DIWAN AND ODYSSEY: JUDAH HALEVI AND THE SECULAR POETRY OF MEDIEVAL SPAIN IN THE LIGHT OF NEW DISCOVERIES FROM PETERSBURG

Diwán y odisea: Yehudah ha-Levi y la poesía secular de la España medieval a la luz de los nuevos descubrimientos de Leningrado

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Resumen: Este estudio cuestiona el clásico artículo de Schirmann "The Life of Judah Halevi", aparecido hace ya más de cincuenta años. Se basa en la lectura de nuevos manuscritos de la segunda colección de Firkovich en San Petersburgo y en una nueva evaluación del lenguaje metafórico del poeta. Tiene también en cuenta los ya reconocidos *topoi* y convencionalismos de la literatura árabe coetánea.

Abstract: The study is trying to challenge Schirmann's classical article "The Life of Judah Halevi" that was published over fifty years ago. It is based on new manuscript evidence from the second Firkovich collections in St. Petersburg as well as on a new evaluation of the poet's metaphoric language, while taking into account well established topoi and conventions in the parallel arabic literature.

Palabras clave: Rutas de peregrinación. Travesía del Mediterráneo. Técnicas de ortografía. Jarchas romances. Genizah. Criterios de edición de diwanes. Ficción y realidad. Al-Ándalus vs Castilla.
Key words: Pilgrimage routes. Mediterranean Sea faring. Spelling techniques. Romance kharjas. Genizah. Editing principles of Diwāns. Imagery versus reality. Al-Andalus versus Castile.

1. A BRIEF OUTLINE OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The figure of Judah Halevi towers above the Hebrew poets of medieval Spain as a vibrant intellectual figure deeply involved in the public affairs of his own day. His magnum opus of medieval Jewish thought, *Book of the Kuzari — Refutation and Proof on the Despised Faith*, is constructed as a sequence of dialogues between a pagan king and the learned spokesmen of the reigning theological trends. Looming beyond the story framework, however, is the attempt to contend with the actuality of Jewish existence in the Diaspora. Yet above and

beyond the vast literary undertaking emerges the personality of the poet himself, the visionary who actualized his own vision and emigrated to the Land of Israel, recording the journey in a series of marvelous sea-faring poems. Halevi's poems are numerous indeed, totalling approximately one thousand; scribal copies of his poems are equally abundant. In addition to the two more or less full diwans exist hundreds of Genizah fragments remnants of diwans that made the rounds of Jewish society in the east.

The finest and most ancient manuscript of the diwan of Judah Halevi was acquired by Samuel David Luzzatto in Tunis, in 1839[1]. Within twenty-five years Luzzatto managed to publish two collections of poems based on this manuscript. Published in Lyck in 1864, the collection known as Diwan Yehuda ha-Levi[2] had the distinction of being one of the first books published by "Mekize Nirdamim", a society founded in 1862 and dedicated to the publication of medieval Hebrew literature. Among the board of trustees at this time was the Karaite Abraham Firkovitch, on whom the diwan seems to have made a deep impression[3]. Altogether, S. D. Luzzatto published fewer than one hundred texts from the diwan; following his death the manuscript changed hands and reached the Bodleian Library of Oxford. Publication of a complete edition of Halevi's poems remained buried in the protocol of "Mekizei Nirdamim" during the close of the nineteenth century, until the trustees set eyes on a talented young man —none other than Heinrich Brody, eventual Chief Rabbi of Prague, who undertook the publication of the diwan. And thus it came about that rather less than one hundred year ago, in Berlin of 1894, the first part of the edition appeared in print.[4] Since those days, however, not much has really transpired in the area of scholarly redaction of Halevis writings, causing, it must be admitted, no small injustice to the greatest of medieval Hebrew poets. Yet together with this, these hundred years have witnessed noticeable progress in the research of the poet's life and times.

Brody's final volume of the liturgical poetry no longer included commentary or notes, it is true, and it appeared only after the First World War, in 1930. But a few years later, a new immigrant to Israeli shores named Jefim Shirmann, fresh from Berlin and a pupil of Brody's, began publishing in Jerusalem a series of

1. *Virgo Filia Jehuda*, ed. S.D. Luzzatto, Prague 1840, p. 5.
2. Idem, *Diwan Yehuda ha-Levi*, Lyck 1864.
3. Urbach (1964:36).
4. *Diwan des Abul-Hasan Jehuda ha-Levi*, ed. H. Brody, vol. I, Berlin 1894, p. 10. Facsimile edition with comprehensive index by A. A. Haberman, 1971. [Hereafter known as Diwan].

articles under the short and modest title, "The Life of Judah Halevi".[5] Shirmann built his research on a meticulous reading of the poems themselves, and of the Arabic incipits heading each poem that described the circumstances surrounding each composition. A supplementary contribution to the realm of biography was made by the gifted historian, S.D. Goitein. While immersed in research of the documentary material from the Cairo Genizah —that treasure trove of medieval Hebrew manuscripts— Goitein discovered autograph Arabic letters of Judah Halevi, as well as letters emanating from his circle of friends and acquaintances about his visit to Egypt, cradle of the Genizah. Goitein began publishing his discoveries in a series of articles in Jerusalem in 1954[6]; the last of these was published less than twenty years ago.[7]

Parallel to the major stream of research about Judah Halevi and his poetry, there was also a trickling of publications from the east. The first of these was by Abraham E. Harkavy of St. Petersburg. Concurrent with the debut of the Brody Diwan, Harkavy published a two-part edition of Halevi's poetry in Warsaw during the years 1893-1895.[8] As stated in the introduction, Harkavy conceived his edition without any scholastic pretensions as a kind of popular reader for the general public, He therefore contented himself with "some brief notations from the manuscripts" that he brought as examples, though never providing MS reference. The Ahiasaf Publishing Firm pledged, in the opening remarks to the first volume, "A complete collection of the poems of this great poet and his charming belletristics". But in the end, Harkavy published via Ahiasaf two volumes of greatly reduced format —and there rested.

Years went by; years of revolution and turmoil. The city named after the great builder Peter, now came to be known by the name of the great revolutionary Lenin. Somewhere in the midst of all this, Hebrew culture found itself receding into the shadows; the name of Judah Halevi little more than a vanishing memory. More than a century after the first discoveries, Dr. Klavdia Starkova published in 1949 new texts of Halevi based on manuscripts in Leningrad;[9] and she

5. J. Schirmann (1979:I,241-250). The original article was published in *Tarbiz*, vol. 9 (1938), pp. 35-54. 219-240, 284-305 [in Hebrew].

