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CHAPTER 3

On a hopeless last stand for the hypothesis of a Romance origin of Andalusi stanzaic poetry: homosexuality and prostitution in the *kharjas*

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Abstract: There remaining a few pockets of resistance to overwhelming evidence in favour of the Eastern Arabic ultimate background of the meters and metrics of Andalusi Stanzaic poetry, it behooves impartial scholarship to deal with alternative arguments eventually raised by those still defending the Hispanic hypothesis, and such is the purpose of this paper, in which the author takes issue with an allegedly early Stanzaic Irish poem with a "*zajal*esque" structure, as well as with an attempt at proving that a non-Khalilian, presumably Hispanic type of metrics was practised in Al-Andalus. The final portion of this article is devoted to some thematic allusions to prostitution, restricted to non-Muslim women, and homosexual love in Andalusi Stanzaic poetry, not entirely a novelty but however exhibiting some interesting nuances.

In a recent issue of *JAL*, a volume in honour of Jaroslav Stetkevych who deserves this and much more on account of his long-standing and priceless services to Arabic and Islamic studies, our most distinguished colleague J.T. Monroe has published an article entitled "Literary Hybridization in the *Zajal*: Ibn Quzmān's *Zajal* 88 (The Visit of Sir Gold)". From its very title, he makes explicit his twofold purpose of translating and analysing one of the genial Cordovan's little masterpieces in the light of literary theory, which he does in his customary masterly way, and of proving that the Andalusi *zajal* and, widely speaking, the whole of Andalusi Stanzaic Poetry are cases of cultural hybridisation between pre-Islamic Romance and Eastern Arabic elements, a matter on which we and many of our colleagues, both Arabic and Romance scholars, cannot concur with his opinions, as is widely known.

We shall not take issue with his architectural metaphors, although to be sure Monroe knows that literature and architecture are quite different arts, and that what is good for the goose may be deadly for the gander, nor shall we make any extensive comments on that first part of his work, but perhaps only thank him for having used our Cairo edition of 1995 [1] and say that, though sincerely admiring Monroe's impressively deep knowledge of comparative literature and its theory, we fail most of the time to see ring structures in Ibn Quzmān's compositions, possibly only as a consequence of our ignorance in those fields,[2] if not simply out of an excessive familiarity with a man with whom, in spite of a span of eight centuries, we have at least mentally shared so many days during nearly a half of our life, to the point of fancying that we could at times guess his thoughts. But fancies are only fancies, and chances are that Monroe knows better in this case.

Instead, we shall concentrate on the second purpose of his paper, namely, a renewed insistence on the hybrid nature of Andalusi Stanzaic Poetry, *zajal* and *muwashshaḥ* alike, which would have resulted from the evolution of a pre-Islamic Hispanic type of folk poetry adopted by the strongly Arabicised and Islamicised Andalusi society. This hypothesis, first introduced by the Spanish scholar Ribera and perfected by his disciple and countryman García Gómez, after having enjoyed some international success between

the fifties and seventies of the past century, in connection with the "discovery" of the *kharajāt*, [3] which seemed to support it, was irreversibly discredited in the eighties, as is well known, when the stanzaic and metrical structures of *zajal*s, *muwashshaḥ*s and their *kharajāt* were proven without a shadow of doubt to simply reflect some local and limited evolution of Eastern Arabic *tasmīṭ* and *ʿarūḍ*, while even their thematic structure would merely allow just episodic appearances of perhaps Western pre-Islamic features.[4] Plainly speaking, the similarities between those structures and their Eastern models happen to be so statistically overwhelming that it takes no less than an act of blind faith and total forsaking of reason to still uphold that theory. Most scholars in all parts of the world, above all but not only Arabists, [5] have long ago accepted this fact, although some of us may still disagree among us on minor related points, such as the nature and extent of the "enlarged" or "extended" *ʿarūḍ*, [6] characteristic of Andalusi Stanzaic Poetry.

Other people, however, most of them Romanists who had rushed to adopt the Hispanic hypothesis before its evaluation and eventual refutation by knowledgeable Arabists, or just on account of personal and ideological allegiances, still uphold it and, understandably, try to prove wrong the arguments against it and to unearth new ones in its favour. In some cases, like those of J.T. Monroe and S.G. Armistead,[7] they happen to be towering figures of the theory of literature, whose pronouncements cannot be dismissed lightly and require an analysis and a reply, both as a token of recognition of their standing and the importance of their opinions and, at the same time, to let everybody know the very solid grounds of our uncompromising disagreement with them and of our conviction that they are ignoring or underrating the most basic evidence on this momentous issue.

