Popular Andalusi literature and Castilian fiction: Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani, 101 Nights, *and* Caballero Zifar

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There is very little manuscript evidence of the popular (non-courtly) literature of al-Andalus. For this reason it is difficult to assess its importance for the development of Castilian literature, and more broadly, for our understanding of medieval Iberian literary practice as an interlocking set of systems that includes a number of linguistic, religious, and political groups. *Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani* (Granada, ca. 1250) and the *101 Nights* (Granada, 1234) are two examples of Andalusi popular fiction that provide important information for our understanding of works of early Castilian fiction such as the *Libro del Caballero Zifar*. The two Andalusi works provide evidence of a bilingual culture of storytelling that nourished both Arabic and Castilian literary texts. In particular, the inclusion of Arthurian material in *Ziyad* that predates the earliest translations of Arthurian texts into Castilian forces us to rethink both the sources of *Zifar* as well as the Iberian adaptation of Arthurian material in general.

1. Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani

The tale of *Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani* (ca. 1250) exists in a unique manuscript housed in the Escorial library (MS Árabes 1876). It is a plain manuscript written in a clear Maghrebi hand with red rubrics and no miniatures. In 1882 Spanish Arabist Francisco Fernández y González published a Spanish language translation of the text, giving it the title *Zeyyad ibn Amir el de Quinena*. I have so far been able to find only two mentions of the text in modern criticism, the first in Menéndez y Pelayo's *Orígenes de la novela*, and the second in Ángel González Palencia's 1954 *Historia de la literatura arábigoespañola*. With the exception of the 2009 Arabic edition of al-Shenawi, the text has almost completely evaded the scholarly gaze[1].

We'll put aside for the moment the question of how a country so obsessed with chivalric novels and blessed with a very strong cohort of professional arabists managed to ignore this text which sat in a manuscript a short bus ride from Madrid, a manuscript that somehow avoided being catalogued by Michael Casiri in the 18th century and merited in 1978 a brief mention in Braulio Justel Calabozo's updated catalog of the Escorial's Arabic manuscripts.[2]

[1] Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Orígenes de La Novela*, Madrid, Bailly Bailliere, 1925, pp. xliii–xlv; Ángel González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura arábigoespañola*, Barcelona, Ed. Labor, 1945, p. 346.
[2] Braulio Justel Calabozo, *Catalogación del fondo complementario de codices árabes de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, Madrid, CSIC, 1981, pp. 38-39; *Kitab fihi hadith Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani*, ed. Al- Ali al-Gharib Muhammad Al-Shenawi, Cairo, Maktabat al-Adab, 2009. Only as this article went to press did I become aware of al-Shenawi's edition, and so I cite the Spanish translation of Fernández y González.

This is the author's Postprint version. For purposes of academic publication please cite publisher's version: Wacks, David. "Popular Andalusi Literature and Castilian Fiction: *Ziyad Ibn 'Amir Al-Kinani, 101 Nights*, and *Caballero Zifar*.'" *Revista de Poética Medieval* 29 (2015): 311–335.
http://dspace.uah.es/dspace/handle/10017/614

Ziyad is written in a plain, unadorned register of classical Arabic that is typical of popular narratives such as the *1001 Nights* and the Maghrebi or Western Islamic *101 Nights*, which we will discuss further on. There are short passages written in a higher register *saj*, the poetic rhyming prose characteristic of the *maqama* genre that flourished in the Iberian peninsula from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries[3]. As in the *maqama* there are a number of poetic insertions, typically of mediocre quality. In addition, the language demonstrates some specifically Iberian features, lexically and grammatically, as Fernández y González points out[4]. As such, it is a work of popular, rather than courtly literature, at least as far as its linguistic and formal features are concerned. This explains (to a certain extent) why it fails to appear in the literary anthologies and histories of the times, and how it has remained almost entirely latent to modern scholarship of the medieval literature of the Peninsula. I argue that its popular nature explains why this text is of perhaps greater importance for the study of medieval Castilian narrative than is the higher register Andalusi literature such as the Classical Arabic poetry and *maqamat* (rhyming prose narratives) produced in al-Andalus during the tenth through thirteenth centuries.

The text is the tale of the adventures of the eponymous hero *Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani* and is set in a flashback at the court of the Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid, where the hero is being held captive. Ziyad has been summoned by the Caliph to regale him with stories of his own adventures, in a narrative frame consciously derived from the Shahrazad-Shariyar setting of *1001 Nights* and familiar to readers of medieval Castilian literature from the thirteenth-century work *Calila e Digna,* and later from Don Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor*. The character *Ziyad ibn 'Amir al-Kinani* is not historical, and must have been of the author or compiler's invention, as he does not appear in the Maghrebi/Andalusi historical or literary documentation of the time, as far as we know. However, as we will see, the author took pains to situate the fictional world of *Ziyad* within the historical and literary traditions of the the Arab Islamic world, both in terms of geography and the tradition of popular epic narratives documenting the period of early Islamic expansion.

Ziyad bin 'Amir al-Kinani is of great interest to students of medieval Iberian literature for a number of reasons. First, its thematic affinity with the chivalric romance of the Latin West introduces new data for the transmission and reception of Arthurian material both in the Iberian Peninsula and in the Arab world. Second, a recently discovered thirteeth-century Andalusi manuscript of the *101 Nights* (a narrative tradition related to the *1001 Nights*) shares several traits with *Ziyad*. Taken together with the more literary contemporary Andalusi romance *Bayad and Riyad,* the three texts form a small corpus of thirteenth-century popular Andalusi literature that challenges some of our assumptions about the Arabic literature of the Peninsula, particularly during the thirteenth century, and also about interactions between medieval Iberian Arabic and Romance narrative practice. Finally, *Ziyad* is of particular interest for students of the *Libro del Caballero Zifar* (ca. 1300) in that the Andalusi text contains versions of two episodes,

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[3] Fernando de la Granja, *Maqāmas Y Risālas Andaluzas*, Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1976; Rina Drory, <<The Maqama>>, en *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. María Rosa Menocal, Michael Sells, y Raymond P. Scheindlin, Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2000, pp. 190–210.

[4] *Zeyyad ben Amir el de Quinena*, trad. Francisco Fernández y González, Madrid, Museo Español de Antigüedades, 1882, p. 4.

thought by some critics to be of Arthurian origin, that are already novelized in *Ziyad ibn ‘Amir al-Kinani* (ca. 1230). All of this calls into question the nature of the narrative practice of thirteenth-century Castile/al-Andalus that produced the enigmatic romance known as the *Libro del Caballero Zifar*.[5]

2. *Ziyad* and Arabic literary tradition

Much as the chivalric Romances in Western Latin tradition are linked to earlier *chansons de gestes* and classical epic material[6], *Ziyyad ibn ‘Amir* is likewise in some ways an evolution of the popular Arab epic, beginning with the *Ayam al-‘Arab*, the account of the first battles of Muslim expansion protagonized by Muhammad and his companions. By the thirteenth century a second generation of *sira* develops, one that recounts tales of later heroes of Islamic expansion and their struggles with enemies in the Islamic world, Byzantium, and against the Franks (Latin Crusaders). These include the *Sirat Dhat al-Himma*, and *Sirat al-Zahir Baybars*, that flourished in Arabic during the time when *Ziyad* appeared[7].

These were largely popular oral epic traditions that produced little in the way of literary manuscripts until modernity[8]. This is an important fact in understanding the relationship of *Ziyad* vis-a-vis the medieval novel in French and Spanish. While the chivalric romance has its roots in oral epic traditions, it evolves into a courtly literary tradition relatively early, while the Arab epic does not. This may be because vernacular literature does not develop significantly in Arabic until much later than in the romance languages. Though it is true that Andalusi authors were great experimenters with the use of vernacular language in literary compositions, with the possible exception of the twelfth-century Andalusi poet Ibn Quzman, authors typically did not compose entire texts in the vernacular. Neither was it the case that literary manuscripts of Arabic epics were entirely vernacular;[9] rather they employed a kind of middle register of Arabic that was not entirely vernacular, but at the same time was a far cry from the formal pyrotechnics typical of learned rhyming prose narrative of the times[10].

