The *Muwashshah*, *Zajal,* and *Kharja:*
What came before and what became of them

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Abstract

There have historically been numerous connections between the way that medieval Iberian Muslims conceptualized love, lust, and desire and the ways in which Western Europeans have expressed those same concepts, especially as potentially derived from the literary genre of the *muwashshah*, a particular form of (primarily) medieval Hispano-Arabic poetry. Specifically, the *muwashshah* and its particular expression(s) of romantic love have helped in causing a series of paradigm shifts (with a definition borrowed from Kuhn to apply to the humanities) within Western ideology.

This thesis focuses on the transformative effect of such Hispano-Arabic poetry within Western culture, as well as its connections with the following: Greco-Roman concepts of poetics, earlier Arabic poetry, and post-Hispano-Arabic Arabic poetry. It explores the concept of intersectionality within Hispano-Arabic culture, demonstrating how Hispano-Arabic sources may have influenced European interpretations of romantic relationships as well as how the *muwashshah* survived within an Arabic context.

While mostly existing as a substratum within European culture, the *muwashshah* has had lasting influence upon European culture. The domains of love and desire provide a particularly apt example, as they involve not simply technology (civilian or military) but demonstrate the origin of a distinct change in the expression of emotion within European culture. At a fundamental level, Western Europe has adopted some of these Hispano-Arabic (as derived from a Muslim viewpoint) values.

Regardless of further conflict between Europeans and Muslim cultures, they share parts of a common heritage, expressed differently, but with partial

derivations, large or small, from a single source. Such exploration demonstrates the deep interconnectedness of what has heretofore been considered a separated, solely Western (Christian) European culture and that of the Islamic world, derived from one of the original points of intersection between Muslim culture and Western Christian culture, as well as how Arabic culture addressed its outliers.

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Notes

1. Throughout, the author has endeavored to minimize the use of diacritics within my own work and have transliterated and pluralized key terms accordingly, due to the proliferation of competing transliterations. All quotations retain original diacritics and transliterations. The names of medieval authors and critics likewise contain diacritics, as determined first by Monroe and secondarily by Tuetey. Some names, especially from Zwartjes, have been regularized in keeping with generally accepted usage, in particular Ibn Khaldūn. Furthermore, as the author a native speaker of American English, the grammar and spellings throughout reflect this fact.

2. As the author is not an Arabist, this thesis is designed to reflect a cultural-historical approach to the study of the *muwashshah*, and as such, any claims to particular expertise in the study of the Arabic language is disclaimed.

3. This thesis relies in part on arguments first formulated for a master's thesis at the University of Exeter submitted in 2009. Where relevant, such arguments and quotations have been identified appropriately and such use has been minimized, to meet the University's guidelines as follows:

   While a thesis/dissertation may not include extensive unchanged material that has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University, the incorporation of previous work into a larger argument is permissible, for example when a Masters level dissertation in the first year of a 4-year PhD has been a lead-in to doctoral level work.

1. Introduction
1.1.   Overview

The culture of al-Andalus, the heartland of Muslim Spain,[1] is all too easily oversimplified as a melting pot of Latin Christian, Arab Muslim, and North African (Berber) Muslim cultures.[2] The concept of the *convivencia*, or "living together," period, consisting of a relatively religiously tolerant succession of Islamic states and a not-entirely antagonistic relationship with the more aggressively Christian kingdoms of the north, has become the dominant method with which view the Iberian Peninsula through for the period of approximately 92 AH/711 CE to sometime between 645 AH/1248 CE and 897 AH/1492 CE, depending on the authority.[3] Indeed, the popular viewpoint has been boiled down to this essence over and over, so that the modern perception of the region is of a land whose general peaceful relations between Christians and Muslims (and to a certain extent, Jews) were only intermittently punctuated by conflict with the Christian north of Spain (and the rest of Europe) until nearly the end of the more than seven hundred years of the Latin Christian *Reconquista.* While this reinterpretation of

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[1]   I use the word Spain here as shorthand for the various nations of the Iberian Peninsula. Spain as we see it on the map today did not exist; instead, a series of kingdoms, of varying population and territorial composition, existed over the Peninsula. For the purposes of the focus of this thesis (390 AH/1000 CE to 647 AH/1250 CE), the modern territory of Portugal may be included where necessary in the definition of Spain as above or Iberia. It was not considered independent until the middle of this period (traditionally dated to 533 AH/1139 CE), and initially took part in the *Reconquista* as part of Christian Spanish kingdoms.

[2]   The premise that an Arab and Berber presence in Spain is somehow foreign is a fallacy, derived from faulty assumptions of what makes up Europe; the *Reconquista* assumed that Spanish territory was somehow un-European until it had been conquered (not necessarily reconquered) by Latin-speaking Christians. In keeping with standard practice, Arabia will be used to refer to the region, Arab to refer to populations whose ethnic origin lies in now Saudi Arabia and the other countries of the Arabian Peninsula, Arabian as the adjectival form referring to Arabs or places physically in Arabia. Terms such as Islamic refer to features indicative of Islam as a whole. Some Arabs are Muslims. Some Berbers are Muslims. Not all Muslims are Arabs.

[3]   For a sample argument in favor of 1248 as the end of the *convivencia*, see Lowney, Chris, *A Vanished World: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Medieval Spain*, (New York City: Oxford University Press), 2005, pp. 194-195. For an argument in favor of the true end of the *convivencia* as the end of Muslim territorial control in Spain, see Menocal, Maria Rosa, *The Ornament of the World*, (Boston: Brown, Little & Company, 2002), pp. 244-246.

history from a series of battles and punctuated conflict as the dominant understanding of contact between Christian and Muslim cultures in Spain may represent a more refined, nuanced conceptualization of history, perhaps closer to the 'truth on the ground,' it is still an oversimplification. For example, the Jewish community, while prominent in Hispano-Arab Spain, lacked the population that the other two communities had. Moreover, the political influence of the Jewish community was entirely dependent on the relative goodwill of the local ruler, whether Christian or Muslim.

At the same time, the dominant cultural contact did take place primarily between Christians and Muslims, each with a certain set of historic ties. Therefore, however useful this reification might be to begin to understand parts of Hispano-Arabic culture and relations with its neighbors, it does not and cannot provide a true picture of the complexities inherent in the multicultural setting that was al-Andalus. Indeed, the region was, by virtue of its position both geographically and culturally, the heir to multiple traditions, including (but not limited to) Roman and Visigothic Christianity, North African and Arabian Islam, and the Jewish Diaspora.[4] It lay at the outskirts of both the Muslim Empire and what was left of Rome. Hispania, the former Roman province, then al-Andalus, was' the hinterlands of what both cultures considered the civilized world.[5]

While concepts and traditions derived from all of the specific cultures listed above both flourished and co-mingled (at different times) in a variety of ways, from the plastic arts to philosophy,[6] an exemplar of how they fused to create a distinct

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[4]   Lowney, *A Vanished World,* pp. 5, 27, 39.
[5]   Lowney, *A Vanished World,* pp. 22, 25.
[6]   Lowney, *A Vanished World*, *passim*;

cultural product may be found in the cross-cultural context of the *muwashshah* andl

kharja. This poem (in the case of the former) and poetical feature (in the case of

the latter)[7] showcase the blending of disparate traditions and highlight how such

combinations and admixtures give rise to successor revisions of cultural forms.

Such intersectionality of cultures leads to the first question this research will

answer: what are the specific cultural origins of the *muwashshah*, as a crucial

example of such intersectionality? Specifically functioning as a cultural historian, I

investigate the ways in which it may be demonstrated that the specific style of

poetry listed above was influenced by the extant Greco-Roman (and post-Roman

Christian) culture of Iberia as well as the Arab Muslim culture brought into Iberia

with the Islamic conquest of Spain. Supporting this claim is the fact that the

muwashshah as a genre reflects features found not within just Arabic poetry, held

in a common tradition with the poetry of Arabia and North Africa, but also

demonstrates a shared heritage and genealogy from certain Greco-Roman

traditions, especially that of Aristotle (384 BCE to 322 BCE). Moreover, the features

found within the *muwashshah* were not simply lifted wholesale from either Arabic or

Greco-Roman sources into the *muwashshah*, but underwent specific and traceable

paradigm shifts, differentiating them from their sources of origin. The

conceptualization of paradigm shifts, as originated by Thomas Kuhn, translates

from the philosophy of science to the specific study of history examined here, as a

distinct and identifiable change from one method of thinking to another, whether

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[7]   The *muwashshah* is defined by Schoeler as "a certain genre of stanzaic poetry…[consisting of] a particular rhyme scheme and a special final part…The main body of the poem is always composed in Classical Arabic, while the language of the final part is mostly non-Classical." Schoeler, Gerard, "Muwashshah," in *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition*, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0826>.

immediate and disruptive (such as is possible in the case of the influence of the

muwashshah on the *troubadour* culture, as examined in chapters five and seven)

or gradual and supportive of extant culture (as potentially applicable in the case of

Nasrid or North African culture as examined in chapter eight).[8]

In broad terms, pre-existing scholarship has generally accepted the

muwashshah[9] to be strictly Hispano-Arabic interpretations, even corruptions, of

classical Arabian forms.[10] This understanding predominates throughout classical

Arab criticism and commentary,[11] and while modern scholarship has refuted those

positions to a certain degree,[12] the idea that these poems found their true origins in

classical Arab poetry has continued to predominate. This thesis furthers that

refutation, identifying the Greco-Roman antecedents to and influences upon the

muwashshah (though reflected through certain paradigm shifts during their

transformation from Greco-Roman and post-Roman contexts into Hispano-Arabic

ones) as its first task. At the current time, it is not too extreme a position to take

that both classical critics and a certain strand of modern scholarship sees only a

degeneration of 'classical Arabic and Islamic themes.[13] Throughout the past

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[8]   I have adopted the model of paradigm shifts as originated by Kuhn, originally in reference to the physical sciences. In essence, a paradigm in this context is an established worldview implicitly or explicitly agreed on by members of a given community, with a shift being a radical, though not necessarily abrupt, change from an initial paradigmatic worldview to a new one with different norms or understandings of how some aspect or aspects of how the world works. See Kuhn, Thomas S. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 3rd edition, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

[9]   And its related form, the *zajal*, discussed primarily within chapter six.

[10]   Abu-Haidar, J.A., *Hispano-Arabic Literature and the Early Provençal Lyrics*, (Richmond: Surrey, Curzon Press, 2001), p. 31.

[11]   Stern, S. M., *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry: Studies by Samuel Miklos Stern*, Harvey, L.P., ed., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp. 6-11.

[12]   See Zwartjes, Otto, *Love Songs from al-Andalus: History, Structure, and Meaning of the Kharja*, (Leiden: Brill, 1997) for one re-examination.

[13]   See Ibn Bassām, cited in Abu-Haidar, J.A., trans., "The *Muwaššaḥat* in the Literary Life that Produced them," in Jones, Alan and Richard Hitchcock eds., *Studies of the* Muwaššah *and the* Kharja *[Proceedings of the Exeter International Colloquium]*, (London: Ithaca Press, 1991), p. 116: "The people of these lands refuse but to follow in the footsteps of the Easterners."

seventy years, give or take, such a position has been, if not the majority, then certainly influential in *muwashshah* studies. Since the Western rediscovery of the *kharjas* in 1367 AH/1948 CE, the trend in scholarship has been either to confirm the understanding of them as corruptions of Arabic originals, or for the minority popular position, to view them as the source of the rise of Romance culture.[14] Such connections between the rise of Romance culture and Hispano-Arabic culture lead to the second key question of this research: how may it be demonstrated that the *muwashshah* made an impact upon their contemporary cultural peers of Christian culture in Europe as well as post-Almohad Muslim culture, including Iberian Nasrid culture but especially outside of Spain: North Africa & the Arabian heartland. Despite the intricate cross-cultural connections of the *muwashshah*, there is still a tendency to view them in isolation, neither in dialogue with the Christian West or the Arabic/Muslim East.

However, a minority of scholars correctly identifies a certain connection to the classical Western philosophy of poetry, namely Aristotle and Latin authors in imitation of his rules laid down in the *Poetics*.[15] While the influence of Aristotle may appear limited in scope, the understanding that classical Western concepts survived in transmission both through the preservation of key Greek and Latin texts by Islamic scholars and within the remnants of the Western Roman world is key to a proper understanding of the origins of the *muwashshah*, as well as to how they influenced later European culture. Ultimately, the *muwashshah* shows the influence

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[14]   See Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry*, p. 54 for a mention of the Arabic origin as well as the place of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* in a classical versus vernacular context and p. 50 for a nod to the possible "'Arabic theory' [of] the origins of the Troubadour [sic] school of poetry."
[15]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 94. Aristotle, *Poetics*, Stephen Halliwell, trans., (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press), 1995, *passim*.

of two sets of paradigm shifts, one from each influencing culture. The first set allowed Greco-Roman poetics to flourish, mainly those of Aristotle, traced from the original Greek interpretation, through Roman, and into the post-Roman context of al-Andalus and its successors. The second set preserved and expanded upon classical Arabic poetry, both within the original Arabian heartland and diffused alongside Arabic and Islam throughout the Arabic-speaking world.

This first set of Greco-Roman influences and identifications will be examined more thoroughly in the third chapter, which will focus on examining to what degree does the *muwashshah* owe something to source material traditionally considered Western, versus 'the Orient.'[16] Focusing on Aristotle's *Poetics* as the key text to creating an overall understanding of Greco-Roman poetry, I will examine the paradigm shifts within the history of the acceptance of the *Poetics*, especially its gradual adoption within not just Roman culture but its influence upon an Islamo-Arabic philosophy of art and demonstrating its ultimate influence on the *muwashshah* specifically. While some would argue that the *muwashshah* do not owe the history of Greco-Roman poetics a significant debt, I argue that it would be remiss not to comprehensively examine the potential for an originally Greek source material to influence both greatly and subtly the development of the *muwashshah*.

This identification of a partial "Western" origin, however significant to the specific development of the *muwashshah*, is not to dismiss the crucial influences of classical Islamic *and* pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. This thesis demonstrates that the *muwashshah* possess features highlighted within western (Indo-European) poetry and not within eastern (Semitic) works, but also that the *muwashshah*, regardless

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16   As defined by Edward Said in his magnum opus *Orientalism*.

of where their themes may have survived most, are distinctly part of an overwhelmingly Arabic corpus. To a certain extent, it seems obvious that the greatest source materials are the classical styles and forms the emigres brought with them from the Arabian heartland.[17] Again, the *muwashshah* owe a debt to a set of paradigm shifts, this time of Arabic origin. However, instead of these shifts tracing the history of an outside influence, those in the Arabic tradition highlight the shift from a culture based in a polytheistic model of divinity to a monotheist culture, tracing both the transitions within non-poetic culture as well as the areas in which traditional themes and images survived from one set of cultural norms to the next. Conversely, one cannot limit the influences of classical Arab forms and styles to apply only to that poetry produced in the gardens of Baghdad after the rise of Islam. Many of the images refined in the four hundred years between the death of Muhammad and the development of the *muwashshah,*[18] are adapted or simply taken wholesale from the same imagery, especially desert themes, as the early poets of pre-Islamic Arabia.[19] The precise genealogical links between pre-Islamic, early Islamic, and Hispano-Arabic poetry are complex, complicated in part by this continued reuse of a standard stock of images, regardless of the era in which a poem was written.[20]

The paradigm shifts with Arabic-cum-Arabian poetry are not so pronounced as parallel changes found within the Greco-Roman tradition, though at the same

[17]   Kennedy, Philip F., "Thematic Relationships Between the *Kharjas*, the Corpus of *Muwaššhāt* and Eastern Lyrical Poetry," in Jones, Alan and Richard Hitchcock eds., *Studies of the* Muwaššah *and the* Kharja *[Proceedings of the Exeter International Colloquium]*, (London: Ithaca Press, 1991), pp. 74, 82.
[18]   Four hundred years is one theory; some classical commentators place the origin of the *muwashshah* between 235 AH/850 CE and 338 AH/950 CE.
[19]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 190.
[20]   Monroe, James T., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), p. 44.

time they exert a generally greater influence on the Hispano-Arabic tradition, as the *muwashshah* generally represents a departure from the norms of not just Arabic poetry generally, but also Hispano-Arabic poetry specifically.[21] Where there are distinct changes between Greek, Greco-Roman, and Hispano-Arabic models of art, Arabic literary culture is best represented on a continuum. The role of pre-existing art is more nuanced within Arabic text; the specific mediating influence of existing literary culture was not only limited to those Hispano-Arabic poets focusing on the *muwashshah*, by the rise of the *taifa* states in 399 AH/1009 CE, virtually every poet in the Islamic world owed a debt to the pre-Islamic and early Islamic poets, regardless of origin. The completeness of this debt is debatable; the then-contemporary innovation of new forms within specifically Arabian and North African literary culture is limited compared to Iberia, as will be discussed within chapters four and six.

However, one should not take these twin cultural attachments to both Greco-Roman and Arabic antecedents to imply that the *muwashshah* were merely forms adapted from the former nor should they be considered simple derivatives of older forms of the latter. Few authors support such a genealogy of derivation.[22] Simply put, the Andalusian works included centuries of cultural heritage (and, given the forced imagery in some *muwashshahs*, a certain amount of cultural baggage). Naturally, the common language did not limit itself to sharing basic grammar or spelling. Instead, the common linguistics included the meta-features of language;

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[21]   Corriente, Federico, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances in the *Kharjas* under the Constraints of ʿ*Arūḍ*," in Jones, Alan and Richard Hitchcock eds*., Studies of the* Muwaššah *and the* Kharja *[Proceedings of the Exeter International Colloquium]*. (London: Ithaca Press, 1991), p. 66.
[22]   But see Abu-Haidar in chapter 2.

form, style, imagery, and symbolism all flowed to one degree or another from the heart of the Arabian Desert to the gardens of al-Andalus.[23] Throughout the extant corpus of *muwashshahs*, traditional images and themes are adapted from Arabic (both pre- and post-Islamic) predecessors, though often manipulated to fit more clearly within a specifically Iberian context.[24]

In some cases, these transfers between Arabia and al-Andalus allowed for the fresh flourishing of ideas and imagery as material was adapted; in other cases, they quite simply flopped as Andalusian writers struggled with those features classical writers and contemporaries in the Arabian heartland found crucial for quality.[25] However, the fact remains that the extant medieval and early post-medieval criticism of the *muwashshah* includes caveats that admit that, perhaps, the differences between Arabian/North African culture and that of Iberia makes strict comparisons between the various genres unfair, or at the very least, like comparing apples and oranges.[26] Comparing the beloved to a gazelle or the emptiness of the lover's heart to a broken jug might work in the traditional Arabian setting of the desert (and not as well within the more urbanized Hispanic West), but the imagery of the lover's lips as a jujube might work equally as well in both.[27] I will examine the complex interplay between classical Islamic and pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, with special attention to the idea of shared imagery, on the one hand and the successor forms in al-Andalus in chapter four. Not only does this section deal with the key origin story of the *muwashshah* and *kharja*, but it will also address the

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[23]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 190.
[24]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 44.
[25]   Kennedy, "Thematic Relationships," p. 68.
[26]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 255.
[27]   Compton, Linda Fish, *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry and Old Spanish Love Songs: The* Muwashshah *and Its* Kharja, (New York: New York University Press, 1976), p. 52.

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concurrent development of Arabian features, in conjunction with the themes explored within the *muwashshah*, and its Arabian contemporaries both within Iberia and outside of it in chapter six.

Conversely, once created, the *muwashshah* did not confine itself to al-Andalus, but rather began to spread throughout the Arabic-speaking world, despite their general lack of acceptance.[28] Especially following the rise of the successor dynasties of the Almoravids and Almohads in Muslim Spain, these genres spread back to the Arab heartland, first through North Africa towards Egypt and then beyond into the Levant and the Arabian Peninsula. However, this transference was partial and piecemeal, and unlike how Arabian forms remained revered in Spain, the Hispano-Arab forms never took hold in the popular consciousness of Arabia, despite the awareness of Arabian and North African critics of the genres.[29] Such investigation rests on the assumption that both of these forms actually originated where they first appeared. Classical commentators and modern scholarship does not seem to put this fact in doubt.

Nevertheless, this transmission *did* allow the *muwashshah* to survive past the fall of Granada in 1492 CE/897 AH. The common consensus among both medieval commentators and modern scholarship is that the forms had generally degraded (with more of a moral judgment by medieval commentators) by the time that Grenada became part of Christian Spain, not unlike the change between the Golden Age of Latin and the Neo-Latin of early modern Europe. Moreover, the Arabian and North African commentators on the *muwashshah* writing around the

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[28]   Ibn Khaldūn, cited Zwartjes, Otto, *Love Songs from al-Andalus: History, Structure, and Meaning of the* Kharja, (Leiden: Brill, 1997,) p. 254.
[29]   Interestingly, several of the North African examples are Hebrew adaptations of the muwashshah written in Egypt by exiled Jewish courtiers.

time of the fall of Granada had dismissed the *muwashshahs* as tawdry imitators of Arabian originals, bastardized Iberian forms of more acceptable Arabian originals, despite the gulf between native Arabian genres adopted within Iberia and the strophic example of the *muwashshah*[30] As discussed below, a fuller picture of Arabic language survival of the *muwashshah* will be explored within chapter eight.

However, these commentaries also provide the collections that contain the bulk of the *muwashshah* available to modern scholars. We know of few Arabic examples of the *muwashshah* in its original Hispanic contexts, but rather within Arabian or North African collections that are critiqued with a rather dismissive tone. Similarly, despite the fact that many of the surviving Hebrew examples originated in North Africa, they were written and preserved primarily by Iberian Jews in exile, thus locating them both in a North African context and an Iberian one simultaneously. Many of the religious themes within the Hebrew *muwashshah* are expressions of Sephardic (Spanish) Judaism, rather than that of the Middle East. [31]

Thus, the relationship between Andalusian sources and the classical Arab world had a certain amount of schizophrenic interaction; the medieval, typically Arabian and North African, critics looked down upon the Iberian originals, but preserved these genres within their attacks.[32] Indeed, the key collections of the *muwashshah* come from Egypt.[33] I address the survival and legacy of these forms throughout chapter eight, with an emphasis on the modern legacies of the

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[30]   Ibn Bassām, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), p. 28.

[31]   For more on the themes found within Hebrew *muwashshah*, and its adaptation to religious praise poetry in particular, see Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 219-233, especially p. 232.

[32]   See the tone of Ibn Bassām, cited in Monroe, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 28.

[33]   Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry*, pp. 4-11. One collection dates from a period contemporary with the height of the *muwashshah*, the other two come from approximately two to three hundred years later.

muwashshah and *kharja* within the Arabic-speaking world. I specifically focus on the survival of certain aspects of the *muwashshah,* especially reviewing their completeness of survival: that is, how much of the original *muwashshah* have survived to the present day. This statement is not intended to draw a qualitative distinction between poems written' during the medieval period and the modern; instead, it is an attempt to distinguish between the strophic styles using colloquial Arabic and/or a *kharja* and those poems that maintain either an original entirely in classical Arabic or non-strophic forms representing other genres written primarily or exclusively in colloquial Arabic. Thus, one can see another potential transition between a formal, courtly style, despite the earthy language of the *kharja*, and a popular adoption of the style.

A further question explored by this thesis is a recurring bugbear within *muwashshah* studies: what influences, if any, did the Arabic poetry of Spain[34] have on the Latin, Christian West. An influential theory, though far from conclusive, is that the *troubadour* poetry of Aquitaine and other regions of Occitan received the idea of courtly love in part or out of whole cloth from a Spanish (more specifically, Spanish Muslim) context.[35] Similarly, the *troubadour* tradition finds near-identical use of the themes found in the *muwashshah*, and most especially the *kharja*.[36] Several authors have noted that to all appearances, the themes in the *muwashshah* appear suddenly, as if invented by a single source, in the *troubadour*

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[34]   The question of how much the conquest of Sicily, first by Arabic-speaking Muslims and then by Latin-speaking Christians, is again beyond the scope of this thesis. For some indication of how that particular area might have also influenced Christian culture, though to a probable lesser degree, see Menocal, María Rosa, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), p. 33.
[35]   Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, pp. 31-32.
[36]   Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, p. 31.

tradition, thus plausibly suggesting a Muslim influence, perhaps directly related to the *Reconquista* and fall of Sicily.[37]

Although I subscribe to this general theory, one must not lose sight of the fact that it is only a partial explanation of how some of these traditionally Western themes developed. The rich interconnectedness[38] between the Muslims of al-Andalus and its successor kingdoms[39] and the Latin Christians of Castile and other Spanish regions, not to mention other Christian kingdoms within the Latin-speaking West, provides the basis for chapter five. This chapter serves as a reflection on contact contemporary with Muslim-controlled Spain.

Chapter seven complements both chapter five and chapter eight: it serves as an investigation of lingering traditions potentially derived from an "outsider" Hispano-Arabic tradition in a "European" context respectively. Similarly, it provides an understanding of ultimate synthesis in the context of continuing tradition: what can the *muwashshah* and *kharja* tell us about the relationships and interconnectedness between Arabian and European contexts. This chapter represents a summing up of the relationships between Hispano-Arabic and Latinate poetry throughout a portion of the past two-and-a-half millennia. Chapter eight addresses an ultimate attempt to address how the *muwashshah* relates to the Arabic tradition beyond the limits of the medieval period, all the way into the modern era.

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[37]   Again, see Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, pp. 30-35 for an analysis of how the return of Sicily to Latin-speaking culture might also have influenced the rise of *troubadour* culture. Arabic-speaking Sicily, however, did not develop the forms of the *muwashshah* or *zajal*, nor greatly utilize them, despite having been reconquered after the rise of the *muwashshah* and during the creation of the *zajal*. A deep exploration of Sicily is, however, beyond this thesis.
[38]   Both conflict and cooperation foster connections, no matter how esoteric, between two parties.
[39]   A general categorization for the *taifa* states, the Almoravid, and Almohad dynasties, as well as the ultimate Nasrid dynasty focused on Granada.

The conclusion, chapter nine, explains how this synthesis may be applied more generally to the idea of intersectionality, as expressed between the historical Hispano-Arab world and its both Arab Muslim and Latin Christian peers. The *muwashshah* and *kharja* provide a key artistic example of a broader trend: how was a cultural element generated from pre-existing Greco-Roman and Arabic cultures and how did it in turn influence European and Arabic culture? The *muwashshah* represents the strength of paradigm shifts from and to both cultures, while at the same time, al-Andalus, and the Hispano-Arab tradition more generally, represent a key moment of intersectionality between two cultures often seen as hostile. While such a statement might seem like the oversimplification of Hispano-Arabic and Hispano-Christian culture mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, I demonstrate that the understanding of intersection must not be limited to the recurring, often violent political history between Muslims and Christians. It must be extended to encompass both a review of separate strands of various Islamic and Christian cultures as well as the realm of broader social history.

1.2.   Whither Spain?
1.2.1. Chronology
        Key to an understanding of what constitutes a Hispano-Arab tradition (as distinct from an Arabic tradition shared with the rest of the Arabic-speaking world or Spanish tradition), such as the *muwashshah* or *kharja*, is the general political history of Spain.[40] In the most general terms, the Arab and Muslim presence in Spain as a separate political body may be thought of as lasting from 93 AH/712 CE to 897 AH/1492 CE.[41] However, this single sentence is obviously incomplete.

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[40]   This necessity in no way negates the definition of intersection applied above.
[41]   Menocal, *The Ornament of the World*, *passim* and Lowney, *A Vanished World*, *passim* for two popular examples. A complete history of the political and military nuances of the *Reconquista* is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Multiple political entities controlled what was originally al-Andalus. The existence of

what can be termed specifically "al-Andalus" can only be properly thought of as

lasting until 399 AH/1009 CE. Following the fall of the independent Umayyad

caliphate in Spain, a number of smaller independent kingdoms, the *taifa*, or the

petty-states, held separate and distinct courts.[42] As explored in chapters four and

six, this period, the *taifa*, coincides with the first recorded appearance and rise of

the *muwashshah* and then its potential descendent, the *zajal*, as art forms.[43]

Importantly, the recorded *appearance* of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* does not

coincide with the (perhaps) legendary origin timeframe as recorded and repeated

by Arabic commentators, which occurred in the late third century AH/ninth century

CE.[44]

Following a series of internal wars, the Almoravids, a North African Berber

dynasty, conquered the vast majority of these principalities and city-states.[45] At the

same time, the *Reconquista*, the series of intermittent wars waged between the

Latin Christian princes of northern Spain against the Muslim 'infidels' in the South,

gained intensity, with the Christian kingdoms pressing their advantages against the

various Muslim states. Thus, the Almoravids were welcomed as a bulwark of

Muslim solidarity against encroachment from the north.[46] During Almoravid rule, the

muwashshah reached its height of popularity and esteem. The few pieces

generally considered worthy by critics in the Arab-speaking world were written

during this time.[47] Towards the end of this period, the first serious criticism of the

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[42]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 21.
[43]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 31.
[44]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 28.
[45]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 34-35.
[46]   Lowney, *A Vanished World*, 106.
[47]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry,* pp. 39-40.

muwashshah appears within North African sources. Chapters two, four, and six all address this medieval criticism, expanding on the common perception of a tension between Western Hispano-Arab writers and Eastern North African or Arabian critics.

In 542 AH/1148 CE, the Almoravids were replaced by fundamentalist Berbers, the Almohads. Again hailing from North Africa,[48] the Almohads did not support the same sorts of cultural artifacts as their predecessor dynasties, and their reign represents a time of decline for the *muwashshah*.[49] While poets still composed examples of each until the fall of the Almohads in 645 AH/1248 CE, they more and more frequently recycled earlier images and the tradition of borrowing an earlier *kharja* and reusing it in a new poetic context became almost rote; following the end of the Almohad period, the *zajal* essentially vanished and the nature of the *muwashshah* fundamentally changed.[50] This practice of repeating a *kharja* in a separate *muwashshah* had existed for some time, often in the context of a response to an existing poem, and was a feature shared with extant Arabian-Arabic poetry, rather than serving as a peculiarity of the *muwashshah*.[51] This conceptualization of the rise and decline of the *muwashshah* is not meant to indicate that there were no flashes of creativity, even in the examples commonly agreed upon by classical critics as inferior. Simply, institutional or cultural support

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[48]   Lowney, *A Vanished World*, 145.
[49]   For more information on the Almohad period, consult Omar, Fairag I M, *Structures of Government in Almohad Iberia*, thesis, University of Exeter, 2015.
[50]   Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," p. 66.
[51]   In a courtly context, this reuse often took the form of the style "who used it better," sometimes with a financial or political reward to the victor. See Stern*, Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 46-47.

for art forms seen as somehow un-Islamic during the Almohad period had vanished.[52]

Given the outline above, I have chosen to specify the time between the years 390 AH/1000 CE and 647 AH/1250 CE as the key set of dates with which to examine the *muwashshah*; this selection covers the end of al-Andalus, the time of the *taifa*, the Almoravids, and the Almohads as well as tracks the rise and fall of the *muwashshah* quite closely. The structure of this thesis follows a three-part chronological division, coupled with a two-part cultural division, to divide the history of this specific example of Hispano-Arabic literature and themes as follows: the Arabian-Arabic as well as Greco-Roman influences and predecessors; the *muwashshah* and Arabic literature within Iberia as well as contemporary literary trends within the rest of Europe, and how they demonstrated influence from the *muwashshah*; post-Almohad survival of the *muwashshah* within Arabic as well as late and post-medieval survival of the themes of the *muwashshah* within Christian, European society.

Also in context of Hispano-Arabic culture, I will examine the Nasrids, the successors to the Almohads based in Granada, within chapter eight, indicating their status as heirs to a literary tradition, rather than the innovators who originated the forms. The culture of preservation, of trying to maintain a Hispano-Arabic kingdom in the face of a prominent Christian threat inspired by the culture of the Crusades, left the Nasrids as maintainers of tradition, not in a place to interpret non-Semitic forms within a Semitic context.[53] The specific alterations made to the form of the *muwashshah* made within the Nasrid period, mostly retrospective and

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[52]   Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," p. 66.
[53]   This role as preservers will be discussed more thoroughly in chapter eight.

conservative, set the post-Almohad (and therefore typically post-innovative)

muwashshah apart from its earlier peers. Simultaneously, the survival of the

muwashshah, no matter how limited in scope, at the same time demonstrates the

muwashshah's distinct survival within an Arabic context, both within Spain and

Arabic culture as a whole.

1.2.2. Culture

Then-contemporary events in both the Latin West and the Muslim world, as

distinct from the world of the *Reconquista* and *convivencia*, make this period even

more crucial. It was the age of Crusades, of the West rediscovering classical

philosophy (from Arabic sources), of the back and forth between Muslim and

Christian armies. Moreover, it was an era of movement. Whether voluntarily or due

to political expulsion or simple expediency, high-ranking Arabs (and Jews) from

Spain found themselves moving east to North Africa, Egypt and Arabia,[54] allowing

the *muwashshah* to take partial root beyond its homeland. The fall of Sicily and

some of the Muslim kingdoms in Spain allowed for a partial, though not complete,

migration of Romance-speaking Arabs towards their fellow Arabic speakers of

North Africa and Arabia, and for a certain kind of coexistence, no matter how

tenuous, to take hold in the retaken towns.[55]

The fall of Grenada in 897 AH/1492 CE and the eventual expulsion of

Moriscos and *Morados* in the early eleventh century AH/seventeenth century CE

represent other key events in the political history of Spain;[56] however, in terms of

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[54] For example, Ibn Zuhr, (507 AH/1113 CE to 595 AH/1198 CE, not to be confused with his famous physician grandfather) composer of at least one *muwashshah*, moved from Seville to Marrakesh voluntarily. See Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 55. A longer list of poets with travels or migrations outside Iberia may be found at Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 69.

[55] Imamuddin, S.M., *Muslim Spain 711-1492 A.D.: A Sociological Study*, (Leiden: Brill, 1981), p. 23.

[56] Menocal, *The Ornament of the World*, pp. 246, 256.

the literary culture that gave rise to the *muwashshah* and *kharja*, these events took place well after their heyday, and generally outside the scope of this thesis. Instead, by this time, one may find the legacy of the *muwashshah* in North Africa, in the critics' *diwan* of Egypt and Arabia, and in the *troubadour* and *chansons de geste* traditions, especially in Aquitaine, and the subsequent transformation of European literary themes.[57] I will likewise examine pre-392/1000 events through the lens of their ultimate influence upon the *muwashshah*, as the focus of this thesis is not the political history of Hispano-Arabic culture, but on a specific literary feature of that culture; I explicitly assume the reader possesses an understanding of the broad strokes of the political history of Western Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire and the rise of Islam in Arabia.

At the most general level, then, the outline of the Muslim conquest of Spain resembles a series of tides, reaching their peak relatively shortly after their initial landing, and a slow ebbing back over time, with smaller, temporary advances northwards towards the Pyrenees.[58] As the Muslim armies took new territories, Arab and Berber settlers supplanted Christian (and Jewish) elites in occupied towns and villages. In keeping with Muslim religious injunctions, the ruling class did not force Christians and Jews to convert *en masse*, though converts gained significant political and economic advantages.[59] However, it is crucial to note that it was not simply an army of Arabs resettling in Iberia. The armies were in fact mostly

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[57]   Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, pp. 30-34.
[58]   Lowney, *A Vanished World*, p. 40.
[59]   Lowney, *A Vanished World*, p. 60. The limited set of Christian martyrs, especially within a third-/ninth- century context represents an outlier in the general relationship between Muslim rulers and Christian ruled.

Berbers, first- or second-generation converts to Islam, and not Arabs. Arabs in general represented elite military forces, captains and generals, or political elites.[60]

This disparity between the bulk of the armies and the elites gave rise to several interesting linguistic trends during the partial Islamicization of Iberia. First, the language of the educated became Arabic. Within one hundred years, written Arabic almost totally replaced written Latin.[61] Clerics lamented that their peers no longer understood Latin.[62] It was during this time that the Latin language was fragmenting from separate dialects throughout the old Roman Empire into separate languages. The overarching term Romance refers to these intermediate steps, the popular versions of "Latin." Second, the language of the invaders was not the "pure" Arabic of the desert. Instead, it also contained a blend of Berber and Latin loanwords, Berber inflections, new synonyms, corruption of "pure" pre-Islamic grammar, and other features not consistent with the Arabic of Arabia itself.[63]

Undoubtedly, these "corruptions" contributed to the tension between Andalusian poets and Arabian critics. However, they also give clues as to both the environment the *muwashshah* originated in – an environment rich with cross-cultural connections – and how these poems survived past the fall of Muslim Spain. The genesis of the poems lay in the simple fact that like the armies themselves, they were transplants across the whole of the Islamic world, into the frontier hinterlands. By virtue of the linguistic variation inherent across thousands of miles, it became easy for Arab-speaking poets to borrow from the language of their

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[60]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 12.
[61]   A later development included the creation of a writing system using Arabic characters to write Romance words.
[62]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 7-8.
[63]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 1.

Hispano-Christian neighbors. Similarly, these poems were able to survive because they were in part borrowed from the very peoples they returned to. The populations of North Africa were the predominant people who preserved the *muwashshah* as living traditions, unlike the critics of Egypt, who "simply" preserved the poems themselves as cultural artifacts, mildly interesting, yet inferior ones at that, from their peers in Spain.[64] Unfortunately, there is little record of *how* the *muwashshah* survived outside of a Hispano-Arabic context, but the presence of the *muwashshah* within North Africa and Syria within a modern context speaks to their ultimate survival.

One should also note that these critics recorded these poems within their *diwans* at the same time that they were fading from prominence in Muslim Spain. By the time of their preservation in Egypt and North Africa, fresh creation of entirely new *muwashshah* or *zajal* was rare, if not unheard of. Again, the conservative art of the Nasrids, contemporary with the mass preservation of *muwashshah*, focused instead on the maintenance of an extant tradition, rather than innovation and further creation.[65]At almost the same time as the date first extant collection of *muwashshah*, the once-occasional tradition of borrowing a *kharja* from an existing *muwashshah* or even another genre became almost a requirement for the *muwashshah*.[66] The critics' complain of a forced lack of originality in some of the borrowed *kharjas* may be traced to this "degeneration."[67] However, rather than an example of laziness within Iberian culture, it was regarded as a mark of talent to be able to reuse a given *kharja* within a new context.

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[64]   Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry,* p. 8.
[65]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 63.
[66]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 64.
[67]   Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 46.

As poets and critics alike regarded the *kharja* as typically the most difficult part of the poem to create, probably in no small part because of the use of colloquial Arabic rather than the classical language of the rest of the poem, such borrowing increased in frequency.[68] The criticism of reusing an existing *kharja* may be simply explained as the critics looking for reasons not to support the "degenerate" forms of al-Andalus, even though more often than not, the rest of the *muwashshah* used the same vocabulary as Arabian sources.[69] To a certain extent, one of the key figures within modern *muwashshah* studies, Frederico Corriente, further complicates the modern perspective on how reusing the *kharja* worked within the context of the *muwashshah*: "good true *kharjas* being in short supply, the poets are forced to copy or invent them with mixed success".[70] While on the one hand, such a claim constitutes a furthering of the traditional criticisms that the *kharja* defines the *muwashshah* and that its success or lack thereof defines the quality of the entire poem, but at the same time, recognizing that the reuse of the *kharja* is a valid artistic device.

Furthermore, the linguistics and style of the *kharja* require a detailed examination, especially as how the specific device is used to defined the *muwashshah* in comparison to any other genre, including the *zajal* as will be examined in chapter six. Written in either a lower, popular register of Arabic (the bulk of the *muwashshah* was written in classical Arabic, as in the previous examples early Islamic and pre-Islamic poetry and all of its Arabian or North African

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[68]   The rules examined by Zwartjes, especially in *Love Songs of al-Andalus*, pp. 61, 67 highlight this borrowing.
[69]   Compton, *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, p. 116. The question of what allows a *kharja* to mesh harmoniously with the remainder of a *muwashshah* remains an issue in modern *muwashshah* studies:
[70]   Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," p. 66.

contemporaries) or Romance, with or without an introduction,[71] the *kharjas* are easily identifiable as separate, distinct sections from the main body of the *muwashshah*, different in both style and speaker from the rest. By analogy, it would be as if Shakespeare's (1564 to 1616 CE) sonnets ended in Cockney slang or *barrio* Spanish instead of simply a separate couplet. The contrast between the literary register of classical Arabic and the distinctly lower register of words "caustic, vulgar…if possible even thieves' Latin"[72] did not sit well with Arabian or North African critics, but it was emblematic of the multicultural world of Islamic Spain, as opposed to the generally culturally homogenous Arabian Peninsula. As a result, the distinctly Hispano-Arabic features that shape the *kharja* are relatively straightforward to pick out, defined by both medieval and modern critics, but still in keeping with both Arabic poetry generally and the *muwashshah* specifically, as explored in chapters four and six.

Ultimately, the context for any given Hispano-Arabic poem and its constituent parts, in the case of the *muwashshah* and its final *kharja*, was not simply the isolated combination of words and styles, borrowed from Arabia with hints and traces of classical European contexts. Instead, it came from a place where Jewish traders and walled Muslim gardens butted up against Christian artisans and the political frontier was ever changing, settlements being depopulated of Christians and resettled with Muslims, only for the process to be reversed a decade or two later.[73] The great Christian hero of Spain, El Cid, spent

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[71]   Typically of the form "[he/she] said."
[72]   Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 113, translation of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, Abu 'l-Qasim, *Dar al-Tiraz fi ʿAmal al-Muwashshahat*, al-Rikabi, J., ed., (Damascus: Dar al-Fikr, 1980), 3rd edition, pp. 30-31.
[73]   Burns, Robert I., *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the crusader kingdom of Valencia: Societies in symbiosis*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 196.

more than a little time serving Muslim princes.[74] Unlike within the Muslim caliphate-cum- Arabian hegemony, the kingdoms of Spain, Christian and Muslim, necessarily interacted with both their co-religionists *and* each other.[75] The idea of the *convivencia* became a useful shorthand to understand the complex relationships between these three religious groups. Both regions with Christian majorities (and thus Muslim and Jewish minorities) and those with Muslim majorities (and thus Christian and Jewish minorities) had to address the problem of dealing with complex, multi-faith kingdoms in which expulsion was impractical.

1.2.3. Transformation
However, just as the *Reconquista*, the Christian "reconquering" of an imagined Roman-cum-Visigoth-cum-Christian territory, firmly rooted in the semi-legendary past, focused more on the total "reclamation" of Iberia, Hispano-Muslim focus turned away from the fine arts towards maintaining what territory they could manage.[76] Over time, the area held by Muslim forces shrank, and shrank, into what essentially became a city-state.[77] As the political emphasis changed from expanding the Muslim presence to maintaining what territory and influence was possible. After the transition from the Almohad period into the Nasrid dynasty, "the *zajal* is soon barred from literary consideration [entirely]…and even the *muwashshah* loses ground and ends up by [becoming only] an occasional exercise for some poets."[78] As the Muslim influence in Iberia reduced, the importance and

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[74]   Lowney, *A Vanished World*, 133.
[75]   The Crusades and crusaders notwithstanding, the bulk of interaction between Christian Europe and Muslim Arabia between these times were isolated traders and pilgrims, not well-informed elites.
[76]   Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, (Leiden: Brill, 2005), p. 366.
[77]   Lowney, *A Vanished World*, p. 196. While the time period covered within this thesis does not provide an in-depth look at the final centuries of the Muslim presence within what is now Spain, it does cover the beginning of the decline.
[78]   Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," p. 66.

impact of Hispano-Arabic poetry shrank comparably, despite the preservation of most now-extant *muwashshah* occurring during this period.[79]

In traditional *European* historiography, this transition from territories dominated by Muslim and Arab influences into pre-modern nations under Christian rule has been seen as a return of Europe to the proper order of things, one where the continent of Europe may be seen as a naturally, entirely Christian territory, barring the occasional Jew. Classically, scholars and culture saw the rise of Chalcedonian Christianity[80] in the Iberian Peninsula not as a snuffing out of a rich cultural heritage, exemplified by the uniquely Hispano-Arabic *muwashshah* and *zajal*, but bringing enlightenment to an area despoiled by Muslim depredations. However, this portrayal has generally changed in the past fifty years to include a more nuanced appraisal of the role of Muslim and Arabic culture played in shaping the region, as well as the role that ideas and influences from Iberia help shaped the rest of Europe. While the traditional historiography is still important to understand some of the early work done in *muwashshah* and *kharja* studies, this imagining of the *Reconquista* has fallen by the wayside as the understanding of cross-cultural impact has developed.

Nonetheless, one may find a key truth in the fact that Catholic Christianity almost entirely replaced Judaism and Islam in Iberia. With the handing over of the keys of Granada on Rabi II 20, 897 AH/January 3, 1492 CE, and the famed

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[79]   Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain*, pp. 168-169.

[80]   Visigoths were predominantly (non-Chaldeconian) Arian Christians throughout most of their tenure in Spain. Modern Catholic, Orthodox, and mainstream Protestantism all represent Chalcedonian Christianity. The key difference revolved around the dual natures of Christ. A more technical analysis of the differences in Christology may be found in Hanson, R.P.C., *The search for the Christian doctrine of God: the Arian controversy, 318-381*, (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988).

departure of Boabdil and his entourage to exile in North Africa,[81] a once-mighty culture had been almost eliminated within what was now a unified Spain. Muslim ability to directly influence high culture, steadily waning as circumstances forced more energies to be devoted to military endeavors, mostly vanished.[82] Neither Europe nor North Africa nor the Arab East would look to Spain any longer for influence on Muslim artistic culture, whether as subtle influences as in the case of the troubadours or as imitative, derivative works to be scorned (though recorded)[83]. By 1029/1620, well past the scope of the majority of this thesis, the last of the Muslims were expelled from Spain, after approximately a hundred years of the Spanish Inquisition hunting down suspected crypto-Jews and crypto-Muslims from the Catholic population.[84] But for centuries, what little sway they had over the arts had been dwindling to nothing.

This stark reality of firmly entrenched decline is not to dismiss, however, that al-Andalus and her successors had once been great, great enough that as readily as they were dismissed by the Arab literati, those same scholars had seen fit to record examples and the history (as critics believed it to be) of the *muwashshah* and *kharja*.[85] The sphere of influence of Spanish Muslim arts had once reached to Sicily and across the Pyrenees into Christian strongholds, even as a majority of the rest of Arabic-speaking literary culture rejected Iberian literature as inferior. While Hispano-Arabic literature no longer affects Europe in the same direct way as in the

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[81]   Eulogized (and elegized) as the Moor's Last Sigh. See Menocal, *The Ornament of the World*, pp. 245-246.

[82]   Imamuddin, *Muslim Spain*, pp. 212, 219.

[83]   Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 8, 47.

[84]   The Spanish Inquisition technically had no ecclesiastical authority over staunch Muslims and Jews. Heretics, including crypto-Jews and crypto-Muslims, were another matter entirely.

[85]   Again, the legendary origins of the *muwashshah* will be addressed between chapters four and six. Stern*, Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry*, pp. 4-11, especially 7-9.

medieval period, the legacy of the *troubadours* (themselves a partial legacy of Hispano-Arabic culture)[86] still shows today in the foundations of Western conceptions of love, desire, longing, and lust, and the themes generated from the *muwashshah* continue today. With a bit more of an ear for the conventions of modern English poetry, Monroe's translations of *muwashshahss* would seem well within the Western tradition of poetry extolling the virtues of those emotions.[87]

Likewise, despite their disappearance along with Hispano-Arabic literary culture, the *muwashshah* had enough literary value within the broader literary culture to last in North Africa, despite gradually disappearing from Arabian sources.[88] Although the bulk of the *muwashshahs* are historical examples recorded in Egyptian and Arabian *diwans*, there exist examples of each recorded within the last fifty years from North Africa, as well as modern Syrian examples.[89] Surviving as styles of music more than as examples of a high literary culture, they now show the modern state of an originally medieval poem. As mentioned previously, the broader Muslim world barely distinguished culturally between parts of North Africa (especially Morocco) and Southern Europe (including Spain), similar to the position of the Roman Empire. Even now, Spain possesses two distinct territories (the exclaves of Ceuta and Melilla) within North Africa, each wholly bordering Morocco. Muslim army after Muslim army crossed the Strait of Gibraltar with barely a thought. In fact, even if one dismisses claims that the *troubadour* derives ultimately

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[86]   Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, p. 33 & Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 50.

[87]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, *passim.*

[88]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 72-81.

[89]   "Songs of the City," *The Economist*, The Economist Newspaper, Ltd., February 20 2016, Accessed November 28 2016, http://www.economist.com/news/books-and-arts/21693178-much-risk-aleppo-not-least-its-traditional-music-songs-city.

from Spanish Muslim influences, one cannot dismiss the fact that at least until

recently, the *muwashshah* existed in a modified but recognizable form in North

Africa. While we cannot be sure the mode of presentation of the original

muwashshah examples, meaning whether they were composed to be recited, read,

or sung; by the 1390s AH/1970s CE, their survival was limited in extent: they were

being sung, especially the *kharja* refrains, in communities in North Africa.[90] Both

Arab and Berber communities, insofar as they were still distinct at the end of

Muslim rule in Spain, made the trek to North Africa in exile. There is a clear pattern

of migration in the 890s and 900s AH/1490s CE and beyond that echoes the

traditional route of transmission of the *muwashshah* in the 590s and 600s

AH/1200s CE, leaving behind the *muwashshah* as lasting cultural legacies.

1.3. Conclusion
Is it fair then, to say, as so many scholars have, that there is a clear and

simple historiography of the *muwashshah*? That they arose in Spain, either from

pre-existing native sources (that have left no trace in the historical record) or purely

in parody of more traditional contemporary Arabian-Arabic sources, gaining

prominence over the next two hundred years, and then fading into the collective

subconscious? To a certain extent, such an assessment is partially valid; certainly,

the *muwashshah* was no longer at the bleeding edge of the cultural forefront, even

by the time collectors and scholars recorded them for posterity.[91] But, one may still

see the direct influences they had on certain communities, predominantly North

African, albeit to a very circumscribed extent. With the relative Euro-American

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[90]   Schippers, Arie, "Some Remarks on the Present-Day Tradition of Andalusian *Muwaššaḥāt* in North Africa," in Jones, Alan and Richard Hitchcock eds., *Studies of the* Muwaššah *and the* Kharja *[Proceedings of the Exeter International Colloquium]*, (London: Ithaca Press, 1991), p. 149.
[91]   The key exception is Ibn Bassām (d. 542 AH/1147 CE), who wrote during the transition between the Almoravids and Almohads, at the height of popularity for the *muwashshah*.

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cultural hegemony throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries, the less direct, but still no less immediate, influence they had on European, Christian culture may be considered visible, to a great extent, though diffused from a clear depiction of a *muwashshah* into a more abstract group of concepts. The impact throughout what we might consider Western history that the themes expressed specifically within the *muwashshah* and did have on conceptualizing love, romantic love, as part of the human condition, conscious or subconscious has been massive.

While the poems themselves may have been mostly lost, one cannot deny their place in the context of cross-cultural relations between the Arabic-speaking world and Europe. From their origins in the cultural crossroads that had been al-Andalus, they have been able to exert distinct and definite influences. Gradual obscurity has not stopped these poems and forms from having shaped a cultural heritage that transcends a simple geography, with clear connections to the distinct intersectionality and legacy of Hispano-Arabic culture.

As a result, the following questions will be directly addressed throughout the body of this thesis:

1. What are the specific cultural origins of the muwashshah?

2. How do they provide a crucial example of intersectionality between Arab/Muslim and European culture?

3. How did the *muwashshah* make an impact upon their contemporary cultural peers of Christian culture in Europe as well as post-Almohad Muslim culture, including Iberian Nasrid culture, but especially outside of Spain?

4. Is the *muwashshah* somehow alien to the broader Arabic corpus?

5. How has the *muwashshah* continued to have influence in both Western, Christian and Arabic literature?

2. Literature Review
2.1.   Overview

Since almost the time of their origin, the *muwashshah* and *kharja* have been

the subject of critical commentary. Indeed, we have received the extant Arabic

examples solely via critical collections and commentary from medieval Arabic-

speaking authors. [92] These Arabic critics generally lived during or after the twilight

of *muwashshah* composition and either commented on their peers in their

immediate cultural sphere or on the earlier poets.[93] In neither case were most

Arabic-speaking critics enthusiastic of the *muwashshah* form.[94] Their conclusions

and opinions about the *muwashshah* were formed in almost direct opposition to

how critics viewed classical Arabic poetry or poems modeled on those forms. For

these medieval critics, a general hierarchy existed, where the innovation that led to

new genres, especially those not explicitly modeled on an existing Arabic tradition,

was firmly on the bottom and clever uses of classical forms (not to mention the

classics themselves) were the pinnacle of the literary arts.[95] However, some

classical critics saw fit to preserve examples of the *muwashshah* and related

forms,[96] thus providing a window into the perception of what the medieval literati

constituted art, and why. The majority of critics may not have considered the

muwashshahs very good nor very artistic, but they were worth preserving, for one

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[92]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 30. Complementary Hebrew poems have been
preserved more broadly than in the Arabic traditions, though the basic method of collation into
broader collections of poetry remains the same. For more information, see Zwartjes, *Love Songs
from al-Andalus*, and Compton, *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*.
[93]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 28-30.
[94]   Compton, *Andalusian Love Poetry*, pp. 3-4.
[95]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 43.
[96]   Compton, *Andalusian Love Poetry*, pp. 9-44 provides a good example of the remaining
diwans, in this case a translation of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's *Dar al-Tiraz fi ʿAmal al-Muwashshahat*.

reason or another, whether because of artistic merit or as a warning against further experimentation.[97]

This specific mode of preservation means that, unlike within a typical literature review, looking only at the recent past and scholarly trends, I must also consider the medieval commentator as a literary, scholarly voice worthy of a response. That is, given that the mode of transmission has been via the medieval equivalent of learned scholarly debate, even from the earliest stages of the *muwashshah*, and perhaps most importantly, from the earliest stages of preservation, the medieval critics represent an influential strain of intellectual thought with pervasive consequences for not just historical scholars, but for those of the present day. As a result, the second half of this literature review will seek to identify those trends that carried forward from medieval authors into modern scholarship.

However, there exists a distinct challenge in addressing this task. Scholarly and professional standards have changed over eight hundred years. Those medieval Arabic-speaking scholars writing their treatises and compiling their *diwans*, while almost certainly in correspondence with their peers and in possession of other works, did not have publishing houses releasing their findings to an international audience, engaged in critiquing and clarifying one another's positions. In other words, scholarship was clearly possible, debate between scholars was clearly possible, but the technology available at the time limited opportunities for scholarly debate and perhaps more importantly, the preservation of any debate that did take place. Unfortunately, the art of the public debate

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[97]   Highlighted at Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp.60-65.

between scholars, while crucial to the mode of learning extant in the 1200s, did not lend itself well to long-term preservation, thus limiting our historical knowledge of the *muwashshah* mostly to examples recorded well after the genre's heyday.

It is in the modern arena that we can begins to see the development of a traditionally understood scholarly debate on the topic of the *muwashshah*. It is no longer a debate over the quality or merits of the styles (for most authors) as it predominantly was for medieval critics, but an investigation over where the forms fit within a cultural context. Such identification necessarily involves the investigation of relationships between multiple cultures, both in terms of the paired Greco-Roman and Arabic influences and in terms of the diffusion of themes found within the *muwashshah*. As a result, the first half of this review will be dedicated to situating modern interpretations of the multi-cultural (or not) origin and relationships of the *muwashshah*.

Again, one of the recurring questions of *muwashshah* studies is identifying which contexts do the *muwashshah* exist in during which times. In terms of a modern, scholarly context, we can trace much of the modern scholarship regarding the *muwashshah* to a reasonably precise date of origin: 1948, when certain of these poems were 'rediscovered' for a Western audience.[98] Since that initial outpouring of scholarship, there have been two other significant periods of work on the *muwashshah*, the 1970s and the late 1980s to early 1990s. Indeed, other than these periods, there has been in some ways a dearth of scholarship, with even the most current authors citing the same editions of the same works as their predecessors ten to twenty years previously. Modern *muwashshah* studies relies

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[98] Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 40.

on the same established bibliography, not just of the *muwashshah* itself, but of secondary literature.[99] The history of *muwashshah* studies, then, is a series of punctuated comments on the genres, with brief flowerings of new revelation, in some ways reflective of the paradigm shifts that gave rise to the *muwashshah* itself.

2.2.   The Modern Authors

As seen in my introduction, one set of the overarching questions about the place of the *muwashshah* may be considered to be the following: "Does the *muwashshah* fit into a European context? If so, to what degree? Does the *muwashshah* fit into an Arabic context? If so, to what degree? Are those contexts mutually exclusive?" Otto Zwartjes, in the first chapter of his *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, describes a crucial portion of the controversy I have chosen to address between figures in modern *muwashshah* studies:

> I can say that many studies…have focused on underlining the specific…'European' or 'Western' features of this 'genuine' traditional type of poetry. In many studies we can read that these *kharjas* can hardly be situated within the Arabic tradition… Others prefer to consider these poems as a manifestation of an internal development in Arabic literature.[100]

While Zwartjes' book attempts to address issues of Iberian bilingualism and the origins of specifically strophic poetry within a Hispano-Arabic context, with special focus on the structure of the poems themselves, it limits itself to "attempt[ing] to evaluate the localization of these types of poems in both Eastern and Western literatures."[101] That is, its focus narrows onto the question of the poetic forms in the

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[99]   Shari Lowin, whose work on poetry in al-Andalus I will address later, published in 2014. Her bibliography considers the same set of works as publications from 2000 and 1991. Recent books on Arabic literary salons, such as those that would have featured in courtly life in al-Andalus, do not mention the *muwashshah* at all. See Ali, Samer M., *Arabic literary salons in the Islamic Middle Ages: poetry, public performance, and the presentation of the past*, (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press, 2010) for a treatment of the topic generally.

[100]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 4.

[101]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 4.

moment of their original individual compositions, analyzed in thematic groups, rather than analyzing their place in relation to their context historically, contemporary to, and after the period 391 CE/1000 AH to 645 CE/1248 AH, the time of the *muwashshah*'s heyday. It does not make an effort to trace the paradigm shifts within both cultures contributing to the *muwashshah*, nor does it attempt to provide an explanation for how the *muwashshah* might be considered paradigm shifts of their own, reflective of indigenous innovation. While his study provides some key foundation for my own examinations of Arabic (whether North African, Arabian, or Iberian) and European contemporaries, the key questions I have asked revolve around locating the cultural context of the origins and genesis of the *muwashshah* through to their descendants, rather than focusing entirely on a chronologically limiting thematic analysis. Although I do address themes throughout, as a historian, I am especially interested in the broader intersection of cultures represented the *muwashshah*, rather than only on certain thematic devices.

On the most basic level, the ongoing argument that he leaves as implicit and simply assumed as underlying *muwashshah* studies more generally may be summarized as follows: that either there was a non-Arabic influence laying behind the *muwashshah* or there was not, and that there was a lasting influence on non-Arabs or there was not. While this description of the problem may see overly simplistic, I have phrased it so deliberately, to highlight how basic these questions are to *muwashshah* studies, and how incomplete previous scholarship has been at recognizing the potential of non-Arab sources. The existence of potential paradigm shifts is left as an implied possibility; though with the inclusion of the potential

existence of a non-Arabic influence, there at least exists the chance to acknowledge a broader range of conceivable paradigm shifts that led to the *muwashshah*. In terms of Arabic influence, such paradigm shifts are more in the context of a broader shift between classical Arabic poetry and that of the *muwashshah*, as I address more thoroughly within chapter four.

The possibility of significant overlap between those supporting a purely Arabic origin and ultimate influence and those supporting a trace of non-Arabic origin and potential influence on European culture, has generally been taken as negligible, despite the admission by authors on both sides of the argument that there may be a middle ground.[102] While the possibility that Arabic strophic poetry, including the *muwashshah*, may have influenced the *troubadours*, is established in modern scholarship, the depth of non-Arabic origins of the *muwashshah* is rarely addressed. Such possibility falls short of being unthinkable, but it rarely even addressed enough to be controversial.

2.2.1. Abu-Haidar and Arabic Absolutism

However, one may take this Arabic absolutist logic further. J.A. Abu-Haidar does just that, going so far as to provide a complete dismissal of the possibility that non-Arabs had anything to do with the origins of the *muwashshah* or that they received any cultural benefit from them. He denies any possibility of either of these suppositions.[103] While his position is not necessarily a popular one, it does provide evidence of to what extremes one may interpret the evidence that has survived into modern times. Indeed, his 2001 book *Hispano-Arabic Literature and the Early*

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[102]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 90-94 is perhaps the best laying-out of options, though his final treatment of a "Romance or Iberian *substratum* [sic]" is cursory.
[103]   Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, *passim*.

Provençal Lyrics seems almost a polemic against those who would wish to find classical "Western" influences on the *muwashshah* or who would think to find any traces of Andalusian underpinnings in European *troubadour* work, despite its title;[104] in his view, the *muwashshah* is purely a variation on Arabic poetry as presented throughout the Arabic-speaking world. It will become clear that this thesis adopts an opposing view.

In fact, though *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, is one of the most recent scholarly works I will analyze, it deserves to be addressed first (Zwartjes' summary notwithstanding), outside of the strictly chronological review that follows. The short form of his argument, as taken from his chapter headers, follows:

1. Strophic poetry is purely native to Arabic.
2. There is no evidence of classical "Western" features in these forms.
3. The styles in al-Andalus gave rise to the *muwashshah* and *zajal*, as alterations from classical Arabian styles.
4. The *muwashshah* was limited in their transmission.
5. The bilingual features of the *kharja* do not represent any sort of true cultural mixing.
6. The features of *troubadour* poetry arose organically from a Christian, European context, especially in France.
7. Ultimately, the *muwashshah* are entirely independent both in origin and in legacy from any "Western" influence.[105]

The tone of his work is defensive to a fault. It almost has the air of an apologist who fears that he has not yet adequately defended his faith. His analysis as presented inhibits one to engage in a debate over the possibility of alternate viewpoints, with little attention paid to a thorough refutation of his counterparts, although the third claim in argument allows for the possibility of paradigm shifts specifically within Hispano-Arabic poetry, if not Arabic poetry more broadly.

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[104]   Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, *passim*.
[105]   Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. vii. The argument may be found throughout, not just summarized in his chapter titles.

Essentially, each one of his points, when taken singly, may be defensible; it is his ultimate summation and synthesis of them that appears most unlikely. My third chapter, however, clearly disagrees with his first two points, tracing a possible origin of strophic poetry within Hispano-Arabic poetry outside of this context and a clear analysis of the role of Greco-Roman poetics in influencing the ultimate development of the *muwashshah*. Ultimately, any single event, usual or unusual, may occur, but the odds of any series of events happening decreases with each subsequent event.

However, I take the explicit position that each of the steps in his thinking is less likely to happen that the alternative. For example, cross-cultural contact is more likely than not, especially given other clear examples of cross-cultural borrowing; as a result, transmission in the *convivencia as well as* its progress throughout interdependent cultures may be traced.[106] Some degree of bilingualism was a fact.[107] Abu-Haidar's dismissal of these possibilities recorded within Iberian history represents an interpretation of the facts that appears too rigid to address appropriately the nuances of history.

2.2.2. Discovery and Rediscovery

With the minority opposition position acknowledged, I now address those with whom I agree with, but on the least amount of points. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it is the oldest authors with whom this thesis disagrees most clearly, for two key reasons. First, many of these traditional authorities on the *muwashshah* and Hispano-Arabic more generally wrote in a time with different standards concerning

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[106]   Such tracing of interconnectedness (with a limited mention of the *muwashshah* and *kharja*) is perhaps represented best by Thomas Glick's *Islamic and Christian Spain*.
[107]   Zwartjes provides an excellent summation of the possible variations of Iberian bilingualism in chapter one of his *Love Songs from al-Andalus*.

the study of history, especially non-European history. Their scholarship may have been superb, but the attitudes towards historiography have shifted over the past seventy years. With the rise of Marxist theory, feminist theory, queer theory, and other historiographies addressing underrepresented minorities, the tone of cultural history has shifted. This is to say nothing of Edward Said's landmark *Orientalism*, redefining what it meant to write about or with the word "Arab" or "Islam" or "the East," let alone the topics themselves. Second, the past decades have allowed us to fill in some of the gaps in our historical knowledge, discovering more ways in which different populations, Christian and Muslim for example, related to one another. Scholars have more clearly defined the nuances of history, with access to sources, scholarship, and reflections that simply did not exist when the first Western scholars were writing.

Before the watershed moment of the publication of *Orientalism,* one can still detect a certain air of paternalism in the literature. The progenitor of *muwashshah* studies, Samuel M. Stern, is perhaps most representative of the older historiography. While one agrees in large part with the broad strokes of his argument, that there are lasting influences on what has been traditionally considered European poetry that can be derived clearly from the *muwashshah*, the finer details leave something to be desired. The individual threads of his ideas remain vague, perhaps because he died before his planned masterwork on the *muwashshah* could move past the draft stage.[108] Indeed, the entire work does have the feel of very detailed notes.

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[108]   His collected notes were edited and published posthumously. Together, they represent an incomplete theory and synthesis. Their general incompleteness is assumed throughout any of my subsequent discussion of Stern. See Harvey, L.P., "Foreword," in Stern, S. M., *Hispano-Arabic*

However, even with as much leeway as the acknowledged unfinished state of his work can provide, it seems (with the benefit of decades of hindsight) a crucial failing that he does not fully address the question of the origin of the *muwashshah* or *kharja.* His analysis does not go beyond the most basic level of the out-of-Arabia hypothesis, ignorant of or ignoring the potential influence of Greco-Roman poetics, and makes no attempt to trace the changes between pre-existing Arabic literature and the early *muwashshah*.[109] While his theory was in itself novel at the time, insofar as *any* theory about these forms was novel, he does not attempt to entertain other possibilities. While he has received much-deserved plaudits for his groundbreaking contributions, modern scholarship has moved past what he was able to contribute beyond the foundational level.

More in agreement with my claims, though their arguments appear insufficient to explain completely the connection between subsequent Romance poetry and the *muwashshah*, are scholars like A. R. Nykl, writing around the same time as Stern,[110] and Maria Rosa Menocal, part of the explosion of *muwashshah* work in the 1990s. These two scholars provide convenient bookends, as the field matured between these two dates. Oddly, it seems that nothing really changes between them, that neither reaches independent conclusions, nor take broadly differing positions, despite roughly forty-five years between the two.[111] Each takes it for granted that there is a clear connection between the *troubadour* lyric and the

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Strophic Poetry: Studies by Samuel Miklos Stern, L. P. Harvey, ed., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp. v-ix for a summary of the publication history.

[109] Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry*, pp. 50-62. Given the comparatively early date of his writing (pre-Kuhn) and the unfinished state of his work, the chance for him to trace the potential paradigm shifts that I outline throughout the body of my thesis may have been minimal.

[110] Nykl's 1946 to Stern's 1948.

[111] Menocal explores the same set of themes and comes to the same conclusions, generally, as Nykl. Much of the work on the *muwashshah* in these fifty years ultimately become restatements of Nykl or Stern, when distilled.

muwashshah, but each fails to explain the connection beyond a hypothesis that William IX (463-521 AH/1071-1127 CE), Duke of Aquitaine (commonly recognized as one of the first, if not *the* first *troubadour*)[112] is responsible for the connection between the two cultures. While they each present a clear-cut case for this logic, nuancing their claims slightly differently, with Menocal focusing on military conquest and Nykl on political connections, but both noting that William IX's father conquered several Muslim strongholds in Sicily and Spain, and that he married an Aragonese queen,[113] they fail to develop this theory further. Neither Nykl nor Menocal explore the potential for a series of a broader, more diffuse cross-cultural contact, for example, as helping to explain the similarities between these two movements, but limiting themselves to choosing to focus on the ways in which Hispano-Arabic poetry related to its European contemporaries, and any possible influence upon the receptive culture of Christian Europe.

However, in both cases, these hypotheses only skim the surface of where these connections might be, at least on the descendant side. By time of William IX's writing, Andalusian poets had been writing their *muwashshahs* for between several decades and a century.[114] Even with the endemic, low-level warfare underlying the *convivencia*, one hundred years was more than enough time for ideas and art forms to transmit between cultures; for example, the specialist concept of the number zero took approximately 100 years to diffuse from Arabic-speaking culture to European, during approximately the same period, the late 11th

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[112]   Nykl, A. R., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, second edition, (Baltimore: J.H. Furst Company, 1970), pp. 373-379. Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, pp. 27-33.
[113]   Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 375.
[114]   William IX's surviving works date from 1103 CE onwards; Stern lays out the evidence for the *muwashshah*'s actual (as opposed to legendary origin) to the early to mid-500s AH/1000s CE.

century CE to the very beginnings of the 13th. Such transmission would exist independent of William IX, though he represents a key figure in such transmission.

In some ways, their shared idea that William IX is singularly responsible for the transmission of the *muwashshah* into the *troubadour* style, especially associated with Aquitaine, seems almost too simple to be true. The explanation for their conversion into Provençal lyric poetry need not be complex. But, as William IX's own poetry seems to have sprung fully formed,[115] without any drafts or intermediate stages, suggests the possibility that there was likely some collection by someone not quite as important as the powerful Duke of Aquitaine that did not survive long enough to provide another link in the chain of transmission. That is, absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. Such a sudden appearance represents a paradigm shift within European literary culture in its own right. Some of the distinction between previous European literary culture and that contemporaneous with the *muwashshah* will be examined within chapter five.

The realization that William IX's poetry seems to provide complete models for what *troubadour* poetry should be, while often mentioned but rarely addressed, represents both the major success and the major failing of writers like Nykl and Menocal. While bold enough to make the clear assertion that there is a connection, clear-cut and unable to be ignored, they fall short of providing an explanation subtle enough to address other possibilities beyond William IX taking slaves and marrying into Spanish royalty. In essence, they deserve to be recognized for achieving a partway solution to the question the second half of my study addresses.

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[115] Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 373.

However, such partial solutions appear insufficient, lacking the necessary information for detailing the transmission and survival of Arabic forms in the European context. In some ways, the purely historical prefaces of standard collections of Hispano-Arabic poetry, such as James Monroe's *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology* or Linda Fish Compton's *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry and Old Spanish Love Songs*, while not providing critical analysis of the transmission these poems or individual analysis of specific poems, create a much better framework from which to address the question of how poetic influence traveled between cultural contexts. While these prefaces primarily focus on providing necessary summaries of dates and names, as well as the key events in Iberian history, more importantly they establish the social and political context of both al-Andalus and the Spanish Christian kingdoms. In this way, one can see more directly several key points where these cultures intersected, given the historical background to the society in which these innovative forms appeared in, allowing the possibility to locate, approximately, where paradigm shifts within Hispano-Arabic literary culture may have appeared, often in tandem with shifts in the political and military culture of al-Andalus and its successors.[116] Perhaps most usefully, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, includes an overview of both political and literary culture under the Nasrids, allowing one to trace the paradigm shifts that continued to occur within Iberia, a topic partially addressed within chapter eight.[117]

2.2.2.1. C.S. Lewis

Also worthy of review is C.S. Lewis' classic analysis of *troubadour* poetry and its influence, *The Allegory of Love*. Despite the fact that the field has gone

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[116]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 21-22, 34-35, 47-49, 61-63.
[117]   Monroe, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, pp. 61-64.

beyond both his thorough analysis of *troubadour* poetry and his attempt to get to the heart of what these poems must really mean, his work was foundational in establishing *troubadour* poetry as a genre worthy of modern scholarship. In some ways, his work is directly comparable to Nykl or Stern, in that it provides a foundational level with which to approach the topic of how the *muwashshah* continued to exert an influence upon Western literature, specifically as mediated through the *troubadour* genre and especially as displayed in English literature.[118]

While he does discuss the material found within this thesis' subsequent chapters five and seven, particularly in his first two chapters,[119] with specific reference to Arthur, Dante, *La Chanson de Roland*, and a limited mention of the nineteenth-century Romantic poets,[120] he does not deeply explore the topics. Conversely, other than a portion of his second chapter which is explicitly devoted to Chrétien de Troyes (fl. 1170-1190 CE), his mentions are fleeting. He particularly focuses on English works, with some comparison to Italian interpretations of Roland. Although his scholarship is foundational to the study of the influence of *troubadour* poetry, many of his *specific* conclusions are not directly relevant to the specific conclusions this thesis reaches. Instead, his work concerning the lasting effects of *troubadour* poetry provides a thematic, if somewhat outmoded, reflection of the ways in which the *muwashshah* has continued to influence Western art; one may see his analysis as interacting with a limited amount of this thesis, specifically only small portions of the following sections: 5.3.2, 7.2.1, and 7.3.1.

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[118]   Lewis, C.S., *The Allegory of Love*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936),
[119]   Lewis, *The Allegory of Love*, pp. 1-115, but especially pp. 1-12, 23-32, and 113-115.
[120]   Lewis, *The Allegory of Love*, pp. 2, 9, 11, 21.

Moreover, while he makes no direct claim of foreign influence upon the *troubadour* poetry, he does admit the possibility of Arabic influence. However, his mention is fleeting: "even Arabic influence [has] been suspected; but it has not been made clear that [this]…could account for the results we see,"[121] and he does return to the matter. Instead, his first twelve pages are a brief attempt to discuss how "French poets, in the eleventh century, discovered or invented, or were the first to express, that romantic species of passion which English poets were still writing about in the nineteenth."[122] His concern is not with the sources or influences upon such poets, but rather with the "unmistakable continuity connect[ing] the Provençal love song with the love poetry of the later Middle Ages, and thence…with that of the present day."[123] Unlike this thesis, he does not attempt to explore the background of the *troubadours*, to ascertain what that hinted-at Arabic influence may be.

Similarly, while it would be remiss not to recognize that *The Allegory of Love* represents the foundational text of the serious study of the *troubadour* poetry, it is also key to an understanding of this thesis that they reflect two separate aims. Although his book seeks to set later (English) poetry in a post-*troubadour* context, including an overview of 'proper' *troubadour* poetry's influence upon these later works, unlike this thesis, it does not seek to develop this relationship into a recognition of genealogies. In Lewis' work, there is a fundamental continuity, with a lack of breaks or separations between the early *troubadours* and works as late as Edmund Spenser's (c. 1552 – 1599) *The Faerie Queen* (1590-1596). Unlike this

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121 Lewis, *The Allegory of Love*, p. 11.
122 Lewis, *The Allegory of Love*, p. 4.
123 Lewis, *The Allegory of Love*, p. 3.

thesis, it does not propose that these continuities reflect changes between or particular survivals from a set of paradigms, but rather focuses almost exclusively on the (sometimes forced) similarities between the *troubadours* and these later works.[124]

Despite the foundational role of *The Allegory of Love*, this thesis has mostly moved beyond the arguments and foci depicted and analyzed therein. Similarly to Nykl and Stern, Lewis is ultimately treated here primarily in recognition of two key characteristics: first, his historic role in the analysis of specifically *troubadour* poetry, which within this thesis has a specific impact upon analyzing the continued history of the *muwashshah* within Western, Christian literature, and second, his explicit recognition of relationships between *troubadour* poetry and the specific works and themes, arrived at independently, which are explored in parts of chapter seven. The ideas that coincide are limited mostly to recognizing which works reflect a survival of the *troubadours*, and, consequently, the impressions that the *muwashshah* left upon Western literature. Thus, Lewis makes little impression upon this thesis, except his limited influence upon chapter five and a lesser one upon chapter seven.

2.2.3. Contemporary Scholarship

Having addressed some of the key foundational texts in modern *muwashshah* studies, one must examine the cutting edge of Hispano-Arabic scholarship. Shari Lowin's *Arabic and Hebrew Love Poems in al-Andalus* presents "an analysis of secular poems of desire produced in Islamic Spain of the tenth to

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[124]   Lewis, *The Allegory of Love*, pp. 232-296 demonstrates this emphasis on continuity and similarity most clearly; chapter VI is entitled "Allegory as the Dominant Form."

thirteen centuries [CE]."[125] Her work deals extensively with the *muwashshah* and *zajal* as exemplars of these forms, while not shying away from controversies of her own, such as the representation of men and women, and more explicitly, homosexual attitudes in the *muwashshah*. For example, the mixture of masculine and feminine pronouns is well established in the *muwashshah*. While few poems may be explicitly labeled homosexual, they do exist, as well as poems in which the gender of the speaker and the beloved are ambiguous.[126] Unlike Lowin, I am not attempting to provide a full literary analysis of the themes and content of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* in this thesis, focusing instead on their general historical and cultural context. However, historical analysis includes an exploration of themes and content, just as Zwartjes' examination of themes and content required historical analysis. Unlike previous authors, I seek to tread a middle ground between the two, balancing a review of the poems themselves with locating them in specific historical contexts.

Again, Lowin's work represents some of the innovative scholarship on the topic, including attempts at highlighting the key paradigm shifts in content between other Arabic poetry and the *muwashshah*. Indeed, she further summarizes quite concisely the generally unexplored theories that underlie my entire argument, while not addressing the matter herself: "On the one hand, [James Monroe] writes, that there is no doubt that native Iberian elements appear in the strophic forms of poetry that arose in Muslim Spain. However, Monroe insists, [sic] Hispano-Arabic poetry is without a doubt of Eastern and Arab origin."[127]

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[125]   Lowin, Shari L., *Arabic and Hebrew Love Poems in Al-Andalus*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), p. xiii.
[126]   Lowin, *Arabic and Hebrew Love Poems*, pp. 6-7.
[127]   Lowin, *Arabic and Hebrew Love Poems,* p. 6.

