Exile and Nostalgia
in Arabic and Hebrew Poetry
in al-Andalus (Muslim Spain)

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by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the notions of "exile" (ghurba) and "nostalgia" (al-ḥanīn ilā-al-Wātan) in Arabic and Hebrew poetry in al-Andalus (Muslim Spain).

Although this theme has been examined individually in both Arabic and Hebrew literatures, to the best of my knowledge no detailed comparative analysis has previously been undertaken. Therefore, this study sets out to compare and contrast the two literatures and cultures arising out of their co-existence in al-Andalus in the middle ages.

The main characteristics of the Arabic poetry of this period are to a large extent the product of the political and social upheavals that took place in al-Andalus. Some of the cities which for many years represented the bastions of Islamic civilization were falling into the hands of the invading Christian army. This gave rise to a stream of poetry that reflects the feelings of exile and nostalgia suffered by those poets who were driven away from their native land.

This Arabic poetry had a substantial influence on the literary works of the Jewish poets who were reared within the cultural circles of the Arabic courts. As a consequence the Hebrew poetry they composed, in many respects, bore the stamp of the Arabic poetry in form and content.

This thesis is divided into three major parts organized as follows: the first part deals with the themes of exile
and nostalgia in Arabic poetry in al-Andalus. It contains three chapters: chapter one begins with a study of the origins of the themes of exile and nostalgia in the Arabic poetic tradition. Chapter two focuses on the nostalgia and lament poetry in al-Andalus describing the characteristics of each period through examining specimens of Andalusian poems. Chapter three is devoted to a study of the poetic product of Ibn Ḥamdīs, the Sicilian (d.1133) and discusses how the themes of exile and nostalgia became the framework of both his life and his poetry.

The second part of the thesis parallels the first part in that it deals with the Hebrew poetry in al-Andalus. It consists of three chapters: chapter one investigates the origins of the concept of the homeland in the Biblical sources. Chapter two discusses the form and the structural scheme of the Hebrew poetry in al-Andalus and the influence of the Arabic poetry on the Hebrew poetic works. Chapter three is devoted to a study of the poetry of the Jewish poet, Judah ha-Levi (d.1140) and his nostalgic expressions for Zion.

The third part is a comparative literary study of two specimen poems of Ibn Ḥamdīs and ha-Levi. The aim of this study is to develop methods for an analysis of the motifs and internal structure of these two poems. The linguistic analysis is focussed mainly on the levels of phonology, morphology and syntax, while the traditional analysis is focussed primarily on the content and imagery.
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PART ONE

Exile and Nostalgia in Arabic Poetry

Chapter One: Origin and Development

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Chapter One

Origin and Development

(1) Man and his environment
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There is no doubt that man is influenced physically and spiritually by his environment. The Arab sociologist Ibn Khaldūn, in his celebrated book Al-Muqaddima refutes the idea that black people inherited their dark colour from their ancestor Hām, the son of Noah, and indicates that they gained their dark colour through the sunny climate of their environment. (1)

It may be said that nostalgia is a sentiment recorded in the earliest literature. Ancient Egyptian literature, for instance, exhibits concern with that sentiment. For example, four thousand years ago, a story was narrated about an Egyptian called Sinuḫe who escaped from Egypt to Syria, where he lived in luxury for a long time. In spite of that he missed his country and decided to return. He wrote a song relating his story and asking his god to allow him to return to his homeland:

"I was nothing in Egypt when I escaped, and now I am a respectable and well-known person in the royal court in Syria. I was starving in my country, and now I help the poor people to survive. I left my country because I had nothing to wear, and now I am wearing the best clothes. I was lonely and solitary, but now I have many friends and slaves serving me. Now I live in a big luxurious house and have no problems. But in spite of all that I miss my country very much. O god, please help me to return to my country, where my heart lies, and fulfil my dream to be buried where I was born." (2)
The Arab writer al-Jāḥiz comments on the feeling of nostalgia of the Greek kings as follows:

"Those Greeks obtained all they wished when they left their country, enjoyed themselves and never missed anything other than their country. In spite of their success and the great wealth they gained, they felt homesick and yearned for their homeland." It is interesting to note that Persian tradition defines the wise man as follows:

"The wise man is he who helps his brothers and yearns for his country."(3)

An Indian philosopher also declares that man should love his country as much as he loves his parents, because they feed him and are themselves fed by the country.(4)

A literary study of Dīwan al-'Arab from the pagan ages (al-Jāhlīyya) up to Muslim Spain shows that the phenomenon of al-ḥanīn ilā al-wāṭan occupies an important part not only in the Arabs' sentiments but also in their tradition and literature.

It seems necessary at the beginning to define the concept of wāṭan (homeland) in Arabic tradition. Classical Arabic dictionaries refer to the word wāṭan as the gathering place of sheep and camels.(5) Later on the definition was expanded to include man and his dwelling place.(6) It is worth pointing out that wāṭan, according to the classical dictionaries, does not have to be the birth-place.

The climatic and geographical conditions of the Arabian peninsula rendered it unsuitable for cultivation or permanent
settlement. Its inhabitants shifted continually from one place to another in search of pasturage and water. (7) The philologist, Ibn Sayyida, therefore interprets _watan_ as follows, "al-watan is any place where one stays for a period of time." (8) However, the concept of al-watan in the Jahl-iyya (pre-Islamic period) seems to be social more than geographical, in that it does not designate specific boundaries, but relies mainly on series of family and tribal relationships. (9)

A study shows that the Arabs who lived in the Arabian peninsula before Islam were deeply attached to their land and yearned for their desert environment even when they moved to a better place. The Classical Arabic tradition preserves a number of anecdotes and proverbs exhibiting their emotions and nostalgia(10), for example:

1. يحب الأوطان عسرت البلدان
   2. أكرم الأبل أشدها حينها إلى أوطانها
   3. من امارات العاقل برهم لأخوته وحينه له أوطانه
   4. الغربة كربة والقلة ذلة
   5. لا تخف أرضا بها قوابلك، ولاتش بلدا فيه قباطك
   6. يحن اللبيب إلى وطنه كما يحن النجيب إلى عطنه
   7. كما أن حاضنتك حق لبنها - كذلك أرضك حق وطنها

1. Countries are inhabited because of nostalgia.
2. The best camel is the one which yearns for its dwelling-place the most.
3. The wise man is he who is kind to his brothers and misses his country
4. Alienation is a disaster and loneliness is lowliness.
5. Do not turn your back on where your intimates live and
do not complain about a country in which your tribes
dwell.

6. The sage yearns for his homeland like the good camel
longing for its place.

7. Just as you owe your mother who feeds you, so you owe
your country which accommodates you.

It is interesting to note that Arabs in the Jāhiliyya
had the custom of taking some sand from their land with them
when they travelled, and they would smell it as a cure in
case of illness:

وَلَا بَدِّي في اسْتِفَارَةٍ مِمْ قَيْسَةٍ
مِنَ النَّبِرِ نُضْنَتَاهَا لِهِمْ مَوالِدَ (١١)

The Arab writer al-Jāḥiẓ relates that when some bedouin
were asked about happiness and humiliation they said that
happiness is to stay at home and live amongst brothers, and
humiliation is to be torn away from one's country and to keep
moving from place to place. (12)

According to the Classical concept of waṭan which, as we
mentioned, is anywhere one stays for a period of time, the
Arab gained a new waṭan whenever he moved to a new place, for
instance in search of fresh pasturage for his livestock. He
did not dismiss the old waṭan from his life however. He kept
it in his mind and when he passed by or travelled near that
place he would pause at his diyār (that is to say, his dwell-
ing place or homeland) and recall his happy memories, and he
would weep over the atlāl (the ruins of his former dwelling-
place). (13)
It is worth pointing out that the phenomenon of al-wuqūf 'alā-’l-diyyār wa ’l-būkā’ ‘alā al-atlāl (pausing at the dwelling-place and weeping over its ruins) occupies a very important part of classical Arabic poetry in the Jāhiliyya.

The pre-Islamic poets, when composing a qaṣīda, would introduce it with a nasīb ('elegiac reminiscence' in the words of H.A.R. Gibb), designed to evoke nostalgia and sympathy on the part of the listener. They would describe the atlāl, the places where the beloved once camped with her tribe in the sands and where now the sands begin to cover the last traces of happy hours spent in a now vacant desert. The Jāhili poets, in the atlāl section of their poems, would also describe everything attached to the diyār and its atlāl.

I shall now list the motifs the Jāhili poets dealt with in their atlāl poetry which was evoked by their yearning for the diyār and their longing for the happy past spent with the beloved.

The motifs, as the Classical Arab critic, al-Āmidī, sets them out in his celebrated book, Al-Muwāzana, are as follows:

a) - the pause at the diyār;
b) - greeting the diyār;
c) - the designation of the site of the diyār;
d) - weeping over the diyār;
e) - the duration of the parting;
f) - questioning the diyār and receiving no response;
g) - the watering-call for the diyār;
h) - the description of the diyār and its ruins;
i) - the destruction of the ḏiyār;
j) - the wild animals living in the abandoned ḏiyār;
k) - the poet's mood when pausing at the ḏiyār;
l) - the poet asking his friends to share his sorrow;
m) - the mention and praise of the speaker's beloved.

It should be noted that it is not necessary to begin with the first motif of the list and that the poet does not have to deal with all these motifs in one poem.\(^{(15)}\)

It is worth pointing out that the ḏṭlāl section of the poem is not meant only to evoke sympathy and nostalgia; it is in fact the most highly stylized section of the poem, and as such, is the section where the technical competence of the poet is demonstrated.\(^{(16)}\)

As a specimen of these ḏṭlāl poems I quote some lines from a famous collection of seven odes called the Mu'allāqāt which are either pre-Islamic or were written in the early Islamic era (late sixth or early seventh century).

The most celebrated poet of al-Jāhiliyya, Imruʾ al-Qays (d. 450 A.D.) was fond of adventure and travel. Ibn Qutayba reflects the high esteem in which Imruʾ al-Qays is held, in that he attributes the poet with having invented the deserted encampment theme in the nasīb section.\(^{(17)}\)

"Halt (you two) and let us weep for the memory of a beloved and an abode at the edge of the dune's winding, between al-Dakhul and Hawmal,
And Tudih and al-Miqrat, whose trace is not erased by what wove across them of north and south wind."
You see the dung of the oryxes in their courts and their hollows, as though it were grains of pepper. As though I, the morning of parting, the day they loaded, by the acacias of the tribe, were a splinter of colocynth.

Halting in them, my companions, over me, their mounts, say, "Don't die (of grief), but be seemly."

Truly, my remedy is tears poured out - but is there at a fading trace any reliance?"

These lines (1-6) show a great deal of thematic unity of observation and sentiment. They belong to the nasīb section where most of the ṣaltāl motifs are presented, the location is clearly designated, but no individual woman is mentioned.

The poet shifts from the present to the past, to the scene of his memories accompanied by friends who halt their camels to comfort him. The word "wuqūfan", "standing, halting" in line 5 plays a complex triple role (associatively not
grammatically), describing the poet in the past, the poet in the present (still weeping) and the poet's friends. However, the poet, in line 6, shifts from nostalgia which is the basic characteristic of the nasīb to a series of light and boastful romantic reminiscences, which are loosely linked together by the fact that the incidents take place at different times of day. The ending allows the poet to restate the mood of unhappiness which is associated with the nasīb. \(^{(19)}\)

Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā (d. 607 A.D.) is one of the greatest representatives of pre-Islamic poetry. Zuhayr belonged to a well-off and respectable family which had the distinction of producing a galaxy of fine poets. \(^{(20)}\) He was called the foremost poet (shā‘ir ʾl-shuʿarā‘) by the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. \(^{(21)}\) I quote the nasīb section of his celebrated μuʿallaqa:

Is there from Umm Awfa a trace which has not spoken, in the rocky-plain of al-Darraj and al-Mutathallam, And a dwelling of hers in al-Raqmatayn, as-though it were the retracings of a tattoo in the sinews of a wrist? In it the wide-eyed (wild cows) and the oryxes walk (in) succession and their young arise from every reclining-place. I halted at it after twenty years, then (with) difficulty I recognized the dwelling, after (effort of) imagination: Trivet-stones, blackened, in the resting-place of a pot, and a ditch like the breastwork of the cistern, which is not breached.

Then when I knew the dwelling, I said to its spring campsite, "Good morning, o spring-campsite, and hail."
These lines deal with the deserted campground. The poet hardly recognizes the traces of his beloved's diyār, which are like tattoo marks in the campground now occupied by gazelles and antelopes, and he must use his imagination to evoke the encampment, in order to salute it. These āṭlāl lines show the poet's attachment to his beloved's diyār. He includes a great deal of circumstantial detail, the name of the woman, the period of time that has elapsed (twenty years), and a number of place names, and in line 6 he shows that this is where he belongs.

Another good example of āṭlāl poetry may be seen in these lines of the mu‘allaqa of ‘Antara b. Shaddād (525-615 A.D.):

Have the poets deserted a place-needing-to-be-patched?
Or have you recognized the dwelling (only) after imagination?
So I halted my she-camel in it and (it was) as-though it were an Apadana, that I might fulfil the need of the lingerer,

Whereas 'Abla camps in al-Jawā' and our people in al-Hażn and al-Ṣammān and al-Mutathallam.

May you be greeted, as a remnant whose epoch has long-past, (which) became desolate and empty after Umm al-Haytham.

She camped in the land of the visitors, and the seeking of you became difficult for me, daughter of Makhram.

The poet begins his nasīb with a rather enigmatic question and then addresses the camp-ground of his beloved 'Abla using the second person pronoun which exhibits his feelings of nostalgia towards the diyār of his beloved and his people and he mentions a list of place-names as a sign of love and yearning.

The Bedouin poet, LabTd b. RabTa (d. 661) was deeply attached to his diyār and its atlāl as he demonstrates in the following lines:
The dwellings have become-obliterated, their pitching-place and standing-place, in Minā, their Ghawl and Rijām have gone-wild, 
And the water-courses of al-Rayyān, their traces are denuded, weathered-smooth, just-as their stone-slabs have preserved the inscriptions, 
Traces (such that) there have terminated, after the era of their habitation, years elapsed, their profane-months and their holy-months, 
Which are provided-for in the spring-months of the stars, and which there has struck the out-pouring of the thunderers, their cloud-burst and their drizzle, 
From every night-travelling (cloud) and darkling morning (cloud), and evening (cloud), reechoing their thundering. 
So the sprouts of wild-rocket went-up, and there have brought-forth-young on the (two) slopes its gazelles and its ostriches.

The nabīb section in Labīd's poem (21 lines) is a fine piece of nostalgic description. In these six lines quoted above the poet sets out to establish a mood of sorrow and sympathy,
but at the same time he seems to be more fascinated with his diyār and the changes in the camp-ground, than grieved by the fading traces of the camp of his beloved. The lines refer to a number of places where he had kept the company of his beloved and which, since her departure, have become the haunts of wildlife.

It may be said that the concept of al-waṭan in early times was limited to the neighbourhood where men and their families dwelt, and that concept has expanded and developed during the Islamic period. Obviously, with the Qurʾān and with Islam, deep religious feelings unknown to the Jāhiliyya were born and reached gigantic proportions. Islam rejected the prevalent tribal spirit which dominated Arab life in the Jāhiliyya and spread a new spirit of peace and brotherhood in the Arabian peninsula.

It is worth pointing out that the Qurʾān refers, in some verses, to the strong relationship between man and his homeland and shows how emotionally stressful it is to leave or to be driven from the homeland, e.g.

"_worldna ala nqatel fi sabīl allah waqda ahrīna min nīrāna wa'ībīna"

"And why should we fight in God's cause when we and our children have been driven from our homelands?" Another example can be seen in these verses:
"The great ones among Pharaoh's people said: "Verily, this is indeed a sorcerer of great knowledge who wants to drive you from your land." (Said Pharaoh) "What, then, do you advise?" They said (to one another): "These two are surely sorcerers intent on driving you from your land by their sorcery."

These verses show the deep attachment of the Egyptians to their land when they thought that Moses and his brother, Aaron, came to expel them from their country.

One more example exhibits the prophet Abraham's patriotism and nostalgic feeling for his country:

"O my sustainer, make this a land secure, and grant its people fruitful sustenance."

A prophetic tradition (ḥadīth) also shows how deeply the prophet Muḥammad was attached to his native city, Makka. When he had to leave he expressed a feeling of nostalgia and patriotism. Addressing Makka, he said:

"By God, you are the most lovely land in God's eyes and I have had to leave you; otherwise I would never have left you."
However, when Muslims started the conquests to spread Islam over the world, they found themselves, for the first time, far from their countries and compelled to live in different environments and climates. Many poems were written at that time exhibiting feelings of deep alienation and nostalgia, e.g.

أقربة الوادى التي خان الفها من الدهراً أشدو، تندوَ وخطوبَ
تمالق أطر حِلك الها، فَإِننا كِلّانا بِرو الشاهجان غريب

The poet is using the standard image of addressing the bird, which weeps over its partner's departure, in order to exhibit his sense of alienation in the foreign country. Another example from this era can be seen in these lines which show the poet suffering from alienation in Iran where the snow, to his astonishment, covers the earth. He yearns for his country, Iraq, and its soil:

وأوى برو الشاهجان تسكنَت، أرضُ تتَبَّايم شَعْبِها المذوَر
أشق على بُن العراق، وَجِبَرُ أن الفوَادَ يشحَو مَجَدَور

There are also some lines which show how much the Arab poets missed their desert environment and its date palms:

أَلَا فَاتَلاَا يَأحِل لهُ بِن قداس وَبَيِن العَذَب لا يِجاوِر ك النخل
أَلَا يَانِخْلَاج الْرُكَاب لَأَزْل فَانْضَرَى، وَلَا زَال في أَكْناف حَيْلٍ ك النخل
أَيَا نَخْلَهَا دَوَن العذَب بُثَبُتْلَام، سِيِّدَتَ النُواديَ المُدجُونَ بِبَيِن النخل
أَيَا نَخْلَهَا دَوَن العذَب بُثَبُتْلَام، سِيِّدَتَ النُواديَ المُدجُونَ بِبَيِن النخل

A literary study of the Islamic poetry in all Islamic periods (early Islamic, Umayyad and Abbasid), shows that the majority of poets continued to begin their poems with an
atlāl section, despite the fact that many of them did not live in the desert or even know it. That is not surprising because the poems are derived from Arabic origins and bedouin sources. When the first muhājirūn had to leave Makka and went to Yathrib, they wrote poetry expressing their yearning for their country and their wish to return. One of these poets exhibits his attachment to the soil of his country, comparing it to herbs with special fragrances:

أَكُرِرُ طَرْفِيّ نَحْوٍ نَجِيٍّ وَأَنْتِ إِلَيْهِ، وَأَنْتِ أُنْظُرُ إِلَى أَرْضِيّ كَانَ تَرَابَاً
حَنْنِينَا إِلَى أَرْضِيّ كَانَ تَرَابَاً
وَنْورُ الْأَفَانِيِّ وَشَيْ يُدْرِجُ مُهْرَبُ
أَحْنِنَّ إِلَى أَرْضِيّ الْهَجَازِ وَحَاجِيّ
خِيَامُ بَنْجَدِ دُزْنَا الْطَرْفُ يَقَصُّرُ

Another good example of al-ḥanTn, that is to say yearning for the homeland, can be seen in these lines by the poet ‘Urwa b. Ḥizām, who illustrates in an artistic image his hānTn for his beloved country while his camel at the same time yearns for its home:

فَمَنْ يُكَٰدِرُ لَمْ يُبْقِرْنَ فَأَنَّى وَنَاقِيّ
بَعْضِي إِلَى أَهْلِ الْجَيْشِ قَرْضَانِ
هُوَ ثَقَالَيْنِ خُلَفِ وَقُدُمَى الْحَمَى وَأَنْتُ وَأَيَاها مَخَالَفَاتِ
تَنْهَى فَتَبْدِي مَا هُيْ إِلَى صَبَأَةٍ
وَالْخَرِيجِ الَّذِي لَوْلاَ الأَسِيَّ أَقُصَّتِ
فَوَأَكْبِدْنَا أَجْلَا فَقْدَ وَجَدَتِ

The poet Wāṣṭān al-Yaman could not stay in Syria away from his country. He recalls his diyār and his beloved, begging the winds to send his greeting to both of them:
The poet Jamīl b. Ma'amur (d. 701) shows his pride and patriotism for his country, the Hijāz:

Anā jiśl wal-idhjaz wa'tī fihi huwa nafsī wafī jāshī (39)

Another example is in these lines by the poet Abū Ziyād al-Ta'ī, where he exhibits his hānin and nostalgia for the country which raised him and which he had to live away from:

Aḥqāq Allāh Annā la mam nasiyalla
Wala na'ārāhū ra'd liyom naskri
Masali bihū qalībī wala mu'ādī bihū
Ba lahā bika niyata ṭalī tamāsi
Kan bi'a aʿṣra ilābī tabaraghda
Ba lahā qomī waʻaridū ṣāhīhī
Wanām ajīdīn talīl āhībī bādā (40)

The image of the camels evoking the poet's hānin for his country is employed in these lines by Majnūn Layla (Qays b. al-Mulawwaḥ) who greets his diyar and his beloved as well:

Aḥhīn է dāyēt jalām woomī wābi̇ jīnīmānī
Wārī cū mēt lāhū ḥānīnā
Šaq alībī ḥajīdī bīlahā woomī
Wan ḥätēt liyom ʾān bīlahā
ʿSnī yāmūn wāsīkān ʾĀrīs ʾājīdī
tenābīhā kāterī ʿy′atībā ʾwābdīnā (41)

The poet emphasizes his theme through the intensive use of words referring to his country and his people: "aḥinnu, ḥanīnan, jimāl qawmī, bilād qawmī, al-diyār, ard, Najd"
(yearn, yearning, my peoples' camels, my peoples' countries, the dwelling places, land, Najd).

In another poem he declares that life means nothing to him away from his homeland and his beloved:

وَأَن يَكْنِيَ اللَّهُ لَا لَيْلَةً وَلَا نُجُودَ فَاذْعَرُوهُ بِهِ جِبَرٌ إِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ وَالْوَعْدِ (42)

The poet ‘Umar b. Abī Rabī‘a (d. 720 A.D.) demonstrates his feelings of homesickness. He yearns for his country and declares that no other place can be an alternative to it:

هَيْهَتُ مِن أُمَّةِ الْوَهَابِ مُنْزِلًا إِذَا حَلَّنَا بِسَيْفِ الْبَرَّ مِن عَدْنٍ وَحَلَّ أَهْلِكُ أَجِبَادًا فَلِيَ فَلِيَ نَالَالْتَذْكِرَ، أَوْ حَظْلُ مِن الْخَزِينِ لَا دَاكِمُ دَارِنَا يَاوَهُبُ أَنْ نَرَحْتُ ذَكْرَتِي وَلَا أُوْطَانِكُمْ وَطَنِي خَلَسَتُ أَمْلَكَ إِلَّا أَنْ أَفْوَلَ إِذَا (43)

Another good example of ḥaṭTa imagery can be seen in these lines by the poet al-Farazdaq (d. 730 A.D.) who employs the camel in an artistic image as an element which evokes his tears and his yearning for his country:

وَلِيْلَةَ بَنَا دِيْرٌ حَيَّانَ نَبِتَ أَحْجُرُ بِيْنَ كَانَتُ كَالْخَضْرَاتِ ضَرَّا ِ نُبْطَتُ لَنَا لِيْلًا نَزِجَّ بِكَأْهَا فَوْزًا إِلَى أُهُلِ الْوَرِيَّةِ أَصْوَارَا وُحَنَّ نَخْنَةٌ مَّنْكِرًا أَهْجِيَتْ بَهُوُّ ذِي هُوَوٍ مِن شَوْقٍ مَا تَنَكِّرَا فِبْنَا قَمُودُ بَيْنَ مِلْمِرِ الْيْوَى وَنَاَيِهِ جَانُ العَيْنِ أَن يَنْتَجَدَا تَرَوَّمُ عَلَى نِمَانٍ فِي الْفِجْرِ نَاَقُي وَأَنَّ مَا حَنَّ كَتَبَ بِالْشَّوْقِ إِذْذَا (44)

The poet Jarīr (d. 734 A.D.) uses the standard image of the
wind and the mountain to refer to his enchantment and nostalgia for his country:

The Abbasid poet Abū Tammām follows the majority of the Jāhilī poets and links the beloved to the homeland. The two merge to become a symbol of love and yearning:

The poet Ibn '1-Rūmī attempts to answer the question, Why does one love one's country? He believes that the deep attachment to the homeland and the nostalgic emotions for it derive their aspiration mainly from the happier times spent with the beloved ones. He portrays in a fine image his homeland as a body where his soul is at peace:

All these examples, from the Jāhilī era up to the Abbasid period, prove, basically, in my view, the developing link between the āṭlāl theme in the Jāhilī era and the ḥanīn and ghurba (yearning and alienation) in the Islamic
period. The اتلل, in spite of the fact that there is no complete poem devoted to that theme, traditionally occupies the introduction of the majority of جاهلیة poetry. In that section, the poet pours out his emotions and attachment to his old دیار which he had to leave. Most of the Classical Arab critics interpret the phenomenon of الْولْفُ فی الْاتلل (pausing at the ruins) as a consequence of the desert environment which forces its inhabitants to shift frequently, searching for pastures and water. They pause at the اتلل recalling their happy past and formulate just such feelings of nostalgia and yearning.

The Egyptian critic شوقي دايغی indicates that Arabs have been brought up with affection for the dwelling place embodied in the اتلل poetry of the جاهلیة and they developed and expanded it until it became an independent theme, entitled الحَنْنَّ عِنْدَ الْوَلْفُ (yearning for the homeland) which occupies much of Arabic poetry. It uses the standard imagery of the beloved's دیار or employs the wind and pigeons as elements which evoke the poets yearning for the homeland. The majority of modern Arab critics agree with this view since the اتلل is the sanctuary and the refuge in which the Arabs lived for a while and had happy memories of their beloved people. Therefore they feel grateful and express their yearning and patriotism for their old homeland which they had to leave.

Moreover, the phenomenon of the اتلل and weeping over it can be interpreted as a lament over the poet's fate and his suffering from the severe life in the desert where no
settlement is a permanent home. Hence he keeps searching and yearning for his memories in the *atlāl*. (52)

It is worth noting that the genre entitled *al-wuqūḍ al-athār* (standing amongst ruins) derives from the *atlāl* poetry, using almost the same imagery and the same motifs. The poet laments over the ruins of his city or his country, recalling the past glory of his people and expressing his emotions and yearning for that great past. (53) It can be said that the origin of *al-athār* poetry was in the east, particularly in Iraq, where the poets lamented and wept over the destruction of two of the most important cities at that time, Baghdad and Basra. In the year 812 A.D. Baghdad was attacked and devastated by al-Ma'mūn. The poet 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Malik stands amongst the ruins of his beloved city weeping over it and his people and recalling its past glory:

من ذا أصابك بالبغداد بالعين
ألم تكون زمانًا قرعة العين
ألم يكن فيك قوم كان مسكنهم
كان قريبهم ريبا من الرين
ماذا لقيت بهم من لوعة البين
إلا تجد رماء العين من عيني
أستودع الله أقاوماً ما ذكرتبه
فانفرقنهم كالدهر
وصد قيمهم والدهر يصدع مابين الفرقيين (54)

Another example of the same theme can be seen in these lines by Ibn 'l-Rūmī who laments the city of Basra which was violently hit by the long rebellion of the Zanj slaves, black people from East Africa pressed into servitude in the salt pans of lower Iraq. The insurrection lasted from A.D. 870 to 883; Basra was devastated in 871 A.D. (55) Ibn 'l-Rumi wrote the following lament over the destruction of the city, opening with a *nasTb*, whose theme is the sleeplessness
of the distraught lover:

Sweet sleep has been barred from my eyes by their preoccupation with copious tears.
What sleep (is possible) after the great misfortunes that have befallen Bāṣra?
What sleep (is possible) after the Zanj have violated openly the sacred places of Islam?
This indeed is such an affair as could scarcely have arisen in the imagination.
Wide awake we have witnessed matters which it would have sufficed us were they visions seen in a dream.
The accursed traitor ventured how recklessly against her (Bāṣra) and against God And named himself without right an Imam - may God not guide aright his labours as Imam.
My soul cries alas for thee, O Bāṣra, with a sigh like the blaze of a conflagration;
My soul cries alas for thee, O mine of excellences, with a sigh that makes me to bite my thumb;

أَيْ نَوَّمُ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا حَلَّ بِالْحَالَةِ
أَيْ نَوَّمُ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا انْتَهَكَ الْحُزْنُ
إِنَّ هَذَا سَنَامُ الأَمْوَرِ لَأَسْرُ
لَرَابِينَ مَسْتَيْقَطِينَ أُمُورًا
وَعَلَى الَّذِينَ أَتْبَعُونَ رُكَابَةً سَمَّا
أَنْتُمُ الخَائِضُانُ الْلَّهِمَّ عَلَيْهِ
It is interesting to note that some of the Arab poets wrote a number of poems lamenting the last vestiges of other nations which they once admired and whose former civilizations once fascinated them, e.g.

Anxieties attended my lodging, therefore I turned my sturdy she-camel in the direction of the white (palace) of Ctesiphon Consoling myself for what chances had come (upon me), and grieving for a decayed abode of the House of Sasan. Successive vicissitudes reminded me of them - and vicissitudes are apt to make a man remember, and forget - When they dwelt at ease in the shadow of a tall (palace) over-looking (the surrounding land), wearying and weakening the eyes (that gazed at it),
Its gate locked against the mountain of al-Qabq, as far as the broad lands of Khitaṭ and Muks - Abodes that were not like the traces of the encampment of Su'udā in smooth-swept wastes of wildernesses.
The Abbasid poet al-Buhturī (d. 897 A.D.) writes a long ode (56 lines) in the genre of al-‘āthār, using the same features and imagery of the ṣālāl poetry, referring to the close link between the two themes. The standard imagery of the ṣālāl poetry can be seen throughout the lines, e.g. leading the camels to the ruins of the Sasanid throne (line 1), lamenting over its ruins (line 2), referring to the ṣālāl of his ancestors (line 6), and weeping over it (line 8) and finally adding a new motif to the ‘āthār poetry, and at the same time giving the reason behind composing his poem which is to learn a lesson by looking at those traces (line 7).

However, the genre of al-wuqūf ‘alā al-‘āthār along with the al-ḥanīn poetry was expanded and developed in Muslim Spain, al-Andalus, where the environment was suitable and the atmosphere encouraging for such themes as lament and yearning. The long conflict between the rulers of the Spanish Muslim cities, and the conquests from Africa by the Berbers, as well as the wars between the Muslims and the Christians of Northern Spain all inspired the poets to write much poetry expressing their feelings of nostalgia.
and patriotism, and exhibiting their lamentations and moaning over their country and their people.

In summary, I have tried to trace in this chapter the origin and development of the Arabic literary tradition that deals with exile and nostalgia. The first four sections are aimed at explaining the notions of al-ḥanīn and al-waṭan as understood in the poetry of the pre-Islamic era. We found out that the Arabs were deeply attached to their land in spite of its arid environment and regarded the nostalgic feeling as a sign of gratitude and wisdom. We also discovered that al-ḥanīn ila al-waṭan became a phenomenon and occupied a major part of the Arabs' life as well as their tradition.

The next two sections were intended to show how the concepts of al-ḥanīn and al-waṭan acquired new nuances and dimensions with the coming of Islam, and how the poets' vision was affected as a consequence. The concept of al-waṭan was expanded and developed to include all Islamic land anywhere.

The last section showed the developing relationship between the ʿātāl motifs in the Jahili poetry and the theme of ḥanīn in the Islamic period and how both were the origin of the birth of the new genre, al-bukāʿ ʿalā al-ʿāthār, which first appeared in the East and developed and was elaborated in the West, Muslim Spain, al-Andalus.

In the next chapter we will see how nostalgia and lament poetry developed and flourished in the civilized and cultured atmosphere of al-Andalus.
Notes to Chapter One

1. Ibn Khaldūn, 'Abd 'l-Raḥmān, al-Muqaddima (Damascus, 1900), p. 49
2. Salīm Ḥassan, al-Miṣrī al-Qādir, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1945) p. 40
7. K. A. Fariq, History of Arabic Literature (Delhi, 1972) p. 15
9. ʿAḥmad Habbū, Tarīkh al-ʿArab Qabāl al-Islām (Baghdād), p. 275
12. Ibid., p. 32
16. Bateson, Structural Continuity in Poetry, p. 25
17. Ibid., p. 41
23. Ibid., pp. 185-186
24. Ibid., p. 163, trans., Bateson, p. 160
26. 2/246
27. 7/109, 110
28. 20/63
31. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ḥusain Ṭawān, Muqaddimat al-Qaṣīda al-ʿArabiyya fi ʿl-Shīr al-Jāḥili, p. 5
36. Yaqtūt al-Ḥamawi, Muḥjam al-Buldān, vol. 5, p. 262
38. Aṣfahānī, Aghānī, vol. 2, p. 204
40. Usāma ibn Munqidh, al-Manāzil waʾl-Diyār (Cairo, 1968), pp. 246-247
41. Diwan, pp. 64-65
42. Ibid., p. 67
43. Diwan, p. 319
44. Diwan, vol. 1, p. 345
45. Diwan, p. 493
47. ʿAskārī, Diwan al-Maʿānnī, vol. 2, p. 186
49. Al-ʿĀmidī, al-Muwāzana, vol. 1, p. 409
50. Shawqī Dayf, Dirāsat fī al-Shīr al-ʿArabī al-Muṣāhir (Cairo), p. 263
54. Al-Ṭāhir Makkī, Dirāsāt Andalusīyya fī al-Adab wa'l-
Tārikh wa'l-Falsafa (Cairo, 1980), p. 225
55. A.J. Arberry, Arabic Poetry (Cambridge, 1965),
pp. 62-63
56. Mawhūb Muṣṭafāy, al-Ramziyya 'īnd al-Buḥturi (Algeria,
57. Al-Buḥturi, Dīwān, vol. 1 (Beirut, 1962), pp. 190-194,
trans., Arberry, p. 74
Chapter Two

Nostalgia and Lament Poetry in Al-Andalus

1. Nostalgia and nature poetry
   
   (a) The Caliphal period: joy and pleasure
   (b) The Mulūk 'l-Ťawa'if: romance and exile
   (c) The Almoravid period: sadness and alienation

2. The laments of al-waṭān
   
   (a) Cordoba: Ibn Shuhayd
   (b) Seville: Ibn 'Abbād, Ibn 'l-Labbāna
   (c) Badajoz: Ibn 'Abdūn
   (d) Granada: Ḥāzim al-Qarṭājannī
   (e) Abu al-Baqā' 'l-Rundī and his masterpiece
1. Nostalgia and Nature Poetry

Spain, for almost eight centuries in the hands of Muslim leaders, was a great example of a civilized and cultured country. Art, literature, philosophy and science flourished. In Muslim Spain, al-Andalus, "everything that makes a kingdom great and whatsoever tends to civilization was found there."(1)

(a) The Caliphal period: joy and pleasure

Under the rule of the Umayyad Caliph, 'Abd 'l-Rahmān III, the Andalusians became one people and a united nation.(2) Cordoba, the capital city of al-Andalus, was one of the largest and strongest cities in the Mediterranean region.(3)

Poetry flourished in al-Andalus and poets were experimenting with every theme, from the Nawriyya or floral poem to the classical qaṣīda. The Andalusians composed a great number of poems expressing feelings of nostalgia and admiration of nature. Perhaps the most interesting features of the Andalusian poetry are the romantic feeling prevailing in the love poems, and the modern sensibility to the beauties of nature.(4) Ibn Darrāj al-Qastallī (d. 1030) was one of the greatest poets of al-Andalus to cultivate floral poetry, the Nawriyyāt, which developed quickly and became popular in the Caliphal period. It is not surprising that the Andalusian poets managed skilfully to convert the beauty of their natural landscape into a poetic genre.
The following lines, from the Andalusian Umayyad prince, al-Sharif ʿl-TalTq (d. 1009), are part of a floral poem where he describes the beauty of the Spanish landscape and expresses his joy with it:

And many a cloud sending forth rain is such that its showers are drinking companion to the garden, for it sings and pours out drink. Moreover, it is as though the earth were its jail and as though the plants were a criminal who has been imprisoned. The lightning clothes (the cloud's) sides with its glittering brocade robe when it flashes, And it is as though the dark undercloud in it were a black (horse) on whom (the lightning) has cast a motley hue, And as though the wind, when it blows along (that horse) starts a flock of magpies consisting of (its own substance) into flight. On certain nights on which the planets wander astray, losing their way without being able to distinguish their orbits, The lightning lights up its lantern for them so that the face of their gloom turns into a sunrise, While the thunder softly mourns, so that the cups of the rain flow over (the garden) exuding moisture. The sun rose, weaning (the garden) having wrapped it in a cloak which submerges it, consisting of its own light.
Thus it is as though the sun which revives (the garden's) breath were the brightness of the beloved reviving the lover burning with desire, And as if the rose, covered with dew, were the cheek of the beloved sprinkled with drops of perspiration.

