



IBN QUZMĀN BETWEEN RIBERA, NYKL AND ASÍN AND THE NEWLY CREATED ESCUELA DE ESTUDIOS ÁRABES OF MADRID (1932–1933)¹

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ABSTRACT: In 1933, the newly founded Escuela de Estudios Árabes of Madrid printed Nykl's edition of *Dīwān Ibn Quzmān* as its inaugural book. The Nykl papers held at the Náprstek Museum offer great insight into the working method of an orientalist of the first half of the 15th century. It is the aim of this article to demonstrate the author's preparations and, through them, to analyze author's working method, his relations to his predecessor Julián Ribera and reasons behind the final form of the book. The significant use of Nykl's papers in the article demonstrates the importance of personal papers for mapping the writing and publishing processes.

KEYWORDS: Ibn Quzmān – Orientalism – Andalusī literature – Arabic literature – Arabism – Spain

As historians we attempt to interpret any historical work within its context and in terms of its relationship to the environment in which it was created. We consider its time and place and the reasons for and means by which it was written. When current authors deal with the results of modern or contemporary scholarship they tend to overlook this from time to time. It is quite easy to ignore the fact that every work must be judged using the same methodology or methods as the primary sources we use.

In Arabic and Islamic (or Islamicate) studies, researchers are currently studying the working methods of classical authors and their approaches to constructing the past. This is done mostly on the basis of exceptional workbooks or draft copies of manuscripts. It took decades to understand the value of such sources for our understanding of history, as well as for the preservation of both the present and the past.

A similar change may occur concerning our approaches to broader Arabic and Islamic studies. The sources are fairly similar to those mentioned before: notebooks,

¹ The article was created within the project No. 13-29508P Alois Richard Nykl, český orientalista, cestovatel a krajan [Alois Richard Nykl, Czech Orientalist, Globetrotter and Compatriot], financed by the Czech Science Foundation and carried out at the National Museum of the Czech Republic.

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draft copies of works, working diaries, the exchange of works and manuscripts etc. All these sources are preserved in ever-growing collections of the personal papers of great scholars of the past. Over the past years, our knowledge of such collections has grown as cataloguing processes have gradually advanced in various parts of the world.

All of the above-mentioned questions arose when I pre-catalogued the immense personal papers of Alois Richard Nykl (1885–1958),³ a Bohemian born American polyglot, world-renowned specialist in comparative literature, linguistics and, above all, Andalusī poetry. His papers now form part of various orientalist collections related to Andalusī studies catalogued quite such as Legado Jaime Oliver Asín (1905–1980),⁴ *Epistolario Miguel Asín* (1871–1944), *Epistolario Julián Ribera* (1858–1934), (Marín – de la Puente 2009)⁵. Many continue to await their proper processing, e.g. the papers of Carlos Quirós Rodríguez (1884–1960) (Prado 2009: 12) or Emilio García Gómez (1905–1995) (Vallvé 2005; Marín – de la Puente 2009).

Among Nykl's papers, I literally found almost everything related to his research and life from his admission to the University of Chicago in 1917 up to the summer of 1938 and then again between the years 1951 and 1957. Further material was most likely lost or may still be stashed in some basement in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

On the basis of this material it is possible to follow Nykl's research regarding his three seminal works – the English translation of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma* (Nykl 1931), the edition of the first volume of *Kitāb al-Zahra* (Nykl 1932) and his famous and controversial *Cancionero de Aben Guzmán* (Nykl 1933). In this brief paper I would argue, on the example of Nykl's edition of *Ibn Quzmān's dīwān*, that every orientalist work of his age must be assessed in accordance with both its writing and publishing processes.

A special focus will be laid on the relationship of *Cancionero de Aben Guzmán* to the most famous expert of the period on Guzmán, the Spanish Arabist Julián Ribera y Tarragó (Marín 2009: 119). Nykl's edition of *Cancionero* is still considered somewhat problematic and, with this study, I wish to point out that the book is as good as it could be – bearing in mind the circumstances of its creation. (Ferrando 2006: 419)

The detailed framework of the genesis of this book and its relation to the scientific community of its age may be followed thanks to the unique sources preserved in Nykl's personal papers. I refer to his daily diaries, which he kept from 1914 until his death. These very detailed notes were usually written down in small notebooks. Each year comprises hundreds of pages of scientific and everyday life.⁶ They are extremely elaborated, intertwining Nykl's thoughts, events, travels, opinions and drafts of works, etc. They may well be described as intimate and played a role as his most trustworthy friend and companion. They make it possible to follow this orientalist's career in an unimaginable way.⁷

³ The papers are held at the Náprstek museum, a part of the National Museum of the Czech republic. There is a preliminary inventory of all its contents, now easily accessible at the author's Academia.edu webpage. Any inquiries could be directed to the author of this article (josef.ml@zenka.cz), or to the archivist of the Náprstek museum (see webpage of the Archive of the Náprstek museum for current contact details).

