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Published in: The challenge of the Middle East: Middle Eastern studies at the University of Amsterdam

Citation for published version (APA):
Schippers, A. (1982). Two Andalusian poets on exile: reflection on the poetry of Ibn 'Ammār (1031-1086) and Moses Ibn Ezra (1055-1138). In I. A. El-Sheikh, C. A. van de Koppel, & R. Peters (Eds.), The challenge of the Middle East: Middle Eastern studies at the University of Amsterdam (pp. 113-121, 201-204). Institute for Modern Near Eastern Studies.

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TWO ANDALUSIAN POETS ON EXILE: REFLECTIONS ON THE POETRY OF IBN 'AMMAR (1031 - 1086) AND MOSES IBN EZRA (1055 - 1138)

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In the eleventh century Andalusian profane Hebrew poetry was deeply influenced by the Arabic model, in spite of the linguistic and cultural differences. Exile poetry, however, which incidentally was composed earlier in the East of the Arabic world, becomes almost a genre only in the Hebrew Andalusian poetry Moses ibn Ezra composed during the long period of his exile. This exile poetry has a strong "personal and specific" accent, which has been stressed several times by modern scholars. In this paper I want to discuss poems on exile composed by respectively an Arabic and a Hebrew Andalusian poet and to speak about some of their conventional aspects and place them within the Andalusian context.

In Arabic Andalusian poetry the exile poems of Ibn 'Ammar without doubt occupy the first place. We will discuss here one of Ibn 'Ammar's poems and compare it with some examples from Moses ibn Ezra's poetry. The main theme, the description of the poet's wanderings in exile, has been accompanied many times by subthemes like elements of mourning poetry (the weeping of doves), complaints about time and youth, reproaches, remarks about the faithlessness of trusted friends (dhikr taghayyur al-ikhwān bi-taqallub al-zaman) and the expression of unhappy feelings about his human surroundings. We will try to see how the components in the exile poems of the two poets hang together. Before discussing their poems we will give a short introduction into the circumstances of their exile.

We know very little of the first period of the life of Ibn 'Ammar (d. 479/1086). He was born in 422/1031 at Shantabush near al-Shilb (the present day Portuguese town Silves) of a poor and unimportant family. From some anecdotes about his early life which are connected with events in his later life, we may deduce that in the first phase of his life he must have been a poor poet errant in search of glory. His miserable existence comes to an end only when he composes a poem on the Sevillian Abbadite king al-Mu'ta'qid (d. 460/1068), who had just returned from a successful expedition against the Berber kings of Ronda. With his rāḍīyya on al-Mu'ta'qid Ibn 'Ammār suddenly becomes a famous poet. He receives a poet's reward (dja'īza) and is enrolled in the register of those who receive a poet's pension (dīwān al-sha'ara'). Either at the Sevillian court or at Silves, he makes acquaintance with al-Mu'tamid (d. 988/1095), the son of al-Mu'ta'qid, whose friendship with him becomes proverbial.

After Isma'il's death al-Mu'tamid succeeds his brother as a ḥādījīb (chamberlain) of the caliph Hishām, a fake caliph, who is maintained for some time to legitimate al-Mu'ta'qid's power. Ibn 'Ammār accompanies his friend al-Mu'tamid to Seville. The king al-Mu'ta'qid, however, sees to
his regret that Ibn 'Ammār's ascendancy over his son gradually increases, so that al-Mu'tamid in the end leaves nearly all the affairs of state to the poet. Therefore al-Mu'taqīd finds it necessary to expel Ibn 'Ammār from his kingdom. Thus the poet falls back to his miserable existence of former times. His place of exile becomes the North of Spain: Saragossa. We will concentrate especially on the poems composed during this exile. (450/1058-460/1068). The period of exile comes to an end only with the death of al-Mu'taqīd and the succession to the throne of al-Mu'tamid, in 460/1068. Brought back from exile Ibn 'Ammār succeeds ultimately in getting rid of his rival, the well-known poet and vizir Abu 'l-Walīd ibn Zaydūn (d. 463/1070), who probably was unfavourable to him during his exile.

