

Moorish Culture in Don Quixote

Abstract

Don Quixote the founding novel written by Cervantes is based on an Arabic text found in the streets of Toledo, the mythical town of translation. Thus, told by Side Hamet Benengeli the Moorish historian, Don Quixote takes an Arabic look. In this claim pure forgery or partly tenable ?

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A question that may be asked from the onset is Cervantes's relation to Moorish culture. Americo Castro, for instance, points to some illuminating aspects of **Don Quixote** in connection with Islamic culture (1). This connection is quite new, since no scholar prior to him has touched upon this aspect of the narrative or made a thorough study of it, and thereby *displaces* some old views that saw in Don Quixote a mere knight-errant, parodying chivalric heroes, etc. One of Castro's ideas is the all-importance and power of reading, and the danger of books as imbedded in this novel. In suggesting this, and in so doing, he opens a new line which few have followed.

The **Koran**, 'reading' in Arabic, was revealed to Muhammad gradually over a timespan of some twenty years, 'descending' onto him with this *first* verse entitled the **Blood Clots**, which Castro actually also mentions as part of his argument which will be assessed as follows. This verse begins with this appeal to the mind:

Recite (read) in the name of your Lord who created, created man from clots of blood! Recite (read)! Your Lord is the most Bountiful One, who by the pen taught man what he did not know (2) (italics and brackets mine, **Koran**, 96:1)

ملخص

تعد رواية " دون كيشوط" أول رواية مؤسسة مبنية على نص عربي عثر عليه في طليطلة المدينة التاريخية للترجمة من طرف الكاتب سرفنتس نفسه وترجمها إلى الإسبانية. هكذا تبدو الرواية المسرودة من طرف الكاتب والمؤرخ العربي سيدي حمت بن نقلي. ما هي صحة هذا القول؟ يحاول هذا المقال الإجابة على هذا السؤال.

Being thus the first revelation by Allah to Muhammad, it clearly stresses and spells out the primacy or rather the priority of reading over speech, of reading/writing over speech. This echoes the **Old Testament**, but puts more emphasis on *reading*. The very name of the Muslim **Koran** means that which is to be read or simply *reading* (3) and implies the idea of *book*, to be compared for instance with the term '**Bible**' (from *biblos*, i.e. book) and to the notion of Scriptures (*Ecritures*) which in itself *implies* reading. The point is that the order is reversed by the **Koran**: reading entails the existence of a book, whereas the name **Bible** signifies, and thus implies, first the existence of *a* or several books, to be read of course. In other words, Islam focuses here on reading, for writing is already there, before it, in the words of Allah, presumably unmediated, as Gustave E. Von Grunebaum explains:

The vindication of the matchless literary position of Revelation was more important to Islam than to Christianity because only the Muslim possessed the *unmediated* word of God. The Christian had his scriptures in translation and had not been taught to look upon the original as *actual discourse* in the Lord's tongue. Besides, the **Bible** could not escape being judged against the Graeco-Roman literary tradition while the **Koran** stood out in Arabic literature as an unprecedented phenomenon for the critical valuation of which no standard existed (4)(italics mine).

We can see these problems of relationship between script and speech echoed by Jacques Derrida's unmasking of Saussure's preference for speech over writing, leaving writing as only 'ce supplément' as J.J. Rousseau saw it (5). Let us then dwell for a moment on the philosophy of the *kalam* in Islamic theology and metaphysics. The term *kalam*, literally 'speech' or 'word', is used as an equivalent of the Greek *logos* in its various acceptations: 'word', 'reason' and 'argument' as Averroes for instance would use it. It is equally used as meaning any branch of learning. Later, *kalam* as 'speech' or 'discourse' developed in order to enable Muslim scholars- via the Koranic text, logic and argumentation - to comprehend and grasp the universe and God. It is then a human branch of learning, that which tries to 'discourse' on the universe, Man and God, but also used as a reference to (or meaning of) the 'divine word'. In this, the Islamic concept of *kalam* merges with that of *mantiq* (logic) both of which, like *logos* refer to 'speech' or 'discourse'. On the other hand, the **Koran** presents itself, besides the meaning of 'reading', as 'word', 'wisdom' and 'knowledge' in its overall self-conception of a pre-existent **Koran** (6). Thus, speech is human, writing is divine; it is the written *logos*, the *sign* that is divine. When Michel Foucault sees Don Quixote as *hero of the same*, and above all as a sign (7), he comes rather close to the Islamic notion of the reader embodying the 'sign', i.e. the word of God both as it is written in the **Koran** and as it is contained in all writings.

