

ARABIC LITERARY ELEMENTS IN THE STRUCTURE
OF THE *LIBRO DE BUEN AMOR* (I) *

ELEMENTOS DE LA LITERATURA ÁRABE EN LA
ESTRUCTURA DEL *LIBRO DE BUEN AMOR* (I)

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*In memory of Charlotte Stern,
a friend of many years standing,
and a deeply respected colleague.*

This article examines several aspects of Arab-Islamic culture, about which Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita, and putative author of the *Libro de buen amor*, betrays evidence of some knowledge. It goes on to suggest that, while the *LBA*'s literary *materials* are largely of Western origin, its *structure* is indebted to a unique combination of certain Oriental literary genres, thereby making it a culturally hybrid work. The article further suggests that the *LBA* may be read according to three levels of meaning, in accordance with the Averroistic approach to, and conception of, truth, of which the highest, or philosophical level, involves a veiled critique of the doctrine of ecclesiastical celibacy, adopted by the Western Church only a century before the Archpriest composed his work.

Key words: Averroes; Frametale; Hybridization; Ibn al-Muqaffa'; Ibn Quzmān; *Kalīla wa-Dimna*; *Libro de buen amor*; *Maqāma*; *Mudéjar*; Mu'tazila; Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita; *Zajal*.

En este artículo se examinan algunos aspectos de la cultura arabigoislámica, de los cuales Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita, presunto autor del *Libro de buen amor*, demuestra poseer cierto conocimiento. De resultas se sugiere que, mientras los *materiales* literarios constituyentes del *Libro* son de raigambre occidental, su *estructura* se debe a una combinación de ciertos géneros literarios orientales, de lo cual el *Libro* resultaría ser una obra culturalmente híbrida. Además, se sugiere que el *Libro* debe interpretarse según tres niveles de significado, de acuerdo con la metodología desarrollada por Averroes para captar la verdad, y que, de esos tres niveles, el más elevado, a saber, el filosófico, nos conduce a una crítica velada de la doctrina del celibato eclesiástico, adoptada por la iglesia occidental sólo un siglo antes de la época en que el Arcipreste escribiera su obra.

Palabras clave: Averroes; relato-marco; hibridación; Ibn al-Muqaffa'; Ibn Quzmān; *Kalīla wa-Dimna*; *Libro de buen amor*; *Maqāma*; *Mudéjar*; Mu'tazila; Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita; *Zaḡal*.

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1. Juan Ruiz de Cisneros, Author of the *Libro de buen amor*?

An intriguing discovery, published in 1973 by Emilio Sáez and José Trench, has promised to shed new light on the identity of Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita, mysterious author of that masterpiece of fourteenth-century Spanish literature known as the *Libro de buen amor*.¹ Basing himself on that discovery, and even more recently, Francisco Márquez Villanueva has offered what is, in fact, an extremely persuasive solution to the problem of that writer's identity.² According to Sáez, Trench, and Márquez Villanueva, there was a certain Juan Ruiz de Cisneros, whose father, a Castilian nobleman named Arias González, was captured by the Muslims of Granada, possibly at the Christian defeat of Moclín in 1280, and was probably taken to the town of Alcalá la Real (then known as Alcalá de Benzaide) in that kingdom (cf. the remark, "fija, mucho vos Saluda vno que es de alcalá..." ['Daughter, one who is from Alcalá sends you many greetings']).³ In the kingdom of Granada, he spent some twenty-five years in captivity. We are told, in an official dispensation issued by Pope John XXII in 1321, that, because Arias González was a bachelor, in order to relieve his loneliness, the King of Granada graciously bestowed a virgin, Christian, slave-girl upon him. She bore him six sons, of whom the second was named Juan Ruiz. The boy was brought up in Islamic territory, where he lived until the age of nine or ten, at which time the generous King (who would have been Muḥammad II [r. 671/1273-701/1302]), freed Arias

¹ Sáez, E. and Trench, J., "Juan Ruiz de Cisneros (1295/1296-1351/1352) autor del *Buen amor*", *Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre el Arcipreste de Hita*, M. Criado de Val (ed.), Barcelona, 1973, 365-368.

² Márquez Villanueva, F., "La nueva biografía de Juan Ruiz", in W. Mejías López (ed.), *Morada de la palabra: homenaje a Luce y Mercedes López-Baralt*, San Juan (Puerto Rico), 2002, 1, 33-51. In this article, Márquez Villanueva is simultaneously underpinning, building upon, and greatly expanding on the discovery made by Emilio Sáez and José Trench.

³ Ruiz, J., *Arcipreste de Hita: Libro de buen amor*, M. Criado de Val and E.W. Naylor (eds.), Madrid, CSIC, 1972, 9, 507, s. 1510a. In ensuing citations from the *LBA*, I shall refer to the above edition, which includes transcriptions of all three major MSS, plus the surviving fragments. I shall also refer to other major editions where relevant. For an excellent and recent English edition and translation of the *LBA*, see Ruiz, J., *The Book of Good Love*, E. Drayson MacDonald (ed. and transl.), London and Vermont, 1999. While I have, in general, followed her translation, I have taken the liberty of modifying it occasionally, in light of my own suggested readings of the original Spanish, particularly where it contains Arabic words open to interpretation.

González and his sons, who moved back to Castile in 1305. Márquez Villanueva shows, however, that this account of Juan Ruiz's maternal background is a sheer fabrication. To begin, it is an obvious adaptation of the well-known story of al-Manşūr (r. 367/978-392/1002) and Gonzalo Gustioz, contained in *La leyenda de los infantes de Lara*.⁴ The story was concocted to qualify Juan Ruiz, despite his questionable descent on the maternal side, for the position of Bishop, should he wish to apply for such a position later in life. Márquez Villanueva concludes that the boy's mother, far from being a Christian and a virgin, was probably another slave, hardly a virgin, and probably not even a Christian. In support of his assumption, we may venture to suggest that it is not likely for a female Christian slave to have been awarded to a male Christian slave, since their resulting offspring would have been Christian as well, while Muslim authorities would have had little interest in further promoting the growth of a Christian population within their kingdom. It would have been far more likely for a female Christian slave to have been given to a Muslim and, thus, to have produced Muslim offspring. If this is so, however, it raises even further serious questions. If the mother were not a Christian, the obvious assumption would be that she was a Muslim. Here it should be noted that, according to Islamic Law, a Muslim woman is not allowed to marry a non-Muslim man. This implies that, in all likelihood, Arias González converted to Islam (even if his conversion was merely opportunistic) in order to be conjoined in matrimony (or even outside of it) with the mother of his future sons. If so, that would have made him a double apostate (first, from Christianity to Islam, and later, as we shall see, back from Islam to Christianity upon his return to Castile). This also means that Juan Ruiz would have been brought up a Muslim until the age of ten. Thereafter, when father and sons returned to Castile, they would have reverted to Christianity, Juan Ruiz would have been brought up in a Christian environment, and would have become that Archpriest of Hita who was eventually sent by the Roman See on a three-year stint to Avignon in Provence. Curiously, upon his return from Granada to Castile, Arias González married a Christian noblewoman, and we hear nothing further about the Granadan slave-girl who had given birth to

⁴ Menéndez Pidal, R. (ed.), *La leyenda de los infantes de Lara*, Madrid, 1896.

Juan Ruiz de Cisneros.⁵ This is a further indication that she may well have been a Muslim, who either chose to stay, or was required to stay, in the land of her coreligionists. Juan Ruiz would have thus been old enough, when he left Granada, to have learned the Colloquial form of the Arabic language, as a native speaker, from his mother, her relatives, and the inhabitants of the kingdom in general. He would also have been old enough to have learned the rudiments of Islam, in which religion he may well have been brought up, but it is unlikely (though hardly impossible) that he would have been old enough to acquire any serious schooling in the Arabic language's Classical register, for which years of formal training, hardly available to the son of a captive, would have been necessary. In addition to the above, his stay in Provence would have familiarized him with those tenets of courtly love that he was, in later years, to turn so mischievously on their heads in his *LBA*.

In sum, it is entirely possible for the *LBA* to have been written by a convert from Islam to Christianity, who had a more than passing familiarity with Arabic culture. How would this factor, if true, manifest itself in the work, and what would its significance to our understanding of that work be?

One of the major challenges in the study of the *LBA* lies in the fact that most Romanists who have devoted their efforts to examining that work, while they have been able to come up with numerous sources clearly derived from the Western tradition have, at the same time been largely at a loss when it comes to identifying a Western genre, or group of genres, within which the *LBA* may be convincingly included. In contrast, students of medieval Arabic and Hebrew literature are immediately able to recognize that here we are dealing with a Semitic genre, or rather, a group of genres, that have been innovatively combined. Insofar as the *LBA*'s episodic nature, chronicling the adventures of a trickster is concerned, we can at once point to the Arabic *maqāma* genre. Insofar as that trickster is a striking failure in his attempts at roguery is concerned, we can point to the Andalusī *zajal* tradition, particularly as we know it from the po-

⁵ On the Church laws governing intermarriage between individuals of the Christian, Muslim, and Jewish faiths, see Pérez, M., *Libro de las confesiones*, A. García y García, B. Alonso y Rodríguez and F. Cantelar Rodríguez (eds.), Madrid, 2002, 711-714 (composed in 1316).

etry of Ibn Quzmān (d. 555/1160). Finally, insofar as the narrative constitutes a frame that includes subordinate, framed narratives, we can point to that rich Oriental framed genre, that was introduced to the Iberian Peninsula via works such as the *Sendebār* and the *Book of Kalīla wa-Dimna*. In this respect, it is irrelevant that many of the stories and episodes included in the *LBA* have Western sources. To argue the contrary would be to commit the serious mistake of confusing a work's structure and genre (which, in the case of the *LBA*, is Eastern) with its materials and their sources (which are largely Western). And here, the concept of a hybrid work, in which the structure is patterned after Eastern genres, whereas its materials are derived from the Western tradition, may be of some help in evaluating the work. Let us now examine how this form of hybridization manifests itself in the *LBA*.

One Easter Sunday, when Don Amor arrives in town, all its priests, lay brothers, friars and nuns, ladies and minstrels, exhausted by their Lenten fasting, come out in a procession to welcome him. At this point, MS S of the *LBA* (ss. 1228-1229) records that:

Ally sale gritando la guitarra morisca,	The Moorish guitar sang its lament,
De las boses aguda e de los puntos arisca,	High and harsh in tone.
El corpudo laud que tiene punto a la trisca,	The portly lute accompanies a rustic dance,
La gitara ladina con esos se atrisca.	And the Western guitar joins with them.
El rrabe gritador, con la su alta nota,	The screaming rebec with its high note,
cabel El orayn taniendo la su rrota,	<i>qalbī 'a'rābī</i> does its rote play;
el salterio con ellos mas alto que la mota,	The psaltery in their company is higher than La Mota. ⁶
la vyuela de pendola con aquestos y sota.	The quill plectrum guitar dances in time with them. ⁷

In contrast, for s.1229b, we find “*cabel el garaui taniendo la su nota*” in T, and “*cabel el alborayn ba taniendo la su nota*” in G.⁸ Not so recent scholarship has argued rather convincingly that the first three words of s.1229b, though slightly garbled in two of the three MSS of the *LBA*,⁹ are a reference to a famous Arabic song, the incipit of which (and only its incipit has survived) is quoted by

⁶ Possibly La Mota castle in Medina del Campo.

⁷ *LBA*, ed. Drayson, 304-307; *LBA*, ed. Criado de Val and Naylor, 379.

⁸ *LBA*, ed. Criado de Val and Naylor, 379, s. 1229.

⁹ Willis, R.S., “Cuatro palabras oscuras del *Libro de Buen Amor*”, *Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre el Arcipreste de Hita*, M. Criado de Val (ed.), Barcelona, 1973, 161-170, 165-166.

a number of Golden Age Spanish and Portuguese authors.¹⁰ It was, therefore, a popular song that circulated in Spain and Portugal well after the fall of Granada to the Christians in 1492. We are further informed by the sixteenth-century musician, Francisco Salinas (d. 1590) that the entire incipit, of which he provides the melody in musical notation, was:

calui vi calui, calui arauī,¹¹

This would represent a Golden Age transcription of what we might transliterate in a modern, professional fashion as:

qalbī bi-qalbi, qalbī `a`rābī.

Let me venture to translate this passage in a way that differs, even if slightly, from the attempts made by my distinguished predecessors:

[I give] my heart [in exchange] for a[nother] heart,
[for] my heart is a Bedouin heart.¹²

¹⁰ Among the most prominent are Gil Vicente, Cervantes, and Lope de Vega. See Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, C., “Este es el calbi orabī”, *Revista Lusitana*, 18, 1-2 (1915), 1-15. This is not the only example of Arabic verse quoted in the context of a Hispanic song. For others, see Dutton, B., “*Lelia Doura, Edoy Lelia Doura*, An Arabic Refrain in a Thirteenth-Century Galician Poem?”, *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 41, 1 (1964), 1-9; Frenk, M., *Nuevo corpus de la antigua lírica popular hispánica (siglos XV a XVII)*, México D.F., 2003, 1, 265-266, n.º 339: “*Di ley vi namxi, / ay mesqui, / naffla calbi*”.

¹¹ Salinas, F., *De Musica*, in *Documenta Musicologica, Erste Reihe: Druckschriften-Faksimiles*, Kassel & Basel, 1958, 339; Salinas, F., *Siete libros sobre la música*, I. Fernández de la Cuesta (transl.), Madrid, 1983, 591.

¹² Cf. Pedrell, F., *Emporio científico e histórico de organografía musical antigua española*, Barcelona, 1901, 53, where that author translates: “Mi corazón [ren]te a otro corazón, es el corazón de un árabe” (‘My heart, before another heart, is an Arab heart’). See too, García Gómez, E., “La canción famosa *calvi vi calvi / calvi aravī*”, *Al-Andalus*, 21 (1956), 1-18 (and “Adición sobre *calvi vi calvi*” 215), 10, where he corrects Pedrell and translates: “Mi corazón vive en otro corazón, porque mi corazón es árabe” (‘My heart lives inside another heart, because my heart is an Arab heart’). Such a translation would require the preposition *fī* rather than *bi*. My translation rests upon the common construction *qawlun bi-qawlīn* (‘to exchange words’). It also adopts the reading ‘a`rābī (‘Bedouin’) for the reading ‘arabī (‘Arab’) preferred by my predecessors. ‘A`rābī is more felicitous from a rhythmical point of view and, if acceptable, would constitute a reference to ‘Udhri love poetry which, according to tradition, was a Bedouin phenomenon.

