HISPANO-ARABIC POETRY, THE PROVENÇAL MEDIUM, AND MIDDLE ENGLISH LYRICS: SOME SIMILARITIES IN THEIR METRICAL PATTERNS, MOTIFS, IMAGERY, AND PHRASEOLOGY

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1969

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College
of the Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
July, 1980

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PREFACE

In this paper I advance the thesis that certain aspects of Hispano-Arabic poetry have influenced Medieval English poetry principally by way of the Provençal poetry of the troubadours and of other European poetries. Although extensive studies have been published on the Arabic theory on the genesis of European vernacular poetry as well as on the influence of the troubadours on Medieval English poetry, no serious study, as far as I can ascertain, has been published showing the link between Hispano-Arabic and Middle English poetry. This thesis, I hope, should make a specific contribution to the field of comparative studies in Medieval European literature by demonstrating that some Hispano-Arabic elements can be seen in Middle English lyrics.

The thesis first discusses the impact of Medieval Arabic culture on Medieval Europe and the means through which the transmission of Arabic knowledge was effected. In it I review the theories on the origins of Romance vernacular poetry and of the courtly love tradition and examine the characteristics of Hispano-Arabic poetry, showing its influence on Romance vernacular poetries, especially on the Provençal. I also discuss the influence of Provençal poetry on European Medieval poetries including Middle English poetry. Finally, in light of the foregoing discussions, I demonstrate the similarities in metrical patterns and in the motifs, imagery, and phraseology between Hispano-Arabic poetry and Middle English lyrics. However, beyond a few general references, the religious poetry is not treated in this study. Again, apart from a few illustrations, the

poetic works of Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, Skelton, and Dunbar are not examined. Such writers need an analysis beyond the scope of this effort.

As the study stands, some repetitions of ideas and jargon still appear. Also, apart from the verses reproduced from the English translations of Arabic poetry, I take the responsibility for any deficencies in the few translations I made. For transliteration and unless quoting, I followed the system used by American scholarly journals. In the case of proper names and place names, I used the generally accepted forms in current English scholarship. Some of the words, such as Hispano-Arabic and Andalusian, are used interchangeably. I also normalized medieval English spelling to some extent. For example, the letter (y) is used instead of the yogh (ȝ).

I am deeply indebted to Dr. Janemarie Luecke for giving me much advice and many helpful suggestions. Also, Dr. John Milstead, Dr. Dorothy Schrader, and Dr. Bogumil W. Frenk have offered useful suggestions at various stages in the preparation of this thesis. I am grateful to Mr. Subhi al-Bassam, a scholar in Arabic literature, for encouraging me and for providing me with Arabic books. Finally, I dedicate this work to my country and to my family--especially to my mother.

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CHAPTER I

THE ARABIC BACKGROUND AND THE ANDALUSIAN CONNECTION

The advance of each civilization has resulted from interaction and cultural contacts among peoples and nations. The Medieval Arab world became the heir and synthesis of the ancient Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Hindu, Greek, Syriac, and Persian cultures. In their turn, the Arabs exercised a cultural impact on the medieval West and thus contributed to the awakening of Medieval Europe and, consequently, helped to bring about the European Renaissance. In this connection, Western scholarship has demonstrated the Arabic influence in natural sciences, philosophy, architecture, among other fields, and in literature. Part of the literary influence is the role of Arabic poetic conventions in the rise of European vernacular poetry and the cult of courtly love. The new vernacular poetry and love tradition sprang up in Southern France in the course of the twelfth century and swiftly spread over the continent and into England. Hispano-Arabic strophic forms have influenced the poetry of the troubadours in both form and content. Furthermore, Anglo-Norman and Middle English lyrics display relations to Hispano-Arabic lyrics in metrical patterns, motifs, imagery, phraseology, and the language of love. The historical relations between Medieval England and the Arabs, Medieval England and Provence, and the Arabic impact on medieval European

literature including Middle English are the major factors that provide the basis for this study.

The Impact of Medieval Arabic Civilization on Medieval Europe

During the Western Middle Ages the Arabs had a vast empire that stretched from the Arabian Sea to the Atlantic Ocean. They held Spain for almost eight centuries, Sicily for two centuries, Crete 125 years, and they settled in Malta and founded colonies in Southern France. While the Arab dominions were enjoying a great civilization and cultural efflorescence, the Latin West was experiencing the Dark Ages and was described by the contemporary English scholar Daniel of Morley as "infantile" in comparison to the Arabic civilization.[1] The orientalist Gustave E. von Grunebaum justly affirms: "During the better part of the Middle Ages Muslim scientific and material superiority was undeniable and widely acknowledged."[2] Consequently, European contact with the Arab World proved enriching.

The Arabs developed algebra, invented the zero, and gave the world the Arabic numerals; likewise, their contributions to the fields of medicine, alchemy, astrology, and philosophy were noted by the West. Avicenna (Chaucer's Avycen) and Averroes, whom Dante placed in Limbo, had a detectable impact on European thought and their works were known to Thomas Aquinas.[3] According to A. J. Denomy, "the introduction of Averroism into the Christian Latin world shattered the unity of faith and reason that had existed among philosophers and theologians in a way that earlier Avicennianism had not succeeded in doing," and consequently led to the separation of theology and philosophy.[4] It is noteworthy that up to the

fourteenth century, the University of Paris taught Aristotle through the commentary of Averroes,[5] while Avicenna's Canon was taught in European schools of medicine as late as the seventeenth century.[6] In addition to these two great philosophers, others like Avempace, al-Fārābī, and Ibn Ṭufail were also known to the West. Ibn Ṭufail's philosophical novel Hayy bin Yaqzan is said to have inspired Defoe's Robinson Crusoe as it was available in translations at the time.[7] Arabic geographical knowledge was also accessible to the West, and when we read about sea expeditions we learn that an Arab pilot revealed the way to India to Vasco da Gama.[8] As a matter of fact, there is scarcely a field of human knowledge that does not bear witness to the Arabic influence: features of the Moorish style in architecture are still used in Spain, Latin America, and Florida and California; certain Mudéjar themes and techniques may be seen in the art of Mexico and Texas;[9] elements of Arabic music are to be seen in the flamenco songs of Spain; the introduction of some musical instruments like the lute and the guitar is due to the Arabs; and finally, many oriental inventions like the Indian game of chess came to the West through the Arabs.

The process of the transmission of Arabic culture to the West was carried on through Spain and Sicily and by means of the Crusades. The Arabs occupied al-Andalus, as they call Spain, from A.D. 711 to A.D. 1492, during which time it reached a cultural peak that surpassed, in certain respects, the civilizations of Baghdad and Byzantium. The Iberian population of Spain that retained the Christian faith and came to be known as Mozarabes (i.e., arabized) emulated the Arabs in language, social customs, and outlook. The Mozarabs were bilingual, speaking both Arabic and their own Romance dialect, and the fact that in 724, shortly after

the Arabic conquest, John, bishop of Seville, translated the Bible into Arabic illustrates the popularity of Arabic among them.[10] Later in 854 the predominance of Arabic among the Spaniards incited the complaint of Alvaro, bishop of Cordova:

> My fellow-Christians delight in the poems and romances of the Arabs; they study the works of Mohammedan theologians and philosophers, not in order to refute them, but to acquire a correct and elegant Arabic style. . . . Alas! the young Christians who are most conspicuous for their talents have no knowledge of any literature or language save the Arabic; they read and study with avidity Arabian books; they amass whole libraries of them at a vast cost, and they everywhere sing the praises of Arabian lore. . . . [They] can express themselves in that language with the greatest elegance, and even compose verses which surpass in formal correctness those of the Arabs themselves.[11]

With their knowledge and admiration of Arabic lore, the Mozarabes were a major factor in the transmission of Arabic culture to the northern kingdoms of Spain as well as to the whole of Europe. Similarly, the Jews of Spain, who were largely arabized and who enjoyed a golden age under the Arabs, were another factor in that transmission. The West knows the contribution of the Spanish Jews through Maimonides and the converted Jew Peter Alfonso.[11]

The peaceful co-existence (convivencia) in al-Andalus among the different ethnic groups enhanced the efflorescence of culture and could not be seriously shaken even during the wars of the Spanish Reconquista. Thus, mixed marriages between Muslims and Christians were not uncommon, and there was a continuous shifting of military alliances in spite of the religious differences as the epic El Cid Compeador shows.[12] Moreover, Christian and Muslim courts in Spain exchanged embassies, treaties, and presents. And the Spanish Kings emulated Arabic customs in their courts and tried to rival the Muslim kings in patronizing scholars and poets.[13]

In the meantime, the Andalusian cities of Toledo, Cordova, Seville, and Granada attained--under the rule of the party-kings (Mulūk al-Tawā'if) who rose to power in the eleventh century--universal fame as centers of learning and refinement and vied with each other as well as with Baghdad and Damascus in establishing universities and libraries, and in the cultivation of architecture, poetry, music, and taste for new ways of life.[14] However, in the Reconquista, these petty kingdoms began to fall to the Spaniards one after the other.

The fall of Toledo to the Spaniards in 1085 is a landmark in the cultural history of Europe because the city soon became the main center of transmitting Arabic learning to the West.[15] It was there that Archbishop Raymond founded a school for translation,[16] where European, Arab, Mozarab, and Jewish scholars worked avidly rendering the Arabic heritage into Latin, thereby making Arabic a medium of cultural progress.[17] As a universal center of learning, Toledo flourished, especially at the time of King Alfonso El Sabio (the Learned, r. 1252-84) under whose patronage many books were translated into Latin and Castilian, such as al-Mi'rāj and Kalīlah wa-Dimnah. Soon, Arabic works on mathematics, medicine, and philosophy, among others, were taught at European universities, and the Arabic commentaries on Greek philosophy inspired European scholastic learning. The effects of these cultural activities culminated in the scholastic tradition of Roger Bacon, who made references to Arabic knowledge, proclaimed the need of studying Arabic as being superior to Latin,[19] and called Avicenna "dux et princeps philosophiae post Aristotelem."[20]

However, Spain was by no means the only cultural bridge between the Arabs and the West. The schools of Salerno and Palermo in Sicily were another link communicating the Arabic knowledge to Europe. Sicily was

under Arab domination from 902 to 1091, and the Norman conquest of the island made the Arabic influence even more felt.[21] In this respect, "three of the Norman Kings of Sicily actually assumed Arabic titles . . . [that] appeared on their coinage and in their inscriptions."[22] Roger II (r. 1130-54) and Frederick II (r. 1215-50) were known as the "two baptized sultans."[23] At Roger's court, the Arab geographer al-Idrīsī prepared maps of the world (The Book of Roger) for the king, while in the thirteenth century, King Frederick II conducted correspondence with Arab scholars in Spain and the East.[24] These learned kings were familiar with Arabic and encouraged the rendering of Arabic books into Latin. However, when finally the Arab colony of Lucera, last refuge of the Arabs, was destroyed in 1300, the Arabs ceased to exist in Sicily but their influence continued in architecture, agriculture, loan-words, and probably in the Sicilian school of poetry which later spread to other parts of Italy.

In addition to Spain and Sicily, the cities of Narbonne[25] and Montpellier in Southern France, and the city of Antioch in Syria[26] were also active as centers for translations from Arabic. Further, the confrontation between East and West during the Crusades resulted not only in the acquisition of new techniques in trade, transportation, and military art but also in the realization that the Muslim "infidels" possessed a rich civilization. Saladdin became a famous chivalric figure in the West (Dante placed him in Limbo) and Arab customs and luxuries were depicted in Medieval European romances.

Thus, the West came into contact with Arabic lore and, consequently, was influenced by it. And just as in the fields of natural sciences, art,[27] architecture, philosophy, and theology, the Arabs gave a new impetus to the literature of the Medieval West, and their contribution

to this field has been the subject of growing studies. In fact, it was common practice, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to credit the Arabs with introducing romance and the device of rhyme into European literature. In his introduction to Enchanted Ground,[28] Arthur Johnston reviews the early theories of the origins of romance and cites the names of Stephen Riou, Salmasius, Daniel Huet, W. Warton, and Thomas Warton as scholars who, to varying degrees, were in favor of an Arabic theory of origins. Surprisingly enough, when Warton modified his strong view in support of the Arabic theory, he then maintained that the Northern nations had descended from an Eastern people; thus, he could still account for the presence of Eastern superstitions in medieval romances.[29] John Richardson refuted Warton's theory but "accepted that chivalry and knight-errantry, tournaments, armorial bearings, respect for women and belief in fairies and giants were Eastern in origin."[30] In any account, contact with the Arabs gave European romances material, themes, and motifs. Moreover, the Eastern and Arabian fables enjoyed popularity in Europe and, according to Simonde de Sismondi, were the sources for many of the French fabliaux just as the Arabian tales were the sources for Ariosto and Boccaccio.[31] The Arabic influence is also detectable in fables, anecdotes, and proverbs. Thus, Peter Alfonso's Disciplina Clericalis,[32] Raymond Lull's Libro de las Marvilles,[33] Juan Manuel's Conde Lucanor, and Juan Ruiz's Libro de Buen Amor show the influence of Arabic lore and display elements of Kalīlah wa-Dimnah.[34] In fact, medieval Spanish literature is replete with evidence of Arabic influence not only in style and outlook but also in the Morisco themes in poetry and in the moral tale, which may be the forerunner of the short story. Further, as Jack Lindsay suggests: "the interspersing of verse-passages in a prose narrative as

in the romance Aucassin and Nicolette, seems to come from the Arabs."[35] The Arabian Nights and the maqāmāt provide ample examples for this literary practice.

The Arabic impact on Medieval European literature extends to the two major literary figures of the West, Dante and Chaucer. Dante's Divine Comedy, the greatest literary achievement of the Medieval West, was inspired, according to some scholars, by al-Mi'raj (Book of the Scale: the ascension of Muhammad to the Seven Heavens), by al-Futuhāt al-Maqqiyah of the Andalusian mystic Ibn 'Arabi, and by other works of Islamic eschatology.[36] As for Chaucer, some of his tales were inspired by Arabic sources, and his works show him quite knowledgeable in the Arabic sciences of alchemy and astrology as is evidenced by his Treatise on the Astrolable and by the Arabic terminology and loan-words he uses. In this respect, it is noteworthy that the majority of Arabic loan-words in European languages were introduced during the Middle Ages. Today, the Spanish language still retains a large number (more than 4,000 words) of arabismos in spite of the de-arabization process that was enforced after the Spanish Reconquista. It is striking that some everyday Spanish phrases and expressions are of typical Arabic stock: "Si Dios quiere" (Ar. In-shāllah, Eng. if God wills), "Ojalá" (Ar. wa-shā'allah, Eng. if it pleases God), and the "olé" (Ar. wāllah, Eng. for God's sake) of the crowds at bullfights and flamenco shows. Again, in every European language there are many arabismos and other loan-words of Eastern origin introduced through the Arabic medium.

It is evident from this brief review that East and West were not separate worlds as might be imagined. The Arabic impact on Medieval European thought makes it necessary to take the Arabic factor into

consideration in any study of the history, the sciences, the culture, or the literature of the Western Middle Ages. Accordingly, the contribution of the Arabs to the rise of European vernacular poetry should neither be surprising nor underrated.

The Genesis of Vernacular Romance Poetry: Background to the Arabic Theory

Toward the end of the eleventh century a new vernacular poetry that Europe had never known before arose in Langue d'Oc (Occitania: Limousin, Provence, and Poitou) in Southern France. This new poetry expressed itself in refined manners and intricate rhymes and had love as its major theme. Naturally, the genesis of this poetry has been the subject of speculation, controversy, and enormous scholarship.[38]

The eminent French scholar Alfred Jeanroy maintains that Provençal lyrics emerged in the favorable social courtly milieu of the Midi (i.e. the Franco-Provençal border regions) without outside influence. Gaston Paris asserts that the lyrical poetry of Southern France originated from reverdies (Paris's appelation), from songs that accompanied the dances at the May Day festivals that marked the coming of Spring.[39] Paris also maintains that courtly love lyrics celebrating love outside marriage share the same concept of love expressed in the May "malmariée" songs.[40] Another theory held by a number of romanists, notably Friedrich Gennrich and recently Guido Errante, is the religious and liturgical theory which credits religious lyric and liturgical song with a formative influence upon Provençal vernacular poetry. Dimitri Scheludko proposes an early Latin influence; he investigated analogies in Virgil and Ovid. More

impressive, however, is the opinion of Philip Schuyler Allen, Stephen Gaselee, and others who theorize a gradual transition from medieval Latin to Romance.[41] Recently, Peter Dronke, elaborating upon the Latin theory, has maintained that love poetry as manifested in the poetry of the troubadours was a universal phenomenon.[42] Curiously, Theodor Frings proposes a simultaneous natural outgrowth of all European poetry (including Provençal) from the primitive chants of woman.[43] However, although some of the preceding theories point out influences on the formation of vernacular poetry, none of them provides conclusive evidence. Moreover, they all overlook one extremely significant element, namely the Arabic influence. This influence alone, it seems, can account for the content, forms, and techniques of the new vernacular poetry in a way that fits into the historical and cultural contexts.

As early as the sixteenth century, Giammaria Barbieri called attention to the possibility of Arabic influences on Spanish and Provençal poetries. Thereafter, scholars like Juan Andrés, Xavier Lampillas, P. L. Guingené, Simonde de Sismondi, Joseph Corres, Claude Fauriel, A. F. Schack, and F. Villemain pointed out various Arabic elements operating in European medieval poetry and literature.[44] In the twentieth century, the Arabic theory has been so enhanced by the contributions of the specialized Arabists Julián Ribera, Menéndez Pidal, García Gómez, Martin Hartmann, Henri Pérès, Robert Briffault, Pierre le Gentil, R. A. Nicholson, and A. R. Nykl that it has become inevitable to find references to it in medieval works. "There can be little doubt," says von Grunebaum, "as to the influence of Arabic poetry on the songs of the troubadours. . . . And it is not merely the spirit that crossed the Pyrenees. The Provençal poets adopted many of the complicated prosodical

forms of the Spanish Muslims."[45] Likewise, Christopher Dawson attributes the new poetry of Southern France as well as the new cult of romantic love to the influence of Muslim Spain and denies any Christian or Germanic origins.[46]

Provence, and Occitania in general, maintained close ties with the neighboring Spanish kingdoms. These ties were intensified by the union of the sovereignties of Catalonia and Provence under Raymond Bérenger. Moreover, Catalonia and Aragon spoke a dialect of Latin that was similar to Provençal.[47] Significantly, Occitania itself was not unfamiliar with Arabic lore as the Arabs had occupied Narbonne in 720 and later founded a colony in Fraxinetum which lasted for nearly a century.[48] Besides, the ports of Montpellier, Narbonne, and Marseille had trading relations with al-Andalus and the Levant. These ports later became centers for diffusing Arabic culture. Further, the continuous flow of pilgrims, merchants, and crusaders across the Pyrenees along the "camino francés" (the route to Santiago de Compostela) brought Occitania into closer contact with both Christian and Muslim Spain. It should be added that the social conditions of Provence, its enemity to Rome, and its long history of exposure to Eastern invasions, influences, and heresies were factors favorable to the introduction of Andalusian melodies.[49]

In the meantime, Andalusian music and songs had reached their peak, particularly with the innovations of the Iraqi musician Ziryāb, who founded a conservatory of music in Cordova and added a fifth string to the _'ud_. Indeed, Andalusian music was popular among the Spaniards; Arabic and Eastern musical instruments like the _'ud_ (Sp. _laúd_, Eng. lute) the _rabāb_ (Sp. _rabeb_, Eng. rebec) and the _qīthar_ (Sp. _guitarra_, Eng. guitar) reached Europe through Spain. According to Menéndez Pidal, "la

influencia de la juglaría musulmana hubo de ser muy grande. Los cristianos se recreaban con la música árabe y también con el canto."[50] Julían Ribera has shown the influence of Andalusian music and metrical system on Alfonso's _Cantigas_ and Spanish music in general, and also on the troubadours.[51] That Arabic music was pervasive among the Spaniards is illustrated by the miniature used in the manuscript of the _Cantigas_ which depicts an Arab _jongleur_ and a Spanish musician playing their instruments together. It is also significant that in 1321, the Council of Valladolid prohibited the entry of Muslim _jongleurs_ into the churches. Again, the Cid, the national hero of Spain, "would also be entertained by Moslem men of letters and, indeed, by Moorish bards as well."[52] The Andalusian historian Ibn Ḥayyan relates the story of a Christian who refused to ransom a captive Moorish girl-singer; Moorish girl-singers and lute-players were also sent as presents from the Arab rulers to the Spanish kings. In fact, the presence of Arab musicians in Spanish courts was such that they outnumbered the Christian ones,[53] and there was every good opportunity for Provençal _jongleurs_ to mingle with them. Peter Dronke comments on the cosmopolitan milieu of the Castilian courts: "To me it seems certain that these performers, whatever their religion, had some share also in the composition of the songs, both words and music."[54] These performers were Arabs, Mozarabs, Jews, Castilians, Italians, and Provençaux.

It was natural that these artistic activities and the close ties between Provence and the Spanish kingdoms helped introduce Andalusian songs to Provence. "There is no mystery about a process of diffusion which ascertainable facts show to have been inevitable. What indeed requires a great deal of explaining is that any Provençal _jongleur_ should

have remained unacquainted with the lyric productions of Moorish Spain," affirms Briffault (p. 78). It should be added that there is some organic relationship between Arabic music and Arabic poetry;[55] it is no wonder then that Hispano-Arabic and Hispano-Hebraic refugees in Occitania--and Mozarabic refugees before them--gave lessons in both Hispano-Arabic music and poetry.[56]

Moreover, in 1064 Guillaume VIII of Aquitaine, father of the first troubadour, participated in a crusade in Muslim Spain and acquired, at the capture of Barbastro, many Moorish girl-singers.[57] Guillaume IX, the first troubadour, married a Spanish queen who, presumably, had in her retinue some Moorish singers--or, at least, singers acquainted with the Andalusian manner of music. Further, many celebrated Provençal troubadours like Arnaut Daniel and Marcabrun journeyed into Spain and were welcomed at the Spanish courts. Also, many troubadours, like Ot de Morcada, issued from the Spanish kingdoms. Significantly, W. F. Patterson mentions the fact that the first Provençal work on versification, _Las Razos de trobar_ (1200), was written by the Catalan Vidal de Besalú.[58] And finally, it should be noted that many troubadours joined the crusades to the Holy Land (i.e., Palestine) and thus were possibly exposed to Arabic music and melodies. A. R. Nykl argues that Arabic poetry was accessible through translations both to Guillaume IX, who spent a year and a half in Palestine, and to Marcabrun.[59] Lévi-Provençal goes so far as to suggest that Guillaume IX might have spoken Arabic: "Et j'ai la conviction à peu près absolue que, si anormale que la chose puisse paraître, Guillaume IX savait l'arabe."[60] Guillaume IX's fifth poem indicates that he was acquainted with the spoken Arabic of al-Andalus.[61]

In reality, Provençal poets had every opportunity to be acquainted with Hispano-Arabic lyricism.

One early religious Provençal song that is suggestive of the popularity of Hispano-Arabic poetry in Provence is the following:

Mei amic e mei fiel
laisat estar lo gazel:
aprendet u so noel
de virgine Maria.

Friends, trusty listeners, turn
and your trifling gazel spurn;
for a new tune you must learn
de virgine Maria.[62]

The use of the word "gazel" in this verse seems clearly a borrowing of the Arabic ghazal, the most common term for love lyrics. The contrast of profane sound to religious melodies in the Provençal song favors this interpretation. However, Jack Lindsay, without rejecting the first interpretation, takes the word "gazel" for the Arabic "zéjel," a popular Andalusian strophic form.[63] Such an interpretation does not seem out of context either, since the Provençal poets adopted the zéjel (also transliterated as zajal) form in some of their lyrics. Significantly, the Provençal song in question follows the zéjel form aaab.

The Provençal language, be it noted, has more Arabic loan-words than the French. Some arabists even trace the etymology of the word "trobar" --whence "troubadour" is derived--from the Arabic ṭarab, which denotes the quasi-mystical ecstasy and joy evoked by listening to good music, songs, or poetry. Ṭarab is also associated with the troubadour concept of joie d'amors.[64] The following verse of Abu Nuwās (late eighth century Iraqi poet) indicates the association of joy (ṭarab) with love in Arabic poetry:

The man burdened with passion is a weary man,
deep emotion [Ṭarab] unsteadies him.[65]

Inevitably, the juxtaposition of "gazel" to religious melodies in the Provençal song, the possible similarities between ṭarab and trobar, the similar concepts of ṭarab and joie d'amors, and, above all, the theme of love in both Arabic and Provençal poetry take our discussion to the intricate issue of courtly love.

The Arabs and Courtly Love

What we call courtly love originated in the Western World in the eleventh century with the evolution of troubadour poetry. The lyrics of the troubadours treated the shades and subtleties of love in a manner that was new to the West. The troubadours idealized love and spoke of fin 'amors, bon 'amors, and amors de loin. They sang of the ennobling power of love, its joys, and its agonies. Soon, the new philosophy of love spread into the lyrical production of Europe and left its imprint in almost every aspect of Western life. The phraseology of courtly love was reflected even on the religious poetry of the period. It is outside the scope of this thesis to discuss the different and sometimes sharply contrasted interpretations of the concept of courtly love; however, the Arabic factor will be considered.

The Vidas of the troubadours tell the story of the Provençal troubadour Jaufré Rudel, whose "faraway love" for the Countess of Tripoli carried him to the Holy Land. Upon his arrival there, he fell seriously ill and soon died, but not without seeing his lady who hurried to grant him her sight. On his tomb, according to the story, the countess ordered a couple of Arabic verses to be inscribed. Whether the story is true or mere fiction, it associates Arabic poetry with love, more specifically with the concepts of "faraway love"[66] and martyrdom for love.

Arab poets from antiquity have been prolific and sophisticated in the ghazal genre, which has love as its leitmotiv. It would be pointless, therefore, to cite Arabic lyrics that deal with love. The excerpts from Arabic poetry in the final chapter of this study may be sufficient to indicate that Arabic poetry projects the same features of love that are manifest in Western courtly love lyrics. However, the following example by Ibn al-Farīdh (1185-1235) is cited to illustrate the sublimation of love by this mystic poet:

> Far from me the chill love that leaves the eyelids dry, the passion that does not kindle the fires of frenzy! . . . .
>
> Inflict upon me what trials and travails soever you will, save only that of banishment from your presence; I shall ever remain your faithful and submissive lover; I shall ever employ my industry to forestall your wishes.
>
> Take this last breath of life which it has been your pleasure to leave to me. No love is perfect that would pause before yielding what of bare life remains. To die of love for the beloved is to claim an honored place in the regard of all true lovers. . . .
>
> Should my beloved move away, then forsake, O my blood, the heart which you impel; when she approaches, then beam, O my eyes, with the light of happiness. . . .
>
> Pity the unease of one who at one moment abandons all hope, and at another lulls himself with fond illusions. . . .
>
> The love that consumes me is as pure as the visages of the elect. . . .
>
> One evening we found ourselves peradventure in place where was none to keep watch over us, and no slanderer was near that might wrong us by his calumnies.
>
> I laid my face against the ground that it might be as a footstool to my lady.

She said:
Rejoice, for you may set your lips upon my veil!
But my heart would not consent: for she
entrusted to the nobility of my feelings
the care of her honour. . . .
(Trans. in Briffault, pp. 29-30)

Not only Arab poets extolled love, but almost every writer in the Arab culture seems to have been preoccupied with this emotion. There were rawiyas (narrators) of love stories and episodes; their narratives were also written and preserved, and a famous conference on love was held in Baghdad in the eighth century.[67] We might add that philosophers wrote treatises on love like the Risāla fî l-'išq (A Treatise on Love) of Avicenna.[68] Even ascetics and theologians (like those of the Zāhirites and Ḥanbalites Muslim rites) related sayings on the nature of love; stories of tragic loves; accounts of chaste, mad, and emaciated lovers; and recorded "stories of love occurring during the pilgrimage and accounts of the correspondence of lovers."[69] In their attempts at subtle analyses of the nature of love, theologians codified the symptoms and rules of this feeling. In this connection, M. L. Massignon considers Abu Daoud's Kitab al-Zahra (Book of the Flower) as "la première systématisation poétique de l'amour platonique."[70] Similarly, Ṭawq al-Ḥamama[71] of the Andalusian Ibn Ḥazm (996-1064) presents a systematic study that treats every aspect of love--its definition, origins, causes, signs, qualities, and practices. The book is divided into thirty chapters, each treating a single phenomenon; thus, chapter two is on the signs of love, four, on love from description, fourteen, on submissiveness, etc. Further, each chapter is illustrated with anecdotes and excerpts from poems often composed by the author himself. Ibn Ḥazm's book influenced El Libro de Beun Amor of Juan Ruíz, the archpriest of Hita (c. 1280-c. 1350). Also, various elements of the book occur in early Spanish

literature: pure love, a procuress, submission of the lover to the beloved, and the suffering of separation. These elements characterize Hispano-Arabic lyrics as well as Romance, and later find their way into Middle English poetry.

The theme of love appears in many Hispano-Arabic lyrics, and it is possible to point out similarities in the treatment of this theme between the Arab and the European poets. "Like the troubadours," says Briffault (p. 82), "the Andalusian poets declared themselves 'victims of the fair'--sarī al-ghawāni." Even Ibn Quzmān, the lascivious Andalusian poet, sang of the nature of love in many of his zajals as may be seen in these excerpts:

1. Love is a heavy burden: give me a heart that can support it!--Oh dear friends, revive our souls: you will be thanked and praised!

   The origin of love comes from the glance:--you see two beautiful eyes, created of charm:--they will snatch your reason from you and will deprive you of patience,--and you will see your heart in the (beloved's) hands like a captive fettered by him!

   Oh dear friends, be kind to those suffering souls!--Soften those stony hearts for your lover's sake!--Have pity on those who love and be concerned with their well-being:--sow the good seed; thus you will sow what you will reap!

   (Trans. Nykl, p. 291)

2. I have a beloved, graceful and faithful,--only it would be a good thing, if he had no whims!--He is always both intimate and aloof,--though his character be friendly and joyful:--if he is just one night, he is tyrannical a whole week;--my heart is not certain as to his close union,--for in a whim he may cut it short, while he is in the best of humor.

   (Trans. Nykl, p. 281)

The notions seen in these verses are common to troubadour lyrics. Moreover, Ibn Quzmān and other Andalusian poets also sang of adulterous extramarital love.

On the other hand, some scholars have been trying to explore the origins of courtly love in realms other than the Arabic context--be it Christian, Classical, or pagan. In a recent attempt Peter Dronke (Medieval Latin, The Medieval Lyric) has tried to prove the universality of the feelings and conceptions of courtly love in world literature; however, he does not explain why these feelings and concepts were codes only in Arabic and, later, in Provençal poetry. Again, the examples he cites are fragments from the bulk of world literature and do not--although they do demonstrate that features of courtly love were treated in literature from time eternal--account for the facts that these features were codified in Arabic literature and that they swept over Europe at a certain time (late twelfth century) and spread from a certain place (Southern France), where Europeans had already come into contact with the Hispano-Arabs. Moreover, a late twelfth-century example he quotes from Georgia clearly refers to the Arabs:

> A lover is called 'madman' in Arabic
> for he loses his sense if desire is not fulfilled[72]

It may also be argued that Dronke's citations from the French poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries show the influence of Hispano-Arabic, Provençal, and Italian lyrics.

