The Literature of Al-Andalus

Edited by María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, Michael Sells

Book DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521471596

Online ISBN: 9781139177870

Hardback ISBN: 9780521471596

Paperback ISBN: 9780521030236

Chapter

24 - The Arabized Jews pp. 435-454

Chapter DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521471596.030

Cambridge University Press

CHAPTER 24

THE ARABIZED JEWS

Ross Brann

In the Muslim East, a literary intellectual of Arabic and Persian traditions might well earn the honorific *dhū l-lisānayn* – one who commanded the two principal languages in which Islamic culture was then conducted, preserved, and transmitted. Members of the Muslim *oikoumēnē* of a different order and a singular socioreligious condition, the Jews of al-Andalus also esteemed cultural literacy in two languages, one of which was Arabic. Moses Ibn Ezra's (d. c. 1138) epistolary lyric to Abū Ibrāhīm (Isaac) Ibn Barun (eleventh century), the author of a comparative grammar and lexicon, *Kitāb al-muwāzana bayn al-lugha al-ʿibrāniyya wa l-ʿarabiyya* (Book of Comparison between the Hebrew and Arabic Languages), and Judah Halevi's (d. 1141) rhymed-prose salute to Ibn Ezra, the venerable dean of Andalusi-Jewish letters, among many texts expressing similar sentiments, unambiguously set forth the Andalusi Jews' cultural ideal valorizing Arabic as well as Hebrew learning. Other texts authored by these figures bespeak a more complex and ambivalent sense of the Jews' multiple cultural loyalties.

The literary culture of the Arabized Jews of al-Andalus represents, among other things, a particular instance of the general development of the Jews under Islam during the Middle Ages. Afforded economic opportunity, religious freedom, and social integration in the defined role of "protected people," Jews were also caught up in the intellectual stimulation and challenges of Islamic civilization. The principal means by which the Jews of Islam west of the Iranian plateau gained access to the economic and social domain of Islam as well as its cultural realm was their apparently swift adoption of Arabic as the language of everyday life, an accommodation that also saw them employ Arabic as their primary although not sole literary language. Structural affinities between Judaism and Islam as well as their unique historical experience and distinctive consciousness seemed to make for a relatively smoother cultural transition for the Jews than the more numerous and less uniformly urban Christians of al-Andalus. Yet, if the process of Arabization produced similar results for the Jews of North Africa and the Muslim East, we must direct our

attention to what was specific about the literary culture of the Jews of al-Andalus, that is, the cultural life of Jewish elites whose material prosperity, involvement in Andalusi public affairs and administration, communal responsibilities and significance in Jewish history belie their genuinely small numbers (Wasserstein, "Jewish Elites" 103).

Arabization of the Jews in the Muslim East led to fundamental changes in the articulation of Jewish culture during the ninth and tenth centuries, especially in the fields of law, liturgy, and theology, as evidenced in the foundational accomplishments of Saadiah ben Joseph al-Fayyūmī (d. 942), the eminent head (*ga'on*) of one of the rabbinical academies in Iraq, and in the work of North African scholars such as Isaac Israeli, Judah Ibn Quraysh, and Dunash Ibn Tamīm. But the Arabized Jews were arguably nowhere as open to participation in the wider culture nor as productive in remaking Jewish culture as in al-Andalus from the mid-tenth through the mid-twelfth centuries. Not only did Andalusi Jews deepen the engagement with Arabic verse and adab works, scientific learning, mystical piety, and speculative thought, but they also composed poetry and wrote metaphysical works and scientific studies of general interest in Arabic. By the middle of the eleventh century, their contribution to scientific tradition was impressive enough to warrant review in Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī's (d. 1069) *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* (Categories of Nations), where the grammarian Jonah Ibn Janāḥ (b. c. 990) is said to have possessed "an immense knowledge of Arabic and Hebrew," and the erudite courtier Abū l-Faḍl Ibn Ḥasdai (Saragossa, eleventh century) is credited with having "learned with precision the Arabic language, its rhetoric, and the composition of poetry" (88–90), a judgment corroborated by Moses Ibn Ezra, who refers to him as having "a perfect mastery of poetry and sermonic discourse in Hebrew and Arabic" (68 [38b]).

Andalusi Jews, including a woman named Qasmūna, composed Arabic poetry sufficiently noteworthy to be transmitted by al-Maqqarī in his presentation on the literary merits of the people of al-Andalus (3:522–30). Collections of Andalusi-Arabic lyrics include verses of at least eleven Jewish poets. Abū Ayyūb ibn al-Muʿallim, a physician and scholar of religious law who "performs sorcery in both languages [i.e., Arabic and Hebrew]," according to Moses Ibn Ezra (78 [42b]), is represented in Ibn Saʿīd's anthology, *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn wa-ghāyāt al-mumayyazīn* (Banners of the Champions and Standards of the Elite) (134–35; Stern, "Arabic Poems"). Ibrāhīm ibn Sahl al-Ishbīlī (d. 1251) was an important Andalusi-Arabic poet and courtier of Jewish origin who converted to Islam. Some Arabic poems composed by Jews did not find their way into collections of Arabic verse and did not survive. For example, Joseph Ibn Nagrila (d. 1066) relates that as a young lad he received a little set of Arabic poems from his father, Samuel Ibn Nagrila (Samuel the

Nagid), for him to master (Jarden 66). Indeed, the great Andalusi historian Ibn Ḥayyān presents the elder Ibn Nagrila as follows: "He wrote in both languages, Arabic and Hebrew. He knew the literatures of both peoples. He went deeply into the principles of the Arabic language and was familiar with the works of the most subtle grammarians" (Ibn al-Khaṭīb 1:438; Schippers, *Spanish Hebrew Poetry* 54–55). Joseph seems to have followed his father's example, for Moses Ibn Ezra observes that "after Hebraica, his knowledge was greatest in Arabic lore, its language, poetry, popular songs, history, historiography and traditions" (66 [35a]). It is worth noting that al-Maqqarī also reports of Andalusi Jews engaged in the study of Arabic grammar, although he does not mention either Ibn Nagrila in this regard but Ibrāhīm ibn Sahl (5:69).

