Arabic and Hebrew Poetry in Andalusia between Light and Darkness

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By

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Cambridge Scholars Publishing

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I dedicate this book to the soul of my parents,
Thanks to my wife Londw, my daughters Maram, Marwa and Alla
and my son Muhammad

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INTRODUCTION

The country of Andalus is the land of beauty and spectacular scenery, the land of culture, poetry, palaces, and science, yet there have been many shocks and upheavals that have corrupted everything good and beautiful in it. These upheavals caused instability that wreaked havoc and destruction.

In this study, I intend to shed light on the points of light and the golden age that characterized Andalus and also to address the less pleasant situations experienced by the locals, Muslims and Jews. In hindsight, it can be noted that at one point, the fate of the Muslims and Jews was similar, and this is reflected in the poems that remain from that period.

In the first half of the 20th century, there was a huge development in the study of Hebrew poetry of the Middle Ages, much of which is due to the research of Chaim Brady, Jacob Simchoni, and Benzion Halper, but due to their distance from the Arabic language, their main work was preparing scientific editions of poems and bibliographic recordings. David Yellin, who was of Babylonian descent, was well acquainted with the life of the Arabs and their language and culture, and he showed great interest in the connection between Hebrew poetry and Arabic poetry, especially in the field of rhetoric. Due to their lack of command of Arabic, only a few of his students followed him, so not enough research was done on the affinity between the two. After Yellin's death, Haim Shirman inherited the stage of comparative research. He was aware of the impact that existed between the two and encouraged his students to explore the issue. Of his students, only Dan Pagis was privileged to explore the affinity between Arabic and Hebrew sand poetry, followed by Yehuda Ratzbi and Israel Levin, who also explored this affinity.

To date, comparative research has focused on the question of the affinity and contacts between Arabic poetry and Hebrew poetry and between the Arab *maqams* and the Hebrew *maqams* in Spain.[1] Many studies have examined the connection of Hebrew poetry to Arabic poetry and showed how motifs in the latter made their way into the former.[2]

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[1] Chaim Schirman, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* [Hebrew], ed. Ezra Fleischer (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1995), 475.

[2] Many studies have described an undoubted affinity between the two. Amongst them are Ezra Fleischer, *Hebrew Poetry in Spain and Its Branches*, vol. II

Throughout the ages, Hebrew literature has been influenced by the literature of the surrounding cultures, and in the Age of Andalus, by Arabic literature in particular. A pioneering comparative study is presented here that sheds light on the motifs the Jewish poets used in their complaint and aesthetic poetry under the influence of Arabic poetry.

The foremost two experts on the question of the connection between Arabic and Hebrew poetry, Yehuda Ratzhabi and Yisrael Levin, have mainly examined secular poetry. In addition, Pagis sought to incorporate the new approach proposed by Schirman, who studied medieval Arabic and Hebrew poetry. Tobi discussed the link between the two poetry corpora, noting that although sacred Hebrew poetry was rooted in ancient Israelite *piyut*, it was not impervious to Arabic influence, albeit to a lesser degree than secular poetry. In their studies, Ratzhabi and Levin provide many parallels showing that the Jewish poets of Andalus[3] were very familiar with Arabic poetry, not only borrowing its form and rhetoric but also its themes and subject matter. The contact between the two led to the influence of Arabic poetry on Hebrew poetry only after certain processes in the two societies brought them close together. It was no accident that Hebrew poetry imitated Arabic poetry; this was clearly intended by the poets. The Jews of Andalus saw Arabic poetry as superior to all other forms and felt that they should copy their methods in their own writing.

This book relies on the method of comparative research in the attitudes and perceptions of Muslim and Jewish poets to the topics discussed in the Andalusian period. For the sake of illustration, I cite examples in English translation from both the Arabic and Hebrew cultures.

This study is considered pioneering and groundbreaking in comparative literature during the Muslim Andalusian period. It consists of an introduction, followed by four main sections, divided into sub-sections.

In the introduction, I present the subject of the research and its methodology. The tool I use is the comparative method, with which I attempt to expose the complexity of the *hanīn* and attitudes toward Spain and Zion. It also helps me examine how wandering and exile contributed to the birth of new sub-genres, standing in their own right. I also refer to the importance of the study as a response to the shortage of concrete comparative studies between these two types of poetry. I conclude the

(Jerusalem, 2009), 381-397; Yossef Tobi, "The Secular Hebrew Poetry and Arab Poetry of the Middle-Ages" [Hebrew] in *Secular Poetry*, ed. Yossef Tobi (Haifa, 1988), 46; Dan Pagis, *Renewal and Tradition in Hebrew Sand Song: Spain and Italy* (Jerusalem, 1976); Schirman, *History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain*, 26.

[3] Yehuda Ratzabi, *Borrowed Motifs in the Literature of Israel* [Hebrew] (Tel-Aviv, 2007), 8-9.

introduction by presenting the historical background of the political and cultural events taking place in the lives of the poets discussed, especially the change of regime from the Umayyads to the Murābitūn, the Fitna, and Muwahhidūn.

In the first chapter, I relate man's linkage to a place and especially to his homeland. I also lay the theoretical base on which the study was built, defining the main terms "exile" and "wandering" and discussing the elegy for cities. These issues had a central role in the growing and development of the yearning (*al-hanīn*). In order to present the yearning and the importance of homeland in the broad Spanish context, I present a variety of examples.

Furthermore, I review the state of research into the *hanīn* and the "elegy for cities" genre in Andalus in Hebrew and Arabic poetry. Regarding the characterization of the "elegy for cities" genre, this has been considered quite an innovation in the Andalusian period, unlike the "elegy for kingdoms" genre. I also comment on the unique affinity developed by Andalusian poets to sites and nature, which were the origin of inspiration for their poetry.

This chapter also deals with the question of belonging and the homeland. The Muslims perceived the region of Andalus as their homeland; they loved it and connected to its charming nature and landscape. The sense of belonging of the Muslims was so great that they saw Andalus as a kind of paradise on earth. But the Jews' perception of Andalus was different. Although the poets I will refer to were born and raised in the cities of Andalus, they had a different conception of it from the Muslims. The Jewish poets did not hide their longing for the Land of Zion, especially in their poems of longing, complaint, and redemption. Andalus is considered the land of exile, and as long as they were not in their homeland, the Land of Zion, they would suffer and would not rest until they returned to Zion.

