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Modes of Loss: al-Andalus in the Arabic Poetic Imagination

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By

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Committee in Charge:
Professor Muhammad Siddiq, Chair
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Abstract

Modes of Loss: al-Andalus in the Arabic Poetic Imagination

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This dissertation examines the ways medieval and modern Arab poets utilize the space and image of al-Andalus to express nostalgia, mourning, and loss. This project combines archaeological and art historical sources with medieval and modern historical and literary texts to document the physical reality and social fabric of medieval Spain. These materials along with textual analyses of poetry from Ibn Zaydūn, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī, and Maḥmūd Darwīsh, among others, form the basis of my multi-theoretical approach to understanding the impact of loss upon an individual and their respective communities. I argue that while such poetic works deviate from the tradition of the Arabic elegy in structural terms, they are unified in terms of content, especially in portraying al-Andalus as both a lost beloved and an idealized site for mourning. This absent signifier transcends temporal, geographic, and linguistic boundaries to become endemic to Arab cultural memory and identity.

I show how these medieval and modern poetic texts creates hybrid documents of history, allegory, and fantasy to express tragedy and hope, memories of the past, and dreams of the future. The events of 1492 in which Nasrid Granada, the last Muslim stronghold in al-Andalus, was handed over to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, are considered a major turning point in Arab cultural history. It is not surprising that this loss, which has been reasonably expressed in medieval Arabic, continues to haunt modern Arabic poetry and still resonates in the imagination of late modern Arab poets. Twentieth-century authors throughout the Arab world have utilized the image of al-Andalus in their poetry.

This project offers alternative approaches to intertextuality in Arabic literature by introducing concepts of materiality and visuality. I put architectural and landscape theories in dialogue with anthropological theories of loss and nostalgia to analyze the psychological, physical, and sensory states of the author as they (re)claim possession of the spaces of loss that are no longer in their control. By drawing connections between the literary, visual, and material cultures of al-Andalus and the contemporary Middle East this dissertation employs interdisciplinary methods for understanding the concept of loss, home, and identity.

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandfather, Florentino Cruz,
and my uncle, Daniel Davila Flores, both of whom inspired me
to not only dream beyond the confines of Dartmouth Street
but to achieve those very dreams.

Modes of Loss:

al-Andalus in the Arabic Poetic Imagination

Anna Celeste Cruz

Acknowledgments

As the old adage goes, it takes a village to raise a child but I would argue, however, that it takes an even bigger village to help a student of color through the challenges of higher education to not just obtain a degree, but to survive, thrive, and succeed. The fact that I am here today writing these very acknowledgments is in large part to my village, which spans the globe and covers a multitude of languages, ethnicities, religious creeds, gender identities, and sexualities. They are united, whether they know it or not, by the profound impact they have had on my life.

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The patriarch of my family, Florentino Cruz, lived on Dartmouth Street my entire life and it was only in my teenage years did I come to realize the cruel injustice and oppression my family and other Mexican families faced everyday in the barrio, going to homes on streets named after the most elite universities in the world. Many residents in the Arnett-Benson will never leave Lubbock let alone see these institutions first hand. Needless to say, they never considered such spaces as welcoming to them. When I decided to enroll at Dartmouth College, my family was shocked, apprehensive, and scared yet it was my grandfather who soothed our worries. For his guidance and love, I will be eternally grateful; nothing I have done or could ever do will be enough to show my gratitude.

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for “people like us.”

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Chapter One

Tracing Representations and Conceptions of Space in the Arabic Poetic Tradition

The following study examines the extent to which al-Andalus (Islamic Spain) is used to express nostalgia, mourning, and loss in Classical and Modern Arabic poetry. Building upon seminal research by Hispano-Arabists James Monroe and Emilio Garcia Gomez, this project will also utilize scholarship from various traditions such as anthropology, art history, architecture, and memory studies to assess the multifaceted approaches to the portrayal of the loss of a homeland, identity, or loved one.

A central part of this dissertation will examine the roles of time, space, and affect in medieval and modern Arabic poetry with points of comparison to Spanish poetry written in the early twentieth century. The events of 1492, in which Granada, the last Muslim dynasty of al-Andalus, was handed over to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella exist in the imagination of a select group of modern Spanish poets and in particular, Federico García Lorca. With this in mind, I plan to investigate the symbiotic relationship between text and landscape which illustrates these poets' affective responses to loss, which includes mourning, nostalgia, and revolutionary fervor, of historical moments and communities, whether real or imagined.
Literature Review

The study of al-Andalus is a growing field of research across many disciplines, including art history, area studies, and anthropology. For many decades the study of al-Andalus was limited to historiography and translation. At the time, Spanish and French scholars such as Pascual de Gayangos and Henri Pérès published translations of the history and literature of Muslim Spain from the original Arabic. Gayangos was among the first to translate portions of al-Maqqarī's *Nafḥ al-Tīb min ghusn al-Andalus al-Ratīh* [The Perfumed Fragrance from the Verdant Branch of al-Andalus] into two volumes under the title The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain (1840, 1843). While these works have proven instrumental in understanding Andalusian history, these works remain limited. Some texts are only partial translations (e.g., Pérès, 1937; Garcia Gomez, 1967), leaving the amount and selection of text to be translated to the choice of the scholar/translator.

It was not until the late nineteenth century that original scholarly and critical texts were published with al-Andalus as the main topic of inquiry. This time period was a turning point in the field for scholarship was no longer limited to translation of historical and literary texts from the time of Muslim Spain. Many of the Spanish Arabists of this time period were responsible for an extensive amount of research on the philosophy, religion, and literature of al-Andalus. Miguel Asín Palacios wrote extensively on Islamic Studies and was one of the first directors for the academic journal Al-Andalus. During this time, due in large part to Asín's work, a new generation of Spanish Arabists, including Emilio García Gómez, who were not only highly-skilled translators but also prolific literary critics and historians.

While research on al-Andalus has been increasing ever since, scholars continue to be defined by the terms "medievalist" and "modernist," focusing on the primary historical and literary sources while lacking the theoretical foundations present in other disciplines. Arabist James Monroe has published numerous monographs on the literature of Medieval Spain in addition to translating the works of poets such as Ibn Garcia (1970), Ibn Shuhayd (1971), al-Hamadhani (1983) and an anthology of Hispano-Arabic poetry (1974) that features translations from over thirty Andalusian poets, among others. While this scholarship provides a much needed insight into the arts and humanities of Muslim Spain, this type of work focuses upon individual poets or poetic genres, with only brief historical and/or cultural narratives provided for background information.

Current scholarship within the past twenty years that focuses on Hispano-Arabic studies is traditionally limited to either medieval or modern contexts. For example, the research of Alexander Elinson (2009) and S.J. Pearce (book forthcoming) is concerned with the literature and history of 11th to 13th century Iberia while others such as William Granara and Eric Calderwood study representations of Islamic Spain in modern Arabic novels and tourism in Spain, respectively. Interest in this theme has even spread to fields typically unrelated to Near Eastern/Middle Eastern Studies. In her dissertation, completed in 2012, Evelyn Elizabeth Scaramella discusses the cultural history and legacy of al-Andalus in twentieth-century Spanish literature and culture.

As countries and communities across the Middle East and North Africa have lost or are at risk of losing their homelands due to political, cultural, and/or religious strife, the historical circumstances surrounding Muslim Spain have emerged in the forefront of Arab culture and literature. Modern Arab poets throughout the Arab world, including Aḥmad Shawqī (Egypt), Mahmūd Darwīsh (Palestine), Nizār Qabbānī (Syria), ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī (Iraq), and Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb (Iraq) have utilized the image of al-Andalus for lamentation, adaptation, and appropriation based on the cultural, political, or national needs of the poet.

Chapter One, "Tracing Representations and Conceptions of Space in the Arabic Poetic Tradition," provides an overview of the various ways space has been perceived, conceived, and lived, to use Lefebvre's tripartite concept of space. From the theoretical, we move back in time to the understanding of space and its uses in Greek and Roman antiquity with a focus on the reconstruction of cities in the elegiac tradition.

Chapter Two, "(Re)Visions of Cordoba: Mapping Nostalgia and Memory in Medieval Andalusian Poetry," argues for an additional interpretation of the Andalusī *rithāʾ al-mudun* [city elegy] genre as a form of historical archive as poets cite the destruction of their cities via architectural and spatial fragments that elicit a variety of emotions. I examine the ways in which Ibn Zaydūn (1003-1071), a medieval Arab poet from Cordoba, lament the loss of their homeland through the evocation and juxtaposition of distant and adjacent architecture and space, thus sublimating their nostalgia into the creation of literary and cartographic memorials. Ibn Zaydūn's

use of the imagination and memory is a means to commemorate Cordoban public spaces even as his depiction of loss transforms these same spaces into intimate locales laden with personal experiences. By comparing these spaces with the historic reality, I have created a series of maps and diagrams based on their memories that will situate and hypothesize the locations of the natural and built environments within the reimagined Cordoba, effectively creating maps of the city from the textual representations of its ruins.

Chapter Three, "From Poet to Mythmaker: Mythologizing Nasrid Granada in/for Contemporary Times," focuses on mythical representations of Granada in selected works from Iraqi poet ʿAbd al-Wahhab al-Bayati (1926-1999) and Palestinian poet Maḥmūd Darwīsh (1942-2008). I examine how both poets use the city of Granada as a point of entry into exploring the dynamics of the relationship between history, culture, and identity. The chosen poetic texts are layered narratives of history and in the selected examples, the use of Muḥammad XII as a mask persona allows the poets to engage with the formation of alternative mythologies.

In Chapter Four, "Al-Andalus or Andalucía?: Constructions and Adaptations of Heritage in 20th Century Arabic Poetry," I posit the use of al-Andalus by Arab poets as a means to not only reclaim and reestablish a continuity of heritage, but to create an archive untainted by Western concepts of what constitutes a historical document. The historical circumstances of al-Andalus are fused with the authors' subjective bodily experiences to create multi-sensory images of human memory and human history. With this in mind, I investigate the relationship between the literary geographies of al-Andalus and the Middle East which illustrate these poets' responses to historical moments and the loss of their communities, whether real or metaphorical.

Even with the ever-evolving study of al-Andalus, there is a need for extensive comparative research that combines an analysis of both medieval and modern Arabic poetry and the influence of al-Andalus on a larger cultural scale. This study reflects an understanding of the complex social and cross-cultural interactions of Muslim Spain and the modern Middle East in order to show how a single theme is able to transcend historical, geographical, linguistic, and temporal boundaries.

In *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre posits the manifestation of space as a tripartite system that is *perceived*, *conceived*, and *lived*. In spatial terms, these three characteristics create a "conceptual triad" consisting of space as simultaneously being a *spatial practice*, a *representations of space*, and *representational spaces*.[1] *Spatial practice* refers to social production and reproduction and "the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation" within the material, built environment."[2] This, per Lefebvre, is *perceived space* in which the human subject interacts with the realm around him/her through the body, the senses, or via gestures as the subject carries out their daily routines or institutional practices. This

[1] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 33.

[2] Ibid, 33.

dimension "relies on a 'common-sense' understanding of space including both the taken-for-granted dimensions of everyday life and the rationalized institutions and urban networks that we pass through in our daily routines."[3] *Representations of space* are tied to the dominant order of society and are forms of knowledge, "a mixture of understanding (*connaissance*) and ideology - which [are] always relative and in the process of change…thus [they are] objective, though subject to revision."[4] This is a *conceived space* conceptualized in and by the minds of planners, social engineers, scientists, and urbanists and while such a space is abstract, Lefebvre argues that these "representations" play a significant role in the production of space via social and political practices. *Representational spaces* are a result of social relations and tied to the imagination and its desire to change, appropriate, or even adapt said spaces with imaginary and symbolic elements and for this reason, Lefebvre considers these spaces "dominated spaces." This *lived space* is the realm of "users," philosophers, artists, and writers, among others who embrace the affective centers of such space for it "may be directional, situational or relational, because it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic."[5]

While Lefebvre continues his discussion on the production of space as it relates to structures of power and knowledge through a detailed examination of selected cities in western Europe starting with the Roman Forum and Greek agora and shifting to medieval Italian cities. After this historical analysis, Lefebvre shifts his inquiry into the production of space under capitalism through the lens of Marxist thought. For the purpose of this dissertation, however, the aforementioned "conceptual triad" in the production of space is what drives this study's analysis of space as it relates to al-Andalus and its *perceived*, *conceived*, and *lived spaces* as presented by medieval Andalusī poets in the eleventh century and modern Arab poets in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The intersections between the embodied, conceptualized, and affective approaches to space have been thoroughly studied in the context of ancient Greek and Latin literatures yet such approaches are still lacking in the study of medieval Arabic literature and poetry in particular.[6] In the introduction to *Space in Ancient Greek Literature*, Irene J. F. de Jong details the functions of space based on six identifying characteristics. When space becomes one of the main elements

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[3] Kirsten Simonsen, "Bodies, Sensations, Space and Time: The Contribution from Henri Lefebvre," *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 87 no. 1 (2005) 1-14. 6.

[4] Lefebvre, 41.

[5] Lefebvre, 42.

[6] See Jo Heirman and Jacqueline Cloister, eds. *The Ideologies of Lived Space in Literary Texts, Ancient and Modern* (Gent: Academia Press, 2013); Alex C. Purves, *Space and Time in Ancient Greek Narrative* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Kate Gilhuly and Nancy Worman, eds. *Space, Place, and Landscape in Ancient Greek Literature and Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Irene J. F. de Jong, ed. *Space in Ancient Greek Literature: Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).
Such approaches are making strides in the field of modern Arabic literature, a discussion of which will take place in the fourth chapter of the present study.

within a narrative, it is said to have a *thematic* function. This occurs particularly in travel narratives in which the travel gaze "binds a character to space."[7] Secondly, a space that is exhaustively described can have a *mirroring* or *contrasting* function with the themes present in the text. De Jong refers here to ancient uses of ekphrasis as seen in the *Aeneid* and Herodotus' narrative of Egypt.[8] When a space becomes a literary convention and has more significance than that of simply setting the scene, de Jong classifies space to have a *symbolic* function. Examples of such *symbolic* spaces include the *locus ameonus* and in the context of Arabic literature, there is the *aṭlāl*. In addition, this function includes oppositionally-set notions such as inside-outside spaces and rural-urban ones.[9] When space informs us about a person, his or her environment, character, or circumstances, space is defined as having a *characterizing* function. This is evident in a variety of Arabic literary texts, especially in Hudā Barakāt's *Ḥajar al-Ḍaḥk* (*The Stone of Laughter*):

> Whenever a battle draws to an end, Khalil feels the need for order and cleanliness and the feeling grows, spreads until it becomes almost an obsession. After every battle, his room is clean and fresh again like new, as if the builders had just left. The tiles shine and the room gives out a smell of soap, of polish, of disinfectant.
>
> The line of the striped blanket one the bed is exactly parallel to the ground. On the table with the gas lamp is a newspaper, still folded, and the whiteness of its pages, like the gleam of the dishes and little cups on the clean polished edges hidden away in the corner, suggests that a woman, a housewife - or a snow-white old maid - has lived for some time, quietly, in this house. After every battle, Khalil's room is transformed into a little house that lacks nothing, save - were it not for the harsh circumstances - a small vase of pretty, colored flowers in a corner.[10]

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[7] Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative,* trans. Christine van Boheemen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 135.

[8] See D. P. Fowler, "Narrate and Describe: The Problem of Ekphrasis." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 81 (1991): 22-35. John Elsner, "From the Pyramids to Pausanias and Piglet: Monuments, Travel and Writing" in *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture,* eds. Simon Goldhill and Robin Osborn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 244-254.

[9] There is large body of Arabic novels and critical writings that cover the dialectic of rural-urban spaces such as Yaḥyā al-Ṭāhir ʿAbd Allāh, *Ṭawq wa l-iswīra* (*The Collar and the Bracelet*) (Cairo: al-Hayʾah al-Miṣrīkyah al-ʿĀmmah lil-Kitāb, 1975); Idrīs ʿAlī, *Taḥta khaṭṭ al-faqr* (*Poor*) (Cairo: Dār Mīrīt, 2005); Najīb Maḥfūz, *Mīrāmār* (*Miramar*) (Beirut: Dār al-Qalam, 1984); Samah Selim, *The Novel and the Rural Imaginary in Egypt, 1880-1985*. (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004);

[10] Hudā Barakāt, *The Stone of Laughter,* trans. Sophie Bennett (Reading, U.K.: Garnet Publishing, Ltd., 1994), 9-10.

The fifth function of space is its ability to be *psychologizing*, which relates some type of information about a given character's feelings. In Ilyās Khūrī's *Yālū*[11] (*Yalo*) The protagonist Daniel al-Abyad, who is nicknamed Yalo, is imprisoned and forced to write confession after confession detailing his crimes, and in doing so, he is confronted with his life story. Like Scheherazade from *The Thousand and One Nights*, Yalo's life depends on storytelling; the ability to string words together not only artfully, but convincingly to survive another day. Scheherazade's stories ultimately save her life because King Shahriyar is so entranced by her tales while Yalo, on the other hand, desperately tries to appease his interrogators with his confessions but each day only brings more torture while in solitary confinement and the demand for an alternative version of his story. The final function of space, per de Jong, is one of *personification*. With this particular function, however, the turn to personification can also produce a psychologizing role. As seen in Ibrāhīm al-Kūnī's *Nazīf al-Ḥajar*[12] (*The Bleeding of the Stone*), the desert takes on human qualities and movement:

> [T]he mountain desert waged constant war with the sandy desert, and the heavenly gods would descend to earth to separate the pair, calming the fire of enmity between them. But no sooner had the gods left the battlefield, and the rains stopped pouring down, than war would break out once more between the two eternal enemies. One day, the gods grew angry in their high heavens and sent down their punishment on the fighters. They froze the mountains in Massak Satfat, and they stopped the persistent advance of the sands on the borders of Massak Mallat. Then the sands found a way to enter the spirit of the gazelles, while the mountains found a way into the spirit of the *waddan*. And from that day on, the *waddan* was possessed by the spirit of the mountains.[13]

These functions of space can occur simultaneously and the differences among the symbolic, characterizing, and psychologizing functions have the potential to be less perceptible than the other functions. "As a rule of thumb, we may consider symbolic functions to be universal or at least collective, characterizing and psychologizing functions to concern individuals; and the characterizing function to concern permanent traits, while the psychologizing one pertains to the mood of a moment."[14]

The role of space has a long established role in the Classical Greek literary tradition ranging from ekphrastic writings to the exploration of the dialectics of inside/intimate and outside/public spaces and exhaustive uses of literary topoi. These same elements have existed in

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[11] Ilyās Khūrī, *Yālū: riwāyah* (Beirut: Dār al-Ādāb, 2002).

[12] Ibrāhīm al-Kūnī, *Nazīf al-Ḥajar: riwāyah* (London: Riyāḍ al-Rayyis lil-Kutub wa l-Nashr, 1990).

[13] Ibrāhīm al-Kūnī, *The Bleeding of the Stone,* trans. May Jayyusi and Christopher Tingley (New York: Interlink Books, 2002), 20-21.

[14] I.J.F. de Jong, "Introduction. Narratological Theory on Space," in *Space in Ancient Greek Literature: Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative,* ed. Irene J. F. de Jong (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 16.

the Arabic poetic canon since pre-Islamic times when poets would come across the abandoned campsites of their tribes or beloveds and at once, the spaces become charged with symbolic, thematic, and psychologizing functions. Space since then has been a major organizing trope as seen in the *Muʿallaqa* of Imruʾ al-Qays, for example.[15] The poet begins his *qaṣīda* with the direct use of the toponyms al-Dakhūl, Ḥawmal, Tūḍiḥ, and al-Miqrāt, the sand dunes that have begun to efface the encampment of his beloved:

1 Halt you two, let us weep in remembrance of a beloved and an abode
Where the sands spin between al-Dakhūl and Ḥawmal

2 And between Tūḍiḥ and al-Miqrāt, whose traces have yet to be effaced
In spite of how the north and south winds weave across them.[16] [1]

His *muʿallaqa* is filled with a variety of toponyms which are presented on a segmented basis as the poet embarks on his journey across vast landscapes. These changing landscapes are fundamental in understanding not only the poet's conceptions of space but his fluctuating emotional states and experiences. For instance, in lines 44-48, the poet's sadness is tied to a description of the never-ending night:

44 And many a night, like the waves of the sea, has loosened its curtains on me
With all kinds of cares, in order to test my patience.

45 So I said to it, when it spread its spine
And followed with buttocks and rose painfully on its chest,

46 "O long night, give way to dawn
Although the dawn is no better than you."

47 What a night you are, as if its stars
Were fastened with ropes to the mountain of Yadhbul [2]

48 As if the Pleiades have been secured in their place
With ropes of flax tied to solid rocks.[17]

The night is thick and dark like the waves of the sea and the water is representative of the poet's grief and loneliness. Through his interaction with the night, we discover that the night is not

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[15] Imruʾ al-Qays, *Dīwān Imruʾ al-Qays,* ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhim (Egypt: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1964) 8-26.

[16] Ibid., 8. Translation mine.