In the **One Thousand and One Nights**, Kamaralzaman (Qamar-al-zaman), who is to be wed to a lady chosen by his father, refuses to marry at all, for he has just *read* about women's treacherous behaviour and other related matters. His *readings* made him stubbornly reject his father's wish (he has no other reason) and incur his wrath. He is thus put into jail because of his refusal, due to his readings that is, and only a dream will save him. The importance of books and reading in Islamic culture has been stressed by several scholars (8), but deserves perhaps more emphasis here. I shall try to analyze **Don Quixote's** relation to Moorish culture, by systematically

isolating the most relevant and noteworthy Moorish elements in the text and discuss them in some detail.

Américo Castro's major contributions to our understanding of Cervantes's narrative and thought lies in his decision to leave off his Western view of **Don Quixote**, and espouse thereafter an Oriental one, for as he writes,

para un europeo plenamente articulado con la tradición greco-occidental, un libro es un libro y un hombre es un hombre; no puede ocurrírsele, por tanto, forjar la realidad "centaurica" del "libro-hombreado" o del "hombre-libreado" como un fenómeno normal y sin toques de magia o de alegoría (9) .

This drastic change toward an altogether different view enables him to move further and see books as a living reality in Moorish culture:

Sentir los libros como *realidad viva, animada*, comunicable e *incitante* es un fenómeno humano de tradición oriental, estrechamente ligado con la creencia de ser la palabra contenido y transmisor de una revelación. La idea de la religión en libros sagrados es oriental y no occidental...limitémonos a recordar el papel, el *libro como realidad* humana dentro de la *literatura árabe* (10) (italics mine).

Moreover, and in order to substantiate his claim, Castro quotes the first Koranic revelation mentioned above and the Arab historian Al-Mas'udi (d.956/7) at length (11) . For him, there is no doubt that **Don Quixote** is permeated by this Oriental view of the book as a potential danger, and the *reader-sign* as exemplified by Kamaralzaman's story, to a degree unseen in the rest of European literature:

La tradición oriental de la vida española hizo posible que el tema de la lectura de los libros, como fuente de *bienes y de males*, existiese en la vida española y penetrara más tarde en las páginas del Quijote en una forma que no hallamos en la literatura del resto de Europa sino muy rara vez (12) (italics mine).

Books, literature as sources of evil can also be associated with the *Mu'tazilites* (eighth century onward) and their doctrine of God as the source of good, and evil emanating only from humans and their actions, including writing (13) . Cervantes, via the priest echoes a similar view:

El cual aún todavía dormía. Pidió las llaves a la sobrina, del aposento donde estaban los *libros autores* del daño (italics mine, I, 6)

Through such instances and others (I,1; II,22, II,62, etc.), **Don Quixote** appears to be the *roman d'un liseur* as Thibaudet writes, stemming from a *liseur de romans* (14) . Dominique Aubier on the other hand, identifies Don Quixote's obsession with books and reading with Judaism. Because of the Spanish touchiness about the Quixote he writes, no hazardous interpretation can be made, for

aucune autre littérature n'offre un héros de fiction capable à la fois de faire rire et de mettre le peuple à la *dévotion* ou au *combat* (15) (italics mine).

Such is the case, he adds, of another nation: Israël. This view differs widely from the two major ones on this question. The first sees Don Quixote as parodying chivalric books via Cide Hamete as historian and his insistence on bookishness. The second, i.e. Castro's, views Cervantes's narrative from an Islamic angle, that is based on the **Koran** and Moorish literature on the one hand, and a close reading of the text on the other. In this, Castro is not alone (16). Aubier's view of this narrative does not illuminate us; on the contrary, it blurs the borderline between the Jewish-Islamic connections and gives **Don Quixote** a far more bellicose aspect than has hitherto been

suggested (17) . This said, we should now move on to other Moorish cultural elements in the narrative.

