

Gilya G. Schmidt, "The Soul, God and Zion in the Poetry of Yehuda Halevi", *Mystics Quarterly*, Vo. 22, No. 4, Philadelphia, 1996.

(Note: In this article, Giya Schmidt uses the term 'Rabbanites' in a peculiar way. The regular meaning of the term is "those who accept the rabbinic concept of the Oral Law", i.e. in contradistinction to Qara'ites. In this article, it denotes a Rabbinic establishment or, those who derive their spirituality primarily from the study of rabbinic sources such as Talmud and Midrash.)

The Soul, God, and Zion in the Poetry¹ of Yehuda Halevi

Come, let us go up to the mountain of Yahweh,
to the Temple of the God of Jacob
that He may teach us His ways
so that we may walk in His paths;
since the Law will go out from Zion,
and the oracle of Yahweh from Jerusalem."

From Isaiah II:3, *The Jerusalem Bible*

In an attempt to understand the cultural universe of the Jews in medieval Spain, I became intrigued with the poetry and thought of Abul-Hassan Yehuda ben Samuel Halevi (?1075–1141), because he was the exception and not the norm. Halevi, the celebrated poet laureate of 12th-century Spanish Jewry, was a gem in the group which had begun to chirp in the days of Nasi Hasdai ibn Shaprut (915–970) and which sang aloud in the days of Nagid Samuel ibn Nagrela (992–1055).² He also was the Socrates of Spanish Jewry, the gadfly who played an important role in defining the ills which plagued the post-Golden Age Spanish Jewish community.³

As a physician, Halevi spent much of his life among the courtiers,⁴ the cream of Spanish Jewry, who were indicative of the group's state of mind. As a reformer of his people, Halevi felt divinely inspired.⁵ He believed that there are at least two ways to God—the scriptural and the prophetic.⁶ Halevi saw himself as a representative of the prophetic way. In this capacity, he tried to instruct his co-religionists in what he perceived to be the conduct befitting a pious Jew, for "He, in whose hand rests the breath of all life. . . . He sees whether a person is pious or a fool" (Rosenzweig 140). The elite of Spanish Jewry,⁷ however, did not heed Halevi's words. Instead, they ridiculed his God-consciousness, or *devekut*, and his efforts to return himself as well as his fellow Jews to God and to Zion.

Information about Halevi's actual life is so sketchy that we have to read reports from others who lived during his time to get a sense of what his world was like.⁸ Yet even if we supplement these facts with Halevi's own commentary as it is expressed in his poetry and philosophical writings, the picture

stays unsatisfactorily vague. Halevi's biography becomes a mirror for the uncertainty of the Jew in this time, underscoring the tentativeness and uneasy alliance, not only between Muslims, Christians, and Jews, but also between different Jewish factions. We don't know anything for certain: Was Halevi born in 1075 or 1085? In Toledo or Tudela? Though he was educated, apparently in Cordova and Lucena, we know only that Isaac al-Fasi in Lucena was one of his teachers (Zinberg 83).⁹ Though he was a physician, we do not have details of his life at any court. Neither does he seem to have reached the rank of court physician. We know only that Solomon ibn Ferrizuel, a Jew who achieved a high rank in the service of King Alfonso VI, was his benefactor and protector while Halevi lived in Toledo (Baer Vol. 1, 69). Ibn Ferrizuel was murdered in 1108, and Halevi is said to have left Toledo before King Alfonso's death in 1109. We do not know who Halevi's wife was, where she came from or when. We know that his father's name was Samuel, that he had a daughter, and grandsons, one of whom bore his name, Judah, the other named Azarael, and possibly a son-in-law by the name of Isaac, perhaps the son of Moses ibn Ezra.¹⁰ The decision to journey to the ancient homeland was a difficult one. "I shall forsake the child of my loins, my only daughter, the sister of my soul. It splits my heart to forget her son, with only his memory to recall him to me, fruit of my body, child of my delight. How can Judah ever forget Judah!" (Goldstein 142). When he left on his pilgrimage to the land of Israel in 1140, he wrote, "Shall I not weep for the garden I have planted and watered, so that the flowers flourish there? Shall I not remember Judah and Azarael, two precious buds, the choicest of my blooms, nor Isaac, whom I have cherished like my own? . . ." (Goldstein 140). Halevi's death, like his life, is shrouded in conjecture. While we now know that he actually made it as far as Tyre, today in Lebanon,¹¹ in 1141, we do not know whether he reached Jerusalem, whether he actually died there, as legend has it, and where he is buried. Some say that he may have returned from his journey and died in Spain.

If we must look to others to learn about the historical facts and social conditions of Halevi's life, we need to study Halevi to learn about the *spirit* of his time. Our sources on God, the soul, and Zion come from Halevi's poetry and his philosophical work, *The Kuzari* (1140). Written in the form of a Socratic dialogue, *The Kuzari* is addressed to the king of the Khazars, a pious man who had converted to Judaism along with his subjects because his way of life was not pleasing to God, while his way of thinking was (*Kuzari* 36).¹²

Within Judaism there were three factions—the Karaites,¹³ who were seen as the supreme rationalists; the Rabbanites,¹⁴ who were the "middle" group, and who, in Halevi's view, should have been as interested in synthesis as he

was, and the mystics¹⁵ with their messianic hopes, who were not even dignified with an attack by Rabbanite writers such as Ibn Daud. The Jews were caught between Christianity in the North and the Muslims in the South, and there again between Almohades and Almoravides. Halevi lamented, "Beloved, year after year You banned me miserably to jail, to snake bite and to scorpion sting—Dearest, what shall I still say, since Edom stole itself into my room as the owner, Arabs, Normans rule over me, together with the pack of dogs that encircled my herd" (Rosenzweig 190). On the positive side, Halevi saw the Jewish people as the heart of the nations (*Kuzari* 109). However, "Israel . . . is at one and the same time the most sick and the most healthy . . ." organ of the body, being physically afflicted by the illnesses of all the limbs—cosmically, nationally, and individually, but being spiritually always assured of divine favor (*Kuzari* 110).

