

Proposal for new research methodologies concerning the transmission of musical and lyric forms from medieval al-Andalus into Early Europe

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This paper was written during the constraints of lockdown, in a green field, with a wind generator for laptop energy, and with no access to key texts in libraries. A more polished version will be prepared once things get back to normal

It is a proposal for new methods in the study of medieval lyric forms and their associated musics, specifically as regards the possibility of transfers from medieval al-Andalus into Early Europe.

The purpose of this is to demolish the notion of culturally impermeable frontiers between Andalus and Early Europe

Let's start with a statement of broad principle. We have a problem. Not a big problem like a virus crisis, but a troublesome problem nonetheless.

Our problem is that during medieval times there is a well-attested transfer of musical instruments from al-Andalus – what we could call Arab Spain – north of the Pyrenees into Early Europe. For instance, the Arab *'ud* transmutes into the lute; the *rebab* into the rebec; the *naqqara* into nakers, timpani, etc.

Logic would suggest that some elements of the musical and lyric forms of al-Andalus also transferred, along with the instruments. Indeed it seems rather unreasonable to suppose that these two realities were hermetically sealed from each other, behind borders that were impermeable.

Over the years affinities have been proposed between forms associated with the popular Arabic/Jewish Andalusian dance-song forms known as *muwashshah* and *zajal*, and European forms such as the *ballata*. The term “zajalesque” has been coined to define these European forms.

But since the days of Julián Ribera y Tarragón (1858-1934) and H.G. Farmer (1882-1965) [1] (debates which developed with no little acrimony) in-depth research has been relatively thin on the ground. The time has come to re-address the question.

For the purposes of this paper, to be clear, I am focusing on manifestations of lyric / or dance song / or poetry that may imply an element of emulation, rivalry, or correspondence, between poets.

Frequently we are dealing with **a form of poetic debate, which might be initiated by an invitation, and taking the form of an exchange in which the replying poets adhere to the rhymes, thematic content and verse-forms of their opponent(s); there may or may not be an implication of judgement of the outcome.**

These verses may operate broadly on a rhyming principle of AABBB(A) – in other words, an intrinsic principle of “twoness” and “threeness” (AA BBB), with an implication of refrain.

This is the space of what I call agonistic poeteering.

I suggest that the research methods outlined below are equally applicable to all lyrics at all times and in all places. In short, I am arguing for a practice of *inchiesta poetica*, a **methodology of poetic inquiry**, a process of detailed inquiry and mapping of what poetry is, in both a material and a social sense, and how it develops across time and geography.

The field of this research extends across more than a thousand years, from the putative origins of the *zajal* in al-Andalus circa 960 CE, through to the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, and then the Italian sonnet and *ballata*, then through the entirety of the early English carol tradition, down through English mystery plays and eighteenth-century balladry, and even down to the national anthem of the United States of America, the “Star-Spangled Banner”.

For reasons of simplicity, in this paper I shall refer to this breadth of diverse materials simply as “poetry”.

We know from the evidence of Ibn Quzman [1087–1160] [2] and Ibn Sana’ al-Mulk [1155–1211] [3] in the twelfth century that the Andalusian *muwashshah* and *zajal* forms enjoyed enormous popularity heading southwards into North Africa and beyond. We also know, from the evidence of Raimon Vidal [1196-1252] [4] and the Italian poets, that the geographically contiguous *canço* and *tenso* forms of the troubadours, also hugely popular, established a hegemonic presence in Early European poetry. The question is: were these two realities merely contiguous, or did they have an organic relationship with each other?

In order to establish the viability of what I call the trans-Pyrenees hypothesis (in other words, the idea that forms of music, song and dance did indeed cross from medieval al-Andalus into Early Europe) I suggest that it is necessary to go beyond the historical limits of purely musicological or purely prosodic analysis, and to establish a **wide range of parameters** for a project of broad-based interdisciplinary comparative analysis.

This present paper is not partisan, arguing for one view or another. I would agree that, in our present state of knowledge, evidence for the hypothesis is in short supply. But we have to ask ourselves: is this because the evidence is non-existent, or is it perhaps that our academics have lacked the skills, breadth of conception and imagination to go beyond ancient prejudgements?