Although it is tempting to stop at this two sentence summary and claim that it answers all of the questions that I am trying to answer, the most directly applicable portion of her book, only pages 3-9 of her introduction intertwine neatly with my own, without ever quite touching directly upon the same issues I discuss.[128] It is clear that the idea of where and how the *muwashshah* originated does captivate a number of scholars, and that some have come to similar conclusions as myself, despite in a partial way. However, nowhere have I found an author that does more than simply assume, whether implicitly or explicitly, there could be crucial influence from non-Arabic sources. It appears that the Hebrew *muwashshahs* post-date Arabic originals, given their recorded dates, and the way in which the Hebrew poems themselves use the style of the *muwashshah*, leaving the distinct Greco-Roman influence upon a European context as the remaining possibility [129] No one seems to have sought to prove the ways in which these cultural artifacts from (at least) two separate cultures could have come together to produce the *muwashshah*. No scholar has sought to indicate the twin sets of paradigm shifts that gave rise to the *muwashshah*. That said, Monroe's summary that these poetic forms are indubitably "of an Eastern and Arab origin"[130] falls short of being a hypothesis; it is a statement of faith and, unlike the proper chronicling of history, faith requires no proof.

Nevertheless, Lowin introduces an extra layer of complexity into the matter, separating the issue from the usual description of a dichotomy between Western

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[128]   Lowin, *Arabic and Hebrew Love Poems*, pp. 3-9, focusing on p. 5.
[129]   See Zwartjes, *Love Songs of al-Andalus*, pp. 81-83 and Lowin, *Arabic and Hebrew Love Poems*, pp. 1-21 for a more complete analysis of this chronology.
[130]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 6.

and Eastern. She points out that there are potential Arab-only explanations for the changes between the poetry of al-Andalus and the poetry of the desert peninsulas:

> With the rise of the Abbasid caliphate in 750 and its urbanization of Muslim Arab culture, Arabic poetry began to reflect this "new" lifestyle. Poems now spoke of gardens rather than deserts and of urban concerns rather than of desert nomad issues. Additionally, poems about wine and love of boys arose and flowered. As scholars have noted, a sense 'of sexual permissiveness pervades this period, with the poets and their compositions playing a large role in this arena.[131] All of these themes can be found in the poems of the "Golden Age" in Spain.[132]

This conclusion is not unique to Lowin. In fact, the author of this thesis has arrived at similar conclusions in previous work.[133] Spain, like Abbasid Baghdad, but unlike North Africa or the Arabian Peninsula, was an urban environment,[134] allowing similar themes to evolve convergently, that is, to appear almost identical but to arise independently.

Thus, as Lowin's introduction suggests, it is not enough to claim that the cities of al-Andalus are what transformed Arabian poetry into the *muwashshah*.[135] One must go beyond the simple opposition of urban al-Andalus and rural Arabian life to distinguish the proper making of a connection between non-Arabian context and Hispano-Arab experience. Lowin does not address this issue in detail; unlike

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[131]   Footnote in original as follows: Such poems appear to have served as a form of protest against the current political situation; the Abbasid government saw itself as the religious, righteous replacement for the Ummayads. See J.W. Wright, Jr. "Masculine Allusion and the structure of Satire in Early 'Abbasid Poetry," in *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature*," ed. J.W. Wright, Jr. and Everett K Rowson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997) 1-23. Baneth maintains that early on in the Abbasid period, it appeared as if Islam might be replaced. See David Tzvi Baneth, "Ha-Shirah ve-ha-Proza ha-Omanutit ba-Tequfa ha-'Abassit," in *Peraqim be-Toledot ha-'Avarim ve-ha-Islam*, ed. Lazarus-Yafeh, 333. Similarly, G.E. von Grunebaum writes that the first decades of the Abbasid Empire proved practically devoid of even casual religious poetry. Only with the generation that grew up under the officially pious Abbasid government do we begin to see the idea that God, or His will, stands behind everything and poems in honor of religion appear. See von Grunebaum, "The Early Development of Islamic Religious Poetry,"*JAOS* 60 (1940) 23-9.

[132]   Lowin, *Arabic and Hebrew Love Poems,* p. 6.

[133]   Sage, Geoffrey, "Poetry in the Peninsula: Love in Medieval Islamic Spain (and Beyond)," Unpublished MA thesis, University of Exeter, 2009, pp. 13-14.

[134]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 198.

[135]   Lowin, *Arabic and Hebrew Love Poems*, p. 4.

many of her predecessors (Zwartjes being a notable exception),[136] she does

acknowledge the subtleties of these distinctions.[137] Those subtleties, however, do

not preclude that there was something peculiarly non-Arab or non-Islamic that

assisted in the development of the *muwashshah*; heretofore, the identification of

what such complicating factors exist, and the attempted elimination of any

confounding influence from an analysis of the factors that gave rise to the

muwashshah, has not been attempted.

What then are we left with? Scholars who treat both the genesis and

descendants of the *muwashshah* as a simple topic, best seen as Arab → Hispano-

Arab → *troubadour*/North African/Arab; a scholar who sees the transmission as

only Arab → Hispano-Arab → North African/Arab; a scholar who acknowledges the

possibility of other origins: Arab/Iberian → Hispano-Arab →

troubadour/Hebrew/North African/Arab. The one analysis missing from each of

these chains is a true investigation of the possibility of a partial European origin:

Greco-Roman-Iberian/Arab → Hispano-Arab → *troubadour*/North African/Arab. Of

the two that that acknowledge the argument of a partial European influence, one

presents a complete dismissal[138] and the other only reports a secondhand

conclusion.[139]

More promising is their treatment of what one might term "what happened

after," that is, how these forms survived, potentially in both a European and Arab

context, and their cultural legacies. At the most basic level, all of them

acknowledge that one could make the argument for transmission between

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[136]   Lowin, *Arabic and Hebrew Love Poems*, p. 5.
[137]   Lowin, *Arabic and Hebrew Love Poems,* p. 6.
[138]   Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, pp. 147-180.
[139]   Lowin, *Arabic and Hebrew Love' Poems*, p. 6.

Hispano-Arab sources and Spain. To use the terminology underpinning my argument, every author indicates that the *muwashshah* may have engendered paradigm shifts of their own within both Christian, Latin-speaking Europe and the rest of the Arabic-speaking world. While one author is openly dismissive, others take the changes in Europe as a result of the influence of the *muwashshah* for granted, even if they do not acknowledge it in full, explicit detail, and one even goes beyond the standard dichotomy to examine the *muwashshah* in the Jewish Diaspora. In other words, the genealogy of the *muwashshah*'s descendants is somewhat clearer than that of their ancestors; the *muwashshah* represent for all authors the middle stage in a genealogy that grows progressively more comprehensible as the analysis moves closer towards the present..

However, again, there are a series of significant shortcomings in these scholarly analyses. Perhaps most glaringly from a *European* context, nowhere have I discovered a proper investigation of alternate or complementary chains of transmission beyond that described regarding William IX. Whether such a lack of investigation is a failure of imagination or a failure of evidence, one must acknowledge that the evidence as presented seems to suggest that William IX does not represent a complete explanation. Furthermore, the role and presence of the *muwashshah* in general seems to be hazy after Arabs stop commenting on the *muwashshahs* they gather, only to suddenly reappear in scholarship in the late 1940s, with evidence of direct survival within the regions of North Africa historically associated with Iberia into the 1970s and elsewhere beyond to the present day. Any paradigm shifts that take scholarship beyond the temporal limit of 645

AH/1248 CE or beyond the geographical borders of Iberia remain largely

unexplored.

2.3.   The Medieval Authors, Revisited

However, in terms of identifying scholarly trends in the *muwashshah* in

particular, the perspective of modern authors reflects broader historical realities.

Indeed, one of the peculiarities of the *muwashshah* is that medieval works of

scholarship provide the most evidence of their origins, audience, and survival.[140]

Most of those *muwashshahs* that exist today exist because of medieval authors

commenting on the works and laying out the boundaries for what constitutes a

proper *muwashshah*.[141] This classical preservation also provides the basis for

defining paradigm shifts within the history of the *muwashshah* and its

predecessors; they are those clear, sometimes abrupt, sometimes gradual

transitions within a historical tradition that fundamentally transform understanding,

and in the case of the *muwashshah* demonstrate the cultural blending inherent in

the form. Although the phrase "paradigm shift" may have been borrowed from the

philosophy of science, it is here where its applicability to the arts becomes clearer,

when beginning to discuss the disruptive position of the *muwashshah* within Arabic,

Hispano-Arabic, and non-Arabic, European poetry

Thus, unlike a more traditional literature review, one must consider not only

modern opinion on the origins and influences upon the *muwashshah*, but also to

attempt to respond to their earliest critics. While several commentators wrote about

the *muwashshah*, typically in a derisory aside,[142] three in particular have defined

how we understand the *muwashshah* today, Ibn Bassām (c. 450 AH/1058 CE to

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[140]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 28.
[141]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 72-89, 93.
[142]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 41, 46, 84.

541 AH/1147 CE), Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (c. 550 AH/1155 CE to 608 AH/1212 CE), and Ibn Khaldūn (c. 732 AH/1332 CE to 808 AH/1406 CE).[143] Given this, I have chosen address these earliest critics (whose works work lay out what makes a *muwashshah* a *muwashshah*), through the lens of the modern sources who provide the backbone of modern *muwashshah* studies.

In his paper "Andalusian Utterances in the *Kharjas* under the Constraints of *ʿArūḍ*," Federico Corriente laid out a basic chronology for the rise and fall of the *muwashshah*. The pertinent parts follow:

> 2) …At the end of this period most likely true *muwaššaḥs* come into being as a combination of both [proto-*zajals* and *musammaṭ*-like poems]: the stanzaic structure takes its basically definitive shape and parts of the *zajals* or proto-*zajals* are introduces as *kharjas* as an element of refreshing popular charm.
> 3) When the Taifa [sic] period sets in a taste for style variegation…sets in among Andalusians and *muwaššaḥs* gain the favour of aristocracy and commoners alike. For the first time, these poems are recorded…Good true *kharjas* being in short supply, the poets are forced to copy or invent them with mixed success.
> 4) During the Almoravid period the *muwaššaḥ* reigns supreme and even the *zajal* reaches literary recognition…
> 5) After the Almohad period, the decline begins. The *zajal* is soon barred from literary consideration…and even the *muwaššaḥ* loses ground and ends up by being an occasional exercise for some poets. [144]

The entire understanding of the understanding of the medieval commentators below, both Eastern and Western, may be put in terms of this chronology; moreover, Corriente's chronology allows for the clear temporalizing of culture shifts within Hispano-Arabic literature. In other words, while the *muwashshah* certainly underwent transformation during their heyday, they did not undergo full paradigm shifts within Iberia until after the end of the Almohad period.

Most of the medieval commentators wrote during the very end of the Almoravid period and into the Almohad, the twilight age of the *muwashshah*, and

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[143]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 30.
[144]   Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," p. 66. An analysis on the relationship of the *zajal* and *muwashshah* will be provided in chapter six, as will be an analysis of the role of the *musammat* to the *muwashshah*.

after, when the fresh composition of *muwashshah* was rare if not unknown.[145]

While their opinions are worth engaging and reflecting upon as part of

understanding historical opinions on the *muwashshah*, most critics were not

contemporary with the height of the art of the *muwashshah*; Ibn Bassām

represents the outlier writing concurrent with the Almoravid dynasty.

"The people of these lands [Spain] refuse but to follow in the footsteps of the

Easterners."[146] This statement by Ibn Bassām (d. 542/1147, two years after the fall

of the Almoravids[147]) represents the medieval (and for some authors, the modern)

conclusion of Arab and Islamic authors about the literati in Spain. To

contemporaries of the *muwashshah* writing in North Africa and Arabia, talent, like

the sun, sank in the west. What poems commentators felt worthy of preservation,

said commentators viewed as but inferior reflections of Arabian (or North African in

some cases) originals.[148] In their opinions, any paradigm shift between

Arabian/North African originals and Hispano-Arabic derivatives was solely to the

detriment of literature. However, such a simple dismissal of the entire corpus of

Andalusian poetry certainly has flaws, some of them quite critical to understanding

the classical role of the *muwashshah*.

Perhaps the most immediately glaring flaw, critics acknowledge that Eastern

interpretations of the *muwashshah* were *themselves* inferior to the Western

(usually significantly older) originals. The Arabic literary tradition maintained a great

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[145]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 28-30.
[146]   Ibn Bassām, cited in Abu-Haidar, J.A., trans., "The *Muwaššahat* in the Literary Life that Produced them,", p. 116.
[147]   Date as Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 28
[148]   Abu-Haidar, J.A., "The *Muwaššahat* in the Literary Life that Produced them," in Jones, Alan and Richard Hitchcock eds., *Studies of the* Muwaššah *and the* Kharja *[Proceedings of the Exeter International Colloquium]*, (London: Ithaca Press, 1991), pp. 116-117.

respect for older, established forms, even if they were aberrant, but moreover, critics (then and now, to some degree) maintained the consensus that all of the originality in the *muwashshah* had been expended decades, if not centuries, before North African attempts were made to imitate them. As a result, just as Eastern authors commented critically about the ability of the Western authors to write 'proper' Arabic poetry, they also admitted their own shortcomings about their ability to mimic Western modes, including the *muwashshah*.[149] While this admission stops short of approving of Western innovation, it does at least indicate that there was a quality metric in how the medieval commentators approached the *muwashshah*, as well as an acknowledgement of the existence of distinct divides between Arabian and Iberian styles.

Similar to these acknowledgements, distinct differences existed between the literary life itself in al-Andalus and Arabia or North Africa. While as noted previously, the urbanization of Arabia and North Africa brought with it a change in the language from the desert to the garden, those cities were still closer to the desert than al-Andalus. That is, the desert was both physically closer to Baghdad than to al-Andalus and Baghdad was physically closer to the desert than, say, Granada. As a result, the imagery of the gazelle or the camel still rang truer in Arabia than it did in southern Spain.[150] The standards for what constituted an authentic image or what spoke directly to the experiences of the audience were not identical across the whole of the Islamic world. Instead, the authors in Egypt and the rest of the Islamic world viewed the topos of the Western authors with

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[149]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 260.
[150]   Tuetey, Charles Greville, *Classical Arabic Poetry: 162 Poems from Imrulkais to Maʿarri*, (London: KPI Limited, 1985), pp. 86-87.

suspicion, as they did not necessarily speak to the Eastern experience.[151] Although

literary standards, as judged as reflecting Classical Arabic, might have remained

constant, the surrounding influences upon those standards were not identical.

These two flaws recur throughout any analysis of the medieval

commentators, reminding the modern author of the pre-eminence of the notion of

regionalism within Arabic literary circles. To medieval commentators, there were

clear distinctions between what constituted a proper 'Eastern' style poetic style and

what represented the decadent 'West.'[152] Commentators assumed the following:

while the geographical borders between east and west might grow hazy with cycles

of conquest and expulsion, the stylistic borders present as much more clearly

defined. Paradigm shifts might genuinely occur, but they represented a breakdown

in the proper preeminence of Eastern models; critics viewed any innovation such

as the *muwashshah* and *zajal* with suspicion.[153] The *muwashshah* and *zajal* clearly

represent a newly developed western Andalusian style, a subset of a new literary

paradigm within Hispano-Arabic culture contrasted with the classical forms of the

East.[154]

However, Ibn Bassām had a keener point to make than insulting Andalusian

writers. Indeed, he took issue with the dismissal of the west: "Whoever, I wished I

knew, restricted learning to a particular time, and made [literary] excellence an

Eastern preserve."[155] As Abu-Haidar, in his paper "The *Muwaŝŝahāt* in the Light of

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[151]   Compton, *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, pp. 3-4.
[152]   Compton, *Andalusian Lyric Poetry*, pp. 3-4.
[153]   Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 147; Abu-Haidar, "The *Muwaŝŝahat* in the Literary Life that Produced Them," pp. 115, 117.
[154]   Compton, *Andalusian Lyric Poetry*, pp. 3-7.
[155]   Ibn Bassām, cited in Abu-Haidar, trans., "The *Muwaŝŝahat* in the Literary Life that Produced them," p. 116. His opinion is ultimately that such a restriction unfairly circumscribes Western talent.

the Literary Life that Produced them," indicates immediately after his use of Ibn Bassām, "the reality which enraged Ibn Bassām was nothing less than a reality."[156] Repeatedly, not only did medieval commentators in Arabia and North Africa disparage the literary talents of their Andalusian peers, but also the inherent self-loathing in Andalusian writers shows through in self-assessment:

> I am [like] the sun resplendent in the spheres of learning,
> But my shortcoming is that I rise in the west.[157]

In the Andalusian tradition, "to write well in al-Andalus was to strive to equal what the Arabs in the East were writing. To excel was to beat the Easterners at their own literary exercises."[158] Taking that logic a step further, one can therefore determine that writing a *muwashshah*, *regardless of quality*, did not even register on the scale of writing well for the bulk of critics; the paradigm shift that allowed for the *muwashshah* negated the possibility of such poems being taken seriously within Arabic literary culture more broadly. They became in some ways non-poems, independent of being measured in the same ways as classical poems or poems within classical genres derived from classical models.

Ibn Bassām expounds further in his commentary on the *muwashshah* as a whole, summarized by Monroe as helping to "sum up all that is known…about the origin of the *muwhashshaha* [sic]:"[159]

> The first to fashion these meters of the *muwashshahat* in our country was – according to what has reached me – Muqaddam ibn Muʿāfā al-Qabrī, the blind, who used to fashion them out of hemistichs of poetry except that the majority of them were based on unusual

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[156]   Abu-Haidar, "The *Muwaššahat* in the Literary Life that Produced them," p. 116.
[157]   Ibn Ḥazm (383 AH/994 CE to 456 AH/1064 CE), cited in Abu-Haidar, J.A., trans., "The *Muwaššahat* in the Literary Life that Produced them," in Jones, Alan and Richard Hitchcock eds., *Studies of the* Muwaššah *and the* Kharja *[Proceedings of the Exeter International Colloquium]*, (London: Ithaca Press, 1991), p. 116.
[158]   Abu-Haidar, "The *Muwaššahat* in the Literary Life that Produced them," p. 117.
[159]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p 30.

meters rarely used…the metres of these *muwashshahat* go beyond the scope of our book, for most of them do not follow the rules of Arabic metrics.[160]

Even to medieval proponents of the *muwashshah*, preservers of "all that is known and much that is surmised about the origins of the *muwashshaha* [sic],"[161] the poems themselves fall outside the boundaries of normal explanation, evidence of a paradigm shift or shifts alien to the Arabian or North African experience. Thus, medieval thinking was as follows: we cannot group the *muwashshah* within the standard forms and meters of the day; we must therefore treat them as anomalies.[162] As they represent extreme deviations from the classical expected norms of Arabic poetry, Eastern commentators naturally viewed the *muwashshahs* with their *kharjas* with suspicion, reflective in some ways of the modern uncertainty of where to place the *muwashshah* in terms of derivation, and the general scholarly avoidance of exploring that topic. Such avoidance exists independently of any concern about the origins of the *muwashshah* or identifying a Golden Age of the *muwashshah*; it does not exist independently of identifying the historical trend of marginalizing *muwashshah* as a valid poetic form, beholden, yet not, to the rules laid down by Eastern predecessors.

 As mentioned previously, in addition to the scorn the Eastern authors heaped on Andalusians, there existed an internalized belief that Andalusian work in general paled in comparison to that of the East, classical or modern. For all of his failings at examining the potential of a connection between the *muwashshah* and classical Greco-Roman influences, Abu-Haidar quite deftly picks out the

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[160] Ibn Bassām, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), p. 28.
[161] Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic* Poetry, p. 30.
[162] Monroe points out that the anomaly may possibly be traced to a hybrid structure of "the Arabic and the Romance," a theory this thesis concurs with. Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry,* p. 30.

Andalusian perception, if not reality.[163] Commentators, in al-Andalus and further afield, dismissed; Andalusian work as reflections through a dark mirror, blurred attempts to reach the heights of Eastern greatness. Ibn Bassām's reflection that "if a crow should croak…in Syria or Iraq, they would…treat the crowing…as an authoritative text"[164] has an air of bitter dismissal of Iberian attempts to imitate their Eastern peers. But, his goal of "portray[ing] the merits of my own time, and…the achievements of the people of my country"[165] finds itself in direct opposition to the received wisdom of the age.

This conventional wisdom, that the poetry of the East was inherently better, however, did have explicit challenges from the west. While commentary, one *diwan* of *muwashshah* has preserved the following:

> "Don't you see that Ahmad can not [sic] be surpassed in
>   his great glory
> The West gave rise to him. So show us the likes
>   of him, oh, East!"[166]

This *kharja*, of uncertain attribution, takes a confrontational stand towards those commentators who would seek to dismiss the poet's words solely because the poet is Andalusian. While these words appear in a *kharja*, the section of the *muwashshah* often written from the point of view of an unreliable narrator, taken at face value, the sentiment is unmistakable.

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[163] Immediately after his summary of the Andalusian perception, he claims that any influence is limited to "an extension of the permutations of rhyme in Arabic prose to Arabic poetry."

[164] Ibn Bassām, cited in Abu-Haidar, trans., "The *Muwaššaḥat* in the Literary Life that Produced them," p. 116.

[165] Ibn Bassām, cited in Abu-Haidar, "The *Muwaššaḥat* in the Literary Life that Produced them," p. 116.

[166] Possibly Ibn Baqī, cited in Compton, Linda Fish, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry and Old Spanish Love Songs*: *The* Muwashshah *an/d Its* Kharja, (New York: New York University Press, 1976), no. 17, p. 27. Ibn Baqī died in either 540 AH/1145 CE or 545 AH/1150 CE.

However, multiple, possibly conflicting conclusions may be drawn from the statement's position in the poem, reflective of the *muwashshah*'s uncertain position in Arabic literature. First, the author could not believe his own words, and thus is placing them in the mouth of someone whose opinions will be immediately dismissed. Second, he believes what he is saying, but doubts that others will, and thus is giving voice to them in a manner that his critics can engage with or dismiss as they see fit. Third, he believes what he is saying, and is placing them in the poem as a direct challenge. Fourth, he does not care what critics think or where he puts them in the poem; they fill a stylistic or artistic need independent of their polemical tone, art for art's sake. Ultimately, regardless of form, the poem presents a clear challenge: the West has the ability to challenge and surpass the East, if only in this one narrow field.

A near contemporary of Ibn Bassām, the Egyptian Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk narrows the focus of the above discussion on general attitudes of the West and the East towards each other. Written no later than 607/1211, his work on the *muwashshah, Dar al-Tiraz*,[167] not only preserved the poems for future generations of scholars, but also set the rules, as he saw them, for the successful composition of *muwashshah*;[168] Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk has allowed for paradigm shifts to be traced, by comparing the events within both Greco-Roman and Arabic literary culture to be compared against his clear definition. As Abu-Haidar describes it, Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk "is carried away by the novelty and variability of the *muwashshahat* [sic], and feels a sense of exultation in regaling his readers with examples of the Andalusi

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[167]   House of Brocade (Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 127) or House of Embroidery (Compton, *Andalusian Love Poetry*, p. 3).
[168]   Abu-Haidar, Hispano-Arabic Literature, p. 43

muwashshahat, and others *of his own composition*."[169] While I will address as appropriate Abu-Haidar's further commentary on Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk in the chapter on Arabian and North African contemporaries of the *muwashshah*, one should note that that Abu-Haidar accuses Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk of not understanding "the literary background in which they developed."[170] This charge is quite grave, potentially fatal to relying upon Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk as an authority from which to trust his "'conditions' or stipulations for the *kharja*:"[171]

> Indeed, the *kharja*, if it is to be a 'sally' from the highly classical and studiedly elaborate, has to be a leap to the other extreme. It has to smack of the waywardness of Al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (*ḥajjājiyya*); it has to throw to the winds the stipulations of iʿrāb, as Ibn Quzmān did (*quzmāniyya*), and it has to be sharp, even caustic, vulgar, and if circumstances allowed, be in thieves' Latin (*lughāt al-dāṣṣa*).[172]

For now, let us merely trust Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's description of the *kharja* as "thrilling, enchanting, seductive"[173] as necessary.

However, Ibn Bassām and Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk both admit the possibility of a Romance origin for the *muwashshah*, and both literally claim that the *kharja*, as the foundation of the *muwashshah*, must come from a Romance original.[174] While Abu-Haidar points out the ambiguous nature of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's statement, claiming that his word choice only allows for Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk outlining the possibility of a Romance origin,[175] it is not Abu-Haidar's kneejerk reaction that deserves response here.[176] It is that the medieval commentators, the most prominent preservationists of the *muwashshah* tradition allow for a clear Romance origin; the medieval

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169 Abu-Haidar*, Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 43. Emphasis added.
170 Abu-Haidar*, Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 43.
171 Abu-Haidar*, Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 43.
172 Abu-Haidar*, Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 113, translation of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, *Dar al-Tiraz*, pp. 30-31.
173 Abu-Haidar*, Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 46, translation of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, *Dar al-Tiraz*, p. 41.
174 Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, pp. 114-115.
175 Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 114.
176 His additional criticisms will be addressed in chapters three to six.

commentators allow for a greater possibility of paradigm shifts than the modern authors do.

I find that the specific issue of their certainty or lack thereof is not the issue; as these authors are near-contemporaries of the origin of the *muwashshah*, I choose to err on the side of their reliability. Instead, just as one must respond to the modern debate, one must also respond to the originators of the theory of a Romance origin. While one may agree with the partial genesis of the *muwashshah* in a Romance, post-Latin context, derived in part from transitions within a Greco-Roman tradition, one finds that Abu-Haidar's analysis of the role of burlesque in the Hispano-Arab context[177] demonstrates that Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk may have been so in awe of a non-Western art form meeting his Eastern criteria that he may have neglected the *Arabic* cultural origins. The question of how these differing cultural identities intersected was ignored, in favor of promoting one genealogy at the expense of the other.

The other known scholar of the *muwashshah*, the Arab-Andalusian historian Ibn Khaldūn, both commenting on Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's *Dar al-Tiraz* and using its guidelines to define what constituted a *muwashshah*, was one of those to observe *"muwashshat* written by Easterners are often forced."[178] He notes Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's efforts, perhaps due to Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's great reverence and enthusiasm for the form, as exceptions.[179] Ibn Khaldūn goes on to quote approvingly Ibn Hazmun: "a *muwaššaha* [sic] is not a *muwaššaha*, until it is entirely free from

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[177]   Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 42-53.
[178]   Ibn Khaldūn, cited in Zwartjes, Otto, trans., *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, (Leiden: Brill, 1997), p. 254.
[179]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 254.

forced artificiality."[180] Ibn Khaldūn regards this artifice, often a result of the

muwashshah composed outside its natural environment by those without

connection to their origins, as dragging down much of the Egyptian and Arabian

attempts to compose *muwashshah*.[181] To some extent, one may see it not just as a

series of cultural grades, but as a certain professional envy that led eastern writers

to deride the *muwashshah* as contemptuously beneath notice; if a North African or

Arabian poet who could compose decent, well-crafted verse on traditional Arab

themes could not turn out a good *muwashshah*, perhaps they were not worth

turning out.

The great conflict between Hispano-Arab writers and Eastern authors finds

expression in Ibn Khaldūn's analysis of style and register:

> A Spaniard has no understanding of the eloquence of Maghribi poetry. Maghribis have none
> for the eloquence of the poetry of Easterners or Spaniards, and Easterners have none for
> the eloquence of Spaniards and Maghribis. All of them use different dialects and word
> combinations. Everyone understands eloquence in his own dialect and has a taste for the
> beauties of the poetry of his own people.[182]

Here, with Ibn Khaldūn, do we find the first attempts at scholarly analysis of the

muwashshah, relying on Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's *Dar al-Tiraz* to provide the intellectual

foundations for analysis of what constitutes a true *muwashshah*. And

simultaneously, we already find the lamentations that the East does not understand

the West.

Given Ibn Khaldūn's comment that "everyone understands eloquence in his

own dialect,"[183] we can begin to decipher the links from the early commentators on

the *muwashshah* to identifying the cultural origins of the *muwashshah*, allowing us

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[180]   Ibn Khaldūn, cited in Zwartjes, trans., *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 254.
[181]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 46, 253-254.
[182]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 255.
[183]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 255.

to trace the paradigm shifts within Arabic literary culture, those both allowing the *muwashshah* to arise and for it to survive outside its native Iberian environment. While modern authors have set out their own genealogies, we can look back to these early commentators to see how those first genealogists described how they saw the origins of the *muwashshah*. To be fair, they did not speak to the precise cultural origins of the *muwashshah*. They did not identify whether they came from the derivation of Arabic originals or whether there; was some sort of link to the Romance poetry of the north, or even, to use imagery those medieval Eastern commentators might approve of, whether some sort of aberration, even adulteration, arose from these writers being so far away from the Arab heartland. But, they did all locate its origins in the West, and that is where we must begin our search for the proper origins of the *muwashshah*, regardless of specific influences.

2.4. Standing on the Shoulders of Giants

Where then, are we, after examining these points of view? Should we credit the Eastern poets (*not* the commentators) with the sole influences of the *muwashshah*? Should we give heed to any one single genealogy of the *muwashshah*? Certainly, each of these authors has their own pet theory, typically revolving around the percentage of Eastern influence and spontaneous Andalusian inspiration, implicitly accepting or dismissing any paradigm shift to suit those theories. Most, if not all, share the same common weak point: the reluctance to credit that Andalusian inspiration to a partial post-Roman milieu. The attribution by this thesis of the partial origins of the form to another influence does *not* seek to explain the *muwashshah* away as some aberrant form of Latinate poetry.

Instead, it explicitly acknowledges that the authors of the *muwashshah* crafted a hybrid form, more than the sum of individual stylistic devices or images

borrowed from Eastern or Western antecessors, giving rise to a hybridization within Hispano-Arabic culture. Unlike some of its predecessors, it pays particular attention to the intersection of multiple cultures, how the poetry of the *muwashshah* represents not just an Arab form nor a mysterious, spontaneously generated, Andalusian miracle. Instead, it represents a culmination of cultural exchange between the west and the east, the product of multiple paradigm shifts, something author after author, medieval and modern, have neglected to consider seriously. This thesis does not claim to be able' to correct every error, but it does claim to be able to shed some light on the interchange between classical Arab forms and the contemporary Romance equivalent, culminating in the emergence of the *muwashshah*.

3. Greco-Roman Antecedents to the *Muwashshah*
3.1. Overview

Unlike in Arabia proper, where the only predecessors to medieval poetic

forms were in the same language, descended from or direct examples of the same

styles, and had a high degree of thematic similarity, al-Andalus inherited from not

one, but from two distinct major poetic traditions. Instead, the origins of Andalusi

forms reflected a more complex descent than their Arabian contemporaries

possessed; whereas Arabia had a single tree with many branches, al-Andalus had

trees intertwining to the point that one could no longer identify any one branch as

belonging to a specific tree. In addition to the Arabic and Arabian antecedents of

the *muwashshah* (to be examined in the subsequent chapter), there existed a

Greco-Roman substratum underlying their origins and initial expression. This

dichotomy of Greco-Roman and Arabian is not to discount the potential influence of

Berber or other North African sources; however, the cultural hegemony of Arabic

meeting the cultural hegemony of the Greco-Roman world mitigates much of any

potential influence from these sources. Instead, North Africa takes a starring role in

the post-Andalusian world as the preserver of the muwashshah form. The direct

predecessors and influences upon the *muwashshah* are in part Greco-Roman and

in part Arabic.

This Greco-Roman influence primarily took the form of a shift in the basic

paradigms underlying Arabic poetry in the West; changes from classical Arabic

poetry in Arabia to new forms in al-Andalus demonstrated an understanding of

Arabian and Islamic assumptions that hybridized with the Greco-Roman

assumptions that had existed in Iberia for centuries. An underlying tradition of

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Greco-Roman poetics merged with the incoming Arabian forms to create these new hybridized styles.

Prior to the historically attested emergence of the *muwashshah* and during their heyday the Arabic-speaking world, including within al-Andalus, already possessed knowledge of Greco-Roman theories of poetics. For example, Ibn Rushd (Averroës) produced a key commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* during the heyday of the *muwashshah*.[184] While the Aristotelian philosophy of poetry applied predominantly to tragedy (as expressed on the stage), many of its rules and conceptualizations applied to short, lyric poetry, and indeed, Aristotle claimed that lyric poetry was a component part of tragedy.[185] As a result, one may see the same rules that Aristotle lays down as applying to tragedy (especially in his fifth section, specifically addressing lyric poetry) as applying to these specific components, as will be discussed throughout this chapter.

The rise of the combined Hispano-Arab forms, including the *muwashshah*, demonstrates how the Greek philosophy of poetry, as interpreted by Romans, was adapted for use in a language that used different principles of organizing poetry.[186] In brief, Greek poetry primarily relied on syllable length and meter for organization; Arabic poetry relied primarily on the presence of mid-line and end line rhyme. The strophic form of the *muwashshah* represents a partial compromise of these two

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[184]   Averroës, *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, Butterworth, Charles E., trans., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986). Ibn Rushd's (520 AH/1126 CE to 594 AH/1196 CE) observations include that "most of their [the Arabs] poems are only about overwhelming desire and yearning," (p. 67) recurring themes throughout the *muwashshah* and *zajal* that find mediation via Aristotelian rules. For information about the manuscripts and editions used to prepare the translation of Ibn Rushd, see Butterworth, Charles, *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. xiii-xv.
[185]   Aristotle, Halliwell, trans., *Poetics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), pp. 48-51.
[186]   . See Butcher, S.H., *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, (London: Macmillan and Co, 1923), pp.140-141 and Corriente, Federico, "Again on the Metrical System of *Muwaššah* and *Zajal*," *Journal of Arabic Literature*, Vol. 17 (1986), p. 35.

principles; while still relying on previous Arabic forms and their use of rhyme (as will be discussed in chapter 4), they also adhere to the rules laid down by Aristotle.[187] The resulting Hispano-Arab forms, descended from both traditions, demonstrate a blending of their distinct influences into a single, cohesive whole.

Similarly, many of the topos developed in the *muwashshah* echoed themes in what Greco-Roman poetry survived into the Muslim period. Although the Visigoths ended up ruling over what became al-Andalus in the period between the Roman and the Muslim periods, their literary and linguistic contribution was limited. Few words of originally Visigothic origin have survived into modern Spanish, and those that did are predominantly place names, versus the distinct Arabic influence upon modern Spanish. In parallel, while it is more difficult to prove that any single theme had Greco-Roman origins versus Arabian ones, one can clearly identify how Aristotelian philosophy underlay much of the Hispano-Arabic corpus, as well as trace how certain) themes appeared more prominently in the *muwashshah* than in any sort of alternative Arabic contemporary.

3.2.   A Historical Perspective

Aristotle's *Poetics* became the formative text for what constituted classical poetry, as understood by medieval commentators, regardless of religion and linguistic background. It represented a shift between the ways in which poetry had historically (before Aristotle) been understood and the rise of classical poetry. Aristotle was not the first nor the last to try to categorize poetry; he however had a lasting impact not shared by any of his predecessors or successors. He did not simply describe his contemporaries and their works (primarily written for the stage

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[187]   While not a *muwashshah* author, Ibn Rushd may be seen as a complement to the *muwashshah* tradition, as a a Hispano-Arabic writer addressing Aristotle's *Poetics* in depth.

and sharing certain stereotypical features),[188] but also provided commentary on how an author should present that poetry (especially performed tragedy) to an audience:

> We are to discuss both poetry in general and the capacity of each of its genres; the canons of plot construction needed for poetic excellence; also the number and character of poetry's components, together with the other topics which belong to the same enquiry – beginning, as is natural from first principles.
> …
> Now epic and tragic poetry…are…taken as a whole, kinds of mimesis…So too all the poetic arts mentioned produce mimesis in rhythm language, and melody.[189]

Despite his consideration of the breadth of the poetic genres recognized by the Greeks, Aristotle, at least in his surviving works, focused almost solely on the tragedy, as performed on the stage. However, though his observations relied on the publicly performed tragedies, his deductions translate from the stage to the lyric poetry of classical Greek and Latin, as well as individual episodes in the epic traditions of Greek and Rome:

> Epic and tragedy have some components in common, but others are peculiar to tragedy. So whoever knows about good and bad tragedy knows the same about epic, as epic's resources belong to tragedy, but tragedies are not all to be found in epic.[190]

By providing these commentaries and reflecting on the nature of what makes a successful poem (or successful portion of a longer poetic work), as well as organizing his commentaries into a collected work, he provided the foundation of an initial paradigm shift, the first of three relevant to' the origins of the *muwashshah*. Despite the initially limited impact of the *Poetics* within Greek culture, it demonstrated a shift from the conception of considering older tragedies and epics following certain rules as stereotypes to the idea that a uniting

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[188]   Halliwell, Stephen, ed., *Poetics*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 1999, pp.9-15.
[189]   Aristotle, Halliwell, trans., *Poetics*, pp. 28-29.
[190]   Aristotle, Halliwell, trans., *Poetics*, pp. 46-47. As lyric poetry is one of the components of tragedy, one can extrapolate that Aristotle presumes that one who knows about good and bad tragedy knows all there is to know about good and bad poetry generally.

philosophy underlay poems viewed as successful.[191] While he was not the only

philosopher of his time to address the topic, the later influence Aristotle had on

medieval philosophy (Arabic and Islamic as well as European and Christian) meant

that the first true poetics with lasting impact was a formalist, Aristotelian

approach.[192]

Aristotle's *Poetics* primarily addresses the stage tragedy and its perceived

superiority to the epic of its time. At the most basic level, it describes the features

and functions of the tragedy, with some commentary on how the integral parts of

the tragedy may translate to other forms of poetry:

> Since actors render the mimesis, some part of tragedy will, in the first place, necessarily be the arrangement of spectacle; to which can be added lyric poetry and diction, for these are the media in which they render the mimesis…Tragedy as a whole must have six components, which give it its qualities – namely, plot, character, diction, thought, spectacle, and lyric poetry.[193]

Instead of treating an isolated work devoid of context, however, he deduced what

he believed the rules of what creates a superior poem (tragedy) to be, including an

analysis of what constitutes poetic language as separate from language that is not

poetry.[194]

Aristotle does not provide a single list of rules in a single place, as Corriente

does a chronology, but rather distributes his lists of specific ways in which poetry

may be identified throughout the *Poetics*; as a result, each of the specific rules the

muwashshah adheres to will be addressed in the order they appear. Perhaps most

crucial at the first stage of discussion is the claim that "even if someone should

produce mimesis in a medley of all the metres…he ought still to be called a

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[191]   Aristotle, Halliwell, trans., *Poetics,* pp. 48-51.
[192]   Halliwell, *Poetics*, p. 11, though he takes issue with terming Aristotle's setting down of rules "formalist."
[193]   Aristotle, Halliwell, trans., *Poetics*, pp. 48-49.
[194]   Aristotle, Halliwell, trans., *Poetics*, pp. 30-33.

poet."[195] This understanding is an explicit acceptance of what Arabian writers deemed suspect; the combining of multiple forms in a single work. While the *muwashshah* had no specific metre, the *kharja* and the body of the *muwashshah* represent distinct pieces brought together.

Furthermore, there is an analysis of what the role of a speaker is within poetry. Unlike other typical forms common to the *Arabic* tradition, the role of a distinct speaker is part of the *muwashshah* tradition. Introduced with the rote "he says" or "she says," there is a definite dialogue present within the *muwashshah*.[196] Even when the first part contains no dialogue, the second adheres to Aristotle's point that "the conveying of emotions (pity, fear anger, etc.),"[197] in this case encompassing those features accentuated by the tonal shift between the *muwashshah* and *kharja*, "must be conveyed by the speaker in and through speech."[198] For example, the dismissiveness of the lover, mourned in the body of the *muwashshah* should become an explicit feature of the poem within the *kharja*. The non-Arabic tradition lacks these tonal shifts and transitions into dialogue.[199]

However, perhaps the most important rule laid down by Aristotle that the *muwashshah* reflects is the following:

> ...By deviating in exceptional cases from the normal idiom, the language will gain distinction; while, at the same time the partial conformity with usage will give perspicuity. The critics, therefore are in error who censure these licenses of speech, [or] hold the author up to ridicule... to employ such license at all *obtrusively* is, no doubt, grotesque; but in any mode of poetic diction there must be moderation. Even metaphors, strange (or rare) words, or any similar forms of speech would produce the like effect if used without propriety and with the express purpose of being ludicrous.[200]

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[195]   Aristotle, Halliwell, trans., *Poetics*, pp. 32-33.
[196]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 249-250.
[197]   Aristotle, Halliwell, trans., Poetics, pp. 96-97.
[198]   Aristotle, Halliwell, trans., Poetics, pp. 96-97.
[199]   See Allen, Roger, *The Arabic Literary Heritage: The Development of its Genres and Criticisms*, (New York: Cambridge University Press), 1998, pp. 138-148 for an introduction to the 'standard' layout of an early Arabic poem.
[200]   Emphasis added.

Here, it becomes necessary to note two items about Aristotle's commentary. First, he approves of the artistic, stylized usage of such features of the *kharja* as long as it is in moderation. Second, he emphasizes that clever departure from the normal modes of speech elevates art. Thus, one may conclude that as the *kharja* is a stylized feature specific to the *muwashshah*, it falls within these boundaries he has set.

Further, one may draw a distinction between Aristotelian poetics, which the *muwashshah* adheres to, and the poetics of Arabia, which condemn departures from the normal usage of Classical Arabic. One of Aristotle's next comments furthers this idea: "It is important to use aptly each of the features [of wordplay and art] mentioned…but much the greatest asset is a capacity for metaphor."[201] Using the common pool of Arabic metaphors, as will be discussed in the next chapter, but translating them into a Hispano-Arabic context demonstrates such a command, despite it being viewed as suspect by Arabian culture.

Although the *Poetics* deconstructs the idea of poetry into a collection of distinct parts, it is not entirely essentialist. To Aristotle, a poem's status as good or artistic only exists if it meets the specific criteria within each individual part. According to Aristotle, beauty in a single area is not enough; there must be an internal consistency within the other parts of the poem or tragedy.[202] By separating out the elements of a poem, Aristotle was able to identify what he felt constituted an art form, thereby allowing him to create formal rules for the creation of art:

> The difference between the historian and the poet is not that between using verse or prose; Herodotus' work could be versified and would be just as much a kind of history in verse as in prose. No, the difference is this: that the one relates actual events, the other the kinds of

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201   Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. Halliwell, pp. 114-115.
202   Aristotle, Halliwell, trans., *Poetics*, 114-121.l

things that might occur. Consequently, poetry is more philosophical and elevated than history, since poetry relates more of the universal, while history relates particulars.[203]

Again, this formalization allowed the first paradigm shift: the setting down of clear, consistent standards to identify a strong work from a weak one. Works that may have previously been judged by how closely they conformed to agreed-upon stereotypes of the genre or from a gut reaction now had those stereotypes deconstructed and formalized.[204]

The second paradigm shift consisted of the translation of these Greek rules to a Roman context, both in a purely linguistic sense and a broader cultural shift. Where the formalization Aristotle created for the Greek-speaking East had little adoption during his lifetime, the long-lasting influence of Aristotle truly began with Rome.[205] His rules became the definitive understanding of Greek philosophy for the Roman elite, especially as applied to rhetoric and poetics, adopted as crucial to the creation of art. The themes Aristotle developed, especially the themes of consistency of action and characterization, became the definitive understanding of how to create a good poem. Epic poetry, lyric poetry, and the stage all adopted the formalist rules of Aristotle as a foundation for their craft. While many of Aristotle's rules today may seem like common sense rather than a codified set of formal rules, this assumption speaks to the ubiquity of the philosophy of Aristotle's *Poetics* throughout Western history, a legacy both of the influence of Rome as well as the preservation of independent strands of Aristotelian thought in Iberia and medieval

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[203]   Aristotle, Halliwell, trans., *Poetics*, pp. 58-61. Despite Aristotle's limiting his claim to "'universal' mean[ing] the kinds of things which it suits a certain kind of person to say or do," one can extrapolate that the emotions roused by poetry are universal human emotions. A comparison of whether these emotions truly translate across cultures is beyond the scope of this thesis; however, as the *muwashshah* may be shown to descend from Greco-Roman influences, it is fair to say that they fall within the scope of Aristotle's commentary on the term "universal."
[204]   Aristotle, Halliwell, trans., *Poetics*, *passim* but especially 114-121.
[205]   Halliwell, *Poetics*, p. 3.

Europe.[206] The great tragedies of Aristotle's day, the epic tradition of the *Aeneid*, and modern filmmaking all demonstrate concepts that Aristotle describes: for example, the idea that an audience must not be confused, or that actions should always follow logically from the action that preceded them.[207]

Therefore, then, there is a continuity from the first paradigm shift, the laying down of rules, to the second that had an impact upon the *muwashshah*: the widespread adoption of Aristotelian rules by Latin-speaking Romans. As Romans adopted the idea of a Greek education as the highest standard, they at the same time syncretized the philosophy of the Greeks with Roman cultural assumptions, creating the opportunity for these formalist Aristotelian rules to spread. While the specific claims of the *Poetics* may not have been explicitly or individually acknowledged, the foundational ideas appear to have permeated the Latin descendants of the Greek poets.[208]

The rigid rules that Aristotle laid out suited a Roman culture predicated on formal laws, whether civic or cultural. This integration of Greek philosophy into Roman culture meant that the highest echelons of the Roman artistic world were working within a cultural structure supported by Aristotle's philosophy of poetry, whether formally acknowledged or not. Virgil's *Aeneid* demonstrates an at least subconscious understanding of the unity of character praised by Aristotle. Throughout, Aeneas shows a dedication to duty, from the fall of Troy, with his

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[206]   "It is tempting to say that this long, sometimes fraught story [the constant use of the *Poetics*] has left its scars on the work's standing. But it has also marked it out as a somewhat indomitable "survivor," whose historically formative role and continued salience no one interested in the development of Western attitudes to literature can afford to ignore." Halliwell, *Poetics*, p. 21.
[207]   See Aristotle, Halliwell, trans., *Poetics*, pp. 48-63 for his setting down of these key concepts.
[208]   Halliwell makes the claim that "the treatise [the *Poetics*] seems never to have been widely known or read," while in the same breath acknowledging the "recurrent of Aristotelianism within the development of Greco-Roman literary criticism." Halliwell, *Poetics*, p. 3.

rescue of Anchises, to the foundation of Rome. While this example comes from the

epic tradition that Aristotle viewed as somewhat derivative, the rules Aristotle laid

down apply not just to a Greek tragic context, but also to all forms of poetry:

> As regards tragedy [including lyric poetry] and epic, the number and distinguishing features of their varieties and components, the reasons for success and failure in them, and criticisms and their solutions, let this count as sufficient discussion.[209]

While Aristotle made some attempt to generalize his rules in the *Poetics* by

addressing tragedy as containing within it all other genres, it was the Romans who

truly universalized them, allowing them to spread beyond the qualifiers that

Aristotle placed.

This universalization from a narrow origin within the Greek (Athenian) tragic

tradition (despite Aristotle's claim that tragedy encompassed lyric and epic), with

many of the individual rules applying predominantly to stage plays,[210] had a lasting

impact, the result of the spread of the Roman Empire throughout Europe, Western

Asia, and North Africa. By the time of the spread of Arabic-language poetry and

Islam into Iberia, the basic tenets of Aristotelian philosophy had underlain both

philosophy and literary culture in the former Roman Empire for hundreds of

years.[211] While there are distinct discontinuities in the ruling culture of Iberia, from

Roman to Visigothic to Islamic, these discontinuities produced little effect. Hispania

– the modern Iberian Peninsula – the frontier of the Roman world, generally had a

limited impact on the rest of the Roman Empire, notwithstanding the fact that five

emperors originally hailed from different parts of Hispania. However, the area

possessed a partial insulation from the upheavals of the decline of the Western

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[209]   Aristotle, Halliwell, trans., *Poetics*, pp. 140-141.
[210]   Aristotle, Halliwell, trans., *Poetics*, pp. 48-49.
[211]   Halliwell, *Poetics*, p. 3.

Roman Empire, despite a transition to Visigothic rule, as a result of this frontier status.

However, after the Arabicizing of the Iberian Peninsula and the creation of al-Andalus, the philosophy of Aristotle flowed back into Iberia. While it did not come directly from Hispania, translated through the Visigoths and preserved by a relic population of the educated elite, but rather brought from Eastern translations and interpretations of the text,[212] it fell on fertile ground. Facts and theories that may have been treated as academic or scholarly curiosities in the East, if important to the development of Islamic philosophy, found themselves at the forefront of Western Islamic thinking.[213] al-Andalus and its successor states provided opportunity for a reexamination of Aristotelian philosophy, carrying with them not just the texts and philosophers, but an environment rich with the history of the Roman adoption of Greek poetics. The location itself, possessing both a legacy of Greco-Roman culture and a maintained frontier status, lent itself to continuing the paradigm shift that ultimately culminated in the *muwashshah*.

Thus, the third paradigm shift represents not an adoption of Greco-Roman philosophy wholesale into Arabic poetry, but the same syncretism evinced by the Hispano-Arab commentators on Aristotle. Not unlike the Roman adoption of Greek rules,[214] the absorption and reinterpretation of Aristotle into Islamic philosophy (epitomized by Ibn Rushd), and a harmonization of Aristotelian ideals (or some of them) into accord with Islamic philosophy demonstrates a change in the basic assumptions of poetics:

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[212] Butterworth, *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, pp. xi-xii.
[213] Butterworth, *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, p. x.
[214] Each paradigm shift demonstrates a continued theme, the adoption of set rules first into Greek, then Latin (Roman), and now Arabic (Andalusian).

Here, you will discover…that in comparison with what is in this book of Aristotle and in the *Rhetoric* what the people of our tongue [Arabic] know about poetical rules is a mere trifle. Neither how the latter rules go back to the former nor what is correct and what incorrect in what they mention about these things is obscure to you.[215]

While the Arabic-speaking East was aware of Aristotle and his theorizing, his work did not have the same impact there as it did in the West; Ibn Sina (Avicenna) wrote rebuttals and criticisms of Aristotle rather than the open commentary style of Ibn Rushd. In part, the separate histories and geographic realities of Iberia as distinct from those of Persia and the Arabian Peninsula account for some of these distinctions, as well as the difference in time between Ibn Sina and Ibn Rushd. Ibn Rushd had an additional one hundred and fifty years of commentary and interpretation, give or take, to draw on than Ibn Sina. While one cannot say that Ibn Rushd, writing his philosophical commentaries at the same time that the *muwashshahs* were enjoying their greatest popularity, adopted Aristotelian philosophy wholesale, he represented a great defender of Aristotelian philosophy within the Islamic world.[216]

Ibn Rushd reflects a greater historical trend; he is an exemplar of what the third paradigm shift allowed, a hybridization of classical Greek (and Roman) thought with pre-existing Islamic philosophy. While there are other areas that demonstrate this recombination, the absorption of poetics external to pre-existing Arabic models into the literary language of Arabic-speaking al-Andalus goes

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[215]   Averroës, Butterworth, trans., *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, p. 142.
[216]   Paradoxically, Ibn Rushd, as Averroës, had perhaps greater success in Christian Europe. His commentaries on Aristotle led to the popularization of Aristotle and his philosophy in the Christian West; his reputation as a scholar led Dante to place Averroës in Limbo with the virtuous pagans of pre-Christian Greece and Rome.

beyond the rarified arenas of philosophy and into the immediate culture of the

Hispano-Arabic arts:[217]

> [Aristotle] said: therefore only that which brings these two things together [meter and representation] should truly be called a poem. It is more appropriate to call [the statements of Socrates and the statements of Empedocles about natural phenomena] statements than to call them to call them poems. Likewise, it is more appropriate to call someone who makes measured statements about natural phenomena a dialectician than to call him a poet. Nor are imitative statements made up of mixed meters poems. He relates that such things – I mean, mixed meters – were to be found among them [the Greeks] but they are not found among us.[218]

Ibn Rushd here directly compares the broad philosophy contained in Aristotle's

Poetics to the reality of Arabic language poetry; combining meters is not a feature

of Arabic poetics. While the comparison of Aristotelian poetics and Arabic poetry

may have only happened at the elite philosophical level, there exists enough of a

combination to identify the influence of this third paradigm shift. Ironically, with the

preponderance of metaphor and allusion within the *muwashshah*, not to mention

the use of loan words in the *kharja*, this genre violates a certain subset of

Aristotle's rules, an interesting display of the hybrid nature of these two poems, and

further reflective of the fact that there were two influencing cultures.

The history of the *Poetics*, by the time that the *muwashshah* developed and

become part of the standard Andalusian literary culture, represents a consistent

influence throughout several cultural changes. The initial shift, the codification of

what constitutes a "good" tragedy, redefined what poetry was, what it should

constitute, and what it should accomplish. The second shift, the universalization of

these rules from a specific emphasis on Greek tragedy to a set of laws that could

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[217]   It seems likely that the *muwashshah* and *zajal* would likely have shocked Aristotle: "Impressive and above the ordinary is the diction that uses exotic language (by "exotic" I mean loan words, metaphors… and all divergence from the standard). But if one composes entirely in this vein, the result will be either a riddle or barbarism – a riddle, if metaphors predominate; barbarism, if loan words."

[218]   Averroës, Butterworth, trans., *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, p. 65.

apply to virtually any work, allowed the widespread adoption of Aristotle's *Poetics* as the foundational text of literary poetry. This third shift was unique to the Hispano-Arabic world;[219] a reflection of the interaction between Arabian/Islamic conceptualizations of what constituted proper poetry and the underlying stratum of Aristotle, both within philosophy and as it implicitly underlay the cultural constructs of Europe. These paradigms and the changes from one to the next allowed the creation of uniquely Hispano-Arabic poetry distinct from either strain of its predecessors.

3.3.   The Geographic Divide

As seen above, the genealogy of the *muwashshah* is not a simple, straight line. Even within the more straightforward Arabic context, it must contend with the transmission of themes and styles not only through time, but also across thousands of miles. Tracing this genealogy must include addressing the transmission of poetry not only between native Arabic speakers, but also through a settling population of al-Andalus composed mostly of Berbers, not of Arabs, into the population of a region speaking an entirely unrelated language. One cannot prune the family tree back to a single trunk and twig. Instead, one must understand the complexities of the Arabic and Arabian influences in order to identify the development of the *muwashshah* in a Hispano-Arabic context.

However, the origins of the *muwashshah* are not only Arabic or Arabian. These two forms developed not in the Arabian heartland of the Arabic language,

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[219]   While a certain parallel development occurred in Christian-speaking Europe, with the "rediscovery" of Aristotle, his laws of poetics had never stopped being the guidelines for Western art, nor had an outsider culture arrived and recombined their own philosophy of poetry with Aristotle. Therefore, it is most appropriate to limit the third paradigm shift to the Hispano-Arabic world, with the clear cultural interactions between the Islamic world (represented by Arabia and North Africa) and the Christian (represented by the northern Spanish kingdoms).

with only the minimum contact (via trade) with 'outliers,' but they arose in a mixed, cosmopolitan environment, which had its own poetic traditions. al-Andalus, especially in the larger cities, presented a more likely environment for innovation, both socially and culturally, than an Arabian homeland or the heart of political power in Iraq.[220] On the frontier of both the Arab and Roman worlds, its ties to the government centers of Bagdad and Rome, and their successors, were weaker than more centralized provinces.[221] Likewise, the ties between al-Andalus and the cultural standards of Egypt, Baghdad, and Arabia were weaker.[222] While in al-Andalus one might find the same styles of poetry that Arabic speakers in Arabia lauded, there was sufficient cultural distance between the two to allow for innovation not based on the strict interpretation of existing forms:

> The coined, improvised noun is one invented by the poet, he being the first one to employ it. Though not found in the poems of the Arabs, this is found in emerging arts. Most of what is in the arts is transferred rather than coined and invented. Sometimes the modern poets employ it – I mean, the transferred noun – in a metaphorical manner with respect to the arts.[223]

In this discussion, Ibn Rushd distinguishes between traditional poetry written in Arabia (the poems of the Arabs) and the modern poets of al-Andalus' successors (the *muwashshah* poets especially.). As Ibn Rushd realized, these radical differences happened more quickly at the frontier than at the cultural heartland, more interested in preserving existing modes of art. Consequently, the innovative qualities of al-Andalusian art presented, quite apart from any quality judgment, a

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[220]   Wiegers, Gerard, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), His Antecedents and Successors,* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), p. 29.
[221]   Moreno, Eduardo Manzano, "Christian-Muslim Frontier in Al-Andalus: Idea and Reality" in Agius, Dionisius A. and Richard Hitchcock, eds., *The Arab Influence in Medieval Europe*, (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1994), pp. 84-86.
[222]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 6.
[223]   Averroës, Butterworth, trans., *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, p. 122.

challenge to traditional standards of art. This challenge lent itself to the East-West debate between the collectors of *diwans*.

Furthermore, there existed a difference in the peers that poets had in al-Andalus and their Eastern contemporaries in the East. In the Arabic centers of Egypt, Arabia, and Baghdad, Arabic-speaking, Arabic-writing poets had chiefly other Arabic speakers to look to for any influence. While Arabic-speaking scholars had preserved the majority of the philosophical texts that survived the Roman Empire, what became al-Andalus had been a repository of the very styles and themes that those philosophical texts described. While the Arabic scholars may have had access to the knowledge of the ancient Western world, they did not have access to the living traditions found in Spain. To Arabia, Aristotle's *Poetics* were a curiosity, not a text that would resonate more immediately with poets. Instead, in al-Andalus, the required elements for the third paradigm shift identified above allowed for the partial adoption of Greco-Roman rules into an Arabic context.

Therefore, then, a disconnect may already be identified in what previous scholars have identified as the genealogy of the *muwashsha*. Rather than the form being strictly Arabian in their natural origins,[224] the Greco-Roman antecedents already existing in Spain affected them. Although the precise proportion of Greco-Roman influence as compared to Arabian is unknown,[225] it appears that the potential 'Western' influence is far more than what most scholars have ignored or

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[224]   There exists a limited willingness to ascribe vague 'Iberian' themes within the *muwashshah* or *zajal*: "On the one hand, [James Monroe] writes, that there is no doubt that native Iberian elements appear in the strophic forms of poetry that arose in Muslim Spain. However, Monroe insists, [sic] Hispano-Arabic poetry is without a doubt of Eastern and Arab origin." Lowin, *Arabic and Hebrew Love Poems,* p. 6. However, scholars have not clearly identified potential points of origin, such as the *Poetics*, of these elements or themes.

[225]   As well as the proportions of any North African or Jewish influences.

understated.[226] The nature of the *muwashshah* already represents a compromise between traditional Arabic notions of what constituted proper poetry and the Greco-Roman lyric tradition. The strophe itself is a Western conceptualization, rarely found in Semitic languages.[227] Indeed, some scholars dismiss the idea of the strophe in Arabic or Hebrew as a misinterpretation of the poetry provided, identifying them as the victims of poor copying or poor paleography.[228]

Moreover, when Arab-speakers settled Spain, Aristotle's rules, which they had previously only encountered second-hand in preserved text, confronted them as a substratum of the arts. Arabian and North African Arabic poetry did not preserve Greek rules on syllable length and stress. The poetics of Arabia stressed rhyme, internal and end-of-line, over long and short syllables.[229] The poetics of contemporary Spain reflected what Aristotle had written in *Poetics*, with the ideas of syllable length and stress transferred quite easily between the related Indo-European languages of Greek and Latin in a way that Greek could not with the unrelated Semitic Arabic.[230]

3.3.1 *Distinguishing the* Muwashshah

However, the *muwashshah* here demonstrates its apartness from the more traditional Arabic poems of Arabia itself. While both adhere to the idea that "poetry

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[226]   Moreno, "Christian-Muslim Frontier," p. 93.

[227]   Jones, Alan, "*'Omnia vincit amor'*" in Jones, Alan and Richard Hitchcock eds., *Studies of the* Muwaššah *and the* Kharja *[Proceedings of the Exeter International Colloquium]*, (London: Ithaca Press, 1991), p. 93.

[228]   Jones, "*'Omnia vincit amor'*," p. 96 for a discussion of the poor quality of extant *muwashshah* manuscripts.

[229]   Semah, David, "Quantity and Syllabic Parity in the Hispano-Arabic "Muwaššaḥ,"" *Arabica*, T. 31., Fasc. 1 (Mar., 1984), pp. 103-105.

[230]   Semah, "Quantity and Syllabic Parity," p. 106. Semah raises the quite valid point of what specifically the *muwashshah* poets were emulating; I will address this issue, at least in part, in chapters four and six.

relates more of the universal, while history relates particulars,"[231] is the

muwashshah that demonstrates a different presentation of those particulars,

regardless of their origins. The *muwashshah* demonstrates an understanding of the

actual, with its predominantly provocative themes and its blending of registers,

whereas classical Arabic poetry relates an ideal, whether obscene, elegiac, or

panegyric. For example, the below is an idealized depiction of a journey to reach a

lover:

> Dost thou then mean it so? Shall I tell thee how many a land, what time in the
>   summer days the Sun stood still thereon
> And the singing cicadas shrilled in the sunshine, and the shining sun-mist, with
>   its white sheets folded and its striped veils, showed its side to me,
> I have traversed on a she-camel with well-knit fore-legs…[232]

Instead, at the most basic level, the *muwashshah* contains a shift in tone, an

adoption of a Westernized voice not present in Arabia. Whether viewed as aberrant

or not, there is an adoption of a foreign presence. Moreover, despite the (limited)

presence of religious muwashshah, the muwashshah typically focuses on a

particular universal, that of love. It is neither obscene nor is it dependent on the

same set of Arabic traditions.

In keeping with Aristotle's observation that "the poet…must represent, in any

instance, one of three objects: the kind of things which were or are the case; the

kind of things that people say and think; the kind of things that out to be the

case."[233] the *muwashshah* emphasizes how things are thought (felt) to be, almost

exclusively. The *muwashshah*, unlike Arabian poetry, accepts Aristotle's next

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[231]   Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. Halliwell, pp. 58-59.
[232]   Original citation al-Muthaqqab al-'Abdī, *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, no. 28, trans. Lyall. Found at Hamori, A., "Love Poetry (*ghazal*)" in The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature, Vol 1, 'Abbasid Belles Lettres, edited by Ashtiany, Julia, T. M. Johnstone, J.D. Latham, R.B. Serjeant, and G. Rex Smith, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1990, p. 202. As Hamori points out, this poem relies on conventions to produce its effect: Hamori, "Love Poetry," pp. 202-203.
[233]   Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. Halliwell, pp. 124-127.

premise: "the vehicle of expression is language…[including] rare words or metaphors." While not explicit, the understanding of rare words as applied to Classical Arabic may be extended to include colloquial Arabic as well as local Romance.

Although there is certainly dependency on Arabic traditions, as the primary stratum that the *muwashshah* grew from, as will be reviewed in chapters four and six, there also exists, as seen above, a set of distinguishing features demonstrating the Aristotelian rules explored above; it adheres to these features, conducive to the blended forms, in such a way that, say, al-Ma'arri's pessimism or Abū Nuwās' obscenity does not, existing as they were as examples of a singly Arabic tradition. The formalist definitions laid down by Aristotle are not unique to the *muwashshah* of course; they informed *his* understanding of all Greek poetry, and after his death, provided the basics for the Roman understanding of literature, and despite the fall of the Roman Empire in the West, were not erased.

3.3.2 Following On

Rules originating from non-Arabic languages did not inform traditional Arabic poetics in the same way that they did the *muwashshah*. In part, it may be attributed to geography; the influence of the West on the East was not as prominent as the West did not conquer, let alone reconquer, swathes of Arabic-speaking territory. At the same time, while the original chroniclers and poets of al-Andalus may have done their best to adhere to "native" Arabic-cum-Arabian models, this particular form of their work shifted due the profound difference that eventually came to exist between the *muwashshah* and the contemporary poetry of Arabia. The third paradigm shift paved the way for this transition between purely Arabian-style forms

and those of al-Andalus. The influence of the existing culture was too strong for Arab culture to sweep it away, especially as there remained a substantial cross-cultural contact between the non-Muslim heirs to the Greco-Roman tradition, and the Muslim heirs to the Arabic tradition.[234]

However, there existed other divides between the cultures of al-Andalus and Arabia, beyond the differentiation between Latin (Indo-European) and Arabic (Semitic) speakers. For instance, many of the poems of al-Andalus celebrate an urban lifestyle, with walled gardens and marketplaces, distinct from an Eastern ideal of the open desert or a nomadic, hunting lifestyle. Indeed, scholars seeking to trace the Arabic origins of the *muwashshah* have often reduced the differences between them and the poems of the strictly Arabic world to a simple dichotomy between urban and rural, with little-to-no attention paid to the realities of a multi-lingual, multi-cultural society that existed to a high degree in al-Andalus.[235] Traditionally, scholars have rejected the reality of a Roman inheritance in favor of the argument that a simple urbanization of the Andalusian population accounts for the majority, if not the totality, of differences between Arabian poetry and Iberian. They have taken the colloquialisms and borrowings in the *kharjas* as evidence of how urbanization is the sole influence resulting in the creation of the *muwashshah*. The traditional view is as follows: in the poems originating in a less densely populated Arabia, poets preserved higher registers of Arabic; in the more densely populated, more cosmopolitan al-Andalus, poets instead lower or corrupt those

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[234]   While the amount and degree of bilingualism within al-Andalus proper is debatable, only within al-Andalus did Arabic exist as more than a trade language. See Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*.
[235]   See Lowney, *A Vanished World*, pp. 104-105 or Hitchcock, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 4, 24, 63 for examples of Hispano-Arab urbanization.

higher registers within the *kharja* or with the whole muwashshah itself. Both medieval authors writing in the East as well as in critics of the twentieth century demonstrate this position, neglecting the influence of a Greco-Roman substratum.[236]

A more complete genealogy of the *muwashshah* includes not just analyzing the divide between urban and rural, but also the realities of the populations that inhabited those urban and rural spaces. The Arabic-speaking inhabitants of Arabia and the surrounding lands, while not monolithic, had mostly a single religion, as well as a culture mediated throughout by that single religion.[237] The inhabitants of Arabicized Iberia by the time of rise of the *muwashshah* represented more diversity than hegemonic Arabia.[238] The urbanized populace specifically within Iberia included the following general groups: Arab and Berber Muslims, inheritors of the traditions of Arabia and North Africa respectively; Christians, Romanized or Visigothic, many later Arabicized, inheritors of the Greco-Roman traditions; and Jews,[239] whose cultural influences ranged far and wide, from the Biblical to those assimilated from Roman (and Christian) or Arabian (and Muslim) practice. Indeed, it is a telling sign of how the *muwashshah* was eventually integrated into Hispano-Hebrew literature that the Jewish tradition was able to assimilate the initially hedonistic *muwashshah* style into predominantly poems praising God, as opposed to the continued hedonistic themes within Arabic. The continuity between early *muwashshahs* and late will be examined within chapter eight.

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[236]   See Stern & Nykl for modern examples, with Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk providing a medieval one.
[237]   I do not mean to suggest that Islam defines the culture of the Middle East; rather, it is a significant influence on the broader cultural life, including poetics.
[238]   Moreno, "Christian-Muslim Frontier in Al-Andalus," pp. 92-96.
[239]   While Jews and Christians were and are found throughout the historical Caliphate, their role in al-Andalus was much expanded.

Adhering to a model of (almost) purely Arabian and Arabic origins, such as that claimed by most scholars throughout the past seventy years, presents substantial faults in explaining the origin of uniquely Andalusian poetry. Independent of an investigation of the specifics of which portions of the *muwashshah*'s genealogy may belong to which originating culture, one can see the more general need to distinguish between multiple, distinct, yet overlapping influences. Moreover, although al-Andalus was a melting pot of diverse cultures and influences, the strongest non-Arabic influences came from the previous hegemon, Rome, with its emphasis on the poetic philosophy of Aristotle.

3.4. The Philosophy of Poetics

As previously mentioned, Aristotle's *Poetics*, while eventually the formative text of the Western philosophy of poetry, did not initially have great influence. Instead of appearing as a thunderbolt of philosophical genius, his Greek peers appeared to ignore it for the most part. Not until the Romans looked to Greece, and especially to Aristotle, as a model of the civilized, cultured world, did Aristotle's *Poetics* become a key influence on the philosophy of art and the aesthetics of poetry.[240] Nevertheless, once the work became part of the cultural landscape, the Roman elite modeled their poetry and drama upon the rules laid down by Aristotle. Throughout the history of the Roman Empire, the Latin-speaking portion continually looked to the cultural highlights adopted from their Greek conquests and colonies. The cultural center of the Roman Empire may have shifted to the Latinate West, but the sources were often still those Greek sources that laid the foundation for Roman understanding.[241]

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[240]   Halliwell, *Poetics*, p. 3.
[241]   Halliwell, *Poetics*, p. 3.

With the transfer of knowledge of the foundational texts from the Greek East to the Latin West, the later interaction between the Arab-speaking settlers and Aristotle's *Poetics* could occur in the still-Latinized Hispanic Gothic kingdoms, not the bastion of Greek-speaking Rome that remained around Constantinople. This initial transmission from Greece to Rome provided the possibility for the later, limited combination of Arabic poetics with that of the Greco-Roman world. Independently, the Greek-speaking eastern half of the Roman Empire continued to preserve Aristotle's *Poetics* in Greek texts, despite no clear evidence of their continued use. This preservation is what initially allowed for the transmission of Aristotle's texts into an Arabic context. In determining the role of the *Poetics*, there exists between the transmission and preservation of the actual texts and the cultural context of those texts; the first took place in the East, whereas the second took place in the West, through the cultural continuities of Arabic culture.

3.4.1 Ibn Rushd and Aristotle

Via cultural exchanges with and within what was once the hinterlands of the Roman Empire, then an independent Visigothic kingdom, the praise poetry and rhyme-based styles brought with the Arab-speaking armies were subtly changed. Instead of maintaining strictly Arabic-inspired forms and requirements, the Arabic poetics of this corner of the Arabic-speaking world became, in part, the *Poetics* of the old Greco-Roman culture. In his analysis of the *Poetics*, Ibn Rushd made several analyses of how the poetry of the Arabs compares to the rules Aristotle laid down. For example, "he said: the fifth kind [of poetic representation] is that which the sophistical sort of poets employ, namely false exaggeration. This is frequent

among the poems of the Arabs and the moderns."[242] Repeatedly, he criticizes

Arabic poetry for not following the rules laid down in the *Poetics*:

> The swords cut through the double-knit coat of
> mail
> And ignite on the plate-armor the fire of the
> firefly
> ....
> This is all falsehood.
> ....
> This is found frequently in the poems of the Arabs. You will find none of it in the
> precious Book [the Quran].[243]

To Ibn Rushd, the laws of Aristotle have peers in the guidance of the Quran. These

parallels provide a further demonstration that to Ibn Rushd the rules set down in

the *Poetics* are universals, able to be generalized between two distinct cultures,

with separate poetic traditions. While there are separate moral arguments behind

some of his claims and not strictly philosophical ones,[244] the careful comparison of

the claims of Aristotle to both his own Hispano-Arabic culture and that of the

Arabian Arabic culture supports his thesis that the "poems of the Arabs"[245] would

do well to heed Aristotle's laws. There exist parallels between Ibn Rushd's

arguments and the distinctions between the *muwashshah* and Arabian poetry,

whose derivation is made all the more intriguing given the time and place where

Ibn Rushd was writing. Developing from a similar milieu, these parallels may not be

one-to-one, but demonstrate the distinction between Hispano-Arabic writing and

Eastern Arabic.

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[242]   Averroës, Butterworth, trans., *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, p. 104.
[243]   Averroës, Butterworth, trans., *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, pp. 104-106. The poem is that of Ziyān Ibn Mu'āwiyyah Ibn Dibāb Abū Umāmah al-Nābighah al-Dhubyānī, a pre-Islamic poet (fl. 23 BH/600 CE). See al-Nabighah al-Dhubyanī, Ziyān Ibn Mu'āwiyyah Ibn Ḍibāb Abū Umāmah, ed. Faisal, Shukri, *Diwan al-Nabighah al-Dhubyani li Ibn al-Sikkit* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1968), p. 61.
[244]   Averroës, Butterworth, trans., *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, p. 108.
[245]   Averroës, Butterworth, trans., *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, pp. 138, 141.

While the paradigm shift in the rules of poetry may have been small and limited to Iberian Arabic culture, it was enough to alter the development of Arabic poetry and create a distinctly Greco-Roman influenced poetics, a mutation in the theretofore purely Arabic genealogy of the *muwashshah*. This change from a strictly Arabic origin to one distinguished by the partial importation of Greco-Roman ideals and philosophy reflected the change in the rules of poetry, at least within the Hispano-Arabic context. What the Arabic culture did adopt in this instance was not a wholesale reinterpretation of Greco-Roman philosophy in accordance with Islamic principles. Instead, it was one characterized by the specific implementation of non-Arabic principles of poetry and poetics: "after all, he did not set down in this book of his what is peculiar to them [the Greeks] but what is common to natural nations."[246]

However, in the next two paragraphs of his commentary, it appears as if Ibn Rushd contradicts himself to a certain extent:

> He [Aristotle] said: what the poets says in his own name ought to be brief in relation to what he says by way of representation, as Homer used to do. Indeed, he used to make a brief introduction and then move on to what he wanted to represent without ever bringing in anything that was uncustomary, for the uncustomary is disagreeable.

> In my estimation, he said that because in their comparisons nations have customs particularly characteristic of them.[247]

While Ibn Rushd extrapolated Aristotle from making narrow statements about Greek poetry to universal poetics echoed in the Quran, he also appeared to be indicating that Aristotle spoke about what was peculiar to the Greeks, just as Ibn Rushd points out common lyrical devices that appear to be peculiar to the Arabs. However, this apparent contradiction can be resolved. Ibn Rushd was not merely

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[246]   Averroës, Butterworth, trans., *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, p. 136.
[247]   Averroës, Butterworth, trans., *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, p. 136.

providing a philosophical commentary on the *Poetics*; he was also recording how the laws of the *Poetics* applied to Arabic poetry, *even if* the specific implementation of those laws might vary. He recorded both where they conform[248] and where the poems of the Arabs seem to violate the rules Aristotle has laid down, whether due to what appears to be a matter of taste[249] or more serious technical violations.[250] Such analysis demonstrates the distinction between Arabian and Iberian understanding of the laws of poetics. Ibn Rushd, informed both by classical Arabic parameters and Hispano-Arabic culture provided a link between the two.

3.4.2 Distinguishing East and West

Ultimately, in his *Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, Ibn Rushd attempted to universalize the laws set down by Aristotle, formalizing an Arabicized interpretation of Greco-Roman rules. In his *Commentary*, Ibn Rushd describes the

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[248] "He said: when the discourse is drawn out and there is no alteration or representation in it, care ought to be taken to present utterances that have an evident signification – namely, those that signify things in themselves, not contrary or different things. Moreover, they should be combined in accordance with what is well known among them, and they should be easy to pronounce. It is likely that this is the greater part of what the name "eloquence" expresses in the tongue of the Arabs." Averroës, Butterworth, trans., *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, p. 137. Butterworth's footnote that the term "*al-fasahah*…might also mean elegance," that is, elegance of speech, in this context" is worth noting.

[249] "The third type [of poetic error] is to represent rational beings by means of irrational things, for this is also a subject of rebuke…Yet custom – like the way the Arabs compare women to gazelles and antelopes – may make this sort of thing entertaining." Averroës, Butterworth, trans., *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, p. 139.

[250] "The second type of poetic error is to distort the representation, as happens when a painter puts an extra limb in his paining that does not belong or depicts something where it does not belong… As I see it, the statement of one of the modern Andalusians describing a horse is close to this:

> And on its ears it has a third ear
>   Consisting of a strong blue spearhead."

Averroës, Butterworth, trans., *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, p. 138. The author of the poem is unknown.

result of the third paradigm shift: that Aristotle's original Greek-focused laws apply clearly to Arabic poetry, at least in his view.[251]

Although it may seem a tautology, the greatest impact of Aristotle's *Poetics* being a non-Arabic influence on an Arabic body of work is that it was a non-Arabic influence on an Arabic body of work. That is to say that, despite the prior knowledge of the *Poetics* in the Arabic East, it did not significantly alter the commonly accepted rules of poetics used in the Arabic-speaking east.[252] Its impact was limited to academic study, rather than assisting in creating a living style influenced by Greco-Roman traditions, as it ultimately did in the West. Instead of transforming the Arabic poetry of Arabia into one based on rhyme and enjambment in a hybrid style akin to the *muwashshah*, it stayed merely a curiosity in those parts of the Arabic-speaking world that did not directly interact with a Greco-Roman cultural strand. While the later compilers and critics had an intellectual interest in the hybrid forms[253] that arose in al-Andalus, they lacked the direct cultural connection to the *muwashshah* or *zajal* that the Hispano-Arab population had gained. Indeed, they seem to bear out Aristotle's maxim, originally derived from Glaucon, that "critics, [Glaucon] says, jump at certain groundless conclusions; they pass adverse judgment and then process to reason on it; and, assuming that the poet has said whatever they happen to think, find fault if a thing is inconsistent with their own fancy." While perhaps more applicable to distinguishing a Greco-Roman

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[251]   Averroës, Butterworth, trans., *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, p. 136.
[252]   Jones, "'*Omnia vincit amor*'," p. 93: "The use of Romance material in the *muwaššah* and the *zajal* is a unique phenomenon in the history of Arabic."
[253]   Here, I do not use the word hybrid here in the sense that the formal written language (as in the *kharja*) combined either Greek or Latin with Arabic, nor in the sense that the *muwashshah* was simply a Greco-Roman poem written in the Arabic language. Instead, I use it to mean that portions of the laws of Greco-Roman poetics apply to the finished *muwashshah*. See Butterworth, *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, pp. 19, 49.

philosophy of criticism from an Arabian one, the comment above is telling of the relationship of any critic with the art outside their own experience; the contemporary North African and Arabian critics still lived in a world defined solely by the classical forms of the Arabic language and its poetics, rather than existing the frontier with its access to the culture who still possessed inspiration from the *Poetics*.

