

A STUDY OF CERTAIN LINGUISTIC, METRICAL,
AND LITERARY ASPECTS OF THE DIWAN
OF IBN QUZMAN (d. 1160 A.D.)

by

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Thesis presented for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of London
School of Oriental and African Studies

October 1975



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ABSTRACT

This thesis, primarily a study of the Dīwān of the Hispano-Arab poet Ibn Quzmān, attempts to show that the popular Arabic literary genre, the zajal, has often been studied from the point of view of literary history, or from a genetic rather than from a generic point of view. It also attempts to show that medieval theories about the zajal, namely that it was written in colloquial or vulgar Hispano-Arabic, have been accepted by scholars up to the present without adequate examination.

In this work the zajal is viewed as part of a literary tradition or literary genre, perhaps shortlived, but in any case neglected, called /al-hazl/. In essence this was a literary parody and an expression of literary revolt against the strict demands and conventions of classical Arabic literature and writing. Its protagonists seem to have called it /hazl/ to distinguish its droll approach from the sombre and ponderous traditional style of classical Arabic writing which they termed /mu`rab/. Accordingly an attempt is made here to show that just as it was the declared intention of the /hazl/ writers to free their work from the demands of desinential inflection, /i`rāb/, they also disregarded the demands of linguistic purity and pedantry. It is thus one of the themes of this thesis that while the language of the zajal plays havoc with classical Arabic, and popular or colloquial terms are rife in it, it is not, as has so far been maintained by practically every student of the zajal, a colloquial genre.

The metrical irregularity of the zajals of Ibn Quzmān is explained in the light of the irregularity and nonconformity which characterize the /hazl/ genre, and an attempt is made at the outset to demonstrate the undesirability of postulating a syllabic theory for his metrical patterns.

One other conclusion of this work is that the /kharja/ of the classical muwashshah, the subject of so much controversy, and in many ways a puzzle on account of its Romance, popular, vulgar and sometimes even obscene elements, was an element of /hazl/ appended to an otherwise strictly classical or /mu'nab/ muwashshah.

Finally the thesis also examines some Spanish influences on Ibn Quzmān.

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PREFACE

Although in this study of Ibn Quzmān frequent references are made to zajals of the poet culled from various sources outside his Dīwān - Isābat al-Aghrād fī Dhikr al-A'nād - attention is primarily given to the 149 zajals in the Dīwān, and it is on these that the main discussion of language, metre, syntax, etc., is centred.

The Dīwān has already been published twice in Latin characters, first in 1933 by A.R. Nykl, with a partial translation into Spanish, and again in 1972 with a complete translation by Emilio García Gómez. In 1941 seven zajals of the poet were studied and translated by the Finnish scholar O.J. Tuulio. Since a period of forty years separates the first complete edition by Nykl from the second by García Gómez, it is natural that the more recent edition of García Gómez, Todo Ben Quzmān, comes in for closer scrutiny and receives more attention in some of the chapters of this work. The edition by García Gómez, besides, offers among other studies a comprehensive syllabic metrical theory of the zajals of the poet, and is, as its title signifies, a more ambitious work than anything on Ibn Quzmān which has preceded it.

For the purpose of this work, and due to the fact that the study of the zajals and muwashshahs is rousing increasing interest, it has been considered necessary to adopt some of the terms already standardized for parts of the zajal and muwashshah and to take as standard a number of additional terms needed for detailed reference or nomenclature.

The /maṭla`/, which carries the sanction of the classical /qaṣīda/, is already standardized as the term for the first opening lines of common rhyme in the muwashshah and zajal. Without it both would be described as /aqra`/ `balds', `baldheaded'. All subsequent verses of common rhyme will be referred to as /qufl/, although on comparative grounds a case could be made for /qafl/ or /qafla/ to correspond to the Spanish vuelta. The separate parts of the /qufl/, if it is constituted of more than one hemistich, will be referred to as /simṭ/. This term seems both natural and plausible since the /simṭ/, semantically, is the string or thread on which one strings together the pearls or beads of a necklace and the parts of common rhyme which run through the zajal or muwashshah are comparable to such a string or /simṭ/.

The parts of varying rhymes in the different strophes are already referred to as /ghuṣn/ (pl. /aghṣān/). If a /ghuṣn/ is a composite one, then each part of it will be referred to as /juz`/. Finally the term strophe is used instead of /bayt/ to refer to any separate group of /aghṣān/ and their accompanying /qufl/.

One added remark seems necessary, if not imperative. Although this thesis has five separate chapters concerned with the metre, the language and various other aspects of the zajal, these chapters are more or less interdependent to a degree which makes it necessary that they be read as a single unit. For this reason an element of overlapping in the five chapters has been unavoidable. The metre (chap. II), and especially a quantitative metre, cannot be discussed in isolation from questions of language and syntax (chap. III). The element of irregularity and burlesque discussed in chapter IV likewise affects both

the metre and the language and syntax of the zajal, and it is indeed discussed in this work as being the essence of the genre. Accordingly this chapter, which seems to constitute a conclusion to the main arguments of this work, could just as well have been its introduction.

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I give my warmest thanks to Professor T.M. Johnstone for reading this work and for the many discerning suggestions he has made, to Dr. Roger Walker of Birkbeck College for help so freely given, and to my wife, Farida, for the time and patience expended in preparing the typescript..

C H A P T E R I

BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION

THE STUDY OF THE ZAJAL AND A PRIORI THEORIES

Nowhere more than in the study of the zajal and muwashshahs, where source material is scanty ^{1/} and most references are vague, has the printed word, always an object of reverence, been more persistently stretched in implication and interpretation in order to shed light on what seemed and still seems mysterious and difficult to explain. The Arabs, so studious of convention and so conservative in the field of literary forms had, at least in part, towards the end of the 9th century in Spain abandoned the monorhyme form of their poems and started writing in strophic forms. In these, in brief, the rhyme is varied within the body of each stanza in the poem while at the same time each stanza is followed by a master rhyme or rhymes which remain the same, like a refrain until the end of the poem. ^{2/} This muwashshah form and its rather popular counterpart, the zajal, were so developed and elaborated during the following three centuries, and presented such a break with Arab literary practice that their origin and primary inspiration have remained a dilemma down to the present day. Besides,

1) Some of these sources have been found to be mere copies of others. See "El Kitāb al-Muqtataf" where Ahwānī shows that Ibn Khaldūn's comments on the zajal and muwashshah in his Prolegomena are an outright copy of Ibn Sa'id. This is referred to by GG, "La lírica hispano-árabe", p. 312, and by Stern in "Four famous muwashshahs", p. 342.

2) A Literary History of the Arabs, p. 416.

the striking similarity in form, in the rhyme and sometimes even in the rhythmic patterns of these muwashshahs and zajals and subsequent or contemporary troubadour verse has presented commentators and critics down to our day with yet another puzzle. That the Arabic forms, which apparently made an earlier appearance than extant Provençal poetry, provided the inspiration both for the formal qualities and, according to some, the ethos of troubadour poetry, is a theory which still has its protagonists as well as its implacable opponents. On the other hand there are those who still see, in the Arabic muwashshahs and perhaps in the popular zajals, such a tour de force on the part of the Spanish Arabs that they resort to a seemingly more patent tour de force in an attempt to prove that the inventor of the muwashshah and zajal forms was simply a Spanish Mozarabe. ^{1/}

In order to appreciate at the outset, and only to a limited extent, the incertitudes surrounding this controversy and the wide gulfs which have often separated the various parties to it, it might be sufficient to outline in brief here two viewpoints both relatively up to date and with hardly more than the space of two decades between them.

1) See "Some new evidence for the Romance origins of the muwashshahs", where B. Dutton makes an attempt to postulate Romance origins for the muwashshah and zajal by trying to find possible semantic links between such terms as /qufl/, /kharja/, /markaz/, etc., and some Romance equivalents of these terms, as well as by trying to find similar links between the name Muqaddam Ibn Mu'afa, the reputed inventor of the muwashshah form, and Spanish names of which it could be a likely translation. The author then suggests that Muqaddam was either a recent convert or the son of a convert with Romance, presumably, as his mother tongue.

In 1941 Ramón Menéndez Pidal published for the first time in book form his Poesía árabe y poesía europea.^{1/} His main argument in this work was concerned with the strophic form of the Hispano-Arabic muwashshah and zajal, or what he termed the "estrofa zejelesca" and the wide diffusion and influence it had attained, according to him, not only in Provence but in the rest of Europe. This influence, in the author's mind, gains such credence because the first Hispano-Arabic poet to write in these strophic forms appeared towards the end of the 9th century, while the first Provençal poets to cultivate this same strophic form appeared at the beginning of the 12th century.^{2/}

In assigning the date of the "inventor" of the muwashshah form, and presumably, to the mind of the author, the zajal form, Menéndez Pidal bases himself on the two standard references, the Dhakhīra of Ibn Bassām of the 12th century and the relevant passages in the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldūn which, as has been pointed out before, have proved to be a fairly forthright copy of Ibn Sa'īd's Kitāb al-Muqṭaṭaf.^{3/}

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- 1) In its original form the section of the book bearing this title constituted a paper read at the Hispano-Cuban Cultural Institute in Havana on 28 February, 1937. It was subsequently published in the Bulletin Hispanique, 1938, pp. 337-423. It is to this latter edition that GG refers in his article "La lírica hispano-árabe", p. 307.
 - 2) Poesía árabe, p. 66.
 - 3) GG, op. cit., p. 312, calls it a shameless plagiarism.

That Menéndez Pidal should be speaking of Muqaddam Ibn Mu'āfā al-Qabrī, the inventor of the muwashshah, ^{1/} in connection with both the muwashshah and the zajal ^{2/} seems only to be in keeping with the general trend of the work where the term zajal is used to cover both forms without any serious attempt at a distinction. In fact, Menéndez Pidal explicitly considers the term zajal as another name for a muwashshah when a more dialectal form of Andalusian Arabic is used in the latter. ^{3/} He consequently uses the term zajal throughout his work to refer to both forms. ^{4/} In like manner he is able to group together muwashshah writers like 'Ubāda Ibn Mā' al-Samā', ^{5/} Ibn al-Labbāna and Ibn Bājja with a zajal writer like Akhtal Ibn Numāra mentioned by Ibn Quzmān

1) Although MP is basing himself in his work on Ibn Bassām (Dhakhīra) and Ibn Khaldūn (Prolegomena), he mentions that according to both authors the inventor of the muwashshah or zajal, as he puts it, was the poet Muqaddam Ibn Mu'āfā al-Qabrī, and adds "el Ciego" meaning 'the blind' (Ar. /al-darīr/. But in actual fact there are two traditions concerning the inventor of the muwashshah, and Ibn Bassām and Ibn Khaldūn represent these separate traditions. It is the latter who, as Ahwānī has demonstrated, reproduces the Kitāb al-Muqtataf of Ibn Sa'īd, who gives the name of the muwashshah inventor as Muqaddam Ibn Mu'āfā. In Ibn Bassām the name is Muḥammad Ibn Mahmūd al-Qabrī, and it is the latter who was the blind poet, not Muqaddam. See on this, Ahwānī, op. cit., pp. 28-31.

2) Poesía árabe, p. 19.

3) Ibid., p. 20.

4) This identification of the two forms becomes totally untenable when the author claims (ibid., p. 54) that the zajal, being in vulgar Arabic, did not offer the same difficulty of interpretation as did cultured Arabic poetry. Nowhere would this description fit the excessive artistry and difficulty of the muwashshahs nor was the zajal, in my view, in vulgar Arabic as I point out in chap. III below.

5) Dhakhīra I, II, pp. 1-12 and Fawāt al-Wafayāt, I, pp. 254-257, where al-Kutubī quotes Ibn Bassām.

as a master zajal writer and a distinguished predecessor of the poet in the field. ^{1/}

In this manner too Menéndez Pidal, in a plea of further justification, is able to point out to the protagonists of the Arabic-Andalusian theory (teoría arábigo-andaluza) the presence of a whole line of zajal writers preceding Ibn Quzmān, just as he points out how damaging it would be to limit to Ibn Quzmān alone the much debated question of original models and imitations. The author goes on to say, in the same tone of justification, that the works of Ibn Quzmān alone were cited in his day because he was the only poet of whose works a whole collection of zajals was preserved. ^{2/}

It is now time to ask what is this Arabic-Andalusian theory which forms the burden of Menéndez Pidal's Poesía árabe y poesía europea, and what is the question of the models and imitations he speaks about and which have just been referred to?

This is outlined in a simple form by Menéndez Pidal, who refers at the same time both to the protagonists of this theory and its many opponents. He points out that the zajal strophe is basically composed of three monorhymic verses or, to use his words, has as its nucleus three monorhymic verses. ^{3/} He then points out that this strophic form is extensively used not only in medieval Spanish poetry, but in the most ancient Provençal poetry. ^{4/}

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- 1) Fascicule, plate 3.
 - 2) Poesía árabe, p. 23.
 - 3) Ibid., p. 15.
 - 4) Ibid., p. 16.

The Arabic-Andalusian theory, with Julián Ribera and A.R. Nykl among its first protagonists, postulates that this strophic form of the Arabic-Andalusian zajal together with certain features of the ideology of love expressed in it have left the mark of their influence on the beginnings of Provençal poetry, and particularly on the works of the first of the well known troubadours, Guillaume IX, the Count of Poitiers and Duke of Aquitaine. ^{1/}

On the other hand there are those, according to Menéndez Pidal, who find no basis for this argument and who deny the presence of any such influence. M. Rodrigues Lapa, for example, in his Das origens da poesia lírica em Portugal, cites strophes of three monorhymic verses from Latin poetry of the 11th century which leave him in no doubt that long before the days of Ibn Quzmān the metric forms of the zajal were well known in Europe.

C. Appel and A. Jeanroy, on the other hand, while conceding that the idea of Arabic influences was gaining more credence, it was, to them, still unsubstantiated.

But, Menéndez Pidal, who poses in his work, Poesía árabe y poesía europea, as the arch-exponent of the Arabic-Andalusian theory, states categorically that the argument of M. Rodrigues Lapa, for example, holds no water, when the latter cites monorhymic Latin strophes of three verses from the 10th and 11th centuries because the zajal strophe, as Menéndez Pidal stresses, is one of a very particular kind in which the three monorhymic verses are followed by a fourth whose rhyme is the same as that of the "burden" or "estribillo" at the beginning (/maṭla`/), a rhyme

1) Ibid., p. 16.

which is repeated in the fourth verse of each strophe until the end of the poem. ^{1/}

From the examples he gives of this - a composition attributed to Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino, number 511 in the Cancionero de Baena, ^{2/} and zajal 114 of Ibn Quzmān as it appears in A.R. Nykl's edition, ^{3/} - as well as from the subsequent description he gives of the manner in which he thinks the zajal was sung ^{4/} Menéndez Pidal leaves no doubt in the reader's mind that he takes it for granted that the /matla'/ on estribillo, called by some the theme-stanza, ^{5/} was supposed to be repeated:

1) Poesía árabe, p. 17. While this description fits some of the zajals of Ibn Quzmān, or in fact the greater part of them, those termed by Stern "the zajal proper" in which the /asmāt/ do not reproduce the scheme of the whole of the /matla'/, but half of it, (see "Studies on Ibn Quzmān", pp. 379-385), it is hardly applicable to any of the more sophisticated zajals, termed by Stern "muwashshah-like zajals", and naturally not applicable to the muwashshah.

2) Presented to King Juan II by Juan Alfonso de Baena around 1445, the poets represented in it wrote either towards the end of the 14th or beginning of the 15th centuries. See on the Cancionero, Estudios literarios, pp. 210-218 and The Literature of the Spanish People, pp. 95-96. See this latter also p. 95 on Villasandino.

3) It must be pointed out that the zajal reproduced by MP as being n^o 114 in Nykl's edition does not in any way correspond to n^o 114 in the Diwān of Ibn Quzmān or to Nykl's transcription of this zajal in his edition. The fact that the zajal, as reproduced by MP (Poesía árabe, p. 118), has a refrain which is supposed to be repeated at the end of each strophe raises further doubts concerning the source of the quotation, and makes the mere attribution of such a zajal to Ibn Quzmān open to question.

4) Poesía árabe, pp. 20-21.

5) See Disertaciones y opúsculos, p. 78, where it is called "estrofilla temática", and The Literature of the Spanish People, p. 43.

as a refrain after each strophe of the zajal, whenever the fourth verse or verses of the common rhyme were heard, presumably by a choir or by the public acting as one. It is clear from Menéndez Pidal's description that the estribillo to him is equivalent to a refrain and equivalent to the /maṭla' / or /markaz / in the zajal.^{1/}

There is nothing in what has come down to us, however, to indicate the use of a refrain either in the muwashshah or the zajal.^{2/} Nor is there in either of the two Arabic forms an element of repetition which offers a parallel, for example, to the constant element of parallelistic repetition in the Galician-Portuguese

1) See his description of this in Poesía árabe, pp. 17-19. See also pp. 20-21 where MP after quoting Ribera on the subject goes on to trace an equivalent to the manner in which the muwashshahs and zajals were sung in the modern arrangement of similar material sung by a Tunisian artist. In the muwashshahs and in a good number of zajals the verses with common rhymes at the end of the strophe (/asmāt/) have internal rhymes and are at times as long as the basic strophe. In some muwashshahs these will be found not only to equal but exceed the basic strophe in length, and would thus be tantamount to songs in which the refrain is longer than the main part of the strophe. (See for examples muwashshahs 7 and 8 in Dar al-Tirāz, pp. 49-52). This is not to mention the zajals and muwashshahs without a /maṭla' / (Ar. /aqra' /) and presumably without a refrain which MP dismisses as intended to be recited and not sung. (Op. cit., pp. 29-33).

2) The /maṭla' /, according to Stern seems to have functioned occasionally as a refrain in some Hebrew muwashshahs. See on this B. Dutton, op. cit., p. 74. However, the only exception one should make here is the zajals and muwashshahs of the Sūfī poet al-Shushtarī (1203 ? - 1269), which sometimes display an element of repetition at the end of each strophe.

collections of the 13th century (cancioneros gallego-portugueses) which Menéndez Pidal has discussed at length, drawing attention at the same time to the rich lyrical element that repetition bestows on some of the songs in these collections. ^{1/} Our reference to these songs, however, is not merely incidental. That is because this element of repetition in the Galician-Portuguese collections occurs particularly in the group of songs usually called cantigas de amigo in which a likely point of contact or at least similarity with the muwashshahs has often been "canvassed". This is the fact that the maiden in love in these songs, the enamorada, speaks of the anxieties resulting from the absence of her love, describes the various trials she is going through and then addresses a final oni de œur, in the manner of the last /qufl/ or /kharja/ of the muwashshah, to her mother or friend or other confidant.

There is neither this element of parallelistic repetition ^{2/} in the zajal and muwashshah nor is there a development of the theme of the /maṭla`/ or opening lines in subsequent stanzas equivalent to the development in the Spanish examples offered by Menéndez Pidal as the Spanish counterparts of the zajal.

Menéndez Pidal gives a clear impression that these two elements were integral to the zajal; and it is perhaps

1) Estudios Literarios, pp. 203-207.

2) On this element of Parallelism in the cantigas de amigo, and the device known as leixa-pren, see Deyermond, A Literary History of Spain, p. 16.

this fact which has prompted some writers, most probably drawing on his works and those of Julián Ribera, to describe the /maṭla`/ in the Arabic zajal and muwashshah as a theme-stanza, and at the same time to equate it with a refrain. ^{1/}

Having proffered his theory concerning the common formal qualities and formal correlation of the zajal and Troubadour poetry, which Julián Ribera had already pointed out with equal emphasis, ^{2/} Menéndez Pidal then proceeds to seek further proof of the influence of the Andalusian zajal on troubadour poetry in what he terms internal evidence or internal similarities. ^{3/} He finds ample evidence of this influence in what he terms the idealistic concept of love which he sees as dating back to pre-Islamic times in Arabic literature in the East, and which Andalusian Arabic poets utilized and developed as from the 9th century extolling the edifying power

1) This is what Brennan does, (op. cit., p. 43). In a description of the zajal and the way he thinks it was sung, he says that "it is the verse of a carole or choral ring dance" in which "...the chorus sings the theme-stanza every time the dance leader gives the rhyme cue for it." The Spanish example Brennan gives of it - Juan Ruíz's Trova cazura, in the Oxford Book of Spanish Verse - is very similar to the one given by MP. Like MP, Brennan had taken muwashshah and zajal to be identical but found it necessary in subsequent editions of his book to add a note to the effect that differences between the two had become apparent.

2) Disertaciones y opúsculos, p. 59. The relevant chapter entitled "El cancionero de Abencuzmán" was, in fact, Ribera's inaugural lecture in the Royal Spanish Academy delivered on 26 May, 1912.

3) Poesía árabe, p. 57.

that love has over the people it enslaves. Such concepts or ideas he goes on to say do not make an appearance in Romance literatures until the days of the first troubadour poets in the 12th century. ^{1/} Menéndez Pidal outlines various aspects of this idealized or idealistic love all of which he feels are not of European origin. The total submission of the poet-lover to the will and perhaps caprice of his beloved, he sees as a lasting theme in Arabic literature which finds an equivalent expression in the songs of the troubadours. He sees this idealized love as the main inspiration of Ibn Hazm's book on love and lovers, presumably *Tawq al-Hamāma*, and in direct opposition to the idea of love as expressed in Ovid in whom, he says, in an utterly fruitless quest, some have tried to find an inspiration for the troubadours of the first period. ^{2/}

Another aspect of this idealized platonic love which Menéndez Pidal discusses in some detail is the love which finds no recompense. It is the love which is ever constant although never requited. This love, he feels, had no precedent in Latin literature. The enjoyment of a love without requital was a refinement which never occurred to the mind of a Roman writer or poet, and which found abundant expression for the first time among the Arab poets, and particularly the Andalusians among them, and then later makes an appearance among the Provençal poets. ^{3/}

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- 1) Ibid., p. 66.
 - 2) Ibid., p. 59.
 - 3) Ibid., pp. 61-62.

Menéndez Pidal quotes what he calls a zajal ^{1/} by Ibn al-Labbāna, dating back to sometime before 1091, as expressive of this hopeless yet indulgently languishing love. He goes on to say that such ideas find frequent expression in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān. ^{2/} Zajals 132 and 140 of the poet are given as examples of how disdain and torment at the hand of the beloved turn out to be the delight of the poet-lover, and love is the sweeter the more bitter it turns out to be. Likewise, Menéndez Pidal points out, Cercamón among the Provençal poets exclaims how gently and graciously his beloved killed him, while to Bernart de Ventadorn all injury in love is sweetness to the impassioned lover. ^{3/}

The other element of internal evidence which Menéndez Pidal cites in support of the influence of the Arabic-Andalusian lyrics on the songs of the early troubadours is the frequent recurrence in both of certain terms or themes which, he feels, cannot be merely coincidental. Among these, as is well known, is the frequent mention by Guillaume IX and Marcabré, for example, of the gardador - a kind of a watchdog custodian of a woman who is at the service of her husband or her lover. To the same extent the term /al-raqīb/ 'vigil', 'guard', crops up in the Andalusian zajals, as Menéndez Pidal puts it. ^{4/}

1) This is yet another instance of Menéndez Pidal's total identification of the two terms muwashshah and zajal.

2) Poesía árabe, pp. 62-63.

3) Ibid., p. 63.

4) Ibid., p. 56.

Since Menéndez Pidal made these remarks many students of Provençal poetry have pointed out the recurrence of the term gardador or what seems to them as its obvious prototype in the works of Ovid and Plautus, ^{1/} where the two poets speak of the hateful custodian of the young woman "odiosus custos puellae" or the vigilant guardian "vigil custos". But Menéndez Pidal, as is clear from his work, was not unaware of this. ^{2/} He points out that the function of the gardador in the works of the Roman poets was totally different from its function in the Andalusian and Provençal lyrics, and, more important, that it appears in these latter, Andalusian and Provençal alike, with a consort of other supernumeraries like the /nammām/ 'calumniator' and the /'adhūl/ 'censurer' in Arabic and the lauzengiers 'calumniators' or the enojos 'envious' in Provençal, all of whom bring grief and ill luck to the two lovers. ^{3/}

However, it is not the intention here to attempt to prove or disprove the influence of the Andalusian zajal on Provençal poetry. What is intended is to show how the various attempts to study the Andalusian zajal in the light of seemingly a priori assumptions and theories has constantly hindered and blighted a proper and rudimentary understanding of it.

The Arabic love-lyric which portrays an idealizing

1) See for an example of this, La lírica de los trovadores, p. 9.

2) Poesía árabe, p. 56.

3) Ibid., p. 57.

love, and a poet who is the more solicitous the more inaccessible his love, made a short-lived appearance in Arabic literature in the 1st century of the Hijra or more precisely towards the last decades of the 7th century and the beginning of the 8th A.D. But side by side with it, and equally short-lived, appeared the love-poem which was as mundane as the other was idealistic, and as wanton and indulgent as the other seemed ascetic and sublime. While the second is best represented by the poet 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabi'a, the best representative of the former is the poet Jamīl. ^{1/} It was in both cases, however, the first time that the independent love-poem had made its appearance in Arabic literature. In fact, Ṭāha Husayn goes further than that and emphatically points out that it was the first and the last time that the love-poem for its own sake was known in Arabic literature. ^{2/}

Having emphatically affirmed that love-poetry figures once but not a second time in Arabic literature, and that only at the beginning of the Umayyad era, Ṭāha Husayn goes on to point out that the Abbasids, like the pre-Islamic poets, did not cultivate love-poetry for its own sake. They abandoned it, he feels, for the poetry of licentiousness, wantonness and buffoonery. ^{3/} In

1) Hadīth al-Arba'ā', p. 302. See also Arabic Literature, pp. 44-45.

2) Hadīth al-Arba'ā', pp. 293-294. The particular article on 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabi'a had first appeared in al-Siyāsa on 10 December, 1924.

3) Ibid., p. 294.

like manner, he feels, the Andalusians had turned it into a poetry of conceits and excessive literary artifice. 1/

Another dedicated student of Andalusian literature, Jawdat Rikābī, finds the Andalusian muwashshahs which Menéndez Pidal classifies with the zajals, as lacking freshness and profundity and dependent in their appeal on the musical melody and the choice of words. 2/

In view of all this it is impossible not to ask which body of Arabic poetry does Menéndez Pidal refer to when he says that rejoicing in an unrequited love is a manifestation which first abounds in the works of the Arab poets, and especially the Andalusians among them, and then appears at a later date in the works of the Provençal poets. 3/

If he is referring to the poetry of Jamīl and his 'Udhri 4/ contemporaries in the Hijāz, to whom the definition is most likely to apply, the question then arises if this poetry found its way to Spain without its counterpart, the hilariously gay and worldly poetry of 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabī'a. But, as Tāha Husayn emphatically points out, Andalusian poetry has nothing that is distantly commensurate with the one or the other. In his work on Andalusian literature, Jawdat Rikābī dedicates one whole section out of four to the Cordovan born poet Ibn Zaydūn (1003-1070) because he perhaps feels that he

1) Ibid., p. 295.

2) Fī al-Adab al-Andalusī, pp. 303-305.

3) Poesía árabe, p. 62.

4) The epithet derives from the tribe to which Jamīl belonged - the Banū 'Udhra. See Gibb, op. cit., p. 45.

is the most prolific and celebrated among the Andalusians. He singles out the poet's ode addressed to Wallāda the daughter of the Caliph Mustakfī for special praise. He then asks whether the rest of the poet's work is of the same standard. The answer he gives is negative except for one or two exceptions. The rest of the poet's work, he feels, does not attain the same degree of excellence although, he adds, it does not descend to the trivial. ^{1/}

However, when all is said, it is possible to agree with Menéndez Pidal that one can pick verses from the works of Andalusian poets or from Ibn Zaydūn, as he does, ^{2/} to support the view that Arabic love-poetry reflects a total resignation to the will of the beloved, which he is then able to equate with the courtly concept of obediensa expressed in the songs of the troubadours. ^{3/}

What one totally disagrees with, however, and that is primarily our concern here, is that Menéndez Pidal should present the zajals of Ibn Quzmān as representative of the idealizing love which seeks no recompense, and that he should cite the Dīwān of the poet, among other works, in order to prove as untenable the theories once maintained about Arabic love-poetry that it was sensualist and the exact antipode of courtly love. ^{4/}

This seems particularly surprising because Ribera had expressed a completely different view of the Dīwān

1) Rikābī, op. cit., p. 200.

2) Poesía árabe, p. 59.

3) See, for examples, Riquer, op. cit., song n^o 5 by Guillaume IX, p. 22 and n^o 8, p. 30.

4) Poesía árabe, p. 58.

of Ibn Quzmān long before Menéndez Pidal had published his work. Ribera had found the zajals of Ibn Quzmān simply lubricious, shamelessly erotic, cloyed with lust and carnal desires, sodomitic, impossible to translate or read without a strong sense of moral nausea although, as he adds, their merry light-hearted tone, the ingenuity in the manner of expression and the exquisite gaya ciencia they display makes them sometimes tolerable and at other times charming. 1/

On another occasion Ribera states concerning the zajals of Ibn Quzmān that at times he had serious doubts whether a man (like him) who had already been combing grey hairs and who set a high store by his dignity should have expended the efforts he went through in order to find out how the indecent sodomites of that corrupt city (referring to the Cordova of Ibn Quzmān's days) sang their songs. 2/

It is not necessary to add that one agrees more with Ribera's views of the zajals of Ibn Quzmān than with the views expressed by Menéndez Pidal. A poet who frankly declares that if others had the patience to cook love he preferred to eat love uncooked, 3/ cannot be classified as a protagonist of idealized love and as non-sensualist. If further proof of this is needed it might be sufficient to quote the poet himself again where he declares that if there be those who suffer

1) Ribera, op. cit., p. 45.

2) Ibid., p. 72. Rodrigues Lapa, op. cit., p. 31. makes similar remarks about the Arabic poetry written in Cordova in the days of Ibn Quzmān.

3) Zajal 140.

one or the other of the two failings, pederasty or adultery, he, the poet, suffers the two together. ^{1/}

In fact, I fully agree with Ribera that what redeems the zajals of Ibn Quzmān from vulgarity is the freshness of his artistic and ingenious manner of expression. ^{2/} Very much like Abū Nuwās before him in the Arab East, he seems to have been as dissolute as he was likeable.

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It would not have been necessary to go into this detail here if the latest studies of Ibn Quzmān did not, like that of Menéndez Pidal, start, as it seems again, from a priori assumptions which cloud the issues and become prejudicial to a simple reading and understanding of the zajals of the poet. To put it more simply, these studies, seemingly more involved with literary history than with the zajal itself, still make their starting point the expression of a theory concerning the zajal which makes any subsequent study or analysis look like an attempt to make everything fall into line with the postulated theory.

1) Zajal 30. See for a study of this wanton aspect of the poet's life Ahwānī, Al-Zajal, p. 100 and pp. 147-159. See also an article by the present writer, "Maqamat literature and the picaresque novel", JAL V, pp. 11-11, where some of Ibn Quzmān's escapades are seen as characteristic of a pícaro.

2) Op. cit., p. 45.

As already stated above, an ardent expounder of the Arabic-Andalusian theory (teoría arábigo-andaluza) was Julián Ribera. But Ribera while detailing and stressing the influence that the Arabic-Andalusian zajal had exercised on the Provençal lyrics, ^{1/} had given this theory a new dimension, and added yet another controversial aspect to the whole question. He was as good as certain that the lyrical poetry of Ibn Quzmān, the zajal, could only have had its origin and prototype in an Andalusian lyric in Romance anterior to the 10th century, or a much more ancient Galician lyric, which the Galician colony introduced into Andalusia, and from which proceeds the Romance lyric anterior to Ibn Quzmān. ^{2/}

1) Disertaciones y opúsculos, pp. 55-71. See in particular p. 58 where after examining composition 6 of Guillaume IX as it appears in Mahn's Die Werke der Troubadours I, Ribera points out that at least 94 zajals out of the 149 in Ibn Quzmān's Diwān have the same distribution of rhymes. He then points out a number of the poet's zajals which, he feels, have an identical distribution of rhymes and the same number of syllables in each verse as in Guillaume's composition. On p. 57 Ribera says that Guillaume employs a strophic system so similar to that of Ibn Quzmān that there is no doubt that the two systems are one and the same.

2) Ibid., pp. 53-54. It should be remembered, of course, that Ribera paves the way for these conclusions by pointing out at great length that Andalusian society after the first few generations is better described as Spanish rather than Arab. It was of Hispanic race despite a mixture of foreign blood in some families and the fact that the people were Moslem in faith, (ibid., p. 26.) Carrying to its conclusion his theory of the merger of the Arab soldiery by successive intermarriage with the indigenous population, he goes on to prove by a process of mathematical progression that 'Abd al-Rahmān III had only 0.39% of Arab blood, and the Caliph Hishām II only 0.09%, (ibid., p. 16.) The conclusion is then easy to reach from here that Romance continued to be the familiar and popular language of such a society, (ibid., pp. 26-37).

In support of such a theory Ribera, quite naturally, quotes the Romance element, words, and at times whole phrases, which appear in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān. Coupled with these he mentions a few themes which he feels are evidently non-Islamic like the poet's references to the festivities or songs of los Mayos or los Eneros. ^{1/} But he goes further than this when he positively declares that he found nothing purely Arabic in the love-themes treated in the poet's Dīwān. Nothing, he goes on to say, referring to camels or to journeys through the desert, nothing referring to a nomadic or wandering life or to the deserted encampments of the tribe, or any Arab historical themes and allusions. Perhaps there is such a rare or sporadic allusion, which he finds only natural in someone with the poet's erudition. ^{2/}

All these themes, however, had been shunned at a much earlier date by the half-Persian poet Abū Nuwās (d. ca. 803) in the Arab East without anybody attributing a non-Arabic origin to Abū Nuwās's forthright diatribes. The outright quotations and adaptations ^{3/} from Eastern Arab poets, and the erudite references to the latter in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān are too many to be dismissed as sporadic.

1) Ibid., p. 46.

2) Ibid., pp. 45-46.

3) See for an example of this an adaptation of the /matla'/ of Mutanabbī's famous ode to Kāfūr, governor of Egypt, in the /matla'/ of zajal 174 in TBQ; p. 78 in al-`Ātil of Hillī.

The preceding theory concerning Romance lyrics anterior to those of Ibn Quzmān was outlined by Ribera in 1912. In 1948 appeared the first article by S.M. Stern concerning the final verses (/kharja/) in Spanish in some Hispano-Hebraic muwashshahs. ^{1/} In the following year an article by the same author appeared about a Romance /kharja/ in an Arabic muwashshah. ^{2/} A year later G.S. Colin made his capital discovery of the manuscript now known by his name, ^{3/} and which revealed the largest number of Romance /kharja/s, yet known to us, in Arabic muwashshahs.

It is not the purpose here to enumerate these discoveries or the studies which have since been made of them. The intention is to point out that new theories have been postulated in their light concerning the muwashshah and zajal. In 1956 García Gómez declared that we had probably arrived at the secret of the genre called muwashshah, which consists of being a composition in which what is essential is the /kharja/. The zajal strophe (la estrofa zejelesca) and the general structure of the poem had lost interest for us. The zajal had passed to secondary importance. It is the /kharja/s which now occupy the foreground and deserve our interest. ^{4/}

To García Gómez, irrespective of the fact that the muwashshahs which encompass a Romance /kharja/ are

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- 1) "Les vers finaux".
 - 2) "Un muwaššah arabe".
 - 3) The 14th century anthology by Ibn Bushnā, entitled 'Uddat al-Jalīs wa Mu'ānasat al-Wazīr wa 'l-Ra'īs.
 - 4) "La lírica hispano-árabe", p. 309.

only a small portion of the bulk of this literature, ^{1/}
the muwashshah in its origin became simply a poem
intended to include or enframe a Romance or Mozarabic
/kharja/ foreign and anterior to it in existence. ^{2/}
Accordingly, since he thinks the zajal is derived from
and posterior to the muwashshah ^{3/} he makes a serious
attempt to study the /kharja/ in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān. ^{4/}

I have chosen to refer to the article on the
/kharja/ in Ibn Quzmān by García Gómez because the author
has incorporated it in his most recent work Todo Ben
Quzmān in which he explicitly sets out, as he tells us,
to demonstrate and corroborate the genial intuitions of
his teacher Ribera. ^{5/}

If the zajal should turn out to incorporate
/kharja/s of Romance origin that would seem to bear
out or validate Ribera's theory that both the muwashshah
and zajal as a literary genre had in their origins been
imitations of a Romance lyric anterior to them. ^{6/}

Ribera, of course, had declared too that the
system used by Ibn Quzmān is syllabic and not the classical
one of quantitative feet, ^{7/} and García Gómez's latest
work, as I point out in subsequent chapters is a determined

1) About 24 muwashshahs out of a total of 300 poems in
Ibn Bushrā's anthology (the Colin Manuscript).

2) See "La lírica hispano-árabe", p. 314, and "La jarġa
en Ibn Quzmān", p. 5.

3) "La lírica hispano-árabe", p. 313, and "La jarġa en
Ibn Quzmān", p. 1, where GG calls the zajal the little
daughter (hijuela) of the muwashshah.

4) "La jarġa en Ibn Quzmān", pp. 1-60.

5) TBQ, introduction, p. x.

6) "La lírica hispano-árabe", p. 306.

7) Disertaciones y opúsculos, p. 43.

attempt to substantiate and uphold this theory.

That I consider this as perhaps another attempt to explain the zajal in the light of preconceived assumptions will, I hope, become clear in the course of the following chapters. It should be sufficient here, by way of an example, to single out one final verse of a zajal of Ibn Quzmān which García Gómez considers as a /kharja/ or semi /kharja/ and see how it is translated and interpreted by him in a manner seemingly designed to fit it into a hypothetical role arbitrarily assigned for it. The zajal is nº 71 and it is, as García Gómez points out,^{1/} a panegyric addressed to the Granadian vizier Abū 'l-Hakam Ibn Abī 'Ayshūn, although it begins with a riotously bacchic prelude. It ends with the two verses:

/fa-kullu shā'ir idha sallam

ḥuwayja thamm/

'If any poet greets (eulogizes),

Then there is some need (demand).'

García Gómez says of these two verses that they are a deformation of, and allusion to a popular love-song or copla which everybody knew by heart in 12th century Cordova, and which we know today because Ibn Quzmān has converted it into a /kharja/ of his zajal nº 60.^{2/} In the latter zajal the two final verses are:

1) TBQ, I, p. 352.

2) Ibid., p. 353 and III, pp. 252-253.

/khaṭar ḥabībī wa mā sallam
ghurayyad thamm/

'My beloved passed without greeting (me),
(He must have) some little thing (reward)
in mind.'

This, García Gómez goes on to say, proves without a shade of doubt that the latter (the /kharja/ of zajal 60) was a popular copla not appertaining to the zajal (ajena) and known to everybody at the time. ^{1/}

In this manner, García Gómez trying, as he says, to substantiate Ribera's theories that the Andalusian zajal had its inception in the traditional popular Romance lyrics which preceded it, ^{2/} interprets these final verses (/kharja/s or semi /kharja/s as he calls them) and more than a score of others in the same light. ^{3/}

However, the meaning of the two verses quoted above is clear and straightforward. From a poet like Ibn Quzmān, who depended for his living on the rewards that his panegyrics earned him, ^{4/} the message is clear:

/fa-kullu shā`ir idha sallam
ḥuwayja thamm/

That is if a poet greets (someone) then his greeting is not without a /ḥuwayja/ - a little need or request which he likes to be fulfilled. Ibn Quzmān was very importunate in the demands he made from the people he eulogized.

1) TBQ, I, p. 353.

2) See note 5, p. 31.

3) "La jarġa en Ibn Quzmān" and TBQ, III, pp. 225-266.

4) Ahwānī, Al-Zajal, pp. 82-90.

Whether the words were his or whether they were a current proverb in his days does not change the clear and simple message they convey. It is the message of a well-known Persian proverb which practically seems identical with the words of Ibn Quzmān:

سلام روستائی بی جهت نیست

'The greeting of a peasant is not without a motive.'^{1/}

In fact, one finds no reason why García Gómez should translate /ḥuwayja/ as secretillo^{2/} or 'a little secret', instead of 'a little need or request', except for the fact that secretillo makes the connection with a love-song or a popular copla more likely and more plausible.

The question as to which of the two final couplets at the end of zajal 60 and zajal 71 preceded the other or imitated it seems an academic one, although I feel that the couplet at the end of zajal 71 is the original one and not vice versa. Many an idea expressed by Ibn Quzmān appears repeated in different forms in different zajals. In fact, a whole strophe of zajal 71 whose final verses have been quoted here, - strophe 4 - appears as strophe 5 in zajal 74, although with a totally different /qufl/.^{3/}

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- 1) I do not deem it far-fetched to say that it is precisely this element of hypocrisy in eulogies and panegyrics (i.e. the poets' /salām/) which has given to Spanish zalamero and zalama the meanings of "flattering" or "flatterer" and "flattery" respectively.
 - 2) TBQ, III, note 42, p. 252. Nykl, however, translates: "now, every poet, when he extends greetings, wants a little present!" (Hispano-Arabic Poetry, p. 285).
 - 3) TBQ, I, p. 352.

I have not gone into all this detail in order to bear out or refute the argument whether there are any /kharja/s in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān and whether they do ^{or} do not derive from popular love-songs or Romance coplas preceding them. What I have tried to show in the preceding pages is how the study of the zajal in the light of assumptions postulated in advance can be prejudicial to a simple and sound understanding of it.

But the one assumption from which all the studies of the zajals of Ibn Quzmān have invariably started is that these zajals are written in the vulgar or vernacular Andalusian Arabic. ^{1/} It is the argument of this thesis that these zajals are not written in the vernacular, and the following chapters are a discussion of the various issues which arise out of that. For the rest this work is an attempt to help arrive at a proper reading and understanding of the zajals of Ibn Quzmān.

1) The following are only a few examples of a list which could include most of the studies made of Ibn Quzmān:

Tuulio, Ibn Quzmān, p. iv,

Ribera, Disertaciones y opúsculos, p. 35,

Dutton, "Some new evidence for the Romance origins of the muwashshahs", p. 80,

MP, Poesía árabe, p. 54,

Abbās, Tārīkh al-Adab al-Andalusī, Book 2, p. 264, where he describes the zajal as "entirely colloquial, mixed at times with foreign terms."

C H A P T E R II

THE METRE OF THE ZAJAL - CLASSICAL ARABIC OR SYLLABIC?

1. Metrical irregularity in medieval Spanish verse

Just as the start from a priori assumptions and theories has proved prejudicial to a sound understanding of the zajals of Ibn Quzmān, the assumption that these zajals had their inception in the popular Romance lyrics which preceded them, has apparently bolstered the view that the metrical system of these zajals is syllabic and not the classical Arabic system of quantitative feet.^{1/} This, in turn, has led to specious and arbitrary attempts to subject the zajals to a syllabic system.

What is particularly surprising in this connection is the approach of the Spanish scholars who, up to this time, have been most prolific in their attempts to study and to categorize the Hispano-Arabic zajal. There is a total consensus among them in their expression of surprise concerning the metrical irregularity, if not at times the total lack of a metrical scheme or system in the Spanish poetry contemporary with or in the age following that of Ibn Quzmān.

One of the thorny problems they have had to deal with, and still without their having come to any satisfactory conclusions, is the metrical irregularity of the epic poem Cantar de mio Cid, composed about the year 1140^{2/} when Ibn Quzmān was perhaps still compiling

1) Disertaciones y opúsculos, p. 43.

2) Brenan, op. cit., p. 51. See Deyermond, op. cit., p. 45, for a more recent view of the date of the Cantar.

the best of his zajals. I cite the Cantar de mio Cid, not only because of the unusual metrical pattern it uses, but because unlike the zajals of Ibn Quzmān and the Spanish jongleur poetry contemporary with it or written one or two centuries after it, the Cantar de mio Cid is epic heroic poetry, and heroic poetry, as Sir Maurice Bowra has put it, "requires a metre". ^{1/} Menéndez Pidal in his work on the poem speaks of the extremely irregular nature of its verses ^{2/} and has indeed tried to introduce emendations to rectify what he presumably considers is a faulty text in a tentative attempt to arrive at a possibly better one.

A more recent attempt to explain the metrical irregularity of the Cantar de mio Cid, and to offer a new approach to a possible reconstruction, is made by L.P. Harvey ^{3/} in the light of A.B. Lord's conclusions concerning Yugoslav epics still sung in our day. ^{4/} The hypothesis offered is that the Cantar de mio Cid is a "dictated version of a true oral text", where the singer deprived of the vital prompting, so to speak, of the melody or the musical accompaniment, is immediately exposed to metrical errors and aberrations.

In fact, the metrical irregularity of the Cantar de mio Cid makes it seem out of keeping with traditional

1) Heroic Poetry, p. 36. On the same page Bowra refers to the fact that in the Cantar the line varies from 10 to over 20 syllables.

2) Cantar I, p. 103.

3) See "The metrical irregularity of the Cantar de mio Cid".

4) The Singer of Tales.

Spanish poetry. A laborious and detailed analysis by Menéndez Pidal has shown that the seven-syllable hemistich is the most frequent among the widely differing types of line in the poem. Menéndez Pidal finds it difficult to square this with the predominant and ultimately regular octosyllabic feature of the later Spanish romances. His conclusion is that perhaps during one given period, namely that of the Cantar de mio Cid, and under the influence of French epic metres, the heptasyllabic base became dominant, but was later abandoned as the French influence slackened. ^{1/}

In 1942 Menéndez Pidal published his work on the jongleurs and their poetry entitled Poesía juglaresca y juglares. The book, which makes for delightful and instructive reading in describing the various types of jongleurs, their way of life, their poetry and the various musical instruments they used, is, in my view, a necessary and perhaps indispensable background to any study concerned with the Hispano-Arabic zajals and muwashshahs. It is in this book that one can get an insight into that culture which Menéndez Pidal so aptly describes as a "cultura literariomusical" ^{2/} in the light of which both the zajal and the muwashshah can best be understood. But the conclusion which comes out of the book most clearly, and, for our present purpose, the most relevant, is that the author is able

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- 1) Cantar I, p. 102, quoted by Harvey, op. cit., pp. 141-142.
 - 2) Poesía juglaresca, p. 116.

to demonstrate the marked ametrical nature of the jongleur poetry in Spain in the 12th, 13th and even the 14th centuries. This aspect of the jongleur poetry in Spain is so marked, declares Menéndez Pidal, that it is manifest even when the Spanish jongleurs are translating and imitating French poems in which the metre is clearly regular. As an example of this he offers La vida de Santa María Egipcíaca in which lines of seven, eight, ten and eleven syllables exist with others of nine, the latter being dominant because of the French influence. But when all is said and done, adds Menéndez Pidal, the metre remains irregular according to the custom of the Spanish jongleur poetry. ^{1/}

Since the present study tends to view Ibn Quzmān as the product of, or at least as influenced by this "cultura literariomusical" of which Menéndez Pidal speaks, it might not be irrelevant here to follow up still further a subject which might seem only incidental to our purpose. Menéndez Pidal, in fact, feels that the metrical irregularity he describes in great detail is still not understood or even admitted by many critics who remain under the sway of their prejudices. ^{2/}

In fact, speaking of the Archpriest of Hita, who lived and wrote almost two centuries after Ibn Quzmān, Menéndez Pidal has no doubt that the greater part of all of what has come down to us of the Archpriest's Libro de buen amor is "arte juglaresco" and he sees this juglaría in the irregular metre of the Libro de buen amor.

1) Ibid., pp. 211-212.

2) Ibid., p. 212.

which is free from all erudite preoccupation with "sílabas cuntadas". ^{1/}

It is beyond the scope of this work to go in detail into the views of Henríquez Ureña on the subject, expressed in his book La versificación irregular en la poesía castellana; but his agreement with Menéndez Pidal is forthright. ^{2/} In view of all this it is surprising to see Spanish scholars jump to the conclusion that the zajals of Ibn Quzmān are syllabic at the first sign of ametría they detect in his poetry.

2. Some pitfalls of a syllabic theory for the zajal

On 26 May, 1912, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, ^{3/} Julián Ribera delivered his inaugural speech before the Royal Spanish Academy on the Dīwān of Ibn Quzmān. This inaugural lecture was published in book form in 1928 with a large number of other works by the same author. ^{4/}

In his discourse on the Dīwān Ribera made what is probably the first explicit and categorical reference to the supposed syllabic structure of the zajals of Ibn Quzmān as opposed to the classical Arabic quantitative system. ^{5/}

1) Ibid., p. 159.

2) Besides speaking of the "relative anarchy" of the Cantar Henríquez Ureña is forthright about the fact that it is not easy to come across popular Spanish romances with all their verses strictly syllabic until well into the 16th century. See his chapter "La versificación irregular en la poesía de la edad media (1100-1400)", p. 9 and p. 15.

3) See above, p. 19.

