

THE LATE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HEBREW *MUWASHSHAḤ* IN CHRISTIAN IBERIA

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In the 13th century the Toledo poet Todros Abulafia wrote a considerable number of *muwashshahāt* in Hebrew, in a style that was quite classical. There were no major structural differences with the *muwashshahāt* of the preceding centuries, and Abulafia's poems are reckoned to be perfect examples of the genre. Most of them ended with either Arabic or Romance *kharjas*, which in no few cases were a re-elaboration of the preceding Andalusian models. In a sense Todros was a one-off. During the 14th century the Hebrew *muwashshah* had no particular relevance, either in Castile or in the Crown of Aragon. However we do find some late examples of *muwashshahāt* among the poets of the "Saragossa circle" who were writing at the end of the 14th century and in the first half of the 15th century.

I intend to deal with the *muwashshahāt* written by this group of poets, and by other persons in various ways related to it. At this time most Hebrew poets of the Crown of Aragon were open in different degrees to the literary trends of the time, but essentially their roots were in al-Andalus. Their models were the classical poets of the 11th century. Most of the poems written in the "Saragossa circle" were monorhymed compositions. However a few of them were strophic poems, both liturgical and secular, and these poems deserve our attention in a very particular way. They are the last corpus of *muwashshahāt* or *zajal*-like Hebrew strophic poems to be written in Sefarad before the expulsion of 1492.

Was there any particular reason for going back to this old genre? How was it viewed among poets? Which were the elements seen as particularly characteristic of the *muwashshah*? In what respects was the *muwashshah* modified? These are questions that I shall seek to answer in what follows.

First let us describe the materials that provide the basis of this research.

1. The extant *muwashshahāt* from the 15th century

The leader of this group of poets of the Crown of Aragon, Shelomoh ben Meshullam de Piera, wrote a good number of strophic poems, both secular (4) and liturgical (around 20).¹ I shall focus mainly on the secular poems, but there is an aspect of the liturgical strophic compositions that I would like to underline briefly: many of them include a reference to the poem's melodic or rhythmic pattern, generally a classic Andalusian poem, in most cases written

by either Yehudah ha-Levi or Abraham ibn 'Ezra. We know of three self-standing secular *muwashshahāt* preserved in De Piera's *dīwān*: ² *bi-dbar gēvurot*, ³ *mah tov*, ⁴ and *mēnat kosi*. ⁵ A fourth, *mi-pa'āte mizrah*, ⁶ is a reply to another *muwashshah*, written by Vidal ben Lavi', *ne 'sar bē-tokh mišmar*, ⁷ as part of a literary correspondence between the disciple and the master at the house of de la Caballería in Saragossa. Similarly, Shelomoh's *'aqum lē-hodot* ⁸ was probably a reply to the *rif'ah naḥsi* of Vidal ben Lavi', ⁹ although in this case both are liturgical compositions. None of these *muwashshahāt* has an Arabic or Romance *kharja*; their final lines, a simple continuation of the body of the poem, without the classical characteristics of the genre, are in Hebrew.

Not all the poets related to the group wrote *muwashshahāt*. Among the numerous poems attributed to Vidal Benvenist by Dr Tirza Vardi there is not a single strophic poem. It seems that this author who, by his own account, had not been a direct disciple of Shelomoh de Piera, did not consider it necessary to display his literary roots or his ability by penning this kind of verse.

In the still partially unpublished *dīwān* of Shelomoh Bonafed (Crown of Aragon, late 14th to the mid-15th century) we find six strophic compositions written in the style of the classical Andalusian Hebrew tradition. Four of these strophic poems are explicitly called *muwashshah* by the author. Only two of them are *muwashshahāt* in the classical meaning of the term, even if their *kharja*, or better the final lines, are in Hebrew rather than in Arabic or Romance; the other two have a number of strophes that correspond more to our definition of *zajal*-like poems than to the true *muwashshahāt*. The two last strophic poems are liturgical compositions that can be also included among the *zajal*-like poems. ¹⁰ One of them, *'Élohe qedem*, ¹¹ is a reply to a similar *gēmar* ¹² that Yehudah (En Bonaguda) ha-Qašlari had sent to him: *'El 'Élohim gibbor*. ¹³