(b) The Mulūk 'l-Ṭawālif period: romance and exile

The greatest poet of Muslim Spain was Ibn Zaydūn. He was born in Ruṣafā, a suburb of Cordoba in 1003 A.D. He prospered during the last days of the Umayyad dynasty which had ruled Spain almost since its conquest in 711 A.D.
However in the first half of the eleventh century the Umayyad Caliphate collapsed and Cordoba with the other Andalusian cities came under the rule of the Mulūk al-Tawā'if (the Party Kings). Ibn Zaydūn associated with the new rulers, Abū al-Ḥazm al-Jahwar and his son Abū Walīd. Ibn Zaydūn entered upon a political career and became the confidential vizir of Ibn Jahwar. During this period of his life Ibn Zaydūn was involved in a love affair with Wallādah, a daughter of the last Umayyad Caliph, al-Mustakfī. She was a beautiful and talented princess. After a few months Wallādah turned against Ibn Zaydūn for unknown reasons and had an affair with Ibn ʿAbdūs who was acting as a vizir in Abū al-Ḥazm's court. Ibn Zaydūn wrote his rival a scathing satire called the Comic Letter, to which he signed Wallādah's name. Ibn ʿAbdūs, for this, denounced Ibn Zaydūn as plotting a secret restoration of the Umayyads and he was imprisoned for almost a year. He wrote the Serious Letter, begging Abū al-Ḥazm to release him, which had no effect, and later he escaped. Although he was isolated in seclusion in Cordoba, he felt happy about being able to remain in his native city and near his beloved Wallādah. In the hope of seeing her, despite the danger of showing himself openly, he stayed in al-Zahrā', the royal suburb of Cordoba built by ʿAbd al-Raḥman III. His stormy love for Wallādah inspired the better part of his literary production. While hiding in al-Zahrā', he wrote a poem expressing his love and yearning for Wallādah, combined with his fascination for the beauty of the natural landscape. Both feelings, for the beloved and for nature, are fused, reflecting the
happy memories of the past and the present sad state. This poem depicts the lovely scenery of al-Zahrā³ and may serve to illustrate the deep feeling of Ibn Zaydūn for the beauty of his country's natural landscape which is one of the characteristics of Andalusian poetry in general. 13) I quote the poem, which consists of 15 lines:

I remembered you at al-Zahrā³ passionately
The horizon was free and earth's view limpid
The breeze was weakening in its evening
As if it pitied me and was calm in mercy
The garden with its silvery waters smiled
As if you tore collars from the neck
We played, inclining the eye to a flower
The dew so heavy in it the neck bent
As if its eyes saw my thinness
Wept for my pain and tears poured clear
A rose flashed in its splendid growth
And light increased in the dawn's eye
The lotus perfume spreading at night
Slumber, the dawn roused the eyes from it
All excites in us my memory of our love for you
The heart turns not from it so it suffers
Allah did not quieten a heart your memory split
It did not fly flapping with love's wings
If wind's breath wished to carry me at night
It brought you a man thinned by what he met
A day, like days of pleasure taken from us
We spent the night there secretly while time slept
If wishes came true in our meeting with you
It would have been creation's finest day
O my high jewel, bright, dear to the soul
Whenever loves have owned such jewels
Payment was in sincerity of love for a time
A field of friendship where we ran freely
Now the best we had of our promise to you
Was that you consoled and we remained lovers.

Later, Ibn Zaydūn had to leave Cordoba and he fled to Seville, which had become a paradise for poets as well as
the new cultural capital of al-Andalus. Ibn Zaydūn was received by al-Muʿtaḍīd, who treated him as an intimate friend and he became the first minister in his court. After the death of al-Muʿtaḍīd, his son and successor, al-Muʿtamīd, retained Ibn Zaydūn in the same position and he became his favourite poet.

In spite of the great success he gained in Seville, Ibn Zaydūn now found himself away from both his loves, Wallādah and Cordoba. He wrote a long qaṣīda rhymed in nūn which is considered his masterpiece. It is not only a description of his beloved's beauty but also an expression of his own innermost conflicts and personal feelings:

My departure gleamed in place of our meeting
Our quarrel replaced sweetness in our union
Parting's dawn rose, destruction came
To us, our mourner stood with us in grief
Who informs us of our doubts in their remoteness
Grieving with time not tired but tiring us:
That the times won't stop smiling at us, friendly
In their nearness, but it came to make us cry?
The foe was jealous of our giving love and prayed
That we avert eyes and fate said: Amen
So was loosed what was knotted in our souls
And cut what was bound with our hands
We were so and our parting not feared
But today we exist and our meeting not hoped
O would that I knew, who never blamed your foes,
If our foes got joy from satisfaction
We did not grant your going anything but trust
   In your vision nor gird on other belief
Not true for us they cooled envy's eye
   In us nor that they rejoice the hate in us
We say in despair his passions would console us
And we despained and not excited by despair?
You went and we did, but our sides were not dry
When our thoughts escaped you we almost
   Came to an end in grief except we suffered
Our days changed with your loss and became
   Dark but there were our white nights with you
When the flanks of life were free of our loving
   And love's meadow was pure in our sincerity
Then we pulled union's branches drawing
   Their fruits and picked what we wanted of it
May your bond be slandered as promise of joy for
   You were for our souls nothing but our balm
Don't think your absence from us changes us
   If long ago your love's distance did not change
By Allah our desires sought no change
   From you and our faith turned not from you
O all my lightning, early to the palace and pour
   Pure love and passion that gives us drink
And ask there: Was it our thinking of us tired
   A friend whose thinking at eve disquiets us?
O east wind bring our greeting to one
   Who if alive at a distance would greet us
Do I not see time judge us tyrannically
   In this even after not summoning us?
Servant of rule as if Allah had created him
    Of musk when he made men a creation of clay
Or shaped him of silver pure and crowned him
    With bright gold as a marvel and ornament
When the necklace pearls bend him heavily
    With comforts and soft anklets bled him
The sun was to him a foster mother in his veil
    No, he unveils not to her except to shame us
As if was fixed in the hollow of his cheek
    Star's brightness like talisman or amulet
It mattered not we were not his equal in rank
    For in love there is enough to satisfy us
O garden, long ago it gave fruit in our glances
    Love polished him freshly as red and white rose
O life that pleases us with its brightness
    Sorts of desires and types of pleasures
O joy, we were shaken by its fertility
    In varied grace we trailed its skirt there
We have not named you due to honour and respect
    Your rank exalted exempts us from that
Since you were unique and shared no qualities
    Description clear enough for us and bright
O eternal garden we exchanged its trees
    Kawthar's sweet for Zaqqum and our sweat
As if we spent no night and our union was a third
    While joy cast down our gossips' eyelids
If the meeting was weak in the world yet at
    Resurrection station we meet and you conquer
Like two secrets in darkness's mind it hid us
    Until almost the tongue of dawn revealed us
No wonder we thought then prohibition had forbidden
Grief for him and we left patience forgot
We recited our despair on parting's day like
Writings and we took patience as it came to us
As to your love we swerve not from its source
As a drink even if it slaked and gave us thirst
We do shun beauty's horizon, you are its star
Praying to us nor do we flee it hating
Not by choice have we put it aside a short space
But our hardships hatefully have opposed us
We grieve because of you when wine stirred us
With its mixing and our singers sang to us
Wine cups do not produce in us our drunkenness
A sign of peace, nor does the lute delight us
Stay with me, faithful to the oath while we live
For the free man treats fair and is treated
We did not want a friend in you who detained us
Nor aided a lover in place of you to deter us
In darkness's full moon inclined to us from
Its high rising it would not take us like you
Weep for faith and if you grant me no union
The spectre satisfies us and memory suffices
In answer there's good if you intercede for it
With white hands which you still keep near us
For you from us Allah's peace for as long as
Love stays with you we hide it and it reveals us.
أنصَحِي الطَّالِبَينَ بِيَدَيْلَةَ مِنْ تَدَانِيَتِكُمْ
لاَ وَقَدْ حَانَ صَبِيحُ الْيَتَّى يَصِبْحَتُ
مِنْ مُّذِبِعِ الْمَسْتَبِعِيَمَا بِذَيْنَهِمَا.
فَأَنَا بِفَتْرِيَكُمْ قَدْ عَادَ مُسْكِنِيَهُ
بِنَمْسِيْنَ قَافِلَ الْنَّحْرِ آمِنًا
وَأَنْتُمْ مَا كُنْتُمْ مَعْقُوُمًا بِأَعْقَبِيَهُ
فَأَنْحَلْتُما كَانَ مَعْقُوُمًا بِأَعْقَبِيَهُ
وَقَدْ تَكُونَ وَمَا مُضْحِكَتُ تَكُونُ
بِالْيَتَّى شَعَرُى وَلَمْ يُنَبِّي أَعَاذِيَكُمْ
لَمْ نَعْتِيََّدُ بَعْدَ كَمْ عَلَّفْتُ لَكُمْ
مَا حَقَّنَا انْتَفَّرُوا عِينَّيْ ذِي حَمْدٍ
كَأَنَّى مَنْ لَنَأَبْسُ عَلَى عَوْرَةِيَهُ
فَلَمْ تَفَقَّنَوا فَأَرَبَّضَيْنَ
كَآَنَّتِنَّى تَشَيِّيْكُمْ خَيْرًا
بِكَانَ حَسَنًا لَّهُمَا عَلَى الْوَهْيَ لَاتً
سَوَى وَكَانَتْ يَكْسِبُهُمَا مَا لَكيَنَّا
إِذْ جَابَ الْعَيْشِ طَلَّكُمْ مِنْ تَأْلُفِيَهُ
وَذِي مُّصِرَّيْ نُفُونَ الْوَصْلِ دَائِيَةً
لَيْسَ عَهْدُكُمُ عَهْدُ السُّرْوُيْ فَا
أَرَياً كَانَ الْيَتَّى الْعَيْشُ
أَنْ طَالِمَا غَيْرُ النَّائِلُ الْمَجْشُوْنُ
مَنْ كُنْتُمْ وَلاَ أَصْرَفْتُ عَمْكَ أَالِيَمًا
وَاللَّهُ مَا طَلِبَتْ أَحْوَالُكُمْ بَدَا.
بِسِلَايَيْهِ مَيَدَيْلَةَ عَالِمِيَمَا
فَإِلَّا تَذُرُّوْنَ الْيَتَّى مَعْقُوُمًا
وَأَيْنَ عَلَى الْقَبْدِ حَيَاً كَانَ مُحِيْيَا
فَهَلَا أَرَى الْذَّهَرَ يَقْضَا مَنْ يَتَقَضِيْنَا
وَإِنْ لمْ يَكُنْ غَيْبًا نَقْضَايَنَا
رَبِّيْبُ مُلُوكُ كَانَ اللَّهُ إِنْشَهُ
أو صاغة ورفاً فحماً وتنوعا
إذا تأود آثنا رفاهية
كانت له الشمس ظهرًا في أكابيه
كأنا ألفنت في صحن وجنيبنا
ووق الموتة كافر من ذكائيا
وازها جلالة الصبا غضبا وتمسنا
ويا حياة تملتنا يزهرها
وابنها خطرنا من غضاريه
لساء تمسك إجلالا وتسكرهما
بوجسنا الوضع إيضاحا وتبيينًا
والكون في الغد زميا وغيلنا
والسجع قد غص من أجمن واشتنا
إذا تأتي الوصل إلينا
وألف الحشر ناقة كم وبيكينا
حتى يكدان لسان الصبح يفيشنا
وعات النهى وتر كنا الصبر ناص لنا
إذا فرنا الأعلى يوم اليوس طورا
أما هواك فلم تحمل بمنفيه
لم يجع أي حمل انت كوكبك
ولا اخبارا تجنبناه من كين
نأتي على علقك إذا جبت مشمسنا
لا توسع الراح نتدي من خحالينا
دوي على الفهم ما دعنا محاطة
فنا استمدنا حسنا من كلك
وكون صبا نحنو من علوي مطلعبا
It may be said that the poet uses his rhyme skilfully. He employs the rhyme syllable (Inā) to evoke the main theme of his poem. The rhyme word "nā" seems to suggest to his beloved that his feeling for her is mutual. The main theme of the poem is love and yearning. It can be divided into three subsections:

1. a comparison between the happy past and the sad present (1-19);
2. love for the natural landscape of Cordoba (20-35);
3. begging the beloved and a hope for return (36-51).

The combination of the beloved and the natural landscape is "an expression of the Neoplatonic fusion of the souls". The poet, in a number of his lines, addresses his speech to the second person (lines 19, 30, 31, 32, 35); and it seems hard to tell whether he is addressing Wallādah or Cordoba. It may be said that both of them were fused or perhaps his beloved Wallādah became a symbol of his country.

One final example might best elucidate how hard it was for Ibn Zaydūn to be separated and alienated from his love and his native city. He wrote a poem when he was in Badajoz expressing his alienation and yearning for both his loves:
My two friends, no Ṭīd al-Fitr, no Ṭīd al-Adha joys
is lover's state at night like that at dawn?
If the Dawn of Ḥumāb makes me sad I am still
devoted to a love profound in this plain
Nor has Ḥumā for ʿ1-Ruṣafa ceased from my feeling
motives of memory end in pain of parting
Knight's Castle stirs my heart with love
steel ceases not to strike grief's flint
Not blamed the time of Advisor's Council
I received in excess of passion advice there
As if I did not suffer at ʿAyn Shahda
the attack of blame whose end was victory
Attacks of her evil sins and even if humility's
envoy went between us to strengthen peace
Many a day of union at Ṭīq I exacted
otherwise its return was the Ṭīd and Easter
Evenings of pleasure at King's Bar given over
to drinking when you wished or swimming
Near a pool that captivated you by its surface
unmoving green you thought it softly sleek
Meeting place of pleasure, home of passion
I gained my high desires as an arrow there
Is the return of a distant one to al-Zahrā' ended as it exhausts his tears of dryness?
The palaces of kings whose sides were gleaming
seemed to us in dark night during its dawn
Fancy figures its two fires to me openly
its dome and star immense and the terrace
Resting place whose perfume recalls eternity
as youth feels he thirsts there or faces sun.
There the blue lake bedews its surroundings
shadows, I thought time a generous youth there
Exchanged, for the singing girl's friends
desert thirst driving off sleep with a gasp
He who brings me the cup guaranteed by its host
is fear's shock at which I bear the lance
Yes, the nights on the banks of the Nīṭa were
swifter than nights on the Āna or Baṭḥā.
The poem shows the poet's sadness in spite of the happy occasion Muslims celebrated, ‘Id al-Adhā. He returns to the scene of his memories recalling the happier times he spent in his native city and its suburbs and great palaces: Ruṣāfa, Zahrā' and al-Fārisī. The poem is an outcry and a sad expression of nostalgia and ḥanīn reflecting the poet's alienation. (20)

However, when al-Mu‘tamid invaded Cordoba, Ibn Zaydūn was able to return to his native city from which he had been exiled. Ibn Zaydūn was torn from his native city again when al-Mu‘tamid sent him to Seville to restore order after a riot had happened there. His people in Cordoba, who were proud of him, were disappointed when he set off. Soon he fell sick and died in 1071 and was buried away from the city he loved. (21)

To amplify the account of ḥanīn and nostalgia themes I shall give another example of a great poet of al-Andalus, the last native ruler of Seville, al-Mu‘tamid Ibn ‘Abbād (d. 1095).

Seville, under the rule of Banū ‘Abbād (1031-1091) became a haven for poets, where they found a residence and
a literary school of poetry. (22) However, al-Mu‘tamid Ibn ‘Abbād led a life full of poetry, romance and victory. He expanded his kingdom, conquering Cordoba and other cities. (23) When he realized the real threat of the Christian advance by Alfonso VI to al-Andalus, he requested the assistance of the Almoravid (al-Murābitūn). Yusuf ibn Tāshufīn, the chief of the Almoravid, entered al-Andalus with a large army and gained a great victory over Alfonso in the battle of Zallāka in October 1086. (24) The following year he returned to Spain, conquered Granada and later Seville. Al-Mu‘tamid, however, was thrown in chains and sent to Morocco where he was imprisoned in Aghmāt in 1091 A.D. (25)

In exile, Ibn ‘Abbād wrote a number of touching poems yearning for his homeland and lamenting the misery of his native city, the sufferings which he and his family had to endure, and the tragic fate which deprived him of his country, friends and power. (For his laments, see below, p. 64.)

Al-Mu‘tamid Ibn ‘Abbād ranks as one of the greatest poets of al-Andalus who loved his country and devoted his life and his poetry to it, as Dozy declares, "the last Spanish native king who represented worthily, nay, brilliantly, a nationality and culture which succumbed, or barely, survived, under the dominion of Barbarian invaders." (26)
A further example of the Mulūk 'I-Ṭawā'if period can be seen in the poetry of the skilful poet Ibn 'Ammār (d. 1086). He was born in Shilb (Silves) where poetry was everybody's patrimony and was appreciated everywhere. "The people in this city were makers of verse and if you passed by a labourer standing behind his plough and asked him to recite some verses, he would at once improvise on any subject that you might demand."(27)

Ibn 'Ammār was a close friend of al-Mu'tamid and wrote a number of poems praising him in a panegyric and describing the beautiful landscape and nature of Seville.

As a specimen of these poems showing how much Ibn 'Ammār was influenced and fascinated by the beauty of the natural landscape of his country, I quote some lines containing two types of poetry, Nawriyya (floral poetry) and Khamriyya (wine poetry) in a skilful combination reflecting his poetic skills and mastery:

Pass round the glass for the breeze has arisen
and the stars have slackened the reins of night travel;
The dawn has bestowed upon us its camphor
after the night has claimed back (its) ambergris;
And the garden is like a fair woman dressed by
its flowers in a robe of many hues; decked
by its dew in a necklace of pearls,
Or like a boy who, when he blushes, turns red
because of the roses of his cheeks, while
he is proud of the myrtle-like down that
has grown on them.

(It is) a garden such that the river in it seems
like a limpid wrist on a green robe,
While the east wind makes it ripple so that
you would think that it is the sword of Ibn 'Abbād scattering an army.

(c) The Almoravid period: sadness and alienation

In the twelfth century, under the Almoravid rule, the Andalusian natural landscape preserved its position as a significant poetic theme. Unlike the nature poetry of the Caliphate which reflected the joyous background of festivity and pleasure, or the poetry of the Mulūk 'l-Ta'wā'if where nature reflected varying states of the poet's feelings, nature in the twelfth century reflected sadness and alienation. (29) The poetry of Ibn Khafāja is a good example of this theme, exhibiting great unity of observation and description. (30) Ibn Khafāja was born in Valencia and is considered one of the greatest Andalusian descriptive poets. He wrote much nature poetry full of charming pictures of idyllic scenery.
He was known as al-Jannān, the garden poet\(^{(31)}\) and he was also regarded as the best composer of nature poetry in Spain.\(^{(32)}\) A beautiful description of Andalusian natural landscape during a rain-shower can be seen in the following lines:

How many flower chalices, before which the morning dropped the veil and revealed, by this, cheeks covered with dew,  
As in a vale where the mouths of the daisies sucked at the breasts of each cloud shedding forth generously  
The hand of the south-east wind strewed across the lap of the earth pearls of dew and ducats of flowers.  
The branch of the sandy region draped himself in his cloak and the (channel-) necks adorned themselves with water bubbles these gems.  
I settled down there where the water is like the cheek of a laughing and merry person, there where the river reminds one of a minion who first appears.  
The breeze from the early morning shakes the hair of the hills and the drizzle moistens the face of the trees.  
I divided my attention between the beauties of a hill's summit and the waistline of a low ground,
And also an arāk tree, which for the ringdove, singing in the branches at the moment when the dawn uncovers the forehead of the day, stirs his resilient boughs, and often the bird dons the cloak which the flowers gave to him.

Ibn Khafāja, in another poem, describes his personal experience of living in the beautiful landscape of the paradise of al-Andalus:

O residents of Spain, what fortune is it for you to have waters, shades, rivers and trees. The Garden of eternal felicity is nowhere if not in your territory; if the choice were given to me, I should choose the latter. Do not believe that you may enter Inferno tomorrow; nobody enters hell-fire by way of Paradise.
His great poem on the mountain exhibits a view of Andalusian landscape and expresses feelings of sadness and alienation:

By your life, do you know whether it is the violence of the south winds dashing against my saddle, or the backs of excellent camels? For hardly had I observed a certain star in the early dawn, when I set off at sunrise (and travelled on) until the very end of the sunset.

Alone, while the waterless deserts led me on from one to another. Thus I see the faces of the fates (hidden) under the veil of deepest gloom, For there is no refuge save in a keen blade, nor is there any home save in the wooden saddle frames of the riders.

And there is no human companionship save in my sporting for a (short) hour with the mouths which are the objects of my desire, contained in the faces from which I seek the satisfaction of my wants,

And many a night which passed as I said: "It has finally come to an end", has revealed a promise
that belies conjecture.

On such a night I dragged the (edges of the mantle) of a darkness black of locks, that I might embrace (the goal of my) hopes, white of breasts. Then I tore the collar of the nights off the form of a greyish (wolf) which appeared bright of front teeth, grinning.

I observed with him a fragment of the dawn during the last part of the night, contemplating a certain star that had lighted up, a shining one. (I also observed) a mountain with a sharp peak, lofty of summit, grandiose, vying in height with the (uppermost) regions of the sky, having a (crest) like the upper part of a camel's hump,
Stopping the blowing of the wind from all directions and at night, pressing against the stars above it with its shoulders,
Rising gravely over the surface of the waterless plain, as if through the long nights it were one reflecting on the consequences of (all) things.
The clouds wind black turbans around its (head) in such a way that the flashes of lightning make it appear to have red locks.
I listened to it even though it was dumb and silent, yet during the nights of journeying it informed me of marvels,
Saying: "Lo, for how long will I be the shelter of murderers and the abode of sorrowing penitents devoted to God's service?
And how many times have travellers going off at night and returning (by day) passed by me, while riding beasts and riders have taken their siesta in my shade, And contrary winds have lashed out at my flanks while the green seas have dashed against my sides And all this took place only in order that the hand of death might enfold them and so that the wind of separation and misfortune might carry them off in its flight.

The quivering of my groves is but the panting of a (feverish) chest (struggling for breath), while the mourning of my doves is but the wail of one lamenting the dead. Nor has consolation restrained my tears; rather I have exhausted my tears in separation from my companions. Until when will I remain behind when a dear one travels away, saying farewell to him when he departs never to return? Until when will I watch the stars (like a shepherd watches his flock), remaining awake all night long, for they will rise and set to the end of the nights? Hence show merciful compassion, O my lord, for the plea of a humble entreaty, who extends a supplicating hand toward your blessing."
In this way it caused me to listen, in its exhortation, to every useful example which the tongue of trials interpreted for it;

Moreover it gave consolation by moving to tears, and joy by causing grief, when it was the best of companions during the night journey.

So I said, having turned away from it to reach a (certain) goal: "Farewell, for some of us must remain while others must depart."
Ibn Khafaja, following the tradition of the Arabic qaṣīda scheme, starts his poem with a desert journey, completely foreign to Andalusian nature (1-5), then moves on to the main theme of the poem: a mountain, with human traits complaining at his loneliness and expressing his alienation. The poem shows the fusion of the poet with his country's nature, using the mountain as a symbol of the instability of love and peace, reflecting probably the political conflict in al-Andalus at that time.

As a further example of nature poetry, showing to what degree the Andalusian poets were attached to, and their poetry was influenced by, the beauty of the Spanish landscape, I quote some lines by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 1374) (36) from his muwashshah, which was composed in imitation of the one by Ibn Sahl:
May the rain cloud be bountiful to you when
the rain cloud pours, O time of love
union in al-Andalus
Union with you is now a dream during
drowsiness, or the deceit perpetrated by
a deceiver.
When Time leads to the dispersion of hopes
we transcribe the writing as they have
traced it,
Being dispersed alone and in pairs (answering
a call) as the Meccan places of
pilgrimage beckon the pilgrims.
Yet the rain once filled the garden with radiance
so that the mouths of the flowers smiled in it.
And al-Nu‘mān related traditions on the authority
of Ma‘ūl-Samā, as Malik related traditions
on the authority of Anas.
For beauty clothed (the anemone) in a varicoloured
garment whereby it glories in the most
splendid clothing.
On certain nights which would have concealed
love's secret with (their) darkness, were
it not for the suns of brightness,
During which the star of the cup set and then
rose again straight on its journey, good
omened in its path,
There was a desirable situation whose only
defect was that it passed by (swift as)
a glance.
When sleep had been pleasant awhile, or as
dawn intrudes upon (one) with the intrusion
of police officers,
The bright stars carried us away or perhaps
the eyes of the narcissus left an impression
on us.

2. Laments of al-Waṭan

The collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate in Spain, which
took place in the first half of the eleventh century, left
the Andalusian nation torn asunder by the civil war of the
Berbers and Slavs who divided the kingdom between them. (38)
The great empire of ‘Abd 'l-Rahman III was broken up, and from its ruins emerged party states ruled by kings called the Mulūk 'l-Ṭawā'if. (39) Meanwhile the Christians in the north had not been dormant spectators of this turmoil and strife. Alfonso VI, the sovereign of Castile and king of the Spanish Christians, determined to reconquer the whole peninsula. (40)

The political turmoil of al-Andalus along with lamentations over its ruins in the eleventh and twelfth centuries are exhibited in its regional poetry, which I shall now describe.

(a) Cordoba

Cordoba suffered first from the Slavs, then from the Berbers who captured the city in 1012 A.D. and pillaged and ransacked every street. (41) Ibn Shuhayd (d. 1035) is one of the greatest poets of al-Andalus who brought a fresh spirit to the Andalusian poetry. (42) Ibn Shuhayd witnessed the civil war that ruined his native city and he lamented it in some of his poems, e.g.

There is no one in the abandoned encampment to inform us of the beloved ones, so from whom will we seek information about their condition? Ask none but separation for it is what removes you from them whether they go to the lowlands or to the highlands. Time has done them injury so that they have dispersed in all directions while the majority
of them have perished.
The vicissitudes of fortune have run over the places where their abodes were established as well as running over them, so that the two have decayed.
So call upon time to embellish their courtyards with blossoms so bright that hearts are almost lighted up (with joy) by them.
For the weeping of one who weeps with an eye the tears of which flow endlessly is not enough (to lament the loss of) such as Cordoba.
(It is) a city such that (we pray) that God may forgive its inhabitants' lapse, for they became Berberized, mingled with Moroccans, and adopted the creed of the Egyptians.
In every direction a group of them is scattered, perplexed by separation.
I was well acquainted with it when its state of affairs unified its people and life in it was green.
And the prevalence of its splendour shone over them (like the breath of a flower) (exuding) fragrance from which ambergris escapes.
And perfection had pitched its tent in that abode while it was beyond any decrease (in its splendour).
And its people were in safety from any reversal of its beauty so that they donned its beauties as a turban and as a veil.
O for their pleasant circumstances in its palaces
and curtained apartments when its full moons
were concealed in its palaces
And the palace, being the palace of the sons of
Umayya, abounded in all things, while the
Caliphate was even more abundant
And Al-Zāhiriyya shone brightly with pleasure
boats and al-Ṣāmiriyya was rendered flourishing
by the stars.
And the Great Mosque was packed by all those who
recited and studied whatsoever they wished
(of the Qur'ān) as well as (those who) looked
on.
And the alleys of the markets bore witness that
because of those who crossed them, doomsday's
assembly would hold not a few.
O Paradise such that the wind of separation has
blasted it and its people so that both have been
destroyed, I am afflicted by death over you, and it
is my duty to be so afflicted, for we did not cease
to boast of you during your life
Your courtyard was, to the one making for it, a Mecca
in which the fearful used to take shelter, and they
were given help (therein).
O dwelling place on which and on whose inhabitants
the bird of separation has alighted so that they
have decayed and have become unknown.
The Euphrates and the Tigris; the Nile and Kawthar
caused (their waters) to flow generously through
your two shores
While you were given to drink the water of life
by a cloud such that your gardens flourished and
blossomed by means of it
My affliction is for an abode whose spring
encampments I was well acquainted with when
its young she-gazelles walked with a stately gait
in its courtyard,
During the days when the eye of every respectful
regard looked upon it from all directions;
During the days when command was one in it, possessed
by its commander and by the commander of him who
was invested with command;
During the days when the palm of every security
was raised up to it in greeting and was hastening toward it.
My mourning is reiterated for its generous leaders,
the narrators of its traditions, its honest ones,
its defenders;
My soul sighs for its graces, its happy life, its
elegance, and its high rank;
My heart is torn apart for its wise and forbearing
men, its men of letters and its men of taste.
داً آمال انتهت همّة أهلها; فلمّا ناهضت قريتنا مسّت
تمعّشة أهليها وتمتعت فيها.
تَهدي بها و깁ُّها فيهما جامع
يروعيني فيهما عيد.
والدار ندّرّب الكلام، والبعد
فَدْ أُقلّوا تعبّية عليه:
فلمّاحوالما تعاشروا
بأطبائهم ينضّرُونها وتغدوها
ولما هواء، بأباتهم وحيدوها
فلكن أضر وجمالات أوشاق
والدّاد ابترَحَه باندراكي حُجر.
والجامع الأعلى بنهجه بكلّ من
ولا ينفِّذ باباً كبرها المحتس
ربّ اللّه، منصةً، وتمعّشها
إذ لم تَرّ له في مياه ليك تنصر
كانت يرآهُم يلمعُمُّو نكَّّسته
بما يّرّدُ رُؤسُه، وابنفه
طَرّ النّوى تنصرها، وتكوّنها
والمجلّة مسّها بها ووجدها الكون
حُبّ بها مشاهبة رباح، وتزمر
وحيّّانها بياياً بياياً تنير
من كلّ ناحية إسّبها نظر
أباً كان الأمر بها واحدا
أباً كان كفّه كنّ صلاة
مهرب على دّراها، ورُذلها
وحبّها، وعماها يتكرّر
وحبها، وعماها يتكرّر
فَدْ أُقلّوا تعبّية عليه:
Al-Mu’tamid Ibn ’Abbād did not know that he was digging his own grave when he requested the aid of the Almoravids to fight against the Christian army of Alfonso VI. The Almoravids defeated Alfonso in the battle of Zallāka and eventually all the Andalusian land came under their rule, including Seville. Ibn ’Abbād was thrown into chains and exiled to Morocco at Aghmāt. In exile, he lamented in touching poems his country and his state of misery.

A stranger, captive in the lands of the West, will be mourned by a certain pulpit and throne. Should he come to naught, no caravan leader will hear of his sweet mention, or see that sporting of his again. The white, sharp (swords) and also the spears will mourn for him and shed many a tear between them. In this Zāhī and the Zāhir, largesse and its seekers will seep for him, as well as benefaction, (now) followed by refusal. It is said that his generosity has died in Aghmāt, it is because a flourishing state is not to be expected after death. A time during which kingship was well used to his company has elapsed, while today he has been pushed aside from it.
Their fate has humbled the sons of Ma' 'l-Samā', so
that the abasement of the sons of Ma' 'l-Samā' is
very great indeed
(It has done so) in accordance with the corrupt
decree of an erring destiny; yet when have the
Fates ever been just to the just?
Hence their water is made of tears shed over them,
of which oceans pour over men's hearts.
Would that I knew whether I shall ever again spend
a night with a garden before me and a pool of water
behind me.
In a grove of olive trees, the heritage of nobility,
where doves coo and birds warble,
In its towering Zāhir, where the fine, soft rain
refreshes it while the Thurayyā points at us and
we at it,
While the Zāhī glances at us with its Sa'd Su'ūd,
both of them jealously, for the much devoted
lover is ever jealous
You will note that all this is (now) hard to attain
rather than easy, yet what God wills is always
easy (to bear)
The poem is an expression of nostalgia and a lament over the poet's state of misery in prison. It was composed in exile and sent to the Sicilian poet, Ibn Hamdīs during the first year of his captivity in Aghmat (46) (see below, p. 97). Ibn 'Abbād begins his poem mourning himself in prison and expressing feelings of despair and alienation.

Then he moves on to the scene of his memories, recalling his former happiness and reminiscing about his splendid palaces in Seville, describing the beauty of their landscape. Ibn 'Abbād ends his poem by asking himself hopefully whether it will ever again be granted him to spend a night in his country.

Ibn 'l-Labbāna of Denia (d. 1113) was one of the poets who flocked to the 'Abbadid court in Seville and remained faithful to al-Mu'ṭamid after his fall. Ibn 'l-Labbāna, in one of his major poems, laments al-Mu'ṭamid in his exile, expressing his sincere devotion to him in stylistic and
artful verses (47):

The heavens weep with their morning and evening rain clouds over those excellent lords, the Banū ‘Abbād

Over those (lofty) mountains whose very foundations have been demolished, though the earth was endowed with pegs thanks to them alone;

As for the plants on the hills, their flowers have faded and have appeared in the morning in the depressed vale (of Death).

They were a cover into which misfortunes intruded despite their snakes and lions in it,

And a Ka‘ba which hopes once served, yet today no one dwells in it, nor does any nomad (visit it).

O guest, the home of generous deeds has become vacant to prepare to depart and gather together the remaining provisions for the journey;

And O you who hoped to settle in their vale; the inhabitants have fled and the crops have withered in the valley.

The road leading to generosity has misled the traveller, so journey to another goal, for no guide can guide you

And you, O rider of horses which once proudly pranced in their harnesses, in countless numbers,

Put down your weapons and lay down your Marsrif sword for you have come to find yourself in the maw of a hostile lion which seizes its prey unawares.
Those spears were spears of Khaṭṭ which the vicissitudes of Fate straightened in an unexpected manner,

While those swords were sharp-pointed blades whose edges were notched and turned away from their scabbards by the hands of Death.

When the appointed hour draws near no weapon can avert it, for everything is subject to an appointed hour and place.

How many stars of good fortune have set, and how many pearls destined for unique glory have shattered.

If they were deposed, so were the Banū ʿl-ʿAbbās (before them), while before Seville, the land of Baghdād was likewise destroyed.

The ones were a light and the others a flower, yet the latter, after its prosperity, has withered away, while the former has been extinguished after being kindled.

