

FOUR UNPUBLISHED POEMS IN RYLANDS HEBREW MS. 6—ONE BY ABRAHAM (IBN EZRA?)¹

By M. WALLENSTEIN, M.A., Ph.D.

SENIOR LECTURER IN MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HEBREW IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

ONE of the outstanding features of Rylands Hebrew MS. 6, which contains a Passover Haggadah, is, as my account in the BULLETIN, xliii. 243–72, shows,² the collection of eighty-two sacred poems (*piyyûṭîm*) incorporated in it. Of these, seventy-three are known to be included in various other collections and are recorded in I. Davidson's *Thesaurus of Medieval Hebrew Poetry*³ with most of their composers identified. Of the nine unrecorded and unpublished poems, which have been indicated in my article according to their position in the

¹ The following article formed, with numerous alterations, the basis of a lecture given at the 3rd World Congress of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem, July 1961. The abbreviations used below are: B.M. I.—British Museum MS. Or. 1404; Gabirol—*Shîré Shelome ben Yehudah Ibn Gabirol* (4 vols.), ed. H. N. Bialik . . . , Tel-Aviv, 1928; Kahana—*Abraham Ibn Ezra* (2 vols.), by D. Kahana (2nd edition), Warsaw, 1922; Kuzari—*Sēpher Ha-Kuzari*, translated by Yehudah Ibn Tibbon (Lemberg, 1866); Mibhḥar—*Mibhḥar Ha-Shîrāh Hā-'Ibhrîth* (2nd edn.), by H. Brody . . . ; Schirmann—*Ha-Shîrāh Hā-'Ibhrîth Bi-Sephārad* . . . (2 vols.), by H. Schirmann, Tel-Aviv, 1954–6; SRDT—*The Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* (3rd edn.) by S. R. Driver; WHMS—*Hebrew MS. 6* in the BULLETIN, xliii, by M. Wallenstein; Yedi'oth—*Yedi'ôth Ha-Mākhôn Le-Ḥēqer Ha-Shîrāh Ha-'Ibhrîth* (7 vols.), Berlin-Jerusalem, 1933–58; Yellin—*Tôrath Ha-Shîrāh Ha-Sephāradîth*, by D. Yellin, Jerusalem, 1940; ZYH—*Kol-Shîrê Rabbi Yehudah Halevi* (3 vols.), 2nd edn., edited by I. Zmora, Tel-Aviv, 1948–50.

² A full assessment of the illuminations of this Haggadah and the light it throws on the history of the illumination of Hebrew manuscripts in general is given in BULLETIN, xliii. 131–59, by Dr. Cecil Roth. (See also Dr. Helen Rosenau, BULLETIN, xxxvi. 468–83.) Here one may note that Dr. Roth's view (pp. 142 f.) that the Passover Haggadah in Heb. MS. 6 originated in Provence, rather than the Iberian Peninsula, appears plausible. One may, however, still refer to it as "the Spanish Haggadah" in the broad sense, since in the Middle Ages Provence was culturally nearer to Spain than France; this is particularly true with regard to its Jewish community.

³ In 4 vols., New York, 1924–33. A supplement appeared in HUCA, XII–XIII, pp. 750–823 (1937–8).

manuscript as 21, 38, 39, 41, 43, 45, 51, 72, and 75,¹ two (41 and 45) were there singled out for special discussion (*ibid.* pp. 253–71). The following are four more unpublished poems from the same manuscript, namely, 43, 51, 72 and 75, 43 embodying the acrostic משה; 51, אברהם; and 72 and 75 having no acrostic. Each poem, which is introduced by a discussion (with a rather longer discussion on poem 51—that of Abraham Ibn Ezra(?)), is reconstructed to indicate its external artistic features and annotated and translated.

Poem 43

The poem, an 'Ahabhāh² of the "girdle poem" (*muwashshah*)³ type, is recorded on fols. 44^r–44^v of the manuscript. It is composed of nine verses, five of which (the first, third, fifth, seventh, and ninth) are the *muwashshahat*, "girdling" as they do the four strophes (the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth). Each of the *muwashshahat* consists of two lines each of which is made up of an opening hemistich (*deleth*) and a closing hemistich (*sôghēr*). Each of the strophes consists of three *deleth*-and-*sôghēr* lines. The first verse of the poem, called the "leader verse" (*pethihāh*) of the *muwashshahat*, sets the metre of the whole nine verses. The metre is, with the exception of some slight deviations, --v----- for both the twenty-two opening-hemistichs (*delātôhth*) and their parallel closing-hemistichs (*sôgherîm*). With regard to the rhyme, however, its "leadership" is confined only to its companion *muwashshahat* and not to the strophes, each of which has its own independent rhymes. All told, there are three rhymes for the *muwashshahat* and eight for the strophes.

The initial letters of the first lines of the first, second and third strophes combine acrostically to make the name משה as the author of the poem. At first sight this משה suggests Mosheh Ibn Ezra.⁴ For Mosheh Ibn Ezra's *piyyûtîm* have been cherished by Spanish Jewish communities who have included a great

¹ See WHMS, pp. 248–52.

² For its meaning as a term in *piyyûtîm*, see WHMS, p. 249, n. 2.

³ For its meaning, etc., see WHMS, p. 253, n. 4.

⁴ Born in Granada in 1055 and died in Christian Spain in 1138.

number of them in their *Maḥazôrîm* (one such *piyyût* was actually included also in our "Spanish" collection¹); further, the poem does not lack poetical power and expresses in the best tradition of the Spanish Jewish poets genuine feelings of longing for redemption from exile not alien to those expressed by Mosheh Ibn Ezra elsewhere. However, this suggestion is not borne out by closer examination. Doubts arise principally from the language in which the poem is clothed; it is out of harmony with the rigorous requirements laid down by Ibn Ezra in his *Kitāb al-Muḥādara wa'l-Mudhākara*² with regard to the words and idioms, grammar and syntax to be employed in the composition of poetry. The repeated and detailed guidance given in this book (of which the greater part is devoted to the art of writing poetry) concerning the absolute clarity of expression—a guidance generally taken heed of in practice by its author in his hundreds of both secular and sacred poems—is strikingly ignored in our poem.³ We are, then, left with two other poets of the name Mosheh who could be considered as possible authors. The one is Mosheh ben Naḥman.⁴ Though not generally known as a poet, he possessed considerable poetical skill and some of his *piyyûtîm* were recited by a number of Spanish Jewish communities. The other is Mosheh Hacoheh Ibn Chiqatilla.⁵

¹ Beginning with *יה שכינתך*, fol. 52^r. See *Thesaurus* II, *yôdh*, 1136.

² The present author used B. Halper's Hebrew translation of this work which he (Halper) freely rendered *Shîrath Isrā'el* (Leipzig, 1925).

³ See the appropriate notes on the Hebrew text.

⁴ Born in Gerona in 1194 and known as Naḥmanides and in some circles as Bonastruc da Porta. In this respect, cf. his long poem beginning with *רעי לי יעקו* (*Mibḥḥar*, pp. 281–6) addressed to Rabbi Jonah of Gerona in which are feelingly expressed the grief brought about by exile and the hopes for the Epoch of Redemption. The resignation to tribulation alluded to in line 5 and more explicitly expressed in line 13b of our poem (see n. 1, p. 243) is featured also in this poem. The fact that most of the poems assembled in the manuscript date from the Classical Period of the so-called Hebrew Golden Age in Spain, mainly from A.D. 1020–1150 (see WHMS, p. 252), should not disqualify Naḥmanides. Witness, for instance, the poet Nahum, also of the thirteenth century, three of whose poems are included in the manuscript (see WHMS, p. 252, n. 5). However, the violations of grammar and syntax exhibited in the poem appear too serious even for Naḥmanides, and for that matter also for Mosheh Ibn Chiqatilla (see following note).

⁵ Born in Cordoba in the eleventh century. For a collection of some of his poems, see H. Brody, *Yedi'oth*, iii, 73–90.

אַתְּבָה

יום רצון ¹ לשוב למשׁרה	1
הוחלתי ושנת גאולה ²	
יתחדש רוחי בקרבי	2
לא נואש לימי ³ גאולה ⁴	
מתעורר לבי לתקנה	3
לא בראות ⁵ חפץ ⁶ מבוקש	
שפל מתלבש בגאולה ⁷	4
ואני ⁸ מעמים מקודש ⁹	
לא חלה ¹⁰ נפשי ודוה	5
אם ¹¹ מכאוב תמיד מחודש	
יש גולה ילבש גבורה	6
ושבותו ¹² מעטה תהלה ¹³	

¹ Cf. Isa. lviii. 5; lxi. 2.

² Cf. Isa. lxiii. 4. The verb הוחלתי of line 1b and the *lamedh* of לשוב of line 1a are to be applied twice (see translation). The peculiar syntax is obviously due to the metre. See n. 4 below.

³ לימי, instead of מימי (cf. 1 Sam. xxvii. 1), but the *lamedh* seems to stand here for לקראת.