4) Disertaciones y opúsculos, pp. 3-92.

5) Ibid., p. 43.

Of course the other aspect of Ribera's argument in his discourse was that this poetry of Ibn Quzmān and other zajal writers was, at its best, the work of Mozarabic poets addressed to a predominantly Mozarabic society. ^{1/} In an attempt to prove this point, and by way of preparation for his statement on the syllabic metrical structure of the zajal, Ribera chooses a passage from zajal 10 with a seemingly predominant Romance element which has for a long time puzzled and "delighted" all students of Ibn Quzmān and his zajals. ^{2/}

Before making any further comment on the passage in question one would like to point out the risks of making too much out of the Romance element, scanty as it is in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān. It is the minimum that could be expected in a poetry aiming at the farcical, and the facetiously humorous remark. ^{3/} It is, besides, a common feature of literary productions such as the zajal where two cultures or languages either intermingle or develop in symbiosis. To take only one example, Spanish scholars must have been aware of the 13th century Galician jongleur Pedro Añez Solaz and the extensive element of Castilian he mixes with his Galician songs, a testimony

1) Ibid., pp. 12-40, where Ribera tries at great length to prove that in the days of Ibn Quzmān the proportion of Arab blood in the population of Spain had become negligible. See note 2, p.28 above. This is not the place, nor is it indeed necessary to go into the ethnic origins of the poets who wrote the Hispano-Arabic zajals or other poetry. Suffice it to say that the Arab poets who hailed from Mesopotamia, and were held by all Andalusian poets as the examples of excellence, were in some cases no more of pure Arab blood than the Andalusians.

2) TBQ, I, p. 56 where GG calls it "the famous strophe".

3) See Chapter IV below where this burlesque element in Ibn Quzmān is discussed in greater detail.

to the constant efforts at accomodation in language made by the jongleurs from the North in order that they might be understood with ease in Castile. 1/

Besides, this tenuous Romance element in Ibn Quzmān, being in Arabic, has never been thoroughly understood or read with any measure of agreement. What is even worse is that scholars have often been led into reading a Romance element into straightforward classical Arabic expressions which they either have read hastily or have not altogether understood. 2/

Since an appendix is dedicated to such erroneous readings at the end of this work, it will suffice here to give only one or two examples to make the point.

Strophe 8 of zajal 13 of Ibn Quzmān has a /qufl/ which reads:

/Hindī walad hindī MASQŪL, muḍakkar/

This verse is reproduced here exactly as transliterated

1) Poesía juglaresca, p. 132.

2) It is not irrelevant to point out here, for example, that even if the semantic origins of such Arabic words as /qiṭṭ/ 'cat' or /baqara/ 'cow' were found beyond doubt to derive from cattus and vacas respectively, this would not justify the classification of /qiṭṭ/ as a Romance word by GG, which he includes in his "Romancismos", TBQ, III, p. 420. Such terms were in use in Arabic long before the Arab conquest of Andalusia. I also see no reason why GG should read and transliterate /qiṭṭ/, which is clearly vocalized as such in the Diwān, (zajal 92, strophe 7) as /qaṭṭan/, unless he intended the word, thereby, to have more accordance of sound with present day Spanish gato, or the more distant origin he postulates, cattus. It should be pointed out in this connection also that Neuvonen has read the term /qiṭṭ/ in question as one more instance of the adverb /qaṭṭ/ so frequently used in the Diwān. (See his article "La negación /qaṭṭ/ en el Cancionero de Ibn Quzmān", p. 8.)

by García Gómez in his work Todo Ben Quzmān, ^{1/} where he transliterates and translates in capital letters what he thinks are Romance elements.

Having come across the word /MASQŪL/ which is a rarely used lexical variant of /maṣqūl/ meaning 'polished' or 'burnished', García Gómez misunderstands it and takes it for a Romance word which he relates to masculus, which, as he says, has given the Spanish macho meaning 'male'. ^{2/} In fact, to use his own words, he says that /masqūl/ with all certainty is masculus. However, even if /masqūl/ were not a lexical form, anyone with a sound knowledge of Arabic and Arabic literature, would, in view of the unmistakably clear context, have taken /masqūl/ to be a copyist's error for /maṣqūl/, which he would not only understand as meaning 'polished', 'furbished', but would immediately recognize as the much overworked epithet for 'a sword', particularly in classical and medieval Arabic literature. ^{3/} But, having lost touch with the context, García Gómez makes what is little more than a wild conjecture. He misses the meaning of /hindī walad hindī/ in the verse quoted above, as is clear from the fact that twice in his comment on /masqūl/ ^{4/} he says with some surprise that he does not know why 'Hindu son of a Hindu' or 'Indian son of an Indian' should have been taken as an insult.

1.) TBQ, I, p. 70.

2.) Ibid., III, p. 357.

3) It must be pointed out in this connection also that the emphatic letters are sometimes confused in the Dīwān with their non-emphatic equivalents, e.g. /iṣṭahya/ for /istahya/ in zajal 95, st. 4. GG transliterates this as /ṣṭahya/ without comment, (Ibid., I, p. 496).

4.) Ibid., I, p. 73 and III, p. 357.

The simple explanation is that there is no insult in the verse intended or implied, especially since Ibn Quzmān is clearly making the statement about himself, the /qufl/ quoted above being preceded by a /ghuṣn/ saying:

ʿannī yaqūl al-nās wa ʿl-ḥaqqā qālū/ 1/

ʿAbout me people say, and truly have they spoken' /Hindī/, of course, is the common and regular adjective in Arabic referring to the people of India, or nowadays to an American aboriginal or Red Indian. But, side by side with this regular relative adjective there are two irregular forms of it /hinduwānī/ or /hunduwānī/, which, of course, mean the same thing, and which in Arabic literature have invariably referred to swords imported from India, always considered as of good calibre. 2/

Now Ibn Quzmān, who in the view of practically all students of his zajals was writing in the vulgar Andalusian Arabic dialect, but who, in my view was doing nothing of the kind, and simply absolves himself of observing the strict rules of classical Arabic where it suits him, chooses to use the simple word /hindī/ instead of the more traditional /hinduwānī/, a choice which, after all, is forced upon him by the exigency of the /sarī'/ metre of this particular zajal. 3/

1) GG's transliteration, ibid., I, p. 70.

2) See al-Munjid, p. 966 and `Antara's poem /Anā fī ʿl-ḥarbi ʿl-ṣawānī/ for just one more example from classical literature. See also muwashshah 34, Dār al-Tirāz, p. 84.

3) See Appendix II, p. 293.

The implication of this verse is then clear and straightforward. What people are saying about Ibn Quzmān or the subject of his panegyric, ^{1/} is that he is (has the calibre of) an Indian sword, descendent of an Indian sword, - furbished and polished.

There remains, of course the last adjective in the verse, /mudhakkār/. Ibn Quzmān having, so to speak, put his readers off the scent by the use of /hindī/ instead of the more usual but multisyllabic adjective /hinduwānī/ to describe a sword, has made them miss the patently obvious meaning of /mudhakkār/ in the context.

García Gómez tells us that the root DKR implies the idea of virility or the masculine sex. ^{2/} Then he goes on to say that yet once more we have a bilingual pair of synonymous words. With what is too ingenious an interpretation García Gómez adds that here undoubtedly through antiphrasis the two words, /masqūl/ and /mudhakkār/ must signify 'sodomite'. What he has failed to notice here again is that the obvious meaning of /mudhakkār/ in the context is 'sharp and splendid', which is yet another overworked adjective in classical Arabic literature referring to swords, ^{3/} or the metal from which they are made.

But, when all this is said, if one forgives García Gómez such conjectures, where he has missed the clear

1) I say this because of the many discrepancies in the text which are clearly due to the copyist. The 1st person pronoun in /`annī/ in the verse preceding the /qufl/ in question could easily have been that of the 3rd person /`annū/.

2) TBQ, II, p. 357.

3) Al-Munjid, p. 235, and most lexica.

meaning of the text, one cannot forgive him his total lack of consistency in not sticking to the same interpretation of /masqūl/ when it appears in subsequent zajals in the Dīwān, as it does, for example, in zajal 40, again in association with swords and spears. In the latter zajal, just as in the former, 13, the word is written in the rather unusual orthography with /s/ instead of /ṣ/. It must be added too that the word /mudhakkar/ appears too often in other zajals and in various other forms for its proper meaning to remain vague to an editor of the Dīwān. ^{1/}

However, the fault in this particular example I have chosen to cite is not altogether that of García Gómez, since a Hispanic tradition on this point was already in the making. In his etymological work, Orígenes del español, Menéndez Pidal had made precisely the same mistake by pointing out that /mascul/ (sic) in zajals 13 and 40 of Ibn Quzmān derives from masculus. ^{2/} Likewise, A.R. Nykl, as García Gómez points out, ^{3/} in his edition of the Dīwān of Ibn Quzmān writes "masculo?" with a question mark in his comment on /masqūl/, ^{4/} and then translates the verse in question 'he is an Indian, the son of an Indian, pervert, sodomite'. ^{5/} García Gómez who translates the verse as 'hindu, son of a hindu,

1) See for an example zajal 38, st. 5. In zajal 91, st. 6 the term /ṣaqāla/ appears and GG gives it the correct translation: pule.

2) Obras completas, VIII, p. 176.

3) TBQ, III, p. 357.

4) El cancionero, p. 447.

5) Ibid., p. 362.

MASQŪL, milksop' says of Nykl that he translated this at sight or by a mere guess. ^{1/} However, in spite of his lengthy commentary on the terms /masqŭl/ and /mudhakkar/, it can hardly be maintained that García Gómez has done anything better.

Furthermore even in reading the Arabic which was not mistaken for Romance, students of the zajals of Ibn Quzmān have not fared much better at times. Only one brief example will suffice here in view of the separate appendix that has been dedicated to implausible and incorrect readings of the zajals of the poet.

It is not necessary to rehearse here the ambiguities that the diacritical points in Arabic can lead to, and especially in a manuscript to whose shortcomings the copyist has contributed in no small degree. But, as we have just seen, this is only one factor contributing to uncertainties about the text, and, in my view, an inconsequential one.

Zajal 10 is composed of nine strophes in which each one seems to surpass the other in addressing honeyed words and terms of endearment to the beloved, and having caritative diminutives in the final verse or /qufl/ of each strophe. But, as a testimony to the grace and mature sensitivities of the poet Ibn Quzmān, at no point does this mounting crescendo of amorous praises seem to cloy or lack spirit. The mounting crescendo ends with the poet wishing that God should turn him and his beloved, in an empty house, into - and here follows a diminutive - a single little bundle - /huzayma/.

1) TBQ, III, p. 357.

Like every other strophe, as I have pointed out, strophe 2 ends with a wish on the part of the poet that God should turn the beloved into something indicated by yet another of those caritative diminutives.

O.J. Tuulio apparently read this particular diminutive as /khudayma/, and translates the verse as:

'Puisse Allāh te transformer en une (pauvre) petite servante!' ^{1/}

A.R. Nykl in his edition of the Dīwān transliterates ^{2/} this diminutive as /judhayma/ and gives as a translation of the verse:

'Si Dios te hubiera hecho manquillo' ^{3/}

He finds it necessary to add in brackets after 'manquillo', by way of an explanation of his quite mistaken conjecture, '(para no gastar!)

C. Brockelmann, quoted by C. Appel ^{4/} translates the verse in question:

'Möge Gott zu einem ... (?) machen!'

As can be seen, Brockelmann, perhaps the wisest of the three, refused to hazard a similar guess, and supplied blanks for the diminutive in question.

The interpretations, however, reach the height of absurdity in the recent edition of the Dīwān by García Gómez.

García Gómez in this edition gives the zajal in which the verse in question appears a hilarious introduction. ^{5/}

1) Tuulio, op. cit., p. 4.

2) El cancionero, p. 24.

3) Ibid., p. 357.

4) Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol., p. 732.

5) TBQ, I, p. 56.

He says that: if he had to choose a single zajal of Ibn Quzmān, it would perhaps be zajal 10. He thinks it is a masterpiece for all the tenderness and impassioned love it expresses, and adds that it is futile if not even cruel to attempt an analysis of the delightful effervescence of piropos or amorous "passes" it contains. Yet, in spite of all this, García Gómez transliterates the verse in question as follows:

/Lau ġa`al-k Allāh ġudaima!/^{1/}

He then translates, omitting the reference to God:

'de volverte leprosilla' ('that you should turn into a little leper').

García Gómez adds in a note^{2/} that the strophe in which this verse appears is a difficult one and wonders if the poet's use of 'little leper' is not on account of the fact that little pieces of money were thrown to lepers.

It is not my intention to blame García Gómez for having been unable to understand the verse in question. But one can blame him for the lack of consistency in admitting such an implausible interpretation - the poet wishing his love to be a little leper^{3/} - into a zajal.

1) Ibid., p. 58. I have reproduced this as it is transliterated by GG.

2) Ibid., note 4, p. 59.

3) Perhaps it was a lingering doubt concerning such anomalies which prompted GG to add what amounts to a generous apologia for this zajal at the end of his introduction to it. He tells us there that: an element of corruption in the text does not do harm to the zajal; that a little problem or even some mutilation or damage increase the beauty of certain works of art and give them for us an added attraction and an element of mystery, which perhaps they did not possess when they were all clear and entire.

TBQ, I, p. 57.

which he describes as a masterpiece of tenderness for the impassioned sentiments addressed by the poet to his beloved.

One would not and certainly should not be impatient of such incorrect and patently implausible readings if they were not so frequent and invariably accompanied by a defensive display of erudition and pedantry. One is often reminded of the inadequacy of any attempt to evaluate the art of a poet without first understanding the metrical patterns of his poetry. The conclusion to be drawn from the long discussion of these examples is that too many attempts have been made to analyse the metrical patterns of Ibn Quzmān without a proper understanding of his poetry. ^{1/} It is simply further evidence thrown into the main argument of this thesis that the study of the zajal, in the apt words of T.J. Gorton, ^{2/} should be approached first from a generic rather than from a genetic point of view.

Leaving this lengthy, but necessary discussion, we go back to strophe 2 of the 10th zajal of the Dīwān of Ibn Quzmān which Julián Ribera reproduced as testimony of the pervasion by Romance of the Cordovan or Andalusian society in which Ibn Quzmān lived and wrote. ^{3/} Ribera gives the strophe in question as an example of how two vulgar languages of Andalusía, as he puts it, appear mixed together in the verses of the zajal without any form of a transition. ^{4/}

1) For the record the verse in question is:

/law ja`alak Allāh khuzayma/

'Would that God had turned you into a little (twig of) lavender'.

2) See his article "Arabic influences on the Troubadours", p. 15.

3) Disertaciones y opúsculos, p. 35.

4) Loc. cit.

There is no need to go into a statistical analysis of the frequency of Romance in the verses of Ibn Quzmān in order to ascertain that the strophe in question (nº 2 of zajal 10) is a fairly marked exception among the 149 zajals of the Dīwān in as far as Romance terms seem to occur in two out of its four hemistichs. If it is meant to prove that the zajal poets were bilingual or addressed their zajals to a bilingual society it proves little or nothing. The number of strophes in the 149 zajals of the Dīwān varies from a minimum of four to a maximum of forty two, ^{1/} and it is difficult to single out of this large number of strophes a similar example or one near to the one examined by Ribera. So

Yet, even on this exceptional and consequently famous strophe, as it has been called by García Gómez, ^{2/} no conclusion, as far as I know, has had the agreement of any two scholars of the large number who have analysed and tried to interpret its Romance element. What is considered by some as a Romance element is read as Arabic by others, and what is read as a proper name in some interpretations is given to us as a Romance adjective in another. In short, none have agreed on the extent of Romance element in the strophe, and where they have agreed on some word, they have given it widely differing

1) Ibid., p. 37.

2) TBQ, I, p. 56.

interpretations. ^{1/} In spite of all this, García Gómez thinks that the problem this strophe has posed is, in his view, now resolved. ^{2/}

3. Ribera sets a precedent for imitating the zajals with equivalent rhythmical patterns in Spanish

However, having presented the strophe as an example of the pervasion by Romance of what was for him a bilingual Andalusian society, Ribera went on to translate the same strophe into Castilian in what he called the same combination of rhymes and syllables. ^{3/} He did this perhaps by way of preparation for his conclusion already referred to, that the metrical system of the zajals of Ibn Quzmān is syllabic and not the classical system of quantitative feet. ^{4/} Accent, in his view, had become the substitute for quantity. ^{5/}

1) For just one example of these widely differing disagreements see the readings of the last word in the third verse of the strophe, read and transliterated by Ribera guastato and translated into modern Spanish as disgustado, (Disertaciones y opúsculos, p. 35). MP takes it as a Romance participle and transliterates waštato, (Obras completas, VIII, p. 177). GG, on the other hand, transliterates this as wa-šatatu, that is, he reads this as Arabic and not Romance, (TBQ, I, p. 56). In order not to draw this list much longer one would add here Tuulio's reading. To him the word is Romance: es-fadado, and he translates it as 'bewitched', (Ibn Quzmān, p. 3).

2) TBQ, I, p. 56.

3) Disertaciones y opúsculos, p. 35.

4) See above, p. 40.

5) Disertaciones y opúsculos, p. 43.

In doing this Ribera makes no attempt to scan the zajal in question (10) according to the classical Arabic metres, nor does he mention, as Tuulio does, that its metre corresponds to type n^o 60 in Hartmann's classification of the various muwashshah forms. ^{1/} In fact, both the /aqfāl/ and /aghṣān/ of this zajal are clearly in a dimeter /ramal/ metre: Tuulio has noticed this, and pointed out that the verses of this zajal allow for or comprise two feet of the /ramal/ metre (/fā`ilātun/, /fā`ilātun/) in the Arabic metrical system. ^{2/} I have no doubt that the metre while patently clear in some of the verses of zajal 10 is less easy to make out or justify in some others. But all that is needed to point out here, in anticipation of what is more fully argued further on in this work, ^{3/} is that the poet states in emphatic and clear terms in the introduction to his Dīwān ^{4/} that he is dropping the rules of desinential inflection /i`rāb/ which we are given to understand are not to be followed in the zajal. Once the strict rules of desinential inflection are not observed the poet is able through a series of diaresis and synaeresis to keep the metre fairly regular and generally intact.

But what is of more immediate concern to us here is that Ribera, having translated the strophe in question into Spanish in what he called the same combination of

1) Das Arabische Strophengedicht, I, p. 204 and Ibn Quzmān, note 1, p. 6.

2) Ibn Quzmān, loc. cit..

3) See section 8 below.

4) Fascicule, p. 2.

rhymes and syllables seems to have set a precedent for other scholars to persist along the same course in order to give demonstrative evidence to what was perhaps on his part a tentative conclusion. This was his statement that the metrical system of the Hispano-Arabic zajal was syllabic and not the classical Arabic system, ^{1/} with the conclusion to be drawn from this that the zajal was part of a popular Spanish or Romance lyrical tradition which existed prior to its appearance. ^{2/}

Thus, for example, an article by García Gómez entitled "La lírica hispano-árabe y la aparición de la lírica románica" which appeared in Al-Andalus in 1956 ^{3/} was followed by an appendix in which the author gave what he called some examples of the unity of the popular lyrical Spanish tradition. ^{4/} Of these, to take only one, is an example of what García Gómez calls a popular or vulgar couplet or copla, - the octosyllabic quatrain. Of this octosyllabic quatrain he gives us as examples a Mozarabic /kharja/ with a mixed language of Arabic and Romance; then an Arabic /kharja/ followed, in the tradition set by Ribera, by what García Gómez calls a rhythmical imitation or equivalent of it in a fairly free Spanish translation. These are followed by a strophe from zajal 24 of Ibn Quzmān which in turn is followed by its rhythmical equivalent or imitation in Spanish, or what is called its calco rítmico. ^{5/}

1) Disertaciones y opúsculos, p. 43.

2) GG, Las jarchas romances, p. 34.

3) XXI, pp. 303-338.

4) Ibid., pp. 334-338.

5) All these are analysed in greater detail in the following section.

Then, by way of proving to us perhaps that the zajal is not only part of a Spanish tradition which preceded it in the form of the Mozarabic /kharja/, ^{1/} but one which has continued uninterrupted down to our present day, García Gómez follows the examples of the cuarteta octosílaba already mentioned by a cuarteta from Las cantigas de Santa María of King Alfonso the Wise of the 13th century, ^{2/} with another from the "golden age" of Spanish literature (corresponding roughly to the 16th and 17th centuries), ^{3/} and finally, a couplet from present day popular lyrics in Spain.

If these /kharja/s in Arabic and Romance together with whole strophes from the zajals of Ibn Quzmān have the same rhythmic and metrical patterns with the cantigas of Alfonso the Wise, "golden age" Spanish poetry and popular coplas still current in present day Spain, then the conclusion is clear that the zajals, muwashshahs, Spanish villancicos, ^{4/} cantigas and coplas are all part of one and the same indivisible and continuous tradition. In fact, García Gómez said as much, and in no vague terms, in his article mentioned above, "La lírica hispano-árabe y la aparición de la lírica románica" which was originally a paper delivered by the author before the Convegno Internazionale Volta della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, convened in Rome and Florence in the spring

1) See on the discovery of these Romance /kharja/s the article by GG mentioned above, Al-Andalus, XXI, pp. 307-309.

2) Brennan, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

3) Ibid., pp. 144-168.

4) Ibid., pp. 121-126 and 419-420.

of 1956, the same year in which the article was published in Al-Andalus.^{1/} In that paper the author promised his audience a forthcoming work by him to be entitled Jarýas, villancicos y coplas: una poesía proindiviso. The same idea of a unitary poetic tradition implied in this title, which García Gómez based on the metrical analogies just described,^{2/} had been also expounded a few years earlier by Menéndez Pidal in an article on the Romance /kharja/s entitled "Cantos románicos andalusíes, continuadores de una lírica latina vulgar" which appeared in the Boletín de la Real Academia Española in 1951.^{3/}

The promised projected work by García Gómez never appeared. But what he had done in the appendix to the article mentioned above matching whole strophes from various zajals and muwashshahs with their equivalents or rhythmical imitations in Spanish, along the lines set by Ribera, he resumed with a more sustained and persistent manner ten years later in his work on the Romance /kharja/s in Arabic muwashshahs. This was his book Las jarchas romances de la serie árabe en su marco published in 1965. The subtitle of the book points out clearly that it is an edition in Latin characters with a Spanish version in the same rhythmic patterns and a study of 43 Andalusian muwashshahs. Furthermore, this precedent, seemingly set by Ribera in 1912, of translating the zajal into Spanish

1) See above, note, 3, p. 54. The article was subsequently translated into French by Paul Despilho and appeared in Arabica V, 1958, pp. 113-144. It was also published in the acts of the Convegno.

2) "La lírica hispano-árabe", p. 333.

3) XXXI, pp. 187-270, later incorporated in España eslabón.

in what Ribera called "the same combination of rhymes and syllables", came to form the main thesis and major pursuit of the most recent work on the zajals of Ibn Quzmān, the voluminous work, Todo Ben Quzmān, by García Gómez.

We should note, however, here that García Gómez while claiming that his text of Ibn Quzmān (in Latin letters) and his translation have, from the first verse to the very last, the same number of syllables and an exactly identical or equipoised rhythmic structure, does not reproduce the rhyming schemes. This, he says, would amount to expecting pears from elm trees. ^{1/}

It is not my intention here, nor is it of any material importance, to prove or disprove that García Gómez and others who have tried to detect syllabic patterns in the zajal were or were not following the example of Ribera. But García Gómez, at least, in the introduction to his three-volume work Todo Ben Quzmān, leaves us in no doubt that one of the main motives which prompted him to write his work was the satisfaction it gave him to demonstrate and corroborate the genial intuitions of his teacher Ribera, whom he calls the supreme clairvoyant of these studies. ^{2/} Indeed, García Gómez had earlier pointed out ^{3/} that Ribera's studies of the muwashshah and zajal forms had led Ribera to affirm that these two poetic genres originating in Islamic Spain imitated a pre-existent Romance lyric and had an enormous influence on the Provençal troubadour lyrics and the lyrical poetry of the whole of Europe.

1) TBQ, I, p. XII. The last statement is a common Spanish saying.

2) Ibid., p. X.

3) "La lírica hispano-árabe", p. 306.

4. Widely differing Arabic metres classified together as octosyllabic

Before discussing the major issues concerning the metrical patterns of Ibn Quzmān it would be useful and appropriate to note here both the felicity and the facility with which the various scholars, who have spoken of a syllabic structure in the zajal and muwashshah, repeatedly point out to us the presence of octosyllabic verses in both of these Arabic forms. O.J. Tuulio,^{1/} Joan Corominas and García Gómez, to take only three examples, have to a lesser or greater extent referred to this phenomenon which, in the light of the theories they postulate, seems to them significant, if not of capital importance.

In the appendix to his article "La lírica hispano-árabe" ^{2/} García Gómez, as pointed out in the previous section, gives us some examples of the unity of the popular Spanish lyrical tradition which he chooses to begin with a very popular or vulgar copla which he calls the octosyllabic quatrain. Of this octosyllabic quatrain he gives us six examples, two of which he follows with a translation into Spanish in what he calls the same rhythmic pattern or calco rítmico. Although the examples begin with a Mozarabic /kharja/ and end with a current copla from present day Spain, only three of them are of immediate concern to us here and I shall reproduce them as transliterated by García Gómez with two of the relevant calcos rítmicos. (I have, however, reproduced the

1) Ibn Quzmān, p. 6.

2) pp. 334-335.

Romance element in the Mozarabic /kharja/ in capital letters).

The first of these examples is the Mozarabic /kharja/:

/ALBO DÍA, ESTE DÍA,
DÍA DEL `anşara ḥaqqā!
VESTIREY MEW l-mudabbay
wa-naşşuqu l-rumḥa şaqqā/ 1/

The second example is an Arabic /kharja/:

/Anā, wa-llāhi, ahwā-ka,
wa-ahwā-ka, wa-ahwā-ka,
wa-ahwā la-ka mā-ahwā
li-nafsī, wa-kafā dāka/

This /kharja/ is followed by its rhythmic imitation in Spanish:

Juro por Dios que te quiero,
que te quiero y que te quiero,
Para tí quiero lo mismo
que para mí: todo es eso.

The third example of the octosyllabic quatrain given by García Gómez is a strophe (which in fact is the /maṭla`/ of zajal 24 of Ibn Quzmān:

/Man labas tawban samāwī,
man aqāmat Almeriyya,
lā takūn aley-b gifāra
illā jadra fustaqiyya/

1) The fact that GG in his transliteration of the last verse has incorrectly doubled the /š/ instead of the /q/ in the verb while reproducing the proper form of the verbal noun is something we can perhaps overlook, although, of course, it affects the rhythm and scansion.

This is followed by its calco rítmico in Spanish:

Quién tiene un traje celeste,
y es vecino de Almería,
ha de llevar capa verde,
de una color verde viva.

If we leave the Spanish imitations alone and try and scan the Arabic verses which are grouped together as octosyllabic we will indeed find that García Gómez is able to give a semblance of regularity to his approach, but at the expense of severe and inexorable anomalies.

The last verse in the Mozarabic /kharja/ which is wholly in Arabic proves to be a clear /ramal/ dimeter:

/wa-našūqu: 'l/rumḥa šaqqā/
fa`ilātun fā`ilātun
 ♪ - - - ♪ - - -

The Arabic /kharja/ on the other hand is in an obvious and, one should add, totally faultless /hazaj/ metre:

/Anā wa-llā/hi ahwāka/
mafā`ilun mafā`ilun
 ♪ - - - ♪ - - -

/wa ahwāka / wa ahwāka/
mafā`ilun mafā`ilun
 ♪ - - - ♪ - - - , etc.

The strophe from zajal 24 of Ibn Quzmān is again a /ramal/ dimeter:

/Man labas taw/ban samāwī/
fā`ilātun fā`ilātun
 ♪ - - - ♪ - - -

/man aqāmat: / Almeriyya/

fā`ilātun fā`ilātun

- - - - -

In the article to which he appended these examples, García Gómez had come to the conclusion that the majority of the muwashshahs and the total number of the zajals, in his view, are measured by the simple counting of the syllables. He then declared that he had studied some hundreds of muwashshahs and zajals and that he had arrived at conclusions which in his view were better than the conclusions of those who applied, assumed or supposed classical systems. He had arrived at these through a procedure or procedures infinitely more simple than the methods used by others, since they entail nothing more than the counting of the syllables and fixing the accent. He then added that the determination of this, on account of his knowledge of the metrics of his language, is in him something purely instinctive. ^{1/}

On another occasion, while trying to differentiate between "popular" and "cultured" /kharja/s or "popular" and "cultured" coplas, he says that this is a question of insight or even a sense of smell, which in a Spaniard is infallible. ^{2/} He then adds that it is no fault of the Spaniards if foreigners do not or are unable to feel the same way, or to distinguish in like manner the "popular" from the "literary".

1) "La lírica hispano-árabe", p. 325.

2) "La jarîfa en Ibn Quzmân", pp. 19-20.

Again I do not intend to make any critical remarks here, nor is it in the light of such statements as these just quoted from García Gómez that I can say that any Arab who has interested himself in the literature of his language can readily distinguish between the /ramal/ and the /hazaj/ metres which in such a facile way are equated together as octosyllabic in the verses reproduced above. The movement, lilt, speed and rhythm in both are too different to allow for the identification which García Gómez has made between the two metres. Those who laid the foundations of classical Arabic prosody were also too aware of this difference to let it pass unnoticed, and the names /ramal/ 'running' and /hazaj/ 'trilling' are meant to illustrate this difference, and are not arbitrary.

What makes García Gómez, Corominas ^{1/} and others who have followed their example, point out the frequency of octosyllabic verses in Arabic poetry, is the fact that the respective values of /mafā'īlun/, /mafā'īlun/ of the /hazaj/ metre and /fā'ilātun/, /fā'ilātun/ of the dimeter /ramal/ metre, when measured simply by counting the number of syllables, would amount to eight syllables each.

1.) See his edition of Libro de buen amor, note 37, p. 49, where Corominas quotes as an example of the "octosílabo zejelesco" four hemistichs from a muwashshah by Al-Abyad which, in this case, are in a clear /mujtathth/ metre.

5. An "octosyllabic" Arabic metre

Indeed, if one follows the premises on which García Gómez has based the whole of his work Todo Ben Quzmān of measuring the various zajals through a simple counting of the syllables, ^{1/} then one can point out other Arabic metres which would readily lose their separate identity and, like the /hazaj/, the dimeter /ramal/ and the /mujtathth/, lend themselves to being classified as octosyllabic..

The /mutadārik/ or 'continuous' metre is one such example. The basis of this metre is /fa`ilun/ or /fā`ilun/ repeated four times in each hemistich (although there is also a trimeter form of it). ^{2/} Since the /fa`ilun/ or /fā`ilun/ is convertible into, and invariably converted into /fa`lun/, the two-syllabled /fa`lun/ repeated four times in a hemistich (and the strophic zajal deals in hemistichs) gives us, quite naturally, eight syllables - and hence another source of "octosyllabic" zajals.

Indeed, those who postulate and set out to prove a syllabic theory for the zajals of Ibn Quzmān, have not missed this metre. Zajal 30, for example, which is in the /mutadārik/ metre and in which the foot is predominantly the two-syllabled /fa`lun/, instead of the three-syllabled /fa`ilun/ or /fā`ilun/, is described by García Gómez ^{3/} as being a grave anapaestic octosyllabic zajal. I demonstrate it here by its very first verse or /ghuṣn/

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- 1) See above, p. 61.
 - 2) Wright, op. cit., II, p. 365.
 - 3) TBQ, I, p. 159.

(after the /maṭla`/) exactly as transliterated by García Gómez, although the scansion is mine:

/Lau lā / ḥubbī/fī-man/ta`lam/
fa`lun fa`lun fa`lun fa`lun
- - - - -

Likewise, zajal 14 is in the same metre and is described by García Gómez ^{1/} as a simple grave iambic octosyllabic zajal. It is demonstrated here by the first two verses which form its /maṭla`/, and again as they are transliterated by García Gómez:

/Ḥibbī /wa`ad /nī wa /akhlaf/
fa`lun fa`lun fa`lun fa`lun
- - - - -
/w-eš kān /yaḍur/ru law /anṣaf?/
fa`lun fa`lun fa`lun fa`lum
- - - - -

For the purpose of this scansion one or two vowels have been read as long here when they could or should be read as short, (/wā`ad/ instead of /wa`ad/, and /yāḍur/ instead of /yaḍur/), so this zajal is demonstrated again by two more verses of it which amount to a dictum expressing the poet's frankly hedonistic philosophy. These are the last /ghuṣn/ and the /qufl/ of the first strophe. The transliteration is again that of García Gómez: ^{2/}

1) Ibid., p. 75.

2) Ibid., p. 74.

/les yab/qà dūn /^liṣāq/^lindī /
fa`lun fa`lun fa`lun fa`lun

- - - - -
/illa / man hu /qalbu /aghlaḥ/
fa`lun fa`lun fa`lun fa`lun

- - - - -
'No one abides without love in my view,
except the sot and dense of heart.'

The absurdity of the theories assigning syllabic patterns to the zajals of Ibn Quzmān becomes nothing less than ridiculous when the /mutadārik/ metre retains its basic /fa`ilun/ (v v -) or the other form of it, /fā`ilun/ (- v -), instead of the commoner /fa`lun/ (- -). Since both /fa`ilun/ and /fā`ilun/ have three syllables instead of the two syllables of /fa`lun/, a metre with four feet of the former instead of the latter would, by the mere counting of syllables, have twelve syllables instead of eight, and a zajal in such a metre would be "dodecasyllabic" instead of "octosyllabic".

In this manner zajal 84 of the Dīwān of Ibn Quzmān is described to us by García Gómez ^{2/} as "dodecasyllabic" because the basic form of the foot /fa`ilun/ and /fā`ilun/ is more predominant in it than /fa`lun/, as is clear from the first verse or /ghuṣn/ of the first strophe.

1) This seems to be the only irregular foot here, which can be rectified by reading it with /tanwīn/ or by reading the first syllable of it as long, which often happens in the zajal. The long syllable in the preceding foot can legitimately be read as short (/khaṭf/), thus /dun/ for /dūn/.

2) Ibid., p. 419.

It is again reproduced here as it is transliterated
by García Gómez: ^{1/}

/Qad maḍà /'umrī /f-al-maḍī /wa-r-ruḡū`/
fā`ilun fa`lun fā`ilun fā`ilun (or fā`ilān)
- - - - -

In the second /ghuṣn/ of this strophe, and in order to get the requisite number of twelve syllables assigned to it, García Gómez uses a device which he resorts to frequently throughout his transliterations of the zajals of Ibn Quzmān. This is the device of introducing extra syllables between brackets, since they are not to be found in the text, in the form of added prepositions, conjunctions, particles, pronouns or pronominal suffixes preceded by prepositions, the definite article, demonstrative pronouns, etc., in order to give each verse the "required" or "assigned" number of syllables. Since this is discussed in more detail further on in this chapter,^{2/} I mention it here in passing in order to explain the way this latter verse or /ghuṣn/ is transliterated by García Gómez, and to explain the preposition /fī/ inserted into it by him between brackets. It should be sufficient to add here, however, that in this zajal alone, zajal 84, García Gómez introduces no less than fifteen such amendments in order, as he ~~says~~ in the introduction to his work,^{3/} that his version and his translation would have, from the first

1) Ibid., p. 418.

2) See below, pp. 98-101.

3) Ibid., p. XII.

verse to the last, the same number of syllables and the same rhythmic structure.

Thus, the second /ghuṣn/ of the first strophe of zajal 84 appears transliterated in the following manner: ^{1/} (My scanning of it takes no notice of the interpolation between the brackets)

/f-ahlà /mā nah/buṭ, tarā/-nī (fī) ṭulū`/
fa`lun fa`lun fā`ilun fā`ilun (or fā`ilān)
- - - - -

Perhaps it would make this discussion of the /mutadārik/ metre still clearer if one repeats here that when this metre is reduced to four feet of the /fa`lun/ (- -) measure, as is often the case, it becomes a succession of long syllables or, in other words, a succession of iamboes in reverse with the stress on the first, rather than the second syllable. As such its syllables become wholly isochronous allowing it to qualify readily as syllabic, and particularly, as already pointed out, as octosyllabic. ^{2/}

This, it is felt, goes some way to explain the statement by Joan Corominas ^{3/} that while the numerous and various classical Arabic metres sound strange and unadaptable to the Spanish ear, the octosyllabic zajal form has the same accentual and rhythmic structure as the Hispanic Romance metre. Corominas adds too that

1) Ibid., p. 418.

2) See above, p. 63.

3) See his edition of Libro de buen amor, p. 49.

such a metre, meaning the octosyllabic, is very frequent in Arabic poetry. ^{1/}

In the light of what has preceded, it is not surprising also that most of the zajals which Julián Ribera had singled out as having the same disposition of rhymes and the same number of syllables as song or composition n^o VI of Guillaume of Poitiers, ^{2/} are either in the dimeter /ramal/, which I have discussed, ^{3/} or in the /mutadārik/ I am discussing, which repeats four times the two-syllabled foot /fa`lun/. The composition referred to of Guillaume of Poitiers is indeed octosyllabic, and it is, in the words of Martín de Riquer, ^{4/} the one which became famous and in whose metrical scheme some think that they detect the influence of the Arabic Andalusian zajal. ^{5/}

6. The "isosyllabic" nature of colloquial Arabic. Only colloquial Arabic can be matched with rhythmic equivalents in Western languages

One other aspect of the /mutadārik/, closely linked with the one just mentioned, deserves special attention in this context.

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- 1) Ibid., p. 562.
 - 2) Disertaciones y opúsculos, p. 59.
 - 3) See above, pp. 58-61.
 - 4) La lírica de los trovadores, p. 30.
 - 5) The composition in question is referred to as n^o VI by Ribera. In Riquer's work, referred to in the previous note, it appears as n^o 2, pp. 30-32. It starts with the verses:
Pus de chantar m'es pres talens
farai un vers don sui dolens;

When this metre, as already stated, is reduced to four feet of the /fa`lun/ form in each hemistich, it turns into a succession of long syllables, or, in other terms becomes "isosyllabic". As such, it becomes easy to equate with colloquial Arabic for the simple reason that many basic morphological forms in colloquial Arabic are also composed of a succession of long syllables. ^{1/} This same remark about colloquial Arabic is also true of practically all the Western languages, stressed and unstressed syllables forming a non-quantitative system. To show exactly what I mean, I give here two examples in colloquial Lebanese and Iraqi with three others in English, French and Spanish respectively, and it will be noted that the syllabic value in each case is the same:

/Limmin /riḥna /`ā Bay/rūt/	(Lebanese)
/Lamma /riḥna /lil-Baṣ/rah/	(Iraqi)
/When we /went to /Birmingham/	(English)
/Quand nous /allâmes /à Paris/	(French)
/Cuando /fuimos /a Burgos/	(Spanish)

Of course, colloquial Arabic shares more than one similarity or even close affinity with Western languages which the classical idiom does not admit. Colloquial forms, for example, may start with quiescent or vowelless letters, which in classical Arabic they cannot do. The two adverbs at the beginning of the Arabic examples cited above, would still have the same syllabic content if they are preceded by a conjunction; /w-limmin/ (Lebanese) or /w-lamma/ (Iraqi) would still

1) Few dialects have the kind of form consisting of a series of short open syllables, like e.g., the Egyptian /katabat/.

be two-syllabled equivalents of 'when we' or 'cuando'. Furthermore, colloquial Arabic like English or French uses auxiliary verbs which in classical Arabic do not exist.

In other words, if the zajal were written in the vernacular, and it is a basic argument of this thesis that it is not, ^{1/} the process of equating a song or poem in Arabic with a rhythmical imitation or equivalent of it in English or Spanish, would be a relatively easy task as the examples above have shown. In view of this, it is not surprising that what García Gómez calls calcos rítmicos or rhythmical imitations or equivalents of the zajals seem most convincing where the metre of the zajal in question is a /mutadārik/ with four feet of the /fa'lun/ form. In other words, where the zajal in question is a succession of long syllables and hence tantamount to one written in the colloquial. An example of this is zajal 134 which García Gómez describes as a grave anapaestic octosyllabic zajal. ^{2/} He thinks that this zajal being octosyllabic constitutes an ancient parallel of the Spanish rhythm: villano malo, gallego. Since the metre of the zajal in question (134) is a /mutadārik/ with the two-syllabled /fa'lun/ repeated four times, the parallelism seems indeed complete. I demonstrate it here with the first two verses of the first strophe quoted as they are transliterated by García Gómez: ^{3/}

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- 1) This is discussed in the next chapter.
 - 2) TBQ, II, p. 665.
 - 3) Ibid., p. 664.

/Qālū /`annī: l-/hawè¹/zainī/
fa`lun fa`lun fa`lun fa`lun
/wa-thā/wad qal/bī ma` /`ainī/
fa`lun fa`lun fa`lun fa`lun:

The calco rítmico offered by García Gómez can indeed be scanned in the same way, thus:

Villa/no ma/lo ga/llejo
fa`lun fa`lun fa`lun fa`lun

Speaking about his translation in the introduction to his work Todo Ben Quzmān, García Gómez is explicit about the fact that his translation was made with the clear intention of giving it an artistic value in spite of the procedure for a long time used by him, and of whose efficacy he is convinced "of using the calco rítmico which, God only knows, and whoever likes to try it, the tour de force which it entails". ^{2/}

It is not difficult to be convinced with García Gómez that giving a poem in classical Arabic its rhythmic equivalent in Spanish or any other Western language is a tour de force if not, as he also adds, altogether an impossibility. ^{3/} That García Gómez has done precisely that, despite his notion that the zajals of Ibn Quzmān are written in the vernacular, will become clear from the following pages. But as I have already pointed out, giving a song or poem in colloquial Arabic its calco rítmico in Spanish or French and English is a much less

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- 1) The first syllable of this foot is read as long.
 - 2) TBQ, I, p. XII.
 - 3) loc. cit.

demanding task. I repeat also, that should the metre of a classical Arabic lyric be a /mutadārik/ based on the /fa`lun/ foot (of two long syllables), the task of reproducing it in an English or Spanish equivalent of the same rhythmic structure is no difficult task.

In the same way reproducing a rhythmic pattern or a calco rítmico of, let us say, an English or a Spanish song in colloquial Arabic where the quantitative measures do not hold, is likewise an easy task. It should not be difficult, for example, to give rhythmic imitations in colloquial Syrian, Lebanese or Iraqi of the most common verse forms of popular Spanish poetry, namely the seguidilla and cuarteta common to both Castile and Andalusia, ^{1/} and quite widespread too in Asturias.

Here is a widely popular and often quoted and sung seguidilla in which heptasyllabic and pentasyllabic verses alternate, the second and fourth verses being shorter than the others:

Llevar las sevillanas
en la mantilla,
Un letrero que dice:
"¡Viva Sevilla!"

Retaining the name Sevilla instead of the multi-syllabled and classical Arabic name /Ishbīlya/, here are two calcos rítmicos of the preceding seguidilla in colloquial Lebanese with exactly the same number of syllables and the same rhyming scheme:

1) See Brenan, op. cit., pp. 329-331. Chase seems to think that the seguidillas, like Don Quixote, originated in La Mancha, especially as they are referred to in the second part of Cervantes's novel. See The Music of Spain, p. 99.

/Bnāt Sevilla jīl w-jīl

Kill ma btitzayya

Sh`āra ma faw' il-mandīl

Tihya Sevilla/

`The young women of Seville in every generation

Whenever they dress up

Wear a motto on their mantilla (head scarf):

(saying) "Long live Seville!"'

or:

/Fī Sevilla jbal wi-shūli

Ma fihsh ibnayya

Illa bitghannī w-bit'ul

Tihya Sevilla/

`In the hills and plains of Seville

There is no young maiden

Who does not sing the song

"Long live Seville!"'

An English song or ditty can just as easily and readily be rendered in Lebanese or Iraqi colloquial. Here are the first four lines of a one time popular American song:

Daisy, Daisy, Daisy!

Give me your answer do!

I am half crazy

All for the love of you.

With the same number of syllables and the same rhyming scheme, here is its parallel in colloquial Lebanese. The name Daisy is replaced by the one time common Lebanese name /Ḥannī/:

/Ḥannī, Ḥannī, Ḥannī,
ūlīlī jwābik shū!
ash ma baddik minnī
rah bukra jiblik hū/

From all that has preceded, it might be safe to conclude that if García Gómez intends to prove anything about the origins of the zajal or the muwashshah through the procedure of providing rhythmic parallels for one or the other in Spanish, the procedure, for a long time used by him, ^{1/} is methodologically inadequate. Songs in colloquial Arabic, as we have seen, can easily be matched by rhythmic parallels in French, English or Spanish and vice versa. But to anyone familiar with classical Arabic it will be immediately obvious that any attempt to match the classical Arabic equivalent to the last ditty improvised must be unsuccessful.

Compare:

/Ḥannatu, yā Ḥannatu, yā Ḥannatu,
qūlī lī jawābuki mā huwa
ayyu shay'in turīdīnahu minnī
sa ātīki bihi ghadan/

7. Agreement concerning the "vernacular" language of the zajal uncertain and incomplete

The zajals of Ibn Quzmān are not syllabic in their measures, and cannot be syllabic because, contrary to the common notion for long maintained about them, they are not written in vulgar Arabic or in the Hispano-

1) TBQ, I, p. XII.

Arabic vernacular dialect of the days of Ibn Quzmān. One thing which might have given rise to this speculative, yet widely credited notion is the fact that Ibn Quzmān mentions in the introduction to his Dīwān ^{1/} that the use of /i`rāb/ in the zajal is most unfitting and distasteful. If the extravagant hyperbole the poet uses to convey this were not necessitated by the exigency of the rhymed prose of his introduction, it would literally amount to saying that /i`rāb/ in the verses of the zajal is as disagreeable and loathsome as the approach of death. ^{2/}

Yet this term /i`rāb/, although seemingly clear in its denotation, is at the same time open to differing but equally sound and tenable interpretations. García Gómez gives it the most obvious interpretation of "desinential inflection", ^{3/} and in the introduction to his work Todo Ben Quzmān he is explicit that for the purpose of his work grammatical considerations are of secondary importance, just as he declares himself indifferent to matters of graphic precision and to graphic problems as a whole. ^{4/} Indeed, he gives examples of how he is not daunted by widely differing realizations of vocalization, just as long as the number of syllables is the same and the hint of the meaning is clear. ^{5/}

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- 1) Fascicule, p.2.
 - 2) Loc. cit.
 - 3) TBQ, II, p. 877, note 1.
 - 4) Ibid., I, p. XI.
 - 5) Ibid., pp. XI-XII.

However, if /i`rāb/ refers to desinential inflection, the disregard of correct case endings at the end of words need not mean the exclusion of final vocalization. Zajal writers in our day are often unaware of the rules of grammatical syntax, but their zajals, contrary to anything that is strictly colloquial, regularly have final vowels. ^{1/} The singing or recitation of their zajals without such vowels at the end of each word, be they the correct ones or not, would lose an element of ligation and continuity necessary for the melody or the music as a whole, and would not meet the requirements of the zajal genre. Anīs Frayḥa finds a reason for the desinential inflection or /i`rāb/, which many a language has totally dropped, in its early connection with music, singing and poetry, ^{2/} and certainly this connection with poetry must have helped to conserve the desinential inflection at the early time when it was disappearing from spoken Arabic.

My conclusion then remains that the disregard of the rules of desinential inflection, if that is what Ibn Quzmān means by /i`rāb/, does not and need not imply the absence of desinential vocalization, and with such vocalization the elements of quantity of classical Arabic prosody would still be there.

/i`rāb/, moreover, can also refer to ultra-correct classical Arabic usage as distinct from faulty classical usage or colloquial Arabic; something which García Gómez

1) Ṭabsīṭ Qawā'id al-Luḡha al-'Arabiyya, pp. 50-51.

2) Ibid., p. 50.

has failed to point out or has perhaps disregarded. This is, however, how A.R. Nykl, who extensively interested himself in the study of the zajal, understood the word /i`rāb/, as is clear from his work on Hispano-Arabic poetry. ^{1/}

I mention this in order to underline and accentuate the risks of propagating theories about the zajal which do not have their starting point in a rigorous generic study and an examination of the subject matter itself. It is rather unfortunate that medieval theorists in their comments on the zajal, as was pointed out briefly in the introduction, do not supply us with even a shred of dependable evidence concerning its history and its development, and have, on the contrary, often offered conclusions which have not even remotely acceptable premises.

Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (1277-1339) is perhaps the only medieval author who has left us an entire treatise on the zajal and all related poetic forms. He tells us that Ibn Quzmān, whom he calls the /imām/ of zajal writers, states in the introduction to his Dīwān that the best of the zajals are those written in the vernacular /al-`āmmiya/. ^{2/} There is, however, nothing to this effect in the introduction to the Dīwān of Ibn Quzmān. One would have been prepared to give Ṣafī al-Dīn credit for the statement on the assumption that he might have

1) Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours, p. 270.