A. J. Denomy has shown that courtly love is neither Christian nor classic, but that its roots lie in the mystical philosophy of Avicenna.[73] W. T. H. Jackson explains: "It has been correctly pointed out that Latin poetry contrasts sharply with medieval vernacular poetry in concentrating on the social rather than the individual aspect of love."[74] Denis de Rougemont argues that troubadour courtly poetry was the product of Catharist thought and Andalusian lyricism; he draws attention to similarities between troubadour lyrics and the poems of the Sufis (Arab

mystics).[75] Likewise, a recent paper by Liria Pilar explains that the Sufi idea of love as martyr, "under a prism of obedience, chastity, and joy in suffering . . . served as a model for profane love and was sung by medieval Arab poets, who transmitted the concept to the early troubadours."[76] Von Grunebaum also speaks of the anteriority of Arabic poetry that uses the concept of love in the language of religion (i.e., religious phraseology),[77] and he asserts: "The concept of the martyr of love constitutes an original contribution of Arabic poetry."[78]

Not only have Arab and arabized poets idealized the lady and codified the basic rules of love in their lyrics, but some of them gave their lives for love as well.[79] In this regard, the 'Udhrite lovers (of the Banu 'Udrah tribe) were celebrated for their love, al-ḥubb al-'udhri, and for their lovers who die of love. Also, some poets were driven mad because of love as was Kais (known as the Majnūn, literally "mad"), whose love for Layla has become legendary not only among the Arabs but even among the Persians, Kurds, and Turks. Likewise, the tragic love stories of the poets Jamīl (d. 701) and his beloved Buthaina and of Kuthair (Abbasid period) and his beloved 'Izza are still circulated among the Arabs. On the other hand, there were poets like Abu Nuwās and Ibn Quzmān whose love adventures became notorious and who spoke of love in sensuous terms and profane language. It might be added that medieval Arabic sensuous treatises and pornographic books always had verses incorporated in them. Even tales abound in examples of erotic sensuous verses and anecdotes as may be seen the The Arabian Nights.

Arabic literature on love, Hispano-Arabic lyrics, and Sufi terminology of love were accessible to the Spaniards and probably to the Provençaux. Whether the origins of courtly love are to be found in Arabic

mystical philosophy or in Arabic poetry, the fact is that the quasi-mystical idealization of women was new in Medieval Europe, and the Arabs may have been responsible for its introduction into the poetry of the troubadours and, eventually, of European poetry in general. In fact, many Arabic factors could have contributed to the evolution and spread of the concept of courtly love: Arabic and Hispano-Arabic poetry, Sufi religious phraseology, Arabic chivalry, the Andalusian concept of love (Hubb al-Murrwah) as connected to honor, and the status of women in al-Andalus as reflected in literature. Hispano-Arabic culture, poetry, and music were accessible to the troubadours; the content of the early troubadour lyrics is similar to that of Hispano-Arabic lyrics. A further proof of the Arabic influence on the vernacular poetry of Europe can be detected in the forms and techniques that the troubadours adopted from Hispano-Arabic poetry and, in turn, transmitted to other European poetries including that of Medieval England.

NOTES

[1]Dorothee Matlitzki, _The Matter of Araby in Medieval England_ (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1977), p. 11.

[2]Gustave E. Von Grunebaum, _Medieval Islam: A Study in Cultural Orientation_, 2nd ed. (Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 337.

[3]von Grunebaum, p. 342. See also P. M. de Contenson, "St. Thomas et l'Avicennisme Latin, _Revue des sciences philosophique et théologique_, 43 (1959), 3-31.

[4]Alexander J. Denomy, _The Heresy of Courtly Love_ (1947; rpt. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965), pp. 41 and 46.

[5]Sir Thomas W. Arnold and A. Guillaume, eds., _The Legacy of Islam_ (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1931), p. 276, n. 1.

[6]Anwar Chejne, _Muslim Spain: Its History and Culture_ (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1974), p. 406.

[7]von Grunebaum, p. 289, n. 73, Metlitzki, pp. 240 and 299, n. 2.

[8]Arnold Steiger, _Origin and Spread of Oriental Words in European Languages_ (New York: S. F. Vanni, 1963), p. 3.

[9]Mudejar (from Spanish _Mudéjar_, from Arabic _Muddajan_) refers to a Muslim who was allowed to remain under Spanish jurisdiction during and after the Spanish Reconquista. On survivals of Mudejar art in the American continent, see Henri Terrasse, _L'Espagne du Moyen Age: Civilisation et arts_ (Paris: Fayard, 1966), p. 192; Terrasse, _Islam d'Espagne_ (Paris, 1958); Manuel Toussaint, _Arte Mudéjar en América_ (Mexico, 1946).

[10]Metlitzki, p. 5.

[11]von Grunebaum, pp. 57-8.

[12]Note that the word _Cid_ derives from the Arabid _sayyid_ (i.e., master or lord). J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi, _Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe_, trans. Thomas Roscoe (New York:

Harper and Brothers, 1848), v. 11, p. 93, suggests that the epic itself was first written in Arabic. We might add that in addition to the instances of shifting of alliances in the Cid, Alfonso VI had found refuge at the Muslim court of Toledo; he later conquered the city. Moreover, historical records show cases of Christians helping Muslims against Christian or Muslim common enemies and of Muslims doing likewise.

[13]Isidoro de las Cagigas, Los Mudéjares (Madrid, 1948), v. I, p. 148, states: "Reyes, príncipes, eclesiásticos, vivian o trataban de imitar el facto de las cortes musulmanas."

[14]Enrique Sordo, Moorish Spain: Cordova, Seville, Granada (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1963), p. 32, says: "News of the grandeur of the capital of Moslem Spain [Cordova] even reached a quiet cloister in Saxony, where the nun Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim called it 'the world's ornament.'"

[15]See R.P.G. Théry, Tolède, grande ville de la Renaissance médiévale (Oran, 1944). On the transmission of Arabic sciences to the West, see George Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science, 3 vols., (Baltimore, 1927-1948); A. Mieli, La Science arabe et son rôle dans l évolution scientifique mondiale (Leiden, 1966); D. M. Dunlop, Arabic Science in the West (Karachi, 1958).

[16]See Jan Read, The Moors in Spain and Portugal (London: Faber and Faber, 1974), pp. 174-180. In this respect, it should be noted that earlier in the ninth century, the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mūn had founded Bayt al-Hikmah (the House of Wisdom) in Baghdad. There, Syriac Christians translated books from Greek and Syriac (Aramaic) into Arabic. These books were then translated at Toledo and other European centers from Arabic into Latin with the Arabic commentaries on them. Sarton, v. I, pp. 424, 435, and 611, speaks of the value of these Syriac translations and says (p. 611) of Ḥunain Ibn Ishāq, the great Syriac scholar: "The translations prepared by Ḥunain and his school were the foundation of the Muslim canon of knowledge which dominated medical thought almost to modern times." Likewise, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, The Cid and His Spain, trans. Harold Sunderland, 1st ed. 1934 (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1971), p. 453, affirms: "In point of culture, Eastern Christendom gave Islam far more than it received, in the West it was the reverse."

[17]Sarton, v. I, pp. 16-7, asserts: "The most valuable of all [works], the most original and the most pregnant, were written in Arabic. From the second half of the eighth to the end of the eleventh century, Arabic was the scientific, the progressive language of mankind."

[18]In addition to Alfonso's keen interest in Arabic studies as his astronomical Alfonsine Tables show, his Cantigas indicate his interest in Arabic poetry and music. Above all, Alfonso helped establish Castilian as the official language of Spain. According to Martin Hume, Spanish Influence on English Literature (New York: Haskell House, 1964), pp. 21-23, Alfonso's choice of Castilian, besides its being the common

Mozarabic dialect of most of his subjects, was based mainly on the project of translating the Arabic heritage.

[19]Menéndez Pidal, The Cid, p. 455.

[20]Quoted in Metlitzki, p. 40.

[21]On the Muslim presence and influence in Sicily, see Aziz Ahmad, A History of Islamic Sicily (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1975); M. Amari, Storia dei Musulmani de Sicilia, rev. ed., ed. C. A. Nallino (Leipzig, 1933-1939); F. Gabrieli, "La Politique arabe des Normands de Sicile," Studia Islamica, 9 (1958), 83-96.

[22]Ahmad, p. 63, where he also cites the titles: "thus Roger II called himself al-Mu'tazz-bi-llāh; William I was al-Hādī bi-amri-llāh and William II was al-Musta'izz-bi-llāh."

[23]Metlitzki, p. 7, trans. from Amari.

[24]See M. Amari, "Questions philosophiques adressées aux savants musulmans par l'Empereur Frédéric II, Journal Asiatique, 5e série, I (1853), pp. 240-74.

[25]The Arabs had occupied Narbonne in 720.

[26]See Metlitzki, p. 251, n. 9.

[27]In art one might mention the arabesque. Moreover, the azulejos (glazed tiles) were intorduced into Spain by the Arabs. On this subject see, O. F. L. Hagen, Patterns and Principles of Spanish Art (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Studies, 1948), p. 34.

[28]Arthur Johnston, Enchanted Ground: The Study of Medieval Romance in the Eighteenth Century (London: The Athlone Press, 1964).

[29]Johnston, p. 54.

[30]Johnston, p. 57.

[31]Simonde de Sismondi, v. I, pp. 201-206, 221, and 308.

[32]Metlitzki, pp. 95-6, explains that Alfonso's book was very popular in the West; it was a type of the wisdom literature comprising thirty-four tales with proverbs; it was meant as a guide for clerics. The book was modelled after a similar collection by the Syriac savant Ḥunain Ibn Ishāq and other oriental sources. Metlitzki also points out that some of

the book's tales were retold in Middle English literature as in Chaucer's "Merchant's Tale" and in "Dame Sirith" and "The Fox and the Wolf."

[33]Raymond Lull was a great religious figure in the Middle Ages, he died as a martyr. Américo Castro, The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History, trans. Willard F. King and Selma Margaretten (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: Univ. of California Press, 1971), p. 503, says: "It is understandable that Raymond Lully (d. 1315) should have written his Libro del gentil y los tres sabios in Arabic rather than in his own Catalan."

[34]See Hume p. 47, n. 1; Chejne, pp. 407-8. Kalīlah wa-Dimnah, a book of fables and wisdom literature of Indian origin, was translated from Arabic into European languages at Toledo.

[35]Jack Lindsay, The Troubadours and their World of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries (London: Frederick Muller Ltd., 1976), p. 134.

[36]In this connection, one can mention, as possible sources of inspiration, Abu'l- Ala al-Ma'arri's Risālat al-Ghufrān (Treatise on Forgiveness), a description of a visit to Heaven and Hell to talk with poets; Risālat at-Tawābi' wa-zawābi', Eng. trans. James T. Monroe, The Treatise of Familiar Spirits and Demons by Abū 'Āmir ibn Shuhaid al-Ashja'ī, al-Andalusī (Univ. of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies, XV. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1971). On Dante's debt to Muslim eschatology, see Miguel Asín Palacios, La eschatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia (Madrid, 1919), Eng. trans. H. Sunderland, Islam and the Divine Comedy (London, 1926); T. Silverstein, "Dante and the Legacy of the Mi'rāj, "Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 11 (1952), 89ff., 187ff.; see also E. Cerulli, Il Libro della Scala e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Commedia (Vatican City, 1949), and his article "Dante e Islam," al-Andalus, 21 (1956), 229-53.

[37]On arabismos and Arabic loan-words in European languages, see R. Dozy, Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe (Leiden, 1869); A. Mekinassi, Léxico de las palabras Españolas de origen Arabe (Tetuán, 1963); H. Lammens, Remarques sur les mots français dérivés de l'arabe (Beirut, 1890); A. Steiger, Origin and Spread.

[38]Gerald Gillispie, "Origins of Romance Lyrics: A Review of Research," Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature, 16 (1967), 16-32, presents a comprehensive review of the theories on the origins of Romance poetry and courtly love.

[39]Joseph Bédier, "Les Fêtes de mai et le commencement de la poésie lyrique au Moyen-Age," Revue des Deux Mondes, 135 (1896), 148, quotes the following sentence from Paris: "Ainsi la poésie lyrique que nous voyons s'épanouir au xiie siécle dans le Midi et dont on a tant recherché l'origine, semble être essentiellement sortie des chansons de danse qui accompagnaient les fêtes de mai." See, also, page 167 of the same article.

[40]Bédier (p. 172) concludes his review of Jeanroy's theory of native origin and of Paris's May Day theory by saying: "L'ingénieuse et forte théorie qui nous avons analysée doit-elle vraiment se restreindre comme nous avons dit? En tant qu'elle fait sortir des fêtes de mai du haut moyen âge tout l'oeuvre des troubadours, des trouvères et des pétrarquistes, ne serait-elle qu'un très beau mythe? Il serait dommage, en vérité, que ces fêtes eussent donné naissance, non pas à toute la poésie lyrique, mais simplement aux petits genres pastoraux du moyen âge." Robert Briffault, The Troubadours, ed. Lawrence F. Koons (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1965), p. 224, describes these theories as fit for the domain of myth and divination. All further references to Briffault's book appear parenthetically in the text. See, also, H. J. Chaytor's comment in The Troubadours of Dante (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), pp. xi-xii.

[41]The Latin theory, in all its varieties, is rejected by many prominent scholars on the grounds that Provence was the least Latinized region of Medieval Europe and the belief that the troubadours did not know Latin. In this respect, Jeanroy's assertion, as cited in Briffault, p. 224, merits quoting: "Latin poetry had long since died out." Likewise, Christopher Dawson, Medieval Essays (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1954), p. 219, affirms: "There is obviously no direct connection between Provençal and Latin poetry.

[42]Peter Dronke's views are presented in his two books: Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965-66); and The Medieval Lyrics, 2nd ed. (New York: Clarendon Univ. Press, 1977).

[43]Leo Spitzer elaborates upon Frings' Frauenlieder theory in his article "The Mozarabic Lyric and Theodor Frings' Theories," Comparative Literature, 4 (1952), 1-22.

[44]For a review of the early exponents of the Arabic Theory, see M. Carl Gibson, "Background to the Theory of Arabic Origins," Brigham Young University Studies, 4 (1962), 219-34.

[45]Medieval Islam, pp. 340-41.

[46]Medieval Essays, p. 174.

[47]Hume, p. 17; Simonde de Sismondi, v. 1, pp. 155-56. In The Troubadours of Dante, p. xviii, Chaytor attributes the lack of epic poetry in Provence to a lack of national unity since Provence was joined to Barcelona in 1112, to Aragon in 1136, and became a possession of England in 1154.

[48]Dawson, p. 220.

[49]In his Love in the Western World, rev. and aug. ed. trans. Montgomery Belgion (New York: Pantheon Books, 1956), p. 115, Denis de Rougemont notes that the Provençal word AMOR is opposed to the word ROMA. Note also that Occitania was the center for heresies and anti-Catholicism, nonconformities that brought about the Albigensian Crusade which devastated the land and gave a mortal blow to the Provençal troubadours.

[50]Menéndez Pidal, Poesía juglaresca y juglares (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1924), p. 136.

[51]Julian Ribera y Tarragó, Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain, trans. and abridged by Eleanor Hague and Marion Leffingwell (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1929). See, especially chapters X-XVI.

[52]Menéndez Pidal, The Cid and His Spain, p. 402.

[53]Dronke, The Medieval Lyric, p. 19, writes: "In Castile, at the court of Sancho IV (1284-95), the palace accounts mention salaries paid to fourteen Arabic musicians (among them two women), one Jewish and twelve Christian ones." It may be assumed that some of the twelve Christian musicians were Mozarabs.

[54]The Medieval Lyric, p. 71.

[55]John Frederick Rowbothan, The Troubadours and Courts of Love (New York: MacMillan and Co., 1895), pp. 20-21, quotes from Ali of Isphahan, Liber Cantilenarum, folio 52, the following: "A good [Arabic] musician will have at his fingers' ends a hundred pieces of poetry, and countless songs, both humorous and melancholy; he will have a fluent tongue and a copious command of speech." It should be noted that Arabic music, enriched by Greek and Persian contributions, flourished in Baghdad during the Abbasid period (750-932) when philosophers like al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, al-Rāzī, and Avicenna wrote treatises on music.

[56]See Meg Bogin, The Women Troubadours (New York: Paddington Press Ltd., 1976), p. 46.

[57]Angus Mackay, Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire 1000-1500 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), p. 93. The competence of Arabic girl-singers can hardly be overestimated. They were brought up in the fine arts of singing and music, and some of them were brought from the Arab East. In addition to their singing and lute-playing, many of them wrote fine poetry. Al-Mu'tamid, the poet king of Cordova, married Rumaykiyyah, a slave girl, because of her ability to improvise poetry.

[58]Warner Forrest Patterson, Three Centuries of French Poetic Theory (1328-1630). (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1935), p. 34.

[59]See A. R. Nykl, Hispano-Arabic Poetry and Its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours (Baltimore: J. H. Furst, 1946), Chap. VII. Nykl's erudite work, which investigates the relations between Hispano-Arabic and Provençal poetry has been constantly consulted during the course of the present study. Subsequent references from this book appear parenthetically within the pages, and citations of translated Arabic verses will be noted with parenthetical insertion of page number.

[60]É. Lévi-Provençal, Islam d'Occident, études d'histoire médiévale (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve, 1948), p. 299.

[61]Lévi-Provençal, pp. 299-300.

[62]Lindsay, p. 2.

[63]Lindsay, p. 157. See, as well, Dronke, The Medieval Lyric. p. 50, for another rendering of the song along with interpretation of the word "gazel."

[64]See, for example, Lévi-Provençal, p. 297.

[65]As translated by J. A. Arberry in Arabic Literature: A Primer for Students (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1965), p. 46. All further citations from this book appear parenthetically in the text and indicate that the translations are Arberry's.

[66]According to A. R. Nykl, "Review of Leo Spitzer's L'Amour lointain de Jaufré Rudel et le sens de la poésie des troubadours," Speculum, 20 (1945), p. 252, this "faraway love" is nothing but the "love by description" as exemplified in Ibn Ḥazm's Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma (see note 71 below). It should be noted that love by description is still seen in Arab society.

[67]von Grunebaum, Medieval Islam, p. 317.

[68]See E. L. Fackenheim, "A Treatise on Love by Ibn Sīnā," Medieval Studies, 7 (1945), 208-228; G. E. von Grunebaum, "Avicenna's Risāla fî l'išq and Courtly Love," Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 11 (1952), 233-238.

[69]Joseph Norment Bell, "Al-Sarrāj's Masari al- Ushshāq: A Hanbalite work?" Journal of the American Oriental Society, 99 (1979), p. 237. Bell, pp. 245 and 248, mentions the following Arabic works on love: Ibn al-Jawzī's Dham al-hawā The Abuse of Love , Ibn al-Marzubān's Those Enslaved by Love and his Women and Amatory Poetry, and al-Burjulānī's The Enslaved by Love.

[70]Quoted in Lévi-Provençal, Islam d'Occident, p. 293.

[71]Ibn Ḥazm, The Ring of the Dove, trans. A. J. Arberry (London: Luzac and Co. Ltd., 1953). Citations from this book are reproduced from Arberry's translation and appear parenthetically within the pages.

[72]Dronke, Medieval Latin, p. 17.

[73]A. J. Denomy, The Heresy of Courtly Love.

[74]W. T. Jackson, The Literature of the Middle Ages (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1960), p. 237.

[75]Denis de Rougemont, Love in the Western World, rev. and aug. ed., trans. Montgomery Belgion (New York: Pantheon Books, 1956). The Sufis are Muslim mystics. It is believed that they were influenced by Gnosticism, Persian and, perhaps, Indian doctrines, and by the asceticism of Eastern Christianity. In this connection, it should be noted that Arianism, Nestorianism, and Monophysitism were the product of Eastern Christendom. These "heresies," particularly the first, had some influence on the Albigensian and Cathars of Southern France, and, to elaborate upon de Rougemont's argument, may have contributed to the concept of courtly love. But this entails a further discussion that must be left for another paper. However, insofar as this thesis is concerned, it may be reasonable to point out that a good number of pre-Islamic Arab poets were Christians (Louis Sheikho, The Poets of Christianity [Beirut, n.d.]). Christian Arabs and Christian arabized communities have produced some of the finest poets of the Arabic language. Their poetry might have influenced the Sufis and the Muslim poets, and thus could have contributed to the evolution of courtly love. The suggestion, however, seems farfetched and needs further study.

[76]Pilar Liria, "Arabic Poetry and Courtly Love," unpublished paper, pp. 1 and 5. The paper was read at the 1978 SMCLA Meeting Houston, Texas. I am grateful to Professor Pilar Liria of the University of Oklahoma for sending me a copy of the paper in English as well as in the original enlarged Spanish form.

[77]Medieval Islam, p. 120.

[78]Medieval Islam, p. 316.

[79]von Grunebaum, Medieval Islam, p. 313, writes: "As early as ca. A.D. 500 the poet al-Muraqqish the Elder died of love." He also cites a verse that the poet addressed to his beloved:

> And whenever thou hearest, where so it reaches thee, of a lover who's dead of love or is dying,
> Know that that wretch is I without doubt, and weep for one whom Love chained and slew with none to avenge.

Von Grunebaum comments that al-Muraqqish's story became a common theme in Arabic poetry; the poet Ṭarafa (Sixth century), for example, stated that al-Muraqqish died of love.

CHAPTER II

HISPANO-ARABIC POETRY AND THE VERNACULAR POETRY OF EUROPE: THE PROVENCAL CONNECTION

To the Arabs, poetry is an art and a craft; its study, *'lm al-'arudh*, is a science. Good poetry is expected to evoke admiration and joy (*ṭarab*) in the listeners. The Arabs used to hold annual poetry contests like 'Ukadh in pre-Islamic times and al-Merbid during the Abbasic period (750-932) in Iraq. Arab poets, indispensable for the tribe and later for the court, were expected to extemporize impromptu, a practice still in vogue among the folk and Bedouin poets of the oral tradition and some talented educated poets. The Arabs' reverence for poetry is illustrated in the fact that they wrote the seven famous pre-Islamic odes--called the *Mu'allākat* (literally, hung)--in "gold water" and exhibited them on the then pagan shrine of al-Ka'ba.[1]

New Strophic Forms

From earliest times Arabic poetry has been lyrical with the *qaṣida* (ode), the foremost lyrical form, following certain traditional conventions in themes, treatment, and form. The classical *qaṣida*, always monorhymed, consists of a variable number of *baits*--lines of two hemistiches--with the second hemistiches rhyming throughout the *qaṣida*.[2] The *baits* of the *qaṣida* are of equal length:

1st *bait*	1st hem.	a	2nd hem.	a
2nd *bait*				a

3rd bait ____________________ ____________________ a

4th bait ____________________ ____________________ a

etc.

Thus, the two hemistiches of the first bait rhyme together and the same rhyme is maintained in all second hemistiches of the following baits. Sometimes a poet would maintain the same rhyme in all hemistiches. The richness of the Arabic vocabulary and the majesty of its sound system[3] facilitated the task of the poet in picking the right rhyming word for nuances and shades of meaning, sound effects, and harmony.

With their passionate devotion for songs and poetry, the Arabs produced numerous poets. In this connection, the Arabs of Spain were no exception. Moreover, the continuity of cultural relations between the Arab East and al-Andalus through pilgrimages, study expeditions, travels, emigration of belletrists and poets, and the exportation of girl-singers facilitated the influx of Eastern Arab poetry to al-Andalus. Arabic poetry reached a peak in Abbasid Iraq in the eighth century when Caliphs were either poets or patrons of poets and when treatises on poetics and music were composed. It is during that period that al-Farāhīdī extracted 'lm al-'Urudh (i.e., the science of meters). Naturally, Iraqi poets became the models for all Arab poets, including the Andalusian. The dīwāns (a dīwān is the collected works of a poet) of Iraqi poets were circulated in al-Andalus and were even learned by heart. Hence, it became a literary practice to liken Andalusian poets to Iraqi ones.

Accordingly, the attempts of some Iraqi poets to free their verse from the conventions of the classical qaṣida were echoed in al-Andalus. The Iraqi poet Abu Nuwās mocked at the conventional qaṣida and tried to innovate in his poems. Also, Iraqi poets used the mulama' (discort),

introduced non-Arabic (Persian and Aramaic[4]) expressions in their lyrics, wrote light and frivolous verse, and improvised popular forms like the mawāliya, where spoken rather than literary Arabic was used. Hispano-Arabic poets, who were preoccupied with refinements and who indulged in the debonair way of life, elaborated upon these innovations and improvised new strophic forms using colloquial Arabic as well as a few Romance words in some of their lyrics. The new popular strophic forms, the muwashshaḥ and the zajal, appeared in al-Andalus in the ninth and tenth centuries, respectively, and they were meant to be sung. These poetic patterns, particularly the zajal, are important in the literary history of Europe because they are thought to have provided models for troubadour poetry and thus, in turn, for some Middle English lyrics and carols.

The muwashshaḥ is written in literary Arabic language except for the concluding lines, the kharja (literally, departure or sally), whereas the zajal is composed in the spoken Arabic dialect with a few non-Arabic expressions. Both forms depart from the classical qaṣida in their abundance of rhymes and meters in the same composition as well as in the use of a variety of stanzaic forms. Moreover, poems in both patterns are generally composed of from five to nine strophes of varying short lines. Again, both patterns follow similar forms, the most common beginning with a distich (called Matla' or markaz: literally, prelude or center) of two lines often rhyming together and containing the general theme of the poem. This distich is followed by an undefined number of strophes each having four lines. The first three lines of each strophe (the aghṣan: literally, branches; corresponding to the Spanish mudanza) rhyme together while the fourth line (the simṭ: literally, string; corresponding to the Spanish vuelta) rhymes with the introductory distich.[5]

The typical rhyme-scheme for the *muwashshaḥ* is as follows:

AA bbbAA cccAA, etc.:

markaz (*matla'*): AA

aghṣan : bbb

simṭ : AA

aghṣan : ccc

simṭ : AA

Other combinations are possible, for example:

ABC dddABC eeeABC, etc.

ABAB cdcdcdABAB efefefABAB, etc.

ABCABC defdefdefABCABC ghighighiABCABC, etc.

The typical *zajal* structure is as follows:

AA bbbA cccA, etc.

A few simple variations are possible, for example:

AB cccB(AB) dddB(AB), etc.

ABAB cdcdcdAB efefefAB, etc.

The translations of *muwashshaḥs* that are given in Appendix A also illustrate the *zajal* structure.

According to the thirteenth century Egyptian critic Ibn Sanā al-Mulk, one group of the *muwashshaḥs* was in accordance with the standard meters of Arabic prosody as set by al-Farāhīdī, whereas a second group was in "neglected and unusual meters."[6] The Andalusian metrical innovations in meter and rhyme, the change from monorhyme to a variety of rhymes, and the use of Romance expressions in the *zajal* and in the *kharja* of the *muwashshaḥ*, have tempted some scholars to advocate a non-Arabic origin, specifically a Romance one, for these new patterns.[7] However, although bilingualism and Romance songs might have contributed to the rise of the new

Hispano-Arabic patterns, their role should not be overestimated. Rather, the genesis of these genres seems to have stemmed mainly from Arabic poetic traditions[8] and from the innovations of Iraqi poets.

The reproduction of the rhyme in the simṭ of each strophe which characterizes these patterns is in accordance with the Arabic murabba' (quatrain) form which follows the rhyme-scheme aaab cccb, etc. This recurrence of rhyme is also noted in the takhmīs strophic form, aaaab ccccb, etc. Probably, as some scholars believe,[9] the new forms, particularly the zajal, are derived from the musammaṭ or tasmīṭ poetic form. The tasmīṭ is formed by maintaining internal rhyme (three parts rhymed together) in the body of the bait, and keeping the monorhyme (the last word of each bait) throughout:

——— a ——— a ——— a ——— b

——— c ——— c ——— c ——— b

——— d ——— d ——— d ——— b

We also notice that the term simṭ, which is used to designate part of the muwashshaḥ, is derived from tasmīt. Short verses as seen in the tasmīṭ were not uncommon in Arabic poetry. The Abbasid poets Abu Nuwās, Abu-l-Atahiya, and Ibn al-Mu'taz used short verses. In addition to this, Abbasid poets experimented with the use of new meters, the use of the aaab rhyme-scheme, and the use of non-Arabic expressions and frivolous verse in poems with a popular tendency.[10] Further, since the new strophic forms were meant to be sung, Eastern music as introduced by Ziryāb played a role in the formation of these patterns.[11]

The rules set by Ibn Sanā al-Mulk for composing the muwashshaḥs led some scholars, particularly Western ones, to certain misconceptions.

Apart from the reliability of al-Mulk's work, his remark that the Kharja is the cornerstone of the muwashshaḥ should not be taken in isolation since he goes on to say that the Kharja should be nonsensical.[12] Another of Ibn Sanā al-Mulk's remarks concerning the use of "neglected and unusual meters" in some muwashshaḥs (see p. 5, n. 6) is interpreted as referring to Romance meters. This remark made some scholars believe in the incorporation of a syllable rhythm into the Arabic quantitative rhythmic scheme. On the other hand, many Arab scholars and some enthusiasts for the Arabic theory like Martin Hartman try to fit the "neglected and unusual meters" into the standard Arabic prosodic meters and thus deny any Romance influence whatsoever. The truth probably lies somewhere between the two extremes. Definitely, the social conditions of al-Andalus and the harmonious acculturation helped bring the Arabic innovations in poetic forms to fruition. Moreover, these Arabic innovations were the combined efforts of both Arabic and arabized (of non-Arabic origin) poets. Therefore, we may conclude that no one factor can account for the genesis of the new strophic forms, although the Arabic factor seems to have played a decisive part. In this connection, the role of the kharja in the rise of the muwashshaḥ should not be overestimated.

