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New Directions in Kharja Studies: Gender, Sexuality and Religion

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New Directions in Kharja Studies: Gender, Sexuality and Religion

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my family. Thank you for showing me immeasurable support and love over the years.

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New Directions in Kharja Studies: Gender, Sexuality and Religion

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The focus of kharja criticism on origins and influences has prevented scholarship of this literature from exploring different approaches for understanding this poetry. This dissertation takes a new and needed direction by examining the themes of gender, sexuality and religion in the muwashshahs with Romance kharjas. The first chapter presents a meta-critical analysis of kharja scholarship and notes how these studies have been focused on philological issues. The second chapter looks at the role gender plays in this corpus of poetry. It analyses the relationship of the voices of the kharjas and muwashshahs, compares descriptions of males and females, discusses gender conventions in Arabic poetry and determines the gender of the referent for each poem. The third chapter places the muwashshahs in the context of Andalusian sexuality and society. It notes the importance of their courtly creation and examines the themes of violence, sexuality and pleasure. The fourth and final chapter examines the convergence of religious and sexual language in the muwashshahs. It summarizes this tradition beginning with Plato's *Symposium* followed by descriptions of paradise in the Koran and Ibn Hazm's *The Dove's Ring Neck*. The conclusion compares the muwashshahs to the *cantigas d'amigo*, the troubadour lyric and the *Divine Comedy* with respect to the themes of gender, sexuality and religion. This analysis demonstrates the cultural and societal influences on these literatures.

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Introduction

The kharjas are the endings to the muwashshahs, Arabic and Hebrew strophic poems written in the 11th and 12th centuries in al-Andalus. The kharjas are only a few lines in length and typically voiced as a woman whereas the muwashshahs are longer and voiced as a man. The kharjas are unique because they give a feminine dimension to the usual masculine perspective of classical Arabic poetry. The kharja voice often laments the absence of a lover or expresses some type of amorous desire. Although most of the kharjas were written in colloquial Arabic, some of the kharjas were composed in a mozarabic dialect. They are classified as the first extant poems written in Romance and have been placed at the beginning of the Romance literary canon because of this distinction.

The dedicated work of critics on kharja scholarship and research on related Arabic and Hebrew poetry over the last century has greatly expanded the understanding of the literature in al-Andalus. While scholars have debated in a particularly acrimonious fashion, a greater awareness exists today of many facets of muwashshah and kharja poetry. This knowledge includes aspects of language and its meaning, meters, rhyme and varying theories about the relationship between this genre and other Arabic and Western literature, and partially but to a much lesser extent, how the poetry reflects the Andalusian Islamic and Hebrew culture in which it was written. However, many questions related to the kharjas including philological issues of language, paleography and the implications of the problems posed by the manuscript errors have been and continue to be difficult or impossible to resolve. Despite the voluminous amount of

scholarship completed on the kharjas, criticism is by no means closed to future conversations on the contentious debates which have occupied most critics' investigations. Additionally, many new perspectives still can be explored to enhance the research on this poetry. Much work still needs to be undertaken on issues related to the kharjas to further increase not only how specialists, but also general medieval scholars and students of this literature, understand them. Where do we go from the crossroads at which this criticism stands? The possibilities, particularly considering theories of the 20th and 21st centuries related to desire, sexuality and language, can illuminate and be relevant to these and other medieval texts. Of course, the kharjas and the muwashshahs have yet to be contextualized systematically in the historical and cultural reality of the societies in which they were created.

Much of the contentious research that polarized kharja scholarship in part inspired this dissertation. The job of a literary critic is to speculate, theorize and connect. With so much lost to history, unfortunately there are large gaps in the knowledge of the literary creation of al-Andalus. This deficiency includes the lack of possible proof of the influence this literature had on the later Western European lyric poetry, including the Galician *cantigas d'amigo* and the troubadour lyric. There is no direct evidence of a connection between the literature of al-Andalus and the European genres of poetry, yet many have theorized that there is a close link between them. Understandably, a large range of interpretations of the meaning of this poetry and its place in literary history have been hypothesized. Unless some new manuscript discovery miraculously comes to light, however, much of the research done and the theories espoused in this field will remain

speculation. Despite the fact that the arguments about the origins and influences of this poetry have been demonstrated effectively, they remain conjectures without irrefutable proof.

It is particularly problematic that many anthologies of Spanish literature and lyric poetry contain only one interpretation of a select few kharjas (often García-Goméz's interpretation, considered by some to be erroneous or highly interpretive) without their muwashshahs. Without knowledge outside of these anthologies of Hispanic literature, it becomes easy for one to categorize this literature as a simple and short lyric consisting of outbursts of love or the pain of lost love. While this is accurate to some degree, the kharjas and the muwashshahs which contain them are much more complex and represent a society vastly different from the one represented by the anthologies. The kharjas present themselves as a rich opportunity for students of literature, not only as the first poetry in a Romance dialect, but also for what they convey about the cultures and history of the Iberian Peninsula. Aspects of gender roles and conventions, societal power structures, expressions of both religious and sexual desires and an introduction to the Arab literary aesthetic are facets which can enhance the discussion of this poetry in the classroom and in scholarly venues. The notions of this poetry which have pervaded scholarship and teaching of this literature need to be corrected and modified to more accurately reflect the social reality and context of the kharjas and muwashshahs.

This dissertation fills in some gaps in kharja and muwashshah research—giving a more complete picture of the themes of gender, sexuality and religion in the muwashshahs and how they reflect the society in which they were written. This

dissertation takes a different approach from the focus on Arabist v. Romanist hypotheses of origins and influences prevalent in the mainstream criticism of the kharjas. Instead, it concentrates on examining the muwashshahs to contextualize the kharjas within the framework of these themes.

The first chapter "A History of Kharja Studies" presents a meta-critical history of kharja studies, analyzing the major trends and fundamental criticism in this research from the end of the 19th century up to the present. It first introduces a description of the muwashshah and kharja as genres, followed by a summary of the rediscovery of the Romance kharjas which began at the end of the 19th century. It next examines the critics' interpretations of the significance of this poetry and the subsequent placement of the kharjas at the beginning of the Romance literary canon. This chapter then explores the studies which have decoded their language, disputed their origins, and placed them in the greater context of European, Arabic and Western literature. It summarizes the meaning of these important and polemical debates. Lastly, it closely analyzes all of the critical work related to sexuality and gender on the muwashshahs and kharjas in addition to examining similar thematic studies in related medieval Arabic and Hebrew literature. By exploring the history of kharja criticism, one notes how almost all studies have been philological in nature and little has been written about other dimensions of this poetry, including gender and sexuality. This chapter argues that kharja criticism can and should be taken in new directions.

The second chapter analyzes closely the various and complex aspects of gender which the muwashshahs present. It investigates systematically the voices of the

muwashshahs and their kharjas, the desires they express and also the role that gender plays within them. It analyzes closely the relationship between the kharja and muwashshah voices to demonstrate that the role the kharja voice plays is complex and multiple and one which, naturally, is determined singularly by the muwashshah author. Furthermore, it is an assumed convention in classical Arabic poetry, and one which still continues today in Arabic poetry and music, to use masculine grammar, such as verbs, adjectives and pronouns, to describe a female. Critics such as Linda Fish Compton have believed it is often difficult, if not impossible, to determine if the author is writing about a male or female because masculine grammar is almost always employed. Because this convention has been so widely assumed, it has never been analyzed in detail by scholars of Arabic literature. This convention will be refuted with respect to the muwashshahs with Romance kharjas with a complete examination of the gendered grammar employed in the poetry. This chapter also examines gender descriptions of both male and female beloveds and determines the sex of the beloved in each poem of this corpus. The muwashshahs with Romance kharjas have an equal number of male and female beloveds thus the poems cannot be classified exclusively as women's songs.

The third chapter reveals how the muwashshahs with Romance kharjas specifically reflect the society and culture in which they were written. It emphasizes how 11th and 12th century al-Andalus comprehended its own sexuality and love relationships. This helps to explain specific characteristics of the muwashshah poetry and gives a greater understanding to the muwashshah poetry as well as the ending kharja voice. This chapter begins by summarizing the political history of al-Andalus and the importance of

poetry in the courts, followed by an analysis of studies of representations of sexuality and gender in al-Andalus by critics including Manuela Marín and Aileen El-Kadí. It summarizes the "dominator model" of sexuality by Riane Eisler to demonstrate how this theory fits into the norms of Andalusi sexuality. It also contains a synopsis of Ibn Hazm's *The Dove's Neck Ring* which is an 11th century encyclopedic work detailing the philosophy of love, sexuality and relationships. This work provides insight into the Andalusian mentality and provides details about its philosophy of love and sexuality. The chapter lastly examines select muwashshahs in order to demonstrate their social, cultural and historical context. This analysis also shows how the muwashshahs specifically fit into the paradigms of al-Andalus's sexuality and society through representations in the texts.

The fourth and final chapter explores the intermixing of religious language with descriptions of beauty, desire and praise within the corpus of muwashshahs with Romance kharjas. It begins by summarizing parts of Plato's *Symposium* which was important in medieval Arabic philosophy. It then looks at the relationship between the Koran and sexuality and how this is interpreted in *hadīth* literature, which provides commentaries on the Koran. The chapter presents passages of the panegyric muwashshahs in order to show how moral and personality qualities are intermixed in hyperbolic religion language. It next demonstrates how the amorous muwashshahs use religious language to describe the beloveds. Lastly, the intermixing of desire is set up within the framework of a modern philosophy of desire to understand why the desires of sexuality and religion become interchangeable and displaced in this poetry.

The conclusion, by considering María Rosa Menocal's theories of Arabic influence in Western medieval literature, gives a brief summary of the later Romance lyric including the poetry of the troubadours, Dante, and the *cantigas d' amigo*. They are compared with the kharjas and muwashshahs in order to show the thematic parallels of gender, sexuality and religious language as well as similarities in sexuality and aesthetic differences among diverse medieval cultures. It closely examines the expressions of sexuality and gender conventions in these lyrics. It also compares Dante's *Divine Comedy* with the muwashshahs to demonstrate how these works envision the relationship between religion and sexuality.

This dissertation is the first to systematically examine grammatical gender conventions in the muwashshahs as well as in medieval Arabic poetry in general. It also provides a non-canonical, yet more historically accurate, reading of the kharja texts by framing them within the social and political reality of al-Andalus. This is the first critical work to focus on thematic elements in both the muwashshahs and kharjas instead of the philological debate between the Arabist v. Romanist theories of origins and influences of this poetry. It attempts to situate this poetry within the realm of the courtly sexuality of al-Andalus. Additionally, it takes a new approach at linking the connections between Arabic poetry of al-Andalus and later medieval literature by considering the universal and societal influences in these diverse genres of poetry in order to highlight their differences.

The primary corpus used for this dissertation is the 47 Arabic muwashshahs with Romance or partial Romance kharjas. The main discussion will address these particular poems, although there are some minor references to the Hebrew muwashshahs and other

Arabic poetry in this work. All translations of the Arabic poetry into English are my own unless cited. I have attempted to keep the translations as clear and literal as possible and consequently do not maintain any rhyme scheme. For translations of the Romance kharjas, I have relied on Josep Solá-Solé's 1990 translation into Spanish of the muwashshahs and kharjas when I was unable to discern the possible Romance words myself. While I do not always agree with his interpretation of the language, I find his translations to be the most suitable. I also relied on Hava's *Classical Arabic Dictionary* for word choice and usage. I have referenced Alan Jones's publications of the two muwashshah manuscripts, both the *'Uddat* and the *Jaysh*, because of the impossibility of consulting the non-public *'Uddat* manuscript and the great variances among the three extant *Jaysh* manuscripts, housed in Tunisia, which are also not easily accessible. The English translations and texts of the troubadour lyrics come from Frede Jensen's anthology and the English translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* cited is Mark Musa's 2004 edition.

Chapter One: A History of Kharja Studies

This chapter presents a meta-critical history of kharja studies, analyzing the major trends and fundamental studies in this research from the end of the 19th century up to present criticism. It first introduces a description of the muwashshah and kharja as genres, followed by a summary of the rediscovery of the Romance kharjas which began over a century ago. It next examines the critics' interpretations of the significance of this poetry and the subsequent placement of the kharjas at the beginning of the Romance literary canon. This chapter then explores the studies which have decoded their language, disputed their origins, and placed them in the greater context of European, Arabic and Western literature. Lastly it closely analyzes all of the critical work related to sexuality and gender with respect to the muwashshahs and kharjas as well as similar thematic studies in related medieval Arabic and Hebrew literature.

The work done so far in this field has been crucial, and without the indefatigable work of previous scholars one could not continue to make progress. Yet many fundamental questions have not been answered to any consensus by critics. Moreover, the dispute among critics over the last six decades has hindered progress because of the exclusive focus on very specific issues such as the origins and influences of this literature—often without considering other avenues of research. In particular, little work has been done on themes of sexuality and gender, and little if any Western critical theory has been employed in the study of these texts, which can add value to their understanding. This is due in part to the societal biases of earlier critics and also the obsession with the origins of this poetry, whether it be from Arabic or an oral Romance

tradition, and the possible influences of the muwashshahs and kharjas on the later medieval European lyric poetry including the *cantigas* and the troubadour lyric. New avenues of analysis of this literature will provide a more complete picture of the muwashshah and kharja voices, their authors and the society in which this poetry was written.

The kharjas are endings to the muwashshah poems which were originally composed in Al-Andalus, mostly in the courts of Muslim caliphs from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. The inventor of the muwashshah was Al-Muqqadam of Cabra the Blind, who lived in the tenth century, according to Ibn Bassam,[1] although there are no extant muwashshahs written by him or any muwashshah author from that century. The earliest known ones in the manuscripts are dated from the early eleventh century, and the first one dated with any certainty is a Hebrew panegyric muwashshah. It was written before the year 1042 by the Jewish author Yūsef al-Kitāb (Solá-Solé 57).[2] Initially, the muwashshah was written in classical Arabic. Hebrew authors in the courts, imitating the Arabic muwashshahs directly, also composed this genre of poetry in Hebrew, while the one to four line kharja endings were mostly in colloquial Andalusi Arabic. However, a

[1] A 12th Century Andalusian literary anthologist, he wrote this statement in his book *Dhakhira* (Monroe *HAP* 28).

[2] According to Solá-Solé, the person to which the muwashshah is dedicated is Ishaq, the brother of Samuel Ibn Nagrella, a vizier to the Grenadine kings. Ishaq died in 1042 so the poem had to be written before his death.

minority of the kharjas were written in the Romance Mozarabic dialect or a mix of colloquial Arabic and Romance using either Arabic or Hebrew script respectively.[3]

Generally, once the longer body of the muwashshah ends, the poetic voice abruptly changes. The poem switches from the voice of the male muwashshah speaker to a feminine one in which girls or women say or sing the kharja.[4] In many cases the last lines of the muwashshah leading to the kharja indicate a girl or woman is the voice of the kharja. The authors intended these poems to be sung and this tradition of muwashshah songs continued over the centuries and still exists today. Many singers including Fayrouz, a well-known Syrian performer, sing and record some of the more famous Andalusian muwashshahs (although not the ones with Romance kharjas). In North Africa, particularly Morocco and Tunisia, as well as in other parts of the Arab world, one can still hear this poetry performed by many traditional musical groups. Despite the popularity today of the muwashshahs, there is no evidence as to how these poems were sung in medieval al-Andalus or how much change in the music, rhythm, performance and melody occurred from their composition in al-Andalus to the present-day tradition.

The muwashshah is considered to be a development of the Arabic poetic genre of the *qasīda*, a long poem following strict rules of meter and theme.[5] However, the

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[3] Roughly ten percent of the extant Andalusian muwashshahs have some Romance words while the others are exclusively written in colloquial Arabic. Many more may have been written in al-Andalus and lost through time but there is no textual evidence of others today.

[4] This abrupt break also occurs in the muwashshahs with colloquial Arabic kharjas, albeit with less frequency. For more on this topic, Galmés de Fuentes's book provides a convincing argument as well as Monroe and Swialto's analysis in the translations of the Hebrew kharjas. Chapter 2 of this dissertation analyzes the relationship between the kharja and muwashshah voice in detail.

[5] Akiko Motoyoshi Sumi's description of the *qasīda* and its history is as follows: "The classical Arabic ode, the *qasīdah*, is polyrhythmic and monorhymed poetic form, generally ranging from fifteen to eighty lines. The *qasīdah* genre flourished from the outset of its history approximately in the late fifth century

muwashshahs are polyrhythmic and strophic, which differentiate them from all previous categories of Arabic poetry (Rosen 167). While the *qasīda* was common in all parts of the Arab lands East and West dating back to pre-Islamic times, al-Andalus uniquely created and developed strophic poetry which later spread to other Arab regions. The muwashshah became a popular genre throughout the Arab world in the 12th to 14th centuries. A poetic form related to the muwashshah, the *zajal*, was also developed around this time. It is another genre of strophic poetry of al-Andalus but, unlike the muwashshah, was written exclusively in colloquial Arabic and often without a kharja ending.[6] Muwashshahs were written about a beloved or as laudatory praises of a king, dignitary or high-ranking official. They heavily use the customary themes and stock descriptions commonplace in the Arab poetic tradition of the *qasīda* which dates back to centuries earlier—the overwhelming feelings of love, the pain of lost love and abandonment, desire, the drinking of wine and bacchic scenes, the burden and fear of censors in addition to the elaborate recurrent hyperbolic descriptions of idealized beauty frequent in Arabic poetry. These descriptions include facial descriptions of pale skin, rosy cheeks and dark eyes of the beloved. The poems are meant to give the listeners a strong emotional response by hearing the heartache, suffering and love expressed. Following the Arab poetic tradition, various descriptions evoking desert imagery are also included

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C.E. during the pre-Islamic age (the Jāhiliyyah or "Age of Ignorance") to its decline at the beginning of the twentieth century, carry with it a long continuity of cultural heritage. Traditionally, the *qasīdah* consists of three sections, the *nasīb*, the *rahīl*, and the *fakhr* or the *madīh*. The *nasīb*, the opening section, deals with elegiac motifs such as ruined abodes and deals with amatory themes such as unrequited love. The second part, the *rahīl*, contains the poetic peresona's travel scene through the desert and his mount, the she-camel. The concluding *fakhr* presents the poet's praise or boast of himself and his tribe, and the *madīh* (eulogy) offers praise" (1).

[6] Ibn Quzmān was the most famous author of the *zajal* (Monroe *HAP* 37). These poems occasionally have a Romance word in the body of the poem but they are infrequent.

such as branches, lions, gazelles and dunes.[7] Another salient feature for the reader or listener of this poetry is the intermixing of languages using classical and colloquial Arabic as well as Mozarabic endings to create a hybrid poetic form. This is indicative of the multi-cultural and multi-lingual al-Andalus in which the muwashshahs were written, even more multi-lingual when the Hebrew muwashshahs are considered as part of this corpus.

The difficulties facing critics in understanding the formation and cultivation of muwashshah poetry in al-Andalus derive from the lack of prestige such poems were given by many medieval poets and anthologists of Arabic poetry. Because the endings were written in colloquial language, either Arabic or Romance, rather than the elevated classical Arabic language modeled after the Koran, and because they structurally broke from the traditional poetic genres and rhymes of the period, muwashshahs were often not included in collections of poetry. Little to no critical attention was given to them by Andalusians or by any Arabs in the centuries that followed their creation (Monroe *HAP* 26). Due to this exclusion, the only three sources of any extant information about these works from the medieval time period are the twelfth century Ibn Bassam's very brief description of them in *al-Dhakhīra fī mahāsin 'ahl al-jazīra* (he, like the others anthologists, did not include the muwashshahs in his book),[8] the more detailed *Dar al-*

[7] The gazelle motif is particularly common in this poetry, used as a metaphor for the beloved. For a detailed analysis of the thematic features of the gazelle in the Andalusian muwashshahs see Philip Kennedy's article "Thematic Patterning in the *Muwaššahāt*: The Case of the Gazelle Motif".

[8] Monroe translates the entirety of this section on the muwashshahs in Ibn Bassam's book (HAP 28). The informative details about the muwashshahs is as follows: "The *muwashshahāt* are meters which the people of al-Andalus use abundantly in the composition of *ghazal* and *nasīb* poems, such that on hearing them there are torn open the collars—nay even the hearts—of gently nurtured ladies. The first to fashion these

Tirāz of Egyptian Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk from the thirteenth century and a passage of Ibn Khaldūn from the late fourteenth century. Sanā' al-Mulk was very passionate about the genre. While he gives his own theories of how kharjas and muwashshahs were created and writes his own versions of muwashshahs in his book, writing in thirteenth century Egypt removed him both temporally and geographically from the Andalusian muwashshah authors. His speculations cannot be regarded with complete certainty, despite his enthusiasm for the genre, because he never heard them sung in al-Andalus or necessarily in the style used originally in Iberia.[9] Furthermore, he did not know how the Andalusian authors actually composed them and he had no knowledge of Romance language so he could not discern the kharjas written in Romance. Ibn Khaldūn, who lived until the beginning of the fifteenth century, gives a brief description of the muwashshah in his book *The Muqaddimah* as well but he is also distanced by centuries from the origins and zenith of muwashshah creation (*HAP* 30).[10]

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meters of the *muwashshahāt* in our country and to invent their method of composition was—according to what has reached me—Muqaddam ibn Mu'afā al-Qabrī, the blind, who used to fashion them out of hemistichs of poetry, except that the majority of them were based on unusual meters rarely used, taking the vernacular and 'ajamī speech and calling it *markaz* or in the *aghsān*….The meters of these *muwashshahāt* go beyond the scope of this book, for most of them do not follow the rules of Arabic meters." It is clear that even though Ibn Bassam admits how moving this poetry can be, he does not include them in his anthology because they do not follow the rules for meter in Arabic poetry.

[9] Critics have debated over the appropriate use of al-Mulk's work for understanding the muwashshahs from al-Andalus. Above all, Alan Jones and Richard Hitchcock have been apprehensive of using any of his commentaries. Sanā' al-Mulk gives valuable information about the muwashshahs including details of rhyme and meter and how the kharja is the most important part of the poem in which the rest of the muwashshah is composed (Monroe *HAP* 29).

[10] A section of Franz Rosenthal's translation of Ibn Khaldūn's passage is: "The *muwashshahāt* consist of "branches" and "strings" in great number and different meters. A certain number [of "branches" and "strings"] is called a single verse [stanza]. There must be the same number of rhymes in the "branches" [of each stanza] and the same meter [for the "branches" of the whole poem] throughout the whole poem. The largest number of stanzas employed is seven. Each stanza contains as many "branches" as is consistent with purpose and method. Like the *qasīda*, the *muwashshaha* is used for erotic and laudatory poetry. [The authors of the *muwashshahāt*] vied to the utmost with each other in this [kind of poetry]. Everybody, the

Given that the muwashshahs were not originally considered a worthy literary genre and thus were not included in Arabic poetic anthologies, it is understandable that little was written about them for centuries following their creation in al-Andalus. In fact, the Romance endings were completely forgotten for hundreds of years, hidden away in precious few obscure manuscripts. It was not until 1948 that widespread critical attention to the kharjas with Romance endings began. This occurred immediately after Samuel Stern discovered in the Geniza manuscripts in Cairo a number of Hebrew muwashshahs with these mysterious partially-Romance endings. He subsequently published an article about this discovery in the journal *Al-Andalus* titled "Les vers finais en espagnol dan les muwassahs hispano-hébraiques", deciphering twenty of the endings of the Hebrew muwashshahs. He rendered incomplete translations of these kharjas based on the probable Romance dialect. Despite the fact that Stern was able to attract many critics' interest, some scholars before him had noted there was Romance dialect in the endings of a few Hebrew muwashshahs. Stern's deserved success in this endeavor was not being the first to discover them, but his work on the Geniza manuscripts enabled him to 1) find more of these poems and 2) successfully attempt translations of them which previous Hebrew specialists were unable to accomplish in a convincing manner.

Awareness of the Romance kharjas in the muwashshahs already had been known for over fifty years before Stern's publication, although perhaps not recognized by many scholars. It was first Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo who in 1894 published in *La España*

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elite and the common people, liked and knew these poems because they were easy to grasp and understand…." Ibn Khaldūn also asserts Muqaddam al-Cabrī invented the muwashshahs (441).

Moderna under "Revista Crítica" a brief passage noting there were Romance excerpts in one of the Hebrew poet Yahuda Halevi's muwashshahs. This was recently discovered due to Heinrich Brody's dissertation work on the Hebrew anthology of this author. Menéndez y Pelayo classified without much fanfare Yahuda Halevi as the first known poet of the Castilian language (146). He cited one example of a kharja, "Venit la fesca iuvenconnillo, ¿Quem conde meu coragion feryllo?" along with a modern, although erroneous, Castilian translation. He also hypothesized that there were more of these Romance excerpts in Halevi's corpus, as well as other Hebrew authors such as Moses Ibn Ezra. Since Halevi's poetry, as well as works of other Jewish authors from al-Andalus, had not yet been published, it would be an investigation for later years when more of this poetry became available to scholars (147). Although there were serious errors in this translation and interpretation as later scholars pointed out and the language used in the kharja is certainly not Castilian, as he claimed, but a Mozarabic Romance dialect heavily mixed with Arabic words, Menéndez y Pelayo played the important role of being the first in modern times who published the discovery of the first known Romance kharja. Additionally, he called for published editions of these Hebrew poets for future studies which may lead to similar discoveries.

Some scholars of Hebrew literature in the first half of the twentieth century also noted the Romance language in Yehuda Halevi's muwashshahs. In 1936 Yitzhak Baer attempted to translate three kharjas with possible Romance words of Yehuda Halevi in an article in *Sion*. José M. Millás Vallicrosa's 1946 article "Sobre los más antiguos versos en lengua castellana" in *Sefarad* (and also mentioned in his 1947 book *Yĕhudā Ha-Levi*

como poeta y apologista) also affirmed that some of his kharjas were written in Romance. He explains the extreme difficulties in translating them due to 1) the old language written in Arabic script without short vowels, and also, 2) the errors made by the copyists of the manuscripts who were unfamiliar with Romance (365). Baer included Menéndez y Pelayo's example from his 1894 article as well as two additional kharjas with an analysis and his own modern Castilian translations.

Ramón Menéndez Pidal, as well as others, knowing the existence of Romance words in a few Hebrew poems as well as their theories on the popular creation of medieval poetry, had postulated that a rich tradition of oral poetry had existed well before the poetry we have currently in extant manuscripts. This lost poetry could have contributed to the Arabic poetry written in al-Andalus. Menéndez Pidal himself spent much time, albeit unsuccessfully, searching for more evidence of this primitive lyric. According to this theory, known as *tradicionalismo*, it is natural to believe that poetry was composed without writing it down and these poems were recited from memory rather than read since the large majority of members of pre-modern societies were illiterate. In his 1941 book *Poesía árabe y poesía europea* Menéndez Pidal discussed the problem of the origin of the first European lyric and he noted that the *zajal*, another strophic genre of Arabic poetry, may have influenced the later European lyric according to Julián Ribera and Alios Richard Nykl's theories. Many studies theorizing the strong Arabic influence on medieval European literature, particularly by these two authors, had been done in this period and had been received with great controversy or total disregard. Menéndez Pidal

also proposed that the oral Romance tradition may have been influential in the creation of strophic Arabic poetry before the Arabic genres influenced the later European lyric.

Because of Stern's exciting discovery in 1948, scholars quickly rushed to find other possible muwashshahs with Romance endings. Stern published a kharja with some Romance words coming from an Arabic muwashshah in the next edition of *Al-Andalus* and, coincidentally, the French scholar Georges Colin had found and purchased in 1948 a manuscript in Morocco titled '*Uddat al-Jalis* which contains over 350 Arabic muwashshahs, the greatest extant corpus known of this poetry. 24 of the muwashshahs from this anthology have Romance or partial Romance endings (Jones '*Uddat* 1).[11] In 1952 Emilio García Gómez consulted the '*Uddat* manuscript and published his interpretation of the paleography and a translation of the 24 Romance kharjas in the article "Venticuatro jarŷas romances en muwaššahs árabes" in *Al-Andalus*. Scholars were later able to examine another manuscript, the *Jaysh al-tawshīh*, of which three copies were found in Tunisia, a collection containing almost 200 muwashshahs. Now that scholars knew both Hebrew and Arabic muwashshahs contained Romance kharjas, the quest continued and a few other kharjas, from both Hebrew and Arabic muwashshahs,

[11] Scholars have disagreed about the true number of kharjas in this manuscript with actual Romance, Alan Jones classified 24 of them as Romance whereas others such as Solá-Solé count 29 often because of one or two words in which the Romance origin of the word itself is debatable. No other manuscript has been found of the '*Uddat al-Jalis*. The *Jaysh* manuscripts, being the second most important collection of muwashshahs, has greatly varying differences among the three texts and the overall copying by scribes was often careless leading to errors which at times are impossible to ascertain the correct word (Jones *Jaysh* 3). Additionally, there are a few muwashshahs which are in both the '*Uddat al-Jalis* and the *Jaysh* manuscripts. In addition to these two sources, the *Tawshī al-tawshīh* housed in the El Escorial library contains some muwashshahs including one with a Romance ending. There also is a preserved anthology of Ibn Quzman which has two kharjas in Romance, one from a muwashshah and another from a *zajal* (Solá-Solé 40). The Hebrew muwashshahs were found in various manuscripts but most of them are from the Geniza collection in Cairo.

were found. With the newly available more extensive corpus of this poetry, the two principal concerns at this point for scholars became 1) properly decoding the language of the kharjas, and, 2) determining the significance of the kharjas. The first was quite a difficult task, given that there were no written sources of the mozarabic dialect. The possible errors of the copyists of the manuscripts made deciphering this language even more difficult. This is only compounded by the fact that Arabic script does not always use short vowels which hinders the accuracy of knowing some of the sounds of the words. The second concern, the significance of the kharjas, would monopolize much of the critical debate in the following decades, mainly to discuss if they represented a pre-existent oral Romance poetry which influenced the Arabic poetry of al-Andalus as well as the later European lyric such as the *cantigas d'amigo* and the Provencal lyric of the troubadours. Stern, who successfully translated the Hebrew kharjas, never directly commented that the kharjas were any evidence whatsoever for this oral Romance poetry or what the greater implication of their existence meant for the history of Western literature. He mostly focused on textual philological studies of the language in the manuscripts, while other critics started to deduce the importance of this discovery.

The Spanish poet and literary critic Dámaso Alonso was the first to interpret broadly the significance of the Romance Hebrew kharjas. He was also the first to consider them solid evidence for not only the existence of oral Romance poetry but also the Romance origin of the kharjas and the muwashshahs. In his 1949 article, "Cancionillas 'de amigo' mozárabes; Primavera temprana de la lírica europea", he referred to them, as the title suggests, as *cantigas de amigo* like the later Galician-

Portuguese poetry and also as *villancicos*, another type of popular lyric poetry from medieval Iberia (328). He did a brief comparison between the kharjas that Stern published and the Galician *cantiga* poetry of the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana*, noting how similar the rhyme, specific words and expressions of the two forms are (322). He stated, without solid evidence, that the Arabic poets borrowed the kharjas directly from the oral tradition of pre-existent songs (331). The other assumption he made, without even reading the muwashshahs themselves, is claiming the kharjas are "tan simple, tan virginal….auténticas cancionillas 'de amigo', elementales, desgarradores y limpísimos gritos de una doncella enamorada" (336). He believed they must come from the Romance rather than the Arabic tradition because the voice of the enamored girl and the assonant rhyme would be unusual in traditional Arabic poetry (344). Additionally, in order to reach a wider national readership, in 1950 he published a shorter article in the Madrid newspaper *ABC* "Un siglo más para la poesía española", which outlined the main ideas in his article "Primavera temprana", emphasizing that the Romance kharjas can be dated a century before the previously known earliest Spanish poetry, the *Poema del Cid*. By stressing the similarities of the kharjas without their muwashshahs with later lyric poetry, Alonso started a trend in which the kharjas would be cut off from the main body of the poem in order to facilitate a demonstration of the parallels of the kharjas to the medieval European lyric.

In addition to Alonso's article, Leo Spitzer published "The Mozarabic Lyric and Theodor Fring's Theories" in the journal *Comparative Literature* in 1952. He noted how a lecture Theodor Fring, a linguistic geographer, gave in the 1930s revived the idea of the

popular origin of the German *Minnesang* and Provencal troubadour poetry (1). The article compares the kharjas with the *Minnesang* poetry and links Frings's theories with Alonso's study on the comparisons between the kharjas and the *cantigas d'amigo* (6). Spitzer gave the image, much in line with Alonso, of primitive women dancing and singing popular songs, which became the supposed source of the kharjas (20). These two articles by Alonso and Spitzer were the first to support strongly the traditionalist theory that Menéndez Pidal asserted using Ribera's theories that the kharjas are evidence of the oral primitive poetry that has existed in Iberia from time immemorial. This view permeated kharja scholarship for decades, and still does to an extent, and these articles were the first sparks in a hotly contested debate among critics arguing the Arabic/Romance hypotheses for the origins of the kharjas and muwashshahs. Américo Castro wrote a rejoinder in the same issue of *Comparative Literature* asserting the opposite view of Spitzer. He noted that the kharjas were not written in Castilian and therefore cannot prove there was a previous lyric poetry in Castile. Thus, there is not necessarily a connection between the kharjas and the poetry of central Spain (189). Margit Frenk, in agreement with Spitzer, wrote an article on the thematic parallels between the kharjas and the Provencal troubadour poetry, which links the kharjas with the typical Romance lyric. It may also come as no surprise that the kharjas were placed at the beginning of the Romance literary canon without completely decoding their language. Anthologies and textbooks of Spanish literature ubiquitously have some

examples of the kharjas without their muwashshahs along with the later *villancicos* and the Galician-Portuguese *cantigas*.[12]

Menéndez Pidal continued to share the view of Alonso and Spitzer, but perhaps not to their extreme. He wrote various articles on this subject and summarized traditionalism and why it had been challenged in his study of "La primativa poesía lírica española":

> Pero no es fácil admitir un completo exotismo el arte lírico primitivo de un pueblo que tiene muy desarrollados otros órdenes de poesía, y entonces hay que pensar que todo género literario que no sea una mera importación extraña, surge de un fondo nacional, cultivado popularmente antes de ser tratado por los más cultos. Algo así como sucede con el lenguaje mismo: empieza por ser meramente oral y vulgar antes de llegar a escribirse y hacerse instrumento de cultura; en su origen puede sufrir grandes influencias exteriores, pero siempre es una creación propia del pueblo que lo maneja. (206)

He theorized that this type of poetry is created first by the people in a popular and simple way, generally being sung, and then it is further cultivated and expanded by the learned artistic class. In his 1961 article "Origins of Spanish Literature Considered in Relation to the Origin of Romance Literature", he recapitulated many of his ideas on this topic and he restates the traditionalist view he espoused throughout his work. He remarked that the few works which are extant from medieval times are mainly anonymous which means several authors revised and added to the previous creation of the author before him (753-5). He believed that the muwashshahs were created in imitation of the Romance forms demonstrating the "Spanish influence over Arab lyrical poetry" (757). Critics such as

[12] This convention has continued in anthologies and textbooks. To cite two examples, Margit Frenk's *Lírica española de tipo popular* contains 20 kharjas endings cut off from their muwashshahs and the first volume of *Antología de Autores Españoles Antiguos y Modernos* edited by Antonio Sánchez-Romeralo and Fernando Ibarra contains five kharjas without their muwashshahs. These editions also use interpretations and translations of the language by García-Gómez which strongly follow the Romance hypothesis.

Menéndez Pidal, Spitzer and Alonso interpreted the kharjas as evidence of the earlier existence of this poetry, analyzing them without their muwashshahs. Their theories of the kharjas as evidence of traditionalism went largely unchallenged until the 1970s when more Arabists started investigating the kharjas and their implications for literary history.

Translations and interpretations of the kharjas and muwashshahs continued into the following two decades. Most criticism in the 1950s was dedicated to interpreting the kharjas, dealing with the extreme difficulties of language within them and attempting translations. In 1960 Klaus Heger compiled an anthology of all of the interpretations of the kharjas thus far from Menéndez y Pelayo's first attempt to those of Heger's contemporaries. In 1965, García-Gómez translated the Arabic muwashshahs with Romance kharjas into Spanish in his fundamental work *Las jarchas romances de la serie árabe en su marco* adding new muwashshahs and revising his translations of the kharjas themselves from his 1952 article in *Al-Andalus*. He employed a Romance rhyme scheme for translations and included a transliteration of the muwashshahs in Arabic which he incorporated. In 1973, Josep Solá-Solé published his version of translations of the Arabic muwashshahs into Spanish with many emendations and interpretations different from García-Gómez's work. He, like García-Gómez, still used a Romance rhyme scheme to base his kharja readings. In the lengthy introduction of this work Solá-Solé wrote that he believed the kharjas are more representative of an Arabic culture than a Christian one, to the contrary of García-Gómez, and this had a small effect on some parts of his translations (41). In many parts of these translations, great leaps of interpretation were

made by both translators in coming up with probable Romance words which fit the letters or possible letters of the Arabic script.[13]

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[13] Richard Hitchcock gives a clear comparison of the various translations of one kharja in his article "The 'Kharjas' as Early Romance Lyrics: A Review". One easily sees the dramatic differences from Stern's more conservative interpretation with those of García-Gómez and Solá-Solé. There are large changes by the latter two to the letters of the Arabic script to make them fit possible Romance words. Hitchcock writes (484-85):

> The interpreters' errors have been of differing kinds, but they all stem from the ill-advised conviction that Romance kharjas per se existed. The following example is an illustration of the way in which the original text has been changed in order to produce a number of alluring but inadmissible Romance versions. The myth that this is a 'Romance kharja' has been fostered by the alterations of single letters.
>
> The kharja may be transcribed from the only known manuscript as follows :
>
> by yā sahhārā
> ālb qsht kr (or kn) b'lfqwr (or b'ughwr)
> kr (or kn) bnābdhy (or nbābdhy) bwr.
>
> This kharja, when it was first brought to light by Garcia G6niez in his article in Al-Andalus in 1952, was rendered as follows:
>
> iVen, yā shhārā!
> Alba k'est con bel vigore
> kando vene pidi amore.
>
> His corresponding version in modern Castilian was:
>
> iVen, hechicero!
> Alba que tiene bello vigor
> cuando viene pide amor.
>
> Stern ventured less far in his book, published in 1953. He limited himself to the following interpretation:
>
> Vay ya sahhara
> Alba…….
> ……..
>
> and French translation:
>
> Va-t'en, enchanteresse,
> Aube…….
> ……..
>
> When Garcia Gomez published his book, his version differed from his earlier reconstruction in the same detail:

García-Gómez's work was considered polemical by several scholars. Many critics had disagreed with his translations and interpretations, considering the texts manipulated in order to fit with the early lyric tradition and Romance rhyme scheme. Often his transliterations from the manuscripts were faulty, which can affect the readings of the words of this poetry. These differences of interpretations have been one of the many contentious debates within this criticism. In the 1970s, a bitter dispute ensued between García-Gómez and 'Abd al-Azīz Al-Ahwānī over the interpretation of the kharjas and meter of Ibn Quzmān in the journals *Al-Andalus* and the *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid* respectively. García-Gómez also egregiously attacked the work and person of T.J. Gorton under the pseudonym of "Angel Ramírez

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¡Ben, yā sahhārā!
Alba
q'esta kon bēl fogore,
kand benē pid' amore.

He provided the following Spanish translation:

¡Ven, oh hechicero!
Una alba que tiene tan hermoso fugor,
cuando viene pide amor.

The most recent text is that of Solá-Solé:

ben yā sahhārā
Alba quee sta kon bi-al-fogore
k(u)and bene bide amore

His version in modern idiom reads:

Ven, oh hechicero:
un alba que está (o tiene) con fogor,
cuando viene pide amor.

Calvante" in two articles in *Al-Andalus*. In some critics' view, the offensiveness of the attacks led to the demise of the journal.[14]

James Monroe's 1975 article "Formulaic Diction and the Common Origins of Romance Lyric Traditions" used the theories of orality applied to epic poems by Milman Parry and Albert Lord in order to analyze the connections between the kharjas and the later *cantiga*, *villancico* and troubadour lyrics (344). Monroe summarized the work already published by other scholars such as Frenk which explored the connections between the kharjas and this later European poetry (344). He then examined the possible use of oral formulas in the kharjas, noting the frequency of formulaic expressions such as "ke fare" and "yā mammā" which further add to the *tradicionalismo* argument because of the probable oral nature of their composition (345-6).[15] Next he postulated that the formulas used between these four different lyrics—the kharjas, *villancicos*, *cantigas* and troubadour lyrics—are similar (348). The following is the example Monroe gives which compares a kharja, troubadour poem and *cantiga*:

Mozarabic: Gar *ke fareyo*
komo *bibreyo*
este al-habib esbero bor él *morireyo*

Old French: O! *que ferai?*
D'amer *mourrai*

[14] For a greater discussion of this debate and the damage it caused to the journal *Al-Andalus*, see Monroe's article *Perlas del Olmo* or Karla Malette's *Misunderstood*. It is generally assumed that García-Gómez was the author of these two articles. This is just one example, albeit one of the most extreme, of the contentiousness and bickering about this poetry among critics.