⁴ Cf. Lev. xxv. 29 and note the play on the phrase, this making גאולה here homonymous with that of line 1b and not its mere repetition. The calculation and the forecasting of the exact date of the Messianic redemption is much in evidence in poetry of the Spanish School. See n. 1, p. 251.

⁵ (= כי לא אוסיף לראות), anomalous syntax.

⁶ Elliptical for בגד חפץ. Cf. perhaps Ezek. xxvii. 20. In post-Biblical Hebrew, however, חפץ implying any object is common.

⁷ The manuscript reads שפל . . . בגאולה.

⁸ The *wāw* introduces here a statement of the concomitant condition; hence my translation. ⁹ Among the many other references, cf. Deut. vii. 6.

¹⁰ Accent on *heth*. For my translation, cf. Isa. lxvi. 8.

¹¹ אם followed by the imperfect with the meaning of "though" (for which cf. Isa. i. 18; Amos ix. 2-4) is a favourite with numerous Hebrew poets of the Spanish School. ¹² Lit., "And his return is . . .".

¹³ In the manuscript מעטה. This is denied by the metre. Further, Isa. lxi. 1-3, on which the whole hemistich is modelled, does not seem to support this reading.

מְצֵאתִי נֶאֱמָן לְבָבִי ¹	7
כִּי רַפְּאֵתִיו עַל נִקְלָה ²	
שׁ לֹתִי בַיָּמֵי נְעוּרַי	8
וּבַבַּיִת עוֹלָמִים ³ כְּבוֹדִי	
נִדְדַתִּי מִבַּיִת מְגוּרֵי	9
לֹא יָרַד אֵפוֹד בְּיָדֵי ⁴	
לֹא מְצֵאתִי חֲזוֹן גְּבִירִי ⁵	10
מִיּוֹם הִרְחַקְתִּי גְדוּדֵי	
אֵיָה דוֹד אָרַח לְחִבְרָה ⁶	11
אֲזוּ יַחְפֹּץ לַעֲשׂוֹת גְּדָלָה ⁷	
אִם בָּרַח ⁸ מִבַּיִת מְסֻבֵי ⁹	12
זוֹלָתִי אֶל עַם הַנְּגֻלָּה ¹⁰	

¹ Cf. Neh. ix. 8.

² Cf. Jer. vi. 14. For the meaning of כִּי here, cf. Gen. xviii. 15 (end).

³ Viz. the holy temple. Cf. Sukkah 5b. Cf. also 1 Kings viii. 13.

⁴ Namely, I, in my plight and wandering, possess no instrument with which to consult God. The phrase is borrowed from 1 Sam. xxiii. 6–9, where we are told about Ebiathar the priest who, when he fled, came down with an ephod—a priestly vestment—in his hand which David consulted.

⁵ The metre is out of step here, -- ט -----, instead of -- ט ----- . Read perhaps, then, נמצא instead of מצאתי.

⁶ In the manuscript ברח לחברה . . . , a reading which makes no sense here; it seems to be due to *homoioteleuton* (see line 12a). For the corrected reading, cf. Job xxxiv. 8. By דוד is here meant God, as commonly taken in the Midrashic literature. Cf. e.g. Sabbath 63a.

⁷ Elliptical for . . . אשר אזו. The use of אזו here followed by the imperfect is irregular, as it does not seem to introduce, nor does it seem to point to, an ensuing event, as the case is, for instance, in Exod. xv. 1 and Deut. iv. 41. See SRDT, p. 32. For a Biblical echo of the last two words, cf. 2 Sam. vii. 23.

⁸ Cf. line 11a and Cant. viii. 14.

⁹ Cf. Cant. i. 12.

¹⁰ For the Niph'al rather than the (more common) Qal, cf. Isa. xxxviii. 12. For the anomalous use of the perfect with the definite article, cf. Jos. x. 24; Ezek. xxvi. 17; Ezra viii. 25. The application in this hemistich of זולתי to the words that follow it is peculiar. Line 12 was copied (erroneously) twice in the manuscript. The theme of the friend who wandered away is a favourite with *secular* poetry of the Spanish School, being borrowed from the Arabs.

הִבְהִילוּנִי הַתְּלָאוֹת	13
מִשְׁכַּתִּי לְסִבּוֹל רְצוּנִי ¹	
עַל שְׁכָמִי מִן אֶז נְשׂוֹאוֹת	14
אֵין חֶדֶשׁ בְּרִבּוֹת יְגוּנִי	
לְבִי אֶל קֶץ הַפְּלָאוֹת ²	15
לְכַבּוּדִי שְׁמוֹר זְמַנִּי ³	
אֶלֶיךָ אָנוּס לְעִזְרָה ⁴	16
אֶהְבֶּה לֹא לְשֹׁכֵר סִגְלָה ⁵	
נְצוּיִחַ אַחֲזִיק בְּחֶרְבִי	17
חֵין עֶרְכִי ⁶ וּבִשְׂרִיר תְּפִלָּה ⁷	
מוֹעֲדוֹת פְּנֵי לְדַרְכִי	18
אֶל אֶרְצִי חֶדֶשׁ מְלוֹכָה	

¹ Without particle, for the sake of the metre. The idea of submission in suffering expressed in the hemistich is not uncommon in medieval Hebrew poetry. Cf. e.g. *תוכחות מריבי ערבו לי* (ZYH, iii. 223). Cf. also line 5 in the poem.

² Cf. Dan. xii. 6. For my translation of קֶץ, see V.T. iv. 2, pp. 211–13.

³ = *אל זמן השמור לכבודי*, paralleling line 15a.

⁴ A cherished notion in *piyyûtîm* of the Middle Ages. For a Biblical echo, cf. Isa. x. 3. In the manuscript אל ידך. This, if the *shewā* mobile under (the *daleth*) is to be taken into account, violates the metre.

⁵ Emblematical term for Israel (cf. Exod. xix. 5). The whole syntactically involved hemistich reflects אֶהְבֶּם גְּדִבָּה “I will love them (the children of Israel) freely” (Hos. xiv. 5).

⁶ Cf. Job xli. 4, where the reference is apparently to the crocodile’s graceful symmetry. Here it is obviously parallel with its following *ובשיר תפלה*. It is so taken by Targum and Rashi as well as by the Midrashic literature. Cf. e.g. Mid. Rab. 49 (towards the end) and Tanḥuma (Buber) *Wayyērā*’ 46. It is extensively used in this sense also in the Paytanic literature of the Palestinian School. See following note.

⁷ For the idea contained in the last two hemistichs, cf. *בחרבי ובקשתי* (Gen. xlviii. 22)—*קשתי זו תפלה, חרבי זו תפלה* (Baba Bathra 123a). Among other Midrashic sources, showing the play on *בְּקִשְׁתִּי—בְּקִשְׁתִּי*, cf. Mekh. *Beshallah* 14, 10. Cf. also Targ. on Gen. xlviii. 22, where the rendering *בצלתי ובבעותי* reflects the Midrashic interpretation.

וּמִבְּשׂוּרִי ¹ אוֹחִיל וּמִלְכִי	19
תְּשַׁלֵּם תּוֹחֶלֶת מְשׁוּכָה ²	
זֶה־פְּרִי מְתוֹק לְחֻבִי ³	20
מִסּוּרַת וּבְרִית עֲרוּכָה ⁴	
וּבְאַזְנֵי אֲשָׁמַע בְּשׁוּרָה	21
חֵישׁ אֲעִיר אֶהְבֶּה וְחֻמְלָה	
זָרַע אֲבָרְקֶם אֶהוּבִי ⁵	22
עוֹד וְהֵייתֶם לִי סֻגָּה ⁶	

'Ahabhāh

- 1 (I wait) for the Goodwill-day—(for the day) of the restoration of the dominion; I hope for the Redemption Year.
- 2 My spirit renews itself within me;
It has not despaired of the Days of Release.
- 3 My heart awakens to the hope
That I may see no (more) the desired mantle
- 4 Being donned haughtily by base men
While I, above (other) peoples sanctified, (am left out).
- 5 My soul ails not, nor is it troubled
Though pain is perpetually renewed;
- 6 (For) even an exile may clothe himself with strength,
And return from his captivity enwrapped in glorious raiment.
- 7 (Thus) I found my heart firm;
Indeed, I have cured it with ease.

¹ Cf. Isa. xli. 27; lii. 7.

² Cf. Prov. xiii. 12. The change from the Pu'al to the Qal is obviously for metrical reasons.

³ Cf. Num. xiii. 27 and Cant. ii. 3, this being explained in the hemistich that follows it.

⁴ Cf. Ezek. xx. 37 and 2 Sam. xxiii. 5. For the last two hemistichs, cf. Cant. Rab. on Cant. ii. 3.

⁵ Cf. Isa. xli. 8 and note the change of אֶהְבִּי to אֶהוּבִי, dictated by the metre.