Ibn Ezra expresses grief and sorrow for deserted homes and the pain of parting and exile. Halevi's yearnings for the homeland he had never seen were different to Ibn Ezra's, which all related being born in Andalus and missing the cities that had been forsaken. Conversely, Halevi's longings were spiritual and related to the Holy Places, which he had never seen. Therefore, I chose to focus on the development and the features of his Poems of Zion, which comprise one complete unit of yearning. The most famous of them, "Zion, will you enquire," is a poem of longing and an elegy for a city. Halevi, as well as other Jewish poets, did not compose elegies for the Andalusian cities they were born in. In their national elegies, they related the destruction of the Jewish congregations in these cities.

Halevi's strong spiritual longings face the future, whereas those of the other poets discussed here relate to the past. Halevi, by force of his yearning, took a dramatic step, leaving Spain and sailing to the land of Israel, which was then under the Crusaders' occupation. The other poets took no real steps and made no attempt to return to their homeland.

The second chapter discusses and examines how the lamentations for cities (elegies for cities) and the cry for redemption genre grew. It also considers the extent to which we can use the term *Nakba* for those events and persecutions. I also discuss the growth of *Istisrākh* (cry for redemption) poetry, a sub-genre originating from the elegy for cities and yearning for devastated places.[4]

In this chapter, we raise an entirely new issue that other studies have not yet discussed or ignored. A fateful issue that has preoccupied many of us concerns the fate of Muslims and Jews in the shadow of the events that took place during the reign of the Murābitūn, the Muwaḥḥidūn and the Reconquista, and Christian attacks on Muslim-occupied cities.

These wars, persecutions, and fierce battles hit the Muslims mercilessly and cruelly. Of course, one can distinguish between disturbances perpetrated by those considered barbarians among the Muslims, whose aim was to subjugate Andalus to their rule, while the Christians declared war on religion and disagreed with the existence of a Muslim state in the heart of Europe.

These events and disturbances were accompanied by acts of persecution against Muslims and Jews, as well as the destruction of Jewish cities and communities. Christians committed murders and massacres against helpless residents. These acts are called Nakba (نكبة, disaster) because its consequences were very severe. The cities of the Muslims were destroyed, and the houses caught fire and the inhabitants became exiles.

All forms of torture and harassment of Muslims and Jews were expressed in lamentations written about the affected cities and communities. Among Muslims, a new genre was created that was called Istisrākh poetry.

I also examine the crimes committed in Andalus, the way the characteristics of the Nakba were expressed in the lamentations for cities and communities, and the importance of the Cry of Wailing as a central subject in the lamentations. This genre refers to poetry written in the wake of the events that took place in Andalus, from the rise of the Muwaḥḥidūn to the Reconquista. Scholarship treats the poetry of wailing as a distinct poetic category in the lamentations for the cities. Later, the poetry of wailing became an independent sub-genre with characteristic features noted for documenting historical events and their zeitgeist.

[4] Brann, "Patterns of Exile in Hebrew and Arabic Lamentations," 54-56.

The third chapter examines the appearance of women's poetry in the Andalusian period. The phenomenon of women poets has been known since the Jahaliya period, but we do not know of any women who wrote a love poem. Among the famous women who wrote poetry was al-Khansā,' who composed lamentations about the death of her brother. After the advent of Islam, the poetry of love and desire developed and prospered among men, but not among women. Arab society in those days was very conservative, and women were forbidden to reveal their love in public.

In the Andalusian period, with the transition from the traditional East to the open and liberal West, there was a change in attitude toward women. The disengagement from the East was a demonstration of the ability to produce and innovate issues both in the field of content and in the field of form. Arabic poetry as a whole changed its face in Spain. The poem of the desert became the poem of permanent residents, the poem of kings and courtiers in palaces surrounded by gardens.

In this chapter, I also address the phenomenon of Muslim and Jewish women entering the unconventional circle of writing and poetry that characterizes the spirit of the period in Andalus. The first Andalusian poet to sing love poems was Ḥafṣa bint Hamdon al-Hajjariya. She was born in Wadi Hajara in the region of Madrid and gained much status and appreciation in the 10th century. She was from a wealthy family and received a liberal education away from conservative customs and traditions. She did not express weakness in her poems or deference in front of the male poets but a strong personal pride, which was expressed in her appeal to her beloved.

Finally, the fourth chapter focuses on a reflection on the personal experience in the poetry of Ibn Ezra and Yehuda Halevi. The poetry of the two differs from period to period. In their heyday, one can see poetry reflecting the spirit of the period, happiness and joy, while in a later period, one can recognize poetry in which the poets complain against fate, wanderings, and exile.

CHAPTER ONE

EXILE AND HEAVEN IN ARABIC AND HEBREW POETRY IN ANDALUS

Introduction

Andalusian poets' affinity and attitude toward their homeland raise questions regarding their belonging to the homeland where they were born and brought up. The relation that was established between the poet and their homeland, Andalus, should be examined. For this purpose, I will focus on four exiled poets and present a comparative discussion between two Muslim poets (Ibn Ḥamdīs and Ibn Ḫafāja) and two Jewish poets (Ibn Ezra and Yehuda Halevi) who lived at the same time, providing additional examples from other poets of the time.

The affinity that was created between the individual and the place in Andalusian times had a vast influence on the development of yearning and belonging to a place, which eventually developed into yearnings for the homeland (*waṭan*, وطن) a term that was established during the Andalusian period.[1] It should be noted that the term did not exist in the Arabian Peninsula when Arabs and Muslims did not have an urban lifestyle that reflected stability; a nomadic lifestyle, roaming from one place to another, searching for their livelihood, and so forth were prevalent at the time.

This research will present two different perspectives regarding poets' regard for the same homeland – Andalus. The demonstration of their affinity is reflected, directly or indirectly, both in secular and liturgical poems. Muslim poets viewed Andalus as heaven on earth, while Jewish poets regarded Andalus in their liturgical poems as a foreign place that is perceived as a place of exile.

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[1] ʿAbdallah Tarabieh, "Exile and wanderings: A comparative study of the hanīn and other comparable genres in Arabic and Hebrew poetry in eleventh and twelfth century Spain" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, 2009), 47. This term relates to the term *Mawāṭin al-Balābil*, the meaning of which is "the place where the female camel rests." See Abū ʿUṯmān al-Jāḥiẓ, "Risālat Al-ḥanīn ilā al-'Awtān," in *Rasāil al-Ǧāḥiẓ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn (Beirut, 1991), 385.