[15] Connecting similarities between the kharjas and the later *cantigas*, *villancicos* and troubadour lyric has been common among those defending the Romance hypothesis since the publication of Alonso and Spitzer's articles and one cannot deny that the parallels among these literatures is striking at times, even if merely coincidental.

Ja n'en *vivrai*.

Hé, Dieus: dous Dex! que ferai?
Pour sa grant biautei *morrai*.

Galician: A un mal que me sobreveo
alma minha, *¿que farei?*
não sei, não sei. (348)

One sees the parallels of certain expressions in select poems of all three of these lyrics. Monroe's article provided one defense for the oral nature and, thus, the popular creation of kharja poetry. The article, however, does not account for the differences of these genres and the majority of the large corpus of both the *cantigas* and troubadour lyric do not have parallels with the kharjas.

In 1976 Linda Fish Compton published *Andalusian Love Poetry and Old Spanish Love Songs: The Muwashshah and Its Kharja*, in which she translates Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's *Dar al-Tirāz*, a collection of his own muwashshahs. She concludes that there is a difference thematically between these muwashshahs and the ones with Romance endings because of the particular feminine voice of the Romance ones whereas *Dar al-Tirāz* has virtually no female speakers. While this study is very valuable, the main problem in her analysis is that she relies exclusively on the muwashshahs of Sanā' al-Mulk, who was writing in Egypt in the thirteenth century and thus was far removed from the peak of muwashshah composition in al-Andalus in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. One cannot know with certainty how accurately his theories relate to their composition in al-Andalus. Her thesis maintains the idea that the Romance kharjas were different

thematically from mainstream Arabic poetry as well as the rest of the muwashshah poetry, giving an additional argument for the case of the traditionalist hypothesis.

In 1977 James Monroe and David Swiatlo wrote an article which presents all of the 93 kharjas from the Hebrew muwashshah corpus, both those with Romance words and those exclusively in colloquial Arabic. They also provided English translations enabling accessibility of these texts to scholars without knowledge of Hebrew script. In this article they emphasized the thematic similarities shared between the Hebrew and Arabic muwashshahs. They also noted how the Romance qualitative scansion system in their view is the correct one for analyzing these poems because it fits all of the poems, unlike the Arabic quantitative one in which only 13 of the 93 kharjas directly correspond (157).[16]

While many Hispanists were publishing numerous studies on the relationship between the Romance kharjas and the later European lyric using exclusively Romance meters and scansion to analyze them as well as theorize about the possibility of the kharjas as evidence for the existence of an oral poetic tradition existing for centuries before them, Arabists in the 1970s started to write their own hypotheses about the meaning and language of the poetry. Although the theory existed before the 1970s that the kharjas and muwashshahs came exclusively from the Arabic tradition, these studies were few and some were not well known outside of the Arab world. Arabists generally disagreed with Hispanists on numerous issues related to the kharjas from the

[16] The Romance meter is stress-syllabic coming from the Latin tradition whereas Arabic meter is quantitative and has many variant formulas within this scheme (141). See Otto Zwartjes's book *Love Songs from al-Andalus* for a detailed analysis of these two systems and a divergent view-point on this issue.

interpretation of the script of the manuscripts and the actual Romance words in them to the use of Romance poetry models and scansion systems rather than Arabic ones employed by the authors.

Richard Hitchcock, an Arabist, diverged greatly from most Hispanist or Romanist scholars, taking a strong Arabic position in the kharja debate. In 1973 he wrote "Some Doubts about the Reconstruction of the Kharjas" which emphasized the lack of certainty of the then-present readings of the kharjas and suggested new interpretations. He went even further in the 1977 article "Sobre la 'mamá' en las jarchas" in which he claimed that translators had incorrectly deciphered the word *mama* or *mamma* as a word meaning *madre* or *mother*. He noted that it was impossible linguistically for this word to mean mother in this time period in Al-Andalus (2) and furthermore, the variations in the spellings of the fifteen examples of this occurrence make it unlikely it was even the same word. He proposed a more likely solution of the meaning of this word is either the Arabic *min* (from) or *man* (who) or else a word which existed in colloquial Andalusian Arabic whose meaning is now unknown. He also examined one kharja interpretation of Solá-Solé and gives his own version using only Arabic words, rather than Romance, and explains how this particular kharja was written using solely the Arabic idiom. Furthermore, he hypothesizes that this may be the case for many other Romance interpretations of words in the kharjas (6). In addition to his articles, Hitchcock also compiled a much needed bibliography of criticism of the kharjas in 1977 and Samuel Armistead published an addendum to this in 1980.

Jareer Abu-Haidar's 1978 article "The Kharja of the Muwashshah in a New Light" also argues against the traditionalist view of the kharjas. He believes that the work of Ibn Sanā' was misinterpreted and that the kharja was not the starting point used to compose the entire muwashshah but it was the muwashshah which was composed first (8). According to his thesis, using an unusual rhyme scheme and some foreign words would add piquancy and humor to end the more formal muwashshah on a lighter note, similar to the whole body of the *zajals*. Because he believes Ibn Sanā's work cannot be read without hesitancy, he contends that many of the critics, particularly those who defend the traditionalist hypothesis, cannot say with accuracy that the kharja was composed before the muwashshah or even that the muwashshah must be composed by reflecting upon the kharja.

In 1980 Hitchcock wrote "The 'Kharjas' as Early Romance Lyrics: A Review" cautioning the use of the translations of García-Gómez and Solá-Solé, noting that many of their emendations are erroneous and bold whereas Stern's initial translations were much more conservative. Stern, unlike García-Gómez and Solá-Solé, was more hesitant to translate words about which he was uncertain (485). Hitchcock closely examined translations of one anonymous kharja from the *'Uddat* manuscript showing how the changes made by García-Goméz and Solá-Solé are improbable if not impossible. In this particular kharja, Stern did not interpret it entirely, limiting his translation to "Vay ya sahhārā, alba" because he believed the remainder of the kharja was indiscernible. García Gómez, making greater interpretive leaps, translated it as follows: "¡Ven, yā sahhārā! Alba k'est con bel vigore kando viene pide amor." and Solá-Solé as "ben yā sahhārā,

Alba quee štá kon bi-al-foġore, k(u)and bene bide amore". Hitchcock showed the problems of the emendations of the words in these translations and called for a more cautious reading from the facsimile texts (491).

Now that Arabists, including Hitchcock, Gorton and Al-Ahwānī, decisively were entering the conversation about the nature of the kharjas, the decade of the 1980s was a period of bitter debate and personal attacks among critics on both sides of the Arabic/Romance hypotheses for the origins of the muwashshahs. A survey of excerpts of article titles from this time period clearly shows the animosity and even comical hyperbole that this divide created among the prominent scholars in the field. Some of these titles include: "An Emperor's New Clothes?", "Sunbeams from Cucumbers", "Speed or Bacon?", "Beached Whales and Roaring Mice", "The Romance Kharjas: A False Dawn", "Pet Theories and Paper Tigers" among many others.

Much of the newly founded bickering between the two sides escalated with Alan Jones' controversial 1982 article in *La Corónica* titled "Sunbeams from Cucumbers? An Arabist's Assessment of the State of Kharja Studies". A battle ensued between the Romanists and the Arabists in *La Corónica* as well as in other journals throughout the decade. In this article Jones claimed much of kharja scholarship had been of little value and "But much that is false has been assiduously propagated, and much has to be unlearned before progress can be made (if real progress can be made)" (41). His main concern was that Arabists had not sufficiently completed paleographical research and textual analysis to truly understand this poetry. He emphasized that this work is necessary first before scholars specializing in Western and Hispanic literature can further

add to the discussion (38).[17] Additionally, he remarked that the extreme difficulty of discerning the language used in the kharjas as well as the problems of the copyists who were not familiar with the Romance words cannot allow for a perfect interpretation. He also disapproved of García-Gómez's translations of the kharjas which he believed contain many errors that must be emended (41). Jones, like other Arabists, was critical of the use of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's commentary of the kharjas. The Egyptian author was not in al-Andalus to hear the muwashshahs being sung. Ibn Sanā' also had a relatively small sample of muwashshahs at his disposal on which to write (40).

Although Jones objected to the work done by many scholars and he had much criticism to offer in his assessment of kharja scholarship, his conservative stance and desire to see more fundamental work completed in order to help decode the manuscript language was not unfounded. Some of the analyses of the kharjas and muwashshahs had been erroneous and often done with inadequate texts or faulty translations. Jones's article did, however, offend critics he mentioned, including Monroe and Armistead, who both wrote rebuttals and defenses of their work in the next issue of *La Corónica*. In this issue, Monroe's article, "¿Pedir peras al olmo? On Medieval Arabs and Modern Arabists", bitingly addressed Jones's critique in which Monroe claimed Jones does not understand the system of Romance scansion and musical qualitative stress being used, one which is completely different from the quantitative system Jones proposed (125). Monroe gave examples of the irregular stress used in the later Romance lyric and how these are similar

[17] He noted in the article he was currently working on an edition of the muwashshahs and kharjas from the two manuscripts but the difficulty of spelling and manuscript problems has slowed his progress.

in the kharjas. He then attacked other arguments of Jones stressing the fact that many fundamental texts have not been available, sometimes deliberately, to scholars. Particularly, he mentioned the privately held *'Uddat* manuscript. Monroe asserted that the entire point of scholarship is to build on and emend the previous work of scholars, thus what work had been done so far is not valueless (133). He also provided some evidence to support his view that many of the songs written in Al-Andalus were modeled from the Christians (135). Armistead's rebuttal "Speed or Bacon: Further Meditations on Professor Jones' 'Sunbeams' " shared many of Monroe's viewpoints while also pointing out how Ibn Bassam's passage on the muwashshahs reference the use of Romance language, songs in a Christian style and unusual meter (148).

In response to Monroe and Armistead, Keith Whinnom defended the Arabist position from the linguistic perspective of code-switching in the following issue of *La Corónica*. In this article, "The Mamma of the Kharja or Some Doubts Concerning Arabists and Romanists", he reaffirmed his colleague Hitchcock's doubts of the use of *mamma* as meaning *mother* and discussed the problems of the reconstruction of the kharjas without short vowels (12). The crux of his argument is that the code-switching based on contemporary linguistic research, or the intermixing of two languages of a bilingual person, is unnatural in the kharjas and does not follow the accepted rules in which words, principally nouns, are used in the other language (14). He concluded that these switches are too "violent"; pronouns and possessives would not naturally be switched as they are in the kharjas. Hence, the dual language of the kharjas was most

likely contrived for a comic effect, which goes against the parallels Romanists have made between the kharjas and the later Romance lyric (15).

Monroe and Armistead responded to Whinnom's article as well as to Hitchcock's on the origin of *mamma* in the next edition of *La Corónica*. They showed evidence in Latin and Greek sources which defend the existence of the colloquial use of *mamma* meaning *mother*. They also demonstrated that the word which Hitchcock and Whinnom referenced must in fact be *mamma* rather than *mama* based on the rhyme schemes (190). They also critiqued Whinnom's argument of code-switching by claiming that the texts he was using for some of the kharjas were not accurate. When the errors are corrected, the instances of code-switching are mostly natural. Furthermore, they argued that the kharjas are not always natural speech. They are literary creations or poems which can allow for differences between modern linguistic code-switching and what occurs in these poems, as well as provide the comical effect they may have to the listener (194-5).[18] These disagreements about the language of the kharjas and their significance as well as critiques of previous articles continued throughout the decade, mostly in *La Corónica* but also in other journals. Some scholars, particularly Armistead and Monroe, continued to defend their positions of Romance origins and scansion whereas Jones and Hitchcock maintained the position of the exclusive Arabic creation model of this poetry, therefore negating all aspects of the Romance hypothesis.

María Rosa Menocal considered a more holistic and comparative approach in her 1987 book *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage*.

[18] Jones agreed with Monroe and Armistead's viewpoint in his critical edition of the kharjas (11).

Although she focused mainly on the Arabic influence in the court of Frederick of Sicily and how this may have influenced later medieval authors, particularly Dante, she argued that the Arabic influence, especially in al-Andalus and Sicily, had large implications for knowledge and literature in medieval Western Europe. Additionally, she highlighted that this influence had been ignored almost entirely or met with controversy by Western literary critics and historians. In her third chapter "Courtly Love" and fourth chapter "The Muwashshahāt", rather than focusing on how the muwashshahs and their kharjas were representative exclusively of the traditionalist theory, she contended that the muwashshahs and literature of al-Andalus influenced the later Provencal troubadour lyric. According to her thesis al-Andalus developed an earlier version of the idea of courtly love which was expanded in the following centuries in Western Europe. Moreover, she wrote articles on this topic including her 1987 piece "What Do We Do Now? Beyond *Kharja* Studies", which stresses any study of the kharjas must be done within the context of their muwashshahs, and her 1988 article "Bottom of the Ninth: Bases Loaded", which argues that there are fundamental problems in any study done on the kharjas because of the issues of language. Menocal's work focused on the exchanges of medieval cultures in order to demonstrate the hybridity and cross-cultural importance of medieval literature, rather than the separate nature of literary creation.[19]

[19] One quotation from *The Arabic Role* which elucidates the cross-cultural and optimistic viewpoint she maintained throughout her criticism follows: "In fact, the very existence of something called "kharja studies" is a ratification of the gulf between Arabic and Romance literary studies. That such a subdiscipline exists at all clashes with the essential characteristics of poems that would otherwise seem to defy such segregation, because the poems are themselves so obviously a part of a mixed rather than a segregated culture" (84).

Jones published his promised critical edition of the Romance kharjas from Arabic muwashshahs in 1988 analyzing the 42 kharjas by giving the manuscript texts as well as the variants of these from the three extant *Jaysh* manuscripts. He transliterated the texts and gave a possible vocalization. Unlike García-Gómez and Solá-Solé, he was much more conservative in his rendering of the Romance words of the texts. He often claimed many of the words in these texts cannot be ascertained with any confidence and thus leaves doubts as to their meaning. His work maintained the Arabist position he had upheld that very few of these words are in a Romance dialect. He also criticized and revised the previous interpretations of García-Gómez and Solá-Solé. It is astonishing to see the differences between Jones and the other translators given Jones's emphasis on the immense difficulty of the texts and his reluctance to hypothesize about theoretical meanings of the words.

One of García-Gómez's last publications, a response to Jones's book, was printed in 1991 in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*. It is ironic because this bulletin is a source to which many Arabists would not have easy access outside of Spain. He also wrote it in Spanish, a language not all Arabists read. García-Gómez felt assaulted directly by Jones's comments in his critical edition and consequently dedicated over a hundred pages to attacking virulently Jones' work and character. García-Goméz reinforces the nationalist character that he sadly had sustained throughout his work that only Spaniards had the right to analyze and interpret the kharjas. He comments on his view of nationality and kharja studies: "Existe, sin embargo, frente a las jarchas, gran diferencia en las respectivas actitudes de un español y de un inglés. Lo que para el

primero es esencial, para el segundo es accesorio…." (3). It is easy to see the biases García-Gómez sustained throughout his academic work on this topic. For him the kharjas were more than literary texts which should be analyzed academically without partiality, instead, they were also an essential piece of his own heritage and national history which he needed to defend.

While the 1980s was characterized by overheated debates and attacks of critics, in December of 1989 an important conference took place in Madrid, *Primer Congreso Internacional sobre Poesía Estrófica Arabe y Hebrea y sus Paralelos Romances*. Scholars of Hebrew, Arabic and Romance literatures came together and this represented an important step in moving forward with kharja criticism. While the majority of the critics in attendance were Arabists such as Jones, Hitchcock and Abu Haidar who fervently maintained the Arabic hypothesis, scholars defending the Romance origin of kharja poetry were also present including Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes and Alan Deyermond. The proceedings published in 1991 contain the papers of thirty scholars covering a range of topics including parallels with the later troubadour lyric, further hypotheses of Arabic models of stress and meter, a study of Hebrew script, and a defense of García Gómez's work by Galmés de Fuentes. The underlying common denominator of many papers was the emphasis on holistic studies and the need to incorporate varying perspectives and theories into this criticism. For the most part scholarship of the kharjas from this point forward became more amicable even if it remained polemical.

The 1990s, like the preceding decade, frequently addressed the same questions of the use of Romance and Arabic models in this poetry with some comprehensive works on

the subject in addition to the much-needed publication of the two important muwashshah manuscripts as well as further translations of this poetry into Spanish. In 1990 Josep Solá-Solé published a Spanish translation of all of the extant muwashshahs, an expansion and revision of his 1973 *Corpus de Poesía Mozárabe*, including both the Hebrew and Arabic muwashshahs which contained Romance or partial Romance kharjas. It includes a total of 76 muwashshahs and 64 kharjas (some muwashshahs had the same or nearly identical kharja which accounts for the greater number of muwashshahs). This work emended much of Solá-Solé's earlier edition and added the Hebrew poems not used in his earlier translation. In addition, Alan Jones published the muwashshah manuscripts, both the privately owned *'Uddat al-jalīs* in 1992, critical because most scholars had no access to this work previously, followed by the *Jaysh al-tawshīh* in 1997. Although there was a 1967 publication of this latter manuscript by Nājī and Mādūr, some scholars noted that the numerous and careless errors in this earlier edition prohibited an accurate reading of the poems (Jones 1982, 40). Jones's version is a more accurate rendition using a comparison the three extant manuscripts of the *Jaysh* to ascertain the most probable text. Another important translation, published in 1998, is Federico Corriente's *Poesía dialectal árabe y romance en Alandalús*, which gives the translation of all of the Arabic and Romance kharjas in both the muwashshahs and the *zajals*. In his lengthy introduction he espoused a firm Arabist position, in opposition to Fish Compton's previous thesis on this corpus, writing that there are no notable thematic differences between the Romance and Arabic kharjas. With Corriente's publication adding to Monroe and Solá-Solé's previous work, scholars now had translations and interpretations available to them of all the

kharjas, either Arabic or Romance, in both the Hebrew and Arabic muwashshahs in addition to Jones' publication of the editions of the muwashshah manuscripts.

On the Romance side of the debate, Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes published the book *Las jarchas mozárabes: forma y significado* in 1994 supporting a revision of the traditionalist thesis of scholars such as Alonso and Menéndez Pidal for the origin of the Romance kharjas. He compared the Romance kharjas with the ones written exclusively in Arabic noting the difference of themes, particularly who is voiced as the speaker. There is an unusually large percentage Romance ones with a female voice whereas the Arabic ones tend to have a masculine or personified object as the voice. He utilized this difference to argue that a pre-existent Romance lyric must have been copied by the muwashshah authors (118). He examined the later Galician and troubadour poetry in his analysis which highlights the similarities between the Romance kharjas and the later Romance lyric tradition in both theme and rhyme.

In 1997 the most comprehensive book to date on the Arabic side of this debate was published, Otto Zwartjes's *Love Songs from Al-Andalus: History, Structure and Meaning of the Kharja*. In this detailed and thorough study he examined all of the Arabic and Romance meters, concluding that all Romance kharjas are written in accordance with Arabic rules yet only some of them, not all, follow the later Romance systems of poetry scansion (178). This lead him to the conclusion that the kharjas are not "authentic Romance literary creations" but perforce a product entirely of the Arabic system. While some critics have still maintained the Romance hypothesis, by the end of the 1990s writings on this topic seem to have been diminishing with neither party coming to any

consensus about the meter and origins of the kharjas. The two perspectives of Arabic v. Romance with regard to the rhyme and meter schemes remain valid and well-defended on both sides of the debate. Perhaps the two cannot be resolved fully by all critics.

The 1990s also saw a few studies, albeit limited, done on gender and sexuality in this poetry. Until this time any study related to these themes was almost non-existent since the main focus on kharja and muwashshah criticism was wholly philological. Another reason for their appearance is that studies on gender and sexuality in all literary genres became in vogue at this time, particularly because of the pioneering work done on these topics by critics such as Judith Butler, Eve Sedgwick and John Boswell, among others. Yet, most scholars of the kharjas continued obsessively to dedicate their work to the questions of influences and origins as previously discussed. The theme of homoeroticism had been studied in medieval Arabic poetry in general, both as a small mention in larger studies, or as a central topic in the 1990s. In particular, the 1997 series of essays in the book *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature* focuses on this theme as its central subject of the study. It incorporates several authors of the medieval Arab world including some from al-Andalus.

While there has been some work done on the topic of homoeroticism, much of it does not address the muwashshah directly. The two notable exceptions to the trend of avoiding a discussion of the elements of homoeroticism in this scholarship up until the 1990s are 1) the 1955 article "The Ephebe in Medieval Hebrew Poetry" in *Sefarad* by Jefim Schirmann in which he wrote about medieval Hebrew poetry in general and 2) Norman Roth's 1982 article " 'Deal gently with the young man': Love of Boys in

Medieval Hebrew Poetry in Spain". While Schirmann did not discuss the muwashshah poetry in particular, he did reference other poems by the muwashshah authors Moses Ibn Ezra and Yahuda Halevi. He noted that they do dedicate some poetry to young boys like many of their contemporaries (60). Schirmann was also critical of his colleagues, he claimed they purposely deny or misinterpret the homoeroticism clearly present in this poetry by reading it as heterosexual desire (57). One of his final points in the article is that Hebrew authors in al-Andalus were not solely imitating the Arabic thematic convention of writing about males, but it must come from experience as well. He argued that other themes about which the Arabs wrote recurrently that were not part of the Jewish culture, such as war and hunting, are infrequently mentioned in the Hebrew texts. Therefore, the themes of which the Jewish poets wrote were not merely imitation of Arabic poetry. The common homoerotic desire in the Hebrew poetry of al-Andalus must come from direct experience (68). He was also cynical of his contemporaries' assumptions that the Arabic poets intended female beloveds when they were employing masculine grammar and proper names.[20]

Roth's 1982 article "Deal Gently" offers an excellent survey of overtly homoerotic literature from al-Andalus written both in Hebrew and Arabic. He first addressed the belief that any same-sex sexual relationship would have been prohibited and punished by religious law. Although divergent sexual relationships do go against religious teachings and societal rules, there are almost no historical records of discipline

[20] This article and the convention of using masculine grammar for females are discussed in greater detail in chapter 2.

for these actions in al-Andalus (22). The article offers a brief sampling of homoerotic literature in Arabic from al-Andalus and also other areas of the Arab world from the same epoch, including a few very explicit passages from the author Abū Nuwās,[21] and then gives some examples from the four main Andalusian Jewish poets from this era—Ibn Nagrillah, Ibn Gabirol, Moses Ibn Ezra and Yahuda Halevi. Roth made a clear case for the commonness of same-sex desire in the poetry of this period by citing a number of translations of erotic poetry. A few of these are even muwashshahs.[22] He remarked that the Hebrew poems from this period are not as pornographically descriptive as the corresponding Arabic ones. Kissing is the greatest erotic element in the Hebrew versions and there are no descriptions of sexual acts (24).

In the 1991 essay " 'Fawn of My Delights': Boy-Love in Hebrew and Arabic Verse," Roth expanded on the ideas of his previous article and argued that the existence and commonness of same-sex relationships between older men and adolescent boys in medieval Arabic and Hebrew poetry is recurrent. He asserted that this phenomenon directly echoes the cultures in which it was written. While he examined Hebrew poetry

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[21] A translation he gives from Abū Nuwās, a ninth century poet in Bagdad, shows the sexual explicitness of this poetry:

> My penis settled on the behind of Sam'ān
> It wanted hospitality, that had two sides,
> I never had a host better at hosting than
> The behind of the boy Sam'ān. (27)

[22] He includes many examples from these authors. One of these, a translation of a poem by Ibn Ezra demonstrates clear homoeroticism:

> My heart mourns because of a son of Qedar
> A fawn lovely of appearance, young of years.
> His cheeks are like scarlet and black his hair,
> And his lips are like crimson. (44)

from this era broadly, the article does discuss a few muwashshah authors such as Moses Ibn Ezra. He writes that "scholars were either particularly confused about this kind of poetry or deliberately sought to mislead their readers" when not addressing the explicit homoeroticism (164). The article gives numerous examples from poetry and historical sources that concern this topic and it provocatively concludes:

> In the long history of sexuality, as old as man himself, there has always been room for much variety. In the medieval period men, Christian, Muslim and Jew, were rarely exclusively homosexual. It was, however, quite "normal" to enjoy the physical beauty and delights—and one might add also the exuberant joy and innocent seductiveness—of adolescent boys. (169)

Roth questioned the assumptions of many critics about the nature of same-sex desire as it relates to this literature and showed explicit passages in which there is no doubt of homoeroticism.

Mary Jane Kelley's feminist reading of kharja scholarship in her 1991 article "Virgins Misconceived: Poetic Voice in the Mozarabic Kharjas" noted how critics have referred, inaccurately, to the kharjas as a virginal and primitive lyric because they cut them off from the rest of the muwashshah (2).[23] She analyzed the relationship between the feminine-voiced kharjas and the male-authored muwashshahs to show they were written in a manipulated female voice by a man. The critical studies of the kharjas were often done without the muwashshah, leading to a necessary bias in how one perceives the voice of the kharja. She concluded that they are not the stereotyped innocent lyric as they have been made to appear: "Instead, the female voice is subjected to masculine control on three different levels: the original male authors wrote the words, the *muwashshaha* poets

[23] This trend began with Alonso's article as shown earlier in the chapter.

used them to express a male point of view, and the literary critics turned the verses themselves into sexually appealing virgins whom they possess by means of the reading process" (17). While her article is accurate in accessing biases of critics and showing how the female voice is manipulated, it does not look at the specific gender problems that occur in the Arabic texts of the poetry.

Anthony Espósito wrote two articles directly related to homoeroticism in the kharjas. In his 1995 *La Corónica* article "Dismemberment of Things Past: Fixing the Jarchas" he addressed two primary issues of kharja scholarship. The first is how nationalism plays a role in medieval philology, sharing Kelley's and Menocal's view that these poetic fragments should not be separated from the muwashshahs. He observed how critics manipulated and fixed these texts to reconstruct their national history and subsequently placed them conveniently at the beginning of the Romance literary canon as a "border" rather than a "poetic cross-roads" (13). His analysis uses the metaphor of *Rey Rodrigo*, the Visigoth king who lost Spain to the Arabs in the eighth century, as being cut off from his kingdom, a dismemberment of sorts. He incorporated the story of *Rey Rodrigo* to explain the second point of his argument—the bias critics have had in demonstrating the homoeroticism of these texts. By juxtaposing the translations of García-Gómez and Solá-Solé of one muwashshah by Ibn Arfa' Ra'suh, he shows how the translations differ. García-Gómez feminizes the object of desire and Solá-Solé translates it as masculine. He analyzes the text thus:

> The interpretations diverge greatly and while much can be explored in terms of style, I should like to focus on those differences which confront the issue of canonical desire. The beginning of the second stanza of García Gómez's version

> reads [emphasis mine]: "¡Ay, qué hermos*a* es aquell*a* a quien amo, sin que sepa mi amor!" Solà Solé renders the Arabic: "Juro por mi padre, que aqu*el* de quien estoy enamorad*o* / no se ha enterado." In stanza four, García Gómez gives us: "Mi tristeza y mi angustia, oh *coqueta*, / ya no puedo sufrir"; and in Solà Solé: "Limitada es mi capacidad, oh *infiel a la promesa*, / en cuanto a la desazón y al enflaquecimiento." In the final stanza we see in García Gómez: "Duerme en paz y está siempre segur*a*: / nadie más he de amar"; which Solà Solé renders as: "Duerme en paz; vive confiadamente: / tú, tú eres mi bien amad*o*." (12)[24]

While Espósito's article is original in the use of combining Benedict Anderson's theories of nationalism and of queer theory in its treatment of the kharjas, the article does not further analyze the texts or examine other issues of gender and sexuality within them. He accurately noted the differences of translations, aptly showing García-Gómez's nationalist bias, but does not point to the greater issue it reflects, which is the supposed convention in Arabic poetry of using masculine grammar to refer to females. García-Gómez, even if incorrectly, may have interpreted the poetry as such. Espósito must be credited, however, as the first to address the controversial issues of homoeroticism and critics' masking of it in these particular texts. It is even more fascinating how little attention was given to this article by other critics. Harriet Goldberg responded briefly in the next *La Corónica* in the "To the Editor" section but never mentioned or questioned the homoeroticism present in the muwashshahs. She only stressed that the traditionalist theory had been demonstrated adequately and should also be considered rather than ignored as Espósito's article does (197). Other than Goldberg's response, no other criticism to date directly dialogues with Espósito's article.

[24] The original Arabic of this poem uses masculine grammar and in all probability is homoerotic.

Espósito's 2000 article "The Monkey in the Jarcha: Tradition and Canonicity in the Early Iberian Lyric" expands on the same ideas as his previous "Dismemberment" and also discusses the biases of *tradicionalismo* as asserted by Menéndez Pidal in transforming and changing texts to fit the philological national project. Espósito once again discussed homoeroticism in this literature and examined a translation of a muwashshah of Al-A'ma al-Tutīli in which a girl and the poet share the same love for Ahmad, concluding "The *jarcha*, voiced by a young woman also seduced by Ahmad, glosses the poet's own desire. However, it is now regendered away from a same-sex 'queer' wanting toward one of heterosexual desire" (473). His article suggests that desire expressed in this poetry is complex and argues that critics have used the triad of author-beloved-speaker to disguise a potential homoeroticism expressed by the author. While his argument could be accurate and telling, the article would have benefited from more detailed and comprehensive analysis of this theme in more of the muwashshahs to construct a more convincing analysis of the entire corpus.

Vicente Cantarino, going against the work demonstrating the homoeroticism in these texts as espoused by Espósito and Roth, has noted in his chapter of *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context* that the descriptions in medieval Arabic poetry, unlike poetry from other areas during that time, do not indicate a gender. He admits that his own quest to find the feminine lyric from this literature was futile. He speculated, specifically discussing the muwashshahs, given the ambiguous gender descriptions which typically default to descriptions of idealized feminine beauty and the dichotomous relationship between the muwashshah in a masculine voice with the feminine kharja

ending, that one distinct possibility for this indistinctness is male poets are writing in the voice of the woman, creating and thus explaining why there is "a gender without lyrical genre" (263). He defends this theory by explaining:

> Sound and imagery may appear to be related in a necessary way to voice and context, and quite often are indeed deeply connected. But correspondence between the gender of a voice, man's or woman's, and the content, masculine or feminine poetry, is not the rule. No such correspondence is required as long as the poet who either proffers (as does the author) or produces (as does the performer) a mimesis of the opposite gender offers it with psychological validity. This is the crux of the matter. (257)

He concludes the chapter with his own new theory of gender as genre, stating:

> The gender-neutrality we perceive in the overwhelmingly male domain of classical Arabic poetry is not after all the result of open affectation of male homosexuality. It could very well be an unaffected application of a literary convention in lyrical poetry that leads a male poet to adopt the feminine voice even in his poetic references to a man, as if they came from a woman. (263)

While he argues well a cross-dressing of sorts of these authors and proposes the idea of a "gender-genre" in which the gender of the object would determine the poetic gender adopted, the sweeping elimination of the likelihood of any homoeroticism in all poetry from this period is improbable and not representative of medieval cultural norms of al-Andalus. Furthermore, it still does not explain why there is no distinction between male and female descriptions. While his chapter addresses medieval Arabic poetry in general, he specifically discusses the muwashshahs because of the feminine voice frequently utilized as the speaker of the kharja. Cantarino's idea of the author's manipulation of the feminine voice is similar to Kelley's previous argument; both believe the male authors were the creators of the kharjas, but they use this theory to declare two different ideas about this poetry.

In the most recent article on gender and sexuality, published in 2009, titled "On a Hopeless Last Stand for the Hypothesis of a Romance Origin of Andalusi Stanzaic Poetry: Homosexuality and Prostitution in the Kharjas", Corriente, who has defended fervently the Arabic position concerning the origins of the *muwashshahs* and the *kharjas*, argued that it is time to put these issues of Arabic and Hispanic roots aside (and accept the Arabic defense, of course) and to start opening up other fields of inquiry into these studies, particularly of sexuality and gender. Corriente ended his article by writing about the thematic relationship of same-sex desire and prostitution in the kharjas. It is a defense he claimed would also strengthen the argument of the Arabic influence, since the poetry of the kharjas would not be the "innocent love songs" of virginal women as some Romance scholars have postulated but the product of Andalusian society:

> 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, the truth is that some of them contain clear hints of 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. (179)

As the article states, it has been well established that prostitution, particularly by female slaves serving as concubines, was common and legal in al-Andalus. Particularly, the slaves were mainly non-Muslims and often Christians from Northern Iberia (Hamilton 27). The connection between singing-girls and slavery provides a more historically accurate view of Al-Andalus. The probable voices of the females referenced who sing the kharjas are Christian slaves in the Andalusi courts. Corriente noted that sexual

relations commonly took place between men and he further argued about the "homosexual" nature of much of this poetry, calling for more analysis of this topic:

> 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 in a survey of this topic, if nothing else in order to confirm its thematic identity with traditional poetry (*qasīdah*). (180)

Corriente's article offers a brief summary of same-sex love in the muwashshah and kharja poetry by giving nine textual examples of same-sex desire and references to sex between men in this poetry. Four of these examples refer to the Romance kharjas and their muwashshahs while the other five are kharjas in Arabic. While Corriente is correct is addressing the need to study gender and sexuality, he only offered a brief survey of these textual examples with little analysis before closing his article. He included these passages solely to strengthen his argument about the Arabic influence in the Romance kharjas. He linked the similarities of the themes of homoeroticism and prostitution with earlier poetry written in al-Andalus in order to demonstrate that the kharjas and muwashshahs follow the Arabic tradition.

In addition to Corriente's study, Stacey Parker Aronson wrote an article in 2009 titled "Sexual Violence in Las Jarchas" as part of the University of Minnesota Morris's *Working Paper Series*. According to her thesis, the sexual violence in the kharjas has been downplayed or understudied by critics yet sexual violence and rape are frequently manifest characteristics of the kharjas (2). She analyzed closely the laws and social reality of rape in al-Andalus and the difference of treatment between Muslim and non-Muslim women (9). She cited numerous examples in her study of kharjas which express

or probably convey rape, either the aftermath in which the girl complains to her mother or the direct dialogue between the author and the girl in the muwashshah and the kharja respectively. While this study relies exclusively on translations of the kharjas and muwashshahs, it is an excellent study to start correcting and understanding the social reality of the kharjas. This article is an important step forward in amending how the kharjas and the desires they express are read—they are more complicated than innocent and virginal lyrics.

The studies done thus far on gender and sexuality within the kharja and muwashshah criticism represent an imperative movement to rectify previous notions of who the voices of the kharjas and muwashshahs are, the desires they reflect, and the social reality in which they were written. The texts of the kharjas within the muwashshahs are more complex than some critics such as Alonso and Spitzer have asserted and they cannot be stereotyped as simple and innocent lyrics despite their brevity. The studies examined in this chapter of the manipulated feminine voice, frequent homoeroticism and sexual violence evident in this corpus begin to reveal the nature of the kharjas, muwashshahs, their authors and the culture of al-Andalus.

More detailed investigation needs to be done on the kharjas and muwashshahs as well as the customs of al-Andalus to determine how societal conventions are reflected in this literature with respect to gender and sexuality. These studies will greatly help the understanding and perspectives of this poetry in general. The amorous themes of the muwashshahs also need to be examined more systematically in order to understand the authors' conceptions of gender, sexuality, love and desire. Not only will this focus

increase the knowledge of gender and sexuality in this corpus of poetry, but perhaps some of these earlier polemics regarding the creation of the kharjas that have overwhelmed scholars can be revisited after further thematic studies have been done.

The articles written about gender and sexuality in the kharjas and muwashshahs are very useful for understanding the poems, yet, almost all of the work done on this thematic topic has the underlying intention of being discussed within the frame of the Romance traditionalism v. Arabic models of creation of the muwashshahs. The topics of gender and sexuality are used to argue for or against these models rather than demonstrate their thematic and societal importance. Within the context of this debate, it is easy to realize that Kelley, Espósito, Cantarino, Parker and Corriente argue (they are the only five critics who deal with the muwashshahs directly in approaching the issues of gender and sexuality, Roth and Schirmann discuss Andalusian poetry in general) that the muwashshah authors were the sole creators of the kharjas and they did not borrow women's songs from the Romance lyric. Sometimes this argument is overt as it is in Kelley's article, and sometimes it is implied like it is in Espósito's work. It is clear that these scholars use the topics of gender and sexuality specifically to argue against the traditionalist hypothesis supported by Menéndez Pidal and García-Gómez rather than using this evidence to explain the culture in which it was written. Unfortunately no definitive proof exists for either the Arabic or the Romance hypotheses and both positions can be defended. Detailed studies of gender and sexuality within the muwashshah and kharja corpus can have merit outside of this debate and can greatly add to the existing criticism.

In 2004 Otto Zwartjes and Henk Heijkoop published a comprehensive and extremely useful bibliography on strophic Hispano-Arabic poetry which includes all scholarly work done up until that year on muwashshahs, *zajals* and kharjas; expanding on Hitchcock's, Armistead's and their own previous collections of citations. It includes over 2,800 total entries.[25] A perusal of the bibliography makes it obvious that the great majority of work done in this field concerns philological questions of language, origins and influences with relatively little done on other aspects such as thematic, cultural and societal studies in this literature. What is most surprising is the dearth of studies done on sexuality and gender in this corpus, of these 2,800 entries, only six articles deal with these topics directly, the work already mentioned by Kelley, Espósito and Roth as well as an essay by Monroe about one of Ibn Quzman's *zajals*. Despite the research realized on the topic of gender and sexuality in other medieval Arabic and European literature, particularly in the 1990s, these types of studies had yet to enter mainstream kharja and muwashshah scholarship. Zwartjes and Heijkoop note the revived interest in Hispano-Strophic poetry as well as important current developments such as recent conferences on the topic and Jones's publication of the manuscripts. In the introduction to this bibliography they write about important questions which still need to be answered about strophic poetry from al-Andalus:

The main topics for actual scholarly debate are:

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[25] This book is a further extension of their 1998 article "A Supplementary Bibliography of Andalusi Strophic Poetry and its Influence." in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* which contains over 1,100 references. While the 2004 edition contains over 2,800 works, 300 of them are listed in the discography which of course is not directly related to scholarly criticism in this field but demonstrates the rich musical tradition of this poetry which is still continued today.

> -Do these strophic compositions follow the Romance rules of versification and rime, or the Arabic model?
> -Can these compositions be related thematically to the *Frauenlieder*, the *cantigas de amigo*, etc. or to 'popular' oral literature in general?
> -Does there exist evidence for any influence from Arabic models on early Romance literature and music?
> -What are the real analogies of medieval music of al-Andalus and the other areas of Spain and Portugal and the so-called *mūsīqa andalusīya* of the Maghrib.
> -In what measure does there exist a relation between the poetical and the musical rhythm of these strophic compositions? And secondly, which of these two modalities determined the final structure of the (sung) poem? (xv-xvi)

While all of these topics are still crucial for understanding this work and there is much more work on these topics to be done, these questions remain philological and are precisely the same ones which critics have been debating contentiously for decades. There is a key absence of questions regarding not only gender and sexuality and how this poetry reflects the society in which it was written, but also of other important topics of thematic relationships and the use of Western critical frameworks for further literary analysis. There is not one article in the entire bibliography which directly addresses modern theories of desire, psychology or sociology which criticism in other areas of pre-modern literature had already encompassed. By continuing the focus exclusively on these questions which have plagued scholars for decades, one's understanding of these important texts will not be enhanced.