Salinas adds that, to the melody of *qalbī bi-qalbi* his contemporaries used to sing a popular song in Spanish that went:

Rey don Alonso, rey mi señor ...¹³ King, Sir Alonso, king my lord ...

Along with its melody, that song was recorded in Asturias, by a folklorist, in the mid-twentieth century. The surviving text goes as follows:

Rey don Alonso, rey mi señor;	King Sir Alonso, king my lord;
rey de los reyes, emperador.	King of kings, emperor,
Cuatro monteros matan un oso;	Four hunters kill a bear;
cuatro monteros del rey don Alonso. ¹⁴	Four hunters of king Sir Alonso.

In the Sephardic tradition of the Near East a religious song in Hebrew from the sixteenth/seventeenth centuries has also been recorded, which is sung to the melody of *qalbī bi-qalbi*, and the Hebrew incipit of which attempts to echo the Arabic song's phonetic features. It goes as follows:

Kol libi, kol libi, kol libi le-avi.	All my heart, all my heart, all my heart belongs to my Father. ¹⁵
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We thus seem to have a widespread melody, to which songs in Arabic, Castilian, and Hebrew were sung from the fourteenth to the twentieth centuries at very least.¹⁶ Unfortunately, in the majority of

¹³ Salinas, *De Musica*.

¹⁴ Schindler, K., *Folk Music and Poetry of Spain and Portugal (Música y poesía popular de España y Portugal)*, New York, 1941, n.º 101, 10; González Ollé, F., "Presencia de la canción árabe *calvi vi calvi* en nuevos textos castellanos (hasta Antonio Machado)", *Homenaje a Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes*, Madrid, 1987, 657-664.

¹⁵ Avenary, H., "Études sur le cancionero judeo-espagnol (XVI^e et XVII^e siècles)", *Sefarad*, 20, 2 (1960), 377-394, 385-386; Frenk, *Nuevo corpus*, 1, 608. For the melody of 'Rey don Alonso [...]' as sung by the Eastern Sephardim, see Idelsohn, A.Z., *Hebräisch-Orientalischer Melodienschatz: Gesänge der Orientalischen Sefardim*, Jerusalem, Berlin and Vienna, 1923, 23, n.º 6. The Eastern Sephardic melody is exactly the same as that recorded by Salinas. According to E. Sáez and J. Trench, Juan Ruiz de Cisneros was born in 1295/1296. As is well known, the Spanish Jews were expelled in 1492, and Salinas died in 1590. This suggests that the melody to *qalbī 'a'rābī* was already well known in the Iberian Peninsula prior to the Jewish expulsion, at the very latest, two centuries after the birth of Juan Ruiz, and that it was taken to the Eastern Mediterranean, by the Jews, at the very earliest, a century before Salinas's death.

¹⁶ In passing, be it noted that, in a recent article, F. Corriente challenges the reading *qalbī 'arabī* originally proposed by García Gómez. See Corriente, F., "A vueltas con

cases, only a tantalizingly brief fragment of that song, normally its incipit, has survived.¹⁷ One question that arises is, therefore, to what genre did it belong?

The very fact that the melody to *qalbī bi-qalbi* was so popular that it was recorded in the sixteenth century, along with a Castilian contrafactura, while the most modern version of that same melody is associated with a folksong from Asturias, also recorded in the sixteenth century, and surviving into the twentieth, might lead us to suspect that we are dealing with the incipit of an Arabic *zajal*, as opposed to a more learned, Classical genre of poetry. What further evidence can be provided that this is so?

A striking linguistic feature of the incipit *qalbī bi-qalbi*, *qalbī 'a'rābī*, and one which has not, to the best of my knowledge, been pointed out before, is that, if the text were in Classical Arabic, it would have to be read *qalbī bi-qalbīn*, *qalbī 'a'rābī*, with the genitive case-ending *-īn* attached to the second appearance of the word *qalb*. Instead, what we find in the text is the disjunctive *i* typical of the Colloquial register. Since the text is devoid of Classical inflex-

las frases árabes y algunas hebreas incrustadas en las literaturas medievales hispánicas”, *Revista de Filología Española*, 86, 1 (2006), 105-126, 115, and n. 44. His proposed reading, however, is difficult to accept for, according to Corriente, we would have to read, in the case of S: “El rrabe gritador, con la su alta nota, / (*cabe él la hora [=entonces] vi*) taniendo la su rota” (‘The screaming rebec with its high note, / next to it I then saw, playing its rote’). In sum, such a reading would have the rebec playing the rote. Furthermore *el rrabe* (which is grammatically masculine) would be placed ‘next to’ (*cabe él*) *la gítara latina* (‘the Western guitar’) mentioned in the immediately preceding, final line of the previous strophe, and which is grammatically feminine. This disagreement in gender is precisely what led García Gómez to emend *cabe él* (clearly a *lectio faciliior*) to *calbi*. T would provide us with “El rrabe gritador, con la alta nota, / (*cabe él la hora vi*) taniendo la su nota” (‘The screaming rebec with the high note / next to it then I saw, playing its note’), which also exhibits lack of agreement in gender, and is redundant to boot (‘the rebec with a high *note* is playing its *note*’). Finally, if we consider G, we would have to read: “el rrabe gritador con la su alta nota, (*cabe él la hora vi*) ba taniendo la su nota” (‘The screaming rebec with its high note next to it I then saw—it goes playing its note’), which is not only awkward in its sentence structure, but exhibits the same lack of gender agreement as do S and T. I therefore prefer García Gómez’s *lectio difficilior*, which is substantiated by T (*cabel el garai* ...), in which the Spanish *g* clearly transliterates the Arabic ‘*ayn* (cf. ‘*arūsa* > *garoça* [Doña Garoça] in this same work). And if this is not the case, then, at very least, it is clear that the copyist of T understood the passage as a reference to the famous Arabic song, which can only mean that that song was well known in his day, namely the late fourteenth century.

¹⁷ For more on music in the *LBA*, see Lanoue, D.G., “Divine and Carnal Music in the *Libro de Buen Amor*”, *Journal of Hispanic Philology*, 5, 2 (1981), 85-100.

ions, we have good reasons to suspect that it is couched in Colloquial rather than in Classical Arabic. Furthermore, on a stylistic level, the Arabic incipit repeats the word *qalb* ('heart') thrice, just as the incipit *Rey don Alonso, rey mi señor; rey de los reyes, emperador* repeats the word *rey* ('king') four times, and the Hebrew incipit *kol libi, kol libi, kol libi le-avi* repeats the phrase *kol libi* ('all my heart') thrice. This type of incremental repetition, found in all three song-texts, is not only a characteristic feature of the opening lines of popular songs in several European languages, among them Spanish,¹⁸ but also of the Arabic *muwashshaḥas* and *zajals* of Andalus.¹⁹ This being the case, and because our Arabic incipit lacks an inflexion that is otherwise required in the Classical register of the language, it is more than likely that it represents the beginning of a Colloquial *zajal* rather than that of a Classical *muwashshaḥa* or *qaṣīda*.

In turn, this would mean that the author of the *LBA*, whoever he may have been, was a person who knew something about the *zajal*

¹⁸ I find 114 examples of initial, incremental repetition in Frenk, *Nuevo corpus*. Here are a few: ¿Dólos mis amores, dólos? /¿Dólos mis amores, he? (519 A) | ¡Ficade, amor, ficade! /¡ficade amor! (546) | Vente a la mañana, hermana, / vente a la mañana. (451) | ¡Ésta es maya, ésta es maya, / y ésta es maya de placer! (1276) | Hételo va, hételo vien, / de Lisboa a Santarén. (1020).

¹⁹ In 'Alī b. Bushrā's collection of *muwashshaḥas* known as the '*Uddat al-jalīs*, the incipits of poems 18, 32, 52, 106, 131, 133, 143, 169, 187, 189, 191, 301, 320, 333, contain incremental repetitions. So do the *kharjas* (and here it should be remembered that *kharjas* are often incipits of other songs) of poems 14, 31, 32, 45, 54, 55, 63, 74, 90, 97, 99, 100, 102, 147, 158, 224, 239, 240, 259, 266, 290, 291, 298, 311. See Jones, A. (ed.), *The 'Uddat al-jalīs of 'Alī ibn Bishrī: An Anthology of Andalusian Arabic Muwashshaḥāt*, Cambridge, 1992. In Ibn al-Khaṭīb's collection of *muwashshaḥas*, known as the *Jaysh al-tawshīh*, the incipits of poem 3 (p. 213) and 4 (p. 246) contain incremental repetitions. So do the *kharjas* of poems 6 (p. 12), 18 (p. 47), 5 (p. 138), 6 (p. 140), 10 (p. 145), 5 (p. 170), 6 (p. 172), 7 (p. 173), 4 (184), 9 (p. 192), 2 (p. 198), 8 (p. 221), 1 (p. 226), 10 (p. 241), 3 (p. 246), 8 (p. 253), 9 (p. 254), 2 (p. 271), 6 (p. 277). See Jones, A., *The Jaysh al-tawshīh of Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb: An Anthology of Andalusian Arabic Muwashshaḥāt*, Cambridge, 1997. Turning to the *zajal*, we find that in the collection of al-Ḥasan al-Shushṭarī (*Dīwān*, 'Alī Sāmī al-Nashshār (ed.), Alexandria, 1960), incremental repetitions may be found in poems 3 (p. 88), 11 (p. 103), 12 (p. 109), 38 (p. 165), 83 (p. 174), 44 (p. 177), 47 (p. 185), 54 (p. 202), 56 (p. 213), 61 (p. 220), 77 (p. 258), 83 (p. 272), 99 (p. 313), 6 (p. 332), 2 (p. 340), 7 (p. 351), 3 (p. 385), 42 (p. 438). In the case of Ibn Quzmān, see Corriente, F. (ed.), *El cancionero hispano-árabe de Aban Quzmān de Córdoba*, Cairo, 1995. This text provides us with incremental repetitions in poems 12, 17, 26, 55, 56, 86, 92, 105, 108, 114, 125, 181 respectively. The sum total of examples of incremental repetition in the above texts adds up to the rather impressive number of 89.

tradition, possibly in Arabic, and certainly in Old Spanish. As far as the latter is concerned, it is no secret that the *LBA* contains numerous Spanish poems in the *zajal* form. Some of them are dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and others, which are often of an obscene nature, are dedicated to the various women to whom our genial Archpriest was attracted but failed to seduce, or by whom he was repelled, but raped. One of these *zajals*, dealing with a female baker named Cruz (to seduce whom the poet sends a young male go-between named Ferrand García who, in turn, ends up seducing the lady for himself),²⁰ is so replete with sexual “double entendres”, that it may be considered one of the most, if not *the* most obscene poem in the entirety of Spanish literature.²¹ In numerous other instances, the au-

²⁰ See, *LBA*, vs. 115-120. This episode is a gender-inverted version of the story according to which the Cordovan poet Ibn Zaydūn (393/1003-463/1071) seduced the slave-girl of his mistress, the Umayyad princess Wallāda, as a result of which he incurred that lady’s wrath. This incident led, ultimately, to a parting of the ways between the two lovers. See Cour, A., *Un poète arabe d’Andalousie: Ibn Zaydūn*, Constantine, 1920, 28-29. The anecdote need not, of course, be read as a historical fact, although it is illustrative of Arab attitudes toward the go-between. See Garulo Muñoz, T., “La biografía de Wallāda, toda problemas”, *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes*, 20 (2009), 97-116. On this subject there is a colloquial thirteenth-century Andalusī-Arabic proverb recorded by al-Zajjālī: *’Idhā kānat al-qawwīda rashīqa tunāku qabla l-’ashīqa* (‘when the go-between is pretty, she gets fucked before the beloved’): Bencherifa, Mohamed (ed.), *Proverbs andalous de Abū Yahyā ‘Ubaid Allāh az-Zağğālī (1220-1294)*, Fez, 1971, 2, 16, n.º 52. For this reason, Don Amor warns the Archpriest never to choose the lady’s servant as his go-between (*LBA*, s. 436b), nor to have an affair with the procuress (*LBA*, s. 527a), lest he lose the object of his affections.

²¹ For the implied obscenity in this poem, see Márquez Villanueva, F., “‘Spanish Cazorro Poetry’: Obscenity, Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages”, in J.M. Ziolkowski (ed.), *Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions: Medieval and Early Modern Peoples*, Leiden, 1998, 90-107; Armistead, S.G. and Katz, I.J., *The Spanish Tradition in Louisiana, I: Isleño Folk Literature*, Newark, Delaware, 1992, 87-88; Abraham, C.K., “Myth and Symbol: The Rabbit in Medieval France”, *Studies in Philology*, 60 (1963), 589-597; Zahareas, A., “*Troba Cazorra*: An Example of Juan Ruiz’s Art”, *Romance Notes*, 5, 2 (1964), 207-211; Combet, L., “Doña Cruz, la panadera del ‘buen amor’”, *Insula*, 294 (May, 1971), 14-15; Molina, R.A., “La ‘copla cazorra’ de l’Archiprêtre de Hita: hypothèse d’interprétation”, *Les Lettres Romanes*, 26 (1972), 194-203; Burke, J.F., “Again Cruz, the Baker Girl: *Libro de buen amor*”, ss. 115-120”, *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, 4 (1980), 253-270; Redondo, A., “De molinos, molineros y molineras: tradiciones folklóricas y literatura en la España del siglo de oro”, in J.L. Alonso Hernández (ed.), *Literatura y folklore: problemas de intertextualidad*, Salamanca, 1983, 99-115; Vasvari, L.O., “La semiología de la connotación: lectura polisémica de ‘Cruz cruzada panadera’”, *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 32 (1983), 299-324; Vasvari, L.O., “Vegetal-Genital Onomastics in the *Libro de buen amor*”, *Romance Philology*, 42 (1988), 1-29; Gerli, E.M., “*El mal de la cruzada*: Notes on Juan Ruiz’s *troba cazorra*”, *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, 9 (1985), 220-227.

thor announces that, on the subject of a particular lady, “I composed the following song ...” which is missing from the text, possibly because it appeared far too scandalous for the prudish scribe to record. If this is so, it would seem to imply that our author, whoever he may have been, was well versed in the medieval Spanish genre of *cazorro* (‘obscene’) poetry, the term for which some scholars have attempted to derive etymologically from the Arabic root *q-dh-r* (‘to be dirty’).²²

If, as I have suggested above, the author of the *LBA* was familiar with the Colloquial Arabic tradition of *zajal* poetry, it is also clear that he knew the spoken dialect reasonably well, for in ss. 1508 to 1512, he describes an episode in which he sends his go-between Trotaconventos to seduce a Moorish woman, and records the dialogue that took place between the two women.