⁴ Biblioteca Asín Palacios-Jaime Oliver Asín is held at the Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia.

⁵ The information could be also found at the online catalogue of Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás, Center of Social and Human Sciences at the CSIC, Madrid. The call numbers are now different.

⁶ Nykl's diaries are now kept in 22 boxes (Archives of the Náprstek Museum – further cited as ANpM – Nykl, Boxes 78/1-96/3). Especially his troubadour travel (1929-1933) would deserve an edition.

⁷ They are far more detailed than for instance Henry Farmer's diaries published recently (KATZ 2015: 140-212).

Regarding his edition of Ibn Quzmān, Nykl's papers contain numerous other sources.⁸ He preserved the original manuscript of introduction and translation both in handwritten form and typescript. The typescript contains proofs by Miguel Asín Palacios and the manuscript of the same by Emilio García Gómez. Then there are his five handwritten notebooks, or 'defters' as Nykl called them. They are his draft edition of Ibn Quzmān's *dīwān*. On each page Nykl inserted a typeset of proofs printed by Estanislao Maestre (1865–1942) during the first four months of 1933. We may add a typed translation with proofs to selected *zajals*. Of great interest are the author's two personal copies of *Cancionero*, with numerous corrections and notes, even with English translation of one of *zajals* made by Nykl in 1937.⁹ Nykl's vast correspondence provides an indispensable source of background information, establishing his work in the larger context of the pre-war orientalist community.

By combining all these sources, we get a clearer picture of how much the final product was influenced by the circumstances of its creation. It is also of interest to map the roles of future critics within this process, most notably Emilio García Gómez and Georges. S. Colin (Colin: 1933; García Gómez 1968: 255-6, 259; Nykl 1946: 314-316; Nykl 1951: 179; Marín 2009: 203-207). The former read the full Nykl edition of Ibn Quzmān during the printing process and M. Asín made a deal with Nykl that García Gómez would help him 'polish' the translations into Spanish. His proofs and points may be seen in the preserved correspondence and are in complete accordance with Nykl's general plan for the book.

Colin's case was a bit different. Nykl later described that situation in a letter to Martin Plessner (1900–1973):¹⁰ "I wrote to Colin that I was interested in the literary aspect of the work, not in philology (as I stated in my *Prólogo*). He wanted to collaborate, but since I had to have the book printed in four months, in view of political situation in Spain and in USA, I could not adopt his Fabius Cunctator method. Thus far he has done nothing."¹¹

Colin's letters to Nykl confirm this, as well as the following conversation that occurred on December 21, 1932 in Escuela de Estudios Árabes of Madrid: "Rec'd [received – editor's note] a letter from Colin: now he all of a sudden wants to do marvellous things! Consulted with Asín + G[arcía]Gómez – Asín says I should wire *Non lettre suit a Paris*. If his ideas were identical with mine, collaboration would be possible, but he laughs at Ribera. At any rate, his work is independent of mine."¹²

What really mattered for Nykl was the acceptance of his work by Julián Ribera. Nykl deeply respected and considered him his predecessor on Ibn Quzmān. As far as I was able to trace, Nykl began to prepare the edition of Ibn Quzmān sometime in 1931 during his troubadour travel in the Mediterranean.

⁸ They are mostly in boxes 10, 21 and 133.

⁹ ANpM, Nykl, Box 75, for a paperback copy. The hardback copy is in the Nykl's library which forms a part of the Library of the Náprstek museum. A handlist of Nykl's library is available.

¹⁰ All Nykl's texts are transcribed as they were in original sources. Only words written in Arabic script were properly edited. All my emendations are in inserted in brackets. Indecipherable writing is noted with a following mark [...].

¹¹ ANpM, Nykl, Box 114, Plessner, A. R. Nykl to Martin Plessner, 18 February 1956, Carbon Copy. (NYKL 1947).

¹² ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, December 21, 1932. His intimate reaction on Colin's could be read in diary from the year 1934: "At the O. I. found Colin's review in "Hésperis". That chap is remarkable as a collector of *petits vrais*, but has no talent to see things in perspective." ANpM, Nykl, Box 89, Diaries, May 17, 1934. Colin's review is still inserted in Nykl's hard copy of *Cancionero de Aben Guzmán*

In May 1931 he contacted Anis Freyha (1903–1993) concerning his work on Ibn Quzmān.¹³ After his reply, he began to work on Kitāb al-Zahra, which he prepared for print with help from the poet Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān (1905–1941), a close friend of Freyha. During the same year Nykl exchanged letters with Ignatius Krachkovskiy (1883–1951) in order to get the copy of Ibn Quzmān’s manuscript from Leningrad. This copy, preserved among Nykl’s papers,¹⁴ was received by Nykl in June 1931 while he was in Paris.¹⁵

The next mention of Ibn Quzmān comes from two letters that Nykl wrote to his colleague in Chicago, Martin Sprengling (1877–1959).¹⁶ At the time, Nykl was printing Kitāb al-Zahra in Beirut and later travelled through the Balkans to Czechoslovakia to supervise the construction of a memorial to his father who had died early that year. On his journey, he had an important discussion with Hellmut Ritter in Istanbul concerning a certain unspecified manuscript wanted by Miguel Asín.¹⁷

The process of bringing Ibn Quzmān into print began in November 1932. He left Czechoslovakia and travelled through Germany to Paris. Every step of that journey can be followed in Nykl’s diaries. It began with preliminary thoughts on publishing Ibn Quzmān in Germany and ended with an offer from Miguel Asín, proposing that the newly established Escuela de Estudios Árabes publishes Nykl’s book as its first publication.