6. Goitein (1954: 21-42). Additional articles subsequently published in *Tarbiz*. The highlights of these Hebrew articles were gathered into an excellent English article: Goitein (1959b).

7. Goitein (1977: 245-250).

8. *Rabbi Yehudah ha-Levi*, ed. A. Harkavy, Warsaw 1893-1895.

9. Schirmann (1965: 236).

incorporated her manuscript findings in a brief study presented to the 25th International Congress of Orientalists, held in Moscow in 1960.[10] In this study, Madame Starkova discusses the versions of the Halevi diwan in light of the Leningrad fragments. This small study speaks about the remnants of forty fragmentary copies from the diwan, preserved in the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library; she herself attempts to classify them for the first time. Due to various transcriptural errors and inaccurate citation of manuscripts, Starkova's brief paper caused quite a few difficulties.

One of the last Hebrew sparks to flicker in Leningrad during recent years was represented by Arieh Vilsker. Vilsker began publishing in Moscow of 1982 unknown poems of Halevi from the treasures of Leningrad.[11] Many of Vilsker's findings were silently incorporated into the four volumes of Halevi's liturgical poetry recently published by Dov Jarden in Jerusalem.[12] Vilsker's final and posthumous article published, for the first time ever, the complete text of a letter written by Halevi to his illustrious patron, Moses ibn Ezra of Granada, uncrowned poet-laureate of his generation. The letter, alas, was brought in a Yiddish translation.[13] The Hebrew version of this important letter was banned from publication, and the death of Vilsker effectively sealed shut the last window by which we had glimpsed —almost like thieves in the night—- the hidden world of Hebrew manuscripts in Leningrad.

Such being the case, it is not surprising that from the moment the Iron Curtain began to rise —ever so slowly!— our imagination reeled into action and our longing for the diwan remnants increased fourfold.

2. DIWAN R. ḤIYYA THE MOROCCAN

One hundred years of research succeeded in piecing together a somewhat patchwork affair, but coping with the remnants of Halevi's creativity requires an overall perspective. Such a view must integrate the varied sources in their entirety; not only newly discovered poems but also the Arabic incipits describing the circumstances of composition, and indeed the very organization of the material in the diwan. It was clear that the Leningrad Collection was rich in these sources and vital to the formation of a general perspective. Pending the journey to Leningrad

10. Starkova (1960: 1-13). And cf. E. Fleischer (1991: 139-141).
11. Vilsker (1982: 128-136).
12. *The Liturgical Poetry of Rabbi Yehuda Halevi*, ed. D. Jarden, vols. I-IV, 1978-1986.
13. Vilsker (1988: 130-140) and cf. Fleischer (1986-1987: 898-900).

I faced the dilemma of how best to record the abundant material in the brief time allotted to my visit —a mere thirty days.[14]

We were all too well aware that the libraries of Russia had long been out of touch with the west, and that updated professional literature would not be available. Yet it never even occurred to us that a complete copy of the Brody Diwan might not be found in the National Library of Leningrad![15] But here fortune decided to smile on us a bit, and girding ourselves for whatever lay ahead we concealed in the personal handluggage —come what may!— three different items: (1) a photo-copied list of Halevi's poems in the classic diwan, *Mahaneh Yehudah*. This diwan was thoroughly described in the Oxford catalogue of Hebrew manuscripts by Adolf Neubauer, and it contains a complete list of the opening line and ordinal number of each poem in the diwan, along with the Arabic incipits heading each and every poem.[16] (2) An alphabetical index of eight hundred poems printed in the Brody Diwan, together with a cross reference to its place in the *Mahaneh Yehuda* MS.[17] (3) A booklet that I had prepared for my own use in the classroom, in which I had arranged all of Halevi's mono-rhymed poems according to rhyme, in alphabetical order.[18]

But, as it turns out, arranging the poems by reason of rhyme was not in the least original: I had been preceded by the editor of Luzzatto's diwan MS, Yeshu'ah Halevi, apparently as far back as the 13th century.[19] Nor was this Yeshu'ah Halevi anything more than a compiler, preceded in turn by at least three devotees of Judah Halevi's poetry. These three men were mentioned by name; first and foremost is R. Ḥiyya the Moroccan (ha-Mughrabi). We are told that R. Ḥiyya was a great savant of Halevi's poetry, and that his work is reliable. Representative of this editing is the manuscript *Mahaneh Yehuda* that has, unfortunately, come down to us in a late copy from only three hundred years ago. And even though the editing of R. Ḥiyya is ancient, and the editor reliable, it was pushed to the wayside by the Diwan of Yeshu'ah Halevi; a relative late-comer but one presented

14. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities for their assistance with everything pertaining to this visit.

15. Brody, *Diwan* (n. 4).

16. Neubauer (1886: 641-656); (MS no. Poc. 740[1], 1970).

17. Brody, *Diwan*, vol. IV, pp. 5-20 (new pagination at end of volume).

18. Yahalom (1975).

19. Yahalom & I. Benabu (1985: 249-251). According to new evidence Yeshu'ah lived in Cairo during the middle of the 13th cent. Fleischer (1994: 273-276) identifies R. Ḥiyya with a mid. 12th century namesake judge again from Cairo.

in an eye-opening script and near the time of its editor. Yet it seems that the iniquity created by the whims of fate can today be rectified by virtue of the seven hundred leaves from the diwan in St. Petersburg. All of these leaves are from the second collection of Abraham Firkovitch, who worked so tirelessly in gathering the diwan fragments of the poet throughout the communities of the east.

Remnants of one of the finest and most ancient manuscripts found in St. Petersburg contain sections of the secular poems (MS Firk. EBp. IIA 43—56 leaves), together with sections of liturgical poetry (MS Firk. EBp. IIA 206—65 leaves). That is, 121 leaves from the diwan according to the editing by R. Ḥiyya. We do not know today in what state the material reached Firkovitch, but since the poems are lacking ordinal numbers, Firkovitch apparently encountered problems in organizing the leaves. Words to this effect were jotted on the classier by Firkovitch himself: "And from the dearth of compositional marks... I organized the leaves just as they had fallen, for I had gathered the leaves in a Genizah —some in this way and others in that". But this manuscript is not the only representative to the classic diwan edited by R. Ḥiyya. In essence, nearly all of the manuscripts that I examined correspond almost entirely with the sequence in Diwan R. Ḥiyya. This is true not only for the placement of the poems but for the Arabic incipits as well, describing, as mentioned earlier, the whys and wherefores surrounding the composition of each particular poem.