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[5] Here I am following Cristina González in calling *Zifar* a <<romance>> (<<novela medieval>>) instead of a <<chivalric romance>> (<<novela de caballería>>). Cristina González, *<<El cavallero Zifar>> y el reino lejano*, Madrid, Editorial Gredos, 1984, p. 1n1.

[6] Marina Brownlee Scordilis, <<Romance at the Crossroads: Medieval Spanish Paradigms and Cervantine Revisions>>, en *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. Marina Scordilis Brownlee y Kevin Brownlee, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 253–66, p. 254; Barbara Fuchs, *Romance* New York, Routledge, 2004, p. 39.

[7] Peter Heath, <<Other Sīras and Popular Narratives>>, en *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*, ed. Roger Allen y D.S. Richards, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 319–29, pp. 327–328.

[8] The earliest manuscript of *Sirat Antar* dates to the mid-fifteenth, but the vast majority are from the eighteenth century or later. Peter Heath, *The Thirsty Sword:* Sirat Antar *and the Arabic Popular Epic*, Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1996, pp. 232–239.

[9] On the question of the literary vernacular in al-Andalus, see James T. Monroe, <<Ibn Quzman on *I‘rab*: A *zéjel de juglaría* in Arab Spain?>>, en *Hispanic studies in honor of Joseph H. Silverman*, ed. Joseph Ricapito, Newark, Del., Juan de la Cuesta, 1990, pp. 45–56; Consuelo López-Morillas, <<Language>>, en *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, y Michael Sells, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 33–59, p. 6; Amila Buturovic, <<Ibn Quzman>>, en *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, y Michael Sells, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 292–305, p. 295.

[10] In the post-classical period, authors <<authors displayed more and more willingness to write in a colloquial style.>> Dwight F. Reynolds, <<Popular Prose in the Post-Classical Period>>, en *Arabic*

The other Andalusi popular literary text of the time, such as the *101 Nights* (as we shall see below) was, like the eastern *1001 Nights*, was set at court, but was in no way a courtly product. Rather, it reflected the values of mercantile society, and populated the court of Harun al-Rashid with merchants, artisans, and other members of the middle class.[11] *Ziyad* shares the popular linguistic features with the *101 Nights*[12], but shows us a world populated with knights and ladies and the occasional slave, a world that more resembles that of the French chivalric romance than the *1001 Nights*, with the key exception of its being set in the Muslim East. In this way, *Ziyad* is a sort of hybrid of the Arab epic, the chivalric novel, and the popular Arabic narrative *Nights* tradition.

In order to develop this analogy between *Ziyad* and the chivalric romance, a few words about the Arab epic are in order. The three principal epic traditions in Arabic are the *Ayam al-ʻArab*, the *Sirat Bani Hilal* and the *Sirat ʻAntar*. The *Ayam al-ʻArab* is a popular literary account of some of the major battles of early Islamic expansion[13]. The *Bani Hilal* recounts the exploits of the tribe of the *Bani Hilal*, primarily in North Africa[14]. The *Sirat ʻAntar* likewise centers on the Islamic West and features a popular hero who begins life in humble circumstances as the son of a black slave woman, but who rises to prominence and power by dint of his strength of character, intelligence, and military skill[15]. The *Sirat ʻAntar* is the latest of the three traditions, and like its romance counterparts in the vernacular prosifications of epic chronicles, places great emphasis on the protagonists' love life, in this case the torrid relationship between Antar and Abla[16]. The practice of epic in both oral and literary form is well attested in al-Andalus, and even survives in late Spanish Islam as is attested by the *aljamiado* rescension of the *ʻAyam al-ʼArab*, the *Libro de las batallas*[17].

While *Ziyad* does consciously demonstrate continuity in some respects with the Arabic epic tradition, it shows us a very different social world. The social world of the later *sirat* maintains the values of the earlier *sirat* in which heroes of lower social class,

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Literature in the Post-Classical Period, ed. Roger Allen y D. S. Richards, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 243–69, p. 256. For this they were condemned by the likes of eleventh-century Andalusi writer Ibn ʻAbd al-Rabbihi (author of the definitive courtly manual *al-ʻIqd al-Farid*, <<the Unique necklace>>), who identified popular fiction as the <<idle talk>> referred to in Qur'an 23:3. Dwight F. Reynolds, <<Popular Prose>>, p. 253. Similarly, the fourteenth-century historian Ibn Kathir (d. 1373) refers to popular *sirat* (epics) as <<lies, falsehood, stupid writings, complete ignorance, and shameless prattle which is only in demand by fools and lowly ignoramuses.>> Dwight F. Reynolds, <<Popular Prose>>, p. 260.

[11] Eva Sallis, *Sheherazade through the Looking Glass: The Metamorphosis of the* Thousand and One Nights, Richmond, Surrey, Curzon, 1999, p. 1; Claudia Ott, <<Nachwort>>, in *101 Nacht*, Zurich, Manesse Verlag, 2012, pp. 241–63, p. 260.

[12] On Andalusi linguistic features of the text of the *101 Nights*, see Ott, pp. 266–267.

[13] Taufic Fahd, <<Sadj'>>, en *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman y otros, Leiden, Brill Online, 2015, n.p. Galmés de Fuentes notes that the first literary recension of the *Ayam al-ʻArab* was by the Andalusi author Ibn ʻAbd al-Rabbihi. Alvaro Galmés de Fuentes, *Épica árabe y épica castellana*, Barcelona, Ariel, 1978, pp. 36–37.

[14] Dwight Reynolds, <<*Sīrat Banī Hilāl*>>, en *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*, ed. Roger Allen y D. S. Richards, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 145–58.

[15] Remke Kruk, <<Sirat ʻAntar Ibn Shaddad>>, en *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*, ed. Roger Allen and D.S. Richards, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 292–306.

[16] Kruk, *art. cit.*, p. 296.

[17] Dwight F. Reynolds, <<Popular Prose>>, p. 258.

such as Antar, overcome social barriers to achieve great success and renown[18]. This class difference creates conditions that require the hero to prove over and over again his military and moral superiority, and is particularly characteristic of popular literature[19]. Ziyad ibn ‘Amir is born a prince, and no such barriers stand in his way. Indeed, in *Ziyad* the enemy <<el aficionado a la sociedad de las mujeres>>[20] is here black, as opposed to *Sirat ‘Antar* where the hero is black. The popular tendency to celebrate the underdog is, while not completely absent (there is a slave character who is depicted as noble and heroic), is much tempered in comparison to the *Sirat* and even the *Cantar de Mio Cid.*

Ziyad is more like the heroes of the chivalric novel in that his excellence is a reflection of his aristocratic background, and as such reinforces the current social order[21]. This is perfectly logical when one considers the authorship and audencies of the texts: the popular *sirat* were composed and transmitted orally, and have very few medieval manuscript witnesses. The same can be said for the Castilian epic *Cantar de Mio Cid*, which is thought by many critics to be of popular origin. The hero Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar is an *hidalgo*, a nobleman from the lower ranks of the aristocracy. Popular audiences are more likely to promote the transmission of underdog heroes than are courtly audiences.

What is interesting in the case of *Ziyad* is that the elite courtly social world it represents is far more in line with the world of the chivalric novel than the popular Arabic epic, while linguistically it is closer to the popular Arab epic traditions. While less popular in register than the popular Arabic *sirat*, it is a far cry from the Classical Arabic verse and rhyming prose typical of courtly genres in al-Andalus[22].