To return Spanish Jewry onto a path to God, piety, and Zion was not an easy task. Although Spain was the exile, it was a comfortable life, with reasonable tolerance assured by the status of Jews as *dhimmis*.¹⁶ At a time when the creative symbiosis between Moslems and Jews was at its peak, Halevi chided, "Why do you serve earthly rulers? One kisses the knout of the other! When in their favor—what uncertain luck, when in their wrath—what wild anger! Be blessed, therefore, if you serve the Lord, whose power reigns absolute. . . . Wait for His advice and do not trust the academic wisdom of the scholars" (Rosenzweig 121).¹⁷ He warned, "Do not value earthly treasures. . . . Leave the bad for the good, entire tribe: stupid people! You barely have any spirit. . . . A beggar before God, begin to unite the sounds of thanks and of rejoicing" (Rosenzweig 132).

Yet, from the time of Cordova's election as *the* center of Jewish learning in the tenth century—gradually eclipsing the academies in Babylonia—the notion of Al-Andalus as a possible place for messianic redemption was more and more strongly entertained.¹⁸ The courtier rabbis went so far as to calculate that Spain was part of the temperate climate,¹⁹ on a continuum with Greece, the cradle of civilization. Thus, physical evidence was introduced to support the philosophy of the Jewish elite. Palestine wasn't even considered in the discussion, *except* by Halevi in *The Kuzari* (283). He railed against the hubris of his colleagues, "It is better to dwell in the Holy Land, even in a town mostly inhabited by heathens, than abroad in a town chiefly peopled by Israelites; for he who dwells in the Holy Land is compared to him who has a God, whilst he who dwells abroad is compared to him who has no God" (*Kuzari* 98). To Halevi, living in Spain resembled living in Egypt. The Messiah would come only in Eretz Israel, now under Christian rule as a result of the Crusades. He agitated for a speedy return to Zion. "You support

each one who errs. Spread out Your arm in welcome to the one who returns home! I follow Your leadership. . . . Prepare our return to You, Lord, that we may return home” (Rosenzweig 45). But this fell on deaf ears with the Spanish Jewish elite. To them, Spain was not Egypt and he was not Moses.²⁰ Halevi’s coreligionists had no intention of considering a place that was a pile of rubble and dust as in any way superior to Spain.²¹ He thus pleaded, “May He send him, who will raise me up, so that my people may break through to the light,” (Rosenzweig 152) for “blessed is he who persists and experiences, and sees the rising of your [Zion’s] light” (Rosenzweig 251).

Although Halevi evoked unhappy associations among the Rabbanites with his insistence on Eretz Israel as the heart of Judaism,²² he was not alone in his love for Zion. The other group which shared his sentiments regarding the ancient homeland were the Karaites, also called Mourners for Zion.²³ Halevi certainly was a Mourner, though not a Karaite. “For you [Zion] my heart yearns from the world’s western wall [Spain]. My insides well up hotly when I recall how it once was, the glory, now in shambles, the abode, now scorned” (Rosenzweig, 213). Or, “Jerusalem, wail, shed the tear, Zion! The eye of your sons cannot stop weeping when it remembers you. Forget me, oh hand, if I forget you, City of Psalms! Cleave tongue, to my mouth, if I am ever happy! Oh God . . . be zealous for Zion! Do not trade away Your remnant in the future . . .” (Rosenzweig 211).²⁴ Nevertheless, this was a most unfortunate link, for the Karaite sect, in reality then a Jewish minority faction, was outlawed and nearly banned from Spain by Alfonso VI²⁵—at the request of the Rabbanites, who strove for sole leadership of the Jewish community in Spain.²⁶

Since Halevi was not appreciated by the Rabbanites, and could not associate with the non-Rabbinic Karaites because he didn’t share their literal view of the Bible, there was for him but a third option, that of the mystics with their messianic hopes.²⁷ “And did my believing heart not see You, as if it had been at Sinai! You my visions sought . . .” (Rosenzweig 28).

Jewish mysticism is not necessarily messianic. In fact, Hasidism—a form of Jewish mysticism—in its various historical guises is decidedly anti-messianic. There were, however, individuals throughout Jewish history whose mystical tendencies were colored by redemptive notions in Zion, including Yehuda Halevi.²⁸ “Turn, oh heart, calm your storming! Because God already granted it. . . . Turn back, turn back, oh Shulamit, home to your Father in Heaven!” (Rosenzweig 136). And in a slightly different tone, he wrote, “And who gives me dove-like wings! I would fly up, gliding toward home. I would ride on the horses of south and north, asking only for a wind to Zion. . . . Replant empty places. May the town be erected on ruins. . . . He

This seems highly debatable

makes the barren one into the mother happily surrounded by children” (Rosenzweig 179). The most notable mystics were the prophets who variously lamented the fate of the Jewish people and expressed the hope of restoration to the land, including the Great Shabbat at the end of times (*Kuzari* 256). “Those who hope for prophetic signs, when will they see them full of miracles?” (Rosenzweig 176). It is interesting to note that Yehuda Halevi supported neither the Karaite chain of descent that links individuals back to Solomon, nor that of the Rabbanites, but argued for a chain of his own, a prophetic chain,²⁹ and that was quite a radical idea.

It is in this unstable environment, spiritually and physically, that Halevi took stock of his life and found it wanting, as the following prayer, written for Rosh Hashanah, expresses. “Oh, God . . . my thought advises my heart to dedicate itself to You in its distress. . . . release the poor one from his pain. . . . Oh God . . . show Your patience to your servant. . . . oh God . . . make me strong through Your love, and balsam administer to my sick heart. . . . my sorrow made me ill, my soul is feverish day and night . . . pull me from the abyss, and end Your servant’s imprisonment . . .” (Rosenzweig 98). And in a different poem, Halevi pleaded, “Oh God, only You I desire. . . . Teach me Your ways, oh God, and free me from folly’s compelling grip. How can I serve my creator, when I, enmeshed in images, am a slave to desire” (Rosenzweig 106).

As a physician, Halevi was trained and committed to healing, to mediating between parts of the body which had fallen out with each other, such as the heart and a specific limb (*Kuzari* 104, 106, 107). Physicians of Halevi’s time thought of themselves as so great that they presumed to be actually doing the healing by their own power (*Kuzari* 57). Halevi argued that their success was purely accidental, as we can see from his ironic story on doctors: a man handed out medication randomly, once hitting on a curing dose by accident. Regarding his own potion, he commented, “Because You are the one who chooses, You, not I . . . I do not trust in my elixir, may I only partake of Your medicine. . . . If you heal me, my God, then I am whole” (Goldstein 126). Only God knows the right medication, the physician is only his medium (*Kuzari* 115). “My limbs all exclaim: Lord, who is like You! Yes, body and life, from You they come . . .” (Rosenzweig 33).