Indeed, the partial adoption of some Greco-Roman poetics by the Western Arab-speaking authors and the resulting hybrid might explain some of the hostility directed at the *muwashshah* and *zajal* by the Eastern authorities. Not only did the *muwashshah* and *zajal* originate in what the East thought of as a stultified backwater, but also the East often saw the Hispano-Arabic adaptation of non-Arabic influences as a bastardization of a purer Arabic original.[254] By retaining their seemingly absolute reliance on the classical Arabic poetics, Arabian and North African critics and compilers could not look past the appearance of the *muwashshah* to consider it as an heir both to their own shared Arabic past as well as an Arabic expression of non-Arabic influences. The non-traditional, radically different style of the *muwashshah* did not hearken solely back to the classical Arabic poetics with which the critics of the late sixth AH/twelfth CE and early seventh AH/thirteenth CE centuries were fully familiar,[255] rendering them easily interpreted into an existing Arabic and Arabian cultural framework. Instead, by relying in part on the rules of Aristotle – although he wrote with an eye towards the composition of dramatic, tragic plays with no exposure to Arabic – the composers of *muwashshahs* based their new styles of lyric poetry on a no-longer fully Arabian

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[254]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 30.
[255]   Butterworth, *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's* Poetics, 48-49.

(nor Arabic) set of poetics. In a very real way, the *muwashshah* poets and their later critics, despite both recognizably writing in different forms (and registers) of Arabic, were writing in different languages.[256] Despite their long-standing common cultural heritage, the grafting on of Greek and Roman poetics to an originally Arabic shoot created new styles not fully understood by the medieval Arabic commentators. The syncretic forms of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* existed outside immediate critical understanding, leaving the poems open to derision or charges of corruption and degradation.[257]

However, despite the usage of Greco-Roman poetics to create these hybrid forms, a full-scale adoption of Aristotle's *Poetics* as the sole basis of new rules for Arabic poetry in al-Andalus did not happen. Nevertheless, a partial absorption, a partial alteration of the basic formula for what constituted a proper Arabic poem, did occur, allowing for the creation of hybrid forms. For the *muwashshah* the structural emphasis was no longer strictly on internal and external monorhyme, while with much of the existing Arabic poetry, whether in Arabia, North Africa, or even al-Andalus, this emphasis on strict rhyme remained the case.[258] Instead, the adoption of the strophe and a consideration of the concept of a certain amount of stress within the line occurred, removing these two forms of Hispano-Arabic poetry from their strict reliance on existing Arabic poetics.

Though at a fundamental level Arabic poetry of both east and west remained immune to the idea of syllable count or syllable stress, the strophe did create an artificial stress within the line. This innovation appeared discordant to the poets-

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[256]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 32.
[257]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 30-32.
[258]   Semah, "Quantity and Syllabic Parity," pp. 103-107.

cum-critics of the East, still predominantly reliant on forms originating centuries ago and adhering to classical Arabic models of structure and form.[259] This discordance, forming part of the intellectual divide between the *muwashshah* poets and the critics of the eastern Arabic-speaking world as noted above, did allow, however, for the possibility of transference of ideas, images, and forms back to the Latin- and Romance-speaking parts of Christian Europe, as will be explored in chapters five and seven.

This new Hispano-Arabic interpretation of the rules of what constituted a proper Arabic poem[260] mirrored the new interpretation of what constituted acceptable subject matter. The innovation in form allowed for a twinned innovation in subject material; while there had previously existed poems extolling the pleasures of sensuality, praise poetry primarily focused on the generosity and strength of a patron. Praise poetry, even that of a lover, did not often take the explicit turn towards the sensual as the *muwashshah* frequently did, as in this example from Ibn ʿUbāda (dates unknown):

> Go for the wine! And go early with an embroidered
>   robe
> In the evening and the morning to the music of the
>   eloquent bowstring,
>
> The name of wine, in my opinion–so know it!–is not taken from anything
>   but
> The one who is *khaʹ* of the cheek and *mim* of the smile
> And *raʹ* of the honeyed saliva from a fragrant mouth
>   Give up worrying and join these letters
>   So that you might go early and late with a
>   body that has spirit.

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[259]   This is not to say the strophe was entirely unknown in the Arab-speaking East, but rather that its common use was an innovation.

[260]   Badawi, M.M., "From Primary to Secondary Qasidas: Thoughts of the Development of Classical Arabic Poetry" in Stetkevych, Suzanne Pinckney, *Early Islamic Poetry and Poetics*, (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2009), p. 360 discusses the deliberate archaizing of 2nd century/8th century Arabian poetry. One may make the argument that the later *muwashshah* was a deliberate transgression of what constituted 'proper' Arabic poetry, rather than an alteration of existing rules and norms. For a fuller exploration of this argument, see Abu-Haidar, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*.

> By God, give me a drink of it, for the love of Wathiq,
> For truly he has similar qualities to those found in wine.[261]

This example is not to suggest that every *muwashshah* had a Bacchic theme, a celebration of licentiousness.[262] Instead, it illustrates how these themes, generally absent in such explicit expression from other forms of Arabic poetry could find especial expression in the *muwashshah.*[263] While one cannot trace a direct genealogy of theme from Aristotle or the Greco-Roman poets who followed his poetics, one can see how the innovation in form coincided with a change in general theme.

3.4.2.1 The Kharja *as Parody*

One can also see the *kharja* as an innovation that combines a new form with a new style. As a popularly styled coda to a poem composed in a more standard register of literary Arabic, it takes a role reminiscent of how Aristotle described drama should be composed: the author should focus the action on a great man, brought low.[264] The *kharja*, while not intended as an explicit parody of Aristotle's rule, echoes it in certain ways. The *kharja* lowers the elevated language of the *muwashshah* down to an earthier tone.[265] Spoken as it is, often in the persona of a woman or a person of lower social class than that the main persona of the poem,[266] it reflects the bringing down of the poem's conclusion to an earthier, more sensual plane. The contrast with classical Arabic praise poetry, which remained

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261   Ibn ʿUbāda, cited in Compton, Linda Fish, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry and Old Spanish Love Songs*: *The* Muwashshah *and Its* Kharja, (New York: New York University Press, 1976), no. 23, p. 33.
262   Other examples of more atypical *muwashshahs* will be addressed in chapter six.
263   The Arabic tradition of the wine poem will be addressed more thoroughly in chapter six.
264   Aristotle, *The Poetics* [sic], cited in Butcher, S.H., *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, (London: Macmillan and Co, 1923), pp. 27-41, pp.45-47.
265   A more nuanced exploration of the *kharja* in its context may be found throughout chapters five and six,
266   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 31.

strictly focused on the noble qualities of the patron, or the world-weary pessimism of Arabian poets contemporary to the *muwashshah*[267] shows the distinctions and divides in themes as the *muwashshah* continued to separate from classical Arabic antecedents to include those Greco-Roman influences. Both form and subject shifted as part of the gradual movement away from the strict poetics and reliance on a stock set of desert images that continued to characterize Arabian and North African poetry.

3.5.   Conclusion

The scholarly consensus has concluded that the common Arabic origins of both the *muwashshah* and their Arabian contemporaries are self-evident and contribute the bulk of the poetics of Hispano-Arabic poetry. Although this conclusion is perhaps both valid and logical, there also exists clear evidence of an absorption of non-Arabic structures and themes into the *muwashshah*, reflected in the gradual shifts of context between the original composition of Aristotle's *Poetics* and the ultimate paradigm shift resulting in the adoption of Greco-Roman poetics into an Arabicized context. Given that the Arabian and North African poetry contemporary with the rise of the *muwashshah* did not develop into a strophic form, instead continuing to rely on internal and end-line rhyme, one must consider the possibility of an external influence.

Ultimately, one can see the adherence to Aristotleian formalism in the *muwashshah* without a parallel in the Arabian models:The clear series of paradigm shifts that Aristotle began allow the careful tracing of the ultimately Greco-Roman influences on the *muwashshah*. Despite their sudden appearance, there exists little

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[267]   An example of this pessimistic poetry is analyzed in chapter four.

evidence of an impromptu flash of individual inspiration. While the possibility of such an unrecorded genius cannot be denied, as there is a lack of proto-*muwashshahs* and, to a certain extent, proto-*zajals*, the forms appear to be the result of a series of shared paradigm shifts, rather than the work of a single individual.

The most logical place to look for evidence of this outside influence is therefore in the places where the specifically Hispano-Arabic culture might interact with a non-Arabic culture. The absorbed, Visigothic kingdoms of Iberia, formerly Roman provinces, present the immediate possibility to translate the second paradigm shift (from Greek original to Latin modeling) into the third (the absorption of Greco-Roman poetics into an Arabic context). Moreover, the frontier with the Christian and Latin-speaking kingdoms represents a further place for this contact to have taken place, especially as the settlement of previously Visigothic and Roman towns and cities allowed for immediate cross-cultural contact. The precise extent of exchange between the settling Arab and North African populations and the pre-existing Greco-Roman culture remains debatable, but there is clear, convincing evidence for the settling population to have shared portions of a cultural heritage with their new subjects in a way that the monoculture of Arabia and the Middle East did not.

While a great part of this exchange was technological, some of this exchange appears to have been in the arts, with the foundational text of Aristotle's *Poetics* helping drive some of the shift from the foundations of monorhymed poetry that came with the settling of al-Andalus. While the Arabic poetry of al-Andalus continued to have much in common with its Arabian contemporaries, it began to

absorb some of the distinct features of Greco-Roman poetics, thereby differentiating it from the aforementioned Arabian peers. These specific differences include a distinction in imagery and theme as well as a structural shift, eventually culminating in the *muwashshah*. The poetry of the Arabian Peninsula and the Middle East did not undergo these shifts, and these unique changes thereby helped to distinguish and define the *muwashshah* as representing a separate genre.[268]

Again, the *muwashshah* represents the result of an intersection of two distinct sets of paradigms, as well as their shifts. In order to fully trace their genealogy, the descent from not just the inherent Arabic precedents but also that of the Greco-Roman substratum underlying not just Iberia generally, but also the contemporary philosophy within the successors to al-Andalus must be investigated. In this chapter, I have shown how the *muwashshah* received its identity not just from the poets of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia, but how the nature of Greco-Roman and Hispano-Arabic culture combined; the *muwashshah* cannot be seen solely as an Arabic genre, but must be seen as a *Hispano*-Arabic genre, relying on part on the history and philosophy either already current at the arrival of Islam in Spain or reinterpreted within a Hispano-Arabic context. It serves to address the recurring question within *muwashshah* studies of what influenced the genre.

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[268] The extent to which the critic identifies *muwashshah* as a degenerate form of basal Arabian poetry differs from author to author, but their identification as new and/or distinct genres is never in doubt. See the rules for composing a *muwashshah* laid down by Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, a non-Andalusian.

4. Arabic Antecedents to the *Muwashshah*
4.1.   Overview
       While it is true that the *muwashshah* and *zajal* represent a subset of

successors to the Greco-Roman poetic tradition, as explored in chapter three, they

also represent a set of parallels, inherent in both their presentation and content. As

the frontier descendants of a distinct Arab and Arabian literary history unrelated to

Western trends, they drew influence from both pre-Islamic traditions and those

shifts that followed the rise of Islam. However, although the *muwashshah* and *zajal*

share themes with a certain category of (predominantly urban) Arabian and North

African poems,[269] the *muwashshah* and *zajal* came to exist independently of their

Arabic predecessors, as examined in chapter three. At the same time, they

remained part of a broader tradition, shared throughout the Arabic world. For

example, despite their primary similarities to urban Arabic/Arabian poetry, both

Hispano-Arabic poetry (the *muwashshah* and *zajal*) and Arabian-Arabic poetry

share the stock desert Arabian library of camels, gazelles, and other images

derived from rural, pastoral existence; even at the point of its origins, the

muwashshah represents an intersection of paradigms.

       Nonetheless, to understand the innovations that led to the development of

the *muwashshah* and *zajal* in the context of medieval Iberia,[270] one must also

understand how their classical Arab ancestors, both prior to and after the

appearance of Islam, represent a crucial piece of the genealogy of the

muwashshah and *zajal*. These earlier poems provided a source of imagery, a fount

of ideas, and, in many cases, counterpoints to the themes of the *muwashshah*.

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[269]   The poetry of North Africa, especially Egypt, can be broadly grouped under Arabian and Arabic models.
[270]   Medieval referring here to the period between 391 AH/1000 CE and 645 AH/1248 CE.

The poetry of pre-Islamic, Umayyad, and most especially early Abbasid Arabia, urban or not, does not reflect the same trends as its Hispano-Arabic descendants; it can be bleak and uncompromising with a focus on the desolate, both physically and emotionally, whereas the *muwashshah* and *zajal* celebrate the good life, with a certain amount of hedonism present throughout.[271] To a certain extent, one may see the *muwashshah* and *zajal* as the reflections of an urban bounty, contrasted with a desert tradition that continued in Arabia even as it developed its own urbanization.[272]

Despite these differences between classical Arabic poetry and later Hispano-Arabic forms, however, the greatest source of inspiration for the *muwashshah* and *zajal* does come from native Arabic poetry. Again, the *muwashshah* and *zajal* have a separate existence, not limited by their Arabian ancestors; they are not distilled versions of purely Arabian forms, just as they are not simply Aristotle's rules taken to a logical conclusion when applied to Arabic prosody. As a result, these two poetic forms do not appear as inevitable outcomes of the rise of a specifically Hispano-Arabic poetry, but rather as the hybridized result of two distinct sets of shifted paradigms that combined to create forms that are in their own way a demonstration of a separate paradigm shift unique to al-Andalus. While other areas under Islamic influence *did* develop their own distinct poetic traditions, such a gulf between the eventual successors to classical Arabic

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[271]   Compare al-Maʿarri, cited Tuetey, Charles Greville, trans., *Classical Arabic Poetry: 162 Poems from Imrulkais to Maʿarri*, (London: KPI Limited, 1985), no. 157, p. 275 to Al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), no. 24, pp. 252-253. Tuetey's translation is of *al-Maʿarri al-Luzûmiyyât*, vol. 1, no. 385, Cairo, 1891. See Tuetey, *Classical Arabic Poetry*, pp. 297-300 for a full listing of manuscripts and items.
[272]   Several authors tackle the conceptualization of contrasting the dichotomy East versus West with that of rural versus urban. The issue is far from settled; both populations had significant urban centers, complicating the matter.

poetry arose most fully in al-Andalus, and to a lesser extent in Sicily, reflective of the differing cultural heritages in those areas formerly under Roman control.

Thus, the combination of paradigms both changed and unchanged allowed for key distinctions to develop between the Hispano-Arabic forms of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* and their Arabian ancestors, who only underwent one set of paradigms shifts rather than two, and in some Arabian cases, demonstrate only a partial adoption of their single shift. Even in some of the Arabian poetry contemporary with the rise of the muwashshah, the themes and imagery expressed are those of pre-*Islamic* Arabia, with no indication of the shift in religious culture.[273] Despite the ubiquity of poems expressed in religious language, there exist many outliers that reflect a position unconcerned with theology.[274]

Furthermore, the complexities of the genealogy of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* are such that while they have Greco-Roman influence from their Hispanic origins,[275] mediated through the position and philosophy of Aristotle, they possess greater cultural and linguistic ties to their peers that descended exclusively from Arabian and Arabic stock.[276] The crucial difference is that the same material, the great classical Arabic poetry of Arabia, that influenced the Arabian (and their immediate North African descendants, especially in Egypt) poets, had no companion tradition, no Greco-Roman lyric, to inspire comparable forms in the

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[273] Stetkevych, Suzanne Pinckney, "Introduction," in Stetkevych, Suzanne Pinckney, ed., *Early Islamic Poetry and Poetics*, (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), pp. vi-xxii, xv-xvi.
[274] Noorani, Yaseen, "Heterotopia and the Wine Poem in Early Islamic Culture," in Stetkevych, Suzanne Pinckney, ed., *Early Islamic Poetry and Poetics*, (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), pp. 219-221 for examples linked explicitly to Iberian successors.
[275] As expressed in chapter three, I draw a distinction between the (partial) cultural adoption of Greco-Roman poetics within Hispano-Arabic works and their use as an intellectual exercise or curiosity throughout the Arabic-speaking world.
[276] Again, I wish to draw attention to the distinction between the linguistic term "Arabic" and the geographical term "Arabia."

Arabian and Arabian-descended parts of the Muslim world.[277] In short, the conditions that allowed for a hybridization within al-Andalus, with competing cultural influences, did not exist in the Arabian hegemony. Instead, the poetry of al-Andalus, including, but not limited to, the *muwashshah* and *zajal,* reflected the potential for a different set of poetic standards to supplant those of classical Arabic and Arabia, at least within al-Andalus.

However, their Arabian peers continued to judge the *muwashshah* and *zajal* using the same classical standards as by which they judged their Arabic contemporaries (in many cases deriving from the very styles that helped generate the *muwashshah* and *zajal*). Again, poets and courtiers within *both* al-Andalus and the broader Arabic-speaking world applied these standards, though the poets working with al-Andalus were cognizant that they were sometimes subverting these classical standards.[278] In some ways, then, one may see this consistency of standards as unwieldy; the topics and styles of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* distinctly differed from their Arabian peers, but were assumed to reflect the same background. Although the same rules that governed classical Arabic poetry were typically used to judge Andalusian work, they did not apply as clearly to the innovative styles used in al-Andalus, the descendants of the parallel Greco-Roman tradition. Again, both Eastern and Western authors clearly acknowledged the consistency of standards between East and West, regardless of the potentially shifted paradigms in al-Andalus: "to write well in al-Andalus was to strive to equal what the Arabs in the East were writing. To excel was to beat the Easterners at

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[277]   The poetic tradition of Iran, with a separate Zoroastrian substratum, is beyond the scope of this thesis, which focuses solely on interaction with the Latin-speaking West and its successors.
[278]   See Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 41-57, 73-81.

their own literary exercises."[279] Those forms that the Eastern literati used as comparisons for both their own work and that of al-Andalus, represent a conservative source tradition, resistant to the potential for shifting paradigms, underlying the formal portions of the *muwashshah*. The hybridization resulting in the *muwashshah* and *zajal* is alien, not found even in innovative Arabian poems contemporary to the rise of the *muwashshah* and *zajal*.

Although I do not here attempt to set objective standards about the merits of one particular poem's content, theme, imagery, or style versus another's, it is possible to identify where styles, themes, and images appear to descend from a body of earlier source material. Within the Arabic poetic tradition, the styles that existed before Muhammad continued to exert considerable influence after Islam began to spread throughout Arabia.[280] Thus, I will be tracing the paradigm shifts within strictly Arabic poetry, specifically the poetics that that led to those styles that would combine with Greco-Roman traditions to create the *muwashshah* and *zajal*. These paradigm shifts, while more gradual in nature and not as clearly delineated as those absorptions highlighted within Aristotle, allow us to trace the influence of the great poets and poems of pre-Islamic society as paragons of classical Arabic, through to the early poetics of Islamic Arabia, and through to their clear influence on the Arabic poetry that arose following the spread of Islam outside of Arabia and the immediate surrounding areas.

Furthermore, the divide between an urban, cosmopolitan al-Andalus, with immediate foreign neighbors, and a less urbanized, more monolithic Arabia[281] (and

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[279]   Abu-Haidar, "The *Muwaššahat* in the Literary Life that Produced them," p. 117.
[280]   Badawi, M. M., "From Primary to Seconday *Qaṣīdas*", pp. 342-349.
[281]   Moreno, "Christian-Muslim Frontier in Al-Andalus," pp. 92-96.

to some extent, North Africa and the Levant as well) requires re-examination.

Regardless of the place of their composition (city or desert encampment), most

classical Arabic poems harken back to the idea of the desert as the true home of

the Arab. Andalusian poems, by comparison, are more frequently set in an urban

environment and celebrate that urban environment, with an emphasis on gardens,

bazaars, and other places unlikely to be found when living a nomadic existence.

Moreover, the *muwashshah* and *zajal* appear to take place in a defined setting

more frequently than comparable Arabian or North African poetry. That is, they may

take the form of praise addressed to a person, but that person is found in a garden

or is seen at the bazaar, whereas much of the contemporary Arabian poetry is

without such a clear setting.

Although the *muwashshah* or *zajal* may utilize desert imagery,[282] their

authors reflected these borrowings from the Arabian heritage into an urban context.

In their own way, borrowings such as these preserve the evidence of a shifted

paradigm; they provide a crystallization of the way in which poets preserved old

ideas in new contexts. For example, a *muwashshah* may transition from

comparing the beloved to a well-proportioned gazelle to how the poet snuck into a

pleasure garden to see the beloved.[283] This series of (to Western eyes, perhaps

mixed) metaphors is not peculiar to the *muwashshah*; the style of combining

metaphors or imagery, though borrowed from traditional Arabian/Arabic

antecedents, finds a new level of juxtaposition when set between the desert

imagery shared by both cultures and the distinctly urban milieu of the Andalusian

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[282]   See Ibn ʿUbāda, cited in Compton, Linda Fish, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry and Old Spanish Love Songs*: *The* Muwashshah *and Its* Kharja, (New York: New York University Press, 1976), no. 9, p. 18.
[283]   Ibn ʿUbāda, cited in Compton, trans. *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, no. 9, p. 18.

literary elite. The *muwashshah*, while developed five hundred years after the first of the great pre-Islamic poets, shows a kinship with both those poems and their strictly Arabian descendants, a reflection of their shared Arabic paradigm shifts, and to a certain extent, the conservatism demonstrated in the common Arabic forms and images. Looking back to a classical Arabic past, as seen throughout chapters four, six and eight, to discover exemplars is not limited to Arabian poetry, but straying from classical standards was seen as particularly deviant.

The themes explored in the *muwashshah* and *zajal* again differ from the themes found in classical Arab poetry. While al-Andalus possessed its fair share of panegyrics and praise poetry, the *muwashshah* and *zajal* were but rarely used for such.[284] Where authors wrote the panegyrics of Arabia in almost every meter imaginable, the *muwashshah* and *zajal* reflect, each in their own way, a certain decadent attitude not found in Arabian antecedents.[285] They are poems developed for a particular sensibility not typically found in much of the extant pre-Islamic or early Islamic poetry. The poems of Arabia still tend to reflect glorification, and while there are Hispano-Arab parallels, the *muwashshah* and *zajal* tend not to provide examples. Instead, they tend towards the Bacchic and erotic; the praise they offer is set against "mess up my hair, rub my breast, frightened bird, drink my saliva and

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[284]   In Zwartjes' thorough listing of *muwashshah* themes, traditional panegyric poetry is listed only as a minor theme. Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 190. The traditional panegyric is explicitly distinguished from the erotic panegyric described throughout this chapter within his thematic analysis.
[285]   Contrast the analysis of Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 232 with the analysis of Tuetey, *Classical Arabic Poetry*, pp. 84-86.

kiss my cheek, don't be unhappy."[286] While early Islam certainly understood a frank

appreciation of sexuality,[287] the poetry of Arabia focused on other topics.

As an addendum, there will be a relatively brief exploration of Hispano-Arab

poetry as it existed before the emergence of the *muwashshah* and *zajal*. While

these two forms did not appear fully formed from some nebulous ether, the

muwashshah and *zajal* differed prominently from the bulk of Hispano-Arab

poetry.[288] Most of what came previously were clear adaptations or examples of

existing native Arabian forms, repurposed for an Andalusian audience. They

represent an attempt to transmogrify the "eloquence of the Easterners" into

"eloquence in [an Andalusian] dialect," using the same standard forms found

throughout the Arabic-speaking world.[289] Despite there being some evidence of a

transition between certain pre-*muwashshah* forms and the strophic forms of the

muwashshah and *zajal*, these two forms were distinct enough from other

specifically Hispano-Arab styles to warrant a description of the poetry of al-Andalus

from the arrival of Muslims in 93 AH/712 CE until the emergence of the

muwashshah and *zajal*.

4.2.   Influence of Arabia
4.2.1. Form and Style

While the *muwashshah* and *zajal* were native Andalusian forms, unique in

their place and time of origin within the Iberian Peninsula during a particular period

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[286]   Zwartjes provides a thorough examination of the themes within Arabic language *muwashshah*. He labels a great many of them as explicitly erotic. Most uses of religious themes are appeals to God or the prophet to remove obstacles between lovers. Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 217-218.

[287]   Early *hadith* demonstrate both an understanding of human sexuality and an appreciation of it within specific, licit contexts. Maghen, Ze'ev, *Virtues of the Flesh – Passion and Purity in Early Islamic Jurisprudence*, (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 75, 77.

[288]   Corriente, "Again on the Metrical System," pp. 34-36

[289]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 255.

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of tumultuous rivalry and reconsolidation between kingdoms within al-Andalus, possessing distinctive features and themes adapted and adopted from Greco-Roman ancestors, they also claimed a firm descent from the separate traditions of Arabia and, to a certain extent, North African interpretations of those Arabian traditions. Two of the many heirs to four hundred years of Arabic, Islamic poetry, as well as a corpus of pre-Islamic poetry that influenced the whole of the Caliphate, the *muwashshah* and *zajal* shared a common ancestry with their Arabian and North African peers, though only partially demonstrated, due to their hybrid descents.[290] While the shared heritage did not represent a complete overlap of all influences, it still represented the majority of the genealogy of the *muwashshah* and *zajal*. Despite the clarity of Greco-Roman influence and potential Latinate descendants, the *muwashshah* and *zajal* remain Arabic forms, steeped in the poetics of Arabic rhyme instead of Greek meter.[291]

To a certain extent, tracing the paradigm shifts undergone by the Arabic tradition is a simple matter of chronology. Like Aristotle's *Poetics* and its influence on the Greco-Roman traditions underlying the *muwashshah* and *zajal*, there is an easily traced thread that represents the greater part of Arabic (and Arabian) influence upon both Andalusian poetry and "the beauties of the poetry of" the East.[292] This shared tradition found its beginnings with a semi-legendary set of

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[290]   For a concrete example, see Semah "Quantity and Syllabic Parity," p. 86.
[291]   These two emphases are not mutually exclusive; the genealogy of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* represent extensive hybridization. See Lowin's analysis of Monroe's claim: Lowin, *Arabic and Hebrew Love Poems,* p. 6.
[292]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 255. As one delves deeper into what constitutes the East, it becomes necessary to include portions of North Africa as belonging to a separate but related tradition: "A Spaniard has no understanding of the eloquence of Maghribi poetry. Maghribis have none for the eloquence of the poetry of Easterners or Spaniards, and Easterners have none for the eloquence of Spaniards and Maghribis."

seven pre-Islamic poets.[293] After the rise of Islam, there then followed

approximately one hundred and forty years of additional Arabian development,

ending about the time the exiled Abd al-Rahman assumed power in al-Andalus.

The majority of these poems reflect one of two strands of thought: praise poems,

such as that by Muslim of Azd, wishing that "long may the Empire rest in [his

ruler's] care"[294] or examinations of the nomadic, desert lifestyle.[295] While poems in

praise of women make repeated appearance throughout the corpus, they lack for

the most part the immediate celebration of the physical, and instead treat the

woman as distant objects, rather than the immediate object of desire. Farazdaḳ of

Dârim-Tamîm (c. 29 AH/650 to c. 109 AH/728 AH), born a generation after the

death of Muhammad and thus representative of immediate early Islamic context,

writes of a general category of woman:

> A woman free of the desert born
> where the wind plays round her pavilioned tent,
> her whiteness shimmering cool as the pearls,
> at whose step the very earth will light,
> means more than a townswoman full of tricks
> who gasps when she lays aside her fans.[296]

Conversely, Ibn Quzmān (c. 470-472 AH/1078-1080 CE to 555 AH/1160 CE) writes
with bold specificity:

> A Berber girl; what a beauty of a *conejo*!
> ....
> I said: "Enter." She replied: "No you enter first, by God."

[293]   Boullata, Issa J., "Introduction: Convention and Invention: Islamic Literature in Fourteen
Centuries," *Religion & Literature*, Vol. 20, No. 1, The Literature of Islam (Spring, 1988), p. 4.
[294]   They praise both lovers and rulers, though in two different modes. The work of Muslim of
Azd (c. 129 AH/747 CE to 208 AH/823 CE), cited in Tuetey, Charles Greville, trans., *Classical Arabic
Poetry: 162 Poems from Imrulkais to Maʿarri*, (London: KPI Limited, 1985), no. 104, p. 215
demonstrates the panegyric dedicated to the ruler. Tuetey's translation is of al-Khudri, M.,
Muhadhdhab al-Aġânî, Cairo, n.d. (in the reign of King Fuad), VIII.11-16.
[295]   Jaʿfar of Ḥârith-Madhḥij (dates unknown), cited in Tuetey, Charles Greville, trans., *Classical
Arabic Poetry: 162 Poems from Imrulkais to Maʿarri*, (London: KPI Limited, 1985), no. 57, p. 162.
Tuetey's translation is of Jaʿfar of Ḥârith-Madhḥij, *al-Ḥamâsa*, Bûlâq, 1296 AH, I. 25-8.
[296]   Farazdaḳ of Dârim-Tamîm, cited in Tuetey, Charles Greville, trans., *Classical Arabic Poetry:
162 Poems from Imrulkais to Maʿarri*, (London: KPI Limited, 1985), no. 66, p. 171. Tuetey's
translation is of Abu ǀl-Faraj al-Iṣbahânî, *Kitâb al-Aġânî*, Bûlâq, 1285 AH and *The Twenty-First
Volume of the Kitâb al-Aġânî*, Brünnow, R.E., ed., Leyden, 1888, XIX.12.

(Let us cuckold the man who is her husband.)[297]

By the time of the arrival of the Muslims[298] in Spain, many of the styles and forms found in Arabia had already been at least partially codified into standard forms, with strict rules about structure and rhyme. During the classical era, both immediately before and after the emergence of Islam, poems were typically written in distich lines, where the rhyme scheme was spread across a pair of lines, which when read were sounded as a single line, but written as two, highlighting the essentially oral tradition of Arabic poetry.[299] Emblematic of their outsider status, the *muwashshah* and *zajal* possessed a rhyme scheme distinct from the classical distich line, known as hemistich, where the rhyme scheme echoed in the middle of each line, not just the end. The complexities of the form resulted in a recurrent rhyme scheme, where each tercet or quatrain (typically) echoed the rhyme within the middle of each line as well as the end. [300]

Paradoxically, while many of these poems existed only in oral form, the rules for composing masterful poetry had been absorbed into the literary elite at large. Generalizations for what constituted skillful poetry applied to both oral and written composition, although it was considered the height of skill to be able to come up with oral verse on the spot.[301] The early Islamic poets took their cue both from the Qur'an – poetry was to be recited, not written – and from a rich tradition emphasizing skill in composing poems pleasant to the ear, regardless of how they

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[297]   Ibn Quzmān, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), no. 26, p. 264-265. *Conejo* means "rabbit."

[298]   Of whatever ancestry, Berber or Arab.

[299]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 30.

[300]   See Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 30 for more information.

[301]   Monroe, James T., "Literary Hybridization in the "Zajal": Ibn Quzmān's "Zajal 88" (The Visit of Sir Gold)," *Journal of Arabic Literature*, Vol. 38, No. 3, In Honor of Jaroslav Stetkevych, Who First Made "The Mute Immortals Speak," Part I, (2007), p. 329.

might appear when written. The specific rules for composing Arabic-language poetry lent themselves to oral composition, with the emphasis on scansion and rhyme aiding in recall and the quick composition of brief, lone, verses.[302]

However, at the same time that the *muwashshah* and *zajal* were developing both as radical innovations out of pre-existing Arabic and Arabian forms and as the result of paradigm shifts dependent on Greco-Roman traditions in the Latin-speaking west, poetry in Arabia proper changed comparatively little in form. In comparison to those of al-Andalus, whose poetry had absorbed the recurrent shifts generated by Aristotle's *Poetics* as well as sharing in the changes generated within Arabic poetry over the past few hundred years, Arabia possessed muted paradigm shifts, reflective of a single tradition. While innovation and experimentation did occur, the forms and styles of much fourth-century/tenth-century Arabian poetry much more closely resembled the form and style of first-century/seventh century Arabian poetry than did those of the *muwashshah* or *zajal*.[303] The poems written at the end of the classical period in Arabia have enough similarities to the poems written at the rise of Islam to categorize them within the same genres, rather than

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[302]   See Ibn Khaldūn, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., "Oral Composition in Pre-Islamic Poetry," in Stetkevych, Suzanne Pinckney, ed., *Early Islamic Poetry and Poetics*, (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), p. 31.

[303]   Semah, "Quantity and Syllabic Parity," p. 105. "With sword and lance we arm ourselves;/without combat or challenge are slain by fate;/hold racers ready in bridle and girth/that can never outgallop the cantering years…" by Mutanabbi of Madhḥij (c. 303 AH/915 CE to 354 AH/965 CE), cited in Tuetey, Charles Greville, trans., *Classical Arabic Poetry: 162 Poems from Imrulkais to Maʿarri*, (London: KPI Limited, 1985), no. 149, p. 264, echoes the same themes as "We repulse our foes, good fellow, know,/with long-backed horses slim in the flanks;/protect our grounds, defend our herds/with an onset of chargers that furrow the land,/their manes aflow, the flesh stripped gaunt/from the bit of steel they taste for food…" by Jarîr of Kulaib-Tamîm (c. 29 AH/650 CE to 110 AH/728 CE), cited in Tuetey, Charles Greville, trans., *Classical Arabic Poetry: 162 Poems from Imrulkais to Maʿarri*, (London: KPI Limited, 1985), no. 60, p. 165, despite the first dating from three hundred years after the second. Tuetey's translation of Mutanabbi of Madhḥij is of al-Mutanabbî, *Diwân*, Beirut, 1882, 271-75; his translation of Jarîr of Kulaib-Tamîm is of Abu ǀl-Faraj al-Iṣbahânî, *Kitâb al-Aĝânî*, and *The Twenty-First Volume of the Kitâb al-Aĝânî*, Brūnnow, R.E., ed, VII.40.

having to create new labels to identify them as part of a distinct tradition.[304] In other words, the paradigm shift generated by the rise of Islam was influential more in a broader social context, rather than concentrated in the specific arena of the literary arts as happened with the absorption of Aristotle's *Poetics* into Andalusian tradition, though the references to the divine were no longer pagan but mostly reflective of a unified monotheism.[305]

Over the four hundred years between the origins of Islam and the appearance of the *muwashshah* and *zajal*, the forms used throughout Arabia (and North Africa, after the spread of Islam into it) experienced little change. They maintained a linear descent through the years, with poems written in Arabia at the same time as the first *muwashshahs* and *zajals* meeting the same criteria as poems written during the initial rise and spread of Islam. However, this general lack of change within the poetic tradition does not reflect either stagnation or of a lack of shifting paradigms, despite the essential unity of the poetic tradition. Instead, it indicates an essential conservatism within literature, looking to esteemed historical models as exemplars of the language, especially in a context where even skilled poets might reuse standard, stereotyped images and themes in similar language to their predecessors.

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[304] Genre here can be used in two senses: one, the form of the poem, whether *muwashshah*, *zajal*, *muqammah*, et cetera, and two, the content of the poem, whether panegyric, wine poem, hymn, et cetera. The comment that that the early classical and late classical poems fall within the same genres applies to both senses of the word.

[305] Examining the cultural continuities between prior Arabian religion both pagan and monotheistic is beyond the scope of this thesis, but the absorption of formerly pagan populations into a unified monotheism appears to have had little effect on the styles of poetry current in early Islamic Arabia. As in al-Andalus, Jewish and Hebrew poetry adopted the styles and forms of the dominant Muslin and Arabic poetry, reflective of their shared Semitic language relationship, though the imagery and language surrounding the divine was indicative of different, though similar, religious values.

This borrowing does not indicate a lack of originality; in certain contexts, the original reuse of another poet's lines within a separate poem met with the highest approval. Indeed, in extant *muwashshah* and *zajal*, there is significant evidence of such borrowing, to the extent that some later *muwashshah* are seen as mostly paraphrases of earlier work. The tradition of borrowing and reworking further indicates the shared genealogy of both Arabian poetry and the *muwashshah* as descendants of historical Arabic poetics. As a result, while it is unfair to label the poems of the early Islamic period[306] as precisely identical to their predecessors in the mode of composition, the differences between them and their ancestors are subtle, not the clear distinctions that can be drawn between the *muwashshah* and its Arabian contemporaries, with their distinctively different rhyme schemes.

Furthermore, the expression of themes, even shared themes, found in poetry throughout the classical period Arabia differ widely from those of the *muwashshah* and *zajal*, reflective of a paradigm shift unique to al-Andalus.[307] Although both traditions might draw on a well of shared imagery and themes, the *muwashshah* and *zajal* express those themes in a different manner, as well as drawing on a separate tradition of uniquely Andalusian images. In essence, the Arabian and Arabic tradition underlay all of Hispano-, North African, and Arabian Arabic poetry, while Hispano-Arabic poetry was able to draw on additional sources not available to those poets writing in the heartlands of Arabia.

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[306]   Specifically used here to mean between 1 AH and 92-93 AH, before the settlement of Spain.

[307]   I propose that this paradigm shift is reflective not just of Aristotle's influence as discussed throughout chapter three, but rather also includes the transitions within Arabic rhyme schemes dependent on reflections of Arabian models, culminating in the distinction between the continued use of distich forms within Arabia and the hemistich innovations within al-Andalus.

For example, while the idea of praise poems, both to lovers and patrons, is a common theme found in the shared genealogy of both Arabian and Andalusi poetry, this praise took differing forms, depending on the object of address and culture of the poet.[308] Although Andalusian poets might use the standard imagery found in the rest of the Arabic-speaking world, their poetry, including praise forms of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* had available a library of distinctly Andalusian imagery, despite the fact that the images themselves hypothetically could have been used by North African or Andalusian poets with a minimum of alteration. The level of specificity of Andalusian imagery to an Andalusian context is perhaps reflected in the variable success Ibn Khaldūn found in his attempts to imitate Western *muwashshah* and *zajal*; his familiarity with Western tropes did not mirror the depth of Western familiarity with Arabian tropes.

In Arabia, North Africa, and the rest of the Islamic world, authors direct the bulk of praise poetry towards rulers and other patrons of the literary elite, with comparatively few examples of the specific sort of address to lovers common to the *muwashshah*. As Monroe points out, the *muwashshah* and *zajal* tend towards the obscene, such as in al-Abyaḍ's (d. after 524 AH/1130 CE) "I shall grant him [my] locks, behind the curtains, by way of torment, and shall add my breasts!"[309] whereas the earlier work of Abu Tammâm of Ṭayy (c. 179 AH/796 CE to 230 AH/845 CE) reflects a staid tradition of praise poetry: "You flung your hourse like falcons aloft/from eyries above Dorylaion's cots…but of siege in fear/invested

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[308]   Again, see the differences between the general praise of desert women by Farazdaḳ of Dârim-Tamîm and the specific sexual praise directed at a Berber girl by Ibn Quzmān.
[309]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 39-40. al-Abayd, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), no. 28, pp. 282-283.

Constantinople stood."[310] Even in the case of independent, prominent court officials

writing poetry, much of their poetry praised their overlords or patrons; their lances

and swords represent stock imagery of the strong, lordly elite.[311] The ruling class'

magnamity and generosity, especially towards poets, and most especially towards

poets unworthy of such reward, are common tropes.[312] While possibly considered

disingenuous, patrons often *did* reward the authors of these panegyrics, if they

managed to please the subject in effective or novel ways. This synopsis of praise

and reward remains true regardless of the form or style of the poem. An especially

apt couplet might do the trick as well as a more developed lyric might.

Thus, one may see the distinction between the object of observation and

address within uniquely Andalusian, hybrid poetry (the *muwashshah* and *zajal*) and

the more standard praise poetry of the Arabian heartland. While the address to a

lover was certainly not unknown in the Arabian sphere,[313] the emphasis on the ode

to the lover was a uniquely Andalusian feature. Indeed, in Zwartjes' analysis of the

various themes of the *muwashshah*, the salute to a ruler appears but rarely,[314]

whereas Arabian poets used almost all poetic forms to address their patrons. The

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[310]　Abu Tammâm of Ṭayy, cited in Tuetey, Charles Greville, trans., *Classical Arabic Poetry: 162 Poems from Imrulkais to Maʿarri*, (London: KPI Limited, 1985), no. 127, p. 238. Tuetey's translation is of *Abû Tammâm, Dîwân*, Beirut, 1889, 130.

[311]　Abu Tammâm of Ṭayy, cited in Tuetey, Charles Greville, trans., *Classical Arabic Poetry: 162 Poems from Imrulkais to Maʿarri*, (London: KPI Limited, 1985), no. 128, p. 239. Tuetey's translation is of *Abû Tammâm, Dîwân*, 330.

[312]　Abu Tammâm of Ṭayy, cited in Tuetey, Charles Greville, trans., *Classical Arabic Poetry: 162 Poems from Imrulkais to Maʿarri*, (London: KPI Limited, 1985), no. 125, p. 236. See Tuetey, *Classical Arabic Poetry*, p. 74 for a discussion of the themes.　Tuetey's translation is of *Abû Tammâm, Dîwân*, 15.

[313]　Ismaʿîl b. ʿAmmâr of Asad (dates unknown) directed specific praise, though without the obscene potential of the *muwashshah* or *zajal*: "How cure a heart that in secret pines/for a nymph in the house of Ibn Ramin…" Ismaʿîl b. ʿAmmâr of Asad cited Tuetey, Charles Greville, trans., *Classical Arabic Poetry: 162 Poems from Imrulkais to Maʿarri*, (London: KPI Limited, 1985), no. 80, p. 187. Tuetey's translation is of Abu ǀl-Faraj al-Iṣbahânî, *Kitâb al-Aġânî*, and *The Twenty-First Volume of the Kitâb al-Aġânî*, Brūnnow, R.E., ed, X.136.

[314]　For examples, see Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 194-195.

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uniquely Andalusian forms simply did not suit themselves to addressing a ruler; the playfulness of the *kharja* with its goal of "thieves Latin"[315] may have undermined attempts to curry favor from rulers and courtiers.[316] At the very least, its use of non-traditional poetic voices (the woman, the servant) set itself apart from the tradition within Arabian poetry of keeping the poet's voice preeminent throughout.[317]

Conversely, the paradigm shift within Arabia highlights this discrepancy. Instead of the creation of new styles and genres, the emphasis instead became new ways to communicate the praiseworthiness of a ruler. While using the same genres to elevate the panegyric from a collection of repeated clichés, poets attempted to discover new ways to expand the litany of epithets and virtues represented by a given ruler, while still using the existing models. Rather than wholesale creation within a new hybrid style, Arabian poetry focused on transformation of the existing standards.[318] Although this reworking of existing models took place before the rise of the *muwashshah*, it represents the paradigm shift that occurred within Arabian poetry. Moreover, although Hispano-Arabic poetry was heir to the same emphasis on transformation, that very emphasis combined with the Greco-Roman tradition to allow for fresh creation of new forms.[319] As heir to two sets of paradigm shifts, Hispano-Arabic poetry was able to combine the effects of both into genres of poetry distinct from either, though still reflective of each culture's specific influences: the use of Aristotle's *Poetics* as adapted for

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[315]   Abu-Haidar, Hispano-Arabic Literature, p. 113.
[316]   Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 113, translation of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, *Dar al-Tiraz*, pp. 30-31.
[317]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 190-191.
[318]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 33-35.
[319]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp.37-44.

Arabic and the transformative search for new ways to reuse traditional themes and images.

Within Arabic poetry, both Arabian and Andalusian, the fresh use of existing themes and imagery became the standard to judge the mastery of any given member of the court literati;[320] a demonstrated command of the transformation and novel use of tradition was required for excellence. While the panegyric and praise poetry were certainly known in al-Andalus, and much remains, they but rarely appear in the *muwashshah* or *zajal*, at least in terms of the praise of rulers or patrons.[321] Andalusian panegyrics appear in the other forms, the *kamil*, for example, but quite infrequently in the *muwashshah*.[322] Even more so than the discrepancy between the *kharja* and the way in which poets traditionally addressed their rulers and patrons, the overriding themes of many of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* do not lend themselves to the panegyric as easily as some of the more traditional Arabian forms do. The celebration of a certain level of decadence, illicit pleasures, and the enjoyment of life does not reflect the standards of a ruling class, especially following the rise of the Almohads and their return to a stricter interpretation of acceptable Islamic values, following the *ta'ifa* period. The poetic forms native to al-Andalus and its successors reflect instead a separate set of experiences than those valued by their Arabian ancestors. Similarly, the Arabian models preserved tradition more closely than their Arabian peers the *muwashshah*

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[320]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 38, 44-45.
[321]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 184-187. This section effectively summarizes the overwhelming use of the *muwashshah* for specifically *erotic* panegyrics to a lover, as distinct from the poems praising a ruler or patron.
[322]   Monroe, James T., "Oral Composition in Pre-Islamic Poetry," in Stetkevych, Suzanne Pinckney, *Early Islamic Poetry and Poetics*, (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2009), pp. 27-38 examines the overwhelming frequency of standard meters, all used for panegyric.

and *zajal*. While how much of this discrepancy is due to the influences of urbanity or a frontier status is debatable, a courtier-poet in the Arabian heartland could not easily understand the experience of a courtier-poet in one of the *ta'ifa* kingdoms.

Unlike within Arabic-speaking Iberia, in Arabia, almost every style in common use (and several aberrant forms used but rarely by all poets or only commonly by a single poet)[323] lent itself to praise.[324] It had no popular equivalent of the *muwashshah* or *zajal*; the forms used were variants on centuries-old styles and genres, rather than a wholesale creation of new forms for new purposes, despite the significant amount of time that had passed. Again, the paradigm shift within Arabian poetry was subtle, with the final transformative result reflecting a desire to adhere to classical rules and styles. As a result, regardless of the form that a poet eventually chose, that form could be contorted into a way to praise, even if the result seemed forced or stilted.[325] It is true that many forms lend themselves readily to the panegyric, in much the same way that the *muwashshah* and *zajal* do not, but even those forms that seemed just as awkward when devoted to a more traditional panegyric style could be used in that way.[326]

4.2.2. Theme and Content

Much like with the structure, form, and style, one of the most common themes in classical Arabian poetry could not differ more profoundly from the most common themes of the *muwashshah* and *zajal*. Praise poetry was not the only

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[323]   Monroe, "Oral Composition in Pre-Islamic Poetry," pp. 37-40, 52-53.
[324]   van Gelder, Geert Jan, *Sound and Sense in Classical Arabic Poetry*, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co, 2012), pp. 23-170, especially p. 81.
[325]   Sperl, Stefan, "Islamic Kingship and Arabic Panegyric Poetry in the Early 9th Century," in Stetkevych, Suzanne Pinckney, *Early Islamic Poetry and Poetics*, (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2009), p. 94. To a certain extent, Sperl provides examples of how pre-Islamic themes were manipulated to support Islamic ideals of rulership, forcing pre-Islamic styles to support current literary ideals.
[326]   Sperl, "Islamic Kingship," pp. 90, 92-94.

genre that found itself divided by geographical lines. Despite the life-affirming hedonism underlying the *muwashshah* and *zajal*, within Arabia, two separate traditions that could barely differ more existed. Expressed as one extreme within the Arabian tradition, a recurring thread of pessimistic conservatism (both social and religious) underlay much of the poetry that was not praise.[327] In some ways, this conservative outlook, its difference pronounced even when compared to the praise poetry of Arabia, seems even more striking when compared to the relatively liberal environment celebrated within the tradition of the *muwashshah* and *zajal*; "Ravage, raven, spoil! There is none/alive but rogue that ravaged and spoiled"[328] reflects an almost entirely separate tradition from "O you who have taken my heart as booty lawfully won in battle, grant the love union in exchange for the *khums*,"[329] despite both using battle metaphors. However, the bleakness of the conservatism indicates that the earlier paradigm shifts that allowed for the *muwashshah* and *zajal*'s borrowing from the Greco-Roman tradition were unique to the Andalusian experience; the paradigm shifts undergone by strictly Arabic poetry (Hispano-Arabic included) could not account for the entirety of the origin of the *muwashshah* or *zajal*. Otherwise, their existence would have been subsumed by traditional forms, both praise poetry and the reworking of traditional themes (such as the emptiness of the desert), with the result of forms in greater harmony with their Arabian contemporaries.

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[327]   Boullata, "Convention and Invention," pp. 6, 9-10.
[328]   al-Maʿarri, cited in Tuetey, trans., *Classical Arabic Poetry*, no. 157, p. 275.
[329]   Ibn Sahl of Seville, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), no. 33, pp. 306-307. *Khums* represents the fifth part of the booty, which belongs to the community of the Muslims as a whole; Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 307, ff. 27.

Conversely, on the other end of the spectrum existed a specific type of licentious poetry, focusing not necessarily on love or desire, but tending towards an obscene extreme. While not precisely described as a respected genre, *mujūn*, a specific type of poetry emphasizing the physical; themes include sex (including sodomy), overindulgence in drink, and excretory function.[330] While potentially related to the *muwashshah* and its themes more directly than other Arabian/North African genres, it differed in several key respects; perhaps most importantly the *mujūn* poets represented outliers from the poetic norms, and were occasionally under threat for their obscene invective,[331] whereas the *muwashshah* poets represented a more respectable genre, at least within a Hispano-Arabic context.[332] Further, the genre of *mujūn* represented an extreme. Whereas the *muwashshah* tends towards euphemism and roundabout ways to describe lust or adultery, *mujūn* is blatant:

> On my heart are painful wounds from the love I feel for you; and yet I strive to hide this love deep in my soul.
> Whether you are angry or satisfied with me, I will only have two advocates in my favour – an erect dick and the dirhams.[333]

The first line seems standard for a yearning love poem, in keeping with the *muwashshah* tradition; the second line is significantly more explicit, referring specifically to prostitution. As such, the poem only shares a superficial similarity with the *topos* of the *muwashshah*, having more in common with the earthier *zajal*.

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[330]   Szombathy, Zoltan, Mujūn*: Libertinism in Mediaeval Muslim Society and Literature* (Exeter, United Kingdom: Short Run Press), 2013, pp. 113 – 149.
[331]   Szombathy, Zoltan, Mujūn, pp. 216-217.
[332]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 31-32.
[333]   Original source al-Kātib al Iṣbahānī 'Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Qurashī, Karīdat al-qaṣr wa-jarīdat al-aṣr, edited by Muḥammad Baha al-Atharī, 2 volumes, I: [al-Qism al'Irāqī], (Baghdad: Maṭba'at al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī), 1955-64, p. 179., found at Szombathy, Zoltan, Mujūn*: Libertinism in Mediaeval Muslim Society and Literature* (Exeter, United Kingdom: Short Run Press), 2013, p. 130.

As a counterpoint to *mujūn*, but just as distinct from the *muwashshah* tradition, the conservative, pessimistic movement set itself apart from the rest of Arabian literature. As stated previously, the comparison between the pessimists and Andalusian literature is even more pronounced than that of *mujūn* and the *muwashshah*. One can think of a continuum, with Andalusian literature as more permissive in both theme and innovation, the majority of Arabian and North African literature occupying the broad middle ground, and the pessimists occupying the most conservative in style and least hopeful in theme. Especially as the population of Arabia and North Africa became increasingly urbanized, poets of all levels of philosophical outlook used the desert as a metaphor for purity; the desert was an empty, unsullied space, upon which metaphors of both beauty and longing could be projected.[334]

For some poets and philosophers, by leaving the desert, by leaving the nomadic lifestyle behind, and by settling in cities, the people of Arabia had sacrificed something essential to the Arab life.[335] A certain segment of poets began to look back at the early Islamic period as a Golden Age, not just because of the presence of Muhammad and a unified *ulamma,* but also because of the supposed purity of the time. To this class of poets, the poetry of the time possessed certain attributes that made it of the highest quality; it was written both at a time closer to the great poets whose models, hanging in the Ka'ba, laid the foundation for both pre-Islamic poetry and the Arabic poetry that followed and during a time when the Arabs were living as they were supposed to. In essence, these pessimist poets demonstrated a recurring conservative nostalgia that led to the continued dismissal

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[334]   Or both; one could long for the empty beauty of the true desert.
[335]   Tuetey, *Classical Arabic Poetry*, p. 87.

of innovative forms as either not deserving of serious literary consideration or as immature attempts to pervert Arabic poetry.

Within this group of pessimistic, conservative trends, a certain class of poet saw urbanization as a cancer eating away at the essence of the Arab.[336] As time wore on, this metaphor of decay and decline from a purer past reached perhaps its apogee at around the same time as the appearance of the *muwashshah* in al-Andalus. The Syrian al-Maʿarri (c. 362 AH/973 CE to c. 450 AH/1058 CE) took perhaps the most pessimistic view of the urbanization of the East, that "Desert and City, *the arch-antagonists*, have married, compromised and given birth to endless strife and division."[337] al-Maʿarri saw the gradual process of leaving the unsullied desert for the city as somehow unnatural for the Arabian populace.[338] It reflects a corruption of the proper Arabian[339] values. The increased urbanization within al-Andalus would no doubt have caused him greater distress.

And yet, throughout the entire time that a pessimistic attitude towards urbanization had been growing throughout the Arabian literary elite, that same urbanization had been taking place in both al-Andalus and the sphere of Arabian influence. Seville and Baghdad were at the end of the first millennium CE two of the largest cities on earth. With the rise of the city as a pervading influence throughout the Islamic world, the poems of al-Maʿarri and his peers seem to be on some level reactionary, looking backwards at an idealized past where the Desert was the natural home, rather than the City. As a result, although al-Maʿarri and

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[336]   Tuetey, *Classical Arabic Poetry*, pp. 85-87.
[337]   Tuetey, *Classical Arabic Poetry*, p. 87. Emphasis added.
[338]   Tuetey, *Classical Arabic Poetry*, pp. 85-86.
[339]   And presumably Arabic, given the tendency for Arabic writers throughout the sphere of influence to borrow Arabian metaphors and language.

several other late classical poets may be seen as innovators in style and form, they cannot be seen as innovators in theme. The pessimism of al-Maʿarri echoes the poetry of pre-Islamic poets, with their emphasis on the here and now and the realities of the world. Unlike much of the early Islamic poetry, there is no hint of a paradisiac afterlife in the pre-Islamic poets.[340]

This parallel tradition, occurring simultaneously with the rise of the *muwashshah*, demonstrates how the influence of Arabia in terms of al-Andalus looking to the Arab heartland for inspiration and validation did not necessarily extend to adopting the full set of typical Arabian themes.[341] The paradigm shifts within Iberia insulated it to some degree from the reactionary standards of Arabia. Despite the continued use of Arabic, with Arabian metaphors and images, Hispano-Arabic writers did not share in the same idealization of the desert beyond its use as a traditional literary trope.

While the poems of al-Andalus, both before and after the rise of the *muwashshah*, might borrow the images of the desert, the gazelles and camels, the date tree and the oasis, Andalusians refused to condemn the city for simply being the city.[342] The desert represented a fertile source of traditional images not changed despite any paradigm shift. Its use tied the Arabic poems of al-Andalus to

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[340] Stetkevych, Suzanne Pinckney, "Structuralist Interpretations of Pre-Islamic Poetry: Critique and New Directions," in Stetkevych, Suzanne Pinckney, ed., Early Islamic Poetry and Poetics, (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), pp. 60-61.

[341] al-Maʿarri represents the bleakest of the tradition, but he was by no means alone in his contempt for the urbanization of Arabian society. See Tuetey, *Classical Arabic Poetry*, pp. 82-83. Further, compare Noorani, "Heterotopia and the Wine Poem," with its clear links between early Islamic examples and Iberian successors with Stetkevych, Jaroslav, "Name and Epithet: The Philology and Semiotics of Animal Nomenclature in Early Arabic Poetry," in Stetkevych, Suzanne Pinckney, ed., *Early Islamic Poetry and Poetics*, (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009). The examples in the latter, focusing on female and male camels, despite being occasionally reminiscent of sexuality, do not transfer into the erotic context of the muwashshah.

[342] Lowin, *Arabic and Hebrew Love Poems,* p. 6.

the poems of Arabian, both before the rise of the *muwashshah* and during its

evolution. But it does not seem to be the sole source of Andalusian imagery, nor

does it appear to be the most natural setting for the hedonism underlying so many

of the *muwashshahs*. As a barren emptiness devoid of the gardens and towns

celebrated by the *muwashshah*, the desert[343] takes some subtle manipulation for a

poet to marry the images of the desert to the form of the *muwashshah*.

      Instead, the city, or at least an urban environment, represents in some ways

a more natural setting for an Andalusian poem. Given the style and the specifically

Andalusian themes and imagery, no amount of borrowed imagery can make it a

true inhabitant of the desert; it lacks the reactionary ties to a solely nomadic Arab

past that the poets of Arabia proper can claim as direct ancestors. The genealogy

of the *muwashshah*, on the Arabic-speaking side, includes the transition from a

nomadic, desert existence to the city, with all of the accompanying pleasures and

concerns that move brought. The particular paradigm shift of rural to urban is not

unique to the *muwashshah* but the particular images that the *muwashshah* and

zajal use and reuse highlight this particular change. If the Greco-Roman genealogy

highlights a shift in the way the poem was physically constructed, then the shifts

within Arabic-speaking al-Andalus draw attention to a shift in the way that imagery

or metaphors were constructed. The *muwashshah* finds itself concerned with the

marketplace, the walled urban garden, with houses side by side, instead of the

rolling dunes and the oasis, despite borrowing heavily from the same imagery of

the desert as its Arabian peers. As a result, the *muwashshah* has a tendency to

mix metaphors freely between specifically Andalusian examples and those

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[343]   Or the idea of the desert.

belonging to a pan-Arabic set; a description comparing a sexual encounter to a desert raid or semi-organized warfare might be contrasted with the concrete details of a meeting in the garden.[344]

In this way, too, the limited nature of the similarities between *mujūn* and *muwashshah* becomes apparent. For instance, *mujūn* poetry demonstrates the parallel embrace of urbanization within an Arabian context, but the content itself is unshared. Instead of the focus being on the illicit meeting between lovers (as in the *muwashshah*), the focus is instead on the simple physical, sexual act, in many cases between a man and an adolescent boy.[345] Neither the *mujūn* tradition nor the conservative movement had much in common with the *muwashshah* beyond the language and imagery; despite that level of connection, they existed as separate genres, with little indication that the *muwashshah* drew any influence from *mujūn*.

Rather than maintaining a connection to *mujūn* or the dedicated conservatives, the most immediate Arabian peer might be seen as the *khamriyyat*, or wine poetry*,* such as that of the *muwashshah*'s slight predecessor, Abū Nuwās. While explicit, and focusing on transgression, not unlike the *mujūn*, it had more in common with the light-hearted embrace of subversion possessed by the *muwashshah*.[346] Focused literally on wine and drinking, it reflects specifically the parallel themes found in the *zajal*, with actual drinking, than the metaphorical use of wine more usually seen in the *muwashshah*:

> "Pour by the book," said we to her, "full bottles bring, no less, no more."

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344   Ibn Arfa' Ra'suh, cited in whole: Ibn Quzmān, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), no. 19, pp.224-227.
345   Szombathy, Zoltan, Mujūn, pp. 134-140.
346   Harb, F., "Wine Poetry (*khamriyyāt)*" in *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature, Vol 1, 'Abbasid Belles Lettres*, edited by Ashtiany, Julia, T. M. Johnstone, J.D. Latham, R.B. Serjeant, and G. Rex Smith, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1990, pp. 227-229.

She brought wine like the sun, with rays like stars, fair wine, in glass ablaze.[347]

Nevertheless, the *khamriyyat* of Abū Nuwās reflect an Arabian interpretation of some of the themes found in the *muwashshah*. However, unlike the frontier poetry of the *muwashshah* or *zajal*, embraced to a certain extent by the courts, Abū Nuwās represented a threat to the established order, with considerable emphasis placed on the irregularity, even impermissibility, of his poetry:

> A boy of beckoning glances and chaste tongue,
>   Neck bowed enticingly, who sorns the rein,
> Proffers me wine of hope mixed with despair,
>   Distant in word and deed, yet ever near.[348]

This excerpt combines two of Abū Nuwās' favorite pasttimes, drinking and young men, which is in keeping with a man whose character "led to his passing into legend as a jokester," with a poem "which warns against marriage and advises masturbation" as an alternative.[349] While his wine poetry specifically may share some features with the *muwashshah* and *zajal*, they exist in different realms. In other words, the *muwashshah*, while not dissimilar from the *khamriyyat*, exists as the product of a separate set of genealogies, rather than the solely Arabian heritage the *khamriyyat* represents.

Ultimately, the *muwashshah* shows its Arabian heritage, while maintaining its own genealogy distinct from the Arabic poems of the late classical period. It is the heir to two sets of paradigm shifts, the Greco-Roman set explored in chapter three and the relatively smooth transition from pre-Islamic models to a transformative reuse of those models throughout the Arabic-speaking world,

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[347]   Original citation Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān,* ed. A. 'A. M. al-Ghazālī, (Cairo), 1953, p. 49; trans. J.A., found at Schoeler, G., "Bashshār b. Burd, Abū ʾl-ʿAtāhiyah and Abū Nuwās" in *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature, Vol 1, 'Abbasid Belles Lettres*, edited by Ashtiany, Julia, T. M. Johnstone, J.D. Latham, R.B. Serjeant, and G. Rex Smith, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1990, p. 292.

[348]   Original citation *Dīwān*, ed. Ghazālī, p. 49; trans. J.A., found at Schoeler, "Abū Nuwās," p. 294.

[349]   Schoeler, "Abū Nuwās," p. 299.

culminating in a radical combination of those models with the influence of Greco-Roman poetics to create the hybrid style. In terms of their literary development, the poems of the late classical period in Spain, the immediate predecessors to the *muwashshah*, already showed some indicators of divergence from their shared origins. While the poets of Arabia continued to use traditional forms and themes, including a strain of pessimism about deviance from these models, innovation was happening elsewhere in the Arabic-speaking world. By the time of the rise of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* as distinct forms, Spain had had three hundred years of separate development, and two hundred and fifty of quasi-autonomy from Arabia[350] in which to develop its own traditions, including the subtle assimilation of the Greco-Roman heritage of their new territory.

To be fair, much of the poetry of the intervening period mirrored closely that of the heartland of Arabia both thematically and stylistically. The *muwashshah* and *zajal* descend from a shared tradition, and the transition from desert to city within al-Andalus and its successors, while apparent, did not isolate the Andalusian experience from the *preexisting* poetic genealogy. Instead, Andalusian poets continued to look to the East and its classical models for inspiration – most of the praise poetry of the classical period follows the poetics of traditional Arab poetry quite closely.[351] The innovation within these styles, where it occurs, does not violate the traditionally accepted poetics in the same way the *muwashshah* or *zajal* later would. They reflect the gradual transformative paradigm shift mentioned before, where the emphasis became on how best to reuse a classical example or

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[350] Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 12, 16.
[351] The example of Ibn ʿAmmār, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), no. 10, 188-192 uses standard imagery, in a standard meter. He lived 442 AH/1031 CE to 474 AH/1083-1084 CE.

subtly transform a traditional image to more accurately reflect a novel interpretation. Andalusian praise poems continued to be written in classical Arabic and to be attuned to classical Arabic motifs. Despite the transplant of the setting from the deserts of Arabia to the steppes and plains of Spain, little distinguishes them linguistically or thematically from their Arabian or Middle Eastern peers.[352]

In this way, then, is the general Arabian genealogy of Andalusian poetry – not only that of the specific forms of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* – exposed. Although Andalusian poetry underwent a separate development, it is the shared desert heritage that made the most impact on the Andalusian forms, despite the continued urbanization of both al-Andalus and of the Middle East. Both regions look back over the classical period to a time when the nomadic desert existence was paramount, Andalusian poetry in its conservative mode and Arabian poetry throughout, with the intensity of that nostalgia dependent of the particular poet or poem.[353] Both Andalusian and Arabian poetry use classical motifs and models; the poetic descriptions of warfare, of the landscape, and of the wildlife all use classical examples, even when the Andalusian reality is a more organized, disciplined approach to battle rather than the desert raid, regular, well-tended gardens rather than sporadic oases, and dogs and cats rather than soaring falcons or well-shaped gazelles.[354] The use of these motifs, however, does not represent just sentimental looks back at a lost ideal, the way al-Maʿarri might suggest, despite his unrelenting pessimism towards the times he lived in. Instead, these motifs represent the basal stock from which both the Andalusian poets and the Arabian poets descended

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[352] Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 22.
[353] Boullata, "Convention and Invention," pp. 9-10; Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 22.
[354] Monroe, *Hospano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 22-24.

from, a shared language of poetic devices available to all authors, regardless of location. The key paradigm shift within the Arabic-language poetry revolved around on how this shared language was applied in a manner both in keeping with classical examples and novel enough to avoid charges of lazy, hollow writing.[355]

This shared library of both images and understanding, composed only of those items shared by both ends of the Arabic-speaking world, would be what the *muwashshah* and *zajal* would subvert. By twisting imagery found therein for new purposes or generating new, specifically Andalusian imagery, they would violate the shared assumptions of what motifs could be used to constitute "proper" Arabic poetry. By generating completely new innovations, rather than simple transformations, in style and genre, they would violate the norms of what forms could be considered poetry. These distilnctions, caused in part by their frontier status and in part by the cross-cultural connections formed across political borders with their Christian neighbors and through the absorption of pre-existing Greco-Roman cultural ties, will be explored more thoroughly in subsequent chapters.

4.3. Hispano-Arab Antecedents
The *muwashshah* and *zajal* did not originate in an Andalusian vacuum, fully formed as both the first and final expression of a distinctly Hispano-Arab poetics. Their genealogy is considerably more complex than a sudden flowering of hitherto unknown styles and themes; it reflects both a transformation of traditionally Arabian themes and the poetic history of al-Andalus and its early successors. The aforementioned relative isolation of Spain from the rest of the Islamic world, bar a

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[355]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 44 provides an explanation of how this transformation worked within an Andalusian context: "outworn themes which by now [the mid-sixth century AH/mid-twelfth century CE] had become symbols, rearrang[ed] into new, algebraic patterns…In doing this…poets were able to give a new lease on life to an old tradition."

portion of North Africa, allowed it to transform the styles of Arabia with a minimum of directly Arabian influence, despite the accusation that "if a crow should croak…in Syria or Iraq, they would…treat the crowing…as an authoritative text". [356]

As a result, the development of the *muwashshah* came at the frontier, where it was possible for the styles and forms of a non-Muslim population to subtly alter originally Arabian poetics in a way impossible in the heartland. The poetic culture already possessed the isolation necessary to develop traditional forms in non-traditional ways; the final paradigm shift of turning the transformation of existing models into innovation distinct from those models was a logical, though by no means inevitable, result. The gradual absorption of a non-Arabian poetics may not have been enough to change the basic structures of Hispano-Arabic poetry,[357] but it was significant enough to enact subtle changes, changes that over time led to the creation of the *muwashshah* and *zajal.* It was certainly enough to distinguish a separate Hispano-Arab poetic style from the rules inherited from the original Arab and North African settlers, despite the persistence of those rules within other styles. The *kharja*, especially, relies on the demonstration of a partial descent from Greco-Roman origins; the existence of *kharjas* with Romance embedded in them provides perhaps the clearest example of cross-cultural borrowing and an intermingled descent.

The first examples of the *muwashshah* date from the late fourth century AH/tenth century CE, approximately two hundred and fifty years after the conquest of al-Andalus. Much of the poetry in the early Islamic period concerned itself with

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[356]   Ibn Bassām, cited in Abu-Haidar, trans., "The *Muwaššahat* in the Literary Life that Produced Them," p. 116. Furthermore, much of the political history of Arabic Spain relates directly to North Africa – both the Almoravids and Almohads found their origins there.
[357]   That is, the reliance on rhyme as the defining character, rather than syllable stress or meter.

chronicling, particularly recording the battles, especially the victories, of the separate Muslim armies or factions as they expanded from Arabia into neighboring territories. As expansion slowed, and the ruling class became more concerned with consolidating power, especially following the assassination of almost all of the ruling Umayyads, themes shifted from recording the immediate past to the rise of the panegyric. In Spain, this process did not occur as quickly, perhaps due to the last Umayyad prince arriving in al-Andalus in 138 AH/756 CE.[358] However, much of the early material from al-Andalus is of a similar chronicling nature, preserving an early record of both the politico-cultural expansion of Arabian culture and the initial poetic styles that came to al-Andalus. As the basic chronicle lost prominence, praise poetry, sometimes reflective of extant chronicled material, became the foremost style throughout the Arabic-speaking world.[359]

As in Arabia, the bulk of the poetry that remains to us from al-Andalus itself between the chronicling period and the rise of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* is panegyric in nature.[360] The poetry of the classical period, both in Arabia and al-Andalus, focused on praise. Indeed, the clear majority of the poems extant today from al-Andalus mirror their Arabian peers: praises of the ruler (or other patron's) generosity or strength. Even the highest echelons of court society seem to have practiced this back and forth of praise poetry; poems exist that resulted in the

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[358]   It can be argued that as a member of the previously ruling family, he needed less reason to justify his continued rule than the Abassids, responsible for the eradication of his relatives, did.
[359]   This transition is reflected in Aʿsha Maimûn of Bakr (fl. 20 BH/602 CE to 8 AH/629 CE): "Had all Arabia joined our ranks/there were honors for all…we rushed them, man to man,/with our swords,/and our horse incessantly battered the field..." Aʿsha Maimûn of Bakr, cited in Tuetey, Charles Greville, trans., *Classical Arabic Poetry: 162 Poems from Imrulkais to Maʿarri*, (London: KPI Limited, 1985), no. 7, p. 103. It chronicles a distinct battle, but heaps praise upon the [victorious] Arabs. Tuetey's translation is of Abu |l-Faraj al-Iṣbahânî, *Kitâb al-Aġânî*, and *The Twenty-First Volume* of *the Kitâb al-Aġânî*, Brünnow, R.E., ed., XX.140.
[360]   Indeed, the *muwashshah* and *zajal* remain outliers when looked at in terms of quantity of recorded poetry. However, their popularity was such that they were preserved.

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appointment of the poet to high political office, these events themselves recorded in separate verses of thanks.[361]

Throughout the classical period, the poetic genealogy of both al-Andalus and Arabia remain very close, if not identical, in the elevation of the praise poem and classical poetic forms, despite the subtle transformations and reworkings of classical Arabic models into images more current with what literary culture demanded.[362] As happened throughout the existence of al-Andalus and its successors, the West looked to the East for modeling and continued inspiration. However, these cultures were already diverging, such that the poets of al-Andalus were in the process of creating their own, unique interpretations of classical Arabic poetry. As James Monroe points out in the introduction to his collection *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, the Andalusian version of praise poem reached its zenith at the same time that the *muwashshah* and *zajal* appeared, suggesting that the innovation and vibrancy brought by the cultural cross-pollination found in Arabic Spain was not limited only to creating new genres, but also creatively using existing genres and models in ways distinct from their Arabian peers.[363]

As distinct from the increasing religious hegemony within Arabia, over the two and a half centuries separating the appearance of Andalusian poetry from the end of the classical Arabic period in Spain, there existed a sizeable minority community of Christians[364] within al-Andalus. While most of these Christians adopted Arabic as their everyday language, to the extent that Alvarus, one of the

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[361]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 22-23.
[362]   Compare Ibn ʿAmmār, cited in Monroe, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, no. 10, pp. 188-192 with Abu Tammâm of Ṭayy, cited in Tuetey, trans., *Classical Arabic Poetry*, no. 128, p. 239.
[363]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp.5-7.
[364]   As well as a smaller community of Jews.

foremost chroniclers of the third century AH/ninth century CE lamented that the Latin spoken (and written) by his peers was abominable and that the Christian community had adopted the language of the invaders,[365] enough still spoke some degree of Latin, or Latin-derived Romance, for it to make an appearance in the *muwashshah*.[366] There is no trace of this (partial) bilingualism within the poems that preceded the development of the *muwashshah*. The non-*muwashshah* Andalusian poems left to us are written entirely in the same classical Arabic as their Arabian peers.[367] While the topics differ somewhat, and the specific uses of the shared library of Arabic *topoi* vary regionally, the poems themselves are regionless in their formal language. As part of the origin of the *muwashshah*, Hispano-Arabic poetry was setting itself apart by adopting the register of lower classes of society for the *kharja*.[368]

Indeed, this spontaneous appearance of the use of Romance in the *kharja* is especially mysterious. Despite the considerable attention directed to the question, scholars have been unable to come to a consensus on where the use of Romance came from, what it signified, and in some cases, on whether or not it even exists.[369] The idea of a coda to a poem is not unique to the *muwashshah* or *zajal*, but the specific requirement that the *kharja* makes the poem a *muwashshah* does appear

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[365]   Watt, W. Montgomery, *A History of Islamic Spain*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1965), p. 65.
[366]   It is not my place to do a detailed study of the bilingualism (or potential bilingualism*s*) of al-Andalus or its northern, Christian neighbors. Otto Zwartjes has already accomplished this study in his *Love Songs from al-Andalus*. I will follow his conclusion: that the level of bilingualism (that is, the personal use both Arabic and Latin) varied from community to community, but at such a level as to make the community itself bilingual.
[367]   Jones, "'*Omnia vincit amor*'," p. 93.
[368]   This usage is not limited to Romance; the styles of slaves and women are also typical markers of the language used within the *kharja*; Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 190-198.
[369]   See Jones, Alan, *Romance* Kharjas *in Andalusian Arabic* Muwaššah *Poetry: A Palaeographical Analysis*, (London: Ithaca Press, 1988).

to be unique. Without the *kharja* and its transition, all authors agree that the poem

is not a complete *muwashshah.* With the rise of the hybrids of the *muwashshah*,

zajal, and *kharja*, the poetry of al-Andalus begins to show how its genealogy

possess not only the set of gradual paradigm shifts belonging to the broader Arabic

language, but also is the heir to the Greco-Roman shifts of its geographical

predecessors. The understanding of what generated Hispano-Arabic poetry

encompasses not just the traditions inherited from Arabia, but also the distinctions

and paradigm shifts that set al-Andalus apart from the contemporary Middle East.

4.4.   Conclusion

This issue of distinction, the question of when did the Arabic poetry of al-

Andalus become *Hispano*-Arabic poetry, has been a source of friction.[370] Claims

have been made that it was the simple transition of native Latin forms into Arabic,

without influence from Arabic styles; that is, that it simply was Latin poetry

transliterated and transformed into Arabic.[371] A competing ideology presents the

claim that "Hispano-Arabic poetry is a mere transplanted version of Eastern Arabic

poetry, sharing a common language and literary heritage with Arabic [sic] poetry,

from which it originated."[372] This traditional theory, alluded to by James Monroe,

represents the traditional understanding of Arab critics (classical and modern),

though it fails to give full credence to the paradigm shifts that allowed Aristotle's

Poetics, in particular, to influence Hispano-Arabic poetry.[373] The metaphor of

gardening he uses dovetails neatly with my key point: that the narrow

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[370]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp.5-6.

[371]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp.5-6. This thesis seems to ignore the substantial subset of metaphors and styles that the Arabic-speaking settlers brought with them. In essence, the dictionary shared between East and West has been thrown out. This theory, while no longer in vogue, informs the competing claim that the *muwashshah* arose out of combined Eastern and Western influences.

[372]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 6.

[373]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 6.

understanding of Hispano-Arabic poetry, specifically the *muwashshah*, as merely

inferior imitations or even corrupt bastardizations of naturally Eastern stock is an

overstatement of the facts, based on an incorrect reading of the evidence. While

Monroe does not subscribe to the theory,[374] the key idea of the Andalusian writer

as a misplaced Easterner remains.

Monroe, instead, makes some invaluable points about the differences

between the natively influenced Andalusian styles and their Arabian and North

African contemporaries:

> It cannot be questioned that Hispano-Arabic poetry, being in Arabic. is essentially Arab and Eastern in its origin and literary tradition. It is an important branch of Arabic…literature. There is certainly much artificiality in it…but the artificiality is no more than that encountered…where bilingualism existed after the Arab conquest, so that this trait is not peculiar to al-Andalus. It is therefore questionable whether artificiality was the result of bilingualism or of the fact that Eastern poetic styles were not first entirely mastered…The way in which these elements of native [non-Arabic] origin were integrated into compositions that in essence were Arabic is aesthetically as important as the elements themselves, if not more so. Thus the true nature of Hispano-Arabic poetry is a complex matter; it depends upon the form, the period, and the aesthetic use made of its constituent elements.[375]

It is not enough to assume that the Western poets and their 'inferior' attempts to

write in an Eastern style were merely because they had not mastered the art.