Cervantes quite often employs as an indirect reference to Benengeli, the expression *dice la historia*. This is clearly of Moorish origin, as Willis for instance has shown. Following the *isnad* technique or chain of transmitters, Cervantes uses it to substantiate his claim of the veracity of his *historia* as recounted by the Moorish historian. In fact, *dice la historia* where writes Willis, at each occasion the flow of the Cervantine text is interrupted, opens Moorish historiographical works and other narratives, and is the equivalent of the Arabic *taqulu al-qisa, yaqulu al-tarikh, yarwi al-tarikh*, etc. (respectively, 'the story has it that...', 'history says', 'history recounts'). Hence *qala...* (says the narrator or historian) is no mere stereotype but rather an important traditional function concludes Willis (18) , precisely that of the *isnad* technique and the function of the *rawi* or narrator-transmitter in narrating events, etc. This formula, repeatedly utilized by Cervantes is related to the **Vida del Quijote** which Benengeli recounts; and it is precisely a *life of* type of narrative that Moorish authors were fond of. Agreeing with Castro who writes that the idea or notion of *vida* was necessary 'para la innovacion novelística motivada por el **Quijote**' (19) , I believe it is another instance of Moorish cultural penetration. Moorish narratives 'tell' or narrate the flux of events among which the lives of men and women stream along, just as the Spanish 'Vida de', with its pseudo- or semi-autobiographical aspect does. It gives indeed an impression of veracity, of being true to life, by trying to reproduce a faithful chronology and account of events and behaviours. **Siyar al-muluk al-a'jam (The Lives of the Alien [Persian] Kings)** written or compiled by Ibn-Muqaffa' (c.8th century), **Sirat Rasul Allah (The Life of the Messenger of Allah)** by Muhammad Ibn-Ishaq (d.767), and **Siratu 'Antar (The Life [and Aventures] of Antar)** by an unknown or still disputed author (20) are ample evidence.

Other Arabic formulae are also used in **Don Quixote**. Very often, Cervantes makes use of them at the beginning or the end of chapters, and at times in the chapter:

...comenzó a decir *desta manera*:-...(end of I,38)

...donde les sucedió lo que se contará en el *capítulo venidero*(end of II,28)

Estando *en esto*, comenzó a dar voces Don Quijote, diciendo:-...(beginning of I,7)

Estando *en esto*, llevo otro mozo de los que les traían...(beginning of I,12)

En esto comenzó a llover un poco, y quisiera Sancho...(beginning of I,21)

Estando *en esto*, el ventero, que estaba a la puerta de la venta, dijo:-...(beginning of I,36) (italics mine)

Both *desta manera* and *related in the coming chapter* fill the text and can easily be connected to such Arabic formulae: *kama yali* (as follows) and *fi-al-qisati attaliya* (in the following story or chapter) as some instances in the **One Thousand and One Nights** can show:

... and he related as follows:-...

... and the Christian related as follows:-...

Other examples from this text can show striking similarities with Cervantes's formulae. But it is, above all, his repeated use of *en esto* that strikes most. Aubier

mentions it but does not, unfortunately, dwell on it (21) . This formula is mostly used in Part One, enabling Cervantes to open a new chapter without 'roughness'. This formula, the equivalent of *upon this* (sometimes translated wrongly as 'at this point' by J.M.Cohen, 1950), has its double in Arabic and was very often used in Moorish story-telling. Let us take a few examples from the above-named Arabic text:

Upon this, the third sheikh...(end of the Story of the Second Sheikh and the Two Black Hounds)

Upon this the fisherman accepted...(mid. of the Story of the Fisherman)(my italics)

Moreover, the major difference between the use of *en esto* in **Don Quixote** and that of the **One Thousand and One Nights** lies in the former being used at the beginning of chapters, while the latter is basically used in the middle or at the end of the stories. This is of course an important contrast between the two, but seems relevant in the sense that similarities are not the sole indicators of 'influence'. Often, writers do not 'imitate' as blindly as it can be, but rather adulterate or improve upon the model. What is simply meant here is that, as in the case of countergenre, similarities are not always helpful.