While the world at large had been important during the 1120s, when Halevi wrote *The Kuzari*, he regretted having spent most of his life trying to heal an unhealable body. “Him, the source of the true life, I desire. Therefore I despise the life which is dull and empty. To behold my King’s countenance—what else should I want . . .” (Rosenzweig 27). Now he was more concerned with the soul’s relationship to God. “Recently thoughts of You

awoke me. . . . Clearly they demonstrated how Your image, the soul, is intertwined with me. . . ." (Rosenzweig 28). For himself he lamented, "Unlucky star!—when my pride was high I grew slack for Your cause. . . . Desecrated by great sins, and many evil deeds—Between us [God and me] came jarringly my sinful spirit, woe, sensual glitter of the world—Your [God's] glow is pale before my inner spirit" (Rosenzweig 90).

Halevi then dramatically turned from healing human bodies to healing or at least trying to heal the souls of his fellow Jews, who, he hoped, were not beyond instruction! He admonished, "Return . . . to your place, oh return! Always desire to sit by God's throne! Thrones of the world, give them up! . . . Bow and give praise to God" (Rosenzweig 138). He abhorred the healer of the soul, the rabbi, for the same reason he despised the physician—because he was arrogant. Ibn Nagrela, the prince, or *nagid*, boasted, "I am the David of my generation."³⁰ Halevi warned of such a false prophet, "Consolation comes to the troubled heart which already sees itself decayed when ill, [only] from Him, the Lord of Hosts" (Rosenzweig 84). Just as the physician is a divine medium, so the teacher/rabbi serves to dispense a divine message. The Rabbanite tradition was renowned for great teachers, such as Hillel and Shammai, Yohannan ben Zakkai and Rabbi Akiva. Yet Halevi's view of the inspired community leader-teacher clashed openly with that of contemporary Rabbanite leaders. He polemicized that the good teacher finds a way to spread his message via the preferred medium in a given community, rather than go against the wishes of the congregation.

Halevi saw himself as an inspired teacher (*Kuzari* 259) who had reached a level just below the angels.³¹ His prescription for spiritual redemption was two-fold. The first step consisted of two parts:

- a. a pious way of life, and
- b. a communal worship service which reflected this piety in its *kavannah* (devotion) and joy.

The second step was "Divine Influence" or prophecy.

1a. A pious way of life

Halevi's ideas of a pious community differed from the existing one. In his poetry and in *The Kuzari*, he tried to build his ideal community from the basis of the pious man who walks with God as Enoch did (*Kuzari* 135), and whose dealings with his fellow Jews and fellow humans are ethical and enlightened. The pious man is a servant of God (*Kuzari* 146, 208). "Servants of time and servants of servants; only God's servant alone is free. Therefore, when every human being requests his portion, my heart says: may God

Himself be my share" (Rosenzweig 123). In *The Kuzari*, his purposely moralizing example of the pious king (*Kuzari* 137) makes it clear that only he who does right in small things should be in charge of big things. Halevi attempted to teach that the pious man does not shut himself off from the world, "lest he become a burden to it and it to him" (*Kuzari* 135); rather, he delights in creation (*Kuzari* 114, 256) and enjoys the pleasures of life in moderation (*Kuzari* 138). This was a challenge to the courtier class, who, on the one hand, provided liturgical texts, but were excessively given to wine, women and song on the other. Psalm 104 celebrates the joys of Divine creation. "Are you still sleeping? Enough of the rest! . . . Direct your ways towards service to the eternal rock. . . . Arise, to see His heavens. His fingers created them. And His canopy high in the sky, He held it in His arms. . . . Tremble before His terror, awaiting the salvation which He brings, that the world may not affect you and spoil your heart . . ." (Rosenzweig 56). Only one who walks with God in his own life should lead the community.

Enoch and Ezekiel are examples of individuals who walked with God and were rewarded with divine inspiration, namely prophecy.³² Yet their God-consciousness was not messianic, but rather ecstatic. Halevi's goal superseded that of God-fearing men like Enoch and Ezekiel. He wanted to achieve both—adhesion to God, *devekut*, as well as spiritual redemption in the land of Israel. A pious way of life was practical preparation for the coming of the Messiah, while ecstasy prepared the soul to receive the Messiah. Piety is achieved by adhering to the Torah, ecstasy through the worship service. Kravitz, who calls Halevi "a melodious and divinely gifted poet" whose "heart was throbbing with love for God, Israel, and the Holy Land," compares him to Jeremiah, commenting that he reached "the height of ecstasy and inspiration" in his poetry on Zion (Kravitz 259–60). One could say that Halevi's ecstatic mysticism was practical, it certainly was communal, therefore "popular," a century before the Kabbalah blossomed in Spain, "the home of religious ecstasy" (Kravitz 347). Halevi was the forerunner of individuals like Abraham Abulafia (1240–1291?), a "prophetic Kabbalist," and Isaac Luria (1534–1572), master of ecstatic worship.³³

1b. Worship Service.

The rabbis of Halevi's Spain, who selected the leaders for the Jewish communities, preferred expounding the law to the more popular liturgical way. They saw Talmudic text study as the ultimate vehicle to attain piety. This was before the accommodation of the Babylonian [exile] Talmud and the Palestinian [Israel] Talmud. The Babylonian Talmud was actually falling

into disuse in Halevi's Spain, and the rabbis tried to re-establish it among the people. Much was at stake here. Apparently there was a power struggle between different schools on which Talmud to use. Baron reminds us that a different law underlies the two Talmuds, and the nature of the worship service was influenced by the version of the Talmud being expounded.³⁴

Halevi certainly was not against serious study; he was himself well capable of it. "Rejoice, only one, in the one God of faith, with many fine melodies rejoice with many songs. Study His Law" (Rosenzweig 132). However, from *The Kuzari* we learn that serious study was, in fact, minimal among the people (*Kuzari* 136). Halevi strongly condemned rote learning. "Prayer in a mere mechanical way [is] as the starling and the parrot" (*Kuzari* 139). Rather, the pious Jew devotes himself to three worship services a day, keeps the Sabbath, and the festivals, and prays with devotion (*Kuzari* 113).³⁵ About Shabbat he wrote, "A servant who happily awakens in the morning in search of You . . . This is the day, on which song strengthens the soul and freely dedicates itself to Your honor and to Your call" (Rosenzweig 130). And, "Day full of joy to me, of three-fold meal, delightful banquet, heavenly repose—praise to You, praise, my seventh day" (Rosenzweig 128).