In his new paper, Monroe means to undermine the proven case of the Eastern origin of the main elements of Andalusi Stanzaic Poetry by, first, once more declaring unlikely its derivation from the *musammaṭ*, second, trying to prove that the metrics of the *zajal* is purely syllabic, with no other additional constraint than stress on the rhyme word, [8] and third, presuming that *zajal*s and *muwashshaḥ*s were "normally composed to be sung to previously existing melodies", which is an elegant manner of downplaying the metrical problems raised by verse recitation.[9]

As for the derivation of the stanzaic structures of *zajal* and *muwashshaḥ* from Eastern *tasmīṭ*, Monroe argues its rarity in the East and the West, concedes only "hardly a dozen examples" thereof, among which one attributed to Abū Nuwās,[10] and favours the hypothesis of the existence of clear "*zajal*esque poems" of older Western stock, proven according to him by the only presence of the Old Irish poem Táin Bó Cúalnge, datable to the seventh or at least the ninth century, of which he provides the entire text and a beautiful English verse-translation. However, the very imperfect stanzaic formula of this poem is AB cdea AB cddd AB edda AB fd . . . AB gdhd ijkl nopq rstu vxyz [11] which, when compared to the characteristic, regular and basic aa bbba ccca of the *zajal* or aabbbaa cccaa of the *muwashshaḥ*, makes unbelievable that these two be more akin to that Old Irish structure than to the aaaa bbba ccca of *tasmīṭ*, as Monroe would want us to assume.[12] Not to speak of the difficulty to explain how that awkward model in a language so isolated, if such a faltering and rudimentary attempt at developing a stanzaic structure can be labelled as a model at all, would have reached other Western European countries in time to be understood, perfected and imitated by the inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula before the Islamic invasion.

In his desperate quest of arguments furthering the Hispanic hypothesis, Monroe proceeds next to look for poems composed in al-Andalus with non-Khalīlian quantitative metres "with no discernable regular quantitative patterns whatsoever" and, strangely enough considering his undeniable familiarity with Arabic metrics, purports to have found his

quest in a "recent and important article" by Teresa Garulo [13] who, no doubt entrenched also and bent on defending García Gómez's peculiar viewpoints on this issue, mistakenly and misleadingly speaks of non-Khalīlian metrics in Al-Andalus. But in fact she is merely quoting some lines by Ibn Alḥannāṭ, in which a clear-cut *basīṭ* has been amputated of one syllable in its last foot, which is commented on by the also Andalusi editor as something never before done by Arab poets, though easily describable and actually described in terms of *ʿarūḍ*, as a case of the metrical shortening called *ḥaddadd*. To this she adds that also Ibn Furkūn was reported to have used the metres characteristic of *tawshīḥ*, which she labels as "absolutely alien to the Khalīlian system", in open disagreement with what most reputed Arab scholars and Arabists presently believe on most solid grounds. All in all, it appears that those alleged "non-Khalīlian metres" are just rather slight alterations of the sixteen classical models, in the same way as *mustaṭīl*, *mumtadd*, *muttaʾid*, *mutawāfir*, *munsarid*, *muṭṭarid*, *maqlūb albasīṭ* and the like were innovated by the poets of the Abbasid period, always limiting themselves to introducing changes in the metres listed by Al-Khalīl, and never overstepping the basic rules of his system based upon a limited set of feet, subjected to a short series of allowable modifications.[14]

Which means that this newest attempt at revitalizing the practically and deservedly defunct Hispanic hypothesis of the non-Arab origin of the Andalusi Stanzaic poetry has again brought out nothing positive in that direction, there being no acceptable "Celtic" substitute for *tasmīṭ* as stanzaic model of *zajal*s and *muwashshaḥ*s, nor any believable proof of existence of true non-Khalīlian metres in Al-Andalus, not even in the Romance texts of the *kharajāt* which, as we have demonstrated as early as in 1993 and 1994,[15] are also scanned after the "extended" Khalīlian system and cannot therefore witness the survival of any kind of true pre-Islamic Hispanic poetry.[16]