Por olvidar la coyta tristesa E pessar
 rogue a la mi vieja que me quisiere casar;
 fablo con vna mora, non la quiso escuchar,
 ella fiso buen seso, yo fiz mucho cantar.

To forget my care, sadness and woe,
 I implored my old woman to find me a wife,
 She spoke to a Moorish girl, who wouldn’t listen,
 She behaved sensibly, I wrote a lot of songs.²³

Dixo trota conventos a la mora por mi:
 “*ya* amiga, *ya* amiga, quanto ha que non vos vy!
 non es quien ver vos pueda, y ¿como sodes ansy?
 saluda vos amor nuevo.” Dixo la mora: “*yznedri*.”

Trotaconventos spoke to the Moorish girl for me:
 “*O [yā]* my friend, *O* my friend, long time no see!
 No one can see you these days, why is this so?
 A new love greets you.” She replied: “*I don’t know*” [*‘is nadri*].

²² See the discussion in Corominas, J. and Pascual, J.A., *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*, Madrid, 1980-1991, 1, 973-978, s.v. ‘Cazurro’. See too, Márquez Villanueva, “Spanish *Cazurro* Poetry”. As far as deriving the Spanish word *cazorro* from the Arabic root *q-dh-r* (‘to be dirty, filthy’), the closest forms are *qadhūr* and *qādhūr*, both of which have the opposite meaning: ‘one who avoids filth’, ‘one who is pure, chaste’. Furthermore, in Arabic, obscene poetry is referred to with the term *mujūn*, not *qadhūr*. Nevertheless, al-Fīrūzābādī (*al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*, Kh.M. Shaykhan (ed.), Beirut, 2005, n.º 7394, s. rad. *q-dh-r*, p. 1036, col. b) defines the form *qādhūra* as ‘fornication’, while al-Zamakhsharī (*‘Asās al-balāgha*, Beirut, 1965, 497b-498 a) defines the plural *qādhūrāt* as *fawāhish* (‘indecent, obscene acts’). This word is used in Ibn Dāniyāl’s shadow-play *Ṭayf al-khayāl*. See, Kahle, P. and Hopwood, D. (eds), *Three Shadow Plays by Muḥammad Ibn Dāniyāl*, Cambridge, 1992, 13, l. 8, and finally, Dozy, R., *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, Paris, 1967, 2, 317, col. b, translates *qadhār* as ‘femme impudique, prostituée’, all of which is entirely consistent with the Spanish concept of *cazorro*.

²³ Compare this line with Ibn Quzmān’s *Zajal 10*:1cd: *law qadar qalbi yakhallik / lam yadabbar dhā n-nughayma* (‘If my heart could but abandon you, it would not be devising this little song’), in Corriente (ed.), *El cancionero*, 54.

<p>“fija, mucho vos Saluda vno que es de alcalá, enbia vos una <i>çodra</i> con aqueste <i>aluala</i>, el criador es con vusco, que desto tal mucho ha, tomaldo, fija Señora.” dixo la mora: “<i>leguala</i>.”</p>	<p>“Lady, one from Alcalá sends you greetings; He sends you a <i>blouse</i> [<i>şudra</i>] with this <i>message</i> [<i>al-barā</i>]. God is with you, for he has a lot more of this. Take it, milady.” The girl said: “<i>No, by God</i>” [<i>lā wa-l-lāh!</i>]</p>
<p>“fija, ¡si el criador vos de paz con Salud! que non gelo desdeñedes, pues mas traher non pud; aducho bueno vos adugo, fablad me <i>alaud</i>, Non vaya de vos tan muda.” dixo la mora: “<i>ascut</i>.”</p>	<p>“Lady, may God give you peace and health, Don’t scorn his offering, for it’s all I could carry! I bring you a good gift, so answer me <i>lovingly</i> [<i>‘alā wudd</i>]. Don’t leave me so silent.” The girl said: “<i>Be quiet</i>’ [<i>‘askut</i>]!”</p>
<p>Desque vido la vieja que non Recabdaua y, diz: “quanto vos he dicho, bien tanto me perdi; pues que al non me desides, quiero me yr de aqui.” cabeçeo la mora, dixole: “<i>amxy amxy</i>.”</p>	<p>When the old woman saw she was getting nowhere, She said: “All my words have been in vain. I’ll go, since you will say nothing further to me.” The girl nodded, saying: “<i>Go away, go away</i>” [<i>amshī amshī</i>]!”²⁴</p>

The above dialogue is peppered, not only with isolated Arabic loan words (*yā*, *şudra*, *al-barā*), but also with Arabic phrases that tend to appear in rhyme position. But what has never been pointed out explicitly, to the best of my knowledge, is that this register of Arabic is not Classical but Colloquial. Expressions such as *‘is nadrī*, recorded in S (or *las nadrī* in T and G, both meaning ‘I don’t know’)²⁵ are well documented in the poetry of Ibn Quzmān. Both stand in stark contrast to the Classical Arabic form *lastu ‘adrī*, with the same meaning. This is also true of imperatives such as *‘askut* (‘be quiet’). In the second person singular of the imperative form of the verb *sakata* (‘to be quiet’), Classical Arabic requires an initial vowel *u* (*‘uskut*) rather than *a* (*‘askut*), whereas *‘askut* is standard in the Colloquial Andalusī register of the language. In that same imperative person, Classical Arabic further distinguishes between a masculine form (*‘uskut*) and a feminine one (*‘uskutī*). Such a distinction did not exist in Andalusī Arabic, where the feminine form was lost, possibly under the influence of the Romance substratum,

²⁴ On the Andalusī-Arabic vocabulary used by Juan Ruiz in general, see Ruiz Martínez, J., “La tradición hispano-árabe en el *Libro de buen amor*”, *Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre el Arcipreste de Hita*, M. Criado de Val (ed.), Barcelona, 1973, 187-201. For an elucidation of the Arabic words and phrases in this particular passage, see Oliver Asín, J., “La expresión ‘Ala ud’ en el ‘Libro de Buen Amor’”, *Al-Andalus*, 21, 1 (1956), 212-214.

²⁵ On this point, see the very cogent comments in Cantarino, V., “*Lesnedri* versus *iznedri*: A Variant Reading in Juan Ruiz’s *Libro de Buen Amor* (stanza 1509)”, *Romance Notes*, 5, 2 (1964), 212-216. Both forms are possible, insofar as both are authentic Andalusī-Arabic Colloquial variants.

since neither Latin nor the Romance languages possess a separate, feminine form for the imperative singular. In the passage under consideration, moreover, the Moorish girl is speaking to a woman. If her reply were couched in Classical Arabic, she would have had to use the form *'uskutī*, which would violate both rhyme and meter. The form actually used, namely *'askut* is, instead, clearly Andalusī Colloquial. The same is true of the Colloquial imperative *'amshī* ('go away'), of which the Classical form would require an initial vowel *i* (*'imshī*, not *'amshī*). In conclusion, it is perfectly clear that the knowledge of Arabic displayed in this episode is that of Colloquial Andalusī rather than of the learned language.

In s.1513, the poet further informs us of the following:

<p>Despues fise muchas cantigas de dança e troteras, para judias E moras e para entende[de]ras, para en jnstrumentos de comunales maneras; el cantar que non sabes, oylo a cantaderas.</p>	<p>After this I composed many songs for dancing and quick-steps, For Jewesses and Moorish girls, and for ladies in love, And for instruments of the usual kind. If you don't know one of these songs, hear it from singing girls.</p>
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From the above passage, we learn several matters of significance: The poet, expert minstrel that he is, has composed popular songs for Jewesses, Moorish girls and women in love (*entendederas*).²⁶ If this is the case, and given our previous comments, one might assume that those songs meant for the Moorish girls were *zajals* (the poet calls them *cantigas*) in Andalusī Arabic. Furthermore, we are informed that, although the song-texts have all been written down on folios (*pliegos*), one must learn the melodies directly from the singing girls who perform them. This is exactly the way in which Arabic songs were transmitted in the medieval period, when only the texts were recorded in writing, whereas the melodies, for which there was no system of notation in use among performers,

²⁶ S and T read *entenderas*, whereas G records the form *entendedoras*. This is the feminine form of *entendedor*, which is a Provençal loan word in Castilian. See Corominas and Pascual, *Diccionario crítico etimológico*, 5, 460, s.v. 'Entender'; Schutz, A.H., "A Preliminary Study of *Trobar e Entendre*, an Expression in Mediaeval Aesthetics", *The Romance Review*, 23, 2 (1932), 129-138; Spitzer, L., "Review of *Glosarios latino-españoles de la Edad Media*. Par Américo Castro", *Anejo XXII de la Revista de Filología Española*, Madrid, 1936, in *Modern Language Notes*, 53, 2 (1938), 122-146; Levy, E., *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1902, 2, 46-47, s.v. 'Entendedor'; Cropp, G.M, *Le vocabulaire courtois des troubadours de l'époque classique*, Geneva, 1975, 45-52 ff.

were passed on orally from teacher to student.²⁷ We are then, dealing with an Arabic tradition of musical performance and transmission, with which the poet is well acquainted.²⁸

Juan Ruiz then proceeds to enumerate those musical instruments that are not appropriate for accompanying Arabic songs. On this subject, in ss. 1516 to 1517 he states:

arauigo non quiere la viueta de arco,	Arabic song does not favor the viol and bow,
çinфонia, guitarra non son de aqueste marco,	The hurdy-gurdy and guitar are not of this kind,
çitola, odreçillo non aman <i>çaguyll hallaco</i>	Zither and bagpipes do not suit a [?] <i>çawwīl</i> ['singer'], ²⁹
mas aman la tauerna e sotar con vellaco.	They are more suited to the tavern, and to rustic dancing.

²⁷ In the case of North African Andalusī music, such has continued to be the practice until recently. It should also be noted that the poet says he composed dancing songs for women, not men. This suggests that his songs were intended for use by women who either danced alone, or in each other's company, to the exclusion of men. This is a custom that has survived to this day in the Islamic world, where dancing between the sexes is severely restricted.

²⁸ On music in the *LBA*, see Ferrán, J., "La música en el Libro de Buen Amor", *Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre el Arcipreste de Hita*, M. Criado de Val (ed.), Barcelona, 1973, 391-397. On the survival of the Andalusī musical tradition in North Africa, see Monroe, J.T. and Liu, B.M., *Ten Hispano-Arabic Songs in the Modern Oral Tradition: Music and Texts*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford, 1989.

²⁹ In the case of this passage, S provides the reading *non amar çaguyll hallaço*, T records *non aman atan vellaco*, and G has *non aman açaghulaco*. Cejador y Frauca proposed reading *non aman ataguyllaco* ('they are unsuited to the *çawīl* meter') (Ruiz, J., *Arcipreste de Hita: Libro de Buen Amor*, J. Cejador y Frauca (ed.), Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1960, 2, 229, n. 1516). Corominas speculates that this could be a Moorish song beginning with the words *çaghīr 'alaykum ...* ('small for you ...') (Corominas, J. (ed.), *Libro de buen amor*, Madrid, 1967, 566, n. 1516c). Corriente ("A vueltas con las frases árabes", 115, n. 44), claims that *çaguyll hallaco* is the Andalusī *çawīl khallāq* ('cooing or sound of the thieving pigeon'). Cejador y Frauca's reading is unlikely insofar as an Arabic *ç* would hardly be rendered as *c*, while that of Corominas is a mere speculation. As far as Corriente is concerned, his reading overlooks the context, as summarized in the title to the subsection involved, which is: "En quales instrumentos non convienen los cantares de arauigo" ('Instruments not suited for Arabic songs'). The reference to the subject being treated in this passage is further reiterated in the line prior to the one under discussion, namely 1516a: *arauigo non quiere la viueta de arco* ('Arabic song does not favor the viol and bow'). Since pigeons, thieving or otherwise, neither sing in Arabic, nor to the accompaniment of musical instruments, Corriente's proposed solution is unlikely. It is, however, to the credit of Cejador y Frauca (fully confirmed in the subsequent Criado de Val and Naylor ed.), to have noticed that the rhyme word *hallaço*, as recorded in S, needed to be corrected to *hallaco* (without cedille) in order to harmonize with the consonantal rhyme of the entire stanza, which is *-a[r]co* (*arco*, *marco*, *halla[c]o*, *vellaco*). He also noticed that S recorded the form *çaguyll* (without cedille), unlike G, which provided the form *açaghulaco*, and T, which is entirely off the mark with *vellaco* (a word that is then repeated in the last line of the stanza, in that MS). What are we to make of all this? Let me venture to suggest that *çaguyll* represents

albuges e mandurria, caramillo e çanpoña,	Pastoral recorders and mandora, the reed pipe and the syrinx
non se pagan de arauigo quanto dellos boloña,	Don't like Arabic song any more than does Bologna. ³⁰
comme quier que por fuerça disenlo con vergoña,	If they are forced to play it, they do so shamefully.
quien gelo desir fesiere pechar deue caloña.	Anyone who makes them play it should pay a fine.

In the above passage we are allowed to witness the practical expertise of a minstrel to whom Arabic musical performance is no veiled mystery.

In attempting to seduce a lady on behalf of the Archpriest, the go-between Trotaconventos gives her victim, a nun, three love potions, all of them seemingly belonging to the Arabic alchemical repertory. In s. 941, the poet states:

ssy la enfychiso o sy le dyo <i>atyncar</i> ,	Whether she bewitched her, or gave her <i>at-tinkār</i> ,
o sy le dyo <i>Raynela</i> o sy le dyo <i>mohalinar</i> ,	Or whether she gave her <i>rayn</i> -ela or whether she gave her <i>muḥallin</i> -ar,
o sy le dio poñcoña o alguid adamar,	Or whether she gave her poison, or some love potion,
mucho ayna la sopo de su seso sacar.	She managed to drive her out of her mind very quickly.

In this passage, *tinkār* is the Arabic term for borax, *raynela* is probably based on the Arabic word *rayna* ('a wine that causes one to lose one's mind'), plus the Hispano-Romance diminutive suffix *-ela*, and *mohalinar* is possibly a word derived from the Arabic *muḥallin*, meaning 'sweetener'. The text thus appears to betray some knowledge of the Arabic repertory of aphrodisiacs and drugs used by professionals in the art of seduction.³¹

a Colloquial form of the Classical Arabic word *qawwāl* ('singer'), exhibiting the phenomenon known as *imāla*, according to which *ā* becomes *ī*. For another example of this common linguistic change in Arabic, see the Colloquial form *qawwāda* derived from the Classical *qawwāda* ('procuress', '*alcahueta*') in n. 20, above. Thus, the colloquial form of *qawwāl* would be *qawwīl*. For the term *qawwāl* in the sense of 'singer', 'soloist', 'wandering minstrel', 'improviser', see the Andalusī sources given in Dozy, *Supplément*, 2, 421, col. b., s.v. '*Qawwāl*'. I am not certain what *hallaco* represents. Here, a further problem is that in Old Spanish, Arabic *kh* is normally rendered as *f*, not *h* (cf. Ar. *khalāqa* > Old Sp. *falagar* 'to flatter', used repeatedly, along with its derivatives, in the LBA). Furthermore, Sp. *ll* is pronounced as in English 'million', not as in Arabic 'khallāq'. Finally, what does the final *-o* of *hallaco* represent? Is it a mere addition for the sake of rhyme? Here, I must therefore rest my case.