Other sources and texts also seem to establish individual Jews as participants in a shared Andalusi cultural experience. Reports of individuals such as Abū l-Naṣr al-Manṣūr, apparently a Jewish musician employed at the Umayyad court of al-Ḥakam I (d. 822) (Ashtor 1:66–67; al-Maqqarī 3:124–25), indicate the involvement of Andalusi Jews in the general cultural life during the ninth century, more than a century before we are able to speak of an Andalusi-Jewish literary culture. Solomon Ibn Gabirol, a literary intellectual of the eleventh century, is best known to Jewish history as a philosophically minded Andalusi-Hebrew poet. But apart from his resplendent collection of Hebrew devotional poems and singularly original (secular) diwan, Ibn Gabirol appears as a writer of Arabic speculative and ethical works. *The Source of Life* (Lat. *Fons vitae*; Heb. *Meqor ḥayyim*), whose original is lost, is expressly devoted to general philosophy with barely a mention of concerns specific to Judaism; *Iṣlāḥ al-akhlāq ʿalā rāʾy afāḍil al-ḥukamaʾ al-mutaqaddimīn* (Improvement of the Moral Qualities), which was copied in Arabic script, treats ethical issues associated with each of the five senses. Biblical proof texts are cited, but only in support of the philosophical presentation (Wise; Tobi 294). According to recent discoveries from the Cairo Geniza, Ibn Gabirol may well have authored a collection of Arabic aphorisms that has survived only in Hebrew as *Mivḥar ha-peninim* (Choice Pearls) (Ben-Shammai). Similarly, Moses Maimonides (b. 1138) significantly contributed to several fields of medical research, and his youthful clarification of philosophical terminology, *Maqāla fī ṣināʿat al-manṭiq* (Treatise on the Art of Logic), appears to have been addressed to a Muslim dignitary and scholar of religious law (Kraemer, "Maimonides" 77–78).

In the final analysis, however, Andalusi-Jewish culture is not remembered for the few Arabic works authored by Jews and directed to a general, as opposed to a specifically, Jewish audience. More particularly, the Jews of al-Andalus turned from a narrowly traditional, rabbinic homiletic and legal

intellectual regimen to strictly rationalist methods of studying their own heritage. They cultivated an ambitious program of Arabic-language, Hebrew, and Bible-centered studies (grammar, philology/lexicography, textual exegesis, and systematic theology) that far eclipsed the first efforts in this field undertaken during the ninth and tenth centuries in Iraq, Palestine, and North Africa. Although many important Arabic texts from this period have been lost, fragments discovered in the Cairo Geniza provide us with sufficient material to speak of established circles of philologists, grammarians, exegetes, pietists, and philosopher-theologians who contributed surpassing Arabic-language philological and grammatical studies on Hebrew, commentaries on the twenty-four books of the Hebrew Bible, and devotional and systematic philosophical reflections on Jewish belief. With the exception of Moses Maimonides, who spent the first part of his life in al-Andalus before fleeing to the Maghrib, none were polymaths on the order of Ibn Ḥazm, at least according to the reckoning of extant works. But Andalusi-Jewish scholars commanded every learned discipline of the period: the aforementioned Samuel the Nagid (966–1056) was a grammarian, exegete, talmudic scholar, and an Arabic and Hebrew poet; Isaac Ibn Ghiyāth (d. 1089), the preeminent rabbinic authority of the talmudic academy at Lucena, was a grammarian, exegete, and Hebrew poet; Judah Halevi, a physician, theologian, and Hebrew poet; and Abraham Ibn Ezra (d. 1164), a mathematician, astronomer, grammarian, philosopher, exegete, translator/adaptor, and poet, and among the first intellectuals profoundly involved in Arabic learning to write exclusively in Hebrew.

Arabic works by these and other figures attained canonical status in Jewish tradition, largely through Hebrew adaptations produced for the benefit of communities beyond *dār al-islām*. Notable among these translated texts are Baḥya Ibn Paquda's manual of Jewish piety, *al-Hidāya ilā farā'iḍ al-qulūb* (Book of Direction to the Duties of the Heart), Jonah Ibn Janāḥ's two-part Hebrew grammar, *Kitāb al-luma'* (Book of Radiance) and *Kitāb al-uṣūl* (Book of Hebrew Roots), Judah Halevi's enthusiastic defense of rabbinic Judaism, *Kitāb al-radd wa l-dalīl fī l-dīn al-dhalīl/al-Kitāb al-khazarī* (Book of Refutation and Proof: On the Abased Faith/The Khazarian Book), and *Dalālat al-ḥā'irīn* (Guide of the Perplexed) by Moses Maimonides. On account of these works and their liturgical and secular Hebrew poetry, the Andalusi Jews' literary legacy came to be deemed the most significant manifestation of Jewish culture under Islam, the cultural products of what was later deemed the Golden Age.

What is the significance of the Andalusi Jews' engagement with and participation in Arabo-Islamic culture and the particularly Jewish purposes to

which they applied the language and intellectual and spiritual agenda of the dominant culture? Andalusi-Jewish literary culture across the disciplines is typically presented as a reflection of Arabo-Islamic "influence" (e.g., Halkin, "Judeo-Arabic Literature"; Vajda; Dana, "Influence"; Schippers, *Spanish Hebrew Poetry* 2–3), or as an imitative, competitive, or defensive reaction to the Jews' minority status as *dhimmī*s within the Muslim polity of al-Andalus (Schippers, "Arabic"; Ratzaby 331–32). Developments in Judeo-Arabic poetics and in Hebrew language and Bible-centered studies at the center of the Andalusi-Jewish curriculum are frequently portrayed as apologetic or polemical in nature if not altogether accommodating toward the prestigious and appealing majority culture. In particular, Moses Ibn Ezra, the author of four Arabic works on Andalusi-Jewish poetics and cultural history (two of which have come down to us), is singled out for embracing Arabo-Islamic cultural norms to the point of literary assimilation (Allony).

For all their apparent differences, these approaches share a set of reflexive assumptions about the significance of the Jews' Arabization in al-Andalus. It is, after all, far easier to describe texts and identify their ties to Arabic sources as "influences" and "reactions" borne out of the Jews' minority status than to attempt a more nuanced conceptualization of the Jews' complex interaction with Arabic culture in al-Andalus. So long as the Arabo-Islamic culture and society of al-Andalus are couched almost exclusively in terms of religious identity, it will always appear as though the Jews were marginal, on the outside looking in, overwhelmed by, reacting to, and dependent on the dominant majority culture. It follows according to the most extreme formulation of this approach that their Judeo-Arabic culture will seem the symbiosis of "two wholly separate cultures" (Blau, *Emergence* 35) – a culture by Andalusi Jews that happens to be written in Arabic, a linguistic accident, as it were, in which the language of discourse implies little about cultural identity. If we insist on reading everything the Jews wrote in terms of a religious identity consciously in opposition to Islam, we can conjure plenty of evidence from polemical and theological texts, liturgical poetry, and occasional writings to reinforce a sense of the Jews' otherness and their separation from fellow speakers, readers, and writers of Arabic in al-Andalus. I do not mean to minimize that sense of otherness or the historical experience that informed it. But such conscious reflections on their religious and literary identity in al-Andalus, although highly significant, account for only part of the cultural reality and may reflect, among other things, a sense of intellectual and religious embattlement and the Jews' unease over their linguistic, cultural, and social assimilation whose dangers were all too apparent (Kraemer, "Andalusian Mystic" 62).

From the middle of the tenth century until the dislocation of the Jewish

communities of al-Andalus under the Almohads (c. 1145), a clear division of linguistic functions is said to have prevailed in the making of Jewish culture: Hebrew was reserved almost exclusively for literary-aesthetic functions (i.e., for devotional and secular poetry, and ornate, formal rhymed prose) and Arabic for various communicative functions (Drory, "Words" 61–63). Even Hebrew literary intellectuals such as Solomon Ibn Gabirol and Judah Halevi, who professed ideological commitments to Hebrew, were swept along by the reality of life in a society dominated by the compelling power and appeal of Arabic learning, as well as by the ease of expressing themselves in the spoken language of their country.

