart
truly what I behold is my mind's oppressed by when I said, "oh" she-	my sole remedy, her beauty's tyranny, said, "what oh."
Her figure is like a branch of- so supple to the hand's touch-- 'tis inevitable to love you make me powerless-- my heart is all yours-	ban, all tender and smooth so full of youth and smoothness. you, my heart's yours I strive for your love I yearn for your love,
For what is wine drinking when- I seek my shelter in your lips- deep in my heart love's my love always rises-- and for loving you so-	I taste the wine of your lips? from wine's feverish inebriation. lurking; requite my love, on my heart's horizon, I faint with love.
What was my heart but constantly When like crystal my heart glowed,	hovering like a comet around you? I knew its excuse and mine.
is there a way to your I wilted longing for you, shall I only think of-	heart, or only despair? no breath in me remains, hope, and I lost all hope?
And lost every thing for your flinging away from me all my I blame no one if she- love of a white lady yet I still love her and	sake when in vain I sought your love, patience and my mind's fears. decides to reject my, is but an injustice, of me she sings:
I see you are really love-sick- But in time I hope you will for	I do not blame you at all, get your love and my memory. ⁵

It is rather difficult to reproduce in translation the rhyme scheme of the original (although some translators of other

poems have attempted to do so). In my translation (there is no other English translation available of the lyric) I have tried to preserve some of the formal aspects of the original, namely long and short verses. In Arabic the lyric's form looks like this:

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..... a ..... b ..... a ..... b
           ..... c ..... c
           ..... c ..... c
           ..... c ..... c
..... a ..... b ..... a ..... b
           ..... c ..... c
           ..... c ..... c
           ..... c ..... c
..... a ..... b ..... a ..... b
           ..... c ..... c
           ..... c ..... c
           ..... c ..... c
..... a ..... b ..... a ..... b
           ..... c ..... d
           ..... c ..... d
           ..... c ..... d
..... a ..... b ..... a ..... b
           ..... e ..... f
           ..... e ..... f
           ..... e ..... f
..... a ..... b ..... a ..... b
           ..... g ..... h
           ..... g ..... h
           ..... g ..... h
..... a ..... b ..... a ..... b

```

In citing this lyric I have followed the opinion of the medieval critic and poet Ibn Sana' al-Mulk (d.212); for he commences his anthology, Dal al-Tiraz "House of Embroidery" with the same lyric. He maintains that all

later writers of Muwashshah follow the lead of al-Tutili, that the lyric is the most complete, and that al-Tutili is the first to have perfected the form.⁶ The grounds of Ibn Sana' al-Mulk's opinion are not difficult to find. He seems to agree with the historian Ibn Bassam (d.1147) that before al-Tutili the poet, Ubada ibn Ma' al-Sama', is a major contributor to the art of Muwashshah:

Before (Ubada the craft of 'tawshih' the composing of Muwashshah had not yet been regularized. It was Ubada who laid down its principles and erected its form, so that people of al-Andalus had not heard a better speech. In this poetic craft Ubada's fame soared above his other more beautiful poetic creations.⁷

However, unlike Ibn Bassam who is a historian, Ibn Sana' al-Mulk is a critic and a philologist, and in his opinion Ubada's art is as yet incomplete. The difference between Ubada and al-Tutili is that the former varies meter and rhyme from one refrain to another whereas the latter's refrains share the same meter and rhyme throughout. In this last technique alone al-Tutili is the master; his form is completely regular, and therefore all later writers follow his lead.

Before we discuss the form of the lyric we ought to consider its content, particularly the poet's concept

of love. At the center of the lyric stands the lady (addressed in masculine terms⁸) whose physical charm occupies the poet's attention. This is conveyed through comparisons drawn from nature and life: "her teeth are like pearls; her face is like the moon, and her young and tender body is like a branch of ban"; above all, the poet contrasts wine with her lips for which he abstains from wine drinking (a frequent topos in love poetry). Thus the poet is in love with a lady whose sensuous beauty holds him spellbound. Moreover, the poet is blind; naturally we may ask how he loves a lady whose teeth, body, lips, etc., he cannot see. Indeed, he might have described her as the most perfect of creatures, or yearned for a love that is a source of virtue directed toward a being superior to himself; or, since beauty is the lyric's central theme, the poet might have said how the lady's beauty is so illuminating that it heals the sick and cheers the sad. But nothing of the sort is mentioned; the poet sees no ideal love beyond the physical; he does not even seek a mixture of both, as we find the case to be in the Troubadour lyrics. Al-Tutili's phraseology therefore derives from artistic conventions with which we are familiar from Eastern poetry. In fact,

the poet's love for the lady, which can only cause feelings of despair and sadness, is pretty much part of the same artistic conventions. Like Eastern love poetry, these feelings strike mixed notes, the one plaintive and the other reproachful, both of which are occasioned by the lady's coldness to her lover and, from his point of view, her tyranny in love. This finally leads the poet to the recognition that the love of a "rim" (fair-skinned, most likely one of those blond Jawari whom Ibn Hazm mentions in his book) is injustice and iniquity: he feels that an injustice has been done him by the fair-skinned lady, because she has not requited his love. The poet resignedly accepts his plight and the lyric, which hitherto has been erected on classical models of rhetoric and imagery, now concludes in a sort of anticlimax sung or spoken by the lady herself in colloquial language.⁹

From al-Tuttili's lyric we safely assume that in poetry, as in real life, falling in love depends on the lady's physical qualities; in fact, Ibn Hazm deplores this practice of falling in love on Neo-Platonic grounds, for he warns against love caused by physical beauty;¹⁰ so does his contemporary, Ibn Sina, warn against love caused by

animal desire.¹¹ However, whether or not al-Tutili agrees with Ibn Hazm the fact remains that he, like countless other poets, celebrates his own feeling of love; and if it is a sheer carnal feeling, it is not to be scorched on philosophic grounds. Arab poets are a different breed from Arab philosophers: while the former lean on the faculty of reason, the latter are frank and intuitive; they poeticize what they feel as well as what they see, and their conception of love is different even from that expressed by the Troubadour poets. Indeed, this difference can be understood only in terms of the tradition and psychology peculiar to each people.

Al-Tutili's lyric may be further appreciated when placed in its historical perspective. Its system of imagery is characteristic of Arabic poetry in general. For example, a hundred years earlier the poet 'Ubada ibn Ma'al-Sama' refers to his lady as the new moon:

I loved a crescent/ of matchless beauty/
 even the ghazel borrowed from her/its pretty
 looks, her beauty is such/ that she desires
 nothing else/for like the full moon/ she shines
 bright/in the fullness of her charm.¹²

The same technique obtains in Ibn al-Qazzas a sample of whose poetry we have seen earlier (p.152 above). Moreover,

the roots of such a metaphoric structure go back to pre-Islamic times; the list of poets is long, but the following three poets are representative; the first is Amr ibn Ma'dikarib who says:

And Lamis (name of the beloved) her face
uncovered like the full moon of the skies,
showing forth her hidden beauties.¹³

Another poet, Shanfara, says:

She charmed me, veiling bashfully her face,
Keeping quiet looks and even pace;
Some lost thing seems to seek her downcast eyes.¹⁴

One needs no knowledge of Arabic to appreciate the physical excitement created by the culmination of similes in such a passage from a famous Mu allaqah of Antara:

'T was then her beauties first enslaved
my heart--those glittering pearls and ruby lips,
whose kiss was sweeter far than honey to taste.
As when a merchant opens a precious box of perfume,
such an odor from her breath came toward
thee, harbinger of her approach.¹⁵

In all these examples, among others which we have studied in Chapter I, we notice that the poet merely describes the lady's sensuous beauty, the only quality which makes her the object of his or any man's love. Al-Tutuli's lyric, to be sure, falls within this tradition--love caused by the lady's physical beauty. It is thus possible to say

that the amatory aspects of pre-Islamic poetry as well as its celebration of women's physical excitement fathered the love lyric as an independent form.

The true nature of this type of love, as we find it in al-Tutili, Ubada, Ibn al-Qazzaz, and others, may be compared with certain passages from a different world of forms. In the lyric, Ab la dolchor del temps novel, Guillaume (1071-1127), who is contemporary with al-Tutili and who writes a little later than Ibn al-Qazzaz, says:

La notr' amor vai enaissi
 Com la branca de l'albespi
 Qu'esta sobre l'arbre tremblan,
 La nouit, a la ploja ez al gel,
 Tro l'endeman, que l sols s'espan
 Per las fueillas verz e l ramel.¹⁶

(In this our love is like a branch of hawthorn: so long as night endures, it trembles on the tree, being exposed to the rain and the frost; till the next day when the sun spreads out through the green leaves and the branch.)¹⁷

This passage is central to the entire poem, for in its mixture of dark (night) and bright(sun) imagery it symbolizes a love that is both spiritual and physical: when the lovers are not together, when there is war between them, their love, at least from the lover's viewpoint, is "com la branca de l'albepsi" that shakes and trembles in

the rain and the frost (the imagery has a certain chilly quality about it and prefigures the lover's anguish in being deprived of love). But the next day the warm and bright sun (representing the lady's love, or the whole force of the lovers' relation) will spread out and the lady will give her love, her "don tan gran," and the lover will have "mas manz soz so mantel." Thus lover and beloved resume their relationship which participates in the resurrection of nature.¹⁸ This mixture of spirituality and sense of reality embedded in a figurative language is characteristic of Guillaume's style, at least in four or five of his lyrics, and has no parallel in Arabic poetry. The grace and attractiveness of this style--whose charm is freshness and whose danger is witty coquetry, trifling, coldness, and sophistication (as some of his other poems testify)--can hardly be found anywhere in the literature of antiquity or in Arabic literature. Guillaume and later Troubadours did not learn it from Ovid or from any Andalusian poet; it is a new creation.

The same mixture of spirituality and sense of reality, and the same charm, wit, and sophistication typical of Guillaume's style occur in the lyric which begins, Mout

jauzens me prenc en amar. Here in this lyric the poet uses the sun as his basic symbol to express the superiority of the lady and the joy of love:

Ieu, so sabetz, no'm dey gabar
 Ni de grans laus no-m say formir,
 Mas si anc nulhs joys poc florir,
 Aquest deu sobre totz granar
 E part los autres esmerar,
 Si cum sol brus jorns esclarzir.¹⁹

It is not my wont, as you know, to boast, nor to attribute great praises to myself; but if ever any joy has put forth a flower, it should, before other joys, bear fruit and shine in perfection above them, as when a dark day fills with light.²⁰

Guillaume then describes this joy:

Anc mais no poc hom faissonar
 Co's, en voler ni en dezir
 Ni en pensar ni en cossir;
 Aitals joys no pot par trobar,
 E qui be-l volria lauzar
 D'un an no y poiri' avenir.²¹

(No man can ever figure out what it is, neither by force of will nor by desire, not by thought or fantasy; such joy can find no equal, and he who desires to praise it worthily would not succeed in a whole year.)²²

In interlocking antithetical statements or phrases characteristic of much of the writing of the Middle Ages the poet later describes the effects of joy which emanates from the lady:

per son joy pot malautz sanar
 E per sa ira sas morir
 E savis hom enfolezir
 E belhs hom sa beutat mudar
 E·l plus cortes vilanejar
 E totz vilas encortezir.²³

(Through the joy which emanates from her she can heal the sick, her rage can slay the strong; through her the wise man can fall into folly, and the beautiful lose beauty, the courteous becomes a villain, and the villain courteous.)²⁴

In reading this poem one can hardly avoid the impression that this joy of love which originates in an earthly event-- the poet's love for the lady is real and even physical-- is also viewed in immediate connection with a spiritual reality. For the poet the earthly and the spiritual are intertwined. The lady in the poem (whoever she is) is a living being whom the poet desires to possess; she is the fulfillment of pure joy which heals the sick and cheers the sad, and which, like the sun, brightens the world. By seeing this fulfillment in the lady the poet is able to involve the outside world in his song and to identify the nature and effect of love.²⁵

Guillaume's use of the words "sols" and "ezclarzir" in the two poems just discussed is part of a widespread medieval conception of purity and light versus darkness-- the New Testament contains many passages on the symbol of

of light;²⁶ St. Amrbose's favourite images are those of light, and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries its use becomes widespread.²⁷ In Guillaume the metaphor of the rising sun is an exceedingly joyful introduction to which the gloominess and bitterness of unfulfilled love stands out in effective contrast. This contrast has been prepared for in images of darkness, night, and dreariness. But the "sun" reflects an ideal state of constant joy, hope, and brightness in which everything else is submerged. Such an ideal state of joy has no parallel in Arabic poetry. In al-Tutili, as we have seen, the dominant emotion is not joy but sorrow or sadness mixed with recollection and regret:

Is there a way to your	heart, or only despair?
I wilted longing for--	you, no breath in me remains,
shall I only think of-	hope, and I lost all hope?

The beauty of the lady is tyranny, not illumination: "My mind's oppressed by her beauty's tyranny." Not only is the beloved frequently described as a tyrant, but the poet also seems to enjoy or relish this very tyranny. Here is Ibn Baqqi (d. 1145), a writer of Muwashshah, who says of his pretty lady:

My beloved tyrannizes
yet my love for her in

what is to be done
who toys with my -
with her beautiful

oh her blithe body

and tries my patience
creases at the sight of her.

with a pretty girl
mind? When she looks at me
eyes, they are like those
of a despot;
is like a branch of willow.²⁸

And the last stanza of the poem expresses a note of sadness
at the departure of the beloved:

You and I are the-
you've had no patience
since that time my lon

My beloved sneaked off
oh the loneliness in-

cause of this bitter desertion
for at dawn you departed,
ely heart sang in me:

I did not say good-by;
my heart at night when I
think of her.²⁹

These examples, among others, make clear the fact that
the difference between the Western and the Eastern conception
of love, between Guillaume and al-Tutuli, or Ibn Baqqi,
for example, is remarkable; but the difference between
Guillaume's concept of love's joy and brightness and the
Arabic concept of love's lost cause is irreconcilable.
In the Andalusian lyrics, as in Arabic poetry in general,
the expression of love strikes a wistful, plaintive note;
most often the poet's emotion is one of regret and maudlin
self pity.

This wistful, plaintive note is in the tradition

of emotional outburst appropriate to pre-Islamic poetry. Here love songs constitute a poetry of lost causes. The poet sings of passions past, or of a happiness brought to an end by the impending departure of the beloved, as this appears in the prelude of Imru'ul-Qais' Mu allaqah:

Halt, friends both! Let us weep, recalling a love
and a longing,
by the rim of the twisted sands between Dakhool
and Haumal,

and his friends would say to him,

'Do not perish of sorrow; restrain yourself
decently,'

and he answers,

Yet the true and only cure of my grief is
outpoured:
What is there left to lean on where the trace
is obliterated?³⁰

Examples of this kind are legion; here is the poet Abid ibn al-Abras (second half of the sixth century) who says at the beginning of his Mu allaqah:

The tent-traves of Sulaima (name of the Beloved) are all effaced Dakadik, and desolate; the violent tearing winds have swept them away; I stayed, there, my beast, and wept like a dove that mourns as she sits on a bough of arak, and calls to her fellows that dwell in the grove. High noon was the time: then, when my passion had spent itself, I fastened the saddle on the back of a stout camel, high of hump.³¹

Thus from the very beginning, in the prelude of a pre-Islamic ode, love's emotion is a lament over the deserted camping ground.³² The prelude itself, moreover, is a means of kindling the poet's muse, which puts him in his favourite state of sentimental self-indulgence--he falls a prey to a consuming passion of indiscriminate ecstasy over the traces of the beloved who is no longer present. This is precisely why Abu Nuwas (as we have had an occasion to see in Chapter II, p. 96) parodies and ridicules pre-Islamic mode of love's expression. Yet as a prelude it remains the dominant pre-Islamic form which continues to find imitators in later centuries. Even in Abu Nuwas, the principle of love's lost cause is pretty much preserved, for there is no difference between a pre-Islamic poet lamenting an amorphous presence and a later poet who grieves at his beloved's inconstancy; in both cases the poet's true voice sounds its hearty, plaintive cry. In the prelude, as in the later short love lyric, including the Andalusian lyrics, such a cry is made even more poignant by the lady who refuses to comply with the poet's earnest longing, as is shown in the following two examples from Imru'ul-Qais:

I came, and already she'd stripped off her garments
 for sleep beside the tent-flap, all but a single
 flimsy slip;
 And she cried, "god's oath, man, you won't get
 away with this!"
 The folly's not left you yet; I see you're as feckless
 as ever.³³

Once, on a hill, she mocked at me and swore,
 "This hour I leave thee to return no more."³⁴

The frankly sexual overtones are unmistakable: here the lady's reaction to the poet's definitive intention is no different from that of another lady whom we have met in Ibn Hazm's anecdote (see Chapter II, p. 95) about the poet al-Ramadi, an early writer of Muwashshah; in both cases the poet wants her only to be rejected by her. To be sure, rejection by the lady is the most dominant theme in love poetry, and is primarily the cause of the poet's plaintive cries--her tyranny and her harshness are, so to speak, the poet's food for poetry. And it is no exaggeration to say that the Kharja in Muwashshah (see Introduction, pp. 22-23), sung or spoken by the lady, parallels the lady's retraction or her departure in a pre-Islamic prelude. In fact, the parallel is all the more feasible because, like the prelude which is a topic of the beginning, the Kharja is a topic of the conclusion.

It is rather difficult to understand later periods of poetic expression without constantly keeping in mind the nature and content of pre-Islamic poetry. To be sure, in both the East and the West later generations of poets found their past, their essential nature, and their culture reflected in the poetry of their ancestors; Imru'ul-Qais, Lapid, Tarafa and others for them were the tradition. From Pre-Islamic poetry these poets learned the art of poetic invention, namely word combination, rhyme, and comparison structure; above all they inherited that exuberant delight in sensory phenomena so dear to the Pre-Islamic poets. Therefore, no critical study or commentary made with a view to explain Arabic poetry can disregard the continuity of Arabic literature past and present. For this purpose I would like to discuss certain aspects of the poetry of Abu Nuwas (d.810). He is an excellent choice both because of the innovation he introduces into Arabic literature, namely the short lyric, and because of the one lyric he wrote which contains a colloquial Kharja and which provides a link for our discussion of Kharjas in Andalusian lyrics.

Abu Nuwas led and embodied the spirit of a new

movement in Arabic poetry. He voiced the general complaint that poets could not be expected to write about desert plants and animals which they had never seen, in poetic forms which they found tedious and sterile. His classic mimicry of the introduction to the Mu'allaqah summed it up:

The lovelorn wretch stopped at a desert camping
ground to question it, and I stopped to
inquire after the local tavern.
May Allah not dry his eyes of him that wept over
stones, and may he not ease the pain of him
that yearns to a tent peg!
They said, "Didst thou commemorate the dwelling
places of the tribe of Asad?" Plague on thee!
tell me who are the Banu Asad?³⁵

The importance of this passage lies in the fact that Abu Nuwas is quite conscious of his innovative spirit. For him, as for many of his contemporaries, the mystique of Arab desert has lost status. He is neither a member of a tribe nor does he recognize one. A city dweller and a boon companion of Caliph Harun al-Rashid, the poet moves in the luxurious orbit of court life. His business is to commemorate and praise his patrons, the Caliphs and princes, not the dwelling places of a tribe. On the other-hand, against the desert camping ground Abu Nuwas upholds the city tavern where new stimuli of poetic expression are to be found--wine and Jawari, as this appears in the following two short lyrics:

Ho! a cup and fill it, and tell me it is wine,
 For never will I drink in shade if I can drink in shine.
 Curst and poor every hour that sober I must go,
 But rich am I when'er well drunk I stagger to and fro.
 Speak for shame, the loved one's name, let vain
 disguises fall,
 Food for naught are pleasures hid behind a curtain-wall.

Come, Sulaiman, sing to me,
 And the wine, quick, bring to me!
 Lo, already dawn is here
 In a golden mantle clear
 Whilst the flask goes twinkling round
 Pour me a cup that leaves me drowned
 With oblivion, ne'er so nigh
 Let the shrill muezzin cry.³⁶

With Abu Nuwas wine and love poetry make their full
 appearance and take on a life of their own, independent
 and fearless of any religious or ethical restrictions.

The last verse of the second lyric is of special
 interest to us: "Let the shrill muezzin cry" (muezzin is
 the man who announces the hours of prayer from the minaret).
 In his revelry the poet seems to express overt disregard
 for religious ethics (according to the teaching of Islam
 it is unethical to be drunk while the muezzin summons
 people to prayer). Yet the intention is not so much to
 flout religious morals as to flaunt his amorous sensuality.
 In this, as one can immediately perceive, there is in-
 herent a marked separation of poetry and religion. It is

one of many instances in which poetry remains aloof and detached from religious dogma. One can go further. Arabic poetry in general shows no interest in religious and philosophical movements; it reflects no aesthetic concept of human action, and expresses no ideal of human thought. In short, the imitative, aesthetic, and social functions of poetry, as we know them in Western civilization, form no part of the Arabic conception of poetry. Instead it erects its own world which consists of three basic categories, namely the laudatory, the erotic, and the satiric. Neither one of these categories expresses social, philosophical, or religious values. On the contrary, the basis of each category is the individual: the poet praises his patron, a king or a prince, or satirizes others, motivated by personal interest or gain. However, when he is in no mood to praise or satirize, he attends to his own individual pleasure which he celebrates in poetic form. This is precisely what Abu Nuwas does in the lyrics quoted earlier. Despite Abu Nuwas' mimicry of Preislamic odes, he is no different from the desert poet who individually celebrates wine drinking, his amorous exploits, and his sexual desire for women. In fact, there are Pre-islamic poets who

instead of stopping at a camping ground, celebrate wine drinking even in the prelude to the ode. For example, the following verses are from a Mu'allaqah composed by the poet known as 'Amr:

Ha, girl! up with your bowl! give us our dawn-drought,
And do not spare the wines of El-Andarina,
The brightly sparkling, as if saffron were in them
Whenever the mulled water is mingled with them,
That swing the hotly desirous from his passion
Whenever he has tasted them to gentle mellowness.³⁷

Although there is no evidence that Abu Nuwas was directly influenced by 'Amr, the two poets are strikingly similar in temperament as well as attitude toward wine and women; even in the use of comparisons, as we can see, the poets equally express delight in sensible qualities. For example, in the passage the metaphor, "brightly sparkling, as if saffron were in them/whenever the mulled water is mingled with them," is a favourite expression with Abu Nuwas, for in the last verse of a short lyric in praise of wine he says:

When water is mixed with wine, you could see/
sparkling pearls mounting upon pearls.³⁸

We have already seen how the mixture of water and coffee produces sparkles like a woman wearing a bejewelled wishah (Chapter II p.98). What is true in the case of Abu Nuwas

and 'Amr is also true for other poets, as we have seen on more than one occasion. Thus the continuity of poetic style with its delight in sensory phenomena is maintained in later generations of poets. However, the only difference, should there be one, concerns the treatment of love. In pre-islamic ode love appears to be an item on the poet's agenda of a variety of activities, such as war, tribal politics, heroic acts, and panegyric, all of which are hung as though on a string. In a Pre-islamic ode, as we have seen in Chapter I, no theme or subject is protracted to the full length of the poem: after the poet has induced the poetic atmosphere with a luscious prologue about a camping ground, wine and women, he then quickly, before it disperses, turns to the real business in hand--a flattering account, say, of his amorous exploits, courage, piety, praise of his tribe or sage reflections on the shortness and uncertainty of human life. Such a variety of themes in one poem eventually developed into independent short lyrics, as the poets of the eighth century turned away from desert life and settled in the cities and took part in what happened in them. In the eighth century we find independent short lyrics--love songs, wine songs,

songs about death, songs about the shortness and uncertainty of human life, etc., each of which is protracted to the full length of the piece. It thus can be said that the rise of the short lyric is nothing but the vision of the Pre-Islamic poet deliberately narrowed to fit the circumstance of city life and court.

The change of circumstances in the life of the poet contributed immensely to the development of the short lyric during the Abbaside rule. The patronage of the court, the pietistic spirit fostered by the state, the needs of the governmental secretaries, the foreign influence coming from Persia and Byzantium, and the change in social conditions, all contributed to the popularity of the short lyric. Moreover, much as the new age attracted countless poets, such as Abu Nuwas, it also repelled many others, such as Abu al-'Atahiya (d.828). Temperamentally he is quite different from Abu Nuwas; while the latter writes new poems of revelry, Abu al-'Atahiya writes them in a rarely lifted fog of gloom:

Every day is a stage of death
 You die while you play with arts and towers
 Every door of the world you shut for safety
 Opens a door on a new fang
 You thought you were a husk when you found
 The milk of life meant endless churning.³⁹

And in a short lyric called, Vanity: to Harun al-Rashid,
 Abu al-'Atahiya reveals to us the attitudes and tendencies
 of the new age, especially those of the court:

Live securely as you wish;
 with palace heights are safe enough.
 With pleasures flooding day and night,
 the smooth proves sweeter than the rough.

But when your breath begins to clog
 in sharp contractions of your lungs,
 then know for certain, my dear sire,
 your life was vain as idle tongues.⁴⁰

Like Abu Nuwas, Abu al-'Atahiya's poetry has no pretensions
 to a religious or philosophical outlook; it simply flows
 from the poet's peculiar temperament. Although such
 poetry tolls the knell of death, doom, and despair, it
 is linked in form with the poetry of Abu Nuwas.

Like Abu Nuwas, Abu al-'Atahiya is famous for
 having composed short lyrics whose prosody forms no part
 of the traditional system of meters as formulated by
 al-Farahidi.⁴¹ The poet was once asked if he knew
 classical prosody; his answer, typical of his temperament,
 was, "I am above prosody."⁴² Abu al-'Atahiya and Abu
 Nuwas, among other such as Di'bil (d.872) who attacked
 everything the Arabs held dearest, free themselves from

classical fetters and embark on composing new forms which are not based on traditional meters. The classical meters, which are fifteen in number, have different names-- al-Tawil (the Long), al-Khafif (The Light), etc., all of which have one thing in common, namely long (˘) and short (◌) syllables. Moreover, one of the classical rules of composition is that the poet should maintain one rhyme throughout the Mu'allaqah, each verse of which is made up of two parts:

```

..... a
..... a
..... a
..... a etc.