2. Late concept of *muwashshahāt*

The only information that we have on the theoretical attitude of the poets to this kind of strophic poem is to be found in Shelomoh Bonafed's *dīwān*. It is clear from Bonafed's words that he sees in the *muwashshah* the preservation of an Andalusian pattern that is both particularly difficult and especially valuable. In the heading of one of these *muwashshahāt* Bonafed writes:

I have scanned it in my heart with the scale of my thoughts, going
after the poets of old (48v).

True to his words, Bonafed imitates more or less directly the classical patterns (in particular Yehudah ha-Levi, whom he admired ¹⁴). In most cases we are dealing with clear instances of *mu'āraḍa*, "imitation", a very common

technique in Arabic and Hebrew poetry.¹⁵ Describing his own poetry, he wrote:

My poems are twins of the poetry of the elders,
I am the primordial brook, and they are like the Qiṣon.¹⁶

To write *muwashshahāt* following the way of the classic poets of al-Andalus was for Bonafed a particularly difficult art, something reserved for very expert poets. When he tried to describe in one of his poems the main lines of his *ars poetica*, he recommended:

Do not follow the way of the rhymes, or the subjection of the *tajnīs*, in order not to destroy your harvests.¹⁷

By “the rhymes” he means poems with complex internal rhymes, of which the *muwashshahāt* are the best representative example.

Introducing two of his *muwashshahāt*, written in honour of a sage of his epoch, R. Senyor ben Me’ir (trying to surpass the poems written to the same sage by Vidal Ben Benvenist and Vidal Ben Lavi’ – moved by “the jealousy of writers”), he wrote:

I composed for him two *muwashshahāt*, since *muwashshahāt* are particularly precious; unlike other forms of poems, they are not frequently seen, because they are very strict (*sar*) with regard to the rhymes, and reflect a different atmosphere (*wē-ruah ‘aḥeret ‘imo*).¹⁸

Such a composition has more internal rhymes than the regular monorhymed poems. The term employed by Bonafed, *sar*, seems to suggest that the poet has more restrictions when he chooses this kind of strophic poems. Or it could be understood as a reference to the shortness of the members of the lines as a consequence of the division imposed by the internal rhymes.

In some of the headings to the poems Bonafed refers directly to the *lahn* of the composition, a melodic or at least a rhythmic pattern. It is usually taken from old examples. He gives, in some cases, the exact names of the Hebrew (or Catalan) poems that have been taken as melodic prototypes.

Besides that, the *muwashshahāt* have, according to Bonafed, “a different atmosphere” or, more literally, “a different wind”, or “a different spirit” – which, unfortunately, is never described in concrete terms. No hint is given as to whether this “different atmosphere” has to do with the fact of its relation to Romance or Arabic poetry, nor as to why none of these late *muwashshahāt* has a true *kharja* in Arabic or Romance language. It is only clear that the peculiar structural function of the *kharja* and its formulaic introduction have been completely forgotten.

3. On the characteristics of the extant *muwashshahāt*

Let us take a closer look at the secular strophic compositions written by Shelomoh de Piera:

Bi-dbar gēvurot, in honour of Meir Alguadex, is explicitly referred to as a *muwashshah*. From our point of view it is a *zajal*-like composition, with 11 strophes and acrostic (*Šlmh bn Mšlm*). According to its heading its melodic pattern (*lahn*) is *mah lakh šēviyah*, alluding probably to a poem by Abraham ibn ‘Ezra.¹⁹ The last refrain has neither the structure nor the typical contents of the *kharja*.

Mah tov, in honour of Yosef ben Yaḥya,²⁰ is also explicitly called a *muwashshah*. The melody is that of ‘*odeh lē-‘El loveš hod*.²¹ Five strophes of four verses (with internal rhyme) with one of refrain. The introduction (*matla‘*) has two verses, but the refrains, including the last one, only one. The last refrain has neither the structure nor the typical contents of the *kharja*.