[17] Adnan Haydar, "The *Muʿallaqa* of Imruʾ al-Qays: Its Structure and Meaning, I," *Edebiyat* 2, no. 2 (1977): 232. [227-261]

purely and abstract idea. His personification of the night is revealed in his comparison of the night's behavior to that of a camel's. The night, much like the camel, is burdened, passing by slowly and delaying the poet's progress towards maturity.[18] In verse 46, the poet addresses the night as he would a companion and although he asks the night to dissipate and reveal dawn, he is fully aware that neither night nor dawn will be a suitable companion for him. The multiple *l* and long *ā* sounds in the first hemistich of verse 46 also affirms the poet's lament:

alā ayyuhā al-laylu al-ṭawīlu alā anjalī
bi-ṣubḥin wa mā al-iṣbāḥun fīka bi-amthali[19]

The night has come to a standstill as the poet notices that the stars are suspended to mountains and rocks. Mount Yadhbul, the symbol of stone, is present for eternity much like the abode first mentioned in the beginning of the poem. These landmarks are reminders of the poet's eternal sadness over the lack of control he has over both his beloved and the never-ending night. In verse 48, the Pleiades are mentioned again but this time, their presence has a very different association. These stars which were once an emblem of happiness are now motionless and witness to the poet's grief throughout the endless night.

The poet's mobility through these spaces reveals his ability to transcend the conventional boundaries of space. This behavior is reminiscent of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's theory of space in their *Mille plateaux* (*A Thousand Plateaus*).[20] Their theory is based on the continual interactions between smooth and striated space which reflects the dialectical notions of mobility and immobility, dynamic and static space. Smooth space is free from external boundaries which allows the subject to roam freely at will whereas striated space is bounded by societal norms or sedentary groups. These distinctions are palpable in the juxtaposition of nomadic life versus life in an urban environment.

Scholarship that delves into the relationship between nomadic and sedentary groups and their effect on the natural, physical environment has existed in the Arabo-Islamicate tradition since the medieval period. In the *Muqaddimah* by Ibn Khaldūn (1332-1406), he presents a view of universal history which is regarded as "the earliest attempt made by any historian to discover a pattern in the changes that occur in man's political and social organization."[21] In Book One of the *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* Ibn Khaldūn discusses Bedouin and sedentary populations and the theoretical conceptions by Deleuze and Guattari were undoubtedly influenced by his reflections on nomadism. Within his text, he describes space as having not only physical and social dimensions

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[18] Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak: Pre-Islamic Poetry and the Poetics of Ritual* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 271.

[19] Imruʾ al-Qays, 18.

[20] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Mille plateaux* (Paris: Éditions de minuit, 1980).

[21] Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, ed. N.J. Dawood (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), ix.

but a metaphorical one as well. Based on his analysis of Bedouin and urban civilizations, space affects one's mode of thinking and action, which alters future generations with regards to societal organization in a given space.

Per Richard van Leeuwen in his analysis of Deleuze and Guattari, neither of these spaces can exist without the other and he likens this symbiosis to the interactions between boundaries and narratives. He writes,

> "[e]very text has its own geography, which may or may not refer to an existing geography. Every text is located in a specific spatial setting, which preconditions the account, structures it and defines its relationship to reality. Texts are created by mapping an imagined, symbolic geography on another geography, political, social or physical. This is a complex procedure, since it is an effort to combine different worlds, the material surroundings and conceptual geographies established in sets of boundaries and spatial systems."[22]

While the multidimensional functions of space provide boundaries that structure society and systems of power, for the purpose of this chapter, focus will be given to the roles such functions have on the imagination and the ways in which they shape an individual's conception of the world around them. Boundaries, in the words of van Leeuwen, are "supported by narratives of various kinds, such as narratives of history, of ideology and politics, of collective and individual identities. Boundaries define and order the relationship of communities and individuals with their physical surroundings, which is imbued with all kinds of experiences, memories and expectations."[23] As seen in the *muʿallaqāt* from pre-Islamic times, belonging and estrangement are always tied to specific spaces and the shifting definition and limits of boundaries. The rise of urbanization in the medieval period brought about a new typology for expressing the wandering subject: the *maqāma*, an Arabic literary genre of rhymed prose.

These episodic "standings"[24] consist of a simple formulation: the hero-trickster, who may even be considered the anti-hero, roams a specific space which can be a market, cemetery, caravanserai, mosque, among other locations, in various disguises in an attempt to deceive unsuspecting people into giving him money. The narrator of the *maqāmāt* is witness to the hero-trickster's manipulations and exposes his true identity at the end of each tale, which leads the trickster to justify his actions before the two depart only to meet again under similar

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[22] Richard van Leeuwen, *The Thousand and One Nights: Space, Travel and Transformation* (London: Routeledge, 2007), 17.

[23] Ibid., 17.

[24] I borrow this English translation for *maqāmāt* from A.F.L. Beeston who derives the translation from the Arabic root ق - و - م meaning "to stand up; to rise." Beeston also considers the European translations "sessions" and "assemblies" to be either outright incorrect or ambiguous in meaning. See A.F.L. Beeston, "al-Hamadhānī, al-Ḥarīrī and the *Maqāmāt* Genre," in *Abbasid Belles-Lettres*, eds. Julia Ashtiany, T.M. Johnstone, J.D. Latham, and R.B. Serjeant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 127.

circumstances. The *maqāma* genre first came to fruition in the late tenth century by Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (968-1008). His collection of fifty-two short narratives composed in *sajʿ*[25], also known as ornamental rhymed prose, featured two protagonists: the hero-trickster Abū al-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī and a narrator by the name of ʿĪsā ibn Hishām. The literary and rhetorical influences found in the *maqāma* genre come from the rich tradition of *adab*[26] literature, "from which the maqama drew practically everything, from literary models to particular themes, motifs, situations, verses of poetry, figures of speech, clichés, and ready-made rhymed-prose formulas."[27]

Unlike the pre-Islamic poets who solely wander the desert, the hero-tricksters in the *maqāmāt* roam the entire medieval Islamicate world, thus broadening the geographical imagination of the time. In the case of Abū al-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī, al-Hamadhānī's rogue hero-trickster, "he is everywhere and nowhere…his movements know no end."[28] Alexander J. Elision observes that while the protagonists in the *maqāmāt* cover an expansive terrain, their focus is not on the natural or built environments within each locale. Nevertheless, these urbanized nomads and their accompanying narrators/witnesses are at ease in whichever city they may be.[29]

This absence of observations goes even further to include the lack of commentary on the customs and people of each location. Abdelfattah Kilito writes, al-Hamadhānī and al-Harīrī "don't address the realm of Otherness, the strange customs that would make them furrow their brows and open their eyes."[30] However, Elinson notes that in *al-Maqāmāt al-Luzūmiyya* by the Andalusī writer Abū al-Ṭāhir Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Saraqusṭī (d. 1143), there are instances in which the narrator takes note of the linguistic, cultural, and racial differences between himself and the denizens of a given city, in particular, the *al-maqāma al-barbariyya* (*The Berber*

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[25] W.J. Prendergast, in his translation of the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī, cites al-Jāḥiẓ's commentary on the twofold advantages of *sajʿ* as being easy to remember and pleasing to the ear. See Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, *The Maqāmāt*, trans. W.J. Prendergast (London: Luzac & Co., 1915), 8; al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-bayān wa l-tabyīn*, (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿah al-ʿilmīyah, 1895); Linda G. Jones, *The Power of Oratory in the Medieval Muslim World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[26] A single *adab* source that influenced al-Hamadhānī has yet to be pinpointed, but A.F.L. Beeston suggests al-Tanūkhī's (940-994) *al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda* as a possible parallel. See A.F.L. Beeston, "The Genesis of the *Maqāmāt* Genre," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 2, no. 1 (1971): 1-12.

[27] Rina Drory, "The Maqama," in *The Literature of al-Andalus*, eds. Maria Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 190.

[28] Abdelfattah Kilito, *Les Séances: Récits et codes culturels chez Hamadhanî et Harîrî* (Paris: Sindbad, 1983) 20. Translated from the French: "Autant dire qu'Abû l-Fath est de partout et de nulle part…Le déplacement ne connaît pas de fin."

[29] Alexander E. Elinson, *Looking Back at al-Andalus:The Poetics of Loss and Nostalgia in Medieval Arabic and Hebrew Literature* (London: Brill, 2009), 58.

[30] Abdelfattah Kilito, 21.

Maqāma).[31] This attention to differing characteristics bears more similarities to the observations found in the large corpus of travel narratives and geographical texts written by medieval Arab writers.

Unlike the fictional tales found in the *maqāmāt* which utilized geography in a referential way, the travel literature of the medieval period made extensive use of geography, boundaries, and space as the authors traverse a variety of natural, topographical boundaries, political borders, and urban man-made spaces. Among the most prominent travelers of the time are Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1304-1377) who traveled across Muslim and non-Muslim lands throughout a thirty-year span[32] and Ibn Faḍlān (alive 922) who details his encounters with Turkic, Slavic, and Rus populations during his journeys in Eurasia.[33] Nizar F. Hermes regards the *Risāla* of Ibn Faḍlān to be unique in its examination of "the topoi and discourses of alterity in medieval Arabic literature and culture."[34]

From al-Andalus, there are a number of renowned travelers such as Ibn Jubayr (1145-1217), who is considered as having established the *riḥla* genre for his observations on not only Salaḥ al-Dīn's extensive sultanate but the effects of declining Muslim power in the Mediterranean upon the Muslim and Christian populations in Norman Sicily.[35] Benjamin of Tudela (1130-1173) is the most prominent Jewish traveler in the medieval period and his travelogue provides keen insight into the urban life of Jewish communities across the Mediterranean and the Middle East.[36] Finally, the last Andalusī traveler in this review is Ibn al-Khaṭīb (1313-1374) from the Emirate of Granada. His vast literary, historiographical, and scientific legacy is well documented in the seventeenth-century text *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb wa dhikr wazīriha Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb* (*The Breath of Perfume from the*

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[31] Elinson, 59. See also James T. Monroe, "Al-Saraqusṭī ibn al-Aŝtarkūwī: Andalusī Lexicographer, Poet, and Author of *al-Maqāmāt al-Luzūmiyya*," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 28, no. 1 (1997): 1-37; Ignacio Ferrando Frutos, "La *Maqāma barbariyya* de al-Saraqusṭī," *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes,* no. 2 (1991): 119-129.

[32] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār fī gharāʾib al-amṣār wa ʿajāʾib al-asfār* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Wādī al-Nīl, 1867).

[33] Ibn Faḍlān, *Risālat Ibn Faḍlān fī waṣf al-riḥlah ilā bilād al-Turuk wa l-Turuk wa l-Khazar wa l-Rūs wa l-Ṣaqālibah*, ed. Sāmī al-Dahhān (Damascus: al-Maṭbaʿah al-Hāshimīyah, 1959).

[34] Nizar F. Hermes, *The [European] Other in Medieval Arabic Literature and Culture: Ninth-Twelfth Century AD* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 81.

[35] Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir lil-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-Nashr, 1964).

[36] Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, trans. Marcus Nathan Adler (New York: P. Feldheim, 1965).

Branch of Green Andalusia and Memorials of Its Vizier Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb) by al-Maqqarī (1578-1632).[37]

Ibn al-Khaṭīb had a prolific career in which he covered topics ranging from poetics, religion, agriculture, medicine, and falconry and some of his poetry is even inscribed along the walls of the Alhambra, the last vestige of the Nasrid dynasty. In his collection of *maqāmāt* entitled *Khaṭrat al-ṭayf fī riḥlat al-shitāʾ wa l-ṣayf* (*The Trembling of the Apparition: On Travel in Summer and Winter*), the picaresque plot is absent but the focus on space and place is evident as he narrates the Sultan's journey through al-Andalus.[38] He also contributed to the *riḥla* genre with his text *Nufāḍat al-jirāb fī ʿulālat al-ightirāb* (*The Shaking of the Bag: On the Diversion of the One Who Travels Abroad*), his personal memoirs that detail his experiences in the Marinid-controlled Maghrib. This text is considered to be one of his most important works and contains melancholic poems lamenting the vicissitudes of time as triggered by the sight of ancient ruins in addition to his observations on the people, customs, and urban environment in medieval Morocco.[39]

By the time of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, al-Andalus had experienced a number of territorial and political losses including Cordoba in 1013 as a result of the Berber *fitna*[40]; Toledo, the first major city in al-Andalus to be captured by Christian forces, was seized by Alfonso VI of Castile in 1085[41]; and Valencia was besieged in 1094 by the Castilian Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, also known as *El Cid*.[42] With the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordoba in 1031, the rest of al-Andalus subsequently broke into a number of *taifas*, or principalities, each independently ruled by a Muslim *amīr*. Thus, Andalusī poets and authors were witness to and experienced a multitude of losses: the loss of a homeland, a beloved, and even a cultural, linguistic, and religious heritage. This behavior, as I will show, continues in the modern Arabic poetic tradition

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[37] al-Maqqarī*, Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb wa dhikr wazīriha Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb,* ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbas (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968); *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain,* trans. Pascual de Gayangos (London: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1840-43).

[38] Alexander Knysh, "Ibn al-Khaṭīb," in *The Literature of al-Andalus*, eds. Maria Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 365.

[39] Ibid., 366; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭah fī akbār Gharnāṭah,* ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān (Cairo: Maktabah al-Khānjī) 56-7 in reference to *Nufāḍat al-jirāb fī ʿulālat al-ightirāb*: "This book is among the most important books of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, perhaps even the most important book after *al-Iḥāṭah*…It is considered according to Ibn al-Khaṭīb his personal memoirs from one of the most important times of his life: the time he spent in seclusion in Salé from Rajab 761 to Rajab 763 AH."

[40] Peter C. Scales, *The Fall of the Caliphate of Córdoba: Berbers and Andalusis in Conflict* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 38-41.

[41] José Miranda Calvo, *La reconquista de Toledo por Alfonso VI* (Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes de San Eugenio, 1980).

[42] Ambrosio Huici Miranda, *Historia musulmana de Valencia y su región: novedades y rectificaciones* (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1970).

as poets utilize space and Andalusī themes in much the same as their medieval ancestors to express their own confrontations with loss, history writing, and identity.

Chapter Two

(Re)Visions of Cordoba: Mapping Nostalgia and Memory in Medieval Andalusian Poetry

The discussion that follows will examine the manifestation and transformation of the *rithāʾ al-mudun* subgenre as seen in a *mukhammas* by Ibn Zaydūn (1003-1071) who experienced the disintegration of his homeland, the city of Cordoba, from afar. He laments the loss of the city through the evocation and juxtaposition of distant and adjacent architecture and space, thus sublimating his nostalgia into the creation of literary and cartographic memorials of affect and history. The loss of a homeland in a geographical, physical sense and its reverberations in the psyche and poetic imagination of the Andalusī poet are evident through his distinct rendition of the *rithāʾ al-mudun*, or city elegy, subgenre. Ibn Zaydūn, I argue, attempts to compensate for his loss of time, space, and identity through his distinctive renditions of the *rithāʾ al-mudun* and many of the sites, which are no longer in existence, are revivified to serve as personal repositories of memory for the exiled Cordobans. The *rithāʾ al-mudun* genre is traditional in form and style, utilizing a series of stock tropes and patterns for a twofold purpose: as a medium for one's mourning while simultaneously immortalizing the lost city as remembered by the poet. While the city elegy provides a specific framework in which one can lament the loss of a homeland, Ibn Zaydūn reformulates the elegy's existing characteristics in his *mukhammas* to evoke the same feelings of mourning, remembrance, and nostalgia.

Similar to the Arabic elegiac tradition, which has existed since pre-Islamic times with specific motifs and stylistic devices used to immortalize the deceased, the city elegy allows the poet to mourn and lament a lost beloved while providing a space to discuss the inescapable nature of Fate and the vicissitudes of time before transitioning into panegyrics of his subject.[43] In the *nasīb*, or nostalgic prelude, per Jaroslav Stetkevych's description found in *The Zephyrs of Najd*, "the male poet bemoans the loss of a female beloved, who has departed from a campsite upon whose 'traces' the poet now gazes."[44] In the city elegy, however, the beloved has become the city in ruins, or as seen in the *mukhammas* of Ibn Zaydūn, the city on the verge of or in the process of becoming ruins.

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[43] Among the most famous poets who composed elegies, or *marāthī*, during this time and in the early period of Islam were the female poets al-Khansāʾ (d. 646) and Laylā al-Akhyaliyya (d. ca. 704). For thorough structural and textual analyses of the elegies of al-Khansāʾ and Laylā al-Akhyaliyya, see Dana Sajdi, "Revisiting Layla al-Akhyaliyya's Trespass," pp. 185-227 and Marlé Hammond, "*Qasida, Marthiya,* and *Différance*," pp. 143-184 both found in *Transforming Loss into Beauty: Essays on Arabic Literature and Culture in Honor of Magda al-Nowaihi,* eds. Marlé Hammond and Dana Sajdi (Cairo: American University Press, 2008).

[44] Hammond, "Qasida, Marthiya, and Différance," 145.

"[T]he city, just like the *dār*, embodies the poet's sense of lost happiness and is the locus of a nostalgia that both triggers and anchors the melancholic poetic expression."[45]

The city elegy is representative of the loss felt by the individual yet also becomes a historical archive for poets to record every loss and catastrophe that occurred before their eyes. I will examine how Ibn Zaydūn remembers the city in much the same way pre-Islamic and Classical Arab poets remember the time spent with their beloveds. The obliterated abodes in the desert that once sparked nostalgic memories have been replaced with urban landscapes and palatial estates. Regardless of location, memory, in the words of Gaston Bachelard, requires a physical space in order to function for "memories are motionless and the more securely they are fixed in space, the sounder they are."[46] The poet laments the loss of the actual city in much the same way one would lament the loss of a beloved, utilizing similar rhetorical devices and images established by the elegiac tone of the *nasīb* in the *qaṣīda*.

Ibrāhīm Sinjilāwī traces a divide amongst critics as to the origins of this genre with some critics attributing the lament for lost cities to the Abbasid era while others consider this genre to be specific to al-Andalus.[47] Regardless of the subgenre's origins, it has no direct antecedent in Classical Arabic poetry. While the pre-Islamic poet's memories are triggered through his encounter with the Deleuzian smooth space of the *aṭlāl*, in the city elegy, the *aṭlāl* have transformed into a striated space that reflects the new urban environment of the medieval Islamicate world. The *rithāʾ al-mudun* subgenre became prominent in the Abbasid period after the establishment of Baghdad as the capital of the caliphate. The lofty architecture and urban landscapes provided poets with new symbols and toponyms to express their attachments to place.[48] These poets added their

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[45] Miguel Ángel Vázquez and Robert G. Havard, "Poetic Pilgrimages: From Baghdad to Andalucía, Abū Tammām's Lā anta anta wa-lā al-diyāru diyāru," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 34, no. ½ (2003): 129.

[46] Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space: The Classic Look at How We Experience Intimate Places,* trans. Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), 9.

[47] Ibrāhīm Sinjilāwī, *The 'Atlal-Nasib in Early Arabic Poetry: A Study of the Development of the Elegiac Genre in Classical Arabic Poetry*, ed. Nasser al-Hasan 'Athamneh (Irbid, Jordan: Yarmouk University Publication, 1999) 133-4.

[48] Alexander E. Elinson, "Loss Written in Stone: Ibn Shuhayd's Ritha' for Cordoba and Its Place in the Arabic Elegiac Tradition," in *Transforming Loss into Beauty: Essays on Arabic Literature and Culture in Honor of Magda al-Nowaihi*, eds. Marlé Hammond and Dana Sajdi (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2008), 84.
This attachment to place and space is also evident in Medieval Hebrew literature from al-Andalus. See "Space: Landscape, Geography, and Transition," in Jonathan P. Decter's *Iberian Jewish Literature: Between al-Andalus and Christian Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007) 175-206. In this chapter, Decter juxtaposes the conception of space in Hebrew poetry with Hebrew rhymed prose in the Andalusian period with the former focusing on the immediately surroundings of the poet (typically limited to the garden) and the latter reflecting a reimagination of space that is not bound by traditional borders and heightened especially after the Capitulation of Granada in 1492.

new set of aesthetics to the established elegiac genre to express loss of and nostalgia for the urban environment.

According to Alexander Elinson, the city elegy is defined by three types of characteristics: the typical elegy written in praise and honor of a befallen loved one or companion, repetitive words or phrases, and finally, the use of toponyms, a practice that has existed since pre-Islamic times.[49] If we take these characteristics to be the "requirements" for the city elegy, the *mukhammas* of Ibn Zaydūn is in fact part of the Andalusī *rithāʾ al-mudun* genre. The poet's subjective experiences create an affective map of the city with the landscape and built environment serving a dual purpose: they act as the poets' personal memory devices to amplify and project back his emotions while also providing a phenomenology of the Cordoban Caliphate during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The ninth-century Abbasid poet Abū Yaʿqūb al-Khuraymī composed a 135-verse poem on the devastation of Baghdad and this is among the earliest examples of *rithāʾ al-mudun* as the poet details the city's ruined palaces, gardens, and houses.[50]

"Have you seen the gardens in flower,
when their blossoms delight the eye of the beholder?
Have you seen the palaces rising into view,
their chambers concealing women like statues?
Have you seen the villages the kings have planted,
when their fields are green,
Surrounded by vineyards, palm trees,
and fragrant herbs from which their birds take seeds?
Now they have become devoid of
people. Their gardens have been defiled with blood —
Desolate and empty! Dogs howl in them.
He who visits them does not recognize the vestiges of them."[51] [3]

Sinjilāwī points out the use of repetition, as illustrated in this excerpt with the use of the interrogative *hal raʾaytu* ("have you seen?"), as "an elegiac rhetorical device to

[49] Alexander E. Elinson, "Loss Written in Stone," 81.