Instead, the Western poets and their poetry were in the process of absorbing

native forms, styles, and structures, as discussed in chapter three, while at the

same time differentiating themselves from the strictly Arabian and Middle Eastern

strictures that had come with the Islamic settlement of Iberia. The paradigm shifts

of both cultures combined to allow for the distilling of hybrid styles.

This differentiation, then, allows for the reconciliation of Western poetry

during an "an experimental, imitative stage that would not reach maturity until the

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[374]   He lays it out as one of two major competing positions at the time of his writing in 1974. Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 5-6.
[375]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 6-7.

eleventh century [CE]" with its Arabian contemporaries. During the cultural shifts leading up to the origins of the *muwashshah*, the physical and cultural distance between al-Andalus and Baghdad meant that the shared stock of images, styles, and themes was no longer enough to guarantee an approximate correlation between a poem of the East and a poem of the West. Despite the shared resources of stock material, the poetry of the east and west diverged, perhaps in part as Andalusian "poetry was in a slow process of formation as a new social order arose out of the tribal jungle."[376] The change of the Arabian tribal world to a state that could support *literati* occurred first in the East. And, while this shift in culture lead to urbanization and the related changes that poets such as al-Maʿarri decried, the poets of the East stayed closer to the original library that the Middle East and al-Andalus shared in common. The heartland happened to be naturally more conservative, preserving more of the older forms and styles, even when they recombined or transformed the classical standards to meet the demands of contemporary audiences.

The Arabic antecedents of the *muwashshah* therefore can be traced to both a set of original, Arabian traditions that the settling population brought with them as they created the state of al-Andalus, maintained to one degree or another by its successors, and the frontier nature of al-Andalus. The cultural overlap between al-Andalus and Arabia was significant, but divergent, as expressed by how Arabia's transformations of classical themes were taken up as models by Hispano-Arabic poets. The West no longer possessed an immediate connection to the classical library of images and themes; instead, it had access to the transformations and

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[376] Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 7.

limited innovations of the East, expressed as the result of paradigm shifts. Distanced as it was from the cultural centers of the Middle East, and yet to substantially undergo the shift to a centralized state, al-Andalus did not share the same social and cultural heritage as the culture that it nominally originated from. Instead, the continued "experimental, imitative stage"[377] lasted well past that of the Middle East, and lacked a continued reliance on strictly classical forms of poetry.[378] This extended period of experimentation and divergence allowed the *muwashshah* to develop in an environment not beholden to strictly classical themes.[379]

The *muwashshah* cannot be said to have arisen from a single source. Neither the Arabian stock of images and themes nor any specifically Andalusian source material can explain their rise. The partial influence of a lingering stratum of Greco-Roman culture does allow for some insight into their origins, but "perhaps…there is some danger in explaining the organic unit that is a poem through its sources."[380] Instead, the *muwashshah* is best seen not only as a product of any of these individual strands, but as the distinct product of the multiple combinations thereof, the result of multiple sets of paradigm shifts involving two disparate cultures.

The stock imagery of the desert, combined with the frontier status of al-Andalus, the frontier combined with the Greco-Roman poetics discussed previous, the stock imagery combined with those poetics, all together help explain the origins of the *muwashshah*. Its true origins mythologized and lost from history proper, the

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[377]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 6.
[378]   Instead, one could say that it imitated imitations or transformations of classical Arabic material.
[379]   The continued divergence of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* from their Arabic contemporaries, will be treated in chapter six.
[380]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 6.

muwashshah cannot be explained as the flowering of a single phenomenon, but only as the combined product of these separate groups of ancestors. The Greco-Roman poetics adopted by the *muwashshah* poets, while crucial to understanding the key distinctions that led to the origins of the *muwashshah* and *zajal*, only help to explain the creation of these styles when applied to the existing Arabic forms and structures. Fundamentally, these are poems from an Arabic genealogy, both Andalusian and Arabian, with the grafting on of the additional Greco-Roman poetics leading to the unified whole that was the *muwashshah.* Instead of taking the approach, as so many seem to have done, to attribute the origins of these styles to a single basal culture, the synthetic approach, respecting that they originated in a multi-cultural environment, best respects their origins; as a result, the basic question of "what represents the original influences upon the *muwashshah*?" is again *partly* answered, allowing for the combined influence of both Greco-Roman and Arabic traditions to be demonstrated. The parallel issue of what was the *muwashshah* competing with and influencing during its heyday will now be addressed within chapters five and six.

5. Concurrent European Trends
5.1.   Introduction
     At the same time as the heyday of the *muwashshah*, European, Christian poetry and literature were developing in new ways, in part derivative of Arabic literary traditions, in part in contrast to them. The traditional epic poetic tradition, reinterpreted as romance or *chansons de geste*, and the lyric, now developed in part into *troubadour chansons,* were now spreading in these new forms throughout Europe. It is not a coincidence that the *muwashshah* and these new Western,

Christian, European[381] forms arose at the same time; they were both products of a cross-pollination between portions of the Arabic literary tradition and portions of the Greco-Roman literary tradition. In some ways, their existence is the result of an Arabic-inspired set of paradigm shifts, though less overt that the transitions that led to the *muwashshah*. The influences that contributed to the generation of the Andalusian *muwashshah* have been treated in the previous two chapters; within this chapter, I will be comparing – not simply contrasting – the *muwashshah* with its European peers.

The concept that European *troubadour* poetry was influenced in certain ways by Arabic source material and an Arabic tradition is by now well-trodden scholarly ground. The theory, while not universally accepted,[382] has been broadly incorporated into the literary history of Europe, especially in regards to the places where Arabic, both the actual language and the styles used for literature, may have had the most opportunities to influence poets. Sicily and the Iberian Peninsula have been identified as the territories with the greatest potential for the interaction of old Greco-Roman forms and Arabic styles. The Levant, while providing opportunity to cross-cultural contact, relied on a model of combat and opposition, rather than offering many opportunities for peaceful co-existence. William IX, for example, had significant opportunities throughout his life to be influenced by both the Andalusian *muwashshah* and the Arabic poetry of Sicily.[383] In the study of

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[381] To a certain extent, these words are all synonyms. Europe, aside from al-Andalus' successor kingdoms and a small population of Jews, was entirely Christian, and largely based on what parts of the Greco-Roman culture had survived.

[382] Abu-Haidar's hypothesis that the *muwashshah* relies on no way on Greco-Roman influence also extends the other way; in his eyes, there was no transmission the other way either. The forms existed in isolation, with no advantage taken of the many opportunities for one to influence the other.

[383] Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, p. 27.

medieval European literature, William IX's poetry has been seen as the first *troubadour* poetry to emerge, a revolutionary paradigm shift in its – or his – own right.

Unlike some of the other changes in poetry and the arts found in Europe during this time,[384] there are no subtle transitions or intermediate stages between his European predecessors and the poetry of William IX; his poetry demonstrates the potential abruptness of a paradigm shift. That said, the possibilities of further progression of this shift within the rest of Western poetry were limited. The poems of Christian Europe, even the majority of those written down for a literate elite, at that time were still modeled on the oral, epic tradition familiar throughout Western history. Instead, William IX's poems appear fully formed as original models of the immediate, personal *troubadour* style. Moreover, his work appears to have much in common with the *muwashshah* specifically; a great deal of his imagery appears borrowed from the shared library of Arabic poetry, while the precise way in which he uses these images echoes quite clearly the same emotions expressed by the *muwashshah* poets.[385] Despite the superficial differences in how he treats the same topics as the *muwashshah*, his work has, in some ways, more common features compared to his Arabic contemporaries than with his Latinate, Christian ones. For example, where the Arabic invokes God in an oath,[386] or complains about his love and lover,[387] William IX invokes a saint and complains of his love in

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[384] The twelfth century, during and just after William IX's lifetime, saw a series of new developments in both the sciences and arts. Its connection to cross-cultural contact with Muslims is outside the scope of this thesis, but is deeply explored within Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain*.
[385] Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, p. 65.
[386] Ibn Quzmān, cited in Monroe, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, no. 26, p. 260-261.
[387] Ibn Sahl of Seville, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, no. 33, pp. 304-305.

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similar language.[388] The epics contemporary to William IX treat love as distant, if they even address it at all.

Furthermore, the development of the traditional epic into the stylized *chanson de geste* style of romance includes several developments previously only known within Arabic poetry, caused by the borrowing into Western vernacular literature of previously Arabic themes. This borrowing was most likely subconscious, a result of centuries of cross-cultural contact, including the Crusades, unlike the poems of William IX, which may demonstrate a conscious borrowing of cross-cultural themes, as indicated by the relative chronology of the *muwashshah* and the romance. While the great romances arose slightly later than the height of the *muwashshah*, during the genre's twilight in Iberia, there are clear developments within their style that point to Arabic poetry as influences upon the greater themes found within the romance, evidence of subtle but distinct paradigm shifts within the European epic tradition. The epic romance has specific parallels found in the praise poetry, laments, and panegyrics found in Arabic literature, but they also share in the themes of the *muwashshah*. Throughout the extant corpus of romances, the ideas of the unattainable lover or the lovers separated by outside intervention mirror the same themes and even the same styles as expressed in the *muwashshah*.

However, the epic poetry concurrent with the *muwashshah* exists mostly in counterpoint to the *muwashshah*, without any single epic having evidence of every potential paradigm shift. The spectrum of epics, from the Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf*, drawing on a different set of traditions, to *La Chanson de Roland*, with its emphasis

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[388]   William IX, Count of Poitou, Duke of Aquitaine, trans. Press, Alan R., *Anthology of Troubadour Lyric Poetry*, (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1971), no. 5, p. 21.

on stylized battles and little sense of the inner emotional life past obligations of duty, to *El Cantar de Mio Cid*, the most personal epic, examining also the emotions of its protagonist, exists as a set of experiences outside of the intimate setting of the *muwashshah* or *troubadour* poetry. Compared to the *muwashshah*, these epics relate broader, less personal situations; their focus is on the individual hero or small group of heroes, not on the inner emotional life of the author.[389] Despite the parallels that can be found between them and Arabic poetry, they exist separately from the majority of potential influences. Unlike the clear connections between the *muwashshah* and the genesis of the poetry of the *troubadours*,[390] most of the epic material has only tenuous relationships with the *muwashshah* material, regardless of the possibility that these personal Arabic poems could have further influence.

Moreover, the appearance of love or separation in the *muwashshah* differ from any European counterpart in some key ways. One of the most crucial revolves around the acceptability of the presentation (if not the actual expression) of love, lust and desire within al-Andalus and successor kingdoms and how the same ideas were received in the Christian West. While revolutionary in his treatment of love poetry, William IX was seen as a degenerate,[391] more than partially Islamicized,[392] and not to be trusted as a bulwark of the Christian faith.[393] The contemporary official rhetoric of Christian Europe stressed the alienness of the Islamic world as compared to Christianity, lamenting any positive cross-cultural contact. Concurrent with the heyday of the *muwashshah* were the Crusades, and

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[389] A limited analysis of the role of the inner life of the author versus the external action of an epic's protagonist may be found at Lewis, *The Allegory of Love*, p. 9.
[390] Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, pp. 27, 65.
[391] Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, p. 28.
[392] Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History,* pp. 31-32.
[393] Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History,* p. 31.

while they may have provided an avenue for cross-cultural contact, no matter how antagonistic, the Crusades demonstrated the official policy of Catholic Christianity: West versus East, an avenue to reclaim the Levant from the infidels.[394] Similarly, the erotic aspects found throughout the *muwashshah*, while tolerated even in the reforming Almoravid period,[395] were frowned upon in the Western world. The period of the Crusades was also a time of purifying the faith and eliminating what might be seen as sexual deviance within Catholic Christianity.

Ironically, at the same time that *muwashshah* were gaining prominence in al-Andalus, the political system within Iberia was undergoing significant upheaval. The *taifa* period, with several small kingdoms warring against each other as much as they warred against Christian neighbors, was ending, replaced with the Almoravid and Almohad dynasties in turn,[396] each dedicated to reforming the decadence of the Muslim territories of Iberia. Despite the reforming characteristics of the rulers, and their efforts to purify the faith, not unlike in Christian Europe, of alien and degenerate elements, they did not stamp out the erotic, sensual *muwashshah* and *zajal*. There was a long tradition of eroticism and sensuality in Muslim writings; sensual *hadith* exist, and in others, Muhammad frankly and specifically discussed sexual ethics in a way absent from the Christian scriptures and most of the Church tradition, notwithstanding the erotic aspects of the Song of Songs.[397]

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[394]   Although they originated in a plea from Eastern Orthodox patriarchs, the Crusades represented a Latin Christian offensive.

[395]   Again, there is a maintained distinction between what was condoned in art and what was condoned in actuality.

[396]   Lowney, *A Vanished World*, pp. 106, 145.

[397]   Maghen, Ze'ev, *Virtues of the Flesh*.

As Corriente notes, it is not until after the fall of the Almohads that the *muwashshah* and *zajal* begin to truly diminish in stature within Iberia. They remained two of the most distinctive styles of Hispano-Arabic poetry; their Arabian and North African peers were still unable to adapt to the new styles with any sort of natural grace. Their attempts, as discussed previously, still reflected a basic failure to understand the Andalusi style of the *muwashshah*, evidence that the paradigm shifts with Iberia that gave rise to the forms did not necessarily translate outside their original place of origin, whether within the Arabic-speaking or Latin-speaking world.

Given that the most prominent differentiators of the *muwashshahs* are reflected in their typically erotic and Bacchic attitudes,[398] themes but rarely found in the *muwashshah* are more commonly celebrated in contemporary European poetry *despite* the debt they pay *to the muwashshah* rather than *because* of that debt. Traditional panegyric themes – often echoing instead themes found in Arabic praise poetry – of martial prowess, generosity, and defense of the faith[399] are stressed instead as the values to emulate, rather than celebrating the idealized lover. While a lover might be praised for his strength or his beauty, the stress is not on the male lover. If anything, he is a mirror that reflects the beauty and virtues of the female lover. Especially in the epic romance tradition of Christian Europe, chastity is celebrated as a virtue; while the theme of lovers separated by the vicissitudes of society may occur, it is often a chaste love, not the overwhelmingly sensual love celebrated in the *muwashshah*. The emphasis on personal, physical,

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[398]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 190-214.
[399]   In this case, the Christian faith.

romantic love did not make the transition between native Hispano-Arabic poetry and the poetry of Christian Europe.

However, the parallels between contemporary Arabic poetry and Christian European lyric poetry demonstrate a common genealogy, derived from the contact between the two cultures. While they both approach the same themes in their material, often in similar ways, these themes ultimately diverge, perhaps due to the greater centralization of power in Christian Europe, drawing novelty out of contact in Iberia, Sicily, and the Levant. This diversion provides further evidence that any paradigm shifts that Hispano-Arabic cultures (in tandem with that brought from Sicily and the Levant) generated within Europe were subtle. Although the *muwashshah* poets had a lasting impact thematically on Western Europe, their contributions *appear* as superficially minor, despite the key importance in modern Western society of celebrating a certain type of emotional, physical love as the ideal. The precise style and vocabulary of the *muwashshah* only appears relatively briefly in the historical record, but the themes found lasting expression; the paradigm shifts that did occur as a result of contact with Hispano-Arabic culture were subtle, yet deep. The conceptualization of love that found expression within Christian, Latinate Europe both ultimately echoes the content of the *muwashshah* and subtly looks back to it as a key influence in its development.

5.2.   The Rise of the *Troubadours*
5.2.1. The Origins of the *Troubadour* Style

William IX of Aquitaine was not only a man apart from his fellow nobles politically, but was also a man drastically removed from the prevailing artistic

culture of his times.[400] Whereas in Europe, the time immediately preceding William

IX's flourishing, around 1100 CE, saw the origins of the *chanson de geste* and the

return of the (written) epic tale,[401] William IX wrote short, lyric poetry, directly

attributable to one man. When the rest of Europe was listening to epics still in the

process of coalescing from oral traditions, with the process of recording a

standardized, 'written version only,[402] William IX had clear authorship credit, in

much the same ways that his Arabic-speaking peers gained notice and approval

under their own names, or under directly attributable epithets.[403]

This distinction, one specifically identified man writing poetry, might be

enough to set him apart from most of his European peers, as evidence of a minor

paradigm shift in how the poetry of Europe was now being recorded and

attributed.[404] Although William IX was not the only poet of the era to retain credit for

his work, many of his contemporaries, especially in English and Latin, are known

only by pseudonyms or by stylistic clues.[405] In the epic tradition specifically, writers-

cum-editors are often anonymous. Others, like Turold (c. between 1040 and 1115

CE?), attributed author of *La Chanson de Roland*, are only identifiable as the best

scholarly guesses from a pool of possible authors. However, William IX not only

wrote short lyric poetry, but wrote it in a new style, unknown to the rest of his

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[400] Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, pp. 27-32.
[401] *La Chanson de Roland* dates to within a few years on either side of 1100 CE. Brault, Gerard J., *Song of Roland: An Analytical Edition*, vol. 1, Introduction and Commentary, (University Park, Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 1978), pp. 5-6.
[402] Menocal, *The Ornament of the World,* p. 58.
[403] The fact that William IX was a high-ranking noble, Duke of Aquitaine, certainly did not hurt the survival of his poetry, nor its attribution to him. That said, the scholarly consensus is that he did write the poetry attributed to him – several poems seem to relate directly to specific events in his life. On the whole, the extant body of *muwashshahs* have at least probable authorship attached to the majority of authors. See Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry* for typical attributions of preserved *muwashshah*.
[404] Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, pp.30-32.
[405] See appendix I to note the relatively large number of European pseudonymous authors concurrent with named authors writing in Arabic.

contemporaries in Latinate Christian Europe.[406] William IX of Aquitaine is typically identified as the first of the *troubadour* poets,[407] who took certain stock themes, such as love overcoming obstacles, and transformed them into one of the predominant artifacts of European culture, with influence lasting until today.

The fact that these *troubadour* themes replicate those found in the *muwashshah* is not mere chance. As Menocal explains, William IX would have had special opportunity to be exposed to Arabic-speaking culture, more so than most other European nobles contemporary with him. For example, just prior to his birth, William IX's father helped capture Sicily from the Arabs who had held it for centuries, bringing back Berber slave girls, trained in the art of song and dance.[408] Furthermore, his territory of Aquitaine lay in the southwestern part of France, just across the Pyrenees from the Spanish Catholic kingdoms that bordered the Hispano-Arab kingdom to the south.[409]

Geographic coincidence alone, however, cannot account for the affinity between William IX's surviving poems and the *muwashshah*. Captured slave girls,[410] as well as the Islamic sciences and literature that his father brought back, do not fully explain these similarities, nor a proper explanation for the shift in poetry that William IX exemplifies. William IX's personality, however, provides a great deal of explanation. In fact, he had in some ways far more in common with his Arabic-speaking contemporaries than his Latin-speaking ones. Furthermore, like the

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[406]   Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, p. 32.
[407]   Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, p. 32.
[408]   Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, p. 27.
[409]   Or kingdoms, depending on what period one means.
[410]   Whether or not they knew the *muwashshah* will probably never be known. It is not, as Menocal points out, impossible that they could have: Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, p. 31.

authors of the *zajal*[411] and the *kharja*, William IX wrote in the vernacular Occitan of

his Aquitanian holdings, not in a rarified, courtly or standardized version of the

language.[412] His poetry demonstrates a clear transition in what language could be

accepted within a literary culture, with the clear possibility of influence by the

vernacular utilized by the *muwashshah* and *zajal* poets.

Although his use of the vernacular should be acknowledged, William IX was

not a common man. Most basically, like most of the Arab courtiers writing poetry

(including the *muwashshah*) from the early days of al-Andalus up to his Hispano-

Arab contemporaries, William IX of Aquitaine was a nobleman. His status is not

only important in regards to the survival of his work; it also helps explain why he

was able to *write* poetry in innovative ways. He was a member of the literate elite,

in a population whose poetry was predominantly oral, based on a series of

standardized tropes that could be easily recalled and stitched together. Certain

formulas appear repeatedly: for example, in *La Chanson de Roland*, with opponent

after opponent cloven in two with a supernatural strength.[413] These series of

recurrences may be viewed as different versions of a single core component,

easily substituted with minor variations for any other time Roland, Oliver, or one of

their other Christian companions slices a "Saracen" in two.[414] William IX did not

compose in this style. He did use stereotypical tropes,[415] but not as part of an epic,

oral tradition. Rather than having his lyric poetry repeatedly restate the specific

beauty of his beloved, he examined both the person at hand and the idea of

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[411]   As will be discussed in the subsequent chapter
[412]   Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, p. 32.
[413]   Brault, Gerald J., trans., *The Song of Roland: An Analytical Edition*, vol. 2, Oxford Text and English Translation, (Pennsylvania State University Press: University Park), 1978, pp. 82-85.
[414]   Brault, trans., *The Song of Roland*, vol. 2, pp. 82-83.
[415]   Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, p. 32.

love.[416] He used motifs similar to the *muwashshah*, celebrating a sensual, personal moment, not the splitting of an enemy down the middle:

> For she is whiter than ivory, wherefore I adore no other. If soon I do not have help so that my fine lady may love me, I'll die, by Saint Gregory's head! if she does not kiss me in bedroom or in arbor.[417]

If not for the use of a Christian oath, his words could easily come from a *muwashshah* poet; the love is denying him the physical affection he craves, the setting either the bedroom or the garden. The poem does not rely on the repeated use, for example, of "I'll die, by Saint Gregory's head!"[418] to set off a series of locations where he might be kissed. Instead, the theme of love is treated both in the immediate examination of his beloved's beauty, "whiter than ivory,"[419] and the feeling it evokes, "if I do not soon have help…I'll die."[420] Compared to the use of repeated imagery within the epic, this return to a more intimate, lyrical style is a paradigm shift in its own right, even before one examines the uniqueness of his themes within European literary society. His usage of reworked tropes, rather than an identical batch of stock imagery, reflects the same way that common themes are addressed in the *muwashshah*; William IX's originating of the *troubadour* style reflects the sentiment found through *muwashshahs*:

2	Alas for my woe!	I pine in distress!
3	I danced to her tune;	A gentle assailant.
4	If I say: "At last,"	"How d'you know?" says she.
5	She sways like a willow Which is teased by the hands	Green, supple, and fresh Of the breeze and the rain.
6	I cannot resist you:	Take my heart in abasement.[421]

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416 William IX, Count of Poitou, Duke of Aquitaine, trans. Press, Alan R.*, Anthology of* Troubadour *Lyric Poetry*, (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1971), no. 4, p. 19 as well as no. 5, p. 21.

417 William IX, cited in Press, trans., *Anthology of* Troubadour *Lyric Poetry*, no. 5, p. 21.

418 William IX, cited in Press, trans., *Anthology of* Troubadour *Lyric Poetry*, no. 5, p. 21.

419 William IX, cited in Press, trans., *Anthology of* Troubadour *Lyric Poetry*, no. 5, p. 21.

420 William IX, cited in Press, trans., *Anthology of* Troubadour *Lyric Poetry*, no. 5, p. 21.

421 Al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī, cited in Monroe, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, no. 24, p. 252.

As he was a member of the literate elite, William IX had the intellectual framework necessary to be able to craft smaller poems, with the original intent to be written down, rather than to be recited as a first step. This style of composition is partially at odds with the methods used by Arabic-speaking courtier poets; as noted previously, it was considered the height of talent to be able to compose orally, on the spot, only later to be recorded. However, this minor discrepancy does not negate the overarching similarity between the themes and language of his *troubadour* compositions and those of the *muwashshah* poets; the changes that William IX demonstrates are not undermined by this difference, though it should be acknowledged that the difference between oral and written composition is a significant one.[422] Instead, one can view it in a different manner: in some ways, the ability to write down a poem was more skillful in the less literate population of Christian Europe, just as in al-Andalus (and the Arabic-speaking East), the ability to compose orally was considered more skillful. Thus, William IX was similarly working at the height of the skills available to him, much like the *muwashshah* poets.

Moreover, William IX was seen as an aberration by his Christian peers, not because of his writings, but because his court was seen significantly Arabicized. As a result, William IX was excommunicated not once, but twice, over his failure to seem Christian enough. [423] His personal experiences crusading in both Spain and the Levant, rather than reinforcing a strict Christian orthodoxy, only heightened his "familiar[ity] with the prodigious cultural wealth of both Palestinian and Andalusian

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422   A full examination of the methods of composition is beyond the scope of this thesis
423   Menocal, *The Arabic Role In Medieval Literary History*, p. 32.

court life as any Christian monarch of his lifetime could hope to be."[424] William IX was able to adapt portions of the complex genealogy of Hispano-Arabic poetry into a Christian vernacular in large part because of his circumstances and personality. His experience living in territory with significant Arab influences even before his birth and his status as a frontiersman joined with a "fascination with the most distinctly Arabized, polyglot and culturally polymorphous society of the reconquered territories"[425] to create a man receptive to the traits and trends of Arabic poetry. These traits allowed him to 'invent' *troubadour* poetry[426], blending attributes of Arabic-speaking society from Iberia and the Levant with the attributes of an educated, nominally Christian, nobleman from Europe.

Although scholarship now generally ascribes the particular invention of this particular style to a single, Christian nobleman, the style owes a great debt to the secular lyric poetry of Arab Spain, not necessarily to one man's sudden brilliance and creativity. It is a, likely subconscious, derivation of foreign themes and influences, percolated through one man's experiences. Moreover, he adapted the style that would have been most similar to his own experience; the lower register of the *kharja* and *zajal* and their sometimes adoption of Romance could have bridged the gap between extant Hispano-Arab poetry and the Arabicized experience of William IX, allowing us to pinpoint a single moment in history as a literary paradigm shift.

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[424]   Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, p. 32
[425]   Despite the buffer states of northern Spain, Aquitaine remained part of the Christian frontier, and William IX married an Aragonese princess. Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, p. 31.
[426]   Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, p. 32.

5.2.2. The Personal Experience

Just as alien to contemporary European styles as the topics of his poems, William IX interjected himself, or at least a projected first-person persona, into his poetry. On the whole, the contemporary epics and ballads are impersonal, concerning themselves with the mighty deeds of other men as heroes, not a personal account of great events.[427] Rarely, if ever, does the narrator insert himself into the story.[428] Instead, it is a stylized recitation of certain events, typically in the semi-legendary past, instead of a time that can be immediately recalled by living persons.[429] At the same time William IX was composing the first of the *troubadour* poetry, much of Europe was enjoying the same methods of storytelling employed by poets reciting Homer over a thousand years previously. William IX, like the *muwashshah* poets, makes the poem a personal statement of his own, putative, experience, rather than a recitation of something no longer immediate:

> I should say nothing of love but good. Why have I so little of it? Most likely because more behooves me not; yet readily it gives great joy to him who well keeps within its bounds.[430]

He laments *his* personal state, in language that speaks to immediacy. While he addresses the topic of love abstractly, straying away from his previously direct language about "in bedroom or in arbor,"[431] William IX still has a strongly personal view on the matter of love, that love is an unabashed good, but that he lacks it.[432]

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[427]   *El Cantar de Mio Cid* is a variation from this pattern, but only in part. Though it partially addresses the emotional depth of the protagonist, it is not a first person account of the deeds of El Cid.

[428]   Homer, the model for ancient epic poetry, inserted himself only into the very prologue. Dante, whose *La Commedia Divina*, can be considered a blend of epic and lyric, inserts a fictionalized self into the entirety of his work.

[429]   Though the tale itself is in, broad strokes, a reflection of actual events, the lionization of a single man serves to transform him into a legend.

[430]   William IX, cited in Press, trans., *Anthology of* Troubadour *Lyric Poetry*, no. 4, p. 19.

[431]   William IX, cited in Press, trans., *Anthology of* Troubadour *Lyric Poetry*, no. 5, p. 21.

[432]   William IX, cited in Press, trans., *Anthology of* Troubadour *Lyric Poetry*, no. 4, p. 19.

He describes his feelings at a specific moment, rather than stepping back and giving a generic overview of what love is, or a static depiction of various emotional states he has felt. William IX creates an immediate, personal poem, focusing on the emotional state of a single man, himself.

Compared to the remoteness of the epic from an immediate, personal experience, this embrace of the immediately personal demonstrates a clear shift in what topics are acceptable. Despite the discrepancy between an oral audience and a written one, the topics of acceptable Christian poetry begin to change. with William IX. The lyric style he worked in allowed him to use that language of personal feeling, rather than shackling him to traditional, impersonal description or requiring him to describe specific, often stereotyped action, not thought and feeling, in the way of *Beowulf* and *La Chanson de Roland*.

The *muwashshah* poets similarly demonstrate that same intense personalization, mirroring the paradigm shift that William IX exemplified, sometimes combining both the abstract and concrete, in a similarly immediate fashion:

> Love produces the pleasure of blame for you, and rebuke for this
>   is sweeter than kisses.
> Everything is instrumental in causing love. Love became too strong
>   for me, and yet its origin was but play.[433]

Although this particular *muwashshah* selection addresses a situation in which the narrator is overcome with love (in what could be described as the wrong situation) rather than a lament over not having enough love, the similarities in how personal love or a lover can be are unmistakable. In both William IX's early *troubadour*

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[433]   Probably al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī, cited in Compton, Linda Fish, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry and Old Spanish Love Songs*: *The* Muwashshah *and Its* Kharja, (New York: New York University Press, 1976), no. 31, p. 41.

poetry and the *muwashshah*, the topic is intimate, but universal, not the overarching formulaicism of the Latinate epic that speak to the heroic actions of individuals that a common man could not emulate in a personal experience.[434] Both William IX and the *muwashshah* poet can be seen as expounding upon a theme to an audience that will understand the same feelings of lovesickness or being bereft of love, seemingly universal feelings. Chronologically, the *muwashshah* poets prefigure the intimacy, the personal nature found in the *troubadour* poetry, already apparent in William IX's groundbreaking work, but just barely. The shared genealogy of the *muwashshah* and the *troubadour* material allowed both forms to flourish simultaneously, though the *muwashshah* do predate the arrival of the *troubadour*. William IX's poetry derives its personality from the Arab genealogy of the *muwashshah*, while also drawing on that genealogy as filtered through a European experience, no matter how unorthodox..

5.2.3. The Discrepancies

However, the similarities between William IX's *troubadour* material and that of the *muwashshahs* do not limit themselves to the tropes about *love* found in their shared origins, though they neither fully intersect. Just as there is a playful sexuality underlying many of the surviving *muwashshahs*, William IX's work also possesses a version, somewhat sanitized, of the same theme. Love and lust are perennially intertwined in the *muwashshahs*; the personal immediacy of describing a separated love applies just as easily to innuendo, hiding the blatantly sexual behind the stock of images available to the *muwashshah* poets:

> "Oh, branch of the beech tree, come give me a hand!

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[434]   Speaking broadly, the *muwashshah* can be considered a lyric form, despite the fact that there is not a precise correlation between the Greco-Roman ideas of lyric and epic and the Arabic language poetic forms.

Whereas the muwashshah poet is describing an immediate sexual encounter in this *kharja*, William IX limits himself to writing of "kissing…in bedroom or in arbor," which is a bit more descriptive than the chaste, distant abstraction of love found in *La Chanson de Roland*, where Roland's beloved dies upon hearing of his death,[436] but falls short of the standard set by even some of the more roundabout *muwashshahs*:

> I see you have a sharp lance of Indian iron, surrounded by antimony
> and so it unsheathed what can not [sic] be described.
> Oh, one with enchanting eyelids, your sword
> is very keen.[437]

The language here is again that of innuendo, the language a stock image "saying what was unsheathed can't be described,"[438] rather than an explicit commentary on the phallus the lance represents. William IX does not engage fully with the sexuality, not even at the level of innuendo, that seems to be an inherent part of many *muwashshahs*,[439] but he does at least suggest an element of the physical (if not the explicitly sexual) on a personal level, not the impersonal language of epic

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[435]   Probably al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī, cited in Compton, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, no. 31, p. 41.

[436]   He seems to only think of her as a distant idea; certainly, she only functions as a counterpoint to the main action of Roland cutting people in two.

[437]   Probably Ibn Baqī, cited in Compton, Linda Fish, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry and Old Spanish Love Songs*: *The* Muwashshah *and Its* Kharja, (New York: New York University Press, 1976), no. 10, p. 19.

[438]   Compton, *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, pp. 19 (ff. 16), and 131.

[439]   Many of the *muwashshah* are more direct in how they approach sex as an element of love (or at least of lust)
> Beloved, give your consent and take my life.
> Let me drink again from the deep red lips of your mouth,
> Together with the kind of witchcraft your eyes contain.
>> Cool my burning fire and sheath the swordlike glances.
>> Don't kill me!

Anonymous, cited in Compton, Linda Fish, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry and Old Spanish Love Songs*: *The* Muwashshah *and Its* Kharja, (New York: New York University Press, 1976), no. 4, p. 13. Due to the date of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's death, this poem cannot date from later than 607 AH/1211 CE.

battle. Sex is inherent in many of the *muwashsahahs*; the absence of the explicitly sexual in William IX's work is reflective of the general difference in the acceptability of the sexual land sensual in the arts between al-Andalus and its successors and Catholic Europe. While lust and love are in some respects identical for the *muwashshah* poets, William IX keeps a clear distinction.

Nevertheless, the presence of a clear sexuality within William IX's work demonstrates a resistance to a cultural paradigm shift in its own right; at the same time that William IX was flourishing, the Catholic Church was attempting to firmly enact control over acceptable sexuality within the West. Whereas the history of Islam celebrated (legitimate) sexuality, the Catholic Church had begun to attempt, not altogether successfully, to change the role of sexuality within Europe. Marriage was becoming more formal, with the requirement that a priest and witnesses be involved, and at the same time, prohibitions on clerical marriage were becoming more formal.[440]

Furthermore, there are key differentiators in style between William IX and the *muwashshah* poets, for all that the *troubadour* poetry preserves portions of the themes of the *muwashshah* and *kharja*. Generally, the influence of the particular style of the *muwashshah* appears to have been circumscribed. Perhaps most prominently, the lyric poetry of the *troubadours* does not rely on the strict patterns of the *muwashshah*, strophes followed by a *kharja* with a stylized change in viewpoint. The *troubadours* write from a single point of view, with the pattern of their imagery not determined by a series of single strophes. William IX's poetry, while full of distinct, but related forms of imagery, does not contain the same style

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[440] Abbott, Elizabeth, *A History of Marriage*, (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2011) covers the evolution of marriage in detail.

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of a series of images, each strophe containing a new one or modifying the image

that came before, as in the *muwashshah* below:

> The name of wine, in my opinion–so know it!–is not taken from anything
>   but
> The one who is *kha'* of the cheek and *mim* of the smile
> And *ra'* of the honeyed saliva from a fragrant mouth
>   Give up worrying and join these letters
>   So that you might go early and late with a
>   body that has spirit.[441]

William IX's imagery consists of a series of short images, rather than, for example,

this extended transformation of wine into the body of the beloved. While both

consist of rich imagery describing both a beloved and being in love, the

muwashshah poets take an approach relying on single metaphors extended and

reshaped rather than a series of short comparisons, perhaps due to the different

poetic traditions in Latin Europe and Arabic Spain.[442] Despite the fact that the

muwashshahs frequently have multiple, coexisting metaphors within a single

poem, these metaphors are maintained and extended, rather than the staccato

shift from "whiter than ivory" to the religious oath of "by Saint Gregory's head!"[443]

      However, the Latin, Christian traditions of the troubadours possessed a text

exemplifying a rich poetic tradition replete with erotic traditions. Although the

interpretation of the Song of Songs coalesced into an allegory describing the love

between Christ and the (Roman Catholic) Church. Although the Church was at the

time of the *troubadours* restricting what they saw as illicit sexual relationships, the

physical language of the Song of Songs retained its place as Scripture. Its

language, though, would not be out of place in a *muwashshah*; indeed, it begins

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[441]   Ibn ʿUbāda, cited in Compton, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, no. 23, p. 33.
[442]   The Hebrew *muwashshah* tradition mirrored that of the Arabic-speaking, Muslim courtiers.
[443]   William IX, cited in Press, trans*., Anthology of Troubadour Lyric Poetry*, no. 5, p. 21.

"let him kiss me with kisses of his mouth!"[444] While such language would not generally be acceptable within the Christian literary tradition, its influence carries through into the *troubadour* poetry. Although the troubadours did not use as explicit language as the *muwashshah*, one can consider the Biblical tradition as a parallel to the immediate, physical language exemplified by the *muwashshah*.

In some ways, particularly in the way in which the entire Song of Songs may be treated as a single extended metaphor – the accepted reading by the religious authorities – it parallels Hispano-Arabic poetry, with its tendency to shape and extend a single metaphor. The Song of Songs, despite laying neither within a Latin tradition nor reflecting a Hispano-Arabic background, helps to bridge the gap between European Christians and Hispano-Arabic speakers, providing an additional reservoir of shared images and a celebration of the physical, possibly permitting the *troubadours* to have an additional, Christian source of inspiration to twin with the *muwashshah*'s influence.

Similarly, the following *kharja*, of uncertain authorship, would never appear in *troubadour* poetry:

> The palpitations of my heart are excessive
> and my patience is gone.
> My love has let me go. If only I could
> let go of him![445]

Despite the fact that the recurring trope of lost love appears here, the *kharja* containing the abrupt shift to a separate, female point of view is alien to the *troubadour* style. Although the first phrase from the *kharja* is directly comparable to

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[444]   *New American Bible,* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Catholic World, 1997), Song 1:1.
[445]   Possibly Ibn Baqī or al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī, cited in Compton, Linda Fish, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry and Old Spanish Love Songs: The* Muwashshah *and Its* Kharja, (New York: New York University Press, 1976), no. 22, p. 32.

William IX's "If soon I do not have help so that my fine lady may love me, I'll die,"[446] the changed viewpoint is not an innovation passed on by the *muwashshah* poets. The *troubadour* poetry remains resolutely in the narrator's voice. The influences of the *muwashshah* are limited in scope within William IX's work, despite their clear presence and reflection of a changing relationship between the impersonal epic and the intimate lyric.

Furthermore, though Hispano-Arabic and *troubadour* poetry both rely on portions of the shared genealogy, the slight difference in the time of their particular origins ensure that William IX's poetry, coming during the halcyon days of the *muwashshah*, relies also on its Iberian forebears. The differences between the *troubadour* style he invented and its *muwashshah* antecessors demonstrate that they share only *part* of their genealogy, with primary influences coming from the most related examples. Each must mainly look to its immediate cultural peers, distinguishing the *troubadour* poem from being merely a reshaped *muwashshah*. While the topics and method of involving the personal experience might be similar, sometimes to the point of being nearly identical, and the images might be echoes of one another, they are separate reflections of the human experience. Each one has its own unique style and preoccupations, reflective of the ways in which the shared genealogy is supplemented by their own dominant culture. William IX does not adopt the desert camel as an overarching thread to describe his love's graceful beauty, nor does a *muwashshah* poet shy away from the descriptions of the physical in deference to a religious-political concern. The paradigm shifts that the *muwashshah* engendered did not permeate the European, Christian experience in

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[446] William IX, cited in Press, trans., *Anthology of* Troubadour *Lyric Poetry*, no. 5, p. 21.

entirety, but instead had a subtler effect on the psychology of Western poetry. The *muwashshah* and the *troubadour* may have been contemporaries, even peers, but they do not substitute for one another.

5.3. The Epic and the *Chanson de Geste*

Despite the discrepancies that exist between the *muwashshah* and the *troubadour*, those two styles had much in common in both style and theme. Conversely, perhaps most opposed to the effervescent, fleeting poetry of *feeling* that comprises the *muwashshah* are the epics and ballads prevalent in Christian Europe at the same time as the *muwashshah* was establishing itself as parts of Hispano-Arabic literature. From the composition of *Beowulf*, through the composition of the *Chanson De Roland*, and *El Cantar de Mio Cid*, epics formed the backbone of contemporary popular poetry and literature. All three of these epics were composed in verse; *Beowulf* in alliterative long lines, the *Chanson De Roland* in irregular stanzas, and *El Cantar de Mio Cid* in a style with assonant rhyme. None of these styles mirror the strophic style of the *muwashshahs*, with their internal and external rhymes, already setting them apart stylistically, not just thematically, from the Hispano-Arab style. All three exist in counterpoint to the brief lyrics of the *troubadour* style, let alone the *muwashshah*. The same trends in literature, no matter how subtle or apparent, that influenced William IX, did not reach far enough to substitute for ingrained Germanic and Latinate definitions of the epic as paramount.

5.3.1. *Beowulf*

Of the three epics mentioned above, *Beowulf* is the outlier. Rather than being composed in a fashion reminiscent of a Greco-Roman epic,[447] it derives instead from Germanic source material.[448] The titular Geatish protagonist comes to the aid of a Danish king, slaying the monster Grendel and Grendel's mother, then as an aging king, slays a dragon, who in turn mortally wounds Beowulf.[449] Despite being composed in Old English, it describes events in Denmark. Scholars continue to debate the precise date of its composition, but the manuscript has been definitively dated to c. 975 to 1025 CE,[450] around the same time as the rise of the *muwashshah*. *Beowulf*, then, reflects a tradition still possessing currency at the same time that the *muwashshah* came into being, even if the actual poem was composed centuries prior. At the same time, it reflects a tradition parallel to the *muwashshah*; the origins of both are not directly tied to the presence of a Greco-Roman antecessor, but are both influenced by a substratum of contact.

Germanic *Beowulf*, not unlike most of the Romance *chansons de geste*, is a semi-historical treatment of events both real and legendary. Hrothgar, the king of the Danes that Beowulf comes to the aid of, may or may not have been a real person. However, the peoples mentioned, the Geats and Danes, were definitively living in what is now Sweden and Denmark respectively. Its inclusion of legendary monsters, while including real details of how the Danish court lived, demonstrates

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[447]   It *does* begin *in media res*, a stylistic device of ancient Greek epic poetry. See Tolkien, J.R.R., *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1984) pp. 7-9, p. 31.

[448]   Germanic here refers to the grouping of people from in and around northern Germany and southern Scandanavia. Tolkien, *The Monsters and the Critics*, p. 7.

[449]   A threefold division of Beowulf is the preferred modern reading; previous critics divided it into two parts: Grendel and his mother, and the dragon.

[450]   Kiernan, Kevin S., *Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996) presents a thorough analysis of the dating of both the poem and manuscript copy.

the blurring of fiction and reality within the poem, typical of the epic. What results is not a factual description of a historical episode, but instead a poem designed to entertain a *listener* with the thrilling exploits of a single hero against primordial monsters.[451] *Beowulf* is not the description of a single person's romantic yearnings for another at a precise moment in time; it is the *epic* tale of one man taming the raw forces of the world.[452] The lyric qualities found in William IX of Aquitaine's "for she is whiter than ivory, wherefore I adore no other,"[453] praising the beauty of his beloved are not part of *Beowulf*'s repertoire; the only emotion allowed by this epic is heroism, culminating in the final, mutually destructive battle between the hero and a menacing dragon:

> Beowulf addressed him – he spoke, wounded as he was with a pitiably mortal wound; he knew for certain he had lived out his days, his earthly joys; then the entire sum of his hours had vanished and death was immeasurably near...[454]

Beowulf may be seen as, in some ways, a poem addressing a shallow presentation of an emotional life, ideal for contrasting with the ambiguities inherent in the *muwashshah*. The politics are simple (unlike in *El Cantar de Mio Cid* and its descriptions of shifting alliances). The plot is simple (one man as a heroic representative against monsters).[455] The language is not. Three thousands lines long, *Beowulf*'s alliterative characteristics enhanced the ability to recite it from memory, each word triggering the next; there is significant evidence that suggests

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[451]   Tolkien, *The Monsters and the Critics*, pp. 19-20. Grendel and his mother are described as descendants of Cain, rooting the poem in a Christian context, whilst at the same time giving them a role as the monstrous, legendary *other*.

[452]   Tolkien, *The Monsters and the* Critics, p. 10. The only female in *Beowulf* does not even have a name; she is only named in relation to the monster she births. Her role is to (attempt to) avenge her fallen son.

[453]   William IX, cited in Press, trans., *Anthology of* Troubadour *Lyric Poetry*, no. 5, p. 21.

[454]   Fulk, R.D., trans., ed., *The Beowulf Manuscript: Complete Texts and* the Fight at Finnsburg (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 264-5, lines 2724-7. After the dragon's death, Beowulf gives a dying speech that exemplifies the glory of dying well – in battle with a defeated foe.

[455]   Tolkien, *The Monsters and the Critics*, pp. 19-20.

that the manuscript that survives records either a strictly oral composition or a new treatment of an oral tradition. For the purposes of this thesis, the debate over what percentage may have been originally composed for the surviving manuscript, edited in or out, or amended is not relevant. What retains relevance is that the extant manuscript of *Beowulf* is a surviving record of *some sort of* oral tradition.

However, for the purposes of comparison to the *muwashshah*, *Beowulf* should be considered as an outlier in the epic tradition, almost diametrically opposed to the lyric qualities of these Hispano-Arabic form. The date of its composition, at its potential earliest, predates even the semi-legendary origin of the *muwashshah*.[456] At its latest, it is contemporary with the earliest recorded *muwashshahs*.[457] Again its relevance hails from the distinct parallel with the *muwashshah*'s origin; it harkens back not to a tradition of Greco-Roman epic, but to the story-telling traditions that include the Norse *Eddas* and the Finnish *Kalevala*.[458] This status as an outlier does not preclude the comparisons made above, but rather requires one to review the epic traditions with more direct parallels to the *muwashshah*, with greater ability to demonstrate potential paradigm shifts: the *chansons de geste*.

5.3.2. La Chanson de Roland

Unlike *Beowulf*, *La Chanson de Roland* shares something in common with the *muwashshah*. It shares in the Greco-Roman tradition of epic poetry, the style of Virgil and Homer, rather than the *Eddas* or the *Kalevala*, reflective of the Greco-

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[456]   Hutcheson, B.R. "Kaluza's Law, The Dating of 'Beowulf,' and the Old English Poetic Tradition, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. 103, No. 3 (Jul., 2004), p.297.
[457]   Hutcheson, "The Dating of 'Beowulf,'" pp. 320-322.
[458]   The Norse *Eddas* were compiled in the 7th/13th century; the Kalevala was standardized into written form in the mid-12th/19th century.

Roman influence onto the *muwashshah*. The story is that of one of Charlemagne's lieutenants, sent to quell resistance in Spain, but slain as a result of his uncle's treachery, betraying his and his army's position to a Muslim foe.[459] Again, what results is not a factual depiction of exactly what happened in c. 778 CE to one of Charlemagne's lieutenants, but in this case a semi-legendary treatment of historical events. The precise date of its composition is still debated, with a general consensus that it was almost finished by approximately 1098 CE, with the possibility of minor emendations up until c. 1115 CE.[460] *La Chanson de Roland*, then, was being composed and edited during the height of the *muwashshah's* popularity, with its coalescence into manuscript happening relatively soon after composition, making the possibility of influence from Iberia both possible and unlikely.

Like *Beowulf*, *La Chanson de Roland* blurs the line between fiction and reality. While the events depicted did happen, after a fashion, the epic tradition instead emphasizes the series of events that take place within *La Chanson de Roland* as isolates. Repeatedly, two men meet in single combat, and one emerges having slain his opponent with some sort of superhuman strength. This particular stylistic device, of certain rote images and stock phrasing, is reminiscent of the *muwashshah*, but put to an entirely different use and derived predominantly from a different poetic tradition. Whereas the *muwashshah* might adapt a stock image, such as a particularly beautiful gazelle or a specific type of garden, as part of a predefined library of acceptable imagery within Arabic literary poetry, *La Chanson*

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[459]   This plot is a serious distortion of both history and religion. While the historical Roland was slain in Spain, it was an ambush by disgruntled Basques, not "Saracens." Similarly, the depiction of the Muslim religion in the textual tradition owes very little to any first-person understanding of Islam.
[460]   Brault, *The Song of Roland*, vol. 1, pp. 5-6.

de Roland uses the stock incidents of single combat for a different purpose. The

repetition of stock imagery and phrasing allows one to learn the poem by rote. If

each incident remains mostly the same, but with minor variation, mistakes in

learning the poem seem less crucial; a slip of memory goes unpunished. Similarly,

incidents in the epic may be added or dropped, as needed. The majority of *La

Chanson de Roland*, then, remains an impersonal catalogue of great deeds of

great men, not the intimacy that develops from a shift within the expression of

European emotional life.

The focus of *La Chanson de Roland* is not on what the defeat of Roland and

his army means on a personal level, but rather the opportunity this particular defeat

provided to demonstrate true heroism. It is not about the women back home and

their relationships with the male heroes. Scenes of the councils of war are treated

with an impersonal distance.[461] Speeches are made, courses of actions

considered, but the characters are little more than a series of stereotypes. Their

personal feelings, other than the cowardice of Ganelon and his treachery, do not

matter to the composer of this epic. The innate heroism of Roland and his

companions is taken for granted, embedded in the structure of the poem itself. In

this way, then, it too stands opposed to the personal feelings of the *muwashshah*,

with its focus on individuals and individual moments.[462] While it came into being at

the same time as the strophic forms of Hispano-Arabic poetry *and* the first

troubadour poetry, *La Chanson de Roland* cannot be described as an innovation in

an existing tradition in the same ways, nor as an adaptation of hitherto external

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[461]   Brault, trans., *The Song of Roland*, vol. 2, pp. 12-25.
[462]   This comparison extends past the Bacchic *muwashshah* ; the examples of religious
muwashshah that exist, for example, demonstrate a similar personal intimacy.

styles into a new, native European method. It does not demonstrate a paradigm shift within Latinate, Christian poetry in the same way that its peers, the lyric poems of William IX do, with their alterations to the expression of an inner life of emotion. Instead, its particular genealogy is still separate and distinct from the *muwashshah*, both topically and stylistically. The pagan epic in the style of the Aeneid has been recast as a celebration of Christian triumph (at least spiritually if not initially militarily) over a population of treacherous infidels.

5.3.3. El Cantar De Mio Cid

On the spectrum of epics described, with *Beowulf* as the least similar, *El Cantar de Mio Cid* has the most in common with the lyric poetry of the *muwashshah*. The obvious similarities in date and place of composition are clear; both were being composed in what is now Spain around the end of the eleventh century CE, reflective of a possibility of paradigm shifts shared across Iberia. In fact, *El Cantar De Mio Cid* barely meets the description of the epic as described above. It does not take place in a semi-legendary past; instead, the author was familiar with the immediate environment of the Cid.[463] Like the *muwashshah* , it is a reflection of a region in flux; the Cid fights for lieges representative of both religions, more interested in avenging his honor against a treacherous Christian prince than the spiritual distinctions between his lords. Even more so than the *troubadour* lyric poetry, *El Cantar de Mio Cid* represents the *muwashshahs*' immediate, local peers.:the only border between the Christian and Muslim territories of Iberia is crossed within *El Cantar de Mio Cid* itself.

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[463]   Marcos-Marin, Francisco A., *Cantar De Mio Cid*, (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1997).

Moreover, beyond the physical qualities of time and space, the qualities of the poem itself blurs the line between the clearly epic and the personal qualities exhibited by the *muwashshah* poets and the *troubadours*; here, we begin to see evidence of possibilities of influence from Hispano-Arabic poetry permeating the porous borders within Iberia. Unlike Beowulf, whose emotional life is irrelevant, and Roland, whose only emotion is a stoic resolution to duty, the Cid has an inner self with emotions, like William IX or the first-person personas contained in the *muwashshah*. He cries at the thought of loss, especially of his love,[464] an emotion not entirely out of place when juxtaposed with William IX's declaration that he will die[465] or in the *kharja* declaring "if only I could let go of him."[466] Although the structure is clearly that of an epic, revolving around the great deeds; of a great man and his companions, his valor and success, the concerns of the poem step into the realm of the personal. While the distinction between epic and lyric revolves around more than a distinction between impersonal and personal, the qualities inherent in the *muwashshah* (and the *troubadour*) revolve around that inner experience, shared by *El Cantar de Mio Cid* in a way that *Beowulf* or *La Chanson de Roland* do not.

However, despite the clear similarities, one cannot treat the two as precisely equivalent. The reasons for such similarities fall into two clear categories: first, the colocation of *El Cantar de Mio Cid* and the *muwashshahs* in time and space, giving them a generally similar background as well as a chance to both utilize the shared

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[464]   Hamilton, Rita and Janet Perry, trans., *The Poem of the Cid*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), pp. 26-37, *laisse* 16.
[465]   William IX, cited in Press, trans., *Anthology of* Troubadour *Lyric Poetry*, no. 5, p. 21.
[466]   Possibly Ibn Baqī or al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī, cited in Compton, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry,* no. 22, p. 32.

genealogy of Iberian poetry, as described in previous chapters, and second, that *El Cantar de Mio Cid* did not follow the same pattern of treating a legendary figure within an epic context. Instead, *El Cantar de Mio Cid* created its own legendary figure out of a successful battle commander. By taking a real person from the immediate past, it allowed the author to work with the inner life (or assumed inner life) of its protagonist, in much the same way that a *muwashshah* poet put his (or his persona's) inner life on display for his audience.

Nevertheless, the function of the *muwashshah* and *El Cantar de Mio Cid* are clearly different. While both were entertainment, with one celebrating (more often than not) the hedonistic values of pleasure, the other had propaganda value as well. As a celebration of a successful military leader, regardless of the complexities of his life, *El Cantar de Mio Cid* had powerful value as the idea of the *Reconquista* took hold within Christian Europe. As the tale of a powerful Christian leader retaking territory, the tale of El Cid was reduced from the complexities of the ballad itself to the expression that might find a home within a more traditional epic. While analyzing the shift in the epic's interpretation throughout the medieval period is outside the scope of this thesis, such a shift does reflect how the less-than-traditional epic was recast into a story more reminiscent of *La Chanson de Roland*.

Thus, one can see how the basic structure of the epic, the idea of a valorous warrior defending himself against the evils of the world, still holds true for *El Cantar de Mio Cid*, despite the emotional life of the protagonist sharing values with the *muwashshah* or with William IX's lyric. Though the evils he faces in the poem itself are not necessarily as simplistic as later interpretation might make them out to be, *El Cantar de Mio Cid* still represents the tale of a struggle of a larger-than-life figure

in a climactic struggle. It is not primarily a story of inner turmoil in the mode of

William IX or a reflection of the Bacchic celebration of the *muwashshah*. The

similarities between *El Cantar de Mio Cid* and the *muwashshah* poets, while

certainly more than the latter shares with the other epics, do not extend past using

the shared genealogy of Iberian poetry, creating an incomplete version of the

paradigm shifts that would more clearly influence William IX. The intersecting

evolution beyond this genealogy is convergent; while to a portion coincidental, they

reflect the similar pressures of the literary culture within Iberia. The Christian North

created a more traditionally Christian epic reflecting an inner life; the Muslim South

refined the lyric, reflecting an inner life.

5.4.   Conclusion

The trends in Christian Europe at the same time as the rise and heyday of

the *muwashshah* both demonstrate the presence of an influence derived from the

shared genealogy available to the *muwashshah* poets and the *troubadour* poets,

beginning with William IX, and show that any influence was limited in scope. The

broader, more popular poems, the great tales in the epic style, do not appear to

have relied on this shared genealogy, nor reflect any evidence of the paradigm shift

that led to the intimacy of the *troubadour* lyric. Instead, the aforementioned epics

dwell on the impersonal scales of heroes and armies, not the individual

experiences of any one man nor with any focus on his relationship to a beloved.[467]

The *muwashshah*'s tendency towards the personal and intimate details of the

individual was not reflected back on this scale; even the similarities between the

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[467]   As mentioned previously, there is no guarantee the beloved is a woman; several of the *muwashshah* are homoerotic in nature. See Lowin, *Arabic and Hebrew Love Poems*.

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muwashshah's human scale and its closest parallels in *El Cantar de Mio Cid* are, at best, inexact matches.

However, these discrepancies between the Christian epics and the Hispano-Arabic lyrics, exemplified by the native form of the *muwashshah*, do not negate the cross-cultural contact in the arts that did exist. Instead, they demonstrate how it was circumscribed, limited to the specific arena of the personally intimate lyric poem. The *troubadour* poets, while not simply blindly adopting the *muwashshah* into a Christian context, were importing the themes of the *muwashshah* and their stock genealogy of images to create a new style. William IX, as inventor, was able to incorporate the environment of his upbringing and court into his own poetry, an environment informed by the presence of an Arabic undercurrent. Christian Europe, at this time, did not exist isolated from the poetry of Muslim Spain, but instead was interacting with it ever so subtly, in ways that would allow the *muwashshah* to have a lingering influence on Western culture.

6. Arabic Contemporaries to the *Muwashshah*
6.1. Overview
       While the *muwashshah* may represent a continued interaction with

European traditions as discussed in the previous chapter, they also possess

immediate ties beyond the Christian, Latin West and that unique history and active

poetic traditions. Despite the demonstrated strength of their relationships with

Romance-language peers, such as the poetry of William IX, the *muwashshahs* are

fundamentally Arabic poems with firm ties to Arabic-language peers. Although the

muwashshah may not demonstrate an entirely classical use of Arabic,[468] it still

shares firm ties to Arabic poetry outside of its own genre; fundamentally, the

muwashshah enjoy stronger links to the Arabic poetry of their contemporaries,[469]

both to those poets not writing *muwashshahs* (or not typically writing

muwashshahs) within Iberia and to poets of all genres throughout the broader

Arabic-speaking world.[470] The *muwashshah* may transcend the boundaries and

rules laid down by classical Arabic poets, maintained by their contemporaries, but

they still exist within an Arabic milieu.

       Ultimately, the existence of the genres of the *muwashshah* is necessarily

dependent on a poetic tradition specific to the Arabic-speaking world. The

relationship between native Hispano-Arabic forms and the classical genres still

maintained by Arabic or North African poets does not consist solely of a shared

common linguistic background; that is, the common reservoir of imagery and the

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[468]   And the *zajal* no classical Arabic at all.
[469]   Again, I use the dates 391 AH/1000 CE and 645 AH/1248 CE to bookend what I define as
contemporary.
[470]   As within previous chapters, I limit my investigations to those Arabic writers from North
Africa and the Mediterranean, as well as Arabia.

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Arabic language itself may make up the majority of the similarities between classical forms and medieval Hispano-Arabic forms. Even with their unusual reliance on strophic forms, rather than the emphasis on rhyme more typically found in Arabic poetry, the *muwashshah* still employ techniques used by classical Arabic poets. In addition to a shared reservoir of language and meaning, these two forms existed in an intellectual environment that allowed Arabic-speaking critics throughout the Arabic-speaking world to investigate and analyze the status of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* against general standards. These standards, applied against all styles worthy of comment and preservation, the same standards that defined Arabic literary merit regardless of genre, existed independently of the *muwashshah*, genres that did not entirely respect literary tradition.

Although the *muwashshah* and *zajal* do possess key features immediately derived from Greco-Roman traditions, especially in terms of the previously-explored influence of Aristotle and a cross-cultural connection to Christian Iberia and, by extension, the rest of the Latinate, Christian West, they are predominantly influenced by an Arabic (as well as Islamic and Arabian) background. Interestingly, this shared Arabic background did not stop Ibn Rushd, the Aristotelian partisan, from denouncing both Iberian and Arabian poets as committing the same mistakes: "he said: the fifth kind [of poetic representation] is that which the sophistical sort of poets employ, namely false exaggeration. This is frequent among the poems of the Arabs and the moderns."[471] In certain ways, one can consider Ibn Rushd's criticisms as highlighting the similarities between Arabian and Iberian poetry, rather than a simple denunciation of medieval Arabic technique.

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[471]   Averroës, Butterworth, trans., *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's Poetics*, p. 104.

The shared language of Iberia and Arabia, regardless of register, demonstrates an affinity between these two genres and the rest of Arabic poetry, but as noted in chapter four, there also exists a shared library of images and themes within Arabic-language poetry, the gazelle and the desert, for instance. These images and metaphors transcended their distinctly Arabian origins to exist independently within Iberia as well.[472] Despite the way in which these expressions were transformed within the *zajal* and *muwashshah*, used in ways that both echo traditional compliments to a beloved and rework those same images into distinctly Iberian concepts. A set of ideas were found throughout Arabic poetry – regardless of a specific poem's place of origin or genre – during the heyday of the *muwashshah*. The pessimism found in slightly earlier Arabic poetry is absent from the majority of the *muwashshah* corpus, coinciding with a change in tone throughout the Arabic-speaking world. As a result, I have chosen to focus on key examples of the *muwashshah* as found within Iberia within this chapter, as demonstrative of the broader *muwashshah* corpus.[473]

Additionally, unlike how the provocative images within the Song of Songs might not be found in the epic tradition and only haltingly within the Romance lyric, without the clear sensuality underlying their images, the history of Arabic and Islam demonstrate an affinity between portions of the Quran and the themes of the *muwashshah*.[474] Despite the way in which the *muwashshah* and *zajal* have historically been considered outliers within the Arabic poetic tradition, with their

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[472] See Kennedy, Philip F., "Thematic Relationships Between the *Kharjas*" for an exploration of shared themes and imagery.

[473] Further examples may be found in Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry* and the comprehensiveness of these themes may be confirmed by Zwartjes, *Love Songs of al-Andalus*.

[474] According to Maghen, "the traditional texts of Islam promoted a remarkably easy-going attitude towards the body." Maghen, *Virtues of the Flesh*, p. ix.

emphasis on popular language, they still possess more affinities to their Arabic

contemporaries than their Romance ones, despite the clear comparisons between

the poetry of William IX, as representative of the *troubadour* tradition, and that of

al-Aʿmā at-Tuṭīlī (d, 519 AH/1126 CE), as representative of the *muwashshah*

tradition.[475] The *muwashshah* and *zajal*, despite the way in which they might

represent innovation that transcended cultural borders, still demonstrate a personal

understanding within an Arabic tradition:

> I see you have a sharp lance of Indian iron, surrounded by antimony
> and so it unsheathed what can not [sic] be described.[476]

The use of the imagery of warfare, here demonstrated by the presence of the

lance, is one found within the Arabic tradition, echoed within panegyrics in both the

Iberian and Arabian contexts.[477] It represents an element unique to neither culture,

instead showing the commonalities throughout Arabic culture. Likewise, the active

use of warfare as a metaphor for love and lust is an element within Arabic-

language poetry, not found within early *troubadour* lyric.[478]

      However, just as these two forms exist in marked contrast to their Romance

contemporaries, this description of commonalities with other Arabic-language

traditions does not negate that the *muwashshah* and *zajal* represent a set of

unusual expressions within Arabic poetic traditions, despite their clear similarities,

especially in imagery and metaphor, with other Arabic poems within Iberia and the

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[475]   Regardless of the use of Romance within the *kharja*.

[476]   Probably Ibn Baqī, cited in Compton, *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, no. 10, p. 19.

[477]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 7.

[478]   William IX uses personal appeals as the major way to communicate the way in which he is smitten, a passive way in which he was affected by the object of his desire. In contrast, the corpus of the *muwashshah* gives the object of the writer's desire an active role, especially when the desired is given voice within the *kharja*. See Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 188-192, 196-197 for examples.

broader Arabic sphere of influence.[479] While their themes of love, lust, and desire are not necessarily out of place in the broader Arabic world, their specific presentation within the *muwashshah* and *zajal* are unusual, representative of traditions distinct from the continued adherence to traditional models.

Regardless of the fact that some of the Eastern literati recognized the *muwashshah* and *zajal* as unique styles worthy of preservation,[480] they remained seen as aberrations within the traditions of Arabic-language poetry when compared to their Arabian and North African peers, corruptions of a purer Arabic tradition.[481] Whereas chapter four explored in detail the historical background within Arabia until the time of the emergence of the *muwashshah*, this chapter will address three key aspects of the *muwashshah*'s (and to a lesser extent, the *zajal*'s) relationship to the Arabic language poetry throughout parts of the rest of Islamic world, especially those places renowned as centers of learning and literature. Again, for the purposes of this thesis, the relevant parts of the Islamic (and Arabic-speaking) world may be defined as the distinct regions of Arabia, North Africa and Iberia. The conquest of parts of what is now Greece, moving eastward into what is now Turkey, as well as the Levant and Central Asia do not factor into this thesis, as residents of these areas have not left us with significant commentary upon the *muwashshah* or *zajal*, whereas there exists commentary from what is now Egypt as well as Arabia.[482]

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[479]   Hispano-Arabic, in all forms and all genres, was considered non-standard when compared to Arabian Arabic or Egyptian Arabic.   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 39.
[480]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. vii.
[481]   Although Arabic poetry was certainly being written in North Africa at this time, especially in Egypt, the influence of Arabia, the heartland of the Muslim world, and Islam itself are generally inseparable from the concept of Arabian poetry. It is at this point that the distinction between Arabian, Arabic, and Islamic poetry begins to break down. See Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature* for a deeper general analysis of this issue.
[482]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp.64-65.

First, it will further examine the historical origins of the *muwashshah* within

Iberia as begun at the end of chapter four, with a renewed focus on specific

antecessor examples that may be identified within an Andalusian context, in the

period **immediately** before and after 391 AH/1000 CE. Although the *muwashshah*

does appear almost spontaneously within Hispano-Arabic literary culture, it is not

completely without precedent. There exist muwashshah-like poems within the

history of literary culture of al-Andalus, and more specifically within its immediate

successors in the early years of the *taifa* period, some contemporary with

muwashshahs themselves. The transformations from *muwashshah*-like[483] poetry

into the *muwashshah* reflect changes within literary standards, reflective of the

Hispano-Arabic reality. This section will draw on an exploration of those paradigm

shifts already traced within both the Arabic-speaking world and the Greco-Roman

tradition, in order to highlight those specific areas in which these innovations

continued to combine to create original *muwashshahs* and *kharjas*. Moreover, it will

also provide an analysis of how the *zajal* may be distinguished from the

muwashshah, including commentary on the possible ways in which the former

derived from the latter, beginning to trace the impact of the *muwashshah* in Arabic

poetry beyond the single genre.

       Second, it seeks to locate the *muwashshah* and *zajal* in relation to their

Iberian contemporaries, both separately and as the *zajal* as a potential derivative of

the *muwashshah*. Going beyond simply tracing the origins of the *muwashshah*

within Iberia, it will examine in which ways the *muwashshah* resembles, and does

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[483]   The term "*muwashshah*-like" is the generally accepted way in which to describe these
poetic styles; they exist in a liminal state between other forms of Arabic poetry and the *muwashshah*
proper. For more information on what distinguishes these forms from their 4th/10th century peers, as
well as *muwashshahs*, see Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, ch. 3.

not resemble, other, contemporary genres of poetry within Iberia, focusing on comparing their themes, styles, and languages. For example, at the same time that al-Aʿmā at-Tuṭīlī was gaining fame as a master of the erotic *muwashshah*, Ibn az-Zaqqaq (c. 489 AH/1096 CE to 528 AH/1134 CE) was "cultivat[ing] nature poetry."[484] This thesis proposes that the *muwashshah* clearly differs from its peers within al-Andalus and its successors in style; the *muwashshah* demonstrates a clear distinction in terms of the way in which the Arabic language is utilized to create the structure of the poem. The use of strophic techniques and stress rather than simply enforcing a strict rhyme scheme, whether based on rhyming the end of lines or rhyming internal words with the end of lines, represents a clear departure from other Arabic forms current within Iberia. Moreover, the use of Romance or lower registers of Arabic within the *kharja* demonstrate an even further departure from the rest of Iberian poetry; it is only in the *muwashshah* and *zajal* that popular language, rather than a literary rarefication of Arabic, is used.[485] This usage of shifting registers (or shifting language) sets the *muwashshah* and *zajal* clearly apart from their Arabic peers, Iberian, North African, and Arabian:

> While classical poetry was still read and glorified, authors across the Islamic world realized that these newer types (and others of similar originality) were gradually surpassing the older forms in number and popularity.[486] Similarly, while older poetry and songs were quoted and alluded to in the *muwashshah* and *zajal* – especially in their *kharjas* – these references were intended for an elite audience, while the poem could be enjoyed by a popular audience; knowledge of past works might heighten enjoyment of a particular poem, but such understanding was not necessary.[487]

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[484]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. xv. Both have work preserved within Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, the former from pp. 248-255, the latter from pp. 246-247. They were both contemporaries during the first third of the 12ᵗʰ century CE.
[485]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 18-19, 30.
[486]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 48.
[487]   Sage, "Poetry in the Peninsula." Footnote at this point in original in original refer to Monroe, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, pp. 31-32.

Despite the clear popularity of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* within Iberian culture, enough so that it was adopted by a Hebrew-understanding audience, they still represented forms aberrant to an audience trained in classical Arabic poetics. This distinction between high and low culture was, while not unique to an Iberian setting, especially distinct within the use of popular language within the *muwashshah* and *zajal*.

However, this thesis explicitly claims that the general themes that appear most commonly within the *muwashshah* and *zajal*, of revelry and a certain hedonism, are not unique to these genres, but find instead a *unique expression* of these themes within the *muwashshah* and *zajal*.[488] There exist other poems within the Arabic-speaking world, Iberian and Arabian, that celebrate the themes of desire and a sense of *carpe diem*, even in some cases of outright debauchery,[489] but it is within the *muwashshah* and especially the *zajal* that they find the clearest manifestation, again especially in the shift to the *kharja* with its emphasis on the persona of the object of desire, in the case of love poems. Furthermore, the ways in which the *muwashshah*, even with a *kharja either* with Romance elements or in a lower register of Arabic, can be utilized transcends a simple label of Bacchic hedonism:

> Indeed, the *kharja*, if it is to be a 'sally' from the highly classical and studiedly elaborate, has to be a leap to the other extreme. It has to smack of the waywardness of Al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (*ḥajjājiyya*); it has to throw to the winds the stipulations of *iʿrāb*, as Ibn Quzmān did (*quzmāniyya*), and it has to be sharp, even caustic, vulgar, and if circumstances allowed, be in thieves' Latin (*lughāt al-dāṣṣa*).[490]

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[488]   While relevant to a broader study of how the *muwashshah* functioned within Iberian literary society, the relation of Hebrew *muwashshahs* and *kharjas* to either other Hebrew poetry or Arabic examples is beyond the scope of this thesis. A more specialized study of this cross-linguistic topic may be found in Lowin, *Arabic and Hebrew Love Poems in Al-Andalus*. An indication of how the acceptance of physical pleasure was demonstrated within Islam (and therefore had possible expression within Arabic literary culture) may be found in Maghen, *Virtues of the Flesh*.

[489]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 214, 218.

[490]   Abu-Haidar*, Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 113, translation of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, *Dar al-Tiraz*, pp. 30-31.

Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's claim does not insist upon a hedonistic theme; instead, the

kharja reflects the change in speaker, rather than a mandate to shift theme.

Despite the frequent change from a *muwashshah* with a lover speaking to a *kharja*

expressed from the point of view of the beloved,[491] this particular pair of speakers

is not a rule to be strictly followed; indeed, there are *kharjas* spoken by inanimate

objects.[492] There exist *muwashshahs* reflecting the same themes that any other

genre of Andalusian, Arabic poetry possessed.[493] Much like the other genres of

Andalusian poetry, the emphasis is not on the theme of any given piece of poetry,

but rather on how that theme is expressed; again, the *muwashshah* and *zajal*

represent ways in which popular Arabic is used by educated speakers, blended

with a structure partly borrowed from Greco-Roman antecessors, to create specific

modes of expression.

Moreover, when the general themes of Iberian poetry are reviewed, they

reflect the same concerns as those of the rest of the Arabic-speaking world,

reinforcing the broad similarities in theme and language throughout all three key

regions. No region has an emphasis on only panegyric nor an emphasis solely

dedicated to desire or lust. Again, the differences between the *muwashshah* (and

zajal) appeals when the structure and use of Arabic within the poems are

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[491]   Again, as Lowin points out, the beloved need not be female; homoerotic overtones or explicit mentions are far from unknown within the *muwashshah* corpus. Lowin, *Arabic and Hebrew Love Poems in Al-Andalus*, pp. 218-219.
[492]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 187.
[493]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 181-185. Despite Zwartjes' title, he acknowledges that it is only the majority of *muwashshahs* that reflect these themes, and not the entirety of the corpus. His analysis of themes within Hebrew peers reinforces this distinction; within Hebrew *muwashshahs*, the form frequently was used as a foundation for poems of religious praise, despite its origins within secular Arabic culture. Simply because the majority of extant Arabic *muwashshah* reflect Bacchic or hedonistic themes, does not deny the fact that a number of *muwashshah* have nothing to do with erotic love, desire, nor pleasure.

compared to classical Arabic examples. or Arabian contemporaries. Similarly, the

actual language, classical Arabic within the majority of the poem, of the

muwashshah once again demonstrates clear parallels with the broader Arabic-

speaking world; ultimately, it is only in the *kharja* where a distinction may be drawn

between the language elements of the *muwashshah* and other Iberian examples.

The *zajal* represents a more distinct genre from classical Arabian examples, with

its emphasis on popular registers of Arabic, but in some ways it may be seen as a

kharja encompassing an entire poem.

Despite the clear tendency of the *muwashshah* (and especially *zajal*) to

address primarily Bacchic or hedonistic themes, whether wine, (primarily) women,

or an escape to pleasure, there do exist overtly religious *muwashshah*. Although

chiefly found in adapted Hebrew forms, and as such beyond the scope of this

thesis, such clearly religious poems exist.[494] Likewise, several poems exist that,

like contemporary or near-contemporary Sufi verse, may be interpreted as at least

religious allegory, in line with theological interpretations of the Song of Songs. Most

clearly, one may interpret the *muwashshah*'s use of (illicit) wine in line with the

recurring Sufi metaphor of becoming drunk on the divine (embodied by wine).[495]

Further, the specific language focusing on the enchantment and intoxication of

love, especially with a beautiful, irresistible object, likewise has Sufi parallels; while

such parallels are not conclusive proof of identical intent, especially as the

muwashshah has a clear history of high-register popular entertainment, they do

allow for the possibility of near-identical interpretation.

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[494]   Zwartjes' comprehensive list of *muwashshah* themes includes overtly, Arabic religious *muwashshah*, though he only provides a single example as compared to numerous examples of other, more earthly themes. Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, XXX.
[495]

Finally, this thesis intends to examine more fully how the *muwashshah* related to poetry originating within North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula during the same time period. It proposes that while the differences between the *muwashshah* and its Arabian contemporaries are more than superficial (a legacy of the paradigm shifts engendered by the Greco-Roman tradition), that, just as in Iberia, the *muwashshah* represents a tradition intelligible to North African and Arabian critics, despite occasional claims to the contrary by traditionalists. As noted in chapter two, Ibn Bassām simply threw his hands up when attempting to compare *muwashshahs* to purely literary Arabian poetry: "the metres of these *muwashshahat* go beyond the scope of our book, for most of them do not follow the rules of Arabic metrics."[496] Just as poets within North Africa and Arabia were developing their styles that continued to adhere to classical models, so too were the *muwashshah* and *zajal* beholden to Arabic tradition.

Ultimately, the ties between, on the one hand, Arabian and North African literary poetry as well as their Iberian counterparts, and the innovations within Iberia represented by the *muwashshah* and *zajal* have varying levels of strength, depending on the feature analyzed. While the use of language, both literary Arabic within the *muwashshah* and the vulgar[497] Arabic found in the *zajal* and *kharja*, represent clear departures from North African and Arabian contemporaries, the themes and imagery within these Iberian forms predominantly reflects the shared paradigm shifts between Arabic traditions, not any change unique to Iberia, with its Greco-Roman derived traditions. However, the *muwashshah* and *zajal* represent

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[496]   Ibn Bassām, cited in Monroe, trans., James T., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), p. 28.
[497]   As determined by classical Arabic commentators in relation to literary Arabic. The term is used here as a reference to classical attitudes, without any modern value judgement implied.

distinctive innovations within the Arabic-speaking world, despite potential

borrowings from the East.

6.2. The *Muwashshah* within Iberia
Although the *muwashshah* appeared with a certain suddenness within

Iberia, it is not completely without precedent. As noted in chapter four, the rise of

the *muwashshah*,[498] as well as its descendant the *zajal*, appears to be tied in part

to the transformation and promotion of the panegyric within Iberia, as well as the

subtle adoption of Greco-Roman poetics within the successors to al-Andalus,

whether a conscious absorption or not. While there are not specific examples of

muwashshah in various stages of development, there are enough traces of these

pre- and post-shift paradigms to allow for an understanding of the development of

the *muwashshah* and *zajal.* Again, Corriente's timeline allows for a step-by-step

comparison of the development of the *muwashshah* and the cultural-political

realities within Iberia:

> 2) …At the end of this period most likely true *muwaššaḥs* come into being as a combination of both [proto-*zajals* and *musammaṭ*-like poems]: the stanzaic structure takes its basically definitive shape and parts of the zajals or proto-zajals are introduces as *kharjas* as an element of refreshing popular charm.[499]

During the period immediately before 371/1000, the *muwashshah* blossoms forth

from the pre-existing forms extant within Iberian Arabic poetry. However, the non-

Arabic influences that I have explored previously help shape the result into

something unique to Hispano-Arabic culture, unique poetic genres that to one

degree or another are celebrated.

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[498]   I choose to speak of the rise of the *muwashshah* where possible, as the origin of the *muwashshah* is an unclear term at best, as the second section of this chapter will demonstrate.
[499]   Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," p. 66.