In Paris, Nykl discussed the project on various occasions with his close friend William Marçais.¹⁸ On 12 November, he “went back to the hotel and then re-packed the books, esp. Ibn Quzmān. The translation looks very difficult with regards to meaning, because there seems to be no sense to most of the *zağals*. Plenty of cleverly rhymed nonsense, cryptic remarks, allusions which were well understood by those who listened, but made no sense to those who read them later. Wrote to Asín..., went back to the hotel and translated the 1st *zağal*.” In the evening he “looked again over Ibn Quzmān and did not derive much encourage.”

He then intended to go to Spain first and then on to Rabat to work on the book. It appears as if he felt further work was necessary at that time on the edition and translation. He thought “that Ibn Quzmān would require help from someone deep in Arabic psychology – a Moroccan *šerif*.”¹⁹

The diaries reveal that he worked slowly on translations. On 23 November he came to *zağal* number ten.²⁰ Ribera served as the starting point of his work, as is apparent from various remarks in his diaries:

23 November: “Read Ribera’s Abencuzmán more carefully and noted that in the

¹³ ANpM, Nykl, Box 106, Freyha, 16.may 1931. Later Freyha gave him his materials for the edition of Ibn Quzmān’s biographies; ANpM, Nykl, 21.6.

¹⁴ ANpM, Nykl, 8.16.

¹⁵ The letter is in the papers. ANpM, Nykl, Box 109, Kračkovskij, I. Krachkovskiy to A. R. Nykl, 10 June 1931.

¹⁶ ANpM, Nykl, Box 123, Oriental Fellowship, A. R. Nykl to M. Sprengling, 28 April 1931 and 18 June 1932, (Carbon copy). In the first letter he mentioned four notebooks and in the second he already talked about five which is the final number preserved in Nykl’s Papers.

¹⁷ The details are given by Miguel Asín in his letter to Nykl dated on 24 September 1932. ANpM, Nykl, Box 103, Asín, Miguel Asín to A. R. Nykl, 24 September 1932.

¹⁸ ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, 10 November 1932.

¹⁹ ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, 6 November 1932.

²⁰ ANpM, Nykl, Diaries, 1932, 23 November 1932.

main his remarks are correct, but need considerable systematization. In view of Asín's respect for „maestro Ribera“, and his avowed Ibn Hagarian *carácter celoso*, the total lack of scientific types in Spain, I do not promise myself good result there. Ribera promises in his speech further details, and it may be that Asín would not care to hurt his reputation. Seems to me that Germany would be the only place, even with a Spanish translation. The French would not care to print it. Nevertheless, I hope for the best.”²¹

November 24: “Worked on Ibn Quzmān and finished the preliminary studies. Ribera, 20 years ago, was rather fantastic, but some of his notions are perfectly O. K. I doubt that there is a chance to print the *dīwān* in Spain, because the Spaniards are too jealous. After supper worked on it again and read again Ribera Dis. with more care till midnight.”²²

He had a chance to see Ribera's copy of Ibn Quzmān in Madrid, in January 1933. He wrote the following remark about it: “Ribera's copy of IQ [Ibn Quzmān – editor's note] was brought to the Escuela – shows that he was struggling valiantly with it.”²³

On November 26 he visited William Marçais (1872–1956) and noted of their talk about Ibn Quzmān: “It seems that the difficulties are not unsurmountable. Marçais, in his Tlemçen dialect speaks of intercalation of vowels – exactly what I thought was necessary to do with Ibn Quzmān. Colin thinks so also [sic!]. It is probable that with Ms [Marçais – editor's note] + Colin's collaboration the translation could be made fairly good.”²⁴

Then Nykl set out on his journey to Madrid. He used to travel by train, with overnight stops at interesting places, such as Santander, León or Burgos, to give but a few examples. He did not work on Ibn Quzmān during the journey, although he occasionally noted some interesting thoughts in his diary:

“My principle has been to learn to understand from personal observation and a profound knowledge of the language, as a key to a nation's soul. I have spent my life acquiring this knowledge. Hence I KNOW – but how many are there who have the will, genius and opportunity to do likewise? I am a unique ms, like the four unique mss which I have dealt with: Rrekontamiento, Ṭawq, al-Zahra and Ibn Quzmān. I am unique, hence a closed book: only one like myself [sic!] will ever see what was in me. I had to waste much time in pure philology, but after all, philology is necessary for a more perfect knowledge. It has no purpose in itself but only as a means to an end. As such it is indispensable.”²⁵