As this chapter shows, over a century has passed since the discovery of the first Romance kharja which Menéndez y Pelayo published in 1894. Much significant and necessary scholarship has been done to discover, decode, and interpret the kharjas, publish manuscripts and translations as well as present various theories about their origins and strophic structures and their place in literary history. However, since Stern's

publication of the twenty Romance kharjas in Hebrew muwashshahs, scholarly debate has centered almost exclusively on deciphering the language of the kharjas, translations, paleographical analysis and, above all, the polemical origins and influences of this poetry. The controversies and bickering that have occurred among critics cannot be overemphasized because these disputes shaped much of the course of this criticism due to specialists' continual need to justify themselves and their positions. While the Romance/traditionalist and Arabist hypotheses both have been defended using large amounts of textual evidence and are each valid and offer convincing perspectives, there still remains and will likely always be a schism between the two theories which can never be completely resolved. The textual and historical evidence simply does not exist as definitive proof, unless further manuscripts or treatises miraculously come to light. Given the Arabists and Romanists are using different models for rhyme schemes, it is understandable that they will come up with different evidence, yet, there is no direct testimony as to which model the poets of al-Andalus were using. It is also a possibility that they were using both. Numerous studies have shown convincingly the thematic and linguistic parallels between the kharjas and the later European lyric of the *cantigas* and the troubadours but this does not prove the existence of an earlier oral poetry which directly influenced the Arabic poetry. There is no direct support of influence among these literatures, and the lyrical genre uses universal themes and expressions prevalent in almost all places and eras of its creation. Some questions, such as Who wrote the kharjas? and What poetic models were the authors using? cannot be answered with any certainty.

Also, it still needs to be considered by anthologists how to revise the kharjas so they can accurately reflect the language and satisfactorily address both the Arabist and the Romance positions in their placement at the beginning of the Romance lyric. Should a translation different from García-Gómez's be deliberated or perhaps some type of translational compromise between his work and the more conservative analysis in Jones's book of Romance kharjas? Above all, regardless of the minute details of language, which models were used by the authors and what poetry influenced and was influenced by the muwashshahs, there still remains a corpus of beautiful expressive love poetry in which all critics can agree are a unique product of the multi-cultural and multi-lingual al-Andalus. These poems can be appreciated for what they are and what they represent of the splendor of literary creation in al-Andalus.

Many scholars such as Corriente and Pedro Martín Baños (1) have noted that kharja scholarship has reached a standstill and it would be difficult for anyone familiar with this criticism to disagree. Many of the arguments used throughout this history have been so recurring that they become almost predictable. Research in the last decade in this area has waned, in part because many of the scholars who focused on this subject have retired or passed away but also in part because of the irresolvable philological questions that can only be answered by theorized perspectives and holistic approaches. Additionally, the kharjas need to be placed accurately within the social and political history in which they were created. While medievalists' work must always be philological in part, new directions in this criticism could open innovative avenues to examining these polemical texts. While the work done on medieval Spanish and Arabic

literature has remained essentially a philological and generally conservative field, following the model of medievalists in other areas, particularly in French and English literature, can provide further possibilities and perspectives to examine this literature.[26] Applying modern theories of desire, psychoanalysis, gender and sexuality may be a new path for not only current and future kharja scholarship but also for more studies of medieval Iberian literature in general.

[26] There have been many books and articles in both of these medieval fields using modern theories of psychology, desire and psychoanalysis among others to give new perspectives on the authors and their literature as well as readings of modern critics' interpretations. There is particularly the case in medieval English criticism. One example among these is L.O. Aranye Fradenburg's book *Sacrifice Your Love: Psychoanalysis, Historicism, Chaucer*.

Chapter Two: Muwashshahs, Kharjas and Gender

Gender in the muwashshahs with Romance kharjas is a consideration that has yet to be analyzed systematically by critics, yet it is a crucial facet of this poetry. This chapter will examine closely the various and complex aspects of gender which the muwashshahs present in order to come to a better understanding of the voices of the muwashshahs and their kharjas, the desires they express and also the role that gender plays within them. In particular, it closely analyzes gendered grammar, descriptions of males and females as well as the relationship of the kharja to its muwashshah. The thematic emphasis of this study facilitates a determination of the gender of the beloveds in most of these poems, although in some it is unidentifiable. As this chapter shows, the Arabic muwashshah with Romance kharja corpus has an equal number of male and female beloveds. It cannot be claimed that these lyrics are exclusively women's songs.

For the context of this study, gender is defined most basically as the dichotomy of male and female, in both its biological and cultural constructions as they are portrayed within the texts. This portrayal incorporates the distinctions and descriptions of the gendered body as well as the cultural characterizations, norms, and societal roles of the two sexes. In the muwashshah poetry this duality is expressed most frequently by the distinction of masculine and feminine grammar to describe a person or object. These are often, although not always, divided between the masculine voice of the muwashshah and the feminine voice of the kharja. The muwashshahs and kharjas express the plurality of the two genders by various means—proper names indicating either a male or female, gendered nouns, gendered grammar including verb conjugations, adjectives and short

vowel markings in the Arabic script of some pronouns and objects, and occasionally descriptions of the gendered bodies or personality traits. The voice of the speakers, in both the muwashshah and kharja, often display characteristics which indicate the person's gender. While there is no evidence that the author and the voice of the muwashshah are two separate people, the author and the voice of the muwashshah are distinguished in this study for the purpose of clarity. It can be assumed in many cases the author and the speaker are the same, but since there is no evidence of how these particular poems were performed, as explained in the first chapter, the distinction between author and speaker will be maintained.

Gender is complicated on a number of levels in this poetry. Firstly, a male author is writing the body of the poem and the voice of the muwashshah is male. As the muwashshah transitions to the kharja, the voice of the kharja changes, usually to a woman or a young girl. The woman of the kharja often shares the same sentiments as the muwashshah speaker, and critics have debated whether the kharja is the manipulated written voice of the author or is actually borrowed from a song by a female. The relationship between the author and the kharja voice is one that needs to be analyzed more closely because the author uses the kharja in a range of contexts to convey diverse meanings and desires. Secondly, the use of masculine grammar, such as verbs, adjectives and pronouns, to describe a female is an assumed convention in classical Arabic poetry and one which still continues today in Arabic poetry and music. Critics have believed it is often difficult, if not impossible, to determine if the author is writing about a male or female because masculine grammar is almost always employed. Because this convention

has been so widely assumed, it has never been analyzed in detail by scholars of Arabic literature. This convention will be refuted with respect to the muwashshahs with Romance kharjas through a complete examination of the gendered grammar employed in the poetry. Furthermore, we will also see how some of the critics' readings and translations of this poetry may be problematic if this principle is assumed. Lastly, gender becomes even more difficult to distinguish because the descriptions do not change based on the gender of the referent of the poem. Many of the stock descriptions used in the amorous muwashshahs, such as rosy cheeks, white teeth, pale skin, large dark eyes and comparisons to desert animals and plants, such as gazelles and branches, do not differ based on the gender of the beloved. Only a few of the poems have any description that noticeably refers to a woman, in particular, there are three poems in the muwashshah section of the text which mention a woman's bosom. Despite these complex characteristics, a clearer conception of the muwashshahs will be gained by closely looking at the muwashshahs through the lenses of gender to categorize each poem as panegyric, amorous with a female beloved or amorous with a male beloved.

The first important consideration with respect to gender in the muwashshahs is the voice of the kharja itself. The main body of the muwashshah focuses on the authors' descriptions of the beloved's beauty as well as the muwashshah speaker's experiences as a result of this love. While the switch between the muwashshah and the kharja is sometimes abrupt and disjointed from the rest of the poem, in most cases the last few lines of the muwashshah indicate who specifically is singing or speaking the kharja. These transitioning lines are crucial to understanding the relationship between the author

and the kharja voice. Additionally, the kharja may give valuable clues about the gender of the beloved because the Romance words it contains in these endings tend to have clear gendering of adjectives and nouns. This, at times, makes it easier to see the gender of the object of desire of the kharja. Even in some of the cases in which the gendering of the Arabic muwashshah is more ambiguous and difficult to differentiate, the kharja gendering is often more apparent as it is expressed by either nouns or adjectives that are clearly masculine or feminine.

The majority of the kharjas in Romance from Arabic muwashshahs are voiced by a woman or a young girl, although there are four cases in which the muwashshah speaker also voices the kharja, and one each in which war and glory metaphorically sing them.[27] Additionally, a few of them are voiced by a man or most probably voiced by a man. In some of the transitions it is difficult to determine with complete certainty the exact subject of this voice because there is no person mentioned in the lines preceding the kharja. In the cases in which a female voices the kharja, which is the vast majority, the transitional lines generally reference her by the terms فتاة (*fatāh*) or غادة (*gādah*) or the plural (غيد or *gayd*) or خود (*hūd*) or other names which signify it is a younger woman or women without naming her specifically. There are also many transitions that do not have any female noun but there is a switch to feminine grammar which indicates the feminine voice of the kharja. The kharja is usually referenced as being sung or spoken by the verbs قال (*qāl*, to say) or غنى (*ghanā*, to sing) or other verbs which imply dilcending. A

[27] Glory is singing the kharja in Uddat 110. War is the voice of the kharja in Uddat 109. The four in which the muwashshah speaker is the voice: Jaysh 1,4; 11,8; Uddat 178; 349. There are many gazelles as kharja voices in the Hebrew muwashshahs although this is most likely a metaphor for the beloved. Ibn Mozes Ezra in particular uses them several times.

few examples from this corpus show the typical transition of the last lines of the muwashshah poem to the kharja. In one example:

وَرب فتات غنت اذ جَاءَت لِدَاره[28]

[A girl was singing as she arrived at his door][29] (Jaysh 8,1)

In this poem the author indicates a girl (*fatāt*) will be singing the kharja. There is a clear transition from the male muwashshah speaker's verse to the song of the kharja voiced by a female and it leaves no doubt for the gender of the voice of the kharja. In another poem which clearly transitions to a female voice, young girls are speaking the kharja to their mothers:

كَم فَتاةٍ لامهَا ان تكنى

[How many girls have said to their mother:] (Jaysh 5,10)

In this example, young, unmarried girls (*fatāh*) say the kharja to their mother but do not address the muwashshah speaker. Many of the kharjas depict females speaking to their mother, whose voice is uniformly absent in the muwashshahs and kharjas, and this adds another feminine dimension to the transitions and the kharjas.[30] While the previous two

[28] The *Uddat* and *Jaysh* manuscripts use Moroccan script in which the ف has a dot under it rather than above and the ق has one dot rather than two. The Arabic script in this dissertation will use the standard writings of these letters rather than the Moroccan version for sake of simplicity. Sometimes the *hamzas* are not included on *alifs* in the manuscripts and this will be maintained in this dissertation. The Jaysh manuscript is divided into chapters, the citation will include the chapter first and then the number of the poem within that chapter. The *Uddat* manuscript is not divided by chapters, thus only the number of the muwashshah is given.

[29] All translations into English are my own using the Arabic texts of Jones' edition of the *Jaysh* and *Uddat* manuscripts. For the kharjas, I rely on Solá-Solé's interpretation when the words are not clearly an Arabic or Romance word and must be interpreted.

[30] The frequent use of the mother being addressed in the kharjas is a fascinating yet puzzling convention that has not been analyzed by critics. The secretiveness of these love relationships makes the open proclamations to one's mother seem improbable on the part of the daughter. The overall conservative society of al-Andalus would have strongly prohibited or punished these types of relationships. The term

cases have a clear reference to a female noun which makes the change in voice apparent, one must rely exclusively on Arabic grammar in order to recognize that some of the transitions to the kharjas are women who will be singing the kharja. The following transition of Ibn Ruhaym (Uddat 345) demonstrates one example in which there is no noun to indicate a female yet the grammar changes to reflect one:

عَاهَدَتْ بل حلَفتْ أن لَّا تَحولَ عَنِ العَهْدِ
ثُمّ عادَتْ عَطَفَتْ حَنَّتْ فَزارت بِلا وَعْدِ
فَارتَشَفْتُ الشُّهدَ من فيهَا وَمِلتُ إِلى النَّهدِ
فَشَكَتْ ذَاكَ وَقَالتْ لَي سَأَلتُكَ بِالْودِّ

[She promised and swore she would not break the promise
Then she returned with such sympathy that was not shown before
Then I sucked the honey of her mouth and leaned towards her breast
She was doubtful and said to me, "I question you of love":]

Even though there are no nouns referencing a female, the grammar clearly indicates the author is referencing one. This transition is without any pronouns or nouns such as *hiya* (هي) or "she", yet Arabic grammar clearly indicates the female subject through third person feminine conjugated verbs (عاهدتْ عادتْ قالتْ).[31] The short vowels that are included in the manuscript of this poem help to make this obvious because the *-at* endings of the verbs indicate it must be feminine because of the *sakūn*, the small circle about the letter which indicates there is no short vowel after the consonant, or in other words, a silence. This signifies the past tense conjugation for only the third person feminine and no other possible subject. The one grammatical object in this transition, *ha*, (ها) refers to a female

here may be used to refer to a confidant or someone giving advice rather than a mother in its strictly biological meaning.

[31] Thackston's pages 32 and 33 give a detailed description of how past tense verbs are conjugated as well as the *-at* (ت) endings that indicated the feminine.

as well. Either by transition to feminine grammar exclusively as in this example or by a using a specific female noun or by both feminine nouns and verbs, most of the last transitional lines of the muwashshahs indicate the gender switch which occurs in the voice of the kharja.

In addition to the voice itself, which is generally but not always feminine, another important consideration of this poetry is the relationship between the muwashshah speaker and the voice of the kharja. In some cases there is a reciprocal relationship between these two voices in which the author desires the woman who is singing the kharja and she responds directly to him in the kharja. She either reciprocates his feelings or rejects him. However, there are other cases in which the author and the kharja voice share the same sentiments, either the pain of lost love in general or they both desire the same person. In these cases the desire is not directed between the kharja voice and the muwashshah speaker. One example from Ibn Habbāz al-Mursī (Jaysh 10,3) shows how the author and the speaker of the kharja feel the same passion towards love in general:

ربَّ حسناء تشد غرامهَا كغرامِ

[Often a girl recites her passion which is like mine:]

The author is explicitly stating the girl and he have the same type of desire, the same consuming passion, but it is not towards one another or even necessarily for the same person. The commonality between the muwashshah speaker and the girl of the kharja is that they share similar experiences. In another example by Ibn Labbūn (Uddat 281), the muwashshah speaker sympathizes with the woman of the kharja:

أُفدي التي قد جَفَاهَا مَحْبُوبُهَا لمَا بَانَا
نَفَي هَوَاهُ كَراهَا ظُلماً لهَا وعُدْوَانا
فَلم تزل في غِنَاهَا للأُم تشْدُوا إِعْلاَنَا

[I sympathize with her who was treated badly by her lover when they separated
Rejecting his love for her wronging her with hostility
And she does not stop in her songs declaring to her mother:]

After describing his personal feelings of suffering in the body of the poem, the muwashshah speaker transitions to the kharja by empathizing with the girl who also was treated unjustly and she then sings the kharja. In these examples one sees that there is no desire between the muwashshah speaker and the kharja voice but they share the same sentiments. Thus, the author uses the kharja to repeat and amplify the emotions he expounds in the muwashshah by showing how the woman or her song expresses the same feelings he describes. This duality not only creates a contrast between the elevated classical Arabic of the muwashshah with the colloquial Mozarabic language of the kharja but it also emphasizes the universal experience of love. The suffering caused by love, as shown by this poetry, transcends social, ethnic, religious and cultural categories which are seen in the differentiation of the Mozarabic woman and the muwashshah speaker, who are of opposite genders, speakers of two divergent language registers and dialects and possibly different religions.

Even though the author sympathizes with the kharja voice in some of these poems, there are others in which the kharja and muwashshah body are disjointed and there is no discernable relationship between the author and the kharja voice. In one anonymous muwashshah (Uddat 98), the author writes a poem which mentions a vizier

named Muhammad, yet the transition to the kharja describes a woman singing about her lover and this has no relation in any way to the rest of the poem or the sentiments of the muwashshah speaker:

ربَّ عذراء حَّنتْ الى لفاء الحبيب
إذ راتْه تمنَّت زوال خوف الرَّقيب
أَنْشَدَت حين غنَّتْ مجسن صوت عجيب

[A virgin longs to find her lover
When she sees him she wishes for the disappearance of fear of the spy
She recites while singing with the beauty of an amazing voice:]

It is clear there is no direct relationship between the author, who focuses on proclaiming the name and generosity of the vizier Mohammed, and the unidentified beloved with the girl talking about her unknown lover. This disconnect is also frequent in the panegyric muwashshahs. While the laudatory and amorous elements are intermixed in these poems, in some there is no relationship between the kharja and the body of the muwashshah. Ibn Labbāna's muwashshah dedicated to the king Māmūn (Jaysh 4,9) begins with an amorous description, then shifts to praise of Māmūn and ends with a disjointed transition and kharja that have no connection with the rest of the poem. The transition indicates a girl will be speaking the kharja:

وَغَادة تشكو بعَادَ الخليل
غدوهَا تبكى وَيوم الرَّحيل
بضفَّة البحر وظلَّت تقُول

[A girl complains of the absence of her lover
When the day of departure arrived
By the waves of the sea and she began to say:]

It is clear that the transition, a girl complaining about her lover's absence, is not related to the praise of the king on which the muwashshah focuses.

There are other cases in which the kharja voice and the muwashshah author share a reciprocal relationship with one another rather than just similar passions. While this happens in only a minority of the muwashshahs, the desire in these occurrences tends to be more clearly directed because the muwashshah speaker addresses a girl and she responds in the kharja. These poems tend to be the clearest in understanding who both the muwashshah and the kharja voices desire because there is a direct dialogue between them. In one muwashshah, al-Mu'tamid (Uddat 347) writes elaborately about a woman, her beauty and their relationship. She then responds to him in the kharja itself. The last lines of the muwashshah indicate that the voice is hers:

وَلَيْل توالت عَلَيْنا المَلاهي
إذْ نِمْتُ فقَالت تُريدُ انْتِباهي
سنَاتُكَ طَالتْ فكم أَنتَ سَاهِ
ولما استمالتْ بثغر يباهي

[One night it occurred for us the pleasures
When I was sleeping she said wanting to wake me
You have slept long how forgetful you are,
And when she leaned toward me:]

In this section we see that she is speaking to the author after she leans towards him. Some of the verbs in this transition mark that the woman is the speaker and thus confirms she is present physically in the scene of the poem by stating *she said* and *she leaned toward me* (toward the muwashshah speaker). After these transitional lines, she continues her response in the kharja:

قْلتُ ءاشْ يحيي بَكَالَه حلْو مثْل أش

[I said "How do I reanimate a mouth something sweet like this"]

The woman is trying to wake up the muwashshah speaker by giving him a kiss and she directs her words towards him. There is no ambiguity of desire in this muwashshah—a male author is discussing his love and relationship with a female who then responds with her own voice in the kharja. Even though it is most common for females to be speaking to the male authors, reciprocity is not only directed towards females in the kharjas but also towards men in homoerotic poems. In one example, a muwashshah of al-'Ama al-Tutīli (Uddat 124), which is clearly homoerotic, the male speaker of the kharja is addressing the muwashshah voice directly after the author details the cruelties of the suffering and humiliation caused by the one he loves. The last four lines of the muwashshah indicate the transition to the voice of the lover:

لا بدَّ لي منه على كلّ حالْ
مولي تجنا وجفا وَاستَطال
غادَرني رهن اساً وخبال
ثم شدا بين الصَّحا والدَّلالْ

[There is no escape from him in any way
The man who accuses and is cruel and proud
He left me in sadness and illness
And sang between flirting and consciousness:]

And the lover responds in the kharja:

مو الحبيب انفرم ذي مو امار كان ذا شنار ينقيس ام بين كشاد مو لغار

[My lover is ill from my love, will he not get better? Come so my nearness cures him]

The relationship between this muwashshah and its kharja is direct because the author is writing about his desires and the abuses of his lover. His lover, recognizing the power he has over the muwashshah speaker, responds proudly in the kharja. Just like the previous example, it is easier to see the subjects and desires of the poem when a reciprocal relationship occurs in the muwashshah and kharja regardless if the beloved is male or female.

In four of the poems the muwashshah speaker is singing the kharja and he shares the same sentiments as the woman or women who typically sing them. In the following passage the muwashshah voice is singing to the beloved like the woman who sings:

شدوْته مُعَلنا كخود تُغِنّيه

[I recite to him like the woman who sings to him:] (Uddat 178)

In this section the muwashshah speaker is in a situation similar to that of the typical kharja voice and he frames the supposed woman's song to express his point of view. In one homoerotic muwashshah, the muwashshah speaker answers in the first person in the kharja and makes no reference to any woman or songs of women:

فَلما اشد أجيب لِمَن دَعَا

[How many times I answer to who is calling:] (Jaysh 11,8)

In these examples there is only one voice in the poem—the muwashshah speaker who voices both the muwashshah and the kharja.

In another example, one of Al-‘Ama al-Tutīli (Uddat 311), the girl refers to herself and the muwashshah speaker:

رب مخضوب البنان قد غدت للحسن كنها
غادة ملء العيان تشرق الافاق منها
زرتها في المهرجانْ فشدت عني وعنها

[A girl with dyed fingers who became the essence of beauty
A girl who fills one’s looks and who illuminates the horizons
I visited her in the summer and she sang about me and about her:]

This muwashshah is a panegyric to al-Hawzanī and the kharja has no relation to the rest of the poem except that the woman sings about both herself and the muwashshah voice. She does not direct her sentiments towards the muwashshah speaker but rather to an unknown subject.

Another unique kharja transition is contained in a different muwashshah by al-‘Ama al-Tutīli (Uddat 102). The muwashshah speaker articulates his love for Ahmed in the muwashshah and the girl of the kharja is also in love with Ahmed:

وربَّ فتاةٍ فتنت فيه
تعلّله بالصد والتّيه
فقد اشدت وهي تغنيه

[A girl who was seduced by him
Who made her sick by his disdain and pride
She sang with passion about him:]

The kharja in this muwashshah is used to compound the sentiments of the author who expresses the seductiveness and beauty of Ahmed. The muwashshah speaker is not the only one experiencing love for Ahmed and the doubling effect of the muwashshah and the girl’s desire heightens the perception of why the muwashshah speaker is infatuated

with Ahmed. His beauty is not just noticed by the muwashshah speaker but probably by many including the girl of the kharja. In some of the homoerotic muwashshahs, as seen in this passage, a girl is singing the kharja which is often related to the experience of the muwashshah speaker yet she is undoubtedly not the object of his desire. As seen in all of these previous examples, whether the kharjas are taken from a previous song or invented by the author, the writer of the muwashshah controls how he utilizes the kharja and what its function in the poem is.

Of the 47 Arabic muwashshahs which have Romance or partial Romance kharjas:

-- 16 of them are reciprocal, in which the kharja voice is speaking or singing directly to the muwashshah speaker;

-- 13 are related to the muwashshah voice or beloved but not reciprocal in which the kharja voice is speaking about the beloved, or, the muwashshah speaker states that the kharja voice and he share the same sentiments;

-- 4 in which the kharja is voiced by the muwashshah speaker himself;

-- 14 in which the kharja is unrelated to the speaker and his beloved even if there are some thematic similarities.[32]

In most of the cases in which the kharja is disjointed or unrelated, the poem is panegyric, in praise of a dignitary or ruler, rather than amorous. Whereas in the amorous poems the

[32] The kharjas from the following muwashshahs are disjointed or unrelated: Uddat 22, 98, 109, 111, 124, 157, 167, 240, 273 and those from the Jaysh are 5,10; 10,10; 4,9; 5,10; 18,8; 16,6. The kharjas which are related to the muwashshah are: Uddat 31, 90. 102, 110, 190, 281, 311, Jaysh 4,8; 8,1; 9,8; 10,3; 12,7, 12,9. Those that are reciprocal and related: Uddat 140, 149, 150, 179, 193, 224, 260, 276, 344, 345, 347, 348, 349, Jaysh 1,2; 6,1; 6,9; as well as Ibn Quzmān's muwashshah and 'Ama's muwashshah with a Romance kharja in *Tawshī al-tawshīh* . The four in which the muwashshah author is the voice: Jaysh 1,4; 11,8; Uddat 178; 349.

kharja adds a distinctive voice accenting the theme of love, pleasure or suffering portrayed in the muwashshah, in many of the panegyric or elegiac poems it remains unclear how the kharja adds to the rest of the poem other than following the requisite muwashshah structure in which the last stanza is the kharja.[33] Laudatory and amorous elements are mixed throughout the panegyric muwashshahs and this commonness points to the acceptability of combining the two themes, as is common in the traditional Arabic *qasīda*.

The desire of the speaker of the muwashshah is towards a woman in most of the reciprocal kharjas, yet this direct dialogue between the muwashshah and kharja voices also occur in a few of the homoerotic poems. Because the kharjas are usually voiced by women and both the kharjas and amorous muwashshahs deal with similar themes, it is logical that muwashshahs with desire towards women have the greatest number of reciprocal kharjas. The concern for the reciprocal kharjas, because they are in varying degrees of Romance dialect, is assessing if these women are mozarab Christian women, possibly slaves, and if these poems represent relationships and affairs between Muslim men and non-Arab Christian women. While there is no evidence of the origins of the kharjas themselves, the two possibilities are that 1) the muwashshah authors are manipulating these lyrics to fit logically with their poems, as Kelley argues in her article or 2) they are demonstrations of love with women of a different religion who speak a mixture of Romance and Arabic and the authors are copying their words directly. Either

[33] It is also in the panegyric muwashshahs that the two cases of inanimate objects, glory and war, voicing the kharjas occur and these cases fit more thematically with the rest of the muwashshah rather than the more amorous kharjas in the panegyric muwashshahs.

of these possibilities, literary or actual, shows an acute awareness by the authors of not only the Mozarabic language but also of the Mozarabic culture either through these songs or by direct relations with Mozarabs.

The voice of the kharja and the connection this voice has with the speaker of the muwashshah shows the complexity of relationships they have with each other within this corpus. It is clear that the majority of the kharjas do not express their sentiments towards the author or toward the main object of the poem although there are many examples of this occurrence. In most cases they often reiterate the emotional response of the author which further contributes to the moving aspects of this poetry. Sometimes this is disjointed, as is usually observed in the panegyric poems, and occasionally the author and the woman of the kharja share a desire for the same person. While we do not know who wrote the kharjas, whatever their origin, the authors manipulated these texts in many ways within the corpus of the muwashshahs. They placed them in the voices of males, females and animals as well as that of the muwashshah speaker himself to force them to fit thematically and dialogically with the rest of the poem. Even if the origins of the kharjas are women's songs unchanged by the authors, they freely chose what parts of the song to use and how they wanted these excerpts to contribute to their own poetic creations.

The final aspect of the relationship between the muwashshah and the kharja which must be clarified is a discussion of Vicente Cantarino's theory of "gender genre".[34]

[34] This comes from his chapter of *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context* which was summarized in the first chapter.

While Cantarino believes the authors are writing in a woman's voice, his theory, while theoretically plausible in some cases given the feminine quality of some of the muwashshahs themselves, does not hold up grammatically. Verbs for the first person and the first person pronoun (أنا or *anna*) in Arabic are the same in all tenses regardless of the gender of the person (Fischer 141; Thackston 72), thus the only indication that the author could be male or female is the nouns or adjectives they use for themselves. These do not occur frequently because the focus of most of the poems is on imagery of the beloved or on more general feelings of love and suffering. There are a few passages in which the author does write in the first person, and in the cases that do exist, all of the adjectives are in the masculine. The following are the examples:

أنا الاصبغ

I am the (male) professor (Jaysh 13,8)

فأنا رب اللواء

Thus I, am the (male) standard bearer (Jaysh 1,4)

أنا عبد

I am a (male) slave (two passages, Jaysh 12,8 and Uddat 344)

انا الملول

I am the (male) weary one (Jaysh 5,4)

انا الحمول

I am the (male) carrier (Jaysh 5,4)

بانني لك عبد

As if I were your (male) slave (Uddat 98)

In all of these examples, all of the grammar clearly indicates the author is a male because there are no feminine endings (such as ة), nouns, adjectives or objects which otherwise indicate the author signifies it is female. Thus, the speaker is assuming a masculine identity grammatically.

Another sign which would show the masculine gender of the muwashshah speaker is a conversation between this speaker and the beloved within the muwashshah. This only occurs three times within this corpus. Al-Mu'tamid's muwashshah (Uddat 347), analyzed on the tenth page, has the kharja voice speaking to the muwashshah voice addressing him in the masculine second person. In one of Al-'Ama al-Tutīli's muwashshahs (Uddat 31), the speaker and the beloved of the poem dialogue with each other. A section of this poem is as follows:

وَقَال وَدَمْعُ العيْن قد سَالا

مِن ايْن تعَلَّمتَ الهَوى قُلتُ من تفتِيرِ عينَيْكَ تعَلَّمْتُ

فقَال وَقدْ صَيَّرِنى ارْضَا
برحتَ بشكوَى المقَل المرضَى
فَقُلتُ لَهُ ان كنتَ لا تْرضَى

[And the person said while tears poured from my eyes

"Where did you (masculine) learn love?" I said, "From the languor of your eyes I learned."

And he said and then humbling himself to me
You (masculine) have worsened with complaints, sick eyes
And I said to him, if you (masculine) are not satisfied]

This passage has three verbs conjugated for the past tense masculine second person, (تعلمتَ برحتَ and كنتَ), making it masculine because of the short vowel markings (the dash above the scriptَ known as *fatha*) that come above the Arabic script (Thackston 33). The preceding lines are in the third person and the text switches to the second person to indicate the conversation they are having with each other. The grammar indicates that both the beloved (when referred in both the second and third person) and the speaker of the muwashshah are male.

One of Ibn Baqī's muwashshahs (Uddat 345), which contains a female beloved which is clearly shown in the grammar used in the poem, also has a male speaker. The woman pleads with the muwashshah speaker in the last line before the kharja, and because of the short vowels, he is clearly a male:

فَشَكَتْ ذَاكَ وقَالتْ لي سَأَلتُكَ بِالْودِّ

[She complained to me and said "I plead to (masculine) you in the name of love"]

The masculine you (كَ) shows the gender of the muwashshah speaker. It is logical that this muwashshah has a male speaker because of the female beloved given the dearth of same-sex female desire in classical Arabic poetry, yet in both this and the previous homoerotic poem, the muwashshah speakers are referred to grammatically as males. Conversations within the muwashshahs with the beloved are not frequent unless they occur in the kharja and the transitioning lines before it. Other than these three citations which are fortunate to contain short vowel markings, there are no other conversations

between the speaker and the beloved that shows directly the gender of the muwashshah speaker within the main body of the poem.

Except for this analysis of first person adjectives and these dialogues, there are not other indications grammatically which demonstrate the author is using a masculine voice to state his own sentiments or is otherwise intending a male speaker of the muwashshah. It is known that all of the muwashshah authors are male or anonymous,[35] thus there is no direct evidence that the muwashshahs were written by women or voiced as if they were written by them. Male authors wrote the muwashshahs in the voice of men exercising an expressive freedom in which gender dichotomy does not constrict the poetic voice of this love poetry.

In addition to the voice of the kharja and the relationship it has to the author and muwashshah, another crucial aspect of gender is the grammar utilized to refer to the beloved. It has often been assumed that masculine grammar has been employed in classical Arabic poetry even when referring to a female and this tradition continues today to some degree in modern Arabic poetry and music. While there have been no comprehensive studies on this phenomenon in either Andalusian poetry or medieval Arabic poetry in general, there is no evidence to how this convention functioned or how strictly it was followed. It is useful to see how gendered grammar works in the muwashshah poetry particularly because we know the gender of the male author and it is often signaled that the singer of the kharja is a girl. Furthermore, the duality of gender in the muwashshahs makes this poetry unique in al-Andalus because of the combination of

[35] Male authorship is discussed in more detail in the third chapter.

the normally masculine voice of the muwashshah and the female voice of the kharja. Because of this, a clearer determination and analysis of gender can be made than in most medieval Arabic poetry which almost always was written exclusively in the masculine voice.[36]

It is fascinating to note that the complexities of gender, in this poetry as well as in Arabic poetry in general, could exist at all given how gendered the Arabic language is, much more so than English or Spanish. Here, as in the Romance languages, adjectives and pronouns change based on the gender of the object in either the second or third person. For instance, in the case of adjectives—جميل "beautiful" (*jamīl*) for a male but جميلة (*jamīla*) for a female (Thackston 10). But unlike the Romance languages, even verbs and objects in the second or third person change to distinguish between males and females. For example, the verb "to say" (قال) in the past tense changes in the third person, (قال and قالت or *qāl* and *qālt* for "he said"/ "she said" respectively) and also in the second person, قلتَ and قلتِ but only in the short vowel markings (*a* or *i*) which are not always included in written Arabic (32-33). The present or imperfect tense is also differentiated, as an example, the verb "to say" is يقول (*yaqūl*) for masculine and تقول (*taqūl*) for feminine in the third person.[37] The plural human feminine verbs also are conjugated differently from plural masculine verbs (72). Direct, indirect and possessive objects are also gendered in Arabic (*hu* or ه for males and *ha* or ها for females) and reflect the gender of

[36] M.C. Lyons also notes how the predominance of the first-person is a salient characteristic in classical Arabic literature which is differentiated from many other literatures (v). The muwashshahs, because of the frequent use of two voices, provides a more complete and complex picture of gender than the majority of classical Arabic poetry.

[37] See page 72 of Thackston for a detailed description of the present tense in Arabic. The second person is also differentiated in formal Arabic.

what it references whether it be human or non-human (39). Additionally, all nouns, as in the Romance languages, have a gender. Gender is differentiated in many grammatical aspects of Arabic which not only allows for the sex of the subject generally to be clear but it is also a defining characteristic of the language.

Short vowel markings are another consideration to be addressed in Arabic grammar.[38] Arabic script distinguishes between long and short vowels. Long vowels are part of the main script and written out but the markings which signify short vowels are not required in Arabic script but are often included in poetry. Because the two main manuscripts of the muwashshahs had several authors and copiers, some of the poems contain short vowel markings and some do not.[39] These markings are often crucial for determining the gender. Particularly, the pronoun "you" in Arabic (أنت) is only differentiated in the short vowels, أنتَ or *anta* for the male "you" and أنتِ or *anti* for the female (Fischer 141). Without the short vowel markings, the male and female words for *you* are undifferentiated and will always be written as أنت which could signify either أنتَ or أنتِ, *anta* or *anti*. The same occurs for the possessives and direct objects for the second person, *you*, which is written as ك and with short vowels is written as كَ (*ka*) or كِ (*ke*) whether masculine or feminine respectively (Thackston 39). Past tense verbs in the second person form are also only differentiated by short vowels. For example, قلتَ (*qalta*) and قلتِ (*qalti*) signify "you (masculine) said" and "you (feminine) said". Some verbs are

[38] For a detailed description of short vowel markings and longs vowels see Wolfdietrich Fischer's *A Grammar of Classical Arabic* (6-7).

[39] For more information on the copiers of the manuscripts and their differences see Jones's introduction to *Uddat* and *Jaysh*.

not differentiated in the past in the first person or second person without short vowels either. If there are no short vowels, it is more difficult to determine the gender in many cases when there is no specific noun or proper name indicating its gender. Although Arabic grammar often makes the gender clear, texts without short vowels make readings more ambiguous.

Linda Fish Compton explains her own difficulties and assumptions in translating Arabic texts, particularly the Arabic muwashshahs for her study, in the 1977 book *Andalusian Love Poetry and Old Spanish Love Songs: The Muwashshah and Its Kharja*. She writes: "It is sometimes impossible to tell whether the loved ones are male or female, for the stock images used in descriptions hardly change. This is complicated by the fact that masculine pronouns and verb forms are traditionally used in Arabic poetry even when referring to female figures" (67). Even though she notes the extreme difficulty of knowing the gender of the referent, she further makes an almost blind conjecture that the poetry does in fact refer to a female:

> Nevertheless, it is possible to deduce from comments about the sanctity of the harem or about the beloved's guardian that a female is intended. Despite the fact that homosexual love was practiced, it is in keeping with established poetic tradition to assume that the person in question is a young woman where there is no proper noun or other indication to the contrary. (67)

Fish Compton gives no reason to believe the author may refer to males, although this could be the case—particularly if the beloveds are younger boys, possibly even slaves. This could explain the harem or guardianship she mentions, or, be indicative of the

practice of pederasty which was common in al-Andalus.[40] It is not proper to assume the object of desire is a woman if there is no proper name because, as this chapter will show, there are many poems in which the beloved is *not* a female. Additionally, the kharja often gives subtle clues to the gender of which the author writes.

Like Fish Compton, Henri Pérès notes that using masculine grammar to describe a female is a convention of classical Arabic poetry, however, he writes, discussing eleventh century al-Andalus, that there was a change in this trend in which the feminine became more frequent to refer to females even though a female proper name was absent to protect her and her family's honor (417). He gives no details or evidence for this claim yet, according to his thesis, it does signify that grammar began to correspond with the gender of the object.[41] Moreover, J.W. Wright's introduction to *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature* also discusses briefly the dominant use of masculine grammar in Arabic literature without further analysis: "Nearly all classical Arabic literature extant today involves stories and studies by men and about men—or so it seems, since medieval Arab scriptors almost always used masculine gender markers and related male motifs when they wrote about pleasure, politics, or power" (xiii).

Schirmann's article "The Ephebe in Medieval Hebrew Poetry", which was summarized in the first chapter, also analyzes scholars' theory of authors referring to women as males in both Hebrew and Arabic poetry from this period. He, unlike the critics just cited, remains unconvinced of the commonality of this phenomenon:

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[40] This topic is addressed in more detail in chapter three.

[41] While he only notes this briefly in his book, this is a topic that deserves more consideration. Unfortunately there have been no detailed studies about this convention or trend.

> Modern research therefore has never questioned the true character of this love-poetry, but has either never taken notice or wished to take notice of one of its very striking peculiarities. The Nagid, as well as other Hebrew poets of Spain, often designate the figure of the beloved as "Sebiyya" or "Ofra" (gazelle, doe) and even more frequently as its male counterpart "Sebi" and "Ofer" (roe). The scholars were loath to admit that it represented a *beloved boy*. Commentators of Hebrew poems took pains to deny this fundamental fact. They either saw in the "Sebi" but a good acquaintance of the poet's, suppressing any erotic allusions, or they assumed him to be a girl, addressed as a man either for reasons of decorum or in compliance with a certain literary fashion. Of such a turn of speech these scholars luckily found some instances in the Arabic literature, authoritative at the time for Hebrew poets in Spain….
>
> Undeniably, a similar custom was occasionally practiced in Hebrew. Some Hebrew songs about the beautiful lad may easily have applied to a lady and, in some cases, comprehension is indeed facilitated by such a transposition. However, unbiased study of the material relating to this subject shows distinctly that this sort of figurative meanings occurred quite exceptionally. As a rule, Hebrew poets clearly distinguished between female and male figures. (56-58)

While Schirmann accepts that there are a few cases in which a female is referred to as a man in medieval Arabic and Hebrew poetry, he notes these happen infrequently and that there are, in most poems, indications to determine the gender of the referent of the poem. Scholars' biases have affected the gender read in these poems and it is important to undo the misappropriations that have occurred in analyzing the gender of the beloved. Schirmann's article written in the 1950s demonstrates that criticism on homoeroticism was ignored at that time, and there have been few studies since the publication of his article that refute the accepted yet often erroneous notions about this poetry.

Another critic, Sahar Amer, also discusses this convention in medieval Arabic poetry more skeptically than others when she comments about John Jay Parry's introduction to his 1941 translation of Andreas Capellanus's *The Art of Courtly Love*. He

compares it to the *The Dove's Neck Ring*, an eleventh century al-Andalus work by Ibn Hazm known for its representations of same-sex desire:

> After examining its Andalusian equivalent, *The Dove's Neck Ring* by Ibn Hazm, he admits the possible influence of Ibn Hazm on courtly love, but only after heterosexualizing *The Dove's Neck Ring's* same-sex lyrics. He writes: "Among the Arabic, public opinion required that if the beloved was a woman she must 'for decency's sake,' be spoken of as a man and referred to by masculine pronouns, adjectives and verbs." Furthermore, Parry speculates, "this alleged Arabic convention of encoding a heterosexual poem as a homosexual poem. . . may account for the troubadour practice of the male poet addressing his lady as his lord (*midons* or *senhor*)." Both of the interpretive stances briefly summarized here demonstrate that accepting or rejecting the multicultural dimension of European literary production leads to the same assumption, the assertion of the heterosexual and Western nature of courtly love. Evidently the proclamation of a Western heterosexual identity represents yet another means of establishing European hierarchies of domination, both cultural and sexual. (181)[42]

Amer notes how these conventions have been the misuse of "Western heterosexual identity" on Arabic literary models and how this can aversely affect the way one interprets this literature.[43] It must be noted that the lack of systematic study on this topic in any medieval Arabic poetry hinders a comprehensive analysis of this phenomenon but, as seen in this previous citations, there have been scholars such as Schirmann and Amer who have been critical of the practice of using masculine grammar for females.

In medieval Arabic poetry, it is true that women are infrequently referenced by their specific name whereas men's first names (though not usually their full names) are

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[42] The work of Ibn Hazm is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 which also refutes many of Parry's ideas of sexuality and same-sex desire.

