

Drops of Gold: Poetry, Reason, and Revelation

Spain in the Middle Ages was not a melting pot. It probably would be more apt to visualize it as an eco-system, in which diverse species; i.e., Muslims (Arab and Berber), Spaniards (Christians), and Jews -- continually negotiated and renegotiated to establish and maintain their territories, (read: cultures *and* physical loci.) Perhaps as a consequence of their mutual threat to each other and their individual vulnerability, each culture reinforced its own identity with an incredible outpouring of cultural activity, the concentrated offspring of its life force.ⁱ Two of those species were not indigenous; they carried the revelatory messages of other times and places. They bore similar scars of shared encounters with alien thought, and shared a history of intimacy born of ancient enmity, shared territorial experience, and linguistic kinship.

Judeo-Hispanic poetry of the Golden Age of Spain (about 1000-1148) is the evidence of an unusual hybridization process and intricate environmental circumstances, both intellectual and physical. Like Arabic-Hispanic poetry, it grew briefly on foreign soil, before being uprooted. The progenitors of Judeo-Hispanic poetry most probably were the oral poetry traditions of nomadic Arabic tribes who roamed the middle east before the coming of Islam, Islamic poets of the Abassid dynasty in Baghdad, oral traditions of the Israelites, Biblical poetry, possibly the songs of the Iberian peninsula and the philosophy of the Kalam.

Arabic speaking Jews of the middle East first encountered Greek thought in Arabic, especially in ninth century cosmopolitan, bustling Baghdad. The emergence of the first Jewish philosophers was an outgrowth of the Kalam schools of the eighth to eleventh centuries, the Muslim theology of the Abbasid caliphate, especially of the Mutazalites. Karaites led the way in finding useful the Islamic version of Aristotelian ideas-- that human reason/philosophy could offer proof and resolve revelatory contradiction and opacity, particularly in relation to

anthropomorphic conceptions of God in Jewish commentary literature. In the contrapuntal intellectual court dialogs, Muslims and Jews, and, later, Christians defined their theological positions relative to Aristotle ; later, Plotinus through Neo-Platonism.

The poet of the Golden age of Spain was neither solitary nor introvert. Poetry was the social currency of court life, of urban life. “The preeminent importance attached to poetry in the Islamic empire was the single main catalyst for Hebrew poetry which was enriched immeasurably in imitation of and competition with Arabic poetry . Whole cities, such as Lucena and Seville, were known as cities of poetry. “Davidson’s classic *Thesaurus of Mediaeval Poetry* (New York, 1924-33) lists about thirty-five thousand poems from printed sources, and since the index was printed, thousands of additional poems have been published.”ⁱⁱ Court life brought into being the professional Hebrew poet, employed by Jewish courtiers such as ...Hasdai Ibn Shaprut..in the court of...Abd ar-Rahaman III.”(Aberbach, 1998, 98-99) With Shaprut as a patron, minor poets began to imitate the “quantitative meters and secular themes of Arabic poetry.” (Auberbach, 1998, 99) They criticized the use of Hebrew, the holy tongue, for secular purposes. Their criticism was an echo of Islamic arguments against its Arabic poetry, which reflected the secular, superficial and corrupt aspects of court life. Hebrew writers of the preceding post-biblical period contributed the *piyut*, liturgical poetry, verse, and rhythmical prose, some of which utilized alphabetic acrostics; later, rhyme. Until the first prayerbooks were standardized in Babylonia in the ninth century, a poem or group of poems leading to a certain position in the liturgy could be inserted at will. Requiring only a link to the theme of the day, therefore, there was a lot of choice of subject matter. And from there to the secular... For example, in the tenth century, Saadiah’s invention of a new rhyme scheme, (which became the Judeo-Hispanic quatrain,) indicted the Karaites in biblical Hebrew, an untypical example of the

secular genre, which had been more devoted to love than public issues. Perhaps better known for his philosophical thought through Book of Beliefs and Opinions than in his poetry, he found, in the Kalam, reinforcement for the idea of God's revelation, unity, and justice.

