CHAPTER 3

FROM BARDS TO TROBADORS

Firstly, I wish to note that the word *trobadors* is not a "typo" nor a misprint; *trobador* is the original Provençal or Occitan word, whose French equivalent is *trouvere*. "Troubadour" is simply a French mispronunciation of "trobador", which, most unfortunately, has passed to English.

Some years ago, I do not care to recall how many, I read a two-volume work entitled The Troubadours at Home, by Justin Harvey Smith. At the end of said work was a rather long discussion as to the origins of the trobador art. The Mr. Smith rejected some theories *en toto*, and accepted others in part, but finally said that in his opinion the fundamental source of the trobador verse is Celtic, that, in reality it is manifestation of a poetic tradition which was passed from the ancient Gauls to their Romance-speaking descendants and finally emerged as written literature in the time of the troubadors of the Langue d'Oc or Provencal. Being of Irish origin, I found this theory intriguing, but for a very long time lacked the means to investigate or develop it further. Finally, after many years and a few false starts, I believe that I may have shed new light on this fascinating theory.

There is another, even more personal observation. During my

years at the University of Miami of Ohio, some people said that Dante Alighieri was my prototype. As is well known, Dante was an admirer and disciple of the Provençal trobadors, and considered writing the <u>Divina Commedia</u> in Provençal rather than the Tuscan dialect of Italian.

I was crossing a bridge in Toulouse (*Tolosa* in Provençal) in the heart of trobador country. Said bridge was of Roman construction, so many trobadors had no doubt crossed it centuries before. As I neared the middle of said bridge, I suddenly beheld a vision of loveliness such as I had never seen before. She was dressed rather simply, in a white, ample blouse and a long, full dark-coloured skirt. Her hair was slightly longer than shoulder length, straight and dark brown with a slight reddish tinge. Her eyes were green or hazel. She was rather tall and willowy, but not anorexic. She was the most beautiful creature I had ever seen. Perhaps a breath of the *Mistral* wind of Provence wafted in from the Rhone valley at that moment, because this enchanting creature brushed an unruly lock of hair from her beautiful face.

"Bonjour", she said.

My spoken French was very limited, my spoken Provencal non-existent, and I was enthralled by her beauty. I could only mumble "Bonjour, mademoiselle" in reply. She went on her way, apparently unaware of the spell she had cast. For several minutes I stood transfixed, as though in a trance.

The above is, of course, reminiscent of Dante's encounter with Beatrice on a street in Florence (or *Fiorenza* in Italian).

From that moment on I understood the trobadors perfectly, seeing them as kindred spirits. Also at that moment was born a fascination with Provençal studies which has never left me.

The word "trobador" is derived from the Provençal **troba**, which means "verse", usually put to music. So, "trobador" means "maker of verses" or "versifier".

Very well, but what is the etymology of "troba"? In effect, as regards said etymology, the situation is the same as that concerning the etymology of the name "al-Andalus"; there are various hypotheses, none of which has been proven nor has any conclusive, incontrovertible evidence to support it, and all have difficulties.

One of the above-mentioned hypotheses is that "trobador" derives from the late Latin *turbare*, which means "disturb" in the sense of "find" or "invent". In this case, "trobador" would mean "inventor" or "discoverer". However, to go from "disturb" to "invent" or "discover" seems to me to be quite a long leap; "turbare" has various derivatives in English - such as "perturb" and "turbulent" - and various Romance languages, none of which relate to "invent" or "discover". Also, it appears that the word "troba" came before "trobador".

In Medieval Latin, the word *tropus* (Plural: *tropi*) refers to certain embellishments to some parts of the Mass or to the breviary office as sung by the choir, and is derived from the Byzantine Greek *troparion*, (plural: *troparia*) meaning "a short strophe or short stanza". Proof of the above is the fact that

there exist intermediate forms between the Byzantine Greek *troparion* on the one hand and the Medieval Latin *tropus* on the other: said intermediate forms are *troparium* and *troparius*, and they are abundant in Early Medieval Latin manuscripts.(1) In both cases the Byzantine Greek stem *tropari* is retained intact, but the Byzantine Greek suffix *on* has been replaced by the Latin suffixes *um* or *us*, as the case might be. Finally, the *ari"* was dropped, giving us *tropus*.

Byzantine Greek suffix *on* has been replaced by the Latin suffixes

Tropi, or *tropes* as they are called in English, are of various types:

❖ 1.) "SEQUENTIA" - long melisma on the last syllable of a word, often "alleluia".

❖ 2.) "PROSA" - words set to the music of the sequentia.

❖ 3.) "PROSULA" - a sort of prosa without the long melisma, usually set to only certain phrases of the sequentia.

❖ 4.) "FARSA" - verses interpolated into the Epistle reading of the Mass.

❖ 5.) "TROPUS" - new words and music inserted at various   points in the original chant.(2)

So, in Medieval Latin, *tropus* involved both words and music. It is easy to see how "tropus" acquired the meaning of "verse" or "song". In this case, the word "trobador" means "a maker or composer of songs".

Some derive the word "trobador" from the Arabic trilateral root **TRB**, (*nota bene* that the "**T**" of **TRB** is the Arabic "emphatic T") whose derivatives include *turab*, which means "joy", from whence *ahl turab*, which means "musician", *at-turab*, which means "music", and *alat at-tarab*, which means "musical" (adjective). The Arabic verb *taraba*, also derived from the triliteral root **TRB**, means "to sing, to play music". In this case, "trobador" would mean "music maker" or "composer of songs and tunes".

I do not pretend to have solved the enigma of the etymology of "troba" and "trobador", but only to present a few of the more widely known hypotheses and let the reader draw his own conclusion. In his monumental dictionary of both Old or Medieval and Modern Provençal titled *Lou Tresor dou Felibrige*, the great Frederic Mistral avoided entering into the controversy concerning the etymology of "troba" and "trobador", no doubt wisely.

I do wish to note that the various hypotheses concerning the etymology of "troba" and "trobador" are not mutually exclusive, do not totally preclude one another. The Latin *tropus* is grammatically masculine, as the suffix *us* indicates. By the normal (and invariable or almost invariable) rules concerning the passage from Latin to Old Provençal, *tropus* would become **trops** (yes, **T-R-O-P-S**, let there be no mistake) in the language of the the trobadors.(3) The change from *tropus* to *troba* (and hence "TROBADOR") is highly anomalous, unique or very nearly so, and simply does not follow the rules. The change from "P" to "B" is not unknown, though not common. However, the change from the

suffix "US" to the suffux "A" is totally anomalous, virtually inexplicable at first glance. Now, as we said above, "TROPUS" is grammatically masculine, while *TROBA*, ending in the suffix "A", is grammatically feminine. Two anomalous phonetic changes ("P" to "B" and "US" to "A"), combined with a change of grammatical gender is a total anomaly, so unusual as to be practically incredible. One anomalous change is unusual, two within the same word difficult to accept, and three virtually incredible.

The solution to the apparent anomalies noted abovr may be that "TROPUS" became *TROBA* under the influence of Arabic words derived from the root **TRB**. Ergo, *TROBA* (and therefore "TROBADOR") is a hybrid Latin-Arabic word.

We could go on and on speculating about the etymology of "TROBA" and "TROBADOR", but we would come to no firm conclusions.

The Celtic hypothesis of which we have spoken above has a certain inherent plausibility, since no one doubts that there was a long period of bilingualism before Latin or Romance in its various dialects of Langue d'Oil and Langue d'Oc finally took the place of Gaulish, and during such periods it is quite easy and natural that poetic forms pass from one language to another. This has happened in Ireland, Scotland, and Muslim Spain. The difficulties in said theory are equally obvious, since no Gaulish literary works have survived, though it is abundantly proven that the pre-Roman Gauls did possess at least an oral literature. This difficulty is at least in part overcome if one takes into account the fact that other Celtic languages, i.e., Gaelic, Welsh and

Breton, have very extensive written literatures, and that in their lyric verse they use essentially the same versification techniques and many of the same themes as the trobadors, all this in times and places in which there can be no question of Occitan or Provençal influence. There still remains the problem that the earliest literary documents which we have in said Celtic languages are all several centuries later than the Roman Conquest of Gaul (though it is unquestionable, as we shall see, that they are the continuation of a very much older literary tradition) and there is no proof that said themes and versification techniques were used by the Gauls; in other words, said techniques may have been developed in Ireland, Wales and Brittany long after the Roman conquest of Gaul. Apart from noting that the above assumes a very large number of "mere coincidences" (it may be taken as a general rule that the credibility of coincidences is in inverse proportion to their number), it has yet another flank which may be attacked. The Celts have a great deal in common with two other groups of Indo-European peoples, i.e., The Iranians and the Indo-Aryans. Among the many resemblances between the Celts and the Iranians and Indo-Aryans is the fact that all of these peoples the same versification techniques. In the Rig Veda and the Avesta one may find all the versification techniques typical of both Celtic and trobador poetry, either in complete or embryonic form. This is not true of Classical Latin, ancient Germanic or Classical Arabic verse. In other words, if one finds the same versification techniques among the Iranians and Indo-Aryans on the one hand

and among the Irish, Welsh and Bretons on the other, it would be strange indeed if they were not used by the Gauls.

The theory which I am proposing assumes that the so-called folkloric theory as to the origin of the trobador art is true; it merely carries said theory one step further and gives it more substance. There has always been one hole in the folkloric theory.

As has been said many times,

"The folk does not create but only preserves."

In other words, musical or literary creation involves a certain degree of special talent and sophistication which is quite beyond the capacities of ordinary people. Thus, all folk music and folk literature ultimately goes back to various masters and men of genius, though their names may have been long forgotten and their works altered to a greater or lesser degree. I have known people of much musical talent who could "pick up" a tune very quickly and play it quite well, though they themselves were quite unable to read music, had no knowledge of musical theory and except for this one talent were not of superior intelligence. These "rustic men of genius" were all remarkable imitators, but quite unable to compose an original melody of any merit, lacking the theoretical knowledge and the talent to do so. The same is true of folk poetry. I myself have some facility at improvising verses, and have known others with much more.

However, both myself and the others used metre and rhyme schemes which we had learned from others. Said rhymes and metres

were invented by men of superior talents and sophistication, and were copied by "the folk". This is not to belittle folklore at all; this very preservation is of an incalculable value. Now, the trobador verse is of an enormous sophistication. If it did indeed spring from folkloric sources, this folklore could not have sprang from nothing and nowhere. If one assumes that said folklore preserves some of the topics, versification techniques and musical modes and melodies of the very sophisticated Gaulish bards, then the folkloric theory as to the origin of the trobador verse begins to make sense.

In summary, sense it is not believable that the hypothetical folklore from which the trobadors derived their art sprang from nothing, then the folkloric theory in its turn depends on the Celtic theory in order to make it believable and give it substance.

Says Caitlin Matthews concerning the Celtic poets and their training:

> "Whether it be at the poetic competitions of the Welsh *eisteddfod*, the Gaelic Scottish *mod* or the Irish *feis*; in the Gaelic community of Nova Scotia, among the Welsh Patagonians or in the Irish clubs of Boston; poets may have day jobs as postmen, teachers or housewives, but they still have immense respect in their community. Whence did this respect emanate? What does it signify?
> Poetry has been at the core of the visionary experience from earliest times, creating the bridge of metaphor between daily life and the experiences that flow out of the otherworld. The Celtic poet was much more than a versifier: he could be the interpreter of dreams, the envisioner of prophecy, the diviner who sought answers and guidance to dark matters that the ordinary intellect could not decode. Reaching into the

far recesses of the visionary darkness, the poet sought out answers, poems and divinations.

The power of the poet's word was legendary, for he could make a satire if his fee had been unlawfully withheld, or if his person had been subjected to insult or dishonor. But his prime function was to uphoild honor by means of praise, or the recitation of ancestral wisdom.

Even the infant poet, Taliesin, was able to wreak havol on the dignity of Maelgwn Gwynedd's poetic retinue when they went up to the king to demand their fee; as they passed Taliesin, he played '*blerwm, blerwm*' on his lips with a finger. Ignoring this vulgar gesture, they stood before the king to demand their fee, but all that came out of their own mouths was an echo of his childish 'blerwm, blerwm'. Amazed at their behavior, the kingdemanded to know if they were drunk, but the bards were forced to admit that it had been the youthful Taliesin who had caused them to act thus.

The poet could also bless, and the telling of certain stories and poems came with their own special blessings, as we can see at the end of the Middle Irish (Gaelic) story of MacConglinne's Vision, in which a cleric sees the otherworld as a wonderland composed of food and drink. We are told both the blessing and the poet's proper payment for telling the story:

> 'The married couple to whom it is related on their first night shall not separate without an heir; they shall not be in dearth of food or raiment. The new house, in which it is the first tale told, no corpse shall betaken out of it; it shall it shall not want food or raiment; fire does not burn it. The king to whom it is recited before battle or conflict shall be victorious. On the occaision of bringing out ale, or of feasting a prince, or of taking an inheritance or patrimony, this tale should be recited. The reward of the recital of this story is a white-spotted, red-eared cow, a shirt of new linen, a wollen cloak with its brooch, from a king and queen, from married couples, from stewards, from princes, to him who is able to tell and recite it to them.'

Apoet could create magical changes in the landscape or in beasts, making both barren; or his words could cause blisters on the face of the enemy. His satires might be no worse than a fierce lampoon, which would gleefully be spread by gossips and so work

its eventual result: to hold up anyone who slighted him

in a dishonorable and mocking light. By the poet's word, reputations rose or sank.

We cannot easily understand the role of the poet in the spiritual life of the people from a contemporary perspective, for it was much nearer the role of the *sangoma* in South Africa – a shaman, praise singer and healer, who was the living memory of the tribe. We have the accounts of classical writers to tell us of the early role of the poet in Celtic society, and also the medieval transcriptions of early poetic traditions. Speaking of the state of things before the Romanization of Gaul

[Damn the Romans! As the Greek slave Demetrius said to the Roman Tribune Marcellus in the film "The Robe": "Romans! Thieves! Murderers! Jungle animals! May God's curse be on you and your Empire!],

Strabo wrote that:

'...among all the Gallic peoples, generally speaking, there are three sets of men who are held in exceptional honor: the Bards, the Vates and the Druids. The Bards are singers and poets; the Vates, diviners and natural philosphers; while the Druids, in addition to natural philosophy, study also moral philosophy.'

In AD 10, the Gauls still distinguished between bards and the *vates* or seers, and druids still held a place in society. After the Claudian invasion of Britain in AD 43, the druids, being the British intellectual caste who advised rulers, were savagely suppressed; their oivotal role in the organization of local resistance made them a ready target. The bards remained, along with the divinatory caste of the *vates*, until the institution of Christianity in the late 4th century left just the bards. The function of the pagan *vates* was inherited by the *fili*, the vision-poets of Christian Ireland. The term *vates*, from which we have the word 'vaticination' or 'prophecy', is paralleled in Gaelic by the word *faith*, and in Welsh by the word *ofydd*.

In Ireland, Druidism dies the death of professional secession as ecclesiastical positions

usurped druidic roles, Christianity blunted the spiritual spearhead of Druidism, but it could not suppress the bards and the diviners who took two

separate routes. The bards, who versified and sang for a living, held alower status to those poets who retained knowledge of divination. These became known as the *fili*, who were much more than mere bards. Because of their visionary skill and their ability to practice the Three Illuminations, their honor price, under the Irish system of legal restitution, was double that of a bard. Bards did not engage in the divinatory auguries of the *fili*.

The training of the poet was a long affair, taking many years. The pinnacle of the last three years was the learning of a body of prophetic and divinatory skills known as the Three Illuminations. These skills remained the legal equivalent to 'pleading benefit of clergy' in Irish law – anyone who could prove the skills of augury had 'poetic privilege' or an immunity that set him apart. A Scottish anecdote relates how a bard from the Isle of Mull, on hearing that he was about to be summoned, walked to Edinburgh and proclaimed publicly at Mercat Cross that he was a poet; he then turned round and walked back home again, believeing himself to be covered by poetic privilege.

The power of poets was only seen to be a threat to society after Christianity had been adopted in Ireland, when the semi-druidic status of poets was being questioned by clerics. At the Irish Council of Druim Ceatt in 575, St. Columcille was called upon to settle the issue of poetic privilege and a proposal was made to limit poetic power. Many nobles were impatient with the poets' demands for support, especially as their retinues were often extensive. St. Columcille pointed out to King Aedh, who was for their banishment, that 'the praises they will sing for you will be enduring'. Dallan Forgaill, the chief *ollamh* (doctor) of poetry, composed a eulogy in praise of St. Columcille in grateful response.

As the descendants of those who once remembered every precedent and story, poets used three levels of transmission, tuned according to the nature of the assembly. The external mode dealt with the revealed, the embodied and open aspects of practice, such as a praise song. The internal mode dealt with the hidden, implicit, latent and inner aspects, which often opened up the metaphysical parallels of a poem to the initiated listener. But the mystical mode conveyed the subtle, secret and withdrawn aspects of the *glefiosa*, only open to those able to receive the revelation for themselves – a skill that could not be taught, for the

(1017)

poet's chief preoccupation was *imbas* or inspiration.

The *fili* were still attached to the courts of Irish lords right up to the Elizabethan wars in Ireland. Thomas Smyth, a 16th century Englishman who saw them at first hand, gave a disgruntled Tudor view of the Irish,

showing that little had changed since the synod of Druim Ceatt in 575 when the suppression of the poets had been first muted, and writing of the *fili*:

> 'The fillis [sic] have great store of cattle and use all the trades of the others [i.e., the bards], with an addition of prophecies. These are great maintainers of witches and other vile matters, to the great blasphemy of God and to the great impoverishment of the Commonwealth.'

What was it that unsettled people about the poets? It was not just their demands for recompense, nor their skill in praise or satire. Was it perhaps the manner in which they practiced their art?

The Dark Schools

The chief method of learning the art of vision among the poets was that of darkness. A Celtic day consisted of a **night followed by a day,** and not a day followed by a night. This understanding is shared by other traditions, where the eve of the day begins a festival, such as the Jewish Sabbath or the Christian evensong or vespers. Julius Caesar writes that time was measured:

> '...not by the number of days but of nights; [the Celts] keep bithdays and the beginnings of months and years in such an order that the day follows the night.'

The wise darkness comes first, the better for us to discern and respect the promises of the light that will dawn. In this way, human deeds spring from the depth of dreams, quiet contemplation and the wisdom of the night. There is a different kind of consciousness that emerges when we cross the threshold of twilight and enter night's darkness. It was also part of the training of Celtic poets, who were not merely versifiers, but prophets and diviners also.

Gaelic poets were trained in their craft by entering 'the houses of darkness' as students. These small bothies without windows were their 'classroom'; lying of their backs, students of poetry pursued set

(1018)

themes in the darkness all day, emerging at twilight to recite their compositions to their tutors. The 'university term' of poetry tuition ran over the winter from late September, when all the harvesting would be done, until the call of the first cuckoo.

There are many extent poems of lamentation at

hearing the cuckoo, suggesting that this learning in darkness was a wonderful experience

[In Welsh (and also in Persian) there is another motive for lamentation at hearing the voice of the cuckoo, as we shall see below.],

and not the sught-after end of a purgatorial term of tuition. This seeking out of darkness did not have any sinister purpose, but was a wise uuse of the seasonal opportunity for a longer darkness, in which poetic themes could be followed in the mind's eye of the imagination without any distraction. [Is there here something of which the "dark night of the soul" of St. John of the Cross is an echo? In this respect least – as well as possibly others – was St. John of the Cross following and ancient Celtic tradition? Was St. John of the Cross, among other things, a Christian bard in the ancient Celtic sense? After all, he was from a very Celtic part of the Iberian Peninsula; by blood he was a Celt.] A student poet would enter the dark cell before sunrise and leave it after sunset, in the darkest quarter of the year, so that the experience would have been one of continual darkness. Irish poets before the 18th century regarded it strange for any poet to compose while walking or riding about outdorrs, so ingrained was this tradition of seeking darkness.

The early monastic response to this in Ireland was to 'write out of doors'

[Note that St. John of the Cross did not do this.]

in order to distance Christian poetry from that of the Pagan method of poetic composition, as we can see in this anonymous early monastic poem from Ireland:

A hedge of trees surrounds me,
A blackbird's lay sings to me;
Above my lined booklet
The trilling birds chant to me.

In a grey mantle from the tops of bushes
The cuckoo sings:
(1019)

Verily – may the Lord shield me! –
Well do I write under the greenwood.

However, it is said that St. Columcille meditated on the composition of his (Latin) hymn *Altus Prosator* – a comlex alphabetical poem that tracks the biblical history of the world – by remaining for seven years in a

black cell, as a penance for his part in the battle of
Cul Dreimne.

The Memoirs of the Marquis of Clanricarde (1722)
relates much of what we know about the bardic schools.
Clanricarde tells us these schools were open only to the
descendants of poets and their families, and only to
those that could read and write well and had a strong
memory. The place of study was situated in a quiet
place, away from occupation, and was:

> '...a snug, low Hut, and beds in it at
> convenient Distances, each within a small
> Apartment without much furniture. ...No
> Windows to let in the day, nor any Light at
> all but that of Candles and these brought in
> at a proper Season only ... The Professors
> gave a Subject suitable to the Capacity of
> each class ... the said Subject having been
> given over Night, they worked it apart each
> by himself upon his own Bed the whole next
> day in the Dark, till at a certain Hour in
> the Night, Lights being brought in, they
> committed it to writing.' [After dressing,
> each scholar came into a large room and there
> performed his popem to his masters.]
>
> The reason of laying the Study aforesaid
> in the Dark was doubtless to avoid the
> Distraction which Light and variety of
> Objects represented thereby.
>
> ...This being prevented, the Faculties
> of the Soul occupied themselves solely upon
> the Subject in hand, and the Theme given; so
> that it was soon brought to some Perfection
> according to the Notions of Capacities of the
> Students. Yet the course was long and tedious
> ... it was six or seven years before a
> Mastery was conferred.

Martin Martin, in his A Description of the Western Islands of

Scotland, bears out this method of tuition:

> 'They shut their Doors and Windows for a
> Day's time, and lie on their backs with Stone
> (1020)
>
> upon their Belly, and Plaids abouth their
> Heads, and their eyes being covered they pump
> their Brains for Rhetorical Encomium or
> Panegyric; and indeed they furnish such a
> Style from this Dark Cell as is understood by
> very few ... The Poet or Bard had a Title to
> the Bridegroom's upper Garb – that is, the
> Plaid and Bonnet.'

Professor James Garden of King's College, Aberdeen, wrote to the diarist John Aubrey in 1692 to inform him about the nature of bards and their more learned counterparts:

> 'The inferior sort are counted amongst the beggars and rhyme wherewith they salute each house is called *Dan nan Ulag*: (the meal Rhyme). ...He that is extraordinarily sharp of these bards is named fili, i.e., an excellent poet, these frequent only the company of persons of quality and each of them has some particular person whom he owns his own master.'

Garden reports how the *fili* travelled about, or went on circuit, not unlike a judge, with their retinue of supporters. The spontaneity of their compositions was apposite to the company and to their hosts, as well as drawing upon poems held in memory.

An Irish lament for the lost bardic schools describes the experience of one who had undergone this extraordinary method of training:

> The three forges wherein I was
> Wont to find mental delight,
>
> That I cannot visit these forges wears
> Away the armory of my mind.
>
> The house of memorizing of our gentle lads
> -   It was a trysting place of
> Youthful companies –
>
> Embers red and shining, that was
> Our forge at the first.
>
> The house of reclining for such as
> We, the university of art,
>
> Poetic cell that kept us from beguilement,
> This was the great forge of our trained
>   (1021)
>
> *Anruth* [a grade of poet].
>
> The house of the critic of each fine work of art
> Was the third house of our three forges.
>
> Which multiplied the clinging
> Tendrils of knowledge,
>
> Wherein the very forge of

Science was wont to be.

Three sanctuaries wherein we took rank,
Three forges that sustained the
Loving companies of artists,

Houses that bound comrades together.

The slow breakdown of the bardic schools was hastened by a number of factors: the restrictions of the British upon the speaking of Gaelic, and the proscriptions upon the largely Catholic Gaels from partaking in honorable occupations under *Na Peindlithe* (or the Penal Laws), which held Ireland and parts of Gaelic Scotland captive in successive waves of strictures that led to land dispossession, religious persecution and ultimately to migration.

These accounts of the Huses of Darkness have previously been thought to apply only to the Gaelic tradition, but it is possible that we have overlooked a parallel tradition in Britain. The Book of Taliesin provides several references to the dark cell. In his poem *Buarth Beirdd* or 'Fold of the Bards', Taliesin tells us about himself in poetic context. A *buarth* is a cow-pen, and a *buarth beirdd* is the place where poets enter into competition with each other, as they still do in *eisteddfodau* today. Taliesin describes the place of competition and how competitors might score in the contest: 'The fold of the bards, who knows it not? Fifteen hundred poles are in its qualifications.'

He describes himself: 'I am a cell, I am bower, I am a gathering'. In the *Hanes Taliesin*, the poets who attend on the ruler, Maelgwn Gwynedd, are described as *kulveirdd* (hut poets), which may indicate the apprentice grade of poets who are still learning in their dark cell.

One of the oldest British (Welsh) poems, *Y Gododdin*, which gives the honor roll of British warriors who fell in a notable 6th century conflict, gives us another clue. In the 'reciter's preface', the poet Aneurin speaks of himself with:

(1022)

My kness outstretched
In an earthen house,
With an iron chain
Around my knees.

This part of the poem has been previously taken to indicate Aneurin's imprisonment or his being held hostage by the Bernician (Saxon) enemy host that the men of Gododdin (called by the Romans: *Votadini*) (who lived in the area around modern Edinburgh) go to fight, but it

may stand in a long bardic tradition of the myth of a young man who is 'imprisoned' by his tutors until he has graduated as a full poet.

The dark cell as a mode of training acquired the metaphor of imprisonment because if its stark and demanding nature. Celtic legend abounds in the stories of youths who are imprisoned, but some of these may be initiatory stories relating to the training of young men who are figuratively hels 'hostage' during their education. The mythic theme of the Great Prisoner in British (i.e., Welsh) lore, whereby many individuals are said to be imprisoned, lost or confined, is almost certainly influenced by the tradition of the dark cell.

One notable feature of the dark cell methos is the way in which the student places his plaid or cloak over himself to ensure utter darkness. This method of working is called 'going under the cloak'. We may speculate whether this part of the bardic training was exported with the Irish slaves who were taken to Iceland to serve, and later intermarry with, the Scandinavian settlers there. We have a record of it when, in 1000, the Icelanders had to decide whether or not to adopt Christianity, because the conflict that threatened to split Iceland apart. At the *Althing* (Icelandic assembly), Thorgeir Godi, their lawgiver, went under his cloak for a whole day and a night in order to find an answer to this decision, as reported in <u>Njal's Saga</u>:

> "We cannot live in a divided land', he said. "There will never be peace unless we have a single law. I ask you all – heathens and Christian alike – to accept the one law that I am about to proclaim.' All agreed, pledging under oath to abide by this judgement. He then proclaimed, 'Our first principle of law is that all Icelanders shall henceforth be Christian. We shall believe in one God – Father, Son and Holy Ghost. We shall renounce the worship of idols. We shall no longer expose unwanted children. We shall
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>
> no longer eat horsemeat. Anyone who does these things openly shall be punished with outlawry, but no punishment will follow if they are done in private.'

Thorgeir's seeking out of advice under the cloak of darkness resulted in the whole of Iceland becoming Christian. The lawgiver went home, took his household gods, which he deposited, in very Celtic fashion, into the nearest waterfall nearby. It is impossible to tell how closely related are Thorgeir's cloak and the dark cell method, although it is clear that many Irish

customs were transported to Iceland and may have become adopted there. The Irish 'going under the cloak' method may well have been incorporated into the Scandinavian practice of *uitiseta* or sitting-out at night in vigil to obtain answers to difficulties.

[Note; As we have said in Chapter 2, the Goths, in their long migration from what is now southern Sweden to the shores of the Black Sea, were at one stage under intense Celtic cultural influence, and that the Goths always maintained contact with their ancient Scandinavian homeland, as we have abundantly demonstrated. So, if an obviously Celtic custom is found in the whole Scandinavian penninsula, and is not confined to Iceland, it may have passed to the Vikings by way of the Goths, as did some Celtic and Iranian elements – such as the *Valkyries* – which we have mentioned in Chapter 2.]

What was their (the Vikings of Iceland's) experience in the houses of darkness? What did they find there?

Entering Trance: Going Under the Cloak

The dark cell method of teaching reveals a shamanic [though, as we noted in Chapter 2, there is much debate as to what extent th terms 'shaman', 'shamanic" and 'Shamanism" can be

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applied to an Indo-European people]

way of entering visionary states:

'Darkness is sought by those who seek the vision and inspiration from the otherworld, a vision for which the subject must use his inner, not his outer eyes. The shaman's [recall what we said in the previous paragraph concerning Shamanism in connection with Indo-European peoples] journey into the otherworld, like the poet's search for the source of inspiration, is hindered by

intrusive light.'

Darkness enables the subject to enter into trance, the state in which most seers operate. For many people, 'trance' implies a deep state bordering on involuntary somnambulism, but here we mean 'a voluntary state of focused concentration in which visionary impressions appear'. Someone in trance is not entirely oblivious of surroundings, but is so inward in their attention that they enter a state with which we are most familiar by experiencing in dream. The origin of the word 'trance' gives us the clue, for it is from the Latin *transire*, meaning to 'pass over'. Trance is a method by which the ordinary side of reality becomes less important or prominent than the other side of reality.

How does trance happen? What factors enable it? What is its purpose? Trance induction can result from anumber of methods, including the movements of swaying and dance; the hearing of repetitious sounds, rhythms and songs; engaging in prayer, stillness, breath-control, hypnotism, etc. Trance can be of varying duration, depending on the stimulus that supports it. As the trance deepens, the brainwave patterns alter too, passing from the beta frequency of wakeful attention to the alpha frequency of relaxation, and then dipping into either the theta frequency of calm vision or into the delta frequency of deep sleep, or else a tuned and focused communion with the vision. The chief purpose of trance is to allow the subject to experience union with the two sides of reality at once, or to enter into the unseen, otherworldly side of reality.

The dark cell method works in an economic, slow-sustaning way, with the absence of light plunging the subject into a different state of being, yet not into sleep. Martin tells us that sleep was prevented in the dark cell by the physical encumbrance of a stone held

upon the belly, so that the recumbent poet was uncomfortable enough to remain awake. We note, too, that the bardic schools worked over the dark months of the years, from September to the calling of the first cuckoo (usually around the third week of March). In addition the students entered their dark cell at daybreak, emerging at fall of dark. This is taking darkness to its full limit, with the student poet thus living in a continual round of darkness or semi-darkness. It is a form of light associated with fairyland, which has neither sun nor moon, bit only the afterglow of both, as witnessed here by the 12th century Welsh visitor to fairyland, Elidyr:

'It was rather dark, because the sun did not shine there. The days were all overcast, as

> if by clouds, and the nights were pitch
> black, for there was no moon nor stars.'

What results after long exposure to darkness is the dawning of an inner light, the *glefiosa* itself. But before that stage, there are others to be undergone. I can speak of these not only from personal experience, but from teaching the art of vision to many indicidual students, all of whom report orally what they are experiencing tuition. After more than 20 years, I have a clear idea of the stages that most people generally encounter. After an initial disorientation of being in the darkness itself, which some subjects cannot tolerate, there arise the phosphenes that are the patterns, shapes and images experienced within the eye when there is no light source. These symbols turn up all over the world, from the early drawings by infants to the representations in prehistoric cave art. At this stage, subjects report disappointement at not seeing anything more concrete, but these are universally the first steps to trance. Some ignore the phosphenes and continue to describe the depth or quality of the darkness, mostly because they have ignored or edited phosphenes out of an expected result.

The tunnel or vortex visions that typify the next stage of trance are associated with the poetic sense of inwardness wherein the subject senses being inside a tunneled pathway, like looking down a telescope the wrong wat or going deeper into the vision. This stage can be accompanied by a feeling of spiraling or speeding, so compelling that the subject will be sucked deeper into vision. The compulsion or traction is accompanied by a sense of expectancy. This tunnel stage can be triggered by staring upon specific phosphenes within the trance itself, which then join up to create

a larger picture, and may possibly explain the presence of many rock-engravings of spirals or concentric rings in prehistoric and traditional imagery. Looking into the many ripples of a pool that is fed by a spring can have similar effect.

As the vision is sustained, so a sense of emergence and clear vision begins. Instead of being inside the darkness, the subject is in an outside place, often at a different time of day or night. A landscape or scene appears. Some subjects are stunned into silence by this vision, while others describe it. Some are so shocked that something has appeared, they spontaneously retreat to one of the earlier stages of trance, rather like a suddenly contracted telescope, only to slowly extend sections of themselves forward again in careful stages. The physical sense of being present in the landscape of vision is intense and focused. At this stage, the depth

of vision and steadiness of sustained trance is clear to see: the subjcet's feet move like those of swimmers, pulsing gently back and forward as if in water, limbs twitch and eyelids flutter, just like sleepers in the REM stage of sleep.

For every single person the experience of trance is different, depending upon their sensual array, cultural filters and, particularly, upon the theme or question chosen for their trance session, for trance is not entered into arbitrarily or without intent, as some think. Anyone contemplating theis procedure might wonder what to do, or how to be guided. But the landscapes of vision are inhabited, and so they are not alone: animals, spirits, ancestors, faeries, gods and companions of many kinds come forward to meet the one entranced. These arrive, according to the issue or question in the heart of the subject: they reveal knowledge show ways through difficulties, reply, tech or guide. As in a dream, things impossible in our world become possible while entranced: swimming underwater, flying in the air, visiting ancestors, dancing with faeies, being healed by dismantling the body and reassembling it, learning knowledge that cannot be known by ordinary means.

Those who enter into *glefiosa* do not readily want to return from it. The sense of oneness with thev vison, the immersion in the vision, the companionship and lack of division between the subject and those they meet in vision, all make returning to ordinary consciousness disagreeable, for they have experienced the wholeness of the two sides of reality. This return to ordinary consciousness, and a sense of division from the otherworld, is keenly displayed in the account of

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Bran mac Febal's return to his native shores.

> 'Then they went until they arrived at a gathering at Srub Brain. The men [on the shore] asked of them whoit was came over the sea. Said Bran: 'I am Bran the son of Febal.' However, the other [men of shore] saith: 'We do not know such a one though the Voyage of Bran is in our ancient stories.' Then [Bran's companion] Nechtan leaps from them out of the coracle. As soon as he touched the earth of Ireland, forthwith he was a heap of ashes, as though he had been in the earth for many hundred years. Thereupon, to the people of the gathering Bran told all his wanderings from the beginning until that time. And he wrote these quatrains in Ogham, and then bade them farewell. And from that hour his wanderings are not known.'

The timeless wanderings of Bran and the entranced visions of the seer and poet may seem vastly different in kind, but the attempt by Bran to return to his native shores after his long time in the otherworld is comparable to anyone trying to 'become ordinary' again after such a trance. Not only is the seer's vision changed forever, but his fellow men do not recognize him as he once was.

Seership is an art that sets its practitioners apart, which is why the *fili*, the vision-poets, underwent so long a training at the end of which came the learning of the Three Illuminations. It is to these skills we now pass."(4)

I do have some question concerning Ms. Matthews' use of the word "shaman". Though it is obvious that she has no sympathy whatever for secularists, Ms. Matthews, inadvertently no doubt, does give aid and comfort to them, because by her use of the word "shaman" she is collaborating with those scularists who describe all religious leaders as "juju men" and "witch doctors" (Ayn Rand referred to the Middle Ages as "the age of the witch doctor"), and the Soviets referred to all religious leaders, whether Christian, Muslim or Buddhist, as "shamans", in the

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sense of "juju men" and "witch doctors". Frithjof Schuon was charitable and sympathetic in his treatment of Shamanism, but he was careful not to use said term where it is not applicable. Ms. Matthews should be so careful and scrupulous.