³⁰ I. e., learned scholars from the University of Bologna, who would have presumably turned up their noses at popular Arabic music.

³¹ For a full explanation of *atincrar*, *raynela*, and *mohalinar*, see Márquez Villanueva, F. [and Monroe, J.T.], "Nuevos arabismos en un pasaje del *Libro de Buen Amor* (941ab)", *Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre el Arcipreste de Hita*, M. Criado de Val (ed.), Barcelona, 1973, 202-207. The omission of my name from the article was an editorial error

In S, alone, we have an example of what I shall term “prurient philology,” of which there are several examples in Arabic literature. From ss. 919 to 923, the Archpriest describes how, on one occasion, he committed the blunder of calling his go-between a “chattering magpie” (*picaça parlera*), thereby deeply offending her. Then, from ss. 924 to 927, he lists a series of 41 offensive nicknames applied to procuresses in his day, while simultaneously advising his readers never to use them when dealing with such women. Put differently, he is pruriently going to extraordinary lengths in order to instill in us a vocabulary that we are simultaneously being forbidden to use. Similarly, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nafzawī, in his *al-Rawḍ al-‘āṭir fī nuzhat al-khāṭir* (‘The Perfumed Garden of Sensual Delight’), composed between the years 796/1394 and 836/1433, devotes chapters 8 and 9 of his work, respectively, to listing 36 names for the penis and 38 for the vulva, thereby pruriently instructing us in the vocabulary of obscenity.³²

subsequently corrected by Márquez Villanueva in “Announcements”, *Hispanic Review*, 42, 2 (1974), 242. For any mistakes in the proposed Arabic etymologies, I therefore claim full responsibility. More recently, in “A vueltas con las frases árabes” (p. 116, and nn. 47-48), Federico Corriente accepts the etymology originally provided by Márquez Villanueva and myself for the word *atincar*, while voicing his doubts about those we suggested for *raynela* and *mohalinar*, and offering his own in their stead while, at the same time, adding that his proposals are conjectural and provisional. What seems not to be in doubt is that we are dealing here with three Arabic pharmacological terms, two of which may yet be in need of proper elucidation. Corriente objects to deriving *raynela* from Arabic *rayna* (‘Wine, or some wine, or a kind of wine [...] so called because it overcomes the reason’ [Lane, E.W., *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London, 1863-1893, 3, 1205, col. a], emphasis mine), on the grounds that it is a rare word in Arabic. I would agree with him on the word’s rarity. Note, however, that in s. 941d, the poet states that, as a result of the potions provided to the unsuspecting nun by Trotaconventos, the latter *mucho ayna la sopo de su seso sacar*, in other words, she caused the nun to lose her mind, which is precisely the effect supposedly produced by *rayna*. Just because a word is rare, is no reason it should not be seriously considered, unless we can find a better solution to the problem. As far as *mohalinar* is concerned, it seems reasonable to derive it from the well-known Arabic term *muḥallin* (‘sweetener’), (Colloquial *muḥallī*) plus a Romance ending *-ar*. In this case, the Arabic *ḥ* has been rendered as the Old Spanish aspirate *h*, while the Arabic double *ll* has been reduced to a Spanish single *l*, to prevent it from being pronounced like the Spanish double *ll*. Furthermore, and according to the medical theory of humoral pathology prevalent in the Middle Ages, sweeteners, which were considered ‘hot’ and ‘moist’, were precisely the antidote to love-induced melancholy, thought to be caused by an excess of black bile (which was classified as ‘cold’ and ‘dry’) in the body. On this point, see my extensive comments in Monroe, J.T., “Wanton Poets and Would-be Paleographers (Prolegomena to Ibn Quzmān’s *Zajal No. 10*)”, *La Corónica*, 16, 1 (1987), 1-42, 22-25.

³² Arabic text in al-Nafzawī, M.b.M., *al-Rawḍ al-‘āṭir fī nuzhat al-khāṭir*, J. Juma’ (ed.), London and Cyprus, 1990, 93-101 and 105-117; Colville, J. (English transl), *The Perfumed Garden of Sensual Delight*, London and New York, 1999, 39-44 and 45-54.

Beginning with s. 423, Don Amor advises Juan Ruiz on matters of seduction, on the kind of lady he should seek out, and on the type of go-between he should hire. In describing the ideal lady, Don Amor says, in s. 435:

la su boca pequena, asy de buena guisa,	Let her mouth be small, of a goodly shape,
la su faz sea blanca, syn pelos, clara e lysa;	Let her face be pale, hairless, clear, and smooth;
puna de aver muger que la veas syn camisa,	Try to find a woman whom you can see sans chemise,
que la talla del cuerpo te dira esto a guisa.	For this will gladly tell you about the shape of her body.

This passage is found only in S. Nevertheless, let me venture to suggest that line c be emended to *puna de aver muger que la vea syn camisa*, and translated: “Try to find a woman [i.e. a go-between] who can see *her* [i.e. ‘the lady’] sans chemise [i.e. ‘naked’],” the underlying idea being that the woman in question will then be able to report back to the Archpriest and give him a detailed account of his beloved’s physical charms. If this suggestion is acceptable, we might also emend the word *esto* in line d to *ésta*, and translate the entire line: “For this [go-between] will then gladly tell you about [the lady’s] body shape,” since the line makes little sense as it stands. In medieval Mediterranean societies such as those of the Iberian and Arabian peninsulas, in which men and women were strictly segregated from one another before marriage, the only way a lover would have been able to learn about the physical attributes of his beloved would have been by sending, to the latter, another woman who had access to her, and before whom the beloved felt confident enough to remove her clothes. This advice given by Don Amor to the Archpriest seems to have constituted a topos of amatory literature. To cite an Arabic example, the famous Meccan love poet ‘Umar b. ‘Abī Rabī‘a (d. 93/712 or 103/721) composed a poem in *ramal* meter, in which he describes how one of his many beloveds is being seen naked by a group of women (who presumably have reported, or will report, back to him concerning her physical charms):

layta hindan ‘anjazat-nā mā ta‘id / wa-shafat ‘anfusa-nā mimmā tajid
 wa-stabaddat marratan wāhidatan / inna-mā l-‘ājizu man lā yastabid
 za‘amū-hā sa‘alat jārāti-hā / wa-ta‘arrat dhāta yawmin tabtarid
 ‘a kamā yan‘atu-nī tubširna-nī / ‘amra-kunna l-lāha ‘am lā taqtašid
 fa-taḍāḥakna wa-qaḍ qulna la-hā / ḥasanun fī kulli ‘aynin man tawad
 ḥasadan ḥummilna-hu min ‘ajli-hā / wa-qaḍīman kāna fī l-nāsi l-ḥasad.

If only Hind would fulfill her promise to us, / and cure our souls of their lovesickness,
 Acting decisively for once, / for only the incompetent fail to act decisively.
 They claim she asked her female neighbors, / one day, removing her clothes for a cool bath:
 “Do you think I am as fair as he describes me / or—by your lives—is he exaggerating?”
 Then did they laugh, and answer her: / “Fair to every eye is the one it loves,”
 Out of envy they felt for her, / for of old, envy has existed among mankind.³³

The go-between is a prominent figure in medieval Arabic literature. In the Andalusī tradition specifically, Ibn Ḥazm (384/994-456/1064) devotes an entire chapter of his *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* to describing this figure.³⁴ Similarly, the anonymous *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa-Riyāḍ* (which, as scholars seem to agree, was composed in al-Andalus), is a story of love narrated by a go-between.³⁵ Further east, we find an entire chapter on the subject of procuration in *The Perfumed Garden*.³⁶ In this chapter, as elsewhere, we are informed that old women make the best procuresses (more on this subject below, and see n. 20, above). This being the case, there is always the inherent danger that the old woman will die ahead of her more youthful employer, thereby leaving him in the lurch. This is exactly what happens to the Archpriest who, from ss. 1518 to 1578, mourns the death of his old bawd, recites a long indictment of Death, and quotes from the bawd’s epitaph. Immediately after confessing that he knows nothing *for sure* about her ultimate fate

³³ Arabic text in Māyū, Q. (ed.), *Dīwān ‘Umar ibn ‘Abī Rabī’a*, Beirut, 1997, 1, 148-151 (Translation mine).

³⁴ See chap. 11, “Of the Messenger”; García Gómez, E. (Spanish transl.), *El collar de la paloma: tratado sobre el amor y los amantes de Ibn Ḥazm de Córdoba*, Madrid, 1967, 141-142; Arberry, A.J. (English transl.), *The Ring of the Dove by Ibn Hazm (994-1064): A Treatise on the Art and Practice of Arab Love*, London, 1953, 73-75.

³⁵ For a recent translation and study of this work, see Robinson, C., *Medieval Andalusian Courtly Culture in the Mediterranean: Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa-Riyāḍ*, London and New York, 2007.

³⁶ Juma’ (ed.), *al-Rawḍ al-‘āṭir*; Burton, Sir R. (transl.) and Walton, A.H. (ed.), *The Perfumed Garden of the Shaykh Nafzawi*, New York, 1964; H.E.J. (sic), *The Glory of the Perfumed Garden: The Missing Flowers. An English Translation from the Arabic of the Second and Hitherto Unpublished Part of Shaykh Nafzawi’s Perfumed Garden*, London, 1975, chap. 4, “On Pimps and Procuracy”, 72-96. For more on this subject, see the pathbreaking article by Kotzamanidou, M., “The Spanish and Arabic Characterization of the Go-Between in Light of Popular Performance”, *Hispanic Review*, 48 (1980), 91-109. See too, Armistead, S.G. and Monroe, J.T., “Celestina’s Muslim Sisters”, *Celestinesca*, 13, 2 (1989), 3-27; Armistead, S.G., Monroe, J.T., and Silverman, J.H., “Was Calixto’s Grandmother a Nymphomaniac Mamlūk Princess? (A Footnote on ‘Lo de tu abuela con el ximio’ [La Celestina, Aucto I])”, *eHumanista, Journal of Iberian Studies*, 14 (2010), 1-23.

(s.1569c), he declares (s. 1570ab) that he is *absolutely certain* that she is in Paradise, in the company of martyrs (an unlikely culmination to a sinful career), thereby indicating that he is an unreliable narrator, and thus, that his lament is to be interpreted ironically. Similar is the case of the shadow play “Ṭayf al-khayāl,” written in Egypt by the ‘Irāqī-born author Muḥammad b. Dāniyāl (d. 710/1310). In this play, a character named Prince Wiṣāl (‘sexual union’), who is a braggart warrior, and who has devoted his entire adulthood to having sexual encounters with boys, decides to reform and get married. To this end, he hires an old woman named Umm Rashīd (‘mother of the rightly guided’) to be his procuress and find him a bride. She is the madam of a house of ill repute and, simultaneously, the wife of an old wittol and passive sodomite named ‘Aflaq (‘flaccid anus’). In due course Umm Rashīd informs Prince Wiṣāl that she has succeeded in finding the ideal bride for him, and waxes eloquent in describing the prospective girl’s youth and beauty to her employer. The go-between receives her fee and the marriage takes place, after which, according to Islamic custom, the groom is at liberty to unveil his bride and see her face for the first time. When he does so, he is shocked to discover that she is a monstrously ugly old hag and, consequently, that he has been duped and cheated by his go-between. Conveniently, the procuress dies, and a mock funeral is held for her:

Then old man ‘Aflaq says: “This master Yaqtīnūs al-Ma‘īn ibn al-Sadīd [‘of sound opinion’] is the one under whose care the old woman Umm Rashīd ended her life.” Then Prince Wiṣāl says: “In God’s name, has she died?” Then ‘Aflaq replied: “And passed away.” Then Prince Wiṣāl says: “O Master Puppeter ‘Alī [b. Mawlāhum], summon this physician, so that I may question him about what he knows concerning the old woman.” So ‘Alī calls out: “O Physician.” Then the latter answers him, saying: “I seek refuge in God from Satan, the accursed. Who visits me in the darkness of night, and who rouses me from my bed in the dead of night? Who raises me from my sleep when the food in my stomach is not yet digested, so that my pulse is slowed and, from the beating of my heart, I have almost reached the point of death? It is not the custom for a physician to be summoned at night until after proper documents promising payment have been submitted to him, and mules and horses have been saddled for him. This behavior has been unheard of since the days of the epidemic and the plague, when the sick were dumped on stone benches in front of shops, there was a crowd at our doors, lanterns in the hands of servants, and funeral processions in the mosques, with mourners wearing precious clothes, adorned in rows like brides; when people’s tears never dried, Qur’ānic reciters would

only come out after drawing lots, the washer of the dead did not complete his washing, the pallbearer grew weary of the weight of his burden, the grave digger respected no grave, and did not refrain from engaging in necrophilia with any non-virgin or virgin; when that plague encompassed the entire clime, turned lives and strengths to dust; when vaginas were selling for the rate of two barley grains, wine was unattainable, and enemas were performed for the highest of rates. May God bless those days, for they were like a dream!" Then Ṭayf al-khayāl says: "I have summoned you to question you about Umm Rashīd: Is she alive, or has she perished?" Then Yaḳḩīnūs says: "Indeed, my son, this season she has passed away under my care, for I was summoned, as is customary, to a house notorious for prostitution, where I found an old woman whom old age had [collected?], and whose dress indicated that she approved of vice. Around her stood beautiful women, such as Zahr al-Bustān ['garden flower'], Nawfar al-'Aṭshān ['fountain of the thirsty'], and al-Ward al-Ṭarī al-Rayyān ['fresh, lush rose'], while the din made by that assembly rang out, so that she opened her drowsy eye, awaking from her sleep, and glanced with a tear-stained pupil, signalling with a voice that was barely audible, and said: 'I urge you, O So-And-So, to take care of this place, to cause its ruin to be restored, to take my place in it for the sake of lovers, to join hearts together and unite the lover to his beloved, to hesitate in no affair, and haggle in no private enclosure, to open your locked doors to fornicators, and seize the numerous treasures and *qashqala* [?]. As for you, O sisterhood of whores, and inhabitants of these courtyards, keep your appointments, and hasten to your clients, even if it be on the night of 'Īd. Be pleasant in the assemblies of lovers, and sell sex even if it is distasteful for you to do so'. Then the throes of death descended upon her, and she passed away. But when I wished to leave, those elegant sophisticates who were present said to me: 'O physician, concerning what you prescribed for the deceased, you do not deserve payment of a fee for it, for you came to us when we were in a sister-fuckingly unpleasant situation. So return the document we drafted in promise of payment, for we have found no use in your coming'. So I said: 'As for the dirhams, I will not relinquish my right to them. But I will, however, lament with you, sing this ode, and describe her qualities': Then I raised my voice and sang in the group, while the ground was moistened with tears, and I sang this poem:

Help me to mourn, and to enumerate the merits of the deceased, on the occasion of the loss of the old woman Umm Rashīd.