This much said and accompanied by irrefutable evidence, the likeliest scenario for the emergence and development of Arabic poetry and its Hebrew and Romance imitations in Al-Andalus continues to be as laid out in Corriente 1999: 70-89, i.e. effective introduction of *ʿarūḍ*, and its Abbasid innovations such as *tasmīṭ*, in the 9th century, which triggered two simultaneous processes, namely, servile imitation by the learned of the Classical *qaṣīdah*, soon documented in literary sources and officially supported as living proof of the integration of Al-Andalus in the cultural universe of Islam, and its makeshift adaptation in popular milieus deprived of an education enabling them to reach that level, but not of the urge to assert their aesthetic preferences by composing short non-stanzaic one-rhymed proto-*zajal*s of two to four lines, i.e. the "extended" *ʿarūḍ* of which we have a sample dated of 913 AD,[17] a few decades after the importation of Al-Khalīl's *Kitāb*.[8] However, the prevailing classicism of those days prevented these early dialectal proto-*zajal*s and even Classical Arabic *musammaṭāt* from being recorded, so that the next witness of that wholesale Andalusi imitation of Eastern Arabic Poetry will not be found in Arabic, but only in Hebrew Sephardic Poetry, obviously copied from Arabic models, during the 10th century. For the same reason Ibn Bassām informs us of the invention of the *muwashshaḥ* at the end of the 9th century, as a result of attaching a *musammaṭ* to a refrain (future *kharjah*) taken from a proto-*zajal* and symmetrically doubling the *asmāṭ*, but he abstains from quoting any sample because "the majority of them are not composed after the manner of the meters found in the Classical poems of the Arabs".[19] That aesthetic prejudice was totally effective in keeping that inhibition in full force until the end of the 11th century, when the first *muwashshaḥ* samples are recorded. There can be no doubt that the new invention was also soon mimicked in dialect by the illiterate and/or learned folklorists, which would generate the historical full-length *azjāl* of the 12th century, more or less faithfully patterned after the *muwashshaḥ*, although often exhibiting no doubling of *asmāṭ*, as their linguistic structure did not call for a two-lined *kharjah*, but a single *simṭ*.

In his eagerness to hold onto this, in our view, hopeless last stand against the Eastern origin of Andalusi stanzaic poetry, and to further its less logical and thoroughly undocumented Hispanic antithesis, Monroe has left many loose ends and made even some inaccurate statements, surprising in a man of his stature. Such are, e.g., his assertion on p. 328 to the effect that the quantitative patterns of the *muwashshaḥ* "do not always coincide with those of the Classical Arabic Khalīlian system, and sometimes depart from them entirely", in an open clash with the scansions, generally identical, produced by Sayyid Ghāzī, [20] A. Jones (1988) and us (Corriente 1997). Or when he says next that "in the *muwashshaḥ*, as in medieval Spanish popular poetry, there are no lines longer than twelve syllables, and the only regular stress in each line falls on the accented syllable of its rhyme-word", without apparently having bothered to check that count on an edition of Andalusi *muwashshaḥat* such as that of Sayyid Ghāzī's, where in the poems Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8 by Ibn Arfaʿ Ra'suh he could have reckoned from 13 to 16 syllables to start with, and so on in the remaining authors, above all in the oldest poems, expectable to have remained closer to their supposed Romance models. In the case of what he calls "only regular stress" he is again disregarding the presence of rhythm generating stress in each foot of every verse line, which holds good also in Castilian verse, in spite of quite free foot substitution.

Some final additional remarks in the aim of contributing something to a future commented English translation by Monroe, which we look forward to seeing in our days:

1) On his fn. 27, it could be added that the North African term of Berber stock for black people, *Gnāwa*, reflects Berber *agnaw* "mute", as can be seen in our *Diccionario de arabismos* (Corriente 1999:103), where due credit is given to G.S. Colin [21] for his detailed account of this item.

2) On his fn. 32, it should be corrected that the sentence "I squeeze into a small corner like Ibn ʿAmmār" would contain a reference to his state of depression while in prison, awaiting his execution: Nykl 1946:156 reports the true saucy story, and so did García Gómez 1972 I: 457, fn. 11, in a prudish manner, taking the item from Dozy, as we also did in our own Cairene edition, p. 278, fn. 2.