Mēnat kosi, a *širah ‘al ha-yayin*, has 8 strophes in honour of Vidal ben Lavi’, with partial acrostic (*Šlmh -lbyt Yosef-*).²² It is not called “*muwashshah*”. In spite of the number of strophes, the structure is very similar to that of the true *muwashshah*. The last refrain has neither the structure nor the typical contents of the *kharja*; it has a particular ending, with “double” final verses.²³

Vidal ben Lavi’s *ne’sar bē-toḫ mišmar*²⁴ and Shelomoh de Piera’s *mi-pa’āte mizrah*,²⁵ are, as mentioned above, part of a literary correspondence between disciple and master. In the heading of the ben Lavi’ poem we find the name of the author and the technical term “*muwashshah*”; it has five strophes.²⁶ The last refrain has neither the structure nor the typical contents of the *kharja*. The reply from Shelomoh has a similar structure (with one extra strophe) and the same metre, but a different rhyme; the heading calls it a *muwashshah*, mentioning the melodic pattern (*lahn*), which is taken from Yehudah ha-Levi: *mi-pa’ate hekhal*.²⁷ De Piera differs from ben Lavi’, including the acrostic (*Šlmh*). The same as in *mēnat kosi*, the last refrain has neither the structure nor the typical contents of the *kharja*; again it has a particular form of ending, with “double” final verses.

The two liturgical compositions, *rif’ah nafši* of Vidal ben Lavi’, and the possible reply of Shelomoh, *‘aqum lē-hodot*, are *zajal*-like, with many strophes (9/24) and acrostic in both cases. Ben Lavi’s poem is a *mustajab lē-yom ha-šom* (for Kippur) and its acrostic corresponds to the day: *‘ny Ywsf bn lby’ pš’y mwdh w’wzb, Wyd’l br Bnbnšt*.²⁸ Although the heading of De Piera’s composition states that he tried to imitate Ben Lavi’s *mustajab*, its structure is very different, with shorter strophes (3 verses + refrain of 1 line), and a long acrostic (*‘ny Šlmh d’ Py’rh ḥzq w’ny ‘ms lšmk yrwm*). It is not necessary to add that none of them has a true *kharja*.

Two of the four compositions called *muwashshahāt* by Bonafed mention the *lahn* or “melody” that they are reproducing. This is a clear sign that the poet has followed the Golden Age models: Yehudah ha-Levi in the

first one and Abraham ibn 'Ezra in the second instance. A third *muwashshah*, without any reference to melodies, follows a well-known classic metrical pattern that is found in a *muwashshah* written by Yehudah ha-Levi and in several other compositions. In the fourth *muwashshah*, actually a *zajal*-like poem, the poet mentions the musical or rhythmic pattern of a Romance (Catalan) composition that is until now unknown to us. He may also have imitated a model of strophic poem known in his own day.

Two *muwashshahāt*, as already noted, are panegyrics written in honour of the sage Senyor ben Me'ir.²⁹ In the heading of the first *muwashshah*, *'im nē'uray wē-re'ay*,³⁰ the poet explicitly states that he is walking "in the footsteps of the poets of old", following the melody of *yeš 'ārukhaḥ*,³¹ a liturgical poem by Yehudah ha-Levi.

