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The Possibility of the Mediterranean and the Contribution of Poetic Cross-Cultural Philologies During the Twentieth Century. Al-Andalus in the Poetry of Federico García Lorca, Louis Aragon, and Maḥmūd Darwiš

> To return with Lorca only yesterday, to walk along the sea, under the stars, to see the forests becoming green forever, green with love, the shadow of our childhood like a flower, crying adios! While marching single file up to the crossroads, reciting songs we made, white muslin shaking, trailing along the byways, the glitter that drops down from Lorca's wings, words that we write through Lorca. (Rothenberg 1990, 47–49)

Abstract: Since the nineteenth century, poetry has been both a privileged object for different philologies (rediscovering pre-islamic or troubadour poetry for example) and one of the literary genres where this knowledge has been recycled in new poetical achievements crossing the cultural boundaries persistent in the philologies themselves (since Goethe, Hugo, and others). Until the twentieth century scholarship and composition of poetry were thus entwined in the context of a set of cultural and political agendas where the question of the national and various forms of the transnational were to be taken into account. We can read within this framework the poetry of Federico García Lorca, Louis Aragon, here principally taken into consideration as the author of *Le Fou d'Elsa* (1963), and Maḥmūd Darwiš, mostly between his departure from Beirut, in 1982, and his "return" to Palestine, in 1995. Their poetries share a reference to al-Andalus / Andalusia which, as a moving, multi-layered and contrapuntal local reference, is one of the most important locations from which to start to build a Mediterranean transregional perspective in literary studies. Indeed, the territoriality of Andalusia as a "translation zone" (E. Apter), at the crossroads of Romance philology and the so-called Oriental philology, was and still is a place of projection for various cultural and political dilemmas which can be anchored to different places within the Mediterranean. However, Lorca, Aragon and Darwiš were not confined by collective agendas. On the contrary, they performed in their poems a deterritorialization of philology, entwining what is considered as their "own" and as the "other's" cultural history, thus integrating Romance and Oriental philologies in a poetic discourse which goes beyond philology in its imagination of the place.

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1 Introduction

As modernity *came* to the Mediterranean at around 1800 (Ben-Yehoyada 2014; Burke III 2016), the area has been gradually mapped as a cultural space by philologies. Philology is here used as a countable noun referring to different epistemological practices, to different national academic institutions and to the divides existing in the discipline between fields of research resulting from different languages and literatures (Espagne 1990). Philology as a renewed science of language and literature is not a homogeneous scientific paradigm. It nevertheless conveys a new way to transmit a culture now built on an epistemic objectification What was vehiculated by a traditional logic of imitation is reshaped and becomes a historical repertoire in the new context of the growth of liberal nationalism but also of colonial imperialism. Thus, philology as a historic and humanist knowledge is not separable from political agendas linked with both identity and difference, national pedagogy and imperialist hegemony. As a specialist of cultural history, Anne-Marie Thiesse has shown how literary history, which is a variation of philology in a French positivist context, has played a central role in the nation-building processes in Europe, and that in turn, the European model has become a global model influencing nation-building processes elsewhere in the world (Thiesse 2019). World literature cannot be considered only as a uniformization of a wholesale connected literature in a world-system through global *translatio.* World literature is also the result of a worldwide generalization of the building of national languages and literatures, which are located in newly fragmented nation-state territories. Philologies have thus contributed to the study and institutionalization of languages and literatures in every emerging national entity which had formerly belonged to dynastic or imperial powers; this has been carried out through processes of cultural revivals, declarations of independence and nation-state building.

These cultural and political processes have a particular relevance in the modern Mediterranean. In actuality, the Mediterranean is a transregional area of ancient and perennial linguistic and cultural contacts which includes a large spectrum of typical modern locations. There exist in this area prestigious cultural locations, such as France, which have provided a model for the building of other national modern repertoires. Also in this area are peripheral European locations which have been able to, more or less, take on the central prestigious modern teleology of cultural evolution, from Spain and Italy, which are unavoidably included in a European cultural territoriality through Romance philology, and further, to the more problematic Balkan peninsula. And eventually, this area also includes locations outside Europe which have often been subjected to colonial

domination and have been encompassed in a much more indistinct field of research, i. e., Oriental philology or Orientalism.