The kharja or jarcha (the concluding lines of the muwashshaḥ) corresponds to the Spanish and Provençal tornado and to the French envoi. Put in the mouth of maidens, and composed in spoken Arabic it sometimes uses non-Arabic Romance expressions, in which case it is called a Mozarabic or Romance kharja. The Romance kharjas, dating from the eleventh century, were fragments inserted in some Hispano-Arabic and Hispano-Hebraic muwashshaḥs and were written in archaic Mozarabic Romance with Arabic words. In the following examples, the words in italics are in the Mozarabic

dialect whereas the rest are in Arabic. The first two _kharjas_ are of Hispano-Arabic _muwashshaḥs_ while the third is of a Hispano-Hebraic one:

1. _Non quero yun_ ḫillello illa'l-samarello

2. _Bokella_ al-'iqdi _dolje com_ al-šuhdi _ven bejame_ Ḥabībī ji''indī

3. Ya rabb _com vivirayu_ _con este_ 'l-ḫalāq
   Ya man qabl an yusallim yuhaddid bi'l-firāq[13]

The exciting discovery of Romance Mozarabic _kharjas_ (sixty-four so far)[14] has led some scholars to assume a vulgar Latin tradition of lyric poetry that resulted in these Mozarabic _kharjas_ as well as in the Galician _Cantigas de amigo_, the Castilian _villancicos_, and the Old French refrains, and which influenced the evolution of the new Hispano-Arabic strophic forms.[15] James T. Monroe goes so far as to suggest a new bilingual _kharja_ on the grounds that the word "mamma" which occurs in the Arabic _kharja_ is pronounced in the Mozarabic and not in the Arabic manner.[16]

It is evident, however, that the Arabic factor is dominant in the occurrence of Arabic words even in the rhyme and in the body of Hispano-Hebraic _kharjas_. Moreover, in a recent article Jarir Abu Haỳder called attention to the fact that many Western scholars misinterpret Ibn Sanā al-Mulk's statement on the _possibility_ of writing Romance _kharjas_ as saying it is a "must."[17] Abu Hayder explains that both the _zajal_ and the _kharja_ follow the distinct _Hazl_ genre, which licenses the use of funny, obscene, colloquial, and non-Arabic expressions.[18] In the same article, Abu Hayder throws light on the _kharja_ by maintaining that it is put at the end of the _muwashshaḥ_ following the literary principle of _Ihmadh_ (i.e., ending a composition in a frivolous tone and language).[19] In view of Abu Hayder's article, it may be argued that Hispano-Arabic poets deliberately

picked up Romance words for the humorous effects of hazl and Ihmadh. Moreover, since the literary critic Ibn Sanā al-Mulk was Egyptian and not Andalusian, and since he wrote his book on the muwashshaḥs three centuries after the evolution of the form, his remark that poets pick the kharja and then base the whole muwashshaḥ on it may not be trustworthy. Also, it can hardly be ascertained that the poets always based their muwashshaḥs on the kharjas since it is difficult to know what occurs in a poet's mind when he composes poetry. It is also significant that early examples of the muwashshaḥ did not use popular language. Ibn Quzmān, the famous exponent of the zajal, recommends the use of classical Arabic in the muwashshaḥ and popular Arabic in the zajal.[20]

Further, the formulaic similarities among Mozarabic kharjas, Galician canciones de amigo, Castilian villancicos, and Old French refrains[21] can be accounted for by the fact that the Mozarabic kharjas antedate the other forms by more than a century. These kharjas are the prototype of analogous lyrical European forms.[22] Moreover, similar verbal repetitions among the European forms and the Mozarabic kharjas should be considered in the social context. In this respect, the status of women in al-Andalus was such that girls were frank in showing their love, in confiding in their mothers, and in writing daring love poems.[23] In fact, Hispano-Arabic women poets wrote erotic poems with such obscene words that most Arabic anthologies refrain from printing them. Contrariwise, woman's status in Latin countries was humiliating[24]--the "mal mariée" songs indicate this fact and show that these women's songs were a temporary outlet for suppressed passions.

Jack Lindsay aptly sums up the issue of the kharja in the following manner: "There was no simple one-way movement of ideas and forms from Arabic to Romance tongues. . . . But the jarchas did not themselves

create the forms of <u>muwashshaḥ</u> or <u>zejel</u>, though scholars, in their eagerness to deny the role of the Arabs in helping to bring about Troubadour poetry, often write as if we have proof that they did."[25] As for the Romance words in the Mozarabic <u>kharjas</u>, it is my belief that Hispano-Arabic poets used these words to please the Spanish maidens at the Muslim <u>harems</u> and to win the favor of these maidens' lords by putting the <u>kharja</u> in the mouth of maidens, or simply when they addressed the lyric to Mozarabic maidens. These Mozarabic <u>kharjas</u>, in particular, might have influenced the similar European forms. Thus, the popular Provençal refrain:

Qvant lo gilos er fora
bels ami
uene uos a mi

which S. G. Armistead[26] relates, in both form and content, to this Mozarabic <u>kharja</u>:

Yā fātin, ā fātin,
vos ȳ entrad
Kando gilós kédad

may be considered as further evidence of the influence of Hispano-Arabic poetry on Provençal. In this respect, Arabs, Mozarabs, and Jews living in Provence and the neighboring Spanish kingdoms might have inspired the Provençal poets since some of them taught Arabic music and poetry. In fact, we later find that "Moslems and Jews were forbidden to present poems at the contests of <u>El Gay Saber</u>."[27] It is also significant that Hebraic poets imitated Arabic <u>muwashshaḥs</u> and <u>kharjas</u>.[28] Mozarabs, according to Bishop Alvaro's complaint,[29] even composed poetry in Arabic. It should not be surprising, therefore, to assume that the Hispano-Arabic forms provided models for the Provençaux. Thus, without dismissing the possibility of minor influences that Mozarabic songs might have exercised over the new Arabic forms, it may be concluded that these fragments (i.e., the Mozarabic

kharjas), could not have been a decisive factor in the evolution of the muwashshaḥ and zajal highly developed patterns. These patterns, as shown in this discussion, had many elements in common with the lyrical Eastern Arabic tradition.[30]

In the light of the arguments presented here and since the issue is still the subject of controversial scholarship, it may be concluded that the Hispano-Arabic patterns are an extension of the Arabic poetic tradition and that they might have been partly enhanced by Mozarabic songs or the Romance tradition. However, what we should consider is whether these popular forms, particularly the zajal, provided models for the troubadour lyrics and, in turn, for some Middle English lyrics and carols.

Strophic Influence on Provençal Poetry

The indispensability of rhyme in Arabic poetry, whether in the monorhymed qaṣida or in the muwashshaḥs and zajals, has already been pointed out. The fact that in addition to poetry and prose, the Arabs have another literary form, the Saj' (rhymed prose), further demonstrates the importance of rhyme in Arabic literature. Many of the medieval Arabic fables and anecdotes--some of which were translated into Latin and other European languages--like the Maqamāt (anecdotes) of al-Ḥariri and al-Hamadani were written in Saj' with interspersing verses. On the other hand, "rhyme . . . seemed a vulgarity to the ear trained to Romance and Hellenic music."[31] The Arabs are thought to have introduced rhyme into the nascent poetry of Europe. Thus, Arnold Toynbee states: "Native Western accentual verse had been enriched by the adoption of a contemporary Arabic poetry's device of rhyme, which was alien to the literary tradition of the Hellenic world and Western Christianity alike."[32] The repetition

of the same rhyme in the strophe and other metrical similarities between Hispano-Arabic poetry and Troubadour poetry have been pointed out by Hispanists and Arabists, particularly Nykl, Briffault, Ribera, Menéndez Pidal, and García Gómez. The studies of these and other scholars show that the similarities are striking and cannot be accidental. Nykl (p. 379), for example, affirms: "If we compare Guillaume's, Marcabru's and Rudel's forms of poetry with the forms current in contemporary Muslim Spain, as well as in the East, we cannot fail to find considerable analogies which can only be explained by imitation or adaptation, not by independent invention."

The argument of the advocates of the Arabic theory runs as follows: troubadour poetry is analogous to Hispano-Arabic poetry in the alternate use of the same rhyme at fixed intervals in all strophes; the Arabic _markaz_ or _matla'_ (Spanish _estribillo_) corresponds to the Provençal _finada_, and the use of the refrain and seven as the average number of strophes is noted in both poetries. Further, typical personages like the _gardador_ (_gaita_), _Lauzengier_[33] (spy, malicious gossip), _gilos_, _envejos_, _vezi_, and the messenger are analogous to the Arabic _raqīb_, _wāshi_ or _'āḍil_, _ḥāsid_, _gār_, and _rasūl_ that are current in Arabic lyrics. Again, the use of fictitious names, _senhals_, such as Bon Vezi, Bel Esper, and Mon Desir are reminiscent of the Arabic _gāri_, _amalī_, and _munyatī_. Also, the use of the masculine "Midons" in addressing the lady echoes the Arabic use of "_sayyidī_" and "_mawlāyī_." Likewise, parallelisms of techniques, themes, and motifs are striking: the submission of the lover to the beloved; the suffering, insomnia, and illness of the lover; the cruelty of the lady; the spring atmosphere; the poet's making a boast of his poetry; and many other similar commonplaces.[34] Further, comparisons of Hispano-Arabic

lyrics and the poems of the first troubadours show unmistakable metrical similarities.[35]

Similarly, poets of both traditions view poetic creation as a "craft" and display a tendency towards formalism, virtuosity, and artificiality of style. Like their counterparts in al-Andalus, the Provençaux set sophisticated rules for the art of trobar and improvised terminology for the lyric. Provençal terms such as the pede, frons, cauda, and tornado were later theorized and popularized by Dante. These terms, I believe, correspond to the Arabic poetic terms. Thus, the pede (feet) corresponds to the Arabic bait since the similarity in sound suggests a possible derivation of pede from bait. In this connection, "stanza" (literally, abode or dwelling) is probably a literal translation of bait (literally, abode or dwelling). Provençal frons corresponds to Arabic ṣadr (literally, front: the first or front hemistich of the bait as compared to the second or rear hemistich, the 'Ajaz) since they convey the same meaning. The Caūda (literally, tail) is likewise similar to the 'Ajaz (literally, posterior part, rear) in meaning. As for the tornado (personal appeal), its function is similar to the practice of concluding most Arabic poems with a personal appeal, often to the lady.

Further, there are similarities in the forms and genres of both poetries: the Provençal planh and the Arabic rithā' (lament), the sirvèntes (a political poem, a war song or personal satire) and the ḥamāsa (war song) and hijā' (satire), and the canzo (most used formal love poem) and the ghazal. The canzo also corresponds to the muwashshaḥ in that each of its strophes describes a certain aspect of the poet's feelings, and also in ending with a tornado, a personal appeal to the lady. Likewise, the Provençal tenzon and Joc partitz have corresponding forms in Arabic

poetry.[36] Even the crusading songs had their counterparts in Arabic poetry. Moreover, the available evidence indicates that the Provençal *alba* is analogous to the Arabic dawn song in that both mention the name "God" often. In this respect, it is significant that Arab lovers who used to meet stealthily at night would be warned of the coming of dawn by the muezzin's cry: "*Allah Akbar*" (God is Great) to summon people to prayers. It is most likely that the troubadours' references to "*Dieu*" and to the personages of the *gaita* or *gardador* (watchman) in their *albas* are echoes of the Arabic word "*Allah*" and of the personages of the *raqīb* and *muezzin* that appear in Hispano-Arabic poetry. Menéndez Pidal has demonstrated that Mozarabic *albadas* antedate the first Provençal *albas*.[37] And since Mozarabic *kharjas* might have influenced Provençal refrains as shown earlier (p. 39), it might be suggested that Andalusian lyrics and Mozarabic *kharjas* provided models for the troubadours. The following Mozarabic *kharja*, written from the point of view of a maiden, has the *alba* motifs:

Vay, ya sahhara,
Alba, qu'est con bel fogore!
Cand vene, vedas amore!

Go away, sorceress,
Dawn, with your fiery beauty!
When he comes, you see our love![38]

Other instances may be cited from Arabic and Mozarabic *kharjas* and from Arabic and Muslim poetry in general. In Provençal, likewise, *albas* like the following one are replete with Muslim allusions:

Quan lo rossinhols escria
ab sa par la nueg e·l dia
yeu suy ab ma bell' amia
jos la flor,
tro la gaita de la tor
escria: 'Drutz, al levar!
qu'ieu vey l'alba e·l jorn
clar!'

When the nightingale, beside his mate,
heralds the night and the day,
I lie with my fair beloved
on the flowers,
till the watchman on the tower
cries 'Lovers, awaken!
I see the dawn, the bright day
breaking!'[39]

The nightingale, flower, and breeze as messenger are motifs in Arabic and Persian lyrics.[40] "The watchman on the tower" strongly calls to mind the Muslim muezzin since the latter would always cry from the top of the minaret or from the highest place in the mosque. This motif indicates that the alba genre as used in medieval European poetry is a pure Islamic contribution. A further indication is that, indeed, albas with this motif do not exist in the rich Persian poetry that antedate Islam.[41]

In addition to the similarities between Hispano-Arabic and troubadour poetry cited above, we might add that just as Hispano-Arabic poets address their male companions, the milāḥ, in the opening of some lyrics, Guillaume IX, the first troubadour, addresses his male friends, Companho, in a similar manner. Finally, I am tempted to draw attention to the absence of epic poetry in both traditions and also to a common phenomenon, namely, the abundance of women poets in both al-Andalus and Provence.[42]

However, the most striking similarity between Hispano-Arabic poetry and Troubadour and vernacular European poetry lies in the zajal form. Arabists and romanists alike have contributed to the study of this form and have subjected the Diwān (works) of the zajalist Ibn Quzmān to careful analysis. Ibn Quzmān (d. 1160), the exponent of the zajal, was a prolific poet who mainly wrote on wine, pleasures, and adulterous love. His poetry was popular in al-Andalus and, it is supposed, had influenced the lyrics of the troubadours in both form and content. Julián Ribera, a propagator

of the Arabic theory of origins, was moved by enthusiasm to suggest that "the mysterious key which explains the mechanism of the poetic forms of the various lyric systems of the civilized world in the Middle Ages is in the Andalusian lyric, to which the Cancionero of Ben Guzmán belongs."[43] Many scholars have called attention to the aaab rhyme and zajal form in Guillaume IX's last poem, song XI, which begins as follows:

> Pois de chantar m'es pres talenz,
> farai un vers, don sui dolenz:
> mais non serai obedienz
> en Peitou ni en Lemozi.[44]

As may be seen, the zajal form is evident in this verse. One of the points that confirms the adoption of the zajal form by the Provençaux is the occurrence of the word gazel in the religious Provençal song which also follows the zajal form as noted earlier.[45] The zajal form then spread to other native poetries of Europe as the examples in Appendix B demonstrate. Leo Spitzer, who tends to believe in Theodor Frings' Frauenlieder theory, nevertheless admits: "The rime scheme [of the zajal] can be brought into relationship with certain metrical forms used by the first troubadour, William of Aquitaine (and also by later poets as diversified as the Archpriest of Hita, Jacopone da Todi, Clément Marot, Du Bellay, and even Victor Hugo). And sometimes we find in the zéjels reflections of a concept of courtly love and social function . . . which are somewhat reminiscent of troubadour poetry."[46] Some scholars even suggest that the zajal form might have influenced the canzone and the sonnet. Ernest H. Wilkins, for instance, discusses the following variety of zajal composed about 1100 and which has, according to him, accentual meter:

> Wa ghazalin musciannefi
> Kad retha li ba'da bu'di
> Lamma rea ma lakeitu.

Mithlu raudhin mufawwefi
La obâli wahwa 'iudi
Fi hubbihi ids dhaneitu.

and concludes: "It is then possible that the zagal, in such a variety as this, suggested the scheme of the [sonnet's] sestet."[47] The rhythm of the cited zajal is, according to Nykl (p. 406), that of Guillaume IX's "Farai chansoneta neuva." W. J. Courthope likewise quotes this same zajal (first noted in Amari [History of the Mussulmans of Sicily]) and suggests that "as the old-fashioned Arab Kaside [qaṣida], with its strophe of verses connected by a single rhyme, seems to have furnished the model for the Chanson de Geste, so the metrical germ of the canzone and sonnet is found in the Mowascehât or Azgiâl."[48] It is also highly significant that Alfred Jeanroy, the advocator of native origins for vernacular poetry, who in 1899 described the influence of Arabic poetry as "une pure légende," acknowledged in 1934 that this same hypothesis can no longer be rejected by a "négation pure et simple" (Nykl, p. 409, n. 64).

On account of the cultural relations that existed between al-Andalus and the Frankish regions of Spain and Southern France, and in view of the remarkable similarities between Hispano-Arabic poetry and the lyrics of the troubadours, Arabic poetry in general and Hispano-Arabic poetry in particular seem likely to have enhanced the rise of vernacular lyricism in Europe and to have provided models for European poets to draw upon.

The Spread of Provençal Poetry on the Continent and into England

The Provençal lyric tradition, from which--Ezra Pound once noted[49] --arose practically all the poetry of the modern world, flourished for more than two centuries with more than four hundred troubadours. The

later troubadours of Provence developed new and complex strophic forms and rhyme schemes; they sought rimas planas (easy rhymes) and rimas caras (rich or recherché rhymes) to adorn their lyrics; they wrote in trobar clus (obscure or closed singing) and trobar clar (easy singing); and they exchanged tensons. An academy for El Gay Saber was established[50] and poets participated in poetical contests held periodically at Le Puy (Haute-Loire).[51] Provençal women were not inactive in this literary ambience as the lyrics of the trobairitz indicate. Likewise, juglars[52] (jongleurs: performers of lyric poems composed by troubadours) flourished with the evolution of troubadour poetry, which they sang throughout their wanderings.

Troubadour lyrics enjoyed great popularity not only in Occitania but in most parts of Europe. The Provençal influence was such that "even the Latin lyrics show traces of Provençal influence, both in form and spirit."[53] Soon, poets in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Northern France, and even England resorted to Provençal as their poetic medium. The House of Aquitaine played a significant role in the diffusion of the Provençal muse. In 1137, Aliénor d' Aquitaine, granddaughter of the first troubadour and herself a patroness of poets, married Louis VII of France. Naturally, many troubadours frequented her French court and helped enhance the taste for courtly poetry. Aliénor's two daughers, Marie countess of Champagne and Aélis countess of Blois, inherited their mother's literary taste and, likewise, patronized poets.

Ironically enough, far from sealing the doom of courtly love practices and poetry, the Albigensian Crusade, which devastated Provence and constituted a heavy blow to the Provençal troubadours, helped spread their manner of poetry to the invaders. The seeds of the new poetry did not die

since Provençal, as noted before, had already become a continental language for lyric poetry used by Spaniards, Portuguese, Italian, and Norman poets of the new school of poetry.[54]

The wave of troubadour poetry reached Germany, where Minnesingers composed lyrics in imitation of the Provençal troubadours. Similarly, trovadores issued in the Iberian Peninsula and they had the Provençal troubadours as models upon which to draw. In Northern France during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Provençal verse patterns were widely imitated--both in spirit and detail--by the trouvères as the poems of poets such as Guide Coucy, Gace Brulé, Thibaut IV, Canon de Béthune, and Gautier d'Épinal illustrate.[55] Moreover, Chrétien de Troyes absorbed and elaborated the troubadour ideas on love in his poetry; so did the composers of the Roman de la Rose and of the other Arthurian romances.

In Sicily, where traces of Arabic poetry were still remembered, poets wrote courtly lyrics in the canzone, in imitation of the Provençal troubadours. In Northern Italy, as Ezra Pound puts it, "The poetic art of Provence paved the way for the poetic art of Tuscany; and to this Dante bears sufficient witness in the De Vulgari Eloquio."[56] In fact, Dante reserves praise for Provençal poets in his Divine Comedy. In like manner, the stil dulce nuova poets as well as Petrarch and his imitators acknowledge the mastery and influence of the Provençal troubadours. However, Italian poetry seems to have flowed from the Arabic spring as well.[57] W. J. Courthope comments:

> The evidence pointing to the Arab origin of Italian rhyme architecture is more positive and direct. . . . If Italian poems were called Sicilian, it was doubtless because the examples of the art were derived from Sicily, in other words from the Arabs. And this presumption is rendered stronger by the names of the various kinds of poetry, canzone, sonnet, ballad, which Dante defines, and which all of them join with the metrical composition

an accompaniment of singing, music, dancing, or all three combined.[58]

Thus, the art of the Arabs--whether directly or through the troubadours--became the fountain of European literature. However, most scholars disregard this fact and only acknowledge the debt to Provençal poetry.[59] For instance, W. P. Ker states: "Everything that is commonly called poetry in the modern tongues may in some way or other trace its pedigree back to William of Poitiers singing--'Farai chansoneta nova.'"[60] Likewise, Ezra Pound comments: "Any study of European poetry is unsound if it does not commence with a study of that art in Provence."[61] And in a vigorous statement, C. S. Lewis writes on the change effected by the Provençal love poetry: "Compared with this revolution the Renaissance is a mere ripple on the surface of literature."[62]

There is no doubt, therefore, as to the pervasive impact of the Provençal poetic tradition on Europe. This new spirit of poetry reached England, too. Most scholars are of the opinion that the influence of Provençal poetry on England was indirect rather than direct, late rather than early, and mainly by means of the French poets. The role of the family of Aquitaine in the diffusion of the new lyric spirit in Northern France has already been noted. In like manner, the marriage of Aliénor d' Aquitaine to Henry II of England in 1152 helped introduce the spirit of refinement and the new lyric poetry into England. The courts of Aliénor and her daughter Marie of Champagne were centers for troubadour poetry. Bernard de Ventador, the famous Provençal troubadour, followed his queen, Aliénor, to England and spent some time there:

Faitz es lo vers totz aranda
. . .
Outra la terra normande

Part la fera mar prionde

. . .

Pel rei sui engles e normans.[63]

Similarly, other troubadours like Bertran de Born and Savaric de Mauléon visited England.[64]

It should also be mentioned that earlier in 1122, Henry I of England married Alix de Brabant and she probably invited trouvères to her court.[65] Later, in 1236, Henry III was married to Eleanor of Provence. However, it is through Henry II's marriage to Aliénor d' Aquitaine that Southern France became a possession of England, thereby bringing the English into direct contact with the Provençal troubadours. The Provençal "gay science" found admirers among the English people in the English sovereignties of Southern France as well as in England itself where, in imitation of the Provençal and Northern French poetical contests, the English held the London Puy. King Henry II was also reputed to be a liberal patron of ministrels, and he was even blamed for his preference for foreigners. Also, some of the dukes and barons of England patronized <u>jongleurs</u> and <u>trouvères</u>.[66] In brief, in the course of the twelfth century, "the French fashion was already in full swing and . . . thoroughly naturalized among the English."[67]

Further, King Henry II's sons, Geoffrey and Richard the Lionhearted, had close relations with some Provençal troubadours. Thus, Bertran de Born was a friend of Geoffrey and wrote a <u>planh</u> on his death. Richard the Lionhearted was himself a troubadour and a liberal patron of troubadours. He governed Aquitaine and Poitou and maintained good relations with troubadours, many of whom addressed poems to him and wrote <u>sirventes</u> inciting him to join the crusades.[68] Later, when Richard became King, he invited some Provençal troubadours to his court in England.[69] However,

the many references in troubadour poems are not only to the English kings, but to the English people as well.[70]

It is significant that direct contact between the Provençaux and the English and Normans dates back to the early Crusades, when a common cause brought these people together. Rowbothan suggests that the English war cry "St. George for merry England" was derived from the war cry of Guillaume IX (the first troubadour), "St. George for the puissant Duke!"[71] This troubadour was known in England, says William of Malmesburg, as "a valiant knight in warfare, and bounteous in love-gallantry; and he knew well to sing and to make poetry."[72] Guillaume IX was also a friend of Rufus of England,[73] and it may be assumed that he had other English friends.

It is evident, therefore, that through those means of contact, troubadour poetry came to be known to the Normans and English and that it had some influence over their poetry: "Provençal metres certainly affected those of the Anglo-Latin, Anglo-French, and Middle English lyrics, both religious and secular."[74] In his study _Les Troubadours et les Bretons_, Joseph Anglade points out the possibility and the traces of Provençal influence on the poetry of the Bretons and the Welsh (Gallois). He demonstrates allusions in Provençal poetry to British men, things, and legends, and the possibility of Breton and Welsh poets frequenting the Midi and courts where troubadours were sometimes present.[75] Anglade also cites Provençal poems that allude to the awaiting of the Bretons for the coming of King Arthur.[76]

Provençal influence on England is, without doubt, discernible. Chaytor (_The Troubadours and England_) gives a detailed account of the close commercial and political ties between England and Southern France,

the interest the troubadours showed in English political affairs, their visits to England, and the mannerisms of the troubadours as found in Middle English lyrics. Chaytor also examines the stanzaic forms and rhyme distributions that are parallel to the troubadour art, and he concludes (p. 135) his study with this remark: "it is clear that English lyric poetry owes a great debt to the troubadours. Their influence may not have been so immediate or so profound as it was upon the literatures of Italy, Spain or Germany. But its traces are unmistakable and cannot be neglected; any history, for instance, of English stanza-forms is obliged to take Provençal lyric poetry as its starting point or to remain incomplete."

Likewise, Jean Audiau[77] demonstrates the historical and commercial rapports between England and Languedoc and illustrates the channels through which Provençal lyric tradition was transmitted to England. Audiau presents ample evidence of the Provençal influence on both the form and content of Middle English lyrics, and he believes that Chaucer and Gower had direct personal knowledge of Provençal poetic conventions. Audiau attributes the slow and late Provençal influence on English poetry to the dominant religious factor among the English people. Other studies have also been made to trace troubadour influence on the "Harley Lyrics" and on Chaucer and Gower.[78]

It is highly significant that English literary critics and poets as early as the seventeenth century have acknowledged the debt of English poetry to the troubadours, although no serious study was undertaken at the time to detect that debt. Thus Dryden wrote: "Chaucer . . . first adorned and amplified our barren tongue from the Provençal, which was then the most polished of all the modern languages."[79] Again, when Pope

conceived a design of writing the history of English poetry, he had in mind the school of Provence as the starting point.[80] Similarly, in a letter to Warton, Gray suggested a plan for writing the history of English poetry that would consider the school of Provence and that would treat Chaucer, "who first introduced the manner of the Provençaux, improved by the Italians, into our country."[81] Hence, through direct and indirect channels, poetry written in Medieval England (as elsewhere in Europe) absorbed the troubadour stanza formation, rhyme distribution, and courtly love conventions.

NOTES

[1]It should be noted that each tribe had its poets and that when a poet was "born" (i.e., proven to be a talented poet), the tribe would celebrate this occasion with festivities. Even today each Arab country takes pride in its poets.

[2]Free verse with certain freedom from rhyme was introduced into Arabic poetry only after the second World War as a result of European influences. Still, many Arab poets and critics reject free verse and exclude it from the realm of poetry.

[3]Von Grunebaum, _Medieval Islam_, p. 37, comments on the characteristics of the Arabic language: "No language can match the dignity of Arabic . . . its pre-eminence is rooted . . . firmly in its objective features--above all, in the unparalleled vastness of its vocabulary. . . . Phonetic beauty is added to its staggering richness in synonyms. Precision and concision of expression adorn Arabic speech. . . . Arabic is distinguished by its unrivaled possibilities in the use of figurative speech. Its innuendoes, tropes, and figures of speech lift it far above any other human language."

[4]It should be noted that Aramaic (Syriac), and not Arabic or Hebraic, was the dominant cultural language of the Near East--except for Arabia--before Islam and during the first century of Islam. In Aramaic, rhyme is also indispensable. Therefore, the remark of Henry Lanz, _The Physical Basis of Rime: An Essay on the Aesthetics of Sound_ (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1931), p. 115, that "rime might have come to us from Arabian sources" on the evidence that the poets Synesius and Romanus the Melode were born in the East (Alexandria and Syria) may be put in the right context since, as he mentions on page 142, many Gnostics in Syria "composed religious songs by which they contributed much to the dissemination of their 'heresies' in the East." In light of the close relations between the Syriac and the Byzantians, since Syriac and not Arabic was spoken in Syria at the time, and in view of the existence of Aramaic religious poetry and church chant at the time, the introduction of rhyme might be attributed to the Syriac. Again, Ribera's comments, _Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain_, p. 136, on the Arabian monodic songs and the new choral form based on the refrain may also be modified. Aramaic religious rituals and masses are performed in chanting with alternations between the priest and the chorus and also between the chorus and the congregation. Significantly, the majority of Arabs immigrating to al-Andalus from the East were from Syria and thus might well have been familiar with the Aramaic culture and music. However, this discussion needs further study which must be left for another time.

[5]Other terms may be used for the muwashshaḥ and zajal structures; for example, markaz is used for matla', dawr for both aghṣan and simṭ together, and qufl for the concluding lines.

[6]Vincent Cantarino, "Lyrical Traditions in Andalusian Muwashshahas," Comparative Literature, 21 (1969), 215. It is significant that al-Farāhīdī extracted sixteen meters from Arabic verse and neglected other less used metres. However, some contemporary Iraqi poets did not conform to these standard metres; Abu-l- tahīya (d. 828), for example, replied to a question that one of his poems did not conform with al-Farāhīdī's 'Urudh saying: "I am older than al- Urudh." The Arab critic Ihsan Abbas, Tārīkh al-adab al-Andalusi: 'asr al-Tawārif wa-l-Murābitīn (Beirut, 1962), pp. 225-7, believes that the muwashshahs follow Arabic metrical patterns. Moreover, the "neglected meters" might have been in the Klam Malhūn (i.e., popular meters that are not in accordance with the standard meters.

[7]Thus, Peter Dronke, The Medieval Lyric, p. 30, affirms: "There was already so vigorous a tradition of profane lyric in the Romance vernacular in Spain that it inspired Arabic poets to compose strophic songs for the first time in their literary history."

[8]Lindsay, p. 156, quotes the Medieval Arab sociologist Ibn Khaldūn: "The Bedouins have another kind of poetry, set out in four lines, of which the last has a rhyme different from that of the first three, so that the fourth rhyme is repeated in each bait up to the end of the poem."

[9]See Pierre le Gentil, "La Strophe zadjalesque, les khardjas et le problème des origines du lyrisme roman," Romania, 84 (1963), 12-14.

[10]See pp. 32-33 above. See also, Mustafa al-Shak'a, al-Adab al-Andalusi: Mawdhū'atihi wa-funūnihi (Beirut, 1974), pp. 383-401. A. R. Nykl, p. 269, cites an example from Abu Nuwās (eighth century) of a strophic form that has the rhyme-scheme aaab cccb, etc., and explains that this same poet also wrote "certain compositions in hazag and ramal [prosodic meters] on which Muqaddam ibn Mu āfā al-Qabrī [believed to be the Andalusian poet who first used the muwashshah] might have elaborated, without any necessity of seeking models in a poesía andaluza romanceada." See also E. García-Gómez, "Un 'pre-muwaššaḥa' atribuída a Abū Nuwās," al-Andalus, 21 (1956), 404-14.

[11]Ihsan Abbas, 'asr al-ṭawa'if wa-l-murabiṭin (Beirut, 1962), pp. 223-4.

[12]Ibn Sanā al-Mulk, Dar al-Tīrāz, ed. Jawdat al-Rikabī (Damascus, 1949), p. 32. Explaining the origin of the kharja, Abd al- Azīz al-Ahwanī, al-Zajal fī-l-Andalus, Cairo, 1957, pp. 50-51, thinks that it was probably of Romance origin since it was not customary among Arabs to put profane verse in the mouth of maidens. However, it can be argued that Arab women poets in the East and particularly in al-Andalus wrote profane poems.