The affinity to a place, both in Muslim and Jewish poetry in medieval Andalus, is clearly reflected in Andalusian nature poetry. The homeland gained a unique status in the poetry of poets who were displaced from their homeland and exiled. The displacement and destruction of places and the homeland evoked a strong yearning for those ruined places among the poets. Their yearning for and grief over the destruction of their cities and communities reflect the deep affinity they have for the homeland.

The destruction of cities is particularly noticeable in the descriptions of grief and sorrow of the Andalusian poets. These texts served as the basis for the development of elegies for the annihilated cities. In these elegies, the poets described the glorious past of the cities while also lamenting their destruction. The reader of those poems can identify the image of the place the poet refers to as well as the name of the city and its characteristics. Braan, who has studied the theme of exile, describes the abandoned houses, stray wild animals, and raging fires. These descriptions signify the destruction of the city.[2]

The wandering and yearning

I want to distinguish between the terms *immigration* and *wandering*. Immigration and settlement constitute a constant process that continues almost incessantly and is as old as time. For example, in the classical period, in ancient Greece and Rome, there were ups and downs both in the rate and the intensity of settlement.[3] However, the immigration of Arab tribes from the Arabian Peninsula and the Syrian desert to other areas is better described as wandering.

The severance from the place created a gap between past and present, particularly when the present includes a new reality and the future is unknown. In states of wandering and immigration, people develop a sense of yearning. This phenomenon accompanied the Jewish people from the period of the destruction of the Jewish settlement in Israel following the religious decrees of Antiochus IV and the Jews scattering across the Seleucid Empire.[4] The reasons for the Israelites' immigration to other countries are no different from the reasons of those from other nations. Nonetheless, it is common to see the Jewish exile as a unique historical

[2] Brann, "Patterns of Exile in Hebrew and Arabic Lamentations," 45-62.

[3] Shalom Perlman, "Immigration and Settlement in Classic Greece" [Hebrew], in *Immigration and Settlement in Israel and the Diaspora*, ed. Avigdor Sha'anan (Jerusalem: Zalman Šazār, 1981), 46.

[4] Yossef Ben Matityahu Yossefous, *The Jews' Antiquity* [Hebrew], trans., intro. and ann. Avraham Shalit (Jerusalem: Byaliq, 1963), 296, 299.

phenomenon in the history of nations. Although the Jewish immigrants were exposed to strong influences from their environment, they maintained their national and religious identity.[5]

Since the *ḥanīn* (حنين), the yearning, in Andalusian poetry involves the place and the homeland, I feel obligated to clarify this issue from a phenomenological perspective. This phenomenon is characteristic for every person in exile, and it is rooted deep in all cultures of the world. The *ḥanīn* is a phenomenon with social and cultural dimensions; it is a cyclical phenomenon that revolves around memories, images, and perceptions among various populations. This work addresses this phenomenon from the literary dimension.

The signs that appear around the period of the Bible, the *midrāsh* and the *aggadah*, serve the poetry that focuses on the homeland and its fate, and the universal aspect complements the poem externally. The destruction of the first and second Temple was a central interest for medieval poets, both on the individual and the collective level.[6] Thus, the image of the exiled – both as an individual and a collective – is prominent in poems and develops complex relationships with figures and matters that are related to it.[7] This is a symbol that unifies all the generations that experienced deportation from their homeland and persecution in exile. This example is a clear testimony of the persistence of destruction throughout the generations.[8]

There is a need to relate to and examine the meanings of wandering and the journey in the creations of Andalusian poets, especially in the poems of Ibn Ḫafāja (1058-1138) and Ibn Ḥamdīs (1085-1138). Wandering is a mythical theme that appears in ancient sources (Sumerian, biblical, Egyptian, and Greek myths) and in Eastern and Western cultures.[9] Wandering and exile are important and central factors in the emotional excitement of the poets and their yearning for the places they had to leave behind.

As a historical process, wandering is expressed through the seeking of food or as a consequence of war. Immigration has a degree of agency on the

[5] Aryeh Kasher, "Immigration and Settlement in the Hellenistic-Roman Period" [Hebrew], in *Immigration and Settlement*, ed. Avigdor Sha'anan (Jerusalem: Zalman Šazār, 1981), 91.

[6] Aviva Doron, *Judah Halevi: A Selection of Critical Essays of His Poetry* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv, 1988), 123.

[7] Zvi Malachi, "Designing the images of exile in the poetry of Rabbi Judah Halevi" [Hebrew], in *Benoam Siach: Studies in the History of Our Literature* (Tel Aviv, Maḫūn Hibrman, 1982), 168-170.

[8] Israel Levin, "Suffering in the Reconquista Crisis in the Poetry of Rabbi Yehuda Halevi" [Hebrew], *The Treasures of Hispano-Jews* 7 (1962): 57.

[9] Ibid.

part of the immigrant, who chooses the destination country, while in wandering, the wanderer usually cannot choose the destination country and place of residence. In choosing the new location, the wanderer maintains the memory of their place of origin. If their departure from that place was coerced, it would evoke grief and yearning for that place of origin.

The affinity between man and place

During the *Ǧahiliyya* (pre-Islamic era) and the early Islamic period, place was not particularly considered. The nomadic lifestyle that characterized the desert-dwellers influenced a person's behavior. The shift from the empty desert to the spectacular and blooming nature developed in them, especially in the nomadic poets, a special approach toward place. Place became a central axis in Andalusian poetry, which developed and advanced the notion of yearning and exile. With these terms, the poet managed to express and reflect his strong feelings toward the place from which he was torn.[10] The poet attempted to mentally revive the old place, his "homeland," through his imagination. The life of stability, wealth, and Andalusian landscape brought on tranquillity, promoting love toward the place where he was born or where he lived. The poetic image portrays the poets' attitude toward place as the poet adjusts the dimension of time to the dimension of space. Namely, the image of the passing past is depicted by the ruins of the place, *atlāl* (أطلال).