They defended the privacy of their women's quarters until, when they were overpowered, they were driven off in single file, led along by a rope.

Once they were lodged on the backs of grey (steeds), but soon they were borne on (the surface of) black (ships) like unto those steeds.

Each collar of their coats of mail was destroyed and iron collars were fashioned out of them for (their) necks.
May I forget all but the sunrise on the river, when they, in the ships with sails unfurled (for the departure), were like corpses in their tombs, while the people filled the two shores and sadly gazed at (those) pearls floating on the foamy crests of the waves. The veil was lowered, for no secluded maiden concealed her face. Likewise faces were rent (in grief) as garments also were rent. They separated, having once been neighbours after each family had grown up with another family, and children with children. The moment of farewell arrived and every woman and man cried out loudly, each one saying: "May I be thy ransom" Their ships set sail accompanied by mourning, as though they were camels urged on by the song of the caravan leader. How many tears flowed into the water, and how many broken hearts did those galleys bear away? Who will avail me of you, O Banū Māṣa' ʿl-Samā when the water of heaven refuses to quench the heart of one who thirsts (for you)?
لِيَلْكُمُ الْبَشَّارُ بِمَّرْضٍ رَافِعٍ مَّيِّضٍ
٧٠
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Ibn 'Abdūn (d. 1134) found patronage and worked as a secretary under the Banū Muẓaffar of the Aftāsid dynasty of Badajoz. They were deposed and murdered by the Almoravid in 1094 A.D. Ibn 'Abdūn wrote a fine qaṣīda mourning his patrons and the fall of Badajoz. The poem is impregnated with historical references exhibiting the downfall of all the powers and dynasties throughout the ages. The poet begins his poem with a general lament over the betrayal of fate (1-9), then he gives some examples of this principle taken from the history of the East and of his country, al-Andalus (10-47). The final part of the elegy is devoted to a lament over the Aftāsids of Badajoz in which he expresses his bitterness and despair (48-75).

It is Fate (alone) that causes us distress, first by the blow itself and then by the traces it leaves; so what is the use of weeping over illusions and vain imaginings?
I warn you, I warn you, I unceasingly warn you against dozing between the fangs and claws of the lion
For Fate is (like) wartime even though it manifests peace, while men of pure honour and chiefs of noble rank are like white swords and tawny lances;
Nor is any peace to be found between the pommel held in the hand of the smiting warrior and the sharp steel blade.
Therefore be not deceived by the (apparent) slumber of your world, for the (real) occupation of both its eyes is none other than to be ever vigilant.

What thing of Time's - may God forgive our lapse - belongs to Time, when the land of fortune's vicissitudes has betrayed it?

In each of its moments, in each of our members, it leaves wounds, even though they are hidden from sight;

It causes us to enjoy a thing, yet (only) that it may deceive us by means of it, just like the viper that rushes from the flower upon the (unsuspecting) gatherer.

How many a state that has ruled for its duration with divine aid is such that no trace remains of it - consult your memory (Time) hurled Darius down (from power) and notched the edge of (Alexander) his slayer's sword; though the latter was a sharp, lustrous sword drawn against kings,

It reclaimed from the Banū Sāsān what it had given them, and left no trace of the Banū Yūnān.

It joined Ṭasm to its sister tribe (Jadīs), while (Fate), the undoer of all powers, turned against Ād and Jurhum,

Nor did it spare the fair Yemenites, nor did it protect the lofty-goaled Muḍarites.
Moving to lamenting his country, al-Andalus:

It has bound every Mu'tamid in its noose and irritated the eye of every Muqtadir with its mote.

It has terrified every Ma'mūn and Mu'tamin, and betrayed every Manṣūr and Muntasir.

It has tripped up the family of 'Abbād - may they rise up once more - with the train of a great misfortune (which, unlike) a hairy-faced camel, (is so stubborn that) it does not shy away in panic (at the shadow cast by its own beard).

0 Banū Muẓaffar since Time - may it not be inhabited - is made up of road stations one day's journey apart, and men are every journeying because of it.

May the day (of your death) be accursed among days, and may no night bear its equal in time to come.

Who will (sit on) thrones and (manage) the reins (of government) and who will guide the lances to the frontier?

(Who will wield) sword edges and spearpoints now that the tips of their tongues have been bound by speechlessness;

And (Time) has caused the black Fates to encircle their white helmets to oppress them? Therefore wonder at it all, for only memory of them survives
(Who will ply) the pen? Who will be accomplished in every excellence? Who will be generous? Who will reward or punish?

(Who will) repel a blow of misfortune, avert an impending doom, prevent an evil accident that renders even Fate powerless?

Woe to generosity; woe to courage - should they still be sound - for the mourning of religion and the world (is poured out) over (Abū Muḥammad) ʿUmar (al-Mutawakkil ibn al-Muẓaffar of Badajoz)

May the fresh graves of al-Faḍl and al-ʿAbbās (his sons) be watered by a flowing (rain cloud) which, insofar as generosity is concerned, is related to them rather than to rain.
Granada is located in the richest and most fertile part of Spain. It is the splendid city in which Muslims made their prolonged and last stand. (50) The empire of the Almoravid was overthrown and supplanted by another African dynasty, the Almohades (al-Muwaḥidūn), who easily captured Algeciras, Seville and Malaga, and a few years later ruled over all of al-Andalus (1145-1230 A.D.). (51) The new dynasty was much more enlightened and cultured than the Almoravid. (52)

However, the Christian reconquest gradually gained ground and by 1230 A.D. the Almohades had been driven out of al-Andalus. The only Andalusian city under the rule of Muslims was Granada where Muhammad Ibn al-Aḥmar founded the
Nasrid dynasty in 1232 A.D. which maintained itself for well over two centuries. (53)

Ḥāzim al-Qartājannī (d. 1285) fled from his native city Cartagena, after its conquest by the Christians in 1241 A.D., to Tunisia where he wrote a number of poems mourning his native city and the other Andalusian cities which fell into the hands of the Christians. (54) In one of these poems, addressed to Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā of the Ḥafsīd court of Tunisia, the poet congratulates him and praises his bravery and his powerful dynasty, trying to inspire him to come to al-Andalus to help its people against the Christians in defence of Islam:

O rightful heir to the Guidance; conquests all belong to you; the rapidly approaching future one of them as well as the past on that has already been observed.
While the Conquest of Ceuta came to you leading (Ceuta) as the caravan follows the footsteps of its leader.
So congratulations for the brilliant conquests (like an opening up of enemy territory) that have accrued to you, just as flowers open up in the garden's bed.
What an auspicious investiture (of your rule) they have constituted; on account of them the party of error is in grief, while the party of the Guidance is cheerful and happy. How much good news and congratulations does
the peninsula enjoy on account of them;  
the eyes of (all) hopes are inclined in their  
direction,  
For they have renewed certain traces that had  
become effaced here, for the Guidance; traces  
along (the path on) which both Christians and  
Moors gallop,  
On every deep black (steed) dragging its feet,  
clattering over stones, lofty of stature so that  
the hillocks and knolls humble themselves in  
its presence,  
And (on) lean (horses) such that the goals (they  
hoped to reach) kept them all one-eyed, after  
the training places where steeds are made lean  
had reduced their fat.  
The Imam of a Guidance seeking victory from God,  
victorious through God, attacks the enemy by  
means of the necks (of those steeds).  
(He is also) an offshoot of glory, pure in respect  
of goodness, and there is no wondering at the  
goodness of an offshoot whose constituent  
elements are pure.  
A (poem like a) virgin (in that its like has never  
been attempted before), in which all beauty is  
confined, has come to you, falling short of the  
generosity there is in you.
Abū al-Baqā'ī 'l-Rundi (d. 1285 A.D.), a native of the city of Ronda, did not flee from his country and saw the Christian armies everywhere triumphant. He witnessed the fall of the Andalusian cities one after another and finally the collapse of the Islamic empire in al-Andalus. In a great poem, a masterpiece of art and style, he expresses his sorrow and nostalgia, lamenting his country and its splendid cities. He mentions them by name: Valencia, Murcia, Jativa, Jaen, Cordoba and Seville, and introduces each city with its special and well known characteristics. It is interesting to note that in spite of the sorrow and the atmosphere of disappointment which prevails throughout the poem, the poet expresses his enchantment with the beauty of the nature of his country and describes its splendid landscapes. The poem contains 42 lines and is divided into two subsections. The poet, in the first part (1-13) introduces his theme with a philosophical
phrase in the first hemistich of the first line, "Everything declines after reaching perfection", then he gives some examples of the fall of past dynasties and empires. In the second part, he moves on from the past to the present where he laments the recent collapse of his country, al-Andalus, and mourns over the great qualities of its cities. Abū al-Baqāʾ pours out his sincere emotions and deep sorrow for his country, ending the poem by addressing the kings of North Africa, appealing to them for aid for his country:

Everything declines after reaching perfection therefore let no man be beguiled by the sweetness of a pleasant life.
As you have observed, these are the decrees that are inconstant: he whom a single moment has made happy, has been harmed by many other moments;
And this is the abode that will show pity for no man, nor will any condition remain in its state for it.
Fate irrevocably destroys every ample coat of mail when Mashrifī swords and spears glance off without effect;
It unsheaths each sword only to destroy it even if it be an Ibn Dhī Yazan and the scabbard Ghumdān.
Where are the crowned kings of Yemen and where are their jewel-studded diadems and crowns?
Where are (the buildings) Shaddād raised in
Iram and where (the empire) the Sassanians ruled in Persia?
Where is the gold Qārūn once possessed; where are ʿĀd and Shaddād and Qaḥṭān?
An irrevocable decree overcame them all so that they passed away and the people came to be as though they had never existed.
The kingdoms and kings that had been came to be like what a sleeper has told about (his) dream vision.
Fate turned against Darius as well as his slayer and as for Chosroes, no vaulted palace offered him protection.
It is as if no cause had ever made the hard easy to bear, and as if Solomon had never ruled the world.
The misfortunes brought on by Fate are of many different kinds, while Time has causes of joy and of sorrow.
For the accidents (of fortune) there is a consolation that makes them easy to bear, yet there is no consolation for what has befallen Islam.
An event which cannot be endured has overtaken the peninsula; one such that Uhud has collapsed because of it and Thahlān has crumbled.
The evil eye has struck (the peninsula) in its Islam so that (the land) decreased until whole regions and districts were despoiled of (the
Therefore ask Valencia what is the state of Murcia; and where is Jativa, and where is Jaen? Where is Cordoba, the home of the sciences, and many a scholar whose rank was once lofty in it? Where is Seville and the pleasures it contains, as well as its sweet river overflowing and brimming full? (They are) capitals which were the pillars of the land, yet when the pillars are gone, it may no longer endure The tap of the white ablution fount weeps in despair, like a passionate lover weeping at the departure of the beloved, Over dwellings emptied of Islam that were first vacated and are now inhabited by unbelief; In which the mosques have become churches wherein only bells and crosses may be found. Even the mihrabs weep though they are solid; even the pulpits mourn though they are wooden O you who remain heedless though you have a warning in Fate: if you are asleep, Fate is always awake. And you who walk forth cheerfully while your homeland diverts you (from cares), can a homeland beguile any man after (the loss of) Seville?
This misfortune has caused those that preceded it to be forgotten, nor can it ever be forgotten for the length of all time.

0 you who ride lean, thoroughbred steeds which seem like eagles in the racecourse;
And you who carry slender, Indian blades which seem like fires in the darkness caused by the dust cloud (of war),
And you who are living in luxury beyond the sea enjoying life, you who have strength and power in your homelands,
Have you no news of the people of Andalus, for riders have carried forth what men have said (about them)?

How often have the weak, who were being killed and captured while no man stirred, asked our help?

What means this severing of the bonds of Islam on your behalf, when you, 0 worshippers of God, are (our) brethren?
Are there no heroic souls with lofty ambitions; are there no helpers and defenders of righteousness?
0, who will redress the humiliation of a people who were once powerful, a people whose condition injustice and tyrants have changed?

Yesterday they were kings in their own homes, but today they are slaves in the land of the infidel.
Thus, were you to see them perplexed, with no one to guide them, wearing the cloth of shame in its different shades,
And were you to behold their weeping when they are sold, the matter would strike fear into your heart, and sorrow would seize you.
Alas, many a mother and child have been parted as souls and bodies are separated
And many a maiden fair as the sun when it rises, as though she were rubies and pearls,
Is led off to abomination by a barbarian against her will, while her eye is in tears and her heart is stunned.

The heart melts with sorrow at such (sights), if there is any Islam or belief in that heart.
فنجاح الدهر أوجع منوعة، والحوادث سلوان بسهلال،
دُعي الجزيرة أمّ لا عزاء لها,
أصابها العين في الإسلام فاصحبت 
فاسقَة، بمناسبة مشاهَ مرسومةً
وأين قرطبة دار العلم، فكم
أين حمص وما تحويه من نور،
قواعدّ كنِّي أركان البلاد فاً
تكيّج الحنفيّة البضاء من آسفةً
على ديار من الإسلام خلافة
حيث المساجد قد صارت كنائس ما,
حتى الماردُ تكيّج وهي جامدة.
با غا فاً وله في النصر موطئة
واصلّا مرسى بلبه مسورةً
تلك المصيبة أنتِ ماتقدها:
يراكين عناق الخيل ضامرةً
وحلّمّين سيف الهند مرحةً
وراينين وراء البحر قمة
أعتدمّنا نياً من أجل أندلسّ
كم يشبع با المتضفون وهم
ماذا التقاليد في الإسلام بنكم.
أنا نفوس أبّاتٌ لَّه ممّ,
نام للنَّاقة قوم بعد عزهم
بالأمس كانوا ملوّناً في منازلهم.
فلم تراهم حارِر لا دليل لهم
ولو رآيتُ بِكاهم عند بيههم
باريّ أم وظلٍّ حلِّ بيهم
وظنًا مثلّة الشمس إذ طلعت
يقودها الفجر للغروب مكروهة،
لمثل هذا يدوب القلب من كـقد
In this chapter we shifted our interest to al-Andalus where an interesting body of nostalgia and lament poetry developed that will prove extremely useful for us to have a deeper understanding of Ibn Hamdis's poetry, studied in the next chapter. The main conclusions that we reached in the first section were:

(a) the poetry of the Caliphal period was dominated by pleasure and sensibility to the beauties of the natural landscape of al-Andalus;

(b) the romantic and nostalgic feelings were the main features of the poetry of Mulūk 'l-Ṭawā'if period;

(c) the Almoravid period, unlike the previous periods, reflected sadness and alienation which loomed large in the minds of contemporary poets.

The dramatic change is quite apparent in the development. The second section tried to show how this development is manifested in the contemporary poetry by studying poets that are truly representative of their period as well as their physical surroundings.
Notes to Chapter Two

1. S. Lane Poole, The Moors in Spain (New York, 1888), Introduction
7. Canon Sell, Muslim Conquest in Spain (Madras, 1914), p. 82
12. Ibn Khāqān, Qalā'id al-'Iqyān (Cairo, 1886), p. 82
15. Nicholson, p. 421
18. J.T. Monroe, Hispano-Arabic Poetry, p. 20
20. Ibn Khāqān, Qalā'id al-'Iqyān, p. 70
21. Ibn Bassām, Dhakhīra, p. 354
22. Monroe, p. 33
24. Monroe, p. 33
25. Nicholson, p. 424
26. Ibid., p. 424
27. Qazwini, Atharu 'l-Bilād wa Akhbār al-'Ibād (Beirut, 1960), p. 541
28. Ibn Khāqān, Qalā'id, p. 96, trans., Monroe, p. 188
29. Monroe, p. 38
31. Ibid., p. 233
32. Ibid., p. 250
35. Ibid., pp. 42-44, trans., Monroe, pp. 242-244
36. He was a vizir, a philosopher, historian, physician, as well as a poet.
38. Wasserstein, p. 55
39. Ibid., p. 82
40. Canon Sell, Muslim conquest in Spain, p. 82
41. Wasserstein, pp. 55-60
42. Monroe, p. 14
44. Wasserstein, p. 289
46. Raymond P. Scheindlin, Form and Structure in the Poetry of Al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbad (Leiden, 1974), p. 113
47. Makki, pp. 269-270
48. Monroe, pp. 214-217
49. Makki, p. 273, trans., Monroe, pp. 228-236
50. C. Sell, p. 90
51. Monroe, p. 45
52. Ibid.
53. Nicholson, p. 435
54. Monroe, p. 323
56. For the Christian reconquest of al-Andalus, see Wasserstein, IV, The Turning Point, pp. 249-273
57. This elegy was written on the fall of a number of Andalusi cities into the hands of the Christians in 1267 A.D.
Chapter Three

Exile and Nostalgia in the Poetry of

Ibn Ḥamdīs, the Sicilian

1. Sicily under Islamic rule
2. Sicily under the Normans
3. Ibn Ḥamdīs's life in Sicily: pleasure and amusement
4. His first exile in Spain: prosperity and homesickness
5. His second exile in North Africa: despair and grief
6. The themes of exile and nostalgia: ghurba wa ḥanīn
1. Sicily under Islamic rule

Since the beginning of expanding Muslim conquests in the first half of the seventh century, Sicily, which was a Byzantine province, had felt the effect of the Muslims when Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān in 652 A.D. sent an Arab force to raid Sicily. (1)

For over two centuries the Arab raids against Sicily did not stop until the middle of the ninth century when Sicily became a part of the Muslim world. (2) The successful expedition against Sicily was in 827 A.D. under the leadership of the qādī, Asad b. al-Furat. It was composed of several elements including Arabs, Berbers and Spanish Muslims. The Muslim army defeated the Byzantine forces and headed towards Syracuse across Sicily. (3) They took Palermo as a capital in 831 A.D. and started a series of campaigns to conquer the rest of the island. Only by the end of the ninth century did the Muslim conquest cover the whole island, when they eventually succeeded in conquering the Val Demone in 902 A.D. (4)

Sicilian society was composed of a mixture of many different peoples, races and religions: Muslims, Christians, Jews, Greeks, Berbers - and Arabs, who formed the ruling elite. (5)

However, from 947 A.D. and for ninety years Sicily was ruled by the Kalbite dynasty. Under the rule of Abū al-Futūḥ Yūsuf, the emir of Sicily, the island lived in peace
and prosperity, when poets and writers flocked to his court. \(6\) The Kalbite dynasty declined in 1040 A.D. and Sicily was divided into several petty principalities.\(7\) Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (known as Ibn 'l-Thumna), one of the Sicilian petty kings, expanded his territory (Syracuse) by attacking the other principalities. A conflict between Ibn Ḥawwās, the master of Castrogiovanni, and Ibn 'l-Thumna ended in the defeat of the latter. In desperation Ibn 'l-Thumna offered the island to the Normans in Southern Italy, hoping vainly that they would crown him over Sicily after conquering it.\(8\)

It is certainly a fact that under Arab Islamic rule, Sicily grew to be a true link between the East and the West, and a complete fusion of Greek genius and Arab genius took place.\(9\) It produced a number of Arabic philologists and poets, e.g. Ibn al-Khayyāt, who was an admirer of the Sicilian landscape\(10\), Ibn 'l-Sūsī, who made Palermo his home and wrote of Sicily with nostalgia.\(11\)

The poetic tradition in Sicily was continued and acclimatised and the poets wrote on the themes of eulogy, love, wine and the praise of palaces, lute, lamp, orange and palm.\(12\)

2. Sicily under the Normans

The Normans were tempted by the richness and fertility of the island and the civil war and anarchy in Sicily attracted them. The Normans started their conquest of Muslim Sicily in February 1061 A.D. and only after thirty
years of Muslim struggle was the conquest complete and the last city fell to the Normans.(13)

The picture of Sicily in peace and in war is vividly reflected and illustrated in the poetry of its famous poet, Ibn Ḥamdīs who loved his homeland and lamented it in a number of very touching verses.(14)

3. Ibn Ḥamdīs's life in Sicily: pleasure and amusement

'Abd al-Jabbār Abū Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Azdī, known as Ibn Ḥamdīs, was born in Syracuse in 1055 A.D. just before the Norman conquest of Sicily which began in 1061 A.D. Ibn Ḥamdīs spent his youth in the beautiful natural landscape of Sicily and became the most celebrated lyric poet in the island.(15)

However, the poems composed during this period of his life are concerned only with pleasure and amusement.(16) In one of these poems, he describes a brook that circled around a garden and along which carousers were seated. A cupbearer was pouring wine out, filling each goblet and floating it down the brook to every drinker, who would take it from the water, drink its contents and return the empty vessel via the water to its point of origin. There the cupbearer would refill it:

I remember a certain brook that offered the impiety of drunkenness to the topers (sitting) along its course, with (its)
cups of golden (wine),
Each silver cup in it filled as though it contained the soul of the sun in the body of the full moon.
Whenever a glass reached anyone in our company of topers, he would grasp it gingerly with his ten fingers.
Then he drinks out of it a grape-induced intoxication which lulls his very senses without his realizing it.
He sends (the glass) back in the water, thus returning it to the hands of a cupbearer at whose will it had (originally) floated (to him).
Because of the winebibbing we imagined our song to be melodies which the birds sang without verse,
While our cupbearer was the water which brought (us wine) without a hand, and our drink was a fire that shone without embers,
And which offered us delights of all kinds, while the only reward (of that cupbearer) for (giving us those delights) was that we offered him to the ocean to drink.
(It is) as if we were cities along the riverbank while the wine-laden ships sailed (the stretch) between us,
For life is excusable only when we walk along the shores of pleasure and abandon all restraint.
It is not known whether the poet took part in some of the battles against the Normans before he left. He wrote a number of poems expressing his feelings for his country and his people and urging them to struggle against their invaders, such as the following:

بِني الشَّرْقِ لَسْتُمُّ في الوَقِيّ مِنْ نِيِّ أمِي
إِذَا لم أُصِلَ بالعَرْبُ مِنْكِم عَلَى العَمْجِ
دعوا النَّومَ إِلَيْ خَيْفَتُ أَن نَّذَوَّسِكُمْ
وَكَانَ بَمْ ٌالمُرْتِ بَسَمْ عَدْرُهَا
فَرَّدْوا وجوهُ الخيلّ نحو كَرِيَّةٍ
وَصَوَّوا بيضٍ في السَّماجٍ كَاَنِهَا
ولا عِدْمِتْنَ فِي سَمْهَا مِن غَمْوَهَا
وقَرَعُ الحِلَامِ الرَّأسِ مَن كَفَّ الْأَفْوَى
أَحَبَّ إِلَى سَمِعِي مِن النَّقْفِي في الْبَمُّ (19)
The poet opens by using the term "banū al-thaghr", the people of the frontier, which occurs in his poetry several times, refering to the important role played by Sicily as a link between East and West. The poem belongs traditionally to the theme of ḥamāsa and fakhr, where the poet shows his pride in his country and his peoples' bravery following the model of Abū Tammām in his ḥamāsa poetry.

Ibn Ḥamdīṭs managed to combine in the traditional medieval image of knighthood, the elements of love and war, reflected in his poems, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{يا بني الحرب ما بني الحب إلا ملككم في لقاء صرفي المنون} \\
\text{أتم بالكفاح صرعي العوالي وهم باللاح صرعي العيون} \\
\text{فسوف القيون ، أفطعن منها بين أهل الموى ، سوبرع الجنون} (20)
\end{align*}
\]

Another example emphasizing the same theme can be seen in the following lines:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{لقد جنتُ لسمي كما جنحتُ لحريك} \\
\text{بالدللِ الذي زاد في ملاحه عجيليك} \\
\text{فكي من الأسر تبا عليه طابع حبك} (21)
\end{align*}
\]
4. His first exile in Spain: prosperity and homesickness

Ibn Ḥamdīs left Sicily for Spain in 1078 A.D. after the Normans invaded his country. He went to Seville which had become a paradise for poets not only in Spain but also from North Africa and Sicily. He was received in the court of al-Muʿtāmid Ibn ʿAbbād who became "the western protector of poets par excellence after the Normans invaded Sicily". (22)

Ibn Ḥamdīs enjoyed living in the literary circle of the Abbadid court and participated in the cultural life of Seville. (23) He was fascinated by the Andalusian architecture and wrote much poetry on the subject. (24)

As a professional poet whose life was spent acquiring technical expertise, Ibn Ḥamdīs composed much in the genre of the panegyric: madīḥ, e.g.

بَلَدَةُ بَيْنَ السَّمَاعِ الْحَيَّةِ هل مَتَجَّعَت
وَهَلَ بِنَجَاكَ كَرِئَا فَيْلْكَ مَنْ مَتَجَّعَت
فَتَارَتْ إِلَيْكَ بِمَجَانِعِ الْأَشْرَالِ مَنْ اتَّقَى
قُوْلِي لِنَزْلَةِ الْشَّوْقِ الَّيَّةَ تَقُلُّتْ
نَلَّتْ الْعَمْرُ صَفْرًا بِعَشَاءٍ فَقُسَيْدَتْ
فَالْعَزْمُ صَفْرًا بِعَشَاءٍ مِنْ السَّفْر
كَانَ ابْتَدَأَهُ إِلَى عِصَاطٍ فَنَفَدَ
مَتِى بِبَحْسِ الْأَمَانِيَّ حَلَٰلِيَّ الصَّمْرِ (25)
His success and prosperity in Seville did not allow Ibn Ḥamdīs to forget his country and he remained faithful to Sicily. He followed the news coming from there about the political and military events of that time. In some of his poems, he displays his feelings for his country, joyful or sad, in accordance with his reaction to current events in Sicily.

In 1072, after the fall of Palermo, the whole of the Northern coast of Sicily was in Norman hands, but the Muslim resistance did not stop. The hero of the Muslim resistance in the south was Ibn Ḥabbād al-Ṣiqilī (Banervert, according to the European chroniclers). Ibn Ḥamdīs found in Ibn Ḥabbād and his resistance the hope and the aspiration of returning to his country and wrote some poems expressing his love and yearning for his country, praising the bravery of his people and the heroism of Ibn Ḥabbād, e.g.
In another poem, Ibn Ḥamdīs expresses his gratefulness to the Zirid, Tamīm, who sent an expeditionary force to Sicily which raided Nicorta in Calabria and made a landing near Mazara:

When the Christian armies under Alfonso were defeated by al-Muʿtamid and his Almoravid allies in the battle of al-Zallāqa, Ibn Ḥamdīs wrote two poems in which he celebrated the Muslim victory, e.g.
ليهی، بیت الإسلام أن أثبت سالماً
وعداً أن يكفر بالذل راغماً
ووضع حلقها بين هواك خواناً
صبر حل الطعن والضرب ذائداً
لا تسرح في صدر رحيب ببنت لا
رحماً من وقع الصوارم والقنا
فكان لنا في حفتك الله راحماً
وكم شجاعة في حرب وجهك لم يتزل
لك الحسن منها بالشجاعة واساً
وخردات عزماً إذا تقلدت صارماً
أجبت الهديل لنا دعاء لنصره
جيش تثير الجرد في فساطلاً
ترتك بها وجة الغزالة قانناً
إذا برفقت فيه الاستن خلشها
كواكب تجول في السكاك غماناً
غدت خلفه وخشى العراء عواصلاً
ومين فوفه في الدواء حواماً
كان عوان الجلو هرر خواياً حوالياً
منه للوغى وقوادم ما
كان زعيم الروم وليل لفسه
آثار عليه مبنى ليا ضاوضاً(30)

Here, the poet drew upon an historical incident to stimulate expression in the panegyric genre, madīth, and in war poetry, hamāsa.
5. His second exile in North Africa: despair and grief

The year 1091 marked a watershed in Ibn Ḥamdī's life when he lost his patron and protector, al-Mu'tamid of Seville who was deposed and exiled to Aghmāt in Morocco. Ibn Ḥamdī remained faithful to al-Mu'tamid and visited him in prison, lamenting his fate in some sensitive poems. In one of these poems, Ibn Ḥamdī replied in the same rhyme and metre to a nostalgic poem sent to him by Ibn ‘Abbād during his first year of activity in Aghmāt (see above, p. 64):

A fortune that is wont to stumble often brought you honour, and a time in which you succoured us has done you wrong.

The white blades have been sheathed in their scabbards such that from having ceased to strike they seem like women, though they are masculine.

Our affairs run counter to the decrees (of Fate), while Fate is at times just to man and at times unjust.

Do you despair of a day that will be the opposite of its eve, while the bright, shining (stars) still go around amid the signs of the zodiac?

Lords may well behave arrogantly after obscurity, while after an eclipse full moons may emerge.

If you are restricted to the abode you dwell in, (even) the lion is (sometimes) restricted though he is a crusher (of his prey).
It ennobles all captives that it should be said:
"Muhammad is a stranger, captive in the lands
of the West."

Brave men sighed because of its manacles in its
captivity, and some of them are broken by
misfortune in it,

While you were shrouded in a wall from among its
prisons by the spears; indeed, prisons are tombs

Until the present no full grown camels on whom
a rider gallops at dawn have ever alarmed the
night-flying sandgrouse,

Nor has a generous man ever rejoiced at the wealth
that a poor man puts into his hands.

You have protected God's religion with the best
of protections as though you were its heart,
and it the thought.

And when you advanced with largesse in your hands,
and Radwā and ThabTr were shaken because of you,

I raised my tongue for the sake of the approaching
Resurrection - lo, look at those mountains
flying hither and thither.
In the same year of 1091, Noto, the last Muslim Sicilian city, surrendered and the Norman conquest of Sicily was complete after thirty years of resistance. (32) His hopes of return to the country vanished and a spirit of despair and grief dominated not only his life but also his poetry:

In another poem, he shows his love for his country, his pride in his people and his lamentation for the state of his homeland in Norman hands:
Ibn Hamdis left Seville for Ifriqiyya (Tunisia) to begin his second exile. He spent more than forty years moving from one city to another, from Aghmat in Morocco to al-Mahdiyya in Tunisia, to Sfax and to Bijāya. He stayed in al-Mahdiyya for a while in the court of the Zirids. Ibn Ḥamdīṣ was in Tunisia when Roger II sent an expedition against Mahdiyya and Dinās commanded by George of Antioch in 1123. The Norman fleet was damaged by a storm and the expedition was unsuccessful. It was a moment of exultation for Ibn Ḥamdīṣ to enjoy the defeat of the Normans who occupied his homeland. (35) He wrote a long poem on this occasion praising the last Zirid, Ḥassan ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā and expressing his joy at that exploit:

أَبِي اللَّهِ إِلَّا أَنْ يَكُونُ لَكَ النَّصْرُ
وَأَنْ يُرِجِعَ الأَعْلَاءَ بَعْدَ عِلَاجَهُ
لِيَتَطِأَ أَوْلِغُ السَّبِيْلَ فَيَمُتُّ
وَإِلَى رَبِّهِ يَقُلُوٰ مَهَاٰبُهُ
وَوَلَّى مَرَامُ الْرُّوْمِ فِي مَا سَمِعُوٰا لَهُ
فَلَا ءَايَاتُ أَعْتَاقُ هُوَ الْقُصُبُ الْبَيْرُ
Here, again, the poet draws upon a historical incident to stimulate expressions in his major poetic theme, al-ḥanīn ilā al-waṭan.

However, grief and sorrow seemed to dominate and haunt Ibn Ẓamīṣ's life and poetry in his exile in Africa. Lamentation became the principle theme of his poetry in this period of his life. He lamented his father in touching verses in which he poured out his grief, desperation and impotence in exile (37):
He also wrote a number of lament poems on the deaths of his daughter, his wife and his beloved Jāriya, who lost her life at sea, e.g.

After a long life, full of love and war, joy and grief at home and in exile, Ibn Ḥamdīs died and was buried away from his country, in Bijaïa in Tunisia at the age of eighty in 1133 A.D. (39)
Exile played the most important role in Ibn Ḥamdīs's life where he spent sixty years away from his homeland. His poetical production was so influenced by exile that it became a framework for his life and his poetry.

It is interesting to note that the widespread use of the pattern-root of the word, ghurba (exile): ighṭirab, mughṭarib, taqḥarub, gharib, which permeates most of his poems, e.g.

6. The themes of exile and nostalgia: ghurba wa ḥanīn

ومدّةٌ هَمّ مَرتُبٌ أمَراً تَتَسُوَّق
فَما أَعَاشْرُ قُرْنَا غُرَبًٔ مَغْرَبًٔ
غُرَبُ دِيَارَ قَالُ فِي وَطْنٍ : حَبِي

وكتيب شجاع شجو كبيبه
إذا لمأتّ في بلد المغارب
له عقد الأيام في كف حاسب
سيستديج الأدوام وهو غريب
عن مغانيه غراب فاقترب
غريبي واحتكت سسن الأدب
عدهم رأى في الأفق حتّى اكتهلت
فانتسب وارد المنى كن من فتى
ما لي أطلّ من الدير غريبًا
هو ابن بلادي كغتراة انتزاع
اني دفعت الى هواك وفرغية
أراني غريبًا قد بكيت غريبة
لقد أركتي غريبة البين غريبة
وأياك يوماً أن تجرب غريبة
It can be said that Ibn Ḥamdī was one of the first poets to use exile extensively in his imagery as well as a poetic theme combined with nostalgia. Exile and nostalgia became for Ibn Hamdis a productive poetic theme and one of the clearest characteristics of his poetry. It is worth noticing that the themes of exile and nostalgia appear not only in those poems devoted to praising or lamenting his country but also throughout all his subject matter: love-songs, wine and war poems, laments and nature poetry. His mind and his poetry were haunted by the happy memories he had of his lost paradise, Sicily, e.g.

"وراءك يا مغر في جنة، بيت النيل بها لا نفخاء\nفإن كنت أخرجت من جنة فإلي أحدث أختبارها\nبلد أعارتها الحمامة طقوضا وكماه ح문ة ريشة الطباوس (41)"

It is worth pointing out that most of the Arab critics consider the Andalusian and Sicilian poetry as merely a pale imitation of the Arabic poetry in the East. They believe that the Andalusian and the Sicilian poets were kept within the bounds of the traditionalism of the East. (42)
Ibn Ḥamdīs, as a Sicilian poet, was highly influenced by the jāhiliyya and Abbasid poetry. But the question is, to what extent was he influenced; and what aspects of his poetry were affected most?

The study shows that Ibn Ḥamdīs's poetry was, as said, highly influenced by the jāhiliyya and the Abbasid poetry in several of its aspects. This influence can be seen in the multi-theme poem, where the poet deals with more than one subject in the same poem, starting with the nasīb, then moving on to the riḥla, then to the fakhr, and ending his poem with the panegyric genre to praise his patron. (43)

The second trace of the Eastern sources in Ibn Ḥamdīs's poetry may be illustrated in those poems written with the same rhyme and metre as the celebrated jāhiliyya and Abbasid poets, which the Arab critics call muʿāradha. Ibn Ḥamdīs wrote a poem describing a giraffe using the rhyme and metre of the celebrated "lāmiyya" of Imru' al-Qays which begins with:

Ibn Ḥamdīs opens his poem:

At the end of his poem, he mentions Imru' al-Qays by name, citing a hemistich of his poem:
He also composed poems using the rhyme and metre of some celebrated poems of the Abbasid poets, al-Ma'arrī and Abū Tammām. It can be said that Ibn Ḥamdī's was fond of that kind of poetry, in which he could show his appreciation of other poets and could also show his poetic skills. One more example, from Andalusian poetry, can be found in a love poem written with the same rhyme and metre as a poem of the Andalusian poet Ibn Hānī' (47).