In the second *muwashshah* in honour of Senyor, the panegyric *šalom 'ēle yahālom*,³² Bonafed gives no indication as to the melodic pattern that he has followed.³³ The metrical pattern of this *muwashshah* coincides with the well-known secular poem by Yehudah ha-Levi *mi-pa'āte hekhāl*,³⁴ Yosef ibn Ṣaddīq's *numi 'āhah nigzal*,³⁵ El'azar ben Khalfon's *kalētah lē-kha 'eli*,³⁶ the anonymous *muwashshah libbi mē'od niḥal*,³⁷ Vidal ben Lavi's *ne'sar bē-toḫ mišmar*³⁸ and Shelomoh de Piera's *mi-pa'āte mizrah*.³⁹ The same metrical pattern is also found in another secular poem by Yehudah ha-Levi, *'ekh ma'yēnot 'eni*,⁴⁰ which, however, has its own different Arabic *kharja*, with some minor differences in its rhymes. What we have before us, therefore, is one of the most significant groups or "families" of *muwashshahāt*, consisting of no less than seven or eight compositions with the same metrical pattern.⁴¹ Except for El'azar ben Khalfon's *'ahāvah*, all of them are secular panegyrics. Of course, the mutual relations among these poems are far from being homogenous. Yehudah ha-Levi's *mi-pa'āte hekhāl* seems to be at the beginning of the chain, as confirmed by the headings of at least three of the poems.⁴² Its *kharja* was apparently adopted by Ibn Ṣaddīq's poem, which like Ha-Levi's *muwashshah* is dedicated to Yiṣḥaq ibn Barūn.⁴³ The *kharja* is No. 91 of Monroe-Swiatlo, and, as they point out,⁴⁴ it also occurs in an Arabic *muwashshah* by at-Tuḥīlī⁴⁵ with some variants.

Another of Bonafed's *muwashshahāt* with direct allusion to the melody or metrical pattern of earlier compositions is *šallal mahālal*,⁴⁶ a wedding poem in honour of ha-Qašlari.⁴⁷ According to the heading of the poem, it follows the melody of *bē-rum galgal*, probably a liturgical poem by Abraham ibn 'Ezra.⁴⁸ Bonafed's wedding song has eleven strophes, coming closer to the pattern of the *zajal*-like compositions, at least from this point of view. Both poems, Ibn 'Ezra's and Bonafed's, have the same metrical pattern of the *'ahāvah* of Ibn Gabirol *lē-kha 'El ḥay*,⁴⁹ although we cannot find any direct relation of these poems to Ibn Gabirol's *'ahāvah*.⁵⁰ Bonafed's

muwashshah is particularly close to Ibn 'Ezra's composition,⁵¹ thus confirming the words of its heading.⁵²

The poem *kē-'or boqer yizrah*⁵³ is called by Bonafed "a *muwashshah* in the form of *mustajab*,⁵⁴ that I wrote about a girl with beautiful eyes..." The name of the girl is Šemeš, ("Sol", "Sun").⁵⁵ As it is usual in these poems, there is no metre, and each verse has a different number of syllables. There is no reference to any known melody, and it has no internal rhymes. In consonance with most examples of this kind of simple strophic poem, there are many strophes, fifteen in all, with four short verses.⁵⁶ What is unusual is that such a poem is not a liturgical piece, but a secular love-song. It has no acrostic. We would consider it a *zajal*-like piece.

The two last strophic poems are also *zajal*-like liturgical compositions, and are not called *muwashshahāt* by Bonafed. The first of them, *me'ay me'ay 'ohilah*,⁵⁷ has an introduction and five strophes, with the acrostic *Šlmh hzq*. In the heading there is reference to the melodic pattern that has been followed,⁵⁸ with some Romance words (probably in Catalan) in Hebrew letters (*yw wy 'wn' q'b'nyh*) that could be read as "jo vei una cabanya".⁵⁹ Bonafed states that the composition has no metre (*mišqal*), but it is very close to the syllabic metre.⁶⁰

The strophic poem *'Ēlohe qedem*, a reply to a similar *gēmar* of Yehudah (En Bonaguda) ha-Qašlari, and according to Bonafed's words written "on its image, after its likeness", has twelve strophes of the same measure (with the refrain always including the word *'ehad*, "one"), without introduction, as against nine strophes of three verses finishing with the same refrain. None of these compositions has metre, or a fixed number of syllables. There are no references to any known melody.⁶¹

From another point of view, there were no notable changes in the genres of these strophic poems: most of these secular compositions were, as in Andalusian poetry, panegyrics, love and wine poems, or wedding poems. Liturgical *muwashshahāt* were still very popular.