A survey of the scattered sixty-six leaves from MS Firk. EBp. IIA 209-1, reveals that it too contains entire sequences of Halevi's poems, in full correspondence with the sequences of diwan *Mahaneh Yehuda*. So, for example, do the thirty-four numbers from 29-62 correspond (at slight intervals) with the sequence of poems 33-65 in *Mahaneh Yehuda*. And from this aspect the copy reflects, as it were, another representative of Diwan R. Ḥiyya, with nothing new to offer.

The real surprise was concealed in the final pages of the section for secular poetry, on leaves 46 and 47. Here the editor explicity refers to R. Ḥiyya, bringing three different supplements to that diwan. Thus does the editor offer, for no. 365, a poem written by Halevi during his Egyptian sojourn, prior to continuing the journey onward to the Holy Land. Beginning with the words "My thoughts at Hannukah are not rejoicing" (סעיפי בחנוכה לא שׂמחים),[20] the poem was written during Hannukah after leaving Alexandria, and is expressly mentioned in

20. Brody, *Diwan*, vol. I, p. 116.

a letter addressed to the poet during his stay in Cairo.[21] We know that while in Alexandria Halevi had enjoyed the hospitality of Aharon b. al-'Ammani, Chief Justice of the Alexandrian Jewish community. Yet we also know that his stay had aroused a not inconsiderable amount of social tension and ferment among the local Jews. In this poem, then, Halevi distinguishes between the recipient —the High Court Judge who had so graciously received him— and his detractors, whom he labels in words of the prophet Isaiah (33:12) "thorns trampled down". Not surprisingly, this generated bitter resentment against the poet in Alexandria, as we find in a letter mentioning the poem. This problematic poem was not included in Diwan R. Ḥiyya, but we do find it in the Diwan of Yeshu'ah Halevi, along with the following attribution: מן נקל כט דוד בן ר׳ מימון ("Transmitted in the script of David b. Maimon").[22] The same attribution accompanies a poetic reproach addressed to one boor who had invited both the poet and another guest to his wedding —only to promptly forget them both.[23] Appearing, as stated, in a supplement to the manuscript, this poem is also brought in the Diwan of Yeshu'ah Halevi with the attribution "From the script of R. David" appended to its Arabic incipit. It, too, is missing from the Diwan of R. Ḥiyya.[24] Most instructive of all is the third poem —a quasida from the Diwan of Samuel ha-Nagid— Hebrew poet and statesman of 11th century Granada.[25] The compiler copied only the beautiful opening lines of the poem, commenting at the end that the poem had been found fragmented: והדא אלקציד נאקץ לם יגד] מנה סוי מא כתב. The fragmented poem, along with the Arabic incipit and the final words of explanation, are of course copied word for word in the Diwan of Yeshu'ah Halevi, along with the attribution to R. David.[26] It becomes evident, therefore, that it is to this diwan that Yeshu'ah Halevi refers when mentioning the transmission of David b. Maimon. And since David b. Maimon himself was obviously relying on Diwan R. Ḥiyya and copying directly from it, it becomes evident that the classic diwan of R. Ḥiyya is the one serving him and all the compilers hereafter. Yeshu'ah

21. Goitein (1959a: 343-361). *Idem* (1954: 30) believes for some reason that the poem was composed while still in Alexandria. See also Goitein (1959b: 54).

22. Neubauer (1886: 656-657, no. 180).

23. Brody, *Diwan*, vol. II, p. 271.

24. Neubauer (1886: 657, n. 196).

25. *Divan Shmuel Hanagid*, ed. D. Yarden, Jerusalem 1976, pp. 158-160, 347.

26. Neubauer (1886: 657, n. 388).

Halevi based therefore his compilation on the classic diwan of R. Ḥiyya, while utilizing the "improvements" of David b. Maimon and others (Sa'id Ibn al-Qaṣ).

The dominance of Diwan R. Ḥiyya is all the more conspicuous when attempting to identify copies of Diwan Yeshu'ah Halevi among the fragments of Leningrad, or even among the Genizah collections scattered throughout the west. And it must be admitted, that I have to date found only one single copy of this edition, and it derives from the fragments of St. Petersburg.[27] It is only a pity that this late revision of Diwan R. Ḥiyya —the one implementing the alphabetic order of the rhymes— made its impact on modern research in so overwhelming a fashion, despite the drawbacks involved. Now that we possess so many copies of the classic Diwan of R. Ḥiyya —including those antedating the copy made from Diwan Yeshu'ah Halevi— we cannot but wish to sound out this ancient vessel and study of its structure.

Initial perusal of Diwan R. Ḥiyya shows that it opens with the first poem written by the young Judah to his highly-placed patron and fellow-poet, Moses ibn Ezra of Granada. In the large manuscript containing remnants of Diwan R. Ḥiyya we find the Arabic incipit heading this poem: והדא אול מא כאטבה בה ענד קדומה מן בלדה ("And it is the beginning of that which he addressed him at the time of his approach from his city").[28] This is nothing less than a reference to the famous departure of Moses ibn Ezra to the Christian north, following the Almoravid invasion of 1090.[29] All the dangers notwithstanding, Ibn Ezra had been reluctant to abandon his beloved city of Granada, fleeing in the end only by the skin of his teeth, apparently before the year 1095.[30] Judah Halevi, dwelling

27. MS Firk. EBp. II A 614, pp. 7-10, 75-78, poems 7-17, 53-59, 107-109, 145-146, 182-184, 224-227. See Luzzatto, *Diwan* (above no. 2), pp. 8-10.

28. See: Vilsker (1988: 132); Fleischer (1986-1987), in the wake of Vilsker's article.

29. It is customary to interpret this as Halevi's arrival in Granada. Concerning Halevi's stay in Granada during the time that Moses ibn Ezra was also present we have only the evidence from the incipit of poem 33 in diwan *Mahaneh Yehuda* (Neubauer, 1886: 643). And see: Shirmann (1979: 255, 258). But even here it is only staed that Halevi had been exspected in Granada, but not that he actually was there. Accordingly it was ibn Ezra who responded to the poem intended for Halevi. But in addition to this we now have at our disposal another version of this same incipit, establishing that Ibn Ezra imitated the two poems —both the initial address and Halevi's response— after they both reached him. And in this diwan the poem of Moses ibn Ezra indeed appears after the preceding two poems, and not between them —as we find in diwan *Mahaneh Yehuda*. See also the following incipit: [פ]למא בלגא אלקצידיתין גמיעא אלי צאחב אלשרטה אבו הארון בן עזרה כתב אלי אבו איוב ימדחה בהדה אלאביאת מעארצה ללקצידתין (MS Firk. EBp. II A 206-1, p. 3).