In love and departure poems, the location had a special place in ancient Arabic poetry. This significance was attributed indirectly, and only since the deserted place symbolizes and alludes to the staying of a loved one or friends there. The traditional introduction "standing on ruins (*atlāl*)" is a psychologically significant allusion for eternalizing the memories and yearnings of the poet for the place where he met his loved one. Sorrow and pain took over him and evoked a yearning for the ruins of the place where his loved one stayed. The poet develops love and affinity for the remaining ruins, as they remind him of his loved one who deserted the place. His love for the place stems from the secret love of the desirable loved one.[11]

The first generation of Muslims who settled in Andalus did not view it as their homeland. Although the Muslims moved to the far West, they did not desert their culture and legacy and kept looking to and yearning for the

[10] Muḥammad Ḥūr, *al-Ḥanīn ilā l-Awtān fī al-Adab al-ʿArabi* (Cairo: Dār al-Nahḍa, 1978), 33-39.

[11] Saʿīd Muḥammad Muḥammad, *Dirāsāt fī l-ʾAdab l-ʾAndalusī* (Libya: Dār al-Nahḍa, 2001), 122.

East.[12] Garcia Gomez views Andalusian poetry as a drop in the ocean of oriental poetry.[13] The Andalusians took pride in their poetry and saw themselves as the successors of the poets from the East in terms of structure and themes while also bringing innovation through their use of simple and delicate language that expressed their feelings, rather than using rigid and complex proverbs as was common in the East.[14] They viewed Andalus as a foreign land that was conquered as part of a religious mission. The sense of exile in the Muslim immigrants who arrived later from various countries, such as Syria, challenged their adjustment to the new place. Only from the 10th century onward did the creations of the Arabian poets in Spain incorporate local landscapes that impressed them while still relating to common oriental literary patterns.[15]

In the 11th century, the Muslim Andalusian poets felt liberated from having to mimic the cultural centers of the East and focused on original creations of praise poems for Spanish cities. The Muslims dominated Spain from the 8th century, and their culture developed fast at the beginning of the 10th century in Andalusia.[16] They developed a strong mental connection and sense of belonging to their place of residence, the landscape, and nature. Any attempt to damage the relationship that was created between them caused poets insufferable agony. An injury to this relationship is expressed mostly in the exile of the poets from their hometown. In such situations, the exiled and nomads had many challenges to face. Their wandering and departure from home brought on the development of the yearning genre and elegies for cities.[17] These genres are characteristic of both Muslim and Jewish poets.

The field of geography was particularly significant for the Andalusian culture, and it had a specific local nature within the borders of Andalus.

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[12] ʿUmar Al-Daqqaq, *Malāmiḥ al-Šiʿar al-Andalusī* (Beirut: Dār al-Šurūq, 1988), 39.

[13] E. García Gómez, "Hipocorísticos árabes y patronímicos hispánicos," *Arabica* 1 (1954): 9-13; see also Angel Palencia, *Tarīḫ al-Fikir al-Andalusī*, ed. Hossein Moanes (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ṯaqāfa al-Dīniyya, 1955), 42.

[14] Jawdat Ricābī, *Fī l-Adab l-Andalusī* (Cairo: Dār al-Mâārif, 1982), 114.

[15] Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Al-Maqarrī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb wa-Dhikr Waziriha Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968), 1, 126, 193; 4, 205; Aviva Doron, "Cities in the Hebrew Poetry of Spain" [Hebrew], in *The Book of Israel Levin: An Anthology of Hebrew Poetry*, eds. Reuven Zur and Tova Rosen (Tel Aviv, 1994); Reynold Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* [Hebrew], trans. Yo'el Rivlin (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1960), 323.

[16] Schirman, *History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain*, 19.

[17] Fatima Tahtaḥ, *al-Ġurba Wa-l-Ḥanīn fī al-Šiʿar al-Andalusī* (Rabat: Dār al-Adāb, 1993), 35; Tarabieh, "Exile and wanderings," 3.

Yearnings for a specific local nature can be identified in the poetry of Ibn Ḥamdīs, who was exiled and wandered from Sicily to Seville in Andalus, and Ibn Ḥafāja, who was exiled from his homeland Ǧazīrat Šuqarشُقر to the city of Valencia. In these creations, the poet's reaction involves, to a great extent, a stimulation toward a specific geographical location that is linked to personal, cultural, and national associations.[18]

Jewish poets, whose fathers were born and brought up in Andalus, and enjoyed its life of culture, joy, and riches, expressed their sorrow and pain after their expulsion in poems written in Ladino and Greek. These poems expressed the poets' yearnings for their fatherland, Andalus. In his recent article, Shmuel Raphael discusses the exile and expulsion of the Jews from Spain and their yearning for places, clarifying the image of exile.[19] I disagree with his argument that the Jewish nation is different from other nations in maintaining a strong relation with and dependency on several locations, lands, and homelands, in addition to the wide cultural variety that distinguished it at the time. When they started living under Greek and Ottoman rule, the Jews attempted, on the one hand, to maintain the Spanish culture that they absorbed while they were in Spain and, on the other, to integrate into the new culture, and they had a strong aspiration to accomplish their vision of returning to the fatherland. This state caused great confusion, as they were connected and dependent on three countries (Greece, Spain, and Israel). I would also like to note that Muslim poets who had left their first homeland in the East, migrating to another land in the West, lived in a split state and yearned for more than one place as well. References to Andalusian places and yearnings for Andalus continued to be a significant part of the poetry of those expelled from Spain.

Andalus: Paradise on Earth

The Andalusian poets viewed their homeland as holding a special status, and according to their perception of and approach to their homeland, they compare it to heaven on earth. To demonstrate this argument, I provide several of their poems' stanzas. These stanzas are sufficiently clear for demonstrating the role of geographical location for the poet. Indeed, the reader will see here some of the things I have mentioned earlier, but in different contexts which serve a different purpose.

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[18] Haya Shacham, "The Geography of the Soul: Venice in Hebrew Poetry" [Hebrew], in *Mimerkazim Lamerkaz*, ed. Nurit Govrin (Tel-Aviv, 2004), 379.

[19] Raphael Shmuel, "Spain, Greece or, Jerusalem? The yearning for the motherland in the poetry of Greek Jews," *Ramat-Gan* (2008): 1-8.

Al-Ḥamīdī (d. 1048 in Spain), like Ibn Ḫafāja, describes the virtues of the city of Šuqar-شُقر, Ibn Ḫafāja's homeland. According to his description, the city is located on an island surrounded by a river. During the winter, it can only be reached by boat. It has a spectacular natural landscape; it is abundant with trees and various fruit-bearing trees, and it has many mosques and markets. Ibn Ḫafāja notes the beautiful view and idealized environment in a poem in which he compares his homeland Andalus to paradise. While Ibn Ḫafāja is in exile in the Moroccan city of ʿUdwa, far from his homeland (Šuqar), he expressed his yearning for Andalus in the following stanzas. He notes two traits characteristic of Andalus: its bright appearance and the mental peace that the place provides its residents.