In this period of exile Ibn 'Ammār composed four poems: one of them addressed to al-Mu'taqīd who had banished him, one to his son al-Mu'tamid, and the other two to Abu 'l-Walīd ibn Zaydūn, the prime minister and first councilor of al-Mu'taqīd.9 This poetry is some of the most beautiful poetry ever written by Ibn 'Ammār and even some of the most beautiful poetry ever composed in Andalusia. The author of the Kitāb al-dhakhīra, Ibn Bassān, is very impressed by the mūmiyya, he addresses to al-Mu'tamid and al-Mu'taqīd and in modern times, Khālij, the biographer of Ibn 'Ammār speaks very high of this poem.10 The first lines of it are probably an imitation of the first lines of a poem Ibn Zaydūn composed in prison (a lamiyya):11

Is it not time that the clouds began to weep for someone like me? And that the lightning asked revenge for me with an unsheathed sword? Why have the stars of the night not performed a funeral rite to mourn on every horizon for my honour that has been lost?

In the beginning of Ibn 'Ammār's poem (lines 1-4) the reminiscence of Ibn Zaydūn's poem is very clear: the clouds, the pigeons, the stars, the lightning, the comparison with the sword, revenge and even the funeral meeting (ma'tam) figure in both poems. Ibn 'Ammār extends the mourning motifs a bit more than Ibn Zaydūn:

1. Do the clouds weep for anyone other than me? Are the doves mourning for anyone other than me?
2. Because of me the thunder has produced the scream of someone who wants revenge, and the lightning has shaken the blade of the sword.
3. The bright stars have clothed themselves with mourning garments for nobody other than me; only for me they are appearing at funeral meetings.
4. Have the violent winds worn open their collars for anyone else but me? or sighed like females fondling their young for anyone else but me?

In the next passage he requests the horses to take him away again, the horses which took him away from the places of his youth, Seville (in poetry often called Ḫimṣ, because the Arabs, after their conquest of Andalusia, left a garrison there which had its origins from Ḫimṣ in Syria) and Silves (lines 5-10):

5. If you will not rest, take me with you, o swift running horses all together, behind which even the east wind feels abashed,
6. grim-faced dark horses are they, except when you turn yourself towards the blaze on their forehead which gives them something like the mouth of one who smiles.
7. They carried me through the width of the dangerous deserts on feet: you would believe that I was upon pinions.
8. They plunged me into the darkness so that it looked to me that they had a station between the dark stars [i.e. the stars veiled by dust or mist].
9. O, may God curse the fleet horses because they took me away from the land of nobility and generous qualities!
10. Is it possible to remember Silves without a tear of commiseration that flows; or to remember Seville without the repeated sighs of a repentant?

Ibn ‘Ammār then remembers his riotous youth, in which he abandoned himself to all kind of pleasures in the company of his friend al-Mu‘tamid. Both poets mention in their poetry the famous barrage of Cordoba. Al-Mu‘tamid does so in an earlier poem which he directed to Ibn ‘Ammār after mentioning the famous al-Sharādjīb palace at Silves, where both had a nice time. He said:(6) "How many nights I have spent at the Barrage of the river in pleasure with a girl like the bending of the river with bracelets."12 Similar experiences of juvenile pleasures are recorded in the following lines of Ibn ‘Ammār, which evoke his youth in Seville and Silves:

11. The rain covered them (sa’il. these towns: Silves and Seville) with the garment of youth; there youth broke my amulets.
12. In remembering them (Silves and Seville), I remembered the time of my youth as if I struck (with a flint) the fire of (my) desire in the middle of (my) chest.
13. Nights wherein I did not turn my bridle to follow the right way of one who blamed me nor did I turn it away from the enticement of a lover,
14. While I obtained sleeplessness because of the eyes of women languid of love and I gathered my chastisement from the branches of gallant women.
15. Many a night we spent near the Barrage between the bendings of the river which creeps like speckled snakes
16. In such a manner that we took the garden as a neighbour whose gifts visited us in the hands of perfumed winds:
17. They brought to us their breaths; then we returned them with more fragrant breaths and more delicious breezes.
18. These winds came to us and then left us as if they were envious women, who were walking between us with slanders.
19. (In this garden) the sun (i.e. a beautiful girl) gave us the stars to drink (i.e. the cups with wine): for whom did the sun ever appear in a black part of the night?
20. And we spent the night with no calumniator (wašīhin) to perceive (us), as if we had alighted at the place of the secret in the breast of one who conceals.