Note that the V⁻ אֶהְבִּי occurs twice in the last two hemistichs—alluding to the type of the poem which is an *'Ahabhāh*. An integral feature of the *'Ahabhāh* in general is the mention of the V⁻ אֶהְבִּי in any form in its last verse.

⁶ Cf. Ezek. xix. 5. עוֹד followed by the perfect with the *wāw* consecutive is anomalous, dictated by the metre.

- 8 Tranquil was I in the days of my youth,
My splendour (abiding) in the House of Antiquity.
- 9 Now, having wandered away from my abode,
I carry no ephod in my hand.
- 10 I found no vision, o my lords,
Since I strayed far and wide.
- 11 Where is the Beloved One who accompanied me—
(The Beloved One) whose desire at that time was to perform great deeds?
- 12 Having fled from my banqueting-hall—
(Where did he land) if not amongst the exiled?
- 13 The hardships have dismayed me—
(The hardships) which I willingly bowed (myself) to bear.
- 14 Since they weigh upon my shoulders
There is no change in my increasing sorrow.
- 15 My heart (yearns) for the Epoch of Wonders—
For the Epoch reserved for (the renewal of my) glory.
- 16 To You shall I fly for help,
(Knowing that Your) love for Your Valued Treasure is given freely.
- 17 Though defeated, I still clasp my sword—
Nay, my solemn request, my melodious prayer.
- 18 My face is set towards my destination—
To my country (where) kingship is (destined) to be renewed,
- 19 Expecting (there to behold) the Herald and my king,
(And thus) will end a hope deferred.
- 20 (Due) to This-my-fruit-which-is-sweet-to-my-palate—
(To the) ancestral bond and the ordered covenant—
- 21 I shall hear with my own ears the tidings
(Saying:) “ I shall speedily awaken love and compassion,
- 22 “ O, ye seed of My beloved Abraham;
“ Once more ye will be My peculiar treasure ”.

Poem 51

This poem, recorded on fol. 46^v of the manuscript, is, like poem 43, a 'Ahabhāh of the *muwashshah* type. In structure it is similar to poem 43, except for its “ leader ” *muwashshah* which contains only two rhymes, *māh* and *bhāh*, followed by the four “ led ” *muwashshahat*.

Its metre is -- ʊ -- / -- ʊ -- for the *delāthôth* of both *muwashshahat* and strophes and - ʊ -- / -- ʊ -- for all their *sôgherîm*.

The name אברהם is spelt acrostically in the following order: the first letter, the 'aleph, at the beginning of the first *muwashshah*,

and the remaining four letters at the beginning of the four strophes, respectively.

Who is this Abraham? Poets named Abraham who may be considered as possible authors of a poem such as ours—which is incorporated in a manuscript dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century¹—are Abraham Ibn Ezra;² Abraham Haḥazzān of Gerona; and Abraham Abulaphia, the mystic of Saragossa.³ All are poets of renown whose poems gained places in *Maḥazôrîm* of the Spanish rite. However, a comparison of our poem with the relatively large number of poems known to have been written by Abraham Ibn Ezra, on the one hand, and the relatively few of the extant poems of Haḥazzān and Abulaphia,⁴ on the other, tends to suggest that the former was its author rather than either of the two latter. The following are a few of the features peculiar to Abraham Ibn Ezra's poems which are manifest in our poem but absent from those of the other two:

(a) References to prophets and prophecy. Allusions to prophets, invoking their utterances on delivery from exile, etc., which are quite prevalent in Jewish liturgical poems of all types,

¹ See WHMS, p. 243. See also above p. 238.

² Born in Tudela in 1092 he went to Italy about 1140 where he stayed for some eight years. In 1154, when Henry II succeeded to the throne of England, we find Ibn Ezra in Angers, the centre of Anjou. In 1158 he came to London where he found some followers and where he composed his *Yesôdh Môrâ'* and conceived his *'Iggereth ha-Shabbâth*. He died in 1167 (in England?). (For further details of Ibn Ezra in London, see Cecil Roth, *The Intellectual Activities of Medieval English Jewry*, pp. 19–20.)

Ibn Ezra is known in the Christian world mainly as an exegete and grammarian, but in fact he was equally eminent as a scientist and poet. His large number of both secular and sacred poems have not, however, as yet been collected in one volume and from time to time new poems are published. Since D. Kahana's (first) edition in 1894 of his poems there have appeared five new groups of his poems, among them those in *Yedî'ôth* . . . vi. 1–45 (by H. Brody) and *Sinai*, xxi. 71–84 (by N. Ben-Menahem). A recent publication is "An unpublished poem by Abraham Ibn Ezra" in *Between East and West*, pp. 107–11 (by S. M. Stern).

³ Both of the thirteenth century. For the likelihood of thirteenth-century poets being included in our manuscript see p. 240, n. 4.

⁴ Even if one identified Abulaphia with the poet Abraham ben Shemu'el (for this possibility, see Schirmann ii, pp. 454 f. and 457) the total number would still be small.

including those of the Spanish School of 1020–1150,¹ have a strong idiosyncratic ring in Ibn Ezra's poems, rendering them easily distinguishable from those of other writers. Considering prophecy to be an inseparable part of the divine,² Ibn Ezra approaches it pleadingly and frequently urges that sympathy should be shown for the suffering of his people. In our poem there are two references of this nature, the first in lines 1–2 and the second in line 14a. Similar to the first are those references in Ibn Ezra's poems in which there comes first, as in our poem, an expression of sorrow concerning the state of oppression, followed by words containing in various forms the roots **חזק**, **נבא**, **חזק**, **דבר**, along with **כתב** or **חתם**, and sometimes also **רשם** or **חקק** or, again, **שמר** in the passive participle. The following are a few examples of this: "How long³ will they sustain derision . . .? How (can the) . . . thirst for the sealed prophetic oracle⁴ (be prolonged?)"⁵ And again: ". . . Why, then, is the Epoch of Redemption of a scattered people late to come? Behold . . . , in its enslavement its heart is fixed on the writing which the prophet has written."⁶ Prophets and prophecies are given full play in Ibn Ezra's *Ge'ullāh*,⁷ beginning with **אם אויבי**.⁸ Here three prophets, Isaiah, Ezekiel and Daniel, are solicitously called upon, and the lines with reference to Isaiah, freely rendered, run "I have studied the prophets' books; and Isaiah's oracle, saying 'Salvation is at hand',⁹ has come to my notice. But (alas!) generation after generation elapses and God's people is still pain smitten; its fall continues for the last thousand years." The second reference alluded to, in line 14a where prophecy is invoked (the verbs used resembling those used in the first instance) along with expressions of a belief in ultimate deliverance,

¹ Cf. e.g. S. Hannagid's prophetic vision (Schirmann, I, poem 21). Cf. also Gabirol, iii, poems 4, line 27 and 14, line 18; ZYH, iii. 56, 280.

² See Ibn Ezra on Ps. cxxxix. 18.

³ The expression **עד כמה וכמה** which is used here adds to the linguistic resemblance which exists between this line and line 1a of our poem.

⁴ The Hebrew is **בדבר נבואה חתומה** (. . . צמא), for which read perhaps (. . .) . . . **לדבר**; cf. also line 2b of our poem and note the reference to the *nomen rectum* in both cases. See n. 5, p. 251 on the Hebrew text.

⁵ Brody, *Yedi'ôth*, vi, poem 26.

⁶ Ibid. poem 15.

⁷ For the meaning of this term see WHMS, p. 249, n. 4.

⁸ Schirmann, i, poem 279.

⁹ See Isa. lvi. 1.

resembles references made by Ibn Ezra elsewhere in his poems: “(Though) shattered . . . , it still hopes for the . . . Redeemer, (for), lo, here is His writing in which are embodied the signatures of so many prophets.”¹ And again: “You, who are considered dead in captivity, avail yourself of balm—the product of seers and prophets. The utterances enshrined in their written visions (will surely) heal (your) pain.”²

(b) The dialogue. The dialogue in its rudimentary stage was not uncommon in both sacred³ and secular poetry⁴ preceding that of Ibn Ezra. However, it was Ibn Ezra, ever eager to introduce innovations in Hebrew letters, who cultivated dialogue, giving it a more developed form. And while he is known to have introduced in secular poems fully-fledged dialogues between various objects representing abstract ideas,⁵ he seems to have introduced a new subject into the embryonic liturgical dialogue—a subject related to the religious disputations forced upon the Jews from time to time by the Christians.⁶ One of Ibn Ezra’s poems which appears to refer to these Christian-Jewish polemics is that which contains the following lines: “Many wonder why a people that worshipped its God all the days and hoped for the Year of Redemption . . . has not lived long enough (to see it come about). (To this) I answered them. . . .”⁷ A more obvious polemical poem of this kind, recalling lines 5–7 of our

¹ *Mibhhar*, p. 198.

² Schirmann, I., poem 276.