[43] Aileen El-Kadí is also critical of many translators' work and the bias of their own morality on medieval Arabic texts. They often transform homoerotic texts to a female beloved: "Cabe destacar aquí que muy a menudo he hallado en los traductores de textos árabes una imprudencia de corte moralista, al tomar palabras masculinas que pertenecen a un claro contexto homosexual, en relación a la sexualidad de un hombre a otro, y traducirlas al femenino. Transformando un texto de referencias homosexuales a otro donde *el* amado se transforma en *la* amada" (24).

regularly but not always mentioned. In the muwashshahs this happens much more often in the ones categorized as panegyric. In all of the muwashshahs with Romance kharjas, there is only one specific name mentioned of a woman in an anonymous muwashshah (Uddat 260) who is called *Hind*.[44] Another poem mentions that the beloved is a member of the tribe Banū Thābit (Jaysh 1, 2)[45] and these are the only two examples that give any clue to the particular girl. However, even if part of her name or the tribe from which she comes is revealed, it does not indicate the specific person who inspired the author. Using feminine grammar to refer to females is quite common in the muwashshahs and still preserves the secrecy of the beloved because there is no indication of which girl the author writes, only that she is a female. Merely indicating the gender of the beloved grammatically does not expose the precise person about whom the author describes. It is a weak theory to assume that all of the homoeroticism in this poetry was a convention to conceal the female beloved.

With respect to the muwashshahs with Romance kharjas the grammar does generally reflect its object with respect to gender. There are some poems in which there is a flexibility of gender because of the need to maintain strictly the rhyme and meter. Shifts between the second and third person also can occur frequently and somewhat disjointedly. However, it is not the case that the grammar always or even normally uses masculine grammar for all of the referents in the poems. Some words, particularly *habīb*

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[44] This could possibly be a reference to the famous female poet Hind. She was the slave of Abu Mamad ʻAbd Allah al-Satibi who wrote poetry in the beginning of the twelfth century and little else is known of her life (Reina 395).

[45] This poem does not indicate a gender for the beloved so it could either be male or female. This poem is discussed in more detail in the last section of this chapter.

or حبيب (lover/boyfriend) and *mahbūb* or محبوب (beloved), are used almost always in the default masculine even though they can be expressed by the feminine rendering of *habība* (حبيبة) or *mahbūba* (محبوبة).

The last lines of the muwashshahs which transition to the kharjas are often the best indication of the clarity of grammatical gender. They link the two parts of the poem and they frequently signal the speaker of the kharja. The grammar of these sections (as shown in many of the previous passages of this chapter) changes to the feminine in most cases indicating a female voice of the kharja. In all of the cases in which a noun indicates it is a woman, the feminine grammar is employed with respect to nouns, pronouns and verbs.

A comparison of a few muwashshahs, of both homoerotic and opposite-sex desire, elucidates how grammar is employed and differentiated for males and females. The anonymous poem (Uddat 190) which is written for Ahmed and clearly homoerotic, uses all of the masculine grammar to describe him, but the last lines which transition the muwashshah into the kharja change to the feminine grammar to signal a female voice of the kharja:

افْلاقُ الْجيُوب قَدْ حَوينَ أَهِلّهْ
مَا لَهُنّ قُطْبُ وَهْي للوَرى قْبلَهْ

ما تلذّ عيْني غَيْر اوْجُه الشُّقْر
قُضب اللّجَين اوْرَقتْ عَلى التِّبْر
لْو قَضيْنَ دَيْني مِن مّرَاشِف الدُّر

مَا عَلي حَبيب لَوْ ابَاح لي قُبْلَهْ
اذْ لمَاهُ عَذْبُ وبمُهْجتي غُلّهْ

شقّ عَنْ شقِيق ياسَمِين خَدّيْهِ
خطّ بِالْخُلوق والعَبِير عَلْيه
كَيْف بالْعَقِيق انْ يُّضافَ الَيْهِ

لْيسَ بالمصِيب شَادنٌ جَفا خِلّهْ
اذْ أَتَاه عَتْبُ الْفهِ عَنِ الْخُلّهْ

مَن لّهُ حَبيبُ كحُبِيّبي احْمَدْ
شَادنٌ رّبيبُ في جَمَالِهِ مُفْرَدْ
لَحْظُهُ مُصِيبُ كُلّ مَن بهِ يُقصَد

كَمْ عَلى الْقُلوب قدْ احَال مِن نبْلَهْ
رِيشُهنّ هُدْبُ وَمرِيشُها مُقْلِهْ

.....

كَم شَكتْ هَواهُ مِن شَهيّةِ الظَّلْمِ
اذْ رَاتْ لَمَاهُ فَاشْتَهتْهُ لِلّثمِ
اْبصَرتْ طُلاهُ فَحكَتْهُ لِلْأُمِّ

[The spheres of hearts contain new moons
Which have no frowns, and conceal within them

My eyes don’t enjoy except the faces of blonds
That are branches of silver filled with leaves of gold
If I could satisfy my need with that mouth of pearls!

What is bad about my friend permitting me a kiss?
His saliva is sweet and there is an ardent thirst in my heart

The redness of the garden of his cheeks, and of jasmine
Lines of creation, and the fragrance on him

How carnelian (red), to add to him

It is not just, that the gazelle treats its friend so harshly
Scolding when he arrives, around his friends

Who has a lover like my lover Ahmed
That little gazelle and his unique beauty
His captivating look at everything he looks

How many hearts where hit by arrows
Whose feathers were his eyelashes and his eyes
…..

How many girls lamented his love and his white teeth
When they (feminine) saw his red lips wanting to kiss them
They (feminine) saw the sides of his neck and let (feminine) her mother know about him:]

This muwashshah begins by speaking about love in general terms and the grammar reflects the objects it is discussing, whether it be hearts, eyes, etc. The third section begins specifically describing Ahmed and maintains masculine grammar to portray him (*his* beauty and *his* look) but in the last transitional lines of the muwashshah the grammar abruptly changes to the feminine verbs with ت endings (شكتْ and ابصرتْ) indicating that the voice of the kharja, the one speaking to her mother, is feminine. In this poem there is no masculine default grammar used, the grammar always agrees with the referent whether it be Ahmed, non-human objects or the girl of the kharja. The duality of gender between the obvious male beloved and the female kharja voice is clearly expressed grammatically in this poem, and, having these two subjects of distinct gender within one poem help to facilitate our understanding of how gender is employed for both females and males.

To serve as a contrast, the next example shows how grammar is maintained in a muwashshah with a female beloved rather than a male. In this poem, the author ‘Ubāda al-Qazzaz (Uddat 276) consistently uses feminine grammar to refer to her:

خلَّتي إشْرَاقُ كالرَّشا المَذْعُورِ
سَلَبَتْ عَيْنَاهَا مُقْلَتي يَعفُورِ
غُصُن مِن دُر في كَثِيب نُورِ

بَرَزَتْ في العِيدِ بينَ عينٍ خَمْسِ
فَتَجلَّت بدرَا مَا لَهَا مِن نَقْصِ

لَحْظُهَا نَشْوَانُ خَدُّهَا بُسْتَانُ
ثَغْرُهَا عِقيَانُ جِسمُهَا رَيَّانُ
لَفْظُها بُرْهَانُ وَصْلُهَا رِضْوَانُ

علّقَتْ بالجِيدِ تحتَ وَجهِ الشَّمْسِ
للعُيُون شَذْرَا فَوْقَ نَحْرٍ رخْصِ

بِنْتُ عَنْهَا عَشْرَا بَعْدَ عُتْبَا طَالَبْ
ثُمّ أُبْتُ شَوْقَا بعْدَ حَالٍ حالَتْ
نَظَرتْ الَيَّ فَجات فقالَتْ

[My intimate (female) friend is resplendent like the frightened gazelle
Stealing her eyes my eye the gazelle
A branch of pearls on a dune of light

She appeared during the holiday among five women
Highlighting the full moon she has no fault

Her look is intoxicating her cheek a garden
Her mouth is gold and her body luxuriant
Her speech is concluding union with her delightful

I put on her neck below that face of the sun
For the eyes a pearl necklace a softness above her throat

I was away from her for ten days after a long favor
I returned because of my ardent desire
She looked at me and when she saw me she said:]

All of the pronouns, nouns and verbs in the passages of this poem are feminine. They describe the female beloved about whom the author writes. The passage begins with خلتي (*khalatī*) indicating a female friend (the *ta* indicates it is feminine). The ها (*ha*) or the feminine object and possessive pronoun occurs for all of the objects which describe her—her look, her cheek, her mouth, her neck, etc. All of the verbs which reference the beloved, including *she appeared* (برزتْ) and *she said* (قالتْ) are conjugated in the feminine. This passage makes it clear that although women are very infrequently mentioned by name, most likely to preserve their honor and protect their reputation, there is no prohibition of using feminine grammar to describe a woman. This frequently occurs for the muwashshahs in which the object of desire is a woman—there is recurrent employment of feminine grammar to describe her. Even by employing feminine grammar, the beloved of the author can still be kept anonymous because she could be *any* female. The two previous muwashshahs demonstrate how there is a difference in grammar between poems with male and female beloveds.

In another homoerotic muwashshah, one of Ibn Labbūn (Jaysh 12,7), no proper name is mentioned, and other than the grammar in the muwashshah, the kharja gives away the gender of the referent. An excerpt is as follows:

سَبَاني رَشا
هضيم الحشا
يُبدي ان مَشا

غصنا في ركام عليْه محيا كَبدْر التَّمام

مَعْشوق يتيه
عَلى عَاشقيه
كَم قَاسيت فيه

لو يَرعَا الذمَام وَمن عليا وَلوْ بالسلَّام

كَمْ ذا يهجر
وَلا يعشر
مما اضمر

فيهِ من غرَام قد غزت اليا اجنَاد الحمام

لا انسَا زمن
غنا فيه من
اولاني حَسَن

مما شت الغلام لا بد كل ليا حلال اوْ حَرَام

[A young deer captivated me
Thin of waist
When he walks

Like a branch on a dune and his face is like the full moon

He acts proudly in being desired
Of those passionate about him
How much I suffered for him!

If he would notice me and were friendly I would be in peace

How many times he went away
And without feeling

The reason I am getting thinner

About him is a passion that attacks me the army of death

I will not forget the time
Who sang about him
Telling me of his beauty:

Mama, your (male) slave should be mine whether licitly or not]

This passage begins by describing a young deer and the pain his disinterestedness causes the muwashshah speaker. Whether referring to a male or the deer, all of the grammar references the masculine (ه endings and masculine singular verbs such as يهجر and يعشر). The kharja makes the referent of the poem clearly male, even though there are no other indications in the muwashshah of a proper name. In the kharja the speaker desires her mother's slave and the word used, الغلام (*al-ghulām*), is a male slave. It cannot be a female slave because it would be written as الغلامة (*al-ghulāma*) (Hava 533).

Another muwashshah was written with the same kharja shown in the previous paragraph and they are structurally similar. Yahda al-Jazzār (Jaysh 11,1) authored this muwashshah, and as a point of contrast from Ibn Labbūn's, this one expresses a desire for a woman. A comparison shows how the grammar of this muwashshah differs from that of the previous one. The referent is understood as female even though the same kharja is utilized. The ending of this poem is as follows:

فَتات كعَاب
نعيم شباب
عَلَيْهَا مذاب

كروْض الغمام لهَا المسك ريا وَالدر ابتسَام

فَكيف السَّبيل
ان يشف الغليل
اذْ ظلت تقول

مما شو الغلام لا بد كل ليا حَلال او حرام

[A girl with big breasts
Very young
The one which is desired

Like a garden of clouds smelling of perfume and pearls of a smile

So, what is the way
To cure passion
When she continually says:

Mama your (male) slave should be mine whether licitly or not]

The language is reflected as feminine for the beloved of this muwashshah. The noun فتات (*fatāt*) refers to a female. Furthermore, the verbs and objects are in the feminine form, تقول which is the third person feminine and ها which occurs twice is the feminine object.

A comparison of these two muwashshahs demonstrates how the authors used the same kharja to write two completely different muwashshahs. In these two examples, the grammar is clear—the first one is referencing a man with the exclusive use of masculine grammar and the second one alludes to a female. The kharja, referring to a male slave, is used in two different ways in the corresponding muwashshahs. In the former, the kharja voice sings about the beloved who the muwashshah speaker also desires. In the latter, the desire of the woman is not towards the muwashshah speaker but another male, in this case the male slave. The muwashshah speaker desires the woman who desires the slave. Not only is the grammar coherent, but it is vital for analyzing the circumstances

described in these two poems. Even though they are structurally similar and share the same kharja, they are written about two very different situations.

In addition to identifying the gender of the beloved, some of the confusion of understanding gendered grammar in the muwashshahs is the case of referentiality or awareness of what object the grammar addresses. In many of these poems, elaborate descriptions are given to gazelles since it is the metaphor or simile for the beloved, and this imagery can sometimes continue throughout most of the poem. There are long descriptions of not only gazelles but also other animals, objects and even intangible emotions and ideas, particularly love. Because Arabic uses gendered grammar such as pronouns and objects for non-human nouns, such as gazelles or passion, many of these supposed masculine references (هو or *huwa* for he and ه for his or him) are actually referring to a non-human masculine noun rather than a person. Often it takes a very careful reading in order to understand to what the grammatical objects (*huwa* or *hiya*) are referring. Without a close analysis the grammar may appear unsystematic when, in fact, it is not.

One of the best examples of referentiality is in the muwashshah cited earlier by Ibn Labbūn (Uddat 281) in which the author uses almost the entire poem to describe the beauty of a gazelle and the suffering of love. He opens the poem by discussing the state of hearts that are struck by love. In the next strophe he introduces the gazelle and describes it:

أَنَّا بصَبْري وأَنَّا وكيفَ لي باصْطِبَارِ
هَوِيتُ ظَبياً أَغَنَّا يُزْري بشَمْسِ النّهَارِ

فِيهِ جَنَاني جُنَّا وَقَد خَلَعْتُ عِذَارِ

وَلَيسَ لي مِن طبيبِ اِلا بحُسْنِ التَّراضِ
مِمَّن أَذَابَني سُقما بمُقْبِلٍ و بمَاضِ

ظَبْيٌ اغَرّ فتّان في عَارِضيْة بُستَانُ
والقَدُّ منهُ فْينَانُ قَدْ زيَّنتْهُ رُمَّانُ
وَالخدّ فيه ظَيَّانُ تحْمِيهِ سُمْرٌ خُرْاصَانُ

[Where is my patience? Where? And how can I persevere?
I have loved a gazelle that detracts from the sun of day
Because of it my madness intensifies and makes me lose all shame

And there isn't a cure for me except by being with that beauty
That punished me with the illness of love in the past and the future

Beautiful and young gazelle in whose face is a garden
A shape of abundant hair adorned with pomegranate
And in its cheeks jasmine that earrings protect]

Because the entire poem is referencing the gazelle, the masculine pronouns and objects *hu* may appear at first to refer to a male or perhaps a disguised female, yet all of the pronouns reference the gazelle rather than a person. The pronoun, although masculine, refers to the gazelle itself which translates as *its*, not *his—its cheeks*, *its face*, etc. In this particular poem there is no clue in the entire muwashshah which shows the gender of the beloved, making it universal. The author continues with these descriptions of the gazelle in the later parts of the poem until he arrives at the last lines of the kharja, stating how he sympathizes with the one who was treated badly (the singer of the kharja). With so much focus on objects other than the beloved, one must always differentiate between the beloved, the metaphors and the descriptions because the objects must be masculine or

feminine. They can be the same for humans and non-humans. This convention makes it more difficult to determine the referent of the poem. However, an analysis of referentiality with respect to objects demonstrates the authors uphold grammatical rules which the object reflects.

Additionally, many of the poems are addressed to "who" or مَن (pronounced in Arabic as *man*) which takes the default masculine because it does not indicate a gender. Al-Habbāz al-Mursī's muwashshah (Jaysh 10,10) in which the gender of the beloved cannot be ascertained, is universal. Most of the sections of the poem refer to "who" (مَن) and a gazelle which both take the masculine case. Two sections of the poem which include these subjects are:

مَن لي بظبي رَبيب يسطوا باسد الغياض
لوى بريني لما املته للتقاضِ

[Who will give me the enslaved gazelle that hunts the covert of lions
Late on my debt I was waiting for what I was owed?]

مَن لي بتَفتير طَرفه وَالموت مِن لحظاته
ان مَرَّثاني عطفِه فَالحسن فيه بذاتِه
اوْ رمت ادراك وصْفه اعتني بعض صفَاته

[Who will give me the languidness of those eyes death comes with those looks
And another time its eyelashes it is the embodiment of beauty
If I tried to describe this gazelle I would be unable to describe some of its qualities]

These two passages demonstrate a double use of referentiality that masks the gender of the beloved. Not only is the person "who" gender neutral expressed in the default masculine, but the gazelle, which is the focus of the poem and the metaphor for the beloved, also takes the same masculine form. This makes the gender of the object of the

poem undeterminable. The use of "who" (مَن) occurs numerous times in this corpus and will always be masculine until the subject changes to a different object or a specific person.

These examples show how gendered grammar for humans and non-humans as well as referentiality is employed in the muwashshahs and this analysis is representative of the corpus as a whole. Grammar rules are generally followed with respect to gender and in most of the poems it is possible to distinguish between male and female beloveds, even if it is not completely obvious. Despite the flexibility and confusing gender in a few of the poems, these sections are the clear minority and do not represent the corpus as a whole. A conscientious reading generally ascertains the referent of the grammar even in these more ambiguous cases, although it may not be immediately obvious.

Considering the grammatical aspects of gender in the muwashshahs is important to properly determine the sex of the referent. Because of the focus on descriptions and metaphors, the majority of these poems do not discuss the referent specifically since long passages are used to describe its beauty and to also compare it to the gazelle or inanimate objects for which the grammar inflects. Given the nature of these poems it is easier to see the complications that translators faced in translating the muwashshahs into English and Spanish in which the grammar varies so drastically. It also complicates the argument in Espósito's article "Dismemberment of Things Past: Fixing the Jarchas" summarized in the first chapter. Naturally, García-Gómez and Solá-Solé were translating in a way, consciously or not, in which the objects affect the gender of the translation whether the

author alludes to a male or a female.[46] Any translation of these poems into English or Spanish cannot be as clear cut given the manner in which the author expressed himself and the way it is reflected in Arabic grammar. Thus, for an appropriate interpretation, a translator always must carefully consider gender and what it references.

The last aspect of gender which is important for understanding the poems is the use of descriptive models by the authors. Many of the stock descriptions occur repeatedly throughout the poem and these descriptions generally do not change based on the gender of beloved. It is clear that a very specific conception of beauty in Andalusian love poetry exists which often is characterized by white teeth, red lips, red cheeks like gardens, large eyes and slenderness. Themes and descriptions in Arabic poetry developed from the pre-Islamic *qasīda*, as was described in the first chapter. The beginning section of the *qasīda*, the *nasīb*, focuses on the unrequited love of the poet after finding his beloved absent. Arabic poetry continued to follow the models for these descriptions.[47] The themes of love and unrequited love grew stronger as Arabic poetry developed, particularly during the rise of Islam (Tobi 117). The use of metaphors referencing the desert and other general images which are common in the muwashshahs

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[46] There are cases in both of these translations, less so in Solá-Solé, which have a female beloved written into the translations even if there is no evidence for this in the Arabic muwashshah. M.C. Lyons gives details of some descriptions in the muwashshah corpus as a whole in the tenth chapter of *Identification and Identity in Classical Arabic Poetry*.

[47] Doris Behrens-Abouseif gives a description of the female beloved in the *qasīda* and explains how these descriptions changed little over centuries in Arabic poetry: "In pre-Islamic poetry the physical beauty of the beloved lady was a major theme. The whites of her eyes are bright, her face is oval, her pose regular, her neck long, her waist fine, her buttocks strong, her feet well formed. She is of noble descent, fragile, well protected, and generous. There are a multitude of such poetic descriptions, differing little in content, the pre-Islamic pattern having been for centuries copied without much variation" (57). It is clear that many of these stock descriptions for beauty continued to be utilized in the muwashshahs and Andalusian love poetry.

are part of the tradition of Arabic poetry which remained conservative in its use of themes and descriptions.[48]

Solá-Solé 1990 translation categorizes the muwashshah poems into two groups in the introduction to each poem— either as panegyric or as amorous. There are some differences in descriptions between these two groups. However, the distinction between the two is not always clear because many of the panegyric poems contain elements from both of these subsets often with long amorous introductions. If the poem is labeled as panegyric, it could be understood as a poem written to a man yet not homoerotic. The majority of the poem is praiseworthy of a friend, colleague, benefactor or sometimes a historical figure and focuses on the person's moral, leadership and personal qualities. Amorous descriptions frequently are present in parts but not the entirety of the poem of each of the poems of this subset, yet there are few indications to the gender of the referent or if the amorous section is also related to the extolled subject. In many cases it is disjointed from the rest of the poem.[49] Solá-Solé considers a poem to be panegyric in most cases if the majority of the poem is written to praise someone rather than focus on love, and he is mostly accurate in his assessment. There are a few poems in which this classification could be disputed. The most notable example is an anonymous muwashshah (Uddat 98) which opens with the pain of secretiveness of a love, then

[48] Chapter Four will analyze some similarities of between the language of the Koran and the muwashshahs. For a more detailed summary of the development of genre in Arabic poetry, see Pierre Cachia's *Arabic Literature: An Overview*.

[49] One possible explanation for the frequent amorous elements in the panegyric muwashshahs is the development of the genre from the *qasīda*, which was explained in the first chapter. The *qasīda* follows a specific structure which is by its nature polythematic. The beginning section of the *qasīda* often describes scenes of unrequited or lost love and the last section is generally in praise of the author, his tribe or somebody else (Motoyoshi Sumi 1).

describes a scene in which wine is being passed around, "for the love of Mohammed" (على وداد محمد), yet, the remaining passages of the poem focus on love for a gazelle. Except for this one line about Mohammed and the statement that he is a vizier, no other section of the poem addresses or praises him. Determining the classification as amorous or panegyric would depend on one's interpretation of Mohammed's mention, yet it is more probable that this is an amorous poem.

An examination of some of the male descriptions of the panegyric poems shows their typical characteristics and how they are differentiated from the amorous subset. A passage from Ibn Mu'allim's panegyric poem to Abū 'Amr (Uddat 110) shows many of the common laudatory descriptions in panegyric muwashshah poems:

تزهى المعَالَى بعلى أبى عمرو
معنى الكمَال وخبيَّة الفخْر
محيا المالى بسماحة الغَمْر

نقضى الاوطارا بسماحة من اسارير خلقت من النُّور

زان الاصْباحا بشر خلقه الخفر
واذكى الرَّاحا عرف خلقه العطر
شهاب لاحا ارتقت له الغير

و ليث ثارا فانتحت صروف المقادير خشية بمحذور

[Glory radiates with the greatness of Abū 'Amr
The meaning of perfection and the holder of honor
Resuscitating my hopes with abundant generosity

He quenches desires with the goodness of his features formed of light

He embellishes the morning, the delightfulness of his temperament

The smell of wine the perfume of his morality
A star shining making the others look insignificant

It is a lion that attacks changing destiny fear of cautiousness]

In this passage it is easy to see the standard descriptions which highlight the qualities typical in this type of poem. Abū ‘Amr’s greatness and noble qualities are emphasized—he is strong, generous and the epitome of perfection. He shows the strength of a lion and his brightness compares to that of a star.[50] Because it is panegyric, the focus of the poem is not on the love of the author nor the exalted beauty of the beloved but the moral and leadership qualities of the ruler.

In another example (Jaysh 16,6), Ibn Malik al-Ansārī extols the virtues of the pre-Islamic figure Ibn ‘Ubayd:

اقصر فَما قمر السَّعد الا ابن عبيد
اعلته في مَوقف المجد ايَاد وَايد
ذراه بالنيل وَالرفد للعَافين قْيد

عم الورا فلكم منه اولا دون لى
به حوى غاية المفخر لم تدركه طى

مثابر الطعن وَالضرب للهيجَا طروب
يمجلوا مبرهَفه العْضب ظلام الخُطُوب
قَد فَاقَ في الشرق وَالغرب كُمَاة الحُروب

اذَا ثنت روعه الْقينه قوى الصبر في

[50] Behrens-Abouseif writes about the importance of light in Arabic poetry as a symbol of wisdom and beauty (31). The lion is also a common metaphor for kings, “As in many cultures, in literature and the arts the lion was associated with royal and virile attributes and played a major role in the iconography of the kings” (54).

تَرَاهُ كَاللَّيث اذ يُزار لا يثنيه شي

[It is not the moon of happiness but Ibn ‘Ubayd
He has been elevated to the place of glory generous hands
His glories with achievement and support aversion shackled

Ruler over all he does not disregard me
For him a high love of glory with no greed

Assiduous in battles with great enthusiasm
And by his outstanding comfort the darkness of difficult tasks
He has surpassed in the East and the West the greatest warrior

When the terror leaves of the strength of patience
He is a lion which does not turn away from anything]

In these passages the masculine aspects of Ibn ‘Ubayd are highlighted—his bravery in battles, his strength and his courage and fearlessness. Ibn ‘Ubayd, like Abū ‘Amr in the previous muwashshah, is generous and a noble ruler. Generosity, greatness and courage are emphasized repeatedly in the panegyric subset, giving a masculine portrayal of the subject. Physical descriptions play a secondary and at times absent role from these depictions. All of the muwashshahs considered panegyric are written about males, and since no panegyrics about females exist, there is no way to contrast the descriptions between the two sexes in the examples of laudatory and non-amorous muwashshahs.

Although there are no poems extolling high-ranking women, by contrasting the characteristics of personality in the panegyric poems with the physical descriptions of beauty, particularly in the amorous muwashshahs, the difference among genders becomes more blurred. Masculine features and characteristics that are seen in these panegyric examples unequivocally are absent in all of the amorous ones. The general descriptions of beauty in these poems are almost always the same regardless of gender. The images of

while teeth, ruby colored cheeks, dark eyes, other facial descriptions and slenderness occur consistently throughout this corpus.[51] The following passages describing physical beauty and attraction come from muwashshahs in which there is no doubt that the referent of the poem is a male, usually because he is named specifically.

One muwashshah (Jaysh 10,3) of Al-Habbāz al-Mursī is dedicated to a male youth named ‘Isa, and the descriptions used to portray him are the same type used to depict the women beloveds of the muwashshahs:

اي ظبى غرير حَوَا كمَال الْبدُور
وَانشنَاء القضِيب وَنظرة المذعُور

مَايس المعْطفين الان قلبي بلينه
فَاتر المُقلتين وَالموت ملء جفونه
سَافر الوَجنتين عَن ورد عزٍّ مصونه

كَم لِذاك الفُتور وَحسن ذَاكَ السفور
من شجا في الْقلوب وَلوعَة في الصدور

[Naïve gazelle he encompasses the perfection of the full moons
With the balance of the branches and the look of fright

Within your clothes it soothes my heart with its gentleness
The languidness of his eyes and death is the contents of his eyelids
Uncovering his cheeks with roses that are guarded

How much is in the languidness of his eyes and the beauty of his face
Of sadness for hearts and suffering in chests]

It is clear that the facial characteristics and the timidity of the beloved as described by the author are generic rather than typically masculine characteristics. The languor of ‘Isa’s

[51] Behrens-Abouseif comments that there is little distinction between males and females in classical Arabic poetry in general (59).

eyes, references to the full moon and branches and red cheeks do not show the gender of the subject of the poem. There are no other physical or characteristic descriptions which indicate any gender; his name is the only clear evidence the poem is written about a male.

The amorous introduction to Ibn Arfa' Ra'suh's poem (Jaysh 5,4) to Yūsef Ibn Hūd uses similar hyperbolic descriptions:

طُومبى لمَن ترَوى من ذا وهَاذه
مَع مَن يميسُ زهْوا في ثوب لاذه
والقلب مني يهوى سِرَّ التذَاذِه

مراشف عِذاب من ثغر ذى فلج
فيهَا دمى وَدمعي هَذا بذَا مُزج

يَا حُسْن كل حسن اليَاس بى اسَا
يا جنّى و عَدَنى عدنى وَقل عَسَا
ان تلتقى مبجفنى ورداً ونرجسا

تحميهما عضاب سلت مِنَ الدعج
وَعَقرب للسعِ دبت منَ السَّبج

قد حَارت الرياض في رَوْض خده
اجفَانه مِراض بامرِ اسدِهْ
صعبٌ فَما يراض مِن طُول صَده

[Happiness from the one who quenches
The proudness of his splendors with his protective clothing
The heart within me loves the secret of his delights

Sweet lips of spaced teeth,
My blood and my tears are intermixed in it.

Oh beauty of all beauties my desperation is sublime,

Oh my paradise! Oh my Eden!, tell me
We will encounter each other with eyelids of roses and narcissus

They defend the sharpness of those large dark eyes
The scorpion that stings has left the nest

Gardens are diminished before the garden of his cheek
His eyelids are ill from the state of obstruction
It is difficult to control them because of how far away he is]

The recurrent descriptions of beautiful facial features emphasize his eyelids, cheeks that are like gardens and separated teeth. The author accentuates the power of the beloved's eyes by likening them to the sting of the scorpion. The author adorns the typical descriptions of beauty in Arabic poetry by using complex metaphors and hyperbolic language.

Ibn 'Ubada al-Qazzaz's muwashshah which is dedicated to an ephebe or younger boy named Abū Amr (Uddat 22), describes him highlighting the power of his thinness and dark eyes:

وَاغيَدٍ احْوَرَا كالغُصنِ لدْن الملتطَى
مهَفهفٍ صَيَّرا قَلبي كاجوَافِ القَطَا
عُلِّم ان يمحذَرَا لا كنهُ قد اسقطَا
فَكُلَّمَا ابصَرَا ثمَارهُ تَنَشَّطَا

[A thin youth with dark eyes like the branch softly ablaze
Thinness has made my heart like the hollowing of leftovers
That say to mistrust and then abandon
Everytime that I see his yields excite me]

A comparison to a branch, which is commonly employed in the muwashshahs, describes Abū Amr, and the only other physical descriptions are his thinness and dark eyes.

In the muwashshah (Uddat 98) which mentions the vizier named Mohammed, the anonymous author describes the beloved as:

ما لعينْيك مرضا تميت بالاحورار
قد حمت منها روضا تزرى بشمس النهار
فترى الورد غضًّا على رياض بهَار

اشرقت كالبدور من تحت ليلْ الشُّعور
فوق عطف الجيوب وحسن تلك النّحور

[What are in his languid eyes enslaved by their darkness
Protected by two gardens that challenge the daily sun,
You see the roses among the narcissus of the dazzling garden

Shining like the full moons below the night his hair
Above the side of chests and the beauty of that neck]

All of the emphasis in the descriptions of the beloved is of the characteristics of the face and neck using the stock descriptions of gardens and flowers, languid and dark eyes, and the full moon. There is no discernable gender in this image.

Most interestingly, another anonymous muwashshah for a youth named Ahmed (Uddat 190) has the female voice of the kharja describing him in simple terms. This language contrasts with the more complex imagery of the muwashshahs:

مَمّ أَى حبيبِ شلجَمله شقرله
القل الب لبكله حمرلهْ

[Mother, what a friend! His hair is blond
His neck is white His lips are red]

This kharja is using similar descriptions as the muwashshahs, yet only focuses on the physical colors of his features, lacking any imaginary or metaphorical qualities. The

voice of this kharja is that of a woman, not the male author or muwashshah speaker. This confirms that the same muwashshah descriptions would have been acceptable for depicting either men or women, as have been shown in the previous examples, because there is no doubt that the woman is describing her male friend in the same manner the muwashshah speaker is describing males. Despite gender not being consistently apparent in the muwashshahs, it cannot be claimed that these typical images are only utilized for depicting women disguised as men since this particular kharja shows the contrary.

These descriptions of men's faces, red lips and rosy cheeks, white teeth and general facial beauty are genderless although these qualities later become stereotypical feminine qualities in modern times. Most of the emphasis is on characteristics of the face, and very little is mentioned of the body, except for slenderness, and there are no explicit images. While this chapter only analyzes a sampling, these descriptions frequently occur in almost every muwashshah regardless of the gender of the referent and these physical descriptions are exactly the same for the poems which describe women as well as the ones in which the gender of the beloved is unknown. A few examples in which the gender of the beloved is undoubtedly a woman make this even clearer. A muwashshah of Ibn Ruhaym (Uddat 345) describes a woman using similar descriptions that are used for men:

بأَبي عاطرَة الأَرْدان سَاحرة الطَّرف
كَاعِبٌ مائلةُ الزّنّار مفْعَمة الرِّدْفِ
جُملةٌ من كُلِّ حُسْنٍ لْيسَ يُدْركُها وصْفِ
بدْرُ تَمٍّ حفَّه ليْلٌ من الشَّعَر الوحْفِ

تَحتَهُ خَدٌّ من السُّوسَان بالمسْك مْرشُوشُ زانهُ للحُسنِ تَنْميقٌ وللْحُسْنِ تَرْقيشُ

[I swear by my father that the perfume of her sleeves is enchanting to the extreme
Of well-formed breasts, thinness and
There is no description for how beautiful she is
A perfect full moon of luxuriant black hair

And below her hair, cheeks of licorice embellished with the beauty of ornamentation]

This muwashshah is one of the few which mentions a woman's bosom, which does differentiate it from descriptions of men, yet all of the other descriptions can be considered genderless—her beauty, her thinness, her hair and the metaphor of the full moon. In another muwashshah (Uddat 260) with an anonymous author, the woman is described as:

غُصن بَان علقْتُه شغَفَا
يَزْدرى الارضَ تحْتهُ صَلفَا
يُخْجِل الْغُصْنَ كُلّمَا انْعَطَفَا

فمُه الدُّرُّ فيهِ مَكْنُونُ عُرِّفَتْ فَوقَ لحْظِهِ نُونُ

[A branch of a willow tree that I passionately love
That challenges the earth below it with disdain
And makes all of the other branches embarrassed when it is bent

In her mouth pearls are hidden and well-formed eyebrows above her eyes.]

The common metaphor of the branch is utilized in this passage. As the author explains, there is no equal to this branch in either its metaphorical meaning or specifically as the beloved. Beautiful teeth and eyebrows, commonly described facial characteristics, also are cited.

In another anonymous muwashshah (Uddat 149), the woman is described as:

ماذا نظمت بذاك القدِّ
من المحاسن نظْم الْعقد
غصْنٌ وبَدْر وشمس السَّعد
جَاوزت في الحُسن كل حدِّ

ما انت من بشَر بل ملك بل انت درَّه اهديت الى مَلك

بدا فأَعشى عيون الأْنس
وجه عليه رداء الشَّمس
صباحُ موْعده لا يمْس
كم بتُّ منْه شجىَّ النَّفْس

ارعى الكَواكب ذَات الْحبُك رهين حَسْرَهْ كالقَطَاة في الشَّرك

[How much can said about the organization of that body
Beauties like that of a necklace
A branch, a full moon, a sun of happiness
Beauty that has surpassed all limits

You are not of mankind but of the angels you are a pearl that one offers to a king

Appearing and blinding people's eyes
A face that is a garment of the sun
An aurora that always comes
How long my soul has been troubled by it

Watching the stars that possess your love subject to its sorrow like a bird in a trap]

The author writes about this woman in hyperbolic terms describing her unsurpassed and unequaled beauty and the torment this has caused him. The author employs the stock descriptions with comparisons to branches, the sun and the moon to emphasize her unsurpassable splendor.

The descriptions of beauty of women in these excerpts as well as in the entire corpus of the amorous muwashshahs are very similar to descriptions of males. The exception, though, are the panegyric poems which do share some similar descriptions yet also discuss the bravery and nobility of the subject or the ruler. Most emphasis relies on facial characteristic including hair, eyes, cheeks, mouth and teeth, and the slenderness of the body and common metaphors include the full moon, the sun, branches, and gazelles. We also find evocations of desert imagery commonly used in Arabic poetry since pre-Islamic times. The beauty of these beloveds, whether male or female, are described in such hyperbolic terms that their beauty does not even compare at times to any other living creature, the sun or the moon. This beauty approaches the divine. While there are a few uses of the authors referring to a woman's bosom, these are infrequent and only occur in three descriptions,[52] additionally there are no explicit descriptions of any male anatomy and otherwise the descriptions themselves give few clues to the gender of the referent.

It is obvious that none of the focus on the amorous muwashshahs deal with descriptions that necessarily determine the gender of the referent and the stock descriptions continually used point towards a more important element in this poetry—universal beauty. While the authors take the common imagery and use the elements to create unique descriptions, they make it clear that the focal point is the vivid recognition of the beauty of the beloved that the muwashshah speaker experiences and the strong sentiments of desire and suffering one in love feels. These feelings and aesthetic

[52] Jaysh 11,1; Uddat 349; and Ibn Quzmān's muwashahah

admirations, which are among the most fundamental and universal of the human condition, transcend the imaginary and real boundaries of gender, age, social class and religion. A male author is writing these poems, but throughout this corpus one sees men and women, of various social and cultural classes, expressing their experiences of love through both the muwashshah and kharja voices.

One further observation with respect to these poems is the "closeting" of this literature in order to fit the prevailing modern Arab and Islamic paradigms. As we have seen, gender is often masked by the writing style of the author, the universality of the descriptions and the grammatical conventions which obscure gender clarity. Furthermore, some modern scholars have assumed a "heterosexuality" of this literature even when the same-sex desire is apparent. This is only compounded by the convention that still is established today in Arabic poetry and music to use masculine grammar to refer to females. Collectively the cultural Arabic world veiled the indications of same-sex desire in its poetry. While numerous examples exist of homoeroticism in pre-modern Arabic literature in general, as noted by Roth, Schirmann and others, this chapter shows in the corpus of the muwashshahs specifically, there are also numerous poems of male same-sex desire. The theory of using masculine grammar to refer to females does not apply to the muwashshahs because a careful examination makes it clear that desire is directed toward both genders in this corpus of poetry.

By looking at various elements such as grammar, specific names, and descriptions, it is possible in the majority of cases to determine the gender of the beloved. The muwashshahs which mention a man's proper name, whether the poem is classified as

panegyric or amorous, are the easiest to determine the gender of the referent. Authors could not write about females when they directly mention a man's name because they simply would have not included the proper name as many of the muwashshahs do. Poems which do not have a proper name are less clear but a close analysis of gendered grammar and descriptions allows for a determination of the sex of the referent.

An examination of this corpus as a whole shows how many poems are panegyric, amorous with a male beloved, amorous with a female beloved, and amorous with no discernable gender. In the Arabic muwashshahs with Romance kharjas, 11 of the 47 are panegyric. In all of these cases the poem is directed towards a male. While there are amorous elements, there is a main section of praise which distinguishes these poems from those that concentrate exclusively on love. All but one of this subset has a proper male name in the poem, making the determination the gender of the dignitary being praised straightforward and the easiest between the amorous and the panegyric divisions. The ten which include a proper name are as follows:

1) Ibn Mu'allim's poem mentions Abū 'Amr (Uddat 167);

2) Ibn Arfa' Ra'suh's praises Yūsef (Jaysh 5,4);

3) A second muwashshah of Ibn Arfa' Ra'suh extols Abū al-Hasan (Jaysh 5,3);

4) Ibn Malik al-Ansārī's is dedicated to Ibn 'Ubayd (Jaysh 16,6);

5) Ibn Labbāna's is panegyric towards a king named Māmūn (Jaysh 4,9);

6) Al-'Ama's highlights the qualities of Abū Hafs (Uddat 311);

7) A second of Al-'Ama's praises al-Hajjāj (Uddat 273);

8) Abu Qāsim al-Manīshi's is directed towards 'Abd Allah (Jaysh 8,1);

9) Ibn Ruhaym's is written for 'Abd Azīz (Jaysh 13,8);

10) Ibn al-Sayrafī's extols 'Abd al-Mun'im (Jaysh 9,8).

There is only one which does not cite a proper name, Ibn 'Ubada's (Uddat 124). However, there is the mention of a (male) king (*malik*) and the laudatory themes of the muwashshah indicate it is panegyric. While stating a proper name certainly makes it uncomplicated for one to recognize exactly who the referent is, this practice by the authors demonstrates that the poets, being supported by the courts and dignitaries, wanted to ensure the person being honored was clearly recognized in the poem, perhaps using flattery to receive a more favorable view. Thus, the praises were understood by the one being recognized as well as all who heard it.