Then he sees the contrast between his actual life in exile and his former life in happiness:
21. That was life! Not all these night-travels to every remote inhabited place which is like an uninhabited place, of which I have so much to complain!
His place of exile, Saragossa, is like a desert because of its uncultivated people. He insults the Saragossians so much that Ibn Bassām in his Dhakhīṭa severely criticizes his attitude,13 defending the Saragossians, people who had so much to endure from the Christians in the North whose frontiers were very near to them, suffering very much from the Christian raids and having members of their family killed or taken prisoner. Ibn
‘Ammar describes his stay among the Saragossians as follows:

22. Where the inhabitants are people whose natures are not polished by encounters with the educated or the witticisms of the learned:
23. They are brigands who roam through the desert, and are dressed in armour of skins of vipers beneath the eggs of ostriches.
24. Boon companions, but my only real friends (my blossoms) among them are the swords and only sheathes are my petals.
25. What is the condition of someone whom the soil of the Arabs has fostered, but whom Fate has thrown among the Barbarians?

Because he complains so much of his sojourn at Saragossa, there are people who ask him why he does not return to Seville. He explains that Time gives him no occasion to return. Also his former friends have changed their attitude towards him. However, if in Seville they would pardon him, then he will return immediately to kiss the hand of his friend Muḥammad (= al-Mu‘tamid). Then, he is sure, his enemies will be reconciled with him and Time will make peace with him. In lines 40-41 he declares again that the only wish of his soul is "to shake the heavily treading excellent camels towards the highest chancellor, soūl. al-Mu‘tamid. This passage goes as follows:

26. People disapprove of my staying among them, but the foot of the night-traveller is shackled.
27. They say to me: 'Let the legs of the reddish (white) camels go so that they can reach the benefits of the generous kings.'
28. May I be their ransom! They could not arouse the greed of a person who is unable to realize his wishes nor awaken the eye of one who is sleeping because they awakened the eye of a sleeping man.
29. But the Days have no concern with the purpose of an intelligent person or the resoluteness of an energetic person;
30. I should appeal to someone, if I could appeal to someone who hears me; I should complain to someone, if I could complain to someone who is merciful.
31. I want a life of friendship [or: separation] but the separation kills me; I hope for the victory [or: revenge] of Time, but Time oppresses me. [= he hopes to live separately from the Saragossians; he hopes for the revenge or victory of Time over his adversaries].
32. They told me that my dear friends had changed [in their attitude towards me]; and that they reproached their delight in their past friendship with me.
33. They have been unjustly angry with one who was not angry with them, and they blamed the error of one who did not blame.
34. If a pardon from there [i.e. Seville] should visit me, I should visit [Seville], because the enmity of Time is not lasting.
35. I drag the tails of the night abundant of darknesses; I ride on the back of resolution, which is difficult to rein.
36. I offer my love as pure water to every drinker; I clothe all who expect a present [or: rain] with [the garment of] my praise as abundant rain.
37. I close my eyes in shame at everyone who encounters me with the face of someone who expresses a dislike, and I will meet him with the face of someone who vies in generosity.
38. There is nothing but kissing the hand of Muḥammad [= al-Mu‘tamid, the son of Mu‘tagid ibn ‘Abbād of Seville] and empowering my hand over the forelocks of the unjust; [the forelocks were cutt off from war
prisoners or enemies]

39. When this happens to me, then my enemy will be reconciled with me in every circumstance and Time will make peace with me.

40. I promise myself what my soul wishes i.e. to shake the saddles of the heavily treading excellent camels.

41. Towards the highest chancellor [i.e. al-Mu'tamid who was the šāhid of the fake caliph Hishām] towards the upper arm in whose right hand the short cutting swords are long;

The rest of the poem is a long eulogy on al-Mu'tamid and his father, in which the poet expresses his hope to be able to return again to Seville and to praise the noble father and son (lines 42-93; this passage is too long to be reproduced here). The whole poem is much embellished with the well-known figures of speech of the badī'-style and contains many original images, which, according to Ibn Bassān, poets will continue to borrow from him, so that they will become clichés. This miḥmīya is the most impressive poem of his period of exile. Another shorter poem which is worthy to be mentioned, is perhaps the lamīyya the poet write to his former colleague, the vizir Abu 'l-Walid ibn Zaydūn, in which he remembers Silves and the common wineparties they had. There are some striking features in the miḥmīya which I wish to sum up in order to be able to compare them more easily with the features of some exile poems of Moses ibn Ezra:

1. The beginning derives clearly from elegiac tradition. Already in pre-Islamic dirges we find the weeping of doves and the participation of the universe (in this case the stars, the clouds, the lightning etc.) in grief. Here these elegiac motives are used to stress the unhappy conditions of the poet in exile.

2. He describes his wanderings. He mentions especially the horses which carried him far away.

3. In exile he remembers his pleasant and happy youth in the town, from which he is banished now. The period of youth is contrasted with his present life, in which he is compelled to live far away from his home in a country which he does not like.