In Appendix II of this book we spoke of the <u>Romance of don Gayferos</u>. This romance is now a folk romance of Galicia, its original author long forgotten. Yet no one believes that it was composed a few years ago by some Gallego rustic. Though the language has been partially modernized over the course of

centuries, and the very name "Gayferos de Mormaltan" is a deformation of the original, no one doubts that the romance was originally composed by a a Gallego-Portuguese trobador of the 12th Century or, as the words seem to indicate, by an Occitan or Provençal trobador who came on pilgrimage to Compostela and there settled in the Occitan district of Bonaval, and was later translated to Gallego-Portuguese by a Gallego-Portuguese trobador, disciple of the Provencals or Occitans. The folk has preserved the Romance of don Gayferos, but the folk did not create it. The proponents of the folkloric theory should consider me as an ally and not an enemy.

As to the Medieval Latin-Liturgical theory, which I believe also contains a great deal of truth, it certainly seems probable that the versification techniques of Medieval Latin verse which many believe were passed on to the trobadors are of Irish origin, spread to the Continent by Irish monks and scholars. Thus, at

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base, the Medieval Latin-Liturgical theory also seems to indicate a Celtic origin for the trobador art. We shall have much more to say on this topic. Some have proposed a Germanic origin for the art of the Provencal trobadors. Justin Harvey Smith mentions the Germanic theory, but gives it rather short shrift. In fact, said theory is ludicrous. Says Andy Orchard in his introduction to his translation of The Elder Edda, a collection of Viking sagas which we have mentioned in the previous chapter:

> "The poems of the Codex Regius (in which is found The Elder Edda) are composed in a variety of alliterative metres, of which the most widespread,

fittingly described as *fornyrdislag* ('old poetry metre', the term used by Snorri), has close affiliations to an apparently common inherited Germanic metre that is also witnessed in Old English in <u>Beowulf</u> (preserved in a manuscript from circa 825); the metre is apparent in the very first stanza of <u>Voluspa</u>:

> **H**ljods bid ek <u>allar</u> **h**elgar <u>kinder</u>,
> **M**eiri ok **m**inni **m**ogu **H**eimdallar.
> **Vi**ltu at <u>ek</u>, **V**alfodr, **ve**l fyr <u>telja</u>
> **F**orn spjoll **fi**ra, thau er **f**remst um <u>man</u>?

> [A hearing I ask of all holy offspring,
> The higher and lower of Heimdall's brood.
> Do you want me, Corpse-father, to tally up well
> Ancient tales of folk, from the first I recall?]

Each line consists of four stressed syllables (indicated here by underlining), divided into two half-lines separated by a caesura (given here as a blank space) linked by structural alliteration (indicated here in bold). The first stressed syllable of the second half-line is called the 'head-stave' (e.g., 1.**1** 'hel'), and alliterates with one or both of the stressed syllables in the first half-line; the fourth stressed syllable does not partake of the structural alliterative scheme. Note that in addition to the structural alliteration, a good poet will also often have ornamental alliteration and other artful effects of rhyme and assonance both within and between lines (as in the sequences: *Valfodr vel fyr* and *Vil-/Val-/vel*

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in line 3; *allar/-dallar* linking lines 1 and 2; *fyr/forn/fir-* linking lines 3 and 4). Each half-line and in *fornyrdislag* in general has between four and six syllables.

By contrast, an apparently variant form, *malahattr* ('speech metre'), is also found, where the rules of *fornyrdislag* seem relaxed, and more syllables, both stressed and unstressed, are permitted. The only poem in the <u>Codex Regius</u> consistently composed in *malahattr* is *Atlamal*; elsewhere, the metre can simply be seen as a slightly looser form of *fornyrdislag*. Stanza 1 of *Atlamal* illustrates:

> <u>Frett</u> hefir **o**ld **o**fu tha er *endr* um <u>gordu</u>
> **S**eggir **s**amkindu, **s**u, var <u>nyt</u> <u>faestum</u>.
> **OE**xtu einmaeli; **y**ggr var <u>theim</u> <u>sidan</u>
> Ok it **s**ama **s**onum <u>Gjuka</u>, er voru **s**annrathnir.

> [Folk have heard of the strife when long ago
> Warriors held a meeting that helped very few;
> They spoke together in private, then terror overwhelmed them,

As well as Gjuki's sons, who were wholly betrayed.]

Here each line has five rather than four stresses
syllables, the first half-line routinely contains double
alliteration, and each half-line contains contains
between five and eight syllables; again, however, the
first stressed syllable of the second half-line sets the
structural alliterative pattern (note that all vowels
alliterate, as they do in *fornyrdislag* too).

The other main metre is *ljodahattr* ('song metre'),
where paired alliterating verses are capped by a third
and self-alliterating verse, again with a variant form,
galdralag 9'spell metre'), where there is repetition of
self-alliterating verses. Illustrative examples can be
given from *Havamal* 92 and *For Skirnis* 35 denoting
different techiques for winning young ladies through
compliments or curses, as required:

<u>**F**</u>agurt skal <u>maela</u> ok <u>**f**e</u> bjoda
        Sa er <u>vill</u> <u>**f**ljods</u> ast <u>**f**a</u>,
<u>**L**</u>iki <u>**l**eyfa</u> ins <u>**l**josa</u> <u>mans</u>:
        Sa <u>**f**aer</u> er <u>**f**ri</u>ar.

[Fair speaking and fine gifts
Will win the love of a lass;
Praise the figure of a fine-looking girl:
The one who woos will win.]

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<u>**H**</u>rimgrimnir <u>**h**eitir</u> thurs, er thik <u>**h**afa</u> <u>skal</u>
        Fyr <u>**n**agrindr</u> <u>**n**edan</u>;
<u>Thar</u> ther <u>**v**ilmegir</u> a <u>**v**idarrotum</u>
        <u>**G**eitahland</u> <u>**g**efi</u>;
<u>**AEd**</u>ri <u>drykkju</u> fa thu <u>**a**ldregi</u>,
        <u>**M**aer</u>, af thinum <u>**m**unum</u>,
        <u>**M**aer</u>, at minum <u>**m**unum</u>.

['Hrimgrimnir is the ogre's name, who shall have you,
Down below Corpse-gates;
Rough thralls there under the roots of a tree
Will give you the piss of goats;
You will never get a better drink,
Girl, whatever you want,
Girl, after what I want.']

In general terms, *fornyrdislag* is used for narrative,
and *ljodahattr* for speech, particularly in wisdom
dialogues. It is not unusual to find combinations of
these metres within the same poem (especially *Fafnismal*)
for specific effect, and such changes need not indicate
interpolation from another source. There is then, as in
all poetry, a peculiar music to the texts of the <u>Codex</u>

Regius, and while in attempting to recreate at least a distant echo of that music I have not tried to adhere strictly to an 'Englished' version of the metres, I have taken full advantage of the fact that English offers rich possibilities for artful alliteration of exactly the kind employed much more regularly in Old Norse-Icelandic verse."(5)

In fact, ancient Germanic verse resembles Provencal trobador verse only in the use of syllabic-accentual metres. In ancient Germanic verse, alliteration is the basis of versification, rhyme, and assonance, when they occur, are accidental and totally haphazard. This is recalled in The Canterbury Tales by Geoffroy Chaucer in which one of the pilgrims rather contemptuously refers to the alliterative verse still used in parts of northern England in which Viking influence perdured as "rum-ram-ruf". As we shall see, the Provencal trobador verse, like Celtic and Persian verse, uses rhyme as the basic element of versification, alliteration

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being used as an ornament in a totally haphazard, sporadic, and unsystematic fashion. Let us now finally bury once and for all the Germanic theory as to the origins of the Provencal trobador verse.

In reference to the Arabic theory, I believe it to be highly possible that certain themes of trobador verse do indeed proceed from the refined civilization of Muslim Spain, in particular certain aspects of *amor cortois* (French: *amour courtois*) or *fin amor*. However, considering that Arabic and *Langue d'Oc* or Provençal are two radically different languages (Arabic is a Semitic tongue, while Langue d'Oc or Provencal is Indo-European) I do not believe it to be at all plausible that versification

techniques could have passed from one to the other in the absence of a widely extended bilingualism. This does not mean to imply that, very likely by second or third hand, certain themes and ideas did not pass to the land of the Langue d'Oc from the Cordoba of the Caliphs. Also, the versification techniques which are common to the trobador art and to a part of Hispano-Arabic verse do not, repeat not, proceed from Classical Arabic poetry, and indeed it appears more probable – indeed virtually certain - that the trobadors and the Hispano-Arabic poets derived them from a common, Celtic source. This is fully explained below.

 Since the ancient Celts had both lyric and epic poetry, it may be asked why the epic dominated in the land of the Langue d'Oil almost to the exclusion of the lyric, while in the South or

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the land of the Langue d'Oc it was the exact opposite which occurred. The answer, I believe, is simple. The North, more affected by the Germanic invasions, both Frankish and Viking, was fertile ground for the epic, while the lyric languished. I do not doubt that there is a very strong Celtic element in the French epic. Anyone who compares the French epic with the Irish epic on one hand and the Germanic epic on the other will come to the same conclusion. The South, less affected by the Germanic invasions and more in contact with the refined cultures of Byzantium and Muslim Spain, was fertile ground for the lyric, while the epic, though not entirely absent, was never of much importance.

There are good reasons to believe that the basic techniques of Celtic, i.e., Gaelic, Welsh and Breton poetry have existed, in

finished or embryonic form, from a very early period. The
elements of which we are speaking are:

- ❖ A.) syllabic-accentual metres (6);

- ❖ B.) internal rhyme, whose use is sometimes systematic, sometimes unsystematic (7);

- ❖ C.) internal alliteration, used in a haphazard, sporadic, unsystematic fashion purely as an ornament, never as the basis of versification. (8);

- ❖ D.) consonantal end rhyme (9)

- ❖ E.) quatrains (which predominate in Gaelic and Breton poetry and are very common in Welsh poetry; see annexes I, II, & III for concrete examples)(10).

As anyone with even a superficial knowledge of Celtic studies

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knows, the ancient Celts had much in common with the Iranian and

Indo-Aryan peoples. The precise nature of this relation is one of

the great enigmas of Celtic studies and of Indo-European studies

in general. The similarities between the Celts on one hand the

Iranians and Indo-Aryans on the other in the fields of religion,

numerology, social organization, folklore and legends, art, moral

principles, costumes, musical instruments,musical modes, etc. are

truly amazing (11). However, linguistic studies seem to indicate

that the relation between the Celts and the Iranians and Indo-

Aryans is not so close or fundamental, though, as we have seen in

Chapter 1, there is now reason to doubt this, to believe that the

close relations and affinities between the Celts on the one hand

and the Iranians and Indo-Aryans on the other extends also to the

linguistic field, i.e., that within the field of Indo-European linguistics – everyone agrees that the the Celtic, Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages are all branches of the great Indo-European family - the Celtic languages were originally very close to the Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages, and that the relation between the Celtic and Italic branches of the Indo-European family is not so close as was once believed. When all is said and done, no one denies that there does seem to be some sort of "special relationship" between the Celts and the Iranians and Indo-Aryans, so that the controversy as to whether the Celts are an Eastern or Western Indo-European peoples continues. Personally, I am inclined to believe that the celts are an Eastern Aryan people who migrated to the West, and to think that if the science of Indo-European

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linguistics were more advanced or if we possessed Celtic linguistic data far older than any we have at present that the apparent contradiction would disappear; as we saw in Chapter 1, this is already happening. See Chapter 1. This is, of course, only an opinion.

Let us briefly examine Sanskrit and pre-Islamic Iranian literature. In fact, the oldest literary works known that are written in an Indo-European language are the hymns of the Rig Veda. A study of the poetic techniques of the Rig Veda and of their later development in Classical Sanskrit literature shows beyond a doubt that the versification techniques of Celtic poetry have existed, in complete or embryonic or potential form in the poetry of the Aryan peoples since a remote period. It also seems

to demonstrate that Celtic, Iranian and Indo-Aryan poetry all have their roots in the liturgy of the paga gods of the Aryan peoples.

It appears that the greater part of the Rig Veda was composed between 1500 BC and 1300 BC (12). The metre of the Rig Veda is quantitative, and quatrains predominate by a wide margin (13).

The poetry of the Avesta, the oldest that we have in an Iranian language, is generally thought to be syllabic-accentual (this is now strongly disputed, as we shall see), which leads A.A. MacDonell to think that syllabic-accentual metres are earlier than quantitative metres (14). This opinion is far from universal, and indeed, as we shall see, there are those who deny that it has any basis at all.

It is not really possible to have a purely syllabic metre;

either quantity or stress or some combination of the two must also be present. I am inclined to believe that the quantitative metres are older, because the accent in Vedic Sanskrit (as in Homeric Greek) was tonic, marked by raising the pitch of the voice (15).

Says Dag Norberg:

> "Quantitative verse is based on the opposition between long and short syllables. In the classical period the (quantitative) principle was natural since when pronouncing words one made a distinction between long and short syllables. However, during the imperial era Latin accent changed and, after having been musical (or tonic), it became a mainly a stress accent even among cultured people (the same thing happened in India, as we shall see). At the time of St. Augustine, according to Augustine himself, the difference between long and short syllables had completely disappeared, i.e.:
>
> *Nam iudicium aurium ad temporum momenta moderanda me posse habere non nego, quae vero*

*syllaba producenda vel corripienda sit ...
omnino nescio* [For I do not deny that I can
have the judgement of my ears on intervals of
time that are to be regulated; but, in fact,
which syllables should be lengthened or
shortened ... I do not know at all.']
Augustine, <u>De Musica</u>, 3:3, 5.

Poets obviously continued to write quantitative verse at
the end of antiquity and during all of the Middle Ages,
but it was through learned studies that they acquired
with difficulty knowledge about the quantity of
syllables. Quantitative verse, therefore, no longer had
a natural base in the spoken language, and it is easy to
understand how a new principle (new in Latin at least;
the Celtic languages are another matter entirely) of
composing verses appeared, determined by the stress
accent of words. Since Bede, we have become accustomed
to calling the new poetry, which no longer took into
account the quantity of syllables, rhythmic poetry."(16)

Dag Norberg continues:

"Just as theories of the nature of rhythmic verse
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vary, so do conceptions of scholars about the origin of
the new versification. (Wilhelm) Meyer thought that
rhythmic (i.e., syllabic with a stress accent) verse
came to the Romans from the Semitic peoples through the
Greeks as intermediaries. (Note: St. Augustine's first
spoken language was *Punic*, [and St Augustine was called
by some "the Punic Aristotle"] a Semitic language which
was a heritage of Phoenicians and Carthaginians. At
least when speaking of North Africa, there is no need to
postulate the Greeks as intermediaries between Latin and
a Semitic language.) This hypothesis, which never had
many followers, has been definitively refuted by
(Albrecht) Dihle. (Mathieu G.) Nicolau thought that the
technique of accentual verse had been developed in the
(North) African schools (result of Punic influence?) in
the course of the fifth and sixth centuries, and he
finds confirmation of this in the rhythmic poem of
Fulgentius the grammarian that he considers to be the
oldest example of this new versification. Nicolau
obviously was not at all familiar with the sources. He
is unaware of, among others, Auspicius of Toul and the
rhythmic hymns of southern Gaul (A region with a Gaulish
or Celtic base.) Other scholars grapple with the
expression "popular poetry" and think that in the people
there survived hidden sources of poetic inspiration that
had not been touched by the seeds of the degeneration of
the Greco-Latin civilization, sources which revealed
themselves at the end of antiquity (see Gaston Paris).

> ... We find ourselves then in the presence of a Romantic
> theory of the same type as those which were common in
> the history of nineteenth century literature."(17)

Norberg gives the impression that simply calling a theory "Romantic" is sufficient to refute it. However, in practice theories labelled "Romantic" are often proven to be correct.

Latinists often assume that the destructive power of the Roman legions was absolute, in spite of evidence to the contrary. That remnants of Celtic versification could have survived among "the people" and come to the surface with the decline of the power of Imperial Rome would hardly be surprising. If at one time the Celtic languages employed the tonic accent, as was the case

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with Vedic Sanskrit, Homeric Greek, and, apparently (though this is debated), classical Latin we have no way of knowing, as the earliest surviving texts in a Celtic language are of a relatively late date. So, any surviving Celtic versification among "the people" would have used the stress accent.

In any case, in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and quite possibly, though there is no way to know this, the Celtic languages, the tonic accent was replaced by the stress accent. This inevitably tends to blur the distinction between a long and a short syllable. This tendency, if not checked by literary conventions, will, by a natural process, result in syllabic-accentual metres taking the place of quantitative metres. I am therefore inclined to think that syllabic-accentual metres entered the poetry of the Indo-European peoples as a result of the disappearance of the tonic accent. In any case, there is no doubt that both the quantitative

and the syllabic-accentual or stress-based metres are both very
ancient among the Indo-European peoples.

We continue with Dag Norberg:

> "The principle of counting only the number of
> syllables without regard for the structure or for the
> system of accentuation goes back much farther. Already
> in Old Irish hymns we find some very clear tendencies in
> this direction. In the seventh century a monk of Bangor
> (Ireland) composed the hymn *Audite, Pantes, ta epga* in
> honor of St. Comgall in verses which he believed without
> any doubt were rhythmic Ambrosians."(18)

The native, every day spoken language of the unknown monk of

Bangor was evidently Old Gaelic, a Celtic language. In Old Gaelic

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the tonic accent was unknown, as were quantitative metres.

We continue with Dag Norberg:

> "Rhythmic (i.e., based on the stress accent) poetry
> was, in general, intended to be sung and not to be read.
> We have, therefore, good reason to examine the
> relationship between the melody and the text. Obviously,
> given the nature of the documents that we possess, this
> examination will have a hypothetical result in quite a
> few cases; yet in others it will be more certain; and we
> are, in any case, compelled to state the problem.
> At first, we muct take note that there is a
> distinction to be made between syllabic melodies and
> non-syllabic melodies. In the first, one syllable of the
> text corresponds to each tone; in the second, by
> contrast, one syllable of the text can correspond to
> several tones. In the latter case, the musical
> embellishments can be more or less rich or more or less
> simple. They were particularly rich when the song was
> performed with virtuosity by a soloist and when the text
> was beautiful prose. But, in this chapter, we are going
> to deal with melodies that are relatively simple, that
> is to say, with melodies that could be sung by those
> assembled or a choir that was not trained for technical
> brilliance; these melodies accompanied a poem in
> strophes.
> In a poem intended to be sung, the words may have
> been written first and the music composed afterwards to
> accompany the text. The contrary may also have happened,
> and the structure of the melody then determined the
> words. If one composes strophes following the syllabic

principle for an already-existing melody, one has a rhythm that is hardly noticeable, the result has to yield verses where it is the number of syllables that matters. In the preceding chapter I proved the existence of poems of this type, of which the earliest, so far as we know, are Old Irish hymns (in Latin language), and I showed the relations of this poetic form to ancient (Latin) quantitative forms. We can perhaps pose that this poetry was created in the following manner: to accompany an already existing melody someone wrote a text, following the syllabic principle and without taking care for the structure of the quantitative poetic form which was in fact at the root of the hymn and for which the melody had perhaps at one time have been composed."(19)

By far the the greater part of popular or folkloric verse,

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including epic poetry, was composed to be sung. The above was also true of Celtic bardic poetry and the works of the Provencal trobadors, something which is sometimes forgotten, as we tend to know them without the music, and in many cases their music has been lost. As we shall see, this was also true of popular or folkloric verse in Andalusian Vulgar Arabic in Muslim Spain.

Especially in popular or folkloric verse, new words – sometimes in a different language – may be given to a pre-existing melody; the reverse, though not unknown, is far less common. In any case, it poses no problem whatever for a melody or melodic line to pass from one language to another; the examples are countless, as we shall see.

Once the passage from quantitative to stress accent had come about, there was no real barrier to the passage of popular or folkloric melodies and verse forms to medieval Latin. Perhaps as a result of the loss of the tonic accent, the post-Vedic Sanskrit poetry developed a metre called *Gana* or *Ganachchahanda*, with two

variants, i.e., *Arya* ("Aryan Lady") and *Vaitaly* ("bardic"). Said system may be classified as intermediate between the quantitative and the syllabic-accentual metres or as a sort of syllabic-accentual metre in which a long syllable counts as two short syllables. The measure of a line is by the number of *morae*, or "short syllable units" with no rules as to the sequence of long and short syllables (20).

In the Rig Veda one finds the metrical ornaments typical of

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Classical Sanskrit poetry, i.e., alliteration, *yamaka*, and the sporadic and irregular use of end rhyme (21).

Yamaka means "repetition" or "chiming" (22) this ornament consists of repetition of syllables, usually final, within the line (23). *Yamaka* is therefore a sort of internal rhyme (see Annex IV). Of course, yamaka may lead to the use of end rhyme, which occurs occaisionally in the Rig Veda. Sanskrit, Vedic or Classic (*Bhasa*) is well adapted to the use of such ornaments because it is a highly inflected language with almost total freedom as regards the order of words in the sentence. In the 12th Century AD (contemporary with the Occitan trobadors) the great poet Jayadeva used end rhyme in a systematic way as a basic element of his work <u>Gita Govinda</u> (Song of the Cowgirl) (see annex IV). It is interesting to note here the close resemblance between the poetry of Jayadeva on the one hand and Celtic and trobador poetry on the other. It is also interesting to note that the poetry of the trobadors resembles Sanskrit verse far more than it does Classical Latin poetry as regards techniques of

versification.

Although end rhyme appears in embryonic form in the Vedas and sporadically in Classical Sanskrit poetry, the general consensus is that Jayadeva derived his use of end rhyme not from earlier Sanskrit verse, but from the poetry in *Apabhranca*, and Indo-Aryan vernacular of Rajasthan and Gujarat (24). This supposition is reinforced by the fact that the Gita Govinda is written in the *Gana* metre, which, as we have said before, is in many respects

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nearer to the quantitative metres of Vedic and most Classical Sanskrit poetry (25). When end rhyme was first used in the Indo-Aryan vernaculars as a basic element of versification there is no way to know. The vernacular poetry is, of course, much freer of literary conventions than is Sanskrit verse, and its syllabic metres far more flexible than the complex quantitative metres of Sanskrit. Therefore, the vernacular poetry is far more open to innovations than is the Sanskrit, and it is probable that end rhyme was used as a basic technique in the vernacular before it was used as such in Sanskrit. Also, rhyme is an aid to memory, and would be quite useful in an oral literature. Since rhyme was present in embryonic form in Sanskrit poetry from the beginning, it may be very ancient indeed in the Indo-Aryan vernacular verse. Noting the similarities between the poetry of Jayadeva, the Celtic poetry and the poetry of the trobadors, I have the feeling of being in the presence of three poetic traditions which proceed from a common source, but which for many centuries have followed separate, although more or less parallel roads.

With the Sanskrit poetry we are fortunate, because we can follow its development without a break from quite early times up to the present. Only the early epic is lost, probably because the Brahmin caste, at one time virtually the only ones able to read and write, had little interest in preserving the literature of the Kshatriyya, or warrior caste.

With Iranian poetry we are not so fortunate. Except for such poetry as is contained in the Avesta, very little pre-Islamic

Iranian poetry has survived, and only a part of the Avesta is accessible to me at this moment. I have not seen a single one of the few poems in Pahlavi that have come down to us. The Avesta was written between 600 BC and 400 BC (26). As I said before, the metre of the Avesta is generally believed to be syllabic, though the point is now debated. The ornaments of alliteration and internal rhyme are present, and end rhyme appears sporadically. Quatrains are common, but do not predominate as they do in Sanskrit and Celtic poetry (27) (see annex VI).

In spite of what I have said above, there is good reason to believe that Persian poetry in the Parthian and Sassanian periods was based on end rhyme, with alliteration and internal rhyme as ornaments; metre may have been quantitative or syllabic-accentual. The reasons behind this affirmation are:

- ❖ A.)In the Avesta, alliteration and internal rhymes are used as ornaments, the basis of the metre being doubtful. As in the Vedas, end rhyme appears sporadically, in other words as an ornament.

❖ B.) In the dialectical-popular Persian verse, which shows very little or no Arabic influence, exist end rhyme, and as ornaments, alliteration and internal rhyme (28).

❖ C.) In the more literary or Classical Persian poetry are certain types of rhymed verse which are not based on Arabic models: a.) *masnavi*; narrative poetry in rhyming couplets: b.) *ruba'i*; rhymed quatrains, with the third line generally unrhymed (29): It is interesting to note here that this same form was used by Welsh poets in the 12th-14th centuries (30). C.) *tarj-i-band* or *musammat*; poetry in strophes or stanzas, the length of which varies from poem to poem, in which each strophe
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ends with a refrain and/or a line which carries the original rhyme.(31)

The ruba'i is particularly interesting, because I doubt very much that anyone would suggest that the medieval Welsh poets borrowed the ruba'i from Omar Khayyam.

There is still more. For a long time it was simply taken for granted, based on the work of al-Khalil of Basra (b. 718, d. 786), the "father of Arabic prosody", that Persian prosody is based on or is a mere imitation of Arabic models. There are certain a priori objections to this theory, or, rather, supposition. Arabic is a Semitic language, while Persian is Indo-European; therefore the phonetic and grammatical structures of the two languages are radically different, which would seem to make it highly improbable that the system of metrics could pass *en toto* from one language to the other. Nevertheless, for a very long time no one seriously challenged the above-mentioned theory.

Recently, however, various scholars have indeed put the theory of al-Khalil in serious doubt. Perhaps the most notable of

these scholars is L.P. Elwell-Sutton. Mr. Elwell-Sutton notes

that from the beginning there was great difficulty in fitting

Persian metres into Arabic schemes, rather like forcing a sqaure

peg into a round hole. As G. Lazard says:

>"The differences between Arabic and Persian
>versification are great."(32)

Mr. Elwell-Sutton, analyzing this, comes to certain conclusions

which may be summarized thusly. The only thing which gave rise

to the supposition of an Arabic origin for the Persian metres is

the use of the traditional system of classification. Said system

does **NOT** demonstrate a process of development and change which

could have taken place in reality. It is inconceivable that even

if some such derivation had taken place by some unknown method or

process that the highly modified forms which are by far the most

common in Persian verse should, in the course of two centuries,

have so totally supplanted the supposed "originals" as to leave)

absolutely no trace of them. (33) Nor does Mr. Elwell-Sutton

stop here. Al-Khalil grouped Arabic metres into five "circles" of

metres possessing common characteristics. For a long time the

meaning of these circles was unclear. Gotthold Weil in his study

of the Arabic metrical system concluded that Arabic metres are

formed around stressed "nucleii" (*kern*). The purpose of the

"circles" of al-Khalil is to indicate the position of the stress

in any given metre. The stresses are found in regular sequence,

separated by variable syllables which may be either long or short.

If this be true, and it certainly seems to be, the the basis of

Arabic metres is stress, quantity playing a very secondary role. The significance of al-Khalil's "circles" was apparently forgotten at an early date. Now, Persian metres follow a carefully balanced sequence of long and short syllables, stress not entering. The natural stress in Persian is weak and tends to fall at two or three syllable intervals, and thus cannot be fitted into a quantitative system (34). The above would seem to eliminate any possibility that Persian metres could be derived from Arabic

models.

The "nucleii" or *kern* make the metrical foot the basic unit of Arabic metres, while the metric foot really plays no role in Persian metres, in which the division of the line into feet is arbitrary and often misleading (35).

Now, as we have said above, and Mr. Elwell-Sutton notes, one may seriously doubt that purely syllabic verse exists. Quantity and/or stress must be imposed on this (36). In Persian verse this other element is quantity, while in most other modern Indo-European languages it is stress. All these conclusions throw serious doubt on the supposition that pre-Islamic Iranian verse is syllabic-accentual. It would be strange indeed if the natural speech pattern and rhythm of the Iranian languages had changed so drastically in the course of a few centuries. The linguistic difference between Avestan and Modern, i.e., Islamic Persian is very great; however, the differences between Pahlavi and Modern Persian are very much less, consisting mainly of words from other Iranian languages, i.e., Sogdian, etc., as well as Arabic. Now,

if Pahlavi verse were indeed syllabic-accentual it would be strange indeed that this principle should be completely absent in Modern Persian verse, which is almost purely quantitative. This is particularly evident taking into account that it has been demonstrated that Modern Persian metres are not derived from Arabic metres and that Arabic metres are themselves basically accentual, quantity playing a secondary role. There are yet other arguments. Sanskrit and Avestan are sister languages. Vedic and

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Classical Sanskrit verse is quantitative. Now, if Sanskrit verse on one hand and Modern Persian verse on the other are both quantitative, it would seem to be at least a bit strange that Avestan and Pahlavi verse should be syllabic-accentual. Mr. Elwell-Sutton has another argument in favor of the above hypothesis. The variable syllabic length of parallel lines in Avestan and Pahlavi verse has puzzled many specialists in pre-Islamic Iranian studies. Almost identical variations occur in Classical Persian verse, and are easily explained on a quantitative basis (37).

There are serious difficulties in determining the metre of Avestan and Pahlavi verse, and it is therefore practically impossible to prove that it is quantitative. Also one cannot easily cast aside the opinions of so many specialists in the pre-Islamic Iranian field. However, when all is said and done, there is a strong case to be made that pre-Islamic Iranian metres are quantitative. This would seem to strengthen my personal theory or intuition that quantitative metres are older than

syllabic-accentual metres in Indo-European verse. For a number of
centuries most Indo-European languages have used syllabic-
accentual metres.   This change may perhaps be explained by the
loss of the tonic accent and its replacement by the stress accent.
 It would therefore appear that Persian verse is extraordinarily
conservative in reference to metres. This conservatism may in its
turn be explained by the fact that in Persian stress is weak and
thus does not overly affect the distinction between short, long

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and overlong syllables and also is very difficult to fit into a
metrical pattern; it was thus unable to replace quantity as the
metrical basis.

     Of course, metre is only one aspect of prosody, albeit a very
important one.   In a personal communication, Mr. Elwell-Sutton
told me that alliteration is indeed used by Persian poets. Now,
alliteration in unknown in Classical Arabic verse, but is known
and used in the prosody of many Indo-European literatures,
including Indo-Aryan, Celtic and Occitan (or Provencal, if you
prefer).   Alliteration is thus another element which relates
Persian prosody to that of other Indo-European literatures.

     Rhyme is very much an element in Persian prosody. Though the
case be perhaps less clear than in relation to metre and
alliteration, there are undoubted proofs of the use of both end
rhyme and internal rhyme in Persia in pre-Islamic times.   A few
examples of the use of both end rhyme and internal rhyme in
Avestan verse are given in the present work, and also a few
examples of its use in the Rig Veda.   Mr. Elwell-Sutton gives a

few examples of its use in Pahlavi verse (38). However, very little can be said concerning the rhyme schemes of pre-Islamic Iranian verse, though in the present work we note what appears to be the use of refrain and line-of-return, in other words a rudimentary tarj-i-band or muwashshaha scheme, in Avestan verse.

The systematic use of rhyme implies rhyme schemes and verse forms. Persian poetry is much richer in verse forms than is Arabic poetry, even if one includes verse forms developed in

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Muslim Spain. Hence, it is simply impossible that the Persians simply copied all their verse forms from the Arabs. Nevertheless, it is precisely in this field where there exists the clearest evidence of Arabic influence on Persian prosody. We will briefly examine the main verse forms used in Classical Persian verse.

The *qasida* is undoubtedly the Persian verse form which is closest to Arabic models, though, of course, the metres as well as the language are different, and Persian qasidas may contain alliteration. A qasida is a long monorhyme poem in which the first line has an obligatory internal rhyme, while the rest of the lines usually have only end rhyme. Though identical to the Arabic qasida in reference to rhyme scheme, the Persian qasida differs from its Arabic model in that the specifically Arabian themes are usually absent, being replaced by typically Persian topics, though the general plan or style of the content remains the same. In conclusion, it would appear that the qasida is an Arabic form adopted into Persian verse with only the minimal changes necessitated by a different language, literary tradition and

cultural environment.

The *ghazal* is another matter. Its rhyme scheme is the same as that of the qasida, but otherwise it is very different. It is much shorter and more concise than the qasida, and its content has no more-or-less fixed plan or scheme of any sort. In style and content the ghazal is therefore completely different from the qasida. In Classical Persian poetry the ghazal is probably the form most widely used in lyric verse. Since the rhyme scheme is

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the only element which bears any resemblance to Arabic models, one is reluctant to attribute an Arabic origin to it. Perhaps one could say that the ghazal form is hybrid, its rhyme scheme being of Arabic origin, but the other elements purely Persian, inspired by pre-Islamic models and also by Persian folk songs.

The ghazal has an interesting if rather rare variant called *mustazad*. In this form an additional phrase in the same metre is added to each line. This phrase may have the same rhyme as the main poem or may have its own rhyme. In the latter case the rhyme scheme is broken, and, in effect, one has a double rhyme, i.e., abab.

The *masnavi* is a purely Persian form, owing nothing to Arabic models. It simply consists of rhymed couplets, the scheme being aabbcc, ad infinitum. Since the masnavi may be expanded to any length, it is the only form used for epic verse, though it is also used for almost any subject requiring great length. It is at least interesting to note that all conventional metres used in the masnavi form are of the short eleven-syllable type, which

corresponds to the eleven-syllable lines which predominate in Pahlavi verse.

Thanks to Omar Khayyam and Edward Fitzgerald, the *ruba'i* or quatrain is the Persian verse form best known in the West. Like the masnavi, it is purely Persian, owing nothing to Arabic models. The ruba'i is simply an independent four-line poem whose rhyme scheme may be either aaaa or aaxa. The parallel with the quatrains of the Rig Veda and Gaelic verse is obvious, and said

form is also very common in Persian popular and folkloric verse. As we shall see later, the same form is found in Medieval Welsh verse.

Stanzaic or strophic verse forms also owe nothing to Arabic models. Each stanza has a rhyme different from that of the other stanzas, the length of the stanzas varying from poem to poem, though usually equal within the same work. Usually each stanza is monorhyme, in effect being a short ghazal, though this rule is not invariable, the masnavi scheme at times being used. The commonest strophic form used in Classical Persian verse is the *tarj-i-band*, in which a refrain and/or line-of-return ends each stanza. This form is identical to verse forms which exist in other literatures, including Celtic and Occitan, as is amply discussed in other parts of the present work. The first known Persian poet to use the tarj-i-band form was Manuchihr (d. 1040), though there is no proof that he was the inventor of said form. Also in the present work is mentioned evidence of the existence of at least a rudimentary tarj-i-band form in Avestan verse and even in the Rig Veda.

There are other stanzaic forms used in Persian verse, which may be considered variants of the tarj-i-band. These are, briefly, the tarkib-band, in which each stanza is capped by a rhymimg couplet. This couplet may be, in effect, a double line of return, or may have a completely different and independent rhyme.

The *musammat* (though this word may also mean "accrostic") is a slight variation on the tarkib-band in which each hemstitch as well as each line is rhymed; in other words, each line contains an

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internal rhyme (39).

As we said before, the Persian stanzaic forms cannot be derived from Arabic models, and are yet another element which links Persian prosody to Indo-European prosody in general. By far the likliest hypothesis is that these forms are derived from pre-Islamic Iranian sources and also very possibly from Iranian folksongs and popular verse, which also preserves ancient pre-Islamic forms.