The amorous poems which refer to a man sometimes but not always mention a man's proper name. There are six which mention a man's name directly:

1) One of Ibn 'Ubada al-Qazzaz's is dedicated to Abū 'Amr, all of the grammar reflects the masculine except for the unrelated female kharja at the end (Uddat 22);

2) Two of Al-'Ama al-Tutīli's muwashshahs. The first one is written for Ahmed, all of the grammar is masculine except for the transition to the kharja in which the female voice of the kharja and the speaker of the muwashshah share the same sentiments (Uddat 102);

3) The second muwashshah is from the *Tawshī al-tawshīh* manuscript and written for 'Abd al-Azīz;

4) Al-Asbāhī al-Larīdī's composed for Ibn 'Ubayd, the women singing the kharja is singing about Abū al-Hajjāj, unrelated to the muwashshah (Uddat 240);

5) Al-Habbāz al-Mursī's for 'Isa (عِيس) in which the speaker of the muwashshah says the singer of the kharja shares a similar passion (Jaysh 10,3);

6) The last is an anonymous muwashshah for Ahmed (Uddat 190).

In addition to the proper names used, the muwashshahs follow masculine grammar when referring directly to the referent and there is no possible evidence either through descriptions or grammar that the referent in this subset is not a male.

It is more complicated to distinguish the gender of the referent of a poem if there is no proper name, but the grammar, descriptions and dialogue with the kharja make this possible in most cases. Sometimes the indications for either gender are subtle. There are nine muwashshahs with a male beloved that have no proper name in the poem for a total of 15 amorous muwashshahs with a male subject:

1) One of Ibn Arfa' Ra'suh's muwashshahs references a man without a proper name. The poem utilizes masculine grammar and its homoeroticism is determined further by the ending lines which transition to the kharja (Jaysh 5,10):

انت حبي يَا غاية الحسن فبما تَستريب
نمْ هنيئا لا زلتَ في امْن انت انت الحبيب
كَم فتَاةٍ لامهَا تكنى عِند خَوف الرقيب

[You are my love, oh culmination of beauty so why do you doubt?
Sleep peacefully and continue in safety you, you, are my lover
How many girls said secretively to their mother when they fear the spy]

In this passage, the grammar indicates the lover is male. While there are no short vowels on *anta* (انت) to indicate if the "you" is feminine or masculine, the verb لا زلتَ (*le zelta*) is

in the masculine second person because of the short vowel above the script, and the author mentions *al-habīb* which is also masculine;[53]

2) The second one is one of Ibn Labbūn's (Uddat 281). While there is no mention of a man's name, the grammar is masculine, and short vowels are used for the pronoun "you" (ك) which indicate a masculine gender. The ending of the muwashshah indicates the speaker of the muwashshah sympathizes with the kharja voice whose lover has also left;

3) Yahya al-Jazzār's focuses its descriptions on a gazelle for most of the poem but the transition to the kharja indicates the author is singing it and the kharja itself refers to this lover as a man, in Mozarabic dialect (Jaysh 11,8):

بيسَ مَا رَامَ الرقيب وَمَا سَعَا
كلمَا يَبْد الحبيب بَدا مَعا
فَلما اشد أجيب لِمَن دَعَا

كدامى فليل اليين اذل اميب
كرل ميت طارى شر الرَّقيب

[Oppressed what the spy repaired and wanted
Everytime the (male) lover appears they come together
So then I sing responding to who calls

I love a boy and he loves me
And the guardian wants him separated from me]

The transitioning lines to the kharja use masculine grammar but what makes this clearly homoerotic is the speaker of the muwashshah is singing the kharja and it references a boy (فليل)[54] and that they love each other. The guardian is trying to keep them separated;

[53] Other thematic elements of this muwashshah suggest the referent is masculine including comparisons with the sun and the central theme of secretiveness and the *raqīb*.

4) Ibn Baqī's muwashshah shares the same kharja as the previous one by Yahya al-Jazzār with some minor spelling variations (Jaysh 1,4). The themes of these two muwashshahs are similar emphasizing the problems of the censor and spy. The transition to the kharja indicates the muwashshah speaker also is the voice of the kharja (أقول or "I say") and the word used to refer to the boy (فليول) has an added *damma* vowel but still means the same Romance word;

5) One of Kumayt al-Gharbī's is also using a male beloved and the muwashshah speaker is the voice of the kharja (Uddat 178). The words of the kharja in this case, like the previous two, demonstrate the lover is male:

لمّا جِفَاني الحبِيب حسْبيَ بالتِّيه
ولمْ أُطِق كتْمه حذار الرّدى فيهِ
شدوْته مُعلنا كخود تُغنِّيه

نون كار يون حلالّ الا السمرالّ

[When my lover afflicted me, I reacted proudly
And I could not contain my fear
I recited, saying like the woman who sings to him

I do not want any flatterer, except the (male) dark one]

Here the masculine word (السمرالّ) for "the dark one" indicates the speaker's desire is for a darker-skinned boy;

6) One muwashshah of al-'Ama al-Tutīli which was discussed in the first section of this chapter, is clearly referencing a male (Uddat 134). The transition to the kharja makes this clear and all of the grammar refers to a man. This male is also the voice of the kharja.

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[54] Solá-Solé translates this word as *filiolo* (91) and whether or not this is the exact rendering, it does appear to be a masculine word.

7) Another of al-‘Ama’s muwashshahs has a male beloved without mentioning a proper name (Uddat 31). This is determined by the masculine grammar used in the poem and particularly by the conversation the muwashshah speaker and the beloved have within the muwashshah. This conversation was analyzed earlier in the chapter and it demonstrates both the speaker and beloved are males because of the masculine grammar;

8) One anonymous muwashshah is referring to a man going to war (Uddat 90). The transitioning lines indicate this as the woman is singing about him in the kharja:

وليلةٍ ادنتْ خيْل السُّرا من مطايَا الرَّكْبِ
في طرفةٍ أَفْنَتْ طعْم الكرَا للمرَام الصَّعْب
وغادة غَنَّت حينِ تَرا رهْقة لّلْحَرب

[At night it comes the nighttime horsemen
the pleasure of dreaming difficult to conciliate
And a woman sang while she saw hurrying to war]

This muwashshah is referencing a member of the horsemen, clearly male because women would not have been fighting in war in al-Andalus. All of the grammar in the remainder of the muwashshah is masculine as well;

9) The last example is Ibn Labbūn’s which is discussed in detail in an earlier section of this chapter (Jaysh 12,7). The transition and kharja ending make the male gender of the beloved discernable.

The grammar and the context of the muwashshahs are the two greatest clues in these nine muwashshahs for determining the male beloved. The transitioning lines to the muwashshahs and the kharjas often give valuable information for establishing this.

The poems which reference a woman often have grammatical clues or a particular word in the muwashshah that indicates the beloved is feminine. There are a total of 15 poems which reference a woman and in only one of the muwashshahs is a woman's proper name mentioned, an anonymous one which mentions *Hind* (هند) (Uddat 260). Because this poem focuses on the author's suffering and metaphors to describe it, there is no grammar referencing *Hind* except in the last line of the muwashshah:

حينَ غَنَّت لَوحْشَتِى وَبَكَتْ

[When she sang because of my absence and she cried.]

The verbs here indicate a female, because of the *-at* endings for third-person past feminine.

The 14 poems with a female beloved which do not include a proper name provide other indications which determine the gender:

1) Al-Mu'tamid's muwashshah which is discussed in the reciprocal kharja section of this chapter, transitions to the kharja by noting the girl and the speaker are in bed together and the feminine verbs indicate she is a female (Uddat 347);

2) One of 'Ubada al-Qazzaz's muwashshahs, analyzed in detail in the feminine v. masculine grammar section of this chapter clearly maintains feminine grammar throughout the sections which describe the beloved and he refers to her as his female friend (خلتي) (Uddat 276);

3) One of Al-Kumayt al-Gharbī's muwashshahs has several indications of a female beloved, the speaker proclaims his love for beautiful girls (الحسان) and the transition to the reciprocal kharja indicates it a woman (Jaysh 6,1):

بابي بخيله هيَ الشمسُ في الطلعَه
اقَبلت مجيله وَقْولة بدعه
دُون مَا وَسيله تسَايل في الرجعهْ

[I swear by my father, the greedy one she is the sun of its face
She came astutely saying fictions
Only as a way to ask for the return]

This transition has indications of a female, *hiya* (هي) as a female pronoun, and *she* is the sun. The verbs are in the feminine as well (اقبلت, تسايل) but it must be noted the *hu* (ه) endings in this section may cause some confusion, yet, by looking at rhyme and what these objects reference, it becomes easier to interpret the kharja voice as feminine;[55]

4) Another of Al-Kumayt al-Gharbī's which is in both the *Jaysh* and *'Uddat* manuscripts (Jaysh 6,9 and Uddat 193). These identical muwashshahs have different kharjas but there are numerous feminine indications for the beloved. Within the muwashshah he uses the word *al-gayd* الغيد which means young women as well as خرَّد signifying "virgins". The grammar is clearly addressing a woman by using *ha* (ها) as an object for her descriptions. The beloved is speaking to the muwashshah voice in the transition and it is reciprocal:

فَقلت والنوم حَشو عينيْك

[55] There are numerous possibilities for the use of (ه) endings in this transition depending on how these lines are interpreted. One of these is the use of the *hu* to maintain the rhyme scheme, a flexibility that is common in Arabic poetry and the *hu* here can also refer to (ة). The other possibility is that it is referencing a male object such as the sun.

[And you said while sleep was contained in your eyes:][56]

5) One of Ibn Baqī's poems has only one clue the beloved is a woman, in the second stanza there is a line which reads فانت التي (Jaysh 1,2). While there are no short vowels on "you" (انت) to indicate if it is masculine or feminine, the word *allatī* (التي) (that or who) is feminine modifying the "you" (Fischer 148);

6) Another poem of Ibn Baqī's directs desire towards a woman indicated by the transition to the reciprocal kharja which utilizes feminine grammar to indicate she will be speaking to the muwashshah speaker (Uddat 344);

7) One of Ibn Ruhaym's poems, which shares the same kharja as the previous muwashshah of Ibn Baqī, also has a female beloved and reciprocal kharja (Uddat 345). It transitions as:

عَاهَدَتْ بل حلَفتْ أن لَّا تَحولَ عَنِ العَهْدِ
ثُمّ عادَتْ عَطَفَتْ حَنَّتْ فَزارت بِلا وَعْدِ
فَارتَشَفْتُ الشُّهدَ من فيهَا وَمِلتُ إِلى النَّهدِ
فَشَكَتْ ذَاكَ وَقَالتْ لَي سَأَلتُكَ بِالْودِّ

[She promised, and swore she would not break it
Then she returned, with sympathy not previously present
Then I sucked the honey of her mouth, and leaned toward her breast
She complained to me and said "I plead to you in the name of love"]

All of the verbs referencing the beloved in this transition use the third-person feminine;

8) Ibn Quzmān's muwashshah references a woman, and mentions her breasts;[57]

[56] There is no short vowel here for the verb قلت and thus the conjugation could be in the first or second person. Solá-Solé translates this as the author speaking (96) but a better interpretation who be a shift to the second person feminine based on the meaning of the kharja.

[57] García-Gomez's translation has a transliteration of this muwashshah (410).

9) An anonymous muwashshah which refers to the beloved as *rabba al-qurt* (ربَّة القرط) or the female possessor of earrings in the first stanza of the poem (Uddat 140). It also references a female second person in the first line of the last stanza by the direct object (كِ) with the short vowel indicating a female. Additionally, the muwashshah transitions to the reciprocal kharja by using third-person feminine verbs in which the kharja voice speaks directly to the muwashshah speaker;

10) Another anonymous muwashshah transitions to the kharja using feminine grammar to refer to the beloved (Uddat 149):

لمَّا ظفرت بهَا في الخلوه
ونلت رشف الثَّنايا الْحُلوه
ممزِقا ثوبها بِالعَنْوَهْ
فَأَنشَدت أُمَّها عن زهْوه

[When I captured her alone
And obtained the saliva of her sweet teeth,
Forcefully tearing off her clothes
She sang to her mother disdainfully:]

The use of *ha* (ها) consistently demonstrates the female voice and object of the poem;[58]

11) Another anonymous muwashshah transitions by alluding to a girl who caused the sickness of the author (Uddat 224):

وخود جَنتْ سُقمي
بصَوت بَرا جِسمي
تغَنِّيه لِلأُمِّ

[A girl who caused my illness
With a voice that cures my body

[58] This is another case of the *hu* endings of each line for the rhyme scheme rather than reflecting a specific grammar rule or meaning.

Sang about it to her mother:]

12) Another anonymous muwashshah describes a gazelle for the first three stanzas and switches to a description of the female beloved in the last stanzas (Uddat 348). The transition to the kharja is as follows:

لَمَّا بَدَتْ بشَكْلِ مَشْدُودَة الزّمَامْء
وقَد دَنتْ لرَحْلِ بأدْمُعٍ سِجَامْ
استَعْبَرَتْ لوَصلي نوعاً مِنَ الكلامْ

[When she appeared in her form of a well proportioned waist
And then arriving with abundant tears
Shedding tears for union with me asking with her words:]

13) Another anonymous muwashshah mentions a young girl in the transition in which the muwashshah speaker is also the voice of the kharja (Uddat 349):

وَخَوْدٍ بنهْد غَض
كُرمْحٍ اذَا اسْتَعرَض
بهِ اثرٌ للْعَضْ
فيهِ قلتُ إذ اعْرَض

[And a girl with tender breasts
Like a spear if it were shot
On them bite marks
I said, referring to them:]

The word *hūd* (خود) is a reference to a young woman (Hava 188) making the female beloved apparent;

14) The last poem whose object of desire is a woman is Yahda al-Jazzār's which was analyzed in detail in the section on gendered grammar earlier in the chapter (Jaysh 11,1).

The remaining six muwashshahs are universal with no distinguishable gender of the beloved. There are no clues in these poems in the grammar, transition to the kharja or the dialogue within them that indicate the possible gender of the referent. These poems focus almost exclusively on metaphors such as the gazelle or on the general suffering of love. The following muwashshahs are considered universal:

1) In one anonymous muwashshah, the grammar references non-humans, particularly a gazelle (Uddat 111);

2) One of Ibn Labbūn's muwashshahs focuses exclusively on descriptions of the metaphor of the gazelle (Uddat 281);

3) Al-Habbāz al-Mursī's muwashshah, which shares the same kharja as Ibn Labbūn's, also exclusively references a gazelle (Jaysh 10,10);

4) One of Ibn Baqī's muwashshahs has no clues for the gender of the beloved and the female voice of the kharja is not related to the muwashshah speaker or his situation (Uddat 167);

5) An anonymous poem which mentions Mohammed, a vizier, yet the remainder of the poem focuses on the gazelle who serves the wine and the descriptions and grammar do not indicate the gender of the beloved (Uddat 98). This poem was discussed earlier in the chapter;

6) An anonymous one focuses on the suffering of love without mentioning the beloved (Uddat 157). The kharja voice, while also speaking about love, does not relate to the muwashshah speaker directly.

Of the 47 muwashshahs in this corpus, 11 of the poems are panegyric with a male subject, 15 have a female beloved, 15 a male beloved, and in only six poems can no gender be distinguished either because of no coherence of gender, no grammatical clues or because the author never refers to the beloved directly. Through examining grammar, specific names and descriptions, in 41 of the 47 Arabic muwashshahs with Romance kharjas a specific gender can be attributed to the beloved or dignitary. In the amorous poems, the desire is divided evenly between male and female beloveds. The authors do not constrict themselves to writing only one type of muwashshah either, many of the poets write amorous muwashshahs about male and female beloveds as well as panegyrics, demonstrating the lack of importance they give to categorizing gender in this poetry and the acceptability of writing about both genders.[59]

Despite the feminine kharja voice which is a salient attribute of the muwashshah, it cannot be said that desire always is directed towards her or any other woman. The kharja voice often has no direct relationship with the desire of the author and plays a complex role within the muwashshah corpus, yet, the frequent duality of gender in this corpus provides a unique circumstance in which to examine gender in Arabic poetry of al-Andalus. Because of this advantage which the muwashshahs allow, giving the perspective of two voices and often two genders, it would be beneficial to use the framework of this chapter and its analysis of grammar to apply to other Arabic poetry of al-Andalus which do not have two voices or genders.

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[59] Al-Qazzaz, Kumayt al-Gharbī and Ibn Quzmān (see Monroe's article in *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature* for an analysis of one of his homoerotic *zajals*) write about both genders. Al-'Ama's are all written for men. This is not a complete analysis because the entire muwashshah corpus would need to be analyzed because these authors also wrote poems with Arabic kharjas.

Through an examination of the gender issues which are prevalent in this poetry—those of the kharja voices, the flexibility of gendered grammar and ambiguous descriptions—the striking characteristic becomes how unessential gender is for the essence of these poems, yet, examining gender gives valuable information about the poems themselves, how they should be interpreted as well as indications of the sex of the beloved and the kharja voice. These clues often are subtle and need to be examined closely. Gender *must* strongly be considered in any analysis of this poetry and is an important issue for properly understanding how this poetry was written and what the authors intended. In most of the muwashshahs, a gender of the referent can be attributed by examining the grammar, proper names if they are included or what occurs in the dialogue of the kharja and the muwashshah. Gender, however important, plays a secondary role in this poetry in which the universal experiences of suffering and love which the authors describe, and then are further stressed by the kharja voices, allow the listener or reader to empathize with the intensity of emotions this poetry vividly portrays. These sentiments are, of course, genderless.

Chapter Three: Muwashshah Reflections of Society and Sexuality

Michel Foucault, writing of the Middle Ages generally in *The History of Sexuality*, describes an openness of sexuality that does not exist in modern times (18). According to his theory, the conceptions of sexuality which existed from the times of ancient Greece up until the seventeenth century vastly differed from the sexualities of recent centuries (19). John Boswell has also written about the change in norms through the history of ancient and medieval Western Civilization in *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality*. His thesis maintains that the way earlier societies perceived of sexuality is not the same as today. The acceptance of minority sexualities, such as same-sex relationships, was often accepted up until the twelfth century (209). The fourteenth century ushered a new intolerance to same-sex relationship that is not characteristic of earlier times (269). Thus, we cannot envision the Middle Ages as a time of complete intolerance with respect to sexuality.

While Foucault and Boswell were writing about Western society in particular, their basic theories of pre-modern sexuality aptly apply to the sexuality of al-Andalus and the power relations that they represented.[60] An understanding of the sexuality in al-Andalus or in any pre-modern society cannot be envisioned in modern Western conceptions. The differences between al-Andalus's sexuality and the norms which exist

[60] Foucault discusses the apparatus of power in the Middle Ages as: "The great institutions of power that developed in the Middle Ages—monarchy, the state with its apparatus—rose up on the basis of a multiplicity of prior powers, and to a certain extent in opposition to them: dense, entangled, conflicting powers, powers tied to the direct or indirect domination over the land, to the possession of arms, to serfdom, to bonds of suzerainty and vassalage" (86).

today are immense.[61] A critical examination of the history and literary works from medieval al-Andalus gives the best indications for comprehending how its people understood the feelings of love and desire, the dynamics of relationships and, in particular, how these conceptions and interactions then are represented in the muwashshahs and the kharjas.

This chapter demonstrates how the muwashshahs with Romance kharjas specifically reflect the society and culture in which they were written. It emphasizes how eleventh and twelfth century al-Andalus envisioned its own philosophy and norms of sexuality and love relationships as well as the political and societal factors which contributed to these conceptions. An analysis of both same-sex and opposite-sex desire in Andalusian society, as well as the historical and political context of al-Andalus will highlight some of these salient features. The commonness of the harem, concubinage and slavery also will be explored. This framework will help to explain specific characteristics of the muwashshah poetry and will give a greater understanding to the muwashshah poetry as well as the ending kharja voice.

This chapter begins by analyzing the political history of al-Andalus and the importance of poetry in the courts. Next it investigates studies of representations of sexuality and relationships in al-Andalus. It is followed by a summary of Ibn Hazm's *The Dove's Ring Neck*, an eleventh century encyclopedic work detailing the philosophy of love and relationships. Lastly, it closely examines select muwashshahs in order to

[61] To cite just one difference about the openness of sexuality in al-Andalus which differs from norms in modern times— Aileen El-Kadí writes it was common for the virgin bride to be taken to the nuptial bed with many members of the family, they slowly undress her and then witness the consummation of the bride and her husband with cheers (39-40).

demonstrate how they reflect their social, cultural and historical context. This analysis shows how the muwashshahs, which can be seen as universal love and panegyric poetry, also are indicative of the culture and its customs in which they were written. Specifically, they accurately reflect the sexuality and power relations of al-Andalus.

The time period in which the muwashshahs were written primarily, the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was a time of great political change and tumult in the region. In the beginning of the eleventh century, the Umayyad dynasty which had controlled al-Andalus for almost three centuries lost its unifying control of the region after becoming increasingly weaker politically. Consequently, all of the provinces declared independence from the main ruling caliphs which ended the Umayyad rule (Imamuddin 208). At first, these independent provinces numbered approximately thirty small territories which created numerous divisions in the once centralized power of al-Andalus. Some of the more powerful kingdoms overtook other kingdoms as the century continued (Messier 71). This period endured for most of the eleventh century and its rulers became known as the Party Kings (*Mulūk al-Tawā'if*) because of their different political factions.[62] The Party Kings reigned until the Almoravids invaded from North Africa and took control of the area in 1091 (258). The Party Kings led luxuriant courts which cultivated poetry, learning and the pursuit of pleasure.

Even with the instability of the eleventh century, poetry and culture thrived under the Party Kings. W. Watt and Pierre Cachia write: "Despite the political upheavals art

[62] The rulers of these small territories are known as the Party Kings because of the three party separate factions of ethnic groups—the Slavs, the Berbers and the Muslims of Arab and Iberian descent (Watt and Cachia 79). Individual parties generally controlled a region without much consideration for the members of the other parties within their province.

and letters flourished under the 'party kings', since each little ruler imitated the splendour of the former caliphal court as far as his resources permitted. The court of Seville, however, under al-Mu'tadid and al-Mu'tamid, was undoubtedly the most brilliant in Spain" (80). The political decay of power of the kingdoms of al-Andalus was juxtaposed with a courtly magnificence in its patronage of poetry and artistic creations as rulers struggled to maintain their own territories and find escapes from the sobering political circumstances.

The Almoravids, who did not approve of the relaxed mores and luxuriant lives of the Taifas, conquered al-Andalus not only for its wealth but also in order to provide moral reform and a stronger front against the Christians from the North. In comparison with the Party Kings, whose comparative liberality was a defining characteristic of their rule, the Almoravids were more conservative. The Almoravids strictly followed Malikite Islam which interprets the Koran literally (Messier xiv). In opposition to the Taifa kings, the Almoravids prohibited (at least officially) wine, music and illicit sexual relationships. They restricted religious and social freedoms that previous rulers of al-Andalus had not (Reina 46). Furthermore, the Almoravids did not trust the Christians in their own territories and they frequently were exiled (Messier 133). The Almoravids ruled until the year 1146 and another period of fractured and independent rule of smaller kingdoms ensued. Meanwhile, the Almohads, who also came from North Africa, fought with the Almoravids, and finally gained control and overtook al-Andalus in 1170 after reconquesting North Africa (268). The Almohads, like the Almoravids, were a conservative group who did not permit the freedoms of the Party Kings. The Almohads

and the Almoravids did, however, promote poetry and learning in their courts if not to the same extent as previous rulers of al-Andalus.

The apex of muwashshah composition, the eleventh and twelfth centuries, can be described as a period of great change and instability in which al-Andalus became divided into many small kingdoms and then dealt with two new waves of fundamentalist rulers, the Almoravids and the Almohads. All of these rulers—the Party Kings, the Almoravids and the Almohads—also were fighting against the Christians, who slowly continued to gain territory in the peninsula on the borders of al-Andalus. Poetry was important to all of these groups but Andalusian society became less tolerant and more conservative under the Almoravids and the Almohads.

In addition to political history, a knowledge of certain aspects of sexuality in al-Andalus is crucial for understanding the society represented in the muwashshah poetry. A few scholars have studied sexuality in Andalusian society and their work is insightful for understanding how it is reflected in the poetry of the era. The first aspect which must be explained is the commonness of same-sex relationships and homoeroticism. Corriente noted in his article "On a Hopeless Last Stand" that homoerotic desire in Arabic poetry from all ages is quite common (180). His conclusions mirror studies done by historians and other scholars.[63] Antonio Arjona Castro observes in his book *La Sexualidad en la España Musulmana* that one of the most common time periods of same-sex relationships

[63] Manuela Marín takes a more conservative position on this topic in her article "Marriage and Sexuality in al-Andalus". She writes that most of the focus has been on homosexuality, which reflects the Western criticism and appropriations of their models on Islamic societies as well as the dearth of research done on modern Islamic societies (5). Manuel Fransisco Reina notes that both pederasty and love among male adults was common in historical annals (82).

and even openness about these relationships occurred under the Party Kings of the eleventh century, although such relationships also occurred under later rulers including the Almohads and Almoravids with increased scrutiny (13, 51). The most common type of same-sex relationship during this period was pederasty, in which older men, often of the upper-classes or nobility, would desire and pursue relationships with ephebes, or younger and often pre-pubescent boys who generally came from the lower-classes of society (37).

In addition to relationships with ephebes, slaves and concubines were also often sexual partners of men in al-Andalus, at least for those men who had the means to purchase them and provide for their needs. The nobility maintained large numbers of concubines in their palaces and used them freely to satisfy their desires (Castro 19). Manuela Marín explains in her book *Vidas de mujeres andalusíes* that sexual relationships of owners with their slaves were quite common and owners had a legal right to have sex with their slaves.[64] Legally, slaves who did not comply with their owners sexual requests could face harsh penalties from their owners (128). Furthermore, the complex world of slavery allowed for slaves of different classes (115) and the most common female slaves were Christians from the Iberian Peninsula (114). Michelle Hamilton, in her book *Representing Others in Medieval Literature*, writes about the acceptability and preference for these types of relationships:

> Having relations with these women was part of Andalusi court culture and was not uncommon for men of the upper classes who felt such relations had certain

[64] This right is one that is not only legal but also permitted in the Koran. The acceptability of slavery and concubinage is discussed in more detail in the fourth chapter.

> advantages over marriage: The natural outlet for extramarital relations was concubinage with a slave girl, which, in Islam was perfectly legal. The Christian and Jewish minorities had some difficulty in keeping this disturbance of family life away from their communities. Choosing a female according to one's own taste and to have complete disposition of her could be preferable to a wife selected for the future husband by others and who was constantly watched and protected by her family. (26-27)

Some higher ranking slaves were educated in literature, music, dance and other fields in order to satisfy their owners intellectually as well as sexually (Rubiera 72). Many of these slaves were esteemed by men and were sold at very high prices not only for their beauty but also their talent in the arts (Alvarez de Morales 67). Eunuchs, though not very widespread in al-Andalus, were also kept occasionally as slaves and used for the sexual pleasures of men (Rubiera 26). They, like many other slaves, generally were prisoners from the Reconquista war (Galán 173).

Despite the lack of freedom and the other hardships most slaves endured, there are many anecdotes of high-ranking men falling in love with them. Astute slaves could use these fortuitous situations to advance their own social standing and achieve privileges and even freedom. Marín cites a famous example in which one of 'Abd al-Rahman III's female slaves, Marjān, paid a large sum of money to his wife in order to sleep with the Caliph in his bedroom. She shrewdly used this opportunity to become impregnated and became the mother of the next male heir to the Umayyad dynasty. She was able to elevate her own status in the court hierarchy to the mother of the heir, which gave her more honor and freedom (*Marriage and Sexuality* 14).[65] Although a few female slaves

[65] Another example: Ibn Hazm in *The Dove's Ring Neck* shares the humiliating story of Ibn Mundir Ibn Sa'īd, who passionately loved his slave. He says he will free her if she consents to marry him. She agrees

enjoyed a degree of power and freedom, María Jesús Rubiera writes that this was reserved for a special class of slaves whereas the great majority was relegated to very subservient and demeaning lives as servants and sometimes as prostitutes (74). Additionally, she believes that upper-class female slaves, although a small margin of the slave population, had better lives than many of the supposedly free Muslim wives, who were often uneducated, seldom left the house and were only allowed the responsibility of taking care of their children and the house (73). Married Muslim women infrequently left their homes except to go to the public, gender-separated baths and did not play a part in most of the public sphere of society (Castro 19).

With the exception of high-ranking women, very little is known about the lives of average Muslim women from this era, particularly women in rural areas (129). Marín further notes in the chapter "Las Mujeres de las Clases Sociales Superiores. Al-Andalus, desde la conquista hasta finales del califato de Córdoba" (from *Mujeres en al-Andalus*) that the mothers of Caliphs are mentioned in the records, but virtually nothing else is said about their lives (105). Muslim women were expected to be modest and not to speak about their own desires (*Marriage and Sexuality* 11-12). While there are a relatively small number of exceptions such as the princess and poet Wallada,[66] almost all women would have been condemned for acting independently and outside of their role in the family (15). Given the highly gendered nature of the society of al-Andalus and the

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as long as he cuts off his long beard. Once he frees her and shaves his beard she refuses to marry him and instead eventually marries his brother (67-68).

[66] Wallada was an Umayyad princess and poet in the eleventh century. She received a sizable inheritance when her father died and she lived outside of the typical roles of women in her time. She did not wear a veil and held her own literary salons. She is also famous for her relationship with the poet Ibn Zaydūn (Warnock 92-3).

inferior position of women, it is not surprising that most of the historical records left to us focus on the men from the period with little attention given to women's lives.

Free Muslim women were often confined to their own homes and closely guarded. Given how separated these women were from the rest of society and from men who were not members of their families, it would have been the slaves and the members of the harem who interacted freely with the courts and the nobility. Some of these slaves were trained in music and poetry and were participants of the parties and gatherings in the courts. The most likely subject of the love affairs of the members of the court in the poetry of al-Andalus would not have been the free women of society but the slaves with whom the men of the courts would have had more access and contact.

What we do know about the sexuality of al-Andalus, from what has been ascertained from historical and literary documents by scholars, gives a better understanding of the social and sexual contexts of muwashshahs, their authors and the rulers who were the benefactors of the poets in their courts. While men married, and could have multiple wives, they also legally kept concubines and slaves. Pederasty was also common. It is clear that Andalusi society favored upper-class men and gave preference to their sexuality and desires over those of women and the other classes.

The history of al-Andalus and studies of sexuality elucidate the cultural and political conditions in which the muwashshahs were written by men of the courts. However, one of the best guides to understanding the relationship between society and sexuality in al-Andalus is Ibn Hazm's encyclopedic work on love, *The Dove's Ring Neck*

(*Tawq al-hamama*) written in the eleventh century.[67] In this work of thirty chapters Ibn Hazm analyzes all aspects of love as he understands it—from its meaning and origins to ways to attain it through messengers and letters, to spies and censors who try to hinder illicit relationships, and lastly, to the separation of the lovers as well as the inevitable end of any love through forgetting or death. He mixes his explanations, philosophies and examples of anecdotes with his own poetry in each chapter which relates to the specific theme. He uses numerous examples, often of his contemporaries' love relationships in al-Andalus, to explain his theories and he provides a great deal of insight into the mind of an educated man of al-Andalus. His main theme throughout the work is that love is a strong and dangerous force, and, one must be careful to not let it control or destroy one's life.

Numerous sections of Ibn Hazm's book can give a better understanding of how Andalusian sexuality is reflected in the muwashshahs themselves. Same-sex desire is one important characteristic. There is no separate chapter for same-sex desire, and thus, one could conclude that Ibn Hazm did not conceive same-sex desire as different from opposite-sex desire. He gives examples of cases of same-sex desire and they are interwoven with the other examples of opposite-sex desire and relationships. There is no special attention given to any differences in their natures. In the fourteenth chapter, which concerns submission of a lover (باب الطاعة), he gives an example of a wealthy and prominent man named Muqaddim who falls obsessively in love with a boy named Achīb

[67] Ibn Hazm of Córdoba (994-1063) was a prolific writer and poet who lived during the fall of the Umayyad dynasty (García-Gómez, *El Collar* 31, 41, 49). For more information about his life and works, see García-Goméz's introduction to his edition of *El Collar de la Paloma*.

who works at the mosque. Muqaddim's obsession leads him to watch Achīb as much as he can from a distance. When the boy realizes Muqaddim's obsession and stalking, he confronts Muqaddim and hits him. Muqaddim, however, is happy that he received the attention from the boy (67).

In chapter 28, the chapter on death, Ibn Hazm explains how the suffering of love can be so strong it can cause people to lose their will to live and even die from this intense anguish. He gives the example of Ibn Quzmān who died for the love of Aslam (أسلم), a cultured man and poet, who was unaware of Ibn Quzmān's love for him (159).[68] After Ibn Quzmān's death, Aslam learns the cause of his death is his love. Aslam laments that he did not know about this love because he would have visited Ibn Quzmān more frequently. In another section of this chapter, there is an additional example of ʻAbd Allah ibn al-Tubnī (أبا عبد الله بن الطنبي) who became so enamored with a beautiful boy that his suffering from love caused his death (162). Ibn Hazm does not mention the name of the boy, although he mentions that he knew him personally and that he tragically had also died.

In the examples of same-sex desire that Ibn Hazm gives, there are no references to the sexual encounters of these men, if they even occurred. The focus remains on the strong desire and love these men had for each other. Physical acts of sex, either opposite or same-sex, are not given in any detail in the work. In the lengthy second-to-last chapter of the book Ibn Hazm focuses on the sins of fornication and adultery and the respective

[68] This Ibn Quzmān is not the same as the famous poet of the twelfth century who was not yet born during Ibn Hazm's life. García-Gómez writes that this example is known in other sources as well and this person perhaps is a ancestor of the famous poet Ibn Quzmān (328).

punishments for them (باب قبح المعصية). He shows the dangers of committing these sins that are not only displeasing to Allah, but also can result in severe punishments such as lashings or death by burning. While he mostly focuses on adultery with women, at the end of the chapter he discusses the sin of sodomy. He cites the example of Abū Bakr al-Siddīq (أبي بكر الصديق) who was burned as a sodomite for taking the passive sexual position, like a woman (187-88). Ibn Hazm never explains his stance on same-sex desire except in this section in which the sexual act is condemnable. He never states if the desire itself constitutes a sin if it is not acted upon. He believes, or at least writes in order to agree with religious law, that both opposite-sex and same-sex illicit sexual behaviors are condemnable. However, this particular chapter does take a contrary view to that which is explained in the rest of the book which focuses on how love and relationships are attained.

There are other important characteristics other than same-sex desire in the *Dove's Ring Neck* that show the reality of relationships in al-Andalus. The penalty for any illicit relationship or act can be severe, not only the legal and religious condemnation of sodomy but also relationships which could affect a woman's and her family's honor. In the chapter on secrets (باب طي السر), Ibn Hazm explains how crucial maintaining the secret of love is, and he gives examples in which the discovery of a prohibited love affair can destroy a person's reputation. In one case in this chapter, he cites an example of a family killing a man for openly writing poetry about his love for its daughter. Secrets of love affairs, for this reason, must be kept closely guarded.

Other vital points in the work include the frequency with which Ibn Hazm mentions the case of men loving female slaves. These examples are numerous and occur in many chapters, so it seems clear that love of slaves was very common during the time of Ibn Hazm. Additionally, there is a chapter on the spy or censor (الرقيب) which plays a central role in many of the muwashshahs. In this chapter Ibn Hazm never mentions who the censor is specifically, be it from the family or even the government or particular members of society. Yet, the *raqīb* or spy often causes problems for the two lovers and his principal goal is to monitor and break-up unapproved or dishonorable relationships.

One model put forth by Riane Eisler fits aptly for understanding sexuality in al-Andalus. In her book *Sacred Pleasure: Sex, Myth, and the Politics of the Body*, she traces human sexuality from the beginning of history to modern times focusing on the dominator v. partnership model. According to this thesis, in many societies dating back several thousands of years even before the rise of Greek civilization, partnerships of men and women were a crucial part of sexuality and the social order in which men and women shared equal roles. This is termed as the partnership model. At some point unknown to us, this paradigm changed to a dominator model in which men took control and women became unequal in both the societal and sexual spheres. The dominator model is represented clearly in ancient Greek sexuality in which men controlled every aspect of sexuality and their role was to rule over women and use aggression as their means of expressing their sexual power. This dominator model of males over females has continued throughout history even including present times (157). The sexuality of al-Andalus, like sexuality in many pre-modern cultures, clearly reflects the dominator

model in which men controlled relationships and power. Men had much greater freedom than women, as is shown by the studies summarized in this chapter. The dominator model not only applies accurately to the sexuality of al-Andalus in general, but it is also useful for understanding the dynamics of the relationships of the muwashshah and kharja voices and the social situations about which they were written.

It is clear that elite men were permitted a great deal of freedom of sexuality, although it must be emphasized that they were a very small sector of the population of al-Andalus. Wealthy men could have a wife or multiple wives, in addition to having numerous concubines and slaves for their sexual desires, and also boys or eunuchs if they chose. It must be stressed that because the muwashshahs were written in the courts and exclusively for and among the highest-ranking men of the era, it is clear that this sexuality just described accurately depicts the social culture in which the poets wrote and lived. Moreover, the misconception that the muwashshahs were popular poetry rather than poetry that was created popularly (by normal people of varied social status) must be addressed. While one cannot deny the popular aspects of this poetry, including its prevalence of universal emotions, its song-like form and its clear rupture from the Arabic poetic tradition, the information we have about the poets themselves and the men who are the subjects of the panegyric poems underscore their initial creation by the privileged classes. Even if these poems were enjoyed by both the elite and the other sectors of society, there is no evidence the muwashshahs were created by any group other than the poets of the court. Additionally, the recognition of courtly creation of this poetry changes how the kharjas should be read. The authors writing of their courtly and love experiences

consistently do so from their own viewpoint and not from one which can be classified as popular. The kharjas, therefore, are not indicative of a virginal and primitive lyric that some critics such as Alonso have espoused but rather they reflect interactions and relationships in the courts. The second chapter of this dissertation demonstrated how the authors manipulated the kharja voice to fit into the muwashshah poem.

At the beginning of each poem, the *'Uddat* and *Jaysh* manuscripts often include the names of the authors. Some poems, however, are anonymous and there are no clues to determine who the authors of these muwashshahs are. Solá-Solé includes some biographical information about these poets and the subjects of their panegyrics in the introduction to each poem in his 1990 translation. Other literary critics and historians also have written about their lives. Some of the poets for whom information is known include: Ibn Mu'allim who was the vizier to Mu'tadid of Seville (ruled from 1053-1075); Ibn 'Arfa Ra'suh who was the singer for both Ma'mum and Yūsef Ibn Hūd; Al-Kumayt al-Gharbī, singer for Musta'in of Zaragoza; Ibn al-Labbāna, a poet at Al-Mu'tamid's court in Seville (Nykl 163); Al-'Ama' al-Tutīli, a court poet of Seville; and Ibn Quzmān who wrote in several courts of the Almohads mainly in Córdoba.[69] Even Al-Mu'tamid, the king of Seville from 1069 to 1091, was a composer of muwashshahs and a highly esteemed poet. The poets were writing in the courts of the kings, living in an insular world far removed from the daily life and struggles of the average person in al-Andalus.

[69] Nykl gives a biographical account of Ibn Quzmān's life, and it was full of hardship and changes of circumstances (Hispano-Arabic Poetry 268-9). Despite this, he had a lot of experience in the courts of al-Andalus and Nykl writes "His audiences are invariably the gatherings of highly cultured, licentious lovers of poetry, wine, pleasure and joy…." (269). Ibn Quzmān, who could be considered the greatest poet of the *zajal*, a popular type of poetry, was writing for audiences that were nobility and the courts, despite the popular nature of this poetry.

Poets were greatly revered by the kings in the eleventh century and their talents enabled them to live luxurious lives within the courts. Their initial audience, and the one which sustained their livelihood, was the upper-class members of the courts including the viziers and the caliphs.

The panegyric muwashshah poems are often written to kings or high-ranking viziers. In a few of these, the specific subjects are unknown other than a name, such as Ibn ʻUbayd or Abū Amr. One poem (Uddat 124) by Ibn ʻUbada only mentions the term "king" (*malik*) yet it is clear that the poem was intended for the nobility. In many, however, the specific historical person about whom the author is writing is known. As an example, Ibn Arfa' Ra'suh's poem (Jaysh 4,8) was written for the king Abū al-Hasan of Toledo and another of his (Jaysh 5,3) was written for Yūsef Ibn Hūd, of the ruling family of Zaragoza. The panegyric subset of these poems was written exclusively to honor the nobility and high-ranking officials and viziers. While there have been numerous arguments for the popular origin of the muwashshah poetry, the poems which are present in the manuscripts—given the frequent bacchic themes, the panegyrics honoring courtly officials and kings, and the names of poets who enjoyed privileged lives in the court—are clearly written and concern a reality that is *not* the popular or common life that the average citizen of al-Andalus experienced. These are poems written for, by and about nobles and their lives.