3) Monroe does not mention this, or anything not tallying with his hypothesis of the pre-Islamic origin of Andalusi stanzaic poems, but *zajal* No. 88, like every other one in Ibn Quzmān's *Dīwān*, [22] is easily scanned after Khalīlian metrics, in this particular case as a clear-cut *khafīf* (*fāʿilātun mustafʿilun fā[ʿi]lun*). In support of our views on "extended" ʿarūḍ it can be verified that, a) each theoretically long syllable occurring in a short syllable slot according to Khalīlian patterns happens to be unstressed, e.g. *jáni* = *>jānī<* in 0/1, *>lī<* in 2/1, *sídi* = *>sīdī<* in 2/3, *ílla* = *>illā<* in 2/4, *fuḍúli* = *>fuḍūlī<* in 3/1, *yuqúlha* = *>yuqūlhā<* in 2/4, etc., b) less often, each theoretically short syllable occurring in a long syllable slot according to Khalīlian patterns happens to be stressed in Andalusi Arabic, e.g. 10/1 *lás qaṭṭa má ʿi shughál* = *>las qaṭṭa maʿī shughal<* for mustafʿilun fā[ʿi]lun, c) there are occasional, though infrequent cases of foot substitution, like 10/1 *>wataʿarī<*, which is *mafāʿīlun* instead of the expected *fāʿilātun*, and d) that the poem, in full agreement with Khalīlian metrics and disagreement with Romance verse, is anisosyllabic, as its last foot can alternatively be *fāʿilun* or *faʿlun*, regardless of stress considerations, since every line is stressed on its last syllable in addition to previous stressed slots in each foot.

This may also be the right time to add a closing remark addressed to those who still hold onto the traditional description, e.g. by D. Alonso, of *kharjas* as innocent love songs of Christian maidens: disregarding the by now established fact that no allusion to

Christianity ever happens in them,[23] the truth is that some of them contain clear hints at the exercise of prostitution by the girls portrayed as the singers of those texts, and there is a number of them, easily increasable with scarce risk, in which there can be little or no doubt that the sexual relation takes place between men.

As for prostitutes, it is hard to believe, e.g. that women complaining about rough treatment by inconsiderate lovers and using quite foul language would be anything else in those days and milieu, e.g. in A3:24 "Go away! What a cheek he's got: he even wants to rouse my relatives!"; A9: "I shall not even try it, unless you make love to me and raise my anklets up to my earrings"; A10: "This rogue, mother, this troublemaker embraces me forcibly and thus makes me see stars at noon"; A26: "From embracing the youthful, handsome like beauty spots, you came out with marks from biting, deep as those of spears . . ."; A35: "Tell me, mother, once and for all: are my relatives suspecting that I hustle? My love is of that kind which is paid in instalments"; H12: "She is a poor woman, you can see it, made jealous by her own kin. Sell your love to others, you harlot who is not paid on the spot!"; H22: "Mother, what is in the Holy Writ? 'Women's wit is nil'. That's why I am fickle, for whom will my love last?". A likely conclusion from the context appears to be that most of them are female Muslim or Jewish slaves forced by their pimp owners to ply this trade in their own benefit. Even the understanding mothers to whom the girls complain at times had probably preceded them in that painful predicament, much unlike Alonso's fancies.

As for homosexual love, its large share in Arabic poetry of all periods and lands is notorious, but there is so far no detailed assessment of it in Andalusi stanzaic poetry and it is high time to usher a survey of this topic, if nothing else in order to confirm its thematic identity with traditional poetry (*qaṣīdah*).

To begin with *zajjāls*, there is nothing new in saying that Ibn Quzmān, for instance, literally brags about his bisexuality, e.g. in 30/3/3-4 "if there are some men who have one of these qualities, homosexual or womaniser, in my case, I have both". However, some of his statements suggest that he considered successful love affairs with women too easy a feat and placed real merit only in conquering beautiful boys (*milāḥ*). He says so in 117/4/1-2: "He must suffer strong humiliation, who wants to love a little boy: he will lay his cheeks on the ground (for him to walk on), and make it flat"; the comparison between both kinds of adventures is clearly outlined in 140/4: "Be satisfied with loving women: you will thus come out from a tight spot to comfort, and feel like somebody who takes off a heavy cloak and puts on a light coat".