At the level of syntax, and contrary to various claims that for instance 'Spanish grammar remained unaffected by Arabic' (22) , Arabic syntax is found in **Don Quixote**, according to the discoveries of Snyder Gehman. He has recently noted that the Arabic relative pronoun can be found not only in Cervantes's text, but also in the much older **Poema de mío Cid**. The relative clause of the accusative case can be observed in **Don Quixote**. However, and strangely enough, this construction occurs from chapter 8 of Part One onwards, that is exactly when Cide Hamete steps in. There are two types, writes Snyder Gehman. In the first case, a relative clause immediately follows an indefinite noun without the use of a relative pronoun. Let us give an example: *marartu bi-tiflin yasraku* (I passed by a boy who was shouting). This type, as Snyder Gehman has noted, does not occur in **Don Quixote**. But it is the second type, the uninflected relative which is supplemented by a resumptive or tautological personal pronoun, that occurs in it. To take Snyder Gehman's own example: *al sariq alladhi qatalahu ibni* (the thief, who my son killed him= the thief whom my son killed). After this example of the accusative, let us take one in the genitive: *al-tabibu ibnuhu 'indi* (the physician who his son is at my house = the physician whose son is at my house). Most of the examples available in **Don Quixote** are in the accusative case, adds Snyder Gehman, providing full evidence from the text. A few examples will suffice:

Los brazos largos que los suelen tener algunos (I, 8)

Otra desgracia, que Sancho la tuvo por la peor (I, 19) (instances in the accusative).

Un delincuente, que está en sú lengua su vida o su muerte (II, 22) (instance of the genitive).

And Snyder Gehman concludes that:

the influence of Arabic syntax, however, on the relative pronoun with the resumptive or tautological personal pronoun has not received consideration. Although this principle has not been carried out everywhere in the **Cid** and **Don Quijote**, the Arabic syntax has left its traces in various passages (23).

Cervantes tells us, at the every beginning of his narrative, that the name of the 'hero' is problematic but nevertheless somewhere between *quexana* and *quesada/quixada*. In my opinion, the name *quesada* in particular is an instance of pseudomorphosis (24), and is intimately related to the Arabic *qasd* (intention, way, road, purpose, resolution), *qasada* (intend, seek, move towards); hence *qasida* (ode/elegy) as 'purpose', etc.(25) . Thus, *quesada*, i.e. **Don Quixote**, is quite close to the idea of knight-errantry, for after all, as that eminent specialist of the Middle Ages wrote,

Islam too developed an ideal of knighthood, which exhibits "*striking coincidences*" with that of the Christian West (26) (*italics mine*).

This is what had to be said concerning certain Moorish literary aspects into which was incorporated an apparently unimportant term *quesada*. However, more Moorish cultural elements can be extracted from the text.

Américo Castro dealt with several Moorish characteristics of **Don Quixote**. It is perhaps profitable to discuss them again here and as a starting point towards other areas of the same nature. The first item to open the discussion with is the notion of *hidalgo*. Castro wrote that the term was built following an Arabic pattern, and he said, is another instance of *seudomorfosis* (see note 24). In Arabic, expressions such as *rajul khayr* (man of good deeds, *hombre de bien* that is), *bint bayt* (daughter or girl of a good (noble) house) are quite common. Hence, *hija d'algo* (son of 'something', i.e. 'nobleman') is strikingly similar in form to the Arabic word *hram* (literally, son of 'sin'), used for thugs, thieves or as is common, for illegitimate children (cf. *hi de malicia*) (27) . It is noteworthy, at this stage, to make clear, as did Castro, that *ibn/bint* or *bent* do not necessarily always imply or mean 'son of', 'daughter of', but also that/he, she who..., and that as Castro explained, *hijodalgo* (*hidalgo*) cannot thus be understood if one sticks to the Latino-Roman terminology or background. On the contrary, it can only be grasped if one switches to an Oriental explanation:

hijo d'algo no sea explicable dentro del marco latino-romanico (28) .