Illicit and secretive relationships, to which Ibn Hazm dedicates much time in his work, also are indicative of the type of the relationships mentioned in the muwashshah poetry. None of the muwashshahs mention marriage, husbands or wives nor do they

offer any indication that these relationships referenced are accepted by families or society. Moreover, the secretiveness of the relationships as well as the emphasis on the dangers of love present in this corpus suggest that many of these desires and relationships are illicit. Many of the details of the conceptions of Andalusian sexuality present themselves as distinct possibilities for understanding the relationships portrayed in the muwashshahs. However, with the exception of the subjects of the panegyric poems, there are few specifics about who the beloveds were or what their precise role in society was. There are allusions to ephebes and slaves in this corpus—correlating with the research on Andalusian sexuality and courtly culture by Marín, Hamilton, El-Kadí and others who demonstrate the commonness of the relationships between the elite with slaves and ephebes. There is no reference to any eunuchs as beloveds and it cannot be known if any of these poems were written about them.

Little is mentioned about specific characteristics of the beloved of the kharja such as age, social status and family, yet there are clues which demonstrate certain information about these beloveds. Slavery is mentioned both as a literary metaphor and as an adjective to describe the beloved in some of the muwashshahs and kharjas—this can be seen for males and females. In the kharja of two muwashshahs (Jaysh 11,1 and Jaysh 11,8) which was discussed in detail in the second chapter, a male slave is mentioned:

مما شو الغلام لا بد كل ليا حلال او حرام

[Mama your (male) slave should be mine whether licitly or not]

This particular kharja stresses both the prohibitive nature of the relationship that is desired as well as directly referencing a male slave. This passage makes it clear that the subject of the kharja is not an elite member of society or even a free person. The authors and muwashshah speakers were presumably of the courts and nobility—creating a class contrast between the beloved and the muwashshah speaker.

Since slavery was common in al-Andalus, and many of the slaves were Christians from the Iberian Peninsula, the subject of the kharja voice may be those slaves who would have spoken Romance dialect and voice the kharjas which are a mixture of Arabic and Romance. It may be indicative of the incorporation of these two languages precisely by this group of slaves or a representation of the authors of such a voice. One of Ibn Ruhaym's muwashshahs (Jaysh 13,8) even mentions that the woman will be singing in a foreign language:

وَفتات ذَات حُسن بَهي
اعربت عَن منطقٍ اعجمي
تتقى منع الجمالً السَّني

[A girl of incredible beauty
Expresses clearly in a language foreign to me
Singing of an extraordinary beauty:]

Why would this girl be singing in a language that is a mix of Romance and Arabic in the kharja that follows? Her knowledge of words from both dialects suggests that she could be originally from the Christian territories or a Christian family and then became familiar with Arabic while living in al-Andalus.

An examination of the muwashshahs demonstrates how the popular themes and circumstances reflect the political and social reality of al-Andalus. Many of the muwashshahs mention the secretiveness of the love the muwashshah speaker faces, and occasionally he states he will never tell who his beloved is. Secretiveness is an important theme in this poetry. This is further evidence for the illicitness or less respectable nature of these relationships. One passage from the muwashshahs which demonstrates the importance of this theme includes one of Al-'Ama's muwashshahs (Uddat 31):

هواكَ هوَ التشرِيق مَا عِشتُ لا مجتُ بهِ دَهرِى لا مجتُ

[Your love is the East while I live I will not reveal it in my lifetime, I will not reveal it]
This line shows how the muwashshah speaker will never reveal the secret in his heart and emphasizes the need to keep his love secret. He never explains why he cannot reveal it, but the reader can infer that it is important, for whatever reason, he keep it undisclosed.

In another passage of an anonymous muwashshah (Uddat 98), the secret becomes revealed unintentionally because of drinking wine:

شفّنى ما الاقِي وعيل في الحب صبْرى
لم ابح باشْتياقى الا لشدة امرى
وسقى الخمر ساقى فبحت من اجل سُكر

ان صرف الخمور تبيح سر الصُّدور
فاسق سر الحبيب ففيه كل السُّرور

[I become thin from my suffering and lose in love patience
I have not revealed my desires except for the intensity of my matter
I poured wine in a cup and revealed the secret because of my drunkenness

The drinking of pure wine reveals the secrets of chests
Prohibited the secret of the friend and in him contentedness]

The secret the muwashshah speaker intended to keep was revealed when he became intoxicated. It shows the dangers of intermixing wine and secretive love. Alcohol inhibits judgments and becomes an enemy to a guarded secret. While the muwashshahs themselves do not show the specific consequences of learned secrets, these sections do relate to Ibn Hazm's chapter on secrets and the possible dangers they can present if they are revealed. Many of the muwashshah speakers are openly defiant of the consequences and suffering the love they experience causes them.

An additional element, the figure of the spy or guardian (*ar-raqīb*), also is present in many of the muwashshahs. The term عاذل or *'ādl* meaning censor or critic (Hava 461) is another word frequently used. Like the secret, the censor and the spy add another element of drama to this poetry and may reinforce the idea that these relationships are illicit. When the *raqīb* or *'ādl* is addressed, the muwashshah speakers uniformly despise these figures and complain of the interference and censorship which they enact. This is similar to Ibn Hazm's views in his chapter on the *raqīb*. They, like Ibn Hazm, are critical of the censorship and trouble they cause. Despite how frequently the presence of the *raqīb* occurs in this poetry, there is never any clue of specifically who this individual is. One viable possibility is that the *raqīb* is not a specific person, such as a husband, brother or a vigilante of the law or the courts. The term *raqīb* is used in a more universal signification to represent anybody who tried to breakup or harm the relationship between

the two lovers.[70] This function approaches a personified pre-modern archetype of what Foucault considers "pan-optic" in his essay *Panopticism*.[71] The couples have the continual fear of the ubiquitous gaze of the *raqīb* and the censors, whether present or not. The figure of the *raqīb* takes the role of the antagonist in the love stories of the muwashshahs adding a further level of drama to the stories they portray. He is present in all of the categories of the muwashshahs, even in some of the panegyric poems. He is not restricted by the gender of the beloved, playing a role in poems with both male and female beloveds. As al-Andalus became more conservative with the Almoravid and Almohad rule, the *raqīb* as well as other societal controls may have become more common and this circumstance could explain the frequency of them in the later muwashshahs.

A few examples show the role the *raqīb* plays in this corpus. In an anonymous homoerotic muwashshah (Uddat 190) for Ahmed, the ending passage of the poem shows how the *raqīb* interferes with the lovers:

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[70] El-Kadi's theory is that the *raqīb* is a person sent by a jealous husband and often paid like detectives are in modern times (159). While this can be a possibility in many cases, the term can be used for others, particularly in the case if the beloved is not married. Henri Pérès believes the *raqīb* is in many cases the jealous husband himself or the owner of the girl if she happens to be a slave (420). A perplexing anomaly that Pérès questions is, Why would al'Mu'tamid, the king of Seville, write about his fear of the *raqīb* when he is the most powerful person in his kingdom? Pérès's solution is that the *raqīb* has to be a jealous husband in these situations. His theory, however, does not account for unmarried women. The *raqīb* presents a complex and diverse figure in this literature.

[71] In this essay, Foucault begins by discussing the plague during the Middle Ages and the role of inspection and the omnipresent gaze to control society. He then concentrates the rest of his essay on modern society, particularly prisons, to explain how this function works and is an element of power structure in society. Foucault writes: "The Panopticon is a marvellous machine which, whatever use one may wish to put it to, produces homogeneous effects of power" (202). The *raqīb* in the muwashshahs plays this role in which there is the ever present fear of the *raqīb*, that he may be spying on the lovers. The impersonality and universality of this figure correlates with the general function of the 'pan-optic' as Foucault describes it in modern society.

بْينَمَا حبِيبي جَالِس الَى جَنِبي
اشْتَكى وجِيبي وَابُثّهُ كَرْبي
كيْ يَرَى طَبِيبي مَا يجنُّه قَلْبي

حسّ بِالرّقيب قدْ اتَى عَلى غَفْلَه
نحْوَنا يَدِبُّ فَبدتْ لَهُ خَجْلَهْ

[While my lover was seated by my side
He complained to me confiding in him my pain
So I could see my doctor what was enclosed in my heart

The voice of the spy and suddenly came
Towards us walking and he (the lover) went towards him embarrassed]

This passage stresses the role of the *raqīb* in this relationship. He interfered with the two lovers as they were confessing their feelings for one another. The meeting clearly caused embarrassment to the beloved when the *raqīb* entered. He decides to go to the *raqīb* ashamedly rather than rebelliously stay with the muwashshah speaker. This particular section demonstrates how lovers could be in continual fear of the spy and never know when he will appear.

In Yahya al-Jazzār's muwashshah (Jaysh 11,8), censorship and the spy play central roles. He criticizes the censors in the first stanza and in the ending section he complains about the constant presence of the *raqīb* with his beloved:

بيسَ مَا رَامَ الرقيب وَمَا سَعَا
كلمَا يَبْد الحبيب بَدا مَعا
فَلما اشد أجيب لِمَن دَعَا

كدامى فليل اليين اذل اميب
كرل ميت طارى شر الرَّقيب

[How bad it is! the guardian left and what he wanted to do
Every time my lover comes they appear together
How many times do I sing to whom is calling:

I love a boy who is far away and he loves me
He wants my capturing the spy]

This muwashshah shows how much suffering the *raqīb* has caused, his constant presence and even his bad intentions. The muwashshah speaker is singing the kharja, proclaiming the spy wants the muwashshah speaker captured. Interestingly, the *raqīb* is present more frequently in the poems with a male beloved than a female. This may point to the degree of illicitness of these types of relationships and also the younger age of the male beloved.

In an anonymous muwashshah (Uddat 157) with a female beloved, the ending of the muwashshah switches to a scene in which a girl is talking to her lover and in the kharja is able to ask for a kiss when the guardian becomes distracted:

رات غفلات الرَّقيب
فتاة خلت بالحبيبْ
فقالت بصوت عجيب
شكارش كم بُون ميب

فبجم اذا النَّظم ذوك بكالَه ذا حبّ الملوك

[Tiredness made the guardian unaware
A girl alone with her friend
Said in a beautiful voice
"If you want me, good man

Kiss this mouth of pearls, mouth of cherries"]

This section shows how the girl utilizes the time the guardian is not paying attention to make a saucy proposition to a man with whom she is having a conversation.

Additionally, it shows how the *raqīb* functioned in society of al-Andalus to ensure the communications and the actions of the person for whom he was responsible were within the proper social etiquette. The girl must wait until the guardian is not listening to the conversation and quickly make her request for a kiss before the guardian recognizes what is occurring.

One unanswered problem concerning the *raqīb* is determining why he would play such a central role in poetry which was written in the courts in which men, if not women, were given a high degree of sexual freedom. It does seem logical that the upper-classes would have had the means to hire a guardian to protect their youth. This may not have been possible economically for the lower-classes. One likelihood for the anonymous muwashshah (Uddat 157) just referenced is that the woman is a female slave who is still watched by her owners but her sultry statement would not have been appropriate for many women in al-Andalus. No matter what the social status of the person involved, everyone including the caliphs and court members would have been bound by protocols of acceptable behaviors and criticism for deviating from the norm, whether they chose to follow the rules or not.

In addition to the themes of secretiveness and guardians, an analysis of the muwashshahs demonstrates how they fit into the contexts of al-Andalus courtly history and culture. The kings during the eleventh century lived in the pursuit of pleasures rather than exclusively focused on the austerities of war and the slow take-over of the peninsula by the Christians. Some of the panegyric muwashshahs reflect the manners of escapism the kings employed to remove themselves from this pessimistic reality. They are also

indicative of the liberality that was characteristic of their courts in the eleventh century. The themes of pleasure and escapism were very common in poetry during this period[72] and the two central themes of these diversions were wine drinking and sexual pursuits.

In one panegyric muwashshah of Ibn Labbāna (Jaysh 4,9) dedicated to the king Māmūn of Toledo, the frequency of beautiful women and drinking of wine is the beginning central theme followed by praise of the king and a description of how much he is loved by his people. The following is the first four sections of the poem:

هَلا عَذولي قَد خلعتَ العدار لا اقصار عن ظبية الانسِ وَشرب العقار

مَا العيش الا حُب ظبى انِيس
مهفهف احوَى وَحث الكؤوس
مِن فهْوة تحكى شعَاعَ الشموس

كَانهَا في كَاسِهَا اذ تدَار شعلة نار يعتلهَا الا بريق قبل السوار

شيئان قبلي فيهمَا ذُو غرَام
القوْل بالغيد وَشرْب المدَام
فلستُ اصْغى فيهما للِّوام

لا وَالذي توج تاج الفخار بَحر البحَار ببحر جدوَاه وَحَام الديار

الملك المَامُون ذُو المكرمَات
الواحِد الفَدر الجزيل الصفَات
كمْ مادحٍ أحْيَى وَهمٍّ أمات

[72] El-Kadí writes “El gran número de versos que los poetas andaluces han dedicado a describir las reunions báquicas, los juegos amorosos con esclavas y mancebos, el gusto por la música, con testimonios suficientes para recrear los gustos por la vida placentera de estos aristócratas de la realeza. Esta libertad de costumbres parece haber aumentado en la época de los reinos de Taifas, como consecuencia del fraccionamiento de poder en territorios representantes de principados y posteriormente, un relajamiento de la autoridad” (97).

تنهَل مينَاهُ عَليْنا نضار ثمَّ اليسار تجلُو دجَا العشر ببذل ايسَار

في اسْمهِ لِلنَّصر وَالفَتح فَالْ
قَد عَمَّ اهْل الارض طرا نوَال
اصبح في الجود بغير مثال

انجد ذكُرهْ الكَرِيم وَغَار في الامصَار حَتى حدت فيه حداة القطار

[Leave, my critics! I have left my embarrassment I have no retention as far as human gazelles and drinking wine

I do not live except for the love of a friendly gazelle
Thin, with black eyes and praise of the cup
Of wine, that is like rays of the sun

As if the wine of her cup is a calling of fire that which a cup rounds like a bracelet

There are two things in my heart that give me passion
Adoring beautiful women and drinking wine
I do not listen to the critics

No, and I swear by whom was crowned of honor the sea of seas with the sea of his generosity and protector of the land

The king Māmūn is the possessor of nobility
The only one that has an abundance of qualities
How many praises he received and preoccupations have dissipated

His right hand bestows upon us pure gold and with his left he lifts the poor out of darkness with his wealth

In his name is triumph and conquest
He extended his favor to all of the people of the land
His generosity is unequalled

His mention answers and helps in the province to the point that the caravans sing of him]

This muwashshah clearly demonstrates the importance of two courtly pleasures—drinking wine and admiring beautiful women. The last sections of the poem praise Māmūn, noting his greatness and how he is popular and loved by his people. The poet, of course, wants to keep the favor about whomever he is writing and does so in an elaborate and detailed way. The first sections of this poem show the reality of courtly life—not only is the pursuit of pleasures the goal of these kings, but they received criticism by some (although it is not mentioned specifically who), for this behavior. The drinking of wine is described in laudatory and powerful terms to describe its marvelous effect. The second half of this poem which emphasizes the king's nobility and generosity contrasts with the first part of the poem. The poem details the love of diversion with a rather vain attempt to extol the king using hyperbolic language. The history of eleventh century al-Andalus is reflected in the pleasure-seeking themes present in some of the muwashshahs as the courts avoided the weakening political reality of their power while they tried to hold onto the glory of al-Andalus's past. It becomes a literary invention of the poet to rewrite and glamorize the reality facing the courts and rulers of the Taifa kingdoms, one which history has shown to be unsuccessful.

In the muwashshah written by the king of Seville, al-Mu'tamid (Uddat 347), the king focuses on his love relationships and the pleasure he experienced after a night of love. The ending is as follows:

وَلَيْل توالتْ عَلْيَنا المَلاهي
إذْ نِمتُ فقَالت تُريدُ انْتِباهي
سِنَاتُك طَالتْ فكم أَنتَ سَاهِ
ولما اسْتمالتْ بثغر يباهي

قلْتُ ءاشْ يحيِى بَكَالَهْ حلْو مثْل أش

[One night it occurred for us the pleasures
When I was sleeping she said wanting to wake me
You have slept long how forgetful you are
And when she leaned toward me:

I said "How do I enliven a mouth as sweet as this?"]

Solá-Solé interprets the occurrence of this scene after an orgy (78) and whether this is the case or not, the king is focusing his poem on his love interests and conquests, concentrating on the pursuit of pleasure and poetry writing as an escape from the political reality of weakening kingdoms and increased warring factions of al-Andalus. Al-Mu'tamid was considered to be one of the most talented poets of his reign and he did achieve some degree of success in his military campaigns, most notably the overtaking of Córdoba from the Banū Gahwar in 1064.[73] This particular poem, however, demonstrates the king al-Mu'tamid enjoyed the pleasure of the typical court of al-Andulus.

The theme of pleasure is characteristic of other amorous muwashshahs as well and is a frequent theme within this genre of poetry.[74] Ibn Ruhaym unabashedly proclaims love for wine and women in one section of his muwashshah (Uddat 345):

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[73] Nykl gives a detailed biographical sketch and poetry excerpts of al-Mu'tamid in *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*. The 'Uddat manuscript does not give dates of the poems and it cannot be known in which period of al-Mu'tamid's life this particular muwashshah was written. He categorizes his poetry in three periods: 1) the period of his youth when he wrote about wine, women and music; 2) the period in which he wrote about war expeditions of his father's kingdom in which he participated; and 3) the time in which he ruled. He does have a number of poems about battles and conquests and enjoyed a period of success as a ruler and warrior (134). In 1091 he surrendered to the Almohads and was banished to and imprisoned in Morocco where he lived the final four years of his life in poverty (146-47).

[74] The theme of drinking wine and inebriation is one that is common in Arabic poetry despite its religious prohibition. Philip Kennedy traces the evolution of this type of poetry in his book *The Wine Song in Classical Arabic Poetry*, focusing mostly on its beginning in the sixth century until the ninth. While the wine motif is a literary convention in Arabic poetry, the muwashshahs must also be representative of the direct experiences of the court.

سَقِّني لا عُذْر لي ان لَّم أَمتْ خالعِ العُذْرِ
في الحِسَان الخُرَّد الغيدِ الكَوَاعِب والخَمْرِ

[There is no excuse for me, if I die by throwing off all shame
for beautiful women, virgins, women with big breasts and wine]

Ibn Ruhaym's muwashshah openly admits the pursuit of pleasures and desires without fear of the consequences for his illicit behaviors. The muwashshah speaker has no qualms about "throwing off all shame" and he is aware that there may be consequences for his indulgences.

Sexual violence and domination are also themes of the muwashshahs and kharjas. Stacy Parker Aronson's article "Sexual Violence in Las Jarchas", as explained in Chapter One, examines the theme of violence and rape in the kharjas. Her assessments of this topic are accurate. The reason, however, for the overwhelming number of muwashshahs and kharjas with this occurrence must be considered within the social reality of al-Andalus. This violence further points to the authority and privilege high-class men enjoyed in which the "dominator model" of sexuality and power thrived. The modern concept of human rights is one which is singularly absent in this poetry. The speakers of the muwashshahs have no consideration for the beloveds' desires, particularly because they frequently attempt reject the muwashshah speaker in the kharja voice. The sole emphasis is on the muwashshah speaker's sentiments, his affliction and what he desires. He is not concerned about what means he needs to use to attain it and how the beloved may feel.

The muwashshahs reflect Eisler's theories of the dominator model for sexuality in which the muwashshah speaker generally has physical control of his relationship. Additionally, El-Kadí writes "En la poesía popular, muwassaha y zéjel, encontramos también descripciones eróticas de las uniones sexuales entre una pareja, donde el hombre muchas veces emplea cierta violencia física dentro del juego amorosa-sexual. La mujer puede o no puede acceder" (87). This poetry, however, goes one step further than the simple model of violent dominance over the beloved—it encompasses the juxtaposition of both the physical domination and even violence of the muwashshah speaker toward the beloved with the metaphorical and emotional power the beloved has over the muwashshah speaker. The poetry manifests itself as a struggle between these two polar circumstances—the masculine, physical and aggressive stance of the muwashshah speaker and the sheer abstract and non-physical power of the beloved whether male or female.[75] Of course, it is the muwashshah speaker who ultimately has the upper-hand and is able to win his beloved at times through forceful means.

In one anonymous muwashshah (Uddat 349), the author details the power of the emotional refusal of the beloved, yet the physical reality of the scene of this poem is one in which the muwashshah speaker retains control through sexual violence:

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[75] One fascinating poem which al-Mu'tamid wrote about a cupbearer, one that is not a muwashshah, accurately depicts the centrality of these theme—both the beloved and the pursuer become 'masters' and 'slaves' at the same time. This shows the duality of the powers of the beloved and the pursuer. An excerpt of Nykl's translation in *Hispano-Arabic Poetry* is as follows:

I made *him* captive; his charming eyes in turn
Made *me his* captive: now we *both* are masters, *both* slaves!
Oh Sword, be kind towards a captive of love,
Who asks not, as favor, to be freed by you! (143)

أَباحَ حِمَى الصَّبِّ
بَدْرُ التَّمِّ في الحُبِّ
فَظَلَّ منَ الكَرْبِ
يَهِيم بِلا لُبِّ

موحَّشْ به ارَش منجش يُثير الغش
فاجْهَشْ بَكَا ينبش عَلى السِّر مسْتفْتَش

أَنَا في الهَوى عانِ
لأَحْورِ فتَّانِ
رَمَاني فأَصْمَاني
باسْهُمِ أَجفَانِ

تريَّش بغنج حش وَأَفحَش حشى ينتش
تَعَطَّش بدَمْع رش على الخَدِّ مسْتعْرش

رَشًا سامَني بالصَّدْ
اسًى قوَّتي قدْ هَد
ويعْطي لثاري خَد
له ناعم املد

يخمّش اذا حُمِّش ويخْدَش اذا اذْهِشْ
وينقشْ كما رُقِّش طِرازُ ريَاضِ الطَّشْ

بوَجْهك اسْتَشفِ
من السُّقْم واللّهفِ
فلمْ صُغتَ لي حَتفِ
بصُدْغَيكَ للعَطفِ

كأَرقَشْ غَدَا ينَهشْ ويبْطشْ وقَد حُرّشْ
ويذْهشْ بمَن يوحِشْ مُشوقاً به عيّش

وَخَوْدٍ بنهْد غَض
كُرمْحٍ اذَا اسْتَعرَضْ
بهِ اثرٌ للْعَضْ
فيهِ قلتُ إذ اعْرَض

رُخَامَش كن الشامش مزادَش كم اللزمش
اقوطش كم اللنجش كمال ش ذ المش

[Allow the passion of passions
The full moon of love
The distress of grief
Roaming aimlessly

A wild beast injured troubled deceived
And started crying and revealed the searched secret

I am suffering from love
From the charming eye
Shot me, killing me
The arrow of those eyelashes

Adorned with piercing looks and atrociously goes away
She is thirsty for the spray of tears drops on the cheek

A gazelle banished me with repulsion
Grief destroyed my strength
Give me a kiss on the cheek
Tender and soft

Scratched if vexed scratches if surprised
Engraved as if adorned in the drizzle of a garden

Your face ill
The cause of my sickness and affliction
Why does your face give me no pity?
As I lean towards you

Like a panther that starts tearing and attacks from a provocation
And surprised by who survived the victim still living

And a girl with tender breasts
Stands like an arrow
On them bite marks
I said referring to them:

What injuries on my breasts you bite me with bite marks
Sharp like swords like the point of diamonds]

The author focuses the first sections of this muwashshah on the power of the gazelle, the metaphor for the beloved. He inverts the typical power structure of dominating male control with one in which, despite the obvious violence and physical power the man has, the gazelle controls the situation. The gazelle, the timid and feminine creature, manages the power dynamic of this relationship through the influence that love for the gazelle has over the speaker of the muwashshah.[76] Numerous similes and metaphors are employed to express the violent nature of the gazelle's power including "shot me, killing me, the arrows of those eyelashes" and "like a panther, that starts tearing, and attacks, from a provocation". The beloved or the gazelle has the freedom to choose whether to accept or reject the muwashshah speaker. As a result of the gazelle's rejection, the muwashshah speaker experiences intense emotional suffering. Yet, the ending of the muwashshah paints a dramatically different picture in which the girl, being bitten, suffers from physical injuries. Both the muwashshah speaker and the woman referenced in the kharja are suffering—the muwashshah speaker through the mental anguish of love and rejection

[76] El-Kadí writes that the gazelle is a frequent emblematic metaphor utilized in Arabic poetry for "un animal representativo de la persecución de las pasiones del inconsciente, se la imagina como en el acto de huir de un león u otra fiera. La joven mujer descripta en su cuerpo o mirada de gacela encarna el rol de víctima del hombre-fiera, de presa, prestes a ser devorada, sin protección a causa de su fragilidad; pero también poseedora de una mirada furtiva y esquiva, por su condición de ave" (104). The metaphor of the gazelle is quite common. It is often paired with lions that hunt the gazelles and are the most powerful physically of the two yet the gazelle has a piercing glance and a captivating beauty. This juxtaposition shows that the feminine and hunted gazelle can have power over the masculine, powerful and hunter lion.

and the woman through the physical sexual violence of being bitten. The author uses violent language to describe the sentiments of being rejected but it is the kharja voice who directly suffers from violence. The physical dominator model of the male prevails but this is closely juxtaposed with the muwashshah speaker's own emotional affliction.[77]

The physical scenes of violence are common at the end of the muwashshahs. In another anonymous muwashshah (Uddat 149), the violence of the muwashshah speaker is expressed towards the women complaining in the kharja:

لمّا ظرفت بهَا في الخلوه
ونِلت رشف الثَّنايا الْحُلوه
ممزِّقا ثْوبها بِالعَنْوَهْ
فَأَنشَدت اُمَّها عن زهْوه

أشت الرَّقيع ممَّا اشْت الحرك بى همّ قهْره إِن نبيذْوا والْفَلك

[When I trapped her alone
And obtained the sweet saliva of her teeth
Forcefully tearing off her clothes
She sang to her mother about her scorn:

This shameless one, mother, is violent He pushed me forcefully and is relentless]

The muwashshah speaker uses physical aggressiveness to trap her and tear off her clothes—he glorifies a tragic rape scene. There is no recourse for the girl who complains to her mother. Another muwashshah is indicative of the sexual violence placed upon the girl who voices the kharja. In Ibn Baqī's (Uddat 344), the girl complains that she does not want to be touched anymore because her body is fragile:

[77] The alternating strophes end with a *–sh* sound which also add a strong sound of discord in this muwashshah, possibly heightening the feelings of suffering and violence in the poem.

ثُمّ قالتْ وهي مَا بْين التَّرائبِ والشنْفِ

نن ممردش يا حَبِيبِ لا نقر دنيش الغلامه رخصه بشت اطوطو مرفيش

[Then she said and she was between doubt and scorn:

Don't touch me, my lover, it still is dangerous
The body is fragile, enough I refuse]

This muwashshah also highlights the physical violence and sensitivity of the woman of the kharja.[78] These examples demonstrate how men used women for their own pleasures without consideration of the woman's physical and emotional needs or well-being.

Al-Habbāz al-Mursī's muwashshah (Jaysh 10,10) portrays a young impressionable girl of only 13 years old:

للهِ ظبية خدر قد روعَت بالفراق
بنت ثلاث وعشر تسيل دَمع المئاق
تقُول في حَال صغر لأمها بالشتياق

[My God, the gazelle kept hidden indoors has fear of separation
She is a girl of 13 years tears flowing from her eyes
She says in a state of weakness to her mother with passion:]

Pedophilia would have not been taboo in al-Andalus. This excerpt demonstrates the acceptability of love relationships with younger girls; in this case a 13 year old is the subject of the poem. While the age of the muwashshah speaker is not known, it can be assumed there is a vast age difference between the two. This also fits into the dominator

[78] This kharja is also shared by *Uddat* 345 and one of Yahuda Halevi's Hebrew muwashshahs (Solá-Solé 123). The situation is the same for all three of these muwashshahs in which the girl of the kharja is complaining about her lover.

model. The male muwashshah speaker has the power and control over a young, impressionable girl.

Women, however, are not only portrayed as helpless victims, but occasionally as active pursuers of their own passions and sexuality. In one anonymous muwashshah (Uddat 140) the muwashshah speaker delights in the advances of the woman voicing the kharja:

فشَدت ثمَّ اعْرضتْ لعبا
عجباً مّن مَّقالها عجَبا
نن تمترای إلّا کن الشرط ان تجمع خلخالي معْ قرط

[And she sang, presenting playfully
Amazing were her words, amazing:

You will not see me except in the condition of joining my feet to my earrings]

The obvious sexual reference of the kharja voice is her petition to the muwashshah speaker, "joining her feet to her earrings". The muwashshah speaker appears quite pleased by her advances by stating how amazing her words are. Although there are exceptions such as this particular excerpt, women are not often portrayed as controllers of their own desires in this corpus.

The frequent cases of homoerotic poems are determined in the previous chapter through an analysis of gender and the dominator model of sexuality accurately fits these homoerotic cases as well. The practices of pederasty and homoerotic love were frequent in al-Andalus and this is reflected in the muwashshahs. As was determined in the second chapter, 15 of the 47 muwashshahs with Romance kharjas in this corpus have male beloveds. The muwashshahs do not give many explicit sexual details of these

relationships and the nature of the love for the beloved, whether male or female, represents a wide-range of possibilities—from the admiration of beloved's beauty to unconsummated and secretive desire or even sexual union. Some of these poems may be about sexual relationships while others follow the Arabic poetry conventions of open admiration of male beauty. As a whole, physical violence is less present in the homoerotic muwashshahs although it still does exist. The suffering of love is uniformly present in these poems as well as the power of the gazelle and deer despite their lack of physical prowess.

In one of Al-Habbāz al-Mursī's muwashshahs (Jaysh 10,3), the poem highlights censorship, suffering and desperation. The poem starts by referring to 'Isa, the beloved, as a "naïve gazelle" and describes him in a typical fashion but switches in the fourth section to the injustice experienced because of his rejection:[79]

اي ظبى غرير حَوَا كمَال الْبدُور
وَانشنَاء القضِيب وَنظرة المذعُور

مَايش المعْطفين الان قلبي بلينه
فَاتر المُقلتين وَالموت ملء جفونه
سَافر الوَجنتين عَن ورد عزٍّ مصونه

كَم لِذاك الفُتور وَحسن ذَاكَ السفور
من شجا في الْقلوب وَلوعَة في الصدور

[79] Two comments about this particular poem: 1) It appears like one line from this muwashshah is missing from Jones's text because the second strophe contains three lines rather than two. 2) It may appear unusual that the verb *'shti* has a *kisra* short vowel rather than a *damma*. It seems to be in maintaining the rhyme of the poem rather than a grammatical shift and should still be interpreted as the first-person.

قَد تعَشقت ظالِم افديهِ بالجائرينا
رد فيه اللوَايم جمجَّة العَاشقينا

قلتُ لِلنَّفسي سِيري وَلِلنَّوا لا تجُوري
ثم للجسْم ذوب وللجوَانِح طيِري

كَيفَ فارقت عِيسى وَعشتِ بَعْد فرَاقِه
بعت علقا نفيسا بالبخس عند نفَاقه
فَادرهَا كئوسا لِلصَّبِ مِن اشوَاقِه

[Naïve gazelle he encompasses the perfection of the full moons
With the balance of the branches and the look of fright

Within your clothes it soothes my heart with its gentleness
The languidness of his eyes and death is the contents of his eyelids
Uncovering his cheeks with roses that are guarded

How much is in the languidness of his eyes and the beauty of his face
Of sadness for hearts and suffering in chests

I have passion for a tyrant his ransom beseeching us
Averting himself from slander struck by being passionate

I said to myself, 'persevere' and to him, 'Don't be unjust towards me'
And to my body, 'melt' and to my arms, 'fly'

How did I separate myself from 'Isa and survive after the separation
I sold this precious jewel at a low price from his hypocrisy
So send in the cups as a remedy for my desire of him]

The muwashshah speaker complains that 'Isa is a tyrant and unjust. The suffering caused is greatly detailed and the speaker resorts to drinking wine as an escape from the pain this separation has caused him. The descriptions of this section were analyzed in the second chapter. The "naïve gazelle" and "look of fright" along with other descriptions in this poem give the impression that 'Isa is a younger boy. This poem fits the dominator model

because of the assumed difference of age and power between the beloved ‘Isa and the muwashshah speaker. Pederasty fits well into this model of domination and many of the homoerotic poems, like the ones with women beloveds, underscore the unbalanced power and nature of these relationships. This particular poem also juxtaposes the power of ‘Isa’s beauty that causes suffering. Yet, his power is not one which is physical. This duality causes the tension of the poem—the power of the beloved’s beauty versus the power and control of the muwashshah speaker.

In a particularly violent passage from an anonymous muwashshah (Uddat 90) about a young warrior, the author stresses the beauty of the young man and compares him to a gazelle. This is followed by a dramatic shift in the fourth strophe and violent imagery occurs:

رأَى وما عرَّج في الحرم عن دماء يسفك
ذو ناظِرٍ ادْعج لم يرم ساعياً في حتفِكْ
وبك قَد ضرَّج أَجْري دم بنصال سَيفكْ

ما للشَّجى الحاين عنه ملاذ لو اجدّ لايذْ

[I saw him and he did not deviate in the forbidden of spilt tears
Possessor of large dark eyes he does not stop searching his death
You have become stained with blood my blood is running from the iron of your sword
There is not for the unfortunate a refuge from him even if one tries to look for one]

The themes of love and war are intermixed in this particular muwashshah—the metaphors of war, violence and death become a way of expressing the pain of love and also the violent nature of the beloved. War, of course, would have been a principal

concern and anxiety for rulers of the court. This is also observed in Ibn 'Ubada's muwashshah (Uddat 109) in which war is the singer of the kharja.[80]

Another passage, from Al-Asbāhī al-Larīdī's homoerotic poem (Uddat 230), gives the impression of the promiscuity and the pre-modern 'player' status of court members:

مَا للهَوى اقْتِراحُ الا ابْن عُبيْده
كَمْ ودَّتِ الْمِلَاحُ لوْ كَانوا عَبِيدَهْ
ظَبْىٌ لّهُ ارْتَياحُ ان صَدّ عميدَهْ

لا كِن يرقُّ مَهْمَا يُوَاصِل هِجْرانَا
يَا لهُ ظَالِم يُبْدى العَدْل احْيَانَا

[I do not want for love except Ibn 'Ubayd
How many beautiful girls wished they could be his slave!
He is a deer that goes away rejecting what he loves

But becoming a slave whoever discusses the separation
How unjust he is! though sometimes he appears just]

This passage highlights how many girls were enamored by him yet he rejects them. He has a powerful attraction that causes many to become "slaves" because of their enamored feelings for him. He seems unjust because he does not become attached to his lovers.

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[80] This panegyric muwashshah mentiones a king but has no specific name, The kharja voice is an interesting mix of love and war terminology just like the poem Uddat 90:

كم شدت به احرب
ومراامها صعب
شدو من به نصب
السام من حال مو ذ حالى
كفرى يم فانق بد لبار

[How many times did war sing
Whose victory is difficult
The song of the afflicted one:

Death is my condition because my condition is desperate
What will I do, mother? The luxuriant one is about to leave]

The excerpts examined in this chapter show many of the common themes of the muwashshahs and how they relate to the social and political history of al-Andalus. Both the opposite-sex and same-sex poems share many characteristics—secretiveness, violence and anguish, among others. The muwashshahs and kharjas cannot be separated from the environment in which they were written. While the themes of unrequited love, suffering, wine and beauty were common aspects of the Arab poetic tradition, they also are a component of the experiences of love and courtly life that these authors in the eleventh and twelfth centuries would have undergone. The muwashshahs do illustrate a picture of universal love and beauty, but they also reflect courtly life and society in al-Andalus. The relationships expressed in the kharjas and muwashshahs are always of inequality and subjugation.

As this chapter shows, the muwashshahs also concur with Ibn Hazm's philosophy and rules of love and sexuality detailed in *The Dove's Ring Neck* through the situations and descriptions present in this poetry. The commonness of secretiveness and the antagonistic figure of the *raqīb* serve as real constraints in love relationships just as Ibn Hazm purports. In the face of obstructions, dangers and prohibitions, the muwashshahs demonstrate the strength of the feelings of love. They show, just like Ibn Hazm argues, that love can be a powerful and dangerous force. The common elements of homoeroticism are also present in both and the examples in Ibn Hazm's work and the manuscripts of the muwashshahs do not distinguish between them. The violent aspects of this poetry are not present in Ibn Hazm's work, although at times he does have a

misogynistic viewpoint. His focus is on love and he never suggests violence as a means to attain it.

This chapter shows how the political and social atmosphere of al-Andalus and the courts are reflected in the Arabic muwashshahs and their Romance kharjas. The themes of love, secretiveness, the *raqīb*, slavery and pederasty are all elements which are contained in, and common aspects of, this corpus. A detailed analysis of al-Andalus's societal and political history not only contextualizes and gives a historical background to the muwashshahs, but it changes how one must think about the nature of the kharjas themselves. While some of the kharjas are pure and simple outbursts of love, the corpus as a whole is more complex and includes desires, complaints and suffering that are anything but innocent pining. They reflect desires of both men and women, perhaps are even manipulated texts by the authors themselves, that show an acute awareness of the dominating sexual reality and privilege of men of the courts. The male muwashshah speaker has the physical power and control over the beloved whereas the kharja voice often is an expression of this inequality.

Chapter Four: Muwashshahs, Religion and Desire

Religion plays a central role in all aspects of life in medieval societies, and of course, al-Andalus is no exception. Furthermore, the religious paradigms of al-Andalus penetrate into its sexuality and expressions of desire. Religion and sexuality are juxtaposed closely in Andalusian writings, literature and philosophy. Islam influenced nearly every sphere of the society of al-Andalus—not only its laws and customs but also its language and poetry. The relationship between religion, sexuality and desire is one which cannot be overemphasized. While the muwashshahs center around the emotions of love and lost love or praise a dignitary or king, the intermixing of religious language with the sexual or the amorous is a frequent and salient feature. This chapter looks at the tradition of the sacrad and the sexual in Arab philosophy and religion beginning with the influence of Greek philosophy and Plato's *Symposium*. Next it examines the descriptions of paradise in the Koran and Ibn Hazm's conception of love and the divine in *The Dove's Ring Neck*. Then, it explores and analyses the intermixing of religious language with descriptions of beauty, desire and praise within the corpus of muwashshahs with Romance kharjas. It examines how these poems and the desires they represent through the muwashshah and kharja voices fit particularly into these philosophical traditions.

The sacred and the sexual have been juxtaposed throughout pre-modern history and are embodied in its cultures. The Arabs were strongly influenced by Greek philosophy, particularly the works of Plato and Aristotle which they had at their disposal. These translated works from the courts in Baghdad and other Middle Eastern cities were later brought to al-Andalus through exchanges among the courts. While many Greek

works were influential in Arab and Islamic thought, this chapter focuses on the influence of Plato's *Symposium*. This work is the first Western treatise on love. It theorizes the conceptions and origin of the soul as well as the varying characteristics of love. Many of these perceptions of love and desire which Plato presents in his work are later followed and modified in the Arab philosophical tradition.[81] The correlation between love and the divine is a theme which pervades this discourse.

In the *Symposium*, a drinking party occurs in which each of the attendees gives his own philosophy of love and its importance to humanity. The work is in itself a detailed guide to the multiple concepts of love as ancient Greeks understood it. The Arabs were influenced strongly by two particular ideas in this work—the two views espoused by Aristophanes and Socrates. As this chapter will show, these two perspectives manifest themselves to a degree in the poetry and philosophy of al-Andalus. Ibn Hazm, being familiar with this specific work of Plato, later used it as one of his inspirations for his Andalusian and Islamic centered vision of love—his neoplatonic treatise on the subject titled *The Dove's Ring Neck*.