There is a strong paradox within philology. It could be considered a discipline which reinforces national cultural identifications, mainly focusing on a quest for origins that are, most of the time, located in a medieval linguistic and literary etymon. Or it could be considered as a discipline which cannot be encapsulated into a national agenda, one which expands its gathering of material from an ever-growing area of relevance that enters into contact with other neighboring areas, eventually becoming worldly. The trajectory of the Romanist Erich Auerbach appears to represent a centrally important point in the matter; Auerbach gave in *Mimesis* (1946) an extensive rereading of European culture while being an exiled in Istanbul during the Second World War, and also wrote the landmark essay "Philologie der Weltliteratur" (1952). There exist numerous further participants in this debate regarding philology, including Edward W. Said (1983 and elsewhere), Emily Apter (2006) and Aamir R. Mufti (2016). The vagaries of philology towards world literature, as they are illustrated in this debate, are seen as exploring a "translation zone", to borrow Emily Apter's expression. This zone can be experimentally situated with a sphere of relevance across the Mediterranean, between a Romance philology which has become a European philology, and an otherness which was covered in both sense of the word (reported and hidden) by Orientalism. Aamir R. Mufti, himself originating from the Indian subcontinent, has shown how Orientalisms, which are to be considered as plural, have contributed to map world literature. He argues that "*world literature has functioned from the very beginning as a border regime*, a system for the regulation of movement, rather than as a set of literary relations beyond or without borders" (2016, 9). According to him, the complementarity of philologies and world literature since Goethe, being renewed by Auerbach, has been hardly able to escape from two predicaments: the uniformization of languages and literatures by translation in English as a global vehicular, and a marginalizing and misleading assignment of the vernaculars to build local linguistic and literary institutions following the Western European model. Mufti thus engages the scholar and the critic in a task which may be better carried out at the level of a relatively smaller transregional border zone like the Mediterranean than at the level of world literature, which implies a recourse to distant reading and to digital humanities:

> To engage in the "philology" – that is, historically engaged and linguistically attuned criticism – of world literature is to produce critical-historical knowledge of this process, of the concepts and practices, intellectual or scholarly as well as literary, of this worldwide social and cultural assemblage and their modes of embeddedness in the world. (Mufti 2016, 241)

In order to contribute to such a "critical-historical knowledge of the process" between philologies and world literature, I would argue that the modern Mediterranean is a relevant field of inquiry, especially if one begins with the way philologies have mapped this field and at the same time have complexified the reality of the borders within it. In actuality, Romance philologies, in a fluctuant dialog with Orientalisms in the Mediterranean, could not help but to consider in medieval times intimacies between Romance and Semitic languages and literatures, and thus overcoming, albeit potentially with some misprision, the divide between philologies as it is described by Mufti. A would-be cross-cultural philology has thus been anticipated in the different locations of the Mediterranean, where a modern philological rereading of the medieval was produced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; this was undertaken mainly in France, Spain and Italy, but also in the Near East, in the frame of the Arab revival, the *Nahḍa.* Regarding Romance philologies, a national medieval etymon could not be found in the purity of a single vernacular or in its sole derivation from Latin; the Arabic legacy had to be remembered. Further, these national would-be cross-cultural philologies of the medieval have played a groundbreaking role in the context of contemporary American Mediterranean literary studies, as they have been initiated by María Rosa Menocal (Menocal 1987; Mallette 2010; Akbari and Mallette 2013). Menocal was herself indebted to the pro-Arabist tendency of Spanish philology (Marín, 2009), members of which travelled from Spain to the United States Academy when some of the eminent members of the Spanish philological school, such as Américo Castro, left in exile during the Spanish Civil War.

However the aim here is not to enter further into the philological debates about the medieval. The main points to be considered are that, firstly, there is a shared remembered medieval Mediterranean discussed by philologies, in the frame of political and cultural agendas instituted in the Mediterranean and elsewhere, and that, secondly, these discussions played a role in the formation of the modern Mediterranean at the time of nation-building processes and colonial imperialism. We can focus on al-Andalus as the most common of the common places for studying this modern use of the medieval Mediterranean in terms of a shared and contrapuntal memory. Modern references to al-Andalus were actually constructed from different contextual spatio-temporal locations in the Mediterranean such as, as will be seen, Spain in the 1920s–1930s, at the time that an attempt was made for a liberal national modernization, or France in the aftermath of the Second World War, between the time of *Résistance* and that of decolonization, as well as Palestine in the 1980s–1990s, at the time of the predicament of the pan-Arabist project. Thus, a possibility of the Mediterranean is embedded in space-times such as al-Andalus, onto which are projected different versions of a shared memory from various ensuing cultural and political locations. Altogether, philolo-

gies as a condition for the construction of references to such space-times have played an important role in linking modern contexts to a remembered past.