4. The place where he lives now is hateful to him. He dislikes very much the uncultivated Saragossians, by whom he is now surrounded. He feels lonely because they are barbarians. With a Mutanabbi reminiscence he stresses that only the swords are his friends in this country.

5. Some people ask him to come back, but he explains that he is not able to return home, because his relatives and friends have changed their attitude towards him.

6. He asks his Maecenas to put an end to his exile; this is the final part of the poem, which ends as an encomium on the king of Seville and his son.

Most of these features we will find also in Moses ibn Ezra's elegies. Moses ibn Ezra lived only a generation after Ibn 'Ammār and, although it would be difficult to prove that he is directly influenced by Ibn 'Ammār, we can show that there are many striking similarities.

Moses ben Jacob (in Arabic, his kunya Abū Hārūn, is used) ibn Ezra was born in Granada between 1055 and 1060. He descended from a prominent family, whose members fulfilled various important functions during the vizirate of Samuel and Joseph ha-Nagīd ibn Naghrīla. The Ibn Naghrīla's were at that time - until the riots of 1066 - the most important advisors of the Zirid kings of Granada Ḥabūs and Badīs. Moses ibn Ezra had a good education: he mastered Arabic (Classical Arabic) as well as Hebrew. His masters were his brother Abū Ibrāhīm Isḥāq and the famous rabbi of Lucena,
Iṣaḥaq ben Yehudah ibn Ghayyāth. About his activities in his early youth we know very little. Maybe he had a public office because he bore the title Ǧaqīb al-šurfa (Captain of the Guard), but this may be a mere honorific title, for many other friends of him bore also this title. He seems also to have been married, because he had sons with whom he had some disagreements, which could be one of the reasons for his exile.

Most of the events of his life we know from his own works: his poetry and the Kitaḥ al-muḥāǧara, which he wrote in old age. In his youth he produced Kitaḥ nāḥ al-riyād, a collection of short poems, in which the figure of speech called tadbīr, paronomasy, predominates. The themes and motifs of these Hebrew poems are completely according to the tradition of the Arabs.

Shortly after 1090, the year when the Zīrid ruler of Granada, 'Abd Allāh, was defeated by the Almoravids under the leadership of Yūsuf of Tashufīn, a fact which was disastrous for the Jewish community, all the Jewish leaders of Granada felt the necessity of flight from the city. Only Moses could not seek refuge in a foreign land, having no means of livelihood since he had lost all his possessions. However, finally, means for his escape were provided by friends. From then on the poet lived in exile: he went to Christian Castile and stayed also for some time in Aragon, in the towns of Saragossa and Barcelona. His exile - as is very clear from his poems and also from some passages in the Kitaḥ al-muḥāǧara - was like a torture for him, but in spite of the urgings of his friends, and particularly of Judah ha-Levi, who, being a Castilian, knew very well the poor conditions of life in this country, he remained in the Christian North of Spain. He seems to have died shortly after 1138, his last poem being an elegy on the death of the mother of his two friends, Joseph and Iṣaḥaq Mashkarān.

In his Kitaḥ al-muḥāǧara wa'l-mudhakara Moses ibn Ezra mentions sometimes explicitly his exile and his exile-poems. From the quotations it is clear that he has a thorough knowledge of the Arabic sources about the theme al-hanTn ila 'l-awfan (nostalgia). Two things almost have discouraged him from writing the book. The first is the mass of ignorant people he is afraid he will meet "because most people of our time do not understand anything about the arts." The second thing is the fact that he lives in exile, a long exile in a foreign country and he feels like a prisoner in jail, nay, even like someone who is buried in the dust. (5b). It is true, what someone has said: 'an intelligent man prefers living in his fatherland to livelihood' (6a). And the Koran of the Arabs has said: 'If We had prescribed for them (such a command as) "Kill yourselves", or "Go forth from your dwellings", only a few of them would have done it.' So the Koran equates killing themselves and leaving their houses. It is also said: 'Living in a foreign country (al-ghurba) is one of two imprisonments.'

And so on in similar vein, but he comes to the conclusion that it will be no obstacle to his answering his friend.