These compositions were among the very last strophic poems written in Sefarad before 1492. Although the name of *muwashshah* was employed for not a few strophic poems, its nature had undergone substantial evolution. At this point we could try to sum up the main characteristics of these late Hebrew *muwashshahāt*:

- 1) For most poets of the "Saragossa circle" the writing of secular strophic poems meant following classical traditions and forms, and remaining faithful to the great old models, imitating them. In that way they felt that they were firmly rooted in true Andalusian traditions.
- 2) The imitation of old models, according to the rules of *mu'ārada*, produced some of the latest Hebrew examples of members of "families of *muwashshahāt*".

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- 3) There were no changes to the usual topics or genres of the classical secular *muwashshahāt*.
- 4) These poets of the 15th century saw the writing of *muwashshahāt* as a challenge – the ability to show true virtuosity by writing particularly difficult compositions.
- 5) They paid particular attention to the number of internal rhymes, considering them a constitutive element of this kind of poem.
- 6) They usually sought their melodic patterns (*lahn*) in classical, secular or liturgical *muwashshahāt*. They did not introduce new metric patterns.
- 7) The authors renounced the use of *kharajāt* in foreign languages, and completely forgot the original function of the *kharja*. No signs of direct language or of transition verses were preserved.
- 8) The “feminine voice” is completely absent from these late compositions.
- 9) They did not establish a clear limit in the number of strophes, and did not differentiate the true *muwashshah* from the *zajal*-like compositions.
- 10) Some of them (mainly De Piera and Ben Lavi) used acrostics in their secular *muwashshahāt* (imitating the liturgical compositions).
- 11) As literary correspondence was a particular and important aspect of Jewish cultural life in 15th century, they sometimes used *muwashshahāt* in their literary exchanges.
- 12) They were aware of the presence in the *muwashshah* of “a different atmosphere”, albeit without explaining further what was its nature.

NOTES

1. According to S. Bernstein, HUCA 19, 1945/6, 11 ff., Nos. 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 of a total of 37 liturgical poems included in his edition. Nos. 27, 28, 30, 37, are also *zajal*-like strophic compositions.
2. Although S. Bernstein (ed. 1942. *The Diwan. Salomo b. Meshullam Dapiera*. New York: Alim Publication) published most of them, thanks to the exhaustive research of Judit Targarona we can present here a more complete list, placing each poem in its due context. In the following references we cite the 1942 edition as “Bernstein”; the reference DIWAN is to J. Targarona’s as yet unpublished research on De Piera.
3. Bernstein No. 38; DIWAN 10.1, No. 70.
4. DIWAN 6.2. No. 286.
5. Bernstein No. 7; DIWAN 20.6C, No. 303.
6. Bernstein No. 9; DIWAN 23.3, No. 307.