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Another rule is that the poet allows himself no internal rhyming between the parts, simply because the quantitative meters themselves do not allow for it. However, such formalism is not without a few exceptions; for the Pre-islamic poetess, al-Khansa', writes short poems, each verse consists of four parts, with internal rhyme, but maintains a uniform end-rhyme:

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..... a ..... a ..... a ..... b
..... a ..... a ..... a ..... b
..... a ..... a ..... a ..... b
..... a ..... a ..... a ..... b etc.43

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This form of poetic composition is similar to that of one of Abu Nuwas' poems, as we shall soon see. Another ex-

ception to the rule may be seen in the pre-islamic poet

Duryab ibn Nahd:

..... a a
 a a
 a a
 a a etc. ⁴⁴

The meter on which this poetic form is based is not among the traditional fifteen meters formulated by al-Farahidi; it is called 'Rajaz'; it is like an irregular iambic and consists of two or three feet to the verse. 'Rajaz' has two characteristics: first, all verses and their parts rhyme with each other; secondly, it is uttered extempore, a few verses at a time, commonly verses expressing some personal feeling, emotion, or experience. It is precisely this meter which becomes the basis of countless short lyrics in the eighth century, especially those of Abu al-'Atahiya:

..... a a
 a a
 a a
 a a ⁴⁵

At this point we may take a close look at one of Abu Nuwas' lyrics; its form looks something like this:

..... a	..... a	..... a	..... a
..... b	..... b	..... b	..... a
..... c	..... c	..... c	..... a
..... d	..... d	..... d	..... a
..... e	..... e	..... e	..... a
..... f	..... f	..... f	..... a
..... g	..... g	..... g	..... a
..... h	..... h	..... h	..... a
..... i	..... i	..... i	..... a
..... j	..... j	..... j	..... a
..... k	..... k	..... k	..... a
..... l	..... l	..... l	..... a
..... m	..... m	..... m	..... a
..... n	..... n	..... n	..... a ⁴⁶

We notice that the lyric consists of fourteen verses. Each verse is divided into four parts whose rhyme scheme varies from one verse to another respectively; and all verses share a common end-rhyme a. The innovation exhibited in this lyric, moreover, lies in the variety of internal rhyme as well as in the number of parts to each verse, as opposed to the classical ode which carries no internal rhyme and which has two parts to each verse. Yet both the lyric and the classical ode share an end-rhyme that is one throughout.

The theme of the lyric is wine and the enchanting world of love which it evokes; it is thus typical of Abu Nuwas' bulk of lyrical poetry. The poet, moreover,

is famous for his descriptive powers: the first two verses, for example, show his uncanny ability to call up diverse images in the name of wondrous wine:

Wine in the pitcher	like sunshine in heaven,
like a drop of tear	like Eden's nectar,
'tis broth of the sun	the color of curcuma,
the offspring of Persia	and a friend to a prisoner. ⁴⁷

Indeed the entire lyric is composed with a view to summoning the enchanting world of wine. The poet's strategy, like that of a Pre-Islamic poet, is the use of a cluster of images made up of remote things connected together through a system of likeness, as this appears in our passage. In verses five and six, the poet, still describing wine, says:

It exhales an odor	like that of palm trees
fresh like the early cloud	in the early hours of dawn,
The cupbearer by his pouring	increased my desire
to a speedymeeting	with the water of the cloud. ⁴⁸

Reading the lyric one can hardly avoid the impression that each image is like a bead on a string around the neck of a woman, for toward the end of the lyric the poet does introduce a lady who sings a song in colloquial language (we shall return to this aspect of the lyric soon). All this and more is mainly designed to invest wine with a sensuousness which goes hand in hand with the lure of love.

There is hardly a metaphor or image used to portray an ideal state, or describe an inner feeling, at least in the nature of the effect of wine on the mind. On the contrary, all metaphors and images reflect the poet's flair for imaginative association of sensible realities; the entire lyric is but a sort of playful celebration or praise of the god of wine. It is important to note, moreover, that Abu Nuwas' manner of using figures of speech echoes that of the desert poet whose predilection is for sensory phenomena. Neither the desert poet, as we have seen on more than one occasion, nor Abu Nuwas' use language with a view to communicating a psychological state. And it is vain to search for an emotional or mental image behind the glitter of imagery in Abu Nuwas' lyric.

Needless to say Arabic poetry of later generations is an offshoot of Pre-islamic poetry. The poets learned their craft simply by memorizing genuine and varied poetry. Pre-islamic poetry had been preserved by oral tradition and soon became a schoolbook of instruction. The first law governing the production of poetry is to instruct the poet to use the method peculiar to it. Ibn

Khaldun describes this method as follows:

After the poet has been saturated with memorized poetical material and has sharpened his talent, in order to be able to follow the great examples, he proceeds to make rhymes himself. Through more and more practice, the habit of rhyme making becomes firmly established in him. It is often said that one of the conditions governing poetical production is to forget the memorized material, so that its external literal forms will be wiped out of memory, since they prevent the real use of the poetical habit. After the soul has been conditioned by them, and they are forgotten, the method of poetry is engraved upon the soul, as though it were a loom upon which similar such words can be woven as a matter of course.⁴⁹

Although Ibn Khaldun's description is a later insight (late fourteenth century) it is still sound in essence and may be confirmed by the example of Abu Nuwas himself. After his return from Basra (a city in Iraq) Abu Nuwas met Khalaf al-Ahmar, a Professor of poetry, who took the young poet under his wing and taught him the craft of poetic composition. He instructed him to memorize the most genuine, the purest, and the most varied poetry. Then he tested him for excellence. Abu Nuwas passed the test and was about to ask the Professor's permission to begin composing poetry, upon which Khalaf said: "I will not permit you to do anything of the sort unless you forget what you have memorized."⁵⁰

It was precisely at this time that Abu Nuwas fell in love with a Jariya called Jinan. Indeed, some of his best love and wine poetry dates from this fecund period of his love for Jinan. But soon his beloved went on a pilgrimage to Mecca for prayer; on her return, much as the ardent poet labored to resume relations with her, she denied him her love. The shock was deep; its convulsive waves sent him to the taverns, embittered and bereaved, seeking solace in wine for his tortured spirit. (To these unhappy years of the poet's life Arabic literature of the late eighth century is indebted for innovations in poetic forms.) Abu Nuwas soon developed a feeling of misogyny which was followed by displacement of the sexual object: he became attracted to young boys. This experience became his new poetic muse from which flowed unparalleled lyrical expression. In fact, the poet went so far as to justify 'male courtship' by blaming his predecessors for not having experienced such inspiring power of love.⁵¹ In effect, however, one can say that both wine poetry and poetry inspired by 'male courtship' reflect the degree of debauchery characteristic of the age of Abu Nuwas, as the following passage indicates:

Abu Nuwas was the first to have composed love poetry about young males. Yet this type of poetry marked the low and degenerate quality of the age of Abu Nuwas. Life of luxury, Jawari, and excessive indulgence in sexual pleasures eventually led to corruption of character, rowdyism, and debauchery of all kind.⁵²

In the West the Umayyads surpass the East in all forms of sensual indulgence which later became one of the richest sources of lyrical expression in Arabic literature.

One of the most significant innovations in the poetry of Abu Nuwas, specifically in the lyric mentioned earlier, is the presence of the lady singing a song in colloquial Arabic. The lyric, as we have seen consists of fourteen verses; the first ten are in classical language while the last four which make up its Kharja are written in colloquial language;⁵³

Why do you insult me	if such is my lot
mirth is my one trade	so do not blame me.
You have said enough	and if you say
you wish to forget	be mindful of me.
My eyes are all tears	you are full of joy
where shall I run	where shall I go,
You dishonoured me so	my secret is out
I can no longer endure	such keen pain. ⁵⁴

In order for us to understand the colloquial nature of this group of verses (which the English translation hardly brings out) we have to underline an important aspect

of Abu Nuwas' poetry. The scholar Abdul Majid Ghazali makes the following observation (and I translate):

It is to be noticed that when Abu Nuwas writes a poem in courtship of a Jariya, its language is so simple that it almost reads like common language. The reason for this is obvious: the poet's purpose was to set, as it were, a trap by which to attract the Jawari, since it was unlikely that he should address them in a language both above their means of understanding and level of education. On the other hand, the Jawari soon realized that such poetic compositions could be used as a means of making money by singing in taverns and at court-- which they did.⁵⁵

This passage sheds light on the four verses in Abu Nuwas's lyric; they are written in colloquial language and are sung by a Jariya whose business is to provide mirth and entertainment. Thus the four verses fit in with the theme of the entire lyric--wine and love. But according to Ghazali's last observation, these verses could be a separate song which Abu Nuwas attaches to his lyric on wine. In fact, although there is no evidence to the claim, it is highly likely that Abu Nuwas composed the verses for a Jariya to sing before he decided to write his poem; in this case the poem is built on the theme and rhyme scheme of the verses.

So far as I know Abu Nuwas' lyric is the only

instance in which colloquialism is combined with classical language. In the West such combination becomes one of the basic laws governing the composition of a Muwashshah. However, the question still remains as to whether or not there is a name by which to call the four verses in the lyric. In order to arrive at a decision we must use the insight of a later theoretician of poetry, Ibn Sana al-Mulk, who writes mainly on the art of Muwashshah. He observes that in a Muwashshah the verse which precedes the Kharja must "contain a word or phrase, like sing or say, or, I said, he said, or, I sing, she sings, he sings."⁵⁶ This observation applies in full to Abu Nuwas' lyric, for in the verse immediately preceding the last four verses acts as a kind of transition and contains the phrase "she sings". Consequently it can be said that the last four verses constitute a form of Kharja. In this connection Garcia Gomez has written an article, "Una Pre-Muwashshah atribuida a Abu Nuwas", in which he says:

Por otra parte, las estrofas 11 a 14 serían una especie de Kharja, demasiado larga--es cierto... Se puede hablar, en efecto, de una verdadera pre-muwashshah de Abu Nuwas.⁵⁷

(It is true and inspite of the excessive length, the verses 11 to 14 form a kind of Kharja... In effect, it can be said that this is a true pre-muwashshah found in Abu Nuwas.⁵⁸

There is no evidence whether Abu Nuwas' lyric influenced the rise of Muwashshah in the West, particularly the Kharja. We must therefore rely on other sources for an explanation of the Kharja, the meaning of the word, its function, and its importance in the Andalusian-Arabic lyrics. To be sure, most distinguished critics, Western and Eastern alike, have dealt with the nature and meaning of Kharja; but their treatment remains incomplete and is almost perfunctory.

There is nothing in the poetry of the East to indicate that the word 'kharja' is used in the sense in which it appears in a Muwashshah. Even in al-Andalus the word remains obscure for a long time before Ibn Sana al-Mulk explains or investigates its significance in the structure of Muwashshah (the historian Ibn Bassam does not mention anything about it in his work). The poet and scholar Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, however, mentions a word which is similar to but different from 'Kharja'; the word is 'Khuruj'. Ibn 'Abd Rabihi uses it in reference to the end-rhyme terminating in the letter (h) followed by any

of these vowels--a, u, i (in Arabic 'alif, waw, ya').

The heart of his argument concerns the letter (h) which is mute by nature, but which could be vocalized according to the vowel coming after it, i.e., if it is followed by any of these vowels--a, u, i-- it is vocalized as (ha, hu, hi) respectively; however, if it is not followed by any of the vowels, it cannot be vocalized, or it remains mute, and therefore "it has no Khuruj."⁵⁹ Obviously there is nothing here that suggests the concept or practice of Kharja in a Muwashshah, at least there is no direct connection between them. Yet on second thought it appears that 'Khuruj' has something to do with the art of prosody, part of which is the practice of making rhyme; for Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi's purpose is to set rules for the instruction of new poets.⁶⁰

To be sure, one such rule is rhyming, which is basic to the structure and coherence of a poem. In the instance of a rhyme which ends with the letter (h) Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi takes pains to explain that an 'alif, or ya', or waw', must be appended to it in writing.⁶¹ Thus the emphasis on correct rhyming is the first important step in the education of a poet.

The importance of learning the art of rhyming will be made clearer when Ibn Khaldun raises it to the level of a law. Ibn Khaldun's intention too is to instruct new poets in the Arabic poetic habit. He bases his conclusions on the practice of Pre-islamic poets as well as on later poets. One such conclusion is as follows:

The poet should have the rhyme in mind, when the verse is first given shape and form. He should set down and build his speech on it all the way through to the end, because, if the poet neglects to have the rhyme in mind when he makes the verse, it may be difficult for him to get the rhyme into its proper place.⁶²

Ibn Khaldun devotes a long section of his work, The Muqaddimah, to the "Craft of Poetry and the Way of Learning it."⁶³ His insights into Pre-islamic poetic technique reveals its complexity as well as its exacting demand concerns rhyme, which is significantly stressed in the passage just quoted: "The poet should have the rhyme in mind...he should set it down and build his speech on it." With this may be compared the following dictum of Ibn Sana' al-Mulk regarding the Kharja:

Kharja is the most brilliant part of a Muwashshah; it is its spice, its sugar, its music, and its amber. It is significant that the spirit of the poet must be totally immersed in the Kharja. It must be composed before he commits himself to any verse or meter, and at a moment when he is most

relaxed, unconstrained, jovial, and care-free. When he has come upon the Kharja, he has in fact discovered the base of his Muwashshah as well as its tail; what remains is only to add, as it were, the head.⁶⁴

The Kharja in making of a Muwashshah, then, like rhyme in the making of verse, is what the poet should primarily concentrate on. Just as rhyme must be in the mind of the poet before he makes his poem, so the Kharja, along with its rhyme, ought to be in his mind before the Muwashshah is underway. From these observations we conclude that from the point of view of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi's analysis of end-rhyme the Kharja is an extension, or an enlargement of the 'Khuruj' rule; and from the viewpoint of Arabic tradition of rhyming technique the composing of Kharja is unmistakably part of this tradition.

An important corollary of these observations is that a poet, who is unable to invent his own verse-rhyme or Kharja, may borrow them from another poet. In fact, in the East the borrowing of verse-rhyme was a widespread practice. To give an example, Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi tells us that the practice of borrowing,

begins when a later poet takes from an earlier one a certain verse, he either adds to it, emends it, or simply clarifies it, and so builds on it an entirely new poem, precisely as Abu Nuwas does with a verse which he borrows from the Pre-islamic poet al-'Asha.⁶⁵

And in view of this practice it is highly probable that Abu Nuwas could have borrowed the last four verses, which we discussed earlier, from another poet and built his lyric on them. The same practice, moreover, may appear in another form. For example, a poet begins with a hemistich (meaning one part of a two-part verse) which he borrows from another poet, then adds hemistich to it in order to make a complete verse, exactly as an anonymous poet does with two verses which he borrows from the Pre-islamic poet Zuhayr. And if we try to render this form of borrowing in English the result may look like the following: the two verses from Zuhayr are these:

Another lover may forget while another is untrue in
love,
And when I am in love,
I have a secret which only God shares with me.

and the anonymous poet says (and I underline the borrowed verses):

Another lover may forget should the beloved desert him
But I am a faithful lover while another is untrue in love,
And when I am in love, I have a secret hidden in my
conscience
And I cherish my secret love which only God shares with me. ⁶⁶

This procedure which is called 'tadmin', meaning the insertion of new hemistichs between borrowed ones, proves to be a seminal principle in the history of Arabic poetic technique; it becomes widespread in Spain of the eleventh century (and may be traced back to the ninth century). During the second half of the same century the procedure of borrowing undergoes further development. This development uses the same principle of borrowing as the one we have just discussed regarding the anonymous poet and Zuhayr. The only difference, however, is that the poet may divide the borrowed hemistich into two smaller parts and add his own to them. For example, the same verse in the above passage, "Another lover may forget/should the beloved desert him," can become like this:

Another lover/may forget should the beloved/desert him.

Accordingly the poet creates a new rhyme scheme which becomes the basis of the entire poetic structure, and which the poet may arrange in terms of refrains and strophes, depending on his sense of form (usually the determining factor in such arrangement is music, as we shall see in our next chapter). The technique of 'tadmin' lies at the base of the art of Muwashshah. In fact, Ibn Wahil,

a contemporary of Ibn Zaydun (1003-1070), borrows from the latter two hemistichs each of which he divides into two smaller parts, and composes a lyric similar to a Muwashshah in form.⁶⁷ Moreover, the scholar Ihsan Abbas traces the beginning of this technique to the poet Muqaddam ibn Mu'afa al-Qabari of the ninth century, of whose poetry nothing has survived.

The final stage in the development of the technique of borrowing comes when the poet borrows an entire verse and makes it a Kharja for his Muwashshah. This practice became so common that Ibn Sana' al-Mulk would raise it to the level of a law; for he says that,

an excellent writer of Muwashshah may borrow a verse from a famous poet and make it a Kharja on which he builds his Muwashshah, as Ibn Baqqi (d. 1145) does with a verse from the Eastern poet Ibn al-Mu'tazz (861-908).⁶⁸

In this manner the latter's verse provides Ibn Baqqi with both the meter and rhyme scheme for his lyric's refrain.

It is in the light of this traditional procedure of borrowing that we ought to view the Romance Kharjas at the end of some Andalusian-Arabic Muwashshahat. As in Arabic Kharjas, the poet would take such a Romance or

Spanish love-song as his starting point, and adapt the meter and rhymes of these verses to his own Arabic refrain (here "refrain" does not mean a repeated verse, but simply a repeated rhyme). This refrain in turn gives the pattern for the second part of each stanza in the new poem. For instance, the poet al-Tutili, whom we have met earlier in the present chapter, builds a love-song around the Romance verses:

Meu 'l-habib enfermo de meu amar
 quen ad sanar?
 Bi nafsi amante, que sed a meu legar!

(My dearest one is sick with love of me
 who will his doctor be?
 By my love's soul, how he waits, thirstily!⁶⁹)

He adapts the meter and rhymes of these verses to his own verses to his own Arabic refrain with which he begins his lyric:

A stream of tears, heart kindled ardently
 water and fire can be
 joined only in a great extrematy.

This refrain in turn provides the pattern for the second part of each stanza in the poem; the second stanza is this:

I have made a tyrannic lady my lord,
 I stammer her name and can scarce speak the word,
 Marvel that all my justness has incurred
 such great injustice! Ask her why I'm unheard!

She has destroyed my soul capriciously
 by her timidity
 and without her there's no good company!

There are five such stanzas, each stanza being followed by the refrain. The last stanza ends with the adopted lines (the Kharja, or concluding verses):

Bondage to her will never let me rest,
 reproachful, arrogant, she hold me fast;
 She has abandoned me, sick and distressed,
 but then she sings, half in love, half in jest;

My dearest one is sick with love of me
 who will his doctor be?
 By my love's soul, how he waits, thirstily!⁷⁰

Both in form and content al-Tuttili's lyric is very similar to the one we have studied earlier. In theme the lyric is characteristic of Arabic love poetry in general--the lady is unjust and tyrannical but beautiful; she is arrogant and capricious; and all the more the poet is enamoured by her beauty and relishes her tyranny. The same lady is present in the lyric; she is the same lady (usually a Jariya) whom the poet had met in real life and with whom he instantly fell in love. Just as in real life she appears uncomplying, confused, provocative, or indecisive, so does she in the poem. The Romance Kharja, like the Arabic Kharja, is sung by the lady, and so are the

last four verses which we have seen in Abu Nuwas' lyric. Since Abu Nuwas wrote his lyric, the practice of having the last portion of a lyric sung or spoken by the lady became a special contribution of Andalusian poets. Moreover, as we have seen in Chapter I, the Andalusian-Arabic Muwashshah is closely connected with the world of Jawari, whose singing they perform in public as well as at court. During the second half of the eleventh century it had become a custom to end the rhetorically elaborate panegyrics and love-songs composed at the sophisticated courts of al-Andalus with Romance verses specially appropriate to the Jariya who performed them. Most often the Romance Kharjas consisted of a woman's love-song which like the Arabic Kharjas contrasted with the rest of the piece by its simplicity and directness, at times by its coquettish or provocative tone. In conclusion it can be said that the theme of Arabic Kharjas paved the way for adoption of Romance Kharjas which proved to be quite influential in the development of Muwashshah.

These Romance Kharjas (the fifty three Kharjas discovered so far are preserved in Muwashshahat composed between 1050-1150) show a wide range in expression and in

quality. They have been carefully studied by various notable scholars, such as Heger, Gomez, Stern, Dronke, Spitzer, and many others. The result of their long and involved study may be summed up as follows: in the light of the discovery of Romance Kharjas modern Spanish popular stanzas appear to contain an age-old primitive layer of Spanish poetry whose continuity since the eleventh century is now firmly established.⁷¹ Thus, for Western scholarship, Romance Kharjas act as a mirror which reflects some notion of what the earlier range of European song (including the Spanish) was like. If we apply the same insight of Arabic song, we may arrive at a fairly good idea of the range of Arabic lyrical poetry. And for this purpose I would like to begin with a quotation from Leo Spitzer regarding the content of Romance Kharjas:

While the ambiente in the Portugese Cantigas de Amigo, in the German Frauenlieder, and Old French popular songs is rural, that of the Kharjas is strictly urban; nature is completely excluded and there is consequently no opportunity for the poet to establish a parallelism between human feeling and nature.⁷²

This is a felicitous observation made in view of the fact that the Kharjas are love songs of women; and Spitzer, moreover, attempts to explain the origin of these songs

through historical perspective. In effect, he finds that the Arabs tend to interpolate Arabic words, names, and names of cities in the songs. In so doing they create in them an atmosphere which fits into a framework of city life. Likewise, the names of the young men loved by the maidens are names of particular persons evidently well-known to the community, as the city dwellers could appreciate what it means to love Ibrahim, or Abu Qasim, or the son of Dayyeni, or Ibn Muhayir. Thus it can be said that the Arab poets of Spain, especially those who moved in the orbit of Umayyad court and later the smaller kingdoms, were essentially city poets who composed Muwashshahs to entertain as well as to praise Caliphs, princes, or princesses.

At the center of these lyrics as we have seen on more than one occasion, stands the courtesan or Jariya. Often she is of foreign origin, fair-haired and physically attractive. To own her, whether by purchase or marriage, is to provide oneself with a constant source of pleasure and sexual satisfaction. To be sure, the history of Arabic literature of Spain is filled with stories and anecdotes about Caliphs and princes who own Jawari and write poetry expressing their love for them, while the

poets compose love songs for Jawari to sing at court. These Jawari, however, differ in social position or status from, say, the daughters of Caliphs; in fact, the poet is expressly forbidden to compose love poems in which he celebrates the charms of the latter. The following incident, for example, is related by Ibn Hazm:

A certain poet in Cordova composed a love-poem in which he celebrated the charms of Subh, the mother of al-Mu'aiyad (God have mercy on his soul!). A slave-girl, brought before al-Mansur Muhammad ibn Abi 'Amir with a view to his purchasing her, chose this very song to sing to him: he promptly ordered her to be executed. It was for the same reason that Ahmad ibn Mughith was put to death, the Mughith clan exterminated, and proclamation issued that not one of their numbers should ever be taken into the royal service-- a decree which resulted in their utter destruction, and the entire wiping out of the house, none surviving but a wretched handful of outcast fugitives. This was all because Ahmad ibn Mughith composed a love lyric in honour of a Caliph's daughter. Such instances are numerous.⁷³

Even though this passage reflects events earlier than those under discussion, nevertheless it puts in proper perspective what later becomes the norm in the life of Umayyad Spain. There are, however, three important points to be considered in this passage: first, it tells us that the Jariya is the girl whom the poet celebrates in his lyric, not any other woman; secondly, the Jariya is not

considered on an equal par with other women of the court; thirdly, it is the Jariya who sings the poem composed for her by the poet, as a Jariya did one of Ibn Sa'igh's lyrics (a contemporary of al-Tutili) before the Caliph Ibn Tifluit, and as another did one of the lyrics of Ibn Nizar (later part of the twelfth century) before the Caliph Ibn Mardanish.⁷⁴ From these points it follows that the Romance Kharijas fall within the category of Arabic love lyrics which are put in the mouths of Jawari who sing at court. The business of Jawari is to entertain Caliphs by song and dance; for they are pretty aware of the commercial value which these songs add to their qualifications should the Caliphs decide to purchase them, as Ibn Hazm tells us in the above passage, and as the two examples from Ibn Sa'igh and Ibn Nizar indicate. This is precisely why, and significantly so, these songs are never composed about respectable women of the court.⁷⁵

These facts bring us back full circle to the days of Abu Nuwas in the East when love song first makes its appearance in Arabic literature. It is an age in which the Jawari play a decisive role in the development of love lyrics at the court of Harun al-Rashid. This Caliph, who

drinks to the hilt every drop of pleasure, surrounds himself with a pleiad of poets, including musicians and singers such as Ibrahim al-Musili and his son Ishaq al-Musili, and to crown it all, with the most beautiful Jawari (and it is a fact that Harun al-Rashid himself is the son of a Jariya)⁷⁶, Of course a parallel to this court ambience is to be found at the court of Umayyads which surpasses that of the Abbasides in the East. In Spain the Umayyads build in their capitals and fortresses sumptuous palaces and villas, and indulge in drinking and literary parties in the company of poets, musicians, and singing girls. In the ninth century a famous musician, Ziryab (d. 857), comes to Spain from Baghdad with his children and slave-girls to found the Andalusian school of music and song, and incidentally to teach the manners of Baghdad society.⁷⁷

If I constantly keep switching back and forth between the West and the East, it is because we cannot understand the one without the other. The two sides constitute a cultural unity; if this were not so, Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi would not have composed his famous work as though it were written in the East (see Chapter II, p.108). To be sure, Arabic love lyrics, including those which contain Arabic

as well as Romance Kharjas are placed within the environs of court life of both East and West. The short lyric which makes its appearance during Abu Nuwas' time is very much the result of both the innovative spirit characteristic of the period and the poet's bent for sensuous love and wine orgy. We have already studied one such lyric which contains a form of Kharja in colloquial Arabic, sung by a Jariya who apparently serves wine at a tavern. Her song expresses her sad lot and her confused feelings, for the poet, at least in the poem, seems to have dishonored her. Thematically the girl's song appropriately fits into the content of the lyric as a whole, as the themes of Romance Kharjas--the frankness with which the girl sings of her feelings, being an active lover as well as a passive loved one, her confusion about her own complicated feelings, her submissiveness and determination--⁷⁸ fit into the general content of Andalusian-Arabic Muwashshahat. Abu Nuwas' lyric is the only sample in which colloquial and classical languages are combined, a fact which prompts Garcia Gomez to consider it as a pre-muwashshah, because it falls within the tradition of Muwashshahat both in form and content. However, Abu Nuwas composed many other love lyrics in

colloquial language. As in Spain, the purpose has to do with the role of Jawari at court. The Jawari use these songs in order to enhance their appeal to the sensual eye of Caliphs in case the latter decide to purchase them. In fact, they often do so, and the poets are needed at court to provide songs for continual pleasure. Besides, the Romance Kharjas have exercised their influence on the art of Muwashshah in its early stages of development. This influence is mainly formal-- the rhyme and meter of Romance songs are adopted by Arab poets to their refrains. It is important to note that the kind of Romance verses which the Arabs adopted are mainly love songs expressing a variety of women's attitudes in love-- frank, confused, care-free--in every way befitting the basic attitude and conception of Arabic love.