Another major point brought up by Castro is the notion of *honra* (feeling of honour, to be contrasted with *honor*). The latter is an absolute or is absolutely; the former, on the contrary, belongs to that who acts and reacts (29) . Cervantes, in **El Trato de Argel** for instance, compares two 'honras', the Muslim and the Christian(Spanish), and writes that the Christian refuses to take the oar for instance while in the sea, whereas the Muslim takes pride in taking it whatever his rank may be. Hence, the Islamic idea that a person is worth by what he is, not his environment or heritage. Here, I shall paraphrase a famous Arab proverb: the child is worth what he does, not what his father did (30) . Moreover, the very title of that celebrated *novela morisca*, **El Abencerraje y Jarifa** deals with noble deeds and noble people; and therefore, the very fact that the Moorish lady is named Jarifa (Arabic for 'noble' or 'honrosa') (31) is not to be taken lightly. Thus, when Cervantes writes that Don Quixote comes from a 'well-known house', he seems to echo an Arabic equivalent:

fulan min bayt(aila) ma'ruf(a)(32) . Finally, and carrying this discussion of *honra*, I will again draw on Castro's findings to illustrate this further. Dulcinea comes from El Toboso, which happened to be inhabited by a great number of Moors. Then, the very fact of claiming that she came from a noble family or was 'wellborn' and thus belonged to a noble lineage of El Toboso strikes at this very claim. Here, Cervantes's sarcasm takes a greater proportion than elsewhere (cf. when he has Don Quixote, Sancho, etc. discuss the question of Old Christians, 'purity of blood', etc.) (33) . At this stage, and in order not to burden this work with more of Castro's points, I shall send the reader back to Castro's works (34) .

Another scholar, González Palencia pointed out to Sancho's proverbs and other instances, and believed that some of the tales of the **Disciplina Clericalis** (12th century), of Arabic or Oriental origin (see below) reappeared later in **El Conde Lucanor**(1342), and in **Don Quixote**(10-12, Part One) as for example 'el de las cabras, que Sancho contó a Don Quijote la noche de los batanes' (35) .

As to Leo Spitzer, he indicated some intriguing connections with Moorish culture (unaware of it though); in other words, what he raised could be related to Moorish culture. He remarked for instance that it is 'vanity which ultimately induces townsmen to sally forth and do battle with their deriders' (36), but did not go any further. In chapter 27 (Part two), Don Quixote and Sancho pursue their journey, having so far travelled for two days without meeting anyone or anything worth mentioning (by Cide Hamete that is). As Don Quixote is climbing up a slope, he hears a commotion of drums, trumpets and musketry. Some two hundred men, we are told, armed with various sorts of weaponry (spears, crossbows, etc.) are on their way to wage battle against another village, that which has mocked them 'more than was reasonable or neighbourly'. Here, the reader should be referred to the 14th-century Moorish sociologist, Ibn-khaldun (1332-1406) who in his **Muqaddimah (Prolegomena)** discussed the notion of *'asabiya* (kinship or clanism): the blood and tribal feelings of the nomads which weld them together and strengthens their position vis-a-vis the townfolk. It is, he says, a cyclical phenomenon; the tribesmen, feeling inferior and 'derided' by the town, decide to seize power. Once done, they become alienated and corrupted by urban life (civilization) and will fall into the same situation as that of those they themselves criticized. Hence, another tribe will wage war against them and seize power, etc. (37) And it is none other than Cide Hamete who relates this chapter:

Cide Hamete Benengeli, the chronicler of this great history, introduces the present chapter with these words: 'I swear as a Catholic Christian...'(II,27)