6.2.1 Before the *Muwashshah*, Continued

The preceding analysis, focusing on the role of non-Arabic antecedents and continuity and Arabian-Arabic antecedents, however, does not exist to disguise the Arabic origin theories of the *muwashshah*. While the early *muwashshah* itself and its legendary origins will be further discussed within this chapter, it serves this thesis to provide a brief overview of the one clear link between pre-existing Arabic poetry and the *muwashshah*: the *musammat*.[500]

The *musammat* is "originally Arabic {then also Hebrew, Persian, and Turkish stanzaic form of poetry,"[501] focused on a common rhyme scheme. It typically includes a brief introduction (as compared to the brief closing coda of the *kharja*) with a different rhyme scheme. However, it shares some key details with the *muwashshah*, demonstrating its clear relationship with the native Hispano-Arabic forms, two of which I will address here:

1) Both share a similar rhyme scheme in the Arabic, being "divided into lines with separate rhyme and lines with common rhyme."[502]

2) Both share a distinction between two forms, "a type with matla' and one without."[503]

At first glance, these two similarities may seem vague, but the particular rhyme scheme and their relationship are clearly related; the *musammat* is typically in the form *aaa a bbb a ccc a*, etc., whereas the *muwashshah* typically possesses one of two forms: *a/b ccc a/b dddd a/b eee* or *aaa b/b ccc b/b*.[504] However, while the

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[500]   I am here indebted to Gerard Schoeler's work exploring potential relationships between the *muwashshah* and the *musammat*.

[501]   Schoeler, Gerard, "*Musammaṭ*," in *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition*, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0807>.

[502]   Schoeler, "*Muwashshaḥ*."

[503]   Schoeler, "*Muwashshaḥ*."

[504]   Schoeler, "*Musammaṭ*;" Schoeler, "*Muwashshaḥ*."

musammat possesses a highly structured rhyme scheme, key to the form itself, "[*muwashshahs*] with exceedingly complicated and even irregular rhyme schemes may be encountered."[505] Such embrace of irregularity, regardless of the critical acceptance, demonstrates the distance between the standards of classical and contemporary Arabic poetry and that of the Hispano-Arabic *muwashshah*.

Further, there exists a theory, both compatible with and separate from the previously mentioned idea of an anonymous 3rd/9th century predecessor that the *musammat* may be the direct and immediate ancestor of the *muwashshah*

> Further development towards the *muwashshah* may have consisted in the inventor's first replacing the last simt of the musamamat (only one in all types!) by the *khardja* [sic] (consisting of two or more lines), which was found or created by him, and then, for the sake of symmetry, assimilating all the remaining *asmat* to the rhyme (and metre) of the *khardja*.[506]

While a simple explanation for the *muwashshah*'s development, and a parallel to the purported origin stories of both *troubadour* poetry and the *muwashshah*,[507] this theory relies too heavily on the idea of a purely Arabic origin, discounting the clear adherence to certain non-Arabic rules and features as explored within chapter three. While such a Greco-Roman substratum may have made the adoption of non-Arabian features easier, such connections are more tenuous than the subtle blending of these two layers.

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[505] Schoeler, "*Musammaṭ*."
[506] Schoeler, "*Muwashshaḥ*."
[507] Specifically, the potential, partial development of the muwashshah from the musammat provides a parallel to the work of William IX, providing "one of the strongest arguments of the proponents of the so-called 'Arabic theory' who want to explain the genesis of Provençal poetry, at least in part, through influence from the Arabic." While an alternative to this theory was explored within chapter five, a comparison of the relative merits of these two arguments is beyond the scope of this thesis.

6.2.2 Beginning the Muwashshah

> 3) When the Taifa period sets in a taste for style variegation…sets in [sic] among Andalusians and *muwaššaḥs* gain the favour of aristocracy and commoners alike. For the first time, these poems are recorded…Good true *kharjas* being in short supply, the poets are forced to copy or invent them with mixed success.[508]

While Corriente's timeline does not explore the role of the *kharja* within the *muwashshah*, instead commenting on the way in which the *kharja* came to exist as somewhat independent of the rest of the poem, capable of transmission between separate poems and even genres, it reflects two key ways in which the *muwashshah* interacted with other (Hispano-)Arabic poetry, and suggests the ways in which the popular register of the *zajal* first disseminated. First, the *kharja*, or at least the idea of the *kharja* as a final 'shift', pre-existed before the complete development of the *muwashshah*. In this way, the *muwashshah* can be seen not as a total aberration when compared to Arabic poetic norms, but as existing within a broader interpretation of Arabic literary poetry. Second, the *kharja* eventually had to be copied (or invented, with "mixed success."[509]) This borrowing and reuse of *kharjas*, becoming more frequent as the *muwashshah* became a more standardized genre, meant that a *muwashshah* with a reused *kharja*, at least in that final portion, was in conversation with other *muwashshah*, and in the case of *muwashshah* borrowing *kharjas* or their themes from classical Arabic works, in conversation with a broader world of Arabic poetry. As noted within the literature review and other chapters, the ways in which non-Iberian writers related to the *muwashshah* and *zajal* varied, though they were predominantly negative. The reuse of the *kharja* reinforced these negative perceptions; the creation of an

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[508] Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," p. 66.
[509] Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," p. 66.

independent *kharja* became more and more rare, with medieval Arabian

contemporaries bemoaning how classical allusions became transformed into

"weak," standardized *kharjas*. Conversely, it should be remembered that the *kharja*

as originally composed by Arabian or North African outsiders was generally judged

just as weak, even by their own authors. [510]

However, after the wide-spread appearance of the *muwashshah* within

Iberia, there still existed differing levels of acceptance within mainstream Hispano-

Arabic literature. The *muwashshah* and *zajal*, both because of their use of popular

Arabic in literary fashion and their novelty, were not accepted by elites outside of

Hispano-Arabic culture in a way that led to places within the mainstream Arabic

literary genres. Again, despite the gradual appearance of their predecessors, what

constituted 'good literature' within Iberian culture shifted:

> 4) During the Almoravid period the *muwaššaḥ* reigns supreme and even the *zajal* reaches literary recognition…
> 5) After the Almohad period, the decline begins. The *zajal* is soon barred from literary consideration…and even the *muwaššaḥ* loses ground and ends up by being an occasional exercise for some poets. [511]

Corriente's review of the varied stages of the *muwashshah*'s approval within

mainstream Hispano-Arabic culture highlights the derivation of the *muwashshah*,

despite his differing interpretation of how the *zajal* relates to the *muwashshah* and

the origins of the *kharja*. Especially at the time of the social upheaval during the

taifa period, innovations within Hispano-Arabic literary culture were permitted, even

encouraged within literary society; "these two styles, the *muwashshah* and *zajal*

represented the new wave of literary forms, those coming during the change from

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[510]   Again, when dealing with the necessarily subjective topic of literary criticism, I seek to avoid personal value judgments on the quality of the work. The opinions expressed are those of the medieval authors themselves.

[511]   Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," p. 66.

the classical period to the medieval."[512] Later, as society grew more conservative and insular, the *muwashshah* and *zajal* no longer were broadly acceptable within Iberian literary culture, reflective of a social and political culture uncertain about the positive effects of change, focusing on a return to classical, especially Quranic, examples.[513] Nevertheless, the initial popularization of these two styles represent a differing genealogy, independent of those derived immediately from Greco-Roman ancestors or Arabic literary culture. The appearance of the *muwashshah* and *zajal*, followed by their general acceptance within Hispano-Arabic society, reflects a paradigm shift specific to al-Andalus and its successors.

6.2.3 Alongside the *Muwashshah*

The *zajal*, on the other hand, may be seen as the *muwashshah* taken a step further from its classical Arabic roots. Whereas the bulk of the *muwashshah* was written in classical, literary Arabic, with only a short piece written in colloquial language, whether vulgar Arabic or with borrowed Romance, the entirety of the *zajal* is written in colloquial Arabic. Typically, the theme of the *zajal* reflects this change to a popular register of Arabic; while the *zajal* is obviously written as a poem and polished as a poem, both the language and the topic reflect popular themes. The *muwashshah*, on the other hand, may be seen as a poem that straddles the border of themes; with a bulk of the poem written in a classical Arabic register, it is automatically seen as more serious. But with a *kharja* that ends the poem in colloquial language, and a tendency towards irreverent treatment of a topic, it may be seen as 'light' entertainment. Looking at the output of the courtier-

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512   Sage, "Poetry in the Peninsula," p. 10.
513   Such focus will be examined within chapter eight.

class literati, one may make the claim that the *muwashshah* represents a 'median' culture, between the 'high' culture of classical Arabic poetry shared with Arabia, and a 'low' culture represented by the *zajal*.

To some scholars, this distinction suggests that the *zajal* derived from the *kharja*, manipulated into a form of strophic poetry in its own right. Others suggest that the way in which the *zajal* is presented, with the Bacchic theme of many popular *muwashshahs* the chief theme found within the extant corpus of *zajals*, indicates that the *topoi* of the *muwashshah* diffused into a colloquial Arabic form.[514] To this second group of scholars, the courtly poets who wrote *zajals* wrote them with a certain irony. In either case, the *zajal* differs in other key ways from the *muwashshah*; there is no *kharja*, no turn in either point-of-view or a change in the topic from a direct address to a plaintive longing, for example.[515]

Certain viewpoints[516] allow the *zajal* to be treated as a set of *kharjas* transformed from ending codas into poems in their own right. That is to say that the form of the *kharja* was treated as worthy of expansion, not necessarily that any given *zajal* originates from a pre-existing *kharja*. Further, the *zajal* and *muwashshah* do not possess a strict correspondence between the two styles.

> Stylistically, the *zajal* relies on a strict rhyme scheme in its strophes to create its impact. With an introductory strophe serving as a prelude and a repeated rhyme throughout its following strophes, the *zajal* has more variation in its composition than a *muwashshah*. Where the latter [classically] only has up to seven strophes, the former may possess many more. Likewise, the *zajal* possesses a certain air of informality. Colloquial Arabic is usually found throughout the entirety of the poem, rather than only in an ending coda. While several *zajal* resemble *muwashshah* in their composition, these inviolable rules of composition distinguish them.[517]

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[514]   Zwartjes provides a clear summary of the debate in Zwartjes, Love Songs from al-Andalus, pp. 89-93.
[515]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 88, 188.
[516]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 34-35, 86-93; Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry,* p. 42.
[517]   Sage, "Poetry in the Peninsula," p. 11.

As demonstrated above, the *muwashshah* and the *zajal*, while clearly related as forms of Arabic strophic poetry with a typical emphasis on a certain set of hedonistic themes, the actual compositional rules of the *zajal* are much looser, in keeping with the looser requirements of the form generally. Within this framework, the paradigm shifts that led to the development of the *muwashshah* were allowed to continue into the *zajal*, whose eventual abandonment may suggest that these shifts were unsustainable.

Regardless of the precise relationship of the *kharja* and the *zajal*, one can see how the *muwashshah* relates to other popular forms of Arabic poetry within al-Andalus' successors. While the *zajal* was only considered as a truly literary form within Iberia for a comparatively short time, the form demonstrates in part the relationship between the muwashshah and other Hispano-Arabic poetry. The *zajal* and *kharja*, regardless of the precise form of their relationship, are tied together intimately in their use of colloquial language. As they possibly relate to one another in a parent-child relationship, it is not enough to locate the *muwashshah* in terms of its classical and medieval origins, but rather its descendants must also be traced.

6.2.4 Breaking Apart the *Muwashshah*

Similarly, the classical portion of the *muwashshah* and its relationship to the specific end strophe of the *kharja* also deserves review. As noted previously, despite the relationship between the *muwashshah* and predecessor styles, there are two key features of the *muwashshah* that set the style apart from both its predecessors and its contemporaries. The first, the use of strophes as distinct from other Arabic-language forms, has already been treated in some detail within chapters three and four. The second, the presence of the *kharja* as a crucial

element within the *muwashshah* form, deserves further study. As defined in the

introduction, the *kharja* is the final strophe of the *muwashshah*, demonstrating key

differences from the rest of the poem:

> The final stanza or ending coda, the *kharja* (literally "exit"),[518] is composed in various
> languages and dialects, most commonly in 'lower' Arabic (the language of the common
> people, not of the Qur'an), Hebrew, or Romance.[519]
>
> …
>
> Typically set apart from the rest of the poem by a brief line or part of a line reading "he
> intoned" or "she sang"[520] or another phrase to indicate that the final stanza is delivered by a
> different persona than the preceding ones, the *kharja* stands apart as a separate and
> distinct piece of the poem. Indeed, several *kharja* conclude with quotations themselves,
> often lines from well-known or popular songs, with themes reflecting or contrasting the
> *muwashshah*.[521] By quoting other poets, poetry, or songs in their *kharjas*, the authors of
> *muwashshahs* placed themselves at a unique juncture, joining their compositions both to an
> Iberian setting and the Arabian past.[522]

The *kharja*, then, represents a transition between the classical Arabic of the rest of

the *muwashshah* and popular, light entertainment. While the topic included in a

given *kharja* does not differ from the greater themes of the rest of its accompanying

muwashshah as a whole, it changes the perspective upon that theme; whereas the

first part of the *muwashshah* might be from the perspective of a lover, the *kharja*

may be from the perspective of the beloved, especially in an explicitly erotic

poem.[523] The transition between a classical Arabic register and a popular one is

met with a distinct transition between the (presumably higher-class) first

perspective and the second, often a per'sona representative of less agency within

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518   Zwartjes, Otto, Love Songs from al-Andalus, p. 1.
519   Indeed, Hebrew muwashshahs make up a large portion of those still extant. However, in
this paper, I have chosen not to consider them except where necessary; they deserve a study of
their own examining their place or places at a juncture in both geography and in time.
520   Zwartjes, Love Songs from al-Andalus, p. 59.
521   Zwartjes, Love Songs from al-Andalus, p. 1.
522   Sage, Geoffrey, "Poetry in the Peninsula," pp. 12-13.
523   See Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 204-205 for examples.

Iberian culture.[524] Again, the feature of a popular register of Arabic (or even foreign loanwords or phrases) distinguishes the *muwashshah* from other Arabic-language poetry within Iberia, not to mention Arabian contemporaries, just as much as the strophic construction does. The distinguishing features of the *muwashshah* are not just stylistic, nor just structural; instead, both the style and structure vary from Arabian contemporaries, though the themes are typically similar to some Arabian examples.

However, more than the use of differing perspectives or a change in class status, it is this stylistic use of popular language that most clearly separates the *muwashshah* and *zajal* from Arabian and North African poetry, still composed entirely in classical, literary Arabic.[525] Strophic poetry, while rare, was not so unknown to the Arabian populace that critics contemporary with the *muwashshah* and *zajal* discounted them on those grounds alone.[526] This disconnect between the popular Hispano-Arabic dialect and the conservative, classical Arabic utilized throughout the literary culture of the Arabic speaking world, rather than being confined to Iberia, contributed to the dismissal by Ibn Bassām and others of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* as being beneath serious consideration. Whereas both Arabian and Iberian writers might write on the same topic, say a beloved, using the same imagery,[527] the Arabian writer would use meters and genres in keeping with those used hundreds of years before within *Arabia*, whereas the Iberian writer

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[524]   Slaves, women, and lower-class homosexual lovers all feature prominently within the *kharja* corpus. See Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 189-219 for a thorough listing of the themes of a large set of *kharjas*.

[525]   Indeed, the majority of Arabic poetry even today draws on the classical language exemplified by the Qur'an rather than a localized dialect of Arabic.

[526]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 85-86.

[527]   In both societies still reflective of the tension between desert and city.

would have the freedom to use a *muwashshah* or *zajal*, and still, to at least a certain extent, be taken seriously within Iberia, if not Arabia. No Arabian nor North African using innovative genres would be taken seriously in their homeland. Ibn Khaldūn's claim that "all [poets] use different dialects and word combinations. Everyone understands eloquence in his own dialect and has a taste for the beauties of the poetry of his own people"[528] has special resonance here. Not only does each person have "a taste for…the poetry of his own people,"[529] but for the *muwashshah* and *zajal* at least, the taste appears not to be something easily acquired outside of their native environment of Iberia.

Furthermore, even the composers of *muwashshah* within Iberia did not compose only *muwashshah*; they are not comparable, for example, to Shakespeare or Petrarch, focusing almost exclusively on one genre. To be considered seriously within literary culture, both within the successor states to al-Andalus and broader Arabic literary culture, *muwashshah* poets[530] had to write not only in the blended style of the *muwashshah* or the purely colloquial style of the *zajal* but also in purely classical forms. Again, despite the identification of certain poets with the *muwashshah* or *zajal*,[531] the Iberian poet had to be multi-talented, capable of writing using multiple styles. Regardless of the acceptance of the *muwashshah* within a certain segment of Hispano-Arabic culture, it was not accepted as a style worthy of serious consideration by broader literary culture, as evidenced by the fact that only three collectors-cum-critics preserved examples in

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[528]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 255.
[529]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 255.
[530]   Again, a technical term for a group of poets who focused primarily but not exclusively on the *muwashshah*.
[531]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 40 discusses the association of al-Aʿmā at-Tuṭīlī with the *muwashshah*; pp. 41-44 discusses the identification of Ibn Quzmān with the *zajal*

their various *diwans*. It remained, despite its popularity within Iberia, a niche genre, reflective of the non-Arabic paradigm shifts that did not translate well to the purely classical-influenced Arabia.

Were the *muwashshah* worthy of broader scholarly attention, rather than being preserved as curiosities within Arabic literature,[532] medieval and post-medieval[533] critics likely would have investigated the tale of its actual origins, rather than generally accepting a murky tale about a blind poet writing in an Iberian dialect of Arabic in the early third century AH/tenth century CE. In other *diwans*, we would have examples, rather than the explicit statement that the *muwashshah* was not worth of study. Instead of tracing unclear Greco-Roman influences and modernly investigating the relationships between Greco-Roman and Arabic literature, we would have clear references to the classical Arabic and other influences upon the popular form of the *muwashshah.*

6.3. The History of the *Muwashshah*
Within *muwashshah* studies, there exists the recurrent problem of separating the legendary origins of the genre from the real developments that led to the appearance of the *muwashshah* (and subsequently *zajal*), as well as the *kharja*, as distinct from other Arabic-language poetry. This question of the origins of the *muwashshah* straddles the boundary between the classical and medieval periods within Hispano-Arabic culture, the historical origin coming just before the medieval period, but the purported origin further back into the classical age.

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[532]   Extant collections of *muwashshah* and *zajal* are certainly incomplete; despite the preservation of a certain number of them, references are made to no longer extant poems as examples of poor *muwashshah* especially:
[533]   Here meaning critics writing after 645 AH/1248 CE

Accordingly, multiple challenges exist when trying to trace the appearance of the style, leaving its true origins murky at best.

6.3.1. The Early *Muwashshah*

As noted previously, the story generally accepted by Arabic critics has an aura of myth about it. Some time (no precise date is specified) around 287 AH/900 CE, a blind poet (no biography nor name is provided) created the *muwashshah*, *possibly* drawing on extant *muwashshah*-like forms. These claims of origin are not accompanied by poems dated this early, but rather accompany later *muwashshahs*, many with identifiable authors who lived some hundred years later, at the earliest.[534] Despite the uncertainty of the purported origin of the *muwashshah*, Arab critics seem to have accepted it with a minimum of commentary or question.[535] This alternate genealogy, that accepted by the Arab critics without evidence of the twin sets of Greco-Roman and Arabic paradigm shifts, of the *muwashshah* appears legendary, though it may still contain elements of truth. Certainly, the specific attribute of the blind originator resonates with information about later *muwashshah* poets; the poet most identified with the *muwashshah* had the epithet "al-Aʿmā at-Tuṭīlī" or "the Blind Poet of Tuleda."[536] Also pointing to elements of truth within the origin story provided, the historical *muwashshah* appears suddenly, just as the poetry of the Romance *troubadours* did. It may well have been the innovation of one man or one small group of

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[534] While not all *muwashshahs* have an identified author, the style and language does allow for a general chronology of each poem, as evidenced by the arrangement of the selected *muwashshahs* in Monroe.

[535] Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 85.

[536] This identification is not meant to suggest that critics of the *muwashshah* were merely involved in a situation of mistaken identity. Instead, this story of a blind originator is current with the first *muwashshahs*, prior to the work of al-Aʿmā at-Tuṭīlī.

courtiers, just as the Romance *troubadour* style seems to have begun with the specific innovations of William IX.

Tantalizingly, the initial appearance of the *muwashshah* not only reinterprets the paradigm shifts seen within Greco-Roman and Arabic culture, but appears so suddenly, it appears to be true evidence of Arabic language poetry within Iberia undergoing the revolutionary transformation necessary to be termed a paradigm shift.[537] The *muwashshah*, as discussed, is a radical break from previous poetry, both Arabian and Iberian. Even if possible distortions in the historical record have led historians to overestimate the suddenness of the appearance of the form, the differences between the blended classical-colloquial form of the *muwashshah* and preexisting Arabic examples are quite pronounced. Again, the relationship between the *muwashshah* and its Arabic-language (especially Arabian-North African) contemporaries reflects degrees of relatedness: the *muwashshah,* and its partial adoption of Greco-Roman poetics, with a particular genealogy that sets it apart from a perfect correlation with Arabian examples; nevertheless, the similarities in those parts of the *muwashshah* containing classical language and the imagery throughout clearly indicate that the *muwashshah* has more in common than not with other Arabic language examples.

On a purely concrete level, setting aside theoretical questions about the precise relationships between different geographical areas, attempts to identify a reasonably precise date for the origin of the *muwashshah* remain a thornier

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[537]   As Thomas Kuhn pointed out, a paradigm shift, while revolutionary, includes those shifts that took quite some time to effect total change. It is the break with pre-existing tradition or belief that constitutes the paradigm shift, rather than the absolutely speed of occurrence. With the unanswered (and perhaps unanswerable) question of how long the genesis of the *muwashshah* took, the understanding that the transformation is what matters most, rather than any specific speed, is of paramount importance.

problem. The identification of possible accurate elements contained within the

accepted story does not provide any additional evidence towards a dating of the

appearance of the genre itself; rather the acceptance of the story is self-confirming,

as its complete rejection. Certainly, it is unlikely that we possess the absolute first

muwashshah, because either it was not recorded in a separate *diwan* or else the

compilation it was recorded in was lost. Further evidence that we likely do not

possess initial *muwashshahs* is the fact that the earliest dated[538] samples that

have survived to modern times also reflect a 'complete' *muwashshah*, not an

'attempt' at one.[539] To choose but one example of their completion, the first extant

muwashshahs already have fully developed *kharjas*.[540] These first *kharjas* possess

all of the features of later, stylized or reused *kharjas*: the stylistic device of the

transition between the body of the *muwashshah* and the *kharja* itself, the adoption

of a separate speaker for the *kharja*, and the discrepancy between classical Arabic

for the first speaker's strophes and a colloquial register for the strophe of the

kharja. The *muwashshah* does not evolve first as a strophic form, and then gain its

kharja, despite its superficial similarity to other forms current within Iberia; instead,

it appears as a completed genre, separate from any other strophic forms extant

within Hispano-Arabic poetry.[541] Conversely, unlike with the purported origin of the

muwashshah, the Arabic critics were quite assiduous in proper attribution of

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[538]   Though an analysis of the techniques used to recreate such chronologies is outside the extent of any portion of this thesis, it is adequately explored in Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*.
[539]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 31.
[540]   "[The use of phrases such as 'he said'] demonstrate the uniqueness of the *kharja*; while (parts of) it may be a quotation, such a quotation exists in an entirely new context, used to highlight the commonality of certain experiences, themes, or ideas, rather than exhibiting a simple copying. It operates as a meta-textual device, tying together pre-existing poetry or song with the new poetry of Iberia." Sage, "Poetry in the Peninsula," p. 18.
[541]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 89-92 explores the challenge of tracing the origins of the *muwashshah* to previous genres, proposing several possible solutions, all of which appear incomplete.

*muwashshah*s, allowing for the creation of a reasonable chronology and bibliography of extant muwashshahs.

Beyond the stylistic evidence presented in terms of construction, there is simple textual, historical evidence that the story accepted by classical critics does not entirely hold water: the extant *muwashshahs* do not date starting from the late 200s AH/early 900s CE, but rather appear as noted, around the year 390 AH/1000 CE. Although it is unlikely we possess the very first *muwashshah*, for the reasons just identified, it is similarly unlikely that a culture with a rich history of recording poetry would simply allow for a lapse of a hundred years between the appearance of a form and its first *recorded* existence. Identifying the point of actual origin of the *muwashshah* therefore becomes clouded; just because the existing examples date from such a relatively late date *does not mean* that there were no pre-existing or proto-*muwashshahs* that did not survive.

As noted, there do exist some poems similar to the *muwashshah*, the *mussamat*, that share certain constructive elements with the *muwashshah*, though they do not include the transitory elements of "he said" or "she said,"[542] nor a *kharja* from a separate viewpoint. Instead, they share certain strophic elements, rather than the multiple registers or specific features of the language schema of the *muwashshah*. These poems are not proto-*muwashshah* in their own right; instead they reflect additional ways in which Hispano-Arabic poetry was developing concurrently with the rise of the *muwashshah*; the developments and paradigm shifts that gave rise to the *muwashshah* were not limited in their impact to these two genres, but diffused in other ways throughout Iberian poetry.

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[542] Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 90.

6.3.2. The *Muwashshah* and Its Relationship to the *Zajal*

The history of the *zajal*, especially those aspects it shares with the *muwashshah*, is also complicated, though there exist clearer transitory forms between the *zajal* and its ancestors. Several examples of *muwashshah*-like *zajals* unequivocally exist within the extant corpus of Hispano-Arabic poetry;[543] moreover, there are poems that can be classified as proto-*zajals*, more like the *zajal* than the *muwashshah*-like examples, but not possessing all of the attributes that critics use to clearly define as a *zajal*. As stated previously, there exist several competing beliefs for the relationship of the *zajal* to the *muwashshah*, specifically the *kharja*. These questions revolve around which style came first and influenced the other; did the *kharja* derive from some sort of shortened *zajal*, or does the *zajal* perhaps derive from some sort of expanded *kharja*?

Specifically, the evidence best supports the claim that the *kharja* exists as the parent and the *zajal* as the child, given that there is a corpus of *muwashshah*-like *zajals*. While it is not necessarily the case the original *zajal* originated out of experimentation with an already-extant *kharja*, the concept of a colloquial poem belonging within serious literature began with the use of the *kharja* and was sustained and transformed into the further form of the *zajal*, regardless of the precise details of the parent-child relationship. On balance, the way in which these *zajals* are presented seems most similar to an expanded *kharja*, rather than the other way round; the playfulness contained within the *kharja* has given rise a greater freedom of expression within the *zajal*.

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[543]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 38. Moreover, "In other words, we are able to see some poems that may signal a change from the *muwashshah* into the earliest types of *zajal*." Sage, "Poetry in the Peninsula," p. 12.

Compare the appreciation of wine within this *muwashshah* by Ibn ʿUbāda with the subsequent *zajal* by Ibn Quzmān:

> Go for the wine! And go early with an embroidered
>   robe
>   In the evening and the morning to the music of the
>   eloquent bowstring,
>
> The name of wine, in my opinion–so know it!–is not taken from anything
>   but
> The one who is *kha'* of the cheek and *mim* of the smile
> And *ra'* of the honeyed saliva from a fragrant mouth
>   Give up worrying and join these letters
>   So that you might go early and late with a
>   body that has spirit.
>
> By God, give me a drink of it, for the love of Wathiq,
> For truly he has similar qualities to those found in wine.[544]

By contrast, Ibn Quzmān says the following:

> 1   My life is spent in dissipation and wantonness!
> 2   O joy, I have begun to be a real prolifigate!
> 3   Indeed, it is absurd for me to repent
> ....
> 12   Drunkenness, drunkenness! What care we for proper conduct?[545]

The *zajal*'s explicit celebration of deviance and hedonism, focused on the specific use of drunkenness is similar in theme to the *muwashshah*, but much like the colloquial Arabic it was written in, it has an earthier, more direct approach. The *muwashshah* has an extended metaphor, comparing a face to calligraphy, with wine appearing both as an object and as a separate metaphor. The *zajal* has no metaphor. Instead, it has a bold claim to "dissipation and wantonness,"[546] followed by a celebration of the result of drinking. In this case, the *zajal* represents an experimentation with the themes of the *muwashshah*, rather than an experimentation with the form or construction, but the connection between the two genres remains. The *muwashshah*, as a courtly form, possesses acceptance within

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544   Ibn ʿUbāda, cited in Compton, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, no. 23, p. 33.
545   Ibn Quzmān, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), no. 25, p. 259-260.
546   Ibn Quzmān, cited in Monroe, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, no. 26, pp. 260-261.

Iberian literary circles, whereas the more fully colloquial form of the *zajal* remains

an outsider, possessing only a qualified acceptance under certain circumstances.

This expansion of the themes of the *muwashshah* into a *zajal* format also

helps demonstrate why Hispano-Arabic poetry should be seen as containing

muwashshah-like *zajals*, rather than a blended form of *zajal*-like *muwashshahs*. It

seems unlikely that the fully realized themes of a *zajal*, which could have an

unlimited number of strophes,[547] would condense easily into the single strophe of a

kharja, whereas the themes of a *muwashshah* and *kharja* could be expanded from

a single strophe (in the case of the *kharja*) or set of strophes, no more than six, (in

the case of the body of a *muwashshah*) to an entirely new poem. Comparatively,

the *muwashshah* represents a literary rarefication of an idea, no matter how sexual

or hedonistic, whereas the *zajal* represents a direct expression of that same

thought. The *kharja* demonstrates the link between the two genres; colloquial

Arabic with often direct expression:

> "My beloved left at dawn and I did not
>   say farewell to him.
> Oh lonely heart of mine at night when I
>   remember him!"[548]

This particular *kharja* contains no metaphor, but rather a plain-spoken expression

of a direct situation. After a night together, a woman's lover has left, and she

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547   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 41.
548   Possibly Ibn Baqī or al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī, cited in Compton, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, no. 22, p. 33. This particular *muwashshah* is generally a bit more plain-spoken than many *muwashshah*, and reliant on expressions of direct feeling similar to William IX:
> The palpitations of my heart are excessive
>   and my patience is gone.
> My love has let me go. If only I could
>   let go of him!
Metaphor is not a primary concern, and instead it seems to bridge the gap between some of the *muwashshah* and the direct emphasis that can be seen in some *zajal*.

regrets not having said goodbye. It is not couched in elaborate metaphor, but rather demonstrates a clear statement of a common theme.

This genealogy of the *zajal* represents an earlier expression of some of the same themes to be explored within chapter eight, namely, how did the *muwashshah* adapt to survive outside the specific context of Iberia between 391 AH/1000 CE and 645 AH/1248 CE. However, unlike the analysis that will be contained within that chapter, the *zajal* represents a development concurrent with the existence of the *muwashshah* itself. Instead of reflecting a survival (made clearer by the way in which the *zajal* was denigrated after the *taifa* period) of an independent tradition, the *zajal* represents an early attempt at adapting the *muwashshah*, especially but not exclusively the *kharja*, into a separate style. While the two genres may be treated independently of one another (especially in the case of the *muwashshah*), they may just as easily be reviewed in light of their relationship of adaptation.

While the two forms certainly possess independent existence, the *zajal* is reliant on the *muwashshah* for two key reasons. First, the acceptance of colloquial Arabic within a literary context, as it is unlikely that a fully colloquial poem would have been immediately accepted, even within the frontier culture of Iberia. Second, the themes within the *zajal* are reliant upon the *muwashshah* and the *muwashshah*'s treatment of the same themes. The *muwashshah* takes a frank tone with themes of lust, but the *zajal* takes those same themes a step farther.

Ultimately, the *kharja* represents the closest point at which the *zajal* and *muwashshah* may be directly compared. As discussed within the next section, the question of the precise nature of the derivation of the *zajal* from the *muwashshah*

makes a difference here. If the *zajal* originated as an expansion of the *kharja*, the idea of the *kharja* as a leap from the body of the *muwashshah* becomes a necessary component of the fundamental differentiation between the *zajal* and the *muwashshah*.

6.3.3. Form, Theme, and Style

The history of the themes and styles within the *muwashshah* is somewhat easier to trace, unlike the strict historical construction of the form itself. At the most lbasic level, the language (in this case meaning the specific verbs, nouns, adjectives, et cetera) and stock phrasing remain similar throughout the *muwashshah*'s history, with the actual imagery used within any individual *muwashshah* still echoing that pool of common Arabic-language metaphors accepted throughout Arabic literary culture.[549] Similarly, "by quoting other poets, poetry, or songs in their *kharjas*, the authors of *muwashshahs* placed themselves at a unique juncture, joining their compositions both to an Iberian setting and the Arabian past."[550] Certainly, poets might reuse their own language with abandon: Ibn ʿUbāda al-Qazzāz repeatedly uses, within different *muwashshahs*, a metaphor of using his father as payment: "By my father I'd ransom an inaccessible gazelle who is guarded by lions of the thicket"[551] and "I'm ready to give my father as ransom for a precious one who is attached to my soul."[552]

The genealogy of the *muwashshah*'s language reflects a strong Arabic origin, rather than the blended origin of the style itself. As a result, one may see

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[549]   Ibn ʿUbāda al-Qazzāz, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), no. 18, pp. 220-223
[550]   Sage, "Poetry in the Peninsula," p. 13.
[551]   Ibn ʿUbāda al-Qazzāz, cited in Monroe, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, no. 18, pp. 220-221.
[552]   Ibn ʿUbāda al-Qazzāz, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), no. 17, pp.218-219.

strong connection to the disparate threads of a common Arabic continuity within the muwashshah, keeping the genre in connection to and in conversation with its peers in North Africa and Arabia. Despite their composition at the frontier, reflective of the realities of that frontier, the *muwashshah* represents an intersection, not just of the Greco-Roman and Arabic paradigms discussed, but also an intersection of Hispano-Arabic culture with the Arabian-Arabic culture of the heartland.

Perhaps as a result of their position as liminal poetry, the main themes of the *muwashshah* and *kharja*[553] remain consistent throughout this period of their history, despite the variable topics found within other Iberian poetry. Throughout the history of the *muwashshah*, a general focus on celebrating life, whether though romantic relationships, a celebration of revelry, or even hedonism, takes the primary place.[554]

> Love produces the pleasure of blame for you, and rebuke for this
>   is sweeter than kisses.
> Everything is instrumental in causing love. Love became too strong
>   for me, and yet its origin was but play.
> ....
> "Oh, branch of the beech tree, come give me a hand!
>   Pomegranates taste good to the one who plucks![555]

Compare the theme of the first selection, by al-Aʿmā at-Tuṭīlī, to the second, whose author goes unrecorded.

> Beloved, give your consent and take my life.
> Let me drink again from the deep red lips of your mouth,
> Together with the kind of witchcraft your eyes contain.
>   Cool my burning fire and sheath the swordlike glances.[556]

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[553]   There are two ways in which the *kharja* may be reviewed; the first is to treat the *kharja* as quasi-independent from the *muwashshah* as a whole and the second is to treat it as an integral strophe in its own right. Throughout this particular section, the *kharja* is considered separately from the rest of the poem unless explicitly mentioned otherwise.

[554]   This reflection about the common themes found within the *muwashshah* is not meant to indicate that they were strictly limited to these themes, only that these themes are by far the most common within the *muwashshah* corpus. Again, Zwartjes offers a full analysis of the various themes within the *muwashshah*, both Arabic and Hebrew in *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 188-233.

[555]   Probably al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī, cited in Compton, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, no. 31, p. 41.

[556]   Anonymous, cited in Compton, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, no. 4, p. 13.

These specific poems provide a clear illustration of the continuity of themes (in this case, the physical pleasures that can be derived from embracing sexuality) between various *muwashshahs*, indicating how certain aspects of the *muwashshah* developed early within their history and then remained as common tropes, if not unofficial requirements. Even if not immediately integral parts of Ibn Khaldūn's *definition* of the *muwashshah*, then these aspects represent common methods which expressed the basic criteria that met his definition throughout the history of the *muwashshah*. Despite not being part of the structure that he laid out, these themes recur, ensuring a link from the earliest extant examples of the *muwashshah* to the final medieval examples. Despite any loss of the 'original *muwashshahs*,' it is in some ways possible to construct a hypothetical example, including the theme of physical and romantic attractions, given their prominence within the extant *muwashshah*.[557] As Ibn Bassām put it, "[the *muwashshahs*] are metrical patterns that the people of al-Andalus used copiously in the [erotic genres of] *gazal* and *nasib*, such that carefully guarded bosoms and even hearts, are broken upon hearing them."[558] The integration of the theme into the definition (as opposed to more strictly constructionist views of what constitutes the *muwashshah*) is unique to Ibn Bassām, but for the typical *muwashshah*, this expanded definition is certainly accurate.

However, the specific themes of the *muwashshah* are more than just eroticism. The *muwashshah* and *zajal* also do not shy away from invoking wine

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[557]   The actual re-construction of any example is beyond the scope of this paper, and remains a project for future specialists in the field.
[558]   Ibn Bassām, cited in Zwartjes, Otto, trans., *Love Songs from al-Andalus: History, Structure, and Meaning of the Kharja*, (Leiden: Brill, 1997) p. 184.

and drunkenness. In an especially explicit example, Ibn ʿUbāda invokes wine three

times in three strophes:

> Go for the wine! And go early with an embroidered
>   robe
> In the evening and the morning to the music of the
>   eloquent bowstring,
>
> The name of wine, in my opinion–so know it!–is not taken from anything
>   but
> The one who is *kha'* of the cheek and *mim* of the smile
> And *ra'* of the honeyed saliva from a fragrant mouth
>   Give up worrying and join these letters
>   So that you might go early and late with a
>   body that has spirit.
>
> By God, give me a drink of it, for the love of Wathiq,
> For truly he has similar qualities to those found in wine.[559]

While this example is particularly vivid, tying together the imagery of a lover's face

with calligraphy, it focuses on the purported drunkenness that love invokes. As will

be further discussed in this chapter, however, wine often represents a forbidden

transgression within Islam, especially within the context of the fundamentalist

Almoravids and Almohads. In the context of the *muwashshah* poets, it represents a

departure from the expected norms of behavior, while the *muwashshah* themselves

anticipate a certain amount of deviance.[560] In this way, the *muwashshah* again

demonstrate their specific Iberian origins; "it would probably have scandalized

many eastern Muslims to celebrate drinking, doubly so when coupled with a

reference to Allah or Muhammad.[561] Western Muslim audiences, however, seem to

have embraced both the ideal and activity of drinking,"[562]

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[559]   Ibn ʿUbāda, cited in Compton, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, no. 23, p. 33.
[560]   This use of wine as a metaphoric device may also be seen, within a different religious
context, in Sufi work, where drunkenness relates to embrace of the divine, rather than the literal act
of drinking.
[561]   Ibn ʿUbāda, cited in Compton, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, no. 23, pp. 33-34. The
poem goes on to make just such a comparison.
[562]   Sage, "Poetry in the Peninsula," p. 37.

6.3.3.1 The Sufi Dimension

It is here that the parallels with esoteric, mystic Sufi work become most clear: the usage of wine and drinking within Sufi poetry *should* be seen as a metaphor for the overwhelming power of the Divine:

> Remembering the Beloved, wine we drink
> Which drunk had made us ere the vine's creation.;
> A sun it is; the full moon is its cup.[563]

The similar usage of the idea of becoming drunk on beauty within the *muwashshah* corpus *may* be seen within the same light; for example, IbnʿUbāda's previously examined couplet about wine and a youth may 'be seen similarly. While certainly possessing an immediate physical element, as described above, one may interpret it not just as a desire for wine, drunkenness, or a youth, but as a desire for the transcendent; indeed, the interjection "By God, give me a drink of it" contains an immediate divine reference, albeit as an oath,[564] a feature only occasionally found within the *muwashshah*.[565] While the author is not entirely convinced that a substantial part of the *muwashshah* corpus was meant for anything beyond light entertainment, the possibility of an allegorical interpretation also allows for the acceptance of the *muwashshah* within a religious environment. As both the Almohads and Almoravids possessed a fundamentalist conservative tendency, such additional levels of meaning could certainly have protected them, at least in part, from disapproval or elimination as part of a degenerate, decadent corruption of the arts associated with the *taifa* period.

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[563] Original source Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *The Mystical Poems of Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, edited by A. J. Arberry, (London) 1952; translated by A. J. Arberry (Dublin), 1956. Found at Lings, M., "Mystical Poetry" in *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature, Vol 1, ʿAbbasid Belles Lettres*, edited by Ashtiany, Julia, T. M. Johnstone, J.D. Latham, R.B. Serjeant, and G. Rex Smith, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1990, p. 255.

[564] Ibn ʿUbāda, cited in Compton, trans., Andalusian Lyrical Poetry, no. 23, p. 33.

[565] See Zwartjes' full analysis of *muwashshah* themes; Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 188-218.

Further, one need not look only to drunkenness as the only clear parallel between Sufi work and the *muwashshah*. While the two genres do not possess a complete set of shared genealogies, the clear mutual descent from Arabian/Arabic ensures the usage of a shared library of metaphors. For instance, Al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī's description of longing for a dancing woman[566] is in line with Sufi descriptions of longing, though in the typical case which follows, it is a specific longing for the divine, rather than a primary interpretation of a longing for an actual specific person:

> Thou'rt the Beloved – no doubt is in my breast.
> My soul, were it to lose Thee, would no live.
> Thou who has made me thirst so longingly
> For union which Thou hast power to give.[567]

Finally, in terms of Sufi-Hispano-Arabic connections, there do exist poems with more direct Sufi connections. While an example of the *zajal*, rather than the *muwashshah*, the following provides a clear rearrangement of the themes of drinking and hedonism in a specifically *Hispano*-Arabic context into that of a transcendental religious experience:

1 My beloved has visited me and m y moments have become sweet. My beloved listened to me
2 And forgave all my sins, despite the spy's wrath
3 The goal of my hopes vised me and [all] harm ceased. He gave news of the union,
4 And was present in my presence while the cup went round and I achieved my hopes.
5 We drank and our breaths we sweetened with a permitted wine.
6 Fill my cup, for in it are my lofty pleasures, so that I may drink it u0p, O you who understand!
....

8 O for his liquor! O for his wine! O for the wine seller! O for the joy! O for the song![568]

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[566]   Al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī, cited in Monroe, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, no. 24, p. 252.
[567]   Original source al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt al-suffiyah*, edited by Shuraybah, (Cairo), 1953, p. 197/edited by Pedersen, J. (Leiden), 1960, p. 188. Found at Lings, M., "Mystical Poetry, p. 243.
[568]   Shushtarī, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), no. 35, pp. 314-315.

Such poems demonstrate that the transformed wine-song, as discussed within chapters four and six, did not exist entirely apart from a religious sphere. Instead, the same language as used by Ibn Quzman in a borderline obscene *zajal* could be used to demonstrate a reverence for the divine; while the basic *muwashshah* or *zajal* might be used primarily as light entertainment, the form itself, especially the lower register of the *zajal*, allowed for the mystic dimension to be brought down to an earthly 'understanding.'

6.3.4 Temporalizing the *Muwashshah*

Ultimately, although the legendary origins of the *muwashshah*, and the shadowy origin of the *zajal*, may obscure the process of development of the forms from specific pre-existing influences,[569] they do not obscure the development of the *muwashshah* within the extant corpus, nor does a lack of information about specific origins conceal the greater themes, nor their distinction from Arabian or North African themes. Moreover, they do not entirely mask the relationship between these two specifically Hispano-Arabic forms and those traditional forms maintained both in Iberia and within Arabia; the genealogy of the *muwashshah*, derived from twin sets of paradigm shifts represents the filtered, indirect influence of Greco-Roman culture, but highlight a less-filtered, though still not immediate, relationship with Arabic peers. The *muwashshah* demonstrate new paradigms of their own, but within the context of specifically Arabic-language poetry.

To clarify, while the *muwashshah,* and later the *zajal,* represent innovation, they represent innovation within a pre-existing framework. They do not exist

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[569]   As compared to derivations from the general paradigm shifts discussed throughout this thesis.

isolated from either their Greco-Roman heritage (without which they would simply be reflections of the same styles of Arabic language used in the rest of the then-current Arabic-speaking world) or their Arabic (or Arabian) heritage, without which they would not emerge as fully crafted poems, but instead as tentative exercises. Again, regardless of the veracity of any tale of their origins, the *muwashshah* and *zajal* reflect a post-classical reality, in which this innovation within the frontier could be celebrated (at least within the frontier areas), and classical Arabic forms were no longer necessarily the order of the day.[570] In some ways, they represent a medieval anticipation of future forms and innovation, an anticipation that would have effects on Christian Europe, as discussed in chapter five and to be discussed further within chapter seven. As a result, unlike the general maintenance of purely classical forms with Arabia, the acceptance (and partial promulgation) of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* allowed for the form to develop independently from its Arabian contemporaries. Their themes might be similar, the language certainly so, but the form and style differed dramatically.

While the idea that the *kharja* degenerated throughout the history of the *muwashshah* might hold sway throughout classical criticism, the criticism of the remaining strophes of the *muwashshah* remained consistent throughout the extant collections.[571] As discussed within chapter two, the criticism of the *muwashshah* relates both to the literary criticism analyzing the features of the poem,[572] as well as artistic criticism of the merits of the individual poems. Again, it was somehow seen as enough that the *muwashshah* was not immediately derived from classical

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[570]   "Their distinctly post-classical origin meant that no longer was the only poetry pre-Islamic or that modeled directly on pre-Islamic originals." Sage, "Poetry in the Peninsula," p. 52.
[571]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 85.
[572]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 254-256.

(either early Islamic or pre-Islamic) models for it to be automatically suspect, if not

blatantly inferior.[573] The *muwashshah* were immediately beginning with several

immediate disadvantages, culturally and critically: it was not Arabian or from

assimilated North Africa/the Levant in physical, geographic origin; it did not take as

direct models any of the accepted forms, no matter how uncommon; it blended the

'pure' language of literary Arabic with colloquial dialect, or worse, foreign

loanwords. Abu-Haidar's observation that "to write well in al-Andalus was to strive

to equal what the Arabs in the East were writing. To excel was to beat the

Easterners at their own literary exercises"[574] holds true.

      As mentioned in chapter two, here it becomes necessary to treat Abu-

Haidar's commentary of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's understanding of the *muwashshah*,

specifically the quite serious charge that Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk did not comprehend

"the literary background in which [the *muwashshah*] developed."[575] This th'esis'

general disagreement with Abu-Haidar's position on most aspects of *muwashshah*

origin and influence notwithstanding, this claim is both bold and grave, and also

just as black and white as others of Abu-Haidar's claims. The idea that Ibn Sanāʾ

al-Mulk "is carried away by the novelty and variability of the *muwashshahat*, and

feels a sense of exultation in regaling his readers with examples of the Andalusi

muwashshahat"[576] does have some merit, however, as his collection does

represent the bulk of preserved *muwashshahs*.

      However, Abu-Haidar's specific claim is broadly over-reaching. As an

Eastern enthusiast of Western forms, Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk represents a rarity within

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[573]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 253-259.
[574]   Abu-Haidar, "The *Muwaššahat* in the Literary Life that Produced them," p. 117.
[575]   Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 43.
[576]   Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 43.

any sort of Arabic criticism. The majority of Arabic critics dismiss the *muwashshah*

as worthy of serious merit, despite the occasional composition of Iberian-style

verse. Moreover, it is the authority of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, who appears to have taken

the matter quite seriously, that allows the modern author to distinguish a proper

kharja from one half-formed, and indeed help to distinguish the blended form of the

muwashshah from the *zajal*:

> Indeed, the kharja, if it is to be a 'sally' from the highly classical and studiedly elaborate, has to be a leap to the other extreme. It has to smack of the waywardness of Al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (*ḥajjājiyya*); it has to throw to the winds the stipulations of *iʿrāb*, as Ibn Quzmān did (*quzmāniyya*), and it has to be sharp, even caustic, vulgar, and if circumstances allowed, be in thieves' Latin (*lughāt al-dāṣṣa*).[577]

Without some acceptance by their Arabian contemporaries, the *muwashshah* poets

would remain unknown to us today. Again, the role of the critic and poet were often

merged within medieval Arabic culture, so Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's description is not

just an academic description; within his own attempts at *muwashshah*, he would be

writing to these requirements.

6.4. The *Muwashshah* and Arabian/North African Peers
Ultimately "the distinctly post-classical origin [of the *muwashshah*] meant

that no longer was the only [literary] poetry pre-Islamic or that modeled directly on

pre-Islamic originals."[578] Instead, the *muwashshah* demonstrated their place as

heirs to the sets of Greco-Roman and Arabian paradigm shifts simultaneously.

Although the *muwashshah* could be seen as some sort of bastardized hybrid form

within Arabic criticism, such appraisal does not negate its place as a unique

blending of two disparate cultures. Ibn Bassām's definition of the *muwashshah*

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[577]   Abu-Haidar*, Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 113, translation of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, *Dar al-Tiraz*, pp. 30-31.
[578]   See Ibn Bassām, cited in Monroe, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 28 and Ibn Khaldūn, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 29-30, as well as Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 31-32.

recognizes the distinction between the metrical pattern (the physical structure of the poem) and the literary genres (*gazal* or *nasib*) commonly understood across the Arabic-speaking world, independent of the *muwashshah* form. The true challenge that the *muwashshah* represented to Arabian and North African contemporaries had less to do with its merits, one way or the other, on purely literary grounds,[579] but rather its existence demonstrated that there could be innovative forms separate from an Arabian original, especially when native Arabic forms were brought into closer contact with 'foreign' cultures. The trladitionalist forms of Arabia, perpetuated in North Africa, lacked a comparable outsider influence to shape their development.

While no individual part of the Arabic cultural background might be unique to the *muwashshah*, the construction of the poems themselves were unique.[580] The expansion from original Arabian rhyme scansion into a form possessing Greco-Roman influenced strophes had no immediate peer in the Arabian heartland, and little equivalent in the eastern part of the Islamic world, in which Arabic remained the prestige language, with Iranian and Turkic languages not contributing their own hybrid styles. Arabic continued to develop from its original set of paradigm shifts (described within chapter four), rather than adopting any new modes derived from an outsider culture. This maintenance of standardized forms without an enthusiastic adoption of innovative forms does not indicate a weakness of Arabian-Arabic poetry, but rather simply demonstrates that innovation within Arabian poetry

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[579]   Again, such subjective criticism was already realized by the *muwashshah* poets. See Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 43.

[580]   "While it is over-simplistic to say that there are no erotic or romantic poems outside al-Andalus, there are no predecessors that tread the boundaries of language and propriety in the same ways as the *muwashshah* and *zajal*." Sage, "Poetry in the Peninsula," p. 30.

did not derive from an outsider set of paradigm shifts, such as Greco-Roman. As demonstrated, Arabian poets did adopt the *muwashshah*; however, its place was suspect within extra-Iberian literature. As a result, extant extra-Iberian examples are few and far-between, preserved more in commentary than in actual poems such as with Iberian examples.

Simultaneously, there was continued innovation within Arabian and North African poetry; it was not a static, calcified culture. However, those innovations that did exist reflected a novel use of existing tropes and themes, rather than a development into entirely new structures and forms as they did in Iberia. Rhyme continued to be the key structures defining Arabic poetic expression, rather than blending stresses and syllabic count with rhyme, as in the *muwashshah* .

Extant Arabic poems current to and pre-dating the rise of the *muwashshah* were treated in some detail within chapter four, but to reiterate, the typical example used an established, traditional meter. These meters usually reflected a particular set of five accepted meters, and relied on the same use of mid- and end-line rhyme as had been traditional within Arabic poetry since records began. While they did not all have the same pessimistic outlook as al-Maʿarri, contemporary to the very first known *muwashshahs*,[581] Arabian and North African poems did not necessarily demonstrate the broad hedonism, especially the explicit sexuality that would break "carefully guarded bosoms and even hearts."[582] The extant examples are thoroughly traditional in style, with less of a focus on celebration of transgression.[583] Whether chiefly due to their origins in a traditional environment,

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[581]   See chapter four.
[582]   Ibn Bassām, cited in Zwartjes, trans., *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 184.
[583]   The focus on wine, typically forbidden under Islam, provides a concrete example of the transgressive nature of the *muwashshah*, as does the relationship of Iberian Islam and Christianity;

away from the frontier psychology of al-Andalus, or the related natural reliance on classical forms, the poems of North Africa and Arabia did not break from accepted models.

Indeed, for all regions under the relative linguistic hegemony of Arabic, "much of the power of Arabic rested in its grand traditions."[584] The pre-Islamic and early Islamic poets described in chapter four, the pinnacle of Arabic-language mastery, remained the ideal models for Arabian and North African poetry,[585] while the *muwashshah* played with the forms, relying both on tradition and the immediate relevancy of the colloquial hybrid speech of al-Andalus.[586] However, the *muwashshah* does relate directly to pre-existing and contemporary Arabic features derived from Arabian *topoi*, while at the same existing distinctly from the original uses of those Arabian poems. For example, one key *difference* between the two sets of poets can be seen in how they addressed issues of location and geography, both actual and the imagined ideal geography. The *muwashshahs* address a distinctly urban audience throughout (going so far as to in some poems reference Seville specifically by name),[587] whereas Arabian poets, despite their own increasing urbanization, discussed throughout the previous chapters, still looked to the desert as the epitome of *Arabic* expression.[588] But, despite this apparent distinction between the two regions, the metaphorical language of both locations derived from the same common pool of imagery. Specifically, "it seems as if the

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in a particularly telling demonstration of such transgression, "wine is called 'the daughter of the monastery,' suggesting that the Christian influence was well-known and easily acknowledged." Sage, "Poetry in the Peninsula," p. 30, internal quotation from Compton, Andalusian Lyrical Poetry, p. 47.

[584]   Sage, "Poetry in the Peninsula," p. 16.
[585]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 12, 16.
[586]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 277-287.
[587]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 198.
[588]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 40.

Iberian poets drew on a collective [Arabic-language] interpretation of what a garden or city might be, transposed the common elements to the west, then gave it an Andalusian [sic] flavoring."[589]

Moreover, both the *muwashshah* poets and those of North Africa and Arabia had not just a common pool of Arabic-language metaphors, but the common thread of Islam underlying the expression of any poetic thought.[590] By the time of the *muwashshah*, Islam had become the dominant religion within Arabicized Iberia. The time of the Spanish martyrs (predominantly 235-245 AH/the 850s CE) had ended, and while there still existed Christian and Jewish communities, they were certainly minorities, despite the firm political position of several prominent Jewish families, and the certain presence of monasteries within Iberia.[591] The Qur'an and related *Islamic* traditions underlay the culture of both Arabian heartland and Iberian literature. As a result, while a number of the key early poets of Arabic were non-Muslims, several attempts at revising history and historiography had already occurred within a few generations of Muhammad, allowing these poets to live hundreds of years, to allow them to embrace Islam and therefore be fully accepted by the dominant Islamic, Arab culture.[592]

Even some of the most basic features of the *muwashshah* relied on the Arabian Muslim traditions, evidence not of a paradigm shift, but rather of the use and reuse of an original set of paradigms derived from an Arabian experience wholly

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[589]   Sage, "Poetry in the Peninsula," p. 18.
[590]   While I have heretofore avoided conflating Islamic expression and Arabic expression, here it becomes necessary to explain their relationship, not least because the *muwashshah* was not an exclusively Arabic or Islamic phenomenon; while the origins certainly partially derive from the paradigm shifts inherent in such Arabic expression, there do exist Judeo-Hebrew examples.
[591]   Imamuddin, Muslim Spain, pp. 39, 43.
[592]   Monroe, "Oral Composition in Pre-Islamic Poetry," pp. 2-7.

outside of Iberia, which continued to apply to Arabic culture contemporary to the *muwashshah* throughout the Muslim world,[593] at least as interpreted by certain non-Arab groups, such as the Almoravids and Almohads. For example, the physicality of the *muwashshah*, the basic features that give rise to Ibn Bassām's claims, have Qur'anic precedent.[594] While there are some key differentiators,[595] especially in that the Qur'an and related *hadith* traditions celebrate a specific form of appropriate, licit sexuality[596] and the *muwashshah* often ignores the licit in search of the thrill of the forbidden. For example, the *kharja* discussing "raising [a married woman's] anklets to [her] earrings"[597] echoes a *hadith* comment that "one should engage in foreplay with his wife, caress her and amuse her,"[598] while implicitly rejecting the requirement of marriage. Such parallels connect the *muwashshah* back to the cultural background of first- and second-century/seventh- and eighth-century Arabia, which shaped both Iberian and Arabian Arabic/Muslim culture contemporary to the *muwashshah*, while fundamentally altering such parallels. In some senses, the connection between religiously-approved doctrine and the playfulness of the *muwashshah* is one of tension; the *muwashshah* both implicitly accepts the religious authority of Islam while subverting the requirements thereof in search of immediate, physical enjoyment:

> By God, give me a drink of it, for the love of Wathiq,

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[593]   Again, the distinction must be made between language, location/ethnography, and religion.
[594]   Maghen, *Virtues of the Flesh,* pp. 25-26.
[595]   This tension between acceptable traditional practice and the realities of Iberian life surfaces repeatedly. Again, another key distinction is the relative acceptance of wine and wine-drinking in the *muwashshah*: "Authors of *muwashshahs* seem to have been well-aware of wine and its effects on the human mind and body, but just as likely to disavow ever having tasted it, perhaps in an effort to appear more orthodox." Sage, "Poetry in the Peninsula," p. 37.
[596]   al-Nawawī, cited in Maghen, Ze'ev, trans., *Virtues of the Flesh – Passion and Purity in Early Islamic Jurisprudence*, (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 25. He lived 631 AH/1234 CE ti 676 AG/1277 CE.
[597]   Anonymous (possibly Ibn al-Labbāna), cited in Compton, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, no. 13, p. 22. He died c. 506 AH/1113 CE.
[598]   Al-Nawawī, cited in Maghen, trans., *Virtues of the Flesh*, p. 26.

For truly he has similar qualities to those found in wine.[599]

By default, the appeal to God, even as an oath serves two cultural functions. It locates the *muwashshah* in an Islamic context, not just an Arabic one, and moreover, by invoking the God of Islam,[600] it situates the *muwashshah* as the descendent of a set of Arabian paradigms.

However, looking simply to derivations, tensions, and shared historical background does not adequately explore the commonalities between Iberian and more traditional Arabic-language poetry, accepted throughout the Arabic-speaking world. Traditions and precursors help to define the paradigms and their shifts throughout both locations and their particular adaptations of Arab-Islamic culture. Conversely, the Greco-Roman heritage discussed within chapter three created a specific set of influences upon the *muwashshah*: the paradigm shift of the *muwashshah* derives in part from a previous set of shifts within the culture extant before the Muslim settlement of Iberia. Even the shifts undergone in Christian Europe contemporary to the Muslim settlement of Spain had (relatively) immediate effects on the poetic culture of Iberia, as cross-border contact allowed for the flow of 'foreign' ideas into Hispano-Arab culture. Those ideas shared across politico-religious borders had differing levels of immediate impact on Hispano-Arab culture, without the subtle depth as those traditional Greco-Roman paradigms inherent in the origins of the *muwashshah*.[601]

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[599]   Ibn ʿUbāda, cited in Compton, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, no. 23, p. 33.
[600]   Here meaning the specific presentation of God found in the Qur'an, not a false distinction of the identification of the Jewish, Christian, or Islamic God as separate individuals.
[601]   For example, the wine drunk by Hispano-Arabs, emblematic of a specifically Iberian Islam, explicitly originated in the Christian North, sold by Christian merchants.

Similarly, there are some points of direct interaction demonstrable between the *muwashshah* (though not as baldly) and traditional Arabian poetry. Going beyond the idea of simply reusing a *kharja* from a previous *muwashshah*, several *kharjas* derived directly, either in part or in whole, from pre-existing, well-known poems. Such *kharjas* rely on already extant for their actual words, not just their themes or style. The reuse of actual pre-existing Arabic language material for *kharjas* is tantalizingly unusual in its construction; whereas the line stress and scansion methods of the *muwashshah*, *kharja* included, might seem ill-suited for reusing rhyme-focused, pre-existing Arabic, it was certainly acceptable practice. [602]

Moreover, several *kharjas* slyly referenced such pre-existing poems, rather than connecting via direct adaptation or quotation; in essence, there exists three different ways in which the *kharja* can correlate to pre-existing non-strophic, Arabic material, whether Iberian or Arabian, whether contemporary or classical. A *kharja* connecting to extant material can be borrowed in its entirety, borrowed partially, or reference, especially in the first part. The claim that "Easterners have [no regard] for the eloquence of Spaniards and Maghribis"[603] rings true here. The adaptation of pre-existing material into the stress system of the structure demonstrates a certain parochialism, or at least that "everyone understands eloquence in his own dialect and has a taste for the beauties of the poetry of his own people"[604] seems to isolate the Arabian *muwashshah* from broader Iberian influence.

Nevertheless, there exists a clear Iberian parallel to the Arabian focus on pre-existing material. Despite the fact that these borrowed phrases within the

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[602] The question of the technical way in which such reuse worked is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this particular thesis.
[603] Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 255.
[604] Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 255.

kharjas might come from *muwashshahs* or other *kharjas*, as discussed in the first section of this chapter, several of these so-called 'recycled'[605] Iberian *kharjas* took their original meaning from the canon of accepted Arabic poetry.[606] The apt use of pre-existing material was not seen as talentless, but rather both honoring the original source and expanding upon it. Unlike the stilted, awkward Arabian interpretation of the *muwashshah*, as identified by both Arabian and Iberian poets, the Iberian recycling of pre-existing material was seen as somehow fresher or more original.[607] Again, within Iberia, one of the prized values was being able to provide something 'witty' spontaneously, such as twisting an established poetic element into something brand new. The artifice inherent in the construction of such a *muwashshah* or *kharja*, already necessarily highly structured by the combination of Arabic rhyme and Greco-Roman stress and line length, appears to lend itself to the borrowing of previous language, the pre-constructed artifice of pre-existing Arabic poetry.

Though there are these intersections between extant Arabian poetry and Iberian peers, with a reliance on 'pre-approved' Arabian models, the *muwashshahs* do demonstrate a key difference in theme from their Arabian peers. Despite both being heirs to a paradigm that accepts the physical as part of a natural order, the focus on an immediately sexual, erotic act found in so many *muwashshahs* is not inherent in the Eastern tradition:

> While it is over-simplistic to say that there are no erotic or romantic poems outside al-Andalus, there are no predecessors that tread the boundaries of language and propriety in the same ways as the *muwashshah* …[most *muwashshah*] are poems about the flesh, whether that be expressed in regards to sex, wine, or general pleasure. It is therefore

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[605]   While the word "recycled" is certainly loaded language, with the connotations of inferiority, it is a term of art, meant solely to mean that the *kharja* originally came from an older *muwashshah* with the same *kharja* or other source.
[606]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 31-32.
[607]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 260

appropriate that they find expression not in the center of the Muslim heartland, in the deserts which house the shrines of Islam, but rather in the territories.[608]

The sensuality of the *muwashshah*, while not alien to the Eastern experience, reflects an acceptance of these themes as crucial to the Iberian experience, even to the point of a perceived moral decay.[609] Certainly, the specific expression of the eroticism of so many *muwashshah* was important enough that Ibn Bassām, a native Andalusian, felt compelled to include it in his definition. Again, there exists within the *muwashshah* an element of the transgressive not found in Arabian or North African peers, though the broadest definition of the themes may be shared.[610]

Similar to the distinction between the *muwashshahs'* relative licentious expression of the sensual themes and the relative lack of the same expression in the East, there exists a divide in how more intangible themes were expressed within the two areas. Again, one of the foremost is the physical geography of Iberia versus that of Arabia. The Hispano-Arabic tradition kept alive the traditions of appealing to the desert ideal, just as Arabian and North African poetry did,[611] but even more so than their peers, Hispano-Arab poets seem to have recognized that this ideal was alien to the Iberian experience. Although Arab poets may have been aware of the interplay between the urban and desert – al-Maʿarri wrote "the Desert affects the City's lilting tongue,"[612] demonstrating his particular understanding of their relationship – the *muwashshah* corpus blends the imagery of urging camels

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[608]   Sage, "Poetry in the Peninsula," p. 30.
[609]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 249-52.
[610]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 260.
[611]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 189-90.
[612]   Maʿarri, cited in Tuetey, Charles Greville, trans*., Classical Arabic Poetry: 162 Poems from Imrulkais to Maʿarri*, (London: KPI Limited, 1985), no. 162, p. 281. Tuetey's translation is of *al-Maʿarri al-Luzûmiyyât*, 132-4.

across the desert[613] with Iberian conceptions of the marketplace and pleasure-garden.[614] As the desert imagery derives immediately from themes shared across Arabic poetry, it was more immediately accessible to the Iberians, as compared to the reverse: the transfer more specific imagery of Iberia transferring with similar ease back to Arabia did not occur.

A balance between the pre-existing images of Arabia and their continued North African and Arabian derivations is somewhat easier to determine than the equivalent derivations within Iberia. Despite the shared similarity of language and theme, the distinction between sets of paradigm shifts is reinforced, rather than undermined, by the way in which non-Iberian critics treated the *muwashshah.* In essence, the *muwashshah* and *zajal*[615] cannot be separated from either their Arabian heritage or the Greco-Roman strata underlying the changes made to that Arabian heritage.

When compared to North African or Arabian peers, both within poetry and criticism, the *muwashshah* and *zajal* poets represent outliers within an Arabic tradition. Even as Arabian and North African poets continued to rely solely on the same set of paradigm shifts already inherent within the Arabic tradition, the blended nature of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* marked them as clearly distinct. While they were not so alien as to be incomprehensible, the idea that a *muwashshah* could easily translate into the schema understood by 'Easterners' was viewed as an impossibility by both parties. Again, the idea that "everyone

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[613]   Possibly Ibn Baqī, cited in Compton, trans*., Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, no. 17, p. 27.
[614]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 198, 201.
[615]   Regardless of the actual derivation of the *zajal*, whether it comes from an extended *kharja*, a 'corrupted' *muwashshah* or a separate derivation

understands eloquence in his own dialect"[616] permeates the strict Arabian-cum-North African understanding of a fundamentally blended, Iberian form.

6.5. Conclusion

Even after accounting for a genealogy derived from clear prior influences both Arabian and Greco-Roman, the *muwashshah* represents a fundamental intersection. Considering the time of the *muwashshah* as a form of 'the present,'[617] their Arabic peers both Iberian and elsewhere only partially represent commonalities with them. While the derivation of the *muwashshah* from pre-existing Arabic forms, both Iberian and Arabian, continued throughout the development of the *muwashshah*, the *muwashshah* and *zajal* stayed independent from any attempt to force them towards fitting into standard Arabic models based on rhyme. Even the *muwashshahs* written with *kharjas* derived from pre-existing Arabic material only partially adapted to these conditions, as the bulk of the poem was left in as deriving from line stress, not rhyme scansion.

Conversely, the themes and language of the *muwashshah* continued to echo, sometimes in an exaggerated fashion, the themes still extant within Arabian Arabic examples. Despite the frequent intensity of their eroticism, the *muwashshah* relied on a pre-existing understanding of what constituted proper imagery, even if the topic pushed into the obscene. The specific images used by the *muwashshah*, whether evident or euphemistic, mirrored similar imagery derived from Arabian originals. Despite the differences between the *muwashshah* and their Arabian peers, the cultural similarities were enough to allow for a mutual understanding between both parts of Arabic literary culture. While the *muwashshah* and *zajal*

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[616]   Zwartjes, *Love Poetry in al-Andalus*, p. 255.
[617]   The structure of this thesis may be viewed as a timeline of three parts, with chapters five and six serving as 'the present day' for purposes of discussion.

might represent outliers within that tradition, the fact that they were shared as literature from Iberia to Arabia demonstrates their general acceptance, if not popularity, within Arabic literature. Although the impact of the *muwashshah* outside of Iberia may have been limited, as will be discussed further within chapter eight, it was sufficient for there to have been multiple attempts to define what constituted a *muwashshah*, both Iberian and Arabian.;

Fundamentally, the *muwashshah* demonstrates the continued influence of Arabic culture upon *Iberia*, rather than the reverse. While they clearly influenced Arabian literary culture to the point of preservation and attempts to craft the *muwashshah* within Arabia, the impact flowed mostly the other way.

7. Subsequent European Trends

7.1. Overview

The *muwashshah* represents the descendants of a pair of traditions, Arabic and Greco-Roman, with each culture's respective peers allowing for direct comparison. The similarities between the *muwashshah*, other Arabic poetry, and contemporary *troubadour* forms allowed for the survival of the *muwashshah*, in a certain set ways and forms[618] past the end of the Almohad dynasty's presence within Iberia. The fall of the Almohads marked the conclusion of the *muwashshah*'s strong presence within Hispano-Arabic culture, and to some extent, direct influence of Hispano-Arabic culture upon Latin, Christian Europe. From a literary perspective, Corriente's table detailing the timeline of the muwashshah comes into use here: "After the Almohad period, the decline begins. The *zajal* is soon barred from literary consideration…and even the *muwaššah* loses ground and ends up by being an occasional exercise for some poets."[619] Nasrid existence was limited to the maintenance of a 'survival state' in the face of continued Christian, European pressure, with the ultimate reduction to a city-state, rather than the peninsula-wide culture that existed even under the Almohads.[620]

At this point within Iberian Christian-Islamic[621] relations, it was no longer the liminal era of El Cid, with porous borders and a pragmatic understanding of the relationship between Christian and Islamic kingdoms. Instead, the end of the Almohads marked the conclusion of the first phase of a true push towards an entire *Reconquista*. Under the subsequent Nasrid dynasty, the Iberian Muslim population

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[618]   Meaning both a survival within various traditions and within various genres.
[619]   Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," p. 66.
[620]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 64-71.
[621]   At this point in history, at least from a Western perspective, the dichotomy between Arabic and Islamic no longer applies quite as strictly as it did within chapters five and six.

was gradually limited to the immediate environs of Granada, near the southern coast. However, "the north did not have the power to remove completely the traces of Muslim or Arabic civilization from their newly-acquired dominions. Instead, portions – sometimes only fragments, sometimes more – of that culture survived in the north, sometimes only where al-Andalus once lay, sometimes beyond the old borders."[622]

As a result of this subtle survival of Hispano-Arabic culture within now (at times nominally) Latin Christian territory,[623] the *muwashshah*, while much reduced in importance within Iberia, continued to exert some influence on European culture, though mediated through the peers discussed within chapters five and six. This influence, however, was not the sort directly traced between the language and themes of the *muwashshah* and those of the *troubadour* style, as examined through the direct parallels evidenced between the *muwashshah* and the poems of William IX. Instead, the ideas present within the *muwashshah*, partially mediated through the *troubadour* tradition, partially mediated through the position that Spain would have within Europe post-unification (897/1492), settled firmly into the Western European subconscious. Despite the initial survival of Islam within the reconquered territories of Spain, any direct influence of Hispano-Arab culture was now muted, save for perhaps some specific points within specifically Iberian culture.

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[622]   Sage, "Poetry in the Peninsula," p. 43.

[623]   Initially, Spanish rulers tolerated the continued practice of Islam by the recently conquered peoples within Iberia (the Mudéjar population); after the final banning of Islam by Aragon in 1526, many of them converted to Christianity, thereafter known as Moriscos. The true survival of Muslim culture within the Morisco population is much debated. The degree to which the Christianized descendants of Spanish Muslims maintained Muslim or Arabic traditions has not been established. However, the popular perception within Iberia is that they maintained a crypto-Muslim culture, culminating in expulsion between 1609 and 1615.

As a result of the indirect survival explored above, in the examination which follows, this thesis will continue its comparison of *muwashshahs* to *troubadour* poetry. Its focus will be on examples found towards the end of the heyday of the *muwashshah* and immediately post-dating it, with a review of how the themes expressed specifically within the *muwashshah* transcended the comparable *troubadour* genre to maintain a subtle importance throughout Latin, Christian Europe. This analysis will form the first portion of this chapter, summarizing the rest of the direct *troubadour-muwashshah* comparisons, with a transition into explaining how those comparisons continued to affect Latin, Christian poetry, even after the *muwashshah*'s importance declined within Iberia.

Moreover, the potential relationships between the *muwashshah* and the *troubadour* poets, with implications for the rise of other short, lyric genres within Europe,[624] are well-known, and as a result, this thesis will be paying special attention to how specific attributes of the *muwashshah*, especially stylistic and thematic attributes) survived within European culture. As the tropes initially shared between the *muwashshah* and *troubadour* poetry (using William IX as an example) have already been explored thoroughly within chapter five, the second portion of its analysis will focus on the technical aspects of the *muwashshah'*s survival within Europe, rather than focusing on shared tropes or stereotypes. Although direct technical comparisons are difficult, given both the hybrid nature of the *muwashshah* and the differences between rhyme-based Arabic poetry and

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[624]   And also within the "post-medieval" epic tradition. For example, Dante's *La Commedia Divina* draws two-fold from Arabic tradition; the tradition of literature about Muhammad's journey to Heaven was firmly established within Arabic literature, while the use of the vernacular Italian echoes the use of common Arabic at the end of the *muwashshah*. The debate over the precise influences on Dante will be addressed within a subsection towards the end of this chapter.

prosody-defined Latin or Germanic poetry, there exists some evidence of borrowed stylistic device; the most evident is the wide-spread adoption of a first-person persona within Latin poetry.

These technical survivals will be considered in a manner mostly independent of their potential Arabic-language counterparts (which will be addressed within chapter eight), but shall make specific reference to individual aspects within European culture, with an attempt made to demonstrate clearly some of the indirect links between the *muwashshah* and specific poetry. This survey is not intended to be exhaustive, comparing every poem or aspect across every individual similarity or influence, but instead to point out some relevant examples of survival, spread across the history of European poetry after in 645 AH/1248 CE through to roughly the present day. Again, Arabic survivals will be addressed within chapter eight, and that chapter may be treated as a companion to this chapter, as chapters three and four and chapters five and six may be considered. The relationship between the *muwashshah* (and similar native Hispano-Arabic elements) and Western European poetry is complex; the indirect influences of the *muwashshah* may be seen both in general terms and in specific examples, evidence of a distinct relationship without an explicit, immediate connection.

The final facet of this thesis' analysis will review the survival of the most common tropes of the *muwashshah*: overwhelming, sometimes returned, sometimes unrequited love; the taboo nature of some of the erotic encounters; the latent hedonism inherent in the other aspects of many *muwashshah*. Again, while not all *muwashshah* focus on these themes and tropes, they represent the most

commonly shared aspects of the *muwashshah*; while they are not a part of the technical definition, "[the *Muwaššḥāt*] are metrical patterns that the people of al-Andalus used copiously in the [erotic genres of] *ġazal* and *nasīb*"[625] to such an extent that an analysis of the *muwashshah*'s survival depends on the erotic and romantic subgenres.[626] It is these especially strong themes that contributed to the popularization of *muwashshah* within Iberia, and led to the adoption of these themes within a popular, vernacular Latin, Christian audience.[627] The survival of the *muwashshah*, or at least the partial survival of its underlying theme, is subtle, but underlies much of how we now interpret feelings of romance and sexuality.

Therefore, then, there is a genealogy, traced through several co-existing paradigms, to consider, underlying the survival of the *muwashshah* within Europe. First, there are the paradigms already established to create the *muwashshah*, those described within chapters three and four. Second, there are the parallel changes examined within chapter five, demonstrating the ties especially between Hispano-Arabic culture and northern Iberia, as well as the ties between the rest of Latin, Christian Europe and the borderlands of both Iberian Muslim and Christian cultures. Third, there are the modifications within Latin Europe that existed after the end of the Almohads.[628] It is this final set of paradigms, in some ways lasting through to the present day, which I will be exploring here, tracing it through the past eight hundred years. Such exploration specifically responds to the recurrent issue,

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[625]   Ibn Bassām, cited in Zwartjes, trans., *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 184.
[626]   These two subgenres are not mutually exclusive, and often overlap.
[627]   Just as the *muwashshah* and *zajal* relied on popular language to communicate their themes, the *troubadours* and their descendants wrote not in Latin, but rather in the local vernacular. An exploration of the ways in which this use of popular language might have aided in their survival is unfortunately beyond the scope of this thesis.
[628]   Such paradigms and their related shits will be examined in the context of their examples, rather than providing a comprehensive overview of late medieval and early modern European history.

first laid out on page eleven, of the relationship between Hispano-Arabic poetry and Western European literature; just as chapter five demonstrated the parallels and relationships between peers, this chapter serves to demonstrate the potential relationships between the *muwashshah* and subsequent European forms.

However, while the survival of the themes and tropes from the *muwashshah* within Latin, Christian Europe is a very real, albeit subtle and indirect, situation, the plausibility of Hispano-Arabic culture keeping an influence beyond such cultural forms is limited. As a result, it is most appropriate to speak of the broader concept of connections between Hispano-Arabic and Christian, European poetry, rather than demarcating the situation into direct, one-to-one influences. The situation consisted of more than a series of chance parallels, driven by basic human nature or coincidence, but the historical record allows for few specific instances of borrowing; the traditions and examples available to us are not so direct as the clear, attributed borrowings of, for example, later *muwashshah* poets from earlier. For example, one may see the European successors of the *muwashshah* (derived via the *troubadours*) as reflecting similar emotions, even sometimes using specific, repeated images and ideas, but without the conscious knowledge of what they may have been imitating. The European descendants of the *muwashshah* possessed not only the legacies of the sets of paradigm shifts previously explored, but the results of an entirely different set of paradigms (and their shifts) engendered by being part of Latin, Christian culture.