The novel is considered to have been, along with the print media, the prevalent literary genre in which modernization was expressed in nation-states all around the world. However, I will argue that poetry, too, has played a significant role in this cultural evolution. The specificity of the poetic discursive mode is that it relies both on a process of exemplification, through which it is inscribed in a historical series of literal or oral traditions, and, that it reevaluates this memory through an enunciation in the immediacy of a new context. Poetry in the modern Mediterranean has thus been itself a sort of philology, having a deep conscience, (which could be called in the words of Harold Bloom an "anxiety of influence"), of its role in the perpetuation and renewal of a language and of its poetic repertoire. At the same time, poetry was also deeply inscribed, as a performed enunciation, in its contemporary contexts. Certain poets have thus played a part in modernization processes, parallel to those of intellectuals and political activists; particularly when it has been the case that poetry has been valued as a common good in cultural transformations. In the various contexts mentioned earlier in Spain, France and in the Arab World, Federico García Lorca (1898–1936), Louis Aragon (1897–1982) and Maḥmūd Darwiš (1941–2008) were poets among philologists, but also among intellectuals and politicians. They contributed, through their authorship as poets, to establishing a link between philological scholarship, intellectual critique and political activism, being themselves amateur philologists, intellectuals of sorts and, regarding the latter two, for a time even political figures. They thus played a role in actualizing a possibility of the Mediterranean as a consistent cultural space from their contrapuntal locations which were connected a minima by a shared reference to al-Andalus. As poets, they reassembled a public through a literary language which reinvented al-Andalus as a part of their culture, while various philologies contributed to the negotiating of the legacy of al-Andalus inside and beyond cultural borders. They built in their poetry a contextual reference to Al-Andalus, and in so doing, performed what I propose to be a poetic cross-cultural philology. This may have profited greatly from a philological knowledge, but a knowledge which was reenacted in their work. However, I would add here that they also went "beyond philology", in the words of Sharon Kinoshita (Akbari 2013, 25–42). This means that not only did their practice abandon the quest for an etymon, but also the transfers of a cross-cultural philology. Al-Andalus gave way through Lorca to Andalucía, not as a regional transcultural location but as a wandering place which liberated the naked strength of the song, a place which surges through what Lorca himself called the *duende.*

2 Beginning With al-Andalus Through Lorca

Lorca's poetry, besides his theatre, has been studied in its evolution and its diversity and considerated to be a perfect combination of tradition and modernity, popular culture and high literacy, regionalism and avant-gardism. Marie Laffranque underlines the synthetical capacity of this poetry when she relates the first years that Lorca spent in Madrid, beginning in 1918, where he mainly lived until 1928, at the *Residencia de Estudiantes:*

> Le jeune Grenadin peut ainsi offrir des solutions originales aux problèmes esthétiques de l'heure. Des tendances qui partagent ses contemporains, et qu'il trouve en lui-même, il réalise une synthèse forcément inachevée sur le plan théorique, mais parfois accomplie dans la perfection de l'œuvre d'art. (Laffranque 1967, 109–110)

Poema del Cante Jondo, *Romancero gitano*, *Poeta en Nueva York*, *Diván del Tamarit:* each of these collections, presents a new exploration and accomplishment. According to Andrés Soria Olmedo (2004), quoting Jorge Guillén, Lorca was himself a "fábula de fuentes" in the way he reread tradition as well as how he shared his contemporary literary life. He was, with reference to polysystem theory, a cultural entrepreneur whose works have illustrated and renewed a dynamic relational network between the heterogeneous models and strata which formed the Spanish poetic repertoire of his time. His practice thus contributed to a task which was promoted by prominent figures such as José Ortega y Gasset along with a whole generation of intellectuals (Aubert 2010). The main difficulty for these intellectuals was found in the fact that they possessed a liberal ideal, according to which power had to be given to the people recognized as a nation, while at the same time possessing an elitist conception of culture which cut themselves off from the same people. In their view, the gaps were to be filled by education. The national ideals were to be told to the people by intellectuals, educators and artists, who would thus shape the people in this way. Lorca as a poet shared this endeavor explicitly as he accompanied his poetry with lectures or recitals. When he pronounced his inaugural lecture on the *cante jondo* in 1922, he presented his exploration of Andalusian popular culture as "una obra patriótica y digna" (Lorca 2008, 207).

One intention of Lorca's poetry was to tell of the place at a growing scale, ranging from Granada and Andalusia to Spain, while at the same time, summarizing the entire national space at the local level of the Andalusian city. He had a direct experience of these places as an inhabitant of Granada or as an excursionist around Spain. The reference to this geographic space was also mediated in his poetry by representations which were cultural ideological frames; this was done mainly when he associated the Andalusian region to the Gipsies, the flamenco