However, and I am not suggesting it for one moment, this aspect should in no way imply that Cervantes knew of this sociologist. What is meant is that given that Ibn-Khaldun lived in Moorish Spain, and that his work was later known there, being in fact based upon his factual observations of Muslim society from Baghdad to Spain, it is likely that what is recorded here in this chapter is *in fact* the remnants of a *modus vivendi* inherited from the Moors (38) . After all, the previous chapter of the puppet-showman concerns itself with Moors and battles against them:

Now turn your eyes, sirs, to that tower yonder, which is supposed to be one of the towers of the castle of Saragossa, now called the Aljaferia. The lady appearing

on that balcony dressed in the Moorish fashion is the peerless Melisendra...Do you observe that Moor stealing up on tiptoe...? Now the city is drowned in peals of bells ringing from all the towers of the mosques. -'That is not right', said Don Quixote, '...for they do not use bells among the Moors'(II,26)

and the chapter ends beautifully, like so many others, in the fashion of Sheherazade:

...where we leave them, for this is a fitting opportunity for relating other matters pertinent to the telling of this famous history,

that is the *historia* as written and told by Cide Hamete in Arabic. But Leo Spitzer's most noteworthy remark, based on Castro's work, is the use of 'dirty' language in **Don Quixote**. For this he quotes Sancho's *hacer aguas* (to urinate) from chapter I,48 ('The Canon of Toledo'), which I shall fully quote instead:

... preguntó, hablando con acatamiento, ¿ si acaso después que *vuestra merced* va enjaulado y, a su parecer encantado en esta jaula, le ha venido *gana y voluntad de hacer aguas* mayores o menores, como suele decirse ? - *No entiendo* eso de hacer aguas, Sancho; *aclárate más* si quieres que te *responda derechamente*... - Pues en la escuela destetan a los muchachos con ello... - Ya, ya te entiendo, Sancho !...y *aún ahora la tengo*...(italics mine)

Let us then try to see its Moorish relation. In the story told by the Muslim Spaniard Ibn-Hazm of Cordova (994-1064) about Harun Al-Rashid, Caliph of Baghdad, deserves to be related here. The latter, being very thirsty asked for a glass of water, and the ascetic Ibn-Al-Samak judiciously asked him in his turn the price he would have paid for such a glass. 'All my empire!' was Harun's answer. 'And if you should not be able to pass this water from your body...what would you give to be free of such an affliction?' his companion insisted. 'The whole of my kingdom', answered the Caliph. And the former to conclude: '...are you so proud of possessing a realm that is worth less than a *urination* and less than a sip of water (39)?'(italics mine). Basing his argument on such and other instances, Castro arrives at the conclusion that without the Muslims the Spaniards would not have mixed the clean with the dirty:

Cervantes, Quevedo, Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, and many others had no compunction about mixing the noblest and the basest aspects of man together. Without the example of the Moslems *they would not have done this* (italics mine) (40).

This blunt 'realism' occurred; it should be recalled, as from the seventh century! Other examples abound in Arabic literature.

These instances suffice to make the point, and it is worth noting here that this very expression *hacer aguas* is used nowadays in the rural areas of the maghreb: *tayyar al-ma* (literally, 'to pass water', 'to spray water'). But before closing the discussion on this passage of **Don Quixote**, a final remark can be made. Sancho's use of 'dirty' language, and above all Don Quixote's act (he understands what this expression finally means, and decides or rather feels an urge for unriating) happens

in one of the most 'sacred' chapters, namely that of 'The Canon of Toledo', carried out by 'vuestra merced' after having discussed or mentioned literature, drama, authors themselves...and Theseus! This could be interpreted as tantamount to a 'urination' on what has been reviewed, and perhaps on the literary canons themselves. It is not possible to examine all the Moorish connections in this narrative; this can later be done at leisure. There is, nevertheless, a last word to say and a final point to make in this part of the work: the notion of '*armas y letras*' in **Don Quixote**.