For his co-religionists, this difference in approach was a serious matter. The Rabbanites well realized that the liturgy provided Halevi with the opportunity to influence the community, away from their self-satisfied attitude and once more towards God and Zion. "Oh heart, why do you pursue possession and riches, and follow the cursed world which is crooked and never straight. The deception of the world is obvious, but you nevertheless seek its glory. Oh, don't seek!" (Rosenzweig 124).

Thanks to the discovery of the Geniza records, we know today that the period up to the ninth century was extremely fluid concerning synagogue practices. While the synagogue had been a communal institution already during Temple times, it now moved to a more central position. "The synagogue . . . was only gradually being transformed from a center of social and intellectual activity, particularly in the Diaspora, to the successor of the Temple as a central but not *the* central focus of Jewish liturgical activity. The synagogue was attracting to itself more liturgical activity."³⁶

Thus, the house of study was also a house of worship, and Halevi's vehicle was not the Talmud, but the *piyyut*,³⁷ the personal prayer-poem set to music, a form of devotion traced back to King David. "We strive to rhyme a song. . . . The loftier the thoughts, the farther away He flees. . . . And yet: within the mind's limit—the heart finds Him because light sparks descended from the throne's canopy . . ." (Rosenzweig 113). As a levitical singer,³⁸ Halevi was supremely interested in the development in the worship service.

In *The Kuzari* we learn, "Music was the pride of a nation which distributed their songs in such a way that they fell to the lot of the aristocracy of the people, viz. the Levites, who made practical use of them in the holy house and in the holy season. For their maintenance they were satisfied with the tithes, as they had no occupation but music. As an art it is highly esteemed among mankind, as long as . . . the people preserve its original nobleness and purity" (*Kuzari* 123).

Stefan C. Reif gives us an interesting insight into the politics involved. "The *piyyutim*, or liturgical poems. . . were incorporated into those sections of the liturgy with which they could incontrovertibly be linked. Their structure, content, and language were, however, brought under control in the process and their degree of creativity thereby reduced . . ." (Reif 117-18).

During Halevi's time, "the Jewish prayer book made its first appearance. Leading scholars, among them the Babylonian leaders from the eighth to the eleventh centuries, known as *geonim*, issued guidelines on what should constitute the regular blessings and prayers" (Reif 117, 119). In addition, many prayers hitherto reserved for the home were included into public worship, "and reasons were advanced to justify their retention there, or sometimes, indeed, to challenge it" (Reif 119).

No wonder Halevi fussed over his role in the service! He was concerned with the divine (mystical) order of the service, not that of the rabbis (*Kuzari* 106). "Lord, to Your splendor, to the works of Your might—the Heavens bear witness. . . Praised be He, glorified be He, exalted be He, and hallowed" (Rosenzweig 22). As a Levite, the quality and nature of the worship service were Halevi's duty and concern. Thus, in opposition to the leading rabbis, Halevi attempted to sway the community in favor of Zion, the Palestinian Talmud, and a Palestinian worship service. No other poet has been rewarded with such popularity by cantors far and wide. Still today, Halevi's *piyyutim* contribute joy and soulfulness to the worship service, and especially to the High Holy Days service.³⁹

Halevi's extraordinary interest in the nature of the worship service is also in evidence in *The Kuzari* (153f.). To the rabbis, this seemed an inordinate amount of attention to "minor details" not worthy of a scholar. In reality, the foundations underlying the details were of the utmost importance. "How can I enter His service, to whom I owe my beginnings! Happily I'll give up all others if I only have His love. Yes, Lord and shepherd, You envelop body and soul which are Yours, this self untangled itself for You, You saw my inner being . . ." (Rosenzweig 90).

Because Halevi saw the worship service as a great educational vehicle, he was also fully aware of the technical problems which the service posed to the

serious teacher on the practical level. Except in the academies, the Hebrew language had been in decline and disrepair among the Jewish people (*Kuzari* 124). With the rise of Islam and the accompanying flurry of activity in Arabic, Jewish interest in Hebrew was rekindled. "A concern for precise language, grammar, vocalization, and punctuation soon began to be expressed . . ." (Reif 118). But because the course of study of a scholar in Muslim Spain included the Arabic language and literature, the renaissance of Hebrew adopted much of the style and metaphorical imagery of its Arab neighbor. Thus, the poetry which found its way into the liturgy, although in Hebrew, reflected the intricacies and preferences of Arab culture.⁴⁰ In addition to the figures of speech, which made the meaning difficult to comprehend, the metrical verse added a foreign element to the traditionally merely rhymed liturgical Hebrew poetry, especially the *piyyutim* (*Kuzari* 125). In *The Kuzari*, Halevi explained, "We might find a way out of this difficulty if we followed the ways of the *Piyyut* . . . which does not interfere with the language, and merely employs the rhyme" (*Kuzari* 127). Thus, paralleling his own path of return, Halevi pleaded for a return to the simple, "preclassical" Hebrew *piyyut*⁴¹ which would lead the individual to God through devotion alone.⁴² "My poetic striving, it is dedicated to You. The meter of my songs—approximates Your abode, standardized in You" (Rosenzweig 33).

2. Divine Influence

Although Judaism does not recognize prophecy after the First Temple period, Halevi equated divine influence with prophecy and with mysticism. He called mysticism a science (*Kuzari* 189). "The soul sees but is not seen! As He, who sees, is not seen; come to Him and bring praise and blessings to Him!" (Rosenzweig 26). Those who were initiated into the secrets of mysticism were "worthy of a degree of prophecy" (*Kuzari* 189). "Only prophecy saw Him as if in royal garb's majesty . . ." (Rosenzweig 22). For Halevi, mysticism and prophecy or divine revelation were two sides of the same coin, one public, the other personal.

In Halevi's mystical scheme, the individual goes through stages of development, or rungs, as on a ladder. "Awake! With shouts of holy become like those above, create for yourselves a share to inherit in the kingdom. Hearts! Ascend the steps to the Lord of Lords!" (Rosenzweig 81). In *The Kuzari*, Halevi pleaded for the attainment of a higher stage than piety, a way of life that would become a tool of divine inspiration. The stage which he described leads to the gates of heaven, which are specifically associated with Zion (Rosenzweig 251) and are the last step before paradise.⁴³

As the heart of the community, and hence the core of its spirit, Halevi saw himself capable of helping the individual to the gates of heaven in both senses. His mystical spirit believed that the inspired individual can have an insight into the mystery that is the divine because the connection to God is direct, unmediated, and powerful, equaling the experience of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (*Kuzari* 292). “My God . . . to behold You closely and not only in stories! A dream transported me to God’s sacred place, I was allowed to immerse my gaze into its works: The burnt offering as well as meal offering and libation and all around dense clouds of smoke. And I was blessed to hear the Levites’ song in their circle, grouped by rank. I awakened, and was still with You, God!” (Rosenzweig 206).