and the corrida (Pérez 2018). However, the reference to a territory was particularly shaped in his poetry by a poetic repertoire which was established by philology, be it done in a correct fashion by scholars, or by artists in the course of their artistic invention. The lecture *Importancia histórica y artística del primitivo canto andaluz llamado "cante jondo"* (1922) and the delayed publication of *Poema del Cante Jondo* (1931) could not have happened without the masterful example of the composer Manuel de Falla, himself following in the fashion of Russian and French composers as well as being indebted to local Andalusian folklorists. The predilection for the romance, as was illustrated in *Romancero gitano* (1928), was an inheritance of an uninterrupted tradition in Spanish poetry, from the fifteenth century to the generation of the *Edad de Plata*, which included Juan Ramón Jiménez and Antonio Machado. This was furthered by the research of the prominent Spanish Romance philologist Ramón Menéndez Pidal, who Lorca himself accompanied in Granada in 1920 as he was collecting popular romances and who published in 1928 *Flor nueva de romances viejos* (he began its preface by questioning the hypothesis according to which "*España es el país del Romancero*"). The lecture given in 1926 *La imagen poética de Don Luis de Góngora* was important for the generation of 1927 and its reflection on the faculties at the origin of poetic invention between a conscious mastery and a liberation of the unconscious, which was close to surrealism; this lecture was associated with incontestable philological research such as that of Dámaso Alonso who completed in 1927 a critical edition of Luis de Góngora's *Soledades* and sustained the following year a doctoral thesis about the poet. Further, the composition of the collection *Diván del Tamarit* in the first half of the 1930s coincided with the publication in 1930 of a work by Emilio García Gómez, (himself the main figure of the school of Spanish Arabists in the twentieth century), the *Poemas arábigoandaluces*, as well as his nomination in the same year as professor of Arabic at the University of Granada. In 1934, García Gómez was to give a preface for the edition of *Diván del Tamarit* at the University of Granada, but the book was not able to be printed at that time. He nevertheless published later a "Nota al *Diván del Tamarit*". Thus, each Lorquian poetic exploration corresponded to philological investigations, performing scholarship in live poetry.

For Lorca, al-Andalus is but one of the strata of the place. When al-Andalus would have once covered historically a large part of the Iberian Peninsula, the city of Granada as an epitome can be seen to maintain its survival. Lorca was not the first to experience the city as a ruined palimpsest. His reverie reiterated the Romantic or even Modernist literary orientalism and its musical resonances in compositions by Claude Debussy or Manuel de Falla. We can see this in his first published book in 1918, *Impresiones y paisajes.* In the Albaicín, "surgen con ecos fantásticos las casas blancas sobre el monte… Enfrente, las torres doradas de la Alhambra enseñan recortadas sobre el cielo un sueño oriental." (Lorca

2008, 144) Nevertheless, this oriental dream does not specifically refer to al-Andalus. It vaguely intertwines, as did Romantic orientalism, the Persian and the Arabic. Lorca himself signed one of his first articles in 1917, about a Spanish translation of *Rubaiyat* by the Persian poet Omar al-Khayyam, under the name of "Abu-Abd-Alah" (Lorca 2008, 69), taken after the name of the last Arab king of the emirate of Granada. In the lecture about the *cante jondo*, he took on the idea of the *costumbrista* Estébanez Calderón, according to whom the name of the *caña*, considered as the primitive stem of the *cante jondo*, was derived from the Arabic *ġinā'* or *uġniyya*, which he spells "*gannia*" (Lorca 2008, 208). According to this dubious philology, an Arabic etymon was thus supposed to be at the origin of the song which was claimed to give the most authentic expression of the place fusing all its cultural strata. The knowledge Lorca had of Oriental poetry is thus very approximate and should not be judged by the criteria of philological truth. Lorca possessed a knowledge of Omar al-Khayyam, but it was seen through a European reception, particularly through the mediation of his reading in Castilian of the Nicaraguan Modernist poet Rubén Darío, as documented by Pepa Merlo (Lorca 2018, 87). In his lecture about the *cante jondo*, Lorca quotes Arab, and mainly Persian, poets like Hafiz and Omar al-Khayyam, arguing an affinity between their poetry and the *cante jondo* (Lorca 2008, 222–226). However, the source he mentions is *Poesías asiáticas, puestas en versos castellanos* by Gaspar María de Nava, Conde de Noroña, published in Paris in 1833, in the heyday of Romantic orientalism. Gaspar María de Nava, who based his version on English and Latin translations, was not himself a learned orientalist. Al-Andalus is thus for Lorca, as a cultural stratum he includes in his representation of the place, a dreamed origin and a very imprecise reference, whose relevance cannot be appreciated in terms of philological accuracy, but instead in the frame of a contemporary poetic polysystem, where all the items transferred into it are reevaluated.