Ziyad’s relationship to Arabic epic parallels in some sense the relationship between the chivalric novel and the *chansons de geste* and Iberian epic traditions. Just as one of the functions of the chivalric Romance is to effect a sort of *translatio narrationis* from classical antiquity to modernity[23], the Arabic *sirat* and *Ziyad* likewise tie the fictional worlds they create to the more authoritative storyworlds of the classical period of Islam. The protagonist of the *Sirat ‘Antar*, for example, is traditionally identified with the pre-Islamic poet ‘Antara, author of one of the seven pre-Islamic odes or *Mu’allaqat*

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[18] Heath, *art. cit.*, p. 238.
[19] Heath, *ob. cit.*, p. 38.
[20] Fernández y González, *ed. cit.,* p. 25.
[21] Romance tends to reinforce the socio-economic *status quo*. Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, Princeton: Princeton University, 1953, p. 139; Cesare Segre, <<What Bakhtin Left Unsaid: The Case of the Medieval Romance>>, en *Romance: Generic Transformation from Chrétien de Troyes to Cervantes*, ed. Kevin Brownlee and Marina Scordilis Brownlee, Hanover, University Press of New England, 1985, pp. 23–46, p. 39; Brownlee Scordilis, *art. cit.,* p. 253.
[22] On courtly poetic and literary production in al-Andalus, see James T. Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1974; Pierre Cachia, <<Andalusi Belles Lettres>>, en *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma K. Jayyusi, Leiden, Brill, 1992, pp. 308–16; Salma K. Jayyusi, <<Andalusi Poetry: The Golden Period>>, en *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, Leiden: Brill, 1992, pp. 317–66; Beatrice Greundler, <<The *qasida*>>, en *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, y Michael Sells, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 211–32.
[23] Panagiotis A. Agapitos y Lars Boje Mortensen, <<Introduction>>, en *Medieval Narratives between History and Fiction: From the Centre to the Periphery of Europe, C. 1100-1400*, Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press, 2012, pp. 1–24, p. 6. Eugene Vinaver points up a similar and <<coalescence>> of the Arthurian and antique storyworlds in the work of Robert de Boron that is contemporaneous with *Ziyad*. Eugène Vinaver, *The Rise of Romance*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, D.S. Brewer; Barnes & Noble, 1984, p. 55.

that were once suspended from the Qa'aba stone in Mecca[24]. Other *sirat* are set in the world of the early years of Islamic expansion, historical fictions meant to mobilize the authority of the textual world of classical Islam in new fictional narratives[25]. In *Ziyad*, the Princess Sadé is daughter of Tariq al-Hilali, making her the descendent of the famed tribe of the Banu Hilal, heroes of the eponymous Arab epic set in the age of Islamic expansion[26].

The themes of conquest and conversion that propel the early Arabic *sirat* in their retellings of the great battles of early Islamic expansion, their accounts of the conversion of idolators and the subjugation of populations of Jews and Christians, are inflected in an Andalusi key with the addition of Andalusi linguistic, cultural, and geographic details. This is contemporaneous with the projection of crusading ideals, motifs, and texts on the Christian Iberian world, and coincides with the introduction of cruader motifs in other Arabic *sirat* such as *Sirat Dhat al-Hinna* and especially *Sirat al-Zahir Baybars*[27].

Despite some affinities with the chivalric culture and literature of Latin Christendom, *Ziyad* is very much a product of the Arabic literary tradition, and consciously follows tropes and conventions of important works of Arabic literature. The canonical *1001 Nights* begins with a frame story in which the Shah Shahriyar is unable to sleep and summons one of his wives each night to tell him a story to ease his mind, then executes her when the morning comes. The narrator/heroine Shahrazad is able to stay her own excecution due to the quality of the tales she tells[28]. In an Arabic twist on this Indian or Persian convention, *Ziyad* is framed by an interaction between the Caliph Harun al-Rashid and the hero/narrator himself, who is brought before the Caliph and commanded to tell the story of his own adventures[29]. This trope achieves a similar effect to the found manuscript topos so familiar to readers of Chivalric Romance by which the author claims not to have written the book, but rather to have found it in an ancient manuscript written in a classical or exotic language[30]. It also echoes, with some modification, the structure of the Classical Arabic *maqamat* in which the narrator relates his own fictional (mis)adventures to the fictive audience as if they were autobiographical[31].

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[24] Kruk, *art. cit.,* p. 292.
[25] Heath, *art. cit.,* p. 328.
[26] Ziyad eventually is crowned king of the Banu Hilal (<<Beni-hilel>>) tribe. Fernández y González, *ed. cit.*, p. 15. See also Fernández y Gonzalez's comments on the legacy of the tribe of Kinan in al-Andalus. *ibídem*, p. 4. On the role of the Hilali Arabs in Almohad al-Andalus, see José Ramírez del Río, <<Documentos sobre el papel de los árabes hilālíes en el al-Andalus almohade: Traducción y análisis>>. *Al-Qanṭara* 35:2 (2014), pp. 359–396.
[27] Heath, *art. cit.,* p. 328.
[28] Ulrich Marzolph y Aboubakr Chraïbi, <<The *Hundred and One Nights*: A Recently Discovered Old Manuscript>>, en *Zeitschrift Der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 162 (2012), 299–316, pp. 305–306; Husain Haddawy, <<Introduction>>, en *The Arabian Nights*, trad. Husain Haddawy, New York, Everyman's Library, 1990, pp. xiii – xxxiv, p. xiv. See also Mia Irene Gerhardt, *The Art of Story-Telling: A Literary Study of the* Thousand and One Nights, Leiden: Brill, 1963, pp. 397–400.
[29] Fernández y González, *ed. cit.,* pp. 5–6. On the <<Harun cycle>> of stories in the *1001 Nights* see Gerhardt, *ob. cit.,* pp. 419–472.
[30] Carroll Johnson has written that the found manuscript conceit is less a literary fantasy than a reflection of how texts actually circulated in the medieval world. Carroll B. Johnson, <<Phantom Pre-Texts and Fictional Authors: Sidi Hamid Benengeli, *Don Quijote* and the Metafictional Conventions of Chivalric Romances>>, en *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 27 (2007), 179–200, p. 181.
[31] On the *maqama* genre generally and in al-Andalus, see Devin Stewart, <<The *maqāma*>>, en *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 145–58; Jaakko

In this way the author of *Ziyad* links the text to the authority of Abbasid tradition and buys himself some suspension of disbelief by representing the text (even playfully) as a historical document rather than an artistic, fictional invention.[32] In *Ziyad* the narrator himself stands in for the found manuscript as the source of the narratives recorded at court by the author. The Caliph Harun al-Rashid personally requests that Ziyad tell him his story in his own words, that Ziyad may corroborate and expand on what the Caliph has read elsewhere in different versions:

> …aunque en tales libros leí algunas relaciones maravillosas, me han referido que tu has presenciado cosas estupendas y en realidad extraordinarias con variedad de sucesos y casos raros en que te has visto; por esta razón quisiera que te sirvieses referir tales maravillas y prodigios[33].

In this way the the author is preferencing the traditional practice of authorizing a text by a public recitation before witnesses, much as scholars would authorize their students' understanding of literary texts such as al-Hariri's *maqamat* by approving the students' recitation and then issuing them an authorization (*ijaza*) to then transmit the text to other listeners or students[34]. The frame narrative of *Ziyad* responds both to the tradition of Eastern frame narratives and the chivalric Romance of the Latin West, achieving the effect of the found manuscript gambit by modifying the storytelling frame of the *Nights*.

In the medieval *sirat* this world is often meant to be a representation of the Middle East on the verge of the dawn of Islam, though populated with characters who profess belief in Islam *avant la lettre*[35]. In any event, these *sirat* in this respect maintain continuity with the world of the early Arab epic, just as some French romances strive to unite the classical world with the medieval West[36].

3. *Ziyad* and the Arthurian tradition in Iberia

In order to understand how *Ziyad* relates to the chivalric romance in Iberia we need to know a bit about the reception of Arthurian romance on the Peninsula. When do Iberian authors begin to adapt literary representations of courtly behaviors such as are novelized in the Arthurian romances and the songs of the Troubadours? Our best-known examples

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Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, Weisbaden, Harrassovitz, 2002; Drory, <<The Maqama>>; James T. Monroe, <<Preliminary Study>>, en *Al-Maqamat Al-Luzumiyya*, Leiden, Brill, 2002, pp. 1–79, pp. 1–17.

[32] As opposed to the Romance vernaculars, prose fiction in Classical Arabic was not considered a prestigious genre, but was considered suspect and inferior to verse. For this reason, even the *maqamat* of al-Hariri, so celebrated in for their wealth of rhetorical pyrotechnics, paled in prestige in comparison to courtly verse. Medieval Arab literary critics paid scant attention to matters of fiction, considering storytelling to be the province of popular performers. See Dwight F. Reynolds, <<Popular Prose>>, pp. 251–254; Rina Drory, *Models and Contacts: Arabic Literature and Its Impact on Medieval Jewish Culture*, Leiden, Brill, 2000, pp. 22–27.