The *kharjas* merely containing Andalusi Arabic without any admixture of Romance[25] do also contain frequent indubitable homosexual allusions, like these:

p. 140, by Ibn Maslamah: "He shouts: 'row back, sugar, and mind my clothes'", belonging to a series of references to young male prostitutes in some harbour areas, where their customers would find them and take them for picnics on boats.

p. 147, by Ibn Alkhabbāz: "My lord, that of the violets, come to your sugar daddy, come, my beloved", in which the terms "lord" and "sugar daddy" exclude a female partner.

p. 187, by Ibn Aṣṣaḇūn: "I went shouting in the streets: 'I love a young tailor, what an excellent tailor!' ", where the beloved is obviously a boy and the lover no doubt also a man, since that kind of street-crying was unthinkable in a woman, not to mention the likely double-entendre implied by "sewing" in some Arabic dialects.

p. 191, by Ibn Mālik: "Little dark-skinned sweety, how lucky the lover will be who spends the night with you!"

p. 231, by Ibn Zuhr: "Indeed, by God, he loves me and I love him, and we are both boys", and

p. 261, by Ashushtarī: "Down will grow tomorrow on your face, and we shall see you toil as a bricklayer."

Finally, it appears. as it could be expected, that some Romance *kharjas* convey homosexual messages too, at least in the following cases:

A13, by Alkumayt: "I want no catamite, but the little dark-skinned one", considering that Romance BÓNO = Andalusi Arabic *malíḥ* usually means that.

A22, by Attuṭīlī: ". . . I shall wear my brocaded suit and shatter some reed spears", a rather obvious sexual metaphor, with a tinge of homosexual slang in it, and

A29, by Ibn Allabbānah: "O my heart, determined as you are to love catamites, come, take refuge in reciting the *sura* Yāsīn, row back, get out of that stormy sea!", as given away again by that Romance BÓNO = Andalusi Arabic *malíḥ*, and the repetition of the topic used in Ibn Maslamah's above-mentioned text.

Shortly speaking, there is still much to discover and demonstrate about the *kharajāt*, and no need to lag behind unavoidable progress by holding onto outdated views based on flimsy arguments.

NOTES:

1. Transliteration and documentation systems as compiled by author, *Dīwān Ibn Quzmān Alqurṭubī: Iṣābat al ʾaʿrāḍ fī dhikr al ʾaghrāḍ*, Cairo, Almajlis alʾaʿlà liththaqāfah. While awaiting a second edition of this work, we have published a list of "Correcciones y adiciones a la edición cairota del Dīwān de Ibn Quzmān", in *Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí* 7 (2005) 111-123. However, they affect *zajal* Nº 88 scarcely, and neither is it necessary to take issue with some minor deviations in Monroe's transcription from the edited text, as a consequence of its transfer from Arabic to Latin script, following different principles than those used by us in our first edition of 1980, *Gramática, métrica y texto del Cancionero hispano-árabe de Aban Quzmán*.

It should be noticed, however, that the appearance of the expression "hispano-árabe", which we had by then disavowed, on the back cover of the 1995 edition had not been approved by us, and was merely due to editorial officiousness.

2. Neither can we share some of Monroe's daring intuitions, such as his presumption in *JAL* 37 (2006) 1-45, "The Mystery of the Missing Mantle: The Poet as Wittol? (Ibn Quzmān's *Zajal* 20)," that our poet would have assumed such a dishonourable role, which was extremely unlikely in his day and milieu, even for the sake of art, and besides is devoid of any textual support in our view.

3. By S.M. Stern, "Les vers finaux en espagnol dans les *muwashshaḥ*s hispano-hebraïques: une contribution à l'histoire du *muwashshaḥ*, et à l'étude du vieux dialecte espagnol 'mozárabe'", in *Al-Andalus* 13 (1948) 299-346, and E. García Gómez, "Veinticuatro jarŷas romances en *muwashshaḥ*ital árabes (Ms. G.S. Colin)", *ibidem* 17 (1952) 57-127. It is well-known, however, that their existence was known previously though sketchily to Westerners, not to speak of native scholarship, since the end of the 19th century, as duly reported by Solà-Solé 1973 and other authors.