ان للجنة بالأندلس مجتلى مرآى وريا نفس
فاذا ما هبت الريح صبا صحت: واشوقي الى الأندلس[20]

The image of Eden is mirrored in Andalus / bright and soothing to the soul
When the wind that I thirsted for blows / I cry – oh how I yearn for Andalusia

According to the poet's statement, he would not trade his homeland for the paradise that awaits believers. This perception was common among secular poets who wanted to make the most of each moment of their lives and maintain their loyalty to their country. Ibn Ḫafāja, in his direct appeal to the residents of Andalus, asks them not to seek paradise, as they are already in it. Those who reach this place are protected and would not go to hell. These words were meant to send a clear message to the Andalusians to hold on to their homeland.

ما جنة الخلد إلا في دياركم ولو تخيرت هذا كنت اختار
لا تحسبوا في غدٍ أن تدخلوا سقراً فليس تدخل بعد الجنة النار[21]

The eternal paradise is in your country / if I had the choice this would be it
Do not fear before descending to hell / there is no hell after paradise

The yearning for the Andalusian cities peaked during the Muwaḥḥidūn[22] period (الموحدون) (1121-1269) due to the horrors the poet witnessed as the

[20] Ibrāhīm abū Isḥāq Ibn Ḫafāja, *al-Dīywān*, ed. Muṣtafā Ġāzī (Beirut: Dār Manša'at al-Máārif, 1961), 151.
[21] Ibid., 117.
[22] The Almohad Caliphate (from the Arabic المُوَحِّدون, *al-Muwaḥḥidūn*, "the monotheists" or "the unifiers") or Banuʿ Abd al-Mumin (from the Arabic *Banū ʿbd al-mu'min*) was a North African Berber Muslim movement and empire founded in the 12th century that controlled much of the Iberian Peninsula (Al-Andalus) and

Christian enemy captured the cities. In their yearning, they did not leave out any item through which emotions can burst.

The new place that the poets found themselves in did not grant them tranquillity and security. In their poetry, this place transmits pain and sadness. The deserted place tells the story of exile and screams for salvation. The strong connection created to these places is similar to the elegies for cities destroyed or conquered by the Christians. Through the poems they wrote in their exile, the poets sought a safe place they could live in and enjoy. The poets of the time integrated the names of famous and reputable places from history into their poems. The names of these places had a significant place in Andalusian poetry of yearning for the homeland in exile, especially in relation to two poets and two locations I will mention below.

The yearning for the homeland was considered the most common genre of Andalusian poetry. The destruction, isolation, troubles, suffering, and distress of survival in exile fed this genre and enriched it with content from real life, which evoked yearning among the poets and led them to write heart-moving elegies about the downfall of centers of glory and culture. They lamented and elegized the disappearance of entire communities.

In one of his elegies, Ibn Ḫafāja addresses Valencia as the opening for the poem in which he stands on the deserted ruins.

ألا هل الى أرض الجزيرة آوبة فأسكن أنفاسا وأهدأ مضجعا[23]

Could the return to the land of the island (*Šuqar*-شُقر) be / quieter for the soul and tranquil for sleep

The poet addresses Fate and asks rhetorical questions: could his suffering-filled life change for the better and his misery end? In this stanza, Ibn Ḫafāja expresses his longing for the glamorous past of his homeland by using double parallels, which reflect his aspiration to return to the homeland he left. His homeland is better than where he is now since it is a more peaceful, calmer place.

Ibn Ḥamdīs felt obligated to speak of the wonders of the paradise (Sicily) he left behind. Ibn Ḥamdīs left Sicily at the request of his father, who wanted to spare his life following the invasion of the Normans.

North Africa (the Maghreb). Gerhard Bowering, Patricia Crone, Mahan Mirza, Wadad Kadi, Muhammad Qasim Zaman and Devin J. Stewart, eds., *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 34.

[23] Ibid., 160.

ورائك يا بحر لي جنة لبست النعيم بها لا الشقاء[24]

Behind you, oh the sea I have, paradise / I wore benevolence there, not suffering

فان كنت اخرجت من جنة فاني احدث اخبارها[25]

If I was pulled out of paradise / Therefore I speak of it

A thorough examination of the theme of yearning for the homeland and the approach toward space requires that we also take note of the themes of prayer, revenge, and redemption, as they appear in liturgical poetry. The cries against displacement and exile were accompanied by prayers and calls to repair the state of the nation. Suffering in exile and displacement were the foundations for the development of the genres of yearning and elegy for cities in Muslim and Jewish poetry.[26]

Yearnings for the homeland were integrated into elegies for cities in Andalusian poetry and evolved into an independent genre, although it is difficult to separate the elegies for cities from subjects that are included in them from the *ḥanīn.*[27]

Ibn Ḫafāja had to leave his homeland and move to North Africa. There, he began lamenting his exile while expressing longings for Andalus, as expressed in one of the elegies in his diwan named "Your garden is destroyed" (عاثت بساحتك, *ʿāṯat bisāḥatika*). In this elegy, Ibn Ḫafāja laments and longs for the days of his youth and stands on the ruins of the camp in which he spent time with his friends before the destruction.

عاثت بساحتك الظبى يا دار ومحا محاسنك البلى والنار
وإذا تردد في جانبك ناظر طال اعتبار فيك واستعبار
ارض تقاذفت النوى بقاطينها وتمخضت بخرابها الأقدار
فجعلت انشد خير سادة أهلها لا أنت أنت ولا الديار ديار
كتبت يد الحدثان في عرصاتها لا أنت أنت ولا الديار ديار[28]

The deer wandered in your yards / and the fire and disaster corrupted your beautiful views

[24] Ibid., 4.
[25] Ibid., 183.
[26] Israel Levin, "Moses Ibn Ezra's Poems of Wandering and Suffering" [Hebrew], *The Treasury of the Spanish Jews* 9 (1966): 68.
[27] Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Zayyāt, *Riṯā' al-Mudun fī al-Šaiʿr al-Andalusī* (Banghāzī: National Government Publication, 1998), 90-95.
[28] Al-Maqarrī, *Nafḥ al-Tīb*, 6, 200.