[33] Fernández y González, *ed. cit.*, p. 6.

[34] Georges Vajda, <<Idjaza>>, en *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman y otros, Leiden, Brill Online, 2015.

[35] Heath, *art. cit.*, p. 328.

[36] James Donald Fogelquist, *El Amadís y el género de la historia fingida*, Madrid, José Purrúa Turanzas, 1982, p. 30.

are of course the Spanish chivalric novels of the sixteenth century, beginning with Montalvo's *Amadís de Gaula* (1508), but there is significant evidence of Iberian reception of Arthurian-style courtly discourse beginning in the twelfth century, when Iberian troubdaours, writing in a variety of Peninsular literary languages, begin to make reference to Lancelot and Tristan in their verses[37]. By the first third of the fourteenth century, Peninsular readers have access to Castilian translations of the Grail Cycle[38]. However, *Ziyad* is perhaps the first full-fledged work of narrative fiction in the Peninsula to present a chivalric world of such clear Arthurian influence. It predates the Castilian translations of Arthurian texts by at least half a century. At the same time, it is just as much a product of the Arabic literary tradition.

In addition to considerations such as the narrative structure, we can learn a lot about *Ziyad ibn 'Amir*'s position in the Andalusi-Mediterranean literary system by paying close attention to the features of courtly life represented in the text, which we may understand as having elements both of actual courtly practices and of literary representations of such in both Arabic and Romance sources. These representations are to a certain degree a product of the political situation of the times. Ibn Khaldun observed in the fourteenth century that nations who are dominated politically by their neighbor tend to imitate the cultural practices of the dominant kingdom:

> a nation dominated by another, neighbouring nation will show a great deal of assimilation and imitation. At this time, this is the case in Spain [al-Andalus]. The Spaniards [Andalusis] are found to assimilate themselves to the Galician nations [Galicia, Asturias, Castile, Navarra] in their dress, their emblems, and most of their customs and conditions[39].

Other evidence in the plastic arts and to a lesser extent in literary sources corroborates this idea. A brief overview of all other forms of commerce and exchange, including commerce, coinage, architectural styles, and eyewitness reports to the chivalric culture of Nasrid Granada demonstrates that the borders between Granada and Castile were culturally porous. Castilian frontier ballads describe a population of bilingual, bicultural border dwellers[40]. Some forms of Granadan literary culture in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries demonstrate the kind of assimilation described by Ibn Khaldun. Granadan author al-Azdi's narrative of the marketplace begins to converge stylistically with works by authors writing in Castilian and French[41], and Cynthia Robinson has described the thirteenth-century Granadan romance *Hadith Bayad wa-Riyad* as a kind of

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[37] William Entwistle, *The Arthurian Legend in the Literatures of the Spanish Peninsula*, New York, Phaeton Press, 1975, p. 12; Henry Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry; the Revival of the Romance of Chivalry in the Spanish Peninsula, and its Extension and Influence Abroad,* Cambridge, University Press, 1920, pp. 22–23.

[38] Catalans appear to have read Arthurian material in the French, as is well documented from the fourteenth century forward. Entwistle, *ob. cit.,* pp. 85–101.

[39] Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trad. Franz Rosenthal, London, Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1978, p. 116.

[40] On such biculturality in the *romances fronterizos*, see Angus MacKay, <<Religion, Culture, and Ideology on the Late Medieval Castilian-Granadan Frontier>>, en *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. Robert Bartlett y Angus MacKay, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, pp. 218–43.

[41] David A Wacks, *Framing Iberia: Maqamat and Frametale Narratives in Medieval Spain*, Leiden, Brill, 2007, p. 186n64.

Andalusi *roman idyllique*[42]. This trend extends to the plastic arts and architecture; Chivalric themes from the Arthurian imaginary even penetrated the Alhambra itself, as Cynthia Robinson demonstrates in her study of the ceilings of the Hall of Justice[43].

This movement of Arthurian themes and chivalric sensibilities from France to Castile to Granada in the thirteenth century supports Ibn Khaldun's assertion that the Granadans of his day were assimilated, to some extent, to the culture of the Christian North[44].

There are a number of examples in *Ziyad* where the protagonists appear to be practicing courtly mores commonly associated with the chivalric culture of Latin Christendom. That is, these are examples of the characters *acting* like those of the chivalric romance. The most striking similary between *Ziyad* and the chivalric romance is the narrative discourse itself, that is, the extent to which *Ziyad sounds* like a chivalric romance, in its patterns of representation, in the descriptions of settings and behaviors, in the narrative logic of the text.

As is common in the French chivalric romance, the narrator provides detailed descriptions of arms and clothing[45]. This level of detail is not common in popular Arab epics of the period, in which narrators would substitute hyperbolic generalizations (i.e. <<there were *all manner of foods*>>) for the kind of exhaustive and specific detail common in *Ziyad* and in romances[46]. The descriptions of courtly armor and dress approach the level of detail we see in romances, as we see in this description of the princess Salomé when Ziyad sees her for the first time:

> Luego me oculté entre los árboles del valle y vi una doncella vestida con traje de brocado amarillo, ornado el cuello con collares brillantísimos y la cabeza con una corona de rosas[47]. Llevaba en la mano un tabaque o canastillo de plata, donde iba reuniendo variedad de rosas, copia de azahares olorosos, azucenas, y manzanillas[48].

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[42] Cynthia Robinson, *Medieval Andalusian Courtly Culture in the Mediterranean:* Hadith Bayad Wa-Riyad, London, Routledge, 2007, pp. 172–182.

[43] Cynthia Robinson, <<Arthur in the Alhambra? Narrative and Nasrid Courtly Self-Fashioning in The Hall Of Justice Ceiling Paintings>>, en *Medieval Encounters*, 14 (2008), pp.164–98.

[44] At the same time *Ziyad* also represents practices, such as kissing the stirrup of a superior, that are well documented both in the Arab world in both historical and literary representations. Fernández y González, *ed. cit.,* pp. 7, 19, 29, 31. The practice is also amply attested in *Sirat ʻAntar. Antar: A Bedoueen Romance*, trad. Terrick Hamilton, London: John Murray, 1819, pp. 35, 121, 125, 280. On the practice of kissing the stirrup, see Idrīs ʻImād al-Dīn Qurashī, *The Founder of Cairo: The Fatimid Imam-Caliph al-Muʻizz and His Era*, London, IB Tauris; Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2013, p. 243; Paula Sanders, *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo*, Albany, NY, State University of New York Press, 1994, p. 20.

[45] See, for example, the narrator's detailed description of the castle of Alchamuh. Fernández y González, *ed. cit.,* p. 13.

[46] Heath, *art. cit.,* p. 238.

[47] I've written elsewhere that the garland of flowers is more characteristic of Arthurian and Latin Christian materials than of the East. In the Ottoman Hebrew translation of *Amadís de Gaula*, for example, the <<Doncella de la guirnalda>> is recast as the <<Doncella de la corona>> and given a jeweled crown in place of her flower garland. See David A. Wacks, *Double Diaspora in Sephardic Literature: Jewish Cultural Production before and after 1492*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2015, p. 203.

[48] Fernández y González, *ed. cit.,* p. 11.

As in the romances, these descriptions extend to architecture and especially interiors, such as the castle of the princess Arquera de la hermosura where Sadé is being held captive:

> vi un alcázar más blanco que la paloma y cuyas altas paredes daban más sombra que las nubes, edificado, en su mayor parte, de yeso, canto y madera labrada. Concurrían además en su construcción, piedras de sillería, cristales cóncavos y mármoles poco comunes; rodeábanle huertos con variedad de árboles y en lo más alto del alcázar descollaban tres cúpulas o torres de riquísima madera de sándalo, donde tocaban laudes y cítaras algunas doncellas, ornadas por Dios con la hermosura de la gracia y de la alegría. El muro del palacio tenía de elevación cien veces la altura de un hombre, su ruedo o contorno sería de ochenta mil brazas[49].