The first of these two influential ideas for the Arabs in the *Symposium* comes from Aristophanes's story of his perception of love. He tells a fable which explains the origin of the human species and the human desire for love. According to Aristophanes, in the beginning the gods created three types of humans—male, female and a mix of the

[81] Waleed Saleh Alkalifa writes that Ibn Sina also continues this idea in the philosophical tradition of al-Andalus: "Ibn Sina atribuye al alma inferior un papel asociado al alma racional, según el cual el amor a la belleza externa—el amor humano o sexual—tiene un papel positivo en cuanto contribuye al ascenso del alma hacia la unión con lo divino" (63).

two which were like two people in one (473).[82] The gods deemed the third kind, the double or super humans, too powerful and dangerous. Zeus decided to split them in two so they would not cause the gods any problems (474). Because of the separation of the two who were originally one, each half consequently would long for its other part to become complete. Plato explains this as the origin of desire:

> This, then, is the source of our desire to love each other. Love is born into every human being; it calls back the halves of our original nature together; it tries to make one out of two and heal the wound of human nature….And so, when a person meets the half that is his very own, whatever his orientation, whether it's to young men or not, then something wonderful happens: the two are struck from their senses by love, by a sense of belonging to one another, and by desire, and they don't want to be separated from one another, not even for a moment. (474-5)

Although this fable appears a bit sensational and perhaps comical, this conception is one of a pre-modern version of "soul-mates". The source of their desire stems from the need to be reconnected with one's other half. The origin of this desire was predetermined by the gods because of their conscious effort to split the double humans into two. It is easy to see the mix of the sacral and the sexual in this particular Greek mythology of love because it was Zeus, the most powerful god, who separated the double humans. He discovered they would each individually search and desire union with each other's half. Thus, the origin of desire and longing of human love stems from a divine power—it was the work of the gods which caused the separation and the subsequent longing of two halves of the same soul to reunite with one another. In this narrative, the specific object of a person's desire already has been determined by the gods. One's desires became

[82] In this section Aristophanes explains that some of these double humans were of the same-sex—two males or two females together. This section demonstrates the Greek thought that 'soul-mates' did not need to be of opposite sexes and even the gods themselves created this desire for both same-sex and opposite-sex love.

complete once he or she found the specific person to whom he or she was joined originally.

In addition to Aristophanes's version of the cause of love, the other perspective in the *Symposium* which is passed into Arab thought is how the experience of love approaches the desire for immortality itself. Socrates is the last person to speak about the meaning of love in the *Symposium*. He ultimately has the last word and is the most authoritative figure in all of Plato's writings in which Socrates is present. He tells his companions at the party the story of what Diotima taught him about the significance of love—the entirety of love and desire come from the human wish for immortality. Socrates claims that human reproduction is an important and biological manifestation of immortality because one can live on and continue the existence of the human race through one's children. However, this is not the ultimate desire of love for immortality; it is a more spiritual birth that is the ultimate goal (491). Socrates quotes verbatim Diotima's explanation:

> I believe that anyone will do anything for the sake of immortal virtue and the glorious fame that follows; and the better the people, the more they will do, for they are all in love with immortality….In my view, you see, when one makes contact with someone beautiful and keeps company with him, he conceives and gives birth to what he has been carrying inside him for ages. And whether they are together or apart, he remembers that beauty….Among you the honor goes to Solon for his creation of your laws. Other men in other places everywhere, Greek or barbarian, have brought a host of beautiful deeds into the light and begotten every kind of virtue. Already many shrines have sprung up to honor them for their immortal children, which hasn't happened yet to anyone for human offspring. (491-2)

Diotima explains that the origin and meaning of love is ultimately one which expresses the human desire for immortality, a characteristic which is only given to the gods, not

humans in Greek thought. The avenue of immortality, according to Socrates and Diotima, is only possible through the path of "true virtue" which is inspired by love (494). The mere survival of the human race through reproduction is not the source of love. It is the spiritual and intellectual path that leads to self-attainment for which love exists—the quest for "true virtue" through beauty and love which leads to the betterment and advancement of humanity. As Diotima explains, the shrines which are revered long after the death of a person never come from their creation of offspring. These shrines exist for the noble deeds which an honorable person performed in his lifetime. The essence of this viewpoint, like Aristophanes's fable, intermixes the sexual and the religious because it is the desire for humans to live eternally and to be remembered eternally in which sexual desire originates. For the Greeks, love is an ennobling power that can inspire greatness and virtue. The Arabs, thus being strongly influenced by Greek thought, closely follow their own version of platonic thought and love with the addition of Islamic theology and the immortality of the soul.

The greatest influence of all in Islamic philosophy, society and even literature is, naturally, the Koran. Following the Judeo-Christian tradition, the belief system of Islam furthermore allows for a true immortality of the soul which differentiates it from Greek belief. In many ways Islam expresses an openness of sensuality and sexuality within the context of religion. Additionally, the Koran has frequent passages which are accommodating of sexual desire and even provides detailed laws and practices to regulate marriage and sexuality (Ghamidi 382-406). As the third chapter of this dissertation explains, slavery and concubinage were common in the courts of al-Andalus. The use of

concubines is not seen as sinful but rather as permissible according to the teachings of the Koran. One passage of the Koran shows that sex is only permitted in two circumstances, with one's wife or one's slaves:

> 23.5: Who abstain from sex
>
> 23.6: Except with those joined to them in the marriage bond, or (the captives) whom their right hands possess, for (in their case) they are free from blame

As long as a man's sexual partners are either his wives or his slaves, there is nothing illicit about the relationship. The nobility and wealthy classes of al-Andalus who could afford slaves could keep large harems and still stay within the rules of Islamic law.

Many descriptions used in the Koran are similar to descriptions in Arabic poetry in both their metaphors and sensual nature. The exemplary quality of the perfect and inimitable language of the Koran would make these metaphors and descriptions highly regarded as an ideal. Therefore, they were used as a model for poetry. Islam and the Koran infiltrate in many descriptive and aesthetic elements of Arabic poetry. Even the most basic of divine descriptions are used as metaphors for the subjects of the poems. An example in the Koran which employs a common religious description of Allah's power is:[83]

> 35.13: He merges Night into Day and he merges Day into Night, and he has subjected the sun and the moon (to His Law): each one runs its course for a term appointed….

The divine has the ability to make night into day and day into night. Just as in this religious description, in many of the muwashshahs the beloved has the power to eclipse

[83] All citations of the Koran are from the Koran Project which contains the original Arabic and translated English.

the sun with his or her brightness.[84] This common description is suggestive of the divine power of the beloved. Common metaphors in the Koran become frequent symbols in descriptions in Arabic poetry and became part of the poetic tradition soon after the birth of Islam (Sells 128). Not only the frequent references to the sun and the moon but also evocations of the gardens of paradise.[85]

Even more striking than these commonly used metaphors which express divine authority are the descriptions of paradise which portray luscious gardens and faithful companions. The Koran provides great detail of the pleasures and beauty the pious will experience in the afterlife:

> 55.46: (Here is) a Parable of the Garden which the righteous are promised: in it are rivers of water incorruptible; rivers of milk of which the taste never changes; rivers of wine, a joy to those who drink; and rivers of honey pure and clear. It in there are all kinds of fruits….
>
> 55.56: In them will be (maidens), chaste, restraining their glances, whom no man or Jinn before them has touched;
>
> 55.70: In them will be fair (companions), good, beautiful;
>
> 55.72: Companions restrained (as to their glances), in (goodly) pavilions;
>
> 56.17: Round about them will (serve) youths of perpetual (freshness),
>
> 56.18: Will goblets, (shining) beakers, and cups (filled) out of clear-flowing fountains.
>
> 56.19: No after ache will they receive therefrom, nor will they suffer intoxication:

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[84] See Ibn Labbūn's muwashshah (Uddat 281) which describes the beloved as brighter than the sun. An anonymous one (Uddat 157) says those who describe the beloved as beautiful and bright as the sun are doing her an injustice. The beloveds and dignitaries are portrays with power than exceeds that of humans or nature.

[85] Chapter 2 of this dissertation analyses in detail the descriptions in the muwashshahs. The frequent metaphors of gardens and plants which can be an allusion to paradise as well as the frequent use of light, the sun and the moon, are also common images in the Koran.

56.20: And with fruits, any that they may select:

56.21: And the flesh of fowls, any that they may desire.

56.22: And (there will be) Companions with beautiful, big, and lustrous eyes,

56.23: Like unto Pearls well-guarded.

56.24: A reward for deeds of their past (life).

56.35: We have created (their companions) of special creation.

56.36: And made them virgin-pure (and undefiled),

56.37: Beloved (by nature), equal in age,

56.38: For the companions of the Right Hand

76.19: And round about them will (serve) youth of perpetual (freshness): Of thou seest them, thou wouldst think them scattered Pearls.

A description of Paradise, according to these passages in the Koran, shows the sensual nature of paradise—abundant food and drink in a lush garden setting, accompanied by beautiful companions that are as stunning as pearls. The companions of the afterlife are youthful and of extraordinary beauty and will forever be renewed as virgins. Given the sensuality of the afterlife as it is expressed in the Koran, it is not surprising that love is expressed by religious language at times in the muwashshahs. The muwashshahs, as well as medieval Arabic poetry in general, employ many analogous descriptions and similes to that which is found in the Quranic text such as comparisons to gardens and pearls.[86]

[86] David Wacks has noted that this is also prevalent in Hebrew poetry of the era: "One of the most intriguing features of Andalus Jewish culture is, according to Ross Brann, 'a startling fusion of the sacred and the profane….particularly in the manner the poets devoted themselves to the idea of beauty'. Hebrew poets of al-Andalus had two primary vehicles for expressing the idea of beauty: the Classical love poetry of

Although these passages are only a few of the many which discuss sexuality and paradise in the Koran, they provide a sample of how the Koran was influential in poetic depictions.

The descriptions of Paradise and regulations of sexuality were further interpreted by religious leaders and scholars shortly after the time of Mohammed in the centuries that followed. These texts are known as *hadīth* literature. Abdelwahab Boudiba writes extensively about the understandings and interpretations of sexuality and Islam in the fundamental monograph *Sexuality in Islam*. Boubida writes that Islam's essential contribution to the conception of the afterlife, compared with earlier religions, is the acceptance and embracement of sexuality: "Islam, then, is an economy of pleasure. It is its over-conscious valorization. To integrate the sexual in the sacral is, I believe, ultimately the great lesson and the great merit of this Islamic vision of the afterlife" (86).[87] He also explains how sexual enjoyment is a central component of the pleasures of paradise. The intensity of pleasures is even greater than what is experienced in the earthly world: "Man's sexual potency is also multiplied. One makes love as on earth but each climax is extended and extended and lasts for twenty-four hours…." (75). Boudiba highlights the sexual nature of paradise which is in opposition to the asexual conception of heaven in the Christian aesthetic (80).

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the Arabic tradition, and the Biblical Hebrew love poetry of the Song of Songs" (47). The descriptions of the beloved that were analyzed in Chapter 2 show many of these common metaphors.

[87] Boudiba aptly notes that this is directly in contrast to Christian dogma: "The Christians will be a-sexual in paradise, whereas the Muslim will experience infinite orgasm" (80). One notable exception to the Judeo-Christian tradition of the perceived separation of the sacral and sexual is the *Song of Songs* which does portray a sensual love story in a religious context (Bloch 3). It is also interesting to note the similarities of some of the metaphors of the *Song of Songs* with Arabic poetry, particularly the gazelle.

Boubida further comments that Suyūti,[88] an interpreter of the Koran and a *hadīth* composer, writes that the *houri* in paradise are eternally renewed as virgins, erections are eternal and sexual pleasures are infinitely great than that experienced in this life (76). Given the passages of the Koran and the manner in which they were interpreted in religious *hadīth* writings, it is no surprise that the divine and the sexual in Islam in many ways are conceived as united, rather than separate, aspects of being. The pious and exemplary are rewarded in paradise—not only with eternal life and happiness but also with sexual and sensual pleasures that greatly magnify earthly sexual sensations. Islam, by its nature, genuinely unites the sacred and the sexual in its philosophical thought.

The ideas of love and its divine origin were further developed and analyzed in al-Andalus after the birth of Islam and the writings of *hadīth* literature. Not only are there clear allusions to this sensuality in the poetry of this era, but it is theorized and explained in Ibn Hazm's philosophical treatise, *The Dove's Ring Neck*. Ibn Hazm naturally was guided by some aspects of Islamic theology and the regulations in the Koran. Additionally, the Greek tradition was important to his work. He cites Plato two times in the first chapter of his work which is titled *Speaking on the Essence of Love* (الكلام في ماهية الحب). The first allusion to Plato concurs with the idea of the origin of love and the union of two souls. He does not mention Plato by name in this particular passage but the reference is clear. In this section, Ibn Hazm explains how the nature of love is discussed

[88] Suyūti was a prolific author of various subjects who lived from 849-911. He spent most of his life in Cairo and Egypt and also traveled widely in the Arab world.

frequently. He also disagrees with Muhammed Ibn Dāwūd's understanding of the origin of souls as a certain philosopher (Plato) conceives it (18-19):

وقد اختلف الناس في ماهيَّته وقالوا وأطالوا, والذي أذهبُ إليه أنه اٍّتصالٌ بين أجزاء النفوس المقسومة في هذه الخليقة في أصل عُنصرها الرَّفيع, لا على ما حَكاُه محمد بن داود رحمه الله عن بعض أهل الفلسفة: الأرواح أُكَرُ مقسومة لكن على سبيل مناسبة قواها في مقرِّ عالمها العلوي ومجاورتها في هيئة تركيبها.

García-Gómez renders this passage as follows in his translation of this work *El Collar de la Paloma*:

> Difieren entre sí las gentes sobre la naturaleza del amor y hablan y no acaban sobre ella. Mi parecer es que consiste en la unión entre partes de almas que, en este mundo creado, anda divididas, en relación a cómo primero eran en su elevada esencia; pero no en el sentido en que lo afirma Muhammed ibn Dāwūd (¡Dios se apiade de él!) cuando, resplandándose en la opinión de cierto filósofo, dice que 'son las almas esferas partidas', sino en el sentido de la mutua relación que sus potencies tuvieron en la morada de su altísimo mundo y de la vecindad que ahora tienen en la forma de su actual composición. (101)

According to Ibn Hazm, the nature and origin of love are topics which particularly sparked interest among his contemporaries. This passage further demonstrates how Andalusians disagreed with the meaning of this concept and how closely the source of the soul follows Plato's idea. Ibn Hazm disagrees that the origin of the souls were two halves looking for the other as Aristophanes claims. Thus, original desire is not predetermined necessarily. Ibn Hazm comprehends it as two separate souls rather than two halves of one nonetheless united by the will of Allah.[89] Interestingly, immediately

[89] José Miguel Puerta Vilchez sees Ibn Hazm's conception of the soul as an opposition to platonic ideas: "La concepción del alma de Ibn Hazm no asume el modelo platónico de la preexistencia y recuerdo de la Belleza contemplada en el mundo superior, sino que se trata de un alma humanizada que parte siempre de la contemplación directa de las formas sensibles para elevarse eventualmente a la pura abstracción intelectual o espiritual" (511).

after this passage he references God's creation of Adam and Eve from one soul and how this united the two of them (19). Although Greek philosophy influenced the Arabs greatly, they transformed and modified some of its ideas to fit with Islam and their own understanding of society and humanity. In the second related passage of Ibn Hazm's chapter, he cites Plato by name and tells a tale about a king who incarcerates a vizier (22). Alluding to Plato twice in this work is a testament to the esteem and influence Plato had on Andalusian and Arab thought. The *Symposium* portrays a juxtaposition of sexuality and religion in its understanding of desire which is present as well in *The Dove's Ring Neck*.

Ibn Hazm also sees the relationship between the sacred and the sexual in the union of lovers in the chapter titled *Amorous Union* (باب الوصل). He opens the chapter by describing union as (86):

ومن وجوه العشقِ الوصلُ, وهو حَظ رفيع, ومرتبةً سريَّة, ودرجة عالية, وسعد طالِعٌ. بل هو الحياة المجدَّدة, والعشق السَّنِي, والسرور الدائم ورحمةٌ من الله عظيمة. ولو لا أنَّ الدنيا دارُ مَمَرٍّ ومِحنة وكَدَر, والجنةُ دارُ جزاءٍ وأمانٍ من المكاره, لقلنا إنّ وَصلَ المحبوب هو الصفاء الذي لا كَدَر فيه, والفرحُ الذي لا شائبةَ ولا حزنَ معه, وكمال الأماني, ومنتهى الأراجي.

García-Gómez translates this passage as follows:

> Uno de los aspectos del amor es la unión amorosa, que constituye una sublime fortuna, un grado excelso, un alto escalón, un feliz augurio; más aún: la vida renovada, la existencia perfecta, la alegría perpetua, una gran misericordia de Dios. Si no fuese porque este mundo es una mansión pasajera, llena de congojas y sinsabores, y el paraíso, en cambio, la sede de la recompensa y el seguro de toda malaventura, todavía diríamos que la unión con el amado es la serenidad imperturbable, el gozo sin tacha que lo empañe ni la tristeza que no enturbie, la perfección de los deseos y el colmo de las esperanzas. (181)

Ibn Hazm describes this union of love as a sublime gift from Allah. He alludes to the delight of union as a precursor to paradise. Thus, he demonstrates the role of religion and the divine thru Allah's will in allowing this pleasure of immense joy in a fleeting and passing world. It must be noted that Ibn Hazm's philosophy of love overall is one which is less noble and more pessimistic than the Greeks' attitude. He highlights the suffering caused by love and the power it has over people. Furthermore, his conception of earthly love is always a temporary one with a necessary end in either death or forgetting (147). He fittingly concludes his work with two chapters on sin and the importance of chastity to follow the importance of religious piety and Islamic ideals.

It may be no surprise given the tradition of Arab and Andalusian knowledge that the sacred and the sexual are entangled together in their literature, poetic expressions and philosophy. This ensues from the influence of Greek philosophy and Plato who explains love with a divine beginning and a desire for immortality, followed by Islam which allows for an acceptance of sexuality and an affirmation of it in paradise (a feature which is absent in the Judeo-Christian tradition). Furthermore, the authority of an omniscient and omnipotent being that characterizes Islamic thought would have a role in every facet of human existence and action. These ideas were then later developed and debated in Andalusian philosophy and poetry in the Middle Ages as shown by Ibn Hazm's work.

An examination of the muwashshah corpus demonstrates how the two elements of the sacrad and the sexual or human are combined in its descriptions and expressions. The muwashshahs, despite their radical departure from classical Arabic forms, are a product

entrenched in the complex and rich philosophical, religious and literary traditions which al-Andalus inherited and developed. The hyperbole in the panegyric muwashshahs often uses religious terminology to express the greatness, strength or moral qualities of the subject being praised. These are not characteristics which show the juxtaposition of the sacred and the sexual in these images but the cross between the divine and the human. Many of the laudatory poems recurrently praise the dignitary in godly language to emphasize his distinctiveness and exemplarity.

One excellent illustration of this phenomenon is Ibn Mu'allim's muwashshah (Uddat 110) which intermixes religious language in order to express the praise of Abū 'Amr's moral qualities and generosity:

تزهى المعَالى بعلَى أَبى عمرو
معنى الكمَال وخبيَّة الفخْر
محيا امالى بسماحة الغَمْر

نقضى الاوطارا بسماحة من اسارير خلقت من النُّور

زان الاصْباحا بشر خلقه الخفر
واذكى الرَّاحة عرف خلفه العطر
شهاب لاحا ارتقب له الغير

وليث ثارا فانتحت صروف المقادير خشية بمحذور

اما ودنيا حسنت مبرءاه
ما المجد حيا كسنا محيَّاه

[Glory is proud with the excellence of Abū 'Amr
The meaning of perfection encased in honor
He rekindled my hope with his generosity

He arranges matters with the goodness of bracelets formed of light

Adorner of the morning light the happiness of his modest face
He brings about the perfume of wine the smell of his moral qualities
A start shines in the sky it is raised by him from a dust cloud

He is an attacking lion that changes destiny and frightens with fear

Thus, the whole world was bettered by seeing him
Glory could not live as the brightness of his face does]

Ibn Mu'allim intermixes divine traits to describe the subject of his poem, Abū 'Amr. The qualities of glory and light, which are also common allusions to the divine, are emphasized repeatedly to distinguish him. Not only does he possess these noble qualities but he is described also with the godlike power of raising a star from a dust cloud. He demonstrates strength that can change destiny itself and he enhanced the world through his very existence. Moreover, he eclipses glory itself. The similes and metaphors employed are a high form of praise. Even if they exaggerate his true abilities, these portrayals are ones commonly used to describe divine powers and deities. The poet's flattery and metaphors accentuate the notion that human and worldly terms do not give justice to Abū 'Amr's greatness. His magnificence, demonstrated through supernatural depiction, surpasses the human realm and approaches the divine in order to differentiate him from other people and leaders.

In another example, Ibn al-Sayrafī's panegyric muwashshah (Jaysh 9,8) describes the goodness of 'Abd al-Mun'im in divine terms:

فَجنة الخلدِ وَملتظى وَقد جهنم
وَصَولة الاسد وَمسبل العَهْد بالانعمِ

[Thus the eternal paradise the call of fire of Hell
The attack of the lions the path of promises of his favors]

The author extols ‘Abd al-Mun’im using hyperbolic language to describe the generosity and enormity of his favors. These metaphors indicate his deeds will be remembered for a long time and are further memorialized in this poetry. This representation is similar to Socrates’s characterization of love and human desire for immortality in the *Symposium* because of the relationship between virtue and immortalization through remembrance and reverence.

Abu al-Qasīm’s muwashshah (Jaysh 8,1) compares the vizier ‘Abd Allah to Eden:

دنيا انت فيهَا عدن فَذُم في البريه
استوف العلا والنعمى وَالحال السنيه

[You are an Eden in this world lost among the people
The bearer of greatness and generosity in a magnificent state]

This poem describes the vizier as the personification of Eden, a divine creation and the lost paradise, misplaced among humanity. Additionally, his moral qualities of greatness and generosity are also highlighted.

The descriptions also show other divine-like qualities of the dignitaries. In one muwashshah by Ibn Malik al-Ansārī (Jaysh 16,6), a hypothetical situation demonstrates the god-like characteristics of the subject:

لو عَل مِن ريقه ميتاً عَادَ حي

[If one drinks a second time of his saliva, the most perfumed a dead person would return to life]

The power of love in this section is expressed in terms of an otherworldly force. Bringing a dead person back to life is, of course, a capability which humans do not possess but is used in this description to demonstrate the transcendence of the subject. This is a common motif which occurs in both other amorous and panegyric muwashshahs. In another example, this same image occurs in two amorous muwashshahs (Uddat 193 and Jaysh 6,9) which share the same muwashshah body but have different kharjas:

لَو نال مَيتٌ مِن تلك الشُغور لَثمَا
لَعَادَ حياً كَالرَّوْض امَمْطُور بِالمَا

[If a dead person received from this mouth a kiss
One would return to life, like a garden watered by rain from the water]

The same representation of supernatural qualities of the beloved exists in this passage as in the panegyric example of Ibn Malik al-Ansārī. It further adds the simile of the garden flourishing after the rain to this description.

This poetry also suggests that Allah decided what pleasures man will enjoy. In another panegyric muwashshah of Ibn ‘Ubayd (Uddat 109), the author mentions drinking wine and enjoying music:

هِم بكاس جريال وسماع اوتار
لا تقل بهمّ كان مَا قَضَى البَارِ

[The concern of drinking red wine and listening to instruments
Are not few among them what was decided by the Creator]

In this passage Ibn ‘Abbad supports the idea that wine and music are creations of the Creator. This implies that they should not be conceived as sinful even though they may be condemned by some, perhaps his more conservative contemporaries.[90]

As is shown in the previous examples, the panegyric poems frequently blend the two elements of divinity and humanity in their laudatory descriptions. By describing these subjects in terms of divine characteristics, much like Socrates explains in Plato’s *Symposium*, the veiled desire is for immortality—to always be remembered as a great, noble and moral leader. Because Islam did not condone the representations of human figures (Puerta Vilchez 19-20), poetry would provide the greatest tool for perpetuating the memory of leaders. It allows for their remembrance through history and literature. This immortality, of course, does not stop on the earthly level either because any devout Muslim recognizes the reward of eternal paradise for a pious and exemplary life. The moral character of these subjects clearly alludes to their virtuous following of the principles of Islam. Thus, the poets pander to two desires of the dignitary—1) everlasting honor in this world through literature and history and 2) eternal paradise of the afterlife because of his moral virtue. The poets utilize these poems as a form of honor and perhaps as way to remain in the dignitary’s favor. In a medieval and Islamic society, could there be any better adulation than direct comparisons to the divine?

The amorous poems, like the panegyrics, mix the language of religion and love. Not only are the beloveds described in divine terminology as in the panegyrics, but the

[90] This commentary also relates to the liberality of the courts and subsequent criticism which was discussed in the third chapter.

muwashshah speaker is able to express the tremendous power and detriment the suffering of love exercises. This common trope follows from the Arab poetic tradition of the experience of intense anguish of love. Gustave van Grunebaum theorized about this phenomenon as it relates to Arabic poetry in general. He defined it as the "martyrdom of love":

> The real contribution of this age to the love-death concept is, however, the idea that the chaste lover who dies of his love is a martyr and thus as sure of Paradise as the martyr of the Holy War. The Prophet Mohammed himself is represented as pronouncing this verdict and thereby conferring 'official' standing on this type of lover….It is very likely that the concept of the martyr of love constitutes an original contribution of Arabic poetry. In it are fused two earlier developments, the originally Greek idea of the victim of love and that other Greek idea of the lover as fighter or soldier. It is well known that Christian martyrology made extensive use of erotic phraseology and there is no doubt that the Arabs had, by that time, become familiar with Christian martyrology. The transfer of the fighter-martyr concept to the battles of love appears as a rather bold, and perhaps somewhat frivolous, at any rate a highly original innovation of the later seventh century. The trend of the times towards using religious topics in love poetry and love phraseology in religious verse strongly points to the Arab origin of conceit. (141)

Grunebaum theorized how the battle-martyr was transformed to a martyr in the battle of love. He noted the originality of this creation by the Arabs and its development from the Greek and Islamic tradition. The muwashshahs clearly follow and expand the martyr of love tradition which began in the seventh century.[91] Love is frequently characterized as an illness. The profound suffering and even the immanence of death are frequently mentioned by the voices in this poetry. Death is the ultimate sacrifice for a cause and the defining component of a martyr. In the muwashshahs, the victim's mental anguish

[91] This conception is glorified in the folk story of Laila and Majnūn who die because of their love for one another.

causes physical harm particularly through detrimental insomnia and the loss of weight and ensuing thinness. Tropes of this illness follow closely the Arabic poetic tradition as mentioned by Grunebaum. It must be noted that this is one crucial difference between Plato's version of love and that of the Arabs. Love, according to the Arab aesthetic, is not an experience of ennobling power but of detrimental suffering. The similarities between religious martyrdom and love martyrdom are quite obvious. In both, there is a significance of sacrifice for a greater, yet intangible, authority—either religion or love.

Many of the muwashshahs demonstrate the "martyrdom of love" syndrome as Grunebaum defines it. One of Ibn Baqī's (Uddat 344) opening passages focuses on the suffering caused by the pain of love and the possible death it will cause:

يَا خَليلَّي سأَلقي الله من أَلم العِشْق
مثْلَ مَا مَاتَ بِهِ قلبي كَثير من الخلْق
أَنَا عبْدٌ وقليلٌ ذاكَ في نصَف الحقِّ
للَّذي أَهْوَى فَمَا يرضَى بتَفديَة العِتقِ

كيْف والحبّ عَلى قَلبي كتاب منْقُوشُ لْيس يمْحُوه اذا مِتُّ بعادٌ وتَوحِيشُ

[My two friends, the pain of passion is killing me
In the same way many before me have died
I am a slave and little of this possesses even half of truth
The one I love does not accept allowing me to be freed

And how! This love on my heart is like an engraved book And it is not erased if I died in remoteness and solitude]

This muwashshah focuses on the martyr complex of the muwashshah speaker that is caused by the rejection and suffering of love. He endures great agony from his enslaving love. He notes that he is not a unique case; many before him have died from the sting of

love. According to the muwashshah speaker, death by love occurs frequently and provides a small comfort for the sufferers who know they are not alone in this experience. Furthermore, the pain he experiences will always be with him, "on his heart like an engraved book" that will exist even after death. This section particularly highlights the martyr syndrome because his torments will be marked upon him even in the afterlife.

One of al-Kumayt al-Gharbī's muwashshahs (Uddat 178) also reflects the martyrdom and suffering paradigm:

هَا انا بْين الْحيَاة والموت موْقوف
قد عَلم الْعالمونَ انّي مَشغُوف
من لّي بكتْم الهَوى وسري معْروف

انْ كان خَطْب يجِلّ فالصّبْر اجَلُّ

يا قمَرا طَالعا على غُصن زاهِي
لْولاك لم اْدرِ عن حيَاض الرّدَي ما هِي
اضنَيْت جسمي هَوى فَقُل لي بالله

ذاكَ الْعذَار المطلّ اَصَولَجَ ام صِلّ

[Here I am between life and death deferred
The knowledgeable ones learned I was crazy of love
I have hidden my love but my secret is known

Although my pain is great my patience is even greater

Oh moon! rising over a flowering branch
If it were not for you I would not have known the condition of perishing
This love consumes all of my body, and I say to Allah

Is the possessor of this avenging cheek pure silver or poison?]

The common tropes of martyrdom of love are highlighted in this passage. The muwashshah speaker feels like he is "between life and death" because of a love that has consumed him. Not only is the anguish mental but also physical. The moon rising over a flowering branch is the metaphor for the beloved—the cause of his horrendous pain. The suffering of love can be the cause of physical death and the beloved is even referenced as a poison. This excerpt emphasizes the relationship love has to pain and death.

The martyrdom concept in the muwashshahs also is expressed directly as its own religion, the "religion of love". One anonymous muwashshah describes this "religion" and the muwashshah speaker's dedication to following it (Uddat 224):

بدِينِ الهوَى دِنْتُ
وَمُذْ كُنتُ مَا خُنْتُ
وعزِّى لا هنتُ

فمَن كَان ذَا هِمّهْ يرَى فَرَجاً هَمّهْ

رضِيتُ باذَلالي
وَسُقمِي وَأوجالي
فدَعْ عَنْك تَعْذَالِي

فإنّي مِن اُمهْ رَاتْ سقْمَهَا إمّهْ

[I have believed in the religion of love
And my whole life I did not betray it
And in my power I did not become sad

Whoever is a possessor of its troubles sees the joy in this pain

Content with my humiliation
My sickness and my pain

Please do not criticize me

I am from a place that considers its pains as good]

The muwashshah speaker testifies to his own beliefs in this purported "religion" emphasizing his faithfulness to it.[92] His "religion of love" is categorized as humiliation, sickness and pain. Yet, much like a saintly martyr of religion, he nobly takes on the burdens and sacrifices which love requires. Despite the seeming tones of sacrilege, Grunebaum observes that Mohammed confirms the promise of paradise for this type of lover (141).

Love, however, also can be a detriment to religion rather than the supreme sacrifice. In the anonymous muwashshah written for Hind (Uddat 260), the author mentions being deceived and selling one's soul at a low price:

ايُّ صَبر لِّكُلِّ مُفتَتَنِ
بَائعاً نَّفسَهُ بِلا ثَمَن
في رِضَى كُلِّ شَادِنٍ حَسَن

سُلِبَ العَقلُ مِنهُ وَالدِّينُ فَهوَ في البائعينَ مَغبُونُ

[Oh patience for one who has been seduced
Selling one's soul without a price
For any beautiful gazelle

It steals one's thoughts and religion and it is a cheated sale]

Love is considered a force against religion when it displaces virtue and religious morals. This passage describes the "selling of one's soul for any beautiful gazelle" which shows the moral dangers of falling for love. Love can rob one easily of religious virtue—an

[92] This particular passage is interesting because of the 'religion of love' which it references. This becomes a common and frequently mentioned trope in Western medieval courtly love.

enormous price which exchanges the eternal (of paradise) for the fleeting (temporary love).

'Ubada al-Qazzaz's muwashshah (Uddat 276) discusses the religious nature of love in addition to including the typical elements of censorship, suffering, descriptions of beauty and separation. The poem begins with the passage:

عَذلُ اهْل العِشقِ في الهوى مَردُودُ
لَيْس كُنهُ الحُبِّ عِندَنا مجدُودُ
كَمْ قتيلٍ طُلَّ قَتَلَتهُ الغِيدُ

أَولُ الَّتفنيدِ لَو مَلَكتُ نَفسي
لَرأيتُ السِّحرَا كَالكِتابِ الّنصِّ

[The censorship of the people passionately in love in love which should be rejected
It is not the ultimate entity of love we have to renew
How many died by shed blood killed by beautiful women

First weaknesses if I had been in possession of my soul
I would have seen the magic like the written book]

The martyrdom of love concept is present in the beginning passage of this poem, "how many have died by shed blood, killed by beautiful women". Just like Ibn Baqī's muwashshah, the commonness of this type of death is declared by this statement. The muwashshah speaker admits he no longer possesses his soul for it is now controlled by love. In the next section, 'Ubada al-Qazzaz alludes to God as the one who unites hearts:

شِيت مَا قَد شاءَ مَالِكُ الأرواحِ
عَلَق القلوبَ بِهَوَى المِلاحِ

[I was willed what was willed by the owner of souls (Allah)
Who unites hearts of love of the beautiful ones]

In this section, the muwashshah speaker indicates Allah, not humans, is ultimately in control of love. The muwashshah speaker perceives that he was willed what Allah desired. His logic removes blame from himself to that of destiny. The platonic and Arabic notions of souls uniting is present in this passage—it is stated explicitly that it is a divine source for the joining together of two humans. It is Allah who unites hearts. This aligns with Ibn Hazm's comment that it is Allah, the supreme being, who unites souls. However, 'Ubada al-Qazzaz's passage does differ from Aristophanes's account of the origin of souls in the *Symposium*. They are not two halves of one soul but two separate ones, just as Ibn Hazm claims. The remaining sections of this muwashshah employ the typical descriptions and similes—comparisons to the sun and the gazelle and descriptions of her radiant beauty and lastly mention their separation and reunion.

Descriptions of the beloved in the amorous subset, as in the panegyric muwashshahs, also implement divine qualities. In one of al-'Ama's muwashshahs (from *Tawshī al-tawshīh*), he demonstrates the perfection of the beloved by referencing Allah's creation of him and his eyebrows:

قسي الحواجب سهامها عيناهُ
كنوني كاتب قد خطَّهنَّ الله

[The arches of his eyebrows arrows above his eyes
like two *nūnes*[93] written calligraphy of Allah]

[93] *The nūn* is a letter in the Arabic alphabet which is written as ن. Upside-down, two of these would form flawless arches that represent his perfectly-shaped eyebrows.

The flawlessness of the features of the beloved, specifically his eyebrows, displays a perfection that can only be made by Allah. This alludes to Allah's creation of beauty and to the exquisite attractiveness of the subject.

In one anonymous muwashshah (Uddat 149), which was discussed in the third chapter for its violent rape scene at the end, the beginning descriptions paint a different picture of the divine-like qualities of the girl who is later subjugated by the speaker. In two particular sections the divine attributes are salient:

اجرع على رَغْم اهْل الْعذل
من اللمى واللّحاظ النُّجل
صرْف الحياة وصرف القتل
وقل لِمن عذَّبت بالمطل

يَا كعبة الحُسْن للَّنفس بك حجً وعمره وجَوَارى نُسُكِ

[I drink in spite of the censors
Of red lips and big eyes
Purity of life and purity of death
And say to who tormented me by putting it off

Oh Ka'ba of beauty, for the soul there is in you a Hajj and a goal my deviation has been my devotion]

جَاوزت في الحُسن كل حدِّ

ما انت مِن بَشر بل ملك بل انت درَّه اهديت الى مَلك

[Your beauty has surpassed all limits

You are not of humans but an angel you are a pearl that is offered to a king]

The girl is portrayed as one with incomparable beauty that approaches the divine beauty of the angels. The *Hajj* and the Ka'ba, the end goal of the pilgrimage of the *Hajj* in

Mecca, are used as a metaphor for her goodness and beauty. The pearl, the metaphor used to describe her, is the same one used to describe the companions of paradise in the Koran.

The author who mixes religious and amorous language more than any other author is al-'Ama al-Tutīli. In one of his homoerotic poems his use of the language of the religious pilgrimage to express love and its consequential suffering approaches the sacrilegious (Uddat 124):

دمع سفوح وضُلوع حرار ماء ونار ما التقيا الا لامر كبار

بيس لعمرى ما اراد العذول
عمر قصير وعناء طويل
يا زفرات نطقت عن غليل
ويا دُموعا قد اصابت مسيل

امتنع اوصل وشط المزار اين القرار طرت ولاكن لَّم أُصادف مطار

يا كعبة حجَّت إليها القلوب
بَين هَواً داع وَشوقٍ مُجيب
وكل اواه اليها منيب
لَّبيك لَّبيكوقل اللرقيب
خذنى لحجٍّ عندها واعتمار ولا اعتذار قلبي هدىٌ ودموعي جمار

اهلا وإنْ عرضني للمنون
من مايس الاعطاف سَاج الجفُون
يا قسوه ميسبها الصب لين
علمتني كيف أُسيءُ الّظنون

مذ عاق عن تلك اللَّيالى القصار نومى غرار كأّنّه جفوني غرار

حكَّمتت مواًي جار في حُكمه
اكنى به لا مفصحاً باسمه
فَاجب لانصافي على ظُلمه
وسئله عن حالي وعن صرمها

الوى مبظّى عن هوا وختيار طوع النفار فكل انس بعده بالخيار

لا بد لي منه على كلّ حالْ
مولي تجنا وجفا واستطال
غادرني رهن اساً وخبال
ثم شدا بين الصَّحا والدَّلالْ

مو الحبيب انفرم ذي مو امار كان ذا شنار ينقيس ام بين كشاد مو لغار

[Tears that run and the ardor of chests water and fire join together only in great matters

It is bad, I swear by my life, what the censor wanted
Life is short and pain is long
Oh sighs that are accused of an ardent love
And, oh the tears that fall like a pool in a stream

Making the union impossible, far away from the pilgrimage Where is the respite?
I grew but I did not encounter space to run

Oh Ka'ba where the hearts pilgrimage
Between love that calls and desire which responds
And all of the sighs are penitence
And the spy said, Here I am! Here I am!

I found the *hajj* there and performed the ritual ceremony There are no complaints My heart follows the religious path and my tears are ritual stones (thrown at Ka'ba)

Welcome, if it brings me to death
Long eyelashes fenced in by eyelids
Oh cruelty that is considered difficult for gentleness
You taught me how bad mistrust is

Since the hindrance of those short nights my sleep has been deficient as if between my eyelids a blindness

I was judged by a man who abused his judgment
I allude to him without giving his name
I am amazed by my fairness in front of his tyranny
And he questions me about my condition and his severity

Oh! The darting of love and choosing obedience in this aversion anyone after him would be better

There is no escape from him in any way
The man who accuses and is cruel and proud
He left me in sadness and illness
And sang between flirting and consciousness:

My lover is ill from my love, will he not get better? Come so my nearness cures him]

This poem focuses on the suffering of the muwashshah speaker and the injustice of the spy and the beloved. The muwashshah voice experiences two levels of the martyrdom of love through the tribulations caused by both the spy and the beloved. The suffering and love he experienced is expressed symbolically as the Islamic pilgrimage of the *Hajj*. The *Hajj* is one of the pillars of Islam and an experience that is considered by Muslims to be holy and necessary for those who are able (Ghamidi 360). The muwashshah speaker references the Ka'ba, "where the hearts pilgrimage", and one might think that this is a religious poem at first. The Ka'ba, located at Mecca, is not only the holiest location of Islam and the heart of the pilgrimage which Muslims undertake; it is also the exact point towards which all Muslims pray (276). He states his heart followed the "religious path" and his tears are "ritual stones". These stones play a particularly important role in the *Hajj* at specific points in the journey because they are used to cast away evil spirits and symbolically thrown at the devil (349). His journey, however, is not a religious one. As

the poem continues it focuses on the suffering and martyrdom of love. The muwashshah speaker expresses the injustice and cruelty of his beloved and the *raqīb* in the remainder of the poem. The male beloved even mocks him in the kharja by claiming he is the muwashshah speaker's cure. This poem takes the religious experience and the endurance of suffering in the earthly world for a religious cause and transforms it as an expression of earthly desire and pain. The elements of religion and love clearly intermix in this poem through the metaphor of the pilgrimage.[94]

In other muwashshahs Al-'Ama mentions conversions to Islam and even the benefits of the regulations of the Christian faith. In one muwashshah (Uddat 31) he alludes to becoming a Muslim:

وحقك يا مولاى لا عدتُّ قد كنتُ مجُوسيا فاسلمتُ

[I swear to you, oh my love, I will not relapse I was searching and became Muslim]

Al-'Ama is not the only author to comment on religious regulation and law. Ibn Arfa' Ra'suh comments in the beginning passage of one of his panegyric muwashshahs (Jaysh 5,3) that there is no sin in either wine or love:

الراح وَالرضاب ما فيهما حَرج
الا لكل بدع عَن دِيننا خَرج

[Wine and saliva there is nothing forbidden about them
except for the innovators from which our religion came]

[94] Michael Sells writes that Ibn Arabī, a 13th century mystic writer of al-Andalus, uses the *Hajj* as a meeting place for lovers in his poetry (126).