From the above it should be obvious how little Persian prosody owes to Arabic models. The Persian metres are definitely <u>not</u> derived from Arabic sources. Alliteration exists in many Indo-European literatures besides Persian, including Celtic, Indo-Aryan and Occitan, but is unknown in Arabic prosody. Rhyme also exists in many Indo-European literatures and also in pre-Islamic Iranian verse. Of the many verse forms of Persian prosody, one, the qasida, appears to be definitely of Arabic origin, though without being identical to its model in all respects. Another, the ghazal, appears to be hybrid, its rhyme

scheme being derived from Arabic models, other elements being
autocthonous to Persia. The other Persian forms, i.e., masnavi,
ruba'i and the stanzaic forms owe nothing to Arabic models, but on
the other hand are identical to forms used in other
Indo-European literatures. Said forms are no doubt derived from
pre-Islamic Iranian sources, either directly or indirectly, i.e.,
by way of Persian folk songs and popular verse.   One should
remember that all indications are that Pahlavi verse was sung.

<div align="center">(1053)</div>

Nizami of Ganja in <u>Khusrau va Shirin</u> says that Barbad wrote poetry
for thirty *gushe*, *usul* or melodic lines analogous to the Indian
ragas, whose names are given by Nizami. (40) On the name "Barbad",
see Chapter 4.

   That Persian prosody owes so little to Arabic models
inevitably indicates that it follows a tradition which far
antedates the Arab conquest and the coming of Islam. That so manu
of its verse forms as well as general style should be identical to
Celtic verse indicates the high antiquity, at least in embryonic
state, of said forms. As we said in the introduction, this is
vital to our thesis, because if one finds the same forms used in
Celtic, i.e., Gaelic and Welsh, verse on one hand and in Iranian
and Indo-Aryan verse on the other, it is somewhat difficult to
believe that said forms were not used by the Gauls in pre-Roman
times. It is also difficult to explain otherwise how it is that
Occitan trobador verse resembles Iranian and Indo-Aryan verse far
more than it does Classical Latin poetry, if one does not accept a
Celtic origin for said Occitan verse.

Though perhaps not directly germane to our main theme, there is at least an anecdote which is very interesting, and which, for some reason, has attracted little attention from scholars and investigators. It is universally held that all Christian liturgical chants, whether of the Eastern or the Western Church, are of Eastern origin. It is also generally believed that all Christian liturgical chants contain elements from the music of the Synagogue. However, some have noticed that the very ancient Vedic

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chants bear a close resemblance to Christian liturgical chants, particularly the Gregorian plainchant (41). As we shall see, Gregorian chant is derived from Byzantine chant, and uses the same modes. This is highly significant. The truth is that no extant Christian liturgical chant bears a close resemblance to the music of the Synagogue. In other words, Christian liturgical chants resemble the Vedic chant more than they resemble the music of the Synagogue.

This fact is undoubtedly curious, and is difficult to accept as "mere coincidence". Yet it is also difficult to explain how the Vedic chants could have entered into the formation of Christian liturgical chants, though, at least in regards to modes, they most certainly did. The answer to this enigma is perhaps not so difficult. The Iranian liturgical chants belonged to the same tradition as the Vedic chants. Zoroastrianism was strong in Cappadocia and Armenia, regions which Christianity penetrated at a very early date and which were the birthplace of so many early Church fathers (42). Mithraism, another Iranian religion, was

strong throughout the Roman Empire until Christianity supplanted
it. Therefore, there exists a strong possibility that Zoroastrian
and Mithraic chants entered into the formation of Christian
liturgical chants.

Yet there is still another curious fact. Apparently - though
I am not certain on this point - Gregorian Plainchant bears a
particularly close resemblance to Vedic chants.   Though all
Christian liturgical chants be ultimately of Eastern origin, the

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Gregorian chant was developed during the reign of Pope Gregory I
"the Great", whose reign lasted 14 years, from 590 to 604 (43).
These facts would seem to make it more remote from the influence
of Zoroastrian and Mithraic chants. Yet there is also a possible
answer to this enigma. A number of sources indicate that the
Druids possessed liturgical chants. Said Druidic chants were
undoubtedly of the same tradition as the Vedic and Iranian chants.
One cannot discount the possibility that these Druidic chants
entered into the formation of the chants of the Western Church.
This is particularly likely if the following facts are taken into
account.

Ireland was never conquered by the Roman Legions. Thus, the
Druidic religion and Celtic civilization remained intact
until Ireland was converted to Christianity during the 5th
Century. Considering the vital role played by Early Christian
Ireland in the cultural, intellectual, artistic and religious
history of Western Europe in the 6th, 7th, 8th and the beginning
of the 9th Centuries, there is certainly nothing incredible about

the idea that the Druidic chants entered into the formation of the liturgical chants of the Western Church. During the reign of Pope Gregory I "the Great" Irish prestige and influence was at its zenith (44).

Taking into account the vital role of Christian liturgical chants in the formation of European music - including the music of the troubadors - the above is of great importance and has yet to receive the attention it merits.

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The above is important to our thesis because it shows that the techniques of Celtic verse are very ancient, though our oldest texts of Celtic poetry may be relatively recent. A bit more detail here. As we have seen, though perhaps not so old as quantitative metres, syllabic metres certainly existed from an early date.

The ornaments of the verse, i.e., alliteration and internal rhyme, existed from a very early date indeed. End rhyme is also very ancient, though for a long period it was used as an ornament rather than a basic element. *Nota bene* that Sanskrit poetry in the time of Jayadeva and Persian poetry with its *masnavi, ruba'i* and *tarj-i-band* forms is virtually identical to the Celtic,and for that matter, trobador verse in regard to the techniques of versification. This, along with all the other similarities and parallels between the Celts and the Iranians and Indo-Aryans certainly appears to suggest that all these poetic traditions stem from a common source, which source of necessity must be very ancient.

Some may object that this is a "mere coincidence". This objection is rather weak, because:

 ❖ A.)The versification techniques of which we are speaking are far from universal. They are unknown in Sumerian (45), Biblical Hebrew, Chinese (46) and Quechua (47) poetry. Japanese poetry uses syllabic metres, but without rhyme and without alliteration (48). Classical Arabic poetry uses quantitative metres (though, as we have seen, there is reason to believe that Arabic metres are fundamentally accentual, quantity being

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secondary) and end rhymes (49). Tamil verse also has certain elements in common with Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Celtic and Occitan trobador verse. Note, however, that the earliest texts which we have in Arabic and Tamil are relatively recent, that is, they were written after centuries of contact with Greeks and Persians on the part of the Arabs and with Indo-Aryans on the part of the Tamils.

 ❖ B.) 1500 - 1300 BC, approximate date of the Rig Veda, is, quite possibly not very long after the period in which the Indo-Aryans, the Iranians and the Celts separated, the Indo-Aryans going Southeast, the Iranians South and the Celts West.

 ❖ C.) We have spoken a great deal about the many elements that the Celts have in common with the Iranians and Indo-Aryan peoples. There is certainly some sort of "special relationship" here, though its precise nature be   an enigma. No one says, for example, that the conservation of the Soma ceremony on the part of the Druids is a "mere coincidence".

Information concerning the Hispano-Arabic poetic form called *muwashshaha* or *zajalesque* is easily accessible, for those who read Spanish at least, in the books of Emilio Garcia Gomez and Ramon Menendez Pidal (50). We have spoken of this same poetic form in

connection with Persian verse, where it is called tarj-i-band or musammat. Ibn Quzman of Cordoba is the great master of the zajal.

Examples of alliteration and internal rhyme are abundant in some of the zajals of ibn Quzman, though less so in others. The same is true concerning the use of said ornaments in Sanskrit, Iranian, Celtic and Occitan trobador verse. In general alliteration is more abundant than internal rhyme in the zajals of ibn Quzman. (See Annex VII)

In Persia the tarj-i-band or musammat appears at an early date in the history of Persian Islamic literature. The poet Manuchihr (10th-11th Centuries) was the great master of said form, though not its inventor, since examples of said form do exist before his time. No one knows who invented the tarj-i-band nor when (51). Said verse form could not possibly be derived from Classical Arabic poetry, and therefore there is good reason to believe that said Persian form is pre-Islamic. Use of refrain occurs occaissionally in the Rig Veda, as well as the "return line" in the sense that the third or penultimate lines of the quatrains at times rhyme and alliterate among themselves (See Annex IV). Berriedale Keith (52) says that Jayadeva uses the refrain, and it is therefore highly probable that some of the cantos of the Gita Govinda are in the zajalesque or tarj-i-band form. At present I do not have the texts to confirm this.

The refrain also appears in the Avesta. All *kardes* (cantos) of the Avestan Hymn to Mithra, except the first, end with the words **yanghamcha tascha tascha yazamaide** (53) and in karde No. 9,

stanzas 5, 6 & 7 the words or rather the line **Mithro yo vouro gaoyaoitic** appears every seven lines. Here too one finds a sort of "line of return", since every line which comes immediately before the refrain ends with the syllable **iti** (54). Therefore, all the elements of the zajalesque or tarj-i-band form exist in the ancient poetry of the Iranians and Indo-Aryans.

We find strophic verse used at an early period in Christian liturgical poetry. Says Dag Norberg:

(1059)

> "We begin with the *sequence*, which was linked to a precise moment of the Mass. From the most remote times on, to intercalary songs have been placed between the reading of the Epistle (of St. Paul) and the Gospel: the Gradual and the Alleluia (or, during times of penitence, the Tract). It is especially the Alleluia that was the object of a rich musical ornamentation (the Aramaic rod *Alleluia* means "praised be the Lord"). The Alleluia was a responsorial song, and, already at the beginning of the Middle Ages, it was being presented in this way: a soloist first sang *Alleluia*; the choir repeated it but added a long final vocalization (the *Jubilus*); after that, the soloist sang a *Versus Alleluiaticus*, ordinarily borrowed from the Psalter (on Christmas Day, for example, this Alleluia verse is *Dies sanctificatus illuxit nobis, venite, gentes, et adorate Dominum, quia hodie descendit lux magna super terram*); and the choir then responded again with *Alleluia + Jubilus*.
>
> The melismatic (melodic figures sung on a single v owel; see Chapter 4) song on the last syllable of *Alleluia* varied each Sunday and had a more or less rich form, as Cassiodorus tells us:
>
> > 'This is a prayer offered for the churches of God, this is properly suited to sacred festivities. By it the language of the singers is embellished; the court of God answers it with joy; and, as if an insatiable good, it is renewed with ever changing *tropes*.'
>
> The song itself is called a sequence, as Amalarius (note that the element *Amal-* indicates an Ostrogothic origin) of Metz, among others, explains it to us at the beginning of the ninth century:

> 'This rejoicing, which singers call a
> sequence, brings to our mind that state when
> the speaking of words will not be necessary
> but by thought alone the mind will show to
> the mind what it holds in itself.'

Amalarius does not indicate if it is possible to add words to the vocalizations which follow the *Alleluia*. We know, however, that about 851 this possibility was put into practice at the abbey of Jumieges. The abbey was plundered about that time by the Vikings and one of their monks fled to St. Gall (Switzerland), carrying the Jumieges antiphonary, in which were some poems composed on the melodies of the *Jubilus*. It is Notker

(1060)

Balbulus (died 912) who tells about this episode in the forward of his book of sequences. He had difficulty remembering some of the long melodies and was inspired by the antiphonary of Jumieges to compose some liturgical poems on these melodies. Each syllable of the text had to correspond to a tone of the melody. This new poetic form was called *versus ad sequntiam, sequential cum prosa*, or more briefly, *prosa*, which was the most common term in France. The poem was also alled *sequntia*, a term taken from the domain of music and transferred to that of literature.

Scholars have speculated a great deal about the origin of sequences. P. Wagner, searched for the primitive type in Byzantine liturgical poetry;; Handschin considered the influence of Irish music; according to Gennrich, it bis the melodies of Alleluia verses played a great role; other scholars, for example Bartsch, and Blume, think that the long melismas on the chant explain the parallelism of the structure of the sequence.

From succinct pieces of information prvided by Notker we can draw out some characteristic features of the sequence. The melody was, according to Notker, the essential feature, the text being only secondary. Moreover, Notker's teacher, Iso, had taught him this:

> 'Every movement of the music ought to have a
> single syllable.'

The melody, therefore, had to be sung syllabically. It follows from what I have said that the oldest sequences are to be compared, with regard to their form, with the liturgical poems in prose of which we spoke a short while ago. ***There is not a trace of classical versification in the oldest sequences nor of the rhythmic verse that came from it; all the attempts that one could make to establish a relationship to these two forms are irremediably doomed to failure. ...***

...The most characteristic feature of the construction of the ordinary sequence, with regard to the text as well as the melody, is progressive repetition: each strophe is followed by an antistrophe sung to the same melody; at the same time. These pairs of strophes differ from one another. Two choirs performed the sequences: the tenors sang the strophe and the sopranos the antistrophe, as we read in the text of one sequence:

Nunc vos, o socii	Et vos, pueruli,
Cantate laetantes	Respondete semper
Alleluia	Alleluia

(1061)

On the printed page, the strophe and the antistrophe are most often presented in this way, facing one another. The two choirs customarily sang the final strophe together, in which case there was no repetition. Likewise, the introduction to the sequence was often sung by the two choirs together. In the oldest sequences, this introduction was the word *Alleluia*, that is to say, it was only for the vocalizations performed on the last vowel of the word that one provided a text." (55)

Norberg continues:

"The art of constructing the strophes and the antistrophes varies from author to author, and the comparisons are instructive. One well known sequence, written before the time of Notker, begins in the following manner:

Nostra tuba

Regatur fortissimo	Aure placatissima
Dei dextra	Et serena.
Et preces audiat	Ita enim nostra.

Laus erit accepta,	Et ut haec possimus,
Voce si quod canimus, canat	Omnes divina nobis semper
Pariter et pura conscientia.	Flagitemus adesse auxilia

We can ascertain immediately that the author in no way achieved a balance between the strophe and the antistrophe. The phrases boldly run on from the strophe to the antistrophe and again to the following strophe. The rhythmic structure of corresponding verses is most often different: *regatur fortissima* thus corresponds to *aure placatissima,* but the rhythm and distribution of words differ. Let us compare to this the following passage drawn from the sequence of Notker, *Psallat*

ecclesia:

Hic novam prolem	Angeli oves
Gratia parturit	Visitant hic suos
Fecunda spiritu sancto:	Et corpus sumitur Iesu.
Fugiunt universa	Pereunt peccatricis
Corpori nocua:	Animae criminal.
Hic vox laetitiae personat:	Hic pax et gaudia redundant.

Here the parallelism between the strophe and the
                    (1062)

antistrophe is striking, in both the words and in the thought. When the choir of tenors sings, for example, that the maladies of the body fly away, the choir of sporanos responds that the sins of the soul disappear. Each strophe corresponds, from the syntactic point of view, to the antistrophe; and the correspondence is occaisionally emphasized by an anaphora (*hic* – *hic*); there is no enjambment. From the rhythmic point of view, the agreement is total, if we observe the same rules of accentuation here as those which we studied in the first chapter above. Thus Notker has, by reconstruction, accented *personat* which corresponds to *redundant*. He has, furthermore, accented *hic novam* and *hic suos* following the rule that I also indicated in the first chapter. ...
        ...The sequence is the most independent and the most original literary creation in Medieval Latin. This new poetic form freed poets from the influence of ancient models and brought entirely new possibilities of expression. Following its introduction, verses and strophes could be constructed freely, in accordance with a melody, and with a wealth of variants, in contrast to the small number of forms that ancient poetry allowed. The finesse of the play between the tenors' and sopranos' strophes brought at the same time stability to the form and new possibilities of nuances."(56)

Norberg continues:

        "But let us return to liturgical poetry. There were still some parts of the Mass besides the *Alleluia* before the Gospel that were susceptible of enrichment by the addition of newly composed poems that were given the name *tropes* (about which we have already spoken at some length earlier in this chapter). "Th tropes" according to Leon Gautier,

"...can sometimes precede the pre-existing texts of the real liturgy, can sometimes follow them, can sometimes slip between all their phrases and hold a place between

all their words."

Even the liturgical texts of the canonical hours had to be made the object of such an enrichment, although in a limited way.

If the birth of the sequence remains to a great extent enveloped in obscurity, it is even more the case fo the tropes. The (Greek) word *tropos* originally means "melody", but like *sequential*, the term passed from the musical to the literary domain. The melody was also

(1063)

often fundamental. Thus we have some good reasons for assuming that the melisimas added to the syllable *–e* of *Kyrie* (Greek: *Kyrie* = "Lord": "*Eleison*" = "be with you") and of *Christe* are originally from the composition of the following trope:

Kyrie, rex, genitor	*Kyrie*, qui nos tuae
Ingenite,	Imaginis
Vera essential,	Signasti specie,
Eleison.	*Eleison.*

Kyrie, luminis fons
Et rerum conditor,
Eleison.

Christe, qui perfecta	*Christe*, lux oriens,
Es sapientia,	Per quem sunt Omnia,
Eleison.	*Eleison.*

Christe, Dei orma,
Humanae particeps,
Eleison.

Kyrie,	*Kyrie*,
Spiritus vivifice,	Utriusque vapor, in
Vitae vis, *eleison.*	Quo cuncta, *eleison.*

Kyrie	Quaesumus
Expurgator scelerum	Propter nostras offensas
Et largitor gratiae,	Noli nos relinquere,

O consolatory
Dolentis animae,
Eleison.

In this case, he trope is inserted into the liturgical text. Sometimes it follows it. The offertory of the first Sunday of Advent ended in the Middle Ages with the following verse: *Respice in me et miserere mei Domine; custody animam meam et eripe me; non confundar, quoniam invocavi te*. For the long vocalizations that were sung on the final syllable a trope was constructed which had

the ordinary structure of a sequence:

Invocavi

Te, altissime,	Gloria, laus et
Venturum quem	Honorm Christe,
Longe cecinere prophetae.	Sic dicitur tibi, rex pie,

(1064)

Qui venis salvare me	Ipse blande suscepi te
Ad te vera fide.	Devote to volente.

The final rhyme in *–e* echoes the final vowel of the liturgical text (*invocavi te*).

The trope often has a dramatic form, for example, in the famous song that was sung before the Intriot during the Easter Day Mass. Its original form is as follows:

Quem quaeritis in sepulchro
    Christicolae?

Iesum Nazarenum crucifixum,
    O caeliclae.

    Non est hic,
Surrexit sicut praedixerat,
    Ite, nuntiate
Quia surrexit de seulchro.

Then comes the Introit: *Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum*, and so on. There, the trope has been placed before the official liturgical text as an independent text. The sharing of the dialogue among several singers was the beginning of a development which would eventually become the eligious drama of the Middle Ages.

Scholars have hardly studied the problems posed by the musical and metrical form of the trope. The last trope that I quoted is an example of a poem in prose; in the first two cases, the principle of repetition, familiar to us from the sequence prevails."(57)

We continue with Dag Norberg:

"We find again the same technique of omposition in the polyphonic songs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that are called *motets*. While, for example, the bass voice sang the word *docebit* from the official text, the high voice sang the following song which was new:

Doce nos optime,

Vitae fons, salus animae,
Mundo nos adime,
Rex unigenite,
    Vena divite
    Cor imbue,
    Os instrue,

(1065)

Opus restitue
Manus strenuae,
Vitam distribute,
Sint ut assiduae
Duae manus Liae,
    Mens Mariae,
    Sint mutuae
    Plebi tuae,
    Perpetuae
Vitae spem tribue,
    Quae nos *docebit*.

In this case, we have a motet for two voices (*duplum*). There are also some tripls and some quadruples where three or four different texts were sung at the same time.
    If the polyphonic song is not constructed on a liturgical melody and instead all the parts ae devised freely by the composer, one no longer speaks of a motet but of a *conductus*. Among the *conducti* is listed, for example, the famous satire of Philip the Chancellor (died 1236) of which this is the first strophe:

Bula fulminante
Sub iudice tonante,
Reo appellante,
Sententiam gravante,
Veritas opprimitur.
    Distrahitur
    Et venditur
Iustitia prostante;
Itur et recurritur
    Ad curiam, nec ante
    Quid consequitur,
Quam exuitur quadrante.

    The principle of adding words to a given melody had already been realized in the sequences and the tropes. In this respect, the motets and the *conducti* present nothing new. But they contributed to the free composition of verses and strophes in a time period when the forms of sequences and tropes were on the way to becoming petrified.
    The strophic forms that were used for songs

accompanying dances have less importance for (Medieval)
Latin poetry, for in this case the Latin poetry depended
on poetry in the vulgar language. Even so, there are
Latin RONDEAUX, and the short song that I quote here can
give the reader some idea of their form:

(1066)

Christo psallat ecclesia,	Quanta Dei potential,
Mitis misericordia,	*Mitis misericordia,*
Redempta Sion filia	Mortem mactat Victoria
Dei laudem regi gloriae,	Caesae pro nobis hostiae,
Mitis misericordia	*Mitis misericordia*
Mortem destruxit hodie.	*Mortem destruxit hodie*

Laus, honor, virtus, Gloria,
Mitis misericordia,
Deo cuius nos gratia
Emancipat miseriae,
Mitis misericordia
Mortem destruxit hodie.

Verses 1, 3, and 4 of each strophe were sung by the
soloist; he others form a refrain that the choir sang.
The structure can be described with this formula: aA ab
AB."(58)

Dag Norberg concludes:

"The second step in the evolution toward a new
lyric versification was taken when poets freed
themselves from the quantity of the verse. We do not
know when and how this happened. Too many phases o this
evolution are unfortunately lost to us. But song
probably played acertain role, as in the genesis of
rhythmic poetry. It has been assumed that the most
ancient rhythmic ppoetry that has been preserved in
Latin, tat is, the psalm of St. Augustine against the
Donatists, in 393, would have been written to a precise
melody. This is not impossible, but it is also
inconceivable that St. Augustine borrowed the form of
his poem from now-lost songs of his Donatist
adversaries. ...
...This imitation of the structure of ancient verse
remained during the entire Middle Ages, the essential
way of rhythmically imitating ancient verse. But in the
first centuries o the Middle Ages there also appeared a
certain number of other versification systems. In some
poems, the poet contented himself with counting the
number of words or the principle accents. This system,
however, was not used much. What was moe common was to
count the syllables o a verse without taking account of
the structure. Poets obtained in this way a verse that

could be sung to a given melody. However, the possible variations of he melody yielded the possibility of varying the verses: one could add or remove an anacrusis and add or remove some syllables in the interior of the verse. In quite a few cases, we would understand these systems more clearly if we knew

<div align="center">(1067)</div>

the melodies better and if we knew how the verses were sung in the different countries and in different time periods. In Italy in the eighth century, it became common practice to write verses while following a system of regular accentuation. The technique of rhythmic poetry, therefore, offers us an astonishing wealth of variants; and it is impossible to give a general formula for them.

It is also through song that the last step was taken toward liberation from the formal rigor of ancient verses. Since the most remote time of the Christian Church, people had sung, during religious services, psalms, hymns, and spiritual odes which from the Greco-Roman pint of view were not in verse but in literary prose. We have seen how certain simple rhythms of this poetry in prose were used in refrains and and how these, at the time of the Visigoths in Spain, gave birth to new forms of strophes and new verses. Some vestiges belonging to other countries allow us to assume that the limitation to Spain comes, in part at least, from gaps in the tradition. However, thanks above all to the sequences and to the tropes, then later to the motets and the *conducti*, this new poetry reaches its full flowering. At the apogee of the Middle Ages, the length and rhythm of verses and the construction of strophes are often asvaried as the periods of the literary prose. We cannot, therefore, give a complete inventory of all these forms. ...

...The problem concerning the connection between Latin verses and Germanic and Romance verses is an important one. For example, I emphasized previously that the technique of alliteration practiced in Latin verse in England had probably been influenced by Germanic verse (though, as we have noted, alliteration is also practiced in the earliest Celtic verse). ...

...It is quite obvious that Latin verse was influenced by other linguistic domains than England or Germany. There are occaisional connections with Byzantine poetry. There is, as we might expect, a much greater influence from poetry of the Romance languages. Latin **rondeaux**, for example, which I mentioned in the preceding chapter, were created on the model of Romance rondeaux.

Yet, although it borrowed much, Latin verse itself was, above all, a creditor. Latin poetry was the point of departure for all of Romance versification. Scholars

are not yat in agreement on the details. But we can see
already the general contours. Hymns, sequences, tropes,
and other forms of liturgical poems marked an important
time in Western literature. When medieval Latin
versification has been better studied and is better
<div align="center">(1068)</div>

known, it will also be possible to clarify the
connections with Romance versification."(59)

Especially keep in mind what Dag Norberg has to say
concerning the **Rondeaux** and its use in Medieval Latin verse. Also
note that Dag Norberg affirms that Medieval Latin verse owed
nothing to Classical Latin versification, but a great deal to
"popular" or "folkoric" sources.

We now pass to Hispano-Arabic literature.

In Spain after the Muslim conquest, the Arab conquerors, very
few in numbers compared with the native Spanish population, at
first largely kept to themselves, not mixing much with the native
Spaniards, who in turn largely ignored their new conquerors. The
above is true in regards to literature and music as well as other
fields. The Arabs continued to cultivate their own literature in
Classic Arabic, using the Classic metres and verse forms. The
native Spaniards also continued to cultivate their oral literature
in a Romance language derived from Latin with Celtic, Germanic and
Byzantine Greek elements, and using metres and verse forms derived
from Celtic during the long period of linguistic transition from
Celtic to Romance. It would be some time before anything which
could be called "Hispano-Arabic literature" rather than "Arabic
literature written in Spain" appeared. Al-Tifashi (13th Century)
puts it succinctly if a bit crudely:

"I was told by the author and man of letters Abu-l-Hasan
Ali, who heard it from his father, the sheikh, imam

and historian Abu Imran ibn Sa'id, who heard it from the old sheikh ibn Durayda, expert in this material, who got it from ibn Hasib, who said: **"In olden times the songs of the people of al-Andalus**
                         (1069)

either were in the style of the Christians or "Huda'" songs in the style of the Arab camel-riders." Note that "Huda'" means folksong rather than art music.(60)

By the beginning of the 9th Century the barriers between the two peoples and cultures had largely broken down. Due to intermarriage, few indeed were the pure Arabs. These mixed-blood Arabs now spoke Romance, sometimes exclusively, more often in addition to Arabic, of course inevitably mixing the two languages. On the other hand, many Spaniards converted to Islam, and in some places began to speak Vulgar Arabic, in addition to Romance (this last called *Lisan al-Ajjam*, i.e., "the non-Arabic language" in Arabic sources), and to adopt elements of the culture brought in by Arab and Persian immigrants. A true Hispano-Muslim culture was being born, in literature as well as in other fields. If one wishes to classify Islamic civilization in terms of ethnic groups and cultures, one must certainly speak of **Celtiberian Islam**, which had very little in common with Berber or Maghribi Islam and more in common with Syria, Iraq and Persia, besides having its own indigenous Spanish characteristics.

One product of the **clash and fusion** in the words of Emilio Garcia Gomez was the *muwashshaha* or *zajalesque* form. Traditionally the inventor of the *muwashshaha* or *zajal* is the bilingual (Arabic-Romance) bard Muqaddam of Cabra (9th-10th centuries). Here is what ibn Bassam of Santarem has to say about Muqaddam of Cabra:

"He composed these (i.e., the muwashshahas or

zajals) using short verses; but the major part of these
compositions he made using careless metrical forms,
without artistic scruples and using the manner of

(1070)

speech of the vulgar plebe and the Romance language
(Lisan al-Ajjam). These vulgar and Romance phrases he
called *markaz* (refrain)". (61)

The hybrid nature of the muwashshaha or zajal form is thus

indicated. It would be more precise to say that Muqaddam of Cabra

was inventor of the zajal, because the muwashshaha and the zajal

are not the same. Both are stanzaic or strophic, using the verse

form called tarj-i-band in Persian. The most obvious, and indeed

defining, difference between the zajal and the muwashshaha is that

with the exception of the *markaz* or *kharja* (called *jarcha* in

Spanish) the muwashshaha is written in Classic Arabic, while the

zajal is written in Vulgar Arabic, often with a large admixture of

Romance words. As follows from this, the zajal uses syllabic-

accentual metres derived from Romance and ultimately Celtic

models, while the muwashshaha uses the quantitative (at least

according al-Khalil) metres of Classic Arabic verse, though here

the difference is not so absolute, as we shall see.

Both the zajal and the muwashshaha are strophic in

structures, and, though very similar, are not identical in this

respect. The usual rhyme scheme of the zajal is: AA bbba (AA)

ccca (AA) ddda and so on. The usual rhymne scheme of the

muwashshaha is: AA bbbaa (AA) cccaa (AA) dddaa (AA) and so on. In

other words, the stanzas of the muwashshaha contain all the rhymes

found in the refrain. About one-third of all muwashshahas have no

initial (AA) refrain, which zajals invariably have. Zajals tend

to be much long than muwashshahas. There does exist a hybrid

(1071)

form, which is zajal by language, but muwashshaha by strophic

stucture.(62)

The origin of the zajal or wuwashshaha form is the subject of

lively debate. There are three possible theories:

- ❖ 1.)Classic Arabic verse, the zajal being an example of a learned form "trickling down";

- ❖ 2.) That said form is of popular origin, originally Celtic, which passed to Romance, then to Vulgar Arabic (the zajal) and finally to Classic Arbic (the muwashshaha); &

- ❖ 3.) that said from is of Persian origin, passing from Persian to Classic Arabic (only the very learned in al-Andalus could have had any knowledge of the Persian language) and from thence to Vulgar Arabic.

The key here is which came first, the zajal or the

muwashshaha. If the zajal came first, then possibilities 1 & 3

are eliminated, while if the muwashshaha came first, then one must

assume that said form was derived from Classic Arabic verse,

probably under Persian influence and inspiration.

For some time it was assumed that the Muwashshaha is older

than the zajal, because the earliest zajal texts are about two

centuries later in date than the earliest muwashshaha texts.

However, to me this seemed implausible, and I accused those who

used this argument to prove the chronological primacy of the

muwashshaha of "idiotized positivism" (though the expression

"idiotized positivism" is, in reality, a redundancy). It is most

unfortunate that scholarly research, with its emphasis on

documentation, often leads to mental habits which could indeed be

called by the redundancy "idiotized positivism".

It should be noted that the zajal coincides startlingly with

the most ancient and widely extended types of strophic verse of

the zajalesque type, i.e., the Catalan *virolai*, the Gallego-

Portuguese *cantiga*, the Provencal *dansa*, the Northern Italian

ballat and the French *virelais*. This certainly seems to indicate

that the zajal borrowed a pre-existing verse form widespread in

the Western Romance-speaking (and also the Celtic-speaking) area,

and ultimately of Celtic origin (North Italy has a Celtic base)

and that the zajal does NOT derive from the muwashshaha. A

passage by Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides), circa 1165, is most

interesting in this respect:

> "... if there are two muwashshahas on the same
> subject, namely one that arouses and praises the
> instinct of lust, and encourages the soul to (practise)
> it ..., and if one of these two muwashshahas is in
> Hebrew AND THE OTHER IS EITHER IN ARABIC OR IN ROMANCE,
> why then, listening to, and uttering the one in Hebrew
> is the most reprehensible thing one can do in the eyes
> of the Holy Law, because of the excellence of the Hebrew
> language, for it is not appropriate to employ (Hebrew)
> in what is not excellent."(63)

Here indeed is proof of the popularity of strophic verse in

Romance in al-Andalus. Combined with what we have said above, it

seems most evident that the zajal form passed from Celtic to

Romance to Vulgar Arabic, which makes the zajal earlier than the

Muwashshaha.

With very few exceptions - none by ibn Quzman (64) - the

zajals ignore the quantitative metres of Classic Arabic verse and use the syllabic-accentual metres derived from Romance and ultimatel from Celtic. However, the muwashshaha is by no means consistent nor scrupulous in it use of Classic Arabic metres. Muwashshahas often use fragments or distortions of Classic Arabic metres, frequently acquiring a stress accent or rhythm unknown to Classic Arabic (at least according to al-Khalil). Muwashshahas often mix metres, something unknown to Classic Arabic, but common in Romance verse, especially of the popular type.

As we said before, it was a convention that a muwashshaha must end in a *markaz* or *kharja* in Vulgar Arabic or Romance. Thus, the kharja contrasts linguistically with that which precedes it. The kharja was, in effect, the foundation or framework on which the muwashshaha was constructed. Now, it can be documented that the kharjas of muwashshahas are in the majority - probably all - refrains from earlier zajals. This suggests a process going on long before the time of the first zajal texts which have survived, indeed, back to before the invention of the muwashshaha. The muwashshaha is founded upon the zajal, NOT the reverse.

Also, the structural differences between the zajal and the muwashshaha point to a greater antiquity for the zajal. If a poet sets out to construct a muwashshaha by borrowing a refrain from a zajal in Romance or Vulgar Arabic, then he must use the full rhyme scheme of the kharja in all stanzas of the new muwashshaha, or else the poem will be asymmetrical: (AA) bbba,

(AA) ccca, (AA) ddda, (AA) eeea (AA). Ergo, the structural

differences between the zajal and the muwashshaha may be explained

if one assumes that the zajal is anterior to the muwashshaha, that

the muwashshaha is derived form the zajal.

Though there are no traces of zajals earlier than ibn Quzman

(d. 1160), there are indications that the zajal is far older. Ibn

Quzman speaks of earlier zajal poets.

The Hispano-Hebrew philosopher and poet Solomon ibn Gabirol

(Avicebron) (d. 1054), composed poems in Hebrew using the zajal

form.(65)

There is an Arabic manuscript dated 440 AH (1049 AD) which is

a translation of a Latin text from the Visigothic period, which

says:

> "It is not permitted for clergymen to attend
> performances of **ZAJALS** in weddings and drinking parties;
> but rather, they must leave before the appearance of
> such musical performances and dancers, and withdraw from
> them."(66)

The word *zajal* could not have occurred in the original

Latin as said word is Arabic, and would have been unknown in Spain

in Visigothic times. However, the copyist or translator must have

recognized in the Latin text a Romance word (perhaps of Celtic

etymology) equivalent to *zajal*; remember, Classical Latin had no

such word. Said Romance word must have meant to the translator

something equivalent to the Vulgar Arabic zajal. This indicates

the existence of the zajal form in Romance verse in Spain in

Visigothic times.

Ibn Abd al-Rauf, an Andalusi market inspector, wrote in 931:
(1075)

"Those who go about the markets (singing) **ZAJALS**, AZYAD (?) and other types (of song) are forbidden to do so when (people) are being summoned to Holy War, or when they are being exhorted to go to the Hijaz (in pilgrimage). But (if) they exhort the people to participate (in the above enterprises) in a seemly manner, there is no harm in it."(67)

It is evident that the zajal form is very old in Spain, and that its origins were oral. Though the inventor of the zajal form was most likely a Celtic bard, it was adopted by the populace and thus came to be "popular" or "folkloric". It is always wise to remember what someone said: "The folk does not create, but only preserves." Creation is always the work of those of superior talents and, usually, training. It is only when preserved by the "folk" that the zajal form became "popular" or "folkloric".

Andalusi or Hispano-Muslim music survives, at least partially, to this day in North Africa. Benjamin M. Liu (68) notes that the melodic structure of these "Andalusi" songs of modern North Africa is basically that of the medieval European called *rondel* in Old French, *rondeau* in Middle French" and *virelais*, as they are called in Old and Middle French. This is congruent with the fact that the structure of the zajal coincides strikingly with quite ancient Romance verse forms, such as the Catalan *virolai*, the Gallego-Portuguese *cantiga*, the Old French *virelai*, the Northern Italian *ballat* and the Provencal *dansa*. It would appear that the zajal took both its poetic and its musical structure from pre-existent musical and prosodic forms widespread

in the Western part of the Romance speaking area.

Jozef M. Pacholczyk (69) noted that the Andalusi tradition of

(1076)

North Africa is one of *rondeaux* (plural of *rondeau)*.

The above statement by Jozef Pacholczyk calls for a
bit of explanation as to what a "rondeau" is. Firstly, a
pertinent observation.