Descriptions of combat are strikingly similar to those found in romances and Spanish *novelas de caballerías*, such as the battle between the lord of al-Laualib castle and Sinan ben Malic:

> Acometiéronse con lanzas hasta que se rompieron, y tiraron luego a herirse con las espadas hasta que se mellaron, y procuraron sujetarse mutuamente, atendiendo a las manos y a la perturbación producida en los oídos. Miráronse recíprocamente a los ojos, se frotaron los estribos, y aunque se cansaron los brazos y comenzaron a sudarles las frentes, se acosaron, sin embargo, largo tiempo en el lugar de la pelea[50].

Ziyad's early education is presented as matter of course for a boy of his standing. He begins to learn courtly subjects at age twelve: <<Cuando llegué a la edad de doce años, me enseñaron a montar a caballo, a jugar en las zambras de noche, a tirar bohordos o simular luchas con la lanza, y a esgrimir tajador acero.[51]>> The sense of struggle to achieve these goals that is common to popular epic/romances such as *Sirat 'Antar* is absent, and in its place we observe the princely entitlement to such pursuits as simply a matter of course. While the young slave Antar demonstrates his military prowess with his bare hands because of his poverty[52], the narrator of *Ziyad* makes it sound as if these pursuits were part of the normal curriculum of a boy of his station, which in fact they were. Ziyad is a man of the court, and despite the text's linguistic simliarity to popular narrative traditions that represent non-elite social worlds, Ziyad is in and *of* the court.

As is the case in the Hebrew romances of Jacob Ben Elazar (contemporary with *Ziyad*) [53], the chivalric world is constructed from materials native to Arabic tradition but the techniques are common also to chivalric romance: the long descriptions of arms,

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[49] *Ibídem*, p. 13. Compare to the detailed descriptions of exteriors and interiors in Chrétien's Arthurian Romances. Chrétien de Troyes, *Arthurian Romances*, trad. D. D. R. Owen, London, Dent, 1987, pp. 198, 392, 475.

[50] Fernández y González, *ed. cit.,* p. 20. Compare to descriptions of combat in Chrétien de Troyes. Chrétien de Troyes, *ob. cit.,* pp. 78–79, 260–261, 280.

[51] Fernández y González, *ed. cit.,* p. 6.

[52] As a youth 'Antar killed a lion with his bare hands, <<seiz[ing] hold of the beast's mouth with his hands, and wrench[ing] it open to his shoulders.>> Hamilton, *ed. cit.,* p. 39. This is before he acquires his sword *Zami* ('thirsty') and his horse Abjar. Kruk, *art. cit.,* p. 296.

[53] David A. Wacks, *Double Diaspora*, pp. 34–63.

armor, and clothing, etc. The geography, often fantastic or loosely reflective of historical geography in French or Spanish tradition, or perhaps a quasi-realistic Mediterranean populated by fictional characters as in *Tirant lo Blanch*[54], an Iberian-Levantine mashup as in some French crusader romances[55], or a fantastic/Eastern setting in *Caballero Zifar*, is drawn from the Arabic tradition but *feels* like feudal Europe. It is a hybrid geography that draws from both literary and geographical traditions. When Ziyad travels off in search of Sadé who has been kidnapped by the jealous and drunken Alchamuh, he passes through:

> una tierra negra, dilatada y estéril, donde no hay hombres ni albergues, ni se oye ruido alguno, sino es el causado por las idas y venidas de los hijos del maldito Iblis; no entra en ella lobo que no quede aturdido; ni león que no enferme de sed; los que entran en ella están perdidos, los que salen de ella quedan encorvados; no se produce en sus términos otro arbusto que la coloquíntida, ni crece otra hierba que el jaramago; no se ve en ella agua, que no cause admiración y brille como el fulgor de la candela o la extrañeza del viajero que camina por sendas extraviadas, y la que hay no la bebería persona de cuantas beben, ni la buscaría quien tuviere necesidad, pues su calor abrasa y el licor de ella mezclado con lodo[56].

The description, rendered as is typical of medieval Arabic fiction in rhyming prose to underline the poetic effect of the landscape's strangeness[57], includes details familiar to readers of Arabic from traditional sources: the reference to Iblis, the colocynth bushes and wild herbs that provide the only sustenance in the desert[58], all could be found in a medieval Arabic *maqama* or *risala*[59].

In addition to these characteristics shared with the chivalric romance one may add the linkage of deeds of arms to the service of love. Like his counterparts in Arthurian tradition, Ziyad's military exploits are always carried out in the name of his lady, and never for strategic gain alone[60]. This is complicated somewhat by Ziyad's polygamy. While some Arthurian knights errant (and most famously Galahad) punctuate their devotion to their lady with side affairs in the course of their travels, they do not typcially marry even one of their loves. Ziyad, by contrast, marries them all. However, the series of lovers that in romance would be problematic from a doctrinal point of view (as in *Zifar* where he conveniently, according to some critics, forgets he is married to Grima in order

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[54] Martí de Riquer, <<Joanot Martorell i el *Tirant lo Blanc*>>, en Joanot Martorell, *Tirant lo Blanc*, ed. Martí de Riquer, Barcelona, Seix Barral, 1970, 1: 7–94, p. 87.
[55] D. A. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades (1100-1300)*, Genève, Librairie Droz, 1988, p. 74.
[56] Fernández y González, *ed. cit.,* p. 10.
[57] Rhymed prose (*saj'*) was used in pre-Islamic Bedouin society for traditional descriptions of weather and landscape as well as for divination. Fahd, *art. cit.,* n.p.
[58] Domenico Pignone and Juan B. Martínez-Laborde, <<Diplotaxis>>, en *Wild Crop Relatives: Genomic and Breeding Resources*, ed. Chittaranjan Kole, Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2011, pp. 137–47.
[59] For example, Ibn García famously disdains the traditional diet of desert Arabs as a <<the mouthful of colocynth seeds in the deserts or the eggs of lizards taken from their nests>>. James T. Monroe, *The Shu'ubiyya in Al-Andalus: The Risala of Ibn García and Five Refutations*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1970, pp. 25–26; Ahmad Mukhtar Abd al-Fattah Abbadi, *Los eslavos en Espana*, trad. Francisco de la Granja Santamaría, Madrid: Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islamicos, 1953, p. 35.
[60] Segre, *art. cit.,* p. 35.

to explain away his dalliances while abroad) is resolved by Islamic polygamy[61], widely practiced by Andalusi kings, though not so by the general populace as far as we know[62]. For example, when Ziyad arrives at the camp of Alchamuh and surprises Arquera de la hermosura, she agrees to help him free his wife Sadé and his father-in-law on one condition: that he also take Salomé herself as a wife. Salomé explains:

> yo estoy dispuesta a reparar el daño, galardonándote y reuniéndote con tu esposa Sadé, mas pongo a ello una condición.
> —¿Qué exigís? —me apresuré a preguntar a la infanta.
> —Que obtenga parte en tu corazón, al objeto de que sea también tu esposa y tú mi marido[63].

Next to this interesting legitimation of multiple dalliances we observe in *Ziyad* another phenomenon characteristic of the Western chivalric romance: a consiousness and discourse of the chivalric code itself[64]. The characters do not simply act according to the chivalric code, they discuss and reflect upon it. When Ziyad sneaks into the camp of Alchamuh and his daughter princess Arquera de la hermosura he reprimands Alchamuh to his daughter's face: <<Yo me porté bien con él, librándole de recibir golpes de la lanza en presencia de las cabilas de los árabes, y él me recompensa, en cambio, robándome mi esposa durante mi ausencia, y dando muerte y cautivando a los súbditos y parientes de tan esclarecida princesa[65].>>

The consciousness of this code extends to the ongoing negotiation of favors and debts of action between the protagonists, such as in this exchange between Ziyad and la Arquera de la hermosura after she drugs her father Alchamuh. Ziyad says to her, <<—Si de merecimientos se trata, ¿qué otra compensación ni justicia aquí cabe, sino el recompensar una persona como yo lo que te debe por tu comportamiento conmigo[66]?>> And again, when Rafidat-ol-chamel finds that Sadé is still true to Ziyad, despite her offer to marry her own father Alchamuh for a substantial dowry, she prononces aloud her approval that Sadé is loyal not to Ziyad himself, but to Love: <<Respondióle Rafidato-l-chamel: —Haces bien, Sadé, y a fe mía tu cumples con la lealtad del amor[67].>> That is, there is a reference here to a code that is greater than any one situation. It is almost as if Rafidato-l-chamel were speaking to the audience for the the benefit of the collective cognitive imperative rather than to her friend only.