Texts seemingly resistant to one of the dominant Arabo-Islamic cultural paradigms and taken as evidence, say, of Jewish pietism, dissatisfaction with life in a Muslim society, or contention with Islam were also written in Arabic and are equally reflective of the way that language is embedded in their own textual experience and inner consciousness. That is the ironic significance of the reticulation of Ibn Paquda's work of Jewish ethics and stinging social critique (*al-Hidāya ilā farāʾiḍ al-qulūb*; Safran) with Sufi terms and ideas (Goldreich), or the inventive Judaizing intersection of Judah Halevi's aforementioned defense of rabbinic Judaism (a work religiously critical of the Aristotelian worldview associated with Ibn Bājja's philosophy) with conceptual elements and terminology of Ismāʿīlī (Shiite) tradition (Pines; Lobel). Even in the restricted domain of Jewish law (in the form of responsa, talmudic treatises, synthetic legal commentaries, and systematic digests of halakah), the Arabic language served as a mediator of Arabo-Islamic culture and the point of interface between Arabo-Islamic and Jewish culture (Goitein, "Interplay"; Libson 235). Rather than viewing the Jews' Arabization as a sign of external "influence," perhaps we can take it as evidence of their circumscribed cultural convergence within the multiethnic, multireligious configuration of Andalusi society.

Counter to models treating Andalusi-Jewish culture as self-contained and segregated, as an expression of the Jews' minority status, or as their defensive reaction to Arabic influence, the impulse to produce and consume Arabic and Hebrew culture has been studied as a sign of the ambiguity and conflict central to Andalusi-Jewish identity (Scheindlin, "Rabbi"; Brann, *Compunctious Poet*). It has also been presented as evidence of a simultaneous cultural closeness and distance (Wasserstein, *Rise and Fall* 216, 219), and a symbiotic cultural duality of Jewish and Arabic elements cultivated by Andalusi-Jewish elites (Scheindlin, *Gazelle* 3–6; Goitein, *Jews and Arabs* 131–67). Another of the more considered interpretive paradigms put forward speaks of "literary contacts" and "cultural interference" producing Judeo-Arabic including Andalusi-Jewish culture (Drory, "Literary Contacts").

These approaches have the benefit of moving literary history beyond notions of the "influence" one culture exerts on another, especially when it comes to the complex relationship among majority and minority cultures. Nevertheless, the literary historians' principal focus on texts tends to call attention to instances of direct literary influence or outright imitation (Drory, "Literary Contacts" 278–79), especially as literary activity is reflected in new poetic styles, literary genres, or specifically appropriated analytic methods and discursive terminologies.

If we set out to determine what Andalusi Jews were reading, say Jonah Ibn Janāḥ as a student of al-Sībawayhī or al-Mubarrad, Ibn Paquda as a reader of al-Muḥāsibī, or Solomon Ibn Gabirol, the Neoplatonic thinker and poet, as a possible devotee of *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'*, we are certain to find ourselves drawn to traces of texts, to specific literary models and their "contacts" and "influences," because what an author reads always conditions and informs what he thinks and writes. Such an approach, however unavoidable for the literary historian or the historian of religion, essentializes textual traces and inadvertently obscures the internalization of culture through language – in this case, the internal processing of Arabic that preceded and then accompanied the consumption and production of Arabic texts among the Jews of al-Andalus. Accordingly, the Andalusi Jews' own literary output is not only textual evidence of their literary contacts or conscious efforts at grafting the stuff of Arabo-Islamic culture onto their own tradition but also the resultant end product of the otherwise undetectable process of their Arabization.

Before the emergence of their literary culture in the mid-tenth century, the Jews of al-Andalus had been speaking Arabic for generations and thereby came to think in and view the world through the medium of that language. As Frantz Fanon put it, "to speak a language is to take on a world, a culture" (38). Because language structures reality through preexistent cognitive ingredients thereby informing the experience of its speakers (Berger and Luckman), Andalusi-Jewish culture cannot be reduced to the studied, conscious application of Arabo-Islamic terminology, discursive forms, and modes of thought to the essence of Jewish tradition. Rather, their literary culture also represents their instinctive, creative refraction of the language, forms, and substance of Arabo-Islamic learning in the form of a Jewish subcultural adaptation and thus amounts to textual evidence of the Jews' occasionally shared participation in Andalusi intellectual life.

Apart from their specifically religious observances, practices, beliefs, and their distinctive sense of history, the Jews' Arabization fully integrated them into the pluralistic Andalusi scene. Arabic language and culture not only surrounded the Jews in the speech and writings of their Muslim (and

Christian) neighbors so as to influence them as cultural others; but also and more pertinently, Arabic was the linguistic medium central to the Andalusi-Jewish experience. Indeed, it was the agency responsible for their intellectual and social integration, which along with their full participation in the political economy of al-Andalus and their inspired attachment to the country they called Sefarad marked them as Andalusis.

Led by a class of international merchants with an acute interest in the life of the mind, the Jews' thorough social and economic integration fostered relationships with Andalusi Muslims, the details of which have been preserved in the documents of the Cairo Geniza and studied by S. D. Goitein in his magisterial *Mediterranean Society* (see also Constable 54–62, 85–96). Surviving accounts of cultural liaisons involve physicians, scientists, and philosophers where the field of knowledge was decidedly interconfessional. That is the context of Moses Maimonides' notice of having "read texts" "under the guidance" of one of Ibn Bājja's pupils (2:268). Reports of several close cultural encounters have also been transmitted in historical and literary sources, giving us a glimpse of the nexus between the Jews' socioeconomic integration and their participation in Andalusi culture. Ibn Bassam relates that a Jew named Joseph Ibn Isḥāq al-Isrāʾīlī apparently belonged to a literary circle led by the distinguished poet Abū ʿĀmir Ibn Shuhayd. The master poet is said to have appreciated the Jew's intelligence and literary talent, especially after he bested a Muslim in a poetic contest (1:233; Ashtor 3:98). In *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* (The Dove's Neckring), Ibn Shuhayd's close friend Ibn Ḥazm mentions his fraternizing visits with a Jewish physician and herbalist in Almería (67). Of course, such encounters could be contentious rather than collegial. Ibn Ḥazm reports in *al-Fiṣal fī l-milal* (Book of Schisms and Sects) having had exchanges of both varieties with Jewish scholars, including his meetings with Samuel Ibn Nagrila (1:152–53).