³ Here it usually assumes the form of a conversation between God and the people of Israel, a conversation animated by similar Midrashic questions and answers. For traces of this type of dialogue in poems of the Palestinian School, cf. e.g. Qallir (*Mibhhar*, pp. 44–5), and in those of the Spanish School, cf. Gabirol, iii. 11–12; 13–14, and ZYH, iii. 166–7; 213–14.

⁴ See Yellin, pp. 311–19 *passim*. This practice seems to have been influenced by the Arabs (see *ibid.* pp. 310–11).

⁵ Cf. e.g. his poems, the one containing a dispute between summer and winter; the other between beasts and man; and the other between bread and wine, etc. (Kahana, i, poems 105–8).

⁶ References to these polemics without, however, the dialogue form given them by Ibn Ezra, are not rare in liturgical pieces (as, indeed, they are not rare in other branches of Hebrew literature of the Middle Ages). Cf. e.g. the poem beginning with *מִכֵּל אֱמוּנָה* by the ninth-century 'Amittay ben Shephatyāh of Oria, Italy (*Mibhhar*, p. 47). Cf. also the poem by Ibn Ezra’s German contemporary 'Ephrayim ben Yizhaq of Regensburg (Habermann, *Yedi'oth* . . . iv. 135–6).

⁷ Schirmann, I., poem 276.

poem, is the one that comprises a string of questions and answers exchanged between Zion (*'Amerāh Zīyyôn*) and the Enemy (*'Āmar 'Ôyēbh*).¹ Here we have such lines put into the mouth of the Enemy as: "Where is, pray, (where is) your God? Let Him arise and save you!"; "The hope of the Exalted Children has gone . . .; the strength of my hand has overpowered their Rock"; "Your prophets are no more . . .; what are you hoping for?" Our poem also seems to allude to the same enemy (in our text *Zar*) who, too, utters biting words against God, His people and His prophet to whom he refers sarcastically as *pelônî*. Perhaps also the words "Arrogant people have come to slander me" (line 8a) refer to the same enemy. Again, the words put into the mouth of Zion saying: "God's enemies, have you not heard His prophets' oracles? . . .; how, then, (dare you) taunt His law? . . .; Now He will rouse His mighty right arm and destroy you", recall lines 14–16 in our poem, spoken by God to the Mistress.

(c) The ellipsis. The ellipsis was practised as a literary device by Ibn Ezra in common with Hebrew poets of the Spanish School in general² in the following manner: Biblical phrases were interwoven in the lines of poetry but words, one or more,³ were omitted from them. These were expected to be supplied by the reader, who was supposed to possess a thorough knowledge of the Bible. The aim was to occasion in the reader's mind a feeling of surprise and of resulting satisfaction when he was able to supply the omitted words and thus produce what seemed, in their view, an aesthetic response. Ibn Ezra, however, is known to have employed this device more freely than many other poets.⁴ In our poem it is outstanding. Though comparatively short, the poem comprises as many as five ellipses, all connected with Biblical passages. These occur in lines 1a, 6b, 7b, 8b, and 22b.

(d) A peculiar grammatical rule affecting metre. A grammatical rule touched upon by Ibn Ezra in his commentary on

¹ *Yalqûṭ ha-Piyyûṭîm* by A. Mirski, p. 258.

² This was apparently influenced by Arab poets. Ellipses are, however, not unknown, though in a different form, in the Hebrew Bible. See Yellin, pp. 206–7.

³ Gabirol is known to have made use also of other types of omission. See Yellin, pp. 208–9.

⁴ See Yellin, pp. 213–14.

Lev. x. 19 and formulated in various places of his *M'oznayim* and *Zahôth*,¹ teaches that a *shewā* is mobile only if the letter under which there is the *shewā* has a *dāghēsh* or if the *shewā* belongs to the first of two identical letters (e.g. הָלֵל); otherwise, once it is preceded by a vowel it is always quiescent. It is true that in practice, as illustrated in many of his poems, Ibn Ezra did not observe the rule with consistency. In our poem it is applied in (2b, 3a), 6a, 6b, 8b, 10a (11b, 12a), 14b (16a, 16b, 17a and 20a.)²

(e) Rhyming. Ibn Ezra is known to have held definite views about rhymes in Hebrew poetry, the views being reflected in his commentary on Ecc. v. 1. Again, in his famous epigram לֹא תַחְרוֹז בְּשׁוֹר וּזְחֹמֹר, etc.³ we see his taste for the so-called Proper Rhyme,⁴ which generally requires the identity of two of its terminating letters in addition to the identity of one of their vowels or vocalic letters. These views, which do not seem to be contradicted by the rhymes exhibited in his other poems,⁵ were held equally by the writer of the poem under question.

(f) Other peculiarities. For other peculiarities in the poem which appear also to be those of Ibn Ezra, see nn. 5, 7 (p. 251), 5, 7 (p. 252), 11 (p. 254), and 3 (p. 255) on the Hebrew text.

If the suggested authorship be accepted, it should be added that the poem cannot be said to rank among the better of Ibn Ezra's poems. This constantly wandering polyhister could not but write a good deal of his works in haste, his poems not excepted. The poem under review seems to have been written in this way; it is not sufficiently polished and shows a number of shortcomings. Yet, it deserves a thorough study for some of its tender devotional lines, and particularly for its historical and philological content.

¹ See M. Wilensky, *Sēpher Sāphāh Berūrāh le-R. Abraham Ibn Ezra in Devir*, ii. 285.

² For the application of the rule by Ibn Ezra elsewhere, cf. among others, Schirmann, i, poems 253, line 3; 260, lines 10, 22, and 24; 263, line 6; 264 line 5; 266, line 1.

³ A play on Deut. xxii. 10, where we read . . . לֹא תַחְרוֹשׁ "do not plough . . ."

⁴ Known in Medieval Hebrew as *Harūz rā'ūy*.

⁵ See I. Davidson, *Maphtēah Harūzīm* in J. Q. R. xxx. 4, pp. 301-5.

אַהֲבָה

- 1 אַרְךְּ זְמַנִּי¹ כַּמָּה וְכַמָּה²
- סָר הוֹד וּפְנֵה שְׁמֶשׁ וּבֹא³
- 2 נִחַר גְּרוֹנִי יִבֵּשׁ בְּצָמָא⁴
- לְדַבֵּר אֱמוּנָה שְׁנֹכַתְבָּה⁵
- 3 בְּשִׁבִי אֶיֱחַל עַד בֹּא דְבָרֵי⁶
- יָמִים וְשָׁנִים אֵין לִי דָמִי
- 4 יֵרָא וְזוֹחַל⁷ שְׁבֹתִי⁸ בְּצִירִי
- לְקַח מְעֵנָה⁹ כָּל נַעֲמִי
- 5 אֵיךְ צָר יִנְהַל¹⁰ עֲמוֹ דְבִירִי
- יֵאמֶר¹¹ לְבָנִים מִי צוֹר וְנָמִי¹²

¹ זמן and some similar words bearing on time are often used in poetical Hebrew pieces of the Spanish School, under the influence of parallel Arabic pieces, connoting pre-ordained events and their complexities, the causes of which are unknown, originated as they are by some mysterious power. Here "time" implies the pre-ordained trouble-laden exilic period, which, according to the poet's calculation based on "scripture of truth" (see nn. 5 and 6 below), should have already come to an end. Cf. lines 1-2 of poem 43 and see n. 4 thereon. See also p. 247.

² In post-Biblical Hebrew כמה is often used in the sense of "a certain number", כמה וכמה would then mean "many", and the last two elliptical words imply the Biblical זה כמה שנים (Cf. Zech. vii. 3). See p. 247, n. 3.

³ Cf. Dan. x. 8 and Isa. lx. 20.

⁴ Cf. Ps. lxix. 4 and Isa. xli. 17.

⁵ Cf. "I will show thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth" (Dan. x. 21). See pp. 245-8. שנכתבה (which refers to the *nomen rectum*), rather than שנכתב, is due to the metre. However, cf. the somewhat similar cases in Judges xix. 24; Jer. xliv. 4. Cf. also Ibn Ezra's עתידות ובואות . . . דברי נבואות (*Yedi'ôth*, vi, poem 26, line 20). See p. 247, n. 4.

⁶ Cf. דבר אמונה of line 2b.

⁷ Cf. Job xxxii. 6 and see Ibn Ezra on this verse.

⁸ In the manuscript *shîn* with *qāmez*.

⁹ In the manuscript *מענים*, an obvious mistake.

¹⁰ = אשר ינהל, the attributive relation being expressed here by simple co-ordination.

¹¹ In the manuscript ויאמר, a reading which violates the metre.