Likewise, Rafidao-l-chamel's father Alchamuh, when confronted with his own defeat at the hands of Ziyad, is contrite and openly acknowledges that he has not

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[61] Roger M Walker, *Tradition and technique in* El libro del cavallero Zifar, London, Tamesis Books, 1974, p. 52.
[62] The historian Ibn Hayan reports, for example, that king al-Mu‘tadid of Seville kept a harem of some 600 wives. María Jesús Rubiera Mata, <<Introducción>>, en *Poesías*, al-Mu'tamid ibn 'Abbâd, trad. María Jesús Rubiera Mata, Madrid, Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1982, pp. 9–72, p. 14. See also Brian A. Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c.1050–1614*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 451.
[63] Fernández y González, *ed. cit.,* p. 12.
[64] Similarly, thirteenth-century Hispano-Hebrew poet Todros Abulafia, adapts troubadouresque ideas of courtly love in his Hebrew compositions. David A. Wacks, *Double Diaspora*, p. 91.
[65] Fernández y González, *ed. cit.,* p. 12.
[66] *Ibídem*, p. 14.
[67] *Ibídem*.

complied with the courtly code: <<—¡Ay, Zeyyad, no puedo levantar a ti los ojos, porque tú procediste bien conmigo, y yo he obrado respecto de ti de una manera indigna[68]!>> This novelized consciousness of chivalric culture shows us that Iberian authors were not simply transmitters of chivalric narratives, they were reflecting the chivalric discourse of their society and actively shaping it by tailoring the tropes and codes of chivalric behavior to their own specific literary traditions and social values.

5. *Ziyad* and *Hadith Bayad wa-Riyad*

So far we have seen how the author of *Ziyad* negotiaties between Arabic and Romance narrative traditions, and have tried to give the reader a picture of the literary sources and inspirations for what we have been calling an Andalusi chivalric romance. We have also in the late thirteenth century another example of Andalusi courtly narrative poised between traditions, *Hadith Bayad wa-Riyad* (= *Bayad*). Like *Ziyad*, *Bayad* deviates from courtly literary standards, and as a consequence made very little impression on the literary historians of the day. Robinson's study of the *Bayad*, which is contemporary with *Ziyad ibn 'Amir* and shares some characteristics with *Bayad wa-Riyad*, points out that there is no mention whatsoever of *Bayad* in the major Andalusi literary compilations of the day. The same is true for *Ziyad* (and for *101 Nights*). For example, Ibn Sa'id al-Andalusi makes no mention of either text in his canonical anthology *Banners of Champions*. When one considers the quality of the prose and especially the poetry of these two texts, it is clear they do not measure up to courtly standards of poetic expression. In the case of *Bayad* Robinson notes that the poetic prose descriptions and poems are <<rendered in an Arabic which is, at most, pedestrian, and at worst, clumsy>>[69]. This is not to say that our narratives are excluded from the record of the literary culture of the time simply because they are <<bad>> literature, but rather it is a question of the courtly tastes of the time.

The hybrid nature of *Bayad* (and, I believe, of *Ziyad*) prevented its success at court, simply because they do not easily fit into accepted categories of courtly literary practice, by virture of both technique and theme. It is for many of the same reasons that *Ziyad* has almost completely avoided detection by scholars until now, a fate that might have been shared by *Bayad* if not for its stunning program of illustration, unique among the Andalusi manuscript corpus[70].

Both texts, in Robinson's words <<play savvily with both models, making of their clash the central conflict of the narrative>>[71]. That is, according to Robinson, *Bayad* is not really about the story of a pair of young lovers, but rather about the story of a pair of love ideologies, one rooted in the court and the other in the market (*Bayad* is the son of a merchant, after all). This is relevant to our discussion of *Ziyad* at the level of literary history, but less so at the level of the text itself. Linguistically, *Ziyad* has more in common with *Bayad* in that it is written in a plain Arabic prose, with occasional poetic insertions and occasional lapses into rhyming prose when a character (usually Ziyad) is

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[68] *Ibídem*.

[69] Robinson, *ob. cit.*, p. 119. Reynolds similarly notes that the language of *Bayad* is <<simple and straightforward, laced with a number of colloquialisms and departures from typical formal Arabic usage.>> Dwight F. Reynolds, <<Popular Prose>>, pp. 263–264.

[70] Robinson, *ob. cit.*, p. 1.

[71] Robinson, *ob. cit.*, p. 125.

waxing poetic in descriptions of landscape or scenes of battle. In this regard it leans stylistically more toward popular narratives such as the *Sirat Antar* and other medieval epic romances. However, the innovation *Ziyad* offers is not, like *Bayad*, the juxtaposition of courtly and popular ideologies or literary practices, but rather the porting of the chivalric values and themes from the courtly literature of the Romance-speaking world into an Arabic text. It could well be that the choice of register, indicative in the Arabic literary context of popular genres, is meant to emulate the vernacular of the chivalric romances with which it was contemporary.

6. *Ziyad* and *101 Nights*

As the case of *Bayad* suggests, we must approach the problem of *Ziyad*, the Arthurian tradition, and our reading of *Zifar* not simply as a question of genre of romance but rather in the broader context of Andalusi narrative culture, particularly in its popular and oral aspects. We have relatively few examples of popular narrative texts from al-Andalus, and it is suggestive that the three we do have all come to us from the thirteenth century. In addition to *Ziyad* and *Bayad* we must also discuss the Andalusi manuscript of the *101 Nights*, a text only recently come to the light of modern scholarship.

Critics suggest that the *101 Nights* was a sort of record of a performance tradition of short stories rather than a single-author work. The Aga Khan manuscript indicates a copyist, but not an author, and within the tales the fictional figure of the *rawi* (storyteller) is the textual authority. Ott belives this fictive rawi stands in for the flesh-and-blood Andalusi storytellers who performed this narrative tradition in public spaces[72]. This argument for the collection's origins in oral tradition is even more convincing in light of the toponymic evidence marshaled by Ott. Many of the place names of locations in the Far East appear in alternating Romance and Arabic forms, which suggests that some of tales were collected by the compiler from oral performances in both Spanish and Arabic, or at the very least that the informants were bilingual in their geographical consciousness[73]. This is similar to what we observe in the case of Don Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor*, which contains several tales drawn from Andalusi Arabic oral tradition, and strengthens the arguments of scholars like María Rosa Menocal and myself for a multilingual polyconfessional culture of narrative practice in the Peninsula in the twelfth-fourteenth centuries[74].

Popular literature occupies a different place in literary culture from the *maqama* (Classical Arabic rhyming prose narrative). The Aga Khan MS of *101 Nights* is bound

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[72] Ott, *art. cit.,* 247. Reynolds, writing of the medieval *1001 Nights* tradition, corroborates this view, noting that such texts were used <<as the basis for public story-telling performances>>. Dwight F. Reynolds, <<*A Thousand and One Nights*: A History of the Text and is Reception>>, en *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*, ed. Roger Allen y D. S. Richards, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 270–91, p. 273)

[73] Ott, *art. cit.,* p. 260.

[74] Menocal writes that Don Juan Manuel <<has made gentlemen, *cavalleros*, of those dispersed, anonymous, and 'ethnic' collections which smacked too much of the songs of the *çapatero*, with the sounds of the streets about them even when they were written in Castilian.>> María Rosa Menocal, <<Life Itself: Storytelling as the Tradition of Openness in the Conde Lucanor>>, en *Oral Tradition and Hispanic Literature: Essays in Honor of Samuel M. Armistead*, ed. Mishael M. Caspi, New York: Garland, 1995, pp. 469–95, p. 476. On the literary reflection of medieval Iberian storytelling practice, see David A. Wacks, *Framing Iberia*.

with al-Zuhri's *Geography*, and may have been understood in some way as a geographic treatise in narrative form. Similarly, medieval chivalric novels in the Romance languages were associated with the more prestigious category of the chronicle, the innovative, less recognized genre relying on the prestige of the more established genre. These facts regarding both *Zeyad* and *101 Nights,* as we shall see in the following section, shed new light on our understanding of the Castilian *Libro del Caballero Zifar.*

7. *Ziyad* and *Zifar*

There are a number of coincidences between *Ziyad* and *Zifar*. Most of them are on the level of narrative motif. Two episodes in particular are present in both texts but absent from popular Arabic literature in general: those of the supernatural wife who bears the hero a son, and of the underwater realm. These motifs are united in the Arthurian <<Lady of the Lake>>, and here find expression in *Zifar* in the episode of the *Caballero Atrevido*[75]. In *Ziyad*, they appear in the episodes of Ziyad's marriage to the Princess Alchahia, mistress of the submerged castle of al-Laualib[76], and in the following episode of his marriage to a <<dama genio>>, or lady *jinn*[77].