Yet for Halevi it was not enough that the *Shechinah* (God’s presence) was with the Jewish people invisibly in Spain. Visible communion with the *Shechinah* is needed, as it is prophecy, and prophecy was predicted to return to the people before the Messiah would come.⁴⁴ Yet visible communion—the Urim and Tummim of Mosaic times (*Kuzari* 105, 212, 293)—is possible only in or concerning Eretz Israel (*Kuzari* 91, 293). Thus, redemption was intimately tied to the land (*Kuzari* 65, 92, 98). Since Spanish Jewry did not want to have anything to do with Palestine (just as Babylonian and Egyptian Jewry were satisfied to live in exile) (*Kuzari* 100), it was Halevi’s task to stir Israel’s sense of urgency for the land—for both personal and national redemption. “The host which wanders in the enemy’s fold—let it go home, when Your promised One will take charge of their fate. Someday the desire for salvation will be pronounced in the exile, and the messenger will point the sinners to the nearing of the end . . .” (Rosenzweig 173). And for himself he lamented, “For years I cried and suffered between the poison of snakes and deceit. I did not find grazing nor did I find a bed. . . . And in banishment, in night and in grey I fear my persecutors, I shudder. . . . Tear Your people from the gate of death. They do not ask, like fools, when the day of salvation will come. . . . Don’t cast them away because of their sin . . .” (Rosenzweig 165).

When Halevi decided to make good on his promise to go to Zion, as a first step in his personal redemption, he rejoiced. “Sleepyhead, the heart’s wake. . . . Get up! Leave sleep behind. . . . Happily begin your journey! Your star has risen. He who was believed to be dead, climbed up to Sinai” (Rosenzweig 201). And “Toward your nest ascend, on the way to your tent, to Zion, put markers for the way. First friend, who sent you away, because your actions proved evil, He Himself will redeem you today. . . . The empires of Arabia, of Edom, —oh, may they lie in dust!” (Rosenzweig 202).

His contemporaries greeted his decision with scorn. Having long antagonized Jewish leadership with his criticism, and with his attempt at synthesis

between disparate factions, his insistence on being the true spiritual leader of Israel in a time when there were plenty of "pretenders"³⁴ was not well received. When Halevi's *Kuzari* appeared, calling the spiritual fitness of Spanish Jewish leadership into question, he became *persona non grata* among the Spanish Jewish elite.⁴⁶ "Visions—can they not vouch for the goal! Arise, God! to refresh me and to destroy those who envy me!" (Rosenzweig 161).

Shortly thereafter he left for the land of Israel. "To caress and to kiss your stones I desire, and the taste of your soil would be for me a reward sweet as honey" (Rosenzweig 213). He should have been the prophet leading back at least 600,000. Instead, two friends accompanied him, and only as far as Egypt (Goitein, "Biography" 52), where "the keepers of the covenant despaired" (Rosenzweig 244), but where there also is evidence of God's might. "The river Nile which You turned to blood testifies . . . only to Your Name" (Rosenzweig 245).

Not even Halevi's journey to Palestine went uncriticized. When his friend, the Chief Justice of the Jewish community in Alexandria, collected and published the poetry he was writing while sojourning, it caused an uproar because it was not serious enough for a penitent.⁴⁷ But why should he have been a penitent? As far as Zion was concerned, he was a joyous lover of God who had a right to rejoice at the thought of communion with the *Shechinah* in the land. His time of penitence was behind him. "I chose the home of the Almighty over flimsy huts" (Rosenzweig 242), because here "His palace and my abode face each other threshold to threshold" (Rosenzweig 189).

As Halevi rightly recognized, the heart of Spanish Jewry in the twelfth century was sick. While he managed to heal himself spiritually by a return to God and to Zion, Spanish Jewry on the whole preferred worldly baubles to spiritual gems. They remained spiritually sick through the Inquisition and Expulsion in 1492. Only the Lurianic Kabbalah in the 16th century once more breathed life into the dry bones of Adam Kadmon [mystical Adam]—in Eretz Israel, but the Messiah has not yet arrived.⁴⁸

Gilya G. Schmidt
The University of Tennessee

Notes

1. The most accessible sources of Halevi's poetry in English are Nina Salaman, Heinrich Brody, ed., *Selected Poems of Jehuda Halevi*; David Goldstein, *The Jewish Poets of Spain 900-1200*; Nathaniel Kravitz, *Hebrew Literature*; Salo W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, Vol. VII, 174; Israel Abrahams, *Chapters on Jewish Literature*, 129; Isaak Heinemann, *Jehuda Halevi Kuzari*; Hugo Bergmann,

ed., 132-37; William E. Kaufman, *Journeys*, 182; Barbara E. Galli, Franz Rosenzweig and Yehuda Halevi; Franz Rosenzweig, *Jehuda Halevi Zionslieder*, German/Hebrew (Niehoff edition). These ninety-five poems have been translated by me into English and are currently in manuscript. Page numbers refer to the Niehoff edition (1983).

2. Norman A. Stillman refers to Halevi as the poet laureate, *The Jews of Arab Lands*, 60. The saying, "In the days of Hasdai the Nasi they began to chirp, and in the days of Samuel the Nagid they sang aloud," here taken from Raymond P. Scheindlin, *Wine, Women, and Death*, 3, is the most quoted statement about the Golden Age of Spanish Jewry.

3. The ills of the Jewish community in Spain were many. Of particular interest are "Diary of an 11th-Century Jew," Eliyahu Ashtor, *The Jews of Moslem Spain*, vol. 3, 59-166; "The Jewish Communities of Spain in the 11th Century," Ashtor vol. 2, 190-300; Scheindlin, 11-13; "The Fall of the Jewish Vizier of Granada," (1066) in Stillman, 217-25; and "The Early Reconquest," Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. 1, 39-77.