30. See: Brody (1933-1934: 313-314); *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra*, eds. H. Brody & S. De Solis-Cohen, Philadelphia 1934, p. 22; Shirmann (1979: 251-252, note 3).

in Christian Spain to the north, seeks to halt Moses ibn Ezra in his path, as it were, imploring: "Stand thou, stand still our brothers a little while longer that we may bless thee", עמדו עמודו קט מעט אחינו ונברכה אתכם.[31] Further on in the poem Halevi calls the poet-scholar "candle of the west", the luminary of the Andalusian seat of culture. The Christian north, in contrast to the "west" of Andalusia, was known as the "east" —such were the points of the compass according to those times. Immediately afterwards a tinge of sadness steals into the poem, when Halevi declares that Ibn Ezra —the epitome of Andalusian culture— is "a foreigner in the land of the west" (גֵּר בארץ מערב). Words such as these could never have been written prior to the Almoravid invasion about a man like Ibn Ezra; a man commanding a position of respect with the powers that had once held sway.

Moses ibn Ezra replied to the talented youngster a full measure for measure in the poem "The children of Fate hastened"[32]. This poem is marked in the Diwan as Poem no. 2, and comes immediately after the poem by Judah Halevi. Here Ibn Ezra marvels at the youthfulness of a poet who spun silk from mere words, and whose star had risen out of Christian Spain. He concludes his poem with the hope of meeting the young Halevi in a "garden of love" (גן אהב) and there to pluck the "fruits of love" (מגדי דודים) —the ripened fruits of friendship. Extending the metaphor, Ibn Ezra goes on to mention the "imposing home" (בית מידות) in which they might enjoy fellowship, even when all other doors were locked before them. Moses ibn Ezra took a dim view of the Christian north, seeing it as a place that did not look kindly upon the bearers of culture. Receiving the poem of this talented northern youth was a draft of fresh air for a weary spirit. Ibn Ezra no doubt wished to meet the young prodigy and take pleasure in his company.[33]

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31. Brody, *Diwan*, p. 273 et seq. According to our understanding the corespondence between the two poets began not before 1090, but at a later time —following Ibn Ezra's departure from Granada (between 1092-1095). And since Halevi was in this period still exceedingly young, it must be assumed that he was born around 1080. We do not know when exactly the great poet approached the region of the young Judah, that he was able to announce: "Stand thou, stand still". Since up until now it has been customary to believe that the young Judah lingered in the company of Ibn Ezra in Granada prior to 1090, Halevi's birthdate was fixed at a date no later than 1075.

32. *The Secular Poetry of Moses Ibn Ezra*, ed. H. Brody, Berlin 1935, p. 22 et seq.

33. Brody, *Selected Poems* (above no. 30), p. 189, saw here an actual invitation to be a guest in his home, as did: Shirmann (1979: 255): "He urges him to come visit him without hesitation; and that if he should not find lodgings in Granada, why then his home was wide open before him". Thus does he interpret the final line of the poem: "And an imposing house / to dwell inside it / the day that every house / is closed from entering". On the closing of the door of grace before Ibn Ezra during his period

Hailing as he did from the north, Halevi considered himself a veritable Moses, slow of speech and heavy of tongue. From an early age he sought to warm himself in the glow of the Andalusian great. Yet this never came about, and his meeting with the maestro of Granada was postponed time and again. Thus we read in his first letter to Moses Ibn Ezra:

> Young and despised / The heart has friendship incited
> And the fire of love ignited / He that from Se'ir alighted

To whom was his heart directed? To the great sages of Andalusia, the luminaries of their generation. Yet we read further on that fate led him slowly:

> Up till their land's edge did I approach
> But was permitted not their border to encroach[34]

Another poem in the first section of the Diwan also finds the young Judah voicing imaginary words of reproach for pining away after the west —a west that had dispersed him to the four winds like the dispersion of its pagan idols: אמר מה לך לדרך מערב עוד והוא זרך תמול כזרות אלילים.[35]

It turns out that the opening of the Diwan reflects the youthful adventures of Judah Halevi and his early discovery by Moses ibn Ezra, the great poet of his generation. The first two poems, then —that of Halevi to the poet of Granada, and the response of Ibn Ezra proclaiming the rising prodigy— were obviously considered the very flagship of the Diwan's great armada of poems, and consequently placed right at the beginning.

If, however, the first section of the Diwan does indeed assemble the youthful poems of Halevi, then a problem arises over three additional poems whose Arabic incipits testify to being poems of his youth —poems relegated for some reason to

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of exile —compare: Brody, *The Secular Poetry* (above no. 32) p. 69: "And closed to him the doors of his grace / And the sword of wandering above him opened". For a discussion on the technique of constructing such metaphors, see Pagis (1970: 64-70). And just as Moses Ibn Ezra employed the word "door" metaphorically, so could he certainly do with the word "house".

34. Abramson (1970: 404-405); Fleischer (1986-1987: 898-899).

35. From the poem למי בקעו דמעיך נחלים, Brody, *Diwan*, I, p. 54. Cf. *ibid*, pp. 20-21: בא מאדום אל מערב (...) התאחרו רגליו... נתיבותיו זמן עוה ("Came from Edom [i.e. Christian Spain] to the west [. . .] his legs did tarry... his paths Fate distorted"). During this long period Ibn Ezra was considered by Halevi as the most noteable representative of the west. And even after he himself settled there, he continued to dend cheerful panegyrics to Ibn Ezra even though these were not always appreciated in his new environment along with their addresse. Cf. Fleischer (1994: 247-255).

the end of the manuscript *Mahaneh Yehuda* (nos. 342, 348, 353)[36]. It is time that we must however keep in mind that in addition to the natural organizing principle of periods and turning points in the life of the poet, Diwan R. Ḥiyya was also organized according to formalistic principles. Thus do we find nine letters in rhymed prose grouped together as an opening section; not to mention the separate division of muwaššaḥ strophic poems, or the section of liturgical poems constituting a blessing unto itself and an independent volume. It becomes clear, at any rate, that the problems surrounding the editing of Diwan R. Ḥiyya require an additional, external source of independent value.