In Part II,6, 'one of the most important chapters in this whole History' as entitled, Don Quixote makes a notable speech on Arms and Letters, starting with Amadis of Gaul. Then he comes to mention the 'Ottoman house' since it serves 'as an example' for those who 'have risen from humble origins to their present greatness'. This belongs, he says, to the first of the four kinds of pedigrees. In it, he includes himself precisely by *excluding* himself. He thinks that the poor gentleman possesses no other means or way of showing that he is a gentleman except by being virtuous, affable, etc. Then he goes on to discuss the 'two roads' he knows of, that can take men to honour and riches: Letters and Arms. And he makes it clear, at first, that he is of the second choice (Arms), precisely that which, as a means, led the Ottomans to stand 'now at the height we see it'. Secondly, he quotes a Castilian poet while discussing the matter of Arms, not Letters. But in doing so, he combines both, something which implicitly lacks in the Ottoman house as he calls it. I now wish to connect this idea to Moorish culture.

Writing on this, Balzac's significant sentence echoes a rather widely accepted idea, the joining of the pen and the sword:

Ce qu'il a commencé par *l'épée* (Napoléon), je l'achèverai par la *plume* (italics mine).

Curtius discusses this notion in European literature from the Middle Ages onwards. He examines the cases of such writers as Boiardo in **Orlando Innamorato**, I,18,41-5, where he says, one can read 'one of the most brilliant passages... on arms and studies' (41). The theme, he adds, reappears in **Ariosto** (XX,1-2), in **Pantagruel** (ch.8), and **Don Quixote** (I,38;II,6). But it is in Spain, he affirms, that the combination of the sword with studies was best realized:

Nowhere else has the combination of the life of the Muses and the life of the Warrior ever been so brilliantly realized as in Spain's period of florescence in the 16th and 17th centuries - it suffices to call to mind Garcilaso, Cervantes, Lope, and Calderon. All were poets who also served in wars (42).

This theme was therefore widely known in Spain in particular, where it was quite often treated in literature.

In his **Españolidad y Europeización del Quijote**, Castro demonstrates how Don Quixote as a character was manipulated in literary historiography, and 'europeanized', when he was basically Hispano-Moorish:

Hay en Europa más elementos mágico-orientales que en España, en donde lo "oriental" no fue cultura venida de fuera, sino cosa propia, usada o rechazada según hacía al caso...una España...que en su presente y en su pasado pretendemos que sea una porción de Occidente, y nada más...Pero se olvida que los españoles eran tan cristiano-europeos como islámico-asiáticos e hispano-hebreos...(43)

Again, and in I,38, entitled 'Don Quixote's curious Discourse on Arms and Letters', Don Quixote makes a choice, or shall I say, gives precedence to the profession of arms over that of studies. This he balances as we have seen above (II,6). This change of attitude stems from the fact that this chapter occurs between the Algiers chapters (I,37-42), and also because it was written some ten years before.

This notion, then, of arms and studies is also a Moorish 'literary' characteristic, perhaps too Moorish in that it was too much an idea(l) of Arab poets. Consider the following verses by Abu-Tammam (c.805-45), which can help demonstrate what I mean:

-The sword is truer in tidings than(any) writings: in its edge is the boundary between earnestness and sport.

-(Swords) white as to their blades, not (books) black as to their pages -in their broad sides(texts) lies the removing of doubt and uncertainties;

-And knowledge(resides) in the flames of the lances flashing between the two massed armies...(44)

of which the second verse is described by Arberry as 'brilliant', for the Arabic '*matn*' signifies the broad side of a sword and also the text of a book'(45). Al-Mutannabi(915-965) is of course the master of such combination of arms and studies, alongside Antar-ibn-Shaddad, especially in these lines:

-I know the steed, the night and the desert,
the sword, the lance, the paper and the pen
(my translation, 46).

In an Arabic scholarly work, Nuri Hammudi Al-Qaysi gives a detailed account of the question. But more interestingly, he seems to converge with Juan Vernet on another matter: horse-naming. Don Quixote's mount is called Rocinante, a name 'which seemed to him grand and sonorous, and to express the common horse before arriving at his present state: the first and foremost of all hacks in the world'(I,1). Among the names used in Arabic, I will cite a few: *dahis* (whitlow, felon); *al-kamit* (dumb), and above all *abjar* (obese, corpulent), Antara's famous mount. In fact, Antar-ibn-Shaddad is to the Arabs what Renaud de Montauban is to Europe (47). J. Vernet has rightly compared both knights, but also their coursers, *Abjar* and *Bayard*, noting the homophony between them (48).