¹² In the manuscript נמי. My vocalization נמי tallies with the accepted grammatical rules. The *qāmez* here, however, is considered from the metrical

- חֹזְקֵם פְּלוּנֵי¹ פְּתָה בְּעֶרְמָה 6
- אֶתְכֶם וְעָלָה² שְׂוֹא כִי צָבֵא
- אֵל³ קָם לְהַנִּיא לֵב⁴ אָח וְאָמָה 7
- אֶךְ זֹאת דָּעוּ נָא כִי נִכְזָבָה⁵
- וְכִסִּי אֲנָשִׁים⁶ בָּאוּ לְרַגְלֵי⁷ 8
- אֶמְרָה כְּבוּדָה תוֹךְ בֵּית שְׁבִי⁸

point of view as a *shewā* mobile, an example of poetical licence. The last two hemistichs seem to allude to Christian-Jewish religious disputations often held in the Middle Ages (see following note). For the last three words, cf. Ps. xviii. 32 and Ezek. x. 8.

¹ The pejorative sense meant to be applied here to this word is obvious. See p. 249.

² Elliptical for ועלה מזה. See Ibn Ezra on עלה of Gen. xlix. 4. See p. 249.

³ For אל as characterizing mighty phenomena in nature, cf. הררי אל (Ps. xxxvi. 7). Cf. also Ps. xviii. 11 and Isa. xiv. 13. Here אל seems to be taken more literally (cf. מחנה אלהים, Gen. xxxii. 3). See the translation. In this respect, Ibn Ezra's בני אל (in the poem beginning with אמרה ציון; see p. 249), which refers to the exalted children of Israel, is of interest, for in Ps. xxix. 1 בני אלים mean "sons of the mighty". (Comparing, however, Hos. ii. 1, it may be elliptical for בני אל חי. For ellipses in Ibn Ezra's poems see p. 249.)

⁴ Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 10 and Num. xxxii. 7.

⁵ Lit. "brother and maid servant". "Brother", however, appears to be here an emblematical term for Esau (cf. Mal. i. 2), namely, the Edomites, and "maid servant" for the mother of Ishmael (cf. Gen. xi. 10). (Halevi used these two terms similarly. Cf. ZYH, iii. 562.) The phrase seems to reflect, as do many similar phrases in poems of the Spanish School, the political state of Spain at the time of the composition of the poem, the inhabitants being ruled alternately by Arabs (Ishmaelites) and Christians (Edomites). Note that the Almoravids' conquest at the end of the eleventh century, which compelled many Jews to escape from Muslim Andalusia to Christian Spain, was not so far-off. In this respect, Ibn Ezra's ". . . Should I (venture to) go to my Servant (= Ishmael, the son of Hagar, the maid servant; cf. Gen. xvi. 16), I am beaten, and should I come to my Brother, I am smitten" (Kahana, i, poem 130) as well as his ". . . I am enslaved . . . to the sons of both Brother and Maid Servant" (in his *Reshûth* beginning with אשבע בעת ארעב; *Mibhhar*, p. 195) deserve attention both for their content and for the identical emblematical terms they employ. See p. 250, item f. See also p. 261, nn. 3 and 7.

⁶ Elliptical for תוחלתכם נכזבה (cf. Job xli. 1). For ellipses in the poem, see p. 249, item c.

⁷ Cf. Ps. xxxi. 21 and note the slight deviation. The meaning given here to this dubious phrase (see BDB, v. רכס) is of exegetic interest. See Ibn Ezra on it in Psalms. For its possible historical reference, see p. 249.

- 9 בְּנֵי גְרוּשִׁים מִבֵּית זְבוּלִי¹
 וַיִּקְרַח וַחֲמַדַּת אֶרֶץ² צְבִי
 10 תּוֹפְשִׁים³ קִדְשִׁים וַיֹּאמְרוּ לִי
 בָּא יוֹם פְּקוּדָה⁴ שְׁפִלֵי שְׁבִי⁵
 11 אָנָּה אֲדֹנָי רַחֵם אֲיוּמָה⁶
 מִהָיֹת שְׁנִינָה⁷ לֹא שָׁנְבָה⁸
 12 בְּכָאֵב וָעוֹנִי נִשְׁאַה כְּלָמָה
 בְּדָד בְּחוֹנָה הִיא יוֹשְׁבָה⁹
 13 הַרְבוֹת דְּבָרִים עֲזָבִי גְבִירָה
 עָלָה בְּאֲזִנֵי קוֹל צִעְקוֹ¹⁰

⁸ For my translation, cf. the Qal in Ps. xv. 3. In the manuscript לרגלי (*gīmel* without *dāghēsh*), a reading which makes no sense here. See preceding note.

⁹ The hemistich seems to play on כבודה בת מלך (Ps. xlv. 14), and כבודה is likely to stand here as an adjective (cf. Ezek. xxiii. 41) qualifying the omitted noun. See p. 249, end of item c.

¹ In 1 Kings viii. 13 (cf. 2 Chron. vi. 2), בית זבול refer to the "house built by Solomon for God to abide in".

² The manuscript reads וחמדה וארץ. The metre, however, dictates here ארץ . . . The emendation, then, of its preceding word to read וחמדת, in the construct state, needs no justification. The reference here is to the Holy Land; cf. Ezek. xx. 6 and Dan. xi. 16.

³ The manuscript reads תופשי, a reading hard to explain in this context.

⁴ Cf. Hos. ix. 7.

⁵ Cf. Jer. xiii. 18, where שפל is in the Hiph'il. The manuscript reads, strangely, שפלי.

⁶ An emblematical term for Israel (cf. Cant. vi. 4), extensively used by poets of the Palestinian School and to a lesser extent by those of the Spanish School. Cf. e.g. Halevi's דלה אימה (ZYH, iii. 643) and again חליץ אימה (ibid.).

⁷ Cf. Deut. xxviii. 37.

⁸ The manuscript reads here שנבה, in the Qal. However, the whole phrase, echoing לא רחמה (Hos. i. 6), I have pointed it as a Pu'al. (Note the absence of the pausal form, due to the metre.)

⁹ Cf. Lam. i. 1.

¹⁰ A masculine segholate noun (cf. צדקה, צדק). More likely, however, infinitive construct Qal. Cf. לקול זעקך (Isa. xiii. 19). This line and a few other

- שֵׁם¹ בְּסִפְרֵי חֲזוֹת שְׁמוּרָה² 14
 שִׁפְטָךְ יִי³ וּמְחוֹקֶקְךָ
 אֲשָׁא וְאָרִים יְדֵי מְהֵרָה 15
 לְשִׁפּוֹךְ חֲרוֹנֵי עַל דּוֹחֶקְךָ
 וּבְרַב גְּאוּנֵי לְעֲשׂוֹת נִקְמָה 16
 בְּבִגְיָ⁴ עַד־יְנָה⁵ אֶת־יִצְבָּה
 לְשִׁמִּי תִתְנֵי⁶ שִׁירָה⁷ נְעִימָה 17
 כִּי עֵת חֲתָנָה⁸ הֵן קָרְבָּה
 מֵר וְאֶהֱלִים קָנָה וְקָדָה 18
 עִם קִנְמוֹן בְּשֵׁם תִּרְקָחִי⁹
 נָסוּ צְלָלִים כִּיּוֹם¹⁰ וְהִפְדָּה 19
 אוֹתְךָ גְּבִיר בּוֹ עוֹד תִּשְׁמָחִי
 וְהִמּוֹן נְבָלִים¹¹ שָׁמוּךְ לְנִדָּה 20
 מִלְכֵי בְחָרְבוּ יְשִׁים סָחִי

lines in the poem recall parts of Halevi's poem beginning with קולכם בני ציון (ZYH, iii. 227–8) in a few ways. In this respect, cf. another of Halevi's poem, *ibid.* p. 240.

¹ In the manuscript, by mistake, שֵׁם.

² See p. 247.

³ This, if read אַדְנֵי, has the metrical scheme – – \cup , which is in conformity with that of the *sôgherîm*.

⁴ In the manuscript בְּבִגְיָ, a senseless reading, which is also denied by the metre. See following note.

⁵ An emblematical term for the "daughter of the Chaldæans" (cf. Isa. xlvi. 8). Here the reference is to any oppressor. It is similarly used by Halevi (ZYH, iii. 271); Gabirol, in his elegy on Hai Gaon, (Gabirol, i, poem 113); and Yizhāq Ibn Gayyat (Schirmann, i, poem 125). It is obvious that the copyist did not understand the meaning of עַד־יְנָה here; this led him to the corruption of its preceding word.

⁶ The manuscript reads תִּתְנֵי, a reading denied by the metre. See following note.

⁷ Cf. Judges v. 11.

⁸ Viz. the return of the ancient glory. See Cant. Rab. on Cant. iii. 11 (end).

⁹ Cf. Cant. iv 14 and Exod. xxx. 23–5.

¹⁰ = הַיּוֹם; cf. Gen. xxv. 31.

¹¹ Cf. המית נבליך ("the noise of the viols") (Isa. xiv. 11) (cf. also Amos v. 23) and note the play on words—a play bordering on a pun, and in its sharpness recalling that of Ibn Ezra's known puns. See p. 250, item (f).