In short, love poets in both the East and the West never tread the depth of the soul or heights of passion. When in the company of a pretty woman, they express a simple feeling of happiness or love; their imagery and comparisons do not aspire beyond description of the sensual qualities of the lady. Rarely or never do they present a complete portrait of the beloved, even

when her name is mentioned, we seldom are before a distinguished or intellectually stimulating personality. Even Henri Peres, regarding Andalusian poets in general, admits this:

Les portraits de la bien-aimée ne présentent, il faut l'avouer, de vers vraiment originaux; c'est que les réminiscences classique abondent. Large place est faite aux attributs physiques de la gazelle, de l'antilope et meme de la vache sauvage, comme aux particularites de la colline de sable et du rameau poussant en sol sablonneux.⁷⁹

But when Pèrès begins to speak of "Le culte de la femme a trouvé sa forme idéale dans ce que l'on appelle l'amour 'Udri ou amour platonique,"⁸⁰ and then cites Ibn Hazm as an authority on the subject, he is confusing what is authentically Arabic with what is Neo-Platonic (I have discussed this subject in the introduction and shall have to return to it in the final chapter).

CHAPTER III

Notes

¹The passage is translated by A.J. Arberry in his book, Aspects of Islamic Civilization, p. 21.

²The verses are cited by Ihsan Abbas in his book, Tarikh al Adab al-Andalusi 'The History of Andalusian Literature', p. 233. They are as follows:

badrun tam shamsun duha, ghusnun naqa,
miskun shak; ma atam, ma awdaha, ma awraqa,
ma asham; la jurma, man lamaha, qad ashīqa,
qad harram.

The same verses are translated by A.R. Nykl in his book, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, p. 392; and I have used his translation.

³The countless passages from various authors on the subject would fill an encyclopaedia, and the treatment of the subject alone would require an altogether separate study, especially if it is done in conjunction with a discussion of Troubadour poems. For example, one may compare Imru'ul-Qais with some of the poem of Guillaume IX. Guillaume's attitude is erotic and sexual, at least in his first poem about two horses. But while Guillaume's playful and sophisticated attitude is an arrogantly humorous protest against an existing tradition of songs involving the elite conception of love, that of Imru'ul-Qais is simply natural, openly sexual and instinctively pleasure seeking.

⁴This subject has excellently been treated by Winthrop Wetherbee in his book, Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1972). pp. 126-219. See also the incomparable study of Erich Auerbach, Scenes from the Drama of European Literature, trans. Ralph Manheim and Catherine Garvin (New York, 1959), pp. 60-62.

⁵Ibn Sana' al-Mulk, Dar al-Tiraz, ed. Jawdat Rakabi (Damascus, 1949), pp. 43-44. The lyric is this:

ḡahikun⁶ an juman/safirun⁶ an badri/ḡaqa⁶ anhu-z-zaman/
wa ḡawadu ṣadri

ah mimma ajid/shaffani ma ajidu
qama bi wa qa⁶ ad/batishun muta⁶ idu
kullama qultu qad/qala li ayna qaddu
wa-n-ṡana khutū ban/dha mahzin nadri/ abatathu yadan/
li-ṡ-ṡiba wa-l-qatri

bi hawa mudmiru/layta juhdi wufquh
kullama yazharu/fafu⁶ adi ufquh
dhalika-l-manzaru/la yudawi⁶ ishquh
bi'abi kayfa kan/falakiiyyu durri/raqa hatta-s-taban/
undhruhu wa udhri

hal ilayka sabil/aw ila an ay'asa
dhubtu illa qalil/⁶ abratum aw nafasa
ma assa an aqul/sa'a zunni bi asa
an-qada kullu shan/wa ana astashri/khali⁶ an min⁶ inan/
jaz i wa sabri

ma⁶ ala man yalum/law tanaha anni
hal sawa hubbu rim/dinuhu-t-tajanni
ana fihi ahim/wa huwa bi yughanni
qad ra'ytuka ayyan/laysa⁶ alayka satadri/sayatulu-z-zaman/
wa satansa dhikri

⁶Ibid., p. 25.

⁷Ibn Bassam, Kitab al-Dhakhira "The Book of Treasury" (Cairo, 1944), II, 1. I was fortunate to have found this work in three volumes at the University of Chicago library; it is edited in Cairo and bears no editor's name. The original passage which I have translated is as follows:

sina⁶ at al-tawshih lam takun marmuqat al-burud wa la manzumat al-'uqud, fa aqama Ubada man'aduha wa qawwama mayluha wa sanaduha, fa ka'anaha lam tusma bi-l-andalus illa minhu wa la 'ukhidhat illa anhu, wa-sh-tahara biha ishtiheran ghalaba⁶ ala dhatihi wa dhababa bikatirin min ḡasanatihi.

⁸See Chapter II, note 73.

⁹It is extremely difficult to reproduce or translate colloquial Arabic expressions into English without losing the flavor of the original. However, one of the signs by which we can recognize an Arabic Kharja in translation is by its anticlimactic tone which is usually curt, coquettish, or, to use a colloquial expression, is used in reference to a girl who is cut up.

¹⁰Ibn Hazm, Tawq al-Hamamah 'The Ring of the Dove', trans A.J. Arberry (London, 1953), p. 24.

¹¹Ibn Sina, "Risala Fil Ishq" (Treatise on Love), in the collection, Kitab al-Isharat wal Tanbihat (Cairo, 1928), p. 75. The same treatise has been translated by Emil Fackenheim, "A Treatise on Love by Ibn Sina," Medieval Studies, VII (1945), 220-228.

¹²The passage is cited by Ihsan Abbas, Tarikh al-Adab al-Andalusi, p. 229. The verses are these:

hawaytu hilalan/fil husni faridan/ a
ara-l-ghazala'alhazan wajida, wa taha jamalan/
lam yubghi mazidan/badrin yatala' la'fi husni
itidali.

¹³Translated by R.A. Nicholson, A Literary History of Arabs (Cambridge University Press, 1966), p. 82.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 90.

¹⁵Cited by Sir Hamilton Gibb in his book, Arabic Literature (Second edition, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 27. The fragment is translated by E.H. Palmer.

¹⁶Fredrick Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouveres (New York, 1973), p. 46.

¹⁷Translation is mine.

¹⁸Goldin, p. 17.

¹⁹
Ibid., p. 42.

²⁰Translation is mine.

²¹Goldin, p. 42.

²²Translation is mine.

²³Goldin, p. 44.

²⁴Translation is mine.

²⁵I believe that A.J. Denomy is inaccurate when he speaks of the joy of love in the Troubadours as being originally, and particularly a mystic concept which came to the Troubadours from the Muslim mystics, the Sufis, through Ibn Sina in his Treatise on Love. In fact, in his treatise Ibn Sina hardly mentions anything in the nature of the joy of love in the special sense in which we find it in the Troubadours.

On this subject see Theodore Silverstein, "Andreas, Plato, and the Arabs," Modern Philology, 47 (1949-50), 121-122.

²⁶Luke 8:12, John 12:35, 36,46.

²⁷On this subject see the excellent study by Peter Dronke, The Medieval Lyric (Harper and Row, New York, 1968), pp. 32-85.

²⁸Cited by Ibn Sana' al-Mulk, Dar al-Tiraz, p. 70:

yatgha wajibi/wa jaladi yanbatu/sarraha hubbi/
law anani sarrahtu

man li bihyafi/yal'abu bil'uql
rana biawtafi/kal-sarim al-saqil
wa hazza mi'atafi/kal ghusn al-matlul.

²⁹The verses are these:

ana wa anta/iswatu hatha-l-hajri
 bilsabri binatang/ma-inside-il fajri
 wa much rahalta/ghanna-l-jawa fi sadri:
 safar habibi/sahar wa ma wada⁶ tahu/ya wahsh qalba/
 fil layli idha-f-takartu.

³⁰Translated by A.J. Arberry, Aspects of Islamic Civilization, p. 20.

³¹Cited by G.E.Von Grunebaum, 'The Arab Contribution to Troubadour Poetry,' Bulletin of the Islamic Institute, VII (1946), 140.

³²On this subject see Ibn Qutayba, Kitab al-Shi'r wal Shu'ara', pp. 51-53. In these pages Ibn Qutayba makes it clear to us that each and every pre-Islamic ode begins with a prelude which celebrates the poet's memory of a past love.

³³Translated by A.J. Arberry, Aspects, pp. 20-21.

³⁴Quoted by R.A. Nicholson, Literary History of the Arabs, p. 105.

³⁵James Kritzek, Anthology of Islamic Literature (New York, 1964), p. 84. The Original passage may be found in Diwan Abu Nuwas, ed. Ahmad Abdul Majid Ghazali (Beirut, 1953), p. 12.

³⁶James Kritzek, Anthology of Islamic Literature, p. 87. The passages may be found in the same edition of Ghazali, Diwan Abu Nuwas, pp. 32-33.

³⁷Translated by A.J. Arberry, The Seven Odes (New York, 1957), p. 204.

³⁸Translation is mine. The verse may be found in Abdul Majid Ghazali, Diwan Abu Nuwas, p. 23.

³⁹James Kritzek, Anthology of Islamic Literature, p. 86.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 88.

⁴¹See al-Khalil b. Ahmad al-Farahidi, Kitab al-^lAyn (The Book of the Litter ayn), ed. Abdulla Darwish (Cairo, 1967), I, 2-8.

⁴²Karam Bustani, ed. Diwan abu al-Atahiya. (Beirut, 1964), p. 342.

⁴³Jawdat Rakabi, Muwashshahat (Beirut, 1965), p. 13.

⁴⁴R.A. Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs, p. 14.

⁴⁵Karam Bustani, ed. Diwan Abu al-Atahiya, p. 342.

⁴⁶Ahmad Abdul Majid Ghazali, ed. Diwan Abu Nuwas, p. 332. The same lyric can be found in Garcia Gomez, "Una Pre-Muwashshah Attribuida a Abu Nuwas," Al-Andalus, 20 (1953), 407.

⁴⁷Translation is mine.

⁴⁸Translation is mine.

⁴⁹Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah, trans. F. Rosenthal (Princeton, 1967), p. 448.

⁵⁰Ghazali, Diwan Abu Nuwas, p. 23.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 24.

⁵²Ibid., p. 24

⁵³See note, 9.

⁵⁴Ghazali, Diwan Abu Nuwas, p. 332:

ya man lahani/ ala zamani/al-lahwa sha'ni/fala talumni
atalta adhlan/fala taqul la/yuridu illa (ma) salwa anni
asakhta aynan/taraka zina/fa 'ayna 'ayna (mal) firara minni
hatakta sitran/fabaha sirri/wa ila sabri/bituli huzni.

I have placed the two words (ma) in parenthesis in order to underline the colloquial element in the verses; in this way it becomes perceptible to a Western reader. In each where the word appears it is placed between its two parts-- the third and the fourth--which, by virtue of the word, are connected together, and so take on the rhythmic quality of spoken language. Readers of Arabic can instantly recognize this linguistic phenomenon when they know the wide gap which separates poetic, or written, language from spoken language.

⁵⁵ Ahmad Abdul Majid Ghazali, Diwan Abu Nuwas, p. 25.

⁵⁶ Ibn Sana' al-Mulk, Dar al-Tiraz, p. 31.

⁵⁷ Garcia Gomez, "Una Pre-Muwashshah atribuida a Abu Nuwas," al-Andalus, 20 (1953), 413-14.

⁵⁸ Translation is mine.

⁵⁹ Ibn Abd Rabbihi, Kitab al-Iqd al-Farid (Cairo, 1935), I, 95.

⁶⁰ Ibid., Introduction, p. 5.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 95 .

⁶² Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah, trans. F. Rosenthal, p. 449.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 437-459.

⁶⁴ Ibn Sana' al-Mulk, Dar al-Tiraz, p. 32.

⁶⁵ Ibn Abd Rabbihi, Kitab al-Iqa al-Farid, IV, 3-19. The passage occurs on page, 4; and the translation is mine.

⁶⁶ This passage may be found in al-Muhit al-Muhit, under the article, "Tasmit."

⁶⁷ A.R. Nykl, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, p. 121.

⁷⁵The daughter of a Caliph or his sister is a freed woman, as opposed to slave-girls. In fact, the Holy Qur'an makes a distinction between the two, with the rider that no one will compel a slave-girl to resort to a foul life when she wants to be chaste. On this interesting subject see Fazlu Rahman, Islam (New York, 1968), pp. 34-36. See also Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah, trans. F. Rosenthal, pp. 18-19.

⁷⁶Ghazali, Diwan Abu Nuwas, Introduction,

⁷⁷W. Montgomery Watt and Piere Cachia, A History of Islamic Spain (New York, 1967), p. 62.

⁷⁸Peter Dronke, The Medieval Lyric, pp. 87-89.

⁷⁹Henri Pérès, "La Poésie Arabe d'Andalousie et ses Relations Possible avec la Poésie des Troubadours," L'Islam et L'Occident: Les Cahiers du Sud, (1947), p. 114.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 118.

CHAPTER IV

**FURTHER INVESTIGATION OF THE MUWASHSHAH
AND ITS FORM IN THE CONTEXT OF ARABIC
LITERATURE BOTH EAST AND WEST, BRIEFLY
COMPARED WITH THE FORMS OF TROUBADOUR
POETRY (GUILLAUME); ITS MUSICAL STRUCTURE
AND THE VARIOUS THEORIES THEREOF, AND
ITS POSSIBLE SOURCES IN THE ROMANCE
VERNACULAR SONG: A CRITIQUE OF A.R. NWKL
AND E. LEVI-PROVENCAL.**

In his book, Tarikh al-Adab al-Andalusi "History of Andalusian literature", Ihsan Abbas presents the following remarks:

If we consider the development of Andalusian literature, we find that it followed in the traditions of Eastern poetry whenever the new cultural environment proved too tempting to resist: some poets recoiled before excesses of luxury and life of pleasure, sought refuge in nature or in solitude, and wrote love poetry which did not extend beyond the sensual, while a few expressed their ideas of chaste love which actually was a reaction against sheer delight in sensory phenomena.

Let us go a step further. When the Andalusian poet tended to imitate the ancients, his poetry exuded eloquence; and when he tried to imitate the moderns his poetry resounded with music and song. Until the emergence of Muwashshah there was no middle ground between these two extremes. In this sense the Muwashshah is both formalistic and innovative; yet in essence it remains a tapestry reflecting all aspects of specious sophistication and life of luxury.¹

Excluding for the time being the few remarks on the Muwashshah, this passage is an apt evaluation of Andalusian literature in the tenth and eleventh centuries. One may go further, both the ancients and the moderns, particularly the latter, like Abu Nuwas, were imitated in the ninth century.² It is in fact difficult to imagine any society where the distinctive poetry of al-Andalus could for long be anything but a conventional expression. Substantially

this poetry is one with that of the Islamic East. When Ibn Khafaja (1058-1138), both a traditionalist and an innovator, says:

My hands travelled about his body, now to the
waist and now to the breast,
descending to the Tihama of his flanks, and
rising to the Najd of his breast,³

the uncomplicated sensuality, the comparisons (Najd is the central upland of Arabia, Tihama the coastal strip), and the convention of speaking of the loved woman in the masculine gender grow out of a cutting from the East. In short, acquaintance with and emulation of classical poetry and its techniques become the ideal formation of the Andalusian poet.

This ideal is nowhere better illustrated than in Ibn Bassam's monumental work, Kitab al-Dhakhira "The Treasury". His work is a testimony to the dominant literary taste of the period 100-1150; all poetry which reflects or imitates classical forms is recorded, but all poetry which is not based on the classical systems of meters is excluded. Thus he says of the art of

Muwashshah:

The system of meters on which Muwashshahat are built falls outside the purpose of this book; for this system does not belong in the category of classical meters of Arabic poetry.⁴

Likewise, Ibn Bassam's contemporary, Ibn Khaqan (d.1140), declines or refuses to record Muwashshahat in his two literary histories, Qala'id and Matmah.

It is obvious that these two prominent historians represent the conservative spirit of twelfth-century Andalusian literature,⁵ while the Muwashshah represents a new departure in poetic composition. (This conservative spirit is to a large extent responsible for the loss of many Muwashshahs, especially those containing Romance Kharjas, which otherwise might have shed more light on the origin of these lyrics.) In fact, anything which deviates from or fails to preserve classical and neo-classical traditions is to be discarded. Accordingly, the art of singing, for example, specifically poetic forms based on music or popular song bear little or no relation to traditional Arabic poetry. Thus Romance as well as Arabic Kharjas on which Muwashshahs are structured seem to be the major cause underlying the twelfth-century historians' refusal to record them.

After Ibn Bassam and Ibn Khaqan the art of Muwashshah slowly gains ground, so that Ibn Rushd and Ibn Sana' al-Mulk see it as a singular contribution of the Andalus to Arabic literature. Later critics, historians, and poets discuss this art at length; one may mention the influential work of al-Maqqari (d.1631), Nafh al-Tib "The Good Fragrance". In another equally famous work, Azhar al-Riyad "The Flowers of Gardens" al-Maqqari reports the following remark made by Ibn Hazmun, a thirteenth-century writer of Muwashshah:

A Muwashshah is not a Muwashshah unless it is stripped of all stylistic mannerism and formal speech.⁶

The remark is significant: the Muwashshah is distinguished from other poetic forms by its language and syntax--choice of simple words, lack of rhetorical word-play, and smooth style--which bring it closer to everyday speech. As rhythm and melody are aspects of everyday language, so the elements of folklore, song, and music, which do not enter into classical compositions, are integral parts of the Muwashshah. Indeed, the main element in a Muwashshah which combines colloquialism with song and music is the Kharja, for its meter and rhyme scheme as well as its music color or

determine the structure of the lyric as a whole. A comparison of this structure with that of classical poetry for example, reveals that the former is based on a quantitative pattern of long (-) and short (∧) syllables, whereas the Muwashshah exhibits a qualitative pattern; that is, rhythm in the form of stressed accent. Classical poetry is intended for recitation and so all verses are quantitatively equivalent and are not divided into strophes; the Muwashshah is intended to be sung (and normally also danced) and shows great variation in verses, but the correspondence between strophes is generally very exact.

Music and song have a major function in the art of Muwashshah. In fact, Ibn Sana' al-Mulk notes that "the greatest number of Muwashshahs are not so much based on metrical schemes as on melody or music;" this, 'he continues to say, "is their important difference from classical compositions." In order to point out the difference, he uses the word "wazn" meaning "metrical foot," when he refers to classical forms, and the word 'talhin' meaning "melody," when referring to Muwashshahs.⁷

This difference is still more clearly outlined

by another important figure, the philosopher Ibn Rushd (Averroes, 1126-1198). He has written a treatise on Arabic poetics called Kitab al-Shi'r 'The Book of Poetry' in which he applies his knowledge of and insight into Aristotelian canons of poetry to Arabic poetic technique.⁸ In his reference to classical compositions he says that "Arabic poetry in general contains no music or melody, but is distinguished by its disciplined conformity to classical meter or prosody."⁹ Like Ibn Sana' al-Mulk, Ibn Rushd uses the word 'wazn' as opposed to the word 'talhin'. Over against these remarks, specifically with regard to the art of Muwashshah, Ibn Rushd says:

Imitation in poetry may be produced by means of rhythm, language, meter, and music; these being used either separately or in combination. But there is a kind of poetry which makes use of all such media--rhythm, melody, music, song, and meter--such as we find in Muwashshahat which have recently been invented here in this island.¹⁰

In the first part of the passage Ibn Rushd obviously draws on Aristotle's Poetics, while in the second part he applies the concept of imitation to the art of Muwashshah. There is relatively nothing in the entire body of criticism on the art of Muwashshah, past or present, which compares with Ibn Rushd's insight; it

is the most original insight since the twelfth century. Its significance lies in the fact that the art of Muwashshah combines several media--rhythm, song, melody, and meter, the very media indeed which are characteristic of both the Spanish or Romance dance-songs and the Arabic Kharjas. Both Romance and Arabic Kharjas are popular songs which attempt to reproduce, or represent by means of words, rhythm, and song what people actually say and do, that is, the general ethos of the people; moreover, since the Kharja is the nucleus of the Muwashshah, determining its melody as well as the meter of its refrains, we can say that the Muwashshah developed in imitation of these popular dance-songs. In essence, Ibn Rushd's concept of imitation is this: where Andalusian literary practice, particularly the Muwashshah, diverges from that of the East, it moves in a direction acceptable to European taste.

The Arabic Kharjas themselves presuppose the existence of a tradition of folklore or popular song before the Muwashshah came into being, just as on the basis of the Romance Kharjas appear an age-old layer of Spanish popular song. However, this tradition does not seem to have originated in the East, at least, its roots

do not reach back to the East; rather these roots shoot out of the soil of al-Andalus. (Let us not confuse Kitab al-Aghani with popular song; the former is the sum total of poems composed by the great poets of the East as well as by musicians, such as Ziryab whose art shows the influence of Greek musical theory.) There is in fact a thirteenth-century text which asserts that the early Andalusians sang either in the manner of the Nazarenes (Christians), or in that of the Arab camel drivers (see Introduction, pp. 19-20).

With regard to singing in the manner of camel drivers Ibn Khaldun tells us that these sang when they drove their camels and young men sang when they were alone. They repeated the sounds and hummed them, and when such a humming was applied to poetry it produced something like singing.¹¹ Moreover, if this kind of singing continued into the early decades of the Islamic era, it was severely crushed by religious dogma which was directed, among other things, against all activity of leisure.¹² Thus until the eighth century there was nothing in the nature of a tradition of oral poetry and song, or a craft of singing having its own rules and governed by its

own principles. In the East the Arabs had to wait until they conquered Persia and Byzantium to produce an art of song and music; in the following passage from Ibn Khaldun the word "they" refers to the Abbasids:

Then luxury and prosperity came to them, because they obtained the spoils of the nations. They came to lead splendid and refined lives and to appreciate leisure. The singers now left Persia and Byzantium. These descended upon the Hijaz and became clients of the Arabs. They all sang accompanied by lutes, pandores, lyres and flutes. The Arabs heard their melodious use of sound and they set their poems to music accordingly. Continual and gradual progress was made in the craft of singing. Eventually, in the days of the Abbasids, singing reached its perfection.¹³

This passage shows beyond doubt that music and song originally did not form a part of Arabic poetic tradition. They were chiefly an importation from foreign cultures, cultivated by Greek and Persian musicians who came to Arabia along with their trained slave-girls.¹⁴ These girls soon became the center of attraction of both the court and poets of the eighth century, for example Abu Nuwas praises the music and song of a Jariya:

Youth and I, we ran	a headlong race of pleasure
No recorded sin	but soon I took its measure.
Of the gifts of time	there is none to heaven higher
Than when music wakes	the string of lute and lyre
O the girl whose song	I had it for the asking. ¹⁵

But the girl's song which here Abu Nuwas praises does not appear in the short lyric; he asks the girl to sing for him only because he is inebriated with wine. Thus the song has nothing in the nature of folk art. If by now we are familiar with Abu Nuwas and his cult of wine and love poems, we can say that the art of song, at least in the East, is essentially literary in the sense that it is not a creation from the depth and spirit of the people; if it were, it would encourage the poets to imagine or represent the general ethos of the people. On the contrary, the poets compose songs and the Jawari sing them at court or in public taverns. Besides, the majority of these songs are intended to entertain the aristocracy, as evidenced by countless anecdotes told about the Eastern Jawari who came to al-Andalus for the purpose of entertainment at court.¹⁶

Likewise in al-Andalus the art of folk song did not at first arise from the spirit of the Arabic community, at least the poets did not represent that spirit in their poems: they were city dwellers, and, like their Eastern brothers, were too concerned with their financial security to feel the need for any participation in the

life of the community. On the other hand, during the period 821-852, which saw the reign of Abd ar-Rahaman al-Awsat, al-Andalus underwent a radical change from a primitive, bedouin way of life to a civilized form of life: the literature and the various arts of the East were transferred to al-Andalus, so that it was not long before the majority of the people became, as it were, poets by nature. In this connection, al-Qazwini's remark (d.1338) is illuminating, for he says that "any peasant tilling the soil could utter extempore all kinds of verse expressing diverse meanings-- personal feelings, emotion, or experience."¹⁷ Poetry always held the Arabs under its spell, and language always had an irresistible influence over their minds. The Arabs created or developed no great art of their own, and their artistic nature found expression through one medium one-- speech: the beauty of man lies in the eloquence of his tongue. These qualities of a people, however, do not in themselves constitute the art of folklore, if we understand folklore to be a body of oral traditions, art, and superstition, which includes folk dances, folk songs, and folk tales; for this art requires some sort of mythology for its develop-

ment. In the words of the historian Philip Hitti, "the pagan Arabians developed no mythology, no involved theology, and no cosmogony."¹⁸ However, when the Arabs came to al-Andalus, they came as conquerors of a people already rich in culture. In historical terms the process by which a people imposes itself on a people who have become rooted in the soil usually results in the invaders assimilating to some degree the main features of the previously existing civilization. This, it seems to me, is precisely what happened in the case of the Arabs.¹⁹ They assimilated some of the main features of old Spanish culture-- the greatest example is the Romance love-songs which represent an aspect of Spanish popular culture, and which are at the base of the rise of Muwashshah.