A former Arabist at SOAS, Jareer Abu Haidar, argues against the trans-Pyrenees hypothesis because, as he says, the thematic concerns of Arab-Andalusian poets – the poetic *topoi* or recurring subject matter – are not to be found among the poets of Early Europe. As he pronounces in one of his section headings: “No Arabic Echoes in the Provençal Lyrics”. [5]

But let us suppose (as seems likely) that an important part of what is being transferred in *muwashshah* / *zajal* practice is particular rhythmic pulses of dance song; in that case, this lack of thematic transfer might carry less weight as evidence against the hypothesis.

In a similar vein, as regards possible transfers of **musical** practice, Christopher Page wrote a paper on the history and tunings of the *viella* and the *rubeba*, which we take to be a relation of the Arab *rebab*. Hunting in vain for the potential sources of Jerome's tuning theories, and true to the parochialism of English musicology, Page managed entirely to overlook the detailed exposition of the tunings of the *rebab*, 'ud and other instruments by the ninth century Persian polymath Al-Farabi (CE 872-950/951), in his *Kitab al-Musiqa al-Kabir* ["*The Great Book of Music*"]. [6]

From my own work, and arguing for a maximal breadth of analytical scope, I would suggest that it is impossible to understand the complex rhyming schemes of the troubadour *canço* and the Italian *canzone* without taking a measured reading of rhyme schemes and fragmentation within *muwashshah* and *zajal*. Not to do so would be a nonsense, but who among our scholars has gone there?

Professor Pat Boyde, my supervisor during student days, would tell me: "I want *fatti di ferro*" – iron facts. This is precisely the puzzle that we have to confront. Evidences – the iron facts – are few and far between, but there is a strong sense of generic similarities between poetic cultures. So our business has to be to identify commonalities.

There are a number of evident commonalities between Andalusí strophic verse and the earliest European lyrics.

** We find a distinctive rhyming principle of 2+3. Twoness and threeness. For instance ABBBB. This can be developed into further permutations, as for instance, ABCCC; or AABBB; or ABABCCCB. And individual lines can be broken by internal rhyming. This is a phenomenon that extends across geographical boundaries.

** The lyrics generally have a musical connotation; and there is a clear association with dance.

** Contrafact is a core aspect of poetic convention, in terms of both the text and the music (which means copying, adapting, responding to, the verses of others).

** The verses may have an element of debate, duelling, collective judgement, the posing of positions and counter-positions. They may also have an epistolary quality – of correspondence initiated between two or more poets.

** The production of poetry may take place in a public arena – be it a court, a "session", a guild, a poetry society, a wedding etc – and may be performative.

Self-evidently these kinds of commonalities take us beyond the purely musicological or the purely prosodic. They engage questions of dance culture, religious observance, court life, and so on – questions that are broadly sociological, anthropological, and bespeak *comportamenti dei poeti* – what we can call the **behaviours** of poets.

It is in that spirit that I am proposing the development of new methods of analysis for this body of material. To enable us to get a broader sense of the generality of things. In keeping with the multicultural spirit of our times.

And, I would add, in the spirit of the troubadours themselves. Raimon Vidal, who wrote the troubadours' bible, the *Razós de trobar*, written in 1210 at the height of the troubadour culture, offered his own description of the sociology of the poets.

"all people wish to listen to troubadour songs and to *trobar* (to compose them), including Christians, Jews, Saracens, emperors, princes, kings, dukes, counts, viscounts, vavassours, knights, clerics, townsmen, and villeins."

"Tota gens Crestiana, Juzeus e Sarazís, emperador, princeps, rei, duc, conte, vesconte, contor, valvasor e tuit autre cavailler e clergues borgés e vilanz." [7]

Christians, Jews and Arabs, all listening to troubadour songs, and **all eager to compose them.**

No Poetics Without Inquiry!

In 1995 I wrote a paper entitled "**No Politics Without Inquiry**". This related to revolutionary organisation in factories and places of work. It proposed that projects of working class political organisation were meaningless unless we looked in detail at questions of *modes of production*, *means of production* and *forces of production* in the very broadest sense. [8]

I re-propose that idea with this present paper, which I suppose I could subtitle as "No Poetics Without Inquiry!"