4. Definition of the courtiers can be found in S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 2, 345-54; Scheindlin, 7; Gerson D. Cohen, *The Book of Tradition*, 269-76; Stillman calls Samuel ha-Nagid "the quintessential representative of the Andalusian Jewish courtier," 57. Salon W. Baron, *Social and Religious History of the Jews* III, 150f.

5. Divine Influence is an important concept by Halevi in *The Kuzari*, 56 or 108, for instance.

6. *Kuzari*, 106. "The root of all knowledge was deposited in the Ark. . . . From there went forth a two-fold knowledge, firstly, the scriptural knowledge, whose bearers were the priests; secondly, the prophetic knowledge which was in the hands of the prophets."

7. Stillman, 210; also Bezalel Safran, "Bahya ibn Paquda's Attitude toward the Courtier Class," in *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature*, Volume I, Isadore Twersky, ed., 154-96.

8. There are many good accounts of Halevi's Spain. Baron, Volume III; Stillman, 171-75, 226-28. In Ashtor, especially vol. 2, 222f. on Toledo. As Shelomo Dov Goitein indicates, the Cairo Geniza records have helped in confirming the facts of Halevi's life. See "The Biography of Rabbi Judah Ha-Levi in the Light of the Cairo Geniza Documents," *PAAJR* 1954, 42.

9. There is a curious aside to al-Fasi. His successor at the yeshiva in Lucena was R. Joseph ha-Levi Ibn Megash (1077-1141), who announced to the Jews in Fez that the Messiah was at hand, Stillman, 243-444.

10. *Encyclopedia Judaica* article on Halevi mentions Ibn Ezra as possible son-in-law, or else someone named Isaac. See also Goitein, "Biography of Judah Ha-Levi," 43; Abraham Geiger, essay on Halevi in *Nachgelassene Schriften*, 97-177; and Zinberg, 83; the poem, "The Poet Remembers His Family," in Goldstein, 142.

11. Stillman, 61. See also Goitein, *Mediterranean Society* vol. I, 301, and Halevi poems on Egypt in various collections.

12. The Khazar leadership, by carefully revealing the new belief system to the people at an opportune time, won many subjects to Judaism, on a voluntary basis—a fact which stands in obvious contrast to the forced conversions by Christianity during this time of the Crusades. See also Jacob Marcus, *The Jews in the Medieval World*, “The Medieval Jewish Kingdom of the Chazars 740–1259,” 227–232.
13. There is a great deal of material on the Karaites. See Baron, vol. IV on Palestine community, 111f; Baron, *Jubilee* vol. II, 697–715; Marcus, “Anan and the Rise of Karaism in Babylon, about 760,” 233–50; Nathaniel Kravitz, *3000 Years of Hebrew Literature*, on Karaites, 204f.; Ashtor, vol. 3, 84; attack on Karaites by Rabbanites, in Baron, vol. V, 275f. Also method of “kalam” in Zinberg, 107.
14. According to *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, the term “rabbanite” is defined as “name and definition current from approximately the tenth century applied to Jews accepting the Oral Law (Torah she-be-al peh) as binding and normative in the same degree as Scripture (Torah she-be-khetav). As with many party definitions the term is used with pride by the Rabbanites themselves and with derision and contempt by their opponents the Karaites,” 1444. Cohen in his glossary defines “Rabban” or “Rabbenu” as “Our rabbi, an honorific reserved for the nasi in Palestine,” 310. For attack on Rabbanites by Karaites, see Marcus, 238. See also Baron, vol. VI, on Halevi, Maimonides, Saadja, Ibn Daud, 142–44.
15. Mysticism played a great role in later medieval Spain. See Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* and *The Messianic Idea*. Halevi had strong mystical inclinations, which probably accounts for his efforts at synthesizing. Mystics tend to be esoteric rather than exoteric, and, as Scholem tells us, are a countercurrent within the majority tradition. Halevi fits this typology well. See also Baer, vol. 1, “Mysticism and Social Reforms,” 243–305.
16. Dhimmis were a protected tolerated minority under Muslim rule. See Stillman, 167–68, also 255–58. On Granada Jews 1066, see 217–225.
17. See Goitein, *Arabs and Jews*, on creative symbiosis, 127.
18. According to Maimonides, they even thought that the messiah would be from among Andalusian Jewry. One of the pretenders was Ibn Arieh. See Stillman on Maimonides, 245.
19. A. I. Sabra, “The Andalusian revolt against Ptolemaic Astronomy, Averroes and al-Bitruji,” in *Transformation and Tradition in the Sciences*, E. Mendelsohn, ed., 144. But compare Halevi in *The Kuzari*, “He [Shem] inherited the temperate zone, the centre and principal part of which is Palestine, the land of prophecy,” 65.
20. *Kuzari* 138. “. . . he [the pious man] calls upon his community as a respected prince calls his disciplined army, to assist him in reaching the higher or divine degree which is to be found above the degree of the intellect. He arranges his community in the same manner as Moses arranged his people round Mount Sinai.”
21. *Kuzari* 295. “Jerusalem can only be rebuilt when Israel yearns for it to such an extent that they embrace her stones and dust.”
22. Palestine as heart of Judaism in *Kuzari* 65, 88; also Stillman discusses that Spain is no substitute for Zion, 61; Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, 165.

23. On Mourners for Zion, see article in *Encyclopedia Judaica*. This is a problematic term; many writers associate the Mourners for Zion in this time period with the Karaites. Today the Mourners for Zion are best-known to us in relation to the Babylonian exile.

24. See also, "None But You," Rosenzweig 38. "If I should forget You, forget me, right hand. If alien words should suit me, may my tongue cleave to my mouth!" These were the very words which Theodor Herzl pronounced at the First Zionist Congress in Basel in 1897.

25. See Baer 65. "The court dignitaries, orthodox and rational in their faith, regarded it as their duty to wipe out Karaite sectarianism. Long ago, under Moslem rule, the Karaites had been forced to withdraw to the border regions adjoining the Christian territories and eventually to seek refuge in the fortress towns of Castile. The relentless persecution by three generations of Jewish courtiers in the service of Alfonso VI, Alfonso VII, and Alfonso VIII overtook them there and succeeded in destroying the sect with the aid of the governing powers." Also Ibn Daud, 95 and 101.

26. While the ecumenical nature of Egyptian Jewish life allowed the Karaites to coexist relatively peacefully with their Rabbanite coreligionists—according to the Geniza records, they shared in the community chest and held joint fund drives, especially for Jerusalem, Spain had no such tolerant attitude towards them. Halevi was the exception. See Goitein's *Mediterranean Society*, vol. II, 96 and 110. It contains fascinating descriptions of Karaite life in Egypt. See also Stillman 208.