[50] P.F. Kennedy, "Abū Yaʿqūb al-Khuraymī," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* vol. 1, ed. Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (London: Routledge, 1998), 50.

[51] al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, Volume 31: The War between Brothers*, trans. Michael Fishbein (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 141. Michael Fishbein has translated this poem by Abū Yaʿqūb al-Khuraymī, *Dīwān al-Khuraymī*, eds. ʿAlī Jawād al-Ṭāhir and Muḥammad Jabbār al-Muʿaybid (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Jadīd, 1971).

emphasize and intensify loss and sorrow."[52] In addition, his question highlights the appeal and charm of Baghdad's built and natural environments prior to its destruction. The gardens and castles, as I will show throughout this study, become a common image in the city elegy to juxtapose past memories of caliphal splendor and lives of leisure with present experiences of devastation and loss.

The *rithāʾ al-mudun* emerged in al-Andalus in the eleventh-century after the fall of Cordoba in 1013 due the Berber *fitna* and lasted until the Capitulation of Granada in 1492. The losses throughout al-Andalus did not come about from any single cause and thus, in each city elegy, the poet differs in their approach to both extolling and lamenting the virtues of Andalusī cities as a result of specific political and social circumstances.[53] Their elegies fused the beloved and the city into a single object of mourning, allowing "for a new method of altering and blending such themes as al-atlal (the abandoned campsite), geographic description, rumination of the vicissitudes of fate, the inevitability of death, and so on."[54] The intrinsic relationship between resident and residence is clear as the poets present their subjective experiences which are tied to familiar places and memories.[55] In the case of Ibn Zaydūn although he composed a number of poems mourning his bygone relationship with his beloved, the Umayyad princess Wallāda bint al-Mustakfī, he also wrote a number of poems elegizing his beloved city. Throughout the course of his poem, his exile unfolds in temporal and spatial ways as he creates his version of Cordoba based on memories from his youth. The result is an exhaustive mapping and memorialization of Cordoba and the palace-city Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ as a Paradise Lost.

The space of eleventh-century Cordoba is treated with exacting detail by Ibn Zaydūn, who was a native Cordoban and witness to the many splendors of the city. The terrain and the layout of the Caliphate are highly specific in the poem as he makes reference to numerous palaces, gardens, and landmarks. For in many instances, these were also the locations of his trysts with his beloved, the Umayyad prince Wallāda hint al-Mustakfī. Sartre writes that the act of imagination is "a magical one…destined to produce the object of one's thought, the thing one desires, in such a way that one can take possession of it."[56] Ibn Zaydūn's poem in remembrance of Cordoba is a multi-faceted memorial to a city in ruins, and is also his attempt to compensate for his loss of time,

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[52] Sinjilāwī, 151.

[53] This includes, among others, the conquest of Valencia by El Cid and the Christian conquests of Toledo and Seville in 1085 and 1248, respectively.

[54] Alexander E. Elinson, "Loss Written in Stone," 84.

[55] This relationship between the poet/resident and the residence also exists in the Medieval Jewish literary tradition from al-Andalus (Sefarad). See Jonathan P. Decter, *Iberian Jewish Literature: Between al-Andalus and Christian Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007).

[56] Jean-Paul Sartre, *The Psychology of the Imagination* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1948), 141.

space, and identity, thus resulting in the transformation of this public space into a personal repository for his memories.

Ibn Zaydūn is considered one of the most famous Arab-Andalusian poets of the eleventh-century. Born into an aristocratic Cordoban family, he received a thorough education in Arabic literature which led to him composing verses in the style of Classical Arabic poetry until he began creating original works in panegyrics and satire. His most personal work explored the theme of love and many of his poems detailed the development and deterioration of his love affair with Wallāda. "The two at first exchanged letters of mutual devotion, but when later their relationship deteriorated Wallāda composed letters of rejection, while Ibn Zaydūn responded with poems of desperation and reproach."[57]

Wallāda bint al-Mustakfī was the daughter of the Caliph Muhammad al-Mustakfī and was well-known throughout Cordoba for both her poetry skills and fiery personality. According to Ibn Bassām's historical account he writes that "her free manners and disdain of the veil indicated an ardent nature…Her house at Cordova was the arena in which poets and prose writers were vying with each other…The greatest poets and prose writers were anxious to obtain the sweetness of her intimacy, which it was not difficult to attain."[58]

The eleventh-century Andalusian historian Ibn Bassām details the relationship between Ibn Zaydūn and Wallāda by tracing their exchange of lines of poetry. As quoted in Nykl, "the lovers met in a beautiful garden, under the dense foliage of trees, among bubbling creeks in a flowery grove, covered with dew, and spent unforgettable moments in close reunion, their hearts 'filled with the pure wine of joy.'"[59] Ibn Zaydūn wrote about their mutual love and affection while concealing it from others in his most famous poem the *Nūniyya* (*The Ode Rhyming in Nūn*).

However, the mood in their correspondence shifts as Ibn Bassām notes that Wallāda began to lose interest in Ibn Zaydūn. Suspicious that he liked one of her maids, Wallāda began writing scathing lines of poetry to her lover:

"If you did justice to our love, you would not desire nor prefer my slave girl.

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[57] Robert Irwin, *Night and Horses and the Desert: An Anthology of Classical Arabic Literature* (Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 2000), 272.

[58] Ibn Bassām as quoted in A. R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry, and Its Relations with the Old Proveņcal Troubadours* (Baltimore: J.H. Furst Company, 1946), 107.

[59] Nykl, 108.

Nor would you forsake a fertile branch, in its beauty, and to turn a branch devoid of fruit.
You know that I am the moon in the sky, but you burn, to my chagrin, for Jupiter."[60] [4]

After this particular exchange, Ibn Zaydūn was never able to regain Wallāda's affections; the more he implored her for forgiveness and pledged his devotion, the further the princess rebuffed his pleas. Nykl argues that Wallāda's steely behavior towards the poet was due in large part to her pride. She "knew that if she yielded to these appeals, her lover would gain ascendancy over here and she was loth to allow this to happen. She was of the type that needed an intellectually inferior, wealthy man, who would give her a life of secure comfort, together with a feeling of being superior to him." [61] As a result, she positioned herself to be courted by Ibn ʿAbdus, a politician and a former friend of the poet.

Ibn Zaydūn's attempts to break up the new lovers failed, even as he tried to humiliate Ibn ʿAbdus in public. Although Ibn ʿAbdus became the laughingstock of Cordoba, Wallāda maintained her position alongside him and went so far as to compose several verses directed at Ibn Zaydūn, as "her former love turned into a most violent hatred, which found its expression in several verses of outspoken obscenity, revealing her utter baseness."[62] These exchanges show the princess's growing disdain for Ibn Zaydūn, yet their love affair inspired him to write many poems which utilized preexisting themes and forms of the classical *qaṣīda*, but in innovative ways. As a result, many of his works became part of the canon of Andalusian poetry, including the *Nūniyya*.

The changing definition of the *qaṣīda* also meant that the traditional themes and styles covered in the poem were gradually replaced to suit the poem's new function. For instance, the traditional *nasīb* was replaced with various innovations, such as descriptions of "spring, gardens and wine, blame of fate, and lament for lost youth."[63] The poetic language also diversified as poets combined existing images with rhetorical figures such

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[60] Devin J. Stewart, "Ibn Zaydun," in *The Literature of Al-Andalus.* Maria Rosa Menocal, Raymond P Scheindlin, and Michael Anthony Sells, eds. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 309.

[61] Nykl, 112.

[62] Ibid., 113. Nykl does not publish these verses, claiming they would not make sense in English translation, but these verses are translated by Devin J. Stewart in his chapter entitled"Ibn Zaydun" in *The Literature of al-Andalus:* "Ibn Zaydun's backside swoons for the rods in men's pants./Were it to spy a penis atop a palm tree, it would swoop down on it like a vulture." (309) According to Nykl, these verses reflect Wallada's true, morally corrupt, personality. Stewart, however, neither substantiates nor denies Nykl's assertion on Wallada, but does note that Ibn Zaydun also used crude and disrespectful when attacking others who sought out Wallada's affections (309).

[63] Beatrice Gruendler, "The Qasida," in *The Literature of Al-Andalus.* eds. Maria Rosa Menocal, Raymond P Scheindlin, and Michael Anthony Sells (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 213

as *jinās* (paronomasia) and *ṭibāq* (antithesis) or demonstrated their mastery of the Arabic langauge and of pre-Islamic poetry through the use of allusion and *gharīb*, obscure and archaic words. When the *qaṣīda* form entered the poetry of al-Andalus, certain features such as nature poetry, "where nature is infused with a human soul, or love poetry, where a refined, almost spiritual feeling is expressed" were introduced and characterized as "Andalusian."[64] These characteristics are evident in Ibn Zaydūn's *Nūniyya* as he laments being separated from Wallāda, his beloved.

The use of nature is a prominent theme in the *Nūniyya* and also figures heavily in his elegy to Cordoba. The intense emotion the poet feels for the beloved breaks down poetic convention with the plentiful use of rhetorical devices to contrast the past and present in addition to the personification of nature as an active participant in the poet's dilemmas. In the *Nūniyya*, lines fifteen through seventeen describe the poet's past sensual and spiritual love for Wallāda through the use of nature imagery.

15 "When life bounded free in the intimacy we gave, when the meadows of our pleasure were pure,

16 When whatever we wished we gathered from the boughs of loving bending near.

17 Oh the good times spent with you — God bless them with a gentle rain. You were for our spirits the fragrance of basil."[65] [5]

In line 15, the purity of love is stressed with the double use of the root "صفى" as an adjective and also as a pronominal verbal noun. The image of purity is juxtaposed with the poet's clear use of the language of fulfillment: the poet recalls plucking the fruit from the branches of intimacy.

The nature and paradisiacal imagery continues with the poet's use of Qur'anic allusions to invoke images of Eden. However, unlike his elegy to Cordoba, which uses the River Kawthar to compare the city to a literal paradise on Earth, in the *Nūniyya*, these images have a much different purpose. In line 35, the vocabulary used visually summons heaven and hell as they are described in the Qurʾan:

35 "O garden never dying, your lote tree and spring of Kawthar are now for us the tree of skulls and the drink of the damned."[66] [6]

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[64] *Ibid.,* 217.

[65] Ibn Zaydūn, trans. Michael Sells. *The Literature of al-Andalus*, 492-493.

[66] Ibn Zaydūn, trans. Michael Sells, 494.

The lote tree (*sidr*) is the tree connected to the nocturnal journey of Muhammad and his ascension to heaven (Qurʾan 53:1-18). Plus, "the waters of Kawthar are the waters of paradise promised to those who keep the faith. The skulls and drink of the damned, on the other hand, are found within Qurʾanic depictions of the fate of those who betray the faith."[67] The juxtaposition of heaven and hell reinforces the poet's opinion of life with and without the beloved by his side. Throughout his elegy on Cordoba, however, this juxtaposition is nonexistent for Cordoba arouses only pleasant memories in the mind of Ibn Zaydūn.

The nostalgic ode had been a tradition in al-Andalus since the establishment of Cordoba as an Umayyad emirate by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I in the eighth century. Reportedly written by the Umayyad emir himself due to his homesickness for his grandfather's estate in Syria, his ode to a palm tree is representative of a longstanding tradition of writing on exile, separation, and longing:

> A palm tree stands in the middle of Rusafa,
> Born in the West, far from the land of palms.
> I said to it: How like me you are, far away and in exile,
> In long separation from family and friends.
> You have sprung from soil in which you are a stranger;
> And I, like you, am far from home.[68] [7]

Ibn Zaydūn was only eight years old when a Berber revolt led to the destruction of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, the former palace-city of the Caliph 'Abd al-Rahman III. The city, which took nearly forty years to construct, was sacked in 1010, leaving a dynastic legacy that lasted for only approximately seventy-four years. The marble and precious stones were looted and used for other structures, leaving "the ruins of the palaces and gardens of Madīnat al-Zahra [to become] the touchstones in Andalusian memory for human grandeur – and its ultimate fragility."[69] From then on, the caliphal city became another site upon which poets would stop and weep. The eleventh-century poet al-Sumaysir is just one of the many poets who observed the pre-Islamic practice of *bukāʾ ʿalā-ʾl aṭlāl* ("weeping at the ruins"). He writes,

> I stopped at al-Zahrāʾ weeping,
> taking it in, lamenting its fragments.
> And I said: "Oh Zahrāʾ, won't you come back?"

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[67] Michael Sells, "Love," *The Literature of al-Andalus*, 132.

[68] D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 128.

[69] Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created A Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2002), 37.

and she replied: “Does one ever come back from death?”
I didn’t stop weeping, weeping there,
the tears were of no avail, none at all.
As though they were traces shed
by the mourners who lament the dead.[70] [8]

Although Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ became a landscape of desolation, the space became intimately and favorably tied to Ibn Zaydūn as a result of his trysts with Wallāda. Stetkevych observes that in his poetry, “all ruins become abodes of beauty and happiness, and indeed of perfection…The remembering heart seems to know no ruins.”[71] The poet transforms the architectural ruins of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ into an earthly paradise and the allusion of the garden to a Qur’anic paradise is a common device in his poetry. His *Nūniyya*, is considered to be his best work as he reflects nostalgically on his lost love. Devin Stewart cites the 14th-century philologist al-Safadi as declaring the *Nūniyya* to be “so emblematic of the longing and exile that anyone who memorized the poem, it was rumored, would surely die far from home.”[72]

Ibn Zaydūn’s depiction of the space of Cordoba and in particular, Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, the palace-city of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, is based on his recollections of time spent in the city and these descriptions constitute a large portion of the poem. The seventeenth-century historian Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Maqqari composed a two-part history of al-Andalus, with the first part constructed as a compilation of many authors’ work on the history of Muslim Spain with descriptions of its many cities and the second part focusing on Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the fourteenth-century scholar from Granada mentioned earlier in this chapter. In Part One: Book Three, there is a detailed description of Cordoba, beginning with its ancient history and detailing the construction of buildings and palaces, including Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ.

Al-Maqqari sites various authors in his section on Cordoba and descriptions include Cordoba as “the largest city in all Andalus, and one which had no rival either in the East or the West” and its citizens “are famous for their courteous and polished manners, their superior intelligence, their exquisite taste and magnificence in their meals, drink, dress, and horses.”[73] The date of the initial construction of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ

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[70] ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Zayyāt, *Rithāʾ al-mudun fī-l-shʿir al-Andalusī* (Benghazi: Manshūrāt jāmiʿat Qaryūns, 1990), 665. Translation mine.

[71] Jaroslav Stetkevych, *Zephyrs of Najd: The Poetics of Nostalgia in the Classical Arabic Nasib* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 193.

[72] Stewart, 312.

[73] Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Maqqarī. *Nafḥ al-ṭīb ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb, wa-dhikr Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb*. trans. Pascual de Gayangos as *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*. Vol. 1 (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1840), 201.

varies in the historical accounts, but falls within a four year time span; al-Maqqari sites the year 940 A.D. while others, including eleventh-century historian Ibn Ḥayyān, record the initial start date as 936 A.D.

The reasons for the construction of this palace-city varies as well, but many of these reasons are based purely on anecdotal evidence. According to al-Maqqari, a concubine of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III bequeathed him a vast wealth upon her death and these funds were ordered to be used in regaining Muslim captives from Frankish territories. Since no captives could be found, the caliph decided to use these funds to erect a palace in honor of his favorite concubine al-Zahrāʾ.[74] Janina M. Safran, however, challenges this well-known anecdote and argues that this palace-city was in fact built in order to display the Caliph's power in comparison with his rivals in the 'Abbasid and Fatimid dynasties.

Safran writes that nearly two centuries prior to the construction of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mansur established Madīnat al-Salam on the bank of the Tigris River in 762. This palace-city was a "signal of a new era in Islam and engineered a shift in the center of the Islamic world away from Syria and the Mediterranean to Iraq and the Persian Gulf."[75] In regards to the Fatimid dynasty, the caliph al-Mahdi built a palace-city outside of Qayrawan and named it al-Mahdiyya, after himself. This city then became the seat of the newly established caliphate. By erecting these palace-cities and establishing them as the new capital, these caliphs, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III included, intended to showcase not only their power, but their expectations for the longevity of their dynasty.

In the case of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, he not only utilized funds for his palace-city, but he also encouraged the restoration and construction of other *munyas,* or estates, around its perimeter, thus allowing for the space between Cordoba and Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ to become fully inhabited.[76] Currently, however, archaeological evidence has only been able to account for approximately ten percent of this total area, causing historical and literary texts to account for the rest of the space. The textual evidence, while not fully corroborated by material evidence, provides a glimpse into how Andalusian society functioned and utilized the spaces around them. This is certainly the case with Ibn Zaydūn and his elegy of Cordoba.

In *The Image of the City*, Kevin Lynch writes that, "each individual picture [of the city] is unique, with some content that is rarely or never communicated."[77] Based on his

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[74] al-Maqqarī, trans. de Gayangos, 232.

[75] Janina M. Safran. *The Second Umayyad Caliphate: The Articulation of Caliphal Legitimacy in Al-Andalus.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 53.

[76] Safran, 56.

[77] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1960), 46.

study of three American cities, Lynch states that the contents of the city image can be divided into five elements: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks.[78] These basic forms are evident in the poem of Ibn Zaydūn as he reconstructs his destroyed homeland from memory. "When the city is well articulated and made legible, it turns into a medium for meanings: a place."[79] With his focus on architectural and topographical space, Ibn Zaydūn creates a symbiotic relationship between objects and poetry. "For literature or for the literary text the architectural object (in the most general sense: city, garden, house, machine, clothing, furniture, building, or monument) is endowed with a particularly rich and complex semantic status."[80] The reader is unable to grasp the full meaning of the poem without also imagining the spatial layout of Cordoba and vice versa. The poet's chosen "architectural object" is the city itself, which classifies, organizes, and partitions the space within the poem thus creating a system to capture the poet's memories.

The *mukhammas* of Ibn Zaydūn is structurally interesting for its *nasīb* within a *nasīb* and lack of a traditional *raḥīl* section. The first two strophes follow the convention as the poet speaks of weeping and calls upon his two companions while he comments upon Fate's ability to bestow disaster. However, his response to handling said disaster is cavalier, even going so far as to imitate the now proverbial line attributed to Imruʾ al-Qays when he learned of the death of his father while drinking (*al-yawma khamrun wa ghadan amrun*).[81]

1 Breathing in the fragrance of the zephyrs
And longing for the memories of youth return time after time
Since the flash of lightning continues to radiate
Calling upon tears until they gush forth
For does youthful longing even possess tears?

2 Oh my two friends, if I worry then the cause is evident
If I can be patient it is because patience is in my nature
If Fate bestows disaster
Then our today has wine and tomorrow is another matter

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[78] Lynch, 46.

[79] Ahmed Hamed El Antably, "Experiencing the Past: The Virtual (Re)Construction of Places." Thesis. University of California, Berkeley, 2011. 14 Dec. 2014, 17.

[80] Philippe Hamon, *Expositions: Literature and Architecture in Nineteenth-Century France*. Trans. Katia Sainson-Frank and Lisa Maguire (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) 26.

[81] Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak: Pre-Islamic Poetry and the Poetics of Ritual* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 245.

It is no wonder that the noble are generous[82]

The poem takes on an elegiac tone immediately thereafter as he complains about the vicissitudes of fate and the watchful stars before entering into a dialogue with his beloved, the city of Cordoba, as seen in Figure 1. The dialogic nature of this section shifts from addressing the second-person dual, his two companions (*khalīlayya*), to the second-person singular feminine as seen with the poet's use of the possessive pronoun (*-ki*).

3 The nights shot me from the bow of misfortune
For calamities' messages didn't miss me
My days pass with false illusions
At night I sought refuse under slow-moving stars
For the slowest night traveler is a star with eyes upon it

4 Oh beautiful Cordoba! Is there desire within you?
Is the heart that burns with desire due to your distance quenched?
Will your famous nights have a return?
Where beauty is seen and leisure is heard
Where the all the world's pleasures are pleasant

5 Is it not surprising that distance is distant from you?
Wasn't I intoxicated by the scent of your courtyards?
Weren't my parts tied to yours?
Wasn't I first created out of your earth?
Wasn't I safely cradled in your fold?

The poet's persistent questioning in the fourth and fifth strophes is highlighted through the repetitive use of interrogative and negative interrogative particles, one of three elements that Alexander Elinson has identified as being a characteristic of the city elegy.[83] These strophes provide insight into the poet's relationship to Cordoba while fostering feelings of grief at the current and degenerating state of the city. In expressing his angst at being separated from the city, he declares his Cordoban identity; he is a direct product of everything that constitutes the urban environment.

Jaroslav Stetkevych observes that Ibn Zaydūn's claim to Cordoba is akin to Adam's claim to Paradise. This foreshadows two things to come: the poet will inevitably face the same fate as Adam but until then, Cordoba is the poet's Garden of Eden. Thus his ode to the city begins in the sixth strophe with descriptions that incite all the senses.