This aspect of the rise of Muwashshah will gain more clarity when we recognize that the Arabic Kharjas also are at the base of the rise of Muwashshah. Just as the Romance Kharjas presuppose the existence of Spanish popular Romance songs, so the Arabic Kharjas presuppose the existence of Arabic popular songs before any writer of Muwashshah built his lyrics on them. Both kinds of Kharjas, moreover, were used simultaneously, as we have

seen in al-Tutuli, and therefore both coexisted. We have also seen that the characteristic quality of Arabic Kharjas is their colloquial language. This language is not inflected; that is, grammatical relations between words have been removed, in which case the ending of words has a mute sound.²⁰ To be sure, it is the lack of inflection which tends to change the quantitative pattern of Arabic poetry to a qualitative pattern, and so bring the stress on accent closer to the rhythm of Spoken language and song. We can go a step further. The change from quantitative to qualitative pattern could not have come about without Romance models.²¹ In fact, the dependence on rhythm and the presence of mute endings in words bring Arabic songs nearer to Romance songs. Thus it can be said that Arabic popular song at first developed in imitation of the vernacular songs of the Spaniards,²² especially when we know that the two peoples lived together and participated in all kinds of festivities, weddings, harvest rituals, etc., during which all kinds of songs were sung as the occasion demanded. The second step was to combine verses written in classical language with these popular songs which now the young men and women, pro-

fessionals as well as workers, sang in colloquial language without removing the Romance elements which they took over from the Spaniards. These elements soon became part of the language which scholars today refer to as 'Mozarabic Dialect'. For example, the Romance 'dulce' became 'dulje', or 'nohte' became 'nokhte', or 'nomen' became 'nwamen', etc.

This brief historical account of the rise of popular songs brings us back to the beginning of the present chapter. We have mentioned that imitation of the ancients and their followers marked the literary activity of Andalusian poets in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Now in the light of our historical account we recognize that the same period a different literary activity was taking place outside the court-- the emergence of popular songs. To be sure, between these two activities there was a sharp dividing line; the court poets as well as the literary historians were completely reluctant to acknowledge the emerging poetic forms. Hence the neglect which the Muwashshah suffered for not being at first the product of classical literature, or at least not being in conformity with its traditions. However, when the Muwashshah began to be written in classical verse, with only the

Kharjas in colloquial Arabic or Romance, its value as literature increased immensely, so that even poets who wrote classical poetry also composed Muwashshahat; al-Tutili, Ibn Baqqi, Ibn al-Qazzaz, Ibn Ma'al-Sama', Ibn al-Ramadi, and countless others were both writers of classical poetry as well as Muwashshahat.²³ Ibn Ma' al-Sama' (d.1044) wrote his first lyric about a Jariya (see Chapter II, p. 119), so did Ibn al-Ramadi write his lyrics about a slave-girl with whom he fell in love at first sight (see p. 95). In the second half of the twelfth century the Muwashshah became widespread, so that historians, critics, as well as philosophers wrote extensive critiques about its form, its music and its singing quality; one such critique is Ibn Rushd's important contribution to the understanding of the lyric.

The following remarks have been made by Ibn Sana' al-Mulk:

Muwashshahat may be divided into two categories; one is based on the Arabic metrical system...the other, which is the majority, has nothing at all to do with the Arabic system of meters...but is based on talhin (melody); this melody is the law or principle by which we recognize the discordant Muwashshah from the melodious ones and the cacophonous from the harmonious...

At this point Ibn Sans al-Mulk makes the following obscure pronouncement:

This majority of Muwashshahat are essentially composed to music of the organ (the Arabic word is 'urghun'), and may be sung only when accompanied with the organ or with an instrument similar to it.²⁴

The most important aspects of this passage concern the majority of Muwashshahat which are based on music, not on the Arabic system of meters, and which are sung to the music of the organ. The first aspect confirms the opinion of Ibn Bassam, which we have quoted earlier in this chapter. The second aspect, however, is difficult to explain, since we do not know the source or the context in which Ibn Sana' al-Mulk makes his pronouncement. The organ existed since ancient times and was well-known in the Middle Ages; but there is no evidence that it was used in al-Andalus. Perhaps Ibn Sana' al-Mulk had the church organ in mind, or some similar instrument used by the native Spaniards when they sang their songs, and therefore the Muwashshah was sung accompanied with the same instrument. However, this is merely a conjecture and lacks definite support.

The important fact remains that the Muwashshah incorporates a musical mode which was introduced in

al-Andalus in the ninth century by the famous Persian musician, Ziryab. Ziryab came to the Umayyad court with his singing slave-girls. His music, being a combination of Greek and Persian forms, laid the foundation of new musical arrangements long before the emergence of Muwashshahat. One such arrangement was the dance-song called 'nawba' (rondeau). 'Nawba', like the European Rondeau, is a form of song in which both the soloist and audience participate. Often a group of musicians replaced the audience. The distinctive form of 'nawba' is best described by Ihsan Abbas (and I translate):

Ziryab introduced the lyric song known as 'nawba' (rondeau); that is, the participation of two groups of musicians in the performance of a song. One group plays a melody or a tune corresponding to a refrain, the other plays three identical melodies which follow immediately after the first melody. When this is done, the first group takes up again the same melody or refrain, then the second group follows with three identical melodies. This melodic alternation continues until the end of the song.²⁵

An illustration of this form looks like this:

```

..... a      refrain
          b      three melodies
          b
          b

```


and decorative parts, everywhere the common people began to imitate its form by composing lyrics in their sedentary dialect, without employing vowel endings. They thus invented a new form which they later called Zajal, and whose language was influenced by non-Arab speech habits.²⁶

The first important point which ought to be made clear is that Ibn Khaldun equates the art of 'Tawshih' with that of Zajal, because elsewhere in his work he says (and I translate):

When the art of poetry became extensive among the people of al-Andalus, when it almost became a second nature with them and reached a remarkable degree of artistry, inventiveness, and ornamentation, later generations of poets invented a poetic form which they called Muwashshah.²⁷

A comparison of the two passages shows that both Muwashshah and Zajal are one and the same art; in fact, Ibn Quzman (d.1160), who perfected the Zajal form, refers to it by the word 'muwashshah' (See Chapter II, p. 124). The second important point is that both Muwashshah and Zajal first originated among the common people in the form of popular songs influenced by Romance models (Ibn Khaldun uses the term 'non-Arab speech habit' instead of Romance). Later generations of poets, moreover, introduced further improvements on the art of 'Tawshih', some like Ibn Quzman,

Ibn Rashid, and others wrote a variation of Muwashshah, which they called Zajal, while the majority composed Muwashshahat.

To point out the similarities as well as the differences between the two poetic forms, especially as they originated from a common source, then parted ways toward mid-twelfth century, is beyond the scope of our present study. Our concern is with the various stages in the development of Muwashshah. At the base of Muwashshah lie the popular songs which came into being in the form of a collective art, for, as is usual in popular songs, no one song can be definitely attributed to a particular author. The literary historian Ibn Bassam tells us that both the blind poet al-Qabari (d.961) and al-Ramadi (d.1019) whom we have met earlier in Ibn Hazam, played a major role in the development of Muwashshah; both were wandering poet-singers long before they came to fortune at the Umayyad court.²⁸ In fact, Ibn Sana' al-Mulk confirms Ibn Bassam's statement about the wandering poets, especially in regard to al-Ramadi to whom he refers as "a cryer and a ragged bohemian" (in Arabic the word 'zatti' means to cry out loud).²⁹ This reference agrees with the

portrait of the early poets in the ancient East who wandered from place to place chanting or singing the praises of those who rewarded them. Thus al-Qabari transplanted popular songs into learned poetry, except that as Ibn Bassam tells us;

His compositions followed the usual Arabic way; that is two hemistichs to each verse, and the last verse was either in colloquial Arabic or in a non-Arabic language.³⁰

If we illustrate the form, it would look like this:

.....	.....	a
.....	.....	a
.....	.....	a
.....	.....	a
.....	.....	a etc.

Here the rhyme and meter are based on those of the Kharjas. Yet there is nothing in the form which suggests or is reminiscent of Ziryab's musical form 'nawba', or the alternation of two different melodies (al-Qabari died a hundred years later than Ziryab).

Regarding al-Ramadi's role in the development of Muwashshah Ibn Bassam says (and I translate):

Al-Ramadi, one of our famous poets, introduced the technique of Tadmin into the refrains, which had not been practiced before him.³¹

We have already discussed the technique of Tadmin in Chapter

III (p.191), in which the poet borrows a hemistich or two and interpolates them between others in the poem, or he divides them into smaller parts whose rhyme and meter he adapts to the new poem. Al-Ramadi, however, does the same but only in the refrains, which means that already the refrain has been written or borrowed from a romance song (it could not have been borrowed from another Arab poet, because refrains had not been known before him, and because, as Ibn Bassam says, 'Tadmin' "had not been practiced before al-Ramadi", that is, in al-Andalus). If we illustrate this form, it would look like this:

```

..... a ..... b ..... a ..... b
      ..... c
      ..... c
      ..... c
..... a ..... b ..... a ..... b etc.

```

It will be noticed that between refrains the traditional way of writing verse remains the same. This traditional way, however, was later to change when 'Ubada ibn Ma' al-Sama' (d.1044) introduced the technique of 'Tadmin' into the short verse,³² so that Ibn Bassam praises 'Ubada above every other poet (see Chapter III, p.155). In so doing, 'Ubada brought the art of Muwashshah to a near

perfection, and by the time of al-Tutili, the poet with whom Ibn Sana' al-Mulk begins his anthology, the Muwashshah was fully developed:

..... a b a b
 c c
 c c
 c c
 a b a b
 d d
 d d
 d d
 a b a b etc.

When we look back on the development of Muwashshah from al-Ramadi to 'Ubada ibn Ma' al-Sama', we hardly see an influence of or a connection with Ziryab's musical mode 'nawba', although the latter is much earlier. It seems that the two forms evolved independently; nor was there, indeed, a need for Ziryab's music, because already the lyrics exhibited a singable quality in their formation. Ziryab died in al-Andalus in 857; he came to the Umayyad court with his disciples and singing slave-girls, and taught the manners of Baghdad's royal society; above all, he added a fifth string to the lute, which he placed below the third and above the second, thus enriching and

extending the range of Arabic music from seventeen units of a third of a tone to twenty-four.³³ For a long time music and the various arts were centered primarily around court life. The period 1031-1095 marked the division of the Umayyad rule into small kingdoms (Muluk al-Tawa'if) of Cordova, Seville, Badajoz, Toledo, Zaragoza, Almeria, Valencia, etc.³⁴ Not able to live in political unity (as has always been the case in the history of Arabs past and present), the kings and princes of these kingdoms vie with each other in splendor and indulge in high-sounding titles. They surpass the Easterners; they build in their capitals and fortresses sumptuous palaces and villas, and indulge in drinking and literary parties in the company of poets, musicians, and singing girls. The poets contribute to the pleasure by composing lyric songs to be sung by Jawari.

During the same period of 'Muluk al-Tawa'if' the Muwashshah becomes widespread, as we have seen from the two examples in Chapter II (pp. 119-120), one of which is from the poet Ibn 'Ammar (1031-1095) who describes his beloved listening to the 'melody of wishah'. The reference 'melody of wishah' is unmistakably to the lyric song

which apparently has been brought from the street into the court. Its form of long and short verses immediately lent itself to the musical form 'nawba' which both reinforced and further developed the lyric's musical quality, so that Ibn Bassam could say:

It touched the very cockles of the heart, and its melody made it all the more sensitive.³⁵

Since the twelfth century the Muwashshah becomes greatly developed, and its various ways and types grow more and more refined. The themes expand in range, and, like the Qasida (ode), the lyric is used for erotic and laudatory poetry. Everybody, the elite as well as the common people, likes and knows these poems, because they are easy to grasp and understand. Above all, the poets vie to the utmost with each other, so that the Muwashshah acquires a sophisticated variety of forms, names, and titles. At this point, it would be instructive to take a brief look at these various forms and the names of their parts; once again here is the form of al-Tutili's lyric:

Another poet may reverse the order of the modulations and their parts, making the refrain shorter than the verses of the 'davr'.

```

..... a ..... b
..... c ..... d ..... c ..... d
..... c ..... d ..... c ..... d

..... a ..... b
..... e ..... f ..... e ..... f
..... e ..... f ..... e ..... f

..... a ..... b etc.

```

Still another poet may have this form:

```

..... a ..... a ..... a
..... b ..... b
..... b ..... b
..... b ..... b

..... a ..... a ..... a
..... c ..... c
..... c ..... c
..... c ..... c

..... a ..... a ..... a etc.

```

It will be noticed that no matter in what form the poet chooses to arrange his verses, there will always be the same principle observed, namely long and short modulations with each modulation representing a voice.

When we look at Guillaume's lyrics, we scarcely find anything resembling the Arabic strophic forms. Sources and analogues of Guillaume's poetry have been discussed and studied by notable scholars.³⁷ Yet for the sake of clarity and in an attempt to point out what seems to me to be the errors of two distinguished critics, who have done much to advance the legend of Arabic influences in Guillaume's lyrics, we might cite two analogues of some of these lyrics:

Promat chorus hodie, o contio,
Canticum letitie, o contio,
Psallite, o contio, psallat cum tripudio!

This is in the same form as the first three lyrics in Jeanroy's edition of Guillaume and the Conductus is an exact analogue of the form of the five lyrics: numbers 4,5,6,7,8: for example:

In laudes Innocentium
Qui passi sunt martyrimum
Psallat chorus infantium:
Allelulia.
Sit decus regi martyrimum
et gloria!

Regis vasa referentes,
Quem Jadae tremunt gentes
Danieli applaudentes
Gaudeamus!
Laudes sibi debitas
Referamus!³⁸

These eight lyrics of Guillaume exhibit precisely the same number of syllables in the line (with minor variations) as well as the same stanza form, as these Latin lyrics.³⁹

These Latin lyrics were composed in the Abbey of St. Martial in Limoges, in Guillaume's domain, where there was a great and famous music school.⁴⁰ There is nothing in the form of the Arabic lyrics to compare with that of the Latin lyrics, Moreover, in al-Andalus there was no famous music school such as the one in Limoges. If, however, Guillaume had access to the Arabic lyrics, as he had to the Latin lyrics, something of the former would have been intercalated in his songs. Distinguished critics, like A.R. Nykl and Levi-Provencal, therefore, must be inaccurate in their assumption that Guillaume had access to the Arabic forms. Again, should this have happened, one might have expected that our critics make a comparative study of the various forms, both Arabic and Latin, as Le Gentil has done,⁴¹ in an effort to come to a sound conclusion.

Let us take a brief look at an influential passage from Nykl's book Hispano-Arabic Poetry:

It is not very likely that Guillaume IX ever learned the theory concerning Muwashshah in any other way than by imitation of what he heard during his travels, but there would be no difficulty in thus having become aware of the general structureThe following analogies between the Andalusian-Arabic lyrics and Troubadour usage are certainly striking: 1- the average number of strophes in all of the Troubadours is seven; 2- there is the alternate use of rhyme in line which would correspond to ghusn or simt and this rhyme is the same in all strophes; 3- the application of the term 'vers' to the whole strophe. The term 'cobla' may have originally referred to one line before it was applied to the whole strophe; 4- the use of refrain (as in Arabic) by Marcabru who is the first to use it in six of his poems; 5- indication of a device similar to the Kharja by Jaufre Rudel, although the Tornada may be considered to be of a similar nature.⁴²

This passage voices the opinion of several critics, such as Levi-Provencal, Heger, Pollmann, and others. We are therefore indebted to Nykl for an excellent summary of the main points of the Arabic theory, otherwise the task of sifting through a body of hair-splitting criticism requires a separate treatment.

The first thing we notice in the passage is that Guillaume's lyrics do not figure in the five analogies drawn between the Andalusian-Arabic forms and those of the Troubadours (perhaps Guillaume may be included in the first analogy regarding the number of strophes).

Guillaume, however, is thought of as hearing the Arabic strophes on his travels and thus imitating what he heard. On the basis of Guillaume's short political venture into Spain, his relatively longer stay with Tancred of Antioch in the Near East, and on the basis of a hearing Nykl ingeniously spins his theory of the analogy between Muwash-shahs and some of Guillaume's lyrics. Nykl's main thrust is the later lyrics written after the year 1102; they show a variation in form and content, and he attributes this variation to Arabic influences. But the division of Guillaume's songs prior to and after 1102 seems to me to be naive criticism, and shows a total misconstruing of the songs' content. Guillaume's song cannot be dated with any precision. The most specific is his last song, in which he says farewell to his friends, relinquishing his lands, his life of gaiety, knightly prowess and love, in order to go into exile, to prepare his soul for dying and being judged, as he says in the fourth strophe:

Tot ai guerpit cant amar sueill,
 Cavalaria et orgueill;
 E pos Dieu platz, tot o acueill,
 E prec li que·m reteng' am si.⁴³

(I have abandoned what I used to love,
 the life of chivalry and of pomp;
 since it pleases God, I accept it,
 I beg him to retain me among his people.)⁴⁴

The song might have been written on the eve of his crusade, but the occasion could as well have been the journey into Spain or some pilgrimage later in life. In addition to this song, there are five jesting, ribald songs, and five more serious love-songs. Thus it would be immature to follow Nykl who assumes that the first group must be the earlier ones and prior to 1102, seeing them as the poet's youthful excesses, while the second group must be the later ones; in fact, Guillaume's entire body of songs could as easily correspond to different moods at different ages, and perhaps more significantly, to different audiences. While some of the poet's songs are intended for a mixed audience of lords and ladies, who laid claim to courtliness, others are openly addressed to his companions--knights and soldiers, a company of men only, as in this song:

Companho, faray un vers ... convinen:
 Et aura. mais de foudaz no.y a de sen,
 Et er totz mesclatz d'amor e de joy e de joven.

E tenguatz lo per vilan qui no l'enten
 O din son cor voluntiers non l'appren
 Greu partir si fa d'amor qui la trob'a son talen.⁴⁵

(Comrades, I'll an excellent song; it will contain more folly than it does good sense, and in it you will find a mixture of love, joy and youth.

Consider him unworthy who does not understand it or learn it in his heart; he who finds love to his liking parts from it sadly, unwillingly.)⁴⁶

Arab poets do not express their thoughts and feelings about love in a similar fashion; they do not address an audience of lords and ladies, or of friends, soldiers and knights. Playfulness, wit, sophistication, and seriousness of love when the lover loves a courtly man are the various themes of Guillaume' songs--in every regard different from those of the Andalusian lyrics. As far as hearing is concerned Guillaume had already had an abundance of Latin and vernacular lyrics available to him in Limoges. For example, the following song is in Occitan and dates from the late eleventh century 1096-9:

Mei amic e mei fiel
 laisat estar lo gazel:
 aprendet u so noel
 "de virgine maria."

(My friends, my faithful company,
 let your trifling ditties be:
 now learn a new melody,
 'about the maiden Mary.)⁴⁷

The topos of calling on company or friends to hear a new song is something which Guillaume shares with the writer of this vernacular song, at least one of Guillaume's songs (the one we have just quoted) begins with a similar topos.

The interesting point about this song is that the stanza form and rhyme scheme are strikingly similar to those of Guillaume's ninth song in Jeanroy's edition; in both songs the same form--a tristique followed by a vuelta--obtains: aaab/cccb/dddb/etc. Equally interesting, and something which bears direct relation to our study here, is the fact that the same stanza and rhyme scheme of Guillaume's song have been analyzed by Le Gentil; after he presented the song's rhyme scheme, he remarks:

On reconnu la formule même du Zadjal. Aucune des chansons "zadjalesque" de Guillaume IX n'a de prelude, mais celui-ci manque également dans un grand nombre de pièces islamiques.⁴⁸

In this way Le Gentil makes the parallel between Guillaume's song and certain Arabic Zajals, a poetic form very similar to the Muwashshah (sometimes it is difficult to differentiate

between them). By 'prelude' Le Gentil means what S.M.Stern calls "chauve," that is when the Muwashshah or Zajal does not begin with a prelude (in Arabic 'aqra').

It is not difficult to understand why Le Gentil makes the parallel between the Zajal forms and some of Guillaume's songs; he is, in fact under the influence of those who have preceded him. However, Le Gentil is more careful in his interpretation of available material than other critics. For example, although he does not refer to the vernacular song about Mary, he does cite the Latin Conductus "In laudes Innocentium" in support of his argument that its form, which is the prototype of some of Guillaume's songs, has no parallel in the Islamic forms. His purpose is to point out the various parallels to the Troubadour lyrics, including the Zajal form. Thus he avoids the pitfall of "post hoc, ergo propter hoc" and uses the polygenetic approach to the origin of Troubadour lyrics.

Yet his inclusion of the Zajal form in this polygenetic approach is rather unfortunate. Ibn Quzman (d.1160) is considered the father of the Zajal form in al-Andalus; he is, therefore, a generation younger than

Guillaume. Accordingly Le Gentil's statement that the songs V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, are "compositions zadjalesques de Guillaume IX"⁴⁹ is anachronistic. On the other hand, Le Gentil is certainly right in saying that some of the Zajal poems show a rhyme scheme, aaab/cccb/dddb etc., that is similar to Guillaume's song (XI), but he exaggerates in saying that the greatest number of Zajal poems have no prelude. On the contrary, a good deal of Ibn Quzman's poems have both preludes and Kharjas, for he wrote them in imitation of the Muwashshah. Moreover, before Ibn Quzman the only writer of Zajal, Ibn Rashid, who is contemporary with Guillaume, has left one Zajal poem whose form is this:

..... a a
 b
 b
 b
 a
 c
 c
 c
 a etc.⁵⁰

Most Arab scholars confirm the fact that the greatest number of Ibn Quzman's poems are not only an improvement upon Ibn Rashid's poems, but also a direct imitation of them.⁵¹ At this point one can hardly avoid raising the

simple question that if Guillaume did not really care for any of the Latin hymns and vernacular lyrics in his own homeland but instead chose to imitate the Zajal form, why then did he not compose songs with preludes? The answer to this question requires a separate study of the Zajal form in al-Andalus, which is beyond the scope of the present work. However, we have already discussed in brief the rise of Arabic popular songs, in which we find that both the Muwashshah and the Zajal are later developments of these songs. But the Zajal parted ways with the Muwashshah in the twelfth century and distinguished itself by the use of colloquial language throughout, whereas the Muwashshah employed colloquialism only in its Kharja.

Le Gentil's scholarship is generally sound and subtle; but like Nykl he maintains that the serious tone of Guillaume's later songs is the result of his sojourn in Spain:

Effectivement, la chanson XI de Guillaume de Roitiers, un coge de ton sérieux, qu'on date en général des dernières années de sa vie--une vie qui a comporté des séjours en Espagne--utilise un couple de type "zadjalesque."⁵²

This brings us back to Nykl who once more sums up a train of argument in these words:

Guillaume's early verses could have hardly been sung, according to the trochaic scansion, in the long form which has been adopted for them in critical editions... For this reason I adopt an arrangement of lines which seems more natural; and side by side I put the post crusade songs, frequently iambic in order to show the difference in rhyme and rhythm or both.⁵³

And in order to show the difference he arranges the songs in this order:

I

Companho, faray un vers (mout) convinen:
Et aura·i mais de foudatz no·y a de sen,
Et er totz mesclatz d'amor E de joy e de joven.

V

Farai un vers, pos mi somelh,
E m vauc e m'estauc al solelh.
Domnas i a de mal conselh,
E sai dir cals:
Cellas c'amor de cavalier
Tornon a mals.

II

Et eu dic vos, gardador,
E vos castei
E sera ben grans foli-
a qui no·m crei:
Greu veires neguna gar-
da que ad oras non sonnei

VII

Obediensa deu portar
A motas gens, qui vol amar,
E coven li que sapcha far
Faigs avi nens,
E que·s gart en cort de parlar
Vilanamens.

III

Senher Dieus, quez es del mon
Capdels e reis,
Qui anc premiers gardet con
Com non esties?
C'anc no fo mestiers no gar-
de C'a si dons estes sordeis

VIII

Farai chansoneta nueva
Ans que vent ni gel ni plueva
Ma dona m'assai' e.pruева
Quossi de qual guiza l'am;
E ja per plag que m'en mueva
No·m solvera de son liam.

Nykl then comments saying that "such radical change of rhythm and rhyme is unthinkable without a complete change of melody used. We could liken the longer lines to 'ghusn' and the shorter lines to 'simt'"⁵⁴ This is personal criticism par excellence, arbitrary and basically unsound. Nykl does not tell us where the change of melody occurs or how this change determines that of rhyme and of rhythm; nor does he explain to us the principle by which we may liken the long and short lines to 'ghusn' and 'simt' respectively. The business of likening the longer lines to 'ghusn' and the shorter ones to 'simt' is unscholarly and lacks discrimination, for there is absolutely no ground for Guillaume to do so. 'Ghusn', as we have seen earlier is a part of the refrain, and 'simt' is a part of the 'dawr'. In fact, both 'ghusn' and 'simt' are of equal length, except that there are more of the first in a refrain and less of the second in a 'dawr', or vice versa, depending on the way in which the poet chooses to arrange his verses.