In 1912 the poet and future Fascist F.T. Marinetti was present at the Siege of Adrianopolis, a decisive event in the First Balkan War between the Turks and the Bulgarians. He wrote an extended poem in praise of war. Its title was *Zang Tumb Tumb*, and it has been justifiably claimed as a monument of experimental literature, with "its [...] barrage of nouns, colours, exclamations and directions pouring out in the screeching of trains, the rat-a-tat-tat of gunfire, and the clatter of telegraphic messages" [9]. In his exuberant and unabashed praise of war (and in 1915 he went on to write, precisely, "In Praise of War") he celebrates the physical materiality of war in the age of its new technologies.

In so doing he takes various things – the siege itself, the mobilisation of the various armies, but also the fixed physical conventions of the book, and the very act of poetry – and disaggregates them into their constituent material parts. The book and its subsequent public performances became a thrilling audio-visual disaggregation of the component parts of "war machine", and also of "poetry machine", and then their reconstitution into project. Poetry is portrayed as the flying wedge of "future-ism" which drives into the heart of "past-ism", with all its frills, foibles and fancies. A fascination with the machine, with its component parts, and particularly an attention to where they derive from, and how they all fit together, in relation to other machines. I have always found this piece rather inspirational.

So let us look at "poetry machine"

Following Marinetti, we move away from poetry as subjectivism and towards poetry in its functionality, as a system of production.

If you'll permit me, I'll offer a definition:

Poetry is an operating system of humanly constructed techniques and artefacts, devised for a variety of different purposes. Its component parts are historically specific in their genesis; they are created at particular moments, and may be long-lived or short-lived according to fashion and to their fitness for purpose; they may be diffused through geography and time, or their usage may remain locally restricted; .

Furthermore, the production of poetic forms is a collaborative project of many poets, with possibilities of innovation, variation and development performed by individuals. They operate within a sociology that is specific to their times (hierarchies, dependencies, subordination etc) and within which they receive various forms of remuneration for their efforts (patronage, social recognition, spiritual recompense etc).

The new step that I am proposing is one in which we begin to analyse poetry – and particularly the poetries that concern us – as **a system of production**. *Poesia-fabbrica*. Poetry as factory. And that we see individual poems (or dance-related lyrics in our case) in the same way that, dare I say it, we would analyse the component parts, and also the relations of production, of a motor car. What I referred to previously as a process of *Inchiesta poetica*.

It is no accident that my referents here are Italian. In addition to Marinetti, my methodological proposal develops from a major work of collaborative analysis that young Marxists did in and around Italy's factories during what is referred to as the Hot Autumn of 1969-70, a practice known as *inchiesta operaia*. "Workers' inquiry". This practice had its origins in a document prepared by Karl Marx in 1880, which was one of the last pieces he wrote in his life. Published in *Le Revue socialiste* in Paris, it has the splendid preamble: "We [...] rely upon socialists of all schools who, being wishful for social reform, must wish for an *exact* and *positive* knowledge of the conditions in which the working class — the class to whom the future belongs — works and moves."

Marx's piece is entitled, precisely, "The Workers' Inquiry" [10]. The idea was that activists would go to the factories with a prepared list of detailed questions (one hundred questions, in fact) that they would put to workers, to elicit understandings of the exploitation of the factory working class, which would then provide the basis for further socialist organising.

It is precisely that kind of collective endeavour that I am hoping to mobilise with this present conference paper.

The original Marxian model was further elaborated by the comrades of *Classe Operaia* during the 1960s. In 1967 the Turin-based sociologist Romano Alquati presented a detailed study of the FIAT motor corporation, detailing the extensive networks of supply and servicing that go to make up that individual artefact which is the motor car [11]. Provenances – which bit comes from where. The approach was taken a step further by Raniero Panzieri, with a paper entitled "On the socialist use of the workers' inquiry" [12]. Both of these papers are regarded as seminal in the activist school of thought known as *operaismo*.