This principle of personal observation arose from his life-experience and travels all around the world. He deemed it a necessary component to his research. Its importance could be read in the prologue to Ibn Quzmān, where he described his travels to Ribera. He wrote that “convenciéndome otra vez más que el ver de cerca y compenetrarse del ambiente es indispensable para el que quiera entender y analizar bien las problemas literarios, con simpatía y sin prejuicio.” Deeply connected to Nykl's personality is his polyglotism, as well as his deep knowledge of literature, poetry and music. This is basically one of the reasons why his life and work are so difficult to understand. For him, poetry was music he sang to himself as the troubadours used to do. It is

²¹ ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, 23 November 1932.

²² ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, 24 November 1932.

²³ ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, 26 January 1933.

²⁴ ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, 26 November 1932.

²⁵ ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, 6 December 1932.

understandable only in time and place. Later he wrote two unpublished books on this issue in which he called it the 'inner vibration' of language. Both manuscripts are among Nykl's papers.

Nykl arrived in Madrid on December 10th of 1932 and went to visit the newly established Escuela de Estudios Árabes: "Then I shaved, drunk a coffee + went to Escuela de Estudios Árabes. Asín was still resting, so I waited for him ab[ou]t 15 minutes. He looks the same. We talked ab[ou]t various things – Ibn Quzmān interests him – Ritter sent him photos of the Mss. Then he took me down to the Escuela, introduced me to Alarcón²⁶ a sort of Quasimodo – + left for the Ac[ademia] de la Historia where he expected to see M[enéndez] Pidal. We talked with Alarcón ab[ou]t Arabic phonetics, ab[ou]t his articles etc. Ab[ou]t 6:30 Asín came back with González Palencia – an excellent + intelligent chap – and we talked over the typographical details. At 7:45 I left with the impression that they were willing to print the text. They have plenty of money now."²⁷

Later that day, Nykl again walked to Escuela de Estudios Árabes to see Miguel Asín. They had known each other personally since 1929, when Nykl passed through Madrid on his way to Morocco: "Rode to the Escuela, saw Alarcón who gave me a reprint of his article on a Granada letter, sat down to read letters *re-expidées* from Rue de Lille...After a while Asín + Igueldo came in and we again talked about the IQ [Ibn Quzmān – editor's note] project. Asín offered me 1200 ptas for the rest of the year + some more for next year, If I stayed in Madrid to work on it. Is worried ab[ou]t Jaime who is sick in bed – bad cold. Next Monday we shall see the printer + the type manufacturer."²⁸

Then he added in Czech: "Asín is telling me, that there remains money for foreign professors who could achieve something for the Escuela so I came in handy to them."²⁹

The entries that follow in his diaries demonstrate how the Ibn Quzmān project made the *Escuela* a very busy place. "In the afternoon went to Escuela + arranged the question of *punzones* with Asín and Maestre. The latter says that the *matices* will require 2 weeks + printing of I[bn] Quzmān 3 months."³⁰ On the next day Maestre clarified this by saying that the "*matices*" will require 1 month and the printing two more.³¹ Nykl "gave Maestre a defter so he could calculate the proportion of type necessary *y hasta mañana*."³² On 14 December Maestre informed Nykl, that "the work could be started on 16 January when *matices* and type will be ready"..."With Asín we discussed my trip to Játiva to see D. Julián, Colin's , love, etc."³³ The next day he talked with Melchor Martínez Antuña (1889–1936) about Escorial. This outstanding scholar was helping him with biographical information on Ibn Quzmān from Escorial's manuscripts.³⁴

His trip to Játiva to seek approval from Julián Ribera on his plan constituted the final part of his preparatory work. Miguel Asín gave him 1500 ptas for travel expenses.³⁵

²⁶ Maximiliano Agustín Alarcón Santón (1880–1933), Asín 1933: 193-199.

²⁷ ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, 10 December 1932.

²⁸ ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, 10 December 1932.

²⁹ ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, 12 December 1932.

³⁰ ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, 12 December 1932.

³¹ ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, 13 December 1932.

³² ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, 14 December 1932.

³³ ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, 14 December 1932.

³⁴ ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, 15 December 1932.

³⁵ ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, 16 December 1932.

Emilio García Gomez arrived from Granada the same day.³⁶ Nykl also noted Ribera's address in Carcagente.³⁷

He synthesized the main purposes of the book in his diaries. He never saw his work as a scientific edition, but merely a step towards further studies of the work, including Colin's philological analysis:

1) Dar a los romanistas la posibilidad de enterarse exactamente del sistema de las rimas que florecían en la España musulmana entre los años 1090-1150, los simt, gusn, estorbillos, así como 5-9 estrofas

2) demostrar la imposibilidad de reducir los versos a un sistema de versificación árabe clásica, pero en cambio al sistema silábico ya postulado por el sr. Ribera (Citar la definición de Aben Jaldūn)

3) presentar una base sólida para la traducción y para un estudio extenso sobre la [...] ³⁸ descubrimientos en este verano, con Ṭawq y al-Zahra.