In the Middle Ages, the line between fine arts and folk
art,

or between art music and verse on the one hand and popular or

folkloric music and verse on the other was very much thinner

than is the case today. Everything indicates that the populace

appreciated the songs and verses of the trobabdors and trouveres

(disciples of the trobadors who wrote in Old French), while the

trobabdors and trouveres borrowed freely from popular verse andd

song, and trobador and trouvere melodies lived on it traditional

or folkloric music. The Catalan folk song "E.l mare e.l pare"

has the same melody as the song "Ar mi posi" by Peire Cardenal,

a 13th century Provencal trobabdor.(70) Still sung in Galicia in

Northwest Spain is the "Romance de don Gayferos", obviously

written and composed by a Provencal trobador who had come to

Santiago de Compostela on pilgrimage and chose to remain there

(see Appendix II).

Benjamin M. Liu and James T. Monroe give an overall view

concerning the *muwashshha* and *zajal*:

ANDALUSIAN ISLAM AND CHRISTENDOM: THE MUSICAL AND LITERARY
                EVIDENCE FOR CROSS-FERILIZATION

INTRODUCTION

"Medieval Andalusian *muwashshaha* and *zajal* poetry was intended primarily for singing. But the native Arab tradition knew no system of notation to record its melodies, instead handing them down orally from teacher to student and allowing considerable improvisation, within certain constraints. When we add to this freedom the fact that Andalusian songs were uprooted from the Iberian land of their birth, any attempt to reconstruct the medieval muwashshaha and zajal tradition may seem a hopeless enterprise.

A further difficulty is that the subject requires both literary and musical competence. In this area there is unfortunately little collaborative interaction at present; with few exceptions, either Arabists are unfamiliar with the principles of musical research, or musicologists are unaware of the problems of Arabic literary studies. The result is that a field rich in comparative and interdisciplinary possibilities constitutes a vast miseed opportunity.

THE SURVIVAL OF THE ANDALUSIAN MUSICAL TRADITION

The situation is not, however, as bleak as it might seem. Beginning with the Almoravid (al-Murabitun) period (1091-1145) the cultures of North Africa and Andalus were interconnected, since the former had political and military control of the latter. The connection continued under the Almohads (al-Muwahidun) (1145-1230); even during the independent reign of the Nasrids of Granada (1230-1492), cultural contacts with Northe= Africa remained close. As far as muwashshaha poetry is concerned, the Denian poet Ibn al-Labbana (died 1113) attached himself to the 'Abbadid court of Seville, where he served the poet-monarcg Al-Mutamid. After the fall of his king, Ibn al-Labbana moved to North Africa, where he continued to compose muwashshahas, of which one has survived. Ibn Baqi, who was from either Cordoba or Toledo, composed several muwashshahas in honor of different members of a North African family, the Banu 'Ashara *qadis* of Sale. Ibn Baqi died in Guadix in either 1145 or 1150. Later, during the rule of the Almohads, the physician and muwshshaha poet Abu Bakr ibn Zuhr, born near Seville in 1113, attended the court of Ya'qub ibn Yusuf al-Mansur in Marrakesh,

where he died in 1198. Ibn al-Hatib, born in Loja in 1313, became a vizier under Yusuf I of Granada and continued to hold this post under Muhammad V. When his enemies accused him of heresy he fled to

(1078)

Morocco, where he composed muwashshahas, and where he was assassinated in 1374.

The fortunes of the *zajal*, if not identical, are similar. Although he does not appear to have traveled abroad, the Cordoban poet Ibn Quzman (born circa 1078-1080) boasts that his zajals were sung in the Islamic East. The only extant manuscript of his *Diwan* bears out his claim, for it is written in the Eastern script; it was copied in Safed, Oalestine, around a century after the poet's death, which occurred in 1160. In contrast, his successor, Al-Shushtari, born near Guadix about 1212, became an itinerant *Sufi* who wandered eastward from Morocco. Al-Shushtari died in 1269 at Tina, near

Damietta, Egypt, where his memory id revered to this day. Finally, the massive influx of refugees after Granada fell to the Catholic monarchs of Aragon and Castile in 1492, acclimatized the Granadan zajal to Morocco. Thus North Africa and Andalus shifted roles. In its early days Andalus had imported culture, first from Damascus and then from Baghdad; after the collapse of the *Taifa* kings, a long line of Andalusian poets seeking their fortunes in North Africa and the East and spreading Andalusian strophic poetry wherever they wandered, turned the former cultural backwater into an exporter of new literary forms to the heartlands of Islam.

Along with the lyrics, the music of Andalusian strophic poetry also spread throughout the North African towns. In these centers, the tradition of *musiqa andalusiyya*, which survives in a form that differs as markedly from the music of the Arab East as from the native music of the local countrydise, is considered by its practitioners to be a direct descendant of the old Andalusian tradition, brought there by exiled Andalusians. This derivation is neither a myth nor a modern scholarly conjecture, for the Tunisian (actually Algerian) writer Ahmad al-Tifashi (1184-1253), discussing the music of Andalus, mentions an artist named Abu l-Husayn ibn al-Hasib of Murcia (circa 1200), who "achieved [in the art of music], both in theory and practice, what no one had achieved before him, and who composed a large book on music, in many volumes, *so that the melody of every poem by a contemporary poet, heard [today] in Andalus and the Maghrib*, was compsed by him.

In his book *Al-Muqtataf*, Ibn Sa'id al-Andalusi (1208 or 1214-1274) gives a brief history of the

muwashshaha, in which he mentions Ibn Zuhr in the following terms:

(1079)

> "His muwashshahas moved East and West, and I heard Abu l-Hasab [Sahl ibn Malik] say to Ibn Zuhr: 'If you were asked which was your best muwashshaha, what would you reply? [Ibn Zuhr] answered: 'That poem of mine which I consider excellent, and that composition with which I am satisfied is *Hl tusta'adu*'"

Ibn Zuhr refers to a section from a famous muwashshaha of his beginning *Ma li-l-muwallah*. Ibn Khaldun of Tunis (1332-1406) later paraphrased this passage in his *Muqaddima*. As Samuel M. Stern points out, the poem must have continued to enjoy a certain vogue in North Africa, for Al-Maqqari of Tlemcen (1591-1632) quotes its first lines adding:

> "This is the beginning of a mushshaha still used by the people of the Maghrib, who consider it one of the most beautiful muwashshahas."

Pointing out that the same poem is included in the seventeenth-century Algerian or Tunisian collection entitled *Al-'Adara l-Ma'isat*, in the eighteenth-century Moroccan collection of Al-Ha'ik, and in an Algerian songbook printed at the beginning of this century by Yafil (all three to be discussed below), Stern conjectures that

> "We are perhaps justified is assuming that when al-Maqqari says that the poem is 'still used' in the Maghrib, he refers to its use in the musical repertoire."

Stern adds that

> "it would be interesting to find out if the poem is still known among the musicians of the various parts of North Africa."

As we shall show, not only is it "still known", but we have been able to find one melody to which it is currently sung in Morocco. Hence the native claim that the musical tradition of North African urban centers originated in Andalsu is hardly an idle one. Instead, it can be substantiated by an unbroken chain of earwitness accounts beginning in the medieval period itself.

Since the transmission of Andalusian music in North Africa was oral, the specifics of its history remain obscure. In contrast, the history of the poetic

texts used to accompany the music is clearer. Here, Stern singled out three major North African collections of songs; the earliest he believed to date from the seventeenth century and to proceed from either Algeria or Tunisia, judging from its musical erminology. This is *Al-'Adara l-Ma'isat fi l-azjal wa-l-muwashshahat*, of which Phillipe El Khazen published extracts under the subtitle *Ballades et romance andalouses*. In this collection Stern was able to identify most of the *muwashshahas* intended for singing in the North African musical modes as works composed by Andalusian poets. The second major collection is that Al-Ha'ik made during the first half of the eighteenth century in Morocco, where it has earned a canonical reputation. In
Al-Ha'ik's work, the *muwashshahas* by Andalusian poets are in the minority; most are anonymous peoms, composed presumably by Moroccans. As Stern points out, this

> "seems to indicate that with the passing os time the Andalusian ingredient in the repertoire gradually gave way to North African poems, which themselves, however, followed the Andalusian tradition in their style."

The third collection Stern studied was a manuscript of unknown date published by Nathan Edmond Yafil, under the title *Majmu' al-Agani wa-l-alhan min kalam al-Andalus*. In addition to the contents of Al-Ha'ik's book, it contains material from other collections. Here too, the Andalusian *muwashshahas* are in the minority, although the number of Hispano-Arabic poets is still substantial.

Stern excluded the *zajal* from his study of these collections. But more recently, Jose Vazquez Ruiz has examined poems in this genre present in Al-Ha'ik's anthology. He finds that numerous *zajals* in the North African repertory are preserved in an anonymous and fragmentary form that makes distinguishing to older Andalusian stratum from later Maghribi accretions all the more difficult. He points out that Al-Ha'ik's work contains not a single *zajal* by Ibn Quzman, the most famous Andalusian cultivator of that genre. Given the conspicuous absence of poems by the latter, who wrote in the first half of the twelfth century, Vazquez Ruiz suspects that the Andalusian *zajals* contained in the collection belong to a later period, and that they

were brought to Morocco by refugees fleeing from Granada after 1492. In support of this hypothesis, Vazquez Ruiz appeals to a linguistic argument: the *muwashshaha* was written in Classical Arabic and as such spread

relatively early to North Africa and even beyond.In contrast, the *zajal* was com psed in the colloquial dialects of Andalus, which would have been difficult for Moroccans to understand and could have flourished only among a sizable population of expatriate Andalusians, such as the Granadan refugees. Nevertheless Vazquez Ruiz admits that many *zajals* are still sung by professional singers from Fez or Rabat, who preserve elements of Granadan Arabic in them, often without understanding the very words they are singing.

All these collections reproduce the lyrics of the songs in more or less fragmentary form, and often depart considerably in wording from the surviving medieval recensions, which show that, as in other oral traditions, the poems must have lived in their variants since they were first composed by their Andalusain authors. While the North African collections also provide musical headings that indicate the mode and rhythm to which the texts were sung, they furnish no musical notation, since none was available to the native Arab tradition.

Very recently, however, the MusicalConservatory in Fez has initiated the publication of both texts and music (the latter recorded in Western notation) for all the surviving Andalusian *nawbas* (song sequences). The first volume in the projected series contains the entire known repertory of the *nawba* in the mode *garibat al-husayn*. Of this repertory, the editor claim six songs are of old Andalusian authorship. Previously, Rodolphe d'Erlanger published the melody of one song from Tunisia, to words written by a known medieval Andalusian poet. Likewise, the Arab scholar Salim al-Hilw has published the texts and tunes of two strophic songs that he assigns to Andalus. Finally, the melody of one Andalusian *muwashshaha*, collected from Palestinian informants, has been published by James T. Monroe and david Swiatlo. From this total of ten songs, eight have lyrics of certain, and two of likely Andalusian provenance (Numbers 5 and 8), which are currently being sung in the Arab world, to melodies which native scholars view, if not as certifiably Andalusian, then at least as within the Andalusian tradition. Without claiming definitive conclusions for our work, we have limited ourselves to gathering these texts and and their melodies into a small corpus, in order to make them available to

specialists. We provide the Arabic text as it is sung today (normally in fragmentary form), along with a modern collation of the more complete medieval recensions (whenever available), in transliteration, with translations of both versions for the convenience of non-Arabists. To this we add the

musical notations. We hope that this initial effort will bring scholars to the vivid realization that the corpus of Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry was abody of songs, and that studying these exquisite works in isolation from their melodies is like studying a butterfly "eterized upon a table".

HISPANO-ARABIC STROPHIC POETRY
AND ITS ORIGIN IN ROMANCE SONGS

Al-Tifashi tells us that

> "the songs (*gina'*) of the people of Andalus were, in ancient times, either in the style (*tariqa*) of the Christians, or in the style of the Arab camel drivers."

Since the passage refers to music rather than to poetry, and to style, rather than to language, we may infer that at least some of these songs were already in Arabic, while the melodies to which they were sung remained Christian. Al-Tifashi adds that much later

> "Ibn Bajja (Avempace, died 1139) combined the songs of the Christians with those of the East, thereby inventing a style found only in Andalus, toward which the temperament of its people inclined, so that they rejected all others."

In his commentary on the Poetics, the Andalusain philosopher Averroes (writing circa 1174) discusses a passage in which Aristotle distinguishes among three means of artistic representation: rhythm, language, and tune. Aristotle indicates that they may be used either separately or in combination. To illustrate this point to his Arab readers, Averroes resorts to an example taken from Arabic literature:

> Each of these (means) may coour separately from the others – like tune in flute-playing; rhythm in dance; and representation in utterances. I mean, in imitative non-rhythmic statements. *Or all three may be brought together – like what is found among us in the kind of poems called* **muwashshahat**

*and **azjal**, [*plural of *muwashshaha* and *zajal*, respectively] *these being the ones the people of this peninsula have devised in this tongue. ... There is no melody in the poems of the Arabs. Indeed, they have either metre*

(1083)

alone or both metre and representation."

In the process of commenting upon Aristotle, Averroes thus makes an important distinction: unlike Classical Arabic poetry ("the poems of the Arabs"), which lacks melody (although, we might add, it could be, and often was, set to music), *muwashshahas* and *zajals* are essentially songs; he implies that they are normally composed to pre-existing tunes.

Recently, references have come to light that confirm the existence of the *zajal* in Andalus, at least in the ninth century, and possibly in the eighth – that is to say, one or two centuries before the invention of the *muwashshaha* [as we shall see, there is even solid
evidence of the existence of the *zajal* form [though not, of course, in Arabic] in Visigothic, i.e., pre-Islamic, times]. Since all medieval Arab authorities, among them Averroes, agree that the *zajal* and the *muwashshaha* were both invented in Andalus, and since this event took place long before Ibn Bajja's time, it is more than likely that these two genres were originally sung in the native style of the Christians, rather than in the imported style of the Arab camel drivers.

In discussing the *muwashshaha*, the Andalusian author Ibn Bassam of Santarem (writing circa 1106-1109) states that a poet named Muhammad ibn Mahmud of Cabra (circa 900), invented the genre by

"adopting colloquial Arabic and Romance diction, which he called the *markaz* [= *vuelta, harja*], and basing the *muwashshaha* upon it."

Regarding this passage, two points may be made. Insofar as the poet from Cabra felt called upon to assign a name to the *vuelta*, it may be assumed that this was an element foreign to Arabic poetry up to that moment, and introduced [into Arabic, not invented] by him. The discovery of Romance *harjas*, both in Arabic and Hebrew *muwashshahas*, has fully confirmed Ibn Bassam's assertion.

The medieval Arab tradition distinguished the *muwashshaha* from the *zajal* by indicating that whereas the former, except for its usually colloquial *harja*,

was composed in Classical Arabic, the *zajal* was an entirely colloquial comppsition. In other words, the medieval Arab theoreticians perceived the essential difference between the two genres as one between a formal and an informal linguistic register. In modern times, Samuel Stern has shown that an important

structural difference also exists: in the *zajal*, which traditionally sports an initial refrain (*matla'*), the *vultas* (*markazes*) asymmetrically reproduce approximately half the rhymes of the *matla'* whereas in the *muwashshaha*, which occaisionally lacks a refrain, the *vueltas* symmetrically reproduce the entire rhyme-scheme of the refrain of the refrain, whenever one is present. In other words, whereas the base rhyme-scheme of a *zajal* is AA bbba (AA), ccca (AA), ddda (AA), etc., that of a *muwashshaha* is [AA] bbbaa (AA0, ccaa (AA), ddaa (AA), etc. The distinction is further complicated by the fact that a half-breed, namely the *muwashshaha*-like *zajal*, also occurs. This form exhibits the symmetrical structure of the *muwashshaha* but is
composed in the colloquial diction of the *zajal*.

It can be shown that the colloquial Arabic *harjas* of many *muwashshahas* are actual quotations consisting of *matla*'s borrowed from earlier *zajals*. By analogy, this can only mean that the Romance *harjas*, too, must be refrains surviving from more extensive lost Romance poems exhibiting *zajal* structure [some at least dating from pre-Islamic times]. Although this inference is hypothetical, since no extensive zajalesque poems from Andalus [either from pre-Islamic or Islamic times] have survived in Romance, it is confirmed by Moses Maimonides (writing circa 1165) in his commentary to the *Mishnah* entitled <u>Kitab al-Siraj</u> (<u>Neziqin: Aboth, i. 16</u>). During a discussion on whether or not the singing of *muwashshahas* at weddings and drinking parties is permissible, Maimonides points out that the doctors of the Jewish Law forbid the singing of poems in Arabic, even poems highly moral in content, while they permit the singing of even the most unedifying songs when these are in Hebrew [or Aramaic; the <u>Mishnah</u> and both the <u>Palestinian Talmud</u> and the <u>Babylonian Talmud</u> are mainly written in Aramaic rather than Hebrew]. Contrary to prevailing opinion, Maimonides argues,

> "If there are two *muwashshahas* on the same subject, namely one that arouses and praises the instinct of must, and encourages the soul to [practice] it. ... and if one of these two *muwashshahas* is in Hebrew [or Aramaic], and the other is **either in Arabic**

or is in Romance, why then, listening to,
and uttering the one in Hebrew [or Aramaic]
is the most reprehensible thing one can do
in the eyes of the Holy Law, because of the
excellence of the Hebrew language, for it is
inappropriate to employ [Hebrew] in what is
not excellent."

<div align="center">(1085)</div>

From the above, we learn that in Maimonides' day,
festive occaisions in Andalus commonly included the
singing of strophic songs of a zajalesque type, in
Romance.

Putting together these telling scraps of
information, we may reconstruct a more than merely
hypothetical scenario that begins with Christian ad
Romance folksongs in Andalus [in both pre-Islamic and
Islamic times]. Some of these were zajalesque in
structure; that is to say, they exhibited a *vuelta* and
a refrain. At an unknown moment in the prehistory of
the genre, illiterate Arab poets, possible bilingual
minstrels who knew the tunes and words of Romance
folksongs, began to compose new songs in colloquial
Arabic or in a mixture of Arabic and Romance, to the
old Romance tunes. Thus, a primary type of Arabic
"song verse", namely the *zajal*, close in structure to
its Romance prototype, was born. A secondary level of
this song song verse developed when more literate
imitators, at one remove from the popular *zajal*, began
to cultivate it. A third, literary level appeared when
court poets, such as Muhammad ibn Mahmud of Cabra,
adapted the *zajal* form with its folk melodies to the
Classical Arabic language and its poetic conventions,
thereby giving birth to the *muwashshaha*. Being learned
poets, and therefore having a more self-conscious
artistry than the popular minstrels who preceded them,
they included in their poems direct references to
tgheir literary and musical models. These references
were the colloquial *harjas*, borrowed from the *zajals*
they imitated, and which they quoted at the end of
muwashshahas to indicate the specific melody to which
the new poem was to be sung. Since it was desirable to
quote a *zajal* refrain in its entirety (and necessary
to complete the meaning of the text, and its melody),
and since the quoted text normally occupied the slot
of the final *vuelta* in the new poem, a structural
adjustment became necessary in the *muwashshaha*. This
consisted in making all the previous *vueltas*, along
with the *matla'*, of the new poem, the same length as
the inserted *harja*, in order to avoid the asymmetry of
schemes as *AA bbba (AA), ccca (AA), ddda (AA), eeea
(AA), fff**aa** (AA), which would create a melodic
imbalance. A further stage in the evolution of the
muwashshaha occurred when learned poets took it in two

directions: back to its popular origins, by composing poems that were *muwashshahas* in structure but colloquial in diction (the *muwashshaha*-like *zajal*), a feat that could hardly have been achieved before the invention of the classical *muwashshaha*, and closer to classical poetry by sacrificing the Romance metrical system, the base of

(1086)

Andalusian strophic poetry, upon the altar of the Khalilian system of classical Arabic poetry. This change was a late phenomenon in Andalus and seems to have gained impetus when the *muwashshaha* spread beyond the borders of the Iberian penninsula, to areas where the old Romance metrical system was no longer understood.

ROMANCE STROPHIC SONGS IN PERFORMANCE

In light of the above discussion, what can the Romance tradition tell us about the way in which zajalesque forms were sung in the medieval period? ...
...What characterizes the *zajal*'s structure is not only its refrain, of which there are abundant examples in antiquity, but also its *vuelta*, which could hardly have existed before the use of rhyme became standardized in European poetry. Once again, in this instance, we seem to be dealing with a popular element. According to Pierre Le Gentil, forms exhibiting a *vuelta*, such as the *rondeau*, existed in northern France before 1100; Peter Dronke singles out one Latin zajalesque poem, albeit without a refrain, dating from the twelfth century. The *rondeau*, which was contrafacted (copied metrically and musically) in Latin, was possibly followed by the *virelai*, the form preferred in Old Provencal, Spanish, and Italian poetry. In his treatise on music, the French theoretician Johannes de Grocheo (circa 1280) defines the *rondeau* in the following terms:

> "A particular type of *cantilena* is called *round* or *rondellus* by many, for the reason that it turns back upon itself in the manner of a circle and begins and ends in the same way. We, however, call only that round or rotundellus <that> whose parts do not have a different melody from the melody of their response or refrain. And it is sung in a slow rhythm just like *coronate cantus*: an example of this type is the French *Toute sole passerai le vert boscage*. And a cantilena of this type is accustomed to be sung in the West, as in Normandy, by girls and young men in festivals and in great

gatherings, for their embellishment."

He continues by declaring a similar type of *cantilena*, the *stantipes* (virelai) and *ductia*:

(1087)

A cantilena which is called *stantipes* is that in which there is a diversity in its parts and in its refrain, not only in the rhyme of the words, but also in the melody, just as in the French *A l'entrant d'amours* or *Certes mie ne cuidoie*. This type causes the souls of young men and girls to concentrate because of its difficulty and turns them from improper thinking. ... A *ductia* is a light cantilena, rapid in its ascent and descent, which is sung in chorus by young men and girls, just as the French *Chi encore querez amouretes*. This influences the hearts of girls and young men and keeps them from vanity and is said to have force against that passion which is called love or *Eros*. ... Their parts are spoken of in many ways, as the verse, refrain or response and the supplement. ... A response is that by which every cantilena begins and finishes. Supplements are different in the rotundellus, the ductia and the stantipes. In the rotundellus they concord and agree in rhyme with the response. In the ductia and stantipes the response with a supplement is called a verse, whose number is not set but is augmented according to the will of the composer and the amount of material.

Similarly, the fourteenth-century *Leys d'amors* define the Provencal *dansa* in these words:

A *dansa* is a pleasing composition that contains a refrain, which is merely a response, and three strophes similar in ending, to the response, in metre and in rhyme, and the *vuelta* should be the same as the response. The beginning of each strophe should be in single metre, and have either a single rhyme or a different one. These beginnings should be completely different in rhyme from the response, for it would not be a good thing for the beginning of the strophe to be os the same consonance as the response. Likewise, the aforesaid beginnings may be in a similar metre or in a different

one from the aforesaid response. The response should be of the measure of a half strophe or so, that is to say, more of less two lines long.

Grocheo's definitions make clear the structural differences between the *rondeau* and *virelai*, namely that the stanza of the *rondeau* repeats the music and the rhymes of the refrain whereas the stanza of the *virelai* introduces a new melody and rhyme. We may further distinguish "right-handed" from "left-handed" *rondeaux*; in the former, the stanza repeats the music and rhyme of the second line of the refrain; in the latter, it takes on the music and rhyme of the first line. The following are the melodic structures:

Right-handed *rondeau*   a B B B B B a B
Left-handed *rondeau*   a B a a a B a B
Virelai   a B G G G B a B

Both forms, however, begin and end each strophe with the refrain; furthermore, as the refrain is termed a "response", we may infer that these songs were to be sung with a chorus.

In the <u>Dinina Commedia</u>, Dante (Alighieri) (1265-1321) describes a song-dance that takes place in paradise, in these words:

Poi, si cantando, quelli ardenti soli
Si fuor girati intorno a noi tre volte,
Come stele vicine a' Fermi poli,

Donne mi parver non da ballo sciolte,
Ma che s'arrestin tacite, ascoltando
Fin che le nove note hanno ricolte.

When, singing so, three times those suns had passed
In circle around us, burning as before,
Like stars next to the poles that stay steadfast,

They seemed like ladies whom the dancing-floor
Still detains, silent, listening in the pause
Until they catch the sound os strings once more
<u>Paradiso</u>, X: 76-81

Commentators explain the passage to mean that the suns are being compared to ladies dancing a *ballata*. One typical gloss explains:

Donne, etc. Understand: they paused as if

suspended in the expectation of resuming the interrupted movement, and they appeared to me to be like ladies, etc. – **non da ballo sciolte:** maintaining, although motionless, the formation of the dance and continuing to
(1089)

keep time mentally during the pause for solo singing. This illustrates the custom of the *ballate*, in which the woman who leads the singing utters the first stanza [the refrain or burden] while standing still; after having finished which, the whole dance, turning around, repeats it singing, and having finished, stands still; then the lady who leads the song, also motionless, utters the new stanza, which ends on the same rhyme as the first, and, as soon as it is finished, the dance moves in a circle while singing the stanze known as the refrain.

Turning to Galicia, let us note that the three extant manuscripts of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, attributed to Alfonso X "the Wise" (1252-1248), "emanated from the royal council and may be considered as distinct and successive editions of the work made during Alfonso's life." In the codex from Toledo, which is the most ancient of the three, "the musical refrain, present in most of [the *cantigas*], is written first, then the first stanza, then the refrain again." Long ago Julian Ribera pointed out that the majority of the *cantigas* (up to 90 percent) are zajalesque in form, and that in them the *matla'*, which is repeated in writing after every stanza, functions as a refrain, as the musical notation proves **[nota bene:** in the medieval Spanish kingdom of Castile and Leon, Castilian (ancestor of modern Spanish) was considered to be apt only for epic poetry, while Gallego-Portuguese was considered apt only for lyric verse; hence, epic poetry was written only in Castilian, while lyric verse was written only in Gallego-Portuguese; ergo, Alfonso X "el Sabio" though very much a Castilian, wrote the lyric verses of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* in Gallego-Portuguese rather than his native Castilian; in Castilian, *Cantigas de Santa Maria* would be: *Canciones de Santa Maria***].**
In Castilian, as Yakov Malkiel and Charlotte Stern have shown, the term *villancico* was at first applied exclusively to the refrain of a zajalesque poem which, like the Arabic *harja*, was usually quoted material, often borrowed from the popular tradition, whereas "the *coplas* comprise the rest of the song." How such songs were sung in Spanish becomes clear from the stage directions provided to Tirso de Molina's

(1584-1648) play _La major espigadera_" (written in 1614), where the characters sing three zajalesque songs with refrain and _vuelta_, and one lacking the latter. In the first of these, the assembled company sings the refrain in

chorus, and two characters named Timbreo and Rut take turns in singing the stanzas individually, as follows:

"Florecitas que Rut bella pisa,
Mientras sus ojos regados os ven,
No os riais, no os riais, que no viene bien
Con sus lagrimas vuestra risa

TIMBREO:

Del Rey, mi Rut, eres hija;
A Moab has de heredar,
Contigo me he de casar;
Deja la pena prolija,
Que cuando el pesar te aflija
Para que te alegres basta
La corona que contrasts
Melancolicos humores
De tu belleza divisa.

"Florecitas que Rut bella pisa, etc.

RUT:

La tristeza que es violenta,
Menos su rigor perdona
A la diadema y corona,
Antes con ells se aumenta;
En los palacios se asienta
Debajo del solio real,
Y perdonado al sayal,
Vive en atresones de oro.
Ria el prado, que yo lloro
Penas que el pesar me avisa.

"Florecitas que Rut bella pisa," _etc._

TIMBREO:

Si a entretener no estais,
Que en quien adoro aumentais,
Las unas risa en las hojas,
Arboles, prados y Fuentes
Las tristezas inclementes
Ni con el viento finjais,
Ni, entre las arenas rojas,
Movias de cristal los labios

Las otras: llorad agravios
De una voluntad remisa.

"Florecitas que Rut bella pisa", *etc.*
(1091)

This poem is a late, highly evolved baroque composition containing chiastic rhymes that are typical of the medieval Arabic and Hispano-Romance *zajals*. Closer to the latter, and far simpler in form as well as having even more explicit stage directions, is another example from the same play, in which each stanza is sung by a different soloist, and the refrain by a chorus of reapers:

("Segadores, afuera, afuera,
Dejen llegar a la espigaderuela")

HERBEL

Quien espiga se tomara
costara lo que costara,
porque en sus manos gozara
las rosas que hacen su cara
por Agosto primavera.

TODOS

("Segadores, afuera, afuera", *etc.***)**

....

GOMOR

....

Si en las manos que bendigo
Fuera yo espiga de trigo,
Que me hiciera harina digo
Y luego torta o bodigo,
Porque luego me comiera.

TODOS

("Segadores, afuera, afuera", *etc.***)**

....
.

LISIS

Si yo me viera en sus manos
Perlas volviera los granos,
Porque en anillos galanos

En sus dedos soberanos
Eternamente anduviera

(1092)

TODOS

("*Segadores, afuera, afuera,*" *etc.*)

The previous descriptions suggest that from very early times there existed a basic zajaesque form, with various names, widespread throughout **[**much of**]** Romania **[**i.e., the areas in which languages derived from Latin were spoken, in this case in Spain, Gaul and perhaps northern Italy, but probably **excluding** southern Italy, Sicily, what is today Rumania, and Romance-speaking areas of the Balkan Penninsula**]**, and characterized by refrain and *vuelta*. Furthermore, as a popular form, it was intended for singing and dancing, and was performed
in the following way: a soloist would sing the refrain to the audience, who would sing the first strophe. Its *vuelta*'s rhyme, which coincided with the refrain, would serve as a cue to the audience that it was their turn to repeat the refrain in chorus. This they would immediately do. Soloist and audience would repeat this pattern in each succeeding strophe, thus producing a regular series of alternations. As Tirso **[**de Molina**]** indicates, in this process different strophes could be sung either by the same, or by successive soloistas." (71)

The reader should be advised that the language described in these pages as *Romance* or *Lisan al-Ajjam* is not the same as the language which today is commonly called "Spanish", nor is it its ancestor. We will not attempt here to give a dictionary or grammar of "Romance" or "Lisan al-Ajjam", but only to make certain that the reader does not confuse this language with "Spanish". Ramon Menendez Pidal has done an excellent job of this:

"THE LANGUAGE OF THESE LITTLE SONGS (THE *HARCHAS*):
IT IS NOT CASTILIAN:

To the former difficulty of not finding

muwshshahas with a final *harcha* en Romance, now there is much difficulty in reading said harchas. The Semitic alphabets, Hebrew as well as Arabic, are very poorly adapted for transcribing Indo-European languages,

(1093)

because they generally write only the consonants, and when they wish to add a vowel, the reading is most uncertain, because the existing letters do not precisely distinguish the various vowel sounds. Thus, the alphabet in which these harchas are written produces a most complicated uncertainty, a lack of vowels applied to a language whose archaism causes difficulaties of itself, without this added complication. If one adds to this that when these harchas are copied by someone not Spanish who is either Jewish or Muslim, errors are committed which make the text unintelligible. Various harchas of the Hebrew muwashshahas are still undeciphered; of the only Arabic muwshshaha published (1951; since that date various other Arabic muwashshahas containing harchas have been
published) the harcha has only been partially deciphered.

Taking into account such grave diffiuclties, we must begin by advising the reader that the language of these harchas is mixed with many Aarbisms, as one would expect from Mozarabs or Christians who lived in Muslim Spain, and also to those Muslims who spoke the language of the Christians, which in the 9th or 10th centuries was virtually all of them. Therefore, we are dealing with harchas which were sung equally by Christians and by Muslims. The bilingualism of these harchas explains the includsion of said Roamce songs in compositions in Arabic and of theme and development entirely Muslim.

The language of these Roamnce harchas, is not Castilian; it does not possess the distinctive characteristics of Castilian. The syllable *ge*-initial preserves the consonant, *yermaniellas*, en harcha No. 4, 'little sisters', the group *l + y*, and not *j*: *filyo* [Spanish: *hijo*]; *filyoul alyeno (No. 7)*, 'soomeone else's son', Spanish '*hijuelo ajeno*'; *olyo* or *welyos* (no. 18), "eyes", Spanish "*ojos*". *The verb "to be"* in 2nd person is *yes* (Spanish: *eres*), 3rd person *yed* (Spanish *es*). The diphthong before "y", unknown in Castilian, is most probably what is found in the *welyos* cited above. ...

The vocabulary of the harchas also contains great archaisms. In harcha No. 14, Garcia de Diego explained that *yana*, i.e., "door", proceeds from the Latin *janua*, a Latin word which only left derivatives in Sardinia Nd Calabria, having disappeared in Spain

after having produced the Portuguese diminutive *janela*, which means "window"; but its disappearance in Spain was so ancient that there is no memoria of said Latin word in Spain which this Andalusian harcha recentky rescued from being totally forgotten.

Also the phrase *cuell albo* (harcha No. 11), used

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by a young girl when speaking of her mother, indicates that the **[**Latin**]** adjective *albo* had not yet been relegated to erudite speech, that is to say, the adjective *blanco*, of Germanic **[**in this case Gothic**]** origin, was not yet in general use among the Mozarabs and Romance-speaking Hispano-Muslims, while it (*blanco*) is already the only word used in the *Poema de Mio Cid*, *albo* already being not only archaic but obsolete and forgotten in Castilian even at this early date. If the poet Berceo alternates between *blanco* and *albo*, this is an example of ecclesiastical erudiction.

In such an archaic language there is a great deal which is today comprehensible only with great difficulty. ...(72)

I believe that the above is sufficient so that the reader will not make the error of referring to the "Romance" or *Lisan al-Ajjam* of the harchas as "Spanish" or assuming that it is modern Spanish or Castilian or at least its ancestor, which it is not.

Ibn Hazm, Ibn Quzman's fellow Cordoban, was quite proud of his Spanish origin, admitting that his grandparents were Mozarabs from Huelva, and famously writing the lines:

You can keep your pearl of China
I prefer my ruby of Spain.

Ibn Quzman's Visigothic origin was perfectly obvious; he was a tall, blond man, and his name is simply the Gothic *Guzman*, still fairly common as a surname in Spain.

The zajals of Ibn Quzman contain a great many Romancisms, so many that Ibn Quzman was forced to adopt or invent letters to represent sounds not found in Arabic; from Persian he borrowed

the letters which represents the "P", "CH" and "hard G" sounds. For the "V" sound, Ibn Quzman had a problem; he needed the Aarbic letter "WAW" to represent the "W" sound, found in

(1095)

Romance as well as Arabic. Ibn Quzman must have known that in Persian the "WAW" has taken on the "V" sound as the "W" sound does not exist in Persian; anyone who has known English-speaking Iranians will note that they tend to change the English "W" to a "V" (I am reminded of a saying from the state of Minnesota, where there are so many Swedish and Norwegian immigrants, who are quite unable to pronounce the English "W" sound: "Tventy Svedes ran through the veeds chased by vun Norvegian"; nowadays one sometimes hears "Tventy Svedes ran through the veeds chased chased by vun Iranian", or "Tventy Svedes ran through the veeds chased by vun Indo-Pakistani"). Ibn Quzman simply put a dot **[.]** over the Arabic letter "waw" to indicate the Romance "V" sound.

In his monumental three-volume work on Ibn Quzman and his zajals, Emilio Garcia Gomez devoted many pages to the many Romancisms in said zajals. We will not attempt to give a description of all the numerous Romancisms found in the works of Ibn Quzman; however, one such Romancism is of particular interest.

ROMANCISM No. 18 – *"BELATION"*

Following the above bacchic verses, Ibn Quzman appears to leave his friends the drunkards, to whom he says:

Wa-mata-ma 'aradtumu l-istibah
Anbahu-ni min auwal **'lblown.**

That is: "When you wish to drink in the morning, wake me before ..."