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[82] Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Zaydūn, *Diwān* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1964), 37-45. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted. I also relied upon a Spanish translation of this poem by María Jesús Rubiera Mata in *Literatura hispanoárabe* (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2004), 76-79.

[83] Elinson, *Looking Back at al-Andalus,* 81.

6 Your days are luminous, your nights are radiant
Your soil is morning rain, your branches are intoxication
Your earth is a verdant when your sky is barren
Your aroma and myrtles are refreshing to the soul
Your pleasant shade is sufficient for desires

This strophe could be interpreted as the *takhalluṣ*, or disengagement from his sadness, as he embarks on his *raḥīl*. Unlike the desert journey, however, which the poet typically undertakes on a she-camel, Ibn Zaydūn travels by foot through Cordoba and Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ. While these detailed peregrinations are clearly the poet's attempt to restore an idealized past, they also provide a layout of eleventh-century Cordoba that no longer exists. This creation of a city layout – a map – of Cordoba is the second goal of this paper. By plotting the sites mentioned by Ibn Zaydūn in consultation with archaeological, art historical, and landscape architectural sources, the goal is to present an idea of the Cordoba that once was, fusing the task of the poet and historian into a single role of connecting the past city space with one's past quotidian life.

The topographical spaces within his elegy are each invested with a number of cultural connotations thus charging the poem's spaces with historical and cultural content. French literary theorist Philippe Hamon dedicates an entire chapter in his work *Expositions: Literature and Architecture in 19th-century France* to the use of architecture in the lyric poem. Hamon's argument in this chapter is that the inclusion of architecture in the lyric allows the writer to believe that he is controlling and mastering space and time.[84] By controlling their environment through the detailing and placement of architectural sites, each author in turn organizes and establishes his identity as a member of Cordoban aristocracy. This generation of poets came from a particular social class in which they were part of the aristocracy by blood and by political administration. "They are the sons of the major officials in the Umayyad caliphate, born and raised in the cities of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ or Madīnat al-Zāhira, receiving proper educations, writing in refined Arabic, and expecting a comfortable future in the court."[85]

In the case of Ibn Zaydūn, he abandons the use of architectural references towards the end of the poem, which thus coincides with his feeling of helplessness amidst his exclusion from these very spaces he describes. As he calls out to Cordoba, with its celebrated nights and pleasures, he positions his current self as merely an observer of the past. The fragrant streets are now only present in his memories and the city's calm, clear days and mirth-filled evenings, which were once common experiences for Ibn Zaydūn, the former inhabitant of Cordoba, are now out of reach for Ibn Zaydūn, the exile. His

[84] Phillippe Hamon, *Expositions: Literature and Architecture in Nineteenth-Century France*, trans. Katia Sainson-Frank and Lisa Maguire (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 191-208.

[85] Rubiera Mata, 72.

depiction of the space of Cordoba and in particular, Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ is based on his recollections of time spent in the city and these descriptions constitute a large portion of the poem. The poet's desire to regenerate the city is clear as he spends nearly two-thirds of his one hundred-line poem on space, landscape, and architecture with descriptions ranging from grand, caliphal estates to small paths along the riverbanks. This ekphrastic description of the city via architectural and topographical spaces creates a symbiotic relationship between objects and poetry.[86] The reader is unable to grasp the full meaning of the poem with its emotional valences without also imagining the spatial layout of Cordoba and vice versa.

As the poet's mental map of a city progresses, districts are identified and contain some sort of meaning for the individual. Districts are, according to Kevin Lynch, "relatively large city areas which the observer can mentally go inside of" and possess some type of identifiable characteristic.[87] Starting with the seventh strophe, Ibn Zaydūn creates his own city districts comprising of specific buildings, landscapes, and toponyms that generate a recollection of specific events either in his personal history or that of his city. From this point forward, the poet continues his description of the city for six strophes, resulting in thirty lines detailing his previous activities in Cordoba and Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ. His first district contains perhaps the most emotionally evocative site in all of Cordoba – Ruṣāfa – as he writes:

7 How could I forget the time of leisure in the hills,
A pleasant life under the cover of *Ruṣāfa,*
A villa facing the *Jaʿfariyya,*
Enjoying the places of the soul: the gardens and streams
Enjoying the places of youth and pleasure

In her book *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created A Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*, María Rosa Menocal details the history of Cordoba as a site of refuge for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I after years in exile following the Umayyad fall in Damascus in 750. Menocal states, "among the memory palaces built by the exiled Umayyad prince in al-Andalus, none was more personal and poignant than a place called Rusafa. Located in Syria, the Umayyads turned a walled city into their family retreat…Outside Cordoba, Abd al-Rahman built his new Rusafa…a place where he could collect and cultivate the living things that had been so central to beauty and

[86] For the purpose of this paper, I am using the Ancient Greek rhetoric of ekphrasis and not the modern definition of the term, which is a poetic description of a work of art. For a detailed discussion on this term, see Ruth Webb, "Ekphrasis Ancient and Modern: The Invention of a Genre," *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 15, no. 1 (1999): 7-18.

[87] Lynch, 66.

delight in Syria."[88] Ruggles states that Ruṣāfa was the first palace built in Cordoba by the Umayyads with many of the plants and trees invoking visions of the Syrian Ruṣāfa.

The poet's choice to begin with this acclaimed estate over all others is a deliberate effort to showcase his former status in Cordoban society. Philippe Hamon writes, "since all architecture is social and human…[it] thus functions as an ostensive (or ostentatious) way of displaying the signs of private social vanity or of flaunting official power."[89] The Cordoban Rusafa became the material way of displaying political authority and authenticity. This estate was "a marker for the capital of the Umayyad Empire, first in Syria and now in the West."[90] The gardens and surrounding flora as representative of the poet's *locus amoenus* continue into the eighth strophe where he introduces a long-standing poetic convention of geographic uncertainty: the ʿAqīq.

8 Oh many a gathering and festivity at the ʿAqīq
By the canals where one looks upon the peeking narcissus
A setting of breezes, a state of desires and despairs
Cloudy but for the splendor of wine becomes brilliant
If what appears in one's cup shines

Jaroslav Stetkevych traces the usage of this motif to the *muʿallaqāt* of pre-Islamic poets Imruʾ al-Qays and Hārith Ibn Hillizah. In both cases, its usage occurs in the *nasīb* to position the poet's elegiac landscape. While little is known about the geographical identity of the ʿAqīq, Stetkevych argues that this point is of little relevance because its primary role is metaphorical as it undergoes symbolic transformation in Bedouin and courtly elegies to nostalgic idylls in the Andalusī tradition.[91] For Ibn Zaydūn, Stetkevych hypothesizes that the ʿAqīq may in fact be the Guadalquivir River (highlighted in Figure 3), but emphasizes the ritual and symbolic aspect of invoking the ʿAqīq as the "river is now epitomized and where poets everywhere take delight."[92]

Continuing with the theme of water, the next strophe details one of the poet's first meetings with his beloved at the "Honeycomb" fountain (*ʿayn shuhda*). This is also the first instance where Ibn Zaydūn provides physical characteristics of his beloved,

9 We met at the Honeycomb fountain
We began meeting there and the return was praiseworthy

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[88] Menocal, 64.

[89] Hamon, 43.

[90] Safran, 176.

[91] Jaroslav Stetkevych, 113.

[92] Ibid., 113.

They brought a bride of pleasure, slender, fair-skinned with black eyes
A sweet smile and rosy cheeks
And hennaed hands dyed with wine

The poet continues his ritualistic consumption of ruins and topographical minutiae with the naming of streets, paths, and streams. The poet on numerous occasions describes walking along a path to the Palace of al-Nāṣir that is located between white hills as seen in Figure 4.

10 Where we crossed the bridge upstream
To the *Naṣriyy* palace between the white hills
We went from the shores of the riverbank to the hills
Where the winds play and spread perfume
Along branches of flowers fluttering from side to side

It is clear that this particular path holds special significance to the poet and as he describes the path, he makes note of certain landmarks and landscapes that are visible from this area. According to Lynch, "[p]roximity to special features of the city could also endow a path with increased importance."[93] D. Fairchild Ruggles notes that Ibn Zaydūn's name for this palace is especially interesting due to two factors: the unusual word choice for palace, *jawsaq* (جَوسَق), and the adjective used to describe the palace. According to Edward Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon*, this word is an Arabicized word from the Persian word كُوشْك.[94] Ruggles observes that "the word *jawsaq* was seldom used in relation to Hispano-Islamic palaces, in the east this Persian word had the meaning of "palace" or "villa."[95] This is also the only time throughout the poem in which Ibn Zaydūn does not use the Arabic word for palace, *qaṣr* (قَصر). In 929, the emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān "declared himself caliph of al-Andalus…and adopted the throne name al-Nāṣir (The Victorious One)."[96] Based on the adjective used to the describe the palace, *naṣrīyy* (نَصريّ), one can infer that this palace mentioned by the poet was in fact the residence of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III.

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[93] Lynch, 51.

[94] Edward Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* Book I, p. 486. cited on 16 December 2013 from www.ejtaal.net.

[95] D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 128.

[96] Marilyn Higbee Walker, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, Caliph of Córdoba," in *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*. ed. E. Michael Gerli (New York: Routledge, 2003), 7.
Maribel Fierro provides a thorough detailing of the caliphal names assumed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and states that al-Nāṣir was the title "most used in the literary sources as well as in the epigraphy and numismatics of the time." Maribel Fierro *Abderramán III y el califato omeya de Córdoba* (Donostia-San Sebastián: Editorial Nerea, S. A., 2011) 95.

In addition, situating the bridge in the context of Ibn Zaydūn's map is much easier now knowing the position of the Caliphal palace. Antonio Vallejo Triano writes on the hydraulic system of Cordoban Caliphate in his article "Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ: Transformation of a Caliphal City" and notes that the city utilized a previously existing aqueduct system within the hills and mountains but constructed a new bridge. Triano describes this as "the main Islamic contribution to the pre-existing infrastructure…a work of obvious caliphal manufacture, both in the style of its architectural construction, and in its decoration."[97] With this information and the archaeological evidence, we can place this district in the northwest section of Madīnat al-Zahraʾ.

However the authenticity of such places in the Arabic poetic tradition is inconsequential argues Alexander Elinson, because "rather than presenting a description or demarcation of an actual location, the poet uses the emotionally evocative *nasib* and the metaphor of place to express the universally familiar and ineffaceable feelings of desolation, loss, and nostalgia."[98] While these toponyms do hold immense evocative power, I will later show that by verifying the existence of these places and their geographical locations, the poet has a secondary role as a cartographer, detailing the urban layout of eleventh-century Cordoba, a site for which scant contemporaneous cartographic evidence survives.

Returning again to the path that leads to the Caliphal palace, Ibn Zaydūn identifies the surrounding landscapes and additional palaces located in Cordoba. Paths, per urban planner Kevin Lynch, are vital in the creation of one's mental map for "paths with clear and well-known origins and destinations had stronger identities, helped tie the city together, and gave the observer a sense of his bearings whenever he crossed them."[99] This last statement is especially useful in analyzing Ibn Zaydūn's reconstruction of the city. Even though he composed this poem while imprisoned, his recollection of this path allowed him to once again position himself in a certain sector of the city.

The eleventh strophe provides much more information on the makeup of the city than one may realize upon initial reading.

11 The best days have passed
Either at the waterwheel or the *Nāṣiḥ* palace
The winds tremble within those valleys
Rippling the surface of the springs and canals

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[97] Antonio Vallejo Triano, "Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ: Transformation of a Caliphal City," in *Revisiting al-Andalus: Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond*. trans. Mariam Rosser-Owen eds. Glaire D. Anderson and Mariam Rosser-Owen (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 8.

[98] Elinson, "Loss Written in Stone," 81.

[99] Lynch, 54.

Where one sees the sun shining its rust-colored spears

In his article on the Arab monuments of Cordoba, Rafael Castejón suggests that the Cortijo Del Alcaide, a Spanish site along the Guadalquivir River, contains remnants and fragments that leads him, along with other archaeologists, to believe that the location was once the site of Dār al-Naʿura, the Palace of the Waterwheel.[100] Dār al-Naʿura was the country home of the caliph and after construction began at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, the caliph had a path erected that joined the two residences.[101] Although Glaire D. Anderson acknowledges that architectural remains found in these locations "indicate that the structures were constructed and decorated with materials and a visual vocabulary familiar from court building at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ," she believes there is still not enough data available to make such a precise determination.[102]

The other site mentioned in this strophe is the Nāṣiḥ Palace, and plotted in Figure 5, may correspond to another villa, the *munyat* Arḥāʾ Nāṣiḥ. This villa, according to D. Fairchild Ruggles, was the favorite residence of the caliph al-Hakam II and was "situated on the right bank of the Guadalquivir River on the Seville-Cordoba road just before the entrance to the city."[103] Referencing medieval Arabic texts and historical documents, Ruggles details how the Caliph left Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ after suffering a stroke and, accompanied by his dignitaries, spent the night at Arḥāʾ Nāṣiḥ. The next day, they traveled to *munyat* al-Naʿura and proceeded on to Cordoba, where the caliph passed away months later.[104]

This strophe also includes a vivid description of the winds blowing across streams and canals. By mentioning the canals, Ibn Zaydūn is setting a foundation for turning his attention back to Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ. This location, as highlighted in Figure 6, was known for its verdant gardens and the aqueducts that allowed for the maintenance of its lush vegetation throughout the year. Excavation reports show that these canals ran through the Caliphal palace and the central buildings of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ.[105] This system allowed for the gardens that helped to solidify this area as the "ornament of the world." The environment in the palace city was so beautiful that Ibn Zaydūn likens the area to heaven

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[100] Rafael Castejón, "Los Monumentos Árabes de Córdoba: Excavaciones en el cortijo El Alcaide. Dar al-Naura?" in *Al-Mulk: Anuario de Estudios Arabistas* 1 (1959-1960): 163-66.

[101] Antonio Vallejo Triano, "Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ: The Triumph of the Islamic State" in *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain.* ed. Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 29.

[102] Glaire D. Anderson, "Villa (Munya) Architecture in Umayyad Córdoba: Preliminary Considerations," in *Revisiting al-Andalus: Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond*. eds. Glaire D. Anderson and Mariam Rosser-Owen (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 57.

[103] Ruggles, 122.

[104] Ibid., 122.

[105] Vallejo Triano, "Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ: Transformation of a Caliphal City," 8-12.

on Earth. In the twelfth strophe, he praises the former beauty of the palace city as even surpassing the qualities of the Garden of Eden and al-Kawthar, the river in Paradise:

12 Oh how lovely Zahrāʾ is! A welcomed sight!
With delicate winds and jewel-like perfection
How remarkable it is in beauty and presence
The Garden of Eden and River Kawthar marvel at you
With a single look, life is extended

This strophe ends the poet's praise (*madḥ*) and description (*waṣf*) of Cordoba and Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ. From this point forward, we are presented with insight into the poet's psyche as he laments the loss of his beloved city and begins to surrender to the inevitability of Fate. Although an editor's note at the beginning of the poem states that Ibn Zaydūn composed this work while imprisoned, the poet's vivid and nostalgic reflections allow one to forget that the poet is confined to a small space while reconstructing the capital of the Umayyad Caliphate. It is only after he has completed his recreation of the city that we are once again reminded of the poet's current circumstances. The memories of his times with Wallāda are presented without any indication of time since the poem has frozen their encounters in a vacuum with the environment of his treasured city as their backdrop. The city became a symbol of his existence as he blended his nostalgia for his youthful days of leisure with architectural, natural, and topographical details.[106] Now that he has completed both the recollection of his past and his mental map of the city, we see the ostracized poet struggle to come to terms with his current status.

13 Places where I weep for lost love
More tender and fine than a plucked rose
Here we were clothes in an embellished mantel of desire
We led a large army to bliss
Safety has an ally and enmity a watchtower

14 The calm spring dressed her in the brocade of meadows
She has days of contentment among the tender winds
Her sons anticipate a life of sweet disposition
Continuing within us at morning and afternoon
To send love and greetings to those places

15 Oh brothers! Do those who return ever come back?
There is no first that the last will not follow
Verily I glance upon the goodwill of Fate
For fortune has brought new life and is unsuccessful

[106] Fāṭimah Ṭaḥṭaḥ, *al-Ghurbah wa-al-ḥanīn fī al-shiʿr al-Andalusī* (Rabat: al-Mamlakah al-Maghribīyah, Jāmiʿat Muḥammad al-Khāmis, Kullīyat al-Ādāb wa-al-ʿUlūm al-Insānīyah, 1993), 77.

The outcome of the matter is approved yet still detested

In *The Poetics of Space*, Gaston Bachelard writes that "memory encumber[s] this image by stocking it with composite memories from several periods of time. Here everything is simpler, radically simpler."[107] Cordoba is thus mapped through Ibn Zaydūn's poetic engagement with the monuments and topography of the city and transformed into a familiar and intimate space. Up until now, the city has been filled with happy memories from the poet's former life. However, the final five strophes of the poem deviate from this pattern as the poet's angst and despair over his existing situation is accentuated. His feelings and memories are no longer tied to locations throughout Cordoba, thus his identity as it currently stands has become less certain and distinguishable.

The sixteenth strophe highlights Ibn Zaydūn's awareness of his situation by plainly stating that he is no longer of any importance to his homeland. In the last three lines he expounds on his feelings of being a *persona non grata* in his own homeland. He finally acknowledges his current location in the seventeenth strophe and when he does, there is absolutely no depiction of his surroundings nor any mention of the city in which he resides at the time he composes this poem.

16 I departed, for even the free are oppressed and depart
I became forgetful of the grief when I was saddened
The readied heart remained in despair
And a country in which I am of little importance is more despicable
And whoever desires something disgraceful like me is even viler

17 My enemies won't succeed in erasing my presence with imprisonment
I saw the sun hiding among the gloomy clouds
For I am nothing but a sword in its sheath
Or a lion in its cave or a falcon in its nest
Or a precious object in its pouch

These strophes are also the first time in which the poet reveals himself to be vulnerable to a force other than Fate. All he can do is acknowledge his seclusion at the hands of his enemies as he likens himself to "a lion in its cave," "a falcon in its nest," and a "sword in its sheath." These elements are all deadly but the poet relegates them to their abodes, unable to truly be a fierce adversary against any enemy. While it is clear that the poet feels helpless in his current situation, he remains a proud aristocrat and is unwilling to be disgraced or to relinquish his dignity. These two contrasting sections of the poem create a paradox of sorts: while Ibn Zaydūn narrates his experiences within Cordoba, this also the place where he is simultaneously excluded and unwelcome.

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[107] Bachelard, 229.

The poem ends with an *ubi sunt* motif as the poet contemplates life's transience. He ultimately accepts his fate and his inability to ever reintegrate into Cordoban society as a result of political and cultural strife.

18 My path is distressed with all forms of longing
To every free-minded and urbane among you
May the silver of your glittering features be gilded gold
For the moon rivals the finest stars
Knowing that she is the most splendid and brilliant light

19 I grieve for I am despondent and wine becomes sour
I don't perform songs even though they captivate the heart
I don't abstain from sighing when I am censured
I have no diversion since I am separated from you all
Save for news that comes from you unexpectedly from afar

20 You praised the tenderness of her friendship
The world delights you all with the beauty of her coquetry
When it's free from reproach and boredom
There is still one among you clothed in her protection
Allowing the best of hopes and well wishes to be bestowed [9]

By the conclusion of his elegy, we are witness to all the manifestations of an affectively charged human experience. Through the poet's cognitive mapping of Cordoba, he explicitly and implicitly presents insight into a specific identity felt and expressed by an individual, a cultural identity representative of a socio-economic class, and a social identity reflective of the customs and behaviors present in eleventh-century Islamic Spain.[108]

The life of Ibn Zaydūn spans the "declining years of the Umayyad caliphate in Cordoba and the rise of the petty kingdoms throughout al-Andalus. Historically, it is a time marked by a concomitance of political decay and disunity and of spectacular cultural florescence."[109] As a result, the poem of Ibn Zaydūn can also be interpreted as a reminder of a bygone dynasty; what is in ruins or in the process of becoming ruins, he is busy reconstructing. His remembrance of Cordoba is a form of active restoration and as one

[108] I am following Tara Welch's classification of identity as presented in her book *The Elegiac Cityscape: Propertius and the Meaning of Roman Monuments* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005), 8-9. Welch defines Roman identity as a social identity associated with the city of Rome rather than an identity felt by an individual who is ethnically Roman.

[109] William Granara, "Nostalgia, Arab Nationalism, and the Andalusian Chronotope in the Evolution of the Modern Arabic Novel," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 36 no. 1 (2005): 57-73, 65.

can see from the final map, Ibn Zaydūn actually reconstructs the entire Cordoban caliphate from memory.

In 1031, the Caliphate of Cordoba disintegrated into a number of *taifas*, or petty kingdoms. Nevertheless, the history and legacy of Cordoba endured and influenced the literary and visual production of the Mediterranean and beyond. Maps of the region comprised a cartographic tradition known by the general title *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik* (*Book of Roads and Kingdoms*). Interestingly, as seen in the Leiden manuscript Orientalis 3101 (Figure 8), Cordoba is positioned in the center of the Iberian Peninsula even though Seville had become more important in the region. According to Karen Pinto, the cartographer of this twelfth-century manuscript suspends time and history through their depiction of late tenth-century Cordoba when it was at its height of cultural and political eminence.[110] This action reflects a lasting romanticized memory of Cordoba in the Medieval Arab artistic and cartographical imagination and its continuing role as the subject of loss and unrequited affection.