יֹם צָר תְּרוֹנִי¹ אֶהְבֶּה קְדוּמָה 21

אֶזְכֹּר לְיוֹנָה² וְאֶשׁוּבָה

הוֹר³ בֵּית הַמּוֹנִי⁴ גַּם אֶקְרָאֶהמָה 22

יְפִית וַיְמָה נְעַמְתָּ אֶהְבֶּה⁶

'Ahabhāh

- 1 My (bad) lot has lasted long;
Dignity has gone, and the sun declined and set.
- 2 My throat is parched dry, thirsting
For the faithful oracle which was once recorded.
- 3 Tarrying in captivity, I wait for the fulfilment of the prophetic word.
Rest has not been mine for days and years.
- 4 Pain-stricken and shrunken-away with fear, I sit
(Reflecting on) the torturer who has taken all my treasure.
- 5 How is it that the adversary, who leads his people (into) my Holy of Holies,
Says to (my) sons: 'Who, who pray, is your rock?'
- 6 'Some fellow, some prophet of yours has cunningly misled
'You and vanished. It is not true that a divine host
- 7 'Has arisen to restrain the heart-desire of Edomites and Ishmaelites.
'Know well that (your hope) is in vain.'
- 8 —“ Arrogant people have come to slander me,”
Said the Stately Lady while confined in the prison house.
- 9 “ My sons were expelled from my cherished abode—
“ And preciousness and the delight of the Land of Beauty

¹ Syntactically difficult, but apparently meaning that although His mind is full of distress and is occupied with measures to punish the oppressor severely, the old love for Israel will not be forgotten.

² Emblematical term for Israel. Cf. Cant. ii. 14.

³ A sing. masc. noun from the assumed הוֹרִים, used, as far as one can ascertain, only by Ibn Ezra. (Cf. Kahana, i, poem 74; Brody, *Yedi'ôth*, poem 25, line 5.) Cf. ברכת הוֹרִי (Gen. xlix. 26) and see its rendering in Targum. See also Jewish Medieval commentators thereon. It is used in the sense of “parents” also in Midrashic literature. הוֹרוֹ “his father”, of Med. Rab. on Deut. i. 17, however, may be also from the singular הוֹרָה (cf. e.g. קוֹנוֹ “his owner”, “his Lord” in post-Biblical Hebrew). See p. 250, item (f). ⁴ Cf. Jer. i. 19.

⁵ Disregarding the reading of the MS., I have placed the word *māh* at the end of the hemistich. This is supported by both metre and rhyme. See following note.

⁶ This hemistich is a faithful quotation of Cant. vii. 6, minus its last word. For the V אֶהב in the last verse, see p. 244, n. 5.

- 10 " Are (now) held by sodomites, who say to me
 " ' The day of visitation is come, stay low! ' "
- 11 " Ah, now! O Lord, have mercy on the (once) Awe-inspiring Woman,
 " So that she does not become a by-word, (and known as) The Undignified.
- 12 " Pining-away with affliction, she has borne (her) ignominy—
 " While sitting solitary, (searched and) tried."
- 13 —" ' O, Mistress, desist from multiplying words;
 " ' The sound of thy cry has reached My ear.
- 14 " ' There in the Books a prophetic vision is enshrined, (saying):
 " ' (I) God, thy judge and lawgiver,
- 15 " " Will speedily raise and lift up My hand,
 " " To pour out My wrath on thy oppressors.
- 16 " " And I shall take a stand with the greatness of My excellence
 " " To execute vengeance upon the children of Her Who is given to Pleasures.
- 17 " " Thou wilt utter to My name a melodious song,
 " " For the time of espousals is surely at hand.
- 18 " " Myrrh and aloes, aromatic reed and cassia
 " " Thou wilt compound along with cinnamon of sweet odour.
- 19 " " On this day shadows will flee away, and the Master will redeem
 " " Thee, (and) thou shalt rejoice in Him once more.
- 20 " " And the multitude of ignoble men who made thee defiled—
 " " My king with his sword will make them (as) offscourings.
- 21 " " (And though) a day of distress and anger for Me, the old love
 " " For (My) Dove will be remembered, and I will bring back
- 22 " " The many family-heads of My Daughter, calling out:
 " " ' How fair and how pleasant art thou, O Love! ' " "

Poem 72

This poem, a *Muḥarrak*,¹ recorded on fols. 51^r–51^v of the manuscript, is also included with some slight variations in B.M. I. (42^r).² It is, like the two preceding poems, 43 and 51, of the *muwashshah* type and resembles them as far as the number of its *muwashshahat* and its strophes and their respective lines is concerned. With regard to the rhyme the scheme is as follows: la, the *deleth*, which terminates with the syllable *rî*, leads all the first *delâthôth* of the other *muwashshahat*; lb, the *sôghēr* of the first line of the same *muwashshah*, which ends in *lô*, leads the corresponding *sôgherîm*; and so on. lb has an inner rhyme, *rî*,

¹ See WHMS, p. 248, n. 8.

² See WHMS, p. 251, n. 3.

rhyiming with the last syllable of 1a, and 2b an inner rhyme, *lí*, rhyiming with the last syllable of 2a—rhymes which are followed by the corresponding hemistichs of the other *muwashshahat*. The strophes have independent rhymes for the *delāthôth* and *sôgherîm* respectively, with the first and the third strophes, however, resembling.¹ The metre of the *muwashshahat* is rather mixed; it is either – – ʊ / – ʊ – for the *delāthôth*, and – – ʊ / – ʊ – – ʊ – ʊ / for the *sôgherîm*, or – – ʊ / – – – for the *delāthôth*, and – ʊ – ʊ / – – ʊ / – – – for its *sôgherîm* with the last predominating. That of the strophes is – – ʊ / – ʊ – for the *delāthôth* and – ʊ – ʊ for the *sôgherîm*.

The name of the author is not embodied acrostically in the poem and it is difficult to conjecture who he may have been. The poem is of outstanding merit, and some of the ideas contained in it are known to have been favourites with Yehudah Halevi as expressed in his *Kuzari* and supplemented in many of his poems. Man's yearnings to God and his inadequacy to comprehend His deep secrets, His performances on the earth below while abiding in the heavens above (lines 1–7), is one such idea.² History as a corroborating testimony of the existence of God (line 8) who manifests Himself through His miraculous deeds (originally a Scriptural notion)—man perceiving His workings rather than His qualities (lines 9–10)—is another such idea.³ Again, the notion of offering prayers to God in a house of worship rather than in private (“Souls long . . . to possess a seat in Thy house of prayer”) so as spiritually to be more fitted to experience the impact of the Divine Presence (lines 13–15), finds also its parallel in Halevi's works.⁴ However, conceptions such as these, with the possible exception of the last, can also be traced in poems by Solomon Ibn Gabirol⁵ and, to a lesser extent, in those by Yizḥaq Ibn Gayyat,⁶ Mosheh Ibn Ezra⁷ and Abraham Ibn Ezra,⁸ all of

¹ Cf. P. Kahle's view about the pronunciation of the 2nd per. sing. masc. in *The Cairo Geniza*, 2nd ed., p. 172. ² See WHMS, pp. 255, 257.

³ Among others, cf. *Kuzari*, ii. 2; ZYH, iii. 120, 121, 129, 133, 658.

⁴ Among others, cf. *Kuzari*, iii. 18 (“Community prayer is preferable for many reasons . . .”); ZYH, i. 19; iii. 137, 181, 299, 489–90(1), 686, 691.

⁵ Born about 1021 and died between 1053–8. He lived mainly in Saragossa. See n. 5, p. 259.

⁶ Born at Lucena in 1038, died at Cordoba in 1089.

⁷ See p. 239, n. 4.

⁸ See p. 246, n. 2.

whom have one or more poems in our manuscript.¹ The allusion to the political situation in Spain, harmfully affecting her Jewish communities, which seems to be contained in lines 16–17 of the poem and is common in Halevi's poems, is also featured in numerous poems of these four authors.²

מוֹתֵדָד

	אֲחִלִּי ³ לְצוּרִי	1
	אֲחִלִּי בְּשׁוּרֵי ⁴ לְפַעֲלוֹ ⁵	
	סוּד יִקָּר ⁶ וּפְלֵאִי ⁷	2
	מָה אֲנִי בְּשִׁכְלִי לְכַלְכְּלוֹ	
	שׁוֹטְטוּ מְזֻמוֹת ⁸ לְדַעְתְּךָ ⁹	3
	גָּבְהוּ מְרוֹמוֹת ¹⁰ לְשִׁבְתְּךָ	4

¹ Ibn Gabirol, 8; Yizhāq Gayyat, 11(?); Abraham Ibn Ezra, 7; Mosheh Ibn Ezra, 1. See WHMS, p. 252, n. 5.

² See p. 252, n. 5.