Carmi divides five hundred years of Hebrew poetry in Spain into two periods --the Muslim, from 950-1150, and the Christian, 1150-1492. (Carmi,1981, 24) To the beginning of the eleventh century belongs Granada's Samuel haNagid, rabbi and military commander of the Berber Muslim army for two decades; then, Andalusian pessimist Solomon ibn Gabirol, poet and philosopher; and Andalusian exiles Moses ibn Ezra, and his protégé Judah Halevy, known as the "sweet singer of Zion."

Reading Hebrew poetry of the Golden Age without knowing anything about the times or the poets,ⁱⁱⁱ is a little like encountering beautiful uncut gems. Their lustre, brilliance, and rich depth can be realized and enhanced through faceting which reveals their multiple aspects and a setting which enhances and emphasizes their particular qualities. Andalusia, Islamic Spain, was such a place.

Sometimes discussions of literature will touch on aspects of the physical environment or social/political milieu in such general terms it is hard to conceive of how it could have had any effect on the writer. Perhaps the images that come to mind are more caricatures than portraits, distorted or blurred. Certainly the successive waves of invasions in Spain, just the very names-- Phoenecians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, Vandals, Visigoths, Muslim Arabs, Christians and Berbers--evoke those kinds of generalizations. In trying to see Spain through the eyes of the Hebrew and Islamic poets of medieval times, just a few concrete details can evoke the reality used to construct images of holy lands in their poetry.

Thomas Glick speaks of a moveable frontier in Spain^{iv} as an

ecological boundary between the agrarian zones, the wet and the dry, and notes “the northern limits of olive cultivation corresponded more or less to the stabilized political frontier between Islamic and Christian zones in AD 1000....” The Syrian quality of the landscape was enhanced by the use of Syrian hydraulic machines,^v Berber irrigation systems, the innovation of water wheels in conjunction with canals. In turn, they contributed to the production of agricultural surpluses, which was a stimulus to the economy and to the development of culture. There were agricultural innovations that changed the landscape: the poet al Ghazal of Jaen smuggled in green figs from Constantinople when he returned to Cordoba; Abd al-Rahman I, nostalgic for Syria, brought several species including the date palm; a pomegranate from Damascus was brought by the chief judge of Cordoba. There were Umayyad botanicals in Cordoba, Toledo and Almería, tropical, or semitropical, requiring irrigation. Arabian immigrants sugar cane, rice, cotton, and oranges also benefited from the new irrigation. The Arabs, who viewed Andalusia as a Koranic paradise,(whose imagery appears in Hispano-Arabic poetry,).symbolized Paradise in the landscape by constructing many intricate gardens,

“ The Islamic garden...water, shade trees, and flowers were dictated by a generalized reaction to the desert environment of Arabs, one that is dominated, of course, by aridity and conditioned by associations of the desert with fear and evil. It is striking, indeed, that desert images, a traditional theme in Arabic poetry, are almost completely lacking in Andalusian poetry, except as a device to introduce the paradisiacal, watery freshness...”

Cities of Córdoba, Seville, and Granada were centers of Muslim science, learning, and culture. City dwellers romanticized the countryside in the floral poetry of al-Mansur’s court. Frequently there was a literary likening between particular other regions of the Islamic world and an Andalusian city. (e.g., Granada was considered to be the Damascus of al-Andalus.) The Arabs who conquered Spain brought, along with Islam, their engineering, agriculture, and

architecture, Greek philosophy, their poetic heritage and language to Spain, where Jews and other native populations learned lines and began composing in the same spirit. Seville, in the middle to late eleventh century, had been a paradise for poets; there was even “ a poet’s residence, a sort of literary academy....poets enjoyed the privilege of weekly audience with the king during which they vied with one another in reciting their odes and were promoted or demoted according to their success. A register of pensioned poets also existed.” (Monroe, 1974, 21) al Mu’tamid himself was a poet, as well as a protector of poets, though he is sometimes better known as the ruler who sought aid from the Almoravids to deal with the Christians and was exiled for his effort. ^{vi}