The poem becomes a memory palace for Cordoba and representative of a culture that is forever lost but whose legacy will forever remain in tact. Ibn Zaydūn's personal reflections of his life in Cordoba and Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ is what Svetlana Boym would classify as reflective nostalgia, which concerns itself with individual and cultural memory. Reflective nostalgia "is more oriented toward an individual narrative that savors details and memorial signs…[it] cherishes shattered fragments of memory and temporalizes space."[111] The poet is aware that his homeland is in ruins yet he uses his elegy to the city to remember the past and long for the life he had. The downfall of his homeland coincidentally corresponded to his own downfall as he was helpless to prevent his imprisonment.

The *mukhammas* of Ibn Zaydūn, while departing from the traditional structure of the city elegy, is in fact part of the genre based on its formal characteristics and thematic content: al-Andalus is both the lost beloved and the idealized site for mourning. The poet is aware that his beloved homeland has disintegrated yet he uses his city elegy to revive Cordoba and long for the life of love and leisure he once had. The role of memory in this elegy is significant as "memory is often more powerful than reality because it engages the imagination: ruins remind us of what was, allowing the mind's recollection to reconstruct the place as it might have been and as it ought to have been."[112]

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[110] Karen Pinto, "Passion and Conflict: Medieval Islamic Views of the West," in *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300-1600*, ed. Keith D. Lilley (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 208-209.

[111] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic, 2001), 49.

[112] D. F. Ruggles, "Arabic Poetry and Architectural Memory in al-Andalus, *Ars Orientalis* 23, Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces (1993): 172.

Chapter Three

From Poet to Mythmaker: Mythologizing Nasrid Granada in/for Contemporary Times

This chapter will explore mythical representations of Granada through the lens of M.M. Bakthin's theory of the chronotope, which in turn, brings about the development of an Andalusian poetic chronotope found within modernist Arabic poetry. The usage of this chronotope is a prominent feature in the works of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī and Mahmūd Darwīsh as they lament the city of Granada but not through the typical usage of the pre-Islamic literary topos *wuquf ʿalā 'l-aṭlāl* [standing by the ruins]. Instead, the poets utilize established myths and create their own as a point of entry into exploring the cultural memory and identity of Arab civilization. This chronotopic mode of expression allows the poets to address or criticize contemporary political issues of their time and as I will show, these poems become intertextualized narratives of history and myth as each poet uses the *qaṣīdat qināʿ*, or mask poem, to engage with the history of Nasrid Granada and comment on contemporary sociopolitical issues.

M. M. Bakhtin discusses the need for a chronotope when "time and space become so deeply intertwined and interdependent that they can no longer be separated from each other."[113] While Bakhtin's theory is primarily utilized in the study of the novel, I believe non-narrative poems can also contain chronotopes. This "connectedness,"[114] to adopt Bakhtin's phrasing, allows one to identify and understand the historical and mythical nuances of writing Granada in Arabic poetry. The resulting chronotope, which I will call the Andalusian poetic chronotope, is an adaptation of William Granara's identification of an Andalusian chronotope in modern Arabic novels. This chronotope is defined by the space and time of Nasrid Granada leading up to and following the events of 1492 in which Nasrid Granada, the last Islamic holdout in Spain, was handed over to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella.

William Granana, in his discussion on the Andalusian chronotope in the modern Arabic novel, defines the space of this chronotope as al-Andalus as a whole, representing the expansion of the Islamic empire westward and ultimately penetrating the Carolingian borders of the Holy Roman Empire. As a time, al-Andalus represents political stability, cultural and intellectual efflorescence, and religious tolerance as seen through the coexistence of the Muslim, Jewish, and Christian populations.[115] This chronotope of al-

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[113] Henk van der Liet, "Producing Urban Space," in *The Ideologies of of Lived Space in Literary Texts, Ancient and Modern*, eds. Jacqueline Klooster and Jo Hierman (Gent: Academia Press, 2013), 101.

[114] M.M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, trans. Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 84.

[115] William Granara, "Nostalgia, Arab Nationalism, and the Andalusian Chronotope in the Evolution of the Modern Arabic Novel," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 36, no. 1 (2005): 58-59.

Andalus, I argue, has been modified and transformed by Arab poets across geographical, cultural, and linguistic boundaries to express a variety of affective responses to events such as colonialism, political upheaval, and exile. For al-Andalus, to quote Granara, is "a mythical discourse [that] involves the premeditation of and negotiation for a better life, one of social equality, economic advancement, political liberation, religious tolerance, and the emancipation of the self."[116]

Ibn Zamrak, a 14th-century vizier and court panegyrist during the Nasrid dynasty, assisted in the construction of the Alhambra in various ways. His epigraphic panegryics are found along the walls of the Alhambra, a palace, which I will show, still epitomizes nostalgia, exile, and loss to this day. In the Palace of the Lions, for example, the walls are decorated with one of his odes in praise of the ruler Muhammad V though he dedicates more than 45 lines to praise and description of the Alhambra. This is not only to highlight the magnificence of the building, but to also attribute its splendor with the dynasty as a whole.

In comparing the palace with the heavens and showcasing its superiority, the poet writes that the stars will come to the Alhambra as guests and even act as its servants for it is more beautiful than heaven's vaults. Akiko Motoyoshi, in her article on poetry and portraiture in the works of Ibn Zamrak, argues that the poet implies a parallel relationship between God and Muhammad V due to his comparison of the ruler's garden to the Garden of Eden. For he writes, "we did not know of any other garden more delightful in freshness, more fragrant in all its directions, or more pleasant in the picking of its fruits."[117]

This notion of Granada as a paradise on Earth has endured until now and continues to inspire not only creativity and nostalgia in the Arabic poetic imagination, but veneration for Andalusian sites and cities. As a result, Reuven Snir argues that this interaction has shaped the development of a new genre of poetry – the *qaṣīdat qināʿ* or mask poem. This technique, which was popular with modernist poets, involves assigning a "medieval face (of a known historical persona) to a modern problem."[118] This allows the poet to speak through this character or mask to articulate their own emotional experiences and those of their collective communities.

As countries and communities across the Middle East and North Africa have lost or are at risk of losing their homelands due to political, cultural, and/or religious strife, the historical circumstances surrounding Muslim Spain have emerged in the forefront of

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[116] William Granara, 60.

[117] Ibn Zamrak as translated by Akiko Motoyoshi Sumi, *Description in Classical Arabic Poetry: Waṣf, Ekphrasis, and Interarts Theory* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 173.

[118] Reuven Snir, "Al-Andalus in Modern Arabic Poetry," 271.

Arab culture and literature. Twentieth-century poets throughout the Arab world have utilized the image of al-Andalus in their creative endeavors. In the discussion that follows, I will highlight how the chronotopic modes of expressing Granada within these poems create a mythical past, linking the poetic narrative with and poet's present. This chronotope is connected to the cultural environments in which it is produced as Najat Rahman writes, "in the midst of political turmoil and continual change of boundaries and sovereignties, Arabic poets and writers have often defined their identity in relation to an Arabic literary heritage."[119] The need to acquire a sense of self or identity is done, in this case, by looking to the past for any indication of continuity. It is for this reason that Arab poets have repeatedly turned to al-Andalus to temporalize their work. Since the history of Islamic Spain is analogous to loss, poets are thus able to utilize the legacy of this era to suit a wide array of purposes ranging from the mythological to the allegorical and the elegiac.

Over a prolific writing career that spanned nearly five decades, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī routinely incorporated ancient and classical mythologies in many of his poems to dwell on themes of exile, death, and the human condition. The use of myth has its origins in the poetry of modernist Western writers, with T. S. Eliot's poetic devices and his poem *The Waste Land* (1922), in particular, influencing the mythical allusions present in al-Bayātī's poetic oeuvre. The Babylonian myth of Tammuz underlays *The Waste Land* and revolves around death and regeneration, representing "the yearly decay and and revival of life, especially of vegetable life, which [the peoples of Egypt and Western Asia] personified as a god who annually died and rose again from the dead."[120] The myth continues with Ishtar, Tammuz's lover, descending into the underworld to recover her beloved so that with their return, "all nature might revive."[121]

In addition to Mesopotamian and Greek myths, al-Bayātī along with other modernist Arab poets, were influenced by their Western contemporaries. Al-Bayātī, in his prose work *Tajribatī al-Shʿiriyya* [*My Poetic Experience*] (1968) writes, "then there were the contemporary and Western poets: Auden, Neruda, Éluard, Nazim Hikmet, Lorca, Alexander Blok, and Mayakovsky. The poetry of these poets had struck me not because they are well known…but rather because their poetry carries the essence of true poetry."[122] As will be discussed in this chapter, al-Bayātī composed a number of poems that fused ancient mythologies with religious myths from Eastern and Western traditions.

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[119] Najat Rahman, "Threatened Longing and Perpetual Search: The Writing of Home in the Poetry of Mahmoud Darwish," in *Mahmoud Darwish: Exile's Poet.* eds., Hala Khamis Nassar and Najat Rahman (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2008), 51.

[120] Sir James George Frazier, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 302.

[121] Ibid., 303.

[122] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī, *Tajribatī al-Shʿiriyya* [My Poetic Experience] (Beirut: Manushūrāt Nizār Qabbanī, 1968) 19. Translation mine.

Aida Azouqa has noted the existence of a collection of "ʿĀʾisha" poems in al-Bayātī's poetic repertoire in which ʿĀʾisha functions as Ishtar and the speaker assumes the role of Tammuz.[123] Such poems include "Marthiya ilá ʿĀʾisha" [Elegy to ʿĀʾisha][124], "Majnūn ʿĀʾisha" [ʿĀʾisha's Mad Lover][125], and a collection entitled *Bustān ʿĀʾisha* [ʿĀʾisha's Orchard][126]. In some instances, the ʿĀʾisha/Ishtar-Tammus myth is merged with a telling of the Greek myth of Orpheus and Eurydice. As the myth goes, Orpheus embarks on a quest to the underworld in order to retrieve his beloved Eurydice. Hades found Orpheus's music so moving that he allowed Eurydice to return to the upper world but with one condition: Orpheus was to not look behind him as he ascended thus trusting that Eurydice was following behind him. When he had nearly completed his return, he turned to look at his beloved to ensure she was still there but this single glance violated Hades's one condition thus, he lost her forever.

The Orpheus myth figures prominently in al-Bayātī's 1970 collection *Kitābah ʿalá al-Ṭīn* [Writing on the Mud] in which he develops a "thematic pattern" of this myth, per Mohammad R. Salama, that consists of "a female victim, the suffering of the male protagonist, the songs, and the night journey."[127] Prior to this collection, however, al-Bayātī experiments with this thematic pattern, even inverting it, to conjure a reworking of the Orpheus myth with a female protagonist rescuing a male victim from the grave. Published two years prior to *Kitābah ʿalá al-Ṭīn*, his poetic collection *al-Mawt fī al-Ḥayāt* [Death in Life] contains allusions and direct references to a number of the mythical characters that will reappear throughout his career: ʿĀʾisha, Alexander the Great, and Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī.[128]

Within this collection, the poem "al-Mawt fī Gharnāṭa" [Death in Granada] brings together the myth of ʿĀʾisha/Ishtar and the mythic tale of Jonah with al-Bayātī's frequently explored themes of death and resurrection. Unlike many of the poems in his previous collection, *Sifr al-Faqr wa al-Thawra* [The Book of Poverty and Revolution][129] that indicate his experimentation with the *qaṣīdat al-qināʿ*, or mask poem, this poem reveals al-Bayātī's early

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[123] Aida O. Azouqa, "Metapoetry between East and West: ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī and the Western Composers of Metapoetry: A Study in Analogies," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 39, no. 1 (2008): 40-41.

[124] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī, *al-Mawt fī al-Ḥayāt* [Death in Life] (Beirut: Dār al-Ādāb, 1968).

[125] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī, *Qaṣā'id ḥubb 'alá bawwābāt al-'ālam al-sab'* [Love Poems at the Gates of the Seven World] (Cairo: Dār al-Shurūq, 1985).

[126] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī, *Bustān ʿĀʾisha* [ʿĀʾisha's Orchard] (Cairo: Dār al-Shurūq, 1989).

[127] Mohammad R. Salama, "The Mise-en-Scène of "Writing" in al-Bayātī's "al-Kitābah ʿalā al-Ṭīn," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 32, no. 2 (2001): 156.

[128] See, for instance, the poems in this collection: "Marthiya ilá ʿĀʾisha" [Elegy to ʿĀʾisha], "Rūmiyyāt Abī Firās" [The *Rūmiyyāt* of Abu Firas], and "Mawt al-Iskandar al-Maqdūnī" [The Death of Alexander the Great].

[129] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī, *Sifr al-Faqr wa al-Thawra* [The Book of Poverty and Revolution] (Beirut: Dār al-Ādāb, 1965).

development as a myth-maker. The poem beings with a rewriting of the Jonah story present in the Abrahamic traditions:

> ʿĀʾisha splits the belly of the whale
> Her hands rising in the wave
> Opening the coffin
> Pulling back the *niqāb* from her forehead
> Passing through a thousand doors
> Awakening after death
> Returning to the house
> [Death in Granada, 1-7]

ʿĀʾisha rescues herself not only from the belly of the whale in order to "return to the house," but from death so that she can return to the speaker of poem. As the poem progresses, al-Bayātī imbues his ʿĀʾisha with the characteristics of Ishtar and her role is dramatically different from her given role in *Kitābah ʿalá al-Ṭīn*.[130] It is only upon her return to the city that her active role gradually declines into complete absence by the poem's end.

Just as Orpheus had a single opportunity to save Eurydice, ʿĀʾisha can only save the speaker once ("I am put down—I am dying—in that coffin") and in the process, the reader is presented with flashes of history across both time and space. The first instance of this paradoxical working of history occurs with Granada, Spain in 1936:

> And weeping in Granada
> The youths' teacher:
> "Lorca is dying, he is dead
> The Fascists executed him at night along the Euphrates
> They mutilated his corpse and gouged out his eyes
> Lorca is without hands
> [Death in Granada, 26-31]

Lorca's influence on al-Bayātiī and other modernist poets is well-known[131] so it is no surprise in a poem titled "Death in Granada" that Lorca would appear. While motives for and details of Lorca's assassination in August 1936 are still uncertain to this day, the Nationalist militia is

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[130] In Salama's "The Mise-en-Scène of "Writing" in al-Bayātī's "al-Kitābah ʿalā al-Ṭīn," he observes al-Bayātī's Ishtar as having a "passive dependency" on Orpheus in the poem "Hubūṭ Urfiyūs ilā ʿAlam al-Suflī" [Orpheus's Descent to the Underworld]. Additionally, Salama notes that while al-Bayātī "does not follow the line of the original myth of Orpheus meticulously,…he does keep its contour intact." 156.

[131] See Rasheed El-Enany, "Poets and Rebels: Reflections of Lorca in Modern Arabic Poetry," *Third World Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (1989): 252-264; Aḥmad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, "The Influence of Federico García on Contemporary Arabic Literature," *Fuṣūl* 3 no. 4 (1983); Ibrāhīm Khalīl, *Ẓilāl wa-Aṣdāʾ Andalusiyya fī al-Adab al-Muʿāṣir: Musāhamah fī al-Adab al-Muqāran* [Andalusian Shades and Echoes in Contemporary Literature: A Contribution in Comparative Literature] (Amman: Dār Majdalāwī, 2009).

suspected of being responsible for his death.[132] In the context of this poem, what one notices is not who is responsible for Lorca's death, but rather *where* his killed: not in Granada, but in Iraq. This poetic cartography of Granada is reminiscent of Yeats's poetic rendition of Byzantium[133] in which the Irish poet uses an actual geographical location, the ancient Greek city, now modern-day Istanbul, as the setting where Hades, sages, and "blood-begotten spirits" roam.

In al-Bayātī's Granada, while Lorca's death is geographically incorrect, its symbolism illustrates the nuanced dexterity with which the poet uses two symbolic yet physical spaces that map out Islam. The Euphrates was one of the defining rivers of Mesopotamia, the cradle of civilization and located in present-day Iraq while Granada was the site of the last Muslim emirate of al-Andalus, the most westward reach of Islamic civilization. Lorca, a native *granadino*, has been referred to as a son of al-Andalus with Rafīq al-Akhdar describing him as "the son of the ancient Arab city of Granada, which once upon a time was one of the radiant cultural oases, that is, he is the son of al-Andalus. This is al-Andalus *the myth*, whose civilization and culture were created by the Arabs, especially since Lorca's poetry is so highly influenced by the Arabic writings of al-Andalus."[134] In this same collection, the poem "Marāthī Lūrkā" [Elegies of Lorca] once again fuses the mythical with the historical as Lorca is represented as the Mesopotamian figure Enkidu from *The Epic of Gilgamesh* as he enters the "enchanted city" of Granda to fight against the ones riding on the "horses of Death."[135] The association with Mesopotamia continues in al-Bayātī's collection ʿĀʾisha's Orchard as he reflects on this history in *My Poetic Experience* that the orchard symbolizes not only the ancient civilization but also the religions, poets, and prophets that sprouted from the region.[136]

The poem continues with the first introduction of Western religious tradition through the speaker's invocation of the Virgin Mary:

> Oh Virgin Mary
> Here I am finished

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[132] See Ian Gibson, *El asesinato de Federico García Lorca* [The Assassination of Federico García Lorca] (Barcelona: Bruguera, 1981).

[133] See William Butler Yeats, "Sailing to Byzantium" and "Byzantium" in *The Collected Poems* (New York: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1965) 216-17; 280-1.

[134] Rafīq al-Akhdar, "Lorca fī al-Dhikrā al-Khamsīn li-Mawtihi," *al-Shʿab* (Cairo, Egypt), May 15, 1986: 4 as cited and translated by Reuven Snir, "'Al-Andalus Arising from Damascus': Al-Andalus in Modern Arabic Poetry," in *Charting Memory: Recalling Medieval Spain*, ed. Stacy N. Beckwith (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000), 275.

[135] For a brief analysis of this poem, see El-Enany's article "Poets and Rebels: Reflections of Lorca in Modern Arabic Poetry."

[136] ʿAlī al-Shalah, ed., *ʿAbdul-Wahhāb al-Bayyātī fī Mudun al-Kashf* [ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī in the Cities of Discovery] (Beirut: al-Muʾassasa al-ʿArabiyya lil-Dirāsāt wa l-Nashr, 1990) 55, 70 as cited and translated by Aida Azouqa, "Al-Bayyātī and W.b. Yeats as Mythmakers: A Comparative Study," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 30, no. 3 (1999): 274.

Dedicating, in your name, this death
I closed this house
Here I prayed
For the return of the absent one from his exile
For the light of this white world, for the death that I see
[Death in Granada, 35-41]

Why does al-Bayātī's speaker appeal to the Virgin Mary? Could this reveal an additional poetic influence by Eliot in the ways a poet could articulate the journey to salvation and rebirth? Eliot's poem *Ash-Wednesday* (1930), refers to the first day of Lent, a time for reflection, sacrifice, and the repentance of sins before the celebration of Christ's resurrection. These are prominent themes that have been explored in the works of both Eliot and al-Bayātī. In *Ash-Wednesday*, the first work published after the poet's conversion to Anglicanism, the speaker calls out to a lady dressed "in white and blue, in Mary's color" who moves "between sleep and waking."[137] With this in mind, one cannot help but recall the similarity between this Mary-like figure and al-Bayātī's ʿĀʾisha/Ishtar who moves between the realms of the living and the dead. Both poems contain an elusive quality as the identity of the "absent one" remains unclear. Is he in a self-imposed exile or has he been forced from his homeland? Line 41, "for the light of this white world" which the speaker prays for is similarly ambiguous. Is he referring to the landing of the living as "this white world" and beseeching the Virgin Mary for its light to return, unable to see it for he is immersed in darkness? Or is this realm located elsewhere and he is calling upon the Virgin Mary to be his guide into the light à la Orpheus leading Eurydice out of the underworld? These enigmatic possibilities which populate al-Bayātī's works are what charge his poetry with complexity and beauty.

From this point, the poem cycles back to ʿĀʾisha but this time, the roles of rescuer and victim have reversed and she is now the one interred—a narrative more aligned with Eurydice as she is now dependent upon her Orpheus, to release her both from the confines of the grave and from the veil concealing her face:

Opening ʿĀʾisha's grave
Pulling the *niqāb* from her forehead
Passing through a thousand doors
[Death in Granada, 42-44]

However, it is uncertain who is fulfilling this Orphic role, whether the exiled "absent one" or the death that the speaker sees but in an anthropomorphic form. The three verbs here are all in the third-person masculine, identified by the subject prefix *ya,* so while we do not know who in fact embarks on the journey to rescue ʿĀʾisha, we know who *does not* start such a journey: the speaker. Additionally, it is unclear if al-Bayātī's heroine-turned-victim has in fact been saved or if she is fated to remain in her tomb. After all, we are only told that someone opens her grave, *not*

[137] T. S. Eliot, *Ash-Wednesday* (London: Faber & Faber, Ltd., 1930).

that she returns to the house as she did at the beginning of the poem. It is here that the ʿĀʾisha/ Ishtar-Tammuz and Orpheus-Eurydice myths are paused to allow for the introduction of another myth. Perhaps this rupture is a foreshadowing of al-Bayātī's approach to myth in his later works, implying that established mythologies can only accomplish so much, forcing the poet to become a myth-maker in his own right.