Another sign of the Oriental tradition is exhibited in the imagery of Ibn Ḥamdī's poetry which mostly derived from the desert and the Eastern environment, e.g.

\[
\text{ركبتُ النَّورُ في رَحْلِ كَلْ نَجْبٍ نَجْبًا} \\
\text{فَسَلَى حَناَنَ الْمَزْالُ كَانَتِهَا حَنِيَّتًا تَنْبُهُ} \\
\text{فِي أَكْنَفٍ جَوَابَ} \\
\text{إِذَا وَرَدَّتْ مِن زِرَةَ المَاءِ أُمِّيًا وَقَفَنَّ مَعْ أَرْجَانَهَا كَالْمَرَجَاب} \\
\text{بَصَادِقٍ عَزْمِ يُهْرَنِي} \\
\text{حَلِّيَّيَّ} \\
\text{أَسْلَوْرِ من هَمَّةِ النَّفْسِ كَاذِبِ} (48)
\]

The most important trace of the Eastern tradition in Ibn Ḥamdī's poetry can be clearly seen in the emphatic and essential use of the ʿatālāl motifs. The study shows that the ʿatālāl, to Ibn Ḥamdī, was not only a traditional theme but also a productive and prolific poetic subject in which he found a very close link to his independent genre: al-ḥānīn ilā al-waṭān.

The ʿatālāl motifs do not occupy only the openings of his poems but also prevail throughout, e.g.
وقاد جميعي من حماه السجنُ
 recreate 109_2.jpg

آيا جزععي بالدار إذ عن لي الجزعُ
وقادت فيها رداعي ولم أشيَم
عندني بتار في الضلع لها لذع
فجعت بها والنفس من كل مظلمة
لما بصرت تحت الحوادث أو سمعُ
غرابيتها جزعُ وأذمنتها وذع
كلامي حتي قبل هل تشمح العين
سطور البل فيها وتعجبها المسع

ويديرو الفتي منده إلى الشوق ما يدعو
الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أوجهها مفع
على صواري النار أخرجها نصر
على سيت نار لا يفارها فقْسَح
عاقب النوى من هامها الضرب واقلع
عصر قضاء النجم علم ولا طبع
عليها له قطع أنحى له القطع
إذا لم تكن له الحري دارا فما لها
أبان لنا عن بنيتها فليئها
إذا وقف المشتاق فيها جرى الدموع
وإذا أنا إلف للجائر لا سيَمْعَح (49)

In the middle of the poem:

فراقه لم تأرق: بحزن جفونيها
وأذكرني عصر الشباب الذي مضى
ونضرة عاش: كان همي جامدا
ودار غดนنا عن حماها ولم ترَح
بها كنت طفلاً في ترعرع شيرتي
ألاعيب أبام الصبا وهي أطفال
(50)
At the end of the poem, to evoke sympathy and nostalgia for his country and his people:


The modern critic, S. Nawfal, claims that Ibn Ḥamdīs was a mere imitator. He wrote good poems, but they had no individual style and conformed completely to Eastern poetry. Most of the critics, mediaeval and modern, reject this opinion and believe that the Sicilian environment was the most effective element in Ibn Ḥamdīs's poetry. It ranks as original work in the history of Arabic poetry. The Andalusian mediaeval critic, Ibn Bassām, declares that "he is a skilful poet in regenerating the new motifs and displays them in beautiful words. He dives into the depth of the sea of the vocabulary (diction) to select its most valuable pearls." Another mediaeval critic, Ibn Saʿīd, in his celebrated book, al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib, regards Ibn Ḥamdīs as the greatest Sicilian poet and the best poet in selecting the poetic motifs and he ranks him amongst the highest class of the Arab poets. A. Ḍayf and M. Khafājī also consider Ibn Ḥamdīs as one of the greatest poets not only among the Sicilian and the Andalusian poets but also among the entire ranks of the great
Arab poets in the Jāhiliyya and the Abbasid times. He exceeded all Arab poets in the attempt to achieve the "realism" in Arabic poetry by expressing his feelings of joy or suffering towards the surroundings and by showing a great deal of thematic observation. (56)

To summarize, this chapter has been an attempt to show how the notions of exile and nostalgia play an essential role in the poetry of Ibn Ḥamdīs. To set the stage the first two sections provided the historical background of Sicily, the land of the poet that constitutes the subject matter of his poetry, under Islamic rule and later under the occupation of the Normans. It is this conquest that represents the border line between the life of pleasure and amusement discussed in the third section, and the beginning of a feeling of homesickness and nostalgia, first in Spain and later in North Africa, discussed in sections four and five. In the final section, an attempt was made to show how the poetical production of Ibn Ḥamdīs was greatly influenced by the themes of exile and nostalgia to the extent that they became a framework for both his life and his poetry.

In the next part of this thesis we will see to what extent the essential aspects of exile and nostalgia poetry in the Arabic literary tradition have influenced Hispano-Hebrew poetry.
Notes to Chapter Three

1. Al-Baladhūrī, Futūḥ al-Buldān, p. 35
2. Nicholson, p. 441
5. Aziz Ahmad, A History of Islamic Sicily, p. 21
6. Ibid., p. 32
7. S.F. Mahmoud, A Short History of Islam, p. 207
8. Ihṣān ʿAbbās, al-ʿArabi fī Śiqiliyya (Cairo, 1959), p. 129
9. Mahmoud, p. 207
10. A. Ahmad, p. 46
11. Ibid., p. 47
12. Ibn Ḥamdīs, Diwān
13. Mahmoud, p. 207
15. Ibn Ḥamdīs, Diwān, p. 17
16. Fawzī Saʿd ʿIsa, al-Shiʿr al-ʿArabī fī Śiqiliyya (Cairo, 1979), p. 378
18. M. Amari, Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia, vol. 2 (Firenze, 1858), p. 528
19. Ibn Ḥamdīs, Diwān, p. 413
20. Ibid., p. 486
21. Ibid., p. 23
22. Monroe, p. 24
23. Ibid., p. 20
24. Ibid., p. 26
25. Ibn Ḥamdīs, Diwān, p. 206
26. Amari, Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia, p. 528
27. Ibid., p. 527, also I. ʿAbbās, al-ʿArabi fī Śiqiliyya, p. 129
28. Ibn Ḥamdīs, Diwān, p. 115
29. Ibid., pp. 32-33
30. Ibid., p. 425
31. Ibid., pp. 268-269, trans., Monroe, p. 203
32. A. Ahmad, p. 53
33. Ibn Ḥamdīs, Dīwān, pp. 31-33
34. For a complete analysis of the poem, see Part III.
35. A. Ahmad, p. 65
36. Ibn Ḥamdīs, Dīwān, pp. 252-253
37. Ibid., p. 523
38. Ibid., p. 517
40. Ibn Ḥamdīs, Dīwān, pp. 14, 17, 22, 26, 28, 30, 38, 49, 65, 185, 260, 366, 408, 417, 432, 523, 438
41. Ibid., pp. 4, 155, 183
43. Ibn Ḥamdīs, Dīwān, pp. 307-310
44. Ibid., p. 380
45. Ibid., p. 382
46. Ibid., pp. 149, 354
47. Ibid., p. 206
48. Ibid., pp. 29-30
49. Ibid., pp. 307-308
50. Ibid., p. 357
51. Ibid., p. 359
52. Sayid Nawfal, Shiʿr al-Ṭabīʿa fī al-Adab al-ʿArabi, p. 269
54. Ibn Bassām, Dhakhīra, vol. 4, p. 115
PART TWO

Exile and Nostalgia in Hebrew Poetry

Chapter One: The Concept of Homeland in the Bible

Chapter Two: Exile and Redemption in Hebrew Poetry in al-Andalus

Chapter Three: Exile and Redemption in ha-Levi's Poetry
Chapter One

The Concept of the Homeland in the Bible

(1) Covenant and the Promised Land
   (a) Conditioned or nonconditioned covenant
   (b) Abraham and the Promised Land
   (c) Jacob and the Covenant
   (d) The Covenant with Moses (Sinai)
   (e) The Covenant with David (Jerusalem)
   (f) Covenant and family

(2) Exile: Galût (sin and expiation)

(3) Sanctuary (regional affinities)
1. **Covenant and the Promised Land**

A covenant was a type of contract between God and the people through which people earned God's relationship and protection by keeping the law.

The nineteenth century scholar Julius Wellhausen surmised that the covenant between Israel and Yahweh meant that Israel was literally the son of God and somehow physically shared the divine nature. Then the prophets developed a sense of covenant suitable for a higher religion, namely the idea that union with God is not a matter of natural relationship or magical rite but of morality. Israel is the special friend, the covenant partner of God, because and only as long as it keeps His law.\(^{(1)}\)

Another scholar, Joachim Begrich, interpreted the covenant as a legal union which was established by a simple act of will on the part of the more powerful party. This would be represented by the type of contract we find in the Old Testament between God and Abraham or God and David.\(^{(2)}\)

On the other hand it has been argued that the covenant was the basic concept around which the Bible revolved, and was a mutually exclusive pact into which God and Israel, as equal partners, voluntarily entered. Neither party coerced the other. In this altogether legal contract, the party of the first part, God, promised on oath to protect and promote Israel without limit, so long as Israel remained faithful to Him, and Israel, the party of the second part, in the knowledge that God is omnipotent and reliable, undertook to
worship Him alone. The pact was based on the principle of reward for loyalty, punishment for disloyalty. (3)

A theological topic upon which the covenant concept has been asked to cast light is the problem of human freedom and responsibility. God does not force Himself and His covenant on the people. Rather, He presents them with a choice and persuades them to accept freely a special relation to Himself. The people are asked, never compelled, to enter into the relationship. (4)

(a) Conditioned or Nonconditioned Covenant

It is a simple fact that there are many different forms of covenant and these different forms imply different meanings. The problem is in assuming that all covenants in the Old Testament are of one kind, the treaty form; then anything which seems to be related to that form is treated as covenant.

W.R. Roehrs assumes that all covenants in the Old Testament between God and Israel are of the same sort, that God is always the single active partner who grants the covenant, and that the covenant is the treaty form. (5)

Some scholars believe that the unconditional covenant was the normal pure form of covenant. Begrich, for instance, thinks that God simply promises His special protection and a special union between the human party and Himself without any conditions or demands upon the subordinate party and
without any expression of a willing acceptance on the side of that party. (6)

L. Kohler thinks that the characteristic phrase, karat brīt (to cut a covenant) indicates a covenant between equals, while the form karat brīt 1/‘im indicates a covenant granted by a superior. Another common phrase, heqīm brīt (to fulfil a covenant) is used for making a covenant with God because He is sure to keep it. (7)

W. Schottroff believes that the phrase zakhar brīt implies an appeal to the Divine Overlord simply as the generous giver of a covenant without any reference to Israel's having kept the covenant.

A. Japsen emphasizes that in the primary form of the important covenant, that between God and Israel, it was indeed the superior alone who granted the covenant.

The idea that God alone grants the covenant and the covenant is essentially His grace, is probably too restricted. All covenants and all contracts have their conditions. They must be defined somehow or other. These definitions are their conditions or stipulations which may often be assumed, circumstances simply so well known in a culture that they need not be stated explicitly. (8)

George Mendenhall supposes that the very unity of the Israelite people and its relationship with God was founded on covenant, and this covenant was in its original form a purely religious affair. As in all agreements or covenants between persons there was implied or expressed a condition
which is really a description of the sort of relationship into which they were entering and which appeared as law: Yahweh, the sovereign, has commanded his covenanted people, his vassals, in absolute terms. This law has, as the Old Testament constantly asserts, an essentially religious sanction: it is the result of a religious relationship between Israel and its God. (9)

The backbone of covenantal theology was the belief that God had made certain promises to his chosen people. These could not be rescinded. They would definitely be fulfilled only if the covenanters met His requirements. The Beatitudes in the Gospel assured the covenanters that God would fulfil His promises if His people did as the suffering servant in the Babylonian captivity. (10)

The commandments are conditional, that is, only if they are observed can the land be received and possessed. According to Deuteronomy, under the terms of the covenant entered into at Sinai, Israel, if it disobeys the commandments, can be expelled from the land: its occupancy of the land had a "legal" basis. (11)

(b) Abraham and the Promised Land

In the original promise to Abraham the content of the promise consists of progeny, blessing and a land.

The land promised to Abraham has been promised to Israel as a whole, and the promise found its fulfilment, both in
the covenant at Horeb and in the conquest under Joshua.\(^{(12)}\)

According to Joshua 23:3f the conquest gave Yahweh the land for the sake of Israel according to His promise. But Israel does not own the land: disobedience of the commandments of Yahweh, through intermarriage with the inhabitants of the land, would inexorably incur the withdrawal of Yahweh's support and the loss of the land.\(^{(13)}\)

The theologian U. Devescovi finds three essentials in the first special covenant, that with Abraham: the promises of freedom, of a special relation to God, and of possession of Canaan. He believes that these are fulfilled in the Exodus, the Sinai covenant, and the progress towards and conquest of Canaan as told in the Heptateuch. Thus law and felicity are the fulfilment of grace, not vice versa.\(^{(14)}\)

G. Von Rad believes that the promise of the land was proclaimed ever anew, even after its fulfilment, as a future benefit of God's redemptive action.\(^{(15)}\)

(c) Jacob and Covenant

From Jacob the historical tribes were descended; Jacob would possess the land, and the blessing which he had already received from Isaac would become active in his seed. It was the covenant with his forefathers which was transferred to Jacob in Bethel.\(^{(16)}\)

Some critics believe that the implications of Gen. 15:4ff, i.e. that the land which Abraham possessed at that
time was to be handed on to his son, are creations of a later period, the exile, when Israel felt that its possession of the land was in jeopardy. She accordingly sought to bolster her claims to the land by recourse to a supposedly ancient divine promise to Abraham. (17)

(d) The Covenant with Moses (Sinai)

Famine in Canaan compelled Jacob and his family to descend into Egypt, where they settled as shepherds and became numerous. They left Egypt, and led by Moses, they passed the Mount of Sinai, where they made a covenant with God.

The covenant between God and Israel described in the Sinai narrative was a covenant based upon some sort of blood and sacrificial rite, or in another version (Exodus 24:11), a covenant meal uniting Yahweh and the people, through which a quasi-familial relation was set up between the two. Covenant meal, sacrifice, and especially the overpowering experience of the theophany presented in the cult were certainly elements connected with and integral to the covenant.

The God who appears in Sinai, a God in cultic circumstances, is such that His mere appearance founds the relationship between Him and the people and supplies sufficient grounds for the demands he puts upon them. (18)
C. Schedl assumes that the Sinai covenant was a vassal treaty in form. This is what is supposed to have introduced the concept of conditioned blessing and curses into Israelite history. If Israel keeps the covenant it will be blessed; if not, it will be cursed. And it is precisely the function of the prophets to warn Israel when it is in danger of breaking the covenant, to condemn it when it has broken the covenant, and to encourage it to keep to the covenant. (19)

Walter Eichrodt finds the Sinai covenant to be basically the only essential covenant doctrine in the Old Testament. He also recognizes that the covenant, as a gift of God, could be withdrawn and perhaps would be if Israel failed in its duty to the covenant. (20)

Another scholar, D.N. Freedman, considers the Sinai covenant to be conditional, and presented as being based on the promise to the patriarchs. Thus grace comes first, it is a condition for the law rather than a consequence earned through the law. (21)

In a study of tradition concerning the events at Sinai, the author adduces the correspondence between the Decalogue and the Hittite treaty form. He recognizes that there are many lacunae in these correspondences, for instance, the Decalogue lacks the essential curse and blessing formula of the treaties. He claims that the apodictic form of the Decalogue implies curse and blessing, and so equivalently
the document has this form. The Decalogue, with its designation of Yahweh as the god of the Exodus, is thus ancient and essentially part of the Sinai complex.\(^{(22)}\)

(e) **The Covenant with David (Jerusalem)**

The Israelites seem to have felt that the covenant had to be reaffirmed when an important change in relationship occurred. There is evidence of this when Joshua was about to die (Josh. 23), and when Samuel instituted the monarchy (1Sam. 12).

This reaffirmation of the covenant seems not to have been required at every change, whether of ruler or of something else. It has been suggested that such reaffirmation was required in Israel only when a dynasty changed. Thus the covenant between god, king and people was reaffirmed when the Davidic Joash succeeded the usurper Athaliah.\(^{(23)}\)

The importance of the royal covenant precisely as divine covenant is best illustrated by the problem of the restoration, the return from Exile which followed the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. The restored community was confronted with the problem of its continuing existence even though it knew from the words of the prophets and from the actuation of the curses connected with the Deuteronomic covenant that the covenant had been broken. This had to mean the end of the covenant as such. This flowed from the very nature of the relationship described in the covenant form.
It was conditioned on fidelity, prophetic word and historical experience, proving that the condition no longer obtained, that the covenant must be at an end. And yet the people of God remained and Israel was still there. This theological problem found its answer in an appeal to the promissory and absolute covenant which had been given to David's line and to the patriarchs (Deut. 4:31). This covenant was not formulated in terms of stipulation with attendant curses and blessing depending upon the keeping of the stipulations. This was a kind of covenant which was simply a promise of God and was valid despite anything Israel might do. Thus the form of the Davidic covenant was not only acceptable: it became the backbone of a theological structure which explains the continuity of Israel, a theological structure which is elaborated in later books of the Bible. (24)

The permanence of the Davidic covenant as described in the basic statement of it is not dependent upon the fidelity of the Davidids: on the contrary, the promise of Nathan says explicitly that even though the king is faithless, his position will be assured. This is the direct opposite of the case in the formal treaty. It is true that in Ps. 132 there is an apparently conditional statement of the Davidic covenant: if the Davidids are faithful, they will reign for ever over Israel. However, even here we have but this one element of the covenant form, and it is covenant with the Zion Cult.
This is a covenant which is granted David and his line in view of the cult that they have instituted in Jerusalem. (25)

D.N. Freedman finds that the actual presentation of the covenant with the patriarchs has been affected by the different form of the Sinai covenant. Still, the patriarchal covenant is basically one of promise. God commits himself to the family of Abraham. This promissory covenant is presented in the Old Testament as following upon signal acts of obedience, whether the covenant in question be that with the patriarchs or with David, but it cannot be said to be earned.

In any event, the continuation of such a covenant is not dependent upon the obedience of the human party, it remains pure grace on God's part. It cannot be broken, and when necessary it can be renewed. In fact it needs periodic renewal in any case, just as with ordinary treaties between civil states. (26)

(f) Covenant and Family

There are important analogies other than the one with treaty, which are used to elucidate the relationship between Yahweh and his people: the marriage analogy and the father-son analogy.

The prophet Hosea introduced and developed the marriage analogy. Israel is the unfaithful wife of Yahweh, but Yahweh
will not abandon her for ever. After a period of chastisement she will be restored to her favoured position.

The prophet Jeremiah carried on the image of the husband-wife relationship between Yahweh and Israel. Yahweh is described as acting as husband towards Israel (Jer. 31:32).

Marriage, like covenant, is a species of contractual relationship. The Torah is part of the marriage contract. By obedience to Yahweh's Torah, Jews must be worthy of their bride - the promised land. (27)

The father-son relationship is also a basic analogy for the relationship between Yahweh and Israel. It is not, of course, a contractual relationship in nature, but it is a contractual idea of such an adoptive sense of the father-son relationship, and as a matter of fact, the father-son relationship in the Old Testament is described in terms which are identical with those that describe the covenant-love relationship between Yahweh and His people in the Deuteronomic theology. (28)

2. Exile: Galût (sin and expiation)

The word galût embraces a spectrum of facts and ideas that have found expression in Jewish history: political servitude and dispersion, sin and repentance, and atonement. (29) Although the northern tribes were exiled to Assyria in the eighth century, it is the sixth century Jews in Babylon that provide the central image of exile for the Bible. The exiled Jews were not oppressed, abused or imprisoned. But
they were displaced, alienated from the place which had given them identity and security. (30)

E.J. Bickerman believes that the Diaspora saved Judaism from physical extirpation and spiritual inbreeding. Palestine united the dispersed members of the nation and gave them a sense of oneness. He also thinks that the Jewish Diaspora continued to consider Jerusalem as the metropolis, turned to the Holy Land for guidance, and in turn, determined the destiny of its inhabitants. (31)

In the spring of 538 B.C. the Persian monarch Cyrus issued a royal rescript granting permission to the Jews to return to Palestine and rebuild the Temple. (32)

It appears that the Jews who lived in Babylon for a length of time tended to become detached from Palestine: they chose not to return when that was possible. Later, the Jews of the Diaspora on the whole refused to participate in the war against Rome in A.D. 66-70. A form of religious association appropriate to an existence outside Palestine, the Synagogue, had already almost certainly emerged in the Babylonian exile and developed throughout the period to supply Jews with a rallying point other than the temple in Jerusalem. (33)

The exile is for the Bible the sharpest point of discontinuity, when none of the old traditions or conventional institutions any longer seemed valid or trustworthy. Exile without land or even a prospect of land was Israel's nadir, when every promise seemed void. This event of land-
lessness evoked rage and anger (Ps. 137), but also yearning and pathos (Lam. 1:2,3,6,7). (34)

The sense of exile was expressed by the feeling of alienation in the countries of the Diaspora, the yearning for the past, and persistent questioning of the causes, meaning and purpose of exile. It became a phenomenon which demanded explanation and interpretation.

Jewish prophets shared a single view, considering exile as a punishment for the sins of Jewish people. For Jeremiah exile was the fulfilment of the purpose of God: the exiles were blessed in their disaster. And those who lived in the land were the "evil figs" (Jer. 24:5f). (35)

The prophet Ezekiel looked upon Nebuchadnezzar as the instrument of God to chasten His people. The Jewish people were at present, as it were, in the grave, but the dry bones would be filled with life, and the revivified nation would rise from its sepulchre. (36)

The extremely long duration of the galŭt after the fall of Jerusalem was explained as necessary to compensate not only for the multiplicity of Israel's sins, but the neglect of the Sabbatical years. (37)

The exiles were cast out precisely as a punishment for their sins. But since their humiliation among the nations was desecration of Yahweh's holy name, He would again reverse their fate. He would remove their uncleanness and soften their hardened hearts, and the people would be restored (Ezek. 36.39).
Israel had not fulfilled the righteousness that Yahweh demanded, her history was a series of sins, and the sins could be gathered under one head: disobedience, rebellion against Yahweh. (38)

When the people had been humiliated and scattered, it was to learn that "I am Yahweh" (Ezek. 6:7; 7:4; 12:5; 33:29).

Like the other prophets, Deutero-Isaiah regards exile as a punishment for the sins of the people imposed by Yahweh because they did not keep His law (Is. 42:24; 43:27; 47:6; 50:1f). But the sin had been doubly paid for (40:2), and the prophet depicts how Babylon would fall, and the liberated people return to the expectant Zion. It is Yahweh who would wipe out the sins and bring home His people. For the sake of His name and His honour Yahweh would restore His people (Is. 48:9, 11; 52:5f). (39)

The sages expressed different views: "God scattered Israel among the nations for the sole end that proselytes should wax numerous among them" (40); such was the justification of the Diaspora made by Rabbi Eleazer of Modim (A.D. 120-140). It may be noted that this view made separation from the land a not unmitigated evil. (41)

R. Eleazer also said: "The Holy One, blessed be He, did not exile Israel among the nations save in order that proselytes might join them."

R. Oshaia said: "The Holy One, blessed be He, showed righteousness unto Israel by scattering them among the nations." (42)
R. Hiyya said that God exiled Israel because he knew that she was unable to endure the cruel decrees of Edom.\(^{(43)}\)

R. Judah, the son of R. Hiyya, also said that exile atones for half of men's sins.

R. Johanan believed that exile atones for everything.\(^{(44)}\)

3. **Sanctuary (regional affinities)**

   Jerusalem became the centre of the life of Jewry from the post-exilic period, and all the hopes of the Jews gathered in that city. Jerusalem achieved that status not only because of geographical conditions but also due to religious and historical considerations.\(^{(45)}\)

   After he had consolidated his rule over Palestine, David moved from Hebron to Jerusalem and changed the name of the "fortress of Zion" to "city of David".\(^{(46)}\)

   In the reign of David, Jerusalem became a political and religious centre of Palestine, especially after receiving the Ark of the covenant. The sanctuary of the Ark was a symbol of the Federation of the tribes, the spiritual centre of all Israel.\(^{(47)}\)

   Through the Ark, the religious and historical traditions of the Jewish people were preserved and grafted onto Jerusalem.\(^{(48)}\)

   In the reign of Solomon, the Temple was built to
become a fit abode for Yahweh's glory, and that increased the religious significance of Jerusalem within which it was built. Von Rad characterized the concept of the Ark as a "theology of presence" so that the transfer of the Divine Presence to the Temple of Solomon was logical.\(^{(49)}\)

Since then, Jerusalem has occupied a prominent position in the history of the Jews. It was no coincidence that "Zion" came to be synonymous with Greater Jerusalem and the poetic appellation for the city, whereas the name "city of David" came to refer only to the Hill of Jerusalem (Is. 10: 32).\(^{(50)}\)

The pre-exilic prophets had linked Jerusalem to the dynasty of David, but after the destruction of the first temple in 586 B.C. they preferred to call it the city of Yahweh and referred to it as Zion.\(^{(51)}\)

With the division of the kingdom, the status of Jerusalem had begun to decline and ceased to be the centre of political and economic life of the Jews.

The increasing importance which the royal Temple of Jerusalem acquired through the ages as the dwelling-place of Yahweh, made the blow all the more painful, when it was destroyed by the Babylonians. When the kingdom and the Temple had fallen, the Jews had lost the centre around which they were to rally. Yahweh on Mount Zion had no temple, while the other sanctuaries prospered.\(^{(52)}\)

This event was traumatic for the Jewish people because they had thought that the city of Yahweh was inviolable, and
the prophets did not wholly endorse it (Is. 17:12,14;29:1-8; Ps. 46,48,76). Lamentations make this clear:

"The kings of the earth did not believe, or any of the inhabitants of the world, that foe or enemy could enter the gates of Jerusalem." (4:12)

The lament centres entirely round Zion, which stood desolate. Priests and elders perished, no one helped (1,19), palaces and fortresses were destroyed (2,2:5,8f). But the deepest anguish was felt at the desecration of the Temple. Strangers invaded it, the enemy murdered priests and prophets and made a voice in the sanctuary as in a cult assembly (1,10;2,7.20.22). Mount Zion had been destroyed, and yet Yahweh sat forever on His throne. His association with Zion was broken, therefore He must bring back His people (5:18-21). (53)

A powerful expression of the pain and grief is given in the words of Psalm 137:1-6):

By the rivers of Babylon we sat and wept
when we remembered Zion.
If I forget you, O Jerusalem
may my right hand forget its skill
if I do not consider Jerusalem
my highest joy.

In spite of the destruction of the Temple and the disappearance of the Ark, Jerusalem remained its religious centre, and that could be because the prophets envisaged the whole of Jerusalem as the throne of Yahweh. Yahweh's
presence had become independent of the Temple, and its name would be "Yahweh is there".\(^{(54)}\)

The prophets of exile expressed the hope of redemption and the new Jerusalem (Ezek. 43:1-5; Deut.-Is. 40:1-2; 52:8). Jerusalem would be greatly enlarged and exceedingly beautiful (Deut.-Is. 49:19ff; 54:1-3; 60:13-18). Zechariah was assured that Yahweh "would again choose Jerusalem" (2:12).

They believed that it remained the place of salvation, that it was built for eternity and would be purified as at the beginning. It would be renewed in glory and become the centre of the earth. After it had fallen in A.D. 70, even then the hope for a new Jerusalem persisted.\(^{(55)}\)

Jerusalem had been connected with Mt. Sinai in Is. 2:1-5; Ps. 68:15-17; it had become the place of the highest mountain (Ezek. 20:40; 40:2).

Zion in Jewish tradition is considered as the mountain of God and His dwelling place. Yahweh had chosen Zion as the place of His resting, but Zion was also the place of the throne of His anointed. Yahweh had taken up His abode on Zion, the mountain of God, "the joy of the earth".\(^{(56)}\)

There was a belief that Jerusalem was transformed and idealized and not any longer limited to the land. This point is especially put across by the section in Is. 60-62 in which hope for Jerusalem had reached its highest.

The city had become a transcendental entity, "mystic, wonderful", so that the earthly Jerusalem was taken up into a heavenly image of eternal abode.\(^{(57)}\)
To recapitulate, this chapter has tried to investigate the origin of the concept of the homeland in the Biblical sources. It was shown how the ideas of the covenant and the promised land, which are fundamental to the Judaic beliefs, together determine and define the concept of the homeland for the Jews. These ideas also give the Jews a strong feeling of hope, which borders on certainty, that, whatever the nature of the circumstances that might estrange them from the promised land for some time, they will eventually regain it because it is bound to them by a divine decree that is the covenant. This is a key notion that will prove useful for us to understand the poetry of ha-Levi studied in the third chapter of this part of the thesis. The chapter has also tried to shed some light on the notion of "exile" in the Bible. Exile in the Jewish tradition was seen as a form of expiation of a sin. This idea, as well as that of Zion as a sanctuary, also contributes a good deal to a better understanding of Hebrew poetry in al-Andalus in general, and that of ha-Levi in particular.
Notes to Chapter One

2. Ibid., p. 2
5. Ibid., p. 32
6. Ibid., p. 2
8. D.J. McCarthy, p. 3
9. Ibid., p. 11
13. Ibid., p. 25
17. R.E. Clements, *Abraham and David*, p. 23
18. D.J. McCarthy, p. 31
19. Ibid., p. 49
20. Ibid., p. 5
21. Ibid., p. 54
24. D.J. McCarthy, p. 47
26. D.J. McCarthy, p. 54
28. D.J. McCarthy, p. 33
33. W.D. Davis, p. 119
34. W. Brueggemann, *The Land*, p. 8
35. W.D. Davis, p. 39
37. Davis, p. 120
39. Ibid., p. 600
40. The Babylonian Talmud, pes. 87b (London, 1938)
41. Davis, p. 120
42. T.B., pes. 87b
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Davis, p. 131
46. Encyclopedia Judaica (Jerusalem, 1971), Vol. 9, pp. 1381-1382
47. Ibid., p. 10
48. Davis, p. 131
51. Davis, p. 132
52. J. Pedersen, *Israel*, vol. 1, pp. 588-89
53. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 590
54. Jer. 3:16ff; Ezek. 48:38; Davis, p. 133
55. Ibid., p. 138
56. G. Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, vol. 1, p. 46
57. Davis, p. 142
Chapter Two

Exile and Redemption
in Hebrew Poetry in al-Andalus

(1) Jews and Poetry in al-Andalus
   (a) The Jews before the Arab conquest of Spain
   (b) The Jews under the Caliphal rule
   (c) Hebrew poetry and Arab culture

(2) The Jewish Poets and the Golden Age of Hebrew Poetry
   (a) Samuel ha-Nagid: success and power
   (b) Solomon Ibn Gabirol: loneliness and alienation
   (c) Moses Ibn Ezra: love and nostalgia

(3) God, Exile and Redemption in Hebrew Sacred Poetry
1. Jews and Poetry in al-Andalus

In the attempt to interpret the Hebrew poets and their poetry I may be guided by Goethe's advice that "to understand the poet you must enter the poet's land", and "to understand the poetical art you must enter poetry's land". (1)

Using this argument it is possible to make a detailed explanation and interpretation of both the Hebrew poets and the work they produced.

(a) The Jews before the Arab conquest of Spain

For years and years, the Jewish community, prior to the Muslim conquest of Spain in the eighth century, had suffered a spiritual decline. Their persecution, through such acts as forced baptism, and the unsettled conditions they suffered, including confiscation of their property, led them into a continuing spiral of spiritual deterioration. (2) They were declared slaves and thrown out of their homes and scattered all over the Spanish cities. They were not allowed to exercise Jewish rites. In addition, Jewish children were taken from their parents and brought up in Christian homes. (3) 

However, it was an historic world event that led to the rekindling and awakening of the Jewish spirit and the subsequent development of all Jewish civilization. This resurrection of the spirit from deep somnolence can be attributed to contact with Islam. (4)
In the eighth century, the Arabs invaded and conquered Spain, liberating the Jews from their oppression and slavery.

Arabic civilization brought knowledge and spread light over the whole territory of al-Andalus. In this "very fair weather" Jewish culture flourished and Jews were attracted to Arab culture. Cities such as Cordoba, Malaga, Toledo and Saragossa became centres of Jewish learning. So great was the amelioration of the Jewish spirit that the Spanish Jews became the spiritual focus of world Jewry.

The influence of, and fascination with, Arabic culture was very apparent in the newly emerging way of Jewish life. Politically, economically and socially, through religion and art, Muslim ideas and ideals had a profound effect on the Jews.

(b) The Jews under the Caliphal rule

The Jews became part of the subject population when the peninsula was organized under the caliphal regime. The Jewish population was concentrated in the cities of Granada, Lucena, Seville and Tarragona and in some cases, entire villages.

The caliphal court of Cordoba attracted and patronized poets and philosophers, men of letters and scientists. The Jews responded quickly and threw themselves into the Arab
culture, drawing from it the inspiration to revive their own culture. (10)

The process of reviving Jewish culture in al-Andalus started with the Hebrew language, when the Jews imitated the Arabs' strong devotion to their language and revived Hebrew, which had until then been reserved for religious and theological writings. (11) The appeal of the Arabic language attracted the Jews of al-Andalus and they spoke and wrote Arabic as fluently as their Arab fellow-citizens. (12) They were also influenced by Arab cultural values, such as considering their poetry to be their greatest cultural heritage. The Jews assimilated these values to such an extent that the Jewish poet and critic, Moses Ibn Ezra, declared:

"Because the Arab tribes excelled in their eloquence and rhetoric, they were able to extend their dominion over many languages and to overcome many nations, forcing them to accept their suzerainty." (13)

It was under this influence that Jewish grammarians improved the Hebrew language in their writings. (14) As the power of the old Babylonian schools declined, the Hebrew language in Spain witnessed a renaissance in scholarship and poetry. (15)

The Jews were impressed by the proliferation and quality of Arabic poetry in Spain, and they reacted creatively, to give voice to secular poetry of nature and love, and wine poems in Arabic metres. (16)
The beginning of this renewal of Jewish life and culture in al-Andalus was marked by the rise of the physician and statesman, Hasday b. Shaprut (905-75 A.D.), who served as physician and adviser in the court of the Caliphs Abd al-Rahmān III and al-Hakam II (961-76 A.D.). Hasday became the secular head of the Andalusian Jewish society. He was a patron of the arts and science and attracted to his court Jewish scientists, poets and philologists, such as Menahem b. Saruq and Dunash b. Labrat. The latter was the first poet to compose Hebrew poetry employing Arabic metres.

The Arabic metrical measures were used by the Jewish poets not only for secular poems but also for the sacred. It may be said that the Spanish epoch marked the first occasion since the Song of Songs when secular poems appeared as part of Hebrew poetry.

Remarkably, Jewish writers of the nineteenth century, such as Heinrich Heine, call the Spanish period - from the ninth until the end of the twelfth century - "The Golden Age of Hebrew Literature", a notion borrowed from classical literary history. They were impressed by the rich and original literature in Hebrew composed by the Andalusian Jewish poets. The Andalusian Hebrew Golden Age owes its character and importance to the prosperity of Arab culture in al-Andalus.

Hebrew poetry in al-Andalus reached its peak not only in respect of rhyme and metre but also in new themes and poetic forms. Now Jewish poets in Spain were trained in Arabic forms of poetry and Arabic was their native language.
However, whilst many of their themes and much of their imagery were indeed Arabic, the enormous enthusiasm generated created highly effective images and a whole new dimension in the Hebrew works they produced. (22)

A literary study of Hebrew poetry in Spain, the secular in particular, reveals that not only did the Jewish poets adopt the Arabic techniques of prosody, but they also used much of the same subject matter. They wrote love songs, they composed wine poems describing the feasts held in the gardens of Spain, where wine, women and singing were mentioned. They praised wealthy patrons, fellow poets and even themselves. In their poems they expressed such ideas as the feeling for beauty in nature, their sorrow at the departure of friends for distant lands, and the death of loved ones. They also wrote about their journeys, travelling from city to city, and their moves from their birthplaces.