In this paper we shall discuss only one from Moses ibn Ezra's exile-poem, a nuniyya dedicated to Abū Ibrāhīm (= Yīṣābāq) ben Shet. Other exile poems have almost the same structure and the same themes. The nuniyya begins with a passage in which the doves are wailing for him. Like Ibn Zaydūn in his famous nuniyya the poet refers to himself in the plural: "us". The beginning is like the beginning of an elegy: excessive weeping, but one does not know yet what about:

1. The doves in their wailing took up a wailing for us and without tears
they were grieving for us.
2. They were beating their breasts and a hand smote on a thigh and we wept aloud.
3. We scatter the pearls of our tears from the cloud of an eye and they stand in fire like burning coals.
4. They become red from the blood of a heart and a fire is kindled within us which does not consume us.
5. Tears denounce what we conceal inside us and the tongue of our sorrows slowly reveals what is hidden in us.

In the next three lines (lines 6-8) the poet mentions the reason for his affliction: his exile. The period of his exile makes the poet forget his delightful youth, as if it never had existed in reality:

6. Wandering in the wilderness of exile in a solitary way we go as if we grope without eyes in the ruins of our darkness.
7. It was as though there had never been a time of delight and the days of our vanity resembled the visions of a dream.
8. All our tranquillities flew away upon wings as if the days of our joys went into exile all at one time.

Then the poet asks if there will be ever a change in fortune. Evidently the sons of Time do not like very wise men. They were jealous and drove him to Christian Castile. His former friends have also changed their attitude towards him, even his own parents. The poet now asks support from the nasi' al-adjall Abu Ibrahim (= Yijljaq) ben Shet. Speaking about the "sons of Time" he says:

9. Ask: will there rise a light in our darkness or will yet break forth the mourning of our nights?
10. Or has Time forbidden it in order not to further the devices of the souls of our intelligent and wise men?
11. Its sons were jealous of our virtues so that they sought in vain occasion against our greatness.
12. They restrained our ways and oppressed the paths of our wills and our wishes.
13. They began to devastate our dwellings and to chase us from the lands of our residence.
14. From the temples of delight they flushed us with anger and hastened to bring us to the Daughter of Edom (= the Christian Castile).
15. The hearts of beloved friends changed like potter's clay and they were bold enough to humiliate us.
16. It was not enough for our brethren to deal treacherously with us, nay, they wanted even to feed us with the burning bush of our exile.
17. They were very foolish in acting and the day they went away they left the garments of their lusts with us.
18. When I see how my parents, without any offense from me against them, went away from me, I posed my hopes in Yijljaq, of all mankind.

After a laudatory passage with traces of many topics well-known in Arabic poetry (lines 19-26), the poet wishes to transmit a message to Yijljaq: he hopes that Yijljaq will redeem his from the prison of exile (lines 27-34). As in so many other poems of the same author he describes the ignorant beings around him as "wild asses" (perā'īm) (line 29), "who are
ignorant that they are ignorant of my intelligence" (the last sentence is a clearly Mutanabbian topic: line 30). In the last lines we discover that the poet considers a letter from Yihatq already as a kind of redemption. Remarkable here and through the whole poetry of Moses ibn Ezra are the genitive-metaphors around the word "exile": e.g. "the wounds of exile" (Line 33), "the pit of the noises of exile" (Lines 33-34). They stress his feelings of alienation from his surroundings. Yihatq is described as follows:

19. Our right hand is high on the world because of his brotherly love and we trail our hems on the Great Bear.
20. From the day when it grasped the forelock of the head of his love, our feet stood on the mountains of refuge.
21. His wise words teach me wisdom and when we do not understand, then he commands the spirit of God on him to make us understand.
22. On the day when a treacherous Time deceives us by saying that in its hands there is no substance to cause us to inherit,
23. then he rejoices himself to put into effect the wishes of the nobles who ask him favours and to make us rule over the works of his hands.
24. He is so generous that even when his soul is asked for, the lips of his generous deeds would hasten to lend it to us,27
25. so that before we take hold of the ends of its favour that we can praise them in poetry [litt. arrange words], our poems and our eulogies would have been already exhausted.
26. We do not tell of new things, but things that young and old know, because we know all his virtues.
27. Say to Yihatq that his lovers [soil.:I] are in prison and that he should hasten the advice of his understanding to liberate us.
28. He has the right of redemption because he, the full brother of understanding will feel that and liberate us.
29. If he could only see us among wild asses that are living together with us, then his compassion would be troubled for us.
30. Among the ignorant who are truly wise in their own eyes so that they are ignorant that they are ignorant of our intelligence,28
31. Among them we are like myrtles among the trees of a wood and truly our leaves have faded away.
32. A distant greeting to you lives within the interior of our hearts and in our loins.
33. Know that with a missive from your hand the wounds of exile will be dressed and we will revive after having fallen.
34. May a missive from your hand make erect our steps on a rock and bring us up from the pit of the noises of exile.