It is around this period that some of the Arab poetic structures (strophic poetry) which were later copied by Hebrew poets became widely used. The main elements were particular metric patterns and rhyme schemes, and an organizational format, as well as a series of subject-style conventions. An especially popular form was the *muwashshaha*, (sometimes known as a “belt” poem) whose derivation may be found in the tradition of Arabic love poetry. It was frequently sung. It consisted of a rhymed prelude, followed by a “verse” made of two elements, then a refrain which related to the rhyme of the prelude, then repeated. It ended with a separate section, the *kharja*, written in the vernacular(common, not court Arabic or Romance.). Hebrew poetry had an analogue to the *muwashshaha* in the Hebrew *paytans* of the several preceding centuries but they were superseded by the new Arabic form, including the *kharja* convention. Some of the poetry of Samuel Hanagid of Granada and Solomon ibn Gabirol of Saragossa survived in the Cairo Genizah. (Stern 1974,78) Stern paired each Hebrew poet with the Arab poet he copied: Moses b. Ezra with al-Abyad; his friend and protégé Judah Halevy, formerly of Tudela, Lucena, Granada, Toledo, Alexandria, and Cairo (to whom he assigns 40

muwashshahas) “with al-A’ma al-Tutuli, a “compatriot of his” and al-Husri; Abraham b. Ezra” with Ibn Baqi and Ibn Quzman, among other later poets. Interestingly, Maimonides, in the Mishna Aboth i.16(Stern, 1974,79) criticizes (as idle chatter) the singing of *muwashshahas*, which were sung in Hebrew and Arabic on festive occasions. Frequently the sensuous secular poetry of the Arabs would be adapted for the sacred; a Divine Lover would be depicted as the object of the poet’s longing. Both Islamic and Hebrew religious, but not always liturgical, poetry reflected the poets’ attitudes towards revealed religion and sometimes the references to Greek philosophical thought were fairly direct.

Besides Aristotle, there is another metaphysical thread running through the poetry of Spain..that of Neo-Platonism. Solomon ibn Gabirol, mystic and philosopher, who had died three decades before Halevy was born, first formalized his conception of the universe in his ecstatic philosophical poem, The Kingly Crown in Arabic, but without the newly popular rhetorical devices. Each stanza consists of rhymed prose and ends with a Biblical quotation; there are also scriptural allusions in fragments within each line.

However, unlike many Jewish philosophers, he did not draw on Scriptural text for his arguments in his philosophical writings, and the writings were not immediately identified as of Jewish authorship. Gabirol believed that the soul was the intrinsic instrument of ethical fiats, and that the purpose of life was the soul’s preparation for return to the Source. God is unity; attributes are merely the highest expression of human understanding. Divine Will is responsible for the creation of the world, a Will that is Omniscient and All-seeing. From that Will which is inseparable from God flows a universal force. (Unterman, 1959, 56) The creator can only be experienced as God’s deeds, because of a human lack of a sense for knowing God’s essence. Creation is ongoing, flowing from one source as emanations. Gabirol supposedly acquired his

Neo-Platonic through the writings of Ibn Masarra, a tenth century Spanish Arab philosopher who was the responsible for the spread of ideas based on Philo, Plotinus, Porphyrius and Proclus, attributed to Empedocles. (Lewis, 1961, 19) The Neo-Platonist “One” is pure spiritual principle. This idea of emanations was very influential to later Jewish mysticism, especially to the Kabbalists.

In the second part of the first section of The Kingly Crown Gabirol begins:

“Thou art One, the beginning of all computation, the base of all construction.

Thou art One, and in the mystery of thy Oneness the wise of heart are astonished, for they know not what it is.

Thou art One, and Thy Oneness neither diminishes nor increases, neither lacks nor exceeds.

Thou art One, but not as the One that is counted or owned, for number and change cannot reach Thee, nor attribute, nor form.....”

Would the numerical references in his first and last line lines have been referring to the Metaphysics of Aristotle?