Un estudio del lenguaje y del léxico hecho por el prof Colin va a ser publicado dentro de poco y con él podrán esclarecerse muchos pasajes enigmáticos y oscuros."³⁹

Nykl briefly mentioned his visit to Játiva and Julián Ribera in the prologue to the Cancionero and called it an unforgettable day ("un día inolvidable"). How this day and visit was seen by him appears in detail from Nykl's diary:

"Saturday Dec 24 [1932]. Splendid sunny day. After breakfast walked in the streets [...] ⁴⁰ by two wheeled carts, resembling those of Sicily, only larger, shops with flour, *comestibles*; market of *pavos*, chickens, dead *Kebš, ġadī* same as mentioned by I[bn] Quzmān. Walked up to the c[al][l][e]. of San Felix and up to the castle – marvelous view of the valley, with green fields, *naranjales*, dotted with white houses + clusters of villages – hills – the [...] ⁴¹ - and in the middle of the *vega* the queer crest of the Pedregal upon which the Moorish walls still stand, though largely in ruins. Truly a remarkable spot – one could never imagine it – it has to be seen! Walked up to the gate, restored by Bernardo Gómez Ygual in 1922 – now a Monumento Artístico Nacional (in 1931). Rang the bell and a pretty brunette girl came to open, but insisted on a permit. Her younger sister (more blonde) came to listen to our argument – the girl was adamant. Pretended that her father would scold her. A queer study of character these 2 girls – the blonde one could not have been inflexible. All my eloquence was in vain – her folks were downtown she claimed: father + mother and a *tío* (who, however, was a *cero de la izquierda*) *Me dan una paliza, una tuna* – she claimed + said that she had done the same the night before with 5 *señores* from Madrid. I said she would have a bad luck with her husband. It seemed that she was to be a boy, with mother's character, but came out to be a girl. Unfortunate combination. Anyway, she lost her *aguinaldo*. Went downtown, got a *papelito* from Don Vicente Madrid (the hotel owner) + walked up again. The blond girl came to open + I said I had no permit. She said the *encargado* was there, so I went to see him. He was a rather meek, pleasant chap, blind, 43, for 30 years employed here – but his wife was an unpleasant brunette *mégère*: exactly the combination I had guessed. He

³⁶ "In the afternoon at the Escuela – worked on the Arabic prologue – Emilio GG came from Granada, will help me polish up the translation." ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, 16 December 1932.

³⁷ ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, 17 December 1932.

³⁸ Two indecipherable words. Editor's note.

³⁹ ANpM, Nykl, Box 92, Diaries, 17 December 1932.

⁴⁰ Unreadable. Editor's note.

⁴¹ Unreadable. Editor's note.

said that this *papelito* regulation existed only since October. He would have been willing now to let one in without permit, but I gave him the slip and went to see the castle. Marvelous views, wonderful place! Here many perished fighting or as prisoners since 3000 B.C. But for me the only interest was the fact that Ibn Ḥazm wrote here his Ṭawq⁴². Stayed longer than I expected – at 2 come back to the hotel. The sky was slightly overcast foreboding rain. After Lunch rode to Carcagente through wonderful orange grooves to see D. Julián Ribera. Asín had told me ‘el primer niño le puede enseñar a la casa de D. Julián’ but he was too optimistic. Furthermore the house is not in the Calle de Julián Ribera. Evidently, Asín has not been here for a long time. A priest finally showed me the house, a corner house with a *mirador: una casona*. A tall *señor* opened the door and in the parlor, at a simple table, not far from a calentador and a pile of wood stood an old gentleman in overcoat, hat, antiparras, grey beard – with an unmistakably kind and noble face. He looked up + said: ‘Es V. el Sr. Nykl?’ and we at once began our conversation as if we know each other since a long time...

He approved all my plans and Asín’s concerning I[bn]Q[uzmān]. In the end told me of his *pesares*, his *achaques de 75*. His wife died recently – 3 children preceded – he lives with a daughter, “un poco anomal, pero como yo tengo la culpa de la paternidad hay que conformarse. Así es la vida”. He smoked 5 cigarettes during the 2 h[ou]rs we conversed – false teeth – but eyes still relucientes with intelligence – a little Arabic indeed. He thought that since Nallino had written him that the zeḡel was based on Arabic metre: ‘Me corregí, creí que me había equivocado, pero si V. cree que no, mejor.’

I promised him a copy for Easter. He gave me his photo with a kind *dédicace*.⁴³

Nykl never again met Julián Ribera, although they remained in touch during the printing of Ibn Quzmān and Ribera read the introduction to the book.⁴⁴ Only in March 1938 Nykl published a long article in a Czech newspaper on Palma de Mallorca where he also included a description of this trip to see Julián Ribera (Nykl 1938).