If a passer-by will stop and tragedies attack its inhabitants / left marks of ruin and destruction in it
I started singing for the good masters that were there / you are not you, and the homes are not the same homes
The hand of faith and disasters decided to harm the yards of the city / you are not you, and the homes are not the same homes

Only four stanzas remain of this elegy, which clutches at the heart and fills it with grief for the disaster that struck that city. Al-Maqama reclassified it as an elegy for the cities. Al-Zayyāt added it to the collection of Andalusian elegies in the appendix to the book written by Rṯāʾ al-Mudun. Ibn Ḫafāja depicts a brutal image of the state of the city after its destruction, similar to the destruction that occurred in Valencia after it burned down; an image painted through the poet's emotions while deer are roaming in the city, whose beauty had been destroyed.

Ibn Ḫafāja felt a similar sense of frustration and hopelessness over his inability to return to his homeland, knowing it would never be possible for him. Thus, his poems address the frustrated self and, with a personal-public tone, he tries to evoke the spiritual-national sense by expressing yearnings for the splendorous times of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula, as can be seen below:

تحلت به ما بين سلمى ومربع سوالف أيام سلفن كرام
ورب ليال بالغميم أرقتها لمرضى جفون بالفرات نيام
فليت نسيم الريح رقرق أدمعي خلال ديار باللوى وخيام
فيا عرف ريح عاج عن بطن لعلع يجر على الأنداء فضل زمام
بما بيننا بالحقف من رمل عالج وفي ملتقى الأرطى بسفح شمام
ومنتقل مستقبل كعبة العلى[29] يصلي بأهليها صلاة زؤام

We had beautiful days between Salmā and Marbi [places in the Arabian Peninsula] / generous days that have gone past
While at nights in ġamīm [in Iraq] my sleep wanders / and my eyelids are sick for the people who sleep in the land of the Euphrates
I wish the wind that blows in the morning will cause my tears to drop / as it passes over their tents in Alloa
Woe for those who recognize the wind blowing from La'la' / carrying the drops of dew and rain
What is between us in al-Khalaf is healed by sand / and with the Ala'rti encounter on the Shamam slope
Turns to welcome the Kaaba of the heavens / in which he will say with its residents the prayer for the deceased

[29] Ibn Ḫafāja, *al-Dīwān*, 258-259.

In this poem, we see references to geographic locations and trees that grow in the East and cannot be found in the West (Andalusia). In order to illustrate this point, I will note several references to such locations. Ibn Ḫafāja mentions numerous places in the Arabian Peninsula: عذيب (ʿAḏīb), أراكة (Arāka), غميم (ġamīm), أثافي (Aṯāfī), and تيماء (Taymāʾ).[30] The inclusion of these places indicates the affinity of the Andalusian poets to the East and the degree of intense yearnings that echo within them and pour out in their poems.

Zaynab examined the poetry of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (fl. 10th century), and she distinguishes between two types of places: general, undefined places, which include the heavens and the earth, the desert, the mountain, and the underwater world; and specific, human-defined places, which include residences like tents in the desert, houses in cities, and so forth.[31]

Exile, wandering, and departure from one's homeland have severe influences on the human psyche. These influences belong in the psychological field. Therefore, psychologists have focused on the importance of the place that can provide rest, stability, and tranquility. The Jewish poets in Andalus expressed in their poetry the deep connection to the Andalus of their birth, their material land and personal home,[32] and also expressed their yearnings for their national home in Zion. Their yearnings for their national and historical land are expressed in liturgical poems and especially in national elegies, while their affinity and yearnings for Spain and its landscapes were expressed in the secular poetry focusing on the individual.[33] The Jewish poets' descriptions of Andalus as Eden can be seen in the descriptions of the spectacular locations and landscapes characteristic of Andalus in Hasdai Ibn Shaprut's (910-970) letters to the Khazar king.[34] Jewish poetry strongly emphasized the place of birth and residence with the same intensity as the Muslims' regard for the same land, however each of the poets had a different approach through which to express their affinity to and yearnings for the homeland and paradise-like landscape.[35] In their secular poetry, the Jewish

[30] Ibid., 232.
[31] ʿAbd al-Karīm Zaynab, "Al-Makān fī Shi'ar al-Šarīf al-Raḍī" (Work for a degree in the humanities, al-Mūṣul University, Baghdad, 2002), 3-26.
[32] Doron, "Cities in the Hebrew Poetry of Spain," 69.
[33] Aviva Doron, "Glory to Egypt" [Hebrew], in *Studies of the Literature of the Israelites and the Culture of Yemen: The 50 Years Anniversary Book for Yehuda Ratzabi*, eds. Ephraim Hazan and Yehudit Dishon (Ramat-Gan: Bar Elan, 1991), 253.
[34] Schirman, *History of Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain*, 100.
[35] Doron, "Cities in the Hebrew Poetry of Spain," 78.

poets did not centralize their yearnings for Zion. This poetry did not focus on yearnings for redemption, although it was influenced by Arab poetry, which was court poetry.

The Jewish poet is different from the Muslim poet in terms of spirituality, status, and society.[36] The Jewish poet feels insecure in exile and the foreign land, and the Jews migrated from one Spanish city to another, while the Land of Zion was their most beloved place, despite its state of destruction. Their love for Zion, the homeland, was reflected in the national poems in which they prayed for redemption from above.[37] The sense of exile and search for redemption intensified and stood against the backdrop of the Jewish poet's expression of his sentiments and emotions toward his homeland in his roaming from Muslim Spain to Christian Spain.[38] The Hebrew poet Yehuda Halevi mentioned his aspiration and preference to spend one day in Zion over a thousand days of exile in Spain:

טוֹב יוֹם עַל אַדְמַת אֵל מֵאֶלֶף בְּאַדְמַת זָר [39]

Ratzaby likens exile to prison or a tomb, as does Moses Ibn Ezra:[40]

וְכִי תֵבֵל כְּחוֹתָם צַר לְנוּדֶךָ, / וְרָחְבָּה בִּלְתְּךָ בָּתֵּי כְלָאִים[41]
עֲדֵי אֶגְוַע בְּאֶרֶץ יִמְעָטוּ בָהּ / עָלַי קִבְרֵי מְאֹד בּוֹכִים וְהוֹמִים[42]

The approach of the Muslim poet was to encourage the return to Andalus, but this approach is contrasted with that of the Jewish poets, such as Samuel Ibn Naghrillah (933-1056), Shelomo Ibn Gebirol (1021-1053), Moses Ibn Ezra (1085-1138), and Yehuda Halevi (1075-1141).