Moses Ibn Ezra's abundant references to the Qurʾan in *Kitāb al-muḥāḍara wa l-mudhākara* (Book of Conversation and Deliberation) indicate that Andalusi Jews had ready access to this material and learned from it. On occasion, they even called on such knowledge in surprisingly frank discussions with Muslims, as demonstrated by Ibn Ezra's famous and implicitly polemical exchange with a "great Islamic scholar" on the problem of translating the Ten Commandments and the *Fātiḥa* (Opening) respectively (Rosenthal 19; Ibn Ezra 42–44 [24a]]). The account of this episode tacitly presents the Hebrew Bible as a kind of "Jewish Qurʾan," a construct made explicit elsewhere when Ibn Ezra refers to the Hebrew Bible as *umm al-kitāb*, *nuṣūṣ*, or simply *qurʾān* (28 [15b], 254 [133b], 54 [29a]).

Another compelling illustration of the Andalusi Jews' direct intellectual engagement with Muslims is available in Joseph Ibn ʿAqnīn's (b. Barcelona,

twelfth century) *Inkishāf al-asrār wa-ẓuhūr al-anwār* (Revelation of the Secrets and the Appearance of the Lights), a philosophical commentary on the biblical Song of Songs replete with references to Arabic poetry and speculative thought. Ibn ʿAqnīn relates an incident involving the Andalusi-Jewish physician Abū l-Ḥasan Meir Ibn Qamniʾel in which Ibn Qamniʾel witnessed another Jewish physician present an exoteric view of the Song of Songs before the Almoravid emir Ibn Tāshfīn. Appalled at what he viewed as an ill-informed colleague's foolish performance, Ibn Qamniʾel interceded to convince the emir of the sacred text's properly spiritualized reading. His preferred hermeneutic approach proved to be *taʾwīl* (490), the interreligious method familiar to Muslims, Christians, and Jews alike. Other examples could be offered, but in each of these instances Andalusi Jews can be observed "speaking the same language" as their Muslim informants, counterparts, and interlocutors, regardless of the differing contexts and subject matters at hand. By "speaking the same language," I mean not merely Arabic but various representative Arabo-Islamic discursive languages and idioms put to use in the elaboration of Jewish culture.

The reports of close cultural encounters and the literary activity across the disciplines briefly surveyed permit us to identify the Jews of al-Andalus as part-time members of a larger linguistic community without impermeable religious boundaries. They spoke the Andalusi dialect of Middle Arabic, wrote in various stylistic registers (shifting along the continuum of Arabic multiglossia), differing from their Muslim neighbors in supplementing their speech and writings with Hebrew (and Aramaic) loanwords of obvious religious significance and in their preference for writing Arabic in the Hebrew script (Goitein, *Mediterranean* 1:16; Hary 77). That language as well as religion and ties to place served as principal emblems of the Arabized Jews' self-definition is suggested in works Maimonides composed after leaving Spain. Where his usage differs from the closely related Egyptian Maghribi Arabic, Maimonides refers to the Andalusi dialect with the phrase *ʿindanā fī l-andalus* (Blau, "Maimonides"). Maimonides' practice appears to illustrate the secondary linguistic grounding of the concept of *waṭan*, the attachment to homeland that may have transcended religious community (Goitein, *Mediterranean* 2:274; Constable 57).

The interpretative paradigm outlined represents the Arabized culture of the Jews of al-Andalus as a rereading and rewriting of their tradition in Arabic according to the literary and cultural conventions of that language. They were doing what comes naturally and authentically – reflecting on their religious tradition through their spoken language according to the preferred intellectual methods and literary models of their time and place. Looked at in this way, the consequence of the Jews' Arabization was the deep penetration of

Arabic discursive vocabulary, literary genres, the conceptual frameworks of adab and *ḥikma* along with the absorption of the aesthetic, rhetorical, and philosophical values of Andalusi Arabo-Islamic culture.

How exactly did Arabic play out in the inner and intellectual life of the Andalusi Jews and what consequences followed for the articulation of Andalusi-Jewish culture in Arabic and Hebrew? S. D. Goitein frequently observed we are almost entirely in the dark about Jewish existence under Islam, including a detailed picture of linguistic and cultural practice, before the tenth century by which time Jewish society, institutions, and culture had already been radically reshaped (*Jews and Arabs* 89–90). The available textual evidence suggests that a relatively small group of Andalusi-Jewish elites emerged during the middle of the tenth century. The figure usually associated with the appearance of an elite class of producers and consumers of Jewish culture in al-Andalus is Ḥasdai Ibn Shaprut (d. 975), a physician, secretary, and diplomat at the court of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī 88–89) also known for supposedly collaborating on an Arabic translation of a Greek pharmaceutical treatise. Ibn Shaprut's status at the Umayyad court doubtlessly contributed to his unparalleled authority within Andalusi-Jewish society for whom he is said to have established al-Andalus as an independent center of Jewish communal authority, learning, and culture (Ibn Ezra 56 [30a–b]). He further engaged in ambitious intercommunal correspondence with or on behalf of the Jews of other lands, notably the Khazars of the Caucasus region (incidentally the subject of considerable interest on the part of the Jews of al-Andalus), the ecumenical authorities of the Jewish community in Iraq, and the wife of the Byzantine emperor. Ibn Shaprut thus established a pattern of looking after communal interests, fostering literary patronage and in some cases religious scholarship that served as a model for high-minded Jewish courtiers during the period of the party kings: the inimitable Samuel Ibn Nagrila (Zirid Granada), Abraham Ibn al-Muhājir (Abbadid Seville), and Abū l-Faḍl Ibn Ḥasdai (Hudid Saragossa), who ultimately converted to Islam.

Apart from research in mathematics, astronomy, geography, and medicine, the Andalusi Jews' first surviving literary endeavors in specifically Jewish areas of cultural enterprise were apparently conducted in Hebrew rather than Arabic. Ibn Shaprut's own secretary, Menaḥem Ibn Saruq, for example, compiled a dictionary of biblical Hebrew in Hebrew and drafted ornate Hebrew epistles for his patron. Interest in language as the object of rational inquiry was the impetus for compiling the dictionary, and it was clearly dictated by the Arabo-Islamic as well as the specifically Jewish cultural environment. Critical factors were the challenges posed to Jewish literary intellectuals by

biting Muslim criticism of biblical anthropomorphisms and penetrating questions about the reliability of the text as an authentic Scripture, sectarian conflict between contending Rabbanite and Karaite versions of Judaism, and the Arabo-Islamic investment in elegant poetic expression and style as signs of the religiously perfect properties of Arabic. Thus, the self-proclaimed purpose of Ibn Saruq's *Maḥberet* (Dictionary) is "to demonstrate the elegance of Hebrew" (1 [l. 17]).

It is clear that Andalusi-Jewish literary intellectuals consciously cultivated Hebrew language and biblical studies (as well as Hebrew poetry; see below) to set themselves apart from other Andalusis. But regardless of their cultural ideology and professed linguistic commitments, the questions Ibn Saruq and all Andalusi-Jewish literati asked indicate they were thinking in terms of Arabo-Islamic categories. In this instance, the concept of *ṣaḥot ha-lashon* (precision and beauty of language), the Hebrew parallel of the Arabic terms *faṣāḥa* and *balāgha*, had become pivotal to the Andalusi Jews' understanding of their religious culture. The rabbis of classical Judaism certainly held the view that the Hebrew language was unique, but until Saadiah Gaon's Hebrew grammar *Kitāb faṣīḥ lughat al-ʿibrāniyyīn* (Book of Elegance of the Language of the Hebrews) presented the language and style of the Hebrew Bible as intrinsically eloquent and elegant (Drory, *Emergence* 175–76), its implications had never been systematically explored nor its consequences fully pursued in a cultural program such as the Andalusi Jews conceived and practiced.