In this poem - as in all poems of Moses ibn Ezra - figures of speech are extensively used. This is in conformity with the theoretical point of view laid down in his Kitab al-muhabara wa'l-mudhakara and in the Arabic preface of his Kitab zahr al-riyadh.29 Well-known figures of speech like tadjnīs and mujabaqa are used freely. In this respect Moses ibn Ezra follows the taste of his time: in Ibn 'Ammār's poetry we find also many rhetorical embellishments. Compared to Ibn 'Ammār however, Moses ibn Ezra more frequently uses rhetorical devices. An important place among these devices is occupied by the genitive-metaphor. In its abundant use he may have been inspired by the Abbasid poet Abū Tammān, whom he quotes frequently in his Kitab al-muhabara wa'l-mudhakara.
The juxtaposition of the two exile poems may not give a direct proof of the influence of that particular poem of Ibn ‘Ammār on Moses ibn Ezra. But it shows how eleventh century Hebrew Andalusian profane poetry — even in the very "personal" genres — had the same inspiration as Arabic Andalusian poetry. Of course, a lot of work has still to be done before we will have an exact idea in what respect Hebrew Andalusian poetry has been influenced and what may be the individual character of it and of Moses ibn Ezra’s poetry. Especially his poetry was very consciously composed. At first sight we find many borrowings from oriental Arabic poets (he quotes only a few lines from Andalusian Arabic poets). Some of these oriental poets like Abū Tammām, al-Mutanabbī, and al-Ma’arrī enjoyed great prestige in Andalusia. If we read Ibn Bassām’s Kitāb al-ḥakhāfa, we get a very good impression of the popularity of these poets in Andalusia. This influence however is confined to single lines with remarkable motifs and themes or remarkable stylistic devices. Considering the structure of the poem as a whole and the combinations of motifs and themes within this structure, it was only the Andalusian poet Ibn ‘Ammār (whose qāṣīda, according to Ibn Bassām, was a model for the generations to come) who offered similarities.

If we consider the six main motifs of Ibn ‘Ammār’s exile poem we can conclude that all of them occur in the exile poems of Moses ibn Ezra as well: the doves which are grieving, the description of his wanderings, the contrast of the present time with the happy past, the hatefulness of his present situation, the uncultivated barbarians by whom he is surrounded, the friends and parents who have changed their attitude towards him once he found himself in these circumstances. Even the encomiastic part is not missing in Moses ibn Ezra's poems. Ibn ‘Ammār and Moses ibn Ezra differ only in the kind of redemption they seek from the sufferings of exile. While Ibn ‘Ammār wants to come back to Seville and wants to be re-established in the favour of the prince, Moses ibn Ezra finds his relief in purely intellectual things: a letter or a book which a moment keeps his mind from his uncivilized surroundings. Thus we see how these motifs, which are familiar in poetry of complaint come together in the poetry of exile of these two Andalusian poets in almost the same sequence, although there is a strong difference between the two personalities and between the two exiles. Whereas Ibn ‘Ammār's exile is relatively short, the period of exile of Moses ibn Ezra lasts for the major part of his life: his exile poetry therefore is not limited to one or two poems only, but covers the major part of his secular poems.

2. One of the famous poets who composed exile poetry is Abū Firas al-'^amdānī (932-68). He belonged to the court of the 'Amdanī Sayf al-Dawla (947-57) in Aleppo (Syria). He is well known because of the poems he composed during his captivity in Constantinople (962-66), the so-called ṭumiyyāt (Byzantine poems), in which he gives expression in affecting and eloquent terms to his yearning for home and friends, mingled with bitter complaint at being neglected by them. See E I 2, pp. 119-20 (s.v. Abū Fīrās), and al-Thā'alībib, *Yatimmat al-dahr*, ed. al-Šawī (Cairo), Vol. I, pp. 27-71; his *Dīwān* was edited by S. Dahhān (Beyrouth: 1944). I-III. See also R. Dvorak, 'Abu Firas: ein arabischer Dichter und Held (Leiden: 1895).