³ אֲחִל, the existence and meaning of which are, according to modern lexicographers, dubious and which is indeclinable (as are, e.g. מַחִי and אוֹלִי), is seen here in its declined form, with the approximate meaning given it in our translation. A literal translation of אֲחִלִּי would then be "my desire". This is in keeping with the view held by medieval Hebrew grammarians (see, e.g. Jannah, *Sēpher Hashorāshīm*, 22, and Qimḥi, *Sēpher Hashorāshīm*, V⁻ אֲחִלִּי). אֲחִלִּי with this connotation is common in the poetry of Halevi (cf. e.g. ZYH, iii. 200, 415, 542, 588, 541) and in that of Abraham Ibn Ezra's (cf. e.g. among others . . . אלהי תהלתי וכל אחלי גפשי . . .).

⁴ For its meaning, cf. Hos. xiv. 9, where it is used in the accusative. See following note.

⁵ The metre requires here a *shewā* mobile, hence לַפַּעֲלוֹ and not . . . אֵת. Cf. however, Ps. cxlv. 44 and Ezek. xxxiv. 4.

⁶ The metre dictates this pointing.

⁷ For the form and meaning, cf. Judges xiii. 18.

⁸ Here in the sense given it in Prov. i. 4, where it implies discretion. See n. 7, p. 259.

⁹ For Biblical echoes of the last line, though without the peculiar philosophical touch, cf. Amos viii. 12 and Dan. xii. 4. It is worthy of note here that the V⁻ שׁוֹטְט in the Polel form often connotes in medieval Jewish philosophical works the meaning of "reflect", "examine", "mentally observe" (cf. e.g. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, iii. 19).

¹⁰ Instead of מְרוֹמִים, a form not uncommon in Medieval Hebrew poetry. See end of n. 5, p. 259.

מְלֹאכְתָּךְ	וְעָלִי אֲדָמוֹת	5
	מִי תִכְנֶן ¹ יְצוּרֵי	6
וְטֹלְטָלוֹ	מִי אָסַף צְרוּרֵי ²	
	יֵשׁ פּוֹעֵל לְפַעֲלִי	7
מְכַלְכְּלוֹ	לֹא אָנִי בְּשָׁלִי ³	
וַיֹּאמְרוּ	שְׁאַלּוּ לְיָמִים ⁴	8
יִסְפְּרוּ	מִעֲשָׂיִם עֲצוּמִים	9
יִדְבְּרוּ	מִחֲשָׁבוֹת עֲרוּמִים ⁷	10

¹ Meaning similar to that which it has in Ps. lxxv. 4, but here applied to the human body. See following notes.

² In Job xvii. 7, where it occurs in the plural, the reference is to the members of the body. In early Hebrew liturgy of the first/third centuries it occurs often in the sense used here by the poet.

³ For its meaning in Biblical Hebrew, cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 13 and Amos ix. 9. Here it is obviously taken figuratively in the sense of "dust" or "earth", from which, according to Jewish tradition, the body of man is moulded. See following note.

⁴ Post-Biblical for "move", "shake", "handle". Here the reference is to the process of kneading matter and pressing it together into a mass. The poet no doubt is mindful of "at three hours of the day He collected (כּוּס) his dust, at four He moulded him, at five He shaped him, at six He made him into a body, etc." (Lev. Rab., beg. of s. 29). For the last 2 hemistichs, cf. Job x. 8-12. See following note.

⁵ שָׁל, a *hapax* (2 Sam. vi. 7), is disputed (see BDB, p. 1016b). Here it apparently means "fault", "flaw", "inadequacy". It is similarly taken by Jannaḥ and by Qimḥi, who derive it from שָׁלָה. For the form שָׁל, cf. קו and צו, Isa. xxviii. 10. The manuscript reads בשָׁלִי, *shîn* with *seghôl* and so does B.M.I. (43a), for which cf. 2 Sam. iii. 27. This reading, however, the meaning of which is "in quietness", "privately", makes no sense in our context. Lines 1-7 embody some of Gabirol's ideas contained in a number of his *Reshúyyôth* (see Gabirol, iii, poems 35, 41, 46; cf. especially לא יכילוך לשבתך of line 3) and in various places of his *Kether Malkhúth* (Gabirol, iii. 62-78). Lines 6-7 echo in particular the greater part of Gabirol's *Baqqāshāh*, beginning with טָרַם הִיּוֹתִי (Gabirol, iii, poem 49). See p. 257.

⁶ Cf. Deut. iv. 32.

⁷ Cf. Job. v. 12, where the reference is derogatory: "He disappointeth the desires of the crafty." Here עָרוּמִים (in the manuscript *mem* with *dāgēsh*) is taken in its good sense. Cf. Prov. xiv. 18. See n. 8, p. 258.

חֻזְקָה אֲשׁוּרִי ¹	11
מַעֲשֵׂי בְּזָכְרִי לְהִלְלוֹ ²	
בּוֹ אֲשַׁכַּח עֲמָלִי	12
בּוֹ יְרוּן, תְּלִילִי לְסִלְסְלוֹ ³	
תְּאַנּוֹת גְּשָׁמוֹת לְזִכְרָה ⁴	13
לְחִזּוֹת גְּעִימוֹת הַדְּרָה ⁵	14
לְאַחֲזוֹ מְקוֹמוֹת דְּבִירָה ⁶	15
הַתֵּר נָא אֲסוּרִי ⁷	16

¹ The manuscript reads חֻזְקוֹ אֲשׁוּרִי, but this is denied by both context and rhyme. (Cf. the companion words of אֲשׁוּרִי in lines 1, 6, 16 and 21). B.M.I. reads חֻזְקוֹ אֲשׁוּרִי. For אֲשׁוּר as fem., cf. Job xxxi. 7.

² A *pluralis excellentiae*. Cf. יִשְׂמַח . . . בְּעוֹשָׁיו (Ps. cxlix. 2). Cf. also Job xxxv. 10; Isa. xxii. 11; and liv. 5. חֻזְקָה אֲשׁוּרִי מַעֲשֵׂי, then, seems to echo מַאֲדוֹנִי מִצַּעֲדֵי . . . כּוֹנְנִי (Ps. xxxvii. 23). Cf. also Ps. xxxvii. 31 and xl. 2. The manuscript points מַעֲשֵׂי and the B.M. I. reads מַעֲשָׂיו, neither yielding any sense.

³ The implication here seems to be "prayer" with which devotional praise to God is inevitably interwoven. The theme of prayer is again in evidence in lines 13-15.

⁴ This is the pointing in the manuscript and, relying on Prov. xxix. 6, I have not altered it.

⁵ For the Pilpel form, cf. Prov. iv. 8. This verb with reference to song, which seems to be based on Cant. Rab. on Cant. i. 1, is used extensively in *piyyûṭim* of the Palestinian School.

⁶ Cf. Isa. xxvi. 8. גְּשָׁמוֹת, instead of גּוֹפֵשׁ, however, lends the whole phrase a more distinct medieval ring.

⁷ Note the denial of anthropomorphism inherent in the last two lines and cf. Ps. xxvii. 4.

⁸ The manuscript reads בְּדַבִּירָךְ. This is denied by the metre. Medieval Hebrew poets use דַּבִּיר which in the Bible means "Holy of Holies" (cf. e.g. 1 Kings vi. 5), in the sense of "synagogue". Cf. e.g. ZYH, iii. 682, 714. For lines 14-15, cf. "Lord, I have loved the habitation of Thy house etc." However, the verb לְאַחֲזוֹ of line 15, which is applied to places in a house of worship seems to be under a non-Hebrew influence (Arabic?). One can hardly quote here 1 Kings i. 51. In this respect, Halevi's . . . וְטוֹב לְאַחֲזוֹ בְּבֵיתְךָ (ZYH, iii. 708) is of interest.

⁹ (The manuscript reads 'aleph with *ḥaṭaph-seghól*). Cf. Judges xv. 14. Here the reference is to the people's suffering in exile, the account of which is given in lines 16b-17b.

רַב ¹ שְׁכָל ² בְּכוֹרֵי ³ בְּמַעְלוֹ ⁴	
רַב סְכָלִי ⁵ וְחֶבְלִי ⁶	17
עַם רוּעָה אֲוִילִי ⁷ מְחַבְלוֹ	
וְאֲנִי תַפְלָה ⁸ לְפַעְלִי	18
אִם הֶכְאִיב ⁹ וְחֶלְהָ ¹⁰ בְּמַעְלִי	19
רַחֲמֵי סִגְלָה ¹¹ לְכָל חֶלְי ¹²	20
עוֹד יָשִׁיב נְצוּרֵי ¹³	21
עַם מְבַצֵּר וְשׁוּרֵי ¹⁴ יִגְדְּלוּ	

¹ Qal of רַבב. Cf. Ps. xviii. 15, which according to Ibn Ezra and Qimḥi (V רַבב) is to be understood as “. . . He *multiplied* His lightnings and discomfited them”.

² Both our manuscript and B.M. I. read שְׁכָלִי. This does not make sense. Our reading, a (declined) newly-coined segholate noun (cf. שְׁכוּל, Isa. xlvi. 8 which was, however, not used here for metrical reasons), fits the context very well here. See following note.