“.. And those who first posited two kinds of number, that of the Forms and that which is mathematical, neither have said nor can say how mathematical number is to exist and of what it is to consist...”

and

“ Now the Pythagoreans in this point are open to no objection; but in that they construct natural bodies out of numbers, things that have lightness and weight out of things that have not weight or lightness, they seem to speak of another heaven and other bodies, not of the sensible. But those who make number separable assume that it both exists and is separable because the axioms would not be true of sensible things, while the statements of mathematics are true and 'greet the soul'; and similarly with the spatial magnitudes of mathematics^{vii}

“...From these facts we may sufficiently perceive the meaning of the ancients who said the elements of nature were more than one; but there are some who spoke of the universe as if it were one entity, though they were not all alike either in the excellence of their statement or in its conformity to the facts of nature. ... Parmenides seems to fasten on that which is one in definition, Melissus on that which is ... is one in matter,

for which reason the former says that it is limited, the latter that it is unlimited; while Xenophanes, the first of these partisans of the One (for Parmenides is said to have been his pupil), gave no clear statement, nor does he seem to have grasped the nature of either of these causes, but with reference to the whole material universe he says the One is God..”
viii

In the first section of the poem, Gabirol praises God, addresses the creative role of the Divine Will, describes God’s Unity, Omnipotence, Wisdom, God as eternal light etc. In the second, he rhapsodizes about creation, juxtaposing astronomy (scientific discussion of the planets) with theology. He ascends from the discussion of planetary bodies to the ninth sphere,

“which encompasses all the spheres and their creatures and they are enclosed within itand all the creatures of the universe are in it as a grain of mustard in the great sea, so great is it and so vast, Yet it and its greatness are counted as naught and as nothing before the greatness of its Creator and its King-- ‘and they are counted to him less than nothing’. (Lewis, 1961,44)

concluding in the remaining ten stanzas with existence beyond, above the sphere of intelligence, the world to come, treasures of salvation a particular concern, (*“treasures of fire and rivers of sulphur for the transgressors of the covenant”*) and the relationship of soul to body. The final stanzas: penitential prayers-- human insignificance, mortality, confession of sin. A prayer for pity.

Besides the scriptural allusion, the philosophical discourse, the meter and the rhyme, Hebrew poetry could also reflect the imagery of both the Andalusian landscape and Hispano-Arabic poetry. This translated excerpt is from a Zajal by l-Ibn Quzman:

“...Oh you who blame me, I love a gazelle; I have no patience. He is like camphor and has (the colour of) the flower of pomegranate.”

In Arabic, the poem is transliterated thus: (included to show the rhyme scheme and structure)

'Adhili hawayt ya'fur lays li istibar
Wa-dha hu bihal kafur haza jullanar
Ma'qawamihi-l-khayzurkhalkat iqtidar
Ahla min hilu (?) lau 'abar 'ala-l-qadi qam wa-qabbalu

How similar is the love poem by Judah Halevi, with end rhymes:

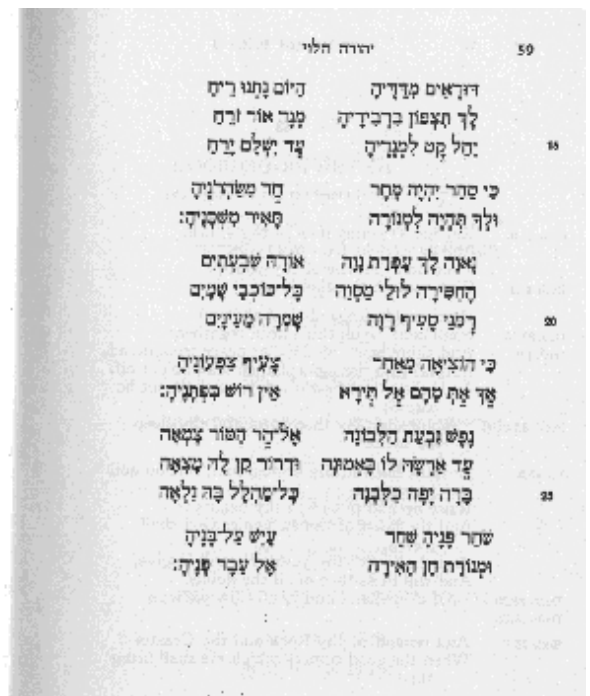
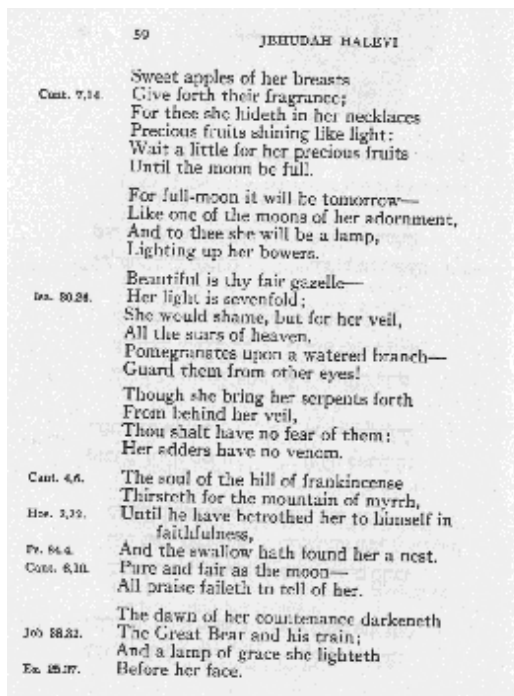
For the Sake of the House of Our God Judah Halevy
The singer's reply to one who reproved him for his longing to go the Land of Israel