[13]The *kharjas* are reproduced from S. M. Stern, *Les Chansons mozarabes: les vers finaux* (*kharjas*) *en espagnol dans les muwashshahs arabes et hébreux* (Palermo: U. Manfred: Editore, 1953; rpt. Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1964). The *kharjas* cited are 32,47, and 7, respectively, according to Stern's designation. The reconstruction of the *kharjas* is Stern's and the italics are mine. Another example of a Romance *kharja* is seen in the second *muwashshaḥ* of Appendix A.

[14]In 1894, Menéndez y Pelayo published a Mozarabic *kharja*. Later, Ribera called attention to two; so did José M. Millás y Vallicros in 1946. However, the controversy and enormous scholarship over the Mozarabic *kharjas* was largely enhanced in 1948 with Samuel Stern's article, "Les vers finaux en espagnol dans les *muwaššaḥs* hispano-hébraïques. . . ," *al-Andalus*, 13 (1948), 299-346. Stern then contributed to the considerable scholarship that is still going on with his book, *Les Chansons mozarabes*. Among the many books and articles on this issue, see Klaus Heger, "Die bisher veröffentlichten Hargas und ihre Bedeutungen" in the *Beihefle* of *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 101 (1960), which includes an exhaustive bibliography on the subject; E. García Goméz, *Las jarchas romanes de la serie arabe en su marco* (Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1963). The number of the Mozarabic *kharjas* may be sixty-four if we consider the two suggested by Monroe (see note 16 below).

[15]Peter Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, pp. 31, 86-90, 192; Leo Spitzer, "The Mozarabic Lyric and Theodor Frings' Theories," *Comparative Literature*, 4 (1952), 1-22; James T. Monroe, "Formulaic Diction and the Common Origins of the Romance Lyric Tradition," *Hispanic Review*, 43 (1975), 341-50.

[16]"Two Further Bilingual 'Ḫarǧas' (Arabic and Romance) in Arabic 'muwaššaḥs," *Hispanic Review*, 47 (1979), 9-24.

[17]Jarir Abu Hayder, "Adhwa' jadīda 'ala dawr al-kharja fi-l muwashshaḥ (New Light on the role of the kharja in the *muwashshaḥ*)," *Afāq Arabiyya* (Baghdad) 6 (1978), 104-09. Abu Hayder is professor of Andalusian literature at the University of London.

[18]Abu Hayder, p. 104, points out that the famous Andalusian zagalist, Ibn Quzmān, refers to his *zagals* as *Hazl* in this verse: "verses faded out at this *hazl*." Abu Hayder also explains that since the *zajal* is *Hazl*, it does not need a *kharja*, whereas the *muwashshaḥ* needs one.

[19]Abu Hayder, p. 107.

[20]See Nykl, p. 270.

[21]James T. Monroe, "Formulaic Diction and the Common Origins of the Romance Lyric Tradition," *Hispanic Review*, 43 (1975), 341-50, suggests a vulgar Latin origin for these four poetic traditions. Even if the case

is so, the facts that the kharjas existed mostly in Arabic and that Arabic and Mozarabic kharjas antedate the other forms imply that the kharjas influenced the other three traditions. Moreover, there are no records of Vulgar Latin lyrical verse--if such verse ever existed. Finally, authorities in Spanish literature and history, like Américo Castro, p. 490, deny the existence of lyrical poetry in Castile. To cite Castro (p. 511) again, "The Catalans first expressed themselves lyrically in Provençal," a fact which means they were influenced by Provençal and not by Vulgar Latin.

[22]Metlitzki, p. 246.

[23]Thus, Wallāda, a princess and one of numerous women poets, embroidered the following two verses on the hems of her robe:

1. I am, by God, fit for high positions,
   And am going my way, with pride!
2. Forsooth, I allow my lover to touch my cheek,
   and bestow my kiss on him who craves it!
   (Trans. Nykl, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, p. 107.)

Ḥafsa, another woman poet, addressed the following to her lover:

> Shall I visit you or will you visit me? My heart
> Is always inclined to what you wish of me:
> My lips are a spring of sweetness unalloyed
> My flowing hair a cooling shade for you:
> I hoped that you'd grow thirsty in midday's heat,
> When the siesta hour would bring me to your couch:
> So hurry, dear Gamil,+ with your reply to me:
> Your haughtiness toward Buṯaina+ would not be fitting!

+A reference to the famous lovers Gamīl and Buṯaina.

(Trans. Nykl, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, p. 321.)

[24]Meg Bogin, The Women Troubadours, p. 14, writes: "both the classical and early [Western] Christian traditions . . . from different points of view, had tended to view woman as drastically inferior species." In al-Andalus, however, the status of women was relatively better than that in Western Europe. F. Warre Cornish, Chivalry (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co. Ltd., New York: The MacMillan Co. Ltd, 1901), p. 199, comments on chivalry among the Arabs and also writes: "In Eastern Christendom, too, women enjoyed a higher position and had more deference paid to them than in the West."

[25]Lindsay, p. 166.

[26]S. G. Armistead, "A Mozarabic Ḫarǧa and a Provençal Refrain," Hispanic Review, 41 (1973), 416-17.

[27]Patterson, p. 36.

[28]Stern, pp. xix-xx, writes: "Ces poètes se sont conformés avec le plus grand soin à toutes les règles du muwashshah arabe. Ce que j'ai écrit en 1948 (Vers finaux, p. 306): 'en écrivant leurs kharjas en espagnol les poètes hébreux ne faisaient sans doute qu'imiter l'usage de leurs modèles arabes, perdus aujourd'hui;' 'l'orthographe des textes hébreux suit l'usage arabe: ce qui veut dire qu'ils supposent une tradition arabe antérieure'--est entièrement confirmé par la découverte des textes arabes."

[29]See page 4 above. See, as well, Ribera, Music, p. 134.

[30]Shawqi Dhaif, an Arab critic, goes so far as to believe that a verse of the Abbasid poet Abu Nuwās written in Lahn (not in accordance with the standard meters) may have inspired the kharjas of the Hispano-Arabic poets. Dhaif's opinion is quoted in Ridha al-Quraishī's al-Mawāliya (Baghdad, 1976), p. 23.

[31]Ezra Pound, The Spirit of Romance (Norfolk, Conn.: J. Lauglin, 1952), p. 13.

[32]Arnold Toynbee, A Study of History (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1963), Vol. 9, p. 71. W. T. H. Jackson (p. 223) further suggests: "Rhyme forms are found in the poetry of Semitic peoples, and the great medieval Latin scholar Wilhelm Meyer sought to demonstrate that the early contacts of the Western Church with the hymns of the East had introduced rhyme into Latin poetry." This statement enhances the hypothesis suggested in Chapter II, note 4, that rhyme might have been adopted from the Syriac. However, the general conviction in the Arabic theory is acknowledged here since Hispano-Arab poets seem to have transmitted rhyme to the vernacular poetry of Europe.

[33]On the lauzengier, Dawson, p. 299, n. 1, comments: "Jeanroy draws attention to the recurrence of these mysterious 'slanderers' (merkaere, Lügenaere) in the poetry of the German Minnesingers, and uses it as a proof of their dependence on Provençal and French models. . . . And the same argument can be applied to its occurrence in Provençal and Arabic poetry."

[34]Most of the analogies here are reproduced from the final chapter of Nykl's Hispano-Arabic Poetry, the second chapter of Briffault's The Troubadours, and Ramón Menéndez Pidal's poesía arabe y poesía europea, 4th ed. (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1955).

[35]In this connection, Nykl's exemplification merits quoting:

> As regards the Estornel songs, the following comparison between Al-Abyad and Marcabru will be self-explanatory:

Mā laḏḏa lī šurbu rāḥi
'Alā riyāḍi 'l-aqāḥi
Law lā haḍīm al-wisāḥi
Iḏā atā fi 'ṣ-ṣabāhi
Aw fī 'l-aṣīl
Aḍḥā yaqūl:
Mā li-šamūl
Laṭamat ḫaddī?
Wa li-simāl?
Habbat fa māl
Guṣn i'tidāl
Ḍammahu burdī.

Ai! com' es encabalada
La fals' a razo daurada,
Denan totas vai triada;
Va! ben es fols qui s'i fia.
De sos datz
C'a plombatz
Vos gardatz,
Qu'enganatz
N'a assatz,
So sapchatz,
E mes en la via.

The rhyme and the rhythm of these two compositions show a greater resemblance to each other than could be found in Latin compositions of the period" (pp. 392-3).

[36]Rowbothan, p. 30, quotes Fauriel's statement on the *tenson*: "I have searched through the poetical literature of all nations; and the Arabians are the only people with whom I find such a form current."

[37]Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Los orígenes de las literaturas románicas a la luz de un descubrimiento reciente* (Santander, 1951), p. 25, asserts: "el género literario de la albada era popular entre los Cristianos de Andaluciá, medio siglo antes que se escribían las primeras albadas provenzales hoy conservadas, las cuales pertencen a fines del siglo XII."

[38]The *kharja* and its English translation are quoted from Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, p. 172.

[39]The *alba* and its English translation are quoted from Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, pp. 173-4.

[40]Alessandro Bausani, "The Development of Form in Persian Lyrics: A Way to a Better Understanding of the Structure of Western Poetry," *East and West*, 9 (1958), p. 146.

[41]On the Muslim Persian lyrical tradition, see Bausani, "The Development of Form," pp. 145-53.

[42]On Andalusian women poets, see note 23 of the present chapter. On the *trobairitz*, see Meg Bogin, *The Women Troubadours*. A comparative study of these women poets might be rewarding.

[43]As translated by M. Carl Gibson, "Background . . .," p. 219.

[44]Lévi-Provençal, p. 290, among others, notes the _zajal_ form in this song. Nykl, p. 391, also believes that Guillaume's "songs IV to VIII show the greatest similarity to the Arabic rhythm."

[45]See page 14 above.

[46]Spitzer, p. 13.

[47]Ernest H. Wilkins, "The Invention of the Sonnet," _Modern Philology_, 13 (1915), 492.

[48]W. J. Courthope, _A History of English Poetry_ (New York: Russel and Russel Inc., 1962), I, 76. Courthope (p. 77) then comments on the cited _zajal_: "Compare with this the two following "feet," as Dante calls them, of the Ode, in the _canzone_ beginning--

1

Amor che nella mente ni ragiona
  Della mia donna disiosamente,
  Move cose di lei meco sovente
  Che l' intelleto sovr' esse disria.

2

Lo suo parlar si dolcemente sona
  Che l'anima ch' ascolta e che lo sente
  Dice "o me lassa!" ch' io non son possente
  Di dirquel ch' odo della donna mia.

So close a resemblance of metrical structure can scarcely have been the result of accident, and taking into account the popularity of the _mow ascehât_ among the Arabs, it is a fair conclusion that it first suggested to the poets of Sicily and South Italy the idea of meters with interlacing rhymes."

[49]T. S. Eliot, ed., _Literary Essays of Ezra Pound_ (Norfolk, Conn.: A New Directions Book, 1954), p. 91.

[50]Gibson, "Background . . .," 288, says that the eighteenth century scholar Juan Andrês noted that the Arabs also had poetic academies before the Western world.

[51]Again, these poetic contests are reminiscent of the Arabic _'Ukadh_ and _Merbid_ contests.

[52]The term _juglar_ and its equivalent _segrier_ may have been contracted from the Arabic _zajjāl_ (composer of _zajals_). On possible derivations of the Provençal terms see, Briffault (p. 73), who mentions Ribera's view

that the term might have been contracted from Spanish zegelero. Briffault suggests old Spanish segrier (singer of zajal) as a possible origin.

[53] H. J. Chaytor, The Troubadours and England (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1923), p. 11.

[54] For example, Sordello in Italy and King Denis in Portugal wrote some of their lyrics in langue d'oc.

[55] Jean Frappier, La Poésie lyrique français aux xiie et xiiie siècles: les auteurs et les genres (Paris: Centre de documentation universitaire, n.d.), pp. 6-7, explains:

> Les troubadours ont donné aux trouvères:
>
> A) une inspiration ou une doctrine, l'amour courtois, cette invention du xiie siècle . . . caractérisée par le 'service d'amour' et le culte de la dame.
>
> B) Une technique raffinée, savante, le souci de l'art et d'une forme parfaite. A la suite des troubadours, les trouvères se sont ingéniés à inventer des strophes nouvelles.

[56] T. S. Eliot, ed., Literary Essays of Ezra Pound, p. 102. On the influence of the troubadour poetry on Italian poets, see also H. J. Chaytor, The Troubadours of Dante.

[57] Dawson, p. 176, believes that "the erotic mysticism of the dolce stil nuovo in Tuscany owed more to the speculations of the Averroists and to Islamic mysticism than to the orthodox tradition of Western scholasticism." See also Courthope, pp. 77-78 on Petrarch's indebtedness to Arabic poetry.

[58] Courthope, pp. 75-76. See also Courthope's comment on the zajal and muwashshah's possible influence on the canzone and sonnet cited on page 46 of this thesis.

[59] In their enthusiasm, some scholars have attempted to trace the novel to the biography of the troubadours (see Lindsay, p. 274). We may apply the same argument to Arabic literature since this literature was rich in compositions similar to the novel in their nature. For instance, Ḥayy bin Yaqẓan, which may have inspired Robinson Crusoe, is a philosophical novel of the autobiographical type. The maqamāt (anecdotes) may also be regarded as containing the germs of the novel genre.

[60] W. P. Ker, The Dark Ages (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1904), p. 6. In his other book, Medieval English Literature (1912; reset in 1945; rpt. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1948), pp. 47-48, Ker also writes the following of the first troubadour: "He is the first poet of modern Europe who definitely helps to set a fashion of poetry not only for his own people but for the imitation of foreigners. He is the first modern poet; he uses the kind of verse which every one uses now."

[61]T. S. Eliot, ed., Literary Essays of Ezra Pound, p. 101.

[62]C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1948), p. 4.

[63]Quoted in Chaytor, The Troubadours and England, pp. 35-6 with this translation: "My poem is composed quite to the end . . . beyond the Norman land over the wild deep sea. . . . On the King's account I am an Englishman and a Norman."

[64]Joseph Anglade, Les Troubadours et les Bretons, in Revue des langues romanes (Montpellier, 1928), p. 200, comments on Savaric de Mauléon: "Ce troubadour célèbre a non seulement séjourné en Angleterre, mais il y a rempli de hautes fonctions."

[65]Karl Julius Holzknecht, Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1966), p. 48.

[66]See Rowbothan, pp. 128-130. Also, M. Dominica Legge, Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 364, says: "Continental writers were patronized to such an extent that some, like Marie de France and Guillaume Le Clerc, seem to have written exclusively to please English taste." Subsequent references to Legge's book appear parenthetically within the pages.

[67]Ker, Medieval English Literature, p. 62.

[68]The story of Richard's captivity and the troubadour's tenson that revealed his place of confinement is well known and is an instance of Richard's intimate relationship with troubadours.

[69]Thomas Warton, The History of English Poetry from the Eleventh to the Seventeenth Century (a reprint of editions 1778 and 1781; London: Ward, Lock and Co., n.d.).

[70]Chaytor, The Troubadours and England, p. 84 and passim.

[71]Rowbothan, p. 45.

[72]Quoted in W. H. Schofield, English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer (London: MacMillan and Co. Ltd., 1931), p. 69.

[73]Lindsay, p. 23.

[74]Schofield, p. 69.

[75]Anglade, pp. 203-4, 218, and 278.

[76]Anglade, pp. 230-31. Anglade, p. 205, quotes Cowell's comments on the poems of the Gallois poet David ab Gwilim: "Les sujets d'une partie de ses odes ressemblent tellement aux chansons provençales qu'on pourrait presque croire qu'elles en sont des imitations directes."

[77]Jean Audiau, Les Troubadours et l'Angleterre (nouvelle édition, revue et complétée, Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1927).

[78]In this respect, the following contributions are notable: Elinor Rees, "Provençal Elements in the English Vernacular Lyrics of Manuscript Harley 2253," Stanford Studies in Language and Literature (Stanford: Stanford Univ., 1941), pp. 81-95; G. Kar, Thoughts on the Medieval Lyric (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1933).

[79]John Dryden, Dramatic Essays (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1928), p. 274.

[80]Courthope, pp. vii-viii.

[81]Quoted in Courthope, p. ix.

CHAPTER III

THE RELATION OF MIDDLE ENGLISH LYRICS TO HISPANO-ARABIC POETRY

Insular as it is, England was not isolated from the current affairs of Medieval Europe. The predominant literary currents on the continent were not alien to the Normans and English; hence, England felt the impact of Arabic culture sometimes directly but mainly indirectly through continental channels of transmissions. The number of Arabic loan-words in Middle English reflects this fact and shows the growing interest in Arabic studies. The words "admiral" ("admyrold" in King Horn), "hazard" (in Havelok the Dane), "astrobale" (in Chaucer's treatise), "alkali, tartar, and elixir" (in Chaucer's "Canon's Yeoman's Tale"), "saffron, "alogrism," "mattress," "lute," "tambour," "alchemy," "almanac," "syrup," "nadir," and "zenith" are but a few instances of the presence of Arabic words in medieval English treatises and literature.[1] Such words suggest the breadth and diversity of the contact between the Norman-English and the Arab world.

The Background of Cultural Contacts

Not only did the Arabic sciences find their way to England, but the English scholars played a prominent role in the transmission of Arabic knowledge to the West. Among these notable English scholars and translators are Adelard of Bath (the pioneer of "Arabum studia" in England),[2]

Robert of Chester, Robert of Ketton, Daniel of Morley, Roger of Hereford, Alfred of Sarechel, and Michael Scot, all of whom flocked to Toledo, Sicily, France, and Syria for Arabic lore.[3] Michael Scot was praised by Pope Gregory IX in 1227 for his knowledge of both Hebrew and Arabic;[4] he was also welcomed at the Sicilian court of Frederick II. It is also known that Roger Bacon advocated the study of Arabic. Moreover, Robert of Ketton, who translated various Arabic works in alchemy and algebra, also took part in the first translation of the _Qur'ān_ into Latin--an achievement considered a landmark in Islamic studies in the West.[5] At the same time, Jews and converted Jews contributed to the introduction of Arabic lore to England as shown in the remarkable example of the converted Spanish Jew Pedro Alfonso (Petrus Alfonsi, 1062-1135) whose _Disciplina Clericalis_ provided motifs, plots, and models for medieval European tales, fabliaux, and literature of wisdom. Pedro Alfonso settled in England as physician to King Henry I.[6] Moreover, European books based on Arabic works, such as the _Alfonsine Tables_ and the _Livre de leschiele Mahomet_, were available in England.[7] In fact, even a few Arabic manuscripts were among the books in the episcopal library at York.[8]

It is quite possible that the presence of the English scholars in Spain, Southern France, Sicily, and the Holy Land brought them into direct contact with Arabic and arabized elements as well as with Arabic melodies and poetry. Furthermore, the method of teaching the Arabic language in the medieval Arab world was by means of poetry, for the rules of grammar were set in verse to facilitate learning them by heart. Accordingly, the standard works on language and grammar were written in _alfiyyāt_ (i.e., books of one thousand verse lines or more).[9] How English and European translators learned Arabic is a matter of conjecture, but

it is reasonable to suggest that they used the alfiyyāt as textbooks. The proposals of Roger Bacon and other scholars of establishing schools of modern languages were declared, through the efforts of Raymond Lull, as an official policy at the Council of Vienna in 1312: Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek were to be taught at Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Avignon, and Salamanca.[10]

Historical records also show that medieval England conducted trade with the Arabs.[11] Other potential points of contact occurred when some Normans and English participated in the wars of the Iberians against Moorish Spain. For instance, the English were present at the liberation of Lisbon in 1147.[12] Furthermore, the possession of Provence by England through Henry II's marriage brought the English into close contacts with the Arabs of Spain. Again, the Normans in Sicily recruited Muslims in their army from the time of Roger I. These Normans sent continuous expeditions against North Africa from 1135 to 1160. During this span of time, the Normans occupied some cities along the North African coast such as Jerba, Tripoli, and Gabes[13] and a certain degree of acculturation took place. Needless to say, the Norman courts in Sicily and England had close relations; English scholars were active at the courts of Sicily and many English people like Robert of Salesby served at the Sicilian court.[14]

English contact with the Arabs was also possible in the raids of English pirates against Moorish Spain.[15] Further, English pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela might have been exposed to the Arabic lore which was pervasive in Southern France and Northern Spain as indicated earlier. One might also suggest that some of the women singers in Henry II's court, whose nationality and songs according to Legge (p. 332) are unknown, might have been Moors or trained in the Moorish manner of singing.

Henry II's daughter Eleanor became the wife of Alfonso VII of Castile and her suite could have heard the Arabic melodies at the Spanish court.[16] Later, Edward Plantagenet went to Burgos in 1254 to wed King Alfonso's sister, Blanche of Castile.[17]

However, the main channel of direct contact between the English and the Arabs was the Crusades. The Normans and English formed a considerable contingent of the forces of the crusaders and some of their nobility were men of culture. There were also English minstrels with the army; hence, contact with the troubadours, _trouvères_, and _minnesingers_[18]--as well as with Arabic songs, music, and poetry--was inevitable.

Not without foundation, the European and English romances tell of mixed marriages and of romantic episodes between Saracens and crusaders. For instance, the romance _Richard Cueur De Lyon_ portrayed Richard as a son of an Eastern princess.[19] As a matter of fact, Arab captives and ransomed Christian captives might have played a part in acquainting crusaders with Arabic lore. Moreover, the castles and settlement in Outremer were not isolated from the cultural activities of Europe and from the new lyric spirit there.

Further, crusaders were not unfamiliar with the main current of Arabic life. Christian pilgrims were allowed to visit Jerusalem and trading was commonly conducted between the warring parties. Some English people went to the Arab East for other reasons than the Crusades. Thus, Thomas Brown went to Arabia, where he got the Arabic title of Kaid Brun; he later served at King Henry II's court.[20] Adelard of Bath journeyed to Syrian cities such as Antioch which were centres for transmitting Arabic knowledge. The Irish Franciscan Simon Semeonis travelled to

Palestine in 1323 and he often quoted from the copy of the Qur'ān he had with him.[21]

Jerusalem and some parts of Palestine and Syria were held by the crusaders for nearly two centuries. Acculturation, therefore, would have taken place particularly with the Christian Arabs and the arabized inhabitants, between whom intermarriages and other ties would not have proven difficult. Indeed, Eastern Christians served as physicians and translators for the Frankish kings. Normans and English crusaders thus had the opportunity to be acquainted with Arabs, Provençaux, French, and Italians. Aliénor d' Aquitaine, later Queen of England, accompanied her first husband Louis VII of France to the Crusade and retained her memories of it. Her son by Henry II, the troubadour King Richard Coeur de Lion, a legendary figure in the Crusades, had Arabic scholars in his army, the best of whom was Humphry of Toron; he also had a Moroccan interpreter.[22] Indeed, Richard owed his liberty--if not his life--to the Arabic knowledge of his friend William des Préaux who, seeing his master attacked by Arab knights, exclaimed in Arabic: "Spare me! I am the King of England," and thus drew the knight's attention to him and gave Richard a chance to escape.[23] A jongleur is said to have accompanied Richard to the Crusades also;[24] hence, it may be presumed that Richard was interested in Arabic music and poetry. In fact, he was much delighted with the Arabic entertainment in his honor during a visit with al-Adil, Saladin's brother. Arabic entertainment of medieval times, as well as in the present time, always included singing of poetic pieces.

The muwashshaḥs and zajal genres were popular in Syria and Palestine during the times of the Crusades. Indeed, the Diwān (the Cancinero) of Ibn Quzmān and the Dove's Neck Ring of Ibn Ḥazm and other Anadalusian

literary works exist today because they were copied in the thirteenth century at Ṣafad in Palestine. The popular Andalusian forms, and Arabic poetry in general, were accessible to the crusaders, particularly to those who spoke Arabic. The popularity of Arabic poetry among the nobility of the crusaders is attested also by the story that the countess of Antioch had Arabic verses engraved on the tomb of the troubadour Jaufré Rudel. Finally, the first known English lyricist, Godric (d. c. 1170) who was a sailor in his youth and made voyages to the Levant, later visited Jerusalem on a pilgrimage.[25]

In summary, contact with the Arabs by means of Provence, Spain, Sicily, and the Crusades provided clear possiblities for influence on the Normans and English in the fields of music and poetry. In music, the adoption of Arabic musical instruments like the lute, the rebec, and the tambour would probably require the adoption initially of the accompanying melodies. In poetry, in light of the general influence we discussed above, it should not be difficult to delineate the specific Arabic elements which operate in some Middle English lyrics. However, in spite of the growing interest in medieval comparative studies, critics have not examined clearly the specific elements which relate Middle English lyrics to Medieval Arabic and Hispano-Arabic poetic conventions.

In her study, _Spain to England_, Lasater draws attention to Hispano-Arabic motifs and elements in medieval English romances, tales, fables, visions of the afterlife, and early drama. She points out that the Islamic conventions of the heavenly maiden as a guide and of the vegetation figure, al-Khaḍir (The Green One) could have served as models for the "Pearl" and "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight"; she also sees Arabic analogues for Chaucer's _Canterbury Tales_ and Gower's _Confessio Amantis_.

However, Lasater gives only a passing mention (p. 53) to the influence of Hispano-Arabic poetry on Middle English lyrics. Similarly, the erudite work of Metlitzki, The Matter of Araby, presents a detailed account of "Arabum Studia" in medieval England and shows Arabic influence on English romances, on the literature of wisdom, and on such works as "Dame Sirith," "the Fox and the Wolf," "Land of Cokayne," "Sir Orfeo," and Chaucer's "Squire's Tale," but does not discuss the possibility of Arabic influences on Middle English lyrics. Even Robert Briffault, who may be regarded as the first medievalist to point out the zajal rhyme schemes in Middle English lyrics and carols as well as in Chaucer, Wyatt, and Shakespeare, does not undertake an elaborate study of that influence since his main interest is to prove the Hispano-Arabic influence on the troubadours.[26]

In this study, however, I hope to demonstrate how certain aspects of Hispano-Arabic poetry have influenced Medieval English lyrics principally by way of the Provençal poetry of the troubadours and of other European poetries. This influence is discernible first in Anglo-Norman lyrics. The Norman minstrels then brought rhyme into England and set an example for writing emotional lyrics.

From Anglo-Norman to Middle English Lyrics

The Anglo-Norman song "Ryme Bon" has the rhyme-scheme as used by the troubadours and as described in the Leys d'Amors (Legge, p. 347). The troubadour tradition was not alien to the cultivated and courtly circles in England, particularly those who spoke French. An Anglo-Norman poem, "The Orchard Walk," shows the courtly love theme, conventions, and garden setting, and is unmistakably reminiscent of Provençal and Hispano-

Arabic lyrics. The poem begins as follows:

> En un verger m'en entrai qe mult fu replenye
> De flurs e de oysels que fesoient melodie;
> E joe mournes alay pensant de ma amye,
> Si luy ateindroie a nul jour de ma vie.

(I entered an orchard which was full of flowers and of birds making melody and I was thinking sorrowfully about my love, wondering whether I should attain to her any day of my life.)
(Legge, p. 337)

This stanza recalls the traditional reverdie opening in Andalusian and Provençal lyrics; it may also be likened to the opening of the Middle English lyric "Alysoun" which will be discussed below. More striking are the definitions of love attempted in some Anglo-Norman poems (Legge, pp. 338-341) as they show the spread of courtly spirit and lyrics to England at an early date.

Moreover, such Anglo-Norman lines as the following are certainly echoes of Hispano-Arabic and Provençal lyrics where the use of contraries[27] is notable:

1. Malade sui, de joie espris,
   Tant suspire que ne repos[e].

   (I am sick, afire with joy, I sigh so much I cannot rest)
   (Legge, p. 347)

2. Vous estez ma mort, vous estez ma vie,
   En vous est toute ma druerye

   (You are my death, you are my life, in you is all my love)
   (Legge, p. 350)

Further, courtly love ideas may be seen in some Anglo-Norman poems with the stock Andalusian and Provençal motifs of submissiveness to the beloved, the pains of love, and the concept of the cruel lady, as in the following:

1. E! dame jolyve,
   Mun q[u]er sauns faucer
   Met en vostre balaye,
   Qe ne say vos per.

(Ah! lady gay, my heart without deceiving puts itself in your power, for I know not your equal.)
(Legge, p. 343)

2. A li dunt ai peine e delit
Cri merci qu'ele ne m'ublit.

(To her, from whom I have pain and delight, I cry mercy that she forget me not.)
(Legge, p. 345)

3. Jeo suili plus traiz del munt
Ki maignent de tuz cels ki sunt.

(I am, of all the people in existence, the man in the world the worst betrayed.)
(Legge, p. 345)

4. Heu, alas, pur amour
Qy moy myst en taunt dolour.

(Alack, alas, for love which has put me in such grief.)
(Legge, p. 346)

The same motifs and ideas expressed in these pieces are also found in earlier Hispano-Arabic and later in Middle English lyrics as may be seen below in the discussion of the phraseology of Middle English lyrics.

Another Anglo-Norman poem (Legge, pp. 346-7) offers a broad comparison with Hispano-Arabic lyrics. The poem is a reverdie that begins with a spring prelude with reference to singing birds. The poet then compares the lady's complexion to roses, a typical image in Hispano-Arabic poetry. The poet's confession of guilt "Ben crei ke men seit le tort" is analogous to certain works of Ibn Zaydūn (1003-70) and of other Hispano-Arab poets. In reality, the Anglo-Norman lyrics cited by Chaytor (The Troubadours and England, Appendix B) as showing indebtedness to Provençal poetic convention can be brought into relation with Hispano-Arabic antitypes.

Hispano-Arabic and Mozarabic lyricism might have provided models for some Anglo-Norman poems. A debate between a girl and her mother calls to mind Mozarabic kharjas. The Anglo-Norman verse that reads:

Bele mere, ke frai?
De deus amanz su mis en plai:
Li uns est beaus cum flur demay,
Li autre est riche, ben le sai.

(Fair mother, what shall I do? My mind is divided between two lovers: one is beautiful as the mayflower, the other is rich, as I know well.)

(Legge, p. 336)

is strongly suggestive of the Andalusian kharjas and more particularly of the interrogation "Que farei?" (What shall I do?) which is recurrent in different variations in Arabic and Mozarabic kharjas. The following instances from Hispano-Arabic and Hispano-Hebraic kharjas may also indicate a possible medium of transmission--the Spanish Jews, some of whom were jongleurs and poets who, according to Briffault (p. 261), immigrated to England and to Provence, which was under English jurisdiction:

Que faray mamma (14)

Gar que farayu (15)

Que farayo o que serad de mibi (16)

Que faray yā mamma (27)

Gar que faray yā mamma (38)

Bi'llāh [by God] que faray (42)

Mamma gar (?) que faray (45)[28]

In addition to the similarity in the use of the interrogation "What shall I do?" we notice another striking similarity which is the girl's address to her mother: "mere" in the Anglo-Norman verse and "mamma" in the Andalusian verses.[29] We have already noted the Andalusian poetic convention of the girl addressing her mother--confidante. Also, the interrogation sometimes occurs without reference to the mother as may be seen in the vulgar kharja of zajal 142 of Ibn Quzmān. The kharja is put in the mouth of a girl who sings:

> The beloved is kept from us in his house
> What shall I ask his neighbor about him
> What shall I do?[30]

The instances mentioned above show that Anglo-Norman poetry exhibits certain traits of Hispano-Arabic poetry transmitted through Provençal and French poetry and probably through direct relations with the Arabs and Jews. The same is also true of Middle English lyrics which emerged in the course of the twelfth century, along with the emergence of Middle English as a literary language.