The tears of my nether eye flow yellow for her, because I am deeply distressed.

The tears of my testicles dried up after her loss, and after her loss, the whores of al-Budūd wept.

The courtyards of sin have become empty after her loss, after having been filled with delegations.

How many a place came to be ennobled by people who were the sons of excellence, generosity, magnanimity,

And by sufficient drinking companions who, to her health, married water to the daughter of the grape cluster.

While darkness spread its canopy over them, they aroused penises strong as iron.

They appealed to her, a uniter, for help on behalf of their penises, so she came running swift as the post.

Behind her was every young girl who, with her breasts, puts a branch to shame, when it bears fruit.

Her cheek became a full brother to the red anemone, or like a rose in the flush of its bloom.

The sides of her neck were white, and her loins were as smooth as a soft boulder,

Such that a violently erect penis burns in it from the heat, and she has a mouth with sweet, cool saliva.

Umm Rashīd revealed to them that young girl, who was like a bride at a wedding, yet one without witnesses.

Who will promote the coupling of the masses, in the gloom of night, and kick out rowdy drunks?

Long has she brought hearts together, making no distinction between Muslim and Jew.

She brought her girls, while crying out: "Who among you is traveling to Upper Egypt?"

She accepts her fee without haggling over it, and complies at once with what she has promised.

She increases the client's desire for sex when she provides every delicate, beautiful girl.

Therefore, excuse me if I am sad over her, and my sighing issues from my anus.

What a lady, oh woe is me over her, has perished at the end of a gloomy period of time.

Therefore lament her, O Umm Ṭūghān, and weep her loss, for verily her loss is a day of celebration.

Wash her with the urine of every sinner, or with the dregs of wine, and with compresses,

And use the effluent of penises as an embalming aromatic, along with the camphor of the shit of one of the black slaves,

And place her on a backgammon board, or menstruation rag, or the robe of one of the monkeys,

And bear her upon the penises of the Christians, as they do during the Festival of the Martyr,

And burn for her the powder of every circumcision, in a fire such that it shall say: 'Are there any more to come?'³⁷

And fetch the companions of the old woman; the whores hired as mourners bearing every horn and lute,

³⁷ *Qur'ān*, 50:30, *The Holy Quran*, Text, Translation and Commentary by Yusuf Ali, New York, 1946.

And dig her grave in the sewer of the baths, behind the bathing pool [?] next to the threshold.

O Umm Tūghān, mourn for her and sing: 'O nights of love union, return in God's name,'³⁸

And remember her, every day, as the embodiment of all evil and misfortune, leading and pimping us toward her [saintly tomb]."

Then Ṭayf al-Ḥayāl says: "I ask God's forgiveness for all bad qualities such as these, and seek refuge in God, the Forgiving, from bearing sins and performing acts like those of the inhabitants of Hellfire, for the Reward is more comely, <we say that which we do not do>, repentance is more beautiful, and we are a company of poets who say what we do not do:

Every living being is heading toward death; at the hour of death he will have no helper.

The span of a long life is short, as long as night and day alternate.

Where are 'Ād and the Tubba's and the men of Rass?³⁹ Where are the high peaks, and where is the low one?

The fortunate man is the one who, being keen-sighted, sees the paths of integrity with the eye of certainty."

Then Prince Wiṣāl says: "O my friend Ṭayf al-Ḥayāl, there remains only to depart, for I have determined upon making the pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz, and have truly emerged from the crossing, for I have sought to cleanse myself of my sins with the water of Zamzam and with the place where Abraham stood,⁴⁰ and have made it my intention to visit the tomb of the Lord of Mankind⁴¹—may God bless him and his noble family. Keep me in mind, for this is where the two of us part." Then they turn away from one another.⁴²

While *Ṭayf al-khayāl* is considerably more obscene than the *LBA*, in both works the procuress, who is an old woman, eventually dies,

³⁸ An Andalusī *muwashshaḥa* attributed to Ibn Hardūs begins: *Yā laylata l-waṣli wa-l-su'ūdī / bi-l-lāhi 'ūdī* ('O night of love union and joys / return in God's name'). See Jones (ed.), *The 'Uddat al-jalīs*, 113-114.

³⁹ These were all legendary, pre-Islamic peoples, who disappeared from the face of the earth.

⁴⁰ I. e., he is planning a pilgrimage to Mecca and its holy sites, to atone for his sins.

⁴¹ I. e., the Prophet Muḥammad.

⁴² Arabic text in Kahle and Hopwood (eds), *Three Shadow Plays*, 51-54. The above tentative translation is my own, and part of a forthcoming rendition of the entire corpus into English. For an illuminating study and full Italian translation of Ibn Dāniyāl's three plays, see Corrao, F.M.^a, *Il riso, il comico e la festa al Cairo nel XIII secolo: Il teatro delle ombre di Ibn Dāniyāl*, Rome, 1996; Corrao, F.M.^a (transl.), *Ibn Dāniyāl: Il fantasma della fantasia*, Messina, 2002.

and her passing is mourned by her clients in an ironic, mocking way.

In sum, we have a literary *persona* who claims to be the author of the *LBA*, namely one Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita, and who portrays himself as (1) A person familiar with at least one Arabic song, most probably a *zajal*, (2) Who composes songs for Moorish women, presumably in Arabic, (3) Whose speaking knowledge of the Arabic language involves, at very least, the Colloquial if not the Classical register (but in which register he is so adept, that he can rhyme in it), (4) Who exhibits much knowledge and technical skill in the performance of Arabic instrumental music, (5) Who hires an expert in the Arabic techniques of seduction, (6) Who has some knowledge of Arabic pharmacology, and (7) Whose work exhibits some knowledge of Arabic literary themes and commonplaces.⁴³ While it may be argued that all this is sheer coincidence, the examples are so many and so varied that it is difficult to avoid concluding that we are dealing here with an author who was steeped in the Arab-Islamic culture of the Iberian Peninsula. The one overriding coincidence with which we seem to be dealing is, therefore, the fact that there was a major Arab-Islamic presence on the Iberian Peninsula from AD 711 to 1492, and that this presence left more than telltale traces.

Aside from the practical knowledge of the everyday Arabic language and culture that the *LBA* exhibits, it also offers evidence of a more than cursory knowledge of the Provençal courtly tradition. Beyond the Provençal loan words found in the *LBA*, such as *entendera*, previously noted, it has been pointed out that the very concepts of *buen amor* and *loco amor*, which are fundamental to the work, correspond to and reproduce, by way of parody, the Provençal concepts of *bon amors* and *fol' amors*. Furthermore, in a key study of this question, my late colleague Professor Dorothy Clotelle Clarke was able to conclude that, in an inverted and parodic way, the *LBA* was continually illustrating, with lively and concrete vignettes, the various forms of love that had been defined and classified in a theoretical and abstract manner by Andreas Capellanus in

⁴³ For more on this topic, see Machado Mouret, O.A., "Acerca de la cultura arábica del Arcipreste de Hita", *Cuadernos de Historia de España* (Buenos Aires), 43-44 (1967), 364-373.

his treatise *De Arte Honeste Amandi*.⁴⁴ We are, therefore, dealing with an author who was, at very least, familiar both with the popular, Andalusī Arab tradition of minstrels, and the learned, Provençal tradition of courtly love.⁴⁵ Given our present knowledge, these qualifications fit the profile of Juan Ruiz de Cisneros, a child born and brought up in the Kingdom of Granada, possibly as an Arabic-speaking Muslim who later became a Christian Archpriest of Hita and spent three years in Avignon, better than they do any other known candidate for authorship of the *LBA*.

2. Where East Meets West: (A) *Zajal*, *Maqāma*, and the *Libro de buen amor*

If the above suggestions are acceptable (and if not, a better candidate must be found), they are of some relevance to our understanding of the work itself, as follows: In the late nineteenth century, the Spanish Arabist Francisco Fernández y González, in his inaugural address to the Real Academia de la Lengua, proposed to that learned body that the *LBA* was, in essence, a work inspired by the Arabic *maqāma* genre.⁴⁶ However, at the time Fernández y González was writing, no specific textual link between the Arabic and Spanish traditions could be found by the positivistic scholars of his time, hence his suggestions went largely unheeded. Much later, the Argentine scholar María Rosa Lida de Malkiel took up this hypothesis and modified it by proposing that it was not the Arabic *maqāma* genre itself, but rather, its Hebrew derivative, that had directly influenced the *LBA*. Although she was able to point out some interesting parallels between the Spanish work and its putative He-

⁴⁴ Clarke, D.C., "Juan Ruiz and Andreas Capellanus", *Hispanic Review*, 40 (1972), 390-411. See too, Schutz, A.H., "La tradición cortesana en las coplas de Juan Ruiz", *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 8 (1954), 63-71.

⁴⁵ This is not to deny, of course, that our author was familiar with the Classical Augustinian (*Confessions*), Ovidian (*Artis Amatoriae*), and Medieval, pseudo-Ovidian (*Pamphilus de Amore*) traditions. The *LBA* is an extremely rich and complex work, and my remarks are not intended to reduce it to simplicity, but merely to illuminate one modest dimension of that richness and complexity.

⁴⁶ Fernández y González, F., "Influencia de las lenguas y letras orientales en la cultura de los pueblos de la península ibérica", *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia Española*, Madrid, 1894, 52.

brew antecedents, her suggestions too, were generally ignored for lack of any more specific textual link.⁴⁷

There is, however, a basic difference in perspective between the Semitic *maqāma* and the *LBA*: In the *maqāma*, the victim of a trickster narrates, in the first person singular, how he was *successfully* conned by his victimizer. Each *maqāma* or episode, in any given one of the several collections known to us, involves a different trick, whereas, with very few exceptions, trickster and narrator/victim remain the same throughout the entire work. Thus, in the *maqāma*, the entire series of adventures is normally viewed through the eyes of the victim, not the trickster. In contrast, the episodes in the *LBA* are also narrated in the first person singular, but the narration is put into the mouth of a would-be trickster who is, generally speaking, *unsuccessful* in conning his victim. In a sense, then, the *LBA* represents an inversion of the *maqāma*, insofar as narrative perspective and a successful outcome to trickery are concerned.

Now, this inversion of narrative voice and perspective found in the *LBA*, is precisely what characterizes the colloquial *zajal* poems of Ibn Quzmān. More often than not, that poet narrates, both in *zajal* after *zajal*, and in the first person singular, adventure after adventure in which he attempts to seduce a woman, but has the tables turned on him in one way or another, so that he is, time after time, made to look like a fool. Here are three specific examples: (1) In *Zajal 20*, the poet portrays himself as an accomplished seducer: One night, while his wife is away (possibly in bed with his next-door neighbor), he succeeds in sneaking that very neighbor's wife into his own home for a night of lovemaking that is left in suspense because of the poet's ineptness as a lover. (2) In *Zajal 87*, Ibn Quzmān finds himself loitering at the door of his house, when a beautiful lady walks by. When he makes a pass at her, she invites him to visit her by night, while her husband is away. As soon as he shows up at her doorstep, however, all the inhabitants of the neighborhood come out of their houses to jeer at him, whereupon he realizes that he, the would-be trickster, has had the tables turned on him by the

⁴⁷ Lida de Malkiel, M.^aR., *Two Spanish Masterpieces: The "Book of Good Love" and "The Celestina"*, Urbana (USA), 1961, 1-50. This hypothesis has been re-examined recently and brilliantly by Hamilton, M.M., *Representing Others in Medieval Iberian Literature*, New York, 2007, and Wacks, D.A., *Framing Iberia: Maqāmāt and Frametale Narratives in Medieval Spain*, Leiden and Boston, 2007.

lady. (3) In *Zajal 90*, Ibn Quzmān beds a prostitute in a brothel. Next morning, when it becomes apparent that he has no money to pay for her services, he is ejected and soundly thrashed by the establishment's personnel.⁴⁸ The ensuing scandal causes him a serious loss of reputation. Such a literary strategy is no different from that found in the *LBA*.

Let me thus venture to suggest that the *LBA* is a doubly hybrid work: On the one hand, it exhibits the episodic nature of the Classical *maqāma* genre,⁴⁹ while on the other, it adopts a narrative point of view that coincides with that of the Colloquial *zajal*. In this respect, it fuses two Arabic genres into one. Put differently, its episodic nature (what we might call its structure) is Arabic and Eastern, whereas the love themes and courtly ideology that the *LBA*

⁴⁸ Monroe, J.T., "The Mystery of the Missing Mantle: The Poet as Wittol? (Ibn Quzmān's *Zajal 20*)", *JAL*, 35, 1 (2006), 1-45; Monroe, J.T., "Improvised Invective in Hispano-Arabic Poetry and Ibn Quzmān's '*Zajal 87*' (When Blond Meets Blonde)", in S.G. Armistead and J. Zulaika (eds.), *Voicing the Moment: Improvised Oral Poetry and Basque Tradition*, Reno, Nevada, 2005, 135-159; Monroe, J.T. and Pettigrew, M.F., "The Decline of Courtly Patronage and the Appearance of New Genres in Arabic Literature: The Case of the *Zajal*, the *Maqāma*, and the Shadow Play", *JAL*, 34 (2003), 138-177 (on *Zajal 90*).