*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.*

Brody (14) notes the word play in the Hebrew: devarem/devorem

(Cant 5:5- Brody)

“... have plucked my myrrh and spice, eaten my honey and honeycomb... and
 Is.33:12 Brody



“You shall conceive hay, Give birth to straw; My breath will devour you like fire, Peoples shall be burnings of lime, Thorns cut down that are set on fire. Hear, you who are far, what I have done; You who are near, note My might.”^{ix}

In juxtaposing the Song of Songs with Isaiah at the beginning of his poem, Halevy, characterizes the nature of the relationship between the Israelites and God as a divine partnership, the promised ingathering of exiles in the Land, the “precious virtues” of “thee and the house of thy fathers.” The “ friend” to whom the poem is addressed represents his Jewish compatriots; his rebuke, warning, and plea directed towards his them and their worldly contemporary life, to those who fail to recognize biblical parallels to their own situation, and to those who have lost faith in the prophecy and no longer look for their the truth in Torah. The allusion to Isaiah is a reminder of God acting through other nations when Israelites forsake God.

*If the peace of Jerusalem is not to be sought
While yet with the blind and the halt she is filled,*

II Sam.5.6.8. (Brody) “The king and his men set out for Jerusalem against the Jebusites who inhabited the region. David was told, ‘You will never get in here. Even the blind and the lame will turn you back.’ (They meant: David will never enter here) But David captured the stronghold of Zion; it is now the city of David.)”

Halevy’s God is a God who is perceived through His deeds in history, not on the basis of philosophical logic and rhetorical proof.

*For the sake of the House of our God let us seek
Her peace, or for the sake of friends and of brothers;*

Ps.122.8-9(Brody)”...Pray for the well-being of Jerusalem: ‘May those who love you be at peace. May there be well-being within your ramparts, peace in your citadels.’ For the sake of my kin and friends, I pray for your well-being: for the sake of the house of the Lord our God, I seek your good.”

Again, the image of the Temple as home, coming home.

*And if it be according to your words, see, there is sin
Upon all who bend towards her and bow down*

Gen 44.10 and Jos. 2.21 (Brody)

Brody's citation seems obscure here- unless it is possible Halevy is comparing the Jews in Spain to Joseph's brothers as forsaking their roots.... abandoning Jerusalem. Halevy reminds them God, acting through Joseph and Joshua, in history, first led the people to the Holy Land, which is again occupied by alien peoples. He evokes life in the Holy Land, the Temple practices, the sacrilege of occupancy by foreign powers.

*And sin upon those sires who dwelt in her as strangers,
And purchased there vaults for their dead.
And vain would be the deed of the fathers who were embalmed
And their bodies sent to her earth--
And they signing for her sake
Though the land was full of reprobates;
And for naught would the fathers' altars have been built,
And in vain their oblation offered there.*

Brody retains the reiterated rhythm of the Hebrew in the initial syllable of so many of the lines with his use of "And". In the next section Judah Halevy reiterates Israel's obligation and God's promise embodied in the Ark and the Tablets, and the promise of an afterlife. In such a way is God's omnipotence demonstrated. If he reminds the faithless that disaster is always a consequence of the wrong choice, the philosopher-poet is affirming that there is, in fact a choice: what happens is not predetermined, and that the Jews of Spain, among others, know what eternal rewards are promised. He neither attributes evil in the world as disproving the omnipotence of God, nor indicating that he conceives of the universe in dualistic terms. In:

*“Have we a place either in the east or in the west
a place of hope wherein we may trust,
Except the land that is full of gates..”*

he alludes to the lands divided among Christendom and Islam. Skipping further towards the end of the poem:

*“...and let not the wisdom of the Greeks beguile thee,
Which hath no fruit, but only flowers--
Or her fruit is, that the earth was never outstretched
Nor the tents of the sky spread out,
Nor was any beginning to all the work of creation
Nor will any end be to the renewal of the months...”*

Halevy is explicit in his reasons for rejection of Greek philosophy. As Yerushalmi said,^x Halevy found Greek thought very beautiful and appealing and useful in a limited way (mathematics and physics, for example.). A flower (philosophy) is decorative, it appeals to only one sense, it is evanescent; it lives briefly and then dies --it has no lasting value.. His use of the word “wisdom” indicates that he regarded philosophical truths as having significance, but the poem expresses his belief the “fruit” are of more significance-- knowledge of God, spiritual nourishment, is life sustaining.

His second criticism of philosophy comes with the reiteration of “*fruit*” in the following line and is specific --that the visible world proves the God of creation that philosophy denies. In the philosophical debates of the Kalam, the issues of creatio ab nihil and the eternity of matter were prime. Like al-Ghazzali, he saw human reason as limited. Al-Ghazzali characterized one group of philosophers, the Materialists: those who, “deny the Creator and Disposer of the world, omniscient and omnipotent, and consider that the world has everlastingly existed just as it is, of itself and without a creator.....” The “...naturalists... deny the future life...” and the Theists (in

whom he includes Socrates, Plato and Aristotle) ...systematized logic for them, organized the sciences...[who] retained a residue of their unbelief and heresy.”^{xi}

This verse of Halevy's states symbolically the ideas that he expresses more extensively in "The Kuzari"^{xii} in which he dispenses Aristotle's thought from the mouth of the philosopher. Instead of "the tents of the sky" of the poem, Halevy has the rabbi say (Kuzari 77) "...the elements, moon, sun and stars have powers such as warming, cooling, moistening, drying, etc., but do not merit that wisdom should be ascribed to them ...forming ...shows an intention, can only be ascribed to the All-wise and Almighty. There is no harm in calling the power which arranges matter by means of heating and cooling, 'Nature,' but all intelligence must be denied it ...receiving form from its wise Creator."

Brody makes the interesting observation about the poetry of Ibn Gabirol and Jehudah Halevi, "Both, for instance, repeatedly employ biblical phraseology, but with Ibn Gabirol the employment is that of an artist, with Jehudah Halevi of a musician. One sees Ibn Gabirol using a text for a final touch of shape and colour; one hears Jehudah Halevi working his texts into the very substance of his harmony." (Brody 1973, xx)

Aristotelianism was the most influential philosophical system for medieval Jewish thinkers. While it did place an emphasis on monotheism and a "supreme incorporeal principle" (Seltzer, 1980,385), conceived of a soul that could exist independently of the body, and was, like Judaism, strongly ethical, there were troubling limitations for Jews. God was impersonal. Not just. Not loving. Not the force who brought the world into being. Judah Halevy's poem "For the Sake of the house of our God ...*et al*" is typical in its rejection of Aristotle and his supreme principle. How could Aristotelianism address the fate of the Jews in Spain, or at any other time and place? The combination of the Crusades and Almoravid's Spanish ingress created pressure

waves ahead of the coming upheavals to which Halevy, despite his privilege and success, alone seemed sensitive. Aristotle could not bring the Jews to Zion.