In the words of the text which are written without vowels, at first one is tempted to read '*lblown* as *al-*

(1096)

balqun (Spanish: *el balcon:* English; the balcony). However, this must be rejected as impossible:

1.) because Arab houses do not have balconies;
2.) because *balcon* is an Italian word introduced in Spain, along with other architectural terms, at the end of the Middle Ages;
3.) because the adverb ("before" (*min auwal*) requires a temporal noun and not a place name.

Noting the above, Tuulio who in 1938 had accepted *balcon*, in 1841 proposed a totally implausible *volcon*, augmentative of *vuelco*, i.e., to "overturn, to knock down" which he invented and interpreted as was his habit: "a great act of delvering hard knocks".

Taking into account these difficulaties and that, besides, *balcon* as well as *volcon* leave the verse short by a syllable, I dare to propose *belation* (from the Latin *vigilation*[*em*], i.e., "Vigil"). Graphically, it is possible: the dots of the *q* would be those of the *t*, and it is only necessary to add a *y*. So far as prosody is concerned, it fits very well. The meaning would perhaps allude to a religious office of the Mozarabic Church at daybreak, in effect, Matins, **[**Greek: *Orthos;* Church Slavonic: *Utrenii***]** and is therefore a temporal noun, i.e., which refers to a time.

If one objects that Ibn Quzman would not use a Christian Mozarabic term, I would reply:

1.) That the ecclesiastical hours have always been a way of measuring time, even among laymen, where or when there are no clocks nor watches;
2.) That, as is well known, among the ancient Arabs wine was drunk in the convents and monasteries;
3.) On the other hand, Ibn Quzman apparently had considerable knowledge of Christianity. **[**he may have had aunts, uncles and cousins who were Mozarabs, as there is no doubt as to his Visigothic, and therefore Mozarabic or Spanish, ancestry.**]**

As proof of the above (in a certain sense, it deals with "Romancisms" although not linguistics

ones). For example, in zajal 60 Ibn Quzman cites a passage from the Gospels (Luke XI, 9, or Matthew VII, 8), although he says that it is in "the Torah". But, above all, I will cite the enigmatic passage in Zajal 38:
(1097)

Qasis au la qasis
Lak al-inqad wa-l-ibram

Id est:

"Clergy or not clergy
You have the power to tie and untie".

I do not see any other manner to interpret this text, and it appears to demonstrate that Ibn Quzman knew of the sacrament of Penitence and of its fundamentals more than we have so far been able to imagine.
Alongside these two significant passages, I call attention to another (zajal 129) in which the poet dice to his beloved:

If your love causes my death
You are Isa ibn Maryam (Jesus son of Mary)",

Alluding to the fact that Jesus resuscitated the dead, because this power (of Jesus) is recognized by Muslims, since, for them, Jesus is the Prophet Isa. But, in any case and altogether, one must affirm that, if Ibn Quzman at times used very injurious and violent terms against the Christians from the political and above all military point of view, he never used such terms against the Christian religion about which – as we shall see – he appeared to be knowledgeable, nor hostile towards the "Mozarabic Christianity" of Muslim Andalusia.
Could it be inferred that he had sympathy (toward Mozarabic Christianity)? That would be to stretch the known facts. But, as Ibn Quzman was not, in any way, neither pious nor much less fanatic, we may jokingly suppose it to be true. In zajal 130 he begs the pardon of a person whom he loves, demonstrating repentance of a fault, and saying of himself: "He was a Christian enemy, but has now become a Muslim". It may be, as in many other cases, a refrain. If it is not, and recognizing his amorous versatilities, the comparison of his fault, real or supposed, with Christianity would appear to take on a certain respect and affection."(73)

Since Ibn Quzman is so important to the main topic of this chapter, we are compelled to briefly touch on certain things

which are dealt with more fully in Chapter 8.

As we shall demonstrate in Chapter 8, Ibn Quzman was a

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Shi'a; there are not one but three citations in his works (zajal 35, zajal 65, zajal 86) which demonstrate that he not only "had Shi'a tendencies", but was a full-fledged Shi'a; the above-mentioned citations are too blatant, too crystal clear, too outspoken, too unambiguous to leave any doubt on this score. Also we shall speak of the 12th century Crusader Archbishop William of

Tyre, who lavishly praised Ali ibn Abi Talib, and said:

"The Shia is not so far from the true Christian faith as is the Sunna".

In our own day there is Musa Sadr, late spiritual leader of the Shi'as of Lebanon, who preached in Catholic churches and cathedrals, at time moving the congregation to tears, Mahmoud Ayoub, Fouad Ajami, and the Southern conservative Charley Reese, the Catholic journalist Patrick Buchanan, and perhaps most recently, E. Michael Jones, editor of the traditionalist Catholic monthly "Culture Wars", and perhaps, even Vladimir Putin.

As we shall note in future chapters, in Spain mysticism is the lifeblood of religion, whether Christian or Muslim, and it was Sufism which eventually won the bulk of the population of al-Andalus for Islam. As Haidar Amoli noted:

"Shi'ism is Sufism, Sufism is Shi'ism"

The special affinities between Shi'ism on the one hand and traditional Catholicism and traditional Eastern Orthodoxy are so

obvious as to have become almost a commonplace. In addition, Spanish Catholicism and Russian Orthodoxy have particular characteristics which give them special affinities with Shi'ism

(1099)

above and beyond the general Shi'a-Catholic and Shi'a-Eastern Orthodox affinities. In a personal communication, Seyyed Hossein Nasr told me:

> "You are completely right in emphasizing the unique rapport between Shi'ism and Sufism on the one hand and certain elements of Spanish Catholicism and Russian Orthodoxy on the other."

The Mozarabic Catholicism with which Ibn Quzman was familiar, the religion of his ancestors and perhaps some of his living relatives, was most certainly Spanish Catholicism.

In Ibn Quzman's day, al-Andalus was under the rule of the Almoravides (*al-Murabitun*), who were the forerunners of the English and New England Puritans; as the Southern conservative Charley Reese would say, they were "Puritans of Islam", with Yusuf ben Tashufin in the role of Oliver Cromwell. The Almoravides were also forerunners of the Wahhabis and Salafis of our own day; like the Salafis, the Almoravides were even more intolerant of Shi'as and Sufis than there were of Christians. Ibn Quzman most certainly had to practice *taqiyya* or dissimulation in order to survive. It goes without saying that the Almoravides were hated and despised by the population of al-Andalus, who considered them to be brutal tyrants and uncouth and ignorant louts.

When all is said and done, we cannot come to any firm conclusions concerning Ibn Quzman. To say that he was not a

fanatical Muslim is obviously true, but to say that he was not a pious Muslim is an unwarranted conclusion, for reasons given

(1100)

above, as the grim necessity of *taqiyya* would have made it impossible for him to express his true piety, at least not openly nor in any writings – such as his zajals - which were meant to be sung or recited in public, though, as is obvious, he did include a few declarations which he trusted that the Almoravides – who, being Berbers, did not understand Andalusian Vulgar Arabic very well, and whose learning was, to put it mildly, limited – would

be too ignorant to catch.

If we obviously can come to no very firm conclusions, at least the above facts give us food for thought, and to give a more profound understanding of the people and culture of Muslim Spain.

Liu and Monroe have given the final touches to my theory when they say that the origin of the zajal form occurred first in Romance and later passed to Andalusian Vulgar Arabic. So, we now have the whole secuence; in Spain strophic verse first occurred among the Celts, later, during a period of bilingualism, to Vulgar Latin or Romance, and, finally, to Andalusian Vulgar Arabic.

The Latinists who blindly proclaim that I suffer from Ukrainian alcoholic psychosis from indulging in too much horlika and slivovitz, have put themselves in the odd position of proclaiming strange sort of spontaneous generation. The fact is

that the zajal on the one hand and the Porvencal trobabdor verse bear no resemblance whatever to classic Latin verse. Also, it is said – and is most obviously true – that

(1101)

"The folk does not create, but only preserves".

Since no one seriously believes that the zajal form and the Provencal trobador verse derive from classical Latin verse, they are forced to affirm that "the folk does indeed create", in other words, we have an example of spontaneous generation, and one which occurred all over those parts of western Europe in which Romance languages are spoken and which – according to them coincidentally – have a Celtic background.

As we have shown, the ancient Celtic bards were men of great learning and skill. The very earliest Celtic verse which has survived, in both Gaelic and Welsh, and which dates from a time not long after the extinction of the Celtic languages in Gaul and Spain, and, perhaps, northern Italy, make use of rhymed strophic verse. In many places in the present work we shall note the many affinities between the Celts on the hand and the Iranian peoples on the other, and that in Celtic literature and Persian literature strophic verse developed with a parallelism between the two so exact as to be uncanny.

The closed-minded resistance of the Latinists to the idea of a Celtic origin for the zajalesque form and the verse forms of the Provencal trobadors has an explanation which is psychological rather than logical or intellectual. The Latinists are very attached to their superstition – I refuse to dignify it

by calling it "mythology" – that their beloved ancient Romans fulfilled a messianic mission of bringing civilization to benighted Celtic savages. To the Latinists, the idea that the

(1102)

Celts possessed a civilization in many ways greatly superior to that of the ancient Romans, and that all over western Europe, including northern Italy, Celtic survivals are everywhere, is simply intolerable. In order to avoid confessing the above, the Latinists – and **NOT** the Arabists – invented the Arab theory concerning to the origin of the verse forms used by the Provencal trobadors. However, those Hispano-Arabic verse forms which

resemble those used by the Provencal trobadors bear no resemblance to classical Arabic verse forms, from which they could not possibly derive. The Latinists invented the Arabic theory, not because of Arabophilia or Maurophilia, but because of Celtophobia. Liu and Monroe have shown that, in fact, they derive from Romance models, which, however, also bear **NO** resemblance either to classical Arabic verse or to classical Latin verse. So, the verse forms of the Provencal trobadors are not derived from classical Arabic verse. Therefore, the Arabic theory concerning the origins of the verse forms used by the Provencal trobadors is not necessarily totally false, so much as it is question-begging and, in the last analysis, irrelevant, since the Hispano-Arabic verse forms not derived from classic Arabic verse spring from the same origins as the verse forms used by the Provencal trobadors.

As was said above, Latinists have at times accused me of suffering from Ukrainian alcoholic psychosis from indulging in horlika and slivovitz. Perhaps they should ask me what are my preferred brands of horlika and slivovitz.

Later in this chapter we will find the sentence:

(1103)

"There is something which may give us at least a rough idea of this lost lyric, crushed beneath the boots of the Roman Legions."

When reading over the original version of this chapter, someone suggested that I delete the above sentence, because the Latinists might not approve of it, as it shows their beloved ancient Romans in a bad light. This I, of course, refused to do.

The word "popular" has become badly debased in recent decades. "Popular music" should be synonimous with "folkloric" or "traditional", as it was until fairly recently. Today the word "popular" has instead become synonymous with "vulgar, crass commercialism", which has so coarsened and vulgarized popular taste, as well as very nearly destroying genuine popular or traditional musical culture. Today a person of taste and refinement has no alternative but to be utterly contemptuous of so-called "popular music" and "popular culture", this last having become virtually an oxymoron. Certainly those who make fortunes coarsening and debasing popular taste and destroying genuine popular or traditional musical culture are worthy of the most profound contempt and loathing. This is not snobbery on my part; like the trobadors, I do not despise genuine traditional popular music and culture, but I loathe and despise vulgar

commercialism.

Besides the type of songs for which they are best known, the trobadors and trouveres also composed dance tunes with an obvious popular or folkloric flavor. These dance tunes are basically of

three types:

- ❖ 1.)*rondel* in Old French or *rondeau* in Middle French; Old Provençal apparently had no special word for *rondeau*, though, as we shall see, said form was used in Old Provençal. Most likely, in Old Provenaçal, *rondel* or *rondeau* was subsumed under *balada*:

- ❖ 2.)*virolai* in Old Provençal and Catalan or *virelai* in Old French; and

- ❖ 3.)*balada* in Old Provençal or *ballade* in Old French.

Rondel and *rondeau* come from the Latin *rotundus* meaning "round", Vulgar Latin *retondus*, Old Provençal *redon*, Old Catalan *redo*, Old French *roonde* are cognate with the English word "round", which also derives from the Latin "rotundus", and refer to circle dances. Musically, the rondel or rondeau generally consists of eight lines, the tune of the first two lines being repeated four times. In so far as the rhyme scheme, it is AB AAAB AB.(74) The first two lines are the refrain, the first line of the refrain being repeated in line four, the last two lines repeating the whole refrain. Below is an example by an anonymous 12th century Provençal trobador:

Tuit cil qui sunt enamorat

> *Viegnent dansar, li autre non!*
> La regine le commendat!
> *Tuit cil qui sunt enamorat*
> Qui le jalous soient fustat
> Fors de la dance d'un baston.
> *Tuit cil qui sunt enamorat*
> *Viegnent dansar, li autre non!*

Note the internal refrain in line four; this is the distinguishing characteristice of the rondel or rondeau in

reference to rhyme scheme.(75) I can say from personal experience that the or rondeau is still widely used in French-Canadian folk songs, *Fringue, Fringue* and *J'ai tant danse* being concrete examples.

"*Virolai*" or "*virelai*" comes from the Vulgar Latin *virare*, meaning "to turn", Old Provençal and Old Catalan *virar*, Old French *virer*, and is cognate with the English "veer", which also derives from the Vulgar Latin *virare*. The "virolai" or "virelai" is distinct from the rondel or rondeau.

The *lai* is probably of Breton origin, as Geoffrey Chaucer noted in The Canterbury Tales. The Breton lai was originally a rhymed narrative poem not set to music, much like the Spanish "Romancero" or Gaelic ballads which are not usually sung. When the lai passed to Provencal and French, it was sung, becoming roughly synonymous with "song" or "narrative song". So, "virolai" or "virelai" literally means "turning song". This would indicate that it was not meant as music for a circle dance (contrary to what some people seem to think, not all folk dances are circle dances), but rather it was associated with a pairs or couple dance, perhaps similar to the Polish polka, which

involves a great deal of "turning" or "twirling".

Like the rondel or rondeau, the *virolai* or *virelai* begins with a two-line refrain. The strophe then falls into three parts, the first two sung to the same melody, the last part returning to the melody of the refrain. Unlike the rondel or rondeau, the virolai or virelai does not contain an internal

<div align="center">(1106)</div>

refrain.(76) The *virolai* ("virelai" would not be appropriate in this case) is still very common in Catalan folk songs, though to my knowledge it is not associated with any particular dance steps. The archetypical Catalan folk dance is the *Sardana*, which is most definitely a circle dance.

"Balada" or "ballade" comes from the Latin *ballare*, meaning "to dance", Old Provençal *bal*, meaning "a dance", *balar*, meaning "to dance", and *balada*, meaning "dance song" or "dance tune"; Old Catalan *ball*, meaning "a dance", *ballar* meaning "to dance", and *balada*, meaning "dance song" or "dance tune"; Old French *bal*, meaning "a dance", *baller*, meaning "to dance", and *ballade* meaning "dance song" or "dance tune". The Latin *ballare* is cognate with the Sanskrit *balbaliti* meaning "he turns about". The English word "ball" meaning "a dance party" is also derived from the Latin "ballare". The balada or ballade is not such a fixed form as are the rondel or rondeau and the virolai or virelai. Drop the music of the refrain from the middle part of a virolai or virelai and add a fourth unit and we have one type of balada or ballade, giving us the rhyme scheme AB cd cd ef AB, the "AB" indicating the refrain. Retain the refrain melody in

the central portion, but insert a fourth unit before ti, and we have another type of balada or ballade with the rhyme scheme AB cd cd e ab AB. A third and much later type of balada or ballade drops the refrain entirely, giving us the rhyme scheme ab ab cd E.(77) Below is an example of a 13th century Gallego-Portuguese balada related to the

<center>(1107)</center>

first two types mentioned above. This balada is from the collection <u>Cantigas de Santa Maria</u> by Alfonso X the Wise of Castile and Leon:

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    Rosa das rosas e fror das frores
    Dona das donas, sennor das sennores
    Rosa de bel dade de parecer
    E fror d'alegria e de prazer
    Dona en miu piadosa seer
    Sennor en toller coitas e do-ores
    Esat Dona que tenno por Sennor
    Et de que quero seer trobador,
    Se en per ren poss'auer seu amor.
    Dou ao demo os outros amores.
    Rosa das rosas et fror das frores,
    Dona das donas, sennor das sennores
```

The following is somewhat complicated. I will attempt to make it as clear as possible, and hope that the reader will bear with me.

As we said above, in the Middle Ages the word "balada" or "ballade" meant "dance song" or "dance tune", and is obviously derived from a Latin verb which means "to dance". However, today *ballad* (English), *ballade* (French), and *balada* (Provençal, Catalan, Spanish and Gallego-Portuguese) all refer to a folkloric of folkloric-type song which is usually but not always narrative. The trobadors were familiar with this sort of song, but called it by the Breton word *lai*, a word which is not

completely obselete even today.

The question now arises: how is it that a word for dance tunes, derived from a Latin word meaning "to dance" came to mean, in not one but a host of Romance languages and English, a folkloric-type, usually narrative song? If this had happened in

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one language it would perhaps not be remarkable, but that it happened in so many languages seems a most unlikely coincidence. There exists a possible answer.

The Arabic trilateral root "**BLD**" refers in it various derivatives to "land", "country" or "countryside". The Castilian (Spanish) word *baladi* means "rustic" or "rural". *Baladi* in Arabic means "my country". How a word derived from the Arabic trilateral root "**BLD**" could come to be associated with folkloric and folkloric-type songs is clear enough. We now have two possibilities:

- ❖ 1.) that *balada* derived from the Arabic trilateral root BLD and meaning a folkloric-type song coexisted with "balada" derived from a stem meaning "to dance", but the latter gradually fell out of use or became obselete. The trobadors knew "balada" in the sense of folkloric-type song, but used it to mean only "dance tunes" to avoid confusion.

- ❖ 2.) *balada* meaning "folkloric-type song" was introduced from Spain at a relatively late date and gradually replaced "balada" meaning "dance tunes".

As in the case of the etymology of "trobador", we can come to no firm conclusion.

Music may pass from one language to another with relative ease. I can whistle or hum the tunes of a number of Russian and

Ukrainian folk songs, but have no idea concerning the meaning of the words, nor the rhyme schemes used. There is "Ivy Rose", the American university song with the same tune as a Russian folk song. The Glenn Miller Orchestra made a big "hit" with an instrumental version of the Russian folk song "Song of the Volga

Boatmen". The male quartet "The Limelighters" made a "hit" putting English words to the tune of the Greek folk song "Yeroukina", retaining only the title, which is a proper name. I doubt that any member of said quartet could read Greek, any more than Glenn Miller could read Russian. When I was living in Spain, the songstress Ana Belen made a hit with a song which put Spanish words to a Greek song, retaining only two Greek words, *agape mou*. In Germany someone made a hit with the song called *Anja*, which puts German words to the Russian folksong *Stenka Razin*. The song from the film "Zarak Khan" titled "Climb Up the Wall" has English words, but its tune is a combination of that of the two Persian folk songs *Ay Sar Kotal* and *Massom, Massom*.(78) The Russian composer Mikhail Glinka used the tune of a Persian song for the chorus "A Nocturnal Gloom" in act three of his opera "Ruslan and Lyudmila". The Confederate song "Maryland, My Maryland" has the same tune as the German Christmas song *O Tannenbaum*; James Ryder Randall, author of "Maryland, My Maryland", knew no German; he must have heard "O Tannenbaum" sung by German immigrants in Baltimore. The above is somewhat ironic, because it would have surprised and chagrined most Confederate soldiers, who tended to be strongly

anti-German (though pro-Austrian), calling Germans "damned Dutch (from the German "Deutsch") blackguards" from the name of a Union regiment raised among the German-Americans of St. Louis, Missouri. The examples could be multiplied.

If music can pass easily from one language to another, the same

(1110)

is not true of the words of songs and therefore also of verse forms and rhyme schemes; these can pass from one language to another only where there exists at least a fairly widespread bilingualism over a certain period of time. It is important to keep this in mind.

Classical Greek and Latin verse is unrhymed and uses quantitative metres. Trobador verse uses syllabic-accentual metres and complicated rhyme schemes. In other words, trobador verse bears no resemblance to Classical Greek and Latin verse. However, as we shall see. trobador verse does indeed closely resemble certain types of Hispano-Arabic verse, and these resemblances are far too close and numerous to be mere coincidences.

So far so good. Now, the Hispano-Arabic verse forms of which we are speaking use syllabic-accentual metres and strophic rhyme schemes. Classical Arabic verse forms use quantitative metres and strophic verse forms are completely unknown.

Songs may be syllabic, in which each note corresponds to a

Syllable, or they may be melismatic, in which case melismas are used. A song may be entirely syllabic, as some are; while it

might be theoretically possible for a song to be entirely melismatic, this is not really practical. The Scottish Gaelic song *Gradh Geal Mo Chridh,* generally called *Eriskay Love Lilt* in English, comes remarkably close to being entirely melismatic, but it is not quite so. In summary, a syllabic song is entirely syllabic, while a melismatic song merely makes occaisional use melismas. Classical Greek and Roman songs are syllabic. In

<div align="center">(1111)</div>

contrast, trobador songs are melismatic, as are Celtic songs and liturgical chant.(79)

So, trobador songs are not derived from Classical Greek and Roman poetry, and the Hispano-Arabic verse forms which use syllabic-accentual metres are not derived from Classical Arabic verse. As we said before, for chronological reasons if nothing else, it is very difficult to believe that Persian verse forms could have been an important factor in the above, except at a relatively late date.

Many, including Julian Ribera and Ramon Menendez Pidal have postulated an Hispano-Arabic (NOT Classical Arabic) origin for many if not all of the verse forms used by the trobadors. As others have noted; why should the influences have been all in one direction? Could there have been Provencal influences on Hispano-Arabic verse? Now, we have noted that the resemblances between trobador verse on one hand and certain types of Hispano-Arabic verse are much too close and much too numerous to be a coincidence. We have also noted that it is very difficult for

verse forms to pass from one language to another in the absence of a widely extended bilingualism.

Where do we go from here? No, the resemblances between trobador verse and certain types of Hispano-Arabic verse not derived from Classical Arabic models are not a coincidence. However, due to vast linguistic differences if nothing else, said resemblances are not the result of one copying from the other nor

(1112)

of mutual influences. Rather, trobador verse and certain types of Hispano-Arabic verse resemble one another so closely because they both spring from a common source, a Celtic source, somewhat influenced in its musical aspect by liturgical chant, Gallican and Gregorian in the case of Occitania, land of the trobadors, Byzantine and Mozarabic. We will discuss this more fully in the following chapter. To put it another way and to avoid misunderstandings, both the Provencal trobabdors and the Hispano-Arabic poets were heirs of a Celtic and poetic musical tradition, said tradition being somewhat influenced by liturgical chant in its musical aspects, particularly modes. Said liturgical chant was Gallican and Gregorian in the case of Occitania, land of the trobabdors, but Byzantine and Mozarabic (or Visigothic) in the case of Spain. Provencal trobador verse and certain types of Hispano-Arabic verse resemble one another so closely because they both spring from a common origin.

In the Kingdom of Castile and Leon, Castilian (Spanish) was the language of epic poetry, while Gallego-Portuguese was the language of lyric verse. Alfonso X "the Wise", king of Castile

and Leon during the 13th century, compiled a collection of four hundred songs in Gallego-Portuguese in honor of the Virgin Mary. This collection is known as the <u>Cantigas de Santa Maria</u>. Here all influences would meet: that of the Provençal trobadors who came to Santiago de Compostela on pilgrimage (See Appendix II) and inspired the Gallego-Portuguese trobadors (note "Gallego-Portuguese refers to a language, not a people; those inspired

<center>(1113)</center>

by the Provencal trobadors who came to Santiago de Compostela as pilgrimage were all Gallegos, not Portuguese), the indigenous Gallego substratum and the Hispano-Arabic. Alfonso X "the Wise" was one of the most learned men of his day, and was a fine Arabist. In the manuscripts of the <u>Cantigas de Santa Maria</u> are shown Gallego bagpipers wearing their typical garb as well as musicians and singers in typical Hispano-Muslim costume and playing Hispano-Muslim instruments.

In the <u>Cantigas de Santa Maria</u> strophic verse predominates, and one finds the "zajal" form as well as the "virolai" and various types of "balada".

Those songs composed in Gallego-Portuguese by the Gallego trobadors which closely follow Provençal models are called "Cantigas de Amor", and we need say no more of them. There are also Gallego-Portuguese trobador songs called "Cantigas de Amigo", in which the indigenous Gallego element is evident, which are redolent of bagpipes, hard cider, heather, verdant, misty landscapes and wild coastlines where, as the Scottish song *Misty Islands of the Highlands* says, "the heather meets the sea". The

Scottish song *Loch Marie* says:

> Come with me to a land of heather
> Come with me to a land that's green
>
> Curlews calling in the sky
> Peaceful waters go passing by
>
> In the distance the bagpipes are calling
> Sweetly calling to you and me.
>
> I do not believe that any Gallego nor anyone who knows

(1114)

Galicia well can hear the above words of *Misty Islands of the Highlands* and *Loch Marie* without tears coming to the corners of his eyes.

When all is said and done, we have an excellent idea concerning the music of the Provençal trobadors and their French and Gallego disciples (Provençal was the literary language of Catalunya until well into the 14th century), but we have no examples of Hispano-Muslim music of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries; we have only the so-called "Andalusi" music of North Africa, which is of a much later date, though its practitioners claim to follow the Hispano-Muslim tradition. Ergo, to speak of the influence of Hispano-Muslim music on the Provençal trobadors is somewhat speculative. Alain Danielou noted that Celtic modes were used in Hispano-Muslim music and are used today in the Andalusi tradition in North Africa.(80) It has also been noted that Gregorian modes are used in the Andalusi music of North Africa.(81) The Gregorian Rite was not introduced in Spain until the middle of the 11th century, and then only in the Christian kingdoms of the North, the Mozarabs still under Muslim rule

continuing to use the Mozarabic Rite, and, probably in some places the Byzantine Rite; remember, the regions of Murcia, Valencia, almost all Andalusia and the Balearic Islands were under Byzantine occupation for nearly a century. I remember reading on the cover of an LP disk that the traditional and folkloric music of Murcia is mainly of Syro-Byzantine origin. Thus, the Hispano-Muslims and their Mozarabic ancestors and neighbors could not have been

<div align="center">(1115)</div>

familiar with Gregorian modes, though they were familiar with Mozarabic and probably Byzantine modes. However, Gregorian and Mozarabic chants are all derived from the Byzantine chant, so the modes used by all said chants are identical. To someone unfamiliar with Byzantine and Mozarabic chant, the modes used in them would appear to be Gregorian. Needless to say, Gregorian chant is far better known in most of Europe and America than are Byzantine and Mozarabic chants. Ergo, to say that Gregorian modes are used in Andalusi or Hispano-Muslim music is NOT precisely an anachronism; the error is merely semantic: it is simply that said modes are really of Mozarabic and/or Byzantine rather than Gregorian procedence, but the modes themselves are the same even if mistakenly called "Gregorian". In North America, the white potato is often called the "Irish potato", because it was introduced by Irish immigrants; in reality, the white potato comes from Peru. However, the white potato is the same, whether it be accurately called "Peruvian potato" or erroneously called "Irish potato". We will discuss this fully in the following chapter.

The fact that the so-called "Andalusi" music of North Africa

still bears so many sign os its Spanish origin is highly significant, for obvious reasons, as its gives us nearly our only indication as to what Hispano-Muslim music must have been like. The fact that it still resembles Provencal trobador songs in both music and verse forms certainly strengthens the idea that both spring from a common source.

In conclusion, the zajal or muwashshaha form is ultimately of

(1116)

Celtic origin passing from Celtic to Vulgar Latin to Romance to the Vulgar Arabic of the zajal and finally to the Classic Arabic of the muwashshaha. The influence of the Persian "tarj-i-band", if present, only served to reinforce something already present, and, perhaps, to give it an aura of erudition and respectability.(82) In any case, for reasons given above, the influence of the Persian traj-I-band on the Hispano-Arabic "zajal" must be relatively late. The Persian *musammat* is another example of the kinship between the Celts on the one hand and the Iranian peoples on the other, but is **NOT** the ancestor of the zajal (see below).(83)

It is obvious that the above-mentioned facts greatly strengthen the "folkloric" theory concerning the origin of the trobador art, while they weaken - but by no means completely eliminate nor refute - the Medieval Latin-Liturgical theory.

I do not deny - in fact I affirm - that some aspects of the courtly love tradition of the trobadors were derived from Arab sources by way of al-Andalus. In this respect I only wish to note that romantic love was quite unknown to the ancient Romans (whom I

detest) who considered it a sickness, a mental illness. However, romantic love is very ancient indeed among the Celts and Persians as well as the Arabs. I do affirm that the courtly, romantic love tradition (*amor cortois* or *fin amor* in Provençal) of the trobadors contains Celtic, Persian and Arab elements, but to disentangle all these strands appears to me to be hopeless; I will content myself with affirming that all three are present.

(1117)

However, in reference to much of the prosody, including strophic forms, used by the Provencal trobadors which are sometimes said to be of Hispano-Arabic origin, things are quite different.

It now appears that the trobadors derived their musical and prosodic forms not from the Hispano-Arabic poets, but rather that the trobadors and the Hispano-Arabic poets both derived said forms from a common source, a source which is ultimately Celtic.

This, then, is the history of the verse form of the muwashshaha and zajal. Originally Celtic, this form with its metre passed from Celtic to Romance during the long period of of linguistic transition following the Roman conquest. In Islamic times the verse form and metre passed from Romance to Vulgar Arabic, thus creating the zajal, which continued in a purely oral form in Romance and Vulgar Arabic before finally emerging as written literature in Vulgar Arabic with many words and sometimes whole lines and almost whole stanzas or refrains in Romance. Finally the verse form passed to Classic Arabic, adopting Classic Arabic metres in the process. The same processes occurred with

other strictly Hispano-Arabic forms, such as the **arjuza**, the form called **masnavi** in Persian. The ultimate Celtic origin of these Hispano-Arabic forms explains their identity to Persian forms. If one does not accept an ultimate Celtic origin for said Hispano-Arabic forms, the one must find another explanation for the identity of so many Celtic, Persian and Hispano-Arabic forms, certainly a large number of very striking idetities (<u>not</u>

(1118)

similarities or parallels, but identities) to write off as "mere coincidences". The zajal or muwashshaha does not appear in Hispano-Arabic texts until the first half of the 11th century, after a long period in oral, unwritten form.(84) Ibn Hazm of Cordoba (died 1063) speaks of the diffusion of the zajal or muwashshaha in the Eastern part of the Arabic-speaking world.(85) Ergo, for chronological reasons if nothing else it seems unlikely, virtually impossible that the Hispano-Arabic zajal or muwashshaha could be the source of the Persian tarj-i-band.

   There are also onomastic reasons. The word "zajal" is unknown in Persian, while muwashshaha means "accrostic"(86). This is somewhat difficult to explain if one supposes that the Persian *tarj-i-band* proceedss from the Hispano-Arabic zajal or muwashshaha. The fact that muwashshaha means "accrostic" in Persian indicates that said word passed from Arabic (the prefix <u>MU</u> indicates that it is a word of Arabic and not Persian origin) to Persian before the Hispano-Arabic muwashshaha was known in the Eastern lands of Islam. When the Persians borrowed a poetic form from Arabic, they always retained the Arabic name. The fact that

the tarj-i-band is called by a purely Persian name ("band" is clearly Indo-European, and means "belt", "lacing" or "fastening": see French "bandage", English "band", "bandage", etc.) indicates that it is indigenous to Persia and not borrowed from Arabic.

The tarj-i-band and the zajal or muwashshaha would therefore have been invented independently of one another, though having a remote common origin.

(1119)

To anyone who knows of the many Persian influences that reached al-Andalus from the reign of Abd ar-Rahman II until 1492, theory "A" is not by any means so absurd and untenable an hypothesis as it might appear at first glance. However, it most certainly does not appear to be very plausible. It would appear that virtually everyone is in agreement on this point, and for many reasons (87). In addition to the reasons given by Garcia Gomez and Menendez Pidal, there is another reason to reject the idea of a Persian origin for the zajal form. If the zajal or muwashshaha is of Persian origin, why was it not called *musammat*, one of its names in Persian? Granted, to an Arabic-speaking person tarj-i-band is a strange and rather unpronounceable word. However, as the prefix **mu** indicates, musammat is a word of Arabic rather than Persian origin. If the zajal is of Persian origin, there would seem to be no reason at all why it should have been called muwashshaha in place of musammat?

The parallels between Persian literature on the one hand and Hispano-Arabic literature on the other are interesting. The Persian masnavi was known in al-Andalus by the name *arjuza* (88).

In al-Andalus Arabic was imposed on an Indo-European (Romance) base, and said base contained yet another Indo-European substratum, in this case Celtic. In Persia Arabic never took the place of the native Indo-European language, though a considerable number of people in the upper strata of society at least were able to read and write Arabic; in al-Andalus the native Hispano-Romance survived for a very long time and left a great many words

in Andalusian Vulgar Arabic (89). In fact, had al-Andalus been left to itself, i.e., subject neither to Christian Reconquest nor to North African invasions, it is possible that eventually the dominant language would have been Romance with a large admixture of Arabic words, an exact parallel to what happened in Persia. Persian contians a great number of Arabic words, but its morphology and syntax are entirely Indo-European, without the slightest trace of Semitic influence. In this respect there is a parallel with modern Spanish.

In al-Andalus, Arabic, at least as the literary language, finally triumphed completely, but here developed literary forms very different from the purely Arabic ones. In Persia, besides the poetic forms of Arabic origin exist other poetic forms which have nothing to do with Arabic and in all probability proceed from Pahlavi (pre-Islamic) forms. We have noted the many parallels between the Iranian (Avestan and Persian) and the Celtic verse. The zajals of ibn Quzman resemble Celtic and Iranian poetry in all that which refers to techniques of versification: metre, alliteration, internal rhyme, multiple rhyme schemes (or, to put

it another way, the use of more than one rhyme wihtin the same poem), the zajalesque or muwashshaha form. In all these aspects except the first the zajals of ibn Quzman also resemble the Sanskrit verse of Jayadeva. The resemblance between the zajals of ibn Quzman and the poetry of the Occitan trobadors has been noted by many, including Ramon Julian Ribera and Ramon Menendez Pidal (90). On the other hand, the poetry of ibn Quzman resembles

(1121)

Classical Arabic verse only in that it uses end rhyme, although in a radically different manner. It does not even remotely resemble Classical Latin verse.

The zajal or muwashshaha has a special significance in relation to our topic, besides its intrinsic interest. As we have said before, the zajalesque form apparently entered Hispano-Arabic literature form a sort of oral, popular or folkloric verse in Lisan al-Ajjam or Hispano-Romance (often called **Mozarabic**, but this is not accurate since it was spoken by Muslims and Jews as well as Christians). Said form resembles neither Classical Arabic nor Classical Latin poetry. I personally do not know of one shred of evidence that indicates that Medieval Latin poetry, with its rhyme and alliteration, was known or cultivated by the Visigoths or Mozarabs. For various reasons (chronology in case of the Visigoths, isolation from other Christian peoples in the case of the Mozarabs) it does not appear very likely that said Medieval Latin poetry was known among the Visigoths and the Mozarabs, and less among the **Muladies** or **Mawalies**, (Spaniards converted to Islam), and most certainly not among the lower orders of society

from whence, apparently (remember ibn Bassam), the zelesque or muwashshaha form sprang. Therefore, said hypothetical Hispano-Romance verse (we have a few, very brief examples in the famous **jarchas** or **harjas**) from which came the zajal and the muwashshaha must have been popular or folkloric in the strict sense, though ultimately deiving from highly trained and sophisticated Celtic bards. As we said before, Celtic poetry resembles that of ibn

(1122)

Quzman in many respects, particularly in regard to techniques of versification. It does not appear very probable that there were Gaelic, Welsh or Breton influences in Visigothic Spain outside of Galicia (where Irish monks did indeed visit and where Britons fleeing from the Saxons formed a diocese called **Britunya**, with an Irish bishop named **Maeloc**) and certainly not in Muslim Spain, but the major part of the Penninsula was occupied by the Celts. These Hispano-Celts were never expelled, though they were first Romanized and later Arabized to a greater or lesser degree. Celtic survivals are abundant in virtually all the Penninsula, not only in the Northwest. The linguistic change from Celtic to Latin or Romance probably took, on the average, 300-350 years, since such a change cannot be accomplished overnight, and it must have been even more difficult in Roman times than today to affect so fundamental a change. Ergo, whole generations and centuries were bilingual. During such prolonged periods of bilingualism, it is perfectly easy and natural that literary forms pass from one language to another. This has happened in other places in similar circumstances. As we will treat more fully later, in Ireland and

Scotland literary forms passed from Gaelic to English as a result
of bilingualism, and we have already spoken of this phenomenon in
connection with the zajal or muwashshaha and its hypothetical
passage from Hispano-Romance to Arabic. The hybrid nature of many
muwashshahas, with the main body in Classical Arabic and the
harcha or **kharja** in Romance, seems to confirm this. Even some of
ibn Quzman's zajals in Vulgar Arabic seem to contain harjas,

(1123)

though here it is not easy to be sure, since Andalusian Vulgar
Arabic contained a great many Romance words. Indeed, at times the
line between Romance and Vulgar Arabic must have been rather
blurry (91). Certainly, it is not difficult to imagine that there
were bards who were bilingual in Celtic and Romance, able to sing
and compose in either according to the audience. To this day
there are bilingual bards in Ireland, Scotland and Wales. All
things considered, the most reasonable hypothesis seems to be that
in the last analysis, the zajal or muwashshaha has Celtic roots,
that it passed from Hispano-Celtic to Hispano-Romance and from
Hispano-Romance or Arabic.

A possible objection to the above hypothesis is the fact that
we really know nothing about the poetry of the Hispano-Celts, and
that our poetic texts in Gaelic, Welsh and Breton are relatively
recent. However, it has been demonstrated that the techniques of
versification typical of Celtic verse exist in complete or
embryonic form in Vedic and Avestan poetry, and that the Iranian
and Indo-Aryan literatures finally arrived at verse forms
virtually identical to the Celtic ones. Taking into account the

similarities in so many fields between the Celts and the Iranians and Indo-Aryans, plus the testimonies of Greco-Roman sources, it would appear evident that the Celtic versification techniques have existed since a remote period, and were used by the pre-Roman Gauls and the Hispano-Celts as well as by the Irish, Scots, Welsh and Bretons. There is therefore no particular reason to doubt that the Hispano-Arabic verse forms which do not proceed from

(1124)

Classic Arabic are of Celtic origin, and that they passed from Celtic to Hispano-Romance and from there to Arabic, classical Arabic or vulgar Arabic as the case might be.

If this occurred in Spain, why could something analogous not have happened in Limousin, the cradle of Occitan trobador poetry?

To me it appears reasonable, almost self-evident, that there were two currents which united in the poetry of the Occitan trobadors; one erudite, Medieval Latin, the other popular-folkloric, though ultimately derived from Gaulish bards. The proponents of the Medieval Latin theory have a strong case, but the very use of the vernacular in the trobador songs indicates a certain popularizing tendency. Put another way, the very fact that the trobador songs were not written in Latin indicates that the authors must have been influenced by popular verse.

The ancient Irish had an order of lyric poets known as *file* or *filid*; the *faith* were epic poets. The word *bard* is Celtic but not Irish (92). Note the similarity between the Irish "file" and the Sanskrit word for bard, which is *vaitalika*, from the stems *vi* and *tala*. *Vi-tala* therefore means "with measure" or "with music".

Says Sir Monier Monier-Williams:

> '*Vaitalika:* (meaning) a bard, panegyrist of a king, from *vi-tala*, = 'breaking time (music), instrument for beating time.'(93)

The earliest examples which we have of Irish poetry are of a sophistication and refinement which are almost incredible. There are abundant testimonies of this. Says Zeuss:

(1125)

> "The form of Celtic (i.e., Irish) poetry, to judge both from the older and the more recent examples adduced, appears to be more ornate than the poetic form of any other nation, and even more ornate in the older poems than in the modern ones; from the fact of which greater ornateness had undoubtedly come to pass at the very time the Roman Empire was hastening to ruin (one may deduce that) the Celtic (i.e., Irish) forms - at first entire, afterwards in part - passed over not only into the songs of the Latins (i.e., speakers of Romance languages), but also into those of other nations and remain in them."(94)

Macmanus, without the Teutonic obscurity of Zeuss, says:

> "The technique of Irish poetry was far and away more elaborate that that of any other nation, ancient or modern. It was lavish in beautiful metres, in alliteration, in assonantal rhyme, in consonant harmony. The rhymes were usually not at the end of the line only, but were often repeated, again and again, within the line, which spilled over with richness of melody." (95)

Douglas Hyde says:

> "Already, in the seventh Century (AD), the Irish not only rhymed but made intricate rhyming metres, when for many centuries after this the Germanic nations could only alliterate. ... And down to the first half of the sixteenth century the English poets for the most part exhibited a disregard for the fineness of execution and technique of which not the meanest Irish bard attached to the pettiest chief could have been guilty."(96)

Dr. Atkinson admits:

> "(Irish verse) is the most perfectly harmonious combination of sounds that the world has ever

known."(97)

And Dr. P.W. Joyce adds:

> "No poetry of any (other) European language, ancient or modern, can compare with the Irish poetry for richness of melody."(98)

The oldest Irish poetry that has survived is of the 7th century AD, but no one doubts that Irish verse existed long before

<center>(1126)</center>

this, for the reasons that we have mentioned before, because no one can believe that so perfect and elaborate a poetry could spring from nothing without a long tradition behind it, and because the many technical terms of the "file" are each and every one purely Celtic; there is not the slightest indication of Greco-Latin influence in this field.(99) This last point indicates without a doubt that the techniques of Irish Bardic poetry were developed before the conversion of Ireland to Christianity, because otherwise a certain Greco-Latin influence would have been inevitable. Besides the elements mentioned above, the quatrains predominate by a considerable margin as the basic stanza or strophe form. The resemblance to the *Rig Veda* in many respects is clear.

We now return to the topic of Medieval Latin verse. While not unique in this respect, Medieval Latin verse is in a somewhat anomalous position. In the Middle Ages, Latin, both Classical Latin and Vulgar Latin (sometimes known as "dog Latin") had long ceased to be living, spoken languages. So, the authors of Medieval Latin verse grew up speaking languages other than Latin, whether these languages were Celtic, Germanic, Slavic or vernaculars

mainly derived from Latin, though by now very distinct from it, and, though obviously they read and wrote it, spoke Latin only in unusual circumstances. The same is true concerning Sanskrit in India, except for very early times, and also of Hebrew during the Middle Ages; there were authors who wrote verse in Latin, Sanskrit or Hebrew as the case might be, but who did not grow up speaking

<center>(1127)</center>

these languages, and if they spoke them at all, it was only in very unusual circumstances. In these cases, it would be very easy and natural for verse forms to pass from the spoken vernacular used by said poets to Latin, Sanskrit or Hebrew, as was indeed the case, as we shall see, at least in regards to Latin.

As we said in another place, the passage from quantitative metres to syllabic-accentual or stress metres may be a natural development, the result of the loss of the tonic accent and its replacement by the stress accent. If at some early date the Celtic languages used the tonic accent and quantitative metres, there is no way to know.

Alliteration and rhyme are virtually unknown in Classical Latin verse. As Dag Norberg has noted:

> "We know that in classical (Latin) poetry assonances and rhymes are more or less accidental or serve to produce a special effect.(100)

The same was true of Sanskrit verse as early as the Rig Veda.

We shall be using the term "assonance" and it would seem to be a good idea to advise the reader as to what it is. Essentially, assonance is a a sort of rhyme which involves only the vowels, In other words, in assonance the final syllables have the same

vowels, while any resemblance between the consonants is irrelevant, while true rhyme involves both the vowels and the consonants of the final syllables.

Notes Dag Norberg:

"In the collection of hymns that we know about through the bishops Caesarius and Aurelian of Arles, which had

(1128)

been used in the south of Gaul at the beginning of the sixth century, there are several songs with a marked tendency toward assonance or rhyme. In the hymns *Deus aeterni luminis, Ad cenam agni provide* and *Aurora lucis rutilat* assonance even became the rule. It is the same for one of the hymns of Fortunatus, *Vexilla regis prodeunt*, while the other, *Pange lingua*, often has assonances but also allows some unrhymed verses. In the work of (the Merovingian) King Chilperic, Theofrid of Corbie, and some other writers of Gaul appears the same marked tendency, which in certain cases goes so far as to become the norm. It is the same in the works of the Spanish lyric poets of the Visgothic period as well as in the work of the Irish, whose hymns contain a great number of songs in pure rhymes. ...

...Eugenius of Toledo and his successors in Spain took assonance or rhyme to great lengths. What could be achieved along this line is shown os by the poem *Oratio pro rege*, probably written by Eugenius of Toledo. Here we find not only Leonine verses such as,

 Oremus pariter toto de corde rogantes,

Where there is a monosyllabic assonance between *partier* before the penthemimer and *rogantes* at the end, but also some verses like these:

 Et genitum patris totum diffusa per orbem
 Ecclesia Christum cognoscit et omnipotentem

Where, on the one hand, the final syllables of the two verses are linked by the rhyme *-em* and, on the other hand, the words before the trihemimeris and the hephthemimer in the first verses and before the penthemimer in the second verse are linked by the rhyme *-um*, or else,

 Sideribus variis superum depinxit Olympum
 Muneribus sacris mundum et imum

Where all the words of the first verse are linked by rhyme to the corresponding words in the second verse. In

Spain Alvarus of Cordoba and some ihers also adopted this tradition."(101)

Note the primacy of the Irish, whose everyday spoken language was Gaelic, in the adoption of rhyme into medieval Latin verse. Also note that Arles is in the south of Gaul, from whence later

(1129)

would come the trobadors. Also note that in both Gaul and Spain (outside Brittany and the Basque country) the poets who wrote in Latin in their everyday speech used vernaculars mainly derived from Latin, but by now quite distinct from it. Also note that both Gaul and Spain possessed Celtic substrata.

We continue with Dag Norberg:

> "From the beginning of the Carolingian period rhyme made great technical progress in lyric poetry. Poets were thus no longer content with assonances but started to use more and more pure monosyllabic rhymes. In 892 the rhythmic poem *O tu qui servas armis ista moenia* was composed at Modena, a poem which was as erudite as it was elegant and in which all the verses, with the exception of two – which we will revisit – end in *–a.* Two contemporaneous poems, which were probably composed at Verona, *O Roma nobilis orbis et domina* and *O admirabile Veneris idolum,* offer us a technique using rhymes just as pure. The same is true of a great number of other songs, older or more recent.
>
> The two verses of the poem from Modena that do not end with *–a* are the following:
>
> *Tu murus tuis sis inexpugnabilis,*
> *Sis inimicis hostis tu terribilis.*
>
> These two verses present rhymes before the caesura, instances of which, before that time appear only sporadically in lyric forms. ...
>
> ...Disyllabic (or trisyllabic) rhyme also gains ground. From the Merovingian period on, disyllabic assonance had been used with a certain regularity in some songs composed in Gaul, for example, in the two poems *Audite omnes gentes Et discite prudentes,* where the ends of the verse have the cadence '- -, and *Felicis patriae Pictonum praeconanda fertilitas, In qua Christi mabdatorum declaratur profunditas,* where the ends of the verse have the cadence '- - '-. In the same way a

disyllabic assonance or a disyllabic rhyme had been used early in certain Irish hymns where, in the final cadence '- - '-, one can even find some examples of trisyllabic rhyme. In the Carolingian period it is, above all, Gottschalk of Orbais who offers us the example of a frequent use of polysyllabic rhyme as we can see in the following strophe which is quite skillfully constructed:
(1130)

> *Magis mihi, miserule,*
> *Flere libet, puerile,*
> *Plus plorare quam cantare*
> *Carmen tale, iubes quale*
> *   amore care.*
> *   O cur iubes canere?*

In the works of other poets of the Carolingian period we can also notice a certain tendency to use polysyllabic rhymes. However, it is only in the eleventh century, for example, in the works of Wipo or Ekkehard IV of St. Gall, that we find a regular use of pure syllabic rhymes, a use which became widespread in the course of the following century.

At the same time that the rhymes became richer, poets tried to increase the number of rhymes. This could be done in different ways, one of which can be illustrated by the following strophe:

> *Tu thalamus pudoris,*
> *Tu balsamus odoris,*
> *Tu libanus candoris,*
> *Tu clibanus ardoris*

Where, in addition to the usual final rhymes, assonances have been added among the other syllables in verses 1-2 and 3-4, constructed in an absolutely parallel manner. Another way consists in accumulating words that rhyme within one and the same verse, as did the unknown author of a hymn in honor of St. Bridget (of Ireland), where one finds the following verses:

> *Spes, res es pulcherrima,*
> *Cos, ros, dos gratissima,*
> *Lux, nux, dux prudentiae,*
> *Ius, tus, rus fragrantiae.*

One could, moreover, practice a concatenation of rhymes, to which medieval theory gave the name *versus serpentine* (or *decisi*) and which consisted in rhyming, in each metrical member, the last word with the first word of the following member. A poem in heameters in honor of the Virgin Mary begins in this way:

> *Ave, porta poli, noli te claudere mota,*

Vota tibi grata data suscipe, dirige mentem
Entem sinceram, veram non terreat ater,
Mater virtutum, ...

In hymns a tendency toward the use of serpentine rhyme
is apparent as early as the era of old Irish poetry, as
(1131)

one can see from the following example:

Martinus mirus **more**
Ore *laudavit Deum,*
*Puro corde cant***avit**
*Atque am***avit** *cum.* (102)

Note once again the primacy of the Irish. Also note that the
influence of Irish monks was very intense during the Carolingian
period, and that the monastery of St. Gall was founded by Irish
monks. Also note that north Italy, including Modena and Verona,
also has a strong Celtic substratum.

The above is very important to our topic, because many
Celticists and others believe that rhyme and alliteration entered
Medieval Latin verse from Irish sources. In fact, rhyme appears
for the first time in Latin verse in various poems written in
Ireland by St. Columbanus (1st half of 6th Century). In said
Irish-Latin verse end rhyme is called **comharda** (comh-arda), a
Celtic, not a Latin word (103). **Arda** in bardic terminology means
a sort of end rhyme (104). Ergo, *comharda* means "with end rhyme".
It is well known that Irish monks and missionaries traveled to
all parts of the Continent of Europe and beyond. Could anything
be more reasonable than to suppose that rhyme passed from Irish-
Gaelic poetry to Irish-Latin poetry and was taken to the Continent
by Irish monks and missionaries? Certainly Dag Norberg seems to
indicate this. At this point the Irish theory as to the origin or

Occitan trobador poetry joins hands with the Medieval Latin-Liturgical theories.

There are many who believe that the use of rhyme, in Europe

(1132)

at least, is of Celtic origin. Says Constantine Nigra:

> "The idea that rhyme originated among the Arabs must be absolutely rejected as fabulous. ... Rhyme, too, could not in any possible way have evolved itself from the natural progress of the Latin language. Amongst the Latins (Romans), neither the thing nor the name existed. The first examples of rhyme, then, are found on Celtic soil and among Celtic nations (this is true if one refers to Europe, but we have spoken of the use of rhyme as an ornament of versification among the Iranian and Indo-Aryan peoples of Asia - M.Mc.). ... We conclude that final assonance or rhyme can have been derived only from the laws of Celtic phonology."(105)

I wish to note here that the last sentence of the cited paragraph is true if one refers only to Europe, but is not true of Asia.

Alliteration is another matter. In Celtic, Persian and trobador Provencal poetry, rhyme is the basis of versification, alliteration being used in a largely unsystematic fashion as an ornament.

Notes Dag Norberg:

> "The Hymnarium Severianum, as it is called, contains mainly hymns composed in Italy, and in them the only cases of alliteration we find are of the type *Pastorque verus populo Summus sacerdos rutilat, Magnus existens medicus,* and it is often difficult to determine if the alliteration is due to chance or, on the contrary, to studied effort. But we find in a hymn in honor of St. Gregory the Great, these three introductory strophes:

> > *Magnus miles mirabilis*
> > *Multis effulgens meritis*
> > *Gregorius cum Domino*
> > *Gaudet perenni praemio.*

Carnis terens incendia
Corde credidit Domino,
Contempsit cuncta caduca
Caritatis officio.
                              (1133)

Legis praecepta Domini
Laetus implevit opera.
Largus, libens, lucifluus
Laudabatur in meritis.

The alliteration that was here used to excess diverges
so much from what one finds elsewhere in the collection
of hymns that one has every reason to believe that these
strophes are a foreign contribution. In fact, one finds
them word for word in a hymn composed in England in
honor of St. Cuthbert, and this leaves no doubt that the
hymn was really composed in England. Actually, the
Anglo-Saxons had borrowed from their masters, the Irish,
a pronounced taste for alliteration. But whereas the
Irish made a completely irregular use of it, the Anglo-
Saxons had, in a way, regularized it to the point that
they often linked short verses in pairs by means of
alliteration. That was the practice in Ambrosian verse,
as in the strophes uoted; but it was also the practice
in poems composed in Adonic verse, Germanic poetry must
have served as the model. Alcuin in this way constructed
strophes of six Adonic verses of the following type:

Esto paratus Care fidelis,
Ecce precamur Credule nate,
Obvius ire Primus amore
Omnipotente Atque paterno
Pectore gaudens. Disciplinatus
Pax tibi semper, Dulcis amore.

From poems of this type, in which a regular
alliteration of this kind appears, one can draw certain
conclusions about the technique followed by the Anglo-
Saxons. It is thus certain that all the vowels
alliterated with one another. The bringing together of
words like *octonae* and *assi, idus* and *etiam, item* and
ambient, aprilis and *unus, at* and *aevi* – and even *ultima*
and *huius* since *h* was not counted as a consonant – is
therefore a completely regular linking of words. Between
a *u* vowel and a *u* consonant Berhtgyth at least does not
differentiate. She makes *vale* and *ut, ut* and *vallata*
alliterate in an Ambrosian poem where the verses are
linked in pairs. Curious indeed is the alliteration –
its existence can be proven in several poems – between
words like *flamine* and *verus, verba* and *fudit;* the
Anglo-Saxons obviously pronounced *v* like *f* in Latin
words, as was the case again later in Germany. Also very
remarkable is the alliteration that can be demonstrated

in the work of Alcuin between words like *care* and *certo,*
curva and *certe, crevit* and *certe.* It
(1134)

is obvious that Alcuin and his compatriots pronounced *c*
like *k* even before an unstressed [*faible*] vowel. It was
a use that they had learned in the schools from the
Irish, who in their turn had learned their scholarly
peobunciation of Latin at a time when the sound *k* was
still preserved in *ce* and *ci* on the continent, or at
least in the province of Britain. This is why, in Irish
songs, there is alliteration between all the words
beginning with *c* in the verses *Et clara caeli culmina* or
even *Cinis, cautus castus diligentia.* The pronunciation
of *c* seems to have varied in the work of the author who,
at the beginning of the Carolingian period, composed the
poem *De ratione temporum,* which has been passed down in
a manuscript of Mainz. He brings together, on the one
hand, words like *zodiac* and *circumferri, zonae* and
caelum, but, on the other hand, also words like *Kalendae*
and *cernebant, certum* and *qui, crescent* and *cernimus,*
and so on. The author was probably himself an Anglo-
Saxon. He was least influenced by Anglo-Saxon teaching,
as Strecker has shown; and one must also acknowledge
that he worked in France or in Germany where *ce* and *ci,*
at that time, were pronounced like *tse* and *tsi.*" (106)

In fact it should be obvious that the Anglo-Saxons did not

learn alliteration from the Irish; it would have been very strange

had they acquired alliteration, an ornament used in an

unsystematic way, but not taken rhyme, the fundamental element of

Gaelic poetry. We have seen that Old Norse poetry used

alliteration as its basis, not using rhyme. Thus, alliteration was

the basis of early Germanic poetry, while the versification of the

Provencal trobadors, like Celtic and Persian verse, was based on

rhyme, using alliteration in an unsystematic way as an ornament.

The Provencal trobadors did not acquire the use of alliteration

from Germanic sources, but rather, directly or indirectly, from

Celtic sources.

There is another theory which has to do with a Celtic origin

of the Occitan trobador poetry, quite different from the one just mentioned. According to this theory, the Occitan trobador verse proceeds from an uninterrupted poetic tradition which goes back to the pre-Roman Gauls. We have already referred to this theory, albeit in an oblique manner.

No Celticist doubts that the Gauls had a considerable poetic tradition, though said tradition was oral. This one may deduce from the fact that other Celtic peoples, such as the Irish and the Welsh, have a very old and highly refined poetic tradition which certainly appears to have certain relations with the poetry of other Aryan peoples, i.e., the Iranians and the Indo-Aryans. Such being the case, it would be strange indeed if the Gauls had no poetic tradition. Besides this, there are more direct proofs. Various Greco-Roman sources speak of the poets of the Gauls, called *bardoi* (Welsh: *bard,* Breton: *barzh*) (107) and *vatis* (Welsh: *gwawd* = "song, poetry")(108), Irish - *faith*, Sanskrit: *vaitalika* "bard", (see note 79), Avestan *vat,* 'understand, 'understand, comprehend'(109)

The Sanskrit word *bharata,* generally a proper name, at times an adjective, at times as a common noun, is of much interest to us at this point.

Says Alain Danielou in relation to the use of *Bharata* as a proper name:

The Bharata Problem:

> "The main available work attributed to Bharata, the <u>*Natya Shastra*</u>, is a compilation which has been

variously dated between the second century BC and the fourth century AD. It mentions Kohala and Dattila but not Matanga, and probably contains fragments of the work of Nandikeshvara, Kohala, etc., and the earlier Bharata. It may in fact be doubted whether a sage named Bharata ever wrote the *Natya Shastra*. The Bharata Vriddha (Bharata the Elder) mentioned by Sharadatanaya, as distinct from the author of the *Natya Shastra*, is probably the author of the *Gitalamkara*, a much older treatise belonging to the Shaiva school and quoted in the *Panchatantra*, the book of fables, dated about 300 BC. The word *bharata* designates a dance actor. Some Celtic scholars link the Celtic word **bard** (Gaelic: *bard*; Welsh: *bard*; Breton: *barzh*) to the Sanskrit *Bharata*. It was a common name in the title of all the treatises on stage technique. Thus we hear of *Adi Bharata, Nandikeshvara Bharata, Arjuna Bharata, Matanga Bharata, Kohala Bharata*, etc. *Bharata Natya Shastra* would then simply mean "the text-book of the dance-actor". It is, in fact, a practical compilation of authoritative works on the subject periodically brought up to date.

The *Natya Shastra*, therefore, cannot be taken as a sure basis to determine the chronology. We should not be surprised to find Bharata himself mentioning several later authors as his sons. They all, however, belong to an earlier period and must obviously precede the last version of the *Natya Shastra*.

According to tradition Bharata had four sons – Shandilya, Vatsya, Kohala and Dattila.

"I taught the perfect practice (of music) to my sons, Shandilya, Vatsya, Kohala and Dattila." (*Natya Shastra*0 "The family of Bharata-s will be made famous in the future by the Bharata-s – Kohala, and, after him, Vatsya, Shandilya, Dattila." (*Natya Shastra*)

These obviously later additions only mean that these four authors are considered the direct heirs to the tradition of the earlier Bharata. Their work, therefore, has great authority.(110)

Below is the definition of the common noun *Bharata* by Sir

Monier Monier-Williams:

'**BHARATA;** (masculine gender), 'to be maintained', name of *Agni,* Vedic god of fire, kept alive by the care of men, *Rig Veda.* Of *Agni* as father of *Bharata* and *Bharati* (feminine of *Bharata*). *Brahmanas* A priest (*Bharata-ritvif*) (*Mahabharata*); An actor, dancer, tumbler, (*Yajnavalky Shiksha*); ... Name of *Rudra* (Vedic god of winds), *Rig Veda*; name of a son of *Agni Bharata;*
(1137)

... *Bharatajna,* adjective, 'knowing the science of

Bharata, i.e., conversant with dramatic writings and rules; ... *Bharata Putra* or *Bharata Putraka,* masculine (gender), 'son of *Bharata'*, i.e., an actor, mime. ... *Bharata Vakya,* noun, 'speech of *Bharata'*, name of the last verse or verses of a play (preceded almost always by the words *tathapidaim astu bharata vakyam; Bharata* is also the name of various teachers and authors (especially of an ancient *Muni* (one who is moved by inward impulse, an inspired person, enthusiast, *Rig Veda;* a saint, sage, seer, ascetic, monk, devotee, hermit; a Brahmin of the highest (eighth) order, name of a son of *Bharata,* supposed author of a manual of the dramatic art called *Natya Shastra* or *Bharata Shastra,* ... *Bharata Shastra Vakya,* i.e., 'Speech of *Bharata Shastra,* i.e., Bharata's manual of the Dramatic Art, also name of a manual of music by *Raghu Natha.'* (111)

Also interesting from our point of view is the Sanskrit word *bhartri.* Says Monier-Williams:

'**BHARTRI:** (masculine gender), a bearer, one who bears of carries or maintains *(Rig Veda):* a preserver, protector, maintainer, chief, lord, master, *(Rig Veda).* From *bhartri* is derived *bhatta,* (masculine gender): a title of respect used by humble persons addressing a prince. ... Also any learned man = doctor or philosopher. ... Name of a mixed caste of hereditary panegyrists, a bard, encomiast (panegyrist),(112)

As we shall see in the following chapter, it seems very probable that the Persian name **Barbad**, is linked with the Sanskrit *Bharata* (as a proper name, as an adjective and as a common noun) and *Bhartri*, and with the Celtic word *bard* (Gaelic: *bard;* Welsh: *bardd;* Breton: *barzh*). "Barbad", who is a real historical personage, is the name and also, perhaps, the title of the court minstrel of the Sassanian Emperor Khusrau Parviz. Barbad appears in the <u>Shah Namah</u> of Firdausi, and plays a prominent role in the great romance <u>Khusrau and Shirin</u> by Nizami of Ganja.

From the Sanksrit word *bhatta* is in turn derived the Hindi-

(1138)

Urdu word *bhat,* meaning bard, minstrel, trobador, etc.(113)

Some scholars believe that the Celtic word *bard* (Gaelic: *bard;* Welsh: *bardd;* Breton: *barzh*) is related to the Sanskrit *Bharata.* (114) The Celtic word *bard* could also be related to the Sanskrit word *bhartri.* Also, one is inclined to suspect that the name "Barbad", the minstrel of the court of the Sassanian Emperor Khusrau Parviz in the romance <u>Khusrau and Shirin</u> by Nizami of Ganja is also related to *Bharata*, *Bhartri* and *bard.*

It would appear that the <u>vatis</u> and <u>faith</u>, epic poets, were rather a general Indo-European institution rather than an exclusively Celtic one. It is interesting to note here that another Welsh word for poet is *awenydd*, from *awen* = "muse" or "divine inspiration". (115) Compare "awen" with the Sanskrit *van-as*, "to inspire love", and *vanas-pati*, "lord of the forest", in other words, the *Soma* plant, from which was made the sacred hallucinogenic drink of the Indo-Aryans in Vedic times, the ceremony of which was rigorously preserved by the Druids (116). Also compare the word *Hvareno*, "divine charisma" (117). The resemblance of *awen* to one of the words for Soma is particularly interesting considering what Ifor Williams says about the *awenydd* (118).

All Celticists seem to be in agreement that the *bardoi* of the Gauls were the equivalents of the Irish "file" and the "vatis" equivalent to the Irish "faith" (119). Ergo, the bardoi and the vatis were cultured men of noble origin. Diodorus Siculus said

that the bardoi were lyric poets who sung their compositions accompanied by the music of the lyre (120). It appears evident

that there exists a virtually perfect analogy between the Gaulish bardoi and the Provençal *joglars* (French: *jongleurs*) and Provencal trobadors (French: *trouveres*) of the Middle Ages.

As I said in a conference in Arcos de la Frontera (Spain), I believe that some thing of the works of the Continental bardoi and vatis survived in the legends and folklore of France and Spain and in the Irish Mythological Cycle. There are proofs of this, but now we are dealing with the lyric rather than the epic. When all is said and done, nothing has survived which we can directly and certainly attribute to the bardoi and vatis of the Continent. There is soemthing which may give us at least a rough idea of this lost lyric, crushed beneath the boots of the Roman Legions.

At this point Irish verse aids us very little, taking into account a few facts concerning Celtic linguistics. From the liguistic viewpoint, the Irish and the Highland Scots are and most of the Hispano-Celts were Celts of the "Q", while the Welsh and Bretons are and most of the Gauls were Celts of the "P"(121). When this phonetic division among the Celts took place we do not know; nevertheless it is evident that the Irish and the Gauls have not formed a linguistic community for many centuries.

Two Celtic languages of the "P" have literatures: Welsh and Breton. Of these two it is Welsh which has conserved the older poetic texts, since we have Welsh poetic texts from the 6th Century AD.

(1140)

The ancient Welsh poetry resembles the Irish verse in its general characteristics: syllabic metres, end rhyme, internal

rhyme and alliteration. However, the Welsh poetry is much less elaborate and refined than the Irish. Perhaps the Roman occupation tended to stifle the development of the native poetic talent: Ifor Williams seems to insinuate this (122). None the less, no one could classify the early Welsh poetry as "crude" or "primitive"; compared with almost any other poetry except the Irish, it is a highly refined and sophisticated verse, with an abundance of technical resources. I must add here that its characteristics are Celtic and owe nothing to Roman poetry. Ancient Welsh rhyme was of two types: *odl*, which consists of the rhyming of the final conconant and the vowel or diphthong which precedes it, for example, cat-bat-fat. I wish to note here that, in place of the various types of rhyme used in Classical Arabic poetry, ibn Quzman uses almost exclusively the type of rhyme called odl in Welsh. (See Annex VII) Less common than the "odl" was the type of rhyme called *proest*, a rhyme consisting only of the final consonant, for example, mit-cot-nat, This rhyme was considered rather crude and unpoetic, and was little used. Not properly Welsh is the type of rhyme called *odl wyddelig* or "Irish rhyme". In the 6th Century this imported rhyme was still not very well naturalized in Welsh poetry and was, more or less, an exotic fashion. Said rhyme, like the odl, consists of the final consonant and the vowel or diphthong which precedes it, but the final consonant may vary within the limits of class and quality;

<center>(1141)</center>

for example, mop-lob, lok-mot, cor-tol, cam-man. The ancient Welsh poetry had few rhyme schemes, and the alliteration was less

regular than in ancient Irish verse (123).

To summarize, the similarities and differences between the Ancient Irish amd the ancient Welsh poetry are what one would expect of two poetic traditions which spring from a common source but which for various centuries had gone their separate ways: one, the Irish, developing more rapidly, the other, the Welsh, at a slower pace.

Besides being both Celts of the "P", the Gauls and the British Celts (This term includes the Welsh but not the Highland Scots, who migrated from Ireland beginning in the 3rd Century AD-M.Mc.) were closely related in other respects. Roman sources, such as Caesar and Tacitus, affirm the close resemblance between the Gauls and the British Celts, something fully confirmed by archaeology. Even the same tribes were found on both sides of the Channel (124). There is no doubt that the ancient, close contacts between the Gauls and the Britons were maintained during the Roman period. One may therefore affirm that the Gauls and the Britons formed a linguistic and cultural community until during the 5th Century AD this community was broken by the Germanic invasions and the final extinction of the Gaulish language. In other words, the Gauls and the Britons formed a linguistic and cultural community until **only a century** before the appearance of the first poetic texts in Welsh which have come down to us. Therefore, if one supposes a Gaulish origin for the Occitan trobador verse, it may

(1142)

be taken for granted that the Occitan trobador verse would resemble ancient Welsh poetry far more than it resembles ancient

Irish poetry. My investigations, admittedly somewhat preliminary at this time, indicate that this is indeed the case. Said investigations are not particularly easy. In the first place the Welsh poetry which has survived from the 6th Century consists

of:

- ❖ 1.)12 poems, not very long, by Taliesin;

- ❖ 2.) 103 stanzas by Aneirin (125) &

- ❖ 3.) a few other fragments, many in Northern or Strathclyde Welsh.

The poems of Taliesin and Aneirin are accessible to me, but the University of Cardiff (or *Caerdydd* in good Welsh) publishes its Welsh books with no translation, though the edition of the poems of Taliesin that I have has a fine introduction in English. Fortunately, Welsh is written phonetically, and it is quite easy to pick out the rhyme and alliteration even if one does not comprehend a word. (See Annex II) Here are the results of a comparison between the Welsh poetry of the 6th Century AD and the Occitan trobador verse of the 12-13th centuries AD:

- ❖ `1.) The type of rhyme called *odl*, which predominates by an ample margin in ancient Welsh poetry, is the only type of rhyme used in the Occitan trobador verse; I have not found a single trobador poem without rhyme nor a single one with any type of rhyme other than <u>odl</u>.

- ❖ 2.) Both the ancient Welsh and the Occitan
                        (1143)

    trobador poetry use syllabic metres, with great variety   in reference to the number of syllables per line;

❖ 3.) Both ancient Welsh and the Occitan trobador verse use internal rhyme and internal alliteration as ornaments. A further explanation is needed here. In both the Ancient Welsh and the Occitan trobador verse, alliteration and internal rhyme are used in an irregular way, i.e., with no particular scheme or rule. In both the alliteration is very abundant in some poems, but nearly absent in others; this is true even in reference to poems by the same author. In both, alliteration and internal rhyme tend to be more abundant at the beginning of the poem that in the rest. Ergo, in all the points mentioned above, the ancient Welsh and Occitan trobador poetry are the same, and both coincide with the zajals of ibn Quzman.

Ancient Welsh and Occitan trobador verse differ in two respects. In the first place, trobador poetry uses elaborate rhyme schemes; in the ancient Welsh poetry, rhyme schemes are nearly absent, and only such "non-schemes" as aabbbbcccc etc. are used. Also, the metre of the trobador verse is much more developed in reference to the schematic use of lines of varying length. Here it is important to remember that between the ancient Welsh and the trobador poetry there is a lapse of six centuries. The Welsh poetry contemporary with the trobador verse also has elaborate rhyme schemes, regular stanzas, combinations of long and short lines, alliteration and internal rhyme used in a more regular and refined manner (126). (See Annex II) It is obvious that Welsh poetry had developed its versification techniques a great deal in six centuries. Welsh poetry of the 12th-14th

(1144)

centuries had equalled the trobador verse in metrical schemes, rhyme schemes and the use of regular stanzas, and was in advance

of the trobador verse in its use of alliteration and internal rhyme was more regular and schematic. Once again we seem to be in the presence of two poetic traditions which proceed from a common source, but which for various centuries followed different, although more or less parallel paths of development. What could be more reasonable than to suppose that if we had Gaulish poetic texts from the 5th Century AD, that said poetry would use the same versification techniques as the Welsh poetry of the 6th Century AD? I wish to note here that the Occitan trobador verse resembles Welsh, Irish and even Persian and Sanskrit poetry far more than it resembles Classical Latin verse. I would also like to call attention to the fact that in poems Nos. VII, XI, & XII of Taliesin seem to use a rudimentary system of stanzas with "line of return". This verse form, called tarj-i-band in Persian and zajal or muwashshaha in Arabic, is used a great deal in Irish and Scotch-Gaelic poetry from the 17th Century on. Until the 17th Century, virtually the only poetry which we have in Irish or Scotch-Gaelic is bardic verse, literary verse par excellence. In the 17th Century popular verse forms entered the literary Gaelic verse of Ireland and Scotland; among said forms is a sort of stanza identical to the tarj-i-band or zajal. There would seem to be every reason to believe that said verse form is very ancient in the popular or folkloric Celtic verse, though in Irish and Scotch-Gaelic said form disappeared in bardic verse at a fairly early

(1145)

date, being preserved in the popular or folkloric verse (127). (See Annex III). Yet another illustration of the complex

relationship between literary and folkloric verse.

As I said before, the University of Cardiff publishes its
Welsh texts with no translation, and this obviously causes me
difficulties in speaking of themes. Nevertheless, at least three
themes of the Occitan trobador verse are also present in Medieval
Welsh poetry: the theme of May or of the Springtime in general,
honor and chivalry, and *l'amor* (French: *l'amour*). The May
festival, of which Gaston Paris was so fond, was originally the
pagan Celtic festival of *Baltinne* (128). (See Annex III) As we
said before, this theme is quite common in Medieval Welsh
poetry.(129) (See Annex II)

In his monumental work <u>The Golden Bough</u>, Sir James Frazer
gives hundreds of examples of survival of Celtic Paganism in
Modern France, both in the North as well as the South, or
Occitania.

Sir James Frazer was a harsh, cynical, arrogant atheist.
Poles apart from Sir James Frazer was the Nobel Prize winning
Provencal poet Frederic Mistral. Mistral was handsome, romantic,
invariably friendly, hospitable and courteous. Frederic Mistral
was also a devout Catholic and a Monarchist. Besides geographical
proximity, Catalunya has always had close cultural, linguistic
(many consider Catalan to be one of several local variants of the
Langue d'Oc) and sometimes political connections with Occitania.
Thus, the Catalan language is often called *la llengua llemosina*,

(1146)

el llenguatge llemosin or, simply *llemosin*. It is the Limousine
(*Lemozi* in Provencal), with it capital of Limoges (*Lemotges* in

Provençal) NOT Provence, which was the real cradle of Occitan trobador verse, and the literary language of the Occitan trobadors, no matter from where they sprung, always followed Limousine (*Lemozin* in Provencal) rather than Provençal patterns. Thus, strictly speaking the language of the trobadors should be called Lemousine or *Lemozin* rather than Provençal. However, there is a persistent convention of referring to the language of the trobadors as "Provençal", and to start referring to it as Limousine or *Lemozin* would cause much confusion. In any case it is completely false that the trobador art originated in the most Romanized part of Gaul. Limousine or Lemozin is in the heart of Celtic Gaul, one of the regions where the Gaulish language survived longest.

Frederic Mistral noted the kinship between Occitania and Catalunya. Thus, he made a pilgrimage to Montserrat, sanctuary of Catalunya. In Montserrat, Mistral donned a red beret and proclaimed himself to be a Carlist, i.e., ultra-Catholic, Traditionalist Monarchist by ideology. During the Third Carlist War, Carlos de Borbon y Austria Este, the Carlist pretender to the Spanish throne, led the Carlist forces in Navarra and the Basque Country, while his brother Alfonso Carlos de Borbon y Austria Este led the Carlist forces in Catalunya. Mistral wrote a long poem in honor of Maria de las Nieves de Braganza, wife of Alfonso Carlos de Borbon y Austria Este. Here is a selection from said

poem. The "domna Blanca de Borbon" is, of course, Maria de las Nieves de Bragnaza. "Borbon" is the Provenzal, Catalan and

Spanish form of the dynastic name "Bourbon":

> Of silence I am weary and my heart burns with shame
> From Provence to Catalunya must go my song ...
> Domna Blanca, young queen who on her forehead wears the
> Fleur de Lis ...
> In the sun and under the snows vibrate your heroisms
> While, jaded and sated
> Those of Gomorrah and Nineveh feast in their supreme
> carnality
> Domna Blanca, holy woman, that against the perverted
> people
> Who blaspheme and lie
> You go to fight for your God
> Domna Blanca, paladin of the suffering Church
> Trample, galloping over the threshing floor
> The horrible pollution of the Antichrist ("Dajjal" in
> Islamic terms)
> Domna Blanca, Lily of Spain, fortunate he who with you
> Full of respect, fights
> Fortunate he who at your feet goes to die
> Your valor shames me; I burn with desire to follow you
> To the brave ones of Catalunya, fly, fly song!
> On the tree branch sing, nightingale in love
> Sing for Domna Blanca de Borbon!

It is Frederic Mistral, NOT George Orwell, who has written

the finest and most sublime <u>Homage to Catalunya</u>.

In his great epic poem <u>Mireio</u>, in both text and notes,

Frederic Mistral mentions many Celtic elements or survivals in in

19th century Provence. To give only a very few examples, in

<u>Mireio</u> Mistral prominently mentions the bonfires of St. John's

Eve, which, as we have said before, is a Celtic custom, as well as

the fairies and water sprites of the most varied types typical of

all Celtic countries, and the "Fata Morgana", or "Fado Morgano" in

the modern Provencal of Mistral, an atmospheric phenomenon

<div align="center">(1148)</div>

especially typical of the Camargue region of Provence. The name

"Morgana" or "Morgano" is certainly Celtic; see Welsh name

"Morgan" and the "Morgana la Fay" of Arthurian romances. Frederic
Mistral named the group he founded to restore Provencal language
and literature *Felibre*. The exact etymology of "Felibre" is not
known; Mistral said he found it in an old hymn, though this is, no
doubt intentionally, very vague. Latin hymns written by the
wandering Irish monks and scholars often contain Gaelic words.
Thus, the most likely and reasonable etymology for "Felibre" is
Celtic, from "*file*" or "*filid*", meaning "bard" and "*ber*", meaning
"chief". Hence "Felibre" would mean "chief bards" or, "chief
trobadors", which would fit the Felibre's nature and mission
perfectly.(130)

Like Mistral, Theodore Aubanel and Joseph Roumanille, the
other two founders of Felibre, were devout Catholics and
Monarchists. Some Spaniards have suggested that Mistral, Aubanel
and Roumanille made the word "Felibre" from two Spanish words,
i.e., "fe", meaning "faith" and "libre", meaning "free" as a
subtle protest against the anti-clerical laws of the 2nd and 3rd
French Republics. It would be in character with Frederic Mistral
that "Felibre" could be interpreted in more than one way. In any
case, there is no doubt that the great Frederic Mistral was well
aware of the Celtic as well as the Roman roots of his beloved
Provence, or, more exactly, Occitania. I strongly believe that
were he alive today, Frederic Mistral would agree with the thesis
of this essay. In Psalm of Penitence, Frederic Mistral said:

(1149)

"We are Gallo-Romans, of noble race, and we walk upright in
our land."(131)

Provençals or Occitans speak a language mostly derived from

Latin, but their ancestry or race is Gaulish or Celtic. Note that Frederic Mistral said "of noble race", not "of noble language".

We have already mentioned how, as a result of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela the art of the Occitan trobadors was carried not only to Catalunya but to distant Galicia is the far Northwest of Spain. In Galicia the Occitan trobadors inspired a local school of trobadors, who wrote first in Provencal, later in Gallego-Portuguese. In Mireio, Frederic Mistral repeatedly and at some length speaks of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. As all Celticists and many medievalists know, honor and chivalry are very typical (though not of course exclusive to; honor and chivalry are also typical of the Iranians and Indo-Aryans) the Celtic peoples and were the cornerstone of the Druidic moral code. As Henri Hubert says:

> "... principle of the moral life of the Celts, Honor. ... In this refinement of the moral of Honor was a principle of civilization whose development was not halted by the political fall of the Celtic societies. The Celts passed it on to their descendants."(132)

To anyone who knows the Celtic epics, whether Irish or Welsh-Breton, it is perfectly clear that Honor and Chivalry are their two basic themes. Louis Charpentier has noted the similarity between certain aspects of the Rule of the Templars (written by St. Bernard of Clairvaux) and the chivalrous code of the Order of the Red Branch of pre-Christian Ireland (mentioned in the Ulster

Cycle and other sources). The same author has noted that, except in its specifically Christian aspects, the Code of Chivalry is

contained virtually in totality in the Irish epics, mainly in the Ulster Cycle (133). I can testify to the veracity of the observations of M. Charpentier, since I have read the major part of the Ulster Cycle, and add that the major part of the Code of Chivalry is also contained in the Shah Namah, the major work of the Persian epic, and in the Mahabharata, the great Indo-Aryan epic.

In reference to the theme of "l'amor", the themes of the idealization of woman, absence of the loved one and romantic love existed in Welsh poetry before it came under Occitan influence. In the poetry called *rhieingerddi* is an abundance of metaphors concerning feminine beauty, and praise of the qualities of gentility, courtesy, goodness and freedom from affectations. The metaphors of the "lances and arrows of love", so common among the Occitan trobadors, are absent in the rhieingerddi. Said poems are sometimes directed to single girls, at other times to married women, very much in trobador style. It was also expected by the Welsh poets that they would receive some reward for the praises, much as in the Occitan courts of love, and the Welsh poets, like their Occitan contemporaries, frequently lament their failures in the field of love. It would appear that there existed in Wales something very like the Occitan **amor cortois** or **fin amor** (French: *amour courtois*), though without the influence of Ovid, who apparently was unknown in Wales before the 14th century (134).

<center>(1151)</center>

The Occitan *tenson* was known in Wales as *ymryson*(135). There also existed "parliaments of fowls" (136). In addition to all

this there was a type of love poetry addressed to a bird or an animal as messenger, which was called *gorhoffedd* or *llatai*(137).

Concerning music, there is little to say, as the vocal music of the ancient Celts has long since disappeared and we know little about it, except that it used a great variety of seven-tone modes. According to Alain Danielou, Celtic modes are still in use from Scotland to North Africa, whence they were taken by Muslims or Moriscos from Spain (138). Jose Caso Gonzalez notes that many traditional songs of the Auvergne (birthplace of many Occitan trobadors) have the same music as traditional songs of Asturias.

Sr. Caso says that a common Celtic substratum is the only plausible explanation for this phenomenon, since the similarity is much too close to be a mere coincidence (139). To summarize, we may deduce some of the modes and some of the melodic lines used by the ancient Celts, but they almost certainly also used modes and melodic lines which have since been lost. I do not have the research material at my disposal to compare the music of the troubadors with what we know of the music of the ancient Celts. Returning to Sr. Caso, please note that the Auvergne is within or at least very near the territory which most believe to be the birthplace of the Occitan trobador art. The old idea that the trobador verse was born in the most Romanized part of Gaul is simply untrue. As we said above, said poetry was born far to the North and West of the ancient **Provincia**, since the Limousin seems

(1152)

to be the birthplace of the trobador art.

The ancient *Occitania*, where was spoken the *Langue d'Oc*, is a

vast area, comprising nearly half of modern France plus the Spanish region of Catalunya. Certainly the spoken vernacular was not uniform over all this vast region, as it is not today. Eventually, the trobadors developed a *koine*, or, to coin an expression, *a semi-artificial literary language,* not identical to any particular spoken vernacular. However, this *koine* was not created from whole cloth, it was not entirely artificial; its basis was the Limousin (Provençal: *Lemozin)* dialect. As Pierre Bec says:

> "On the basis of linguistic and literary criteria, one might call this language (that of the trobadors) Limousin (Provençal: *Lemozin)* or Provençal *par excellence* because so many of the trobadors were natives of this region, the (Limousine: Provençal *Lemozi)*." (140)

Says Alfred Jeanroy:

> "Precisely in the 12th century, in effect the Occitan poetry may be called "Limousine" (Provençal: *Lemozin)*, not because the trobadors wrote in the (spoken) Limousin (Provençal: *Lemozin)* dialect in the strict sense of the word, but rather because the Limousin *(*Provençal: *Lemozi)* was the cradle of courtly poetry, and during forty years produced its most original practicioners."(141)

Says Joseph Anglade:

> "The language of the trobadors presents a great uniformity. However, we must note that the (spoken) dialect it most resembles is th Limousin (Provençal: *Lemozin)*, which (spoken) dialect it resembles far more than any other. The poetry of the first trobadors (the Count of Poitiers [Provençal: *Peitieus)*, Marcabrun the Gascon, Bernart de Ventadorn) show traces of Poitevinisms: this is explained by the fact that the
> (1153)
>
> lyric poetry of the trobadors appears to have been born in the Limousine March *(*Provençal: *Marca Lemozina)* on the border between the Limousin (Provençal: *Lemozi)* and Poitou (Provençal: *Peitau)*. This explains why the poetry of the Gascon trobadors, such as Ceramon and his

disciple Marcabrun, present, at least in the phonetics
and morphology of their language, hardly a trace of
Gasconisms. Thus came to be formed in its own good time
a sort of common (literary) language or *koine* which
became the classical language of the trobadors."(142)

Martin de Riquer has noted:

"... formed from *tropes*, the name of certain
melodic compositions introduced into liturgical chant
and which were intensely cultivated in the 11th century
at the Abbey of St. Martial in Limoges (Provençal: *Saint
Marsal de Lemotges)*, in other words, in the very area
where the trobador verse was produced, and some time
before its first manifestations."(143)

We have spoken of *tropes* earlier.

Martin de Riquer is a Catalan whose mother tongue is very

close to Provençal, so his opinion should carry great weight.

The above explains why the Catalan language is sometimes

called "Llemosin", meaning "Limousin", and some prefer to refer to

the language of the Occitan trobadors as "Limousin", or *Lemozin* in

Provencal, rather than "Provençal". Indeed, the Limousin

(Provençal: *Lemozi)* is very near the heart of Celtic Gaul, indeed

in one of the areas where the Celtic Gaulish language survived the

longest. It is utterly and absolutely false that the trobador art

arose in the most Romanized part of Gaul, as some Latinists have

mistakenly affirmed; the exact opposite is the truth, the trobador

art arose in one of the least Romanized regions of Gaul. I hope

the reader can see why I prefer to use the term "Occitan" rather

than "Provençal". In any case, there is

<center>(1154)</center>

no lack of Celtic survivals in Provence and even in the North of

Italy (144).

It may be objected that, even granting the close resemblance

between Celtic poetry on one hand and the Occitan trobador poetry on the other, that there are still many centuries between the Roman Conquest of Gaul and the appearance of the Occitan trobador verse, and it is a good question how anything could have passed from the Gauls to their remote descendants of the 12ᵗʰ Century AD. It has been abundantly demonstrated that many Celtic pagan festivals survive in France and Spain, and Celtic motifs abound in Medieval Art (145). Unfortunately, however, not one single poetic text in Gaulish has survived, and there are precious few texts in Galo-Romance (*Langue d'Oc* or *Langue d'Oil*) before the 12th Century AD.

Nevertheless, no one believe for one moment that so perfect a poetry as that of the Occitan trobadors could have sprung from nothing without a long tradition behind it. Clearly the trobador verse continues a long tradition, even though said tradition has left no texts which survive (146). There are a few vague mentions of popular poetry and song before the 12ᵗʰ Century. We may hazard a few guesses as to the nature of this lost poetry, since we know its descendant, the Occitan trobador verse. If we see a bulldog, we may assume that his sire and dam were not greyhounds. Now, it is Old Welsh poetry among the ancient verse which most resembles the trobador art. We therefore have a possible "cousin" or "uncle".

(1155)

One may not completely discard the idea of a direct Welsh and/or Breton influence in the land of the Langue d'Oc. The Welsh bard Bleddhri exerised his talents in the court of the trobador-

Count Guilhem IX of Poitiers (Provençal: *Peitieus*) (147), the "Don Gayferos dee Mormaltan" of the Gallego romance still sung today. There are other references to Welsh and Breton bards in the land of the *Langue* d'Oc. Well known is the theory that Arthurian romances passed to Old French (*Langue d'Oil*) and Occitan (*Langue d'Oc)* literature from the **lais** of Brittany. Of course, Welsh and Breton are radically different from the *Langue d'Oc*, and it would not be easy that literary forms pass from one to the other in the absence of a widely spread and prolonged bilingualism. We have noted that Welsh and Gaulish are sister languages of closely related peoples. Now, the speakers of Galo-Romance (*Langue d'Oc* & *Langue d'Oil*) are descendants of the speakers of Gaulish. The Gaulish language did not disappear immediately after the Roman conquest. There are references which indicate that Gaulish was still spoken in some places (including Poitiers and Limousin, cradle of the trobador art) in the 5th Century AD. Of course, Gaulish survived longer in some places than in others. It seems reasonable that, on the average, the linguistic change from Gaulish to Romance took 300-350 years. During this time there were whole generations and centuries of bilingualism.

It has been abundantly demonstrated that during periods of bilingualism literary forms pass easily from one language to another. In Ireland and Scotland literary forms passed from

<div align="center">(1156)</div>

Gaelic to English during a prolonged period of bilingualism which has not ended to this day (148). I suppose that the same thing happened in Wales, but I do not have the data to prove it. We

have already spoken of this in connection with Muslim Spain. In summary, it is perfectly evident that during prolonged periods of bilingualism that literary forms pass easily from one language to another.

Ergo, taking into account the resemblance between Welsh poetry and that of the Occitan trobadors, plus the evidence that the versification techniques of Celtic poetry are very ancient, it appears quite probable that literary forms passed from Gaulish to Galo-Romance during the long period of biligualism. This seems about as well proven as one could hope in the absence of poetic texts in Gaulish. A bit more detail here. As I have said before, the analogy between the Gaulish bards and the joglars (Old French: *jongleurs*) and trobadors (Old French: *trouvere*, meaning one who composed lyric verse in the Langue d'Oil) of the Middle Ages is virtually perfect; the only real difference being language. There is no reason whatever to believe that the bards disappeared with the Roman conquest. In the case of Great Britain it has been shown that the Roman conquest caused no break at all (although perhaps it was a hindrance to the development of bardic verse, but this is not the same as a break) in the bardic tradition. Ergo, there is no reason to doubt that there was an uninterrupted tradition from the Gaulish bards to the medieval troubadors. During the long period of Gaulish-Romance bilingualism, there is

(1157)

no doubt that there were bilingual bards. Could anything be more natural that that a bilingual bard, when composing works in Romance, would use Celtic verse forms and perhaps Celtic themes?

Many believe that the bards were among the most tenacious guardians of the Celtic tradition against the pressures of Romanization (149). Ergo, what could be more natural than that a Gaulish bard, when he found it necessary to compose or sing in Romance, used Celtic versification techniques and perhaps Celtic themes? Would not a great many of these bilingual bards attempt to make their works in Romance as Celtic as possible? The analogy with Ireland and Scotland may be instructive here, because in said countries the bilingual bards (they exist to this day) do in fact attempt to make their works in English or Scots as Celtic as possible, and this has indeed resulted in literary forms passing from Gaelic to English or Scots. It appears that the supposed inventor of the Hispano-Arabic zajal or muwashshaha, Muqaddam of Cabra, was a bilingual bard or joglar, in this case in Romance and Arabic (150).

It would seem highly probable that among the ancient Gauls, as among other Celtic peoples, existed bardic or literary verse and popular or folkloric verse, though with much interrelations and mutual influences between them. Said popular Gaulish verse or folksong, even more completely lost than the Gaulish bardic poetry, also did not really die; in effect it was reincarnated, thus following the beliefs of the Druids. It would seem to be perfectly evident that during the long period of bilingualism that

(1158)

certain elements, both musical and poetic, passed from Gaulish popular poetry and folksongs to the folksongs of the Romance-speaking Galo-Romans. To sum up, I believe that there were three

currents which unite to form the majestic river of the Occitan trobador art: one of them erudite, Medieval Latinist, another semi-literary, of the joglars and trobadors, successors of the Gaulish bards, who, though their Latin culture may have been confined to a few memorized phrases in Liturgical Latin, had some musical and literary training received from other joglars and trobadors, and, finally, a popular, folkloric current, which, in the last analysis, proceeds from the popular poetry and folksongs of the Gauls, itself finally a creation of the Gaulish bards, preserved by the "folk". Finally, all these currents united in the poetry of the Occitan troubadors. The first of these currents was profoundly touched by ancient Irish poetic techniques thanks to Irish scholars, monks and missionaries, the second and third are essentially of Gaulish origin, and crossed the linguistic barrier from Gaulish to Romance during the long period of bilingualism. Thus, in the final analysis, all three currents are of celtic origin.

   In this article I have dealt almost exclusively with the poetry of the Occitan troubadors, simply because when one speaks of medieval lyric poetry whose appearance as written literature is later than that of the Occitan trobador verse, it is difficult or impossible to tell what is a direct Celtic influence or survival and what is of Occitan origin. This would be particularly true of

Old French (*Langue d'Oil*) and Gallego-Portuguese verse.

   The experts seem to be in agreement that the ancient Indo-European peoples were divided into three "classes" or

"castes": the priesthood, really the intellectual class in a broad meaning of the term, who are the Brahmin caste among the Hindus, the warriors, who also formed the governing class and are the Kshatriyya caste of the Hindus, and the others. Said division apparently existed among all Indo-European peoples, and was perhaps strongest among the Indo-Aryans, the Iranians and the Celts, because it was these who most faithfully preserved ancient Indo-European beliefs, values and customs. This division continued virtually intact during the European Middle Ages and was reflected in the Three Estates of the France of the **Ancien Regime**. Today this tripartate division is very much alive in India and has not vanished completely in Iran, Europe and America (151).

The warrior caste had its poetry, the epic, which is an art form nearly universal among Indo-European peoples, but which does not concern us here.

The sacerdotal caste or class, whether it be called Brahmin, Magi or Druids, also had its poetry; on the one hand hymns to the gods and on the other the moralist and didactic literature. The first of these quite easily passes to lyric poetry, as is shown by the Rig Veda and the subsequent history of Sanskrit literature. Taking into account the close relations between the Celts and the Iranians and Indo-Aryans in so many fields and the fundamental identity between the versification techniques of Sanskrit,

(1160)

Avestan, that part of Persian poetry which does not follow Arabic models and the Celtic poetry, we may conclude that a very large part of the lyric verse written in Indo-European (and, mostly at

least, non-Indo-European, remembering the zajals of ibn Quzman) languages, including the Occitan trobador verse, proceeds in the last analysis from the hymns to the pagan gods of the Aryan peoples.

ANNEX I

Here is a fragment of Breton verse of the XV Century.

Note the presence of end rhyme, internal rhyme, alliteration and
quatrains.