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2. **THE KORAN**, translated by N.J. DAWOOD, fourth revised edition, 1974.
3. See for instance, M. BRETT & W. FORMAN, **The Moors: Islam in the West**, 1980, pp.59-60.
4. G.E. Von GRUNEBAUM, **A Tenth-Century Document of Arabic Literary Theory and Criticism**, 1950, pp.XIV-XV.
5. J. DERRIDA, **De la grammatologie**, 1967.
6. H.A. WOLFSON, **The Philosophy of the Kalâm**, 1976, pp.1-20 and passim. See also A. CASTRO, op.cit., where he writes: "No es un azar que en arabe una misma palabra sinifique 'herir' y 'conversar con alguien' (*kalân(?)*, *kallam*), y que *kalima* sea 'verbo, logos divino'. On the other hand, E.W. SAID points to an eleventh-century Cordoban school led by Ibn-Hazm and others, and their thought raised - among other things - 'a notion that essentially puts a line of demarcation between Islamic ideas and the Judeo-Christian textual traditions.' Drawing on R. ARNALDEZ's **Grammaire et théologie chez Ibn Hazm de Cordoue**, 1956, SAID continues: 'By contrast (with the Bible) the **Koran** is the result of a unique event, the "descent" into wordliness of a text, whose language and form are thereafter to be viewed as stable, complete, unchanging...Hence...according to Ibn Hazm, (the **Koran**) is a text controlled by two paradigmatic imperatives, *iqra*: read, or recite, and *qul*: tell.' See his 'The Text, the World, the Critic', in **Textual Strategies**, ed. J.V. HARARI, 1980 (1979), pp. 161-188.
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18. R.S. WILLIS, **The Phantom Chapters of the Quijote**, 1953, p. 101.
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22. H. SNYDER GEHMAN, 'Arabic syntax of the relative pronoun in **Poema de mio Cid** and **Don Quixote**', **HISPANIC REVIEW**, 50/1, 1982, pp.53-60.
23. Ibid.
24. On what is called pseudomorphosis, see CASTRO's **The Structure of Spanish History**, op.cit, and **Collected Studies in Honour of Américo Castro's 80th year**, ed. M.P. HORNICK, 1965, where the editor stated that O.Spengler's 'mineralogical concept' of pseudomorphosis was

applied to history. He then proposed to apply the term *historical pseudomorphosis* to those cases in which an alien culture lies so massively over the land that another culture, born in this land, cannot get its breath and fails to develop its own self-consciousness' (Introduction, pp.7-20).

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26. E. CURTIUS, **European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages**, 1953(1948), p.537.

27. A. CASTRO, **La realidad historica de España**, op.cit., pp.219-23.

28. Ibid, p.220.

29. A. CASTRO, **Le drame de l'honneur dans la vie et la littérature espagnoles du XVIème siècle**, 1965(1961), pp.27-57.

30. Ibid, p.86. The Arabic proverb I quoted literally means: 'is not a youth he who says my father was, but he who says here I am!'

31. Ibid, pp.122-3.

32. Ibid, pp.127-8 and A. CASTRO, **The Structure of Spanish History**, op.cit, p.100.

33. See B. LOUPIAS, 'En marge d'un recensement des moriscos de la "villa de el Toboso" ', **BULLETIN HISPANIQUE**, 78, 1976, pp.74-96.

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47. **Siratu 'Antar (The Romance of Antar or The Life and Adventures of Antar)** deals with the poet Antar and his heroism. However, it is supposed to have been written by Asma'i (?). Antar was compared by R.A. NICHOLSON, to 'the bedouin Achilles', op.cit, pp.103-115 and pp. 459ff.

48. See N.H. AL-QAYSI, **Chivalry in pre-Islamic Poetry** (Arabic edition), 1964, and J. VERNET, **Ce que la culture doit aux Arabes d'Espagne**, 1985(1978), pp. 282-3.

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