⁴⁹ Although Juan Ruiz de Cisneros, the presumed author of the *LBA*, seems to have been conversant only with the Colloquial register of Arabic, whereas the *maqāma* was originally couched in Classical Arabic, he could very well have been familiar with that genre and its analogues through popular representations of *maqāmas* and related works that were staged in public and in the vernacular. On this, see Hamilton, M.M., "The *Libro de buen amor*: Work of *Mudejarismo* or Augustinian Autobiography?", *eHumanista*, 6 (2006), 19-33, 23-24, n. 10. On dramatic forms in the Medieval Arab world, see Moreh, Sh., *Live Theatre and Dramatic Literature in the Mediaeval Arab World*, New York, 1992. For related forms in Christian Spain, see Stern, Ch., *The Medieval Theatre in Castile*, Birmingham, New York, 1996; Stern, Ch., "Recovering the Theater of Medieval Spain (and Europe): The Islamic Evidence", *La Corónica*, 27, 2 (1999), 119-153. For the Arabic text of specific dramatic works, picaresque in nature, from thirteenth-century Egypt, see Kahle and Hopwood (eds.), *Three Shadow Plays*. For an important Italian study and translation of Ibn Dāniyāl's three shadow-puppet plays, see Corrao, *Il riso*; Corrao, *Ibn Dāniyāl: Il fantasma della fantasia*. For a popular twelfth-century Andalusī-Arab minstrel performance that includes a dramatic representation, as described by Ibn Quzmān, see his *Zajal 12*, and the analysis in Monroe, J.T., "Prolegomena to the Study of Ibn Quzmān: The Poet as Jongleur", in S.G. Armistead, D. Catalán and A. Sánchez Romeralo (eds.), *El Romancero hoy: historia, comparatismo, bibliografía crítica*, Madrid, 1979, 78-128. My English translation of that *zajal* has been revised and updated in Monroe, J.T., "Tracing the Remnants of a 'Romancero' Tradition Among Andalusī Muslims and their Morisco Descendants", in A. Martín and C. Martínez-Carazo (eds.), *Spain's Multicultural Legacies-Studies in Honor of Samuel G. Armistead*, Newark, Delaware, 2008, 159-197, 183-184.

subverts (what we might call its materials) are Romance and Western. This becomes understandable only if we assume that, if the author of this remarkable masterpiece was not Juan Ruiz de Cisneros, then he must have been someone else with the same name and qualifications; someone who, like Juan Ruiz de Cisneros, was conversant with both the popular, bilingual minstrel tradition of Christian Spain and Islamic Andalus, as well as with the learned courtly tradition of Provence. Such individuals were hardly lacking or even rare in the medieval Iberian Peninsula, but the one we have singled out is, at very least, plausibly identifiable.

In a previous study, I have argued that the *zajal* itself may best be understood as a hybrid genre.⁵⁰ My argument went briefly as follows: Unlike the kind of hybridization exhibited by some of the mythological creatures of Antiquity, such as the sphinx, the minotaur, and the siren, in which the lower body of an animal is combined with a human head and/or torso (or vice-versa), thereby producing a grotesque creature, there is another, more subtle form of hybridization in which the form, or *structure*, is provided by one culture, whereas the content, or *materials*, is provided by another. Such hybridization may be observed, for example, in the case of the Islamic Mosque which, no matter where it is to be found throughout the vast territories of the Islamic world and beyond, normally exhibits a distinctive *structure*, including a *mihṛāb* (indicating the direction of prayer), multiple and parallel naves, a single minaret, and so on. In contrast, the *materials* out of which the Mosque is built may, and often do, vary from place to place. Thus, mosques in the eastern lands of the former Persian Empire often incorporate elements inspired by Zoroastrian fire-temples, while the Mosque of Damascus, built on the site of a former basilica of Saint John the Baptist, incorporates elaborate Byzantine-inspired mosaics and a square-based minaret, and the Mosque of Córdoba, in Spain, exhibits Roman columns, striped horseshoe arches of Visigothic inspiration, as well as Byzantine mosaics.⁵¹ In all these

⁵⁰ Monroe, J.T., "Literary Hybridization in the *Zajal*: Ibn Quzmān's 'Zajal 88' (The Visit of Sir Gold)", *JAL*, 38, 3 (2007), 324-351. For hybridization as a cultural construct, see the remarks and useful bibliography in Stewart, Ch., "Syncretism and its Synonyms: Reflections on Cultural Mixture", *Diacritics: A Review of Contemporary Criticism*, 29, 3 (1999), 40-62.

⁵¹ On the structure of the original Arabian mosque at Medina, see Sauvaget, J., "The Mosque and the Palace", in J.M. Bloom (ed.), *Early Islamic Art and Architecture*,

examples of Mosque architecture, however, the local elements or materials are being given a new meaning insofar as they are being re-structured into a form new to the area. It is as if the dominant, Islamic culture is triumphantly re-shaping local elements, be they Christian or Zoroastrian, into a new configuration, thereby giving them a new, Islamic meaning.

The same is true, in reverse, in the case of Spanish *mudéjar* churches, built by Hispano-Christians, first of all, in the lands newly conquered from Islam on the Iberian Peninsula, and later, in the Ibero-American territories, stretching west from Texas to California, and from thence south as far as Chile.⁵² In this instance, the form or structure of many examples is that of the Christian Church: They all exhibit an altar with a cross on it, more often than not (especially in the case of larger structures), they have three naves (insofar as the number 3 is of special significance to Christianity), they often have two steeples, and so on. In contrast, the decorative elements found in these churches are largely Arab-Islamic, ranging from coffered ceilings to arabesque designs and tile-work on the walls. Here again, a specific form or structure, associated with the dominant Christian culture, is being imposed upon local, Islamic

Burlington, Vermont, 2002, 108-147. The portico of the twelfth-century Maghak-i Attari Mosque in Bukhara contains elements typical of Zoroastrian fire-temples (see Knobloch, E., *Monuments of Central Asia: A Guide to the Archaeology, Art and Architecture of Turkistan*, London and New York, 2001, 125). The Umayyad Mosque of Damascus, built on the site of a former basilica of Saint John the Baptist, made use of Byzantine mosaics and the square-based minaret typical of Christian churches in the region (see Flood, F.B., *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture*, Leiden and Boston, 2001. For the Mosque of Córdoba's Byzantine, Roman, and Visigothic elements, see Dodds, J.D., "The Great Mosque of Córdoba", in J.D. Dodds (ed.), *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, New York, 1992, 11-25. See too, Pederson, J. et al., "Masjid", *EP*, 6, 644b-707a.

⁵² The bibliography on *mudéjar* art is vast. Among many other works, see especially, Gómez Moreno, M., *Arte mudéjar toledano*, Madrid, 1916; Bevan, B., *History of Spanish Architecture*, London, 1938, chap. 12, "Mudéjar", 104-114; Toussaint, M., *Arte mudéjar en América*, México D.F., 1946; Pavón Maldonado, B., *Arte toledano islámico y mudéjar*, Madrid, 1973; Borrás Gualis, G.M., *El arte mudéjar en Teruel y su provincia*, Teruel, 1987; Galiay Sarañana, J., *Arte mudéjar aragonés*, Saragossa, 2002; López Landa, J.M.^a, Íñiguez Almech, F. and Torres Balbás, L., *Estudios de arte mudéjar aragonés*, Saragossa, 2002. For an overview of *mudéjar* history, see Chalmeta, P., "Mudéjar", *EP*, 7, 286a-289a. To the bibliography provided in that article, add the more recent, and extremely valuable contribution by Catlos, B.A., *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon*, Cambridge, 2004.

materials and elements, in order to give them a new, Christian meaning.

In both instances, a dominant culture is absorbing and incorporating elements borrowed from a dominated culture in order to reshape them in accordance with its own values. This kind of art thus constitutes a triumphant affirmation of a culture's values in face of a vanquished rival, whose fate it is to be absorbed into the dominant culture, and reorganized according to the norms of the latter. We are speaking, therefore, of an art that exalts the values either of Islam or of Christendom, while reshaping its vanquished rival in its own image. Such a process of absorption, in fact, lay at the very heart of both the Arab and the Spanish empires: In both cases, the conquerors culturally absorbed the peoples they conquered, thereby making new Arabs or Spaniards out of them, by giving them a new language and religion, rather than merely ruling over them as a closed caste of outsiders who refrained from intermarriage with the conquered populations (as did the British in India and the French in North Africa), or who attempted, with varying degrees of success, to exterminate such native populations (as did the English in Ireland and America).⁵³

In contrast, when certain practices of a culture are being criticized from within that very culture, the opposite may happen, and this is precisely what we find in the case of the Quzmānī *zajal*, where the form or structure is borrowed from a popular, oral, and native Ibero-Romance folk tradition (i. e., from the dominated culture), whereas the content or materials tend to derive from the Classical Arabic tradition. We thus encounter, in the Quzmānī *zajal*, themes obviously inspired by the Classical Arabic *qaṣīda*, such as the *nasīb* ('amatory prelude'), the *raḥīl* ('journey'), the *madīḥ* ('panegyric') and the *hijā'* ('invective'), all of which are, however, handled in a burlesque and parodying fashion. We also find images, such as the lion or gazelle —there being no lions or gazelles in the Iberian Peninsula— that are borrowed from the Arabic *qaṣīda* and the *ghazal*, but are being incorporated into the *zajal*, a native, Ibero-Romance, non-monorhymed, strophic genre analogous to the medieval Galician *cantiga*, the Castilian *villancico*, the Provençal

⁵³ On this last point, see the classic study by Pearce, R.H., *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and American Mind*, Berkeley, 1988.

dansa, the French *rondeau* and *virelai*, and the Italian *laude* and *ballata*, not to speak of a much earlier category of Irish, Latin, and Greek songs.⁵⁴

It further seems to be the case that, by enclosing his Arabic content within a local form, Romance in origin, and by abandoning the Classical Arabic language in favor of its Colloquial Andalusī manifestation, the poet is enabled to adopt the *persona* of a clown or fool and, thereby, to criticize society with impunity.⁵⁵ Thus, in *Zajal 21* the poet, who is unfaithful to his wife yet, at the same time, has no intention of marrying his mistress (and is thus little more than a *disloyal* philanderer), attempts to extract money from a patron, by getting past the latter's ferocious dog, which is unanimously declared, by the implied voice of the patron's *loyal* household, to be *loyal* in the defense of its master. This arouses our suspicion that the poet's *loyalty* to the patron may be dubious at best, and that, if so, then his praise of the latter may be largely mercenary. The same is true in *Zajal 92*, in which the poet absurdly declares, in the very central strophe of the poem, that, out of despair, he would jump down a well, except that it is too deep; i. e., that he would commit suicide, were it not that he might die in the process, while also declaring that he cannot compose poetry unless largesse is forthcoming from his patron, after having just stated that he is in the very process of composing a poem. Such contradictory statements invalidate his protestations of despair; they strongly suggest that he is an unreliable narrator and, therefore, not to be taken seriously by the patron, in contrast to which, his (apparent) unreliability should be taken very seriously by the reader, insofar as it provides a clue as to how the poem should be read. Similarly, in *Zajal 147*, the poet makes a big to-do over the loss of his beloved, he recites a list of enticing sins to which he was formerly addicted, and

⁵⁴ For a summary and documentation of the above, see Monroe, "Literary Hybridization", 326-333. For two valuable and illuminating studies of Ancient Greek and Latin strophic love songs, complete with refrains, from which the above Romance forms and their derivatives, the *zajal*, *muwashshaha*, and *kharja* no doubt ultimately derived, see Gangutia Elícegui, E., *Cantos de mujeres en Grecia*, Madrid, 1994, and Gangutia Elícegui, E., "Los 'cantos de mujeres'. Nuevas perspectivas", *Emerita*, 78, 1 (2010), 1-31.

⁵⁵ On the figure of the ritual clown, as it is manifested in Ibn Quzmān's poetry, see Monroe, J.T., "Prolegómenos al estudio de Ibn Quzmān: el poeta como bufón", *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 34 (1985-1986), 769-799.

then explains that he has repented, adding the caveat that he hopes his repentance will last, thereby strongly suggesting that it will not do so, and that he is little more than a religious hypocrite. In this example, the poem is, thus, a critique of false or dubious repentances.⁵⁶ Given the inversion of perspective in the Quzmānī *zajal*, in which the form of a literary work is borrowed from the subject-ed, Romance tradition, whereas the content is borrowed from the dominant, imported Arabic tradition, all for the purpose of social criticism, how does this type of inverted borrowing function in the case of the *LBA*?

3. Where East Meets West: (B) The Arabic Frametale and the *Libro de buen Amor*

Two major debates take place in the *LBA*: One between the Archpriest on one side, and Don Amor and Doña Venus on the other (ss. 181-652), and another between the go-between Trotaconventos and the nun Doña Garoça (ss. 1321-1507). In these two debates, the participants on either side resort to telling framed tales in support of their arguments. In the first debate, the purpose of Don Amor and Doña Venus is to persuade the Archpriest to succumb to the pleasures of the flesh. Whereas, at first, Juan Ruiz resists the arguments of the two Pagan divinities, he eventually gives in to them. Similarly, in the second debate, Trotaconventos attempts to persuade Doña Garoça to accept the advances of the Archpriest, while the nun at first resists the old bawd's attempts to seduce her, only to surrender in the end. As far as the framed tales told on either side are concerned, they are invoked in support, either of the principles of chastity, or of those encouraging sexual activity, depending upon the aim of the speaker. It is curious to note, however, that these tales are often ironic or even perverse, when read in the context of their intended purpose. Here is one such example: From ss. 528 to 549, Don Amor perversely warns the Archpriest that if he is to be a successful sexual predator, he should avoid drinking too much wine.

⁵⁶ See my forthcoming analysis of these three poems in Monroe, J.T., "Faithful Watchdogs, Fair-Weather Cats, Ambivalent Ringdoves, and Retroactive Ravens: Animals and Birds in the *Zajal* Poetry of Ibn Quzmān", in M. al-Ghadeer (ed.), *Zoopoetics in Arabic Literature* (forthcoming).

This advice is taken directly from Ovid's *Artis Amatoriae*,⁵⁷ but what is not found in that Latin text is the framed story Don Amor adds in the *LBA*, to illustrate his point:

There was a pious hermit who had never drunk wine in his life, so the devil tempted him, in order to bring about his downfall, by explaining to him that wine was no less than the blood of God, containing a holy sacrament, which the hermit could conveniently imbibe. The devil then pointed the naïve hermit in the direction of some tavernkeepers who had an abundant supply of that sacrament. Once the hermit had obtained the recommended supply of wine and consumed it, he became so intoxicated that he was unable to tell the difference between night and day, whereupon the devil advised him to get a cockerel (along with a hen to keep the latter company), to announce the appearance of dawn for him. In his cups, the hermit observed the cockerel mating with the hen and, given his state of extreme drunkenness, he became sexually aroused. He therefore left his hermitage and raped a woman. After having satisfied his lust with her, he became afraid lest she might denounce him, and so he killed her. Eventually, he was caught, his guilt was established, and he was put on trial, condemned to death, and duly executed for his crime.