Conclusions

After his return to Madrid on 2 January 1933 the intense and rapid work of printing Ibn Quzmān began. Nykl read the last proofs on 25 April and noted in his diaries: “Finishing Ibn Quzmān with very little enthusiasm.” The book was completed and published four days later. At that time the staff of Escuela de Estudios Árabes of Madrid packed the book with the introductory number of Journal al-Andalus and sent it out to its readers to represent the institution.

Some of the replies and acknowledgments of both works are preserved in Miguel Asín’s *Epistolario*. Among them are those sent by David Lopes (dated 22 May), José Millás Vallicrosa (22 May), Ignatius Krachkovskiy (25 May), Evariste Lévi-Provençal (6 June), Louis Massignon (12 June) and Giorgio Levi Della Vida (8 August). Not one of them was negative.⁴⁵

⁴² Both names are written in Arabic. Editor’s note.

⁴³ Al muy simpático prof. A. R. Nykl como recuerdo de nuestra charla sobre Abencuzmán y como prenda de amistad y cariño. Julián Ribera, nochebuena de 1932. ANpM, Nykl, Box 114, Ribera.

⁴⁴ For their correspondence on Ibn Quzmān see appendix.

⁴⁵ The letters are preserved in the Epistolario Miguel Asín in Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás, Center of Social and Human Sciences at the CSIC, Madrid. (D. Lopes 6 L 120; J. Millás Vallicrosa 6 M 173; I. Krachkovskiy 5 K 96; E. Lévi-Provençal 6 L 42; L. Massignon 6 M 163; G. Levi Della Vida 6 L 105).

In these letters we can see the purpose behind Asín's offer to Nykl and finally understand why the work went into print in rather a hurry. The evidence presented in the article reveals that Nykl had only begun to translate the work when he came to Spain. He did not expect to receive this offer to publish the book in Madrid, nor that he would have literally only four months to both complete the draft and bring it to print. Notes in his diaries in France show that he personally felt that Ibn Quzmān would require considerably further study and time. Asín and his colleagues offered him all help they could to accomplish their main goal: To have the book ready at the same time as the first number of *al-Andalus* and dispatch it to the world.

This clearly demonstrates how important is to understand the process of the creation of any modern orientalist work. Anyone who compares the Nykl's edition to that of García Gómez, who had about forty years to prepare, or to Colin's, who spent his whole life working on it and never brought it to print, is clearly missing the purpose and the ambition of this very first publication of *Escuela de Estudios Árabes*: to attract attention to this centre and to *Andalusī* studies.

The great number of reviews, all of them – with the exception of Colin's – positive, prove that Asín and Nykl succeeded in this. The Nykl diaries have proven that this can never be ignored. Further study through the optics of archival sources might improve our knowledge and understanding of the background and working methods of our predecessors, who studied the Arabic and Islamic world.

Appendix:

Correspondence exchanged between Julian Ribera and A. R. Nykl during printing of *Ibn Quzmān*.

1. Epistolario Julián Ribera y Tarragó, Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás, Center of Social and Human Sciences at the CSIC, Madrid, 3 N 113

Alois Richard Nykl to Julián Ribera
Madrid, 25 de marzo de 1933
Muy estimado amigo,

Tres meses pasaron desde aquella nochebuena inolvidable cuando hablamos sobre *Aben Guzmán* en su casa de V. en Carcagente. No le escribí antes porque sabía que nuestro amigo Asín le daba informes sobre el progreso del trabajo que emprendí bajo los auspicios de la *Escuela de Estudios Árabes* sobre el *Cancionero*. La semana que viene vamos a terminar la impresión del texto; seguirán las traducciones del Prólogo del poeta y de zéjeles escogidos, de especial interés para los romanistas incrédulos, y una somera análisis de los demás, notas. En el prólogo del editor voy a discutir brevemente varios puntos de interés. Ya me dijo el amigo Asín que Vd. me daba amplia libertad para diferir en algunos puntos de Vd. pero siempre subrayando la rima básica *aaab* que Vd. señaló como idéntica con el sistema provenzal. Creo que podré hacer un argumento muy sólido y convencer definitivamente al provenzalista más grande de nuestra época, prof. Carl Appel.

Las frases y palabras romances que notó V. en sus papeletas las había notado ya – y en la mayor parte estamos de acuerdo. Mi intención era llamar la atención a estas frases en las notas y allí voy a indicar la opinión de V. hay varias palabras y frases que Vd. no menciona, pero el gran total se muy reducido. Algo trae también el *Glosario* de Simonet.

En fin, creo que va a quedar V. contento del resultado. La primavera, sin duda, ha ahuyentado completamente el resfriado de que Vd. fué la víctima, según me dijo el amigo Asín. En cuanto a mí, me siento algo cansado, pero bastante fuerza para terminar el trabajo, con la ayuda de Dios.