Conversely, while Latin, Christian Europe had a history of identifying itself in opposition to Islam and Arabic culture, defining such European culture solely in terms of antipathy also ignores its own unique features. In essence, claiming that

the political and cultural situation within late medieval Europe was a direct result of

the slow push of Arabic, Muslim culture towards North Africa ignores both the

lingering cultural influence from sources as the *muwashshah* and the 'homegrown'

features without a clear opposite within Hispano-Arabic culture. Nevertheless, such

a claim does reflect one of the renewed attempts to standardize the beliefs of the

population of Europe following the beginning of the Crusades. Despite the attempts

by the Catholic church to impose a strict control upon Western Christendom, the

Crusades lent themselves to the blending of cultural norms in the same way that

the Iberian Peninsula did; a blurring of acceptable cultural boundaries. At the same

time, new religious movements within Latin Europe around the same time as the

fall of the Almohads challenged Christian norms from within, further exposing the

differences within a supposed homogenous collection of states.[629]

It is this wished-for homogeneity that makes the partial survival of the

muwashshah within Europe, especially given the wide discrepancy between its

themes and those of its Latin peers, all the more interesting. In an ideal Latin

Christendom, the outside influences (of which the *muwashshah* is an example)

would be deprecated, even eliminated, in favor of a 'natural' Latin, Christian

outgrowth, as previously represented by the Cordoban martyrs.[630] The fact that this

culture involves the synthesis of multiple originating cultures (as seen within the

comparisons made within chapter five) was irrelevant to the end goal of

homogeneity. An early example of these attempts to create a single Christian

culture (again in part defined by opposition to Islam, within both Spain and the

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[629]   Petroff, Elizabeth Alvilda, ed., *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature*, (New York: Oxford University Press), 1986, pp. 173-174.
[630]   Christys, Ann, *Christians in al-Andalus 711-1000*, (Richmond: Curzon Press), 2002.

Levant) has already been identified: to a certain extent, one can already see some of the attempt to maintain imposition of a monolithic culture within the life of William IX. His two excommunications were explicitly due to insufficient Christianization and perhaps even a general over-Islamicization of both his person and court, rendering his allegiances dubious to his Latin, Christian peers.[631] Ultimately, Latin, Christian Europe may have identified itself in opposition to Islam (as evidenced by the aforementioned excommunications), but such thinking ignores the blurred edges of cultural history, where portions of Hispano-Arabic culture (especially) were slowly integrated into a broader European culture.

This partial integration of certain artistic aspects of Hispano-Arabic culture, such as the *muwashshah,* just as there were parallel adoptions within the sciences, demonstrates the possibility of the long-term survival of particular aspects of that now-minority culture within the hegemonic culture. The partial erosion of any attempt to create a single, unified culture within Latin, Christian Europe by the underlying survival of the *muwashshah* paradoxically is set against how the themes of the *muwashshah* served to unify the culture of the elite.[632] While not the only way that the culture of the Hispano-Arabic-Muslim elite passed into the Latin, Christian, European elite,[633] the themes of the *troubadour*, derived from the *muwashshah*, represents one of the longest-lasting; again, much of the language of both the *troubadours* and the *muwashshah* poets sounds, once modernized, in keeping with modern tropes of love and love poetry.

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[631]   Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, p. 32.

[632]   In many ways, the Pope and other religious figures attempted to impose such homogenous strictures; the political leaders were the ones whose courts enjoyed the secular benefits of cross-cultural contacts.

[633]   Similarly, the transformation of chess from a 'Moorish pursuit' to one of the 'seven knightly arts' reflects the same sort of transitory cultural elements shared between both regions.

Though the idea of deep, rich emotion certainly predates the adoption of *muwashshah* themes into *troubadour* poetry, it is the specific integration of those themes into a Western literary mode that has survived. As explored within chapter five, there is a certain timeline within which we can see the adoption of specific *muwashshah*-derived or *muwashshah*-inspired themes of romantic love into Western literature. While the idea that the *troubadour* (and by tracing back descent, the *muwashshah*) invented the feeling that we now identify 'Love' is an overstatement, the traditional *expression* of that feeling is derived in part from the *muwashshah*. In essence, the language of emotion and the rich descriptions of how the author (or his assumed persona) feels becomes more vivid following the acceptance of the shared themes of the *muwashshah* and *troubadour* poetry into Western European culture.

Therefore, one of the most important aspects of locating the survival of the *muwashshah* and in particular its approach to the depth of emotion, is to trace the way in which the paradigms of the *muwashshah* (both those culminating to create the *muwashshah* and those derived from it) led to shifts in how the concept of love was identified and expressed. Moreover, it is not only love that is emphasized; all emotion is amplified within the lyric style of the *muwashshah* . There are no small feelings, unless it is the dismissal of a lover by a disinterested beloved. However, focusing specifically on the idea of love, both the sexual and psychological aspects of the feeling are treated with a larger-than-life outpouring of emotion. A double entendre describing a phallus and a *kharja* describing heartache, while different in tone, share an emphasis on the strength of feeling, of lust and of love respectively. However, to demonstrate the *muwashshah*'s connections to Western literature

(mediated mostly through *troubadour* interpretation), it is necessary to list some

statements about what the *muwashshah* and its influence did not encompass:

1. The *muwashshah*, Hispano-Arabic poetry, and *troubadours* did not introduce emotion into poetry, whether epic, lyric, or otherwise. Again, within both the epic tradition of Europe and the lyric tradition of Arabic poetry, emotion was present. Specifically, the *muwashshah* tradition and its influence **expanded** the range of emotions treated within European poetry.
2. The *muwashshah* did not create lyric poetry within a Western European context. As demonstrated by Aristotle's *Poetics*, the idea of lyric poetry certainly pre-existed within European culture, even if the dominant poetic mode was the epic.
3. The *muwashshah*'s influence was an indirect influence, mediated through cross-cultural contact within Iberia[634] and distributed from there via further cross-cultural contact with other states within Christian Europe. The themes and tropes of the *muwashshah* can be traced, but they were also transformed by their acceptance into other cultures.

Again, this particular set of examinations draws on some of the material

expressed within chapter five as a place to begin the review of a long-lasting cross-

cultural connection. But, rather than stopping at the point of the *troubadour's*

introduction into Latin, Christian culture, this chapter examines the time beyond the

point where the *troubadours* gained importance, to identify the depth of integration

between two disparate cultural entities. The adoption of the themes, language, and

style of the *muwashshah* may have been limited, but it had far-reaching

implications for Western culture, as well as provides an important case study on

how cross-cultural connections can have lasting impact, even if those connections

appear subtle, even indistinct at times.

Although previous work on the *muwashshah* and *kharja* has admitted for

some sort of connection between Western poetry and Hispano-Arabic peers, such

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[634]   Again, Sicily represents an alternate means of transmission, but as the *muwashshah* was already alien to Sicily and as Sicily had already been 'reconquered' prior to the rise of the Almoravids, it represents a minor method as compared to a direct Iberian connection.

discussion has typically stopped at the boundaries of the *troubadour* period. While

this time period is crucial to understanding the relationship between Hispano-

Arabic and European poetries more generally, it neglects the reality of post-

troubadour poetry maintaining links to the themes and expressions contained

within the *muwashshah* corpus. While Abu-Haidar's complete denial of any

connections flowing from Iberia back into the rest of Europe may be an extreme

position, most other scholars have ignored relationships found within the late

medieval period and beyond. This chapter serves to emphasize that these

relationships did and do continue to exist, despite the absence of previous work

upon them.

7.2 European Parallels and Successors

While it is necessary to address the list of qualities the *muwashshah* did not

create within a European context, such admission is not meant to eliminate or

reduce the impact of how the *muwashshah* actually relates to a Latin, Christian

tradition.[635] The connections that do exist, especially those originating (within

Europe) from a *troubadour* background, and even more importantly, those

immediately derived from or parallel to William IX and his examples, are no less

valid for not being the complete origin of the aforementioned themes. Just as the

muwashshah arose from parallel origins within Arabic and Greco-Roman poetics,

so too did the expression of love and desire arise within a European context, albeit

from a set of parallel origins within pre-existing Latin, Christian culture and derived

from (Hispano-)Arabic culture. In context of previous derivations, the origin of the

specific language and expression of love and desire is as follows: Hispano-

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[635]   While the construct of Europe as a distinct entity from the rest of the Mediterranean basin arises at various strengths during various parts of history, for convenience's sake, "European" here is meant to include Iberia, especially Iberia after the end of the *Reconquista*.

Arabic/pre-existing European context → late medieval/*troubadour* interpretations →

early modern, Enlightenment, Romantic, and even current understandings of the

matter.

Even beyond the hybrid origins of European understanding, much like the

hybrid origins of the *muwashshah*, there exists a specific thread of Hispano-Arabic

initialization. Specifically, the Arabic origins of these themes and their now

widespread expressions, especially those generated from the *muwashshah* have

been under-examined, as pointed out in the literature review section. Despite the

expertise of previous authors, the subtlety of such Hispano-Arabic origins has led

to a general ignoring of their role, even by specialists,[636] within the creation of

Latin, Christian expressions of emotion, especially desire. Perhaps due to the

indirect way in which the *muwashshah* affected the development of European

culture, they have been neglected as a potential source of inspiration. The

existence of clear parallels and strong possibilities for derivation between early

muwashshah poets and William IX notwithstanding, even specialists tend to ignore

the long-lasting effects of cross-cultural contact upon European literature; the

paradigms generated by the *muwashshah* are not fully realized as having

generated lasting connections between the two cultures.

Despite clear differences in the ultimate particular expression of these

feelings between the *muwashshah* corpus and later Christian poetry, the way in

which these themes are presented and understood present a clear derivation from

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[636]   Some partial exceptions exist, such as discussed in Menocal's brief overview of the topic
within *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, but the general rule is that such origins either
do not exist, or their general application is taken for granted, without a clear understanding of where
those origins apply and where they specifically originate. Again, one of the purposes of this thesis is
to examine the specific areas where such Hispano-Arabic influences (the *muwashshah*) apply to
post-Almohad Europe.

the *muwashshah* and similar poems to those of the *troubadour* tradition.[637] Again, though William IX's *potential* access to *muwashshah* originals, or at least the clear possibility of direct cross-cultural contact with Hispano-Arabic literature, has been noted, and while he is presented as the first poet within the *troubadour* tradition, the idea that the *muwashshah* might have effects beyond a specific (mostly French) genre has gone unrecognized.[638] The ways in which European culture adopted *muwashshah* themes though represents an absorption of those *troubadour* ideals; in essence, William IX was perfectly poised – within space, time, and attitude – to diffuse concepts borrowed, however subconsciously – from the *muwashshah* corpus. Again, such borrowing represents *connection*, although it is one of the ways in which direct influence from Hispano-Arabic culture to European culture is most easily seen.

It is important, however, that I clearly label what I seek to address throughout this chapter, especially in the context of the presence of the Nasrids, the successor dynasty to the Almohads:[639] the *muwashshah*'s survival as part of European culture, especially the legacy of influence it left in poetic expression and within how Latin, Christian Europe came to identify 'love' and 'sexuality.' In essence, while the *muwashshah* cannot be taken to define the entirety of love or sexuality within a mid- and post-*Reconquista* context, nor provide the entirety of a European understand of these themes, many of the particular aspects of what is

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637   Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History,* pp. 73-76.
638   Even reasonably pro-influence partisans dismiss many possibilities for connections between Hispano-Arabic and later European poetry; see Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, p. 37.
639   Once more, looking to Corriente proves helpful here, as his timeline clearly outlines the events included in the decline of the *muwashshah* following the Almohad period. Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," p. 66.

part of the European subconscious understanding of love, lust, and desire (the former being completely sexual and the second having a romantic component beyond the physical) have clear parallels within Hispano-Arabic literature. The *muwashshah*-derived and *muwashshah*-influenced aspects contribute heavily, though subtly, to the eventual makeup of a Western literary tradition, especially when an idealized understanding of love or sexuality is involved.

For example, the Arthurian tradition,[640] with its emphasis on the ideal of courtly love, speaks directly to the tropes and themes of the *muwashshah*, though in an indirect manner derived from the permeation of the themes of the *muwashshah* into a *troubadour* context, where these themes could be diffused into popular culture and tales of heroes.[641] Initially, I will be focusing on this Arthurian material and its parallels, before examining later interpretations of *troubadour* themes.

7.2.1. Arthur and the Troubadour*s*

In some ways, the various Arthurian romance cycles, especially those of Chrétien de Troyes (originator of Lancelot, a key example of the chivalric ideal),[642] writing in a Northern French adaptation of *troubadour* style, graft the themes of the lyric *muwashshah* onto the epic style of *El Cantar de Mio Cid* and *La Chanson de Roland*; whereas both sets of epics rely on a series of heroic deeds, the Arthurian

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[640] Different Arthurian traditions spell the principal characters' names differently. Here, I will be using the most common modern English variants, rather than using the individual variants used by specific authors.

[641] While there are "Saracen" knights at Arthur's court (Sir Palamedes being the most prominent), there is no record of them bringing their culture with them, only their exploits, and they typically convert to Christianity at the end. Huot, Sylvia, "Others and alterity," in Gaunt, Simon and Sarah Kay, *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 247-249.

[642] Duggan, Joseph J., *The Romances of Chrétien de Troyes*, (New Haven: Yale University Press), 2001, pp. 35, 69-71.

romances also examine the role of love (licit and illicit,[643] requited and unrequited) and sexuality, though in an admittedly incomplete fashion. Indeed, the term "courtly love" was originally composed to discuss the relationship between Guinevere and Lancelot: "a type of sensual love and what distinguishes it from other forms of sexual love, from mere passion… is its purpose or motive, its formal object, namely, the lover's progress and growth in natural goodness, merit, and worth."[644] In some ways, this same description might apply to a certain set of ideals seen in some *muwashshahs* that go beyond the immediately physical, whether the sex is extramarital or not. By the same token, the idea of an overpowering love, one that transcends the boundaries of acceptable behavior while remaining 'pure' is also seen in the *muwashshah*:

> The palpitations of my heart are excessive
> and my patience is gone.
> My love has let me go. If only I could
> let go of him![645]

Despite the fact that the physicality of this poem locates it squarely within a Hispano-Arabic context, rather than a European one, the emotions described have clear parallels to the Arthurian romances, where despite the inappropriateness of their relationship, it takes the death of Arthur to convince Lancelot and Guinevere to separate in any sort of lasting fashion, an echo of the idea that chastity is a crucial part of the courtly love ideal and to violate such an ideal, especially between

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[643] Licit here is taken to mean sexual activity within marriage, illicit to mean sexual activity of *any sort* outside the confines of a marriage *or* recognized concubinage. See Abbot's criticism of the standard definitions of concubinage, especially Chinese and Turkish versions, as being too vague to properly differentiate between a Western mistress (such as in the case of Lancelot and Guinevere) and its more institutionalized counterparts in what she terms the East (such as in the Biblical/Quranic example of Abraham and Hagar). Abbot, *Mistresses*, p. 4-5.

[644] Denomy, Alexander J., "Courtly Love and Courtliness," *Speculum*, vol. 28, no. 1, 1953, p. 44.

[645] Possibly Ibn Baqī or al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī, cited in Compton, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry,* no. 22, p. 32.

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unmarried (in this case, married to others) lovers, is to deserve the eventual guilt and shame. Conversely, the sentiment expressed within this *kharja* echoes the same sentiment that keeps the pair of lovers together, despite the impending, unavoidable tragedy.

This definition of courtly love also echoes Ibn Bassām's definition of the *muwashshah*. There is an acknowledgement that courtly love, for all that it was common held to be a platonic, chaste ideal possesses a clearly sexual element. However, though, the parallels between the *muwashshah's* sense of sexuality and those of the Arthurian romances, for example, are mediated by the distinct cultures of the origins. Whereas the *muwashshah* demonstrates an understanding of the physical that focuses not just on the emotion felt by the speaker, but by the physical sensations of lust, heartbreak, and sexual activity, what Alexander Denomy defines as courtly love has its focus not on the sexual or physical aspects of the behavior (though they are present), but rather on the spiritual and moral aspects. Unlike the *muwashshah*'s recurring immediate physicality, courtly love, though clearly characterized by passion or a physical longing for the object of one's affection, akin to Ibn Bassām's "carefully guarded bosoms and…hearts," represents a mediated form of the same desire. In some ways, one can see the clear parallels within the Arthurian material to the *muwashshah* in terms of original conceptualizations of love and desire as truly physical, overwhelming sensations, but they deviate in terms of expression. Were these themes found within a *muwashshah*, for instance, the *kharja* would likely contain an immediate physical expression of desire, whereas within the Arthurian material, they represent a

sublimated desire; the physical nature of the *muwashshah* which allowed for risqué double entendres is not to be seen in the idealized world of Arthur.

That said, love and desire are depicted much as they are in William IX's lyric poetry, more abstract and less physical than the concrete representations found in the *muwashshah*; the description of the relationship between Lancelot and Guinevere ends with one a monk and the other a nun, rather than the celebratory *kharja* of "raising [a married woman's] anklets to [her] earrings."[646] Again, whereas the *muwashshah* might encourage a hedonistic acceptance of the physical, the nature of the Arthurian romances suggests an inevitable doom for straying outside the lines of propriety, even if the actual love affair between Lancelot and Guinevere represents one of the great love stories of the past thousand years. The judgmental nature of Latin Christian culture again applies here; whereas adultery is, if not celebrated throughout the *muwashshah* corpus, at least tolerated as a daring topic, not a taboo;[647] within the various Arthurian cycles, adultery (and other sexual sins, such as incest)[648] only leads to trouble for the protagonists; by breaking these sexual taboos, Arthur, Guinevere, and Lancelot bring doom upon the golden age of Camelot.[649]

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[646] Anonymous (possibly Ibn al-Labbāna), cited in Compton, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, no. 13, p. 22. The situation is broadly comparable to the transition from the illicit relationship existing between Abelard and Heloise (resulting in a child) that ends with both entering the religious life. See *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, Radice, Betty, trans., revised by M.T. Clanchy, (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

[647] Again, see Zwartjes' comprehensive list of themes: Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 188-218, especially p. 190.

[648] Duggan, *The Romances of Chrétien de Troyes*, pp. 113-115.

[649] However, despite the ultimate consequences within the Arthurian corpus, the presentation within Chrétien de Troyes is not one of "overt condemnation [of] an adulterous affair that would be unacceptable under both feudal law and Christian moral teaching," but rather one presented with sympathy towards the partners in an illicit relationship. Duggan, *The Romances of Chrétien de Troyes*, pp. 114-115.

As these comparisons illustrate, one can see clear connections between the *muwashshah* material and the eventual expression of these themes within Western culture. The results of cultural transformation, such as in the situation where *troubadour* poetry transformed the themes of the *muwashshah* into a comprehensible set of values for Christian Europe, these clear discrepancies between the original material of the *muwashshah* and the subsequent (or near-contemporary, in the case of Chrétien de Troyes' Arthurian material) demonstrate the *mediated* influence of the *muwashshah*. However, such transformation does not negate the connections between the two versions of literature; despite their differing interpretations, the similarities are strong, and can be clearly be seen in comparison between the *muwashshah* via early *troubadour* diffusion, into ultimately the popular Arthurian cycle, especially those stories that focus on the courtly life, and not the spiritual quest to retrieve the grail. For example, the quest to seek the Holy Grail is a late addition to Arthurian material; while quests were an early feature, Lancelot's initial appearances focused on his all-too-human relationships with the women in his life as much as his relationship as the greatest knight at Arthur's court; similarly, Galahad, the holy achiever of the grail, does not appear in Chrétien de Troyes original Lancelot material.[650] The human-yet-Romantic version of the knights found within Chrétien de Troyes' original material echo the idealized, but human lovers of the *muwashshahs*.

Nevertheless, the parallels between the *muwashshah* and its themes are inexact; in the bulk of the *muwashshah* corpus, sexuality, licit or illicit, is potentially

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[650] Duggan, *The Romances of Chrétien de Troyes*, pp. 246-247.

liberating[651] and in the Arthurian romances, the sexuality of the protagonists (no

longer representing a persona of the author, as in the case of the first few strophes

of the *muwashshah* or the active persona of his beloved, as in the *kharja*) leads to

further sin and iniquity, a vicious cycle that can culminate only in destruction. As a

result, while there are defined connections between the two sets of poems,[652]

especially in their focus on a particular form sexual longing, one can still identify

the clear cultural differences that defined the particular cultural expression of those

themes. The themes of the *muwashshah*, while present within this particular

expression of *troubadour* sentiment, have been transformed by their acceptance

into the culture of Christian Europe, distinct from any direct transmission from a set

of Hispano-Arabic originals.

7.2.2. Mediating Influences and Cross-Cultural Connections

As explored within chapter four and its examination of Hispano-Iberian

culture before the *muwashshah*, the frontier atmosphere of Iberia coupled with a

tradition of hedonistic poetry allowed for the hedonistic themes of the *muwashshah*

to continue to develop, whereas the emphasis on a standard of sexual and moral

purity, while certainly not alien from Islam or Iberia (especially under the Almohads)

defined even the limited expression of illicit sexuality within the Arthurian

romances. Illicit sexuality, including adultery, incest, and premarital sex, was not

limited to the famous couple of Lancelot and Guinevere. Arthur has an extramarital,

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[651]   Zwartjes' analysis of the themes of the *muwashshah* and *kharja* pays special attention to the idea that the sexuality expressed within the *kharja* has different levels of acceptability. The most acceptable, though scarcely present, is proper love for one's spouse, with love and lust between unmarried individuals (whose female participant, if applicable, is frequently unavailable due to the presence of a guardian) similarly more acceptable than a fully extramarital relationship.
[652]   They go beyond the expression of simple illicit sexual activity to include such themes as the idea of clandestine meetings, and the very *muwashshah*-like theme of the guardian (in the Arthurian case, any of Arthur's other knights) preventing a meeting or interrupting a meeting between the lovers.

incestuous coupling with one of his sisters (exactly whom depends on the tradition); Lancelot has a sexual encounter with Elaine, daughter of the Fisher King, and Tristan and Isolde represent another extra-marital romance. However, each of these relationships ended in tragedy within the Arthurian corpus, rather than in triumph.

Indicative of his deeper connection to the broader, Christian European culture, Chrétien de Troyes wrote not in a frontier region of Christian Europe, as William IX did as ruler of Aquitaine, but rather within a region of France surrounded by other Christians on all sides, part of a broader European culture.[653] Again as noted previously, connections between Hispano-Arabic and Latin, or even vernacular, European material, such as those between the *muwashshah* and Chrétien de Troyes' Arthurian romances, are not necessarily the result of a set of precise and direct one-to-one influences, easily labeled and clearly traced, but rather the derivation of a filtered set of Arabic influences, mainly via the *troubadour* tradition. Indeed, several other *muwashshah* scholars debated the existence of any remaining connections between the two. Nykl and others eventually concurred that there were existing connections, but left open the question of influence. Abu-Haidar disregarded any evidence of true connection, let alone influence, but again, this thesis' aim is to demonstrate the clear existence of connection, however labeled, between the *muwashshah* and European literature.

The distinction between these two different regions of origin, one a frontier and one surrounded by its co-religionists, helps to demonstrate why these

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[653]   Duggan, *The Romances of Chrétien de Troyes*, pp. 4-6.

correlations remain inexact, rather than direct adaptations.[654] The themes that the two traditions share derive in part from the *muwashshah* (the particular role of the possibility of illicit sex having a truly romantic component is key to an understanding of the nuances of the *muwashshah*), but the precise expression is almost strictly European; the *muwashshah* corpus does not punish the lovers, but rather celebrates a lover: "Break my bracelet and loosen my belt, my lover Ahmad, climb with me into bed Hayyuni; you will sleep naked."[655] The European tradition, on the other hand, condemns the possibility of illicit sex almost as much as its actual practice.

On a related note, the historical record does not allow for the identification of a certain *muwashshah* influencing a particular European, nor a particular piece of literature; despite being the most immediate parallel to the *muwashshah,* even William IX's original *troubadour* material does not contain individual, subsidiary parallels, but rather only derived tropes and themes. Again, the connections between *muwashshah* and *troubadour* themes remain inexact, for both historical and cultural reasons. Perhaps most basically, all of what has survived from both the Hispano-Arabic literary culture and from the *troubadour* culture represents either side of a divide, with no evidence of what, if anything, existed between the two. Further, each set of poems is the product of a specific background culture, with underlying distinctions; despite the lingering substratum of Greco-Roman (and

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[654]   The distinction between religious cultures only goes so far to explain the lack of common ground; despite the antagonism of the Crusades, there did exist some peaceful adoption of cultural standards between the two groups, especially during the Christian possession of Jerusalem. Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, pp. 45-48 provides a brief summary of some of these interactions*.*
[655]   al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī, cited in Zwartjes, Otto, trans., *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, (Leiden: Brill), 2001, p. 204.

Jewish) culture with Iberia, after five hundred years, the shared attributes with even frontier Spanish kingdoms were then only tenuously connected.[656]

Even given as close a relationship as William IX may have been able to have with original Arabic material, whether derived from Hispano-Arabic or Siculo-Arabic sources, he did not import imagery or phrasing wholesale into his own poetry, but rather, any immediate influence produced indirect results. Despite the temptation to see it as a fully-developed bridge between Arabic and Christian European source material, his work instead can be taken as representative of an adoption of external (Hispano-Arabic) themes into a Latin, Christian worldview, excommunications and suspicions of Islamic sympathies notwithstanding.

William IX, while a key figure in the popularization of *muwashshah* themes within Europe, necessarily filtered such themes, however immersed in them he may have been.[657] Unfortunately, as with so many features of medieval history, there exists no record of precisely how William IX was or was not involved with Muslim or Arabic culture. While it is certain that he was responsible in part for a popularization of 'Muslim sciences' and he and parts of his court adopted traditional Islamic dress, there exists no definitive evidence on the precise penetration of Muslim arts. William IX represents a reinterpreter of Muslim culture, rather than a popularizer. In this way, he is but one of many, known and unknown, though a key representative of how cultural mediation can flow through a single individual, rather than an entire region or even culture.

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[656] The comparisons made with *El Cantar de Mio Cid* do nothing to negate that Christian Iberia (Spain) and Muslim Iberia (al-Andalus) had become more seriously opposed to one another over the period of the Almohads, nor detracts from the fact that these two cultures had become further distinct from one another since the period of El Cid. See Clissold, Stephen, *In Search of the Cid*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., 1965).
[657] Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, pp. 31-32.

However, the introduction of these mediating influences, such as the culture of Northern Iberia, does not undermine the parallels between the originating culture, that of medieval, Arabic Spain, and that of the eventual general European culture subsequent to the diffusion of *troubadour* themes throughout that culture.[658] Instead, mediating cultures and subcultures introduced instead complicating factors. Again, the key example within the context of this thesis is that the themes and styles within the *muwashshah* influenced the *troubadours*, whose interpretation altered the 'original' *muwashshah* material and style, sometimes subtly, sometimes drastically. Again, these connections between *troubadour* material (and its descendants outside the strictly *troubadour* context, such as later Arthurian material) and the *muwashshah* remain underexplored within the context of the *muwashshah* itself.

However, cross-cultural reinterpretations of the original, Hispano-Arabic *muwashshah* material still owe them a debt; despite the differences in style and approach, especially to potentially adulterous sexuality, the material themes of the *muwashshah* are echoed within both later *troubadour* material and its derivations and descendants within European culture.[659] Revisiting Arthurian material, for instance, the idea that a *muwashshah* poet might have his lusty ambitions thwarted by a watcher is echoed by the eventual discovery of Lancelot and Guinevere's

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[658]   The reduction of the various cultures within Europe to a hegemonic culture is merely convenient shorthand. Due to space and context restrains, this thesis is only interested in considering those parts of Western European culture similar across regions. Especially unfortunately, Central and Eastern Europe, with another frontier butting up against an Islamic (though not Arabic) culture, are mostly beyond the scope of this thesis.

[659]   Gioia, Ted, *Love Songs: The Hidden History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2015, p. 83. His brief treatment of the possible connections between the *kharja* and *troubadour* and later European poetry here primarily focuses on the potential influence of musicology and treats themes only in passing.

adultery by the (villainous) Mordred.[660] Again, a prominent reused theme of the *muwashshah* is displayed here, emblematic of *troubadour* and post-*troubadour* material; the illicit lovers are kept apart by someone dedicated to ensuring not only their romantic separation, but also to ensuring that they cannot meet.

7.2.2.1. William IX Revisited

Again, however, the poetry of William IX remains pertinent through this exploration of post-*muwashshah* and near post-*muwashshah* material. He represents a clear mediator between Arabic (both Hispano- and Siculo-) sources and a Christian popularization, but also demonstrates a reinterpretation of the *muwashshah* material. As the originator of *troubadour* poetry within a Latin, Christian context, William IX may be considered not just closest to the Arabic originals with the presence of Sicilian Arabs within his environment, but also culturally perhaps the most situated within a cross-cultural context; the parallels between his works and that of early-to-mid-*muwashshah* are clearer and more distinct, for all that they do not represent direct adaptations. Perhaps more so than any other author, his work represents the most immediate connection we still possess between a Latin, Christian author and the *muwashshah* and *zajal*.

For example, his language, themes, and style immediately adopt portions of the *muwashshah* with little adaptation into a separate style, as described both in chapter five and immediately above. Such adoptions would eventually diffuse throughout the *troubadour* tradition, whether or not the *troubadour* in question could trace a direct literary descent from William IX. Specifically regarding shared themes, despite their differences in intensity and explicitness, both William IX and

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[660]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 190;

the *muwashshah* poets recognize the strength of love and the extremes to which (that particular) emotion can affect both mental and physical health: "If soon I do not have help so that my fine lady may love me, I'll die"[661] represents some of the first diffusion of passion within a Latin, Christian context. Relatedly, as an early example of the influence, without much mediation from an intervening culture, his work represents the starting point for the *muwashshah*'s influence on European literature.

7.2.2.2. Beyond the Almohads

Nevertheless, William IX still represents an outlier within the European literary tradition. By the fall of the Almohads within Iberia in 645 AH/1248 CE, the epics of Western Europe were still the dominant literary expression; certainly, they represented the main mode of the spread of popular literature.[662] As examined within chapter five, *El Cantar de Mio Cid* dates from near the fall of the Almohads, although the events it detailed took place at least fifty years previous to its composition. Certainly within the epic tradition popular within Christian Europe, it represents the closest extant literature to a 'hybrid' of the "emotionless" epic found throughout Christian Europe and the "emotional" lyric style found in a Hispano-Arabic context. In essence, the *troubadour* culture, with its mediated influence from Hispano-Arabic sources into Latin, Christian results had not fully permeated European culture by the end of the Almohads, but rather the adoption of *troubadour* culture had begun.

In other words, the diffusion of *troubadour* culture was not immediate following its origination nor did it diffuse evenly throughout Europe; the specific

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[661] William IX, cited in Press, trans., *Anthology of* Troubadour *Lyric Poetry*, no. 5, p. 21.
[662] As explored within chapter six.

ideals of *troubadour* culture, while spread widely, concentrated in what is now France, at the time containing a French state, German territory, and territories linked to England and its Angevin and early Plantagenet kings. For all of William IX's importance, especially for those who view him as the first *troubadour* within such a broad tradition, it did take some time for his particular literary style to spread throughout Christian Europe.[663] Although throughout the twelfth century and into the thirteenth century CE (the time immediately *prior to* the fall of the Almohads within Iberia), the *troubadour* model of courtly love had begun to have some influence upon Western culture, it was not until the flowering of the chivalric ideal, with an emphasis on the specific relationship between a patron lady and a specific knight,[664] that the *troubadour* ideal of romantic love, derived from the *muwashshah*, took hold. However, as shall be explored within the next section of this chapter, the specific derivations from the *troubadour* tradition would have lasting impact within European, especially Northern European, traditions.

Again, the Arthurian material provides a clear way to trace the diffusion of *troubadour* ideals; as the tradition did not reach a 'final' English form until 1485 CE, one can see a gradual development from a collection of Welsh ballads to a more complete pan-European tradition.[665] By the end of the twelfth century CE and the first quarter of the thirteenth, the Arthurian romances had begun to develop more fully within the *troubadour* tradition, again much of it from the context of the

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[663]   The *troubadour* mode did not become widespread until the latter part of the fifth/twelfth century.

[664]   Distinct from the idealization of courtly love, the chivalric ideal often stressed the chastity of the relationship between the knight and his patron. The ideal was, however, often different from the reality; see Abbott, *Mistresses* as well as Denomy, "Courtly Love and Courtliness."

[665]   Duggan, *The Romances of Chrétien de Troyes*, pp. 13-46 details the background to Chrétien de Troyes and his subsequent influence upon the tradition.

muwashshah-influenced (however subconsciously) Chrétien de Troyes, though crucially not entirely from his particular interpretations. As reviewed above, his creation of the sexual, sensual courtly love owed a debt to the *muwashshah*, but also, he was a particular mediating force for those themes within a specific literary tradition. Just as the *muwashshah* developed from a particular Andalusian context, so too was the Arthurian tradition particular to Northern Europe.

Chrétien de Troyes' particular set of romances, especially with their use of the themes identified above, contained within them the basics of the chivalric tradition, as well as the courtly love tradition, using the definition above. Particularly, the way in which the illicit sexual relationships of his characters were treated, as both a romantic ideal to be thought of highly, as well as a dangerous subversion of the natural order, represented the same themes as the *muwashshah* corpus. Chrétien de Troyes lent depth to his characters, situating them in a comprehensive, erotic context that went beyond the relative distance of William IX's identification of his lover. The beloved is treated as distant within the early *troubadour* work of William IX, unnamed and objectified in a way that, while similar to the *muwashshah*, again lacks the direct physical intimacy characteristic of the Hispano-Arabic verse. Comparatively, Chrétien de Troyes, despite being removed from the immediate context of the *muwashshah* actually represents a closer connection to some of the themes. Whereas William IX presents an idealized, somewhat distant relationship, the relationship between Lancelot and Guinevere is immediate and physical, pursued despite the potential consequences.

In many ways, most of the lasting European themes found in the *muwashshah* first appeared outside a proper *troubadour* context within the context

of further Arthurian romance, subsequent to Chrétien de Troyes and even as late as Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur*,[666] as part of the complicated interplay of ideals that led first to the celebration of the illicit love of Lancelot and Guinevere, and later instead to the celebration of the chaste knights sent to seek the Holy Grail, who must be tricked into fathering children, and the downfall of Arthur's court, attributable in part to the rejection of the chivalric ideal. The idea of courtly love as an intensely romantic, sensual, sexual relationship, while acceptable within the *muwashshah* corpus, if not to Almoravid and Almohad society, could only find partial acceptance within European culture.

7.2.2.3.   *Reinterpreting the* Muwashshah *and Its Descendants*

Indeed, Chrétien de Troyes and his origination of Lancelot within the last quarter century of the 12th century allowed for a new interpretation of *troubadour* themes. Representative of the European adoption of *muwashshah* themes, his *troubadour* work was representative of the first, more direct descent of the *muwashshah* into a European context; further descendants of the *muwashshah* tradition would almost entirely be filtered through a worldview that included the general acceptance of the *troubadour* understanding of longing, lust, and love. By the end of the *troubadour* period, and into the further adoption of Arabic tropes by Western European writers, the ideal of a romantic relationship, not to mention a sexual one, had been redefined.[667] From that point forward, a European understanding of love (and sex) was informed by *troubadour* and post-*troubadour*

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[666]   Duggan, *The Romances of Chrétien de Troyes*, pp. 39-41.

[667]   Furthermore, it potentially led to a broader acceptance of Arabic themes and tropes within European literature; for example, there exists evidence that Dante's *Divina Commedia* reflects a certain Arabic literary tradition, exploring Muhammad's journey to Heaven, within a Christian worldview. For an overview of this contentious discussion, see Cantarino, Vicente, "Dante and Islam: History and Analysis of a Controversy," in Ziolowski, Jan M., ed., *Dante and Islam* (New York: Fordham University Press), 2015, pp. 31–44.

interpretations of those *muwashshah*-derived *troubadour* themes, rather than any sort of direct connection back to the original *troubadour* material. In essence, not only did the *troubadours* provide a mediating context for the influence of the *muwashshah* but also created the new cultural context in which to *further* interpret the themes and tropes of the *muwashshah*, insofar as they continued to survive within Christian Europe.[668]

Although writing in the northern French dialects, rather than in the part of France directly tied to the Hispano-Arab frontiers, and so technically identified as a *trouvere*, rather than a *troubadour*, Chrétien de Troyes again exemplifies many of the traits we would apply to the entire *troubadour* tradition, especially those that outlasted the immediate *troubadour* context to underlie Western interpretations of love. A full timeline of the Western interpretation of love would be beyond the scope of this thesis; however, a summary of the pertinent items is as follows: while there were further key shifts, thanks to the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and within Northern Europe especially, the Romantic movement, which adopted and adapted Arthurian material repeatedly, the modern understanding (especially as influenced by the Romantic movement) certainly meets the general nature of courtly love, even within a twenty-first century context. [669]

Specifically, Chrétien de Troyes' particular interpretation of Arthurian romance, like those to follow in the next century to century and a half, particularly both in Romance languages and in English, represent a transitory phase, partially adopting *muwashshah*-like themes, partially standing on their own in a specifically

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[668]   Denomy's analysis of the themes of courtly love as the *troubadour* poets presented them (Denomy, "Courtly Love and Courtliness") can be set against Zwartjes' analysis of the *kharja* themes as presented in *Love Songs of al-Andalus*, pp. 188-218 to further inform this comparison.
[669]   Portions of this survival will be addressed in the next section of this thesis.

pan-European context. One key difference that sets his romances apart from the *muwashshah* tradition and instead places it as blend of the epic and the lyric, focusing on the emotional lives of the protagonist, is the specificity of its place. Unlike the vague markets and pleasure gardens of the *muwashshah*, the Arthurian material has a real, if fantastical setting, in England and Northern France, and into neighboring territories such as Cornwall and Wales.[670] This grounding in a specific place demonstrates that not all of the hallmarks of the *muwashshah* were thoroughly adopted as part of the *troubadour* interpretation of the *muwashshah* material.

However, despite differing originating cultures, both the *muwashshah* and later, especially late medieval and early modern, Western European literature stem in part from a common source. The paradigms contained within the *muwashshah* allowed for a certain set of shifts within European culture; comparable to how Aristotle's *Poetics* allowed for a foreign influence to affect purely Arabic poetry, the *muwashshah* represented an analogous foreign influence for the Christian European situation. While the *muwashshah* was not a formal collection of instructions, as the *Poetics* were, nor were the rules for composing a *muwashshah* adopted explicitly by the *troubadour* culture, the modified *troubadour* themes of the *muwashshah* echoed not just Ibn Bassām's point about the *muwashshah* representing an erotic genre, but also their general construction. The *muwashshah* contained a popular element and the *zajal* was entirely in colloquial Arabic; the Arthurian romances were popular compilations and retellings, often in the

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[670]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 198-199. One of the key points he makes is that many of the locations found within the *muwashshah* are generalized, able to be located anywhere within the Hispano-Arabic world, and sometimes even into North Africa and parts of Arabia, and those that are specific are often distant.

vernacular,[671] that appealed on a popular level as well as to the elite courtly society who had the relative leisure to pursue the idealization of chivalric or courtly love.

7.3. Preserving The *Muwashshah*

In order to trace the similarities between the eventual European descendants of the *muwashshah* beyond the *troubadour* environment and past the key initial comparison of late medieval Arthurian romance, I first wish to compare the paradigm shifts of the *muwashshah* to those it effected in European culture generally, followed by an analysis of the further indirect survival of the themes of the *muwashshah*. Ultimately, I seek to prove how those themes overlap between the *muwashshah* and European literary culture, in a fashion that indicates clear, if indirect and meandering, connection between the two. Starting with the most basic comparisons, those initially reviewed within tracing the paradigm shifts outlined within chapter three, the Greco-Roman acceptance of Aristotle's *Poetics* apply to both the Hispano-Arabic and Christian European cultures, though the spread of Aristotle was necessarily limited by both the insular intellectual culture of Europe and the relative dearth of literacy.[672] Essentially, both Christian Europe and Hispano-Arabic culture remained as part of a once-Romanized world, despite their eventual divergence.

As Western Europe had been both Romanized and then post-Romanized,[673] these Greco-Roman paradigms became part of the basic underlying structure of post-Roman society, despite the fragmentation of the reasonably homogenous,

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[671]   For instance, Chrétien de Troyes composed not in Latin, but in Old French.
[672]   Bäuml, Franz H., "Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Speculum*, vol. 55, no. 2, 1980, pp. 237–265., www.jstor.org/stable/2847287.
[673]   Again, the distinction should be made between the different parts of the Roman Empire losing their direct Romanization; the ultimate city-state of Constantinople, for instance, did not lose its explicit claim to Roman descent until over two hundred years after the fall of the Almohads, almost concurrent with the fall of the Nasrids in Granada.

hegemonic culture that had been Roman Europe.[674] Although the study of Aristotle

did not reach the same heights within Christian Europe as it did within the Arabic-

speaking world (both within Iberia and without), his ideas about what defined art

still provided the subconscious basis for European literature.[675]

Even where other Germanic, non-Roman cultures dominated Europe, such

as in France and England, the long contact between Germanic tribes, both cordial

and in conflict, and the propagation of Roman culture (especially the eventual

Christian culture, whose dominant strain was based on Roman Christianity, and

whose primary legitimacy flowed from Rome), allowed for that culture to continue

to diffuse throughout post-Roman Europe[676] Pre-Islamic Iberia presents an

interesting amalgam of these diffusions, as while the everyday population

remained as part of a Romanized society, the Gothic elite represented a Germanic

tribe reasonably alien to Roman culture. However, unlike within broader European

society, there was no absorption of Chalcedonian Christian culture by the Goths;

the Gothic ruling class stayed reasonably independent of the ruled populace until

the arrival of the Muslim invasions, continuing to hold fast to Arian Christianity and

rejecting most of the characteristics of underlying Romanization that the Muslims

integrated when they absorbed the lower classes and ejected the elites.[677] In some

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[674]   Esteban, Fernando Díaz, "La Poesía Latina Visigoda y el Nacimiento de la Moaxaja," in Jones, Alan and Richard Hitchcock eds., *Studies of the* Muwaššah *and the* Kharja [*Proceedings of the Exeter International Colloquium*], (London: Ithaca Press, 1991) represents a cultural demonstration of this fragmentation; despite the maintenance of a Greek Roman culture in the East and a Latin, Chalcedonian culture derived from Roman Catholicism, the Visigoths occupied a distinct niche as Arian Christian overlords.
[675]   Halliwell, *Poetics*, p. 3.
[676]   Halliwell, *Poetics*, p. 3.
[677]   Such invasion and re-invasion has parallels within al-Andalus' successors; the break-up of al-Andalus into the petty *taifa* kingdoms was followed by the Almoravid – originating from North Africa – conquest of the individual kingdoms, and as the Almoravid kingdom grew weak, the invitation of and subsequent invasion by the Almohads, also originating within North Africa. See chapter one for a fuller overview.

ways, then, both Hispano-Arabic Iberia and the rest of Europe represent the result of shared paradigm shifts beyond those that led *immediately* to the *muwashshah*, making it reasonably simple for the *muwashshah*'s themes and tropes to be translated into a broader, non-Arabic literary context, lending to their preservation within a European context. Despite the differences between the originating cultures of Arabia and Rome, there existed some common cultural ground.

Nevertheless, it is not so straightforward tracing the preservation of the language and tropes of the *muwashshah* within Europe as the tracing of a remnant of Greco-Roman culture, a fundamentally less alien element of European culture. Both Hispano-Arabic culture and European Christian culture underwent distinct, independent (and sometimes mutually exclusive) changes, driven in no small part by the political realities of their religious allegiances. As the Crusades went on, for example, the political pragmatism that let El Cid wander back and forth between serving in the Christian North and the Muslim South gave way to a stronger sense of opposition between the two regions, emblematic of their conflicts elsewhere. Although there had been frequent framing of the wars within Iberia within a religious context, it was not until the arrival of the Almoravids that this distinction solidified.[678]

As a result, it seems rather unlikely that the *muwashshah* ended up surviving at all, even though it was based in part on underlying Greco-Roman tropes. However, as explored earlier, such preservation had two key factors going for it. First, the absorption of Muslim territories and culture by a receptive William IX, whose general demeanor suited the preservation of the *muwashshah* as well as

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[678]   See Burns, *Muslims, Christians, and Jews* for a framing of the Iberian Christian kingdoms as "Crusaders."

its transformation into *troubadour* tropes. Second, the spread and adoption of *troubadour* ideals throughout Christian Europe. Both of these elements helped to transform the *muwashshah*, or at least its tropes and themes, from a strictly Hispano-Arabic[679] phenomenon into one that could spread beyond those borders. And, as a result of the continued adoption of *troubadour* themes by Western society, such preservation has kept the ideals of the *muwashshah* alive to the present day, with a continued transformation of those ideals to suit the times, while never rejecting their original iteration, nor transforming them into an alien understanding.[680]

Conversely, even the shared attributes that originated within the context of creation the *muwashshah* no longer applied as strictly within the context of preservation within Europe. Especially when the Almohad dynasty, which had seen the continued creation of new *muwashshahs*, was no longer the dominant power within Spain, and any new *muwashshah* were simply "a[n]…intellectual exercise,"[681] the preservation of *muwashshah* themes within Europe became the domain of *troubadour* and post-*troubadour* culture, rather than Hispano-Arabic literature. As the territories possessed by a dominant Muslim culture shrank within Iberia, a siege mentality set in,[682] with the military now taking further priority over literary culture. As will be discussed within chapter eight, the preservation and maintenance of the *muwashshah* within Arabic society switched to North Africa and

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[679]   And Hispano-Hebrew.
[680]   While the strict form of the *muwashshah* influenced the *troubadours*, or at least William IX, the themes survived within other forms. Even the first two lines of Shakespeare's Sonnet 87 reflect *muwashshah*-like themes: "Farewell! thou art too dear for my possessing/And like enough thou know'st thy estimate." Shakespeare, William, Thomas Marc Parrot, ed., *Shakespeare: Twenty-Three Plays and the Sonnets*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons), 1953, p. 1104.
[681]   Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature and the Early Provençal Lyrics*, p. 124.
[682]   Nykl, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, p. 2.

Arabia. But, even there, such preservation was specialized, the side effect of seeing the *muwashshah* as an aberrant outsider, a product of distorted frontier culture. The careful preservation of the *muwashshah did* occur, but the lingering presence of it as an active form outside of its original environment was negligible.

However, the discrepancies between Roman culture and the extant culture eight hundred years of post-Romanization were vast. But, such differences had an added benefit for the preservation of the *muwashshah*; despite the reasonably accepting nature of Roman culture towards outsider cultures,[683] for the arts it explicitly looked to Greece, and only Greece, as an acceptable model.[684] Post-Roman culture, while still influenced primarily and subconsciously by a Greco-Roman model, also looked to external influences, such as Hispano-Arabia, as an acceptable source of artistic inspiration. While I have attempted to outline some of these external adoptions, especially within chapter five and the preceding sections of this chapter, it is key to remember that European culture also defined itself in part by opposition to adopting Muslim modes of thinking.

Such oppositions, however, to influences seen as 'foreign,' especially as 'un-Christian,' however, presented on two levels. The first, the formal level of the Church and political actors, evidenced by the excommunications of William IX, existed independently from (though certainly not without intersection with) the second, the less formal register demonstrated within *La Chanson de Roland*. However, these oppositions were not enough to prevent the integration of Hispano-Arab characteristics into broader culture. As reviewed previously, Hispano-Arabic philosophy, technology, and literature all flowed into Christian Europe,

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683   Such as the general identification between diverse other deities and their own.
684   Halliwell, Poetics, p. 3.

predominantly from the ex-Muslim territories within Spain and Sicily; despite any sort of resistance, either formal or informal, the intersection of neighboring cultures still occurred.

7.3.1. Post-*Troubadour* Literary Culture

Nevertheless, the Hispano-Arab culture, though somewhat less 'foreign' than a strictly Arabian Arabic culture might be, especially to the frontier kingdoms within Iberia who might still have Muslim subjects or a partially Arabicized population even among Christians, still represented something mostly alien to Christian Europe. As previously explained, the Church set itself formally in opposition to Islam in stronger fashion with the Crusades, though throughout the Arabicization process, Spain had seen Christian martyrs die rather than convert or pay tax to Muslim rulers.[685] Such tensions make it seem all the less likely that the *muwashshah* would have found adoption within the climate of post-crusade Christian Europe. Indeed, despite the partially shared heritage of Muslim Iberia and the Christianized remainder of Europe, their intellectual and cultural backgrounds often found themselves at odds with one another, both explicitly in the form of the Crusades and accompanying literature,[686] as well as in the distinction between their individual literary cultures; what topics were acceptable and which were seen

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[685]   Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, pp. 53-54.

[686]   The Crusades were a watershed moment in European Christian and Muslim relations, for several reasons. First, they accentuated the specific religious divide between two cultures, emphasizing the basal animosity. Poems such as *La Chanson de Roland* developed as a result; even with their somewhat bizarre depiction of Islam, they were still recognizably setting Christianity and Islam at odds. Second, they brought Europeans into contact with Islam, even beyond the frontier kingdoms of Spain (of both religions). While they may not have diffused cultural understanding, they certainly served to diffuse first-hand knowledge. Third, the Crusades also served to provide; an example for how Latin, European Christians should see their Muslim counterparts within Spain, as adversaries based on religion, rather than adversaries or allies based on political pragmatism. While they did take place during the rise and heyday of the *muwashshah*, their immediate influence lasted longer than the creation of unique *muwashshahs* within Spain.

as taboo, for instance, clearly differed between Hispano-Arabic and Christian European literature, as a basic matter of course.[687] While not all of the distinctions between these two intellectual traditions can be seen as a deliberately, specifically Christian response to a suspect (Hispano-Arab/Muslim) culture, they do represent some of the key divides in interpreting the same themes. While the themes preserved within both traditions may be similar, the tropes recycled, European Christian literature condemning sexual transgression presents that material very differently from the *muwashshah* that celebrates the illicit meeting of two lovers.[688]

Again, despite the partial preservation of a *muwashshah*-inspired sensuality within the Christian European context, Hispano-Arabic literature was less quick to condemn the potentially taboo nature of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* themes, whereas much of Christian European literature at the same time had a moral lesson either explicitly or implicitly buried within the text.[689] Although the *muwashshah* represented an outlier within the Arabic tradition, it was not distinctly a secular form; although the typical *muwashshah* was a celebration of indulgence, the religious examples that exist allow one to see that the structure of the *muwashshah* was not seen as somehow offensive.[690] The idea of an implicit moral, moreover, even within those religious examples, was no stronger than that of any other religious literature

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[687]　See chapter five for a fuller explanation of this distinction between taboos.
[688]　Compare Duggan, *The Romances of Chrétien de Troyes*, pp. 113-114, including a quotation from Wave, author of the *Roman de Brut*, to Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp.203-205. Also, see Lewis, *The Allegory of Love*, pp. 1-4, 44-111.
[689]　Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, 214-216; Duggan, *The Romances of Chrétien de Troyes*, p. 114.
[690]　Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 217-218.

In the use of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* at least, there existed an outlet for accepting such non-normative behavior as adultery, in a way that was clearly absent from its European descendants. Even with the focus on Lancelot and Guinevere's overwhelming passion, even without the complicating presence of an adulterous relationship existing between them, it seems highly unlikely that Chrétien de Troyes would take Ibn Quzmān's bold step to explicitly describe adultery:

> "I am going to bed." "By God; you do well!"
> I said: "Enter." She replied: "No you enter first, by God."
> (Let us cuckold the man who is her husband.)
> Hardly had I beheld that leg
> And those two lively, lively eyes
> When my penis arose in my trousers like a pavilion,
> And made a tent out of my clothes.
> ....
> I, by God, immediate set to work:
> Either it came out, or it went in,
> While I thrust away sweetly, sweet as honey,
> And [my] breath came out hotly between her legs.[691]

While this *zajal* is particularly explicit in its description of (extramarital) sex, it is not alien to the Hispano-Arabic culture in the same way that such a blatant description would be within a Christian context.[692] The context of the *muwashshah* corpus describes numerous liaisons, some of them physical, some of them emotional, but usually with a forthright directness of language, even when couched within metaphor.[693] Their Christian peers within the rest of Europe responded more equivocally; throughout the *troubadour* and into the post-*troubadour* milieu, their work continued to present the same themes in more oblique terms, less overtly

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[691]   Ibn Quzmān, cited in Monroe, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, no. 26. p. 264-265.
[692]   Again, see Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 188-218 to place adultery within the context of the Arabic *kharja* especially.
[693]   Monroe's translations demonstrate the directness of language: Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry, passim.*

explicitly than the typical *muwashshah*, and certainly less blatantly than the typical *zajal*.[694]

Although the *zajal* is by its very colloquial nature transgressive, and the *zajal* used above especially so, given the apparent number of Romance loan words,[695] it was still an accepted part of Hispano-Arabic literary culture, though as noted previously, its status as 'literature' was somewhat dubious. There is much to say about the other transgressive parts of the *zajal*, the theme of cuckolding and the explicit manner in which is presented. In terms of the *muwashshah*/*zajal* corpus, al-Abyaḍ presents a similar explicit commentary on, if not adultery, then some form of illicit sex:

> 29 "By God, messenger, explain to the lover, how to find his way so that he may come and spend the night with me.
> 30 I shall grant him [my] locks, behind the curtains, by way of torment, and shall add my breasts!"[696]

Again, this *kharja* displays an acceptance of the physical in a direct way lacking from the post-*troubadour* culture. The comfort of the *muwashshah* corpus with the physical, and the illicitly sexual, is demonstrated throughout. The *zajal* occupied a middle ground between the truly popular and 'true' literature, even within Iberia. Conversely, even within literary traditions that explore the role of adultery within Christian European society, such Arthurian romance, it remains a taboo topic, treated as almost inevitably tragic.[697] The idea of celebrating the romantic relationship between them, at least until the modern day, with modern

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[694]   See Chrétien de Troyes, *Arthurian Romances*, p. 201; Chrétien de Troyes, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, p. 174.
[695]   Ibn Quzmān, cited in Monroe, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, no. 26, p. 260-273. Monroe comments on the Romance at Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 43.
[696]   al-Abayd, cited in Monroe, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, no. 28, pp. 282-283.
[697]   Duggan, *The Romances of Chrétien de Troyes*, p. 114.

reinterpretations of the romance of Lancelot and Guinevere, was alien to the initial

post-*troubadour* culture.

7.3.1.1. Dante

Indeed, while not immediately tied to the *troubadour* tradition, but rather set

within a post-*troubadour* Europe that had already absorbed much of that tradition

and reshaped its Hispano-Arabic influences, Dante (c. 1265 CE to 1321 CE)'s *La*

Divina Commedia still ties directly into the questions of preservation and reflection

of the *muwashshah* themes.[698] In particular, his work demonstrates some of the

cognitive dissonance inherent in the preservation of the *muwashshah* themes

within a Christian, European society with its innate resistance to the alien influence

of the *muwashshah*. Within *La Divina Commedia*, Dante managed to both preserve

the romantic elements of the *muwashshah*-influenced *troubadours* as well as

harness the power of his own religious culture to highlight how only some of those

muwashshah themes were acceptable, particularly within *Inferno*.

To some degree, Dante takes the celebration of the beloved to levels

unimaginable within the *muwashshah* corpus. While both William IX and the

muwashshah poets used religious imagery and oaths as a way to demonstrate

their dedication to the beloved, Dante situates *La Divina Commedia* not just a work

of religious allegory or the mystical tale of a journey, but also as an ode to a

particular woman, Beatrice,[699] beloved and unattainable. Whereas the

muwashshah might expound on the themes of longing, focusing again on the

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[698]   Martinez, Ronald L. and Robert M. Durling, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, vol. 1
Inferno, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1996, p. 10.
[699]   Whether his particular Beatrice was a real woman, or a fictionalized version of a real
woman, or a totally fictional woman is somewhat unsettled. The Conventional view is that she was a
historical figure: Martinez and Durling, *Inferno*, p. 11.

woman beloved and unattainable, al-Aʿmā at-Tuṭīlī's "Alas for my woe! I pine in distress!"[700] does not compare to Dante ultimately labeling his beloved a saint.

In some ways, one can see the *muwashshah* influences quite specifically, despite the additional context of post-*troubadour* Italy. Despite being explicitly a Christian work, again, one of its many underlying themes is that focus on the beloved. Dedicated to a woman he barely met, Beatrice, let alone knew,[701] *La Divina Commedia* reflects as part of its understanding of human nature the sentiment found in a separate Romance *kharja* also by al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī:

> "Meu l-habib enfiermo de meu amar.
>   ¿Que no ha d'estar?
> ¿Non ves a mibe qu s'ha de no llegar?"[702]

Dante is only allowed to reach Heaven and the ultimate divine through Beatrice's intervention, thereby fusing the nature of what cannot be obtained as both the lover and the divine. While *La Divina Commedia* itself is not directly a romantic work, focusing as it does primarily on the relationship between humans and the divine, as mediated through sin, it does have the feature of a *muwashshah*-esque yearning for an unattainable beloved at its human heart. Beyond the earthly existence of Beatrice, who was the wife of someone else, she is, by the time Dante writes, dead, ultimately unobtainable, save through his mystical journey. In some ways, the divine is attained more easily than this specific human love who eluded Dante when he was living.

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[700] al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī, cited in Monroe, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, no. 24, pp. 252-253.
[701] Martinez and Durling, *Inferno*, p. 11.
[702] The Romance translates to "My beloved is sick for love of me. How can he not be so? Do you not see that he is not allowed near me?" al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), p. 250-251, translation taken from footnote 16 of the same.

The plot of *La Divina Commedia* is a familiar one, underlying the Western literary canon. In it, Dante awakens in a dark wood, via unknown means. He journeys down through the earth, through Hell, sees Satan, climbs Mount Purgatory and ascends through Heaven, to see his beloved standing with the saints as he experiences a vision of the ultimate divine, the Beatific Vision.[703] Scholars have drawn particular parallels to tales of Muhammad's own ascent into heaven, and some debate exists over the possibility of influence, either indirect or direct, from Arabic stories reframed into Dante's tale.[704] Certainly, Dante is aware of Islam to some degree; he sees Muhammad, labeled as a schismatic, trapped in the ninth chasm of the eighth circle of Hell.[705] Moreover, he places Saladin, the leader of the Islamic forces in the Third Crusade, within the first circle of Hell, Limbo, as a virtuous pagan.[706] Whether or not there was any influence from a Muslim corpus upon his allegorical journey, one can situate Dante's understanding clearly within the European vernacular of its time, with Muhammad seen as somehow creating a heretic Christian-cum-pagan sect.[707] In these ways, Dante is a reflection of post-*troubadour* society at large, not just as the literary heir to portions of their tradition.

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[703]   Martinez and Durling, *Inferno*; Martinez, Ronald L. and Robert M. Durling, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, vol. 2 *Purgatorio*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2003; Martinez, Ronald L. and Robert M. Durling, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, vol. 3 *Paradiso*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2010, esp. pp. 662-667.
[704]   See Cantarino, Vicente, "Dante and Islam: History and Analysis of a Controversy," pp. 31–44.
[705]   Alighieri, Dante, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, vol. 1 *Inferno*, Robert M. Durling, trans., (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1996, pp. 434-435; commentary is provided by Martinez and Durling, *Inferno*, p. 446.
[706]   Dante, Durling, trans., *Inferno*, pp. 73-77. Page 73 defines the first circle, page 77 contains the mention of Saladin.
[707]   Martinez and Durling, *Inferno*, p. 446.

Likewise, the Sufi tradition shares key features with Dante, specifically its thematic metaphor comparing the divinity to a specific woman,[708] as will be shortly discussed. The Sufi work stands between the *muwashshah* and Dante; while one cannot immediately observe a clear continuum between the three relationships represented by the three (woman primarily/exclusively as object of desire, woman primarily as metaphor for divine, woman exclusively as metaphor for divine), one may observe the tantalizing possibility of such a continuum, whether accidental or a purposeful refiguring of ideals across a religio-cultural spectrum.

Dante, however, is not simply an heir to the thematic tradition of the *muwashshah*. His construction of *La Divina Commedia*, despite its epic length, shares features with the *muwashshah* and *troubadour* parallels. Similar to the *muwashshah*'s strict use of strophic patterns, *La Divina Commedia* employs a very strict meter and rhyme scheme, in this case hendecasyllabic *terza rima*. The scheme is maintained throughout, creating a highly effective, highly polished *lyrical* epic, the entire construction designed to highlight the artifice.[709] However, the comparison between *muwashshah and muwashshah*-descended material and *La Divina Commedia* involves more than just general discussion of themes and structure. Despite the vastly differing scope and focus between the *muwashshah* and *La Divina Commedia*, one can see further, particular parallels and influences between the post-*troubadour* material and the *muwashshah*, including the recharacterization of *muwashshah* themes within a European context. Perhaps most tellingly, sexual sins go most lightly punished within the Christian context of

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708   See Lings, M., "Mystical Poetry," pp. 251-252 for both an analysis and examples.
709   Martinez and Durling, *Inferno*, pp. 20-23, especially p. 22.

Dante. Persons whose only sins are those of lust are placed into Hell, true, but

they are the least punished of all sins, residing in the second circle of Hell.[710]

Indeed, the tale of Lancelot is explicitly mentioned by a pair of adulterers:

> We were reading one day, for pleasure, of
> Lancelot, how Love beset him; we were alone and
> without any suspicion
>
> Many time that reading drove our eyes
> together and turned our faces pale; but one point
> alone was the one that overpowered us
>
> When we read that the yearned-for smile was
> kissed by so great a love, he, who will never be
> separated from me,
>
> kissed my mouth all trembling...[711]

This citation of Arthurian romances, specifically the adulterous relationship

between Lancelot and Guinevere, as having led them to commit sin and Dante's

subsequent fainting provides a mitigation of the original sin of lust. While the author

Dante does have them be punished, the *character* Dante feels great pity for them,

possibly with the subtle implication that perhaps their sins are not all that bad.[712]

Here, Dante struck a compromise between the acceptability of illicit sexuality and

the need for punishment of sins; whereas perhaps a *muwashshah* might have

instead ended with a *kharja* reflecting on how the lovers might never be separated,

Dante has a wider context in which to work, and, especially reflective of his

Christian background, can expand upon the theme of adultery to include a specific

punishment. Unlike the *troubadours* and their relatives, who, while not accepting of

adultery, allowed for the presumption of ultimate redemption (such as in the fates

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[710]   Those residing in the first circle are punished only by their alienation from God, rather than a continued corporeal punishment. The description of the second circle of hell may be found at Dante, Durling, trans., *Inferno*, pp 86-93.

[711]   Dante, *Inferno*, trans. Durling, pp. 92-93. See Martinez and Durling, *Inferno*, p. 99 for an analysis of the role of Lancelot in Italian Arthurian material.

[712]   Dante, Durling, trans., *Inferno*, pp. 92-93; Martinez and Durling, *Inferno*, p. 99 provides the initial reaction and an analysis of Dante's swoon at their Arthurian-laced tale.

of Lancelot and Guinevere), Dante gives those guilty of Lust no redemption, but the lightest sentence.

Within this scene, a certain level of metatextuality reinforces the ties between the *muwashshah*-influenced Dante, the *muwashshah*-influenced Arthurian romances, and the fate of the historical figures-cum-fictional characters; the *muwashshah* may not have created the illicit sexuality, but at the very least, the usage of the Arthurian cycle by an Italian poet underlines how the *muwashshah*'s themes had permeated European culture, to the extent of being reflected in different ways throughout what is arguably the foundational Western text. Within the broader context of *La Divina Commedia*, the idea of an intervening lover, the separation of a man from his beloved (whether human or God), and the transcendent physical image of that lover all appear, in some cases all at once:

> …[T]hey led me
> with them to the breast of the gryphon, where
> Beatrice stood, turned toward us.
>
> They said: "Do not spare your eyes; we have
> placed you before the emeralds whence Amor
> formerly drew his bow at you."
>
> A thousand desires hotter than flame drew my eyes
> to her shining ones, which were still fixed
> unmoving on the gryphon.
>
> Like the sun in a mirror, not otherwise shone
> there the double beast, now with one bearing, now
> with another.
>
> Think, reader, if I marveled when I saw that the
> thing in itself remained unchanged, but in its
> eidolon transmuted itself!
>
> While, full of awe and joyful, my soul tasted that
> food which, by satisfying, makes one thirst for it,
>
> the other three, showing their more noble rank
> in their bearing, came forward, dancing to their
> angelic carol.
>
> "Turn, Beatrice, turn your holy eyes," was their
> song, "to your faithful one, who has come so far to

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see you!

    For grace, do us the grace of unveiling your mouth
to him, so that he may discern the second
beauty that you conceal."

    O splendor of eternal, living light: who has
become so pale beneath the shadow of Parnassus,
or has drunk so deeply from its well,

    that he would not seem to have a laboring mind,
attempting to portray you as you appeared there, where,
harmonizing, the sky is your only veil,
    when you disclosed yourself in the open air?[713]

Dante's (human) beloved is revealed as an agent not just of the divine, but as the ultimate example of the beloved, directly comparable to al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī:

10	All my love I conceal	Would my efforts could end it.
11	When it starts to arise	Its horizon's my heart.
12	That beautiful vision	Leaves my passion unhealed.
13	O, why, by my father, Shine forth and reveal	Did a pearly bright star Her excuse and my please?
14	Is there no way to you?	Must I always despair?
15	I wept not a little;	Tears flowed and I sighed;[714]

In both Dante and the *muwashshah*, the beloved is a transcendent, heavenly being, presented literally so in the case of Beatrice. Despite their differing contexts, the comparisons are clearly parallel; both are the bright shiners of their respective universes, radiant and splendid. Again, Dante's *muwashshah* parallels are throughout, not simply confined to a single moment within Hell, Purgatory, or Heaven.

    Likewise, Dante's work can be compared to a specific feature of pre-Islamic poetry, the longing for the departed beloved (whether deceased or simply absent)[715] that echoes throughout the *muwashshah* corpus. Indeed, one of the key

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[713]   Alighieri, Dante, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, vol. 2 *Purgatorio*, Robert M. Durling, trans. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2003, pp. 536-537.

[714]   al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī, cited in Monroe, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, no. 24, pp. 252-253.

[715]   Stetkevych, Suzanne Pinckney, "Structuralist Interpretations," pp. 90-91.

features of the *muwashshah* is the absent beloved, especially in the context of the forbidden love.[716] Again, looking at Zwartjes' list of themes and tropes contained within the *kharja*, one sees the departing or departed beloved recur: "My beloved departed at daybreak" or "my lover has departed at dawn…"[717] which compares directly to Dante's perception of the absent Beatrice, who has been absorbed into the ultimate source of light and truth.[718] These twin longings echo one another both in their language and in their specific themes, with the possibility of some further, unknown connection between the two. Again, Dante is not necessarily unfamiliar with Islam, with not only Muhammad, but also the caliph Ali appearing in Hell as a schismatic.[719]

The question, however, of how much of Dante's specific influence can be attributed to some particular Arabic/Muslim context, is unanswerable; as the produce of a post-*troubadour* culture, it also absorbed the specific Hispano-Arabic influences that preexisted within the *troubadour* world. What can be known, from the direct textual attributions, and references, within a text known for the richness of its allusions, both contemporary and classical, is that the post-*troubadour* culture achieved perhaps its most profound expression within. Although the text is devoted primarily to the ultimate praise of God, not unlike some *muwashshahs* and certainly drawing parallels to Sufi work,[720] a considerable underlying motif is the praise of the unattained lover, to the extent that she, a relatively unimportant minor

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[716]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 206-208
[717]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 207-208.
[718]   Alighieri, Dante, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, vol. 3 *Paradiso*, Robert M. Durling, trans. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2010, pp. 660-667.
[719]   Dante, Durling, trans., *Inferno*, p. 434-435, Martinez and Durling, *Inferno*, p. 442.
[720]   See, for example, Khayyam, Omar, *Rubāʿīyāt-i ʿUmar Khayyām*, Fitzgerald, Edward, trans., (Tehran: Nahrid), 2000.

noblewoman from thirteenth century Florence,[721] is identified as residing amongst the saints.[722] Dante not only parallels the *muwashshahs* by his elevation of a specific beloved, but goes to what may be considered the ultimate length to do so.

7.3.1.2. Historical Accident

Other differences between Hispano-Arabic and Christian European literary culture, even after the beginnings of the Renaissance, can be attributed to historical accident, rather than independent, but shared cultural development or the distinctions between Hispano-Arabic and Christian European approaches to physicality. In other words, they can be traced not to derivations from cultural elements held at some historical point in common, but rather to paradigm shifts distinct to each respective culture. These distinctions had twin effects: they allowed for the *muwashshah* themes to be preserved in unique ways within European culture, even after the *troubadour* culture faded to an underlying background of assumptions, but also ensured that any preservation of the *muwashshah* themes would develop distinct traditions alien from any preservation in the rest of the Arabic-speaking world. Although I will discuss preservation within an Arabic context within chapter eight, it bears mentioning that whereas in Europe, the *muwashshah* was preserved thematically through a 'native' mediating influence, and thus transformed, the *muwashshah*'s survival in Arabic was much more as a set of crystalline poems, rather than as sets of themes. Perhaps due to the wider acceptance of sexual themes within literature as well as via the use of a common

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[721]   This identification has been accepted by most scholars, though by no means all; Dante does not give enough context within his works for a wholly unequivocal identification. Again, see Durling, *Inferno*, p. 11.
[722]   Dante, Durling, trans., *Paradiso*, *passim* but especially p. 624-625

language, Arabic sources, the poems were preserved as they were, though their particular usage changed.[723]

Beyond these fundamental differences in approach to the taboo mentioned above, there existed concrete distinctions between the culture that gave rise to Hispano-Arabic literature and the culture that created *La Chanson de Roland* or even *El Cantar de Mio Cid*. Such differences were less focused on the differing interpretations of themes within separate cultures and instead more focused on the actual historical realities of each culture. Broadly speaking, the religio-cultural realities found within Iberia, especially during the *convivencia* and the heyday of the *muwashshah*, were different than those found within the rest of Europe, reinforcing that the absorption of the *muwashshah* themes via the *troubadours* required a mediating factor.

Perhaps most the most basal way in which these two cultures differed, (Hispano-)Arabic and Christian Europe were no longer heirs to the same intellectual traditions in the same ways; whereas Arabic culture, both literary and scientific, preserved the work of Greek philosophers, especially Aristotle,[724] in an immediate context as a dominant foundation requiring an educated response and interpretation, what was once the *Western* Roman Empire lost many of those immediate connections and certainly a large part of their direct access to that knowledge. Most of the philosophers were primarily preserved in Greek editions, which the Latinate speakers of the West had little ability to read or translate.[725] As Arabic speakers were still engaged in direct dialogue with the Greco-Roman world,

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[723] See Schippers, "Some Remarks on the Present-Day Tradition."
[724] Butterworth, *Averroës' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's Poetics*, pp. x-xii.
[725] Halliwell, *Poetics*, p. 4.

whereas Christian Europe was then primarily engaged in expanding upon extant Christian theology),[726] classical philosophers were being interpreted not just with different religious traditions, but also being used to legitimize differing worldviews. In some ways, such legitimization can be considered a contrasting pair of paradigm shifts; although there was not a sudden departure, the way in which the distinct cultures organized the universe (including the arts) differed dramatically by the time Christian Europe began to reshape the *muwashshah* themes past the *troubadour* absorption, and even more dramatically after centuries of direct opposition.

Despite the partial incorporation of Muslim sciences and technology into Christian Europe even before the Renaissance, the practical aspects of the philosophers, especially including adapting science and technology for agriculture, dominated the explicit sharing of culture between Iberia and Christian Europe. Intersections of literary or artistic culture, *such as the* muwashshah *specifically*, were a distinct minority; for example, as trade flowed between Christian Iberia and its Muslim neighbors to the south, it was moveable commodities or physical examples of technology that primarily were absorbed into the north.[727]

Again, the preservation of the *muwashshah* then, represents an outlier within the Christian European context, even as limited a preservation as it was; we certainly have no known *muwashshah* translated from Hispano-Arabic into a European language despite several examples of bilingual *muwashshahs* and

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[726]   Martinez and Durling, *Paradiso*, pp. 9, 708, 710 make mention of some of the variety of theological strains in late medieval thought; pp. 741-749 discuss the role of Neoplatonism, an initially pagan, in this case now Christianized, adaptation and modification of classical philosophy, within both Dante's world and his work, an issue brought to the forefront of Christian theology by its adaptation by the Scholastics.
[727]   See Daniel, Norman, *The Arabs and mediaeval Europe*, (London: Longman), 1979 for an overview of technological transfer.

zajals, indicating that some Hispano-Arabic speakers understood the Romance language at least informally. Even the maintenance of the *muwashshah* themes within Christian European society appears to have been lucky; for all of the appeal of the themes of love, heartbreak, desire, lust, and the lure of forbidden relationships, the specific intersection and repurposing of these themes by the *troubadour* culture into a form absorbable by *post-troubadour* culture is attributable in no small part to chance. The overwhelming pressure to reject these foreign imports, or to use them as examples of the corruptness of their religious antagonists,[728] suggests that the *troubadour* use of these themes should have been suppressed. The specific paradigm shift that allowed the absorption of these themes past a literary, literate European elite into broader post-*troubadour* culture, down to the present day, is unknown; but, despite some condemnation,[729] the popularity of these recurring themes lent them strength enough to be transmitted to post-*troubadour* culture. Indeed, some of the first books printed in the English language were post-*troubadour* collections of Arthurian material, with an entire section devoted to the relationship between Guinevere and Lancelot.[730]

However, one can see the influence of the *muwashshah* beyond just the transmission of a single chivalric ideal into European society. While Arthuriana represents perhaps the most familiar idealization of the conceptualization of courtly love within modern society, the set of ideals professed by the *muwashshah*,

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[728]   Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, 46-47.
[729]   Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain*, pp. 273-274.
[730]   The original *Le Morte D'Arthur,* perhaps the most famous collection of English Arthur material, was originally printed in 1485. Book VII explores the adulterous relationship between the two, though it is presented more ambiguously and in a more matter-of-fact fashion. However, the relationship between the two is not fully condemned; despite the betrayal of Arthur (as man and as king), Lancelot remains the most virtuous knight in Arthur's court, evidenced by his healing of a fellow knight.

especially its treatment of love, desire, and lust, whether licit or illicit, transcends

this genre. By the end of the Renaissance, the *muwashshah* themes had

permeated European culture as a whole, not just within Arthuriana or via Dante, but

so thoroughly that another foundational text of the Western literary canon, *El*

ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha (*Don Quixote*) is in large part explicitly

a response to *troubadour* and post-*troubadour* literary influences. Beyond simply

the fictional attribution of *Don Quixote* to a Moor, the tale has a protagonist whose

tale is wholly dependent on the absorption, transformation, and reabsorption of

troubadour and *muwashshah* themes; he even imagines himself possessed of a

lady love and speaks wholly in an antiquated version of Spanish, more in line with

the characters in his books.[731] Indeed, his contemporary, Saint Teresa of Ávila

(1515 to 1582 CE), likewise a Spaniard, explicitly mentions her youthful reading of

romances in her autobiography, and the absorption of those themes into her

explicitly Christian, mystic theology; her family background likewise included

conversion to Christianity and a young, personal hope for martyrdom among 'the

Moors.'[732]

Although one can find further examples of this use of reinterpretation and

reabsorption of *muwashshah* themes especially within Romantic ideals of literature

(as discussed shortly hereafter), one may also see it reflected within history; first

with Edward III's foundation of the Order of the Garter, later with Henry VIII's use of

classic chivalric themes within his court and foreign relations, as well as certain

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[731]   Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de, *Don Quixote de la Mancha*, 4 vol. (Madrid: Gráfica Reunidas), 1928-1941.
[732]   Teresa, Saint, of Avila, *Libro de la vida*, (Madrid: Castalia), 1986.

aspects of his courtship of Anne Boleyn,[733] represent an adoption of the *troubadour* tropes originally absorbed from the *muwashshah* context. In the specific case of Henry VIII, it is life imitating art imitating art, but with ultimately profound historical consequences for Europe. In essence, such influence on history helps to demonstrate the depth that the ideas of chivalry (not directly derived from the *muwashshah*, but rather derived from Christian European sources) and a particular expression of romantic love, the courtly variety, (again, derived in large part from *troubadour* reinterpretation of *muwashshah* themes) penetrated European culture, independent of a direct tie to a Hispano-Arabic original, as well as the ways in which European Christian ideals combined with originally foreign ones to recombine into a particular hybrid expression, not unlike the origin of the *muwashshah* itself.