The early extant Middle English lyrics reveal pre-eminently French influence with Provençal features, and to some extent a Latin influence from the church hymns and liturgy. However, we are concerned here with the secular lyrics of the new kind of lyricism and not with the religious lyrics of the alliterative tradition. These secular lyrics contrast sharply with the rustic and parochial literary taste in such poems as _King Horn_ (1250) which show no refinement or description of delicate passions. One such text, _The Owl and the Nightingale_ (c. 1200), is modeled after the Medieval Arabic debate genre and the Provençal _tenson_. Metlitzki has shown that the poem employs Arabic scientific imagery from astrology and medical science.[31] This poem is a mature and well organized work. Of more importance is the fact that it shows the hostility of the church to the new foreign doctrines of love as well as to the new manner of singing.[32] In it the Owl expresses the church's doctrine and condemns the lustful quality of the Nightingale's song. The Nightingale sings of love and joy and is identified with courtly love tradition.[33]

The Metrical Similarities

In addition to the argument on courtly love and the new manner of

singing, in *The Owl and the Nightingale* the poet's skill in the handling of multiple rhymes and their distribution is remarkable. In this regard, the displacing of alliteration by rhyme in English poetry was due to French poetic influence which had already borrowed the device of rhyme from the Arabs. Later, Chaucer introduced from the French various types of rhyming stanzas, composed "ballads, roundels, and virelayes," and used his talent "to make bokes,songes, dytees / In ryme, or elles in cadence." The indebtedness of Middle English poems to Provençal stanza construction and rhyme distribution has been noted by Chaytor among other scholars.[34] It is also significant that the first known English lyricist, Godric, who visited Jerusalem, was among the early English poets to use rhyme as seen in his lines:

> At thi burch at the bare
> Sainte Nicholaes bring us wel thare.[35]

The well-known Harlian lyric "Alysoun" illustrates very well the parallelisms between Hispano-Arabic and Middle English lyrics in both form and content.[36] By applying the rules of Hispano-Arabic strophe construction to this lyric we obtain the following divisions for the first stanza:

Andalusian *Strophe Structure*	
Matla' (prelude)	Bytuene Mersh ant Aueril when spray biginneth to springe, The lutel foul hath hire wyl on hyre lud to synge.
Aghṣān (branch)	Ich libbe in loue-longinge for semlokest of alle thynge; he may me blisse bringe;
Simṭ (string)	icham in hire baundoun.
Aghṣān	An hendy hap ichabbe yhent, ichot from heuene it is me sent; from alle wymmen mi loue is lent,
Simṭ	ant lyht on Alysoun.

Thus, each stanza of "Alysoun" may be divided into three units. The first quatrain corresponds to the Provençal *frons* and Hispano-Arabic

Matla' and is divisible, in turn, into two equal sections; it may be arranged following the Arabic convention in this manner:

Matla'	Bytuene Mersh ant Aueril The lutel foul hath his wyl	when spray biginneth to springe, on hyre lud to synge

The rhyme-scheme abab of this prelude is common in some *muwashshaḥs* and *zajals*. Also, the second and third quatrains correspond to the Provençal *cauda* and the Hispano-Arabic *ghuṣn*. The fourth line of each *cauda* (*simt* or *qufl* in Arabic) rhymes with all *simṭs* (alternate corresponding lines) throughout the poem. Thus, the rhyme-scheme of the two quatrains (*ghuṣns*) is bbbC DDDC.

Therefore, though the correspondence is not exactly identical, "Alysoun" may be said to follow the symmetrical pattern of the Andalusian forms with the device of a corresponding rhyme recurring at fixed intervals--the last line of each strophe and of the refrain--throughout the poem. In "Alysoun," the corresponding rhyme is C. This linking of the stanzas by the same rhyme is characteristic of *zajals* and *muwashshaḥs*. The use of the refrain is also noted in some *zajals*. For instance, the refrain (What have I to do with men, and what have men to do with me?) occurs in a *zajal* by Shushtarī[37] with the same phenomenon of having preceding lines that correspond to the refrain in number and rhyme. Again the second and third quatrains of each stanza of the poem follow the *murabba'* (aaab) pattern. Moreover, just as in Hispano-Arabic strophic forms, each strophe of "Alysoun" expresses an idea or a sentiment that may be elaborated in the following stanzas. The same remark is true of the lines of the poem in that each line is a unit of sense; there is no enjambment, as is the case in most Arabic poems.

As for meter, since Arabic poetry is quantitative and not accentual, it is unlikely to find examples that correspond to the Middle English in

rhythm. Yet, the use of long lines alternating with short lines in some Middle English lyrics is a practice that is characteristic of some Hispano-Arabic lyrics where symmetry in the alternate use of long and short lines is sustained throughout the strophes of a poem.

Metrical similarities in stanza formation and rhyme distribution may be detected in many Middle English lyrics although their writers reach the virtuosity of neither Hispano-Arab poets nor troubadours. The Harlian lyric no. 14 is an unmistakable instance where the zajal form is adopted by the English poet:

	Blow, northerne wynd,
Matla'	Sent thou me my suetyng!
	Blow, northerne wynd,
	blou! blou! blou!
	Ichot a burde in boure bryht
Aghṣān	That sully semly is on syht,
	menskful maiden of myht,
Simṭ	feir ant fre to fonde.
	In al this wurhliche won
Aghṣān	a burde of blod ant of bon
	neueryete y muste non
Simṭ	Lussomore in londe.

Blo, &c.
(ll. 1-13)[38]

(The italics are mine.) The divisions of the stanzas can be marked in a way that coincides with the divisions of the zajal. The quatrains of this lyric follow the murabba' rhyme pattern aaab.[39] However, whereas the rhyme of the simṭ is carried on throughout the zajal (i.e., in all the strophes), in the case of "Blow, Northerne Wynd" and some other Middle English lyrics the rhyme of the simṭ is only sustained in two quatrains or in one stanza at a time. The fewer rhymes may result from the fact that English had fewer good rhyming words, as Chaucer noted: "Sith rym in English hath swich scarsitee" ("Complaint of Venus," l. 80).

On the other hand, the rich vocabulary of the Arabic language enabled Andalusian poets to handle and distribute rhyme in an intricate manner as the following sketches of rhyme-schemes of *muwashshaḥs* illustrate:

```
1. 1st line     _____A_____B_____A_____B_____C___C
   (of six
   sections)
   2nd line                _____ d _____ e
   3rd line                _____ d _____ e
   4th line                _____ d _____ e

   5th line     _____A_____B_____A_____B_____C___C
                           _____ f _____ g
                           _____ f _____ g
                           _____ f _____ g
                                          , etc.

2. _____ a _____ b _____ c _____ d
   _____ a _____ b _____ c _____ d
   _____ a _____ b _____ c _____ d
   _____ E _____ F _______ G _____ H _____ I _______ J

   _____ k _____ l _____ m _____ n
   _____ k _____ l _____ m _____ n
   _____ k _____ l _____ m _____ n
   _____ E _____ F _______ G _____ H _____ I _______ J
                                                  , etc.
```

```
3.  ________ A ________ B        ___ C
    ________ A ________ B        ___ C
      ________ d ________ e ____ f
      ________ d ________ e ____ f
      ________ d ________ e ____ f
    ________ A ________ B        ___ C
    ________ A ________ B        ___ C
      ________ g ________ h ____ i
      ________ g ________ h ____ i
      ________ g ________ h ____ i
                                    etc.
```

[40]

The intricate varieties of rhyme-schemes in the Hispano-Arabic strophic forms were popularized by setting the lyrics to music in əl-Andalus, in the Arab East, and most likely in the parts of Europe where Arabic music could be heard. Thus, in addition to the Provençal factor, English people in Southern France and in the Holy Land might have heard the Arabic melodies, and then applied their genius to improvising on these models just as the troubadours did. For instance, the type aab, ccb, ddb, etc. in the Harlian lyrics no. 7: "Mosti ryden by Rybbesdale," no. 11: "Lenten ys come with loue to toune," and no. 12: "In May hit murgeth when hit dawes" might have been derived from the aaab, cccb, etc. *zajal* and *murabba'* patterns either directly or most likely through European imitations, since tripartition was a current practice among troubadours. It is noteworthy that some verses of Middle English are arranged in manuscripts in columns:

> Sitteth stille withouten strif, / And I will telle you the lif / of an holy man.

Alex was his right name, / To serve god thought him no shame /
Therof never he ne blan.[41]

This manner of arrangement is typical of Andalusian strophes as the sketches drawn above show.

Again, one of the rhyme-schemes of the *zajal*: AB cccB (AB) dddB (AB), etc. is nearly identical with that of a nativity carol:

Of a rose, a lovely rose,
  Of a rose I syng a song.

Lyth and lystyn, both old and yyng,
How the rose begane to spryng;
A fayyrer rose to owr lekyng
  Sprong ther never in kynges lond.

v branchis of that rose ther ben,
The wych ben both feyer and chene;
Of a maydyn, Mary, hevyn quene,
  Ought of hyr bo[s[um the branch sprong.[42]

although the English poet does not sustain the fourth line of each quatrain (the *simṭ*) in all strophes.[43] Other examples from Middle English lyrics and carols that coincide with *zajals* in their rhyme-schemes are given in Appendix D.

Chaytor has noted that the type (ababababcdcd) in "weping hath myn wonges wet" (Harley no. 6) is nearly identical with the scheme (ababcdcd) used by two Italian troubadours.[44] This same type is also similar to the Hispano-Arabic scheme (abababcdcd) seen, for instance, in a *muwashshaḥ* by Lisān ad-dīn Ben al-Khatīb.[45]

Another parallel rhyme-scheme is the type (aaaabb) used in Provençal poems and in the English poem "Patris Sapiencia."[46] The same scheme appears with a refrain (BB) in the late fifteenth-century poem "The Nut-Brown Maid." The scheme of this poem coincides with the one seen in some Hispano-Arabic *muwashshaḥs*:

____________________ a	____________________ a
____________________ a	____________________ a
______________ B	______________ B
____________________ c	____________________ c
____________________ c	____________________ c
______________ B	______________ B

(Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, pp. 115 and 127)

This scheme may be rearranged as follows:

____________________ a
____________________ a
____________________ a
____________________ a
______________ B
______________ B

____________________ c
____________________ c
____________________ c
____________________ c
______________ B
______________ B

Likewise, the type aaaBaB used by Guillaume IX in Song V, "Farai chansoneta nueva" and later, as Ker notes,[47] found in English poems:

> Hyre heye haveth wounded me ywisse,
> hire bende browen, that bringeth blisse;
> hire comely mouth that mihte cusse
>   in muche murthe he were;
> y wolde chaunge myn for his
>   that is here fere.
>
> (Brook, 9:25-30)

is also seen in zajal 141 of Ibn Quzmān. In zajals 123, 138, and 142 of the same poet, a similar scheme is used.[48]

Again, the scheme (abababab) used in "Mayden moder milde" (Harley lyric no. 28) and several other poems is seen in Hispano-Arabic strophes as in the baits of a muwashshaḥ quoted in Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (pp. 60-62):

______________ a ______________ b
______________ a ______________ b
______________ a ______________ b
______________ a ______________ b
______________ a ______________ b[49]

"A Farewell to His Mistress, II,"[50] for instance, uses a monorhyme although imperfectly. The monorhymed stanza was frequently used in Medieval English poetry and was employed by Richard The Lionhearted.[51] The use of monorhyme, as earlier noted, is typical of the classical Arabic qaṣida. Monorhyme is also found in some Andalusian lyrics as in a poem by Ibn Zaydūn, where the monorhyme occurs in all the hemistiches,[52] and as in a poem by al-Tutīlī, where the monorhyme is carried in all 214 lines of the poem.[53]

Hispano-Arab poets used the rhyme-scheme (AAA bbb, AAA ccc, etc.) in their muwashshaḥs and zajals. A muwashshaḥ quoted in Ibn Sana' al-Mulk (pp. 76-77) has the following scheme:

__________ A __________ A __________ A
__________ b
__________ b
__________ b
__________ A __________ A __________ A

_____________ c

_____________ c

_____________ c

__________ A __________ A __________ A ,etc.

Almost similarly, the Scottish poets Skelton and Dunbar used the scheme (aaabbb) in some of their lyrics. Skelton wrote:

> Enuwyd your colowre
> Is lyke the dasy flowre
> After the Aprill showre.
>
> Sterre of the morow gray
> The blossom on the spray,
> The fresshest flowre of May.[54]

Skelton also used the type (aaabb) in these lines of satire:

> Their mayles golde doth eate
> Theyr neighbours dye for meat.
> What care they though Gill sweat
> Or Jacke of the Noke?
> The pore people they yoke.[55]

This scheme is also seen in Harley lyric "Wynter waketh al my care" (Brook: 17). However, this scheme is common in the zajal and its European imitations.

In like manner, the type (aaaa, bbbb, cccc, etc.) seen in Harley lyrics nos. 15, 24, 25, and 26 is used interchangeably with the simṭ in some Andalusian muwashshaḥs and zajals. The same type is also used in some Eastern Arabic muwāliyahs.

In the Arab East, the Abbasid poets improvised, in addition to the muwāliyah, a kind of verse called al-muzdawaj (literally, the double), in which each bait is composed of two verses rhyming together and usually expressing a thought unit (i.e., the bait terminates in a syntactical unit).[56] The muzdawaj, like the heroic couplet, was used for epigrams,

proverbs, and didactic purposes. This type of verse gained popularity in al-Andalus where treatises on history and grammar were written in it. For example, the most famous treatise on grammar, the alfiyah (of one thousand lines) of Ibn Malik employed it. Also, Ibn Abed Rabbah and Abed al-Gabbar al-Andalusi composed treatises on history using this verse. Since Arabic books of knowledge and literature of wisdom were made available to the West through translations, it might be suggested that the heroic couplet in French and then in English (as mastered by Chaucer) originated in al-muzdawaj. Examples of al-muzdawaj are cited here and are from a work by Ibn al-Atahiyah which has the rhyme-scheme:

____________________ a ____________________ a
____________________ b ____________________ b
____________________ c ____________________ c
____________________ d ____________________ d etc.

1. Likullī ma yu'aḍhī wa'n qalla 'lam a
   Ma 'ṭwala-l- lyala 'la man lam yanam a

   Whatever hurts, though lightly, is painful
   What a long night it would be for one who couldn't get sleep.

2. Ma'ntafa'a -l- mar'u bimithli 'aqlihī b
   Wa khairu ḍhukhrī -l- mar'i ḥusnu fi'lihī b

   Nothing avails a person but his reason
   And the best record for man is his good deed.

3. Man ja'ala-l- nammama 'ynan halaka c
   Mublighaka-l- sharra kabaghīhī laka. c

   He who trusts the slanderer will perish
   [For] he who reports bad tidings is just like the one who bid you ill.[57]

Thought units contained in two verses are seen in Chaucer (although he employs enjambment), in some Middle English lyrics like "Occupations of the Months" (Robbins: 67), and in Dunbar. Here are lines of Dunbar:

Sen erdly joy abydis nevir, a
Wirk for the joy that lestis evir, a
For under joy is all but vane: b
All erdly joy returnis in pane.[58] b

Finally, internal rhyme and aureate diction were favorite games for Arab poets and were considered a kind of tour de force. Thus, Abu Nuwās wrote a qaṣida--which may be considered a forerunner of the muwashshaḥ--using internal rhyme in all the baits while sustaining the monorhyme throughout the qaṣida:

	1st hemistich		2nd hemistich	
1st bait	Sulafu dannī/	kashamsī dajnī/	Kadam'ī jafnī/	kakhamri 'dnī/
	a	a	a	A
2nd bait	Tabīkhu shamsī/	kalaoni warsī/	rabību fursī/	halīfu sejnī/
	b	b	b	A etc.[59]

(small letters refer to internal rhymes)

Likewise, the Andalusian Ibn Zaydūn used internal rhyme:

Atlaftani kalafan/	ablaytani asafan/	qattatani shaghafan/	arrathtani 'lala/[60]
b	b	b	A

Some verses in the maqamat (anecdotes) also use internal rhyme:

________ b	________ b	________ b	________ A
________ c	________ c	________ c	________ A
________ d	________ d	________ d	________ A

The Arabs call this practice al-tasmīṭ, whence the term simṭ used in the Andalusian strophic forms is derived. In fact, the Matla' (prelude) and the simṭ of some muwashshaḥs can be regarded as containing internal rhyme if we consider each as a bait:

Matla':

Ashkū wa'nta ta'lamu ḥalī/	Alaysa dhaka 'aynu-l-majalī/	wal-dhalalī/
A	A	A

Aghṣān:

________________ b

________________ b

________________ b

Zid fī sīdudak al-mutawalī/Labudda 'an tajud al-layālī/bilwiṣalī/
A A A
, etc.[62]

Internal rhyme is also seen in some Middle English lyrics as in the following verses from Chaucer's "Anelida and Arcite":

1. My swete foo, / why do you so? / for shame!
An thenke ye / that furthered be / your name.
(ll. 272-73)

2. The longe nyght / this wonder sight / I drye,
And on the day / for this afray / I dye.
(ll. 333-34)[63]

Arthur K. Moore cites examples of internal rhyme in Middle English lyrics. For example,

1. heo is briht so daies liht,
that is on me wel sene;
. . .
yef mi thoht helpeth me noht,
to wham shal y me mene?

2. Thir ladyis fair, That makis repair,
And in the court ar kend,
Thre dayis thair, Thay will do mair,
Ane mater for till end. . . .[64]

The parallelisms in metrical similarities between Hispano-Arabic poetry and Middle English lyrics are striking. The antiquity and requirement of rhyme in Arabic poetry and the ingenuity of Hispano-Arabic poets in rhyme variations and stanza distribution have already been noted. The Hispano-Arabic influence on Provençal and other Romance poetries has likewise been pointed out. Without disregarding the genius and originality of Middle English poets, we can mainly attribute the metrical similarities discussed above to the Arabic influence whether directly or, most likely, through Provençal, French, and Italian imitations of and innovations on the Hispano-Arabic strophic forms. Further examination of the imagery and phraseology will render our hypothesis more plausible.

A study of the ideational level, the articulation of the themes, the imagery, the motifs, and the phraseology of Middle English lyrics may also reveal striking similarities with those same features in Medieval Arabic and Hispano-Arabic lyrics. In the following section we will demonstrate analogies in the two poetries with regards to the above mentioned features. Nevertheless, although Hispano-Arabic lyrics may have served as models and prototypes for Middle English lyrics, no precise cases of direct indebtedness can be proven. It is most likely that the Arabic influence was indirect and by means of the troubadour tradition in particular. However, since several critics have already pointed out the similarities between Provençal and Middle English lyrics,[65] we shall be sparing in our references to Provençal instances. As in the case with metrical similarities, we shall consider the Middle English lyric "Alysoun" as our starting point.

Similarities in Motifs, Imagery, and Phraseology

In the first place, "Alysoun" opens with the spring-prelude (ll. 1-4). The poet portrays the happiness in nature around him: the gay spring setting and the song of the bird. He then juxtaposes this vivid picture of nature to the statement of his love-longing and to the fact that his love is unrequited: "Iche libbe in love-longinge" (l. 5). Similarly, the contrast of the joyful state of nature to the poet's state of suffering and pangs of unrequited love is a constant motif in Hispano-Arabic lyric tradition. For instance, the Andalusian poet Ibn Zaydūn opens one of his poems with the conventional spring-prelude:

> Indeed I remembered you yearningly as you were in al-Zahrā'
> when the horizon was clear and the face of earth was shining,
> And the breeze had a languor in its evening hours as if it had

pity for me, and so languished out of compassion
And the garden smiled, disclosing its silver water, as if you had loosened collars from the upper breasts.

He then describes the shining roses and the fragrance and declares:

Everything stirred in us a recollection making us long for you,
a recollection which the breast was yet too constricted to hold.
(Arberry, Arabic Literature, p. 114)

Another Andalusian poet opens his muwashshaḥ this way:

The rain has given a free hand for the roses to blossom and to enchant me.
Sweet is drinking this very day in an orchard whose excellent fragrances
reach the sky and whose brightness is bestowed on people. . . .

The forlorn lover then uses the familiar clichés in such epithets as follows:

You have been unjust by leaving me. . . . [Yet] I would give my life in ransom for such a traitor, you whose religion is separation and keeping away from me.

This love is being tyrannical. What shall I do? I have lost endurance.
No one to help except my tears.
What a weak triumph, then, if my tears were my supporters to bear my grief.

Oh! beloved. Grant me your grace and take my life [in exchange].
Let me drink from your lips and find bliss in the charm of your eyes.
Cool down the thirst of my burning fire. Do not slay me.
When he[66] [the beloved] prolonged my grief and did not pity [me],
And aggravated his cruelty and did not greet [me], I sang to him a melody of a lover:

My love, you are my neighbor, your dwelling is near mine, and yet you desert me![67]

The following Harley lyric is quoted here in full because it is similar to the previous muwashshaḥ and to many other Andalusian lyrics in spirit, expression, reverdie opening, and the poet's invitation to the lady to listen to his song. The narrator also describes the charms

of the beloved, the pangs of unrequited love, and, above all, he contrasts his grief to the spring setting:

When The Nyhtegale Singes

When the nyhtegale singes the wodes waxen grene;
lef ant gras ant blosme springes in Averyl, y wene,
ant love is to myn herte gon with one spere so kene,
nyht ant day my blod hit drynkes; myn herte deth me tene.

Ich have loved al this yer, that y may love namore;
ich have siked moni syk, lemmon, for thin ore.
Me nis love never the ner, ant that me reweth sore.
Suete lemmon, thench on me, ich have loved the yore.

Suete lemmon, y preye the of love one speche;
whil y lyve in world so wyde other nulle y seche.
With thy love, my suete leof, my blis thou mihtes eche;
a suete cos of thy mouth mihte be my leche.

Suete lemmon, y preye the of a love-bene;
yef thou me lovest ase men says, lemmon, as y wene,
ant yef hit thi wille be, thou loke that hit be sene.
So muchel y benke vpon the that al y waxe grene.

Bituene Lyncolne ant Lyndeseye, Norhamptoun ant Lounde,
ne wot y non so fayr a may as y go fore ybounde.
Suete lemmon, y preye the thou louie me a stounde.
Y wole mone my song
on wham that hit ys on ylong.

(Brook:25)

Indeed, in both poetic traditions joyous nature reminds the poet of his beloved and of his unrequited love, and causes him to suffer and to experience "love-longing." The poets, it seems, are trying to move the maidens by the portrayal of happiness abounding in nature. They desire to be united with the beloved and think it bliss to be with her. Thus, the sight of the happiness in the natural elements moved Sa'id Ibn Sulaiman to say:

My sadness grows when I look at the rose,
The sight of a lily stirs up my pains anew:
My nights, once beautiful, now seem
More hideous than grimy faces to me.

(Nykl, p. 32)

Likewise, the opening of a thirteenth-century carol reads:

> No(u) spri(nke)s the sprai,
> al for love icche am so seeke
> that slepen i ne mai.[68]

The same theme of the lover being out of tune with nature is artistically expressed in the brief Middle English lyric "Foweles in the Frith":

> Foweles in the frith,
> The fisses in the flod,
> And i mon waxe wod.
> Mulch sorw I walke with
> for beste of bon and blod.
> (Stemmler:12)

In addition to lyrics, _reverdies_ in Middle English occur in every variety. They are seen in romances such as _Arthour and Merlin_ and _Richard Coeur de Lion_, in debates such as _The Thrush and the Nightingale_, in the Prologue of the _Canterbury Tales_, and in the poems of Gower. Similarly, the spring-prelude was so popular in Hispano-Arabic poetry that it was used in religious, panegyric, and drinking songs. In fact, the spring theme became, as Iḥsan Abbas aptly comments, "a basis or 'a chemical catalyst agent' in the Andalusian _qaṣida_."[69] Thus, Ibn Quzmān exclaims in the opening of a _zajal_:

> I want to bite the lip of the cup--and then, the musk! (= the wine)
> At this time must needs become lusty; --when the cup dies between the garden and the spring, --I cull the roses, and I suck the mouth of the decanter: the nightingale is talking above, --and I complete its talk."
> (Nykl, p. 285)

In a panegyric to al-Mu'tamid, Ibn Zaydūn addresses him saying:

> Approach, as does the early spring
> And arise as does the face of the rosy matin.[70]

The adaptation of the _reverdie_ convention to religious poetry may be seen in the mystical poems of the Sufis; it is also seen in such religious

Middle English poems as "Nou skrinketh rose ant lylie-flour" (Brook:23) and "Somer is comen and winter gon."[71]

Pure reverdies or spring themes can be seen in Middle English poetry as, for example, in "Lenten ys come with love to toune" (Brook:11) and "Summer is icumen in" (Silverstein:17). In al-Andalus, a vizier of Seville compiled an anthology called On the Excellence of Springtime on pure spring themes.[72] Indeed, spring theme: description of meadows, orchards, flowers, fruits, fountains, and springs constituted a distinct Hispano-Arabic genre called al-raudhiyāt, which was divided, in turn, into sub-genres each dealing with a specific aspect.[73] If the Spanish word verde (green) is derived from the Arabic raudh (green meadow) as Abdul Haq Fadhil proposes,[74] the etymology of the word reverdie may then be traced to the Arabic root raudh and a stronger evidence may be added to the hypothesis of the Andalusian reverdie convention on medieval European lyric traditions.

Hispano-Arabic poets were fascinated by nature to the extent that many of their images reflect this rapture with nature. In addition to portraying the elements of nature as sympathizing with the poet's feelings of sadness and unrequited love,[75] sexual imagery is also derived from natural imagery:

In joy extreme
We lay embracing,
As o'er a stream
Boughs interlacing.
(Arberry, Moorish Poetry, p. 30)

Provençal lyrics also sing of spring, roses, and the nightingale. The troubadours describe the natural scenery and contrast their pangs of love to the joyous state in the natural elements. These Provençal songs may also be brought into relation with Middle English reverdies as shown

by the studies of Chaytor, Audiau, and other medievalists.[76] The relation of these Provençal lyrics to Andalusian reverdies is even stronger.

Except for the lyrics on pure spring season and the description of nature, Andalusian lyrics that open with the spring-prelude or involve natural imagery are saturated with love phraseology and conventional love clichês. This phenomenon is also seen in Middle English lyrics. Further discussion of "Alysoun" may better illustrate this point.