2) Al-`Āṭil, pp. 12-13.

been quoting the "large Dīwān" which he mentions in his work, ^{1/} except that Ṣafī al-Dīn in practically all that he has to say in his work concerning the history of the zajal gives no confidence of the reliability of his remarks.

There is hardly a historical remark in his work which is confirmed by contemporary or later sources. He speaks of the muwashshah and zajal writer Ibn Ghurla as being censured by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (1155-1211) in his work on the muwashshah entitled Dār al-Tirāz, ^{2/} although there is no mention of Ibn Ghurla in this work. ^{3/} He relates of Ibn Ghurla that he fell in love with Rumayla, the sister of 'Abd al-Mu'min the "Umayyad", ^{4/} king of Andalusia, and that he met his death as a result of an amatory muwashshah he addressed to her. Hilli attributes to Rumayla a zajal addressed to Ibn Ghurla which, in fact, is zajal 149 by Ibn Quzmān. ^{5/}

1) Ibid., p. 68. This large Dīwān or Al-Dīwān al-Kabīr, Hilli mentions as being distinct from the one at our disposal, and that is the defective Leningrad manuscript which de Gunzburg published in facsimile. See on this "Neue Materialien zum Zagal", pp. 269-270.

2) Edited by Rikābī.

3) See Ahwānī, Al-Zajal, p. 112, note 2.

4) Ahwānī thinks that Hilli perhaps intended to say "the Mohade" instead of "the Umayyad", but inadvertently substituted one for the other. Al-Zajal, p. 112, note 3.

5) Ahwānī has noticed this but is wrong in holding that Hilli attributes this zajal to Ibn Ghurla and not to Rumayla. See Al-Zajal, p. 114. On the same page Ahwānī adds that the text of Hilli and his remarks about the zajal in Andalusia lack precision and must be approached with great caution. He also points out that Hilli reaches the peak of absurdity when he says (Al-'Aṭīl, p. 17) that the Andalusian cities exclusively Moslem were four and out of them came the muwashshah and zajal. These are Seville, Cordova, Valencia and Malaga. Ahwānī expresses wonder at the absence of any mention of Granada.

The one aspect of Hilli's work, however, which is useful and sound, is his close examination of the subject matter of the poetry, that is the corpus of zajals he has read, and the various observations and conclusions he draws from his readings. In other words the best part of his work is that which is descriptive, and where he is not playing the part of the literary theorist or literary historian which, as we have seen, he was not competent to do, but the part of the philologist, grammarian and prosodist where his competence is not open to doubt.

In spite of the impatience concerning Hilli that some scholars have displayed, and the talk of his carelessness and inexactitude, ^{1/} of which some examples have been given here, there is one conclusion which comes out of his work Al-'Ātil al-Ḥalī clearly. Although there is some confusion in his mind as to whether it was Ibn Quzmān or another poet or poets who disliked the use of desinential inflection and classical Arabic in the zajal, or whether Ibn Quzmān intended simply to prohibit the deliberate introduction of /i`rāb/ into the zajal, ^{2/} Ṣafī al-Dīn leaves one in no doubt that Ibn Quzmān, and other zajal writers did not abide by that prohibition. He does not only mention the fact the Ibn Quzmān uses /i`rāb/ in the greater part of his zajals, but gives us pages of examples of the use of /i`rāb/ and classical idiom in the zajal, and invariably gives up the attempt

1) See, for example, Stern, "Studies on Ibn Quzmān", p. 400.

2) Al-'Ātil, p. 14 and pp. 68-69.

of demonstrating that fully as impossible on account of the wide range of examples he can quote. ^{1/}

For the purpose of the argument here, if Saḫī al-Dīn proves anything, in spite of his inadequacies, it is the fact that the zajal is not written in the vernacular or in vulgar Arabic, as has come to be believed. ^{2/}

In 1952 García Gómez published his work Poesía arábigoandaluza in which he refers to the zajal as poetry written in dialectal Arabic, ^{3/} and, referring to its origins, he states that these are to be sought in the

1) See Al-'Āṭil, pp. 68-97. This is treated in greater detail in the next chapter.

2) Besides the references given at the end of Chapter I (see above, p. 35), here are a few more: Colin, Hespéris, 1933, p. 166, where he says that "the zajal is simply a muwashshah written in Hispanic dialect instead of the classical language". Lévi-Provençal in "Poésie arabe d'Espagne", p. 284, also says, speaking about strophic Arabic poetry in Spain: "the language of this poetry can be either classical or dialectal. In the first case we are dealing with the genre of the muwashshah, in the second with that of the zajal. Muwashshah and zajal do not differ in their morphological structure, but only in the language they employ". Both Colin and Lévi-Provençal are quoted by Stern in "Studies on Ibn Quzman", p. 380. Nykl, in his book Hispano-Arabic Poetry, p. 266, speaks about Ibn Quzman as "the most conspicuous exponent of the art of composing zajals in the spoken Arabic of al-Andalus, particularly in the Cordovan dialect." S.M. Stern in his article "Studies on Ibn Quzman" already referred to, says that (p. 385) "the muwashshah-like zajal is, indeed, nothing but the transposition of the muwashshah into the vernacular".

3) Poesía arábigoandaluza, p. 77.

satirical and licentious compositions of certain poets of Baghdad, and in versified narratives. ^{1/}

Four years later, in his article "La lírica hispano-árabe", García Gómez refers the reader to the studies of the zajal by S.M. Stern ^{2/} which, he says, had put our knowledge of the differences between the muwashshah and zajal on a higher level. He then goes on to enumerate a number of the differences between the two genres. The first of these, he says, is that the zajal differs from the muwashshah "en estar TODO EL ^{3/} escrito en árabe dialectal, sin /i'rāb/". ^{4/}

This was in 1956. In 1965 García Gómez still refers the reader to the opinions and theories expressed in his article "La lírica hispano-árabe", ^{5/} which he describes as widely known or widespread. ^{6/}

In Todo Ben Quzmān in 1972, however, and perhaps for the first time, we have the beginnings of a different outlook, still rather confused and confusing inasmuch as it is not yet direct or explicit.

The confusion is at its worst in the work of García Gómez where he describes the language of Ibn Quzmān in his zajals as if that language were colloquial

1) Ibid., p. 81.

2) "Studies on Ibn Quzmān"

3) The capital letters are mine.

4) "La lírica hispano-árabe", p. 318.

5) Las jarchas romances, p. 20.

6) The article was translated into French and appeared in Arabica, V, 1958.

or vulgar Arabic, when many statements in his work clearly show that he has started to have serious doubts as to the truth of his earlier opinion.

In his chapter on the metrical structure of the zajal, ^{1/} García Gómez says that in classical Arabic poetry the difficulty of determining the quality of the terminal vowels might arise, but there is no doubt that these vowels exist with rigid characteristics, since the language and the prosody constitute a bond or unity which is conjunct and completely precise. But then he goes on to say: ^{2/}

"The situation totally changes if we pass to the much scorned (by the cultured) poetry in the vulgar language or the /malhūn/. Even in the hypothesis (which is in my judgement false, as we shall come to see later) that this poetry in the vulgar language is governed by the same metrical norms, we lack the material to which these norms can be applied and that is the language. That is because colloquial Arabic lacks the formal fixity of classical Arabic. Colloquial Arabic rejects in principle /i`rāb/ or the final desinential vowels, but it could still have it. It eliminates or suppresses a lot of /tanwīn/s or marks of indefiniteness, but not all, and it does that in a capricious manner." ^{3/}

It is difficult to reconcile García Gómez's description of the language of the zajal in the preceding paragraph as vulgar and dialectal with a statement almost immediately following on the language of Ibn Quzmān and its oscillation between classicism and stylized vulgarism. ^{4/}

1) TBQ, III, p. 17.

2) Loc. cit.

3) This, in fact, is a description of the language of the zajal and not of colloquial Arabic.

4) Ibid., p. 19.

Nor can one reconcile the statement quoted above from an article by García Gómez, that the zajal differs from the muwashshah in being written in its entirety in dialectal Arabic without /i`rab/, ^{1/} with another from the introduction to Todo Ben Quzmān that the text of Ibn Quzmān, that is his zajals, is - not totally - in vulgar Arabic. ^{2/} I do not know what to make exactly either of such a statement as the following by García Gómez:

"In actual fact there is no doubt that Ibn Quzmān employs /i`rāb/ on occasions, and we dare say that this use was perhaps necessary as the vulgarismo of Ibn Quzmān has to be understood cum mica salis". ^{3/}

This last statement is hard to accomodate too with yet another by García Gómez, more clear cut and explicit. In his introduction to zajal 4 of Ibn Quzmān ^{4/} which has the same /kharja/ as muwashshah 31 of Dār al-Tirāz, and hence seems to be an imitation of it, García Gómez asks many a question as to why Ibn Quzmān should have got himself into such a venture when it is clear that it is not his field, and since he does not find himself at ease in it. He then asks:

"Is it perhaps to extend to the zajal, which is all in the vulgar language, the refinements of the muwashshah which is all in classical Arabic (in this example including the /kharja/)?"

Likewise, in 1933, in a review of Nykl's edition of the Dīwān of Ibn Quzmān, G.S. Colin wrote that:

"The zajal is simply a muwashshah written in

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- 1) See above, p. 81.
 - 2) TBQ, I, p. XI.
 - 3) Ibid., II, p. 875.
 - 4) Ibid., I, p. 16.

Hispanic dialect instead of the classical language." ^{1/}

In an article about Ibn Quzmān in the latest edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islām, G.S. Colin seems to start by what amounts to an actual quotation of the Mughrib of Ibn Sa'īd where he says about the poet that:

"He at first tried writing poetry of the traditional type, in classical language, /mu`rab/. Then realizing that he could not rival in this field the great poets of his time, such as Ibn Khafāja, he turned to the popular genre known as zadjal, which is written only in the Arabic dialect of Spain." ^{2/}

In this same article, however, Colin goes on to say:

"The language used by Ibn Quzmān in his zadjals is the Arabic dialect of Southern Spain as it was spoken by the educated people of his time, that is to say with a vocabulary much enriched with borrowings from the classical language, but always deprived of grammatical inflections, /i`rāb/." ^{3/}

Here again we get the first hints or the first elements of doubt that the language of Ibn Quzmān is not altogether dialectal, and again, it is difficult to square the statement by Colin that this language is "always deprived of grammatical inflections" with the statement quoted above from García Gómez that "colloquial Arabic rejects in principle /i`rāb/, ... but could still have it." ^{4/}

Although this discussion belongs more appropriately to the following chapter on the language of the zajal, it is just as pertinent and imperative here, in view of

1) Hespéris, 1933, p. 166.

2) See Al-Mughrib, I, p. 100 and Encyc. of Islām, III, p.849.

3) Encyc. of Islām, III, p. 850.

4) See above, p. 82.

its relevance to the metrical structure of the zajal which we are discussing.

The one sure conclusion to be drawn from the preceding contradictory statements is that the zajals of Ibn Quzmān are not consistently written in colloquial Arabic. On this point the conclusions of Colin, García Gómez and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī seem to concur. Besides, even if the prohibition of /i'rāb/ or desinential inflection in the zajal was total, and both Ṣafī al-Dīn and García Gómez agree that it is not, that, as has previously been pointed out, ^{1/} does not exclude the occurrence of terminal vowels; and the text of Ibn Quzmān does indeed have these vowels. With vocalization, (or at least for the purpose of the argument and element of it), one cannot escape the schemes of Al-Khalīl - quantitative prosody. Thus if we read:

/man labas thawban samāwī
min iqāmāti-l-Mariyya/,^{2/}

and we see the /l/ and the /b/ of /labas/ vocalized, with the /s/ left vowelless, thus giving us one short and one long syllable, and we see /thawban/ written with /tanwīn/ to give us two long syllables, ^{3/} we cannot but scan this as a /ramal/ dimeter as follows:

/man labas thaw/ban samāwī/
fā'ilātun fā'ilātun
- v - - - v - -

1) See above, p. 76.

2) Zajal 24 /maṭla'/. I have read /iqāmāt/ in the plural in the second hemistich, and not /iqāmat/ (sing.) as read by GG. The /tā' ṭawīla/ of the plural confirms my reading.

3) The element of irregularity in the zajal, including the irregular vocalization noticed here is discussed in greater detail in chapter IV below.

/min iqāmā/ti-l-Mariyya/

fā'ilātun fā'ilātun

-- -- -- --

If by a "happy" or, for our purpose "unhappy" accident or coincidence, the number of syllables in two feet of /fā'ilātun/ of the /ramal/ add up to eight syllables, describing this zajal, as a result, as being a grave iambic octosyllabic zajal ^{1/} would still remain totally arbitrary and nothing less than an unwarranted tour de force.

8. Ibn Quzmān absolves himself of strict observance of classical Arabic prosody

No one would deny that the metrical structure of some of the zajals of Ibn Quzmān can seem overflexible at times, but all in all deciphering the metre of the zajal does not demand the equation of too many unknowns, as does the scansion, for example, of the Poema de mio Cid. ^{2/} What one has to keep in mind, however, is that Ibn Quzmān, as we have seen, having absolved himself of strict observance of the rules of /i'rāb/, has likewise, absolved himself from a strict observance of the rules of classical Arabic prosody and of adherence to the classical idiom itself: this when the introduction to his Dīwān, written in ornate rhymed prose, proves him

1) TBQ, I, p. 133.

2) Harvey, op. cit., p. 138.

to be an unquestioned master of classical Arabic which he has, therefore, not abandoned out of ineptitude. About this more will be said in the following chapter. But that Ibn Quzmān had absolved himself of observing the strict rules of Arabic prosody is not difficult to show, and one or two examples should be enough to demonstrate this.

In zajal 5, Ibn Quzmān violates one of the classical rules of Arabic prosody concerning rhyme. The /ridf/, the letter of prolongation immediately preceding the /rawī/, or rhyme letter, admits the interchange indifferently of the /ī/ and /ū/, but the long vowel /ā/ remains strictly invariable. ^{1/} Ibn Quzmān, however, in the /maṭla`/ of this zajal chooses to use the /ā/ and /ī/ interchangeably, and rhymes /al-sharāb/ with /al-ḥabīb/. ^{2/} García Gómez, not being apparently aware of this, takes /al-sharāb/ and /al-ḥabīb/ to be two separate rhymes, and hence gives the rhyming scheme of the /maṭla`/ of this zajal ^{3/} as /m-n-o-n/ when it is clearly, as attested by the other /aqfāl/, /m-n-m-n/.

A more serious violation of Arabic prosody occurs in zajal 4. This zajal is mentioned by Stern, ^{4/} and by

1) Wright, op. cit., II, p. 353.

2) I disagree with Nykl's simplistic explanation of this where he says: "las rimas ofrecen a veces ejemplos de pronunciación cordobesa: āb : īb; ān : ēn, etc." (Cancionero p. XXIX). It is close to a wild conjecture to say that in Spain /imāla/ brought /ā/ close to /ī/. See for further examples, Ḥillī's strictures on Ibn Quzmān, Al-`Āṭil, p. 56.

3) TBQ, I, p. 23.

4) "Studies on Ibn Quzmān", p. 389.

García Gómez ^{1/} as being an imitation or /mu'ārada/
of muwashshah 31 of the treatise and anthology
Dār al-Tirāz of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, ^{2/} since it
appropriates the /kharja/ of the latter muwashshah.
Although Stern describes this muwashshah as being by
an anonymous poet, García Gómez thinks it is probably
by the blind poet of Tudela, /Al-A'mā al-Tūṭīlī/.

The /kharja/ of this muwashshah is quite clearly
in the /mutadārik/ 'continuous' metre, repeating the
foot /fa'lun/ four times in each hemistich. Here is
this /kharja/ as it is transliterated by García Gómez: ^{3/}

/yā 'ūd az-zān/ qum sā'id-nī/
fa'lun fa'lun fa'lun fa'lun
/ṭāb az-zamān/ li-man/yaḡnī/
fa'lun fa'lun fa'lun fa'lun ^{4/}

1) TBQ, I, p. 16.

2) Edited by Rikābī, p. 81.

3) TBQ, I, p. 18. I, however, read /al-rummān/ instead
of /al-zamān/, in keeping with the /kharja/ of the
muwashshah. I also read as long the first syllable in
/li-man/. /yā 'ūd al-zān/ 'you branch of the beech tree'
is a conventional metaphor in Arabic describing a tall
and slender young woman. (Its rather overworked equivalent
is /yā ḡuṣn al-bān/ 'you branch of the ben-tree'.) But
GG, understanding the term /'ūd/ as a reference to the
musical instrument, the lute, (Sp. laúd), translates the
/kharja/ as 'You lute of beechwood, come to me and help
me! Let us make the best of every occasion!' My
translation (retaining /al-rummān/ of the muwashshah
instead of /al-zamān/) would read: 'You tall and slender
one, hasten to me! The pomegranates (metaphorically
'her breasts') are ripe for one who is to gather (their
mellowness)'. The fact that /ḡuṣn al-bān/ as metaphor
is used also in the second /qufl/ of the muwashshah,
confirms the latter interpretation.

4) This scansion is on the basis of the changes
mentioned in the preceding note.

When we examine the /aqfāl/ of the zajal of Ibn Quzmān, however, which are supposed to reproduce the metrical scheme of the /kharja/ in a /mu'āraḍa/, we find that without fail they are in the /hazaj/ 'trilling' metre. In fact, both A.R. Nykl^{1/} and S.M. Stern^{2/} have noted this without, however, noting the difference or discrepancy between the metres in the various /aqfāl/ and the /kharja/.

Here is the first /qufl/ of the zajal, as it is transliterated by García Gómez:^{3/}

/fa-lā l-aḥzān/ tufattir-nī/
mafā'īlun mafā'īlun
/wa-lā s-sulwān/ yuhaddid-nī/
mafā'īlun mafā'īlun

Here too is the second /qufl/:^{4/}

/fa-dā l-hiḡrān/ faza' minnī/
mafā'īlun mafā'īlun
/wa-kān mā kān/ wa-ḥāb ḡannī/
mafā'īlun mafā'īlun

One need not repeat that since the two feet /mafā'īlun/ of a /hazaj/ hemistich are equal to four /fa'lun/ feet of the /mutadārik/, if syllabic content only is taken into account, García Gómez finds no difficulty in equating a hemistich or line of /mutadārik/ (the /kharja/) with hemistichs or lines of /hazaj/ (the /aqfāl/), without noting any inconsistency or awkwardness.

1) El Cancionero, p. 5 ff.

2) "Studies on Ibn Quzmān", p. 388, where Stern reproduces the scansion of Nykl.

3) TBQ, I, p. 16.

4) Ibid., p. 18.

It is because Ibn Quzmān in the zajal has absolved himself of the strict observance of the rules of Arabic prosody, as he did with the rules of /i`rāb/, that I say that the process of detecting the metrical scheme of some of his zajals can at times be difficult. But in deciphering the classical Arabic metre in some of these zajals, one allows himself no more freedom or right of disposal than García Gómez admittedly and clearly allowed himself in making these zajals conform to a most technically elaborate and, after all, alien syllabic system.

Here I quote García Gómez again. Speaking about the difficulty, as he puts it, of dealing with Arabic poetry in the vulgar language, he says: ^{1/}

"Colloquial Arabic lacks the crystal clear fixity of classical Arabic. It rejects in principle /i`rāb/ or the final desinential vowel, but it may still have it. It eliminates or suppresses a lot of /tanwīn/, but not all ... Certain verbal forms contract or do not contract. Consequently, adding all the /tanwīn/ or vowels of inflexion; eliminating some and leaving others; or dropping them altogether (three hypotheses all possible, without taking into account other modifications) the same verse can vary considerably in the number of its syllables. In isolation it would turn out to be impossible to know how to read or to scan it. Only if there is a number of verses, or, better still a number of strophes, and by dint of comparing the few sure points of some verses with those of others, would it be possible to arrive at the general aspect or physiognomy of a poem. But to arrive at that presupposes not only the existence of these basic starting points, but also a "certain hypothesis" of structure. And in having this "certain hypothesis" lies the root of the matter."

This is one of two major apologies which García Gómez makes in the process of trying to accommodate the zajals of Ibn Quzmān within his syllabic system; and I

1) TBQ, III, p. 17.

feel, to say the least, that it is only fair to make a corresponding claim in the application of the classical Arabic metres to the zajals. There are no doubt zajals in some of whose verses it would prove difficult to justify a classical Arabic metre, while in other verses and whole strophes the apparent metre is clear and regular. In fact, in some of these cases the metre is easy to rectify whether the verses are read with or without /i`rāb/.

I cite in continuation a few of these examples which are not hard to come by. It will be noticed, where the transliterations of García Gómez are reproduced, that he eliminates some of the vowels while retaining or amending some others. ^{1/}

Zajal 7 is a panegyric addressed to the /Qādī/ Abu 'l-Qāsim Ahmad Ibn Hamdīn of Cordova, and has verses which address the /Qādī/ by name. But here first are the first two verses /aghṣān/ of strophe 9. They are transliterated as follows by García Gómez:

/Fa-la-hu ^{2/} l-'ulyā wa-l-faḥn al-muṣaiyad
an-nazan wa-r-ray wa-l-qaul al-mu'aiyad/

I do agree with García Gómez that the final rhyming words of each /ghuṣn/ or hemistich could be left, and

1) This is one other allowance GG makes for himself in transliterating the text with a view to scanning it syllabically. See TBQ, I, p. XVI, where he says that he gives himself carte blanche without compunction ... to modify without note or notice any vowel signs in the text or diacritical points, etc.

2) This word is clearly /fa-la-ka/ in the text.

here should be left, without their vowels because, after all, classical Arabic prosody stipulates that the rhyme or /qāfiya/ may be /muqayyada/ 'fettered', that is ending with a consonant, as is the case here, or /muṭlaqa/ 'loose', when it ends with a vowel. 1/ But to leave /ʿulyā/ in the first /ghuṣn/ (which is just as likely /alyā'u/) and /fahṛ/ (/fakhr/) and /ray/ (which in either classical or vernacular should be /nāy/) and /qaul/, all without terminal vowels, is simply arbitrary. The resulting staccato effect is hardly recognizable, being neither classical nor colloquial Arabic, let alone part of a song or lyric to be recited or sung, something which presupposes a minimum of link and continuity. 2/

1) Wright, op. cit., II, p. 352.

2) I have pointed out above (p.76), that zajal writers in our day might be unaware of the rules of desinential syntax, but they nevertheless introduce a vowel, any vowel, at the end of each word so that an element of lilt and melody can be injected into their compositions. Thus, when the Lebanese emigrant in Brazil (Farīd Jabbūr whose very popular works have not, as far as I know, been published in a collection) sings, addressing himself to the land of his birth:

/yā ardi Libnāni l-jamīli isma`ī
nahdāti albī w-law`itī w-itfajju`ī
'You beautiful land of the Lebanon,

Do listen to the anguished sighs of my heart'
He might or might not be aware of the rules of desinential syntax, but, the definite article in this dialect being /l/ not /il/, he still introduces an /i/ vowel at the end of /Libnān/, although it is a diptote. For the purpose of ligation and continuity he introduces the same vowel at the end of /nahdāt/, not because he is aware that this, in classical Arabic is termed a feminine sound plural, which in the accusative replaces an /a/ vowel with an /i/. All that there is to it is that the /i/ vowel in final position is a predominant feature of colloquial Lebanese.

What seems a puzzling paradox in the way García Gómez argues away the vowels, is that while eliminating the vowels on the penultimate words in each of the two lines quoted above, he ends up by replacing them when he replaces the /hamzat al-waṣl/ of the following two words by a /hamzat al-qaṭ'/. So, instead of /l-muṣaiyad/ and /l-mu'aiyad/, he gives us /al-muṣaiyad/ and /al-mu'aiyad/. ^{1/}

Now if we turn to scanning the two lines quoted, it will be seen that the metre is unmistakably /ramal/, the basis of which is /fā'ilātun/. ^{2/} For the purpose of the scansion, however, it is essential to retain the vowels eliminated by García Gómez, and to read the /hamza/s of the last two words as they should be read, that is as weak (eliding) /hamza/s:

/Fa-la-ka l-'al/yā'u wa-l-fakh/ru l-mushayyad/
fa'ilātun fā'ilātun fā'ilātun
u u - - - u - - - u - -
/al-nazar(u) wa-l-/rāyu wa-l-qa'u/lu l-mu'ayyad/
fā'ilātun fā'ilātun fā'ilātun
- u - - - u - - - u - -

1) TBQ, I, p. 32.

2) According to Wright, (op. cit., II, p. 366) u u - - for which - u - - may be substituted and rarely - u - u or u u - u in which case the next foot must begin with a long syllable. The trimeter he sees as the base foot repeated three times and not /fā'ilātun/, /fā'ilātun/, /fā'ilun/, defining the Arab measure as acatalectic. In the catalectic verse the first foot of the first hemistich is u u - and of the second u u - - or u u -.

Here only the first foot of the second hemistich is irregular, in terms of classical Arabic scansion, but scans if /al-nazar/ is read in place of /al-nazaru/.

We move on to strophe 12 of zajal 7, and again quote the first two verses, /aghṣān/, where the /Qādī/ praised in the zajal is addressed by name. Since I am reproducing these for the purpose of scansion, and since García Gómez has subjected them to the same arbitrary methods in eliminating some of the vowels of the text, and introducing others where they are inadmissible, ^{1/} I reproduce the two verses here with the vowel signs which actually appear in the text:

/yā Abū 'l-Qā/simi yā ṭaw/da 'l-ma'ālī/
fā'ilātun fa'ilātun fā'ilātun
- - - - - - - - -
/yā 'imāda 'l-/dīni yā maw/la 'l-mawālī/
fā'ilātun fā'ilātun fā'ilātun
- - - - - - - - -

The clear conclusion is that these verses of strophe 12, like those already scanned of strophe 9, are trimeter /ramal/ in metre. In the second instance, indeed, there is no deviation from the classical Arabic criteria.

It has been pointed out more than once in the course of this chapter, how the elimination of vowels at the end of words is not compatible with poetic composition in either classical or most varieties of

1) For example, changing the weak /hamza/ of the definite article into a strong one, with the further anomaly of changing it in one instance and leaving it in another. TBQ, I, p. 34.

vernacular Arabic. In particular, if the composition in question happens to be lyrical, as is the case with the zajal, the elimination of the final vowels totally suspends the element of continuity imperative for the lilt and melody which are such an essential element in any lyrical composition.

Added to this, the arbitrary manner in which García Gómez disposes of medial or non-terminal vowel signs in the zajal quite often violates proper usage, both in the classical and the vernacular. Nothing other than the demands of his syllabic measures justifies, for example, reading /niṣf/ in the /qufl/ of strophe 3 of zajal 5 ^{1/} as /naṣaf/, or reading /majad/ instead of /majd/, in the first /ghuṣn/ of strophe 19 of zajal 9. ^{2/} In fact, in the hemistich or /ghuṣn/ where this latter amendment is made, García Gómez introduces four arbitrary vowel changes in a hemistich of four words. In the process, he not only violates Arabic usage with each change, but totally transforms what is an unmistakable /khafif/ metre. The /ghuṣn/, n^o 1 in strophe 19, runs as follows:

/fa-la-ka 'l-maj/du wa 'l-'ulā/ wa 'l-nazar/
fa'ilātun mutaf'ilun fā'ilun.

The final vowel of the first word is eliminated by García Gómez, and it is transliterated as /fa-lak/, which before the definite article of the following word /'l-majdu/ is impossible in classical Arabic and in

1) Ibid., p. 22.

2) Ibid., p. 46.

vernacular Arabic unless an anaptyctic is supplied because it would entail an inadmissible consonant cluster. On the assumption that the poem is vernacular, García Gómez supplies such an anaptyctic vowel and must then elide the final vowel of the word and add instead an /a/ vowel after the /j/. The /ghuṣn/ then appears transliterated as follows by García Gómez: ^{1/}

/fa-lak al-maḡad wa-l-`ula wa-n-naḡar/

The metre of the zajal in question, after all this, is given by García Gómez as dodecasyllabic. ^{2/} It is interesting to note that a syllabic count of the three feet of the /khafīf/ metre, /fā`ilātun/, /mustaf`ilun/, /fā`ilātun/, gives us exactly twelve syllables in any case.

But the extent of these vowel changes and the arbitrary manner in which they are introduced or eliminated, can best be gauged from a closer examination of strophe 19, and one or two of the other strophes immediately following it.

In strophe 19, the elimination of the terminal vowel at the beginning of its first /ghuṣn/, where /fa-la-ka/ is read as /fa-lak/, ^{3/} is repeated at the beginning of each of the following three hemistichs in fairly identical situations. Just as we have /al-majad/ read for /al-majd/ in the first /ghuṣn/, we also get

1) Ibid., p. 46.

2) Ibid., p. 43.

3) Ibid., p. 46.

/wa-n-nafa`/ substituted for /wa-`l-naf`/ in the third /ghuṣn/. /Al-majad/ is read without a terminal vowel, and so is /wa-n-nafa`/. In the /qufl/ of this strophe we get /aṣ-ṣidaq/ substituted for what is quite clearly /al-ṣidq/, and the terminal vowel is again dropped. Consequently, the /qufl/ is transliterated as follows by García Gómez:

/wa-lak aṣ-ṣidaq wa-l-wafa bi-d-dimam/ ^{1/}

Likewise, the first /ghuṣn/ of the following strophe, nº 20, is transliterated as follows by García Gómez:

/wa-lak al-ḥilam fī makān al-ḥalīm/ ^{2/}

As can be seen, the terminal vowel of /wa-lak/ is eliminated. We again get the anomalous reading of /`l-ḥilm/ as /al-ḥilam/ - a medial vowel is introduced between the /l/ and the /m/, the weak eliding /hamza/ is changed into a strong one and the terminal vowel is eliminated. Likewise, no terminal vowel appears in /makān/, and consequently, the /hamzat al-waṣl/ of /`l-ḥalīm/ is changed into a /hamzat al-qaṭ`/. This last word is transliterated without a terminal vowel.

If in this last /ghuṣn/ and the /qufl/ quoted before it, we retain the eliminated vowels, and eliminate the anomalous medial vowels of /`l-ḥilam/ and /aṣ-ṣidaq/, the /khafīf/ metre in both would again be clear and unimpaird:

/wa-la-ka `l-ḥil/mu fī makā/ni `l-ḥalīmi/
fa`ilātun mutaf`ilun fā`ilātun

1) Ibid., p. 48.

2) Loc. cit.

and /wa-la-ka 'l-ṣid/qu wa 'l-wafā/ bi 'l-dhimam/
fa'ilātun mutaf'ilun fā'ilun

The arbitrary changes in the medial vowels seem to come to a peak in strophe 21. The last /ghuṣn/ and the /qufl/ of this strophe are transliterated as follows by García Gómez: ^{1/}

/wa-tarwī li-qiṣṣa qabal an taqā':

"inna qabl ar-ramyi yurāš as-saham"/

Here again, it is felt, nothing but the demands of the syllabic measures justifies the arbitrary reading of /qabal/ in the first hemistich, and /qabl/ in the second.

The other major apology by García Gómez refers to the manipulation of the text of Ibn Quzmān by the introduction of totally extraneous material into the verses of the zajal. This takes the form of the introduction of one, two or three-syllabled word or words, into some verses in order to get the postulated number of syllables. In the introduction to his chapter about the metrical structure of the zajals García Gómez is clear about this: ^{2/}

"For all the modifications of detail I am responsible, and especially for those few which I have introduced in order to restore or reestablish the postulated rhythm."

García Gómez, as I have said, minimizes these modifications in his edition, although they amount at times to no less than three or four changes within any one /ghuṣn/. I have already referred to four vowel

1) Ibid., p. 48.

2) Ibid., III, p. 49.

changes within a hemistich, which is something quite common in the course of his Latin character edition of Ibn Quzmān. That he should refer to major changes, entailing the introduction of extra words, conjunctions, prepositions, adverbs, etc., as being few, is doubtless a way of minimizing the modifications introduced by him. In some cases they amount to considerable interpolations into one hemistich. In the second /ghuṣn/, for example, of the last strophe of zajal 95, three separate conjunctions are introduced into a hemistich of three words. Thus:

/(wa-) l-a`amm (wa-) l-mu`akkadu (wa-) l-aḥfal/ 1/

Besides the interpolations, on account of which this /ghuṣn/ has been quoted, the way it is transliterated, indeed, raises the question why the epithet /'l-mu`akkad/ appears with a terminal vowel, while the epithet preceding it, /'l-a`amm/, appears without one. In fact, these three epithets appear in the text without terminal vowels. If the postulated syllabic content of this /ghuṣn/ requires an added syllable in the form of a terminal vowel, one wonders whether there is a way of deciding which of the three epithets this vowel is to be appended to, or whether, as indeed seems the case here, the choice is totally arbitrary. 2/

In case the example given here should be considered an extreme or an isolated case, it should be pointed out that the /ghuṣn/ preceding the one quoted also has

1) Ibid., I, p. 496.

2) This question is discussed in greater detail in section 10 below.

an added conjunction, while the /ghuṣn/ which follows has an added syllable in the form of an added definite article. ^{1/} Thus:

/wa-s-salām al-muraddadu (wa-) l-aġzal/

and /mā qata` (aṣ--) ṣamas min ṣaṭāṭ ad-dal/

Just as three extra syllables are added in one verse in the form of three conjunctions, they are added in other cases in the form of verbs, adverbs, particles, etc. The first /ghuṣn/ of strophe 6 of zajal 37 has the indicative imperfect verb /yarīd/ with a following particle /an/ introduced between brackets, ^{2/} and together introducing an extra three syllables to the hemistich in question. Two other hemistichs of the same strophe have an added two-syllable word each, again between brackets to indicate that they are interpolated material. ^{3/} Zajal 38 has such two-syllabled words added as /kullu/ (strophe 18) or a conjunction followed by an indefinite pronoun (strophe 14). ^{4/}

Yet in spite of these various and numerous modifications made by him, García Gómez still feels able to criticize the latitude allowed in the classical Arabic quantitative theory, in the way of minor modifications made in order to rectify the metre in verses where it might seem impaired. ^{5/} On this he says:

1) Ibid., I, p. 496.

2) Which is inappropriate if the poetry were vernacular, as GG would have it. The same is true of many of these interpolations.

3) Ibid., p. 192.

4) Ibid., p. 198. For another example of three extra syllables introduced into one verse, see zajal 87, strophe 31.

5) On these permitted variants cf. Wright, op. cit., II, pp. 362 ff and 373-390.

"For all the modifications of detail I am responsible, and especially for those few which I have introduced in order to restore or reestablish the postulated rhythm. But I am innocent of the manipulation "in genere", because the latter is absolutely inevitable as it is demanded by the necessity to give life to a dead consonantal text. It will be said that I cannot then throw the first stone at those who uphold the "classical quantitative theory" for their manipulations, and to that I will answer that on that point, the situation of each of the two theses is very distinct." ^{1/}

What García Gómez exactly implies by or includes within the term "manipulation in genere" for which he pleads innocence is not at all clear. But the argument he makes for the totally different situations of the syllabic and quantitative theories is far from convincing. The reasons he gives beg the question too much to allow for any credence to be given to them. This is particularly the case where he points out in a rather simplistic way that the major merit of the syllabic theory lies, in his view, in the fact that to its many other advantages it adds the advantage of historical continuity. He thinks that adherence to the quantitative theory would have left Ibn Quzmān isolated in a kind of prosodical limbo which the poet would not wittingly have created for himself. On the other hand, Ibn Quzmān's adherence to the syllabic theory places the poet in the full current of living literature as the heir of the oldest Romance poetry and of the efforts and vigour of the Arab authors of the muwashshahs; it makes him stand, according to García Gómez, as the metrical precursor of

1) TBQ, III, p. 49.

King Alfonso the Wise and the Archpriest of Hita, and as a link between the Mozarabic /kharja/s on the one hand, and the Spanish villancicos and coplas on the other. In this way García Gómez feels the art of Ibn Quzmān is seen to be vital and alive, and the "father of the zajal" - as the poet has called himself - is placed in contact with his later heritage or descendencia.

That later heritage, García Gómez goes on to say, has come from the Spanish and not from the Arab side; the work and tradition of Ibn Quzmān, in other words, was not continued by his fellow Arabs or Hispano-Arabs, but by the authors of Spanish cantigas, villancicos and coplas. About this García Gómez seems explicit and totally convinced. ^{1/} And it is indeed such a conviction which prompts him to give in his work Todo Ben Quzmān, and at the end of his introduction to each zajal of the poet, what he feels is its modern Spanish parallel, or the Spanish song of which the zajal is supposedly the ancient rhythmic parallel.

The simple conclusion to be drawn from all this, is that here we have a case of a unitary and continuous poetic tradition in which the poetry was at one time written in Arabic (the Hispanic zajals and the greater part of the muwashshahs), ^{2/} and at another in Romance or Spanish (the Mozarabic /kharja/s, the villancicos and coplas, etc.).

1) Ibid., p. 50.

2) See "La lírica hispano-árabe", p. 325, where GG says: "... la mayoría de las muwaššahas y creo que la totalidad de los zéjeles se miden por simple cómputo de sílabas".

This, indeed, seems a unique and unprecedented case in any other literature. García Gómez, however, raises our hopes when he says that this is not a unique case. ^{1/} But when he comes to supply us with a parallel to this situation, he simply asks the seemingly rhetorical question: "Has anything other than that happened to the philosophy of Averroës?" But this is a parallel which is distinct from the one under discussion in almost every conceivable way.

9. Word order in the zajal attests to quantitative scansion.

One factor which attests to the quantitative nature of the verses of the zajal is the peculiar deployment of juxtaposition of words which are invariably arranged to suit the rhythm and the quantitative requirements of the metre in question. For if these metres were syllabic, the order of the words would not change their syllabic content, and Ibn Quzmān would not have resorted to any particular order of words other than the usual order in Arabic, of verb, subject and complement, respectively.

A few examples should suffice to show what is meant here. The first two are taken from zajal 12, where the basic pattern of the zajal is a dimeter /ramal/, /fā`ilātun/, /fā`ilun/, with /fā`ilun/ undergoing the usual change into /fa`lun/.

1) TBQ, III, p. 51.

Strophe 8,

/kullakum na`/shaqqum/ - /binnabī hib/būnī/
fā`ilātun fa`lun fā`ilātun fa`lun
/dūnakum las / nafrah/ - /wala ^l/ antum/ dūnī/
fā`ilātun fa`lun fā`ilātun fa`lum

The more logical order in these two /aghṣān/ would have been to say: /na`shaqqum kullakum/ in the first /ghuṣn/, and /las nafrah dūnakum/ in the second, and the syllabic content of both of these /aghṣān/ would have remained the same. What has necessitated the particular arrangement in which the two /aghṣān/ appear, is quite clearly the quantitative demands of the classical Arabic metre, as has been demonstrated.

A simpler example from the same zajal might further clarify this point. The third /ghuṣn/ of strophe 3 of zajal 12 reads as follows:

/Zuhra Maryam / `Āyisha/ - /aynakum ih/tazzū/
fā`ilātun fā`ilun fā`ilātun fa`lun

If the metre had been syllabic, as, for example, Ribera and García Gómez would have it, any arrangement of these three names would have given exactly the same number of syllables. But only the arrangement which appears in the text tallies with the rhythm and the requisite long and short syllables of a dimeter /ramal/ as demonstrated.

It is such considerations and no others, it seems, which make the poet in the same zajal say:

1) The long vowel /walā/ is eliminated (/khaṭf/) to give /fa`ilātun/.

Strophe 4,

/i`malū li-`l-qāḍī min makhādid kursī
fa burūzū wājib man yakun min jinsī/

instead of saying:

/i`malū min makhādid li-`l-qāḍī kursī
fa wājib burūzū man yakun min jinsī/

Instead of the basic pattern of this zajal which is /fā`ilātun/, /fā`ilun/, we would have in the second case (the rearranged /aghṣān/) /fā`ilun/, /fā`ilātun/, /maf`ūlun/, /fa`lun/, for the first /ghuṣn/, while in the first half of the second rearranged /ghuṣn/ we would get /fa`ūlun/, /fa`ūlun/. It is not necessary to repeat that the syllabic value in the rearranged /aghṣān/ remains the same.

This is not to say, however, that Ibn Quzmān does not in this zajal, as well as in other zajals, often violate the basic pattern or the classical metre which is apparently being followed. Ibn Quzmān, as the following chapter attempts to show, absolves himself of strict adherence to any rules. But this disregard of rules does not mean that he writes in the vernacular or composes syllabic verse.

Such examples can undoubtedly be proffered from any of the 149 zajals of the Diwān.

Zajal 107, just to take another example, is one which has as its basic pattern both in the /aghṣān/ and the /aqfāl/, a dimeter /ramal/, /fā`ilātun/, /fa`lun/. Its metre is the same as that of the following zajal 108. What follows is a whole strophe from zajal 107 with its three /aghṣān/ and /qafal / scanned in order:

Strophe 6,

/ash `asā an/ namdah/ /wa anā fih^l/ / qāyil/
fā`ilātun fa`lun fa`ilātun fa`lun
/las yukhāṭab/ mithlu/ /bi-`l-kalāmi `l/bāṭil/
fā`ilātun fa`lun fā`ilātun fa`lun
/al-faqīhu `l-/qāḍī/ /al-jalīlu `l-/fāḍil/
fā`ilātun fa`lun fā`ilātun fa`lun
/al-imāmu `l-/muqrī/ /al-khaṭib^l/ fi `l-/minbar/
fa`ilātun fa`lun fā`ilātun fa`lum

If the metre, which is clear here, were syllabic, the rearrangement of the words in any of the /aghṣān/ and the /qufl/ scanned above, would not do serious harm to the syllabic count of any of them. In the last /ghuṣn/ of the stanza and the following /qufl/, there are no less than seven successive epithets with which the poet lauds the subject of his poem. If the poem had a syllabic basis to it, these epithets, except for the rhyme words, could be rearranged in any order. What makes the specific order in which they appear essential is the specific rhythm and cadence of the metre in question. ^{2/}

1) The long vowel /ī/ is eliminated (/khaṭf/) in the scansion.

2) In fact, changing the word order of some of the zajal verses would be tantamount to changing the word order of some of the Quranic verses, where in many cases the cadences of the classical Arabic metres have been found to apply. While the verse /aqīmū `l-salāta wa ātū `l-zakā/ reads as a straightforward /mutaqārib/, /ātū `l-zakāta wa aqīmū `l-ṣalā/ would be bereft of the rhythm of the metre. Examples like these are quite easy to cull out of the verses of the Qur`ān, which is a demonstration that Arabic prose has sometimes a particular quantitative cadence and rhythm to it, let alone Arabic poetic forms.

Examples of the change of the usual word order in Arabic for metrical purposes are not hard to come by in zajal 107. In two cases in the third strophe, namely the last /ghuṣn/ and the /qufl/, prepositions precede the verbs on which they are dependent:

/fa-mana` min wajhu an narā dhī 'l-janna
wa-mana` min fammu an yudhāqa 'l-kawthar/

It is only metrical necessity, as far as can be ascertained, which makes /min wajhu/ and /min fammu/ precede the two subjunctives which follow them in the two verses quoted.

10. Are there any guidelines for reading the zajal?

It will have become fairly clear by now that one of the major arguments of this thesis is that various theories have been proffered concerning the origins, metrical structure, etc. of the zajal, before concerted attempts were made to arrive at a proper reading of it. The text of the Diwān of Ibn Quzmān has come down to us with vocalization, and, in the view of some, with a rather inexact and shoddy excess of diacriticals. ^{1/} Is the text to be read with full vocalization, or, if the zajal is written in the vernacular, (as every medieval or modern scholar who has studied it would have us believe), are we to disregard the vocalization completely? What is clear at the outset is that the scansion of the zajal according to a hypothetical syllabic system cannot offer us any guidelines for a

1) See above, pp. 47-48.

proper reading or vocalization of this type of poetry. The one concerted attempt to scan the zajal on a syllabic basis by García Gómez, has made this even clearer. Leaving apart the continuous resort by García Gómez to the introduction of extra syllables in order to give the postulated number of syllables to the verses of the zajal, the vowels he chooses to drop or those he decides to retain in reading the separate zajals seem to be dropped or retained on a totally arbitrary basis. It is simply a platitude to state that his approach would give us as many different readings of any particular zajal as there are readers of it.

Here, for example, is the /maṭla`/ of zajal 42 as it is transliterated by García Gómez: 1/

/Mata narāk wa-nafīq min wahṣatin biya?

Lau kunt `alaiya ṣafīq kattasfī lī n-niyya/

The last word in the first line is clearly written in the text with /tashdīd/, namely /بِئ/. García Gómez has obviously dropped the /tashdīd/ in his transliteration. Is this word to be read with or without /tashdīd/? Why has García Gómez dropped the /tashdīd/ at the end of the first line, when the equivalent rhyme at the end of the second line is clearly with /tashdīd/? The only conclusion is that García Gómez has perhaps used classical Arabic as a guideline, (which he should not do if the zajal were in the vernacular, as he would have us believe). Classical Arabic has no /biyya/.

1) TBQ, I, p. 220.

Consequently García Gómez has decided perhaps to correct what he considered faulty usage. That this is the case is confirmed by the fact that the same word appears with even clearer /tashdīd/ in the last /qufl/ of the same zajal, and it is again clearly transliterated without /tashdīd/ by García Gómez. ^{1/} The corresponding rhyme to it in the /qufl/ is again one with /tashdīd/, and is transliterated accordingly by García Gómez. If classical Arabic has no /biyya/, why has García Gómez accepted the anomalous situation of rhyming /biya/ (without /tashdīd/) with /niyya/ in the /maṭla`/, and a second time with /aīnaiya/ in the last /qufl/? Granted that classical Arabic has no /biyya/, could not the zajal have a language of its own? Could not the /biyya/, clear both in the /maṭla`/ and the last /qufl/ of the zajal in question be a colloquialism?

One could go on asking these and similar questions. But what is sure is that the syllabic theory concerning the metrical structure of the zajal cannot provide us with any answers. Whether the zajal be purely classical or vernacular, it cannot provide us with any guidelines on how it should be read, and it cannot do this because in this particular situation it seems to be too simplistic a solution to the metrical structure of the zajal. It cannot provide any guidelines as to how the zajal should be read because, to take one example, /biya/ and /biyya/ in the context of the syllabic theory, have the same

1.) Ibid., p. 222.

syllabic value. They have two syllables each, and it simply would not matter whether the word is read as /biya/ or as /biyya/, as long as it provides the requisite number of syllables. On the other hand, if the basic classical pattern of this zajal is confirmed to be the /basīṭ/ metre, as is the case here, and if it is further found out that the last foot in it is invariably /fa`lun/, then the last part of the first /simṭ/ in the /maṭla`/ would have to be /mustaf`ilun/, /fa`lun/ and would have to be read /min waḥshatin biyya/, and not /min waḥshatin biya/, which would give us /mustaf`ilun/, /fa`a/.

In the context of the syllabic theory, likewise, if a syllable is missing or we have a syllable too many in any verse, it would not matter at the end of which word we add or eliminate a vowel in order to produce the necessary adjustment. ^{1/} Again, the syllabic theory as a guide to the reading of the zajal is conducive to confusion if not outright distortion.

That this is the case would be made clearer by a few examples. The examples will, it is hoped, also help to prove that the zajal and the syllabic system are alien to each other.

In the case of the rhyme word /biya/ which I discussed above, it would not have been difficult to

1) In fact, GG: tells us as much about his method of procedure. See TBQ, III, p. 49 where this free method of choice as to where to eliminate or add syllables is given to us as an extra advantage of the syllabic theory, because "la tesis silábica no sufren por eso."

decide on how it should be read in view of the corresponding rhyme in the /maṭla`/, and the subsequent rhymes in each of the /aḡfāl/.¹ In this particular case we had the added advantage also of the word /biya/ appearing as part of the rhyming scheme, both in the /maṭla`/ and in the last /qufl/.

The situation is totally different, however, outside the limited cases where the rhyming scheme can offer some guidelines as to how a word should be read or written.