4. On this see Corriente 1998, *Poesía dialectal árabe y romance en Alandalús*, pp. 90-121, a book frowned at by some adherents of the Hispanic theory, because it proved wrong their metric and stanzaic hypotheses, plus a large third of earlier *kharjah* readings, omitted obsolete bibliography hinging on those misapprehensions, and consequently sent ideas and names much cherished by them to the dustbin. Also Zwartjes, 2001, was

included in this new syllabus by Armistead 2005, "El problema de las jarchas" (in *Dejar hablar a los textos. Homenaje a Francisco Márquez Villanueva I*, ed. P.M. Piñero Ramírez), 57-64, who says: "Zwartjes' book… has disappointed me because he accepts Corriente's hypothesis on the quantitative nature of Hispano-Arabic metrics as an article of faith, in spite of the well-grounded arguments of Menéndez Pidal, García Gómez, Margit Frenk, James Monroe and others in works which, incidentally are not found in the rich and useful bibliography of Corriente." All of them, indeed, most respectable scholars, although relying by necessity on erroneous or biased information on this particular matter, while it is rather the Hispanic metrical hypothesis that requires faith: the Khalīlian scansion comes through by just checking the sequences of theoretically short and long syllables and not rejecting the established statistical rule according to which any incidence rate over 5% cannot be a sheer coincidence and must have some consequences on the analysis of its sample.

5. Some perspicacious Romanists, like H. Lausberg (review of P. Le Gentil,"le virelai et le villancico: le problème des origins arabes, Paris 1954, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 192 (1955) 208-209), J.B. Trend ("The Oldest Spanish Poetry", in *Hispanic Studies in Honour of I. González Llubera*, Oxford 1959, pp. 415-428), W. Ross ("Sind die ḫarǧas Reste einer frühen romanischen Lyrik?", in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 193 (1956) 129- 138) and, most recently, G. Hilty, ("¿Existió o no una lírica mozárabe?", in *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, eds. M. Freizas and S. Iriso, 2000, pp. 975-985), Tova Rosen ("The Muwashshah", in *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. M.R. Menocal, R. Scheindlin and M. Sells, 2000, pp. 165-189) and Laura Minervini ("La poesia ispano-araba e la tradizione lirica romanza. Una questione aperta", in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo 3, Le culture circostanti*, eds. M. Capaldo, F. Cardini, G. Cavallo and B. Scarcia Amoretti, 2003, pp. 705-723) have also had serious doubts about the Hispanic hypothesis or outright rejected it.

6. To the best of our recollection, we first devised the Arabic phrase *ʿarūḍun muḥawwal/r* for lectures on this topic delivered in Arab lands in the early eighties, and next found it translated into English in those ways in Alan Jones 1988, *Romance Kharjas in Andalusian Arabic* Muwashshaḥ *Poetry*, p. 8, and in the entry *Muwashshaḥ* of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, by G. Schoeler.

7. See the latest exchanges between both of us in *JAL* 34 (2003), S.G. Armistead, "Kharjas and Villancicos", pp. 3-19, and 35 (2004), F. Corriente, "Again on (Partially) Romance Andalusi Kharajāt", pp. 139-151. We are dealing again with this issue in our book entitled *Romania Arabica. Tres cuestiones básicas: arabismos, "mozárabe" y "jarchas*", Madrid, Trotta 2008.

8. This is not the case even in Castilian verse, in which syllables are also grouped into feet, trochaic, dactylic, etc., often interchangeable as in the case of the Andalusi "extended" *ʿarūḍ*, but not depriving stress altogether of its rhythmic value in all slots but the last one, as Monroe would have it (see T. Navarro Tomás, *Métrica española*, 4th ed., pp. 501-551). Within a slow process of evolution, Monroe has been suggesting (e.g. in p. 328 of his latest paper) for some time that the Khalīlian system has been superimposed on Andalusi Stanzaic poems in principle exhibiting an underlying Ibero-Romance syllabic system, but the utter uselessness and difficulty of such a purpose make this hypothesis unacceptable, as Schoeler said very pointedly ("Ibn Quzmān's Metrik", in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 40 3.4 [1983] columns 311-332, esp. 320), when he thought that our concept of "extended" *ʿarūḍ*, implied a combination of both systems, instead of an adaptation of quantity to stress marking.

9. See Corriente 1998: 120-121. No matter how fast *zajal*s and *muwashshaḥ*s were set to tune, and it is obvious that many never went beyond the stage of mere recitation, the composition of the poem was always necessarily previous to that operation and had to

abide by the rules of the art. We simply cannot, e.g., imagine Ibn Quzmān's *Zajal* Nº 95, drawn up as a letter, being first sung (by whom?) and then committed to writing.

10. This can be no sheer coincidence and is of enormous importance, as he was one of the most innovative Eastern Arab poets, influential everywhere, but particularly in Al-Andalus and in the milieus of authors like Ibn Quzmān, who considers him his literary and ethical model. He also adhered to the metrical, strophic and thematic revolution of Abbasid poets, and was one of its leaders, and dared mixing some Persian with his Arabic verses, in a way comparable with the Romance *kharajāt* (see Zwartjes 1997, *Love Songs from al-Andalus. History, Structure and Meaning of the Kharja*, pp. 24-26). It is no secret that, when Iraq sneezed, Al-Andalus and every other region of the Islamic world, caught a cold.