The following lines from "Alysoun" show the use of the conventional cliché that the poet's beloved is the fairest of all:

(1) Semlokest of all thynge (l. 6)

(2) And feyrest may in toune (l. 28)

(3) Geynest under gore (l. 35)

So are these verses from the Hispano-Arabic poetic corpus:

(1) O you, the prettiest of God's creatures.[77]

(2) I have been enchanted by the fairest of mankind.
(García Gómez:xv,2)

(3) She has combined every beauty; [hence] my description won't do her justice.
(García Gómez:xxiib,4)

Instances from Middle English lyrics are such as the following:

(1) beste of bon and blod
(Stemmler:12)

(2) Of beauty yet she passeth all
(Reed, p. 114)

(3) ne wot y non so fayr a may. . .
(Brook:25, l. 18)

(4) lussomore in londe
(Brook:14, l. 12)

(5) comliest on the ground
(Robbins:127, l. 69)

(6) ffayrest fode upo loft
(Brook:32, l. 30)

(7) brihtest under bis
(Brook:3, l. 17)

(8) so fair a wight know I nout
(Robbins:127, l. 54)

(9) The ffeyryst that levyth of any creature
(Robbins:192, l. 14)

(10) Now fayreste of stature formed by nature
(Robbins:198, l. 26)

(11) Ffair fresshest erthly creature
that evere the sonne over-shone,
The best and the shapliest figure
that kynde hath wrought of blood and bone
(Robbins:199, ll. 1-4)

(12) She is the fayreste of face and flesch
So myld a mayde never yet I met
(Robbins:128, ll. 11-12)

In Hispano-Arabic poetry, poets likewise would exaggerate in their description of the beloved's beauty and would also exclaim that this beauty was bestowed by God or nature:

(1) She is a full moon with no imperfection.
(García Gómez:xx, 3)

(2) Decked in all beauties   Then who can vie with him?
A sweet one . . .
Full of perfections;   Glory to his Maker!
(Monroe, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, p. 372)

(3) Beauty is an inalienable bequest made over to the gazelle of the Banū Thābit.
(Monroe, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, p. 222)

(4) I am afflicted with the love of a gazelle that is without a peer.
(García-Gómez:xxlla, 3)

(5) In your beauty you have passed every limit.
(García-Gómez:x, 2)

(6) A gazelle unique in utmost beauty,
A beauty that is not found except in fancies.
(García-Gómez:xxvi,3)

(7) Her many-sided beauty became . . . proverbial.
(Nykl, p. 112)

(8) O! Beauty of the world.
(Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, p. 80)

(9) Beauty itself knows that you have surpassed it.
(Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, p. 70)

(10) I loved a new moon [maiden] unique in its beauty . . .
A full moon that shone in shapely proportion was proud of its beauty, desiring no increase.
(Monroe, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, p. 218)

(11) Ibn Quzmān wrote in a zajal:

"There is no equal to this graceful one,--and whenever beauty is mentioned,--it inclines toward the one I am in love with."
(Nykl, p. 289)

(12) Before these poets, the Abbasid Ibn al-Aḥnaf had exclaimed:

If a creature were adored because of its beauty,
my queen would become [heaven's] Lord.[78]

Another common expression in Middle English poetry that might be brought into relation with Hispano-Arabic poetic tradition is the "blisse" the lady might bestow on the lover. Thus, the author of "Alysoun" says: "he may me blisse bringe" (l. 7). Two more instances may be drawn from the Harley lyrics:

(1) "hire bende browen, that bringeth blisse"
(Brook:9, l. 26)

(2) With thy love, my suete leof, my blis thou mihtes eche.
(Brook:25, l. 11)

The sight of the lady is enough cause to transform the lover into a state of bliss and joy:

(1) that syht upon that semly to blis he is broht.
(Brook:3, l. 19)

(2) And when I do your goodness behold,
Of myrthe and Ioy I have habundaunce.
(Robbins:191, ll. 15-16)

This joy is in the spirit of the courtly love tradition. Epithets like the following:

(1) I joy in that I have your grace
(Reed, p. 113)

(2) Joye and blisse were me Newe
(Stemmler:19, l. 12)

(3) for ye may ever my Joy renewe
& ye may bryng me out of care
(Robbins:197, ll. 15-16)

call to mind the Arabic _ṭarab_ and the Provençal _joie d'amors_ although the English use of the concept is not so profound as in the Arabic and Provençal sense.[79] So subtle is this _ṭarab_ that one is not unjustified in thinking that it exists and is experienced because the love is not completely attained. It is the bewitching but seemingly unyielding lady that inspires this delicate sensation. In fact, all motifs of love in courtly medieval poetry center around this paradox of the encouraging yet cruel and unattainable lady. The lover himself seems to derive pleasure from the beloved's cruelty. Connected to this attitude of the lover is the idea of love service that is recurrent in Arabic and Hispano-Arabic poetry. Love service became a basic tenet of the codes of courtly love in European poetry. Thus, the eighth line of "Alysoun," "Ich am in her boundoun," expresses the feudal aspect of the lover's relation to his maiden. In many instances in Middle English lyrics, the poets express willingness to obey the whims of their mistresses and even readiness to become "servants" in an attempt to appeal to the cruel and indifferent ladies:

(1) Ledy, ha mercy of thy mon!
(Brook:32, l. 18)

(2) To serve her still while life doth endure
(Reed, p. 114)

(3) My heart, my mind, and my whole power,
My service true with all my might,
On land or sea, in storm or shower,
I give to you be day and night,
And eke my body for to fight.
My goods also be at your pleasure,
Take me and mine as your own treasure.
(Reed, p. 113)

(4) Wold to god I were able your servaunt to be
(Robbins:200, l. 38)

(5) To whom I recommaund me with all obeysaunce
(Robbins:192, l. 15)

(6) Thus I submyt unto your grace and support
(Robbins:191, l.31)

(7) Whom that I serve and shall do faythfully
Wyth trew entent and humble observaunce
(Robbins:189, ll. 2-3)

(8) Myn hert ys set, and all myn hole entent,
To serve this flour in my most humble wyse
(Robbins:188, ll. 1-2)

(9) do as ye list--I hold me content!
(Robbins:154, l. 6)

(10) In your servyse to die, and that I never repent;
ffor yow to obeye and serve entendith my best cure
(Robbins:139, ll. 10-11)

(11) Sen that I am sair bundin in your band
(Robbins:133, l. 21)

(12) To be his servand fassit ay but slycht
(Robbins:132, l. 25)

(13) and ever whyles I lyve to yow be obedyent
To full-fyll your commandement as your humble servaunt.
(Robbins:130, l. 55)

In a similar manner, the Arabic saying Qui amat obedit (as reproduced in the Disciplina Clericalis) was venerated by the Arabs. Ibn Daoud wrote:

"Submission to the beloved lady is the natural mark of a courtly man."[80]

Again, Ibn Ḥazm devoted a chapter of The Ring of the Dove on compliance in love; he himself wrote:

> It is not just to disapprove
> A meek servility in love:
> For Love the proudest men abase
> Themselves, and feel it no disgrace.
> (Arberry, The Ring, p. 89)

Andalusian poets declared themselves devoted slaves to their ladies. They improvised subtle images out of the notion of submissiveness in love. The compositions cited below antedate those of the Middle English poets:

(1) A composition by Ibn Zaydūn:

> Be proud--I'll bear with you;
> Delay--yet I'll endure;
> Exult--I'll grovel still;
> Run off--I will pursue;
> Speak--I shall hear for sure;
> Command--I'll do your will.
> (Arberry, Moorish Poetry, p. 61)

(2)
> Beware of letting one like yourself lose
> My submission, and a love like mine be lost.
> (Nykl, p. 261)

(3)
> If you don't know that I'm a slave to your might,
> Command me whate'er you wish, I shall perform it.
> (Nykl, p. 241)

(4) A zajal by Ibn Quzmān:

> I humiliate myself to him, and my opinion concerning
> humiliation--is that it is the lover's duty to be humble.
> (Nykl, p. 295)

(5) Another zajal by Ibn Quzmān:

> He treats me haughtily, despotically, tyrannically,--
> when he so wishes;--he sees with his own eye that my
> heart is melting,--yet treats me worse still; and if
> he killed me, and this is what he is trying to do,--
> he would kill a slave:--for it is impossible that my
> beloved--be overtaken by my vengeance!
> (Nykl, p. 286)

(6) He to whose pledge I became obedient,

. . .

My humility in love is due to his power
(Nykl, p. 52)

(7) I am content with my humiliation
With my grief and sickness
(García-Gómez:xvi, 3)

(8) Servant am I--and this is little, half than what is done to the one whom I love; yet he is not content

. . .

Do not reprove me since I have already submitted to you with humiliation.
(García-Gómez:xxiia, 1 and 2)

(9) I am pleased, O! gazelle
to be a slave to you.
(García-Gómez:iv, 4)

(10) A mystical poet wrote:

Were your love true, you would obey him [God]
For the lover is obedient to the beloved.[81]

(11) al-Ḥakim, the poet prince, wrote this verse:

A king am I, subdued, his power humbled
To love, like a captive in fetters, forlorn!
What of me, when those who tore my soul from my body
Are stripping me of my power and might in love!
(Nykl, p. 20)

(12) Ibn Labbūn, a general who held treaties with the Cid, wrote:

I am a slave to the one whose lord I am
And there could be no objection to the will of God.
(García-Gómez:xxxvii, 3)

(13) The Caliph al-Musta'īn said:

Do not blame a king for thus submitting to love,
for humiliation in love is power and a second kingdom.[82]

In the refrain of "Alysoun," the poet portrays his love as being sent from Heaven and as being solely directed to Alysoun. In "The Nut-Brown Maid," the idea that the persona's love is directed to a particular maiden is also expressed:

For in my mind, of all mankind
I love but you alone.[83]

In a Harley lyric the poet expresses the same notion:

Leuedi, with al my miht
my love is on the liht.
(Brook:5, ll. 21-22)

Another English poet says:

So fayre she ys and also fresch
that all me love ys on here set.
(Robbins:128, ll. 9-10)

Likewise, the Andalusian poet exclaims:

Moreover, if my soul were filled by anything but you,
I would pluck it out.
(Monroe, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, p. 170)

In Arabic poetry, the two ideas that love is sent from Heaven and that it is solely directed to a particular lady are also prevalent. For instance, Jamīl depicts his love to Buthaina as a "covenant" decreed by God:

I said to her: "You should realize that we have pacts
between us, and covenant of God."[84]

This poet carries the conceit to a height that is rarely achieved in courtly love poetry:

My soul became attached to hers before we were formed.
(Hamori, p. 43)

In many Hispano-Arabic lyrics the poet often argues with those who reproach him for loving a particular maiden, but he does not give in. The poet would often state that to be with this particular maiden is a heavenly bliss; hence her sight is paradise. Thus, Ibn Quzmān writes:

A cruel watcher . . . has kept his [the beloved] face away from me, so I cannot see that Paradise,--and has kept his mouth from me so I cannot taste that Kawṭar!
(Nykl, p. 289)

The English poet uses a similar language:

For wytt the wele, yt ys a paradyse
To se this floure when yt begyn to sprede
(Robbins:188, ll. 5-6)

Obviously, the lady's beauty leads the poet to declare that sight of her is paradise. Often, the poet would present a somewhat detailed portrait of the lady's beauties. Thus, in "Alysoun" (ll. 13-16) the poet describes "her shapely waist, her fair coloring, her dark eyebrows and black eyes."[85] In lines 25-8, the poet comments further on Alysoun's physical attributes, particularly her white neck. In both instances the description of Alysoun is in accordance with the tradition of cataloguing the beauties of the lady that was in vogue in medieval literature and which will be treated in the following section. Here it may be noted that Alysoun's fair hair, dark eyebrows, black eyes, slender waist, and white neck are also typical of Hispano-Arabic catalogues of beauties.

After dwelling on her beauties, the poet restates his love-longing and asserts how he will die if he cannot have his love (ll. 17-20). This veiled threat as well as the details of the poet's woes were conventional motifs in Arabic and Hispano-Arabic poetry. Since these motifs will be discussed in detail under separate headings, it might be adequate here to mention only one motif. The Alysoun poet describes his insomnia--his tossing and turning at night:

Nihtes when y wende and wake--
Forthi myn wonges waxeth won--
Leuedi, al for thine sake,
Longinge is ylent me on.
(ll. 21-4)

Likewise does the poet of this composition:

My eyes could not taste sleep
And spent the nights with flames [of love]

I was in anguish, whenever I tossed in bed
More scorches I got in my heart
(García-Gómez:xxxi, 1)

Describing the signs of love, Ibn Ḥazm wrote:

Still yearning, and disquieted,
Still sleepless tossing on his bed. . .
(Arberry, The Ring, p. 40)

The ending of "Alysoun" provides a striking similarity to Hispano-Arabic poetry also. After an overt sexual innuendo, "Geynest under gore" (l. 35), the poem ends with a direct plea to the lady: the poet requests that Alysoun listen to his song: "Herkene to my roun" (l. 36). Here, the very mention of the word roun calls to mind the conventional formulaic introduction to the kharjas; an introduction that usually contains one of the following words: sang, chanted, vocalized, intoned, chant, or song. Ibn Sanā al-Mulk (p. 31) states: "The bait preceding the kharja should have one of the following expressions: He said, I said, she said, he sang, I sang, or she sang." In fifteen muwashshaḥs out of forty-four James T. Monroe comments: "specific reference is made to the fact that the poem is being sung, by either a man or a woman."[86] The verse preceding the kharja in the muwashshaḥ quoted on page 88 of this chapter reads, "I sang to him, a melody of a lover." In Middle English poetry, the Harlian lyric "when the Nightegale Singes" ends this way, as earlier noted:

Suete lemmon, y preye the thou louie me a stounde
y wole mone my song
on wham that hit ys on ylong.

Similar instances from Hispano-Arabic poetry can be multiplied.[87]

Finally, among other parallelisms between "Alysoun" and Hispano-Arabic lyrics, another striking correspondence merits noting. The reference here is to the concept of "derne" love in courtly love poetry and

to the related use of the senhal. In the poem under discussion, the name Alysoun is most likely a false name, a senhal. In this connection, there is "a pseudo-Chaucerian [acrostic] envoy to Alison" (Robbins, p. 273). Also significant is the fact that the heroine of Chaucer's Miller's Tale is named Alisoun. It seems that the name Alisoun was a common name that poets often used to avoid mentioning the real name of the maiden--when there was sincere feeling--or to write conventional love poetry when no feelings were involved. This remark is also true of senhals used in Provençal poetry as well as in Hispano-Arabic poetry --and also in Arabic poetry up to the present.

In Arabic poetry the poet uses fictitious names for social reasons: "It was bad manners to use other than fictitious names in erotic verse, however modest. Slave girls might be named; ladies never."[88] Thus, the Abbasid poet al-Aḥnaf uses the name Fauz to conceal the true identity of his beloved. Arab critics refer to the practice of concealing the name by the literary term kināya. In his Ṭawq al-Hamama, Ibn Ḥazm, the Andalusian theoretician of love, versifies:

> How long, how long must I
> This secret hide
> Which I cannot deny,
> Nor lay aside?
> (Arberry, The Ring, p. 78)

He also writes the following on the same theme:

> All they that know, know in truth
> I am a poor and lovelorn youth,
> Cast down and weary, full of care--
> For whom? Ah, none can this declare.
> . . .
> . . .
> My love is like a written screed;
> The characters seem plain, indeed,
> But when the reader seeks to know
> What they portend, that does not show.
> . . .
> . . .

"For Allah's sake", they plead with me,
"Name thou her name to us, that we
May we apprised what passion deep,
For whom, has robbed thee of thy sleep."

No, no; before I tamely yield
The secret they would have revealed
I'd sooner see my reason go,
And plunge into the depths of woe.

So they are buffeted about
By wild conjecture, wilder doubt,
Not knowing whether what they know,
Or what they think they think, is so.
(Arberry, The Ring, p. 79)

The poet al-Tuṭīlī exlaims:

Your love is my tashrīq [radiance, mystical term] as long as I live
Never will I reveal it, any time, never!
(García-Gómez:II, 4)

Again, the zajalist Ibn Quzmān refuses to name his beloved:

I am not going to mention the name of that beloved;--and the bitterest of things is a love than cannot be mentioned (to others)!
(Nykl, p. 289)

So does Ibn al-Ḥaddād in the following excerpt:

I preciously guard the name of my beloved because of my habit of not pronouncing it, and I do not cease to render it even more obscure in my enigmas.
(Pérès, p. 416)

Just as Hispano-Arab poets preserve secrecy in love and use senhals to conceal the true name of the beloved, Middle English poets adhere to this concept of derne love:

nys no fur so hot in helle
al to mon
that loveth derne ant dar nout telle
whet him ys on.
(Brook:9, ll. 41-44)

or

Lutel wot hit any mon
hou derne love may stonde.
(Brook:32, ll. 1-2)

Middle English poets also use other fictitious names other than Alysoun. Thus in a brief lyric the poet writes:

> Annys, Annys, Annys, Annys, Annes!
> Annes, be now steadfaste on allewys,
> And dynke on me, my swete Annys
> (Silverstein:116, ll. 5-7)

It is quite possible that Annys is a senhal. Theodore Silverstein (p. 136) designates this lyric as, "A lover's halleluyah. What a name is Annys!" Again, in Harley Lyric no. 3, we read:

> In Annote is hire name; nempneth hit non?
> Whose ryht redeth roune to Iohon.

which is a subtle way of concealing the name by using a pun.

We also note the use of anagrams to refer skillfully to the name of the lady as in the following examples:

(1) I pray you, M, to me be tru.
(Robbins:193, l. 1)

(2) L and V and C and I
So hight my Lady at Font Stone
(Robbins, p. 272)

So does the Andalusian poet:

> The one whom I do not name for fear of his blame,
> though my heart be mad of his love,
> Has a name, part of which is formed of the letters
> hā and bā, letters that hide. . . .
> (Pérès, p. 416)

In another Middle English poem, the lady does not wish to state her name:

> Unto yow I nede nott to wryte my name,
> for she that lovethe yow best send yow this same.
> (Robbins:207, ll. 13-14)

Likewise, the poet Ibn Zaydūn deems it unnecessary to name his beloved as the following extract from his long qaṣida in nūn shows:

> I do not name you out of respect and regard due you,
> Indeed, your lofty rank itself dispenses me from it;
> Your qualities unique having nowhere their equal,

> Clear and precise description will suffice here.
> Oh Paradise Eternal. . . .
> (Nykl, p. 116)

Thus, in Hispano-Arabic poetry, the lady's name is not mentioned; if it is mentioned, it is always a senhal, or else, as Pérès points out (p. 417), a name that is defined by itself like Siḥr (magic), Gawhara (pearl), and Widad (affection). It is significant that the troubadours also picked names of precious stones as senhals to designate their ladies.[90] In Middle English poetry, I have not been able, yet, to find names of precious stones used as senhals; however, the Middle English poet often describes the lady in terms of gems:

> Heo is coral of goodnesse
> heo is rubie of ryhtfulnesse,
> heo is cristal of clannesse.
> (Brook:16, ll. 47-9)

She is described "ase saphyr. . . . / ase iaspe . . . / as gernet in golde ant ruby wel ryht; / ase onycle . . . / ase diamound . . ." and so on (Brook:3, ll. 1-8). Andalusian poets, likewise, were wont to compare maidens to precious stones, pearls in particular.

The discussion of "Alysoun" has shown parallelisms and correspondences to Hispano-Arabic lyrics in form, content, imagery, terminology, and motifs. However, since certain points were only alluded to in the above discussion without detailed analysis, it is feasible to discuss further these and related points of similarities in "Alysoun" and other Middle English poems.

The Catalogue of Charms

It has already been noted that in both Hispano-Arabic and Middle English poetry the poet usually refers to his beloved as "the fairest of all." In the majority of cases, this statement is preceded or followed

by a description of the lady's beauties. Cataloguing the lady's charms, drawing her as an ideal of feminine beauty, and making certain allusions to her physiognomical traits were characteristic not only of Hispano-Arabic but of early Arabic poetry as well. On the other hand, "formal personal description," as Walter Clyde Curry points out, "is not known in Anglo-Saxon literature."[91] In fact, "Before the twelfth century the description of the beautiful woman does not seem to have been of great importance in [medieval European] literature."[92] While it is undoubtedly true that the Greek and Latin ancient traditions make ample references to the ideal of feminine beauty, it is unlikely that it was a major factor affecting the catalogues of beauties in medieval European literature including Middle English--although it may have been a minor influence.[93] Part of the credit at least for the late conventionalization of the catalogue of feminine beauty can be given to the Arabs. The genesis of the vernacular poetry and the spread of courtly love tradition support this hypothesis since the Arabs were influential in both issues and since the vernacular courtly love poetry from the twelfth century on catalogued the charms of ladies. Medieval writers in general strove to achieve a uniform ideal of beauty, a "type to which every lady conforms."[94] In this respect, "the type of beauty appreciated in Middle English literature does not greatly differ from that found in other literatures of medieval times."[95]

As to the relation of Hispano-Arabic poetry to Middle English lyrics, a close examination of specific poems shows many similarities in the detailed description of ladies and in the figures of speech used in these descriptions. First of all, in both traditions, it is either God or nature that lavishes the beauties on the lady. Moreover, these

beauties and the comparisons used to introduce them seem to be typical: the lady is blonde; her hair golden; her eyes, grey in color, bright and like stars; her cheeks lily white and rosy red; teeth like ivory, lips small and honeyed, neck long and like snow, and the waist slender[96]--to name the most prevalent characteristics. Nevertheless, no definite cases of indebtedness can be established although the examples that follow (selective and by no means exhaustive) show striking analogies.

To begin with "Alysoun" again, the lines

> On heu hire her is fayr ynoh,
> Hire browe broune, hire eye blake;
> With lossum chere he on me loh,
> With middel smal and wel ymake. (ll. 13-16)

show Alysoun to be fair-haired, gay, with dark eyebrows, black eyes, and slender waist. She is also described as having a swanlike neck:

> Hire swyre is whittore then the swon. (l. 27)

In these attributes, Alysoun fits into the type praised in Middle English poetry--except for the attribute of black eyes. In like manner, the blonde lady is much praised and even preferred to the brunette in Hispano-Arabic poetry.[97] As for Alysoun's black eyes, critics have justly noted that it is "an unusual touch."[98] Chaucer's Alisoun also has black eyes. Needless to say, the black eye is typical of Arabic and Hispano-Arabic poetry; indeed, I am inclined to think that the type of dark eyebrows and black eyes is an Arabic contribution to the ideal of feminine beauty in medieval European poetry. The Arab poets were fond of likening the eyes of the lady to the eyes of a fawn in that they are large, round, and wide open. The epithet "dark-eyed fawn" (Nykl, p. 22) is a cliché in Arabic poetry. If the lady were not described as a "dark-eyed fawn" she would then be "dark eyed of glance" (Monroe, p. 304).

The Fair Maid of Ribblesdale is described as having large eyes:

> hyre eyyen aren grete ant gray ynoh.
> (Brook:7, ll. 16-17)

Another maiden is thus described:

> Her lovely yen of colour gray.
> (Robbins:127, l. 25)

In numerous Middle English poems, the brows are often described as "bent":

(1) Heo hath browes bend an heh.
(Brook:7, l. 25)

(2) hire bende browen, that bringeth blisse.
(Brook:9, l. 26)

Commenting on "bent," Curry points out that this adjective "describes the eyebrows arched or curved in the form of a strung bow."[99] The bow conceit is also found in Arabic and Hispano-Arabic poetry.[100] More precisely, it is the bow-arrow-wound conceit also known in Greek and Latin literature.[101] Therefore, the bow image is closely connected to the conventional theme of the bewitching eyes, specifically eyes that wound. This theme appears in both poetic traditions where we read that the lover is often smitten through the eyes. Thus, in Hispano-Arabic poetry we read,

(1) My woes come from a dark-eyed fawn:
His kind makes men lose self-control.
(Nykl, p. 22)

(2) What is the state of hearts # when in the sheath of eyelids
There are eyes whose sharp edges # are the keenest arrows of death?
The bows of the eyebrows # whose arrows are his two eyes,
Are like the nūns of a writer, # that have been traced by God.[102]

(3) O thou who aimest, as one who aimeth the arrows of his glances from the bow of his curved eyebrows, against my bowels to transfix them.
(Arberry, Arabic Literature, p. 20)

Arab poets also compare the glances to sword-blades:

(4) Oh you whose eyelid is bewitching
Your sword-blade is too sharp.
(Ibn Sanā al-Mulk, p. 28)

(5) A sword his eyelids draw against my heart, and I see the very languor thereof doth whet its blade.
(Arberry, Arabic Literature, p. 20)

The Andalusian poet inquires:

(6) Who has intrusted the eyelids
With the sharpest of swords?
(Ibn Sanā al-Mulk, p. 28)

(7) My people know well that I am slain by her glances: for in every limb of her she possesses a whetted point.
(Arberry, Arabic Literature, p. 20)

(8) Between your eyes is where lovers find their death!
(Nykl, p. 39)

(9) Oh you, who by your glances can harm or heal!

Who will protect me . . . against the sword of his eye-lashes?
(Nykl, pp. 40-41)

In the same fashion, Middle English poets write:

(1) Her heye haveth wounded me ywisse.
(Brook:9, l. 25)

(2) Alas, howe schale my hert be lyght,
wyth dart of love when hyt ys slayn.
(Robbins:162, ll. 1-2)

So in Chaucer's Knight's Tale:

But I was hurt right now throughout myn eye
Into myn herte, that wol my bane be. (ll. 1096-97)

Ye sleen me with youre eyen, Emelye!
Ye been the cause wherfore that I dye. (ll. 1567-68)

Likewise in Lydgate and Gower and in early sixteenth century lyrics as in the following:

Her yee, her yee.
Which twinkleth clear as the diamond pure,
And hath welcomed me to the lure. (Reeds, p. 114)

Alysoun is also attributed with "lossum chere," a gaiety with subtle connotations. In fact, the traits of Alysoun, as Reiss (p. 60) suggests, are "traditional signs of lechery" according to the physionomy of the age. In Andalusian poetry, cataloguing the charms is likewise meant to portray the lady as an irresistible beauty who arouses the poet's desire. The lady is often coquettish and playful, if not a sadist, and in some instances, as evidenced in the kharjas, the sexual connotations are no longer covert. Again, the sexual desirability of Alysoun is further enhanced in the swan-like simile and finally in the poet's addressing her as "Gynest under gore" (l. 35). As Reiss justly puts it (p. 63), "Throughout the poem the narrator has been thinking of Alisoun in physical terms, and here, in his final words, he cannot refrain from thinking about what is under her gore." Another English poet declares:

A wyf nis non so worly wroht;
when heo ys blythe to bedde ybroht.
(Brook:9, ll. 13-14)

In addition to the physical love indicated in the concluding lines of "Alysoun," the following lines also come at the end of the lyrics:

brihtest under bys,
hevene y tolde al his
that o nyht were hire gest
(Brook:5, ll. 38-40)

that myhte nyhtes neh hyre leye
hevene he hevede here.
(Brook:7, ll. 83-84)

Comparing sensuous love to heavenly bliss is also seen in Hispano-Arabic poetry:

How many a night	Did he keep faith with me
While by our union	He lodged me in Eden!

(Monroe, p. 374)

The practice of ending the lyric in sexual terms is typical of the Andalusian kharjas:

(1) The poor lover,
His cares are prolonged.
On a wintry, windy night,
Who embraces him?

(2) O my lady, O ornament of the tribe,
Your embraces have stolen my heart,
So climb with me into bed.[103]

This analogous manner of ending the lyric with sexual connotations is significant.

Another attribute of Alysoun is her slender waist: "With middel smal and wel ymake" (l. 16). The slender waist was a typical epithet in the catalogues of charms in Middle English poetry. For instance, the fair maid of Ribblesdale "hath a mete myddel small" (Brook:7, l. 73). In the "Knight's Tale," Chaucer writes:

That Emelye, that fairer was to sene
Than is the lylie upon his stalke grene. (ll. 1035-36)

Likewise, in Hispano-Arabic poetry, the waist is often described as a bough of bān[104] and sometimes likened to a reed:

(1) Boughs of bān swaying over sandhills.
(Nykl, p. 20)

(2) Her hips, so wide-distended
From her slim waist suspended
Exert their tyranny
On her as much as me.
(Arberry, Moorish Poetry, p. 67)

(3) A fawn has captivated me,
One slender of waist,
Who reveals when he walks,
A branch on a sand dune.[105]

The famous al-A'ma at-Tuṭīlī carries the conceit to such a sophisticated height:

(4) He has a figure like a reed # in suppleness and tenderness
And a waist such that if he competes # with it for the slenderness of my faith.[106]

(5) She sways like willow Green, supple, and fresh
Which is teased by the hands Of the breeze and the rain.
(Monroe, p. 252)

(6) A willow branch bent from its upright position.
(Monroe, p. 288)

(7) Oh you whose waist is so slender it nearly breaks,
Why is it that your heart is not fine, too?
(Nykl, p. 39)

The final point of correspondence in "Alysoun" is the poet's reference, in a language that is sexually suggestive, to Alysoun's white swan-like neck: "Hire swyre is whittore then the swon" (l. 27). Similarly, in a mozarabic <u>kharja</u> (Stern, no. 33, pp. 28-9) the girl, here, describes her lover's neck as white: "My mother, what a lover [I have]: . . . the neck is white, the small mouth red." Also, in some Middle English lyrics, the neck is likened to ivory in whiteness:

"your neck as whyte as whalles bone"
(Robbins:130, l. 27)

It is obvious that the color white was associated with beauty:

"A wayle whyt ase whalles bon."
(Brook:9, l. 1)

The Fair Maid of Ribblesdale is described as having white hands:

When y·byholde upon hire hond,
the lylie-white, lef in lond
(Brook:7, ll. 49-50)

and her teeth are also described as white as ivory:

hire teht aren white ase bon of whal. (l. 40)

Of another maid is said:

"Lylie-whyt hue is."
(Brook:5, l. 31)

In Hispano-Arabic poetry poets, as stated earlier, preferred the blonde complexion and used "whiteness" to describe the lady:

(1) She is moulded from the light of the pure sapphire
or from ivory.
(García-Gómez:xxiia, 3)

(2) My white, my shining girl,
As pretty as a pearl
. . .
"Live your favours in
The whiteness of your skin."
(Arberry, Moorish Poetry, p. 9)

In conclusion, it is clear from the parallelisms cited above that the ideal of feminine beauty seen in "Alysoun" is similar to that seen in Hispano-Arabic poetry. Further, there are other descriptive blocks in the catalogue of charms that are common to both Middle English and Hispano-Arabic poetries. These blocks or clichés seem to appear for no genuine reason other than for description's sake. An examination of these clichés, however brief, may illustrate further the relations between the two poetries.

Breasts

In describing the maiden's body, the poet--whether Hispano-Arab or Middle English--would sometimes refer to her bosom and breasts. In medieval Arabic and Hispano-Arabic poetry, the breasts are often likened to apples, pomegranate, or other rounded fruit. Thus, the Andalusian poet refers to the "apples of the breasts" (García-Gómez:xv, 4) and to the "sweet gathering of the fruits of the breasts" (García-Gómez:xxxv, 2). In Middle English poetry, "the breasts of a beautiful woman . . . must be small, round as a pear or as an apple of paradise."[107]

(1) hyre tyttes aren an under bis
as apples tuo of Parays.
(Brook:7, ll. 58-9)

(2) Her pappis bene godely & round,
her brest is bothe swete & sound.
(Robbins:127, ll. 43-4)

(3) With pappes rounde as any ball.
(Robbins:129, l. 18)

Cheeks

The description of the cheeks is always associated with flowers in Hispano-Arabic lyrics. Thus, the poet would describe the cheeks of his beloved as blossoming with blushing roses:

(1) On the cheek of your face--the rising sun--there is
A rose whose blush is heightened by wine or modesty.
(Nykl, p. 241)

(2) The rose has its time, outside which it cannot unfold
But roses on your cheeks bloom all the time.
(Nykl, p. 40)

(3) God . . . has covered [her] cheeks with the color of
red apples.
(García-Gómez:xx, 2)

(4) His cheeks have flowered with roses.
(García-Gómez:xxvi, 3)

(5) Cheek down curling over a jasmine (complexion)
(Monroe, p. 218)

The rosy cheek cliché is also seen in Middle English lyrics:

(1) Her rudy is like the rose yn may
with leris white as any milk.
(Robbins:127, ll. 26-7)

(2) With roose red yn your chekes--ye have no pere!
(Robbins:130, l. 16)

(3) hir rode so rose on rys.
(Brook:5, l. 32)

(4) hire chyn ys chosen ant eyther cheke
whit ynoh ant rode on eke.
(Brook:7, ll. 34-5)

Mouth, Teeth, Lips, and Kiss

It is typical of both poetic traditions to liken beautiful teeth to pearls or to ivory. Thus, the opening verse of a famous muwashshaḥ by al-Tuṭīlī describes the maiden as "laughing, revealing pearls" (Ibn Sanā al-Mulk, p. 43). The Andalusian poet al-Quzzāz writes: "his front teeth have put rows of pearls to shame" (Monroe, p. 218). A kharja by al-Sayrafi reads:

> Mouth of pearls, sweet like honey, comme and kiss me!
> My Love, come to my place.
> (Stern, p. 57)

Another kharja runs as follows:

> If you love me as a good man, kiss this string of
> pearls here, this mouth of cherry.
> (Stern, p. 27)

In the above kharjas, in addition to the pearl imagery, the poet introduces the honey-like simile in the first kharja, and he likens the mouth to cherry. These two clichés, the honeyed lips and the cherry-like mouth, are also found in Middle English poetry:

> (1) and your strawbery lyppes as swete as honye
> . . .
> your lyppes lyke the strawberye,
> as swete as any honye
> that cummys to sell.
> (Robbins:130, ll. 15 and 22-3)

> (2) hur lyppes are like unto cherye,
> with tethe as whyte as whalles bone.
> (Robbins:124, ll. 13-14)

More examples in both poetries can be provided. So, the Andalusian poet speaks in a kharja of a "small red mouth" (Stern, p. 32). The poet Ibn Baqī addresses his beloved in these verses:

> Oh you, whose glances are the deadliest, his kiss
> The sweetest: since when was honey and aloe mixed in you?
> (Nykl, p. 241)

I sipped the honey from his mouth
then turned to the breast.
(García-Gómez:xxiib, 5)

So the Middle English poet:

Heo hath a mury mouth to mele,
With lefly rede lippes lele
romauny forte rede.
(Brooks:7, ll. 37-9)

Further, to kiss the lips of the beautiful lady is depicted as a bliss; a bliss that is also the cure for love:

With thy love, my suete leof, mi blis thou mihtes eche;
a suete cos of thy mouth mihte be my leche.
(Brook:25, ll. 11-2)

So the Hispano-Arabic poets:

(1) My sickness cometh from the languor of your eyelids, and my remedy is in the honeyed water of your teeth.
(Arberry, Arabic Literature, p. 21)

(2) How my heart thirsts for these dear red lips! By those lips alike and by her glances I am severally intoxicated: oh joy, for my double intoxication! And I perceive the very wine is inebriated by her lips' breath, and the honey, being confounded, submits to them.
(Arberry, Arabic Literature, p. 21)

(3) May my soul be the ransom to the sweet-lipped gazelle,
The pleasant one, who kills me by her avoidance!
The two rows of pearls in her mouth can quench my thirst;
If by their coolness she made me ill, she would revive me!
(Nykl, p. 237)

(4) It is my custom to drink from deep red lips, the liquor of which is a Salsabīl [heavenly water].
(Monroe, p. 220)

(5) If a dead man were to avail himself with kisses of this mouth
He would have come to life just as the orchard that got the rainwater.
(García-Gómez:xv, 2)

Examples of the mouth, lips, and kiss images can be multiplied in both poetries. One in particular, by Ibn Quzmān, has--as far as I know--

no parallel in Middle English poetry, and throws some light on the doctrine of courtly love:

> The husband kisses, but does not know the taste of kisses;
> None but the lover wins the kisses and embraces.[108]

However, the following Middle English lines may be said to convey almost a similar message:

> hire comely mouth that mihte cusse
> in muche murthe he were;
> y wolde chaunge myn for his
> that is here fere.
> (Brook:9, ll. 27-30)

Details of the Lover's Woes

Drawing upon the old tradition of Arabic poetry, Hispano-Arab poets elaborated upon the description of the lover's grief in an ingenious way that tells more of craftsmanship than of genuine feelings. In Middle English poetry, the courtly love tradition seems to have inspired the poets to distill from the same stock clichés. In "Alysoun," as shown earlier (pp. 23-4), the first quatrain of the third stanza is a detailed description of the poet's woes.