At the time of Hasday Ibn Shaprut, the prosperity and expression of Jewish poets was such that "they opened the way for a later generation to acquire the important means of melody and free and full prosody they had newly developed." (23)

In spite of the division of Spain into many states of the so-called Mulūk 'l-Ṭawālif, cultural life did not decline. On the contrary, cultural life flourished during this period (1009-1090). (24) The Jews were offered an extraordinary opportunity for government service and there appeared a distinguished class of Jewish courtiers. They included physicians, purveyors and clerks, as well as high-
ranking administrators like Yequtiel b. Ḥassān (d. 1039) in Saragossa and Abraham b. Muhajir (d. ca. 1100) in Seville. (25)

2. The Jewish Poets and the Golden Age of Hebrew Poetry

(a) Samuel ha-Nagid: success and power

The highest-ranking Jewish courtier in all of Spain was Samuel ben Joseph ibn Naghrela. He was appointed vizir in the Berber kingdom of Granada under King Ḥabbūs and his son, Bādis after him. Samuel held this position for more than three decades until his death in 1056. (26) He was known as the Nagid - a term comparable to the Arabic "Raʾīs al-Yahūd" and used to designate the leader of the Jewish community, recognized by the Muslim authorities. (27) He was representative of the Andalusian Jewish courtier.

According to the Jewish historian of the twelfth century, Abraham Ibn Daud, Samuel ha-Nagid was the model Jew and ideal leader. (28) He was a soldier and politician, Talmudic scholar and a patron of the arts, and was himself one of the greatest masters of medieval Hebrew poetry. (29) He was considered the pioneer of the golden Age of the Andalusian Hebrew poetry, where his voice reverberated in its history. In this respect Abraham Ibn Daud said, "The Jewish poets began to chirp in the days of Hasday Ibn Shaprut, but in the time of Samuel, their voices rang loud." (30)
The Jewish historians claimed that Samuel ha-Nagid wore four crowns: the crown of Torah, the crown of high station, the crown of Levitical descent, and the crown of good deeds. (31)

Samuel ha-Nagid was a pioneer in using a greater variety of metric forms in his poetry than any of the Andalusian Jewish poets, even Solomon Ibn Gabirol, Judah ha-Levi and Moses Ibn Ezra. (32) He used as many as fifty-seven different metres in his poems and was the first Jewish poet to employ the muwashshahāt. (33)

He handled the Hebrew language in his poems with great skill and his style was pure and strong. (34) He extended the range of poetic themes to include for the first time in post-biblical Jewish literature the description of military campaigns, ḥamāsa poetry, as well as the epic forms. (35) He also wrote on various other subjects: love, wine, elegies, friendship and religion. He preferred to chart new directions in Hebrew poetry than to adhere to the traditional sacred genres. (36) In the following lines, for example, he wrote a khamriyya referring to the ʿāṭlāl theme:

Upon the tents of Arab princes now in ruins
the clouds poured out showers of water,
And the winds, fathers to thunder, swayed them,
and the rains, sisters of lightning, raised grasses around them
After the storm, friends drank toasts there,
light wine in golden goblets,
Until they knew not how to distinguish
between the light of day and the dark ruins.

In the history of Hebrew literature, Samuel ha-Nagid
was the first writer to set into Hebrew poetry the human
episodes of his personal life. It may be said that the
poetry of Samuel ha-Nagid could be interpreted as a personal
memoir in which he tells about his early life and his
ambitious dreams, the divine promises made to him, the
hardships he endures and the wonders he observes.

His poems constantly expose clarity of thought, fine
expressions and wise sayings. They are weighted with
allusions and lack depth of feeling. He wrote a poem
in his youth on leaving his native city, Cordoba, expressing
his anger at his friends who thought he left Cordoba in
pursuit of riches. He explained his move as a search for
wisdom, not money. The style of the poem is strong and it
bristles with good expressions and wise thoughts, but lacks
love and nostalgic feelings for his native city where he was
born and spent his youth:

The soul is far from its desires and the spirit
is refused its requests.
The body is fat and satisfied and vigorous but
its precious spirit is left unfulfilled.
And a humble man walks upon the earth but his thoughts are spread upon the heavens.
For what help is his flesh to the voluptuary
even his goods when his soul is afflicted
I have friends who cause me distress; they
do not do good; they are great of body
but their minds are lacking.
They think that I have departed and turned from rest to wandering in order to increase my wealth
Seeing that my head grows with hair dishevelled and my eyes are encircled with the paint of night.
Yet my friends do not know the secret of my heart, moreover my companions do not speak with wisdom,
And like an animal of cloven hoof their souls do not know or understand
Can one restrain himself whose soul is pure and who like the moon labours to rise?
Can one remain still until with her wings, he girds her loins like a man strengthening a tent-cloth;
Until he achieves and his feats are made known, and he continues to increase in reputation like the sea?
As God lives and as the servants of the Lord flourish, even I will keep the promise,
I will climb the rock with my feet and descend into the pit that is stuck in the depths
And I will sew together one lip of the desert with another and I will split the sea with every swimming sail.
I will roam until I ascend and reach the heights that are known unto eternity
And my enemies will be in terror of me but my friends I will save;
free men will be faithful to me even as I to them
My spirit hold fast to friends even as it avoids my accusers.
And for you whose essence is a garden bed planted
by a river of love from full affection is
A friendship, nurtured from youth like a seal
set in a signet ring
Graven like the gravings of gold upon the windowpane
that was cut into the threshold of the Temple
May God be with you according to your love
and may your devoted soul be delivered from distress,
And may the redeeming Lord send you salvation
until the sun and moon are no more.
The lack of nostalgia for his country can also be observed on the very few occasions he mentions Spain in his poems, e.g.


(b) Solomon Ibn Gabirol: loneliness and alienation

Solomon Ibn Gabirol was one of the great poets of the "golden era" of Spain. The Jewish poet of the nineteenth century, Heinrich Heine, described him as "a nightingale singing in the darkness of the Gothic medieval night". (43)

He was born in Malaga, some time around the end of 1021 and the beginning of 1022. (44) He was left an orphan early in life and remained in Malaga only for his childhood. His literary activity began early on. Some of his poems were written at the age of sixteen. These early poems show a
great command of the Hebrew language, maturity of thought and profound depth of emotion, e.g.

He speaks of himself as a child, "grieved, without mother or father, inexperienced, lonely and poor, alone without a brother and without friends".
These early experiences may be seen as the seeds from which grew the poet's sombre and bitter feelings which later found expression in his poems.

Ibn Gabirol spent most of his life in Saragossa which was then an important centre of Jewish culture. During this period he wrote various panegyrics on a prominent man by the name of Yekutiel Ibn Hassan who befriended him and became his patron. (47)

After the death of his patron, Ibn Gabirol's life was embittered and filled with suffering. Once more he fell prey to a deep melancholy which is reflected in the poems he wrote at that time, e.g.
Because of his worldly inclinations and philosophically heterodox expressions he became alienated from his people. The Jewish poet and critic, his contemporary Moses Ibn Ezra, says of him, "Although he was a philosopher as far as his intellectual attainments were concerned, yet his anger always got the better of his understanding. He was unable to control his temper and was easily led to ridicule great men and subject them to contempt in his writings."

On leaving Saragossa he wrote a poem expressing his feelings of loneliness and alienation and his anger towards his enemies:

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On leaving Saragossa he wrote a poem expressing his feelings of loneliness and alienation and his anger towards his enemies:
In 1045, before he left Saragossa, he wrote two works in Arabic on the "Improvement of the Moral Qualities" and the other, a collection of Proverbs under the name "The Choice of Pearls". (52)

After leaving Saragossa, Ibn Gabirol wandered about until he found another patron in Granada, the poet and vizir Samuel ha-Nagid.

When his new patron died, Ibn Gabirol left Granada and wandered in the peninsula until his death in Valencia before he had reached his fortieth year. (53)

In respect of his death, it is worth referring to the legend which ascribes Ibn Gabirol's death to the envy of a Muslim poet. The latter murdered Ibn Gabirol and buried him under a fig tree. The tree immediately began to blossom and yield the most luscious fruit. This phenomenon led to an investigation which resulted in the discovery of the crime and the punishment of the criminal. The legend reflects the popular admiration and respect of the poetic production of Ibn Gabirol. (54)

Ibn Gabirol was a theologian, grammarian, philosopher and poet. He ranks in the highest class of the Hebrew poets. He surpassed his contemporaries in both quality and quantity. (55) Moses Ibn Ezra in his Arabic book al-Muḥāḍara wa'al-Mudḥakara says of him:
"Younger though he was than his contemporaries, he surpassed them in the art of expression, although, in a general way, they were distinguished for their language which was choice and full of sweetness. While they may have differed in the order of merit, they all ranked alike for the beauty of their style and charm of expression. But Abū Ayyūb was an accomplished author and an eloquent writer who made himself master of that which poetry considers its aim. He attained the end in view and reached the goal. In his writings he used the finest figures of speech, imitating the modern Arabic poets. He was called the Knight of Style and the Master of Verse because of the polish of his style, the fluency of his expression and the charm of the subjects which he treated. All eyes were directed to him and everyone pointed to him with admiration. It was he who first opened the door of prosody to Jewish poets, and those who entered after him on the same road made their fabric from his material ... In his poetry he embodied ideas which were based upon the laws of the Torah and were in harmony with tradition."(56)

Ibn Gabirol was the first to excel in using the Arabic models to the extent that some of his poems may be regarded as Arabic poems in the Hebrew language.(57)

The art of Hebrew poetry reached its perfection in the hands of Ibn Gabirol who can be regarded as the founder of a new school.(58)
The Jewish critic, Judah al-Ḥarizi, placed him above all his contemporaries. He says:

"Before the Song of Solomon, the Small—all great poets in our estimation fall. Since the cradle of Hebrew speech—none did ever his station reach. With unusual gifts dowered—he above his generation towered. Though dubbed small, he surpassed them all. He alone to Parnassus' pinnacle did ascend—the wisdom of the Muses to comprehend. Art claimed him as her first-born—and with a scarlet thread did his arm adorn. All the poets that before him sang—like the wind upon the void their voices rang. None like him has since arrived—no matter how much they may have strived. He is the master of them all—and they in his footsteps fall. The Lord anointed him his nation's King of Songs—and his verse is the Song of Songs. Even great poets find it hard—to grasp the meaning of this bard. For his style is too profound—its depth none can sound."(59)

In his secular poetry, Ibn Gabirol was a representative of contemporary Arab trends. His poetry is filled with the spirit of classical and recent Arabic poetry.(60) Ibn Gabirol was highly influenced by the pessimism and the pride of the blind poet, Abū'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Ḥarrārī.(61)

His secular poetry is for the most part of a personal nature where he employs it as a means of higher self-expression.(62)
Ibn Gabirol wrote on various subjects: love, wine, self-praise (fakhr), and description (wasf). He used most of the Arabic motifs in his poems as well as the Arabic images, which added a new dimension of depth.

He wrote some long poems in the genre of wasf (description), describing the natural landscape of Spain. These poems are filled with the spirit of their Arabic models, employing the entire apparatus of the Arabic playful description of nature, e.g.

I am that man who bound his belt; its tightening shall suffer, till my pledge redeemed, no lightening,

The one whose heart is frightened by his heartbeat, whose soul rejects its in-the-flesh-abiding.

Since boyhood wisdom choosing, Time would choose him for sevenfold affliction's furnace-testing.

Fell Time uprooted, hewed all his plantations, and breached his walled enclosure, razed his building.

Behold, my friend, were he not scorched by hardship, a captive of the Hours', Days', Daughters', offspring,

He would have climbed the pinnacles of virtue and wisdom, bared the highest stores of knowing.

Be sure, unless a man has worn his flesh, consumed it, he never shall unveil the secrets' shrouding.

But yesterday I bought a mite of knowledge, yet Time rose early, asked full price, unheeding.
It may today refuse its mule to saddle,
yet all my days for knowledge I ride seeking.

This heart will ne'er be weaker than its portion,
fulfills its vow, protects its pledge from crumbling.

I feared, my friend, what things might come upon me.
is not the very thing man fears ensuing?

'Twas night time and the firmament clean-handed,
therein the moon, a pure heart, splendour casting.

And Moon led me on passage of knowledge,
and taught me thought-begetting, guiding-faring.

In fear of mischance then I pitied moonlight,
much like a father for his firstborn feeling.

Then Wind sent forth against him sails of cloud-cloth,
upon Moon's face a mask of ashes spreading.

As if he were impelled by lust for a downpour
the Wind pressed hard the clouds and set them weeping.

The sky was filled with blackness and the Moon was
as one in death, the clouds his shrouds and tombing.

As once the Arameans wept for Balaam,
thus for the Moon the sky clouds fell to crying.

The Night put on her armour, darkness, pierced by
the javelin which the Thunder hurled: swift Lightning.

As Lightning whirred through space it seemed as if he
about the stricken Night made mock in dancing,
The Sky then turning bat-like, wings unfurling, has routed heaven's ravens by her glancing.

And Lightning barred my quest for God: heart's pleasure

My heart he fettered with a rope of darkness;
he tied like wine-hose, top and bottom bottling,

I'll wait no more, my friend, and hope for Moon that

I saw into the heart of darkness turning.

Because the Clouds bear no grudge against my soul, they
deny to me, I think, Sky Lantern's shining.

When Moon unveiled his face I gazed, exulting,

As one embattled, with his spear drawn, who then

in rushing throws and senses he is stumbling.

Behold, thus fares a man beset by mischance

although his shrine, he raise in Hesper's dwelling.

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The poem can be divided into two sections: the first section belongs, in accordance with the Arabic tradition, to the genre of fakhr (self-praise) where the poet expressed his strong sentiment and lamented over his misfortune; and the second section is concerned with a description of a storm-ravaged night, imposed upon the traditional Arabic theme of wasf (description of nature). The style, the technique and the imagery employed in the poem are derived from Arabic descriptions of nature. (65)

In spite of the fact that Ibn Gabirol was born, brought up and died in the land of Spain, we fail to experience through the great quantity of his secular poems, impregnated with feelings of loneliness and alienation, an expression of nostalgic sentiment or feeling of ḥanā in for his native city or his country, as we have seen in the Arabic poetry of al-Andalus.
In Moses Ibn Ezra we are exposed to a different side of the Jewish poet. Here we have demonstrated, for the first time, a poet composing verse concerned with the theme of ḥanîn and nostalgia, exhibiting the poet's yearning and longing for his Spanish native city.

Moses Ibn Ezra was born in Granada in 1070, member of a cultured, aristocratic and wealthy family. He learned the Bible, the Talmud, and Rabbinic studies as well as the Hebrew and Arabic languages. He led a good life in Granada and enjoyed the beauty and the nature of Spain and its feminine attractions. (66)

He devoted the great part of his Diwan to secular poetry where he wrote on various subjects: love, friendship, elegies, wine and description. (67) In his poems he evokes the colours of the Andalusian natural landscape, the vineyards and the charm of Spanish women. (68) He describes Spring in the Spanish fields:

The garden dons a coat of many hues;
the mead a brodered carpet hath unrolled;
The woods are brave in chequered mantles - now
a wondrous scene may every eye behold:
The newborn flowers acclaim the newborn Spring,
and forth to meet his coming, gaily throng;
High, at their head, on sovereign throne is borne
The rose - the flowrets' queen - queen of my song.
From prisoning leaves she bursts, and casts aside
her captive garb, in royal robes to shine.
I drink to her, nor heaven forgive the wretch -
if such there be - who spares his choicest wine.

Moses Ibn Ezra's life and poetry were greatly influenced
by an unfortunate love affair. In his early years he fell in
love with his niece, who, though she loved him, could not
persuade her father to consent to marriage. He was
broken-hearted and depressed and wrote some poems expressing
his disappointment and his bitterness towards his brothers
and friends:

After the failure of his love, Moses Ibn Ezra became
dominated by a spirit of gloom and he reflected despondently
upon life and its vicissitudes. Shortly afterwards, he
left Granada and wandered about for several years. On
leaving his native city, he wrote a poem expressing his
feelings of love and nostalgia for both his beloved and his city:

Ibn Ezra stayed for a while in the Christian town of Castile, where he found himself in a foreign land with a different culture and away from both his beloved and his native city. He wrote a number of poems exhibiting his feelings of alienation, e.g.
In a poem sent to one of his loyal friends in Granada, Ibn Ezra expressed his nostalgic feelings in exile and his yearning for his native-city and his friends:

If I forget them, may my hand forget its cunning - if, from them apart, one thought of joy can enter my heart.

Oh, if indeed the Lord would me restore to beautiful Granada-land, my paths would be the paths of pleasantness once more;

For in that land my life was very sweet - a kindly Fate laid homage at my feet, and deep I quaffed at Friendship's fount; as now I fain would quaff the waters of Senir, whose snow-fed current bears the swimmer high when Eden's streams run scant and sluggishly

Though hope be long deferred, though heart be faint, on God I wait, unto Whose mercy there is no restraint -

And Whose decree can break the shackles and unbar the gate, and set the prisoner of exile free.
However, the dream of return could never be fulfilled. He heard the news of the tragic death of his beloved and was deeply affected by her sudden and early demise. He wrote some touching elegies to her memory, e.g.

The tragic love story of Ibn Ezra deeply affected his poetry and covered it with a melancholy tone not only in his elegies but also in his poems on wine and joy. Ibn Ezra remained in Castile for the rest of his life, yearning for the physical and intellectual environment of his birthplace.
3. God, Exile and Redemption in Hebrew Sacred Poetry

The Jewish critic S.J. Rappaport characterized Spanish sacred poetry by saying, "The Sephardi sacred poetry is the medium of expression for the soul of the individual Jew."(80)

Although the Hebrew sacred poetry of the Spanish period had the Bible as its antecedent, it is not the direct descendant of Biblical poetry. The form of sacred poetry was the consequence of many factors. An important component was the emerging shape and phenomenon of Jewish liturgy. Other relevant factors include the production of Aggada and the renewed interest in the Bible and its language.(81)

Under the captivating and inspiring Arabic culture, the newly emancipated Jews indulged in their refreshing licence. The Hebrew language, previously reserved for divine services and theological writings, was revised and revitalised to give a dynamic rendering of secular poetry.(82)

The Jewish poets found themselves in conflict, their religious aspirations against their sensual desires. However, both aspects are portrayed in their poems and later the conflict itself is expressed in their writings.(83)

Sacred poetry in Spain exhibits many forms which are included under the name of piyyūṭ.

The Spanish period appeared to restore to both the Hebrew nation and the individual the dignity of a new decisive confrontation with God.
Ibn Gabirol found this atmosphere ideal for the expression of ubiquitous philosophical ideas. (84) In one of his poems, Ibn Gabirol wrote:

Though there is - while exile lasts - to God no sacrifice
To her [his beloved] I will proffer sacrifices and offering

Foreswearing one's life and religion is an Arabic stylistic device. Here, however, juxtaposed as it is with the exile of the Jews and the destruction of the Temple, the poet's declaration that he wishes to replace the sacrifice in the holiest shrine in Jerusalem by a sacrifice on the altar of the beloved, is quite striking and typical of an eleventh century renaissance personality. (85)

Arabic poetry permeated the entire life of Muslim Spain. However it was its formal metre, rather than its wealth of specific motifs, that moulded the new religious poetry of the Jews. (86) It could be argued that the new poetry enriched the Bible, rather than the converse.

We can divide the sacred poetry in Spain into two classes:

(a) Piyut: such as hymns of praise, doxologies wherein God is glorified in philosophical terms, and otherwise religious lyrics where man pours forth his heart before his Maker, as well as historical epics eulogizing God's miraculous wonders in Jewish history.
(b) Selībot: Penitential prayers which include all kinds of poems, plaintive as well as devotional. Within this category we find the Qīnot, elegies for the day of the commemoration of the destruction of the Temple, the ninth of Ab, or other solemn feasts in Jewish history.\(^{(88)}\)

The two main themes constantly written about in Jewish sacred poetry in Spain are God and exile. Traditionally, the Jews wrote of their sufferings as a nation and the intolerable conditions of exile they were subjected to. Many of their sacred poems contained expressive detailing of their long suffering and eternal cry for redemption.

Samuel ha-Nagid wrote three works imitating the three Biblical books of Psalms, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.\(^{(89)}\) In one of these poems, he laments Zion, saying:

Shake yourself free, shake yourself free
and be apprised that the day of redemption is nigh
Your mourning time is ended and your anguish
has been removed, healing now exists for you.
Rise up, you who are tossed about and reeling
and repay those who have made you stagger.
Now he is visible who in a vision was foretold
that like a lion he shall stand.
Zion, like a withered tree
will henceforth give fruit.
They will be abashed who once put you to shame
and no longer will call you: ‘The rebellious people’.
Samuel ha-Nagid skilfully managed to combine the new poetic secular genre, ḥamāsa, and the traditional sacred theme, lament for Zion:

My heart is hot within me and my eyes are crying for I long for Hammat and Meph'āt
And to see the assembly from Siryon moving and resting as they bring with songs to Moriah bundles of spikenard.
Even the caravan of Lebanon on 'Ariel with a voice of melody scattering crumbs of myrrh and cassia like a sower.
In the days when the young lads of Zion will be at home, like the bright and shining sun on garden beds of spices
They shall gaze upon the singing maidens with looks of love on eyes painted with the colour of God's work
And the daughters did not disgrace their fathers with sin and the sons did not commit obscenities for faults.
I yearn for the prince's daughter who, in the nut-garden placed her fawn by a lily to be gathered and planted.
Behold the roaring lions who occupy it and prevent her from entering therein. She was ruined by the hands of strangers who stripped the open flowers, the wreaths and the knobs from the city in the beautiful region. On seeing with my heart's eye my Holy of Holies a devastated heap and the foundation stone swallowed up among the rocks. With terror in my eyes I cried bitterly and roared with an angry heart as if it had been pierced by the spear of the foe. O God will You forever raise up the daughter of Edom who dwells above the stars while Zion's daughter lies sunken in the depths of the sea? Are you not angry that the daughter of Judah is naked while the sister of 'Uz has bracelets and rings? Arise like a lion from his thicket or a tiger from his hills and lift Your outstretched and well-known hand, And heap Your arrows upon Bozrah and make Teman who is full of Your wide fury drink the bitter cup.
Also, Ibn Gabirol, in his religious poems, displayed a wide acquaintance with Jewish learning and was known as the composer of the finest prayers and hymns for the synagogue. (92) His best hymn is the "Royal Crown" which excels in the beauty of its diction and the depth of its thought. (93)

In these religious poems, Ibn Gabirol expressed the anguish of the human soul defiled by the sinfulness of the body and the yearning for the reunion with God, e.g.
My soul shall declare to Thee Thou art her former and shall Thee as her maker, O God, testify, at Thy word 'Be, O Soul' did she take on existence, And from naught didst Thou draw her as light from the eye. Of Thee she shall own and affirm, hand uplifted, 'twas Thou that didst breathe her in me and as due For that work she shall pour out her thanks and bear witness that to me she was given Thy bidding to do. She serves Thee as handmaid while yet in the body, and the day she returns to the land whence she came, In Thee will she dwell, for in Thee is her being, doth she rise, doth she sit, Thou art with her the same. She was Thine when unborn ere the day of her breathing, with wisdom and knowledge by Thee she was fed, And to Thee for her ordinance looks, and subsistence, indebted to Thee for her water and bread. Her gaze is to Thee, and in Thee is her hoping when like like novice in child-birth she cries in fright. O take her torn heart as a sacrifice offered, and her ribs lacerated for fiery rite. To Thee let her pour out her tears as drink off'ring, let the breath of her sighing as incense-cloud be, At her gate and her doorway she watches with prayer, she is burning like flame with her passion for Thee She must ever approach Thee as servant his master, or as handmaiden looks to her mistress's eye, She must spread out her palms in request and petition and turn herself humbly to Thee in her cry
For call Thee she must, nor endure to be silent,
like a bird in the net her one hope is in flight,
In the depth of the night she must rise and keep vigil,
for her work is Thy works to declare and recite.
For Thee she must pine and of Thee make entreaty,
her hand must be clean and as stainless her thought.
Her breach do Thou heal, be her hope and her helper,
when she draws nigh redeem her, her sin count as naught.
Behold her affliction, and hark to her weeping,
in the sphere of the soul she with Thee is alone,
Repay and restore her, attend to her anguish,
when her sobs and her tears her backslidings bemoan.
Bemock, 0 Almighty, the foes that bemock her,
avenge with due vengeance her insults and shame,
In her stress be a rock of support 'gainst her foeman,
nor yield up the child Thou to manhood didst frame.
No enemy came, whose reproach could be borne with,
No cruel one hunted her down in her track,
'Twas the friends of her household betrayed her -
hers passions - 'twas her comrade who bloodily stabbed
in the back.
I am ever seeking my body's best welfare,
yet it in return would my spirit undo.
Ah, truly the fruit of the tree in its root is, the
proverb "Like mother, like daughter" is true.
Ibn Gabirol wrote poems for all the festival services, the special Shabbath services and the Rashut. His themes are dominated by God and his glorification.

In addition to his poems on God and his glory Ibn Gabirol wrote many poems on the suffering of the Jewish people in exile and their redemption, e.g.

The despoiled and dispersed Thou shalt gather to Zion
Restoring the slaves who were sold without fee,
And the priests to their ritual robes, while the scion
Of families ruling shall once more be free
To carol, high god, his thanks giving to Thee.

To the heathen a banner to raise thou wilt hasten,
Thou shalt strengthen and gird up the loins that we trust,
And the suppliants whom Thy dispersal did chasten
Thou wilt raise as of yore from captivity's dust,
The breastplate of righteousness clothing the just.

My impudent foe seeks my life-faith to sever,
To my face he enquires how long yet wilt thou wait,
But I am afflicted, not cast off for ever,
For my God is the help of the low in estate,
Protecting the poor as He humbles the great.
His heritage shall to the exile be given,
And a strong hand the sick and the punished replace.
The abased and abandoned, by every fang riven,
Shall their freshness renew by the patriarch's grace.
And the strangers be scorched like a tropical place.
Although Ibn Gabirol forcefully spoke for the plight of the Jewish nation, his own personal anguish and loneliness was so poignant that he could not help but express it in his poems. (97)

Here is a poem in which Ibn Gabirol seems to embody the suffering of both the Jewish nation and the lament of an individual:

Six years were decreed of a slave to wait
when his freedom he sought at his master's hand
But the years of my bondage lack term or date,
it is hard, O my Master, to understand.

Why, Sire, should a hand-maid's son bear sway,
and me with affliction and anguish task?
There cometh no answer, howe'er I pray,
in despite that each day for reply I ask.

what word at the last wilt thou say, my King?
an Thou findest no ransom, O Lord, take me
Take me for Thy people as offering,
I will serve Thee for ever and ne'er go free.

It is surprising to find that the expression of nostalgia and the feelings of yearning are exhibited and
illustrated in his religious poetry and not directed to Spain, his country and his fathers' land, but to Zion and the land of Israel, e.g.

God:

Though bereaved and in mourning, why sit thus in tears?
Shall thy spirit surrender its hopes to its fears?
Though the end has been long and no light yet appears,
Hope on, hapless one, a while longer.

I will send thee an angel My path to prepare,
On the brow of Mount Zion thy King to declare,
The Lord ever regnant shall reign again there,
Thy King, 0 proclaim, comes to Zion.

Israel:

How long, 0 my God, shall I wait Thee in vain?
How long shall Thy people in exile remain?
Shall the sheep ever shorn never utter their pain
But dumbly through all go on waiting?

God:

Have faith, hapless one, I will pardon and free,
Not always shalt thou be abhorrent to Me,
But be Mine e'en as I shall return unto thee,
'Tis yet but a little space longer.

Israel:

How long till the turn of my fate shall draw near,
How long ere the sealed and the closed be made clear,
And the palace of strangers a roof shall appear?
God:

Hope on for a shelter and refuge.
With healing shall yet thy entreaties be graced,
As when Caphtor was crushed shalt thou triumph re-taste,
And the flowers cast off shall re-bloom in the waste,
Hope on but a little space longer.

Israel:

My people of yore 'neath one people was drowned,
But from Egypt or Babel deliverance found,
But now we are hopelessly compassed around
By four birds of prey grim and speckled.
They have eaten my flesh, yet to leave me are loath.

God:

The Rock you must trust to remember His oath,
Your lover that went shall return to His troth,
Hope on, hapless one, a whit longer.

Hebrew:

נַחֲלָה אֲבֹלֵת לַעֲבֵה הָכִי שָׁלֹשׁ לֶבֶן לָשֵׁר הָכִי

נַחֲלָה אֲבֹלֵת לַעֲבֵה הָכִי שָׁלֹשׁ לֶבֶן לָשֵׁר הָכִי

בְּשָׁם יְרָאוֹל

קָצָר נָפֶשׁ אַלֹךְ לָשֵׁי

קָצָר נָפֶשׁ אַלֹךְ לָשֵׁי

הָכִי

רַחַל, יִדְעֶה עֹדֶרְמֶשׁ

אָשֶׁר לִפְנֵי לַעֲבֵה רַחַל

וּלַא חַי אֵינוֹ שֶׁפַּךַל

מְאֵרוֹת נָפֶשׁ לִפְנֵי שֶׁפַּךַל

אָשֶׁר לִפְנֵי יִדְעֶה

נַחֲלָה מִלְפֶּלֶךְ עָלָי יִדְעֶה.
Moses Ibn Ezra also used his poems, hymns and songs of praise as a vehicle to depict his suffering soul and the refuge he found in religion and through his contact
He also wrote some poems on the traditional religious themes of exile and redemption and expressed the cry of the Jews and their suffering, e.g.

Hebrew:

"With God," e.g.

English:

"With God (100)," e.g.
In summary, this chapter has been an attempt to study the general characteristics of Hebrew poetry in Spain. We saw in the first section the nature and the extent of the influence of Arab culture on the life and works of the Andalusian Jews. This influence was prominent in the domains of politics and economics, science and literature, and in particular in the field of poetry.

The second section tried to show how the influence of Arabic tradition was manifested in individual representative works. The works were found to reflect the flourishing of the Hebrew poetry in al-Andalus and the success of the Jewish poets in using the Arabic techniques. The works also tried to reflect how the themes of exile and nostalgia were employed and what location (position) was occupied by Spain in the Hispano-Hebrew poetry.

The third section attempted to shed light on the influence of the sacred vision on the Jewish poets and their expression of the traditional Jewish themes, God, exile and redemption.
Notes to Chapter Two

5. Bargebuhr, p. 54
10. Margolis, p. 307
11. Bargebuhr, p. 49
14. N. Kravitz, *3,000 Years of Hebrew Literature*, p. 233
15. Bargebuhr, p. 67
16. Ibid., p. 54
19. David Goldstein, *The Jewish Poets of Spain*, p. 15
22. Bargebuhr, p. 75
23. Ibid., p. 73
25. Stillman, p. 57
27. Weinberger, p. 4
28. Ibid., p. 1
(New York, 1938), p. 217

30. Ibid., p. 218
31. Margolis, p. 317
32. Weinberger, p. 5
33. Ibid., p. 13
35. Weinberger, p. 5
36. Ibid., p. 13
38. Weinberger, p. 13
39. Samuel ha-Nagid, *Diwan*
40. Margolis, p. 317
42. Ibid., pp. 11,17,32,112,150,225
44. Bargebuhr, p. 24
46. Ibid., pp. 228-29
47. Shirmann, vol. 1, p. 177
48. Ibid., p. 210
49. Bargebuhr, p. 261
51. Ibn Gabirol, *Diwan*, pp. 207-210
52. Margolis, p. 54
54. Ibid.
55. Margolis, p. 318
56. I. Davidson, *Selected Religious Poems*, p. xxxiii
57. Bargebuhr, p. 68
58. I. Davidson, p. xi
59. Ibid., p. xxxix
60. Ibid., p. xi
61. Bargebuhr, p. 67
62. Ibid., p. 44
63. Ibid., p. 75
65. For a complete analysis of the poem, see The Alhambra, pp. 267-312
68. I. Zinberg, A History of Jewish Literature, p. 65
70. Ibid., p. 363
71. Ibid., p. 383
72. Waxman, p. 225
73. Shirmann, p. 379
74. Ibid., pp. 381-382, trans., S. Solis-Cohen, p. 45
75. Moses Ibn Ezra, Diwan, Vol. 1, p. 67
76. A.E. Millgram, An Anthology of Medieval Hebrew Literature, p. 346
77. Shirmann, p. 402
78. Millgram, p. 346
79. D. Goldstein, p. 103
80. Waxman, vol. 1, p. 207
81. Ibid., p. 203
82. Bargebuhr, p. 54
83. Goldstein, p. 20
84. Bargebuhr, p. 66
85. Ibid., p. 66
86. Ibid., p. 73
87. Goldstein, p. 17
89. Shirmann, vol. 1, p. 76
90. Samuel ha-Nagid, Diwan, p. 318, trans., Weinberger, pp. 91-92
91. Ibid., pp. 35-38, trans., Weinberger, pp. 54-55
92. Bargebuhr, p. 36
93. Margolis, p. 319
94. Ibn Gabirol, Diwan, pp. 528-531, trans., Davidson, pp. 3-5
95. Kravitz, p. 246
96. Ibn Gabirol, Diwan, pp. 360-361, trans., Davidson, pp. 20-21
97. Kravitz, p. 246
99. Ibid., pp. 362-363, trans., Davidson, pp. 22-24
100. Waxman, vol. 1, p. 225
101. Shirmann, pp. 409-410
102. Avraham bar Yosef, Mi-Shirat Ymei ha-Beinayim (Tel-Aviv, 1980), p. 136
Chapter Three

Exile and Redemption in the Poetry of

Judah Ha-Levi

1. His life in Christian and Muslim Spain
2. His secular poetry: pleasure and harmony
3. His religious poetry: God and exile
4. His national poetry: Zion and redemption
1. His Life in Christian and Muslim Spain

Judah b. Samuel ha-Levi was born before 1075 in Tudela, a Christian area of Castile in Spain. (1) He came from an educated and wealthy family and received his Jewish education in the school of the famous Talmudist, Isaac Alfasi, in Lucena where he was befriended by Moses Ibn Ezra. (2) He also studied medicine and Greek philosophy. (3)

However, he left for Muslim Spain with the intention of eventually studying at the large Jewish centre in Granada to further his accomplishments in Hebrew and Arabic. (4)

Ha-Levi spent the great part of his life in Cordoba where he participated in a poetry contest in the style of the Arab poets. (5)

For much of his life, ha-Levi wandered between the various cities of Muslim Spain, during which time his fame spread both in Spain, and in North Africa and Egypt; the latter occurring on account of his links with the Jewish communities in these countries. (6)

His personal experience in Christian and Muslim Spain, and his philosophical views concerning the meaning of Diaspora and the path to redemption, culminated in his decision to emigrate to the Holy City of Jerusalem. Though discouraged by his friends and relatives, ha-Levi, at the age of 55, left his homeland planning a pilgrimage to Palestine and set sail to Egypt. (7) He stopped at Alexandria and was urged by the Jewish community to remain with them. This and other factors, such as Egyptian
civilization, the friendly atmosphere, and the honour and admiration accorded to him, encouraged him to extend his stay in Egypt, where he remained for six months.\(^{(8)}\) It is not known what happened to him after that. The evidence of the elegies written in Egypt and the Genizah letters which mention his death suggest that he died and was buried only six months after arriving in Egypt.\(^{(9)}\) However, Jewish legend relates that he reached Jerusalem and that while kneeling at the gates of the city, reciting his "Ode to Zion", he was killed by an Arab horseman.\(^{(10)}\) It seems that this legend was created to celebrate the value and the importance of the poet in Jewish history.