```
Guerches so roanes e-n neff
Och pep pirill mir ma eneff
Pepret mall eu ha cleau ma leff
Ma exreuent so en hont gueneff

Ha-m euez ha mari ez mat
Ha ro diff gracc an placc a-z grat
Quent fonn an pres da confessat
Ma-z duz dazlou a-m doulagat (152)
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ANNEX II

Here are various fragments of Medieval Welsh poetry. Welsh
is written phonetically, so there is no real problem for our
purposes. The "c" always has the sound og "k", "ch" is an
aspirated "k", "dd" is like the "th" in "that", "ff" is like the
"f", while "f" is like the English "v". The "g" is always like
the "g" in "got", the "ll" is a "mute l", and the "th" is an in
English "thing", while the "w" is similar to English except that,
joined to a consonant it is a short "u", the "y" is as in English
except that in middle of a syllable it is like the "u" in "but".

    Eg gurhyt goggueirch yn trsfferth
    Gwaetwyf a wellwyf yn kerthwir
    Gweleis i rac heb nym gweles
    Popannwyl ef diwyl y neges
    Gweleis i pasc am leu am lys
    Gweleis i deil o druyn adowys
    Gweleis i keig kyhafal y blodeu (153)

The above is a fragment of Taliesin, of the 6th century.
Here is another fragment from the 6th Century, this one by
Aneirin:

    Llithyessit adar a da am
    Edismicaf edeiuiniat
    Eithiuiat aruhicat
    Ef guisgus aur
    Ig cinnor gaur
    Ig cin uaran edeiuieit
    Ballauc tal gellauc cat
    Tridid engiriaul
    Erlinaut gaur
    Arth arwynaul ar guigiat
    Guor vlodiat riallu
    Erigliuiat hir lu
    Cem bu gipno mab guen gat

    Meint a gaffeilau
    Nyt atcoryei ohanau
    Cuir oed arnav ac canet
    Cindynnyauc calc drei
           (1163)

    Pan griniec griniei
    Nit at wanei
    Ri guanei ri guanet
    Oed manych guedy cwyn
    I escar i cimluin
    Oed guenuin hic caraitet
    A chin i olo atan titguet daiar
    Dirlishei etar iued iuet (154)

Here are some fragmets from the <u>Llawysgrif Hendregadredd</u>, a

collection of Welsh bardic poetry of the 12th-13th centuries.

Note that the poetic technique is much more polished, the metre,

alliteration and internal rhyme more regular, the end rhyme and

the stanzas more regular and schematic.

    Here is an example of a rather complicated stanza:

    Try liw y yfgwyd yfgydwir yn toyment
    Y gadwent yd gedwir
    Tryl wyn yw am glyw am glewhir
    Trydar bar berchan a berchir
    Trydyt hualawc huelir yn dygyn
    Y gynngyn gan y dir
    Trwft trathrwft trethen a dygyr
    Trwy oytwy yd wrt gymellir
    Ar digart gyngran kyn goyun gwaedlan
    Y gloduan yd gludir (155)

Here ia another fragment. Note the "line of return":

    Ymdibuftlei lew ar lan aeron berth
    Pan boythef eryon
    Ry dirwy dyrwr y hol lyon
    Ry dylawch eirchyad ac eirchyon
    Ry dylat yn drud ran canaon knud
    Ry dylud alltudyon
    Ry dyly dilein gwleidyadon
    Ry dylif kynnyf caduaon
    Ryd erwyll rwyf dyeic rodolyon eirchyeid
    Ry dalant eu rotyon
    Rym dyfgaf difgywen ueirtyon
    Rym gedir y gadeir amryffon
    Ry dyrllid uyg kert yg keinyon o uet (156)

    Remember, with the *odl wyddelig,* d, t, and th are considered

as rhyming. This sort of stanza, with three (or more) lines

rhyming and then a "line of return" is very common in Medieval

Welsh poetry.

Below is an example of another sort of stanza which is very

common in Medieval Welsh poetry - three lines rhyming and a

fourth line mute, with the mute line often longer than the

rhyming ones:

        Kolli goyonw gwr diemyth yu
        Goyofyn llu llafyn dilyth
        Llew hael oy llin wehelyth
        Llawir nyd doyuydir yth
        Byth am walch rwydyalch ryndoeth treif galar
        Bu traws golofyn kyuoeth
        Arwr dwr eryr ddewrdoeth
        Eurwawr karuedyawr koeth
        Deu urgoeth wawr llwyduawr yn llu arallwlat (157)

Here are some examples of a sort of quatrain which is very

common in Medieval Welsh poetry. Note that it is identical to

the ruba'i of Persian literature (See Annex VI) with the rhyme

scheme aaxa, third line mute.

        Hanbych well hyd bell bwyll ardderchawc
        O duw yn gyntaf naf niuerawc
        Heneuyt dedwyt odidawc dy bar
        Anefcoy dy wur toymenawc (158)

        Yfyt yn arglwyt eurglet ganllaw
        Yffawt t gynnelw arddelw urtaw
        Yf da y gampeu heb gwtmpaw yn afyrdwl
        Yfyawn difgwl oe uygythyaw (159)

        Kollef kymry wawr gwawr gwyeitaf
        Gwreitlafyn efgud gloeuddyud glewaf
        Gweitlyw nyd byw ba wnaf oe golled
        Gwyeit lew hyged rotged rwytaf (160)

        Gwertheuin dewin duw ym gwared
        Gwerthuawr byiodawr gwawr gwaredyed
        Wrth y uot ym rwyf am roted awen
                        (1165)
                     ANNEX II

Awdyl dec dtghedwen amgen ym gred (161)

Here is apoem from the <u>Black Book or Carmarthen</u> (12th
century). This poem has a special interest, as we shall see.

Kintevin keinhaw amsser
Dyar adar glas callet.
Ereidir in rich ich iguet
Guirt mor brithottor tiret

Ban ganhont cogev ar blaen guit guiw
Handit muy vy llauuridet
Tost muc amluc anhunet
Kan ethint uy kereint in attwet

Rec a archawe nim naccer
Y rof a Duv dagnouet
Am bo forth y porth riet
Crist, ny buive trist yth orsset (162)

With this poem we have a translation, which is fortunate,
because here is an example of the theme of May and of the Spring.

Maytime, fairest season
Loud are the birds, green the groves
Plows in the furrow, ox under yoke
Gren is the sea, lands are many colored.

When cuckoos sing on the tops of fine trees
Greater grows my gloom
Smoke smarts, sorrow cannot be hidden
For my kinsmen have passed away

On hill, in hollow, on isles
Of the sea, wherever one may go
From Holy Christ there is no escape

                    ***

A gift I ask which will not be denied me
Peace between myself and God
May there be for me a way to the Gate of Glory
Christ, may I not be sad before Thy Throne! (163)

In many literatures the cuckoo is a bird of good omen, a
harbringer of spring. There is an English song of the 13th

century which goes:

"Sumer is icumen in, lhude sing cuckoo, sing cuckoo"

Which in modern English is

"Summer is coming in, loud sing Cuckoo, sing cuckoo".
Here the cuckoo is the messenger of sorrow, because in
Persian and in Middle Welsh ku (written cw in Middle Welsh) means
"where?" As Francois Villon said: "Buth where are the snows of
bygone years?", or, where are those who have died? The same
image occurs in Persian poetry,because, as I said above, in
Persian as well as Middle Welsh ku means "Where?", both coming
from the Indo-European pronominal root **Kwe/Kwo/Kw__.**
See Latin **Que, Quae, Quo**. Therefore, in Persian and in Middle
Welsh the cuckoo and/or the dove are messengers of sorrow,
because with their plaintive "Coo" they seem to be asking
"Where?". This is shown in a quatrain by Khvaju of Kirman,
wrongly attributed to Omar Khayyam. Here the poet is
contemplating ruins of the Sassanian period:

     The palace that to Heaven his pillars threw
     And kings the forehead on his threshold drew
          I saw the solitary ringdove there
     And "Coo, coo, coo", she cried, and "Coo, coo, coo" (164)

The last line may also be translated:

     And "Where?, where?, where?" she cried, and "Where?, where?,
     where?"

     Below are a few fragments written by one of the greatest of

all Welsh poets, the exquisite Dafydd ap Gwilym, of the 14th

ANNEX II

Century. He is of special interest here, because he is the first

Welsh poet who clearly shows the influence of the Occitan trobadors. This theme is well treated in <u>Tradition and Innovation in the Poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym</u>, Rachel Bromwich, Cardiff, 1963.

We begin with a liturgical theme:

    Anima Christi, sanctifica me
    Enwog, trugarog annwyd Tri ac Un
    Ogoniant proffwydi
    Enaid teg croesteg Cristi

    Corpus Christi, salva me
    Corff Crist ay rydrist dros wrhydri cam
    Cnawd cymun o'i erchi
    Iechyd pur ysbryd peri
    Can wyd syw cadw yn fyw fi (165)

Here are tow quatrains or "ruba'i" of dafydd ap Gwilym:

    Gwelaf yn bennaf ei unbennaeth
    Gwalch o hil lawdden gweilch helyddiaeth
    Gwared feirdd ydyw gwirod faeth cerddawr
    Gwawr a garodd awr y gerddwriaeth

    Gwas diog fyddaf i'm gwesteiaeth
    Gwastad erbyniad yw'r aur bennaeth
    Gwaeanwyn gwiw ancwyn uncaeth fyddaf
    Gaeaf cynhaeaf a haf hyfaeth (166)

The innovations of Dafydd ap Gwilym are in theme rather than technique.

ANNEX III

Here are a few fragments of Old Irish verse, of the 7th
Century. By its use of the "Irish rhyme", alliteration, internal
rhyme and quatrains, in its versification techniques it is more
or less the same as the major part of Irish Bardic poetry prior
to the 17th Century.

       Messe ocus Pangur Ban
       Cechtar nathar fria saindan
       Fith a menma-sam fri seilgg
       Mu menma cein in saincheiridd

       Caraim-se fos, ferr cach clu
       Oc mu lebran leir ingnu
       Ni foirmteach frimm Pangur Ban
       Caraid cesin a maccdan

       Gnath-huaraib ar gressaib gal
       Glenaid luch inna lin-sam
       Os me du.fuit im lin chein
       Dliged n-doraid cu n-droncheill (167)

Here is a stanza of a poem "incrusted" in the Ulster Cycle.
Note the complex rhyme scheme, abbaabcc. Except for the absence
of the "mute L" and the fact that the "th" is an aspirated "t",
the pronunciation is the same as Welsh.

       Rapad ferr duib anad
       Niba min far magar
       Biaid nech diamba galar
       Bar scared bud sneid
       Techt i ndail ailt Ulad
       Is dal dia mbia pudar
       Is fata bas chuman
       Mairg ragas in reim (168)

Here is a translation of a poem attributed to Fionn, a hero
of the Leinster Cycle. Note the "May Festival" theme. The poem
has an exotic pagan flavor.

May day! delightful time! how beautiful is the color
The blackbirds sing their full lai. Would that Laegh were
here
The cuckoos sing in constant strains. Now welcome is the
noble
Brilliance of the seasons ever! On the margin of the branchy
woods
The summer swallows skim the streams. The swift horse seeks
the pool
The heather spreads out her long hair. The weak fair
bog-down grows.
Sudden consternation attacks the signs; the planets
In their courses running, exert an influence;
The sea is lulled to rest, flowers cover the earth (169)

As we said before, in the 17th century popular forms entered

the bardic poetry of Ireland and Scotland. At the moment I have

no examples of this later Gaelic verse in the original, but here

is a poem translated from Scotch-Gaelic by Sir Walter Scott,

conserving the rhyme scheme and strophic structure. Note that in

the respects just named it is the same as the Hispano-Arabic

zajal and the Persian tarj-i-band.

Farewell to MacKenneth, great Earl of the North
The Lord of Lochcarron, Glenshiel and Seaforth
To the Chieftain this morning his course who began
Launching forth on the billows his bark like a swan
For a far foreign land he has hoisted his sail
Fairwell to MacKenzie, High Chief of Kintail!

O swift be the galley, and hardy her crew
May her captain be skillful, her mariners true
In danger undaunted, unwearied by toil
Though the whirlwind should rise and the ocean should boil
On the brave vessel's gunnel I drank his bonail
And Farewell to MacKenzie, High Chief or Kintail!

Awake in thy chamber, thou sweet southland gale!
Like the sighs of his people, breatehe soft on his sail
Be prolong'd as regret, that his vassals must know
Be fair as their faith, and sincere as their woe
Be so soft, and so fair, and so faithful, sweet gale
Wafting onward MacKenzie, High Chief of Kintail! (170)

The theme is the exile of a Highland Chief by the English because of his Jacobite sympathies. The poem continues for six stanzas more, lamenting another martyr of the freedom of Scotland and the Gaelic tradition, and swearing eternal hatred for the "Sassenachs". All the stanzas end with the rhyme "ale" or "ail", and the words "High Chief of Kintail". It is very typical of the popular forms of Gaelic verse, since the "Classic" bardic forms are far too complex to be a popular art.

I think it safe to affirm that the simpler popular forms, so melodious, so well adapted to be put to song, are far more ancient in the poetry of the Celtic peoples than are the complex bardic forms. Once again, these earlier forms, no doubt created by bards, were preserved by the "folk".

ANNEX IV

Here are some examples of Sanskrit verse of various periods.