Samuel Ibn Naghrillah gained a respectable status in the Muslim court; however, he still suffered the pain of wandering and wrote poems that relate

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[36] Tobi, "Secular Hebrew Poetry and Arab Poetry," 46.
[37] Aaviva Opaz, "The Obligation and Justification of Exile in the Poetry of Yehuda Halevi" [Hebrew], *Alei Siach* 24, Haqibūtz hameaūḥād (1986): 88.
[38] Yehudit Dishon, "Exile and Redemption in the Book Tachkemonī" [Hebrew], *Teuda* 19 (2002): 171.
[39] Dov Yarden, ed., *The Liturgical Poems of Rabbi Yehuda Halevi*, vols. 1-4 [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1977-1978), 952.
[40] Ratzabi, *Borrowed Motifs in the Literature of Israel*.
[41] Heinrich (Chaim) Brody, ed., *The Secular Poetry of Rabbi Moses Ibn Ezra* [Hebrew] (Berlin, 1934), 164.
[42] Ibid., 137.

to national exile. In "בלבי חום," which is defined as a war poem, he expresses longing and yearning for the redemption of his people in the Holy Land.[43]

בְּחַיֵּי גוֹאֲלִי חַי, עוֹד אָקוּ עַד אֲשֶׁר לֹא חַי אֶהְיֶה, קִבּוּץ פִּזּוּרִים[44]

He declares that he would leave Spain and intended to forgo all of its riches. He called for his people to return to their homeland and visit the Temple, but this declaration was not realized.

For Rabbi Shelomo Ibn Gebirol, it seems that exile and wandering were not as bad as Jewish society and its community. The escape from the people of Zaragoza stemmed from personal constraints, including estrangement and alienation from the members of his community. Ibn Gebirol wanted to leave not only his homeland but the whole of Muslim Spain.

שִׁימִי סְפָרַד אַחֲרַי גִּנּוּךְ וְאַל תִּתְעַכְּבִי
עַד תִּדְרְכִי צֹעַן וְגַם בָּבֶל וְאֶרֶץ הַצְּבִי [45]

His soul is yearning to leave benevolent Spain and seek spiritual redemption. His longings are for redemption and an exit from spiritual exile, as mentioned in the stanzas above. We have no evidence that indicates where Ibn Gebirol arrived after he escaped from Zaragoza, but it should be noted that, unlike other Spanish poets, his poems do not lament the nomadic life or any struggles related to this lifestyle.

Rabbi Moses Ibn Ezra referred to Israel in his "national" poems according to the tradition of his predecessors, which primarily speaks of the wait for redemption from above. He wrote a conversation between Israel and its loved one, God, as an allegoric conversation between two lovers, where one reveals her suffering in exile and the other comforts her and reveals that she will be redeemed. This perception is similar to the perception of other poets who anticipated such redemption in vain and had to accept the sufferings of exile.

Ibn Ezra's poems and elegies had one purpose: to describe the distress of the Israelites in exile and to evoke redemption from above. His attitude toward the place – Granada and Andalus – is similar to that of the Muslim poets. He expresses his feelings and yearning for the homes that used to be a source of joy and comfort for him, but which are now destroyed and desolate:

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[43] Dov Yarden, ed., *The Liturgical Poetry of Rabbi Shelomo Ibn Gebirol*, vols. 1-2 [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1970-1973), 155.
[44] Ibid., 81.
[45] Yarden, *The Liturgical Poems of Rabbi Yehuda Halevi*, vols. 1-4, 13.

מְגוּרֵי אֹהֲבַי נוֹתְרוּ שְׁאִיּוֹת.
מְגוּרֵי אֹהֲבַי נוֹתְרוּ שְׁאִיּוֹת / וְשָׁבוּ אַרְמְנוֹתֵיהֶם כְּצִיּוֹת
וּמִשְׁלָח נוֹעֲדוּ לִבְנוֹת עֲפָרִים / וּמֵרָמָס נִקְרְאוּ לִבְנֵי צְבִיּוֹת
וְתַחְתָּם רָבְצוּ הַיּוֹם נְמֵרִים / וְתוֹכָם נָעֲרוּ גּוֹרֵי אֲרָיוֹת
וְגַנִּים קִנְּנוּ שָׁם סִיס וְעָגוּר / לְקוֹנֵן נִקְבְּצוּ דֵּיוֹת וְאַיּוֹת
אֲשׁוֹטֵט אַךְ עֲלֵי קִירוֹת נְטוּיוֹת / וְאֶסֹּב הַגְּדֵרוֹת הַדְּחוּיוֹת
וְעַפְרוֹתָם אֲחוֹנֵן אַט וְאֶרְצֶה / אֲבָנִים מַעֲרֹמוֹתָם לְחַיּוֹת[46]

In the following poem, the poet is filled with hope and yearns to return to his homeland since his stay in a foreign land causes him unease and insomnia. His life is full of grief and sadness at being far away from the West (Granada), and he feels his life path will be unsuccessful unless he returns to his city, "the pomegranate's splendor" (Granada).

אַחַר אֲצִילֵי מַעֲרָב אַיִּךְ תֶּעֱרַב / שֵׁינָה וְאַיִּךְ יִמְצָא לְבָבִי נוֹחַ
תִּשְׂכַּח יְמִינִי אִם שְׂכַחְתִּימוֹ וְאִם / בִּלְתִּי פְנֵיהֶם אֶתְאָבָה לִשְׁמֹחַ
אִם-עוֹד יְשִׁיבֵנִי אֱלֹהִים אֶל-הַדָּר / רִמּוֹן דְּרָכַי יְצִלְּחוּ צָלֹחַ
וּבְמֵי שְׁנִיר אֶרְוֶה אֲשֶׁר צָחוּ בְיוֹם / נַחֲלֵי עֲדָנִים נִדְלְחוּ דָלֹחַ
אֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר בָּהּ נָעֲמוּ חַיַּי וּמַי / לְחֵיֵי זָמָן לִי נִשְׁטָחוּ שָׁטֹחַ
אוֹחִיל מְעַט לָאֵל וְאֵין מַעְצוֹר קָרֹא / לְדָרוֹר אָסִיר פֶּרוּד וְלִפְקֹחַ קוֹחַ[47]

The intensity of his yearning is expressed in the second stanza, as on the one hand there is an allusion to the Land of Zion that should not be forgotten, while on the other, he swears that he does not want any other land but his homeland Granada and will not know happiness until he sees the faces of his relatives.