One might think that the situation would have changed after Lorca encountered a real learned Arabist in the form of Emilio García Gómez, while he was himself composing the *gacelas* and the *casidas* which would be included in *Diván del Tamarit.* However, regarding this point, it is worth quoting the note that García Gómez wrote about the collection:

> No creo que haya que decir que las denominaciones de García Lorca –*diván*, *gacelas*, *casidas*– no se ajustan a las definiciones anteriores. En este sentido son arbitrarias. Pero tampoco creo que haya que decir –y mucho menos tratándose de Lorca– que estas poesías nada tienen de común con esas llamadas orientales, máscaras literarias de un carnaval romántico, falsas, vacuas, pintarrajeadas.
>
> Los poemas del *Diván del Tamarit* no son falsificaciones ni remedos, sino auténticamente lorquianos. (Lorca 2018, 132)

This presents a paradox pertaining to this poetic cross-cultural philology. The reference to al-Andalus is a condition of the discursive strategy of *Diván del Tamarit*; Lorca engages in a cultural debate about the identity of the place. At the same time, regardless of any thematical kinship between the poetries, it is by and large a form of mimicked reference, which mainly allows Lorca to invent a poetry of his own, whose intimacy is beyond imitation and stereotypes. This reference leads to a blurring of the boundaries between cultures as they are mapped by philologies. We can read the beginning of "Gacela II de la terrible presencia" in this way: "Yo quiero que el agua se quede sin cauce. / Yo quiero que el viento se quede si valles." (Lorca 2018, 142) The self in the poem wishes that the landscape be covered by the elements, water and wind. He calls for an intensity of the song which erases the limits of the self and the world. The name Lorca gave to this intensity is the *duende*, whose main expression in the Andalusian place is the Gipsy *cante jondo*, even though it was supposed to have an Arabic origin. There is thus in this poetic cross-cultural philology a tension between a dreamed etymon situated beyond cultural borders, and an erasure of any origin in the flood of the song, going beyond philology. The reference to al-Andalus tends to give way to a kind of wandering poetics.

3 Louis Aragon and the Uncertain Future of al-Andalus

Louis Aragon was born nearly in the same year as Lorca but had a longer life. It was in his late age that al-Andalus became the reference upon which he built an entire masterful poem *Le Fou d'Elsa*, which was published in 1963. The narrative dimension of the poem mainly relates the fall of the last emirate of al-Andalus around King Boabdil as a central character. Aragon had had to acquire a certain historical knowledge in order to accomplish this. The second central character, called the Medjnoûn, is a relay through which a literary corpus is reassembled that goes far beyond the time of the Andalusian Arab twilight. Through this character, a popular poet and composer of zajals, large parts of the culture of the Muslim worlds are perused, and further, even of the culture which in Spain followed the fall of al-Andalus up until the time the author was living in. Aragon had thus also had to base his composition on an extensive cultural and literary documentation. A list was kept of the books he had consulted to write his poem (Aragon 2007, 1536–1540). Of course, this list does not offer a guarantee that Aragon had fully read all the books it includes, nor does it rule out that he had not read other books. Like Lorca's, his philology was not a scholar's philology. Among the

books on this list are found primarily works by French orientalists with different specialities like Louis Massignon, Évariste Levi-Provençal, Marcel Cohen, Régis Blachère and Roger Arnaldez, but also of Spanish Arabists like Emilio García Gómez, or Romance philologists like Ramón Menéndez Pidal, and even of historians, among whom were those who were considering al-Andalus as a parenthesis in the continuity of Spanish history: Claudio Sanchez-Albornoz on the republican side and Ignacio Olagüe on the fascist side. There are also on this list translations of Arabic texts by learned orientalists, as well as works which contributed to the Romantic myth of al-Andalus, including Chateaubriand and Washington Irving. A learned orientalist and Arab scholar, Jamel Eddine Bencheikh, has identified many factual approximations in the poem of the literary orientalist Aragon (Aragon 2008, 1518). Nonetheless, Bencheikh altogether praised Aragon's work. The fiction of the poem keeps its grounding in a rich erudition, one which Aragon precisely intended to exhibit – not with a pedantic pretense, but to immerse his French lector in a culture usually ignored. The poem itself included at its end a long "Lexique et notes" where the author takes on the task of being a critical editor of his own text. As a mise en abyme of the philological apparatus the poem is built on, the oral songs of the Medjnoûn are transcribed, collected and commented on by a fictional young erudite boy, Zaïd, who accompanies the Medjnoûn.