Nykl's rearrangement of Guillaume's songs is obviously determined by the way in which a Muwashshah is arranged in terms of long and short verses. Similarly

the change of melody in the poet's songs, which brings about a change of rhythm and rhyme, could not, according to Nykl, have been possible without Guillaume's travel into Spain. It is true that regarding the venture into Spain Le Gentil agrees with Nykl, but the former critic would not go so far as even to suggest that Guillaume's songs acquired new melodies, rhythm, and rhyme simply because of that venture. In fact, Le Gentil says that,

Touchant la conception et les applications de la strophe avec vuelta, l'originalité et l'unité du lyrisme occidental s'affirment d'emblée en face de la tradition zadajalesque hispano-arabe. Est-il besoin d'ajouter que les mélodies romanes, dès Guillaume IX, ont un caractère effectivement très occidental, elles aussi, et que toute tentative pour les rapprocher de la musique orientale est, au dire des meilleurs spécialistes, vouée à l'échec.⁵⁵

The extensive literature on the subject of melody and music of Troubadour lyrics is too complex to be discussed here, for it has been thoroughly investigated and interpreted. And it suffices to quote the following passage on the tradition of church music and song and the various lyrical forms which they gave rise to in connection with the Troubadour lyrics:

Notker died in 912. The century and a half following his death are a golden age for Latin religious lyric in its musical aspects. Both monodic and polyphonic composition become increasingly sophisticated. Sequences become more and more abundant throughout this period, especially at the established musical centers such as Saint Gall and Saint-Martial, but also in England. Gradually syllabic parallelism in the sequence is embellished by regular stresses and rhymes, giving more obvious--and less subtle--harmonies than any that the ninth century had known. Alongside the sequences were composed tropes, that is, poetic and musical amplifications of liturgical texts, some of which probably under the influence of vigorous popular oral traditions of drama and dramatic song, become lyrical dialogues. And the liturgical texts themselves are given ever more splendid musical settings. Toward the end of this period the experiments with lyrical strophes that were begun by Gottschalk are renewed, and especially at Saint-Martial we see the vogue of conductus: strophic compositions more elaborate than in the older hymnody, secular as well as sacred, for one or more voices.⁵⁶

The word 'trope' itself, which is a figure of speech, suffices to indicate to us the originality of the Troubadour poets. Originally in Quintilian 'trope' signifies the use of words and phrases in a sense other than the literal.⁵⁷ This signification, moreover, became one of the most effective tools in St. Augustine's polemics against pagan writings:

Sciant autem litterati modis omnibus locutionis,
quos grammatici graeco nomine tropos vocant,
auctores nostros usos fuisse.⁵⁸

(Let all versed in letters know that our authors
(i.e., the Biblical writers) have used all the
figures of speech to which the grammarians have
given the Greek name tropi figurative locutions.⁵⁹

Since Augustine and St. Amrbose wrote the emphasis on
figurative sense in Christian writings dominated the
thought of the Middle Ages, as H. Pflaum describes it:

Les pères de l'Église et tous les théologiens
du moyen âge, sous l'influence de la tradition ex-
égétique judeo-alexandrine et en se basant sur
l'opposition entre "la lettre" et l'esprit" chez
S. Paul (Rom II 29; VII 6; 2 Cor. III 6, etc.),
distinguent, on le sait, entre le sens littéral
de la Bible et le sens figuré...⁶⁰

While Pflaum's purpose in the article is to give a sound
interpretation of the word 'figure' in the Old French
verses which had been misunderstood by the editor, it
indicates the importance of figural conception in an
attempt to explain the sacred and secular poetry of
the Middle Ages. The figural conception exemplifies
the mixture of spirituality and a sense of reality, a
mixture which, one may surmise, is at the base of
Troubadour conception of love-lyrics in which rhetoric
and experience are harmonized. Indeed, no matter how or

where we begin to explain Troubadour poetry, whether in terms of Romance songs as Spitzer suggest, or in terms of church music and song, or in figural terms, or all of these combined, we cannot disregard the context of the European Middle Ages.

Our last critic to be discussed here and whose work has contributed to the theory of Arabic influence on Troubadour poetry is E. Lévi-Provencal. He says:

...Et j'ai la conviction à peu près absolue
que si anormale que la chose puisse paraître,
Guillaume IX savait l'arabe.⁶¹

The interesting feature about this conviction is that Lévi-Provencal finds the Arabic influence precisely in the fifth strophe of the song, which begins, Faray un vers, pos mi somelh. This song has in all likelihood its analogue in the Latin Conductus "In laudes Innocentium." In manuscript N the fifth strophe is this:

Ar auzires qu'ai respondut;
Anc no li diz ni bat ni but,
Ni fer ni fust ni ai mentaugut,
Mas sol aitan:
'Barbariol, Babariol, Babarian."⁶²

(Now you are going to hear what I answered; I did not say anything, neither "bat" not "but" to them, did not mention a stick or a tool, but only this: "Babariol Babariol, Babarian.")⁶³

However, Lévi-Provencal refers to a variant reading, that from manuscript C, and quotes:

Aujatz ieu que lur respozi
 Anc fer ni fust no y mentaugui
 Mais que lur dis: aital lati
 Tarrabahart
 Marrababelic riben
 Saramahart.

He detects certain Arabic words presumably telescoped by Guillaume in this manuscript. For example, he believes that the phrase "aital lati" derives from the Arabic "anti-l-lati" which he translates as "tu es bien celle qui." This Arabic expression, according to our critic, "passe dans le MS a 'aital lati.'" But "aital lati" does not mean "tu es bien celle qui;" it means "such a language," because both terms occur elsewhere in Guillaume's songs, the first in Song X which Jeanroy translates as "language" (in Goldin's edition, Song IX "latin"), the second in song II which Jeanroy translates as "tels" (the song is not in Goldin's edition). However, Lévi-Provencal is silent about these occurrences. One cannot but wonder why he detects an Arabic expression in "aital lati."

The second instance in which Lévi-Provencal finds an insertion of Arabic words concerns the last two syllables in the words "tarrahahart" and "saramahart,"

that is the syllable 'ahart.' He says that in both words the term 'ahart' corresponds to the Arabic 'ahart(i)' which he translates into French as "t'es prostituée." At this point the following question occurs in his mind: "Prostituée a quels hommes?", and he provides the name Abu Harit, which Guillaume has contracted to 'abhart.' Thus Abu Harit is the man with whom the ladies in the poem are supposed to have had a sexual relationship. Then our critic comes to the expression 'marrabelio riben saramahart' in which the term 'marra' is thought to be of Arabic derivation meaning, as he translates it into French, "une fois, une autre." Moreover, Lévi-Provencal seems to believe that the term 'saram' is a contraction of Ibn Sarim, or Ibn Saram of Seville who was a writer of Zajal poems: according to him Ibn Sarim, like Abu Harit, is the second man with whom the ladies in the poem have had a sexual relation.

In the end our critic combines all these instances together:

La repetition du meme terme 'marra' correspond á l'expression Arabe 'marra', 'une fois, une autre.' Prostituée a quels hommes? Une première fois à (bi<b) 'ahart,' une seconde fois à 'abelio riben saram.' Le premier de ces personnages

serait donc un Abu Harit, appelé a l'andaluse sous sa 'kunya,' laquell est prononcee Ab Hart, le second, nomme egalement sous sa 'kunya' (ab-u) nu ibn saram (n de nur passe a li).⁶⁴

At this point Levi-Provencal puts the parts together and something like this emerges:

Anti-l-lati
Marra b-ab Hart
Marra b-ab nur iben
Saram ahart!

(T'es bien celle qui: une première fois a Abu Harit, une seconde à Abu Nur ibn Saram, t'es prostituée.)⁶⁵

Let us suppose that what Lévi-Provencal reads into this strophe is sound and valid, and that Guillaume knew Arabic. However, let us examine his interpretation in the light of the poem and its purpose as a whole. In this lyric Guillaume employs the technique of fabliau the objective of which is the male deception of the female to get what the female actually wants to give. In order to achieve this objective the poet, or the persona of the lyric, has to play the role of a mute, particularly in the stanza selected by Levi-Provencal. The expressions 'Barbariol Babariol Babarian' are meaningless; they are designed precisely to elicit the following reaction from the ladies:

So diz n'Agnes a n'Ermessen
 'Trobat avem que anam queren.
 Sor, per amor deu, l'alberguem,
 Qæben es mutz,
 E ja per lui nostre conselh
 Non er saubutz,"⁶⁶

(Then Agnes says to Ermessen: 'We have found what we are searching for. Sister, for the love of God, let us take him in, he is mute, and through him our plan will not be discovered.)⁶⁷

The expressions 'Tarrabahart, marrababelio riben, saramahart" are also meaningless; they are equally designed to elicit the same reaction from the ladies. If, however, we attempt to provide a meaning for these expressions, it would not doubt defeat the purpose of the stanza, and so the entire poem for that matter. The persona is not supposed to make sense or be articulate when saying these expressions, not the kind postulated by Levi-Provencal, to be sure.

Again, if Lévi-Provencal is right in his interpretation, it would mean that he makes the meaningless expressions pregnant with meaning, and so puts in the poet's mouth words which are not intended in the lyric. It may be objected, however, that the ladies are not supposed to understand what the persona says to them,

and therefore he uses Arabic phrases. If this is the case, the persona then should not employ the Arabic phrases, precisely because the ladies would recognize the names of Abu Harit̄ and Ibn Saram (had they had any sexual relations with them) and so would feel abused, and certainly not react in the way in which they did in the above quoted stanza. In conclusion we can say that Lévi-Provencal has stretched his analysis beyond the limits of Guillaume's poem, and so given rise to a series of unrealistic arguments which, together with other arguments of various critics, have wrapped Arabic-Provencal scholarship in a shroud of darkness (Lévi-Provencal's argument reappears later in Leo Pollmann).⁶⁸

CHAPTER IV

Notes

¹Ihsan Abbas, Tarikh al-Adab al-Andalusi (Beirut, 1962), pp. 216-217.

²On this subject of Abu Nuwas' influence in al-Andalus see Mahmud Ali Makki, "Ensayo sobre los aporticos orientales en la Espana Musulmana," Instituto de Estudios Islamicos de Madrid (1968), 229-240.

³A.R. Nykl, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, p. 228.

⁴Ibn Bassam, Kitab al-Dhakhira, ed. Ibn Mas'ud al-Bijani (Cairo, 1942), II, 2.

⁵For further information on this aspect of Andalusian literature see Salah Khalis, Ishbilia fil Qarn al-Khamis (Seville in the Eleventh Century) (Beirut, 1956), pp. 20-85.

⁶Cited in Abd al-Hamid Ibadī, al-Mujmal fi Tarikh al-Andalus "A Compendium of the History of al-Andalus" (Cairo, 1958), p. 40.

⁷Ibn Sana al-Mulk, Dar al-Tiraz, ed. Jawdat Rakabi (Damascus, 1949), p. 35. The translation is mine.

⁸Ibn Rushd, Kitab al-Shi'r (The Book of Poetry), ed. M. Lassanio, "Il Commento medio di Averroè alla Poetics di Aristotele" (Pisa, 1872).

⁹Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 3.

¹¹See Introduction, Note 17.

¹²Fazlur Rahman, Islam (New York, 1966), pp. 97-115; see also Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah, trans. F. Rosenthal (Princeton, 1967), pp. 328-331.

¹³Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah, trans. F. Rosenthal, p. 331.

¹⁴An account of the story may be found in Philip Hitti, History of the Arabs, Fifth edition (New York, 1951), pp. 424-428.

¹⁵James Kritzbek, ed. Anthology of Islamic Literature (New York, 1964), p. 86.

¹⁶One such anecdote is related by Garcia Gomez, Poema arabigoandaluces, trans Hussayn Mu'nis, al-Shi r al-Andalusi, Second edition (Cairo, 1956), p. 32.

¹⁷Cited in Salah Khalis, Ishbilia fil Qarn al-Khamis, p. 96. The translation is mine.

¹⁸Philip Hitti, History of the Arabs, p. 96.

¹⁹This is not to deny the fact that the opposite is also true, for the Spaniards learned Arabic, and they recited Arabic poetry; above all the Arabs left their indelible mark on the Spanish language.

²⁰The lack of inflection can be observed in the following Kharja by the poet Ibn Baqqi:

layl tawil/wa ma mu'in/ya qalb ba'dal nas/ama tulin.

The underlined letters represent a mute sound; that is, they do not contain inflection such as (kasra, damma, or fatha). Now in order to show the inflection, or the vowel endings (kasra, damma, or fatha) a traditional poet would have said this:

laylun tawilun/wa ma mu'inu/ya qalbu ba'dal nasi/ama tubinu.

The underlined letter indicates the vowel endings. Moreover, the absence of inflection became so common in al-Andalus that the poets used uninflected language even in the body of the Muwashshah; see Chapter II, Note 2, in which the poet al-Qazzas uses uninflected language at the beginning of the lyric: 'tam, sham, asham, harram."

²¹There is nothing in the poetry of the East which compares with this poetic phenomenon in the literature of al-Andalus.

²²See Introduction, pp.17-18.

²³This explains why Ibn Bassam would record excerpts from the classical poetry of the poets, but none of their Muwashshahs.

²⁴Ibn Sana al-Mulk, Dar al-Tiraz, pp. 33-35.

²⁵Ihsan Abbas, Tarikh al-Adab al-Andalusi, p. 54.

²⁶The Arabic text may be found in Ibn Khaldun, Tarikh Ibn Khaldun: The Muqaddimah (Cairo, 1945), p. 524. The same passage is translated by F.Rosenthal, The Muqaddimah, p. 458.

²⁷Abn Khaldun, Tarikh Ibn Khaldun, p. 583.

²⁸Ibn Bassam, Kitab al-Dhakhira, II, 2.

²⁹Ibn Sana al-Mulk, Dar al-Tiraz, p. 32.

³⁰Ibn Bassam, Kitab al-Dhakhira, II, 1.

³¹Ibn Bassam, Kitab al-Dhakhira, II, 2. It must be remembered that none of the lyrics of al-Qabari and al-Ramadi survived. The irony, however, is that Ibn Bassam praises al-Ramadi for his other poetic creations, but refuses to record his Muwashshahs.

³²Ibid., p. 2.

³³Encyclopaedia of Islam, iii, pp. 452-53.

³⁴See Abd al-Hamid iBadi, al-Mujmal fi Tarikh al-Andalus, pp. 30-85.

³⁵Ibn Bassam, Kitab al-Fhakhira, II, 2.

³⁶For these various forms and names I am using the text of Ibn Sana al-Mulk.

³⁷See for example, Henri Davenson, Les Troubadours (Edition du Sevil: Paris, 1961), pp. 126-141; P. Le Gentil, "La Strophe zadjalesque, les Khardjas et le probleme des origines du lyrisme roman," Romania, 84 (1963), 229-232; R. Bezzola, "Guillaume IX et les origines de l'amour courtois," Romania, 56 (1940-41), 145-237.

³⁸Fredrick Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouvères (New York, 1973), p. 14.

³⁹Ibid., p. 14.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 14.

⁴¹P. Le Gentil, "La Strophe zadjalesque, les Khardjas et le probleme des origines du lyrisme roman," Romania, 84 (1963), 209-50.

⁴²A.R. Nykl, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, p. 390.

⁴³Alfred Jeanroy, ed. Les Chanson de Guillaume IX, duc d'Aquaine (Paris, 1913), pp. 27-29.

⁴⁴Translation is mine.

⁴⁵Fredrick Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours, p. 20.

⁴⁶Translation is mine.

⁴⁷Peter Dronke, The Medieval Lyric (New York, 1968), p. 50.

⁴⁸P. Le Gentil, "La Strophe zadjalesque," p. 226.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 226.

- ⁵⁰Jawdat Rakabi, Muwashshahat (Beirut, 1965), p. 50.
- ⁵¹Ibid., p. 50.
- ⁵²r. Le Gentil "La strophe zadjalesque..." p. 226.
- ⁵³A.R. Nykly, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, pp. 39-91.
- ⁵⁴Ibid., p. 391.
- ⁵⁵r. Le Gentil, "La strophe zadjalesque..." pp. 231-32.
- ⁵⁶reter Dronke, The Medieval Lyric, p. 44.
- ⁵⁷Erich Auerbach, Scenes from the Drama of European Literature: Figura, trans, Ralph Manheim (New York, 1959), p. 25.
- ⁵⁸Cited in E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans Willard Trask (New York, 1953), p. 40.
- ⁵⁹Ibid., p. 40. Translation is mine.
- ⁶⁰H. Pflaum, "Sur un Passage de Balahm et Josaphat," Romania, 63 (1937), 521.
- ⁶¹E. Lévi-Provencal, "Les vers arabes de la chanson V de Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine," Arabica, I (1954), 208.
- ⁶²Alfred Jeanroy, ed. Les Chanson de Guillaume IX.... p. 10.
- ⁶³Translation is mine.
- ⁶⁴E. Lévi-Provencal, "Les vers arabes....," p. 210.
- ⁶⁵Ibid., p. 211.
- ⁶⁶Alfred Jeanroy, ed. Les Chanson de Guillaume IX.... p. 10.

⁶⁷Translation is mine.

⁶⁸Leo Pollmann, 'Trobar Clus' Bibelexgese and Hispano-Arabische Literatur. Forschungen Zur Romanischen Philologie, 16. Munster, Westfalen; Ascheodorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, (1965), p. 83.

CHAPTER V

ARABIC CONCEPTIONS OF LOVE IN PHIL-
OSOPHY AND POETRY COMPARED WITH
COURTLY LOVE OF THE TROUBADOURS:
UDHRITE LOVE POETRY; IBN DAWUD;
IBN HAZM; IBN SINA; FUILLAUME;
MARCABRU; CERCAMON: BERNARD DE
VENTADORN.

Since the beginning of the Islamic era love has been treated seriously in Arabic philosophy, theology, and in a variety of treatises and tracts; yet an important aspect of this treatment remains unexplored. Only recently, however, modern Western scholarship has been able to bring to light certain ideas regarding Arabic conception of love, an example is Lois Anita Giffin's book, Theory of Profane Love among the Arabs: the Development of the Genre (1972). The importance of this book can hardly be conveyed in a few words; yet we cannot proceed with the present study without a brief idea of its main concern. It is an attempt to fuse together centuries of what Islamic theologians and belletrists have said about love and its various forms--hawa (lust), mahabbah (passionate love), and 'Ishq (virtuous love), and the controversy over the definition of each form, which occupies a major part of Giffin's discussion (for example, whether 'Ishq is virtuous love or lustful love, or, whether or not hawa and 'Ishq refer to the same kind of human passion). Further, the title of the book is rather of interest, particularly the last phrase, The Development of the Genre. This signifies that Giffin sees or treats the various tracts

and treatises and books on love as a separate genre, separate, that is, from poetic expression. In fact, Giffin's primary concern is to sift through, organize, and develop the scholarly and highly technical aspects of Islamic tradition and theological views on love into a separate genre dealing with the Arabic conception of profane love in prose. Moreover, although Giffin briefly discusses the views of Ibn Dawud, Ibn Hazm, and al-Jahiz, she devotes her entire discussion to books written during the second half of the twelfth century and after. Consequently, Giffin's book deals with matters that are beyond the scope of the present chapter.

As Giffin points out, numerous books and treatises have been written on love, particularly after the twelfth century. However, the few books and treatises, written before the twelfth century have not been entirely translated into European languages,¹ nor have they been duly evaluated even in the original language in which they are written. Consequently, Western critics who deal, or will deal, with the influence of Arabic love on Troubadour poets may find themselves in a vulnerable position. The need for a basic understanding of Arabic

conception of love, its nature and orientation as put forth by Arab poets, is now felt more than ever. Such an understanding will, I hope, help determine whether or not the Arabic influence is still a viable question. Let us therefore begin with the concept of 'Udhri love.

Ibn Qutayba, a ninth-century scholar and critic, relates the following story about the poet 'Urwa ibn Hazzam:

He was of the tribe of 'Udhra, a victim of love and one of the best known lovers ('ushshaq). His beloved, 'Afra', daughter of Ibn Malik, was also of the tribe of 'Udhra. They grew up together, and when 'Urwa came of age, he asked his uncle's permission to marry her; but his uncle only made promises to him. Meanwhile, 'Afra' was given in marriage to her cousin, and both went away to live in his home town. On 'Urwa's return from a trip he learned of his beloved's marriage, whereupon grief gripped his heart. He lived at his uncle's house throughout his failing health; a few months later he died of mental affliction. When 'Afra' knew of 'Urwa's death, she was racked with sorrow, and she asked her husband to permit her to return to her birth-place, for she wanted to mourn 'Urwa's death. She did so in these verses:

O you who march in procession/what cause have you to mourn
 'Urwa ibn Hazzam?
 O paragon of youth, for after you/life is but dull,
 brightless, and grim;
 Tell the pregnant women to wish for no other than the
 like of 'Urwa/for surely unhappy they would be
 not to have his equal.

'Afra' wandered from place to place reciting these verses until the end of her life. The news of her death and that of 'Urwa reached the Caliph Mu'awiya who said: "If betimes I had known this honest couple, I would have united them myself."²

The fact that the story makes reference to Mu'awiya, a Caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, indicates that 'Urwa and 'Afra must have lived during his time (Mu'awiya defeated Ali and ruled in Damascus from 660 to 680 as the first Umayyad Caliph).³ The story also underlines a tradition which existed long before the emergence of Islam. This tradition of 'Udhrite love had its strong advocates and continued to find expression in later centuries. For example, al-Hallaj (d.922) and Ibn Dawud (d.909) were staunch defenders of the code of 'Udhrite love.⁴ In Spain the concept of 'Udhrite love received further systematic treatment in the tenth and eleventh centuries by Ibn al-Jiyani and Ibn Hazm.⁵

In the East, in the beginning of the seventh century, Muhammad the prophet had entered into a peaceful agreement with the tribe of 'Udhra, for its poets and writers impressed him with their eloquence;⁶ also, as we shall see, the tribe's tenets of love agreed to some extent with the Islamic conception of love. Urwa represents an early stage in the conception of 'Udhrite or pure love. There was, moreover, another tribe which also was known

for its code of pure love: an 'Udhrite was once asked if his tribe was really the most tender-hearted in all Arabia. "We were," he said, "but the tribe of Banu Amir has vanquished us with their Majnun, the poet Qais ibn Mu'ad."⁷ At any rate, the tribe of Banu 'Udhra must have been distinguished long before, for it was notable for a unique quality, as Ibn Qutayba tells us in the following story about Jamil Buṭayna:

Jamil ibn Ma'mar al-'Uhri, one of the Arab lovers whose beloved was Buṭayna, and both were from the tribe of 'Uhra. An 'Udhrite was asked: "Say, what is the trouble with your hearts which, like those of birds, dissolve in love like salt in water? Why do you not show hardness of heart and endurance of mind? He answered: "Unlike yours, our eyes have wider orbits and our hearts feel deep." Another 'Udhrite was asked: "Where do you belong?" He replied: "I belong among a people who, when they love, die for love." Whereupon a Jariya was nearby who heard him, and promptly exclaimed: "By the God of al-Ka'ba, he is an 'Udhrite." Jamil fell in love with Buthayna while still a boy. On coming of age he asked for her hand, but was rejected. Consequently he began to compose poetry, at the same time he decided to see her secretly. One night Buthayna's people got together in an effort to kill him should he come again. Buthayna tried to warn him against the trap; but Jamil, strengthened by love, will none of it, and recited the following verses:

If a thousand people come between me and
Buthayna/ each for jealousy desiring to kill me,
Though with a broken leg I shall come/ to see her
either by day in defiance or by night in secret.⁸

The two stories of 'Urwa and Jamil (d.701)

Illustrate for us a concept of love characterized by the quality of purity; that is, compared with Imru'ul Qais, for example, whom we have seen earlier and whose love is lustful dalliance with the fair-skinned ladies and is sexually motivated, 'Urwa's or Jamil's love concerns one woman and is motivated by the ideal of union with her in marriage. When this desire for union is frustrated, however, or when the poet is rejected, not by the beloved herself, but by her family or relatives, his frustration leaves him perplexed and drives him out of his wits; his love breaks out in poetic expressions which are extremely sentimental and self-indulgent, as the case is with Jamil:

You have continued, O Buthayna, to torment me, so that the turtledove would sympathize with me, were I, in the ardour of my passion to awaken its complaints with mine. The jealousy of spies only increased my love, and the prohibitions of my friends only made me persevere. The distance which separates us has not rendered me indifferent, and the weary nights have not forced me to renounce you. O thou whose lips are a sweet source, knowest thou that I languish with thirst on the day in which I see not thy face? I often feared that death might surprise me whilst my soul needed thee, as it still does.⁹

While in Pre-islamic days sentimental love of this kind is met with on comparatively rare occasions, it

becomes the accepted emotional pattern during the second half of the seventh century. By the year 622 Islam had put an end to intertribal warfare by uniting the warring tribes into one people under the banner of 'Islam is a religion and a sovereignty.'¹⁰ While the ancient history of the 'Udhra tribe is not well known, it had distinguished itself by being the least belligerent of all tribes; its poets and lovers were most tender-hearted, This quality of softness, together with the tribe's motto-- those who love, die-- were held as exemplary ideas, so that Muhammad himself is known to have said:

He who loves and remains chaste, never reveals his secret passion though he dies unrequited, dies the death of a martyr.¹¹

The force of this statement can be appreciated in its historical perspective. After Islam had succeeded in terminating inter-tribal warfare, it did not obliterate all customs and beliefs of men of Pre-islamic times; if it had, it would have failed to accomplish its goal of bringing about a united people. Islam allowed a number of tribal practices and beliefs (save idolatry) to find their way into the new faith; for example, the ideals of Arab virtue, 'muru'ah' (manliness) and 'irid' (honor)

and their component elements of courage, loyalty and generosity.¹² Above all, there was the ideal of love, shorn of its belligerent tendencies, but allowed to thrive in secret.¹³ Illicit love from the point of view of Islam was prohibited if it meant mere sexual gratification (however, the Moslem had the right to use his slave-girls for that purpose). Love was praised and even encouraged only when the lover kept his feeling hidden; and if his love was not requited by the lady, he might not express it and so unfold his secret; he had better die as a martyr. In fact, in poetry, the two stories of 'Urwa and Jamil illustrate some of these ideals and attitudes of love which were accepted and sanctioned by Islam.