In the second /simṭ/ of the /maṭla`/ we have just quoted, there is the word $\sqrt{ktṣf}$ written without /tashdīd/. Is it to be read with /tashdīd/ or without it? And if it is read with /tashdīd/, how can we decide whether it is the /t/ or /f/ which is to be doubled or strengthened? Does it, in other words, derive from a second form /ṣaffā/ or from a fourth form /aṣfā/? It is followed by the words /lī 'l-niyya/. Is the long vowel in /lī/ to be eliminated (/khaṭf/) and we read /li 'l-niyya/, or just as legitimately, if our guide is classical prosody, are we to vocalize the / ى / before the prosthetic /hamza/ and to read /liya 'l-niyya/? And the verb itself, whether it be a second or a fourth

1) In this case the present writer could also ascertain the /tashdīd/ in /biyya/ due to the fact that there is a ballad form, with the same metre and rhyming pattern as zajal 42, which is still popular in Syria and Lebanon. It is the song termed /al-muwālayya/, which Ṣafī al-Dīn mentions in Al-Āṭil, and explicitly describes as being of an Eastern origin. Its common rhymes invariably end with /tashdīd/ like the term /muwālayya/, because this term continues to figure in the cue to this type of song.

form, is it to be read with a / ى / at the end, or is its / ى /, although integral to it, to be dropped, as yet another instance of /khaṭf/? Indeed, it appears in the text with the / ى / dropped. In other words, although it is clearly an imperfect indicative, it is written as a jussive or imperative:

كصفلى النى^١

García Gómez in his transliteration restores the / ى / of the verb, clearly eliminated in the text, reads /lī/ with its long vowel retained, and consequently seems to overlook the prosthetic /hamza/ of the following definite article:

/kattasfī lī-n-niyya/ 1/

This gives the requisite six syllables postulated by García Gómez for this verse, 2/ but, it would seem, without any consideration as to whether it reads as good Arabic or not. For one thing, whether this be classical or vernacular, the weak eliding /hamza/ should be assimilated by either reading /liya 'l-niyya/ or /li 'l-niyya/; and for another the disconnected staccato effect of reading this as transliterated by García Gómez would not be compatible with either classical Arabic verse or a popular lyric.

On the other hand, if we are guided by the classical metre of this zajal which, as already stated, is a /basīṭ/, it becomes clear that the half-verse in question corresponds to /mustaf`ilun/, /fa`lun/, and

1) TBQ, I, p. 220.

2) See his introduction to this zajal, ibid., p. 221.

As far as can be ascertained, nothing but the demands of a syllabic count could have necessitated this anomalous disparity. No other considerations either, it would seem, make it necessary to read the first verb with a strong /hamza/ while the second is read with a weak, eliding one.

Zajal 109 is one which does not readily conform to a classical metre, although its last /qufl/ is a clear /sarī`/. ^{1/} The basic pattern of it, however, in the /aghṣān/ is /mustaf`ilun/, /fā`ilun/, which in strophe 5 and a few other cases lapses into /mustaf`ilun/, /mustaf`ilun/, thus adding an extra syllable to the usual number in the /aghṣān/ of this zajal. When the transliteration of García Gómez was examined to see how it overcomes this discrepancy, it was discovered that the /aghṣān/ in question were each cut to size by the elimination of one or more syllables, without this being pointed out either in the text or in the notes.

Here is strophe 5 of zajal 109 as transliterated by García Gómez, ^{2/} with the eliminated syllables reinstated between brackets:

/wa-ṣadrī, min (hā)ḏī l-umūr,
!mā ausa` (u) bain(a) as-ṣudūr!
lau k̄ān qadar, (qad) kajyafūr/ ^{3/}
x x x x x x x

The whole of the following section will likewise serve the purpose of the examples cited here.

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- 1) The other /aqfāl/ seem to be a trimeter catalectic /basīṭ/ with the third foot being irregular.
 - 2) TBQ, II, p. 562.
 - 3) The text has /qad k̄ān yafūr/ instead of /kajyafūr/.

11. Imitation of muwashshahs by Ibn Quzmān

In the course of the 149 zajals in his Dīwān, Ibn Quzmān gives hints which take various forms that he is at times imitating muwashshahs by well-known muwashshah poets. Without stopping to examine these declared imitations, and how far they do or do not reproduce the metrical scheme, distribution of /aghṣān/ and /asmāt/, rhyming patterns, etc. of the muwashshahs they purport to imitate, various scholars have used these imitations or alleged imitations to bolster one or other of their theories concerning the zajal.

S.M. Stern uses them as a demonstration of his theory that "the muwaššah-like zajal is, indeed, nothing but the transposition of the muwaššah into the vernacular." ^{1/}

Two of these imitations purport, in one form or another, to reproduce features of one and the same muwashshah. Consequently, García Gómez uses the metrical scheme of one as a conclusive proof of his theory concerning the metre of the other. But he does this without examining the validity of the poet's claims, and whether the alleged imitations do in fact both reproduce the metrical scheme of their supposed common pattern.

Besides, if there is this consensus among scholars concerning the vernacular language of the zajal, which seems complete, no attempt has been made to show us how whole melodies (according to Stern) ^{2/} or whole metrical

1) "Studies on Ibn Quzmān", p. 385.

2) Ibid., p. 386.

schemes can be transposed from one idiom to the other in complete ease, and without any signs of strain or dislocation.

In the case of Ribera, García Gómez and others like them who assert that the zajal is entirely syllabic, no attempt is made to explain how an imitation of a muwashshah with an evident classical Arabic metre (as indeed most of these imitations are) can turn out to have a syllabic structure.

Some of these imitations cited by Stern in his article "Studies on Ibn Quzman", ^{1/} and referred to by García Gómez in the course of his work Todo Ben Quzmān, will each be briefly discussed here to see how closely they reproduce the patterns of the muwashshahs they imitate, and how much Ibn Quzmān is a conformist or non-conformist, even when he is writing what is sometimes an avowed imitation of a given model.

The first of these is zajal 4 of the poet which has the same /kharja/ as muwashshah 31 of Dār al-Ṭirāz.^{2/} The scheme, and the distribution of /aghṣān/ and /aqfāl/ in both is the same. That the zajal should have seven strophes against five in the muwashshah is immaterial. However, when the metre is examined, it is found that the zajal does not follow the metre of the muwashshah, neither in the /aqfāl/ nor in the /aghṣān/. The /aqfāl/ of the muwashshah scan invariably, although not constantly, as a /mutadārik/ (base /fa`lun/), while the /aqfāl/ of the zajal are an invariable /hazaj/ (base

1) pp. 385-403.

2) p. 81.

/mafā`īlun/). ^{1/} On the other hand, while the metre of the muwashshah is a trimeter catalectic /baṣīṭ/, the metre of the zajal, according to Nykl, ^{2/} who in turn is quoted by Stern, ^{3/} is a /munsariḥ/. ^{4/} On close examination, however, the /aghṣān/ of the zajal turn out to be unusually irregular, when compared with other zajals of Ibn Quzmān. But this should not let one jump to the conclusion that their metre is syllabic. In the process of giving them a syllabic scansion, García Gómez introduces no less than thirty-five amendments into the body of the /aghṣān/. Only seven of these amendments are pointed out between brackets in the text, while the rest are not pointed out, neither in the text nor in the notes. García Gómez, on the other hand, does not introduce any amendments in the /aqfāl/, because all these, except the /kharja/, are a regular /hazaj/. That he is able to equate the /kharja/ (a /mutadārik/) with the rest of the /aqfāl/ (/hazaj/) is simply due to the fact that four /fa`lun/ feet have the same number of syllables as two feet of /mafā`īlun/. ^{5/}

The second case to be examined here is zajal 16. In his introduction to this zajal, García Gómez describes it as follows: ^{6/}

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- 1) This has also been discussed in section 8.
 - 2) El Cancionero, p. 5 ff and p. 446.
 - 3) "Studies on Ibn Quzmān", p. 388.
 - 4) Which according to Wright has the same base as the /baṣīṭ/, op. cit., II, p. 366.
 - 5) See above, pp. 87-89.
 - 6) TBQ, I, p. 84.

"Este zéjel está calcado, en cuanto a la forma, de una moaxaja de Ben Baqī (nº 14 del Dār at-Tirāz),^{1/} cuya jarcha toma, declarandolo espresamente (estr. 5), pues este tipo de calco ("mu'ārada"), muy próximo a los procedimientos de la poesía tradicional, no era propiamente una imitación, sino un procedimiento normal ..."

In other words, since Ibn Quzmān expressly states at the end of this zajal that he borrowed its /kharja/ or /markaz/ from the muwashshah of Ibn Baqī, García Gómez takes it for granted that this zajal will be a traditional /mu'ārada/ of the former muwashshah adopting its metrical scheme, and all its other formal characteristics.

This, indeed, would have been a legitimate expectation if Ibn Quzmān, as is often pointed out in this work, was not sometimes a law unto himself. He does not feel bound by rules and traditions, and this zajal or this /mu'ārada/ of his is yet another example in point. But neither Stern nor García Gómez, the focus of whose work is on their theories, stop to examine a zajal 16 of Ibn Quzmān and tell us how far it is or it is not an imitation. For one thing, the muwashshah has four /aghṣān/ to each strophe, while Ibn Quzmān's zajal has only three, something which does not arise in a proper /mu'ārada/. But more important, perhaps, is that while the /aqfāl/ in Ibn Quzmān's zajal quite naturally tally with the /kharja/ he expressly borrowed from Ibn Baqī's muwashshah, he does not feel bound to make his /aghṣān/ tally with those of the muwashshah. In fact, the metre in his /aghṣān/ is widely divergent from the corresponding metre in the muwashshah.

1) p. 58.

But, all these considerations apart, one cannot take issue with Ibn Quzmān on account of the discrepancies mentioned above, for another simple reason. What he expressly stated (i.e. that he is borrowing the /kharja/) he feels duly bound by, and his /aqfāl/ reproduce the metrical scheme of that /kharja/. He is quiet concerning the metre of the rest of his zajal, and it is not surprising that it is shaped independently of the supposed model.

There is another zajal in the Dīwān, however, zajal 56, which Ibn Quzmān expressly tells us he composed in the same metre (/`arūd/) as the muwashshah in question. And indeed he is again true to his word. The whole of zajal 56, /aqfāl/ and /aghṣān/ alike, is in the same metre, a /ramal/ dimeter, as the muwashshah of Ibn Baqī. But again, as is to be expected, zajal 56 bears no other resemblance to the muwashshah in question, neither in the distribution of the /aghṣān/ and /aqfāl/, nor in the rhyming scheme. In fact, zajal 56 has no internal rhymes in the /aqfāl/ or in the /aghṣān/, while its model indeed has both of these features.

Stern mentions the fact that zajal 56 ^{1/} borrows its metre from the muwashshah of Ibn Baqī, and notes that "the imitation is restricted to the employment of the rhythm." ^{2/} This, by the way, he scans as:

- ˘ - - - ˘ - - - - - ˘ - - - ˘ - -

1) It appears erroneously as n^o 57 in Stern's work. "Studies on Ibn Quzmān", p. 392.

2) Loc. cit.

There is no reason to doubt, however, that the first foot of the second hemistich is also - ∪ - -. It is also important to note that /fā`ilun/ sometimes undergoes a change into /fā`ilān/. Thus:

The /maṭla`/,

/al-ladhī na`/shaq malīh/	/wa`l-ladhī nash/rab`atīq/
fā`ilātun fā`ilān	fā`ilātun fā`ilān
/al-malīh ¹ /ab/yaḍ samīn/	/wa`l-sharāb ¹ /aṣ/far raqīq/
fā`ilātun fā`ilān	fā`ilātun fā`ilān

The last /qufl/,

/wa`amaltu/ fī`arūḍ/	/al-ghazāl ¹ /shaq/qa`l-ḥarīq/
fa`ilātu fā`ilān	fā`ilātun fā`ilān

It would be noticed that it is in this last /qufl/ of zajal 56 that Ibn Quzmān declares that he composed this zajal in the metre of /al-ghazāl shaqqa`l-ḥarīq/, the latter being the opening words of Ibn Baqī's /kharja/. In zajal 16 Ibn Quzmān only states that the /markaz/ (or last /qufl/) of his zajal is the /markaz/ of Ibn Baqī's muwashshah:

/markazu min markazi`l-tawshīh li-bin Baqī/

This last statement does not and need not imply, as we have seen, that zajal 16 is also composed in the same metre as the muwashshah, and hence by conclusion, the same metre as zajal 56 also. But García Gómez seems to take this for granted as being the case, and his syllabic system seems to reach the peak of arbitrariness when, as a consequence, he takes the rhythm of zajal 56 as proof and confirmation of the

1) In these three cases the long vowels should be read as short in the scansion, (/khatf/).

elaborate and complicate ^{1/} syllabic structure he postulates for zajal 16. This he points out in his introduction to zajal 56: ^{2/}

"Al elogiar su zéjel en los versos últimos, Ben Quzmán nos dice haberlo compuesto en el ritmo de "Cruzó el ciervo el fuego y van": es la famosa moaxaja de Ben Baqī (nº 14 del "Dār at-Ṭirāz") que, según hemos visto, "calcó" Ben Quzmán en el nº 16, y en la que hay una curiosa redistribución de sílabas. Aquí no lo hay. Al no haberla, y saber por Ben Quzmán que el ritmo es lo mismo, como este ritmo es ahora clarísimo, comprueba palmariamente nuestra hipótesis sobre el otro."

It would have been gathered from what preceded that Ibn Quzmán does not at times conform to rules, even where practice and tradition make one expect such conformity. Borrowing a /kharja/ does not make him abide by the rules which go with such a practice - total conformity with the pattern of the poem from which the

1) The extent of this can be gauged from the following description GG gives of the metrical structure of zajal 16: "El preludeo y las vueltas (m-n-o-n) constan de: dos octosílabos yámbicos agudos + un decasílabo yámbico agudo + un pentasílabo yámbico agudo. Cada mudanza, de las tres, es -igual que el final de las vueltas- un decasílabo + un pentasílabo, los dos yámbicos agudos, con rimas alternas. Desmontadas las rimas disfrazadoras, se ve que hay que quitar a cada uno de los decasílabos las dos últimas sílabas y añadírselas al pentasílabo siguiente. Entonces, en todos estos lugares tenemos: un octosílabo yámbico agudo + un heptasílabo yámbico agudo, y que este último es, en realidad, también un octosílabo yámbico agudo, al que se ha suprimido -por la pausa- la 1ª sílaba. El metro de base es, por tanto, el octosílabo yámbico agudo, como lo confirma el hecho de que el nº 56 (véase), que está en dicho ritmo, dice Ben Quzmán haber sido compuesto por el patrón rítmico de éste." TBQ, I, p. 85.

2) Ibid., p. 283.

/kharja/ is borrowed. ^{1/}

However, the irregularity noted in the two imitations just cited is far from being as marked, or even noticeable in zajal 127, which in turn is an imitation of a muwashshah by Ibn Baqī, ^{2/} and zajal 133 which is an imitation of a famous muwashshah by Ibn Bajja. ^{3/} These two zajals follow their models in every particular formal aspect, in a manner which is indeed befitting of a /mu'arāḍa/. In fact, there is no reason to doubt that the poet intended them as such, especially as the last strophe of zajal 133 expressly confirms such an impression. This strophe ends with the following two verses or /aghṣān/, quoted as they are transliterated by S.M. Stern: ^{4/}

/qultu fīh da-l-zaḡal kamā qad ra'ayt
'arāḍa 'l-taushīh alladī sammayt/

1) Nor is Ibn Quzmān, for that matter, alone in this disregard of rules. The Hebrew poet Abraham Ben 'Ezra expressly imitating the same muwashshah of Ibn Baqī (n^o 14 of Dār al-Ṭirāz), whose /kharja/ he keeps intact, changes the metrical structure of his model "almost beyond recognition". Besides, Ben 'Ezra introduces an element into his imitation, which proves, if it proves anything at all, that the formal structure of the muwashshah was turned at times into an exercise in virtuosity. This was Ben 'Ezra's introduction at the end of each /simṭ/ in his Hebrew /mu'arāḍa/ of Arabic words which, as is pointed out by Stern, are not taken from the muwashshah of Ibn Baqī, or any other poem purporting to imitate it. See Stern, "Studies on Ibn Quzmān", p. 393, and see section 2 above on the Romance element in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān.

2) N^o 27, Dār al-Ṭirāz, p. 76. See also Stern, op. cit., p. 394.

3) Stern, op. cit., p. 397.

4) Ibid., p. 396.

In a note on /^ʿaraḍa/ which appears in the last /ghuṣn/, Stern adds that one might read /^ʿāraḍa/, which is the third form of the verb used for imitation or /mu^ʿāraḍa/, and both the context and the metre give little reason to doubt that this is the correct reading and interpretation of the term. This is because the /aghṣān/ quoted above are immediately followed by the borrowed /kharja/ from Ibn Bajja.

García Gómez, however, reads /^ʿaraḍ/ as /^ʿarūḍ/ (without pointing out this change in the reading) and transliterates as follows: 1/

/qultu fih dā z-zaḡal kamā qad raitt
`arūḍ at-tauṣīḥ alladī sammait/

One might not altogether disagree with García Gómez that /^ʿaraḍ/ could be a copyist's mistake for /^ʿarūḍ/, but one would definitely disagree with the fact that having read this as /^ʿarūḍ/, García Gómez should go on to translate: 2/

`este zéjel compuse en el ritmo
del tauṣīḥ que a citar voy al cabo'

This is because /^ʿarūḍ/ here (if that is the correct reading) as well as in zajal 56 discussed above, could only mean 'metre', 'metrics' or 'prosody'. Nothing, it is felt, makes it necessary to translate /^ʿarūḍ/ in both cases as 'ritmo', except the fact that such a translation is more compatible perhaps with a syllabic

1) TBQ, II, p. 662.

2) Ibid., p. 663.

theory. ^{1/}

That /^ˈarūd/ in zajal 56 implies 'classical Arabic metre', as distinct from 'rhythm', has already been demonstrated. If the reading /^ˈarūd/ in zajal 133 did not violate the metre of the zajal, it would have seemed immaterial whether the term is read as /^ˈarūd/, /^ˈarad/ or /^ˈārad/. The metre of this zajal closely follows the classical Arabic metre of its declared model. Thus:

The /matla'/ of the muwashshah, ^{2/}

/jarriri 'l-dhay/la ayyamā/ jannī/
fā'ilātun mutaf'ilun fa'lun
/wa sili 'l-suk/ra minhu bi 'l-/sukri/
fa'ilātun mutaf'ilun fa'lun

The /matla'/ of the zajal,

/man da'anī/ nafnī anā/ 'umrī/
fā'ilātun mustaf'ilun fa'lun
/fī maliḥan/ yanā sawab^{3/}/ hajrī/
fā'ilātun mutaf'ilun fa'lun

x x x x x x x x x

Although this work deals mainly with the zajals of Ibn Quzmān contained in the Dīwān, the next and last example to be given here of a /mu'arada/ by the poet is constituted of four fragments quoted by Hillī in Al-'Ātil,

1) The poet uses the term /^ˈarūd/ in zajal 134 to say that this zajal keeps to or retains the /^ˈarūd/ of another zajal of his (nº 30). The two turn out in fact to have the same metre. In this case GG translates /^ˈarūd/ as "estructura métrica" (TBQ, II, p. 665). The fact that the poems display some similarity in the rhyming scheme shows the random nature of the poet's work.

2) See Stern, op. cit., p. 397.

3) The long syllable is read here as short.

which appear as n^o 28 in the article by Hoenerbach and Ritter, ^{1/} and as zajal 164 in Todo Ben Quzmān. In his citation, ^{2/} Ḥillī states that the four fragments, all /aqfāl/, appear in a zajal by the poet which he wrote in the same metre (/arūd/) as a muwashshah by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, of which he quotes the /maṭla'/:

/lastu min asri hawāka mukhallā
law yakun dhā mā ṭalabtu sarāḥa/

Stern has shown Ḥillī's inexactitude in attributing this muwashshah to Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, and that at a time when Ḥillī, in his own Dīwān, imitates the muwashshah in question, and attributes it correctly to Ibn Baqī. The muwashshah appears as n^o 26 in Dār al-Tirāz.

The muwashshah, both /aghṣān/ and /aqfāl/, is in a regular classical Arabic metre - a /madīd/. That it is in a regular classical metre is further attested by the fact that its /kharja/ is a verse from a poem by the Eastern Arab poet and Caliph, Ibn al-Mu'tazz (861-908). ^{3/} Hoenerbach and Ritter scan the /maṭla'/' of the muwashshah and that of the zajal as: ^{4/}

fā'ilātun fā'ilātun fa'ūlun
v v - - - v - - - v - - -

But the classical Arabic /madīd/ is clear in both. Thus: The /maṭla'/' of the muwashshah,

/lastu min as/ri hawā/ka mukhallā/
fā'ilātun fa'ilun fa'ilātun

1) "Neue Materialien zum Zagal", p. 297. See also Stern, op. cit., p. 400.

2) Al-'Ātil, p. 76.

3) This is stated by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk himself, Dār al-Tirāz, p. 74.

4) op. cit., p. 297.

/law yakun dhā/ mā ṭalab/tu sarāḥa/
fā'ilātun fā'ilun fa'ilātun

The /maṭla`/ of the zajal,

/ash tarā nab/nī `alā/ waṣlak aw¹/lā/
fā'ilātun fā'ilun fā'ilātun
/qul na'am ḥat/tā yajid/ qalbi²/māḥa/
fā'ilātun fā'ilun fā'ilātun

Now the fragments quoted from this zajal of Ibn Quzmān are, as already pointed out, all /aqfāl/. In other words, they have to be (in a /mu`āraḍa/) in the same metre as the /aqfal/. of the muwashshah and quite naturally the same metre as the /kharja/. This /kharja/, we are clearly told, is a verse of classical Arabic poetry. If the metre of the zajal is syllabic, as many would have it, the question would indeed arise, what is the point of a /mu`āraḍa/ which imitates classical Arabic poetry with syllabic verses, and whether, of course, this is at all feasible.

Examples of zajals in a clear classical Arabic metre are many in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān, culled from sources outside his Dīwān. Just as n° 28 in Hoenerbach and Ritter's article is a regular /madīd/, n° 29 is a regular /rajaz/, and Hoenerbach and Ritter have scanned it as such. ^{3/}

All this does not mean, however, that the verses of the poet are not quite often overfluid and lacking

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- 1) Synaeresis of the vowels of the /k/ and /a/.
 - 2) The long vowel should be read as short in the scansion.
 - 3) op. cit., p. 298.

in regularity. But it is precisely this lack of regularity which characterizes the zajal, its language, its metre, its syntax, its /i`rāb/, its /mu`ārāḍa/ and its metaphor and idiom. Its language, as the following chapters will help to show, is basically classical Arabic, but it is permeated with popular influences; it uses colloquial terms, but their use is erratic and irregular. In the words of García Gómez, it rejects /i`rāb/ but can still have it, it eliminates a lot of /tanwīn/ but not all of it, and it does that rather capriciously. ^{1/} The language of the zajal violates the classical idiom, but that does not mean that it is vernacular; the zajal often violates the classical Arabic metres, but that does not mean that it is syllabic. In fact, the following chapters will demonstrate that the zajal sometimes violates the colloquial idiom as well.

Ibn Quzmān, the arch-zajal writer, has often, and quite rightly too, been compared to Abū Nuwās and to François Villon ^{2/} because of what seem to be his libertine and incorrigible ways. The conclusion to be drawn from this and the following chapters, is that Ibn Quzmān conforms to rules, just as much as he conformed in his everyday life to religious injunctions. If the students of his poetry had realized that, they would not have approached his poetry with strict rules.

1) TBQ, III, p. 17 quoted above, p. 82.

2) See, for example, Nykl, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, p. 269, and Colin's article on the poet in the Encyc. of Islam.

and measures. They would not have approached his work with a priori theories, and least of all with a syllabic theory which was an innovation not to be conceived of in his days and in his milieu.

C H A P T E R I I I

THE LANGUAGE OF THE ZAJAL: CLASSICAL OR VERNACULAR?

L. Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī on the use of desinential
inflection and classical idiom in the zajal, and
his inconclusive findings

If proof were needed that the zajal has never been studied for its own sake from a generic point of view, there is proof enough in the misconception prevalent from the Middle Ages up to our own day, namely that the zajal is written in vernacular Arabic. It is no exaggeration to say that practically everybody who has studied the zajals of Ibn Quzmān seems to have accepted the tradition handed down about them and which, surprisingly, has never been questioned, left alone properly examined.

If demonstration were needed that the zajals of Ibn Quzmān are not written in the vernacular, the perplexity and confusion of some of the medieval writers and commentators, like Ḥillī, on the subject of their language, goes a long way towards supplying such a proof. In the following pages I shall quote Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī at length where he seems totally taken up by the fact that Ibn Quzmān, in his zajals, does not abide by any of the rules which he lays down in the introduction to his Dīwān. Ibn Quzmān, in the view of all his readers and commentators, states there, apparently categorically, that /i`rāb/ was to be eschewed in the zajal as both 'obnoxious and blighting'. It has

already been pointed out in the previous chapter ^{1/} that the term /i`rāb/ can be taken to refer to desinential inflection or, and this is just as likely, to classical usage correct in all respects. It was also pointed out there that some scholars have in their works on the zajal understood or interpreted the term as referring exclusively to one of these two meanings. ^{2/} Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, however, who lived and wrote only a little more than a century after the poet, seems to have been clear in his mind, as one easily infers from his work, that the term refers both to desinential inflection and to correct usage of the classical idiom. Indeed, he examines the works of Ibn Quzmān on both counts and finds that on both counts the poet continually violates his own stipulations, in that /i`rāb/ is not overlooked in his poetry. Ṣafī al-Dīn enumerates ad nauseam examples of classicisms and of desinential inflection occurring in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān, and is at a loss to explain them in the light of the poet's statements in his introduction. In fact, Ṣafī al-Dīn more than once in his treatise on the zajal ^{3/} enumerates some of these examples, then gives up the task as one which needs the compilation of separate monographs, only to find himself tempted to go back to the subject by the

1) See above, p. 76.

2) See, for example, TBQ, III, p. 17.

3) Al-`Āṭil, pp. 75, 79 and 86. This is discussed in some detail in the following pages.

frequency of the examples he can cite and by their soundness and striking appropriateness.

Chapter 4 of Hilli's work is dedicated to the various features to be precluded from the zajal, or more accurately, to use the author's own words, those features which later poets allege the Amām/^{1/} Ibn Quzmān disallows, and yet "all of which we have found used in his works and the works of his contemporaries." ^{2/}

Hilli then goes on to say: ^{3/}

"Included in what has been prohibited and censured (in the zajal) is the use of the classical Arabic language; and yet I have found of classical usage by Ibn Quzmān and by other leading earlier poets that which, were I to record it here, would occupy a monograph in its entirety."

Hilli then gives as his first example a strophe from a zajal ^{4/} by Ibn Quzmān in which six different names of wine are mentioned, all of which he describes as being of pure classical Arabic without the possibility that a single one could be considered colloquial. ^{5/}

In fact, none of these six classical Arabic words referring to wine is used nowadays in any Arabic dialect. One of them in particular, /qahwa/, would not be recognized as referring to anything other than 'coffee' anywhere in the Arab world, except by Arabs who have specialized in Arabic.

1) This term is used by most medieval commentators to refer to Ibn Quzmān as the doyen of the zajal poets and the founding-father of the art.

2) Al-'Āṭil, p. 68.

3) Ibid., p. 71.

4) Strophe 11 of zajal 94.

5) Al-'Āṭil, p. 71.

What Hillī does not note, however, is that Ibn Quzmān has another zajal (29) in which no fewer than seven purely classical words referring to wine are used in a single strophe, ^{1/} and that among these are three synonyms which do not appear in the repertoire of the previous zajal. Of these only the term /khamr/ is in use in present-day Arabic vernaculars.

Among the other examples given by Hillī is Ibn Quzmān's use of the classical terms /al-lamā al-ma'sūl/ preceded by the substantive, commonly reckoned a preposition, ^{2/} /ka/ denoting similitude. He also cites the poet's use of the classical, and indeed Qurānic ^{3/} /la'amrī/, an oath implying 'by my life', and his use of /bu'sā/ ^{4/} instead of the more common, but still classical /ba'sā/ for 'misery' or 'distress'.

Hillī cites these examples among others and ends with one of his characteristic comments that the poet's work offers a multitude of similar examples and that he has had to restrict himself in the number which he cites. ^{5/}

He then moves on to examine the works of the zajal poet Mudghallīs, the most prominent of Ibn Quzmān's immediate successors. ^{6/} He finds that his zajals

1) Strophe 4.

2) Wright, op. cit., I, p. 280.

3) See, for example, /Sūrat al-Hijr/, verse 71 and zajals 24, strophe 6; 83, strophe 7; 87, strophe 20; (/yā layta shi'rī/ appears in strophe 19 of zajal 87); 89, strophe 8.

4) № 21 in the article by Hoenerbach and Ritter, "Neue Materialien zum Zagal", p. 291.

5) Al-'Ātil, p. 73.

6) Prolegomena, p. 595.

similarly contain a large number of purely classical usages. Out of these he starts by citing a whole verse by the poet, which he describes as being in classical Arabic in its entirety, both in its wording and its desinential inflections. ^{1/}

The example of the verse just mentioned is followed by at least six other examples of the use of classical Arabic by Mudghallīs, following which Hillī adds in his now familiar type of statement, that if he were to carry out a thorough examination of the Dīwāns of the two /imām/s, ^{2/} that is Ibn Quzmān and Mudghallīs, he would reproduce the examples he offers multiplied many times, but that he has to content himself with the samples presented. ^{3/} But, as if to stress the point still further, Hillī tells us that he has found in the works of other great contemporaries of Ibn Quzmān and Mudghallīs what he describes as "more horrid indulgence in classical usage, even more firmly based in the language of the Arabs". ^{4/} Hillī finds it sufficient to give one example of this chaste classical usage in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān's contemporaries, but again he adds that if he were to give free rein to his pen in enumerating these examples, they would fill the rest of his manuscript. Part of what he has cited, he feels, should be sufficient to make his point. ^{5/}

1) Al-`Āṭil, p. 73.

2) That is 'leading zajal writers'.

3) Ibid., p. 75.

4) Loc. cit.

5) Loc. cit.

It will have become clear from this brief survey of Hillī's work that the aspect of /i`rāb/ he has been concerned with so far is simply classical usage. That he was aware, or that he understood /i`rāb/ to mean classical Arabic usage as well as desinential inflection, is fairly clear from the remaining section of chapter 4 of his work, ^{1/} part of which is surveyed above.

After setting out the examples examined above, Hillī moves on to survey the extent to which desinential inflection is used by the zajal poets although, as he says, inadmissible in the zajal according to the stated intentions of these poets themselves. But it is a foregone conclusion with him that the occurrence of desinential inflection is widespread in the works of the two /imām/s of the zajal, meaning again Ibn Quzmān and Mudghallīs. And to exclude any doubt in the mind of his readers concerning this, Hillī gives precedence in this section to examples of desinential inflection in the zajal involving the six nouns which are declined with the letters / ʾ / and / , / and / ʿ / in the construct state, viz. /ab/, /akh/, etc. He finds that Ibn Quzmān as well as others of his contemporaries use these nouns and closely observe the correct rules of inflection for case. This he feels is more of a departure from principle than the correct declension of other triptotes and diptotes. ^{2/}

It is interesting to note that the example Hillī

1) See above, p. 79.

2) Ibid., p. 76.

picks out from the zajals of Ibn Quzmān, namely the genitive of the construct of /fam/ 'mouth', contains a paronymous play on words which is complete, and in which the three independent rhymes of one strophe are successively /w-anfih/, /fih/ and /fih/, ^{1/} something which only the writers of classical /maqāmāt/ or extravagantly euphuistic muwashshahs were indulging in at that time.

When Hillī moves on to examine the use of desinential inflection in the zajal in other triptotes and in diptotes, he finds that its occurrence is widespread and that the zajals of the various poets are full of examples. ^{2/} He finds that Ibn Quzmān introduces /i'rāb/ into the rhyme, something which he describes again as an obnoxious departure from his stated aims, and perhaps also in view of the fact that Arabic poetic license allows for elision of the terminal vowel of the consonant of the rhyming syllable.

Among other things, however, Hillī goes on to note an incorrect use of desinential inflection by Ibn Quzmān, ^{3/} apparently necessitated by the exigencies of the rhyme. As one of the clearest signs that the poet is observing the /i'rāb/ rules, Hillī, nevertheless, goes on to point out the vocalization of the defective noun /qāḍī/, in the position of a vocative, which appears in the text as /qāḍiya/, and the sound masculine plural

1) № 40 in Hoenerbach and Ritter's article, p. 307. See in the Dīwān zajal 74, strophe 6 for another example of complete paronomasia.

2) Al-'Āṭil, p. 76.

3) Ibid., p. 77.

/al-muslimīn/, which appears as /al-muslimīna/. The appearance of the /a/ vowel on the /n/ of the sound masculine plural is, he says, the surest indication of the use of /i'rāb/. Besides, without the vocalization of these two terms which appear in the same verse, the metre, Hillī stresses, would remain defective.

After pointing out other cases in which Ibn Quzmān introduces the /a/ vowel on the /yā'/, when it is a suffixed possessive pronoun (e.g. /kadhā naqṭa' zamāniya 'l-aṭwal/), or part of the separate pronoun /hiya/ (e.g. /al-janna law ḥaṭṭīna hiya 'l-rāh/), as further indications of /i'rāb/, ^{1/} Hillī again feels it necessary to end with the familiar statement that the zajals of Ibn Quzmān, Mudghallīs and others are full of examples, and that his brief survey does not allow for the enumeration of more. ^{2/}

Yet after the seeming finality of such a statement Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Hillī goes on again enumerating examples of the occurrence of desinential inflection in the zajal, apparently prompted, as pointed out earlier, ^{3/} by the frequency of these examples and by their appropriateness. ^{4/}

1) Ibid., pp. 78-79. In both of the examples cited here Hillī explicitly points out that if the /yā'/ in /zamānī/ in the first example, and in /hiya/ in the second, were left unvocalized, as he presumes they would be in the vernacular, the metre in both cases would be impaired.

2) Ibid., p. 79.

3) See above, pp. 130-131.

4) Loc. cit.

2. Does the zajal use classical grammatical syntax?

It is reassuring that, in spite of the inadequacies of Ḥillī's treatise as a study of the zajal referred to above, he does not restrict his investigation of the use of /i`rāb/ in the zajal to the enumeration of isolated "classicisms" and to noting examples of the desinential vowels.

Ḥillī examines the zajals of Ibn Quzmān also for the use of the various particles, adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions, whose use, according to the poet's declared aims, is not compatible with the language of the zajal, or which, in Ḥillī's understanding, are classified among the /mamnū`āt/ ^{1/} 'disallowed usages' in the zajal. He examines first the use of the verb modifier /sawfa/ and its abbreviated form /sa/ and gives us examples from the zajals of Ibn Quzmān and others in which these verb modifiers are used. ^{2/} He gives other examples of the use of the particle /mundhu/ in the zajals of both Ibn Quzmān and Mudghallīs.

Other exclusively classical prepositions and conjunctions examined by Ḥillī are /mudh/, /idh/, /thumma/ and the /ka/ of similitude. After these he simply finds it expedient not to go on enumerating more examples, and adds on the subject of the latter four particles:

"I have, for the reader's sake, made things easier concerning these. I enjoin the reader to survey only those opening verses and lines copied out in this-

1) Ibid., p. 80.

2) Loc. cit. See for the use of /sa/ the /maṭla`/ of zajals 2 and 130, and zajal 38, strophe 32.

book,, and he will find these particles used in them. I have had to repeat these verses before, and I feel averse to reproducing them again on account of constant repetition. So what is one to think of zajals out of which I have not reproduced a single word here, and of other zajals which I have not come across?" 1/

At this stage, however, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī goes back to enumerating other disallowed usages, /mamnū`āt/, which would have been better classified with his other examples of desinential inflection, rather than in his examination of particles which appertains more to grammatical structure or syntax. These are described by Ḥillī as excessive or exorbitant, /madd/ `lengthening`, `extension`, clear /hamz/ `compression` and heavy /tashdīd/ `lengthening`, which, according to Ḥillī, Ibn Quzmān had censured in the works of his predecessor, Ibn Numāra, although he and his contemporaries had used what was even "heavier, more excessive and more exorbitant". 2/

The remaining strictures of Ḥillī, and they are many, include the use of /tanwīn/ and the retention of the / ِ / in the plural of the imperfect indicative.

Indeed, if one were to follow the example of Ḥillī in citing classical terms and pure classical expressions from the zajals of Ibn Quzmān, one would find oneself in the same predicament as Ḥillī, needing to compile whole monographs or whole glossaries of these classicisms. Such expressions as /ghaythin hatūn/ `abundant heavy rain` (zajal 90), /naṣba`aynayh/

1) Ibid., p. 81.

2) Loc. cit.

'before his eyes' (zajal 174) and /ṣurūf al-zamān/
'the vicissitudes of time' (zajal 94) are all too
far-fetched classicisms to be dismissed simply as
borrowings from classical Arabic. Likewise, for
example, is the use of /taghmizūn/ (indicative imperfect)
to imply 'censure', 'slander', instead of the more
common, and indeed colloquial 'wink' or 'beckon with
the eye'. ^{1/}

It would be difficult to decide whether it was
the Arab tradition of verbal effects which influenced
Hillī to restrict his search for what is classical in
the zajal to its diction and its terminal inflections.
The references he makes to classical syntax, as we have
seen, are limited to a few adverbs and adverbial particles.
His approach, however, seems to have been prompted, if
not altogether dictated, by the interpretations he
attached to /i'rāb/ as implying firstly, classical
usage, and secondly, desinential inflection. If he

1.) This appears in zajal 146 of the Dīwān and n^o 13 in
Hoenerbach and Ritter's article. It should be pointed
out here that GG has, in fact, missed the proper implication
of /taghmizūn/ which is fairly clear from the context:
"Do not be critical because I have used /mudāma/ instead
of /mudām/, that (usage) is possible". GG translates
instead: "no. guñéis los ojos: tanto vale el decir /mudām/
como /mudāma/", (TBQ, II, p. 725). Incidentally, while
Ibn Quzmān displays his sound knowledge of Arabic by
pointing out that /mudāma/ is not incorrect Arabic, and
just as sound as /mudām/, it is surprising to see 'Alī Samī
al-Nashār critical of the use of /mudām/ by Al-Shushtarī
as being necessitated by poetic exigency. He explicitly
states that /mudām/ is incorrect Arabic, but without
giving lexical references. (See his edition of Dīwān
al-Shushtarī, p. 89).

had attempted to cite the cases of pure classical syntax in the zajals, he would have encountered another of what he describes as well nigh impossible tasks.

What follows here, however, is a survey of the examples of classical grammatical structure in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān of a kind which make it difficult to argue that the zajals are a genre of colloquial poetry. ^{1/} But, while this survey is intended to be as exhaustive as possible, the examples given to demonstrate each particular instance of classical grammatical syntax have, simply for considerations of space, been restricted to one example of each category. While a few of these cases of classical syntax can perhaps pass for borrowings from classical Arabic, the great majority of them do not occur in any extant Arabic dialect, and there is little reason to believe that they were used in any Hispanic Arabic vernacular. Each case mentioned is immediately followed by an example to demonstrate it. (References to other examples are made in the notes.) The terminal vowels, on the whole, are those which appear in the text, or what I feel is dictated by metrical considerations:

1) In a discussion such as this, one should not lose sight of the fact that the consonantal outline of classical Arabic versus colloquial tends to minimize the differences between the two, thus: / كنت في بغداد اولى امس / can be read as: /kuntu fī Baghdāda awwala amsi/ or /kint fī Baghdād awwal ams/. It will be seen, however, that the examples cited of classical syntax in the zajal are, in the greater majority of them, those in which no such ambiguity can readily arise, e.g. no argument could be made for the adverb /lā siyyamā/ being colloquial.

The use of /mā al-daymūma/ (as in classical usage with the perfect):

/dumta masrūr muballagha 'l-āmāl
mā 'staḥāla 'l-ḡalāmu wa-lāḥa 'l-hilāl
wa-mā 'khdarra nabātun wa-qāmat ghuṣūn/
(zajal 90, last strophe) 1/

The use of the circumstantial accusative (/al-ḥāl/):

/wa 'l-rufqa tamshī 'alā 'aynī bā'an fī bā'/
(zajal 104, strophe 3) 2/

The use of the accusative of specification (/al-tamyīz/):

/las nakhāf 'umrī min fikar wa humūm
wa-makarimuk tashta'il miṣbāḥ/ 3/
(zajal 94, strophe 29) 4/

The use of the exception (/al-mustathnā/):

/lam yabqā min 'umrik illā zamānan yasīr/ 5/
(zajal 26, strophe 3)

1) See also zajals 87 and 88, the last strophe in each case, and 89, strophe 1 and 22, strophe 14.

2) See a succession of five cases of /ḥāl/ in the last strophe of zajal 7, and also zajal 87, strophe 28, where the /ḥāl/ is a compounded one: /fa-waṣaftu 'l-jalāla baytan bayt/.

3) GG, in order to get the requisite number of syllables, introduces the /ka/ of similitude before /miṣbāḥ/ which is inappropriate if the poetry were vernacular as GG would have it.

4) See also zajal 94, strophe 23 and zajal 96, strophe 7. The examples of /tamyīz/ are too many to enumerate here. A clear example of these, however, seems to have been missed by GG. In zajal 45, strophe 8, he reads: /wa-las yaqirru bihi 'aynan/ as /wa-las yaqirru bih 'ainu/, (TBQ, I, p. 238).

5) Note here the use of the accusative of the exception at a time when the nominative would have been the appropriate case, in view of the negative proposition.

The use of /lam/ with the jussive of the imperfect:

/ḍanna fīka 'l-sharaf dananta anta bīh
lam tujāra wa-lam tunāza' fīh/

(zajal 87, strophe 32) 1/

The use of /wāw al-hāl/:

/wa-ta'tarīnī raqda wa 'l-nās julūs/

(zajal 88, strophe 18) 2/

The use of /qad/ (with the perfect):

/qad tammantu 'l-zujayyal wa-hū min qalbī maqtū' /

(zajal 2, strophe 10) 3/

The use of /qad/ (with the imperfect):

/lihyatuk dhāb qad turīd an takban/

(zajal 53, strophe 3)

The use of /lā/ of prohibition:

/fa-lā takun fī ḥayra min ajlī/

(zajal 135, strophe 11)

1) Zajal 88, strophe 7 (twice), strophe 10 and strophe 16, and zajal 135, strophe 2. Professor T.M. Johnstone suggests that the use of /lam/ can occur in some dialects in Arabia. It is perhaps also necessary in certain cases to make allowances for the differences that might arise between formal and informal speech, as, e.g. /yā sīdī/ turning in formal speech into the classical /yā sayyidī/, or /rubbamā/ reappearing in dialectal Arabic, where /balkī/ or some other vernacular form would be used.

2) Zajals 27, strophe 2; 62, strophe 6; 89, strophe 12; 90, strophe 21. The appearance of /wāw al-hāl/ in present day Arabic dialects is discussed below, pp. 157-158.

3) See also zajal 1, strophes 1, 2, 3 and 4.

The use of /lā/ with the perfect as an optative:

/wa-lā wajaḍ `adūwwukum farajimīna `l-humūm/
(zajal 17, strophe 6) 1/

The use of /lā siyyamā/:

/las natūb `an shurbi kāsin abadan
lā siyyamā idhā saqāhu lī ḥabīb/
(zajal 58, /maṭla`/) 2/

The use of the adverb /lan/ followed by the imperfect subjunctive:

/lan tuksaba `l-`ulyā bi-dhī `l-suhūla/ 3/
(zajal 13, strophe 13)

The use of the conjunction /an/ followed by the subjunctive:

/fa `mshū wa-da`unī min qabli an nafūt/
(zajal 49, strophe 2) 4/

The use of the conjunction /li`allā/:

/naḍummu `ājil li`allā yabdālī/
(zajal 29, strophe 3)

The use of the preposition /ka/:

/ka `l-qamar hū kalāmī/
(zajal 41, strophe 11) 5/

1) See also zajal 9, strophe 3; zajal 26, strophe 1; zajal 131, strophe 8.

2) See also zajal 20, strophe 12. It is difficult to decide whether it is the requirements of syllabic scansion or a misinterpretation of the text which makes GG read /lā siyyamā/ in both cases as /laisamā/ which makes no sense. (TBQ, I, p.292 and p.108). See also the use of /lā siyyamā/ in a zajal by Muḡhallīs (Al-`Āḥil, p.207) where the metre of the zajal in question is a /raǰaz/ and /lā siyyamā/ tallies with one complete foot of it, i.e. /mustaf`ilun/.

3) This example is just as valid if we read /taksiba/ instead of the passive.

4) See zajal 53, strophe 3.

5) See also zajal 55, strophe 1 where /ka/ is used redundantly along with /mithl/.

The use of /mundhu/ (directly connected with a proposition): 1/

/mundhu ghāba 'l-khubzu 'annī/

(zajal 98, strophe 5)

The use of /matā/ or /matā mā/ as conditionals:

/wa-matā mā thiqtā bih zāda fī mazhak wa-sallāk/

(zajal 41, strophe 11)

The use of /matā/ as a simple adverb:

/yā man qatalnī 'itābu matā nufīq min 'adhābu/

(zajal 43, /maṭla'/) 2/

The use of /kam/ (as assertory predicative or exclamatory): 3/

/kam qultu-lu ḥabībī kam dhā ṣudūd wa-tīh/

(zajal 27, strophe 2) 4/

The use of /kam/ (predicative or exclamatory) with /min/ expressed after it:

/kam min shabīhat qamar qāmat tughannī-lak/

(zajal 42, strophe 5) 5/

The use of the particles of /taḥdīd/, as, for example, /hallā/:

/taqtuli liman yuḥibbuk hallā rafaqta bīh/

(zajal 27, strophe 2))

1) See Wright, op. cit., II, p. 174.

2) See also zajal 37, strophe 1.

3) The use of the interrogative /kam/ has been left out of this enumeration in view of its appearance in many present day Arabic dialects, as, for example, Iraqi: /cham shahar biqēt fī Landan?/, /cham walad 'indak?/, or Lebanese: /kim yawm ba'd li 'l-'īd?/

4) See also zajal 38, strophes 6 and 37.

5) See also zajal 46, strophe 4, and zajal 124, strophe 1 for the use of /lakam/.

It will be noted, that in keeping with the requirements of classical syntax, ^{1/} the particle /hallā/ is here followed by a verb in the perfect to imply a rebuke for the neglect displayed by the beloved, the total neglect of /rifq/ (friendly and gentle treatment towards the poet-lover).

The fact that in this particular case /hallā/ appears in the fascicule written as two words - هل لا - (from which it is originally compounded) does not alter the situation or the significance attaching to /hallā/. For one thing, such mistakes by the copyist occur too often in the manuscript ^{2/} to give cause for doubt here; and for another, reading the term as two separate words and as an interrogative, as García Gómez has done, ^{3/} makes no sense and violates the grammatical structure of Arabic, since /hal/ as an interrogative particle cannot be prefixed to a negative clause. ^{4/}

1) Wright, op. cit., II, p. 310.

2) See zajal 13, strophe 13 where the copyist has written
من لم يسق قمح للسماع دوله / for what is obviously,
من لم يسق قمح للسماع عدوله / Mistakes like these give
credence to the possibility of the only extant manuscript of
Ibn Quzmān's Dīwān being originally "a dictated version",
(See above, p. 37). It should be noted that in this last
example GG omits the / ع / altogether and transliterates:
/man lam yasqi qamḥu li-s-samā dūla/, thus accepting a final
word in the verse which makes no sense at all, and which he
perhaps associates with the verb /dallā/, as he translates:
"del cielo pende...", (TBQ, I, pp. 72 and 73).

3) Ibid., p. 146 where GG transliterates: /hal lā rafaqta
bīh?/ and translates: "no le tendrás piedad?" (p. 147).

4) See 'Atiyya, Sullam al-Lisān, p. 384 and Wright, op. cit.,
II, p. 308. /hal/ does not appear in any present day Arabic
dialect so that it can hardly be argued that it could be
colloquial in the zajal in question.

The use of /inna/ and /innamā/:

The use of /inna/ and /innamā/ ^{1/} is so widespread in the zajal, that one is unable to see how both medieval and modern scholars were able to explain it away as vernacular, or to overlook it as a possible borrowing from classical Arabic. If with the use of /inna/ is coupled the extensive use of the passive ^{2/} in the large majority of the zajals of Ibn Quzmān, one is at a loss to see how a case could have been made for these zajals being vernacular, even with the most glib of arguments. Perhaps the truth of the matter is that the Arabs were so much used to the beaten track, and their norms and forms of writing were so rigidly and clearly defined for them and for the readers of their literature, that any slight capriccio on their part or any minor deviation from the expected rules and norms, had to be explained away either as a borrowing from a foreign culture (as is happening with the rhythms and metres of the zajals - and muwashshahs) or as an abrupt and totally unheralded shift to writing in the colloquial.

Perhaps one of the most helpful commentaries written on the zajals of Ibn Quzmān, past and present, is the work Al-Zajal fī al-Andalus by `Abd al-`Azīz al-Ahwānī, and this, because it sets out to give an unpretentious examination and analysis of the zajal

1) /inn/ in colloquials is rare and performs the function of classical Arabic /ann/.