2. **His secular poetry: pleasure and harmony**

   Regarding Judah ha-Levi's literary legacy, it is fair to say that the peak of Spanish Hebrew poetry was reached in his works.\(^{(11)}\) He excelled in all the media of his art. His poetic corpus of secular and sacred works consists of over a thousand compositions which attest to a lyrical expression of secular and religious themes. He wrote about love and wine, and the joys of life as well as its reverses.

   As a poet, ha-Levi achieved fame at an early age, as Moses Ibn Ezra declares:

   "How can a boy so young in years
   Bear such a weight of wisdom sage?"\(^{(13)}\)

   As a secular poet, he expressed a cheerful view of life
and this contentment and harmony are reflected in his poetry\(^{14}\), e.g.

Thou who, amid the trees of Eden, art a flowering myrtle tree,
And amid the stars of heaven, art the bright Orion,
God hath sent to thee a cluster of pure myrrh
Of His own work, not the perfumer's skill.
The dove from whom, that day she nested in the myrtle tree,
The myrtle stole her fragrance and gave forth perfume -
Ask not, while with her, for the sun to rise;
She asketh not, with thee, for the rising of the moon.

Much of ha-Levi's secular poetry was devoted to love-poems. The themes, the motifs and the imagery of these poems are derived from Arabic poetry, such as the yearning and travails of the lover, the cruelty of the beloved who delights in mocking her victims; her countenance shining from the darkness of a stormy night and her glances, e.g.

Wherefore, O fair one, dost withhold thy messengers
From the lover whose frame is filled with the pains of
thee?
Knowest thou not that thy lover awaiteth nothing from fate
But to hear the voice of thy greeting?
If parting be decreed for the two of us,
Stand yet a little while I gaze upon thy face.
I know not if my heart be held within my frame
Or if it goeth forth upon thy wanderings.
By the life of love, remember the days of thy longing, as I - I remember the nights of thy delight
As thine image passeth into my dream
So let me pass, I entreat thee, into thy dreams.
Between me and thee roar the waves of a sea of tears
And I cannot pass over unto thee.
But 0 if thy steps should draw nigh to cross -
Then would its waters be divided at the touch of thy foot.

It was in Cordoba that ha-Levi wrote the majority of
his secular poems dealing with eulogy and friendship. His numerous wedding odes and poems of amity bear witness to the host of friends he possessed.\(^{(17)}\) He wrote for his famous contemporaries: poets, philosophers and religious scholars, such as Moses Ibn Ezra, Judah Ibn Ghayat, Joseph Ibn Migash and Isaaq Ibn al-Yatom.\(^{(18)}\)

In honour of the latter, ha-Levi wrote a poem describing the garden, the wine, and the party of friends in a fine and artistic opening. The eulogy itself is unusually pedestrian and tends to extreme exaggeration, e.g.

Earth, like a little child, was sucking  
But yesterday the rains of winter, with a cloud for nurse;  
Or she was a bride imprisoned by the winter,  
Whose soul was yearning for the times of love.  
She longed for the wooing-time until the summer came,  
And then the longing heart was healed.  
With raiment of golden terraces and broidered  
Work of linen, she is like a maiden  
Delighting, revelling in her fair attire;  
Each day she maketh changes in her broideries  
And apportioneth apparel unto all about her.  
From day to day she changeth the colours of her plants  
From hue of pearl to sard and emerald.  
White is she now and green, and now she is red;  
She is like a fair one kissing her beloved.  
So beautiful are her flowers that meseemeth  
She hath robbed the very stars on high.
In one of his poems, written to Moses Ibn Ezra, ha-Levi expressed his suffering at the parting and his longing for his friend who was exiled in Christian Spain:

We know thee, O separation, from the days of youth,
And the river of weeping - that ancient river
Shall we strive with fate, that hath not sinned,
And with days, though days bear no iniquity?
They run in circles, in a right course,
And naught is perverse nor crooked in the Heights -
Can this be a new thing, since naught in the world is new,
And since her laws are inscribed by the finger of God?
And how shall her words change, since they all
Are sealed by the ring on the right hand of the Most High?
And every cause is re-found in the circuit,
And every new thing hath been already many times;
And man is united but to be parted again,
To bring forth out of one nation many nations
For had not the sons of man been divided from of old,
Then would the earth not be filled with peoples.

His poetry also exhibits a deep and keen sense of
appreciation of the beauty of nature(21), e.g.

Let my beloved come into his garden
and prepare his table and his seat
To feed in the gardens.

The glorious flowers of the garden of his delight -
on these shall he set his eyes,
To gather lilies;
And shall eat the hidden fruits,
the new and old.
My beloved, turn in to me, to my porch and my temples; To feed in the gardens.

Show thyself in my tents, among the beds of mine aloe trees. To gather lilies

Behold, for thee, breasts of pomegranates given for a gift

My beloved is mine and I am his when I knock at the habitation of his temple; To feed in the gardens.
3. His religious poetry: God and exile

For a short time ha-Levi played with the secular muse, but as the years passed it was the religious spirit that became prevalent in his ideas and writings. His longing for the Holy City of Jerusalem, and his lament of the fate of his people in exile, are two of the most characteristic elements of his work, not only in his poetry, but also in his philosophical book, entitled, Kitāb al-radd wa'l-dalīl fī'l-dīn 'l-dhalīl ("The Book of Argument and Proof of the Despised Faith"), which was written in Arabic. It is more commonly known as Sefer ha-Khazari ("The Book of the Kazari"). It was translated from Arabic into Hebrew in the twelfth century by Judah b. Tibbon. The Kazari is one of ha-Levi's most important works and was translated into English, Latin, Spanish, French and Italian. It came to be known as the book of the Kazari because it is composed in the form of a dialogue between a Jewish scholar (ha-Hever) and the King of the Khazars, who had converted to Judaism in the eighth century.

Judah ha-Levi devoted all his talents to the service of religious themes: God and Jewish people in exile. His poetry was devoted almost exclusively to the exalted themes of God and Zion.

In his religious poems, he expressed God's praises with love and unbounded zeal. He exulted in the Torah and enriched the liturgy of the synagogue with so many hymns, e.g.
Who is this of beauteous countenance that showeth like the sun,
That before men of renown covereth not her fairness?
Pure unto the foster-Father who hath taken her to Himself for a daughter,
She is a joy for ever that groweth not old.
Before kings she speaketh - she is not ashamed;
She campeth also in the innermost heart of the wise.
Praising herself, she saith: "Verily my Creator
Acquired me before all else, with His right hand."
To the sons of God she calleth, what time she hath prepared
A table of savoury food and hath made a feast:
"By me are royal dainties given
By me the tongue of all the dumb singeth glowing words;
By me the just of heart decree justice;
By me the eye of men in darkness seeth light;
By me the soul that seeketh for my face findeth sweetness,
By me she cleareth every crookedness from her path."
In the poems of ha-Levi the intimate religious lyrics and sentiments display a unique character. God, the Jewish people, and the trembling heart of the individual, all these are merged in the creative activity of the poet into a harmonious trinity.\(^{(27)}\) This revelation of unity is characterized in the following lines:

The singer's reply to one who reproved him for his longing to go to the Land of Israel

Thy words are compounded of sweet-smelling myrrh
And gathered from the rock of the mountains of spice,
And unto thee and the house of thy fathers belong precious virtues
Whereunto praises fail to attain.
Thou comest to meet me with sweet speeches,
But within them lie men in wait bearing swords -
Words wherein stinging bees lurk,
A honeycomb prickly with thorns.
If the peace of Jerusalem is not to be sought
While yet with the blind and the halt she is filled,
For the sake of the House of our God let us seek Her peace, or for the sake of friends and of brothers,
And if it be according to your words, see, there is sin Upon all those who bend towards her and bow down
And sin upon those sires who dwelt in her as strangers
And purchased there vaults for their dead.

Ha-Levi's clever combination of stylistic aspects of Spanish-Arabic poetry and ancient Hebrew produced works of great quality. His poems resounded with Job's lament, the cries of Lamentations, the Psalmist and the bitter complaints of Jeremiah.

By relating his personal experience, and through the use of imagery and stories drawn from ancient sources, Judah ha-Levi sensitively exposed the emotions of suffering and the vision of redemption, e.g.

Thou who knowest our sorrows, and bindest up our wounds,
Turn again our tens of thousands to the land of our abodes.
There shall we offer our obligations, our vows, our freewill offerings,
There shall we make before Thee the offerings due to Thee.

The faithful recall today the wonders of olden time;
The children groan, for other lords beside Thee are their
their masters.
Where is God's covenant to the fathers, where His former mercies,
When He spake from the heaven of His dwelling, unto us, face to face,
When he gave into the hand of the faithful envoy the two tablets of stone?
And where are all His marvels which our fathers have told us?

How long have we drunken our fill of bitterness, and hoped for Thy salvation?
How many seasons were we sick with longing, but entreated none but Thee,
And watched for the light of morning, but were covered with thick darkness?
The value of his poems in their dimension of language, imagery, varied style and effect of their sound patterns, rank these poems as among the most outstanding Hebrew poetry of all time, e.g.

How is she that was wholly beautiful disguised to the eyes of all flesh -
Her sun gone down while yet is is day, the desire of her eyes removed
Her Lord hath rebuked her and set her in bonds, without king and without prince.
Hotly have foes pursued her, have wakened against her with hatred,
Have sunk her feet in the mire: she hath lain down in sorrow.
And the lauded city is left waste like the wilderness, without sacrifice and without pillar.
Branches of the terrible ones are gathered to sweep her away;
Her seasons change, her sorrows are changeless.
Lions have torn her, her griefs are laid bare, without Ephod and Terraphim.

Thou, only One, give rest to her, that a remnant may be left in her,
For children are come to the birth, but there is no strength to bring forth.
Be a shield about them in thy mercy, Almighty Ruler.
Over the next few years several incidents occurred, undermining the security and harmony of the Jewish community in Cordoba. One such incident, sometime between 1110 and 1115, involved a Jew called Ibn Arieh, who was being acclaimed by the Jews as the Messiah. This brought a swift reaction from the Rabbinic and the Jewish community, they had the would-be Messiah publicly flogged and excommunicated.

The failure of the apocalyptic messianism cast many believers into despair and doubt. Ha-Levi's faith was really tested. He questioned his God, that he should punish the Jewish people in allowing them to be martyred and tortured. Where was God's just and merciful nature? To ha-Levi the solution lay in the future. He believed that only through redemption could the Jews gain refuge from the suffering of their past.
exhibit this theme:

The dove Thou hast borne on eagles' wings,
That hath nested in Thy bosom in the innermost chambers -
Why hast Thou left her flying about the forests,
While on every side are spreaders of nets?
Strangers entice her with other gods,
But she in secret weepeth for the lord of her youth.
And Dishan and Dishon speak smoothly to her,
But she lifteth her eyes to her first husband:-
Why hast Thou abandoned my soul to the grave -
While I know there is none beside Thee to redeem?

Shall she that was undefiled go ever with uncovered locks,
A contempt and appalment to Mizzah and Shammah?
Lo, the bondwoman's son hath spread terror for me,
For with hand upraised he shot with the bow
4. His national poetry: Zion and redemption

Judging from ha-Levi's poetry it could be said that most of his sacred poems are of a national character. Zion and redemption of the Jewish people are the most characteristic elements of his poetic compositions. (36)

Ha-Levi devoted a great number of his poems to expressing his deep sadness at seeing the Jewish people suffering in exile, and his yearning for redemption which would be, as he believed, realized by the return to the Holy Land of Palestine. (37)

In spite of the fact that ha-Levi was not the first to write on these traditional themes, it was unusual that he wrote so many poems on these topics in which he showed his poetic talents with great skill.

In his poems, ha-Levi expressed his confused sentiments between love and pain, the dream and the reality, and his divided heart between East and West:

My heart is in the east, and I in the uttermost west -
How can I find savour in food? How shall it be sweet to me?
How shall I render my vows and my bonds, while yet Zion lieth beneath the fetter of Edom, and I in Arab chains?
A light thing would it seem to me to leave all the good things of Spain -
Seeing how precious in mine eyes it is to behold the dust of the desolate sanctuary.
Zion was the central idea in ha-Levi's mind and, as a romantic poet and deeply religious person, he believed that it was only in Jerusalem that God was near to man, and that his life is defective as long as he is not there. (39) The following lines exhibit his yearning for God and Jerusalem:

That day when my soul longed for the place of assembly,
Yet a dread of departure seized hold of me,
He, great in counsel, prepared for me ways for setting forth,
And I found His name in my heart a sustainment
Therefore I bow down to Him at every stage;
And at every step I thank Him

For his poetic spirit, which incorporated the ideal and abstract in plastic and concrete form, the mountains of Judah became the symbol of the most beautiful and exalted, for which his own soul longed:

(40)
Peace be to thee, Mount Abarim
peace be to thee on every side
Within thee is gathered the chosen of mankind,
in thee is the chosen of all sepulchres.
If thou knowest him not, ask thou
of the Red Sea which was rent apart;
And ask of the bush and ask of the mount -
ask of Sinai - they shall return answer unto thee:
He that faithfully bore the message of God,
even though no man of words
God helping, I have vowed an early pilgrimage to thee.

Like the prophets of exile, Ezekiel, Isaiah and
Jeremiah, ha-Levi believed in the eternity of Israel and the
national restoration to the Holy Land.\(^\text{42}\) He dreamt the
vision of going to the sanctuary of God in Jerusalem:

My God, Thy dwelling-places are lovely
it is in vision and not in dark speeches that Thou
art near.
My dream did bring me into the sanctuaries of God,
and I beheld His beautiful services:
And the burnt-offering and meal-offering and drink-offering,
and round about, heavy clouds of smoke.
And it was ecstasy to me to hear the Levites' song,
in their council for the order of services.
I awoke, and I was yet with Thee, O God,
and I gave thanks, and it was sweet to thank Thee.

Finally, ha-Levi determined to realize his dreams and
set out for his journey to Jerusalem. On his stormy voyage,
while aboard ship, he wrote some poems considered among the
loveliest verses of medieval Hebrew poetry. In these
poems, he expressed his yearning for redemption and his
rejoicing over its expected realization, e.g.

To Thee my soul turneth in trust or fear,
'tis to Thee she giveth ever thanks and worship;
In Thee I rejoice on the day I wander forth and flee,
and Thee I thank in every flight and wandering -
Yea, when the ship, to bear me over, spreadeth out
wings like the wings of a stork,
And when the deep groaneth and roareth beneath me
as though it had learnt from mine own entrails,
And maketh the abyss to seethe like a pot, yea turneth
the sea into a pot of burning ointment;
And when the ship from Kittim cometh to the sea of the
Philistines and the Hittites come down to the stronghold;
And when creatures press upon the ship and sea-monsters
watch for food.

These poems also exhibit his pain of parting from his
cultural environment and his family, the description of
rough sea and the perilous voyage, as well as his longing
for Zion. These topics were uncommon in the Hebrew poetry
of the time (46), e.g.

My desire for the living God hath constrained me
to seek the place of the throne of mine anointed -
Even so that it hath not suffered me to kiss the
children of my house, my friends, and my brethren;
And that I weep not for the orchard which I planted
And watered, and my green shoots that prospered;
And that I remember not Jehudah and Azariel, my two beautiful choice flowers; and Isaac, whom I counted as my child,
Fruit of the sun, best of the growth of my moons;
and that I have all but forgotten the house of prayer
In whose place of learning was my rest, and that I forget the delights of my Sabbaths,
The beauty of my Festivals, the glory of my Passovers,
And have given my glory unto others,
And forsaken my praise unto graven images.

The ship, he imagines, is bringing him closer to the sanctuary of God. He relates this pilgrimage to God's Holy City in his poetry, begging the waves to take him quickly to his goal:
My God, break not the breakers of the sea, nor
say Thou to the deep, 'Be dry',
Until I thank thy mercies, and I thank
the waves of the west;
Let them waft me to the place of the yoke of Thy love,
and bear far from me the Arab yoke.
And how shall my desires not find fulfilment,
seeing I trust in Thee, and Thou art pledged to me?

Cheerful and optimistic sentiments are exhibited in the following lines where he petitions the west wind to speed him swiftly and safely to the Holy City of Jerusalem:

This is thy wind, O perfumed west,
with spikenard and apple in his wings
Thou comest forth of the treasuries of the traders
in spice - thou art not of the treasuries of the wind.
Thou waftest me on swallow's wings, and proclaimest liberty for me;
like pure myrrh from the bundle of spices thou art chosen.
How must men long for thee, which for thy sake ride
over the crest of the sea on the back of a plank
Stay not think hand from the ship
either when day abideth or in the cool breath of the
night;
But beat out the deep, and tear the heart of the seas
and touch the holy mountains, and there shalt thou rest.
Rebuke thou the east wind which tosseth the sea into
tempest until he maketh its heart like a seething pot.
What shall the captive do, in the hand of God, one
moment held back, and one moment sent forth free?
Truly the secret of my quest is in the hand of the
Highest, Who formeth the mountain heights and createth
the wind.

During his stay in Egypt, ha-Levi wrote some poems
showing his enchantment and fascination with the glory of
Egyptian civilization, e.g.
Praise, above all cities be unto Egypt
whither came first the word of God.
There a chosen vine was planted, whose
clusters became a peculiar treasure;
There the envoys of God were born, envoys
of God, as from bridegroom to bride;
And there God's glory came down and walked
in a pillar of fire and cloud, swathed in thick darkness;
And there the offering of the Lord was made, and the
blood of the covenant given, and redemption found.
There stood Moses to supplicate - and verily no
assembly is like unto this for prayer -
And Israel is to be, unto Egypt and Assyria,
a third, and a highway between them.
Yea, an altar of the Lord hath been in the midst
of Egypt, to exalt His name above all praise.
Ha-Levi's national poems expressed strong sentiments of his soul as a Jew and made him the national poet of the Hebrew Golden Age. These poems are filled with expressions of contrasting emotions, loneliness, the suffering of the present, a despair for redemption, against the rejoicing in the light and security of the past. These conflicting feelings are vividly portrayed in his poems through the imagery of such figures as a dove seeking her freedom:

The dove, afar, she flieth about the forests; she stumbleth, she cannot shake herself free. Flying, flitting, fluttering, round about her beloved she swirlleth, she stormeth. She deemed a thousand years would be the limit of her set time, but she is ashamed of all whereon she counted. Her Beloved who hath afflicted her with long years of separation hath poured out her soul to the grave. "Lo," she saith, "I will not make mention any more of His name;" but it is within her heart like a burning fire. Why wilt Thou be as an enemy to her, since she openeth wide her mouth for the rain of thy salvation? And she maketh her soul believe and despaireth not, whether she win honour in His name or whether she be brought low. Our God shall come and shall not keep silence; all round about Him is fire; it stormeth exceedingly.
Now the powerful longing for the Holy Land, for the incarnate symbol of the lovely and exalted in the world, reached its peak and surged in his celebrated poem, the "Zionide", which to this day is read throughout the Jewish world on the ninth day of Ab, when the Jews mourn the destruction of their Temple.

In this poem ha-Levi expressed his love for his people and the Holy Land of Jerusalem. The holy qualities of the land are specified at length with a lyric feeling which imaginatively transports the poet to places of former revelation, prophecy, monarchy, and to the graves of his forefathers.

As if Jeremiah’s Lamentations were coming to life again, ha-Levi laments his fate, expressing his grief and deep sorrow at seeing the Jewish people scattered all over the earth, and the destruction of the Holy City under the
rule of the fanatical Crusaders. Past glories and present lowliness are contrasted. (54)

In Jewish history, ha-Levi is considered to be the greatest of all post-Biblical Hebrew poets. Most Jewish critics, mediaeval and modern, have a very high opinion of him. Moses b. Ezra, his contemporary, proclaimed ha-Levi as "the star from Castille which will illuminate the world". Another contemporary Hebrew critic, Judah al-Harizi, said of him,

"He penetrated into the most hidden vaults of the poetic art, took all the riches away, and nothing can compare with the beauty of his songs. All are his followers and attempt to sing in his manner. His prayers captivate all hearts. His songs refresh like the morning dew and burn like glowing coals." (55)

The Jewish poet, Heinrich Heine, writes,

"He was a great poet, a wondrous pillar of fire, of song and poetry, who went before the homeless people in the darkness of exile." (56)

To summarize, this chapter parallels Chapter Three of Part One in that it has tried to investigate the dominant notions in the poetry of a particular poet who is representative of the general tendency discussed in the previous chapter. We saw how his life in both Christian and Muslim Spain came to shape his way of thinking and writing. His secular poetry seems to have been dominated by pleasure and
a sense of harmony with his life and nature. His religious poetry, however, has been devoted to the service of the traditional themes, God and Jewish people in exile. Finally, his national poetry has been haunted by a nostalgic sentiment for Zion and the redemption of the Jewish people which can be regarded as the most characteristic element of ha-Levi's poetic compositions.

In Part Three of the thesis we will present a specimen analysis of a poem by Ibn Ḥamdis and another by ha-Levi, which takes into consideration both the linguistic properties of words as well as their content.
Notes to Chapter Three

1. Shirmann, Ha-Shira, vol. 1, p. 426
2. Waxman, vol. 1, p. 229
3. A.E. Millgram, An Anthology, p. 332
5. Shirmann, vol. 1, p. 428
6. Ibid.
7. Stillman, p. 61
8. Margolis, p. 330
9. Shirmann, p. 432
10. Ibid., also M. Waxman, p. 229; Margolis, p. 330
11. Israel Abraham, A Short History of Jewish Literature (London), p. 75
12. Shirmann, p. 425
13. Millgram, p. 332
14. Waxman, p. 230
17. Millgram, p. 332
18. Shirmann, p. 426
20. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 154
21. Waxman, p. 230
25. Zinberg, A History of Jewish Literature, pp. 92-93
27. Zinberg, p. 93
31. Shirmann, pp. 428-429
32. Stillman, p. 60
33. Shirmann, p. 429
34. Stillman, p. 60
36. Waxman, p. 232
27. D. Goldstein, p. 117
39. Waxman, p. 232
41. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 159, trans., Salaman, p. 8
42. Margolis, p. 329
44. Zinberg, p. 95
46. T. Carmi, Hebrew Verse, p. 106
48. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 168
49. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 171
50. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 180
51. N. Kravitz, p. 264
53. H. Brody, Selected Poems of Judah Ha-Levi, p. xxv
54. For a complete thematical analysis of the poem, see Part III.
55. Shirmann, p. 425
56. Zinberg, p. 103
PART III

Comparative Literary Study

Chapter One: A Specimen Analysis of Ibn Ḥamdīs's "The Ode to Sicily"

Chapter Two: A Specimen Analysis of ha-Levi's "The Ode to Zion"
Chapter One

A Specimen Analysis of Ibn Ḥamdīs's 'The Ode to Sicily'

1. Theme: thematic and traditional analysis

2. Structure:
   (a) metre
   (b) rhyme
   (c) phonology
   (d) morphology
   (e) syntax

3. Imagery:
   (a) classical Arabic sources
   (b) Qur'ānic sources
   (c) figures: metaphor, simile, antithesis, parallelism
1. **Theme: a thematic and traditional analysis**

Ibn Ḥamdīs wrote his qaṣīda when Sicily was in the hands of the Normans. The principle theme of the qaṣīda is nostalgia for his homeland and the literary genre is rithā' wa ḥanīn (lament and nostalgia).

In analyzing the poem in thematic terms there are two major sub-divisions, the lament and nostalgia theme, and the battle descriptions. The main body of the poem is divided into five sections: the first of these, lines 1-5, is concerned with the travel theme; the second, lines 6-10, is a lament over his country; the third, lines 11-15, compares the past glory of his country with its present humiliation, ending with praise for his fellow citizens' bravery which prepares the listener for the battle scene to follow. The fourth section, lines 16-26, is the battle scene; the final section, lines 27-32, reveals the poet's despair and grief for his lost country.

On account of a serious incident we lead the camels, whose hooves [feet] bear us through the wilderness.

Wild cows in the desert take fright [upon seeing us], and their [large] eyes remind [us] of the eyes of the pretty girls [of my country].

You see the virgins whose marvellous beauty takes many forms

O censurer, let me release my tears, which my patience cannot restrain any longer
I am a man who seeks refuge in the grief which was evoked in the [depths] of my heart.

I expected my land to be restored to its people, but my expectations failed, then I despaired.

I consoled myself when I found it [my country] suffering from a terminal, virulent illness,

And how it was humiliated [when] the hands of the Christians converted its mosques into churches.

Whenever the monks wish [to pray], they ring the [church] bells in the morning and evening.

All [types of] medicine have failed to cure [my country's illness = occupation], just as there exists no person who can repair the rusted sword.

O Sicily, fate betrayed [your] land, after [you] had been the guardian of the people of the world.

How many eyes became sleepless through fear, after they had slept deeply during [times of] security.

I saw my country humiliated by the Normans, after the glory of my people had been esteemed.

The heretical countries used to stand in fear of [my country] but now my country has become fearful of them.

I lost those Arab lions in whose paws the large wild ass [Normans] lay prey.

I have never seen brave warriors and fighting champions like them in any army.

You could see [their] shining swords [reflecting] on the water as a star shines in the dark.
The warriors led the way using the edges of [their] lances, and the knights' thrusts cut through the necks [of the Normans].

Never did I think that the heat of the fire could be diminished when a dry palm leaf was [added to it] in a scorching climate.*

They [the Muslim fighters] bravely invaded Qaluriyya and killed its soldiers and knights.

They opened its locked [gates] with their swords [but] when they left it was plunged into darkness.

They took captive white veilless girls, whose long hair resembled burnooses.

They launched naval attacks from time to time [involving] a sea of troops and waves of fighting knights.

And a war-ship catapulted burning oil [balls] whose dreadful gas assailed all noses.

You see them [the war-ships] adorned with red and yellow [flags] like Zanji brides at a wedding party.

You could see their smoking braziers, as if they were volcanoes rending the earth's crust.

There is no longer in Qaṣrīnṇīy a plot where one might dwell, and the Islamic traces have all become ruins.

*Here the poet uses a complex metaphor, likening the Norman conquerors to worthless chaff, which, instead of inflaming the 'fire' i.e. the powerful land of Sicily, instead causes its power to diminish.
How amazing it is that the devils [the Normans] were able to turn the towers of burning stars into dwelling places.

Syracuse became their stronghold and they gained access to visit the [Christian] sarcophagi in the abbeys.

They walked in the country while its people [= the 30 Muslims] were in their graves. [The Normans] never confronted any of [the country's] fighting heroes.

And if these graves were to be rent asunder brave lions would emerge from the sepulchres.

But when the lion dies, the wolf walks proudly all over the thicket.
كان بقومي عزةً متغامِياً
تأضخِي لثاقة الخوف منهنّ لايسا
ترى بين أيديها الايامها ضاربًا
لم يغيب عنهم في كثرة
ويا راب برَاق النصال تخالله
خلوا بين أطراف الفلة بكمائه
ما خيلت أن نثار يبّرد حرجًا
أما مبَين خروا تكزرويةً بيهم
هم تحوا أغلبها بيهم
وسنا بأيدي السبي بيضا حوارًا
بترُ موج فيهم فورا
وحريته تروي بحرٍ نفوذًا
كما بنات الزرق زُفَّت غُرُانياً
إذا عَفَتْنَا فيها التنار خلتها
أي قَصَرٍ؟ رؤعةً بعمروها
وَرَضَمٌ من الإيمان أصبح دارا
ومع عجب أن الشباطن صَبَرت
بوج النجوم المرَّوات جالماً
بيرونين بالجرين فيها النواواسا
أصبحت لهم سرفوسة دار بديعة
وصنوا في بلاد أهلها تحت أرضيها
وأيضاً مساراً
ولو شُفِعت تلك الفصول لأبَدت
إليهم من الأحداث أسدًا عواصي
في أرجاله الذهب مَمَا
ولكن رأيت الغفل إن غاب ليئه (1)
The study will attempt to discover the relationships between the poetic movements which form the corpus of the poem. The main vision of the poem is the "reversal device" which develops throughout a series of contrasting dualities: past/present, security/fear, illness/cure, guilt/punishment. The view which dominates the poet's mind appears from the very beginning: the first word, ليامرين (on account of a serious incident), prepares the listener for exciting news. He opens by relating his story and the motive which evoked him to write the poem. The poet uses here a nominal sentence where there is no absolute beginning and no absolute end to the movement; this is reflected in the timelessness of the open structure of the first line:

لأمر طويل الهم ودرب الجري المرار،

The phraseology employed in this line is a reference to his deep sorrow which developed not only since his country's occupation, but from the first moment he left it. He emphasizes this meaning by the statement, نزهي عرامسة (we lead the camels), he returns to the scene of his memories when he departed and travelled with some beduin in the desert of Ifriqiyya, looking forward to making his dreams of fame and wealth come true, and now reckoning himself a failure in exile. Therefore, we find many of his poems haunted by feelings of guilt. Desert travel is a symbol of the poet's life, and the word, الیبداء embodies the failure and desperation of his life, the meaninglessness and the feeling of guilt. At the same time it refers to his exile, away from his homeland.
In line 2 is developed the contrasting-duality of past/present: \( \text{tadh\textsuperscript{c}aru/tudhakiru, 'awanis\textbar/shaw\textbarid\textbar, al-'amn/al-khawf} \) (to take fright/to remind, pretty girls/wild animals, security/fear). The line begins with the verb, \( \text{tadh\textsuperscript{c}aru} \) (to take fright) and the following word, \( \text{bilbayda'} \) (in the desert), emphasizes the frightening atmosphere in exile. Also in line 2, the poet uses the phrase, \( \text{cinan shaw\textbarid\textbar} \) (the wild animals), which embodies the state of fear and terror the poet feels. The second half of line 2 begins with the verb \( \text{tudhakiru} \) (to remind), recalling the happy memories of the past in his country, where peace and beauty exist, employing the phrase, \( \text{cinan 'awanis\textbar} \) (pretty girls), to serve as an expression of yearning for his intimate friends at home.

The poet emphasizes the contrasting-duality of past/present by making a complete parallelism between the two halves of line 2, in sense, sounds and letters (see below, p.260). Further, the desert represents fear, terror and tears, \( \text{tadh\textsuperscript{c}aru, 'inan, shaw\textbarid\textbar, utliqa al-\textbarabrata} \) (to take fright, wild animals, to shed tears), while the scene of memories in the country represents peace and joy, \( \text{'inan 'awanis\textbar, adhara, al-\textbarhusn, al-badi'} \) (pretty girls, virgins, the beauty, the splendour).

The thematic analysis reveals the nature of the relationship between the two major structural movements of our poem, which is, as mentioned, a contrasting-dualism relation.
The "past" occupies the main and larger part of the poem, referring to the author's attachment and longing for his country, while the "present" occupies a smaller part of the poet's consciousness, reflecting the fact that he is unhappy and dissatisfied.

The poet, in line 4, employs a ānasib motif when he addresses his censurer, asking to be permitted to release his tears for his lost love:

أعذلِ دُعَتِي أَشْبَيْتِ الْعَمرَةِ الَّتِي عَدِمْتُ شَأْنَا مِن أَجْلِ الصَّبْرِ حَابَّا

It is interesting to note that the "place" plays an important role in the poem; it is the backbone of the poem. Having lost his country, the peaceful and secure place, he wanders around searching for somewhere to live, āwāl ilā al-shajān (I seek refuge in my grief); he has no asylum other than his deep grief (1. 5):

فِئِي امَّرُو أَوَى إِلَى الشَّجَّيْنِ الَّذِينَ وَجَدَتُ لَهُ مَيْ حُبُّ النَّبِلِ نَاخْا

The following passage, lines 6-10, contains a lament over the country and suffering from exile:

لَقَدْ رَأَيْتُ أَنْ تَتَّرَشَدَ لِتَعْمَدَهَا فَنَسَبَتُ طَلَّبَوْنا مَمِّنْطَبَتُهَا
وَعَرَسْتُ نِهَا النِّسَاءَ لَمْ تَرِبْنَهَا نُكَابُدُ دَاً قَسَّاتِ السَّمَّ نَاخَا
وَكَيْفَ وَقَدْ نَجَسَّلْتُ مُهَارًا وَصَبَرْتُ مَسَاجِدًا أَيْدِي الْقَصَارِي كَانَا
إِذَا شَامَتَ الْرُّهْبَانُ بِالْعَصْرِ أُنْفَطَتُ مَعَ الصَّحِبِ الْإِمَامَوْ نِيَا النَّواَيَا
لَنْ كَانَ أَعْيَا كَلُّ طُبُّ عَلَّاجُهَا فَكِمْ جُرْبُيّ فِي السَّيْفِ أَعْيَا الْمُدَاوَايَا

Line 6 summarizes the event upon which the poem is based, the whole story of leaving the country and exile, as follows:
"When I left my country for a trip I expected to return, but my expectation was wrong and I never returned home. Judging from my experience I gained nothing, but I lost my country."

The poet, in line 7, sets out to establish a mood of sorrow and yearning. It begins with a lamentation, waʿazaytu fiḥā 'l-nafs, mourning his homeland which he will never see again, he feels isolated and lonely, using the first person singular. The second half of the line begins with the verb, tukābidu (to suffer), and its object is dāʾ (illness). We may ask here what is meant by "suffering from illness"; is it the country or himself? And what is that illness; the occupation or exile, or feelings of guilt?

Line 8 begins with a rhetorical interrogative expressing astonishment and remorse, wa kayfa wa qad simat ḥawānan (how, at the same time, it was humiliated) and here again the question arises, who was humiliated, the poet himself or the country, or both, which suggests they merge into one here.

Line 9 refers to the Christian domination over Sicily at that time, and line 10 reflects the state of failure and despair of the poet and Muslim Sicilians.

It is clear that the poem teems with so many words and phrases reflecting a mood of sorrow and grief, despair and depression, e.g.

al-hamm, al-ʿabrata, al-ṣhajan, al-ṣabr, yāʾisā, ʿāsat, azaytu, tukābid, dāʾ, qātil, al-samm,
hawānān, al-khāwīf, dhillah, al-qubūr, al-ajdāth

(worry, tears, grief, patience, despair, worsened, to console, to suffer, illness, killing, poison, humiliation, fear, submission, graves, tombs).

Line 11 begins with an apostrophe to Sicily by name reflecting the deep nostalgic sentiments of the poet and his yearning for its past glory:

صقلية كاد الزمان ببلادها وكانت على أهل الزمان مارسا

The poet, in lines 12-15, compares the contrasting state of the past: security and power, with the present state: fear and humiliation:

فكم أعين بالخوف أسنت سوائهماً وكانت بطيب الأمن منهم نواعهماً
أرى بقلبلي قد ساءته الروم ذلته وكان بتقوي عزة متقعاً
وكانت بلاد الأئمة تلبس خونوتها فأفضى لذاك الخوف منهن لايسا
عندم أسودا منهم عربية ترى بين أيديها العلوج فرائسا

In lines 16-26, there is a shift of theme from the nostalgia which is the basic characteristic of the poem to a series of battle descriptions, which are linked together by the fact that all the incidents took place in Sicily:

ظل نعض عقين منشمين في كهف مضارب أبطال الحروب متداعمًا
ويما ركب برائق التصال غلابه من النقع ليلًا منشرين أنفسهم دايمًا
خلوا بين أطراف القناة بكماتي لطمن من الفرسان يملق القوانًا
The poet, in this passage, illustrates the bravery and heroism of his fellow-citizens, the Sicilians, in the battlefield, also recalling the historical events and victories his forefathers had achieved.