It was briefly in Andalusia that Hebrew poetry blossomed. Saadia's adaptation of Arabic meters to Biblical Hebrew, (which contributed to its revival) the formulation of Hebrew grammars and lexicons, a cultural rivalry with the Arabs combined to stimulate nationalistic expression. Cities, the centers of learning, court life and patronage, (funded by taxation, trade, abundant natural resources -- a strong economy), and relative social stability, at least for a brief while, galvanized the production of poetry by Jewish poets. The abundance of poetry makes it possible to identify thematic groups such as the worldly-- which celebrate the pleasures of the flesh (including wine, to which both Muslim, despite Koranic prohibitions, and Hebrew poets enjoyed, --the liturgical, and those who were influenced by the Kalam. Carmi sees in the body of Judeo-Hispanic work a kind of "subconscious layer of the national memory...the repetition of central themes and motifs which are capable of transmitting the traumas of history...."(Carmi 1981,38)

Andalusia was the westernmost limit of the Diaspora in its time. Yet poets and ideas traveled back and forth between East and West, dipping in and out of the ancient Scriptural and Greek time along the way. There is a poem by Abraham Ibn Ezra called "Journey's Beginning" which is based on Avicenna's, Hay ben Yoqzan an allegory of the cosmic journey of the soul guided by the intellect. Ibn Ezra is touring the heavenly spheres. His guide is his personified intellect, Wisdom. The tourist is revealed as the poet's soul which has become separated from his body because of its body's pursuits of worldly pleasures, but the soul is still constrained by her senses/emotions and is not free. Here is how the soul's plight is described: "*You will not be able to keep up with me and fly at my speed; your wings are broken and you have no pinions.*"

(Weinberger, 1997, 114-116) Unlike its lengthy and intricate treatment in philosophical treatises, metaphysics in poetry was distilled into concentrated potent symbols. Philosophy in such a form found an immediate audience both in its own time, and those that followed. Portable, accessible through the ear and eye, the Golden Age philosopher-poet's vision of revelation and reason could emanate from anyone's lips, reach anyone's mind, touch anyone's heart, as it did.

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Jewish History Timeline

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Historical Chart- timeline for the History of Judaism Medieval Period in the west: ca 600-1500

Reception and Classical Development of Muhammad's Islamic Message 610-1258

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Metaphysics - Aristotle - translated by W. D. Ross ** (Book XIV - 3) **

<http://www.concordance.com/cgi-bin/1wrdr.pl> April 17, 2001

End Notes

1ⁱDavid Aberbach, who explores the sociology of literature through Hebrew, posits that there is a pattern in the relationship of literary peaks to cultural disruption and upheavals. The Golden Age of Hebrew Poetry in Spain occurred during the encounter between a splintered remnant of the Islamic Empire and the emergence of Christian Europe, and the Berber invasions from North Africa. The rise of Islamic poetry occurred at the same time. (Revolutionary Hebrew, Empire and Crisis)

2ⁱⁱT. Carmi, The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse, Preface p.8

3ⁱⁱⁱ(or being able to read them in the original.) There is a quote from Professor J. Schirman in the above preface “the study of Hebrew poetry demands ...history, bibliography, paleography, linguistics and liturgy. ...the full comprehension of Hebrew texts occasionally necessitates.....Aramaic, Syriac, Byzantine Greek, Latin, Arabic, Spanish, Italian, and Provençal.”

4^{iv}Glick, Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages

5^vIbid . p 3.

6^{vi}excerpt from an elegy written over the fall of the Abbadid dynasty after al-Mutamid had been taken into captivity in Morocco by the Almoravids (Monroe 1974, 214)

7 Ibn al-Labbana

8“*The heavens weep with their morning rain clouds over those excellent lords, the Banu Abbad*

*9 Over those [lofty] mountains whose very foundations have been demolished, though the earth
was endowed with pegs thanks to them alone;*

*10 As for the plants on the hills, their flowers have faded and have appeared in the morning in
the depressed vale [of Death]...”*

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vii

1 ^{viii}Metaphysics - Metaphysics - Aristotle - translated by W. D. Ross (Book XIV - 3)

2 ^{ix}Note: all biblical quotes are from the JPS Tanach, and all poems and biblical number
reference from Brody.

3 ^xYerushalmi, Spain or Zion, Aristotle or Abraham lecture, Jewish Public Library tape

4 ^{xi}al-Ghazzali, Coursepack 32

5 ^{xii}Halevi, The Kuzari, Coursepack 163