7.3.2. The Romantic Understanding[734]

Despite the limited range of transmission between Iberia and Northern Europe, *troubadour* themes and tropes continued to permeate both popular entertainment and the popular perception of romantic relationships.[735] While a great deal of modern popular interpretation of late medieval and Renaissance relationships rests on a long-standing tendency to identify with the Romantic tradition, with its explicit looking back to the late medievyal period as somehow

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[733]   Starkey, David, *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*, (New York: HarperCollins), 2003, pp. 281-282.
[734]   While there are several strains to the Romantic movement, with distinct emphases, such as the natural world, as seen in Shelley's 1820 work "To a Skylark," or a contemplation of man's place in the world, derived from Thomas Gray's pre-Romantic "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," written in 1750, here I specifically treat the *muwashshah*'s place in relation to those Romantics who focused on the mythic past, exemplified by the late tradition of Tennyson.
[735]   For clarity, within this section, the word "romantic" or "romance" with a lowercase r and unitalicised is used to indicate interpersonal relationships, "Romantic" is used to indicate the time period, philosophy, or style, and "*romance*" is used to indicate the genre of literature.

more emotionally authentic, such understanding is not without merit, even though such a conceptualization necessarily simplifies the realities of the situations at hand.[736]

In actuality, the Romantic period in the late eighteenth and into the nineteenth century CE, with its focus on looking back, does appear to have helped to preserve the *muwashshah* themes as well; by consciously imitating and promoting the style of the late medieval period and reusing its tropes, they were able to maintain the influence of the *muwashshah* past the Enlightenment. The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, especially, rejected post-medieval artistic culture as lacking an authentic creative integrity clearly found within the medieval tradition;[737] those influenced by the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood continued to look back on the medieval tradition, with James Archer in particular creating a cycle of Arthurian paintings. This looking back to medieval models extended likewise to poetry, with the medieval *troubadours*, and by extension their connections to the *muwashshah*, held in high regard. Despite the clear distinction between some of the key features of the Romantics, especially English ones – such as an emphasis on "Nature," explicitly mentioned in the credo of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood –[738] and the key emphases of the *troubadours* upon courtly life and interpersonal relationships, there are clear areas of overlap, indicative of the connection exemplified by the looking-back of a sub-section of the Romantic movement.

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[736] Certainly the Romantic period helped maintain the popularity of Arthur, with such works as Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, published between 1859 and 1885, bridging the end of the Romantic period and, in England, the mid- to late-Victiorian era. Interestingly, the deliberately archaic Idylls present the Arthurian tradition as a series of mini-epics, rather than absorbing the *muwashshah* themes, even in sections that present the adultery between Lancelot and Guinevere.
[737] Latham, David, "Haunted Texts: The Invention of Pre-Raphaelite Studies" in Latham, David, ed., *Haunted Texts: Studies in Pre-Raphelitism*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), p. 12.
[738] Latham, "Haunted Texts," p. 12.

In consequence, the Enlightenment and its emphasis on a rational understanding of human emotion as the logical set of responses to given stimuli can be seen as set in opposition to the intense emotionality seen within the *muwashshah*, *troubadours*, and post-*troubadours*. While the Enlightenment may be seen as primarily an elite phenomenon, the Romantic appeal of the medieval (and older) past, skipped back over the values inherent in the Enlightenment. Instead of abandoning the emotional appeal of the *troubadour* style, poets and novelists instead adopted some of the tropes and themes of the *troubadour* and related genres, adapting them for a contemporary audience.[739]

7.3.2.1.   Transition and Adaptation

As noted above, the late medieval period was a transitory period in the literary expression of desire, and although that perception continued to change throughout European history, the Romantic emphasis on an idealized past helped bring forward the themes of the *muwashshah* and recontextualize them for a modern audience. Although there were certainly different strands within the Romantic movement, and as a whole, the label is nebulous, able to include a wide range of artists and authors; it can safely be claimed that one of the chief themes was the idealization of the past, whether medieval or pagan.[740] As both the late medieval period, wherein the *muwashshah*'s influence was widespread thanks to the *troubadours*, and the Romantic period were both transitory periods within the 'history of Western culture, it is perhaps unsurprising that the past the Romantics

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[739]   For example, the popular *Ivanhoe* is credited with "turn[ing] men's minds in the direction of the Middle Ages," and while not representative of a *troubadour*, shares with the return of lyric poetry focused on the *troubadour* ideals, an explicit looking back to a somehow realer past, with the presence of real emotion. Such effect may also be seen in the historical novels of pre-Revolution France.

[740]   The initial Pre-Raphaelite paintings of Biblical events were seen as blasphemous.

chose to idealize included at least in part a medievalism modeled specifically on the ideals inherent within *troubadour* culture.

As the *troubadour* themes and tropes disseminated throughout Northern Europe, they combined with 'native' Christian European themes to create new interpretations; this phenomenon can be seen as a precursor to the ways in which the Romantic movement would combine the dominant culture of late eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe with these historical antecedents. Given the rejection of the modern by parts of the Romantic movement to the medieval, the seizure if the prominent medieval presence of the *troubadour* style led to its adoption as part of the underlying foundation of a particular subgroup of the Romantic movement, especially within England.[741] Again, in terms of the *muwashshah* and the survival of its themes throughout Western culture, the Romantics can be seen as having brought those themes from their *troubadour* and immediately post-*troubadour* context into a context more immediately accessible for their peers. By both reusing and popularizing medieval tropes, even if they were not immediately derived from the *muwashshah*, the Romantic movement functioned as another link in the chain of preservation and popularization.

Moreover, the Romantic period prominently featured Arthur as an inspiration, with Arthuriana underlying a good deal of the Romantic output, again especially within England and English-speaking nations, a legacy of the specific

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[741]   In some ways, one can distinguish between two particular, partially overlapping, strands of the Romantic mov'ement; the emphasis upon Nature as exemplified by Wordsworth (1779 to 1850) and Coleridge's (1772 to 1834) *Lyrical Ballads*, first published in 1798, with a second edition including a presentation of principles appearing in 1800 and a third edition with an expansion of those principles in 1802, and that emphasis on a sometimes-mythical past, exemplified by Byron's "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage," published between 1812 and 1818. The credo of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood combines both.

cultural factors that led to the identification of Arthur as a personification of Britain, despite the significant presence of non-*English* and non-*British* Arthuriana and material incorporated into the English tradition.[742] The themes present within Arthur were seen as both an antiquated model requiring some explanation for the then-modern world, but also as possessing timeless qualities; the scholarly trend that lead to the popularization of the phrase "courtly love "for the relationship between Lancelot and Guinevere sits within this context. The relationships celebrated within the Romantic world may or may not meet a strict definition of courtly love, in that they are not necessarily set in an aristocratic setting, but on the whole they represent "a type of sensual love…distinguishe[d]… from other forms of sexual love, from mere passion…Its purpose or motive, its formal object…[can be seen to be] the lover's progress and growth in natural goodness, merit, and worth." [743]

Again, the Romantic period presents a recontextualization of *muwashshah* themes and tropes, possessing ties not just to a *troubadour* reinterpretation of the *muwashshah*, but to a then-current presentation of the 'Orient' (so used to include anything east of the Urals and Caucasus, as well as occasionally North Africa; see the name of SOAS, the School of Oriental and African Studies) as an exotic land, more emotional and more vivid than the established nations of Europe.[744] By the

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[742]   Again, some question of definition applies here; England here is meant to include the modern nation of England, independent from the questions of monarchy that arose throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth centuries, whereas Britain is meant to include specifically England and Wales (as well as Scotland and Irish holdings) together. Wagner's *Parsifal* represents a non-British, though still Romantic, interpretation of these themes.

[743]   Denomy, "Courtly Love and Courtliness," p. 44.

[744]   It can be argued that despite his personal respect for and understanding of the cultures of Asia and Africa, Richard Francis Burton's 1885 publication of his translation-cum-recension of *The Thousand and One Nights* only added to this conceptualization; although it was written well after the height of the Romantic period, it continued to promulgate the perception of the West as distinct from, and in some ways incompatible with, established non-European cultures, despite his own partial identification with non-European cultures.

end of the Romantic period, a certain amount of transmission had begun to flow back from the Arabic-speaking world into Europe, cementing some of these ties. Although the *muwashshah* themes already existed within Europe as a series of substrata, their existence was highlighted, albeit indirectly, by the importation of new 'Arabian' material into Europe; the values of the *muwashshah* can be seen, though the relationship is unclear, within, for example, *The Thousand and One Nights*. While a collection of various fairy tales, with distinct influences, adopted as part of a Western conceptualization of what Arabic culture entails, much of the interpersonal elements within it reflect the trope of the unattainable lover.

Despite its untenable understanding of the relationship of Europe and the Other, such Romantic recontextualization of love and the relationships between men and women, again especially within Arthurian themes in England, has definite parallels in the original adoption of *muwashshah* themes by early *troubadours*. In the recasting of the idea of love by Romantics, especially poets, however, they did not look to the original *muwashshah* themes, but to the specific expressions thereof already adopted by *troubadours*; instead of looking to original material, they adapted an already adapted version for reinterpretation and re-promulgation.

The themes and tropes of the *muwashshah*, especially love, desire, and potential for adultery (whatever the result), were understood not from original material, which was not 'discovered' in the West until the twentieth century, but from adaptations of that material. In essence, the specific chain of transmission, while never particularly reliable, went as follows: Arabic-speaking (or Hebrew-speaking) Iberia → William IX and Aquitaine → *troubadours* throughout the late medieval period → those Romantics who focused to some degree on the ancient,

lionized past. Not all of these steps took nearly the same amount of time, nor were they transmitted entirely in the same fashion from group to group; it took far less time for the themes of love and desire to disseminate from William IX to his French peers than for those themes to disseminate from *troubadour* culture to the much later period of the Romantics, though there were, as previously discussed, post-*troubadour* authors such as Dante and Cervantes (1547 to 1616 CE) obviously influenced by these themes in the interim.

7.3.2.1.1. The Question of Adoption

The question then becomes the following (and a limited number of variations): how did the transformation of the themes and tropes of the *muwashshah* into one more easily disseminated in *troubadour* form affect its later, parallel dissemination within a Romantic-influenced society. Two key caveats are important to keep in mind during such analysis. First, despite a potentially misleading modern understanding that Romantics represented an inherently conservative tradition, the Romantic movement represented an aggressive attack upon contemporary European culture, emphasizing the role of emotion within art, and appealing directly to the senses, rather than a rarified interpretation filtered through a logical understanding: as Wordsworth pointed out in the 1800 preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, there was then "a present outcry against the triviality and meanness both of thought and language [as expressed by the Romantics]…"[745] Such a position stood in direct opposition to the common-sense perception held within contemporary European society. For example, what was arguably the first Romantic output, Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, was nothing like its

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[745] Wordsworth, William and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Lyrical Ballads*, Owen, W. J. B., ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1969, p. 157; this preface is attributed solely to Wordsworth.

contemporaries within the rest of Germany, let alone the rest of Europe, condemned for its effect upon the male soul, to say nothing of the supposed rash of suicides that followed its publication.[746]

Second, it was not only a literary movement. Whereas the *muwashshah* and *zajal* represented the outlier within the Hispano-Arabic tradition, what has been termed Romantic (after the French *romances*), the Romantic movement represented the artistic outlier not only within literature, but within the graphic arts, philosophy, and historiography as well. While one cannot imagine the *muwashshah* or *zajal* affecting the separate religious tradition of Islam, the religio-philosophical literature current with the Romantic period established not only several strands of European neo-Paganism, but also influenced the syncretization of Christianity with other extant world religions, resulting in several new religious movements of the late nineteenth-century. Simultaneously, the expression of these new, sometimes Romantic, artistic expressions found new expression within music; Wagner (1813 to 1883 CE) composed operas both on Germanic Paganism, the massive four-opera cycle comprising *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, and the Arthurian corpus, including *Tristan und Isolde* and *Parsifal*.

This series of recombinations, transformations and reinterpretations appears to lead to a sort of circular paradox; without the *muwashshah* themes as reinterpreted by the *troubadours*, the Romantic movement would have had a dearth of material to mine for influences, but without the Romantic movement, the *muwashshah* themes would not necessarily have maintained their lasting influence

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[746]   Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, Constantine, David, trans., (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2012; Wellbery, David E., "1774, January-March: Pathologies of Literature," in Wellbery, David E., ed., A New History of German Literature (Cambridge: Harvard), 2004, p. 387.

nor their grip upon the modern Western imagination. However, this paradox is resolvable. As the Romantics looked not to an original, but to an already existing transformation, they could demonstrate themselves to be looking back to a Western context; in essence, by the end of the *troubadour* period, the paradigms that had kept the *muwashshah* material as foreign had partially broken down, at least to the extent that the *muwashshah* themes could now be seen as paradigms within a European context, as seen within both chapter five and the preceding part of this chapter.

Ultimately, much of the recombining, transformation, and reinterpretation that allowed for the survival of the *muwashshah* themes was aided by the Romantic adoption of those *troubadour* themes originally derived from Hispano-Arabic material. At the same time, it was not the presence of fresh *muwashshah* material nor immediate ties between the incoming Arabic-language material and Europe that led to the re-popularization of those themes. Instead, it was the recurring influence of the *troubadour* interpretations that led to first the maintenance of *muwashshah*-derived themes and then to their recasting within a fresh interpretation of their descendants.

7.4. Conclusion: Transformation and Reinterpretation

Distinguishing between the different strands of descent, traced through the differing sets of paradigms present in Hispano-Arabic culture, in late medieval culture (both *troubadour* and the first post-*troubadours*), and in the Romantic environment grows quite complex quite quickly, as some of the similarities can be seen as examples of convergent evolution. At the same time, direct comparisons may be made based on the logical descent of certain elements. Some allowance, then, can be made for the cultural universality of some of these themes; the

continued interest in the relationship of Lancelot and Guinevere, for instance, reflects not only the time at which a specific interpretation was written, but also a deep connection with the themes of the unattainable lover. In terms of these themes, it may be well and good to enter into a monogamous, lifelong commitment with someone you love, and that may have been an ideal to be celebrated, but the intense drama of two lovers being kept apart holds the interest.[747]

In their original transformations within the *troubadour* tradition, the themes of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* were filtered through a particular sense of what might termed "propriety;" that is, a specifically Christian interpretation of what might understood as morally suspect themes was applied to make such themes both palatable and appropriate for a Christian audience. While probably not done consciously, nor done by only one person, despite the likely importance of William IX, the explicit themes inherent in Ibn Quzmān's description of penetration or even those found in a description of an intensely physical longing, were transformed into a set of themes acceptable for a Christian European audience.[748] As discussed within chapter five, the physicality inherent in the *muwashshah* still exists within early *troubadour* material, but it has been transformed into something more abstract and less immediate, while at the same time couched in more concrete language; while a broken heart still exists within William IX's poetry, it is only a broken heart. It is not a broken heart, destroyed by longing for the unattainable

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[747] With uncertain resolution: See Dante, Durling, trans., *Inferno*, pp. 92-93.
[748] Even non-*muwashshah* and non-*zajal* Hispano-Arabic literature contained specific, idealized descriptions of a lover: "Yet one of the most wondrous things is a young veiled gazelle who points with fingertips dyed red like the jujube and winks with [its] eyelids,/While its pasture is [the region] lying between [my] breastbone and my abdomen." Ibn al-Arabi, cited in Monroe, James, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1974, no. 36, pp. 320-321.

beauty, whose requited love the poet strives for in vain.[749] The milieu in which the *troubadours* and their descendants, both immediate and distant, existed interpreted the role of the physical (as well as the sensual) in distinct ways.

Nevertheless, the *troubadour* culture was not fully bound by the pre-existing suppositions of their culture, nor were their descendants required to maintain a strict adherence to either pre-*troubadour* or *troubadour* principles. As discussed previously, in no small part thanks to the *muwashshah*, the *troubadour* culture changed perceptions of what was an appropriate topic for both artistic literature and for entertainment; nevertheless, it did not change accepted views on sexual propriety, but rather situated the ideals of the muwashshah within a distinct culture, one with a pre-existing, distinct understanding of sexual politics, both within society and between individuals. The paradigms that predated the inclusion of the muwashshah themes into Western culture did not cease to exist; instead, they shifted in such a way that the culture was able to reinterpret those themes, especially those possibly at odds with Christian, European sensibilities, in a manner in keeping with preexisting conceptualizations. The history of the *muwashshah* themes within European history then, is not a history of breaks and ruptures,[750] but rather a set of shifts and subtle transitions.

Their much later (partial) descendants, the Romantics, especially as they were situated in societies with conservative sexual politics, echoed these sentiments; their looking back was able to easily adopt aspects of the conservatism

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[749] Unlike within the following *kharja*: "I had said, after night had spread over me like a canopy: '[It is] a long night, with none to help me. O heart of a certain person, will you not soften?'" Ibn Baqī, cited in Monroe, James, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1974, no. 25, pp. 258-259.

[750] Such as Foucault might understand it: see Foucault, Michel, *The Order of Things,* (Routledge: Oxford), 2001.

present within the medieval period, while at the same time working in the tensions

present within the medieval material. Having been influenced not just directly by

troubadour predecessors, but by centuries of post-*troubadour* expansion upon

troubadour (and by extension, *muwashshah*-derived) material, their particular set

of paradigms evidenced both continuity and shifts from those of the *troubadours*.

Despite the attempt to revolutionize European art, written and graphic, the

Romantics could not, for the most part, escape from the surroundings of their

native culture; for all that they presented themselves as "mad, bad, and dangerous

to know,"[751] their work was ultimately derivative, though not in a negative way.

In much the same way that the *muwashshah* represented the syncretization

of Greco-Roman poetics with Arabian poetry, looking back at historical precedents

and looking forward to an original recombination, Romantic poetry used *troubadour*

poetry as their particular precedent, whether explicitly acknowledged or not; the

result was to influence post-Romantic poets, such as Tennyson, both in terms of

material (Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* being a specific late or even post-Romantic

Arthurian example, as analyzed within footnote 699)[752] and of a specific theme, as

evidenced by the remaining fascination with the idea that one can be in love with

one's adulterous partner.

Examining post-*troubadour* material, we can again look to the development

of Arthur, both prose and poetry, as representative of the spread of the

muwashshah values. As the Arthurian saga also involves themes in tension with

the *muwashshah*'s celebration of hedonism and decadence, it also provides its

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[751]   As Lady Caroline Lamb once described Byron. An excellent overview of Byron's love life can be found within Abbott, *Mistresses*.
[752]   Tennyson, Alfred, Lord, *Idylls of the King and a Selection of Poems,* (New York: New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1961), pp. 15-255.

own foil in the further development of the non-courtly love angles, and even in its partial rejection of courtly love as an ideal, even as the literary form itself maintains the strength of the relationships, especially between Lancelot and Guinevere, that echoes the sentiments of the following *kharja:*

> "My beloved left at dawn and I did not
>   say farewell to him.
> Oh lonely heart of mine at night when I
>   remember him!"[753]

Despite the change within the Arthurian material to focus on the quasi-mystical nature of the Grail and the Grail Quest, the driving force between the interpersonal conflicts that lead to the downfall of Arthur remains the relationship between Lancelot and Guinevere, as well as the complementary pairs of relationships between Arthur and Lancelot and Arthur and Guinevere.[754]

While the precise degree to which knowledge was lost, disregarded, or forgotten within Western Europe is subject to considerable debate and constant revision,[755] much of the classical tradition was preserved to either side of Western Europe, either within the Hispano-Arabic tradition, as examined via the role of Ibn Sina and Ibn Rushd within chapter three, or within the Byzantine Empire.[756] Western Europe, then, was ripe for 'outside influence;' for all that the underlying paradigms of late medieval culture originated from a spectrum including the Greco-

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[753]   Possibly Ibn Baqī or al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī, cited in Compton, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, no. 22, p. 33.
[754]   The intensity of these relationships continues to drive modern interpretations of Arthuriana, with a focus on the inevitable tragedy of thwarted, impossible love, in a way the *muwashshah* authors would have been intimately familiar with.
[755]   What was once known as the Dark Ages, until the explosive Renaissance, has been revised considerably so that we now can see a continuum of understanding, with punctuated moments of 'rediscovery.'
[756]   Despite the modern application of the term Byzantine, the rulers of Constantinople and surrounds still declared themselves to the *Roman* Empire, heirs to the classical tradition, and as Greek speakers, descendants of the original innovators.

Roman paradigms discussed throughout the preceding chapters, the lack of immediate ties to that historical past allowed for the remolding of those paradigms.

All of the literary trends analyzed herein, the *troubadours,* post-*troubadours*, and Romantics, demonstrate an affinity for the themes derived from the *muwashshah*. The influence of the *muwashshah* upon the *troubadours* laid the foundation for the themes and motifs of those Hispano-Arabic genres to become constituent elements of Christian, European literature. The recasting of the *troubadours'* modifications of those themes within a post-*troubadour* environment allowed for the survival of those elements, both within literature and as part of a popular appeal. Again, Arthur provides a clear example; the original stories that underlay the reinterpretations of Chrétien de Troyes and others survived and were presented in a modified fashion throughout the post-*troubadour* period. The Romantic appeal to the past and partial subconscious acceptance of the *troubadour* values and paradigms allowed for a fusion of both the original recasting by the *troubadours* and the post-*troubadour* material, which, rather than eradicating the *muwashshah* themes, spoke to their persistence and prevalence within European literature.

The survival of the *muwashshah* within European literature then, is a study in influence. While the poems themselves were not incorporated into a Western, European, Christian context beyond any possible direct influence on William IX and very early *troubadours*, and certainly not in their original form, their themes and motifs are traceable through the development of post-*muwashshah* European literature. More than just a set of themes to pick and choose from, but less than a conscious direct influence on a given poet, the *muwashshah* contributed most by

being an indirect influence, the adoption of their values by *troubadour* culture

perhaps their largest effect upon Western Europe. The themes and motifs of the

muwashshah recur and recur throughout the history of Western Europe, but each

time, as a fresh reinterpretation, often of a pre-existing reinterpretation. Therefore,

then, the European legacies of the *muwashshah* reflect the disparate way in which

the *muwashshah* was incorporated into a foreign culture, first as a direct, albeit

unusual influence, but after that, only in the form of normalized, refashioned

variants on the original theme.

  As initially stated, the goal of this chapter was to trace the connections

between the *muwashshah* and its derived paradigm shifts within a European,

Christian context. I have sought to demonstrate the lasting effects of the

muwashshah and its themes upon Western literature, as well as the underlying

transformations that such connections caused within Western European

psychology. Again, I have answered the original question of how did the

muwashshah continue to exert influence within a Western context after first its

decline and then absence from Iberia.

8. Subsequent Arabic Trends

8.1 Overview

While the legacies of the *muwashshah* within the European world

demonstrate a series of indirect connections derived mostly from the influences

they had on subsequent European genres, rather than direct influence, their

survival within the Arabic speaking world reflects a different set of paradigms.

Unlike their broad influence upon Christian, European literature, both during the

troubadour period and thereafter, however, their actual survival within Arabic

literature, was predominantly restricted to a particular niche, rather than a broad

diffusion. As a result, whereas the impact the *muwashshah* had on the Western

world was significant, if only because they reshaped the defining paradigms of

Western literature by absorption and adaptation (as explored throughout the

previous chapter), the ways in which they survived within the Arabic world were

somewhat smaller in scope. Rather than surviving as foundational pieces of Arabic

literature, they survived mostly as curiosities and anomalies, in the same way that

they had initially been described within contemporary Arabic texts.[757] Despite the

survival of actual, complete *muwashshahs* within an Arabic context, their impact

was, if not negligible, limited to the point that authors of original *muwashshahs* are

no longer known for certain, even for some of the most prominent examples.

In keeping with the structure of the previous chapter, this chapter will

address the complementary survival of the *muwashshah*; it will treat the place of

the *muwashshah* within Arabic literature in the post-Almohad period. Such context

necessarily includes their continuation within Nasrid Iberia, but also the smaller

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[757]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 254.

niches of recent North African survival and their representation within modern Syria. Such survival reflects the parallel representation of the *muwashshah* within post-*troubadour* Europe, and while there are not exact one-to-one correlations between the two regions, the language of paradigm shifts and linked survival remains common to both regions. As a result, this chapter will continue the cultural-historical analysis, presented roughly chronologically, begun in chapters three and four, with reflection upon the *muwashshah's* survival and upon what that survival represents. Along with chapter seven, this chapter seeks to answer the second key question underlying this thesis, that of what impact did the *muwashshah* have upon post-Almohad literature, especially outside of an Iberian context.

Despite the fact that the *muwashshah* and *zajal* survived in their native Arabic, they did not survive as prominent examples of literature. Again, we look to Corriente's description of the decline of the *muwashshah*:

> 5) … The *zajal* is soon barred from literary consideration…and even the *muwaššaḥ* loses ground and ends up by being an occasional exercise for some poets. [758]

In essence, the *zajal* especially became a relic of an earlier time, no longer seriously considered as literature but also the *muwashshah* was no longer a living, active style by the time that the *Reconquista* overran Grenada. Certainly, the vulgar style of the *zajal* contributed, given the Almoravid emphasis on purity, to the distinction between literature and these forms, but the *muwashshah*'s differences do not fully explain the decline of the *muwashshah* in an Iberian context; despite the historical reality that we can trace the abandonment of fresh *muwashshahs*, the reasons why are still murky.

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[758]   Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," p. 66.

Instead, as Corriente mentions, the *muwashshah* became almost entirely an artificial literary exercise still engaged in by some poets, but only occasionally.[759] The *muwashshah* was not totally abandoned, but rather crystallized around extant examples,[760] rather than continuing to develop; rather than a further creation or adaptation of native Iberian, blended forms, the *muwashshah either* remained approximately as it was or was recombined with its predecessor genres. Despite the potential for continued innovation, as the geographic realities had not changed, within Iberian poetry, the cultural and political situation had changed; with the continued replacement of Muslim, Iberian governments by fresh North African dynasties and the increasing pressure from Christian, Northern kingdoms, the potential for innovation such as that possible under the *taifa* kingdoms was decreasing in possibility. The realities of the increasingly homogenous culture led to a stifling of innovation, preventing a development of the *muwashshah* into a new form (such as what led to the creation of the *zajal*) as well as from the *muwashshah* from developing further within its then-current context. Instead, the *muwashshah* greatly reduced in prominence, while at the same time no longer developing within its existing form; the variety of *muwashshah* closer to the origin is broader than those towards the end of its prominence within Iberian society, despite the ways in which the *muwashshah* was reinterpreted by later authors and critics.[761]

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[759]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 55, 65.
[760]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 67.
[761]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 66-68.

8.1.1. Within Iberia: Nasrid *Muwashshahs*

The reasons for the lack of prominence of the *muwashshah* beginning at first in the Almoravid period and then beyond have already been addressed within chapter six, as well as above, but it bears repeating that Iberia was a frontier of the Arabic world, far from the Arabian heartland both in distance and culturally; as an outlier within the Arabic literary traditions, the *muwashshah* had little opportunity to seize the imagination of other Arabic writers outside Iberia. A certain amount of irony exists here; as a native form with broad potential for adaptation, at least initially, it stands to reason that the possibility of a complete diffusion of the *muwashshah* in both form and theme throughout Iberia (and into North Africa, after the end of the *Reconquista*) existed, similar to the absorption of the *muwashshah* themes into Christian European society. Despite the survival of the actual *muwashshah* within Arabic (including both Arabia and North Africa), a diffusion did not happen.

Instead, the standard forms, identified in chapters four and six, of Arabic literature and poetry still held sway in Arabia and North Africa; there was just enough curiosity about these strange Hispano-Arabic forms for definitions to be provided and examples recorded.[762] While these definitions and treatises on the *muwashshah* do mostly date from the Almoravid period, they usually date from the end of that period, when the process of crystallization had already begun, as recorded in Corriente's example above; while this thesis focuses on the time between the origin of the *muwashshah* and 645 AH/1248 CE, the rise of the Nasrids, the Almoravid period already showed many of the features of the decline

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[762]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 84-85, 254-256.

and abandonment of the *muwashshah*, though those features were not fully expressed until after that period.[763]

The *muwashshah*, at this point, was no longer a new, innovative art form, but rather an established (if unusual) form of (especially) Iberian Arabic literature. However, the *muwashshah*, even where recorded and praised within either Iberia or Arabia, stagnated thoroughly as a fresh art form, with an emphasis on retooling those examples that already existed. Perhaps most clearly exemplifying this trend of crystallization and stagnation, *kharjas* were increasingly reused from older *muwashshahs* or adapted from already existing poems in other styles or genres. While this reuse had happened from the first days of the *muwashshah*, it became one of the most prominent features of later Iberian examples of the *muwashshah*; unlike the earlier *muwashshah*, where reuse indicated a certain sort of cleverness in terms of adapting extant source material, it became seen as a lazy way to get out of writing some of one's own material, especially in terms of the *kharja*.[764] No longer was reusing a *kharja* or adapting extant source material reflective of "placing [*muwashshah* poets] at a unique juncture, joining their compositions both to an Iberian setting and the Arabian past,"[765] but rather it exemplified a transition towards treating the *muwashshah* as an art form that had seen its best days. Instead of the adaptation of a *kharja* to new use signifying a respect for the strophe or indicating that the poet had a particlularly clever use for it, it instead demonstrated the tortuous reapplication of a *kharja* to a context it may or may not have worked in; almost without exception, these later reused *kharjas* are viewed as

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[763]   Compare Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 56 with *Ibid.* pp. 62-65.
[764]   Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," pp. 66-67.
[765]   Sage, "Poetry in the Peninsula," p. 13.

stilted, especially when reapplied by Eastern writers, especially Arabian ones, to a context alien to their origins.[766]

Both as a result of and demonstrated within their reuse, they became crystallized examples of a certain, specific form of Iberian poetry. Despite some experimentation with the subjects of the *muwashshahs*, especially at the end of their heyday, the *muwashshah* lost its claim to both originality, with this recurring reuse as a then-integral part of the genre, and the specific context of a time-limited Iberian milieu. Ultimately and eventually, with examples recorded in North Africa within recent (1390s AH/1970s CE) times reflecting clearly older, medieval examples of recorded *muwashshahs*, the *muwashshah* became alienated from its original context.[767] While not identical in content after seven hundred years or more, they bore a clear resemblance in form, genre, and theme to their Iberian originals.[768] Their obviously strophic patterns, with the use of a final *kharja* at the end enough to label them as *muwashshahs*, these North African poems best represent the survival of the *muwashshah* as a living part of the Arabic tradition.[769] Although arguably the *muwashshah* never made a full transition into a Christian, European context, the unique nature of the *muwashshah* , especially as compared to European peers, caused it to have a broader, more easily apparent, impact upon the West; its impact upon Arabic speakers, while not non-existent, is much more difficult to trace between the end of the *muwashshah*'s dominance (always contested) within Iberia and rise of modern literary anthropology.

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[766]   Abu-Haidar, "The Muwaššahat in the Literary Life that Produced Them," p. 119.
[767]   See Schippers, "Some Remarks on the Present-Day Tradition a," pp. 149-150 for a brief summary of the sources of modern North African *muwashshah*.
[768]   Schippers, "Some Remarks on the Present-Day Tradition," pp. 150-152.
[769]   Schippers, "Some Remarks on the Present-Day Tradition," p. 151.

However, just as the *muwashshah* clearly influenced Western, Christian culture, however indirectly, it is also worth examining the Arabic contemporaries of the post-*troubadours*. Tracing the *muwashshah's* survival with Arabic, while less a study of indirect influence and a diffused culture and more of understanding how their recorders and chroniclers understood them, as evidenced throughout the previous chapters, is not a study in alienation from the dominant Arabic culture. Especially within Iberia, there existed a divide between continuing to embrace older, non-native forms and their clear descendants, and continuing to innovate using forms originally native to Iberia, or developed specifically within an Iberian context. As demonstrated within chapters three and four, the *muwashshah* is the prime example, reflective of not just Arabian or Arabic antecedents, but of the hybrid, blended culture that was al-Andalus and its successors. The key question of understanding the *muwashshah* in a post-*muwashshah* context, then, is where did the decline of the *muwashshah*, after its permeation of Iberian society, leave the state of Arabic letters; that is, how did Hispano-Arabic literature develop after the *muwashshah* (theoretically) influenced it, but before the home of the *muwashshah* transferred to North Africa? How did the rise, decline, and eventual abandonment (for the most part) of the *muwashshah* as an active literary genre affect Iberian literature, if indeed it did at all.[770] Examined as a whole, *muwashshah* studies have generally limited their examination to the period covered in chapters five and six; that is, previous scholars have generally limited themselves to the *taifa*, Almoravid, and Almohad periods, with a lack of analysis of what the continued development of the *muwashshah* meant for Nasrid arts.

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[770]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 68-71.

The short answer is that the lasting influence of the *muwashshah* was

limited, whether within Arabic as a whole, or within a specifically Hispano-Arabic

context; as Corriente identifies above, the *muwashshah* became a literary exercise,

rather than a living tradition, even within the courtly Iberian population that had

been both their writers and their patrons[771] While not totally extinct at any point

during the late Almoravid period or after, as evidenced by the continued survival of

specific *muwashshahs* within North Africa,[772] the *muwashshah* as much more than

a series of established, almost rote poems did not exist.[773] Ultimately, despite the

fact that the *muwashshah*, even without being part of a native tradition, had a

lasting, if subtle, impact upon Christian Europe, but it failed to have the same

influence upon even native Hispano-Arabic poetry. Even under such terms,

however, the history of the *muwashshah* within an Arabic context, does not end

with the fall of the Almoravids, but continues piecemeal up to the present day, just

as the underlying stratum of Romantic influence keeps the *muwashshah* themes

alive within a Western, European context.

There is a certain irony in the development of Nasrid poetry, however. As

Monroe points out "the Nasrid dynasty had begun as a feudal protectorate

observing allegiance to Fernando III [of Castille] and their early sovereigns were

lukewarm Muslims at best[.] They and their people freely emulated Christian

fashions[;] they decorated their homes with images, adopted Christian styles of

dress, and fought in the Christian manner with Christian arms."[774] Given the way in

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[771]   Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," p. 66.
[772]   Schippers, "Some Remarks on the Present-Day Tradition," especially p. 149.
[773]   Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," p. 66; Schippers, "Some Remarks on the Present-Day Tradition," p. 150.
[774]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 62.

which the Christianization of *muwashshah* themes had occurred by this point, it seems possible, if not probable, that the *muwashshah* could have survived within such a lax environment. Instead, perhaps as a conservative, deliberate archaism, immediately after this period of Christian imitation, "a Granadan culture based on Arab and Islamic ideals slowly [took] shape."[775] As a result, the *muwashshah*, as a Hispano-Arabic interloper into an Arab ideal, no longer had a place in Nasrid society. Indeed, Monroe makes the bold claim that "Nasrid art creates no new forms; it invents nothing, yet it has a regard for formal perfection."[776] While he is referencing the architectural culture that eventually culminated in the Alhambra, his comments are just as easily applied to the decline of the *muwashshah*; as a native, innovative form, it disappears from proper literary consideration.[777] Other forms, such as the *qasida* dominate; indeed, one of the last *muwashshahs*, written c. 771/1370 can be seen to be "almost completely reabsorbed into the *qasida*, and that the only difference between the two forms was the variety of rhymes in the former."[778] It is not that the *muwashshah* is totally abandoned, but rather, its influence is greatly reduced, with an ultimate failure to diffuse into Arabic society as a whole.

As examined within chapters four and six, the failure of the *muwashshah* to keep hold of the Hispano-Arabic imagination, while certainly due in part to the factors identified in the preceding paragraphs, also had to do with the continuing pre-eminence of Arabian literary culture; the idea that "the people of these lands

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[775]   Monroe, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, p. 63.
[776]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 63.
[777]   Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," p. 66.
[778]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 64.

[Spain] refuse but to follow in the footsteps of the Easterners"[779] held true even after the rise of the *muwashshah* as a native form of Hispano-Arabic poetry, and stayed true as the *muwashshah* and *zajal* declined from prominence. Under the Nasrids, preeminence is given to a "cultivate[d] archaism...achiev[ing] a new stage of complication in the use of metaphor and the formal structure of the poem."[780] As a result, the poetry of the Nasrids, even when the *muwashshah* was preserved, looks back to before the *muwashshah* for examples, stifling further innovation of the form. Certainly, the last poems written in Muslim Spain do not preserve the *muwashshah*, and the last one of the last *muwashshahs* recorded in Spain is seventy strophes long (including *kharja*), rather than the typical five to seven, and ultimately reflecting its fusion back into the older genre of the *qasida*.

Given the prominence of Eastern, Arabian literary culture (possessing a lyric tradition of its own, with any potential Romance or Christian *troubadour* counterpart generally absent within Western literary culture) within not just Arabia, but throughout the Arabic-speaking world, the *muwashshah* and *zajal* had no room to integrate more fully into Iberian (or Arabic) culture. Unlike within Western literary culture, where the erotic traditions was previously, depending on location,[781] the chief innovations of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* were technical, rather than thematic. Even there, the ultimate innovations of the *muwashshah* were not seen as distinct enough from other Arabic forms to merit adhering to the rules of the

779   Ibn Bassām, cited in Abu-Haidar, trans., "The *Muwaššahat* in the Literary Life that Produced them," p. 116.
780   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 64.
781   Dell, Helen, *Desire by Gender and Genre in Trouvère Song*, (Cambridge: D.S. Dewey), 2008, pp. 81-82.

muwashshah; their integration into other forms demonstrated two key facts about the attitudes of Nasrid poets towards the *muwashshah*.

First, they were insignificant enough that they were absorbed into other genres, rather than, for example, aspects of the *qasida* being absorbed into the *muwashshah*.[782] Second, the deliberate look to archaic models demonstrated a rejection of the innovation that led to the *muwashshah*, despite the potential, at least early within the Nasrid period, that the complementary rejection of Arab/Islamic norms might lead to a paradigm shift where the *muwashshah*, as deviating from typical Arabic examples, regained prominence.

As a result, the poems that succeeded the *muwashshah* within Iberia followed not their native Hispano-Arabic counterparts, but rather continued to adapt chiefly Arabian examples to suit an Iberian context; as explored above, the meters and styles later Iberian poets employed typically reflected not the strophic example of the *muwashshah* , for example, but rather rework the assonance and end rhyme schema of Arabian exemplars to demonstrate a renewed desire to recapture a more perfect past.[783] In some ways, despite the hundreds of years separating them, these attempts to reuse the *muwashshah* in a specific stylized context resembles the use of the Romantics using *troubadour* themes and motifs; both the late Nasrids and Romantics were looking to a specific idealized set of forms to provide the basis for their deliberate archaism.[784] Again, given the political realities of the Nasrid situation, especially the gradual losing of territory to Christians intent on finishing what they by then thought of as a Crusade, it is not surprising that the

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[782]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 62-64.
[783]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 61-63.
[784]   See Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 61-71 for an analysis of the Nasrids;

Nasrids, under a sort of long-term siege, might look to the glory of their ancestors both politically and culturally as a way to recapture some of their past successes. Conversely, the then-current examples of the *muwashshah* (and the occasional *zajal*) were derivative, reliant on these older models for any sense of success. In essence, "the authors of *muwashshahs*…join[ed] their compositions both to an Iberian setting and an Arab[ic] past,"[785] both hybridizing and eliminating paradigm shifts at a pan-artistic level.

Similarly, by the time the *Reconquista* ended, the *muwashshahs* had become in essence calcified, antiquated examples, preserved in isolation from their original context and relying instead on their connections to what was by then almost a legendary past. Instead of continuing to be active models, only certain versions survived. Despite the fact that there were still original *muwashshahs* being composed until the end of the Nasrid period, they were no longer recognizable as true *muwashshahs* compared to those written in the heyday of the *muwashshah*. As will be discussed later within this chapter, the Nasrid *muwashshahs* represent a stylized, derivate attempt to use the *muwashshah*, often in a hybrid form no longer strictly meeting Ibn Bassām's claim that "the metres of these *muwashshahat* go beyond the scope of our book [on standard Arabic poetry], for most of them do not follow the rules of Arabic metrics."[786] The latest Iberian *muwashshahs* are in fact reabsorbed into traditional Arabic poetry, especially the *qasida* form which provided much of their original Arabic influence, evidence not of a paradigm shift, but of the

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[785]   Sage, "Poetry in the Peninsula," p. 13. While I originally wrote this excerpt without an eye to the nuanced view of the full distinction between Arab, Arabic, and Arabian, the original sense of the quotation implies that Arabian should actually mean Arabic, going beyond the borders of any one region to reflect a pan-Arabic success.
[786]   Ibn Bassām, cited in Monroe, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 28.

Nasrid obsession with formal, archaic traditions deliberately causing their poets to ignore the paradigm shifts that led to the separation of the *muwashshah* from their original influences. However, as a result of this reabsorption and the limited recording of the *muwashshah* by post-Almoravid critics, the *muwashshah* survived within Arabic literature as a niche genre.

A curious side effect of such survival is that where the *muwashshah* has been preserved, it has been not as a series of poems, but as a set of song lyrics; the *muwashshah* are now sung, while using poems similar or identical to known *muwashshahs* from an Iberian or immediately post-Iberian context. Crucially, this form of preservation has given further voice to one of the great questions within *muwashshah* studies; there had already been speculation on the issue before the discovery of the *muwashshah* as a continued tradition within the 1390s/1970s. At the most general level, the question that underlies much of *muwashshah* studies beyond literary history or literary criticism is this: were the *muwashshah* originally only written down as poems, or were they originally sung as part of popular, albeit highbrow literary, entertainment for courtiers?[787] The available evidence certainly suggests that performance as part of a musical setting was possible, even probable in context, though no clear proof exists to suggest one form of recital rather than another in a definitive fashion; without additional primary source documents, unlikely (though not impossibly so) to be discovered, this question will remain unanswered.

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[787]   This question recurs throughout several works, most prominently within Menocal & Zwartjes, though also within Schippers' essay and Nykl.

8.1.2. Outlasting Iberia

As will be examined further in this chapter, in the section on Hispano-Arabic poetry after the heyday of the *muwashshah*, the *muwashshah* did not die out in Iberia at any point under Muslim rule; it was not as if the end of the Almoravids also brought about the end of the *muwashshah*. Instead, it was as if the end of the Almoravids brought about the end of the *muwashshah* as *an active genre as originally conceived*. Although the *muwashshah* survived within Iberia (for eventual transfer over to North Africa),[788] as noted above, it could no longer be considered an active, vibrant example of innovation within Hispano-Arabic poetry, but instead a relic form, still suitable for occasional use, especially as a deliberate attempt to emulate certain points in the past, but no longer part of a thriving, developing tradition.[789] Perhaps as a result, despite the (re)discovery of the *muwashshah* within the Western academic tradition in the 1340s-1350s AH/1940s CE, the *muwashshah* was considered an extinct genre, an example of a purely medieval tradition that had survived only intermittently within the Arabic world, to ultimately disappear with a whimper. As mentioned within chapter two, this last sentiment was reflective of a general Arabian/Arabic anti-Iberian literary sentiment, for all that the definition of the *muwashshah* was recorded by post-Almoravid critics.[790]

Nevertheless, the *muwashshah* became an object of serious study in a Western context, only for the idea that it was probably extinct to be proven incorrect, with Western academics "discovering" the survival of the *muwashshah* within a North African context during a survey of musicology within, especially but

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[788]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 56, 61-67.
[789]   Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," p. 66; Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 63.
[790]   Abu-Haidar, "The Muwaššahat in the Literary Life that Produced Them," p. 116.

not entirely exclusively, Algeria.[791] As noted in the previous section, the *muwashshah* did not survive, however, in its original context nor in its likely original form. Moreover, it survived as archaic examples, rather than a tradition involving fresh compositions. One of the underlying assumptions of Western academics, at least in the era of Nykl through to the late 1390s/1970s, is that, alienated from the place of its origin and barely recorded within Arabian sources (despite its pervasive links to North Africa, from Morocco to Egypt), the *muwashshah* could only be found in the *diwans* of medieval writers. The definition given by Ibn Bassām, with its claim that ""[the *Muwaššḥāt*] are metrical patterns that the people of al-Andalus used copiously,"[792] lends itself towards a narrow definition of what constitutes a *muwashshah*, in any historical context; that is, that a *muwashshah* is not necessarily identified exclusively with an Iberian context, but is somehow essentially Hispano-Arabic in nature. Given the further definitions provided by Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, the overidentification of the *muwashshah* with a specifically Iberian context, regardless of time period, seems almost reasonable. Especially given the method of their rediscovery and perhaps the (over-)emphasis on Romance elements within both the *muwashshah* and the *zajal*, the assumption appears to have been that the *muwashshah* not only would not flourish outside a pre-Nasrid context, but would be gradually asphyxiated by the end of the Muslim presence in Spain, both before and after the final expulsions.

While perhaps understandable to scholars working with only a partial understanding of the *muwashshah*'s development and history, to say nothing of the background needed to investigate their survival, such assumptions are incomplete,

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[791]   Schippers, "Some Remarks on the Present-Day Tradition," p. 149.k
[792]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, 184.

and rely too much on assum;ing the assumptions of a set of particular group of medieval scholars held true. Although these issues are thoroughly addressed within chapter two, both in the sections critical of modern authors and the sections critical of historical authors, with especial focus on the idea that the (to modern eyes) early research of Nykl and Stern failed to adequately explore the context of the *muwashshah*, it should be noted that, to be fair, they did not have access to the studies undertaken during the 1390s AH/1970s CE.

Nevertheless, the *muwashshah* did survive as an active tradition, if not an active genre, until modern times. Preservation within North Africa, especially helped to ensure that the *muwashshah* had a specific, continuing influence upon Arabic literature, if only in a few, particular contexts. The difference between these two concepts of 'active' deserves stress; as an active tradition, it was maintained as a set of particular poems set to music, independent of new composition, but the idea of it as an active genre, with fresh, innovative compositions, was limited in large part to only the *taifa*, Almoravid, and partially to the Almohad period. Its vitality was limited to its heyday, while almost all post-Almohad *muwashshahs* looked back to those *muwashshahs* (or to already existing imitations, causing a sort of recursive effect) for both inspiration and construction. That distinction made between these two concepts of activity, the survival of the *muwashshah* within an Arabic context does not adhere to the same timeline as that of its survival within a European context. Perhaps due to the limited context of such survivals, the impact of these North African and Arabian survivals has been mostly ignored.

Whereas under a European context, one can trace the *muwashshah*'s history as an active influencer through a series of punctuated moments, beginning

with the *troubadours*, its parallel history within Arabic literature rarely coincides. While the post-*troubadour* history of the *muwashshah* within Europe, that is to say contemporary with Dante and his absorption of *troubadour* and early post-*troubadour* adaptations of the *muwashshah*, is limited to a further diffusion of *muwashshah* themes (and a partial blend of the epic and lyric), its contemporaries within the Arabic speaking world, including *but not limited to* Iberia, were still reflecting the development of new, though not innovative, *muwashshahs.* It was as if active *troubadour* work continued in parallel to a dominant post-*troubadour* culture, while in fact, within Europe, there was a definite paradigm shift evidenced between the two periods.

As seen, the early post-*troubadour* context was contemporary with the median Arabic commentaries upon the *muwashshah*; Ibn Khaldūn, for example, was not born until a decade after Dante's death. Despite this fact, he referred to the *muwashshah* as a living tradition, no matter how much of a minor one.[793] It was important enough at the time to include a definition, though only a few sources for a definition of the *muwashshah* exist, and none after the late stages of the *muwashshah*.[794] The assumption that the lack of definitions meant a lack of active work has hampered a study of the *muwashshah*'s survival beyond some cursory notes (with the clearest study within Monroe's introduction); the *muwashshah*'s survival has been noted not as a set of punctuated moments, but as a surprising twist to the story of a presumably extinct genre, and not truly studied at all. That

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[793] Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 85.
[794] Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 85, pp. 253-259.

said, one can still trace the *muwashshah*'s survival through the Nasrid period, with direct comparisons to the modern day.[795]

As a result of these assumptions, the long-term survival of the *muwashshah* has been neglected within Western academia; its existence contemporary to such events as Cervantes' writing of *Don Quixote* or the rise of the Romantic movement has been unexplored. While unfortunately such comparisons are outside the scope of this thesis, I hope that I am eventually able to explore such direct comparisons within other work. Despite the lack of immediate connections, the survival of the *muwashshah* is clear; its continued appearance within North Africa as, at the very least, a genre that had been preserved within a specific context is clear evidence.

8.1.3. Truly Modern Times

However, the question of survival, whether musical or not, is not limited exclusively to North Africa. Within 1437 AH/2016 CE, the *muwashshah* has made international news as part of the Syrian refugee crisis.[796] As *The Economist* indicates, the diaspora of Syrians leaves the connections to the culture of their homeland damaged, with uncertain hope of recovery.[797] Although the history of the *muwashshah* outside of North Africa has not been as well studied nor recorded within *muwashshah* studies, it is important to remember that they are Arabic, not Arabian, forms. Despite their position as outliers within the Arabic poetic tradition, they certainly belong to it, as part of a unified culture; even though they no longer retained a position of prominence, especially outside their homeland, the

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[795]   As Monroe does intermittently within the final section of his introduction; Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 61-71.
[796]   "Songs of the City," *The Economist.*
[797]   "Songs of the City," *The Economist*.

muwashshah was still considered part of Arabic literary culture, no matter how minor or insignificant.

In some ways, the *muwashshah* has supplanted the *zajal* as the poem of the people; within both North Africa in the 1390s AH/1970s CE and within Syria in the modern day, it has survived not as a way to demonstrate the literary superiority of one courtier over another, but as specific, crystallized poems that the public knows, whether in a musical context or not. Their themes, such as a focus on the beloved, (though with a greater religious component) are still similar, their language still a combination of Quranic Arabic and colloquial (although the colloquial is an archaic form of the local language), but they reflect an immediately accessible form. As a result, the survival of the *muwashshah* may be seen as not a survival of diffused themes throughout a broader culture, but almost the opposite: within Arabic, the poems themselves survive, but only in a limited context, holwever accessible to the layman. They have been diffused, it is true, but their continued adoption is relatively limited, specific to certain communities at certain times. The broad diffusion, absorption, re-diffusion and other manipulation of the *themes* of the *muwashshah* did not happen, perhaps because those themes did not need to be imported into extant Arabic poetry.

In fact, the survival of the *muwashshah* within Arabic and within a broader Arabic context has less to do with its themes, which are, in part at least, shared with other Arabic poetry; the panegyric nature of *muwashshahs* throughout their history are directly comparable not just with poems within the same genre, but Arabic-language panegyrics within other genres.[798] As I will discuss below, the last

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[798]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 28-71, with p. 65 providing perhaps the most interesting analysis of a late Nasrid panegyric.

Iberian *muwashshahs* are not simply standalone *muwashshahs*, but represent reabsorbed hybrids; whereas Western, Christian European culture absorbed the themes, late Iberian culture absorbed part of the *muwashshah* construction, applying it haphazardly to already extant forms. The *muwashshah*, while not ceasing to exist in its own terms, no longer was easily recognizable separate from its other Arabic peers; the paradigm shifts that led to its creation were both partially undone and partially advanced. Though no longer part of an innovative distinct tradition, its recombination reflects a further integration of its paradigm shifts into Arabic literature more generally, at least within Iberia. Understanding such integration to possibly be a further move away from its Greco-Roman origins and a further embrace of the paradigm shifts within Arabic that gave rise to it is accurate, but also fails to reflect that part of the paradigm shift is a *further absorption* of Greco-Roman poetics into Arabic literature, albeit in a particular, *muwashshah*-specific way. As a result, the *muwashshah* recombines as a constructed genre, while its themes do not have the same void to diffuse into that they might have in Christian, European poetry.

In order to trace this survival of the *muwashshah* within an Arabic context, especially as there are significant gaps within its history within Arabic literature, I will first begin with the post-*muwashshah* situation within Hispano-Arabic literature, following on from chapter six, which focused on comparing contemporaries (and predecessors) of the *muwashshah* to their original forms. Although their successors demonstrated little in common with the *muwashshah* , it is important to contextualize the transition between the *muwashshah* and other Iberian forms as part of identifying how the *muwashshah* survived – and did not survive – within an

Arabic context. The survival of the *muwashshah*, as stated above, can be divided into two parts within Arabic literature: the poems themselves survived (as distinct from Western, Christian European contexts, in which the poems only survived as inspiration for the *troubadours*, beginning with William IX), but they did not survive as an active genre. Even when new *muwashshahs* were written, they reflected a series of individual, reused moments, not a fresh, vibrant genre. Their moribund status left them as part of a literary culture, but a minor footnote, as compared to Arabian examples that drew on classical Arabian-Arabic models.

Using the limited evidence available, one may examine the transition and place of the muwashshah between the end of the Nasrid period and the rediscovery of the *muwashshah* as a living tradition in the modern world. This section will examine both North Africa and Syria, given that they both represent survival of the actual genre within a modern context, and neither has had adequate exploration. A failure of *muwashshah* studies is that these survivals have not been adequately studied; even well-known examples of late *muwashshahs* are dismissed as derivative (a reasonable label, if unreasonable reaction), without adequate examination of their place within the spectrum of the *muwashshah* or their role in preserving the *muwashshah* as a genre. This section will attempt to remedy this situation in part, seeking to present these 'derivative' *muwashshahs*, regardless of time period into a context of how they have survived, and, comparable to my examination of how the Romantic use *muwashshah*-influenced *troubadour* material has helped shaped modern Western conceptualizations of love, lust, and desire, how the survival of the *muwashshah*, in any context, has shaped Arabic poetry. While they may not have survived as a vibrant genre, their

survival indicates a close relationship between the various genres of Arabic poetry, regardless of origin, and reflective of a wide series of paradigm shifts throughout Arabic literature, allowing for the absorption of once alien genres within a broad spectrum of Arabic poetry. In some ways, the ultimate indication of the integration of the *muwashshah* into a literary tradition is that Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's distinction between the *muwashshah* and its Arabic peers has broken down:

> Indeed, the kharja, if it is to be a 'sally' from the highly classical and studiedly elaborate, has to be a leap to the other extreme. It has to smack of the waywardness of Al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (*ḥajjājiyya*); it has to throw to the winds the stipulations of iʿrāb, as Ibn Quzmān did (*quzmāniyya*), and it has to be sharp, even caustic, vulgar, and if circumstances allowed, be in thieves' Latin (*lughāt al-dāṣṣa*).[799]

Despite the *kharja* still existing as a key part of the *muwashshah*, and the *muwashshah* still not commanding great respect, the alien aspects of the *muwashshah* are no longer so alien, providing instead the same popular entertainment value once commanded by the *zajal*; the *muwashshah* is now traditional literature.

8.2. Iberian Successors

Not all late Iberian *muwashshahs* treated the *muwashshah* as a moribund art; certainly the transition from Almohad to Nasrid *muwashshashs* included poems that reflect the recorded definitions of the *muwashshah*, especially the concept that "[the *Muwaššḥāt*] are metrical patterns that the people of al-Andalus used copiously in the [erotic genres of] *gazal* and *nasib*, such that carefully guarded bosoms and even hearts, are broken upon hearing them."[800] The transition to a mostly static, crystalized form did not happen immediately, but instead was the

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[799]   Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 113, translation of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, *Dar al-Tiraz*, pp. 30-31.
[800]   Ibn Bassām, cited in Zwartjes, trans., *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 184.

result of a gradual series of changes, none abrupt enough to be considered a paradigm shift until taken in sum. However, the inevitable result of such a series of changes is in fact such a transition; while the changes within early Hispano-Arabic poetry led to the development of the *muwashshah* as an innovative form, the parallel changes within later poetry led to not just a return to older forms, but a fusion of the innovation found in the *muwashshah* back into their original inspiration. Instead of this fusion creating further innovation within the *muwashshah* however, it represents instead a step back into the past, focusing as it did on the original genres that the *muwashshah* combined with Greco-Roman poetics to create the original *muwashshah*.

It is difficult to find the exact moment that the *muwashshah* transitioned from an active genre to something essentially calcified. Certainly, Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk in his effusive appreciation of the *muwashshah* does not give any clue that the *muwashshah* is already less prominent within Hispano-Arabic literature. Further commentary upon the *muwashshah* relies upon his definition, and indicates that the *muwashshah* was still a vibrant poetic genre in Iberia.[801] Certainly, one of the last prominent *muwashshahs* written under the Almohads resembles the previous 150 to 200 years of *muwashshahs*; it contains no deviations in terms of content, length, or the style in which it was written:

1	Does the fawn of al-Hima know that he has kindled the heart of a lover in which he dwelt
2	So that it is throbbing and burning, just as the firebrand teased by the east wind?
	....
4	My heart bears no sin in loving; instead it is from you that beauty comes, while from my eye comes the glance
5	I gather pleasures while wounded by my passions, although I take pleasure in my beloved [only] with my thoughts.
6	Whenever I complain of my love to him, he smiles like the hills at the [cloud] crossing [the horizon] abundant [in its gushing rain],

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[801]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 47-51.

	....
8	I am overcome by a conqueror who conquers through the languor of his gait, one in whose ransom I would give my father, for he is a harsh yet gentle creature
	....
18	Whenever I complain to him of my ardors, his eyes leave me abandoned and seriously ill.
	....
22	I have had no authority in my love ever since he has been lodged in my soul in the place of my breathing.
23	From him there comes a kindling of the fire in my heart, which burns what it wills at all moments.
24	Yet [that fire] in his cheeks is a cooling and peace-giving agent, though it produces harm and a conflagration in the heart.
25	I fear and revere in him, being under the authority of passion, the lion of the thicket, yet I love him since he is a young fawn.
26	I said [to him] when he appeared wearing a mark to distinguish him in combat while he was guarded by his glances:
27	"O you who have taken my heart as booty lawfully won in battle, grant the love union in exchange for the *khums*!"[802]

The metaphors employed, of the fawn, battle, ransom, and fire are all traditional *muwashshah* themes and metaphors; indeed, the ransomed father is one of the most prominent metaphors, serving to "indicate that love of the beloved trumps all other relationships, even the most important family ties, between father and daughter. The lover would rather her father be imprisoned than be without a 'red-lipped slim one who does not pity when it comes to love.'"[803] As a result, one can see that later, yet still original*, muwashshahs* are still in dialogue with their earlier compatriots, while continuing to adapt those standard metaphors into fresh language. Ibn Khaldūn's later comment that "*muwashshat* written by Easterners are often forced"[804] contains no commentary on Western, Iberian *muwashshahs*, hinting at one of two possibilities: that the Iberian *muwashshah* had mostly died out, or that the Iberian *muwashshah* was continuing to thrive.

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[802]   Ibn Sahl of Seville, cited in Monroe, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, no. 33, p. 304-307.
[803]   Sage, "Poetry in the Peninsula," p. 24. Internal quotation: probably either al-Aʿmā at-Tuṭīlīor Ibn Baqī, cited in Compton, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, no. 14, p. 22.
[804]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 254.

While the first possibility is the more accurate one, it should be noted that

the *muwashshah* had not died out; rather, it had been transformed, even as the

basic foundations of the Iberian *muwashshah* were reused, recycled, even

overused as part of the basic poetic assumptions of Iberian poetry.[805] Hispano-

Arabic poetry, in its drive to recapture the past, strayed from Ibn Hazmun's maxim,

crucial to Ibn Khaldūn's post-Almohad assessment: "a *muwaššaha* is not a

muwaššaha, until it is entirely free from forced artificiality."[806] Indeed, one may see

the contrast between the vibrant *muwashshahs* that were written up until the end of

the Almohad period, and those written by the middle and end of the Nasrid period;

one of the last *muwashshahs*, that mentioned above, written c. 771/1370, is clearly

derivative, specifically of this previously examined poem. It reflects the best

example and the worst traits of the late Nasrid *muwashshahs*, emblematic of the

way that the *muwashshah* had reintegrated not just into Arabic poetry, but how its

specific language had been absorbed:

1	May the rain cloud be bountiful to you when the rain cloud pours
	....
15	So, when the water and the pebbles murmured to one another and every sincere friend spoke in confidence with his friend,
	....
27	He aimed the arrow, and killed [his] game on the spot, when he shot at my heart the arrow of a lion crushing its prey
28	Even though he was unjust and hope was deceived, the heart of the lover still melts with desire
29	For he is the first beloved of the soul; there is no offense attaching to any beloved in [true] love
30	His order is executed in all its strength, fully obeyed in chests and hearts which he has first worn out.
	....
36	It is like a burning inside my ribs that has been stirred up [burning like] a fire among dry stubble.
37	It least none but the last remnants of life in my soul, like as the dawn lingers on after the last remnants of the night.
	....

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[805]   Ibn Quzmān, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), no. 26, p. 260-261.
[806]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 254.

41	The noble in issue and in origin, the lion of the sadly and the full moon of the assembly.
	....
49	A young woman whom beauty had clothed as in a *mula*, dazzling the eye with her brightness and sheen,
50	Imitated in words, meaning, and literary adornments the composition of one whom love had caused to speak so that he declared:
51	"Does the fawn of al-Hima know that he has kindled the heart of a lover in which he dwelt?
52	So that it is burning and throbbing, just like the firebrand teased by the east wind?"[807]

Almost twice as long as the poem it is clearly modeled on,[808] this poem, unequivocally by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (713 AH/1313 CE to 776 AH/1374 CE),[809] demonstrates two factors already mentioned throughout this particular study of the *muwashshah*.

8.2.1. Use and Reuse: Disintegration and Reintegration

First, the obvious reuse of previous material; it provides a clear example of the reworking of an earlier *muwashshah* into the final *kharja*; only a single word distinguishes them. Although Ibn al-Khaṭīb clearly references and understands that his *kharja* is a clear reuse of earlier poetry (as was by then common practice within the literary community),[810] his *muwashshah* appears derivative throughout; of the common *muwashshah* tropes, his only originality compared to the earlier poem is in his clear use of religious imagery.[811] His initial image is one he borrowed from his predecessors, and while it is not identical in the same way that the *kharja* is, it clearly relates not just to a pool of shared images, but to the same poem he derived the *kharja* from.

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807 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), no. 39, pp. 338-345.
808 Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 64.
809 Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 64.
810 Zwartjes, *Love Songs of al-Andalus*, p. 59.
811 Compare Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *muwashshah* to its model: Ibn Sahl of Seville, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, no. 33, p. 304-307.

However, this reuse of the *kharja* deserves special attention. At this stage of the *muwashshah*, such borrowing was both commonplace, to the extent that numerous writers lamented that there were no more new *kharjas*;[812] all of the original *kharjas* that met the strict construction requirements had been written. Given the time span of the *muwashshah*, it does make sense that the *kharja* could not forever remain perfectly true to each definition, in this case particularly the following: "smack[ing] of the waywardness of Al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (*ḥajjājiyya*); it has to throw to the winds the stipulations of *iʿrāb*, as Ibn Quzmān did (*quzmāniyya*), and it has to be sharp, even caustic, vulgar."[813] Changing times and the ultimate integration of the once-shocking *muwashshah* into Hispano-Arabic literature, even if such integration meant that the *muwashshah* was now a moribund genre, meant that its original inherent vulgarity no longer shocked as much as it once did. Perhaps as a result, the reuse of *kharjas* was perfectly acceptable, especially by Eastern authors imitating their Iberian counterparts.[814] Although such imitations did happen, the majority of survival after the end of the Almohads was still within a Nasrid context: Ibn Khaldūn's later comment that "Easterners have [no regard] for the eloquence of Spaniards and Maghribis. All of them use different dialects and word combinations. Everyone understands eloquence in his own dialect and has a taste for the beauties of the poetry of his own people"[815] rings true, in that there were still fresh *muwashshahs* being written in Iberia throughout the Nasrid period, no matter how derivative, whereas the genre and its attempted imitations had stalled within the rest of the Arabic-speaking

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812   Zwartjes, *Love Songs of al-Andalus*, pp. 58-61.
813   Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature*, p. 113.
814   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 59-60.
815   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 255.

world. Again, such newer *muwashshahs* allow for an examination of the impact or influence the *muwashshah* had upon a broader culture, in this particular instance reflective of the relative stasis of Nasrid arts.

Later *muwashshahs* also differed in their themes from earlier *muwashsahs*. Especially without the immediate influence of the *zajal*, which had for the most part met the expectations of both late medieval and recent scholars that it had gone extinct, they tended to lack an immediate, physical *erotic* element. While they might still possess a tangible physical connection, it was closer to William IX's vaguer descriptions of a palpitating heart, rather than even the euphemistic language of unsheathing a lance as a roundabout way for displaying a penis.[816] Furthermore, imagery from the rest of Arabic poetry, both Hispano-Arabic and from elsewhere within the Arabic-speaking world had infiltrated further into the *muwashshah*. Distinct from the pool of shared imagery the *muwashshah* had always relied upon, these other images (not necessarily new, but more closely integrated into the fabric of the *muwashshah*) helped shape these later *muwashshahs* to more closely resemble other Hispano-Arabic poems. Although there is some debate over whether the tendency of the Hebrew *muwashshah* to be directed towards religious poetry might have had a back-influence upon Arabic *muwashshahs*,[817] no clear evidence exists; however, it is certainly undeniable that the later Arabic *muwashshahs* had a clearer, more definitive use of religious imagery, as well as it being more common to direct them directly at Allah, reflective of the further

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[816]   Compare Yūsuf III, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), no. 42, pp. 372-373 to Ibn Baqī, cited in Compton, trans., *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry*, no. 10, p. 19.
[817]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs of al-Andalus*, pp. 219-233.

integration of the later *muwashshah* into the context that they derived from.[818] In essence, part of the look-back nature of the late Nasrid poets, with their emphasis on both the past and formality, included reapplying the *muwashshah* to the early themes of both early Islamic poetry and early Arabian poetry, the religious panegyric.[819]

Although by the decline of the *muwashshah*, religious imagery had become more common within the corpus,[820] it still represented an outlier within the broader *muwashshah* tradition; indeed it represented one of the few ways in which the Arabic *muwashshah* survived within a new context. Although common in Hebrew *muwashshahs*, a distinctly religious focus had until then been not a key part of the *muwashshah* signifying how the *muwashshah* had certainly abandoned some of its secular roots.[821] While religious imagery had occurred sporadically throughout the history of the Arabic *muwashshah*, it was only in these last *muwashshahs* that it transformed from an occasional metaphoric device to a focus of the *muwashshah*, even under the limited circumstances of a single strophe as a comparison. Even in *muwashshahs* not devoted to the religious, such as the above late *muwashshah*, which is still in the form of a traditional *muwashshah* love poem (though fused with a panegyric),[822] Allah makes a clear appearance:

21	And fear God by reviving a passion-torn man whose sole has been reduced to nought [sic] on its sighs,
	....
35	God's words regarding it were inscribed in [His] Register: "Truly my punishment is terrible indeed."
	....

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[818]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 62.
[819]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 61-63.
[820]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs of al-Andalus*, pp. 217-218.
[821]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs of al-Andalus*, pp. 217-218. Despite the frequency of religious metaphor and occasional appeals to Allah, these are not religious poems, but rather poems with religious imagery applied.
[822]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 64.

40	And shift your speech to the benevolent lord, who is inspired by the succor in the prototype of the Book
	....
42	To whom victory has been revealed as the Revelation was revealed by the Blessed Spirit
42	The elect of God, the namesake of the Elect, al-Ghanī bi-llāh "the satisfied with God" to the exclusion of everyone else.[823]

Although the distinction between love poem and panegyric is blurred, with the middle section devoted especially to a panegyric praise of the ruler, to the extent that it meets Lowin's definition of a homoerotic *muwashshah*,[824] it relies on the use of religious imagery to make its point; Allah is responsible both for the object of desire's success and for the pain the author's persona is undergoing.

In some ways, the acceptance of religious imagery throughout the *muwashshah* corpus signaled not necessarily the survival of the original *muwashshah*, but that the *muwashshah* had to adapt to survive *into* the Nasrid period, let alone *through* the Nasrid period. Indeed, it is these late Nasrid *muwashshahs*, with a clearer set of religious images, that most resemble the North African examples recorded in the 1390s/1970s. While, as Zwartjes indicated in his study of the overall themes of the *muwashshah*, particularly their *kharjas*, the use of "The Lord was omnipresent and the lover frequently asks his help. Many *kharjas* show appeals or oaths to the Lord or the prophet,"[825] though those of the Almohad and earlier periods are similar to William IX's oaths "by Saint Gregory's head."[826] They are in effect rote phrases, rather than the well-developed religious allusions of late Nasrid *muwashshahs*, reflective of the Arabic tendencies, from the earliest days of Islam, to use poetry as praise of Allah, regardless of the genre or ultimate

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[823] Ibn al-Khaṭīb, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, no. 39, pp. 340-343.

[824] Lowin, *Arabic and Hebrew Love Poems*, pp. 6-9, 49.

[825] Zwartjes, *Love Songs of al-Andalus*, p. 217.

[826] William IX, cited in Press, trans., *Anthology of* Troubadour *Lyric Poetry*, no. 5, p. 21.

intent. The late Nasrid *muwashshahs*, then, are reflective of both the general *muwashshah* tradition *as well as* the general trends of archaism and formalism that applied to Nasrid art as a whole.

In terms of theme and metaphor, the survival of the *muwashshah* is described not by the diffusion of standard themes into a broader cultural unity, as in Western Europe, but rather the specific usage of the form as part of a standard, formalized corpus. Just as recent examples of the *muwashshah* rely almost exclusively on a reinterpretation of historical examples, Nasrid *muwashshahs* relied on both specific, pre-existing *muwashshah* examples, and a derivation of acceptable themes within the *muwashshah*.[827] Again, the Nasrid *muwashshah* described above not only uses a plethora of religious imagery throughout, but quotes directly from its predecessors, indicating how the *muwashshah* had to adapt; as a genre no longer actively developing (bar its reabsorption by its predecessor genres), it reflected not just the innovations that had led to the origins of the *muwashshah*, but also it reflected the fusion of older genres back into the *muwashshah*. In essence, whereas it was once a series of developments in the form Greco-Roman-Iberian/Arab → *taifa*/Almoravid/Almohad Hispano-Arab, it now reflected a worldview more reminiscent of Greco-Roman-Iberian/Arab → early *muwashshah*/classical Arabic poetry → Nasrid *muwashshah*. In other words, whereas the pre-Nasrid *muwashshah* developed mostly independently of its Arabic peers (as evidenced by the comparisons within chapter six), the Nasrid *muwashshah* survived only in dialogue with its predecessors, the peers of earlier *muwashshahs*.

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[827]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 61-65.

The survival of the *muwashshah*, then, depended on two sets of adaptations, independent from the specific use of religious imagery just mentioned. The first was the reintegration of the *muwashshah* into the standard genres of Hispano-Arabic poetry. While these genres reflected the same traditions as Arabic culture elsewhere in the Arabic-speaking world, the particular nature of the Nasrid tendency towards formalism and archaism meant that the *muwashshah* was absorbed not just into a pre-*muwashshah* series of genres, but in some ways returned to its origins, predating the separation of the *muwashshah*, reflective of the way that Hispano-Arabic culture, throughout the entirety of its history, looked to Arabia and surrounding areas for inspiration. In some ways, the ultimate fate of the *muwashshah* was to reflect Ibn Bassām's lament that "if a crow should croak…in Syria or Iraq, they would…treat the crowing…as an authoritative text."[828] By the end of the Nasrid period, however, the authoritative text was virtually anything comparably historical, and given the understanding of the last Nasrid *muwashshahs* appear, the combination of as many archaic genres as possible was preferred.[829] The survival of the *muwashshah* was in essence a retroactive survival; despite the paradox, it could not have survived had it not developed in a specific way, reliant on the continued survival, not of rival forms, but of predecessor forms that occupied a different artistic niche than the *muwashshah* .

Without the specific predecessor forms of the *muwashshah* giving rise to it, in a way that allowed for the *muwashshah*'s reabsorption into those forms after the Nasrid tendency towards formalism enhanced its drive for archaic, standardized

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[828]   Ibn Bassām, cited in Abu-Haidar, trans., "The *Muwaššahat* in the Literary Life that Produced them," p. 116.
[829]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 65, 67-68.

forms of poetry, the *muwashshah*'s continued role within Arabic poetry as a whole might be negligible, if not non-existent. As noted, at no point after the Almohads was it a vibrant genre, and even during the Almoravids, it could be seen as beginning a decay. Ultimately, the *muwashshah* was stuck between periods, too innovative to be left fully in the past, but too specific in time and place to be continued at the same rate and in the same style as under any of the pre-Nasrid situations.

The way in which the *muwashshah* crystallized under the Nasrids into a specific mode of traditional poetry, that is a *qasida/muwashshah* hybrid, reflects not only the *muwashshah*'s survival, but a reinterpretation of the paradigm shifts that led to its creation. The paradigm shifts within the Nasrid period, as gradual as they were, given that the early Nasrid period reflected a lack of further Islamicization (as compared to the Almohads and Almoravids) and that the later Nasrid period reflected almost a doubling-down of earlier paradigm shifts both within Iberia andl without, all merged with the *muwashshah* to eliminate further innovation in those features that set it apart from other genres. The *muwashshah* had become a standard part of (at least Iberian) Arabic literature, for all that it had once been an outsider. At the same time, however, it remained non-standard enough to resist total integration into Nasrid poetics; its origins within a non-Arabic context, as studied within chapter three, prevented it from full absorption. As Monroe's headings point out, the *muwashshah* is clearly identifiable, in terms of form (if not metre), from other Iberian genres.[830]

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[830]   Each of Monroe's selections has a meter clearly identified; those involving the *muwashshah* are labeled with the rhyme scheme, whereas those involving other forms simply have a label for the meter in Arabic.

Still, despite the use of the *muwashshah* within the Nasrid drive for recapturing an imagined, archaic past, Ibn Khaldūn's emphasis on the separateness of Hispano-Arabic poetry, that neither Maghribis nor Arabs understood the unique expression of Hispano-Arabic traits as an eloquent expression of a unique culture has an element of truth; for instance, the *muwashshah* and *qasida* only merged in Iberia (perhaps specifically as a result of the form's Iberian origins), and despite the analysis of the *muwashshah*'s appearance within Syria, it remained an outlier genre, limited in expression to restatements of earlier examples. It was not until the expulsion of the Muslim caliphate, and the eventual expulsion of all Muslims from Spain, that the *muwashshah* took up permanent residence in North Africa.[831] The political paradigm shifts within Iberia caused a certain set of parallel cultural shifts, resulting in the static nature of the *muwashshah*, maintaining the same set of motifs, even when those tropes were expanded upon, as in the case of the religious imagery permeating the late *muwashshah* above.

If anything, the standard tropes had become more ingrained within Hispano-Arabic culture by the end of the Nasrid period; whether due to the deliberate archaism explained above or as a lack of original thinking, the metaphors had calcified within the *muwashshah*. For example, beyond the fawn metaphor copied from Ibn Sahl of Seville's (c. 328/940 to 390/1000) original, the fairly unusual rain cloud metaphor was reused within Ibn al-Khaṭīb's work, but he also included both a fire metaphor (such as in Ibn Sahl) and a moon metaphor, as reflective of the set of metaphors that include the night, moon, and stars (as well as daybreak and

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831   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 68-69.

twilight).[832] These metaphors were common throughout Arabic poetry (both pre-
and post-dating the rise of Islam, as examined within chapter four), but there were
few fresh metaphors present within those late *muwashshahs*, further evidence of a
lack of continued innovation within the context of the *muwashshah*. Although the
survival of the *muwashshah* as a reintegration with older forms suggests a certain
amount of innovation within terms of Hispano-Arabic poetry as a whole, it involved
little innovation that was specific to the *muwashshah*; whatever innovation there
was belonged to whichever poet or poets (an unclear distinction) who thought to
recombine these by-then distinct genres.

8.2.2. Use and Reuse: Standardization and Deviation

Second, this work of Ibn Sahl demonstrates how the *muwashshah* had
deviated from the standard, or at least an idealized standard, *muwashshah*
common during its heyday. No longer was the *muwashshah* as distinct from other
genres as it once was; while the *muwashshah* was once described as distinct,
despite having "the same subjects…identical to those of classical poetry,"[833] the
recognized similarities between the *qasida* and the *muwashshah* had led to a
continued fusion of these two poems, with the similarity between subjects giving
way to only a set of bare distinctions between the *muwashshah* and other genres.
Essentially, the factors that distinguished the *muwashshah* from older (and both
more respected and more respectable) genres were no longer as important,
whereas the similarities became the key features of the *muwashshah*; in essence,
the *muwashshah* shifted from being a distinct Hispano-Arabic model, possessed of

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832   Ibn al-Khaṭīb, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, no. 39, pp. 338-
345.
833   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 184.

distinct Greco-Roman features, to one that emphasized its Arabic roots, almost to the point of exclusivity. What made the *muwashshah* the *muwashshah* rather than a standardized, standard Arabic form was now only a small part of the *muwashshah*. Although many of these statements may seem paradoxical or tautological, they serve to distinguish the key aspects of late Nasrid *muwashshah* (and; their non-Iberian contemporaries) from their *taifa*, Almoravid, and Almohad predecessors.