According to the technical terms of Arabic stylistics, the appearance of a second theme in the poem could be classified as istiṣṭāraḏ, digression, and the completion of the frame could be termed, ṱ̱u̱j̱u̱ʿ (return [to the previous theme, nostalgia and lamentation]).(2)

This technique, however, as employed in the poem, serves a novel artistic purpose that of contrasting the internal and external happenings within the poet's mind.

In the final part of the poem, lines 27-32, the poet returns to mourning for his country, mentioning its cities which came under the rule of the Normans:
Line 27 begins with a rhetorical interrogative, which refers to the poet's yearning to live, even in a small plot of his country. He laments not only Sicily but also Islam which had become ָظلل, so he pauses to weep over its last traces.

Ibn Ḥamdis complies with tradition by using the ָظلل motifs and imagery, which emphasizes the link between the ָظلل and the Ḥānin poetry. He ends the poem by leading the listener to the tragic ending: failure, despair and death.

2. Structure

According to the Arabic tradition metre and rhyme are the criteria for distinguishing poetry from prose. The content of the poem must be set in a formal framework. (3)

It should be noted that most Arab critics, both Classical and modern, believe that there should be a close connection between content and form. They also believe that the choice of the metre and the rhyme as well as the
rhetorical ornamentation is usually dominated by the theme of the poem. They require that the metre and rhyme should be appropriate to the content and the genre of the poem.⁴

(a) Metre

The metre of Ibn Ḥamdis's poem is ُتَوْیل, one of the finest and the most common in Arabic poetry.⁵ The question to be asked now is whether there is a link between the metre ُتَوْیل and the theme ِرَیثَآء وَا ٰحَآنَین. In other words, is the poet's choice of metre dominated by the nostalgic theme of the poem? The pattern of the poem's metre is as follows:

ٰتَوْیل / طَوِيل الْهَم / نَزِيجي الْبَعَرَامَة / يَنطَوي / لاَفَأَاخفا/فَهَن / الَبَسَاـب

Henri Fleisch notes that just as derivational patterns in which a long syllable follows a short one are very popular in Arabic poetry, so are the metres whose feet invariably include this pattern, as ُفاْیلُ وِنُ and ُمَباْیلُ do in ُتَوْیل.⁶ I quote a statistical study made by J. Anis indicating that, of a large sample of the classics of Arabic poetry, 34 per cent were in ُتَوْیل, 19 per cent were in ُکَاَمِل, 17 per cent were in ُبَاسَیت and 12 per cent were in ُوَفَیر, leaving only 18 per cent for the remaining eleven Arabic metres.⁷

The Spanish-Arab critic, ُحَآزِم الْقَارْثَآجَآنِی believes
that ṭawīl is a strong and powerful metre. The modern Egyptian critic, Ibrahim Anis declares that the long syllables of ṭawīl allow the poet to pour out his deep feelings in his state of sadness and despair. (8)

We may now turn to Ibn Ḥamdīs's poem to see if there is a link between metre and theme, between ṭawīl and rithaʿ wa ḥanīn. It is just possible that the link is between the metre and the mood of the poem, for the poet, from the beginning of the poem, sets out a mood of sorrow and yearning for his lost country, which may well have stimulated him to use a metre with long syllables such as ṭawīl to enable him to pour out his emotions and lamentation.

(b) Rhyme

The rhyme of Ibn Ḥamdīs's poem is qāfiya mutlaqa in which 90 per cent of Arabic poetry was written. (9) Here again we may try to find out whether this qāfiya mutlaqa is appropriate to the theme of the poem and whether the two correlate effectively.

It seems necessary first to describe the structure of the rhyme with all its components of consonants and vowels:

1. al-rawiy is the rhyme letter and the main sound of the whole poem which must occur in each line.

2. al-waṣl is the sound which follows the rhyme letter and is linked with it.
3. **al-ta'sis** is the alif preceding the rhyme letter and must be separated from it by another letter. Its name comes from being the basic sound which starts the rhyme structure.

4. **al-dakhil** is the letter separating **al-ta'sis** and **al-rawiy**. The poet is allowed to use any letter as **dakhil** and it should be vowelled.

5. **al-ishba'** is the short vowel of the **dakhil**, which is often kasra.

6. **al-majra'** is the short vowel of **al-rawiy al-mu'tlaq**

The following diagram illustrates the description of the rhyme structure:
THE RHYME STRUCTURE

1. al-wasl
2. al-masa'ir
3. al-rady
4. al-dakhil
5. al-ishbah
6. al-tas'is
A phonological analysis of the poem's rhyme shows that the rhyme letter (al-rawiy) "s" belongs to the sibilants and is a continuant sound as well, which enables the poet to express his sad feeling in a flute-like melody.\(^{(11)}\) It is worth pointing out that the Abbasid poet al-Buhturi wrote a poem on a similar theme using the sound \(\text{s}\) as a rhyme letter, which might indicate the influence of his poem on Ibn Hamdis's use of rhyme and metre in this poem.\(^{(12)}\)

Moreover, an impression of the source of the qāfiya of the poem may be gained from the following lines written by the Jahili poet, al-`Abbās ibn Mirdās in a ḥamāsa poem where we find the same kind of qāfiya muṭlaqa as well as the same structure of rawiy \(\text{s}\), wasl \(\text{a}\), ta'sīs \(\text{a}\):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{نحجوب من الأعراض تغرا بسابسة} & \quad \text{سمونا لهم تسع وعشرين ليلة} \\
\text{ولا مثلنا لى التقدى فورسية} & \quad \text{غم أر مثل الحي حيًا مصحاة} \\
\text{صدر المذاكي والرماح المداسة} & \quad \text{إذا ماشدنا شدة نصبو له} \\
\text{عليهم فما يرجعون إلا عوابسية} & \quad \text{إذا الخيل جالت عن مريع نكرها} \\
\text{ضياع، بأكناك الأرك عراسة} & \quad \text{ولو مات منهم من جرحنا لأصبت (13)}
\end{align*}
\]

Ibn Hamdis uses his rhyme with great skill, introducing it often in the middle of the line with a syllable, as mentioned, or a structural figure, such as paranomasias and antithesis (see below, p.260).
Line 1 prepares the listener for the rhyme by the word ʿarāmisā at the end of the first hemistich, which the Arab critics call taṣrīʿ, whereby the first hemistich of the first line of the poem must end with the same rhyme as the second hemistich, to distinguish between the opening line and the rest of the lines of the poem, and to prepare the listener to hear the rhyme at the end of the first line. (14)

The following table includes the introductory words of the rhyme of the poem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>The rhyme word</th>
<th>The introductory word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ḥabīsā</td>
<td>'uṭliq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kanāʾīsā</td>
<td>al-naṣārā, masajidāhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>nawaʿīsā</td>
<td>sawāhīrah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>frāʾīsā</td>
<td>'usūdan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>madaʿīsā</td>
<td>'abṭāl al-ḥurūb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>dāmisā</td>
<td>barrāq, 'l-shuhb, mushriq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>qawānīsā</td>
<td>al-fursān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>yābisā</td>
<td>al-qayz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ḥanādisā</td>
<td>al-ʿanwār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>barānisā</td>
<td>'l-shuʿūr, ḥawāṣira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>ʿarāʾīsā</td>
<td>banāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>mumārisā</td>
<td>marasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>ʿawābisā</td>
<td>al-qubūr, al-ʿajdāth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The study also shows that the rhyme of the poem concludes with a long syllable, "sa" being a prolonged tone, almost plaintive. The frequency of this syllable associates the rhyme with the other syllables of the poem, particularly the poem syllable which occurs frequently throughout the lines (see below, p. 240).

(c) Phonology

The phonological properties of the rhyme letter "s", we said above, belong to the class of sounds known in the linguistic literature as sibilants. The production of these sounds involves a continuous flow of the air stream from the lungs through the vocal cavity(15). Notice that "s", or, rather, its emphatic counterpart in Arabic, is the initial sound of the word Sicily (Siqiliyya). It is also the final sound of the name of the poet Ibn Hamdis. This suggests that the poet and his country, despite the geographical and temporal gap, represent the two sides of a continuum, with the poem itself serving as a bridge. Also, the use of a continuant sound as the rhyme enables the poet to pour out his grief and frustration without hindrance. With the air stream coming from inside, his emotions flow through the mouth and out into the air, thus relieving him of an emotional burden which he has borne since his country fell prey to the Norman conquest. The following table shows the distribution of the "s" sounds in the poem:
### THE SOUND 'S'

| 
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| الباسا | العراما | 1 |
| أواسا |  | 2 |
| مجانسا |  | 3 |
| حباسا |  | 4 |
| ناخسا |  | 5 |
| خابس |  | 6 |
| ماجدا |  | 7 |
| النفلا |  | 8 |
| سيت |  | 9 |
| المها |  | 10 |
| فيس |  | 11 |
| ماروا |  | 12 |
| فارسا |  | 13 |
| مدافا |  | 14 |
| دامسا |  | 15 |
| الفرسا |  | 16 |
| الها |  | 17 |
| سفر |  | 18 |
| بابسا |  | 19 |
| آركا |  | 20 |
| خنامة |  | 21 |
| حراما |  | 22 |
| فؤاردا |  | 23 |
| سعوت |  | 24 |
| عرسا |  | 25 |
| منافا |  | 26 |
| ورم |  | 27 |
| دارسا |  | 28 |
| مسما |  | 29 |
| النوا |  | 30 |
| ماروا |  | 31 |
| مارسا |  | 32 |
On the other hand, the fact that the rhyme letter is followed by the long vowel "a", which in Arabic is represented by an alif, and the fact that the last syllable of each line is an open one, are also significant in a related way. In the pronunciation of the vowel "a" the tongue goes down to the lowest possible point in the mouth so that the vocal cavity is left without obstruction. In addition to that the lower jaw drops considerably and as a result the mouth becomes wide open. All these facts show clearly the desire of the poet to allow free flow to his grief in the form of words. The following table is a representation of the frequency of occurrence of open final syllables in the poem:
To what has been mentioned can be added the frequent use of other continuant sounds such as "1" which occurs 121 times. The following line, which contains 7 occurrences, is an example of this frequency:

The following table represents the overall distribution of the sound "1":

أعذلُ دعْتُي أطْلِقِي الْعُبْرَةَ الَّتِي عَدَمْتُها مِن أَجْلِ الصَّبْرِ حَابًا
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THE SOUND &quot;L&quot;</th>
<th>aram طويل اليم</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>باليداء</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>الحسن البديع</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>لأنهما</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ماجل الصبر</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>له</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>القلب</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>قال القسم</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>النصصاري</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>الصح والإماماء النواقش</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>السيف المداوسا</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أهل الزمان</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>الأمامين</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>لذلك الخوف لا seja</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>الجلوج</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أبطال الحروب</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>التقفع لبلا اله ب</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>لطعن الغرام يلخ القواننا</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>لا قطة القبوظ</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>شن</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>القدرية</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أغلقهمها</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>السمسي</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>كل</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>اليهم</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>المول</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>الزنج</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>للبركان</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>الأسلام</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>التجوم المحركات مجالس</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>بالدين</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>النواويس</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>اليهم</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>الأجداث</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>الزنب</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ولكن</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>الغيل</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>لثيقة</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The study of the morphological make-up of some words in the poem shows how the two main axes of opposition in the poem are emphasized. The first axis, which relates the past and its glory to the present and the humiliation associated with it, is highlighted mainly by the use of the two aspectual forms of the verb: perfect and imperfect. The second axis, which relates the country and the people left behind to the poet himself and the desert surrounding him, is manifested by the frequent use of third person and first person pronouns.

The perfect form of a verb denotes that an action or event is completed and therefore belongs to the past. On the other hand, the imperfect form of a verb denotes that an action or event is still in the process of taking place and therefore belongs to the present. Verbs in the perfect form occur 45 times in the poem, more than twice the number of verbs in the imperfect. This predominance shows how the poet's mind is occupied by the past to the extent of becoming obsessed. When he makes reference to the present it is only to show how the past is much more glamorous by comparison. The frequent use of past tense forms is in fact to be expected in poems of lament. The present in this genre of poetry is only auxiliary, evoked solely to bear on the past which is the main concern. Everything that is past is positive, whereas everything that is present is, by comparison, or rather by contrast, negative. The first table below shows the distribution of pronouns in relation
to the tenses of the verbs, and the second tables shows the distribution of verbs in the poem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Past tense</th>
<th>Present tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FIRST</strong></td>
<td>نزجي، أطلق، أرى</td>
<td>انقل، أطلق، أرى</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PERSON</strong></td>
<td>عدت، وجدت، قدرت،</td>
<td>خلت، رأيتها، خلت، خلتها</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>نشئ، يبدو، يكون، تذكر،</td>
<td>نشئ، يبدو، يكون، تذكر،</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SECOND</strong></td>
<td>آلح، أضحي، كان، كاد، غاب،</td>
<td>ترى، تذكر، تكاد و ترى،</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PERSON</strong></td>
<td>أميا، سامه، تبطر، أصبحت، أمحت</td>
<td>ترى، تفتح، يخوضون، يبزرعون</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أمست، كانت، سعت، شاعت، انطلقت</td>
<td>بعمروها</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PERSON</strong></td>
<td>أنعشت، عبرت، عشت، لاقتة، أردوا</td>
<td>تركوا، منحوا، ساقوا، مارسوا، مشوا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>تعزوا، سبت، ملئت، زفت، شقت</td>
<td>خلت، سبت، ملئت، زفت، شقت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>THIRD</strong></td>
<td>نشئ، نشئ، نشئ، نشئ، نشئ،</td>
<td>نشئ، نشئ، نشئ، نشئ، نشئ،</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>نشئ، نشئ، نشئ، نشئ، نشئ،</td>
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<td>نشئ، نشئ، نشئ، نشئ، نشئ،</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>لثم</td>
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<tr>
<td>عشا</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>لده</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أحب</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>كاه</td>
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<td>أستساب</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>مفتاح</td>
<td>12</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>بقرا</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أستساب</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>سام</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>كاه</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تTickets</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خلوا</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>وصالت</td>
<td>19</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ملئت</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>فتحوا</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>وساقت</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يخوضون</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تنهي</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تراتين</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عشت</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بصرت</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>رأيتي</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>طغيا</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>صها</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أصبنت</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>غاب</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pronouns are referential expressions which may denote an individual or an entity. The poet makes use of the first person pronoun to refer to himself. This pronoun occurs almost exclusively, with the exception of one instance: nuzjī, in the singular form. The following are some examples of the first person pronoun:

\[
\text{da'ni, utliq, 'adimtu, wajadtu, qadartu, 'azaytu.}
\]

This implies the isolation and loneliness of the poet away from his conquered country and subdued people. In sharp contrast to this is the use of plural pronouns to refer to the lost country and its inhabitants. Here are some examples:

\[
\text{'amsa-t, kāna-t, khala-w, 'arda-w.}
\]

In fact the poet also uses the singular form to refer to his country but it is significant that the majority of them are singular feminine forms. This is a manifestation of the traditional notion of 'mother country' with all its connotations of fertility and richness (= plurality). Separation from it implies automatically barrenness (desert) and isolation, hence the use of "I" by the poet to refer to himself.

It is equally significant that the only instance of the use of the first person plural occurs in the opening line of the poem. It reflects the diachronic contrast between the past and its positive associations, such as plurality, and the dramatic development towards the present and isolation. The following four pages display the distribution of
pronouns in the poem:

**A MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE FREQUENCY AND DISTRIBUTION OF PRONOUNS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First person</th>
<th>Second person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>L.</strong></td>
<td><strong>S.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>فاني</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>أرِي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ظْنْوِي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>بِقْوِمِي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>مِنْي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>دْعِي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>أطْلِق</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>آْرِي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>أْرِي</td>
</tr>
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<td>32</td>
<td>رُآْيِت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>عدْمَت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>وجدْت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>قُدْرِت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>أَصْحَت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>عَزِيطْت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>عَدْمَت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>خُلْت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>S.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>خلقته</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>له</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>مزرها</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>بكاته</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>فيـه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>خفـه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>ليـه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>أرجائه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>سامه</td>
</tr>
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<td>17</td>
<td>تخاله</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>لاقته</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>كان</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>كاد</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>يخلـي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>يبـرد</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>يكـون</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>يفشيـ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>عنها</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>فيها</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>أهلها</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>أرضها</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>خلطتها</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>بعمرونها</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>تطور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>تذعر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>تعود</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ساعت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>S.M.</td>
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<td>----</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>12,14</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISTRIBUTION OF PRONOUNS</td>
<td>THROUGHOUT THE POEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>شَرِيْهُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>وَتَذَكَّرُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>لَأَنْوَاعَهَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>وَدَهْتُهُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>مُقَافِتَاتُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ءُوْرَادُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>وَغَدَتُهُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>شَاهِدُهَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أَنْظُقَتْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>كَانَ أَعْيَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>سُلَامُهَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>كَانَ أَعْيَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أَرَىَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>مِنَّهُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>وَلَدُهَا</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>شُرِّعُهَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>خَلَأَتُهَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>وَأَرَدُوا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>وَهُمُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>وَخَلَأَتُهَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>مِنْهَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>نَظَفُهَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>نَظَفُهَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ذَرَّاهُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>عَشِّرُهَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>وَفَرْحًا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>يَعْقُونُهَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>مَوْقِعًا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>وَأَضَحَّلُهُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>شَأْبُهَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>تَخْفِيَهَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>يَخْرُوجُهَا</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A morphological analysis shows recurrence of root patterns throughout the poem as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>√KHY</th>
<th>Lines</th>
<th>تخله- خلوا- خلت- تخل- خلتها</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>√R'Y</td>
<td>3,7,13,15,32</td>
<td>ترى - رأيتها - أرى - ترى - رأيت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>√FRS</td>
<td>15,18,23</td>
<td>فرسا - الفرسان - فورس-ا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>√SBH</td>
<td>6,9,27</td>
<td>أصبحت - الصحح - أصبح</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>√YN</td>
<td>2,12,16</td>
<td>عينا - أعين - عينًا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>√LBS</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>تلبس - لقبًا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>√MRS</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>مارسا - مارسا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>√HRQ</td>
<td>24,28</td>
<td>بمحرق - المحرقات</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>√SWM</td>
<td>8,13</td>
<td>سمت - سامه</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| √KWN |              | كان - كانت - وكان - وكأن - يكون -
(e) Syntax

An analysis of the syntactic structures of the sentences in the poem sheds more light on the two main axes of opposition in the poem so far noticed. The systematic use of certain structural patterns shows how the poet harnesses all the linguistic resources available to him to convey his message in the most economical but nevertheless effective, way.

The axis of time emerges through the frequent use of verbal statements and the rarity of nominal statements. In Arabic grammar nominal sentences are not specified by an independent element other than the imperfect form of the verb. The past tense, however, is specified by the auxiliary kāna, independently from the perfect form of the verb. So all past tense sentences are verbal whereas present tense sentences may be verbal or nominal. From these facts we can conclude that the predominance of verbal sentences in the poem confirms the idea put forward above that the poet is obsessed with the past.

Another syntactic aspect which also highlights the temporal dualism past/present is the use of conditional statements. The following are examples of these statements:

1. إذا شاءت الرَّحْمَانُ بالضرَّرِ أنْفَقْتَ ١٠٩
2. إذا عُفِّنْتَ في النَّارِ خَلِّتْهَا ١١٢٦
3. وَلَوْ شُفِّقْتَ تلكَ الْفَوْزَةِ لَأَنْفَقْتَ ١٠٣١

Conditional statements usually describe hypothetical situations, situations which, in the context of the poem,
the poet wishes to have taken place, but in reality could not have. In one way, conditional statements are the means whereby the poet projects the past onto the present, translating his desire and his wish that the glory of the past could be resurrected and restored.

The second axis, which we can refer to as an axis of space since it relates the poet and the desert surrounding him to the best country, the fertility of its land and its people, emerges mainly through the use of rhetorical questions. Here are some examples:

Rhetorical questions are questions which when asked do not expect answers. The use of this type of question emphasizes the isolation of the poet further. Because he is alone in a vast desert he can only ask questions for which he does not expect answers since there is nobody there to answer them.

The spatial relationship is also manifest in the use of a stylistic device known in linguistic vocabulary as post posing. This is a grammatical process whereby a constituent of a sentence (subject, object, adjective, etc.) is moved forward in the sentence, usually to the final position. Here are some illustrative examples from the poem:
In my opinion, post posing translates yet another attempt by the poet to project, this time in space, the land of Sicily and all its positive associations, onto the present desert. This projection in space parallels the projection in time discussed above. It seems that the past and present, Sicily and the desert, though held in clear contrast throughout the poem, sometimes merge together, thus reflecting the confusion in the mind of the poet as a result of his bereavement.
3. Imagery

It should be noted that the Andalusian poets inherited the poetic tradition of the East and followed their models, inspired by their imagery and using their tools. Ibn Ḫamdīs was known as Buḥturi al-Andalus (Buḥturi of Spain) because he was highly influenced by the literary style of al-Buḥturi, and in particular his descriptive technique.

The study of the poem shows the influence of the Arabic environment and culture on Ibn Ḫamdīs: we can see the intensive accumulation of Arabic cultural signs, starting with the mention of the "desert"; the original home of the Arabs, and the travel by camel which plays an important part of Arab life, and using the rhetorical techniques which represent the base of the Arabic tradition.

(a) Classical Arabic sources

Ibn Ḫamdīs draws his images from various classics of Arabic poetry. I have tried below to provide the sources of imagery for some lines of the poem. Each source is introduced by the name of the poet. The references in the square brackets refer to the line numbers in Ibn Ḫamdīs's poem:

Tarafa Ibn al-ʿAbd: (19)
[1.1] 

Al-Ḥārith Ibn Hiliza: (20)
[1.1]
'Imru' al-Qays:(21)
ِماذا عليه ان ذكرت أوانسا

'Imru' al-Qays:(22)
وان شفاهي عبارة ان شفحتها

Qays Ibn Zurayh:(23)
و في اليأس للنفس الموتى مرحاة

إذا النفس رامت خطة لا تنالها [1.6]

Abū Tammām:(24)
وقد تأتلف العين الدجى وهو فيدها

ويرجي شفاء السّم والسم قاتل [1.7]

Al-Muraqqash al-Akbar:(25)
وتسع تزراها من الربح حولنها

كما ضربت بعد الهدوء النواتي [1.9]

Ibn Ḥazm:(26)
أنتني وهلال الجو مشابه

قبل ترعر النصاري للنواتي [1.9]

Al-Mutanabbi:(27)
وقد فارق الناس الأحبة قبلنها

وأيا دواء الموت كل طبيب [1.10]

Al-Nabigha al-Zubaynî:(28)
فيهم يتساقون المحبة بينهم

أبيهم بيش رقاق المضارب [1.16]

Al-Abbas Ibn Mirdas:(29)
إذا ماشدينا شدة نصيولها

صدور المذاكي والرماح المدعا [1.16]

Al-Buhturi:(30)
مدد ليلًا على الكِتَّة فصم

إذا دم رأسه نزوع السيف [1.17]

Waddah Ibn Isma:A:31
فناك لو رأيت الخيل تعبدو

عواب يتخذن النقع دينلا [1.17]

Al-Mutanabbi:(32)
تركنا لطراف القنا كل شهيرة

فليس لنا الا فيه لمغاب [1.18]
Apart from classical Arabic poetry, it may be assumed that Ibn Ḥamdīs was also inspired by the verses and images of the Qur'ān, e.g.

1.4
70:5

"عَدِيمَةً لَّهَا مِنْ أَجْمِلَ الصِّبْرِ حَابَباً"
"فاصـِبِمَا صِّبْراً جَمِيلًا"

12
4:83
24:55

"نَكِمْ آيَتَنَّ بالخُوفِ أَنْ تَسْمَتْ سُوَاءً وَكَانَتْ بَتِيبٌ الْأَمَانِ مِنْهُمْ نَوايَتَا"
"وَأَنَّا جَاعِلِهِمْ أَمَرَ منِّ الأَمَانِ والْخُوفَ"
"وَلْيَبْدِ لَهُمْ مِنْ بَعْدَ خُوفِهِمْ أَمْنًا"

13
27:34
14:6

"أَرَى بَلَحْدِي قَدْ سَأَمَّهَا الرُّومُ ذِلَّةً وَكَانَ بَتَوَّى عَزَّهُ مَنْتُقَاعِدَا"
"وَجَعَلَهُما أَهْلَاً أَهْلَها أَذْلًا"
"بِسَوْمُونَكِمْ سَوَءَ العَذَابِ"
The study shows that Ibn Ḥamdīs conforms to the traditional Arabic bard, the art concerned with the rhetorical ornament based on word play and alliteration. He pays great attention to the figures in the poem, e.g.

In line 22, there is a metaphor (istiṭāra, the most important poetic device and its major feature) where the poet depicts capture as a man holding the captive women with his hands, and the poet emphasizes this image with another one in the same line when he illustrates the women with their very long hair like burnooses:
Another effective metaphor may be seen in line 7, where the poet portrays his country as suffering from a fatal disease:

This image might be differently analyzed as a reference to the poet himself suffering from guilt and exile.

There is a particularly effective simile (tashbīh) in line 25, where the poet compares ships in battle, covered with red and yellow banners, to black brides in a wedding party:

In this imagery, the poet surprises the listener by shifting suddenly from the image of a battlefield to the joyful and happy atmosphere of a wedding party, which reflects the conflicting image of the unpleasant present and the happy past. This imagery could be drawn from the following line:

Ibn Ḥamdīs was constrained by the traditional techniques of the rithāʾ genre, which often relies on antithesis and parallelism to serve the thematic purpose of the poem, that of contrasting a happy image from the past with the unpleasant state of the present.
Frequently used by Ibn Ḥamdīs in this poem is antithesis (ṭībaq, the ornament which reveals the underlying similarity of apparently conflicting images), e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>أصْحَبُ / الأَمْسِاءَ</th>
<th>حَبِيْبٌ / حَبِيْبَةُ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>نَّكْرَةً / عَزْزَهُ</td>
<td>سَهْرًا / نَعْمَةَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَخْفُرَةً / دَامْسًا</td>
<td>عَرْبِيَّةً / عَلَّمَوجَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بَلْدَ / حَمْرًا</td>
<td>أَتَوْارًا / جِنَادَسًا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مَسْجِدًا / كَنَائِسًا</td>
<td>فَتْحُوا / أَغَلاَتهُمَا</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Line two is a successful example of antithesis and parallelism (muqābala) in sound, sense, syntax and imagery:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>أَوَّلُ</th>
<th>عَيْبًَ</th>
<th>عَيْبًَ</th>
<th>شَرَأَرْدًا</th>
<th>عَيْبًَ</th>
<th>عَيْبًَ</th>
<th>بَلْدَ</th>
<th>عَمِرُ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'اَوْنِئْسَ</td>
<td>'يَنَان</td>
<td>بِلاَبََةَ</td>
<td>تَوْحَكِرِ</td>
<td>شَوْرِيدَ</td>
<td>'يَنَان</td>
<td>بِلْبََدَ</td>
<td>وَاتْذَحَارِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural adjective</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>preposition + noun</td>
<td>present tense verb</td>
<td>plural adjective</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>preposition + noun</td>
<td>present tense verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>letters</td>
<td>letters</td>
<td>letters</td>
<td>letters</td>
<td>letters</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ibn Ḥamdis employs some more examples of parallel structures emphasizing a contrast of content, e.g.

To summarize, this chapter tried to analyse in detail the theme, the structure of words and constructions frequently used, and the imagery in Ibn Hamdis's poem, The Ode to Sicily. The theme of the poem, entitled al-ḥanīn ilā al-wātān, could be regarded as Ibn Hamdis's independent genre which relies mainly on the traditional theme of atlāl and its motifs. The study of the structure of words and sentences, on the other hand, revealed a systematic attempt by the poet to make use of mostly linguistic elements that would convey his message clearly and economically, both in form and content. The phonological properties of the rhyme sound and other frequently occurring sounds, as well as the morphological and syntactic properties of constructions all were shown to emphasize the theme of exile and nostalgia suffered by the poet. The imagery also, whether it is derived from classical Arabic sources or Qur'an, was employed to achieve a similar effect on the reader.
Notes to Chapter One

1. Ibn Ḥamdīs, Diwān, pp. 274-276
4. ʿH. al-Qartājānī, Minhāj al-Bulagha, pp. 205, 266
5. Ibrāhīm Anīs, Musīqāʾl-Shiʿr (Cairo, 1952), p. 189
7. Anīs, p. 189
8. Anīs, p. 175
9. ʿH. Naṣṣār, al-Qāfiya fī al-ʿArūḍ waʾl Adab (Cairo, 1980),
10. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ahmad ʿDayf, Balāghat al-ʿArab fī al-Andalus (Cairo, n.d.), p. 35
18. Muṣṭafāy, p. 428
19. Ṭarāfa Ibn al-ʿAbd, Diwān, p. 89
20. Al-Ḥārith Ibn Hilīza, Diwān, p. 141
21. Imruʾ al-Qays, Diwān, p. 119
22. Alī Ahmad Adūnis, Diwan al-Shiʿr al-ʿArabī (Beirut, 1964), vol. 1, p. 48
23. Ibid., p. 279
25. Adūnis, vol. 1, p. 58
26. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 129
27. Al-Mutanabbi, Diwan (Beirut, n.d.), p. 33
28. Adūnis, vol. 1, p. 117
29. Al-ʿAbbās Ibn Mīrādās, Diwān, p. 132
30. Al-Buḥturi, Diwan, p. 69
32. Al-Mutanabbī, Diwan, p. 55
33. Diwan al-Ḥamasa, p. 283
34. Adūnīs, vol. 2, p. 491
35. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 48
36. Al-Buḥturi, Diwan, p. 75
37. Al-Mutanabbī, Diwan, p. 39
Chapter Two

A Specimen Analysis of Judah Ha-Levi's

"The Ode to Zion"

1. Theme: literary and historical dimensions

2. Meaning: Hebrew application of Arabic qaṣīda scheme

3. Structure: (a) metre
   (b) rhyme
   (c) phonology
   (d) morphology
   (e) syntax

4. Imagery: (a) Biblical sources
   (b) Figures: metaphor, simile, antithesis, parallelism, paranomasia
1. Theme: literary and historical dimensions

Jerusalem since the post-exilic period was the centre of the life of Jewry and held a prominent position in Jewish history. Zion, after the destruction of the First Temple, came to be used as a synonym for Jerusalem. In Jewish tradition, Zion is considered as the mount of God and the joy of the earth, and as a symbol of the Jewish homeland.\(^1\) It became the centre of Jewish lamentations, not only in prayers, but also in Hebrew poetry, both sacred and secular.\(^2\)

Judah ha-Levi was considered to be the national poet in Jewish history. He wrote about thirty-five poems in which Zion was the main focus and they expressed the conflict between love and pain, between the dream and reality.

His writing reached its climax of aspiration in his most famous poem, the 'Zionide', which is read throughout the Jewish world on the ninth of Ab, when they mourn the destruction of the Temple.\(^3\) According to the Jewish convention the poem belongs in the realm of national poetry, while in the Arabic tradition, it belongs to the literary genre rithā' wa ḥanīn (lament and nostalgia).

When analyzing the poem in thematic terms there are two major subdivisions, nostalgia and lament theme, and the description and glorification genres.
The main body of the poem is divided into four sections, the first of these, lines 1-4, is concerned with exhibiting the relationship between Zion and the Jewish people in exile, the second, lines 6-18, is an expression of longing and yearning for the Holy City of Jerusalem. The third, lines 19-28, is a lament over Jerusalem, and the final section, lines 29-34, reveals the poet's pride in the glory of Jerusalem and his hope of living there.

Zion! wilt thou not ask if peace be with thy captives that seek thy peace - that are the remnant of thy flocks?

From west and east, from north and south - the greeting "Peace" from far and near, take thou from every side.

And greeting from the captive of desire, giving his tears like dew of Hermon, and longing to let them fall upon thine hills.

To wail for thine affliction I am like the jackals; but when I dream of the return of thy captivity, I am a harp for thy songs.

My heart to Bethel and Peniel yearneth sore, to Mahanaim and to all the places where the pure ones have met.

There the Presence abideth in thee; yea, there thy Maker opened thy gates to face the gates of heaven.
And the Lord's glory alone was thy light; no sun nor moon nor stars were luminants for thee.

I would choose for my soul to pour itself out within that place where the spirit of God was outpoured upon thy chosen.

Thou art the house of royalty; thou art the throne of the Lord, and how do slaves sit now upon thy princes' thrones?

Would I might be wandering in the places where God was revealed unto thy seers and messengers.

O who will make me wings, that I may fly afar, and lay the ruins of my cleft heart among my broken cliffs!

I would fall, with my face upon thine earth and take delight in thy stones and be tender to thy dust.

Yea, more, when standing by my fathers' tombs I would marvel, in Hebron, over the chosen of thy graves.

I would pass into thy forest and thy fruitful field, and stand within thy Gilead, and wonder at thy mount.

Mount Abarim, and Mount Hor, where are the twain great lights - thy Luminaries, thy Teachers.

The life of souls is the air of thy land, and of pure myrrh the grains of thy dust, and honey from the comb thy rivers.
Sweet would it be unto my soul to walk naked and barefoot upon the desolate ruins where thy holiest dwellings were.

In the place of thine Ark where it is hidden and in the place of thy cherubim which abode in thine innermost recesses.

I will cut off and cast away the splendour of my crown of locks, and curse the fate that desecrated in unclean land the heads that bore thy crown.

How shall it be sweet to me to eat and drink while I behold dogs tearing at thy lions' whelps?

Or how can light of day be joyous to mine eyes while yet I see in ravens' beaks torn bodies of thine eagles?

0 cup of sorrow! gently! hold a while! already my loins are filled, yea, and my soul, with thy bitterness.

When I remember Oholah I drink thy fury, and I recall Oholibah, and drain thy dregs.

Zion! perfect in beauty! love and grace thou didst bind on thee of olden time; and still the souls of thy companions are bound up with thee.

It is they that rejoice at thy well-being, that are in pain over thy desolation, and that weep over thy ruin.
They that, from the pit of the captive, pant toward thee, worshipping, every one from his own place, toward thy gates.

The flocks of thy multitude, which were exiled and scattered from mount to hill, but have not forgotten thy fold.

Which grasps thy skirts and strengthen themselves to go up and take hold of the boughs of thy palms.

Shinar and Pathros - were they equal unto thee in their greatness? Can they compare their vanity to thy Thummim and thy Urim?

And with whom could they compare thine anointed Kings? 30 and with whom thy prophets? and with whom thy ministrants and thy singers?

He will change, He will wholly sweep away all the realms of idols; thy splendour is for ever, from age to age thy crown.

Thy God hath desired thee for a dwelling-place; and happy is the man whom He chooseth and bringeth near that he may rest within thy courts.

Happy is he that waiteth, that cometh nigh and seeth the rising of thy light, when on him thy dawn shall break.

That he may see the welfare of thy chosen, and rejoice in thy rejoicing, when thou turnest back unto thine olden youth.
We will attempt to discover the relationships between the poetic movements which form the corpus of the poem. The main thematic movement is the dialogue between you/I (we) which develops throughout a number of contrasting motifs, e.g.

exile/redemption, dream/reality.
The vision which dominates the poet's theme appears from the very beginning of the first line, [Zion, ... your captivity]. The poet opens his poem by addressing Zion as a beloved, begging her for more care and concern for the captives in exile. The words "the remnant of your flocks" in line 1, refers to the humble situation of the Jews in exile, emphasizing the meaning of scattering in line 2 by mentioning the four compass points.