And then the initiative developed further, into the extraordinary project of militant political-social analysis of workplace and working conditions that was carried out by students and workers at the end of the 1960s and into the 1970s (not least, by the way, into the productive and reproductive roles of women). For anyone who is interested in these studies, I have gathered some of them in my Red Notes Italian Archive, which is currently lodged at the LSE Library and elsewhere [13].

How might such methods be applied to medieval poetry?

Following along the lines of Marx's "Workers' Inquiry", I have begun to develop a set of potential questions that can be asked in relation to medieval lyrics, addressing each individual piece of writing. A "Poetic Inquiry", so to speak. Recognising, of

course, that sometimes for reasons of lack of data, some of the questions will be unanswerable. Those headings are included as the Appendix to this paper.

The headings of the inquiry include typologies of poetic forms, considerations of context and social composition, thematic materials, and musical treatments. Taking our inspiration from terms used in Marxian analysis, our inquiry could be framed in the following terms:

Relations of production (in other words, the structure of social relations of production).

The **mode of production** (the historically specific systemic structuring of production).

The **means of production** (in other words, the tools and techniques employed in production).

The **outcomes of production** – namely the commodity – in our case, the poem-machine.

Not forgetting, of course, the eventual **circulation** of that commodity, which includes **systems of transmission**.

We could, furthermore, extend these concepts into the notion of **poetry as factory** – whereby the act of poetry is conceived **as a system of production pivoted on the production of social capital**. The poetry factory is artisanal at first – with individual poets travelling between places of patronage, seeking means of making a living. But with the passage of time the poetry factory becomes massified, with the establishment of the puy (such as Arras), the consistories (such as Barcelona), the Marian fraternities etc.

POETIC MAPPING

Once we have begun to establish a database on the basis of the Inquiry, it then becomes possible to take a further step – into the area of **poetic mapping**.

However ethereal its subject matter, poetry is a produced material object. All poetry has a place of production. In medieval times manuscript and epistolary transmissions were important, but poetic forms were also carried by the physical personage of the poets themselves. Poets move through geographical space, and interact with others on their way.

In our current crisis we might understand a project of mapping these movements and poetic dissemination processes. Something akin to the present interest in virus transmission and the mapping techniques of epidemiology and contact tracing. If we had the resources, then one could imagine creating a **chart of networks** extending (let us say) from 1100 to 1300, which mapped the known movements and interrelations of all poets whose works have come down to us.

As we know, the lives of poets, troubadours, singers and musicians were driven into movement by a multitude of factors (the need for patronage; political exile; crusades etc), and their peripatetic movements crossed, intersected and aggregated, and signally require to be mapped. Where were they born; if they traveled, to where did they travel; what were their stopping-off points; and where did they die. Such an operation would immediately reveal points of cross-over and intersection, and the

existence at any given time of what we could call nodal points of production, points of aggregation, or arenas of influence.

This would be a grand project, and one which, to my knowledge, has not been done before.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE:

There is not much to say about the contents of the questionnaire. A draft of the full version is attached to the printed version of this paper, as an appendix.

Apart from obvious prosodic questions such as metre, rhyme structure etc, the questionnaire includes questions such as the following (in no particular order):

Is the poem public?

Is the poem conceived within a closed group of people?

Is the poem addressed to a patron?

What is the social and financial status of the poet (class position)?

Was the poet subject to persecution?

Was the poet subject to exile?

Does the poet engage in periods of travel?

Is the poem a contrafact (in whole or part)?

Does the poem include proverbial phrases or sayings?

Does the poem imply recompense or remuneration in a material or a spiritual sense?

Is the poem contained as part of an authorial anthology (*canzoniere/diwan*)?

Is the language of the poem dialect or classical.

Does the poem include elements of praise? Or elements of insult?

Does the poet have a concern for the ground rules of poetics (in terms of *ars poetica*)?

What this questionnaire will give us is a strong sense of **poetic behaviours** through time and geography.

BRIEF EXAMPLES:

I shall now offer brief examples of the usefulness of these kinds of approaches.

EXAMPLE: A first example: easy assumptions of the fixity of the Great Court (Magna Curia) of the Emperor Federico II are immediately challenged by the fact that mapping shows it to have been a peripatetic court, perpetually on the move around both Italy and Europe, drawing in a variety of cultural influences and personalities from the territories through which it moved.