2) Passive forms are found only in the most conservative Arabian dialects.

unblighted by theories or premature conclusions. Yet, in his introduction to his work Ahwānī gives an outline description of the Andalusian vernacular deduced from his readings of the zajals of Ibn Quzmān and others of his contemporaries. In this brief outline he describes the Andalusian vernacular, /al-`āmmiyya al-andalusiyya/, as having "retained the passive form of the verb whose first radical it vocalizes with a /damma/." ^{1/}

Of course, if one starts from the premise, handed down by medieval theorists with a wide mantle of authority like Ibn Sa`īd and Ibn Khaldūn, that the zajal is written in the /`āmiyya/, it is hard to see how any conclusions other than those drawn by Ahwānī concerning the passive (or any other aspect of the language of the zajal) could be drawn. But Ahwānī was among the first scholars in recent times to question, and question seriously, the validity of Ibn Khaldūn's judgements concerning literary history. In his article "El "Kitāb al-muqtataf min azāhin al-ṭuraf" de Ibn Sa`īd", Ahwānī shows beyond any shade of doubt that Ibn Khaldūn, in what he had to say about the zajal, had simply copied Ibn Sa`īd. In fact, Ahwānī goes further than that where he says (I translate) that:

"... a comparison of the last chapter of Al-Muqtataf with the passage which Ibn Khaldūn dedicates in his Prolegomena to the study of the zajals and muwashshahs, leads clearly to nothing less than the discovery that Ibn Khaldūn plagiarized literally the chapter by Ibn Sa`īd, with scarcely any amendment or change; and that Al-Muqtataf was the direct source which the great historian utilized concerning this subject."

1) Al-Zajal fi al-Andalus, p. 7

Ahwānī goes on to say that:

"... apparently Ibn Khaldūn refused to acknowledge this fact, and did not want, as would have been only just, to attribute all the merit to Ibn Sa'īd; for while he sometimes quotes his predecessor, he does that in such a skilful way as to give one to understand that he is basing himself on other sources." 1/

Likewise, Ahwānī thinks that Ibn Khaldūn even imitated Ibn Sa'īd in placing the chapter on the muwashshahs and zajals at the end of his work - the Prolegomena - just as Ibn Sa'īd had done. 2/

It would have become clear that such an approach on the part of Ibn Khaldūn could not be conducive to literary analysis, or still less to sound literary judgement. Nor does Ibn Sa'īd in Al-Muqtataf, and still less in Al-Mughrib, make any attempt to examine the language of the zajal, described by him as /āmmiyya/, 3/ - in the same way that Hillī did in a detailed, although cumbersome and inconclusive, manner.

It would have become clear too that to start the study of the zajal, as practically all students of it have done, from the unstudied statements and

1) "El "Kitab al-muqtataf" ", pp. 20-21. Ahwānī's article in Al-Andalus was translated from Arabic by GG. I have not seen the original Arabic, and the quotation here is my translation from Al-Andalus.

2) Ibid., p. 21.

3) Al-Mughrib fī hūlā al-Maghrib, I, p. 100.

stipulations of medieval treatises ^{1/} and compilations, amounts, to put it in the simplest way, to drawing conclusions before establishing the premises.

If we start from the premise that the language of the zajal is colloquial, then all that has been enumerated so far here of instances of classical Arabic syntax, and what is still to follow, would have to be considered as colloquial (Andalusian) syntax. Yet, all the data that has been given here, and which is continued on the following pages, is not meant to deny that the zajal is permeated with popular influences. This

1.) How it were wished that some of these medieval Arabic treatises and compilations were appreciated for what they are. It is difficult to see why Shawqī Dayf in editing Al-Mughrib is so acclamatory in his introduction to the book about the discernment and fastidious discretion of the authors over a hundred and fifteen years "indefatigably working night and day, revising, polishing and refining so as not to offer except the clear and pure of the pearls of poetry, and what dazzles the eyes of the muwashshahs and zajals". It is difficult to see how the authors have deserved this unreserved encomium from their editor, when their criterion of choice is all too often blatantly erotic. Out of the 149 zajals of the Diwan of Ibn Quzmān the only two quoted at length in Al-Mughrib are, one which ends on a note of epicene roguery, and another which includes a blatant description of sexual intercourse. One of three zajals quoted from Al-Dabbāgh contains at least three terms which the editor, apparently out of a sense of shame, refused to publish in his edition, and has prudishly substituted dots for them. One of these terms appears in a zajal reproduced in part from Ibn Quzmān's Diwan, and in this case, the editor has, deliberately or otherwise, chosen to disguise the term in question by dropping some of its diacritical points.

constitutes the major theme of the following chapter. Nor is it meant to deny the presence of colloquial terms and expressions in the zajal. Indeed, the zajals of Ibn Quzmān have a wide range of Romance terms and expressions. What these and the following pages will try to show, however, is that although permeated with popular influences and vernacular terms, the language of the zajal is not vernacular. 1/

After this brief discussion, the use of /inna/ is demonstrated here by a verse from zajal 24:

/inna abghaḍ mā ilayyā al-khiyāṭātu 'l-radiyya/ 2/
(strophe 3, /qufl/) 3/

1) Nor is it pretentious to add that the vernacular element in the zajal is just as significant as the Romance element in it. If the latter makes it part of a Romance lyric tradition anterior to it, then the former proves that it is part of a vernacular Arabic tradition.

2) It should be noted here that GG in his work (TBQ, I, p. 132) transliterates /al-haiyāṭāt/ and translates 'costureras', while in the /ghuṣn/ preceding this /qufl/ he reads /bi-haiyāṭātan/ for /bi-khiyāṭātin/ and translates 'sastra'. His reading in both cases seriously impairs the clear dimeter /ramal/ metre of this zajal which he describes as "zéjel corriente doble. Cada miembro tiene dos esticos iguales octosílabos yámbicos graves". Although his reading does not violate the syllabic count he stipulates, it is highly unlikely that in the days of Ibn Quzman there were women seamstresses or female tailors who sewed men's clothing.

3) See zajals 2, strophe 10; 9, strophe 21; 14, strophe 11; 17, strophe 4; 18, strophe 8; 96, strophe 11. In the last zajal, 96, strophe 14, GG erroneously reads /im/ before an imperfect as /inna/ (ibid., p. 502).

The use of /innamā/ (as a particle of restriction, and at the beginning of a proposition as in classical Arabic):

/innamā 'l-khalā'a fahya awkad ashghālī/

(zajal 25, strophe 2) ^{1/}

The use of the particle /fa/:

1) Introducing the apodosis of a conditional sentence,

/in lam yurā'a wadādu

fa-lā ṣabar ^{2/} fī fu'ādu

wa-lā badan fī thiyābu/

(zajal 43, strophe 1) ^{3/}

It must be noted that the examples of this usage referred to in the notes below and various others in the text, cover practically all the instances in which /fa/ is used at the commencement of a conditional apodosis, as in cases where the latter is a nominal sentence or a verbal sentence expressing a wish, desire or command, or preceded by certain affirmative or negative particles. ^{4/}

While in the example quoted above the apodosis of the conditional sentence is a nominal sentence, in zajal 46, strophe 3 the apodosis is a verbal sentence preceded by the affirmative /qad/:

1) See zajals 8, strophe 5; 9, strophe 16; 24, strophe 8; 29, strophe 6; 36, strophe 2; 38, strophe 9; 49, strophe 1; 68, strophe 5; 96, strophe 10. In zajal 36 the /ghuṣn/ in question (n^o 2 in strophe 2) goes as follows:

/wa-innamā lawnī yaḥul idh yarāh/

2) As vocalized in the Dīwān.

3) See also zajals 8, strophe 6; 12, strophes 1 and 3; 45, strophes 6 and 9; 46, strophe 3; 135, strophe 9.

4) All these cases are enumerated in Wright, op. cit., II, pp. 345-347.

/in kān tatahajja ^{1/}
fa-qad tamma 'l-saṭar/

In fact, a close examination of the zajals of Ibn Quzmān would reveal that he invariably uses the /fa/ to introduce the apodosis after the disjunctive particle /ammā/: ^{2/}

/ya`jabnī hādhā 'l-fatāyā qawm min kull aḥad

.

ammā biḥālu fahū a`dam mina 'l-`adam/

(zajal 60, strophe 7)

He also uses the /fa/ to introduce the apodosis after /innamā/:

/innamā an natūb anā famuḥāl/

(zajal 90, strophe 1)

2) Marking the apodosis of a clause introduced by /idhā/:

/idhā lam taṭlubi 'l-jāh wa-hādhā 'l-majda kullah

.

fa-naṣībuk mina 'l-ḥāl sha`b ṭālib wa-maṭlūb/

(zajal 44, strophe 10) ^{3/}

The use of the conjunction /idh/:

/wa-yahduth lū ṭa`man rashīq

idh yumzaj bi-mā`in raqīq/

(zajal 145, strophe 4) ^{4/}

1) GG seems to have incorrectly read this term which he transliterates, assimilating the preceding /kān/ with it, as: /kattanḥāga/. Nor does the meaning of the term 'to spell' appear in his translation, (TBQ, I, p. 242).

2) Wright, op. cit., I, p. 291.

3) See also zajals 9, strophe 20 and 56, strophe 9.

4) See also zajals 118, strophe 2; 135, strophes 6 and 8; 137, strophe 1.

In giving this example to demonstrate the use of /idh/, one is reminded of a dilemma often encountered by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, in his work on the zajal. He would cite a quotation to demonstrate one form of classical usage in the zajal, only to find that it carries within it proof of various other classical usages. ^{1/} He states that he often felt averse to reproducing the same verses again when demonstrating different aspects of classical usage in the zajal. ^{2/}

Thus, the verse quoted above to demonstrate the use of /idh/ is a clear demonstration at the same time of the use of the passive: /yumzaj/, and the use of the genitive case, as well as the /tanwīn/: /bi-mā'in/.

Here it seems timely to point out that the use of the various cases, often coupled with /tanwīn/, which indeed permeates the zajal, is in itself sufficient proof that the language of the zajal is not vernacular. The use of the cases does not occur in dialectal Arabic. The cases might often be used incorrectly, as the first verse in the last quotation demonstrates, where the accusative /ta'man/ is incorrectly used instead of the nominative. This, however, does not imply, or least of all, prove that the language of the zajal is vernacular. If it proves anything at all, it is this general disregard of rules in the zajal, whether they be of language, syntax, or metre, which forms the main theme of chapter IV in this work, and which is discussed in greater detail there.

1) Al-`Ātil, p. 71 and p. 77.

2) Ibid., p. 81.

For a further demonstration of the use of the cases in the zajal, a few more accusatives not illustrated earlier in this section will be illustrated here. The greater part of the examples given, it will be seen, demonstrate at the same time the extensive use of /tanwīn/ in the zajal:

The absolute accusative.

This accusative appears in most of its classical aspects,

1) When it is connected with a noun in the genitive:

/nafadh fiyya siḥru 'l-'uyūn
nufūdha 'l-qadā wa 'l-qadar/

(zajal 145, strophe 5)

2) When it is connected with an adjective:

/tabkī idhā na'ayt salām al-'īd bukan shadīd/

(zajal 74, strophe 3):

3) When it depends upon a verb which is understood (in phrases expressing a wish, command, salutation or the like):

/yā milāh rufqan 'alā dhā 'l-nufūs al-shākiya/

(zajal 117, strophe 5)

4) When it is a concrete substantive:

/wa-yu'awwiduk 'ādāta 'l-iḥsān/

(zajal 95, strophe 9)

5) When a specificative term is interposed between the verb and the verbal noun:

/wa-yulāṭīfuk ghāyata 'l-iltāf/

(zajal 96, strophe 11) ^{1/}

1) See for various other cases 100, strophe 4; 105, strophe 1; 145, strophe 11.

The objective compliment.

1) With verbs which take one objective compliment:

/man labas thawban samāwī/

(zajal 24, /maṭla`/) 1/

2) With verbs which take two objective compliments:

/lā ja`alak allāh `āshiqan mahrum/

(zajal 9, strophe 3) 2/

With such verbs could perhaps be included the use of the imperative /hab/ (zajal 57, strophe 2) and /kafā/ (zajal 57, strophe 1), which in turn take two objective compliments.

The adverbial accusative:

/qul mata tajīnī qāl ghadan/

(zajal 113, strophe 6) 3/

The frequent use of such terms as /waqtan/ or /laylatan/ as adverbial accusatives, although often incorrectly retaining their /tanwīn/ in the construct, should be included here. Faulty classical syntax or the incorrect use of the various cases will not or does not render these into a form of vernacular usage.

The list of the various forms of classical syntax in the zajal could of course be drawn to include the vocative with /yā/, or more significantly /ayyuha/. 4/
It could include verbs like /`asā/ 5/ and /la`allā/ 6/

1) See also zajals 94, strophe 13; 96, strophe 1; 106, strophe 4; 117, strophe 4.

2) See 94, strophe 18; 100, the /maṭla`/. Note also the use of the optative /lā/ in this example.

3) This occurs in a slightly different version in zajal 58, strophe 5.

4) Zajal 94, strophe 3.

5) 9, strophes 4 and 30; 55, strophe 6; 75, strophe 8; 131, strophe 2.

6) 9, strophe 4.

and a particle like /li'alla/ ^{1/} or a whole list of those verbs which are construed with the preposition /bi/ and the genitive, and of which many examples can be culled:

/wa 'l-hammu 'l-zāyid yadhhab bi. 'l-nufūs/
(zajal 33, strophe 2)

and /al-ladhī bi-qalbī qad bāḥat bihi ajfānī/
(zajal 77, /maṭla`/)

One could also go on to point out the use of /dhū/ ^{2/} with the proper inflection, and such fine distinctions made by Ibn Quzmān as using /aḥad/ as a substantive and in negative statements, while using /wāḥid/ as an adjective. ^{3/}

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It has been found necessary to go through all this statistical enumeration and detail, in order to provide a basis of objective analysis to what might otherwise have seemed a subjective or purely intuitive judgement of the language and diction of Ibn Quzmān. For if one were simply to go on enumerating classical phrases and expressions in the zajal, the process could turn tedious, and the task, as with Ḥillī, prove to be impossible. Yet with all that there might be no lack of argument to the effect that the zajal is primarily a vernacular art that is, perhaps constantly, staking a claim to learning, sophistication and a classical veneer to its verses. For this reason it was considered

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- 1) 29, strophe 3.
 - 2) 28, strophe 4.
 - 3) 9, strophe 16; 73, the /maṭla`/.

preferable to outline, instead, instances of classical structure and syntax as a more basic criterion in deciding whether a text is classical or vernacular. In doing this, syntax that is common to both the classical and vernacular was on the whole avoided. Thus, while the /ḥāl/ was mentioned and demonstrated by examples, the /wāw al-ḥāl/ was not referred to at all. ^{1/} This is because it might be argued that /wāw al-ḥāl/ is current usage in most present day vernaculars. It appears in the Lebanese dialect: /wiṣil wi 'l-'ara' kēddu/ 'he arrived drenched in sweat', and in Iraqi: /jānī wi 'l-'arag da-ynaggit minna/.

Yet, when all this is said, one does not blame Ḥillī for concentrating mainly on idiom and diction when he tried to demonstrate the range and extent of classical usage in the zajal. Leaving aside, for example, the use of the /ḥāl/ or /wāw al-ḥāl/, the circumstantial clauses in themselves are often sufficient proof of a classical rather than a vernacular diction and turn of phrase. Neither of the two circumstantial clauses in the preceding two colloquial examples (Lebanese and Iraqi) will be as readily and universally understood by Arabic readers as, for example, the following circumstantial clause from zajal 88 (strophe 18) of Ibn Quzmān:

1)) For the same reason, to take another example, the adverb /qatt/ is discussed in the next section while /abadan/ has been left out of this discussion.

/wa-ta`tarīnī raqda wa 'l-nās julūs/

'I would be overtaken by slumber, while people
are still sitting down'

Or the following from zajal 62 (strophe 6):

/fa-qultu lū wa-lī fī 'l-kalām rāḥa .../

'So I said to him, finding comfort in discourse...'

It is only this classical, rather than vernacular,
turn of phrase and diction which can explain Ibn Sa'īd's
forthright and so much quoted statement about Ibn Quzmān:

/wa-ra'aytu azjāluhu marwiyyatan bi-Bāghdāda
akthara mimma ra'aytuha bi-ḥawāḍiri 'l-Maghrib/ ^{1/}

'And I found his zajals more current in Baghdad
than in the cities of the Maghrib'

However, it should be repeated here that all
this does not mean that there are no popular or vernacular
elements in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān. Nor is it meant
to deny that the effort would be without its compensation
if the focus of attention were turned the other way,
to trace or detect what seems to be or is likely to be
a vernacular usage.

What, however, seems totally inadmissible is
such statements which refer to the Dīwān of Ibn Quzmān
as being representative of the Hispano-Arabic dialect
of Cordova and the vulgar dialect of Andalusia as a
whole, a point of view expressed by Shawqī Dayf; ^{2/} nor,
to say the least, would it be remotely possible to

1) Prolegomena, p. 594. This statement of Ibn Sa'īd
should be coupled with Ibn Quzmān's claim in zajal 65,
strophe 10: /زجلى المرفوع فالعراق مسموع/ unless the
implication here is purely metaphorical.

2) Al-Mughrib, I, p. 176, note 11.

consider the appearance of a word in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān as proof of its being colloquial, as `Alī Sāmī al-Nashār would have us believe in his edition of the Dīwān of the poet al-Shushtarī. Commenting on the term /qard/ in a zajal by al-Shushtarī, al-Nashār says that "it has a classical signification, even though", as he adds, "Ibn Quzmān has also used it". ^{1/}

It should be added here that even if the Dīwān of Ibn Quzmān were proved beyond doubt to be written in the Hispano-Arabic dialect, it would not justify A.D. Deyermond's conclusion that "a linguistic mixture (of Arabic and Spanish and even Hebrew) seems to have been typical of the popular speech of Andalusia: . . .", ^{2/} were such a conclusion to be based on it.

If, finally, the language of the zajal is not vernacular, what sort of a language is it then? This is the question which the next and last section of this chapter, as well as chapter IV below, will attempt to answer.

3. Irregularity and disregard of rules in the zajal

The use of /qatt/, /laqad/, the pronoun /anta/ or /att/, and /laysa/ or /las/ will be discussed here separately, both as a conclusion to this chapter, and as a preparation to chapter IV on the extensive element of irregularity and disregard of rules in the zajal.

1) Dīwān al-Shushtarī, p. 98.

2) Op. cit., pp. 27-28.

The adverb /qaṭṭ/ has been the subject of a special study by E.K. Neuvonen which is both relevant and useful here for the statistical analysis which it offers. In this study, an article in Studia Orientalia, ^{1/} Neuvonen points out that in the 149 zajals of his Diwān Ibn Quzmān uses /qaṭṭ/ no less than eighty times. Since one of these (zajal 92, strophe 7) turns out quite clearly to be /qiṭṭ/ for 'cat', ^{2/} the number stands at seventy-nine.

From a purely formal or orthographic point of view, to start with, Neuvonen finds among these no less than eight variants. These can be enumerated as:

- 1) /qaṭ/ with a /sukūn/ over the /ṭā' /.
- 2) /qaṭ/ without /sukūn/ over the final consonant.
- 3) To the latter is added one case of /qaṭa/, and the forms of the adverb which appear without any vowel signs altogether.
- 4) Forms in which the final consonant is duplicated: /qaṭṭ/.
- 5) One case of /qaṭṭa/.
- 6) One case of /qaṭṭu/.
- 7) Two cases where the diacritical points of the /q/ are omitted.

The eighth variant can safely be disregarded, since it is the one case of /qiṭṭ/ which, as already pointed out, stands for 'cat' and not the adverb in question.

Neuvonen attributes this lack of uniformity to the defective orthography of the original manuscript

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- 1) "La negación /qaṭṭ/ en el Cancionero de Ibn Quzmān".
 - 2) This is clear from the context.

of Ibn Quzmān's Dīwān, and above all, to the failure of the Oriental copyist, as he puts it, to interpret properly "los andalucismos del autor". ^{1/} The irregular orthography of the original manuscript arises, he thinks, from the difficulty of expressing in classical Arabic characters "los sonidos del habla cordobesa". ^{2/}

Neuvonen concludes, however, that he could not see that this formal irregularity corresponded to any difference in the sense, and that these formal divergences can be explained by metrical and rhythmic differences. The author, after all, Neuvonen adds, employs different forms in one and the same zajal. ^{3/}

When Neuvonen turns to examine the syntactical context or structure of /qatt/ in Ibn Quzmān's Dīwān he finds the same phenomenon of variation and irregularity. He starts by pointing out that the classical Arabic rule concerning /qatt/ refers primarily to its use in negative or interrogative propositions with the verb in the perfect. But of this structure he finds only three instances in the Dīwān. However, since /lam/ and an imperfect (i.e. the jussive) amount to a perfect, /qatt/ can quite naturally be used with them. Neuvonen finds this use of /qatt/ with /lam/ and the imperfect to be the most predominant among the forms in which the adverb appears, amounting to twenty-nine out of the total of seventy-nine cases. ^{4/}

But besides this seemingly standard classical use of /qatt/ in negative propositions with the perfect

1) Op cit., p. 4.

2) Ibid., p. 4.

3) Loc. cit.

4) Ibid., p. 5.

or the jussive, Neuvonen cites various other cases which do not conform to classical rules:

1) /qaṭṭ/ used with /lā/ as the negative particle.

These, in fact, are cases where /abadan/ would be used in classical Arabic in place of /qaṭṭ/.

2) Cases of /qaṭṭ/ used with /las/ or /laysa/ as the negative.

3) Cases where the negative used is /dūn/.

Neuvonen quotes only one instance of this last usage in the Dīwān (zajal 88, strophe 11), but /dūn/ in it is in all probability an interjection.

4) Cases in which an interrogative is tantamount to a negative. These cases, and Neuvonen cites only two examples, ^{1/} amount also to exclamations, or at best, rhetorical questions. In them it could be said that Ibn Quzmān propounds a use of /qaṭṭ/ which is totally his own. One of the examples cited ^{2/} (zajal 89, strophe 9) reads as follows:

/nashtarī ballūṭ wa-qaṣṭal w-ash naqūl qaṭṭ fī 'l-jawz/

The most plausible translation (with the implication of /qaṭṭ/ in capitals) seems to be:

'I buy acorns and chestnuts, and HOW ON EARTH DO I DESCRIBE the walnuts (that I buy!).'

What would follow such statements is an exclamation, and not a question mark. ^{3/}

After quoting Fleischer, ^{4/} where he affirms

1) Ibid., pp. 7-8.

2) Ibid., p. 8.

3) 88, strophe 19 provides another such example.

4) Kleinere Schriften, p. 434.

that the use of /qaṭṭ/ extends also to cases in which the verb is affirmative, Neuvonen cites two examples of the use of /qaṭṭ/ by Ibn Quzmān in affirmative sentences with a perfect. But both of these cases can safely be disregarded. One of them is the example already referred to (zajal 92, strophe 7) where /qaṭṭ/ is incorrectly read for /qiṭṭ/ 'cat', while the other is clearly an interrogative. 1/

Neuvonen then goes on enumerating further variants of /qaṭṭ/ in the Dīwān:

5) /qaṭṭ/ with the imperfect, without a negative.

In these cases he feels that the meaning of /qaṭṭ/ amounts to expressions like 'at times', 'sometimes' or 'always'. 2/

6) Cases in which /qaṭṭ/ is used with an imperative. 3/

So far, it would have been noticed, the instances of /qaṭṭ/ examined have been those in which the adverb appears in verbal propositions. Neuvonen notes that these amount to sixty-eight out of a total of eighty cases. 4/ He then goes on to cite the cases in which /qaṭṭ/ is used in nominal propositions, which are outlined here in continuation:

1) "La negación /qaṭṭ/ en el Cancionero de Ibn Quzmān", p.8.

2) Ibid., pp. 8-9. One example Neuvonen gives of /qaṭṭ/ used with a superlative (p. 10) is clearly a case of incorrect reading. What he reads and translates as superlatives are simply two imperatives.

3) Ibid., p. 9. In some of these cases /qaṭṭ/ seems to add nothing at all to the meaning, and could well be introduced for metrical purposes as a prop. word.

4) Sixty-seven out of seventy-nine cases, in view of the incorrect reading pointed out above.

- 7) One case in which /qaṭṭ/ appears side by side with a negative. 1/
- 8) Various other cases in nominal propositions without a negative.

In this latter group, however, Neuvonen makes a distinction between cases in which the general character of the context is negative, and cases in which it is not. In the light of that, he feels, /qaṭṭ/ could either mean 'never' or 'always' respectively. An example he gives of the latter, however, turns out to be yet another instance of the use of /qaṭṭ/ as an exclamation by Ibn Quzmān. It is reproduced here in order to demonstrate this rather unusual use of /qaṭṭ/ by the poet, seemingly sui generis, and to correct what is clearly a faulty reading by Neuvonen:

/wa-tawadduk wa-āyya jinis qaṭṭ min wadād/

(zajal 9, strophe 25)

Neuvonen reads /ḥabas/ in place of /jinis/, and translates:

"qué vínculo proviene siempre del amor" 2/

It will be seen that he translates /qaṭṭ/ as "siempre" making it, that is to say, an equivalent of /abadan/.

A plausible translation, however, with the reading rectified seems to be:

'It loves you (i.e. Seville, in the context) and what kind of a love!' or 'with what unequalled kind (/jinis/) of love!'

/qaṭṭ/, it would seem, is an exclamation expressive

1) 88, strophe 10.

2) "La negación /qaṭṭ/", p. 10.

of wonder. 1/

Neuvonen ends his analysis of the various uses of /qaṭṭ/ by citing two passages or examples in which the adverb appears and which, he confesses, resisted all efforts at classification on his part. It is my feeling, however, that they both appertain to that usage of /qaṭṭ/ as an exclamation, peculiar to Ibn Quzmān, which has just been demonstrated here, and which has already been referred to above. 2/

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The findings of Neuvonen have been surveyed in such detail in order to come to the question, which is the theme of this discussion, whether the adverb /qaṭṭ/ in the Dīwān of Ibn Quzmān is classical or vernacular. And, if it is vernacular, as most students of Ibn Quzmān would have us believe, which of the various forms and usages in which it appears is the Cordovan vernacular? Neuvonen concluded his article by pointing out that the cases of the use of /qaṭṭ/ in the Dīwān in conformity with the classical rules amount to 40% of the total, and in keeping with the classical rules, the signification of /qaṭṭ/ in these cases is 'ever' or 'never'. /qaṭṭ/, he also finds, maintains this signification of 'ever' or 'never' in another 20% of the total number of cases, where /qaṭṭ/ is used with a negative other than /lam/ or with an interrogative. 3/

1) This is how GG has interpreted it. GG also reads /jinis/ (TBQ, I, p. 48). The reading is confirmed by zajal 6, strophe 7, where the same expression of wonder is used.

2) See above, p. 162.

3) "La negación /qaṭṭ/", pp. 11-12.

It would seem from all this that Neuvonen's findings confirm the main argument of this thesis that the language of Ibn Quzmān is basically classical, and that where it suits him, for metrical or rhythmical considerations, among others, he makes the language and all the rules of syntax and prosody tributary to his art, rather than subordinate his art to a repertory of rules and stipulations.

Indeed, with more examples to be cited, it will be seen that the poet violates all rules to the same degree that he adheres to them. This perhaps goes a long way to confirm the conclusions arrived at further on in this work, ^{1/} that the essence of this poetry is its disregard of rules including, of course, at times, those of decorum and common decency. It is a parody of all and everything at the same time, and as a downright parody it descends to the level of the vulgar and colloquial, but it is not colloquial poetry.

This adherence to rules, and disregard of them at the same time, will be made clearer by an examination of the use of /laqad/, /laysa/ and /anta/ in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān.

The use of /laqad/ (in the compliment or /jawāb/ of an oath):

/bi-llāhi wa-bi-llāhi ajallī 'l-aqsām
laqad tasharraf mulūku 'l-Islām/

(zajal 130, strophe 6)

The rules of Arabic grammar stipulate that if the complement of an oath is an affirmative verbal proposition

1.) See below, pp. 174-200.

with the verb in the perfect, then it requires /laqad/. ^{1/}
In the example quoted here Ibn Quzmān seems to have strictly adhered to the rules.

The text of the Dīwān supplies various other examples of the correct classical use of /laqad/, as in zajal 9, strophe 38:

/wa-llāhi yā qawm laqad raqamtu raqam/ ^{2/}

But having come across /laqad/ in its proper grammatical context in the examples cited above, we come across it again in the seemingly anomalous position introducing a nominal proposition:

/laqad hū ṣalāh ayyām dukhūlak/
(zajal 80, strophe 3) ^{3/}

What is perhaps more surprising than this is that having come across /laqad/ introducing the complement of an oath where the complement is an affirmative verbal proposition, and with the verb in the perfect - in total accordance with the rules - we come across it again in the zajals of the poet introducing a similar complement in which the verb is seemingly imperfect:

/bi-llāh yā akhī laqad nakhāfu 'l-'iqāb/
(zajal 21, strophe 14)

In such cases the grammarians stipulate that instead of /laqad/ the verb takes the energetic form with / J / prefixed to it.

Here again then the poet violates the stipulations of the grammarians, but again he is not writing in the

1) Wright, op. cit., II, p. 176.

2) See also zajal 41, the /matla`/.

3) See also zajals 19, strophe 1; 30, strophe 7.

vernacular. /laqad/ used incorrectly does not turn into a colloquialism. And when all is said, a close examination of the last example cited will show that the poet is swearing that "he might" be scared. ^{1/} By insisting that the verb should take the energetic form, the grammarians would have him swear, willy-nilly, that "he will definitely be scared".

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It would not be necessary to go through the detailed statistical analysis used in examining the adverb /qaṭṭ/ in order to show that the same irregularity and variation in form is displayed in the use of /anta/ and to a lesser extent /laysa/ or /las/ in the Dīwān of Ibn Quzmān.

It is enough to say that /anta/, besides its standard classical form so frequently used in the Dīwān, appears just as frequently in four other forms, namely /ata/, /atta/, /att/ and /at/. If to that is added the fact that all of these forms, including /anta/, are written at times with the emphatic /hamza/, and at others with a weak eliding one, it will be seen that /anta/ appears in no less than ten different forms, as there are, besides, cases in which the / ʾ / of /anta/ is dropped. ^{2/} Which of these forms, the question may be asked again, is the Cordovan dialectal form, if this poetry is in the Cordovan vernacular as all its students would have it? If it is any one of the irregular forms

1) /qad/ with an imperfect implying 'likelihood'.

2) See, for example, zajal 88, strophe 14.

mentioned above, could the use of /anta/, just as frequent as any of them, be simply dismissed as a borrowing from classical Arabic? In fact, there are many zajals in which the classical Arabic form /anta/ is used to the exclusion of all other forms, as, for example, in zajals 10, 40 and 43. Zajal 137, to take another example, has /anta/ used 12 times, while /at/ is used three times. If to this, however, is added the fact that the second person plural is regularly the classical Arabic /antum/ ^{1/} and not /attum/ or /atum/, it will become clear that the basic pattern of this pronoun in the Dīwān is the classical Arabic form. While some of the variations like /at/ or /ata/ can at times be explained on metrical or rhythmical grounds, in a large number of cases no such explanation for the variants could be found. No quantitative or even syllabic explanation could, for example, be offered for replacing /anta/ with /atta/, since on a quantitative or a syllabic basis the value of the two words would be the same. ^{2/}

1) See, for example, 17, strophe 6, where this plural form of the pronoun appears twice in the same strophe.

2) Zajal 63, for example, has /atta/ appearing in the /maṭla`/ while /anta/ is used in the rest of the zajal. Ahwānī changes the /atta/ of the /maṭla`/ into /anta/ without giving any explanation for this amendment. (See Al-Zajal, p. 88). GG, likewise, changes /atta/ into /att/ (transliterated by him as /ett/, TBQ, I, p. 313) without pointing out this change. In fact, GG subjects this pronoun to constant arbitrary changes throughout his transliteration without giving any explanation, unless this be, of course, the constant adjustment he has to make for the purpose of his stipulated syllabic system. The extent of these changes can be gauged from an examination of his transliteration of zajal 137 (ibid., II, pp. 678-681), or zajal 8, strophe 6, where the pronoun appears four times in four different forms.

Finally, if /las/ did not show similar irregularity, and alternate, although less frequently than /at/ or /atta/, with the classical form /laysa/, it would, more than /at/ or /atta/ or /qaṭṭ/, have lent itself to being considered a colloquial Cordovan form taking the place of the negative particle /lā/. But, while /las/ seems at times to replace /laysa/ both as a verb and as a negative particle, /laysa/, nevertheless, appears quite often in the Dīwān in the two major classical functions of verb and negative particle. Thus, in zajal 4 /laysa/ appears twice as a verb. In the first instance it is written as /lays/:

/wa-lays lī ma`u wa`ad fa-nantaziru/
(/maṭla`/)

In the second it is clearly vocalized as /laysa/:

/yā man nuhibbu wa-laysa lī min qarīn/
(strophe 5)

In zajal 136, strophe 5, it appears as a negative particle:

/wa-lladhī laysa yusammā/

And likewise in zajal 132, strophe 5:

/wa-yashīkh kullu aḥad wa-hū laysa yashīkh/

However, one clear divergence from classical usage that /las/ displays in the Dīwān is its apparent use with the third person pronominal suffix. This takes the form of doubling the last radical so that /lassu/ or /lassa/ would mean 'he is not' and 'she is not' respectively.

Thus:

/wa-dhā 'l-hulā lassu min hulāya/

(zajal 8, strophe 5)

And,

/bi-ṭab`ak hī dhī 'l-fadāyil

wa-lassa shay`an mukallaf/

(zajal 14, strophe 14)

This phenomenon of /lassu/ (/ لَسُّ /) and /lassa/ (/ لَسَّ /) where the pronominal suffix is understood and not written, but compensated for by the doubling of the last radical, has indeed its counterparts in other seemingly orthographic irregularities in the Dīwān. Thus, the pronominal suffix is in like manner omitted in /`annī/ in the following verse:

يا من مضى عن^ن وانقطع خبر

(zajal 4, the /maṭla`/)

It is likewise omitted from /minnū/ in the following verse:

السها من^ن اقرب لا يفرك سلام

(zajal 2, strophe 6)

These two quotations should be contrasted with another verse from zajal 4:

فذا الهجران فرغ مني

(strophe 1)

All this orthographic irregularity could perhaps be explained away by attributing it to an incompetent copyist. What concerns us more here, however, is that having discovered /las/ alternating quite often with the

classically correct form /laysa/, we also find the unusual form /lassu/ displaying a similar irregularity. While in the examples quoted above it appears with the doubled radical taking the place of the pronominal suffix, it appears quite as frequently with the pronominal suffix / ه / to which it is linked by what seems to be a preventive or supporting / ن /.

Thus:

واغفل فان الله لسنه غافل

(zajal 6, strophe 2)

And,

لسنه لا غدار ولا منافق

(zajal 6, strophe 9)

This examination of the use of /qaṭṭ/, /laqad/, /anta/ and /laysa/ in the Dīwān of Ibn Quzmān, which forms the conclusion of this chapter, seems to confirm the view that the language of the Dīwān is basically classical. Its basic substrata is classical Arabic intermixed with an element of the colloquial, rather than spoken Arabic intermixed with borrowings from the classical language. ^{1/} Only /laysa/ of the four terms examined, and that in its abbreviated form /las/, displays characteristics or peculiarities of a possible vernacular usage. But what this discussion would have shown more

1) The latter is the opinion of Colin expressed in his article in the Encyc. of Islām. Colin adds that the language of Ibn Quzmān is always deprived of grammatical inflection (/i`rab/).

than anything else is the extent of the irregularity of the syntax and idiom of the Dīwān. In fact, it goes a long way to show that the main feature of this Dīwān is its irregularity. To use a convenient pun, its pattern of metre, language and syntax is the lack of a sustained pattern, and its rule is the disregard of all rules. Ibn Quzmān says as much in the course of his zajals. But because his zajals have often been examined from the point of view of literary history, and very rarely studied for their own sake, his message seems to have been lost on his readers. But this forms the theme of the next chapter.

This discussion, however, should not be concluded without asking the seemingly polemical, but totally legitimate question: if the language of the zajal were vernacular, as most students of this genre would have it, why should Ibn Quzmān have taken the trouble in the introduction to his Dīwān to state that the rules or stipulations of /i`rāb/ should not be observed in it? No Arabic vernacular that we know of observes the rules of /i`rāb/ and there is little reason to believe that the Cordovan vernacular in Ibn Quzmān's days abided by them.

C H A P T E R IV

TWO LITERARY GENRES: THE /MU`RAB/ AND THE /HAZL/

1. Is irregularity a fundamental feature of the zajal?

The question as to whether irregularity is a fundamental feature of the zajal can be illuminated by an examination of the following quotations from the zajals of Ibn Quzmān:

انا ه منجل قوامى فالعوج

`I am (like) a scythe, my usefulness (lit. rectitude) lies in being crooked`

(zajal 51, strophe 2)

ما تتقى اعمل ولا عليك حرج

`(Proceed) and do whatever you fear, let nothing stand in your way`

(zajal 51, strophe 7)

خلون من نصيح يا نصاح فسادى صلاح

`Save me all (your) good counsel, my good counsellors, my iniquity is goodness and piety`

(zajal 62, strophe 1)

من غدا ان شاء الله نبتدى فالعوج

طريق الجد غير طريق المزاح

`As from the morrow, God willing, I will embark on devious ways, to be in earnest is not to be in jest`

(zajal 94, strophe 1)

لس قط يفيب عنى كاس وعلال

وغير العوج لس ماع راس مال

`I am never seen without my cup and my flask. Deviousness and impudence are my only traps`

(zajal 23, strophe 1)

انما الخلاعة فهى اوكد اشغالى

يا ترى سواى اش اوكد اشغال

'Folly and wantonness are my greatest business,
I wonder what is the greatest care of others'
(zajal 25, strophe 2)

ان ترك الخلاعة عندى جنون

'Giving up my folly is to give up my mind'
(zajal 90, strophe 9)

نمزج ونهزل كسرت مندج

'The sound and the orderly, by jesting and joking,
I have left impaired'
(zajal 51, strophe 3)

تنا وتعظيم ورتبة فى مدح

نظمت تنظيم بلفظى الفصيح

'Eminence of rank which I have extolled
in pure and well-phrased (Arabic) expressions'
(zajal 51, strophe 7)

Before going on to discuss these examples it may be profitable first to study the statement concerning the "invention" of the muwashshah made by Ibn Bassām, an author who shunned the classical muwashshahs as being unfit for inclusion in his work because they seem to violate classical metres. ^{1/} This statement has been much quoted, studied and elaborated upon by students of the muwashshah, because it seems to give a hint, no matter how vague and unprofitable, about the literary history of the genre. The statement speaks vaguely

1) Al-Dhakhira, I, part 2, p. 2.

about the author of the first muwashshahs "composing them of hemistichs (not complete verses), except that the majority of them are based on neglected and unused metres. He would take a colloquial or Romance expression and call it the /markaz/ and base the muwashshah on it". ^{1/}

It will be seen that this statement is vague and contradictory.. If the statement is correct that the majority of the muwashshahs are based on disregarded metres (/a'arīd/) it is difficult to square this with the categorical statement in the latter half of the quotation that the muwashshah is based on vulgar or Romance expressions termed /markaz/. Nor is the statement free of the mannerisms of classical Arabic writing, (which persist even in the works of the best modern Arab authors) - here emphasizing an epithet by the use of a synonym which adds little or nothing to the meaning, namely the use in relation to metres of the terms "neglected" and "unused".

When this is coupled with the fact that Ibn Bassām has puzzled his readers by attributing the "invention" of the muwashshah at one time to the blind poet Muḥammad Ibn Ḥammūd (or Maḥmūd) al-Qabrī and at another to Abū `Umar Ibn `Abd Rabbihi, it would be seen how undesirable it would be to base any theories concerning either the muwashshah or the zajal on Ibn Bassām's statement quoted above. Nevertheless, this statement has often been used as the peg on which to hoist quite tenuous theories.

1) Ibid., p. 1.

The Dīwān of Ibn Quzmān, on the other hand, provides us with internal evidence on such questions and may turn out to be one of the richest of its kind as a social, historical, literary and autobiographical document. No other comparable work by any Hispano-Arab poet or muwashshah writer is as revealing and wide-ranging. For one thing Arabic and Arabic literature, both in the Arab East and in the West, were very rarely for domestic consumption. It can be said that, with very rare exceptions, we only meet the Hispano-Arab poets and muwashshah writers when they are "performing" or trying to rise to the demands of an "official" occasion. We meet Ibn Quzmān, on the contrary, at home and always casually. To find an equivalent for Ibn Quzmān's Dīwān in this respect, one has to wait till the 14th century and the Libro de buen amor by the Archpriest of Hita.

However, what concerns us most here are the revelations which Ibn Quzmān himself makes concerning his metres, language and on his art as a whole.

The extracts from the poet's zajals quoted at the beginning of this chapter all attest to the fact that / المج / 'crookedness' or what we can call nonconformity is the chief feature of the poet's style of life on which he seems determined and about which he is unrepentant and quite immune to criticism. Indeed, he feels, as he tells us in one of his verses, that he can neutralize the fires of Hell itself, since if Hell were to be contained on one side of him, not a single spark of it would fly to the other side. 1/

1) Zajal 77, strophe 1.

While in most of these quotations, it is true, the poet is preaching loose living and total abandon, or nonconformity in the social field, the last two quotations clearly illustrate his attitude towards his compositions and throw much light on the problems involved. Indeed, it is surprising that while the above quoted statement about the muwashshah by Ibn Bassām has been accorded so much attention, ¹/ the simple and straightforward but above all revealing statements by Ibn Quzmān have received no attention and have not been singled out for comment or discussion. So little attention has been given to them, as we shall see, that the point of them has been misunderstood and their message lost. The last two quotations prefacing this chapter have been included here with many others which simply preach wantonness, indeed depravity, simply to give point to the fact that nonconformity in one field is not altogether conducive to conformity in another.

In the seventh and last strophe of zajal 51, as the quotation shows above, Ibn Quzmān claims or proudly states that he had extolled the rank and grandeur of the subject of his praise in pure and eloquent Arabic (/faṣīḥ/):

/thanan wa-ta'zīm wa-rutba fī madīḥ
nazzamtu tanzīm bi-lafzī 'l-faṣīḥ/

This claim of the poet could easily have been dismissed:

1) See, for example, España eslabón, p. 70, "La lírica hispano-árabe", p. 312 and Dutton, op. cit., p.

if it were an isolated one. One is only too aware that the rhyme schemes in Arabic poetry have often forced poets into using certain words simply because they ended with an appropriate rhyming consonant. But to take just one more example, namely zajal 63, strophe 4, Ibn Quzmān, in keeping with established tradition, claims that his originality can be gauged from his use of recondite and difficult terms and fine nuances and of phrases which in excellence surpass those in the poetry of Al-Ḥasan: ^{1/}

ʾindī ʾl-ghawāmiḍ wa-ʾl-maʾnā ʾl-raḡīq
wa-maḡāṭiʾ aḡlā min shiʾri ʾl-Ḥasan/

If these two quotations and others like them ^{2/} are to be taken totally at their face value, then one would expect the zajal to be as recondite and as given to literary artifice and purity of diction as the muwashshahs and the main bulk of contemporary Hispano-Arabic poetry. But Ibn Quzmān is quick to dispel any illusion that he is ready to compromise his freedom in paying lip service to convention and literary forms. He is no formalist. In his art, as in his life, his choice is that of the pícaro, the choice of freedom. Even in the lip service he has to pay in his panegyrics, as we shall see, he is glaringly disingenuous. ^{3/}

1) It is often pointed out that Ibn Quzmān was well acquainted with the works of the best classical and ʾAbbasid poets and authors. This is clearly adduced from the various references and even quotations in his Dīwān. The poet has also often been compared to Abū Nuwās for whom he probably had great admiration, as can be gathered from the quotation above. See above, p. 29.

2) See for another example, zajal 35, strophe 10.

3) See below, pp. 198-199.

Just as Ibn Quzmān is conscious that his art should not be disparaged or deprecated for not being pure in its diction (/faṣīḥ/), he is also aware that his playful and jocular approach, that paramount burlesque element in his work, hardly leaves any rule inviolate or any order unimpaired.

The poet is quite explicit and straightforward about this fact, and it is to be regretted that strophe 3 in zajal 51, where this is expressed, has been incorrectly read and consequently misinterpreted. ^{1/}

/Mundamaj/, apart from its appearing twice in zajal 51 (strophe 4 as a verb) is used by the poet in zajal 9 strophe 27 and zajal 94 strophe 1, and in both these cases it appears in contrast with /ʿawaj/ and thus it leaves one in little doubt that it refers to what is whole, straight, compact and unimpaired. /Kasara/, on the other hand, means 'to break', 'to impair', and is used besides in many present day Arabic dialects to mean 'to impair the metre of a verse', and as a passive participle (/maksūr/) to refer to a metre that is impaired. What the poet is saying then in zajal 51 strophe 3 is that his jocular light approach has left what is sound and orderly quite impaired.

This lack of concern on the part of the poet or rather his "steam-roller" approach to the strictures of metre, syntax, diction, poetic imitation or /muʿārada/

1) GG transliterates: /kabirtu mundamaġ/ instead of /kasartu mundamaġ/ and translates: "verde encanecí". (TBQ, I, p. 264).

or even to his own stipulations concerning /i`rāb/, extends also to the seemingly vernacular or colloquial in his zajals. Thus, the two opening /aghṣān/ of strophe 9, zajal 30, both end with seemingly colloquial expressions which are left in suspension:

/nuḥaddith `an thanāhu tūl mā ...

wa-naṭlub min dhahab ashmā .../

There is no doubt that the copyist of the Dīwān of Ibn Quzmān has left us with problems not of the poet's creation. But there is equally no doubt that in this particular instance the fault is not the copyist's. The poet has clearly left the two terms /tūl mā/ and /ashmā/ in suspension because they rhyme with /'lmā/, the final word of the third /ghuṣn/ in the strophe. What apparently led the poet into this linguistically peculiar position is perhaps his attempt to make a word play between the word /shānī/ (for /sha'nī/) in the previous strophe meaning 'my wont' or 'my nature', and /shānī/ in the strophe in question, a colloquial form probably meaning 'military vessel' or 'ship', (classical Arabic /shūna/). ^{1/}

One cautionary note, however, should be added here. Although the two statements by the poet quoted above are left in suspension, the poet's intention in both of them is quite clear, and both convey an added element of that light-hearted jocular approach about

1) It is however open to question, if the above interpretation is right, whether /shānī/ was a colloquial Andalusian term for a military vessel or whether Ibn Quzmān changed /shūna/ into /shānī/ so that his pun and the accordence of sound would be complete.

which the poet has spoken in strophe 3 of zajal 51 and which, he tells us, breaks the regularity of what is neatly ordered and regular.

It would seem from the preceding and from the numerous quotations with which this section is prefaced that, just as the poet is conscious of his virtuosity and the use of recondite and purely classical Arabic in his compositions, he is also conscious of the element of disorder (/ عوج /) in them which seems to be one of their fundamentals and which he finds attractive in his own work.

The recondite and classical is not restricted to the diction of his zajals. In the introduction to his Dīwān, written throughout in classical rhymed prose, Ibn Quzmān had proved himself not only aware, but also a master of the highly euphuistic style set up as an example of excellence by Ḥarīrī (d. 1122). And indeed he adorns his zajals with all the niceties of Arabic stylistics which Ḥarīrī had established as the mode for successive centuries to follow. Examples of these are the use of the balanced, antithetical sentence, ^{1/} the resort to paronomasia, ^{2/} and even to palindromes. ^{3/}

But side by side with these high-flown and eminently acceptable stylistic usages goes the lack of

1) See zajals 33, strophe 5; 53, strophe 5 (/qufl/); 67, strophe 4; 9, strophe 24.

2) See 87, strophe 27 and 91, strophe 2 (/qufl/). GG has pointed out the play on words in this last example (TBQ, I, note 3, p. 474), but fails to transcribe the /qufl/ in question accordingly.

3) Zajal 14, strophe 12.

uniformity and regularity which we have seen extending to the seemingly colloquial. Is this impaired order a separate order in itself? In other words, is irregularity a fundamental feature of the zajal? Is the zajal a literary genre with its own purpose and physiognomy accordingly? It is this question that the next section poses and attempts to answer.

2. Does the zajal belong to a literary genre as yet unheeded?

/bārati 'l-ash'ār `inda dhā 'l-hazli/
'All poetry is unprofitable (is dead stock)
compared with this /hazl/'

(zajal 65, strophe 10)

While some statements by medieval writers of literary history have been singled out for comment, as we have seen, other statements seemingly simple and matter of fact referring to the zajal have often been overlooked.

The previous discussion has shown Ibn Quzmān to be conscious of writing pure classical Arabic and resorting to the recondite while being at the same time aware that he was, apparently deliberately, violating rules and disregarding the demands of regularity.