27. Halevi is hardly mentioned in any of the books on Jewish mysticism, though a number of scholars such as Arthur Green, Gershom Scholem, William Kaufman, and Moshe Idel acknowledge him as having a mystical bent.

28. See G. Schmidt, "Cleaving to God." Also Baer I, 71. "Once he [Yehuda Halevi] even foretold the appearance of the Messiah in the year 1130; this was expressed in a short poem . . . when the hopes of victory flared up anew among the Christians and messianic stirrings ran high among the Jews both in the north and the south of the peninsula."

29. *Kuzari* 49; 49; also Stillman 238, 252. The notion of a pedigree, or *yichus*, is extremely important in the Jewish tradition. *Kuzari* 54, 187, 210. See also Hasidic dynasties.

30. See Stillman 57, and 252–54. *Stillman notes that the title nasi indicates Davidic descent. Cohen's glossary defines nagid as "a title used by Jewish communal heads of non-Davidic lineage [my emphasis] in Andalus beginning in the eleventh century," 310.*

31. Prophet belongs to angelic caste, *Kuzari* 73, 146.

32. *Kuzari* 48, 65, 66, 70, 73. "Now all that our promises imply is that we shall become connected with the divine influence by means of prophecy, or something nearly approaching it, and also through our relation to the divine influence, as displayed to us in grand awe-inspiring miracles," 75, 91, 146. "Do not find it out of place that man should be compared to God," 208. "These things, which cannot be approached by speculation, have been rejected by Greek philosophers, because speculation negatives [sic] everything the like of which it has not seen. Prophets, how-

ever, confirm it, because they cannot deny what they were privileged to behold with their mind's eye," 210.

33. Luria is credited with such popular Jewish rituals as the mystical Kabbalat Shabbat service and the Tu B'Shvat seder. For Lurianic Kabbalah, see G. Scholem, *Major Trends*, "Isaac Luria and His School," 244–86. Idel, *Studies in Ecstatic Kabbalah*, Chapter 3, "Abraham Abulafia on the Jewish Messiah and Jesus," 45–61. See also Twersky, *Rabad of Posquieres*, Chapter VI, "Relation to Philosophy and Kabbalah," 258f. "An undercurrent of mystical speculation, meandering leisurely, sometimes barely trickling, for several centuries, began to swell its course at about the same time. Some of the oldest known kabbalistic texts (the *Sefer ha-Bahir* [7th century]) were redacted or first circulated and the earliest devotees of the new doctrines organized themselves in Province at this time. Many of the translated philosophic works were capable of stimulating mystical speculation as well as philosophical thought. Saadia, Gabirol, Bahya, and Halevi are not only central figures in the history of Jewish philosophy but heroes of mysticism as well [my emphasis]," 258–59.

34. Baron writes, "Pirqoi ben Baboi . . . was not so much concerned with the 'nonsense' in the new liturgical output as with the underlying legal deviations. . . . Dependence upon the Palestinian Talmud and . . . Palestinian law militated against Yannai's popularity in the Western countries which had come entirely under the sway of the Babylonian Talmud. . . . Fearing the impact of the popular Palestinian piyyutim on the mass of uninformed congregants and the ensuing widespread acceptance of the Holy Land's legal 'deviations,' Pirqoi . . . condemned all these 'departures' from Babylonian observance," VII, 103.

35. Actually, the pious Jew also was to make three pilgrimages to Jerusalem during his lifetime. See Marcus 242. However, in *The Kuzari*, Halevi refers to "three times a year . . . wherever he may be," 117.

36. See excellent contribution to our understanding of the development of the worship service by Stefan C. Reif, "The Early History of Jewish Worship," in Paul F. Bradshaw and Lawrence A. Hoffman, eds. *The Making of Jewish and Christian Worship*, volume 1 in series *Two Liturgical Traditions*. "Two major Jewish communities existed during the talmudic period, one in the Holy Land and the other in Babylon. There was considerable intercourse between the two, and influence was exercised in both directions," 113–14. ". . . remnants of the public ritual once carried out on Mount Zion were being adopted and adapted for more personal use," 115. "The synagogue itself became a more elaborate entity and a degree of ceremony was introduced of which there is little mention in the talmudic sources," 118.

37. On piyyutim, see Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, vol. 2, 161 and 221; Baron VII, 103; also S. M. Stern, *Hispanic-Arabic Strophic Poetry*, 77. Also a wonderful rich essay by Eliyahu Schleifer, "Jewish Liturgical Music from the Bible to Hasidism," in Lawrence A. Hoffman and Janet R. Walton, eds., *Sacred Sound and Social Change*, Vol. 3, 28f. "Precentors . . . composed and sang new poems, called piyyutim. . . . The insertion of these poems into the prayers raised heated rabbinic debates; . . . yet the people loved this new art and cherished its singer-composers, the payyetanim," 29–30.