The pronunciation is the same as in Gaelic, except that the "sh"

and "ch" are as in English.

    agnim ile purohitam
    yajnasya devam ritvijam
    hotaram ratnadhatamam (171)

    ma tva Rudra chukrudrama namobhir
    ma lustuti vrishabha ma sahuti
    un no viram arpaya bhishajebhir
    bhishaktamam tva bhishajam shrinomi (172)

    stuhi shritam gartasdam yuvanam
    mrigam na bhimam upahatnum ugram
    mrila jaritre Rudra stavano
    anyam te as man ni vapantu senah (173)

    sam anya yanti upa yanti anyah
    samanam Uravam nadiah prinanti
    tam u shuchim shuchayo didivamsam
    spam napatam pari tasthur apah (174)

    shrinvantam pushnam vayam
    iryam anashtavedasam
    ishanam raya imahe (175)

    yad esham anyo aniasya vacham
    shaktasyeva vadati shishamanah
    sarvam tad esham samridheva parva
    yat suvacho vadathanadhi apsu (176)

    sham no bhava hrida a pita indo
    piteva Soma sunave sushevah
    sakheva sakhya urushamsa dhirah
    pra na ayur jivase Soma tarih (177)

    yo na induh pitaro hritsu pito
    amartio martiam avivsha
    tasmai Somaya havisa vidhema
    mrilike asya sumatau simama (178)

    ye satyaso havirado havishpa
    indrena devaih saratham dadhanah
    Agne yahi sahasram devavandaih
    paraih purvaih pitribhir gharmasadbhih (179)

In the following quatrains, also of the Rig Veda, note the presence of refrain and line of return; the penultimate lines of each quatrain rhyme and alliterate -the last word of the penultimate lines begins with "p" and ends with "as".

```
ya apo divya uta va sravanti
khanitrima uta yah svayamjah
samudrartha yah shuchayah pavakas
ta apo devir iha mam avantu

ya sam raja Varuno yati madhye
satyanrite avapashyan jananam
madhushchutah shuchayi yah pavakas
ta apo devir iha mam anantu

ya su raja Varuno ya su Somo
vishe deva yasu urjam madanti
vaishvanaro yasu agnih pravishtas
taapo devir iha mam avantu  (180)
```

Here is a fragment from the <u>Aitreya Brahmana</u>, C. 800 BC.

```
suryam chakshur gamayatat
vatam pranam anvavasrijatat
antariksham asum
prithivim shariram  (181)
```

Here is a poetic fragment from the Upanishads, of the same period:

```
tatha vidvan namarupad vimuktah
paratparam purusham upaiti divyam  (182)

dve vava brahmano rupe murtam chamurtam cha
atha yan murtam tad asatyam yad amurtam tat satyam (183)
```

Here are two fragments of the Brahmanic Sutras, of 500-400 BC:

```
asmo hamsmi sa tvamsyamo ham
dyauraham prithivi tvam samahamriktvam
tavehi vivaha vahai prajam pranayavahai (184)
ish ekapadi  urje ddhipadi

rayasposhaya tripadi  mayobhavyaya chatushpadi
prajabhyah panchapadi  ritubhyah shatpadi
sakha saptapadibhava sa mamanuvrata bhava  (185)
```

Here is a fragment by the Buddhist poet Ashvaghosha c. 100 AD:

    naivedam me tatha duhkham yad ayam hanti mam dvijah
    napashyam ambam yat tv adya tad vidarayativa mam
    bhavishyati katham nv amba drishtva shunyam tapovanam
    ato rdham deyam amba yai shoham tena vineshyati (186)

Here is another fragment of Buddhist Sanskrit verse, this by

Chandragoman, 7th century AD:

    vishasya vichayanam cha duram atyantam antaram
    upabhuktam visham hanti vishyah smaranad apt (187)

    It is the consensu of both Indian and European scholars that

the great master of Classical Sanskrit verse is Kalidasa, who

lived in the 5th Century AD, during the Gupta period, the Golden

Age of Hindu India. Here are some fragments of the <u>Meghaduta</u> of

Kalidasa:

    vilalapa sabashpagadam
    sahajam apy apahaya dhiratam
    abhitaptam ayo pi mardavam
    bhajate kaiva kaiva katha sharirishu (188)

    sthitva tasmin vanachara vadhu bhukta kunje muhurtam
    toyotsarga drutatara gatis tatparam vartma tirnah
    Revam drakshyasy apala vishame Vidhya pade vishirnam
    bhakti chchhedair iva virachitam bhutim ange gajasya (189)

    babauva bhuma shrute bhitti bhedanah
    prokopi kal Arjita garji tarjanah
    Urdhvi krita sya ravi datta drishtayah
    sameteya sarve sura vidvishah purah
    shvanah svarena shravananta sha tina (190)

    vidyuvantam lalitavanitah sebdrachapam sachitrah
    samgitaya prahatamurajah snigdhagambhiragosham
    antastoyam manimagabhuvas tungam abhramlihagrah
    prasadas tvam tulayitum alam tatra tais tair visheshaih (191)

Meghaduta means "The Cloud Messenger", and the principle

theme is a message that a man addresses to his wife using a cloud

as messenger. The parallel withe the Welsh *llatai* and certain

Occitan trobador poems is clear. (192)

After Kalidasa there are no important innovations in

Sanskrit verse until the 12th Century AD and the great poet

Jayadeva, best known for his collection of poems called

Gita Govinda, "Song of the Cowgirl". The great innovation of

Jayadeva is the use of end rhyme in a regular and systematic way

as a basic element of versification. Here are a few fragments

from the Gita Govinda:

        Bhanati kavi Jayadeve
        virahi vilasitena
        menasi rabhasa vibhave
        Harir udayatu sukritena
        tava virahe vanamali sakhi sidati (193)

        Harir abhisarati vahati madhupavane
        kim aparam adhikasukham sakhi bhavane
        madhave makuru manini manam aye
        talaphalad api gurum atisarasam
        kim viphali kurushe kuchakakasam: Madhave
        kati kathitam idam anupadam
        ma parihara Harim atishayaruchiram: Madhave
        kim iti vishidasi rodishi vikala
        vihasati yuvatisabha tava sakala: Madhave
        mriduna lini dala shitala shayane
        Harim avalokaya saphalaya nayane: Madhave
        janayasi manasi kim iti gurukhedam
        shrinu mama vachanam anihita bhedam: Madhave
        Harir upayatu vadatu bahuma dhuram
        kim iti karoshi hridayam ativi dhuram: Madhave
        shri Jayadeva bhanitam atilalitam
        sukhayatu rasika janam charitam: Madhave (194)

                    (1175)
                    ANNEX IV

Note   that   the   versification   techniques   of   Jayadeva   are

virtually identical to those of the Celtic and the Occitan trobador verse.

A study of sanskrit verse shows that the techniques typical of Celtic and trobador verse, i.e., alliteration, yamaka, quatrains, stanzas, end rhyme and even refrains and lines of return go back as far as 1500 BC, although at first the use of these last three was sporadic and irregular, in other words, they were used as ornaments. It also shows that, by a natural process whose steps are documented (at least in part - it is impossible to know anything of Indo-Aryan vernacular poetry before a quite recent date and to what extent this vernacular poetry entered into the development of Sanskrit verse) finally arrived at verse forms virtually identical to Celtic and Occitan forms. This seems to indicate that the Gauls and the Hispano-Celts must have used these same techniques.

ANNEX V

   Here are some fragments of Avestan verse. The pronunciation
is the same as the Sanskrit:

     arsh vachangham vyahanam
     hazangra gaosham hutashtam
     baevara chashmanam barazantam (195)

     noith nmanahe nmano patae
     noith viso vispatae
     noith dainghaush dainghupatae (196)

     tum sraoganam sraoratham
     nishtarato aspaem nidhato barazisshtam (197)

     panchasaunai sataunaishcha
     sataunai hazangraunaishcha
     hazangraunai baevaraunaishcha
     baevaraunai ahashtaunaishcha (198) (Note interlinear rhyme
     and alliteration)

     vispahu paiti barazahu
     vispahu vaedhyanahu
     ava pava pascha pava
     paro pava spash vidhaeta (199)

     zaranya zafram srvi stayam
     anghaena sparaua hukaratanam (200)

   Here once again it is evident that the versification
techniques are the same as those of Sanskrit, Celtic and Occitan
trobador verse. End rhyme is abundant, but follows no rule or
scheme. Evidence of the use of refrains and lines of return in
Avestan verse has been mentioned before.

ANNEX VI
‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾

Here are a few examples of Persian verse. We begin with two

quatrains of the famous Omar Khayyam. The pronunciation is the

same as Avestan.

    amad sahari nida zi mai-khane-ye ma
    kai rind-e kharabati-ye divane-ye ma
    bar khiz ki pur kunim paimane-ye mai
    zan pish ki pur kunand paimane-ye ma

    az rafte qalam hich digar-gun na-shavad
    vaz khvurdan-e gham bi-juz jigar khun na-shavad
    gar dar hame umr-e khvish khunabi khvuri
    yak qatre as an ki hast kamtar n-shavad (201)

Here is another quatrain, this by Anvari:

    ay Shah hama mulk-zamin hasb turast
    wa'z daulat u iqbal jahan kasb turast
    imruz bi-yak hamla Hazarasp bi-gir
    farda khvaazm u sad hazar asp turast (202)

I think that the examples above are sufficient to show the

identity between the Persian ruba'i and a sort of quatrain much

used in Medieval Welsh verse.

The only examples of Persian verse in stanzas with refrains

and/or lines of return which I have at present are fairly recent

in date. Nevertheless, Edward G. Browne (Literary History of
                                                                               ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾

Persia, Vol. II, Cambridge, England, 1964, pp. 22-78) says that
‾‾‾‾‾‾

said forms are very old in Persian literature, and gives a few

examples in translation. Here are some later examples, but in

Persian:

    ang-e saradaqik-i malak maharmash nabud, kandand az madin-e
va dar Karbala zanand
    vaz tish-e satizah dar an dust kufyan bis nahalha za
gulishani al 'aba zanand
    bis zarbati kazan jagari mastiafi darid bar halaq tishn-e
    halaf martaza zanand

    ahli haram darid-e gariban kashade mavi faryad bar dari
    ruha alamin nahade bazanu sari hajab
    tarik shad za didan av chasmi aftab

    chun in habar baisi gardun nashin rasid
    par shad falk za ghalghal-e chun nubati harush az nayba
bahazrati ruha alamin rasid
    kard ain hayal vahmi ghalat kar kin ghabr ta da mani jalali
jahan afarin rasid
        hast ain malal garch-e bari zati zu aljalal
        av dar dalast va hich dali nist bimalal (203)

    In these examples, I have reduced the length of the stanzas

somewhat.   Note the rhyme scheme ...aaabb, ...cccdd, etc., and

note the alliteration. It is of the 16th Century.
    davastan shariha parishani man gush kanid
    dastani ghami panhani man gush kanid
    guftagu man va jirani man gush kanid
        sharha in qass-e jansuz nihaftan ta ki
        savhatam savhatam in raz niguftan ta ki

    ruzgari man dal sakani kavi budim
    sakani kavi buti abud-e jav-i budim
    din va dal bajat-e viran rav-i budim
    bast-e salsal-e salsal-e mavi budim
        kas dar an salsal-e ghir az man va dal band nabud
        ik guftar azin jamal-e ke hastand nabud (204)
(16th Century)

    suhat ham kafir az an iman
    mast aftadam va dar an masti bazbani ke sharhi an natavan
    in sahan mi shanidam az aza ham-e hatti alvarid va alsharayan
        ke ik hast va hich nist jaza av
        vahad-e la al-e al.la hu

    dar se a'ine shahadi azali partu az ravi tabnaki afgand
    se nagardid barisham ar avra parnyan havani va harir va
parand
    ma darid guftagu ke iz iksu shad za naqus in tarane baland
        ke ik hast va hich nist jaza av
        vahad-e la al-e al.la hu (205) (19th Century)

    Once again I have cut the length of the stanzas. Note the

refrain.

Iranian verse, starting with the same technical resources as Vedic poetry, also finally arrived at verse forms virtually identical to those of Celtic and Occitan trobador verse. In this case the stages between Avestan and Islamic poetry are lost. In reference to themes, I have mentioned Honor and Chivalry as being typical of the Persian epic. Farid al-Din Attar wrote a work entitled The Parliament of Fowls, which quite clearly has a great deal in common with various classes of Welsh and Occitan trobador verse, and of medieval verse in general. Certain other Persian works, with their theme of the search for the Holy, remind one of the Legend of the Holy Grail (The Sufis, Idries Shah, New York, 1971, pp. 117-123, & Literary History of Persia, Vol. II, E.G. Browne, pp. 512-515). The images of the nightingale and the rose, so common in trobador poetry, and medieval verse in general, are also very common in Persian poetry, including Attar's work mentioned above and a great many poems of Hafiz (Hafiz: Fifty Poems, A.J. Arberry, ed., and translator, Cambridge, England, 1962). A great friend of mine is the well-known Gallego painter and tenor, Modesto Paz Camps. His father was a Gallego of the most *castizo* in all possible respects, very Celtic in physical type and character, a devout Catholic and fervent Carlist. However, as the surname "Camps" indicates, Modesto's mother is from Catalunya, and is Catalan-speaking.

(1180)
ANNEX VI

Modesto is very fond of a Catalan traditional song taught him by his mother. I only remember the first line:

"Rossinyol que per Franzia va ..."

Which in English would be:

"Nightingale who goes to France ..."

Certainly evocative of many Occitan trobador songs (remember, many Occitan trobadors hailed from "*dolc, dolc, Catalunya*" and at least as a literary language in the Middle Ages Catalan had not yet separated from the *Langue d'Oc*, and this identification is not yet dead; as we said above, the Catalan language is still sometimes called "Llemosi". Remember the Provencal poet Frederic Mistral and his ode "To the brave ones of Catalunya", i.e., the Catalan Carlists), and also of many poems of Hafiz.

ANNEX VII

Here are a few fragments of the zajals of ibn Quzman. The transcription is the same as Persian. No way to indicate "emphatic" consonants.

nazra min mahasinu takfa-ni wa-l-hawa fitam
wa-lladi saba-ni wa 'abla-ni manzaran hasan
riya min shududu wa-hijranu fuaq al-ihtimal
wa-s-sabab fi tihu wa-hidlanu nahwalal-jamal
fi qital hu qalbima 'ajfanu au qarib qital
in shakait ilaih huzni wa fa-ni li-l-hazan
yasma' al-kalam fa 'ida ra-ni lam yara badan(206)

mundu qam fi niyyatu tabdili zidt ana qalaq
wa-lladi yaridu sa-yajri li au qad ittafaq
lam yarid ba 'ad an yuhalli li f-al-haya ramaq
habka an ja 'al-ni fi 'akfani esh wara l-kafan
sa-yara l-lalul in wajad tani mitla dafan (207)

ma'i ma'shuqan malih wa-wafi
jid yakun in lam yajih tuza u
al-malih mud kan anis wa-nafur
wa-fi 'ahlaqu 'unas wa-surur
wa'in anshaf laila jum a yajur
lessu qalbi min yatib yaqta 'u

aiy malh taub al-jamal qad kusi
husun gairu 'inda husnu nusi
f-l-gazal qal min qibal habasi
wa-l-qamqr qal min qibal kalafi
fa-'ala tafdili-hi jtama 'u

na shaq ana sharabi wa nanhala
wa-laumi fi mahabbatu les yanba
wa'ana muhibb ni 'ma li-ma yumna
'alaiya bi-l-qulali wa-bi-l-aqdah
      mamnu au mubah (208)

kull ahad yaqul li 'ansah ya maqa'il man kan ahrash
Allah ya 'lam esh muqasi a-min an-nashab nahallash
wa-n-nabi ma minnu narra an-narah illa wa-nashfar
ya tara 'esh qil lu 'anni ya tara eesh tamm nun ahbar
mahrazu kama ya sharib yuhraz al-laban 'ala n-nar
man yaqaf amamu inja au 'adal au zad au naqash

Abu Yunus man hu mitlu au hu sha'nu mitla shanu
man yamtu min shauqu li-lmal fa-hayatu fi bananu
wa-l-adab mantur wa-manzum gaddan hu 'ala lisanu

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fa-hu yadri man yarhhah wa-hu yadri man yahallash
les yura bi-yaddu mitqal innama ya minnu shanu
bi-fada' ilu tah addat kullu man qarrab wa-sharraq
malu li-l-'ata hu majmu lessu bih li-l-luhu mahnaq
fa-mafa hiran tujamma wa-mawahiban tuqarrash

lait kama les ma i luqma kattakun daqiqa f-al-bait
wa-kanna 'mal li 'ashda in wajadtu nuqta min zait
innama hutaiba les bah kullu ma ya 'uz li sammait
wa-law ashbah li kusaira al-kusaira kannahammash (209)

hada l-bard akbadi yaqla lessu 'ala da l-bard quwwa
'inda da l-jins min mawaqif la haya wa-la muruwwa
ida lam maksu mahshuwan wa-n-nabi fatah nubuwwa
ahuw al'Alina narqa les tazul min tahtiy an-nar

ya wali man la wali lu ya karim al-alam ajma'
kannarid nara bi'aini alladi bi-'udni nasma'
awadani qad qashadtak wa-qashudi les yudaiya'
al-wuquf iliak jalala wa-l-urquf ila suwak 'ar

ya man id yaqib 'an al-'ain kullu haiya f-ad-dunya fani
ya wazir 'azim hu shanak wa-'azim hu yadda shani
fa-'idama kunta wahdak lam yujad f-ad-dunya tani
wa-kadak lam tamma zajjal an yaqul da t-tis 'at ashtar (210)
```

Note the use of stanzas with "line of return". Note also the alliteration, as well as that, in place of the various classes of rhyme used in Classical Arabic poetry, ibn Quzman uses almost exclusively the type of rhyme called <u>odl</u> in Welsh. In reference to versification techniques, the zajals of ibn Quzman do <u>not</u> resemble Classical Arabic poetry in anything, but in these same aspects at least is virtually identical to the Sanskrit, Avestan, Celtic and Occitan trobador verse. The resemblance to the Occitan trobador verse has been noted by many, including Ramon Menendez Pidal.

ANNEX VIII

Here are two fragments of Occitan trobador verse. The
language is the Langue d'Oc.Pronunciation similar to French
except that the "h" after a consonant has the sound of "y" in
"yellow". The first is by Jaufre Rudel:

      Lanquan li jorn son lonc en mai
      M'es belhz dous chans d'auzelhs de lonh
      E quan me sui partitz de lai
      Remembra'm d'un amor de lonh:
      Vau de talan embroncs e clis
      Si que chans ni flors d'albespis
      No'm platz plus que l'iverns gelatz

      Be tanc lo Senhor per verai
      Per qu'ieu veirai l'amor de lonh:
      Mas per un ben que men eschai
      N'ai dos mals, car tan m'es de lonh
      Ai! quar me fos lai pelegris
      Si que mos fustz e mos tapis
      Fos pels sieus belhs uelhs remiratz! (211)

Note the resemblance between the theme of this fragment by
Jaufre Rudel and the Welsh poem translated in ANNEX II.

Here is a fragment by Bertran de Born:

      Be'm platz lo gais temps de Pascor
      Que fai folhas e flors venir,
      E platz mi quant aug la baudor
      Dels auzels, que fan retentir
      Lor chan per lo boschatatge,
      E platz mi quan vei per los pratz
      Tendas e pabalhos fermetz
      Et ai grant alagratge
      Quan vei per champanha rengatz
      Chevaliers e chavals armatz (212)

These two fragments, although brief, show very well what the
Occitan trobador verse has in common with the Celtic, Sanskrit and
Persian verse and with the zajals of ibn Quzman, i.e., rhyme of
the _odl_ type, at times with complex rhyme schemes, stanzas,

alliteration, and internal rhyme.

1.) <u>Eastern Elements in Western Chant</u>, Egon Wellesz, Copenhagen, 1967, pp. 153-166. <u>Byzantine Music and Hymnography</u>, Egon Wellesz, Oxford, 1971, pp. 171-179. Commentary by Alois Schmucker (translation by Jacques Fournier) to LP disk "Service solemnel pour le fete de Saint Ivan (Rilski)", chanted by the monks of thr Rila Monastery, Bulgaria, Hannover, Germany, 1981. <u>Revised Medieval Latin Word List</u>, Ronald Edward Latham, Oxford, 1965, p. 496.

2.) <u>Dictionary of the Middle Ages</u>, various authors, Marshall de Bruhl, editor, New York, 1982; articles: "Tropes to the Ordinary of the Mass" and "Tropes to the Proper of the Mass" by Peter Jeffery, Volume 12, pp. 210-213.

3.) <u>Grammaire de l'Ancien Provencal, ou Ancienne Langue d'Oc</u> by Joseph Anglade, Paris, 1969, p. 215.

4.)<u>Celtic Visions</u>, Caitlin Mattews, London,2012, pp. 68-88.

5.) <u>The Elder Edda</u> translated by Andy Orchard, London, 2011, pp. XXX-XXXII (Introduction by Andy Orchard.

6.) <u>Trois poemes en Moyen Breton</u>, Roparz Hemon, Dublin, 1962, pp. X-XI: <u>The Poems of Taliesin</u>, Ifor Williams, Dublin, 1968, pp. LXIII-LXV: <u>Old Irish Reader</u>, Rudolf Thurneysen, Dublin, 1968, p. 37.

7.) Idem.

8.) Idem.

9.) Idem.

10.) Idem.

11.) Henri Hubert in his books <u>Los Celtas y la Expansion Celta hasta la Epoca de la Tene</u>, Mexico City, 1956 & <u>Los celtas Desde la Epoca de La Tene</u>, Mexico City, 1957, speaks a great deal about the relations between the Celts on the one hand and the Iranians and Indo-Aryans on the other, particularly in the fields of religion and art, as do Alwyn and Brinley Rees in <u>Cletic Heritage</u>, London, 1961. The Celts and the Iranians and Indo-Aryans believed in reincarnation or metempsychosis (see <u>Reincarnation: The Ring of Return</u>, Eva Martin, ed., New York, 1964, pp. 38-42, 94-95, 109-117). On the question od Honor, see H. Hubert and Louis Charpentier, cited in this work, and <u>Our Oriental Heritage</u>, Will Durant, New York, 1954, p. 373 and the text of the <u>Mahabharata</u> in <u>The Ramayana and the Mahabharata</u>, Romesh C. Dutt, translator, London, 1910, pp. 169-335. On
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numerology and social organization see <u>The Heritage of Persia</u>,

Richard N. Frye, Cleveland, Ohio, 1963, pp. 19-20, as well as the works of Georges Dumezil. As everyone knows, the harp and the bagpipes are the Celtic musical
instruments par excellence. The harp has been known in Persia since a remote period (Durant, p. 378) and in India the harp
The Wonder that Was India, A.L. Basham, New York, 1949, p. 384) and the bagpipes (Metodo de Gaita, Rodrigo A. de Santiago, Vigo, Spain, 1964, p. 14), citing Curt Sachs, Historia Universal de los Instrumentos Musicales) were known in remote periods. It is interesting to compare what Basham (p. 384) says about Indian music with what Rodrigo A. de Santiago says about Gallego bagpipes. Compare what Frye (p. 147) says of Iranian art with what Rene Huyghe Larousse Encyclopeddia of Byzantine and Medieval Art, London, 1963, pp. 72-73) says of Celtic art.

    12.) A Vedic Reader for Students, Arthur A. MacDonell, Madras, 1970, pp. XI-XII.

    13.) A Vedic Grammar for Students, Arthur A. MacDonell, Oxford,
1971, pp. 436-437.

    14.) Idem.

    15.) Ibid., p. 448.

    16.) An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification, Dag Norberg, translated by Grant C. Roti and Jacqueline de La Chapelle Skubly. Edited with an introduction by Jan Ziolkowski, Washington, D.C., 2004, pp. 81.

    17.) Ibid., pp. 85-86.

    18.) Ibid., p. 119.

    19.) Ibid., pp. 130-131.

    20.) A Sanskrit Grammar, Arthur A. MacDonell, Oxford, 1971,
p. 15.

    21.) Ibid., p. 235 & A History of Sanskrit Literature, A. Berriedale Keith, Oxford, England, 1966, pp. 198, 418.

    22.) Berriedale Keith, op. cit., p. 45.

    23.) Ibid., p. 570.

    24.) Ibid., p. 63, 197-198: Basham. op. cit., pp. 392, 428.

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    25.) Berriedal Keith, op. cit., p. 198.

26.) Frye, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

27.) Idem.

28.) Literary History of Persia, Vol. I, E.G. Browne, Cambridge, England, 1956, pp. 84-85: Literary History of Persia, Vol. IV, E.G. Browne, Cambridge, England, 1959, pp. 221-223.

29.) Browne, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 18.

30.) Llawysgrif Hendregadredd, John Morris-Jones & T.H. Parry-Williams, eds., Cardiff, 1933, pp. 42-43, 62-63, 132-133, 58-59 and others: Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym, Thomas Parry. ed., Cardiff, 1963, pp. 40-41 and others.

31.) Browne, op. cit., Vol. II, Cambridge, England, 1964, pp. 39-44.

32.) The Rise of New Persian Literature, G. Lazard in The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 4, Cambridge, England, 1975, p. 612.

33.) The Persian Metres, L.P. Elwell-Sutton, Cambridge, England, 1976, p. 65.

34.) Ibid., pp. 71-75.

35.) Ibid., p. 85.

36.) Ibid., p. 182.

37.) Ibid., p. 184.

38.) Ibid., pp. 176, 178.

39.) Unless otherwise indicated, all information on Persian verse forms is taken from Elwell-Sutton, op. cit.,pp. 243-260.

40.) Hafiz: Fifty Poems, A.J. Arberry, ed., Cambridge, England, 1962, p. 22.

41.) Basham, op. cit., p. 382.

42.) Zoroastrianism in Armenia, James P. Russell, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1987, p. 9.The Mysteries of Mithra, Franz Cumont, New York, 1956, pp. 11-32.

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43.) The Age of Faith, Will Durant, New York, 1950, pp. 519-520.

44.) <u>The Story of the Irish Race</u>, Seamus MacManus, New York, 1968, pp. 232-256.

45.) <u>At the Dawn of Civilization</u>, E.A. Speiser, ed., Israel, 1964, p. 144.

46.) <u>Our Oriental Heritage</u>, Will Durant, New York, 1954, pp. 712-713.

47.) <u>The Incas: The Royal Commentaries of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega</u>, Alain Gheerbrant, translator, new York, 1961, pp. 46-47, 376-377.

48.) Durant, op. cit., p. 879.

49.) <u>Literary History of the Arabs</u>, Reynold A. Nicholson, Cambridge, England, 1962, pp. 72-78.

50.) <u>Poesia   Arabe y Poesia Europea</u>, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1963, pp. 13-20, 23-26: <u>Espana, Eslabon Entre la Cristiandad y el Islam</u>, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1972, pp. 22-23: Emilio García Gómez, <u>Poesia Arabigoandaluza</u>, Madrid, 1972, pp. 36-53: <u>Todo ben Quzman</u>, Tomo III, Emilio García Gómez, Madrid, 1972.

51.) Browne, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 45, 153.

52.) Berriedale Keith, op. cit., p. 198.

53.) <u>The Avestan Hymn to Mithra</u>, Ilya Gershevitch, Cambridge, England, 1959. See Avestan text.

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63.) <u>Legacy ...</u>, p. 405.

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65.) <u>Todo ben Quzman</u>, Vol. III, Emilio García Gómez, Madrid, 1972. The <u>whole book</u>.

66.) <u>Legacy ...</u>, p. 409.

67.) Ibid., p. 412.

68.) <u>Legacy ...</u>, p. 412.

69.) Idem.

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71.) <u>Ten Hispano-Arabic Strophic Songs in the Oral Tradition</u>, Benjamin M. Liu and James T. Monroe, Berkeley, California, 1989, pp. 1-16.

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78.) Notes to LP disk <u>Folk Songs and Dances of Iran</u>, notes by Anthony Byan Shay, New York, 1960.

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pp. 150-162.

80.) _Introduction to the Study of Musical Scales_, Alain Danielou, New Delhi, 1979 p. 22.

81.) _Legacy ..._, op. cit., p. 405.

82.) Unless otherwise indicated, the material on the zajal and muwashshaha is a synthesis of information contained in _Legacy ..._, essay "Zajal and Muwashshaha" by James T. Monroe, pp. 403-413 and _Poesia Arabigoandaluza_, Emilio Garcia Gomez, Madrid, 1952, pp. 31-49.

83.) Browne, op. cit., Vol II, pp. 44-45.

84.) Menéndez Pidal, _Poesia Arabe y ..._, pp. 26-27.

85.) Idem.

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87.) Besides the works of Menéndez Pidal and García Gómez cited above, see Nicholson, op, cit., pp. 416-417.

88.) The Hispano-Arabic _arjuza_ is thoroughly treated in _Poesia Narrativa Arabe y Epica Hispanica_, Francisco Marcos Marín, Madrid, 1971.

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90.) _Todo ben Quzman_, Tomo III, Emilio García Gómez, pp. 22-23: Menéndez Pidal, _Poesia Arabe y ..._, pp. 28-70.

91.) See Note 42.

92.) _Irish Bardic Poetry_, Osbern Bergin, ed., Dublin, 1970, p. X.

93.) _A Sanskrit-English Dictionary_, by Sir Monier Monier-Williams, Delhi, India, p. 1021.

94.) Cited in MacManus, op. cit., pp. 177-178. MacManus gives no more details.

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97.) Ibid., p. 179.   "   "   "   "   "

98.) Ibid., p. 179.   "   "   "   "   "

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100.) Norberg, op. cit., p. 31.

101.) Ibid., pp. 32-33.

102.) Ibid., pp. 34-37.

103.) See note 96.

104.) Idem.

105.) MacManus, op. cit., p. 177: Also cited by Douglas Hyde, Literary History of Ireland.

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111.) A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, by Sir Monier Monier-Williams, Delhi, India, 1981, p. 747.

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117.) Cumont, op. cit., pp. 93-94.

118.) Williams, <u>Welsh Poetry</u>, pp. 8-10.

119.) C. O'Rahilly, op. cit., p. X: <u>Heroic Poetry</u>, C.E.M. Bowra, New York, 1956, p. 45.

120.) Idem.

121.) <u>Early Irish History and Mythology</u>, Thomas F. O'Rahilly, Dublin, 1971, p. 429.

122.) Williams, <u>Welsh Poetry</u>, p. 5.

123.) Ibid., pp. 11-12: Williams, <u>Taliesin</u>, p. LXIV.

124.) T.F. O'Rahilly, op. cit., p. 456.

125.) Williams, <u>Welsh Poetry</u>, p. 66.

126.) See Note 82.

127.) MacManus, op. cit., pp. 672-674: <u>The Poems of Sir Walter Scott</u>, Oxford, 1960, pp. 722-724, 731, 744, 756.

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129.) Williams, <u>Welsh Poetry</u>, pp. 11-12

130.) <u>Frederic Mistral</u>, by Charles Alfred Downer, New York, 1966, p. 27.

131.) Ibid., p. 256.

132.) H. Hubert, <u>Los Celtas Desde ...</u>, p. 262.

133.) <u>El Enigma de la Catedral de Chartres</u>, Louis Charpentier, Barcelona, 1969, pp. 221-222: For those who do not read Spanish, the book is also published in French under the title <u>Les Mysteres de la Catedral de Chartres</u>.

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136.) Ibid., p. 30: The same thing occurs in Iranian verse, see Annex VI.

137.) Ibid., p. 17.   Something very similar occurs in Sanskrit verse. See Annex IV.

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140.) <u>Nouvelle Anthologie de la Lyrique Occitane du Moyen Age</u>, translation and introduction by Pierre Bec, Avignon (France), undated, p. 8, Introduction by Pierre Bec.

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143.) <u>Los Trovadores: Historia Literaria y Textos</u>, Martin de Riquer, Barcelona, 1975, Tomo I, p. 20. (Introduction by Martin de Riquer.

144.) See Note 88.

145.) On survivals of Celtic artistic motifs in France see <u>Larousse Encyclopedia of Byzantine and Medieval Art</u>, Rene Huyghe, ed., London, 1963, pp. 96, 229, 231, 313, 315. See also the works of H. Hubert.

146.) Pierre Bec, op. cit., See introduction.

147.) <u>El Tesoro Cataro</u>, Gerard de Sede, Barcelona, 1969, p. 156. For those who do not read Spanish, this book is published in French under the title <u>Le Tresor Cathare</u>.

148.) See various works of Sir Walter Scott and W.B. Yeats on this theme. In his novel <u>Waverley</u>, Scott speaks of various bilingual bards in Scotland in the 18th & 19th centuries.

149.) <u>La Musica en Espana</u>, Vol. I, Adolfo Salazar, Madrid, 1972, p. 25.

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150.) Menéndez Pidal, <u>Poesia Arabe ...</u>, pp. 19-20: <u>Espana Eslabon...</u>, pp. 12-12: García Gőmez, <u>Poesia Arabigoandaluza</u>, pp. 36-37.

151.) Frye, op. cit., pp. 19-20: Basham, op. cit., pp. 137-144. See also the works of Georges Dumezil.

152.) Hemon, op. cit., p. 64.

153.) Williams, _Taliesin_, p. 9.

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155.) _Llawysgrif Hendregadredd_, John Morris-Jones & T.H. Parry-Williams, ed., Cardiff, 1933, P. 104.

156.) Ibid., P. 105.

157.) Ibid., P. 75.

158.) Ibid., p. 63.

159.) Ibid., p. 62.

160.) Ibid., p. 58.

161.) Ibid., p. 42.

162.) Williams, _Welsh Poetry_, pp. 11-13.

163.) Idem.

164.) Ibid., pp. 13-15: _Literary History of Persia_, Vol. III, E.G. Browne, Cambridge, England, 1964, p. 227.

165.) _Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym_, Thomas Parry, ed., Cardiff. 1963, p. 6.

166.) Ibid., pp. 40-41.

167.) Thurneysen, op. cit., p. 38.

168.) C. O'Rahilly, op. cit., p. 77.

169.) MacManus, op. cit., p. 187.

170.) Scott, op. cit., pp. 722-723.   See also his note on said translation, p. 758.

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174.) Ibid., p. 69.

175.) Ibid., p. 114.

176.) Ibid., pp. 143-144.

177.) Ibid., p. 157.

178.) Ibid., p. 162.

179.) Ibid., p. 182.

180.) Ibid., pp. 116-118.

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182.) Philosophies of India, Heinrich Zimmer, New York, 1959, p. 360.

183.) Ibid., p. 361.

184.) Lanman, op. cit., p. 99.

185.) Ibid., p. 100.

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187.) Ibid., p. 72.

188.) Ibid., p. 103.

189.) Basham, op. cit., p. 419.

190.) Ibid., p. 422.

191.) Berriedale Keith, op. cit., pp. 195-196.

192.) Basham, op. cit., p. 419: Berriedale Keith, op. cit., pp. 85-86.

193.) Basham, op. cit., p. 429.

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195.) Gershevitch, op. cit., p. 76.

196.) Ibid., p. 82.

197.) Ibid., p. 88.

198.) Ibid., P. 94.

199.) Ibid., p. 96.

200.) Ibid., p. 136.

201.) <u>Linguaphone Conversational Course in Persian</u>, E.
Denison Ross, New York, p. 68.

202.) Browne, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 309.

203.) Browne, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 173-174.

204.) Ibid., pp. 238-239.

205.) Ibid., pp. 286-287.

206.) <u>Todo ben Quzman</u>, Tomo I, Emilio Garcia Gomez, ed., and
translator, Madrid, 1972, p. 288.

207.) Ibid., p. 298.

208.) Ibid., pp. 310-312.

209.) Ibid., pp. 332-336.

210.) Ibid., pp. 480-482.

211.) Pierre Bec, op. cit., p. 181.

212.) Ibid., p. 224.

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