The following discussion, with further evidence from the zajals of the poet, seeks to reveal that in like manner, he classifies his compositions as poetry (/shi'r/, pl. /ash'ār/) while being aware at the same time that he is writing something which is basically different and which is perhaps better termed a parody

of poetry or /hazl/.

x x x x x x x x x x

It is not necessary to reiterate here the details of the stark conditions faced by poets and Hispano-Arabic poetry as a consequence of the Almoravid conquest of Spain (1095-1149), although, by force of inertia some courts, like that of Ibn Tīfelwīt at Saragossa, kept up for a while the old Maecenian traditions.^{1/} The new conquerors allied themselves with and honoured /fuqahā'/ instead of men of letters, and their background made their courts uncongenial to the literary circles which each city in Andalusia had considered its primary pride. Ibn Quzmān makes his own comments on this situation which are the more eloquent for being oblique or indirect:

Zajal 47 as it appears in the Dīwān is composed of only three strophes ^{2/} addressed, apparently, to an Almoravid general. The third and last strophe (fourth in García Gómez's edition) amounts to an apology on the part of Ibn Quzmān for cutting his poem short. His excuse, to use his own words, to the general is frank if not outspoken:

"You are Almoravids, and well do I know,
you never like someone who is prolix."

It is also to be noted here that Ibn Quzmān calls his

1) Hispano-Arabic Poetry, p. 219, and Spanish Islām, pp. 218-721.

2) A fourth strophe appears in Al-Mughrib, I, p. 168 which GG has included in his edition of the Dīwān, TBQ, I, pp. 246-248.

composition, which he describes as cut short, "my poem" or "my poetic composition", /shi`rī/. 1/

This theme, bearing clearly on the Almoravid impatience of poets and poems, especially if the latter were long ones, appears in the following zajal of the poet, zajal 48. Here again he tells the magnate (not named in the zajal) to whom he is addressing his petition, 2/ that he is going to cut his address short, and ends the zajal by saying:

"The truth is that I have never seen a man of eminence (/mulūkī/) who likes prolixity."

Zajal 102 has come down with apparently a number of strophes at the beginning missing. From what is left of it, it seems to be yet another address to an Almoravid general. It too ends on the same note by the poet:

"I am cutting my discourse short, in case you should be distempered by a long discourse."

All these, however, are only part of Ibn Quzmān's testimony that poetry was not much in demand in the days of the Almoravids and that a poet's business during their rule was not exactly brisk. It is a testimony which makes it almost unnecessary to cite the story that the celebrated contemporary poet Ibn Baqī (d. 1145) dwelt in poverty, and that as Ibn Khāqān states in the Maṭmah "fortune refused him her favours".

A still more eloquent testimony to the state of

-
- 1) Strophe 3, second /ghuṣn/.
 - 2) For a sheep to slaughter.

poetry and poets in the days of the Almoravids is Ibn Quzmān's attempt to deny that poetry had come upon bad times in their day. This denial appears in zajal 93 addressed by the poet to the Sevillian Ibn Martín. In strophe 5 of zajal 93 he says about Ibn Martín that he does not discountenance any poet even if he were to ask for a /bayt māl/ for a single verse. Ibn Quzmān then adds in what constitutes the /qufl/ of strophe 5:

/kadhaba 'l-ladhī yaqūl qad maḍā zamānu 'l-ash'ān/
'He lies he who says that the days of poetry are
'bygone days'

In effect by saying this he is making it clear that the general opinion is that poetry in the days of the Almoravids was not going through the best of times. He then goes on to add another allusive remark which makes the situation even clearer. He goes on eulogizing Ibn Martín and declares (strophe 8) that never has anyone left his house disappointed. The poet then adds addressing Ibn Martín:

/lassa dhī 'indak gharība innamā mina 'l-gharāyib
an yakūn ṭab`ak `Iraqī wa-takūn Ishbilī 'l-dār/
'This to you is nothing strange, but what is
indeed astonishing
is that you should have the disposition (generosity)
of an Iraqi, while living in Seville'

The erstwhile Seville of the Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād was therefore no more vying with or the equal of Baghdad in its patronage of poets and literati. It is reported about Mu'tamid that he contemplated suicide when the Almoravids, whom he among others had invited into Spain,

had broken through the walls of Seville and ravaged his castle. ^{1/} The statement made by Ibn Quzmān about Seville might perhaps have hurt his pride as much as the surrender of his capital.

x x x x x x x x x x

This has not been an attempt to establish anew that the Almoravid rule, spanning about half a century, did not encourage poetry or indulge the poets. It is merely an attempt to show by the way that in his zajals Ibn Quzmān tells the same story about the effect on poetry of Almoravid rule, and that he states it more effectively and forcefully than his contemporaries. The main purpose of this discussion, however, is still to show, through quotations from the poet's zajals, that although Ibn Quzmān often refers to himself as a /zajjāl/ ^{2/} and to his poems as zajals, or endearingly as /zujayyal/s, he just as often refers to his works, as we have seen, as poetry and poems (/shi'r/, /ash'ār/) and to himself as a poet (/shā'ir/). ^{3/} But more important for our purpose here is the unmistakable instance where the poet distinctly uses the term /ash'ār/ in contrast to the term /hazl/:

/bārati 'l-ash'ār`inda dhā 'l-hazli/
'All poetry is unprofitable (worthless)
compared with this /hazl/'

-
- 1) Spanish Islām, p. 715.
 - 2) Zajal 93, last /qufl/.
 - 3) See for example zajal 70, last /qufl/. There are cases, however, where he uses zajal in contrast to /shi'r/, as for example, zajal 86, strophe 8.

In other words he seems to distinguish between poetry on the one hand (/ash'ār/), and /hazl/ on the other, which in the verses quoted above clearly refers to his own zajals. The point of distinction or contrast, as far as can be seen, lies in nothing other than the light-hearted jocular approach of the zajal of which the poet speaks in zajal 51, as we have seen, and which he tells us impairs all order and regularity. The Almoravid period, it would seem, in which purity of style found no appreciation, was a most suitable era for such poetry to come into vogue, or even perhaps the only atmosphere in which it could make its appearance. ^{1/}

If the above reference to /hazl/ in the Dīwān of Ibn Quzmān were an isolated case, or if it were used in contradistinction to /jidd/ 'seriousness', 'earnestness', as it is in other zajals of the poet, ^{2/} it would not have called for any special mention. Thus one can cite instances of /hazl/ used in conjunction with or in contrast to /jidd/ in various medieval literary works. In a biographical note in Al-Hulla al-Siyarā' ^{3/} by Ibn al-Abbār (1199-1260) on Mūsā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sa'īd Ibn Mūsā, we are told that he served both the Emir 'Abd-allāh and the Caliph 'Abd-al-Rahmān III in various capacities. The author then adds on Mūsā:

كان ... من اهل العلم والادب والشعر

1) It should be remembered that Ibn Bassām, although writing in the same era, was so orthodox as not to admit even muwashshahs into his Dhakhīra.

2) See, for example, zajal 35, strophe 10.

3) Ed. Husain Mu'nis, I, pp. 232-234.

and he quotes four fragments of Mūsā's poetry in praise of the Caliph. The author then goes on to say:

وكان الوزير عبد الملك بن جمهور يقول ما رايت مثل موسى لم يجمعه
امير المؤمنين مع احد الا كان المستحوز على المجلس في الجد والهزل

'The vizier 'Abd-al-Malik Ibn Jahwar used to say: "I have never seen the like of Mūsā: never did the Amīr al-Mu'minīn bring him together with others, without him overwhelming everyone present in both serious and light (subjects)."

Perhaps the most obvious interpretation of /hazl/, as used here in juxtaposition with /jidd/, is the one given in the translation above, in reference to the light, witty exchanges and discussions which were meant to entertain more than to instruct or edify.

A second instance of the use of /hazl/ used together with /jidd/ in the Hulla appears in a verse of poetry. In biographical data about Farhūn Ibn 'Abd-allāh, a one time governor of Santarem in the days of Al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir or his son Hishām, according to the text, the author quotes some verses addressed by Farhūn to the poet Abū 'Umar Yūsuf Ibn Harūn al-Ramādī. ^{1/}
Among these appears the following verse in praise of Al-Ramādī: ^{2/}

شاعرا ندبا نبیلا محسنا جدا وهزلا

1) Ibid., pp. 281-287. Al-Ramādī lived in the 10th century and early 11th century.

2) Ibid., p. 281. This is quoted by Ahwānī, Al-Zajal, p. 61, but from the Escorial manuscript of the Hulla, folio 129.

/shā`iran nadban nabīlan muḥsinan jiddan wa-hazlā/
'A noble, splendid poet, adept at both the weighty
and the light of (subjects)'

Here again the term /hazl/ used in conjunction with /jidd/ does not make it likely that there is a reference here to a recognizable literary genre. Nor does its appearance in the rhyme-word position in a poem rhyming in /l/ allow one to think that its choice was not altogether fortuitous. ^{1/} It is therefore permissible not to attach too much weight to it in this context.

Other references to /hazl/ in other texts, however, tell a different story.

Al-Maqqarī in Nafh al-Tīb ^{2/} quotes the Grenadine historian Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khatīb as a source of biographical data on Abū `Abd-allāh Ibn Bāq. In a piece of highly sophisticated rhymed prose we are told about Ibn Bāq, among other things:

... انتحل لاول امره الهزل من اصنافه فابرز در معانيه من اصدافه
وجنى ثمرة الابداع لحين قطافه ثم تجاوزه الى المعرب وتخطاه
فادار كاسه المترع وعاطاه فاصبح لفنيه جامعا وفى فلكيه شهابا
... لامعا

'... to start with he adopted /hazl/ in its various forms, and brought out the pearls of its nuances from its shells, and gathered the fruit of originality when fully ripe; he then went beyond it to the /mu`rab/ and

1) See above, p. 179.

2) Cairo edition, 8, p. 370.

passed around brimful cups of it, and thus he perfected the (lit. brought together his) two arts and became in the two spheres a shining star ...'

It is quite clear that the term /hazl/ as used in the preceding quotation along with /mu`rab/ indicates that /hazl/ and /mu`rab/ are the two distinct literary arts which Abū `Abd-allāh Ibn Bāq successively mastered and so well perfected. Since we are subsequently told in the same quotation that Ibn Bāq was a poet ("those who were fond of his poetry held it in great esteem" ^{1/}) little doubt is left that /mu`rab/ and /hazl/ are categories or distinct genres of poetry. There is little doubt too that the editor of Al-Nafh is mistaken when he adds in a note to the above quotation that what is meant by the two arts mentioned is prose and poetry. ^{2/} Indeed the editor displays a further lack of familiarity with the background to this quotation when he reads /mughrib/ in place of /mu`rab/ in his edition.

Al-Maqqarī, however, goes back to Ibn al-Khaṭīb for further data about Ibn Bāq and in this the reference to /hazl/ as a literary genre is unmistakable:

وقال في عائد الصلة كان رحمه الله تعالى كاتباً ادبياً ذكياً لونهياً يجيد
الخط ويرسل النادرة و يقدم على العمل ويشارك في الفريضة وبذ السباق
في الادب الهزلي المستعمل بالاندلس غير زمانا من عمره محارفا للفاقه يعالج
بالادب الكدية.

1) Ibid., p. 370.

2) Ibid., note 2, p. 370.

`And he said in 'Ā'id al-Ṣila: "He was, God Almighty have mercy on him, a cultured, sharp-witted writer, excellent at calligraphy, ready with pointed anecdotes, quick to (benevolent) deeds and the performance of divine precepts; and he outstripped the most distinguished in the /hazl/ literature written (lit. used) in Andalusia. He spent a long time of his life in great need using literature as a means of begging (for a living) ..."

In another biographical sketch by Ibn al-Khaṭīb quoted in Nafḥ al-Tīb ^{1/} /hazl/ is again used in contrast with /mu`rab/:

وقال في الأكليل في ترجمة أبي الحجاج يوسف بن علي الطرطوشي ما صورته:
رض ادب لا تعرف الذوا^ء ازهاره ومجموع فضل لا تخفى آثاره كان في فنون
الادب مطلق الاعنة وفي معاركه ماضى الطبيا والاسنة فان هزل والى تلك
الطريقة اعتزل ابرم من الغزل ما غزل وبزل من دنان راحه ما بزل وان صرف
الى المعرب غرب لسانه واعاره لحة من احسانه اطاعه عاصيه واستجوعت لديه
اقاصيه.

`And he said in Al-Iklīl in (his) biography of Abū 'l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf Ibn 'Alī al-Turtūshī, the following: "A literary orchard whose flowers are never seen to wither, and a treasury of good deeds whose traces are always manifest. His achievement in the field of literary arts was unlimited, and his armoury in its disputations sharp and incisive. If he wrote /hazl/ and dedicated himself to that style (genre), he would spin yarns of love-lyrics (in it) and

1) Ibid., p. 369.

offer its distilled wines copiously, and if he turned his sharp wit (lit. tongue) to the /mu`rab/ ^{1/} and lent it some of his attention, its intractable nuances would yield to him and the inaccessible (i.e. recondite) would be totally within his reach ..." '.

Ahwānī quotes a further reference to /hazl/ by Ibn al-Khatīb in biographical data about Sahl Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sahl Ibn Mālīk al-Azdī, where we are told about the latter: ^{2/}

ديوان شعره كبير وكلامه الهزلي شهير

'The Dīwān of his poetry is voluminous and his /hazl/ is renowned.'

The conclusion to be drawn here is that in the last strophe of zajal 65 in his Dīwān: /bārati 'l-ash`ār `inda dhā 'l-hazli/, Ibn Quzmān tells us quite plainly that his zajals belong to this literary genre, namely /hazl/, and in the introduction to his Dīwān he goes to some lengths to explain to us that the most obnoxious feature in the zajal (i.e. /hazl/) is the introduction of /i`rāb/. The point of distinction, then, between /ash`ār/ or /shi`r/ and /hazl/ is that the former is /mu`rab/ while the latter disregards /i`rāb/, and as the previous pages have shown, often disregards also the

1) The editor here again reads /mughrib/ instead of /mu`rab/. Ahwānī who quotes these extracts (Al-Zajal, pp. 59-60) draws attention to the editor's mistake (note 2, p. 60) and reads /mu`rab/ in both extracts where this term appears. It is to be regretted that this mistaken reading was not remedied by Ihsān `Abbās in his edition of Al-Nafḥ and that he follows all editions of the book in reading /mughrib/ instead of /mu`rab/. See his edition, p. 262 and p. 263, Vol. VI.

2) Mukhtaṣar al-Thāta, folio 222.v. I have not seen this manuscript.

prescriptions of all established rules and conventions.

In this respect the zajal belongs to its Hispanic milieu in more respects than has so far been conjectured. Hispano-Arabic poetry in this light had its troubadours and had its jongleurs represented respectively in the muwashshah poets and in the zajal writers. While the former, the troubadours and the muwashshah poets cultivated virtuosity, often for its own sake, or as Menéndez Pidal so aptly puts it "se esmeraban en la conceptuosa canción",^{1/} the latter, the jongleurs and the zajal poets shunned technical perfection, and by intention allowed irregularity or ametría,^{2/} to become a characteristic feature of their compositions.

One feature common to the zajal and the poetry of the jongleurs, especially in Spain, is the popular element which permeates and distinguishes both of them.^{3/} Menéndez Pidal feels that the art of the Spanish jongleurs shows itself to be even more popular than that of their French counterparts in its greater disregard of technical restrictions which it considered as unprofitable bonds.^{4/}

1) Poesía juglaresca, p. 147 in a reference to the Provençal Troubadours.

2) MP considers this ametría as the distinguishing feature of jongleur poetry. See Poesía juglaresca, p. 159, p. 212 and p. 215, where he sees as the main difference between Berceo and the jongleurs before him in the former's use of regular versification: "...sólo en un rasgo principal este clérigo de la Rioja se distingue de los juglares antiguos, y es en el uso de una versificación regular, opuesta a los versos amétricos de los predecesores".

3) This, in fact, is a distinctive feature of Spanish literature as a whole at all stages.

4) Ibid., p. 208.

Yet it must be added here that while Menéndez Pidal points out the jongleurs' disregard for metre and elaborate technique he hastens to say that rather than develop their own art the jongleurs try to associate themselves with the refined art of the troubadours. ^{1/} He adds that to describe the poetry of the jongleurs as popular does not mean that it was not studied or inartistic. ^{2/}

Nothing less than this could be said of Ibn Quzmān when he speaks of writing his poetry in pure, literary Arabic (/bi-lafzī 'l-faṣīḥ/), or even more, when he tries to write imitations of well-known muwashshahs.

However, it was not the intention here to show how much Ibn Quzmān was part of his milieu or to define the Hispanic influences on his poetry, a subject which is discussed in the next chapter. But having established the presence of a literary genre in the days of Ibn Quzmān known as /hazl/, and having seen the poet categorize his zajals as appertaining to this genre, it was then intended to spell out the characteristics of this literary genre and of what it basically consists. And if Ibn Quzmān has here been compared to the jongleurs, it is because this seems a most fitting way of describing his poetry. The individuality, the self interest, the familiarity he gives the reader with himself, his customs, his desires, his travels, his escapades, his failures

1) Ibid., p. 188. It must be pointed out that where MP makes this remark he is speaking exclusively of the jongleurs who wrote lyrics as distinct from the jūglares épicos or authors of the long narrative, chansons de geste.

2) Ibid., p. 269.

and successes are part of the aggregate of impressions reflected by the jongleur poetry. ^{1/} The list, of course, could be extended to include the loud-mouthed and often foul-mouthed chattiness of the poet, the interest he reflects in the events of daily life around him, and even the persistent manner in which he asks for various gifts from his patrons, of food, clothing and wherewithal to warm or furnish his house. ^{2/} Indeed, Menéndez Pidal points out that this habit of asking for gifts of wheat, barley, clothing, etc., is the decisive feature which distinguishes a jongleur from a troubadour. ^{3/}

Nevertheless, a definition of the genre called /hazl/, within which Ibn Quzmān includes his zajals, can still best be derived from the zajals of the poet and from the implications of the term itself.

The term /hazl/, basically meaning jesting or jocularly, can and is meant within this basic frame-work to cover a wide range of implications which include merriment, pleasantry, facetiousness, wry humour, satire, ridicule, smartness, wit, waggishness, etc. The zajals of Ibn Quzmān present a consistent reminder that in order to achieve such ends nothing is to be spared and nothing accepted as taboo or sacrosanct. A panegyric, or even more an elegy, is a serious and sombre occasion: yet even in an elegy, and speaking of people whose beneficence

1) Ibid., pp. 187-189.

2) See zajals 19, 22, 23, 35, 48, 80, 81 and 103 among others.

3) Poesia juglaresca, p. 170 and p. 177 where he quotes the characteristic cry of the jongleurs: "Datz me que joglars sui!"

he had enjoyed, the poet is not sparing of remarks which border on the scurrilous and totally derisive. The poet is aware how much classical Arabic lacks the easy and witty familiarity of the colloquial, so he does not refrain from using colloquialisms or even current Romance terms if he feels that they serve his purpose best, and that his intended audience will understand them. For this same reason /i`rāb/, which is rigid or formal, is declared obnoxious in the zajal or /hazl/ which, by definition is informal, or one should perhaps say "aformal", and which shuns rigid form because, to use one of the poet's favourite words, /`awaj/, is fundamental to it, just as it is the declared slogan of the poet's way of life.

One of the poet's benefactors, to whom he addressed a number of zajals, was the /Qāḍī/ of Cordova, Abū 'l-Qāsim Ibn Ḥamdīn. Zajal 7 is such a zajal. ^{1/} After praising the /Qāḍī/ in highly laudatory terms (strophes 7, 8, 9 and 10) Ibn Quzmān enumerates to him his own various talents and capabilities and then asks in a note of light-humoured remonstrance (strophe 17):

/lassu `ār `indak yā quṭba 'l-ma`āthir
an nakūn washshāḥ wa-zajjāl wa-shā`ir
wa-adīb kātīb wa-`indī nawādir
wa-nakūn ḍāyī` b-ḥāl mišt aqra`/

`Is it no shame in your view, you pivot of all
magnificent deeds,

That I am a /washshāḥ/, /zajjāl/ and poet,

1) See also zajals 79, 103 and 83 discussed below.

A cultured man of letters with unparalleled productions,

And yet have the fate of a bald man's comb?

Of course /nawādir/ at the end of the third /ghuṣn/ could either mean 'rare, uncommon productions' in the context, or even 'funny pointed anecdotes'. That in all probability it does mean the second is confirmed by the following strophe (18) where the poet goes on enumerating more of his skills, including the performance of buffooneries which can give the /Qāḍī/ his fill of laughter.

This element of buffoonery is so prominent in the zajal that the poet feels no compunction in extending it to the elegy he composed upon the death of the selfsame /Qāḍī/ of Cordova Abū 'l-Qāsim Ibn Ḥamdān who, we are told, was among the most powerful men of his day. ^{1/} In fact, the elegy (zajal 83) has sardonic, if not scurrilous implications.

Now an Arabic term which has the connotation in popular usage of 'to be left without protection or support', 'to be exposed or become vulnerable' is /inkashaf/. ^{2/} Although it does not have this meaning in classical Arabic it does seem to mean this to Ibn Quzmān.

In strophe 14 of zajal 83, and addressing himself to the dead /Qāḍī/, Ibn Quzmān, for example, says:

/wa-'nkashaf ba'daka aqwāman; kathīra
kashfata 'l-bargūthi fī jabhati 'l-aṣla`/

1) Spanish Islām, pp. 719-721.

2) For example, Syrian and Lebanese.

'Many people have become so unshielded after
your death,

Like fleas on a bald man's head' 1/

If Ibn Quzmān can allow himself such a twist
in a sombre elegy, there is no need to give more details
of the levity he allows himself in zajals, where the
subject does not require gravity or decorum. Perhaps
the best way to bring this discussion to a conclusion
is with another of the poet's declared mottos, the
second strophe of zajal 94:

/nurđī Iblīs ilā matā dhā 'l-'uqūq
fa-hū shaykh sū' wa-lū 'alayya huqūq
wa 'l-shurayba miftāh li-kull fusūq
fī lisānī narbut dhāk al-miftāh/

'I should honour /Iblīs/, wherefore all this impiety, --
He is a meritorious /shaykh/ of iniquity, and I
owe him a lot,

Drinking is the key to all iniquity,

And to my tongue I have tied that key'

The two preceding sections of this chapter show
fairly conclusively that there was a variety of poetry
which was given the name /hazl/ and that the Hispano-
Arabic zajal appertained to the literary genre known
at the time by the term /hazl/ or /al-adab al-hazlī/;
and also that what best characterized this /hazl/ is
/al-'awaj/, irregularity and unconventionality in more
than one form. /Hazl/ then is a form of parody which

1) GG translates: "han salido afuera muchas genticillas,
como pulgas en la frente de un calvo". (TBQ, I, p. 413).

disregards when it pleases it the rules of prosody and of grammar, and although it allows itself liberties with the language and employs colloquial elements, nevertheless, it is not colloquial in essence.

3. Is the /kharja/ an element of /hazl/ introduced into the highly elaborate (/mu`rab/)muwashshah?

We may in consequence of the preceding argument ask whether the /kharja/ can be reasonably considered to be an element of /hazl/ introduced into the highly elaborate muwashshah.

One well-known element in Arabic literature since its earliest days, and equally common in other literatures, is the technique of introducing a note of the light, comic and quite often prurient into an otherwise highly classical and serious text. This element known as /ihmād/ is described in various lexica ^{1/} as: الانتقال من الجد الى الهزل

or: الافاضة في ما يؤنس من الحديث

that is moving from the ponderous to the light and jocular or going at some length into discourse which delights and entertains. Since Arabic invariably derives the abstract idea from the material and primitive, invariably depending on its own resources and its own derivative system, the way /ihmād/ has developed in its literary connotation is both useful and relevant to our purpose here. The abstract idea here apparently derives from the observation that pasturing camels after feeding

1) See, for example, Al-Munjid, article /ḥamd/.

for long stretches at a time on the herbage known as /khulla/, which is of a sweet taste, try to enliven their appetite by turning to graze for a while on the /ḥamd/, which has a salty acidic flavour. ^{1/}

The way Al-Fayrūzābādī interprets the article /ḥamd/ is interesting and more relevant here:

"/Al-ḥamd/ is that which is salty and sharp in taste in herbage and is tantamount to the fruit or dessert of the camels, while the /khulla/ is that which is sweet and equivalent to the bread of the camels." ^{2/}

Ibn Manẓūr also reports about Ibn `Abbās, one of the earliest traditionalists in Islām, that if his circle of companions started to converse at length after (reading) the Qur`ān and expounding its text, he would enjoin them, saying: "/aḥmidū/". Ibn Manẓūr goes on to expatiate on this and adds: ^{3/}

وذلك لما خاف عليهم المال احب ان يريحهم فامرهم بالاحض بالخذ في ملح
الكلم والحكايات.

'That is, when he feared for them that they would be bored he enjoined them to resort to /iḥmād/, to light entertaining talk and pointed anecdotes.'

The /kharja/, in my view, is an element of /iḥmād/ at the end of a ponderous and elaborate muwashshah. It is the element of /hazl/ in a genre which is strictly /mu`rab/ and often highly artificial. It is a sally

1) See this interpretation, given on the authority of Ibn al-Sikkīt in Lisān al-`Arab, VII, article "/ḥamd/", pp. 138-141.

2) Article "/ḥamd/" in Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ, II, p. 328

3) Lisān al-`Arab, article "/ḥamd/", pp. 138-141.

(the literal sense of /khanja/) from virtuosity to an earthy informality. In the light of this all the epithets hilariously "heaped" upon the /kharja/ by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk in Dār al-Ṭirāz^{1/} find a ready explanation:

والشرط فيها ان تكون حجاجية من قبل السخف قزمانية من قبل اللحن حارة محرقة
حادة منضجة من الفاظ العامة ولغات الداصة فان كانت معربة الالفاظ منسوجة على
منوال ما تقدمها من الابيات والاقفال خرج الموشح من ان يكون موشحا . اللهم
الا ان كان موشح مدح وذكر الممدوح في الخرجة فانه يحسن ان تكون الخرجة
معربة .

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-Husayn Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (/ḥajjājīyya/); it has to throw to the winds the stipulations of /i'rāb/, as Ibn Quzmān did (/quzmānīyya/); and it has to be sharp, even caustic, vulgar, and if circumstances allowed, be in thieves' Latin (/luḡhāt al-dāṣṣa/).

It is clear also that it is this prankish and wanton nature of the /kharja/ which explains the fact that it is not considered suitable in a muwashshah written in praise of some dignitary, especially if the name of the latter is mentioned in the course of the /kharja/. But Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk is clearly carried away by his enthusiasm for this freakish element in the /kharja/ when he states that the muwashshah does not

1) Edited by Rikābī, pp. 30-31.

qualify as a muwashshah if the /kharja/ is in classical Arabic (/mu`rabatu `l-alfāz/) and is written in the same style (lit, woven on the same loom) as the verses and /aqfāl/ which precede it. If this is true, indeed this sharp conclusion is the classic example of the tail which wags the dog. What Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk clearly implies is that if the /kharja/ of a muwashshah does not turn out to have "savour" the audience for which the muwashshah is intended will not consider it worthy of its name.

In the light of what has preceded the /kharja/ would indeed seem to be a molehill out of which scholars have built many a mountain. For Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, after giving his glowing description of the /kharja/, goes on to make a further statement about it which, it must be admitted, turns out to be confusing, on account of the author's excessive enthusiasm: ^{1/}

وقد تكون الخرجة عجمية اللفظ بشرط ان يكون لفظها ايضا فى العجمى سفاسفا
نفظيا ورماديا زطيا. والخرجة هى ابزار الموشح وملحه وسكره ومسكه وعنبره وهى
العاقبة وينبغى ان تكون حميدة والخاتمة بل السابقة وان كانت الاخيرة وقولى
السابقة لانها التى ينبغى ان يسبق الخاطر اليها ويعملها من ينظم الموشح فى
الاول وقبل ان يتقيد بوزن او قافية... فكيف ما جاءه اللفظ والوزن خفيفا...
تناوله وتنوله... وبنى عليه الموشح لانه قد وجد الاساس وامسك الذنب ونصب
عليه الراس.

What is confusing, of course, is the statement that the /kharja/ could be in a foreign language,

1.) Dār al-Tirāz, p. 32.

/`ajamīyya/ (and this in the context of the Hispano-Arabic muwashshah implies Romance); and the fact that Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk goes on to say that, although it is the finale, it is, in a way, the beginning too which the muwashshah writer has to conceive before the rest of his muwashshah. The peak of the confusion comes when Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk adds that, having worded or arrived at the form of the /kharja/, the muwashshah writer then builds his muwashshah on it because he would then have found the base or foundation of his poem. He would, Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk adds, "have got hold of the tail and has to stick the head onto it".

This, of course, is the statement and with it that of Ibn Bassām quoted above, ¹/ which has led literary historians to attempt to trace the development of the muwashshah and the zajal to a tradition of Romance lyrics preceding them, or with which they developed in symbiosis. For if one takes literally the two statements by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk and Ibn Bassām about the /kharja/, or the /lafḍ al-`āmmī/ or /al-`ajamī/ respectively, being the basis of the muwashshah, no other conclusion can be drawn.

What has been totally overlooked here, however, is that Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk simply says: "/wa-qad takūnū 'l-kharjatu `ajamīyyatan/, a statement which simply implies likelihood, possibility or even paucity. Besides, we are all aware of the fact that there is usually no limit to ingenuity in what is wayward and freakish, and

1) See above, p. 176.

some muwashshah writers must have known how much an audience which is bilingual, if only to a limited degree, could be put in a good humour by a few unexpected words in a foreign language, or more so, by a few verses in that language, especially if they can be made to fit into a rhyming scheme and a metre totally alien to them.

Recognizing the importance of a good /kharja/ at the end of his muwashshah, a good, and one might add, a sensible poet would start by choosing the sort of /kharja/ with which he intends to end his poem. The next step in ingenuity would be to devise a metrical and rhyme-scheme (in most cases only that of the /aqfāl/) into which the /kharja/ would fit as a final /qufl/. In this way, in the words of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, the /kharja/ "was the first although being the last", and in this way it was the tail on which the head would be subsequently fitted. If the /kharja/ happened to be in a foreign language, it would undoubtedly make greater demands on the poet's virtuosity to devise a metrical rhyming scheme which could incorporate it. But that this sort of virtuosity the Arab poets had, and that it was developed by them to a high degree of technical perfection, no one can deny. If the /kharja/ were alien the metrical and rhyme-schemes, the virtuosity and formal perfection remain unquestionably Arab. To understand this tail/head relationship of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk in any other way, and to think of the Romance /kharja/, which in any case is a rare feature of the genre, as the basis on which the muwashshah or zajal was constructed is to labour the view that a body of technically perfect

Arabic poems has been based on Romance metres and rhyming schemes.

S.M. Stern must have interpreted the statements of Ibn Bassām and Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk literally, to come to the conclusion that "toutes ces particularités curieuses (of the /kharja/) s'expliquent par l'hypothèse de l'origine populaire du muwashshah". ^{1/} This appears to me to be a complete reversal of the order of things. The argument maintained here is that a popular /kharja/ was appended to the end of the classical Arabic muwashshah by way of contrast and light relief, termed above /ihmād/, ^{2/}

1) "Les vers finaux en espagnol dans les muwashshahs hispano-hebraïques", p. 304. This is quoted and elaborated upon by MP in España eslabón, p. 92.

2) For an Arab view of the muwashshah and its elaborate and often highly artificial nature see Rikābī's views in his book Fī al-Adab al-Andalusī, pp. 302-308 and in particular p. 305 where he says: "thus we do not find in the muwashshahs any novelty or depth, but they are agreeable and pleasant in spite of their banality on account of the glitter of their metaphors and the fineness of the imagination they display". And again: "these trivial meanings are hidden underneath an outer coating derived from all kinds of metaphor and rhetorical stylisation. Except that the poet all too often carries to excess the use of this outer coating so that his muwashshah appears like a young woman who has overadorned herself and used cosmetics to excess, and to the point of losing a lot of her beauty". Stern was well aware of the extreme virtuosity which characterized both the Arabic and the Hebrew muwashshahs which set out to imitate the Arabic. Speaking about imitation (/mu'arāda/) in his series of articles "Studies on Ibn Quzmān", p. 386, he says: "it is obvious that the muwashshah ... offered much wider scope for virtuosi to prove their mettle in such poetical exercises than the restricted and monotonous scheme of the /qasīda/."

and hence the description of the /kharja/ by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk as "the condiments of the muwashshah, its salt and its sugar, its musk and ambergris". To use Fayrūzābādī's words it was the "fruit" or perhaps the dessert of the muwashshah.

This account of the popular origin of the muwashshah, already in the making in Stern's article quoted above, was continued and given further emphasis by Menéndez Pidal:

"Esta tan persistente costumbre de aprovechar una canción amorosa románica para los panegíricos personales, cuando son tan pocas las canciones en romance compuestas especialmente para elogiar a un individuo, obedece, sin duda, al origen mismo de la muwaschaha, inventada y construída tomando pie de una canción popular, fuese árabe vulgar, fuese aljamiada." ^{1/}

That the muwashshah poets should choose a lyrical love-song or couplet with which to end a personal panegyric as Menéndez Pidal says, should be no cause of surprise. ^{2/} In the first place the Arab poets had traditionally started their panegyrics with erotic preludes, and Ibn Quzmān resorts to this convention in the greater number of his zajals.

On the other hand, this convention in the muwashshah, together with the habit of introducing the /kharja/ through young women or young men, through someone drunk or through doves cooing on the branches of trees, ^{3/} need not be anything more than a literary convention adding

1) España eslabón, p. 94.

2) Similar conventions are found in other languages and literatures. See TMJ, "Nasīb and mansōngur".

3) Dār al-Tirāz, p. 31 and "Les vers finaux", p. 303.

piquancy to the /kharja/. Some mode had in any case to be devised in order to introduce this element of /hazl/ into the classical muwashshah, and since /hazl/ is meant to delight and entertain it is little wonder that love-themes should predominate in the /kharja/.

What bears out the argument that the /kharja/ is nothing more than an element of /hazl/ in a wholly classical or /mu`rab/ muwashshah, is the fact that the zajal has no similar feature. The zajal being totally /hazl/, in the testimony of Ibn Quzmān, ^{1/} has no need and no place for an appended /kharja/. What characterizes the /kharja/, the popular, the vulgar, the piquancy, the "spiciness", the Romance element, are the whole of the zajal, from the very first verse (/maṭla`/) to the last. The attempt by García Gómez to assign /kharja/s to the zajal is, in my view, as arbitrary as his attempt to postulate a syllabic system of scansion for its verses. ^{2/}

What bears out the argument too that the /kharja/ is an element of /hazl/, of farce, in the formalistic muwashshah is the fact that it is not acceptable in the mystical muwashshahs and zajals of the Ṣūfī poet Al-Shushtarī, which utilize various other aspects of the metre, melody and diction of the muwashshahs and zajals preceding them, and especially those of Ibn Quzmān. ^{3/}

I fully share with Louis Massignon his enthusiasm for the /kharja/, and it is his view that it was the

1) See above, pp. 183-184.

2) See his article "La jarḡa en Ibn Quzmān" later incorporated in TBQ, III, pp. 225-266.

3) See Dīwān Al-Shushtarī, the editor's introductions to the various zajals and muwashshahs.

great appeal of the /kharja/ or its "seductive power", as he puts it, which probably prompted Al-Shushtarī to adopt the muwashshah and zajal as the medium of his mystic incantations. ^{1/} But having said that, it is fair to go on and add that while indeed he uses the muwashshah and zajal much more than the traditional /qaṣīda/ form, Al-Shushtarī found little, if any, use for the /kharja/ in his muwashshahs and zajals. Indeed, when Massignon himself examines the corpus of the poet's works he comes out with a repertory of 138 zajals without a /kharja/ ^{2/} and only 26 muwashshahs with this feature. But a close examination of these 26 /kharja/s shows that they bear no resemblance, even remotely, to the /kharja/ as defined by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk and as it is found in non-mystical muwashshahs. In two cases, for example, where the /kharja/ is employed by Al-Shushtarī this turns out to be wholly in classical Anabic. In one case the /kharja/ consists of two verses from the poet Ibn Zaydūn, ^{3/} while in the other ^{4/} Al-Shushtarī borrows the /maṭla`/ and not the /kharja/ of a muwashshah by Ibn Bājjā, and he does this because the /maṭla`/ in question fits in with his serious mystical purposes, not because it is "savoury" or "spicy", the way Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk would have it. It is a verse which enjoins constant gratitude:

جرر الذيل ايما جر وصل الشكر منك بالشكر

- 1) "Investigaciones sobre Suštari", p. 30.
- 2) Ibid., p. 50.
- 3) N^o 32 in the Diwan.
- 4) N^o 37 in the Diwan.

A third couplet at the end of a muwashshah of Al-Shushtarī, ^{1/} turns out to have the symbolic amorous language in which the poet clothes his mystical experiences. It could qualify as a /kharja/, but it too is in classical Arabic.

Finally Brian Dutton in an article already referred to ^{2/} in which he explicitly tries to establish some new evidence for the Romance origins of the muwashshah, makes an attempt to relate semantically the technical terms used for parts of the muwashshah to Spanish terms relating likewise to parts of a poem. But he finds no such semantic connections for the term /kharja/. It has the meaning neither of a finida nor a tornada. The term /kharja/ means exactly what it says in Arabic, a sally, from the /mu`rab/ to the /hazl/, or

خروج من الجد الى الهزل

It has, besides, its equivalent in the present day Iraqi songs known as /maqāmāt/ (sing. /maqām/) in the form of a light, merry ditty called /pasta/, which in a brisk manner ends the distinctly slower and longer melodies of the /maqām/. Hāshim al-Rajab, who has best documented the Iraqi /maqām/, ^{3/} describes this element as intended to give added delight and merriment to the audience. Like the /kharja/ any given /pasta/ can be introduced at the end of a variable number of /maqāmāt/.

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- 1) No 39 in the Dīwān.
 - 2) "Some new evidence".
 - 3) See Al-Maqām al-`Irāqī, p. 159.

C H A P T E R V
SPANISH INFLUENCES ON IBN QUZMĀN

1. Spanish features in the zajals of the poet

The preceding pages will perhaps have made it clear that any attempt to categorize the Hispano-Arabic zajal as part of a Romance tradition preceding it, through assigning to it a syllabic metrical system, or tracing in it /kharja/s appertaining to a Hispanic popular tradition is a futile quest. At their best, these have been attempts to study the zajal from the point of view of literary history, and since the focus of attention in them has been on literary theories, invariably a priori, the picture they give about the zajal is blurred if not defective.

The following pages on the other hand will, it is hoped, show that if the ethos and the literary flesh and blood of the zajal are examined, the zajals of Ibn Quzmān will, in some respects, prove to be as much Spanish as, in a physical sense, they were the product of Spain. And this they were more than the great bulk of Hispano-Arabic poetry, including perhaps the major part of the muwashshahs which invariably strain after verbal effects and sophistication of style.

One outstanding feature of Spanish literature at all stages of its development is the extent to which it has been permeated with and influenced by popular elements. Gerald Brenan describes Spain as a country "where popular poetry is still very much alive and its modern poets have shown that they can draw strength and sustenance by

building on it". ^{1/} García Gómez, to take a Spaniard's view of their own literature speaks of "una tendencia "plebeyizante" (sin dar al término el menor sentido peyorativo) que ha constituido y sigue constituyendo una de las constantes de la cultura española". ^{2/} The zajals of Ibn Quzmān appertain to this popular tradition which, as Menéndez Pidal affirms with characteristic discernment, goes much further back in history than the date of the first extant texts like the Cantar de mio Cid. ^{3/}

To say, however, that the zajal appertains to this popular Spanish tradition is not meant to assert that there were direct Spanish influences on it. What is meant, on the contrary, is that the zajal represented the Arabic response to a culture, a milieu or, to use a convenient Spanish term, an ambiente, in which a popular form of self-expression in poetry and song was current, if not an established vogue. It was after all a time when not only in Spain, but in various other parts of Europe the jongleurs, with an ever widening public which did not understand Latin or was beginning to understand less and less of it, were laying the foundations of the modern literatures of Europe. About this Menéndez Pidal is both positive and explicit:

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- 1) Brenan, op. cit., p. 319. See also pp. 25, 48 and 100.
 - 2) "La lírica hispano-árabe", p. 314.
 - 3) España eslabón, pp. 62-64. MP makes this affirmation against the positivist views of Joseph Bédier and Silvio Pellegrini who accept only extant texts as the starting point of any literature, and he refers to Pellegrini's work Studi su trove e trovatori della prima lirica ispano-portughese, p. 34.

"Y que los juglares fueron los primitivos poetas en romance nos lo confirma el hecho, no bastante considerado, de que los más antiguos clérigos poetas, aun los que más pretendían ser ajenos al arte juglaresco, se llamaban, sin embargo, también juglares, por hallar ya este nombre acreditado de antes para designar al poeta en lengua vulgar. La historia literaria nos hace mirar a los juglares como iniciadores y guías de estos clérigos que por no saber componer en latín, según declara Berceo, se dedicaban a poetizar para el vulgo; así la poesía culta nace como una ligera variedad de la juglaresca, y sólo por evolución posterior aspira a diferenciarse más de su primera norma, pudiéndose decir que la historia de las literaturas modernas es, durante mucho tiempo, la historia de cómo los géneros creados entre el público iletrado van invadiendo el círculo de los doctos y van atrayendo a éstos a escribir en romance, y de cómo, por otro lado, los géneros de antiguo reservados a los latinizantes van siendo invadidos por los romanticistas, hasta llegar a un momento en que el latín deja de ser usado en la literatura no científica." ^{1/}

Menéndez Pidal adds in the same emphatic tone:

"Así las literaturas modernas nacen en manos de los juglares, y nacen destinadas a la popularidad; son, durante muchos siglos, literaturas "vulgares" en "lengua vulgar". Las crearon talentos que, aunque sobresalientes en sí, viven en un medio de cultura inferior, extraño a la lengua docta de entonces. No pensemos, empero, que los juglares, como suele creerse, fuesen unos grandes ignorantes; no podían serlo. Todo juglar que cumpliera con "su mester" o su oficio, era "ombre bien razonado, que sabía bien leer"..." ^{2/}

I have already indicated in the previous chapter ^{3/} that I view the recondite and highly elaborate muwashshahs as an equivalent to the poetry of the troubadours, while I deem it a fit description of the zajals of Ibn Quzmān to characterize them as jongleuresque. It appertains

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- 1) Poesía juglaresca, pp. 266-267.
 - 2) Ibid., pp. 267-268.
 - 3) See above, p. 194.

closely to the nature of this chapter to expatiate still further on this point.

Gerald Brenan in his perspicacious work The Literature of the Spanish People describes the poetry of the Provençal troubadours in the following terms: ^{1/}

"This was a poetry of small feudal courts ... it contained few ideas and still fewer images, but showed great technical skill. The art of the poet lay in the management of elaborate metrical and rhyming schemes and sometimes in the use of rare and difficult words and recondite allusions, which even contemporaries often found unintelligible. Some of this poetry still moves us by its cascade-like sparkle and exuberance, but most of it was meant less, perhaps, to move than to win praise for its virtuosity."

It is not the intention nor the place here to go into the identity of troubadour poetry. But what is indeed surprising is the near-total identity of this description with Rikābī's views concerning the muwashshahs as expressed in his book Fī al-Adab al-Andalusī, and quoted at some length in the previous chapter. ^{2/}

On the other hand, when Gerald Brenan comes to deal with the Libro de buen amor by the Archpriest of Hita, who is described as consummately jongleuresque by Menéndez Pidal, ^{3/} he has this to say: ^{4/}

"The general tone is gay, ironic, buffoonish or satirical, but love is treated delicately as well as humorously ...; in its mixture of comic and serious, satirical and touching themes it is intensely juglaresque...

1) P. 64.

2) See pp.206-207 above and Fī al-Adab al-Andalusī, pp. 203, 305 and 308.

3) Poesía juglaresca, p. 269.

4) Brenan, op. cit., p. 79.

The most original feature, however, is the autobiographical ^{1/} thread which runs through it, holding together the moralizing and satirical passages and the fables that are brought in as enxiemplos or illustrations."

Leaving aside the "moralizing passages" which Juan Ruiz needed perhaps to include in his work as a cover, because he was an archpriest which Ibn Quzmān was not, and adding to the description the element of ametría which characterizes the Archpriest's verses, ^{2/} it will be seen, in the light of the preceding chapters, how closely the description of the Archpriest's work fits as a description of the Dīwān of the arch-zajal writer Ibn Quzmān. Gerald Bnenan, besides, speaks of the Archpriest's work as "the direct ancestor and inspirer" ^{3/} of the 15th century novel La Celestina. As such it adumbrates the picaresque novel. In an article I wrote about possible contacts between the Spanish picaresque novel and /maqāmāt/ literature, ^{4/} my conclusion was that the zajals of Ibn Quzmān were quite as likely a source of picaresque themes as the /maqāmāt/, ^{5/} if not more likely.

In the light of all this it seems reasonable to view Ibn Quzmān not only as part of the Spanish tradition but as a pace-setter in it, since he anticipates

1) On the marked autobiographical element in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān see Ahwānī, op. cit., pp. 70-105, and my article "Maqāmāt literature and the picaresque novel".

2) See above, pp. 39-40.

3) Op. cit., p. 83.

4) JAL, V, pp. 1-10.

5) I refer in my article to picaresque escapades by the poet described in his zajals, a good example of which is zajal 87.

the Archpriest of Hita by nearly two centuries. ^{1/}

There is, however, more to Ibn Quzmān in this light than generalisations of this kind.

R.A. Nicholson in summing up his views of Spanish-Arabian poetry says among other things that it had "an almost modern sensibility to the beauties of nature". ^{2/} There is no doubt that Hispano-Arabic poetry contemporary with Ibn Quzmān gives the impression of a zestful taste for nature. ^{3/} But continued reading, and the continuous encounter of the stock-in-trade metaphors borrowed from nature gives good ground for the conclusion that this was not a poetry inspired by the beauties and mysteries of nature, as much as a poetry which sought to transpose nature into a form of literary embellishment. Its similes, in other words, were basically ornamental. Where this literary embellishment, however, was not a prime motive,

1) It must be added here that while MP describes the art of the jongleur as a popular art, he hastens to give a warning (Poesía juglaresca, p. 270) that popular or jongleuresque poetry should not be confused with plebeian poetry. It is the argument of this thesis (Chap. III, above) that Ibn Quzmān's poetry likewise, was not plebeian or colloquial. Besides his own claim of writing /bi-lafzi 'l-faṣīḥ/ (see above, p.178), Ibn Sa'īd explicitly tells us that he started by writing classical Arabic verse before turning to the zajal genre, and he quotes some of the poet's classical verses. In other words, Ibn Quzmān was quite clearly more than an "ombre bien razonado, que sabía bien leer", (p.213above).

2) Op. cit., p. 416.

3) Ibn Khāfāja, a contemporary of Ibn Quzmān, is often described as "the paramount poet of nature". See Rikābī, op. cit., p. 73, where Ibn Khāfāja is described as such, but where Rikābī goes on to say about him, however, that he was nothing but a brilliant imitator.

as was the case with Ibn Quzmān, an acute feeling for nature does indeed come through. It does not characterize Ibn Quzmān's poetry or even qualify as a feature of it. But where it appears there is no mistaking it. It is there, and by eight hundred years anticipates the sensibilities of García Lorca.

In a poem addressed to "the new wheat crop", /al-qamḥ al-jadīd/ (zajal 80), the poet's desire for this delicacy is transmuted into a love for the new crop, standing beautiful and straight on stalks even higher, in the poet's fond and fondling words, than the human figure - perhaps the poet's own figure standing close by the corn stalks and measuring them against himself. This poem in the purity of its sentiment becomes, as it goes on, quite reminiscent of Lorca's poem "El canto de la miel", ¹/ and indeed the best title for that zajal of five strophes would be one in keeping with Lorca's title, such as "El canto del trigo nuevo".

Should this seem too subjective an appreciation of Ibn Quzmān's zajal, I choose to offer here side by side two translations in which the moods evoked seem to have a certain identity:

Give my greetings, a thousand greetings, to the joyous
fields,
The days of roving round them are past and the vendimia
is over too.
How lonely are those spots now,

1) Libro de poemas, p. 40.

When the leaves drop on your shoulders damp with rain
And the trees seem to say to me, run, run away from here!
The second translation is a shortened selection:

'The silver poplars
Incline over the water
They know all and everything
But they never speak.'

Perhaps the trees which speak in the first selection (the opening verses of zajal 78 by Ibn Quzmān) know much less than the poplars of García Lorca in the second selection ^{1/} which 'never speak'; but in both cases, although to varying degrees, the natural scene described is one with which the poet feels some communion or with which he identifies. It is not, as with the bulk of Hispano-Arabic nature poetry, merely an external phenomenon which the poet tries to transpose, by way of similes and metaphors, into yet another external phenomenon - his poem. ^{2/} Rather as in the large number of Romance /kharja/s which have come down to us "external description is subordinated to introspection". ^{3/}

The reasons for this artifice or this apparent surface art in Hispano-Arabic poetry are not difficult to trace. Ibn Khafāja, Ibn Hāni', and one might add all their fellow Hispano-Arab poets were apparently never able to free themselves from the incubus of the

1) Op. cit., "Los álamos de plata", p. 109.