EXAMPLE: Similarly, the facile notion of “the Court of Aragon”, which became a hub of poetic activity in the late 1300s, needs to be deconstructed. Five hundred years of Arab-Muslim culture (714 to 1238); a notable school of classical Arabic poetry; a Jewish community that lasted through to the expulsions of 1492; and a permeable cross-border reality that embraced each side of the borders of what are now Spain and France. As Jeanroy pointed out, when speaking of its troubadour king Alfonso II (1157-96), “The troubadours did not need to cross over the Spain to pay homage to him as he himself had many opportunities to visit their regions”. [14]

EXAMPLE: the Andalusí poet, astrologer and Biblical commentator Avraham Ibn Ezra was a prolific writer of *muwashshah* (and other) poetry in the Hebrew language. For the transmission of his work it is important that we understand the extent to which he traveled in his life, carrying his poetics in his physical person from Cordoba to North Africa, Egypt, Palestine, Baghdad, Rome, Salerno, Lucca and Mantua, not to mention Provence and London. [15]

EXAMPLE: One thing that will come out will be the existence of practices of poetic dueling involving the crowned heads, and the nobility, and commoners, right across the geographic area of our research. This will have a bearing on discussion of the “Scuola siciliana”, the poetic culture of the court of Federico II. [16]

EXAMPLE: We shall also be able to produce a diachronic account of internal rhyming – how it comes to be used, how it peaks, and how (in Italian poetics) it then loses its popularity. In the case of the *muwashshah*, it is reputedly introduced by the Arab poets Yūsuf ibn Hārūn al-Ramādī [917-1012] of Zaragoza and Ubada Ibn Ma' as-Sama' (late 10th century). [17] It becomes intense in, for instance, the *muwashshahaat* of Ibn Arabi [1165-1240]. [18] Internal rhyming (in Italian, *rimamezzo*) is present as a feature of Provençal poetry and the poetry of the Sicilian School. [19] And is then abandoned by Dante and his colleagues, because the pursuit of technical virtuosity in rhyming becomes outmoded, tending to stand in the way of the conveyance of meaning.

EXAMPLE: Writing of Guillaume de Machaut’s “debate poems”, Emma Cayley [20] writes of “situating Machaut’s debate poems within a long tradition of literary and practical debating”. However her “long tradition” is located firmly within the Latin and Christian culture (the scholastic Latin *disputatio* in medieval universities; the twelfth and thirteenth century *joc-partits* or *jeux-partis* and *tensos* of the troubadours and trouvères; twelfth-century Latin goliardic love debates and the twelfth century *Concilium romarici moncium* (Council of Remiremont), which heralds the later fashion “for love trials”. Arguably, however, the search for origins could have included the Jewish poetic culture of Andalus, where we find the first Andalusí Hebrew didactic debate poems, those of Dunash ha-Levi ben Labrat (920×925-after 985) in the tenth century, and also a highly polished and somewhat scurrilous poetic debate three hundred years later between Todros Abulafia (1247-1306), a poet at the court of Alfonso the Wise, and his associate Phinehas Halevi. [21]

EXAMPLE: A mapping would also bring to the fore the numerous poets who were actively concerned to lay down the rules for poetics, for the correct usage of grammar, and for the best language of poetics. For instance, Raimon Vidal, the Catalan troubadour from Besalù in Northern Spain [1196 – 1252], wrote an instructional text for poets, on the subject of grammar and poetry, entitled *Razós de trobar* (c. 1210) [“Guidelines of troubadour composition”]. As well as arguing that Occitan is the best language for poetry, he details correct linguistic usages in that language. Looking forwards, this work is replicated in the *De vulgari eloquentia* of Dante Alighieri, which examines the roots of vernacular language and identifies

Tuscan as the dialect best suited for illustrious poetry. However, looking backwards (and bearing in mind that Jews were well integrated into the cultural life of Andalus, and not least in Besalù) it would be remiss to leave out of account the grammatical-poetical writings of Abraham Ibn Ezra [b. Tudela c.1089-1092; d. 1164-1167] and of his older relative Moses Ibn Ezra [b. Granada c.1055-1060, d. post-1138], who wrote a notable text which set out to explain to Hebrew poets how they should compose their poems, based on the structure of Arabic poems. Fighting to establish Hebrew as a language of poetry, and pitching themselves in relation to Arabic as the previous language of their poetry. Should we understand the *Razós de trobar* as being entirely separate from that Jewish current of thought in Spain? [22]

CONCLUSION

Without wishing to overstep the mark, I am proposing this methodology as one that is suitable for the subject of *all* lyrics, At all times and in all places. However, for the purposes of this conference I limit myself to the genres outlined above.