7. Published recently by Vardi, T. 2001. "Šire Yosef ben Lavi'." *Qoveš 'al yad*, N.S. 15 (25), 242 f. Comparing this *muwashshah* with the following one, it seems very likely that this could be Ben Lavi's composition that originated the answer by De Piera. It is the only strophic poem among the 40 poems attributed to Vidal (Yosef) by his editor, T. Vardi.
8. Bernstein No. 8, incomplete; DIWAN 23.2, No. 46.
9. DIWAN 23.1, No. 60.
10. Only one of these poems was edited in A. M. Bejarano's doctoral dissertation, *Šēlomoh Bonafed, poeta y polemista hebreo (s. XIV-XV)*. Universidad de Barcelona, 1989, I, 331 ff.; all the rest have been published, according to the only manuscript that has preserved the text of the most important part of Bonafed's *dīwān*, Ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library 1984, in Sáenz-Badillos, A. & J. Targarona. 2003. "Strophic Poems in the *dīwān* of Šēlomoh Bonafed." *Studies in Hebrew Literature from the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Homage to Yonah David, Tel Aviv. *Tē'udah* 19, 21*-46*.
11. Ms. Oxford, Bodl. 1984, ff. 44v-45r. In our edition, 1. Edited by A.M. Bejarano in her dissertation, I, pp. 331 ff.
12. On this kind of liturgical poem, related to the *sēliḥah*, cf. Fleischer, E. 1975. *Hebrew Liturgical Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Hebr.). Jerusalem, Keter: 203, 408f.
13. Nine strophes of three verses finishing in a short refrain with the word '*ehad*, "one". Included also in Bonafed's *dīwān*, Ms. Oxford, Bodl. 1984, f. 44r-44v.
14. *lē-kha 'eš'ag*, f. 31v-32, v. 12; *pēlije šir*, f. 23v-24v, v. 25.
15. This phenomenon of "imitation" is well-known both in Arabic and in Hebrew secular and liturgical poetry. It was studied by S.M. Stern in his article "Hiqquy muwashshahot 'araviyim bē-širat Sēfarad ha-'ivrit." *Tarbiz* 18, 1947, 166-186. Among the numerous studies on this subject by different scholars, see Rosen, T. 1983. "Lē-tolēdot 'mišpaḥah' 'aḥat šel šire 'ezor." *Tarbiz* 52, 523-528; Fleischer, E. 1988. "Additional Data concerning the Poetry of R. El'azar ben Chalfon." *Occident and Orient. A Tribute to the Memory of A. Scheiber*. Budapest/Leiden: Akadémiai Kiadó/Brill, 137-153; Yahalom, Y. 1985. "Aportaciones a la prosodia de la moaxaja a la luz de la literatura hebrea." *Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos* 34, 2, 5-25, and Yahalom, Y. 1991. "The context of Hebrew imitations of *Muwashshahāt* in Egypt." *Poesía estrófica*. Eds. F. Corriente, A. Sáenz-Badillos, Madrid: Universidad Complutense, etc. 357-366; Yahalom, Y. & Benabu, I. 1985. "Towards a History of the Transmission of Secular Hebrew Poetry from Spain" (Hebr.). *Tarbiz* 54, 245-262. The topic has been extensively studied in the doctoral dissertation of S.L. Einbinder, *Mu'arada as a key to the literary unity of the muwashshah*. Columbia University 1991, and recently in the doctoral dissertation of M. Álvarez, *La mu'arada en muwashshahāt hispanohebreas*. Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 2001.
16. *rēšoni la-'āšor*, f. 38, v. 5.
17. *zēkhor ha-šir*, f. 33-34 v., v. 65.
18. Fol. 47v.
19. Davidson, '*Ošar*, 497b. The strophes have three verses of ten syllables (2nd and 9th short), with refrain of two verses.