First Ziyad arrives at the castle, which each night submerges into the lake:

> —Cuando el sol se levanta sobre el horizonte, comienza a subir el alcázar desde el fondo de las aguas, hasta ponerse al nivel de la superficie de la tierra, y por un puente vasto que tiene, salen los caballos al forraje, y las vacas y rebaños de ovejas a sus pastos. A la caída de la tarde, cuando el sol se inclina hacia el poniente, vuelven los rebaños, las vacas y los caballos, y tornan a sumergirse en el agua, esto es, a entrar en Al-laualib, sometiéndose a sus movimientos[78].

There Ziyad is greeted by its mistress, who is dressed as a knight. She challenges him to combat, in the course of which Ziyad notices with some surprise that his opponent is female. Finally, he defeats her and proposes marriage. She accepts and he becomes her King and lord of the submerged castle.

In the following episode, Ziyad encounters an enchanted lady who bears him a son and then releases Ziyad after the boy is two years of age. One day Ziyad goes out hunting a beautiful gazelle, and becomes lost in the woods. What follows is a perfectly conventional encounter of the hero with an enchanted fairy so common in Western folkloric tradition[79]:

> Al ocultarse este astro, vi que subía por un monte altísimo, adonde conducía un camino que parecía más bien senda de hormigas o subida de colmena, ella continuaba su fuga adelante y yo la seguía detrás, hasta llegar a una almoguera o

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[75] *Libro del Caballero Zifar*, ed. Cristina González, Madrid, Cátedra, 1984, pp. 241–251.
[76] Fernández y González, *ed. cit.,* pp. 22–26.
[77] *Ibídem*, pp. 30–31.
[78] *Ibídem,*p. 19.
[79] Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1932, 1: pp. 382–384, 3: pp. 40–42. These motifs are also found in French Arthurian texts, on which see Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, *Index des motifs narratifs dans les romans arthuriens français en vers (XIIe-XIIIe siècles)*, Geneva, Droz, 1992, pp. 30, 62; E. H. Ruck, *An Index of Themes and Motifs in 12th-Century French Arthurian Poetry*, Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1991, pp. 167, 173.

> gruta donde entró la fugitiva. Me apeé del caballo y entré en la gruta a perseguirla, y las tinieblas me rodearon; pero en medio de ella se ofreció a mi vista una doncella, radiante como el sol de medio día en cielo sin nubes[80].

The woman, Jatifa-al-horr, describes herself as <<un genio bueno de los que creen en el Alcorán>>[81]. In this way the compiler brings the Arthurian supernatural wife motif, one also present in *Zifar*, into line with the values of the Islamic textual community, by giving the supernatural a Quranic point of reference. Her supernatural character is further reconciled with Arabic and Islamic tradition by association with astrology, a scientific discipline with a significant corpus of texts attested in the Abbasid period and beyond[82]. Her father was an astrologer who predicted Ziyad's arrival. She reveals that she appeared to Ziyad in the form of a gazelle and enchanted him so that he would follow her to her hidden castle.

In these two episodes the <<lady of the lake>> motif is broken out into two components, each containing elements of the well-known Arthurian motif found also in *Zifar*[83]. There is a good amount of speculation among *Zifar* critics as to the sources of these motifs, ranging from <<Oriental>> to <<Celtic>> to <<Hispanic>>[84]. Whatever their source(s), Cristina González concludes that these are motifs that are too general and widespread in world folklore to belong to a single origin[85]. What we can say, she suggests, is that they are the only fantastic epiosodes in what is otherwise a more or less realist (at least by medieval standards) fictional world. What's more, the fantastic episodes of the *Caballero Atrevido* and the *Yslas Dotadas* serve an ancillary function in moving the narrative forward. González postulates that they are subplots that serve as initiations for the protagonists who would then go on to be kings in their own right[86]. She gives a number of other such examples of fantastic initiations of heroes of medieval novels, episodes that have their origins in ancient folkloric initiation narratives[87].

Despite González's warning not to turn off the lights so that all the cats appear brown (to quote a Spanish proverb), it certainly is curious that the same two motifs, the only fantastic motifs in all of *Zifar*, whose source is contested by critics and still an open question, should appear in an Arabic manuscript from the same region written some 70

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[80] Fernández y González, *ed. cit.,* p. 29.

[81] *Ibídem*, p. 30. Believing *jinn* who marry humans are also mentioned in the *1001 Nights*. Hasan M. El-Shamy, *A Motif Index of* The Thousand and One Nights, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2006, p. 69. On the jinn in Islam, see D. B. MacDonald and H. Massé, <<Djinn>>, en *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman y otros, Leiden, Brill Online, 2015.

[82] Julio Samsó, *Islamic Astronomy and Medieval Spain*, Aldershot, Hampshire, Variorum, 1994; Julio Samsó, *Astronomy and Astrology in Al-Andalus and the Maghrib*, Aldershot, Ashgate/Variorum, 2007; Taufic Fahd, <<Nud̲j̲ūm>>, en *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman y otros, Leiden, Brill Online, 2015.

[83] These are the episodes of the *Caballero atrevido* and the *Yslas dotadas.* González, *ed. cit.,* pp. 240–251 and 409–429.

[84] González, *ob. cit.*, p. 103 n 25. See also A. D. Deyermond, <<The Lost Genre of Medieval Spanish Literature>>, en *Hispanic Review*, 43 (1975), 231–59.

[85] González, *ob. cit.*, p. 103.

[86] *Ibídem*, pp. 119–120.

[87] *Ibídem*, p. 105.

years prior to the composition of *Zifar*[88]. Depending on how we read this evidence, it could lend credence to a number of different theories about *Zifar*. On the one hand, if we belive the motifs are Celtic in origin, we should suppose their transmission to *Ziyad* through Arthurian tradition to *Ziyad* and thence to *Zifar*. This would ironically corroborate both the argument that *Zifar* relied on Arabic sources, and the argument for the Arthurian-Celtic sources of the fantastic episodes in *Zifar*.

Whatever their source, the series of romantic liasions and marriages between Ziyad and his numerous wives is not unique to *Ziyad*. Heroes of both Arabic and Romance narratives, from Antar to Zifar have multiple romantic or sexual partners, while holding one lady above all. It is typical for heroes of romances and chivalric novels from all traditions, married or bachelor, to have multiple dalliances with different ladies whom they encounter in their adventures. Perhaps this is a result of fantasy fulfillment to titilate audiences and keep their interest, perhaps it is a deep archetype with roots in fertility cults of the Mediteranean. In most cases there is no attempt to bring this serial polyamory in line with the moral standards of the day. This was a sticking point for critics of *Zifar*, who were hard pressed to explain away Zifar's adulterous couplings outside of his marriage to Grima. Some concluded that it was a product of the work's origins in an Arabic text that reflected Islamic polygamy[89]. While I very recently argued that such a theory was probably untenable,[90] the evidence of Ziyad's polygamy sheds new light on the question. Ziyad does indeed marry a series of lovers in his adventures, in a political empire-building gesture that seems to legitimate the extra-marital serial polyamory of some chivalric heroes. If we can suppose that *Ziyad* circulated in the Peninsula (even orally), it is reasonable to suggest that Zifar's polygamy is an imitation or adaptation of Ziyad's.