The ideal of secrecy or the need to keep one's love secret is rather difficult to explain fully, for there is not sufficient evidence that this was practiced by lovers as a form of discipline, nor does it form an integral part of the 'Udhrite conception of love as expressed by the poets. Although the prophet, according to Ibn Dawud, refers to chaste love and the necessity for its concealment, the lives of Jamil, 'Urwa, and others such as Kuthayyir Azza, Majnun (Qais ibn Mu'ad), and

'Abbas ibn al-Ahnaf (d.806) whom we have met in Chapter II, do not confirm the prophet's edict. Jamil, for example, resorted to secret meetings with Buthayna by sheer force of circumstance--her people were up against him and, as we have seen, he was compelled to see her furtively; al-Ahnaf, the poet-lover, even though he is much later than the prophet, had to conceal the real name of his beloved and use another because of religious and social pressures.¹⁴

Both Ibn Dawud and Ibn Qutayba mention the famous meeting between Jamil and Kuthayyir, in which Jamil once called upon Kuthayyir for a favor.¹⁵ Upon Jamil's request, Kuthayyir went to Buthayna's house in order to set a day and a place for the lovers' meeting. But Kuthayyir, being always in a quandary as to how he should invent a way to see his own 'Azza, turned the enterprise to advantage and went to 'Azza's house for the same purpose. The point of the story is that no love ever succeeded in keeping his love a secret; how could he, if he appealed to either his uncle or his father or even his whole tribe to intercede in his behalf? Moreover, the lack of secrecy appears in the fact that such a story and many like stories were

handed down by word of mouth before an Ibn Dawud or an Ibn Qutayba managed to record them. In light of these facts, therefore, the ideas of martyrdom and secrecy which Islam put forward to not apply to 'Udhrite love. It is true that a number of 'Udhrite lovers died for love, such as 'Urwa, for example, who died consumed by his own passion. Martyrdom, however, as defined by Islam, teaches the attitudes of self-restraint and control of passion which the lover must exercise when he is faced with unrequited love.¹⁶ The concept of martyrdom was not able to sustain itself for long, since it gradually became submerged beneath the heated controversy with Sufism over the proper and true quality of the love of God (we shall have to say more about this controversy later in our study).

The term 'Udhrite' deserves some attention. First of all it denotes the man or woman who belongs to the tribe of Banu 'Udhra, just as Banu Amir is the name of another tribe to which Qais ibn Mu'ad, known as Majnun, belongs. Furthermore, Majnun himself is a frustrated lover, precisely like Jamil and 'Urwa of the 'Udhra tribe, and like them shares a similar experience; one may also mention 'Antara of the tribe of Banu Shaddad, whose

Romance of 'Antara is well known to many a scholar. These lovers, however, do not qualify or pass for Udhrite lovers, if we consider, as we should, that the term 'Udhrite' implies a particular quality characteristic of a particular tribe. The anecdote about the 'Udhrite who was asked to identify himself and replied that he belonged to a people who die of love does not apply to either Majnun or 'Antara (although these are as passionate and devoted lovers as are Jamil and 'Urwa). To be sure, both Ibn Dawud and Ibn Qutayba identify the names of Jamil and 'Urwa as Jamil ibn Ma'mar al-Udhri and 'Urwa ibn Hazzam al-'Udhri; whereas Majnun and 'Antara do not bear that name, that is, al-'Udhri, although both theorists call these poets among other such as Kuthayyir 'Azza and Imru'ul-Qais "the famous Arab lovers." Thus we may be certain that, etymologically, the term 'Udhrite' derives from a tribal name which confers upon the member a social or ethnic status. From a stylistic viewpoint, moreover, the theme of 'Udhrite love illustrates the peculiar idealism of a Bedouin tribe, in which refinement and tenderness in love, delicacy of feeling and the virtue of chastity are carried to extreme suffering.

But it must be understood that such a theme as inherent in 'Udhrite love is, paradoxically, an effect rather than a cause, for refinement and chastity are not the cause which produces love poetry. Indeed, these qualities are part of the nature of a Bedouin: to be chaste and good-natured, to love honor and goddness are qualities which constitute the general ethos of Bedouin life. In this connection Ibn Khaldun says that,

Bedouins do not concern themselves with luxuries or anything causing, or calling for desires and pleasures. They are closer to the first natural state and more remote from evil habits and have been imposed upon the souls of sedentary people.¹⁷

The following anecdote about Jamil bears out Ibn Khaldun's observation:

When in Syria, I met one of my friends who said to me: Would you like to see Jamil? He is sick; let us go and visit him. On entering we found him near his last, and on seeing me he said: O Ibn Sahl! What sayest thou of a man who never drank wine, never committed fornication nor murder; who never stole, and who beareth witness that there is no god but the only God? My answer was: I think that he had attained salvation, and hope that he will enter paradise; and who is that man? It is I, replied Jamil. By Allah, said I, I do not think that thou will gain salvation after having celebrated, for the last twenty years, the charms of Buthayna. May I be deprived of the intercession of Muhammad, said he, I that am now entering into the first day of the life to come, and am in the last day of my life in this world,-- if I ever placed my hand on her with an improper intention.¹⁸

The moral value underlying 'Udhrite love poetry evolves from the poet's abstemious attitude to life: he neither seeks pleasure nor indulges in sexual gratification in order to forget the bitterness of experience; his one aim, although inaccessible, is to love a particular woman. The poet loves one individual and desires none other; he knows one object of love, her name and her social status, for like him she is a tribal woman and usually from the same tribe. Their love begins as though it were settled beforehand by God, as the following verses of Jamil indicate:

God threw in Buthayna's eyes a speck of dirt,
and her teeth shone like bright sparks; she hit me/
her eyes with arrows whose feathers were her pretty
lashes, but the arrows did not bruise my skin as they
did my heart.¹⁹

The poem is rather difficult, and if I understand these verses they may mean that it is the power of God which lent Buthayna's eyes such a force as to draw him close to her in love. In the ninth and tenth centuries this kind of love was explained in terms of astrological accommodation of human love. Ikhwan al-Safa in a treatise on "The Nature of Love" astrologically explains how a person may love some one and none other than that someone.²⁰ Similarly, Ibn Dawud says:

Congeniality of souls depends on the sun and moon being in two nativities. They look at one another with sympathy and love through either a third or a sixth aspect. When this state obtains, then those who are born with such an horoscope are prone to incline sympathetically and lovingly toward one another.²¹

Later Ibn Sina (980-1037) in his Risala Fil 'Ishq (Treatise on love) maintains that the love of a beautiful human form implies (and I translate the part on marriage) :

1) The desire to embrace it, 2) The desire to kiss it, 3) the desire for conjugal union with it...If the object or end of love is not marriage and the propagation of the species, it is hideous, base, and specific to the animal soul.²²

The lives of Jamil and 'Urwa bear out Ibn Sina's argument. As we have seen, their desire is conjugal union with the beloved. Their souls are thus not base nor are they hideous, because their only purpose in living is to consummate their love in marriage. Conversely, they feel that their purpose in living comes to naught if such marriage is denied them. In fact, marriage was denied them and both died in frustration. It is thus the lack of fulfillment, or denial that became the only incentive for composing poetry, as Jamil says:

Whilst I live, my heart shall love thee; and if I die, my ghost shall flit after thine among the tombs. I look towards thee for the fulfillment of thy promise, as the poor looketh toward the rich. Other debts are paid, but there is a debtor who keeps no engagement with us, and who yet is not pressed.²³

And as the story tells us, Jamil did not start to compose poetry prior to his frustrated desire to marry Buthayna, and then only in sad, embittered spirit did he find reason to sing of Buthayna's love. It is important, therefore, to note that separation from the beloved provides the major incentive in love poetry. To be sure, for no more and no less than the state of separation would Ibn Dawud settle; and in many other instances he makes lasting contributions to the understanding of 'Udhrite love, or pure love, as expressed by the great poets.²⁴

The first statement which Ibn Dawud makes at the outset of Chapter I is this:

The cause of war may be a word, and the cause of love may be a glimpse.²⁵

In Arabic the structure of this sentence is called 'Saj', or rhymed prose; there are two cola, each colon ends with a word having the same rhyme-- 'lafdhatin' (word) and 'lahdhatin' (glimpse)-- thus giving rise to a contrast between the notion of war generated by an

utterance and love nurtured by a glimpse. Indeed, the whole structure has a proverbial force which clinches Ibn Dawud's argument that love is born through sight. Accordingly, Ibn Dawud quotes a verse from the poet al-Nahawi, a contemporary and dear friend of his:

Love is born through hearing of the ear
and sight of the eye; it is also born through a
talk or a description.²⁶

For Ibn Dawud this notion of love born through sight or hearing takes on the character of a codified system:

We have mentioned that love is born through sight or hearing; then it grows slowly, stage after stage. Now, if sight is sober and consciously delights in the picture at which it looks, and the lover assures the beloved of the love in his heart, true love is thus engendered in the lover's heart and begins to overpower him and increase in intensity.²⁷

The notion of sight recurs throughout Ibn Dawud's book in his attempt to explain the causes of love, especially the 'Udhrite love. In fact, more than two-thirds of the book is a collection of verses from various poets on the subject.

When we compare Ibn Dawud's passage with one from Ibn Hazm's book, Tawq al-Hamamah (The Ring of the Dove), we can immediately recognize the difference in outlook between the two writers. Ibn Hazm says:²⁸

When a man falls in love at first sight, and forms a sudden attachment as a result of a fleeting glance, that proves him to be little steadfast, and proclaims that he will as suddenly forget his romantic adventure; it testifies to his fickleness and inconstancy. So it is with all things; the quicker they grow, the quicker they decay.²⁹

Later in the chapter on "al-Mahaba Ba'da 'Ishratin Tawila" (Of Falling in Love After Long Association) Ibn Hazm rejects the whole idea of love caused by sight; he prefers the love which grows after constant companionship with the person concerned;³⁰

I indeed marvel profoundly at all those who pretend to fall in love at first sight; I cannot easily prevail upon myself to believe their claim, and prefer to consider such love as merely a kind of lust. Love has not truly gripped my bowels, save after a long lapse of time, and constant companionship with the person concerned.³¹

The difference in outlook between Ibn Dawud and Ibn Hazm is simply this: while the former affirms that love is caused by sight which he makes the necessary condition for its growth, the latter rejects the notion of sight and affirms the condition of constant companionship. How do we explain this difference? The answer is long and rather complicated, and has to do with two different periods of time. Yet a brief word is necessary here, since our purpose is to understand the true nature and conception of Arabic love.

When Islam descended upon Arabia and the tribes were subsequently united, there was an urgent need to keep the people in constant observance of one law and one religion: otherwise the fear was that they might relapse into the old tribal way of life. One of the effective measures taken toward implementing such an observance concerned women. To organize, or to create forms of relationships between the sexes was a primary objective of the holy Qur'an. Men, according to the Qur'an, stood superior to women in that God had preferred the one to the other and had committed women to the care and protection of men.³² Moreover, the Qur'an had a tremendous influence on the sexual morality of the Arabs: it provided legal sanctions against breaches of the laws of marriage and Muhammad exhorted the people to sexual modesty. God promised forgiveness and reward to chaste women and chaste men,³³ and counseled them to pursue purity and modesty: "Speak unto the true believers, that they restrain their eyes and keep themselves from immodest actions. This will be more pure for them."³⁴ About the Moslem women God commands Muhammad: "Speak to the believing women, that they restrain their eyes, and preserve their modesty."³⁵

Fornication is to be forbidden to the unmarried: 'Draw not near unto fornication; for it is wickedness, and an evil way.'³⁶

The immediate effects of these Qur'anic exhortations were far-reaching. Most families felt disgraced when the womenfolk were courted or mentioned by poets as objects of their affections. In the year 644 'Umar I went so far as to forbid love poetry;³⁷ and in the year 710 when Um al-Banin, the favourite wife of al-Walid I, went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, the Caliph warned the poets to refrain from addressing love songs to any member of his household.³⁸ This situation parallels that which we have seen in Chapter III (p.199) where Ibn Hazm relates the story of a poet who was put to death because he composed a love song about the Caliph's daughter. In short, for the poets there were no other women to celebrate in their love song except the slave-girls or Jawari. To be sure, in the eighth century the Islamic religion distinguished between two castes of women: the free and aristocratic women who were wives and daughters of Caliphs, or relatives of important persons and families, and Jawari who were for the pleasure and use of their masters as

well as for entertainment at court and in public.³⁹ It is these Jawari who were celebrated as objects of the poets' affections; the poet Abu Nuwas is a testimony to this fact; and Abbas ibn al-Ahnaf, a contemporary of Abu Nuwas, is another example of a poet who dedicates his love songs to a Jariya.⁴⁰

The unlimited number of Jawari, their character, their world of glamor, and their vices were the object of vehement conservative attack, especially regarding the pleasure-loving atmosphere with which they were associated; Even here al-Jahiz did not spare the Jawari his attack on their vices; and in the words of Giffin, al-Jahiz,

minces no words on the faults of the character, the vices, and the cynical treacheries which are implicit in the profession of the qiyān Jawari. They probably could not be chaste if they wanted to, for the condition of their education and their work would militate against it. They have no chance to occupy their minds with sober, virtuous, or religious thoughts. He dissects their professional strategies, the seductions by which they lead several men at once to conceive a grand passion for them and then manipulate their affections as they choose.⁴¹

However, al-Jahiz's attack must not be construed as a conservative one (though he did agree with the conservatives on the general character of Jawari). He was a man of letters and a rationalist; he attacked vices

wherever he saw them; but he also opposed all those who spoke against pleasure-loving pursuits, especially the idea of "looking at women." After al-Jahiz however, the idea of looking at women, together with the pleasure-loving attitude shared by nearly all the great poets of the time, created a strong negative reaction among the various religious groups. Not only did the conservatives renew their attacks but also a major and an important religious movement, generally known as Sufism (asceticism), joined in. This religious movement concerned itself with and tended toward religious reform. Within its various sects, its complicated orders and philosophical trends, whose description is beyond the limits of this study, Sufism aimed at contact with the divine (as Massignon observes; it is union with God through knowledge and love, a union wherein self died in Him).⁴¹ However, what is of direct concern to us here is the attitude of Sufist philosophy toward love poetry.

Judged by its doctrines and practices, Sufism, as al-Hujwiri (d. between 1072-76) tells us, was founded on celibacy (although marriage was allowed to the Sufi who was not a recluse).⁴² Sensuality is eradicated by

self-constraint and by the love of God; thus it is the celibates who are the most excellent Sufis, and to live that life the rule dictates that a Sufi should keep guard over his senses, over his thoughts and desires, and that he should restrain the motions of his lower soul:

He must not see what is improper to see or think what is improper to think, and he must quench the flames of lust by hunger and guard his heart from this world and from preoccupation with phenomena, and he must not call the desire of his lower soul "knowledge" or "inspiration", and he must not make the wiles of Satan a pretext (for sin). If he acts thus he will be approved by Sufism.⁴³

The direct effect of such Sufist precepts concerns the relations between the sexes outside of marriage, especially the morality of looking and touching the opposite sex. Such an effect emerges quite clearly from al-Hujwiri's rule concerning the hearing of poetry. Looks and touches are to be avoided on whatever pretext; accordingly, absolute purity is demanded both on legal and religious grounds: it is unlawful to listen to any poetry whatever, especially love-songs and the descriptions of the face and the hair and the mole of the beloved; just as it is unlawful and forbidden to look at or touch a beautiful object which is a source of evil, so it is unlawful and forbidden to listen to that object, or similarly, to hear the description of it.⁴⁴

According to Sufism, the immorality of looks and touches rests on the nature of love. It is defined as the love of like toward like, a desire instigated by the lower soul, which seeks the essence of the beloved object by means of sexual intercourse.

Thus we see that the Sufist conception of love has nothing Platonic about it, nothing of the love as a union of hearts and minds, and nothing in particular of the nature of love as found among the Banu Udhra. From the point of view of Sufism love is a passion, an attribute of the lower soul which is the source and principle of evil. Desire for pleasure and lust, human love, is the most manifest passion of the lower soul and is served and inflamed by the senses: the lust of the eye is sight, that of the ear is hearing; such passions are veils that separate one from the divine and are false guides that lead to hell. Man is commanded to resist them. It behooves the seeker of God to spend his whole life, day and night, ridding himself of the incitements to passion which show themselves through the senses, and to pray to God to make him such that this desire will be removed from his inward nature, since whatever is afflicted with lust is veiled from all spiritual things.⁴⁵

Such is in brief the Sufist conception of love and its attitude toward love poetry, which I have here attempted to present in order to reach a basis for an evaluation of Ibn Dawud's conception of love. The doctrine of Sufism gives rise to a view of love that is chaste and pure; but this view concerns only God's love, not human love against whose humanity the doctrine rails. For the Zahrite movement, however, of which both Ibn Dawud and Ibn Hazm are staunch advocates, there is no love of God since love implies union; the God revealed by the Qur'an is transcendent, incomprehensible, and inaccessible.⁴⁶ The only love that can exist, and this is true for Ibn Dawud, is human love, since there can be no divine love. Thus, in his Kitab al-Zuhra Ibn Dawud is giving expression to the highest type of love possible-- renunciation of lovers whereby their mutual desires are perpetuated. It is utterly devoid of sensuality and the lower soul is completely repressed. It is, in short, what the 'Udhrite love is all about.

The poetry of the tribe of Banu 'Udhra provided Ibn Dawud with the necessary material in order

to combat the anti-humanistic attitude of Sufism. Also in 'Udhrite love he found a conception of human love identical with his own which differed from divine love but which harmonized with the spirit of the time. It was a conception of love in which the 'Udhrite lovers, as the lovers of his own time, communicated with each other only through glimpses. Both traditions forbade any proximity between the lover and his beloved; that was taboo, except in cases which involved the desire for conjugal union. Hence Ibn Dawud's emphasis on sight as the cause of love.

In al-Andalus, on the other hand, there prevailed a much freer atmosphere than in Baghdad, an atmosphere which made it easier for lovers to meet and to talk freely and with ease. Ibn Zaydun's beloved, Wallada, was a patroness of the arts; she had an open house for all sorts of distinguished people, poets as well as writers of all kinds; in fact, Ibn Zaydun fell in love with her because of his close proximity to her and made her the object of his verse. Moreover, men and women conversed and socialized together with relative freedom, but I have found no evidence to substantiate H. Pérès' statement that married women in Andalusia of

the eleventh century were the objects of the poet's verse.⁴⁷ The contrary is true, as we have seen earlier. When Ibn Hazm says, "Love has not truly gripped my bowels, save after a long lapse of time," we may be sure that he speaks from his own experience, for he himself tells us that his first teachers were Jawari, and that his first love was for a Jariya residing at his father's house. Ibn Dawud, however, does not necessarily speak from experience, nor does he tell us anything about his personal affairs, save that he is depressed about the inconstancy of his friend to whom he dedicates his book.

Ibn Dawud, therefore, writes of human love and conceives of it a pure and refined; in this sense it is an inversion of the divine love of the Sufis, and one may rightly see in it the first systematizing of Platonic love-- a refined permutation of idealism. In fact, this is precisely what occurs, for Ibn Dawud's next step is to consider seriously the condition under which a person in love may be designated as a true lover. Ibn Dawud does not only depend on the desert poets for the logic and philosophy of pure love, but also makes use of Greek philosophy. Of all Greek thinkers he selects Galen as

his guide. He says:

Galen states that love is an act of the soul which resides in the brain, the heart, and the liver. There are three divisions of the brain: imagination is located in the front part of the brain; reason in the middle; and memory in the rear part. A lover cannot be truly called a lover unless he is separated from his beloved, while the image of his beloved is never absent from his imagination, reason, memory, heart, and liver; only then would he cease from eating, drinking, and sleeping, because all these faculties will be preoccupied with the image of the beloved. Now, if separation does not obtain and the preoccupation thereof, true love cannot exist; nay, once the lover is united with his beloved, longing subsides and his desire for the beloved becomes languid.⁴⁸

This is the central statement of Ibn Dawud's entire book, and is indeed a perfect synthesis of East and West. Galen is not a philosopher, but a physician who supplies Ibn Dawud with the tools necessary for his conception of love. Galen's division of the mind's faculties into imagination, reason, and memory are integrated with Ibn Dawud's own views based on the love songs and lives of Imru'ul-Qais, 'Antara, 'Urwa, Jamil, Majnun, and others. Thus the concept of separation, which derives from the practice of desert poets, becomes all the more important precisely because Galen elucidates for him the function of each faculty-- in a state of separation all

faculties of the mind are preoccupied with the image of the beloved, so that no one faculty is left free of it; hence the lover is so totally consumed with his passion that his love is necessarily pure.

Still Ibn Dawud is not satisfied with a mere description of separation of lovers, but indeed carries this description to extremes. He even tells us that union is hazardous to love, for the beloved would discover all there is to know about the lover. Such a discovery, according to Ibn Dawud, tends to destroy desire and longing; it may also breed disharmony and perhaps eventually lead to the lovers' avoiding each other, as Ibn Dawud says:

It is absolutely imperative that the lover does not declare his love to the beloved. The reason for this is that the beloved wishes to know the truth of the lover's hurt and so implores him to reveal it. However, if the beloved learns of the lover's true passion and becomes certain of his love, the beloved may turn away passively and shun his company. Subsequently anger or discord ensues between lovers, so that the beloved appears the victor and gains mastery over the lover.⁴⁹

This fact is true in two cases which Ibn Dawud records in his book.⁵⁰ Reading the passage one can hardly avoid the impression that Ibn Dawud is a mystic in his attitude to human love. The advice that lovers should

not reveal or declare their love to the beloved, but should, if love is to endure, conceal their passion and rather be totally consumed by it-- this advice seems to me to be a new departure in Arabic conception of love, a sort of mysticism which is quite unique in Arabic thought. And it is not surprising that with Ibn Dawud this idealism would ultimately take on an ontological form in which the essence of the human soul resides, as he says:

Certain philosophers believe that God-- may he be exalted-- created souls in the form of spheres; then he divided them into halves, and each half he made into a body. Subsequently, this half-body, which actually is an exact copy of the other half-body, began to search for its like, and thus love was born. This truth accords with the ancient occasion.⁵¹

Notice that Ibn Dawud syncretizes Islamic religion with Greek mythology; and, as far as I know, he is the first man of letters to have done so. The Greek myth, which tells of the separation of souls in search for one another, is here made part of God's act of creation. Although Ibn Dawud does not mention who the philosophers are, we know that the same myth is found in Plato and Plotinus who were known to Arab intellectuals during his time;⁵² Plato, at least, is mentioned by him.⁵³

Ibn Dawud's bold intellectualism enables him to accommodate Islamic ideas to Greek thought, for elsewhere he combines the Prophet's saying that "souls are like soldiers united by a common cause" with Galen's idea that "love occurs among those who are congenial in reason."⁵⁴ To be sure, a few decades later, with Ikhwan al-Safa (Sincere Brothers), the process of syncretism was to become the only way to purge Islamic religion of all the fallacies and devious thoughts to which it became heir, as al-Qifti (d.1270) tells us (and I translate):

They (Ikhwan al-Safa) maintain that the dignity of religion has been violated and its purity vitiated with all forms of ignorance and falsehood. Therefore the only way to cleanse it and purify it is through Greek philosophy and wisdom. Furthermore, when Greek philosophy and Islamic theology and law are integrated, perfection and truth can be attained.⁵⁵

In Spain Ibn Hazm too was a syncretist. In our Introduction (p.30) we had occasion to mention his attempt to reconcile Aristotelian logic with certain aspects of Islamic jurisprudence. Similarly, with regard to his conception of love, Ibn Hazm, like Ibn Dawud, incorporates Platonic ideas into his philosophy, but unlike him, he further adds Neo-platonic concepts.

Eventually Ibn Hazm's system of thought takes on a distinct turn, and perhaps underlies the reason why he parts ways with Ibn Dawud. He presents a different view of love's ontology,⁵⁶ as in the following passage:

Concerning the nature of love men have held various and divergent opinions, which they have debated at great loss. For my part I consider love as a conjunction between scattered parts of souls that have become divided in this physical universe, a union effected within the substance of their original sublime elements. I do not agree with Muhammad Ibn Dawud--God have mercy on his soul-- who followed certain philosophers in declaring that spirits are segmented spheres; rather do I suppose an affinity of their vital forces in the supernal world which is their everlasting home, and a closer approximation in the manner of their constitutions.⁵⁷

It is obvious that his disagreement with Ibn Dawud concerns the souls that, contrary to what the latter says about their being segmented spheres, are in constant affinity with each other; hence love is born. Love therefore is "a conjunction between scattered parts of souls that have become divided in this physical universe, a union effected within the substance of their original sublime elements." This notion is Neo-platonic. But to prove that Ibn Hazm employs Neo-platonic ideas is rather difficult, because he does

not mention to which philosophers he refers, as is apparent from the beginning of the passage. However, by way of providing a background to Ibn Hazm's thinking, we may briefly say that the philosophy of Neo-platonism divides man's body from the soul, which is divine, and sees the soul's life on earth as a constant soaring desire to reach The One, a desire that is frustrated by bodily imprisonment.⁵⁸

On the basis of Neo-platonic concepts, therefore, Ibn Hazm develops a conception of love which is a union of souls, and which is a thousand times finer in its effects than that of bodies. In order to illustrate this conception Ibn Hazm takes a look at human affairs and offers the following observation:⁵⁹

As for what causes love in most cases to choose a beautiful form to light upon, it is evident that the soul itself being beautiful, it is affected by all beautiful things, and has a yearning for perfect symmetrical images; whenever it sees any such image, it fixes itself upon it; then if it discerns behind that image something of its kind, it becomes united and true love is established. If, however, the soul does not discover anything of its own kind behind the image, its affection goes no further than the form, and remains mere carnal desire.⁶⁰

This statement underlies the distinction between what can be generally called true and false love. The idea depends on what the viewer sees in the beautiful form (here the lady). As the passage indicates, if the soul does not discern anything of its own kind behind the beautiful image, its affection goes no further than the form and remains mere carnal desire. Indeed, the whole thought is a masterly touch in which, on the one hand, correspondence of souls is the basis of true love and is distinct from carnal desire; while on the other hand, false love is carnal desire having failed to establish that correspondence.