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20. Unpublished. We thank Judit Targarona for the text of this composition.
21. The poem is unknown to us.
22. Each strophe with 3 + 2 verses; the 3 verses (4 + 6, with 1st and 7th short), with internal rhyme.
23. *Ka-'āhalim nata'* (Bernstein No. 80, DIWAN 5.1, No. 218), without heading, could be described as a not very typical *zajal*-like poem with double *alef-bet* acrostic with 21 small strophes, but I would not describe it as a *muwashshah*.
24. See *supra*, note 7.
25. Bernstein No. 9, DIWAN 23.3, No. 307.
26. Three verses of three members with alternating internal rhymes, abc/abc/abc, followed by a refrain of two. Possible classical metre: *mitpa'ālim, nif'al, mitpa'ālim, nif'al, mitpa'ālim*.
27. Brody, H. 1901. *Dīwān des Abū-l-Hasan Jehuda ha-Levi*. Berlin: H. Itzkowski, I, 182. A panegyric in honour of Yiṣḥaq ibn Barūn.
28. The *matla'* has only one line, the same as the refrains that follow three verses with different number of syllables.
29. Senior, or Šenior (Yarden suggests: Šēneur, a very unlikely name) is only known in the poetry of the time emanating from the Saragossa circle, as an important person who knew the art of poetry, but we possess no details about his life or place of residence. He may have been a few years older than Bonafed, and, as we learn from the first poem, was well versed in writing poetry. Bonafed states that “the troops of poetry are his property” (v. 8), and that he has “stolen” his verses from Senior himself (v. 7).
30. Ms. Oxford, Bodl. 1984, ff. 48v-49r.
31. Cf. Yarden, D. 1978. *The Liturgical Poetry of Rabbi Yehuda Halevy*, Jerusalem, I, 185. The metre of both compositions is: *tēnu'ah-yated- tēnu'ah-yated-tēnu'ah*.
32. Ms. Oxford, Bodl. 1984, f. 49r-49v. In our edition, 2. There are only three strophes in the manuscript, and we cannot be sure that this was actually its original dimension.
33. The metrical structure of the poem is clearly defined: two long members (each of them formed by two *tēnu'ot, yated* and two *tēnu'ot*), and a short member (two *tēnu'ot, yated*). It can be described as a modified *basūt*. See Corriente, F. & A. Sáenz-Badillos, 1996. “Apostillas a las *xarajāt* árabes en *muwashshahāt* hebreas.” In *Romania Arabica. Festschrift für Reinhold Kontzi zum 70. Geburtstag*. Ed. J. Lüdtke. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 290.
34. See *supra*, note 7.
35. Ed. David, Y. 1982. *The Poems of Joseph ibn Zaddik (Hebr.)*. New York: American Academy for Jewish Research, No. 1, p. 21. It is also a panegyric in honour of Yiṣḥaq ibn Barūn.
36. See in particular Fleischer E. 1988. “Additional Data concerning the Poetry of R. El'azar ben Chalfon.” *Occident and Orient. A Tribute to the Memory of A. Scheiber*. Budapest/Leiden: Akadémiai Kiadó/Brill, 140, 144, note 27 and 150.
37. Schirmann, H., 1965. *Širim hadāšim min ha-Gēnizah*. Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, No. 170, pp. 342 f. The manuscript (Cambridge, UCL, T.-S.,

NS 108,111) indicates that it also follows *mi-pa'āte hekkhal*.

38. See *supra*, note 7.

39. Bernstein No. 9, a reply to Vidal ben Lavi' in the heading of which the poet states that he has followed the structure of the poem written by his student with the *lahn* of the poem *mi-pa'āte hekkhal* by Yehudah ha-Levi.

40. Brody, *op. cit.* I, 199. "To his friend".

41. H. Schirmann, Y. David, E. Fleischer, and other scholars, had already observed the similarity of several compositions of the group. Now we can have a more complete perspective. In the coming lines we will refer to them, for practical purposes, with following abbreviations (according to the order in which we have mentioned them): Bon, YhL, YiŞ, El, An, VbL, ŞdP and YhL(2).

42. That is, *libbi mē'od niḥal*, *kalētah lē-kha 'eli* and *mi-pa'āte mizrah*.

43. This same *kharja* was probably also the ending of the anonymous and only partially preserved *muwashshah libbi mē'od niḥal* that also has rhymes in *-li* in the *asmāt*. These three compositions are especially close, while the rest of the group goes its own way, sharing only a part of the possible elements in their imitation. Common to all of them is the metrical pattern: aab/aab. cde/cde/cde. aab/aab. Only Yehudah ha-Levi's *'ekh ma'yēnot 'eni*, has in the *asmāt*, according to its Arabic *kharja*, a somewhat different pattern: abc/dec; the strophes have the similar, common pattern (fgh/fgh/fgh).

44. "Ninety-three Arabic *Hargās* in Hebrew *Muwashshahs*: Their Hispano-Romance Prosody and Thematic Features." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 97.2, 1977, 156.

45. A blind poet born also in Tudela, Navarre, and who died about 15 years before Yehudah ha-Levi (See A. R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*. Baltimore 1946, 254 ff.). His Arabic *muwashshah* (*Dār* 30, 80) could also be compared with this group of Hebrew *muwashshahāt*.