3. The New Diwan

Apart from the classic diwan edited by R. Ḥiyya, the numerous manuscripts in St. Petersburg do offer an example of an editing carried out independently of R. Ḥiyya's work. Not only does such an editing exist, but it is even represented by two separate manuscripts, the work of different copyists. For the sake of convenience, we shall term MS Firk. EBp. IIA 44-1 as "Manuscript A", and MS Firk. EBp. IIA 208-1 as "Manuscript B". "Manuscript B" contains 39 leaves in which there are no ordinal numbers heading the poems, and is apparently more ancient than its heftier comrade of 66 leaves. Both manuscripts have a sequence of poems (254, 220, 159, 259, 241, 253) that are totally unlike any sequence found in Diwan R. Ḥiyya. Furthermore, the Arabic incipits heading each poem are independent and different from the ones of Diwan R. Ḥiyya. One of the most important features of this editing is the group of later poems (Nos. 343-350 of Diwan Ḥiyya) composed in Christian Spain, appearing at the top of the New Diwan (in "Manuscript A") as poems 3-10, exactly as called for if indeed the Christian north witnessed Halevi's first poetic output. And if we assume that this group of poems was somewhat tardy in reaching R. Ḥiyya the Moroccan, we may perhaps comprehend how these early poems came to be relegated to the end of his own Diwan.

But we shall turn now to the poems appearing at the beginning of the New Diwan, examining them in light of Diwan R. Ḥiyya as well as the second quire of "Manuscript B", preserved in its entirety. One of these poems opens with the words "It's not the clouds that have opened wide / But my own two eyes that tears

36. Neubauer (1886: 650-651).

have cried" (לא העננים הם אשר נבקעו / כי אם שתי עיני אשר דמעו).[37] This poem contains the reply to a question posed by a friend of the poet's from the port city of Denia along the eastern Spanish coast. The question-poem is headed in the New Diwan with the simple Arabic incipit: וכתב אליה בעץ אכואנה יסלה הל טלّ עדארה ("And one of his friends wrote to inquire if a beard had yet sprouted on his cheeks").[38] And within the short poem we do indeed find the question framed in the last line: "And who knows if thy vigour has been abated and lost / and hair darkened thy white moons"(ומי ידע הנס לחך ואבד / והשער היחשיך סהרך)[39] As it turns out, the young Judah and the friend from Denia had parted ways before Halevi's beard had begun to grow. The friend therefore inquires if the whiteness of his cheeks —the moon— had yet been darkened by a cloud of facial beard. Halevi responds by opening his poem with a long complaint against the cruelty of Fate and the forever-lost days of youth. Only later on, in the body of the poem, does he finally come around to answering the question at hand.

> Thou askest if my vigour is yet abated: Gently now, recall not /
> Images long since tainted
> Thou would'st behold a visage colored in glory and grace /
> That have by gloomy Fate alas been painted
>
> (*Diwan Brody*, vol. I, p. 96)
>
> שואל הנס לחי לאט אל תזכרה / הם התמונות שכבר גועו
> לו תחזה פנים צבועי הוד וחן / איכה בקדרות הזמן נצבעו

Halevi responds therefore, that the rosy pink cheeks are now covered by the feathery down of a black beard, that gloomy child of Fate. Scholarly research has tended to accept the bitter complaint against cruel Face and lost youth according to its literal meaning, and not as a literary convention typical to this poetic genre. Shirmann's biographical study of Halevi even presented this poetic exchange with the city of Denia as an event occurring in the poet's old age.[40] Yet there is obviously no similarity between the youth (נעורים) alluded to by Judah Halevi —who had only just now sprouted his first beard— and the youth that had long

37. Brody, *Diwan*, vol. I, p. 95.

38. In the reading of the Arabic incipits I was assisted by my friend and colleague, J. Blau and cf. Ratzhabi (1993: 56-57).

39. *Ibid.*, no. 36, commentary p. 160. The word ידע according to MS Cambridge TS Misc. 35.74.

40. Shirmann (1979: 289).

been lost according to Shirmann's interpretation. Research was also misled by attributing a metaphorical meaning to the "gloom of Fate", rather than accepting its simple meaning of a black beard. This is, of course, the reverse side of the error by which scholars held fast to a literal interpretation of the garden and imposing house mentioned earlier (גן אהב, בית מידות), seeing them as the home of Moses ibn Ezra rather than according to their metaphorical meaning. All in all —a case of mis-placed metaphors.

Let us keep in mind that Judah Halevi was famous for his talent of reviving old and worn-out metaphors, infusing them with renewed strength and vigour. Years after his death, one venerable old-timer was still relating the following anecdote: It happened once, that several of the great Spanish sages, Halevi included, were clustered together and engaged deep in conversation. Suddenly a beautiful woman appeared in the room, turning heads and causing the men to lose their thread of conversation. Between one thing and another, the woman began speaking with her escort and —lo and behold!— she emitted a harsh and rasping voice. Taking charge of the situation, Judah Halevi uttered there on the spot an ancient rabbinic legalism: "The mouth that restrains is the mouth that releases" (Mishna, Ketuboth 2:2).[41] The mouth intended by the ancient rabbis was, of course, a metonym for the religious authority entrusted with the legal right to forbid or permit, to restrain or release. By taking the word "mouth" out of its stern and legalistic context and restoring it to its simple flesh-and-blood meaning, Halevi succeeded in dissipating the tension and general discomfiture caused by the woman's appearance in the room.

Great indeed was Halevi's ability in such metaphoric games, employing it as early as his youthful poem about his sprouting beard. Further on he continues to breathe fresh life into the thread-worn literary convention dealing with the beard of young boys. According to the rules of this convention, the young boy ceases to be an object of "love" once his beard makes its debut. Complaining about those people who betrayed him now that his youthful appearance had vanished, the poet beseeches his young friend in Denia not to be as faithless as the rest.