The use of an Eastern religious narrative of martyrdom and sacrifice maintains the poet's recognizable trend of alternating and mixing mythical and religious themes from Eastern and Western traditions, which Salama adeptly observes "intensifies the universal need for resurrection and rebirth."[138]

A world turning in the void and blood is spilt
Woe unto me over Iraq
Beneath its red summer sky
From a thousand years before the cries get louder
Grieving over the martyr of Karbala
His spilt blood is still along the Euphrates
Staining the surface of the water and palm trees in the evening
[Death in Granada, 50-56]

The allusion to the martyrdom of Hussein injects not only a layer of early Islamic history that highlights the effect of intrareligious conflicts that have existed in the region, but also acts as a commentary on history repeating itself in contemporary times.[139] The Euphrates is filled with blood from generations of martyrs, whether from Hussein in 680 CE or Lorca in 1936 or the Iraqi people during and after the regime of Saddam Hussein. Just as the world turns, the struggles of humankind are universal and are blind to religious creed, time, and geographic location.

The poem concludes with an identification of the mythical Granada as a wasteland:

Oh world which wolves rule
In which we have nothing but the truth of crossing these bridges
We come and go carrying the poor to the graves
Oh cries of light!
Here I am an abandoned siege
Here I am dying
In the darkness of the coffin
The graveyards' fox eating my flesh

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[138] Mohammad Ramadan Salama, "The Interruption of Myth: A Nancian Reading of Blanchot and Al-Bayati," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 33, no. 3 (2002): 270.

[139] For a postcolonial analysis of al-Bayātī's poetry see Saddik M. Gohar, "The Integration of Western Modernism in Postcolonial Arabic Literature: A Study of Abdul-Wahhab al-Bayati's Third World Poetics," *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (2008): 375-390.

Daggers stabbing me
Immigrating from country to country
[Death in Granada, 62-71]

Although blood has been spilt and martyrs have been sacrificed, the city's citizens have not been blessed with the promised fertility commonly found in the Ishtar-Tammuz myths. ʿĀʾisha is noticeably absent here, further proving that these ritualistic behaviors have been completed in vain. There will be no rebirth or regeneration this time around nor will be there any sign of resurrection as seen at the end of Eliot's *Ash-Wednesday*. All that remains is the speaker's final call to the Virgin Mary acknowledging his death:

Here I am finished
Dedicating, in your name, this death
[Death in Granada, 76-77] [10]

The mythical characteristics of Granada continued in the poetic works of al-Bayātī and this theme extends to his contemporaries Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb (1926-1964), Ṣalāḥ ʿAbd al-Sabūr (1931-1981) and poets Maḥmūd Darwīsh (1941-2008) and Nizār Qabbānī (1923-1998), among others.[140] One of the most prominent collections of Arabic poetry that centers around al-Andalus and mythical renditions of its cities is *Aḥada ʿAshara Kawkaban* [Eleven Planets] by the Palestinian poet Maḥmūd Darwīsh.[141] Published in 1992 and coinciding with the 500th anniversary of the Capitulation of Granada, the collection reinforces the dual tropes of al-Andalus as both a stand in for Palestine and a Paradise Lost.[142] This is not the first instance in which Darwīsh has used the history and culture of Andalusian cities in his poetic oeuvre. For example, in the collections *Ḥiṣār li-Madāʾiḥ al-Baḥr* [Siege for Praises of the Sea] (1985)[143],

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[140] See the section "Addressing Lorca" in Muhsin J. al-Musawi, *Arabic Poetry: Trajectories of Modernity and Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2006), 144-146. In this section, al-Musawi briefly discusses al-Bayātī's poetic treatment of the themes of life, death, and resurrection in his Granada poems. He also cites Egyptian poet Muḥammad ʿAfīfī Maṭar (1935-2010) as another poet who has Granada as the setting of a revolutionary struggle in his poem "Jarīmat fī Gharnāṭa" [A Murder in Granada]. Along with the revolutionary essence in the pome, one cannot ignore the mythical qualities of his Granada where streams are made of "spilt milk," alleys are agitated, and "tin moons" are mourned by poets. p. 145.

[141] Maḥmūd Darwīsh, *Aḥada ʿAshara Kawkaban* [Eleven Planets] (Casablanca: Dār Tūbqāl lil-Nashr, 2004).

[142] See Reuven Snir, "'Al-Andalus Arising from Damascus': Al-Andalus in Modern Arabic Poetry," in *Charting Memory: Recalling Medieval Spain*, ed. Stacy N. Beckwith (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000) 263-293 and "'Other Barbarians Will Come': Intertextuality, Meta-Poetry, and Meta-Myth in Mahmoud Darwish's Poetry," in *Mahmoud Darwish: Exile's Poet*, eds. Hala Khamis Nassar and Najat Rahman (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2008) 123-166.

[143] Maḥmūd Darwīsh, *Ḥiṣār li-Madāʾiḥ al-Baḥr* [Siege for Praises of the Sea] (Amman: al-Dār al-ʿArabiyya lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 1986) and in particular, the poem "Aqibya, Andalusiyya, Ṣaḥrāʾ" [Crypts, Andalusia, Desert].

Ward Aqall [Fewer Roses] (1987)[144], and *Mazāmīr* [Psalms] (1988)[145], Darwīsh engages with past and present sociopolitical concerns against the backdrop of an Andalusian stage.

In *Eleven Planets*, Darwīsh assumes a poetic mask of Muḥammad XII, the last Nasrid ruler of Granada, to imbue his city with mythical qualities. As a result, Darwīsh along with al-Bayātī, whose usage of the poetic mask I will discuss in later in this chapter, create alternative mythologies as "tools for poetic agency," to quote Ipek Azime Celik. In an era of postcolonial and nationalist constraints in defining homeland and writing history, this poetic technique of adopting a mask allows the work to stand independently from its author to critique not only sociopolitical issues of the past pertaining to the mask-persona, but issues facing the poet and his compatriots in contemporary times.[146]

The use of a poetic mask became a popular technique in modernist Arabic poetry in the 1950s but existed in the Western tradition as early as the 1910s with the publication of T. S. Eliot's *The Lovesong of J. Alfred Prufrock* (1915). Presented as the interior monologue of a modern man besotted by isolation and inferiority, the work deviates from the tradition of the time in which the poetic persona was representative of the poet himself. This poem foreshadows themes Eliot would later reflect upon in his essay "Tradition and the Individual Talent," namely the role of the poet in the creation of tradition. Per his essay, Eliot believes that the poet/artist is capable of procuring "the consciousness of the past," but in order to so, he must engage in a continual process of depersonalization.[147] This act then allows for poetry to be "not a turning loose of emotion, but an escape from emotion…not the expression of personality, but an escape from personality."[148]

With regards to poetic masks in the Arabic tradition that invoke figures from Andalusī history, there are instances of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil, the first caliph of the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordoba, being used by the Syrian poet Adūnīs in his poem "Ṣaqr Quraysh" [The Falcon of Quraysh] (1965)[149]. The musician Ziryāb who was driven out of Baghdad and arrived in Cordoba in 822 serves as a poetic mask for al-Bayātī in a poem of the same name published in

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[144] Maḥmūd Darwīsh, *Ward Aqall* [Fewer Roses] (Beirut: al-Muʾassasah al-ʿArabiyya lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Nashr, 1987) and in particular, the poem "Idhā Kāna Lī An Uʿīda al-Bidāya" [If I Were to Start All Over Again].

[145] Maḥmūd Darwīsh, *Mazāmīr* [Psalms] (Acre: Dār al-Aswār, 1988) and in particular, Psalm 16.

[146] Ipek Azime Celik, "Alternative History, Expanding Identity: Myths Reconsidered in Mahmoud Darkish's Poetry," in *Mahmoud Darwish: Exile's Poet*, eds. Hala Khamis Nassar and Najat Rahman (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2008), 291.

[147] T. S. Eliot, *The Waste Land*, ed. Michael North (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001), 116.

[148] Ibid., 119.

[149] Adūnīs (ʿAlī Aḥmad Saʿīd), *Kitāb al-Taḥawwulāt wa al-Hijra fī Aqālīm al-Nahār wa al-Layl* [The Book of Changes and Migration in the Regions of Night and Day] (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-ʿAṣriyya, 1965).

1989 in the collection *Kitāb al-Marāthī* [Book of Elegies].[150] Reuven Snir also notes the popularity of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād as a mask in Palestinian poetry.[151] Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād was the Muslim commander who led the successful conquest of the Visigoths in 711, thus establishing the beginning of Muslim presence in the Iberian peninsula.

Eleven Planets consists of eleven "star" poems, invoking allusions to the story of the Prophet Joseph, namely his dream where the sun, the moon, and eleven stars bowed to him. Representing his father, mother, and eleven brothers, respectively, this dream angered and incited jealousy in his brothers for they interpreted Joseph's dream as an implication of his superiority over them. In the fourth star poem, "Anā Wāḥid min Mulūk al-Nihāya" [I am One of the Kings of the End], Darwish presents an image of Nasrid Granada as he assume the mask of not only one of the last kings of al-Andalus, but as Muḥammad XII himself, the final ruler of the Nasrid emirate. The poem is set after the Capitulation of Granada in which the Nasrid emir agreed to surrender the city to the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella.

Darwīsh begins his poem with a personification of one of the most mythical Andalusian phrases: "the Arab's last sigh." He writes,

> I am one of the kings of the end…I jump
> Off my horse in the last winter, I am the Arab's last sigh
> I do not look for myrtle over the roofs of houses nor do I
> Look around me so that no one should see me here, no one should know me
> [I Am One of the Kings of the End, 1-4][152]

This particular phrase, also known in Spanish as "*El último suspiro del Moro*" or "The Moor's last sigh," has been depicted in various artistic forms ranging from paintings to music to novels. This phrase garnered mythical status from its very inception on January 2, 1492. According to legend, after relinquishing the keys to the city, Muḥammad XII left Granada and set out for Marinid Morocco. When he reached a mountaintop overlooking the Alhambra, he took one last look at his beloved city and sighed. While scholars have debated the veracity of this anecdote,

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[150] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī, *Kitāb al-Marāthī* [Book of Elegies] (Beirut: al-Muʾassasa al-ʿArabiyya lil-Dirāsāt wa al-Nashr, 1995).

[151] Snir, "Al-Andalus in Modern Arabic Poetry," 271.

[152] Maḥmūd Darwīsh, *If I Were Another*, trans. Fady Joudah (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009), 60.

this act has enhanced the mythology surrounding al-Andalus, making the region and its history a fountainhead of literary and artistic inspiration.[153]

Darwīsh continues his *qaṣīdat qināʿ* with a contemplation on the themes of regret and isolation:

> I do not look into the light so as to
> Not see a moon that once lit up all the secrets of Granada,
> Body by body. I do not look upon the shadow so as to not see
> Somebody carrying my name and running behind me: Take your name from me
> And give me the silver of the white poplar. I do not look behind me so as to
> Not remember that I passed over this land…
> [I Am One of the Kings of the End, 6-11]

While Darwīsh does not explicitly reveal the identity of his persona, the reader is able to piece together the historical person behind the poem's actions. Unlike al-Bayātī's speaker who prays to the Virgin Mary for light in "Death in Granada," Darwīsh's Muḥammad XII does not want to "look into the light" for doing so would acknowledge the lapse in judgment for "pass[ing] over this land." "By choosing this figure, Darwīsh tries to stress the similarity between the Andalusian past and the Palestinian and Arab present."[154] Although the scene is set in mythical Granada, the poet's use of the white poplar, a tree commonly found in Palestine, as a metonym for his homeland reinforces the idea that al-Andalus stands for Palestine and a Paradise Lost.[155]

While not explicitly identified in the text as Muḥammad XII, the title and historical traces in the poem clearly illustrate Darwīsh's intention to use the Nasrid emir as a mask in this collection. The poem concludes the same way it began, with a focus on the ending of things:

> For I've accepted the "peace accord" and there is no longer a present left
> To let me pass…Castile will raise
> Its crown above God's minaret. I hear the rattling of keys
> In the door of our golden history. Farewell to our history! Will I
> Be the one to close the last door of the sky? I am the Arab's last sigh.
> [I Am One of the Kings of the End, 15-19] [11]

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[153] Examples include Salman Rushdie's novel *The Moor's Last Sigh* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1995) which tells the fictional story of Moraes Zogoiby, a descendant of Vasco de Gama and Muḥammad XII, as he details the story of his ancestors from 15th-century al-Andalus to 20th-century India. Artistic renderings of this act include Alfred Dehodencq's *Les Adieux du roi Boabdil à Grenade* [The Farewells of King Boabdil at Granada] c. 1860 and Spanish composer Gaspar Cassadó wrote *Lamento de Boabdil* [Boabdil's Lament] for the cello and piano in 1931.

[154] ʿAli J. Allaq, "Tradition as a Factor of Arabic Modernism: Darkish's Application of a Mask," in *Tradition and Modernity in Arabic Language and Literature*, ed. J. R. Smart (Surrey: Curzon, 1996), 21.

[155] Snir, "Al-Andalus in Modern Arabic Poetry," 282.

The poem's title includes the phrase *mulūk al-nihāya* [kings of the end], and there are numerous examples of the "last" of something that occupy the mind of Darwīsh's Muḥammad XII: *al-shitāʾ al-akhīra* [the last winter], *zafra al-akhīra* [the last sigh], and *bāb al-akhīra* [the last door]. For Darwīsh and his poetic persona, there is no option for regeneration, only farewells to a shared history. These lines while presenting historical fact also alluding to Darwīsh's personal history. After the end of Nasrid rule in Granada, the Catholic Monarchs adopted the Alhambra as their new royal residence and commanded that the palaces be preserved as a memorial to the triumph of Christianity over Islam. One cannot ignore Darwīsh's technique of using Granada as a mirror for Palestine and through this poem, Darwīsh is experiencing the grief of dislocation and dispossession twice: once in 1492 and again in 1948 with the destruction of his village al-Birweh by Israeli forces. Interestingly, Darwīsh's phrasing of the Treaty of Granada as a "peace accord" foreshadows the events surrounding Palestine and the Oslo agreements in 1993.

ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī's poem titled "al-Dukhūl ilā Gharnāṭa" [Entering Granada] from his collection *Kītab al-Marāthī* [Book of Elegies] (1995) is written using a mask of Muhammad XII following his surrendering of the keys to Granada to the Christian Monarchs. al-Bayātī describes the poetic mask as "the name which the poet himself speaks through, stripped of his subjectivity, meaning that the poet embarks upon the creation of a presence/existence independent of his own self, and with that [the poet] avoids the limits of lyricism and romanticism which destroyed most Arabic poetry."[156]

The poem is historic and transcendental as the poet's persona wanders the empty spaces of the mythical city, the Albayzin, and the Alhambra. He says,

> I did not enter Granada but I was a ghost there
> Roaming the Alhambra
> Listening to the wails of water
> The moaning tree roots
> Climbing destroyed tower walls
> Counting the killed every evening
> In the Albayzin district
> …….
> The subjects of my kingdom are ghosts
> Exiled in [the phrase] 'there is no victor but God'
> [Entering Granada, 1-7; 11-12]

This phrase "*lā ghālib illā Allāh*," there is no victor but God, was the anthem of the Nasrid dynasty and embroidered on brocades and banners decorating the Alhambra and inscribed along its many walls. The significance of the spaces and architecture in "Entering Granada" provide not only an affective effect but a realistic and historic one as well. Just as the chronotope is the

[156] al-Bayātī, *Tajribatī al-Shʿiriyya* [My Poetic Experience], 35. Translation mine.

intersection of time and space in a given text, if we consider the intersection of a building's given physical and cultural environment, we infuse it with "a historical purpose according to its place and time."[157] If we add this notion to the "connectedness" of time and space, perhaps we can even take Bakhtin's theory a step further to account for the materiality of the chronotope.

Al-Bayātī chose these specific sites because he was well-acquainted with their historical purpose, with the Albayzin being the Moorish quarter and the Alhambra expressing the past glory of the Nasrid dynasty. Philippe Hamon claims that architecture provides a certain realistic effect to a literary work because it gives "a recognizable frame, anchor, or background that creates its verisimilitude."[158] Jan Mukařovský writes that architecture has both a practical and historical purpose with it "organiz[ing] space with respect to human beings [thus] a building manifests the identity and territoriality of its users and makers."[159] While the Albayzin and the Alhambra have both attained various meanings according to historical and cultural circumstances from pre-1492 to today, al-Bayātī's reverence and affinity for Islamic Spain is evident as the streets of Granada are pregnant with emotional attachment. As the poem progresses, the poet continues with the theme of exile but with added mythical dimensions. Al-Bayātī returns to ʿĀʾisha, but this time her appearance is in no way associated with a chance at rebirth; Granada has been surrendered and she remains in her grave, unable to rescue al-Bayātī's poetic persona once again:

> My weapons buried in ʿĀʾisha's eyes
> My soldiers were killed atop the walls
> My poets betrayed poetry
> And were sold to the ruler in Oran
> ……..
> What did the castle's parrot say?
> And what did the fortune-teller say?
> You will only enter Granada after death.
> So what are you waiting for now?
> The dead buried their own
> In the bottom of wells
> Nothing is left but exile
> But you exiled everywhere
> In the age of your second coming
> [Entering Granada 13-16; 23-30] [12]

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[157] Akiko M. Sumi, "Poetry and Architecture: A Double Imitation in the Sīniyyah of Aḥmad Shawqī," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 39, no. 1 (2008): 97.

[158] Philippe Hamon, *Expositions: Literature and Architecture in Nineteenth-Century France*, trans. Katia Sainson-Frank and Lisa Maguire (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 23.

[159] Ibid., 97.

A reading of the phrase *babbaghāʾ al-qaṣr* [the castle's parrot] highlights the beauty of ambiguity present in many of al-Bayātī's poetic works. The phrase could be interpreted in a literal sense, making reference to the birds that once occupied the Alhambra, or it could refer to the viziers who surrounded Muḥammad XII and simply "parroted" back his every word. However, neither the parrot nor the fortune-teller can provide optimistic visions as Granada exists only in ruins and corpses and both the poet and his persona must accept that their utopian city can only be realized after death. The exilic overtones within this poem also reflect al-Bayātī's own experience living as an exile for most of his life due to his leftist politics.

The use of myth is uniting and universalizing agent, allowing poets an medium to connect both their present and their heritage. Nearly forty years ago, Salma Khadra Jayyusi recognized the importance of myth in the development of modernist Arabic poetry: "Myth provides the means to touch the core of history, and it is through poetry that it will be possible to link the present moment in Arab existence (which is a moment of real crisis) with the many moments of crisis in history. It provides a form of unity and can serve to bring into focus the present Arab struggle, setting it in the context of the universal and ageless struggle of man."[160] These crises in Arab existence, while they have changed since the publication of Jayyusi's text, still remain there, and perhaps haven even worsened. In that case, the need for adapted myths and myth-makers is as timely as it was when the modernist Arabic poetic scene emerged. For al-Bayātī and Darwīsh, al-Andalus then became a type of catalyst, triggering the creation of a mythical Granada as a metaphor for a lost paradise and an allegory for modern political upheavals. The use of this Andalusian poetic chronotope inspired a wide-ranging group of poets to look into the Andalusian-Arabic heritage for connections between the past and present and between collective and cultural memory, which will be discussed in the final chapter.

[160] Salma Khadra Jayyusi, *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), 747.

Chapter Four

Al-Andalus or Andalucía?: Constructions and Adaptations of Heritage in 20th Century Arabic Poetry

This chapter traces the use of the narrative-historical circumstances of al-Andalus and its poetic transformations and utilizations by Arab poets to reclaim and reestablish a continuity of heritage. The historical circumstances of al-Andalus, I argue, are fused with the authors' subjective experiences either in Spain or their respective homelands to create multi-sensory images of human memory. In the discussion that follows, I will highlight how Arabic literature can provide the means for creating both a tie to Andalusī heritage and an Arab history especially due to the absence of the former in contemporary times and the exclusion or villainization of the latter in the prevailing Eurocentric modes of historical narrative.

While the theory of creating an archive has been explored in the context of Latin American Literatures, this same notion has yet to be thoroughly explored in the Arabic literary tradition.[161] The existing literary forms in modern Arabic literature that comprise the field of resistance literature have varied over the course of the struggle against colonial occupation and/or subjugation. Many of the early poems of resistance are direct and incisive in their language, as seen in the works of Maḥmūd Darwīsh, Samīḥ al-Qāsim, and Tawfīq al-Zayyād. While all three have experienced and witnessed the effects of occupation, their works highlight how each has internalized their experiences differently. However, as seen in other works of poetry and novels, there are interactions with the other, whether it be the colonizer, the state, or the self, that do not conform to the typical definition of resistance literature. While all resistance literature requires some sort of encounter, either real or imagined, with the "other," not all literature that includes such an encounter, such as literature that focuses on the individual consciousness, can be classified as resistance literature.