Other factors also led to the continued emphasis on the evolution of the *muwashshah* into something more in line with standard Arabic predecessors. No longer was the *muwashshah* possessed of a standardized length, nor was it necessarily of a standardized form, though the most crucial part, the defining feature of the *kharja*, was still part of what defined the *muwashshah* as distinct from even its fused *qasida* examples.[834] Although it was still by definition a strophic form (as the continued inclusion of the kharja indicated), the distinction of the *muwashshah* form from similar non-strophic forms was by the end of the Nasrid period, sometimes difficult to distinguish from related forms. In essence, the *muwashshah*, without continued influence and interaction with Greco-Roman (and Christian, Latin) forms, was gradually losing the distinguishing features that labelled it as *muwashshah*.[835]

Ibn Sahl's work, for example, demonstrates the continued lengthening of the *muwashshah* from the standard (though not prescribed) five to nine strophes.[836] Other poets further manipulated the form of the *muwashshah* from the basic

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[834]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 61-63.
[835]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 64-66.
[836]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 64.

structural form recorded previously, to the extent that Ibn Zamrak wrote a

muwashshah consisting of seventy strophes, approximately ten times the length of

a standard *muwashshah*.[837] To be fair to these later poets, the *muwashshah* had

never been totally free of the reasserted influence of the *qasida*, with Zwartjes

going so far as to claim that "the panegyric *muwaššah* is a direct continuation of

the panegyric *qasid*, as far as themes are concerned."[838] Although Zwartjes is not

commenting on the structural features of the *muwashshah*, it is fair to say that

despite the library of images and themes shared by the *muwashshah* and *qasida*

as a standard feature, the structural features of the *muwashshah* (at least from an

Arabic perspective) can be seen kwithin the *qasida*, being in some ways

suppressed, then reemerging as dominant as the Nasrid emphasis on tradition and

standardization asserted itself.

At a fundamental level, by the time of late Nasrid *muwashshahs*, these

original Arabic influences had reasserted themselves as dominant within the

muwashshah tradition. While they did not totally obliterate the uniqueness of the

muwashshah as a hybrid form between Greco-Roman influences and

Arabic/Arabian inspirations, the style of the late *muwashshah* leaned heavily

towards already pre-existing Arabic forms, despite the continuation of the *kharja*

within the *muwashshah* as a defining feature, by the end of the Nasrid period

perhaps the *only* defining feature of the *muwashshah* as compared to other forms;

certainly, the *zajal*, never entirely considered a literary genre, and generally lacking

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[837]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 65.
[838]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 185.

the separate *kharja* to mark itself as a distinct set of poetic norms, had mostly disappeared by the end of the Nasrid period.[839]

As time passed, the line between related genres blurred, with the continued use of the *qasida* as an older, more classical form, rather than the more innovative form of the *muwashshah*, a recurring feature of Nasrid poetry.[840] Again, the Nasrid tendency was towards a professedly and explicitly artificial expression of pre-existing themes, creating then encouraging a certain confusion between once distinct genres. The *muwashshah*, while not totally abandoned at first, became a form separated from its original unique features, especially those derived from features originally found outside Arabic poetics, and instead reintegrated into more mainstream Arabic genres. While the structural features derived originally from Greco-Roman poetics, as well as the unique thematic influences explored within chapter three, did not vanish in their entirety, instead of combining more fully with their Arabic counterparts, these influences were sublimated into the Arabic forms; by the end of the Nasrids, the *muwashshah* had become almost entirely standardized as an Arabic genre.[841]

However, despite its reincorporation into (and in some ways, partial legitimization within) these older Arabic genres, the *muwashshah* was not subject to the same sets of paradigm shifts as the rest of Arabic poetry, both within Iberia and without. It continued to exist, at the most rudimentary level, as a genre specific to Iberia, with its relationships to non-Iberian Arabic forms always somewhat conflicted, as explored throughout this thesis. Put simply, the rest of the Arabic

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[839]   Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," p. 66.
[840]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 64.
[841]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp.67-68.

world moved on from the original genres most prominent only within Iberia, with the *muwashshah* eventually left behind as a distinct, living genre. To the extent that it continued to exist within Iberia, it was (re-)fused with a more prominent, pan-Arabic genre, the *qasida*, with its distinct features muted.[842]

Both inside and outside of Iberia, it became, to a certain extent, preserved as it was only at a specific moment in time, both in the critical *diwans*, and especially in the reuse of elements between one *muwashshah* and the next. As the Nasrids looked towards a standard model of what constituted the *muwashshah*, they stifled further innovation; even the changes that took place, such as fusing the *muwashshah* back into the *qasida*, were primarily composed of conservative elements within Arabic poetry at large.[843] Although the Nasrids did not throw out the unique features of the *muwashshah* entirely, they, like earlier non-Iberian studies of the *muwashshah*, focused on the Arabic features of the *muwashshah* that could be transferred within a pan-Arabic context, while in part, abandoning those that were specific to Iberia.

Monroe provides a comprehensive look at the technical features of this abandonment of the original standardized *muwashshah*,[844] but what neither he nor any other author seems to have explored is the continuity between the *muwashshah* and its eventual abandonment as a distinct genre. Importantly, not all of the factors that led to the crystallization of the *muwashshah* and its recombination and partial abandonment were part of the literary, artistic culture. For example, many of the paradigm shifts that led to the rise of the *muwashshah*

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[842]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 63.
[843]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 61-68.
[844]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 63-69.

were undone by the politico-cultural realities, despite the immediate potential of a continued innovation within the *muwashshah* tradition, such as that outlined above when comparing the early Nasrid period to the hardline fundamentalism of the Almoravids and Almohads.[845] Instead of a potential reflowering of the *muwashshah* as a uniquely Hispano-Arabic form, with the potential to inspire non-Iberian Arabic writers, the *muwashshah* first withered away from being a unique, distinct genre, then crystallized within its new context. Such standardization suggests the impact of non-*muwashshah* genres, such as the older *qasida* upon the *muwashshah*, rather than the other way round.[846]

The Nasrid context, therefore, contributed to the ultimate fate of the *muwashshah.* On a certain level, the constant looking to Arabic examples, including earlier *muwashshahs* that were already difficult to differentiate in parts from other traditions, undermined the further development of the *muwashshah* as an active literary tradition, rather than a set of occasional poems written in a rarefied milieu. While they had always been poems of the elite, the *muwashshah* and *kharja* were no longer immediately accessible to the 'public.' The transition from an originally more liberal Nasrid reality to one focused on preserving the past had the effect of changing the standard form of the *muwashshah*, though not necessarily on the themes. Whether a result of its fusion with the *qasida* or reflecting the remaining power it had, the themes of the *muwashshah* remained focused on the themes of love, lust and desire.

Zwartjes, in his *Love Songs in al-Andalus*, provides a quite comprehensive inventory of the themes of the (Arabic) *muwashshah*, including how common those

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[845]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 61-62.
[846]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 63.

themes are throughout the history of the *muwashshah*.[847] While this thesis is more

focused on the history of the *muwashshah* as it developed into a distinct genre

(and then developed back into a set of fusions), rather than an ahistorical

examination of themes, his work proves valuable when comparing these late, post-

Almohad *muwashshahs* to previous examples. Specifically, Zwartjes' analysis of

the themes of the *muwashshah* relies not on a chronological approach, as reflected

by this thesis, but rather on an emphasis on continued thematic unity; although his

chapter headings indicate a certain amount of chronological order (albeit almost by

necessity), his later chapters, the ones that demonstrate the most interaction with

the *muwashshah* and its development, rely instead on examination of a series of

thematic relationships between the disparate histories of the *muwashshah*. His

analysis of the different themes of the *muwashshah*, however, apply equally to the

different time periods, though he only notes the address of specific *taifa* kings,

ignoring the way in which the Nasrid rulers were also thoroughly incorporated into

the *muwashshah*, in this case Muhammad V:

| 45 | It suffices him to descend from Qais ibn Saʿd, in a place where the Naṣrid house is lofty in its columns |
| 46 | Where the Naṣrid house is rendered inaccessible in its protected places, harvested in its excellence; pure in its source of origin[848] |

Despite Zwartjes limiting himself to a discussion of the standard

muwashshah time scale (from the early *taifa* period to the end of the Almohads),

his examination of the tropes of the *muwashshah* remains useful here; the

repeated use of nature imagery, for example, as well as the specific use of the idea

of separation, here represented by line 33's "What is wrong with my heart?

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[847]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs of al-Andalus*, pp. 188-218.
[848]   Ibn al-Khaṭīb, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., Hispano-Arabic Poetry, no. 39, pp. 342-343.

Whenever the East wind blows, a renewed feat of yearning returns to it,"[849] reflects

his systematic examination of the *muwashshah* tropes. Such a clear examination

of these tropes reflects the ways in which the later *muwashshahs* were a continued

survival of their early medieval peers, as well as reflects the ways in which the later

muwashshahs were predominantly reuses of early material, if not in text, as in Ibn

al-Khaṭīb's reuse of Ibn Sahl, as seen above above,[850] then at least in context of

doing more than simply drawing on the well of shared Arabic imagery. Despite the

crystallization of the *muwashshah*, it obeyed the same rules as before, at least

when the *muwashshah* features were allowed to dominate over those of the

qasida, for example.

At the most basic level, the final themes of the *muwashshah* within an

Iberian context, before the expulsions back to North Africa, are comparable to

those of the first. The *muwashshah*, despite its distinct changes throughout its

existence, was never altered beyond recognition; a seventy strophe *muwashshah*

is still recognizable as a *muwashshah*, rather than any other genre, specific to

Iberia or not. As Zwartjes helps to demonstrate, the overriding themes of the

muwashshah, no matter the time period, are those of frustrated love, of desire, of

interrupted affection between the lover and beloved.[851] Many of the other themes

are only incidental setpieces reflecting these broader themes; the presence of

Allah, for example, despite the existence of *muwashshahs* dedicated to him, is

more frequently found in longing oaths, both in early and late *muwashshahs*.[852]

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849   Ibn al-Khaṭīb, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., Hispano-Arabic Poetry, no. 39, pp. 342-
343.
850   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 63, referencing Ibn al-Khaṭīb, cited in Monroe, James T.,
trans., Hispano-Arabic Poetry, no. 39, pp. 338-345.
851   Zwartjes, *Love Songs of al-Andalus*, pp. 190-198.
852   Zwartjes, *Love Songs of al-Andalus*, pp. 217-218.

While the actual form and structure of the *muwashshah* changed drastically, the individual themes of the *muwashshah*, both similar and dissimilar, survived more clearly even as the form fused with and blurred into other purely Arabic forms.

Therefore, then, the question becomes how did the *muwashshah* manage to survive in an Iberian context? It is not enough to simply trace how the *muwashshah*, both within the Nasrid period and before, represents an outgrowth, or regrowth, of pre-existing genres, nor is it enough to demonstrate how individual *muwashshahs* survived; this thesis is an examination of the survival of the genre, not just of specific poems. As referenced above, there were new *muwashshah* written up until the end of the Nasrid period, including by Nasrid kings. Monroe's standard collection, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, has as its penultimate poem a *muwashshah* written by the "poet-king Yūsuf III [(d. 819 AH/1417)]."[853] However, despite some stylistic innovations, the poem itself is a collection of previously used metaphors: fawns, moons, eyelids, darts, and the idea that being in love will bring death to the lover all appear within twenty-seven brief lines.[854] Within the context of the *muwashshah*, it is simply a particular, but key example, of the survival of the form in relation to its other Hispano-Arabic peers. While it is still clearly a *muwashshah*, Yūsuf III's poem is not the resonant, distinct *muwashshah* of two hundred years previous, but rather a distilled, condensed version of what came before.

By the end of the Nasrid period, then, the *muwashshah* may be seen as having limped along, not as a shadow of a former self, but as a distilled version, lacking the richness of imagery and metaphor that initially distinguished it from

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853   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 67.
854   Yūsuf III, cited in Monroe, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, no. 42, pp. 372-373.

other poems, especially the erotic. Yūsuf III's poem exists both as an example of the conservative preservation of the *muwashshah* within a Nasrid context, as well as how the *muwashshah* continued to develop, despite its alienation from the non-Arabic parts of its heritage.

As a result, Yūsuf III's poem is most useful in demonstrating the crucial turns to ensure its survival that the *muwashshah* took by the end of the Nasrid dynasty; the originality inherent in the early *muwashshahs*, even when using the same metaphors, have been abandoned for what can be considered a list of standard *muwashshah* tropes. The two following excepts, the first by Ibn ʿUbāda al-Qazzāz, dating from the end of the fifth/eleventh century, and the other by Yūsuf III from the early ninth/fifteenth century, demonstrate the contrasts between the early *muwashshahs* (to which Yūsuf III and his peers would have looked back to, at least in part) and the late Nasrid examples:

5	A full moon that conquered with evident charm, cheek down curling over a jasmine [complexion],
	....
14	When he donned a stylish robe as a costume, I wished to kiss his voluptuous, deep red lips,
15	So he said in verse, trying to act as one who refuses, and inclining coquettishly, with the sweetest of words:
16	"I say that you will not taste the tempting morsel, by God!"[855]

Ibn ʿUbāda al-Qazzāz represents a *muwashshah* dating from the heyday of their popularity, when they were at their most original, whereas Yūsuf III's represents a denser, less metaphorical version of the same ideas, as represented by these comparable lines:

| 11 | A high rising Full moon. | The night of its waxing | On a slender reed, |
| 12 | Has risen above | A soft plump body; | A well-nurtured |

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855   Ibn ʿUbāda al-Qazzāz, cited in Monroe, James T., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, no. 17, pp.218-219

			Fawn.
13	He has seduced me	with the spell of his eyelids.	

20	He cured the disease	Of my languishing heart,	
21	With deep red lips	Whose white snow	Pleasantly cool.
		Doth taste sweet,	

26	"O you who have aimed	At my heart with the dart	Of a piercing glance:
27	Meet one who's dying,	One whose eye is shedding	Fast-flowing tears!"[856]

The fundamental themes and metaphors underlying these two *muwashshahs* make them directly comparable despite their considerable difference in age, allowing for the aforementioned drift between the styles of early *muwashshahs* and Nasrid examples. The first, one of the earliest extant *muwashshahs*, reflects a complete set of original thoughts that, while similar to then-extant Arabic examples, and certainly especially reliant on shared pan-Arabic themes, rather than developing some of the later, specifically Iberian ones, demonstrates a unique use of them within a Hispano-Arabic context. Brief, unlike many of the later *muwashshahs*, it nevertheless manages to create a then-unique set of metaphors even within a pan-Arabic context that both rely on the paradigms established by Arabic poetry and rework them, especially in the (potentially homo-erotic) *kharja* into a uniquely Iberian form, the *muwashshah*. As an example of early *muwashshah* craft, it demonstrates the rich potential inherent in the form, before it had become entirely beholden to the definitions exemplified by Ibn Khaldūn.

The second, an example of one of the last Nasrid *muwashshahs*, on the other hand, does not have the full set of metaphors worked throughout as elegantly, but rather describes them as a brief list, unexplored within either the body of the *muwashshah* or the *kharja*. The same ideas are there, inherent in the

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[856] Yūsuf III, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, no. 42, pp. 372-373.

descriptions provided by Yūsuf III, but they remain descriptions, rather than developed metaphors. While it is true that Hispano-Arabic had continued to develop in the three hundred years separating these two poems, the difference is not enough to explain the full difference in metaphor; similarly, while it is also true that Yūsuf III was experimenting, boldly, with form, the way in which he presents the metaphor and imagery he does explore can be considered somewhat 'harsher,' with an emphasis on distinguishing his poetry from others.

The discrepancy between the two poems is not limited solely to their presentation; while they both explore much the same set of emotions and even share the use of a moon metaphor,[857] evidence of how these earlier poems maintained their clear influence over later writers, who, while they may or may not have been familiar with particular original examples, relied on these accepted paradigms as a way to ensure that they were writing something that could be considered a *muwashshah*. Monroe's initially critical comments about Yūsuf III's poem do have some merit: "[Yūsuf III's] *muwashshaha* is a fine example of Nasrid concern with formal perfection in art. Like the poets before him, Yūsuf III invents nothing, yet the subtlety of form is astonishing in this poem."[858] Indeed, the particular construction of Yūsuf III's work differs from many of the original *muwashshah*, in which the lines were set in the innovative paradigms influenced by Greco-Roman originals, rather the strict assonance and rhyme demanded by Arabic poetry. Per Monroe, "all the old commonplaces are skillfully reworked into

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[857]   Line 5 and line 11, respectively.
[858]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 67-68.

an exquisite filigree in which the spontaneity of human emotion contrasts strongly with the rigid symmetry of an architecturally perfect structure."[859]

Ultimately, the late *muwashshah* demonstrates the closest parallels to the philosophical values of Sufi poetry. It is these late developments, with the most influence outside the Hispano-Arabic sphere, that provide the closest parallels. Yusuf III's highly artificial example of the *muwashshah* may be seen in comparison to the following Sufi example:

> Did lightning flash on the slops of Ubayriq,
> Or see I a lantern in the hills of Najd?
> Or hath Layla, even she, the 'Amiryyah, unveiled
> Her face in the night, changing darkness to daybreak?[860]

While Yusuf represents a rarefied example outside the ecstatic immediacy so often present in Sufi values, it maintains a philosophical brotherhood with the Sufi: its *kharja* especially represents a longing for the unattainable. The tone is similar, and each poem presents a brightness shattering the dark.

Ibn ʿUbāda al-Qazzāz's example, though closer in tone to the Sufi ecstasy describes a different set of sensations; within the *kharja*, the beloved object explicitly rejects the lover's advances, rather than the *kharja* containing a further description of the lover's obliteration by the beloved.[861] Once again, the connection to Sufi exemplars rests primarily on evidence, that while not unconvincing, cannot be shown to be anything more than coincidence. Again, the philosophy behind most of the *muwashshah* is **not** a deeper examination or allegory, but rather a form of entertainment,[862] as evidenced by its survival not within a religious environment

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[859]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 68.

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but within literary or musical spheres.[863] Such a conclusion is not meant to deny the presence of Sufi connections and parallels, but rather to acknowledge that they exist, but do not form a separate genealogy of the *muwashshah.*

However, Monroe's secondary explanation of the structure of Yūsuf III's *muwashshah* demonstrates how the *muwashshah* was no longer a vibrant part of Iberian poetry. The inherent artifice in Yūsuf III's work, which Monroe in part praises, is reflective not just of Nasrid art, but of the crystallization of the *muwashshah*. In some ways, it seems almost like Yūsuf III had a checklist of what went into a *muwashshah* and applied it; the playful vibrancy inherent in Ibn ʿUbāda al-Qazzāz's *kharja* is nowhere to be found, but instead is replaced by a static formalism, intended to both preserve the *muwashshah* as an art form worth remembering but also designed to place his own, new work, not just in conversation with the older examples of the *muwashshah*, but alongside it. It is necessary to point out that his poetry, especially *with* its emphasis on artifice, strays from the inherent playfulness that marks so many of the early *muwashshahs*, thereby preventing him from fully realizing his goal.

In many ways, this survival of the *muwashshah* as a formal exercise, rather than as an organic, developing genre, as exemplified by Yūsuf III's work, demonstrates the failure of the *muwashshah* to thrive within a post-Almohad context. Even as the Almohads were coming to an end, and even with the vague possibility of a renaissance of the form under the early Nasrids, the *muwashshah* was calcifying into a static genre, even as the distinctions between the *muwashshah* and other genres blurred. It was the victim of paradigm shifts that

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erased what made the *muwashshah* unique, while at the same time not the beneficiary of enough paradigm shifts, whether cultural or socio-political, to maintain its development as an independent genre nor enough momentum to continue to develop in new and different ways. The *muwashshah*'s ultimate survival within Iberia, then, was neither as a living genre nor as a genre giving rise to successors, as it had with the *zajal*, but rather was limited in scope to a certain, specific arena.

Although the *muwashshah* cannot be said to have truly died out within Iberia, and certainly lived long enough post-Almohad to have transferred back to North Africa not just during Muslim occupation of Spain, but during the gradual transition (culminating both in the initial expulsion of Muslim rulers, and eventual expulsion of Muslim *ruled*) marking the end of the Nasrids, there is a clear sense of decline when its history is reviewed. It had a great, shining moment where it was popular, popular enough to influence the creation of the *zajal*, but as Corriente points out, this moment was not to last.[864] Iberian culture essentially moved on from the *muwashshah*, the combination of cultural and socio-political paradigm shifts too much for the *muwashshah* to adapt to; by the end of the Muslim occupation of Spain, the combination of influences that gave rise to the origins of the *muwashshah* were no longer combining enough to continue to develop such a genre, and the pre-existing examples, which did continue to exert some influence on Hispano-Arabic poetry, no longer were enough of a source of material to continue to generate enough inspiration in then-modern poets, for whom the *muwashshah* was no longer a genre in touch with their immediate lives. The

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[864] Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," p. 66.

combination of backwards-looking Nasrid inspiration and external pressure meant

that the *muwashshah* fizzled out, only to survive in piecemeal fashion through the

next six hundred years.

8.3. Unexpected Survival

Despite appearances, and the temptation to label the *muwashshah* as a

dead genre, if not at the dawn of the Nasrid period, then certainly by the end, it did

not vanish or disappear completely as an influence. The *muwashshah* survived

within a certain context, though certainly not within the broad, diffused form found

within Europe nor within the formal *diwans* preserved by critics. Instead, it lingered,

in a reduced, circumscribed form, especially but not entirely limited to North Africa,

a region with historic ties to the Muslim kingdoms of Iberia.[865]

Although removed from its Hispano-Arabic origins, the history of the

muwashshah does not end with the exile of the Muslims from Spain, whether in

897 AH/1492 CE or in the final expulsions in the early 1000s AH/1600s CE.

Instead, it continues on, however concealed as a separate set of traditions, within

North Africa, as a distinct genre. Despite its alienation from its Hispano-Arabic

origins, the genre of the *muwashshah* continued as a distinct set of traditions within

Arabic poetry, and though its modern examples reflect its re-hybridization with the

qasida and other forms,[866] the *muwashshah* continued as a recognizable genre:

the distinct feature of the *kharja* as an example of colloquial Arabic within a broader

classical Arabic context, contributed to the continued presence of the *muwashshah*

as distinct from purely classical Arabic examples, whereas the *zajal* was simply

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[865]   Schippers, "Some Remarks on the Present-Day Tradition," pp. 149-150. Section 8.3 owes a special debt to Schippers' particular analysis, and as such, his work will be referred to heavily herein.
[866]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 65.

reabsorbed into broader culture and eliminated as an artistic genre, as discussed in both previous chapters and above.

However, the *muwashshah* continued to evolve within a distinct context, not limited solely by previous trends, let alone previous examples. Despite the fact that its influence was by the end of the Nasrids limited, a reflection of the way in which pre-*muwashshah*, classical forms and their other medieval descendants remained dominant within Arabic literature, the *muwashshah* was not abandoned in the same way as the *zajal*, which by the end of the Nasrid period in essence no longer existed.[867] Instead, the *muwashshah* exhibited a limited survival, with both minimal transformation into a different context, but with a set of specific adaptations allowing the *muwashshah* to exhibit a continued relevance despite the removal of a Romance influence as well as a disassociation from its original, specifically, Hispano-Arabic context.[868] Such post-Hispano-Arabic context has, again, been largely neglected by *muwashshah* studies, which has traditionally focused on its connections within a European context.

Perhaps most importantly, by the time of the rediscovery of the *muwashshah* as a living genre within the Western academic world in the mid-1390s AH/1970s CE, the extant *muwashshah* had crystallized further, into a distinct style characterized most clearly by the essential fusion of the lyric form of the *muwashshah* with a paired musical style.[869] By that time, the *muwashshah*'s definition required the existence of specific musical accompaniment as a complement to the pre-existing definitions derived from the *diwans*. While the

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[867]   Corriente, "The Behavior of Romance and Andalusian Utterances," p. 66.
[868]   Schippers, "Some Remarks on the Present-Day Tradition," p. 158.
[869]   Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," pp. 150-151.

musical accompaniment did not define the *muwashshah* in regards to other genres, which could likewise be set to music, the *muwashshah* was by then only performed in conjunction with the aforementioned music; without music, the *muwashshah* was nothing in particular. Though still recognizable as a *muwashshah*, it is incomplete compared to a 'full' *muwashshah*, that is, one paired with the music specific to the *muwashshah* genre.[870]

While the latter-day *muwashshah* was not defined solely by the blending of music with the antiquated lyrics of a by-then moribund style, the necessary incorporation of music, like the continued use of the *kharja* defined the *muwashshah*.[871] Although the historical record does not allow us to see at what point the *muwashshah* lyric joined with the musical forms specific to it, nor does it allow us to see which came first, the lyrics and music being crafted to fit with them or instead a happy discovery that the style of the *muwashshah* suited a specific musical style, the *muwashshah* survived within North Africa only within this narrow definition.[872] However, the claim that such a definition is narrow does not negate the richness of its survival. It represents a style focused on the fusion of multiple elements, just as the Nasrid *muwashshahs* demonstrated their own, lyrical, fusion with classical examples.

Such fusion, as a major innovation within the *muwashshah* tradition while at the same time reflecting the *muwashshah*'s long history as a genre allowing for such experimentation, highlights a clear distinction between the early (*taifa*, Almoravid, and Almohad) *muwashshahs* and the modern *muwashshah*, while at

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[870]   Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," pp. 149, 51.
[871]   Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," p. 149.
[872]   Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," pp. 149-151.

the same time highlighting in parallel the essential conservatism of post-Almoravid *muwashshahs*; these latter-day *muwashshahs,* like the Nasrid examples, reflect a lack of original composition. In some ways, these later *muwashshahs* are a paradox; while at the same time preserving the rich history of fusion and diffusion demonstrated by older *muwashshah* examples, they likewise preserve the inherent conservatism of Nasrid examples and their reliance on older *muwashshah* as inspiration, if not source material to be reworked into contemporary examples with a minimum of change. Thus, they find themselves as interesting examples of the entire *muwashshah* tradition, neither alien from the innovation evidence by the original blending of two cultures (as a reworking of this blending with a third culture, that of the music of North Africa) nor alien from the conservative tradition holding up certain poems as exemplars of the *muwashshah*.

However, it may be argued that the modern *muwashshah* has more in common with the latter, specifically the tradition that looks back to certain *muwashshahs* as holding within them the essence of the entire genre. Indeed, on the whole, these modern *muwashshahs* take the conservative inspiration of the Nasrids a step further, despite the wholesale adoption of music as an essential feature of these new *muwashshahs*. Many of these *muwashshahs* demonstrate not just a descent from the medieval examples, but direct parallels in the same vein as Yūsuf III and his remaining poems, with many recent examples sharing features even to a one to one correspondence with medieval examples.[873] Although these parallels (if not direct copies) demonstrate a lack of new original creations, they also demonstrate the impact of the *muwashshah*, even after its exile from its

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[873]   Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," pp. 151-152.

original place of origin, upon a certain class of poetry. The non-musical features that make a *muwashshah* a *muwashshah*, especially the abrupt shift in speakers that is a standard feature of the *kharja*, remain as part of these poems,[874] along with the nature of the *kharja* itself (as discussed in chapters four and six) and the *muwashshah* as a strophic form focused on rhythmic patterns (aiding in the use of music as a stylistic device).

Ultimately, however, the modern *muwashshah* is best considered as a descendant within the same style. While there is temptation to ignore the gap in the recorded history of the *muwashshah* between the end of the Nasrid period and the rise of the modern *muwashshah* and treat them as direct peers, they represent related, though distinct, traditions; although they are both example of the *muwashshah*, rather than, say, a fully-;qualified *qasida* and a *muwashshah*, the modern *muwashshah* is even further removed from the medieval Hispano-Arabic examples that make up the backbone of this thesis than the Nasrid examples. At the most fundamental level, the *muwashshah*'s North African survival is evidence of two key features.

First, such survival demonstrates the tendency of the *muwashshah* to be an expansive genre, allowing experimentation without ultimately abandoning the form, a feature previously highlighted by the use of Romance within the *kharja*, the expansion of the definition of '*muwashshah*' under the Nasrids, and the breadth of themes possible within the genre, or even within one poem. Second, such survival indicates the extent to which the *muwashshah* can be considered a conservative genre; despite its untraditional origins within a blended Greco-Roman and

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[874]   Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," pp. 149-153.

Arabian/Arabic context, the *muwashshah* became emblematic of Hispano-Arabic

conservatism, despite its distinctly transgressive origins. The *muwashshah*'s

ultimate transmission from a Hispano-Arabic context into a North African one

demonstrates its adaptability, while its continued transmission in the same, distinct

form demonstrates how little it changed from the Nasrids to the modern day.

8.3.1. Diffusion and Conservatism in North Africa

8.3.1.1. Adaptation within North Africa

The diffusion of the *muwashshah* into North Africa reflected in some ways

an intensification of the same trends within Nasrid culture; most importantly, the

Nasrid artifice and reuse of material became a tradition of not only re-using old

compositions, but no longer creating fully original examples of the *muwashshah*.

The *muwashshah* by the end of the Nasrid period, and certainly within North

African contexts, demonstrated not only the growth of a particularly exclusive

definition of the *muwashshah* but also a discouraging of further creation within the

genre; that is, the *muwashshah* was defined using particular historical examples,

almost to the total exclusion of further creation. Such exclusion contained more

than just a reuse of the *kharja* or inspiration derived from earlier examples, but also

implemented the repeated adoption of these earlier poems as the only possible

muwashshahs. At the same time, however, the *muwashshah* was adapted to

changing circumstances; despite its alienation from its original Iberian context, it

did not stay entirely identical to its form at the end of the Nasrid period. Particularly

by the 1390s/1970s, the position of the *muwashshah* was at the same time

precarious and entrenched, depending on the point of view; while no longer a

vibrant genre, its musical form was certainly part of a clear distinction of North

African culture.[875] For example, there existed variant musical forms of some recorded *muwashshah* as demonstrated below. Both editions begin with the same two lines, followed by variant versions of the third and fourth:

> 1. We were drinking and our drinking lasted long. In our neighborhood there were gazelles and wild cows
> 2. And the cup-bearer kept circling amongst us. His face was admirable in its attributes
> 3. Oh, we all became cupbearers. I heard only 'take' and 'give',
> 4. And do not say that shame is covering him. Take both my eyes but do not take the apple of my eye.[876]

This version may be compared to the following variant version of the same recording:

> 3. Oh, we all passed the night awake.
> 4. The eyes of shyness were winking; the light of my eyes was upon them.[877]

Moreover, such variation was in keeping with the Iberian tradition of borrowing and reworking extant material, another point of continuity with previous examples of the genre. Such adaptations continued to demonstrate the *muwashshah*'s position as a genre of innovation, whether within an Iberian context or within a North African; despite the relative conservatism of North African *muwashshahs*, the tendency to transform extant material was likewise preserved.

As discussed above, perhaps the most important adaptation was the *muwashshah*'s distinct recombination into a musical form. As viewed opposite to the continued narrow definition of what constituted a *muwashshah lyrically*, such expansion and adaptation demonstrates a paradox regarding recent *muwashshahs*: at the most basic level of distinct *muwashshah* composition, there *were* not expansions and amplifications of the *muwashshah*, but there were external (to the lyrical form) changes that altered the working definition of the

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[875]   Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," pp. 149-151.
[876]   Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," pp. 156-157.
[877]   Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," pp. 156-157.

muwashshah. However apt they may have been on one level for medieval examples, the definitions provided by medieval critics, especially as explored within chapter two, do not suffice to provide a complete picture of the situation within post-medieval (especially recent) *muwashshahs*. The lyrical compositions themselves changed little, whether in form or substance, with distinct shifts remaining between the *kharja* and the remainder of the poem, despite the abandonment of Romance as a possible inspiration for the *kharja* material;[878] for example, the following modern extract directly reflects "early Andalusian *kharjas*,"[879] placing it within the same tradition, as well as demonstrating a lasting affinity between Hispano-Arabic poetry and the modern *muwashshah*:

> 4. In the morning we woke up; I was hastened to my fate;
> 5. Why, o morning, did you separate me from our *rendez-vous*? [sic]
> 6. By God, Morning, bring us together again![880]

As noted by Zwartjes, the dawn-theme, or *alba*, is commonly found in Hispano-Arabic models from the heyday of the *muwashshah*.[881] Such commonalities represent a strong linkage between the recorded, written medieval tradition, and the recorded, oral tradition of the 1970s. These particular connections, however, remain mostly unexplored, despite the claim that "the themes of these *muwaššaḥāt* are the same as those of the classical *muwashshah*: the love themes that are common to all periods of Arabic literature."[882]

Despite this continued adherence to existing *muwashshah* models and themes, the full *muwashshah* changed, at least subtly, to incorporate features broader than the lyric compositions, most especially the use of music as an integral

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[878]   Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," pp. 150-151.
[879]   Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," p. 152.
[880]   Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," p. 152.
[881]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 244.
[882]   Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," p. 151.

part of what can now be termed the neo-*muwashshah*. Distinct from the original

muwashshah and its possibly purely lyrical, courtly context, the neo-*muwashshah*

reflects the popularization of the *muwashshah* within a broader culture; it, like the

zajal and possibly the original forms of the *muwashshah*, as discussed within

chapter six, reflects a popular cultural example rather than a rarified one focused

on the *literati*. This neo-*muwashshah*, separated from an Iberian context,

regardless of a specific time period, demonstrates the diffusion, ultimately, of the

muwashshah within a new (North African) context, where its survival relied upon a

broader adoption within popular culture; if the *muwashshah* had been left as-is, it

would likely be a curious historical relic, as reflected by the positions of Stern and

Nykl, dating from before the full rediscovery of the *muwashshah*,[883] where they

treat the *muwashshah* as a curious absorption by an Arabic-speaking culture of

some form of Romance hybrid, however that original may have been expressed in

any language. Ultimately, the *muwashshah*'s survival reflects the same trends

found in its origin, a continued ability to fuse distinct cultural strands into a unified

whole. This transformation of the *muwashshah* may be found in a particular stylistic

device now used for music: rather than an entire *muwashshah* being used, only a

few couplets or the *kharja* are generally sung.[884]

     As a result, one may view, exclusive of any questions of language or

rediscovery, the neo-*muwashshah* and the original set of Hispano-Arabic

muwashshahs, including Nasrid examples, as each representing discrete

examples of distinct cultural shifts. The Iberian *muwashshah*, though directly

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[883]   See Schippers' mention of Stern's pessimism on the state of the *muwashshah*, Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," p. 150.
[884]   Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," pp. 150-151.

related and similar enough to be labeled within the same genre, does not possess the same cultural context as the neo-*muwashshah*. The later, North African *muwashshah* reflects a separate, continued set of paradigm shifts that demonstrate, again, that the *muwashshah* survived by absorption and reworking. Perhaps most immediately, within the context of their descendants, the tentative identification of the Iberian *muwashshah* as an at least partially musical composition is transformed. While, as discussed below, the medieval Iberian *muwashshah* reflects only the possibility (of uncertain likelihood) of a relationship to music, the North African *muwashshah* is a predominantly musical composition.[885] Both reflecting the adaptations of the *muwashshah* throughout history as well as the transition between the *muwashshah* as celebrated in medieval criticism and a more niche form that survived within the non-innovative context of North Africa, the wholesale musical definition of the neo-*muwashshah* reflects how the *muwashshah* both did and did not change. The *muwashshah*'s ability to modify and absorb external adaptations are what sets it apart from other genres; the *zajal* fell to the wayside, whereas other purely Arabic examples did not create their own descendant genres.

8.3.1.2. *Separating out the* Muwashshah

While the lyrics of these neo-*muwashshah*s stand on their own as examples of the form, especially in those poems that simply reused older poems or bits of poems, particularly those considered classics derived immediately from Iberia, the North African *muwashshah* exists separately from Iberia, with a cultural context all of its own. The particulars of the North African context are less important to this

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[885] Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," pp. 149-152.

analysis than the particulars of the distinctions between the two sets of poems; that is, the simple fact that concrete differences exist, politically, culturally, and socially, between twentieth century North Africa and thirteenth (or eleventh or fifteenth) century Iberia is key, rather than the nuances of any one feature.

Ultimately, the North African *muwashshah* as a whole cannot be considered without examining the medieval Hispano-Arabic examples discussed throughout this thesis, while at the same time, it is the distinct features of each set of poems, rather than the distinctions between their original cultures that most clearly indicate how the neo-*muwashshah* relates, as a genre, to its predecessors. Though this shift in the mode of analysis may seem a departure from the examination of both history and historiography heretofore pursued, it is rather a shift in the way I have chosen to focus such an analysis; the lack of access to *muwashshah* material or analysis beyond the critical *diwans* and their unfortunate lack of attention to general North African examples. Despite several critics writing after the transition from the *muwashshah* as and Iberian form to its existence (either in parallel or dominantly so) as a North African art form, it remained, at least in the minds of Arabic critics, an Iberian art form.

Returning to an analysis of the distinctions between the two versions of the *muwashshah*, it bears repeating that the *muwashshah* as found during the Nasrid period, to say nothing of those written during the *taifa*, Almoravid, or Almohad periods, exists within a different context than the neo-*muwashshah*, as defined above. Clearly, this distinction may be seen within the analyses of medieval critics, who treated North African poetry as an entirely distinct genre, alien to both Arabian and Iberian locals. Despite the way such critics locate and define these poems,

such distinctions between regions cannot entirely said to be geographical, nor can it entirely be said to be temporal; much like how the traditional Arabic examples metamorphosed within a new context to help create the *muwashshah* and related genres, so too did the by-then traditional Iberian *muwashshah* transform when faced with a new context. Such comments are not meant to oversimplify the transition between Hispano-Arabic examples of the *muwashshah*, dutifully recorded as purely literary exercises (or so remaining *diwans* suggest), distinct from both the musical context of the recent-to-modern neo-*muwashshah* as well as from the popular context of their *zajal* peers.

What we might term the 'original' *muwashshahs,* as a *literary* genre existed *and* exists independently of its potential derivations, regardless of the way that it transformed into first the latter Nasrid hybrid forms (especially when compared to the *qasida*) and then into the recycled North African versions of the neo-*muwashshah*. At the same time, however, there exists clear inspiration and a transition from one example into the other. There is a continuity of paradigm shifts between the combination of Greco-Roman and Arabian originals that led to the *muwashshah* and the combination of medieval innovation and Nasrid conservatism that led to the later Iberian (and ultimately the North African as well) examples of the *muwashshah*. Such paradigm shifts again represent how adaptable the *muwashshah* genre was; while certainly not a catch-all term, the *muwashshah* and its definitions could represent a wide range of poems, while typically remaining centered on the same themes.

As a result, one can situate the *muwashshah*, as found in its neo-*muwashshah* form, complete with its temporal location within recent-to-modern

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North Africa, upon a continuum. Although composed of a set of discrete examples, rather than a smooth set of transitions between separate examples, such a continuum has the advantage of being able to place the set of *muwashshahs*, independent of time of composition, within a context of how derived each poem is, either from earlier *muwashshahs* or compared to other influences. For example, the late Nasrid poems combine distinct, almost paradoxical, forms of derivation, independent of their expression, but of a similar strength.[886]

While North African poems, especially with their distinct musical style, might be considered as either one extreme of such a continuum (if one looks at expression) or very close to originals (if one looks solely at lyric form without examining expression), the overt formal conservatism of the Nasrid dynasty places the original *muwashshah* firmly at one point upon such a continuum that begins with the *muwashshah* examples found within the *taifa* period; however, it exists as an extreme example upon that continuum, in part because of the lacunae that exist in the history of the *muwashshah* following the end of the Nasrid period; scholarship has failed to unearth examples of what existed between the extreme forms of the Nasrid period, both experimental, as discussed above, and the formal imitations of what came before, and the 1390s/1970s North African examples.

In some ways, then, it is most appropriate to describe the *muwashshah* of latter-day North Africa in contrast to previous examples, with an emphasis on the continuities between them. In essence, the contrasts between both the set of Nasrid *muwashshahs* and North African *muwashshahs* and the set of Hispano-Arabic *muwashshahs* and recent North African *muwashshahs* highlight the way in

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[886]   Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 65.

which the form survived, despite considerable modification.[887] The ultimate

paradigm shifts between any two sets of points on this continuum, many of which

have been previously explored in chapters three to six, help to define the

muwashshah and its derivations without necessarily creating an exclusive

definition, in opposition to the methods employed not just by medieval

commentators, but also by authors such as Stern and Nykl. As a result, the

muwashshah tradition allows for the identification of as clear a distinction between

the work of Yūsuf III reviewed above, and the modern *muwashshah* which follows

as between Yūsuf III III and his earlier influences:

1. A gazelle is looking haughtily towards those looking at here; I wish she were pasturing in the middle of my heart.

....

3. She has decided to kill me with her eyes that sparkle like sharpened swords.
4. She is making a fire in the midst of my heart; I wonder when the days of union will take place.[888]

In some ways, the modern *muwashshah* sounds almost medieval, possessed of

the same rhythms and metaphors; however, its chief importance here rests on its

distinction from the highly artificial poems of Yūsuf III, rather than its direct

comparison to examples from the heyday of the *muwashshah*.

Ultimately, there exists clear and unequivocal evidence that the North

African *muwashshahs* are meant to be enjoyed aurally, with a focus not on the

words by themselves, but rather as part of standardized musical set-pieces; neither

the music nor the lyrics are meant to be performed separately. With few exceptions

content of these *muwashshahs* does not vary from performance to performance,[889]

as might be expected in some interpretations of a purely oral tradition of their

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[887] Highlights of these transformational aspects can be found at Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, pp. 64-65 and at Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," pp. 149-151.
[888] Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," pp. 155-156.
[889] Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," pp.150-151, pp. 156-157.

continuity, but rather are standardized examples, some of which are known from alternative sources dating back to the Hispano-Arabic period.[890] Conversely, evidence demonstrating a musical setting for the Hispano-Arabic *muwashshahs* is limited, though not non-existent. Certainly, the definitions of the *muwashshah* as preserved within critical *diwans* make no mention of musical accompaniment, nor include commentary upon possible musical settings in their explication of the *muwashshah*. There existed ample opportunity to do so, especially with the recurring use of musical themes within the *muwashshah* themselves.[891]

While it cannot be argued that there was no musical accompaniment for the original Hispano-Arabic *muwashshahs*, if such accompaniment existed, it did not exist as the requirement it seems to be for the North African models. On balance, it appears that if the Iberian examples were set to music, there exist several, but by no means exclusive reasons for the absence of this fact within definitions: either the critics recording evidence of the *muwashshah* did not see it necessary to record this fact, or, they were working solely from textual evidence of a multimedia genre. This last possibility gives rise to several tantalizing possibilities for how the *muwashshah* might have been originally presented within an Iberian context that, without further evidence coming to light, remain speculative.

In opposition to the clear transition to a prominently musical genre, the North African lyric forms are much more conservative, as seen above, at least as compared to known examples and definitions of the *muwashshah*. Likewise, similar to the often-radically differing Nasrid models, but distinct from original Hispano-Arabic models, the North African models do not preserve innovation in a clearly

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[890]   Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," p. 150.
[891]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 217.

traceable manner, but instead preserve the influences of older paradigm shifts that even neo-*muwashshahs* accept as foundational. While it is not appropriate to call either Nasrid or North African *muwashshahs* unoriginal, the mode of their presentation and the method of their preservation does allow for the label "derivative," insofar as they represent a preservation of certain, strict, pre-composed models, as compares to the continuum above. Such a label is not meant to comment upon their artistry, skill, or presentation, but rather is designed to reflect the truth of history; these recent *muwashshahs* reflect a tradition derived and distilled through almost a thousand years of history, with older paradigm shifts preserved and accepted just as newer ones were. The existence of modern *muwashshahs*, however, points to something considered worth preserving as an active tradition, whether original or derived.

Although these neo-*muwashshahs* represent an outlier, in that there does not exist evidence of copious survival outside of North Africa,[892] they do indicate that the *muwashshah* possessed features worth preserving as distinct from the *muwashshah'*s peer genres or its *qasida*-fused forms, features that resonated not just in the politically declining Nasrid period with its focus on preserving the art of a more successful time, 'but in a sort of poetic exile within North Africa. Ibn Khaldūn's opinion, despite the depth of and quality with which he preserved his personal definition of the *muwashshah*, rings hollow; on some level, the Maghribi and Easterner can appreciate the eloquence of a Spaniard. However, part of his claim does seem to continue to possess merit; given the lack of new, fully original compositions and instead a continued adherence to what appears to be a certain

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[892]   Schippers, "Some Utterances on the Present-Day Tradition," pp. 149-151.

closed corpus of extant *muwashshahs*, there does appear to be a return to the idea that only pre-existing *muwashshahs* represent an authentic *muwashshah* experience; just as poets working in Nasrid times essentially closed the *muwashshah* corpus, at least to outside influence, so too did North African survival demonstrate a continued absence of external innovation.

8.3.2. Coda: Some Comments on Syrian Survival

Distinct from the North African survival as noted above, there is some evidence to demonstrate the *muwashshah* has survived elsewhere, even unto the modern day. As noted in a 20 Febuary 2016 (11 Jumada I, 1437) issue of The Economist,[893] one of the effects of the ongoing Syrian diaspora, following the beginnings of the Syrian civil war in 1432/2011 has been to both endanger and spread Syrian culture throughout the world, including the local version of the *muwashshah*.[894] "Wherever it settled, it took on local colour, but what it reflected was the *unique[ly] Andalusian* mix of Arab, Jewish, Christian and Berber influences,"[895] the Economist writes, highlighting in a popular magazine the points I have tried to make above, about the fusion between different sources that gave rise to the succession of paradigm shifts generating the *muwashshah*.

One of the dangers of the unexpected survival of the *muwashshah* is that its variants become localized, and so, both alienated from and fused with the main strands of the dominant *muwashshah*. In the specific case of the Syrian *muwashshah*, its unique form is under external threat; conflict creates a diaspora that is not necessarily able to hold onto traditional forms. Despite the al-Kindi

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[893]   "Songs of the City," *The Economist*.
[894]   "Songs of the City," *The Economist*.
[895]   "Songs of the City," *The Economist*. Emphasis added.

orchestra attempting to preserve the *muwashshah* in its Syrian form (with distinct similarities to the musical preservation within recent North African examples), the "continuity which as nurtured [the *muwashshah*]",[896] as the Economist puts it has been ruptured. As a traditional style within Syria, regardless of its foreign origins and initial outsider status, the *muwashshah* "is threatened with extinction."[897]

Reviewing the threat to the Syrian *muwashshah* allows for the examination of several points regarding the *muwashshah* in general, and its particular survival in this context specifically. First, the *muwashshah* has remained a blended genre, regardless of the place it was recorded, throughout its history. The *muwashshah* does not exist in cultural isolation, nor was it generated from isolation; it was and is a fusion of genres, with its current iteration (at least within Syria) both traditional and distinct from extant tradition. Second, the *muwashshah* continued to undergo paradigm shifts; within Syria it exists now primarily – though not exclusively – as a devotional genre, rather than the odes to hedonism characteristic of earlier *muwashshahs*.[898] The genre, as a whole, exists in a different sort of liminal space than it once did; re-regionalized, with altered themes, it presents itself as distinct from older *muwashshah* both in terms of theme and delivery. While still recognizable as the product of the series of paradigm shifts that gave rise to the *muwashshah* originally, time and distance have led to the adoption, especially in Aleppo, of the *muwashshah* as a native genre. Such transfer of the genre between Iberia and a distantly-removed Arabian context has heretofore been unexamined, in part because of the focus upon a European context.

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896   "Songs of the City," *The Economist*.
897   "Songs of the City," *The Economist*.
898   "Songs of the City," *The Economist*.

Third, and perhaps most importantly, such continued existence so far from the place of its origin highlights the survival of the *muwashshah* as a sort of historical accident. Having traveled far from its native land, the *muwashshah* has been reclaimed within parts of Syria as "Musique d'Alep."[899] Under attack, literally and metaphorically, the survival of its presence within a certain segment of the Middle East is dubious. Such questionable survival is a hallmark of the history of the *muwashshah*; never fully adopted as literature, but rather presented as entertainment throughout its history, the *muwashshah* held a position constantly *potentially* under threat from a more dominant culture, one that had stricter interpretations of what constituted art. The *muwashshah*, then, has survived in the face of adversity. Such a threat as the Syrian Civil War then, not part of an artistic or cultural critique, but an external military threat forcing a diaspora that may or may not take culture with it, is a separate kind of threat, an existential threat.

8.4. Conclusion: Continuity and Preservation

However, it is inexact to label the North African survival of the *muwashshah* as a freak occurrence, alien to the general incorporation of the *muwashshah* into the broader architecture of post-Iberian Arabic poetry. Despite the fusion and recombination of the *muwashshah* within a Nasrid context, the genre survived, experiencing its own paradigm shifts, rather than vanishing as the *zajal* did. Such survival as an active genre is paralleled, partially, within the adoption of the *muwashshah* as a genre worth including in Arabian *diwans*. While much of this history of recording and survival has been explored within chapters two and six, it is worth reiterating that one of the key features of the *muwashshah* is its liminal

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[899]   "Songs of the City," *The Economist*.

position between the popular, accepted poetry of Hispano-Arabic culture and as the dismissed, minor, even ignored, genre recorded within the critical *diwans* found outside Iberia. But, despite the cursory and desultory way that certain critics admittedly did treat the *muwashshah*, even critics enthusiastic about the genre, it was seen as worth preserving. The definitions provided reflect the *muwashshah* in its twilight years, however, with the most stringent criteria applied to define the 'real' *muwashshah*, after experiencing most or all of its native Iberian paradigm shifts. While the 'true' place and time of the *muwashshah* has been previously assumed to be restricted to Iberia from the *taifa* period to the end of the Almohad period, such Arabic survival within both North Africa and Arabia demonstrates the flexible nature of the *muwashshah* and its ability to incorporate shifting paradigms within itself on a broader cultural level.

Likewise, it is worth repeating that one of the most important reasons that the *muwashshah* did survive is that it was seen as a curiosity; it was not just another example of a genre well-known within an Arabian context, and as a result, it was seen as an aberration, and so perhaps abler to respond to shifting paradigms. Again, the *muwashshah* appears as a paradox, in this case dismissed but preserved. But, like so many other curiosities, its very uniqueness as compared to Arabic predecessors (again, examined within chapter four) lent itself to being recorded within the context of Arabian poetry, although in an incomplete manner:

> The first to fashion these meters of the *muwashshahat* in our country was – according to what has reached me – Muqaddam ibn Mu'āfā al-Qabrī, the blind, who used to fashion them out of hemistichs of poetry except that the majority of them were based on unusual meters rarely used…the metres of these muwashshahat go beyond the scope of our book, for most of them do not follow the rules of Arabic metrics.[900]

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[900]   Ibn Bassām, cited in Monroe, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 28.

This reminder of Ibn Bassām's claims that the *muwashshah* chiefly represents a set of unusual meters, if not unusual themes, helps explain the other popular survival of the *muwashshah*, a sort of twin to the North African survival explored in this chapter. Indeed, it was within the broader Arabian-Arabic culture that the *muwashshah* survived, partially within the context of critical scholarship evidenced by the *diwan* collectors, but again within a popular milieu, that of the Arabian Peninsula and neighboring countries. In essence, the *muwashshah* in this context appears during its transition out of Iberia and into the context of North Africa and parts of Arabia, neither fully within one culture or another. Although the general constraints of the *muwashshah* apply, the genre was at this point experiencing one of its most disruptive paradigm shifts, that of the shift between Iberian and broader Arabic cultures.

While the survival as recorded within Arabia proper is mostly scholarly, with already extant examples recorded in collected, critical *diwans* rather than as in a living tradition such as demonstrated within North Africa, it is here worth addressing this mode of preservation, despite it being a fairly minor example of the *muwashshah*'s lingering influence upon Arabic culture. As noted previously, neither the *muwashshah* as a genre, nor the literary-political culture of Iberia necessary spoke to an Eastern audience. Viewed with suspicion by Arabian purists, the *muwashshah* failed to gain more than intermittent support, especially as the mindset of Eastern authors was to denigrate their own ability to write *muwashshahs*.[901]

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[901]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, pp. 253-255.

Medieval authors and commentators outside Iberia did not continue to promote the *muwashshah* as a classical remnant of authentic artistry in the same way that the Nasrids did, but their distinct preservation within an academic context lent itself to a similar conservatism; Ibn Bassām's clear claims about the strict definition of the *muwashshah* reflects a parallel series of claims about what constituted a *muwashshah*. In other words, while the Nasrid experience presented a set of concrete, practical examples of what constituted a *muwashshah* within this later time period, definitions such as Ibn Bassām demonstrate an adherence to a theoretical set of principles (which happen to apply to both original medieval examples and later ones, both Nasrid and not). Ironically, Ibn San'a al-Mulk observes that "a *muwashshah* is not a *muwashshah* until it is entirely free from forced artificiality,"[902] a feature that characterized both Nasrid and Arabian examples of the *muwashshah*, distinguishing them from their earlier Iberian influences and perhaps pointing to a paradigm shift away from such strict definitiolns that was never fully adopted nor whose models were as influential as the earlier *taifa*, Almoravid, and Almohad examples.

I have focused on the heretofore underexplored historical reality and explication of how did the *muwashshah* survive within and without of Iberia, it is worth noting that the three definitions surviving within existing *diwans* essentially conservatized the *muwashshah*, both creating and codifying a lasting set of mutually compatible interpretations of what constituted the perfect *muwashshah*, at least within an intellectual context. Despite the fact that the *muwashshah* was, in the first instance, a demonstratedly innovative genre, applying such strict

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[902]   Zwartjes, *Love Songs from al-Andalus*, p. 254.

definitions to the genre as a whole ensured that any further examples would adhere to the key features of the *muwashshah* with minimal deviation. Preservation of written examples, relatively free of copyist error and mostly decipherable via comparative paleography techniques,[903] ensured that the examples preserved would be looked to as ideals, much as happened with the codification of most oral traditions. In essence, the *muwashshah* was insulated from broader paradigm shifts, for the most part, with little additional transformation possible after the recording of examples that almost without exception adhered to these idealized definitions.

Moreover, although these definitions were retrospective, looking back at previous examples of the *muwashshah*, they also served to eliminate other, likely unknown, *muwashshahs* from survival; in other words, *muwashshahs*, extant or not, that did not meet the *diwan* criteria strictly enough, were eliminated from consideration, a fact that Ibn Bassām makes very clear above. Despite the small experiments within the Nasrid tradition and the recombination with the broader *qasida* genre, the general patterns of the *muwashshah* still conform to critical definitions. Again, strict adherence to such definitions, as mostly happened with preserved *muwashshahs*, regardless of origins, ensured a continuity with Iberian examples (due to the lack of further applied paradigm shifts), while at the same creating a preference for preserving *muwashshahs* that did not demonstrate innovative features that might not have adhered as strictly to extant, recorded

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[903] Hitchcock, Richard, "Interpreting 'Romance' *Kharjas*," in Jones, Alan and Richard Hitchcock eds., *Studies of the* Muwaššah *and the* Kharja *[Proceedings of the Exeter International Colloquium]*, (London: Ithaca Press, 1991), discusses some of the issues inherent in deciphering and transcribing *muwashshahs*, with a test case of both an easily-read selection and a more difficult piece.

definitions. In essence, the success of the *muwashshah* at navigating the various paradoxes inherent in its continued survival prevented it from undergoing additional paradigm shifts that might have jeopardized its preservation, an example of another set of paradoxes inherent in its continued survival. The *muwashshah*, then, had only limited impact within Arabia itself; historically, it was a curiosity, and while it never disappeared within a scholarly or academic context, evidence suggests that it largely disappeared from the popular imagination.

Such survival then, or lack of survival, indicates a few key points when one compares the relative abandonment of the *muwashshah* and its themes within Arabic poetry to the subtle adoption and infiltration of the *muwashshah* and its themes within European literature. While it is not my goal to make a direct point-by-point comparison, given that such comparison again veers towards the philosophical, two key features are worth drawing out here. First, as examined within chapters five and seven, European poetry had little comparable outlet for some of the discussions of emotion and individuality expressed within the *muwashshah*. Therefore, the existence of the *muwashshah* as an influence upon *troubadours* and their descendants represented a separate legacy of paradigm shifts distinct from any paradigms set within an Arabic context. Conversely, the *muwashshah*, in terms of Arabic poetry, was but one of many genres that could express a personal emotional existence. Consider this selection from an early Iberian *ramal* as a counterpoint:

1 A branch which sways on a rounded sand dune, and from which my heart gathers [a harvest of] fire,
2 [Is such that] beauty causes a never-waning moon to arise from his face.

3   He charms [us] with the intensely white and black eyes of a white antelope whose glance is an arrow notched [to be aimed at my heart][904]

Pre-dating the *muwashshah*,[905] just as the epic predated the rise of the *troubadours* within a European context, it is filled with the same type of powerful imagery beloved by the *muwashshah* poets. As a result, one can see the diffusion of some of the themes found prominently within the *muwashshah* distinct within an Arabic poetic tradition, independent of are *muwashshah*. Potential Arabic parallels to the reliance on the *troubadour*-transformed *muwashshah* is not nearly so prominent within Arabic poetry. Arabian poetry contemporary with the above *ramal* demonstrates the same themes, suggesting that these themes were already well-spread within the Arabic-speaking world.

      Second, and perhaps more importantly, the *muwashshah* existed primarily as a minor, regional genre amongst more prominent, pan-*Arabic* ones, and never attained the same prominence within Arabia as it enjoyed within Iberia, or even within North Africa. Although it was recorded within Arabia and by Arabian critics, it remained distinct from more prominent Arabian genres, and, in many ways, remained an alien genre, evidenced even within Iberia by its re-fusion with the *qasida*, its likely origin point. Unlike how it appeared within Iberia, with its distance from the cultural centers of Arabia and North Africa (despite its historic links to North Africa), the continued development of Arabian poetry remained distinct from the repeatedly shifted paradigms of Iberia. Such development reinforced the overriding Arabic consensus that Arabian literature and culture represented the

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[904]   ash-Sharīf aṭ-Ṭaliq, cited in Monroe, James T., trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), no. 4, pp. 154-155.

[905]   ash-Sharīf aṭ-Ṭaliq lived in the latter half of the fourth/tenth centuries (c. 350 AH/961 CE to c. 400 AH/1009 CE.), just prior to the popularization of the *muwashshah*. See Appendix I.

most authentic version of its variously-diffused offshoots. As a result, Arabian poetry was not forced to distinguish itself from its peers or predecessors. Instead, its regional peers (and both regional and eventual Arabian successors) were forced to distinguish themselves from both classical and medieval Arabian-Arabic contexts.

Indeed, one of the key features distinguishing North African (and other) relict survivals from the continued development of poetry within Arabia is the continued set of paradigm shifts, inherited in part from Iberia, that continued to influence the development of the *muwashshah*. Although in the first few sections of this chapter, I discuss the paradigm shifts within Nasrid culture that led to the crystallization of the *muwashshah*, it would be remiss of me not to reiterate that the adoption of musical accompaniment as a strict requirement appears to be another shift, crucial to the survival of the *muwashshah* outside of an academic, calcified context. Although, again, we cannot be sure of the interaction between music and the original set of *muwashshahs* as have been left to us, it seems that none of the extant definitions required music as an integral part of defining the *muwashshah*, for the reasons discussed in the previous subsection. However, the paradigm shifts that Arabian poetry underwent did not appear to include the same criteria in any context, and so, Arabian poetry and the *muwashshah* continued to derive in separate directions, despite the continued influence of Arabian-Arabic poetry on non-Arabian poetry through to the present day.

In essence, the modern *muwashshah* (as described above) has generated and inherited a certain set of paradigm shifts, apparently post-dating the recorded definitions of the various *diwans*. The *muwashshahs*, as they survived,

demonstrate shifts independent of the original sets described within chapters three to six (especially four and six), but also relied on the adaptability demonstrated by their ability to continually absorb and adopt non-Iberian influences. Such shifts indicate a continued development within the context of the *muwashshah* while at the same time, preserving the *muwashshah* from totally disappearing. While no longer the major genre it once was in its heyday, it has not been driving to extinction as the *zajal* has, nor has its initial re-fusion with the *qasida* come to full fruition. The *muwashshah* as it exists today (within the limited context described above) is not the same *muwashshah* evidenced from Iberian examples, but neither is it a totally distinct genre fully distinguishable from medieval examples nor a convenient label adapted from a distant past.

9. Conclusion

Ultimately, the *muwashshah*'s importance can be demonstrated by the way in which it linked disparate cultures together; as a linchpin of cross-cultural contact, the genre serves as a demonstration of the rich interconnectedness of Greco-Roman and Arabic cultures within al-Andalus and its successors. Similarly, it serves as a demonstration of the role of Hispano-Arabic culture as a point of intersection, with a resultant impact upon both Western, Christian, European culture and Arabic culture throughout North Africa and Arabia. However, the *muwashshah* itself exists both independently of and dependently upon these other cultures. While the genre would not exist without the influences of both sets of predecessors and their accompanying paradigm shifts, (both those undergone prior to the rise of the *muwashshah* generally, and upon the *muwashshah* specifically), its own existence furthers this role of intersectionality. The genre's own generated paradigm shifts at once set it apart from other Arabic-language poetry and integrated it into the broader history of Western literature, though at a fundamental linguistic and cultural level, the *muwashshah* represents a form of (Hispanicized) Arabic, even Islamic in some instances, literature, whose Arabic features kept it firmly apart from its European descendants, even as its European features kept it from full adoption within an Arabic idom.

The distinct twinning of separate histories of paradigm shifts, both prior to, during, and subsequent to the rise of the *muwashshah*, then, is the unexplored area within *muwashshah* studies. Likewise, within the context of the *muwashshah* itself, as an independent genre, the descent from a mutually exclusive pair of influences, that of pre-existing Greco-Roman and Arabic culture, has been

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heretofore minimized within the context of the origins of the *muwashshah*. Indeed,

prior scholarship has been mostly unable to place the *muwashshah* within a

genealogy of poetry, whether its specifically Arabic family tree or in context of a

strictly Western progression of literature. As a point of intersection and the

descendant (and promulgator) of distinct paradigm shifts, and as the result of the

creation of a genre independent of mainstream Arabic poetry, the *muwashshah*

exists as an example of an unusual, if not unique, fusion of Greco-Roman and

Arabic themes, followed by becoming a unique diffusion into European culture,

while remaining relatively minor within the context of Arabic descent.

Furthermore, certain themes expressed clearly within the *muwashshah* may

be viewed as a clear forerunner of Western, Christian ideals, both in parallel with

the *troubadours*, and as an influence upon later literature (as transformed through

European intermediaries). As explored throughout chapter five, the distinct

paradigm shifts shared by both (Muslim) Hispano-Arabic culture and Christian,

European culture outlined the place of the *muwashshah* within two distinct literary

traditions, placing it within a context of subsequent Western art, though of course

with any influence mediated through the paradigm shifts undergone by the

troubadours and their descendants. In essence, the *muwashshah* provided the

opportunity for a non-Christian, non-Western[906] catalyst that allowed for the

expansion of Western literature within certain forms. The *muwashshah* and its

themes diffused throughout the Christian epic, as well as enhancing the Western

lyric tradition, to create and then further the development of the Western

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[906]   Applying the term Western here is problematic; certainly Spain lies at the far western edge
of Europe, but the culture of al-Andalus and descendants categorically looked to eastern, Arabian
culture for its influence.

understanding and idealization of love, lust, and desire. The paradigm shifts traceable to the *muwashshah* had a firm influence on later work within Europe.

In essence, it is the *muwashshah* that allowed for the fusion of Hispano-Arabic lyric poetry and Western sensibilities to give rise to Renaissance and modern interpretations of love within the West; it is the paradigm shifts engendered by the *muwashshah* that helped to create those foundational understandings within Christian Europe. While not adopted wholesale, the *muwashshah* and its resultant paradigm shifts had a great impact on the fundamental structure of Western literature. Again, the *muwashshah* promulgated itself not via direct adoption, but rather by the paradigm shifts its presence created. Looking to William IX, one may see the direct parallels between his work and that of the *muwashshah* poets, while at the same time tracing the influence of his themes throughout following poetry within Europe. The *muwashshah* exists as the impetus for that adoption, standing as its own set of paradigm shifts, radical enough within Hispano-Arabic literature, but just as radical was its influence on the West.

Conversely, the paradigm shifts the *muwashshah* represented in terms of Arabic poetry were never adopted to the same scale. Within contemporary Arabia and North Africa, the disdain the *muwashshah* was treated with prevented the paradigm shifts that created the *muwashshah* (those of Greco-Roman origins) to transfer back into Arabic poetry as a whole, keeping the *muwashshah* as a separate genre, rather than its themes being readopted back into mainstream Arabic fashion. Despite the partial refusion of the *muwashshah* with its antecessor Arabic genres, such as the *qasida*, it remained a genre apart from the mainstream successors within Arabic poetry. Indeed, the *muwashshah* existed only as a niche

genre, and despite its subsequent maintenance and preservation, albeit with changes, within Northern Africa and Syria, failed to have the same impact within Arabic-speaking environments.

Despite its survival as a genre within the Arabic-speaking world, the *muwashshah*'s influence was limited, in no small part by the repeated understanding that it was somehow a genre alien to Arabic. That said, the genealogy of the *muwashshah* as somehow independent from Arabic, minor survivals notwithstanding, is just as mistaken as interpreting the *muwashshah* as somehow going extinct, or at the very least, entering a wholly moribund state, at the end of the Almohad period. Indeed, the survival of the *muwashshah* as a Hispano-Arabic genre, though expressed as an aspect of more traditional Arabic poetry, demonstrates the depth that the paradigm shifts exemplified by the *muwashshah* were able to penetrate more mainstream, traditional poetry. The *muwashshah*, despite needing clear definition within the critical *diwans*, was not so foreign as to be entirely dismissed, nor was it so separate as to simply become a historical curiosity as so many seem to believe, even those conscious of the limited survival within North Africa. The *muwashshah*, despite its limited influence, survived competing sets of paradigm shifts to remain part of an Arabic vernacular.

However, it remained a minor part of literary history, distinct from mainstream trends, and to a certain extent, immune to such external paradigm shifts, as examined within chapter six. The *muwashshah* existed as an outsider form, even at the height of its popularity, and the genealogy of the genre reflects this in the way that it was seen as somehow separate from mainstream tradition. Such continued separation reinforced the notion of the *muwashshah* as a niche

genre, and indeed, the story of its survival points to such a niche position. Despite the knowledge of the *muwashshah* within the Arabic-speaking world, it has survived most thoroughly only regionally, with specific adaptations to a changed position. It has undergone other paradigm shifts, most notably the crucial integration of the modern *muwashshah* with music, that keep it apart from other, more pan-Arabic examples, even when they have a history of mutually shifted paradigms, especially those that can be traced back to at least the Almohad period.

These critical interpretations, both historical and modern, represent attempts at solving our crucial questions about the *muwashshah*, as represented by the research questions presented in my introductions: what were its origins; what was the actual extent of its impact upon both Western and Arabic culture; what specific connections existed beyond the end of the Almohad period; how did it survive within any culture. While some authors minimize the role of Greco-Roman and accompanying prior European influence on the genre, and others simply see the *muwashshah* as a curious aberration solely within an Arabic tradition, I have demonstrated the rich interconnectedness of both parts of the *muwashshah*'s heritage and its influence on a pair of cultures traditionally seen as disparate parts. Even within the scholarship surrounding the *convivencia*, the *muwashshah* is not represented as an overlap between the two cultures, but instead seen as an attempt by the Arabic elite to both coopt and dismiss the Hispano-Christian culture, including its language. Prior scholarship has ignored the value of setting the history of the *muwashshah* against a broader history revolving around the concept of paradigm shifts, both punctuated and gradual, thereby decontextualizing the *muwashshah* from at least one of the three following portions of its genealogy: prior

Greco-Roman influence, as examined within chapter three; subsequent influence upon European literature, as examined primarily within chapter seven; general Arabic history, as examined within primarily chapters four and eight. While the *muwashshah* has rarely been divorced from its *Hispano-Arabic* context, that is, at the most basic level as an example of intersectionality, its place in the history of literature had yet to be fully contextualized against the two intertwined portions of its genealogy, with proper emphasis put on its status simultaneously as a descendant of and generator of paradigm shifts applying to two separate cultures. Throughout, as an original contribution to research, I have demonstrated that the *muwashshah* and its cumulative history represent, rather than anomalies within a previously pure Arabic tradition or an isolated quasi-European genre, the sum of two distinct histories of paradigm shifts.

Likewise, I have shown that the *muwashshah* does not cease to exist when the Almohad dynasty fell, as is simply assumed by a majority of authors, on at least a subconscious level. Instead, the *muwashshah* survived, at least thematically, within a Western 'context, absorbed creatively into the broader Western tradition, reassessed through the lens of *troubadour* culture. While representative of a different literary culture, the *muwashshah*'s impact was only transmogrified by Christianity and a Latin context, rather than eliminated entirely. As demonstrated within chapter seven, the *muwashshah*'s impact has rippled clearly through the history of Western literature, and occasionally into other arts. Its presence continued to be felt with European literary history, even as the immediate presence of the *muwashshah* as a European genre began to fade, first with the Nasrid emphasis on the preservation of pre-existing examples, and then with the ultimate

expulsion of Muslims (and eventually even crypto-Muslims) from Spain. Despite the lack of immediate literary influence, as felt by the *troubadours*, especially early, neighboring ones such as William IX, the key thematic features of the *muwashshah* continued to reverberate within European society, despite being reinterpreted to better fit a specifically Christian, European context. Such influence has continued, not just through a post-*troubadour* interpretation of lyric poetry, but has fundamentally shaped Western interpretations of love, lust, and desire.

Moreover, the clear adaptation and survival of the *muwashshah*, even after the decline and fall of the *taifa*, Almoravid, and Almohad kingdoms, representing the traditional contextualization of the *muwashshah* and its development, has all too often been minimized in favor of a distinct study of those and only those time periods. Within a broader Arabic context, the survival of the *muwashshah* has been either ignored or treated as a curiosity, rather than as a continuation of the complex genealogy of the *muwashshah*. Though forced to ignore Stern and Nykl, writing before the Western rediscovery of the *muwashshah*, placing the modern *muwashshah* within the more general history of the *muwashshah* represents a reclamation of the entirety of the *muwashshah*'s genealogy. Such comprehensive historical study of the *muwashshah* represents a more complete understanding of the paradigm shifts shaping and shaped by the *muwashshah*; further work is needed to investigate the specific transformations of the late Nasrid *muwashshah* into the modern, North African musical version.

Regrettably, even within *muwashshah* studies generally, the successors to the medieval *muwashshah* have been predominantly neglected, and those studies that have occurred have treated each instance in isolate, rather than providing a

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thorough picture of what composes the later *muwashshah* and their descendants; indeed, even the fact that the Arabic-speaking commentators and critics who preserved the bulk of the *muwashshah* wrote after the traditional *taifa*-Almoravid-Almohad period speaks to the fact that these poems were considered in terms only of themselves, rather than as reflective of broader trends or shifts within Arabic poetry. The uncertain position of the *muwashshah* within Arabic literature, on the one hand dismissed as somehow un-Arabic while at the same time preserved and the superiority of Western examples admitted, has been taken as established fact, without critical analysis, and without putting the traditional, Arabic interpretation of the *muwashshah* in dialogue with more modern understandings of how the *muwashshah* fits into the history of both Arabic and non-Arabic literature.

The *muwashshah* is by its very nature, with its blended, hemistich-generated form and complex use of registers both Arabic and Romance, an intersectional genre. It represents a form not to be understood solely in terms of Arabic literature, beholden strictly to the forms and definitions provided within that literary culture (despite the claim that "the metres of these *muwashshahat* go beyond the scope of our book, for most of them do not follow the rules of Arabic metrics.")[907] Likewise, despite its Greco-Roman origins and clear impact upon Western literature, most especially seen within the conceptualizations of love, lust, and desire, it cannot be seen as a genre independent of its clearly Arabic origins. The *muwashshah* is, ultimately, a key moment in the genealogy of two different literary traditions; it represents, truly, a Hispano-Arabic genre, the product of fusing

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[907]   Ibn Bassām, cited in Monroe, trans., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, p. 28.

two disparate cultures, and with clear paradigm shifts diffusing throughout two

separate cultures.

Appendix I – Timeline

> Provided are all artists, commentators, and critics who have been referenced in the texts or footnotes. Where known, names, dates and places of birth and death have been provided, in chronological order by birth (if known) and secondly by death. Poets in italics have no certain dates and have been placed approximately at the time of their writing; those underlined represent poems with uncertain attribution.

Aristotle; 384 BCE (Stagira) – 322 BCE (Euboea).

al-Muthaqqab al-ʿAbdī

al-Nabighah al-Dhubyanī fl. 23 BH/600 CE

Aʿsha Maimûn of Bakr; fl. 20 BH to 8 AH/602-629 CE.

Farazdaḵ of Dârim-Tamîm; c. 29 AH/650 CE (Basra) – c. 110 AH/728 CE.

Ismaʿîl b. ʿAmmâr of Asad.

Jaʿfar of Ḥârith-Madhḥij.

Jarîr of Kulaib-Tamîm c. 29 AH/650 CE (Yamama) – c. 110 AH/728 CE.

Muslim of Azd; c. 129 AH/747 CE – c. 208 AH/823 CE (Jurjan).

Abu Nuwās; c. 138/139 AH/756 CE (Ahvaz, Iran) – 199 AH/814 CE

Abu Tammâm of Ṭayy; c. 179 AH/796 CE (Syria) – c. 230 AH/845 CE (Mosul).

Muqaddam ibn Muʿāfā al-Qabrī – b. after 184 AH/800 CE – d. before 392 AH/1000 CE.

Sumnūn b. Ḥamzah al-Baṣrī; d. 303 AH/915 CE

Mutanabbi of Madhḥij; c. 303 AH/915 CE (Kufa) – 354 AH/965 CE.

ash-Sharīf aṭ-Ṭaliq; c. 350 AH/961 CE– c. 400 AH/1009 CE.

The Beowulf *Poet; extant manuscript dates to approximately 975-1025.*

Maʿarri; c. 362 AH/973 CE (Ma'arra) – 450 AH/1058 CE (Ma'arra).

Ibn Ḥazm; 383 AH/994CE (Córdoba) – 456 AH/1064 CE (Montijo).

Ibn ʿAmmār; 422 AH/1031 CE (Silves) – 474 AH/1083-1084.

Ibn al-Labbāna; d. c. 506 AH/1113 CE.

Khayyam, Omar; 439 AH/1048 CE (Nishapur) – 525 AH/1131 CE (Nishapur).

Ibn Bassām; c. 450 AH/1058 CE (Santarém) – c. 542 AH/1147.

William IX; 1071 – 1127.

Ibn Quzmān; c. 470-472 AH/1078-1080 CE (Córdoba) – 555 AH/1160 CE. (Córdoba).

Turold (purported author of *La Chanson de Roland*); poem dates to between 1040 and 1115, with most changes complete by 1098.

al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī; d. 519 AH/1126 CE.

al-Abyaḍ.; b. unknown (Alhendin) – d. after 1130.

Ibn az-Zaqqāq; d. 527 AH/1133 CE

Ibn Baqī; d. 540 AH/1145 CE or 545 AH/1150 CE.

Ibn ʿUbāda al-Qazzāz.

Ibn Zuhr [not to be confused with his grandfather, the noted physician also known as Ibn Zuhr or Latinized as Avenzoar); 507 AH/1113 CE (Seville) – 595 AH/1198 CE (Marrakesh)

Averroës; 520 AH/1126 CE (Córdoba) – 594 AH/1196 CE (Marrakesh).

El Cantar de Mio Cid*; dates unknown, but poem dates to approximately 1140-1220.*

Anonymous; representing no. 4 in the Compton translation of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk's Dar al-Tiraz. As Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk died in 1211, this poem cannot date from later.

Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk; c. 550 AH/1155 CE – c. 607 AH/1211 CE

Chrétien de Troyes; fl. 1170-1190

Shushtarī; c 608 AH/1212 CE (Shushtar) – c. 668 AH/1269 CE

Ibn al-Fāriḍ; d. 632 AH/1235 CE

Ibn Sahl of Seville; d. 648 AH/1251 CE

al-Nawawī; 631 AH/1234 CE (Nawa) – 676 AH/1277 CE (Nawa)

Alighieri, Dante; c. 1265 (Florence) - 1321 (Ravenna)

Petrarch; 1304 (Arezzo) – 1374 (Arquà)

Ibn al-Khaṭīb; 713 AH/1313 CE (Loja) – 776 AH/1374 CE (Fez)

Ibn Khaldūn; 732 AH/1332 CE (Tunis) – 808 AH/1406 CE (Cairo)

Sir Thomas Malory; c. 1415-18 (Warwickshire) – 1471 (Newgate); several persons bore the name Sir Thomas Malory, author of *Le Morte d'Arthur*; these represent the dates for the most likely candidate.

Yūsuf III; d. 819 AH/1417 CE (Granada)

St. Teresa of Avila; 1515 (Gotarrendura) – 1582 (Alba de Tormes, Salamanca)

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de; 1547 (Alcalá de Henares) – 1616 (Madrid)

Shakespeare, William; 1564 (Stratford-upon-Avon) – 1616 (Stratford-upon-Avon)

Gray, Thomas; 1716 (London) – 1771 (Cambridge)

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von; 1749 (Frankfurt) – 1832 (Weimar)

Wordsworth, William; 1770 (Cumberland) – 1850 (Cumberland)

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor; 1772 (Ottery St Mary, Devon) – 1834 (Highgate, Middlesex)

Lord Byron, George Gordon; 1778 (London) – 1824 (Missolonghi, Aetolia, Ottoman Empire [Greece])

Shelley, Percy Bysshe; 1792 (Horsham, Sussex) – 1822 (Gulf of La Spezia)

Tennyson, Alfred, Lord; 1809 (Somersby, Lincolnshire) – 1892 (Lurgashall, Sussex)

Wagner, Richard; 1813 (Leipzig) – 1883 (Venice)

Burton, Sir Richard Francis; 1821 (Torquay) – 1890 (Trieste)

Archer, James; 1822 (Edinburgh) – 1904 (Haslemere, Surrey)

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