2) See Rikābī's assessment of the poetry of Ibn Khafāja op. cit., p. 113, where he feels that Ibn Khafāja's descriptions of nature are largely restricted to what is taken in by the senses and hardly ever internalised.

3) Deyermond, op. cit., p. 9.

authority of the Eastern Arab poets and literati in general, and proof of this is not hard to come by. When a copy of the celebrated Al-'Iqd al-Farīd fell into the hands of Al-Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād, he hoped to read in it something about Andalusian or Maghribī writers and literature, but finding that it paid homage solely to the East and Eastern Arabs he made his alleged proverbial statement about it: "/hādhihi biḍā'atunā ruddat ilaynā/" 'this is our own merchandise sent back to us'. ^{1/}

Literary criticism in Islamic Spain on the whole, when it had a word of praise for a writer or poet, invariably compared him to one or other of the famous poets of the Arab East. Ibn Bassām in trying to praise Andalusian poets finds nothing better to say about them than that "their method in writing poetry was exemplary, since it was the method of Al-Buhturī in his delicacy and grace, his purity of style, his sweetness and his forcefulness". ^{2/} In like manner Ibn Khallikān describes Ibn Hānī' as being in the /Maghrib/ like Al-Mutanabbī in the /Mashriq/, ^{3/} while Ibn Khafāja is described as Al-Ṣinawbarī of Andalusia and Ibn Zaydūn as Al-Buhturī of his day. ^{4/}

It would seem accordingly that these poets felt as if they had an ideal to live up to, and the language, vocabulary and metaphor they use is often an unmistakable

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- 1) See Rikābī, op. cit., p. 88.
 - 2) As quoted by Rikābī, ibid., p. 72.
 - 3) Wafayāt al-A'yān, IV, p. 51.
 - 4) Rikābī, op. cit., p. 73.

echo of the works of Eastern Arab poets. ^{1/} No less a poet than Ibn Zaydūn incorporates an entire verse from Al-Mutanabbī into a poem of his own with the same metre and rhyme scheme. ^{2/}

The result of all this was that to a considerable extent the Andalusians were not writing their own literature nor describing their own nature and life. They composed, it would seem, to the tune of a culture which was not their own, and described social habits established elsewhere and not in their own society.

On the face of it, of course, one can produce poems by Ibn Khafāja descriptive of green hills and low-lying plains, or of streams shaded by green trees, a fact which earned him the sobriquet of /jannān/ or 'gardener poet'. Such scenery, it could be claimed, was Andalusian, and had nothing to do with the Abbasid capital or the Arab peninsula. But the question then must be why or how the mention of deserts (/bād/, /fayāfī/), she-camels (/rakā'ib/, /najā'ib/) and their saddles (/qutūd/)

1) Nicholson comes to practically the same conclusion in his view of Spanish Arabic poetry in general: "considered as a whole, the poetry of the Moslems in Europe shows the same characteristics which have already been noted in the work of their Eastern contemporaries. The paralysing conventions from which the laureates of Baghdad and Aleppo could not emancipate themselves remained in full force at Cordova and Seville". Op. cit., p. 415.

2) Al-Mutanabbī's famous /maṭla'/: "/bi-ma 'l-ta'allulu lā ahlun wa-lā waṭanu/. See Rikābī, op. cit., p. 223 and Al-Khāzin, Ibn Zaydūn, p. 63.

come to abound in the descriptive poetry of Ibn Khafāja, ^{1/} while nowhere in his poetry do we come across references to olive trees or olive groves, to wheat or wheat fields, ^{2/} to markets and market places, ^{3/} as we do in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān, or to the change in the tempo of life from one season to the other. ^{4/}

None of this is meant to introduce or describe yet another Spanish feature in the poetry of Ibn Quzmān. Rather it is simply meant to show that the poetry of Ibn Quzmān better than any other Hispano-Arabic poetry, the muwashshahs included, vividly reflects the milieu in which it was written, and is more representative of it.

Thus the zajals of Ibn Quzmān both mirror the milieu and the country where they were written, and also have a contribution to make to a Spanish tradition beginning with the jongleurs and continuing through the work of the Archpriest of Hita and the picaresque novels. On the other hand, the greater part of the Arabic poetry and literature written in Spain remained, except in its historical aspects, a reflection of the Arabic culture of the East. ^{5/} As a transposition of this culture, or as an attempt to emulate it, it quite naturally lacked authenticity. Ibn Zaydūn's poetry is just as closely tied to Eastern Arabic poetry as his literary epistles are tied to the genre developed and formalized in the

1) See, for example, his famous /qaṣīda/ describing a mountain and the one describing the night.

2) Zajals 104 and 80 respectively.

3) Zajals 48, 72 and 82.

4) Zajals 19 and 93.

5) This is perhaps best expressed in Nykl's statement that "Cordova was merely a reflex of the East on the Iberian peninsula". (Hispano-Arabic Poetry; p. 379)

Arab East. Equally in conformity with Eastern tastes is the poetry of Ibn Khafāja, notwithstanding its preoccupation with nature. The interest in nature was distinct, but not the poetical modes.

As regards the zajals of Ibn Quzmān, it seems safe to conclude that in as far as they reflected or depicted the Hispanic milieu in which they were written, they form an indivisible part of a Hispanic tradition. But it should be repeated that they were not part of this tradition on account of their metres or their borrowed /kharja/s. Nor were they part of that tradition on account of the Romance element in them, a matter which is discussed in the following section.

2. The Romance element in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān

It should be made clear at the outset here that the Romance element in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān, the words and the phrases, are not viewed in this work as evidence or even as an indication of Spanish influences on the work of the poet. In the first place they are too scanty and elementary to qualify for such a portentous role; ¹/ and in the second place they are not without precedent, especially where two cultures meet, and

1) GG speaks of these as "... los pasajes con contaminación romance..." and adds in parenthesis: "una gota en la mar del Cancionero". TBQ, III, p. 342.

bilingual societies, like the Andalusian, develop. ^{1/}
The Persian terms and Persian place names used in the poetry of Abū Nuwās, for example, are many, ^{2/} and these are often used by Abū Nuwās for the same macaronic purposes for which Ibn Quzmān introduces his Romance terms and expressions. Likewise, just as in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān one comes across references to Spanish Christian festivals like the New Year, i.e. /yanāyir/ (zajal 40, strophe 9 twice, and zajal 72, /maṭla`/) or /māyo/ (zajal 137, strophe 2), one also comes across references in the poetry of Abū Nuwās to the Persian festivals of /nawrūz/ (Dīwān, p. 271 and p. 654) and /mihrajān/ (Dīwān, p. 654). Just as Ibn Quzmān at

1) The extreme views expressed at various stages between the 17th and 19th centuries that, in the century following the Arab invasion of Spain, Arabic was the sole language spoken in Islamic Spain and that Latin or Romance stopped being understood is now considered antiquated. Testimonies to a largely bilingual society in Islamic Spain and the continued symbiosis of literary Arabic and literary Latin, and of spoken Arabic and Romance, are many and not least in the works of Arab historians and literary historians. Ribera finds ample evidence for this in Al-Khushanī's book, Qudāt Qurṭuba, edited and translated by him into Spanish in 1914. (See his Disertaciones y opúsculos, I, pp. 31-34 where he also produces other testimonial references from Al-Maqdisī, Ibn `Idharī and Ibn Ḥazm. See on this also MP, Orígenes del español, pp. 415-431 and Dutton, op. cit., p. 73.) It is also important to remember that Simonet was severely criticized by Ribera and others for describing the Spanish Romance dialects as "mozárabes" thus giving the impression, according to Ribera, that this vulgar Latin was spoken only by Christians and not by Moslems. To Ribera, Eguilaz and others "mozárabe" seems to have amounted to a scandalously misleading description.

2) Dīwān Abī Nuwās, pp. 144-145 and pp. 361 and 365.

times uses the Romance term bino or vino for wine (zajal 90, strophe 1 twice, and zajal 148, strophe 5; in the latter case in contiguity with /sharāb/), so likewise we find Abū Nuwās using a Greek word for wine, possibly Arabized by the poet, in a few lines he addresses to a Greek slave-girl (/rūmiyya/) whom he loved (Dīwān, p. 629).

Besides, little consideration seems to have been given to the fact that a good number of the Romance terms used by Ibn Quzmān appear in the position of the rhyming words in his zajals. González Olle, in his historical survey of diminutive forms or suffixes in medieval Spanish, Los sufijos diminutivos en castellano medieval,^{1/} often disregards or attaches little importance to diminutives when they appear in the rhyming position in poetry. In zajal 90, for example, apart from the two terms vino referred to above, García Gómez singles out the ten terms considered by him as Romance, "romancismos". Eight of these are in rhyme positions, five in the /aqfāl/ and the other three in the /aghṣān/. Over and above this it is interesting to note that the two terms "bino, bino" (vino, vino) which appear together in the first strophe of zajal 90, seem to be there by reason of the fact that they fit the basic metrical pattern of this zajal, the /khafīf/, in a manner which no other term for wine in Arabic would do. Thus:

1) This is a work referred to later in this chapter in connection with the diminutives in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān.

/bīno bīno/ wa-da`nī mim/mā yuqālu/
fā`ilātun: mutaf`ilun fā`ilātu

If this scansion is seen here to entail the element of /khaṭf/ or reading as short the last syllables of the first term bīno and /wa-da`nī/, it should be pointed out that this is how the two words are written in the manuscript, namely / بين / and / ودعن /. A lot has been said by every student of Ibn Quzmān about the failure of the copyist of the single manuscript of the poet's Dīwān (an Eastern Arab from Ṣafad in Palestine) to understand the Romance element in it, for it to need references here. Indeed the copyist has written / بين بين / instead of the more plausible / بينو بينو / and he has written / ودعن / instead of / ودعنى /. But there is ample reason to believe that it was metrical considerations, of which he would have been well aware, which dictated the copyist's version: ¹/

بين بين ودعن ما يقال

It must be added here that Abū Nuwās does not fail either to display "freakish" tendencies where rhyming schemes are concerned, although he allowed himself no freedom anywhere comparable to that of Ibn Quzmān with metre or syntax, and although H.A.R. Gibb describes the Eastern poet, and quite rightly, as a master of language and as "the last of the natural.

1) In other words while resorting to /khaṭf/ in /wa-da`nī/, he could easily have written the second bīno with a long vowel, /ishbā`/, if he had been aware of its origin.

troubadours in the Arabian tradition". ^{1/} In three of his shorter poems rhyming in /dhāl/ ^{2/} Abū Nuwās gives a Persian turn to the name of the Abbāsīd capital and makes it appear as /Baghdādh/ in the rhyme position. In one of the poems ^{3/} /Baghdādh/ appears in a rhyming position while /Baghdād/ is twice used in the body of the poem. With his command of Arabic Abū Nuwās would certainly have known what Yāqūt publicized nearly four centuries later, ^{4/} namely that the Baṣra school of grammarians does not admit the use of /Baghdādh/, since the language of the Arabs has no word form in which a /dāl/ is followed by a /dhāl/, and that anyone using /Baghdādh/ must be aware that he is using a "Persianism".

García Gómez has coined the term romancismos to refer to the Romance terms and phrases in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān. But in the light of what has been said here about these terms and phrases, it is difficult to agree with García Gómez's reasoning when he says that the term romancismos was coined in the same mint as anglicismos, galicismos, germanismos, etc., in order to designate "los préstamos que el idioma árabe andaluz

1) Arabic Literature, p. 62. It is my belief, however, that if Abu Nuwas had not had the restraining authority of a court in which the pure Arab tradition had to be stressed and to be maintained, if in other words he had had the conditions prevailing in the Andalusia of Ibn Quzmān's days, he would have introduced many more innovations into Arabic poetry both acceptable and unacceptable.

2) Dīwān, pp. 238-239.

3) Ibid., p. 239.

4) Mu'jam al-Buldān, I, p. 456. The word is of course Persian meaning 'God has given'. Modern Persian, however, has no (sound) /dhāl/, and this word for 'God' (cf. Russian bog) is no longer in use.

tomó de la lengua romance". ^{1/} Andalusian Arabic might have borrowed a lot from Romance, but the greater part of the Romance terms and phrases used by Ibn Quzmān do not qualify as romancismos, and cannot be classified as such in terms of García Gómez's definition. For apart from what I have said about them above, Ibn Quzmān is invariably aware that he is using Romance terms when he uses them and sometimes he tells us as much. In zajal 19, strophe 13, Ibn Quzmān as much as tells us that he is translating:

/dhono ḥīd khudh hādha bi-`l-`ajamī/

In other words he is fully aware that he is using /`ajamī/ or Romance terms when he writes dhono ḥīd ^{2/} and gives their equivalent as /khudh hādha/ in Arabic.

This awareness seems fairly obvious too when Ibn Quzmān uses an Arabic term followed immediately by its Romance equivalent or vice versa. The example given above is a case in point where the Romance is followed by the Arabic, while in zajal 148, strophe 5 we see the same process in reverse with the poet exclaiming:

/yā sharāb yā baynu mā aḥlāk/

It will be seen that here too the copyist has seemingly substituted the Arabic adverb /bayn/ for the Romance bino or vino. In zajal 10, strophe 2 we have another instance of an Arabic term being followed by its equivalent

1) TBQ, III, p. 327.

2) On the various interpretations offered for these words see Tuulio, Ibn Quzmān, p. 20 and GG, TBQ, III, p. 350.

in Romance:

Tan hazino, tan penado 1/

This awareness on the part of the poet that he is using Romance in his zajals makes it inaccurate and presumptuous to describe the Romance terms he uses as borrowings or loan words which Andalusian Arabic has taken from the Romance language.

It is interesting to note in this connection also that Abū Nuwās was just as conscious and aware of the process when he introduced Persian words into his poetry. Like Ibn Quzmān, he too supplies his own testimony of that. In a poem of 35 verses by him rhymed in /n/, we get the following verse: 2/

/wa-jannatin luqqibati 'l-muntahā

thumma 'smuhā fī 'l-'ujmi jullāru/

Besides the poet's express indication that he is giving us the name of paradise in /'ajamī/ (i.e. Persian in this case) the word in question is again in the rhyme position for it to have too much significance as a loan word. In another poem in which Abū Nuwās uses the Persian name of the planet Saturn, the term again appears in the rhyme position. 3/

From what has preceded it seems reasonable to conclude that the larger number of the Romance terms and phrases in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān do not qualify as borrowings from Romance in the language of the poet. The one term in Ibn Quzmān's zajals, however, which in

1) I have followed the transcription of Tuulio, Ibn Quzmān, p. 3. Ribera (Disertaciones y opúsculos, I, p. 35), transliterates: "tu-n hazín, tu-n penato".

2) Dīwān, p. 318.

3) ibid., p. 606.

my view readily qualifies as a romancismo is one which, as far as can be ascertained, has never been pointed out before. This is Ibn Quzmān's use of /ḥubbī/ as the equivalent of the Spanish mi amor, French mon amour, or Italian amore mio, which he seems to have bequeathed to the poet Al-Shushtarī who uses it just as extensively. ^{1/}

/Ḥubb/ in Arabic poetry before Ibn Quzmān is used to refer to love itself and not to the beloved or the /ḥabīb/, and it seems reasonable to conclude that its extensive use in his zajals to refer to the beloved is an unconscious use of what might be described as a romancismo. While /ḥubb/ is not used in Arabic poetry to refer to the beloved (/ḥabīb/), the use of its equivalent amor to refer to the beloved in Provençal poetry contemporary with Ibn Quzmān is quite frequent, ^{2/} just as it appears also in the Galician-Portuguese Cantigas de amor. ^{3/} There is little doubt also that the standard use of amor to refer to the beloved in subsequent Spanish letrillas, villancicos and coplas attests to a long standing tradition. ^{4/}

Because of the unusual use of /ḥubbī/ to mean 'my beloved', 'my love' by Ibn Quzmān, and because this usage forms a suitable introduction to the equally

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- 1) Dīwān al-Shushtarī, pp. 89, 96, 136 and 168.
 - 2) See Riquer, op. cit. for the following:
Marcabré, n^o 8, strophe vii, p. 70. The date assigned to this composition by Riquer, adduced from internal evidence, is 1149.
Cercamón, n^o 2, strophe i, p. 83.
Jaufné Rudel, n^o 2, strophe ii, p. 100 and n^o 4, strophes i, ii, iv, v, vi and vii.
Peire d'Alvernha, n^o 2, strophe ii, p. 198.
Bernart de Ventadorn, n^o 1, strophe viii, p. 241.
 - 3) Nunes, Cantigas d'amor, n^o CLXX, pp. 345-346.
 - 4) See Damaso Alonso, Primavera temprana, p. 51.

unusual and frequent use of the diminutive by the poet, discussed in the following section, it seems fitting to reproduce here the various instances in the Diwān of the poet in which /ḥubbī/ also written /ḥibbī/ is used:

/ḥubbī wa`adnī wa-akhlaf
wash kan yadurru law anṣaf/

(zajal 14, the /maṭla`/)

`My love made me a promise which he did not keep,
What harm would it have done him if he had kept
his promise'

/jalastu bayna `l-sharāb fa-maḥbūbī
fa-hādḥā ḥubbī wa-hādḥā mashrūbī/

(zajal 29, strophe 1)

`I sat between the wine and my beloved,
So here is my love, and here is my drink'
/las li-ḥubbī yā qawm fī `l-dunyā naẓīr
al-milāḥ ra`iyya wa-huwat amīr/

(zajal 49, strophe 4)

`My love has no equal in the whole world,
The beautiful ones are subjects, and he an emir'
/ayy ḥukm `ala ḥubbī in ḡalam wa-jān
kun ḥasību yā rabbī `alā dhā `l-nifān/

(zajal 54, strophe 1)

`What penalty can be imposed on my beloved
If he should act the tyrant and the unjust one
Oh my lord, you be his judge
For all this contrariety'
/lā nasīt idh zāranī ḥubbī
wa-`njalā hammī wa-zād karbī

(zajal 58, strophe 5)

`I have not forgotten (the day) my love visited me,
When my worries were cleared, yet my distress augmented`

/in hajarnī ḥubbī
ḥasbī Allāh ḥasbī/

(zajal 64, strophe 2)

`If my love should abandon me
God is sufficient for me`

It should be pointed out here, that in the next
example /ḥubbī/ is irregularly written as /ḥibbi/:

/qallī 'slu `anni wa-kaf naslā
mudh hajarnī ḥibbi wa-qad walā/

(zajal 120, strophe 1)

`He said "forget me", but how can I forget
When my love has forsaken me after being so near`

/ash yartakab ḥubbī minnī wash yankī
lawlā mā naṣṭahī ^{1/} dhāb kān nabkī/

(zajal 122, strophe 3)

`Oh how much my beloved sins against me and spites me,
Were it not for my sense of shame I would have cried`

/yaḏlamni ḥibbī yaḏlamni
nahwāh anā wa-yahjurnī/

(zajal 134, strophe 3)

`He wrongs me, my beloved, he wrongs me,
I love him and he abandons me`

1) This is yet another sign of the endless pitfalls in the Diwān of Ibn Quzmān bequeathed by poet and copyist. Just as we have seen /masqūl/ for /maṣqūl/ (zajal 13, strophe 8), here we have /naṣṭahī/ for what is obviously /nastahī/.

It has already been pointed out, just as will have been noticed from the quotations reproduced above that the various ways /ḥubbī/ appears in the text display that element of irregularity in the zajal discussed in some detail in the previous chapter. It should be added here that the use of /ḥubb/ often alternates with /ḥabīb/ and /maḥbūb/ within the same zajal and sometimes within the same strophe. ^{1/}

This same element of irregularity is displayed in the numerous diminutives which Ibn Quzmān uses in his zajals, and which form the subject of the following section.

3. The diminutives in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān

While the Romance element in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān does not admit of being considered a Spanish influence on the work of the poet, the diminutives in his zajals seem to be the product of such an influence and a hallmark of it. They seem to be such because of the frequency with which they appear in his zajals and in contemporary Romance, and because of their relative absence from Arabic poetry and literature, and finally because of the nature of these diminutives. Their use in Ibn Quzmān's zajals is invariably caritative; they

1) See, for example, zajals 29, 120 and 134.

are always affective, compassionate or tender as against the depreciatory, contemptuous, pejorative and ironic connotations that diminutives can convey in Arabic. It is rare too that a diminutive used by the poet denotes primarily or solely a mere diminution of size, the usage that gives the term its name of 'diminutive'.

x x x x x x x

Perhaps no other poet in the history of Arabic literature has resorted to the use of the diminutive as much as the poet Al-Mutanabbī. This was such a marked feature of Al-Mutanabbī's work as to merit a remark from Ibn al-Qāriḥ in his letter to Al-Ma'arrī, and to earn for itself a niche in Al-Ma'arrī's celebrated work Risālat al-Ghufrān. ^{1/} In recent times too, the Egyptian critic Al-'Aqqād found that this aspect of Al-Mutanabbī's poetry portrays a significant aspect of his character, and makes it the subject of one of his essays on the poet. ^{2/} Both Al-Ma'arrī and Al-'Aqqād, however, find that the diminutives used by Al-Mutanabbī have a note of a false alarm about them. Instead of being the expression of a genuine feeling, they seem to be a conscious attempt at make-believe. Al-Ma'arrī seems to classify them as idle talk (/abāṭīl/) and fabrication of falsehoods (/takharruṣ/). ^{3/} Al-'Aqqād on the other hand views Al-Mutanabbī as a man who is intent on self-aggrandizement.

1) Risālat al-Ghufrān, p. 216.

2) "/wala` Al-Mutanabbī bi 'l-taṣghīr/", Al-Balāgh, 10th December, 1923, incorporated later in Muṭāla'āt pp. 182-192.

3) Risālat al-Ghufrān, p. 216.

Since the poet's disposition, in his view, was one in which the man of action fell short of his overweening ambition, the whole of Al-Mutanabbī's poetry, Al-'Aqqād feels, can be viewed as an expression of a narcissistic preoccupation with his own grandeur, ^{1/} and hence his proneness to excessive exaggeration and his fondness for the diminutive. ^{2/} In other words the diminutives used by Al-Mutanabbī were, so to speak, inverted hyperboles or, to use a convenient cliché, his exaggerations and his diminutives were two sides of the same coin, intended to throw his sense of his own importance into sharp relief:

فانا ازدرى شيئا ضئيلا او رجلا حقيرا فذلك ازدرنا يشوبه الضغن ويضاعفه ظل العظمة
اللقى عليه فانا الشئ شوى وانا الرجل رجيل وانا عادة المبالغة فى الاستصغار
موصولة بعادة المبالغة فى التفضيم او هى هى ولكن تختلف ناحية النظر طردا وعكسا
على حسب اختلاف الشئ المنظور اليه. واكثر ما يرى المتنبي "مصغرا" حين يهجو مغيظا
محققا او يستخف متعاليا محققا.

It will be seen from this statement by Al-'Aqqād ^{3/} that while he sees the use of the diminutive by Al-Mutanabbī as inseparable from his inflated view of himself, he feels too that the primary use to which the poet put the diminutive was for the expression of contempt and disdain for his opponents.

On this last point the critic Muhammad Mandūr takes issue with Al-'Aqqād and points out that Al-Mutanabbī also uses the diminutive for what might be termed

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- 1) Op. cit., p. 184 and p. 191.
 - 2) Ibid., p. 187.
 - 3) Ibid., p. 189.

grandiloquent purposes or what is termed in Arabic /taṣghīr al-ta'zīm/^{1/} (which, of course, Al-'Aqqād's analysis does not exclude). Mandūr adds that the use of the diminutive is a common feature of all satirical poetry, Arabic or otherwise.^{2/}

For the purpose of our discussion here, however, the issue of the argument between Mandūr and Al-'Aqqād is immaterial. They both, as can be seen, lend force to the conclusion to be drawn here, and that is that Al-Mutanabbī's poetry, the most prolific in the use of the diminutive in Arabic,^{3/} presents us with few if any instances of the use of the diminutive as a caritative.

That the diminutive in Al-Mutanabbī's poetry is at times tantamount to extravagant exaggeration as Al-'Aqqād has discerned can easily be gauged from the following verse, the /maṭla'/' of one of his long poems:^{4/}

/uḥādun am sudāsun fī uḥādi

luyaylatunā 'l-manūṭatu bi 'l-tanādī/

The 'little night' mentioned in the verse is one of whose length the poet is complaining,^{5/} and if it is so long as to be co-extensive with the day of judgement, the hyperbolic implications of it hardly need any comment. A note of boredom and impatience with the night in question is clear here just as a note of contempt and disparagement is discernible in practically every other:

1) Fī 'l-Mizān al-Jadīd, pp. 183-185 and Lisān al-'Arab, IV pp. 458-459.

2) Ibid., pp. 183-184.

3) Al-'Aqqād, op. cit., p. 182.

4) Dīwān, p. 85.

5) Al-'Aqqād, op. cit., p. 190.

diminutive in Al-Mutanabbī's verse:

(Dīwān, p. 377) /afī kulli yawmin tahta ḡibnī shuway`irun/

(Dīwān, p. 198) /adhummu ilā hādḡā `l-zamāni uhaylahu/

(Dīwān, p. 508) /awlā `l-li`āmi kuwayfīrun bi-ma`dhiratin/

What remains noticeably absent in his poetry then is the use of diminutives to convey affection, fondness or a degree of subjective attachment to or involvement with the object referred to by a diminutive.

It must be repeated that the Dīwān of Al-Mutanabbī has been singled out for discussion here because it offers a unique example of an Arab poet who uses an abundance of diminutives. In comparison with it the use of the diminutive is relatively absent from the great bulk of Arabic poetry. 1/

With this universally sparse use of the diminutive in Arabic poetry the Dīwān of Ibn Quzmān presents a sharp contrast. When this is coupled with the added contrast that the caritative diminutive in Arabic poetry is of rare occurrence while the diminutives in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān are invariably caritatives, Spanish influences on Ibn Quzmān start to seem more probable than merely possible.

This conclusion, of course, presupposes that the diminutive was in current usage and a marked element of Romance in the days of Ibn Quzmān just as it is a distinct element of present-day Spanish.

1) It should be pointed out that this discussion does not take account of what can be described as lexicalized diminutives, whose use cannot strictly speaking be ascribed to the choice or diction of a particular poet.

A survey of the work by Fernando González Olle, Los sufijos diminutivos en castellano medieval, shows that this was the case, and Menéndez Pidal seems to have no doubt about this fact when he categorically declares that "...los cantos mozárabes ^{1/} andaluces tenían ya el mismo gusto por el diminutivo que hoy rebosa en los cantares andaluces modernos." ^{2/} In fact, a lot of the material that has come down to us from the 12th, 11th and even 10th centuries (Ibn Quzmān died in 1160) goes a long way to prove that the use of the diminutive in Romance, or the language known to the Arabs in Islamic Spain as the /ʿajamiyya/, permeated practically every area of life. There are literary, botanical, toponomical and onomastic testimonies to the widespread use of the diminutive, just as there are Arabic literary and historical contemporary works which attest to its being part of every day Mozarabic speech.

The greater part of the Romance /kharja/s in Arabic and Hebrew muwashshahs published by Stern and García Gómez belong to the 11th and 12th centuries. The poet who is credited by Ibn Bassām to have brought the art of muwashshah writing to perfection, `Ubāda Ibn Mā' al-Samā' ^{3/} died early in the 11th century, while the famous Arab and Hebrew poets from whose works

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- 1) i.e. the Romance /kharja/s utilized by Arab and Hebrew muwashshah writers in the days of Ibn Quzmān and for well over a century before the days of the poet.
 - 2) "Cantos románicos andalusíes" in España eslabón, pp. 124-125.
 - 3) Dhakhira, part I, volume II, p. 1.

Romance /kharja/s have been gathered (Ibn al-Mu'allim, Al-A'mā al-Tūṭīlī, Ibn Baqī, Al-Lāridī, Ibn Ruḥaym, Yehūda Halewi, Moshe Ibn Ezra, Yosef Ibn Ṣaddīq and Abraham Ben Ezra) were older contemporaries of Ibn Quzmān. Only the last of those mentioned here, Abraham Ben Ezra, seems to have outlived the poet. ^{1/}

A quick survey of the Romance /kharja/s published so far will confirm that the use of the diminutive is one of their most striking features, just as it would confirm Menéndez Pidal's statement quoted above that the diminutive abounds in them as much as it does in modern Spanish songs. In some of them, as is well known, the Spanish diminutive suffix is appended to Arabic substantives and adjectives, while up to four diminutives appear in the same /kharja/.

The following is a /kharja/ in which the Romance diminutive suffix is appended to two Arabic nouns, a substantive and an adjective respectively. It appears as n^o 32 in Stern's Les chansons mozarabes ^{2/} and n^o XIII in the article by García Gómez. ^{3/} It is the /kharja/ of a muwashshah by Al-Kumayt:

/Non quero yun hillelo illa 'l-samarello/ ^{4/}

The next /kharja/ is one with four diminutives. In three of these the Romance suffix is again appended to three Arabic nouns, while the fourth, boquilla, ^{5/} or bokella ^{5/} is a Romance diminutive which appears again

1) Stern, Les chansons mozarabes, pp. XVII-XIX and GG, Veinticuatro jarǵas romances, pp. 72-119.

2) P. 28.

3) Veinticuatro jarǵas romances, p. 100.

4) I have used Stern's transliteration.

5) As transliterated by GG.

in other /kharja/s: 1/

!/Mamma, ayy habībī!
So 'l-ŷumella šagrella
El collo albo
E bokella hamrella/ 2/

In his work, Los sufijos diminutivos en castellano medieval, González Olle sees the Romance /kharja/s as the first literature documenting the occurrence of the diminutive in Spanish. 3/ Particularly in Andalusia, where Ibn Quzmān lived and wrote, he sees the diminutive as presenting the same traditional continuity which Menéndez Pidal had discerned in the Andalusian dances and songs and which he sees as being alive and vital today as they were in the days of the Romans. 4/

As further evidence of the continuity of the diminutive form (again in Andalusia) González Olle closely examines the Glosario de voces romances registrados por un botánico anónimo hispano-musulmán (siglos XI-XII), edited and translated by Miguel Asín Palacios. This work is based on a manuscript of 'Umdat al-tabīb fī ma'rifat al-nabāt likulli labīb, attributed to the

1) See, for example, n^o XI in GG, n^o 31 in Stern and n^o 47 in Stern.

2) This /kharja/, from an anonymous muwashshah, appears as n^o XIV in GG and n^o 33 in Stern. It is reproduced here as transliterated by GG because Stern, I feel, has missed the meaning of the second term of the second hemistich which seems to be a diminutive of /jumma/, i.e. the hair or the bulk of it on top of the forehead. Stern transliterates sujjamelō and gives as a translation "chupamieles" which is Spanish for a variety of bugloss. GG adopts the opinion of J. Oliver Asín who sees in the term a diminutive of /jumma/ and gives the quite ingenious translation in Spanish "guedejuela".

3) Los sufijos, p. 3.

4) Ibid., note 2, pp. 3-4.

prolific 11th century author Ibn Buṭlān of Baghdād, but proved with sufficient certainty by Asín Palacios to be the work of a Spanish Moslem who lived the greater part of his life in Andalusia, in all probability in Seville. ^{1/} The date of the work, deduced with equal certainty from internal evidence is given by Asín Palacios as the end of the 11th and the early part of the 12th century.

The author of the manuscript takes it upon himself to provide the names of the various plants enumerated in Arabic, Andalusian Arabic, Greek, Latin, Berber, Persian, Syriac as well as in Romance or what he calls the /ʿajamiyya/ of Spain. ^{2/} It is, of course, the latter, the Romance terms, which Asín Palacios has culled in his Glosario, and among these González Olle finds no less than 78 diminutive forms (out of 683 citations) a number which he says rises to 126 if one takes into consideration the variations of these forms, on account of phonetic considerations or at times due to the fact that different diminutive suffixes are appended to the same basic root. ^{3/}

It will be noted that this discussion has been deliberately restricted to 11th and 12th century sources, namely what is contemporaneous with or antedates the zajals of Ibn Quzmān, and it takes no account of González

1) Glosario, introduction, pp. xi-xvi.

2) Ibid., p. xxiii. The author in fact cites at times various dialects of the /ʿajamiyya/, the Andalusian, Galician, etc.

3) Los sufijos, p. 115.

Olle's survey of the use of the diminutive in 13th century Spanish works like the Libro de Apolonio, the Libro de Alexandre, or the works of the poet Gonzalo de Berceo born just at the turn of the 12th century.^{1/} But although the works of Berceo are of a slightly later date than the zajals of Ibn Quzmān and therefore not discussed, it is useful nevertheless for the purpose of this chapter to register the conclusion reached by González Olle concerning them, namely that the great majority of the diminutives used in them are of a caritative nature, "en su gran mayoría, los diminutivos poseen en Berceo una carácter afectivo (cariño, compasión, etc.)"^{2/}

A glance at another work by Miguel Asín Palacios, Contribución a la toponimia árabe de España,^{3/} shows that the Arabic toponymy of Spain abounds in diminutives. This fact is in itself striking when one considers that there is nothing even remotely analogous with it in countries outside Spain where the influences of the Arab occupation have been much more lasting. Place names of a diminutive form can indeed be found in Jāhili literature, and they do make an appearance in Al-Mutanabbī's poetry,^{4/} but they are relatively few, and where they do appear it can safely be argued that they are in the majority of cases lexical diminutives or that they are simply

1) Literature of the Spanish People, p. 74 and Chapter III in Los sufijos, pp. 9-32.

2) Los sufijos, p. 17.

3) This work leaves a large body of material unexamined.

4) See, for example, Dīwān, p. 401, where /Ghuwayr/ and /Buyayda/ appear as names of places with scanty water.

diminutives denoting size.

Some of the Arabic diminutive place-names which survive in one form or another in Spain often clearly display an element of affection or endearment. Examples of these are /Adzuirā/ (Valencia) from /al-zuhayra/ which has also given /Suera/ in Castellón and /Zuera/ in Saragossa. Very aptly Asín Palacios translates the name in each case as "bonita". ^{1/} This affective content can perhaps be discerned in that there also seems to be a clear preference for the feminine form of the diminutive in place-names. Examples of these are numerous: /Romaila/ (Toledo) and /Romilla/ (Granada) deriving from /rumayla/ which Asín Palacios translates as "pequeña rambla"; /Silla/ (Valencia) deriving from /al-suhayla/ translated by Asín Palacios as "planita"; /Sueca/ (Valencia) deriving from /suwayqa/ ^{2/} "mercadillo"; /Zucayna/ (Castellón) deriving from /sukayna/ "casita"; and /Zujayra/ (Granada) deriving from /ṣukhayra/ "peñuela".

Another and a related aspect of the pervading nature of the diminutive in Spanish must not go unnoticed here. It is the fact that after the reconquest Spaniards quite often added Spanish diminutive suffixes to existing Arabic names. ^{3/} But perhaps of greater interest is

1) Toponimia árabe, pp. 43, 135 and 145 respectively.

2) AP (ibid., p. 135) points out the fact that Yāqūt refers to three places of this name in the East, and that Idrīsī refers to one in Africa.

3) AP refers to this practice in the introduction to his work Toponimia árabe, pp. 22-24, as well as to the practice of adding the /s/ of the Spanish plural to names of Arabic origin. As examples of the latter he gives: /Azores/, /Algeciras/, /Ramblas/, etc.

the fact that quite as often, and in all probability, unaware of the fact that the original place-names are Arabic diminutives, they appended to them one or other of their numerous diminutive suffixes. Examples of this are again not hard to come by: /Alborágicos/ (Albacete), a Spanish diminutive of /Alborache/ or /Alborax/ both deriving from /al-burayja/ "torrecilla" ^{1/} and /Albufereta/ (Alicante), a Spanish diminutive of /Albufera/, or Arabic /al-buhayra/.

It would perhaps have been sufficient for the purpose of our discussion here to refer to one of the main conclusions at which Asín Palacios arrives in his survey of the Arabic toponymy in Spain, and that is that the most predominant morphological form among the Spanish place-names of Arabic origin is the Arabic diminutive, masculine and feminine, "el tipo morfológico que más abunda es el diminutivo árabe, masculino o femenino". ^{2/} Of these the author proffers no less than 42 examples. ^{3/} But this discussion was started with the double purpose of demonstrating the predominance and pervasive nature of the diminutive in Spain as well as to show that its content is primarily caritative. I have little doubt that motives of affection and endearment, as /Adzaira/ or /al-zuhayra/ exemplify, are behind most of the names of diminutive form, Spanish or Arabic, applied to various little corners and tracts of

1) Ibid., p. 49.

2) Ibid., p. 25.

3) Ibid., pp. 25-26.

Spanish soil. ^{1/} The diminutive, so to speak, was one field in which Spain conquered its conquerors. Ibn Quzman seems to have succumbed to this conquest. The poets writing in classical Arabic, in my view, remained on the whole unaffected by the influence of the land they lived in. ^{2/}

But should the preceding conclusion concerning the caritative nature of the diminutive in place-names seem a subjective view, it is important to note that Arabic and Hebrew proper names and appellations were often on account of familiarity, intimacy and affection given various Romance diminutive suffixes. J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, who has done a special study of Romance adjectival desinences in the names of Spanish Jews ^{3/} seems to have no doubts about the fact that the majority of names of a Romance derivation are those formed with diminutive suffixes and that these suffixes invariably implied love, intimacy and familiarity:

"Los onomásticos de derivación románica más comunmente empleados por nuestros judíos son los formados con las desinencias de diminutivos: ellus (ell, el, iel) y olus (ol, uel). Son tantos que indican incluso una cierta tendencia sentimental hacia el diminutivo como signo de familiaridad, cariño, intimidad". ^{4/}

1) It is the same affection and attachment, in my view, which makes Spaniards address so many touching songs or coplas to their towns and villages. See Brenan, op. cit., p. 333.

2) Needless to say literary works of a popular nature are more prone to the use of the diminutive and particularly in its caritative function. This is the main reason which González Olle offers for its absence from the epic and from works of a didactic nature. See Los sufijos, pp. 7 and 9.

3) "Desinencias adjectivales romances", pp. 125-133.

4) Op. cit., pp. 130-131.

González Olle, who quotes the preceding statement by Millás Vallicrosa ^{1/} says that there are testimonies attesting to this tendency as early as the 10th century, and hence, as he says, quoting Millás Vallicrosa again:

"Son innumerable los apellidos llevados por judíos que son formados con las desinencias de diminutivos: ellus (ell, el, ello), y se encuentra esta desinencia afectando ya a raíces, o sea positivos árabes, hebraicos o romances." ^{2/}

Nor is it difficult to trace Romance diminutive suffixes appended to Arabic proper names and appellations, and it must be added, again with apparent implications of endearment, love or approbation. These can be traced in literary and historical works, and are fairly compellingly attested in Spanish Arabic anecdote.

In /kharja/ n^o 3 in Stern ^{3/} we have the Arabic term standardized at an early date in Romance, cid, ^{4/} with the Romance diminutive suffix ello added to it:

"Des cand meu Cidello venid
tan bona 'l-biṣāra
com rayo de sol esid
en Wādi 'l-Hijāra"

Stern translates:

"Depuis que mon Cidello vient, si bonne est la nouvelle, il se lève comme le rayon du soleil à Guadalajara."

It will be noticed that Stern writes "Cidello" with a capital letter. This is because as he explains

1) Los sufijos, p. 119.

2) "Desinencias adjetivales romances", p. 131 and Los sufijos, p. 119.

3) Les chansons, pp. 3-4.

4) The term appears in its Arabic form with a pronominal suffix, /sīdī/, in various other /kharja/s. See n^o 111 in Stern and n^{os} I and XX in GG.

in his commentary on the /kharja/ Cidello was the sobriquet of the visitor to Guadalajara who is the subject of the /kharja/, Yosef Ibn Ferrusiēl who was a courtier of King Alfonso VII. This fact, coupled with the joyous tone of the verses at meeting the Cidello, exclude any possibility of a pejorative sense being implied in the Romance diminutive. If anything it is overtly welcoming and endearing. It is doubtful whether a courtier of the king would be addressed in a term implying scorn or diminution.

In the light of this, the great offence that the /faqīh/ Abū Muḥammad `Abd-Allāh Ibn Sahl (d. 1088) took, in the story related by Al-Dabbī, ^{1/} upon hearing a young man by the name of Muḥammad being repeatedly called by the seemingly hypocristic form Muḥammadell, must have been the result of a purely personal reaction that the name of the Prophet should be treated improperly.

Millás Vallicrosa who quotes this anecdote from Al-Dabbī ^{2/} comments:

"Aquí tenemos atestiguado el empleo del diminutivo romance con nombres árabes como expresión de familiaridad cariñosa, medio expresivo que no sería compartido por el puritano alfaquí - célebre en la lectura del Alcorán - que reaccionó de un modo tan violento."

Both Menéndez Pidal ^{3/} and González Olle ^{4/} cite

1) Al-Dabbī, Bughya, p. 332. This anecdote is quoted by Menéndez Pidal, Orígenes, p. 151; González Olle, Los sufijos, pp. 114-115; and Millás Vallicrosa, "Desinencias adjetivales romances", p. 131.

2) See preceding note.

3) Orígenes, pp. 134 and 150.

4) Los sufijos, pp. 118-119.

a wide range of Arabic proper names or nicknames which have a diminutive Romance suffix added to them and of which Amrel, Haçanel, Maimonell and Murziel ^{1/} are only a few examples.

x x x x x x x

That most of the diminutives used by Ibn Quzmān are caritatives in nature should not, in the light of the preceding, be difficult to demonstrate. When Ibn Quzmān uses the term /zujayyal/ to refer to his zajals, as he does quite often, ^{2/} he does not mean to refer to short zajals, since the poems to which he refers with this term are invariably (except perhaps for zajal 80) long zajals. Nor, quite naturally, does he intend the term to convey any pejorative sense in regard to his own compositions.

Zajal 2, a zajal of ten strophes, is one in which the term /zujayyal/ appears twice. In the first instance (strophe 7) the poet expresses his fondness for someone who is neither veracious nor forthcoming in his love, and decides to barter with him a /zujayyal/ for a /qubayla/:^{3/}

/qad banayt ^{4/} an nufaddīh fī zujayyal qubayla
wash fī dhā law `aṭāhā lī qabla an nufaddīh/

`I have decided to offer as a ransom a /zujayyal/ for
a brief kiss,

What harm would it do him if he should give it to me

before I pay the ransom'

1) González Olle, op. cit., p. 119, explains this term as "murcianito, diminutivo del gentilicio Murcí".

2) See the list of diminutives at the end of this chapter.

3) The equivalent for this in Spanish is "besito".

4) This could possibly be /nawayt/, on the other hand it could have the classical meaning 'to do good'.

It is quite clear from the context that both these diminutives, /zujayyal/ and /qubayla/, are the expression of an admiring and fond pent-up passion.

In the second instance (strophe 10) the diminutive clearly and eloquently portrays the poet's admiration for his composition:

/qad tammantu 'l-zujayyal wa-hū min qalbī maqṭū'
wa-jā min sihrī Bābil wa-mina 'l-durri majmū'
tasma'u 'l-nāsa yaqūlū inna dhā yākhi maṭbū'/
'I have completed my /zujayyal/. It is a fragment

of my own heart,

It is of the charms of Babylon; a string of pearls, ^{magic?}

You hear people on all sides exclaim: "Indeed this is
authentic verse!"'

Likewise, in zajal 56 (12 strophes) the admiration of the poet for his zajal is expressed in this exclamation, (strophe 12):

/ayy^{1/}zujayyal qultu fīk wa-malīh jā wa 'l-rasūl/
'/ayy^{1/}zujayyal/ I have addressed to you, and comely
it is, by the Prophet'

Nor could the diminutive /usayyam/ ^{2/}(zajal 9, strophe 26) be construed as anything but a caritative, even if the context did not clearly reveal it as such:

/yā usayyam mā aḥabba kullunā fīk
ḥaraza 'l-lāhu `alayna hādḥā 'l-isam/
'Oh sweet name, how much we all cherish you,
May God guard for us that name'

1) /Ayy/ expresses surprise when it governs an indefinite noun in the genitive. See Wright, op. cit., II, p. 316.

2) Classical diminutive /sumayy/.

It is unnecessary to go into this in any greater detail. /Khudaydāt/, /ḍuraysāt/, /nuhaydāt/ do not mean it is little cheeks or little teeth or small bosom which the poet is admiring, but rather are they an expression of the feelings of tenderness and extreme fondness they arouse in him. /Khudayma/, likewise is not a little housemaid, but the much cherished, because so much needed, companion and domestic help of someone living alone like the poet. Nor can the imagination take in what the poet could mean by /khumayra/ if the term is not purely caritative. Indeed, where the term appears (zajal 89, strophe 9) the poet makes his feelings clear by the epithet with which /khumayra/ is followed, namely /raqīqa/. The epithet is indeed the reflection of his own delicate sensibilities towards wine. Both the diminutive and the epithet are pure caritatives. What is impossible to imagine here is that the poet is asking for a small measure of wine.

In zajal 19 (strophe 7) the poet uses the diminutive /ʿuzaymāt/ to help draw a picture of the dreariness of his house and its extreme poverty:

/law tarā baytī kattarā bayt asad
fīhi ʿuzaymāt wa-silsila wa-watad/

ʿIf you saw my house, you would see how much like a ^{den's}
den it is,

With a few bones, a chain, and a solitary peg'

/ʿUzaymāt/ could not possibly be an insensitive cold reference to the size of the bones. Nor could it refer to the fewness of their number. The picture is drawn with a poetic excellence which does not admit

of such interpretations.

The situation the poet draws in this zajal is that he was totally taken unawares; he did not realize that the cold weather had set in until he saw the beloved housemaid, and he names her, /Zād al-Māl/ spreading the woollen house rugs and packing away the light Summer mats. He is in need of a raiment the price of which he hopes his patron, to whom the zajal is addressed, will be moved to provide. His house is as bare as he is, and for a long time he has not tasted a decent piece of meat. /ʿUḡaymāt/, it can safely be concluded, is meant to arouse his patron's compassion. It is yet another caritative.

In fact, it is reasonable to conclude that the diminutive of size or the diminutive with a pejorative connotation of scorn or disdain are very much the exception in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān. Besides, when a diminutive of size appears it is likely to be a lexical diminutive, as, for example, when /ʿuḡayyā/ appears in zajal 11, last /qufl/, as part of a traditional saying. ^{1/}

The great majority of the diminutives used by Ibn Quzmān, therefore, are caritatives. Like the diminutives in the Romance /kharja/s, in the poetry of Berceo, in the hypocristic or diminutive forms of names used in the days of Ibn Quzmān, the diminutives used by

1) /al-walad min qarḍi wāldu wa 'l-'aḡā mina 'l-'uḡayyā/.

the poet are an expression of internalised, ^{1/} encapsulated feeling. It is my view too that the richness, the spate of diminutive suffixes in the names of herbs and plants in the poet's days as displayed in Kitāb 'Umdat al-Ṭabīb, are in their turn an expression of a deep-seated sensitivity towards nature. We have already seen the poet in some of his verses turning the spotlight inwards, and subordinating external descriptions of nature to a process of introspection and self-communion. These occasions, although rare, when his many needs and desires were not getting the better of him are when he proves himself a genuine poet. The internalised note and the purely functional rather than ornamental antithesis in the following two verses, was rare in the muwashshahs and contemporary Hispano-Arabic poetry descriptive of nature:

/wa-las nakhallī bāb dārī maghlūq

wa-dhā 'l-nuwwār qad fataḥ lī alwānu/

(Zajal 122, strophe 6)

'I would not leave the door of my house shut

When the blossoms have opened up their vistas of
colour for me'

The diminutives in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān partake of this same introspective expression. In their frequency in his zajals and their relative absence from Arabic poetry, and primarily in the caritative nature which permeates them they bear the mark of Spanish or Romance influence on the poet.

1) See Deyermond, op. cit., p. 8.

In continuation I enumerate here the various diminutives which appear in the zajals of the poet and the forms they take. It will be seen that they display the same conformity with and divergence from the classical Arabic forms of the diminutive which we have already seen as characteristic of the poet's language, syntax, metrical patterns, /mu`aradāt/ or imitations of muwashshahs - the same irregularity which we have seen pervade even the seemingly colloquial idiom used at times by the poet. ^{1/}

1. Diminutives formed on the classical pattern CuCayC:

<u>Diminutive</u>	<u>Zajal</u>
(masculine singular)	
/ḥulayy/	27, 54, 69, 107, 108, 124
/dhuhayb(ah)/	92
/dhuhayb(a)/	63
/junayḥ/	29
/ṣubayy/	69, 115, 124, 139
/ʿubayb(ah)/ ^{2/}	23
/ʿunayq(a)/	67
(masculine plural)	
/khudaydāt/	10, 69, 116
/ḍuraysāt/	10, 56, 87, 133
/nuhaydāt/	10
(feminine singular)	
/tukaykah/	777

1) See above, pp. 180-181.