11. In this formula, capitals represent the unaltered repetition of an element, usually a refrain, as in the schemes offered in Corriente 1980, *Poesía estrófica (cajeles y/o muwashshaḥāt) atribuida al místico granadino Aš-Šuštarī (siglo XIII d.C.*), 13-18. Incidentally, such segments do occasionally happen in late *zajjāls*, but never in the older periods, like that of Ibn Quzmān. In his production concretely, we only find two cases of a *maṭlaʿ* doing also the job of a *kharjah*, i.e. what Zwartjes called *kharja došʿamaláyn* in his paper "Algunas observaciones sobre la función de la kharja: Al-kharja došʿamaláyn (Ibn Quzmān *zajal* Nº 59)" in *Poesía estrófica (Actas del Primer Congreso Internacional sobre poesía estrófica árabe y hebrea y sus paralelos romances*, eds. F. Corriente & Sáenz-Badillos), 1991, pp. 367-376, namely that very Nº 59 and Nº 138. However, the role and significance of such refrains in both instances is quite different as, in younger phases, they are introduced as a nostalgic memory of past times, while in these, they were instead the first staggering steps towards developing stanzaic structures.

12. In fn. 18 Monroe refers to an article by H. Roolvink, who introduced this issue, and next mentions the paper "¿Zéjeles o formas zejelescas? Observaciones para el estudio de un problema de historia literaria", by María Morrás in *La Corónica* 17 (1988) 52-75 in a way suggesting that she would have accepted that proposal, when in fact and most reasonably she labels it as a "*hipótesis extravagante*" (p. 69).

13. Under the title "*Wa-huwa wazn lam yaridʿan al-ʿarab*. Métrica no jaliliana en al-Andalus", in *Al-Qanṭara* 26:1 (2005) 263-267. She actually means *wahuwa waznun lam yaridʿani lʿarab* in Standard Arabic, but some of our colleagues still indulge in using that bastardised kind of "Arabist's Arabic", a curious admixture of misplaced pausal and contextual forms, which should better be avoided by seasoned scholars.

14. The frequent use of the *abḥurun muhmalah* in stanzaic poetry has been reported by us in our first edition of Ibn Quzmān (Corriente 1980:78-81), in that of Ashshushtarī (Corriente 1988: 6-8), etc. Everybody has heard it, but it might be in place here to remind our readers of the famous anecdote attributed to Abulʿatāhiyah who, having been blamed for using those innovated metres, or according to another version, questioned about his knowledge of *ʿarūḍ*, answered *ana akbaru mina lʿarūḍ* "I am bigger than metrics" (from *Kitāb alʾaghānī*, Beirut, Dār aththaqāfah 1955, IV, 15). However, all he did was reshuffle the Khalīlian feet and metres a little, and nobody has so far contended that he used other than Arab metrics!

15. In our papers "Nueva propuesta de lectura de las kharajāt de la serie árabe con texto romance", in *Revista de Filología Española* 73 (1993) 25-41 and, in collaboration with A. Sáenz-Badillos, "Nueva propuesta de lectura de las kharajāt de la serie hebrea con texto romance", ibidem 74 (1994) 283-289.

16. Which, incidentally and as is expectable, appears to have existed, as Church councils and instructions of the Visigothic period mention and condemn it, but apparently it did not survive in Al-Andalus, possibly because not only the Romance language and Christian religion had suffered a huge loss of prestige, but also because there was no