This further example, after Lorca, of a poetic cross-cultural philology takes on another dimension if we include in it further aspects of Louis Aragon's life; he was not only a poet, but a communist intellectual, a member of the Central Comity of the French Communist Party and was very officially awarded with the Lenin Prize for Peace in 1958. Aragon's cultural agency can then be considered in a partisan frame, and its reevaluations then in accordance with historical circumstances, even if it cannot be totally reduced to that. Indeed, in the poem, topics are often conveyed in a way that the author could not have otherwise communicated them in as a partisan intellectual. In the frame of the communist internationalist doctrine for literature and arts, defined by Andrei Zhdanov from 1934 onwards as a socialist realism, a complementary stress on national cultures had appeared in order to appeal to the people. The communist writer, socialist in the content, had to be nationalist in the form (Thiesse 2019, 316). When Aragon composed his resistance poetry during the Second World War, and when he promoted a national poetry during the post-war period, he grounded the task of inscribing poetry in a national tradition within a scientific study of French literature, and primarily on the French Romance philology school, including medievalists such as Gaston Paris, Joseph Bédier and Alfred Jeanroy (Baquey 2018b). It is worth quoting a speech he gave at a congress of the French Communist Party in 1954:

> Un art de parti est aujourd'hui la condition nécessaire du développement de ce grand art national. Cet art de parti, étant l'art du Parti communiste, ne peut être un art de hasard, un art empirique ; il se distingue par le caractère scientifique de ses bases et de son développement, comme, si je puis dire, le communisme se distingue du socialisme utopique. [...] La réévaluation critique de notre patrimoine national est l'une des tâches déterminantes de l'art de parti. (Aragon 1990, 193–194)

However, after the twentieth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the circumstances of the Franco-Algerian decolonisation war, perspectives surrounding the scientific building of a repertoire changed, and Aragon paid much more attention to Orientalist philology and to its persistent and constantly renewed debates with Romance philology about al-Andalus and the possible Arabic origins of the troubadour's poetry (Baquey 2014 and 2018a). In the speech he gave in Moscow at his reception of the Lenin Prize in 1958, just after he had explicitly mentioned the Algerian war, he refused to claim the Occidental cultural heritage as his sole heritage and said:

> [...] il nous faut réclamer notre héritage, pour que survive la culture, je réclame tout notre héritage humain où la discrimination entre l'Occident et l'Orient ne peut être que le fait d'une guerre préparée, et la négation de l'avenir au nom d'un passé mutilé. (Aragon 1990, 716)

The premise of the poetic cross-cultural philology of *Le Fou d'Elsa* is present in this defence of culture which moves from a communist national internationalism to a communist worldly internationalism, where the borders between philologies tend to be transcended and where another representation of al-Andalus takes shape, one presenting it as a multiculturalist refined and tolerant society (Pérez 2018, 187). Here, the building of the reference to al-Andalus as a Mediterranean commonplace does not refer to a problematic Spanish national identity as was the case in the context of Lorca's poetry, but instead it finds one of its referents as a polysemic allegory in the French colonial Mediterranean empire, mainly in Algeria.

On might now ask how in the semiology of *Le Fou d'Elsa* there can be a conciliation of a historical reference to the past of al-Andalus mainly built on scholarly and literary orientalisms, and a polysemic allegorism referring to the twentieth century. The poetic forms of the Andalusian poetry such as the zajal or the *muwaššaḥ*, which gave rise to so many discussions between Romance and Orientalist philologies, are not much more exemplified in Aragon's poem than the *qaṣīda* or *ġazal* are in Lorca's *Diván del Tamarit* (Aragon 2007, 937). However, the link between al-Andalus and the twentieth century is developed in another way: as a historical evolution where the engine of progress is not the class struggle but the transformation of the relationships between men and women in couples. The representation of the society of al-Andalus thus does not escape from the historical perspective of

a heterodox Marxism. This society is represented as a monarchist and theocentric one which oppresses the rationalist philosophes and the Medjnoûn, the popular poet who sings to the woman of the future. Thus, Arabic poetry is not simply included in a cross-cultural and so to speak worldly literary repertoire, where Andalusian poets take their place in a cortege of poets forming through the ages a single file which tragically ends up with the assassination of Lorca (Aragon 2007, 847–850). There is no Arabic etymon but a journey through time where the fictional Medjnoûn is but a relay in a long chain of poets including his Persian contemporary, Djami. At the end of the poem, the Medjnoûn, having found refuge after the fall of Granada in a cave of the Gypsies in the Sacromonte neigborhood, sees the future of the song which is the future of love between couples of human beings, or to put it in another way, a future of the nuclear human experience of community and alterity. But the Medjnoûn, giving way to the author himself for whom he was a spokesman in the poem, despairs about this future. His song joins the despaired song of the Gypsies, the *duende* as Lorca understood it. The journey through time runs aground as it is allegorized by the crossing of the sea by Christopher Columbus, who seems likely to fail to discover a new human world.