This is true not only of Zifar's polyamory but of other features of *Zifar* as well. The existence of the popular storytelling tradition attested by the *101 Nights* manuscript and *Ziyad* suggests yet another model for understanding the presence of <<Arabic>> source material in *Zifar*. Suppose there was a tradition of *101* and/or *1001 Nights*-style storytelling (imagine the *101/1001 Nights* as a storytelling genre or tradition instead of a textual tradition) that was dynamic and fluid. Authors introduced new tales, adapted other tales from other traditions, and dressed them in the fictional trappings of the popular storytelling tradition of the Arab world that then produced both the *101 Nights* and the *1001 Nights*. We have already established that Castilian authors such as Don Juan Manuel drew on Andalusi oral narrative tradition[91]. What if the author of *Zifar* had done likewise, relying not on Andalusi manuscripts of learned Arabic texts but rather of stories

[88] For an analogous textual coincidence, see my study and translation of the tale of the Egyptian sorceror in Isaac ibn Sahula's *Meshal Haqadmoni* (ca. 1285) vis-a-vis that of Don Yllán in Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor* (ca. 1330). In it I propose a common source for both texts and suggest that both authors were working from a common, orally transmitted Hispanic source. David A. Wacks, <<Don Yllán and the Egyptian Sorceror: Vernacular Commonality and Literary Diversity in Medieval Castile>>, en *Sefarad*, 65 (2005), 413–33; David A. Wacks, <<Ibn Sahula's Tale of the Egyptian Sorcerer: A Thirteenth Century Don Yllán>>, en *eHumanista*, 4 (2004), pp. 1–12.

[89] Walker, *ob. cit.,* p. 52.

[90] David A. Wacks, <<Translation of Texts and of Relics as Symbolic Capital in *Caballero Zifar*>>, *La corónica* 43:1 (2014), pp. 115–140.

[91] David A. Wacks, <<Reconquest Colonialism and Andalusi Narrative Practice in Don Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor*>>, en *diacritics*, 36 (2006), pp. 87–103.

told and retold within the context of the *Nights* tradition? The apparent Arabization of names and place names that has led critics to suppose an Arabic origin for *Zifar* may be instead a reflection of a shared storytelling culture by which Castilian authors adapt material learned from storytellers in their written works, conserving and at times Hispanizing (or straight out corrupting) personal and place names, simply because that was how the Castilian author *heard* them.

Arabic texts of the time also reflect a shared culture of storytelling. As we have seen, place names of faraway, exotic locations such as China vacillate between Romanized and Arabized versions[92]. Like the author of *Zifar*, the compiler of *101 Nights* was drawing on a live, multilingual storytelling performance tradition in which performers told tales alternately in Andalusi Arabic or in Castilian, and likely at times some combination of both. This suggests a world of code-switching storytellers who moved effortlessly from Arabic to Castilian and back again. Only when viewed through the lens of the literary manuscript does this culture appear as two separate cultures, who communicate with difficulty through translation and adaptation. Just as with Iberian Hebrew poets who were perfectly versed in Romance popular culture, but who were compelled by literary convention to write almost exclusively in Hebrew, our authors and compilers of *101 Nights, Ziyad,* and *Zifar* recorded in monolingual form a tradition that was in practice at least bilingual and probably to a certain extent interlingual as is today's US Latino culture, where English, Spanish, and Spanglish are on a continuum of linguistic practice.

Ziyad ibn 'Amir is quite different structurally and thematically from the more well-known *sirat*. This is true on several counts. These *sirat* are in many ways continuous with the earlier, historical *sirat* such as *Sirat 'Antar* and *Sirat Bani Hilal*, both of which are based on the adventures of historical characters from the age of the expansion of Islam. As such the geography of these narratives is the geography of the Muslim world of the time, and heroes travel from their home cities to far away yet historically significant places such as Baghdad, Cairo, Aleppo, al-Andalus, and even India and China.[93] By contrast, the world in which Ziyad lives, loves, and fights is entirely fantastic and lacks even fictional place names. It is even less geographic than the worlds represented in later chivalric romances such as Amadís de Gaula, which blend historical geography with purely fictional settings[94]. At the same time, there is at least one reference to Iberian geography, but not as a setting for the action; rather the narrator compares the throat of a slave as <<(larga y ahondada) como es el Estrecho gaditano>>[95]. It is as if the author were a singer of an Arab epic set in the East whose descriptions drew on local cultural knowledge familiar to audience in explaining settings and events unfamiliar to a Western (i.e. Andalusi-Maghrebi) experience.

Even the description of the desert through which Ziyad and Quebranta Piedras travel combines a mixture of traditional Arabian and Iberian vegetation: <<por todo pasto

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[92] Ott, *art. cit.,* p. 258.
[93] Heath, *art. cit.,* p. 327.
[94] On the question of geography in *Amadís de Gaula*, see Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, Amadis of Gaul*: A Novel of Chivalry of the 14th Century Presumably First Written in Spanish*, trad. Edwin B. Place y Herbert C Behm, Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 1974, pp. 100–101; Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua, <<Introducción>>, en *Amadís de Gaula*, Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, ed. Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua, Madrid, Cátedra, 1996, pp. 17–218, pp. 157–158.
[95] Fernández y González, *ed. cit.,* p. 21.

ofrecía la coloquíntida, por toda hortaliza el jaramago>>[96]. The colocynth, native to the Arabian peninsula, is traditional in descriptions of desert vegetation in Classical Arabic tradition. However, *jaramago* or wall rocket (Diplotaxis) is native to Europe, North Africa, and Central Asia, with its largest variety of species being found in the Iberian Peninsula.[97]

The question of the work's representation of the geographic science of the day is further complicated when we look at *Ziyad* next to *101 Nights* and *Zifar*. The manuscript of the Andalusi *101 Nights* is bound with al-Zuhri's *Geography*, and so the anthologist (and the literary culture of the times) would have associated the descriptions of exotic locales that for contemporary audiences would be secondary, itself as a form of geography. Such representation has been a topic of great interest for critics of *Zifar*, who have pointed out that *Zifar*'s geographic imaginary straddles fantasy and contemporary science. In fact, Michael Harney positively identified al-Zuhri's *Geography* as one of the chief sources of geographic material in *Zifar*[98].

Conclusions

The evidence *Ziyad* presents is compelling on two counts. On the one hand, *Ziyad*'s analogues of Arthurian motifs episodes found in *Zifar* complicate the question of *Zifar*'s putative Arabic sources. We must choose one of the following: did the Arthurian material pass from the French to *Ziyad* and thence to *Zifar*? This would be a delicious but perfectly Iberian irony for the *Zifar* to have received Arthurian material from an Andalusi text. Or, did both *Ziyad* and *Zifar* take the material directly from the French? Or, a third and in my opinion more likely alternative: that the Arthurian material entered the Iberian oral narrative practice, where both *Ziyad* and *Zifar* collected it. This thesis finds strong support in scholars' assessment of the Andalusi storytelling practice reflected in the *101 Nights* manuscript.

Ziyad and *101 Nights* both attest to a corpus of Andalusi written popular literature giving voice to a specifically Iberian (or at least Maghrebi) experience vis-à-vis the Muslim East. This corpus is largely latent and we await quality Arabic editions and translations into other languages of *Ziyad*, the other 11 texts in Escorial Árabe MS 1876, the *101 Nights,* and other texts as they come to light. Our findings are necessarily tentative, based as they are on translations, until these editions come to light. What we can state, however, is the following: *Ziyad* provides us with new, earlier examples of the penetration of Arthurian themes and motifs in the Iberian Peninsula that predate both the Castilian translations of the Arthurian romances as well as their adaptation in *Caballero Zifar*. These versions circulated in a multi-lingual, multi-confessional Iberian narrative practice that included both oral and written performances. All of the above changes our understanding of *Caballero Zifar* and potentially many other early works of Castilian prose fiction as part of a literary polysystem with an oral component that is underrepresented in the sources yet important for understanding the development of literary narrative in Iberia.

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[96] Fernández y González, *ed. cit.,* p. 37.
[97] Pignone and Martínez-Laborde, *art. cit.*.
[98] Michael Harney, <<The Geography of the *Libro del caballero Zifar*>>, en *La corónica*, 11(1983), pp. 208–19; Michael Harney, <<More on the geography of the *Libro del caballero Zifar*>>, en *La corónica*, 16 (1988), pp. 76–85.