Earlier tenth-century Maghribi scholars such as David ben Abraham al-Fāsī (*Jāmiʿ al-alfāẓ* [Compilations of Words]) and Ibn Quraysh (*Risālat yehuda ibn quraysh* [Epistle of Judah Ibn Quraysh]) conducted Arabic-language comparative philology in researching biblical Hebrew. But the redoubtable Ibn Saruq ordained that the language of research remain the language of tradition, as though it were possible to confine the study of Jewish texts to a Jewish language within a hermetically sealed Jewish framework. Similarly, Ibn Saruq was among the first to compose Hebrew poetry on social themes, dedicating several poems to his patron Ḥasdai Ibn Shaprut. The traditional form and prosody of Ibn Saruq's verse would soon give way to a new model inspired by Arabic, yet its subject matter already represents the poet's and patron's assimilation to the sociocultural environment of the Umayyad court. Classical literary Hebrew was to serve as the principal sign of the Andalusi Jews' newfound aesthetically minded literary identity, an identity that makes sense only in the context established by Arabic culture and Muslim society.

If Arabic-language scientific research, philosophical and theological works, and the interpretation and dissemination of Jewish law proliferated, broadening the areas of interaction between Arabo-Islamic and Jewish culture, why

did Ibn Saruq's party staunchly oppose referring to Arabic in analyzing Hebrew (Sáenz-Badillos, *Tešubot* 88 [Hebrew])? Apparently, the problem for the traditionalists rested on the religious implications of comparative method. They would not consciously equate Arabic, the language of divine revelation for Muslims, with Hebrew, the holy language of Scripture for Jews.

The arrival in Córdoba of Dunash ben Labrat (tenth century), a savant and poet from the Muslim East who joined Ibn Shaprut's entourage, seems to have catalyzed debate over the place of Arabic learning and language in the articulation of Andalusi-Jewish culture. Just as committed to Hebrew language studies as their conservative counterparts, those who championed comparative grammar and philology sought a balance between Hebrew and Arabic learning that meant finding the proper function for each in Andalusi-Jewish cultural life (Drory, "Words" 56–63). An epigram attributed to Dunash ben Labrat captures that balance with poetic symmetry: "Let your Garden be the Books of the Pious, your Paradise the books of the Arabs" (93). Ben Labrat's essential contribution to this initial stage in the development of Andalusi-Jewish literary culture was twofold. He assailed Ibn Saruq's philological method and insisted on the necessity and advantage of recourse to Arabic cognates and morphologies (Sáenz-Badillos, *Tešubot* 88 [Hebrew]); he also devised a means for transposing the quantitative meters of Arabic poetry to Hebrew that had long since lost the phonological distinctions between long and short vowels. Ibn Saruq's students took issue with the prosodic innovation as with comparative philology, but it quickly caught on among a Jewish aristocracy reared on the sensory and imaginative pleasures of Arabic verse.

Here was a defining moment in Andalusi-Jewish literary history: from this point on, the form, structure, and style of Hebrew poetry were inextricably linked to Arabic; and the next generation of grammarians and exegetes not only utilized their intimate knowledge of Arabic as Ben Labrat had done but readily expressed themselves in Arabic as a principle language of Jewish culture. Moses Ibn Gikatilla (eleventh century), the author of Arabic language works on Hebrew grammar and biblical exegesis whom Moses Ibn Ezra commends as a learned authority and the foremost connoisseur of discourse and poetry in "both languages" (68 [35b]), explains that the grammarians simply had to employ Arabic in order thoroughly to investigate and explain the details of Hebrew because this was the language everyone understood (Nutt 1). And Arabic was not nearly so foreign as some would have it. In Jonah Ibn Janāḥ's words: "for Arabic, after Aramaic, is the language which most resembles ours" (8).

The most significant methodological advance belonged to Judah Ḥayyūj (d. c. 1000), the first grammarian to realize that the Arabic system of triliteral roots applied to Hebrew. Without explicitly explaining his method, Ḥayyūj

put this insight to use in *Kitāb al-afʿāl fī ḥurūf al-līn* (Weak and Geminative Verbs in Hebrew), a work that served as the basis for subsequent research on the behavior of Hebrew. The limitations of Ḥayyūj's method and the unfinished business of his work emboldened Hebrew grammarians of the next generation when a group led by Samuel Ibn Nagrila in Granada aligned itself against a rival party in Saragossa headed by Jonah Ibn Janāḥ. Grammar and philology, of course, were not abstract sciences in this scriptural community any more than among the classical Arabic grammarians of Basra and Kufa. Rather, their raison d'être was to serve as the principal hermeneutic tools for enlightened scriptural exegesis. In any case, the seemingly arcane and decidedly contentious controversies among Hebrew grammarians indicate the extent to which rereading the biblical text had become a matter for rational debate. We can appreciate the significance of such disputes in another way as well. In the contested spaces of Andalusi-Jewish religious, literary, and intellectual life, scholars engaged one another's philosophical, philological, and exegetical assumptions and positions by using all of the discourses and methods developed in Arabo-Islamic culture. Whereas the divergence of these discourses and the rifts within and among their partisans were sources of anxiety for Andalusi Jews, the literary historian discerns in their variety an unmistakable sign of cultural vitality.

Drawing on the tools of Hebrew grammar and philology, Andalusi exegetes engaged the biblical text in a fundamentally new way. They too frequently disagreed over textual explications or the nuances and limits of their method. For instance, Judah Ibn Balʿam (end of eleventh century), a philologist (e.g., *Kitāb al-tajnīs* [Book of Paronomasia]), grammarian (*Kitāb ḥurūf al-maʿānī* [Book of Particles]), and exegete (*Kitāb al-tarjīḥ* [Book of Decision] on the Torah; *Nukat al-miqraʾ* [Niceties of Scripture] on the Prophets and Writings), directs polemical barbs at Isaac Ibn Ghiyāth's commentary on Ecclesiastes (*Kitāb al-zuhd* [Book of Asceticism]). He also levels withering attacks against Moses Ibn Gikatilla, whose grammatical (*Kitāb al-tadhkīr wa l-taʾnīth* [Book of Masculine and Feminine]) and exegetical works were apparently very influential as well as controversial, but survive only in fragments and in numerous citations preserved in the Hebrew canonical biblical commentaries of Abraham Ibn Ezra. Ibn Gikatilla's literary sensibility as a reader of Scripture is especially noteworthy in the history of Andalusi-Jewish letters. He departed radically from tradition in his historicizing treatment of biblical prophecies and in approaching the Book of Psalms as prayers and poems rather than prophecies (Simon 113–44). In Ibn Gikatilla's reading of the biblical text, one recognizes an Andalusi's attention to the aesthetic qualities of language and style within a rationalistic conceptual framework that are the signs of adab and *ḥikma* respectively.