46. Ms. Oxford, Bodl. 1984, ff. 102v-103v. In our edition, **λ**.

47. Two persons with this name, father and son, appear many times in Bonafed's poetry. The name "ha-Qaṣlari" could derive from a Catalan town called Castellar ("Castellari"). I. Baer (*Historia de los judíos en la España cristiana*. Madrid: Altolena, 1981, II, 445) mentions the father, Eḥ Bonaguda (Yehudah), as one of the representatives of the Girona community in the Dispute of Tortosa and the grandson of a well-known doctor. Bonafed had a long relation with both, and left us many references to them in his *dīwān*. The father, Eḥ Bonaguda or Bonagua, was apparently of the same generation as Bonafed, and, like him, wrote poetry.

48. Even though some scholars have doubts about the author of this last composition, as can be seen in Davidson's references, see *'Oṣar* 1683a, and in Brody, H. & M. Wiener, 1923. *Mivḥar ha-širah ha-'ivrit*. Jerusalem, 230, attributing it to Berakhyah ben-Yiṣḥaq ha-Levi. I. Levin, following several manuscripts, includes it without hesitation among the liturgical poems written by Abraham ibn 'Ezra. In his edition Ibn 'Ezra's poem, a *rēšut la-qaddiṣ*, has only three strophes, and we cannot be sure that it is complete. The acrostic "barēkhi", "barēkhu", or "bērakh-yah", according to Levin himself, cannot be used in order to prove that it is complete or incomplete.

49. Yarden, *The Liturgical Poetry*, p. 485, No. 158. The metric pattern in the three

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cases is: *yated*, two *těnu'ot* / two *těnu'ot*, *yated*, two *těnu'ot*.

50. Only the set of rhymes is very similar in the three compositions: aa/aa. bc/bc/bc/aa/aa (etc.). Albeit there are some exceptions, particularly in the Introduction of Ibn Gabirol's poem, but this might have been due to a mistake of transmission.

51. Ibn Gabirol's poem is actually very different from these two from the point of view of the concrete rhymes.

52. However, we cannot detect any particular dependence or imitation in the contents or the mentalité of the two *muwashshahāt*, since the aim and the subject of both compositions are too different, and it is very difficult to find common elements in them. But even if the rhymes of the strophes are not the same, there are many similarities in the rhymes of the *asmāt*. For instance, the *simt* of the eighth strophe in Bonafed's poem uses for the rhyme the same four words (in different order) employed by Ibn 'Ezra in his introductory lines (*matla'*): *nidgal* / *galgal* / *ma'gal* / *yiggal*. Many other rhyme-words used by Ibn 'Ezra in other *asmāt* are also present in the *asmāt* of Bonafed's composition: *mikhlal* (v.6 / v.6), *mahlal* (v.6 / v.1), *ma'lal* (v.7 / v.2), *'olal* (v.7 / v.11, 12), *mimšal* (v.11 / v.26), *mašal* (v.12 / v.27), *yehdal* (v.16 / v.57), *yigdal* (v.17 / v.57).

53. Ms. Oxford, Bodl. 1984, ff. 103v-104r. In our edition, 7.

54. On this kind of composition, usually of a liturgical nature, see Fleischer, E. 1975. *Hebrew Liturgical Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Hebr.). Jerusalem, Keter: 379ff.

55. On the social atmosphere reflected in this poem see E. Gutwirth's study "A *muwashshah* by Solomon Bonafed." In Corriente, F. & A. Sáenz-Badillos, ed. cit. (note 15, above), 137-144.

56. Three lines and the refrain, including many expressions directly taken from the Bible, with the pattern a.bbba/ccca/ddda. In all the strophes the refrain is formed by a biblical quotation ending in the same word: *šemeš*, "sun", alluding to the name of the girl.

57. Ms. Oxford, Bodl. 1984, f. 55r-55v. In our edition, 7.

58. Instead of *lahn*, the Hebrew term *tamrur* is employed, probably with identical meaning.

59. Or: "yo ví una que venía", as suggested by A. Bejarano in her dissertation, I, p. 65.

60. This is because the verses tend to have seven syllables, with possible rhythmic accent on the even syllables. The rhymes pattern is ab/ab.cccb/dddb/eeeb, etc.

61. The rhyme pattern in both cases is aaab/cccb/dddb/ etc., the same as the strophes of the previous poem that we have discussed.

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