As a reaction to the governmental discrimination and suppression after the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, the resistance poetry of the sixties describes this treatment with rebelliousness and vigor. By this time, new forms and themes in Arabic poetry had been established and resistance poets fashioned their poetry in these new traditions. Until the 1950s, there was nothing more dissimilar to Arabic poetry than the use of juxtapositions, quotations, and the combination of free verse with rhymed verse. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī and other New Poets such as Nāzik al-Malāʾika, Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb, and Luwīs ʿAwaḍ were monumental figures in the establishment and use of free verse (*al-shʿir al-ḥurr*). In the aftermath of World War II, romantic Arabic poetry was criticized for being escapist and focused on the individual rather than

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[161] See Roberto González Echevarría, *Myth and Archive: A Theory of Latin American Narrative* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998); See also Simon R. Doubleday and David Coleman, eds., *In the Light of Medieval Spain: Islam, The West, and the Relevance of the Past* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) for a discussion on the multifaceted ways the history of al-Andalus has figured into modern iterations of visual, literary, and material culture.

society as a whole. During this poetic revolution, social injustices and class struggle became prominent themes that were incorporated into Arabic poetry.

As with occupation around the world, is the absenting and exclusion of the other. Edward Said states in *The Question of Palestine* that "there is ample evidence to show that taken altogether as members of a community whose common experience is dispossession, exile, and the absence of any territorial homeland, the Palestinian people has not acquiesced in its present lot. Rather the Palestinians have repeatedly insisted on their right of return, their desire for the exercise of self-determination, and their stubborn opposition to Zionism as it has affected them."[162] In writing resistance literature, whether in opposition to Zionism or another form of occupation, the writer is able to reclaim the identity that was forcibly taken from him/her. According to Barbara Harlow, it is poetry, in particular that "is capable of serving as a means for the expression of personal identity or even nationalist sentiment. Poetry, as part of the cultural institutions and historical existence of a people, is itself an arena of struggle."[163]

While the goal of declamatory poetry is to animate the masses, a continuity between these works and pre-Islamic poetry is also evident. The oral character of pre-Islamic poetry remained in many Classical Arabic works as poets composed their poetry with the intention of reciting it in the presence of rulers. A claim of continuity provided a much-needed link to a pre-existing Arab identity that thrived prior to occupation. This strategy is in marked contrast to the goal of colonialism, as described by Frantz Fanon, "[c]olonialism is not satisfied with snaring the people in its net or of draining the colonized brain of any form or substance. With a kind of perverted logic, it turns its attention to the past of the colonized people and distorts it, disfigures it, and destroys it."[164]

Colonialism and subjugation attempt "to inculcate the notion that the precolonial history of the indigenous population had been steeped in barbarity …The passion displayed by contemporary Arab authors in reminding their people of the great chapters of Arab history is in response to the lies of the occupier."[165] In light of this, when the Arab poet writes a muʿāraḍah, he/she ties their identity and history to a preexisting identity. "When the colonized intellectual writing for his people uses the past he must do so with the intention of opening up the future, of spurring them into action and fostering hope."[166] This creation of a continuity between past and present poets allows for a defense of collective identity in the face of subjugation.

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[162] Edward Said, *The Question of Palestine* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 47.

[163] Barbara Harlow, *Resistance Literature* (New York: Methuen, 1987), 33.

[164] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 2004), 149.

[165] Ibid., 151.

[166] Elias Khoury, "The World of Meanings in Palestinian Poetry," in *al-Dhākira al-Mafqūda* [The Lost Memory] as quoted and translated by Barbara Harlow in *Resistance Literature*, 34.

And what of literatures that do not fit into the category of resistance? How should they be read if in the case of the texts in this dissertation, they allude to, whether implicitly or explicitly, the history of al-Andalus? While they certainly have a place in the Arabic poetic canon, how can we view these texts as a response to colonial occupation and life in a postcolonial world? Echevarría, in the case of Latin America, posits, "[c]an one truly know the Other without doing violence to him or her and to his or her culture? Is contamination with Western culture desirable; will it not bring about destruction? It is possible to write about one's knowledge of the Other without distorting his or her culture beyond recognition? It is impossible to avoid making fiction out of any such attempt?"[167] With this in mind, it is necessary to read these texts not just for the aesthetic and ephemeral qualities, but also as a type of historical document, allowing the "Other" to write about and for his/her own culture without fear of such distortion.

Returning to ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī's poem titled "al-Dukhūl ilá Gharnāṭa" [Entering Granada] there is an interreferentiality between the verbalized and the visual which is crucial for creating and maintaining a link between Andalusī and Arab cultural heritages. While the Albayzin and the Alhambra have both attained various meanings according to historical and cultural circumstances from pre-1492 to today, Al-Bayātī's reverence and affinity for Islamic Spain is evident in the emotional attachment he injects into the streets of Granada. As the poem progresses, he continues with the theme of exile but with added mythical dimensions. He writes:

> What did the castle's parrot say?
> What did the fortune-teller say?
> You will not enter Granada except in death.
> So what are you waiting for?
> …….
> Nothing remains save for exile
> But you are my exile in every place
> ……..
> What has this sanguine night been hiding
> Beneath the dust of papers
> A grain or fire is your second birth
> In this collapsing palace
> Is this an ancestral reincarnation that took place?
> [Entering Granada 23-26; 29-30]

Al-Bayātī chose these specific sites because he was well-acquainted with their historical purpose, with the Albayzin being the Moorish quarter and the Alhambra expressing the past glory of the Nasrid dynasty. Philippe Hamon claims that architecture provides a certain realistic effect to a literary work because it gives "a recognizable frame, anchor, or background that

[167] Roberto González Echevarría, 145.

creates its verisimilitude."[168] This verisimilitude, I believe, is important in identifying literature and poetry in particular as markers for both heritage and history. al-Bayati presents an implicit contrast between these sites in their present and past states and throughout the poem there are only references to decay, ghostly traces, and death within the Alhambra and Albayzin; a stark difference from its current states as the most visited sites in Andalucía. With the end of Islamic rule in Spain, Granada's citizens perished or were forced into exile or religious conversion while objects and monuments fell into decay, but by exhibiting possible realistic moments, al-Bayātī proves their verisimilitude, thus authorizing the literary text to also function as a historical document.

John Elsner in *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture* states that "history is construed as the appropriation and interpretation of certain monuments surviving from the past into the present. History is essentially an act of making the past intelligible and meaningful to the present."[169] The poet's presentation of the monuments and locations within Nasrid Granada serves as a reaction to the demise of al-Andalus and although he does not explicitly mention the present state of these sites, in reminding his audience of the effects of the Christian conquest in Granada, one cannot help but generate a visceral image of modern-day Granada:

> Is this Granada a stony animal
> Contracting tuberculosis?
> Where the dead are coughing
> Or is a homeland crashing down?
> I am fated to play chess of blind love
> Against my shadow in the mirror
> …….
> You might become the red bricks of a tomb
> Or a potter's jar
> Or a wandering love poet
> [Entering Granada 17-22; 34-36]

Who or what is the stony animal that is representative of Granada? Does it represent the denizens of Granada afflicted by the Black Plague in the fourteenth century or the marble creatures in the Court of the Lions in the Alhambra? Alternatively, the stony animal could refer to the palatial lions which become a metonymic indicator of sovereignty and thus, its tuberculosis signals the impending weakness and ultimate end of Islamic power in Granada. The line "*qad tuṣbiḥ ʾājurrat qabr ḥamrā*" [You may become an epitaph for the grave of Alhambra] presents another opportunity for al-Bayātī to showcase his poetic dexterity through ambiguity. Here, the poet

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[168] Philippe Hamon, *Expositions: Literature and Architecture in Nineteenth-Century France*, trans. Katia Sainson-Frank and Lisa Maguire (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 23.

[169] John Elsner, "From the Pyramids to Pausanias and Piglet: Monuments, Travel and Writing," eds. Simon Goldhill and Robin Osborne, *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 225.

plays on the Alhambra Palace's Arabic name *qaṣr al-Ḥamrāʾ* with *qabr al-Ḥamrāʾ*. With its people dying, the Alhambra, which literally translates to "the red one" in Arabic (*al-Ḥamrāʾ*), has been reduced to a tomb. Who is the "wandering love poet" al-Bayātī is referring to? With cities throughout al-Andalus experiencing ruin and destruction as early as 1031 with the end of the Caliphate of Cordoba, poets were forced into exile, creating "a literary world of movement and instability" to adopt Jonathan Decter's observations on the poetics of nostalgia in Andalusian Hebrew literature.[170] Or could al-Bayātī be referring to his own lived experiences of "movement and instability" in the twentieth century? "In many of al-Bayati's poems," observes Mohammad Salama, "the personal, mythical, historical, and social intermingle, providing the infinite possibilities of his poetry."[171]

The poet complicates the role of poetry by creating a poetic intervention of sorts with this text not only to reflect on historical and imaginative constructions of al-Andalus, but to compel us to think of alternatives to the way we historicize these very moments whether in a post-1492 world or a modern one. Returning to the notion of the material chronotope and how it is connected to not only the cultural environments it represents, but the environments in which it is produced, Najat Rahman observes that "in the midst of political turmoil and continual change of boundaries and sovereignties, Arab poets and writers have often defined their identity in relation to an Arabic literary heritage."[172] The need to acquire a sense of self or identity is done, in this case, by looking to the past for any indication of continuity. It is for this reason that Arab poets have repeatedly turned to al-Andalus to temporalize their work. Since the history of Islamic Spain has become analogous to loss, poets are thus able to utilize the legacy of this era to suit a wide array of purposes ranging from the mythological, to the allegorical and the elegiac. But, I argue that in addition to these purposes, which are common themes and goals in literature, we can use these literary works to also produce an alternative history and perhaps even an archive of this time, especially since one currently does not exist at the Alhambra for history prior to 1492.

In his book *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, David Lowenthal presents a dialectical relationship between the definitions and uses of the terms "heritage" and "history." History, in his view, is a critical discipline that aims for judgments of the past that one may possibly prove as false whereas heritage represents the past in a way so as to make its truth value neither verifiable nor relevant. While history strives to be objective, it is prone to have some degree of bias and human error, whereas, Lowenthal writes, heritage is not only premised on bias, but sustained by it. The work of Ashis Nandy informs my inquiry when he questions and problematizes the traditional i.e. Western Eurocentric discipline of history when

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[170] Jonathan P. Decter, *Iberian Jewish Literature: Between al-Andalus and Christian Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 209.

[171] Mohammad Ramadan Salama, "The Interruption of Myth: A Nancian Reading of Blanchot and Al-Bayati," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 33, no. 3 (2002): 269.

[172] Najat Rahman, *Literary Disinheritance: The Writing of Home in the Work of Mahmoud Darwish and Assia Djebar* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008), 51.

he writes, can we "acknowledge the possibility that history might be only one way of constructing the past and other cultures might have explored other ways[?]"[173]

By adopting this model, I argue that Arabic poetry and by extension Arabic literature can be understood as "other ways" of constructing history. Historical moments have had a presence in Arabic poetry since pre-Islamic times, in which poets described the abandoned campsites of their tribes or beloveds, or would represent their tribes in mock battles; men and women during this same time composed elegies praising the lives of warriors who died valiantly in battle. Starting in the early twentieth century, Egyptian novels have described the socio-political effects of colonization and Islamism while literature from Lebanon, Tunisia, and Syria, among other countries in the Arab world, portray the horrors of war and dictatorship inflicted upon on the general population. Can these works not be considered efforts to disrupt the hegemony of Western historical accounts of these very same events? Nandy continues, "[p]erhaps those who own the rights to shape the pasts of our selves also can claim part-ownership of our present selves…[historians] have abridged the right and perhaps even the capacity of citizens to self-define."[174] Arabic literature and al-Bayātī's "Entering Granada," I argue, are attempts to rearrange the hierarchies of knowledge currently extant in the study of the Middle East and these same modes are evident in other postcolonial literatures in Latin America and especially in Puerto Rico, a territory still living under the weight of American colonization.

So, then, what role do these literatures play in terms of creating and preserving both one's heritage and history? Their ephemerality is distinguished by Western scholarship as being insufficient for inclusion in any traditional archive, but if we take this revised definition of "historical" into account, then Hebrew, Arabic, and Castilian works from al-Andalus, Morisco legends and literatures, and modern Arabic texts can be compiled into an alternative archive, thus carving out a space for these "other" voices to be heard and seen as a collective and restoring a line of continuity between a world that is truly pre- and post-1492.

After all, al-Bayātī ends his poem with Christopher Columbus, recasting a scene that is both prophetic and apocalyptic, for the informed reader is well aware of the imperialism that awaits the indigenous communities in the Americas:

> In which time or place are we now?
> Columbus laughs maniacally
> On the Atlantic Ocean
> And I am approaching in a shroud
> [Entering Granada, 52-55]

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[173] Ashis Nandy, "History's Forgotten Doubles," *History and Theory* 34, no. 2 (1995), 52.

[174] Nandy, 54.

This event can certainly be read, to use Lowenthal's definition of history, as "a moment infused with bias" while paradoxically being sustained by the very bias Lowenthal claims is the marker of heritage. María Elena Martínez, an expert on Colonial Mexico, presents a compelling reinterpretation of the archive with her work on queer approaches to history in Guatemala as she writes,

> "[h]ow would those eclectic—and in some respects methodologically and epistemologically disobedient—approaches to the archive affect the historian's relationship not only to history but in particular to bodies in the past? What effects would relying on different types of archives, altering the way we normally read sources, and expanding definitions of knowledge have on how we understand and write history and especially on the past lives we decide to study?"[175]

What effects would the creation of an "othered" archive that includes Arabic literature have in the way we approach and understand the events of 1492 and their ramifications in a postcolonial Arab society? In taking creative approaches to the archive and incorporating materials written by the colonized, the conquered, the oppressed, and the indigenous, we can become more cognizant of how we connect to the past and reevaluate historical memory, ultimately rewriting history and redefining heritage regardless of how ephemeral such historical documents may be.

Since the end of the eleventh century in al-Andalus, poets have utilized the space and history of the region to poeticize their feelings of loss. In the past century, poets across the Middle East have relied upon the literature and history of al-Andalus to create connections between the past and present and between collective and cultural memory. In a newspaper interview in 1991, Darwīsh commented on the importance of al-Andalus in the life of an Arab poet. He stated that "in every poet there is a loss or an absence. In every poet there is an Andalus. Otherwise, how do we interpret the sadness of poetry and its thrust into two contradictory directions: the past and the future…[P]oetry is the search for an Andalus that is possible to recall [and] able to be presenced."[176] By engaging with the literary and cultural associations of al-Andalus, these poets engage with not only the history of al-Andalus, but the writing of their own histories—at times claiming, reimagining, and contesting it, but almost always memorializing a sought-after past, a transitory present, and a promising future.

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[175] María Elena Martínez, "Archives, Bodies, and Imagination: The Case of Juana Aguilar and Queer Approaches to History, Sexuality, and Politics," *Radical History Review* 120 (2014), 167.

[176] Rafīq al-Akhḍar as cited in Reuven Snir's "Al-Andalus in Modern Arabic Poetry," 275.

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Appendix A: Maps for Chapter Two[177]

Figure 1: Cordoba, highlighted in blue

[177] The map is taken from Rafael López Guzmán, *La Arquitectura del Islam Occidental* (Lunwerg Editores, S. A.: Collection UNESCO, 1995).

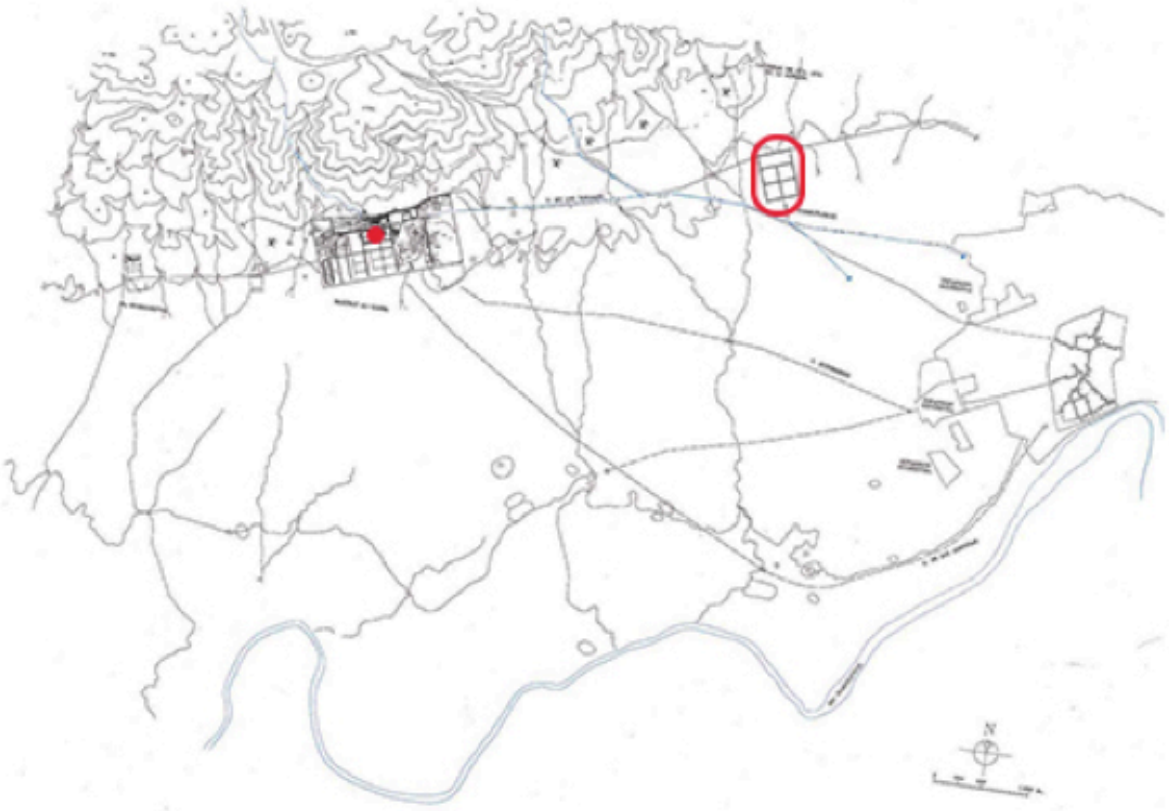

Figure 2: Rusafa and Palace of Jaʿfar, highlighted in red

Figure 3: The ʿAqīq, as represented by the Guadalquivir River, highlighted in blue

Figure 4: The *Naṣriyy* Palace and the bridge, highlighted in green

Figure 5: The *Nāṣiḥ* Palace and the Palace of the Waterwheel

Figure 6: Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, highlighted in black

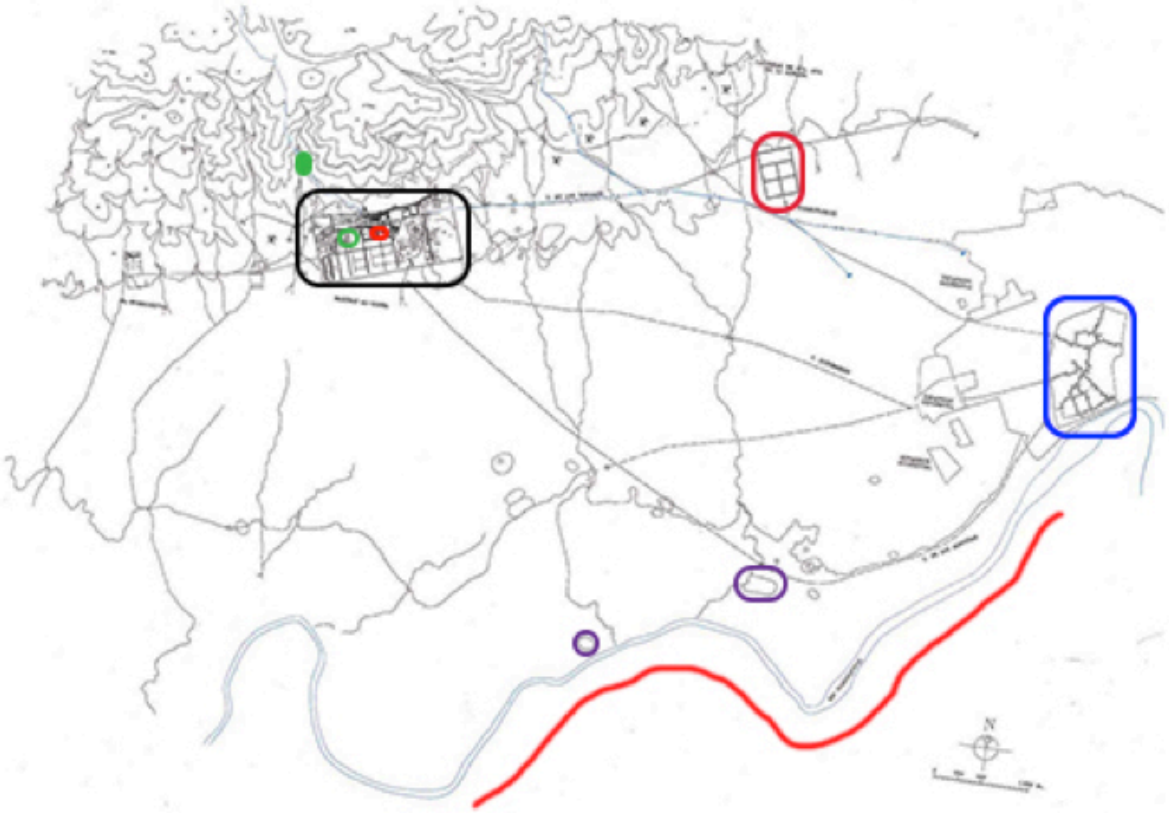

Figure 7: Ibn Zaydun's completed map of the city of Cordoba and Madinat al-Zahra'

Figure 8: *Ṣūrat al-Maghrib,* Leiden manuscript Orientalis 3101 page 20, c. late 12th century
The city of Cordoba is the red circle centered within the half-circle identified as the Iberian Peninsula.