The exile-theme is related to the nostalgia theme (*al-^anvn ila 'l-a'^awān*). See for this the chapter in the *Dīwān al-ma'^awān* by Abū Hilāl al-'^Askarī (Cairo: Maktabat al-Quṣrī, 1352), Vol. II, pp. 186 ff. A recent study about this theme is: M. Ibrahim Ḥuwwar, *Al-'^anfn ila 'l-wa'yan fi 'l-adab al-'arabī* (Cairo 1973). Nowhere in oriental Arabic poetry we seem to have the same development of this theme as in Andalusia, which we will discuss here. Israel Levin in his *The embroidered coat: the genres of Hebrew secular poetry in Spain* (Tel Aviv: 1980; in Hebrew), quotes (p. 265) a fragment of Abū Fīrās al-'^amdānī (Dīwān, p. 238: description of a wailing dove) in connection with two fragments of Hebrew Andalusian exile poetry (Moses ibn Ezra nr. 154, lines 1-7 and Todros Abu 'l-'Afiyya nr. 649, lines 1-5). The elegiac theme of the wailing dove is very common in Arabic literature from pre-islamic times on. Also in biblical literature this theme occurs.

3. Cf. D. Pagis, *Secular poetry*, pp. 292 ff. We use H. Brody's edition of the *Secular poems of Moses ibn Ezra* (Shirî 'ha-ḥol) (Berlin: Schocken, 1935), Vol. I; Vol. III, prepared by D. Pagis (Jerusalem: Schocken, 1977). The bulk of Moses ibn Ezra's poetry deals with his exile. Moses ibn Ezra wrote more than 100 "poems of complaint" (i.e. complaints about his friends, his life in exile, Time etc.) and more than 100 fragments with this theme in the *Sefer ha-^-anq*. Many of his laudatory and elegiac poems are to be considered exile poems. See also D. Pagis, *Secular poetry*, pp. 282, 283 (especially note 2). I use the term genre more or less in the sense of gharaq. Authors like D. Pagis and I. Levin consider "poetry of complaint" as a genre. Ibn Rashīq considers 'itāb (poetry of reproach) as a gharaq; cf. Kitāb al-'umda (Cairo: 1955).
Notes to pages 113-118


5. In Moses ibn Ezra's Kitāb suk al-riyād (Book of the flowers of the flowerbeds; Hebrew title: Sefer ha-'īnyāq, Book of the string of pearls) on paronomasia, which is thematically arranged, some chapters are dedicated to such subthemes (e.g. chapter V: fī l-shayb wa'l-shabab wa-sūr'at al-karr wa'l-inqīlāb or 'about old-age, youth and the swiftness of the course of time and its change'; chapter VI: fī dhikr taghayyur al-ikhwān bi-ta'qallub al-'āzāmān 'about the change in the attitudes of friends amidst the fickleness of the times').

6. About the life of Ibn 'Ammār, see Ḥūsān 'Abbās in his edition of Ibn Bassām, Kitāb al-dhakhīrā fī maḥāsin al-djastrā (Beiroet: 1979), vol. II: 1, p. 368, note 4 (he mentions the main sources, except the Kitāb al-tibyān of 'Abd Allāh the Zirid, called also Madhakkir, ed. by Lévi-Provençal (Cairo: 1955), which contains information about Ibn 'Ammār not given by other sources, cf. pp. 79 ff. ). Ibn 'Ammār's biography has been made by Dr. Salāb Khāliṣ (see our note 4), o.o., vol. I. Two modern novelists made a romanticized biography, i.e. the Egyptian writer Ṭharrawt Abāga (Cairo: 1954 ?; Igṛā) and the Spanish historian Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, Ben Ammar de Sevilla (Madrid: Col·lecció Austral, 1972).

7. One of the petty kings called mulūk al-jawāzīf who ruled in that century Andalusia. See R. Dozy, o.o. (see above, note 1), vol. III, p. 43 ff.


9. See Khāliṣ, o.o., vol. II, pp. 207-23 (nos. 8-11).


16. To demonstrate direct influence of Arabic Andalusian poets on their Hebrew Andalusian colleagues is difficult, because Andalusian poets mainly mentioned as models poets from the East of the Arab world, especially Abū Tammām, al-Buṭṭūrī and al-Mutanabbi. Moses ibn Ezra, in his Kitāb al-muḥāqāra wa'l-mudhākara (Hebrew poetry) quotes only Arabic poets from the East, except in the case of Ḥaṣf al-Qūṭi (which was really an exceptional case, because he had translated the biblical Psalms in Arabic verses), and Ibn Muqāna, who are Andalusians. In the case of muwānshahāḥāt, Moses ibn Ezra follows nearby his Arabic Andalusian examples (mainly al-Abyaṣ).