Insomnia

First of all, the poet speaks about the insomnia caused by love; he emphasizes the same notion in lines 29-30 again:

> Icham for wowyng al forwake,
> Wery so water in wore.

An early thirteenth-century lyric has these verses:

> Ej! Ej! What this nicht is long,
> And ich with wel michel wrong
> Soregh and murue and fast.
> (Silverstein:19, ll. 5-7)

In a Harlian lyric we read:

for hire love in slep y slake,
for hire love al nyht ich wake.
(Brook:14, ll. 84-5)

This notion is an echo of the well-known Arabic verse:

Oh night of the lover, when is [your] morrow!
Is it at doomsday?

The Middle English poet exclaims:

(1) al for love icche am so seeke
that slepen i ne mai.
(Stemmler:18, 11-2-3)

(2) Whan other men doyth sleype
thene do I syght and weype.
(Robbins:206, ll. 9-10)

The Hispano-Arabic poet likewise attributes the cause of his insomnia and grief to love:

(1) [She] who inflicted my heart with shameful torments
and imposed insomnia and tears on my eyes.
(García-Gómez:xix, 1)

The poet al-Liss describes his nights in the following verse:

(2) I make complaint incessantly
Against the nights I pass in grief,
Too long when thou repellest me,
When thou admittest me too brief.
(Arberry, Moorish Poetry, p. 19)

The Andalusian King al-Mustazhir wrote:

(3) All too long the night
Drags, and wearily,
Since you take delight
Thus to banish me.
(Arberry, Moorish Poetry, p. 53)

The Andalusian Abū-Bekr ben aṣ-Ṣābūnī nearly repeats the same images used by the pre-Islamic Arabic poet Amru' al-Qais in the following verse:

(4) I swear by the love of her who spurns me--
The night of a man consumed by love has no end;
Frozen is the dawn--will it never come?
Ah, night--me thinks you know no morrow.

Is it true, o night, that you are eternal?
Or have the wings of the eagle been clipped,
So that the stars of heaven no longer wander?[109]

The Pale and Emaciated Lover

The pale cheeks of the persona of "Alysoun" (l. 22) are also signs of the lover's grief in Hispano-Arabic poetry. In this connection, the following lines are cited not only because of their wit but also because they are in a dialogue form. A poet asked the qāḍī (jurist) poet al-Ballūṭi:

Here's a question I wish to have decided by you,
For you're the great sage whose wise council is sought:
Why do the faces of maidens grow red, while
The lovers' faces grow yellowish pale?

al-Ballūṭi answered:

The maiden's face grows red, since her dark eye,
Sword-like, draws blood from the lover's breast:
The lover's face grows yellowish when the beloved
Is gone, like a setting sun that leaves an afterglow!
(Nykl, p. 34)

A Middle English poet sums up the lover's woes:

For hire love y carke ant care,
for hire love y droupne ant dare,
for hire love my blisse is bare,
ant al ich waxe won;
for hire love in slep y slake,
for hire love al nyht ich wake,
for hire love mournyng y make
more then eny mon.
(Brook:14, ll. 79-86)

In the same fashion Ibn al-Fāridh earlier wrote:

The substance of all I have encountered and suffered for her . . . is this: I am vanished of wasting, so that my visitor is baffled to find me; and how shall visitors see one who hath not even a shadow?
(Arberry, Arabic Literature, p. 19)

Another Andalusian poet wrote:

I'm unrecovered; My body's exhausted; My face has turned wan.
(Monroe, p. 372)

Ibn Quzmān wrote in a zajal:

> my body became lean, and thin, and it melted; and I became thinner than a thread in a cloak;--there is nothing in my body that a physician could cure!
> (Nykl, p. 291)

The Middle English poet expressed the same notions:

> As for the tyme y am but recurles,
> lyke to a fygure wyche that ys hertlees.
> (Robbins:169, ll. 11-12)

Sorrow, Pain, and Grief

The poet, whether Hispano-Arab or Middle English, would often use conventional clichés to describe how unbearable his grief was. Some of these clichés were mentioned earlier in the discussion of lines 17-24 and 30-34 of "Alysoun." The suffering of the lover is also portrayed in other secular Middle English lyrics:

(1) Mulch sorw I walke with.
(Stemmler:12, l. 4)

(2) Me think my body breke yn tway
For sorow I may no lenger speke.
(Robbins:127, ll. 41-2)

(3) Whoo be whyle for my redres
Sythen I am borne to lyve yn peyne
& thys to be lafte all comfortless
To love & be nott lovyd ageyne.
(Robbins:129, ll. 33-6)

So the Hispano-Arab poets:

(1) What a life a sad lover tastes
If his heart were lost to the beautiful maidens!
(García-Gómez:xviii, prelude)

(2) Do not you see what love has done to me?
Woe has afflicted me mercilessly
How shall I give up! The robe of afflictions
is still set solely on me.
(García-Gómez:xxllb, 3)

(3) Were a rock to carry the load of my pain
Brittle like glass it soon would turn.
(Nykl, p. 32)

(4) My heart is split with agony
And sore discomforted.
(Arberry, The Ring, p. 34)

Sighs, Tears, and Fire

Naturally, the afflicted lover would sigh, tears would flow from his eyes, and his heart would be in flames--as the poets say. Thus, the Andalusian poets sang:

(1) A passion had made my blood to flow mid the traces; it ran, a torrent, out of my eyelids, rained o'er the mountain-slope.
(Arberry, Arabic Literature, p. 18)

(2) I wept not a little;
Tears flowed and I sighed.
(Monroe, p. 252)

(3) My eyes have been blinded from prolonged weeping.
(Monroe, p. 288)

In like manner, the Middle English poets depicted the same signs:

(1) Is in my remembrauns non but ye alone,
Wiche me causithe bothe to sygh and playne;
I have no comfort. . . .
(Robbins:168, ll. 1-3)

(2) With sore syghyng styll I morne
That for your love my hert ys to-brest.
(Robbins:138, ll. 7-8)

(3) me thuncheth min herte wol breke atwo
for sorewe ant syke.
(Brook:9, ll. 47-8)

(4) ant hire knyhtes me han so soht,
Sykyng, Sorewyng, and thoht.
(Brook:14, ll. 59-60)

(5) ich have siked moni syk, lemmon, for thin ore.
(Brook:25, l. 6)

In this example, the poet portrays his tears as rain just as in the Arabic examples:

> (6) Hit causith myn yen oft for to rayne,
> when y thing on you and am absent,
> ffor, alas, departying hath my heart schent!
> (Robbins:168, ll. 12-14)

The reference to the flames of love is also replete in both poetries:

> (1) A heart that burned and tears that flow.
> (Monroe, p. 290)

> (2) From him there comes a kindling of the fire in my heart,
> which burns what it wills at all moments.
> (Monroe, p. 306)

> (3) For out of my heart springs a flame that serveth well for a fire brand, and from mine eyes stream tears that flood like continuous rains.
> (Arberry, _Arabic Literature_, p. 19)

> (4) I adventured fearlessly
> In love's flame that fired my breast,
> Boldly plunged into the sea
> From my weeping eyes expressed.
> (Arberry, _Moorish Poetry_, p. 69)

So in Middle English poetry:

> (1) This wunne weole y wole forgon
> and wyht in wode ble fleme.
> (Brook:11, ll. 35-6)

> (2) Syth thou haste set me on the fyre,
> My hert to bren thou wyll not spare.
> (Robbins:128, ll. 5-6)

The Mad Lover

In the chapter on the Arabs and courtly love, the concept of the lover being mad of love--sometimes in the true and not the figurative sense of the word--has been discussed. In Middle-English lyrics, the lover portrays himself as becoming mad because of unrequited love. The opening lines of Harley lyric no. 5 read:

(1) With longyng y am lad,
on molde y waxe mad,
a maide marreth me.
(Brook:5, ll. 1-3)

(2) And i mon waxe wod.
(Stemmler:12, l. 3)

(3) Sorewe ant syke ant drery mod byndeth me to faste
that y wene to walke wod yef hit me lengore laste.
(Brook:24, ll. 5-6)

The Andalusian poet likewise exlaims:

For his love I've become mad.
(García-Gómez:xxib, 1)

The Lady as the Cause and Healer

Often the persona becomes sick because of the love he experiences. This hyperbolic image is much sought by the medieval poets. Thus, the Andalusian poet says:

How wouldn't I turn sick if I fell in love with this gazelle?
(García-Gómez:xxviiia, 1)

The maiden knows this symptom of love and thus she mocks at her lover in the following kharja:

My lover is sick of my love. . . .
(Stern:21)

Further, the lady is the cause of the malady, yet she is the one who can cure this same malady. This paradox was a favorite cliché of Hispano-Arabic poets:

(1) he who makes me sick is himself the physician.
(Monroe, p. 316)

(2) You are my illness, in your power lies my remedy;
You can cure me of my pain and suffering.
(Nykl, p. 38)

(3) My heart is aching at the thought of one
Who, if he wished, my illness could cure!
(Nykl, p. 40)

(4) You put illness into my body, and
Did not cure it by your medical art.
(Nykl, p. 170)

The following extract is cited because it sums up the woes of the lover in addition to presenting the lady as the healer:

A lover tried to suppress his sighs,
But his eye was drowned in streams of tears!
Oh you, in whose eyes there is my illness and my health,
And in whose hands there is my death and my life:
In loving you, my passion caused me to befriend pains,
As if I were their mate and they my friends,
My cheeks are earth for my tears, my eyes
Their sky: from it they pour in streams!
(Nykl, p. 39)

The above verses contain clichés that are commonplace also in Middle English poems as the following verses illustrate:

(1) Yie are the salyfe unto my sore,
And medyscyne to myne infirmite.
(Robbins:136, ll. 41-2)

(2) Syth yow like noyt my peynys to remedy.
(Robbins:139, l. 8)

(3) so moch beute As god hath you sent!
ye may my peyn reles.
(Robbins:154, ll. 4-5)

(4) That ma releve my cruell paine and (sair)
But sche for quhome I suffir all this (care)
(Robbins:196, ll. 12-13)

(5) In care & sorew y am all-way,
& shcal be tyl ye me rescue.
(Robbins:197, ll. 9-10)

(6) have mercy on me that byth me lyves cure,
And thynke what payne for you I endure.
(Robbins:198, ll. 31-2)

(7) When I of here may have a syght,
There may no payne me hert emperre
(Robbins:128, ll. 21-2)

In earlier examples, the depiction of the kiss as the curative medicine has been indicated. The lady's sight, her smile, her kiss, and finally physical union with her are all remedies that heal the sick lover.

The Lover's Complaints

Needless to say, the lover's woes are often listed in a complaint poem addressed to his sweetheart. However, the complaint is visible in most poems. In Hispano-Arabic poetry, the following excerpts are cited:

> What have you done with my heart
> that there is no end to its sorrows!
> It complains of its passion to you
> Yet its complaints are without avail.
> Have mercy! since in your palms [hands]
> are its life and death.
> (García-Gómez:xxia, 3)

Ibn Zuhr opens one of his muwashshaḥs with the following prelude:

> Oh cupbearer, our complaints are addressed to you; we
> have called upon you even though you do not listen!
> (Monroe, p. 288)

Then he enumerates his woes and later in the muwashshaḥ stresses that his state is worthy of complaint:

> The like of my state is deserving of complaint: (namely)
> the weakness of despair and the humility of passion.

The poet Ibn Sahl describes his lady as one who takes pleasure at his complaints and pays no attention to his state:

> Whenever I complain of my love to him, he smiles. . . .
> (Monroe, p. 304)

Likewise, Middle-English lyrics, particularly of the fourteenth century, are full of complaint poems. In fact, editors of Middle English poems would often designate the term "complaint" or "plaint" as titles for some poems. Further, the poet himself would make it clear that he was complaining:

(1) Mercy me graunt off that I me compleyne,
to yow my lyfis soveraigne plesauns.
(Robbins:139, ll. 1-2)

(2) Wher-on ful soore I compleyne me.
(Robbins:131, l. 40)

The following lines are the opening stanza of a long lyric:

(3) With wofull hert & gret mornyng,
In gret distresse & no lykyng,
Mi compleynt thus I make
To that bird that is most swete;
None but she my bales may bete,
Nor my peynful sorow slake.
(Robbins:127)

Harley Lyric no. 5 is replete with complaint motifs. The poet addresses the lady and asks her to bestow her favors on him. In fact, complaint poems in the Andalusian and Middle English poetic traditions may be said to have been exercises in rhetoric with the same clichés. One such cliché is the poet's exclamation that he wishes to die rather than stay in a tormented state of unrewarded love.

The Lover's Death Wish

Often complaining to the lady and asking her to bestow her favors on him, the poet would sometimes--as a culmination of his sorrows and grief and in a passionate appeal to the lady--use the hyperbolic epithet that he was on the brink of death because of his strong passion. This motif of the poet's sinking to death because of unrequited love is seen in the lyric "Alysoun" when the poet exclaims:

Longe to lyven ichulle forsake
And feye fallen adoun. (ll. 19-20)

Another short Middle English poem expresses the same motif:

This is no lyf, alas, that y do lede;
it is but deth as yn lyves lyckenesse,
Endeles sorow assured owte of drede,

Past all despeyre & owte of all gladenesse.
Thus well y wote y am Remedyless,
  for me nothyng may comforte nor amende
  Tyl deith come forthe and make of me an ende.
(Robbins:165)

The motifs in the above lyric are almost in accordance with their following counterparts in Hispano-Arabic poetry.

You are my illness, in your power lies my remedy;
You can cure me of my pain and suffering:
My heart is in love with one it does not name,
Suffers a pain, the greatest of all pains!
What else could it be? How can I enjoy life
With all my patience gone, my consolation dead?
Oh you who blame me, what matters it if you
Remain alive, and I die of my pain?
He who dies and finds relief is really not dead,
Dead forsooth is he who, though dead, remains alive!
(Nykl, pp. 38-9)

Again, the Hispano-Arabic poets sing:

(1) Here I stand, between life and death.
(García-Gómez:xiii, 3)

(2) Oh you, in whose eyes there is my illness and health,
And in whose hands there is my death and my life.
(Nykl, p. 39)

(3) Thus he [the lover] lies slain, nay--pierced through and through;
his moment of death lies twixt hope and despair.
I have been wounded to death; I wring my hands,
For (the love) between me and my friend has been changed.
There is no doubt that from separation my death will ensue.
(Monroe, p. 256)

(4) You who rebuke me for my passion
If I die for the love-longing of Hind
My tears are witnesses on my cheeks
that I am infatuated in her love

. . .

I am already dead, and the spirit has departed from me!
Pierced by the arrows of her eyelids
And buried in the habits of emaciation.
(García-Gómez:xviii, 1 and 3)

(5) Who can relieve me of love-longing?
Suffice it that this love has led me to my death.
(García-Gómez:xv, 1)

The above-cited verses are echoed by the Middle English poets:

(1) all-haill my hairt sen that ye Haif in cure,
for, but your grace, my lyfe is neir the end.
. . .
Bayth lyfe and deth standis in-to your hand.
(Robbins:133, ll. 2-3 and 20)

(2) Heo me wol to dethe bryne
longe er my day.
(Brook:9, ll. 21-2)

(3) for wham thus muchel y mourne may,
for duel to deth y dreyze.
(Brook:7, ll. 23-4)

(4) Have resting on honde,
ant sent thou me thi sonde
Sone, er thou me slo.
(Brook:5, ll. 14-6)

(5) to dethe havest me diht,
y deye longe er my day.
(Brook:5, ll. 25-6)

(6) to deth sche hatt me broth.
(Robbins:143, l. 4)

(7) My deth y love, my lyf ich hate, for a leuedy shene.
(Brook:24, l. 1)

(8) ffor your love my deth ys dyght
My soule to god standeth in dyspeyre.
(Robbins:138, ll. 51-2)

A final point about the lover's desire to die needs to be made. The concept of martyrdom for love seen in Hispano-Arabic poetry seems to be absent, in the literal sense, from Middle English poetry. No Middle English poet wrote verses like the following Andalusian excerpts by Ibn Ḥazm and the mystic Ibn al-Faridh:

(1) If I perish of desire
As a martyr I'll expire,
But if thou art kind to me
I'll survive rejoicingly.
(Arberry, The Ring, p. 220)

(2) The repose of love is a weariness; its onset, a sickness; its end, death.
For me, however, death through love is life; I give thanks to my Beloved that she has held it out to me.
Whoever does not die of his love is unable to live by it.[110]

The absence of the concept of the martyr for love in Middle English poetry is an indication that Middle English poets did not grasp the spiritual value of love as depicted by some Hispano-Arabic and Provençal poets. The love Middle English poets celebrate is physical without the penetrating spirit of the soul. This fact may be attributed to the mere conventionalization of the codes and doctrines of courtly love in Middle English poetry, after these same codes had become well worn out in Arabic and Provençal poetry as well as in the continental imitations. Hence, what was a driving force and a genuine passion in some Andalusian and Provençal poets became a game of words in European literature. However, most of the other concepts of Andalusian love lyrics can be seen in Middle English poetry.

The Quasi-Masochist Lover and the Quasi-Sadist Lady

Related to the concept of the lover's wish to die is the sadomasochism shown by the lover in the sense that he is content with his mental and physical degradation and by the maiden in the sense that she is playful, disdainful, and cruel. The poems and extracts discussed so far show the lover to be experiencing grief and to be exhibiting all the symptoms of love from insomnia to madness. Moreover, as seen in the discussion of "Alysoun" (pp. 96-9), the lover humiliates himself and is glad to offer his love service to the lady. On the other hand, the lady, though

coquettish, is haughty and cruel and seems to derive pleasure at her lover's plight and woes. In fact, just as the lover looks content--and sometimes proud--of his supplications, the lady is likewise proud of her cruelty; yet, she does not completely shun the lover. The sexual connotations and allusions in the poems indicate that she does bestow her favors on him from time to time. Hence, both parties seem to have understood the rules of the game. The lover, then, finds pleasure in his sweet suffering since he knows this is the only way to be rewarded. Further, he often blames and wrongs himself rather than his lady. For example, the Andalusian poet says:

(1) Yet I thank him with what is left (of that last breath),
I do not blame him for what he has destroyed,
For he, in my opinion, is just, in spite of his tyranny.
(Monroe, p. 306)

(2) He victimizes me
Yet I have to apologize.[111]

So does the Anglo-Norman poet:

"Since she will not take pity on me, I believe that the fault is mine."
(Legge, p. 347)

The Andalusian poets seem to rejoice in their suffering:

(1) My heart is perturbed because of him:
May it never grow weary of that trouble!
(Nykl, p. 39)

(2) Love is sweet, even if there be estrangement and haughtiness in it!
(Nykl, p. 290)

(3) Carry out whatever sentence you wish
I hold me content with your verdict.
(García-Gómez:xxia, 1)

(4) When I came near her she modestly turned away,
Yet sweeter than union her avoidance is to me
When she judges me, her verdict is unjust,
Yet this injustice I desire more than justice.
(Nykl, p. 40)

Similarly, the English poets write:

(1) How I have vowed ffully in my mynde
to be your man, though I no merce fynde.
(Robbins:139, ll. 22-3)

(2) But this I wat, & am ful sure,
Mi sorow to her is sum plesur,
And thereof am I gladde;
And god wolde I wold be fayn
ffor her love to suffer payn,
ffor her no thing should make me sadde.
(Robbins:127, ll. 62-66)

(3) En iccle esperance
me delite ma peine
Ki les amanz avance
d'aveir goie certeine.[112]

An Andalusian poet asks his beloved:

When shall I describe my feelings
To you my delight, my torture?
(Nykl, p. 108)

An Anglo-Norman poet likewise addresses his lady:

To her, from whom I have pain and delight.
(Legge, p. 345)

These examples, however, are treated here only insofar as the lover lists his woes and humiliations to the cruel lady; no deep psychological analysis is either suggested or attempted.

The Epistolary Poem and Other Similarities

In Hispano-Arabic poetry it was customary for the poet to write his love letters in the form of poems. Indeed, lovers and ladies exchanged love poems as seen in the cases of Ibn Zaydūn and Wallāda and of Ibn Sa'id and the poetess Ḥafsa.[113] The Hispano-Arab poet would praise the lady's beauties, describe his love-longing, and then appeal to the lady to favor him with a glance, a kiss, or a visit. Also, he would remind her of past

reunions and appeal to her to renew the relationship. Thus, Ibn Zaydūn sent Wallada his famous qaṣida in nūn which begins as follows:

> Our separation replaced our being near each other,
> And cruel nagging replaced our trysts of yore.

and proceeds to describe the joys of past days and how they are in contrast with the present state of things. In the course of the poem, the poet invokes the breeze to be his messenger:

> Oh thou, sweet breeze, blow and transmit my greeting
> To one, whose greeting from afar would give me life.
> (Nykl, pp. 115-6)

When no answer came, Ibn Zaydūn sent her yet another poem:

> I remembered you in Az-Zahra', while longing for you

and in which the image of the breeze is used once more:

> If the soft breeze consented to carry me on its waves,
> It would bring to you a lover made ill by his sufferings.
> (Nykl, pp. 117-8)

Ibn Zaydūn also sent the following verses:

> Whenever a love letter is difficult to write, my sighs
> are the vowels and my tears are the diacritical points.
> (Nykl, p. 118)

In Middle English poetry the "Go my byll, recommende me to her" was very much in vogue. And during the fifteenth century, as Robbins states (p. 286), the love epistle was the main conventional form. There is also an interesting example of a love epistle sent by a lady to her lover, in which she says

> Thys I doo fynyshe my symple byll,
> at owr metyng ye shall knowe more of my wyll.
> (Robbins:207, ll. 11-12)

Another love epistle (Robbins:130) is analogous to Ibn Zaydūn's poems in its themes and in asking the lady to renew her love to him and to write to him too. The following also alludes to letters:

(1) for I was seke the day be-fore.
that lettere heyled I was sek no more

. . .

and sithen as we may not to-geder spek,
be writynge we shall oure hertes breke.
(Robbins:193, ll. 9-10, 25-26)

(2) Besechyng yow thys lytell byll and I
May hertly, wyth symplesse and drede,
Be recomawndyd to your goodly hede

. . .

Go lytill byll, and say thou were wyth me
Of verey trouth, as thou canst wele remembre.
(Robbins:189, ll. 5-7, 19-20)

(3) crystes dere blessyng & myne
I sende yow yn grettyng of thys letter.
(Robbins:129, ll. 55-6)

(4) And of these lettyrs let thy colours shyne
This byll to forthir after myn entent.
(Robbins:188, ll. 31-2)

More instances can be easily multiplied from the anthologies of Middle English poetry. As for the breeze as the messenger of the beloved, this image occurs in Provençal poetry and also in Middle English poetry. Peter Dronke thinks that the image:

> In the sweet wind that came to me from there
> I drank a ray of my beloved's breath,
> my fair and joyous, gracious lover's breath--
> dear God, the daybreak! oh how soon it comes!

which occurs in Provençal poetry in many poems "derives not, as has recently been argued, from Arabic poets (though indeed they also use it), but . . . from The Song of Songs."[114] It seems that in his enthusiasm to deny the Arabs any credit for their contribution to the genesis of the vernacular poetry of Europe, Dronke finds it easier to link the Provençaux --who were reputed for their heresies and aversion to religion--with the Old Testament than to admit the fact that they could have easily derived the breeze image from the Arabs. Significantly, there is hardly a love lyric in Arabic without the motif of the wind as messenger in it. Further,

it is legitimate to wonder what kept the European poets for six centuries from using this motif, since it already existed in the Bible. It would be natural to assume that Arabic verses such as the following provided the model for the Provençal verse quoted above:

(1) I breathed the blowing breeze
That haply it might ease
My pains, and bring to me
A fragrant air from thee.
(Arberry, Moorish Poetry, p. 172)

(2) How I long, far from you,
For the kind breeze of your presence!
(Nykl, p. 170)

(3) O north wind, can you not see I am
delirious with love, visibly exhausted?
Give me one breath of the scent of Bathnah
and be kind and blow towards Jamīl.[115]

In Middle English poetry, the image of the wind as messenger of love also occurs. For example, the opening of Harley Lyric no. 14 reads:

Blow, northerne wynd,
Sent thou me my suetying!
Blow, northerne wynd,
blou! blou! blou!

The Lover's Wish to be a Bird

In a love epistle, the poet King la-Mu'tamid concludes his verse with this wish:

But for the quest of glory high
My lovesick heart were lief to fly
To thee this hour as flows
The dew upon the waking rose.
(Arberry, Moorish Poetry, p. 2)

Another Hispano-Arabic poet displays the same wish:

My eyelids live only to find out about him; if my
soul had but feathers, I would fly to him.
(Monroe, p. 218)

But al-Isra'ili's wish has another purpose:

> I wish I were a bird to see you when flying;
> [to know] by whom you have replaced me or if
> you have not changed in your love.
> (Pérès, p. 414)

The same image, as used by the Middle English poet, is of a more daring nature:

> Ich wolde ich were a threstelcok,
> a bountyng other a lavercok,
> swete bryd!
> Bituene hire curtel ant hire smok
> y wolde ben hyd.
> (Brook:9, ll. 51-5)

Similar to this wish is that of Ibn ad-Dabbaġ:

> I wish I were a bird, which in your hands finds it
> nutriment, and which drinks, when thirsty, from
> that mouth of beautiful teeth!
> (Pérès, p. 414)

<u>The Beloved's Image Engraved in the Lover's Heart</u>

A cliché that is characteristic of Arabic, Hispano-Arabic, Provençal, and Middle English love poetry is the lover's affirmation that the beloved's name, image, and/or love is printed in his heart. Thus, in Middle English poetry we read:

> (1) ffor in myn herte emprentyd is so soore
> your shappe, your forme, and eke your gentilnes
> . . . .
> (Robbins:139, ll. 24-5)

> (2) I have pryntyd yow yn my harte soo depe.
> (Robbins:200, l. 37)

Likewise, in Hispano-Arabic poetry:

> (1) Her love is a printed book in my heart
> I'd rather die than it is erased even by banishment.
> (García-Gómez:xxiia, l)

(2) I bear you a pure, sincere love, and in (my) heart there is a clear picture and an inscription (declaring) my love for you.

(Monroe, p. 170)

Characters Associated With Love

Finally, the typical personages such as the slanderer, the gossip, the malicious, and the envious are plentiful in Hispano-Arabic poetry and also in the troubadour poetry as explained earlier. Arab and Provençal poets make ample references to these personages. In Middle English poetry, however, these enemies of love are not absent although they are not as well-developed as in Hispano-Arabic and Provençal poetry. The following few examples show that Middle-English poets made references to such personages or, at least, to the idea associated with them:

(1) my reste is with the ro
thah men to me han onde,
to love nuly noht wonde,
ne lete for non of tho.

(Brook:5, ll. 17-20)

In the following instance we gather that people gossip about the poet's love:

(2) yef thou me lovest ase men says, lemmon, as y wene,
and yef hit thi wille be, thou loke that hit be sene.

(Brook:25, ll. 14-15)

One other reference to the backbiter is the following:

(3) Ledy, ha mercy of thy mon!
Lef thou no false lore
yef thou dost, hit wol me reowe sore.[116]

William George Dodd points out an example from Gower where reference to talebearers occurs:

(4) And suche adaies be now fele
In loves Court, as it is seid,
That lete here tunges gon unteid.[117]

The envious are referred to in this verse:

> (5) Yfe anny man have for envy
> witt weked wordes made her wrathe,
> ffull mekely nowe I haske mercy--
> That wons was lefe let never be lothe.
> (Robbins:134, ll. 5-8)

The poet also makes reference to the malicious gossip:

> (6) ffor traytors tongis, ewyll mot thi thee.
> (Robbins:135, l. 19)

We might also add that the Arabic Milāḥ and Provençal Companho, the poet's drinking companions, are analogous to the "good company" as found in King Henry III's poem:

> Pastime with good company
> I love and shall, until I die.
> (Reed, p. 111)

Lastly, there are other analogies between the two poetic traditions that might be mentioned in passing: use of the dialogue form and the debate; use of antitheses, oxymora, contrasting words and epithets; erotic mysticism; the Ubi Sunt theme with its conventional formulaic opening common to both poetries: "Where are the great men (or cities) that were before us?"; the alba or dawn song; the two-sided image of love (i.e., exalting yet erotic); the exaltation of the lady, the lady as high-born, and the related idea of préciosité; the image of the lady as a mirror, comparing her to the sun and moon, and portraying her as the light that expels darkness; dreams of love union; the affirmation that the lover's heart is with the beloved wherever she goes; the description of the joys of possessing the beloved; the lover's appeal and pleading for mercy; the lover's confusion, awkwardness, and inarticulation in the beloved's presence; and a few other minor similarities.

Nevertheless, and as in the case of the analogies demonstrated with examples, the suggestion that some of the images, themes, and comparisons might have occurred spontaneously to the Middle-English poets is true. Indeed it seems natural that the poet would think of such motifs when writing about love. On the other hand, the fact that Middle English love poetry drew from the courtly love tradition, that some of the similarities are striking, and that the use of the motifs, images, and comparisons occurred with the adoption of the new metrical patterns seem to suggest that Middle English poets mainly imitated the troubadours, the continental poets, and probably the Arab--particularly the Hispano-Arab--poets.