³ The last three words seem to reflect יֹאכַל בְּדִיו בְּכוֹר מוֹת (Job xviii. 13) which the poet took, in common with medieval Jewish commentators (Jannah, Rashi, Ibn Ezra and Qimḥi; see also Targum), as meaning “his *children* will be *devoured* by an *all-consuming* death” (the reference being to the death-lord or the death-chief who is great in his power of destruction). I have, however, translated בְּכוֹרֵי freely and in keeping with the context. See p. 258.

⁴ A much used word in poetry of the Spanish School. Cf. end of line 19.

⁵ In the manuscript סְכָלִי.

⁶ Both our manuscript and B.M. I. read וְהַבְלִי. This gives no sense here.

⁷ Cf. Zech. xi. 15, where the reference is to the ruler who led Israel into exile (see Medieval Hebrew commentaries on Zech. xi. 15 and Dan. xi. 2-3). The reflection in lines 16-17 of the changing governments in parts of Spain is obvious. See p. 252, n. 5. In the manuscript, senselessly, רוּעָה.

⁸ Cf. Ps. cix. 4, the noun having here the force of a verb (cf. perhaps, also Ezek. xvii. 12). See SRDT, pp. 252 ff.

⁹ For the lapse into ---, see p. 257.

¹⁰ Cf. Deut. xxix. 21.

¹¹ In Medieval Hebrew passages concerned with medical matters, “remedy”, “cure”. Cf. e.g. Maimonides, *Pērûsh Ha-Mishnâh*, Sab. 67a.

¹² Thus in the manuscript, which reading I have retained because of the metre.

¹³ In the manuscript יָשׁוּב. For my translation of the whole hemistich, cf.

וְנְצוּרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַשִּׁיב (Isa. xlix. 6).

¹⁴ Lit. “a people of the fortress and wall” (וְשׁוּר = וְשׁוּרֵי). For this conception, cf. Num. xiii. 18-19.

עוֹד יִכִּיר פְּתִילִי¹ 22אוֹת חֲשָׁקֶיךָ וְדַגְלֵי בְּאֵהָלוֹ³*Muḥarrak*

- 1 I yearn for my Rock;
I yearn as I look on His creation—
- 2 (A creation full of) rare and ungraspable secrets.
Who am I, with my (mortal) intelligence, to comprehend it?
- 3 (My) devices are astir to gain knowledge of You,
4 Whose seat is in the heavens above
5 And Whose work is on the earth (below).
- 6 Who has ordered my frame?
Who has collected my elements and moulded them?
- 7 (Lo), there is One who has brought me into being,
But it is not I with my frailty who can fathom Him.
- 8 Enquire of the days (that are past) and they will tell.
9 (Nay, His) mighty deeds will relate;
10 (His) wise plans will speak.
- 11 My step is growing firm
Through my Maker whom I remember to praise.
- 12 (Absorbed) in Him, I forget my toil,
(Animated) by Him, my flute rings out in His exaltation.
- 13 Souls long for the remembrance of You,
14 (Desiring) to behold the fair beauty of Your splendour;
15 (Wishing) to possess a seat in Your house of prayer.
- 16 Pray, loosen my bonds!
My overlord, in his treachery, has increased my bereavement
- 17 (And) multiplied my suffering. Lo, my possession
Is destroyed by a people (guided) by a foolish shepherd.
- 18 But I pray to my Maker—
19 (Knowing that) though He has pained and ailed (me) because of my un-
faithfulness
20 His mercy is a cure for every illness—:

¹ Cf. הפתילים . . . הכר (Gen. xxxviii. 25). Here, however, הכר is given the sense it has in Ruth ii. 10, and פתיל alludes to an object which gives honour to its possessor (see Gen. Rab. s. 85). ² In the manuscript *heth* with *seghôl*.

³ In the manuscript באהלו, which neither makes sense nor is in keeping with the metre. B.M. I. באהלו. The reference here is to the standards and ensigns which the children of Israel pitched about the tabernacle (see Num. ii. 2). Cf. Halevi's דגלי סביב לאהלי (ZYH, iii. 266).

- 21 “ May He again restore the Preserved,
 “ Making him powerful (as) a well-fortified people,
 22 “ May He once more regard my glory,
 “ My pleasurable ensign and standard in His tabernacle.

Poem 75

The poem, recorded on fol. 52^r, is a (*Reshûth* to a) *Qaddîsh*.¹ It comprises six *delāthôth*-and-*sôgherîm* lines with the rhyme *nî* for the *delāthôth* and *mekhā* for the *sôgherîm* and does not contain an acrostic. The metre is -- ʔ / -- ʔ -- for all the hemistichs. We thus have here the metre known in Arabic as *mujthath* and in Hebrew as *ha-qāṭu'a*, a metre not frequently used by Spanish Jewish poets.² In form, content and language it follows the fine tradition established by poets of the Spanish Jewish School. Short as it is (and this type of poem—the *Reshûth*—is usually very short), the poem contains, as do so many Jewish liturgical pieces, allusions to Jerusalem and the Temple³ as well as to the vicissitudes of exile. It terminates with an hemistich which constitutes the Hebrew rendering of the first few Aramaic words of the doxology.⁴

קדיש

אֵלֵי הַלְעָד מְעוֹנֵי⁵ 1

תְּשַׁכַּח נִיד זֹעֲמָיָה⁶

תַּגְבִּיר וּמַרְבֵּי זְרוֹנֵי 2

תְּסַתִּיר פְּנֵי נְעֻמָּה⁷

¹ See WHMS, p. 250, n. 5.

² Gabirol's *mujthath* poem, beginning with נחר בקראי (Gabirol, i, poem 2), is one of the few. ³ See n. 5 below. ⁴ See n. 8, p. 264.

⁵ The allusion seems to be to the Temple. Cf. the Talmudic oath המעון, “by the Temple!” (Toseph. Keth. iii. 2). Cf. also Targ. on 1 Sam. ii. 29, where the ambiguous words צויתי מעון (see, e.g. S. R. Driver, *Book of Samuel*, 2nd edn., pp. 38–9) are rendered בבית מקדשי . . . דפקידת, a rendering reflected in numerous Medieval Jewish commentaries.

⁶ In the manuscript זועמָה. See n. 6, p. 264. For זעם as transitive cf. e.g. Prov. xxiv. 24.

⁷ Cf. Ps. xxvii. 9 and xvi. 11. The metre dictates here the observance of the rule about the pausal form, ignored in many other cases in poems of the Spanish School.

מְבוֹר שְׁבִי הַעֲלֵנִי	3
צוּרֵי לְחֵם לְוַחֲמֶיךָ ¹	
אֵל תַּחֲשׁוּב לִי עֲוֹנֵי ²	4
וַיִּקְדְּמוּ רַחֲמֶיךָ ³	
מָה ⁴ תִּאָרִיךְ עוֹד זְמַנִּי ⁵	5
בְּשִׁבִי עֲצוֹר וְעַמְּךָ ⁶	
וּלְמַעַנְךָ ⁷ לֹא לְמַעַנִּי	6
תִּקְדֵּשׁ וְתַעֲרִיץ שְׁמֶךָ ⁸	

Qaddish

- 1 O, my God, will you forget for ever my Habitation
And strengthen the hand of him that denounces you?
- 2 (Will You for ever), because of my great presumptuousness,
Hide Your benevolent face?
- 3 (Pray) O, my Rock, draw me out of the captives' pit;
Do battle with those battling with You.
- 4 Impute no iniquity to me;
And let Your mercy come to meet (me).
- 5 Do not prolong any more my staying captive;
Restrain Your indignation (towards me)
- 6 And for Your sake, not for mine,
Will You (thus) sanctify Your name, inspiring it with awe.

¹ By a twist of Ps. xxxv. 1, where we read "do battle with those battling with me", the idea that Israel's adversaries are God's adversaries was brought out.

² Cf. Ps. xxxii. 2.

³ Elliptical for וַיִּקְדְּמוּנִי. Cf. Ps. lxxix. 8. For ellipses in Spanish Hebrew poetry, see p. 249.

⁴ מָה seems to have here the sense it has in its Arabic equivalent. (This sense may be applied to מָה in 1 Kings xii. 16; Cant. v. 8; viii. 4. See Jannah, *Sēpher ha-Shorāshīm* on Cant. viii. 4 and Targ. on 1 Kings xii. 16.)

⁵ For the connotation of זְמַן, and that of any other nouns implying time, see n. 1, p. 251.

⁶ In the manuscript וְעַמְּךָ, apparently confused with that of line 1b (see nn. 6 and 7, p. 263). The whole hemistich is a rendering of Ps. lxxxv. 4.

⁷ The *pathah* under the 'ayin is considered here as a *shewā* quiescent. The metre is thus not impaired.

⁸ The wording of the hemistich bears on the type of the poem which is a *Qaddish*. Cf. the concluding lines of poems 43 and 51 and the respective notes to them. See the introductory notes to the poem.