4 Maḥmūd Darwiš: Anywhere in the World Through the Poem

Maḥmūd Darwiš, who was born in 1941, is a much later modern poet than Lorca or Aragon. The Arab cultural revival, the *Nahḍa*, began in the nineteenth century and a pan-Arab national project emerged at the dawn of the twentieth century. Yet modernity in Arabic poetry only arose after the Second World War, firstly in Iraq, then in Beirut around the magazine *Šiʿr* at the end of the 1950s (Creswell 2019). The poetry which preceded this, from the end of the nineteenth century, was firstly a neoclassic form of poetry, and then a romantic one. Both maintained the versification of the medieval classical Arabic poetry with an inflexion towards an expression of Arab nationalism and a more personal sensibility. This poetry was in itself a philological repository of Arabic language, as the more ancient Arabic poetry had been for the medieval Arab grammarians. However, Darwiš for his part grew up in Israel and received an education in Hebrew. Before he left Israel in 1970, he had little knowledge of contemporary Arab poetry apart from Sayyāb, Bayātī and Nizār Qabbānī (Wāzen 2006, 106). He eventually came to know of the Arab modernity firstly when he flew to Cairo in 1971, and then primarily as he stayed in Beirut from 1972 to 1982. He has since then fully partaken in the debates about Arab poetic modernity as a magazine editor and poet. Nevertheless, he was

also a Palestinian intellectual, which meant to situate oneself at the core of the pan-Arabist nationalism of the time. Like Aragon, he also took on political responsibilities when he entered the Executive Comity of the PLO in 1987. Even so, this did not last, since he left in 1993 because of a disagreement on the conditions of the peace process with Israel. Afterwards, he purportedly asked himself what was his place as a poet in the Executive Comity and finally claimed nothing more but a poet's authority.

In the context of this contrapuntal study of the poetic reference to Al-Andalus, it is important to mention that, unlike Lorca and Aragon, Darwiš could read the Arabic Andalusian poetry of the medieval epoch. When he quotes Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn Zaydūn or Ibn ʻArabī, it is not through an approximate knowledge and translations. These poets belong to his poetic heritage. Further, he also often said that one of his favorite poets from his youth was Lorca, to whom he dedicated a poem in one of his first collections published in Israel. His first reading of Lorca was in Hebrew, which was a language through which world poetry first came to him. If Lorca's poetry summed up the strata of Spanish poetry of his time as a national polysystem, and if Aragon imagined in *Le Fou d'Elsa* a funeral cortege accompanying the death of Lorca, thus reassembling in an elegiac way a Mediterranean cross-cultural poetic repertoire including poetry in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic and new Romance languages, we could say that, from the beginning, Darwiš had to situate his poetry in the perspective of world literature. His language neither belonged to the main languages into which world literature was translated, nor was much of the literature of his language translated into the languages of world literature. After he had to leave Beirut due to the circumstances of Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982, he soon found a main refuge in Paris, until returning to live between Palestine and Jordan in 1995. This Parisian stay was a time in which he affirmed himself as a world poet through the extent of the cultural references in his poetry, situating Arab history within a universal history. However, his poetic philology also included a strong attachment, wherever he was in exile, to the imperative of perpetuating the song of the poem in Arabic. The Arabic language was, through the medium of poetry, a place for him to inhabit, while dealing with the uncertainty of a return to a Palestinian homeland. This philology, literally a love for one's language, was exemplified by the way he maintained in his poetry the feet of the ancient Arabic prosody freed from the structure of the traditional meters (*qaṣīda al-tafʿīla*), while the main trend of Arabic modern poetry was opting for prose poetry (*qaṣīda al-naṯr*). On the one hand, Darwiš told of his remoteness from ancient Arabic poetry, that is to say from a hereditary etymon consisting of the first prestigious models of the Arabic *qaṣīda*, the *muʻallaqāt*. On the other hand, he claimed Arabic as a language where he expressed not only his detachment from a pan-Arabist nationally rebuilt past, but a quest for a new

way to inhabit the world– which did not mean renouncing the needed recognition for his people of the right to a land.