On the subject of these first bristles Judah Halevi wrote several bantering epigrams. In one of these the poet rails against his friends of youth for having been a slave to the fresh glow of his cheeks alone. Yet his complaints are to no

41. Joseph ibn Aknin, *Revelation of Mysteries and Emergence of Lights* [a commentary to the Song of Songs], trans. A. S. Halkin [Hebrew], Jerusalem 1964, pp. 176-179; Abramson (1970: 398-399).

avail. "All that belongs to the past" he is told; those black bristles across his cheeks have released them from bondage. Turning to his former devotees he asks:

> Have not my cheeks since youth held you in submission?
> את אהבי אשאל הלא אתם / עבדי לחיי מימי נערות

Only to be told:

> Tis so, but they sprouted and wrote the writ of manumission
> כן הוא אבל צמחו / ויכתבו לנו שטר חירות[42]

But leaving behind Halevi's youthful indiscretions we shall return once again to our new Diwan and its editing. A hint of the connection linking the New Diwan with the Christian north emerges from a unique dirge that Halevi composed about a pogrom against the Jewish community in Toledo.[43] In this dirge the poet relates that the Jews of the land had ever lived in security and serenity, even serving as advisors to the Court and to the King himself —Alphonso VI, hero of the Reconquista of Toledo (1085). With the death of King Alphonso (June 1109)[44] —the poet goes on to say— the atmosphere of ostensible tranquility gave way to hidden malice, though the massacre of the Jews was for some reason postponed by the mobs to the following day. The poem unfortunately breaks off before the description of the massacre, but we can reconstruct something of the spirit of its content on the basis of the famous dirge[45] composed by Halevi a year earlier (May 1108), in the wake of the death of Solomon ibn Feruziel. Nephew of the famous statesman Cidiello, Solomon had been murdered along the roads while on a mission of State to the Queen of Aragon. In view of the fact that this dirge even in its fragmented version was preserved in the New Diwan alone, we might possibly infer that it was utilized and cultivated just in those very areas that were not graced by a visit from R. Ḥiyya the Moroccan. And if our suggestion is at all tenable, such an area would inevitably, be the Christian north. Passage between north and south was to become increasingly difficult with time, so that not even a single fragment of the dirge made its way into the Cairo Genizah.

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42. Brody, *Diwan*, vol. II, p. 308, and also *ibid*, pp. 236, 290.

43. Vilsker (1982: 130-134); Yarden, *The Liturgical Poetry* (above no. 12), vol III, pp. 893-894.

44. Baer (1978: 51).

45. Brody, *Diwan*, vol. II, p. 98. The simile, off-handed as it were, of course refers to the Christian icons: "And will lay down all her multitudes like all idols of her gods" (וישכיב כל המונה ככל צלמי אשריה).

Constituting the richest source of medieval literary remains, the Cairo Genizah does indeed abound with material from Andalusia, yet only very little of this material derives from Christian lands.[46] In the end, not even the painstaking Yeshu'ah Halevi, who did everything in his power to assemble a complete poetic corpus, ever saw either the dirge for Toledo or this edition that we have termed the New Diwan. To all appearances, he has brought nothing from it at all.

Additional evidence concerning the New Diwan may also be gleaned from the *kharjas*, poetic devises that embellished the concluding hemstitches of strophic poetry (*muwaššaḥ*) with snatches of popular sayings or folk-songs. The orthography of Hispano-Romance words in the *kharjas* of several of the *muwaššaḥ* poems may also indicate the peripheral location of the editor/copyist, far from the centers of Arab culture. According to this orthography, the long vowel formed at the back of the palate [ū] at the end of a word is consistently indicated by the Hebrew letter ה[47], just like the third person possessive suffix of similar pronunciation in spoken Arabic.[48] In the parallel Arabic version of the Hispano-Romance *kharjas* these vowels were considered as final vowels and not indicated at all,[49] and in Diwan R. Ḥiyya they were indicated by the conventions of Hebrew spelling with the Hebrew ו[50]. The orthography employing the letter ה is apt to have characterized one of the many refugees fleeing Andalusia. For such emigrants the orthography of classical Arabic became increasingly lax over time, even though it was retained as the language of writng.[51]

Of the conjectured time period of the editor of the New Diwan we can apparently learn from one of the incipits in the section of liturgical poetry. Here

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46. Schirmann (1980: 111-112).

47. Cf. אלינה (alyenu), שאנה (senu), אלבה (albo) and more (S. M. Stern, 1974: 138-142). שנאלה (sin elu), פור אלה (por elu) (I. Benabu & J. Yahalom, 1986: 154). The use of the Hebrew א to indicate the vowel [e] results from the diffusion of the *imala* in Spanish Arabic —see: H. B. Singer (1969: 33-36; Levine (1972: 64-69).

48. Cf. the kharjas rhyming with the recurring strophic rhyme [u]: חקָּה \ יעשקָּה (*The Poetry of Isaac b. Abraham Ibn Ezra*, ed. M. H. Shmelzer, New York 1981, p. 155; the vowel signs above the ק are indicated in the MS). בעינה / בינה (Schirmann, 1946: 181). דינה / ימינה (Shirmann, 1965: 356). אשרקה / עשקה (ibid., p. 366 and in the variants נעשקו ,אשרקו). Also חבה ,יעאנקה / ונעשקה טרקה / בתעניקה (Brody, Diwan, vol. I, pp. 196, 201). Concerning the pronuntiation of this in Spanish Arabic see: F. Corriente (1977: 97-98).

49. Cf. Jones (1988: 102-103, 113, 132-133)

50. Cf. אליאנו (alyenu), שאנו (senu), אלבו (albo) (Stern, 1974: 138,142); שנאלו (sin elu), פדילו (por elu) (Benabu & Yahalom, 1986:154).

51. Cf. Baer (1938: 13-20).

the editor informs us that he had heard from his master, who had heard it from Judah Halevi, that the liturgical poem beginning "I shall open the gates of my rejoicing" (אפתחה שערי רנני) was the first poem composed in his youth. According to this, the editor of the New Diwan is a link in the chain of transmission extending back to the great poet himself.[52]

The Arabic incipits of the New Diwan, due to their independent standing, are a not disappointing font of information about the poet and his poetry. This is partially due to the opportunity we now have for comparing with incipits that have been obscure up until now.