17. For the life of Moses ibn Ezra, see H. Brody, Selected poems of Moses ibn Ezra, translated into English by Solomon Solis-Cohen, from a critical text, edited and annotated by ... (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1934). H. Brody gives a survey of the life of Moses ibn Ezra in the introductory pp. XIX-XXXV.

18. The Kitāb al-muḥāqāra wa'l-mudhākara about Hebrew poetry in the Arabic way has been edited recently by A.S. Halkin, under the title Sefer ha-'īnyānim we-ha-ḥīnyānim (Jerusalem: Nezike Nirdanim, Magnes

19. A collection of Hebrew poems with paronomasia, divided into 10 chapters about 10 main themes. It has an introduction in Arabic.

20. Quotations from the Kitab al-muhaxara are referring to the folia in the Neubauer MS. no. 1974 Bodleiana (also mentioned in Halkin's edition: see above 18).


25. In the Kitab al-muhaxara Moses ibn Ezra quotes one of his poems written in exile (ightirah). In this poem, which begins with his describing the swift passing away of youth like a shadow or a dream and ends with the bitterness of exile, we find many of the same sort of expressions as in the above mentioned poem. (Cf. Kitab al-muhaxara, 56.a; H. Brody, Shir`a ha-zol (The secular poems of Moses ibn Ezra), vol. I, pp. 116-17, poem 114, Komil, Lbn). In the Kitab al-muhaxara Moses ibn Ezra quotes i.e. lines 10-11 and 13-14:

The sons of the Days have done evil to me in a miraculous way; they were insolent and they made heavy their yoke; They drove me with enmity to a people for which the light of the eye of truth was concealed (i.e. the Christians from Castile).

I hear the word of their mouth and I am ashamed; I am living in their towns as a man covered with ignominy.

I do not know whether they are ignorant of my understanding or are ignorant of the fact that I know their ignorance. (For the last line see note 28).


27. This poem not only contains from the very beginning to the end the cliches well-known in Arabic poetry, but also clear borrowings from Arabic poets, among which the concept of line 24 which is a clear reminiscence of the first part of the following line of Abu Tammam: Wa-laaw lam yakun fik kaffith ghayr mu`ithi la-adjada bi-ha fa-l-yattaqi `llahu sa`ilahu ”.

(If he had in his hand nothing left but his soul, he would give it away too; May God be on his guard for who asks him a favour). (Abu Tammam, Diwan, ed. `Azzam (Cairo: 1964), vol. III, p. 29). Moses ibn Ezra quotes this line in his Kitab al-muhaxara wa`l-mudhakara, 62b. Ibn Rashiq mentions in his Kitab al-`imda (Cairo, 19552), vol. II, p.283 that Abu Tammam took the whole line from the poet Ziyadh al-A`djam, or the sister of Yazid al-Tathriyya (a pre-Islamic poetess). This line seems a very famous one, quoted several times.

28. This line contains a Mutanabbian concept borrowed from the line: Wa-min dajhalin wa-nwa yadhalu djalalu / wa-yadhalu `ilmi annahu biya djalalu. (And many an ignorant who does not know his own ignorance and who does not know my knowledge that he is ignorant). (Al-Mutanabbi, Diwan, ed. Dieterici (Berlin: 1861), p. 50; Yazidji, Al-`arf al-tayyib fi sharh Diwan Abu `l-Tayyib (Beyrouth: 1964) vol. I, p. 134). In composing this line al-Mutanabbi, who was still youthful, must have been in the same mood as Moses ibn Ezra. In other poems of his youthful period al-Mutanabbi describes himself staying among ignorant people "as
(the prophet) Ṣāliḥ among the Thamūd", or "the Messiah among the Jews". (cf. Dīwān, ed. Dieterici (Berlin: 1861), p. 29 ff. or ed. Yāzīdī, pp. 112 ff.). Also the Hebrew Andalusian poet Solomon ibn Gabirol (1021-58) uses Mutanabbian expressions speaking about his bad experience with the uncultivated Saragossians. He describes himself staying among ignorant people as Moses among the Egyptians and as Abraham among the Chaldees. (Secular Poems, ed. Dov. Yarden (Jerusalem: 1975), no. 113, line 23). Along with the tenth century poet al-Mutanabbi, also pre-Islamic poètes brigands (ṣaʿālīk like al-Shanfara and Taʿabbaṭa Sharran) may have inspired Moses ibn Ezra (cf. poem no. 175, lines 13-20; poem no. 36, lines 1-8; description of his wanderings, familiarity with the surrounding nature and animals; cf. also Job 30:29).