He addresses God to save him from his exile from Castile. This address is a sort of prayer to return to Granada since his isolation and alienation cause him insomnia and thirst, and he yearns to drink the water of the meadow. In order to understand the development of the foreignness phenomenon (*al-Iġtirāb*, الاغتراب), it is important to clearly understand the affinity and relation between the individual and the place by defining the two terms that I will further refer to here – "exile" and "wandering"; both serve as the primary reason for the development of the *ḥanīn* genre in general and in Andalus in particular. Despite the elevated status that the

[46] Brody, *The Secular Poetry of Rabbi Moses Ibn Ezra*, 90.
[47] Ibid., 67.

Jews had in Andalus, they did not manage to suppress their sense of exile and searched for spiritual and physical redemption.[48]

The yearning and lament for the cities

In a discussion of the foundations that characterize the *ḥanīn* genre and the laments for cities, one should refer to the sources and factors that led to the emergence of this theme in Hebrew poetry in Andalus. Of course, this requires the clarification of the nature of the affinity between a poet and his place of birth.

Many elements and motifs are common in several types of poetry, and, pertinently for our discussion, particularly in the genres of yearning and lament for cities. In the yearning poems, the yearning is for the Andalusian nature and landscape, while in the national elegies and liturgical poems, it is for a glamorous past, for Zion before its destruction, and for redemption. Moses Ibn Ezra made vast use of the elements and motifs of the Muslim laments and *ḥanīn* genre. The Jewish poets took their time before approaching the theme of yearning and creating a genre revolving around their yearning for Andalus, despite the fact they could have done so spectacularly judging by their integration of these elements in their openings to their complaint, lament, passion, and friendship poems, and at times, as an allegoric motif in their secular poetry.

The Jews' sense of not belonging to the cities and land in which they lived is clearly reflected in their avoidance of writing elegies for cities, although Ibn Ezra's poetry is rich with descriptions of the cries, and not only in elegies. This attitude mirrors a certain alienation from Andalus, especially during the persecutions of the Jews. It is important to note that there are not many studies on national elegies. Ibn Ezra wrote dozens of national elegies about Zion and its destruction, which appear in Bernstein's section on the vision of redemption in liturgical poetry.[49] Abraham Ibn Ezra wrote the elegy *aha yarād 'āl sfarād* (אהה ירד על ספרד) about actual events and not a metaphysical exile. This is one of the earliest elegies about group persecutions with a historical nature. The speaker sounds like a public messenger, similar to liturgical poetry, and the elegy gives voice to the exiled Jewish communities.[50]

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[48] Esperanza Alfonso, "Constructions of Exile in Medieval Hebrew Literature: Between Text and Context," *Mikan: Journal for Hebrew Literary Studies* 1 (2000): 85-96.

[49] Shimon Bernstein, ed., *Moses Ibn Ezra, Liturgical Poems* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Msada, 1956), 3.

[50] Brann, "Patterns of Exile in Hebrew and Arabic Lamentations," 49-51.

Moses Ibn Ezra and Yehuda Halevi expressed their yearnings for certain places and the homeland; however, each of them expressed his emotions differently. Ibn Ezra, who is considered a complaint poet, is also a poet of the spectacular nature reflected in his poetry, especially in the letters Brody gathered in his large collection.[51] His love of Zion was not strongly expressed, and the elegy was not included in his prayers. This stems from the fact that Jews did not build cities of their own in exile, and when their home city was destroyed, they lamented the loss of community rather than the place. Elegies were written about events and destruction, and persecutions against Jews are regarded as national elegies. This elegy can be seen as an elegy for a city, as the poet grieves the loss of an entire city – Lucina[52] – but he later relates to the fate of the communities persecuted in other Andalusian cities.

In the poem אֲהָהּ לִזְמָן אֲשֶׁר יָזַם לְהַפְרִיד[53], Ibn Ezra blames fate for causing his severance from his homeland (Granada) and the brothers he loves.[54] He did not conceal his yearning to return to Granada. The third stanza stands in contrast to the first – the pleasant country versus the desert of savages.

בְּאֶרֶץ נָעֲמָה מִכָּל –אֶרֶצוֹת / וְגֶרֶיהָ כְּפִי חֶפְצָם בְּרוּאִים
וְחֶלְקָה מִכְּבֵדִי בָהּ חֶלָקִים / וְגִזְרָה כָל-גִּזְרֵי בָּהּ בְּלוּאִים
הֶדִיחַנִי זְמַנִּי מֵהֶמּוֹנָם / וְהִפְקִיד בִּי שְׁכֹן מִדְבַּר פְּרָאִים[55]

In the second stanza, he yearns and emphasizes the pleasant life he had in his homeland and among its kind and special inhabitants. These stanzas illustrate the three common elements of yearning poetry: the time separating the brothers and tormenting the heart; the intense yearning for the beautiful days of youth which have passed; and the beautiful homeland, which is favored above all other places. The poet's lament intensifies in the second stanza as he expresses his strong connection with his homeland. This is expressed through the use of the pierced liver image.[56] The departure from the homeland is likened to the liver in his ribcage, which is pierced and a section of it removed. In the last stanza, he blames time for separating him

[51] Levin, "Moses Ibn Ezra's Poems of Wandering and Suffering," 66-67.
[52] Eliyahu Ashtor, *The History of the Jews in Muslim Spain*, vols. 1-2 [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Qiryāsīfir, 1966-1977), 88-91; Brann, "Patterns of Exile in Hebrew and Arabic Lamentations," 52.
[53] Brody, *The Secular Poetry of Rabbi Moses Ibn Ezra*, 19.
[54] Ibid. לְנוּד רֵעִים יְצָאֻנִי וְאֵינָם / וְאִם הֻמָּה בְּרֵעָיוֹנִי מְצוּיִם
[55] Ibid.
[56] The motif of the pierced body and divided liver is a common motif in Arabic poetry and recurs in the poems of Halevi and Ibn Ḫafāja.