Vico says:

There must in the nature of human institutions be a mental language common to all nations, which uniformly grasps the substance of things feasible in human social life, and expresses it with as many diverse modifications as these same things have diverse aspects.⁶¹

In light of this passage one might observe that love, as a human phenomenon, is common to both the Provencals and the Arabs, and both attempt to grasp its substance; but also both express that substance in different modifications because it has different aspects peculiar to each people. For example, in speaking of the 'Signs

of love', Ibn Hazm reviews the symptoms of love-- the continuous look, the rapt attention of the lover to the conversation of the beloved, the anxiety of the lover for her company and so on. Then comes the selection, most often quoted by scholars to indicate the ennobling force of love in Arabic literature on those personal habits, dispositions and virtues of the lover:

A man in love will give prodigally to the limit of his capacity, in a way that formerly he would have refused; as if he were the one receiving the donation, he the one whose happiness is the object in view; all this in order that he may show off his good points, and make himself desirable. How often has the miser opened his purse-strings, the scowler relaxed his frown, the coward leapt heroically into the fray, the clod suddenly become sharp witted, the boor turned into the perfect gentleman, the stinker transformed himself into the elegant dandy, the sloucher smartened up, the decrepit recaptured his lost youth, the godly gone wild, the self-respecting kicked over the traces-- and all because of love!⁶²

In the quotation, there are several points to be noted.

These efforts that the man makes have as their object

" to show off his good points, and make himself desirable",

that is, to win the lady of his choice. Secondly as Ibn

Hazm continues:

All these signs are to be observed even before the fire of Love is properly kindled, ere its conflagration truly bursts forth, its blaze waxes fierce, its flames leap up. But when the fire really takes hold and is firmly established, then you will see the secret whispering, the unconcealed turning away from all present but the beloved.⁶³

Taken in their context, the signs that Ibn Hazm notes are not the ennobling effects of love, but rather, as he states, the prior efforts of the man to attract the lady by his good points. Thirdly, it is important to note that some of these signs are not ameliorations of character or virtues at all but rather the contrary: the good man who, because of love, breaks down, and the chaste man whose religious faith becomes covered with shame.⁶⁴ Ibn Hazm's characterization of love is lacking in depth and is cursory; it cannot be equated to the dignity of feeling and earnestness of love (requited or unrequited, for good or for ill) that we find, for example, in Guillaume IX, or in Cercamon, or in Bernard de Ventadorn.

In Guillaume's poem which begins: Mout jauzens me prenc en amar, for instance, at least one stanza which we have quoted earlier (Chapter III, p. 162) in

connection with Andalusian writers of Muwashshahs, we find something similar to Ibn Hazm's description of love's symptoms:

Per son joy pot malautz sanar,
 E per sa ira sas morir
 E savis hom enfolezir
 E belhs hom sa beutat mudar
 E plus cortes vilanejar
 E totz vilas encortezir.

The theme of the poem is joy and its ennobling as well as destructive effects; it emanates from the lady whose matchless nobility elevates the lover to her station: Guillaume describes that ineffable quality of joy that only the lady can cause:

Totz joys li deu himiliar,
 Et tota ricor obezir
 Mi dons, per son belh aculhir
 E per son belh plazent esguar
 E deu hom mais cant ans durar
 Qui.l joy de s'amor pot sazir.⁶⁵

(Every other joy should be humbled before her; all nobleness should serve, obey my lady, because of her amicable welcome, her gracious and pleasant regard; and he who possesses the joy of her love will live a hundred years).⁶⁶

In this passage Guillaume introduces the motifs of love's ennobling effect, the elevation of the beloved, and the urge upwards of the lover to the status of the beloved through the force of love-- motifs which were to

be developed and endlessly repeated by later Troubadours, Trouveres, and Minnesanger. What Ibn Hazm describes, however, is not such motifs, but rather, as he states, the prior efforts of the man to attract the lady by his good points.

Ibn Hazm also describes pure love, or chaste love that is devoid of sensuality. Though it comes near the spirit of courtly love, the chaste love of Ibn Hazm and some of the Andalusian poets as well as the Eastern poets was not the inspiration of Courtly Love; it is different in conception and is peculiar to the Arabic mind. For example, the 'Udhrite poet Jamil says (and I translate):

My soul and hers were united before our birth; and since we were in the cradle, our love has grown with us and made a bond between us, so that death will not destroy it; for when we both die, our love will remain as true as ever and will visit us in our graves.⁶⁷

It is precisely this quality of human love which inspired Ibn Dawud to imagine human souls as divided sphere in search of one another (See Note, 51), to which, as we have seen, Ibn Hazm objects and instead affirms an affinity of the souls' vital forces in the supernal

world. The difference between the two poet-theorists, however, is actually more of a quibble over semantics than over love's essence, for in both theorists love is ontologically supernal. In fact, had Ibn Hazm read Jamil's poetry he would probably have not misinterpreted Ibn Dawud's idea of the segmented spheres which constantly try to find one another, as Jamil's soul found her other segment in Buthayna before birth.

Neither Jamil nor Ibn Dawud speaks of false and true love, but Ibn Hazm, as we have seen, does. In order to understand more fully the nature of true and false love in Ibn Hazm we must compare him with at least one Troubadour poet--Marcabru. The great difference in the effects of false love (Amars) and true love (Bon Amors) appears in the contrast Marcabru makes between them:

Bon amors porta meizina
 per garir son compaigno,
 Amars lo sieu disciplina
 E'l met en perdicio.⁶⁸

(True love bears healing powers to heal its companion; false love rules him, and puts him in the way of perdition.)⁶⁹

Healing powers as a quality of true love is nowhere to be found in Ibn Hazm's conception of love. For Ibn Hazm true love's power, in addition to producing certain good points in the lover's character, brings about states of trepidation, sleeplessness, weeping, melancholy, alteration of disposition, derangement of reason, etc.-- all these are "symptoms of profound agitation which accompany passionate love."⁷⁰ Furthermore, Ibn Hazm sees true love in Neo-Platonic terms, that is, as a spiritual approbation: when the lover's soul is liberated from earthly restriction it then strives after and searches for the soul of the beloved who has undergone a similar liberation from earthly temperaments.⁷¹ At this point Ibn Hazm introduces the idea that such a search is essentially a religious experience:

The Messenger of Allah confirmed the matter when he said, "Spirits are regimented battalions: those which know one another associate familiarly together, while those which do not know one another remain at variance." A Saint is reported as having stated, "The spirits of believers know one another."⁷²

But for Marcabru true love is essentially a secular experience:

What Marcabru means by true love is a secular experience: it is not caritas, or the love of God and of all things in God; it is love between man and woman. This love is good because it is involved in a larger life, the life of a society, a noble class that has a certain ethical and religious mandate, in Marcabru's eyes. True love is of this earth and this life, and it is intense and full of joy; but in a wonderful way, because the lovers are good and have courtly virtues, like steadfastness and restraint, their love inevitably realizes a divine intention, the calling of their class.⁷⁴

Ibn Hazm and Marcabru differ in their characterization of false love. Based on his conception of true love Ibn Hazm sees false love precisely as a failure to establish a correspondence or fusion of souls;⁷⁴ while for Marcabru false love is destructive, deceptive, and lustful:

Amars creis et atahina
 Tric'ab coratje gloto
 Per una dölssor conina
 Que'is compren d'un fuoc fello.⁷⁵

(Amars grows and causes pain, and deceives with ravenous desire through a sensuous pleasure which is kindled with an iniquitous fire.)⁷⁶

In the light of this passage it may be argued that concerning sensuous pleasure as a cause of false love Marcabru and Ibn Hazm are in agreement, particularly when the latter says: "When the soul does not discover

anything of its own kind behind the image (physical beauty), its affection goes no further than the form, and remains mere carnal desire."⁷⁷ But-- and this is vital-- for Marcabru false love is not a failure to establish fusion of souls, or to discover the true spirit behind the visible image; it is perpetrated by the preciousness and lust of the courtly class as well as by those "Troubadours with childish minds."⁷⁸ In short, in Marcabru's eyes, false love grows out of a failure to realize an earthly joy, or an intense and joyful love which ultimately involves an ideal relationship between man and class. Thus it is to be doubted whether Marcabru needed Ibn Hazm to teach him the nature of false love and true love.

Marcabru's conception of love, or his distinction between true love and false love is essentially medieval; he did not learn it from Ovid, Ibn Hazm, Jamil or Ibn Dawud; it is a creation of the French Middle Ages. But to give a full account of the meaning of love in Troubadour poetry is beyond the scope of this study; however, two more brief examples from Bernard de Ventadorn and Cercamon may further shed light on the divergence between

the Troubadour conception of love and that of Arabic love.

Bernard says:

Tan sui vas la bela doptans
 per que'e'm ren a leis merceyans:
 Si'lh platz, que'm don o que'm vendal! 79

(Such am I in the presence of my fair lady
 that I deliver myself to her: if she pleases, she
 may give me away or sell me).⁸⁰

In these verses there is a conscious and deliberate denial of the personality and a total identification with an absolute that is not God. The verses represent Bernard's refrain which is sounded throughout the range of his lyrics: like Marcabru, after distinguishing between true and false love Bernard always returns to reaffirm his position as a Troubadour poet by singing of his constant devotion and service to the courtly lady. Love, therefore, which is born within a man's being has the power to effect an inward unity among the various aspects of that being; a unity which becomes all the more indestructible because it evolves from a conscious denial of self for the lady. The lady wields enormous power for weal or woe over her subject; thus Cercamon, echoing Guillaume, says:

Per lieys serai a fals o fis,
 O drechuriers o ples d'enjan,
 O totz vilas o totz cortez,
 O trebalhos o de lezer.⁸¹

(Through her I shall be either false or faithful, loyal or full of deceit, wholly villainous or wholly courteous, industrious or lazy.)⁸²

This is quite different from Ibn Hazm's description of the signs of love: where Ibn Hazm only describes the lover's good manners designed to attract the lady, the Troubadour poets, Cercamon, Bernard, Marcabru, or Guillaume describe love's effects on the lover from various perspectives, and that is as it should be, for the lady, unlike the Arabic lady, is so great (she is also cold and disdainful of the prayers of her lover) that no ordinary passion is adequate to her; she is the perfection and arbiter of courtliness.⁸³ And it is no exaggeration to say that this image of the lady to whom the poet submits his whole being became so overriding that it eclipsed the image of God, and therefore the tremendous pattern woven by the Troubadour poets was later broken by the overwhelming power of the image it had to sustain.

We have interrupted our discussion of Arabic conception of Udhrite love only to compare it briefly with

that of the Troubadour poets, and therefore highlight the underpinnings of each. Our discussion may now be more fruitful, since we will keep such underpinnings in mind as we proceed to identify the divergences in the meaning of 'Udhrite love from those of courtly love. Regarding 'Udhrite love Ibn Dawud's conception hold the center of our attention. The essence of 'Udhrite love, as H. Peres confirms,⁸⁴ is purity or chastity. The lover's longing is his desire to be united in marriage with his only beloved; but this desire is continually frustrated, and therefore the more the lover longs for that conjugal union⁸⁵ (most often in Troubadour poetry longing takes the form of the poet's struggle to be recognized by the courtly class, especially the courtly lady). Moreover, 'Udhrite love is silent about the role of the beloved, or her social position; other than her simple words of blame the poet-lover does not tell us what his beloved's actual attitude--disdainful, cold, or domineering. However, she may cry and that seems to add to her beauty as Jamil says:

O her loveliness when tears trickle
 through her eys' make-up, and
 so I cannot help but cry; one
 evening she spoke to me words of
 blame, which killed me, and killing
 me with her words and tears was
 her only intention.⁸⁶

The motif of tears in love and the beauty thereof recall

Imru'ul-Qais, the pre-Islamic poet, who says:

The tears began to flow from
 her eyes, whose beauty's arrows
 pierced right through the quick
 of my heart.⁸⁷

Besides in real life the beloved may marry someone else,
 not the poet whose only hope is to be united with her, as
 'A fra', the beloved of 'Urwa, married her cousin, and as
 Buthayna married her kinsman. In both cases the frustra-
 tion, one can imagine, is so keen that the poets
 could do no other thing but sing indulgingly of their
 thwarted desires. In addition to her relative freedom
 of choice in marriage the beloved in 'Udhrite poetry is
 never seen as a sovereign wielding enormous power over the
 lover; in fact, the whole idea behind the chastity of
 'Udhrite love is that the beloved is never portrayed as
 a sovereign.

When Ibn Dawud reviewed the motifs of

Udhrite love poetry he reached certain conclusions that any scholar today might reach. One such conclusion follows precisely from the fact that the beloved is not a sovereign. If she were, if she gains mastery over her lover, the result would be discord and estrangement between lover and beloved (See note, 49). Thus, for Ibn Dawud concealment between lovers, especially on the part of the lover, is an essential factor in perpetuating the desire of love. To be sure, the highest type of human love, Ibn Dawud believes, does not consist in mutual possession which unites the lovers but in renunciation of each other whereby their mutual desire is perpetuated. Such therefore, is the firm opinion of Ibn Dawud and many other cultured and educated people of Baghdad on the subject of human love. It is a love that is perfectly pure, devoid of sensuality, spiritual, a love that is desire. This conception is of a chaste love but it is not that of the Troubadours. It lacks the cult, the elevation of the beloved, the ennobling force of love, and the surge of the lover to the status of the beloved through the force of love.

The system of love which Ibn Dawud sets forth

derives mainly from 'Udhrite love poetry. This fact is very important specifically with regard to Greek philosophy which he incorporated into his system; in fact, we may be quite certain that its absence would least affect the general theme of his book. The backbone of his book is two-fold: first, love is caused by sight or hearing; secondly, it grows and is perpetuated through the lovers' renunciation of each other. These concepts do not derive from Greek philosophy. Galen, Ptolemy, and Plato are quoted in order to corroborate a point, not to introduce a new idea. However, these philosophers, particularly Galen, contribute certain ideas-- the division of the brain into various faculties, for example-- which are turned by Ibn Dawud and many other thinkers of the time (Ikhwan al-Safa and later Ibn Sina) into psychological explanations of the condition of a lover when his mind is preoccupied with the beloved. But such ideas do not change or modify this basic conception of love. To be sure, the concept of souls as being segmented spheres is already prefigured in one of Ibn Dawud's quotations from the Prophet and especially in his citation of Jamil's verses (See note, 67). Yet Ibn Hazm disagrees with the

concept, because his opinion is that souls are not segmented spheres but already united in the supernal world. Ibn Hazm did not read Jamil's poetry or any of the 'Udhrite love poetry, and therefore his disagreement is itself a failure to understand the underlying idea of human love in Ibn Dawud's system. He fails to understand Ibn Dawud's main concern with human love, namely to attack the Sufist tenet that pure love exists only between man and God. In Ibn Dawud's thought a lover is not a soul but a human being, real and concrete and yet capable of loving purely: as a human being he obeys the law of God, but he cannot enter into a relationship of love with God. All this Ibn Hazm disregards, although, like Ibn Dawud, he was a Zahirite (a religious movement which opposed the teaching of Sufism) and concentrates only on the question of segmented spheres. Consequently Ibn Hazm's disagreement reveals that he primarily thinks in terms of souls, not of human beings. In fact, unlike Ibn Dawud who bases his views on Udhrite love poetry, Ibn Hazm has no other precedent than a system of metaphysics-- whenever the occasion arises for him to define the true essence of love, he has at his command a ready made metaphysics of soul which ultimately derives from Neo-Platonism.

To be sure, Ibn Hazm's Neo-Platonic conception of love has so permeated his thinking that without it a major part of his book, Tawq al-Hamamah, would fail to make sense. We have seen that Ibn Hazm is not in accord with Ibn Dawud on the question of sight as a cause of love. This question becomes so important that it assumes highly philosophical proportions; it is Neo-Platonic in its basic conception. Plotinus asks: "Whence comes the beauty of so many women comparable to Venus? Whence came the beauty of Venus herself?"⁸⁸ He answers that it comes from a form. Beauty cannot be attributed to the unformed mass, but to the form that touches it and creates dispositions in the souls of those who see it. The proof is that we do not perceive beauty so long as it remains exterior to us, yet as soon as it is interior to us, it moves us with love and desire of it.⁸⁹ Ibn Hazm takes this notion of the beautiful form and reworks it in terms of the difference between carnal or false love and true love, and thereafter proceeds to describe love among human beings. On the other hand, Neo-Platonism descended to the Middle Ages by way of various secular writers, including Macrobius, and through the Christian adaptation of

Dionysius the Areopagite and John the Scot; it was present among the Albigensian heretics in southern France.⁹⁰ Moreover, Neo-Platonism did not penetrate deep into Arabic Spain; it neither helped transform conditions of life nor provoke creativity or genius; above all, it remained the property of a few Arab intellectuals. In the light of these facts, therefore, we may conclusively ask: why should Ibn Hazm's book, Twaq al-Hamamah, be thought of as having influenced Courtly Love when its major discussion of love derives from the same traditions which were gestating in the mind of Europe ever since Augustine?

So much ink has been spilled on the question of influence of Arabic concept of love on Troubadour lyrics, especially A.J.Denomy's indefatigable attempts to prove that Ibn Sina's treatise, 'Risala Fil 'Ishq' (Treatise on Love), coincides in every particular with 'Fin' Amors' of the Troubadours:

Like theirs, pure love consists in the union of heart and soul; like theirs, pure love is a source of nobility, progress in virtue and refinement; like theirs, pure love eschews intercourse and grossness; like theirs, pure love allows kissing and embracing, the use of the senses of sight and touch as effecting closer union; like theirs, pure love is amoral in the sense that it is divorced from religious and legal grounds;

like theirs, the morality of love lies in its furtherance or detracting of man in worth and nobility of character; like theirs, the pursuit of pure love is incumbent on every man who is wise, noble, and learned.⁹¹

It is surprising that Ibn Hazm, at least in certain aspects of his conception of love in which he equally speaks of union of heart and soul, nobility of character, virtue, and refinement, does not figure in Denomy's overall view of love common to both the Troubadours and Arabic philosophy; the same is true for Ikhwan al-Safa, for they too do not figure in his mind.

The underlying thesis of Ibn Sina's treatise is the idea that all things by nature strive toward perfection, and that all things shy away from defects in them toward the pure good. If anything at all, this idea is certainly not a part of the tradition of Latin love lyrics, nor is it a part of Andalusian love poetry, nor at this point is there anything in it which might have inspired Guillaume IX. Moreover, no one fails to notice that Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic concepts are here synthesized to introduce a doctrine advocating suppression of the lower parts of the soul in its attempt to reach the highest perfection. It is on the basis of

such an attempt that some of Ibn Sina's most important doctrines on love are formulated, especially those of the fifth chapter of the treatise. Let us therefore take a brief look at this chapter. The last section of the chapter reads thus:⁹²

Three things follow from the love of a beautiful human form: (I) the urge to embrace it, (II) the urge to kiss it and (III) the urge for conjugal union with it. As for the third, it is obvious that this is specific to the animal soul alone, and its hold on the latter is very strong, so much so that it maintains the position of a steady companion, or a master. It is very hideous. Rational love can, therefore, not be pure except when the animal faculty is altogether subdued; with respect to the desire of conjugal union, it is fitting that a lover who entices the object of his love with this purpose in mind should be suspected, except if his need has a rational purpose, i.e., if his purpose is the propagation of the species. This is impossible with a man, and with a woman who is forbidden by religious law it is abominable. It is permissible and may find approval only in the case of a man with either his wife or a female slave.

As for embracing and kissing, the purpose in them is to come near to one another and to become united. The soul of the lover desires to reach the object of his love with his senses of touch and sight, and thus he delights in embracing it, and he longs to have the very essence of his soul-faculty, his heart mingle with that of the object of his love, and thus he desires to kiss it. These actions then are not in themselves blameworthy. However, feelings and actions of excessive lust happen to follow them frequently, and this makes

it necessary that one should be on guard against them, except if the complete absence of physical appetite and immunity even from suspicion is beyond doubt.⁹³

This is the only passage on human love in the entire treatise. A comparison with Ikhwan al-Safa (Sincere Brothers), who base their views on Platonic philosophy, shows that the question of sight and touch, the desire to embrace and to kiss, and finally to unite with the beloved is here repeated almost verbatim.⁹⁴ Ibn Sina's passage, therefore as well as the entire treatise, is pretty much in the tradition of Platonic and Neo-Platonic thought from which Ikhwan al-Safa, and Ibn Hazm derive their ideas on human love.⁹⁵

Regarding the other part of the passage which deals with conjugal union, Ibn Sina's purpose is obviously didactic and is very much in the tradition of Islamic thought and religion. The only new concept introduced here is the rational soul and its control over the animal soul. This concept is part of Ibn Sina's metaphysical view that just as the entire universe is moved by desire-- each thing according to its nature, inanimate, vegetative, animal, rational, divine-- so is a human being moved by

desire for a beautiful human form. And just before the passage on conjugal union occurs, Ibn Sina has this to say:

It is part of the nature of beings endowed with reason to covet a beautiful form, and this is sometimes considered as refinement and nobility. This disposition is either specific to the animal faculty alone, or it results from a partnership of the rational and animal faculties. But if it is specific to the animal faculty alone, the sages do not consider it as a sign of nobility and refinement. For, it is an incontrovertible truth that when a man expresses animal desire in an animal-like fashion, he becomes involved in vice and is harmed in his rational soul. On the other hand, this type of love is not specific to the rational soul alone either, for the endeavour of the latter requires the intelligible and eternal universals, not sensible and perishable particulars. This type of love, then, results from an alliance between the two.⁹⁶

In this passage perfection, or more specifically pure love, is attained when the rational soul is in control of the animal soul; and the important corollary of this alliance is that refinement and nobility are integral parts of the rational element in human love. To be sure, the key word in the first quoted passage on conjugal union is "suspicion"; it underlies the fact that the intention of the lover is noble and refined only if his rational faculty directs his desire to be united with the beloved. Ibn Sina's insight signifies that the rational faculty is an apriori

condition for the birth and growth of pure and noble love; a condition which is precisely an inversion of the tenets of Courtly Love in which the lover is ennobled through love. Moreover, the concept of rational faculty does not play a major part in Courtly Love; for example, Cercamon says:

Aquesta don m'auzetz chantar
 Es plus bella q'ieu no sai dir;
 Fresc' a color e bel esgar
 Et es blancha ses brunezir;
 Oc, e non es vernisada,
 Ni om de leis non pot mal dir,
 Tant es fin' et esmerada.
 E sobre tota's deu prezar
 De dig ver, segon mon albir,
 D' ensegnamen e de parlar.⁹⁷

(The lady of whom you hear me sing is fairer than I can say; fresh complexioned and beautiful to look upon, and white without blemish. Verily, she is not rouged, nor can anyone speak evil of her, for she is noble and pure. I think she is praiseworthy above all others for her truthful, courtly manners, and speech).⁹⁸

For Cercamon, as for many other Troubadours, it is the lady who is noble and refined, and it is she who inspires the lover with pure sentiment and elevation of mind. While Ibn Sina demands that the lover first be ennobled and refined through his rational faculty of his love is to be pure and noble, the Troubadour poet is ennobled

through the beloved herself who is of good character and courtly refinement.

To conclude, Arabic Platonic and Neo-platonic philosophy fails to provide a bridge from its high metaphysical reach to the lower ground of carnal human love. Ikhwan al-Safa later refutes what they set out to say on love at the beginning of their work by reminding the reader that the only lasting love is that of God; Ibn Sina's sole purpose is didactic: he instructs the Moslem individual in the principle of rational soul as a necessary condition for a lasting, pure love; and Ibn Hazm inculcates in the minds of his Moslem brethren that love is a conjunction of souls. In all these philosophers there is scarcely a mention of the individual as an important unit of social discourse. In other words, the point of departure for these philosophers is not the individual person but the metaphysical unit of soul. For one thing, this is one reason why Denomy's argument ought to be viewed as irrelevant; another is set forth by Silverstein:

...Avicenna's (Ibn Sina) book fails to contain other important traits of fin' amors, some of which, intimately connected as they are with the theme of desire, disclose the tense psychology that seems to be an integral part of the character of Courtly Love. There is, for example, the theory recorded by Andreas that love cannot exist between a married couple, which Denomy has dealt with in terms of the distinction between benevolentia and the more unstable, passionate relationships of pursus amor. There is also the element of jealousy, with its own very special atmosphere. It is sharply distinguished by Andreas from the traditional zelotypia of husband and wife, which is morally reprehensible, and may be separated by us from the zelotypia of the medical men, for whom it is merely a source of bodily disturbance and therefore ill-health. On the contrary, in Courtly Love it is a more intense and positive quality, pure jealousy, to explain which Denomy has had to turn to the Bible for parallels. Nothing of these appears in the Risalah, though the occasion for them, as far as they had developed among the Arabs, surely exists there. Despite their basic connection with the art, however, perhaps Denomy would wish to see them as secondary characteristics. Yet for jealousy, at least, there is evidence in his own analysis that it is already present in the Troubadours. And this is true, as he shows, of another quality-- the special joy of love, about which Avicenna is also silent.⁹⁹

CHAPTER V

Notes

¹For example, Ibn Dawud's book, Kitab al-Zuhra (The Book of the Flower), is the most important in this connection; only bits and pieces of it have been translated into English, French and German. Thus its importance for later theorists and critics is not totally revealed.