Appendix B: Selected Arabic Texts

[1]

قِفا نَبْكِ مِن ذِكْرى حَبيبٍ ومَنْزِلِ بِسِقْطِ اللِوى بين الدَخولِ وحَوْمَلِ
فتوضِحَ فالمِقْراةِ لم يَعْفُ رسمُها لِما نسجتْها من جَنوب وشَمأَلِ

[2]

وليلٍ كموج البحْرِ أَرخى سُدولَهُ على بأَنواع الهموم ليَبْتَلي
فقلتُ له لمّا تمطَّى بجوْزِه وأَرْدَفَ أَعْجازاً وناءَ بكَلكَلِ
أَلا أَيُّها الليْلُ الطويلُ أَلا انْجَلي بصبحٍ وما الإِصباحُ فيكَ بأَمثَلِ
فيا لكَ من ليلٍ كأَنَّ نجومَهُ بكلّ مُغارِ الفتْل شُدَّتْ بِيَذْبُلِ
كأَنَّ الثُرَيَّا عُدِّقَتْ في مَصامِها بأَمْراسِ كَتَّانٍ إلى صُمِّ جَنْدَل

[3]

يا هَل رَأَيْتَ الجِنانَ زاهِرَةً يَروقُ عَيْنَ البَصيرِ زاهِرُها
وهَل رَأَيْتَ القُصورِ شارِعَةً تكُنّ مِثْلَ الدُّمى مَقاصِرُها
وهَل رَأَيْتَ القُرى الَتي غُرِسَ الـ أَمْلاكُ مُخْضَرَّةً دَساكِرُها
مَحْفوفَةً بالكُرومِ والنَّخْلِ والرَّيـ ـحانِ ما يَسْتَقِلّ طائِرُها
فإِنَّها أَصْبَحَتْ خَلايا مِن الـ إِنْسانِ قَدْ أُدْمِيَتْ مَحاجِرُها
قَفْراً خَلاءً تَعْوى الكِلابُ بها يَنْكَرُ مِنْها الرُّسومَ زائِرُها

[4]

لَوْ كُنْتُ تُنْصِفُ في الهَوَى بَيْنَنا لَم تَهْوَ جاريَتي ولَم تَتَخَيَّرِ
وتَرَكْتَ غُصْناً مُثْمِراً بِجَمالِهِ وجَنَحْتَ للغُصْنِ الذي لَم يُثْمِرِ
ولَقَد عَلِمْتَ بأَنَّني بَدْرُ السما لكِنْ دُهِيتَ لِشَقْوَتي بالمُشْتَرِي

[5]

إذْ جانِبُ العَيشِ طَلْقٌ من تأَلُّفِنا؛ ومَرْبَعُ اللّهوِ صافٍ مِنْ تَصافينا
وإذْ هَصَرْنا فُنونَ الوَصْلِ دانيةً قِطافُها، فَجَنَيْنا مِنْهُ ما شينا
ليُسقَ عَهدُكُمُ عَهدُ السرورِ فَما كُنْتُم لِأرْواحِنا إلّا رَياحينا

[6]

يا جَنةَ الخُلْدِ أُبْدِلنا، بِسِدْرَتِها والكَوْثَرِ العَذبِ، زَقّوماً وغِسلينا

[7]

تَبَدَّتْ لَنا وَسْطَ الرُّصافَةِ نَخْلَةٌ تَناءَتْ بِأَرْضِ الغَرْبِ عَن بَلَدِ النَّخْلِ
فَقُلْتُ شَبيهي في التَغَرُّبِ والنَّوَى وطُولِ التَّناءِي عَن بُنَيَّ وَعَنْ أَهْلي
نَشَأْتِ بِأَرْضٍ أَنْتِ فيها غَريبةٌ فَمِثْلُكِ في الإقْصاءِ والمُنْتاي مِثْلي

[8]

وَقَفْتُ بالزَهْراء مستعبراً معتبراً أندب أشتاتا
فَقُلْتُ: أيا زهرا ألا فارجعي، قالت: وهل يرجع من ماتا؟
فَلم أزِل أبكي، وأبكي بها، هيهات يغني الدمع هيهاتا
كأنما آثار من قد مضى نوادب يندبن أمواتا

[9]

١ تَنَشَّقَ مِن عَرفِ الصَبا ما تَنَشَّقا
وَعاوَدَهُ ذِكرُ الصِبا فَتَشَوَّقا
وَما زالَ لَمعُ البَرقِ لَمّا تَأَلَّقا
يُهيبُ بِدَمعِ العَينِ حَتّى تَدَفَّقا
وَهَل يَملِكُ الدَمعُ المَشوقُ المُصَبَّأُ

٢ خَليلَيَّ إِن أَجزَع فَقَد وَضَحَ العُذرُ
وَإِن أَستَطِع صَبراً فَمِن شيمَتي الصَبرُ
وَإِن يَكُ رُزءاً ما أَصابَ بِهِ الدَهرُ
فَفي يَومِنا خَمرٌ وَفي غَدِهِ أَمرُ
وَلا عَجَبٌ إِنَّ الكَريمَ مُرَزَّأُ

٣ رَمَتني اللَيالي عَن قَسِيِّ النَوائِبِ
فَما أَخطَأَتني مُرسَلاتُ المَصائِبِ
أُقَضي نَهاري بِالأَماني الكَواذِبِ
وَآوي إِلى لَيلٍ بَطيءِ الكَواكِبِ
وَأَبطَأُ سارٍ كَوكَبٌ باتَ يُكلَأُ

٤ أَقُرطُبَةُ الغَرّاءَ هَل فيكِ مَطمَعُ
وَهَل كَبِدٌ حَرّى لِبَينَكِ تُنقَعُ
وَهَل لِلَياليكِ الحَميدَةِ مَرجِعُ
إِذِ الحُسنُ مَرأىً فيكِ وَاللَهوُ مَسمَعُ
وَإِذ كَنَفُ الدُنيا لَدَيكِ مُوَطَّأُ

٥ أَلَيسَ عَجيباً أَن تَشُطَّ النَوى بِكِ
فَأَحيا كَأَن لَم أَنسَ نَفحَ جَنابِكِ
وَلَم يَلتَئِم شُعبي خِلالَ شِعابِكِ
وَلَم يَكُ خَلقي بَدؤُهُ مِن تُرابِكِ
وَلَم يَكتَنِفني مِن نَواحيكِ مَنشَأُ

٦ نَهارُكِ وَضّاحٌ وَلَيلُكِ ضَحيانُ

وَتُربُكِ مَصبوحٌ وَغُصنُكِ نَشوانُ
وَأَرضُكِ تُكسى حينَ جَوُّكِ عُريانُ
وَرَيّاكِ رَوحٌ لِلنُفوسِ وَرَيحانُ
وَحَسبُ الأَماني ظِلُّكِ المُتَفَيَّأُ

٧ أَأَنسى زَماناً بِالعِقابِ مُرَفَّلاً
وَعَيشاً بِأَكنافِ الرُصافَةِ دَغفَلا
وَمَغنىً إِزاءَ الجَعفَرِيَّةِ أَقبَلا
لَنِعمَ مَرادُ النَفسِ رَوضاً وَجَدوَلا
وَنِعمَ مَحَلُّ الصَبوَةِ المُتَبَوَّأُ

٨ وَيا رُبَّ مَلهىً بِالعَقيقِ وَمَجلِسِ
لَدى ثُرعَةٍ تَرنو بِأَحداقِ نَرجِسِ
بِطاحُ هَواءٍ مُطمِعِ الحالِ مُؤيِسِ
مَغيمٍ وَلَكِن مِن سَنا الراحِ مُشمِسِ
إِذا ما بَدَت في كَأسِها تَتَلَأَلَأُ

٩ وَقَد ضَمَّنا مِن عَينِ شُهدَةَ مَشهَدُ
بَدَأنا وَعُدنا فيهِ وَالعودُ أَحمَدُ
يَزُفُّ عَروسَ اللَهوِ أَحوَرُ أَغيَدُ
لَهُ مَبسِمٌ عَذبٌ وَخَدٌّ مُوَرَّدُ
وَكَفٌّ بِحِنّاءِ المُدامِ تُقَنَّأُ

١٠ وَكائِن عَدَونا مُصعِدينَ عَلى الجِسرِ
إِلى الجَوسَقِ النَصرِيِّ بَينَ الرُبى العُفرِ
وَرُحنا إِلى الوَعساءِ مِن شاطِئِ النَهرِ
بِحَيثُ هُبوبُ الريحِ عاطِرَةِ النَشرِ
عَلا قُضُبَ النُوّارِ فَهيَ تَكَفَّأُ

١١ وَأَحسِن بِأَيّامٍ خَلَونَ صَوالِحٍ
بِمَصنَعَةِ الدولابِ أَو قَصرِ ناصِحِ

تَهُزُّ الصَبا أَثناءَ تِلكَ الأَباطِحِ
صَفيحَةَ سَلسالِ المَوارِدِ سائِحِ
تَرى الشَمسَ تَجلو نَصلَها حينَ يَصدَأُ

١٢ وَيا حَبَّذا الزَهراءَ بَهجَةَ مَنظَرِ
وَرِقَّةَ أَنفاسٍ وَصِحَّةَ جَوهَرِ
وَناهيكَ مِن مَبدا جَمالٍ وَمَحضَرِ
وَجَنَّةِ عَدنٍ تَطَّبيكَ وَكَوثَرِ
بِمَرأىً يَزيدُ العُمرَ طيباً وَيَنسَأُ

١٣ مَعاهِدُ أَبكيها لِعَهدٍ تَصَرَّما
أَغَضَّ مِنَ الوَردِ الجَنِيِّ وَأَنعَما
لَبِسنا الصِبا فيها حَبيراً مُنَمنَما
وَقُدنا إِلى اللَذاتِ جَيشاً عَرَمرَما
لَهُ الأَمنُ رِدءٌ وَالعَداوَةُ مَربَأُ

١٤ كَساها الرَبيعُ الطَلَقُ وَشيَ الخَمائِلِ
وَراحَت لَها مَرضى الرِياحِ البَلائِلِ
وَغادى بَنوها العَيشَ حُلوَ الشَمائِلِ
وَلا زالَ مِنّا بِالضُحى وَالأَصائِلِ
سَلامٌ عَلى تِلكَ المَيادينِ يُقرَأُ

١٥ إِخوانَنا لِلوارِدينَ مَصادِرُ
وَلا أَوَّلٌ إِلّا سَيَتلوهُ آخِرُ
وَإِنّي لِأَعتابِ الزَمانِ لَناظِرُ
فَقَد يَستَقيلُ الجَدُّ وَالجَدُّ عاثِرُ
وَتُحمَدُ عُقبى الأَمرِ مازالَ يُشنَأُ

١٦ ظَعَنتُ فَكانَ الحُرُّ يُجفى فَيَظعَنُ
وَأَصبَحتُ أَسلو بِالأَسى حينَ أَحزَنُ
وَقَرَّ عَلى اليَأسِ الفُؤادُ المُوَطَّنُ

وَإِنَّ بِلاداً هُنتُ فيها لَأَهوَنُ
وَمَن رامَ مِثلي بِالدَنِيَّةِ أَدنَأُ

١٧ وَلا يُغبِطُ الأَعداءَ كَونِيَ في السِجنِ
فَإِنّي رَأَيتُ الشَمسَ تُحصَنُ بِالدَجنِ
وَماكُنتُ إِلّا الصارِمَ العَضبَ في جَفنِ
أَوِ اللَيثَ في غابٍ أَوِ الصَقرَ في وَكنِ
أَوِ العِلقَ يُخفى في الصِوارِ وَيُخبَأُ

١٨ يَضيقُ بِأَنواعِ الصَبابَةِ مَذهَبي
إِلى كُلِّ رَحبِ الصَدرِ مِنكُم مُهَذَّبِ
مُفَضَّضِ لَألاءِ الأَساريرِ مُذهَبِ
يُنافِسُ مِنهُ البَدرُ غُرَّةَ كَوكَبِ
دَرى أَنَّها أَبهى سَناءً وَأَضوَأُ

١٩ أَسِفتُ فَما أَرتاحُ وَالراحُ تُثمِلُ
وَلا أُسعِفُ الأَوتارَ وَهيَ تَرَسَّلُ
وَلا أَرعَوي عَن زَفرَةٍ حينَ أُعذَلُ
وَلا لِيَ مُذ فارَقتُكُم مُتَعَلَّلُ
سِوى خَبَرٍ مِنكُم عَلى النَأيِ يَطرَأُ

٢٠ حَمِدتُم مِنَ الأَيّامِ لينَ خِلالِها
وَسَرَّتكُمُ الدُنيا بِحُسنِ دَلالِها
مُؤَمَّنَةً مِن عَتبِها وَمَلالِها
وَلا زالَ مِنكُم لابِسٌ مِن ظِلالِها
يُسَوِّغُ أَبكارَ المُنى وَيُهَنَّأُ

[10]

عائشةٌ تشقُّ بطنَ الحوت
ترفع في الموج يديها
تفتح التابوت
تُزيح عن جبينها النقاب
تجتاز ألف باب
تنهض بعد الموت
عائدةً للبيت
ها أنذا أسمعها تقول لي لبَّيكْ
جاريةً أعود من مملكتي إليك
وعندما قبَّلتها بكيتْ
شعرت بالهزيمة
أمام هذي الزهرة اليتيمة
الحبُ, يا مليكتي, مغامرة
يخسر فيها رأسَهُ المهزوم
بكيتُ, فالنجومْ
غابتْ, وعدتُ خاسرًا مهزوم
أُسائلُ الأطلالَ والرسوم
عائشةٌ عادت, ولكني وُضعتُ, وأنا أموت
في ذلك التابوت
تَبادَلَ النهران
مجريهما, واحترقا تحت سماء الصيف في القيعان
وتركا جرحًا على شجيرة الرمان
وطائرًا ظمآن
ينوح في البستان
آه جناحي كسرته الريح

وصاح في غرناطة
معلم الصبيان
لوركا يموتُ, ماتْ
أعدمه الفاشست في الليل على الفرات
ومزقوا جثته, وسملوا العينين
لوركا بلا يدين
يبثّ نجواه الى العنقاء
والنورِ والتراب والهواء
وقطراتِ الماء
أيتها العذراء
ها أنذا انتهيتْ
مقدَّسٌ, باسمك, هذا الموت
وصمت هذا البيت
ها أنذا صلَّيت
لعودة الغائب من منفاه
لنور هذا العالم الأبيض, للموت الذي أراه
يفتح قبر عائشة
يُزيح عن جبينها النقاب
يجتاز ألف باب
آه جناحي كسرته الريح
من قاع نهر الموت, يا مليكتي, أصيح
جَفّتْ جذوري, قَطَعَ الحطّاب
رأسي وما استجاب
لهذه الصلاة
أرضٌ تدور في الفراغ ودمٌ يُراقْ
وَيحْي على العراق
تحت سماء صيفه الحمراء

من قبل ألفِ سنةٍ يرتفع البكاء
حزنًا على شهيد كربلاء
ولم يزل على الفرات دمه المُراق
يصبغ وجهَ الماء والنخيل في المساء
آه جناحي كسرته الريح
من قاع نهر الموت, يا مليكتي, أصيح
من ظلمة الضريح
أمدُّ للنهر يدي, فَتُمسك السراب
يدي على التراب
يا عالمًا يحكمه الذئاب
ليس لنا فيه سوى حقّ عبور هذه الجسور
نأتي ونمضي حاملين الفقر للقبور
يا صرخات النور
ها أنذا محاصرٌ مهجور
ها أنذا أموت
في ظلمة التابوت
يأكل لحمي ثعلب المقابر
تطعنني الخناجر
من بلد لبلد مهاجر
على جناح طائر
- أيتها العذراء
والنور والتراب والهواء
وقطرات الماء
ها أنذا انتهيت
مقدّسٌ, باسمك, هذا الموت

[11]

وأَنا واحِدٌ مِنْ مُلوكِ النِّهاية.. أَقْفِزُ عَنْ ...

فَرَسي في الشِّتاء الأخيرِ, أنا زَفْرَةُ الْعَرَبيِّ الأخيرَةْ

لا أُطِلُّ على الآسِ فَوْقَ سُطوحِ الْبُيوتِ, ولا

أَتَطلَّعُ حَوْلي لِئَلاَ يراني هُنا أحَدٌ كانَ يَعْرِفُني

كانَ يَعْرِفُ أنّي صَقَلْتُ رُخامَ الْكلام لتَعْبُرَ إِمْرأَتي

بُقَعَ الضَّوءِ حافَيةً, لا أُطِلُّ على اللَّيْل كَيْ

لا أرى قَمَراً كان يُشْعِلُ أَسْرارَ غَرْناطةٍ كُلَّها

جَسَداً جَسَداً. لا أُطِلُّ على الظِّلِّ كَيْ لا أَرى

أَحَداً يَحْمِلُ اسْمي وَيَرْكُضُ خَلْفي: خُذِ اسْمَكَ عَنيّ

وَاعْطِني فِضَّةَ الْحَوْرِ. لا أتلَفَّتُ خَلْفي لِئَلاّ

أَتَذَكَّرَ أَنّي مَرَرْتُ على الأرْضِ, لا أَرْضَ في

هذهِ الأرْضِ مُنْذ تَكَسَّرَ حَوْلي الزَّمانُ شَظَايَا شَظَايَا

لَمْ أكُنْ عاشِقاً كَيْ أُصَدِّقَ أَنَّ الْمياه مَرايا

مِثْلَمَا قُلْتَ لِلأصْدِقاءِ الْقُدامى. ولا حُبَّ يَشْفَعُ لي

مُذْ قَبلْتُ ((مُعاهَدَةَ التِّيهِ)) لَمْ يَبْقَ لي حاضِرٌ

كَيْ أَمُرَّ غداً قُرب أَمْسي. سَتَرفَعُ قَشْتالَةُ

تاجَها فَوْقَ مِئْذَنَة الله. أَسْمَعُ خَشْخَشَةً لِلْمَفاتيحِ في

بابِ تاريخنا الذَّهَبيَّ، وداعاً لِتاريخنا ِ هَلْ أَنا

مَنْ سَيُغْلِقُ باب السَّماءِ الأَخيرَ؟ أَنا زَفْرةُ الْعربَيِّ الأخيرَةْ

[12]

(١)

لم أدخل غرناطة، لكني كنت بها شبحاً
أتجول في قصر الحمراء
أصغي لنحيب لماء
وأنين جذور الأشجار
أتسلق أبراج السور المهدومة
أحصي القتلى في كل مساء
في حي <البيازين>
وسوق العطارين
وبيع الأقفاص
زمني كان رماداً
ورعايا مملكتي أشباح
منفياً في <لا غالب إلا الله>
في عيني <عائشة> دفنت أسلحتي
وجنودي قتلوا فوق الأسوار
شعرائي خانوا الشعر
وبيعوا للحاكم في <وهران>

حيوان حجري غرناطة هذي
بالسل مصاب
يسعل فيها الأموات
أم وطن ينهار؟
قدري أن العب شطرنج الحب الأعمى
مع ظلي في المرآة
ماذا قالت ببغاء القصر؟
وماذا قال العراف؟
لن تدخل غرناطة إلا بعد الموت
فماذا تنتظر الآن؟
الموتي دفنوا موتاهم
في قاع الآبار
لم يبق سوى المنفى
لكنك منفي في كل مكان
في عصر قيامتك الأخرى
من يدري
قد تدخل غرناطة أو لا تدخل
قد تصبح آجرة قبر الحمراء
أو جرة خزاف
أو شاعر حب جوال
ماذا خبأ هذا الليل الدامي
تحت غبار الأوراق:
سنبلة أم نار ولادتك الأخرى
في هذا القصر المنهار
أتناسخ الأسلاف اليحدث هذا بعد الزلزال؟
وجهي حجر بركاني
ودمي بركة نار

أسلافي سخروا مني في المرآة: فأياً
منهم أختار:
البدوي المصحر في الغيب وحيداً
في باب الله
أم <زرياب> مغني الصبوات
ها أنذا أسقط من أعلى البرج
أطير قليلاً
أدخل غرناطة من كل الأبواب.

(٢)

في أي زمان ومكان نحن الآن؟
<كولومبس> يضحك مجنوناً
في بحر الظلمات
وأنا أدرج في الأكفان.