Force of circumstance (Covid) meant that we had to cancel our conference on these matters, which was to have been held in Granada, Spain, in April 2020, and the title of which was “*Muwashshah, Zajal, and the Early European Lyric*”. [23] The papers for that conference are being prepared for public circulation. Eventually we hope to reconvene that conference.

The Draft Questionnaire is attached as an Appendix, below.

Anyone interested in developing this kind of work is cordially invited to contact me.

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NOTES

1. See for instance Julián Ribera y Tarragón, *La música árabe y su influencia en la española*, Madrid, 1927, and H.G. Farmer, *The Arabian influence on musical theory*, Harold Reeves, London, 1925.

2. Ibn Quzman, Muhammad ibn 'Isa, *Cancionero andalusi Ibn Quzman*, ed. Federico Corriente, Poesi'a Hiperio'n, Madrid 1989:

3 Ibn Sana' al-Mulk - *Dar al-ṭirāz fi amal al-muwashshahat = Dar at-tirāz: poetique du muwassah / Ibn Sana ' al-Mulk*, ed. Jawdat Rikabi, 1949

4. Hugues Faidit and Raimon Vidal, *Grammaires Provençales*, (ed. F. Guessard), Paris, 1858, reprinted Slatkine Reprints, Geneva, 1973, p. 69.

5. J. A. Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature and the Early Provençal Lyrics*, Curzon, Richmond, 2001.

6. Christopher Page, “Jerome of Moravia on the *Rubeba* and *Viella*”, *The Galpin Society Journal*, No. 32, May 1979, pp. 77-98. See also Tito M. Toniatti, *And Yet It Is Heard: Musical, Multilingual and Multicultural History of the Mathematical Sciences*, Vol. I, Birkhäuser, Basel, 2014, pp. 241 seq.; and Owen Wright, *The Modal System of Arab and Persian Music, A.D. 1250-1300*, Oxford, 1978.

7. See Note 4 above.

8. Ed Emery, "No Politics Without Inquiry!". 1995. Online at <https://notesfrombelow.org/article/no-politics-without-inquiry>

9. F.T. Marinetti, *Zang tumb tumb : Adrianopoli, ottobre 1912 : parole in libertà*, Edizioni futuriste di "Poesia", Milano, 1914. See also Caroline Tisdall and Angelo Bozzola, *Futurism*, OUP, Oxford, 1978.

10. Karl Marx, *A Workers' Inquiry*, Freedom Information Service, Detroit, 1973. First published in *La Revue socialiste*, Paris, 20 April 1880. Online at: www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1880/04/20.htm

11. Romano Alquati, *Fiat: Punto medio nel ciclo internazionale* ["FIAT: Mid-Point in the International Cycle"], Centro Frankovich, Florence, 1967; subsequently reprinted in *Sulla FIAT e altri scritti*, Feltrinelli, Milan 1975. For the UK see also Ferruccio Gambino, "Ford Britannica. Formazione di una classe operaia", in *Operai e stato. Lotte operaie e riforma dello stato capitalistico tra rivoluzione d'Ottobre e New Deal*, Feltrinelli, Milano, 1972, pp. 147-90.

12. Raniero Panzieri, "Uso socialista dell'inchiesta operaia" [trans. Arianna Bove as "Socialist uses of workers' inquiry"], *Classe operaia*, 1965. Online at: <https://www.generation-online.org/t/tpanzieri.htm>

13. Red Notes Italian Archive.
<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/N13683962>

14. Alfred Jeanroy, *La Poesie lyrique des troubadours*, cited in *The Poems of the Troubadour Peire Rogier*, ed. Derek E. T. Nicholson, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1976, p. 40.

15. Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Reime und Gedichte des Abraham ibn Esra*, ed. David Rosin, Jacobsohn, Breslau, 1894; see also Leon J. Weinberger, *Twilight of a Golden Age: selected poems of Abraham Ibn Ezra*, University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa and London, 1997.

16. Frede Jensen (ed. and trans.), *The Poetry of the Sicilian School*, Garland, New York, 1985.

17. David Wulstan, "The Muwaššah and Zağal Revisited", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 102, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1982), pp. 247-64.

18. Muhyiddin Ibn al-Arabi, *Twenty-seven Muwashshahaat and One Zajal by Ibn Al-'Arabi of Murcia (1165-1240) in a Trilingual Edition [Arabic, Transliteration, English and Castilian]*, trans. Federico Corriente and Ed Emery, RNR Books, London and Zaragoza, 2004.

19. See Note 16 above.

20. Emma Cayley, "Machaut and Debate Poetry", in Deborah McGrady and Jennifer Bain (eds.): *A Companion to Guillaume de Machaut*, Brill, Leiden, 2012

21. Angel Sáenz-Badillos, "Hebrew Invective Poetry: The Debate between Todros Abulafia and Phinehas Halevi", *Prooftexts*, Vol. 16, No. 1, January 1996, pp. 49-73.

22. See Note 4 above.

23. <http://www.soas.ac.uk/muwashshah-conference>

APPENDIX 1:

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The following is a (non-exclusive) list of questions that might be posed in regard of individual lyrics.

SOCIAL CONTEXT

Is the poem public?

Is the poem private within a closed group of people?

Does the poet address others as superiors, equals, or inferiors (degrees of deference etc)?

Is there an expectation that others will respond to the poem in some way?

Does the poet call other poets to action or debate?

Are other people involved in a cycle of exchanges around the poem (for instance *tenso/tenzone*)?

What other poets are recognizable as being within the social/poetic network of the poem?

Is the poem addressed to a patron?

Does the poem invite judgements?

Does the poem include elements of praise?

Does the poem include elements of insult?

Is the poem employed in processional contexts?

PERSONALITY OF THE POET

Is the poet male or female?

What is the assumed sexuality of the poet?

What is the social status of the poet (class position)?

Was the poet subject to persecution?

Was the poet subject to exile?

Does the poet engage in periods of travel?

Does the poet have a concern for the ground rules of poetics (*ars poetica*)?

THEMATIC

Is the content of the poem political?

Is the poem sexually explicit?

Does the poem have a propagandist intent?

Is the poem religious in content?

Is the poem secular in content?

Is the poem aware of itself as poetry?

GENRE

Is the poem a textual contrafact (in whole or part)?

Is the poem a musical contrafact (in whole or part)?

Does the poem include proverbial phrases or sayings?

Does the poem seek to elicit a truth on a scientific matter?

RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

Does the poem imply recompense or remuneration in a material sense?

Does the poem imply recompense or remuneration in a spiritual sense?

Does the poet depend on patronage?

STRUCTURAL

What is the metrical structure of the poem?

How many verses does the poem have?

Does the poem have an opening refrain?

Does the poem have internally repeated refrains?

Does the poem have internal rhyming?

What are the distinctive constructs contained within the poem?

ADDRESSEE

Does the poem invoke an actually existing beloved?

Does the poem invoke an allegorical beloved?

Does the poem address or invoke a deity?

Is the poem written with a sense of self-justification (for instance in answer to criticisms)?

PLACEMENT

Is the poem contained as part of an authorial anthology (*canzoniere/diwan*)?

Is the poem part of a recognizable cycle of cognate material?

LANGUAGE

Is the language of the poem formal and classical?

Does the poem employ dialect?

Does the poem feature deliberately obscure language?

Does the poem include text in other languages?

Does the poem declare itself as having hidden meanings?

DIFFUSION

Is there evidence of the poem having an extended geographic range (diffusion)?

What is the known manuscript distribution of the poem?

Is the poem contrafacted by others?

If so, what is the known contrafact distribution of the poem?

12.vi.2020