4. The Final Chapter in the Life of Judah Halevi

One of the most problematic issues hovering over Halevi's emigration to the Holy Land is his prolonged sojourn in Egypt. The poet cast anchor in Alexandria on September 8, 1140, a week before the Jewish High Holidays, and it was only six months later, during the week of Pentecost, that he sailed away from the city. The interim was spent hobnobbing with the wealthy grandees of Alexandria and composing light and worldly verses. Even frivolous subjects —such as the ponds and fountains decorating the luxurious gardens of the wealthy— found a place in his poems during this period. Not without reason did people suggest that such things were a bit out of keeping for a pilgrim intent upon reaching the Holy Land. But the worst of all occurrs sometime before Hanukah, when Halevi sailed up the Nile on his way to Cairo.[53] Assuming that Halevi intended to make the journey by sea, as indeed transpired in the end, this is a grave deviation from the route of a holy pilgrim. Unless, of course, we presume that he sought to make the journey by land —and such indeed turns out to be the case. It was for this reason that the poet hastened to Cairo just after the holidays spent in Alexandria, hoping thereby to shorten the journey. From Cairo he also made the first attempt to set out for the city of Gaza prior to the tenth of Teveth, but this attempt, like others that apparently followed it its wake, proved unsuccessful.

Testimony of a pilgrim from the early 12th century appears in a letter sent from Alexandria by a Jew of Spain (or North Africa). In this letter the pilgrim explicitly records: "I went from Alexandria to Cairo in order to make the journey

52. Starkova (1960: 6-7); Vilsker (1982:134; 1983:150-151). This could possibly be understood that the teacher of the editor heard this about the poet, or even that it all stems from an overly literal interpretation of the words "I shall open rejoicing".

53. Goitein (1959b: 51).

(literally: "the ascent") to Jerusalem from there.[54] Such was apparently Judah Halevi's plan of action, as emerges from a poem (היוכלו פגרים) headed in the New Diwan by a lengthy Arabic incipit: "And when he was overcome with longing for it [for the Holy Land] he decided to journey thither, and seeking encouragement from his friends they pressed him to stay with them and then said..."upon which begins the opening lines of this lovely poem.[55]

Spinning out his plans for the journey, Halevi paints a vivid picture of the hardships along the way: "And fear and trembling...to cast Spain behind...and to ride upon boats / and to tread lands of drought / the dens of lions / and the hillsides of tigers".[56] The journey to the Holy Land accordingly entailed a march across the desert (ציות), a reference most probably to the Desert of Sinai. Another danger facing the pilgrim was that of the highway robbers who roamed the deserts at will, not to mention the hazardous passage from Fatimid rule and the realm of Islam to Christian sovereignity of the Crusader Kingdom. With so perilous a journey stretching before him, Halevi stood in need of all possible assistance.[57]

Of an unsuccessful attempt to reach the Holy Land we learn from the incipit of one of the poems dedicated to Halevi's Cairo benefactor, Ḥalfon b. Nethanel ha-Levi al-Dimyaṭi, an eminent merchant well-known to Halevi from his frequent journeys to Spain: וקאל פי אלשיך אבי סעיד בן אלדמיאטי זל ענדמא אכד פי אלטריק מן אלעודה לה אלספר ואתפק (אראד), ("And he wrote about the distinguished Abu Said Ibn al-Dimyaṭi of blessed memory when he set off for the journey [in Diwan R. Ḥiyya: sought to journey] and it came about that he returned from the way").

The poem itself opens with an emotional declaration: "My heart awakens me to ascend to my Sanctuary and city" (לבי מעירי לעלות לבית קדשי ועירי).[58] The poet thereupon presents the circumvented journey as the work of Divine Providence, a heavenly omen like unto the one granted King Hezekiahu, for whose sake the shadow of the sundial had turned back a full ten degrees, so that morning

54. Goitein (1980: 252 and 327). And cf. the famous route of Judah Alharizi.

55. Brody, *Diwan*, vol. II p. 184.

56. "To tread lands of drought" can also be interpreted as a rhetorical flourish, signifying the dangers lurking ahead in a general sense. In any case, it appears already in *Keter Malkhut* of Solomon ibn Gabirol. See: Abramson (1965: 52). Cf. Shirmann (1979: 303).

57. Brody, *Diwan*, vol. I, p. 213. And the word "until" (עד) appears here in the Arabic meaning حتى that is: so that I might reach Jerusalem.

58. Brody, *Diwan*, vol. I, p. 73.

light shone upon him at night.[59] In retrospect, yet another miracle had been wrought for the poet: for had not the Lower Nile inundated the craggy mountains of Spain? This is, of course, by way of extolling the Egyptian merchant Ḥalfon, who was tending to all the needs of the Spanish Halevi. Nor was that all: Ḥalfon had even transformed the poet's sorrow into gladness. This thought was conveyed by means of a neat Hebrew word-play on the name "Ḥalfon" and the Hebrew linguistic root for "exchange" or "transform":

> Ḥalfon, as is called / exchanges sighs for tranquility
> A day of pillage and misfortune / tranformed to festivity.
> חלפון מקרא / מחליף אנחה בהנחה
> יום שוד וצרה / הפך ליום משתה ושמחה

Just exactly what that "pillage" was we shall apparently never know. At any rate, standing firmly to the right of the shattered and wayweary traveller we find a personage of redoubtable means. The poem concludes with a specific mention of the date (the fast on the tenth of the month of Teveth, December 22, 1140) by rhyming it into a reference of his benefactor Ḥalfon (צום העשירי / חגי ברב חלפון גבירי).

Before us, therefore, is important evidence that three and a half months from the day of the poet's arrival in Egypt —prior to the above mentioned fast of Teveth— Halevi had already attempted his luck at making the journey by land. The attempt ended in failure.

How many other attempts the poet made we have no way of knowing; but the entire project reached a crisis during the close of winter 1141. A letter dispatched from Alexandria informs him at this juncture that a place on the boat had yet to be obtained for him, inasmuch as he had not yet announced whither his steps were directed: eastwards, to the Holy Land, or westward —to Spain.[60] A sizeable faction of detractors had already accumulated in Alexandria from days of old, due to the hedonistic buoyancy that imbued some of his compositions, not to mention the wine-drinking poems and luxuriant descriptions of nature. Yet now it was not only the nature of his writing that they questioned, but the route of the journey itself.

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59. II Kings 20:9-11; Isaiah 38:8.
60. Goitein (1959a: 346, 353, 357).

Certain members of this group, as it turns out, began murmuring against Halevi for sailing up the Nile to Cairo, though the Holy Land was his goal. Responding to this criticism, Halevi wrote his well-know polemic poem: "To Egypt above all cities praise" (למצרים עלי כל עיר תהילה),[61] referring, of course, to the city of Fustat, the ancient Cairo of today. Apparently composed while yet in Cairo, Halevi appraises the superiority of the Holy Land while at the same time emphasizing the relative importance of Cairo. Employing the virtuoso use of a Hebrew linguistic root (עלה) and a play of homonyms, Halevi shows that whoever ascends up the Nile to such places —a mark of ascendance shall it be unto him.