Con los mejores deseos de buena salud para Vd. y su familia le saluda cariñosamente su fiel amigo

A. R. Nykl

2. Archives of the Náprstek Museum, Nykl, Box 114, Ribera.

Julián Ribera y Tarragó to Alois Richard Nykl

Puebla Larga, 30 de marzo de 1933

Amigo Nykl: Me ha dado mucha alegría su grata del 25: se ha cumplido matemáticamente el plan q[ue] V. me comunicó la víspera de Navidad. Es V. un trabajador formidable. Y si con los estudios logra V. convencer á los provenzalistas gana V. una de las batallas científicas de más trascendencia de la época moderna. Solo siento no haber estado en disposición de ayudarle en alguna cosilla, aunque el ímpetu de su empresa no necesite auxiliares. Yo dejé muchas cosas inacabadas é indecisas. V. las terminará felizmente y abrirá ancha puerta al estudio de la literatura de los zejeles y movaxahas.

Espero con ansia poder leer la introducción de V. Le felicita cordialmente su afino amigo que le /ilegible/ Julián Ribera

Aun no estoy fuerte, pero voy saliéndolo de la gripe con más fortuna de lo que podía augurarse, dada mi edad.

3. Epistolario Julián Ribera y Tarragó, Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás, Center of Social and Human Sciences at the CSIC, Madrid, 3 N 112.

Alois Richard Nykl to Julián Ribera

Madrid, 8 de abril de 1933

Muy estimado y querido amigo:

Me alegro mucho de que V. ya se sienta mucho mejor – el azahar, o mejor dicho, la primavera va a traerle salud perfecta y el recuerdo de los goces de su juventud, sí es que un amigo de los trovadores puede dejar de ser joven siempre.

El trabajo se aproxima a su feliz término y dentro de unos 8-10 días podrá V. leer el prólogo en pruebas. Estoy contento de haber podido hacer mucho más de lo que proyectábamos al principio dentro del plazo que tenía a mi disposición.

Estoy terminando las Notas – el ruido crecente de la capital ya no puede hacer mucho daño. Con los mejores deseos para la Pascua Florida, le saluda cariñosamente su fiel amigo A.R. Nykl.

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Según Ibn Haldūn
 (Sus excursiones a Sevilla eran frecuentes (Quatremère III 484):

وكان ابن قزمان مع آتة قرطبي الدار كثيراً ما يتردد إلى
 اشبيلية وينتاب نهرها فاتفق أن اجتمع ذات يوم
 جماعة من اعلام هذا الشأن وقد ركبوا في النهر للنزهة
 ومعهم غلام جميل الصورة من ثروة اهل البلد وبيوتهم
 وكانوا مجتمعين في زورق للصيد فنظروا في وصف
 الحال..... ثم قال ابو بكر بن قزمان

Tarā 'l-būri yarṣuq li-dā(k) al-ḡīha

Wa leys murādū an yaqa' fīha

Illā an yaqabbal yadeyātū

"Verás los ^{pegs} mugotes brincar ~~hacia~~ en aquella dirección; ~~pero~~
 caer en la red no es su intento, ^{lo hacen sólo} pero ~~no~~ para besar sus manitas"

Nykl's manuscript of the introduction to the Cancionero of Ibn Quzmān. ANpM, Nykl, Box 10.1.

دخل في ملك الفقير الحكيم ربه الكريم
 الشيخ الحافظ عبد الرحمن البوهيمي
 في أيام ثورة البلاشفة
 في الأندلس لعنهم الله

Ownership statement of Nykl's own hard copy of Cancionero of Ibn Quzmān. The Library of the Náprstek Museum

Yā šarāb, yā *bein*, mā ahlāk! W' Allāh, innak ḥulū, sukkar!
 Bi-lleḍī razaqni ḥubbak, man naṭar 'aleika ḡauhar,
 Yā turā, les taštākī bās; eš narāk q^{al. q. q.} a. s. f. ar?
 Mā aẓunn illā alam bik, au meliḥ lā šak[ka] ta' šaq!