The reference to al-Andalus is a common topic in Arabic poetry since the *Nahḍa* and, like Lorca and Aragon, Darwiš inherited a construction of the medieval reference in his own modern culture. William Granara considered this construction of the reference as an Andalusian *chronotope* in modern Arabic novel throughout the twentieth century (Granara 2005). Yet as Granara himself indicates in a footnote, this reference was also present in poetry at the same. Reuven Snir in his studies has even expressed that "most literary expressions of al-Andalus appear in poetry" (Snir 2000, 265). Poetry presents itself as the genre in which a poetic philological remembrance is directly exemplified in Arabic. The neoclassical poet Aḥmad Šawqī, when he was in exile in Spain in 1916, composed among other Andalusian poems a *nūniyya*, or a poem that rhymes with *nūn*, which was modelled on a famous poem by Ibn Zaydūn. This kind of imitation is known as a *muʿāraḍa.* The traditional lament over the lost Andalusian paradise was in that context an elegy about an Egyptian national homeland at that time under British domination. Darwiš in a late poem of his, "In Cordoba" (*Aṯar al-Farāša* [The Trace of the Butterfly] 2008, Darwiš 2009, 718), referred to another poet, Nizār Qabbānī, who, as he was visiting Cordoba in 1955, spontaneously looked there for the key to his own childhood's home in Damascus, as if he were deceived by a resemblance between the two places ("Muḏakkirāt Andalusiyya" [Andalusian Memoirs]). Al-Andalus as a reference in Arabic poetry has thus been used in the contexts of colonial European domination, of newly independent Arab states, but, in addition to this, also specifically in Palestinian poetry. The reference appeared in Darwiš's poetry in 1984, particularly in "Qaṣīdat Bayrūt" ([Ode to Beirut] Darwiš 2005a, 505), after the Palestinian resistance movement had been expelled from Beirut. There was no more al-Andalus to escape to, as the last survivor of the Umayyad dynasty had done, when he had fled from Damascus to Cordoba and founded a new emirate. There was no choice but to leave Beirut as a "last tent". The tent is here a metonymy for a pan-Arab community inheriting its origins from a Bedouin past, whose form of genuine expression was poetry. The Palestinians had to take to sea without any assurance to re-enter into history and to regain a land to live on. Emily Apter has commented, following after Edward W. Said, on the way Darwiš's poetry, in its representation of a human destiny, had to renounce any kind of quest for a paradise (2006, 79). Its humanism goes beyond the remains of theology which subsisted in Auerbach's philology when he recapitulated European literature around Dante's *Divina Commedia.* It goes even beyond Aragon's poetic cross-cultural philology which tries to rebuild a law of progress through a journey in time since al-Andalus. Darwiš, as suggested by Iain Chambers (2008, 50), goes beyond the modern national mapping of cultures to which the philologies have contributed, as has also been argued by

Aamir R. Mufti. After the "Ode to Beirut", another long poem by Darwiš published in 1990, entitled "Ma'sāt al-Narjis Malhāt al-Fiḍa" [The Affliction of the Narcissus, the Merriment of the Silver] (Darwiš 2005b), exhausts itself while reassembling a cross-cultural memory for an Arab community as a historical epic, before eventually returning to the ordinariness of everyday life in a natural world which could be found anywhere.

Reference to al-Andalus culminated in Darwiš's poetry with the poetic suite he published in 1992 under the title "Aḥad ʻAšar Kawkabân ʻalā Ājir al-mašhad al-Andalusī" [Eleven Planets over the Last Andalusian Scene] (Darwiš 2005b, 269–292). We find in it the motif of the fall of al-Andalus as it had been orchestrated in Aragon's *Le Fou d'Elsa.* Yet the character of the last king, Abū ʻAbdallah-Boabdil, as a figure either for identification or as a denounced traitor of a collective cause, is in this case not superseded by a fictional Arabic poet, the Medjnoûn, as a mask for the lyrical I, but instead by Lorca himself as the main relay through whom the song is perpetuated. Lorca is a very present poet in Arabic and especially Palestinian poetry (Snir 2000, 277), the tragedy of his assassination lyrically overlapping the narrative of the collective loss of Al-Andalus, which allegorizes the loss of Palestine. In Darwiš's poetry, the figure of Lorca acquired a specific long-lasting importance. Darwiš felt that he shared Lorca's reverie, who had himself shared the visions of the Oriental poetry in *Diván del Tamarit* (Darwiš 2005b, 275–276). Moreover, Lorca is the Andalusian who relayed the transcultural song of the Gypsies, whose strength he defined as exemplary of the *duende.* Through the intensity of this song, the cultural density of what was here referred to as a poetic cross-cultural philology is even erased in a disregard for any inheritance. There is thus a shift from the condition of the Arab inheritors of the nomad Bedouins, in quest of a lost origin so as to build a modern nation, to the imagined wandering condition of the Gypsies, who as they settled in Andalusia acknowledged the lack of a homeland, and inhabited the danse, the song or even the cord of a guitar which resonates across the sea. In summary, al-Andalus was a common place through which modern poets located in the Mediterranean have shaped cross-cultural philologies, going beyond the national philologies contemporary to the different revivals and nation-state building processes. It has made a literary Mediterranean possible. Yet through Lorca something new emerges which is beyond philology, something that is worldly or even earthly in the sense that it leads poets to inhabit among the barest elements of the Earth: the sea, the stars, the forests and a "shadow of our childhood like a flower".

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