Does recognizing that the work of the grammarians and exegetes signals a

contest over meaning between the Jews and Muslims (and frequently among the Jews themselves) completely account for the significance of their efforts to appreciate the refined style of the Hebrew Bible? Or can we identify in the venture of the grammarians, lexicographers, and exegetes additional evidence of how Arabo-Islamic norms and values penetrated the inner life of Andalusi Jews through the Arabic language, transforming the way they perceived and experienced language itself? An inspired illustration of this transformation is Moses Ibn Ezra's comment on a biblical simile (Lam. 4:7, "Her elect were purer than snow, Whiter than milk," or according to a variant reading, Song of Songs 4:3, "like a scarlet thread are your lips"). Finding the turn of phrase particularly lovely, the poet-critic exults, "Were Lamentations (or the Song of Songs) to challenge (the Book of) Ecclesiastes with this verse, it would prevail thereby!" (258 [134a–b]; Dana, *Poetics* 151). The distinctive literary sensibility evident in Ibn Ezra's enthusiastic remark reminds us that appreciation of beauty and the experience of literary pleasure are culturally determined categories, as conventional as language, and therefore emblematic of the Andalusi Jews' new internalized aesthetic.

A recurrent theme of literary life was the Andalusi Jews' abiding belief in the singularity of their cultural identity predicated on their fidelity to *ṣaḥot ha-lashon*. Ibn Janāḥ and Moses Ibn Ezra, for example, aver that the Jews of al-Andalus were descended from the Jews of Judaea. The Andalusis saw themselves as heirs to the Judaeans' superior guardianship over the Hebrew language as asserted in a talmudic interpretation (ʿEruvin 53a) of a biblical source (ʿObadiah v. 20) (Ibn Janāḥ 6; Ibn Ezra 54–55 [29a–b]). Noble lineage and their claim to an incomparable cultural tradition distinguished the Andalusis markedly from Jewish communities of other lands – an Andalusi-Jewish variation on the Arabic topos *faḍā'il ahl al-andalus*:

> There is no doubt at all that the inhabitants of Jerusalem, from whom we – members of the Spanish exile – are descended, were more knowledgeable in rhetorical eloquence and in rabbinic tradition than the residents of other cities and towns.
>
> (Ibn Ezra 54 [29b])

Reflecting on the history of Andalusi-Jewish letters, Moses Ibn Ezra thus identifies historical and intrinsic factors that account for the revival of interest in classical Hebrew and the reemergence of biblicizing literary Hebrew style. On one hand, Ibn Ezra attributes the renascence to the Jews' intimate knowledge of Arabic and ascribes its success to Ḥayyūj's detection of the triliteral root; on the other hand, the discovery of that fundamental "inner principle" reveals the handiwork of Providence (56 [29b]).

As in other cultural undertakings, historically minded literary intellectuals attempted to find precedents in biblical Israel for their contemporary

interests in poetry, philosophy, and other cultural endeavors – a recovery process that neatly converged with their focus on the Hebrew Bible as the stylistic and linguistic basis for Jewish cultural life. Take musical performance and theory for example. Grounded in the musical theory developed by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ and al-Fārābī, works such as Moses Ibn Ezra's *Maqālat al-ḥadīqa fī maʿnāl-majāz wa l-ḥaqīqa* (The Garden: On the Figurative and the Literal), a philosophical examination of the poetic language of the Hebrew Bible, and Joseph Ibn ʿAqnīn's *Ṭibb al-nufūs* (Hygiene of the Soul), a compendium of ethical aphorisms from Jewish and non-Jewish sources, contain passages devoted to the importance of music in Judaism going back to the Levites in the Temple service.

No discussion of the Arabized Jews of al-Andalus would be complete without reference to their Hebrew verse and its intimate relationship with Arabic poetry and its poetics. How does their Hebrew poetry, the Andalusi Jews' sovereign literary achievement, fit into the scheme of circumscribed cultural fusion suggested in this essay? The most obvious examples of the complex process of literary appropriation by Andalusi-Hebrew literary intellectuals are Dunash ben Labrat's arabicizing quantitative prosody, contrefaction (*muʿāraḍa*) of the prosodic and melodic patterns of Arabic muwashshahs and incorporation of Arabic kharjas in Hebrew muwashshahs, intertextual references to Andalusi-Arabic poets as well as poets from the Muslim East, Hebrew translations of Arabic lyrics by al-Mutanabbī, Abū Nuwās and others, and Hebrew devotional poetry informed by the language and conceptual framework of Islamic piety (Scheindlin, "Ibn Gabirol's Poetry"). Linguistically, Arabic loan translations along with outright Arabisms of syntax and morphology strongly impressed the character of medieval Hebrew in Spain (Sáenz-Badillos, *History* 232 ff.). And Arabic superscriptions were even employed in the Andalusi-Jewish poets' Hebrew diwans. These items represent only the most accessible and immediate layer of the Jews' Arabization as manifested in their Hebrew literary activity.

Beyond these direct appropriations and practices, the Jews' Arabization is evident in Hebrew poetry in more subtle but no less significant ways. Like Arabic, Andalusi-Hebrew poetry is stylized in form and conventional in content. Its language is the classical Hebrew analyzed by the grammarians, some of whom were inspired by their high regard for the aesthetic properties of the language to practice a Hebrew artistry as poets. The forms, rhetorical style, genres, themes, and the formulation of motifs of the Hebrew lyric were all patterned after the Arabic verse that served as its background (Schippers, *Spanish Hebrew Poetry*; Levin). Poetic tradition was thus initially embodied in a preexistent canon: monorhymed and strophic Arabic poetry. It is not a coincidence that the four authoritative poets of the school, Samuel the

Nagid, Solomon Ibn Gabirol, Moses Ibn Ezra, and Judah Halevi, for all their manifest differences of temperament and style, were each masters of Arabic learning.

How much of the arabicizing aspects of Hebrew poetry can we ascribe to the poets' internalization of the form, structure, and style of Arabic verse with which the Hebrew poets were on such intimate terms? How much can we attribute to the poets' purposeful tinkering in their workshops, that is, applying Arabic conventions to the cherished biblical Hebrew they knew by rote? Perhaps the only way to begin to answer these questions is to say that Hebrew poetry in al-Andalus, its genres and their conventions, arose out of the dialectical relationship between a well-established yet still evolving Arabic tradition on one hand and its own emergent subcultural process on the other, a process that promoted biblical Hebrew as the linguistic sign of Andalusi-Jewish literary identity. The initial dependence of the Hebrew lyric on its Arabic model therefore seems at once more conscious, studied, and defensive than any area of literary activity conducted in Arabic, the Jews' spoken language.