There is an open and direct commentary in this brief section which criticizes the prohibition of love and alcohol since it is Islam, not Christianity and Judaism, which prohibits them.

In another muwashshah of Al-'Ama (Uddat 102) the muwashshah speaker declares his love for Ahmed. He goes to a convent to enjoy some wine and refers to the acceptability of drinking alcohol in the Christian faith voiced as the girl serving wine:

وليل طرقنا ديْر خمَّار فمن بيْن حَّراس وسَّمار

فاتتْ لنا الخمر بتعجيل
وقامت بترحيب وتبجيل
وقد اقسمت بما في الانجيل

ما لّبستُها ثوباً سوى القار وما عرضت يوما على النَّار

فقلتُ لها يا املح النَّاس
فما عندكم في الشّرب بالكاس
قالت ما علينا فيه من باس

كذا قد رويناهُ في الخبار عن جملة رهبان واحبار

[One night we called at a wine-serving convent among keepers and the people out at night

The wine arrived for us quickly
A girl came to greet us and give honor
"I swear by what is in the Gospel

I do not wear anything except an outfit of new cotton and I have never been exposed to the fire"

I said to her, "Oh the most beautiful of mankind
Why are you able to drink wine?"
She said "For us there is nothing bad in drinking it

We learned it through the books of the words of the monks and learned men"]

This passage is unique in the corpus of the muwashshahs with Romance kharjas because it is the only one which makes explicit references to Christianity. Al-'Ama creates a wine drinking scene in which he is able to comment critically on religious rules. He shows how the Christians and their theology, unlike Islam, did not perceive the consumption of alcohol as sinful. He creates the space for this commentary and then voices it through the Christian girl who is serving wine. By voicing it as a Christian, he distances himself and other Muslims from the girl's opinion; one which is contradictory to the laws of Islam. This is also representative of the courtly liberality that existed in al-Andalus in which wine, among other pleasures, was enjoyed. The girl swears by the Gospel and references the Christian monks, albeit in a contrived way to highlight her particular faith. This muwashshah, more so than any others, demonstrates the notion of a positive *convivencia* of medieval Iberia. It reveals a supposed casual conversation between the muwashshah speaker and a Christian woman. It is a unique case which one sees as a social exchange of ideas in a non-warring and non-sexual setting. Although it is possible that the kharja voice can be interpreted as a Christian girl, the dynamics between the muwashshah and kharja is often one of subjugation. The polemic between the Christian and Muslim religions with respect to alcohol consumption also presents itself.

It must be emphasized that this is the only muwashshah which references Christianity explicitly. Any other religious reference and metaphor in the muwashshahs and the kharjas are indicative of Islam and its principles and traditions. The kharjas

themselves, even in the supposed perspective of Christian girls, never allude to Christianity but there are a few which call out to Allah as rote expressions.[95] This further underscores their Islamic nature. Except for the death and martyr motif which are present in some of the kharjas, religious imagery is singularly absent in the voice of the kharjas. The kharja voice never describes its object of desire in divine terms. Rather, it generally focuses on the simple and raw outbursts of love and suffering. This is another aspect of the kharja which provides a contrast from the more complex muwashshah voice which often discusses religion and law as well as uses metaphors of the sacred and eternal as a way of expressing beauty, emotions and desires.

The juxtaposition of religion and sexuality closely follow the Arabic tradition. This analysis of the Arabic muwashshahs shows the varying ways religion and its language are used to express sexuality, desire and love. These elements are interconnected naturally in a society which sees the divine as an ever-present force in all aspects of human life. One final question remains as it concerns desire and the muwashshahs—how or even can modern conceptions of desire explain the longings expressed in the muwashshahs? Judith Butler summarizes the history of desire and describes the theory of displaced desire in her chapter *Desire* in *Critical Terms for Literary Study*:

> Desire thus emerges in language, of language, precisely to the extent that the subject is foreclosed from a more original pleasure, one that can be posited as a phantasmatic beginning only retroactively by a subject in language. The effort of

[95] One of al-'Ama's (Uddat 102) and one of Ibn Baqī's (Jaysh 1,2) muwashshahs have the kharja voice using a formulaic expression of 'Oh Allah'. One anonymous muwashshah (Uddat 224) has a kharja which is interpreted as *alma* or soul. Solá-Solé interprets this as "Quien me quita el alma/ (es) a quien quiere mi alma" (172). This follows the typical motif of suffering and martyrdom of love.

> language to recapture this lost origin (a psychoanalytic version of Plato's doctrine of recollection) marks (and mars) every effort at referentiality within language. Desire is thus defined as displacement, but also as an endless chain of substitutions. Lacan refers to desire as a 'ferret', figuring its status as driven, furtive or subterranean, and persistent. By identifying desire with metonymy, he implies that desire does not repeat with the regularity of metaphor, that it does not simply or fully substitute one object for another. As a movement that works through displacement, its objects recall the lost origin, but only in part, and through juxtaposition (or association), but not necessarily by semblance. In this way the aims of desire are not transparently represented in the objects or Others which it seeks; indeed, its aims are cloaked or displaced in such a way that what one desires is radically other than what one appears to seek. (27)

Butler writes that desire becomes concealed through displacement and the limits of language. A psychoanalytic or lacanian understanding of this desire follows closely with Plato's final interpretation of love in the *Symposium*. In this analysis, love becomes the displaced desire of immortality which is naturally connected with expressions of the divine. It is through love that one ultimately finds desire and fulfillment of immortality. Is the aesthetic of beauty and the longing of love a displacement of another, more fundamental desire or is it a desire for something else entirely? The source of original desire can be different things, and sometimes indeterminable, to modern philosophers. In terms of the muwashshahs, a freudian interpretation of desire for the mother does not fit, although the frequent references to the beloved's mother are an interesting occurrence. However, in the medieval Islamic tradition, will this original desire not always be for Allah and the divine? Is it not the desire to arrive at the eternal paradise of splendid gardens and sensuality? Thus, the juxtaposition of the sexual and the divine can be interpreted as an understanding of the subconscious displacement of desires. This displacement occurs on a number of levels in this poetry, not only in the union of the

sacred and the sexual in poetic language, but also in the multiplicity of voices of desires—those of the beloved, the muwashshah speaker, the kharja voice, the spy or censor and sometimes the will of Allah who is the ultimate guide of worldly affairs.

Not in one poem of the corpus of Arabic muwashshahs with Romance kharjas does any voice directly state a desire for religion and God. Yet, it is on a more obscure level that religion, through language, manifests itself as a desire. Allah is the omnipresent. The quest for true beauty and love can never be achieved in the earthly world without Allah. It is the recognition of these attributes of the beloveds and dignitaries in the human world which are the markings of the sublime of a supreme being. Religion becomes the displaced and subliminal desire for the divine through the poetic expressions of love and beauty. The origin of desire in a religious philosophy begins with the divine, yet, it is through human love, a displaced desire, that one ultimately understands his or her desire for the sacred and immortality according to the platonic tradition. Islam partially follows this philosophy but modifies it according to its teachings in which the beginning and the end of human existence and meaning are Allah. It also follows naturally that the mystic tradition would play a large role in medieval Arabic and al-Andalus philosophy and literature given their combination of sexual and sacred language. This tradition is the inverse of the muwashshah poetry, for it applies sexual language to describe the sacred. The conflict of these two desires does not become resolved in the Arabic tradition but become blended as one and the same.

This chapter, by examining the Arabic religious and philosophical tradition which was influenced by Greek and Islamic thought, demonstrates the commonality of the

interconnectedness of religious and sacred language which existed in the Arabic muwashshahs. This also reflects the society and culture of al-Andalus in which these two elements were closely intertwined. The desire of the authors to demonstrate the immortality of their leaders is expressed in terms of morality and love. The amorous poems, grappling with the intensity of the emotions of love and recognition of beauty against the limits of language, can only find religious metaphor as a way of communicating the power of these sentiments. Those in love yield to its powers and become their own species of martyrs. With respect to desire in the muwashshahs, just like the notion of gender analyzed in the second chapter, specificity takes a secondary role and universality is what becomes prominent. Despite the conscious thematic emphasis of love, suffering and praise, the desire for the divine and the sexual ultimately become intermixed and blended together as one in this poetry—a desire of union, remembrance and immortality.

Conclusion: The Muwashshahs and the Later Romance Lyric

This dissertation demonstrated how the topics of gender, sexuality and religion affect how one interprets and understands the muwashshahs and Romance kharjas. The first chapter examined the history of kharja studies beginning at the end of the 19th century up to the present. It provided a meta-critical analysis of the intense focus on and debate of the philological and linguistic studies in this field. Consequently, the relative absence of thematic studies in this history—particularly those of gender and sexuality—also are demonstrated. The second chapter analyzed varying aspects of gender, including grammatical conventions in the muwashshahs, and it additionally determines the gender of the dignitary or beloved of each poem. Of the 47 muwashshahs in this corpus, 11 of the poems are panegyric towards a male, 15 have a female beloved and 15 have a male beloved. In only six poems no gender can be distinguished. This study revealed that homoerotic desire is a common element of this poetry. The third chapter placed the muwashshahs and kharjas in the political and cultural reality in which they were written to establish their creation as a product of the courts. It showed the poems are representative of the dominating, subjugating and at times violent sexuality of the elite class of al-Andalus. The last chapter analyzed the relationship between religion, sexuality and desire as it is depicted in the muwashshahs and kharjas. It discussed the philosophical history of this aesthetic, including Plato's *Symposium*, the Koran, and Ibn Hazm's *The Dove's Ring Neck*. It then examined the divine characteristics of the descriptions of the beloveds and dignitaries and how they concur with the Arab tradition.

Holistically this dissertation demonstrated al-Andalus's conception of the roles of gender, sexuality and religion in its own society and how this then is reflected in and perhaps shaped by the language and themes of the muwashshahs and Romance kharjas.

It is my hope that the research of this dissertation changes how we think about the kharjas and the muwashshahs. The kharjas should not continue to be placed without their muwashshahs in anthologies of literature. They should not be considered, as they have been in the past, as an innocent and simple lyric. This dissertation demonstrates that the reality of the voices of this poetry is more complex; the kharjas *must* be read within the context of their muwashshahs because of the more complete background it gives to them. This corpus of poetry demonstrates a multifaceted and intriguing world of sexuality and culture which existed in al-Andalus and its courts. These poems provide an insight into the specific conceptions of gender and sexuality present in Andalusian poetry and furthermore show how Islam, a fundamental aspect of the society of al-Andalus, is represented in poetic descriptions. Rather than focus exclusively the teaching and scholarship on the ramifications of the kharjas as the earliest extant evidence of a Romance lyric, they also present a rich opportunity to understand the society, philosophy, history and aesthetics of al-Andalus as well as the ability to see the larger picture of their place in literary history.

This dissertation begins to situate the corpus of muwashshahs and kharjas into a thematic, social and historical context, yet there is still more work which can be done in this area of criticism. A more complete and systematic study of gender conventions in medieval Arabic poetry still needs to be completed and is a topic which should not be

ignored. Additionally, the entire corpus of Arabic muwashshahs, including the hundreds of poems of the *'Uddat* and *Jaysh* manuscripts, needs to be studied in detail for the particular themes analyzed in this dissertation. It may (or may not) point to some crucial differences between poems with Romance and poems with Arabic kharjas. Additionally, the kharjas and muwashshahs together need to be placed in the larger picture of courtly love. More detailed studies need to be completed on the Arabic and European conventions of courtly love and its possible significance. This includes a fuller thematic analysis of the relationship between the later European lyric and the rich Arabic and Andalusian poetic legacy of which the muwashshahs are a part. Other theoretical avenues of psychology, desire and cognitive sciences can also enhance the research of this corpus.

One well-theorized and argued component of kharja criticism has been the relationship between the nature of the strophic poetry of the kharjas and the muwashshahs as well as the linguistic and structural parallels these poems have with the later Romance lyric. Kharja scholarship has been a criticism of origins and influences, particularly as many scholars tried to connect these poems with the later European lyric. Indeed, the parallels between these genres are striking at first glance and there are a number of thematic similarities in medieval poetry across centuries and varying regions. Yet, many anomalies and gaps persistently exist in the history of connecting the influences of these various genres with one another. Why did the Arabs, who followed a structurally rigid poetic tradition, invent a strophic form of poetry which includes colloquial and occasionally foreign language? How did the idea of love develop from

being one of ennobling in the Greek aesthetic, to one of intense anguish in the Arab and medieval tradition? Why is there a resemblance between these Arabic poems and the conventions of courtly love spanning East and West for millennia? After decades of research, experts today may not be any closer to clear answers to these questions.

A copious amount of kharja criticism has demonstrated parallels between the kharjas and the *cantigas d'amigo*, the *villancicos*,[96] the troubadour lyric, and the German *minnesang* in addition to others genres of poetry. Many critics have attempted to prove that the kharjas are evidence of a popular oral tradition of Romance poetry which later influenced other medieval poetic genres. This vein of scholarship does adequately theorize the literary parallels and the possible influence of the Arabic aesthetic and poetics on the later Western lyric. Furthermore, Menocal demonstrates brilliantly the Arabic role in later Western medieval culture and its influence particularly in the troubadour lyric and Dante in *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage*. Even among the most skeptical, it would be difficult to argue that there are not a few thematic connections that would be striking among these medieval poetic genres. Despite these parallels and the possible influences, one under-considered perspective in this field is how these parallels actually reflect the similarities of varying medieval cultures. These separate cultures may have independently formed related notions of gender, sexuality, society and religion. Authors and their literary production do not live in a world completely removed from their own culture and society. In fact, many of these

[96] For a detailed comparison between the kharjas and villancicos, see Armistead's article "Kharjas and Villancicos".

poetic similarities may be a product of distinct cultures addressing and writing about similar themes that are either universal in nature or particular to the paradigms of the medieval world.

All societies find ways to understand their desires, roles, religion and place in the meaning of the world and the divine order. Literature is a reflection of the society in which it was written and representative of its norms. If one considers how these lyrics dealt with their own understandings of self, society and philosophy rather than how one literature may or may not have influenced another, a different yet crucial parallel becomes salient. Furthermore, it is highly probable that diverse medieval cultures independently conceptualized gender, sexuality and religion in analogous manners. Medieval societies naturally shared similarities that vastly differentiate them from the modern world and its respective viewpoint and cultural conventions. By examining the corpus of *cantigas d'amigo*, the troubadour lyric and Dante's *Divine Comedy* through this perspective, this study demonstrates how the universal experience of love and desire pervades these varying poetic forms. The remainder of this conclusion is a brief comparison of these three lyrics with the muwashshahs and kharjas. It shows how religion, sexuality and gender play intense thematic and philosophical roles in these literatures and how there are fundamental differences in these lyrics in each of their particular aesthetics.

The first comparison which needs to be analyzed is the relationship between the kharjas and the *cantigas d'amigo*. The *cantigas d'amigo* are a genre of love poetry written in the thirteenth century mostly in the Galician region of the Iberian Peninsula.

Parallels between these two traditions have been argued by critics such as Martha Schaffer. Schaffer's article "The Galician-Portuguese Tradition and the Romance *Kharjas*" presents a thorough study of parallelism and the formulaic tradition in the *cantigas* themselves. It also illustrates how many of these themes correspond with the Romance kharjas.[97] Both the *cantiga* and the kharja genres are perceived as a feminine love lyric that treat the themes of the absence and suffering of love. Calling out to God or one's mother is also common among them. Despite the parallels and popular currents of this lyric, Schaffer notes that the *cantigas* come from a learned tradition and were written by the nobility (1). Thus, the cultural context of both the *cantigas* and the kharjas are similar. Furthermore, both traditions treat the universal themes of love and absence. Religion is also important in the language of both the *cantigas* and the muwashshahs. In Johan Perez d'Avoin's poem (Cohen 155) the use of religious language is salient:

> Por Deus, amigo, nunca eu cuidei
> Que vos perdesse, como vos perdi,
> Por quen non parece melhor de me
> Nen or val mais, e tal queixum' end'ei
> Que direi, amigo, per bõa fe,
> Como pareç e seu nom'e quen é

The voice of this poem calls out to God, and uses the expression *per bõa fe* ("in good faith"). Religion plays a central role in both the *cantiga* and the muwashshah lyrics. One would expect this as they are representative of the high magnitude of religious infiltration in the mentality of the societies in which they were written. Just as with the *cantigas*, the

[97] Schaffer believes the connections between these two lyrics are convincing: "There is no question that one finds numerous thematic and technical parallels in the two types of poem. Most strikingly, in the *kharjas* and the *cantigas de amigo*, the speaker is a woman; in both, the woman laments some aspect of her love. These women often address their mothers, friends, sisters, and even the lover, and in addition make reference to elements of domestic life" (1).

portrayal of religion in the muwashshahs plays a particularly central role. However, the *cantigas* demonstrate a particular Christian dogma and language which is absent in the muwashshahs. There are references to paradise (232), *Santa María* (164), and even *Deus de cruz* (207) among others. The use of religious terminology is a similarity of these two cultures in which religion is omnipresent and as a consequence is reflected logically in its literature. However, the two aesthetics are different. The kharjas and muwashshahs come from the Islamic tradition and the *cantigas* come from an exclusively Christian viewpoint.

Gender and sexuality are also common themes in these two lyrics. Like the muwashshahs writers, the *cantiga* authors are male and they write about desires from the stereotyped perspective of a woman. The suffering of love and its intense anguish are common themes. In both the death from love motif exists. In one *cantiga d'amigo* of Rodrigez Tenoiro, the voice of the poem says she will die if her lover does not return (204):

> Senhor fermosa, eu volo direu
> Torna m'ei ced' ou morrerei

The death-from-love theme is present in this poem as in many of the muwashshahs.[98] It is easy to see the parallels between the kharja and *cantiga* lyric. Rather then perceiving this motif as an Arabic influence, it more naturally suggests a universal reaction to the

[98] Schaffer understands this motif as universal yet strictly stylized in the *cantiga* poetic form: "Certainly the concept of death as a consequence of love is common in medieval love poetry; it is a natural emotional response to the frustration and anxiety of love, to the intensity of feeling. Indeed, this phenomenon was not the invention of the poet, rather it is a spontaneous human reflex. One must remember, however, that in these circumstances this simple, sincere human response has been stylized by the poet's art and the audience's associations. These formulaic variants are not used loosely; they express in very specific terms one of the major themes of this love lyric" (10).

suffering of love. Both reflect commonalities of the society in which they were written and the universality of human emotion. Despite the similarities of the *cantigas* and the kharjas, the universality of the human condition in the emotions of love becomes the most prominent feature of both genres. It is hard to imagine that the *cantiga* authors would not directly understand and experience suffering of love through personal experience and observations of their contemporaries. Is it so unique that the voices of both of these poems call out in desperation to God, one's mother, the lover or a confidant? The *cantiga* authors would not need the kharjas to understand the frustrations of the absence of love.

The second group of poetry which is frequently compared to the kharjas is the troubadour lyric. This lyric is a flourishing of diverse genres of poetry in southern France and northern Italy from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries (Jensen 24). The troubadour parallels with the kharjas and muwashshahs have been theorized and investigated by critics such as Menocal and Frenk. Indeed, some of the themes between them are quite similar. However, the thematic differences are also great and many of the parallels may be indicative of similarities of medieval Andalusian and Provencal cultures. The proliferation of this early romance lyric in Provencal is one of the great treasures and mysteries of literary history. However, it cannot be claimed that the troubadour lyric is one directly influenced by the kharjas nor are the kharjas the source of their origin.[99]

[99] Frede Jensen remains unconvinced that the kharjas provide a solution to the origin problem of the troubadour lyric: "The discovery in 1948 of the Mozarabic *jaryas* poetic fragments written in a Romance dialect, has not brought us closer to the origin problem. They contain brief and spontaneous outbursts, destined to be sung by women, they lack the elaborate perfection of troubadour compositions and are very different in tone from the *cansó*" (22). Jensen disagrees with the possibility of finding an origin to this

Despite the notion that both of these genres of poetry are popular in nature, they were both produced in the courts by the elite class. Frede Jensen writes of the troubadour lyric: "The troubadour is often thought of as a minstrel, an itinerant medieval entertainment, but this image is quite misleading, for he is as a rule firmly attached to a noble court, serving a powerful protector with his poems and songs, and many poets themselves high-ranking noblemen" (4). The third chapter of this dissertation demonstrates how the muwashshahs are courtly poetry. Both the muwashshahs and the troubadour lyric share a similar environment of composition and may point to some reasons for their similarities. Some troubadour poets such as Marcabru[100] traveled to Spain to spend time in the Christian courts (25) but there is no evidence that the troubadours would have had direct contact with the muwashshahs and kharjas which were composed in al-Andalus. Furthermore, the muwashshahs were considered of little literary merit by medieval Arab anthologists and it is not known if they were sung in or transmitted textually to the Christian courts of Iberia.

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lyric: "Emotions focusing on the sadness or joy of love are universal, however, and elude a genetic analysis" (17).

[100] One of Macabru's poems presents an interesting and pessimistic commentary on the state of Spain (97):

> Here in Spain, the marquis
> and those of the temple of Soloman
> suffer the weight
> and the burden of pagan pride,
> and this is why Youth is denigrated,
> and the blame, because of this cleaning place,
> falls upon the most powerful leaders
> who are broken, failing, weary of prowess,
> for they love neither pleasure nor enjoyment

Although both the muwashshahs and the troubadour lyric concern types of courtly love, a close analysis of these two poetic traditions makes the dissimilarities between them more apparent. Whereas the muwashshahs concentrate on two themes—love and praise, the troubadour lyric has a wide-range of themes and genres including religious poems, historical commentary, praise and eulogies and in addition to the love lyric. There is a small flexibility of gendered terms in both genres but this does not represent a direct influence.[101]

The troubadour lyrics do not follow the Arabic aesthetic of poetry and many of the common metaphors of Arabic poetry unequivocally are absent. The troubadour lyric is one entrenched profoundly in its own culture, society and aesthetic. Christian culture remains a prevalent undertone of this poetry. References abound to numerous saints, Judas, Jesus, the Virgin Mary and baptism. The common animals and plants described and used as metaphors are completely different from those found in al-Andalus and represent the environment and surroundings of southern France. Many of these common images include nightingales, larks, swans, lambs and bears. The desert imagery in the muwashshahs is also non-existent in the troubadour lyric.

Nature and the seasons, particularly winter and spring, play a more active role in the troubadour poetry than in the muwashshahs. Nature even harmonizes and

[101] Jensen writes: "….and she is addressed with the curious masculine address form *midons* lit. 'my lord'. Furthermore, the masculine gender appears not infrequently in the *senhals*, fictitious names serving to conceal the lady's identity: *Bels Cavaliers*, *Mos Cortes*, *Fin 'amor* is adulterous, since only a married lady of high social standing can be a *domna*, whereas the young girl has no juridical existence in the feudal society" (18). Whether or not Jensen's assessment is accurate, it is striking to note some of the parallels between the troubadour lyric and the muwashshahs with respect to this convention. As explained in the second chapter, the muwashshahs frequently use the masculine term *habīb* as a generic reference to the beloved.

collaborates with the mood and emotions felt by the poet. One of Cercamon's poems demonstrates this attribute (Jensen 106-107)[102]:

I. Puois nostre temps comens' a brunezir,
e li verjan son de lor fuelhas blos,
e del solelh vei tant bayssatz los rays
per que l jorn son escur e tenebros,
et hom non au d'auzelhs ni chans ni lays,
per joy d'amor nos devem esbaudir.

[Now that our skies begin to darken,
and the branches are shorn of their leaves,
and I see the rays of the sun so low
that the days are dark and gloomy,
and the birds' songs and the airs no longer heard,
we should rejoice in the joy of love]

The darkness of nature and the beginning of winter correspond with these intense feelings of suffering which follow in the later sections of the poem. Nature is used as a metaphor in the muwashshahs to demonstrate the moral qualities of the dignitary or the divine beauty of the beloved but nature itself never sets an ominous scene for the poem or one which directly correlates to the emotions of the speaker. The remainder of this poem then focuses on the emotional tribulation of love.

There are numerous other characteristics which show how the troubadour and muwashshah genres are working under two very different aesthetics. Although there are some similarities between the two genres in regards to the notion of courtly love, much of this likeness is owed to the universality of love rather than specific conventions. In the troubadour lyric, the lady is of noble lineage and many of the poems reference her high social standing (279). There are no such references to the beloveds in the muwashshahs

[102] All texts and translations are from Frede Jensen's *Troubadour Lyrics: A Bilingual Anthology*.

who are most likely slaves or members of the harem. Despite the intensity of the anguish of love portrayed in both of these genres, the treatment of love is dissimilar. In the muwashshahs, the focus on pain is entirely negative, and the martyrdom-of-love theme remains a constant. The muwashshah speakers do not experience joy from love—only severe and chronic suffering. The troubadour lyric presents a thread of optimism that is absent completely in the muwashshahs. In opposition to the muwashshahs, the troubadour lyric describes the duality of good and bad deriving from love.

A passage from one of Barnart de Ventadorn's poems (174) demonstrates this double nature of love—the intermixing of joy and suffering:

IV. Aquest' amors me fier tan gen
al cor d'una dousa sabor :
cen vetz muer lo jorn de dolor
e reviu de joi autras cen.
Ben es mos mals de bel semblan,
que mais val mos mals qu'austre bes ;
e pus mos mals aitan bos m'es,
bos er lo bes apres l'afan.

[This love so gently wounds
my heart with a sweet taste
that a hundred times a day I die from pain
and am reborn from joy another hundred.
My pain is truly of a fair semblance,
for my suffering is worth more than a blessing;
and since my pain is so good to me,
good will be the reward after the torment.]

Despite the suffering the speaker undergoes, he hopes that there will be an end reward and that his love will be reciprocated eventually. One of Folquet de Marselha's poems also centers around the theme of suffering and joy (220-221):

I. Tant m'abellis l'amoros pessamens
que s'es vengutz e mon fin cor assire,
per qe no'i pot nuills autre pes caber,
ni mais negus no m'es doutz ni plazens,
qu'adones viu sas qand m'aucio ill cossire,
e fin' amors aleuja mo martire
qu m proet joi, mas trop lo m dona len,
c'ab bel semblan m'a tirat longamen.

[So much does the anxiety of love please me,
which has settled in my loyal heart,
that there is no room there for any other thought,
and no other thought is sweet or pleasant to me any longer,
for I feel good when worries kill me,
and faithful love relieves my torment,
promising me joy, though dispensing it very slowly,
for it has long attracted me with great beauty.]

Floquet's poem alludes to the joy that love brings, albeit slowly and delayed. According to this poem, love also has the positive power to allow one to understand beauty. This common motif is also expressed in the poem of Rigaut de Berbezilh (136):

IV. Marrit mi tenc e joios,
soven chan, soven m'irais,
soven magris et engrais,
c'aissi s'es e mi partida
Amors joios' e marida,
C'ab rire et ab jogar.
ab consir et ab pensar,
mostra sas ricas valors
a mi entre'ls ris e 'ls plors.

[I consider myself sad and joyous,
I often sing, and I often get sad,
I often become thin, and I often become fat,
for thus Love has divided itself in me,
now joyous, now grieved,
for with laughter and with play,
with worry and with anxiety,
it shows its powerful force
to me between laughter and tears.]

The dichotomy of love is expressed by the duality of joy and sadness as well as laughter and tears. In this corpus love is defined as these two polarities. One sees a development and differentiation in the provencal courtly love that contrasts with the Arabic aesthetic. The troubadour lyric contains optimism in love and the speaker retains hope for the future. This is not a characteristic of the Arabic love lyric and thus the concept of courtly love between these two traditions is not the same.

One further difference between the muwashshah and troubadour genres is the use of religious description for the beloveds. Whereas the muwashshahs commonly use divine attributes to describe the beloveds and the dignitaries, it is nonexistent in the troubadour lyric. The ladies of this lyric are never depicted with supernatural qualities nor in religious terminology. As opposed to Islamic tolerance of the Jews and Christians in al-Andalus, the troubadour lyric can be considered anti-Semitic and anti-Islamic in some of its passages.[103] Religion is a theme which differs between these two genres.

The muwashshahs and the troubadour lyrics are compellingly indicative of their respective cultures. While there are a few similarities thematically, they are not common and specific enough to denote a direct influence or similar origin. There are no allusions to spies or censorship in the troubadour lyric as there are in the muwashshahs. The troubadour lyric descriptions do not follow the tropes of beauty in the Arabic tradition. Additionally, there is some optimism in the conventional descriptions of courtly love in

[103] Two examples of this are Piere Vidal's line "I value myself less than a Jew" (309) and Gavaudan's poem (357) about the Christian holy war against the Arabs. The religious and political commentaries in the troubadour lyric are very pointed and specific unlike the muwashshahs which are more generic in their criticisms of the censorship and the spy.

the troubadour lyric which is absent in the muwashshahs. Nor is the sexual violence which occurs in the muwashshahs present in the troubadour lyric. The universal emotions are their common element and these express a fundamental human experience rather than a literary invention.

The last work to which the muwashshahs will be compared is Dante's fourteenth century *Divine Comedy*. Dante's descent into Hell and path through Purgatory and Paradise has penetrated the popular imagination of Western culture for centuries. Although there have been no studies done between the muwashshahs themselves and this work, it is fascinating to note the way they both discuss the topics of gender, sexuality and religion. The *Divine Comedy* has been one of the most fundamental and influential works in medieval literature and a comparison can be illuminating. Some critics, particularly Asín Palacios and Menocal, have noted the Arabic influence in Dante's work. Menocal theorizes about the possible influence of the *mi'rāj* tradition which depicts Mohammad's trip to Hell and Paradise in her work *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage* (123). Other traces of Arabic recognition are seen in small details of the *Divine Comedy*: Averroës and Avicenna are in Limbo with the other virtuous pagans, the first circle of inner-Hell is filled with mosques and even Mohammed and Ali are suffering in Hell from their own sins of discord and schism. Although Arabic thought and culture may have left their mark on the work, the bigger philosophical issues of the *Divine Comedy* are ensconced in the religious, theological, cultural and social paradigms of Dante's own contemporary society. A close analysis of how both the

muwashshahs and Dante perceive the notions of gender, sexuality and religion is relevant and representative of how these issues were prevalent in both of their cultures.

The journey of the *Divine Comedy* is ultimately one of desire. Dante longs to be reunited with his beloved Beatrice, who has died years before, and it is she by God's will who allows him to embark on this expedition. Initially guided by Virgil under the authority of Beatrice, Dante takes this journey of discovery to come to a fuller understanding of the afterlife, the cosmos and the divine. The relationship of gender and sexuality to Dante's vision is crucial to the poem. As Dante descends into Hell, the second circle which is immediately after Limbo (and consequently the least condemnable of the sins) contains those who sinned of lust.[104] The penalty of this sin does not seem so dreadful when it is compared to the others in the lower circles. He continues his journey through the circles of Hell in which he witnesses the punishments of other greater sins, such as gluttony, avarice, wrath and heresy. As he reaches the lowest depths of Hell in the center of the Earth, Dante finally views those who have committed the most evil sin—treachery—for which Judas, Brutus and Cassius are each in one of the mouths of Satan's three heads. After leaving Hell, still guided by Virgil, he climbs the mountain of Purgatory and observes the atonement of the repentant for each of the seven sins—pride, envy, wrath, sloth, avarice, gluttony and lust. Lust is on the highest terrace of these sins,

[104] It is true that sodomy is one of the sins punished in Dante's seventh circle Hell which is best recognized through the character Brunetto Latini, an author of Dante's time (Canto XV-XVI). However, scholars have debated if this sin is sodomy in its literal sense. Eugene Vance provides a convincing argument that the sin is not sexual but one of rhetoric. According to Vance's thesis, Brunetto Latini preferred to write in French rather than Italian. This includes his main work which is written in French, *Tesoro*. Dante considered it unnatural, even sinful, to not write in one's native language. Vance writes "Thus, Brunetto Latini, a writer and a deserter, by refusing to give life to his language, denies its purpose and takes away its means of giving life to new beings: literary works as daughters of the intellect which must grow on the soil of one's own native land" (241).

and just as in Hell, is considered the least malicious based on its physical position on the mountain of Purgatory. Even more striking than the classification of lust is the equality Dante gives to those whose desires were same-sex and opposite-sex which are divided into two separate lines. These two groups pass by one another, while being purged by fire in an equal form of retribution (Canto XXVI). Dante does not see a difference in excessive same-sex or opposite-sex desire. Why is lust considered the least harmful and malicious sin in both Hell and Purgatory? The answer to this question is quickly understood through a reading of the rest of the work—and it relates to the larger message of the *Commedia*.

After Dante and Virgil leave the terraces of Purgatory, Virgil, who represents science and learning, must depart from Dante because he cannot witness the divine as a non-baptized and non-believer of Christ. After Virgil disappears, Beatrice gloriously descends in a heavenly chariot to meet Dante. It is an extraordinarily beautiful scene accompanied by the angels throwing flowers into the air and singing a line from Virgil's *Aeneid*, "*Manibus, oh, date lilia plenis*" (Canto XXX). Dante himself, as well as the readers, believe he has finally reached the goal of his journey. He is being reunited with Beatrice, the one for whom he has longed in earnest and who allowed him to take this voyage to the afterlife. However, the reunion is not a joyous one. Beatrice berates Dante immediately upon seeing him. She scolds him for following an untrue path and for never heeding her callings. It may seem initially shocking that Beatrice reacts this way but her questioning explains her frustrations:

Mai non t'appresentò natura o arte

Piacer, quanto le belle membra in ch'io
Rinchiusa fui, e che so''n terra sparte;

E se 'l sommo piacer sì ti fallio
per la mia morte, qual cosa mortale
dovea poi trarre te nel suo disio?

Ben ti dovevi, per lo primo strale
de le cose fallaci, levar suso
di retro a me che non era più tale. (XXXI 49-57)[105]

[You never saw in Nature or in Art
a beauty like the beauty of my form,
which clothed me once and now is turned to dust;

and if that perfect beauty disappeared
when I departed from this world, how could
another mortal object lure your love?

When you first felt deception's arrow sting,
you should have rushed to rise and follow me,
as soon as I lost my deceptive flesh.]

Dante thus learns that his lamenting of Beatrice was pure folly.[106] He did not follow the true path—rather than pining for Beatrice, he should have been focusing on what is important—the desire for God. Love for Beatrice is, like all love for humans, ephemeral. The body is a mere temporary illusion and Beatrice, who represents the perfection of human beauty is now nothing but dust. After Dante receives her chastisement, Beatrice escorts him through the planets of Paradise until they reach the Celestial Rose, an eternal reward for the most faithful and pious believers, in which Beatrice herself is seated. At

[105] All texts and translations are from Mark Musa's 2004 edition.

[106] Marc Cogan explains this as: "It is Beatrice who is the object of Dante's desire; in being reunited with her, after ten years, Dante expects to complete his journey....The final object of desire is not Beatrice, we know, but God" (286). He further explains how Beatrice is an agent for Dante's experience of divine love: "Whatever Beatrice represents, she represents it as an object of desire. Dante does not just know Beatrice, he is drawn to her by love. It is divine love that loves the stars, it is love for Beatrice that moves Dante until the moment, at the very end of the poem, when he too can be moved directly by divine love" (288).

the end of Paradise, Beatrice returns to her own seat in the Celestial Rose to gaze upon the divine, while Dante continues his journey to view the Holy Trinity more closely. In the last passage of the work, Dante is amazed by what he sees in the Holy Trinity, the manifestation of the divine itself which resembles the appearance of humanity. Through a flash of intuition he finally understands the divine order as the poem ends:

> O luce etterna che sola in te sidi,
> sola t'intendi, e da te intelletta
> e intendente te ami e arridi!
>
> Quella circulazioni che sì concetta
> pareva in te come lume reflesso,
> da li occhi miei alquanto circunspetta,
>
> dentro da sé, del suo colore stesso,
> mi parve pinta de la nostra effige:
> per che 'l mio viso in lei tutto era messo.
>
> Qual è 'l geomètra che tutto s'affige
> per misurar lo cerchio, e non ritrova,
> pensando, quel principio ond' elli indige,
>
> tal era io a quella vista nova:
> veder voleva come si convenne
> l'imago al cerchio, e come vi s'indova;
>
> ma non eran da ciò le proprie penne:
> se non che la mia mente fu percossa
> da un fulgore in che sua voglia venne.
>
> A l'alta fantasia qui mancò possa;
> ma già volgeva il mio disio e 'l velle,
> sì come rota ch'igualmente è mossa,
>
> l'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle. (XXXIII 124-145)

> [O Light Eternal fixed in Self alone,
> known only to Yourself, and knowing Self,

You love and glow, knowing and being known!

That circling which, as I conceived it, shone
in You as Your own first reflected light
when I had looked deep into It a while,

seemed in Itself and it Its own Self-color
to be depicted with man's very image.
My eyes were totally absorbed in It.

As the geometer who tries so hard
to square the circle, but cannot discover,
think as he may, the principle involved,

so did I strive with this new mystery:
I yearned to know how could our image fit
into that circle, how could it conform;

but my own wings could not take me so high—
then a great flash of understanding struck
my mind, and suddenly its wish was granted.

At this point power failed high fantasy
but, like a wheel in perfect balance turning,
I felt my will and my desire impelled

by the Love that moves the sun and the other stars.]

As Dante finishes his journey he gazes at the Holy Trinity and becomes astounded at how much the Trinity is like "man's very image." The image of the human and the image of the divine is essentially the same, based on Scripture in which man was made in God's likeness. It takes a flash of divinely-inspired intuition for Dante to understand this. Given the similar appearance of the human and the divine, it is not that difficult for man to become confused between the two in his desires. The ending of the *Divine Comedy* resolves the dichotomy of human and divine love and also solves the mystery of the classification of lust. Thus, of all the transgressions of man, lust is the one which most

closely approaches God. It is Dante's desire for Beatrice, after all, that leads to his journey toward God. Of course, lust is not the true path to God, the eternal, because the physical body is temporary.

Dante thus answers the contradictory polemic of human desire for the sexual and the sacred. The only true aspiration and need is for God and any transgression from this is sinful. Yet, human love so closely resembles the love for God by the nature of their very images that it becomes easy to misplace human desire for the divine. Judith Butler's explanation of displaced desire, which was cited in the fourth chapter of this dissertation, aptly fits Dante's model. In Dante's aesthetic, desire becomes displaced from the divine to the human and must be rectified. Dante provides a clear example of how he displaces his own desire for the divine with Beatrice. His journey permits him to recognize the inaccuracy of this transfer and reset his desire back to God.

The *Divine Comedy*'s perception of sexuality and religion relates to the themes of the muwashshahs. The seventh terrace of lust has those repentant of same-sex and opposite-sex desire passing by each other, yet equal, just as the muwashshahs contain poems of both opposite-sex and homoerotic nature. Gender is not a distinguishing feature of the *Divine Comedy* nor of the muwashshahs. The universality of love and religion are genderless. The intermingling of the sacred and the sexual are clearly present in both the muwashshah corpus and Dante's work. In the muwashshahs, both divine and sexual love are juxtaposed in their descriptions and their respective Andalusian philosophy and theology. For them, the sexual is firmly entrenched in the understanding of the divine as a part of the reward of Paradise. Dante, working under Christian

principles, views sexual and divine desires as similar yet separate. For him, the desire for God is the only virtuous one. Paradise is asexual in Dante's account.

The muwashshahs do share familiar thematic elements with the later Romance lyric. Yet, many of these commonalities are more representative of a universal notion of desire and love rather than a specifically followed aesthetic. Although the *cantigas d'amigo*, the troubadour lyric and the *Divine Comedy* are in some ways analogous to the Andalusian poetic tradition, their aesthetic and cultural differences must also be noted. A consideration of the universality of desire and love which is experienced by all societies and cultures causes the shared likenesses to seem less significant in terms of specific influence. These societies all grappled with their own desires and how to understand their meaning. These struggles manifest themselves directly in their literature.

This dissertation, by closely analyzing the muwashshahs and Romance kharjas, sets a framework for examining gender, sexuality and religious desire in the medieval lyric. It is also a thematic avenue for considering the connections and distinctions these genres hold with one another. Whereas this dissertation focuses on the muwashshahs, kharjas and the Andalusian literary tradition, these analyses are relevant to other pre-modern poetry. Any literature should not and cannot be separated from its society, philosophy and culture. Thematic studies—particularly of gender, sexuality and religion—demonstrate the particular aesthetic of a society's literature. Additionally, any literary comparison must incorporate the universal as a critical axiom that societies and their literature share. The questions of origins and influences of medieval genres can

benefit from an approach which considers the social reality of the authors as well as the universal.

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