The view of captives and captivity dominates the poet's mind and forms the backbone of his poem, e.g. "will you not ask if peace be with your captives" (line 1), "the captive of desire" (line 3), emphasizing the same meaning in line 4 with the word "captivity":

The dialogue between you/I (we) starts from the first line and continues to the end of the poem, stressing the existence of "you" - that is to say, "Zion" - by ending his rhyme with the second person pronoun (for the rhyme structure, see below, p.289).

In the first two lines, we find the dialogue occurs between you/we, where the poet speaks on behalf of the
Jewish people and all the words are plural.

In the next part, lines 3-23, the dialogue becomes you/I, where the poet expresses his yearning and contrasting emotions, loneliness, the suffering of the present, a hope for redemption, against the rejoicing in the light and security of the past.

In line 4 is developed a contrasting dualism of exile/return (redemption) and dream/reality. He cries like a jackal for its suffering, and sings like a harp when he dreams of the return of the captives.

The poet starts the line with the infinitive "to wail", and the following word, "your affliction" emphasizes the meaning of suffering in exile. The poet uses the word "jackal" which is in the Bible a symbol of destruction, grief and loneliness (Micah 1.8, Job 30.29). He also uses the verb "to dream" in the same line, reflecting his hope and desire to visit the Holy City of Jerusalem.

The poet, in the following passage, lines 5-18, expresses his love and yearning for the Holy Land of Palestine, imagining his pilgrimage and visits to its Holy places:
In line 6 the poet refers to the belief that the gates of Zion face the gates of heaven as mentioned in his celebrated work, *al-Kitāb al-Khazar* (5). In line 9, he addresses Zion, referring to it as the abode of God and the place of the throne of His anointed (see above, p. 131). In the same line, the poet uses the word *cavadim* (slaves), referring to the rule of the Christians (the Crusaders) over Palestine at that time. He adapts the biblical verse, Gen. 27.37.
Line 10 may refer to the fact that ha-Levi wrote his poem before starting his pilgrimage, while he was still in Spain. He begins the line by expressing his desire to wander around the Holy places of Palestine. He emphasizes the same meaning in line 11, expressing his wish to be given wings to fly to Jerusalem. In this line he exhibits skilfully his attachment to the Holy City by associating the ruins of his heart with the ruins of Jerusalem, using the word "beter" in the plural for both of them, which could reveal the Arabic influence on ha-Levi's poem (see below, p.277).

In the following passage, lines 12-18, he demonstrates the qualities of the Holy Land, designating places of revelation, prophecy, monarchy and the graves of his forefathers, e.g. Hebron, Gil'ad, and Mount Abarim and Mount Hor (where the prophet Moses and his brother Aaron are buried, according to the Bible (Deut. 32:49,50).

In the next passage, lines 19-28, as if Jeremiah's lamentations were being revived, the poet laments his fate, expressing his grief and deep sorrow at seeing the Jewish people scattered all over the world, and the destruction of the Holy City under the rule of the Crusaders. Past glories and present lowliness are contrasted:

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In lines 20-21, the poet refers to the Jewish people under the rule of the Christians and the Arabs in Palestine and Spain (Jer. 15:3).

In line 23, the poet returns to the scene of Jewish history, lamenting the collapse of the Jewish kingdom and the destruction of Samaria and Jerusalem (Ezek. 23:4, Isa. 51:17).

The poet, in lines 24-28, addresses Zion expressing his nostalgic feelings and the deep attachment of the Jews in exile, emphasizing his belief that there is no secure place for Jewish people except the land of Palestine.

In the final passage of the poem, lines 29-34, ha-Levi exhibits his pride in the glorious Holy City and expresses...
the happiness of the hope for redemption, and blesses those who will be fortunate enough to see the dawning of redemption:

In line 29, he uses the word *Shin'ar*, referring to Baghdad as the cultural centre of the Muslim world and the word *Patros* is used to denote Byzantium, representing the power of the Christian world and both of them as the great powers in the middle ages.

In lines 30-34, the poet concludes with quiet lines negating the present and dreaming of the future and the happy ending of redemption and the perfect life in Zion.

2. **Meaning: Hebrew application of the Arabic qaṣīda scheme**

In this section the study aims to isolate the factors that characterise ha-Levi's *Ode to Zion*. The study also aims at assembling sufficient evidence to make it possible to assert that ha-Levi's poem is a good example of Hebrew
application of the Arabic qaṣīda scheme in theme and structure, to the extent that it could be termed an Arabic poem in Hebrew language.

For the purpose of exploring to what degree ha-Levi's poem remains in the orbit of Arabic poetic themes, ṣālāl, rithāʿ, and fakhr, and how far his Hebrew symbolism transcends these, I digress to investigate Arabic poetry and to discover in it the poet's models and masters. Confronted with these, the specific intent and talent of any poet may appear more clearly, and, by contrast, general differences between Hebrew and Arabic poetry may be observed.

According to Arabic tradition, the qaṣīda should be set in a particular structural scheme whereby the poet introduces the qaṣīda with the ṣālāl theme. In this section he mentions the deserted dwelling-places and the traces of habitation. Then he weeps and complains, addressing the desolate encampment. He asks his companions to pause at the diyar of his beloved, or his people, in order to recall the happier time he spent there. The poet moves on to the nasib section, bemoaning the anguish of separation from his beloved and blaming fate for his misfortune and the destruction of the habitat (instead of God). Then he enters the main genre of the qaṣīda which is often panegyric (madīḥ), ending it with a glorification theme (fakhr). (For the ṣālāl and nasib motifs, see above, pp. 7–8).

I will now examine ha-Levi's Ode to Zion to see to what degree it remains in the compass of the Arabic qaṣīda scheme.
It can be said that ha-Levi's poem belongs as much to the contemporary genre of *ritha'* al-mamālik wa'l-mudun* (lament over countries and cities) as to the genre of *fakhr* (glorification).

In analyzing the poem in thematic terms, there are three subdivisions: the *atīlāl* section, the *ritha'* section and the *fākhr* theme. I will now deal with the structural scheme of the *Ode to Zion* and see how the poet uses the Arabic genres of *atīlāl*, *ritha'* and *fakhr*, concentrating mainly on the theme of *atīlāl*.

Ha-Levi starts the poem with a prelude of *hanīn* and nostalgia, employing the majority of the *atīlāl* motifs and deriving his inspiration from the Arabic poetry.

As a specimen of these *atīlāl* poems, showing what the Hebrew poet inherited from Arabic poetry, I quote some lines by *‘Abīd b. al-Abras* (d. 555 A.D.) who was a senior contemporary of almost all the *Mu’allaqāt* poets. His people and their dwelling-places were attacked by King Ḥujr, 'Imru al-Qays's father, who pillaged their settlements and expelled them from their homeland. *‘Abīd* devoted much of his poetry to lamenting the terrible losses which his tribe and his fair country had suffered. Weeping over the *atīlāl* and its residents became the main topic of his poetry, e.g.

Dost thou weep for a vanisht abode, over traces of tents outworn? - and is weeping for love-longing the business of one like me?
These were their camps when the tribe was gathered all together: now are they a wilderness, save for wildings in an empty land.

No voices stir there now but the uncouth sound of the wild, the cries of the male and female ostriches, dusky herds.

Yea, if Ghabra' al-Khubaybah has become desolate, and and gained in exchange for our folk other dwellers not equal to those,

Yet time was I looked upon the whole kin dwelling there in content and happiness: but what is the passing of days but change on change?

After the children of Amr, my kinsfolk and my brethren, can I hope for smoothness of life? nay, life is a leader-astray.

But although they have gone, and departed on their way - never will I forget them all my life long, or cease to mourn.

Will ye two not stay for a moment today, before we part - before long distance, and cares, and variance have sundered us

To await ladies borne on camels that travel between Tabala and the high land of al-Khall, with the followers training after them?
When I saw the two leaders of the caravan hasten briskly along, a pang seized my breast that they should depart with a heart so light.

This poem is concerned with sentimental longings not only for departed loved ones but also with the deserted dwellings and memories of his people who once lived there. It exhibits ʿAbīd's mastery and charm of phrase which preserved many of his nasīb pieces.

In lines 1-7, the poet describes the deserted dwelling-places, then moves on in line 8, assuming that another parting is impending, and exhorts his two companions to await a group of ladies who are journeying by (9-10).

I will now turn to ha-Levi's poem, to see how much he was influenced by the ʿatlāl motifs of the Ġāhīlī poetics.

The first passage, lines 1-4, is concerned with the general
imports of atlāl poetry: pausing at the diyār, addressing and greeting the diyār, and weeping over the diyār.

The poet, in the first line, is addressing the diyār of Zion and questioning it about his people in exile, but he receives no reply to his question:

In this line the poet expresses not only his own greeting but also that of his people, thus imitating the Jāhilī poet, in that he asks his friends to join him and share in his weeping over the atlāl. Line 3 is very formal, using the standard image of the poet in a mood of grief and yearning, weeping over the atlāl. The poet complies with atlāl tradition by comparing his tears to the dew:

Line 4 emphasizes the mood of grief and yearning with another image drawn from the Bible (Micah. 1:8; Ps. 126:1; and Gen. 3:127).

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Line 4 emphasizes the mood of grief and yearning with another image drawn from the Bible (Micah. 1:8; Ps. 126:1; and Gen. 3:127).
This contrasts the image of the sad present (the ruins or atlāl of the Holy City) and the happy dream of the future when the captives return. It is interesting to note that the image of the atlāl in the Jahili poetry was always a contrast between the sad present and the happy past. Here, however, we see Judah ha-Levi skilfully using this motif and adding a dream of the future.

In the following passage (lines 5-18), the poet introduces further atlāl motifs.

Just as the Jahili poets would describe the diyār and designate its site, so ha-Levi, following his masters, describes the diyār of Jerusalem and designates its site, expressing also his love and yearning for the Holy places. Its qualities are evoked at length with a lyrical feeling which imaginatively transplants the poet to places of former revelation, prophecy and monarchy, e.g. lines 5-6, 9-10:

In line 13 he mentions his pausing at the graves of his forefathers, which complies with the atlāl motif:
In lines 14-18, again, the poet designates the site of the Holy places, expressing his yearning and love for them, e.g.

Line 14

The reminiscence of the past forms the heart of atlāl poetry, where all poets pause at the diyār, recalling the happy times of the past, and feeling sad on account of these memories.

Ha-Levi employs this motif in the same sense in line 23, where he remembers the past glory of his people:

In lines 19-28 he moves on to the rithā’ī theme, lamenting his fate and expressing his deep grief at seeing the Jewish people scattered all over the world, and bemoaning the destruction of the Holy City of Jerusalem. In line 19, the poet employs the standard device of blaming fate for misfortune, rather than God, and for the destruction of his beloved’s habitat:

In line 22, he complies with the Arabic tradition by addressing the cup of sorrow, and comparing himself in a mood of grief and yearning to a drunken man:
Judah ha-Levi, like Ibn Ḥamdīs, was constrained by the traditional techniques of the ritha' genre, which relies often on parallelism and antithesis to serve the thematic purpose of the poem, that of contrasting a happy image of the past and an unpleasant state in the present, e.g.:

איך יברך ليست תقوة בעה אנה
כיףorns הצלבים גואגואמה
וא אתה לא شيء אשר להונך לכל
שראת יכים יראיםتعلق נזר

Another example can be seen in line 25, a contrasting image of rejoicing and weeping, well-being and ruin:

כשם/Linux לארזלאג ושארים
עלישמונח ורבデン תרצה

The poet begins line 24 with an apostrophe to Zion, using the standard image of addressing a beloved in Arabic poetry:

زين כולם יאסף, אהבה תמקשה
מאך, ותלך נפשתך נהרבר

Line 27 is formalised and the poet repeats what he said at the beginning of the poem:

מעריב让我们 לא שקטה נזר
شكر ליבשת לא שקטה נזר

Here again, the Arabic influence is very evident, where ha-Levi conforms to the Arabic tradition when the Jahili poet would show his pride in his tribe and his people. Ha-Levi devotes the last part of the poem to the genre of fakhr, which is the favourite theme of the Arab poet. He shows his pride in the glorious past of Jerusalem and boasts of
the Jewish prophets, the religious tribe of the Levites and the Holiness of Jerusalem. Then he expresses his hope and aspiration for redemption:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{All these examples prove, in my view, that there was heavy borrowing on the part of Judah ha-Levi, mainly from the poetry of the } & \text{Jahiliyya. He may have seen the } \text{ātlāl} \\
& \text{poetry as a symbol of the ruins and destruction of the Holy City of Jerusalem, like the } \text{Jahili} \text{ poet, when he found in } \text{ātlāl} \text{ poetry an outlet for expressing his feelings and yearning for his lost love and abandoned homeland.}
\end{align*}\]

Both poets, the \text{Jahili} and the Hebrew, looked for peace and a settled life, through the \text{ātlāl}. Thus, ha-Levi was highly influenced not only by Arabic culture but also by the nature of the life of the \text{Jahili} poets.

The evidence assembled above makes it possible to assert that ha-Levi's poem is a good example of the Hebrew application of the Arabic qaṣīda scheme in the use of genres in the order of the Arabic tradition, beginning with the \text{ātlāl}, then shifting to the \text{ritba'} theme, and ending his poem with the formalized theme, the \text{fakhr}.

The next section of this study will examine the formal structure of the poem and its linguistic features, to see
how much ha-Levi was influenced by Arabic poetry and how skilfully he employed the Arabic techniques.

3. Structure

It seems necessary before we examine the poetic structure of ha-Levi's poem, to survey the earlier development of post-Biblical Hebrew poetry from the Talmudic period to the Babylonian schools. In the Talmudic age, Hebrew poetry was composed to give expression to worship and showed a wide variety of forms such as: the Berachot, the Hosha'not and the Middot. One of the early forms of poetry in the Talmudic age consists of series of strophes with the recurring terms ma and af. The alphabetic acrostic was used by the anonymous composer who flourished between the Talmudic age and the poet Jose b. Jose b. Jose, who was one of the first poets of the new age, along with two other Palestinian poets, Yannai and Qalir. The poetry of the new age showed some traces of the earlier creativity. The poets signed their names and occasionally even their places of origin in the acrostic, and began to follow consistent rhyme patterns. The Babylonian school flourished with the rise of Saadia Gaon (882-942) who was the first to use themes of philosophy and theology as subject matter in Hebrew poetry.

Thus, the adaptation of the Hebrew language to the Arabic use of quantitative metre and monorhyme had a remarkable effect on
Hebrew poetry. The professional Jewish poets employing the Arabic forms and principles of metre, had for the first time a framework on which to construct their poetics.\(^{(11)}\) It can be said that Andalusian Hebrew poetry is closer to Arabic poetry than to Biblical poetry, not only in form but also in content.\(^{(12)}\)

(a) **Metre**

Andalusian Hebrew poetry was based on a quantitative principle in which two elements forming a Hebrew syllable, the tenuca (movement) = (—) yated (peg) = (v) or sheva mobile and its haṭaf derivations, were used in a rich variety of metric combinations. The long poem was called qaṣīda (shīrah), consisting of lines, called bayit, each line being divided into two metrically equivalent hemistiches, the ḏarb (delet) and the ẓarūd (sogere)\(^{(13)}\).

However, there were about fourteen types of Arabic metrical structure applied to Hebrew poetry, including:

\[ \text{ṭawīl, madīd, basīt, kāmil, sari, wāfir, hajaz, khafīf, mutaqārib, kāmel, munsarih, mujtath, mutadārik and rajaz}^{(14)}. \]

The metre of ha-Levi's poem is basīt, in Hebrew called mitpashet, one of the most common metres in Arabic as well as Hebrew poetry.\(^{(15)}\) The following is the pattern of the basīt with its two basic feet which alternate as follows:

\[ \text{ الوزن في شعر النبي موسى عليه السلام} / \text{ الوزن في شعر النبي موسى عليه السلام} \]
Here again, the question may be asked, should the metre of the poem be appropriate to its theme? In other words, is there a link between the metre basīt and the nostalgic theme of ha-Levi's poem? The study shows that the mood of the poem sets a tone of nostalgia and attachment to Zion, which stimulated ha-Levi, like Ibn Ḥamdis, to use a metre with long syllables such as basīt to enable him to pour out his emotions and lamentations.

(b) Rhyme

According to the Arabic tradition, metre and rhyme, as mentioned above, are the main criteria of the poetry. They make up the basic formal features of the poem, which should be carefully rhymed and have one unchangeable rhyme throughout. (16)

In his poem, unlike Ibn Ḥamdis, Judah ha-Levi uses qafīya muqayyada: rayikh. He conforms to the strict rules of rhyme techniques laid down by Arab critics. (17) He adheres throughout the poem not only to the rhyme letter kh but also to the preceding letter r and vowel yi.

Moreover, just as the Arabs employed the technique of taṣrīf in their qaṣīdas, again like Ibn Ḥamdis, ha-Levi uses this technique in the poem.

A phonological analysis shows that the rhyme letter occurs 89 times throughout the poem along with the sound r.
which is a part of the rhyme structure. This occurs 118 times, which exhibits the poet's skilful use of the Arabic poetic technique, not only through the frequency of the rhyme letter, but also through introducing the rhyme often in the middle of the line with a syllable or a structural figure such as paranomasia and antithesis (see below, p. 316).

The following table contains a list of the words used by the poet to introduce the rhyme of the poem:

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<th>The rhyme</th>
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The study also shows that the rhyme associates other syllables of the poem, particularly the closed syllable which occurs frequently throughout the lines, e.g.

| 30 | לרות | 28 | נש ^(ל_man_1) | 10 | לתרוזים |
| 32 | אךנה | 29 | לעמיה | 12 | אבסנה |
| 34 |achen | 30 | משפילת | 15 | מאשרים |
| 30 | הבירית | 30 | נביאות | 18 | זרוביה |

The frequency and distribution of the rhyme letter along with all words ending with the sound *kh*, are as follows:
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It could be said that ha-Levi uses qāfiya muqayyada in the poem "Zionide" because it is appropriate to the Hebrew grammatical principle. In addition, he may have written his poem for a melodious purpose as was popular in Abbasid poetry poetry, in order to have a wide appeal.

The following diagram illustrates the rhyme structure and its components as follows:

1. al-rawiy, the rhyme letter on which the poem is based, and which must not be changed from the first line to the last;

2. al-ridf, one of the weak letters which should precede the rhyme letter when the rhyme is qāfiya muqayyada;

3. al-hadhw, the vowel of the letter preceding al-ridf.
THE RHYME STRUCTURE
3. al-hadw
2. al-rif
1. al-lam
A phonological analysis of the most frequent sounds in the poem reveals that ha-Levi, like Ibn Ḫamdis, makes extensive use of continuant sounds, notably kh, r, l, sh, etc. The pronunciation of continuant sounds involves a continuous flow of air. This fact, as already suggested with reference to Ibn Ḫamdis, helps the poet pour out his emotions freely.

The same functional value can be attributed to the frequent use of continuant sounds by ha-Levi, given that both poems have more or less the same thematic content, namely the lamenting of a lost land. The rhyme sound, for example, which is usually the pivot sound in the poem, is kh, a fricative, just like s in Ibn Ḫamdis's poem. This sound occurs 89 times. Other frequent sounds with similar properties include: r, 118 times; l, 99 times; sh, 70 times. The following tables exhibit the distribution of each of the above-mentioned sounds in detail:
| ד"רַשְּנָה -  עַרְבּוֹת | אָסֶרִי | 1 |
| ד"רַשְּנָה -  עַרְבּוֹת | אֶסֶרִי | 2 |
| ת"רִמְרִי - לַרְפָּט - הָדוֹרְק | אָסֶרִי | 3 |
| לַרְפָּט - הָדוֹרְק | אָסֶרִי | 4 |
| שָׁמַרְרִית | אָסֶרִי | 5 |
| שָׁמַרְרִית | שְׁפַרְרִית | 6 |
| גֶּבֶר | שְׁפַרְרִית | 7 |
| זָבֶּר | שְׁפַרְרִית | 8 |
| זָבֶּר | שְׁפַרְרִית | 9 |
| זָבֶּר - שְׁפַרְרִית | שְׁפַרְרִית | 10 |
| זָבֶּר | שְׁפַרְרִית | 11 |
| כֹּתֶר | שְׁפַרְרִית | 12 |
| קְטֵר | שְׁפַרְרִית | 13 |
| קְטֵר | שְׁפַרְרִית | 14 |
| קְטֵר | שְׁפַרְרִית | 15 |
| קְטֵר | שְׁפַרְרִית | 16 |
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| קְטֵר | שְׁפַרְרִית | 18 |
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| קְטֵר | שְׁפַרְרִית | 23 |
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| קְטֵר | שְׁפַרְרִית | 27 |
| קְטֵר | שְׁפַרְרִית | 28 |
| קְטֵר | שְׁפַרְרִית | 29 |
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| קְטֵר | שְׁפַרְרִית | 31 |
| קְטֵר | שְׁפַרְרִית | 32 |
| קְטֵר | שְׁפַרְרִית | 33 |
| קְטֵר | שְׁפַרְרִית | 34 |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 |
| תרשיש שלום | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
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| בישנה | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| עליי | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
(d) Morphology

It is one of the prominent aspects of the present poem that the morphological structure of words, whether they are nouns, verbs or participles, is very revealing of the overall structure of the poem and the various axes of opposition on which it operates.

To start with, the fact that the rhyme letter is a pronominal bound morpheme which in all cases refers to Zion establishes from an early stage the main axis of the poem which relates Zion, the addressee, and the poet, the addresser. The bound morpheme _kh_ is a second person singular possessive pronoun just like your in English. However, while your is a free morpheme, in the sense that it can stand on its own as a meaningful unit, _kh_ is a bound morpheme that has to be attached (bound) to another morpheme. The morphological dependence of _kh_ reflects the dependence of Zion on the presence of Jews. Zion can only have a meaningful existence if all the Jews of the world can have easy access to it. The obligatory morphological attachment of _kh_ reflects the historical and spiritual attachment of Zion to the Jews.

The isolation of Zion is brought into focus in the first two lines by the use of the plural form to refer to the Jews, as opposed to the singular form to refer to Zion. The poet identifies himself with all Jews all over the world, thus implying that his yearning, expressed in the following lines by an explicit use of first person singular forms, is in fact the yearning of a substantial group of
ill-fated Jews scattered throughout the world. At the same time, the use of the first person singular forms in lines 3-23 conveys to some extent a feeling of isolation on the part of the poet, away from the beloved Zion. The general feeling that emerges seems to be that separated from each other, both Zion and the Jews, either individually or collectively, lead incomplete lives. A relationship of complementarity, hence dependence, between Zion and the Jews is therefore stressed further.

The distribution and frequency of the pronouns throughout the poem allow us to follow the development of the relationship between singular and plural, first person and second person as well as third person. The following tables show this distribution:
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</tbody>
</table>
Another prominent morphological aspect is the frequent use of the imperfect form as well as other derived forms conveying the present or the (near) future. Starting from line 3 the poet indulges in a series of descriptions of what he would do once united with his longed-for Zion. In doing this, he makes use of linguistic forms which convey the (near) future without including conditional particles. This technique is effective in conveying a strong feeling of confidence and certainty that the time of reunion is not far away. The axis of time in this poem looks towards the future, unlike that in Ibn Hamdis's poem which looks backwards to the past. The optimism of ha-Levi emanates from a strong religious basis in the form of the divine promise to the Jews that they are to return to the promised land, which constitutes one of the basic tenets of Judaism (see above, p. 116).

This is not to say that the past in this poem does not play any role whatsoever. In fact, past events are invoked on many occasions to bear out the glory of Zion. These invocations make the poet all the more eager to be reunited with Zion, so the past is only important inasmuch as it strengthens the poet's hope for a meeting in the future.

Here, I give some tables showing the frequency of verbs throughout the poem:
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<tr>
<th>First person</th>
<th>Second person</th>
<th>Third person</th>
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<td>שָׁאַל</td>
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A morphological analysis shows recurrence of root patterns as follows:

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<th>Lines</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
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</tbody>
</table>
(e) Syntax

The syntactic structure of the sentences of the poem sheds further light on the temporal axis discussed in the previous section. Earlier in this work it was mentioned that nominal sentences, that is sentences that do not have a verb in the Arabic language, in fact in all Semitic languages, usually describe events that take place in the present. In addition, nominal sentences can be made to refer to a (near) future by making use of certain participial forms. The following table exhibits the frequency and distribution of the participles throughout the poem:
### THE PARTICIPLES

| PARTICIPLE   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 |
|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| רְשֹׁרֶשָׁה   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| מֵאֶרֶז   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| סֹפְרֻה   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| לַחֹדֶק   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| מַאֶרֶזֶת מְוֹרֶדֶת   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
In the present poem nominal sentences are used with a degree of frequency that is revealing of the aspirations of the poet. Given that the main temporal axis in the poem is directed towards the future, the use of nominal sentences instead of verbal sentences is to be expected. The poet projects himself onto the future to describe events that are conditional upon his reunion with Zion, that is, things he will do when the long-awaited time of meeting arrives.

Another important syntactic aspect is the use of rhetorical questions. Since throughout the poem, the poet is addressing Zion, the type of questions he is likely to ask are those which do not require answers; that is to say, rhetorical questions. Moreover, rhetorical questions help to bring to the foreground the feelings of isolation and emptiness that the poet is suffering away from Zion. Here is a list of the rhetorical questions in the poem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>The rhetorical questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>זָירָעָה הַלְאָהּ תָּשָׁאֵלִי</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>יָזָרְךָ יְשֵׁבֶר עַבְדוֹמָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>מִמְּחַנְבֶּךָ מְשָׁרָשָׁה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>מִמְּחַשַׁח לֵי בִּנְפָּסֶה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>אֵיכָּר יְצַרְבֶּךָ לִי אֲכָל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>אֵיכָּר מְצָאְרוּ יְרוּ הַיְּמָנָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>הַיּוֹרָכָר הַבְּנָלָה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>רָאִים נַבְלָם יְדָמוּ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>אַלָּי מִי יָדִירֵךְ מְשִׁיחְתָּךְ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>רֹאָלָי מִי בּוֹכְסָאָלָךְ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Imagery

It should be noted that imagery is considered to be the main characteristic of Biblical poetry. It could be said that the imagery of the Hebrew poetry in al-Andalus, in the main, was inspired and drawn from the images and figures in the Bible. (19)

The study of ha-Levi's poems shows that he relied mainly on the adoption of Biblical material and drew most of his imagery from its verses.

(a) Biblical sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Biblical Reference</th>
<th>Hebrew Verse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Deut. 3/27</td>
<td>נֶאֶרֶת הַמִּשְׁמַרְתִּים לְךָ הַיְּהוֹא שִׁמְרָתָךְ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ps. 133/3</td>
<td>הַיְּהוֹא שִׁמְרָתָךְ לְךָ הַיְּהוֹא שִׁמְרָתָךְ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Micah 1/8</td>
<td>לְכָלָה תְּוִיתִיךְ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ps. 126/1</td>
<td>נָגְשֶׁנָה מְאֹד לְךָ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Gen. 32/2</td>
<td>כָּלָה נָגָה צֶבַעְתֶּךָ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jes. 60/19</td>
<td>נָגְשֶׁנָה מְאֹד לְךָ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Job. 30/16</td>
<td>נָגְשֶׁנָה מְאֹד לְךָ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line 9</td>
<td>Jer. 3/17</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>לא תמאו שורית</td>
<td>בְּכֵהַהּ לֹא רָחַם לִרְחוֹלֶתָּם בְּכֵהַהּ לֹא</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line 10,</th>
<th>Gen. 35/7</th>
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<tr>
<td>כדי שיסלחו כפ PARTICULAR שאר</td>
<td>כָּל הַנֶּבֶל אֲלֵי הַנַּפְלִים כְּרֵדֵת מַעַל אַכָּל</td>
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<th>Line 11,</th>
<th>Prov. 23/5</th>
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<tr>
<td>כי תשלihan גדול ארציס-formed</td>
<td>כִּי תַעֲשֶׂה יִשָּׂרָאֵל קָנֶה קַנֶּה לְתָנֵךְ הָעָם</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Cant. 2:17</th>
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<tr>
<td>יאשד לבלתי לבלתי כי יאשד</td>
<td>לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה יִשָּׂרָאֵל בְּלָבַּד בְּלָבַּד</td>
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<td>ואחרת אל נג נג שעון יתאהשוד</td>
<td>בִּכְרֵדָה בְּכָרֶדָה אֲלֵי הָאָדָם יִתְנָה</td>
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<th>Jes. 10/18</th>
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<td>יָשָׁב בִּכְרֵדָה בְּכָרֶדָה</td>
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<td>נַכֵּר יִבְרָג יִבְרָג</td>
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<tr>
<th>Line 17,</th>
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<tr>
<td>הָקֵל הָקֵל הָקֵל הָקֵל</td>
<td>הָקֵל הָקֵל הָקֵל הָקֵל</td>
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<td>יִנְפָּה נִנְפָּה נִנְפָּה נִנְפָּה</td>
<td>יִנְפָּה נִנְפָּה נִנְפָּה נִנְפָּה</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Line 21,</th>
<th>Eccl. 11/7</th>
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<tr>
<td>עַל שָׁנָה עַל שָׁנָה עַל שָׁנָה עַל שָׁנָה</td>
<td>עַל שָׁנָה עַל שָׁנָה עַל שָׁנָה עַל שָׁנָה</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Line 22,</th>
<th>Ps. 38/8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>בָּשָׁלְטָה בָּשָׁלְטָה בָּשָׁלְטָה בָּשָׁלְטָה</td>
<td>בָּשָׁלְטָה בָּשָׁלְטָה בָּשָׁלְטָה</td>
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<tr>
<th>Line 24,</th>
<th>I Sam. 18/1</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>בַּכָּרֶדָה בַּכָּרֶדָה בַּכָּרֶדָה בַּכָּרֶדָה</td>
<td>בַּכָּרֶדָה בַּכָּרֶדָה בַּכָּרֶדָה בַּכָּרֶדָה</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(b) **Figures:** metaphor, simile, antithesis, parallelism, paranomasia

Hebrew poetry in Muslim Spain, influenced by Arabic tradition, attached great importance to its formal features and to the figures and the manner in which they were integrated in the poem. In the work *Kitāb al-Muhājara*...
wa'l-Mudhakara, Moses ibn Ezra declared that a poem without ornaments was not a poem, and the more ornaments a poem contained, the better it would sound. (20)

The study proves that the imagery in ha-Levi's poem was based on the skilful use of the Biblical text. This can be seen in the first line where the poet employs a metaphor (isti'āra), the most important poetic device and its chief distinguishing feature according to the Arab critics, portraying the Jewish people as scattered sheep looking for their shepherd (Jer. 13:7, Exod. 10:5).

ינחלו, לפני תחי蝰✌️ לדלים יוסרך, וחקש שלונם והם תמר עפרות?

Another image may be seen in line 4, where the poet pictures himself as a jackal, wailing at the affliction of Zion. This image is inspired by the Bible, where the jackal is a symbol of destruction, grief and loneliness (Micah. 1:8).

לצרכו ימרפע אנא חכם, יען אלים, ישיב שבתאם - Yöן כפור עפרות.

The poet emphasizes this metaphor with another in the same line, where he portrays himself in a contrasting image as a harp for the songs of Zion, dreaming of the return of the captives. This image is also Biblical (Ps. 126:1).

In line 20, the poet employs one more image illustrating dogs tearing a lions' whelps, referring to Jerusalem under the rule of the Christians at that time, deriving the image from the Biblical context (Jer. 3:15,16).

ואת יברץ על פלז חיה תבה באהמה, ויס środków כקלים יאש ככפרות?
Ha-Levi, as mentioned, relied mainly on the Biblical context to derive his imagery, but the study also shows that he drew some of his poetic devices from Arabic poetry. This can be illustrated in the simile (tashbih) in line 3 where the poet expresses his nostalgic feeling for Zion by shedding tears, comparing them to the dew, imitating the Arab poets in weeping over the atšāl (see above, p. 282).

Like Ibn Hamdis, ha-Levi conforms to the traditional techniques of the ritha' theme, employing the Arabic poetic devices of antithesis (muţābaqa) and parallelism (muqābala), e.g.

<table>
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<th>4</th>
<th>2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>כהן / בכין</td>
<td>כהן / בכין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here again, ha-Levi, exactly like Ibn Hamdis (see above, p. 260), employs an effective example of antithesis and parallelism in one line (4), stressing the underlying similarity of the contrasting images:

חלב הוותך עיני מים לורת אוכלום
שיבית שומורין אני כמור לחרידך

Another example is line 25, exhibiting the contrasting images of being happy for its peace and being in pain for its ruin:

ום תבשימיםشبهים לשלוחים הוכרים
על תבשימים הוכהים על טביבך.
Ha-Levi employs another Arabic poetic device, paranomasia (mujānasa), which is based on the juxtaposition of words with a similar sound but a different meaning. He seems to be fond of this rhetorical ornament, using it often with its various forms throughout, e.g.

In line 6, the poet introduces his rhyme with a paranomasia using skilfully the frequency of the sound sh which occurs six times, and the rhyme letter which occurs five times in the line:

\[
\text{شَيْتٍ تُنْمِيطُ الشَّامِ، رَّفُحُ}
\]

Another example is to be found in line 18:

\[
\text{بَلْ يَبْعِثُ الشَّامِ، بَلْ يَبْعِثُ الشَّامِ}
\]

The following is a list of all forms of paranomasia employed by the poet throughout the poem:
In summary, this chapter parallels the previous chapter in that it has been an attempt to analyze in detail the theme, the meaning, the structure of words and the imagery in ha-Levi's poem The Ode to Zion.

The first section tried to shed light on the theme of the poem where Zion is the focus of the poet's feelings and their expression. The study showed that the essential part of the poet's vision is the lamenting of the fate of Jews and the Holy City of Jerusalem which has a highly symbolic function in the history of Judaism.
In the second section the study aimed to assemble enough evidence to show that ha-Levi's poem is a good example of Hebrew application of the Arabic qaṣīda scheme in form and content. The third section is an attempt to demonstrate that the poet explores various linguistic aspects such as the phonological properties of the rhyme letter and other sounds, and the internal structure of words and sentences, to get across the feeling of frustration resulting from the situation of the Jews, and the hope that they will be reunited with Zion.

The same can be said about the use of imagery for aesthetic value. His images seem to derive from two main sources: the Bible and the Arabic poetry.
Notes to Chapter Two

1. See Part Two, Chapter One of this thesis, pp. 130-133.


3. Abraham Bar Yosef, Mi-Shirat ymei ha-Beinayim (Tel-Aviv, 1980), p. 155


5. Bar Yosef, p. 159


7. Barghûbîr, p. 269

8. Ezra Fleisher, Shirat ha-Qodesh ha-Ivrit bi- ymei ha-Beinayim (Jerusalem, 1975), pp. 41-46, also, see Weinberg, The Jewish Prince in Muslim Spain, p. 9

9. T. Carmi, Hebrew Verse, p. 15

10. Weinberg, p. 11

11. Goldstein, The Jewish Poets of Spain, p. 19

12. Yosef Dana, Ha-Po'tiqah shel-ha-Shira ha-Ivrit: Šfarad bi-Yemei ha-Beinayim (Tel-Aviv, 1982), p. xii


14. David Yellin, Torat ha-Shira ha-Sfaradit (Jerusalem, 1972), p. 52, also, see Weinberg, p. 12

15. I. Anis, Musiqa al-Shcîr, p. 189


17. H. Naṣṣâr, al-Qâfiya, p. 45

18. Anis, p. 258

19. Dan Pagis, Hidush u-Masoret be-Shirat ha-Hol ha-Ivrit, pp. 70-77

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