future in sight for Romance culture then and there. Consequently, most people were eager to acquire Arabic and Islamic fashions, if not necessarily also the new religion, as decried by Alvaro de Cordova's famous epistle, so often quoted and closely mirrored by the contemporaneous complaints of a Coptic priest in Egypt, recorded by Mac Coull 1985, "Three Cultures under Arabic Rule: the Fate of Coptic", in *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 27 (1985) 61-70, esp. 66. As we have repeatedly stated to no avail in the case of die-hard adherents of the Hispanic hypothesis, partially Romance *kharajāt* cannot be remnants of a pre-Islamic poetry, as they are unequivocally composed in Khalīlian metres, as proven by Corriente 1997: 270-323. Occasional utterances and some thematic atavisms are indeed possible, at times sure, but nothing else, especially when stanzaic and metrical structures are concerned. There never was a "Corpus de poesía mozárabe", as Solà-Solé entitled his famous book of 1973, nor any grounds to speak of "Las jarchas mozárabes", as Galmés called his of 1994, requiring our reply (Corriente 1996, "By no means '*jarchas mozárabes*' ", in *Romance Philology* 50.1, pp. 46-61): the *kharajāt* indeed contain frequent references to Islamic culture, and those of the Hebrew series do occasionally refer to Judaism, but there is not the slightest hint of anything Christian, i.e. Mozarabic in them. This label should not be retained either as the designation of Andalusi Romance, just because it was "in scholarly use for well over a century . . . by eminent scholars", as Armistead 2003:4, fn. 1, upheld. It stems from a biased nationalistic-Catholic perception of Spanish history and culture, aimed at distorting facts in a sectarian way, which is not compatible with scholarship or even with mere reason and enlightenment.

17. First detected in Viguera & Corriente 1981, Crónica del Califa ʿAbdarraḥmān III An-Nāṣir entre los años 912 y 942 (*al-Muqtabis* V), p. 64, fn. 18, and better surveyed in Corriente 1992, "De nuevo en torno al protocejel del año 913", in *Sefarad* 52, 69-73.

18. Which can be dated roughly at the beginning of the ninth century, according to Ibn Ḥayyān's data, available now in Arabic (ed. M. ʿAlī Makkī, 2003, *Assifr a<u>tt</u>ānī min kitāb almuqtabis*, p. 239) and in its Spanish translation by Makkī & Corriente 2001, Crónica de los emires Alḥakam I y ʿAbdarraḥmān II entre los años 796 y 847 [*Almuqtabis* II-1], p. 138.

19. According to Monroe's excellent translation of this revealing passage, "On re-reading Ibn Bassām: 'Lírica románica' after the Arab conquest", in *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos* 23 (1985-86) 121-147, though accompanied by an interpretation and conclusions already flawed by his recurring pretence of demonstrating the survival of pre-Islamic Romance poetry in the Andalusi stanzaic poems at any cost. As usual, Stern offered a more sober wording and interpretation in his previous account of this matter, "The history of the *Muwashshaḥ*" (in *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry*, ed. L.P. Harvey, Oxford 1974, pp. 63-80) and Monroe's criticism of his unbiased statements constitutes a mere unlikely attempt at making Ibn Bassām say that the *abḥurun muhmalah* he mentions were not Khalīlian, which of course he did not and could not say.

20. Whose basic work, *Dīwān almuwashshaḥāṭ al ʾandalusiyyah* (Alexandria 1979) is systematically ignored by the proponents of the Hispanic hypothesis, in spite of containing the only extant edition to this day of the whole texts of most such poems and their irreproachable Khalīlian scansion, with only a drawback in the case of the Romance *kharajāt*, which he had to quote from García Gómez's unreliable transcriptions, in the lack of access to the mss. We corrected their reading and provided the matching scansions in Corriente 1998: 270-323.

21. "Appellations données par les Arabes aux peuples hétéroglosses", in *Comptes rendues du Groupe Linguistique d' études chamito-sémitiques* 7 (1954-1957) 93-95.

22. Our Cairene edition provides the matching Khalīlian scansion of each poem, it being worth mentioning that no Arab reader so far, nor any reputed Western Arabist have objected to them.

23. Except in cases in which, out of social convenience, Muslim men brag about their success with Christian or Jewish women, e.g. in Corriente 1998:185, a kharjah used by the Hebrew poet Yōsēf ben Hashēmi: "I must do something with my hair, and make Christian women lose their heads". Likewise, the prostitute featured by Albaḥbaḍah (Corriente 1994: "Textos andalusíes de cejeles no quzmanianos en Alḥillī, Ibn Saʿīd Almaġribī, Ibn Khaldūn y en la Genizah", in *Foro Hispanico* 7, 61-194, esp. 87-89) bears the Christian or Jewish name Donna, as in the case of the woman called Alīfah by Ibn Quzmān 21/5/1 and 144/2/1.

24. Initial A and H are, here and in Corriente 1998, abbreviations for the Arabic and Hebrew series of kharjas.

25. Surveyed by Corriente 1997: 136-267, alphabetically ordered by rhymes.