2) Nykl and GG read this as /ʿutaybah/. Both readings are credible and possible.

<u>Diminutive</u>	<u>Zajal</u>
(feminine singular)	
/ḥujaylah/	67
/ḥuṭayba/	67
/ḥuzaymah/	10 (twice)
/ḥulayya/	130
/ḥuwayja/	84, 71, 76
/khudaymah/	19
/khusayfa/	135
/khuzaymah/	10
/khumayrah/	89
/duwayrah/	63, 68, 87, 88
/duwayra/	21
/duwayla/	50
/suway`ah/	87 (twice)
/shuraybah/	11, 23, 45, 62, 90
/shurayba/	94
/shubaykah/	87
/ṣubayya/	130
/ʿuṣayya/	11
/qubaylah/	114, 116, 126
/qudayr(an)/ <u>1</u> /	85
/qurayfah/	142
/qurayyah/	83
/quṣaybah/	87
/quṣayfah/	84
/quṭayrah/	113

1) In proper classical usage the feminine / : / should be "restored" to the diminutive of such a feminine trilateral noun, i.e. /qudayrah/, although /qudayr/ is a possible case.

<u>Diminutive</u>	<u>Zajal</u>
(feminine singular)	
/kusayra/	35
/kulaymah/	10
/luqaymah/	10
/lutaymah/	10
/muhayja/	50
/nujaymah/	10
/nushaymah/	10
/nughaymah/	10
/nufaysah/	87
/nuqayṭa/	11
(feminine plural)	
/khuwaykhāt/	19
/sulaykhāt/	93
/ṣuhayfāt/	48
/ṣufay`āt/	89
/`uzaymāt/	19
/`uwaynāt/ <u>1/</u>	122
/qulaylāt/	94

2. Diminutives of triliteral nouns of the non-classical pattern CuCayyaC:

/usayyam/ <u>2/</u>	9
/julayyad/	118
/khubayyar/	84

1) The classical Arabic diminutive is /`uyaynāt/ or possibly /`iyaynāt/.

2) Classical diminutive /sumayy/.

<u>Diminutive</u>	<u>Zajal</u>
/ruwayyas/	8
/zujayyal/	2 (twice), 34, 56, 59, 80, 92.
/shurayyab/ <u>1</u> /	11
/shuwayyakh/	12
/`udayyal/	92
/`umayyal/	24
/ghurayyad/	60
/wujayyah/	129

The nearest classical Arabic pattern to the preceding, CuCayyiC, is one proper to quadriliteral nouns, as, for example, /kutayyib/ < /kitāb/.

3. Diminutives of quadriliteral nouns of a non-classical pattern:

/humayyam/	132
/khurayyaf/	91
/shurayyab/	11
/ghuzayyal/	66
/nusayyam/	43

These are irregular only in regard to the vowel of the final syllable.

4. Other diminutives of quadriliteral and quinqueliteral nouns of a non-classical pattern:

/khudaymah/	19 (classical diminutive: /khuwaydimah/)
/sukaykan/	82 (classical diminutive: /sukaykin/)

1) This is classified here although its derivation from /sharāb/ and not /shurb/ is just as likely.

<u>Diminutive</u>	<u>Zajal</u>
/musaykan/ <u>1</u> /	2 (classical diminutive /musaykīn/)
/qufayfāt/	24 (classical diminutive /quwayfāt/)
/mu`ayshaq/ <u>2</u> /	9, 11 (classical diminutive /mu`ayshīq/)

5. Non-classical diminutives of trilateral nouns formed
by internal gemination: 3/

/rukaykan/ <u>4</u> /	88 (classical diminutive /rukayn/)
/shufayfāt/	13, 37, 53, 56, 71, 87, 114, 122, 129, 134, 140 (classical diminutive /shufayhāt/)

1) This appears in its classical form /musaykīn/ in a
zajal by the poet picked from Safīnat Ibn Mubārakshāh,
Al-`Āṭil, p. 200.

2) In zajal 9, strophe 11, where this word appears in
the dual form Nykl transcribes it as /mu`ayšatein/ - but
there is no reason to doubt the reading /mu`ayshaqayn/
in the light of the context, and when the same diminutive
appears in the singular in zajal 11, strophe 4. It also
appears twice in a zajal by the poet in Al-`Āṭil, p. 201.

3) Rare classical instances of this do occur, as, for
example, /`ushayshah/ and /`ushayshiyah/ as diminutives
of /`ashiyah/.

4) Nykl in his transcription of the Dīwān reads this
/rukbakan/ which makes no sense. GG likewise transliterates
/f-ad-dukaikani/ (TBQ I, p. 452). Ahwani reads it
/rukaykan/ (Al-Zajal, p. 176).

<u>Diminutive</u>	<u>Zajal</u>
/fumaymah/	10, 62, 133, 141, (classical diminutive /fuwayh/)
/quṭayṭan/	11 (classical diminutive /quṭayn/)

With this group should be included the plural diminutive form /dushayshāt/, zajal 92, strophe 1, of the Romance word /dūsh/ meaning wine or a certain variety of it. ^{1/} That this is the case is born by the fact that /dūsh/ appears again in zajal 96, strophe 12, in a context which gives ample credence to this interpretation of it. ^{2/}

6. Diminutives of quadriliteral adjectives of a non-classical pattern:

/usayman/	145
/ushayqar/	1
/sumayra/	45

These, except for the last one, are irregular in regard to the vowel of the final syllable. But this group, with which I like to include the adjective /shaqrānī/ (zajal 137), is of special interest in view of the corresponding forms which are predominant in

1) See Enciclopedia del idioma, article "dulce".

2) GG, however, while reading the plural /dushayshāt/ in zajal 92 as an Arabic term which he translates as "papillas" (TBQ I, p. 477), seems to interpret the singular /dush/ in zajal 96 as a romancismo which he translates as the Romance numeral "dos", (TBQ I, p. 500 and note 6, p. 503). See also TBQ III, pp. 426-427).

the Romance /kharja/s. In the latter, as we have seen, the Spanish diminutive endings ello and the feminine ella are suffixed to various Arabic words; and of special interest to us here are such terms as samarello ^{1/}(equivalent to our /usaymar/ and /sumayra/), and shaqrella ^{2/}(equivalent to our /ushayqar/ and /shaqrānī/).

1) Stern, Les chansons mozarabes, n^o 32 and GG, "Veinticuatro jarchas romances", n^o XIII.

2) For this and for hamrella (/uḥaymir/) see GG, ibid., /kharja/ n^o XIV.

A P P E N D I X I

Erroneous Readings in the zajals
of Ibn Quzmān

This appendix is not intended to be exhaustive, nor could it remotely be considered as such. There has now been more than one partial or complete edition of the Dīwān of Ibn Quzmān as pointed out in the preface to this work. Leaving aside the faults and uncertainties of the manuscript which can often lend themselves to various readings, it is a simple truism to state here that Ibn Quzmān's poetry, like all poetry, can lend itself to various interpretations. The extent of the confusion and outright distortion which the manuscript of the Dīwān displays, can only be gauged from those few zajals whose text is unredeemably confused in the Dīwān and of which fragmentary versions have come to light in other sources. These few cases show quite clearly the futility of any attempt at reconstruction where the text is faulty, as no reconstruction can equal a new version which comes to light, and which seems to carry within itself a sufficient cogency of its authenticity. A simple example should suffice to show what is meant here and the extent to which the text has been marred by the copyist:

Zajal 146 is a panegyric of five strophes in which the poet tells his patron (strophe 4) that the sound of his name is like the taste of wine tempered with water:

the copyist and the transmitter of the poet's zajals.

Here is the preceding strophe as it appears in Al-`Ātil: ^{1/}

اسمك ابو بكر ان تسما

مثل مذاق المدام بالما

جائز هو لا تخمزون لما

قلت مكان المدام مدامه

It will be seen how much more coherent and clear the third /ghuṣṣn/ appears in this version.

While the changes in the previous version (3rd /ghuṣṣn/) could be attributable to the way the copyist heard what was dictated or, just as likely, to a confused version from his informer, the change of name in the first /ghuṣṣn/ can only be the result of a different tradition of the zajal or a lapse of memory concerning it.

This appendix, however, will not be primarily concerned with readings which have attempted to make sense out of a confused and clearly corrupt script, but those readings which seem to bear the mark of clear conjecture where the sense is fairly straightforward and the copyist's incompetence is easy to discern. I have already examined the case where the copyist writes /masqūl/ for the more usual /maṣqūl/ and how this has led to the Arabic term being considered and interpreted as a Romance derivation,^{2/} notwithstanding the anomalies arising from such an interpretation.

1) Ed. Hoenerbach, p. 43.

2) See above, Chapter II, pp. 42-47.

To take another example of this, in the zajal which has just been examined (146) the poet, lauding his patron, seems to tell him in a number of similes (strophe 3) that his house is foremost or first in rank and dignity among other houses, or as he puts it in the /qufl/ of the same strophe:

او صورة الحمد فالامامه

García Gómez failing to see that /ṣūrat/ is yet another copyist's mistake for /sūrat/ transliterates:

/au sūrat al-ḥamdi f-al-amāma/ ^{1/}

He consequently translates:

"o como es la "alāma" en los escritos" ^{2/}

Yet, rather surprisingly, he adds in a note to his translation:

"La idea es clarísima: los miembros de esa familia son visires; pero el visirato no es su mérito, como el borlón de la capucha del albornoz, ^{3/} o una marca, como la "alāma" que autentificaba los escritos salidos de una cancellería regia." ^{4/}

The /qufl/ in question makes no mention of royal chancelleries, or documents proceeding from them. As /ṣūrat/ is a clear copyist's mistake for /sūrat/ ^{5/} or sura, the reference by the poet is quite clearly to the very first sura of the Qur'ān properly

1) TBQ, II, p. 724.

2) Ibid., p. 725.

3) This is GG's translation of the preceding /ghuṣn/.

4) Ibid., note 3, pp. 724-725.

5) The emphatic and non-emphatic letters are often confused with each other in the text of the Dīwān. See, for example, zajal. 95, strophe 4, where /astahī/ is written for /astahī/.

known as /sūrat al-Fātiḥa/ but popularly known, on account of the opening word in it, /al-ḥamdu/¹ as /sūrat al-ḥamd/ or simply /al-ḥamdu/. This is the name by which this sura is known in many Arab countries nowadays (e.g. Iraq) except perhaps among the literati. The meaning of the /qufl/ quoted above is then clear: The house of the patron lauded by the poet is foremost among other houses as /sūrat al-ḥamd/ or /al-Fātiḥa/ is foremost among the suras of the Qur'ān.

The situation of course becomes more serious when conjectures in interpretation like this are used by scholars in order to deduce some biographical data about Ibn Quzmān.

In zajal 145 the poet uses a metaphor, to which he resorts fairly often, in order to describe the cares and worries, or, better still, the sea of troubles he had landed in as a result of the implacable self-will of his beloved and his impenitence. For a long time, it seems, the beloved had given him the cold shoulder, and as a result he felt like someone stuck in a sea of worries and anguish at a time when he did not know how to keep himself afloat and had never seen the sea:

ترى نا الصدود كم يدوم

اش تعمل ابى يا مشوم

نشبت فبحر الهموم

وبالله ما ندرى نعوم

ولا ريت قط البحر

1) /Al-ḥamdu li 'l-lāhi rabbi 'l-'ālamīn.../.

A.R. Nykl, missing the metaphor, seems to have taken this literally and deduces from it as a result, among other biographical data, that the poet "could not swim and had never seen the sea". ^{1/} What is even more surprising is that Nykl seems to have been so convinced of the certainty of this conclusion to the point that he finds no difficulty in squaring this, and on the same page, with the statement that the poet's constant travels had carried him among other places, to Málaga, Almería and Valencia. ^{2/}

Notwithstanding the fact that this same metaphor, although in different forms, appears in three other zajals of the poet, ^{3/} García Gómez too seems to have missed the definite metaphorical nature of strophe 10 in zajal 145. In a comment on this strophe he says that someone, implying perhaps Nykl, has taken this seriously; that there is no such thing, and that Ibn Quzmān had seen the sea quite often, in Málaga not to go much further. He then adds, that nor is it certain that Ibn Quzmān did not know how to swim, that on other occasions he says that he did, and that he speaks the way he finds fit in each case. ^{4/}

In the light of all this, what this appendix will perhaps help to do is to clear the misconceptions

1) Hispano-Arabic Poetry, p. 268.

2) Loc. cit.

3) Zajal 9, strophe 3: /awwadhānī fī baḥri hajru na'ūm/; zajal 31, strophe 4; and zajal 22, strophe 2 in "Neue Materialien zum Zagal", p. 292 (Al-'Ātil, pp. 192-193) which is n^o 158 in TBQ, II, p. 764.

4) TBQ, II, note 3, p. 721.

behind some of the conjectures in the interpretation of the zajal, sometimes bordering on the wild. It will, in other words, emphasize the need to turn the zajals of Ibn Quzmān into a sound premise before any conclusions are drawn from them, or before any far-reaching theories are made about their metre or their genesis.

For purposes of brevity and easy reference in this appendix the use of the terms /ghuṣn/, /qufl/, /simṭ/, etc. will be relinquished and verse (v) will instead be used, to refer to any particular hemistich within a strophe. Both the number of the strophe and the verse will be given.

№ 1

Strophe 2, v. 3,

/wāhid yuthnī khayr wa-ākhar yuzakkī/

Translate:

'One speaks well (of him) and another commends
the testimony (to his goodness).'

This could not be translated "uno lo aprueba y otro lo desaprueba" (Nykl),

or "no es igual hablar que dar azaque" (García Gómez).

№ 7

Strophe 10, v. 3,

Read: /bi-shaflāq/, i.e. 'a kick in the back' ¹/

/wa-maḍā 'l-bāṭil mushayya' bi-shaflāq/

1) /Chillāqa/ in present day Iraq.

`Lying and falsehood departed, seen off with a kick
in the back' 1/

№ 10

Strophe 4, v. 4,

Read: /khuzayma/, i.e. `a twiglet of lavender' 2/

№ 13

Strophe 8, v. 4,

Read: /masqūl/ or /maṣqūl/, i.e. `furbished', `polished'.

No semantic link of any form with Romance. 3/

Strophe 15, v. 4,

Read: /muḥannan/, i.e. `meticulously weighed or measured'. 4/

№ 16

Strophe 11, v. 2,

Read: /al-ithim/, i.e. `sin'.

Thus: /man akal min dhā 'l-'inab 'anqūd fa-qad ḡalam
innamā hu 'indiya 'l-mahmūd shurbu 'l-ithim/

Due to the fact that some diacritical points
are missing or not legible, Stern reads this as /al-anam/ 5/
which makes no sense, but he adds in a note that some
parts of this strophe are unintelligible to him.

1) GG reads /bi-tiflāq/ and his translation accordingly
is off the point.

2) See on the various readings of this the detailed
comment above, pp. 47-50.

3) See a detailed discussion of this above, pp. 42-47.

4) This is read /muḥaddar/ by GG.

5) Studies on Ibn Quzmān, p. 390.

García Gómez, on the other hand, changes this term in his edition to /al-mudām/ without adding any notes to indicate the apparent amendment to the text.

What the poet is saying is that whoever eats a bunch of grapes transgresses because what is commendable or praiseworthy to him is /shurb al-ithim/, i.e. 'drinking or imbibing sin', implying, of course, consuming the grapes as wine and not as a fruit.

№ 18

Strophe 4, v. 1,

Read: /bi-l-lāhi ya ṣāhibī/

García Gómez transliterates: /yā ṣāḥbay/ and explains in a note ¹/ that this is a form of address in the dual to two friends, in keeping with the conventions of the classical /qaṣīda/. He consequently finds himself obliged to read /qul lī/ in the same verse as /qulā lī/. This, of course, seems totally incompatible if this poetry is colloquial, as García Gómez would have it, and if it is not, then the only likely forms would be /yā ṣāḥibayya/ or dropping the final vowel, /yā ṣāḥibayy/.

№ 19

Strophe 4, v. 2,

لم يفكر في الحر وقت نزال

Read: /lam nufakkir fī 'l-ḥanni waqtan zāl/

This is yet another instance which gives ground to the

1) TBQ, I, note 3, p. 97.

probability that the Dīwān of Ibn Quzmān was a dictated copy. The final /n/ of the /tanwīn/ in /waqtan/ is written with the following verb which appears as /nzāl/. Tuulio transliterates:

/lam yufakkar fī 'l-ḥanni waqta yazāl/

And García Gómez:

/lam nufakkir fī aiyi waqta az-zawāl/

Needless to say that such readings make the accompanying translations seem nothing less than wild conjectures.

Strophe 4, v. 3,

Read: /ḥattā ra'aytu 'l-khudayma Zāda 'l-Māl/

The emphasis here is on the capital letters in what is clearly the proper name of the servant. Tuulio translates:

"- (et ainsi de suite) jusqu'à ce que je visse la servante (du marchand) - puisse (Allāh) faire croître l'opulence!" 11/

Nº 20

Strophe 14, v. 2,

Read: /lā ākharan ajwad/

This is yet another case in which the copyist has appended the /n/ of the /tanwīn/ of one word to the word following it:

لا آخرا ناجود

1.) Ibn Quzmān, p. 16.

Strophe 17, v. 4,

Read: /kisā'an yarārī/ 1/

/yarārī/ means 'see-through (dress or material)' and the term is still used in some Arab countries (e.g. Iraq) to mean that.

Strophe 29, v. 4,

Read: /ḥaqq law kānat ḥājatak an tumārī/ 2/

It is difficult to see how or why García Gómez tries to read a Romance term tomare into this straightforward Arabic verse, although seemingly aware of the third form of the verb /marā/. 3/ In order to sustain his reading he then finds it necessary to change the equally clear /ḥājatak/ in the verse into /dābbatak/, and to change /kānat/, again arbitrarily, into /kabar/. These changes, besides disguising the clear sense of the verse, totally impair the element of parallelism and logical sequence between this verse (the last in the zajal) and the verse preceding it. This penultimate verse reads (as transliterated by García Gómez):

/in kānat ḥāga, namdī fīha rājil/

'If there is any need (of mine) I go after it on foot'

This is followed by what seems to be only its logical sequence:

/ḥaqq law kānat ḥājatak an tumārī/

1) Tuulio reads /tara'ri'/ while GG reads /badarī/ and translates "ropa nueva".

2) This is how Nykl has read this verse although he gives no translation of it.

3) See TBQ, III, note 34, p. 384.

'It is only right if you have a need that you be
relentless (in pursuing it)'

This and other similar examples in the course
of this appendix seem to make it clear that once the
theory was postulated that the zajal was part of a
Romance Spanish tradition, the tendency, quite naturally,
was to exaggerate the Romance element in it, and this
has happened in no small measure in the work of García
Gómez.

Nº 22

Strophe 5, v. 3,

Read: /wa-innamā fī ghilābi 'l-ḥussād/ 1/

1) GG transliterates: /wa-innamā fa-gulāf al-ḥussād/. In
this case the manuscript is fairly clear, and any variations
in reading seem to be occasioned by a misunderstanding of
the text. It would not perhaps have been necessary to point
out such variations if the translations which accompany them
did not display a serious impairment of the poet's actual
intentions and his artistry. The edition and translation
of GG suffers at times from confusion in the designation of
the subject and object in a particular context, with the
inevitable misrepresentation that can result from that. In
strophe 5 of zajal 22, for example, the poet says about his
body that it is the lightest of bodies with all the charm
and wit of Iraq and the grace and elegance of Baghdad, but
that when it comes to a contest with those who envy him, it
turns out heavier and much more of a burden than /الفرسخ العجالي/
He does not say that the envy of his rivals constitutes such
a ponderous weight or "pésame el rencor de mis rivales, más
que parasanga carretera" as GG puts it (TBQ I, p. 123).
Likewise in strophe 4 the poet enjoins everybody to drink in
spite of the strictures of the /fuqahā'/ and then addresses
an "irreverent" term to the mother of anyone who abstains
even if Al-Ghazzālī should be standing over his head or, so
to speak, breathing down his neck. But in no way is an
offence addressed or implied to Al-Ghazzālī, as the
translation by GG would imply, nor does the poet's statement
convey "ofensas a la madre de Algazel" (TBQ I, p. 120).

№ 24

Strophe 3, v. 3,

Read: /bi khiyāṭatin/

Strophe 3, v. 4,

Read: /al-khiyāṭāt/

Strophe 11, v. 4,

Read: /wa-ʿl-qufayfāt/

In all these three cases the text is fairly clear. There is no /tashdīd/ in the first two, and the diminutive, although irregular, is also clear in the third case. The readings of García Gómez /bi-ḥaiyāṭatan/, //al-ḥaiyāṭāt/ and /wa-l-qāfiyāt/ ^{1/} respectively would in each case impair the /fāʿilatun/ foot of the dimeter /ramal/. Besides, introducing the instrumental preposition /bi/ on /ḥaiyāṭatan/- 'seamstress' or sastra as García Gómez translates - is rather odd whether one is dealing with classical or vulgar Arabic.

№ 25

Strophe 4, v. 4,

Read: /fī afdālu/

№ 26

Strophe 3, v. 4,

Read: /muqarnas/, ^{2/} i.e. with the eyes sewn over (of a

1) The poet uses the proper classical form of this plural in zajal 2, strophes 5 and 9.

2) GG does not translate this term, and translates only what follows it. It does not, as he states, appear in zajal 82, strophe 6, or zajal 105, strophe 3. It is a participle used as an adjective, while the term in 105 is a clear substantive. In zajal 82 this term is clearly arbitrarily introduced by GG.

falcon the moment it is caught) and hence as good as blind.

Nº 36

Strophe 1, v. 3,

Read: /dallaltū/, 1/ i.e. 'I pampered and spoiled him'.

Strophe 1, v. 4,

Read: /dallalū/, i.e. 'they spoiled and turned him coquettish (in the context his beautiful mouth and eyes)'.

Strophe 5, v. 3,

Read: /fa-dhikruhu `indī aḥla mina `l-ibrīz/

'The mention of his name is sweeter to me than pure gold'

García Gómez reads LIKRIZ in place of /ibrīz/ and explains that this is a Romance term "liquiritia" < likrīz (esp. moderno "regaliz)". 2/

Nº 39

Strophe 6, v. 4,

Read: /yudaqdiq qalb miqdām/, i.e. 'a bold audacious heart beats (with fear)'.

The text in this case, unlike nº 7 (strophe 1, v. 3) gives no cause for doubt, and gives no ground for the Romance reading MANDĀM suggested by García Gómez.

Contrary to his statement (TBQ III, p. 364), the Arabic

1) If this were /duliltu/ as GG reads it (TBQ I, p. 186) it would not need the /waw/ at the end which is a pronominal suffix.

2) TBQ, I, note 2, p. 189 and III pp. 411-412.

sense of the term /miqdām/ which he gives as "valeroso, arrojado, primero en el ataque" is quite consistent with the context, especially as it provides the element of antithesis with /yudaqdiq/ - 'beat with fear'. 1/

№ 40

Strophe 3, v. 4,

Read: /wa-yathbut min jadīd/ 2/

№ 42

Strophe 1, v. 5,

Read: /taḥsudak l-imrayya/, 3/ i.e. 'the mirror envies you (the radiance of your face)'.
.

№ 44

Strophe 6, v. 4,

Read: /kharrūb/

№ 46

Strophe 5, v. 4,

Read: /wa-min waq`i `l-zamīr//

1.) With /qalb/ being indefinite, it is difficult to see how the adverb MANDĀM can fit at the end of the sentence; GG leaves it out of his translation.

2.) GG transliterates /wa-tatbut mitl ḥadīd/, in which case /ḥadīd/ would have to be defined (whether the poetry is classical or vernacular). Besides, if we read this as /ḥadīd/, the poet would be unlikely to repeat the same rhyme word in the next but one strophe where the term /ḥadīd/ appears in the rhyme position.

3.) I suggest this as against GG's /taḥsudk al-Mariyya/ (TBQ I, p. 220) a suggestion which is well studied and argued (ibid., note 2, p. 223).

This reading is well confirmed by analogy with the first part of this verse and the latter part of the following one.

№ 51

Strophe 2, v. 2,

Read: /lam nahul ^{1/} `anhā qat/

Strophe 3, v. 5,

Read: /namzah wa-nahzil kasartu mundamaj/ ^{2/}

Strophe 4, v. 2,

Read: /na`īmī `l-atīm/, ^{3/} i.e. `my ample bliss or fortune`.

№ 54

Strophe 7, v. 5,

Read: /fa-qudaydu/, ^{4/} i.e. diminutive of /qadd/,
(`stature`, `figure`).

Strophe 8, v. 1,

Read: /lam tarid tazūl/, i.e. `she would not want to leave, or move`.

v. 2,

Read: /munniyat/, i.e. `she was made to desire or wish for`.

The consonantal content of this last term is /m.n.y.t/,

1) Both Neuvonen (op. cit., p. 6) and GG: (TBQ I, p. 262) read: /lam nahlu/. The following preposition with such a reading would have to be /min/ and not /an/.

2) See above, pp. 180-181.

3) GG: amends this to read /na`īmiy at-ṭamīm/ (his transliteration), TBQ I, p. 264.

4) Nykl. reads /qudaydu/, but GG: amends this to read /fa-qadru-hu/, ibid., p. 276.

and not /m.n.yy.t/ as pointed out by García Gómez (TBQ, I, p. 276). In fact, García Gómez amends this term drastically to read /min baitu/, and consequently finds that he has to amend other terms in the verse to accord with his reading.

№ 55

Strophe 9, v. 3,

Read: /yaṭla`/, an imperfect (subjunctive), since it is dependent on the verb /arāda/ in the previous verse. (The particle /an/ is omitted for metrical purposes). /Yaṭla`/ (rather than /taṭalla`/ in the text) is further confirmed by the element of antithesis with /habaṭ/ in the following verse.

№ 56

Strophe 5, v. 4,

Read: /idh narā `l-ṭarīq yuḍī` nadri annu fi `l-ṭarīq/

Strophe 9, v. 2,

Read: /`l-nakhīl/

v. 3,

Read: /yanbaghī liman `ashiq an yakūn ṣāhib qiṭa`/

The reading and translation of García Gómez display here again (see above, note 1, p.270) an element of confusion of the subject and object. The poet says that he who loves should be a man of means and not "debes dar tu amor a quien tenga dinero" (TBQ, I, p. 282). On account of this misunderstanding García Gómez comes to the conclusion (in the introduction to the zajal)

that this is not a love-poem, but the usual love-panegyric with motives of personal gain.

Two further remarks should be made here. Although /qiṭā`/ like /qiṭā`/ means 'wealth' or 'money', the reading /qiṭā`/ by García Gómez, besides involving an amendment to the text, constitutes a violation of the rhyming scheme. It also constitutes a violation of the metre, whose pattern in the two preceding verses is /fa`ilātun, fā`ilun/, and not /fā`ilātun, fā`ilān/.

The other point is that a proper reading of v. 3, as pointed out above, makes the following verse only seem to be its natural and logical sequent. He who loves, the poet says, should be a man of wealth. He adds (v. 4):

/fa-idhā kān ḍidda dhā fa-yakūn makkār rashīq/

'If he should be the opposite of that (i.e. poor),
then he should be crafty and smart'

This leaves little credence for the reading of /makkār/ by García Gómez as a Romance term maguer which he translates as "POR LO MENOS" (TBQ, I, p. 285).

№ 58

/maṭṭā`/, v. 1,

Read: /las/ 1/

v. 2,

Read: /wa-lāsiyyamā/ 2/

1) /lassu/ as read by GG implies /laysa/ with a pronominal suffix, while /las/ is the equivalent of the negative particle /lā/.

2) GG reads /wa-laisamā/.

Strophe 4, v. 1,

Read: /li-man yushtakā/

Although the use of the passive is so common in the zajals of Ibn Quzmān, to a point which prompted Ahwānī to say that:

الحامية الاندلسية ... احتفظت بالفعل المبنى للمجهول.

it is difficult to see why García Gómez reads a clearly vocalized /yushtakā/ as /yashtakā/, unless this is a printing mistake. (TBQ, I, p. 294).

№ 61

Strophe 5, v. 3,

Read: /kam wa-kam/ (for metrical considerations).

The amendments introduced by García Gómez in reading this zajal impair what is a fairly regular dimeter /ramal/ in the verses serving as /qufl/ in most stanzas.

№ 66

Strophe 7, v. 2,

Read: /aw lā sabab/

v. 3,

Read: /`annī harab/

Both of these readings entail the omission of seemingly expendable or superfluous particles, and are dictated by metrical considerations.

№ 75

Strophe 7, v. 3,

Read: /wa-naṣīr fī nawba min ta'nāq wa-fī tajrīd thiyāb/

№ 77:

Strophe 9, v. 1,

Read: /fa-khuttatī¹/ mahmūda/

№ 79

Strophe 2, v. 1,

Read: /tanfud²/ hulīnā/

Strophe 3, v. 1,

Read: /al-khayriyy/ as in strophe 3, v. 1 of zajal 143.

In the latter case, (seemingly written /al-khaynī/), this flower, which opens up and is fragrant at night, but has its petals closed in the daylight, is used metaphorically by the poet to refer to the hypocrisy of the /fuqahā'/.

№ 84

Strophe 14, v. 4,

Read: /wa-nukhayyiruk wa-'rda qatṭ wa-'khtār/

Neuvonen (op. cit., p. 10) reads /wa nuḥabbirak/ and takes the two following imperatives for adjectival superlatives, and as a result offers this verse as an example of /qatṭ/ used with a superlative.

GG reads /wa-nahburak/, but leaves this term out of his translation. (TBQ, I, pp. 422-423).

№ 85

Strophe 8, v. 3,

1) GG reads /fa-ḥazzatī/, TBQ, I, p. 382.

2) Tuulio (op. cit., p. 59) and GG (TBQ I, p. 390) read /bi-nafd/ which violates the /sarī'/ metre of this zajal.

Read: /wa-waqqirū/

Nº 86

Strophe 1, v. 1,

Read: /hādha hu yā-khī nadab hādhi hi yā-khī saqar/ ^{1/}

Strophe 5, v. 2,

Read: /wa-'l-nibāl 'addu 'l-ḥasā/

Nº 87

Strophe 27, v. 1,

Read: /wa-jammantu 'l-dawā/, i.e. 'I filled the inkwell to the brim'.

Tuulio reads: /wa-ḍamantu 'l-dawā/ and translates:
"J'avalai cette médecine". ^{2/}

García Gómez also reads: /wa-ḍamant ad-dawā/, ^{3/} but translates /dawā/ as "tintero".

Nº 91

Strophe 2, v. 4,

Read: /fa-'j'al li-dhī 'l-'illa a'jal iqāla/

Strophe 5, v. 3 and v. 4,

Read: /wa-khālatan sukkan tamlā wa-tasqī

fa-ladhdhatu 'l-dunya shurban wa-khāla/

Translation: 'And a slave girl who fills up with sugar
(i.e. sweet wine) and gives to drink,
The delight of the world is drinking and
a slave girl'

1) GG reads /safar/ (TBQ I, p. 430), but there is little reason to doubt that this is /saqar/ 'hell'.

2) Op. cit., p. 104.

3) TBQ, I, p. 442.

García Gómez takes /khāla/ as a romancismo which he reads as HĀLA, ¹/ and translates as "clase de bollo", (a bun, a muffin). In order to sustain such a reading and translation he introduces a number of arbitrary changes into v. 3.

№ 94

Strophe 27, v. 3,

Read: /kull aḥad yattaqī/

№ 95

Strophe 2, v. 1,

Read: /ṣabagh/

№ 97

Strophe 3, v. 3,

Read: /an yashuqqa 'l-sha`ra fi-'l-ḥaqq/, i. e. 'to divide (even) a hair equitably'.

№ 99

Strophe 1, v. 2,

Read: /yatbajjah/

№ 104

Strophe 4, v. 2,

Read: /min hammu bilā diyā/

№ 106

Strophe 2, v. 1,

Read: /anā min `ishqu fī khumār/

1) Ibid., p. 474.

Strophe 7, v. 5,

Read: /jubina 'l-jaddu bi-'l-hafīd/

Translate: 'The grandfather was gratified by the (success of the) grandson' ^{1/}

№ 107

Strophe 2, v. 3,

Read: /las najrā nadhkur/,^{2/} i.e. 'I do not dare mention'.

Strophe 3, v. 2,

Read: /ḥajabu `an `aynī wa-`amal bīh minna/^{3/}

Translate: 'he (the /raqīb/) kept him (the beloved) away from me, and turned him into a favour for which I owe obligedness.'

№ 109

Strophe 2, v. 4 and v. 5,

Read: /bayāḍi bi-dhā 'l-qadar ka-'ll-qadar/

Translate: 'My whiteness in this fate (of mine) is (as black as) like a cooking pot'

Although the last word in the preceding two verses is written /qadar/ for the purpose of giving a perfect rhyme or total accordance of sound with /qadar/, i.e. 'fate', at the end of the preceding verse, it is clear from the context that what is meant by it is /qidr/,

1) /Jabara/ has the connotation of 'to gratify', 'to satisfy' in popular usage. GG translates: "viene a su abuelo a restaurar".

2) /Najrā/ is apparently written or used for /najmā/. GG, however, reads /naḡri/.

3) GG reads MANNA which he interprets as a romancismo implying "ardides, industrias". TBQ I, p. 552 and III, p. 424.

i.e. 'cooking pot'. This interpretation is confirmed by the element of antithesis in the two verses, i.e. the whiteness (of the poet's fate) and the blackness of the cooking pot, and by a preceding verse in the same strophe which reads:

/muss tarā ash naḥtaraq/

'Feel, and you will see how I burn'

Besides, the vocalization of many other words in this zajal seems to be arbitrarily changed for the purpose of providing a perfect rhyme or rectifying a faulty scansion, as, for example, /tantathar/ to rhyme with /bi-'l-athar/ (strophe 1) and /ṣadar/ written for /ṣadr/ (strophe 5) and /dahar/ written for /dahr/ (strophe 6). In strophe 5 /ṣadr/ is used in v. 1, while /ṣadar/ is used in v. 4.

In the light of this the amendment to the text introduced by García Gómez, which is reading /ka-l-badar/ ¹/ for /ka-'l-qadar/ seems off the point and unnecessary.

Nº 111

Strophe 6, v. 4,

Translate: 'You will not (be able to) see him, unless
your eyes are able to see the eyes of your
behind'

This is a rather obscene way of expressing the impossible, still in current vulgar usage in certain parts of the Arab world (e.g. Syria and Lebanon).

1) TBQ, II, p. 560.

Nº 113

Strophe 3, v. 1,

/al-ḥijāl bi-dhā 'l-malīha yaftakhar/

Translate: 'The curtained canopies are proud of this
beautiful one'

The verb /yaftakhar/ in this verse, however, should have been the feminine singular /taftakhir/ whether the poet intended to use the plural /ḥijāl/ or whether, heedless as usual of rules, he is using /ḥijāl/ to imply the singular /ḥajala/.

The context gives little credence to the reading /al-ḥaḡal/ by García Gómez which he translates "el pudor" ^{1/} i.e. 'shyness', 'modesty'.

Nº 116

Strophe 5, v. 4,

Read: /li-ḥudaydah wa-qabbilu/

Translate: '(Get) close to him and kiss him'

This verse appears in the text as follows:

/li-ḥadīdah wa-qabbalu/

García Gómez, however, transliterates:

/Lī ḥadīd hu man qabbalu/

And he translates:

"que quien besa este cuchillo" ^{2/}

No notes accompany the transliteration or translation.

There is little reason to doubt, however, that /ḥudaydah/ is a diminutive of /ḥaddah/ (i.e. 'near him')

1) Ibid., p. 580 and p. 581.

2) Ibid., pp. 594-595.

first, on account of Ibn Quzmān's fondness for the diminutive, discussed in the last chapter, and, second, the fact that /ḥudayd/ has a fairly close parallel on analogy in /qudayd/ used by the poet in zajal 54, strophe 7. Besides, the caritative content of /ḥudaydah/, I feel, is unquestionable, and the reading /ḥudaydah/ tallies well with the preceding verse (v. 3):

/ijri `ajjil lā tastadīr/

Thus: `Run quickly and do not look back
(Get) close to him and kiss him'

№ 119

Strophe 2, v. 4 and v. 5,

/wa-yubadhḥiri `l-māl bi-lā ishkāl
man mā`u māl/

Translate: `And he would squander wealth without any qualms
(lit. difficulty, dubiousity),

He who is possessed of wealth'

Since the subject of the strophe in question is the emancipating effects of drinking, imparting courage to the cowardly, generosity to the churlish and withholding (v. 2), there is little reason to doubt that the translation given above of v. 4 and v. 5 is the one which fits the context. The reading by García Gómez of /ishkāl/ as a romancismo: "ISKĀL", which he translates as the name of a tumbler or container, "scala", ^{1/} seems far-fetched.

1) Ibid., pp. 604-605, and note 3, p. 607. See also TBQ, I, p. 193 and TBQ, III, p. 413.

№ 120

Strophe 2, v. 4 and v. 5,

/lā wa-lā li-man nabkī aḥzānī
wa-lā `udhrī/

Translate: `With no one to whom I can confide my grief
(Or explain) my situation`

/`Udhrī/, (lit. `my excuse`, `my plea`), is clearly a
substantive here and not a relative adjective. It is
not, and cannot in the context be a reference to "`udhrī
love" as García Gómez points out in his comments on this
zajal, and in his translation of it. ^{1/}

№ 125

Strophe 1, v. 1, v. 2 and v. 3,

/las kannakun ḥubbak min qas mā at ḥubbī
fa-law darā qalbak mā fī ḍamīr qalbī
wa-llāh ^{2/} laqad ḥubbak `azīz `alā ḥubbī/

Translate: `I am not a beloved of yours to the same extent
that you are a beloved of mine,
If your heart knew what is in my innermost
heart
(You would realize that) my love for you is
dearer than my love for myself`

This is perhaps a fairly clear case of Ibn Quzmān's
use of /ḥubb/ in Arabic as the equivalent of the beloved.
If /ḥubbi/ and /ḥubbak/ in v. 1 above did not mean
`my beloved`, `your beloved`, or the equivalent of
Spanish "mi amor", "tu amor", as distinct from `my love`

1) TBQ, II, p. 608, the introduction to the zajal and
note 2, p. 611.

2) Final vowel omitted for metrical considerations..

'your love' in v. 3, the poet would not have used them all in the rhyme positions within the same strophe. 1/

№ 127

Strophe 3, v. 2,

Read: /yaqṣur lahā 'l-mulku 2/ wa-'l-imāra/

i.e. 'Kingship and power become cheap for her'

№ 130

Strophe 1, v. 4,

Read: /ʿuddanī 3/ naṣṣrānī kān wa-aslam/

i.e. 'Consider me a Christian who embraced Islam'

Strophe 5, v. 2,

Read: /law annu fi-'l-sujūd wa-'l-sahar wa-'l-jadd/

№ 132

Strophe 4, v. 4,

Read: /zanīkh/, i.e. 'foul', 'rank'. This seems to be the most likely reading in the context.

№ 136

Strophe 2, v. 1,

Read: /ḥubbū 4/ yā-'hla 'l-khalā'a/

№ 140

Two clear Arabic terms in this zajal have been

1) See Section 2, Chapter V above on the use of /ḥubb/ by Ibn Quzman to refer to the beloved.

2) In the manuscript: /'l-malik/.

3) GG reads /aduwwa/, TBQ, II, p. 648.

4) GG reads /Ḥaiyū/, TBQ, II, p. 674.

read as Romance or romancismos by various scholars.

Strophe 1, v. 2,

Read: /wa-bujayra mithlu 'l-hilāl/

i.e. 'And a (lovely) face like a crescent moon'
/Bujayra/, a diminutive of /bujra/ meaning 'face' is
read by García Gómez as "FAĠAIRA" which he interprets
as Spanish faz, rostro or acera. ^{1/}

It seems, however, that long before the recent
edition of Ibn Quzmān's Dīwān by García Gómez, a tradition
had already been in the making for reading /bujayra/ as
a Romance term. García Gómez quotes Menéndez Pidal
(Orígenes del español, p. 88) and Simonet (pp. 200-201)
who had read /bujayra/ as Romance. It is perhaps in
view of this that García Gómez says in his comment on
the origin of the term, that we have to cast aside the
temptation of seeing a diminutive in it, a temptation,
he adds, which Nykl seems to have fallen into when he
translated the term as "carita". ^{2/}

But since /bujayra/ is a diminutive of /bujra/
meaning 'face', ^{3/} and like the great majority of the
diminutives used by Ibn Quzmān, with a caritative
content, ^{4/} the translation by Nykl ^{5/} seems both correct
and appropriate.

If any conclusion is to be drawn from all this,
it is the fact that Ibn Quzmān, who in the view of all

1) Ibid., p. 696 and note 1, p. 698. See also TBQ, III,
p. 403.

2) TBQ, III, p. 403.

3) Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ, I, p. 367 and most other lexica.

4) See section 3 in Chapter V above.

5) Nykl reads: /wa-faġeyrah mitl al-hilāl/ (El Cancionero,
p. 313), but translates: "y con su carita de media luna",
(ibid., p. 436).

students of his poetry was writing in Hispanic colloquial Arabic, often seems to use recondite classicisms which have confused his readers.

Strophe 4, v.2, v. 3 and v. 4,

/fa-takhruj min dīq tatwassa`
wa-tarja` bi-hāl man khala`
futūhī wa-yalbas qubayy/

Translate: `You will come out of constraint and have enough
room,

And become like someone who has taken off:

A /futūhī/(garment) and put on a full-length
outer garment (a /qabā`/)

Although it is difficult to know or surmise with any precision what sort of a garment the /futūhī/ ^{1/} was, the context leaves one in little doubt that the ample garment in which comfort is to be found, the /qubayy/, is a diminutive of /qabā`/, an ample outer garment with full-length sleeves. That the diminutive should be used by the poet is simply an exigency of the rhyme in the /aqfāl/ of this zajal. It has also been shown that the diminutives used by the poet rarely imply a diminution of size. ^{2/}

García Gómez reads /qubayy/ as a Romance term which he translates as "CAPITA", and proffers a lengthy argument in support of such an interpretation. ^{3/}
Needless to say that when the proper meaning of a word

1) The term is seemingly a relative adjective and the garment implied by it could come from or appertain to a certain region.

2) See Section 2 in Chapter V above.

3) See TBQ, II, note 5, p. 699 and TBQ, III, pp. 405-406.

is missed, such arguments often border on the absurd.

Strophe 8, v. 4,

Read: /kan yubaddil al-āh bi-ay/ 1/

(/ay/ is written for /īy/ at the end of this verse on account of the rhyme).

Translate: 'He would change the /āh/ (exclamation of despair, regret) into /īy/ (exclamation of approval).'

This translation is confirmed by the preceding verse (v. 3)) which reads:

/wa-lawlā tabassam 2/ riḍāh/

i.e. 'If he were to smile (expressing, showing) his approval'

№ 141

Strophe 1, v. 3,

Read: /waqr 'l-gharāma li-man ya'shaq/

/waqr/ is written in the text for what the context reveals to be /wiqr/, i.e. 'burden', 'heavy burden'.

Thus: 'The heavy burden of the indemnity or penalty is incumbent upon (is paid by) him who is in love'

García Gómez reads /waffir/ for /wiqr/, and

/al-gharām/, i.e. 'love' for /al-gharāma/ 'indemnity', 'penalty', and hence translates:

"Más amor has de dar al que te ama" 3/

Nykl reads:

/waffir al-ġarāmah li-man ya'shaq/ 4/

1) GG transliterates: /ǧ kaiyabdalū (l)Ilāhu b-ay?/, TBQ II, p. 698.

2) Not /wa-law lā tabassum/ as read by GG.

3) TBQ, II, p. 701.

4) El Cancionero, p. 315.

But while he seems to read /al-ġarāmah/, he, likewise, translates:

"Prodiga tu amor a quien te ama" ^{1/}

Strophe 6, v. 1,

Read: /al-ladhī kadhā yuntaja` ^{2/} mālu/

Translate: 'He who in such a manner his money is sought.
(as a salutary benefit)'

№ 143

Strophe 3, v. 1, v. 2 and v. 3,

Read: /wa-faqīhu 'l-nuwwār innamā hu 'l-khīrī
bi-'l-nahār yunī waqār wa-tarā bay`u murī
wa-idhā kāna 'l-layl yamdi li-'l-kāsi janī/

Translate: 'The /faqīh/ of the blossoms is the gillyflower ^{3/}

During the day he displays gravity and false
piety,

But when night falls he hastens to his goblet'

There is little reason to doubt Ahwānī's
interpretation ^{4/} of /bay`u 'l-murī/ at the end of
v. 2 as being tantamount in the poet's mind to hypocrisy
or /bay`u 'l-murā`ā/. The context, on the other hand,
gives little ground to the reading of /murī/ by García
Gómez as a romancismo: "MURĪ" which he translates "ALMORĪ". ^{5/}

1) Ibid., pp. 436-437.

2) GG reads /yurtaġà/ (TBQ II, p. 702), while Nykl reads /yantaġà`/ (El Cancionero, p. 316). Nykl's translation (ibid., p. 437) is fairly close to the context.

3) The variety implied is clearly the night-scented stock.

4) Al-Zajal, note 1, p. 95.

5) TBQ II, pp. 708-709 and note 2, pp. 710-711. See also TBQ III, pp. 407-408. Nykl reads /bi` murī/ (op. cit. p. 319) but does not translate. Cf. the poet's use of /riya/ for /riyā`/ or /ri`ā`/ in zajal 104, strophe 4.

In order to sustain such a reading García Gómez changes the verse in question beyond recognition.

Nº 145

For a comment on some of the verses of this zajal see above, pp. 263-265.

Nº 146

For a comment on this zajal see above, pp. 259-263.

A P P E N D I X II

A list of the more common metres in the Dīwān
of Ibn Quzmān

(In order of their frequency)

<u>Metre</u>	<u>Zajal</u>
Dimeter /ramal/	5, 10, 11, 12, 16 (/aqfāl/), 24, 28, 32, 56, 61 ^{1/} , 66, 67, 68, 86, 89, 93, 97, 98, 99, 107, 108, 116, 117, 137, 144, 148.
/Al-ramal/	7, 58, 59 (/aghṣān/), 83, 113.
/Al-khafīf/	9, 21, 38, 88, 90, 94, 95, 96, 102, 118, 132, 133. ^{2/}
Dimeter /khafīf/	41 ^{3/} , 44 (/aghṣān/) ^{3/} , 48, 82, 103, 136. ^{3/}
/Al-mutadārik/	14, 30, 84, 100 ^{4/} , 105, 134 (/aghṣān/).

1) The metre is clearer in the /aqfāl/ in this zajal.

2) The metre in this zajal is catalectic.

3) Perhaps the metre of these zajals, more than other truncated metres used by Ibn Quzmān, goes a long way towards explaining the metrical irregularity in the zajals of the poet. It uses /fa'ūlun/ both for the /arūd/ and the /ḍarb/ which constitutes the same irregularity or metrical "defect" for which Abū 'l-Atāhiya was upbraided by critics and told: "you have violated the rules of prosody". This prompted the answer from the Abbasid poet: "I precede the rules of prosody". If Abū 'l-Atāhiya, it might be argued, could allow himself freedom with the rules of prosody, why not Ibn Quzmān? See Ghalāyīnī, Al-Thurayyā al-Muḍiyya, p. 53.

4) The metre is clearer in the /aghṣān/ of this zajal.

<u>Metre</u>	<u>Zajal</u>
Dimeter /rajaz/ catalectic <u>1/</u>	17, 27, 77, 140.
Dimeter /rajaz/ acatalectic	109 (/aghṣān/), 145.
Trimeter /rajaz/ catalectic: <u>1/</u>	91.
/Al-Sarī/ <u>2/</u>	6, 13, 36, 45, 79, 85, 109 (/aqfāl/).
/Al-Basīṭ/	42, 111, 125.
Trimeter /mutaqārib/ <u>3/</u>	55, 114.
/Al-mutaqārib/	112.
/Al-mujtathth/	43, 129.
/Al-Hazaj/	4 (/aqfāl/), <u>4/</u> 39.

1) See Wright, op. cit., II, p. 362 and Ghalāyīnī, Al-Thurayyā al-Muḍiyya, pp. 36-38.

2) In most cases in this metre Ibn Quzmān, like other poets, takes the liberty of changing /fā'ilun/ into /fa'ilatun/. See Wright, op. cit., II, p. 362.

3) Wright (ibid., p. 364) says that only the tetrameter of this metre is in common use; see, however, Ghalāyīnī, op. cit., p. 62.

4) Except for the last /qufl/. See above pp. 87-89.

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