Although Hebrew verse shared its poetics with Arabic, the languages carried different textual associations and allusions and generated different imaginative experiences for the Hebrew poets and their audience specific to Jewish history and the biblical text. Notwithstanding the literary historians' appreciation of the deep and seemingly subordinate relationship between Hebrew poetry and Arabic poetry and poetics, perhaps the nascent embrace can be defined as an operation of translation from Arabic to Hebrew. Translation theorists Susan Bassnett and André Lefevre observe:

> Translation is, of course, a rewriting of an original text. All rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way. Rewriting is manipulation, undertaken in the service of power, and in its positive aspect can help in the evolution of a literature and a society. Rewritings can introduce new concepts, new genres, new devices and the history of translation is the history also of literary innovation, of the shaping of power of one culture upon another. (ix)

According to this broad understanding of translation, the process of conveying meaning from one language-based poetic system into another language involves an appropriation for distinctly ideological purposes. It certainly appears that the Andalusi Jews' rewriting of the original content of Arabic poetry and poetics into the target language of biblical Hebrew involves such a manipulation. Hebrew poetry (and to a certain extent the grammarians' research on biblical Hebrew) not only signals the Jews' defensive, imitative response to the overwhelming appeal of Arabic but also is an emptying of Arabic into Hebrew – a transaction that created a poetry to serve as an expression of the poets' self-confidence as Andalusi Jews (Brann, "Power").

Hebrew poetry therefore functioned as a "discourse of power" in more than one sense: it was a sign of the Andalusis' ascendance over other Jewish communities, of the elites' control of the discourse of Jewish culture, and a subversive appropriation of Arabic culture for Jewish ideological purposes.

The culture of the Arabized Jews of al-Andalus did not come to nearly as abrupt an end as the community itself. Rather, the Jews' association with Andalusi learning was sufficiently powerful that refugees from Almohad persecution sought to carry on their traditions in Toledo where Arabic continued to serve as a spoken language. Abraham Ibn Dā'ūd's (twelfth century) *Sefer ha-qabbalah* (Book of Tradition) transmits a vignette about Samuel Ibn Nagrila's first appointment to public office in Zirid Granada (Cohen 71–72). The youthful Samuel is said to have been tucked away in a Malagan spice shop when the high-ranking *kātib* Ibn al-ʿArīf "discovered" his surpassing stylistic skill and masterful knowledge of adab. The tale, which draws on an Andalusi-Arabic account regarding al-Manṣūr (Ibn Abī ʿĀmir) preserved by al-Maqqarī (Stern, "Life" 135–38; al-Maqqarī 1:399), serves as a sign of the sociopolitical reasons for the high esteem Arabic continued to enjoy among Jews in its transplanted context through the thirteenth century (Assis).

The Jewish literary intellectuals of al-Andalus were by turns participants in a shared cultural experience and socioreligious outsiders. The contingent, situational nature of both their participation and their marginality in Andalusi society and culture illuminates the problem of the various components of Andalusi-Jewish culture in relation to Arabic, moving us away from viewing "contact" or "conflict" as the only viable paradigms accounting for the role of Arabic in the Jews' literary identity and cultural consciousness. In the ongoing conversation involving Jewish and Arabo-Islamic elements in the articulation of Andalusi-Jewish culture, Arabic language and learning can be valorized and Islam resisted or contested.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allony, Nehemiah. "The Reaction of Moses ibn Ezra to ʿArabiyya." *Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies* 1 (1973): 19–40.

Ashtor, Eliahu. *The Jews of Moslem Spain*. 3 vols. in 2 with new introduction and bibliography by D. J. Wasserstein. Philadelphia, 1992.

Assis, Yom Tov. "The Judeo-Arabic Tradition in Christian Spain." *The Jews of Medieval Islam: Community, Society, and Identity*. Ed. Daniel Frank. Leiden, 1995. 111–24.

Bassnett, Susan, and André Lefevre, eds. *Translation, History, and Culture*. London, 1990.

Ben-Shammai, Haggai. "New Fragments from the Arabic Original of *Mivḥar ha-peninim*" [Hebrew]. *Tarbiz* 60 (1991): 577–91.

Berger, Peter L., and Thomas Luckman. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York, 1967.

Blau, Joshua. *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*. 2nd edn. Jerusalem, 1981.

"Maimonides, al-Andalus, and the Influence of the Spanish-Arabic Dialect on His Language." *New Horizons in Sephardic Studies*. Ed. Yedida K. Stillman and George K. Zucker. Albany, 1993. 203–10.

Brann, Ross. *The Compunctious Poet: Cultural Ambiguity and Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain*. Baltimore, 1991.

"Power in the Portrayal: Representations of Muslims and Jews in Judah al-Ḥarīzī's *Taḥkemoni*." *Princeton Papers in Near Eastern Studies* 1 (1992): 1–22.

Brody, Heinrich, and Dan Pagis. *Moshe ibn ezra: Shirei ha-ḥol*. Berlin, 1935–77.

Cohen, Gerson D. *Sefer ha-Qabbalah by Ibn Daud: The Book of Tradition*. Philadelphia, 1967.

Constable, Olivia Remie. *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900–1500*. Cambridge, 1994.

Dana, Joseph. "The Influence of Arabic Literary Culture on the Judeo-Arabic Literature of the Middle Ages as Reflected in Moses Ibn Ezra's *Kitāb al-muḥāḍara wa l-mudhākara*" [Hebrew]. *Sefunot*, n.s., 5 (1991): 21–36.

Poetics of Medieval Hebrew Literature According to Moses Ibn Ezra [Hebrew]. Jerusalem, 1982.

Drory, Rina. *The Emergence of Jewish-Arabic Literary Contacts at the Beginning of the Tenth Century* [Hebrew]. Tel Aviv, 1988.

"Literary Contacts and Where to Find Them: On Arabic Literary Models in Medieval Jewish Literature." *Poetics Today* 14 (1993): 277–302.

"'Words Beautifully Put': Hebrew versus Arabic in Tenth-Century Jewish Literature." *Genizah Research after Ninety Years: The Case of Judaeo-Arabic*. Ed. Joshua Blau and Stefan C. Reif. Cambridge, 1992. 53–66.

Dunash ben Labrat. *Shirim*. Ed. Nehemiah Allony. Jerusalem, 1947.

Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. Trans. Charles Lam Markmann. New York, 1967.

Goitein, S. D. "The Interplay of Jewish and Islamic Law." *Jewish Law in Legal History and the Modern World*. Ed. B. S. Jackson. Leiden, 1980. 61–77.

Jews and Arabs: Their Contacts through the Ages. New York, 1974.

A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Genizah. Vols. 1–5. Berkeley, 1976–88.

Goldreich, Amos. "Possible Arabic Sources of the Distinction between 'Duties of the Heart' and 'Duties of the Limbs'" [Hebrew]. *Te'uda* 6 (1988): 179–208.

Halkin, Abraham S. "Judeo-Arabic Literature." *The Jews: Their Religion and Culture*. Ed. L. Finklestein. 4th edn. New York, 1971. 121–54.