صع الشراب عاشق
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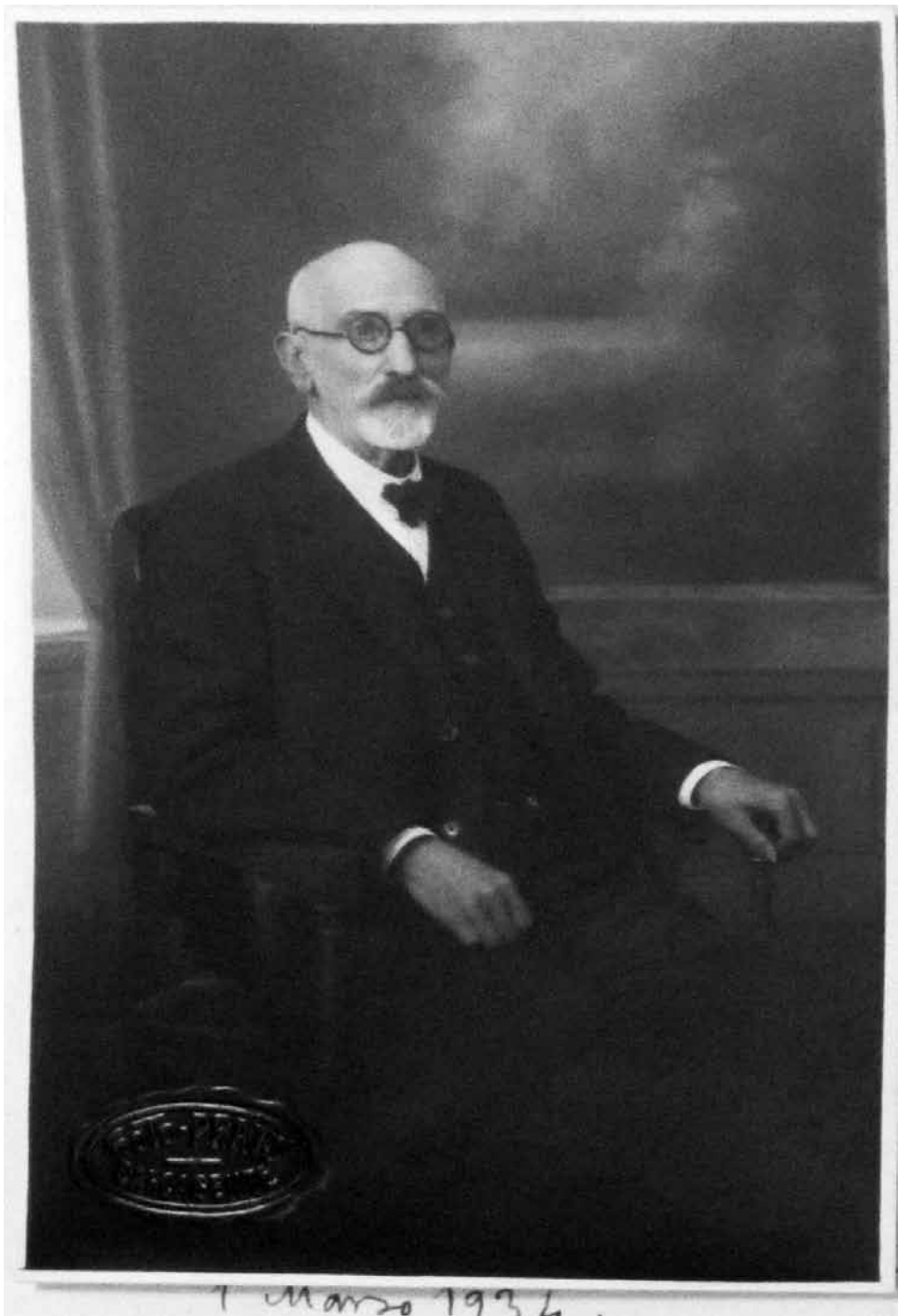
Nykl's amendment to the *zajal* no CXLVIII made in 1937 in his hard copy of Cancionero of Ibn Quzmān. The Library of the Náprstek Museum

(5)

~~con un invento~~; o también este: Yo soy un Baduino
 y tengo una casa ~~en~~ ^{en el} ~~vaca~~ ^{luisi: muwaššah}, llena de sangre de viña, o este
 también: Se enroscó la cola del valle, por Dios, esto sí que
 es el campo!

El habla vulgar en el campo el lenguaje literario gramatical
 de la qasida ^{en el [luisi: muwaššah]} o lenguaje ~~de~~ ^{de} bien explicado, no es peor
 que las desrdenes gramaticales en el zéjel - y nadie está exento
 de este gran defecto, ^(más) que Abūtal ^(la) ^(sea) misericordia de Alá sobre él),
 porque él se ha podido librar de esto y ~~se~~ ^{se} pecó tan solo
 en pocos casos donde erró y ~~se~~ ^{dejo atrás} ~~dejó atrás~~ ^(en lugar de poner) lo que
 que debía estar ^{delante} ~~detrás~~, por atrevido - como cuando dijo, Dios le perdona;
 El que planto' las dos anemonas en el jardín de sus dos majillas.
 o cuando dijo: Rompe Dios la prena de toda persona pesada o
 cuando dijo: Se maravilló la gente de la poca fortuna
^{otra} ~~y~~ ^{de} Malabita, como éstas. Pero hubo muchos ^{que} ~~que~~ ^{hicieron}
 lo mismo, según ~~de~~ ^{ya} ~~notamos~~ ^{ante,} ~~por~~ ^{algunos} ~~calumnias~~ ^{por}
 poseer una indole distinta de ~~de~~ ^{de} la suya.

Miguel Asín's amendments and corrections to Nykl's introduction to the Cancionero of Ibn Quzmān. ANpM, Nykl, Box 10.1.



Julián Ribera y Tarragó (1858-1934). The photograph given to Nykl in 1932.
ANpM, Nykl, Box 114, Ribera.



A. R. Nykl (1930) on a ship from France to the United States.