NOTES

[1]Mary S. Serjeantson, A History of Foreign Words in English (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd., Broadway House, 1935), p. 213, writes: "It is from Arabic that English has borrowed the greatest number of Eastern loan words, though it is true that a considerable proportion of them have not come to us direct." On Arabic loan-words in English, see Serjeanston, pp. 213-20; and Walt Taylor, Arabic Words in English (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933).

[2]Metlitzki, p. 9.

[3]Metlitzki, p. 30. Metlitzki (p. 40) draws attention to the Islamic opening "In the name of God the pious and merciful" of one of Roger of Hereford's books.

[4]Karl H. Dannenfeldt, "The Renaissance Humanists and the Knowledge of Arabic," Studies in the Renaissance, 2 (1955), 97.

[5]R. W. Southern, Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Harvard Univ. Press, 1978), p. 37.

[6]On Pedro Alfonso see Southern, p. 35; Metlitzki, p. 18 and passim.

[7]Alice E. Lasater, Spain to England: A Comparative Study of Arabic, European, and English Literature of the Middle Ages (Jackson: Univ. Press of Mississippi, 1974), pp. 32-34.

[8]Dannenfeldt, p. 100.

[9]An alfiyyāh is a very long didactic work in verse. The most famous alfiyyāh is that of Ibn Mālik on grammar. Avicenna wrote an alfiyyāh on medicine.

[10]Southern, pp. 72-3; see also R. Weiss, "England and the Decree of the Council of Vienna on the Teaching of Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac," Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 14 (1952), 1-9.

[11]Metlitzki, p. 127.

[12]Simonde de Sismondi, Vol. I, p. 451.

[13]Aziz Ahmad, pp. 56-57 and 66.

[14]Metlitzki, pp. 8-9.

[15]Metlitzki, p. 125.

[16]Metlitzki, p. 361.

[17]Hume, pp. 21-2.

[18]Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1951-54), Vol. 3, p. 491. The author mentions that "Raymond, Prince of Antioch, was the son of the eminent troubadour poet, William IX of Aquitaine." Warton, p. 76, says that French chronicles mention Légions de poètes embarking on the Crusades.

[19]Warton, p. 108.

[20]Lindsay, p. 43.

[21]Southern, p. 70.

[22]Runciman, Vol. 3, pp. 59 and 48.

[23]Runciman, Vol. 3, p. 60; Simonde de Sismondi, Vol. 1, p. 104.

[24]Metlitzki, p. 134.

[25]Ker, Medieval English Literature, p. 109. See also R. M. Wilson, Early Middle English Literature, 3rd ed. (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1968), pp. 258-9.

[26]Briffault, pp. 38-41, 194-5, 238, and 289. Briffault (p. 238) writes: "The rhyme-pattern aaab became extremely common in England. Indeed, from the beginning of the thirteenth century until the verse of the Elizabethan age . . . the murabba' model dominates English lyrical style. . . . In E. K. Chambers and F. Sidgewick's anthology of Early English Lyrics, out of 102 examples, 44 are pure murabbas."

[27]For examples of contraries in Hispano-Arabic and Middle English lyrics, see pp. 130-31 of this study.

[28]I follow the designation of the kharjas as used in Stern's book.

[29]Although the interrogation "Que faray" exist in the French *chanson de toile* and also in Galician and Castilian refrains as Monroe, "Formulaic Diction . . ." notes, the Andalusian *kharjas* antedate these European forms. Moreover, the word "mamma" or "mere" does not occur in these European forms as may be judged from the examples offered by Monroe.

[30]My translation from Abdul-Aziz al-Ahwani, *al-Zajal fi-l andalus* (Cairo, 1957), p. 34.

[31]See Metlitzki, pp. 56-73.

[32]J. W. H. Atkins, *English Literary Criticisms: The Medieval Phase* (New York: Macmillan, 1943), p. 143, comments on this debate: "Of special interest . . . is the element of literary criticism embodied in the poem, consisting of a discussion on what must have been a pertinent question at the time, namely, the relative values of the old traditional didactic themes and the new love themes of the troubadours as subject matter for poetry."

[33]See *The Owl and the Nightingale* in Charles W. Dunn and Edward T. Byrnes, eds., *Middle English Literature* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1973), pp. 54-98.

[34]Chaytor, *The Troubadours and England*, pp. 99, 103-4, and passim. Chaytor also provides a list of corresponding rhyme-schemes in Appendix I in the same book.

[35]Ker, *Medieval English Literature*, p. 109.

[36]"Alysoun" is given in Appendix C. T. Earle Welby, *A Popular History of English Poetry* (1924; Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1970), p. 5, comments on the form of this lyric: "The rhyme-scheme of the long stanzas of [Alysoun] is borrowed from the Provençal poet, Gaucelm Faidit."

[37]James T. Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1974), pp. 308-13. Monroe (p. 309) points out that this refrain was adopted by Raymond Lull in a similar manner: "What care I what will men say." All quotations from Monroe that appear parenthetically in this paper refer only to this book and also indicate that the translation from Arabic verse is his.

[38]Quoted from G. L. Brook, ed., *The Harley Lyrics: The Middle English Lyrics of MS. Harley 2253*, 4th ed. (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1968), pp. 14-15. All quotations in this paper from the Harley lyrics are taken from this edition and are noted with parenthetical insertion of the line number and/or the lyric number as designated by the editor.

[39]On the murabba', see page 35 above. Briffault (p. 237, n. 40) cites lines 47-50 and 79-86 from "Blow, Northerne Wynd" to illustrate the adoption of the murabba' rhyme pattern in twelfth century English lyrics.

[40]Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, Dar al-Tīrāz, ed. Jawdat al-Rikābī (Damascus, 1949). The first pattern may be found on p. 49f, the second on p. 65f, and the third on p. 79f. All references to Dar al-Tīrāz will appear parenthetically within the text.

[41]Jakob Schipper, A History of English Versification (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), p. 131.

[42]Quoted from Richard Leighton Greene, ed., A Selection of English Carols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), lyric no. 47.

[43]The English poet even repeats words for rhyme. The practice of using repetitious rhyming words may be seen in other Middle English lyrics as, for instance, in Harley lyric "The Five Joys of the Virgin" (Brook no. 27), where the poet uses the rhyming word "blod" twice in the same stanza; he also repeats other rhyming words.

[44]Chaytor, The Troubadours and England, p. 105.

[45]Part of the muwashshaḥ is quoted in Muhamad A. M. Khafaja, Qiṣṣat al-adab fī-l Andalus (Beirut, 1962), Vol. 2, pp. 48-9.

[46]Chaytor, The Troubadours and England, Appendix I.

[47]Ker, Medieval English Literature, p. 114.

[48]I follow the designation of the zajals as used in E. García Gómez, ed., trans., Todo Ben Quzman, 3 vols. (Madrid: Editorial 'Credos, 1972).

[49]The form (abab) is common in one of the schemes of the dubait:

____________________ a ____________________ b
____________________ a ____________________ b

The dubait (literally two verse lines) is a popular form introduced into Arabic from the Persian during the Abbasid period.

[50]Rossell Hope Robbins, ed. Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 207. All further references to this work appear parenthetically within the pages with the lyrics designated by the numbers used by the editor.

[51]Edward Bliss Reed, English Lyrical Poetry From Its Origins to the Present Time (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1912), p. 57.

[52]Ibn Zaydūn, Diwān, ed. Karam al-Bustānī (Beirut, 1975), pp. 14-17.

[53]Al-A'mā al-Tuṭīlī, Diwān, ed. Iḥsan Abbas (Beirut, 1963), pp. 147-60.

[54]Quoted in Read, p. 96. Further citations from Read appear parenthetically in the text. An example from Dunbar can be seen in Arthur K. Moore, The Secular Lyric in Middle English (Lexington: Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1951), p. 210.

[55]Quoted in Ernest Rhys, Lyric Poetry (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1933), p. 113.

[56]Ahmad al-Hāshimi, Mīzān al-dhahab, 11th ed. (Cairo, 1951), p. 136. Al-Hāshimi notes that the muzdawaj can be composed in any of the Arabic meters.

[57]My translation of the verse quoted in al-Hāshimi, p. 137.

[58]Quoted in Moore, p. 215.

[59]Mustafa al-Shak'a, pp. 391-2.

[60]Ibn Zyadūn, p. 27.

[61]Ma'rūf al-Rasāfī, al-Adab al-Rafī' (Baghdad, 1956), pp. 109-10.

[62]Quoted in Dar al-Tirāz, p. 76. See also p. 77.

[63]John H. Fisher, ed., The Complete Poetry and Prose of Geoffrey Chaucer (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977), pp. 681-82. Indeed, lines 272-80 and 333-41 employ internal rhyme.

[64]Moore, pp. 184-85.

[65]References are cited on pp. 51-2 above.

[66]Pronouns in the masculine gender are generally used when addressing a woman in Arabic poetry. Social factors account for this practice of avoiding the feminine pronoun in the poem. On this literary practice, see Briffault, pp. 48 and 244-5, n. 70; Titus Burckhardt, Moorish Culture in Spain, trans. Alisa Jaffa (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970), p. 88.

[67] Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, pp. 46-7. The translation of the muwashshaḥ is mine. All further translations from this work are mine.

[68] Theo Stemmler, ed., Medieval English Love-Lyrics (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1970), p. 10, no. 18. Subsequent citations from this edition will be noted with parenthetical insertion of editor's name and lyric number as designated by the editor.

[69] Ihsan Abbas, Tarikh al-adab al-andalusī: 'asr al-Tāwa'if wa-l-Murābitīn (Beirut, 1962), p. 203.

[70] Ibn Zaydūn, Diwān, p. 196. The translation is mine.

[71] Thoedore Silverstein, ed., English Lyrics Before 1500 (Evanston: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1971), p. 27, no. 12. Subsequent citations from this edition will be noted with parenthetical insertion of editor's name and lyric number as designated by the editor.

[72] Henri Pérès, ed., al-Badī' fī wasf al-rabī [On the Excellence of Springtime] (Rabat, 1940).

[73] Briffault (p. 47) mistakenly calls the spring-song nehraye. The nehraye is really a subgenre of the raudhiyāt, and it deals with rivers, springs, and fountains. Naturally, it describes spring but this description is not its main function.

[74] Abdul Haq Fadhil, Tarikhihim min lughatihim [Their History From Their Language] (Baghdad, 1977), pp. 98-100.

[75] The joyous state of lover's union would also be reflected in nature. However, when Abu Ja'far wrote to the poetess Hafsa: "High in the trees a turtle-dove / Sang rapturously of our love. . .," she ingeniously replied: "The dove raised not his song of cheer / Save for his personal delight." The above verses are translated by Arthur J. Arberry, Moorish Poetry: A Translation of "The Pennants" (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1953), pp. 94-5. All further citations from this work appear parenthetically in the text.

[76] See Chaytor, The Troubadours and England, p. 106 and passim; Audiau, pp. 36-37; Rees, p. 81.

[77] García-Gómez, Las Jarchas romances, muwashshaḥ II, strophe 5. This and further translations from this work are mine. Subsequent references to this edition will be noted with parenthetical insertion of editor's name, muwashshaḥ number in Roman numerals, and strophe number in Arabic.

[78]Dronke, Medieval Latin, p. 21.

[79]See page 14 above on ṭarab and joie d'amors.

[80]Denis de Rougemont, p. 125. Ibn Daoud's book on love is mentioned with comment on page 17 of this study.

[81]Zeki Mubarak, al-Tasawwif al-Islāmī fi-l adab wa-l-akhlāq (Beirut, n.d.), Vol. 2, p. 139.

[82]Henri Pérès, La Poésie andalouse en arabe classique au xie siècle: ses aspects généraux et sa valeur documentaire (Paris: Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient, 1953). Translations from Pérès are mine and further references to this book appear within my text.

[83]E. K. Chambers, ed., The Oxford Book of Sixteenth Century Verse (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), p. 2.

[84]Andras Hamori, On the Art of Medieval Arabic Literature (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1974), p. 43. Subsequent references are parenthetically cited.

[85]Edmund Reiss, The Art of the Middle English Lyric (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1972), p. 60. For my interpretation of "Alysoun" I am indebted to this critic. Subsequent references to this work appear parenthetically.

[86]James T. Monroe, "Studies on the 'Ḫarǧas': The Arabic and the Romance 'Ḫarǧas,'" Viator, 8 (1977), 121.

[87]Instances of the use of the words "song, sang, etc." in the concluding lines of Andalusian strophic forms may be seen in any anthology or study of Andalusian poetry. See, for example, Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, al-Ahwanī, Iḥsan Abbas, García Gómez, Monroe, and Stern. See, as well, the line that precedes the kharja in muwashshaḥ no. 2 of Appendix A.

[88]Von Gruenbaum, p. 264. As a matter of fact, an Andalusian poet was put to death because he referred to a princess in one of his poems.

[89]See also Ibn Zaydūn, Diwān, p. 277, where the poet alludes to the lady's name by the initials of certain words in the verse.

[90]Audiau, p. 70.

[91]Walter Clyde Curry, The Middle English Ideal of Personal Beauty (Baltimore: J. H. Furst Company, 1916), p. 9.

[92]D. S. Brewer, "The Ideal of Feminine Beauty in Medieval Literature, especially 'Harley Lyrics,' Chaucer, and Some Elizabethans," Modern Language Review, 50 (1955), p. 258.

[93]M. B. Ogle treats the classical Greek influence in his articles "The Classical Origin and Tradition of Literary Conceits," in American Journal of Philology, 34 (1913), 125-152, and "Further Notes on Classic Literary Tradition," in Modern Language Notes, 29 (1914), 243-247; and elsewhere. Although Ogle's insightful views cannot be disregarded, it is significant that he draws no definite conclusions.

[94]Brewer, p. 258.

[95]Curry, p. 3.

[96]On the type of beauty praised in Middle English literature, see Curry, p. 3; Brewer, p. 285; and Ogle, "The Classical Origin . . .," p. 126. As for medieval Arabic poetry, Hamori, p. 74, notes that it is "weighed down by such descriptions as . . . moon-faces, reed-waists, pearly teeth and ruby lips."

[97]al-Ahwanī, p. 207. Monroe, "Studies on the 'Ḫarǧas' . . .," p. 125, states that in the classical Arabic poetry in al-Andalus, "fair-haired women were preferred and blondness . . . was considered an aristocratic trait." Again, James T. Monroe, "Hispano-Arabic Poetry During the Almoravid Period: Theory and Practice," Viator, 4 (1973), 91-92, remarks: "The women he [Ibn Quzmān] sings of . . . are dark-skinned and dark-haired women as opposed to the blond Umayyad princesses who had provided the ideal standard of feminine beauty to tenth- and eleventh-century poets."

[98]Brewer, p. 262. Ogle, "The Classical Origin . . .," p. 126, notes that "the black eye is common in Spanish, Italian, and classic poetry." On "Alysoun" and other Middle English lyrics, classical influence seems unlikely, and the Spanish and Italian cases may be brought into relation with the Arabic tradition.

[99]Curry, p. 44.

[100]James T. Monroe, "Two New Bilingual Ḫarǧas (Arabic and Romance) in Arabic Muwaššaḥs," Hispanic Review, 42 (1974), p. 256, writes: "The theme is a common one in Arabic poetry, in which a lady's eyes are represented as shooting arrows of love (her glances) that wound the lover's heart." Pérès, p. 279, cites an example from the Andalusian poet al-Attar, who described the maiden's glances as arrows and her eyelashes as bows.

[101]In this respect, it should be noted that whereas Greek philosophy and sciences influenced the Arabs, Greek poetry and mythology were unknown to them. Both Muslims and particularly Eastern Christian translators loathed the paganism of Greece.

[102]Monroe, "Two New Bilingual . . .," p. 256. The nūn in the excerpt is a letter in the Arabic alphabet that looks like a bow in writing.

[103]The two examples are quoted from Monroe, "Studies on the 'Ḫarǧas' . . .," pp. 111 and 114, respectively.

[104]Nykl, p. 67, note 4, explains: "Bān, a kind of willow, is the favorite cliché to describe a straight, yet pliable body above fleshy hips, which are likened to sandhills."

[105]Monroe, "Two Further Bilingual . . .," p. 16.

[106]Monroe, "Two New Bilingual . . .," p. 252.

[107]Curry, p. 113.

[108]al-Ahwanī, p. 76. In another zajal, Ibn Quzmān invites the lady to bed and declares that he wants to cuckold her husband. Some kharjas also celebrate physical love outside marriage: for example, in a kharja cited by Monroe, "Studies on the 'Ḫarǧas' . . .," p. 120, the girl addresses her lover:

> My little lover, be resolute;
> Rise and embrace me,
> Kiss my mouth,
> Come and squeeze
> my breast
> And raise my anklets
> Up to my earrings:
> My husband is busy!

[109]Burckhardt, p. 88.

[110]Denis de Rougemont, p. 111.

[111]Ibn Zaydūn, p. 285.

[112]This Anglo-Norman verse is quoted in Chaytor, The Troubadours and England, p. 151.

[113]Some of the poems exchanged between Ibn Sa'id and Ḥafsa are translated in Nykl, pp. 319-22.

[114]Dronke, The Medieval Lyric, pp. 174-175. Dronke cites this Biblical love song as the source of the breeze image:

> Awake, north wind, and come, south wind,
> breathe upon my garden. . .
> let my lover descend into his garden,
> and let him devour the flesh of its fruit.

Furthermore, the Provençal examples cited by Dronke are from the alba genre, a genre that was borrowed from the Arabs as indicated earlier in this study.

[115]Dronke, Medieval Latin, p. 20.

[116]Brook, p. 25 and Rees, p. 87 point out this instance.

[117]William George Dodd, Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1959), p. 48.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Arabic poetry in general--and the Hispano-Arabic poetic tradition in particular--contributed much to the rise of the Provençal poetry of the troubadours which affected the rise of European vernacular poetry as well as the cult of courtly love. The available historical data show how influential the Arabic culture was in Medieval Europe. If the Arab sciences, philosophy, musical instruments, literary books, and even Muslim theology could penetrate into the European culture--including the English--there is no reason why Arabic poetry would not be known to the Europeans. Notwithstanding, since the poetic muse is not a monopoly of any nation alone, since the Arabic tradition displays the influence of preceding Eastern traditions, and since the Latin and native Romance tradition had also their roles in the development of the vernacular poetry of Europe, to attribute the genesis of the vernacular poetry of Europe solely to the Arabs would be as prejudiced as to deny them their due credit in this achievement.

This study has attempted to demonstrate that there was a relationship between Hispano-Arabic poetry and Middle English poetry. The major influence on Middle English poetry seems to have come from Provence and the continent, which in turn were influenced by Hispano-Arabic poetic conventions; nevertheless; one cannot rule out the possibility of direct Hispano-Arabic influence, however farfetched the possibility might at first seem.

Judging from the extant Middle English lyrics, the metrical patterns and the terminology, themes, schemes, and tropes show striking similarities to Hispano-Arabic lyrics. The language, technique, and characteristics of Middle English courtly lyrics are highly reminiscent of their counterparts in those of al-Andalus. Nevertheless, unlike the English metrical patterns whose indebtedness to the Hispano-Arabic and Provençal patterns is clearly evident, the similarities in love conventions beg the question whether the Middle English poets could have thought of these clichés and motifs out of their own experience. Whereas this objection is quite logical, it is logical as well to ask why, before the Norman conquest of Britain, before the subjucation of Provence to England, and before the crusades, such motifs and conventions were absent in the native English poetry. The excerpts examined in this paper seem almost entirely to accord with Hispano-Arabic poetic tradition. Generally speaking, Middle English courtly lyrics tend to follow the same general pattern seen in Hispano-Arabic poetry and they display similar characteristics. For example, the concluding lines of some Middle English lyrics are introduced by an appeal to listen to the song and are permeated with sexual fantasies in the fashion of the *kharjas*; the sadomasochism displayed by the narrator is analogous in both poetic traditions. That these analogies and correspondences between the two poetries are accidental is hardly acceptable in view of the role of the Arabs in the introduction of rhyme, metrical patterns, and the cult of love, and in light of the historical relations and communications in the Middle Ages.

Although the evidence presented in this paper is not conclusive, the generalization that Middle English courtly lyrics were inspired by the Arabic tradition holds true. In fact, only a little knowledge of the

Arabic poetry, along with the Provençal models, could have awakened the medieval English muse to look further for the motifs and images that poets used dealing with love. In this connection, the Arabic contribution was only one factor operating along with other factors on Middle English poetry. After all, to say that Middle English poetry owes everything to the Hispano-Arabs, to the Provençaux, or to the continental poets is to deny Middle English poets creativity. The Middle English courtly lyrics are not exact imitations either of Hispano-Arabic lyrics or of the Provençal. Generally speaking, though inspired by these poetic traditions in form, themes, spirit, and conventional clichés, the Middle English courtly poet maintains, to some extent, his originality as that element is defined in the Middle Ages. Notwithstanding, the similarities examined in this paper justify the conclusion that English courtly lyrics seem to be imitations of imitations.

Moreover, though late in adopting the new forms, techniques, themes and motifs, the Middle English poet was not isolated from the current stream of continental poetry--including that of al-Andalus. The lost poetry of Medieval England might have provided more clues and stronger evidence for the influence of Hispano-Arabic poetry, but this notion is just a hypothesis that is only probable if lost manuscripts were to be discovered.

Finally, the evidence presented in this study is sufficient, I believe, to sustain my thesis that, although there are no precise patterns of indebtedness, Arabic and Hispano-Arabic elements are to be seen in Middle English poetry.

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APPENDIX A

TRANSLATIONS OF *MUWASHSHAḤS*

The following examples are attempts in English by celebrated Arabists to translate *muwashshaḥs* in a way similar to the original forms. Although these translations do not exactly follow the original *muwashshaḥ* and *zajal* patterns, they illustrate the recurrence of corresponding rhymes at fixed intervals:

1. Come, hand the precious cup to me,
   And brim it high with a golden sea!
   Let the old wine circle from guest to guest,
   While the bubbles gleam like pearls on its breast,
   So that night is of darkness dispossessed.
   How it foams and twinkles in fiery glee!
   'Tis drawn from the pleiads' cluster, perdie.

   Pass it, to music's melting sound,
   Here on this flowery carpet round,
   Where gentle dews refresh the ground
   And bathe my limbs deliciously
   In their cool and balmy fragrancy.

   Alone with me in the garden green
   A singing-girl enchants the scene:
   Her smile diffuses a radiant sheen.
   I cast off shame, for no spy can see,
   And 'Hola,' I cry, 'let us merry be!'

Translated by Reynold A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1966), p. 417.

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

   I have made a tyrannic lady my lord,
   I stammer her name and can scarce speak the word.
   Marvel that all my justness has incurred
   such great injustice! Ask her why I'm unheard!
   She has destroyed my soul capriciously
   by her timidity--
   and without her there's no good company!

   Bondage to her will never let me rest,
   reproachful, arrogant, she holds me fast;
   she has abandoned me, sick and distressed,
   but then she sings, half in love, half in jest:
   'My dearest one is sick with love of me--
   who will his doctor be?
   By my love's soul, how he waits, thirstily!'

The three concluding lines are a Romance Kharja and are written in transliteration as follows:

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

Translated by Peter Dronke, The Medieval Lyric, pp. 86-7. Dronke notes: "The precise syllabic scheme in the original is: refrain || 4 ||, rhyming aaa; strophes || || || || || 4 ||, rhyming bbbbaaa, cccaaa. . . ."

3. My heaving sighs proclaim Love's joys are bitterness.

My heart has lost her mentor,
She spurns my anguished cry
And craves for her tormentor,
If I hide love, I die.

When 'Oh heart!' I exclaim My foes mock my distress.

O tearful one who chantest
Of mouldering ditch and line,
Or hopefully decantest,
I have no eyes for thine.

Let yearning glow aflame, Tears pour in vain excess.

Mine eye, love's tribute venting,
Expended all its store,
Then its own pain lamenting
Began to weep once more.

My heart is past reclaim Or sweet forgetfulness.

I blame it not for weeping
My heart's distress to share,
As, weary but unsleeping,
It probed the starry sphere.

To court them was my aim But they are numberless.

A doe there was I trysted
(No lion is as tough).
I came, but she insisted
'Tomorrow', and sheered off.

Hey, folks, d'you know that game? And what's the gal's address?

Translated by H. A. R. Gibb, _Arabic Literature_ (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 111-12. Gibb explains: "The meter of the original is ab ccc ab ddd ab, & c., ten syllables to each rhyming segment. The first ab was repeated after each recurrence except the last."

APPENDIX B

EXAMPLES OF THE *ZAJAL* IN ARABIC AND EUROPEAN POETRY

These examples are drawn from Menéndez Pídal's Poesía árabe y poesía europea.

1. An Arabic zajal by Aben Guzmán:

Yā melīha 'd-dunyā, qūl: 'alā's ent, yā 'bni, malūl?	Markaz (estribillo)
Ey anā 'indak wagīh, Yatamaggag minnu wafīh tumma f'ahlā ma tatīh,	Aghṣān (mudanza)
targa 'anasak wasūl, [Yā melīha 'd-dunyā, qūl; etc.]	Simṭ (vuelta)

(p. 18)

2. A Spanish composition:

Vivo ledo con razón amigos, toda sazón.	Estribillo
Vivo ledo e sin pesar pues amor me fizo amar a la que podré llamar	Mudanza
más belle de cuantas son. [Vivo ledo con razón, etc.]	Vuelta

(p. 17)

3. A Spanish cantiga by the Arcipreste de Hita:

Mis ojos no verán luz,
pues perdido he a Cruz
Cruz cruzada, panadera,
tomé por entendedera;
tomé senda por carrera
como [faz el] andaluz.
Mis ojos no verán luz, etc.
(p. 77)

4. A thirteenth-century (Old French) chanson:

Quant se vient en mai Ke rose est panie, je l'alai coillir per grant druerie; en poc d'oure oi une voix serie,	Mudanza
lono un vert bouset pres d'une abiete:	Vuelta
Je sent les douls mals leis ma senturete; malois soit de Deu ki me fist nonnete!	Estribillo

(p. 42)

5. Two Italian illustrations, the first of Jacopone de Todi:

a. Povertade enamorata
grand é la tua signoria.
Mia é Francia ed Inghilterra,

enfra mar agio gran terra,
nulla me se muovo guerra,
Sí la tengo en mia balía.

b. Dolce amor di povertade
quanto ti degiamo amare!
  Povertade poverella,
umiltade é tua sorella,
ben ti basta la scodella
e al bere e al mangiare.
(p. 46)

For examples of the *zajal* form in Middle English lyrics and carols see Appendix D.

APPENDIX C

ALYSOUN

ALYSOUN

Bytuene Mersh ant Aueril
  when spray biginnep to springe,
the lutel foul hap hire wyl
  on hyre lud to synge.
  Ich libbe in loue-longinge 5
  for semlokest of alle thynge;
  he may me blisse bringe;
    icham in hire baundoun.

      An hendy hap ichabbe yhent,
      ichot from heuene it is me sent; 10
      from alle wymmen mi loue is lent,
        ant lyht on Alysoun.

On heu hire her is fayr ynoh,
  hire browe broune, hire eye blake;
with lossum chere he on me loh, 15
  with middel smal ant wel ymake.
  Bote he me wolle to hire take
  forte buen hire owen make
  longe to lyuen ichulle forsake
    ant feye fallen adoun. 20
      An hendy hap, &c.

Nihtes when y wende ant wake,
  forthi myn wonges waxeth won;
leuedi, al for thine sake
  longinge is ylent me on. 25
  In world nis non so wyter mon
  that al hire bounte telle con;
  hire swyre is whittore then the swon;
    ant feyrest may in toune.
      An hendi, &c. 30

Icham for wowyng al forwake,
  wery so water in wore,
lest eny reue me my make
  ychabbe yyyrned yore.
  Betere is tholien whyle sore 35
  then mournen euermore
  Geynest vnder gore,
    herkne to my roun:
      An hendi, &c.

Source: G. L. Brook, ed., The Harley Lyrics, 4th ed. (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1968).

APPENDIX D

EXAMPLES OF THE *ZAJAL* FORM IN MIDDLE ENGLISH POEMS

The zajal form and the murabba' (quatrain) rhyme-pattern aaab are found in a few Harlian lyrics, in other Middle English lyrics and carols, and in some Scottish poems. In addition to the examples quoted in the text, the following instances are cited:

1. The holy marter Steven we pray
To be our socour both nyght and day.

I schal yow tell this ilk nyght
Of Seynt Steven, Godes knyght:
He told the Jewis that it was ryght
That Crist was born of a may.

Than sayd the Jewis with grett scorn
That God Son myght not be born;
Steven than sayd, 'Ye be forlorn,
And all that leven in that lay.'

Now ys sprong the wel of lyff
Of Mary, moder, madyn, and wyff;
Therfor the Jewis fel in stryff,
Dysputyng with Steven aganys hys fay.

The cursyd Jewys at the last,
Stonys to Steven thei gan cast;
Thei betyn hym and band hym fast
And made hys body in fowle aray.

Into the feld thei led hym tho,
And than hym folowyd many a fo;
Thei greivyd on hym and dyd hym wo;
Hem thoght thei had a nowbyll play.

The Jewys that wer bothe styff and strong,
Thei stonyd hym and dyd [hym] wrong--
Gret stonys abowte hym sprong--
And sayd, 'Wee thi meyd schall pay.'

The burden is written again at the end:
The holy martyr steuen we pray. To be our socour bothe nyght and day.[1]

---

[1] Greene, A Selection of English Carols, no. 20, p. 78.

2. Seynt Thomas honour w[e],
Thorgh whos blod Holy Chyrch ys made fre.

Al Holy Chyrch was bot a thrall
Thorgh kyng and temperal lordys all,
To he was slane in Cristys hall
And set all thing in unite:
Hys deth hath such auctorite.

The kyng exilyd him owt of land
And toke hys good in hys hond,
Forbedyng both fre and bond
That no prayer for hum schuld be,
So fers he schewyd hys crewelte.

Al ben exilyd that to hym lang,
Wemen, chyldren, old men among,
Yong babys that wepyd insted of song,
Seynt Thomas said, 'Welcom ye be;
Ilk lond is now your awen contre.'

. . . .[2]

3. The Lover's Lament

Alone walkyng,
In thought pleynyng,
And sore syghyng,
All desolate--
Me remembryng
Of my lyvyng,
My deth wyssyng
Bothe erly and late,

Infortunate
Ys soo my fate,
That, wote ye whate,
Oute of mesure
My lyfe I hate;
Thus desperate,
In suche pore estate
Do I endure.

Of other Cure
Am I nat sure,
Thus to endure
Ys hard, certain;

---

[2] Greene, no. 23, pp. 80-81.

Suche ys my vre,
I yow ensure.
What creature
  May have more payn?

. . . .[3]

This lyric can be rearranged according to the Arabic manner:

Alone walkyng, / In thought pleynyng / And sore sughyng, / All desolate
Me remembryng / Of my lyvyng, / My deth wyssyng / Bothe erly and late.

In this case, we obtain internal rhyme that coincides with the Arabic *tasmīṭ*.

---

[3] Robbins, no. 173, p. 162.

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