In conclusion, Don Amor advises the Archpriest: *si amar quieres dueña del vino byen te guarda* ('If you want to love a lady, keep away from wine'), (s. 545d). But it should not escape our attention that the advice being offered by Don Amor is entirely perverse, insofar as he is telling the story of the hermit to the Archpriest, not so much to keep the latter away from wine, as to encourage him to succumb to the very temptations of the flesh that the Archpriest is strongly resisting, and that have brought about the downfall of the hermit in the story. In other words, the Pagan god of love is functioning as the equivalent of the Christian devil in the framed tale, in the sense that he is telling a moral tale (this is what can happen to you if you get drunk) for an immoral purpose (therefore, stay sober so you can get away with rape). In this way, the framed tales found in the debates that are contained in the *LBA*, are often ironic or perverse in nature, in the sense that they do not support the principles for which they are being told and, in that respect, they immediately remind us of the *frametale* genre, introduced to the West from the Arab world, during the Middle Ages. Let us examine how this form of contextual irony functions in one such work that is typical of the genre.

⁵⁷ Ovid, *The Art of Love and Other Poems*, J.H. Mozley (ed. and transl.), London and Cambridge, Mass., 1947, 2, 28-31, Book 1, ll. 237-247.

The *Book of Kalīla wa-Dimna* is an Arabic version of a Sanskrit work known as the *Panchatantra*, an Oriental frame-tale collection of animal fables compiled in India, probably before AD 500.⁵⁸ The *Panchatantra* was first translated into Pahlavi during the reign of the Sassanian king Chosroes I (r. AD 531-579), by a Persian doctor named Burzoe, after which that text, now lost, was retranslated, first into ancient Syriac by a Christian monk named Būd, in the sixth century AD,⁵⁹ and then, once again, directly from the Pahlavi into Arabic by ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Muqaffa‘ (fl. ca. 102/720-ca. 139/756), who was a descendant of a distinguished Persian family, and who served the early ‘Abbāsid caliphs.⁶⁰ Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s version constitutes the first work of Arabic prose fiction. Its Arabic is characterized by a number of loan translations and grammatical lapses of the sort that a Persian speaker might make, as may be attested by the oldest MS of the work to have survived. Subsequent scribes gradually corrected these mistakes and touched up the work until it acquired the reputation of being a stylistic model of Arabic prose. The modifications in the text made over the course of centuries were such, however, that little may have survived of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘’s original wording.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Brockelmann, C., “Kalīla wa-Dimna”, *EF*, 4, 503-506, 503, col. a. For two English translations of the Sanskrit text, see Ryder, A.W., *The Panchatantra*, Chicago, 1925 [repr. 1964] and Olivelle, P., *Pañcatantra: The Book of India’s Folk Wisdom*, Oxford, 1997. According to Olivelle (p. xii), current scholarly consensus places the composition of the original Sanskrit text around AD 300. See too, Dawood, I.A.S., *The Panchatantra, Kalīlah wa Dimnah, and The Morall Philosophie of Doni: A Comparative Study*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation in Comparative Literature, University of Indiana, 1983.

⁵⁹ *EF loc. cit.*; Wright, W., *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, London, 1894, 123-241. For an edition and German translation of the Syriac text, see Bickell, G., *Kalīlag wa-Damanag: die alte syrische Version des indischen Fürstenspiegels (Bidpai’s Fabeln): übersetzt im sechsten Jahrhundert nach dem Pehlevi Text: syrischer Text herausgegeben nach den einzigen Handschrift und ins Deutsche übersetzt; mit einer ausführlichen historischen Einleitung von Theodor Benfey und Ergänzungen von Th. Nöldeke, I. Low und L. Blumenthal*, Amsterdam, 1982.

⁶⁰ For the numerous Arabic editions, see *EF*, *val. cit.* p. 503, col. b-504, col. a. For the biography of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, see Gabrieli, F., “Ibn al-Muqaffa‘”, *EF*, 3, 883-885. See too, Gabrieli, F., “L’opera di Ibn al-Muqaffa‘”, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 13, 3 (1932), 197-247; Kraus, P., “Zu Ibn al-Muqaffa‘”, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 14, 1 (1933), 1-20; Nallino, C.A., “Noterelle su Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ e suo figlio”, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 14, 2 (1933), 130-134; Sourdel, D., “La biographie d’Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ d’après les sources anciennes”, *Arabica*, 1 (1958), 307-323.

⁶¹ ‘Azzām, ‘A. al-W. (ed.), *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*, Beirut, 1973. This edition is based on the oldest known MS, which is located in the Aya Sofia Library of Istanbul. It was

A major problem that arises in studying *The Book of Kalīla wa-Dimna* is that we do not possess the text of the original version of the *Panchatantra* on the one hand, nor of its Arabic descendant on the other, while its Pahlavi intermediary has been lost. Despite these lacunae in transmission, a comparison of the extant Sanskrit versions on one end of the production line, with the Syriac and Arabic versions (both of which translate the lost Pahlavi text independently of one another) on the other end of that line can, up to a certain point, help us to reconstruct, *grosso modo*, what was and what was not included in the lost Pahlavi version. In turn, such a comparison reveals that Ibn al-Muqaffa' added certain passages, and even entire chapters of his own, to the work, as a result of which the Arabic version is less a faithful translation of the Pahlavi text than it is a somewhat free adaptation of the latter. What, then, were the underlying principles guiding the modifications Ibn al-Muqaffa' introduced into his original?

Concerning this question it is probably not entirely insignificant that, as modern scholarship has shown, Ibn al-Muqaffa' was, for the greater part of his brief life not a Muslim, but a Manichaean.⁶² Moreover, his formative years were spent in the Iraqī city of Basra, where he came to be deeply influenced by the Mu'tazilī school of Islamic theology.⁶³ Concerning the first point, it has been shown that, among his many other works, Ibn al-Muqaffa' also composed,

copied in 617/1221, around five centuries after the death of Ibn al-Muqaffa'. On the Persian grammatical and syntactic constructions affecting its Arabic, see 20-21. On 14-20 the editor discusses the relative merits of the other major scholarly Arabic editions of the text.

⁶² Guidi, M., *La lotta tra l'islam e il manicheismo: un libro di Ibn al-Muqaffa' contro il corano confutato da al-Qāsim B. Ibrāhīm. Testo arabo pubblicato con introduzione, versione italiana e note*, Rome, 1927. At least two stories in *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, namely those of "The Merchant and the Jeweller", and "The Three Fish" are of Manichaean origin. For these stories, see Jallad, S.S. (transl.), *The Fables of Kalilah and Dimnah: Adapted and Translated from the Sanskrit through the Pahlavi into Arabic by 'Abdullah ibn al-Muqaffa' AD 750*, London, 2002, 71 and 98. For their Manichaean prototypes, see Henning, W.B., "Sogdian Tales", BSOAS, 21 (1943-1946), 466-487, 466-468 and 471. Of "The Merchant and the Jeweller", Henning comments that it "formed part of a *kephalaion*, [...] in other words [...] it was supposed that Mani had narrated the story to his disciples. This is presumably a fiction (it is mostly so with *kephalaia* literature, Coptic or Turkestanian), but not necessarily so. For the story is known only from Burzoy's preface to *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, hence it is quite likely Persian, and not Indian by origin".

⁶³ Gabrieli, "Ibn al-Muqaffa'".

in Arabic, a parody or imitation of the *Qur'ān*, a holy text that Islamic dogma holds to be inimitable.⁶⁴ Ibn al-Muqaffa'’s imitation, which has not survived was, therefore, considered blasphemous by Muslim scholars. A Zaydī *imām* named al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm, who lived a century after Ibn al-Muqaffa', composed a refutation of the latter's parody, and this work has survived.⁶⁵ In it, the author cites numerous passages from the original imitation, with the express purpose of refuting each one of them point by point. From these passages it becomes clear that the guiding principles of Ibn al-Muqaffa'’s belief system were those espoused by the Manichaeans. We thus have two ideologies that may have been influential in Ibn al-Muqaffa'’s thought, namely those of the Manichaean religion and those of the Mu'tazilī theological school of Islam. What are the areas of coincidence between the two systems and, could their tenets have determined the modifications Ibn al-Muqaffa' introduced into the Pahlavi original when he adapted it into Arabic?

Since these tenets are of some relevance to *The Book of Kalīla wa-Dimna*, it is only appropriate to offer a brief summary of Manichaean beliefs, as follows:

A Chinese handbook of that religion states:

Everyone who wishes to join the sect must know that Light and Darkness are principles, each in their own right and that their natures are completely distinct. If he does not perceive this how will he be able to practice the religion? Next he must be enlightened on the 'Three Moments': (1) The Former Time, (2) The Present Time, (3) The Future Time.

The work then describes the significant events that take place in these periods:

In the Former Time, there are yet no heavens or earths, there exists only Light and Darkness. The nature of Light is wisdom; that of Darkness is folly. In all their motion and rest they are completely opposed to each other.

In the Present Time, Darkness invades Light and gives rein to its passions to chase [the Light] away. Light in turn enters Darkness and is deputed with pledges to push back this 'Great Calamity'. It [i.e. the Light] detests its depar-

⁶⁴ Guidi, *La lotta tra l'islam*.

⁶⁵ Guidi, *La lotta tra l'islam*. See too, van Ess, J., "Some Fragments of the *Mu'arādat al-Qur'ān* Attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa'", in Wadād al-Qādī (ed.), *Studia Arabica et Islamica: Festschrift for Ihsān 'Abbās*, Beirut, 1981, 151-163.

ture from its original body and pleads to leave the 'fiery abode'. One must therefore wear out the [physical] body in order to save the [luminous] nature [?]. This is what the holy doctrine explicitly states and if the truth is fashioned from falsehood, who would dare listen to the commandments? One must therefore be critical and search for the cause of deliverance.

In the Future Time, the things which we teach and preach on come to an end and truth and falsehood return to their roots. Light once more belongs to the Great Light and Darkness returns to the Ultimate Darkness. The Two Principles return to their normal state and give up and return to each other [what they have received from each other].⁶⁶

In sum, Light and Darkness, Good and Evil, Justice and Injustice, Spirit and Matter were, in the Former Time, separate from one another. In the Present Time, they have commingled, whereas in the Future Time they will return to their previous state of purity and perfection. In other words, there is a struggle between Good and Evil in the present, but Good will prevail in the future, implying that Justice is preordained and prescribed for mankind.

The theological system of the Mu'tazila rests upon the affirmation that God is primarily just and, from this basic principle, all else is derived. Since God is just, He has promised to reward the righteous and to punish the wicked on the Day of Judgment and, as Mu'tazilis put it, "He will not change His mind." This being the case, it would be unjust on the part of God to coerce human beings into committing evil, only to punish them for so doing. As a result, and in keeping with His justice, God grants human beings free will in the area of moral decisions. Unfortunately for the Mu'tazila, of those passages in the *Qur'ān* referring to the issue of free will as opposed to predestination, the majority of them favor the doctrine of predestination, which was adopted by the rival Islamic theological school of the Ash'arīya. This being the case, the Mu'tazila developed a method for interpreting the sacred text allegorically (*ta'wīl*). This method was based on recognition of the fact that language is ambiguous. Thus, if a key word in the sacred text had more than one meaning, this might allow the interpreter to find a

⁶⁶ *Apud* Lieu, S.N.C., *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China: A Historical Survey*, Manchester, 1985, 8. For further studies on Manichaeism see Burkitt, F.C., *The Religion of the Manichees: Donnellan Lectures for 1924*, Cambridge, 1925; Widengren, G., *Mani and Manichaeism*, New York, 1965; Jackson, A.S.W., *Researches in Manichaeism with Special Reference to the Turfan Fragments*, New York, 1965.

hidden or esoteric (*bāṭin*) sense to the text, in support of an interpretation favorable to the doctrine of free will, even though the surface or exoteric meaning (*ẓāhir*) might appear to favor the doctrine of predestination.⁶⁷ This practice even led to the writing of a genre of manuals on the double meanings of words, destined for usage by Qur'ānic interpreters (one such manual was actually composed by the Andalusī author of *maqāmas*, al-Saraqusṭī, d. 538/1143).⁶⁸ It was further assumed by Mu'tazilī scholars that the hidden meaning of the text was the only true one, whereas the surface meaning was patently false. Therefore, the act of reading a text involved penetrating beyond its surface in order to get to the *bāṭin* of things. In turn, this way of reading influenced Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

We are thus justified in concluding that the Manichaeic belief in the preordained triumph of Light, Good and, with them, Justice, and the Mu'tazilī doctrine of free will have been combined in the mind of Ibn al-Muqaffa'. This may be confirmed by a brief analysis of *The Book of Kalīla wa-Dimna* itself. The first chapter of that work, "The Fable of the Lion and the Bull," tells a story about how no one can escape his preordained fate, summarized as follows:

An Indian merchant was traveling with his companions to a region called Mayun. Along the way, the oxcart in which he was traveling became mired in a muddy ditch. After much effort the merchant and his fellow travelers managed to extricate the cart and one of the bulls pulling it, from the mud, but had to leave the second bull behind, in the custody of one of the companions [in some versions, he appears as a servant], in the hope that, eventually, the bull would be able to climb out and be led back to the merchant by the companion left in charge. The latter, however, grows weary, and abandons his post. When he gets back to the merchant he lies to the former by announcing to him that the bull has died, adding that this outcome resulted from the fact that no one may escape his preordained fate. To illustrate this point, he tells the merchant the following story:

A man was wandering in a dangerous area full of hungry predators. Suddenly he became aware that he was being followed by a wolf. Running as fast as he could to escape the wolf, he came to a river, beyond which he could discern a village. Since there was no bridge across the river, he dived into the wa-

⁶⁷ On the doctrines of the Mu'tazila in general, see Gimaret, D., "Mu'tazila", *IEJ*, 7, 783-793; Watt, W.M., *Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam*, London, 1948.