"The Medieval Jewish Attitude toward Hebrew." *Biblical and Other Studies*. Ed. A. Altmann. Cambridge, Mass., 1963. 233–48.

Hary, Benjamin H. *Multiglossia in Judeo-Arabic, with an Edition, Translation, and Grammatical Study of the Cairene Purim Scroll*. Leiden, 1995.
Ibn ʿAqnīn, Joseph. *Inkishāf al-asrār wa-ẓuhūr al-anwār*. Ed. Abraham S. Halkin. Jerusalem, 1964.
Ibn Bassam. *al-Dhakhīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-jazīra*. Ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās. 8 vols. Beirut, 1979.
Ibn Ezra, Moses. *Kitāb al-muḥāḍara wa l-mudhākara*. Ed. Abraham S. Halkin. Jerusalem, 1975.
Ibn Ḥazm. *al-Fiṣal fī l-milal wa l-ahwāʾ wa l-niḥal*. 5 vols. in 2. Cairo edn. 1899–1903. Rpt., 1964.
Ṭawq al-ḥamāma fī l-ulfa wa l-ullāf. Ed. Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Qāsimī. Baghdad, 1986.
Ibn Janāḥ, Jonah. *Kitāb al-lumaʿ (Le livre des parterres fleuris)*. Ed. Joseph Derenbourg. Paris, 1886.
Ibn al-Khaṭīb. *al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār gharnāṭa*. Ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān. 2 vols. Cairo, 1973.
Ibn Paquda, Bahya. *al-Hidāya ilā farāʾiḍ al-qulūb*. Ed. A. S. Yahuda. Leiden, 1912.
Ibn Saʿīd, ʿAlī ibn Mūsā al-Maghribī. *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn wa-ghāyāt al-mumayyazīn*. Ed. al-Nuʿmān ʿAbd al-Mutaʿālī al-Qāḍī. Cairo, 1973.
Ibn Saruq, Menaḥem. *Maḥberet*. Ed. Ángel Sáenz-Badillos. Granada, 1986.
Jarden, Dov, ed. *Divan shmuel hanagid: Ben tehillim*. Jerusalem, 1966.
Judah Halevi. *Kitāb al-radd wa l-dalīl fī l-dīn al-dhalīl (al-kitāb al-khazari)*. Ed. David H. Baneth and Haggai Ben-Shammai. Jerusalem, 1977.
Kraemer, Joel L. "The Andalusian Mystic Ibn Hud and the Conversion of the Jews." *Israel Oriental Studies* 12 (1992): 59–73.
"Maimonides on the Philosophic Sciences in His Treatise on the Art of Logic." *Perspectives on Maimonides: Philosophical and Historical Studies*. Ed. Joel L. Kraemer. Oxford, 1991. 77–104.
Levin, Israel. *The Embroidered Coat: The Genres of Hebrew Secular Poetry in Spain* [Hebrew]. 3 vols. Tel Aviv, 1994–95.
Libson, Gideon. "Halakhah and Law in the Period of the Geonim." *An Introduction to the History and Sources of Jewish Law*. Ed. N. S. Hecht et al. Oxford, 1996. 197–250.
Lobel, Dianna Nicole. "Between Mysticism and Philosophy: Arabic Terms for Religious Experience in Yehudah Halevi's Kuzari." Diss., Harvard University, 1995.
al-Maqqarī. *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-andalus al-raṭīb*. Ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās. 8 vols. Beirut, 1968.
Moses Maimonides. *The Guide of the Perplexed*. 2 vols. trans. with an introduction and notes by Shlomo Pines and introductory essay by Leo Strauss. Chicago, 1963.
Nutt, John William, ed. *Sheloshah sifrei diqduq*. London, 1870. Rpt., 1968.
Pines, Shlomo. "Shiʿite Terms and Conceptions in Judah Halevi's Kuzari." *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 2 (1980): 165–251.

Ratzaby, Yehuda. "Arabic Poetry Written by Andalusian Jews" [Hebrew]. *Israel Levin Jubilee Volume*. Ed. Reuven Tsur and Tova Rosen. Tel Aviv, 1994. 329–50.

Rosenthal, Franz. *The Classical Heritage in Islam*. Trans. Emile and Jenny Marmorstein. Berkeley, 1975.

Sáenz-Badillos, Ángel. *A History of the Hebrew Language*. Trans. John Elwolde. Cambridge, 1993.

Tešubot de Dunaš ben Labrat. Critical edn. and Spanish trans. Granada, 1980.

Safran, Bezalel. "Bahya ibn Paquda's Attitude toward the Courtier Class." *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature*. Ed. Isadore Twersky. Cambridge, Mass., 1979. 154–96.

Ṣāʿid ibn Aḥmad al-Andalusī. *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-umam*. Ed. Louis Cheikho. Beirut, 1912.

Scheindlin, Raymond P. *The Gazelle: Medieval Hebrew Poems on God, Israel, and the Soul*. Philadelphia, 1991.

"Ibn Gabirol's Religious Poetry and Sufi Poetry." *Sefarad* 54 (1994): 110–42.

"Rabbi Moshe Ibn Ezra on the Legitimacy of Poetry." *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s., 7 (1976): 101–15.

Wine, Women, and Death: Medieval Hebrew Poems on the Good Life. Philadelphia, 1986.

Schippers, Arie. "Arabic and the Revival of the Hebrew Language and Culture." *Jews under Islam: A Culture in Historical Perspective*. Ed. Julie Marthe-Cohen. Amsterdam, 1993. 75–93.

Spanish Hebrew Poetry and the Arabic Literary Tradition: Arabic Themes in Hebrew Andalusian Poetry. Leiden, 1994.

Simon, Uriel. *Four Approaches to the Book of Psalms: From Saadiah Gaon to Abraham ibn Ezra*. Trans. Lenn J. Schramm. Albany, 1991.

Stern, Samuel M. "Arabic Poems by Spanish-Hebrew Poets." *Romanica et Occidentalia: Etudes dédiées a la mémoire de Hiram Peri*. Ed. Moshe Lazar. Jerusalem, 1963. 254–63.

"The Life of Samuel the Nagid" [Hebrew]. *Zion* 15 (1950): 135–45.

Tobi, Yosef. "A Second Manuscript of *Kitāb iṣlāḥ al-akhlāq* by Solomon ibn Gabirol" [Hebrew]. *Hebrew and Arabic Studies in Honour of Joshua Blau*. Jerusalem, 1993.

Vajda, Georges. "Judaeo-Arabic [Judaeo-Arabic Literature]." *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 2nd edn. Leiden, 1954–. 4:303–7.

Wasserstein, David J. "Jewish Elites in al-Andalus." *The Jews of Medieval Islam: Community, Society, and Identity*. Ed. Daniel Frank. Leiden, 1995. 101–10.

The Rise and Fall of the Party Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain, 1002–1086. Princeton, 1985.

Wise, Stephen S., ed. and trans. *The Improvement of the Moral Qualities by Solomon Ibn Gabirol*. Rpt., New York, 1966.