38. On role of Levite, see *Kuzari* 105; Zinberg, 94; Stillman, 252.

41. See Schleifer 30. "The early 'preclassical' *piyyut* was built of lines containing two or three words each, or of lines combining two and three-word segments. . . . The music was probably built up from melodic formulas with fixed motives for the stressed syllables and flexible auxiliary notes to accommodate the varying number of unstressed syllables."
42. Steinschneider. "According to Yehuda Halevi . . . the old Hebrew poetry, constructed upon melody alone, was injured by the rhyme and metre of the Arabians, . . ." 154.
43. *Kuzari* 91, 97. "Gates of Heaven" is a mystical metaphor, see Gen. XXVIII:7, used especially by the 7th-century poet Eleazar ha-Kalir, see Kravitz 201.
44. *Kuzari* 293. See Joel L. Kraemer, "On Maimonides' Messianic Posture," in Twersky, ed., *Studies* II, 109-42. "The renewal of prophecy is a preliminary sign and precondition for the advent of the Messiah." 120.
45. Pretenders were dealt with severely. See Baron V, 138f., and Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, 167f.
46. In his book *Sefer Ha-Qabbalah*, Ibn Daud inserted the parable of the four rabbis (64), three of whom can be traced to academies that sprang up around the 11th century in specific geographical locations. Yet Ibn Daud conveniently forgot the name of the fourth rabbi, as he never mentioned Halevi's *Kuzari*, which had been finished twenty years before Ibn Daud wrote his *Sefer Ha-Qabbalah*. If Halevi had become the outcast among the Spanish Jewish elite, then Ibn Daud's passion for symmetry which Cohen explains so painstakingly became a handy tool for this purpose. In *The Kuzari*, Halevi supplied the technique, by leaving his rabbi (himself!) nameless. Ibn Daud simply picked up Halevi's neutered type of "the rabbi." Instead of acknowledging the work, he ignored it, thus heaping insult upon Halevi by stating that he "forgot" the name of the fourth rabbi. I suggest that this was an impossibility, considering Halevi's wide popularity (except among the Rabbanites, of course). Thus, the teachings of Halevi were condemned to oblivion within the Rabbanite tradition, for Ibn Daud's chronology stops with Joseph Halevi, a virtual contemporary of Yehuda Halevi's. If Yehuda Halevi had been accepted by the Rabbanites as an authority, Ibn Daud's chain would surely have included his life and work. Instead, he was passed over in silence, which says more about his impact on his fellow Rabbanites than words. Halevi definitely paid a price for his outspoken and unpopular stance during his lifetime.
47. Goitein "Biography of Judah Ha-Levi," 54. See also Goitein, *Mediterranean Society* III, on Halfon as bachelor, 61-62, and VI, on Halevi poetry, 200.
48. When the call came to submit this paper, I was still in Israel. I would like to thank my assistants, Bradford Smith and Barry Danilowitz, for their help in preparing the manuscript.

Works Cited

- Abrahams, Israel. *Chapters on Jewish Literature*, ed. by Hugo Bergmann (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1899).
- Abu Muhammad Ali Ibn Al-Andalusi. *The Dove's Neck-Ring*. Translated by A. R. Nykl, ed. by D. K. Petrof (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Guethner, 1931).
- Ashtor, Eliyahu. *The Jews of Moslem Spain* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1973), Vol. II-III, translated from Hebrew by Aaron Klein and Jenny Machlowitz Klein.
- Baron, Salo Wittmayer. *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1957/60), Vol. III-V VII, X, XVII.
- . *Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, English Section, Vol. II (New York and London: Columbia U P/Jerusalem: American Academy of Jewish Research, 1974).
- Baer, Yitzhak. *A History of Jews in Christian Spain*. Translated from Hebrew by Louis Schoffman (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961).
- Bradshaw, Paul F., and Lawrence A. Hoffman, eds. *The Making of Jewish and Christian Worship*. In series *Two Liturgical Traditions*, Vol. I (Notre Dame: U of Notre Dame P, 1991).
- Cohen, Gerson D. *The Book of Tradition (Sefer Ha-Qabbalah). A Critical Edition with a Translation and Notes, By Abraham Ibn Daud* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1967).
- Geiger, Abraham. *Nachgelassene Schriften*. Herausgegeben von Ludwig Geiger, Dritter Band (Berlin: L. Gerschel Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1876).
- Galli, Barbara E. *Franz Rosenzweig and Yehuda Halevi* (Montreal: McGill/Queen's U P, 1995).
- Goitein, S. D. *Jews and Arabs: Their Contacts through the Ages*. Third Revised Edition (New York: Schocken Books, 1955/64/74).
- . "The Biography of Rabbi Judah Ha-Levi in the Light of the Cairo Geniza Documents," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, Vol. XVIII, 1954.
- . *Mediterranean Society*, Vol. II (Berkeley: U of California P, 1971).
- Goldstein, David. *The Jewish Poets of Spain 900-1250*. (Baltimore, 1965).
- Halevi, Judah. *The Kuzari: An Argument for the Faith of Israel*. Introduction by Henry Slonimsky (New York: Schocken Books, 1964).
- . *The Kuzari: The Book of Proof and Argument*. Introduction and Commentary by Isaak Heinemann (Oxford: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1947).
- . *Selected Poems of Yehudah Halevi*. Translated into English by Nina Salaman, chiefly from the Critical Text. Edited by Heinrich Brody. (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1928).

- . *Jehuda Halevi Zionslieder*. Mit der Verdeutschung von Franz Rosenzweig und seinen Anmerkungen (Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1933).
- Hoffman, Lawrence A., and Janet R. Walton, eds. *Sacred Sound and Social Change*. In series *Two Liturgical Traditions*, Vol. III (Notre Dame: U of Notre Dame P, 1992).
- Idel, Moske. *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia* (Albany: SUNY, 1988).
- Kaufman, William E. *Journeys: An Introductory Guide to Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Bloch, 1980).
- Kravitz, Nathaniel. *Hebrew Literature from the Earliest Time to the 20th Century* (Chicago: The Swallow Press, Inc., 1972).
- Lewis, Bernard. *The Arabs in History* (New York, 1966).
- Marcum, Jacob R. *The Jew in the Medieval World. A Source Book: 315–1791* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965).
- Mendelsohn, Everett, ed. *Transformation and Tradition in the Sciences* (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1984).
- Sabra, A. I. "The Andalusian Revolt Against Ptolemaic Astronomy, Averroës and Al-Bitruji," *Transformation and Tradition in the Sciences*, ed. Everett Mendelsohn, Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1984.
- Schmidt, Gilya G. "‘Cleaving to God’ through the Ages: A Historical Analysis of the Jewish Concept of ‘Devekut,’" *Mystics Quarterly*, Vol. 21:4, December 1995.
- Scheindlin, Raymond P. *Wine, Women, and Death: Medieval Hebrew Poems on the Good Life*. (Philadelphia/New York/Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, forthcoming).
- Scholem, Gershom. *The Messianic Idea in Judaism* (New York: Schocken, 1971).
- . *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism/The Messianic Idea in Judaism* (New York: Schocken, 1974).
- Stern, Samuel Miklos. *Hispanic-Arabic Strophic Poetry*. Selected and edited by L. P. Harvey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974).
- Steinschneider, M. *Jewish Literature from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Century*. With an Introduction on Talmud and Midrash (New York: Harmon Press, 1970).
- Stillman, Norman A. *The Jews of Arab Lands. A History and Source Book* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979).
- Twersky, Isadore. *Rabad of Posquieres: A Twelfth-Century Talmudist* (Cambridge: Harvard U P, 1962).
- , ed. *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature*, Vol. I-II (Cambridge: Harvard U P, 1979).
- Zinberg, Israel. *A History of Jewish Literature*. Translated and edited by Bernard Margin, *The Arabic Spanish Period* (Cleveland and London: P of Case Western Reserve U, 1972).