But not for a man like Judah Halevi to rest content with the ascendancy of Cairo. After his efforts to cross the desert in winter had failed, and with the advent of spring, he resolved to try his luck by sea, calmed in the meanwhile from the tempests of winter. He therefore acquired passage for a sea voyage to the east. He boarded the boat on Thursday May 8th; the following Wednesday would mark the beginning of Pentecost. He spent a full seven days in anticipation of the Westwind that would urge the sails of his boat towards the coast of Acre —the great Crusader seaport of the Holy Land. To his misfortune, a strong easterly wind was blowing in those days.[62] But to our own great good fortune —it was apparently those very days in which Judah Halevi wrote some of his most beautiful poems of all.

After the tribulations of trying to cross the Muslim border by land, we can easily comprehend the small poem apparently composed on board his ship after long days in expectation of the Westwind (אלהי אל תשבר)[63]. In this poem he seeks to thank the Westwind that would bring him closer to the Crusader port and remove at long last the yoke of Islam. A poem that speaks of leaving the Arab regime could obviously not have been written on the way from Muslim Spain to Muslim Alexandria, nor on the way from Muslim Alexandria to Muslim Ashkelon. In order to understand the complexity of the poet, it is vital that we explore another facet of composition during this critical stage of his life. Instructive indeed is the fact that even in those same days prior to setting sail, Halevi continued to

61. Brody, *Diwan*, vol. II, p. 180) and thus does Prof. Ratzhabi translate the Arabic incipit (Neubauer, 1886: 658): What he said about those, who criticised him for going up to Fustat even though his desire was unto the Land of Israel. And he said in its praise...

62. See: Goitein (1977; 1959b: 55)

63. Brody, *Diwan*, vol. II, p. 168.

cultivate social ties with his bountiful Alexandrian patron, Aharon b. al-'Ammani. A poem[64] composed for al-'Ammani —"aboard ship" according to the Arabic incipit— expresses his gratitude to this same eastern wind; the one delaying him in Alexandria and allowing him to continue weaving the threads of friendship. We must keep in mind that small boats plying back and forth between the ship facilitated contact with the coast. A comparison between these two poems, the social-type poem and the one of personal lyric, is apt to be most illuminating. The personal lyric beseeches the Almightly not to quell the Westwind that had finally begun to stir, opening with a moving appeal: "My Lord, break not the breakers of the sea...till I have given thanks...unto the sea-waves and Westwind" (אלהי, אל תשבר משברי ים... עדי אודה... לגלי ים ורוח מערבי). The social-type poem of friendship, on the other hand, is launched by a witty invocation to the sea to desist from its storm, so that he might go ashore and kiss his benefactor. For the sake of social diversion, the poet was even ready to curse the Westwind that was to bring him to the Holy Land. In this same vein he even mulls over a question arising by itself, as it were, by sheer neccessity. With the blast of heat and the howl of the desert winds, how could a man possibly leave the shelter of his patron's home? Responding to this question with a dazzling play of sounds (חלף לצל קורת נות הרב / צלי מעון קריה למלך רב) the poet explains that in place of the sheltering oasis provided by his great benefactor he prefers the refuge of the Great King, of the Holy Sanctuary and city of the King who is King of all Kings.

Composed within a single week and practically in the same rhyme (רב / רבי), these two poems amply reflect the twin aspect inherent in the work and personality of the man of society, the great poet and the great believer.

Illuminating indeed is this last chapter in the life of the poet. From its vicissitudes do we learn the fate of an enlightened Hebrew figure in one of the stormiest periods ever weathered by Jewish culture. During that very time when the general tendency was to gravitate northward towards the burgeoning economic opportunities of the developing Christian kingdoms, the poet instead turned his gaze southwards. For in Andalusia were yet dwelling the great figures of Torah study and science, and the finest of poets still flourished therein in this, the spiritual center of Jewish culture. But the idealistic attempt ended in

64. *Ibid*, vol. I, p. 10. Goitein sees the poem as having been composed during the poet's first entry into the port of Alexandria, but if so it is difficult to understand the poem's reference to the sheltering home belonging to the subject of these panegyric lines. See: Goitein (1954: 28)

disappointment, with the eruption of a new wave of fanatic invaders from North Africa (1140). Abraham ibn Ezra departed, never again to return, directing his steps towards the lands of Christian Europe. The great Maimonides —alongside his father, Chief Judge Maimon— descended into the very eye of the cyclone itself, into the throbbing regions of North Africa. And Judah Halevi resolved to actualize his life's dream at long last —the Land of Israel.

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SUPPLEMNT

THE MAKING OF A DIWAN: THE VICISSITUDES OF TRANSMISSION

I. Printed Editions:

1. Samuel David Luzzatto, *Virgo Filia Jehuda*. Prague 1840.
2. Samuel David Luzzatto, *Diwan Yehuda ha-Levi*. Lyck 1864, (Society of Mekize Nirdanim [Rousers of Those Who Slumber]).
3. Heinrich (Hayyim) Brody, *Diwan des Abul-Hasan Jehuda ha-Levi*, vols. I-IV, Berlin 1894-1930 (Society of Mekize Nirdanim)
   [Facsimile edition with index by A.A. Haberman, 1971].
4. A. Harkavy, *Rabbi Yehudah ha-Levi*. Warsaw 1893-1895, vols. I-II, (Ahiasaf).

5. Dov Jarden, *The Liturgical Poetry of Rabbi Yehuda Halevi*, vols. I-IV, Jerusalem 1978.

II. Diwan Manuscripts and Fragments:

A. Diwan R. Ḥiyya the Maroccan (mid. 12th c.)

1. MS Bodl. 1970 —Maḥaneh Yehuda, the classic diwan (copy some 300 years old)
2. MS Firk. EBp. IIA 43 —secular potery; 56 leaves
3. MS Firk. EBp. IIA 206 —liturgical poetry; 65 leaves
4. MS Firk. EBp. IIA 209-1 —appended by R. David b. Maimon; 66 leaves
5. MS Bodl. 1971 —Diwan compiled by Yeshu'ah Halevi (13th c.) —Ms acquired by Luzzatto.

B. New Diwan

1. MS Firk. EBp IIA 44-1 (termed: Manuscript A)
2. MS Firk. EBp IIA 208-1 (termed: Manuscript B)
   (39 leaves w/o ordinal numbers)