⁶⁸ Monroe, J.T. (transl.), *al-Maqāmāt al-Luzūmīyah by Abū l-Ṭāhir Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Tamīmī al-Saraqusṭī ibn al-Ashstarkūwī (d. 538/1143)*, Leiden, Boston and Köln, 2002, 36-41.

ter, even though he could not swim. A villager saw him on the point of drowning, and rescued him. Proceeding on his journey, the man came to a lonely house where he thought he might rest, but upon entering it, he found a gang of robbers who had seized a merchant and were about to kill him and divide his money. He dashed out of the house and ran back to the village out of fear for his life. When he arrived there, he sat down by a wall to rest. At that very moment, the wall collapsed and killed him.⁶⁹

It should not escape one's attention that the merchant's companion, who has told him this story has, on the surface, done so to justify the bull's alleged death. But on a deeper level, the real reason he tells the story is to conceal his own dereliction of duty and to give credence to a blatant lie, namely that the bull is dead. Therefore, the fatalistic argument offered by the companion is false. Be it further noted that the man in the framed story is thrice spared his fate: First he is saved from the maw of a ferocious wolf, then from a river in which he is about to drown, and finally from a thieving gang of murderers. He only dies, according to some versions, when, unlike the villager who took the trouble of rescuing him from drowning in the river, he fails to take any action to rescue the merchant who was about to be murdered by the robbers. Thus, the true implication of the story is that, rather than being ruled by a blind fate, the universe is controlled by a just providence that rewards good deeds and punishes evil ones.

"The Fable of the Lion and the Bull" is subtitled *Jealousy turns friendship to animosity*. It is the story of how the bull, abandoned by his master, finally extricates himself from the mud in which he is trapped, and enters the realm of a lion king, who befriends him and appoints him to be his second in command and his intimate companion. A jackal named Dimna, who aspires to those very same royal favors, yet who has been pre-empted by the bull, consequently becomes jealous of the latter's standing at court, and slanders the bull before the lion by telling that monarch that the bull is plotting to overthrow him in order to rule in his stead. Conversely, he informs the bull that the lion is plotting to kill and devour him. By getting rid of the bull, Dimna hopes he will be able to replace him as the lion's favorite companion. The lion and the bull are both easily hoodwinked by the scheming jackal, whose

⁶⁹ Jallad, *The Fables of Kalilah and Dimnah*, 80.

words they foolishly take at face value (i.e. without subjecting them to critical analysis through the application of allegorical interpretation). This is amply illustrated by a story told by Dimna to Kalila as proof of the fact that he will effectively bring about the bull's death:

Once upon a time there was a land fertile enough for all the beasts dwelling in it to enjoy a life free from want. Unfortunately, a lion dwelt in that land and hunted them down mercilessly, thus allowing them no peace. The animals decided to meet with the lion and discuss the situation. They then proposed the following truce: If the lion would forgo attacking them, they, in turn, would agree to deliver one animal to his den every day, for him to eat. The lion accepted the proposal, and so, every day, a messenger from the animals brought him one of them to devour, whose fate had been chosen by lot among them. One day, the fateful lot was drawn by a hare, who proposed to the animals that if they would only follow his instructions, he would rid them of the lion's scourge for good. The hare then instructed the animals to order the messenger responsible for delivering him to the lion to arrive late, so that he, the hare, could appear alone in the lion's presence. The hare then proceeded on his way to the lion by himself, arriving far beyond the lion's normal lunchtime, so that the latter was desperately hungry. When the lion finally saw the hare, he angrily asked him whence he had come. The hare pretended to be the messenger from the animals, escorting the sacrificial victim, rather than the actual victim himself. Along the way, he added, the two hares had been stopped by another lion who had claimed to be the only rightful monarch of that land, who had confiscated the sacrificial hare from his guide, and who had cursed the rightful king of the forest. Upon hearing this news, the lion asked the hare to take him to this upstart rival and challenger. The hare took the lion to a deep cistern, full of clear water, and told him that his adversary dwelt there, and that he would be able to see both his rival and the purloined hare if he were but to look down. When the lion saw his own reflection and that of the hare in the clear water below, he plunged in to kill what he thought were his enemy and his rightful prey, but was drowned instead, thus ending his tyrannical rule over the animals.⁷⁰

In this story, the animals are not very intelligent for, if matters had been left as they were, those animals would at least have had the chance of escaping from the predatory lion. Instead, they have traded in their chance for survival, slim though it may have been, for voluntary slaughter on a systematic, day by day basis, by means of a pact according to which there is no longer any chance

⁷⁰ Jallad, *The Fables of Kalilah and Dimnah*, 94-96.

of their escape. That is to say, they have entered into an agreement that is hardly in their best interest since they have merely exchanged one form of fate (the chance that the lion might catch them) for another (the chance that they might be designated by lot to be the lion's lunch). In fact, the agreement favors the lion, who will now get a guaranteed lunch every day. The lion too, is a fool, for in mistaking a reflection of himself and the cunning hare, in the water of the cistern, for his purported rival and his purloined lunch, he has confused appearance with reality or, to put it differently, he has failed to interpret matters correctly, as a result of which he dies.

In what is possibly the most ironic story in the entire first chapter of the book, Dimna, in attempting to arouse the suspicions of the bull in order to pit him against the lion, warns the bull that the lion's evil advisers are attempting to persuade him to kill and devour the bull. Upon hearing this news, the bull declares that no one may escape his preordained fate and, in essence, foretells the story of his own downfall:

A camel who has strayed from a herdsman wanders into the realm of a lion who graciously grants him safe-conduct within his kingdom. The lion has three close advisers and companions: A wolf, a raven, and a jackal. In this kingdom, the lion does all the hunting, thereby feeding himself and the three scavengers. One day, the lion is badly wounded by an elephant, so that he can no longer hunt. As a result, both he and his three companions begin to starve. The raven suggests to the lion that he kill the camel, who is a useless herbivore, so that all four carnivores can feast upon his flesh. The lion, who has granted the camel safe-conduct within his kingdom, thus guaranteeing him safety by pledging his royal word to defend him is, at first, shocked by this suggestion, until the raven adds that, if the camel were to offer himself up voluntarily as a sacrifice to his king, then the latter's word would remain unbroken. The lion accepts this literalist solution to the dilemma. The raven then convenes a meeting between himself, the wolf, and the jackal, during which a plot is hatched: They decide to approach the lion, whereupon each of the three carnivores will offer himself up, in turn, as a sacrificial meal to the starving monarch, on hearing which offer, the other two will raise their voices in protest, declaring that the flesh of the one who has made the offer is unsuitable, because of one reason or another, for the monarch's consumption. Then the plot is put into action. First the raven offers his flesh to appease the lion's starvation, but the wolf and the jackal intervene, pointing out that it would do the lion no good. This charade is then repeated by the jackal, followed by the wolf. The camel is present while it takes place. Thinking that the three carnivores will reject him as well, he too offers his body to the starving lion, whereupon the three carnivores agree that

camel flesh would be highly suitable for the king's repast, and they all leap on, and devour him.⁷¹

In this instance too, the camel dies because he fails to perceive the underlying deception being perpetrated against him; in other words, like the lion in the framing story, he is unable to read between the lines to get at the truth. Furthermore, the story of the hapless camel is being told by the equally hapless bull in justification of the latter's belief that he will not be able to escape his fate, now that the lion has turned against him. In contrast, the intelligent reader is being invited by the author to see through the cunning jackal's deception in ways that cannot be perceived by the foolish bull. As a result, that reader interprets the text correctly, and realizes that the true reason why the bull dies is that he fails to see through Dimna's ruse, and not because fate has decreed his death. In other words, the reader is being advised to adopt the technique of allegorical interpretation.

The tragic flaw of the above animals lies then, in their inability to penetrate beyond surface appearances and thereby grasp the truth. Put differently, they misinterpret the signs placed before them. Eventually, the lion kills and devours the bull, and there the first chapter ends, with the triumph of Dimna's evil deeds over the good but ineffective intentions of the lion and the bull.

Dimna has a brother named Kalīla who is fully aware, and strongly disapproves of, Dimna's systematic plotting to get rid of the bull. Being a scavenger with a conscience, Kalīla spends his time repeatedly upbraiding Dimna for his evil actions and intentions but, until the very end, even as the bull is being killed and devoured by the lion, Kalīla does nothing to prevent Dimna from pursuing his devious schemes; instead, he merely preaches to him. Kalīla is, therefore, all words and no action. At this juncture it should be noted that it was precisely the Mu'tazila who first formulated a guideline for human conduct that was to become an imperative for all Islamic monarchs. According to this imperative, the latter were required to "command good and forbid evil" (*al-amr bi-l-ma'rūf wa-l-nahy 'an al-munkar*).⁷² In the case of the two jackals, however,

⁷¹ Jallad, *The Fables of Kalilah and Dimnah*, 104-108.

⁷² Gimaret, "Mu'tazila", col. a.

Dimna perpetrates evil and prevents good, whereas Kalīla promotes good but fails to prevent evil. Both are, then, at fault and, as such, both are literary villains.

In the extant Sanskrit versions as well as the Syriac translation, the story of the lion and the bull ends with the death of the bull, who is killed by the lion as a direct result of Dimna's devious machinations. Therefore, we have some grounds to suspect that the lost, intermediary Pahlavi version ended in more or less the same way. One may further speculate that a Sanskrit author with an Indian conception of the human soul, based on the doctrine of metempsychosis, might have expected the intelligent reader to assume that the evil jackals' punishment for their sins would be postponed until their next life, at which time their souls would be incarnated in an even lower form of existence, this being their punishment. For Ibn al-Muqaffa', however, justice needed to be meted out in this world if the foolish lion king were to be saved through his good deeds, in accordance with the Mu'tazilī doctrine of a just God and, conversely, if Good were to triumph over Evil, according to the doctrine of the Manichaeans, whose beliefs he espoused. Therefore, it must have been Ibn al-Muqaffa' himself who composed and added to the book, an entire second chapter entitled "The Fable of the Investigation of Dimna (*Evil will be justly punished*)," for that chapter is not found in either the Sanskrit or the ancient Syriac versions, and was thus probably not in the Pahlavi text being translated by Ibn al-Muqaffa':⁷³

A tiger who had overheard a conversation between Kalīla and Dimna, in which the former had, as was his wont, upbraided the latter for plotting to get the bull

⁷³ Further support for this hypothesis may be found in the fact that a Greek translation of the work was made for the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Comnenos (r. 1081-1127) by Symeon Seth, ca. 1080. This translation was made directly from the Arabic of Ibn al-Muqaffa' rather than the Syriac of Būd (See Condylis-Bassoukos, H., *Stéphanitès kai Ichnelatès, traduction grecque (XIè siècle) du livre Kalīla wa-Dimna d'Ibn al-Muqaffa' (VIIIè siècle). Étude lexicologique et littéraire*, Louvain, 1997, XIV: "C'est la traduction la plus ancienne du texte arabe en langue européenne". See too, Brockelmann, "Kalīla wa-Dimna", *EP*, 506, who indicates that the Greek translation was made directly from an Arabic source early enough to be free from later additions. This translation, which is older than the oldest extant Arabic MS of the text (copied in 1221), already contains a version of the added chapter on the trial of Dimna that is not found in the independent Syriac translation. See, Puntoni, V., *Stephanites kai Ichnelates*, Società Asiatica Italiana, Florence, 1889, 2, 134-154; Sjöberg, L.O., *Stephanites und Ichnelates: Überlieferungsgeschichte und Text*, Stockholm, 1962, 2, 191-200.

killed, goes to the lion's mother and, after obtaining her promise not to reveal his name or identity, informs her of Dimna's guilt. In turn, the mother lioness approaches her royal son and informs him of the accusation she has heard, while at the same time scrupulously withholding her source of information. The formerly foolish lion king now becomes the very epitome of wisdom and prudence, for he orders an investigation to be conducted, in the form of an Islamic trial,⁷⁴ duly appointing a judge for that purpose. During the course of this trial, the lioness, who knows perfectly well that Dimna is guilty, but is barred from revealing her source of information to that effect, repeatedly interrupts the proceedings, urging her son to put aside all scruples and simply kill the accused jackal, thereby taking the law into his own hands. The son, having now become an exemplary monarch in the area of promoting justice, refuses, however, to listen to his mother's arbitrary suggestions, and orders the trial to proceed, free of any extra-legal intervention on his part. Nevertheless, in an Islamic court, a single witness is not enough, in a case of murder, to lead to a conviction, which is precisely why the tiger, who had privately informed the mother lioness of Dimna's guilt, had requested that his name be withheld, lest he, as the only witness, be accused of slandering an innocent victim. As a result, the investigation is stymied until the tiger is finally persuaded to reveal his identity. As soon as this occurs, a leopard, who happens to be imprisoned in the same jail where Dimna is being held in custody, and where he has also overheard conversations in which Kalīla continues to upbraid Dimna for his evil deeds, voluntarily comes forward to offer his testimony. Now that there are two available witnesses, and justice can proceed within the framework of the law, Dimna is found guilty, and the lion orders him to be executed in his prison. In the meantime Kalīla has died of a tummy ache for, in didactic literature, evildoers invariably join the ranks of the deceased in punishment for their sins.⁷⁵

It should also be noted that the relationship between the lion-king and his mother, the lioness in Chapter 2, is a close, if inverted, parallel to the relationship between the jackal Dimna and his brother Kalīla in Chapter 1. In each instance we are presented with two characters who are close blood relatives, and in each case one of these relatives offers advice to the other, who refuses to take it: Kalīla offers his brother good advice, whereas the lioness offers her son bad advice: Although she knows (but only on the authority of one witness) that Dimna is guilty, she wishes to see him condemned and executed without a fair trial. Thus, Kalīla promotes good, but fails to prevent evil, whereas the lioness promotes evil, but fails to

⁷⁴ The fact that the trial is conducted according to Islamic procedural rules, provides conclusive proof that this chapter was added by Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

⁷⁵ Jallad, *The Fables of Kalilah and Dimnah*, 119-131.

prevent good. These two examples thus underscore the fact that the lion king has learned from his mistakes, and has now become an exemplary ruler. To such an extent is this so, that he will not even take advice from someone as close to him as his own mother, should that advice be bad. In contrast, Dimna never learns from his mistakes, and thus dies. By offering the reader the example of a ruler who learns from his mistakes, the work functions as a true mirror for princes.

In sum, the Arabic translator/adaptor has modified his original to provide the reader with the portrait of a righteous monarch who, having learned from the initial mistake he made by allowing himself to be manipulated into unjustly killing the bull, now embodies the Islamic ideal of the just ruler who commands good and forbids evil and can, as a consequence, aspire to Paradise in the next world, according to the Islamic principles of the Mu'tazila, as much as he can contribute to the war against Darkness, Evil, and Injustice in the Present Time of the Manichaeans. By illustrating the triumph of Good over Evil and portraying a king who learns the true nature of Justice, which he then proceeds to uphold, the author has, in other words, adapted a Sanskrit work to the belief system of the Manichaeans and to the theology of the Mu'tazila. Needless to say, this is an extraordinary instance of religious and cultural hybridization.

To conclude, the technique of telling an ironic story that directly undermines the tenets being defended by its teller, as applied in the Arabic *frametale* genre, is precisely the technique we find in the *LBA*.

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