²Ibn Qutayba, Kitab al-Shi'r wal Shu'ara' 'The Book of Poetry and Poets' (Cairo, 1904), II, 519-523. In English transcription the story is this:

'Urwa ibn Hazza huwa min 'Udhra wa huwa ahad al-
'ushshaq al-lathina qatalahum al-'ishq, wa sahibatuhu
'Afra' bint Malik al-'Udhriya, wa kan 'Urwa yatiman
fi hujri 'amahu hatta balagh, fa'aliqa 'Afra' 'ilaqata
al-siba wa kana nasha'a ma'an, fa sa'ala 'amahu an
yuzawijuhu iyaha, fa kan yusawifuhu, wa khataba
'Afra' ibn 'am laha fatazawajaha fahamalaha ila baladihi,
wa 'aqbal 'Urwa wa 'alima bithalik, faba'isa thumma
insarafa ila ahlihi bakiyan muhzunan fa 'khathahu-l
hulas hatta lam yabqa shya' minhu. wa lamma balagha
'Afra' mawtahu qalat lizawjiha an ya'zina laha fat-
akhruju litandubuhu, fakharajat wa qalat shi'ran:

Ala ayuha-l rakbu-l makhbunu/eayhakum bihaqin na'aytum
'Urwata bnu Hazzami,
Falalnaf'a-l fityana ba'daka lathatta/wala raji'u
min ghaybatin bisalami,
Wa qul lilhubala la yarjina gha'iban/wa la farihat
min ba'dihi bighulami.

fama zalat turadidu hathihi-l abyat hatta matat,
fabalagha-l khabar Mu'awiya faqal: "law anni 'alimtu
bihali hathayn al-sharifayn lajama'tu baynahuma."

³Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah, trans. F. Rosenthal
(Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 163-166.

⁴G.C. Anawati and Louis Gardet, Mystique Musulman
(Paris, 1961), pp. 35-44.

⁵Garcia Gomez, Poemas arabigoandaluces, trans. Husayn Mu'nis, al-Shir'r al-Andalusi, Second edition (Cairo, 1956), p. 80.

⁶See Encyclopaedia of Islam, IV, article "Udhri."

⁷Abi al-Faraj al-Isfahani, Kitab al-Aghani (Cairo, 1920), I, 179.

⁸Ibn Qutayba, Kitab al-Shi'r wal Shu'ara; I, 346-360.
The store is this:

Jamil ibn Ma'mar al-Udhri wa huwa ahad al-'ushshaq al-'Arab sahibatuhu Buthayna wa huma jami'an min 'Udhra. qila li'irabi mina-l 'udhriyin: 'mabalu qulubukum ka'naha qulubu tayrin tanmatu kama yanmatu-l milhu fil mai?' ama tajludun?' qal: 'anna lanazur ila mahajiri a'yunin la tanzuruna ilayha. wa qil li akhar: 'miman anta?' faqal: 'min qawmin iza ahabbu matu.' faqalat Jariya sami'athu: "'Udhri wa rabu-wa rabu-l ka'ba."
'ashiqa Jamil Buthayna wa huwa ghulamun falamma kabura khatabaha
farudda 'anha faqal fiha-l shi'r. wa kana ya'tiha sirran, fa jama'a lahu qawmuha liy'akhuthuhu ithat atha, fahatharathu Buthayna fastakhfa faqal:

Wa law anna alfan duna Buthaynata kulluhum/ghayari
wa kullu haribin murafi'u qatli,
lahawaltuha imma naharan mujahiran/wa imma laylan wa
law quti'at rajli.

⁹Cited by A.J. Denomy, "Fin' Amors: The Pure Love of the Troubadours, its Amorality, and Possible Source," Medieval Studies, VII (1945), 186. Denomy uses Ibn Khaiqan's Biographical Dictionary, trans. Baron Mac Guckin de Slane (Paris, 1842), I.

¹⁰In Arabic the expression is: "al-Islam dinun wa dawlatun."

¹¹Ibn Dawud, Kitab al-Zuhra, eds. A.R. Nykl and Ibrahim Tuqan (Beirut, 1932), p. 66. The statement is this:

man 'ashiqa fa-'affa fa-katamahu fa-mat fa-huwa shahidun.

¹²Philip Hitti, History of the Arabs, p. 93.

¹³One may surmise that Muhammad and those after him must have disliked Jamil's belligerent attitude towards Buthayna's relatives. For more detail see C. Sallefranque, "Periple de l'Amour en Orient et en Occident," l'Islam et Occident (Cahiers du Sud, Paris, 1947), pp. 102-3.

¹⁴In Muhammadan times and later the family feels disgraced when one of their womenfolk is mentioned by a poet as the object of his affection. "Umar I went so far as to forbid love poetry. See al-Faraj al-Isfahani, Kitab al-Aghani, IV, 356.

¹⁵See Ibn Dawud, Kitab al-Zuhra, p. 218.

¹⁶See Lois Anita Giffin, Theory of Profane Love among the Arabs: The Development of the Genre (New York and London, 1971). pp. 103-4.

¹⁷Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah, trans. F. Rosenthal. p. 94.

¹⁸Cited by A.J. Denomy, Fin' Amors, p. 187.

¹⁹The verse is cited by Ibn Dawud, Kitab al-Zuhra, p. 15:

Rama-l lahu fi 'aynay Buthaynata bil qatha/ wa fi-l
ghirri min anyabiha bil 'qawadihi
ramatni bisahmin rishuhu-l kuhlu lam yadir/zawahira
jaldi fa huwa fil qalbi jarihi.

²⁰Khayr al-Din Zirkili, ed. Philosophical Treatises of Ikhwan as-Safa (Cairo, 1928), III, 67.

²¹Ibn Dawud, Kitab al-Zuhra, p. 16:

Itifaq al-arwah fai'nahu yakun min kawni-l shamsi
wal qamari fi-l mawlidayn min burjin wahid wa yatan-
azaranni min tathlith aw tasdis mazara mawadattin
fi'nahu i'n kana kazalik kana sahiba mawlidayni
matbu'ayni 'ala madati kulli wahidin minhuma lisahibihi.

²²Ibn Sina, "Risala fil 'Ishq," Kitab al-Isharat wal Tanbihat (Cairo, 1928), p. 70:

Yantuj a'n 'ishqi-l surati-l hasanah fil insani thalathu raghabatin, raghabatu-l mu'anaqah, wal taqbil, wal itihad... wal itihad min khasiyyati ruhi-l hayawani wa qabihun itha lam yakun al-hadafi huwa-l zawaji wa injabi-l atfali.

²³Cited by A.J. Denomy, Fin' Amors, p. 188.

²⁴It would be instructive to present here Ibn Dawud's own words on the general plan of his book, Kitab al-Zuhra, and for reasons of space I shall give direct translation of them. He says that "to the chapters on the subject of love I give proverbs for titles, and I arrange them in such a way that the proverbs would correspond to the subject matter under discussion. Furthermore, I discuss the nature of love and its various causes, especially the idea of separation of lovers which tends to strengthen the bond of love which ties the lover to his beloved. No less important is the superior quality of love which results from the lover's yearning for his beloved while the beloved is away. To be sure, this situation produces so much compassion that it fans the embers of love in the heart to white heat. Finally, I end my discussion with the notion that continuation of loyalty and love after death is one of love's true essences."

²⁵In Arabic the sentence is this, "Rubba harbin juniyat min lafthatin wa rubba ishqin ghurisa min lafthatin."

²⁶The verse is this:

wa mal hubbu illa sama'i uthnin wa nathratin/
wa habbati qalbin 'an hadithin wa thikri.

²⁷Ibn Dawud, Kitab al-Zuhra, p. 45:

Thakarna anna-l hawa yatawalladu mina-l nathat wa-l
 sima', thumma yanmi halan ba'da hal, fa'ithat kana-l
 nathat al-sahi ila-l
 surah allati yastahsinuha tarafahu mu'akiddan lilmanthuri
 ilayhi
 almahabba fi qalbihi kan natharu-lmuhubb ba'da tamakunil-
 mahabati
 lahu ahra an yaghlibahu 'ala amrihu aw lubbihi wa yazidahu
 kurban 'ala kirbihi.

²⁸Ibn Hazm, Tawq al-Hamamah, ed. Dar al-Nashr wal Tiba'a
 (Beirut, 1966), p. 40:

Hina yaqa'u-l rajulu fil hubbi min awali nathratin
 wa yakunu hunaka itifaqun min mufarradi nathratin
 khatifatin thalika-l rajulu sari'u-lkhatiri wa thalika
 yushiru ila annahu sur'ana ma sayansa hathihi-l mug-
 hamara. kullu thalika yushiru ila 'adami-l thubuti
 wa-l tabaduli fi 'aqli-l insani. wahakatha fi mu'thami-l
 ashyai', kullama sari'a numuwaha sari'a fasaduha.

²⁹A.J Arberry, trans. The Ring of the Dove (Luzac
 and Company, London, 1953), p. 54.

³⁰Ibn Hazm, Tawq al-Hamamah, p. 41:

Yudhishuni ula'ika-l lathina yuhubbuna min awali
 nathratin, hatha la yassa'uni illa an arfudahu batatan,
 wa yabdu li anna hatha-l naw'u mina-l hubbi huwa mu-
 jarradu shabbaqin laghayr, wa min tajribati-l khassahti
 aqulu anna-l hubbu lam yushghiluni illa kinama kana
 natijata mu'asharatin tawilatin ma'al- shakhsi mahbub.

³¹A. J.Arberry, trans. The Ring of the Dove, p. 56.

³²Qur'an, trans. George Sale, Second edition (London,
 1923), 'Sura' 4, 38, p. 64.

³³Qur'an, 'Sura' 33, 35, p. 346.

³⁴Qur'an, 'Sura' 24, 30, p. 290.

³⁵Qur'an, 'Sura' 24, 31, p. 29.

³⁶Qur'an, 'Sura' 17, 24, p. 230.

³⁷See note, 14.

³⁸Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani, Kitab al-Aghani, VI, 123-24.

³⁹See Salah Khalis, Ishbilīa fil Qarn al-Khamis, "Seville in the Eleventh Century" (Beirut, 1965), pp. 15-47. What is of interest to us is that Khalis's study reveals that the same distinction obtains in Arabic Spain.

⁴⁰For more detail on Abbas ibn al-Ahnaf see Joseph Hell, "der Minnesanger am Hofe Harun ar-rasid," Islamica, II (1926), 271-307.

⁴¹Louis Massignon, The Encyclopaedia of Islam IV (London, 1929), Article, 'Tasawwuf', pp. 681-85. See also La Passion d'al-Hosayn Ibn Mansour al-Hallaj (Paris, 1922), II, 600-771.

⁴²Ali b. Uthman al-Hullabi al-Hujwiri, Kashf al-Mahjub, trans. R.A. Nicholson (London, 1911), p. 364.

⁴³Ibid., p. 363.

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 397-98.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 209.

⁴⁶Fazlur Rahman, Islam, p. 134.

⁴⁷Henri Pérès, La Poésie Andalousse en Arabe Classique au XI e Siècle (Paris, 1937), p. 419.

⁴⁸Ibn Dawud, Kitab al-Zuhra, pp. 18-19:

Qāla Calinus al-'ishq min fi'l al-nafs wa hiya kamīnah
fil dimagh wa-l qalb wa-l kabit, fil dimagh thalathatu
masakin, al-takhayul wa huwa fi muqaddimati-l ra's,

wa-l fikr wa huwa fi wisguhu, wa-l thikr wa huwa fi mu'akhiratihi, wa laysa yakmalu li'ahadin 'ismu 'ashiqin illa hatta itha faraqa man ya'shaquhu lam yakhlu min takhayulihi wa fikrihu wa thirkrihi wa qalbahu wa kabiiduhu, fayamtani'u 'ani-l ta'ami wa-l sharabi bi'shtighali-l kabidâ mina-l nawmi bi'shtighali-l dimaghi wa-l takhayuli wa-l thikri lahu wa-l fikri fihi, fayakunu jami-u masakini-l nafsi qadi shtaghalat bihi famata lam yash-taghilu bihi waqta-l firaqi lam yakun 'ashiqan faitha laqihu khaliyat hathihi-l masakin.

⁴⁹ Ibn Dawud, Kitab al-Zuhra, p. 45:

Tahridun 'ala-l kutmani wa tahthirin 'ani-l 'ilani wa-l 'illâ fi thalik min anna-l mahbub yasta'tif muhibuhu liyushrifa 'ala haqiqati mafi qalbihi wa liyatamakan aydan hawahu min fasihi, fa itha waqa'a lahu-l wudd istaghna 'anti-tâllufi fahinaithin yaqa'u-l ghadabu min ghayri thanbin wa-l i'râdu min ghayri wajdin kisukuna qalbi-l wathiqi wa istizhari-l 'ashiqi 'alla-l ma'shuqi.

⁵⁰ The two cases are those of Imru'ul-Qais and Kuthayir 'Azza; see Chapters V and VI.

⁵¹ Ibn Dawud, Kitab al-Zuhra, p. 15:

Za'ama ba'di-l muta falsifina anna-l laha julla thana'uhu khalaqa kuli ruhî mudawarati-l shakli 'ala hay'ati kuratin thumma qata'aha aydan faja'ala kulla jasadin nisfan wa kulla jassadin laqiya-l jasada-l lathi fihi-l nisfu-l lathi quit-a mina-l nisfi-l lathi ma'ahu kana baynahuma 'ishqun lilmunasabati-l qadimah.

⁵² See 'Abdurrahman Badawi, La Transmission de la Philosophie Greque au Monde Arabe (Paris, 1968), pp. 35-59.

⁵³ Ibn Dawud, Kitab al-Zuhra, p. 5.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 15.

⁵⁵ Abu Hasan 'Ali ibn Yusuf ibn Ibrahim al-Qifti, Kitab Akhbar al-'Ulama' bi Akhbar al-Hukama' 'The Book of Scholars and Wise Men', ed. K. Zirkili (Cairo, 1928), pp.59-60.

⁵⁶ Ibn Hazm, Tawq al-Hamamah, p. 15.

⁵⁷ A. J. Arberry, trans. The Ring of the Dove, p. 23.

⁵⁸ I have tried to condense the tenets of Neo-Platonism from the chapter, 'Fifth Tract' of Plotinus's The Enneads trans. S. Mackenna (London, 1964), pp. 191-201.

⁵⁹ Ibn Hazm Tawq al-Hamamah, p. 19:

Amma al-illa allati tuwaqi'u-l hub abadan fi akthari-l
 ahyani 'ala-l surati-l hasanati-l thahir inna-l nafsa-l
 hasanah tuli'u bikulli shay'in hasan wa tamilu ila-l
 tasawiri-l mutqanati, fa hiya itha ra'at ba'daha tatathabbatu
 fihi wa 'in mayazzat waraiha shay'an min ashkaliha
 'itasalt wa sahhat al-mahabbah-l
 haqiqiyah, wa 'in lam tummayiz wara'aha shay'an min ashkaliha
 lam
 yatajawaz ihbabuha-l surati wa thalika huwa-l shahwati.

⁶⁰ A. J. Arberry, The Ring of the Dove, p. 28.

⁶¹ Giambattista Vico, The New Science, trans. Thomas Goddard Bergin and Max Harold Fisch (A Double Day Anchor Book, New York, 1961), p. 30.

⁶² A. J. Arberry, The Ring of the Dove, pp. 34-35.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 35.

⁶⁴ On this important issue see Lois Anita Giffin, Theory of Profane Love Among the Arabs: The Development of the Genre (New York and London, 1971), pp. 117-131.

⁶⁵ Alfred Jeanroy, ed. Les Chanson de Guillaume IX, duc d'Aquitaine (Paris, 1913), pp. 22-23.

⁶⁶ Translation is mine.

⁶⁷Quoted by Ibn Dawud, Kitab al-Zuhra, p. 15.

Ta'allaqa ruhi ruhaha qabla khalqina/ wa min
 ba'di makunna
 nitafan wa fi-l mahdi, fazada kama zidna fa'sbaha
 namiyan/wa
 laysa bimuntaqadi-l 'ahdi, wa lakinnuhu bata 'ala
 kulli halatin/
 wa zai'runa fi thulmate-l qabri wa-l lahdi.

⁶⁸J. M. L. Dejeanne, ed. Poésies Completes du Troubadour Marcabru (Toulouse, 1909), p. 146.

⁶⁹Translation is mine.

⁷⁰A. J. Arberry, The Ring of the Dove, pp. 25-26.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 26.

⁷²Ibid., p. 27.

⁷³Fredrick Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours, p. 52.

⁷⁴A. J. Arberry, The Ring of the Dove, p. 26.

⁷⁵Dejeanne, Poésies Completes du Marcabru, p. 145.

⁷⁶Translation is mine.

⁷⁷A. J. Arberry, The Ring of the Dove, p. 28.

⁷⁸Fredrick Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours, p. 83.

⁷⁹Carl Appel, ed. Bernart Von Ventadour, Seine Lieder (Halle, 1915), p. 152.

⁸⁰Translation is mine.

⁸¹Alfred Jeanroy, ed. Les Poésies de Cercamon (Paris, 1922), p. 3.

⁸²Translation is mine.

⁸³Fredrick Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours, p. 111.

⁸⁴Henri Pérès, La Poésie Andalouse, 423.

⁸⁵See above, pp. 2-3.

⁸⁶Ibn Dawud, Kitab al-Zuhra, p. 33:

Fa ya husnuha ith yaghsilu-dam'a kuhluha/ wa
 ith hiya tathri-l dam'a minha-l anamilu
 'Ashiyata qalat fil 'itabi qatalatni 'wa qatli
 bima qalat hunaka tuhawilu.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 33:

Wa ma tharafat 'aynaki illa litadribi/
 bisihmayki fi 'ashari qalbin maqtili.

⁸⁸Plotinus, The Enneads, trans. S. Mackenna, p. 550.

⁸⁹Ibid, p. 551.

⁹⁰Theodore Silverstein, "Andreas, Plato, and the Arabs,"
Modern Philology, 47 (1949-50), 118.

⁹¹A. J. Denomy, "Fin' Amors: The Pure Love of the
 Troubadours, Its Amorality and Possible Source," Medieval
 Studies, VII (1945), 205.

⁹²Ibn Sina, "Risala Fil 'Ishq," Kitab al-Isharat wal
 Tanbihat (Cairo, 1928), p. 70.

⁹³Translated by E. L. Fackenheim, "A Treatise on Love
 by Ibn Zina," Medieval Studies, VII (1945), 221-222. In
 English transcript the passage is this:

Yantuju 'an 'ishqi-l surati-l hasanah fil insani thalathu raghabatin, raghbatu-l mu'anaqah, al-taqbilu, wal ittihad. Al-ittihadu min khasiyati ruhil hayawani hasb, wa hiya rafiqun wa sayyidun 'ala hathihi-l rug-hbati wa lakinnaha qabiha; yantuju-l hubbu-l 'aqilu min saytari-l 'aqli 'ala-l ruhi-l hayawaniyati, wa bikhususi-l ittihadi was zawaji wa itha aghra muhibun mahbubahu fi ruhihi wajaba-l shakku bi amrihi itha lam yakun hadafahu-l zawaju aw al-ittihadu wa huwa min ajli injabi-l atfali. Hatha ghayr mumkin ma'a rajulin wa ma'a imra'atin harramaha-l qanunu-l dini qabiha, wa lakin yumkinu hatha fi halati rajulin ma'a zawjatihi aw jariyatin lahy. Bikhususi-l mu'anaqah wa-l taqbil al-hadafu huwa-l mujawaratu wal ittihadu reghbata-l muhibbi huwa-l dunuwi min-al mahbubi min nathratin aw mamsatin, wa hammu-l muhibibi huwa-l dukhulu fi thawbin wahidin 'aqlan wa ruhan. Hathihi-l a'malu laysat midirratan lakin al-darar yahsalu hina takunu-l shahwatu hiya-l musaytiratu wajaba 'ala-l mahbubi an yatajanaba hatha illa hina-l muhibbi la yahdufu al-ittihadi-l jismani hasb.

⁹⁴Just before the passage occurs Ikhwan al-Safa introduces the Platonic division of the soul into, (I) nutritive-appetitive, (II) emotional-animal and (III) rational parts. Each of these three parts has a specific type and a specific object of love, namely (I) food and sexual gratification, (II) victory, revenge and supremacy and (III) knowledge and perfection respectively. In all these divisions love is distinguished as being a quality of the soul, not of the body. At this point the passage occurs of which I give here a direct translation: "Union is characteristic of spiritual things, not of bodily things; bodies can only be thought of as touching or kissing. But union is a quality of the soul. Know, then, O brother, that love begins with a glimpse. The lover's aim is to be united with his beloved; when this is achieved, then he further seeks to be alone with the beloved; when this is done, the lover desires to kiss and embrace the beloved; and when this is accomplished, he longs to have the very essence of his soul-faculty, his heart mingle with that of the beloved. At this stage of total fusion of souls

love does not acquiesce in having united the lover and the beloved, but grows in the attainment. See Zirkili, ed. Philosophical Treatises of Ikhwan al-Safa (Cairo, 1928),

⁹⁵A comparison with Ibn Dawud's conception of love may bear out this truth of the statement. As we have seen, Ibn Dawud, basing his views on Udhrite love poetry, maintains that union or nearness of lover and beloved is detrimental to their love, whereas, according to Ibn Sina, Ikhwan al-Safa, and Ibn Hazm, love does not acquiesce in the union or is destroyed by it, but grows in the attainment.

⁹⁶Translated by E. L. Fackenheim, "A Treatise on Love by Ibn Sina, pp. 220-221.

⁹⁷Alfred Jeanroy, ed. Les Poésies de Cercamon (Paris, 1922), pp. 5-6.

⁹⁸Translation is mine.

⁹⁹Theodore Silverstein, "Andreas, Plato and the Arabs," pp. 121-122.

CONCLUSION

In a passage from the Protagoras Plato presents a poem by Simonides, and Protagoras expounds it to a distinguished company of scholars. Then Socrates, tongue in cheek, gives a highly sophisticated and quite different interpretation of the same poem. No discussion follows, no objection, criticism, questions. Hippias compliments Socrates on his brilliant exposition, and adds: "I also have a good lecture on this poem. Would you like to hear it?" "Very much," says Alcibiades, "but not today." In his typical fashion Plato has made his point: this kind of thing has no techne, no discipline; a poem is whatever you choose to make it.

Any attempt to view Troubadour poetry from a similar perspective is a grievous error, for this poetry is anything but whatever you choose to make it. We may have our own ideas of what the form and matter of courtly love mean or do not mean to us. If we are omniscient, that settles the question; if we are not, we should do well to hold out ideas in abeyance and attend carefully to what is in the poetry.

Yet because of today's urge for revival, the refusal to leave any literary expression ungalvanized,

a critic may fail to discover the inherent discipline within the poetic form, and therefore his judgment cannot be faithful to it. For example, on the question of Arabic-Troubadour connection Guillaume's serious lyrics are seen to derive from Arabic sources, while the earlier songs are interpreted as embodying the poet's youthful excesses; a speculative interpretation which has no historical support. Furthermore, Arabic influences in Guillaume furnish the forced conclusion that all Troubadour poetry, both in form and content, can be explained on the basis of Arabic models. Thus a critical judgment, motivated by the urge to illuminate Troubadour poetry, is formulated without an accurate interpretation of courtly love.

Troubadour poetry is not what one chooses to make it, for it is inherently concerned with defining the values of courtliness. An accurate and coherent account of the poetry's content must consider the reality of a particular social class, its ethics, and its behaviour, namely the courtly class. This fact has been recently and most thoroughly brought to light in Professor F. Goldin's "Introductions" to his edition, Lyrics of the Troubadour and Trouvères. When Professor Goldin says referring to

Guillaume's serious lyrics, that "Love has become the enactment of courtliness: the way a man loves is the surest sign of his identity as a courtly man," we are thus dealing with a world of forms that is incomparably different from that of Arabic love, either in poetry or in philosophy.

It is this difference that I have attempted to underline in my study of Arabic conception of love. This study owes much to the idea that a semantic history of the terms 'wishah' and 'muwashshah' and their association with love poetry, especially the Andalusian lyrics, may shed light on the view of reality and style in which this view is expressed. The style conveys the poet's delight in sensory phenomena as well as his appeal to physical reality, while the language is denotative and abounds in descriptive and sensuous comparisons drawn from nature and life. Love poetry is sensual and frankly sexual, and, if it concerns sentimental love, has as its object the consummation of this love in marriage-- in every regard different from courtly love as an integral part of nobility and of court ethics.

In Arabic philosophy love is viewed as a

form of spiritual approbation, or a fusion of souls; it is thus Neo-Platonic in conception and has as its bastion the faculty of reason, while love in the Islamic religion and Sufism concerns the relation of the individual Moslem to God-- in every regard different from love as expressed in Arabic poetry. These three forms of love have no parallels in Troubadour poetry; while love in this poetry may have divine intentions, it actually involves a noble class, and, as Professor Goldin writes in reference to Bernard de Ventadorn, is about a man "who has trained all the forces of his body to the service of a noble lady; a lady so great, no ordinary passion is adequate to her, for she is the perfection and arbiter of courtliness."

In dealing with courtly love we are confronted with a significant period in the history of sensibility-- the first half of the twelfth century. It is a period characterized by the rise of new ideas and new modes of feeling, and is often referred to as Medieval Renaissance. Both the Latin literature and language and the vernacular literature and languages flourish simultaneously; or, as Auerbach puts it, if after long stagnation the power of Latin writers to express themselves revived so forcefully

at the very moment when the vernacular languages were also beginning to awaken, we must conclude that both movements sprang from the same source." This common source Auerbach attempts to trace in his important chapter, "The Western Public and its Language", in Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages.

As we carefully read through this chapter we begin to realize that the diminishing ancient reading public gives rise to an educated elite which, by its interest, its understanding, and its wealth, makes possible the continued existence of literature. The educated elite eventually evolves into the courtly class whose ethos and behavior are the feudal relation between the lord and his vassal; it isolates itself from every practical function and seeks self-realization in the rising courtly literature; above all, it supplies the idea of courtliness which significantly implies the most complete interpretation of the ideal concept of class and man. In short, it is precisely this ideal concept of class and man that Professor F. Goldin illuminates in his study of the Troubadour lyrics.

From this viewpoint of the ideal relation of man and class we can see the unbridgeable chasm which separates Troubadour poetry from the Andalusian lyrics.

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